

2310. *t.a, dem. prn. of non-active (inanimate) objects [without distance opposition (proximal ↔ intermediate ↔ distal)] > **HS [1]** *tV-/*-∇t, marker of the so-called "feminine gender", actually feminine-and-inanimate gender (a merger with N *ʔatV 'female, woman' [q.v.], as well as probably with N *t.i used to form *nomina actionis* [q.v.]), used in different grammatical functions: **[a]** verbal px. *tV- of 3 pers. "feminine" (= feminine-and-inanimate\collective) > S, B *tV- id., EC *t(V)-, Bj, Aw t(V)- of 3f in pcvs., *t- as marker of 3f in many Ch lgs., as well as the 3f marker *-t- within the person-number-gender sxs.; **[b]** HS nominal ending *-∇t-, marker of both the female sex in nouns (like S *-at- in *bin-at- 'daughter' > Hb tB2 bat-, Ar bint-, etc., B *-t in *t-funas-t 'cow', ONum ult 'daughter') and the fem.-and-inanimate gender (that is used to form singulative, collective and abstract nouns) in S, Eg, B, C and Ch, **[c]** HS pronoun *tV- (prn. of the fem.[-and-inanimate] gender) > OAr ta- and tī 'this\that' f. (Br. G I 317-8 [§ 107g]), Sb t 'that [f.] which' (t-b-sʔrn 'that which is the valley' - ʔ Bst. 4, Bst. DSRP); LbB: Gnc T {Mi.} -to 'this' (mensey-to 'this king'), pB *t-a- f. sg. / *t-i- f. pl. 'that\those which', 'that\those of' (ddn.) [the elements *-a-/*i- goes back to N *ha, deictic pronominal pc. ('ille', remote object) and N *yE (= yʔi?) 'these, they' (deictic element of animate pl.)] > ta f. sg. / ti f. pl. 'that\those which, that\those of' in practically all B lgs [with a phonetic variant t.a/t.i in Kb and several other NrB lgs.] (Pr. M III, AjxM LGJ 176, 211, 217, Fc. 1448-59), Bj t-, fem. gender marker in the df. art.: Bj A {AD} nom. sg. tu--tu-, acc. sg. to--tu-, nom. pl. ta--ta, acc. pl. te--ti-, Bj Hd {Rop.} nom. sg. tu--ti-, acc. sg. to--ti-, nom. pl. ta--ti-, acc. pl. te--ti-, Bj (dialect recorded by Reinisch) nom. sg. tu-, acc. sg. to-, nom. pl. ta-, acc. pl. te-; B *tV-, prefix of fem. nouns, both sg. and pl. (going back to an article similar to that of Bj), e.g. Sll, Nf ta-ləmət 'she-camel' (pl. ti-ləymin, ti-ləymatin), Kb t.a-funast-, Tmz ta-funast 'cow', Zwr t-funast, Zmr t-funast id. (pl. t-ifunasin), t-myart- 'old woman', Mz t-mət.tut 'woman', etc. (ʔ AjxM LGJ 208-9); Sml -ta, -tu, -tī, fem. forms of df. articles; C fem. gender marker *t- in dem., inter. and poss. pronouns: Bj {R} t-u-n 'this' f. (acc. t-o-n), t-a-n 'these' f. (acc. t-e-n), Sa {R} t-a-, t-ay 'this' f., t-o, t-oy 'that' f., Sml -t-ani (acc. -t-a-n) 'this' f. (sx. of a noun), -t-a-si (acc. -t-a-) 'that' f. (general deixis), etc., Or H {Ow.} t-ana rect. 'this' f. (↔ m. x-ana), t-uni nom. 'this' f. (↔ m. x-uni), t-a-ni 'this' (anaphoric) f. (↔ m. x-a-ni), t-a-mi 'which?' f. (↔ m. x-a-mi), t-iyya 'my' f. (↔ m. x-iyya), t-e 'thy' f. (↔ m. x-e), etc., Or B tuni(-ni) 'this' f., rect. t-a-na, gen. ta-na, etc., Sd t-e, t-enne, t-e-ne, t-in 'this' f., etc. (ʔ AD KJ 28, 46-8, 106, 116-7 [ʔ and below s.v. N *k.fu, dem. prn.]), as well as fem. gender marker in postnominal agglutinated markers of personal possession in Bj (-t-), Sml (-t-: i-na-n-t-a-y-d-u 'my daughter', where -t- is the fem. marker of the suffixed poss. prn. -taydu, -ay- is the morpheme of 1s, and -d- is the fem. marker of the postpositional article, cp. i-na-n-k-a-y-g-u 'my son', where -k- and -g- are masc. gender markers), Or Δ -t-, etc. ¶ AD KJ 107-8, Ow. H 88] The same f.-and-inanimate marker *-t- is found in the compound ending *-a-t- which functions as a marker of feminine "plural" (Hb -o-t-, Ar -a-t-, Gz -a-t, Ak -a-t-). There is syntactic and morphological ev. that proves that in pS the forms with *-a-t- were not real plurals, but collective nouns (in sg.): [1] the *-a-t-forms have case endings of sg. (nom. *-u, acc.-gen. *-a) and a determiner ending of sg. (*-m), [2] if they function as a subject, their predicate (in Arabic) is sg. f. Here the S morpheme *-t- is actually a nominalizer (substantivizer) of an originally analytical construction of collectivity (with collectivity pc. *-a- < N *ʔa'h'a [collective pc. of inanimate 'thing(s)' (ʔ 'de ça')]). This is suggested by the fact that S *-a-t- is found only in the purely substantive cases (nom., acc., gen.), while in the pred. case (> f. pl. of the WS new perfect) we find S *-a- without *-t-. The same *-t- is found as a substantivizer of Ak adjectives in pl. (-u-t- in substantivized adjectives in pl. ↔ -u- as pl. of non-substantivized adjectives) || In Ch this HS prn. *tV contaminated with the reflex of N *ʔatV 'female, woman', giving rise to a personal prn. of 3f (actually, feminine-and-inanimate) that Blz. reconstructs as *ta. In WCh it functions (1) as a preverbal subject marker of 3f.: Hs ta- (with past), ta (with some other verbal forms), in the BT lgs. (with neutral form, pf.: Bl, Gera ti, Krf, Glm, Grm ta, Tng ta, etc.), in the Ron lgs. (with the main aspect of the verb: Fy, Bks, Klr ti); (2) as an aut. prn. of 3f (Prefix + *ta, acc. to Kr.'s rec.): Hs i-ta, Bl i-ta, Ngm te, Krkr di-tʔw, Tng ŋ-ta, Fy, Bks yi-t, Ngz, Bd a-tu, Zul ti 'she'; (3) as an object prn. of 3f (*tV, acc. to Kr.): Hs, Bl ta, Krkr, Tng ta, Ngz atu, Bd tu; (4) as a postnominal poss. prn. of 3f (*ta, acc. to Kr.): Hs ta, Bl to, Krf ta-a, Krkr (ti)-tʔw, Tng to, Pr te, Ron: Fy -it, Bks -et. In CCh this pronoun appears: (1) as a ppa. of 3f: Gude -ta, Bcm -ro (where -r- < *-t-), Mln -(g3)-to, FLM -tu, Mbara -ta 'her'; (2) as an object prn. of 3f.: Bcm (na)-ro, Gudu

ba-r (where -r- < *-t-), FIM (ga)-ta', Msg G/P {MB} -ti 'her', Mbara -ta'; (3) in some CCh lgs. it is one of the elements within isolable pers. pronouns of 3f (as in Mbara ti'ti' 'she'); in ECh it functions as a subject prn. of 3f (Mkl ti'-t-, Bdy -ti', -g-i't), as a pronominal object sx. of verbs (Mkl -t-, -ti' 'her', Bdy -ta' 'her', -ti' 'to her', Tmk -d 'her', Mgm -ti', -ti' 'to her'), as a ppa. of nouns (Mkl -tu', Bdy -t-, -ti' 'her'), and as an emphatic aut. prn. ("pronom d'insistance"): Tmk ta^hn 'she' (↔ d.a^hn 'he'), [as a dem/ prn. of the f. gender (*t-pronouns of f. ↔ *k-pronouns of m. (ffd. details see N *k.^hu^h, dem. prn.)] It also functions as a demonstrative element (without connection with the fem. gender, i.e. outside the merger with N *r^hat^h V^h): Ke m. sg. to^h 'this', f. sg. ta^h, pl. te^h 'these' (Sch. ED 158-9), and as a CCh subject prn. of 3s m.: Msg G {MB} t₃, Msg P {MB} te, Mbara, Mlw ti ¶ Cf. Kr. RChP, MB SMSM, J R, Sch. BTL, Sch. DN, Frz. GP, Blz. PPCh1 ∇, Blz. PPCh2 ∇, Trn. MVM 76, TrnSL 163-6, J LM, JA LM, Al DB 196-206, Cp. 31 I [2] A variant *t^h without de-emphatization survives in Ch as *d^h V, a dem. prn. (→ a marker of definiteness) > {Sch.}: Hs ka'ra's d.i'n 'the carrot(s)' (↔ ka'ra's 'carrot, -s'), Su lu' d.i'-s^h 'this house' (↔ lu' 'house'), G'nd naf-d.a 'the man', naf-d.i 'this man' (↔ naf- 'man'), Msg d.i'f d.a' 'the man' (↔ d.i'f 'man'), Mkl ?a'zu' d.o^h 'the water' (↔ ?a'zu' pl. 'water'), as well as a pers. prn. of 3m (Tmk d.a^hn 'he') ¶ Sch. ED 158-60 II IE [1] NaIE *to- (nom.-acc. *to-d), dem. prn. of the neuter (inanimate) gender (↔ *so id. in the animate gender) > OI ta-d 'it, that' ntr. ↔ sa (~ sa-s) 'he, that' m., Av G, YAv ta-t_h 'this, it' ntr. ↔ YAv ha^h-m. ∥ Gk to^h, df. art. ntr. ↔ 'o, df. art. m. ∥ pGmc {SGGJ} *θat 'das' (ddn. prn.), ntr. ↔ *so m. > Gt þata ntr. ↔ sa m., ORu þat ntr. ↔ sa m., ON þat ntr. ↔ sa' m., AS ðæt ntr. ↔ se^h-m. In the obl. cases it was generalized for all genders, e.g. NaIE acc. m. *to-m > OI tam, Av tām, Gk to^hv, Gmc *θan(on) > Gt þana, ON þann, AS ðone, NaIE acc. f. *ta^h-m (cf. nom. f. *sa^h-) > OI, Av ta^h-m, Gk tē^hv. The form of the f. (a NaIE innovarion) is *sa^h (based on *so-), but in many lgs. it is *ta^h (e.g. pGmc *θo^h > Gt þo^h, AS ða^h). In many branches of NaIE *to- was generalized throughout the paradigm off all genders: OCS тѣ m., тѣ f., тѣ ntr., Lt ta^hs m., ta^h f. Cf. also L tam 'so', OIr 3m pers. pronouns as infixes: -d (+ nasalization) m. (< *tom), -d ntr. (< *tod), Tc A/B tu dem. prn. ('das') ntr., A ta^hm 'this' ntr. ¶¶ P 1086-7, Brg. KVG 399-400, Bks. 202-5, SGGJ III 318-22, Ho. 286, 360, KT 164-5, Wn. 421-2, 443 ¶ [2] *-d = *-T (archiphoneme from *-t in the word-final position), ending of the neuter (inanimate) gender in pronouns: NaIE *i-d (= *i-T) 'it, that' (↔ *i-s m.) > L id ntr. ↔ is m., Gt ita ntr. ↔ is m.; *k^ho-d 'what' ↔ *k^ho-s 'who' (L quod, ON hvat ↔ hver, OHG (h)waz ↔ (h)wer) and *k^hi-d 'what' ↔ *k^hi-s 'who' (> Lt quid ↔ quis, Gk τι ↔ τι^h), etc. ∥ AnIE *-t ntr. ↔ *-s anim. gender: enclitical forms of the pers. prn. 3s: Ht, Lw, Pal -at ntr. ↔ -as m., Ht apat 'it, this' ntr. ↔ apas 'he\she, this' anim. gender, Ht, Pal kuit 'what' ↔ kuis 'who' ¶¶ Brg. KVG 402-3, Bks. 202-6, KrlSh. XLJ 20-2 ¶ [3] IE *-ti, "primary" verbal ending of 3s (e.g., in the prs. tense) > OI -ti, Gk -σι (τι^hη-σι 'puts'), L -t, Gt -þ, OHG -t, pSl *-тъ (> OCS -тъ, R Δ -т), Ht -zi, Lw, HrLw, Pal -ti (e.g. OI 'bhara-ti, L fer-t, Gt bai'ri-þ 'carries', OCS береть beretъ 'takes'), *es-ti 'is' > OI 'asti, Gk 'εστι, L est, Gt, OHG ist, pSl *jestъ (> OCS кѣтъ jestъ, OR кѣтъ jestъ, R ест, P jest, etc.), Ht eszi, HrLw asti; IE *-t, "secondary" verbal ending of 3s (e.g., in the ipf.) > OI -t, L -t, Osc -d (ku'm-bened 'convenit'). These endings spread to the 3p forms and were added to the original *-n-ending of 3p. due to generalization within the paradigm of the 3rd person: pre-IE *-t 3s ↔ *-n 3p > IE "secondary endings" *-t 3s ↔ *-nt 3p, "primary endings" *-ti 3s ↔ *-nti 3p (ffd. see N *n^ha^h - prn. of collectivity/pl.) ¶¶ Brg. KVG 590-8, Bks. 232-7, Pv. I-II 285, KrlSh. XLJ 22-3, 40-1, Mer. HHG 34-5, EI 457 II K: Mg te 'this', ti 'that' (attributive pronouns, followed by nouns), tena 'this one', tina 'that one' (aut. pronouns, used without nouns) ¶ Q O42 II U *ta^h, dem. prn. of inanimate objects (→ 'this', 'that'), also initial element of compound pronouns (*ta^h-mV, *ta^h-tV, *ta^h-kV, *to^h < **ta^h + *o, U *ta^h + *a > FU *t'a^h - *ta^h, etc. indicating different distance-deictic positions: proximal, intermediat, disral, etc.): [1] U *ta^h > F (with case endings) ta^hha^hn 'hierher, her', ta^hssa^h 'hier, hierbei' ∥ Lp N {N} die 'there (nearer the person addressed than the speaker), die-t 'iste' ∥ pMr *ta^h > Er te t'e, Mk тѣ t'a^h 'this', (with case sxs.) Mk тѣca t'a^h-sa, Er тѣcy t'e-se 'here', Mk тѣста t'a^h-sta, Er тѣсты t'e-ste 'from here' ∥ pChr {Ber.} *ti > Chr: H тѣ tē 'that, he', E {Ps.} tē d ti d te 'this' ∥ pObU {Hl.} *te^h 'ille' or 'hic' > pVg *ta^h > Vg: P ta^h, Ss ta 'that'; pOs *te^h-tē ({Hl.} *ta^h-ta) 'here' > Os: V te^ht, D te^htōid. ∥ OHg te^h 'hierher' (in the set phrase Sem the Se^h towa [= szem te' szem tova] 'weder hierher noch dorthin') ¶ [2] U *ta^h-mV > F ta^hma^h 'this', Es tema, Δ tema^h 'he\she\it' ¶ [3] U *ta^h-tV > Chr: H {MRS} тѣды tēdъ, {Ep., Rm.} тѣды tēdō 'that, he', E {Ps.} tēde

'this' || Sm: Ng {Ter.} t3ti 'that' (anaphoric) [4] U *ta⁻ + *a > *ta⁻ > Lp: N {N} da⁻ 'here (hic-deixis)', da⁻t 'hic' (obl. da⁻), K {Gn.} ta⁻tt, Kld {Kert} tadd⁻ 'hic' : Prm *ta > Vt ta 'this', Z ta 'this, such' [5] U *ta⁻kV > Er теке t'ek'e 'just this', Mk тика t'a⁻ka 'the only one' : pObU *te⁻x > Vg T tu⁻ (< *ta⁻w); pOs *te⁻r^y1 ({HL.} *ta⁻r^y1) > Os: O ti 'jener', V/K te⁻x, Y te⁻xə 'hierher' || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} тикы 'that, this' [6] U *to⁻ > F tuo, Es too 'ille' : Lp: N {N} duot / duo- 'that one over there, that ... over there', do⁻ ' (far) over there', do⁻t / do⁻ 'that (one) far away over there', S {Hs.} duode 'iste', L {LLO} tuot 'that one over there (but nearer to the speaker than ta⁻t 'ille')', Kld {SaR} тудт tu⁻t: 'ille' : pMr *to⁻ > Er/Mk to-, tu-, тона tona 'ille', Er to-sa 'there, then' : Prm *to⁻ (or *to) 'that' > Z t3rit 'yesterday' (< t3-rit 'that evening'), Z Lu t3-lun, Z US tω-lun, Vt tolon 'yesterday' (lit. 'that day'), Vt tu-pal 'that side' (pul 'side'), Vt Sr tu, ? Z Ss ti 'ille' : pObU *to 'ille' > pVg *ta⁻, *ta⁻n- > Vg: P ta, LK/P ton, UL to⁻n id., LK ta⁻t, Ss tot 'there'; pOs to-m 'ille' > Os: V tom(i), Vy to⁻m(i), Ty to⁻m(i), D/Nz to⁻m(ə), Kz to⁻m(i), O to⁻m(i), ta⁻m id. || Slq Tz {KHG} to 'ille' [7] Other compound pronouns with U *ta⁻ > Lp: N {N} da⁻t 'this\that' (obl. da⁻), S {Hs.} daade 'this, hic', L {LLO} tat 'this (der\die\das, dieser\diese\dieses), he\she\it', K {Gn.} t3tt, Kld {Kert} tadd⁻ 'iste', tadda 'hic' || In the Sm lgs. there are rich systems of deictic pronouns based mainly on combination of U *ta⁻ with markers of deixis (vowels) and other morphemes ({HL.} *t3(-), *te(-), *ti(-) 'this, that', *tu⁻(-) 'this'): Ne T {Ter.} т-ку 'this, that (present)', такы 'that (pointed at)', т-мб (pl. т-вб) 'this (pointed at, **воп урот**)', талий 'iste', тали-мб 'iste (the nearest between two)', те-х 'ille (distant)', те-х-мб 'ille (more distant between two)', etc., Ng {Ter.} tane 'ille (more distant)', t3nd3 'that', так3 'that (pointed at), ille', etc.. Slq Tz {KHG} tam 'hic', to⁻, to⁻nna (besides the abovementioned to) 'ille', ti⁻na, ti⁻nana 'that' (anaphoric), Mt {HL.} *ti 'he' (Mt M {Sp.} ты) -> *tin 'he, that [jener]' (Mt M {Pl.} тин 'he, they', {Sp.} тынь **воп**) & *tik '(?) 'here' (Mt M {Sp.} тык⁻), d *tEIVŋ 'hither' (Mt K {Pl.} delan **с-да**), d *ta⁻na⁻ 'da, dort' (Mt M {Sp.} дана 'there') || In Y there are different pronouns & pronominal adverbs based on N *t.a⁻ with deictic markers of distance and syntactical (local, temporal, etc.) morphemes: Y: T/K tudel 'he', tittel 'them', T tie- (stem) 'ille', ta- (stem) 'that' (anaphoric), T (attr.) та⁻ / (aut. prn.) та⁻n/-t 'that', та⁻/та⁻un [{Krn.} та⁻ун, та⁻ун] ~ tamun 'that near, known, but absent here)', T tiden, tida⁻, K tineta⁻ 'that' (anaphoric), T tada 'there', tida 'then (earlier)', tadat 'then (later)', tan ~ tat 'so', K ta⁻ 'there', ti 'here', tat 'from there', K/T {IN} ta⁻t 'so', etc.; pY {IN} *ti⁻u 'this' > Y: K (attr.) ti⁻ / (aut. prn.) tu⁻ben [{Krn.} JJ} ту⁻б⁻н, {Krn.} JJ-K} ту⁻в⁻н 'this', T {IN} ту⁻ 'this', T ten 'hic', K ti 'here' (< ta⁻ 'there') ¶¶ UEW 505, 513-5, 526-8, Kert SJ 173-4, Hs. 123-6, Ker. II 165, 168, Ps. M 140-1, Ber. 76, Ep. 125, PsS 151-2, Rm. BT 144-5, MRS 119, LG 277, 284, Ht. ##611, 614, Hl. rHt 68-9 (on pObU *e⁻), Hl. M 150, ##954, 977, 1006, 1016-7, 1022, 1075, EWU 1514, Ter. OGNJ 148, Ter. NgJ 169, KHG 293, Krn. JJ 72, 82-7, 278, Krn. JJ-K 354-5, IN 247-8 ¶¶ *t'e- 'der, das' (ddn. dem. prn.), *t'e-r'a⁻ id. (marked topic-focalizing case, sg.), *t'e-kge (a dem. prn.), *t'a (< **t'e-a) 'that, ille' (prn. with ille-deixis) > M *te 'that' (> MMgl te, Mgl, Ba te, Mnr H {T} te, {SM} ti⁻e, Mnr M {Rkh.} ti id., HIM {Pp.} te⁻terə, Brt te⁻tere 'that (pointed at, **воп тот**)'; M *te-re (theme-focalizing case < stem of obl. cases *te-gu⁻n) 'that' (used also as 'he') > MM tere, WrM tere, HIM, Kl terə, Brt, Ord tere, Dg t3r3, obl.: M *te⁻u⁻n > MM te⁻u⁻n, WrM tegu⁻n, HIM, Brt {Pp.} tu⁻n, Kl tu⁻n; *te-de (pl. of *tere) > WrM tede, MM, Ord, Brt tede, HIM {Pp.} teddə, Kl tedə, Dg {Pp.} t3d3 ¶ Pp. IM 225-8, Iw. 136, Rm. M 40, SM 416, T 364, T BJ 148, Rkh. 379, Chr. 459 || Tg: [1] AmTg *te-(y⁻i⁻) 'that', distance-deictically unmarked dem. prn. (< *ey 'this', hic-deictic prn.) > Nn Nh t3y, Nn B ti⁻, Nn KU t⁻y, Orc ti⁻, t3i 'that, he\she\it', Ud {STM} t3i, t3yi 'that, this', Ud Sm {Krm.} ti 'that', Ul ti, t⁻y 'that, he\she\it', {PSchm.} 'this'; Tg *tere ~ *tarV (< **te-r'a⁻ due to vowel harmony) > WrMc tere (pl. tese) 'that, he', Mc Sb (terə) [t3r] 'that, he\it', (tesə) [t3s] 'they' (< (erə) [3r] 'this', (esə) [3s] 'these'), (te⁻rə) [t3⁻r] 'that', Ewk tar, tare, tari, Neg tay 'that, this, he\it', Sln taya, tari 'that'; [2] Tg *ta⁻ 'that, ille' (marked) > Nn B ta⁻ 'there', 'there (pointed at place)' (**там, воп там**), Orc ta⁻-du⁻ 'there', ta⁻-du⁻k 'from there', ta⁻la, ta⁻ti 'dorthin', Ud {STM} tadu 'there', tala 'there (dort, dorthin)', Nn, Ork taya 'that side', Ewk ta⁻-du⁻ 'there', tala 'there (dort, dorthin)', Lm tar 'that', 'voilà' (**воп, воп, то; тот**) ¶ STM II 165-7, Krm. 294, Y ##2878-83, Hrl. 42-3 ¶ Mc tere cannot be a loan from M (as some scholars believe), because it has an irreg. form of pl. (tese) with an ancient et. and without parallels in M ¶ The semantic position of *te(y) within the system of dem. pronouns (< *e(y) 'this' and *ta 'that, ille') can be understood from the scholars' observations. Avrorin (Avr. G I 262) points out that Nn t3y is used

much more that R TOT, while zy 'this' is used only if the object is very near to the speaker. It means that t3y is the unmarked member of the opposition. From its R translation (not only 'TOT' = 'that', but also 'OH, OHA, OHO' = 'he, she, it') we may conclude that this is also used as a distance-deictically neutral pronoun. On the relation between *te- and *ta- cf. Sem BD 61 (on Nn B): t3tyi 'iste (pointed at)' ['BOH TOT (HE TAK DALEKO)], ta'ti 'ille (pointed at, more distant than t3tyi)'. Sun. KUD 85 (on Nn KU): tiy, t3y 'that' ('TOT'), taya 'that (on the other side)'. Sun. UJ 40 points out that Ul ti 'that' and zy 'this' are usually used as a sort of articles || i NaT *t'e-ge ~ *t'i-gi ~ *t'e-g'u' ■ 'iste', 'BOH TOT' ({IsxP}: 'that seen, but more distant than oy ['this']) > VTt, Bsh tere tьгь, Qrg tigi 'that' ('TOT'), Qrg te-, StAlt tu, Qmn tu ol, Xk r° r° tigi, Tv t' o° / t' o° / t' u° / t' u° 'that pointed at' ('BOH TOT'), Tf t' e° 'that (seen from here)', Slr: U tu° ~ t(u)°, Ul tu° 'that (ille); there (illic)' ('TAM, BOH TAM'), U t(u)°gu 'there (illic)'; in Slr there is a system of 4 deictic pronouns: pu 'this (nearest to the speaker)' ↔ mu [= {Tn.} c, u] 'this (less near) ↔ vu 'that' ↔ tu° 'that (farthest from the speaker)' (Tn. SJ 129) ¶ Ra. 172, Ra. MTJ 256, Isx. M 247-9, IsxP 231-4, BIG 227, 416, B DK 53, Tn. SJ 129, 522, 526, Rs. W 479, S Aj 194, Rl. III 1410 ¶ The prn. is not attested in OT, therefore S AJ 52 supposes that it is a loan from M. The M source may be the stem of the obl. cases *te-gu°n-. The loan hyp. can explain the initial lax *t°- (reflected in Tv and Tf t°-) for the expected pT *t°- || pKo *ti_° 'that' > MKo ti_°, NKo c° 'that' ¶ S AJ 52, 254 [#87], S QK #87, Nam 154, MLC 1417 || ?? J: J to in to mo kaku mo 'this and that, so and so', to kaku 'in this way or in this', ?? to as a quotative pc. (Gr. ← As.C: to may go back to a dem. prn.) ¶ Prl. JUA 177, As.² 142, As.³ 139, Mill. JL 344, Gr. I 97-8 ¶¶ S AJ 52, 289, DQA #2286 [A *t°a (t°e) 'that' > T *t°i_°(ko°), M *te-re, Tg ta-, Ko], S AJ 52, 289 [#311], Rm. SKE 26 II D: in D this N prn. is represented in 4 different functions: in the {Zv.} "resumptive" and personal (3s) prn. *ta°n / (obl.) *tan- 'himself', in its pl. form *ta°m / *tam(m)- 'they themselves, they', in the ending of the inanimate gender *-tu (Zv. DL 21), and in the ending of the 3s ntr. (inanimate) of the appellative non-past {Zv.} *-N-(a)t° (Zv. DL 32; on the meaning of the term "appellative" ≠ Zv. DL 26-7): [1] sg. *ta°n / obl. *tan-, "resumptive" and pers. prn. of 3s > Tm ta°n_ / obl. tan(n)_ 'oneself', ta°n_e 'himself', Ml ta°n / obl. tan-, '(one)self', ta°n_e 'by himself', Kt ta°n / obl. ta(n)-, Td to°n / obl. tan-, Kdg ta°ni / tan- 'oneself', Kn ta°n / obl. tan- 'he\she\it' (in the rf. sense), Tu ta°nā, Klm ta°n / tan-, Prj, Gdb, Gnd ta°n / tan- Kui ta°nu / tan- '(one)self', Tl ta°nu / obl. tan- 'one's self, he\she, him-\her-self', Png ta°n 'he, himself', ta° 'his, one's own', Kui ta°n 'him-\her-self, Krx ta°n / obl. tang- 'himself', Mlt {Drs.} ta°n(i) / tan_g- 'him\her\itself, Brh te°n 'self, my\thy\him\self, ourselves, etc.' ¶¶ D #3196 ¶¶ [2] pl. *ta°m / *tam(m)- 'they, themselves' > Tm, Ml ta°m / obl. tam(m)-, Kn ta°mu / tam-, ta°vu / tav-, Klm, Prj, Gdb, Krx ta°m / tam-, Nkr ta°m, Gnd tamma°, Knd ta°m, Kui ta°ru, Ku tambu° / obl. tam-, Mlt {Drs.} ta°m(i) / obl. tam- id., Kt, Td ta°m / tam-, Kdg tangga 'themselves' ¶¶ D #3162 ¶¶ [3] *-tu, ending of ntr. (inanimate gender) in pronouns and numerals, e.g. [a] Tm atu ~ a:tu 'that thing' (↔ a-van_ 'that man', a-val_ 'that woman'), Ml a-tu, Kt a-d, Kdg a-di-, Png a-di 'that thing', Kn a-du, a-tu, a-ttu 'that thing' (↔ a-va 'that man', a-val_ ~ a°ke 'that woman'), and with the merger of the homonymous markers of f. and ntr.: Tl a(d)di, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gnd Δ a-d, Knd a-di, Kui a°-di, Mlt {Drs.} a°th 'that woman or thing'; [b] Tm itu ~ i:tu 'this thing' (↔ ivan_ 'this man', ival_ 'this woman'), Ml itu, Kt id, Kn idu ~ itu ~ ittu, Kdg idi, Png idi 'this thing', Mnd idi 'this' (ntr.), and with the merger of the markers of f. and ntr.: Tl i(d)di, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gdb id, Gnd Δ (h)id, Knd idi, Ku īdi, Krx īd, Mlt {Drs.} i°th 'this woman or thing'; [c] Tm utu, Kn udu, Tu undu 'ista res', and with the merger of f. and ntr.: Ku u°di, Krx hu°d 'ista mulier aut res'; [d] Tm on_r_u ~ on_n_u (Zv.: < *or-t_u) 'one' ntr., Ml onnu, Gnd Δ unt_°a°l_id., Kn ondu, Kdg ondi, Tu on_ji, Tl on_d_u, Krx on°t_a°, Mlt -ond 'one thing', and with the merger of f. and ntr.: Knd unr_i 'one woman or thing'; [e] Kdg dan°d_i (< *iran-t_u) 'two things', Tu rad_d_ā, Tl ren_d_u, Nk ernd_i, Krx e°r° ~ e°n°d_id., Prj ird_u id. (↔ irul 'two men', iral 'two women') ¶¶ D ##1, 410(a), 474, 557(a), 990, Zv. DL 21 ¶¶ [4] {Zv.} *-N-(a)t°, 3n of the appellative non-past > ModTm -ppa-tu (3n, appellative), Tl -tun-di, Png -n-at (3n fut.), Gnd -ndu° (3n, {Zv.} "past irrealis cum habitual") ¶¶ Zv. DL 32 II E: [1] MEI -t 'iste' (allocutive ending of nouns) ↔ -k 'hic' (locutive), resembling the situation in Slavic: *tъ - ddn. and anaphoric prn. (> R TOT 'ille, iste') ↔ *sъ (< IE *k°-i-) 'hic' (ESISJ-SGZ II 618-23, 707-10; [2] MEI -t, a rare ending of the inanimate gender ("Dans la documentation méso-élamite, les inanimés à suffixe -t ... sont en voie de disparition" - GrS EGE 13) and possibly AchEl -t|da/-te, generalizing sx. of abstract nouns (derived from nouns and

adjectives): marri-da 'all, everything', daki-da 'other things' (cp. daki 'various, other') ¶¶ McA 66, Dk. JDPa 97, GrS EGE 13-4 ♦ AD GD 14, IS I 7 (*t.a" 'this, that') → BmK 287-9 ♦ The N prn. *t.a" is a member of several semantic oppositions: [1] *t.a" as a prn. of non-active objects is opposed to N *sE (prn. of active [animated] beings\objects). This opposition is preserved in IE (*so 'he' [active gender] ↔ *toT 'it' [non-active gender]), partially in FU (F ha"n and Lp N {N} so"n [both < N *sE] are used for human beings ['he\she'], while the t-pronouns are used indiscriminately), in D (Krx -s m. ↔ -d ntr. & f. [a merger of homonymous markers] in pronouns, 7 Hahn KG 23-6) and probably in Eg (-f [< *sw-] m. ↔ -t f. [i.e. "female-and-inanimate" gender]). In some daughter families *t.a" was opposed to the N animate *yi 'he' (e. g., S *y- 3m (< N *yi 'he') ↔ *t- 3f) or to other dem. pronouns (that were originally neutral as to the opposition "active" ↔ "non-active"): C *k- m. (< N *k, 'u" 'this') ↔ *t- f., Sm: in Ne T the pronouns т-ку and тикы (anaphoric) are used anaphorically when referring to non-humans only, while for human beings the prn. of 3s пьда 'he\she' (a Ne innovation) is used (Ter. OGNJ 148); [2] The prn. *t.a" as denoting a single object is opposed to the N collective (/plurality) pronoun *n"t.a" (q.v.). The opposition is preserved (a) in U (e.g. F ta"ma" 'this' ↔ na"ma" pl. 'these', tuo 'that' ↔ nuo pl. 'those', etc.), (b) in Eg [p: 'this, the' m. ↔ t: f. ↔ n: abstr. (→ pl.), pw 'this' m. ↔ tw f. ↔ nw abstr., pl., pn 'this [near me]' m. ↔ tn f. ↔ nn abstr., pl., pf 'that' m. ↔ tf f. ↔ nf abstr., pl. [Gard. 85]; in Eg O [acc. to Ed. 83-9, EG 216, 251] nw, nf, etc. were not pl. forms, but abstract pronouns: nw 'Dieses, Dieses da', nf 'Jenes', probably from collective pronouns: pw 'this' m. ↔ tw f. ↔ nw abstract < *coll.), (c) in IE ("primary" verbal endings: *-ti 3s ↔ *-nti 3p, "secondary" endings: *-t 3s ↔ *-nt 3p); [3] a new opposition of *t.a" demonstrative ↔ N *K.o interrogative has developed in some lgs. in which both *K.o 'who?' and *t.a" lost the semantic feature of animateness (in N *K.o) and inanimateness (in *t.a") and both were generalized as interr. resp. dem. pronominal stems: L quantum ↔ tantum, NHG was ↔ das, wer ↔ der, NE where ↔ there, when ↔ then, R куда ↔ туда, когда ↔ тогда, как ↔ так, какой ↔ такой, Y T qada 'where?' ↔ tada 'there', probably also in WrM kedu" (n) 'how much?' ↔ tedu"i 'so much' ♦ The sx. of the theme-focalizing case (▣ marked nominative) *-re in A *te-rV (preserving this function up to the attested M lgs.) is akin to the IE nominative-accusative ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns and is to be projected up to the pN level (7 N *rV - topic-focalizing pc.) ♦ IS I 7 (IE, HS, K, U, A, D), Gr. I 94-9 ("demonstrative T" in IE, U, A [incl. Ko, J], Gil, CK, EA, Ai).

2311. *t.i, syntactic pc.: it is combined with verbs to build analytical *nomina actionis* > IE: NaIE *-ti-, sx. of *nomina actionis*, e.g. *mn_o-ti-s 'thought' (abstract noun) (<d- *men- v. 'think') > OI mati-h, 'mind, intellect', Av mainis 'memory', L mens (gen. mentis) 'mind', Gt ga-munds 'Andenken, Gedächtnis', OHG gimunt, AS 3e-mynd 'memory', OCS pa-me"t" id., NaIE *g"no"-ti-(s) 'knowledge' (<d- *g"no"- v. 'know') > Gk γνω"σις 'knowledge, inquiry', OI 'pra-jn"ā-ti-h, 'knowing the way to' (n. abstr.), OHG ur-c(h)na"t 'recognition, agnitio', OCS po-znat" 'cognitio', as infinitive: OCS zna-t" 'to know', NaIE *do"-ti-s 'giving' (n. abstr.) (<d- *do"- 'give') > OI 'da"-ti-, Gk δω"τις, Gk A δο"σις 'giving' (n. abstr.), 'gift', L dos (gen. dotis), Lt du"o-ti, OCS da-t" 'to give' (inf.) ¶ Brg. KVG 348-9, Fs. 194 || HS *-t- and *tV-, sx. and px. of *nomina actionis*: [1] sx. *-t- > S *-at id., sx. of deverbal abstract nouns, in numerous patterns, e.g. in the pattern *1V2a'3at-: BHB eq!d!c6 cəda"ka- 'righteousness', Sr yəda"ta- 'knowledge', Ar éKaraHa ħarakat- 'movement', éJaraXa ħarag"at- 'going out' (n. abstr.), 'military expedition', é5afaNu nufaδ"at- 'Fieberschauer', BHB ek!r!B6 bəra"ka", Gz barakat 'benediction', Ak i?iltum 'Verbindlichkeit', diktum 'killing' [n. act.] (from the verb du"ka-), or the pattern **12i'3at- (> *2i'3at-): *s"i'nat- 'sleep' (n. abstr.) [< **ws"i'nat- <d- *√ws"n v. 'sleep'] > BHB en!S4 s"e"na", Ar énaSi sinat-, Ak s"ittu id.] BHB infinitives with -et/-at-, -t-, e.g. td3r# 'red_et_ 'to descend' (√yrd), to2D2 'da"fat_ 'to know' (√ydf), tT4 tet_ 'to give' (√ntn), t&nB6 bə"no"t_ 'to build' (√bny), Ph infinitives with -t: Ph By l-d"t 'to know' (√yds), Ph s"bt 'to sit' (√ys"b), l-bnt 'to build', Pun l-tt 'to give' (√ytn) ¶ JB NB 86-94, Sd. G 57-63 [§§ 55-6], FrdR 73, 82 || Eg -t [*-Vt], sx. of *nomina actionis* (and other abstract nouns) in different nominal patterns, e.g. in the pattern reconstructed by Osing as *1 i.23-at (> Eg L {Os.} *1e.23-t): Eg OK qrs.t (n. act. of qrs 'bury') > Eg L {Os.} *k.e.rs-t > Cpt kaise 'Bestattung, Balsamierung', Eg NK nq"t 'Schneiden, Schmerz' (n. act. of nq" 'einritzen, audreißen') > Eg L {Os.} *ne.k.f-t > Cpt A neeke 'Wehen', Eg OK wzs"t (<d- verb wzs" 'ausscheiden') > Eg L {Os.} *we.zs"-t 'Ausscheidung' → 'Harn' > Cpt Sd/B/F is" 'Harn', etc., or in the pattern *1 a.23-ut (> Eg L {Os.} *1a.23-t): Eg NK grg.t 'Fang (mit dem Schleppnetz)' (n. act. of

grg 'Falle stellen') > Eg L *'ga.rg-ṭ > Cpt Sd ḡṛḡḡ corcs id. ¶ Os. I 96-118 || B *nomina actionis* (used also as infinitives) of the form *tV-...-ṽt, where the prefix *tV- goes back to the prefixed article and therefore does not belong to the N etymon in question, but the sx. *-ṽt may belong here. Examples from Tw {Pr.}: t-anḍər-t 'fait d'être en colère' (inf. and nom. act. of the verb anḍər 'be angry'), ṭəṃəḍint 'act of grazing, pasturing' (inf. and n. act. of əḍən) ¶ Pr. M IV-V 81-97 || C: Ag: Bln {R} -ət, -t, sx. of abstract nouns: bi'r-ət 'heat', fər'h-ət 'joy', gə'n-it 'age' :: Bj {Rop.} -ti, sx. of *nomina actionis*: 'tamti 'act of eating' (<d tam 'eat'), 'daṭti 'act of running' (<d daṭ 'run'), hi'rerti 'act of walking' (<d hi'rər 'walk') ¶ R BilS 661, Rop. 38 ¶ [2] HS *tV-, prefix of deverbal abstract nouns: *tV- id.: Ar *nomina actionis* [masdar]: rU'ka30Ta taḡkaṭ-un 'to remember, das Erinnern' (<d *ṽḡkr 'remember'), Gz tafdaṭ 'Vollendung', BHb lumg^T2 tag̣muṭ 'compensation', Sr tak_lu's'aṭ 'fight'; with both a prefix *tV- and a sx. *-at-: BHb em1D4r^T2 tardeṭ'maṭ 'deep sleep', Sr taḡmes.taṭ 'bashfulness, modesty', etc. ¶ JB NB 287-311 ¶ U *tV ~ *ttV, sx. of *nomina actionis* (→ infinitive): BF {Laan.} *-ta-k / *-taṭ-k, infinitive (*-k is the lative case ending) > F sx. of the "1st infinitive": -ta/-taṭ, -da/-daṭ, (after short vowels) -a/-aṭ, (after certain cnss.) gmc.+ -a/-aṭ (juos-ta 'to run', pes-taṭ 'to wash', teh-daṭ 'to make', saa-da 'to get', sano-a 'to say', tulla [< *tul-ṭ a-k] 'to come'), Vp -da/-ḍ'a/-ta/-ṭ'a, infinitive sx. (aya-da 'to drive [fahren, treiben]', huṭp̣'a 'to jump', pan-da 'to put'), Lv -da / -ḍs id. (tuṭda 'to come', yuṭoḍs 'to drink'), Es -da (infinitive marker) : pLp {Krh.} *-deṭ-k, infinitive marker (*-k going back to the lative case ending) > Lp: N/Ā -t, J -yh / -t, I/Kld -ḡ, T -ḍ ~ -ḍ'e id. (pLp *kul'z-deṭ-k 'to hear' > L: N {N} gullaṭ, J guwṭayh, Klt kullēd id.) :: pOs {Ht.} *-ta / *-taṭ, infinitive marker > Os: V -ta/-taṭ, Vy -ta/-taṭ, -nta/-ntaṭ, Ty/Y -tayṭ/-taṭṭ, P -tayṭ, S/Nz/Sh/O -ta, Kz -tiṭ id.; Os Sh {Gu.} -at, sx. of abstract nouns: ḡuṭw-at 'length' (<d ḡuṭw 'long'), loṭw-at 'size' (<d *loṭw 'large, big') || Sm *tV, sx. of deverbal abstract nouns (< U *ttV): Slq: Chl {Cs.} oldoṭ 'Anfang' (<d oldam 'I begin'), UO {Cs.} e'aldot, Chl {Cs.} oaldoṭ 'sign' (<d Chl oaldam 'zeichnen, ein Zeichen machen'), Ne O {Lh.} n'a'mk / gen. sg. n'a'mḳ'k-aḡ-an 'das Hängenbleiben (z. B. des Zugnetzes an Reisig im Wasser)' (<d n'a'mkaṭ 'hängen bleiben') ¶ Lh. PUAS 273-87, Sz. 79, Laan. 246, Krh. 288-90, Ht. ChrO 55-6, Majt. SM 355-7, Gu. MOUJ 311 ¶ R: ? NaT *ṭi/*-ti, a rare sx. of deverbal nouns: OT {Cl.} oḡḡdi 'praise' n. <d oḡḡ- (Cl. oḡḡ- v. 'praise' ¶ Cl. xliii, 100-2 || ? Tg *-te in *bu-te 'death, illness' (> Lm buṭn 'illness, disease', Neg butun 'lepra' <d pTg *bu-v. 'die') and in *jeb-te 'food' [if ← 'das Essen', as supposed by Rm.] > Ewk Z j̣sbṭs, Orc ẓṭpṭs 'food' <d pTg *jeb- v. 'eat' ¶ STM I 98-9, 279-80 ¶ Rm. EAS II 124-5; both the T and the Tg sxs. are doubtful as cognates because they are rare and may be alternatively interpreted as forming *nomina obiecti*.

2312. *ṭ.ṭuṭ (> *ṭ.i) and its assibilated variant *ṣ.ṭuṭ (> *ṣ.i) 'thou': I. *ṭ.ṭuṭ (> *ṭ.i) 'thou' > HS: [1] HS *tV-, verbal px. of the 2nd pers. > S {Hz.} *ti- id. [in the prefix-conjugated verbal tenses of the underived verbs (G)] > Ak ti-, Ar ta- (transformed from *ti- due to generalization of the vw. -a- in the paradigm of the ip. activi), BHb ti- ~ ṭa- ~ taṭ- ~ te- (ti-k 'bor 'you [sg. m.] will bury', ṭaṭ-dab'ber 'you will speak', a&bT1 taṭ-b_oṭ 'you will come', wat'teb_kḷaṭ [pf. c.] 'and you wept') going back partially to the original *ti- and partially to the generalized *ta-, Ug, Ph tV-, BA ti- (~ non-attested *ṭa-), JA ti- ~ ṭa-, Sr -ṭe te- ~ -ṭ ṭa-, OSA Sb tV- (tṛhm 'mayest thou have mercy'), Gz ṭa-, Mh, Jb, Sq ṭa- (sbjn.ṭjs. and prs.); in the derived verbal patterns [and probably in the negative verbal forms] the pS px. is *ti- and *tu- (the latter from *ti- + *-u- of derivational origin) [ffd. see Hz. VP] ¶ Hz. VP ṽ, MSUS 142, Seg. AAG 263-307, Br. SG 126-43, Bst. 14, Jo. MSA 15 ¶ Dk. SXJ 78, Blz. PPCh1 11-20, FrdR 61, 68, 70, 73, 77-8 || LbB (= pre-B) {Pr.} *tV- px. of 2s of the verb > ONum {Rsl.} tV- id. (O. Rössler's tentative rec. is based on proper names, e.g. tṛnb-n 'you (god) will add to us') :: pB {AD} *tV-...-at, {Pr.} *tV-...-ad, 2s of verbs (the preradical vw. *V varies according to tenses: namely *taṭ-...-adṭ in pf., *tuṭ-...-adṭ in ip., resulting from grammatical processes and analogies within the verbal aspect system) > Shl, Tmz, Dmn, BMn, Rf, Jrb, Snd, Zwr, ASgr, Wrs t-...-t (~ t-...-t), Ah, Ttq, Gh, Mz, Wrg, Shw, Izn, SrSn, BSn, Zng, Nf t(ə)-...-(ə)d and t(ə)-...-(ə)ḍ, Fgg/Grr t-...-c̣, Kb {Mmr.} t-...-ḍ, Kb AZ {Gln.} t-...ṭ, Kb GK {Gln.} t-...ḡ, Shnw {La.} h-...-ḍ ¶ The B form *tV-...-aT is a "mixed form" ({Pr.} "système mixte") going back to contamination of the original verbal *tV-form and the predicative adjective (stative) with 2s sx. *T (ṭ below [4]). In my opinion, the pB form was *tV-...-at, while the voicing *-t > -d is an innovation of Tw and some other lgs. that is not shared by the rest of the B lgs. The causes both of the voicing *-t > -d and of the emphatization *-t > -ṭ ~ -ḍ ~ -ḡ are obscure ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 9-10,

12-7, Rsl. JN 440-1, Ai. MSB 83, Beg. 45-58, Allaoua PPK, Mammeri 49-50, La. Ch 59-60 || C *ti-, prefix of the 2nd pers. of pcvs. > Bj ti-/t3-/t-, 2 pers. prefix: (p.) ti-...-a (2m), ti-...-i (2f), ti-...-na (2p) || Ag: Aw {Hz.} ti- 2s [no opposition of gender] (tínte 'you come' ↔ 1s ánte', 3m yínte', etc.) || EC *-t-, 2s of pcv.: Af, Sa, Sml, Rn t-, Bn J -t- (preceded by á:- 2s átu'hu'ṣá 'you [sg.] ate', áta'ha'ṣa 'you eat' ↔ 3m á'z'u'hu'ṣá, á'z'a'ha'ṣa) | In all C lgs. the same marker of the 2 pers. *-t- functions in the scvs. (going back to constructions Nominal form of the verb + Auxiliary pcv.) as the initial element of the former aux. verbs, e.g. EC: Or B tu'm-t-3 'you [sg.] forged' ↔ tu'm-3 'he forged', Sd {Mrn.} hun-te 'you [sg.] exterminated' ↔ 3m hun-e, Af ab-teh 'you [sg.] did' ↔ abe-h '(he) did', ab-tah 'you [sg.] do' ↔ ab-ah '(he) does', Ag: Aw {Hz.} z'ew-t-e' 'you [sg.] bought' ↔ 3m z'ew-e', etc. (2s: verb + *tV-?V, where *?V is the stem of the aux. verb ↔ 3m: verb + *yV-?V) ¶ AD KJ 118-9, AD IPCV § 1.2, Zab. VC, Hz. AL 22, Sim 24, PH 254-5, PG 42-4 || Om: verbal sxs. of 2s sometimes contain the cns. t [e.g. Ym {C} pf. -t, ipf. -ata, -uta, ~~{Grn.} -ata,~~] {Lm.} -t(a)], but this is not enough to draw conclusions because of the complicated interplay of possible archaic morphemes with innovations and with sxs. of tenses\aspects ¶ Bnd. MO 103-4, C SE III 16-9, cp. genetic hypotheses: Blz. PPCh1 23-5, Zab. VO 25-8 || [2] HS *°-t'i', verbal sx. of the 2nd pers. within the paradigm *-mi 1s - *-ti 2s, surviving in HEC only: Kmb yom-mi 'I am' - yon-ti 'thou art', as well as in the paraphrastic paradigms of the HEC independent pfc. and independent ipf. as ending of the aux. verb *Vn-: {AD} *it V₁n-mV 'I eat' - *it V₁n-tV 'you [m. sg.] eat' - *it-t V₁n-tV 'you [f. sg.] eat', *it V₂n-mV 'I ate' - *it V₂n-tV 'you [m. sg.] ate' - *it-t V₂n-tV 'you [f. sg.] ate', whence Alb {Mrn.} itam 'I eat' - ittanti 'you [sg. of both genders] eat', ic'c'o 'I ate' - ittonti 'you [m.sg.] ate', Sd {Mrn.} itemmo ~ itam 'I eat' - itatto 'you [m. sg.] eat', itommo 'I ate' - itotto 'you [m. sg.] ate', etc. ¶ AD PLOG 103-12, Mrn. S (on Alb: Mrn. S 300), Mrn. ApD, C SE II 228-9, 237-8, C S 597-692 || [3] HS *-ti within the autonomous isolable (subject) prn. *?an-ti 'thou' [< N *?onV 'self, the same' + N *t.u" (> *t.i) 'thou' > pS *?an-ta 'thou' m., *?an-ti 'thou' f.: (α) pS *?an-t-a 'thou' m. > BHb eT1a2 ?at'ta, Ph, Ed, OA, Yd ?t, Pun (RomSc) [Plt.] ETHA, Ug ?at, (AkSc) {Hnr.} ?atta₁, Amr {G} ?atta, IA, Nbt, Plm ?nt, EpJA etna ?nth ~ eta ?th ~ ata ?t?, BA k etna ?nth, q T6n'a2 ?ant₁ə₁, JEA Nd/G tna, JEA B ta, Sr W \$ññ-aa ?<n>t ?att₁ə₁, Ar ?an0a ?anta, Gz ?anta, Ak atta, Eb an-da, (β) S *?an-t-i₁ 'thou' f. > BHb Ta2 ?att₁ə₁, Ph ?t, IA, EpJA ?nty ~ ?nt, Sr W Ô\$ññ-aa ?nty ?att₁ə₁, Ar ?y°n0a ?anti, Gz ?anti, Ak attī ¶ Br. G I 300-1, Br. SG 48, KB 98, OLS 58, Hnr. 108, 293, HJ 85-6, GB 76, 78, 895, G A 13, Rybak AN, Harv. 97 ¶ The opposition *?an-ti₁ f. ↔ S *?an-ta m. is a pre-S innovation based on association of *?anti with the fem. marker *-i₁ and on pre-S creation of *?anta < *?anti + HS masc. marker (in 2s) *-a (that appears as the masc. marker in Bj ti-...-a, 2m form of pcvs. within the paradigm a-dir 'I killed' - ti-dir-a 'you [m. sg.] killed' - ti-dir-ī 'you [f. sg.] killed' - i-dir 'he killed', etc.) || C *?anti 'thou' (without gender distinction) > Ag *?ant'i 'thou' > Bln {R} ?an'ti, Aw {Hz.} 3n't3 || EC *?ati id. > Sml adi'-ga, adi'-gī, Rn a'ti, Or ati, Kns {BISO} átti, Gdl {Bl.} átte, Bs {HL, AOM} ati, Af/Sa atu' (-u from the nominal case inflection), Sd ate, etc. || Dh1 {To.} ?a'-ta, {E} ?a'-t₁ id. ¶ AD SF 13-4, Bl. 131-2, 184, Ss. PEC 10, PG 40, HL 78, Ow. 254, Sr. 266, AOM 6, E SC 282, [To. DL 40,] To. D 37 || ? Om: Dzd: Mj yetu 'thou' (acc. yet-n₁), Shk yeta', Na yeta id. ¶ All. D 383, 392 (note 6), Bnd. MO 145-6 ¶ This Dzd prn. may explain (but not necessarily does) the origin of the puzzling NrOm prn. *ne 'thou' and SOm *Vna id. (> Ari a'na', Gll yuna' id.). The possible scenario is: HS *?an-tV with subsequent loss of *n in Dzd and of *t in NrOm and SOm [cf. AD SF 20-1]; Bnd MO 145-6 and 201 rejects similar explanations by supposing that Dzd *-tV is a sx. ¶¶ AD PP 69, 112, AD PSH § 6.3 [#174], HL 78, Blz. PPCh1, Blz. PPCh2 || [3a] The same HS isolable prn. *?an-ti 'thou' followed by morphemes of pl. and du. gave rise to autonomous pronouns of 2p and 2d: HS **?an-tin 'you [pl.]' > C (nom.): LEC *?atin id. > Sa átin, Sml idi'n-ku, [Rn ati'n,] Dsn ?i'ti'ni', ? Bs {AOM} isin || Ag: Bln 3n't3n, Km {CR} intən, {Ap.} 3nta"(n)diw nom. (acc. 3nta"), Q {R} entən, Aw {Hz.} 3nto'3'i (Hz: -3'i "was later added, as a part of the renewal of plural marking of pronouns" - Hz. ES § T.2) ¶ Bl. 131, Hz. AL 20, Hz. NSA 134, PG 40, Ap. K 320, To. DL 211 || S *?an-tim(mu) (< **?an-ti-n-mu) 'you [pl. m.]' & *?anti-n-na 'you [pl. f.]' > Ak OB/OA attunu m. (< *?antunmu < *an'tinma by ass. labialization), attina f., Eb {Frnz.} an-da-nu 'you' pl., BHb MT3a2 ?at'tem m., NT4a2 ?at'ten f., SmHb {BH, Mac.} attimma m., atten f., Ug ?atm m., IA ?ntm m., BA NuTn'a2 ?an'tu'n, EpJA ?twn m. ¶ Sd. G 41, KB 99, 1670, BH IV 42, HJ 86, A #464, OLS 59 || Om: pNrOm {AD} *?antEnV (~ *?antunV?), {Blz.} *?antuni/*?antuna 'you [pl.]' > Wl {C} inte-, {Bnd.} intena, {Ala} inte, Hrr {CR} hante-na, Zl/Gf {C} inte-, Gf {Ala} hinte, Bsk {C} inti, Zs {Si.} ?uti'ni, {C} (w)untuna, Zrg {Si.} 'hutuna, {Bnd.}

wutuna, Bdt {Hw.} hinu⁻ni, Gnj {Si.} ?inina, Dwr {Bnd.} huntetta, Dc {Bnd.} intena, Drz {AlA} inten⁻, {Bnd.} untani, Cnc {AlA} inten⁻, Oyda {Bnd.} intana, Male {Bnd.} inc⁻i, Gdc {Bnd.} unninna, Cha {C} inte⁻ d inti, {Bnd.} inte, Gamu {AlA} e⁻ti, Ym {C} itto⁻, {Bnd.} nutto, {Wdk.} ni⁻to', Kf {C} itto⁻, ittosi, Mch {Bnd.} itso⁻s'i, {Lm.} itto⁻(s'i), Shn {Lm.} i⁻tti', Bnc {Bnd.} inta⁻yku 'you [pl.]', {Wdk.} yi⁻nta⁻ykn⁻ id. (obj.), 'vester [pl., poss.], Anf {MYTY} inta 'vester' -d⁻intas⁻ine 'you (pl.)' [d like bas⁻inne 'they'] (cp. Anf {Bnd.} inta⁻s'i 'you (pl.)') || DzD: Mj {Bnd.} iti, {AlA} yetu 'you [pl.]', Shk i⁻ti id., it- (verbal prefix of 2p), Na iti⁻kis 'you [pl.]' || SOm: Dime {Bnd.} ya⁻to, Ari/Gll {Bnd.} yeta', Hm B {Bnd.} ya⁻ddi 'you [pl.]', Ari {Bnd.} -ete, Ari G {Bnd.} -et (verbal endings of 2p) ¶ AD SF 134-5, Blz. PPCh1 23-5, Lm. Sh 274, AY ShM 7, 9, Wdk. BY 113, 132, AlA ODS 10, MYTY 105, Bnd. AM 7, Bnd. MO 163-4 ¶¶ Blz. PPCh1 3-6, 11-25 ¶ [4] HS *-t'i 'you [sg.] are', sx. of the 2s subject of the nominal predicate: S *-a-ta m., *-a-ti f. id. (*-a- of pred. case) > Ak -a⁻ta (m.), -a⁻ti (f.) id. (the so-called "stative"), WS *-ta (m.), *-ti (f.) - 2s forms of the WS new perfect > Ar -ta m., -ti f., BHb -ta⁻ m., -ti⁻ f., Ph, Pun -t (the unvocalized script does not distinguish between gender forms), IA -t m., -ty f., Sr -t m., -ty f. (pronounced -ti⁻ in both genders due to the reduction of the final vw.), but before object sxs.: -ta⁻ (WS -to-) m., -ti⁻ (WS -ti-) f. (k.t.ltny [k.ət.al-'to-n] 'you [m. sg.] killed me', k.t.ltynty [k.ət.al-'ti-n] 'you [f. sg.] killed me'; in SS (OSA, the EthS and SES lgs.) *-t- of the sxs. were replaced by *-k- (generalization of *-k- from the 1s ending within the conjugation paradigm) ¶ The differentiation between *-ti f. and *-ta m. is a (pre-)S innovation, identical with the aforementioned differentiation in the isolable pronoun (f above [3]). In the Ak forms the vw. -a⁻ was introduced due to the generalization of the vw. of the 1s form: pS *s⁻a⁻lim-a⁻ku 'I am well', *s⁻a⁻lim-a-ta 'you are well', etc. > Ak s⁻alma⁻ku 1s, s⁻alma⁻ta 2m, etc. ¶ MSUS 137, Sd. G 100-1, 8*, Br. SG 45 [§ 75], 126-49, Seg. AAG 265, 263, FrdR 58 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 85-94, Dk. AL 92-7, Blz. PPCh1 11-7 || B *-t (> -d⁻, -d), marker of 2s of the qualitative verbs (verbs denoting quality) > Kb {ABs., Mmr.} -(ə)d⁻ (zəddig-əd⁻ 'you [sg.] are clean'), Gd, Awj -at (Gd {CM} məqqur-at 'thou art big', Awj məllat 'thou art white'), Ah -a⁻d (karroz⁻-a⁻d 'thou art sad'), Ttq -ad (səməm-əd 'thou art bitter'), Gh -əd (məllul-əd 'thou art white'); in Si {La.} -at⁻ has been generalized as 2s marker throughout the tenses of the indicative: ləmz-at⁻ 'tu a mâché', gafi-at⁻ 'tu passeras' ¶ Ai. MCB 74, 77-80, Mmr. 65-7, La. S 51-2 || Eg O/M -ti, 2s marker of the "pseudo-participle" (= Gard.'s "old perfective"): Eg M hr.ti 'thou art content', iw.t(i) {Gard.} 'thou art come' ¶ Ed. 271-2, Gard. 234-8 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 85-7 ¶ [4a] The same HS ending *-ti 'thou' followed by morphemic markers of pl. and du. (just as in [3a]) gave rise to endings of 2p and 2d of predicative nomina (→ stative forms): S *-a-tim(mu) (< *-a-ti-n-mu) 'you [pl. m.]', *-a-ti-n-na 'you [pl. f.]' and *-a-tim-a⁻ 'you [du.]' (*-a- is the marker of the pred. case of nomina) > Ak -a⁻tunu (2p both genders; -a⁻ by generalization from 1 sg. -a⁻ku), WS person/number endings of the "new perfective" (Qatal-tense): 2pm *-tim(mu), 2pf *-tinna, *tim-a⁻ 2d, whence BHb MT3- -təm 2p m., NT3- -ten 2p f., Ug -tn 2p f., -tm 2d, IA Nt- *-tu⁻n (BA NuT- -tu⁻n) 2p m., IA Nt- {Seg.} *-te⁻n (JA [Trg.] NiT5- -tīn, JEA Nit- -tyn) 2p f., SmA {Mac.} Nvt- -ton 2p m., Nit- -ten 2p f., Sr W -'tun, Sr E -'ton 2p m., Sr W/E -ten 2p f., Ar -tum 2p m., -tunna 2p f., -tuma⁻ 2d; in pre-Ak, Aram and Ar labializing as -um- < *-im- followed by generalization of *-u- (in Ar and Ak) ¶¶ For references cf. above [4] and Siv. U 72, Dlm. GJPA, Levias 86, Epst. 54, Mac. GSA 143 || IE: [1] NaIE *tu⁻ nom. 'thou' and possibly *tw-om id. (preserved in Ilr and Tc B) > pIlr *tu⁻ > Av G tu⁻ (following the sentence-initial word), Prt tu, MPrs to⁻, CINPrs vT tu, NPrs vT to, Oss I d3, Oss D du 'thou' (Ab.: Oss d- < *-t- originally in an intervoc. position in word groups, where this change is regular); pIlr *tuv-am (either from NaIE *tw-om or on the analogy of *a3⁻am 'I' < *eg⁻om) > OI 'tvam ~ tu⁻vam, Av G tuuəm, YAv tu⁻m, tum, OPrs tuvam || Gk D τυ', Gk A συ' (σ- on the analogy of σε 'thee' [acc.] < IE *twe) || Arm du du 'thou' || pAl {O} *tu⁻ > Al G/T ti || L tu⁻ || Clt: Olr tu⁻ || Gmc: Gt þu, ON þu⁻, OHG du⁻ ~ du, NHG du, AS ðu⁻ ~ ðu 'thou', NE thou || Lt tu⁻, Ltv tu, Pru tou (enclitic tu) || pSl *ti⁻ > OCS тѣ ty, Blg, Uk ти, R тѣ, SCl, Sln ti⁻, P, Cz, Slk ty || pTc {Ad.} *tuwe > Tc A tu (< NaIE *tu⁻), Tc B t(u)we (acc. to Ad., from IE *tuHom || NaIE {AD} *tw-om) || AnIE *ti 'thou' nom. > Ht zik, zigga, {EI} zīg 'thou' (-g by analogy with 1s), tug 'thee', Pal {EI} tī 'thou', tu⁻ 'thee' ¶¶ Blz. IEPP ∇, AD PP ∇, EI 455 [IE *tuH (emph. *tuHom), acc. *tewe (encl. *te, emph. *twem), gen. *tewe], GSchm. IGPP 113-9, 143-4, Brg. KVG 410-3, Brtl. 654-5, 660-1, M E I 682-3, Ab. I 378, F II 817, EWA II 826-36, Frn. 1133-4, En. APG 129, Stang VG 247-8, Glh. 624-5, Vs. IV 130, LP §§ 337, 357, KT 162, Wn. 516-7, Ad. H 149-56, Cowg. EG 169-70, O 455-6, Huld 116, KrlSh. XLJ 20, 36, Ts. W 92, 109 ¶ [2] IE *twe and *te 'thee', *tu⁻/*twe/*teu⁻/*te- (+ case markers or without them)

functioning as oblique cases of the prn. of 2s; Cowg. EG 169-70 and Ad. H 161 reconstruct the IE case system of this prn. as follows: stressed acc. *twe, unstressed acc. *te, stressed gen. *tewe, unstressed gen. *toi. G. Schmidt's rec. (GSchm. IGPP 110, 144, 204-5, 245-6): acc. *te⁻ and *tu, gen. *teu_u, dat.-loc. *tow-oy and *tu-b^hei_u, abl. *tu-s. O. Szemerényi's rec. (Szem. EVS-90 228-34): NaIE: acc. *twe(:)/te(:), *twe(:)-m/*te(:)-m, gen. *tewe/*tewo and (encl.) *t(w)ei_u/*t(w)oi_u, acc. *twe-d, dat. *t(w)ei_u/*t(w)oi_u, *te-b^hi; pIE: acc. *tu-'e, gen. *tu-'os, dat.-loc. *t(w)ei_u, *t(w)-eb^hi, abl. *tu-ed. Beekes's rec. (Bks. VT 249-53): acc. *twe, gen. *tewe, *tei_u, Av *twed, dat. *teb^hyo, *toi_u, loc.-instr. *toi_u. Representation in some principal IE lgs.: OI acc. tva⁻, 'tva⁻m, abl. 'tvad, dat. 'tubhya(m), te⁻, loc. 'tve⁻, 'tvayi, instr. 'tva⁻, 'tvaya⁻, gen. 'tava, te⁻, Av {Reich.} acc. θwa_m (encl. YAv θwa⁻), abl. θwat_u - θwa⁻t_u, dat. ta^hbya⁻, ta^hbyo⁻, loc. te⁻, gen. tava⁻ ~ tava, Gk acc. τε' (Gk D τε'), dat. τοι, σοι', gen. σεῖο > σοῦ, σοι, L acc. te⁻(d), dat. tibi, gen. tuī (OL tīs), Gt acc. pu-k, dat.-loc. pus, OHG acc. di-h, dat.-loc. dir, Lt acc. tave⁻, dat. ta' u, instr. tavimi⁻, loc. tavyje⁻, gen. tave⁻s, OCS acc. тѣ te_u, dat. тѣбѣ tebe⁻ / ти ti, loc. тѣбѣ tebe⁻, instr. тобоѣ toboj_o, gen./acc. тѣбе tebe (by analogy of the dat. form) / ти ti, Ht acc., dat.-loc. tuk ~ tukka, gen. tuel, abl. tuedaz, Pal acc.-dat. tu⁻'dich, dir'; in Brtt the acc. form *te acquitted the meaning of nom.: Brtt *ti 'thou' > OW, Mw, W ti, Crn ty, te, MBr, Br te ¶ GSchm. IGPP 120-44, Blz. IEPP ∇, Brg. KVG 410-3, Rch. 204-13, Stang VG 248-53, LP §§ 348-57, RE 139, Ts. E III 423-6, KrlSh. XLJ 20 II U: [1] U *tE (originally *ti < *tu⁻?) 'thou' nom., *ti-nu gen. (> *tin^u ~ *tun^u (serving as a common basis for the oblique cases) [< N *t.u⁻ nu with the genitive pc. *nu]) > FU {It.} *ti- / tin^u (& *ten^u?) (in BF, Chr, Prm, Hg) ~ *tu- / *tun^u (in Lp & Mr) > F sina⁻ (gen. sinun), Es sina (gen. sinu) ! pLp {Wk.} nom. *tunna, *tun, ill. *tunn- + case ending, gen./acc. *tun (> *tu⁻ in the Northern and Southern dialects, probably a *bf*) > (1) nom.: Lp: N do_un ~ do_n, Vfs d_a tne, L ton, totno, Ar ton, M todn, Kld/T/Nt/A tonn ~ ton, I tun, (2) gen./acc.: Lp: Kld {Kert} tone, T toni_u, N du⁻ ~ du, L/Ar tu⁻, tuw_u, M/Nt/A/I tu⁻ ! pMr {Ker.} *tun > Er/Mk nom. тон ton, gen. тон ton⁻ ! pChr {Ber.} *tin^u > Chr: H тѣн tēn⁻, L тѣн tēj, Ch тѣн⁻ ~ тѣн⁻, P/B/M tin⁻ 'thou' ! Prm *ten ({Lt.} *te_n) 'thou' (< FU *ten^u?) > OPrm te / obl. ten-, Z, Prmk, Yz тѣ te 'thou' / obl. тѣн- ten- (acc. Z tenz, Yz 'tena, dat. Z tenid, Yz 'tenut), Vt тон ton 'thou' :: Hg te⁻ (acc. te'ge⁻d) || Sm {HL.} *tēn, {Jn.} *tēn 'thou' > Ng {Mik., Ter.} tēn, {Cs.} tanna, En (cmpd.) {Cs.} tod⁻i, En X {Prk.} tod⁻i 'thou' (but En B {Prk., Ter.} u⁻ 'thou', obviously of a different origin), Slq Tz {KHG} nom.-acc. tan 'thou', 'thy', dat./all. ta⁻nti, Kms {KD} nom.-gen. t'an, acc./dat./loc. t'a⁻nan, Koyb {Sp.} тањ 'thou, thy', Mt {HL.} *tēn- 'thou' (Mt: M {Sp.} тањ, {Pl.} тањ, K {Pl.} -дѣ) || pY {IN} *tət 'thou' > Y T/K {IN} tət, {Krn.} tet, OY XVII {Wts.} do⁻t, tot, totlie⁻, OY Ch {Mat.} tota, {Boe.} то⁻тѣ 'thou'. OY O {Mat.} ти- ¶ [1a] Lp prn. of 2d (Lp N {N} doai, Lp Ar {Lgc.} d_oj, Lp Tf {Lgc.} d_oaj < *tun-Vy) is explained by E. Itkonen (It. LC 100) as derived from the prn. of 2s (pLp *tun, *tunna) ¶ Acc. to Sm.'s and Jn.'s alt. theory of the U historical phonology, the pFU and pU prn. is reconstructed as *tun (Sm. LFU 38, Jn. UK 14), but since no details of the rec. are published, at least in the papers available to me (incl. in Sm. HP), it is so far impossible to evaluate it ¶ It. #388, UEW 539, AD PP, Wk. EUL 278-86, Lgc. #7947, Kert SJ 73, Ker. II 169, Ber. 76, Kov. LV 230, Kov. G 246, Lt. 138, Lt. J 61, LG 293-4, Lt. DPJ 108-10, Jn. 147, KHG 288-9, KD 143, Ter. NgJ 161, Ter. EJ 447, Cs. GSS 347-53, Prk. ED 86, Hl. M 147-8, #928, IN 248, 322, Krn. JJ 72, Krn. IMJJ 142-3, PBS II 115-25 ¶ The variant *tun^u < *tin^u by *as*. The forms without *n (Lp *tu⁻ and Hg te⁻) may be interpreted as phonetically reduced variants of *tun^u and *tin^u ¶ [2] U *tē 'thy' (enclitic prn. → ppa.) > [with sg. nouns] BF *si > F -si, Krl -s⁻, Vp -i_z⁻, Vo -zi ! pLp {Krh.} -t_z > Lp: N/U -d, Kld -d_u, Pt -t ! Er -t (кудо-т 'thy house'), Mk -t in most obl. cases (op-co-т 'in thy coat', op-до-т 'of/from thy coat', etc.), but -c'ə / -c' (< -t- + demonstrative s'ə / s') in the nom., gen. and dat.-iness.: opce or-c'ə 'thy coat', opce⁻ or-c'ə-n' 'of thy coat', op⁻ти or-c'ə-t' 'to thy coat' ! Chr: L -t (аба-т 'thy mother'), H -t, -et, -c ! Prm: Vt -ed, -d, Z -id, -d 'thy' :: Hg -(a/o/e/o⁻)d (ha'z-ad 'thy house', ko⁻nyv-ed 'thy book') (Hg -d < FU *-n-tV? - f Décsy UP 67) || Sm {Jn., Sm.} *rV, {HL.} *r(ь), {Kü.} *-δV 'thy' in nom. (> Ne F, En -r, {Cs.} -lo, -lo, -ro, Ng -r_z, Slq Tz {KHG} -l(i), Kms -l, -IV, Mt {HL.} *-r in Mt *təndər 'thy' [Mt M {Sp.} тындарь] and {Jn., Sm.} *-tV, {Kü.} *-d/tV obl. (> Ne -d(a), -θu, -tə, En -δ, -d, -do, -to, Ng -d_z, -ta, -t_z, Slq -d, -dV, -t, -tV); the voiced pU cns. *-δ (> pSm *-r) for the expected *-t (> pSm *-t-) is still obscure ¶ Majt. SM 273-6, Majt. VJ I 111-8, Laan. 181-4, Krh. 237-8, Ps. M O4, PI 334, KHG 184-8, Hl. SelJ 365-6, Hl. M 142, Kü. SUKF I 164-82, Kü. KJ 384, Décsy UP 67-8 ¶ The status of *tē as an enclitic word (rather than a sx.) is evidenced by its position: in some lgs. it follows case endings (incl. those of late origin): F kirjassa-si 'in thy

book' 𐌿𐌿 [3] A morpheme or morphemes reconstructible as *tV (sometimes fused with preceding grammatical or derivational morphemes) function as the verbal marker of 2s (< postverbal prn. of 2s) in several tenses of the U lgs.: F -t, Es -d; Mk/Er -t (present); Chr L/H -(V)t (present); Vt -d; Hg -d (s/obj.; the endings -sz and -l of the subj. conj. are Hg innovations based on verbal derivational sxs. with loss of the original person marker) || Sm: NrSm: [A] s/obj., sg. of the object: Ne T, En B -p -r, Ng -r; [B] s/obj., du. or pl. of the object: Ne T -d -d, Ng {Ter.} -ta, En B {Ter.} -ð; Slq Tz {HL.}: -l (s/obj.), -nti (sbcj.) || Kms {Kü.} -l (both s/obj. and sbcj.) ¶ Coll. CG 242-4, 308-10, Sz. 129, Décsy EFUS 176, BBB 417-8 (Hg -d < *tE; Hg -sz and -l of 2s go back to derivational sxs.), Ter. NJ 386, Ter. NgJz 428 || 𐌿: A *t'i 'thou' > M *ci 'thou' > MM ci, WrM ci, HlM чи c'i, Dg, Brt s'i, Mnr, Mgl, Ord, Kl c'i, Dx c'i, Ba c'e. The genitive *cinu of this prn. (> MM cinu ~ cini, WrM cinu, HlM c'inī, Ord, Mnr c'ini, Klm c'inb, Brt s'en'i(:), Dg s'in'ī, Dx c'm'ī, Ba c'ene) goes back to **t.i-nu < N *t.'u'' nu ('thou' + postposition of genitive). Other oblique cases are based on *cima (originally acc. < **t.i-ma < N *t.'u'' ma, i.e. 'thou' + accusative marker), whence pM acc. *cima-yi 'thee' (*cima + M acc. ending *-yi), dat. *cima-du(r) 'to thee' (*cima + M dative ending *-du(r)), etc. 𐌿 In some modern M lgs. the M pronouns *ci 'thou' in the postpredicate position (i.e. following either a verbal or the nominal predicate of the sentence) changed into a personal affix of the predicate. This occurred in Brt, Kl, Dg and Mgl: pM *ci 'thou' > Kl -c', Brt -s'i ~ -s', Mgl -c'i, Dg -s'i (Kl рабв-ч, Brt рабѡ-ш 'you went out', Mgl ira'n-c'i 'you come', Dg yawbei-s'i 'you will go'). In the postnominal position M *ci had a possessive meaning. It lost its stress and ultimately (in modern M lgs.) became a ppa.: pM *cinu 'thy' > HlM -c'i'n, Kl -c'n, Brt -s'n'i ~ -s', Ord c'in, Mgl -c'i, Dg -s'in', -s'n'i (pM *aqa cinu 'thy elder brother' > HlM {Pp.} аҗҗаҗс'ын) ¶ Pp. IM 35, 112, 213, 218-24, 251, Snz. SG 151-2, Snz. SG-G 84-5, T DnJ 27-30, T BJ 40-8, T DgJ 53-4 || 𐌿 {Zv.} *-N-ti, pers. ending of 2s non-past of verbs > OTm -ti († non-past), Kui (ft.), Krx (prs., female) -di, Knd (non-past) -n-i(d); D {Zv.} *-N-ti-r, pers. ending of 2p non-past > OTm -tir, Kui ft. -d-eru, Krx prs. female -d-ay, Knd non-past -n-ider ¶¶ Zv. DL 36 ¶¶ The D pl. marker sx. *-r goes back to N *rV yE (= *rV y'i?), a compound pr. of plurality \ collectivity (q.v. ffd.) || E: pE {McA} *-ti > MEI {McA} -ti, {Dk.} -t(i) > -t, {ER, GrS} -t, AchEl {Pap.} -(n)ti, -(n)ta (verbal enclitical marker of 2s), MEI {Dk.} -h-t(ə), {GrS} -h-t (verbal marker of 2p), MEI, AchEl {ER} -t [nominal sx. of 2s, so-called "allocutive", sunki-t 'thou (the) king'] ¶ McA 113, GrS EGE 33, ER E 76-7, Dk. JDPa 100-3, Paper RAE 42-4 || K: GZ *tkwen- 'you' (pl.), 'your (vester)' > OG tkwen-, G tkven- id., Mg, Lz tkva(n)- 'ye', tkvan- 'your (vester)' ¶ K 176, K² 75-6, FS E 167, Chik. 223-4 ¶ This prn. goes back to a N cd *t.'u'' 'thou' + *kU of plurality + *nu of genitive; which suggests that the original meaning of *tkwen- was 'of you, yours' (pl.), but later it was generalized as the prn. of 2p without case distinctions (cf. a parallel change in the prehistory of G s'en 'thou') ♦ IS I 6, AD PP ∇, Blz. IEPP ∇, UEW 539, McA l.c. (D, El), BmK 285-7, Gr. I 71-4 (IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA). The variant *t.i seems to result from delabialization of the original *t.'u'' (loss of a marked phonemic feature typical of grammatical morphemes, possibly induced by the analogy with N *mi 'I'). The de-emphatization *t.- > HS *t- is very typical, but is obligatory in grammatical words/morphemes only. That is why there are no glottalized cnss. among the grammatical morphemes in HS. On M *ta 'you [pl.]' and U *ta ~ *te id. see s.v. *t.'u'' 2a III ||. *s'ru'' (> *s'i) 'thou' > K: [1] K *si, *si-n 'thou' > Mg si, Lz si ~ sin 'thou, to thee' (c. rect., erg., dat.), Sv UB/LB/L/Ln si 'thou' (indeclinable); OG, G s'en 'thou' may go back to the OG/G poss. prn. s'en 'thy' 𐌿 [2] *s'wen- 'thy' (< N *c'ru'' 'that of' + *s'ru'' 'thou' + *nu gen.) > OG, G s'en-, Mg skan- ~ skan-, Lz skan- ~ ckan-, Sv isgwi- ~ isgu- ~ iskwi- 'thy'; comparison with other poss. pronouns (K *c'em- 'my', *c'wen- 'our') suggests that *s'wen- goes back to pre-K *c'-swen-, where *c'- is a marker of poss. pronouns (< N *c'ru'' 'that of, that witch') ¶ K 162 & K² 164 (*sen- 'thou'), K 216 (*s'wen- 'thy'), K² 250 (*s'(w)en- 'thy'), K 218-9, Marr 29, IS I 6 (*s'we- 'thy' < *c'-swe-), Shan. G 51, Top. SJ 83, TK 706, ≠ Gm. SSH 37-40 (Zan si from *s'wen due to morphological analogy) || IE *-si, "primary" ending of 2s (pres. active) > OI, Av, Ht -si, Gk -σι ('εσαι 'thou art'), -ι (< *-si, e.g. εἴ 'du gehst' < *ey-si), L, Gt -s, OCS -си -si (кѣси 'thou art' < *es-sey) 𐌿 NaIE *-s, "secondary" ending of 2s (past tenses, active) > OI -s, Gk -θ, Gt -s ¶ Szem. EVG-80 216, Blz. IEPP 10, Bks. VT 276-9, Brg. KVG 590-6 || 𐌿: [1] A *si 'thou', gen. *si-n'u'' > Tg *si, gen. *si.ni > WrMc si, Ewk, Orc, Ud, Ul, Nn si, Neg si, Sln s'i, Lm hi 'thou', gen.: WrMc sini, Neg sin, Sln s'inī, Lm hin, Ul, Ork sin(i) 'thy' ¶ Bz. 107-9, STM II 72-3, Krm. 283 || ppT *si 'thou' /

*sa`n- ~ \*sen- ~ obl. \*sin- id. > Chv  $\gamma\epsilon\ddot{A}$  e-z\_ь 'thou' / caH- san- id. (obl.) (< ppT \*sa`n) :: NaT *sa`n / \*sa`n- [with variants *sen(-), *sin(-)] 'thou' (for all cases except dat. *saŋa) > OT sa`n<sup>d</sup> sen 'thou' (acc. seni<sup>d</sup> sini), Tk sen, Tkm  $\theta\epsilon n$ , Az, Ggz, ET, Chl sa`n, Qmq, QrB, CrTt, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Uz, Shor, Tv, Tf, SY sen, Qmn sen ~ sin, VTt, Brb, Xk sin, Bsh hin, Slr sen (acc. seni ~ sini), Yk a`n ¶ Obviously the NaT prn. \*sa`n ~ *sen ~ *sin results from generalization of the stem for the obl. cases that goes back to the A genitive *si-n^u < N *s'ru^u nu (*s'ru^u + genitive marker). It is not clear why in most T lgs. we find *a` in \*sa`n for the expected *i. It may have been caused by the ass. infl. of the vowel of some case ending followed by generalization of the allomorph *sa`n- through the paradigm of the obl. cases (cf. Dr.: "Alle Unregelmäßigkeiten bei der Deklination der Personalpronomina lassen sich durch Assimilation erklären", Dr. Tbs 214). The original vw. of *si is preserved in the OT Tonyuquq inscription (acc. sini) and in the ppT prn. of 2p *si-r' (< N *s'u^u + N *rV yE, a compound prn. of plurality \ collectivity, q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 860 and Tezcan UJS 98 reconstruct sîz 'you [pl.]' with a long vw. for OT without explicit justification of their conjecture; most probably the reason is the plene spelling zyS syz in MhK (OT QU), but even if this length [not confirmed by either Turkic Runic or Uyghur script of OT] did exist in the OT QU prn., it could not go back to pT or NaT - on the ev. of the Tkm reflex [short i in Tkm $\theta i\delta$]. The vw. i in Chv e-z_ir 'you [pl.]' does not necessarily provide ev. of ppT *î, as shown by M. Räsänen (Rs. MIFTJ 61): among 17 cases of Chv-Tkm corrs. of i-vowels he found only 4 cases where Chv i corresponded to Tkm î, but 13 cases where the Tkm cognate of Chv i was a short i ¶ Lvt. IM 30-1, Cl. 831-2, 860, Rs. W 409, 424, Kon. GJTRP 164-6, Ajdarov JOP 179, 363, Ashir. OJS 95, B DK 51, Tn. SJ 127-8, Fed. II 481 || pJ {Vv., DQA} *si > OJ {Mill., ChmU, S} si 'thou, you' ({Mill.} si ga katarake,ba 'because you say' [Mns. 904], si ga nakeba 'if you are not [there]' [NihSh, song 80]) ¶ Mur. KNND, Mill. JAL 159-60, ChmU AJV 269, Vv. LDROJ 105, Vv. JKAL 6, S QJ #1657 || Ko: Ramstedt proposed to tie in Ko si_at 'thou' (used between a wife and a concubine of the same man) ({Rm.} < *si-asi?) and Ko sinim, used as a form of address among Buddhists ¶ Rm. SKE 179 ¶¶ DQA #1981 [A *si 'thou' > T, Tg, J], Rm. EAS II 68-73 (hyp. of an original *-n in M *tin, Tg *sin 'thou') || [1a] A *s'ru^ua 'you [pl.]' (< N *s'ru^u ?a, i.e. *s'u^u 'thou' + plurality marker ?a) > Tg nom. *su.e ({Bz.} *su`a) / obl. *sun- id. (ffd. see below s.v. N *t'ru^u ?a ~ *s'ru^u ?a) || [2] A *si (- *s'i'n^u) in postnominal (probably enclitic) position meant 'thy'; in modern Tg lgs. it became a ppa. of 2s: Tg *si > Nn, Ul, Orc -si, Ud -hi, Ewk, Neg, Lm -s, Sln -s'(i) 'thy' ¶ Bz. 109-11, STM II 72-3, Krm. 87 || D: Brh -s, verbal ending of 2s subiecti ¶ Bray I 118, 124-7, An. JB 71-80 ♦ See IS I 6, AD PP ∇, Blz. IEPP ∇, P Palm. LM 169-74, Gr. I 71-4 ("second-person T" in IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA). In my opinion, the variant *s'ru^u results from assibilation *t_- > *s'- due to the palatalizing effect of the vw. *u^u (if not *i); a similar opinion was expressed by IS (I 6 and 227). This phonetic change (just as the delabialization N *t'ru^u > *t_i and N *s'ru^u > *s'i) was probably conditioned by the grammatical (pronominal) usage of the word. This kind of changes (as, reduction, loss of marked phonemic features) is typical of grammatical\gramaticalized morphemes throughout the world (cp. -s'a > -s' and -s'a > -sa in R: бо'лса [ba'yalsa] 'I was afraid', бо'с > бо'с [ba'yus'] and finally [ba'yus] 'I am afraid', or in NE: [ai_hæv'dʌn] > [ai_v'dʌn]; in NE the voicing θ- (initial) > δ- occurred in the pronouns thou, that, this and in conjunctions [though], but not in nouns, adjectives or verbs, all of them preserving the original θ: thumb, thick, think, etc.). An alt. hyp. is that of Blz. IEPP (*t_i and *su are originally different pronouns of the 2nd person, IE *tu^u resulting from the merger of both).

2312a. *t'ru^u ?a ~ *s'ru^u ?a 'ye (vos)', prn. of 2p (*t'ru^u ~ *s'ru^u 'thou' + N *?a, pc. of plurality [q.v. ffd.]) > IE verbal endings of 2p: {Bks.} "primary" *-tHe (> OI -tha, Gk -τε, L -tis, Gt -þ, Lt -te, Sl *-te, Ht -teni), "secondary" *-te (> OI -ta, Gk -τε, L -tis, Gt -þ, Sl *-te, Ht -ten) ¶¶ Szem. EVG-80 216, Bks. 232-7, Brg. 591-6 (incl. the table of p. 596), Mer. SGA 334, 339-40 || U [1] *te ~ *tiyV (as well as *te + du. sx. *-ya) 'ye' (pers. prn. of 2p) > pLp {Krh.} *tiy > Lp: N {N} dī, Vfs {Lgc.} d_iyyeh-, S {Hs.} di(j)h, Kld {SaR} тыйй tiyyi; Er тьн tin', Mk тин t'in' | pChr {Ber.} *te, {Rd.} *te > Chr: L te te (gen. тендан tendan, acc. тендам tendam), B/M te, H тае ta' (gen. таемдан ta'mdan, acc. таемдам ta'mdam) | Prm *ti > Z τ° ti (gen. tiyan), Prmk τ° йое tiyз ~ τ° ti (gen. tiyan), Yz 'teyaz (gen. ti'yan), Vt тие ti (proc. тиел tiya, gen. тиелд til'ad) || OHg XII tiv [tiu`], XVI thew, XVIII thu', Hg ti 'you [pl.]' (unless OHg -u` < *-y < *-k) || ? Sm {Jn.} *te(n) 'you [pl.]' > Ng tэ, Slq Tz te_, Kms {Kü.} s'iz, Koyb {Sp.} ce; but Mt {HL.} *tenda id. (Mt M {Sp.} түндү, {Pl.} тенд) is a derivate from the prn. of 2s (Mt *tən 'thou') ¶ Sm *te(n) may go back

either to the pU prn. for 'ye' or to the prn. of 2s with an additional marker of pl. || pY {IN} *tit > Y T/K tit 'vos', tit- (+ noun), tit-l'e 'vester' ¶¶ UEW 540 explains pLp *-y, Prm -y3 and Mr *-n' (< U *nV) as ppas. ¶¶ [2] The U pronouns *te ~ *tiyV 'you [pl.]', when used enclitically after nouns, gave rise to ppas. of 2p: Chr: L -da, H -da/-da' : Prm: Vt -(i)d, -t-, Z -ni-d, Prmk -ni-t, Yz -ni-t || Sm: Ne T rect.-acc. -daⁱ -da? / gen. -raⁱ -ta? 'vester' (pl. possessoris), En B {Ter.} rect. -ra? / gen.-acc. -ra? id. (du. and pl. possessi: rect. -da? 'vestri' / gen. -ta?), Ng {Ter.} rect. -ri? / acc. -m-ti? (-m is the acc. marker) / gen. -ti? id. (pl./du. possessi nom. -tu''? 'vestri' / gen. -tu?), Slq Tz {KHG} (-lit₂) = -lin/t 'your' (pl.) / gen.-acc. (-tit₂) = -tin/t, Kms {Kü.} -la? / (after a nasal cns.) -na? 'vester' (pl. possessoris), Mt {HL.} *-ra₁? / *-ra₁? 'vester'; benefactive forms of 2p of nouns: Ng -ru? / -tu? (tað3-ru? tu?o 'the reindeer came for you [pl.]', lit. 'cervus-vobis venit'; sat3r3t3m-tu? koða?aru? 'you [pl.] obtained [preyed on] a polar fox for yourselves', lit. 'vulpem-vobis consecuti estis') ¶¶ [3] The U pronominal morpheme *te ~ *tiyV 'you [pl.]', when used enclitically after verbs (sometimes with sxs. of pl.), gave rise to personal endings of verbs: (sbcj.) Mk -da, -d'a, Er -do, -d'e : Chr L/H -da : Prm: Vt -di, Z -(n)id, Prmk -t, -t3, Yz -tA, -t : Hg -tok / -to'k / -tek || Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} -lit/n (2p ending), Ne T {Ter.} -da- (2p ending, sbcj.), -ra- (id. with sg. obiecti) (prs. -da-?, -ra?, p. -da-c', -ra-c'), En {Ter.} -ra- (2p, sbcj. and s/oncj. with sg. obiecti), -ða- (s/objcj. with pl./du. obiecti), (prs. -ra-? / -ða-?, p. -ea-c / -ða-c), Ng {Ter.} -ru? / -ru''? / -ri? / -ri? id., -tu? / -tu''? / -ti? / -ti? (2p ending, s/objcj. with pl./du. obiecti), Kms {Kü.} -le? ¶¶ UEW 539-40, Laan. EOS 182-4, 191-4, 228-30, Mark PSUS-25 v, Mak. KJ 69-72, Kask EJ-66 47-9, Vääri LJ 144-8, Krh. 209, 240-5, 280-3, It. LC 97, Lgc. #7843, Lgc. SL #2644, Hs. 118, SaR 352, 365, Fkt. EJ-66 185-91, Fkt. MJ-66 203-5, 207-14, Ps. M O5, Ber. 75, Kov. LV 227, 230-3, Kov. G 244-9, LG 279, Lt. J 45, 61, 67-9, 185, Lt. KZJ 287-92, Lt. KPJ 305-9, Tepl. UJ 265-72, MF 632-3, Ht. ChrO 38-9, Stn. XJ 216-20, Stn. OG 70, Trj. VD 84-7, EWH 1516-7, Jn. 156, KHG 184-7, 258-64, 288-93, Hl. M 144, #983, Ter. NJ 381, 386-8, Ter. EJ 444-51, Ter. NgJ 96-7, 161, 185, Ter. NgJz 423-31, Kü. KJ 383-6, Krn. JJ 72-80, Krn. JJ-T 440-1, Krn. JJ-K 354, Ku. 272-3, IN 248, JN III II A nom. *tu''a ~ su''a / gen. *t'u''a'nu ~ *s'u''a'nu 'you' pl. > Tg nom. *su.e ({Bz.} *su''a'') / obl. *sun- (~ ? *su.en-) id. (< N *s'u''a' ?a, i.e. *s'u'' 'thou' + plurality marker *?a) > WrMc suwe, obl. suweni, Nn Nh nom. su3 / obl. su.n-, Nn B/KU su., Orc, Ud, Ork, Neg, Ewk, Sln nom. su- / obl. su.n-, Lm hu- / obl. hu.n-, Ud {Krm.} nom. su / obl. sun-, Ul suni ~ sunu; in many Tg lgs. the form *suenu. ~ *suni is used with the sx. ¶*ngũ'li: WrMc suweninge, Ewk sunñi, Lm hunñi, Neg sunñi ~ sunñi, Orc sun'ing3, Ud sun'uñu, Ork sunuñi, Nn: Nh suñngi, B/KU sunñi, B sunəngi 'yours' ¶ In modern Tg lgs. the Tg prn. *su became a ppa. of 2p: Nn, Ul, Orc -su, Ud -hu 'vester' ¶ Bz. 107-11, STM II 72-3, 115, Krm. 87, 91, 288 || M *ta / gen. *tanu / dat. *tan-a 'you' (pl.) > MM nom. ta / gen. tanu, WrM nom. ta / gen. tanu, HlM, Brt nom. ta', Dg nom. ta' / gen. {Pp.} tanāi, Kl {Pp.} nom. ta / gen. tan' ~ tanь, Mnr {Pp.} nom. ta / gen. tani; later on (in Brt, Kl, Dg, Mgl) M *ta in the postpredicate position changed into a subject ending of 2p: Kl -t, Brt -ta, -t, Dg -ta', Mgl -to (Kl rapb-т, Brt rapба-т 'you [pl.] went out', Dg xelsən-ta' 'you [pl.] said'); in the postnominal position *tanu became later a ppa. of 2p: > HlM -таh -ta'n, Ord -tan, Kl -tn., Brt -tna', Dg -ta'n', Dx tani ~ tayi, Mgl -toni 'vester' ¶ Pp. IM 218, 221 ¶¶ S AJ 52 (A *sa' 'thou' in T *sa'-n and Tg *si 'thou') ♦ Cf. N *?a, pc. of plurality ♦ S *-timmu 'ye' m. (the autonomous prn. *?an-timmu), *-tinna 'ye' f. (the aut. prn. *?an-tinna) and the related pronouns of B, C and Eg do not belong here. They are likely to be independent derivatives (or cds) of pHS origin (N *t.'u'' + HS markers of pl.). Mutatis mutandis the same is true of K *tkwen 'ye', 'vester'.

2313. ?₂ *t.V, marker of passive participial constructions (verb + *t.V = analytical construction with the meaning of past participle or passive verbal adjectives) > IE: NaIE *-to-, marker of verbal adjectives (mostly with passive meaning), which in some daughter lgs. were incorporated into the verbal paradigm as pp.: NaIE *g'no'-to-s ~ *g'n.-to-s 'known' (> L no'tus id., OIr {LP} gna'th 'known', W {YGM} gnawd 'customary', Gk γνωτοῦ 'perceived, understood; well-known', Gt kunps, Lt pa-z'intas 'gekannt'), NaIE *k'lu'-to-s 'heard, heard of' (> OI s'ru'ta- heard, listened to, heard of', Gk κλυτοῦ 'heard of, famous', L inclutus 'famous'), NaIE *(y)u'tos 'sewn' (> L su'tus, Lt s'u'tas, OCS s'itъ, OI syu'tah id., Gk νεο-κα'τ-τυ-τοῦ 'freshly sewn'), NaIE *mn.-to-s 'thought (gedacht)' [> OI ma'tah., Lt min'tas, Gt munds id., L com-mentum / -i 'invention, what so. invented', com-mentus 'which has remembered', Gk α'υτο-ματοῦ 'acting on one's own will', (of things) self-moving, self-acting'] ¶ Hirt IG III 284-6, Bks. 250-1, LP § 9.1, YGM-1 236 II U: FU *-vttv *nomina patientis (obiecti)* [> pp. and sim.]

> BF **(t)tu / *(t)tu*, pp. of pfc. > F laulettu 'sung', tehty 'done', Krl annettu 'given', ommeldu 'sewn', Vp anttud 'given', t'ehtud 'done' (with -d on the analogy of the pfc. prtc. ending -nud), Vo sa-tu 'received' : Er -do ~ -da and compound morphemes -sto / -ste, sxs. of gerunds (verbal adverbs): oza-do 'in sitting position (сидя)', yuram-sto 'on passing (проходя)', Mk -da: koma-da 'gebückt, in bent\leaned position' : Hg -at / -et, sx. of deverbal *nomina obiecti*: it-at 'document' (<d i'r- v. 'write'); Hg -tt, sx. of past pp.: olvasott 'gelesen' (a tegnap olvasott könyv 'das gestern gelesene Buch') ¶ Sz. 79, Laan. 249-50, Fkt. EJ-66 192, PI 120, Majt. SM 355-7, Majt. VJ-76 387, 400 ¶ This U pp. may underly the BF passive verb stems (the prs. pp. F saa-ta-va 'being got\received' with the participle sx. -va) ¶ Coll. CG 279 II A: T **-t ~ *-tu / *-tu* ~ ? **-ti*, sx. of deverbal adjectives with passive meaning: NaT **o*gi-t 'ground grain' (> OT [MhK] *o*git 'ground wheat, etc.', ET {Jr.} u^ogu^ot 'grain cleaned ready for grinding') <d **o*gi- v. 'grind', NaT **jar-t(u)* 'sth. split' (> OT {Cl.} jartu 'sth. split off', [MhK] jartu 'long strips of wood', VTt jart 'half') <d pT **jar- v. 'split'*, Az jo^oyur-t 'sour milk' <d jo^oyur- v. 'mix', Tkm ayır-t 'offshoot, ответвление' <d ayır- v. 'separate', as well as possibly OT [MhK, QB] so^okti 'bran' <d so^ok- v. 'tear apart' ¶ SrbG SIGTJ 229-30, Cl. xliii, 101-2, 819, 954-9 || Tg **-ta / *-te*, sx. of derived nouns (passive result of an action): Ewk -ta / -t3 / -to, e.g. 3m3^on-t3 'remainder' (i.e. 'what is left') <d 3m3^on- v. 'leave', no^oda^on-t3 'отброс' ('sth. thrown away') <d no^oda^on- v. 'throw' ¶ Vas. 790 II HS: In the pHS lge. *nomina obiecti* and passive deverbal adjectives with the ending **-Vt-* may have existed, but since they are always feminine (because of their ending **-Vt-* associated with the fem. gender), they cannot be distinguished from forms with the feminine **-t-* derived from masculine prtc., adjs. and substantivized adjs. As to the **tV-* prefix with the original meaning of *nomen obiecti*, it cannot be distinguished from metonymic usage of *nomina actionis* with the prefix **tV-* (F N **t.i*): BHb lumg6T2 tag^omu^ol 'compensation' is both a *nomen obiecti* and a *nomen actionis* ♦ Cf. IS I 218-9 (**-di*, sx. of the past; IS did not distinguish between **d'i* of imperfectiveness and **tV* of pp.), Cald. 508-10 (FU: F -t [pp.] and Hg -t [past tense], D **-t(t)* [p.], T -d- [p.], IE: NPrs -d- [p.]), Gr. I 179-82 ("passive participle T" in IE, U, EA); IS I xiii (caus.-rf. **t.A*) tried to find a common origin between rf.-ps. verbal derivatives in U, in HS (F N **t'a^owV* 'head') and caus. in A, U and D (which is doubtful both semantically and because of a structural difference: in U, A and D this is a postverbal sx. that may go back to a N aux. v., while in HS this is a px. that is hardly explainable as an aux. v. in view of the syntactic structure of N) ♦ □ Gr. I 197-200 ("denominative T" in IE, U, Y, A, CK, Ai, EA).

2314. **t.V*, marked (df.?) accusative (→ acc. of pronouns) > HS: S **-tV* or **-a^otV*, acc. ending of pers. pronouns (**s^ou^oʔa^otV* 'him', etc.): OAk {G} -a^ot, acc. ending of suffixed pers. pronouns OAk {G} -a^ot, acc./gen. ending of suffixed pers. pronouns [-ni^oʔ-a^ot 'us', -kin-a^ot 'you' f. pl., -s'in-a^ot 'them' f.], Ak OB (-a^o-u^o-ti) id. [-ni^oʔa^oti 'us', -kunu^oti 'you' m. pl., -kina^oti 'you' f. pl., -s'unu^oti 'them' m., -s'ina^oti 'them' f.], Ak OB -(a^o)t(i); acc.-gen. ending of separate pers. pronouns: 1s 'y-a^oti, 2s OAk ku(w)-a^oti, 2m Ak OB/OA k-a^oti ~ k-a^ota, 2f Ak OB/OA k-a^oti, 3m s'u-a^oti > s'a^oti (with innovative forms: s'ua^otu > s'a^otu), 3f OAk s'i-a^oti, later s'a^oti, s'ua^oti, 1p ni-a^oti, 2pm kunu^o-ti, 2pf kuna^oti, 3pm s'unu^o-ti, 3pf s'in-a^oti; the forms ka^ota and s'uwa^otu (> s'a^otu) result from analogy: 2m ka^ota with -a due to the infl. of the nom. atta^o 'thou' m. (versus atti^o 'thou' f.), 3m s'uwa^otu with -u on the analogy of nom. s'u^o 'he' (vs. s'i^o 'she'), Ug {Siv.} -t, obl. (acc./gen.) marker of pers. pronouns: hw-t 'him, his', hyt 'her (acc./gen.)', hmt 'them, their (m. pl.)', hmt 'them, their (du.)', Sb acc./gen.: 3m hwt, 3f hyt, 3pm hmt, hmw, 3pf hnt (↔ nom.: hw?, h? 'he', hy?, h? 'she', hmw 'them' m., hn f.). In some lgs. these forms lost their ancient case meaning: Ph OBy h?t 'he', OPh, Ph hmt they', Ar Sp HUET 'he', HIET 'she', HUMAT 'them' m., HUNNAT 'them' f., Ar P {L ←?} hu^otu 'he', hite 'she', Gz wəʔətu^o 'he, this\that', yəʔəti^o 'she; this\that (f.)' (with new acc. forms based on the nominal acc. ending -a: wəʔət-a, yəʔət-a), ʔəmmu^ontu^o 'they' m., ʔəmma^ontu^o 'they' f., ʔəllu^ontu^o ~ ʔəllu^ontu^o 'these' ¶ Sd. G 41, G OAWG 130-2, Dk. AkJ 90, 106, Dk. XAU 114, Siv. U 36, BGMR 55, FrdR 45-6, L G 20, 25, 602, 625, Br. G I 303-6 || C: Ag **-tt*, acc. (or acc./dat.) of pers. pronouns and some nouns: Xm {Ap.} -t, object case marker of pers. pronouns (yi^o-t 'me', ki^o-t 'thee', ʔi^o-t 'him', ʔi^o-t ~ ʔi^or-t 'her', yina^o-t ~ yi^ona^o-t 'us', ki^ota^o-t ~ ki^ota^o-t 'you' acc. pl., ʔi^ota^o-t ~ ʔa^ota^o-t 'them'), Bln (R) yi^o-t 'me, to me', ku^o-t (k^o3-t) 'thee, to thee', ni^o-t 'him, to him', yi^ona^o-t 'us, to us', in^ota^o-t 'you' (acc. pl.) 'to you', na^o-t 'them, to them', Km {Ap.} ku^o-t 'thee', etc.; the same acc. ending is used with some nouns in Km {Ap.}: aba^o-t 'patrem', iw3na^o-t 'feminam', Bln 3a^ona^o-t 'elephantem', ja^orabau^okun^ogan^ojina^o-t 'I need a female slave', ni^ogan^ojina^o-t ke^oʔa^ontiu^oχ 'he married [his]

female slave', and possibly with feminine nouns in Km: li'wa-t 'cow' acc. [vs. li'wa 'cow' nom.], liwa''ya''n-t 'the cow' acc. [vs. liwa''ya''n 'the cow' nom.] (unless in the latter case the ending -t is connected with the *t-ending of f.); ?? Bln {R} -tī, acc. marker of proper names (with a final cns.) and pronouns > gir'gis-tī jā'rəbnau_kun 'we are looking for Girgis', aw-tī jā'rəbdə'na_u_yun 'whom are you looking for?' || EC: Sa {R} yo-t ~ yo-d 'me' acc., nu'ma-t 'uxorem' ¶ Ap. K 325, Ap. Kh I 259, 263, R BilS 677-8, R S II 345, 377, R WB 42-3, 209, 279, 365-6 || U *-ttV, sx. of acc. > F pronominal acc. -t (minu-t 'me', sinu-t 'thee', ha''ne-t 'him', meida''-t 'us', teida''-t 'you' pl., heida''-t 'them', kene-t whom?), Krl -t id. (mia''-t 'us', t'ia''-t 'you' pl., hia''-t 'them'), Ing -d_ id. (mei_ye-d_ 'us', tei_ye-d_ 'you' pl., hei_ye-d_ 'them') || Os: V {Trj.} -t ~ -bt id. (1s ma''n-t, 2s nē''-t, 3s lē''-t, 1d min-t, 2d mgin-t, 3d lin-t, 1p mən-ət, 2p nən-ət, 3p ləx-ət), Sh {Trj.} -ət id. (1s man-ət, 2s nan-ət, 3s tuw-ət, 1d min-ət, 2d nən-ət, 3d tən-ət, 1p mun-ət, 2p nan-ət, 3p taw-ət), Kz {Rus.} -ət id. (1s man-ət ~ man-tə, 2s na''-t, 3s tuw-ət, 1d min-ət, 2d nən-ət, 3d tən-ət, 1p mun-ət, 2p nən-ət, 3p taw-ət), Vy/Ty/Y/P/D/K/Kr/Nz {Ht.} -t id. : Hg -t, acc. of pronouns and nouns. Szinnyei (Sz. 60) and Klemm (Klemm MTM 270ff.) believed that the Hg acc. is akin to the Mr df. form with -t', which is hardly plausible because the latter goes back to the enclitic U prn. *ta'' < N *t.a'' (prn. of inanimate objects) ¶ Laan. 190-2, Laan. IJ 108, Jelis. FJ 100-1, Mak. KJ 69, Trj. XJ 328, Rus. SXJ 84, Ht. ChrO 70-1 || IE *-ieT, acc. ending of pronouns (acc. to Blz.'s hyp. [Blz. IGPP 14]) > OL acc. me-d 'me', te-d 'thee' (GSchm. IGPP 102). Blz. (IEPP 3 & 8, note 6) equates this OL form with the Ht ntr. nom.-acc. ppas. -mie-t 'my', ti-t 'thy', which is hardly acceptable, because this Ht ending is obviously that of the neuter gender (< IE *-T nom.-acc. ntr., whence L id, quid, quod, etc.) ↔ the animate gender ending (nom.) -s (in Ht -mi-s 'my', -ti-s 'thy') IE *-s nom. anim. (whence L is, quis, etc.) ♦ Blz IEPP 3, 14-15 (HS, IE, U) ♦ This N pc. is hardly identical with the N prn. *t.a'', because the latter refers to inanimate objects, while the accus. marker *t.V is used with pronouns that denote (at least in the 1st and 2nd peron) human beings. One of the possible explanations is that N *t.V originally denoted accusative of definite referents (like BHb ta3 ?et_ or the Tk acc. form), hence their use with definite pronouns in U, HS and possibly IE. It is possible (but not certain) that the N acc. marker *t.V is a reduced var. of the N word *?ey'a't.V 'to reach, receive', 'receit' [q.v.].

2315. ??, *t.EfU 'to take' > HS: S *-tiŋ- > Ar √tyŋ (ip. -tiŋu, pf. ta-ŋa) v. 'take, grasp' ¶ BK I 212-3 || K: pGZ t.e(w)-/*t.i(w)- v. 'contain, have enough room for (содержат, вмещат)' > OG t.e(v)-/*t.i- 'contain, receive', G t.e-/t.i- 'contain', Mg (n)t.i(r)-, t.r-, Lz (n)t.i(r)-, (n)t.i(n)-/(n)t.r- 'fit in' ¶¶ K 180, K² 186 || IE: Ht da-, HrLw ta- v. 'take' ¶ Ts. E III 5-11, Mer. HHG 114-5; connection with IE *d^he- v. 'put' is not ruled out, but is less plausible || ? R: M *tu / *tu'' > MM [S] tu 'having', possessive pc. (gergai tu 'having a wife', qahca nidu tu 'having [only] one eye'), WrM -tu / -tu'', HIM -ty / -r*, sx. forming adj. (sometimes written separately) and expressing the idea of possessing: WrM mori-tu 'having a horse' ¶ H 153, Pp. GPMJ 111, MED 838, 848.

2316. *t.abV 'fit, good' > HS: S *t.a'b- 'good, pleasant' > BHb b&y t.o'b_ id., Ug t.b 'good, sweet, pleasant', (AkSc) {Hnr.} t.a'bu 'sweet, pleasant', OA, IA, Plm t.b, BA byl t.a'b_, JA [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} by2 t.ab_ / em. ablyl t.a'b_a_, [BT] {Sl.} by' t.a'b_, JEA {Sl.} t.a'b_, Sr t.a'b_ 'good', JA [Trg.] byl t.a'b_ adv. 'well, much', Ar t.a'b-un 'a good\pleasant thing', Ak t.a'bu(m) 'schön, gut, süß', Eb {Frnz.} t.a'b- 'good'; in pS the adjective (in its pred. form) was incorporated into the verbal system as a stative form (> WS new perfect): BHb b&y t.o'b_ 'is good', Ar t.a'ba 'was good', Ak (stative) t.a'b 'is good, fit, beautiful' ⇨ d: Ak t.ia'bu(m) 'to be good, fit', JA √t.ʔb G (pf. t.əʔeb_) {Js.} 'be bright \ good \ well', {Lv.} 'wohlgemut \ fröhlich sein', Sr √t.ʔb G (pf. t.əʔeb_) 'be good', Ar √t.yb G (pf. t.a'ba, ip. ya-t.jb-u) v. 'be good' ¶ BDB 373-5 [##2895-6], 1094 [##2869], Js. 515, Lv. II 131-2, Lv. T I 292-3, Sl. 492, Br. 265, HJ 415-9, KB 355-6, Sd. 1376-8, 1380-1, A #1110, OLS 479, Hnr. 131, Frnz. EL 167, BK II 126-8 [⊕ || EC: Dsn {To.} d.aba'n 'good, pretty', {Ss.} d.aba'n 'pretty' ¶ To. DL 492, Blz. DL s.v. 'good'] || IE: NaIE *d^hab^h-, d^hab^h-ro- 'fit, good' > L faber 'ingenious, skilful' (→ 'worker, artisan') || Arm darbin darbin 'forger, lock-smith' || Gt gado'f ist 'es ist passend, schicklich', ga-daban 'sich ereignen, passen', ON dafna 'to become fit\strong, thrive', MDt gedouf 'sich fügen', Dt deftig 'proper, decorous, portly', AS {Ho.} zedafen ~ {Sw.} zede'fe 'fitting, seemly', NE daft || Sl *dobъ 'good' > R Δ доб 'is good', до'бой 'good', Uk Δ добий 'good'; *do'b-гъ (dadj. *dobrъjъ) 'good' > OCS добръ dobrъ 'good, beautiful', R добрый, Blg до'брь 'good, good-hearted', SCr do_bar, Slv do'ber, Cz dobry', P dobry 'good' : Lt daba, Ltv daba 'nature, character', Lt dabi'n-ti (prs. dabin-u) 'to adorn, beautify' ¶ P 233-4, WH I 436-7, Fs. 176-7, Ho. 69, Sw.

41, Vr. 71, Frn. 79, Kar. I 193-4, ESSJ V 45-7, Vs. I 520-1, Glh. 202, Slt. 146, ■ EI 139 (*d^hab^h- 'put together' > *d^hab^hros 'craftsman') ¶ The *as* *d^h...b^h < (the expected) *t...b^h is due to the IE incompatability law that rules out combination of vd. aspirates and vl. cnss. in the same root II A: M *tab > WrM tab, HIM таб 'pleasure, confort; benevolence', Kl tawə 'wish; pleasure', WrM tabtai, HIM табтай 'good, comfortable, pleasant', {Kow.} 'bien, convenablement', Kl tawta 'confortable, favourable', ? MM [S] tab 'recht, richtig, wahr', Ord t'ab_ 'bien, efficacement, complètement' ¶ MED 760-1, Kow. 594, 1609, H 143, KRS 470-1, Ms. O 639 || ?φ NaT *t'ap 'satisfaction, sufficiency' > OT {Cl.} tap id., 'satisfactory, sufficient', Qc {Rl.} tap 'das Passende, Zusammenhörige', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} tap-pila qıl, tabınc'a qıl 'tue was du willst, nach eigenem Gutdünken!', Tv таптыг t'ap-t'ıy 'tasty, sweet, beautiful' ¶ Cl. 434, Rl. III 946 ¶¶ Rs. W 462-3, TvR 407 ◆ IS MS 355 s.v. 'подход^лий' (fit'), IS SS #13.6, Mö. VW 51 (all of them: S, IE).

2317. ?₂ *t.abV ■ 'head' > HS: Eg N db.t 'head' ¶ EG V 494 ("wohl fehlerhaft") II ? A *t'abV > M *tab_u 'head of a nail' > WrM {Rm.} tab, tabu, {Kow.} tab id., {Gl.} tab 'head of a nail\sword-hilt' ('ш^лпка, бл^лха на үфесе меча, на гвозде'), Ord t'ab_ 'head of a nail', Kl {Rm.} tab_ 'Nagelkopf, Mützenkopf', {KRS} tavə 'head of a nail\rivet, button, rivet', Brt таб 'head of a rivet, metal plate (бл^лха)', WrM {MED} tab, HIM таб 'part of the scalp on which a braid or pigtail grows' ¶ MED 780, KW 373, Kow. 1594, Chr. 407, KRS 470, Gl. III 27, Ms. O 639, STM II 149 ¶ The word is attested in modern M lgs. only, which may be accounted for by its meaning (a technical term not expected to be mentioned in short vocabularies of the MM period or in "The Secret History"; an alt. hyp. of its foreign (Turkic) origin, albeit phonetically plausible, is hardly acceptable because the word is not attested in the T lgs.

2318. ?₂ *t.æbV 'to catch, seize' > HS *√t.b > B *-t.t.Vf- ("Pr.: < *√wd.f = eB *√wt.f) v. 'seize, grasp' > Rf, SrSn æt.t.æf v. 'seize, take', Izn æt.f, Si æt.t.æf (pf. yæt.t.æf), Nf, Snd æt.t.æf, Gd æt.t.æf (pf. it.t.æf, Lcj. 8) v. 'seize', Kb, Wrg æt.t.æf v. 'hold, take, seize', Mz æt.t.æf 'tenir ferme, saisir, attraper', Tmz t.t.æf 'prendre, saisir, tenir, attraper', Izd t.æf (pf. it.æf) v. 'take, seize', Sll {Ds.} æt.t.æf (pf. it.t.æf~it.t.æf v. 'hold, possess', Ah æt.t.æf v. 'take, hold', Twl, Ty æt.t.æf v. 'take, marry' (pf. Twl it.t.æf, Ty yæt.t.æf, Pcj. 1 A 2) ¶ Lf. I 242-5 (on Lcj. 8) & II #1603, Rn. 311, Fc. 276, Mrc. 202, 229, Dl. 835-6, Dlh. Ou 342, Dlh. M 38, La. S 292, MT 738, GhA 30, 246-7 (on Pcj. 1 A 2), Ds. 226, 276-7 ¶ B *-t.t.Vf-, *√wt.f < *√t.p. by *as* from *√t.b) || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *tab.- (~ *t.ab-?) id. > Krf {Sch.} twa'-wo' (verbal noun to'fa'), Glm {Sch.} ta'b-a'-la', Gera {Sch.} ta'w-mi' v. 'catch, hold' : Gj {ChL} do'b.i' v. 'seize' :: CCh: MfG {Brr.} -t3b.- 'accepter, recevoir, prendre ce qu'on donne' :: ECh: Mkl {J} (aor.) ti:b.a' / (progr.) ta:b.u' 'picorer' ¶ Stl. ZCh 168 [#205] (adduces Hs ta'-b.e' v. 'rip' - ??σ), Abr. H 834, Ba. 968-9, ChC s.v. 'catch', Sch. BTL 59, 88, Brr. MG II 239, J LM 180 || Eg XXI dbdb 'angreifen' ¶ EG V 442 ¶¶ OS #2446 (*tab- 'catch, seize': Eg, Ch; adduces Hs ta'-b.e' without indicating its real meaning) II A *t'EbV > Tg *tebe- ({DQA} *te'be-) v. 'catch' > Ewk t3w3- ~ t3'w3-, Neg t3wən-, Lm t3w- v. 'catch, grasp (sth. flying)', Ud t3w3n3- v. 'try to catch sth. flying', t3w3ni- v. 'catch sth., throw back', WrMc tebdeze- v. 'play ball, play shuttlecock' ¶ STM II 226, Z 724 ¶ The WrMc tebdeze- has a variant tebkeze- (Z 724) obviously connected with the Wanderwort represented by WrM tebeg, HIM түбүг 'shuttlecock' and Kl {Rm.} tewəg_ 'a shuttlecock made of metal pieces with feathers' (MED 789, KW 395); the origin of the word is obviously Turkic: OT [MhK] tepu'k 'a thing cast from lead which is wrapped in goat's hair or the like and used as a toy', MQp tepu'k 'a toy with which children play' (< pT *t'ep- v. 'kick' [Cl. 435, 439]) || M *teberi > MM [MA. IM] tebere- 'embrace', [S] teberi- id., 'put one's arms round (umfassen)', Kl тевр-, Brt түбүри- id., WrM teberi-, HIM түврү- 'encircle, encompass with or carry in one's arms', Ord t'ewere-, Mnr H {SM} t'ō-ri- 'carry\hold in one's arms, embrace' ¶ Pp. MA 343-4, 447, H 147, MED 790, KRS 488, Chr. 451, Ms. O 662, SM 425-6 || pKo {S} *tə'p'r- 'lead, take so. with' > MKo tə'p'r-, NKO t3bul- ¶ S QK #860, Nam 150, MLC 443 || ?σ pJ {S} *ta'mpa' 'bundle' > OJ taba, J: T ta'ba, K ta'ba', Kg taba' ¶ S QJ #1031, Mr. 536 ¶¶ DQA #2362 [A *t'e'pa' 'to catch, embrace, armful'].

2319. ■ ? *t.'eb'a'~' (~ *tem_lbja?) 'ruminant' ('antelope, cervide') > HS: SC: Grw c.efelu 'reedbuck', Kz c.efeluko 'Thomson's gazelle' ¶ E SC 354 (SC *t'ē'efelu > pRt *cefelu 'small antelope') || WCh {Stl.} *ta'bV(-r) 'gazelle' > AG: Su {J} ta'p 'crested duiker', Ang {Flk.} te-p, {ChC} tep 'antelope', Gmy latap, Kfr {Nt.} tap id. : ? NrBc {Sk.}: P' tambura, Sir t3mb3ri, Jmb tamur, Mbr tambur, Kry tambu-r 'gazelle' ¶ Stl. ZCh 161 [#153], ChC s.v. 'antelope', J S 84, Flk. s.v. te-p, Sk. NB 10 II U *tewa' 'elk, reindeer' > F teva

'male elk' || Hg tehe'n, Δ tehen, teje'n 'cow', † 'cattle' || Sm {Jn.} *t̪c̪z̪ ' (domestic) reindeer' > Ne T ты ti̯, Ne F ti̯, Ng {Mik.} ta̯, En {Mik.} tia, {Ter.} tea, Kms {KD} t̪'o, Mt {HL.} t̪ɜ̯:ɟa̯ (Mt {MLL.} M ti̯'gga̯, K de'ge, T ta̯'ga̯ 'rangifer ferus', Mt T {Pl.} tagoe 'Cervus Tarandus, олєн'); c̪ds : Slq UTz {HL.} o̯ta̯ 'domesticated reindeer', mac'in o̯ta̯ 'wild reindeer [mac'i 'forest, woods'] ¶ HL's reconstruction of the Sm √ as *c̪z̪ is hardly justified ¶ Coll. 62, UEW 522-3, Jn. 155. HL M # 1001 ¶ A: T {Md.} *t̪'eba̯, {ADb.} *teba̯ 'camel' > OT [ThS II] teba̯, OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} ta̯va̯y, OT Og [MhK] {Cl.} da̯wa̯y ~ da̯wa̯, XwT XIV teva̯, MQP XIII-XIV tewe̯ ~ dewe̯, Cmn XIV to̯ve, Tk deve, Az da̯va̯, CrTt, Qry deve ~ teve ~ tu̯ye, Tkm du̯ye, VTt, Bsh d̪y̯a̯, Blq, Nog, Qzq, qq tu̯ye, Uz tuya, ET, Ln to̯ga̯, Qrg, Alt to̯, SY te ~ ti, Xk тибє tibe, Tv t'ewe, Tf t'eb'e, Chv t̪əve, Slr to̯u̯va̯ 'camel', Yk taba 'reindeer' || Chv L тєвє t̪əve, Chv H т̪əve, Blgh б̪ Hg teve 'camel' ¶ Cl. 447-8, Shch. Zh 103-4, ET VGD 313-5, Mng. WK, BT 156, Ra. 233, Md. 96, 178, Jeg. 244, Fed. II 211, Rs. W 468, DTS 556 ¶ The initial cns. t̪'- in Tv and Tf suggests pT *t̪'- though ADb. (Ttd 51) finds that in roots with a medial voiced obstruent the opposition *t̪'~*t̪- is neutralized || M (≪b T?): WrM temegen, HLM т̪м̪γ̪(н), Kl temən 'camel'; M б̪ Sln t̪m̪əg̪, Orc, Nn t̪m̪ə, WrMc temen 'camel' ¶ STM II 235 ♦ The appearance of m in NrBc and M has no explanation so far.

2320. ?? ***t̪.obV** 'teat' > **HS:** WS *t̪.ub̪V̪y- 'teat' > Ar t̪uby- ~ t̪iby- 'nipple, udder', Gz t̪əb, Tgy t̪ub 'teat', Tgr t̪ub 'breast, teat', Mh {Jo.} wo̯t̪əb 'teat, nipple', Hrs {Jo.} ɦa̯-t̪əb 'teat', Jb C {Jo.} 'et̪əb 'teat of a camel', Sq {L} 'ʔat̪əb 'pis'; ds : Ar wat̪b- outre à lait, sein très développé, Gz ɟt̪.bw G (js. yə-t̪.bu̯) 'suck (the breast), suck milk', Tgr ɟt̪.bw, Tgy pf. t̪əba id. ¶ BK II 58, 1561, L G 587, L LS 57, LH 616, Bsn. 913, Jo. M 433, Jo. H 138, Jo. J 294, MiK I #1.277 ¶ ? A *t̪'ob- > M *t̪obci 'nipple (?), button' > MM [MA, IM] {Pp.} tob̪ci 'button', WrM tob̪ci, HLM товч 'button; nipple, teat', WrO tob̪ci 'button, nipples', Br тобшо 'button, nipple', Kl товч, Ord {Ms.} d̪ob_c̪'i, Mnr H {T} deb̪ci, {SM} d̪ies̪'z̪_i, Mnr M {T} to̪y̪ci, Dx t̪ɜ̯ɜ̯ 'button' ¶ MED 810, Krg. 501, KRS 499, SM 54, T 328, Pp. MA 350, 448, T DnJ 136, Ms. O 14, Chr. 423 ♦ Valid only if the primary meaning of M *t̪obci is 'nipple, teat' rather than 'button'.

¶ **2320a.** ?? ***t̪.UbE** 'thin, small, of short stature' > **HS:** EC: pSam {Hn.} *d̪.u̯ban- 'thin' > Sml d̪.u̯ban- 'be thin' ('essere sottile\magro\snello'), Bn {Hn.} d̪.u̯a 'thin'; Dsn {To.} da̯d̪.ab- 'become thin' ¶ Hn. 58, DSI 182, To. DL 490 || S: Ar t̪ibb-at- (pl. t̪ibab-) 'longue bande\lisière d'étoffe; longue bande de terre\nuage', t̪ibba̯n-at- 'longue bande de cuire \ d'étoffe; longue bande de terre\nuage que l'on voit s'étendre sur l'horizon' || Ar t̪afa̯f-at- 'petite quantité, un peu', t̪afif- 'peu nombreux' ¶ BK II 51, 87 ¶ D (att. in TnD) *t̪up- > Kui t̪up 'short, dwarfish', t̪upri 'short', t̪upura 'a short man\boy', Ku tu̯pla 'short', tupla 'dwarf' ¶ D #2963 ¶ ?? A: Tg: Lm: Sk to̯b̪ɜ̯ɜ̯, Ol to̯b̪əɜ̯k̪ɜ̯k̪ɜ̯n ~ to̯b̪əɜ̯k̪ɜ̯k̪ɜ̯n 'dwarf', Ol to̯b̪əɜ̯ɜ̯, O to̯b̪əɜ̯ɜ̯n, Sk to̯b̪əɜ̯n̪ 'of short stature, dwarfish' ¶ STM II 201.]

2321. ??? ***t̪.u̯bV** (or ***t̪.UbE?**) 'even, calm, quiet' > **U:** FU *tu̯wV 'calm, quiet' > F tyven, Es tu̯ve 'calm, quiet' ('ruhig, still') || ObU {Ht.} *to̯w̪ən > pVg *ta̯w̪ənt 'Ruhe, Stille' > Vg: T tu̯we̯t̪, LK ta̯w̪ənt, UL ta̯:ba̯n̪t, Ss/Sg tawant; pOs *teyən ~ *to̯w̪ən 'still' ({HL.} *ta̯w̪ən ~ *to̯w̪ən) > Os: V/Vy teyən, Ty ta̯w̪ənt, Y ta̯w̪ənt, K tewin, Nz/Kz/O tewən ¶ UEW 525-6, Sm. 550 (FU *tiwa̯ 'calm, deep' > FP *tiva̯, Ugr *tr̪ga̯) (both UEW and Sm. do not distinguish between this √ and FU *tu̯wV 'deep' < N ***t̪.u̯b̪A** 'deep', q.v.), Coll. 120, Ht. #626 ¶ A ***t̪'u̯bV** > M *tu̯b- d̪ *tu̯bsin 'even, straight, calm' > MM [MA, HI] tu̯bs̪in 'even, straight', [S] tubs̪in tukel 'ruhig, friedlich', tubs̪in ɟariɟu 'in Frieden heimkehren', WrM tu̯bs̪in, HLM т̪вшин 'level, even, peaceful, calm', {Kow.} 'tranquillement', Kl т̪' ви̪н 'peaceful(ly), quiet', Kl Ö {Rm.} tu̯ws̪n̪ 'glatt, eben, friedlich, ruhig; Frieden, Ruhe', tu̯ws̪i̪d̪ə-xə 'ruhiger, milder werden, sanftmütig sein\werden', MM [HI] tu̯bs̪i̪verit 'pacifier'; M *tu̯bkine- > WrM tu̯bkine- {Kow.} 'apaiser, radoucir', {Gl.} 'appease, pacify, establish calm (усмири̪, укроти̪, водвори̪, спокойствие)', Kl Ö {Rm.} tu̯pkn̪-xə 'sich besänftigen, beruhigen, sanftmütig werden'; M *tu̯btu̯ > WrM {Kow.} tu̯btu̯ 'straight, sincere', Kl {Rm.} tu̯pt̪ə-xə 'sanft, ruhig, mild werden' ¶ KW 415-7, MED 848-9, Gl. III 236-7, Kow. 1907-9, KRS 511, H 153, Ms. H 103, Pp. MA 357-8 ¶ ?? **HS:** WS *t̪.bb > amb Ar ɟt̪.bb G (pf. t̪abba) 'traiter [quelqu'un] avec douceur' (coalesced [1] with Ar ɟt̪.bb v. 'be intelligent; être habile, savant', akin to Sr ɟt̪.bb v. 'make inquiry, inform oneself, be informed', Sb t̪.bb v. 'teach, proclaim', Gz ɟt̪.bb v. 'be wise, prudent' and Sq {L} t̪.eb v. 'know', and [2] with Ar ɟt̪.bb v. 'treat medically', possibly akin to Jb ɟt̪.bb v. 'cut the skin of a slaughtered goat') ¶ Fr. III 36, BK II

50-1, BGMR 152, Jo. J 274, L LS 198, Ls CDG 585, JPS 165, Br. 265 ¶ The adduction of Ar $\sqrt{t}bb$ 'traiter avec douceur' is valid unless it is a *sd* from 'be wise' ♦ IS SS 317 [#1.14] (FU, M * $\sqrt{t}b$ 'quiet').

2322. * $\sqrt{t}.uibV$ 'reed, stick' > **HS:** S: Ak $\sqrt{t}.ubu^{\wedge}$ '(ε) reed' ¶ Sd. 1393 || $\sqrt{t}\phi$ EC (*mt* ?) * $\sqrt{t}ut_{i,u}b-$ 'pole', {Ss.} * $\sqrt{t}utb-$ 'roofpole' > Sml *udub* 'pole, pillar, post', Sml N $\sqrt{t}u^{\wedge}dub$ 'roofpole, tentpole', Rn {PG} $\sqrt{t}u^{\wedge}b$ 'curved house pole', Or {Grg.} *utuba* 'central pole that supports roof beams', Or B/O {Sr.} *utuba*, Or Wt *utuwa* 'poles, long thick sticks', Arr {Hw.} $\sqrt{t}utu^{\wedge}b$ 'centre-pole of a house' ¶ Ss. PEC 57, Abr. S 242, PG 286-7, Grg. 391, Sr. 39, Hw. A 344 || **IE: [1]** NaIE * $\sqrt{t}wib^h-$, * $\sqrt{t}ub^h-$ 'hollow as a reed' ('röhrenartig hohl') > Gk $\sigma\iota\phi\omega\nu$ 'tube, pipe, siphon (used for drawing wine out of the cask)', 'service-pipe for water in houses', Gk [Hs.] $\sigma\iota\phi\upsilon\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'κενοῦ' ('hollow') || L *tibia* 'pipe, fife, flute; shinbone', *tuba* 'straight war-trumpet', *tubus* 'pipe, tube', Osc β VL **tufa*, **tufus* 'tube, horn (musical instrument)' > Romance lgs.: It Tr *tof* 'Öse', Srd L *tuva* 'Höhlung im Mühlstein', Port *tufo* 'Öffnung zum Ablassen des Wassers', Sp Mrg *tufo* 'end of an axle', It STs *tufa*, It Sr *tofa*, It Ab *tofā* 'shepherd's horn', It Np *tofā* 'bugle-horn' ¶ L *tibia* may go back to a merger of IE * $\sqrt{t}wib^h-$ and IE *(s)*teyb^h-* 'stalk' [> OCS *stǣblǫ id.*, etc.] ¶ WP I 751, P 1102, WH II 680, 712, F II 713, ML ##8964, 8969 || ?? **[2]** ?σ NaIE * $\sqrt{d}eu_b^h$ /* $\sqrt{d}hub^h-$ 'pin, wedge' > Gk [Hs.] $\tau\upsilon\phi\omicron\iota$ 'σφηῖνες' 'wedges' || Gmc: Sw, NNr *dubb* 'pin', NGr Trl *Tuppe* 'large piece of wood'; (dim.): OHG *tubil* 'plug', *tubili* 'dowel', MHG *tu̯bel*, MLG *do̯vel* (β NHG *Du̯bel* ~ *Do̯bel* 'peg, pin'), MDt *do̯vel* 'peg, plug, pin, dowel', NE *dowel* ¶ P 26, EI 638 (' $\sqrt{d}ub^h$ o-s 'wedge, peg'), F II 950, Hlq. 160, Kb. 1043, OsS 965, Lx. 233, KM 145 || **A:** M: WrM *toibur*, HIM {MED} *тойвор* 'stick, cane, crutch' ({Gl.} 'костыль, клочка, багор') ¶ MED 819, Gl. III 149, Kow. 1582 || $\sqrt{t}\phi$ Tg: WrMc {Z} *teben*, *teben moo* 'prop, support', {Hr.} *teben moo* 'Stützholz' (*moo* is 'tree as timber, log') ¶ STM II 225, Z 722, Hr. 894 || **Gil:** Gil A $\sqrt{t}$ 'if 'reed' ¶ ST 381 || $\sqrt{t}\phi$ **D** * $\sqrt{t}u^{\wedge}ppV$ / * $\sqrt{t}u^{\wedge}mpV$, ({GS} * $\sqrt{t}$ -) 'tube, hole' > Kn *tu^bu* 'tube of an ear-ornament' [but Kn *tu^bu* 'nave of a wheel' is a loan from Mrt *tu^ba* id. < OI {Tu.} **tumba*], Tl *tu^paramu* 'hole', Tm *tu^mpu* 'tube, sluice', bamboo tube' ¶¶ D #3389, Tu. #5869 ♦ In IE * $\sqrt{t}wib^h-$ the incompatibility law (rejecting a combination of a vl. stop and a voiced aspirate in the same $\sqrt{}$) is infringed, which is probably due to the two-syll. distance between * $\sqrt{t}$ - and * $\sqrt{b}$ - in the N $\sqrt{}$ and possibly to the presence of a cns. between them. But in IE * $\sqrt{d}ewb^h-$ (if it belongs here) the obligatory *as* does operate, probably due to a kind of phonetic reduction (in different prosodic conditions?).

2323. ? $\sqrt{t}.æb\phi U$ 'to load, fill' > **A:** * $\sqrt{t}e^{\wedge}ab^{\wedge}U$ v. 'load, convey in a carriage' > Tg **tebu* id. > Ewk *t3w(u)-*, Ewk I *tup-* ~ *t3p-* v. 'put into, load, fill, stuff (with sth.)', Lm *t3w(u)-*, Nn B *t3u-* v. 'load, fill, stuff', Neg *t3w-*, *t3wu-* id., Orc *t3wu-*, *t3u-*, Ork *t3w(w)3-*, *t3u-* v. 'load, stuff', Ud *t3u-* v. 'load, pour in', Ul *t3u-c'i-* v. 'load', WrMc *tebu-* v. 'load, put a load (on the shoulders, on a carriage), fill (a vessel)' ¶ Ci. 168, STM II 224-5 || M **teve-* 'load; convey, transport' > WrM *tege-*, *tegege-*, HIM *тѣг-* id., MM *teve-* [S] 'load (on a vehicle)', [HI] 'charrier', Ord $\sqrt{t}e^{\wedge}-$ 'convey, transport; carry (a foetus in one's womb)', Kl *tee-* *te-* 'carry, convey\transport', {Rm.} id., 'load' ¶ MED 792, H 147, Ms. O 654, Ms. H 100, KRS 489-90, KW 395 ¶¶ **a** DQA #2330 [A * $\sqrt{t}ebV$ 'to put' > Tg **teb-*, M **teve-*] || **HS:** WS * $\sqrt{t}.b\phi$ 'fill' > Ar $\sqrt{t}.b\phi$ *G* 'emplir, remplir (une mesure, un vase, une outre)', Jb $\sqrt{t}.b\phi$ *G* (pf. Jb C $\sqrt{t}.b\phi$, Jb E $\sqrt{t}.e\phi$) v. 'drink more than enough', Jb E $\sqrt{t}.b\phi$ *Sh* (pf. $\sqrt{t}.b\phi$) 'make so. drink too much milk', $\sqrt{t}.b\phi$ v. 'drink plenty, too much' (this Jb verb was influenced by $\sqrt{t}.b\phi$ v. 'drink straight from the source') ¶ BK II 53, Jo. J 274, Jo. M 405 || ? C: Bj {R} -*tib* pcv. 'fill' (1s: p. $\sqrt{t}ib$, prs. $\sqrt{t}ib$), -*ta^b* 'be full' (1s: p. $\sqrt{t}a^b$, prs. $\sqrt{t}a^b$) ¶ R WbD 220 ♦ In some Tg lgs. there may be infl. of Tg * $\sqrt{t}eb-$ v. 'put (stellen)' < N * $\sqrt{t}.a^{\wedge}p.V$ 'to put' (q.v.) || An alt. (and less plausible) comparison: N * $\sqrt{t}.æpU$ 'to load, fill' > **A:** Tg **tebu* id. || **HS:** Bj {R} -*ta^b* v. 'be full', -*tib* v. 'fill', $\sqrt{t}a^b$ 'full' || S * $\sqrt{t}.pp$ v. 'be full' > Ak MA {Sd.} $\sqrt{t}.appu$ 'filled (gefüllt)', MHb {Lv.} pp. *Fufy1* $\sqrt{t}.a^{\wedge}p.u^{\wedge}$ 'full', Ar {BK} $\sqrt{t}.ff$ *Sh* v. 'fill' ¶ BK II 87, Lv. II 182-3, Sd. 1379-80 || $\sqrt{t}\phi$ Ch: Hs $\sqrt{t}.mfa^{\wedge}ye^{\wedge}$ v. 'fill; become full' ¶ Abr. H 898 ¶¶ OS #2481 (* $\sqrt{t}.u(m)f-$ 'fill, be full': S, Hs).

2324. * $\sqrt{t}.ub\phi V$ 'lake; natural depression filled with water' > **K** * $\sqrt{t}.ba$ (< ** $\sqrt{t}.wba$?) ~ * $\sqrt{t}.ub-$ 'ravine, lake' (× N * $\sqrt{t}.u^{\wedge}b\phi A$ 'deep'?) > OG, G $\sqrt{t}.ba-$ 'lake', Lz $\sqrt{t}.oba-$, $\sqrt{t}.iba-$ 'lake, pond', Sv {K} $\sqrt{t}.ub(a)-$ 'ravine, lake', Sv {TK}: UB/Ln $\sqrt{t}.uba^{\wedge}$, Ln $\sqrt{t}.aba^{\wedge}$, L $\sqrt{t}.uba$ 'puddle, swamp'; ? Sv {Ni.} $\sqrt{t}.wib$ 'river', Sv UB {GP} $\sqrt{t}.wib$ 'ravine with a rivulet, runnel', Sv UB/LB/L {TK} $\sqrt{t}.wib$ 'ravine, gorge' ¶¶ K 179 & K² 185 (* $\sqrt{t}.ba$ 'lake'), TK 719-20, GP 260, Ni. s.v. *п҃ка*, GP 260; GM S 114-5 and GM SAKS 43 (anaptyctic o in Zan) ¶¶ The

variant **tub-* is represented in Sv (*t.wib-* < **t.ub-i*), while the variant **t.b-* may go back to **t.wb-*, like in the √ **g₁w₁s-*/**gus-* v. 'web' (with **g₁w₁s-* > G *ksov-*, Ɔ K 67) or in other cases of **CwC* > **CC* supposed by K: **k₁wm-* v. 'emit smoke' > G *k₁m-* v. 'burn incense', **rkwm-* > G **rkm-* v. 'cover', **swm-* > G *sm-* v. 'stroke with the hand, smear', **t₁izwn₁-* > G **t₁izn-* v. 'lice', **t₁ik₁wn₁-* > G *t₁ik₁n-* v. 'leap', **warc₁wn₁-* > G *varc₁n-* v. 'comb', **tkwlep-* > G *tklep-* v. 'eat greedily, gobble' II ? **HS:** S **t₁ibf-* > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} *t₁ibf-* 'fluvius; vadum aquae' ¶ Fr. III 38 || NrOm: BMa {SSW} *tāwē* 'lake' ¶ SiW ABK 17 II **IE:** NaIE **d^hewb-* ~ (with a nasal infix) **dhumb-* 'depression in the ground (filled with water)' (× **d^hewb-* 'deep' < N **t₁u^ub^hfA* id.) > Ilr *δυβρι* 'sea' || MHG *tumpf* 'pool, puddle', OHG *tumpfilo* 'shallow place (Untiefe); whirlpool', MHG *tu^umpfel* 'deep place in water, eddy (Strudel)', NHG *Tu^umpel* 'deep place in water', 'pool of stagnant water', NE lc *dump* 'a deep hole in the bed of a river\pond' || Lt *dubury^s* ~ *du^ubury^s*, *du^uburas* 'pit, depression filled with water', *dumbury^s* id. ¶ P 267-8, Kb. 1045, OsS 969, Lx. 234, KM 796, OED III 714, ¶ Frn. 108 II **U** **towV* 'lake, pond' > FU: pPrm {LG} **tu^u* > Z, Vt *tī* 'lake' || pObU {HL} **to^uw^h* 'lake' > pVg **tō^uw* > Vg *T to^u*; pOs **to^uγ* ({*uHL*}) **tu^uγ* > Os: V/Vy/Ty *to^uγ*, Y/K *to^uw*, D *te^uw*, Nz *tu^uw*, O *tuw*! Hg *to^u* (acc. *tavat*) 'lake, pond' || Sm {Jn., HL} **to* 'lake' > Ne *T to*, {Lh.} *to^u*, Ne *F {Lh.} to^u* *to^u*, En {Ter., Mik.} *to*; ? Ng {Mik.} *d^u* 'turku' (< {Jn.} **to-rka^u*); Slq *Tz* {KKIH} *to^u*, Slq *Tm* {KD} *tu^u*; Kms {KD} *t^u*, Koyb {Sp.} *to*; Mt {HL} **to^u* id. (Mt: K {Pl.} *doh*, {MIL} *do*, M {Sp.} *roa*, M/T {MIL} *to*) ¶ UEW 533, Coll. 62, Sm. 540 (U **toxi* 'lake' > FU, FP **tuxi*, Ugr **tu^ugr^u*, Sm **to*), MF 635, Ht. #620, LG 292, Jn. 164, KKI 186, HL. M #1043 II **A:** T **t₁u^uba*, {*ADb*}) **tuba* 'deep lake, deep place in a lake/river' (infl. of N **t₁u^ub^hfA* 'deep') > Chv *таѡпа тѡба* 'deep place in a river\lake (*омут*)', MsTt, VTt *TYK/TYT*, Bsh *Δ тѡба* id., 'deep place (*пучина, омут*)', VTt *U тѡба* 'deep lake without outlet with steep banks; swampy river-bed that is without water in dry years', Qq *tuba* 'backwater (*завод*)' ¶ Ash. XIV 282, IS MS 336, TTDS 416, BR 529, KrkR 653 ♦ In IE and K this √ coalesced with N **t₁u^ub^hfA* 'deep' (because of the merger of **u* and **u^u*), the meaning 'lake' being interpreted as 'a deep depression filled with water'. But in U and T, where **u* and **u^u* did not merge, both roots are distinguished (although there is semantic infl. of **t₁u^ub^hfA* on **t₁ub^hfV*) ♦ Cf. IS MS 336 s.v. '*глубокий*' ('deep') **t₁uba* (?IE **d^hewb/p-* 'deep', T **t₁u^uba* '*омут*', U **tuwV* 'lake', D **tuvV* v. 'dip in', K **t₁(u)ba* 'deep, lake') ♦ ¶ Gr. II #231 (**to* 'lake') [U, J, Ai, Gil].

2325. **t₁Ub^uØV* 'hoof, (finger-\toe-)nail, heel' > **HS:** EC: Af {PH} *d₁ibfi* (pl. *d₁i^ubi^u*), {R} *ti^ubi^u*, Rn *da^udda^ub* 'heel', ? Arr {Hw.} *te^ub* 'foot, spoor' ¶ PH 91, R A II 115, Hw. A 396, PG 100 || ? Ch: WCh: DfB {J} *ta^umba^u* 'sole (Sohle)', *ta^umba^uti saku^ur* 'sole of the foot', Bks {J} *ta^uba^u-i sa^uy* 'sole of the foot (with the heel)', *ta^uba^u-i ra^u* 'palm of the hand' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} *ta^uba^u*, Kwn M {J} *taba* 'foot' ¶ ChC s.v. 'foot', J R 146, 221, OS #2347 || ?? Eg NK *tbs* 'heel' > DEg *tbs* > Cpt: Sd *†t^ubs* *tibs*, B *†t^ubs* *t^uibs* id. ¶ EG V 262, Er. 625, Vc. 211 ¶ OS #2347 (C, Ch) (pHS **tab-*/**tib-*) II **U** **to^upi^uja* (or **s^uo^upi^uja*) > Sm {Jn.} **topa^u*, {HL} **topa* 'hoof' ('Klaue, Huf') > Ne *T toba* 'hoof', Nn *T O* {Lh.} *to^uba^u*, Ne *F L* {Lh.} *to^upa^u* 'Klaue, Huf' : Slq: *Tz* {KKIH} *topi*, {Cs.} *tope* 'foot', Nr {Cs.} *tob*, Ke *toppa*, NP *toppe* 'foot' : Mt *K* {HL} **toha^u* ({Pl.} *tohoto* 'hoof') ¶ Ter. 664, Lh. 492, KKI 185, Cs. 148, 225, HL. M #1044 II **A** {SDM97} **t₁u^up^uo* 'hoof, (finger-\toe-)nail' > NaT {S, SDM95} **t₁ubn^uak* 'hoof' > OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} *tuya^u*, MU *tuyna^u*, MQp *tuya^u* ~ *tuyna^u*, XwT *tuyna^u* ~ *tunya^u*, Chg *tuway^u*, Osm XIV-XVI *duyna^u* ~ *tuyna^u* ~ *dy^una^u* ~ *try^una^u*, Tk *toynak* ~ *duynak*, Tkm *toyna^u*, Chg {RL, Bu.} *·vT tuva^u*, {Bu.} *ÆNvOT tuyna^u* ~ *æYT t^uu^uya^u*, ET {BN, Jr.} *tuva^u*, {RL} *æ"vvT tuva^u*, {Nj.} *æYvuT tuva^u*, Δ *æ"v...vuT tuva^u*, ET Δ {KtnM} *tuba^u*, ET Kc {LCq} *tuwa^u-q*, Uz *tyee^u* *tuya^u*, VTt, Bsh *тѡ^uya^u*, Qry, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qq, Qrg *tuya^u*, Qzq *tu^uya^u*, StAlt *туйгак туйгак*, QK (B, RL), Sg {RL}, Qc {RL}, Qb {RL} *tuyg^u*, Xk *туйгак туйгак*, SY {ML} *tuya^u* ~ *tuyuy^u* ~ *tryy^u*, Tv ду^u *t^uuyuy^u*, Yk {Pek.} *tyj-ax tuy^u-ax* ¶ Cl. 519, Rs. W 499-500, ¶ TL 147 (adduces a misquoted Slr "c^umay" for c^uirna^u that does not belong here, see Tn. S 305), S AJ 179, TrR 252, 868, RL. III 1424, 1435, BIG 239, B DLT 209, BT 157, BN 58, Nj. 340, RUJS 508, Jr. 317, Mng. G 808, Ml. ZhU 124, 128, Bu. I 410 ¶ The rec. of **b-* in **t₁ubn^uak* is suggested by ET *tuba^u* *tuva^u* *tuwa^u-q* and by Chg {RL, Bu.} *·vT*. But *ADb*. (TL 147) reconstructs the pT √ as **t^uuy^uak* || ppM **tu^uβ^uur* > pM *tuyur* 'hoof' (× N **t₁VpRV* ~ **t₁VRpV* 'e part of the foot', 'foot', q.v. ffd.) || Tg **t^uu^upa* 'fingernail' > Orc *tipa* id.; -> Tg **tu^up-ken* 'nail (clavis)' > Ewk *tipk^un* 'wooden nail, peg', Sln *tikk^u-su^u*, {Iv.} *тебко^uсун*, Lm *tipkin* *tipk^un* *tipkir* 'wooden nail; stake (*кол*)', Neg *tipk^u-n*, Orc *tipp^u* (< **tipk^u-n*), Nn *Nh tukp^u-*, Nn *KU tipk^u-*, Nn *B tufk^u(n)-*, Ork *tukp^u-n* ~ *tupk^u-n* 'nail (clavis)', Ud *tikp^u* / *tikp^u-n*, Ul *tukp^u* / *tukp^u-n* 'nail, peg' ¶ STM II 185-6 || pKo {S}

*to^hph 'fingernail' > MKo to^hp^h, Ko Chj t^hop id., Ko Ph/PhN/Kw (and StNko) son-t^hop, Chs L_{son} L^hop, Ks/Sl son t^ho^hp, Hm soⁿt^hop 'fingernail' (lit. 'hand nail', because son means 'hand') ¶ S AJ 252 [#13], S QK #13, Nam 459, MLC 1708 || ?φ pJ {S} *tu^hma^h-i^h 'fingernail, claw' > OJ tu^hme^h, J: T cu^hme, K/Kg cu^hme, Ns c^hi^hmi^h, Sh c^hi^hmi^h, Ht si^h_m_i^h, Y m^h_o^hmi^h ¶ S AJ 268 [#93], S QJ #93, Mr. 555 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *t^hu^hp^ho 'nail, hoof', DQA #2404 [A *t^hi^hu^hp^ho 'nail (ноготь), hoof'], S AJ 278 [#87] (A *t^hup^h∇) ♦ The nasal element in J and WCh defies explanation so far. Altaic *-p^h- may well go back both to N *-p^h- and to *-P^h- ♦ Gr. II #65 (*topa 'claw') [U, A, incl. Ko, J].

2326. *t.u^hb^hfA 'deep' > K *t.ba 'deep' > Mg t.oba-, t.obo- 'deep', (× N *t.ub^hf∇ 'lake; natural depression filled with water'): Sv UB t.wib^h {K} t.ub(a)- 'ravine' (ffd. see s.v. *t.ub^hf∇) ¶¶ K 179 (*t.ba 'lake'), GM S 114-5 & GM SAKS 43 (anaptyctic o in Mg), TK 720, GP 260 **II HS**: S *t.b^hf v. 'sink deep, be drowned' (× N *t.U^hp^hf∇ 'to plunge, immerse', q.v. ffd.) **II IE**: NaIE *d^heu^h-b- 'deep', with a nasal infix: *d^humb- 'Erdvertiefung' > Gt diups, ON dju^hpr, AS de^hop, NE deep, OSx diop, OHG tiof, NHG tief 'deep'; Gt daupjan, OSx do^hpjan, OHG toufen, NHG taufen 'to baptize', ON deyfa, AS diepan 'to dip, baptize', dyppan id. (> NE dip), ON deypa, dy^hfa, du^hfa, AS dy^hfan 'to dip', NE dive; MHG tobel, NHG Tobel 'wooded gorge, ravine, gully' :: OIr {Thr.} domuin, W dwfn, Crn down, MBr {Ern.} doun, Br deun 'deep' (< *d^hubni-) :: Lt dubu^s 'hollow, concave', Ltv do^hbjs^h 'hollow, deep', Lt du^hbti (prs. dumbu^h) 'to become hollow/sunken; to stick, sink', Ltv dubt vi. 'to sink, be hollowed out, become hollow' :Sl *d^hubno 'bottom (of river/sea/lake, of vessel)' (< *d^hub-no-) > OCS дѣно дѣно, Blg дѣно, SCr dno^h, Slv dno^h, Cz, Slk, P dno, R, Uk дно ¶ P 267-8, EI 154 (*d^heu^h-b- 'deep'), Fs. 121, Vr. 76, 78, 87, Kb. 1019, 1024-5, OsS 939, 942, 947, Lx. 227, Ho. 72-3, 79, 81-2, Ho. S 13, Thr. § 190, LP § 48, YGM-1 197, Ern. 195, Hm. 153, Frn. 108-9, Kar. I 222-3, 234-5, ESSJ V 174 & Glh. 201-2 [in both: Sl *d^hubno with *unj*. (for the pSl level)] rec. of *b] **II U**: FU *tu^hwa^h 'deep' > F syva^h 'deep', Es Δ su^hva^h d^h su^hva^h, ? Es su^hgav 'deep, depth', Lv t^hzva^h, Lv W tiva^h, tu^hva^h 'tief, weit nach innen' :pLp {Lr.} *t^hzve^h 'deep; the water far out, deep water' > Lp: N {N} da^hvve^h-v- id., 'the deep of the river or fjord', U {Schl.} divve^h-, I {It.} tavve 'die Meerestiefe, das tiefe Meer', Pa {TI} t^hz^hvv, T {TI} ta^hvve, Kld {TI} t^hz^hvv(ə), K {Gn.} to^h-jv^h [t^hz^hv^hv^h] 'open water surface, esp. deep sea', S {Hs.} d^h dyv^hv^h ene 'draußen in dem\inem Fjord' :: ?? Chr tu^h-, tu^hyu^h- 'outside' ¶ UEW 525-6, Sm. 550 (FU *tiwa^h, FP *tiva^h, Ugr *tr^hga^h 'calm, deep') (UEW and Sm. do not distinguish between this √ from FU *tu^hw^h∇ 'calm, quiet' < N *t.u^hb^h∇ ~ *t.ub^hE 'even, calm, quiet', q.v.), Kt. 416, Lr. #1216, Lgc. ##7677, 7877a, Hs. 475-6, TI 578 **II A** {S} *tu^hp^h∇ > NaT *t^hu^hp^h 'bottom (of a river/lake/vessel), bottom, root' > OT tu^hp, Tk dip/dib- id., VTt, Bsh t^hp, StAlt tu^hp 'bottom (of a river/lake/vessel), root', ET tu^hp 'bottom, root, under', Tkm du^hi^hp, Az dib, Ggz dip, Tv t^hu^hp, Xk tu^hp id., 'bottom (of a river/lake/vessel)', Qrg, SY tu^hp 'bottom (дно, низ)', Tf t^hu^hp 'bottom (of a vessel/river)', Chv t^hp d^h t^hp id., 'root' ¶ Cl. 434-5, Ra.178, Rs. W 505, TL 108-9, ET VGD 317-9, Md. 65, Dr. TM II 652ff., Tkr 191, Hüs. 106, Ml. ZhU 127, BN 159, Nj. 326-7, BT 162, S AJ 194 [#207], ADb. Ttd 54 ¶¶ S AJ 289 [#316], ≠ SDM95 s.v. *tu^hb^hi^h end, edge' (includes T *t^hu^hp^h 'bottom', cp. N *to^hp. IE 'head, top') ♦ In many lgs. (IE, K) this √ coalesced with N *t.ub^hf∇ 'lake', the meaning 'lake' being interpreted as 'a deep depression filled with water'. But in U and T, where *u and *u^h did not coalesce, N *t.u^hb^hfA 'deep' and *t.ub^hf∇ 'l' are distinguished. In IE the √ coalesced with N *t.U^hp^hf∇ 'to plunge, immerse'. In pA there is *mte* from the initial cns. to the word-medial one. In IE the cns. *d^h- for the expected *-t- may be due to the pre-IE incompatibility law (ruling out roots with emph. vl. + vd. [> IE v. + vd. aspirate]. The length of the vw. in T is due the presence of an additional cns. (N *t) ♦ Cf. IS MS 336 s.v. 'глубокий' ('deep') *t.ub^h (?IE, T, U *tuw^h∇ 'lake', D *tuv^h∇ v. 'dip in', K *t.(u)ba 'deep, lake'), S AJ 289 (A, IE).

2327. ? t *t. 'a^h'bHa 'to trample, crumple, press' > HS: B *^h/tbb (× N *t.æ^hp. IE 'to squeeze, press') > Ah ætəb 'se serrer dans ses vêtements, être serré dans ses vêtements' ¶ Fc. 1882 || C: SC: ?? Alg {E} c.obo^hot- v. 'melt', C b>Mb -si^hbi v. 'wring' (× N *t.æ^hp.∇ 'to squeeze, press') ¶ E SC 176 (equates Alg, Mb and Dh; reconstructs SC *t.u^hb- v. 'squeeze out') **II IE** {EI} *dep^h- > NaIE *dep^h- 'trample, push, knead, strike' (× N *da^hop. y∇ ~ *da^ho^hy^hp.∇ 'push' [q.v.]) > Arm to^hem top^hem 'I strike' :: Gk δε^hφω vt. 'soften by working with the hand (kneten, walken)' :: Sl *de^h- (inf.: {ESSJ} de^hbati, 1s prs. de^hbo^h.) 'to strike' > Cz de^hbatu 'to srike, lash', R Ps дѣбат^h 'to break', SCr † de^hpi^hm, de^hpiti (ip. dé^hpiti) 'to strike'; ? Sl *de^hp^hati > P de^hpac^h 'to tread upon, Cz de^hp^hati id., 'to oppress' ¶ IE *d- rather than *-t- due to the pre-IE incompatibility law (ruling out roots with emph. + vd. [> IE vl. + vd. aspirate]) ¶ WP I 786, P 203, EI

550 (*depH- 'strike'), Slr. 389, Tls. 85, F I 37, SPS III 159, Brū. 87, ESSJ IV 225 || U i *tappV v. 'trample' (× N *t.abiVJqa 'hit\strike' × N i *da|op.γV ~ *da|o'γ'p.V 'push' × ?? N *t.æ'p.V 'to squeeze, press') > pMr *tapa- > Er/Mk tapa- 'zertreten, niedertreten' | Prm i *tap- 'trample, press, flap' > Z i tapki- 'flap, walk slowly', tapyav-ni 'walk with soft quiet steps', Vt i tapirti- 'stamp one's feet' || Hg i tapos- 'tread (on/down), trample', tapod- 'treten, zertreten' || Sm: Ne T i таАпаАр- v. 'kick, push with one's foot', Ne O {Lh.} tapar- 'mit dem Fuß treten, stoßen', Slq Tz {KKIH} tappal- 'kick, strike with the foot (пнут, логнут)', {Erl.} tapir- 'mit dem Fuß stoßen', Slq {Cs.}: B taper-, Ke ta'ber-, Nr tabar- 'stoßen' ¶ UEW 509, MF 613-4, LG 278, TmK 671, Ker. II 164, Lh. 449, KKIH 179, Erl. 251, Ter. 509, Cs. 146, 286 || R: [1] R: T *t'a'p- 'trample' (× N *t.'a''bHV 'to trample, crumple, press', q.v. ffd.) || [2] A i *t'a'p'V (~ *t'a'p'V?) > T *t'a'p- v. 'kick, stamp, clap' (× N *t.abiVJqa '↑' > OT ta'p- id., MT xiv [IM] da'p-, Tkm da'p-, da'pin-, Tk tep- v. 'kick' (of horses)', Osm {Rl.}, Chg {Rl.} da'p- 'mit Füßen treten, ausschlagen (von Pferden)', Ggz tep- 'kick, strike with the feet', Az ta'p- v. 'stop up; felt (valenki, felt boots)', ta'pik 'a kick (пинюк)' (*t' > Tkm d- in *CVp-roots, f ADb. Ttd 54), XT dep-, Qzq, Qrg, Uz, StAlt tep-, StXk тeп-/-б- tep-/-b-, Sg т'п-/-б- tip-/-b-, VTt, Bsh тp-/-b-, ET ta'p-, Tv t'e'p-/t'e'v-er, Tf t'e'p'-, Yk ta'p- v. 'kick' (пинат, логат), Chv тап- tap/b- v. 'kick, push' ¶ IS AD 43 [#8] (mentions a Tv variant i de'v-, not confirmed by Tv dictionaries), Cl. 435, TrR 850, Rl. III 1108-9, 1687, TL 394, TvR 409, Ra. 234, Jeg. 230, ADb. Ttd 55-6, BIG 223, 225, Fed. II 171-2 || M *teyire- > WrM teire-, HlM түйрү-х v. 'kick with the hind legs, kick back', Ord {Ms.} t'ir- 'kick with the hind leg', Kl {Rm.} t'ir- id., {KRS} тиip- t'ir- id., 'kick with the foot' (пинат, логатс), Brt тиip- 'trample the ground (утапыват)' | ? M {DQA} *tu'bu' > WrM tu'ber- v. 'stamp the feet, trample underfoot' ¶ MED 797, 848, Ms. O 662, KRS 498, KW 396 (Kl t'ir- < *tewire-), Chr, 422 || Tg *tebb- (or *tepp-?) > Lm təbək- 'press\squeeze (sth. juicy)'; i Tg *tepte- 'trample down' > Ewk təptə- id., Nn təptə- 'dance' (n.), ? Lm təpsəni- 'trample ground on the same place, mark time' ¶ STM II 224 ¶¶ IS AD 50, Pp. AU 100 ¶¶ M *tu'ber- v. 'stamp the feet, trample under foot', Tg *tu'b- v. 'step, trample' (> Ewk tu'w-, Lm to' id., Neg tu'asan 'track') and pJ *tu'mpu' 'trample, destroy' (> J T cu'bu-s- id., ltOJ tu'bu'ra-, J T cu'bu 'be trampled, destroyed', f S QJ #1197, Mr. 772) may either belong to a different etymon or have a labial vw. due to the infl. of the labial cns. ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2390 [A *t'i_o'p'e 'to trample' > T, M, J] || ? i D *tapp- ({AD} *dabb-) v. 'strike, beat' [× N *t.abiVJqa '↑', q.v. ffd.] ♦ *a in U *tappV and T *t'a'p- is due to vowel harmony and points to a final *a ♦ The et. is qu. because such onomatopœic roots may have originated independently in different daughter-families and subfamilies. M *d- (for *t-) in *debse- is still to be explained (as?).

2327a. ?? *t.abiVJqa 'to hit\strike' (→ 'to kill') > HS: S *t.bχ v. 'slaughter' (→ v. 'cook') > Ak t.bχ (inf. t.abā'χu), BHb t.bh G v. 'slaughter, slay, kill off', Ug t.bχ 'sacrificar, degollar', JA {Trg.} t.bh v. D, JEA t.bh v. G 'slaughter, slay', Sr t.bh G 'slay, strike', Pun, OA d t.bh 'butcher, cook', Ar ≈b^ t.bχ v. G 'cook', Gz t.bh G (pf. 2B1 t.abha, js. Y@! yət.ba'h [yət.ba'h]) v. 'slaughter, slay, kill', Tgr/Tgy t.bh G 'strip off the skin', Sb d t.bχ 'meat', Hrs t.bχ (pf. t.əbo'χ) v. 'cook\boil', Mh t.bχ (pf. t.awbəχ) v. 'cook', 'make a mark' (← *'slaughter, sacrifice', cp. Gz Sh pat.bəha v. 'make an incision, sacrifice'), Jb t.bχ (Jb E pf. t.ə'χ, Jb C pf. t.e'χ) v. 'bake edible parts in cowpats' ¶ Sd. 1235-6, A #1111, OLS 479, HJ I 419, KB 352-3, KBR 368, HJ 419, Lv. T I 293, Js. 516, Sl. 492-3, Br. 267, JPS 166, Jo. M 406, Jo. J 274, L G 585-6, LH 615; EthS *h for the expected *χ has not been explained (a loanword from a h-lge.?) || U: FV *tappa- v. 'strike' (→ v. 'kill') (× N i *da|op.γV ~ *da|o'γ'p.V 'push' × U i *tappV v. 'trample' < N i *t.'a''bHV 'trample, crumple, press') > F tappa-, Es tapa- v. 'kill, slaughter' | pMr *tapa- > Er/Mk {Ps.} tapa- v. 'strike and wound (or leave a mark)', {KC, PI, ERV} тапа- v. 'break, defeat (the enemy)', Mk {Ahl.} tapa- 'schlagen, prügeln' | ? i Chr tapt-as' 'forge (коват, отбиват)' ¶ UEW 509-10, Ker. II 164, KC 299, PI 266, ERV 645 || R i *t'a'p'V (~ *ta'p'V?) > T *t'a'p- v. 'kick, stamp, clap' (× N *t.'a''bHV '↑', q.v. ffd.) || D *tapp-, {'AD} *dabb- [?] (< **tapH-) [× N *t.'a''bHV '↑'] > Tm tappu v. 'strike, kill', tappai 'a blow', Kn dabbe, debbe, d.abbe, d.ebbe 'a blow, stroke', Tl debba id., dabbad.incu v. 'slap', Prj tapp- v. 'strike, kill', Knd tap- v. 'strike, hit' ¶¶ D #3075 || ?? K: GZ *tkwep-/tkwip- 'beat, beat up' (× N *duk'U 'strike, beat', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The cns. k for the expected χ and the unexpected labialization (*w) may be due to the infl. of N *duk'U ♦ IS MS 330 (i *t.ap'Λ v. 'beat': IE *tep- 'beat\tread', A *t'apV v. 'beat\forge\tread' [T, Tg], U *tappa v. 'beat with feet, tread', D *tapp- v. 'beat',

K *t.k.ep-/t.k.eb- v. 'trample', HS *t.p- v. 'beat, break, trample'), IS SS #1.10 (id.) → BmK 318-9 (*t'ab-/t'əb-: S, U, D). In my opinion, we can distinguish here several roots - N *t.ablVJqa 'hit\strike', *t.ap.V 'hit (the target)', *daop.yV ~ *dao'p.yV 'push', *t.a''bHV 'fl' and *t.æ'p.V 'squeeze, press'. In the descendant lgs. these roots influenced each other, sometimes contaminated and merged. Ideophonic associations could also play a role. U *-pp- < *-bH- (H is a vl. lr.) < *-bLVJq-.

2328. ? ₂ *t.VbV'L'V 'to dip in, immerse' > K: G t.bor- 'unter Wasser setzen' ¶ Chx. 1332 II HS: WS *√t.bl v. 'dip in' > BHb √t.bl G (ip. -t.bol) v. 'dip into (a liquid), dive, plunge into', JA [Trg.] √t.bl G 'dip into, bathe', JEA √t.bl G vi. 'immerse oneself for ritua; purification', vt. 'dip food', Ar {KB} mut.abbal- 'feucht', Gz √t.bl G v. 'wash with holy water', t.abal 'holy water, baptismal water', ? Mh mət.bəlo't 'hot stones put under and on to dough in a glowing fire' (← *'hot stones put into water to heat it and to cook food in it') ¶ KB 353, KBR 369, BDB #2881, Lv. T I 293, Js. 517, Sl. 493, L G 586, Jo. M 406 ♦ K *r < *l still needs investigation.

2329. ? ₂ *t.uH'c'V ~ *duHc'V 'to glide, slip' > HS: WS *√t.Hs|c. id. > Mh, Hrs √t.hs G, Jb E √t.hs G v. 'slip, stumble', Jb C Sh et.hes ~ et.hes v. 'slip', Ar Y {Goit.} t.uhus 'schlupfrig'; WS *√dXs'c. > Ar √dhs G 'glisser, trébucher dans un terrain glissant', Sq {L} √dh.d (= √dhs') 'glisser, trébucher, s'égarer', Gz √dXs' G v. 'slip', Jb: E 'daḥas', C 'mudḥas' 'slippery place' ¶ Jo. M 408, L G 128, L LS 125, BK I 675, Goit. 38 II D {Pf.} *tuc-Vk- v. 'slip, slide' > Tl dusuku v. 'slip, slide (as a tied knot, sth. hold in hand, foot in clay, etc.)', dusiki(l)u v. 'slip, slide', Krx tus(ə)g- v. 'loosed threads that are knit' ¶¶ D #3288, Pf. 74 [#454], Km. 403 [#667].

2330. aa *t.a''wəV 'to be full' > U: FU *ta''wəe 'full', v. 'fill' > F ta''ysi (gen. ta''yden) 'full, filled, whole', Es ta''is (gen. ta''ie) 'full, filled' : pL {Lr.} *te''vte- v. 'fill' > Lp N {N} dəw'de-/wd-, Lp S {Hs.} dievtedh, Lp Vfs {Lgc.} d.ı.ı.w|tə-, Lp L {LLO} teu'te-t, Lp Kld ti.ev''deδ id., tivt, tivt 'full' : StChr L тич, Chr U/B/M tic' 'full' : Prm: Vt дол-дол, долак 'everybody, everything, (as a) whole', Prmk do'l 'all, everybody, everything', Z Δ dəla 'very, completely' [Z Δ {Glv.} dəla kus' 'stark naked' (kus' is 'naked'), dəla bi 'very hot' (bi is 'fire, heat') → Z dəla bi-3n 'blazing'] : ObU *te''vəl 'full' > pVg *ta''vəl > Vg: T ta''wl, LK tə''xlə, MK/UK ta''xlə, P taxla, NV ta''wla, LL taxl, UL/Ss ta''xl id.; pOs *tel ({Hl.} *ta''l) > Os: Vy/O tel, Ty ta''l, K/Nz tit, Kz te'l id. : Hg tele, teli 'full, filled' ¶ UEW 518, Coll. 119, Sm. 550-1 (FU *ta''wda'', FP *ta''vda'', Ugr *ta''gda'' 'fill'), a Lr. #1249 (Lp <b F), SZ 113, a TmK 209, MF 626-7, Ht. #622, Lr. #1249 (Lp <b F), Lgc. #4821, Hs. 435 II a *t'odV > T *t'od-, {ADb.} *toδ- v. 'be full, sated' > OT toδ- id. ({Cl.} toδ- without proof of the length), Tk doy-, Tkm, Az, XT doy- 'be(come) sated', SY toz-, Qzq, Qrg, Qq, Nog toy-, VTt, Uz tuy-, Tv тод-ар t'od-ar, {ADb.} t'o't-, Tf {Ra.} t'ot-, {ADb.} t'ot- id., Yk tot 'full (sated)', tot- 'be full (sated)'; T {Md.} *toδ-gun- > OT [MhK] toδyun-, Tkm doyan-, Chv L тьran-, Chv H тьran- 'eat one's fill' ¶ Cl. 451, Rs. W 483, TrR 244, Jeg. 238, Md. 43, 179, Ra. 147, ADb. Ttd 52 [#17], Fed. II 195-6 ¶ Acc. to A. Dybo's theory (ADb. Ttd 50-2), in roots with intervoc. voiced obstruent the opposition *t' ↔ *t- is neutralized || M *todsun (ADb.: < **t'od-sun) n. 'fat (as food), butter' [← *sating'] > Mnr H {SM} t'o'zə 'butter', MM tosun [S, MA, IM] 'butter', [HI] 'fat, oil', [ISV] 'fat (graisse)', WrM tosun, HIM roc 'fat, butter, oil, tallow', Kl tosn. 'fat, oil', MMgl tusun 'oil, grease', Mgl {Rm.} tusun 'Fett, Speck' ¶ MED 828, KW 403, Rm. M 40, H 152, Pp. MA 351, 448, Ms. H 102, SM 422, T 365, Iw. 139, Lg. VMI 69 ¶¶ KW 403, ADb. Ttd 52 II K {K} *t.t.en- (< **t.d-en- < **t.wd-en-) 'fill, stuff, pack (tight) with' > OG, G t.en- id., Mg t.it.in- v. 'stuff tight', Sv: {K} t.t.ən-/t.ət.ən- 'fill to the brim', L {Dn.} t.ət.ən- (msd. li.t.t.ən-e, 1s aor. ox.t.ət.ən) id.; L lit.ənt.e'l- msd. 'to fill' ¶ K 183, K² 186 (*t.en-), FS 292-3, FS E 325-6 (*t.en-), Dn. s.v. t.ət.ən- & t.ənt.e'l- II D (in SD) *tav- ({GS} *t-) 'much' > Tm tava 'much, intensely', Kn tave 'abundantly, wholly, completely', Td tof.in- v. 'be perfect' ¶ D #3106 ¶¶ The D cognate is valid only if N *-wd- yields D *-v- II ??? IE *teu-t- 'the whole, everybody, people' (> L to-tus 'the whole, entire', etc.) [× N *t.ut.E 'clan\tribe, everybody, all' (q.v. ffd.)] II Gil: Gil A d.ad.ə 'all, whole, full' ♦ BmK 289 (U, D + i ÷ IE {P} te''w-/tewə- v. 'swell' and Eg twə.t 'swellings'); ≠ Resh. NNE #11 (phonetically *unj.* comparison of FU *ta''wəe 'full' with A {DQA} *ta'lV, cf. N *dalq'u' 'wave') ♦ In IE there is as **t-...d^h- > *t-...t- due to the pre-IE incompatibility law (ruling out combination of emph. and vd. [> IE vl. and vd. asp.] in the same root).

2331. *t.ogE 'dust, earth (substance)' > HS: C: Dhl {To.} t.ugg'a, {EEN} t.ugg'a, {E} t.o'gg'a 'smoke' [÷ : Ag: Xm {BSW} 't.iya, Xm Wg c'gga 'smoke'] E SC 229 (< SC *t.yog'a 'smoke'), EEN 17 (believing that the SC word is a loan from Khoisan), To. D 148 [I, Blz. CL 180, BSW KhWL 7] || S: Ar rvjuY0da

dayg'u-r- 'earth, dust' ¶ Fr. II 8, BK I 671, ≠ Ln. 853 (supposes that Ar dayg'u-r- 'earth, dust' is a *sd* from dayg'u-r- 'darkness') ¶ Ar d- for the expected t- is due to the incompatibility of initial *t- and medial *-g- in S roots (similar to the known IE incompatibility laws) || ?? Ch (× N *t.uK.ʼaʼ 'earth (substance), mud, dust'): WCh: Hs to-ka- 'ashes' : Tng du_ka id., 'potash, salt' ¶ Abr. H 868, J T 81, ¶ Sk. HCD 258 || IE *dʰegʰo-m / *dʰgʰem- 'earth' > NaIE: OI ks.am- (nom. ks.a-h, acc. ks.a-m, gen./abl. gmah, ~ jmah, instr. jma-), Av zam- (nom. za, gen. zəm-o-, acc. za_m) id., NPRs ñyMz za-mīn id., 'ground' || Gk χων 'earth', χαμαί 'on the earth' || pAl {O} *zo- 'earth, land' > MAI G {FB} ʕe [ðe-], StAl T/G dhe, Al {Huld}: D/P ðe-, Be/C/Ba/F ðe || L humus 'earth (soil)' || OIr du' (gen. don) 'place, spot' || Pru semme ~ same ({En.}: [zeme-]) 'earth', Lt z'e-me, Ltv zeme 'earth, land' : Sl *zemja 'earth, land' > OCS земля zemlja, Blg зем, SCr ze'mlja, Slv ze'mlja, Cz zeme, Slk zem, P ziemia, R, Uk зем id. || Phr Gdan Ma 'Mother Earth' || pTc {Ad.} *tken > Tc: A tkam, B kem 'earth, ground' || AnIE (× N *t.uK.ʼaʼ) ¶ Ht tekan / gen. taknas 'earth', loc. tagan (= {GI} [tkan]), abl. tagnaza, Lw tiyam(mi)- 'earth', HrLw {Ts.} takmi 'earth, land' (dat. takami 'to the earth') ¶ ¶ ≠ P 414-6 (*gʰdem-), EI 174 (*dʰegʰo-m 'earth'), M K I 288, 448, M E I 424-5, Bai. 346, F I 1098-9, WH I 664, LP § 28, Frn. 1299, En. 245-6, Glh. 695, Vs. II 93, Wn. 506-7, Ad. H 35, 42, Ad. 192, Huld 57-8 (pAl *ðe-; refers Al to IE *dʰoygʰa- 'that which is molded, daub'), O 80-1, Ivn. OPA 25-35 and GI 149-150 (analysis of phonetic changes), ABIV. II 133-7, Mlc. CL 230-1, Ivn. SA 153, Ts. E III 292-300 ¶ ¶ *dʰ- (for the expected *t-) is due to regr. *as* and to the known incompatibility law ruling out *t...gʰ-root structure || A *t'ogV 'dust, clay' > NaT {ʼAdb.} *tog- 'dust' > OT toy ({Cl.} to-y), Chg {VZ, RI. → Rs.} -vt toy 'dust', ET Δ {Nj.} toy 'dust', {Jr.} toy 'dirt which is the result of a dust-storm gathers on leaves' ¶ Rs. W 483, Cl. 463, Nj. 316, Jr. 309, RI. III 1158 ¶ Acc. to A. Dybo's theory, in stems with intervocalic voiced obstruents tje opposition *t' ↔ *t- is neutralized || M *to'y'u-sun 'dust' > MM [S, HI] to'vosun, WrM togusun, HIM тоос, Brt to'hon, Kl to'sn. 'dust', Dg {Pp.} to's, {Mrm.} roc id., {Mr.} tua-se 'dust, dirt' ¶ MED 818, H 151, Ms. H 101, KW 405, Klz. D II 138, Mr. D 226 || Tg *toaksa 'clay' (with a sx. *-ksa for uncountable nouns) > Ewk, Neg ta'ksa, Lm ta's, Ud takea, Ul toaqsa ~ tuaqsa, Ork to'qso, Nn Nh/KU toaqsa ¶ STM II 154 [?σ Tg *tu.g- 'cloud' > WrMc tugi, Jrc, Ewk A/Tkm tuxu, Lm to'xəri, Ud toko 'cloud'; ¶ *tu.gV-kse id. > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh tɔwksɔ, Nn B tɔksɔ, Ewk tu'ksu, Sln tukcu id., Ork tɔwɔwɔ 'cloudy' ¶ STM II 208 ¶ STM II 154 (Tg, M).

2332. ?? *t.ogV 'straight' (→ 'true') > HS: EC *d.ug- 'truth' > Or {Grg., Sr.} d.uga- 'true, right', Arr {Hw.} d.u'gga, Dsn d.u-ʰ, Kns d.uk-a-ta, Gdl, Gln d.uka 'truth', Brj d.uh-a-kka/-tta 'certain' ¶ Ss. PEC 26, Ss. B 66, Bl. 217, Hw. A 357, Grg. 130, Sr. 299, AMS 198, To. DL 495 || A *t'ogV > NaT {ʼAdb.} *tog- (*t- = neutralized archiphoneme *t'/t-) > OT toy- v. 'go straight for (sth.)', toyur- v. 'be upright, straight', toyuru 'straight', Tk dog-ru, Tkm doyrı id., Az doyrı 'true', Chg toyrı 'opposite', Cmn toyru 'straight', tuvra 'even', Qzq tu-ra 'straight', VTt tur id., 'true' ¶ Cl. 465, 472-3, Rs. W 484, Hüs. 111, DHST 305, Grøn. 247, 258 || ?? Tg *toŋdo (or *toŋno) 'straight' > Neg toŋno, Sln tondo-xo-, {Iv.} тоңдо, Ork, Nn Nh toŋdo, Nn KU toŋno, WrMc tondo 'straight; just, honourable', Ewk toŋno id., 'faithful, loyal', Orc toŋno(n-), Ud X/B {STM} to-ŋdo 'straight', Ud B {Shn., Krm.} toŋdo 'true (hit)' (of hitting the target), Jrc {Kiy.} tondo 'loyal' ¶ STM II 197-8, Krm. 296, Kiy. 119 [#407] ¶ If the pTg form is *toŋno, it may go back to **tog-no || ?? IE: NaIE *dek-s- 'just, fortunate; right (dexter)' (< **degʰ-s-? × <d- IE *dek- v. 'suit, be fit' < N *tAK.E 'to suit, be appropriate, fit', q.v. ffd.) ♦ In IE *dek-s- the cons. *d- is accounted for by N *t- in *tAK.E and by the incompatibility law (whence IE **d...gʰ is for i t...gʰ).

[¶ **2332a.** 2 *t.ʼi'gŋa 'to hear, listen' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *d.eg-/d, Rn {PG} d.o'g 'ear-drum, ability to hear', d.a'ga 'hear', pBn {Hn.} *d.e.g 'ear' (> Bn: Bi, J, Kj d.e.g, K e.g), Elm d.ey-/d.ekay, Or d.agay-, Kns. Gdl d.akay- 'hear', Brj d.afa 'ear', d.agay- 'hear', Yk dek- 'hear', AfPH {d.a'ga 'ear-drum, inside ear'; || Ag: Bln {R} digg y- 'obey, take into account' ¶ AD SF 55, 257 {pC *t.Vg(g)- 'ear; hear'}, Ss. PEC 17, Ss. EDB 61, Bl. 137, 248, PG 88, 96, Hn. BD 104, Hn. NBLK 21. PH 88 || ? Ch: ECh: Dng {Lk.} d.e'ŋgei-, d.engi'ŋko, {Fd.} d.e'ŋge' 'ear' (unless <b- Ar ChCS ʔuduŋ id.), Mu {Lk.} ʔi'ge, {} ʔe'ge'w, ? Jg d.oy-, ? Brgt d.o-yi' 'hear', Ll {Grgs.} d.e'ŋli' 'hear', ?Kbl {Cp.} tiy3g3 id., ?Kwn {} tugu' 'ear' || ? CCh: Tr {Nw.} tɔk- 'hear' ¶ Lk. ZSS 17, Ch, ChL ¶¶ AD SF 257 (C, Ch) || A: M *dugul- 'hear, listen' > ~~T *t'igla- *t'igla- 'listen'~~ || M *ciŋla- ♦ The T lax *t- (for the expected tense *t-) needs explanation] **Too shaky!**

2333. *t.EgwV 'to swell, become thick\large\strong; (?) besmear' > HS: CS *ʔt.yt.y, *ʔt.yw v. 'swell' > Sr {Br.} ʔt.ʔt.ʔ 'tumere', Ar ʔt.yw G ~ ʔt.yy G 'dépasser la mesure, être trop grand, très haut;

déborder (se dit d'un torrent, d'une fleuve)'; S *^o-t.īṛy- > Gz √t.yf G (pf. te-ṣa) 'besmear, anoint' (× N ***t.eqv** 'to smear, rub; fat, ointment') ¶ Br. 283, Fr. III 58, BK II 86, □ L G 600 || ? Ch (× ***t.eqv** '¶ [q.v.]): ECh: Kwn {Jl} d.a'we 'fat' (n.) || WCh: ? Buli {Sh.} d.ugi id. ¶ JI II 131, ChC II IE *teHw-/twoH/*tHw- > NaIE *te-u-/*təu-/*two-/*tu- □ 'big, strong' > OI tavi-ti 'is strong, has authority' (pfc. tu-tava), tava- 'strong, powerful; strength', Av tav- 'be capable of' (pfc. tu-tava), tava- 'strength, power', OPrs ata-vayam 'ich vermochte', u-tava- 'strong' || Arm tiy t'iw 'number' || Gk [Hs.] ταυ'χ· με'γαλ, πολυ'χ ('big, much') || L *tove- v. 'stuff' -> to-mentum 'stuffing (of a pillow, mattress)' || Sl: RChS тѣти ti-ti (1s prs. тѣю tij-u) v. 'be fat', SCR to-v n. 'fattening' -> Sl *tovi''ti > SCR to-viti 'to fatten' ¶ P 490-1, □ EI 560-1 [*teu_hA- 'swell (with power), grow fat'], WH II 680, M K I 490-1, M E I 638-9, F II 861, WH II 689, Glh. 634, Jah. OSK 30, 111 || R: M *tebexē- -> *tebexē-re > WrM tebegere, HIM тѣвѣр 'fatness, plumpness', WrM tebegere-, HIM тѣвѣр- v. 'become vigorous, regain one's health\strength, become plentiful\abundant', Kl tewē-r- 'stark, kräftig werden', Brt тѣвѣр- 'become well-fed, fat' (of cattle), Ord t'ewe-re- 'redevenir vigoureux'; Brt W тѣвѣл tebe-l 'fatness (of cattle)' ¶ MED 790, KW 395, Chr. 451, Ms. O 662 || ? T {'ADb.} *^otoblu-r- v. 'be large\big' > OT [MhK] tovr 'large', tovr- v. 'become big', Tk d' dobur-cuk 'rain with large drops' ¶ Cl. 444, TL 26, THDS IV 1534 ◇ ≠ BmK 289 (an attempt to equate the IE √ and Eg tw3.t 'Schwellung' with FU *ta-wōe 'full' & D *tav- 'much' - ≠ N ***t.a''wdv** 'be full').

2334. *t.eywv 'to ask (for), beg' > HS: EC *d.a-ṣ- v. 'ask for' > Af {PH} d.a-ṣe- v. 'plead, prey, supplicate, beg', Sa {R} da-ṣ- ~ de-ṣ- 'rufen, nennen; bitten, beten, anrufen die Gottheit' (unless ← da-ṣ- 'rufen, nennen'), Rn d.a-h- v. 'ask for', Arr {Hw.} d.aw(i)?- 'beg' ¶ PH 88, PG 88, R S II 96-7, Hw. A 354 || ??σ S *^o-t.u-ṣ- > Ar -t.u-ṣ- v. 'obey, pronounce \ repeat sth. to so.' ¶ BK II 119 || K: pGZ {K} *tχo-, {K²} *tχo(w)-, {FS} tχow- v. 'ask for, beg' > G tχov- v. 'ask for, marry (a woman)', Mg tχv- 'ask for; marry (so. to so.)', Lz tχv-/tχ- 'ask for, marry' ¶¶ K 99, K² 79, FS K 160-1, FS E 174, Q 245-6 || D *tev(v)- v. 'beg' [× N ? ***teb0v** 'to follow so., chase' (→ 'to demand')?] > Tm tevvu v. 'beg hard, importune', Ml te-ra 'beggar', Tl de-vurincu v. 'beg humbly, importune', Krx temb-na- v. 'beg for alms', temba-rus 'mendicant, beggar' ¶¶ D #3431A.

2335. ?₂ *t.a''ka 'to attack' > K *^ot.ak- > G {Chx.} (da-)t.ak- 'an-\zusammen-stoßen, zusammenprallen, angreifen' ¶ Chx. 1316 || HS: Eg MKL tkk 'attack; violate (frontier)', tkk.w 'attackers', Eg XIX/G tktk id. (HS de-emphatization *- < *t.-) ¶ EG V 336, Fk. 302 ¶¶ i ÷ (⇔ Tk. I 221) S *√tkk ~ *tktk 'tread on (with feet), step on, oppress' (GB 788) and Hs ta-ka 'disobey, break the law' || R: NaT {'ADb.} *ta-g- v. 'attack' (× T *ta-g- v. 'reach, touch') > OT {Cl.} ta-g- v. 'attack', ? Tkm deg- v. 'hit [the target]', Qq, Qz1 tiy- 'attack' ¶ Cl. 476, TkR 251, TL 572 || D *ta-kk- ({GS} *t-) v. 'attack, assault' > Tm ta-kku v. 'attack, strike', ta-kkam (n.) 'attack, assault, hit', ? Ml ta-kkuka v. 'hit', Kn ta-ku v. 'attack', ? Tu ta-kuni-ta-guni v. 'hit', Tl ta-ku v. 'attack' ¶¶ In some D lgs. the √ coalesced with the homonymous verb *tak- 'touch' [< N ***t.oka** (or ***t.aka**?) id.], which may account for the unexpected long vw. ¶¶ D #3150, ≠ Km. 380 [#554] (does not distinguish among several roots and reconstructs *ta-y-nk-/kk-) ◇ Alternatively, the K, D and possibly the T forms may belong to N ***tap.ka** 'to attack, obstruct, prevent' (q.v.).

2336. *t.Eke 'to build, shape, make, do', ? 'to arrange' > HS *√t.vk- > Ch {JS} *√d.k v. 'build, make earthenware' > WCh {Stl.} *d.vk id. (× N ***t.o'q'a** 'to plait?') > pAG {Hf.} *j.ik v. 'build, mould (from clay)' > Su {J}, Gmy {Hf.}, Chip d.ik, Kfr M {Hf.} j.ik, Ang {Hf.} j.ia_k v. 'build, mould', {ChL} j.ik v. 'build'; BT: Pr {Frz.} d.i'gu v. 'build', Krkr {Lk.} d.a'ko', {ChL} d.3ku v. 'build, make earthenware', Dr d.i' v. 'build' || ECh: ? Mu {J} di'ya' v. 'build' ¶ JS 56, ChC s.v. 'build', Stl. ZCh 174 [#263], ChL, ChC, Hf. AGG, Frz. P 29 || ? Eg N dg: 'Steine verlegen, Säule aufstellen, Gewölbe bauen; pflanzen' (× N ***t.E?ak'a** 'to put, set' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE {P} *tek-p-, {ABlv.} *teks-, {EI} *tek-s- 'fabricate', {Mn.} *tek-s- v. 'fashion, carpenter, create, cut (behauen)' > OI 'taks- id., Av tas-t 'has built', tas-a- 'axe', MPrs ta-s'iðan v. 'cut, shape', NPrs φTa ta-s' 'hatchet, axe'; Irn -> Arm ta2em tas'em v. 'rough-hew, roughen down, plane' || Gk τε'κτων 'carpenter, worker in wood; craftsman', τε'χνη 'craft in work, art, skill' (< *teks-na-) || L tex- (tex-o-, -e-re, -ui, -tum) v. 'plait, weave' (× NaIE *tek- id. < N ***t.o'q'a** 'to plait, bend') || Olr ta'l 'adze, paring-knife (doloire), carpenter's axe' (< *to'ks-lo-) || OHG dehsa 'axe', dehsala 'axe, adze', ON þexla 'Queraxt' || Sl *tesa''ti (1s prs. *tes'o.) v. 'shape by hewing' ('behauen, **tecat**□) > OCS

тесати tesati / тешж tes'o, R те'сат / те'шж, SCr te'sati / te's'e'm, Sln te'sati / te's'em 'hew, trim (as log)', Cz tesati, Slk tesat' 'to hew, hack, chisel', P ciosac' / ciosze ~ ciesac' / 'ciesze' 'to hew, square' ! Lt tas'yti / 1s prs. tas'au' 'rough-hew, trim', Ltv te'st / te's'u 'cut (wood), hew, trim' || AnIE {ABlv.} *tak-s-/t- > Ht taks- {Ts.} 'bereiten (Wohnung)', 'fügen (Kriegszug)', {ABlv.} 'make, fashion (делат, мастерит)', Ld tas'o 'befehlen, anordnen'; ABlv. II 146-8 tie in Ld taqtula- {ABlv.} interpreted as 'to conclude a treaty, tie (two entities) by a treaty', but Ts. does not accept the connection for morphological reasons and because of the obscure meaning of the Ld word ¶¶ Mn. 1374, P 1059-1060 (*tek'p- 'flechten, das Holzwerk des geflochtenen Hauses zusammenfügen'), M K I 468, M E I 612-4, Horn 87, F II 867-8, 889-90, WH II 678-9, Vn. T 21, Kb. 147, OsS 98, EWA II 564-8, Vr. 609, Frn. 1065, Vs. IV 50-1, Sls. I 105, Glh. 623-4, Ts. E III 40-4, 46-9, ABlv. II 146-8, Gsm. SL 296, Gsm. LW 209, 211, EI 139 [*tek's-(t)or/n- 'one who fabricates (cloth, wool, etc.)' < *tek's- 'fabricate'], 38 [? *tek'so/ehA- ~ *tek'slehA- 'axe, adze'] ¶¶ IE *k' (for the expected *g') is accounted for by as *g's- > *k's- (or *g'p- > *k'p-) || U: FU *teke- v. 'do, make' > F teke-, Es tege- : pLp *tэкэ- > Lp: N {N} da'kka' / -g-, S {Hs.} dakkedh, L {LLO} tahka-, Kld tэкка' / -tэкка' id. : pMr {Ker.} *teвэ- > Er tee- 'eye-, Mk тие- 'iyə- v. 'do, make' || Hg te'v / te' / te'sz id.; at the pFU level the √ merged with FU *teke- v. 'put, place' (F N *t.E?ak?a 'to put, set') ¶ UEW 519, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *teki-, Ugr *tekr- 'do'), Lr. #1210, Lgc. #7631, Hs. 413, TI 581, Ker. II 165-6 || ? A: [1] ?σ A {DQA} *t'a'k'u' {AD} 'to make, repair' (× N *tAK.E 'to suit, be appropriate, fit') > Tg *taku- 'repair' > Ewk taku-, Lm taq-, Ul taqu-, taqunac'-, Ork tautci- d ta'wci-, Nn KU taqo-, Nn Nh/B tago- ~ taogo- id. ¶ STM II 155 || pJ {S} *tu'ku'r- 'make' > OJ tu'ku'r-, J: T cuku'r-, K cu'ku'r-, Kg cu'ku'r- id.; OJ tu'ku'rəp-, J: T cukuro-, K cu'ku'ro-, Kg cu'ku'ro- 'repair' ¶ S QJ #1011, Mr. 774 || T *t'ajagra- > Xk {BIG} tayira- 'repair, mend (footwear, clothes)', Sg {RL} tayra- 'ausbessern, zunähen (einen Riß)', Qzl {Jk} tayra- 'stopfen, flicken, nähen (alte Kleider)'; but not here (⇔ Rs.) Tv t'a'r- 'cut/clip (hair, plants)' (←b M *tayari- 'cut short, cut off', cf. MED 765) ¶ Rs. W 454, BIG 212, RL III 800, TvR 401 ¶¶ DQA #2291 || [2] amb M *tege- > WrM tege- v. 'do so, thus, or that way', HIM теге- id. (× d from the M *te- 'that', see Pp. IM 228) ¶ MED 792 ♦ Cf. BmK 277 (IE, FU) ♦ ≠ Gr. II 103 (*tek 'do') [U, CK + err. IE *dhe-].

2337. *tikU 'horror, fear' > IE: NaIE *tyegw- {P} 'scheu vor etwas zurücktreten oder auffahren', {EI} 'give way, pull oneself back (in awe)' > OI 'tyaj-ati 'leaves, abandons, quits', {EI} 'stands back from sth.', OI 'tyajah, Av iθyej'ah- 'abandonment', Av iθiaj'ah- (iθyaj'ah-), iθieja'ah- (iθyeja'ah-) id. || Gk Hm σε'βομαι v. 'feel awe or fear (before gods), feel religious awe, feel shame', Gk σε'βω v. 'worship, honour', σε'βαλ 'reverential awe', σοβε'ω 'frighten off' ¶ P 1086, EI 650, M K I 529-530, M E I 673-4, F II 686-7 || D *tikVI-, {GS} *digVI- 'fear, fright' > Tm tikil, tikir 'fright, terror', Kt digi'l-in- v. 'be thunderstruck, be astounded because found out in wrongdoing', Kn digil(u), digalu 'consternation, horror, fear', Tu digilə, Tl digulu 'fear, alarm', Knd tiyel 'fear', tiyel- v. 'be afraid' ¶¶ D #3202 || A {DQA} *t'ik'v 'to fear, hate' > NaT *t'jiksin- > Osm tiksini- 'abhor', Tk tiksini- 'be disgusted, loathe', Az diksin- 'start, be frightened', Qq tiksini- 'be squeamish'; T → M: WrM zigsi-, HIM жигши- 'abhor, hate'; M → T c'eskin- 'be squeamish, abhor' ¶ RL III 1351, Hüs. 107, KrkR 640, MED 1052, TvR 529 || Tg *ti kun-, *ti kul- 'be(come) angry' > Ewk tikun, Lm tiqu- 'be angry', Ewk tikul-, Sln {Iv.} tegul' ~ tuyul, Lm tiqu- 'become angry' ¶ STM II 179 ¶¶ DQA #2369 [incl. T, Tg] ♦ IS MS 370 s.v. ужас *tikU, IS SS #1.28.

2338. ?? *t.oka (or *t.aka?) 'to touch' > HS: C: EC: Af {PH} d,age v. 'touch', Sa {R} dag- ~ d,ag- 'berühren, anrühren' || Ag: Xm {R} dag- [dav-] 'berühren, antasten' ¶ PH 89, R S II 102, R Ch II 38 || WCh: NrBc: Mbr, My, Jmb tэкэ v. 'touch' ¶ ChC, Sk. NB 45 || IE: NaIE *tag- v. 'touch' > Gk τεταγω'v 'seizing (fassend)' || L tango' / -e're / tetigi / tactum v. 'touch', Vls atahus (ft. II) 'attigerit' || AS ðaccian 'to touch, stroke (a horse)', ME thakken 'to stroke', OLG thakolo'n 'streicheln' ¶¶ P 1054-5, EI 595, F II 684, WH II 647-8, Pln. I 442, Ho. 359, Skeat 645 || ?? A > NaT *t'ajoku- v. 'touch' > Az toxun-, Tk dokun-, Ggz dokun- id., Chg {RL} æmnQv6 toqun- 'sich an etwas stoßen, anstoßen', ET {Nj.} toqun- 'touch, catch on, collide (задеват, зацепит, сталкиват)' ¶ Hüs. 296, GRMS 151, RL III 1150, Nj. 319 || AmTg *tugde v. 'reach, touch' (langen bis...) > Orc tugds-, Ul tugdi- ¶ STM II 203-4 ¶¶ DQA #2199 (A *ti.ok'e 'to touch, reach') || D *tak- ({GS} *t-, *-g-) v. 'touch' [× N *ta'kf'v 'to touch', q.v. ffd.] ♦ IS SS #5.19, IS MS 369 (*ta'ka 'to touch': IE, A, D) → BmK 283-4 (IE, D + Sum tag v. 'touch' + i ÷ EC *tak-, v.

'push, strike' + i ÷ SC: Alg tinq- v. 'squeeze out') ♦ EC *tak- v. 'push, strike' and Or tuk.a v. 'touch' can be better explained as going back to N ***ta''kʃv** 'ŋ' and N ***t.ʃu''K.a** 'to thrust, stab' (q.v.).

2339. ? ***t.oku** 'large, thick' > IE: NaIE *tegu- 'thick' > Gmc {Vr.} *θikkw- 'thick' > ON þykk, þjokkr, þjukkr, NNr tjukk, Sw tjock, Dn tyk, OHG dicki, NHG dick, OSx thikki, AS ðicce 'thick', NE thick || Clt: OIr tiug id., Brtt {RE} *tegu > OW, MBr teu, W, Crn tew id., Br tev id., 'fat' ' ¶ WP I 718, P 1057, EI 547 (*tegu-s 'thick, fat'), Vr. 630, OsS 102, EWA II 624-6, Ho. 364, KM 131, Vn. T 76, RE 138, Hm. 788 || **HS:** ?ϕ C: Bj {R} deg- 'be heavy', 'de_ga 'heavy' ¶ R WBd 62 || **Æ:** M: WrM togumag 'rather large\fat', toglui-, HIM тоглой-х 'be large \ robust \ corpulent', ? Brt tugzi- 'be stout \ corpulent' ¶ MED 814, 817, Chr. 434.

¶ **2339a.** ***t.okv** ± '(palm of) hand (with fingers), span of hand' > K: GZ *m-t.k.aw-el- 'span (the distance between 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-) || **HS:** EC *ta_L.kk- 'span of hand' > Sml {ZMO} ta_ko 'hand-span measurement (based on the distance between the thumb and the tip of the middle finger)', Sml N {Abr.} ta_ko 'span', Or T takku 'palm of hand (with fingers)', Or {Grg.} ta_kku- 'span (distance between thumb and forefinger)', Sd {Gs.} ta_kko id., Ged {Hd.} ta_ko, Hd {Hd.} ta_kko?o, Kmb ta_c'u-t (Hd.): < *ta_k-c'u-t), Qbn {L} tac_c'uta 'span of hand', Ya {Gr.} tegei 'hand', {Hn.} t.e'ke' (pl. t.e'hke'i) 'arm' ¶ AD SF 262, ZMO 381, Grg. 371, Gs. 310, Hd. 139, 261, 299, 339, Hn. Y II 120 || NOm: Hrr {Ls.} ta_ka'-du, ? Gm {Hw.} tad_a'ko 'span', ? Mc {L} ta_c'c'i- v. 'measure' ¶ Ls. M 53, Hw. EG || **Æ:** M *to_æ 'span of hand' > WrM to_ge, HIM τ' 'span, the space from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index or middle finger when extended', Kl {KRS} τ' 'span (distance between thumb and forth finger)', {Rm.} to_ 'span (distance between thumb and middle finger)', Brt τ' id., Dg {MYC} tuz, Mnr E {MYC} tu_ 'span' ¶ MED 832, KRS 511, KW 408, Chr. 433, MYC 643 || Tg *togar 'span of hand' > Ewk toxor 'span (distance between the tip pf the thumba and that of the index)', Neg toxoy, Orc, Ud to_, WrMc to_ - too 'pan (distance between thumb and middle finger)', Lm toxar, Ul tawali, Nn Nh tawar, Nn B tawara, Nn KU tor 'span' ¶ STM II 190-1 || ?σ pKo {S} *to_i 'measure of capacity (1/10 mal)' > MKo to_i, NKo twe ¶ QK #1170, Nam 161, MLC 496 ¶¶ DQA #2418 (pA *t'o'gi 'span') ♦ Blz. KM 137 [#18] (incl. K, EC, Om, M, Tg; does not distinguish this root from N ***ta''yK.v** 'finger')].

2340. □ ***t.Eʔakʔa** 'to put, set' > **HS:** Eg N dg 'Steine verlegen, Säule aufstellen, Gewölbe bauen; (Bäume) pflanzen; (etw.) ankleben' (d < HS *t.) (× N ***t.Eke** 'to build, shape, make, do' [q.v.]), Cpt: Sd τωωδε to_o-ce ~ ({Vc.}: aberrant form) τωκε to_ke, B τωχι to_zi 'ajouter, appliquer, joindre, planter' ¶ EG V 499, Vc. 227 ¶ Eg g (for k) needs explanation (infl. of *ʔ, which may have been voiced?) || S *°√t.wk., *°-t.u.k- > Ar {BK} t_a-q- 'couche, pli (dans les choses superposées lss unes aux autres)', t_a-q-at- 'couche, série, rangée', ??σ t.awq- 'corde à l'aide de laquelle on se hisse sur un palmier; collier; chaine portée en guise d'ornement' || ?? S *°√tkl > Gz √tkl v. G 'plant, implant, set up, establish' (→ Bln {R} takal, Xm {R} tikel v. 'plant', Sa {R} takal 'stechen') ¶ L G 573 || **U:** FU *teke- v. 'put, place' (× N ***t.Eke** 'ŋ' [q.v.]) > Lp: N {N} da_kka^-/-g- v. 'place, dispose of', L {LLO} tahkat 'dazu bringen zu' ! Er t'eye- v. 'place (somewhere) (дето, деваго)' || Hg te_v-te_-te_-sz- 'put, place, lay' ¶ UEW 519, ERV 652, LLO 1064 || **Æ:** [1] A {DQA} *t'e'ge'o 'to sit' > Tg *tege- 'sit down' > Sln {Iv.} təkz-, tzyi-id., Ewk tzyz-^d tzy-, Lm tzy-, WrMc te-, Mc Sb tzy-^d tzyz- id., Neg tzyz-, Orc, Ud, Ork, Nn Nh/B tzy- 'stand\sit up (from lying in bed)' ¶ STM II 226-8 || ?σ pKo {S} *th_λ- 'ride' > MKo th_λ- ¶ S QK #510, Nam 456, MLC 1684 || ??σ pJ {S} *tzykz 'bed' (if ← 'sit') > OJ, J K to_ko', J: T to_ko, Kg to_ko ¶ S QJ #211, Mr. 548 ¶¶ DQA #2333 || [2] A *t'ik_v v. 'place into, stuff into' ({SDM97} *t'ik_u v. 'stuff into, press into', {DQA} *t'ik_i 'to plant vertically') (× N ***t.ʃu''K.a** 'to thrust, stab', q.v. ffd.) || **IE:** NaIE *ta_g- v. 'put (sth.) to its right place, arrange' > Gk (prs.) τα_σσω, Gk A (prs.) τα_ττω (aor. ε_τα_γην, prtc. τακτο_ŋ) v. 'place in a certain order; arrange, put in order', τα_γμα 'ordinance, command', Gk Th τα_γο_ŋ 'leader, commander' || Lt pa-togu's (cp. ε_υτακτο_ŋ) 'convenient, comfortable', Ltv Δ {ME} pata_gs 'handlich, bequem', Lt {Ju.} su-to_gti 'sich trauen lassen, sich verbinden, sich verheiraten', {EI} 'ally oneself with, get married' (← *'arrange oneself with') || Irn: Prt tgmdr □ 'commander' (< *tagma-da-ra- 'command-giver') || ? Tc: A ta_s's_i pl. 'commanders', B ta_s- □ 'commander' ¶ P 1055, EI 472 (*ta_g- or *teh_Ag- 'set in place, arrange'), Ch.1095-6 (has doubts about *a), F II 845-6, 859-60, ≠ Mn. 1365, F II

859-60, Frn. 551, ME III 119, Wn. 49, Ad. 387-8 ♦ ≠ Gr. II 103 (*tek 'do') [U *teke- 'do', CK: Chk, Kor teyk id. + *err.* IE *dʰe- 'put'].

2341. *t.okV?V ~ *t.o'h₁V₁kV 'to burn, fire' > **HS:** Eg fXVIII tk₃ vi. 'burn, illumine' > DEg tk 'verbrennen, anzünden' > Cpt: Sd **ṭwk** to'k, B **ṭwk** tʰo'k 'allumer, chauffer'; Eg fP {Vc., Fk.} tk₃ (= {Vc.} *taki?) 'flame, torch, taper', Eg M tk₃.w (= {Os.} *ti.kʷw) {EG} id., {Fk.} n. 'torch-lighting' > DEg tyk 'spark' > Cpt: Sd **ṭik** tik, B **ṭik** tʰik id. ¶ EG V 331-3, Fk. 301-2, Er. 659, Vc. 212, Os. I 79 & II 460 ¶ Vc. 212 distinguishes between Eg fP tk₃ 'flamme' and Eg M tk₃.w, while EG V 331-3 mentions only Eg fP tk₃.w 'Flamme, Fackel, Kerze' || ? C: Bj {R} √tkʷy (1s: p. 'atkʷi, prs. atan'kʷi) vt. 'cook' (× N *dʰA'kʷo' 'to burn' [tr.], q.v.?) ¶ R WBd 225 **II K [1]** pGZ *tutk- v. 'scald, burn on the surface' > G tutk- 'scald, scald oneself', {Chx.} (ga-)tutk- '(an-, ab-)brühen', (da-)tutk- 'verbrühen, verbrennen', Mg tkutk- {Fn.}, Lz tutk- v. 'burn' ¶ K 74 (*tutk-), Chx. 503, DCh. 570, Fn. KW-2 48 #2 || **[2]** K (+ext.) *t.k.rec- > G t.k.rec- 'an der Oberfläche verbrennen' ¶ Chx. 1354 **II IE** *teḡg- > NaIE teḡg-/*təḡg- v. 'burn' > Gk τη'γανον ~ *mt* τα'γηνον 'frying-pan, saucepan' :: OHG dachazzen ~ dahhezzen 'to flame (loderen), blaze', AS ðe'c'c'an vi. {Ho.} 'verbrennen'; ðæc'elle 'torch, a light' (infl. of fæcele 'torch' < L facula) ¶ WP I 717-8, P 1057, F II 815, Kb. 141, OsS 95, EWA II 488-9, Ho. 359, 361 **II A** {DQA} *t'ogel 'fire' > NaT {Adb.} *to'gen 'brand' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} to'gu'n, Chg xv to'gen id., Osm {Rh.} do'gu'n 'tattoo mark', Yk tu'ō'n 'moxa, tinder used for cauterization'; T b> WrM to'gene, HlM ṭ' 'ḥ' 'cauterization, moxa', WrM to'gene-, HlM ṭ' 'ḥ' - v. 'cauterize, apply a poultice or a high compress' ¶ Cl. 484, Pek. 2902, MED 832, Rh. 926 || M *tu'xēl-(deg) > WrM tu'gu'deg, HlM ṭ**dṭṭ 'campfire', < ? *tu'x'i-mer > WrM tu'imer, HlM ṭ**ṭṭṭ 'forest or steppe fire, wildfire', Dg {T} tui₁mer, {Mr.} tuimere, Brt ṭ**ṭṭṭ, Ord t'u₁mer fire (incendie)', WrO {Krg.} tu'imer 'fire, blaze', Kl ṭ**ṭṭṭ tu'mər 'fire (incendie)', {Rm.} tu'mr. 'Feuersbrunst' ¶ MED 850-1, T DgJ 169, Mr. D 227, Chr 443, Krg. 530, KRS 525, KW 418, Ms. O 684 || Tg *to₁ga 'fire' > Ewk toxo^d towo^d togo 'fire, campfire', Sln togo 'fire', Lm toxd^dto^d 'fire', Neg to⁻toxo, Orc, Ud to⁻ 'fire, campfire', Ul tawa 'fire', tawv/-i- v. 'light (a candle, etc.)', Ork tawa - ta'wa 'fire, hearth', Nn tawa^d ta(w)v^d to⁻ 'fire, campfire, hearth', Nn Nh ta⁻o-(wo)-, Nn B ta(w)v- v. 'ignite', Lm tuwa, Mc Sb tua, Jrc {SDM} towi 'fire', Mc Sb tabu- v. 'ignite' ¶ STM II 190, Krm. 295 ¶¶ DQA #2417, S AJ 157 (adduces pJ *ta'k- v. 'burn, set fire' > OJ tak-, [RJ] ta'k-u-, J T ta'k-, cf. S QJ #649, Mr. 762) **II ? Gil:** Gil A tuṣr 'fire' ♦ Cf. Blz. KM 121-2 [#26]: K i tkutk- (i.e. *tutk-), HS *√tkʷ and A *toka v. 'burn' (Tg *toga + i ÷ pJ *tak-) equated with Ugr *tu'xə-t (i.e. U [*tewV-tV]) 'fire' (which, to my mind, does not belong here, but goes back to N *t'e'ṭw'a' 'fire') and with an alleged D *tikk-/tukk- 'hearth, fireplace' (actually *tikkel-/tunkel-), which is too doubtful.

2342. *t.uklE ~ *t.u'klV [or *I'] (→? *t.ul₁kE ~ *t.u'lkV) 'wolf, jackal, fox' > **HS:** C {AD} *√tkʷl 'Lycaon pictus, jackal', {E} *takʷl- 'wild dog' > pAg {AD} *takʷla- > Bil {R} ta'g'la-, Q {R} taχ'ela- 'Wolf'; Ag b> Gz tkO- takʷla-, Tgy, Amh tkO- tekʷla 'wolf, Canis famelicus (?)', Tgr {LH} TK- təkla, {Mz.} tokla 'Lycaon pictus' (or 'Canis lupaster'); Ag or EthS b> Bj {R} ta'kla 'Lycaon pictus', Sa {R} ta'kla - ta'χla id. :: SC: WRt {E} *takʷer- 'jackal' (E: > Irq {MQK} pl. tawēr 'wild dogs', sg. tawēr(a)mo- 'wild dog', {Mgw.} tawēr-mo- 'fox, jackal', Grw {Fl.} tuer 'wild dog' [E postulates a change SC *-l- > WRt *-r-]) ¶ E PC #412, R WBd 226, R WB 334, R S II 352, L G 573, LH 316, MQK 100, Mgw. 108 || NrOm: GnJ {Si.} 't.irkū, Gcm {Si.} tər'ko, Bdt {Hw.} 'tolko, Krt {Si.} tōlko, Zs/Zrg {Si.} 'tōlko, HzMa {SWW} dulli', Sz {SWW} du'li^d du'le' 'hyena' ¶ Hw. NKL 219, Blz. KV s.v. to'lo, Si. ACh 16, SiW BA 14 ¶¶ It is tempting to include here the word for 'jackal' in some WCh lgs.: Stl. reconstructs WCh *dila 'jackal' > Hs di'la-, Gw dila :: BT: Krkr di'la' :: Ron: Sha {J} fat3-'jel :: Ngz {Sch.} di'la' (Stl. ZCh 173 [#256]), but the word (except that of Sha) is obviously a loan from Kanuri d3'la' (Lk. KL 194, Sch. DN 34) **II A** {DQA} *t'ulke, {AD} *t'ulke or *t'u'lkV 'wolf' or 'fox' > T *t'u'lkū ~ *t'ilku' 'fox' ({ADb.} *tilku-, {Md.} ppT *t'u'li'lk'i) > OT [QB] {DTS} tilku- ~ tu'lkū, {Cl.} tu'lkī, [MhK] {Cl., DTS} tilku- ~ tilki, MU, XwT tilku-, Cmn, Chg tu'lkū, MQp tu'lkū ~ tilku-, OOsM dilku-, Tk tilki, Ggz, Tkm tilki, Az tu'lkū, Slr A tu'ligu ~ tu'lu'gu(r) ~ tu'lugo, Slr U t'uligur ~ t'ulugu ~ t'ulugo, VTt ṭ' лке ть'лкь, Bsh ṭ' лк' ть'лкь°, Qry tu'lkū ~ tilki, Qzq, Qqm Nog tu'lkī, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt tu'lkū, Xk tu'lgū, Uz tulki, Uz XwrOg tilki ~ tu'lkī, ET {Nj.} tu'lkā, Tv дилги t'ilxi, Tf t'ilxi 'fox' :: Chv тилеÄ тиль, {Fed.} til id. ¶ Cl. 498-9, DTS 596, Shch. Zh 135, TL 161, 643, BT 161, Tn. SJ 526, Ra. 173, Nj. 338, Jeg. 251, Fed. II 229, Md. 66, 181 || Tg: Sln tu'lg3 'wolf' ¶ STM II 210 || ? pJ {S} *tu'a'ra' 'tiger' > OJ tu'o'ra', OJ tu'o'ra', ItOJ [RJ] to'ra' > J: T to'ra, :to'ra!, Kg to'ra ¶ S QJ #273, Mr.

550 ¶¶ DQA #2460 ¶ D *to_l- ({}GS} *t-) 'wolf' > Kn to_l.a, Tu to_l.ə - to_l.e 'wolf', Brh to_l.a 'jackal', as well as possibly Tm to_{nt}.a_n. and Tl to_~d.e_l.ju 'wolf' (where -nt_~- and _~d_l < *-l + t-) ¶¶ D #3548 ♦ The rec. of *-kl_~- is preferable to *-l_~k- because it is more natural to explain the length of the vw. in D by compensatory lengthening caused by the loss of the first component of the cluster *-kl_~:- *-vkl_~- > *-v_l~-. In precon. position T *l may go back both to *l and to l', hence N *l' is not ruled out.

2343. *t.a^hktV 'louse' > **HS**: C: Bj {R, Rop.} ta_t (pl. tat) 'louse' ¶ R WBd 232, Rop. 245 || Ch *tVt- 'louse' > WCh: Ron: Fy {Sch.} te_t, Klr {IL} t_hi_d id. : BT: Krkr to_d.a_~, Gerum {Sch.} to_~d.ə_h id. : CCh: BtG {Mch.} te_~tiye_~, Mtk {ChC} te_~c_~e_~, Mkt {Ro.} a_~ta_~c_~, Md i_~te_~t id. ¶ ChL, ChC, Ro. 286 ¶ **U**: FU *^ota^hktVmV > ObU *te^hktVmV 'louse' > pVg {Ht.} *ta^hkmV id. > OVg: W P, S Vt тахмә, N SoO тахмь, W Sol тахмь; Vg: T ta^hkə_m, LK/MK/UK to^hχə_m, P/NV/LL таχə_m, SV ta^hχə_m, UL/Ss ta^hkə_m 'louse', LK/MK ta^hχə_my-, UK ta^hχə_my- v. 'delouse'; pOs {Ht.} *to^hytə_m 'louse' > Os: V/Vy to^hytə_m, Ty ta^hχ^wtə_m, Y ta^hwtə_m, D/K/Nz/Kz/O tewtə_m id. ¶ Ht. #634 ¶ **A**: Tg *tikte 'louse' (if < *tiK-kte) [x N *t.a^hyV 'louse', q.v.] > Ul tiktə, Ork tiktə ~ çiktə, Nn Nh c_~iktə, WrMc cixi ~ cixe 'louse'; an alt. analysis (in the framework of N *t.a^hyV) is based on the v. *t_i~le- 'look for lice' (presumably derived from **t_i~) (ffd. see N *t.a^hyV) ¶ STD II 179 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 165 (on the Tg sx.).

2344. *t.aK.E 'to be\keep quiet, be silent' > **HS**: Ch: WCh: pAG *d.ok v. 'be\keep quiet' > Gmy, Kfr, Kfr M, Ang d.ok, Su {J} d._o'k i pNrBc {Stl.} *tik.i 'silence' > Kry ti'ki', My ti'ki'ti'ki', Sir tək.i ¶ Hf. AGG #79, Stl. Ang #60, Stl. ZCh 250 [#37], Nt. 10, J S 65, ChC s.v. 'silent, silence' ¶ **IE**: NaIE *tak_~- v. 'be silent' > L tace-o[~] / tace[~]-re / tacui / tacitum v. 'keep silence', Um tac_{ez} TASES 'tacitus', TASETUR nom. pl. 'taciti' : ? W gosteg 'silence' : Gt pahan, ON þegja, OSx thago_n, OHG dage_n v. 'be silent', ON þagall, þo_gull 'schweigsam, still' ¶ WH II 641-2, ¶ EI 518 (*tak-), Bc. G 348, Pln. II 758, Fs. 487-8, Vr. 605, 607, OsS 94, EWA II 488-90, Ho. S 76 ¶ **A** *t^o'a^h'k^hV > NaT *t^o'a^h'ek > OT, QT ta^h'k 'silent, silently', ta^h'k tur- v. 'be silent, stand silent', Chg tek-dek 'silent', OOg xi ta^h'k tur- v. 'stand silent', Tk tek dur- v. 'stand silent\quiet', Tkm dek 'quiet', dek dur 'stand quiet!', Qq, Qrg, Uz tek 'quietly (смирно, спокойно)', tek tur 'stand quiet!', Nog tek oltr 'sit quiet!' ¶ Cl. 475, TrR 841, TkR 252, KrkR 633, Jud. 719, UzR 422, NogR 343 ¶ The initial t--d- in the Og lgs. provides ev. of pT *t^o- (f IS AD 38-45) ♦ The vw. *t^o'a^h in T (and A) is probably due to vowel harmony.

2345. *t.iK.a 'to be straight' (→ 'to be true, be fit, be trustful') > **HS**: S */tk.n v. 'be straight, in good condition' (x N *tAK.E 'to suit, be appropriate, fit', q.v.) > BHb √tk.n v. G 'be straight' (inf. N7qt6l5 li-t_~'k.on) v. 'be straight', D Nq^hST5 (pf. tik_~'k.en) 'he made [it] straight', Sr √tk.n G (pf. Nææ tək_~.en) 'was established, firm', Ar √tqn Sh (pf. ?atqana) v. 'make perfect', Ak √tk.n G 'geordnet, gesichert sein\werden', ?ϕ Tgy √tk.n D v. 'stabilize' ¶ GB 888, Sd. 1323-4, KB 1642-4, L ESAC 55 ¶ **IE**: NaIE *tei_~k- / (with a nasal infix) *tink- v. 'be fit; trust' > Lt ti_~kti (prs. tinku_~) 'to be fit \ suited', Ltv tikt (prs. ti_~ku) 'to like, enjoy'; Lt tike_~'ti (prs. tikiu_~), Ltv tice_~t v. 'trust, believe' : OHG dīngen 'to hope, strive to', MHG dīngen 'hoffen, glauben, Zuversicht haben' ¶ WP I 705, Frn. 1090-2, Kar. II 402-3, Jg. VB 91-103, Kb. 155, OsS 103, EWA II 653-5, Lx. 31 ¶ **A** *t^o'ik^hV 'straight' > T *t^o'ik- v. 'insert vertically' (x N *t^o'u^h'K.a 'to thrust, stab', q.v. ffd. x N *t.E?ak?a 'to put, set'), *t^o'ik 'straight, vertical, precipitous' > OT tik- v. 'insert vertically', tik 'straight, vertical, upright, precipitous', OT [MhK] dik tur- v. 'be vertical', Chg tik 'vertical', Tk dik, Ggz dik- id., 'precipitous', Tkm dik 'straight; precipitous, steep', Az dik, ET tik 'straight, vertical', Tk dik-, Tkm, Ggz dik- v. 'install\insert vertically', Az tik- v. 'build', ET tik- v. 'install, plant', Tv t^o'ik-/t^o'ig- 'put (a cauldron) on fire, set up a yurta (tent)', Xk t^o'k-/t^o'g- tik-/g- 'put food on fire (to cook it)', Chv {Ash.} чике c_~ig_~e 'precipitous, upright' ('крутой, отвесный') ¶ Chv c_~i- < *t_~i- (palatalizing infl. of *i?) ¶ Cl. 475-7, Ash. XV 196, Md. 80, 179, IS AD 41 [#11] (equates Tk tik- with T *t^o'iq-), TvR 413, BIG 227 ¶ Tense pT t^o- is suggested by Az tik- and Tv t^o'ik- || M *cike 'straight, vertical' > WrM cike, HIM цyx, Brt cyx 'straight', WrO ciki id., 'direct', Kl чик c_~ikə 'straight' ¶ MED 180, Kow. 2175, Krg. 636, KRS 649, KW 439, Chr. 405 || ? Tg *-tik_i 'towards' (directive case ending, {Ci.} allative ending) > Ewk -tik_i ~ -tk_i (e.g. oron-tik_i 'towards a\the deer', bira-tk_i 'towards a\the river'), Neg -tix_i ~ -tk_i, Sln -tix_i ~ -tx_i, Lm -tak_i ~ -tk_i, Ork -taki ~ -tai, Orc -ti(k_i), Ud -tigi, Ul -ti, Nn -c_~i ~ -tki ~ -ki ¶ This ending belongs here unless it is a cd *ti + *k_i (as supposed by Bz.) ¶ Vas. 791, 793, Bz. 85-7, Ci. 256, Sun. S 161 ¶¶ ≠ SDM97 (A *ti_~'k_i v. 'plant vertically' T, M + *unc.* Tg *dike_~ v. 'hide'), KW 439

(M, T, Tg, Ko c'ik 'Richtung, gerade, aufrichtig') ✧ ≠ BmK 290 (a semantically unwarranted attempt to equate S * $\sqrt{tk.n}$ v. 'be straight' with IE *tegu- 'thick' and M cigirag 'strong').

2346. *t. $\sqrt{o'k}$.U 'to run away, run, leak' > **HS:** S * $\sqrt{t.k.w}$ > Ar $t_{\sqrt{q}w}$ G (pf. $t_{\sqrt{a}}qa$, msd. $t_{\sqrt{a}q}w$ -un) {Fr.} 'celeriter incessit', {BK} 'marcher avec rapidité' ¶ Fr. III 12, BK III 112 || EC: HEC * $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ - v. 'flee' > Sd {Hd.} $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}k_{\sqrt{a}}$ -, {C, Mrn.} $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ - id., Brj $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}k$ - id., Hd {Ss.} $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ - v. 'flee, leak' ¶ AD SF 276, Ss. B 182, Hd. 223, 397 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} * $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ - v. 'go, run' > Hs Kc $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}a$ v. 'go away, go to a journey', Hs $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}a$ v. 'pace' : Glm {Sch.} $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}g$ -(a 'la) v. 'run' : DfB {J} $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ / hab. $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}id$. : ? CCh: Hw {ChL} $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}a$ v. 'follow' ¶ Stl. ZCh 163 [#168], Ba. 977, 1050-1, Sch. BTL 89, J R 222, ChL ¶¶ ≠ OS #2418 (* $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ - 'go, run') || **K:** pGZ * $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}wn_{\sqrt{o}}$ - v. 'skip (away), run quickly' > G Δ (ga -) $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}n$ - 'skip, skip away' (скакать, ускорять), Mg $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}(r)k_{\sqrt{o}}n$ - v. 'run as fast as one can' ('бежать без оглядки') ¶ K 181, Q 328 || **IE** * $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}w$ - v. 'run, flow' (EI 'run, flow swiftly') > OI 'tak-ti 'hurries, rushes along', Av $tac'a$ iti 'runs', KhS $tays$ - v. 'run, stream', NPrs dzT ta - z - a 'd 'walks fast, runs', $\hat{t}xT$ ta - χ ta 'n 'to hasten, walk fast, run' : pAl {O} * en -teka 'chase, pursue, follow' (< {Huld} * en -te $\sqrt{o'k}$ - $\sqrt{o}$) > MAI G {FB} ndieune > Al T/G ndjek / ndoqa, Al Δ : SG {Huld} $ndi_{\sqrt{ek}}$ / $ndoki_{\sqrt{a}}$, D $ni_{\sqrt{ek}}$ / $noc'a$ id. : OIr tech- 'flee', MW {Vn.} go-deb 'refuge, retraite, abri', {P} tebet 'Flucht', W tebed 'retreat', Br $tec'h$ - v. 'flee' : Lt $teke$ 'ti (1s prs. $teku$) v. 'run, stream', Ltv $tece$ 't (prs. $teku$) v. 'run, flow' : Sl * tek - (1s prs. * $te'k$ - $\sqrt{o}$, inf. tek -ti) > OCS prs. tek tek - $\sqrt{o}$, inf. te tes 'ti 'to flow, run', SCr te ' $\sqrt{c'e}$ m / te ' $\sqrt{c'i}$, Slv te ' $\sqrt{c'e}$ m / te ' $\sqrt{c'i}$, R te 'ky / te te , Cz $teku$ / te ' $\sqrt{c'i}$ v. 'stream, flow', P cie c / cie ' 'run, teak', Blg te θ ka 'flow', d : Uk τ θ кати 'to run' || ? Pal $tekanza$ {ABlv.} 'flowing' (but {Carr.}: acp. '?'); Mn. adduces here Ht {Ts.} wa - tku - v. 'jump, flee', which is *unc.* ¶¶ P 1059-60, EI 491, ABlv. II 163-4, Carr. P 74, Ts. W 104, M K I 466, M E I 610-1, Bai. 121, Sg. 273, Horn 82, Mn. 1372, Ch. 1113, Vn. T 40, YGM-1 406, Hm. 780, Frn. 1074-5, Vs. IV 37, Glh. 622, StSS 694, O 286, Huld 97 (ppAl * $ndek$ - / $ndok$ - $\sqrt{i}$ > pAl * $ndi_{\sqrt{ek}}$ / * $ndoqa$) || **B:** [1] T * $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ - 'pour out (a liquid)' > OT, OQp XIII, XwT XIV, Chg xv to ' $\sqrt{k}$ - id., Tk to ' $\sqrt{k}$ -, Az, Tkm do ' $\sqrt{k}$ -, Uz to ' $\sqrt{k}$ -, VTt, Bsh tu ' $\sqrt{k}$ -, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Yk to ' $\sqrt{k}$ -, Tv to ' $\sqrt{k}$ / do ' $\sqrt{k}$ - 'pour, pour out', Tf t ' $\sqrt{c}$ ' $\sqrt{k}$ - 'pour out' ¶ Cl. 477, Ra. 235 ¶ The front vw. still defies explanation (trace of an *E-sx. or of a pN * $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}$.EHU??) || **A** [2] {AD} * $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}s$ v v. 'run' > M * $toqsi$ - v. 'flee' (of animals) > WrM $toqsi$ -, HIM to θ и- {MED} v. 'flee in fright', {Gl.} 'flee, escape (from a human)' (of animals), {Luv.} 'flee by leaps, bound a way off' (of animals, e.g. antelope), Ord $d_{\sqrt{o'g}}$ $\sqrt{s'i}$ - 'flee in fright' ¶ MED 815, Luv. 403, Gl. III 212, Ms. O 148 || Tg * tu $\sqrt{ksa}$ - v. 'run, skip' > Ewk $tuksa$ -, Ewk Δ $toha$ -, $tuks'a$ -, $tuha$ -, Neg $toksa$ -, Ud {STM} $tuksea$ -, {Krm.} $tuka$ -' v. 'run', Sln tu $\sqrt{ka}$ $\sqrt{n}$ - v. 'skip, jump', Lm tu ' $\sqrt{s}$ - 'run in a slow trot', Lm Al tu ' $\sqrt{h}$ - v. 'skip' (скакать), Ork tu $\sqrt{qsa}$ - v. 'compete in reindeer-sledge race' ¶ STM II 308 ¶ A d * $t_{\sqrt{o'k}}sa$ - $\sqrt{k'i}$ 'hare': Tg * $tuksa$ - $\sqrt{k'i}$ > Ewk $tuksak'i$, Ewk Δ $tohak'i$, $tuks'ak'i$, tu ' $\sqrt{hak'i}$, Sln tu $\sqrt{r}$ $\sqrt{caxi}$ ~ tu $\sqrt{t}$ $\sqrt{caxi}$, Neg $toksak'i$ -, Orc $tuksa(n)$, Ud {STM}, Ud B/Sm {Krm.} $tuksa$, Ud X {Krm.} $tukc'a$, Ork tu $\sqrt{qsa}$, Nn Nh/B $toqsa$ ¶ STM II 208, Krm. 297 || pKo * $thoski$ ' 'hare' > MKo $t_{\sqrt{h}}oski$ ', NKO $t_{\sqrt{h}}ok$ 'i ¶ S QK #282, Nam 459, MLC 1705 ¶¶ DQA #2419 [A * $t_{\sqrt{o'g}}su$ 'to run; hare'], Rm. SKE 283 ('hare': Tg, Ko) ✧ AD GD #123 (IE, K, Tg) ✧ Gr. II #302 (* $tekw$ 'pour') [IE, T, qu. Ko, J, EA].

2347. *t. $\sqrt{uK}$. $\sqrt{a}$ 'earth (substance), mud, dust' > **HS** * $\sqrt{t.k.w}$ > C: pAg * dak $\sqrt{w}$ / * $d\acute{e}dak$ $\sqrt{w}$ - ({Ap.} * daq $\sqrt{w}$ / * da ' $\sqrt{daq}$ $\sqrt{w}$ -) 'mud' > Q dax $\sqrt{w}$ a, Bln {R} $dera$ $\sqrt{q}$ $\sqrt{w}$ a, Xm {R} req $\sqrt{w}$ a : LEC * $d_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{q}$ $\sqrt{k}$ $\sqrt{k}$ - > Sml {DSI, ZMO} $d_{\sqrt{o'q}}$ o 'mud (fango, melma)', Sml N {Abr.} $d_{\sqrt{o'q}}$ o 'turbid water', Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} $d_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{k}$ $\sqrt{e}$ 'mud, dung', Or Gj {LLC} $d_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{e}$, Or {Th.}, Or M {LLC} $d_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{e}$, Kns $d_{\sqrt{o'q}}$ $\sqrt{q}$ $\sqrt{e}$ -ta 'mud', Gdl $d_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{k}$ $\sqrt{itot}$ 'quicksand', Gwd {AMS}, Gln {AMS}, Grs {AMS} $d_{\sqrt{o'q}}$ $\sqrt{q}$ $\sqrt{olo}$ 'mud' (to be distinguished from LEC * $c_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{q}$ $\sqrt{k}$ $\sqrt{k}$ - > Gdl $c_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{k}$ $\sqrt{a}$, Gwd {Ss.} $c_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{k}$ $\sqrt{a}$ 'mud', [$\rightarrow$ Amh $c_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{k}$ $\sqrt{a}$ 'mud']) ¶ Ap. AV 8, Ss. PEC 30, 50, DSI 178, ZMO 123, Abr. S 66, Grg. 129, AMS 198, 265, Bl. 218 ¶ Ss. PEC mentions Or $d_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{k}$ $\sqrt{e}$ - with a long $\sqrt{o}$, which is at variance with lexicographical sources (Grg., Sr., Th., LLC), hence his rec. of EC * $d_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{k}$ $\sqrt{e}$ - is less accurate than Bl.'s * $d_{\sqrt{o'k}}$ $\sqrt{q}$ $\sqrt{k}$ $\sqrt{k}$ - || ?? B * $d_{\sqrt{v}}$ $\sqrt{q}$ $\sqrt{q}$ - * $t_{\sqrt{v}}$ $\sqrt{q}$ $\sqrt{q}$ - 'clay' > Rf Wr/B/Am, SrSn i - $d_{\sqrt{a}}$ $\sqrt{q}$ 'clay', Tmz {MT} $id\acute{a}$ $\sqrt{q}$ q - $it\acute{a}$ $\sqrt{q}$ q 'argile, terre à potier, terrain argileux', Sll {Ds.} $id\acute{a}$ $\sqrt{q}$ q 'argile à potier', Chl {NZ} $id\acute{a}$ $\sqrt{q}$ q $\sqrt{d}$ $it\acute{a}$ $\sqrt{q}$ q 'terre à poterie', Ty ida $\sqrt{q}$ qan pl. 'morceaux d'argile séchés et durcis; terre cuite' ¶ Rn. 309, MT 70, Ds. 20, NZ 366 || ?? AdS of WCh: Hs to ' $\sqrt{ka}$ ' 'ashes' : Tng du $\sqrt{ka}$ id., 'potash, salt' [< N * $t_{\sqrt{o'g}}$ E 'dust, earth (substance)', q.v.] || **B:** Tg * $tuka$ 'earth, clay, sand' > Ewk $tuka$ 'sand', $tukala$ 'earth, soil, clay', Ewk Ald/Uc/K $tukala$ 'soil, ashes', Ewk Brg/NB $tukala$ 'mud', Sln $toko$ 'la 'earth', Lm tu $\sqrt{q}$ l $\sqrt{d}$ to $\sqrt{q}$ la $\sqrt{d}$ tu $\sqrt{q}$ al 'litter, dirt', Neg $toxola$ ~ $tokola$ id., 'dust, earth, soil', Orc $tuala$, Ud $tukea$ -, Ul tu $\sqrt{qsa}$ 'clay', Nn Nh/B to $\sqrt{q}$ ala, Nn KU to $\sqrt{q}$ ala ~ to $\sqrt{q}$ ala 'earth, soil, clay' ¶ STM II 307 || **D** * tuk -/ tu ' $\sqrt{k}$ - 'dust, earth' > Tm $tukal$ 'dust, particle of dust', Tl du ' $\sqrt{gar}$ a 'dust, dirt, soot', Klm tu ' $\sqrt{k}$ 'dust, earth,

clay', Nkr, Prj tu^hk, Gdb tu^hkur' 'earth, clay' ¶¶ D #3283 II AdS of IE *t^hek-/t^hk- 'earth' (< N *t^hogE '†', q.v.); the absence of *eu_h or *u (the expected reflex of N *u in *t^huK^ha^h) suggests that the main source of the IE root is N *t^hogE ¶¶ Ivn. OPA 25-35 and GI 149-150 (analysis of phonetic changes), ABIV. II 133-7, Ts. E III 292-300.

2348. *t^huK^hV 'offspring', 'young (of an animal)' > HS: S *t^hawk^h- > Sr {Br.} t^hawk^h-a^h 'young pigeon, chicken' ('pullus columbae s. gallinae') ¶ Br. 272 II IE: NaIE *teu_hk- 'offspring, seed' [× N *t^howK^ha^h 'germ, (→ 'seed'), q.v.] > OI to^hkam 'posterity, children', Vd dat. sg. tu^hc-e^h 'to the children \ offspring' ¶ MHG diehter ~ tiehter, NGr Δ Tichter 'grandchild' (infl. of MHG tohter, NHG Tochter 'daughter' < IE *d^hugH-ter?) ¶ P 1085, M K I 508, 527, M E I 651, 670 (rejects the MHG-NGr cognate, preferring to connect it with *d^hugH-ter 'daughter'), Vl. I 426-7, Sg. 288-9, Horn 84, Lx. 30 II A *t^huk^hV 'young artiodactyl' > Tg *tu_hk-id. > Ewk tu_hku_hcan^h d^h tu_hku_hca^hn^h d^h tuku_hca^hn^h 'young elk', Sln tuxsa^h 'Kalb bis zu einem Jahr', Lm tu_hyu- ~ tu^h- v. 'fawn, whelp', WrMc tuq^han {Hr., Z} 'calf' (→ Sln tux^han id.); some Tg lge. → Yk tugut ~ tubut 'young reindeer' ¶ STM II 210, Klz. S II 48-9, Z 405, Hr. III 925 || M *tugul 'calf' > MM [S, HI, ZhY] tugul (tu-qu-lun, tu-qul, tu-qun), [MA, IM] tuyul 'calf', WrM tugul, HIm, Brt тугал 'calf less than a year old', Kl {KRS} тугл туыл 'calf; suckling (atricodactyl)', {Rm.} туы^hl 'calf, young animal', MMgl [Z], Mgl {Rm.} tuyul, Mnr H {T} tugul, {SM} t^hug_hur, Dx tugunc^ha, Ba tolč'ek 'calf' ¶ MED 838, KW 409, KRS 516, Ms. H 103, H 153, Iw. 139, T 366, SM 429, Pp. MA 354, 448 || NaT *t^hokl^h 'a lamb a few months old' > OT {Cl.} toql^h id., MT xiv [IM] toql^h, MQp toql^h, Tk toklu, Ggz toqlu, Tkm toql^h, Qq toqlu ~ toql^h - toqt^h 'yearling lamb', Az Δ toylu^h d^h toyl^h d^h toylu^h 'sheep of the second year', Qzq toqt^h 'a lamb older than 6 months', Qrg toqtu 'young ewe', Qrg S toqtu 'two-year-old wether', Nog toql^h 'two-year-old ram', toqlu 'two-year-old sheep', S toqt^h, Tv t^hoydu 'yearling lamb']?φ NaT {ADb.} *toql^h > Tkm doyl 'one-year-old goat up to first kidding']?σ,φ NaT *t^hug- ({ADb.} *tug-) v. 'be born, give birth to' > OT tuy- v. 'be born', XwT, Chg tuy-, Cmn toy- ~ tov- ~ tuv-, Oosm doyl-, Tk dog^h-, Tkm doyl-, Uz tuw- v. 'be born', Az doyl- v. 'bear; appear, be born' ¶ The T verb is a very *qu.* cognate both because of its meaning and because of the initial lax *t^h ¶ Cl. 465-6, 469, Shch. Zh 115, TL 433-4, 698 (*toy- 'be born'), GRMS 472, Jud. 147, 744 ¶¶ KW 409, 414, DQA #2458 [A *t^huk^hV 'calf, lamb' > Tg, M, T *t^hokl^h].

2349. *t^hu^hIK^ha 'to thrust, stab' > HS: EC {Ss.} *tak^h- v. 'push, strike' > Rn tax^h-, Dsn ta^h? v. 'push', ? Af -o^htok- v. 'strike [sth. inanimate]' (× *ta^hk^hfV 'to touch?') ¶ Ss. PEC 48, PH 177, Sim 4, PG 274, To. DL 529 || ?? S *^htkl (× N *t^hE^hak^ha 'to put, set') > Gz √tkl G v. 'plant, implant, set up, establish' (→ Bln {R} takal, Xm {R} tikel v. 'plant', Sa {R} takal 'stechen'). One may tentatively adduce here SES: Mh, Jb √t.k.k. (Mh pf. t.3k., Jb C pf. t.ek.k., sbjn. 'y3t.t.3k., Jb E pf. 't.ek.) v. 'knock, bang, pound', Hrs √t.k.k. (pf. t.3k., sbjn. y3t.k.a^hk.) v. 'knock', resulting from contamination of different paronymous roots + ideophonic factor (or onomatopœia) ¶ Jo. J 276, Jo. M 409, Jo. H 129, L G 573 II IE: NaIE *tuk^h- v. 'thrust, stab, prick' > VL *tu^hkka^h-re 'to touch' > It toccare, OFr tochie, Fr toucher, Sp, Prt, Ctl tocar ¶ Clt ({SB, Vn.}: < *tuk-slo-): OIr toll 'pierced, perforated; hole', Crn toll, tol, MW {Flr.} tull, {SEv., Vn.} twll id., W {YGM} twll 'hole', OBr {Flr.} tull 'foramen = hole', MBr toull 'hole', Br toull 'pierced, hollow; hole'; ? : OIr tu^hag 'axe', Nlr tuagh 'axe, hatchet', OIr tu^hagaid v. 'chops with an axe' ¶ Gk τυ^hκοϛ 'instrument for working stones, masons hammer\pick', τυκι^h-ω v. 'work stones' ¶ Sl *t^htk- > OCS тѣкнѣти tѣkno^hti (1s prs. тѣкнѣ tѣkno^h) 'πηνυ^hναι, figere' (tѣkno^hti vѣ rebra 'poke into ribs'), R тѣкнѣти 'to poke into, stick into, probe', Cz tѣknouti mom. 'poke, prick' ('тѣкнѣти, колѣнѣти'), P tkac^h / tkam 'to thrust, stick, stuff'; ip. stem *tik^h/c^h- > OCS тѣкати tikati (1s prs. тѣыж tic^ho^h) v. 'prick' ('pungere'), R тѣкати (ip. of тѣкнѣти) 'poke, jab', Blg 'тикам 'I thrust, stick into' ¶ Mn. 1452, P 1032-4, ML #8767, Kō. #9802 (Rom 4b Gmc *tukko^hn 'zucken'), GH 561, F II 941-2, SB 134, Vn. T 103, 158, Dnn. 760, SEv. 36, YGM-1 423, Flr. 325, Hm. 798, Dnn. 760, Mikl. L 1017, Mikl. E 367-8, Vs. IV 64, 130, ≠ P 1032 II ? U: [1] FV *tokka 'pierce, hit, touch' > F tokkaa- 'pierce, peck' : Er toka- toka- v. 'touch; hit (the goal)', Mk toka- toka- v. 'touch, hurt (by striking\bumping)' ('тѣкнѣти, ушибѣти') ¶ FV *o (rather than *u^h) due to regr. as (vw. harmony)? ¶ UEW 796-7, ERV 665, PI 272 ¶ [2] ? FU *t^hu^hIK^hV- v. 'push, thrust' > F tyo^hnta^h- 'push, shove' : Prm *to^hy- or *toy- 'push, thrust, prick' (× FU *to^hl^hV v. 'push' < N *da^hol^h √V^hid., q.v. ffd.) ¶ ObU *to^hk-/*te^hk- 'stopfen' > pVg *ta^h~x- 'stopfen, stechen, drängen' > Vg: T ta^hw-, MK ta^h~x-, UK ta^h~x- ~ ta^h~x-, P ta^hw- ~ ta^hw-, Ss tax-id.; pOs *to^hk- ({Hl.} *to^h~k-) 'stopfen' > Os:

V/Vy toːki-, Ty/Y taːkʷi- id., V/Vy toːkən-, Ty/Y taːkʷən-, Kz/Nz tekən-, O tokən- 'sich füllen', V/Vy toːxəl-, Nz tewət-, Kz tewəl-, O tewəl- 'verstopfen' : Hg † be-toːv- 'tief eindringen', Hg tuːz- v. 'pin, stitch, stick' ({UEW} 'anstecken, aufstecken') ¶ UEW 520 (FU *tekV-, but why the reflexes in the descendant lgs. are so different from those of FU {UEW} *teke- 'tun, machen' [where there is no labial element]? - see UEW 519), LG 281, Ht. 187 [#619] || A *t'ik'V v. 'place into, stuff into' ({SDM97} *t'ik'u v. 'stuff into, press into') (× N *t.Eʔakʔa 'to put, set') > Tg: [1] AmTg *ti_ki- v. 'be placed into, fit' > Orc tiki- 'be able to contain (вместит)', Ul tiki-, Nn Nh c'iqi-, Nn KU tıyıkı- 'go in [a container] (поместит)', Ud {STM} tixi- d tik'i- id., 'have enough room for (вместит)', Ud Sm {Krm.} tixi- id., v. 'fit, be large enough, нелезат' (of clothes, footwear) † (2) Tg *ci_ki- v. 'put, insert, stuff' (× N *t.Eʔakʔa '†') > Nn B c'iqo- id., Ewk cikiw- 'insert, stuff', cikca- 'stuff tight', Sln mıkçz- ~ mıtçi- 'stuff\cram into, poke', Neg cımçət- 'pick one's teeth', Ul c'igz'ic'i- ~ c'irgzc'i- 'stop up tightly, drive a wad into the rifle', WrMc ciki- 'be the right size for, fit to the hole' (of a handle, axe-handle), 'be a tight fit, go in' ¶ STM II 178, 391, Krm. 295; the forms meaning v. 'stuff into' or sim. may be loans from M (see ⇒) || M *ciki- v. 'stuff in, press into' (× N *t.Eʔakʔa '†') > WrM ciki- v. 'jam, stuff, press, shove', HlM c'ixe-, Brt s'zɜz- id., Kl c'ik- id., 'squeeze into', Mnr H {SM} c'ig_i-, {T} c'igi-, Dx c'iqi- v. 'stuff in, press into' ¶ MED 181, STM II 391, KRS 650, SM 448, T 379, T DnJ 141 || T: [1] *t'ıık(a)- v. 'stuff in, press in' (× N *t.Eʔakʔa '†') > OT U tıq- id., Tk tıka- vt. 'plug, stop up', Ggz tıqa- 'stop up', Az tıxa-, Tkm dıq-, Δ tıq-, Qzq tıq- v. 'stick into, thrust into', Tv t'ıy- vi. 'stuff (with), thrust' ('плотно набиват, просовывают'), Chv чык- c'ıx/x_- vt. 'stuff (with), fill' ¶ Chv c' - < *t' - (palatalizing infl. of *u'?) ¶ Cl. 476-7, IS AD 41 [#11], Rs. W 477-8, 479-80, Tkr 268, 297, Sht. 208-9, TvR 413, Md. 75, Jeg. 329, Fed. II 428-9 † [2] NaT *t'ıık- v. 'put, place, insert' (× N *t.Eʔakʔa '†') > OT tik- v. 'insert', Tk dik- 'erect, set up, plant', Tkm dik- 'insert, build, dig in, plant', Qzq ti_k-tik- v. 'put, place, insert into the ground', Tv t'ik- (inf. тигер) 'put (a caudron) on fire, put, set up (a tent), establish' ¶ Cl. 476-7, Rs. W 479, TvR 413 || pKo {S} *ti_k- v. 'dip down, imprint' > MKO ti_k-, NKO c'ik- ¶ S QK #497, Nam 181, MLC 1540 || pJ {S} *tu_k- v. 'poke, trust' > OJ tu_k-, J: T cu_k-, K/Kg cu_k- ¶ S QJ #475, Mr. 773 ¶ ¶ a SDM97 (A*t'ik'u- v. 'stuff into, press into', DQA #2249 [A *ti_k'i 'to plant vertically'] > T *t'ik-, M], ADb. KL s.v. *t'ik'i- 'всовывать' || D *tukk- v. 'push, shove' > Kn Δ du_ku, du_ki v. 'push', Krx tukk-na- v. 'give a push, shove', Mlt tuke 'push, remove' ¶¶ D #3286 ♦ The √ contaminated with several paronymic roots sharing the basic meaning v. 'knock, strike', whence probably K: G tutk- v. 'push, strike' ♦ ≠ BmK 316-8 (an attempt of indiscriminate comparison of different [possibly ideophonic] Gmc, K, S, C, FU, D, A and Sum roots with meanings such as 'to knock, strike', 'to crack', 'to break\crush', 'to tread down', etc. and sharing an initial t/t and a second cns. *k/g/k, partially with different stem-final cns.: G t.k.ac- v. 'strike', Sag tuyula 'strike with the feet', etc.); ≠ IS II 28-9 (NED *tukk- < N {IS} lu_k.Δ 'pierce, thrust').

¶ 2349a. a *t.u'KV 'hair' > HS: C: EC {Bl.} *d.ogor 'hair' (× N *s'a'YUr'V 'hair?') > Af {PH} d.a'gor, Sa {Bl.} dagar, Bs. ogor-ro, Sml d.ogor, Sml N {Abr.} d.o'go'r 'animal's coat', ? Dsn {To.} du'r 'hair' ¶ Bl. 217, PH 89-90, Abr. S 65, To. DL 496 || Ch: WCh: Cg {Sk.} ta_k 'hair' ¶ ChC, ChL II A: T *t'u_k 'body hair, animal's coat' > OT U, Chg tu_k, MU, XwT tu_g 'body hair', MQp tu_g 'feathers', XwT tu_y 'fur', Tk tu_y, Ggz tu_y, Az tu_g 'hair, down, feather', Xlj tik 'body hair', Tkm tu_y id., 'hair of animals', Blq, Xk tu_k 'hair, hair of animals, feather', Qmq, Qzq tu_k, Uz tuk 'body hair', Bsh tɔ_k, ET tu_k id., 'hair of animals', VTt tɔ_k, Alt tu_k id., 'small feathers', Qq tu_k 'hair of animals, down', Nog tu_k id., 'body hair', Qrg 'body hair of humans, short hair of animals', Tv du_k, Tf d_u_k 'hair', Chv tək feathers, body hair' ¶ a ET 198 & a Cl. 433 (in both: *unji*. φ adduction of OT tu' 'hair of the body'), DT 204, Ra. 177 || Tg *ti_ki-cta 'hair' > Neg tikta, Orc tikta 'hair (on the hide)', Ewk Tmt tikikta ~ tekikta, Ewk Ur tikikta 'a hair near its root' ¶ a STM II 178 ¶¶ DQA #2408 (T, M, Tg + *unc.* σ: WrMc tuku 'cover of a fur-coat', WrM toqum 'saddle fender'), a S AJ 282 II ?? D: Krmb {Zv.} ?φ takare 'hair', ?σ tuke 'fontanelle' ¶ Zv. BNTL 655-6 ♦ Blz. DA 152-3 [#4] (adduced D and unconvincingly words for 'head' and 'neck' in different HS lgs.)).

2350. a *t.u'ʔa'K.ıwja 'goat, ram' > HS: Ch: CCh: Glv {Rp.} tu'ywa' 'sheep, lamb', Dgh {IL} t'hu'gwe'ye', {Frk.} twi'ye' 'sheep' : Lmn {Lk.} tu'wa'ka' id. : MfG {Brr.} d.ɔ'k' id. : ECh: Nd D {J} d.ɔ'ga' id. ¶ Ch *w seems to suggest a N *w following the uvular cns. ¶ JI II 291, RpB 95 II A *t'a'k'V, {SDM95} *t'ua'k'V 'goat, he-goat, wild goat' > T *t'ıı'ka' ({} ADb.} *t'ek'e) 'he-goat, male wild goat' > OT ta'ka'',

Tk teke, Az ta^hka^h, Tkm teke, Ggz, Qzq teka^h, XT {ADb.} teke, Tv t'e's'e id., Chv taka tag_a 'ram' ¶ Rs. W 470, ADb. Ttd 55 [#11], TL 154, 428, 647, Jeg. 228, Fed. II 163-4 || M *teke > WrM {MED} teke 'wild goat, ibex [Capra siberica]', {Kow.} 'uncastrated he-goat', Kl tek id., HIM тyx 'wild goat, ibex', Brt texe > WrMc texe, Sln texe 'he-goat'; acc. to Rs. W 470 and SDM95, M < T ¶ MED 797, KRS 490, Chr. 458, STM II 2 || Tg *to^hkī 'elk' > Ewk to^hkī, Sln to^hxi, Neg to^hki^h, Ork to^h ~ to^hyo, Ul, Nn Nh to^h, Nn KU to^hki 'elk', Lm to^hki 'male elk', WrMc toxo 'grown-up elk'; Tg > Gil t'oχ 'elk' ¶ STM II 191-230 ¶¶ Attention should be paid to words for wild horse and wild ass: M: WrM taki 'wild horse (Equus Przewalski), wild ass', HIM тах id. and probably NaT *tagi 'female of the wild ass' > OT xi [QB], MU tayi id. (Cl. 466); it is not clear whether they belong here ¶¶ ■ SDM95 s.v. *t'u^ha^hk'v 'a horned animal' (T, Tg + qu. M *taki 'wild horse'), DQA #2385 [A *t'i^ha^hk'u 'a horned animal' > T, Tg], Rs. W 470, Cl. 466, Kow. 1656 || D *takar, {GS} *tagar- 'ram' > Tm takar 'sheep, ram, goat, male animal', Kn tagar, t.agaru, t.agara, t.egaru 'ram', Tu tagaru, t.agarə, Tl tagaramu, tagaru id. ¶¶ D #3000, GS 223 [#546] ♦ Does T *a^h suggest a front vowel? Cf. above *di.qa 'goat' ♦ The emphatic *t^h- is evidenced by A *t^h- (> T *t^h-, M *t^h-) and possibly by MfG d^h-.

2351. *t.agi.V.K.'a' 'to stick\be stuck to sth.' > HS: SES *√t.yk. > Mh √t.yk.: G pf. t.ɣa^hk. v. 'be stuck, attached to', Sh pf. hət.yawk. v. 'stick sth. to sth.', Jb C √t.yk.: pf. G t.a'yak., sbjn. yət.yək. v. 'be stuck, attached to', Jb E t.yak. id., Jb C Sh (pf. et.yək., sbjn. 'yet.yək.) vt. 'stick, attach to' ¶ Jo. M 407, Jo. J 275 || ? Ch: Dgh {Frk.} ta^hk'wa^h, ? ti^hk'wa^h v. 'stick' ¶ ChC s.v. 'stick' || U *takkv {UEW} *takka) 'hang, cling to, stick to sth.' > FU *takkv > F takkala 'adhesive state of the snow, so that it sticks to the skis', F Δ takki 'feuchter Schnee, Pappschnee', takalta-, takista- 'befestigen, anheben, kleben', Es takista- 'befestigen, andrücken; stecken bleiben, stocken, anhaften, hängen bleiben', F takerta-, takelta- v. 'stick to sth.' (of snow etc.), takertu-, takeltu-, takistu- v. 'get stuck, stick, fasten' || Os: V ta^hɣaxtə- 'andrücken, D ta^hxərt- 'haften machen, anheften', O ta^hxərt- 'hängen (an einen Nagel, das Zugnetz auf Strängen)', ta^hxərlə- 'sich anheften, hängen bleiben' || Sm: Slq: Nr {Cs.} tokuatpa, UO {Cs.} t'okuatpa 'es blieb hängen, haften' ({UEW} 'es blieb stecken, haftete eng'), Tz {KIH} toqqi- 'stick' ('застыть'), toqqal- 'dress so.; put on (clothes), haft (e.g., an axe on an axe-handle)' ¶ UEW 507-8, Coll. 61, SK 1207-9, KIH 184, Cs. 148, 231 || H *t'a^hika- > NaT *t'ak- > OT taq- v. 'fix\attach (sth. to sth.)', OOG, Chg, Cmn taq-, XwT daq-/day- v. 'fasten', Osm {Rh.} taq- v. 'affix, attach, append', Tk tak-, Az taχ-, ET taq- 'fasten, attach, hang on, put on, wear', Tkm daq- 'sew (to\on), fasten (to)', Qzq, VTt tay-, Qq taq- id., 'attach, bind to' ¶ Cl. 464, Rh. 1225, TrR 822, TrK 243, Hüs. 284, MM 339, KrkR 611, Nj. 278-9 ¶ Initial *t^h-d- in the Og lgs. provides ev. of pT *t^h- || Tg *ta^higa- v. 'stick (fast), get caught' > Ewk taxa- id., taxaw- id., 'get caught (somewhere)', Neg ta^h-, taxa-, Orc ta^h- id., Ud ta-, Nn ta^h- 'stick fast, get entangled (in a net)', Ul ta^h-, ta^hxa- ~ taoxa- 'get caught, run aground', WrMc ta- 'get caught on, be trapped', Sln ta^hxu^h- 'hook sth., get hold of' ¶ STM II 149-150, Krm. 292.

2352. *t.owK.'a' 'germ' (→ 'seed') > HS: eB *√t.a^hk. > B *d.a^hγ- / *d.a^hqq- 'grain, seed' [x N *dik.V 'edible cereals or fruit'??] > Ah ta^hdaq (pl. ti^hd.a^hγ-īn) 'grain, sennence', Ttq {Msq.} tad.aq (pl. tid.aγin) 'grain (de blé, d'orge)', Gh ta^hd.yəq (pl. c'i^h-dyaγ-in) 'grain (de céréale)' ¶ Fc. 289-290, Msq. 141, Nh. 163, ≠ NZ 478 (the B root ← *dVy 'stone, caillou') || IE: NaIE (in Iln) *teu^hk^hl^h- 'offspring, posterity; seed' [x N *t.uK.V 'offspring', 'young (of an animal)', q.v. ffd.] > OI 'to^hk-man- 'junger Sproß von Getreide', Av taoxman 'seed, germ', OPrs tauma^h- 'family, clan', MPrs to^hhmag, to^hm, NPrs xTu toxm 'seed', maxTu toyme 'seed (semen plantarum); origin', Psh to^hma 'seed' || U: FU *towkv 'germing', → 'season of germing, spring' ({UEW} 'spring') > F touko 'sowing, crop, season of germinating, season of sowing', toukokuu 'May', Es to^hug 'spring sowing' i pMr {Ker.} *tu^hγə-ndə > *tundə > Er tundo, Mk tunda 'in spring, spring' || pObU {Ht.} *tV^hγ(-) 'spring' > pOs *toγ, *toyi {HL.} *tə^hγ, *tə^hγi > Os: V/Vy toγ, Ty ta^hγ^h, Y ta^hw, K ta^hw, Nz/Kz taw; pVg *tu^hya^h > Vg: HK/MK/LK tu^hyə, P/UL/Ss tu^hya, SV tu^hy ¶ UEW 532-3, Coll. 119, 132, Coll. CG 414, Ker. II 172, MF 620-1, Ht. 187 [#621].

2353. *t.eLV 'to shout, call' > HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} *tVl- v. 'ask, shout' > pAG {Hf.} *tal v. 'ask' > Gmy, Kfr, Su tal v. 'ask', Ang {Flk.} talme v. 'ask (a question)' i BT: Pr {Frz.} télo^h id. i ??σ Hs {Ba.} ti^hlla^h v. 'call\speak loudly to so. for him to hear (unless ← ti^hlla^h v. 'pierce a hole') || ECh: Ke tu^hlu^h 'Alarmgeschrei' ¶ Stl. ZCh [#196], Hf. AGG 19, Ba. 1014, Frz. P 50, Eb. 100 || ?? S *°√tlw (x N ■ *tulV 'to tell (a story), pronounce magic\ritual texts') > Ar √tlw v. G 'read (from a book), recite' (unless from √tlw 'follow'); i ÷ Ak te^hlu 'to pronounce exactly', which for phonetic reasons must go

back to S *^o/tʰl > ¶ BK I 205, Bel. 57, Sd. 1345 ¶¶ OS #2362 ¶ K: Sv {TK}: UB/L li-t.u^{li}, LB/Ln li-t.uli 'to call (so.), say', UB {GP}, L {Dn.} lit.u^{li} id., 'to yell', Sv {Ni.} t.uli v. 'shout' ¶ TK 449, GP 170, Dn. s.v. t.u^{li}, Ni. s.v. кричат ¶¶ The origin of Sv u^{li} is obscure ¶ IE *tel- 'pronounce magical utterances, pray' > AnIE (× N ***tuV** '†' [q.v.]): Ht talliya- v. 'invoke (gods)', Lc M {Krl.} tali 'priest' || NaIE: ON þylja {EI} 'recite a poem', {Vr.} 'aufsagen', þula 'string of words', {Ho.} 'song', þulr 'Kultredner, Dichter', AS ðyle 'orator, speaker; jester' ¶ ¶ EI 450 (*telH-**u**'pray'), Ts. E III 58-60, KrlSh. XLJ 86, Vr. 626, 630, Ho. 374 ¶ A: Tg *te^{li}.nu. 'narrating, folk tale' > Lm tɜ^{li}ɲ, Neg tɜ^{li}ɲ, Orc tɜ^{li}ɲumu - tɜ^{li}ɲu, Ud tɜ^{li}ɲu, Ul tɜ^{li}ɲu, Ork tɜ^{li}ɲ(gu), Nn tɜ^{li}ɲu id.; cp. Gil t^{li}ɲ 'legend' (≠ Tg?) ¶ Bz. 985, STM II 233, Krm. 298 ¶ Blz. KM #27 equates Tg *te^{li}.nu with words belonging to N ***tuV** '†', but it is hardly acceptable (≠ φ) ¶ D (in SCD) *tel^{li}- ({GS} *t-) > OTL, TL telucu v. 'praise, worship, request, beg', Gnd talehk- v. 'beg\ask for sth.\so., esp. a bride', Δ talk-, talp- v. 'ask, beg' (hardly from D *tel- v. 'become clear', as suggested by Km.) ¶ D #3427, Km. 390-1 ¶+ ◆ ¶ Blz. 130 [equates the D root with the reflexes of N ***tuV** 'to tell (a story)', q.v.]].

2354. ¶¶ ?? ***t^{li}lV** (K,U) (- ***tiV** (K,U)?) 'tongue, organs of speech' (→ 'voice') > A {ADb.} *tilgV, {DQA} *tilV 'tongue, voice' > pT {TL} *t^{li}lk > NaT *t^{li}l/*t^{li}l- 'tongue' > OT t^{li}l ~ til, MU til, XwT xiv, MQp/Cmn xiv, Chg xiv til, MT xiv [IM], Oosm dil, Tk dil, Az, Tkm, Ggz, XT dil, SY dil, Uz, ET, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Ln, Tb til, Qzq, Xk t^{li}l, VTt t^{li}l, Tv, Tf t^{li}l, Yk t^{li}l 'tongue' || Chv чеАixe ч^{li}х_e (< *t^{li}lyaq) 'tongue', чеАлеАх ч^{li}х 'vocal cords' ¶ Chv c^{li}- < *t^{li}- (palatalizing infl. of *i?). Acc. to Mudrak's rule (Md. DKCh 220-1), pT *-IK regularly yields NaT *-l, while in Ch it remains as -l^{li}k- (in Auslaut -l^{li}χk / -l^{li}χk) ¶ Cl. 489, IS AD 39 [#3], ET VGD 228-30, ADb. SR 36 (*d^{li}jlk = *t^{li}il^{li}k), S AJ 171 [#28], 183-4 [#84], Ra. 179, TL 227-8, Md. 72 (ppT *t^{li}lk > T *t^{li}l), 179, ADb. Ttd 62 [#16] (*t^{li}l < *t^{li}lg), Ash. XV 280, Fed. II 411 || Tg *di^{li}ga-n 'voice' > Ewk dilgan, Sln dilga^{li}, Lm d^{li}gɲ, Neg d^{li}gan, Orc digga(n-), Ul d^{li}ɜ^{li}a(n-) ~ ɜ^{li}ɜ^{li}a(n-), Ork ɜ^{li}ulda(n-), Nn Nh/KU ɜ^{li}ulga^{li}, Nn B *ɜ^{li}ulga(n-), WrMc ɜ^{li}lgan, Mc Sb ɜ^{li}ulgan 'voice', Ud digan-a- v. 'say, cry', Ewk dilg-u^{li}ra^{li}, Lm d^{li}lg-ur 'loud-voiced' ¶ STM I 206, Krm. 227, S AJ 210 ¶¶ DQA #2242 [A *tilV 'tongue; voice', incl. T, Tg], ADb. SR 47, S AJ 284 ¶ D (in KK) *t^{li}l^{li}ek- ({GS} *t-?) v. 'put out the tongue' > Kui tle^{li}pka (< *tle^{li}k-p)/tle^{li}kt- id., Ku tek^{li}- (in vendo^{li}ri tek^{li}mu^{li} 'put out your tongue' ¶ D #3430 ¶? i K: pGZ *t^{li}lek-/t^{li}l^{li}k- 'lick, lick oneself' (of animals) (× N ***da^{li}V** - ***da^{li}V** 'lick?') > G t^{li}lek-, Mg *t^{li}irk-, ? Lz nt^{li}k^{li}val- id. ¶ K 182, K² 100-1, Fn. KW-1 36 ¶ Possible infl. of N ***lak^{li}V** 'to lick, lap' ¶¶ IE: NaIE *tolk^{li}- 'speak', A 'declare' > L loquor / inf. loqui / pfc. locutus est 'speak' || Oir ad-tluch v. 'thank', to-tluch- v. 'ask (bitten)', do-tluchethar 'prays' || Sl *t^{li}lkɜ^{li} > OCS тлъкъ тлъкъ 'ερμενευ^{li}, interpretation', OR тлъкъ тлъкъ id., R толк 'sense', † 'explanation', Blg тълкувам 'I interpret, explain' || ?? OI tar'kayati 'guesses, reasons about, considers as' ¶¶ P 1088, EI 535, WH I 821, EM 652, Vn. T 79-80, Vs. IV 71, qu. : M K I 484-5 & M E I 633 (?σ: OI tar'kayati < tark- 'drehen') ¶ ??σ HS: B *^{li}d^{li}ly, *^{li}d^{li}ls 'lip' > Ah a-d^{li}aloy (pl. i-d^{li}lay), ETwl ɲd^{li}ɲy, Ty tad^{li}ɲoyt, Tnsl {NZ} ad^{li}alay, Gh a-d^{li}lu (pl. i-d^{li}layən), with an ext.: Mz {La.} a-d^{li}lɛs, Gd a-d^{li}alis (pl. d^{li}ɛlsa^{li}n), Skn a-t^{li}lus (pl. i-t^{li}la^{li}s), Skn ad^{li}lus id., Nf ad^{li}ilsan 'both lips' ¶ Fc. 273, Lf. II #0345, La. MChB 113 (fn. 5), La. S 253, Ds. IVB 276, Wlf. EAW 45, NZ 465, 467-8 ◆ The initial de-empatization *t^{li}- > *t- in A remains obscure.

2354a. ?? ***t^{li}U^{li}V** 'kindle (a fire); fire' > A {DQA} *t^{li}u^{li}lV 'kindle a fire' > M *tu^{li}le- id., 'set on fire' > WrM tu^{li}le-, HIM т^{li}лy- id. ¶ MED 852 || Tg: WrMc tolo- 'kindle a torch, set fire' (≠ M?) ¶ Z 741 ¶¶ QDA #2461 ¶ U *tul^{li}le 'fire' (× N ***du^{li}i** 'fire; to heat', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Gil: Gil A t^{li}ilf 'summer' ¶¶ HS: S *^{li}t^{li}ulV^{li}w > Ar t^{li}ulw-at- 'éclat de l'aurore' ¶ BK II 104 || WCh (× N ***du^{li}i** '†'): Ang {ChL} tal vt. 'burn' : Tng {J} te^{li}le^{li} v. 'fry, put in\on fire, roast' || Ch: HgB tɜ^{li}li^{li}ndɔ, FIK t^{li}li^{li}ntiku vt. 'burn' ¶ ChC, ChL ◆ IS MS 341 (A ÷ K *t^{li}wr- > Sv t^{li}wr- 'kindle a candle') ◆ Gr. II #152 (*tul 'fire') [U, A, CK, Gil, Ai].

2355. ?φ ***t^{li}la^{li}χ^{li}a**-***t^{li}la^{li}χ^{li}a** or ***t^{li}la^{li}χ^{li}E**-***t^{li}la^{li}χ^{li}E** 'spleen' > HS: CS *t^{li}iha^{li}- id. > MHb l&hy6 t^{li}ə'ho^{li}, Ug t^{li}hl, JEA, Sr t^{li}əha^{li}-l-a^{li}, Md t^{li}ahala, Ar t^{li}iha^{li}- 'spleen', d coll. t^{li}uhl-; S *t^{li}ulh^{li}m- 'spleen' > Ak OB/LB t^{li}ul^{li}imu, Mh, Hrs t^{li}ɜ^{li}l'haym, Jb E/C t^{li}el'him ¶ OLS 480, Br. 272, Js. 528, Sl. 499, DM 173, Sd. 1394, Jo. M 410, Jo. J 277, Jo. H 13, L A 223, L EDH 152, L EDG III 616, MiK I #1.278 ¶ A *ta^{li}la^{li}-IV > NaT *t^{li}la^{li}- 'spleen' > OT U tal ({CL} ta^{li}l), ET tal, Yk ta^{li}l id.; NaT d *t^{li}a^{li}-ak (~ ɜ^{li}*ta^{li}la^{li}k) id. > OT QU, MQp, Chg talaq, Tk dalak, Ggz dalak, Az dalag, Az Tbr {Foy} da^{li}la^{li}x, Tkm da^{li}lak, Qry, QrB, Qmq, Qzq, Nog, VTt, Bsh talaq, Uz talaq ¶ IS AD 47, Cl. 495, Rs. W 457, TL 279 [T *t^{li}(i^{li})a^{li}-ak], ET VGD 137-8, Nj. 281, Rl. III 880, ADb. Ttd 61 [#6] || M *deli-yu^{li}n (~ *deli-ku^{li}n?) 'spleen' > WrM deligu^{li}n ~ deligu^{li}u^{li}, MM [L]

delguːn, [HI] deliːvuːn, [MA, IsV] deluːn, HIM дүл*(н), Brt дүл-у(н), Kl {KRS} дел*н, {Rm.} deluːn, Mnr H {SM} d_iliuː, Dg {T} delkin, Dg Cc {T} delig; AncM *deli-kuːn → WrMc delixun ~ deliyaxun, Ewk dəlkin, Sln dəlkiː; MM *deliguːn > Ud {Shn., Krm.} dəlīgi, Ud Sm {Krm.} dəlɪgɜ 𐰽𐰺 IS AD 47, Gomb. LAS 21, MED 250, Gl. III 114-5, Kow. 1719, SM 55, Ms. H 50, Lg. VMI 27, Pp. L III 56, KW 86, STM I 233, Krm. 230, ADb. Ttd l.c. || pKo *t_cira > Nko cira 'spleen' 𐰽𐰺 S QK #888, MLC 1529 || pJ *_idi ~ *_idɜ-i 'gall bladder' > OJ i 𐰽𐰺 S QJ #1644, Mr. 420 𐰽𐰺 𐰽𐰺 DQA #2285 [A *_ti_oːle 'spleen', *incl.* T, M, Ko, J], S CNM 11 (A *_ti_aːle id.) (in both sources T, M, Ko + i ÷ Tg *_dɪba 'diaphragm'), S AJ 14 𐰽𐰺 A *- (for the expected *-) may be due to the infl. of *_χ II K: pGZ *_t.qirp.- 'spleen' > G t.qirp.-, Mg t.qip.- id. 𐰽𐰺 K 184, K² 193 𐰽𐰺 The K root goes back to N *_t.laːχl̥a bV ~ *_t.laːl̥χa bV (i.e. *_t.laːχl̥a bV ~ *_t.laːl̥χa + *_bA (adjectival pc., q.v. ffd.); K *_t.q. < N *_t.χ- (ass. glottalization of *_χ); K *_r from *_l̥ due to some unknown phonetic rule? A *- for the expected *- defies explanation so far 𐰽𐰺 IS MS 364 s.v. 'селезенка' ('spleen'). Not here (⇔ IS) Lp N {N} dadve and Lp S {Hs.} haːbˈdie 'spleen'. On the ev. of the cognates in U (incl. other dialects of Lp) this word for 'spleen' goes back to U *_laːppV (≠ UEW 242) < N *_l̥æːp.A 'spleen' (q.v. ffd.) 𐰽𐰺 AD NM #103, S CNM 11 (÷ NrCs), Vv. AEN 6.

2356. *_alɪV ~ *_aɪlV 'shoot, sprout, twig' (→ 'willow, elm') > **HS:** S *_tɪɪf > Ar t_alf- 'spathe du palmier; fruit, quand il commence à se nouer; fruits', √tɪɪf G 'être en fleur, produire la spathe (se dit d'un plamier)' 𐰽𐰺 BK II 96-8 || B: [1] *_dɪɪH, *_dɪɪuH > Ah ədɪu (Fcj 14) 'être vert et pousser rigoureusement', ?σ Tmz dlu / dli 'être en grande quantité, abonder', ? SrSn t_ad_la (pl. t_ad_liwin) 'gerbe' √?φ *_dɪɪH 'branch' > Ah tedəle 'a thick trunk, a thick branch' 𐰽𐰺 Fc. 192, 271, MT 89, Rn. 309, NZ 328, 463 **II K:** ?? *_m-t.il- 'greens, vegetables' > OG, G mt_ili 'kitchen-garden, garden', Mg d o-rt.win-, o-rt.il-, Lz (der.) o-nt.ul-e 'kitchen-garden' (< Mg *_rt.(w)in-, -rt.il- and Lz *_nt.ul- 'vegetables'); √?φ Sv: UB/L/Ln {TK} lart.am, UB {GP} lart.aːm, LB (h)art.am, Sv {K} (l)art.am, lert.aːm 'kitchen-garden' 𐰽𐰺 K 138, K² 126, Chik. 147, TK 367, GP 136 √?φ G tela 'elm' (вѳз), teladuma 'Ulmus campestris (карагач)', telamus_i 'Ulmus scabra & elliptica' 𐰽𐰺 DCh. 556, Chx. 471 𐰽𐰺 The unexpected initial *- may suggest that G tela etc. are loans from another lge. (T?) **II IE:** NaIE *_taɪ- 'shoot' ('junger Trieb') > Gk τῆλιϋ (gen. -εωϋ ~ -ιοϋ) 'fenugreek', τηλεῖα (mostly in prs. prtc.) 'luxuriant-growing, blooming' √ L taːlea 'short stake\bar; a cutting, slip for planting', taːlia - talla 'hull of onion' ([Fest.] talla 'folliculum cepae') 𐰽𐰺 Not here Oss tala 'young tree, sprout' [ϋb- T], as well as Lt atoːlas 'after-grass, aftermath' (⇔ P), Ltv ataːls 'after-grass, aftermath, second crop' and Pru attolis 'Grummet' (÷ Gt alan 'to grow') 𐰽𐰺 WP I 705, P 1055, F II 892-3, WH II 644, Ert. ED 235, Ab. III 224-5 (Oss ϋb- T), Frn. 22 **II A:** NaT *_t'al {AD} 'willow' > OT QU tal ~ dal ({Cl.} taɪ) 'willow', [MhK] 'a green branch' (arrat>bu-l-qad>i:bi)', MU XIV taɪ:l 'willow', Chg dal 'tree, willow', tal 'willow', Osm, Tk dal, Ggz, CrTt, Qry Cr, Qmq dal, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Alt, ET, Xk, Shor tal, Tkm {TDS, TkR} tal (but {Rs.} taɪ) 'willow (ива, талник, верба, ветла)', MQp XIII 0ˆ6 taɪ:l, VTt, Bsh tal id., Qrg tal 'willow, withe, twig', Tv t'al id., Yk d (← dim.) tal-ax 'willow' 𐰽𐰺 Cl. 489, ADb. Ttd 62 [#4] (proves that the initial cns. in pT is *-), Dm. NRTAJ 156, 188, 205, Rs. W 457, TL 125-6, ET VGD 130-1, TkR 615, TDS 632 𐰽𐰺 Tkm tal (with a vl. t- instead of *-d) is probably a loan from a Qp lge. (where t- is reg.). The pT vw. *_a is not long (⇔ Cl.) on the ev. of Tkm and Yk (acc. to the available dictionaries), the letter 'alif in the Ar transcription of OT and MU is not a reliable ev. for a long aː || Tg {ADb.} *_talgik 'fallen trees, twigs and branches' ('валежник') > Ewk talgix, Lm taːlgix, Neg talgix id., cp. (here ???) Nn Nh dataːlaː даталан '∈ willow (a species)' 𐰽𐰺 Pt. 43, STM I 201 **II D** *_tal- ({GS} *-?) v. 'shoot forth, sprout' > Tm tal.ir id., tal.ir 'sprout, tender shoot', Ml tal.ir 'bud, new leaf, shoot', Ka tal.al, tal.ir v. 'bud, sprout, shoot', Tu tal.irə 'sprout, bud', Tl talaru v. 'bloom', taliru 'sprout, shoot', Ku daɪ- v. 'blossom' 𐰽𐰺 D #3131 𐰽𐰺 In NaIE and D (where the lr. was lost) there was a partial merger of this √ with reflexes of N *_t.abɪɪɪyV 'to give birth to; progeny' 𐰽𐰺 Cf. *_t.viv 'rod' ('прут') in the Daghestanian lgs. The de-emphatization in B (*d for *_d) is still to be explained 𐰽𐰺 IS MS 359 *_t.aːl̥a 'расти' and IS SS #1.4.

2357. *_taɪl̥a(ka) 'head, top, upper end, tip' > **HS:** Ch: CCh: pDb {Blz.} *_talan 'head' > Db {Lnh.} taːlaːn, Db K {Sb.} taːlaːn, Msy {Mch.} taːlaː 'head' 𐰽𐰺 JI II 183, ChC || WS *_tɪɪf ~ (?) *_tɪɪf > Ar √tɪɪf G 'gravir une montagne, s'élever sur une hauteur', tɪɪf 'lieu élevé d'où l'on peut voir les alentours'; 'bord, marge'; Jb E/C √tɪɪf (C pf. 't.elaf), Mh √tɪɪf G (pf. 't.awla, sbjn. yɜt.lə) v. 'rise, get up'; ??? (× N *_tuɪl̥oV 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit') Ar talfat- 'high\ elevated land or ground' 𐰽𐰺 BK I 204 &

II 96-98, Ln. 312, Jo. M 409, Jo. J 277 || **II** *t'olvkV ({SDM97} *t'oluk'V) 'head' > M *tolugay 'head' > WrM tolugai 'head, top, tip', HIM толгой id., WrO tologui 'head', tologoi id., 'top', Kl {Rm.} tolyā~ tolyā~ 'Kopf, oberes Ende', Mnr {T} tolgue~, Mnr H {SM} t'orgue~, {Pot.} толгой, Mnr M {Pot.} толгай, {Rkh.} torge' 'head' ¶ KW 392, MED 822, Krg. 504, T 366, SM 424, Pot. 412, Rkh. 378 || pKo {S} *tā'i_ko'r > MKo tā'i_ko'r, NKo ta'guri 'forehead' ¶ S QK #306, Nam 147 || ? AmTg: Ork tolpomu - torpomu (from a compound or derived word?), Nn dulkumi 'sinciput' ¶ STM I 217, 223; the voiced d- is irreg. || ???σ T *t'uluṇ 'temple (Schläfe), hair on the temples' > OT {Cl.}, Cmn tulum, MQp tulum ~ tuluṇ, Chg {Vm.} tuluyum (inaccurate record?) 'temple', XwT {Faz.} tuluṇ 'hair on the temples', OOSm ≥XIV duluṇ ~ tuluṇ, Osm {Rh.} toluṇ ~ tuluṇ, Tk tulum, Δ dulum^d dulum, Qmq Δ tulum 'temple', VTt тольм ть'льм, Bsh толом ть'ль'м, Nog, Qq, Qzq tulim, Qrg tulum, Alt tuluṇ, Shor tulum 'plait of hair', Xk tuluṇ 'two plaits of hair', Chv таӂлаӂм тьльм 'lock of hair, curl' ¶ The T cognate is valid only if one can find proper contexts (and/or typological parallels) for the meaning change 'head, top, upper end' → 'temple' ¶ Cl. 501, Rs. W 498, TL 203-4, Faz. II 411, Rh. 1261-2, Jeg. 235, Fed. II 188-9, Vm. 266 ¶¶ DQA #2426 [A *t'ō'lu 'head'] || **D** {tr., GS} *tal- 'head, top' > Tm talai, Ml tala 'head, top, end', Kt tal 'head, top', Tu taræ, Tl tala id., 'hair of head', Td tal 'head, end, edge', Kn tale, tala 'head, being uppermost', Kdg tale 'end', Klm, Nkr, Nk, Gdb tal, Prj tel, Gnd talla^d tala~, Knd tala, Kui tlaui, Ku t'hr'a_yu~^d tra_yu^d tala 'head', Mlt tali 'hair of head' ¶¶ D #3103, GS 180 [#456] ¶ The unexpected pD vw. *a of the first syll. may be due to the ass. infl. of *a of the next syll. || ?σ **IE**: NaIE *t'vl- > Clt: W tal 'forehead', Br tal, Crn ta'l 'forehead, front', Olr tel ~ taul ~ tul and tul cind 'forehead' (cind 'of the head'), unless (acc. to WP I 740 and P 1061) the Clt √ goes back to NaIE *tel- 'flat' (→ 'surface' → 'surface of the head, forehead') ¶¶ Bc. 218, Vn. T 180-2 ♦ Hardly here (because of the vw.) FU *tuz'ka 'point, upper end' (→ FP *tuz'ka-mV), which probably belongs to N *tul'ØV 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit' [q.v.] ♦ BmK 294 (Clt, D), ≠ BmK 309-11 (an attempt to connect S *t'lf v. 'rise' with some C, IE, U, D and A roots meaning 'forward', 'to come', 'old', 'to touch', etc.), Blz. DA #3 (D, CCh, Clt).

2358. *t.ul'ijØE 'to come, enter' > **HS**: S *t'lf > Ar *t'lf G 'venir dans un pays, se rendre dans un pays; survenir, se présenter chez quelqu'un' ¶ BK II 97 || Ch: WCh: AG *√d.l 'go in' > Su {J} d.el, Chip d.el, Mnt del id. : ? SBc: Gj, Plc d.eli 'go out'; ?? Gj tuluwi' {ChL} v. 'come' :: Ech: Jg {J} dul, dol v. 'come' ¶ Stl. ZCh 174 [#272] || **U** *tul'e- v. 'come' > F, Es tule- : Lp T {TI} toḥe- id. : Chr KB/U/B tola- id. : ???σ Hg tala'l- v. 'find, discover' || Sm {Jn.} *toy-~ tuy- v. 'come' > Ne T to-c□, T O {Lh.} to's', Ne F to'-s', inv. tu?, En B {Ter.} to-c□, {Cs.} 1s aor. to?ado, En X {Cs.} 1s aor. to?aro, Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. tu?am, {Ter.} туй-с□, Slq Tz {KKIH} tu~-qo v. 'come', tul'c'i-qo id., Slq {KD} Tm tu~-a- '(an)kommen', Mt {HL} *toy- 'come' (Mt K {Pl.} de'lymdoi' 'come here' [de'lym 'here'], M {Sp.} той 'с□да'), ? Kms {KD} 1s prs. s'ō'I am 'I come' ¶¶ Coll. 63, UEW 535, TI 605-6, Sm. 540 (U *toli-, FU, FP *tuli-, Ugr ? *tu'lr-, Sm *toij-), MF 609-10, It. #206, Jn. 164, KKI 189, Hl. M #1047 || ??? **A** *t'lu'LV > pKo *t'lr- 'enter' > MKo t'lr-, NKo tlr- v. 'enter' ¶ S QK #677, Nam 174, MLC 534, Rm. SKE 266-7 || ? M: Brt □ {Rm.} tulgu- 'eintreten, to arrive\enter' (ene xolo dai_dada irehen tu'lgū hen xoi_nolo 'after your arrival and entering this distant continent' - Zhamtsarano, *Alamzhi mergen*, line 4537) ¶ Rm. SKE 266-7, Rm. EAS I 110 || ??? T *t'lu'LV- 'settle (somewhere)' > OT {Cl.} tu's~- id., Tlt {RL} tu's~- 'irgendwo hinkommen, sich wohin begeben', Tv t'z'- 'stop at (a place)', ET c'u's~-tu's~- 'stop at (someone's house, inn)', Qzq tu's- 'stop (at someone's house)' ¶ The T verb is a valid cognate unless it is a *sd* of T *t'u'LV- 'fall, descend' (ET VGD 330-3) ¶ IS AD 40, TvR 186, MM 368, Nj. 398-9, Rl. III 1587-8, BT 163 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 110 ('tü. tu's- 'hineintreten', tu's'u'm 'Einkommen': mo. burj. tulgu- 'eintreten', kor. ti'l- 'hineintreten') ¶¶ The adduction of the A √ is *qu*. because the meaning 'to come, settle down' is not demonstrably primary in T and because the M word is based only on Rm.'s interpretation of one epic text ♦ If the T cognate is valid, the A lateral cns. is *-l-, accounted for by a contraction: *t.ul'ijØE > *t.ul'iyE > *t.ul'iyE (with *-y- appearing in hiatus) > *t.ul'iyE > A *t'ul'E ♦ ≠ BmhK 309-11 (an attempt to connect the above U √ with some S, C, IE, D and A roots meaning 'rise', 'forward', 'old', 'to touch', etc.) ♦ □ Gr. II #72 (*tul 'come') [U, Ko, CK, EA + *err.* T & M].

2359. 2 *t.olHV 'crossing (of a river, mountain range, etc.)' > **IE** *t'lH-to- 'passage, ford' > Lt ti'tlas, Ltv til'ts 'bridge' :: Vd tir'tham 'passage, ford' (× <d- OI 'tarati 'crosses over') ¶ IS IA 74, M K I 507; ≠ P 1061, Frn. 1094 (both do not distinguish between this stem and homonymic stems: *tel'Ø- 'flat' and *tel- 'board') || **A** {SDM95} *t'ol'V v. 'cross (a stream\river, a mountain ridge)' > Tg *tul- v. 'cross (a

mountain ridge, a stream)' > Ewk tulɗun- v. 'cross (a mountain ridge)', Ork tolo- v. 'cross a stream (on a tree trunk put across it), tread in the tracks' ¶ STM II 195, 210 || pKo {S} *t_Λ'ri' 'bridge' > MKo t_Λ'ri', Nko tari ¶ S QK #379, Nam 13, MLC 383 ¶¶ DQA #2427 [A *t'ó'IV 'bridge, river crossing'].

2360. *t.alhV 'flat' > **HS:** CS *t_lh 'be flat' > Sr t_lh-a- 'flat', Ar t_lh-iy-at- 'sheet of paper', {Fr., Ln} t_lh- 'spathe of a palm-tree' ¶ Br. 276, Fr. III 363, Ln. 1865 || NrOm: Kf {C} t_lello- 'a plain', Mch {L} t_la'lo 'meadow, plain' ¶ C SE IV 510, L M 55 II? **K:** pGZ *t_l'a' / ?*t_l- > G R {Brd.} t_lala 'layer (пласт)'; ?φ G {DCh.} t_llu 'single (одиночный)', 'naked tree without branches'; Mg t_loli 'equal', (Mg b?) G t_loli 'equal, person of the same age', (G b?) Sv {TK}: UB/LB/Ln t_lwel, LB t_luwel, t_lel id. ¶ DCh. 1224-5, Brd. IR 40, Chx. 1359, TK 720 II **IE** *tel_lH_l- 'flat, flat ground' > OI tala-m 'flat surface, level, palm' || L tellu's, gen. -u'ris 'earth' (< *telnos), meditullium 'inland' || Oir talam 'earth, land' (< *t_lo-mo-) > Nlr talamh 'a farm of land'; MW {TLw.} tal 'plot of land' || Arm t_la-t_lah 'quarter, ward, district; neighbourhood' || Pru talus 'floor' || Sl t_lbo 'ground, soil, floor' > SCr tlo-, Slv tla- (gen. pl. ta'1) id., OR, RChS т_lо т_lо 'Boden', P tlo 'floor; the ground of a picture\stuff', Uk т_lо 'ground of a picture\stuff', r 'field' || ON þel 'ground', þeli 'frozen ground' ¶ In BSl: x NaIE *tel_lə- 'wooden board, plank, (?) tree' < N *t_lAl'X_lV 'stem, tree' ¶ WP I 740, P 1061, Mn. 1375, пс EI 247 [*telH-om ~ ? *t_lo-H-om 'floor (of planks)'], WH II 655-6, Vn. T 22-3, Dnn. 713, Flr. 310, TLw. 270-1, Vr. 608, 610, Frn. 1093 (does not distinguish between *tel_lə- 'flat' and *tel- 'board'), En. 262, Glh. 631, Srz. III 1078-9, Mikl. E 370, Brü. 571 II **A** *t'alV > M: (1) M *tala 'plain, steppe' > WrM tala, HIM тал, Brt тала 'plain, level space, steppe', Dg {Mrm} tal, tala- 'plain, field'; b>T: Qrg tala-, Chg tala id., Tk dala id., Tk Δ tala 'flat country', Az tala 'glade', Yk ta-la 'steppe (чистое поле), plain'; some T lge. b> Kl тала 'open place, field, plain'; M *talabaqur 'flat surface' > MM [HI] talabar 'plat, assiette', WrM talabur, HIM талбар 'field, plain'; (2) *tal(a) > WrM tal, tala, HIM тал 'half, one of a pair', Kl talъ 'half' (< *equal'), ? 'side' ['half' < *equal' < *even' < 'flat'; unless related to Ko tal in im-dal 'shady side' and thus belong to a different A √ (Rm. SKE 252)]; (3) WrM {Rm.} talbagu, Kl talwu- 'flat, even' ('flach, eben') ¶ MED 771, Chr. 411, Klz. D II 135, Ms. H 99, KRS 473, KW 375-7, Rs. W 458 || Tg *tal- v. 'be flat' d> (1) Ewk Y/Skh/Urm tallava-, Ewk Np tallaka- v. 'flatten (the ground)', Ewk Y/Np/Skh/Urm tallama, Ewk Z tallaka-n 'plain, flat land'; (2) *tal_lu_lgan 'plain surface (of land or body of water)' > WrMc talgan 'flat surface, flat surface of water, surface of an object', {Hr.} 'surface of a flat object', Ewk talgi-n 'flat surface of a body of water (гладко)', 'backwater (завод, затон)', Nn B/KU talga 'bay, lake (connected with the main body of water)'; Tg b> Yk tolo-n (< *taluyan) 'valley' ¶ STM II 157-8, Z 709, Hr. 884 || Ko {MLC} t_ll 'a plain, an uncultivated field', {Gale} t_ll 'flats, prairie, a wilderness', {Und.} nəlɓm-təl 'savannah' (literally 'broad plain') ¶ Plv. KA 1202, Rm. SKE 262, 266, MLC 533, Und. 515, Gale 270 ¶¶ DQA #2322 (A *t'a-le 'open place, open sea' > M *tala 'plain, steppe', *tal-b-, Tg *ta'lg_l-, i.e. *tal_lu_lgan 'plain surface') ♦ IS ms. *t.al'h'a 'плоский' (IE, Om, K, T, M, Tg, Ko, but not S).

2361. *t.al_lEu_lV 'progeny; to give birth to' > **HS:** WS *t_la'lay- (~ *t_lalay-?) 'young of an animal, child' > BHb el3y1 t_la'le- 'lamb', JA [Trg.], JEA il4y6 t_lə'le- / ail6y2 t_lal'y-a- 'young man, lamb', Sr t_lal'y-a- id., Plm t_lly 'young, boy', Ar j6a t_lala-n 'young of a gazelle, young of artiodactyls', Sb t_lly 'yearling lamb', Gz t_lali 'goat, kid' ¶ GB 276, KB 359, KBR 375, Lv. T I 302-3. ■ Js. 536-7, Sl. 504, Br. 276, BK II 103, Fr. III 68, BGMR 153, Ls CDG 590 || EC *d.al- v. 'give birth, beget' > Sa, Af, Sml d.al-, Rn d.el-, Bn d.el-, Elm dal-, Arr, Kns, Gdl, Dl d.al-, Bs {HL} al- 'give birth', Dsn d.al- id., 'generate'; Sa {Wlm.} d_laylo 'young of an animal' ¶ Bl. 103, 195, Ss. PEC 21, 30, Ss. B 62, 129, AD SF 57-8, ZMO 108, PH 90, Sim 11, 13, 25, PG 93, HL 65, Hw. A 353, To. DL 493 || Ech: Mu {Lk.} d_la'1-, Mgm {JA} d_lo'lo- v. 'lay (eggs)' ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, JA 81 II? **K:** G tel-i 'sucking-pig' ¶ Chx. 556 II **IE:** NaIE *te(:)l- 'young of an animal, child' > Lt te_lias, Ltv tel's- 'calf' || Sl *te'l-e- (gen. *tele_l'te) 'calf' > SrChS т_lе_lа tele_l, OR telja, R pl. те_lл_lта (sg. d те_lл_lн_lок), Uk те_lл_l (gen. те_lл_lти), Blf те_lле, SCr te_lle (pl. te_lleta) 'calf', Slv te_l'le, Cz tele, Slk tel'a, P ciele_l; Sl d *te_lсь (< *tel-ьсь) > OCS те_lльць те_lсь 'young ox' (< 'calf') || *o-grade of apophony: Olt talokas 'grown-up daughter', Lt talo_lkas 'grown-up man' || with an unexplained vw. α: Gk Ae τα_lλ_lη (gen. -ιδο_l) 'marriageable maiden, bride' ¶ Mn. 1375, F II 850, Frn. 1056, 1077-8, Kar. II 388-9, Glh. 622, Vs. IV 38, Sl. I 99 II **U:** BF: F Δ tallo 'yearling pig, young pig', Es tall (gen. -e), Vo tal'u, talikka 'lamb' ¶ SK 1213-4 II **A** *t'ó'IE > NaT *t'ó'1 'progeny, descendants' > OT Qp to'1 id., MU, MQp, MOg xiv, Chg to'1, Tkm do'1 'sperm, breed, progeny', Tk do'1, Az do'1

'offspring', Qq, Qzq, Qrg to'l 'breed', VTt, Bsh tu'l 'foetus', Tv t'o'l 'child, young of an animal'; T б WrM to'l, HIM т'л 'newborn animal', Kl {Rm.} to'l 'jährlicher Zuwachs des Viehs' ¶ Cl. 490, Rs. W 493, TL 322, MM 375, TkR 282, KW 406 ¶ Cl. reconstructs a long iō for OT and OOG, but Tkm provides ev. for a short pT *o̥ ¶¶ DQA #2258 [A*to'le -i_o-, -i_a- "descendance" (i.e. 'progeny'); *incl.* T] ¶¶ Hardly here T *t_i'e'l 'young animal (calf, etc.) that is suckled not by its own mother' (Rs. W 471) and M *telege '(an offspring) that nurses from two mothers' (*unc.* rec. *t'e'IV 'young lamb, calf' {DQA #2359}), because the specific (hence the original) semantic component here is not 'offspring', but 'suckled not by one's own mother', which may be related to S *°/t.IL (Ar √t.IL G 'léser quelqu'un de ses droit, le priver de ce qui lui est dû', BK II 91) and to IE (OIr tlenaim 'I steal') II ? D (in SD) *tal_- ({GS} *t-) 'breed' > Kt tayl_ 'breed of cattle', Ka tal_i 'race, family, stock, breed' ♦ In IE and D the √ contaminated with the reflexes of *t.al.√V ~ *t.a√L.V 'shoot, sprout, twig'. Cf. IS MS 359 *t.a'la 'пасты' and IS SS #1.4 (does not distinguish between the two etymons in question and quotes S *talay-, IE, T, M, D, but not C, U and K).

2362. *t.alUya 'skin, fell' > HS: Ch: pNrBc {Stl.} *tala 'skin' > Kry {Sk.}, P' {Sk.} tala, Cg tal 'skin' ¶ Sk. NB 40, JI II 296, Stl. ZCh 251 [#43] II U *tal_ya 'skin, fell' > F talja id. : pLp {Lr.} *to'lye 'fell' > Lp: N {N} duol'ije, S {Hs.} duo'lije, U {Schl.} du'ell'jee, L {LLO} tuol'je-, Kld tu'ly' || Sm {Jn.} *tca'ъ_ynъ (most probably *ta'ъ_уъ) 'skin of the forehead' > Ne T та'й 'skin of the forehead; forehead', Ne O ta'y 'skin of the face', Ne F {Cs.} tai, {Lh.} ta'yok:u id., Ng {Cs.} tuaja 'skin of the forehead', En X {Cs.} ta'jo, En B {Cs.} taijo 'skin of the head', Kms d {KD} t'uyu-s'ъk'tu 'Schlafstätte aus Rentier- oder Elentierhaut', Mt K {Pl.} da'ihase 'bald patch on the head (мрем)' ¶ UEW 508-9, Lr. #1294, N I 593, Lgc. #8082, Hs. 467, Jn. 150, Hl. M #939 II A *°t'al'u' > Tg *talu 'birch bark' > Ewk talu, Sln tala ~ talu_, Neg, Ul, Ork talu_, Orc talu, Ud taluga, Nn talo ~ talu_, WrMc tolχon ¶ STM II 158 || NaT: [1] *t_i'ul-gak ~ *t_i'ul-kuk 'bared skin; leather sack' > OT Trf {BG} tolquq 'a hide filled with air and use as a float', Osm {Rh.} æqLv6 do'lqu'q id. (× æqLv6 do'lqu'q 'filled') (Rh.'s 6d = [t]), MT [IM] {Battal} tolkuk, [other sources] tulkuk 'tulum (skin used as a receptacle for liquids)', MT XIV {AH} dolquq id., OOSm xv, Tk Δ tula 'raw hide', Bsh tulaq id., Qzq {Bu.}, Qq tuwlaq 'dry hide (of a cow\horse) used to felt wool on', Alt/Tel {Rl.} tulaq 'kahles, abrieriebenes Fell; ein Fell, das auf dem Boden ausgebreitet ist, auf dem man sitzt; ein trockenes hartes Leder, auf dem man die Filzdecken schlägt', tulaq ton 'ein kahler Pelz, Ledermantel', Az тулуг tuluq 'a hide taken off as a whole, wine-skin', Tk tuluk / tuluq~u-, Osm {Rh.} ævLv6 {Rh.} do'lu'q a skin or hide used as a receptacle or a float', Qrc {Rs.} tuluq 'wine-skin', SY {Ml.} tuluy soqpa 'corn grains with husks'] [2] T *t'ulum > Osm {Rl.} tulum 'gegerbtes Fell von Tieren, ein Lederschlauch', {Rh.} ~vLv6 tulum 'a skin or hide taken off whole (used as a receptacle), bagpipe', Tk {Thms.} tulum 'bag or bottle made from the skin of animals for holding cheese, liquids, water, wine; ε bagpipe made from the same material', SY {Ml.} tulum 'leather sack for milk and milk products', Yk tulum 'useless piece of leather', ET, Uz Δ tulum 'leather receptacle for liquids', as well as Qry/Alt {Rs.} tulup 'leather coat' (б R тулуп 'sheepskin coat'), VTt толоп тъ'лъ'p 'sheep hide'; T б M: MM [IM] tulun, WrM, MMgl tulum, HIM, Brt тулам, Ord t'u'lu'm, Kl тулм tulum, Mnr H {SM} t'ulun, {T} tulum, Mnr M {T} tuluq 'whole skin used as a vessel for liquids'; M б Tg: Sln tolo' id., tol'ma 'bucket', Ewk d tulum-ka'n 'whole skin of a calf used as a vessel for grain, flour, dried curds', WrMc tulum, turme 'leather sack filled with air (for crossing rivers)'; the M word is a loan rather than a genetic cognate, as suggested by the absence of final vw; T б (through some M and/or Tg lge.) NKO turumaki 'overcoat' [see Lee CSMK 118]] [3] T: StAlt {BT} tulus' 'leather sack from a whole skin of an animal' ¶ T *u of the first syll. may be due to as (A *a...u > T *u...u) ¶ BG AI 47, Rs. W 497-8, TL 187-8, Rl. III 1467-71, 1721, Bu. I 751, KrKR 658, Hüs. 207, Äz. 344, BT 158, Ml. ZhU 124, Rh. 1261-2, Thms. 495, Dr. TM II ##931, Pek. 280, Pp. MA 448, MED 841-2, SM 431, T 367, Iw. 139, KRS 517, KW 410, Chr. 434, STM II 212, Hr. 927 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2731 [*t'ulu]o "torn and scraped skin", i.e. 'bared and tanned skin' > T + *err.* M and Tg words for 'leather sack' and Ko turumaki (treated as genetic cognates), S CNM 8 II D *to'l / *toli ({GS} *t-) 'skin, hide' > Tm, Ml to'l 'skin, hide', Tm toli id., 'husk', Ml toli 'skin, bark, peel, rind', Kt to'l, Td twr's., Kn to'l(u), Kdg to'li, Tl to'lu, Ku to'lu, to'lu 'skin, hide', Tu tolikæ, Prj, Gdb to'l 'skin, bark', Nkr, Nk, Prj to'l 'skin', Gnd to'l 'skin, hide' d to'la 'skin, bark of tree' d to'lu 'skin', Knd to'l, to'lu 'skin (of animals)'; forms with internal -k-, -g-, -v- (Ml tukul 'skin of a fruit', Kn togal ~ toval id., 'skin, hide', Tu tugalæ 'skin, bark') either do not belong here or go back to

a contraction of *cds*, like Kt *to·krl* < *to·lkarl* 'peg used in pegging down hide to dry' (literally 'hide wood', Ƒ D #1389); on the contraction hypothesis Ƒ Zv. 66-7 ¶¶ D #3559, Zv. 64 (rec. of *o-) ♦ The rounded vw. following *l in the N etymon is tentatively postulated as responsible for *-u in Tg and the labializing *as* in Tk and D ♦ Cf. Blz. SNE I 242 [#6] (U, D) ♦ AD NM #96, S CNM 8 (÷÷ ST *t'alH 'membrane, pellicle').

2363. *t.alk.a 'to strike, push' > HS: WS *t.lk. v. 'throw, let run, release' > JA [YTrg.], JPA t.lk. G v. cast, throw', ? Sr *t.lk. v. G 'be abandonned, disappear', Ar t.lq 'lâcher qch., laisser passer de ses mains en les ouvrant', Jb t.lk. (pf. et'lek., sbjn. 'yet.lək.) v. 'release, let run, shoot', Mh, Hrs t.lk. Sh v. 'let run' ¶ BK II 100-1, Js. 538, Lv. T I 306, Br. 278, Fr. III 66, Jo. H 130, Jo. J 277-8, Jo. M 410, Lv. II 162 ¶ The S √ (adduced to this etl. comparison by IS) remains *qu*. as a cognate because its primary meaning may have been 'let go, release'. If it does belong here, the underlying semantic prehistory may be: 'let go, release' ← 'push' || ? WCh *°d.l > Bg {Sh.} d.l v. 'beat' ¶ ChC II K: G I t.k.vlec.-/t.k.vlic.- 'zerbrechen, zerschlagen' ¶ Chx. 1353 ¶ This is a case of a typical K *mt* (lrs., uvulars and velars are attracted to the position after the initial or nearest dental, sibilant or labial stop\affricate) bringing about "harmonic clusters" II IE: NaIE *telk-/tolk-/tl.k- v. 'strike, push, crash' > Clt: OI {Vn.} *tolgaid* 'il attaque', *tolg* 'force, énergie', Nlr *tolg* 'strength, effort', ?? *tulca* 'a sudden charge with the horns', *talca(a)* 'force, vigour', W *talch* 'fragment, grist', OCrn [γ] *talch* 'furfures' ¶ BSL: Ltv {Vs.} *no-talci't* 'beat (поколотит)', *su-tel'kti* 'konzentrieren' ! Sl *telkti (/prs.*tylk-o.) > OCS талѣти *tle's'ti* / талѣж *tlək-o* 'schlagen, prügeln; klopfen, pochen' ({Mn.} v. 'clash, crush'), RChS талѣти *tle's'ti* / талѣж *tlək-o* v. 'push', тлоѣти *tlos'ti* / талѣж *tlək-o* id., 'knock', OR тьлѣти *tyl'ci* 'to beat, strike, crush', R то'лоч / тол'ку v. 'crush', Slv inf. *tleč'i* 'to flog', *tlouci* (prs. *tluk-u*) 'to knock, beat', P *tluc* 'to grind, pound'; d: R тол'кат / тол'ка n. act. 'grazing cattle on fallow'; Sl *tolkъ > Cz *tlak* 'pressure', Slv *tlak* 'paving, floor', {Frn.} 'festgestampfter Boden, Druck', P *tlök* 'Gedränge', R Δ *толок* 'Stampfer, Handramme'; P *tlökno*, R *толок'но* 'oat floor' ↓ pBSl *talka- 'collective voluntary work' > R Δ *толо'ка*, Ltv *ta'lka f.*, Lt *talka* 'voluntary collective work for a member of the village community', {Mn.} 'rally', {Frn.} 'zusammengebetene Arbeitsgemeinschaft', d> Lt *telkiu* {Mn.} v. 'mass, rally', {Frn.} 'Arbeitsgemeinschaft zusammenbitten, sammeln' ¶ Mn. 1376, 1402, 1410, WP I 741 (*teleq- 'stoßen, zerstoßen, schlagen'), P 1062 (*telek- id.), EI 471 **telk- 'push, thrust', Vn. T 102, LP § 54, Dnn. 713, 743, 766, YGM-1 403, 411, SJSS XLIII 461, Srz. III 966, 1048, Frn. 1053-4, 1078, Tr. 321-2, Vs. IV 73-4, SSRLJ XV 559, ME IV 127-8 II A: NaT *t'alk(i)- v. *'strike, beat' (→ [1] 'crush', cf. *t'alk'an 'crushed grain', [2] 'injure, harm', [3] 'soften [leather] by beating it') > OT {Cl.} *talq-* (gerund *talqar*) v. 'injure, harm', Alt/Tlt/Shor {Rl.} *talq-*, Tv *t'alyi-* 'soften (hides in order to manufacture leather)', VTt, Bsh *talkъ*, StAlt *talqu-la-* id., 'brake (flax)'; NaT *t'alkan (< *t'alk-gan) 'parched crushed grain' ('толокно') > OT {Cl.} *talqan*, Chg, StAlt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, ET *talqan*, Xk *talqan*, Uz *talqan* id., Tf *t'alhan* id., 'fried flour', Tkm *talqan* 'sweet parched crushed grain', Tv *t'alqan* 'flour'; T b> MM [MA] *talqan*, Kl *talqan*, {Rm.} *talqan* 'parched crushed grain', WrM *talqa* 'powder, flour', HIM *talq(an)* 'bread, flour', Oyr *talqan* 'wheat flour', Brt *talqan* 'flour'; R *толок'но* and P *tlökno* 'parched oat flour' may result from coalescence of a Sl derived word (cp. R то'лоч, P *tluc* 'fl') with a loan from T ¶ Cl. 495, DTS 519, Rs. W 458, TL 382, Rl. III 890, Ra. 169, BT 140, MED 773, Pp. MA 339, ADb. Ttd 65 [#7], KW 376, Vs. IV 73-4 ¶ Tkm *t-* suggests pT *t- (Ƒ IS AD), Ƒ ADb. Ttd l.c. II D *tal- ({GS} *t-) v. 'push' (× N *dal' / d'v' 'to push', q.v. ffd.) ♦ IS MS 369 (*t.alk.a > IE, S, D) ♦ The corr. between T *-l- and D *-l- suggests a N *-l- (because T *-l- rules out N *-l', while D *-l- rules out N *-l-).

2364. *t.al'p'v 'vast; room' > HS: S *°t.lb □ 'far' > Ar t.lb (pf. t.aliba) 'se truver loin; être éloigné', t.ulb-at- 'voyage lointain' ¶ BK II 93 II IE: NaIE *telp- v. 'have room', *tolpa- 'space' > OI 'talpah. 'Lager, Ruhesitz, Bett' ¶ OIr -tella 'have room for sth.' ¶ Lt *til'pti* / prs. *telpu*, Ltv *ti'ipt* / prs. *te'ipu* 'fit in, find room (Raum wohin haben)', Lt *talpa* 'capacity, ausreichender Raum', Ltv *te'ipa*, *til'pa*, *tilpe* 'space, Raum', Lt *tu'lpinti*, Ltv *tilpina* 'to give place' ! ?σ Sl *tylpa > OCS тьлпа *tylpa*, Blg тьлпа, R тол'па 'crowd', Cz *tlupa* 'band, gang', Slk {SBR} *tlupa* id., 'crowd' ¶ pTc {Ad.} *ta'lp-* > Tc B *ta'lp-* 'be emptied' ¶ P 1062, EI 536, M K I 489, M E I 637-8, Thr. §§ 83, 153, Frn. 1054, 1094, 1138, Kar. II 385-6, SJSS XLIII 460, Vs. IV 74, Ma. CS 530, SBR 887, Ad. 297 II ? A: M ?*talbi-yun > WrM *talbigun*, HIM *талбиу* {MED} 'broad, wide, vast', {Rnc.} id. ('широкий, просторный'), Kl *талв* n. 'square' (Ленина *талв* 'Lenin square'), 'field' (спортън *талв* 'play-ground'); *talb'i'gu > WrO *talbuu* 'sloping', Kl *talwu* 'flach,

eben', Ord t'albu⁻g_a3⁻_ar 'terrain qui est en pente douce' ¶ MED 773, KRS 474, KW 377, Rinch. 195, Kow. 1638, Gl. III 58, Krg. 476, Ms. O 642.

2365. *t.əl'V 'to drip; drops of water, dew' > **HS:** WS *t.all- 'dew; to drizzle' > BHb t.al, t.all-, Ar t.all- 'dew, light rain', Ug t.l, JA [Trg.] t.al / t.al'l-a⁻, Sr t.all-a⁻, Gz t.all, Tgr, Amh t.ell, Tgy t.elli, Mh {Jo.} t.al, Hrs {Jo.} t.əl, Jb E {Jo.} t.ehl, Jb C {Jo.} t.əl 'dew', Gz t.all 'dew, moisture', Ug √t.ll v. 'fall (dew)', Ar √t.ll v. *G* 'be covered with dew, be moist', Gz √t.ll *G* (pf. t.alla) id. ¶ KB 358-9, KBR 374-5, BDB #2919, Js. 535, Lv. T I 302, L G 591, LH 606, A #1118, OLS 480-1, Jo. M 409, Jo. J 277, Jo. H xv, 129 **II IE:** NaIE *(s)tel- v. 'drip' > Gk σταλα΄σσω v. 'let drop (e.g. tears)', vt. 'drop', σταλα΄σσω φο΄νον v. 'drop blood', στα΄λαγμα n. 'drop', σταλαγμο΄ν 'a dropping, dripping', {P} 'das Tröpfeln, Tropfen' :: ME stalen, NE stale, MLG, NHG stallen v. 'urinate', NE stale 'urine', MLG stal 'urine of horses' :: θσ Lt tul'z'ti v. 'become humid' ¶ P 1018, F II 776, KM 737, AHD 1255 ¶ Acc. to IS's hypothesis, IE *(s)- is an indirect reflex of the N stem-medial palatality **II ?** ¶ **A** *t_l'uI'V > [1] (here?) T *t_l'uI' > OT [MhK] tu's⁻ 'nocturnal emission (spermatorrhoea)' (MKD 125) ¶ DTS 600, Cl. 559 (interprets it as a private case of tu's⁻ 'dream') [2] ? T *t'ol' 'ice' > NaT *t'os⁻ > OT {DTS} tos⁻ 'glacier in the mountains', StAlt, Tb tos⁻, Tv t'os⁻, Tf t'os⁻ 'ice', Qmn tos⁻, Xk tos⁻, VTt tus⁻ 'water over the ice of rivers/lakes (наледо)', Yk toho⁻ v. 'break ice in a river' ¶ DTS 578, Cl. 557 (interprets OT tos⁻ as 'pool'), Ra. 174, BT 154, B DChT 157, B DK 255, BIG 233, TatR 559, JkR 392, ≠ DQA #244 [T*t'ol' 'ice' < A *c'jo'lu' (i.e. *ci_o'lu') 'ice, hail'; the etymology is based on the highly controversial hyp. on T *t'- from A *c'-], Vv. AEN 8 (criticism of the latter etymology, which I accepted in NM) ¶ The lax *t'- and the vw. *o (for the expected *u) still need explanation || pJ {S} *tu'ra'ra' > OJ turara, J: T cu'ra'ra, K cu'ra'ra, Kg curara' 'icicle' ¶ S QJ #1540 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #244 **II D** {Km.} *tul- ({"GS} *t-) > Tm tul.l.i 'a drop', tul.l.am 'little drop of water', tul.i v. 'drip', Ml tul.i, tul.l.i 'a drop', Kt tol.g- v. 'wash one's hands with tears', Td tu'ly a drop', toly- vi., vt. 'sprinkle', Kn tul.aku v. 'be scattered in drops', tuluku v. 'sprinkle', Kdg tul.i 'a drop', OTl {Km.} tola'ku v. 'spill, scatter (as water); overflow', Tl {BE} toluku v. 'rain', Prj tolk-, Knd tor'k- vi. 'spill' ¶¶ D #3361, Km. 395 [#632] ◇ ≠ BmK 302-3 (equates S and D with IE *del- [> OIr delt 'dew', Br delt 'moist', Arm tel 'heavy rain', etc.], which in my opinion belongs to N *ta'lwA - *talwa' 'cold season, rain', q.v.).

2366. 2 *t.æ'wI'V or ***t.æ'U'V** 'to extend, stretch, become long' > **HS:** WS *t.uI- 'long, far' > Ar √t.wl (pf. t.a'la, ip. -t.uI-) 'être long, s'étendre en longueur', t.awl- 'length', t.awil- 'long', BHb *Sh* ps. pf. ly2ue hu't.al (ip. yu't.al) {GB} 'hingestreckt werden, der Länge nach hinstürzen', *Sh* he't.īl v. 'throw far', Sb ip. yht.ln v. 'extend', t.l 'length', Gz, Tgr √t.wl *D* 'extend', Mh t.oI, Hrs t.awl, t.əl, Jb E t.ebl, Jb C 't.ol 'length', Mh, Hrs t.əwayl 'long' ¶, GB 274-5, KB 357, KBR 373, BK II 123-5, BGMR 154, Jo. M 413 || EC: Sa {R} d.eI, d.al 'long, high, far' ¶ R S II 125 || WCh: Su {J} dul 'pull, ziehen', Mpn {Frz.} duI 'pull' ¶ J S 63, Frz. DM 12 || ?? Eg fP dwn vt. 'stretch out, stretch (bows), straighten (knees)', vi. 'be stretched out' (× N *t.an'V 'draw, stretch, extend'), if HS *-I may regularly yield Eg n ¶ EG V 431-2, Fk. 311 ¶¶ Tk. I 103 **II A** *t'æ'wI'e- > T *t_l'jo'í'e- > NaT {IS} *t_l'jo's'e- v. 'spread out (a mattress, etc.) > OT {Cl.} to's'e- id., Tk do's'e-, Ggz, Tkm do's'e-, Tkm NY tu's'e-, Az do's'a⁻, MT [IM] do's'a⁻ ~ to's'a⁻, Chg, MQp to's'e-, Tv t'æ'z'e- v. 'spread out', ET Tr to's'a⁻ 'als Lager ausbreiten', Qq to'se-, Qzq to'sel- v. 'spread out, make up (a bed)'; d>*t_l'jo's'ek 'mattress' > Tk do's'ek, Az do's'a'k, Ggz do's'ek, XT {ADb.} do's'ek, Tf {ADb.} t'o'z'ek id., Tv t'o'z'ek id., 'bed' ¶ A. Dybo (ADb. Ttd 57-8) has found that in *CVs'-roots the opposition *t'- ↔ *t'- is neutralized ¶ Cl. 561, IS AD 42 [#22], Rs. W 495, MM 276, KrkR 652, ADb. Ttd 58 [#10] || M *tele- > WrM tele-, HIM т҃л҃у- v. 'stretch (as hide or bow), smooth by stretching (as textiles)', Ord {Ms.} t'ele- 'étirer, distendre, étendre', Kl телх tel-xə v. 'stretch out, extend' ¶ MED 797, SM 418, Ms. O 656, KRS 491, KW 390 || Tg *tele- v. 'extend' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Nn təlz-, Lm təlzə- ~ təlzə- v. 'stretch (a hide on a frame)' ('растѣнут'), Ul təlu- v. 'stretch (fish skin)', WrMc tele- v. 'extend, stretch, smooth by stretching' ¶ STM II 232 ◇ ≠ BmK 306-7 (they equate the S √ with IE *del-, *dele^{-gh}-, *d_o.ləg^h- 'long').

2367. 2 *t.ʔu'I'EØV 'breast, female breast' > **HS:** S *t'uI'V⁻ id. > OAk tuliʔum ~ tulaʔum 'breast', Ak B/NA tulu^ʔ, teļu^ʔ 'breast, nipple', Gz t- tala^ʔ [tal.laʔ] 'breast', Mh təlō^ʔ (√tIʔ) 'nipple' ¶ G OA 297, Sd. 1369, L G 574, Jo. M 401, MiK I #1.276 **II A** ¶ **A** *t_l'Jo'í'i (= *t_l'jo'í'i?) ({DQA} *t'o'í'i) 'breast' > T *t_l'ji_o'í' 'breast' > Chv c'u'lyk 'hame-strap' ('супонь') (< *ti_o'í'-lik 'breast-collar' ['нагрудник'], cp. Az do's'lu'k, Bsh tu's'lyk id., VTt tu's'lyk 'подгрудник' ['lower breast-collar?']) :: NaT *t_l'jo'í's⁻ > OT U

to's id., OT [MhK] {MKD} to's 'sternum' or 'breast-bone', MU do's ~ to's, XwT to's ~ tos, MT XIV [IM], Cmn, Chg to's, MQP, OOSm do's 'breast', Tk do's, Az, XT {ADb.} do's, Tkm do's, Qry to's^d tes, Qmq, Blq, Qrg, Alt, Tb, QK, ET to's, VTt, Bsh tu's, Nog, Qz1, Qq, Xk to's, Uz tōs, Xlj to's^d-d_o's, SY to's, tu's id., Tv t' m t'o's, Tv NE {ADb.} t'o's 'breast-bone', Tf t'o's, Yk tu'o's 'chest, breast-bone' ¶ Rs. W 495, TL 271-2, ADb. Ttd 58 [#18], MKD 198, Md. 119, 179, Jeg. 328, Fed. II 427, DHST 307, Pek. 2908, DQA #2441 (T *t'o'i) ¶ Tv t'- points to pT *t-, while Og, Tf and Tv NE suggest pT *t-; acc. to DQA, the latter may be induced by the merger with T *t'o'i 'mountain slope' || Tg: WrMc tulu 'breast (of a horse)' ¶ STM 211 ¶¶ ADb. Ttd 58 [#18] ¶¶ A. Dybo (ADb. SR-D 446 [#22] and ADb. Tts 58) adduces a Tg stem reconstructed by her as *tui_l-gen 'breast of an animal' [> Ewk tiḡən, Sln, Nn KU tiḡə, Lm tiḡən, Neg tiḡən, Ud tiḡə(n-), Ul, Ork tuḡə(n-), Nn Nh tuḡə, WrMc tuḡən - ɤ STM II 184-5, Krm. 295], but since no ev. for *l in this √ has been produced, this rec. is not reliable ¶¶ DQA #2441 ♦ The A root may have resulted from a *mt* : *t.^ul'EØV > *t.uØEl'V > A *t_l'jo'vo'i.

2368. ? *t.al'ig'V 'to be quiet\calm' > HS: S *^o√t.ly > Ar √t.ly G 'être faible ou fatigué, faire qch. mollement, faute de force' || IE: NaIE *(s)tel- v. 'be quiet \ still' > OIr tu(i)lid, con-tu(i)li 'is asleep' (iter. *toleyo-), cotlud n. 'sleep' (*kom-toli-tu-s) || Lt tyle'ti (prs. tyliu-) 'to be\keep silent', ti'lti (prs. ti'lu-) 'to grow quiet' || SCr za-tljati (prs. za-tlja-m) 'to doze off'; caus. ChS толити tolit 'placare', Slv to'li vt. 'to quiet', OCS оутолити u-toli-ti id., SCr uto'li 'to become calm; appease', R у-то'лит, Blg уто'лывам v. 'appease, slake (thirst)' || ON stilla 'to still, soothe', OHG, NHG stillen 'to still', OHG stilli, NHG still 'still, quiet', AS stillan 'to still', stille 'quiet', NE still ¶ P 1061-2, EI 475 [(s)tel- 'be still, quiet'], Vn. T 170-1, Kb. 964, KM 750, Frn. 1095, Vs. IV 71, Tls. 146 || R (+ext. ?) *t'alp'V 'calm' > M *talbi- > *talbiyun > WrM talbigun, HIM талбиу 'gentle, calm'; *talbira- > WrM talbira-, HIM талбира- v. 'be relieved, calm down', Ord t'a-wira- 'se relâcher, diminuer d'intensité'; Kl талва- talwa- 'calm down' ¶ MED 773, KRS 473, Ms. O 651 || Tg *talpa 'calm water; backwater (заводок)' > Nn Nh talbo 'backwater, glassy surface of water, broad part of a lake', WrMc {Z} talfa 'backwater (заводок, займище), calm water', talfari 'low' (speed of a ship in shallow water) ¶ STM II 157, Z 710.

2369. *t.ul'V'g'V 'to spread like a veil/net, cover with a veil/net, catch (fish, etc.) with a net' > HS: S *^o√t.ly > Gz {L} ?an-t.oləfa v. 'spread, stretch, spread like a veil, veil, cover with a veil', Tgr aNEL0 ?ant.oləfa v. 'spread, stretch out' (Gz, Tgr < C?) ¶ L G 590, LH 618 || K *txewl- v. 'fish with a net' > OG txewl-, G txevl- id., ? Sv: {K} txe'l- v. 'look for, hunt', UB/L {TK, GP} li-txe'l-i, LB/Ln li-txe'l-i msd. 'to search for' (acc. to Dn., plrt. of li-txe 'look for, find') ¶ K 98, TK 435, GP 154, Dn. s.v. txe-, ≠ FS K 158-9 (reconstructs *txe- 'catch, look for' on the basis of Sv words and forms without *l, e.g. me-txw-ya'r 'hunter', but there the loss of *l is a reg. phonemic change) || U: FU *tulkV 'seine, drag-net' > Z: Sk tiv, UV, US, P, MS til id. || ObU {Ht.} *to'ləy ~ *to'yal id. > pVg *to'ləy > Vg: ML toli, UL, Ss toliḡ; pOs *to'yal (|| Hl.) *tu'yal > Os: Nz to'xət, Kz to'xət id. ¶ Coll. 120, UEW 536, LG 292, SZ 389, Ht. #636 || R *t'ul'E- > T *t_l'ul'a- v. 'hobble (a horse, etc.)' > OT tus'a-, Qzq твса- tu'sa-, Qrg tus'a-, Tv t'u'z'a- дужаар, Tf t'us'a- id.; < T *t_l'ul'a-k 'hobble' > OT tus'ay ({Cl.} dus'a'y), Tkm dus'a_q, Az Shm tus'aḡ, VTt, Bsh тывау тв'aw, Qzq твсау tu'saw, StAlt тужак тuz'aq, Uz тупов tus'aw, Tv {TvR} дужак, {Ra.} дужаг t'u'z'aḡ, Tf t'us'aḡ, Chv та'ла'А тв' id., Qrg tus'o-, Xk тузах tuzaḡ id., 'fetters' ('оковы'), Yk tuhaḡ 'loop, snare, chain, fetters' ¶ Cl. 561, DTS 590, Rs. W 502-3, TvR 182-3, Jeg. 235, Fed. II 188, AzDDL 391, BT 157, Ra. 176, Md. 58, 180 (T *tu'l- [= *tu.l'] 'hobble') ¶ Cl. considers OT tus'a- a *d* from OT {Cl.} tu's 'buckle' (Cl. 558), which is semantically *qu.* and phonetically untenable, because the short *u is proved by the Tkm and Chv reflexes ¶ Tkm, Tv and Tf data suggest T *t-, while Az Shm tus'aḡ suggests *t- || Tg *tule- v. 'cast (a fishing net), install (a self-shooting bow, a trap, a snare)' > WrMc tule- 'aufstellen (Fallen), auslegen (Netze)', 'cast (nets), set (a snare \ trap)', Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn, Ewk, Neg tulə-, Lm tul- id., Ork tuləgdə 'fishing net', tuləc'i- v. 'fish with a net'; Tg *tule- has also a broader meaning: 'to install' (in a broader sense), 'to arrange' > Ewk, Neg tulə- 'put (on a stretching frame)', Lm tul- v. 'arrange', Sln tulu- 'hang up', Ork, Nn tulə- v. 'sew on (a button)', WrMc tule- 'anstecken (Holzgriff an Hacken, Holzgestell an Mühlsteine, usw.)'. This broader meaning seems to go back to a later semantic change. But of course we cannot rule out a possibility of casual homonymy or of a primary broader meaning with later semantic narrowing: 'to install' → 'to cast (a net), install (a snare, etc.)'; in this last case the Tg √ does not belong to the A and N etymon in

question ¶ STM I 212, Krm. 297, Z 756, Hr. 925 ¶¶ The Tg data suggest a strong A *t'-, while the T data are ambiguous in this respect || D *°tol.k° 'net for trapping' > Tm tol.ku id., Ml tol.la 'snare, trap' ¶ D #3531 ♦ N *g is tentatively reconstructed on the assumption that here FU *k goes back here to a postcons. *g: FU *tulkV < *tulgV < N *t.ul'VJ'g'V. If this assumption is wrong and FU *k is a sx., the N rec. will be *t.ul'VJ'g'V ♦ AD NM #30, S CNM 4 (÷÷ ST), Vv. AEN 17 [unjustified doubts about the semantic change in T: 'to catch with a net' → 'to hobble'; misquotation: erroneous **tulij'g'VN insteag of *t.ulij'g'V (so in NM for *t.ul'VJ'g'V), LCM. NLP 16 (unjustified doubts about U, A and D).

2370. *t.al'h'a 'to lift up, carry' > HS: S: [1] CS *°t.l'y' v. 'lift up' > JPA {Js.} inv. G t.ə'li 'lift up', Md √t.l'y': D pp. u-mt.alan 'and... they are loosed', T prtc. u-mit.lia 'and they shall be removed' ¶ Js. 536, DM 179-180 [2] S *√nt.l v. 'lift, carry' > BHb √nt.l (ip. -t.t.ol) v. 'impose, lay upon, weigh', √nt.l D 'lift up', BA √nt.l (pf. nət.al), IA {HJ} nt.l v. 'lift', MHb {Js.} √nt.l G 'move\carry off, take', JA [Trg.] √nt.l G {Lv.} '(auf-/er-)heben', {Js.} vt. 'take, lift, move', JEA {Sl.} √nt.l G 'take', Sr √nt.l 'sustulit, abolevit', nat.t.īl 'heavy', ? Ak √nt.l v. G 'see, look' (if← 'lift up the eyes') ¶ KB 655, KBR 694, Js. 899-900, Lv. T II 104-5, Sl. 744-5, Sd. 766, CAD XI 121-2, JH 178, HJ 728-9 ¶ *n- is likely to go back to a HS verbal prefix || pCh {JS} √d.l v. 'carry, bring' > WCh: Jmb {Sk.} do.luwi v. 'bring' || Ech: Kwn {J} do'le v. 'carry, bring', Smr {J} d.ə'ga'l v. 'carry on head' ¶ ChC, JI II 62-3, JS 61, ChL s.v. 'carry' || ? C: Bj {R} √tlg (1s: p. 'atlig, prs. atan'lig; prtc. 'tilga) v. 'lift up' || ? SC: ?σ,φ Kz c.al- v. 'fly' ¶ R WBd 227, E SC 194 (pSC *t.ol- v. 'rise off the ground') || IE *telh-/tleh- > NaIE *telə-/tla- v. 'lift, carry, endure' > OI tu'la f. 'balance, scale, weight', tulayati 'lifts up, weighs', MPrs tlz'cwkw. [tara-zu-g], NPrs vz'rTa ta'ra-zu- 'balance, scale; the sign Libra' || Arm t'o-um t'holum 'I let, permit, tolerate' || Gk τλην-ναι inf. (pp. τλητο'), Gk D aor. °ε-τλα-ν (pp. τλα-τα') v. 'bear; hold out, endure', Gk τελα-μω'ν 'a broadstrap for bearing anything' || L toll-o, -e're v. 'lift up, tale up and away' || OIr tlen- 'enlever, dérober', 'steal' (semantic change like in M [see ↓]) || Gt þulan 'endure, tolerate', ON þola, AS ðolian 'to endure, OSx tholo'n, OHG dole'n id., 'to suffer', NHG dulden 'to endure, tolerate' || Ltv Δ {ME} iz-tilt 'aushalten' (unless < *iz-stilt) || pTc *ta'l- > Tc A/B ta'l- vt. 'uphold, keep raised' ¶ P 1060-1, EI 352 (*telh₂- / prs. *tl'neh₂-ti 'lift, raise'), M K I 516, M E I 658-9, Vl. I 429, Sg. 291, F II 848-9, WP II 688-9, Fs. 504-5, Vr. 615, Ho. 366-7, Ho. S 78, OsS 107, EWA II 714-7, KM 146, Vn. T 78-9, ME IV 189, Wn. 500, Ad. 296-7 ¶ The connection of this root with N *t.√V'V hang' (if any) may be only secondary || A *t'al'ra- v. 'carry, carry away' > T *t.√al'u-~*t'al'i- v. 'carry, transport (sth. somewhere)' > OT tas'u-, Tk tas'i-, Ggz tas'i-, Az das'i-, Qmq tas'i-, Qzq tas'i- (inf. tasu-), Qq tas'i-, Tv t'a'z'i- id., Slr ta's'i- ~ ta's'i-, Nog tas'i- (inf. tasu-β) 'carry' ¶ Cl. 56, IS AD 42 [#21], Rs. W 466, Tn. SJ 504, NogR 339, RKumS 1003, KumRS 308, KrkR 626, MM 336 || M *tala- v. 'take away, plunder' (× < T *t'ala- 'plunder' < N *t'a'lhV 'hit, damage') > WrM tala-, HIM тала- v. 'take away', MM [S, MA] tala- 'plunder, loot', WrO talu- v. 'rob, steal', Kl {KRS} таллх talləχə, {Rm.} taləχə v. 'plunder', Ord t'ala- 'piller et casser les objets' ¶ MED 771, H 144, Pp. MA 338, Krg. 475, KRS 474, KW 376, Ms. O 641 || ? WrMc tala- v. 'confiscate' (< M?) ¶ Z 708 ¶¶ KW 376, □ DQA #2321 (A *t'a'la- v. 'plunder, seduce', incl. T, M) || D [1] *ta'l- ({"GS} *t-) v. *'lift' (→ 'hold', 'bear, endure') > Tm ta'l.u (p. ta'l.i-) v. 'bear, suffer, tolerate', Kn ta'l, ta'l.u v. 'hold, take, undergo, experience, wait', Tu ta'l.uni v. 'bear, endure', Tl ta'l.u v. 'bear, endure' || [2] ?φ (in NED) *t'e'V- > Mlt te'le v. 'lift (as the corner of a curtain or hem of a dress', Krx teləg-na v. 'tuck up (e.g. garment before sitting)' ¶ Krx/Mlt l is a reg. reflex of D *l, but the vw. e is deviant ¶¶ D ##3188, 3428, Km. 381 [#561] (reconstructs pSD *ta'l- with an alleged variant ita'l- based on *unc.* adduction of Tm ta'l- v. 'stay, rest, stop') ♦ IS (ms.): *t.al'h'e 'to carry' (S, IE, D), Tromb. CL (IE, D), BmK 281-3 (IE, A, D + ÷ S *√tly ~ *√tll 'to hang', *till- 'hill', C *√Vl- 'hill' + Sum ta'l v. 'be wide\broad'). The N lr. is reconstructed on the ev. of IE, it was most probably *h, because it is the only lr. that meets three requirements: it is lost in S (only *h and *? may be lost there), it yields NaIE *ə in syllabic position (Gk α̃ in τελα̃-μω'ν, unless it is from *nₑ), and it has an a-colouring effect on a preceding vw. (which *? cannot do) ♦ □ Gr. II #383 (*tal 'take') [IE, A, Gil, CK + *qu.* Ko, J, Ai], ≠ Gr. II #196 (*tol 'hang') [an *unc.* attempt to connect the IE root with A, Ko and J anf Ai words for 'belt', 'hang', see N *t.√V'V 'hang'].

2371. *t.al'XjV 'stem', 'tree (ε?)' > HS: S *°t.alh- '(ε) a large tree' > Ar t.alh- (coll.) 'Acacia gummifera', t.alh-at- 'an *Acacia gummifera* tree', '(tout) grand arbre dans un terrain sablonneux' ¶ BK II 94-5 || IE: NaIE *teləj- 'wooden board, plank, (?) tree' > OI taruh. 'tree' (semantic infl. of daru

'tree?') :: Gk τῆλι'α- 'board\table with a raised edge, baker's table' :: AS ðille 'floorboard', ðel 'plank, bed', ðelu ~ ðele 'plank', OHG dil, dilo, dilla 'board, plank, floor made of boards; bretteerne Wandbekleidung des Zimmers', NHG Diele 'board, plank; floor', Yid dil 'floor', ON þil 'floor\wall of planks', pili 'wainscot, panelling', þilja 'plank' :: Lt ti'les pl. 'Bodenbretter im Kahn, Bodenbelag' (Mn.: < *t_lyə), Ltv tilandis 'Bretter, die Diele eines Bootes bilden', (× IE *tel_lH₁- < N *t_lal'ñV 'flat') Pru talus 'floor' ¶ Mn. 1375, IS IA 74, P 1061 & Frn. 1093-4 (both do not distinguish between *tel- 'board' and *tel_lə- 'flat'), En. 262, M K I 484, F II 892, OsS 102-3, KM 131-2, Ho. 362, 365, Vr. 610, Kb. 154, EWA II 644-7, σ EI 247 [*telH-om ~ ? *t_l-H-om 'floor (of planks)'] ¶ D (in SD) *ta_l ({"GS"} *t-) 'stem, leg' > Tm ta_l 'leg, stem, stalk', Ml ta_l 'stalk, stem', Kt ta_l 'stem, trunk', Td to_l 'thigh of animal's hind leg, trunk of tree', Kn ta_r 'stem or stalk' ¶ D #3185 ¶ Either the meaning 'leg' is secondary, or there are two homonymic pD roots, one for 'leg', another for 'stem'.

2372. *t._l'E'mV 'to feel by touch' > HS: Eg fP dmy vt. 'touch, feel by touch', vi. 'be joined' > Cpt: Sd τωωμε to'ō-me, B τωμι to'mi 'unir, toucher' ¶ EG V 453-5, Fk. 313, Vc. 215 ¶ U *tumte v. 'feel, touch, feel by touch' > F tunte- v. 'feel, recognize, sense, taste, smell, know', Es tunde- 'to feel, sense, experience' : pLp {Lr.} *tomtə- v. 'feel, know (kennen)' > Lp: N {N} dow'da't v. 'know, perceive, sense', S {Hs.} da'bde- d da'mde-, U {Schl.} da'b'dat, L {LLO} ta'b'ta't id., Kld {Lr.← Gn.} tom:deð, {SaR} томтү 'learn (erfahren)' : ppPrm {LG} *tu'd- > pPrm *tō'd- v. 'know, learn (erfahren), remember' > Vt тодыныд., Z то'дны v. 'know, recognize, guess', Vt, Z тод 'memory', Yz тү'д- to'd- v. 'know' :: Hg tud- v. 'know, be able' || Sm {Jn.} *tumtə (or *c-, *-mc-) v. 'know' ('kennen, wissen') > Ne T 'тумдас' 'learn (erfahren), notice', Nn T O {Lh.} tumta-, Ng {Cs.} aor. s./obj. 1s tu.mtu.ʔa'ma 'erraten', En {Cs.} 1s aor. s./obj. tuddabo 'erfahren, erraten', {Ter.} d тумтэру 'learn (erfahren)', Kms {KD} t'əmnem 'wissen, verstehen', {Cs.} thu'mna'm 'wissen, sich erinnern', Koyb {Sp.} абыгьнемь 'не знаю' ('I do not know'), Koyb {Sp.} тымнелеймь, Mt *tumda- v. 'notice' (Mt M {Sp.} тумдужугурамы 'примечать') ¶ Coll. 63-4, UEW 536-7, Db. OS xxxii, Sm. 541 (U *tumti- 'know' > FU, FP *tumti-, Ugr *tumtī-), Lr. #1268, Lgc. #7617, Hs. 408-9, SaR 357, Lt. 127, LG 283, Lt. J 186, Jn. 167, Cs. 63, 89, 187, KD 70, Hl. M #1091 ¶ A *t'ə'mV v. 'feel by touch' > Tg *temfi'- v. 'feel by touch' ('тупат') > Ewk təmi- ~ təmi-, Lm təmi- ~ təmi-, Neg təmi-ktə-, Ul təmur-, Ork, Nn Nh təmiri-, Nn KU təmirə-id.; Tg б>Dg təmilə- 'feel (betasten), touch' ¶ STM II 233-4, T DgJ 167 || M *temte-li- / -ri- > WrM temtel-, temteri-, HlM түмтү- v. 'grope, search by feeling, touch with the hands', Ord {Ms.} t'emt'ere- 'tâter, tâtonner', Brt түмтүр-хү 'grope one's way' ('брести наосуп'), Kl темтүрх temt_lg-xə id., {Rm.} 'im Dunkeln herumtappen, mit den Händen zu betasten suchen', Mnr H {SM} t'i_a'nd_uli- 'tâter, toucher avec la main' ¶ MED 800, Chr. 453, KRS 492, KW 391, SM 415 ¶¶ DQA #2343 [A *t'emV 'to grope, search'] ¶ D [1] (in SD) *timVr- v. 'smear, rub (the skin, etc.)' > Tm timir v. 'smear as sandal paste, rub, apply to (as a flower to the skin)', Kn timir v. 'rub and smear the skin' ¶ [2] (in SD) *tin't_l- ({"GS"} *t-) > Tm tin.t.u v. 'touch, feel', Ml tin.t.uka v. 'touch', Kt tin.d_l- v. 'be polluted by illegal sexual intercourse', Kt, Td tit_l 'pollution', Kn tid_l v. 'touch (as air or wind), touch (as with fingers)', Kdg tin.d_l- v. 'touch' ¶ D ##3234, 3268 < IS MS 353 s.v. окупывать *t._l'e'ma (TM, D).

2373. *t._l'o'mV 'to cut (off)' > HS: S *^o/t_lmm > Ar √t_lmm v. G (ip. -t_lumm-) 'shave (the head, hair)' ¶ Fr. III 69 ¶ IE: NaIE *tem- v. 'cut', *tomo-s 'a cut, slice (Abschnitt)' > Gk Hm τε'μει 'he cuts', Gk A τε'μνω, Gk Hm/I/D τ'α'μνω 'I cut', Gk το'μοϋ 'a cut, slice; part' :: L aestuma- v. 'estimate (the price of a thing)' (denom. from *ai_ls-tomos 'der das Erz zerschneidet') :: OIr tamnaid '(he) cuts off', tamun 'tronc d'arbre, bille de bois' :: BSl *ti'no- / *tinti (< *t_lmno- ÷ Gk τ'α'μνω) > Lt ti'nti (prs. tinu) 'to whet (by hammering)', {Frn.} '(die Sense) durch Klopfen mittels eines Hammers schärfen, dengeln', Lt {Frn.} tyni'mas 'Schlagen, Geißeln, Dengeln' : Sl *te_lti (prs. *t_lñ-o_l) > Slv te'ci / prs. tne'm, OCz tieti / tnu, Cz tr'iti / tnu 'to hew', OR тати te_lti / тыи тыну 'to kill\stab (with a sabre, etc.)', R Δ тһут / тһу 'to stab (with a knife, etc.)', P cia'c' / tne' 'to hew, smite, strike' ¶ WP I 719, P 1063, Mn. 1378, 1411, F II 874-6, WH I 20-1, Vn. T 25, Frn. 1099, Ju. I 651, Srz. III 1106, Sl. I 98 ¶ A: NaT *t'omur- v. 'cut' (Cl.: caus. [σ?] from **t'om-) > OT {Cl.} to'umur- v. 'cut in a rounded shape', Blq {Rs.} tomur- 'aushauen, fällen', VTt {ðRL} tumbr- 'abhauen, absägen (den Teil eines Balkens)', SbTt Tv/Tr {Tm.} tumbr- v. 'hew, trim, rough-hew', SbTt Tb tumbr- {RL} id., 'behauen', {Tm.} 'chop off', VTt {RL} tumra- 'hauen, abhauen, durchhauen', SbTt Tb {Gig.} tumra- 'saw up (firewood)', VTt тумран tumran 'block of wood,

log, stump (колода, чурбан, обрубок)', SbTt Tb/Tr {Tm.} tumram 'stump, stub (пеня, обрубок)', Tlt tomır- v. 'cut through (a log)', Osm {Rs.} tumruq 'Stamm, Klotz', {Rh.} tomruq 'a heavy log from the main trunk of a tree', Tk tomruk 'log, block of wood' ¶ Cl. 509, Rl. III 1238, 1521-3, Rs. W 487, Tm. 218, Rh. 1263, TrR 865 || ??φ M: WrM tobi-, HlM тови- v. 'engrave (gold, silver), beat out a pattern; incrust, inlay' {Gl.} id., 'carve' ¶ MED 811, Gl. III 177; the denasalization *-m- > *-b- is still to be explained || D *tum- v. 'be cut (off)' > Tm tumi (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) v. 'be cut off', tumi (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'cut off', Tl tumuru 'a small piece or bit' ¶¶ D #3325.

2374. *t.əymV 'to bite, to champ, to taste' > HS: S *√t.ɣm v. 'taste' > BHb Moy √t.ɣm G, IA √t.ɣm, JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr √t.ɣm G 'taste, eat a bit', Ar ʔofl √t.ɣm v. G 'taste, eat', Gz √t.ɣm v. G 'taste, be tasty', Mh √t.ɣm (pf. t.a-m, sbjn. yzt.o-m, verbal noun t.ɣaym), Jb, Sq √t.ɣm (pf.: Jb C 't.ɣam, Jb E t.a'ɣam, Sq 't.a'ɣam) v. 'taste, eat, try (food)', Ak (inf.) t.e-mu v. 'taste', BHb Mo2y2 't.a'ɣam n. 'taste, feeling' ¶ KB 361, KBR 377, Lv. T I 312, Js. 543, Sl. 510, Br. 283, BK II 83 || C: EC *d.am-d.am-~*d.ad.d.am- v. 'taste', 'tasty' > Or {Grg.} d.am.d.ama 'delicate, flavored, savory', {Brl.} d.and.ama n. 'taste', d.and.ama 'tasty', Sml d.ad.d.am- vi. 'taste', Bn d.id.d.im- id., Brj d.ed.d.e-m-a- 'good-tasting', as well as probably LEC *d.am- 'food, consume' > Sml d.am- v. 'drink milk\blood', Rn {PG} d.am- v. 'drink (food drinks)', Bs {HL} d.am- v. 'drink', Or d.ama 'whey', Kns, Gdl d.am- v. 'eat', Dsn d.an- {Bl.} v. 'bite', {To.} 'tear off, tear to pieces'; a more archaic LEC √ variant *d.aɣm- is present in Sml {R} d.a'ɣan, pl. d.a'mo 'taste, juice, sauce' and Af {PH} d.a'ɣame 'take a sample of food, taste', Sa {HL} d.a'ɣame v. 'taste' || DhI {To.} tem- v. 'try, taste', {EEN} t.em- 'try, look at' ¶ AD SF 317-8, AD PSH § 5.2 [#6], Ss. B 62-3, Bl. 100, Hn. S 57, PG 91, PH 88-9, Grg. 120, Brl. 98, HL 92, ENN 8, To. D 148, To. DL 493 [+, Blz. CL 178] || WCh (?) *d.a'Him¹- > Gmy tiyɣm v. 'taste', My a d.a'hin id., Hs d.and.ana v. 'taste', Bl dand- id. || CCh *√d.m: HgNk d.amata v. 'taste', Bdm d.ɣm, ? Msg {Trn.} t'm' id. ¶¶ AD PSH § 5.2 [#6], § 6.3 [#73], OS #2454, ¶ Sk. HCD 55 || U: FU *toɣwmV (or *tokmV) > pObU *to-ɣəm- or *to-wəm- v. 'bite' > pVg *ta-ɣəm- or ?*ta-wəm- id. > Vg: LK/MK towm-, UL to-wəm-, Ss to-wm; pOs *toɣəm- ({HL} *to-ɣəm-) id. > Os: Ty ta-ɣwəm-, Y ta-wəm-, D/K/O toɣəm-, Nz tuɣəm-, Kz {Stn.} toɣəm-, {KrT} to-ɣəm-/toɣm- ¶ Ht. 187 [#625], KrT 977-8, Stn. D 1414-5 || R: M *tamsiya- > ? WrM tamsiya-, HlM тамиа- v. 'champ, click the tongue, taste food', Ord t'ams'a- v. 'champ', WrO tams'a- id., 'smack the lips', Kl тамиа- tams'a- id., 'cling the tongue (as a sign of pleasure)', Brt тамиа- id., v. 'savour (смаковать)'; M *tamsug 'tasty' > Ord t'amsuq id., WrO tams'iq 'delicate', ? WrM taɣsug, HlM таңсар id. (infl. of *taɣsu 'tenderness' and/or *taɣsi- 'champ?'); M *tamsiɣ > WrO tams'iɣ 'savory', Kl {KRS, Rm.} тами тамс'η. 'gourmand, fastidious (wählerisch) in food', {Rm.} tamsa'g_-taɣsa'g_ id., 'Süssigkeiten'; M б- Qzq tamsanu-, Qq tamsan- 'smack the lips', Qrg tams'an- id., 'click the tongue (a sign of pleasure)' ¶ MED 775, 778, Ms. O 643, Krg. 477-8, KRS 475, KW 377, 379, Chr. 413, Jud. 700 || Tg *tam- v. 'champ, taste (food)' > WrM tamis'a- id., Ewk tam- v. 'champ' ¶ STM II 158 || pJ {S} *ta'mi-a-s- 'try' > OJ tam_i_ies-, J: T tamé's-, K ta'mé's-, Kg ta'mé's- ¶ S QJ #1012, Mr. 763 || ? NaT(?) *t'aɣm- 'taste' > Alt {BT} tam, Tlt/QK/Shor {Rl.} ta-m id. (for these lgs. of non-Muslim peoples the Persian-Arabic origin of the word is less likely than for Uz тама- таъм 'taste' and ET taam 'food', which are obviously loans); ?σ T *t'am-ga'k ({ADb. *t'anyak) 'soft palate and throat' > OT {TL} tamyāq, {Cl.} tamyā'q, MU, MQp, XwT tamaq, MOg tamaq - tamay id., Chg tamay - tamaq, Tk damak, Ggz damak, Az damag 'palate', Tkm damaq, Uz tamaq, Qry, QrB, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, ET, Alt/Qmn {Rl.}, StAlt tamaq, Xk, Shor tamaɣ 'throat', Tv t'aɣmaq 'gills', Yk tamaɣ 'throat, pharynx' ¶ Cl. 505, Rs. W 460, TL 229-30, Rl. III 993-4, 1649, BT 140, MM 330, BT 140 ¶ Tv t'- provides ev. for pT *t'- in the noun, while d- of the Og lgs. is ambiguous (≠ IS AD and ADb. Ttd 62-5) ¶¶ DQA #2301 [A *t'a'ma 'to taste, munch' > M, Tg, J] || ??φ D: Tm tīm 'sweet', te-m 'sweetness' (unless from *ti's¹-) ¶ D #3274, ¶ GS 202 [#512] (pD *tyi- 'sweet'). If Tm tīm- belongs here, the N rec. may be *t.əyɣemV ♦ ≠ Gr. II #120 (*tamp 'eat') (A *t'ama 'taste' and EA ¶ *tam- 'lick, chew' erroneously equated with IE *dapH- 'feast, sacrifice' [a loan from S *ḏabh- 'sacrifice'], as well as with Vg *ta-p 'food', etc.)

2375. *t.əqmE 'sinciput, crown of the head, top, tip' > HS: S *√t.ɣm > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} ?at_ɣam- 'anterioris pars nasi (in homini et iumento)' ¶ Fr. III 44 || C: Ag **dVmVh > Aw {L} du-mi 'top', Ag б- Gz dāma'h [dāmah] 'head, crown of the head, summit' (unless < S *dima-ɣ- ÷ Ar dima-ɣ- 'brain', acc. to W. Müller) || ? EC: Or d.uma (nom. d.um-ti) 'end' ({Brl.} 'estremità, fine') ¶ L G 134, Grg. 131, Th. 116,

Brl. 128 **II K** *^ot^oq^oem- (or *^ot^oq^oe^om-) > OG t^oxem-i 'top of the head' (Deut. 28.35), 'top of the hill' (Ex. 17.9, Mt. 27.33), G t^oxem-i 'Scheitel, Gipfel' ¶ Chx. 509, Abul. 186, DCh. 574, Ser. 74 **II IE** *^oteHmn^o > NaIE *^ote^omn^o > Sl *te^ome^o / te^omen- 'crown of the head' > SrChS, OR **тѣма** teme^o / gen. **теменѣ** temen-e id., 'skull', R **теми**, Uk **тѣмѣ**, P ciemie^o, SCr **те^oме^o** tje^ome 'crown of the head', Cz te^ome^o, temeno id., 'summit' ¶ Srz. III 1093-4, Vs. IV 41, Ma. CS 525, Sls. I 100 **II A** *t^oemV ~ *t^oumV > Tg *temV ~ *tumV ({DQA} *tum^ou) 'crown of the head, occiput' > Ewk I t^omulk^oz^on ~ timulk^oz^on 'crown of the head', 'skull', Sln tumulki^o, Ud t^ozmug^oz, Orc {PSchm.} **тумаха**, Mc Sb tu^ogun 'crown of the head, sinciput' ¶ STM II 217 || ? NaT *t^ol^oumak 'fur-cap' > Chg {PC} tumaq 'ε cap', {Vm.} tuma^oy 'fur cap of the Qazaqs', ET {BN, Nj., Rl.} tumaq, Bsh Δ **тѣма**ya 'winter fur cap with large ear-flaps', SbTt Tö **тома**l **тѣма**q, Qrg tumaq, QK {Rl.} tubaq, Tkm Δ **тумо**q id., Uz **тумо**l tumaq id., 'cap', Qzq {Sht., MM} **тѣма**l tu^omaq 'winter cap, fur cap with ear-flaps and back flap (**треух**)', ET Δ, Ln tumaq 'ε cap'; T б>Kl **томо**γα 'Mütze, Kappe' ¶ TL 483, BN 157, Nj. 339, Rl. III 1514, 1517-8, UzR 451, Jud. 765, Sht. 211, KrkR 654, Tm. 212, KW 399 || M (?φ) *tomi n./adj. 'chief' > WrM tomi, Ord {Ms.} t^oomi 'chef, primipare', t^oomi-la- 'être à la tête de' ¶ MED 800, 822, SM 431. Ms. O 666 || pJ *tum- 'top, head' > OJ {S, Vv.} tumu-ri (~ {S} tuburi) 'head, top' > ItOJ {Vv.} tuburi, eNJ tuburi ~ tumuri, J: T/Kg cumuri^o, K cu^omu^ori^o id., Sh c^oi^obu^oru^o 'head' ¶ S QJ #114, Mr. 556, Vv. AEN 6-7 ¶¶ S CNM 8 suggested to adduce T and OJ, as well and M tomi-la- 'chief' and tumur-liy 'hat' ¶¶ The vw. *u in A *t^oumV may be due to labializing effect of *m ¶¶ DQA #2464 [A *t^ou^omu 'head, top of the head'] ♦ AD NM #105, S CNM 8, Vv. AEN 6-7.

2376. *t^oum^oV^oqV 'dark' > **HS**: S *^otm^ox > Ak tamx-u^o(m) 'evening', tamx-itu id. ¶ Sd. 1314 || C *t^ou^om^oH^oJ- 'dark' > Ag *tem- > Xm {R} tema 'darkness', tim (pl.) 'dark nights', Q {R} tem- v. 'be dark', tema 'darkness', Km {CR} tem- v. 'be dark', tem 'darkness' || ? HEC *tuns- (or *t^ouns-??) > Hd {PB} t.unso, {Hd.} tunso 'darkness', Sd {Gs.} tuns- v. 'grow dark', Sd {Hd.}, Kmb {Hd.} tuns- v. 'become dark', Sd {Gs., Hd.} 'darkness', Hd {PB} t.uns-, {Hd., Gs.} tuns- v. 'grow dark' ¶ AD SF 53-4, Hd. 47, PB 177, Gs. 319 || Om: NrOm: Kf {C} t.um- v. 'be dark', t.umo^o 'darkness, evening, night', Shn {Abb.} t.uma^o 'night', Bnc {Wdk.} t.u^oma^om 'at night' || SOm: Dm {Fl.} t.um 'darkness' ¶ C SE IV 510, Wdk. BY 112, Fl. OO 317 || ? Ch: Ech: it is tempting to adduce Mu {Lk., J} de^od^oe^om, [*Mjl deddem] and Mkl di^od^od^oo^o 'night', but the morphemic structure of the word and the origin of the initial de-, di- are not clear; cp. also Kbl {Cp.} da^oma^o 'night' ¶ JI II 257 [+, Blz. LECh #61] ¶¶ AD l.c., C SE II 221-2 (C, Om) **II IE** *temH- > NaIE *tem(ə)- 'dark' (and *ds* : *temes- ntr. 'darkness', teməsra^o id., temsro- 'dark') > OI 'tamah^o (tamas) ntr., Av təmah- 'darkness', OI 'tamisra^oh. (pl.) id., MPrs tom 'finster' || L temera^o- v. 'darken', temere 'blindly', tenebrae id. (probably *dis* from *tema^ofra^o < **teməsra^o ÷ OI 'tamisra^oh.) || OIr tem, later teim, temen 'dark, gray', OIr teime 'darkness', te(i)mel id., 'shade' || OHG de^omar, de^omerunga 'twilight', NHG Da^ommmer 'weak faint light', Da^ommmerung 'twilight, dusk', Ic {KM ← ?} þa^om 'dunkle Luft', þa^omaðr 'dark', Far {JM} ta^om 'haze'; OSx thimm 'dark', (*tem-sro/a^o >) MDt, Dt † deemster, OHG dinstar 'dark, dusty' || Lt te^om-ti, Ltv tim-t 'to grow\get dark', Lt teme^oti 'to be dark (finster)', Lt te^omsta 'it is getting dark, the day is closing in', Lt tema^o, Ltv tima, ti^omsa, tu^omsa, Lt tamsa^o, Lt E tumsa^o 'darkness', Lt temsas, Ltv tu^oms^os - tumss 'dark (finster)' || Sl *t^oma (acc. *t^omo^o ~ *t^omo^o) 'darkness' > OCS, OR **тъма**, R **тѣма**, P c^oma id., SCr ta^oma 'darkness, dusk'; Sl *d* adj. *t^oma^o 'dark' ('dunkel, dinster') > OCS **тъмънъ**, R **темный**, Blg **тѣмен**, SCr ta^oman ~ ta^oman, Cz temny^o, P ciemny ¶ P 1063-4, Dv. #319 (*temos 'tenebra'), EI 147 (*tomHes- 'dark'), M K I 478, M E I 626, WH II 656-7, 664, EM 1027-8, Vn. T 48, Kb. 157, OsS 99, 104, EWA II 573-5, 660-2, KM 120, Ho. S 77, Vr. N 108, JM 438, Frn. 1055-6, 1080, 1139, Kar. II 440-1, Vs. IV 40, 133-4, Glh. 619-20 **II U**: FP *tum^om^oJ^oe^o 'dark' > F tumma id., tummentaa v. 'darken, make dark', Krl tumma 'dark-coloured', Es to^ommu 'dark', Lv tuma^o 'undurchsichtig, nebelig (Wetter)', F Δ tumea 'dusky (hämärä)', Es tume 'dark' || Prm {LG} *tu^om- > Z LV tim- vt. 'darken, shield from the light' ¶ SK 1395-7, Kt. 439, LG 293 **II A** *t^oum- > NaT *t^ol^oum^oV^oJ^o, *t^ol^oum > Slr tum-, tumu-, tumi- vi. 'darken' (of the sky)', 'cover with darkness (**окутъвати мглою**)', SbTt **тѣма**s 'cloudy, overcast with clouds', VTt Δ **тѣма**z^oq 'cloudy', Tk Δ dumcak 'cloudy weather', which is etymologically connected with VTt **тѣма** 'closed from all sides'), ?σ OT {Cl.} tum 'uniform' (of dark colour): tum qara at 'a uniformly black horse', tum toriy at 'a uniformly dark bay horse'; T *t^ouman 'mist, fog, (?) darkness' > OT tuman 'fog, mist', 'darkness' [{DTS} **мгла, мрак**], Chg {Bu.} tuman 'mist, fog, darkness', tumanlu 'foggy, dark', Tkm duman, Tv t^ouman ~ t^ouman, Tf t^ouman, Qzq

tu^hman, Qq duman ~ tuman, Slr, Qmq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, ET, Uz tuman, VTt, Bsh т^hman, Xk tuban 'mist, fog', Brb tuman 'darkness (м^hла)', Tk duman, Ggz, Az duman, Yk tuman id., 'mist, fog'; pT **t^h₁'u^hm (with *rdp*) > Chv т^hт^hт^h 'dark', 'darkness' ¶ Cl. 503, DTS 585, IS AD 175, Rs. W 498, TL 33-4, ET VGD 295-6, Bu. I 753, Rl. III 1518, Tn. SJ 522-3, TatR 544-5, BR 531, BT 158, Dm. JBT 191, Ash. XV 103-4, Jeg. 249, Fed. II 224-5 || ? Tg *^otum- > ? WrMc tumin 'dark' (of colour) (× WrMc tumin 'thick, dense'), unless tumin 'dark' is a *sd* from tumin 'thick'; ?φ Tg *tamna 'fog, mist' > Nn tamna ~ tamn'a id., Ork, Ul tamna 'haze, mist, fog' ('м^hла, туман'), Ud {Shn.} tamn^hHa^h, {Krm.} tamn^hsha^h 'mist', Ewk tamna-ksa id., tamna- v. 'get misty (weather)' ('туманитс^hя, иди пару'), Lm tamnarı 'fog, haze' ('Nebel, Nebel-, Staubschleier'), tanmv- v. 'get misty (weather)' ('neblig werden'), WrMc talman 'mist, steam', Jrc ta^h-ma^h-ki^h 'mist, fog' ¶ STM II 159, 213, Krm. 293, LamW 942 ¶ The vw. *a (for the expected *u) in Tg *tamna is still to be explained (infl. of the nearly synonymous A *da^h₁im- 'dust' < N *dAmV 'steam, mist, dust'? [≠ N *dAmV]?) ¶¶ It is not clear if the meaning 'mist, fog' (in T and Tg) goes back to 'darkness' or there is coalescence with a different root ♦ IS SS #1.29, IS MS 368 s.v. 'темный' *t^humA (IE, C [with Om], BF), AD rTPN (IE, HS, BF, A) → BmK 284-5 (IE, C + i ÷ Eg tms v. 'hide'). IE and Tg suggest N *t^h-, while in S, C and T there is de-emphatization of the initial cns. ♦ □ Gr. II #89 (*tum 'dark') [IE, U, A, CK, EA + *err.* Ko].

2377. ² *t^hVm^hV^hkaE 'to wet, to dip' > HS: S *^o/t.mk. > Gz √t.mk.: v. *Sh* (pf. ?at.mak.a) 'dip, immerse', t^həmu^hk. 'dipped, baptized', t^həmk.at 'immersion' ¶ L G 593 ¶ Glottalized k^h for the expected k is probably due to *as* || IE: NaIE *teng^h- v. 'wet, moisten' [× N *t^h.a^h'^hu^h' 'moisture', 'large body of water'] > Gk τεγγω v. 'moisten, soak, dye' || L ting-o^h, -e^hre v. 'dip, dye, wash, sprinkle, paint' || OHG dunko^hn, NHG tunken 'to dip', NGr Sw tink 'moist' || ? OIr tummaid '(he) dips, immerses' ¶ WP I 726, P 1067, EI 639 (*teng- 'moisten, soak'), F II 863, WH II 684, OsS 115, EWA II 855, KM 797, Vn. T 183, Mn. 726?

2378. *t^hu^hmK^h.V ~ *t^hu^hη^hK^h.V 'leather sack' > U: FU (in Ugr) *tu^hη^hV^htE (or *ta^hη^hu^htE?) 'quiver' > Hg tege^h-z ~ te^hge^h-z 'quiver' | ObU *tu^h-wət id. > pVg *ta^h-wət id. > Vg: LK/MK ta^h-wət ~ ta^h-wt, P ta^h-wt, Ss tawt; pOs *tu^h-wət id. > Os: V/Vy tu^h-wət, Ty tix^hwət, Y/D/K tiwət, Nz ti^h-wət, Kz ti^h-wət || Ne T {PT} т^hη^hт^hт^h / -h- t^hzn^ht^h?^h 'quiver' ¶¶ UEW 894 (Ugr *ta^hη^hV^htV), MF 624, Ht. #632, Hl. rHt, PT RNS 115, Mu. USz 90, Hal. USz I 262 || A *t^hu^hη^hk^h.V > T *t^hu^hη^hdi or *t^hu^hη^hdi > Chg {Bu.} tiŋdi or tiŋdi 'ein Sack aus Leder oder aus Pilz' (□ {Rl.} ÈðkyT tiŋdi) ¶ Bu. I 439, Rl. III 1355 || ?φ M *^ocu^hη^hke > WrM cu^hη^hke, HIM ц^hнх 'bag, pouch' ¶ MED 209 || ???φ HS: Eg fMK tm^h 'sack for grain and other fruit' > Cpt: Sd τωωμε to^hō^hme, A τωωμεс to^hmes 'bourse, sac' (× Eg fMK tm^h 'mat' < N *tVmv 'hair' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG V 307, Fk. 299, Vc. 215.

2379. ?² *t^hi^hm^hVn^hV 'to be quiet, calm' > HS: S *^o/t.mn > Ar t^hamn- 'quiet, tranquil', √t^hmn ~ √t^hm^hn v. 'lie down to rest, rest' ¶ BK II 110 || A: Tg *tVmn^hX 'calm' > Lm t^hmn^h 'lull, calm weather (before a storm)', ? Ud ton v. 'calm down (the wind)' ¶ STM II 182 || T *t^h₁'im 'silence' > Tkm dm- 'fall silent', Alt t^hmr- 'be silent', Qq, Qrg t^hmp^hry- id., Qzq t^hm-t^hrrs '(deathlike) silence', Qrg t^hmz^hm 'quietly, in silence', Tlt/Qmn {Rl.} t^hm 'silence, silently', Xk t^hm n. 'quiet, silence', t^hmrx, Alt t^hmq 'silence', Qzq t^hmq, Bsh t^hmb^hq, VTt t^hmb^hz^hq 'calm' ¶ Rs. W 47, TkR 298, MM 354, KrkR 656, Jud. 791, TatR 561, BT 163-, Rl. III 134, BIG 244 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2271 [A *ti^hu^hm(k)u 'silent, calm', *incl.* T] ♦ ≠ BmK 307-8: a comparison between Ar √t^hmn ~ √t^hm^hn and IE *domH- v. 'subdue, conquer, tame', which is *unc.* on both phonetic and semantic grounds (the basic meaning of the IE √ is v. 'subdue, conquer, overpower' (cp. Gk δομα^hζω v. 'overpower', the meaning 'to tame' being secondary), while the S √ means 'tranquility; to rest').

2380. *t^h.an^hV 'to draw, stretch, extend' > IE: NaIE *ten- v. 'draw, stretch, extend' (× IE *ten- v. 'strain' < N *t^h.i^hn^h'E 'strong; to strain?') > OI ta^hno^h-ti 'expands, extends, spreads', ut-ta^hna 'ausgestreckt', Av usta^hna id., KhS astan-, asta^hn- v. 'stretch (a musical instrument), ttanv- to stretch' || Gk Hm/I τανυ^hω (Gk Hm 3s md. τα^hνυται) v. 'stretch, stretch out, strain' || L tend-o^h / -e^hre 'stretch, stretch out, extent, spread' || Clt: Brtt {RE} *indami v. 'pull' > MW, W tynnu, Crn tenna, tynne, MBr tennaff, Br tennan^h id.; ? OIr tan 'time' (< 'duration, time extension'), 'moment' || pAl {O} *en-tenja > Al: T ndej ~ nde^hnj, G nde^hj v. 'stretch, spread' || Gt uf-panjan 'stretch out', ON þenja 'ausspannen, ausstrecken', AS ðe^hnnan 'to stretch, extend', OSx the^hnnian 'to stretch (dehnen, ausspreiten)', OHG dennen 'to extend, tense, pull', NHG dehnen, aus-dehnen 'to stretch, extend' || Sl: OCS т^hен^hето, т^hоно^hто, Cz tenata, R те^hне^hето 'snare, Fangnetz' |

Lt tin̄klas 'net, fishing net', Ltv tr̄kls id. | *d* pp. *tn̄- 'to- > OI ta'ta- 'extended', Gk *τατοῦ (-δ- τατικοῦ 'extensible'), L tentus 'stretched, streched out, extended, spread' ¶ P 1065-6, EI 187 (*ten- 'stretch'), 574, Mn. 1379-1405, Hamp AIEW 149, O 283, M K I 471, 475, M E I 618-9, Bai. 12-3, 122-3, F II 853, WH II 663-4, 666, Vn. *T* 25-6, RE 120, Fs. 513-4, Vr. 609, Ho. 362, Ho. S 77, Kb. 150, EWA II 582-5, KM 125, SJSS XLII 447, Vs. IV 42, 139-40, Frn. 1098-9 || **II A** *t'anV- > Tg *ta'n- v. 'draw' > Ewk ta'n- 'pull\take out, stretch (выга_{ит}, вы-, по-, при-, на-. об-т_{нут}), Sln tan-, Orc, Ud ta'n-a-, Ul tv_{an}-, Ork to'n-, Nn to_{an}- 'draw, pull (т_{нут}, та_{ит}), Lm ta'n- 'draw\pull out' ¶ STM II 160 ¶ In Tg the vw. was lengthened in an open syll. || ? M *^otanV- > Kl та_н-x 'twist\plait together', {Rm.} tan-χ_a 'aus Fäden oder Schnüren einen Knopf zusammendrehen; knoten, knüpfen, flechten' ¶ KRS 476, KW 378 (but WrM tanu-, mentioned by Rm., is not registered in the available dictionaries of WrM) || **D** *tan't- ({"GS} *t-) v. 'pull' > Prj t_{and}- id., Gdb tind- v. 'pull, pull a cart', Gnd t_{and}- ~ tend- v. 'take out\off, remove' ^d t_{end}- v. 'take out\off, draw (water)' ^d tand_a-na- 'to extract (oil)' ^d tend_a-na- 'to pull off' ¶¶ D #3052 || ? **HS**: Eg fP dwn vt. 'stretch out, stretch (bows), straighten (knees)', vi. 'be stretched out' (× N *t.æ'w'V - *t.æ'U'V 'to extend, stretch, become long', if HS *-l- may regularly yield Eg n) ¶ EG V 431-2, Fk. 311 || CCh (× N *t.anga 'to draw, stretch', q.v.): Azm {Pc.} ta'nda' v. 'drag, pull' || ECh: Jg {} ten'- v. 'draw', EDng {Fd.} te'n'ε 'tirer (la corde, etc.)' ¶ Pc. 367, J J 117, Fd. 158 ¶¶ Tk. I 103 (Eg dwn ÷ S *_{/t}.wl 'be long, stretch out', EC {Ss.} *d₁a-l- 'exceed' and AG du₁-l 'pull', cf. N *t.æ'w'V - *t.æ'U'V); BmK 290-2 proposes to adduce S *_{/ntn} 'give', which deserves consideration if we can explain the initial *-n- ¶¶ **IS** MS 370 s.v. т_{нут} t_{an}l (IE, A- D), IS SS #1.10, ≠ BmK 290-2 (an *unc.* attempt to equate IE *ten- v. 'stretch, draw' not only with S *_{/ntn} v. 'give', but also with some other S roots [like *_{/wn} v. 'endure'], with D *tan- v. 'abound' and with M tani- v. 'know', cp. N *t.anV 'to feel, know').

2381. *t.anV 'to feel, know' > **HS**: EC: ?φ Sa {R} _{/t}.nt_n v. 'think (meinen, dafür halten)': imv. et.in't.in, p. 3s i't.int.ina, inf. a't.ant.en ¶ R S II 361 || **U** *tonhV- v. 'get accustomed, learn' (× N *t.ogV 'to learn, inform', q.v. ffd.; the merger accounts for U *-o-) || **A** *t'an'i- v. 'know' > NaT *t'an- v. 'know, be acquainted with' > OT tan- v. 'be acquainted with', Tk tan-, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qq, Bsh tanъ-, VTt tanъ- (inf. tanu), Qzq, Nog tan- (inf. tanuw), Uz tani-, Tf t'an- 'be acquainted with, recognize', Slr tan- ~ ta'n-, StAlt, Xk tan-, Tv t'an-, ET tonu- v. 'recognize (у-/при-знават)', SY t'ani- (< M?) ~ tan- v. 'recognize, distinguish', Tkm tanī mal 'known, famous', tanis' id., 'an acquaintance'; ϕ T *t'anuk ~ *t'anik 'witness' > OT, Chg tanuq, Osm danıq, Tk tanık, VTt tanъq, Qrg tanıq, ET tonuq id. || Chv tmъ, tm 'witness' ¶ Cl. 516-9, Tn. SJ 500-1, BT 141, Ra. 232-3, Rs. W 461, Jeg. 268, Md. 100, 178, Fed. II 267, IS AD 42, ADb. Ttd 63 [#5] || M *tani- v. 'know, be familiar with; recognize (so.\sth. previously known)' > MM [S, HI, MA] tani-, WrM tani-, HIM тани- id., Kl tan'- (χъ), Ord t'ani-, Dx, Ba tani-, Mgl ta-ni-na v. 'know (connaître), recognize', Mnr H {SM} t'ani- 'connaître, reconnaître, pouvoir déchiffrer', MMgl [Z] tanix'i 'an acquaintance', ¶ H 145, Pp. MA 340, Ms. H 99, KW 387, MED 778, KRS 477, SM 408, T 363, Iw. 136 $\diamond$ AD GD 14, IS SS #1.6, IS MS 343 s.v. *t_{an}l 'зна_т' (IE, U, A).

2382. *t.i'n'E 'strong'; 'to strain' (= 'violence directed to oneself') > **HS**: B *^od_{ny} > Kb $\sqrt{\delta}$.ny: əδ.ni 'être gros, corpulent', Shl {NZ} d_{ni} / id_{ni} 'être gros\solide\épais' ¶ Dl. 178, NZ 476 || CS *_{/wytn} 'flow continuously, be durable' [× N *wete '(flowing) water'] > BHb Nt1ia4 ?e'ta'n 'constant, continual; always filled with running water', Ar _{/wt}n: G (pf. watana) v. 'flow continuously; remain long (in a place)', L 'persevere in', Sb wtn 'continuous (rain)' ¶ KB 43, KBR 45-6, Hv. 849, BGMR 165, DRS 652 || **A** *t'ine_a- > M *cineven > WrM cinegen, HIM чинүү, Brt цүнүү(н) 'strength, power', Kl {KRS} чин' н, {Rm.} c'ine-n 'Stärke, Vermögen, Kraft', {KRS} чин' т' c'ina'ta' 'strong' ¶ MED 188, KRS 651, KW 441, Chr. 748 || ?? **CIKo** tin tin hada 'be solid\strong, be substantial', Ko {MLC} tin tin hada ~ t'in t'in hada 'be strong, robust, healthy; be hard, substantial' ¶ Rm. SKE 267, MLC 530 ¶¶ Rm. l.c.; ≠ DQA #237 || **Gil**: Gil A c'ij / sij 'strong' (< M?) || **D** *tin- ({"GS} *t-) 'strong', *tin'd_i- {Pf.} 'strength, violence directed to oneself' > Tm tin. 'strong, hard, firm', tin_m, tin_n.am 'certainty, vigour, strength', Ml tin. 'firm, strong, solid', tin_n.am 'strength', Kn tin_n.a 'thickness, stoutness, greatness', tin_{uku}, tin_{aku} v. 'use pressure or strain as in childbirth or in easing nature', Tu din.də 'stout, strong', din'n'a 'heaviness, heavy', Tl tinuku v. 'strain', Kui t_{ingi} 'tight, fast, taut', Krx t_{ind}.i 'strength', tinx-na- v. 'strain', Mlt tinqe v. 'strain (as at stool)' ¶¶ D #3222, Pf. 83 [#527] || ???σ **IE**: NaIE *ten- v. 'strain' (× IE *ten- v. 'stretch' < N *t.anV 'to draw, stretch, extend') > OI ta'no'ti 'spannt, zieht aus', 'expands, extends, spreads' || Gk

τεῖνω 'stretch by main force, stretch to the uttermost, spannen', τετανοῖ ~ τετανοῖ 'straightened, smooth', ? τεῖνον (gen. τεῖνοντος) 'sinew, tendon', ἀ-τενηῖ 'stretched, strained', {P} 'sehr gespannt, straff' (α' < *sm_o-), τοῖνος 'that by which a thing is stretched', n. act. 'stretching, tightening, straining' || pAl {O} *en-tenja > Al: T ndej ~ ndeñj, G ndeñj v. 'strain' || ON þenja 'ausspannen, ausstrecken' || OIr te't, W tant (both < *tn_ota-) 'string (Saite)' ¶ P 1065-6, M K I 475, Hamp AIEW 149, O 283, F II 853, 863-5, Vr. 609, Vn. T 55, EI 187 (*ten- 'stretch') ◆ IS MS 364 s.v. **СИЛОНЬ** *t.in_o (A, D), IS SS #1.20. If the IE stem belongs here, we reconstruct N *-n'- (as the only common source of IE *-n- and D *-n'-), otherwise it is either *-n'- or *-n'-.

2383. *t.ju^hn^h or *t.ju^hn^hU mud, silt, dirt' > **HS**: WS *t.in- 'mud, clay' > Ar t.jin- 'mud, clay', Sr t.jin-a- 'lutum', Mh t.ayn 'clay, soil', Hrs t.ayn, Jb E/C t.un 'clay' ¶ Br. 274, Jo. M 414, Jo. J 282, Jo. H 131 || CCh: Lgn {Bou.} t3'ñ 'earth' ¶ JI II 117 || ?? Eg {Vc.} dnmm 'salé' (unless n = [I], as suggested by comparison with Cpt Sd **ṭwaleṃ** to'ləm 'salir, être salé'); not here Eg G tnm 'dirt' > Cpt **ṭwam** to'ləm ¶ EG V 312 (Eg G tnm), Vc. 214 ¶¶ OS #2472 (HS *t.in 'earth, dirt') || **IE**: NaIE *tiHn- > Sl *tina- 'mud, slime' > OCS **тина** tina 'βορβοροῖ (mud, mire)', OR **тина** tina 'id., 'slime, swamp', R **тина**, Blg **тину** 'slime, mud', OCz tina 'Kot, Morast' ||?σ AS ðīnan 'become moist' || Tc B tin- 'be dirty' ¶ EI 160 [*tiHn- '(be) dirty'], SJSS XLIII 456, Vs. IV 59, Srz. III 959, Chuk. 1080, ≠ Tr. 323 (connects the Sl word with BSl *tīmen- 'swamp'), ¶ Ho. 365 (with *unt* etl. parallels), Ad. 297-8 || **K**: pGZ *tχ'u'n- v. 'soil' > G tχun- 'be-, verschmieren, schmutzig machen, beschmutzen'; reduplicated stem K *tχitχwn_o- v. 'soil, soil oneself' > G titχn-, Mg tχitχon- ¶ Chx. 490, 513, K 94 (*titχwn_o-), FS K 150 (*titχ-) ||?σ **U**: FU *tu^hñk_oV > ObU *tu^hñk 'moss' > pVg *tu^hñk id. > Vg: T tu^hñ, LK ta^hñ^wk^w, P ta^hñk, UL/Ss tañ^wk^w; pOs *to^hñk ({**HL**}. *tu^hñk) id. > Os: V to^hñk, Ty/Y to^hñk, K to^hñk, Kz tu^hñk, O tuñk ◆ K *tχ- < *t...h (= *t...h, *t...h or *t...χ) due to the K law of attraction of velar and postvelar cnss. bringing about creation of "harmonic clusters". In this √ the most probable N lr. is *h, because only *h can be lost in S.

2384. *t.an^hXu^h (or *t.a^hñXu^h) 'thin, short' > **HS**: S *mt* *^o√t.hn > Ar t.uhan- 'petit, courtaud, de petite taille (homme)' ¶ BK II 62 || **IE** *ten_oHju- > NaIE *tenu- ~ *t_onu- 'thin' > OI ta'nu-h. 'thin, small, slender', MPrs tnwk tanuk 'thin, shallow', NPrs nT tonok 'thin, light, weak' || Gk τανυ- in *cds*: Gk Hm τανυ'-φλοιοῖ 'thin-barked, with thin bark', τανυ'-φυλλοῖ 'with narrow leaves', τανυ-η'κηῖ 'with a thin point\edge', Gk [Hs.] τανυ'-σφυροῖ 'mit schlanken Fußknöcheln'; τανα(φ)οῖ {LS} 'outstretched, tall, taper', {F} 'dünn, schmal, langgestreckt, lang' || L tenuis 'thin' (based on the fem. form *tenu-ī-, cf. OI f. tanvī 'thin') || Clt *tanawo- > OIr tana, tanae 'mince, fin, étroit', Brtt [RE] *tanawo-s 'thin' > MW teneu, W tenau 'thin, rare', Crn tanow 'thin', MBr {Ern.} tan(n)au 'mince', Br tanav (old spelling tanao) 'mince, fluide, clairsemé', Br V tenau || OHG dunni, NHG du^hnn, OSx thunni, ON þunnr 'thin', AS ðynne id., 'lean', NE thin || Lt te'vas 'thin, slim', Ltv tie'vs 'thin' (object), 'lean' (person) || Sl *t^hñk^h ~ *t^hñk^h 'thin' > OCS **тънькъ**, (rare) **тънькъ**, SCr ta_onak, Sln t_ona^hk, Blg **тъньк**, OR **тънькъ**, R (pradj.) 'тонок, (adj.) 'тонкий, P cienki, Cz, Slk tenky'; cmpr. Sl *t^hñe^hji > OCS **тъньги** ¶ P 1069, EI 574 (*tenu-s / *tn_o'nou_o-s 'thin, long'), M K I 474, M E I 620-1, McK 82, BM 135, F II 851-3, WH II 666, Vn. T 26, RE 138, YGM-1 408, Ern. 676, Hm. 773, Vr. 627, Ho. 374, Ho. S 79, OsS 115, EWA II 855-9, KM 148, Frn. 1086, SJSS XLIV 534, Glh. 620, Vs. IV 76-7, SlS. I 100, Tr. 319 || **A** *t'añu- > Tg *tañ'a' > Ewk Y/Sm/Urm taña 'lean, skinny', taña-, Ewk Skh tañna- v. 'get lean, skinny' ¶ STM II 162, Vas. 386 || M *tañg_ok_oji 'delicate, tender' > MM [S] tañgi 'schwach, Schwächling', WrM tañki, HIM та_hн_o 'delicate, tender', Kl tan'g 'weak', Brt та_hн_oил 'delicate, tender, beloved, verweichlicht' (**изнеженный, нежный, возл_oбленный**)' ||?φ M *tanu- v. 'reduce in size, cut off, shorten' > WrM tanu-, HIM та_hна- id., Kl tan- 'shorten', amb 'reduce', Brt та_hна- id. (× Brt та_hна- 'reduce by cutting, cut off, **об-/от-резат_o**) ÷ Kl taññ- id.) ¶ H 145, MED 777, 779, KRS 476-7, Chr. 413 ◆ A *-ñ- seems to go back to N *-Nχ- (or *-Nh-?). In NaIE the lr. is lost in prevoc. position (f. *tenwī is a NaIE form derived from *tenu- after the loss of the lr.) ◆ Trnt. NE (IE, A).

2385. *t.Añh^hV 'moisture' > **K**: G t.en-i 'humidity, Feuchtigkeit, **сырость**' ¶ Chx. 1335, DCh. 121, GL 490 || **HS**: ECh: Ke te'ñe 'befeuchten, nassen' ¶ Eb. 96, ChC || **IE**: NaIE *teng^h- v. 'wet, moisten' [× N *t.Vm_oV_okaE 'to wet, dip', q.v. ffd.] || **D** *tan^h- 'wet' > Kn tad.i 'wet, damp, moistness', ? Kn Hv cen'd.i 'wet', Tu tan.asə, tanasə 'wetness, dampness, water', ? can.d.i 'wetness; wet, moist, humid', ? cammi 'dampness, moisture', Tl tad.i 'moisture, dampness, wetness; damp, moist, wet'; D -b> Prkr tan.n.a-ya- 'damp'; D *tan^hn^h(r) 'cold water' (semantic infl. of the isophonic √ *tan^h- 'cold') > Tm tan.n.īr, tan.n.i

'cold water, water', Ml tan.n.īr, tan.n.i 'cold water, drinking water', Kt tan'ir 'cold water', Kn tan.n.īr id., Tu tan.n.īr 'cold water' ¶¶ D #3045 (does not distinguish between this √ and *tan- 'cold'), Tu. #13676 (2).

2385a. ? ***t.egʷ** 'large body of water' > **HS:** S *^ot.imm- > Ar t.imm- 'masse d'eau, mer' || WCh: Tng {Kr.} tē'ngu'l 'lake' (not found in J T) ¶ ChL I 121 || **A** *t'egE 'large body of water' > T *^ot'jea'ṇ > OT [MhK] t'ṭ'ṇ 'lake' or 'marsh' (non-vocalized Arabic script) ¶ Cl. 512, DTS 551 | T *t'egir 'large body of water' (→ 'sea') > OT ta'ṇiz (or teṇiz) 'large body of water, sea', Tk deniz 'sea', Az da'niz, Ggz deniz, Tkm denið, Chg ta'ṇiz ~ deṇiz, XwT ta'ṇiz, CrTt, Qmq, Qrg, ET deṇiz, MQp, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qzq teṇiz, VTt dingɣz, Bsh dingɣð, Uz dengiz, Xk tiṇis 'sea', StAlt teṇis 'sea, ocean' || Blgh *ta'ṇir b> OHg, Hg tenger 'sea' ¶ Cl. 526, DTS 552, Rs. W 474, ET VGD 194-5, TL 89, Dr. TM III #1192, Grøn. 241, Faz. II 380, BT 147, ADb. Ttd 64 ¶ The irreg. initial d- (for t-) in some Qarluq and Qypchaq lgs. (Qmq, Uz, ET) and in Qrg must be explained by inter-Turkic borrowings (quite natural for a word denoting an object not familiar to speakers of many T lgs.). Acc. to ADb. Ttd 64, in *CEṇ-roots the opposition *t'- ↔ *t'- is neutralized. The origin of the sx. *-ir' is still obscure || Tg: WrMc tengin 'large lake' ({Z} 'large deep lake, of which the banks cannot be seen') ¶ STM II 236, Z 720 ♦ N emphatic *t.- is reconstructed on the ev. of S*t.- and Tg *t-, while the T reflexes are obscure. N *u' is suggested by S *m [< N *-ṇ- near a labial vw. (reg.)] ♦ Hardly here the U √ that was reconstructed by Coll. as *toṇe 'lake' (Coll. 62). In the light of the extant data, this U √ is reconstructed as *towṇ (so in UEW 533) < N ***t.ubʃV** 'lake' [q.v.].

¶ **2385b.** ***t.iṇV** 'hear, listen' > **HS:** Ech: LI {Grgs.} d.e'ṇli', Nd D {J} d.u'la' 'hear', EDng {Fd.} d.e'ṇge' 'ear' ¶ JI II 115, 185, ChC II **A:** T *t'ṭ'ṇ > OT tiṇ 'listening' (Cl. 512 has doubts about the meaning), Qzq tiṇ 'eavesdrop, overhearing', Qq tiṇ tiṇla- 'to eavesdrop'; d> T *t'ṭ'ṇla- > NaT *t'ṭ'ṇla- ~ *tiṇla- 'listen' > OT tiṇla-, XwT XIII diṇla-, XIV tiṇla- id., Chg fxv tiṇla- 'hear', Tk dinle-, Tkm, CrTt diṇle-, Az diṇla-, Uz, ET tiṇla-, Nog, Qq, Ln tiṇla-, Qzq, Alt tiṇda-, VTt, Bsh tṭṇla-, Tv diṇna-, SY tinna- ~ tinna- 'listen', Xk tiṇna- 'lend an ear to' || Chv таӷӷла- tṭṇla- 'listen' ¶ Cl. 522, DTS 568, ET VD 236-7, Rs. W 478, MaM 357, KrkR 668 || M *ciṇla- 'listen, eavesdrop' (d> T?) > WrM ciṇla- ~ ciṇna-, HIM чагна-, Kl чиҥн- c'iṇnə- id., {Rm.} c'iṇṇ- 'lauschen, belauschen', Ord {Ms.} c'iṇna-, Mnr H {T} c'iṇla- 'hear, listen', Mnr Nr c'iṇla- 'écouter, prêter l'oreille' ¶ MED 190, KRS 652, T 380, SM 462, KW 441.]]

2386. ***t.oṇV** 'to learn, inform' > **HS:** Ch *^od.n > WCh: Bks {J} d.iṇi' v. 'see' || CCh: Ms {J} d.u'na' id. ¶ ChC, J R 141 || **IE:** NaIE *teng- / *tong- v. 'think, feel', {Mn.} v. 'remind, draw attention to; reflect upon, long for', *tonga- 'sentiment' > L [En.] tonge- v. 'know' ('nosse, scire'), L Prn tongitio- 'notio', Osc TANGINOM 'sententiam', abl. tanginu'd 'sententia' || Gt þagkjan / 3s p. þa'hta v. 'think, reflect upon', ON þekkja 'to notice, realize', OHG, NHG denken, OSx the'nkian, AS ðencan 'to think', NE think; Gt þugkian / þu'hta, AS ðync'an, OSx thunkian seem, look like', OHG dunken 'think (aestimare, putare)', NHG du'nnen 'to seem, look, imagine', ON þykkia 'dünken, scheinen, gefallen'; ON þokkr, þokki 'opinion, favour (Gefallen)', OHG danc 'thanks, favour', danco'n 'to thank, gratify, bless', NHG danken 'to thank', OSx thank 'Dank, Gnade', AS ðanc 'thought, sentiment, thanks' || pTc *ta'ṇkw > Tc: A tuṇk, B taṇkw n. 'love' ¶ P 1088, EI 575 (*teng-) Mn. 1411-2, WH II 690, Bc. G 325, Fs. 487, 504, Vr. 607, 615, Ho. 360, 362, 374, Ho. S 77, 79, Kb. 143, 172, OsS 95-6, 115, EWA II 527, 579-81, 853-4, KM 121, 127, 148, Wn. 518, Ad. 277 || **U** *tonṇV- v. 'get accustomed, learn' [x N ***t.anV** 'to feel, know'; the merger accounts for *-n- (*-ṇṇ-) for the expected *-ṇ-] > pMr {Ker.} *tṭṇa- d> Er tonado-, Mk tonadə- id., Er tonavto-, Mk tonaftə- v. 'teach, accustom so.' | Chr: L туҥе'ма-ш 'to learn, study, get accustomed', U/B tunema- 'lernen, sich üben, sich gewöhnen', B tunəkte- v. 'teach', mt : Chr Н ты'мени-ш KB тѣмена-, тѣме҃а- v. 'learn, get accustomed' || Prm *tun > Z tun 'soothsayer, medicine-man', Vt tuno 'female soothsayer', Z tunav-ni / tunal-, Z Δ tunal-, Vt tuna-ni v. 'predict, vaticinate' || Hg tanul- v. 'learn, study', tanit- v. 'teach' ¶ F tunte- ~ tunne- v. 'know, recognize' and Es tund-ma 'to feel' do not belong here, but rather go back to FU *tumte- (F N ***t.ṭ'EmV** 'to feel by touch') || Sm {Jn.} *tṭṇta' - (or *c-, *-nc-) v. 'teach', *tṭṇtṭ- (or *c-, *-nc-) v. 'learn' > Ne T таӷӷапа- 'punish, teach a good lesson', Ne T O {Lh.} tan'ara- 'durch Strafen abrichten, belehren', Ne F L {Lh.} tanna'ra'mmi 'ist durch Strafen belehrt', Slq Tz {KKIH} te_ni 'intelligence', te_nimi- v. 'know, understand' ('ЗНАТ, УМЕТ, ПОНИМАТ'), te_nirpi- v. 'think' ¶¶ UEW 537 (*tuna-), Sm. 550 (FU, FP *toni-, Ugr *toni- 'get used to'), Ker. II 169-70, LG 286, MRS 597-8, Jn. 147, Ter. 625, KKI 180-1 ¶¶ Prm *u provides ev. for FU *o, while the vowels

of other lgs. are ambiguous (may go back both to *o and to *u), therefore I prefer to reconstruct pU *tonⁿa- rather than *tuna- (as UEW) || **II** **II** *t'ug'a' 'to inform' > T *t'ı^ıuŋ > Chv таӦн тӦн 'mind, intellect; memory' [but not here Tv t'u^ıŋ 'sum, total' (cf Chn t'u^ıŋ 'together') and other words of T lgs. adduced in DQA #2751] ¶ **II** **II** Jeg. 237, Fed. II 192-3 || M *tunga- ({DQA} tuŋ-) > MM [HI] tuŋqa- tunga- {Ms.} 'promulguer', {Lew.} 'proclamer, afficher', WrM ↑ tunga(ga)-, HIM ↑ тунгаа-, Ord ↑ t'u^ıŋga- 'know, think, judge', WrO tunga-, Kl ry^ıha- tuŋya- 'think, reflect'; WrM tungag ~ tungaq, HIM тунхаг, WrO tungaq 'declaration', Ord t'u^ıŋgaq 'notification officielle', Kl {Rm.} tunga^ıg ~ tunga^ıg 'Bekanntmachung, announcement' ¶ Ms. H 103, Lew. II 81, MED 842, Ms. O 681, Krg. 519, KRS 518, KW 410-1 || Tg *tu^ıŋ- > WrMc tongi- 'tell\ narrate (erzählen) in detail, expand', Ewk NB tuŋz- 'know', Ewk I/Sm tuŋnı- v. 'warn' ¶ STM II 197, 216 || pJ: [1] pJ {S} *tu^ıanap- 'proclame, narrate' > OJ tu^ıo^ına^ıp, J: T/Kg tonae^ı-, K to^ına^ıe^ı- || [2] ? pJ tu^ınka^ı- 'let know, inform' > OJ tu^ıga-, J: T cu^ıge-, K cu^ıge^ı-, Kg cu^ıge^ı- ¶ S QJ ##645, 1014, Mr. 770, 772 ¶¶ **II** **II** DQA #2751 (A *t'uge 'inform', *incl.* J *tu^ıanap-, M, Tg) || **II** **II** *ton^ır- ({An.} *ton^ıd-) 'be visible, appear, come to mind' [x N *t'o^ıNV 'to appear' (→ 'to seem'), q.v. ffd.].

2387. UA ? ₂ *t.u^ıŋV 'butt, lower end of the trunk' > **U**: FU *tu^ıŋe id. > F tyvi 'lower part of the trunk, larger end, bottom, base', Es tu^ıvi 'stem, trunk', {W} 'unteres dickeres Ende (eines Stammes oder Stengels), tu^ıu^ı 'butt end, stump, stub, stubble' : Chr: H тӦн тӦн, L тӦн тӦн 'butt, lower end of the trunk, base', U/B tu^ıŋ 'Stammende, dickes Ende eines Baumes' : Prm *diŋ 'butt, lower end of the trunk (комелл)' > Vt диен din', Vt Kz/Sr diŋ ~ din', Vt G din', Z д^ıн din, Prmk din id. :: Hg to^ı (A to^ıvet) 'stem; base, lower part' ¶ Coll. 120, UEW 523-4, LG 94, It. #420 || **II** **II** *t'u^ıŋV > NaT *t'o^ıŋga^ı(k) > Tkm to^ıŋge, Uz туӦн тӦн, туӦн тӦн 'stump, stub; block of wood' ('пен, чурбан'), Brb {RL} to^ıŋo^ık, Alt/Tlt {RL}, StAlt to^ıŋo^ıs^ı, Shor {RL} to^ıŋa^ıs^ı 'tree stump' ¶ Rs. W 493, Jeg. 257-8, Rl. III 1247, BT 156 ¶ In some lgs. partial contamination with words for 'hummock, tussock' (VTt tu^ımga^ık, Tkm tu^ımnek, Chv L tumxax, tumxa) || pKo *tuŋ- > NKO tuŋch^ı 'base of a tree trunk', Ko {Rm.} tuŋch^ıgi 'root' ¶ S QK #921, MLC 511, Rm. SKE 277 ¶¶ **II** **II** DQA #2462 [A *t'umgıe 'base of tree trunk or grass stalk' > Ko]; Rm. SKE l.c. equates Ko tuŋch^ıgi with M tu^ıŋke (interpreted by him as 'the down-part, the base of a tree', which meaning is not confirmed by other sources [including KW]) ♦ IS MS 344 s.v. комелл *t.ungı, IS SS #1.18 ♦ Gr. II #400 (*tunke 'trunk (tree)') [U, A, Ko, CK].

2388. *t.uŋq'E 'to swell, swell up' > ? **HS**: S *t^ıŋ v. 'eat to excess' > Ar t^ıŋ G {Hv.} id., {BK} 'être gras', 'se charger l'estomac de mets gras, et en avoir une indigestion' (semantic infl. of other roots of the t^ıŋ-kernel: t^ıŋh 'avoir une indigestion', t^ıŋh 'avoir mangé de la graisse au point d'avoir une indigestion') ¶ BK II 112, Hv. 439 || **U**: FU *toŋV v. 'swell' ('(auf-, an-)schwellen') > Z dun 'swollen, inflated', Z dundi-, Prmk {UEW} tundi- vi. 'swell' (body, bellow due to an illness), Yz {UEW} dun^ıdi- v. 'swell' (stomach) :: Hg dagad- v. 'swell' ¶ UEW 530-1, MF 132, LG 98 || **II** **II** **II** **II** M *tu^ıŋke 'swelling' > WrM tu^ıŋke 'overgrowth of feather grass'; cf *tu^ıŋkeyi-: WrM tu^ıŋkei-, HIM т^ıнхий-(x) v. 'swell up, become bloated or inflated', Ord t'u^ıŋ^ıxı- 'être gros (p. ex., un ventre, un paquet)', ? t'uggi- 'avoir une forme ronde et massive, être gros\grand', ?? Kl c^ıin-xə 'aufschwellen' ¶ MED 853, Ms. O 687, KW 441 ¶¶ M *t- provides ev. for pA *t'- || **II** **II** *teŋk-/tekk- ({GS} *t-) > Tm teŋku- v. 'fill, become full, be crowded', te^ıkku v. 'drink to the fill, be full, replete', Kn teŋki 'mass, multitude', Tu te^ıkæ 'brimful', Krx te^ıkl te^ıxr- v. 'have an overfilled stomach', te^ıx te^ıxr- v. 'suffer from a heavy dinner, feel puffed up' ¶¶ D #3453.

2389. **II** **II** ?? *t.u^ıŋQV '(ε) tree, (ε) forest' > **HS**: Ch *t^ıŋ (or t^ıŋ?) tree' > WCh: pAG {Hf.} *t^ıŋ 'tree' > Gmy {Hf.} t^ıŋ, Kfr {Nt.} t^ıŋ, Su {J} ti^ıŋ, Ang {Hf.} tu^ıŋ (= {Flk.} tewŋ) 'tree', Mpn {Frz.} t^ıŋ 'tree, wood'] It is not clear whether one may adduce here Ch *t^ıŋwıŋ 'mahagony' (with a vw. different from that of Ch *t^ıŋ 'tree', to judge from the reflexes in Su and Ang) > Su {J} te^ın, Ang {Flk.} tan or ten 'mahagony', Gln {Stl.} ta^ın, Gera {Stl.} c^ıa^ıni id. :: CCh {ChL}: Hw ti^ın^ı, G'nd {ChL} ti^ında, Gbn {ChL} ti^ıyı^ın-da^ı 'mahogany tree' ¶ Hf. AGG 19 [#66], Nt. 40, Frz. M 83, J S 84-5, Flk. s.v. tan (or ten), tewŋ, ChL II 15, 25, 34 ¶ OS #2392 [misquotes the Gbn word ascribing it to Gabri (i.e. Smr G within ECh)], ≠ Stl. ZCh 165 [#182] (*tani/*tawni 'tree (baobab, mahogany)' ¶¶ ≠ OS #3297 (*ti^ıŋin- 'tree' i ÷ S *ti^ıŋin- [i.e. *t^ıŋin-] 'fig, fig tree', which in fact goes back to N ? *to^ıŋi 'fig' [q.v.]) || **K** *t^ıŋe(n)- 'forest, wood' > OG, G t^ıŋe- 'forest', Mg t^ıŋa- 'wood, weed', Lz (m)t^ıka- 'grass, dog-rose', Sv UB/LB/L {TK} t^ıŋen 'stick, cudgel' ¶¶ K 184, K²193, FS K 302-3, FS E 336-7, Chx. 1374, Abul. 414, Chik. 24, TK

721 ¶¶ K *t₁.qe(n)- is probably based on *mt* (typical K displacement of lrs. and uvulars to a position immediately following the preceding [esp. initial] stop or affricate) and subsequent ass. glottalization: *t₁.Enq- > *t₁.qEn- > *t₁.qe(n)- II A *t₁u^hŋV > M *tu^hŋ 'woods, forest' > MM [S] tun, WrM tu^hn~tu^hŋ id. ¶ MED 853, H 154 II D *ten₁, *teŋk₁ ({GS} *t-) 'coconut tree' > Tm ten₁, ten₁ai₁, teŋku, teŋkam, Ml teŋgu, Kt ten ka'y, Kn teŋgu, t₁en₁gu 'coconut tree', Td to^h(g)go'y 'coconut', Kdg teŋgi mara 'coconut tree', teŋge 'coconut', Tu teŋgə 'coconut tree', Tl te^h-mra^h-nu, te^h:-zet.t₁u 'coconut tree, teŋka^h-ya, t₁enka^h-ya 'coconut' ¶¶ D #3408.

2390. ?? *t₁.anga 'to draw, stretch' > IE: NaIE *teng^h- 'draw, pull, stretch, strain' ({P} 'ziehen, dehnen, spannen') > Av θang- 'ziehen, Bogen spannen', KhS tham^h-j- 'draw, stretch' ¶ SI *te₁g- > ChS растагж ras-te₁g-o₁ / растагн ras-te₁s^hti 'distract', OR тагати te₁gati, R Δ т₁гати, R т₁г^hути 'to pull, draw', Blg θегна vi. 'weigh, weigh upon'; Slv te₁g 'drawing force, drought' ('т₁га'), SCr te₁g id., 'weight'; SCr na-te₁gnuti (prs. na^h-te₁gne^h-m) vt. 'to stretch, draw tight', Slv te₁gniti vi. 'stretch', Cz tahati, ta^hhnouti, Slk tiahnut', P cia₁gna^hc' 'to pull' ¶ L temo^h ({EI} < *teng^h-s-mon- 'cariot pole') ¶ P 1066, Mn. 1379-1405, Bai. 148, SJSS XLII 447, Vs. IV 139-40, Sls. I 98, EI 187 [*teng^h- 'pull'] II A *t₁angV- > Tg *taŋgi- v. 'draw' > Lm tangiqu - taŋ^haqu 'implement for pulling the bow-string on the bow' ('станок для нат^hгивания тетивы на лук'), WrMc taŋgi-me-liyan 'nach hinten gekrümmt, ausgewölbt' ¶ STM II 160, Z 698, Hr. 887 || pKo {S} *t₁ā^hŋ-kā^hi₁- 'stretch, pull' > MKo t₁ā^hŋk^hi₁-, NKO taŋgi- id., Ko N {Rm.} taŋga^h-d 'to pull, draw' ¶¶ Rm. SKE 256, S QK #856, Nam 145, MLC 414 II HS: ?? CCh: Lgn M {Bou.} d₁a^hā^hm- v. 'draw' || Ch (× N *t₁.an^hV 'to draw, stretch, extend', q.v.): Azm {Pc.} ta^h-nda^h v. 'drag, pull', Jg {} ten^h- v. 'draw', EDng {Fd.} te^hn^hε^h 'tirer (la corde, etc.)' ¶ ChL, Pc. 367, J J 117, Fd. 158 ◆ IS MS 370 s.v. т₁г^hути t₁.ang^h (IE, A). This etymon seems to be connected with (derived from?) N *t₁.an^hV '↑'.

2391. *t₁.e^hŋK₁a 'firm, dense' > HS: B *^h√d₁ŋg [^h< **/t₁.nK] > Ah t₁uŋg^hət [= *t₁-d₁uŋg^hət] (pf. i₁ət.t₁uŋg^hət) 'être fort (une saveur, une odeur, un aliment, une chose parfumée)' ¶ Fc. 278-9, NZ 475-6 II ? IE: NaIE *tenk- v. 'be strong, solid, dense' > Av taxma- 'tapfer, tüchtig, energisch, heldenhaft', Psh tat (< *taxta-) 'dense, thick' ¶ OIr {Vn.} te^hcht 'solide, épais; coagulé' ¶ Gmc: [1] *θiŋhan 'to grow (wachsen), thrive' > AS ðion id., 'flourish' (p. ðunzon, pp. zedunzen), OHG dihan 'grow (wachsen), thrive, prosper, succeed', OSx thiha, NHG gedeihen, Gt þeiha 'grow, thrive, flourish'] [1a] pp: OSx gi-thigan 'gediegen, erwachsen', OHG gi-digan {Kb.} 'strict, severe, advanced, reliable', MHG gedigen 'grown up, firm', NHG gediegen 'solid'] [1b] AS ðinza, OFrs thigia 'to thrive', OSx a-the^hngian 'ausführen'] [2] d₁: ON þe^httr, Sw ta^ht, Dn tæ^ht, Nnr tett, MHG dihte, NHG dicht, ME, NE Δ thight 'dense', AS ðiht (in cds : maža-ðiht 'magenstark', me^hte-ðiht 'thick from eating') ¶ Lt ta^hnkus 'thick (dicht), dense' ¶ P 1068 (does not distinguish this √ from IE *tenk- 'sich zusammenziehen'), Brl. 626-7, Mrg. 84, Vn. T 40-1, Fs. 493-4, Vr. 609, Ho. 365-6, Ho. S 77, Kb. 153, 339, OsS 102, 240, EWA II 634-7, KM 131, 238-9 II A *t₁'e^hŋkV- > M *teŋke^h- > WrM teŋke-, HIM түнху- v. 'endure, recover strength or health', Brt түнху-, Ord t'eŋ^hxu- 'recover (after illness), recover strength'; *teŋkegen > WrM teŋke, teŋkege, HIM түнхүү, Brt түнхүү(н), Ord t'eŋ^hxε^h 'power, force, strength' ¶ MED 802-3, Chr. 455, Ms. O 658 || ? Tg *ti₁an₁k₁ 'firmly, densely' (secondary ideophonization?) > Ork te^hŋ, Orc tæ^hn-tæ^hn, Ud te^hæk-te^hæk, Ud Sm {Krm.} ta^h-ka^h-k id. ('крепко, плотно, туго'), Neg te^hŋ-te^hŋ, te^hŋ-tiŋ, Ul te^hŋ-te^hŋ, Nn Nh ti^haq-ti^haq '(very) firmly (крепко, крепко-накрепко)' ¶ STM II 173, Krm. 294.

2392. ? *t₁.uŋK₁.V 'to press, force oneself, be too narrow, be tight' > IE: NaIE *twenk- v. 'press, oppress' > Gmc {P} *θuŋxian (> *θu^hxjan) 'to press, press down, oppress ([nieder-]drücken, bedrängen)' > OHG du^hhen 'to press, urge', OLF bethu^h-wen 'to press down', Dt duwen 'to push', AS ðy^hwan, ðe^hon, {Sw.} þy^h-wan, þien 'to press' ¶ Lt tvanku^hs 'stuffy, close', {Frn.} 'schwül, drückend' ¶ It is not yet clear what connection there is with IE *tweng^h- 'bedrängen' > Av θwa^hz^haiti 'falls into distress', ON þwinga 'force, torment', OSx thwingan, OHG dwingan 'to force, compel', ON þwinga 'zwingen, belästigen' ¶ P 1099-1100, ≠ EI 451 [*tweng^h- with *unj*. *g^h based on controversial comparison with Gmc (ON þwinga, etc.)], Kb. 171, OsS 114, EWA II 842-4, 922-4, KM 897, Ho. 375, Sw. 182, Frn. 1149 II U: FU *tuŋke- v. 'press, squeeze into, thrust into' > F tunke- 'press, squeeze, thrust, push, force, force one's way through', Es tungi- v. 'force oneself, press, crowd' : pMr {Ker.} *tuŋg^h- > Er toŋgo- тоŋго-м, Mk toŋgə- тоŋго-м 'hineinstecken', 'shove\stick (into), thread a needle' ¶ Vg {Mu., MK}: T/P tokr-, LK/Ss toxr- 'zerknüllen, drücken, stecken', {UEW} 'stopfen' : Hg dug- v.

'stick\put\thrust into' ¶ UEW 537-8, Coll. 120, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *tuŋki-, Ugr *tuŋkr̃- 'cram'), MF 135, Slv. 407, Ker. II 170, ERV 669, MK 650 II? HS *t.u.nj.k.- > S *°-t.u.k.- > Gz √t.wk. G (pf. t.ōk.a, js. yə-t.u.k.) v. 'be in dire straits, be oppressed\afflicted; compress, constrain', √t.wk.y (pf. t.awk.aya) v. 'be narrow, be under stress, be painful', Tgy t.ewwək.ə v. 'press, pressure' ¶ L G 599 || C: HEC {Hd.} *t.uk.k.- v. 'be narrow' > Kmb, Hd t.uk.k.- v. 'be narrow', t.uk.k.a 'narrow' || SC: Alg {E} tinq- v. 'squeeze out' ¶ E PC #73 (pC *tak.- / *tik.- / *tuk.- v. 'press'), L l.c., Hd. 104, 301, 341, 413 ♦ IS MS 338 s.v. **давн** □ *t.unk.Δ (IE, U), IS SS #1.26.

2393. 1 *t.a'p.∇ 'to hit (the target)' (→ 'to succeed, find, find an answer, identify, recognize') > HS: WS *√t.bb 'know, be wise' > Sr √t.bb (pf. t.ab) v. 'be informed, know, make inquiry', Ar t.abb- 'habile, savant, versé dans une science; circonspect', √t.bb: pf. (< adj. of state) t.abba 'était habile, savant', Sq {L} t.eb 'croire, savoir', Gz √t.bb v. G 'be wise, prudent, sage', Sb d t.bb v. 'teach, proclaim' ¶ BK II 50-2, L G 585, L LS 198, BGMR 152 II IE: NaIE *top- 'wohin gelangen, auf etwas treffen; Ort, wo man hingelangt oder hin will' > Gk το'ποϛ 'place', τοπα'ζω v. 'aim at, guess' || AS ḏafian 'to consent to, permit, tolerate; endure, suffer' (Hofm.: ← *Platz machen, Raum geben') || Lt ta'p-ti, Ltv tapt 'become (werden, entstehen)', Ltv pa-tapt 'reach (a place), be able to arrive', Lt pri-ta'p-ti 'take up with' ¶ P 1088, F II 911, Hofm. 369, Ho. 360, Sw. 179, Frn. 1057-8, Kar. II 375, Bc. 636 II U: FP *tap(p)∇- v. 'find, succeed, fit' > F tapan / tavata v. 'find, meet, come across' ! Vt tupa- 'come to an understanding; fit, be the right size', dun s'aris' tupa- 'come to an agreement about the price' ¶ Wc. StWU 51 (F, Vt; other scholars did not find this etl. connection because they equated the above words with the isophonic FU verbs meaning 'to strike', 'to stick', etc.), U3S 249 II A *t'ap∇ v. 'hit the target, find' > T *t'ap- v. 'find, hit the target, guess' > OT {Cl.} tap-, MT [IM] dap- v. 'find, learn', Yk tap- v. 'hit the target', Tkm, Qmq tap-, Tk Δ {SDD} tap- v. 'find', Az tap- v. 'find, guess' (not dap-, as in IS AD 41), Slr tap-^d tapf-^d ta'p-^d ta?-^d, ET tap- id., QrB tab-, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk tap- (prevoc. tab-), Uz топ- tap-, SY tap-^d ta'p^d ta?-^d, Tv t'ip- (prevoc. t'iv-) v. 'find', Chv L тyn- tup/b_- v. 'find, detect', тynaÄ tub_ъ 'solution of a riddle' ¶ Cl. 435, IS AD 41 [#7], Rs. W 462, TL 699, Hüs. 283, Äz. 326, SDD III 1313, BT 142, Tn. SJ 502, Tn. SJJ 211, Cs. KKS 107, Jeg. 258, Fed. II 248 || (? ppM *ta'β'a- >) M *taya- v. 'guess' > MM ta'va- [MA] v. 'guess', [HI] 'deviner', WrM taga-, HIM, Brt raa-, Dx taya-, Ba ta- v. 'guess, solve a riddle', Kl тaa- ta- v. 'tell the fortune, suppose', {Rm.} 'erraten; annehmen, mutmassen', Ord, Mnr H {SM} t'a- 'deviner, conjecturer'; M б>Ewk ta'x-, Lm ta- v. 'recognize \ identify (so.), guess', Sln {Iv.} taxi- 'know', Neg tak-, Ul, Nn taqo- v. 'recognize\identify', Orc takki- v. 'recognize (so. seen before)', WrMc taga- '(er)kennen, können', Mc Sb taqamə v. 'identify' ¶ MED 763, KRS 469-70, KW 386, Pp. MA 338, Ms. H 98, SM 404, T 362, T DnJ 135, T BJ 147, STM II 149, Z 700, Hr. 881, Y #1859 ¶¶ Pp. VG 13, 122, 139, 157-8, IS AD 48-9 ¶¶ Pp. (l.c.) considers Ewk and Lm forms to be genetic cognates of M rather than loans and postulates their prehistory as *tapa- > *tawa-gi- > Ewk ta'g-, Lm ta-; Pp.'s hyp. is hardly convincing because no traces of Tg *-w- have been discovered II D (in SD) *ta'pp- 'appointed time, proper time' > Tm ta'ppu 'expected moment, appointed time, convenience', Ml ta'ppu 'proper time, opportunity', Td top 'time, chance' ¶ D #3161 ♦ IS MS 356 s.v. **попадат** □ (в цел) *t.ap'Δ (IE, A, U, D + i ÷ Eg and Ch [the Eg and Ang forms mentioned by IS are not acceptable on semantic grounds]), AD NM #34, S CNM 4 (÷÷ ST, Yn), Vv. AEN 3 ("the root may be onomatopœic").

2394. ?₂ *t.ap.∇ (or *t.ap.∇?) 'to wade, cross, go through' > HS: C: Bj (R) -dif v. 'wade a river' (1s p. a'-dif), n. act. 'da'f 'ford' || ?σ EC: Sml d.a'f- {DSI} 'pass by; release, let go', {ZMO} id., 'leave, omit', Sml N d.a'f- v. 'pass by' ¶ R WBd 60-1, ZMO 104, DSI 146, Abr. S 42 II K *°t.op.- > G t.op- v. 'wade' ¶ Chx. 1359-60 II A {DQA} *t'a'p'e' 'to pass through' > NaT *t'op- id. > Qzl {Jk.} to'p-, Xk {BIG} tobr-; *topul- > OT {Pp.} topul- 'durchgehen', {Cl.} t'u'pul- 'pierce', Yk tobul- id. ¶ Rs. W 489, BIG 229, Pp. VG 47, Cl. 440, Pek. 2694 || M *tayul- 'pass, go through' > WrM tagul-, HIM туула- id., 'penetrate', Ord t'u'l- id., 'cross (franchir)', WrO tuuli- 'penetrate, come through', Kl {Rm.} tu'l- 'durchgehen, durch-\hinüberkommen' ¶ MED 766, Vl. 211, Ms. O 678, Krg. 51, KW 413 || Tg *tap adv. 'through (**насквоз**)' > Neg, Ul, Ork, Nn tap, Ewk top, tapamnak^d topomnak id., ? Sln tawaakki- v. 'prick' ¶ STM II 164 || pJ {S} *təpə'r- {Mr.} 'pass by\ through' > OJ təpə'r-, J: T/Kg to'r-, K to'r- ¶ S QJ #1015, Mr. 770 ¶¶ DQA #2311 [A *t'a'p'e' 'to go through'], Vld. 211 (M, T).

2395. *t.ap.V(-LV) 'to feel\touch with one's fingers, to smear' > ? **HS:** S * $\sqrt{t}$.pl v. 'smear' (→ 'to soil') > BHB Ify $\sqrt{t}$.pl v. *G* 'smear\plaster over, coat, cover', JEA $\sqrt{t}$.pl *G* 'apply a paste', JA [Trg.] $\sqrt{t}$.pl *G* $\mu\phi$ 'anheften, ankleben, zufügen', Sr pp. t.ə'p.īl 'defiled, corrupt' (← *'soiled, made dirty'), t.ə'p.əl 'sordidus', Ar $\sqrt{t}$.fl v. *G* (pf. t.afilā) 'be soiled by dust (plant)', t.afil 'turbid water', Ak $\sqrt{t}$.pl *G* 'schmähen, verdächtigen' ¶ KB 362, KBR 379, GB 278, BDB #2950, Lv. T I 315-6, Js. 547-8, Sl. 513, Br. 285, Sd. 1379, BK II 89-90, Hv. 434 || **IE:** NaIE {Mn.} *tep- v. 'smear' > Lt tēpti / prs. tepu, Ltv tept / prs. tepju v. 'annoint, smear', Ltv tepe~t / prs. tepe~ju v. 'smear', tepe 'putty' | NaIE *tep(o)- 'smear, lubricant' > Lt teplio'ti 'to smear', te~palas 'lubricant, ointment', {Krsch.} teple'nti / prs. teplenu 'mit Schmiere\Salbe mehrfach ordentlich schmieren' || Clt: W tail 'dung, manure' ¶ □ Mn. 1383, Frn. 108, Kar. II 392, Vn. T 47, YGM-1 403 ¶ This stem should be kept apart from NaIE *tap- v. 'dip in' (↔ WP I 705), which goes back to N *t.U'p'f'V 'to plunge, immerse' (q.v.) || ? **U:** i FU *tappV v. 'feel, finger, touch' > OHg XVI tapat- 'tasten', Hg tapogat- 'feel, finger', tapint- id., 'touch', ? tapasz 'plaster' || F tapaila 'grope, grope about' ¶ Bá. 300-1, EWU 1481, MTE III 842-6, Wc. SW 51, UEW 521 (Hg tapogat- < FU *toppa- 'fassen, greifen, halten' [refers to an etymological entry that is absent in UEW]) || **D** (in SD) *tapp- ({GS} *t-) v. 'grope, feel by touching' > Tm tappu v. 'grope, feel about', Ml tappuka id., tappal 'groping', Tu tabbuni v. 'feel, grope' ¶ D #3072 ♦ IS MS 353 $\phi\mu\mu\beta\alpha\tau$ *t.ap'Λ (IE [*tep- v. 'smear, dip in'], ?A, U, D).

2396. *t.a''p.eu'' ~ *t.a''beu'' 'high place, top, hill' > **U:** FP *ta''we 'hill, island' (× N *dVbV 'hill') > Lp N {N} dievva / -v- 'roundish hill', Lp L {Wk.} tievva-, ti.evva-, {LLO} tievva- 'hill' | Z d' di, Yz di 'island, small island', Z Lu di 'island, peninsula, hill' ¶ UEW 794, Wk. LLW 144, LG 94, Lt. J 110, SZ 108, TmK 198 || **A** *t'a''p'E 'hill, top' > NaT *t'a''pe ({ADb.} *t'ep'e) 'top of the head, summit, hill' > MT xiv [IM] ta''pa'' 'hill', Tk tepe 'hill; peak, summit; head', Ggz tepa'', Az ta''pa'', Tkm depe, Uz tepa, Tv t'ey (ADb.: < *de'pey) 'hill, crown of head', Yk ta''ba'' 'summit, top of the head' ¶ In the T lgs. we may suppose mutual infl. of the paronymic roots *t'a''pe and *to''po''u''- (on the latter f N *to'p.'E 'head, top' → 'hill'). 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 *unc.* and superfluous ¶ Cl. 436, IS AD 42 [#23], Tkr 258, GRMS 466, Hüs. 289, □ DQA #2346 [T *t'epo''u'' × A (DQA #400) *tu'i.pe'' 'hill, top'] || Tg: [1] *tepb- > Ewk Nr {Cs.} tepe 'arrow-head (made of stone)', ? Neg t3ws3 'high wooded hill' ¶ STM II 225, 238 || ??? M *tebeg > WrM tebeg, HIM тѣвѣг 'shuttlecock, top-knot of hair', Kl {Rm.} tewəg_ 'Flechte, lange Haare im Nacken (der Mädchen) oder zwischen den Ohren (der Pferde)' | i ÷ WrM tab, HIM таб 'part of a scalp on which a braid\pigtail grows; head of a nail' (the phonetic shape of the word suggests that it is a loan) ¶ MED 760, 789, KW 373, 395 ¶¶ □ SDM97 (A *top'E 'hill, top'), KW 395 (M, T), □ DQA #2346 [A *t'e''p'a'' 'tuft (of hair)' ← 'top of head', *incl.* T + qu. : M *tab, *tebeg and Tg: Sln tabxa 'tail on shaman's belt', Ewk t3wduk3 'rags'] || **D** *tipp-/tiv- ({GS} *dibb-?) 'hill, heap' (× N *dVbV 'hill') > Tm tippai_ 'mound, elevated ground', Kt tip 'rubbish heap', Kn tippe 'heap, hillock, dunghill', dibba, dibbu, tevar(u) 'hillock', Tu hippæ 'heap, hill', Tl tippa id., 'mountain', dibba 'hillock, heap', Prj d.ippa 'heap', d.ibba 'mound', Gdb dibbe id., 'hillock', Gnd dibe 'heap', dippa 'highland for cultivation', Kui d.epa 'rising ground, high land', Ku debbe, dibba 'hill', Krx d.ippa- 'mound, hillock', Mlt tube 'rubbish heap' || ? **HS:** Eg N db.t 'head' ({EG}: "wohl fehlerhaft"), Eg L/G dbn 'head' (unless var. of tbn id.) | AdS of Eg fp tp, Eg N tbn 'head' (< N *to'p.'E 'head, top' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 261, 263, 272, 434, 437, Fk. 296 ♦ D *-i- (for the expected *a) still needs explanation ♦ The N variant *t.a''p.eu'' may have been induced by the infl. of *to'p.'E 'hill'.

2397. ?2 *t.a''p.V 'to put' > **A** *to'a''e''p.bV > NrTg *te~pb- v. 'put (stellen), set, install' > Ewk t3~w-, Ewk Brg to~f- v. 'put (stellen), plant (a plant)', Lm t3~w- id., Lm A/O t3~w- v. 'build' ¶ STM II 225 || M *tabi- 'place, put' > WrM, WrO tabi-, HIM таби-, Ord t'a'wi- ~ t'awi-, Brt таби- id. ¶ MED 772, Ms. O 650-1, Krg. 469, Chr. 408 || ?? pKo {S} *tu'- 'put, place' (× N *t.æbø'U' 'to load, fill') > OKo tu'-, NKo tu- ¶ S QK #872, Nam 163, MLC 502 ¶¶ □ DQA #2355 [A *t'e''ybo 'to put, set' > Tg *te~b-, M *tabi- + *unc.* pKo *tΛ'bi- 'become'] || **D** (in CD) *tapp- ({GS} *t-) v. 'put' > Nkr, Gdb P tap- v. 'put', Klm tap- v. 'put (spell on buffalo)', Nk tap- v. 'make lie down; put on (shirt)', Prj tapp- v. 'put, plant (seeds)' ¶ D #3073 ♦ IS MS 344 $\kappa\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau$ *t.a''pΛ (A, D). The long vw. in Tg is reg. in N open syllables (a gravis sign in pA rec. denotes a tone in long vowels yielding short vowels in T and length in Tg). Cf. a short N *æ in Tg *tebu- v. 'load' < N *t.æbø'U' 'hill'.

2398. ??? **t.æp.ʷ* 'to squeeze, press' > **HS:** C: Dhl {EEN} *t.ʷuβ-*, {To.} **t.uʷb-* v. 'squeeze', {EEN} *t.ʷuβit-* v. 'milk' || ?? SC {E} > ?? σ Alg *c.oboʔot* v. 'melt' (after E, probably caus. from a v. for 'to drip'), Mb *-siʷi* v. 'wring' (× N **t.ʷaʷbHV* 'to trample, crumple, press?'); Ehret equates Alg, Mb and Dhl and reconstructs SC **t.uʷb-* v. 'squeeze out' ¶ To. D 148, EEN 17, E SC 176 || B **ʷtbb* (× N **t.ʷaʷbHV* 'to trample, crumple, press') > Ah *ətbəb* 'se serrer dans ses vêtements, être serré dans ses vêtements' ¶ Fc. 1882 || S: *+ext.* **r:* **ʷt.pr* > Ak *ʷt.pr* *G* □ 'sich herandrängen an' ¶ Sd. 1380 || **IE:** NaIE **tap-* v. 'press (down, together), squeeze' > Gk *ταπεινóω* 'brought down, humbled' (← **'pressed down, depressed'*) || ON *þefja* 'to stamp (stampfen)', þoʹf 'Gedränge', þoʹfi 'felt', OHG *bidebben - bideppen* 'to suppress (unterdrücken), soothe' ¶ P 1056, F II 854, Vr. 606-7, Kb. 151, EWA II 550-1 || **U:** FU **taʷleppV* v. 'press tightly' (× N **daPV(K.V)* 'to stick, glue' [q.v.]) > Prm {Lt.} **təp-* 'press tightly' > Z *top3d-*, Z US *təpəd-* vt. 'press' (*жат□, при-/за-жат□*), ? Vt *тупат-ыны* 'fix, attach' ¶ Lt. 98, LG 282, Wc. StWU 51 || ?σ **fl:** T: [1] T **tʷap-* 'press' (influenced by N **daʷp.ʷV ~ *daʷp.ʷp.V* '↑', q.v. ffd.) || [2] T **tʷaʷp-* 'trample' (× N **t.ʷaʷbHV* 'to trample, crumple, press', q.v. ffd. || *AdS* of M **dabta-* 'hammer, forge, beat' (< N **daʷp.ʷV ~ *daʷp.ʷp.V* '↑', q.v. ffd. × N **daXwV ~ *dawXV* (?) 'to press, push') ¶¶ DQA #2221 [A **taʷp.V* 'to stamp, press'] ¶¶ The de-emphatization N **t-* > A **t-* is due to the abovementioned merger.

2399. **t.epV* 'to warm, be warm' > **IE** **tep-* > NaIE *tep-* v. 'be warm' > OI *tapati* 'makes warm, heats', *tap'ta-* 'heated, hot', *tapas-* n. 'warmth, heat', Vd {MW} *tapu-* 'burning hot', Av *taʷpahti* 'is warm', *tafʷa:n* 'es soll ihnen heiß werden', MPrs *tab*, NPrs *ʃT taʷb* 'fever', NPrs *ʃFT taʷf-taʷn* 'to set on fire, burn; be hot; shine, sparkle', Oss: I *tav-3n*, D *tavun* v. 'heat, warm', I *taʷvd*, D *taʷvdaʷ* 'hot' || L *tepe-* 'be lukewarm', *tepidus* 'lukewarm', *tepor* 'lukewarmness, moderate heat', *tepidus* 'lukewarm' || OIr *teʷ* 'hot' (pl. *teʷit* < **tepent-* ÷ OI prtc. *tapant-*), *ten(e)* 'fire', gen. *-ed* (< **tepnet-*), Nlr *teine* id., Brtt {RE} **teʷmmos* 'warm, hot' > W *twym*, Crn *tom*, MBr *toem*, Br *tomm* id., OCrn *toim* 'calidam' 'warm' (f. acc.); ? Brtt {RE} **tanos* > W *taʷn*, OCrn *taʷn* 'fire', OBr *tan* 'lar, foyer', Br *tan* 'fire' || NNr *teva* 'vor Hitze keuchen', ?σ AS *ðeʷfian* 'to pant' || Sl **teplʷ-jʷ* *dadj.* 'warm' > SCr *Δ teʷpliʷ*, Cz, Slk *teplyʷ*, P *ciepły*, R *теплый*, *d*: OCS *теплость* *teplostʷ* 'warmth' || Sl **toplʷ* 'warm' > OCS *топль* *toplʷ*, Blg *toplʷ*, SCr *toʷpao*, Slv *topel toʷpəl* || Sl **topiʷ-ti* vt. 'to heat' > SCr *toʷpiti*, Slv *topiʷti*, Cz *topiti*, R *топнѣ* id. || Ht {Ts.} *tapassa-*, HrLw *tapassa-* 'fever, heat' ('Fieber, Hitze') ¶¶ P 1069-70, EI 263-4 (**tep-* 'hot'), Frd. HW 211, Ts. W 85, Ts. E III 121-3, M K I 477, M E I 623-5, MW 437, Horn 85, BM 105-6, Ab. III 237-8, 283, WH II 667-8, Vn. *T* 38, 49-50, Dnn. 730-1, RE 95, 143, Flr. 310, Ho. 362, Vs. IV 44, Glh. 633 || **K** **t.epb-* / **t.pb-* ({FS, K²} **t.ep-* / *t.p-*, {K} **t.ab-* / **t.b-*, {ʷTest.} *t.aʷpb-*) v. 'warm\heat, be warmed\heated' > OG *t.p-*, G *t.b-*, Mg *t.3b-*, *t.ib-*, Lz *t.ub-*, *t.ib-* id.; *da* K **t.p-il-* (~ **t.b-il-*?) 'warm' > OG *t.pil-*, G *t.bil-*, Mg *t3bu-*, *t.ibu-*, Lz *t.ibu-*, *t.ubu-*; *da* K **t.eb-id-* > Sv {TK}: UB/LB/L *t.ebdi*, Ln *t.ebedi* 'warm' (unless *da* Oss *taʷvd* *daʷvdaʷ* 'hot') ¶¶ K **aʷ* is reconstructed in the framework of Test.'s theory of vowels, assuming the existence of a *vw. *aʷ* (> G *a*, Zan **3* [= *ǂGM*] **o.*], Sv *e*) ¶ K 179-180, K 186, 192, FS K 293-4, GM SAKS 56-7, Test. KV 69, TK 716, GP 260, Ab. III 283 || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) **tewV-tV* 'fire' (× N **t.ʷelʷwʷaʷ* 'fire' [q.v. ffd.]) || **fl** {DQA} **tʷep.V* 'warm, burn' > Tg **tepe* v. 'burn' > Nn Nh *təp3-* vi. 'flame up, burn' (of fire), Nn B *təf3-* id., 'to stoke (a stove)', WrMc *tefe* vi. 'burn down' (of firewood), ? Mc Sb {Y} *tiʷəvəm*, *tiʷəvim* (*tiʷəvəmə*, *tiʷəvimə*) vt. 'burn, set fire, light' (representing an A variant **tʷebV*, as supposed by SDM95?) ¶ STM II 238, Y #482 || pKo **təb-* v. 'be warm' > MKo *təp-/təw-*, NKO *təp-/təw-* id. ¶ S QK #468, Nam 153, MLC 451 ¶¶ DQA #2331 [A **tʷep.V* 'warm; to burn'] || ? **HS:** [1] **t.Vp-* > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} *d.aʷfaʷuʷ* 'perspiration', ??σ,φ Hs *taʷfaʷsaʷ* vi. 'boiled' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} *n.ʷd.ʷfaʷaʷ* 'hot' ¶ ChC, Abr. H 836 || S (+ *ext.*): Gz *ʷt.bs* *G* (*js. yə-t.bəs*) v. 'roast, parch, broil', Tgr, Tgy, Amh *ʷt.bs* *G* v. 'fry' (cp. Hs *taʷfaʷsaʷ* 'boiled?'); ? Ar *t.aʷbiχ-at-* 'chaleur excessive et brillante du midi', but Ar *ʷt.bχ* v. 'cook' hardly belongs here (it goes back to pS **ʷt.bχ* 'to slaughter' < N **t.ab.V* *qa* 'to hit\strike' → 'to kill', q.v. ffd.) ¶ L G 586 || [2] ?? HS **ʷdp* (*dis* **t.p-* > **-dp-*?) > S **ʷdp?* > Ar {Fr.} *ʷdf?* *G* (ip. *-dfa?*-) 'caluit, calidus fuit; calefecit, fovit (vestis)' || ?φ EC: Sa {R} *daʷbeʷ* 'live coals', pSam **dab* > Sml *dab*, Rn {PG} *daʷb*, {Oo.} *d.ab*, {Hn.} *dab* 'fire'; ? Af {PH} *dube* 'paste dough inside an oven', Sa {R} *duʷb-* 'braten' ¶ Bl. 243, ZMO 76, PG 99, Oo. 67, R S II 98-9, Hn. S 55, PH 86 ◆ IS MS 338 s.v. **rper□(cφ)** **t.ʷaʷpā* (IE, HS [partially *err.*], Ko, K), IS SS #11.8 (id.) → BmK 214-5 (K, S + Sum *tab* v.

'burn'), 277-8 (IE, Hs + Eg ītp v. 'burn', n. fire, flame' [quoted from Budge II 832 - an unreliable source]).

2400. o *t₁upV 'to spit, drip' > HS: WS *tup-, *√tpp ~ *√tp? ~ *√tpy 'spit' > BHB t₁37T 'top₁et₁ {BDB} 'act of spitting', {KB} 'Speichel, Auswurf', JEA FuT tu₁p₁ or F&T top₁ {Js.} 'spittle', {Lv.} 'spit out!' [imv.] (both based on different interpretations of BT Keth. 61^b: kl my? dc₁dy lk twp s₁d₁y twp s₁d₁y, that Lv. interprets: 'alle Flüssigkeit, die dich quält, speie aus und wirf den Speichel fort'), {Lv.} √tpp (pf. *FT2 tap₁, D *ip5T2 tap₁pī) v. 'spit', {Js.} *if4T6 tə₁p₁e₁id. (Lv.'s and Js.'s recs. based on BT Nid. 42^a: kwkw brwk₁? hd₁? tpytw 'you all spit with the same spittle'), Ar SL {Bel., Hv.} √tff v. G (pf. t₁affa) 'spit (blood)', Ar Eg {Hv.} √tff v. 'spit', Gz √tff? G (pf. taf₁a) v. 'spit, spit out', ??σ Ar tuff- 'dirt under the nails' √ WS *tu₁b-, *^o√tbb v. □ 'spit, vomit' > JA [Trg.] abluT tu₁b₁a₁, abluT6 təyu₁b₁a₁n. 'vomit', Sr -tu₁b- TD v. 'vomit', təyu₁b₁a₁, təyu₁bə₁t₁a₁n. 'vomit', Sq {L} 'tebib 'spittle' √ ext. *-l-: *√tpl v. 'spit' > Ar √tfl G 'cracher (une salive fine)', tafl- ~ tufl- ~ tufa₁- 'crachat de salive fine', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} √tfl G v. 'spit', Mh t₁fyol, Hrs t₁zfe₁, Jb E t₁fyol, Jb C t₁fol 'spit, saliva' ¶ GB 888, BDB #1064, KB 1638, L G 570-1, Lv. IV 658, Lv. T II 532, 535, Js. 1655, 1685, Br. 818, BK I 200-1, Bel. 55, Hv. 60, Jo. M 400, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 269-70, L LS 438, MiK I ##2.72-4 || Eg P tf v. 'spit', tf 'saliva' > Cpt: Sd τaq taf ~ τηq te₁f, B Qaq t₁af ~ Qηq t₁e₁f id. ¶ EG V 297, Vc. 225 || B *√wtf: Ty, ETwl {GhA} uttaf₁ 'être craché', s-utaf₁ v. 'spit', Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.}, Gh {Nh.} s-utaf id. ¶ Fc. 1885, Nh. 146, GhA 188, Msq. 70 || C: Ag: ι Xm {R} titif, tiftif, tiftaf 'saliva', ι Bln/Xm {R} tif y-, ι Km {CR} ti₁ff y- v. 'spit' ∥ EC *tuf- > Bn {Hn.}, Sml, Rn, Or {Grg.}, Kns {Bl.}, Af {PH}, Arr {Hw.}, Gwd {Bl.}, Brj/Ged/Hd/Kmb {Hd.} tuf-, Hr {Bl.} a-c₁u₁f-iy, Gdl {Bl.} s₁uh- v. 'spit', Sa {R} tufəna₁ 'Speichel' ∥ ι Bj {R} tiffə₁ 'saliva' ¶ R WB 347, Abr. S 240, PG 281, Hn. S 44, Grg. 378, Bl. 166, 184, Ss. PEC 10, Ss. B 179, Hw. A 397, PH 200, Hd. 222, 262, 299, 339, 396, AD GDS 77 [#7.7] || ι Ch: WCh: Hs to₁'fa₁ v. 'spit' ∥ Fy {J} tu₁f, DfB {J} tu₁f ∥ Krkr {J} t₁z-, Bl {Lk.} tuf- id. ∥ Ngz {Sch.} ti₁'pku₁ ∥ Ech: Kwn {Lens.} a₁d₁z₁be₁, Ke {Eb.} tu₁'fi ∥ Mu {Lk.} tuffa, Brg {J} c₁'fi id. ∥ CCh: Glv {Rp.} taf-, Gdf {IL} t₁'fdu₁z₁, Dgh {Frk.} tfa₁, Ngs {IL} t₁z₁d₁e₁ id. ∥ Db {Lnh.} tif ∥ pMM {Ro.} *t₁z₁ > Myn t₁z₁f-, Mofu {Ro.} ta₁f, Zlg t₁z₁fa₁, Gzg {Ro.} ta₁'fta₁z₁a₁y id. ∥ Bcm {Sk.} tu₁-fo₁-, Gudu {IL in ChL} tevr...a id. ∥ Lgn {Lk.} tufu ∥ Ms {J} tu₁'fna₁, ZmB {J} tu₁'fo₁me₁?, {Sa.} tu₁'fme₁?e₁, ZmD {KNC} tu₁'p(me₁?) id. ∥ and +ext. *-l-: Mkt tfa₁'la₁, Hrz ti₁'fi'la₁ ¶ JS 249, ChC, Stl. ZCh 162 [#157], Nw. #121 (pCh *təfə/*tufə), Eb. 99, Ro. 333 [#680], Lens. 102, KNC 27 ¶¶ AD GDS 77 (C, S, Eg, Ch), Cal. 44 (Eg, S), OS #2413 (*tuf- 'spit': S, Eg, Ch, C), 510 [#2433] (*t₁√fal-/t₁√fil- 'spit': S, CCh: Mkt), □ Sk. HCD 258 ¶¶ On the possible origin of the ext. *-l- (in S and CCh) cf. N *IA, pc. of denominal verbal constructions (→ sx. of denom. verbs) ∥ K *^ot₁p₁- ({FS} *t₁p-) > Sv {Ni.} -t₁b-əne, -t₁be, {FS} li-t₁b-ən-e (prs. 3s at₁bəne), Sv UB {GP}, Sv L {Dn.} li-t₁bən-e v. 'spit', Sv: {Ni.} na-t₁ibw, UB {TK, GP} na-t₁bənw, LB/L/Ln nat₁bən 'spittle' ¶ FS K 301-2 (connects the Sv √ with the G onomatopœic interj. t₁pu 'τ₁ϕy!' ('pah!, imitating a spittle), which is hardly a reliable etl. cognate), TK 614, GP 169, 229, Ni. s.v. **плевач**, **плевачь**, Dn. s.v. t₁bən-**II** IE: Lw tappa- {Mlc.} v. 'spit (on)' ¶ Mlc. CL 206, Lar. 90 ∥ ?? o Irn: NPrs fTu tof, Tjk τyφ tuf, Krd Sr fT tif 'spittle (salivæ eiection, sputum)', Wx tuf 'saliva, spittle' ¶ Ab. III 308-9 (on NPrs tof as o), Sg. 312, Horn 87, Vl. I 449, GrSK VaxJ 476, RTdS 437, KrdJ 142 ∥ A *t₁up₁JE- v. 'spit' > NaT *t₁u₁'pk₁u₁-r v. 'spit' > Cmn tu₁'pku₁-r, XwT r0kufTu {Faz.} tu₁'fku₁-r, Chg {RL.} -rvkFvT tu₁'fku₁-r, Tv д*пк*р- t₁u₁'pku₁-r, Az tu₁'pu₁-r, Uz tupur-, Uz NmA {Nal.} tu₁'pu₁-r, ET tu₁'pu₁-r ~ tu₁'ku₁-r, Ggz, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, QK, Shor, Xk tu₁'ku₁-r, Tf {ADb.} t₁u₁'kku₁-r, Qzq tu₁'kir-, VTt t₁ē₁k₁r-, Bsh t₁ē₁k₁r-, Tk tu₁'ku₁-r, Tkm tu₁'yku₁-r; √ NaT *t₁u₁'pk₁u₁- 'a spit, spittle' > Tv д*кп* t₁u₁'kp₁u₁- (or a bf ?) ¶ Rs. W 504, Rl. III 1596, 1600, Faz. II 426, Grøn. 260, BT 161, B DLT 211, Nal. RSS 183, ADb. Ttd 57 [#8], TvR 187 || Tg *tu₁pin 'spittle' > Ork tupi / tupin-, Ul tupu / tupon- 'spittle', Nn B tofi, Nn Nh topi₁ id., 'saliva', Ewk tumin^d tumin^d tomin id, Sln tomi₁, Lm tumnin 'spittle'; Tg *tu₁pi-n₁a₁- v. 'spit' > Orc tupina-, Ork tupin-, Ul {PSchm.} tifu-, Nn Nh topin-, Nn KU tofi-na-, Ewk tumin-^d tumun-, Ewk {Cs.} tu₁-mina-, Sln {Iv.} tomon- ~ tumun-, Lm tumni-^d tomni- id., Ud tumi₁ji- v. 'spit out'; AmTg *tu₁pi-cV- v. 'spit' > Orc tucic₁-i, Ul tuc₁i- ¶ STM II 213 || pJ {S} tu₁im₁pa₁k- v. 'spit' > OJ tupak- id., tu₁pa₁ki₁-i, J T cubaki 'spittle' ¶ S QJ #1027, Mr. 552 ¶¶ DQA #2469 [A *t₁u₁'p₁i 'spit, spittle'] ∥ D (tr.) *tupp-, {GS} *tup- v. 'spit' > Tm tupp-, Ml tuppuka-, Td tu₁'f in-, Kn tu₁'pu-, Kdg, Krx tupp-, Mlt tupe v. 'spit'; *tuppal- 'saliva, spittle' > Tm, Ml tuppal, Krx tuppaxo₁, ? Mlt tupgle id. ¶¶ D #3323, GS 53 [#140] ♦ IS MS s.v. **плевач** *t₁up₁ (HS, K, D + ī ÷ IE *pt₁ y jew- v. 'spit'). In HS there is de-emphatization *t₁- > t-. We cannot draw any conclusions

about the age of the forms with an *l-extension (S, CCh, D) before a grammatical analysis of these forms in CCh and D is accomplished ♦ Gr. II #361 (*tup 'spit') [A, J, Ai, EA + *unc.* Ko].

2401. *t.ʊpʃʷ 'to plunge, immerse' > **HS:** S *ʃt.bʃ v. 'sink, sink down' (× N *t.ʊbʃa 'deep') > BHb oby ʃt.bʃ *G* 'sink down', Sr ʃt.bʃ *G* v. 'sink, be sunk', MHb, JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr *G* ʃt.bʃ v. 'sink, drown', Ak t.ebu(m), Ak A t.abaʷu(m) 'untertauchen, untergehen' ¶ BDB #2883, KB 353, KBR 369-70, JPS 106-7, Js. 518, Lv. II 137-8, Sl. 494, Br. 267, Sd. 1382 || (*mt*): Eg fMd tχb 'immerse, irrigate', Cpt Sd tʷzɛ tohb 'tremper, plongeur, mouiller' ¶ EG V 326, Fk. 301, Vc. 226, T I 308 (Eg, S) || **IE:** NaIE *tapl̥- v. 'plunge, immerse' > Arm ʃaʃayem tʰatʰawem 'I plunge, immerse' || Sl *topi-ti > OCS топити topi-ti 'immergere', R топи-ти vt. 'drown, sink', Blg топи, Cz topi-ti 'to dip in', P topi-c' vt. 'drown', SCr to-pi-ti 'to flood, inundate'; Sl *to-no-ti (< *topno-ti) vi. 'to drown, sink (in water)' > ChS тоңхти tonoxti, SCr to-nuti, Slv to-niti, R тофнут, P tonaɕ', Cz tonouti, Slk tonu't id., Blg ʃtɣna 'I sink (into water)' ¶ P 1056, Vs. IV 78-80, Sl. 445 || ??σ **K:** G t.bor- '(Fluß, Regen) [etwas] unter Wasser setzen' (× N *t.ʋbʋʌʌ 'to dip in, immerse') ¶ Chx. 1332, 1359-60 || **D** (in SD) *tuv- ({GS} *t-) v. 'dip in, soak' > Tm tuvai v. 'dip in, soak', Ml tuvekka v. 'steep, soak in water', Tu tuva 'overflowing, running over' ¶ D #3355 ♦ **As** N *t.ʊpʃʷ > *t.ʊbʃ- > S *ʃt.bʃ, K *t.b- and D *tuv-. NaIE *-p- < *-p- < *-pʃ-. Eg tχp is due to *as* *t...p > *t...p with subsequent *mt* and with a puzzling transformation *ʃ > χ (acc. to Tk I 308, due to incompatibility of **tʃ in Eg).

2402. *t.ap.ɿʋɿʋ 'dirt, mud' > **HS:** WS *ʃt.bʃ 'dirt, mud' > Ar ʃt.bʃ (pf. t.abiʃa, ip. -t.baʃu) 'être sale, sali d'ordures (homme); être sale, couvert de rouille (un sabre)', t.abaf- 'saleté, crasse, rouille', t.abif- 'sale, crasseux', Grg En t.aʷβa, Grg Ed t.aʷwaʷ 'mud' ¶ BK II 53-4, L EDG III 608 || pCh {Nw.} *tab.ʋ 'mud' > WCh: Hs taʷb.o' (→ Ngz {Sch.} taʷb.o'), Gw {Mts.} toʷboʷ Bl {Nw.} teb.b.i, Ngm {ChL} ndeʷb.iʷ Ngz taʷb.oʷ Cg {Sk.} ndaʷb.aʷkʷaʷn, Kry {Sk.} taʷb.aʷkuʷ, Sir {Sk.} tɜʷb.ɜʷhiʷ, Mbr {Sk.} ndaʷb.aʷkuʷ, Dir {Sk.} aʷtuʷb.aʷkuʷ Kir {ChL} ndoʷp or ʷdoʷp, Plc {ChL} nduwɜp or ʷduwɜp, Dw {ChL} ndwɜp, i.e. ʷdʷɜp or n.ʷdʷɜp || CCh: Tr: PdL {ChL} tɜʷbdiʷ, Hw {ChL} taʷbuʷraʷ, Gʷnd {ChL} tɜʷpta, Gbn {ChL} tɜʷptaʷ, Boka tɜʷptɜʷ || McHigi: FIM duʷbuʷ Ktk {Nw.} ndab.e || Ech: Tmk {Cp.} duʷboʷ, Nd D {J} dɜʷbyaʷ id. ¶ Nw. #89, Stl. ZCh 161 [#154], Sch. DN 154, Cp. 55, Abr. H 835, ChC, Mts. G 115, ChL ¶¶ □ Sk. HCD 248 || **K:** G tχap- 'beschmutzen, besudeln', G P tχip- 'schmutzig machen, beschmutzen, beschmieren' ¶ Chx. 508, 510 || **R** *t.ap.ʋ (× N *t.ap.ʋ 'to feel/touch with one's fingers, to smear') > Tg *tapʋ > Ewk Uch taparaʷ v. 'be soiled' ('пачкато'), Ewk Np tapka- vt. 'soil' ('запачкато'), Ork tapti 'clay' ¶ STM II 164 || NaT *tɿʷap- > OT kir tapc'a (synonymic couple) 'dirt', VTt, Bsh, Nog tap 'stain', VTt, Bsh tapla- vt. 'soil', Chg, QrB {Rs.} tap 'Fleck, Narbe' (but in Chg {RL.} and QrB {RKB} [ta6] the meaning is 'scar' only) ¶ DTS 308, TatR 515-6, BR 506-7, Rs. W 462, RL. III 945-6, 954, RKB 716, NogR 334 || ?? T *t.opɿʷrak 'earth' (× <d- *t.opɿʷra- v. 'become dry') > OT topraʷq, MQp XIII, XwT/Cmn XIV topraq, Chg ≥xv topray ~ topraq, Tk toprak 'earth, soil, dust', Qzq topyraq 'land, soil', Tkm, ET topraq, Uz tupraq, VTt tufraq, Bsh tupraq, Qrg topuraq. Alt tobraq, Xk tobraχ 'earth, soil', Tf tɜʷp'raq 'dust, soil', Tv довурак t'oburaq id., 'earth', Yk toburaχ 'dust, soil', Chv L таӀпра tɜʷpra, Chv H tɜʷpra 'earth, soil, dust (прах)'; (T → ?) WrM tob(a)rag, HIM товрог 'earth, dust', Brt тоборог 'dust (пыл, прах)', Kl товрг towrɣg {KRS} 'speck of dust', {Rm.} 'Staub, Erde, Sand'; (T → ?) WrM tob(a)rag, HIM товрог 'earth, dust', Brt тоборог 'dust (пыл, прах)', Kl товрг towrɣg {KRS} 'speck of dust', {Rm.} 'Staub, Erde, Sand' ¶ Cl. 443-4, Rs. W 489, Jeg. 237-8, Md. 43, 180, Ra. 234, MED 810 || M *toɣurag 'earth, dust' > MM [S] toʷorag, WrM togurag, HIM тоорог 'particles of matter suspended in a liquid', Brt тоорог 'dust, specks of dust, motes', Kl тоорм тогъгъм 'whirlwind dust, haze of dust', Dx tura 'earth; dust (прах)', Dg tuʷaʷral 'dust, specks of dust' ¶ MED 810, 817, T DgJ 169, Chr. 423, 429, KRS 499, 506, KW 404, S AJ 239 [#127] ¶¶ □ DQA #2313 [A *t'aʷp'o(rʋ) 'earth, dust'], Vld. 210 (M, T).

2403. ?? *t.aPhʋ 'flat' > ? **HS:** EC: Sd {Gs.} t.awo 'plain, flat plain', {Mrn.} t.abo 'plain, foot of a mountain' ¶ Gs. 324, Hd. 397, AD SF 227 || S *ʃt.ph v. 'be flat, wide' > Tgr ʃt.fh v. *G* 'be level, flat, wide', Tgy t.ɸhe 'flache Kuchen machen', OAK ʃt.pʷ (inf. t.apaʷum), Ak B t.epuʷ 'hinbreiten', BHb hpy ʃt.ph *D* 'spread out', hf2y3 t.ɸp.ah, hf2y t.op.ah 'hand-breadth, span', JA ahɿufy6 t.ɸp.ʷh-aʷ 'Fußlänge' ({Lv.}: 'Handbreite' → 'Fußbreite'), Ar Df {Rhod.} t'ɸ t.ɸfh 'der Rücken, die stumpfe Seite der einseitigen Schwertklinge', Amh t.ɸffi 'palm of one hand', ?σ Sq {SSL} t.ɸfah 'bord (du pied, de la main)' ¶ LH 621, Sd. 1388, BDB ##2946-7, KB 362, KBR 378-9, Lv. T I 315, Lv. II 177, Rhod. D 36,

Kane 2192, SSL LSP 147, MiK I #1.279 **II K**: Sv: LB {TK} t.ap 'woodland glade', UB t.ap {GP} t.ap 'horizont(al)', {TK} 'wide gently sloping ground', {GP} t.ape¹ 'flatcake', ?μ Sv {TK}: UB/L t.a-ps'w, U t.aps'w 'flat' :: ? G {Chx.} t.ap-i 'Talbecken', t.apobi 'Waldwiese, Wiesengrund' ¶ GP 260, TK 715-6, Ni. s.v. **тлоск° й** (Sv taps'w), Chx. 1330 **II A**: *t'apV > M *tabqay- > WrM tabqay-, HlM табхай- v. 'be flat, low', Brt табхай- v. 'be flat'; *tabsay- > WrM tabsay-, HlM табсай- v. 'have a flat surface or top' ¶ MED 781-2, Chr. 409.

2404. *t.VP.RV ~ *t.VRP.V '∈ part of the foot', 'foot' > **HS**: B [1] *√tfr 'front part of the foot' [× N *c'.op.V(RV) 'finger-nail, claw'??] > Ah a-tfər (pl. i-tərfa'n), Ty/ETwl e-ta'f_a'r (pl. i-təf_ran) 'front part of the foot (including the toes)' ¶ Fc. 1885, GhA 188 [2] *√dfr [< *√t.fr] v. 'follow the tracks\footprints of' > Gd {Lf.} √t.fr (et_fər), Izd {Mrc.} √t.fr (t_fur, pf. it_far), Skn {La.}, BSn/BMn {Bs.}, Sll {Ds.} √dfr, Izn {Rn.}, Kb {Dl.} √δ.fr id., ZAS √t.fr {□Loub.} t'f̥ < *√t.fr 'suivre, marcher sur les traces de'; but Ah {Fc.} and Gh {Nh.} d_əffər 'behind, after, the hind side' belong rather to the B stem *√dVffVr 'behind, hind side' (> ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Wrg {Dlh.} dəffər, Kb {Dl.} dəffir) influenced by *√dfr v. 'follow the tracks of' ¶ Fc. 261, 1885, GhA 188, Loub. 464, Rn. 311, La. S 298, Dl. 172, Dlh. Ou 47, Nh. 150 ¶ Does the uvularized f_ in ETwl/Ty et_ɤf_r suggest *mte* **√t.fr > √tfr? || ?? S *t'arap- 'foot, limb; side (Seite)' > Ar ʔar06aʔ ʔat_ɤ-arf-a-n- 'feet', ʔal-ʔat_ɤ-ra-f- 'feet and hands', 'the parts, sides' ¶ BK II 72-3 **II K** *t.erp- > G t.erpi 'sole of the foot, heel' ¶ Chx. 1336 **II A**: T: OT torpi 'who follows' ('a calf following its mother') (semantic change: *'follows the heels' → 'follows so.') ¶ Cl. 533 || ? M *tu'β'ur [× N *t.Ub'V (or *t.Up.V?) 'hoof, (finger-\toe-)nail, heel'] > WrM {Rm.} tugur, Kl {Rm.} tu'r 'der untere harte Rand des Pferdehufs', HlM тyyр, {Rm.} t'u'r 'hoof', MMgl {Mlr.} tu'r 'Pferdehuf'; pM *tu'β'urayi 'hoof' > WrM tugura, tugurai, {Gl.} tugurai, HlM тyyрай 'hoof'; {Gl.} togurun id. ¶ MED 839, Kow. 1812, Gl. III 172, 175, KW 413, Klz. D II 138, Lg. VMI 70 (WrM tuguray i ÷ MM turu(n), which in fact corresponds to WrM turugun 'hoof' [KW 411]) ♦ If M *tu'β'ur belongs here, the N labial is *p, otherwise it may be either *p or *p_.

2405. *t.eqV 'to smear, rub; fat, ointment' > **HS**: CS *t.īx- 'smear, overlay' > BHb -t.īh- or -t.uh- v. *G* (3m pf. ht1 t.a_h) 'overlay', {KB} 'darüberstreichen, verputzen', Ug {A} √t.ywχ *G* '(über)tünchen' (not in OLS), Ar -t.īx- v. *G* 'defile'; (× N *t.EgwV 'to swell, become thick'): Gz √t.yf *G* (pf. te'ʕa) 'besmear, anoint' ¶ KB 357, A #1117, BK II, Hv. 443, L G 600 || Eg *G* tχ 'fett, gemästet' (of oxen) ({Tk.}: < *dχ) ¶ EG V 251, 325 || C: Bj {R} d_ah n. 'fat', -dah v. (1s: p. a'd_ah, prs. an_ɤ_īh) 'be fat' :: LEC {Bl.} *d.u_īh- 'marrow' > {Bl.}: Af d_uhu, Sml d_uh, Sml N {Abr.} d_uh, Rn {PG} d_uh, Kns d_o'h-ota, Or B d_u'ha, ? Or Wl {Brl.} d_uka id. ¶ R WBd 73, Bl. 108, Abr. S 68, PG 99, Vnt. 46 (Or B duha, nom. -ni 'midollo, polpa'), Brl. 12, LLC 123 || ? Ch (× N *t.EgwV ↑): ECh: Kwn {Jl} d_a'we 'fat' (n) :: WCh: ? Buli {Sh.} d_uḡ id. ¶ JI II 131, ChC ¶¶ Tk. I 170 (S, Eg, C, Ch) **II K**: *G* tχun- 'be-\ver-schmieren, schmutzig machen, beschmutzen' (× N *t.ju'ḡh'nV or *t.ju'ḡh'u 'mud, silt, dirt', q.v. ffd.) **II D** *te-y- ('GS' *t-) 'rub (away\off), smear' > Tm te'y 'wear away by friction, be rubbed', Ml te'yuka 'be rubbed off', Kt te-y- 'become worn down', vt. 'rub, wear down', Kn te-, te-y(u) 'grind, triturate\macerate in water on a slab', Kdg te-y- vi. 'wear off', vt. wear off, smear', Tu te_puni v. 'rub, polish', Krg te-di 'rub', Tl te_yu 'be worn; wear by use, handling or rubbing', Ku de- v. 'wipe' ¶¶ D #3458, Zv. 45.

2406. *t.ulu'q'E' 'near; to be close to, approach' > **HS**: ?σ S *t.χ'y¹ > Ak t.e'īχu '(unmittelbare) Nähe', t.eχu, Ak OA √t.χ² *G* (inf. t.aχa'ʔu) 'ganz nah herankommen\gehen-treten', 'reach, approach' ¶ Sd. 1384 || EC *d.Vww- > Arr {Hw.} d_ewwi' 'near', d_ewwahad- 'approach', Sml d_aw adj. 'near, soon, close', {ZMO} d_ow, Sml N {Abr.} d_o'w adv. 'near, nearby, close', Rn {PG} d_ow id., d_owwa'd_a v. 'approach, come close to'; ? (× N *t.iyA 'to be narrow') Sa {R} day- v. 'be close\narrow', 'nahe\schmal\eng sein' ¶ ZMO 113, 123, Abr. S 66, PG 97-8, Hw. A 355, R S II 121, 408, 448, 462 **II IE**: NaIE *tuw-/ʔ*tou- 'near' > Ltv tuv-s adj. 'near', tuvu, Δ tuvi adv. 'near (by), close (by)', 'sogleich, sofort', Pru tawischas 'Nächster' :: Sl *tu, *tu-to 'here' [× N *t.a'', ddn. dem. prn. of non-active (inanimate) objects] > OCS, OR тоу tu 'here' (≠ OCS, OR тоу tu 'there' < N *t.a'' ↑), OR тоуто tu-to 'here', R, Uk тут, Blr 0тыта, Blg ты-ка, Scr tu, Slv tu, Cz tu, tuto, P tu, tuta, tutaj, Hls, Lls tu 'here', Slk tu, tu-na 'voici, here' ¶ N et. in question is responsible for the Sl vw. *u (< IE *ou_) and for the hic-deixis of one of the variants of the Sl word ¶ Frn. 1147, En. 263, Vs. IV 126, StSS 707-8, Brū. 583 **II ? D** (att. in McTm) *to-y > Tm to-y 'come in contact with, reach', Ml to_yuka v. 'unite' ¶ D #3556.

2407. *t.u'q'i ~ *t.u'q'ly 'to hit, strike' > **HS:** ?σ S (or CS) * $\sqrt{t}$.χχ ~ * $\sqrt{t}$.χy v. 'throw, shoot' > Ar $\sqrt{t}$.χχ G 'jecit, removit', 'jeter, rejeter, ôter', BHb ehy $\sqrt{t}$.hy/w D v. 'shoot' (in the set phrase tS3q# iv\$ h9y2m6k'5 ki-mt.ah^a,we^t 'k.es'et_ 'distance of a bowshoot'), MHb hv!y6 t.ə'wa'h 'Schuß, Schleuderung', 'Schußweite' ¶ Fr. III 44, BK II 63, KB 357, KBR 379, Lv. II 149 || EC *d.aw- v. 'hit, strike' > Or d.a-e 'he hit', Kns, Gdl d.a'w-e' id., Arr {Hw.} d.aw- 'hit', Elm d.a- v. 'hit, strike', Ar d.a-y-iy- (pf.), Brj d.aw- id., Dsn d.ok / d.o- 'hit, beat' ¶ Bl. 212, Ss. PEC 43, Hw. A 353, To. DL 495 || **K** * $\sqrt{t}$.e'q'~/* $\sqrt{t}$.q-d- v. 'break' > OG t.ex- vt. 'break', t.q-d- vi. 'break', G *t.ex-/t.q- id. (trans. t.ex- v. 'break', ps. [inf.] t.q-d-oma, a-t.qd-eba 'bricht aus, (Emailschicht) springt ab', ga-t.qd-eb-a '(zer)bricht, geht kaputt' ¶ Abul. 412, 49, Chx. 13339-1341. DCh. 1219, 1230 || **IE:** NaIE *twe(:)i₁-/*two₁- v. 'hit, strike' ({P} 'schlagen') > AS ðwītan 'to cut, shave off', ON þveitr 'Schlag, Querhieb, Einschnitt', þveita 'to strike, chop, push', Sw Δ tveta, NNR tveita 'hauen, schlagen' (ON ei < pScn *ai₁ < IE *oy) || Lt tvo'-ti (prs. tvo'-j-u) 'to strike, lash, whip' (o < *uō [after v] < IE *o-) ¶ WP I 747-8, P 1099, Vr. 628, Frn. 1155-6, Ho. 374; Ptrs. VSW 33f., Bg. RR I 290 (both think of a $\sqrt{t}$ *tu-) || **A:** Tg *tuyVŋke v. 'push, knock, move' > Lm Ol/B tuŋk3- v. 'knock (silently)', Lm Sk/T tuŋk3- v. 'push (slightly)', Neg tumku-, tuŋku- vi. 'move; beat (heart)', Ul tuync'ulbu-, tunc'u- vt. 'move, stir', Nn Nh tuyŋku- vi. 'move, stir; start beating (heart)' ¶ STM II 216 ♦ ≠ BmhK 311-2 (an *unc.* attempt to equate EC *d.aw- v. 'hit, strike' and Sum du v. 'butt' with IE *dwer-'hand, fist', {Mn.} *dewsən- 'evil, harm' and IE {Wt.} *dew- v. 'burn, hurt').

2408. ?₂ *t.Vqa 'to melt, decay, get spoiled' > **HS:** S * $\sqrt{t}$.χχ > Ar $\sqrt{t}$.χχ v. G (pf. taχχa) 'get sour, change into leaven', S rdp * $\sqrt{t}$.χχ > Ar $\sqrt{t}$.χχ v. 'rot, decay' ¶ BK I 193 || **IE** *teh₁ > NaIE *ta₁-/*tə₁- (+exts. : *ta₁w-, *ta₁y-) v. 'melt, dissolve' > Oss I tayzn / pp. tad, Oss D tayun / pp. tad id., 'be digested' || MW {SEv.} tawd 'melts', MBr teuzyff 'liquefecit', teuziff, Br teuzin~, MW, W toddi v. 'to melt', W tawdd, Br teuz 'molten', OBr todiat 'fondeur' || NaIE *ta₁- > Gmc *θaw- > ON þeyja, Dn tō, Sw to'a, Dt doojen, OHG douwen ^d dewen 'to thaw', MHG touwen (←b MHG U, where the opposition d↔t- was lost?), NHG tauen, AS ðawjan 'to thaw', NE thaw; NHG verdauen 'to digest'; NaIE *tə₁- > *tī₁- > Gmc: ON þiōr (< *tī₁-to-s) 'melted' || Sl *ta₁'j-ati 'to melt, dissolve' > OCS таѣти taja-ti / таѣ таѣ-о₁, SCr ta₁'jati, Slv ta₁'jati, Cz ta₁'ti, P tajač', R таѣти id., Blg таѣ v. 'melt, dissolve'; Sl *ta₁-l₁-(-j₁) > OR таѣни talii, R талый, Uk талий, P таѣ adj. 'thawed'; caus.: Cz taviti, Slk tavit' vt. 'to melt, cast' || Arm ʔanam t^hanam (aor. vt. ʔači t^hac^hi, aor. vi. ʔačaj t^hac^hay) v. 'wet\dip\moisten' || ?? with a *b₁h₁-ext. : L tabe₁- (prs. tabe₁-sco₁, pfc. tabui) 'melt' ¶ P 1053-4, EI 378 (*teh₁- 'melt'), AHD 69, Ab. III 222-3, SEv. 117, 166, YGM-1 406, 411, Flr. 314, Hm. 787, WH II 639-40 Vr. 609-10, Vr. N 127, OsS 97, EWA II 619-22, ■ KM 773 (NHG t- due to the infl. of Tau 'dew'), KM 812, Vs. IV 30-1, StSS 690, Glh. 617-8, Srz. III 922, Brū. 563, Chrn. II 230, Slr. 377 ♦ The regressive direction of *as* in S (*t...χ > *t...χ) may be due to prosodic factors ♦ ■ BmK 295-7 (S, IE + semantically unwarranted comparison with D *te₁-y- v. 'rub, be worn out', K txe- v. 'pour out' and Eg ths v. 'grind').

2409. *t.a.qU 'to lie (tell a lie), deceive' > **HS:** S * $\sqrt{t}$.k.l > Gz $\sqrt{t}$.k.l G v. (pf. t.ak.ala, js. yə-t.k.əl) 'lie, slander', Amh $\sqrt{t}$.k.l G (pf. t.ək.k.əḷə) v. 'lie' ¶ L G 596 || **K:** pGZ *t₁.qu- > G t₁.qu- / t₁.quv- / t₁.quil- ~ t₁.qvil-: da-/mo-t₁.qu- 'anlügen, täuschen', (a-)t₁.qu- 'hinauflocken', Mg t₁.qu- (pres. t₁.qu-ap-a ~ t₁.qu-r-ap-a) v. 'lie to so., deceive' ¶ Chx. 1378, FS K 305 || **D** *takk- ({GS} *t-) v. 'deceive' > Tm takkat.i id., Ml takkit.i 'cheating in weighing', Tu takkad.i-da₁-ye 'one who cheats in weighing', Tl takkari 'rogue', takkali 'theft, deceit, trick'; D *takk- b> InA *t₁hagg- ~ *t₁hakk- v. 'deceive, steal' > Mrt t₁hak 'thief', t₁akn₁e₁ v. 'be deceived', Oriya t₁ajiba₁ v. 'deceive' ¶¶ D 512 [app. #42], Tu. #5489 ¶¶ InA *t₁h- suggests that that the initial cns. in D was probably fortis (*t₁- or *t₁h- as a reflex of N *t₁-?).

2410. *t.o'q'a 'to plait, bend', (→ 'to build', 'to mould [a pot]', 'to web'), ? (←) 'to twist' > **HS:** Ch: WCh: P' {MSK.} ta'k'w'id.u' v. 'plait' : Bg {Sh.} tuk, Kir {ChL} tokkame id. ¶ ChC, ChL] another possible cognate is Ch {JS} * $\sqrt{d}$.k v. 'build, make earthenware' [> WCh {Stl.} * $\sqrt{d}$.v₁k id. > pAG {Hf.} *j₁ik v. 'build, mould, BT * $\sqrt{d}$.v₁k- || Ech: ? Mu {J} di'ya' v. 'build'], but the vw. and the pBT cns. *-k- suggest that this Ch $\sqrt{d}$ belongs to N *t₁.EkE 'to build, shape, make' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ JS 56, ChC s.v. 'build', Stl. ZCh 174 [#263], ChL, Hf. AGG, Frz. P 29 || ? **K:** Sv: {Ni.} -t₁.qpe v. 'mould' ('ἄμμορ'), li-t₁.i.qp.e 'moulding' ('ἄμμορ'), UB/LB {TK} -at₁.qube, L/Ln -at₁.qwbe 'unite, add', UB {GP} li-t₁.qwbe msd. 'to unite' ¶ TK 65, GP 170, Ni. s.v. ἄμμορ || **IE:** NaIE *tek- v. 'plait, weave' > Arm ʔe'em t^hek^hem 'I twist, warp' || Gmc *θe₁x-, *θe₁x- > OHG da₁ht ~ ta₁ct 'wick, Docht', NHG Docht, MLG dacht, decht, NGr Sw dæ'gel, dohe, NGr B

da^hen, NGr Als Do^hche 'wick', ON þa^ttr 'Draht, Faden, Docht', Sw ta^t, Nr ta^tt 'rope' || Oss I tag (< *ta^ka-), D taga^h 'thread', ? Oss I taxun, Oss D taxt v. 'adorn' || ? pSl *t^hak-a^hti v. 'weave' (if from the IE zero-grade *t^hak-) > OCS тѣкати t^heka-ti / 1s prs. тѣкѣ t^hek-o-, R тѣкѣ / тѣку, P tkac^h / tke-, OCz tka^hti / tku, Cz tka^hti, Blg тѣкѣ, SCr tka^hti, Slv tka^hti || ? L tex- (tex-o^h-, -e^hre, -ui, -tum) v. 'plait, weave' (< IE *tek^h-s- 'fabricate' < N *t^h.Eke 'ti') || WP I 716, Mikl. E 367-8 (distinguishes Sl *t^hak- v. 'weave' from the homonymic *t^hak- v. 'poke\stick into'), Vs. IV 64 (does not distinguish between these two Sl roots), Ma. CS 529, HIK 385, Ab. III 220-1, 242-3, P 1058, WH II 678-9, Kb. 1011, OsS 921, KM 136, Vr. 606, Sl. 378 || Arm t^hek^hem 'drehe' and Oss fa^hlda^hx^hzn v. 'turn over' suggest that that in NaIE the verb meant also 'twist, drehen' || A {SDM97} *t^hok^h v. 'plait, weave', {DQA} t^ho^hk^h v. 'curved', {ADb.} *tok^hu v. 'spin, plait' > NaT *t^hoku- v. 'plait, weave' > OT QU toqr- v. 'weave (a fabric)', XwT XIV toqu- ~ toqr-, Cmn XIV, Chg x^hxv, MT [IM] toqu-, MQp toqr-, MOg doqr- ~ doqu-, Tkm doqa-, Ggz doku-, VTt, Bsh tuqr-, Qzq toqr-, Qrg toqu-, Ln toqo- toqr-, SY toqo- toqr- 'weave', Tk doku- id., v. 'plait (a mat)', Az toxu-, Nog, ET toqu-, Qq toqr-, ET toqu-, Uz toqi- id., 'knit', Qrg toqu- v. 'weave', Qzq toqu- v. 'weave, knit' || Cl. 467, TL 395-6, TkR 276, Hüs. 296, GRMS 151, MM 352, ET VGD 253-5, Nj. 318-9, Jud. 744, UzR 468, Rs. W 484-5 (does not distinguish this √ from *t^hok^h- v. 'strike'), Rl. III 1145-51 || Tg *tok^h- vi. 'bend, turn\go round' > Ud tokc^higu 'crooked', Ewk tokor-, Neg toxoy- 'turn\go round', Ewk tokoriw- 'be bent' || STM II 192 || M *toki... > Brt тохи- toxī- 'be bent'; M *tokir 'bent' > Brt тохир 'bent, crooked', WrM tokir, HIM тохир 'bent, crippled', Kl Ö {Rm.} tokr^h ~ takr^h, Kl D {Rm.} ta^hkr^h 'krüppelig, verrenkt', ?φ Ord d^ha^hxir 'unable to use his arm\hand', M b^h Yk tokur 'bent, bowed' || Chr. 431-2, MED 820, Ms. O 114, KW 395, 398, STM II 192 || DQA #2424 || D (in SD) *tukVI- ({AD} *dukVI-) 'woven cloth' > Kn dukula, dugula, duku^hla 'woven silk, very fine cloth or raiment', Tm tukil, tuyil 'fine cloth, rich attire', Ml tukil, tuyil 'cloth, dress'; D b^h OI LSk/EpSk [MBh., etc.] duku^hlam 'feines Zeug, das aus dem Bast der Dukula-Pflanze hergestellt wird', OI Sk duku^hlah 'a kind of plant', Pali duku^hla, duka^hla, Prkr dugulla, dualla, duu^hla id. || D #3285, Tu. #6389, M K II 48 ♦ The IE and T cognates provide ev. for N *t^h-, while the Tg *d- suggests N *t^h-. The variation may be accounted for by some sort of *as*, *dis* (or a conditioned loss of tenseness in some A lgs.). The rec. of *-q- is valid only if the Sv cognate is acceptable. Otherwise the N rec. must be *t^h.oK^ha ~ *toK^ha.

2411. *t^h.o^hw^hq^ha ~ *t^h.o^hqa^h-w^hq^h 'hide, skin' > K: pGZ *t^h.qaw- id. > OG t^h.qaw- 'leather, skin, hide', G t^h.qav- id., 'fur (for a fur-coat)', Mg t^h.qeb- 'skin', t^h.qabar- vt. 'skin', Lz t^h.qeb- ~ t^h.eb- 'skin, hide' || K 183, Abul. 414, Ser. 155, Q 330-1, Marr 190, DCh. 1229, Chx. 1373-4 || HS: Ch: [1] {Jl} Ch *√d.k 'skin': WCh: Bl {Ib.} d^hi^hs^hi^h id. || CCh: Ms {J} d^hi^hg^hna^h, {Mch.} dik 'skin', Zm {J} d^hige^h 'skin (of humans)', ZmD {KNC} d^hi^hge^h, {Sa.} d^hi^hke^h ~ d^hi^hke^h, Lame {ChL} dikietu^h, LamP di^hketu^h 'skin' || [2] Ch {Jl} *√tk (AD: maybe *√t.k ~ *√tk) 'skin, body' > Ech: Mgm {J} tu^hkku^h, Jg {J} tok, Mu {J} to^hgo^h 'skin', {Lk.} t^ho^hgo^h 'hide' || Bdy {AlJ} to^hko^h, Kjk tau^hwo^h 'skin' || WCh: Ywm {J} tak 'body' || Wrj {Sk.} t^ho^hwa^hi^h, Cg {Sk.} c^hu^hke^h, Kry {Sk.} ti^h, My {Sk.} tu^hwa^htu^h, Mbr {Sk.} t^ho^hwo^h, Jmb {Sk.} tu^hwa^h 'body' || Ngz {Sch.} ti^hka^h 'body' (unless from Knr ti^hg^h 'body') || ? CCh: Ms {Mch.} twa^h, {J} tu^hna^h, ZmB {J, Sa.} tu^h 'body' || JI I 16, 152 & II 34-5, 296-7 || A, AlJ 121, Blz. LECh #74 || IE {EI} *twek- / *tw^h.k- 'skin, hide' > OI tvak- id., tvacasya- 'in der Haut befindlich' || ? OPrs taka- 'shield' [← *made of leather'] (in takabara^h adj. pl. 'carrying shields') || Gk σα^hκο^h 'shield', φερε-σασκη^h m. 'shield-bearing, Schildträger' (σ- < *tw-, -σσ- < *tw-) || Ht tuekka- 'body, person, self', Lc tukedri- 'statue' || WP I 747, P 1099, EI 522 (*twek-s / *tw^h.k-os 'skin'), M K I 537, M E I 684, Hinz 128, F II 672, Frd. HW 226, Frd. HW EH III 33, Ts. E III 401-5 || U: FU *to^hk^h (or *-x-, *-w-) > ObU *ta^hx- 'skin, leather' > pVg *ta^hwal^h id. > Vg: T/SV/LL tawl^h, K/P/NV towl^h, Vg N (= Vg LL/Ss) towl id.; pOs *ta^hyta ({Hl.} *ti^hyta) 'reindeer hide' > Os: Ty/Y taytā, D/K ta^hxat, Nz ta^hxat, Kz ta^hxiti^h, O ta^hxiti || Ht. #618, KrT 983 || A: ?φ Tg *tu^h.ki(-kta) 'skin, hide (from animal's head)' > Ew tiki-kta 'skin', Lm tikzn 'hide (from animal's head)', Neg ti^hkta, Orc tikta 'animal's hair', WrMc tuku 'fur-coat cover' || STM II 178 || NaT *t^hi^hu^h-k ({ADb.} *tu^h-k) 'fur, body hair, down' > OT {Cl.} tu^h- / tu^h-k 'body hair', MU XIV {Rl.} tu^h-k, Chg XV tu^h-k ~ tu^h-y, MQp XV tu^h-g id., Tk tu^h-y, Tk tu^h-y 'down, hair, fur', VTt, Bsh t^hk, Qzq, Qrg, ET tu^h-k, Uz tuk 'hair, fur', Xk tu^h-k, Yk tu^h- id., Tv d^hr t^hu^hx 'hair of the head, fur', Tf t^hu^h-k 'hair, fur' || Cl. 433, TL 197-8, R. Rs. W 503, Rl. III 1530, Ra. 177 || ADb. (TL 197-8) explains the loss of -k in some lgs. as a reg. phonetic change. The Og forms suggest the expected *t^h-, while Tv and Tf point to an unexpected lax *t^h-; the solution of the problem is not yet found (as far as I know) || S CNM 3 suggests to adduce here M *toqum 'saddle fender made of felt\leather' (> WrM

toqum, HIM тоxomid., Ord {Ms.} d_oxom 'chabraque sur laquelle se repose la selle', MM [ZhY] toqum 'feutre ou tapis qu'on met sous la selle immédiatement sur le poil', Mnr H {SM} t'ug_un id.), but it is more plausible that the noun is derived from the M verb *toqu- 'to put on\over' (> WrM toqu-, HIM тоxo- 'to put on\over', MM [HI] toqu- {Ms.} 'to saddle', {Lew.} 'to harness, saddle', Mnr H {SM} t'ug_u- 'to saddle'). Only if the primary meaning of the M verb *toqu- was 'to put on a saddle, to saddle', then both *toqu- and *toqum may belong here ¶ MED 829-30, Ms. H 102, Lew. II 79, SM 428-9, Ms. O 149 ¶¶ S CNM 3 II D *tokk- ({GS} *t-) 'skin, bark, rind' > Tm tokku, Tl tokka id., Ml tokku 'skin, peel' ¶¶ d *tokat_ 'bark, peel' > Kn togat_u, togat_e, to't_e 'bark, rind, peel, pod', Tm, Ml to't_u 'shell of a fruit', Gnd to'ta- 'outer skin of the mahua fruit', Gnd Koya tot_t_e v. 'peel' ¶¶ ? d *tuk(k)-al- 'skin, hide' > Ml tukal 'skin as of a fruit', Kn togal, toval 'skin, hide, leather, skin of fruit', Tu tugal_ 'skin, bark, rind' ¶¶ D ##3544, 3559, Zv. 66, 90, 120 ♦ The meaning 'body' (in Ht and WCh) is secondary (μτ 'skin' → 'body') ♦ ≠ BmK 315 [an attempt to equate the K word with IE *(s)teg- v. 'cover' and S *t_k_-roots meaning 'dark, black'], AD NM #95.

2412. *t.arV '∈ vermin, noxious insects' > **HS:** SC {E} *te'r_d- 'cockroach' > Kz talangayo, SC b→Mb te're' id. ¶ E SC 170 II **IE:** NaIE *ter- '(∈) vermin, noxious insects' ({P} 'malmendes oder bohrendes Insekt') > L tarmes (gen. tarmitis) ~ termes 'wood-worm' ¶ Clt (< *kon-tro-no-): W cynrhon-yn (pl. cynrhon, {SB} cynrhawn) 'maggot, grub', Crn contronen 'maggot', {SB} 'cimex', MBr controunenn, Br snglt. kontronenn / coll. kontron 'ver de viande'; Clt (*to-r-a-ko-) > W torogen ~ trogen (pl. trogod) 'tick', OBr {Flr.} toroc 'curculio, charançon', Br (Flr.) teureug, teurg 'tiques', (Hm.) teurk 'maladie de la peau des moutins' ¶ ? Gk τερηδω'ν 'wood-worm' (b→ L tere-do id.) (× <d- √τερ- 'bore', cp. τε'ρετρον 'a borer') ¶ P 1076, F II 879 (τερηδω'ν ÷ τε'ρετρον 'a borer'), Ch. 1106, WH II 649, SB 123 (Clt *kon-tra-no- <d- *tra- 'to bore'), YGM-1 149, 418, Flr. 317, Hm. 475, 787, ECCE 224 II **A** *^{oo}t_l'jara- > NaT *t'ara-kan 'cockroach' > ET ñq"rT taraqan, VTt, MsTt, Bsh, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qmn/QK {B} taraqan, SbTt Tb {Rl.} taraqan, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} taraqqan, Tv t'araq'an id.; T b→OR тараканъ ~ тороканъ, R, Uk тара'кан, Uk тор'ган, Blg тар'кан id. ¶ Rs. W 463, Nj. 271, TatR 517, Bu. I 721, TTDS 398-9, Rl. III 839, B DK 251, B DLT 202, BR 508, NogR 335, MM 333, KrkR 622, RKB 619, TvR 408, Vs. IV 20-1, Chrn. II 228, Lok. 159 [#2027]; on the T sx. of nominal derivation *-kan cf. Rs. MTS 102, B OGOJ 247 ¶ In some of the T lgs. of the former USSR (but not in ET) the word taraqan may be a loan from R тара'кан (which is obvious for Qmq/Az tarakan and Yk taraka_n with -k- for the expected -q-, -x- and -y-), but in the final account the origin of the word is Turkic rather than Slavic (⇔ Bu., Lok., Vs. and Chrn.) II **D** (in GnD) *ta_l:r_r_ 'ant' > Png ta_r ~ da_r, Mnd ta_r 'ant', Kui ta_ru 'small black ant', ? Gnd ta-ro- 'the queen white ant' ¶ D #3166.

2413. *t.arV, -HVgV, -t.V 'to drag, pull' > **HS:** WS *√t_rr ~ *√trr > Ar √t_rr G 'enlever, emporter, arracher; pousser devant soi', Mh √trr (pf. t3r) 'drag, lead away' ¶ BK II 64, Jo. M 403 || Eg fP dr 'entfernen (vertreiben, wegnehmen)' (× N ***der?**i' 'to thrust back, drive away?') ¶ EG V 473-4 ¶¶ ≠ OS #2486 II **K:** [1] G {Chx.} t.ar- v. 'carry, bring, lead (führen)' ¶ Chx. 1325-8 ¶¶ ?? [2] a deglottalized variant: K {K} *tr-, {K²} *ter-/tr-, {FS} *tar-/tr- v. 'drag, pull' > OG ter-, eNG {SSO} G ter-/tr-, Mg (n)t3r-(n)tir-, Lz tir-, tor-, tur-, Sv: tr-/tir- id., U/OB/Ln {TK, GP} li-trine 'to drag'; acc. to FS, the variant *tar- is attested in eNG Δ {SSO} ga-tar-va 'gewaltsam heraus-bringen\zerren', G Mx/Mt/P/Im/Aj {FS} sa-tar-i 'Gerät zum Herab-schleifen\zerren\schleppen das Heu von den Bergen' ¶¶ K 95, K² 68-9, FS K 143-4, FS E 156, TK 434, GP 154 II **IE:** NaIE {Mn.} *tr_g^h- (or *træg^h-) v. 'draw, pull' > L trah-o-, -e're id. ¶ ? OIr traigim v. 'ebb, run out' (× <d- tra'ig 'rivage'), Nlr tra'ighaim v. 'drain', W treio v. 'ebb' ¶ Sl *tъ'rga-ti v. 'pull, draw' > OR трѣгати 'vellere', SCr tr`gati, Slv tr'gati 'to tear\pull\pluck out', Uk топати 'to pull, tug, tear', P targac' id. (targac' za włosy\suknia_ 'pull [so.] by the hair\coat'), Cz (u)trhati 'to pick, pluck', OCS истръгнѣти is-træg-no_-ti 'εξαρπα'ζειν, to pull\tear\throw out, extract', R pac-φторг-нут_ 'to dissolve\annul (agreement, marriage)' ¶ Mn. 1445, P 1089 (adduces many semantically remote forms and reconstructs *trag^h-/*tro(:)g^h-/*tre(:)g^h-), WH II 698-9, Vn. T 123 (traigim <d- tra'ig), Ma. CS 535, Vs. IV 83, StSS 372, Glh. 638 II **U:** FU *^otarka- > Er 'targa- 'take out, draw\pull out', Mk targa- 'take out, pull' ¶ U UEW 511-2 (*tarttV- 'steckenbleiben, klebenbleiben') ¶ Cf. FU *tarttV v. 'hold, seize' < N ***dar**_VH_V 'to hold, hold fast, fasten' [q.v.] II **A:** NaT *t'art- v. 'pull, drag' > OT tart-id., Tk tart-, Az dart- v. 'pull', Tkm, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Yk tart-, ET ta(r)t- v. 'pull, drag', Uz tart-, Tv t'irt-, Tf t'irt'- v. 'pull, drag out' ¶ Cl. 523-4, Rs. W 265, Ra. 236 || ?φ M *tata- v. 'draw, pull, drag' > WrM tata-,

HIM, Brt тата-, Kl tatъ- id. ♦ Rs. UAW 465 (U, A), BmK 297-8 (IE, K *tr- + a doubtful D ideophone: Kn dara dara - noise of dragging anyth. on the ground, etc.).

2414. ?₂ *t.æRV □ 'else, more, other' > IE: NaIE *-tero-, a sx. of pronouns and adjectives with the meanings of comparison and choice between two objects\persons ('more than the other', 'between two'): *k^wo-tero- ~ *k^wutero- 'which of the two?' (> OI kata'rah., Av kata'ra-, Gk πο'τεροϋ, Gt hāpar, L uter, Lt katra's id., Osc pu'terei-pi'd 'in utroque', Um PODRUHPEI 'utroque', OCS котеръ koteryъ ~ которъ kotoŕъ 'which one, which of them?'), *i-tero- 'another' (> OI 'itarah. id., L iterum 'for the second time'), *an-tero- 'the other of the two' (> OI 'antarah., Oss a'nda'r, Gt anpar, ON annarr, OHG ander, AS o'þer, Lt an'tras, Pru antars ~ anters), the sx. in L alter 'the other of the two', Osc alttram 'alteram', OCS въторъ vъtorъ 'the second', the sx. of the cmpr. *-tero- (> OI a'ma-tara-h., Gk ω'μο'τεροϋ 'rawer', παλαι'τεροϋ 'older') ¶ Brg. KVG 321, Hirt IG III 209-13 [§ 129], F II 586, WH I 32-3, 723-4 & II 845, Bc. G 342, Fs. 53, 283, Ho. 243, EWA I 241-2, En. 142, Tp. P A-D 94-5 II ? ¶ *t'eRV > [1] Tg: Ewk -tar/-tār/-tor o-, a verbal form of additional continuation ('more'): җәнәтәгә o- jam 'well, I shall come again' ('ну, еще придет'), haval-tar o- ca- 'he went on working more' ('он еще поработал') (with the verb o- 'werden') ¶ Vas. 791 [2] Tg *te-ri 'pair, both, one of the couple' > Ewk t̄z-rī 'pair', t̄z-rīn 'one of the pair', 'one opposed to the other of the pair', Lm t̄z-ri 'pair', t̄z-rin 'pair, both', Neg t̄z-yī id., Orc t̄z-yī, Ud {Shn.} tiz, Ud Sm {Krm.} te- 'pair', Nn KU t̄z-rini 'in the same way (одинаково)' ¶ STM II 239, Krm. 294 || pJ {S} *ta't̄z-p- 'compare, liken to' > OJ ta'to'p(a)-, J: T tatoe-, K tato'e-, Kg ta'to'e- ¶ S QJ #1475, Mr. 765, Kenk. 1929 ¶¶ □ DQA #2363 [A *t'e-ra 'pair; to compare' > Tg *te-ri, J] II ??? HS: One could consider the possibility of tying in S: BHb Mr#y3 't.erem 'not yet, before', 'noch nicht', M&ry6 t.ə'ro'm 'even before'. But there is a grammatical argument against this hyp.: the Hb word 't.erem has some syntactical features of a noun, e.g. its usage with a prepositional prefix bə- 'in': bə't.erem 'before'; in addition, this usage suggest a meaning 'early, before' as the original meaning of the word, that probably belongs to N *t.fo'r?V 'fresh, new' (q.v.) ¶ KB 363, KBR 379-80, HJ 430 (bt.rm 'before' in EpHb).

2415. *t.era 'to heat, roast, fry' > R: Tg *ti-ar-vt. 'melt., roast' > Lm t̄a-r-, Lm Al tiar-, Lm Sk t̄l.ær-v. 'melt (fat, suet)', Neg te-y- (< *te-r-) v. 'melt (fat), fry', Orc tiru-v. 'fry, bake, heat', Ork curo-v. 'cook fat', Nn curo-v. 'melt fat, roast', WrMc caru-v. 'fry' ¶ STM II 173 II D {tr.} *ter-, {GS} *ted- v. 'heat (intensely), scorch' (of fire, sun's heat) > Tm ter-u v. 'burn, scorch', Nkr tirup 'sun's ray', Prj ted- ~ t̄ed- v. 'be fierce' (of sun's heat), Knd ter- id., Gnd ter- id., tarīta-na- v. 'be hot' (of sun), tarīsta-na- v. 'heat bread over a flame' ¶¶ D #3440, GS 63-4 [#194] ♦ But hardly here SC: Irq {E} c.iri'h-v. 'glow' (E SC 175) because of the initial cns. (see N *c.fo'rl?V 'embers, charcoal') ♦ Cf. AD AltAD.

2416. ?₂ *t.eRV 'to contain (aufnehmen können)' > ?φ K: pGZ *t.i.r- > OG, G t.e-/t.i- v. 'contain' (OG romeli s'emglebul ars dat.ewnad, dait.eien 'qui potest capere capiat' - Mt. 19:12), Mg (n)t.i(r)-/t.r-, Lz (n)t.i(r)- ~ (n)t.i(n)-/ (n)t.r- 'contain (вмѣстѣ)' ¶ K 180, Chik. 326, Q 328 ¶ The loss of *-r- in OG remains unexplained II U: FU *terV 'have\find enough room for itself (Raum oder Platz haben oder finden, hineingehen)' > Prm *ter- id. > Z t̄z-r-, Vt teri- id. :: OHg xvi te'r- 'Raum haben', Hg Δ te'r- 'Raum\Platz haben\finden, hineingehen', Hg te'r 'space, room' ¶ UEW 522, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *tira-, Ugr *ti'ra- 'fit'), MF 628-9, EWU 1505, LG 284 II ?? ¶ *^{oo}t'feRV > Tg: Lm Ol t̄z-riv 'spacious, able to contain much' ¶ STM II 239 ♦ Cf. IS MS 333 s.v. вмѣстѣ *t.arλ (K, U + i ÷ S *√t.r [that in fact does not mean 'to contain'])).

2417. *t.or'i- ~ *t.or'ye' 'to bring\come into existence (create, make, bear\be born)' > IE: NaIE *twer- v. 'create, produce by plaiting, lay (a rope)' > Gk σποροϋ 'vessel for holding anything, cinerary urn', σαργα'νη 'a plait, braid; basket', Gk I [Hs.] ταργά'ναι ~ πλοκαί', συνδε'σειϋ, πε'δαι 'sth. twisted\bound together, fetters', ? τάρπη 'large basket' (if there was *dis* *tw...p > *t...p); (× N *t.u'ryV ~ *t.uryE or *t.u'r'V ~ *t.ur'E 'row, line; to string', q.v.) :: Sl *tvor-i'ti v. 'create, make, form' > OCS творити tvoriti, R тво'рити, SCr tvo'riti, Cz tvor'iti, P tworzyć 'to create', Blg тво'ри v. 'create'; ChS творъ tvorъ 'form', OR творъ 'appearance, look, P two'r, Uk тв'p, Cz tvor 'cration, sth. created' ; Lt tve'rti / prs. tveriu, su-tve'rti / su-tveriu 'to form, create', tve'ri-mas n. act. 'forming, creating' (× tve'rti / tveriu 'seize, fence, enclose', tve'ri-mas n. act. 'seizing, enclosing'), sutve'ri-mas, {Krsch.} sutve'rimas 'creating, creature', tvere'jas, {Frn.} tvere'jas 'Schöpfer, Gründer, Erbauer', tve'riny's 'creature, creating' ¶ In Gk there is coalescence with *twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in' < N *t.ur'i 'to turn round, surround, enclose'

[q.v.] ¶ P 1101 (reconstructs *twer- 'fassen, einfassen, einzäunen', does not distinguish the √ in question from *twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in'), F II 677, 687, 857, Frn. 1152, Vs. III 33-4, Glh. 646-7, ≠ EI 564 (Sl < IE *twer- 'take, hold') || A *t'o'r'e' v. 'give birth to; be born, come into existence, be created' > NaT *t'o'ru' - -e- id. > OT {Cl.} to'ru' - v. 'come into existence, be created', Chg {Cl.} to're- ~ to'ru' - v. 'come into existence, be born', OOsM {Cl.} do'ru' -, Tk tu're-, Az to're-, Tkm do're-, ET {Nj.} to'ri- id., 'be born', to'ra'l- 'originate, come into existence', ET Δ {Jr.} to'rel-, Cmn {Cl.} to're- 'be born', Tk Δ to're- 'meydana gelmek, çog. almak' (v. 'come into being, multiply'), Qrg to'ro' - 'give birth to', Tv t'o'ru' - id., 'be born', Xk тоер° - to'ri-, Tf t'o'ru' - 'be born', Ln to'yo' -t- 'give birth to, create', Yk to'ro' - 'be born', 'bring forth' (of animals) ¶ Cl. 533, Ra. 175, Rs. W 495, Nj. 313-4, Jr. 314, Pek. 2779-80, SDD 1393 || M *to're- v. 'be born; bear' > MM [MA] to're- v. 'be born', [IM] to'ru' - v. 'bear', WrM to'ru' - v. 'be born, come into being', HlM to'ro' -, Kl to'r-, Ord {Ms.} t'o'ro' -, Dg {Pp.} t'u'r- v. 'be born, bear', Mnr H {SM} t'uro- 'enfanter, accoucher, naître', MMgl {Iw.} to're v. 'be born', Mgl {Rm.} tura'na 'wird geboren', Δ {Lg.} to'ra'na v. 'be born' ¶ Pp. IM 49, Pp. MA 353, 448, T 367, KW 407, Rm. M 41, MED 836, SM 435, Iw. 139 ¶ S QJ #1679 ¶¶ KW 407, ≠ Cl. 533 (*unc.* : M <b T) ¶¶ DQA #2436 [A *t'o'ri 'to be born, copulate', *incl.* T, M] || D *tor' - ({GS} *t-) v. 'work' > Tm toril 'act, action, work', torii 'working woman', Ml toril 'business, occupation', Kn turil 'work, servitude', tortu 'servant (esp. female servant)', Tu tolil 'trade, business', Tl tottu 'female servant' ¶¶ D #3524 || ??? HS: it is tempting to adduce here HS *√tr v. 'plait, sew' > Ch (× N *t.√ar√P.V.√J ~ *t.√VP.√r√V 'to tie together?'): WCh: Ron: Bks, DfB {J} to'r (hab. Bks twa'r, DfB twa'r) 'nähen, stechen, durchbohren' : Ngz {Sch.} ti'rmu' v. 'plait three strands together to make rope' : Kry {Sk.} t3'r-, My {Sk.} ti'r- v. 'sew' : CCh: Db {Lnh.} ti'r v. 'plait', {Mch.} ter 'tordre', MfG -t3'rd- v. 'plait' ('tresser [cheveux, natte]'), Mf {BLB} t3rd- 'tordre en spirale' ¶ JI II 288-9, ChC s.v. 'plait' and 'sew', J R 147, 222, Stl. ZCh 165 [#186] (WCh *t/t.Ar- v. 'sew, plait'), Mch. D 153, Brr. MG II 244, BLB 350, Sk. NB 39, Sch. DN 253 ¶ The words of Ron and CCh lgs. are valid cognates only if the original meaning is v. 'sew, plait' rather than v. 'twist' and v. 'pierce' || AdS of EC: Sa/af {R} √trtr pcv. 'sew' (probably < N *t.√ar√P.V.√J ~ *t.√VP.√r√V '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ OS #2406 ♦ IS MS 361 **рождат** t.urā (BSl, A). The discrepancy between the T ev. (T *-r- suggesting N *r) and that of D (D *-r- suggests N *r') may be solved if we admit that the vibrant was followed by *y (or by *-i?) and that *-ry- (or *-r- followed by *-i?) yields A *-r- and D *-r'.

[[+2417a. *t.ouRV 'hold' > IE: NaIE *twer-/*tur- 'grip, hold' > Lt tve'rti (1s prs. tveriu) 'seize, snatch, grab', Ltv tve'rt (1s prs. tveru) 'seize, hold', Lt ture'ti (1s prs. turiu), Ltv ture't 'possess, own', Prs turit 'have, have to' : ? Sl *za-tvorī-ti 'shut' (unless *t on abalogy of *ot-vorī-ti 'open') > OCS **затворити** zatvoriti, R **затвоѣрити**, SCr **zatvo'riti**, Slv **zatvo'riti**, Cz † **zatvor'iti**, Slk **zatva'rat** 'to shut', Blg **заѣтварим** 'I shut', ***zatvoгъ** 'bolt (shutting a gate\door), seclusion' > OCS **затворъ** **zatvoгъ**, R **заѣтвор**, SCr **za'tvor**, Slv **zatvo'r**, Slk **za'tvor**, P **zatwo'r** id., Blg **заѣтвор** 'prison, gate' (× IE *tworos 'Einfassung' > N *t.ur'i 'to turn round, surround, enclose', q.v.) : ?σ Gk **σειρα'**, Gk I **σειρη'**, Gk D **σηρα'** 'cord, rope' (< *twer-ya) ¶ WP I 750-1, P 1101, Mn. 1466, Vs. II 82, BER I 612, Glh. 646, Frn. 1152, F II 687 (doubts about the origin of Gk **σειρα'**) || K: G Gr t.or-i 'amount held in two hands' ("double handful") ¶ GhL 515 || HS: WS *°√t.rr ~ *°√t.ry > Ar √t.rr *G* 'rassembler, réunir en un seil lieu', Gz √t.ry *Sh* (pf. ?at.raya) 'possess, take possession', t.ərīt 'possessions', ??σ JEA {Lv.} √t.ry-√t.rw *G* 'give' (esp. s''ek.al wə-t.əra- 'negotiate', lit. 'take and give') (unless Sl.'s interpretation of the JEA verb as 'throw' is valid) ¶ BK II 64, L G 597-8, Lv. II 189-90, Sl. 517 || A {DQA} *t'o' -r'e or *t'u' -r'e 'hold, lift, take' > Tg *tu-rī- > Ewk tu-rin-, Lm tor- 'hold back (**удерживат**, **сдерживат**)', Ewk Skh turuw- 'detain (prevent from running)', Orc turu- 'slow down (the draught-reindeer)', Ul turuw3n-, Nn Nh turu- id., 'stop' (vt.) ¶ STM II 220 || pKo *ti'r- 'hold, lift' > MKo ti'r-, NKO til- ¶ S QK #134, HMC 336, MLC 535 || pJ *t3'r- (or *tu-ar-) 'take' > OJ t1w1o'r-, J: T to'r-, K, Kg to'r- ¶ S QJ #118, Mr. 771 ¶¶ S AJ 279 [#110] (A *t'u' -rV), DQA #2445, Mr. KJ 233 (Ko, J) ♦ In Tg (and hence A) there is lengthening of the vw. in an originally open syllable (a reg. change)]

2418. ???σ *t.URE 'to start (up), set in motion, begin' > HS: C *√tr v. 'start up' > Ag *°tēl- v. 'begin, start up' > Bln {R} tər y- 'sich auf den Weg machen; anfangen, beginnen', tər-s- 'beginnen, anfangen' : ??σ EC: Arr tīr- v. 'climb, ride' : SC {E} *tir- v. 'set in motion' > Kz tilim- id. : DhI {To.} tirid-, {E} t.iriḏ-, {EEN} *t.itiḏ- v. 'move restlessly' ¶ E PC #75 (pC *tar/tir- v. 'start up'), EEN 8, To. D 148, R WB 842,

Hw. A 397, E SC 170 [#23] || ?μ CCh {ChL}: G'nd tirtí'ka'nan, Gbn tirtúkənə', Boka turtikagin v. 'begin' || **IE:** NaIE *twer- v. 'move quickly, stir up' > OI 'tvarate', tu'ratí 'hurries', tu'ra 'rasch', Av θwa's'a- (< Iir *'tvarta-) 'eilig, rasch' || Gk σ'-τρύ'-v-ω v. 'stir up, rouse, stir up' || Gmc (× N *t.ur'i 'to turn round, surround, enclose' [q.v.]) Sw tva'ra 'stir, agitate', AS ðweran id., 'churn', OHG dwe'ran 'stir up, mix', dwiril 'twirling-stick', ?? ON þyrja 'laufen, sausen' || *t(o)ru- (with *mt*) [{Fick} < **turu-] (× N *t.ur'i '↑' [q.v.]): Gk τροβύ'νω ~ τροβύ'να'ω 'stir up, about', τροβύ'νη 'stirrer, ladle for stirring things while boiling' || L trua id. ¶ P 1100, EI 607 (*twer- 'stir, agitate'), M K I 514, 539, M E I 684-5, F II 440-1, Ho. 373, Kb. 178-9, OsS 121, EWA II 915-9, 925-6, Vr. 630, F II 914-5, WH II 708-9 || **A:** T *t'ur'gi- > OT {Cl.} to're'i- v. 'begin, start' ¶ Cl. 534.

2419. UA ₂ *t.u'R'V 'hard-roē' > U *t'u'r'V > Sm {Jn.} *tira'ma' ~ *tu'ra'ma', {HL.} tireme ~ *tu'reme 'hard-roē' > Ne T тиребл, Ne F {Lh.} t'it'f'ím'm'e'ε~, Ng {Cs.} t'irimi, {Mik.} c'irimi, En X {Cs.} t'ife^, En B {Cs.} t'ire^, {Ter.} c'ire, c'ir'i, Slq Tz {KKIH} tir, Slq Tm {KD} te~re~b_, Kms {Cs.} thu'ru'ma', {KD} t'u'rme, Koyb {Sp.} турм, Mt {HL.} *tu'rma' (Mt: T {Mll.} tu'rmja', M {Sp.} турм, {Mll.} tu'rma', K {Mll.} du'rmja'') ¶ Jn. 163-4, Cs. 146, 264, KKI 189, Hl. MTKV 20, 94, Hl. M #1101 || **A** *t'u'R'i' 'hard-roē' > M *tu'ri-su'n > WrM tu'ri-su'n, HlM т*pc, Kl {Rm.} tu'rsn, Brt т*ph(н) id. ¶ KW 416, MED 855 || Tg *ti're-kse id. > Ewk tir3-ks3 d tir3 ks3 d tir3 h3, Sln, Ul turs3, ? WrMc cerguwe ~ cerhuwe ¶ Vas. 415, STM II 189, Hr. 143, Z 930 ¶¶ KW 416, Pp. VG 112, DQA #2407 [A *t'i_uri ~ *t'i_oro 'fish-roē'] ◆ IS MS 343 s.v. *икра* t.урл, IS SS #1.17, Rm. l.c., Sauv. 68, AD NM #77, Vv. AEN 4 (adds WrMc turi 'peas', which is doubtful).

2420. *t.ehr'i' 'clean, pure' > **HS:** WS *√t.hr v. 'be clean\pure' > BHb √t.hr (ip. -t.har) v. 'be clean', t.a'ho'r 'clean', √t.hr D 'cleans, purify', Pun t.hr 'pure', t.hrt 'purity', JEA √t.hr G v. 'be clean, cleared away', Ar √t.hr G (pf. t.ahara, ip. -t.har-) v. 'be clean, pure', Gz √t.hr G (js. -t.har) v. 'be pure', Tgr √t.hr G v. 'be clean', Mh, Hrs, Jb √t.hr v. G 'be ritually clean, pure', Mh t.3'hayr, Hrs t.3'her, Jb C/E t.hir 'ritually clean, pure', Sq {L} t.ahir 'clean'; EthS b>Sa {R} t.i'ra- 'rein' ¶ KB 354, KBR 369-70, L G 589, Jo. M 408, Jo. J 275, HJ 420, Js. 520 || ? **K** (?) *tetr- 'white' > OG, G tetr-, ? Sv: UB {GP} twetne, {TK} twetwne ~ tetwne, LB {TK} tetne, L {TK, Dn.} twetwne, Ln {TK} twetwene 'white' ¶ K 91, TK 262, GP 106, Dn. s.v. t.vet.vne || ? **IE:** NaIE *terb_h- > pSl *terbi '-ti 'to clean, stub' > ChS трѣбити tre'biti, Slv tre'biti id., OR теревити terebiti, Blr цеpe'б'ц, P trzebic' 'to grub up (a wood), clear (a wood) of trees', R Δ тepe'бит'ц id., 'to clean', Uk тepe'бити 'to clean, shell', SCr тpe'бити d trije'biti 'to clean', Cz tr'í'biti 'to sift out, winnow, refine', Blg 'тpeбл' I clean, stub' ¶ P 1071, Mikl. E 354, Glh. 638, Vs. IV 45-6 || **D** {Km.} *te_r- ({"GS"} *t-) v. 'be(come) clean\clear' > Tm te_r_u v. 'be made clear as water, be clarified, be accepted as true', Ml te_r'al 'clearness', Kt te-r- v. 'become clear' (with subject nar' 'country'), i.e. v. 'dawn', te-r-c- v. 'may (day) dawn', Kn te_t.a, te_t.e 'clearness, purity (as that of water, etc.)', Tu te_t.ə 'pure, clear', OTl te_r_u, Tl te_r_u, te_r_u v. 'become clear or free from suspended matter', Gdb te_r-sap- v. 'clear (as a liquid)', Gnd te_r-s- v. 'filter' ¶¶ D #3471, Km. 392 [#614] || ???ϕ **A:** M *tu'rci- > WrM tu'rci- {Kow.} 'nettoyer, essuyer, frotter', HlM т*рчи- v. 'clean, wipe, rub', Ord d_u'rc'i- in arc'i_xu d_u'rc'i-xu 'wipe (essuyer)' ¶ MED 854, Kow. 1953, Ms. O 172.

2421. *t.u.wr'U' 'to grow densely, sprout forth, become bushy, thrive; thicket, thick bush\grass' (> 'to grow') > **HS:** S *√t.ur, *t.ur- > Ar √t.ur G 'pousser, germer, pulluler (se dit des plantes, du poil, de la barbe, etc.)', t.ur- 'chevelure longue et qu'on laisse pendre' ¶ BK II 64-5 || ??? C **t.ur- > Ag **duh- 'thicket' b>Gz du_r 'forest', do_r 'wilderness', Amh dur 'wood, forest', Tgy dur {YGE} id., 'thicket, bush' ('dur, t>as]a'), {Bsn.} 'bosco, selva' ¶ L G 141 (hyp.: Gz du_r, dor < Amh dur < Oeth dabr 'mountain'), YGE 691, Bsn. 760 || **K** {Fn.} *t.eur- {AD} 'thicket; be dense' > G t.evr-i 'dichter, dunkler Wald', Sv {Ni.} t.a'wre- 'get denser, thicken' ¶¶ Chx. 1334, Ni. s.v. *рысѣти* || **IE:** NaIE *tre:(u)-, *treu_s- 'flourish' > Av tuθrus'a adj. zur Vollreife gelangen', prs. stem θraos- 'zur Reife \ Vollkommenheit gelangen \ bringen' || OHG triunit (OHG Al t- for p-) 'excellet, pollet, floret', OHG drowen ~ drouwen d trouwen (< *θrau_jan) 'to grow up (pubescere)', MHG u_f-gedrouwen prtc. 'erwachsen', ON pro'ast (from *θro'wo'n) 'wachsen, gedeihen', proski 'Reife' ¶ WP I 754, P 1095, Brtl. 655, Kb. 169, OsS 960, EWA II 806, Lx. 242, Vr. 623 || ? **A:** M *torni- > WrM torni- ~ tarni-, HlM торни-, Ord t'orni- v. 'grow, grow up' (of children and young animals), 'reach manhood', Brt торни- 'grow up, reach manhood' (of children), WrM tornigun, HlM торниун 'of tail stature, well grown, corpulent; healthy', Ord

t'orni_u-n 'qui est devenu grand et gros pour son âge (enfants, jeunes bestiaux)' ¶ MED 827, Luv. 411, Chr. 431, Ms. O 671 || **D** *tu_r_(-) ({GS} *t-?) 'bushes, bushy, thicket' [x N *d'ru_rV 'woods, bush(es)'] > Tm tu_r_u 'bushes, shruberry, thick underwood, long jungle', tu_r_- v. 'become bushy, sprouth forth', Kt tu_r 'bushy bunch of leaves of tree', Td tu_r_ / tu_t_- 'branch with leaves; bushes', Knd to_r_u 'thicket' ¶¶ D #3401 ◇ Fn. KD 342 [#98] (K, D).

2422. *t.oxquryV or *t.UxqrV 'dirt, be dirty' > **HS:** C: EC {Ss.} *d,ur- v. 'be dirty' (x N *rc. 'uRV 'to soil, stain, dirty?') > Or {Grg., Sr.} t.urī 'dirt, filth', Or H {Ow.} t.u'ri' 'dirty', Or {Ss.} t.ur-, {Grg.} t.ura-w'a, Arr t.ur-aw- id., t.ure' 'dirty thing', Sd, Hd t.ur- v. 'be dirty' || Ag: ?? Bln {R} daraq'a 'clay' ¶ Ss. PEC 29, 31, AD SF 56-7, E PC #76, Grg. 386, Sr. 396, Ow. 272, Hw. A 398 || B *d,ir- > Ah ed,ir 'gros excrément', EWlm/Ty ed,er 'human faeces', TnsI ed,er 'gros excrément (d'hommes, des quadrupèdes carnassiers)' ¶ Fc. 283, GhA 33, NZ 483 || ?? Ch: WCh: My {Sk.} ti'ri', Kry {Sk.} tu'ru' 'dirt' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} t3'rwá, Ll (Grgs.) ti'rwe', ? Kwn {J} do'ru'wo' 'dust' ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 98 ¶ Acc. to the sound corrs. within Ch postulated in JI I xix-xxx, this Ch √ is easier to explain as belonging to N *dur,?V 'dirt' || K *t,ur- > G t,ur- v. 'be dirty, make dirty' || **A** {DQA} *t'o'r'e 'soil, dust' > T *t'o'r' 'dust' > OT {Cl., IS} to_z, XwT XIII to_z, MQp XIII do_z, Cmn XIV, Chg zXv toz, Tk toz, Tkm to_δ, Az, Ggz, Qrg toz id. ¶ Rs. W 492, Cl. 570-1, DTS 578-9, TL 99-100, S AJ 195 [#229], Hüs. 295, TkR 637, Tz. UIS 102, ADb. Ttd 59 || Tg *tu_r_ ({ADb. Ttd} *tore) 'earth' > Ewk tur, Lm to:r, Lm Al/B tu_r, Lm M tuer, Neg tu_y 'earth', Nn Nh turqa 'clod of earth', Nn KU turu na_ni 'subterranean world' ¶ STM II 217-8, S AJ 209 [#33] || Ko *tə_r- '(become) dirty' > MKo tə_r-m- id.; MKo tə_rə_p-, NKo tə_rə_p- 'be dirty, filthy, soiled' ¶ S AJ 255 [#113], S QK #113, Nam 153, MLC 442 || pJ *tu'ti' 'earth' > OJ tu'ti', J: T cuc'í, K cu'c'í, Kg c'u' ¶ S AJ 265 [#19], S QJ #19, Mr. 557 || ? ppM *toβ'u'rag > M *toγurag 'earth, dust' (x N *t.ap,?V 'dirt, mud', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ S AJ 91, 274 [#18], {SDM95} (A *t'o'wVrV 'earth, dust, dirt') DQA #2444 [A *t'o'r'e 'soil, dust'] || **D** *tur- ({GS} *t-) 'rubbish' (x N *t.UryV 'litter, dirt, dust', q.v. ffd.) || ?? **IE:** NaIE {WH} *te_r-os / *ter-la- 'earth' > Olr ti'r 'earth, ground; land, country', Brtt {RE} *tīros 'earth' > OW, MW, W, OCrn tir, Crn ty_r, OBr, MBr tir 'earth', Br tir 'land, country' || OL tera, L terra 'earth', Osc teer'u'm', teru'm 'terra, territorium', teras 'terrae'; any connection with IE *ters- 'dry' (mentioned by WH, EM, EI) may be secondary (folk et.) ¶ WH II 673-4, EM 687-8, Vn. T 74-5, RE 90, Flr. 314, Hm. 790, YGM-1 410, EI 170 ◇ M and D suggest the rec. N *t.oxquryV, but if the M and D cognates are rejected (as having alt. etymologies), the N rec. may be *t.UxqrV. Some of the abovementioned words may result from a merger with N *t.UryV '¶'.

2423. *t.'o'r?V 'fresh, new, young, young animal, child' > **HS:** WS *√t.r? > Ar t,ari?- 'recent, fresh', √t.r? (pf. t,aru?a, ip. ya-tru?-u) v. 'be fresh, juicy', Mh t,e'ray? 'wet, damp, fresh', Hrs t3rī? 'fresh', Jb C/E 't,e'ri? 'fresh (food)'; with the loss of root-final *?: Ar √t,rw/y (pf. t,aruwa - t,ariya) v. 'be quite fresh, freshly plucked', t,ariy- 'fresh, recent', BHb *t.a'ri (attested: f. e!r%y6 t,arī'ya), MHb ir%y1 t.a'ri 'fresh', Ug t,ry 'fresh food', Sr t,arru-n-a- 'recens', Gz t,əra'y 'raw, crude'; ? BHb Mr#y3 't,erem 'not yet', 'noch nicht' (← *'earlier', cp. EpHb bt.rm 'before') ¶ HJ 430, KB 363, KBR 379, BDB #2961, A #1125, OLS 481, Fr. III 45, 54, BK II 65, 80, Ln. 1852, Hv. 428, 432, Br. 289, L G 598, Jo. M 411, Jo. J 279, Jo. H 130 || ? B *√trr 'new' > Si {La.} a-tra'r (pl. tra'r-ən, f. ta-tra'r-t), Skn {Sarn.} trīr (pl. trīr-ət), Nf {CM} a-trar (pl. ta-trar-ət), Awj {Par.} atra_r (pl. tra_r-ən) 'new' ¶ La. S 163, 266, Sarn. 22, Prd. 170 || **K:** OG t,arig-i 'lamb' (Joh. 1.36), G t,arig-i 'yearling lamb, sacrifice lamb' ¶ Ser. 153, Chx. 1329 || **IE:** NaIE *torno- 'young man, young animal', *t'e'ru-no- 'young', *torm-/ *tr_m- id. (x NaIE *ter-, teru- 'delicate, weak' < N *t.ar,?V 'H'ulu' 'delicate, thin', q.v.) > Ol 'tarun-a- 'young, delicate, fresh', Av tauruna- 'young, boy', Oss I ta'r3n - t3r3n, Oss D ta'rna 'boy'; Ol tarn,a-, tarn,aka- 'calf, young animal' || Lt tar_nas 'servant' (← *'young man') || Arm t3o@n t3or_n (gen. t3o@n t3or-in) 'grandson', t3arm t3arm 'young, fresh, green' || pAl {O} *trima > Al trim 'grown man; brave\valorous man, hero', t 'warrior' || Gt parihs (= γαργαροῦ) 'ungewalkt, neu (vom Tuch)' (P: ← 'fresh') ¶ M E I 632, M K I 483-6, P 1070-1, Ab. III 280, Frn. 1060-1, O 464, Slr. 304-5, Fs. 490, ≠ EI 490 || **U:** FU (att. in BF) *to're 'fresh, raw' > F tuore? 'fresh', Es toores 'raw, crude; unripe, green', Lv tuo_r,bz_ 'green, raw' ¶ SK 1409-10, Kt. 441 || **A** {DQA} *t'o'rV 'young animal, child' > T [1] NaT *t'o:irui 'young', i*t_i'or 'calf' > Tk Δ {SDD} toru 'young' (of a man, tree), Slr tori 'foal', Chg {Rl.} tor 'calf' || [2] NaT *t'o_rum 'young camel' > OT torum id., MT [IM] torum 'suckling young camel', Tk torun '2-years old camel', Tk Δ {SDD} torum 'young camel', Tkm to_rum, Tv t'orum 'camel in its 2nd year'; T b> M: WrM torum, HIM тором 'young camel in its 2nd year',

WrO {Krg.} toro^m, torom, Kl {KRS} torə^m 'a two-year old camel'] [3] NaT *t'ol:run 'grandchild' > Osm {Rh.}, Tk torun, Kr torun ~ torin 'grandchild', VTt turun 'great-great-grandchild'] [4] NaT *t'ol:rpak 'calf in its 2nd year' > Chg [MA] torpaq {Pp.} three-years old calf', {Shch.} i 'calf in its 2nd year', Qzq torpaq 'yearling calf', Qrg torpoq, StAlt torboq, Xk torbaχ 'calf in its 2nd year', ET to(r)paq 'heifer in its 2nd year'; *ds* (?): Brb torboγis 'big calf', Yk torbos 'calf', ? Qrg toropoy 'young pig'] [5] NaT *t'ol:ray 'child, young pig' > Qmq toray 'child', Tf t'oray 'yearling bear' and possibly Qrg toray 'young wild pig', Qzq, Qq, Nog toray 'young pig' (Qzq/Qq/Nog/Qrg toray seem to be influenced by or borrowed from M) ¶¶ SDD III 1345-6, Cl. 549, DTS 578, IS AD 42 [#29], Rs. W 491, Shch. Zh 102, 106-7, 125-6, Rl. III 1179-80, 1183, 1189-90, Rh. 607, TvR 174, Pp. MA 126, BT 154, BIG 233, KRPS 539, MM 350, KrkR 649, NogR 358, Tn. SJ 517, Pek. 2736, Ra. 235, MED 827, Krg. 509, KRS 508 || M *toruyi 'young pig' > WrM torui suckling pig', HLM торойid., 'young yak', Oyr, Brt toroy 'young pig', Kl {Rm.} tora 'young wild pig' ¶ KW 401, MED 827, Ra. 235 || i NrTg *toro-kīu 'boar' > Ewk Urm/Ucr/Z torokī, Neg torokī; Tg b→Yk {Pek.} toroku ~ toroχu 'boar'. An alt. possibility is that the source lge. is Yk b→Ewk, Neg, but this is less plausible because (1) Neg and Ewk Urm are spoken in regions outside any contact with Yk (namely, on the Middle and Low Amur and on the Amgun), while Yk has a strong Tg substratum, and (2) Ewk, Neg torokī--kī are explainable within Tg as *ds* with the sx. of animal names -kī (cf. Ewk tuksakī, Neg toksakī 'hare') ¶ Vas. 761, Pek. 2741 ¶¶ Shch. Zh 125-6, Pek. 2741 ¶¶ DQA #2446 [A *t'o-rV 'young animal'] ¶¶ The pA vw. length with an acute (> vw. length in T and shortness of the vw. in Tg) goes back to a compensatory lengthening caused by an additional element after the vw. or the following cns. within the N √ II D *tar-child' > Kn taruvali 'boy, girl', tarale 'girl'; the D word may have been influenced by OI taruna 'young, fresh, tender' ¶ cp. D #2817; f also M K I 483 ♦ The length of the vw. in T and FU is explained by complementary lengthening connected with the loss of *?. It is quite possible that the etymons *t.ar₁V₁H^u 'delicate, thin' and *t.^or[?]V 'fresh, new, young, young animal, child' represent the same N √ ♦ Blz. SNE I 243 [#10] (equates S and FU with IE *ter-).

2424. *t.ar₁iH'a 'open, bald' > **U:** FU *tarV 'to open; open' > Chr: H tara-s[~] {Ep.} vt. 'move apart', {Rm.} taras[~] 'ausbreiten, auseinander sperren', {MRS} 'tara-s[~] id., vt. 'separate, move away', L to^opamid., to^opa 'far away', 'far' adj., E {Ps.} tora 'weit, fern' : Prm *tar- > Z Le {SZ} taral- 'open wide (one's eyes), stare' :: Hg † ta^r 'open', ta^r- v. 'open' ¶ UEW 510, SZ 365, LG 278, MF 614-5, MRS 563, 581-2, Ep. 115, Rm. BTS 142, PsS 143 II A *t'ar[~]V 'bald' > T *t'ar[~]- id., 'not covered with hair\vegetation' > OT taz ({Cl.} ta[~]z) 'bald', Chg, MQp taz, OOSm XIV daz id., Tk daz 'bald, balding; not covered with vegetation (land)', 'arid argillaceous land without vegetation (такыр)', Az daz, Kr taz, StAlt, Xk tas 'bald, balding; bald spot', Tv t'as 'bald, balding, not covered with vegetation', {TvR} дазыр t'azır, {IS} t'a[~]zır 'land without vegetation, VTt, Nog, Qq, ET taz, Bsh tað, Uz taz 'tetter, scabby', Qzq id., 'bald', Slr taz 'bald-headed man'; T b→Kl {Rm.} tar 'glatzig, kahl, schlecht behaart' ¶ IS AD 41 [#5], Cl. 570 ¶¶ IS AD 50, Rs. W 467, TL 671-2, TrR 212, TvR 143, 408, Hüs. 95, BT 144, BIG 220, TatR 508, MM 327, Nj. 274, UzR 440, Tn. SJ 506, KW 380, ADb. Ttd 58 [#1] (assumes that there may be a neutralization of *t' ↔ *t' in *CV[~]z-roots) || M *taraqay 'bald' > MM [HI] {Lew.} taraxai., {Ms.} taraqai 'bald', [IM] {Pp.} taryai₁ 'balding, bald', [MA] {Pp.} tarayai 'tetter, scab', WrM {Kow., Gl.} taraqai 'galeux, mangy (пелудивый)'; M b→Yk tarayay 'bald, balding' b→Ewk tarayay id. ¶ KW 380, Lew. II 77, Ms. H 99, Pp. MA 341, 447, Kow. 1663, Gl. III 75, STM II 164 || pKo {S} *tali[~]- > NKo ta[~]-məri 'a bald head' ¶ S QK #848, MLC 426 ¶¶ DQA #2352 [A *t'er'o 'bald', *incl.* T, M, Ko] II D (in SD) *tar[~]- ({GS} *t-) 'bald' > Tm tar[~]ai[~] v. 'be(come) bald', Kt tarv- '(head) becomes bald', Td tar[~]- v. 'become bald', tar[~]mad 'bald head', Kn tar[~]at[~]a, tarat[~]a, tarat[~]u 'baldness; bald'; D b→Mrt tart[~]e 'baldness' ¶ D #3145 ♦ D *r[~]- points to a N intervoc.*-r-. T *-r'- is probably from *-ry- < N *-riH- ♦ IS MS 347 лысь t.ar₁, IS SS 318 [#1.19] (A [T, M], D), ≠ BmK 298-300 (an *unc.* attempt to equate FU tara- v. 'open' with roots of other lgs., such as IE *st₁h^{er}- v. 'spread', S √wtr v. 'stretch', Tm ta[~]r[~]- v. 'winnow', M tara- and Sum tar v. 'disperse'; cp. N *t.ar[~]XV 'to throw, disperse, scatter').

2425. *t.ar₁V₁H^u 'delicate, thin' > **IE:** NaIE *ter-, *teru- 'delicate, weak' > Gk τε^oρνν 'smooth, soft, delicate', Gk [Hs.] τε^oρυν · α[~]σ[~]ενε[~]ϋ, λεπτο[~]ν 'weak, delicate' ({F} 'zart, schwach') :: Sbn terenum ntr. 'soft' and possibly L tener 'tender, delicate, soft' (*mt* induced by tenuis 'thin?') ¶ P 1070-1, F II 879, 883, WH II 665, Pln. II 80, 593, 724, ≠ EI 490 II A: NaT *t₁ja[~]r 'narrow (eng, schmal)' (← 'thin') > OT {Cl.}

t'a-r 'narrow, constricted, confined', Tk dar, Tkm da-r, Δ ta-r 'narrow', Az, Ggz, XT dar, ET ta(r), Uz top tar, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk tar, Yk ta-r, tuōr, Xlj {DT} ta-r, Tv t'ar, Tf t'ar 'narrow (eng, schmal)' ¶ IS AD 41 [#13], Cl. 528, Rs. W 463, Rl. III 835-6, Ra. 169, DT 197, ADb. Ttd 61 ¶ D *ta-r_- ({GS} *t-) v. 'be thin\lean' > Ml ta-r_uka v. 'become thin, droop', Kt targ ar'- v. 'become lean' (ar'- v. is 'happen'), Td to-x- v. 'become lean\slender', Kn {Km.} ta-r_u v. 'wither, become emaciated', Tu targod.æ 'leanness', ? tarun.t.u v. 'shrivel', OTl {Km.} ta-r_u v. 'diminish, be reduced', Tl {BE} ta-r_u ~ ta-r_u v. 'fall away in flesh, become lean' ¶¶ D #3192, Km. 388 [#592] ♦ The long vw. in T suggests the presence of some additional element in the √. It was most probably a lr. The loss of the lr. in the NaIE cognate is due to its prevocalic position. D *-r_- (from N intervoc. *-r-) points to a vw. between N *r and *H.. It is quite possible that the etymons *t.fo'r?V '↑' and *t.ar.V.H'u'u are etymologically connected ♦ Blz. SNE 243 [#10] (equates IE *ter- with the S and FU representatives of N *t.fo'r?V '↑'), ≠ BmK 280 (IE *ter-, Eg {Budge} i tr v. 'be weak' [actually tr 'sth. bad, polluted' and try.t 'Schlechtes, Böses', ≠ EG V 317]).

2426. *t.or'Vh'a 'to pass over; through' > IE: [1] IE *terx-/trex- (= *trea- with an a-coloured lr.) v. 'pass over, cross, overcome' > NaIE *tera-/tra- > OI 'tarati, ti'rati 'crosses\passes over, overcomes, surpasses' (pp. tīr'nah., tu'r'tah.), Av tar-, taurv- 'overcome', OPrs viy-a-tarayam 'ich überquerte', Blc tarag 'umwenden', KhS bi-tar- v. 'cross' ¶ L tra-ns 'through' (originally an active prtc. of the verb *tra- v. 'cross, pass over', cp. in-tra- 'enter'), Um TRAF, TRAHAF, tra id., TRAHVORFI 'transverse' ¶ ? OHG derh 'pertusus, perforated' (× N *t.urHE 'to bore, drill') || AnIE: Ht tarh-, tarhu- 'siegen, mächtig sein, können', (with the pc. -za) 'besiegen, bezwingen, überwinden' ¶ [2] NaIE *ter1ə- 'hindurch, über ... weg' > OI {MW} ti'rah. adv. 'across, beyond, over', Av tarə-, tarə- adv. 'seitwärts', OI tiras prep. 'through', Av tarə id., OPrs ta1ra1, Phl tar 'across, through' ¶ OIr tar 'über ... hinaus', W trim-uceint '30' ('a decade over 20'); *trey > OIr (a proclitic with phonetic shortening) tri, tre, OW trui, MW trwy, drwy, OBr trei, tre, MBr, Br, Crn dre 'through', W tra 'extremely, very, over' ¶ Gmc (< *ter-kwe, *tr.-kwe?): Gt þaírh, OHG duruh, MHG, NHG durch, OSx thurh ~ thuru, AS ðurh ~ ðerh 'through', NE through ¶¶ But IE *term- 'boundary-mark, end' [> Gk τερμα, -ατολ 'end, boundary' (> L termen, termo- (gen. termo-nis), terminus 'boundary-mark, limit, boundary' ¶ MHG drum 'Endstück, Ende', Ht tarma- 'Nagel, Pflock, Stift', Lw {Lar.} tarmi- 'clou'] probably does not belong here, as suggested by the absence of the lr. (present in IE *terx- > Ht tarh-) ¶¶ P 1074-6, EI 229 (*terh2- 'bring across, overcome'), Hamp AIEW 150, M K I 480, 503, M E I 629-32, 646-7, Bai. 128, 282, MW 447, WH II 671-2, 700, Bc. G 349, Vn. T 28-9, YGM-1 412, 420, Flr. 319, Fs. 488, Kb. 151, OsS 100, 119, EWA II 604-5, 879-82, Lx. 33, Ho. 364, Ho. S 79, Frd. HW 213, Ts. E III 157-70, 185-9 ¶ ?σ amb K *t.ar- > G {Chx.} t.ar- 'etwas durchführen', v-i-t.ar-eb (ft. ga-v-i-t.ar-e) 'sich mit etw. durchbohren', ga-t.ar- 'carry \ lead \ transport through (some place)' ¶ Chx. 1327-8, DCh. 272, 1215 ¶ The G √ (if a valid cognate) seems to go back to a coalescence of several ancient roots, whence the other meanings of t.ar-: 'führen, bringen, tragen' (× N *t.arV 'to drag, pull'), 'fahren, reiten'. In any case, the meaning 'durchführen, durchbohren' is not due to the px. ga- 'out of' ¶ U: FV *tora-(ksV) 'across (quer)' > pLp {Lr.} *to're's id., 'transversal (querliegend)' > Lp: N {N} doares, S {Hs.} doa'res, L {LLO} ta're's, Kld {SaR} τυρρεσ id. ('querüber') ¶ pMr {Ker.} *tu-rb-ks > Er troks, turks, Mk torks 'through, across' ¶ Chr: L ropem to'res, H {Ep.} τυρυσ 'across', H {Rm.} tores 'die Breite; quer über' ¶ UEW 799, Lr. #1281, Lgc. #7973, Hs. 445, SaR 363, Ker. II 171, Rm. BT 148, MRS 582, Ü 207, Ep. 119 ¶ D *tu-r_- ({GS} *t-) v. 'enter, penetrate (a hole)' (× N *duri 'to go, walk'??) > Tm NA tu-r v. 'enter', Kn tu-r_u v. 'enter, enter a hole as a mouse, go through a hole or eye as a thread, penetrate, pierce', Tl tu-r_u ~ du-r_u to enter, penetrate', Gnd turrv- v. 'thrust into', dorra-na- v. 'penetrate', Ku du-h- v. 'pierce, go ight through', Krx turd- v. 'pass through a narrow aperture, fall through a hole, ooze out', Mlt tuθr-kat_e v. 'pass through a place, pass through (as an arrow)' ¶¶ D #3399(a) ¶ HS: AdS of Dhl {EEN} t.a-r- v. 'pierce, spear' [< N *tu'Ri 'to pierce'] ¶ E SC 169 [#7], EEN 8 ♦ IS MS 357 (*tura 'протыкат'), IS SS 321 (in both papers A is equated with D) ♦ The N lrs.\uvulars yielding Ht h are *h, *χ, *γ, *g and *q. If both the K and the Ht cognates are valid, the only possible lr. is *h (that yields zero in K), and subsequently D *-r_- (the reg. reflex of the N intervocalic *-r-) points to the presence of a vw. after *-r- ♦ ≠ Gr. II #124 (*teru 'edge') [IE {WP, P} *ter-mn. 'Grenzpfahl' (obviously derived from *ter- 'hinübergelangen' ¶ P 1074-5) ÷ err. FU *tera- 'cutting edge' and A *terpo 'big cutting instrument' ÷ J and Gil].

2427. ?? ***t.urHE** 'to bore, drill' > **IE** *terh⁻/*treh⁻ - id. > **NaIE** *terə/*tre⁻ - id. > **Gk** τίτρημι, τίτρω, τεραινω 'bore through, perforate', ft. τρησω; τρητοϝ 'perforated, with a hole in it', τρημα 'hole', τρεω 'bore through, pierce', aor. ἔτορε id., τορμω 'hole' || *exts.* : [1] *truH-p- > **Gk** τρυπαω 'bore, pierce through', τρυπη 'hole'; [2] ? **pGmc** *θr-el- > **MLG**, **MHG**, **NHG** drillen 'bohren, quälen'; [3] ? **OHG** derh 'pertusus, perforated' ¶ P 1071-4, F II 885, 937, **EWA** II 604-5, **KM** 143 **II D**: *tura ({{GS}} *t-) v. 'bore, drill' > **Tm** tura v. 'tunnel, bore', **turuu** v. 'bore, drill', **Kn** turi, **turuu** v. 'hollow, bore, drill', **Tu** turipini, **turipuni**, **turupuni** v. 'bore, perforate', **Kui** trupka (< *truk-p-) v. 'bore, pierce', **Krx** tu⁻r- v. 'pierce through, perforate' ¶¶ D #3339 ♦ *Qu.* for two reasons: (1) the root is represented in two daughter-families only, (2) it is hard to be distinguished from para- and homonymic roots with rather similar meanings. An alt. tentative comparison: **OHG** derh (< **IE** *tVrk^h?) ÷ **S**: **Ar** t₁arq 'coup', √t₁r_q *G* 'frapper' (**BK** II 75-7).

2428. ***t.ar₁V₁yi** 'to rub' > **HS**: **S** *^o√t₁rr ~ (?) *^o√t₁ry > **Ar** √t₁rr v. *G* 'whet'; ? **Ak** t₁eru^h 'einreiben, massieren; tief eindringen'; this verb belongs here only if the primary meaning is 'to rub in' rather than 'tief eindringen' ¶ **Sd.** 1388, **BK** II 64 **II IE**: **NaIE** *teri/*trei⁻ ~ *ter- v. 'rub' > **Gk** τειρω v. 'rub hard', τριβω v. 'rub' || **L** tero⁻, -e⁻re (pfc. trīvi, sup. tritum) 'rub, wear away' || **Cl**: **Br**tt {RE} *tera⁻wimi 'rub' > **OBr** toreusit (3s p. of *torau⁻), **Br** taravat 'rub', ?**σ** **MW** tereu (3s tery), **W** taro v. 'hit' || **Sl** *ter-ti / 1s prs. *t₁r-o₁ v. 'rub' > **ChS** трѣти tre⁻ti / тѣрѣ тѣр-о₁, **R** те'перѣ / тры, **P** trzec' / tre⁻id., **OCz** trīeti, **Cz** trī'ti / tru ~ tr^u, **SCr** trōti / tre⁻m ~ taθre⁻m! **Lt** tri⁻nti / trinu⁻, **Ltv** tri⁻t / trinu ~ trinu v. 'rub' || *treu₁H₁- 'rub, rub down' > **Gk** τρυω 'rub out, wear out' || **ChS** {Mikl., Srz.} трѣти triti 'τριβειν, rub' ¶ P 1071-2 (does not distinguish this √ from **IE** *terə- v. 'bour, drill' < **N** ?? ***t.urHE** 'to bore, drill'), **EI** 490 [*ter(i)- 'rub, turn', *treu₁(H)- 'rub away, wear away'], **F** II 865, **WH** II 472-3, **RE** 124, **Frn.** 1124-5, **Vs.** IV 47, **Glh.** 641, **Mikl.** L 1008, **Srz.** III 1015 **II A** *t^harV- v. 'scratch' > **T** *t₁'jara- v. 'comb, rake' > **OT** {Cl.} tara- v. 'comb (the hair, etc.)', **Osm** {Rh.} æM^r6 tara-(maq) v. 'comb, hackle, rake, harrow', **Tk** tara- vt. 'comb, hackle, card, rake', **Ggz**, **Qrg**, **QK** tara-, **Az**, **XT** dara- v. 'comb, rake', **Tkm** dara-, **VTt**, **Bsh**, **Qmq**, **Nog**, **Qq** tara-, **Tv**, **Tf** {Adb.} t^hira-, **Chv** L typa- tura- v. 'comb, hackle', **Qzq**, **Kr**, **StAlt**, **Uz**, **Xk** tara-, **Slr** X {Tn.} t^hara⁻, **ET** tari-, **Yk** tara⁻ v. 'comb', **Slr** Ul t^harr- vt. 'rake (убират^o грабл^oми)'; > *t₁'jargak 'a comb, a hackle' (**Cl.**: ← 'constantly combing') > **OT/MQp** {Cl.} taraq, **Chg** {Cl.} taray ~ taraq, **MT** xiv [IM] taraq ~ daraq, **OXwT** taryaq, **ET** taryaq ~ tayaq, **StAlt** taraq, **Yk** tara⁻χ 'a comb', **Osm** {Rh.} æ^r6 taraq 'a comb, a rake, a hackle', **Tk** tarak 'a comb, a rake', **Ggz** tarak, **Az** дараг darag, **Tkm** daraq, **VTt**, **Bsh**, **Nog**, **Qq**, **QK** taraq, **Kr** taraq^d taray^d tarak, **Chv** L typa tura 'a comb, a hackle', **Qmq** taraq id., 'harrow', ?**σ** **Az** Nx taray, **Slr** A t^haray 'wooden comb', **Qzq** taraq, **Qmn** taraq ~ daraq, **Uz** taraq, **Xk** taryay, **Tv**, **Tf** t^hiray 'a comb', **Qrg** taraq 'weitzähniger Kamm', at taraq 'horse-comb', **Yk** tara⁻χ n. 'comb, harrow'; (× *t^hirmaq 'harrow'): **ET** tarmaq n. 'harrow' (× tarmaq 'twig'), **Xk** tarbas-ta- v. 'harrow; rake (hay)' ¶ The vw. *-r- in **Tv** and **Tf** is due to the infl. of the reflexes of **T** *tir^haq 'fingernail, claw' (> **Tv**, **Tf** t^hiray id.) ¶ In some lgs. there may have been mutual infl. of this root and **pT** *t₁'jara- v. 'seed, till (the soil)' ¶ **IS** AD 41 [#19], **Cl.** 532, 539, **TL** 465-8, **Rl.** III 837, **Rh.** 1235, **TrR** 827-8, **GRMS** 459, **Hüs.** 98, **AzDDL** 372, **TkR** 246, **Tn.** SJ 502, **Ra.** 179, **TvR** 194-5, **TatR** 517-8, **BR** 507-8, **KumRS** 305, **KRPS** 514, **MM** 333, **NogR** 335, **Jud.** 706, **BT** 122, **B** DLT 202, **B** DK 251, **UzR** 407-9, **BIG** 218, **Nj.** 273-4, 278, **Pek.** 2564-8, **Jeg.** 259, **Fed.** II 250-1, **Adb.** Ttd 63 [#19] (believes that t- in **Tk** tara- is due to the infl. of tarak and reconstructs the verb as *t^hara-) || **M** *tarmu- d^h v. 'rake, (←) to scratch' > **WrM** tarmu- {Kow.} 'entasser le foin en râtelant', {MED} 'to rake (as hay)', **HIM**, **Br**t тарма- id., **Kl** Ö {Rm.} tarmā- 'kratzen, zusammenraffen' ¶ **MED** 781, **KW** 381, **Gl.** III 87 ('сребѣт^o, рѣстѣ'), **Chr.** 415, **Kow.** 1681 **II D**: [1] **D** *tar- ({{GS}} *t-) v. 'rub two pieces of wood for fire, (→) to churn (as buttermilk)' > **OTl** tar(u)cu, **traccu** id., **Tl** tari- adj. 'pertaining to churning', **Prj** terib-/terit- v. 'churn' ¶¶ **D** #3095, **Km.** 378 [#541] [2] (in **SD**) *tar⁻ ({{GS}} *t-) v. 'rub, abrade, wear away' > **MI** tarayuka, **Kn** tal^e v. 'be worn out, rubbed (as a rope)', **MI** tarekka v. 'rub down, grind (as sandal)', **Tu** tarepuni v. 'grind, rub', **tareyuni**, **tarevuni** v. 'be rubbed off, abrade, wear away', Δ tal^epun'a v. 'rub' ¶ **D** #3114 ¶¶ The origin of *-r- of the latter **D** √ and the relation between both **D** roots is still obscure ♦ **IS** MS 368 (*t₁ar^h 'rub' > **IE**, **A** [M, T], **D**, **S**) → **BmK** 279 (**IE**, **D** + i ÷ **Sum** tar v. 'be distressed, troubled') and 300 (**D**- **A**).

2429. **aa** ? ***t.ir₁y₁V** 'to turn, bend, twist' (tr.) > **HS**: **B** *√d₁rn (× **N** ***t.ur^hi** 'to turn round, surround, enclose') > **Ah**, **ETwl**, **Ty** æd₁rən '(se) tourner, changer de direction; tordre', **Fgg** d₁rən 'renverser', **Gd**

əd.rən id., 'retourner', Wrg əd.rən 'retourner, se retourner sens dessus dessous; virer, renverser, Mz əd.rən '(se) tourner, changer de direction', Izd mɔ.ər.r.a 'se retourner' ¶ Fc. 285, GhA 33, Lf. II #0357, Dlh. Ou 67, Dlh. M 41, NZ 487-9 || ??σ S: Ar √t.ryn (pf. t.aryana) 'être mêlé, brouillé, être en confusion; être troublé' ¶ BK II 80 || ? C: Ag: Bln {R} terir- 'sich drehen' || ? ECh (partially × N *t.ur'i 't'): EDng {Fd.} tu'ru' 'palissade en paille tressée (entourant l'enclos familial)', Jg {J} tork 'Zaun' / pl. torage (≡ R πλετεν 'wattle-fence' <д плести 'plait, wattle'), Mgm {JA} to'ro'ko' 'clôture de la case', as well as possibly Bdy {AlJ} ti'po' (pl. ti'ra'p) '∈ palissade' and Mgm {JA} ti'po' (pl. té're'ppi) 'clôture, haie' ¶ J J 117, J LM 188, JA 130, Fd. 172, AlJ 120 II K: G {Chx.} t.rial- 'sich (im Kreis) drehen', t.rial-i 'Drehung, Umdrehung' ¶ Chx. 1362-6, DCh. 1226 II IE *ter-, *ter-kw- 'turn (round): [1] *ter- > Gk κυκλο-τερη' 'made round by turning', το'ρνο' 'carpenter's tool for drawing a circle' (-b> L tornus id. -d> L torna- 'turn in a lathe, make round' > LtL torna- v. 'turn') || L teres, -etis 'rounded, well-turned, {WH} 'länglichrund, glattrund' (× IE *ter- 'reiben' through the semantic interpretation of the word as 'glattgerieben'? - ƒ P 1071) || OSx thra'ian, OHG dra'en, NHG drehen, MDt draeyen, Dt draaien 'to turn, rotate', AS ðra'wan 'to twist' || Clt: W, Crn, Br tro n. 'turn', -d>: W troi, OBr tro(u)-im, MBr treiff, troeiff, Br trein v. 'turn' || [2] *ter-kw- > L torque- vt. 'twist, wind, wrench' || Gk ὀτρυνω 'spindle' || OI tar'kuh id., nis-t.ar'kya- 'aufdrehbar' (√tark- 'drehen') || AS ðræ'stan 'turn, twist, writhe' || Pru tarkue 'Riemen zum Binden am Pferdegeschirr' || Sl *torkъ > OR торокъ torokъ, R, Uk торок 'strap behind the saddle for fastening load', SCr, Sln tra'k 'strip, ribbon, strap', Blg t'apak, Cz t', Slk trak 'strap', P troki 'straps' || pAl {O} *terka > Al tjerr (aor. 'torra), Al {Kf.} tierr ~ tier ~ tir (aor. tora) v. 'spin' || Tc B ta'rk- 'twist around' || ?σ Ht tarku- v. 'dance' [if ← vi. 'turn, se tourner', as suggested by Bn., rather than akin to Gk τρε'γω 'run', as supposed by Lar.] ¶ P 1071-2, EI 572 [*terk(w)- 'twist'], F I 180 & II 44, 913-4, WH II 670, 692-4, RE 141 (Brtt *trogimi 'turn'), Kb. 164, EWA II 747-50, Ho. 368, Ho. S 78, Vr. N 131, M K I 485, M E I 633, Tr. 314, En. 263, Vs. IV 85, Srz. III 982, Glh. 635, Ma. CS 533, O 457, Kf. 355, Ç II 184-5, 470, Wn. 503, Ad. 294-5, Ts. E III 178-80, Bn. HI 125 II A *t'ir... 'elbow' > T {Md.} *t'ir's(g)ek ~ (× *t'ir' 'knee') t'ir'se 'elbow' > NaT *t'irsga'k 'elbow' > OT {Cl.} tirsag'k d {ADb.} tirsak, MQp tirsak ~ dirsa'k, XwT, Chg tirsak, Tkm tirθek, Nog, Qq, Qmq tirsek, ET Δ tirsak, Uz tirsak, VTt tirsak, Bsh tırha'k, Tk dirsek, Ggz dirsek, XT di'rsek, Xlj {DT} t'irsa'k, Az dirsa'k 'elbow', Az Qb dirsa'k 'camel's hump', Slr tu'ssa'x ~ tu'ssax 'elbow, knee', Qzq t'pcek ti'rsek {MM} 'shin', {TL} 'knee, inner side of the knee', Kü tirsak 'Kniekehle', Qrg tirsek 'achilles tendon (tendo calcaneus)', Xk tirsek 'knee of the hind leg'; [× NaT *t'iz (< *t'u'r' 'knee' < N *t.u'hr'v 'shin, knee')]: Tv t'iskek, Tf {Md.} tiskek 'knee' || Chv c'avsa d c'avsavay d c'asa 'elbow' [{Md.} < T *t'ir'se] (on the phonetic prehistory of c'avsa cf. ADb. SR 166; it may be connected with pT ascending diphthongs, see above Introduction, § 2.4.1) ¶ T {Md.} *t'ir's(g)ek with *r (rather than *r' because of the precon. position (Hl.'s rule) ¶ Cl. 553, Rs. W 481, TL 247-9, ADb. SR 47, 165-9, 198-9, Sht. 210, Hüs. 110, AzDDL 192, MM 362, Jud. 738, DT 205, Tn. SJ 527, KumRS 317, Rl. III 1377, Ash. XV 125, 160, Md. 77, 83, 179, ¶ Jeg. 362 || Tg: [1] acc. to ADb., Tg *tija-ki 'muscles of the forearm (antebrachium) and shin' > Ewk *tijaki d cijaki 'calf (sura), muscle of the calf', Lm tujtu 'muscle, biceps; calf (sura)', Orc tiž'aki 'calves of the legs', Ud tež'a'zi, Ul c'iz'a-pan, Nn Nh c'iz'aki 'calf (sura)' ¶ STM II 176 || [2] ? Tg *c'irak (< **tirak) 'span' > Ewk c'irak id. ('ἄρκος') ¶ STM II 399 ¶¶ ADb. SR 311 II D {Pf.} *t'ir- / *tir-v ({"GS} *t-) > Tm tiri v. 'turn, revolve, be twisted', Ml tiri 'a turn, twist, wick', tiriyuka v. 'turn round', Kt tiry- v. 'change in nature for the worst', tirg- vi. 'turn, return', Td tiry- vt. 'twist', tiry- vi. 'turn', Kn tiri v. 'turn round', Kdg tir- id., Tu tirnguni v. 'turn, revert, revolve', Tl tiri 'a twist, turn', Klm, Nkr tirg- vi. 'turn, wander', Png tirk- v. 'writhe', Gnd tiri- v. 'revolve', Knd tiri- v. 'be twisted', Ku tir'vali v. 'turn round', Krx tir- v. 'turn on one's heels', terəm- v. 'roll up' ¶¶ D #3246, Pf. 32 [#153] ¶¶ D *-r- (rather than *-r-) points to an ancient cns. cluster, e.g. *-ry- (as suggested by Ar and K).

2430. *t.Uryv 'litter, dirt, dust' > HS: S *o√t.rym 'spoiled water' > Ar √t.rym 'être gâtée, puante (eau)' || Ch: WCh: pNrBc {Stl.} *t.'Vr- 'dirt' > My {Sk.} ti'ri', Kry {Sk.} tu'ru' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} t'z'rwá, Ll {Grgs.} ti'rwe' id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 253 [#71], Sk. NB 18, Eb. 98 || SC: Irq {MQK} te'ri, {E} teri 'dust', SC -b> Mb ite'ri 'dust' ¶ E SC 170, MQK 100 II? K *m-t.wer- 'dust' > OG mt.uer- 'dust, ashes', G mt.ver- 'dust, whirlwind of dust', Mg t.ver- 'dust', Lz mt.ver- 'dust, ashes', ? Sv {K ← ?} t.wi- 'earth' ¶¶ K² 126, FS 223, E 244-5, ¶ K 138 II A: Tg: WrMc toron {Z} 'dust (raised by the wind, or by walking people,

animals, vehicles)', {Hr.} 'aufgewirbelter Staub' ¶ Z 743, Hr. 918 II? IE: NaIE *(s)ter- 'unreine Flüssigkeit, Mist; besudeln; verwesen' (× N ***r̥c**·**ruRV** 'to soil, stain, dirty' [q.v. ffd.] and possibly ***c**·**i****rkV** 'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' [q.v.]) II D *tur-, *tur-k- ({GS} *-t-) 'rubbish, bits of straw' (× ***t**·**ox****quryV** – ***t**·**Ux****qrV** 'dirt, be dirty') > Tm turumpu 'bits of straw, refuse stalks as of sugar-cane', tura¹ 'rubbish of dry leaves', Ml turumpu 'straw, awn', Tu turumbu 'chaff, {BhK} 'chaff and waste', Tl tukku, tukku^u, Prj turri, Knd turⁱ 'rubbish', Gdb tur 'weed, grass', Gnd tog 'dust, rubbish', Kui turki 'refuse heap, manure', Ku truki^d turki 'refuse' ¶¶ D #3346 ◇K² 126 equates GZ *mt.wer- 'dust, whirlwind of dust' with IE *twer-/tur- 'to turn, whirl' (P 1100).

2431. ? ***t**·**u**·**ryV** – ***t**·**uryE** or ***t**·**u**·**rV** – ***t**·**urE** 'row, line; to string' > HS: [1] S ***t**·**u**·**r**–***t**·**urr**–***t**·**awr**– 'row, (?) band' > BHb ruy t^ur 'row (of building-stones, of jewels, etc.)', Ak t^urru 'Band, Knoten', ? Ar t^uawr- 'a time (vicis, fois)' (t^uawran ba¹da t^uawrin 'une fois après l'autre'), ? Mh/Hrs t^uawr 'a time, once', ? Mh m³nt^uawr 'sometimes', BHb Mir^uy ~ Mir^y8 t^u·**r**·**im** 'course, row' (× N ***t**·**ur**ⁱ 'to turn round, surround' [q.v.]) ¶¶ [2] with de-emphatization: S *turr- 'a string; turn, order' > BHb r⁷T ~ r&T to^r (pl. Mir⁷T to^rim, pl. cs. ir&T to^rre^u) 'string (of pearls, of pieces of gold\silver)', 'row', MHb r&T to^r 'rope' ({Dlm.} 'Schnur, Seil'), 'turn, order', Ug tr {KB ← DL} 'Band' (tr²ars. w s^umm 'Band der Erde und des Himmels'), {OLS} 'timón, tiro (de carro)', JA [Trg.] ar!&T to^r·**a** 'rope', {Lv.} 'geflochtenes Seil', JEA ar!&T to^r·**a** 'line, row', Ak turru 'Band, Knoten'; BHb *tⁱra^u (attested cs. tr@iy⁵) 'encampment protected by a stone wall, row of stones (along the wall); wall coping, battlement' ¶ KB 357-8, 1575, KBR 373-4, GB 275, 874, A #2800, DLS KTU 16 III 2, OLS 470-1, Dlm. 440, Js. 1656, Lv. T II 533, Sl. 1199, BDB #2905, BK II 118, Jo. M 413, Jo. H 131, Sd. 1397 (hyp.: Ak t^urru ~ turru Sum, but the opposite direction of the borrowing is more plausible) II IE [1] NaIE *^otwerya^u > Gk σείρα', Gk Ep/I σείρη', Gk D σήρα' 'cord, rope, string, band' (? × IE *twer- v. 'create, produce by plaiting, lay [a rope]' < N ***t**·**or**ⁱ·**i**–***t**·**or**^y**E** 'bring\come into existence [create, make]' [q.v.]) ¶ [2] NaIE *^oster- 'stripe' (→ 'ray') > Ltv Δ {ME} stars 'schmaler Streifen; quer ausstehender Ast', Ltv star-s ' (sun)ray, ray of light', biks^u stara 'trouser-leg', Δ {ME} stara 'Strich, Strecke; Ast, Zinke' ¶ Pokorny adduces Sl *stre^ula 'arrow' and other (mainly Gmc) words representing IE *stre^ul-, *stre^um-, *streyb-, etc. and meaning 'arrow, 'ray', 'stripe', which is highly *qu*. ¶ F II 687, ≠ P 1101, P 1028-9, ME III 1045, 1047, Kar. II 286-7 (does not indicate any plausible cognates of Ltv stars, stara within IE) II ?? ¶ ***t**u^r·**rV** – ***t**ur^E > T ***t**u^r·**r**–***t**ir^u– vt. 'string, thread (a needle)' > OT tiz- v. 'string (beads), arrange in a row', Chg ≥xv tiz- ~ tu^z- id., MQp xv tiz- 'ua⁷ana (arrange in order?)', Tk du^z- 'arrange', diz- vt. 'string', Az du^z-, CrTt, Qry, Nog tiz-, Qzq τ³- ti^z-, Alt tis-, Xk tis- ~ c^uis-, Ln tez- ~ tu^z-, Tv дис- tⁱs-, Tf tⁱs- v. 'string', Tkm du^z- id., 'fix (meat) upon a spit', Yk tis- v. 'thread a needle', Chv tir- id., 'string', Qmq tu^z- 'arrange in a row', VTt теэ- тьэ-, Bsh тьэ-, ET, Uz tiz- id., v. 'string' ¶ Cl. 572, DTS 564, IS AD 39, ET VGD 218-20, Ra. 173, Jeg. 252, Rs. W 482, Ash. XIV 62-3, Jeg. 252, Fed. II 235, BIG 319, ADb. Ttd 59 [#6] ¶¶ All proposed inter-Altaic comparisons of this T root [with MKo crr-ta 'go the direct way' (S AJ 13, DQA #247), M *cir- 'straight' (DQA #247) and M *du^u·**ru**·- 'put\stick into, insert' (IS AD 47)] are semantically unreliable. The loss of tenseness in the T initial cns. (***t**·- for the expected ***t**·-) is still puzzling [infl. of some other root (e.g. N ***tu**·**Ri** 'to pierce', whence 'to thread a needle')?] ◇ *Qu*. because the T^u is ambiguous and both IE recs. are based on one attested lge. each.

¶+ **2432.** 2 ***t**·**VR**₁**V**₂**bV** 'inside of the body, belly' > HS: S *^utrb > Ar tarīb- 'chest' ({Ln.} 'uppermost part of the human breast'), 'bone of the breast', Aram (× S *^oVrb- > Ar {Ln.} θarb-, {Hv.} θirb- 'fat of the intestines'): JA {Trg.} br@T6 tā'rab^u ~ bir4T6 tā're^ub^u / aB1r^T2 tar'ba^u, JEA aB1r^T2 tar'ba^u, Sr 'jo@ca tar'ba^u 'abdominal fat' ¶ Ln. 301, 334, BK I 195, Hv. 68, Js. 1694, Lv. T II 557, Sl. 1230-1, Br. 833-4 II IE: NaIE *^oterb^h₁· > Sl *terb-/trb^u· > Uk ⚡тереб, Scr tr'ba 'belly', SCR tr'bonja 'a pot-bellied person'; (with the sx. *-ухъ ~ *уха): Sl *trьбухъ 'intestines (esp. as food)' > RChS тревухъ trebuxъ, Blg тьрѣбух, Sln tre^u·buh, Cz terboch, P trybuch, terbuch, R трѣбуѣха, Uk триѣбух id., SCR tr^u·buh id., 'belly', R трѣбух 'glutton' ¶ Vs. IV 96, Glh. 637.]

2432. ***t**·**iRga** 'force, strength, effort' > HS: S *^otrg (de-emphatization ***t**· > ***t**) > Ar ΔyriTa tarīg^u- 'violent, fort (vent)', 'fort, robuste (homme)' ¶ Fr. I 188, BK I 195 II IE: NaIE *treg- v. 'be strong, apply force\violence' (for **treg^h- due to the pre-IE incompatibility law ruling out emph. + vd. cns. in the same √) > OIr tracht 'force, Stärke', treⁿ (< *treg-s-no) 'strong', W trech 'stronger', Br trec^h 'winner' ¶ ON {Vr.} þrekr, þrek 'Kraft, Stärke, Ausdauer', þreka 'drängen, drücken', AS {Ho.} ðre^uce 'violence', ðracu

'pressure, force, violence', OSx wa⁻pan-thre'ki {Ho.} 'Kraft', {P} Waffentüchtigkeit' || Ltv {ME} treksne 'Schlag, Stoß' ¶ WP I 755, P 1090, Vn. T 121, 235-6, Vr. 620, ME IV 230, Ho. 367-9, Sw. 183, Ho. S 78-9, 83 || U: FU (att. in ObU) *^oti₁rV > pObU {Ht.} *tīr □ 'force, violence' > pVg *tīr > Vg: N {Ht. after Mu.} te⁻re'ŋ 'ero's, kraftig', te⁻rp id., P {MK} te⁻riŋ, K {MK} te⁻re'ŋ 'flink, schnell, wild' (Vg K te⁻re'ŋ vuot 'ein heftiger Wind', te⁻re'ŋ lu⁻ 'ein flinkes Pferd'), LK/MK {Ht. after Kn.} te⁻rnəŋ e⁻ri 'Kriegslied', MK {WVD} te⁻e⁻r ({Kn.} te⁻e⁻r) 'spirit' (esp. 'spirit of illness'); pOs *ta⁻rən 'evil spirit' > Os: V/Vy ta⁻rən, Ty/D/K/O ta⁻rən, Nz/Kz tarən id. ¶ Ht. 189 [#643], MK 642, WVD VII 380 || ? A *t'igirV (mt from N *t.iRga?) [or *^ot₁'ir(a)?] 'strong, firm' > M *civirag 'strong, firm' > WrM cigirag ~ cigireg, HlM чийрүг, Brt шираг 'strong, robust, powerful', Ord {Ms.} c'iraq 'solide de corps', Mnr H {T} c'irag 'strong, firm', {SM} c'irag₋ 'serré, qui ne lâche pas, sévère' ¶ MED 179, T 380, SM 456.

2433. □ *t.URga 'extend, stretch, hold' > HS: S *^o/tgr > Ar rjT /tg⁻r vt. D 'extend, enlarge' || IE: NaIE *derg^h- 'hold', {EI} 'grasp' > YAv drag- (prs. draz'aite, inf. dra⁻j'anghe) v. 'hold, lead', KhS dr₁js- 'hold' || Gk δρα⁻σσομαι (ft. δρα⁻ξομαι, pfc. δε⁻δραγμαi), G A δρα⁻ττομαι 'grasp, lay hold of' || Sl *dъrz'a⁻ti 'to hold' > OCS дръжати drъz⁻ati, SCR dr⁻z⁻ati, Sln drz'a⁻ti, Cz drz⁻eti, Slk drz⁻at', P † dzierz'ec', R дер⁻жати id., Blg дър⁻жа I hold' || Arm trçak tɛçak 'bundle (of brushwood, etc.)' (< dorg^h-so-) ¶ EI 564 (? *derg^h-), Brtl. 771, Bai. 164, □ F I 415, Bern. 258, □ P 254, □ ESSJ V 230-1, □ Glh. 207, Xud. II 456 || A: Tg *torga- 'to prop up, stretch; a prop' > Ewk turga-, Neg toyga-, Ork tu(d)da- vt. 'prop up', Nn toyga- id., 'draw a hunting cross-bow', Lm turg⁻- vt. 'stretch (sth.), stretch a hide for drying', Ewk turga, Neg, Nn Nh toyga, Ul d⁻ tu⁻z⁻aqv 'a prop', Ud tuga, Nn Nh toyga 'hunting cross-bow' ¶ STM II 218-9 ¶ Cf. N *t.erVK.U '(ε) tree, stick' ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2392 (Tg *turga- < A *t'i₁or(ge) 'beam, support') ◇ IE *d...g^h for *t...g^h by the pre-IE incompatibility law (ruling out emph. cns. + vd. in one root) ◇ ≠ S NSShS #4 (Tg *turga- < A *t'i₁o(ge) 'beam, support' equated with K *dwire 'log, beam' and IE *derw- 'tree').

2434. *t.erVK.U '(ε) tree, stick' > HS mt : WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ta⁻ka⁻rwa⁻ 'long bamboo pole' ¶ Sch. DN 155 ¶¶ OS #2361 || U: FU {UEW} *tErkkV 'pine-tree' (ε?), {Coll.} te⁻rkV 'young fir-tree, pine-tree' > Chr: L tьpke 'young pine-tree', B tьpke 'Fichte' || ObU *te⁻rəŋ / *te⁻γər 'pine-tree' > pVg *ta⁻rəŋ > Vg: T ta⁻rəw, LK/UK ta⁻rī (pl. ta⁻rəwət), P ta⁻-riy, NV/SV/LL/ML ta⁻-ri, UL/Ss tariv id.; pOs *teγər ({ϕHL.} *ta⁻-γər) > Os: K/Kr/Sg texər id. ¶ UEW 540, Coll. 119, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *tirka⁻, Ugr *tīrka⁻ 'fir'), Ht. #648, MRS 617, Ü 221 || A *t'erV⁻k- □ 'tree' > NaT *t'era⁻k 'poplar, tree' > OT {Cl.} tera⁻-k 'poplar', Tkm derek, Qq, Alt terek, VTt tira⁻-k, Uz terak, ET tera⁻-k, Shor, Tv t'erek, Xk, Chv tirek id., Qzq, Qrg terek id., 'tree', Bsh tira⁻-k 'black poplar', CrTt, QrB, Qmq, Nog terek, Qry t'er⁻ak^d terak^d terek 'tree', Tk direk, Ggz direk, Az dira⁻-k 'pole, post, pillar', Yk tira⁻-x - ta⁻-ra⁻-x 'poplar', Δ tira⁻-x 'aspen; fir (Abies)' ¶ Cl. 543, Rs. W 475, ET VGD 205-7, TL 105, 134, S AJ 194 [#203], KumRS 312, NogR 346, KrkR 636, Sht. 199, Nj. 343, UzR 425, BR 528, BT 148, Ml. ZhU 118, Pek. 2679, Jeg. 252-3, Fed. II 235, TvR 412 || Tg: WrMc terki(n) {Z} 'dais, platform, porch', {Hr.} 'Plattform, auf der die Halle steht; Freitreppe' [x < d terki '(hin)über-/ (hin)aufspringen']; Mc b> Dg {T} terkin, {Pp.} terki⁻ŋ 'dais, platform, stage' ¶ Z 730, Hr. 904, T DgJ 167 ¶¶ Tg *turga- 'to support, stretch; a prop' hardly belongs here (⇔ DQA) for phonetic reasons and because its primary meaning is likely to be verbal [otherwise one cannot account for the meanings like Lm turg⁻- vt. 'stretch, stretch hide for drying', Nn toyga- 'to support, draw a hunting cross-bow', etc., see N *t.URga 'extend, stretch, hold'] ¶¶ □ DQA #2392 *t'i₁or(ge) 'support. beam', SDM97 (A *t'o⁻r(ge) id. and *terV 'poplar, tree') ◇ □ S AJ 289 [#312] (A, IE).

2435. □□ *t.larV₁P₁V₁ ~ *t.lVP₁V₁rV 'to tie together' > HS: S *^o/tpr v. 'sew together' > BHB √tpr G id., JEA, JPA √tpr G 'sew' ¶ KB 1637, Js. 1689, Sl. 1226, Sl. P 588 || WCh: Ngz ti⁻r...fu⁻ v. 'hobble, fetter' ¶ Sch. DN 153 || ?? Ch √tr 'plait, sew' (x N *t.or'i⁻ ~ *t.or'yE⁻ 'to bring\come into existence (create, make), q.v. ffd.) || ?ϕ EC: Sa/Af {R} √trtr v. 'sew' [Sa also 'sew together'] (p. 3m i-tirtira, prs. Sa a-tirtira, imv. etir⁻tir, sbjn. Sa a-tar⁻taro⁻, Af a-tar⁻taru⁻) [x N *t.or'i⁻ ~ *t.or'yE⁻ '↑?'] ¶ R S II 358, R A III 118, Clz. 134 || IE: Ht {Ts.} tarupp- 'sammeln, versammeln, zusammenflechten' ¶ Frd. HW 217, Ts. E III 240-4 || ?ϕ,σ D *ta⁻r₁lV₁l₁- ({GS} *t-, *-d₁-) > Tl tra⁻d₁u 'cord, rope, thread', Klm ta⁻d₁ 'rope', Nkr tar⁻ id. ¶¶ D #3256 (connects it with Tm carat₁u 'twisted thread', Ml carat₁u 'cord' and Kt card₁ 'flat neckband') || ?ϕ A *^ot'ara- > Tg *tara- v. 'tie together' > Ewk tara⁻ 'tie together (pieces of cloth, лоскуты)', Ul taragu₋ id., tarac₁u₋ 'tie\stitch together' ¶ STM II 167.

2436. *t.e'RPV 'to devour (?), be sated' (→ 'to enjoy') > HS: S: [1] CS *√t.rp v. 'devour' (x S *√t.rp 'tear, strike' > Sr, JA, Md √t.rp id.) > BHB √t.rp G (pf. t.a⁻rap₁, ip. -t.rop₁) v. 'devour, tear (its

prey - of wild beasts)', JPA $\sqrt{t.rp}$ *G* id., BHb $\sqrt{t.rp}$ *Sh* (pf. Fir%y6e5 hit.'rĭp_) v. 'make enjoy', Ar $\sqrt{t.rf}$ *G* (pf. t.arifa) 'dévorer les bords\les extrémités' (se dit d'un chameau) [$\times$ *d* of t.arf- ~ t.araf- 'bord, extrémité'] ¶ KB 363-4, Js. 555-6, BK II 72, DM 182, Br. 290, JPS 172 [2] with de-emphatization: S * $\sqrt{trp}$ > Ar $\sqrt{trf}$ *G* 'jouir du bien-être, vivre au sein de l'aisance et des délices' ¶ BK I 197 II K * $\sqrt{t.rp}$ > *G* t.rp-(oba) {DCh.} v. 'admire, be glad', {Chx., NCh.} v. 'love' ¶ DCh. 1227, Chx. 1368, NCh. 380 II IE: NaIE *terp-/tr.p-/trep- v. 'be sated, rejoice', {EI} id., 'take (to oneself)' > OI tarp-: 'tr.pyati 'satisfies himself, becomes sated, is pleased with', Av pra.f(ə)da 'befriedigt\ausreichend versehen', pra.fs 'Zufriedenheit', ??σ: OI pas'u-'tr.p- 'cattle-stealing', Av trəfay- ~ tarəp- 'steal' ¶ Gk τε'ρομαι v. 'have full enjoyment of a thing, have enough of it; enjoy', τε'ρω v. 'satisfy' ¶ ? Blt: Pru en-terpo 'nützt', en-terpon 'useful', Lt tar-pti 'to thrive', {Frn.} 'gedeihen, gesund werden', Ltv ta-rpa, te-rpa 'Kraft' ¶ Tc A, B tsa-rw- 'be confident, rejoice' ¶ P 1077-8, EI 500, Mn. 1387, M K I 524, M E I 634-5, MW 453, F II 881-2, Frn. 1062-3, En. 169, Ad. 731-2 II ? U: FP *terV v. 'feed' > Er/Mk t'r'a-, t'ir'a-, Er tir'a- 'ernähren' ¶ Prm *ter- > Z LL t3rs'i- v. 'eat' ¶ UEW 795, LG 284 ¶ The FU $\sqrt{}$ belongs here if the change from N *-rP- to F -r- is reg. ♦ AD GD 15, IS SS #1.13, IS MS 370 (*t.arpā 'pleasure' > IE, S, K), ≠ BmK 302 (equates the K and S roots with IE *drep-/drop- v. 'scratch, pluck, tear') and 278-9 (the IE $\sqrt{}$ is equated with S * $\sqrt{trp}$ v. 'remain, be left' [with a later *sd* in Ar $\sqrt{trf}$ 'live in opulence']; the comparison is *err.* because the meaning 'live in opulence' is not the basic one in the S $\sqrt{}$ - cp. Sb $\sqrt{trf}$ v. 'remain', Gz $\sqrt{trf}$ v. 'be left').

2436a. ? $\sqrt{}$ *t.'o'R'P'V 'to need, suffer, be moved (with sadness, joy)' > HS: S * $\sqrt{t.rb}$ *G* > Ar $\sqrt{t.rb}$ 'be sad, be moved (with sadness or joy)' ¶ BK II 65-6, Hv. 429 || ? C: Bj -tera-m pcv. (p. a-'tra-m, prs. atta'rim) 'sich fretten, mit Not und Mühe sich das Leben erkämpfen', am-tera-m 'mitleiden', {Rop.} tar'mu-ma 'long-suffering, forgiveness' ($\times$ *t.Vr'V 'to suffer, endure') ¶ R WBd 231-2, Rop. 245 II IE: NaIE *terp- 'suffer' > Gmc: ON þorǫf, OSx tharf, AS ðearf n. 'need, want (Mangel)', Gt þarba id. ('υστε'ρημα, 'υστε'ρησις), OHG darba n. 'deficiency, lack; fasting, starving', ON þarfa 'nötig sein', þarfr 'necessary, needed' ¶ Sl *tr.pe''ti 'suffer, endure suffering' > OCS трыпѣти трыпѣти 'endure (suffering), be patient', Slv trpe.'ti. Slk trpiet', P cierpiec' 'to suffer', Cz trpe'ti, R терпѣт□ 'to suffer, endure', Blg ѿтрыпна, тър'п v. 'suffer' ¶ Vr. 606, 631-2, Ho. 361, Ho. S 77, Kb. 145, EWA II 536-40, Fs. 490, StSS 705 II ??σ R: T *t'jorp- > OT {Cl.} torpun 'seeking', torpla- 'try to find out' ¶ Cl. 533-4.

2437. *t.u'R.qV 'firm, dense' > HS: WS * $\sqrt{t.rk}$ □ 'be\make strong, dense' > Ar $\sqrt{t.rq}$ *G* 'densae una alteram tegente fuerunt (plumae avis)', 'être épais, bien fourni (se dit du plumage d'un oiseau)', Gz $\sqrt{t.rk}$ *G* v. 'fortify\strengthen, make tight', Amh t.ərək.v v. 'fasten with nails, reinforce with metal' ¶ Fr. III 51-2, BK II 75, L G 597 II K: G K/Kx *t.ro.q-i 'sehr dick, groß und plump' ¶ Chx. 1367 II R: NaT *t'u'rk {Dr.} 'strong', {Cl.} 'in the culminating point of maturity' > OT {Cl.} tu'rk 'just fully ripe' (of a fruit), 'in the prime of life, young, vigorous' (of a person), Qrg tu'rk 'fat, in prime condition' (of a sheep), Chg {Rs.} 'tapfer und roh', MT XIII tu'rk 'in the prime of life', Osm tu'rk {Rh.} 'a beautiful\beloved, but cruel one', Xlj tu'rk 'mighty, flourishing', Ggz {ADb.} tu'rk, Az {ADb.} tu'rka' 'a commoner' ¶ Cl. 542-3, Dr. TM II 888, Rs. W 506, Jud. 783, Rh. 536, DHST 307, ADb. Ttd 65.

[[+2437a. *t.UrXV 'long, large, far' > HS: S * $\sqrt{t.rh}$ > Ar t.arah- 'remote place, lieu éloigné', t.arah- id., t.jrh- 'endroit éloigné', mit rah- 'long' (of a spear, bois de la lance) ¶ Hv. 428-9, BK II 67-8 || LEC {Bl.} *d.er- ~ *d.e-r- 'long, tall' > Af d.er-, Sml d.e-r, Or d.e'-r-a?, Kns, Gdl d.er-, Rn d.e'-r, Arr d.e'-r-a' (f. d.e'-r-i') id., Kns d.e'-r-a 'tall person', Sml. d.er-a-d- 'become long'tall', d.e'-r-er- 'length', Elm d.e'-r-id,a, Dsn d.er 'long, tall, deep' ¶ Bl. 109, 314, To. DL 494, PG 93, Hw. A 354 II R: M *turug > MM [S] {H} turuh 'far', WrM turug, HIM тыпар 'size, breadth, height', 'big, huge' (of animals) ¶ H 155, MED 844 || T {Cl.} **t'ur- b> [1] T *t'urk 'the length (of sth.)' > OT {Cl.} turq id., Qz tu'rqr 'length', Qrg turq 'length(of sth.)', Tf d_urhu 'distance (equal to...)', 'the whole of' (of time), Tv durgu 'the whole of' (of time), Chv тьрх 'environs, along', 'piece of linen at full length холст во всю длину) [2] Tv d_urt 'length' ¶ Cl. 537, Ra. 176, Jud. 769, TvR 184 II D *to-ra > Kn to-ra 'bigness, largeness', to-ritu 'that which is big', to-rida 'a big man', Tl to-ramu 'thick, stout, large', Tu to-ra id.; stoutness, thickness', Kui tro-za v. 'grow in body' ¶ D #3557.

2438. ? $\sqrt{}$ *t.uR3V 'dry, arid, hard' > IE *ters- > NaIE *ters- v. 'be dry, dry up ('trocknen, verdorren), be thirsty', *tr.su-, *tr.sro- 'dry' > OI 'tr.s.yati 'thirsts', tr.s.t.ah. 'rough, harsh', tr.s.uh. 'greedy, desirous', trs.a- 'thirst', YAv tars'u- 'dry', Av tars-na- 'thirst', Psh. 't3z'ai_ 'thirsty' ¶ Gk τε'ρομαι

'I become dry, dry up' || L *torre-* v. 'burn\parch\dry up with heat\thirst' || Arm *†a@am t^har-am*, *†a@2am t^har-s'am* 'fade, withered', *†a@amim t^har-amim*, *†a@2amim t^har-s'amim* v. 'fade, wither' || pAl {O} *tarsya > Al *ter* vt. 'dry' || Gt *gapai'san*, *gapau'snan*, ON *þorna*, OSx *thorron*, OHG *dorren* vi. 'to dry, wither'; ON *þorsti*, OHG *durst*, NHG *Durst*, AS *ðurst* 'thirst', NE *thurst*; Gmc **θarzjan* > Gt *gapai'san* 'verdorren', ON *þerra*, AS *a-ðierran* vt. 'dry', OHG *derren* id., 'roast' || Ht *tars-* vt. 'dry (trocknen, dörren), roast' ¶¶ P 1078-9, EI 170, M K I 524-5, M E I 635-6, Bai. 636, Mrg. 85, F II 882-3, WH II 694-5, Fs. 206, Vr. 609, 617-8, Ho. 365, 372, Kb. 151, 163, EWA II 605-7, 734-6, 877-9, KM 149, Sl. 154-5, O 452, Ts. E III 219-20 || HS: CS **√trz* > Ar *√trz* *G* (*tariza* / *yatrizu* and *tariza* / *yatrazu*) v. 'be hard (meat), be dry\arid', JA [Trg.] *zr@T6 tə'raz* 'hard wood, wild oak' ¶ Fr. I 189, Js. 1697, Lv. T II 559 || ?φ U: FV **turta-* 'stiff, rigid (steif, starr)' > F *turta* (gen. *turran*) 'numb, benumbed', *turtu-* v. 'become numb, be benumbed, become stiff', Es *turd* 'half-dry (wood)', *turdu-* v. 'become half-dry' | Chr *Uf/B turta-*, H *turta-ḡva-* v. 'harden, stiffen', {MRS} id., 'get stronger (крепнѣть)', {Ep.} *turta-* id. ¶ UEW 801, Ep. 122, MRS 602 ¶ The fate of N **₃* and **₃'* in U is still to be investigated ◇ BmK 283 (IE, S + i + S and C words for 'dust', which belong to N **t.UryV* 'litter, dirt, dust' [q.v.]).

2439. *t.Ar'V 'internal organs, liver' > HS: C *□*tir-* 'liver' > EC **tir-* id. > Sa {R} *tiraw*, Af *tiro*, Sml T *tara-w*, Sml J *туруw*, Bs *toto*, Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} *tiru-*, Kns {BISO} *ti'ra-*, Arr {Hw.} *tira'*, Dsn *c'ira*, Hd/Kmb {C} *tiro-*, Gln *ti're - c'ire*, Hr/DBs {AMS} *c'ire*, Cm {Hw.} *ti'r-e*, Ged {Lm.} *tiro - tid,o* id.; C *→ Mb* {E} *i-tirao* id. ¶ AD SF 54, 203, Ss. PEC 11, Bl. 104, PH 199, Ss. B 104, Hw. A 397, Grg. 376, Sr. 393, Th. 319, BISO s.v. *ti'ra-*, AMS 255, To. DL 490 [*, Blz. CL 180] || Om: NrOm: Wl {LmS} *tiriya*, Malo {LmS} *tire*, Gm {Hw.} *ti're*, Dc *tire* || SOm: Ari *turi* 'liver' | ??? possibly NrOm words for 'chest': Wl {LmS} *tira*, Zs *tire*, Zl/Dwr/Gf {LmS} *tira*, Gm {Hw.} *tira'*, Dc {LmS} *tira* 'chest' ¶ LmS 523-4, Hw. EG s.v. 'chest' and 'liver', AD SF 54, 203 || WCh: SBC {Sh.} (*cds* ?): Plc *wa-te-ra?e*, Kir K *f'ok-totok*, Kir L *h'o-k-turo'k*, Kir Mn *f'wa-k-tura'k*, Ds Bn *f3k-t3r3k*, Ds B *f'wa-k-tira'k* 'liver' | ? P' {MSk.} *tirk.wasa* 'kidney' ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh. 166 [#188], Sh. SB 26 || D (+ext.) **tar'Vṇk-* ~ **tar'akVṇ* ({GS} **t-*) 'internal organs, liver' > Tu *taṇka* 'lungs, liver', Klm *taṇḡud*, Nkr *taṇḡur*, Nk *taṇḡ*, Prj *tar'uṇḡ*, Gdb *tar'iṇ* ^d *yanaṇil*, Gnd *tar'ki* ^d *tanaki*, Knd *tar'ki* ^d *tan'a'ki*, Png *tr'a'kiṇ*, Mnd *t.r'a'ken*, Kui *tra'd.a - tla'd.a* ^d *tr'a'd.anga*, Ku *t'h'r'a?na* ^d *tra?na* 'liver' ¶¶ D #3120 || ??? A: T: Tlt {Rl.} *to'rxo'm* 'Schafdärme, die mit gehackten Herzen, Leber, Lunge und Fett gefüllt sind' ¶ Rl. III 1257, Rs. W 494 || ? IE: Clt **to_Lir(t)s-* > OIr *tarr*, Brtt {RE} **to_Larr-* 'belly' > W, MCrn *tor* 'belly', OCrn [γ] *tor* 'venter', OBr *tar*, *torn*, MBr *torr* id., Br *tor* ~ *teur* 'ventre, bedaine, panse' [± ¶ The adduction of Uk *θtepeδ* 'belly' and Sl **tr̥bux-* 'entrails' (suggested in Blz. LB #103 and Blz. DA) is too *qu*. (because of the unexplained *-b-, *-bux-) and less plausible than an equation of the Sl words with Ar *tarib-* 'chest' (see N **t.VR_LV_JbV* 'inside of the body, belly' || ¶ Vn. T 33, RE 81, YGM-1 411, Hm. 787, 795 ◇ Blz. DA [±156 [#19] #18] (D, HS + *unc.* Sl).

2440. *t.ur'i 'to turn round, surround, enclose' > HS: WS **t.u_r-* v. 'go round', **t.u_r-* 'surrounding wall', ? **t.awr-* 'surrounded place' > Ar *√t_wr G* : ip. *ya-t_wru ḡawla-hu* 'goes around about' (pf. *t_wra*), Ar SL {Bel.} *t_war-*, *t_war-a-t* 'hoop (cerceau)', Ar *t_war-* 'time (Mal, vicis)', Sr *t_war-a* 'space (in time or distance)', MHB *ruy t_wr* 'protecting wall', Nbt *t_wr* 'Mauer (?)': *ds* : OSA *mt_wr* 'enclosing wall', Ar *t_war-* 'Umfriedigung'; (× N **t.u_rryV* ~ **t.uryE* 'row, line'): BHb *Mir%uy* ~ *Mir%y8 t_wr'im* 'course, row' ¶ KB 357-8, KBR 373, Ln. 1890, Bel. 360, Br. 272 || B **√d_wr* v. 'turn round' > Sl {Ds.} *d_wer* 'tourner', Tmz *td_wr* 'tourner, virer, tournoyer, faire volte-face', *d_wwar* 'faire tourner', ? Izd {Mrc.} *md_wr_ra* 'se retourner'; (?) +ext. *-n-: B **√d_rn* '(se) tourner, changer de direction; tordre' [× N **t.ir_yV* 'to turn, bend, twist', q.v. ffd.] [± ; B **√d_r* > Awj *ut_wr* 'envelopper. enlacer, entortiller'] ¶ Ds. 281, Fc. 285, GhA 33, MT 96, Lf. II #0357, Mrc. 224 [±, NZ 483] || ? ECh **√trk*, **√trp* 'palissade, haie' > EDng *tu'rku* 'palissade (entourant l'enclos familial)', etc. [× N **t.ir_yV* '†', q.v. ffd.] || IE: NaIE **twer-* v. 'twist, turn, close in', **tworos* 'Einfassung' [× N **t.URE* 'to start (up), set in motion, begin', q.v.] > OHG *dwe_ran* 'to stir up (aufwühlen, rühren)', AS *ðweran* 'to stir, churn' || Lt *tve_rti* / *tveriu_e* 'seize, fence, enclose', *tve_ri mas n.* act. 'seizing, enclosing', *a_ep-tvaras* 'fence (Gehege)', Lt *tvora*, Ltz *tvare* 'fence (Zaun)' || Gk *σπο_ρῶ* 'urn' (< **tworos*) | (?) +ext. : L *turbo* 'a movement in a circle, an eddy, a whirling round' ¶ WP I 749, P 1100-1, *σ_τ* EI 564 (**twer-* 'take, hold'), Mn. 1466, F II 754, WH II 718, Ho. 37, Kb. 178, OsS 121, EWA II 915-8, Frn. 1152, 1155 || A **t_Lju_ri* v. 'turn round, surround' > M: WrM {Gl.} *tu_ri-* v. 'surround, close in (окружать)', *tu_ri-gde-* {Rm.} v. 'be closed in', {Gl.} 'be surrounded', {Bb.} *tu_ritke-* v. 'barricade, put a limit to, put up a fence', {Rm.} *tu_ri-megei* 'the closing

or meeting the flanks of the hunters, the incircling of the game' ¶ Rm. SKE 278, Gl. III 259, Bb. 1037-8 ¶ The M cognate is *qu*. because WrM *tu'ri-* means also 'push' ({Gl.} 'push', {MED} 'push forward'), and *tu'rigde-* means also 'be pushed'; as to *tu'ri-megei* (with the meaning reported by Rm.), it has not been confirmed by dictionaries available to me; if the meaning 'to push' is primary, the M word does not belong here || Nko *turi-* {MLC} 'put around, surround, encircle; turn round', {Rm.} *turu-*, *turi-* v. 'surround, circle about, turn round, whirl about' ¶ MLC 504-5, Rm. SKE 278 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 278 (Ko, M + i ÷ Tg: Ewk *turku-ldi* does not have the meaning 'to surround' [ascribed to him by Rm.] [= Vas. 403]). The M cognate (if real) suggests pA **t'-* ¶¶ But T **t'u'rv* v. 'roll up' hardly belongs here; for both semantic and phonetic reasons it is more likely to go back to N **tu'wrV* – **tuwrE* 'to roll, turn round, wind' (q.v.) || D **tor(-)* ({GS} **t-*) 'cattle-stall, corral, pen for cattle' (× N **durV* 'hole, hollow') > Tm *toru* 'cattle-stall, manger, pound', *to'r(am)* 'cattle-stall', Ml *toru* 'stable', *toruttu* 'stable, sheepfold, pen to goats', Kt *to'y* 'buffalo pen', Td *twi* 'corral, pen', Prj *-tol* in *cakur-tol* 'cattle shed' (*cakur* goes back to a word for 'cattle, bull') ¶¶ D #3526 ♦ IS MS 333 s.v. *beptre*□(c) **t.ur* (HS, IE, A), IS SS #1.12 ♦ The nearly homonymic roots **t.ur'i* and **tu'wrV* – **tuwrE* 'to roll, turn round, wind' inevitably coalesced in those lgs. that have lost the distinctions **t.-* ↔ **t-* and **-r'-* ↔ **-r-* ♦ Gr. II *401 (**tur* 'turn') [IE + *err.* A **tolu*, Ai + *qu*. Ko, J]

2441. □□ ? **t.Ur'i* (or **tUr'i*) 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' > HS: B **-tri* or **-trVy* 'star' > Ah, Gh *atri* (pl. *itran*), ETwl *at_ri* (pl. *et_ran*), Ty *at_ri* (pl. *at_ran*), Izn, SrSn, Rf *it_ri*, Nf, Snd *itri* (pl. *itran*), Kb, Izd *it_ri* (pl. *it_ran*), ? Si, Skn, Gd *iri* (pl. *iran*) ¶ Fc. 1912, Dl. 827-8, La. MChB 388, GhA 191, Mrc. 108, Lf. II #1309 || C: Bj {R} *terig--k* (pl. *tirg*) 'moon', Bj Am {AD} *tu'ʔe_tirg*, *ʔo_tirg*, pl. *ʔi_tirga id.* ¶ AD SF 48-9, 254-5 || Ch {Nw.} **tVr-*, {Stl.} **tariy-/tiray-/tayir-* 'moon' > WCh {Stl.} **ta_rya* ~ **ta_yra* 'moon' > AG {Stl.} **tary-* > Su {J} *ta_r*, Ang {Hf.}, Ywm {Sh.} *ta_r*, Gmy {Hf.} *t_a_r*, Chp {ChL} *ter*, Mpn {Frz.} *ta_r* : DfB {J} *tu're*, Bks {J} *tu're* : Tng {J} *te_re*, Dr {J} *te_re*, Krkr {J} *tare*, Grm {Gw.} *terre*, Krf {Sch.} *te're*, Bole {Mk., IL} *tere*, Maha *tarya*, Gera *te_ra*, Glm *c'ira* : Kry {Sk.}, My {Sk.} *ti_r*, Wrj {Sk.} *c'ira_na*, P' {MSk.} *c'ira*, Sir {Sk.} *t_ri*, Jmb {Sk.} *ti_ra* : Grn {Jgr.} *ta_ra*, Wnd {Sh.} *c'a_r* : Ngz {Sch.} *ti_r...a*, Bd {IL} *t_ri...a* || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *tera*, Hw *ndu_ra* : HgNk {ChL} *tire*, {Mk.} *turre*, FIK {Mk.} *turri* : Lmn {Mk.} *turri*, {Lk.} *tri* : Mdr {Eg.} *tre*, {ChL} *tire*, Dgh {ChL} *ti_re* : Msy {Mch.} *tra*, Db {Lnh.} *ti_ra*, Kola {Sb.} *tra* : Zm {ChL} *ter*, ZmB {J} *te_r*, Lame {LJ} *c'e_r* (= *c'e_r*?), LmP {Vnb.} *c'e*, Ms {ChL} *tila*, Bnn {ChL} *ti_ye_la*, BnnM {ChL} *tilna*, Azm {Pc.} *ti_la* : ECh: Kwn {J} *ki-di_r*, Ke {Eb.} *ki-ti_r* : Kbl {Cp.} *k_3-d_3r_3*, Ll {Grgs.} *gi-di_re* : Smr {J} *du_ru*, Nd D {J} *d_3_r*, Tmk {Cp.} *d_3_r* : Mkl {J} *te_re* : Jg {J} *te_re*, Brg {J} *te_re*, Mu {Lk., J} *ti_r*, Mjl {DB} *tiri*, Kjk {DB} *tiri*, Kjr {DB} *ti_re id.* ¶ ChC, ChL, JI II 238-9, Stl. IF 53-4, J T 53, J S 84, Pc. 387, DB || ??μ S **ʔaθtar-(at)-*, name of the goddess Astarta\Ishtar, personification of the planet Venus (morning star) (belongs only if it goes back to a *cd*) > Ph *ʔs'trt* (-b) Gk *Ἀστάρτη*, BHb *tr37TS02 ʔas'toret* 'Astarta', Ug *ʔotr*, (AkSc) {Hnr.} *ʔaθtaru*, DA *ʔs'tr*, OSA *ʔotr*, Ak *is'tar*, Eb *das'-dar id.*, ? Sr *ʔat_tir nu'lpā-na* and *ʔat_tir nu'h-ra* (names of stars); S -b> IE **xest(e)r* ~ **xster-* ({Pv.} **A_1est(e)r* ~ **A_1st(e)r*) 'star' > Ht *xaster-* (nom. sg. *xasterza* [xaster-s]), NaIE: Gk *ἀστέρ*, gen. *ἀστέροϋ* 'star', *ἄστροα* (coll.) 'stars', Arm *ast* ~ *astl* 'star', Oi *'str* bhih. instr. pl. 'with\by stars', (gen. pl.) *str_n.a_m* ~ *str_n.a_m* 'of stars', Av *star-* 'star' (nom. pl. *sta-ro*), KhS *sta-raa-*, MPrs *sta_r*, *sta_rak*, NPrs *ʔora'tSi seta-re*, Psh *sto_rai*, L *ste'lla* (< **ste_r-la*), Brtt {RE} snglt. **sterinna* [> OBr, Br *sterenn*, MBr *steren* (pl. *stir*, *stiret*), OCrn [VC], Crn *steren* (coll. *ste_r*), OW *sserenn*, W *seren* snglt. (pl. *se_r*), OIr *ser* ({RE}: < Brtt?), Gl *sirona*, Gt *stai'rno*, OHG *sterno*, *stern*, ON *stjarna*, Tc: B *s'cirye id.*, A *s're-n* pl. 'stars' ¶ The broadening of meaning (S 'the morning star Venus' → IE 'star') during or after the borrowing is not an obstacle for the et. (↔ Dk. OH → EI 341), because such broadening is widespread in the history of language contacts: cf. the origin of NE trousers (< ScGl *triubhas* < OFr *trebus* 'breeches'), R *razeta* 'newspaper' (< Fr < It *gazzetta* < It Vn *gazeta*, name of a Venetian periodical that sold for one gazet), Uk *ґроші* 'money' (< NHG *Groschen*, name of certain coins < L *denarii grossi*) ¶ KB 850-1, OLS 94, Hnr. 164, Br. 554; Krb. EG 31, Shf. A ∇, Afd I, Gese RAS 222, Hfn. VRA 244, IS DIES 6-7, AD IEH 15, AD CCIE 6, P 1027-8, Pv. III 238-9, M K III 512, M E II 755-6, Bai. 433, Horn 157-8, Vl. II 220, Fs. 448, Vr. 549, Kb. 962, Sl. 123-5, Me. EAC 151, Vn. S 90, RE 135, YGM-1 391, Flr. 307, Ern. 653, Wn. 489, Ad. 640 ¶¶ Grn. LA 59, Blz. 'AthAA ∇, □ EI 543 (IE **h_2ste_r*, -(e)r- 'star'; no distinction of inherited words from Semitisms; *unji* rejection of the obvious Semitic origin of the IE word), Wt. S ∇, Prv. ∇ II ? IE: NaIE **ter-* 'star' > Vd nom. pl. *ta_rah*, 'stars' || Gk *τε'ρα*, pl. *τε'ραα* ~ *τε'ρεα* 'signe du ciel, étoile; signe envoyé par les dieux'

¶ M K I 497, 524, M E II 755, Ch. 1105-6, F II 878 (semantic doubts about the OI-Gk connection) || A: [1] ?ϕ A: Ko {S} *t_Ar 'moon' > MKo t_Ar, NKO tal ¶ S AJ 253 [#54], S QK #54, Nam 140 || pJ {S} *tu_iku_i 'moon' > OJ tuki_i, J: T cuki', K cu'ki' ¶ S AJ 94, 268 [#97], S QJ #97, Mr. 554 ¶¶ □ DQA #2394 [A *t_iorgu 'moon', *incl.* Ko, J], □ S AJ 278 I [2] ?? T *jul-tur' ({Md.} z'u_ildur' = ju_ilt_iur') 'star' (a *cd*, e.g. *z'u₀LV 'to shine; blaze; flame' + *t_iUr_i, ffd. see *z'u₀LV '¶') I [3] the same T element *t_iur' may be present in T *k'u_int'u_ir' 'noon' (see N *K_iu_in₀V – *K_iun₀E 'sun, day') ♦ If the IE √ does not belong here, the initial N cns. was *t-, otherwise it is likely to have been *t_i- (with HS de-emphatization).

2442. □□ ? [†*t_iu_i†a_ir_iV instead of *t_iu_i†Hr_iV] 'shin' or 'knee' > HS: C: EC: Af {PH} d_ifa_ire 'thigh (cuisse)', {R} te'a_ir_i 'Oberschenkel (?)' || DhI {EEN} t_iahara 'calf of leg', {To.} ta'hara 'heel' ¶ Blz. EDB 28, E PC #372 (*tahr- or *tarh- 'calf of leg'), ~~Rep. 243, PH 91, EEN 8, To. D 148, R A II 115 [†*t_iu_i†Bj_i†Rep.† talha_i-ti 'humerus (anat.)'~~ || B *d_ia_ir- (< **t_ia_ir) > Ah ad_iar (pl. id_ia_irən), Gh, ShI, Gd ad_iar, Awj at_iar, Fgg d_iar, Shw, Mz, Wrg d_iar, Kb ad_iar, Tmz ad_iar^d at_iar, Snd t_iar 'foot, leg', Ntf, Zng ad_iar, Izn, SrSn d_iar, Nfs, Si t_iar 'foot', Rif d_iar^d ad_iar 'foot, paw' ¶ Fc. 281-2, DI. 180, NZ 479-80 || ???ϕ ¶ Eg G tw₃t 'leg (as a relique)' (unless <d- Eg fP tw₃ vt. 'support, sustain', vi. 'lean') ¶ EG V 250, Fk. 294 [†*t_iu_i†De-emphatization of the initial cns. in HS – K: G t_ior-i 'paw (Pfote, Tatze, Pranke)' ¶ Chx. 1360] || A *t_iu_ir_i, {SDM97} *t_iu_ir_i, {DQA} *t_iu_ir_i 'knee', ? 'leg' > T *t_iu_ir_i ({ADb.} *t_iu_iyr', {DQA} *t_iir') 'knee' (¶ AD: < **t_iEu_ir_i < **t_iu_ir_i) > OT {Cl., Tz.} tiz, Tk diz, Tkm d_ir_i, SEXT ChS, NEXT G/J/M, NrXT Sh d_iz, NrXT Dg/Q, SWXT PK du_iz, SWXT QB du_izin, SWXT SA di_is, NrXT DG1 d_iz, NrXT DG2 du_iz, SWXT H di_i, Az, Ggz diz, ET, Nog tiz, VTt t_iz, Bsh t_iz, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt tize, Tv t_iis 'knees' (in the expression t_iis kiringa olurar 'kneel'), Chv c_iyr 'knee', Yk t_iis 'fell from an animal's leg (ламка)'; ? Xk t_iizek, ? Tv t_iiskek 'knee' [the forms of Xk and Tv may result from contamination with T *t_iirsga_ijk 'elbow', † N *t_iir_iy_iV (< *t_iir_iVyV?) 'to turn, bend'] ¶ ADb. (Ttd 59) reconstructs NaT *t_iu_iyz and believes that here the opposition between *t_i- and *t_i- has been neutralized (as in the *CV_iz-roots) ¶ Md. 77, S AJ 95, 252, IS AD 39, Cl. 570, Rs. W 482, BT 149, Jeg. 323, Fed. II 413, Ash. XV 284-5, DH ChT 71, 81, 93, 116, 138, 151, 191, 202, 213, 225, 247, 280, ADb. Ttd 59, BIG 227 || pKo *ta_ir_i 'leg' > MKo ta_ir_i, NKO tari ¶ S QK #145, Nam 129, MLC 383 || M *tu_ireyin > WrM tu_irei, HIM т_iрий, Brt т_iрин, WrO tu_ire, Kl т_ip_i tu_ira_i 'bootleg, boot-top', Ord t_iu_ir_i 'tige de botte', Mnr H {SM} t_iu_ir_i 'tige de bas\botte, canon d'une culotte'; M b_iT: Sg to_ira_ii. 'Stiefelschaft' ¶ KW 415, MED 854, KRS 523, Krg. 530, Chr. 446, Ms. O 688, SM 434, RI. III 1251 || Tg *tu_ire, *tu_ire-kse 'boot-leg, boot-top' > WrMc ture, Ewk [Cs.] turei, Ewk tir_i-ks₃^d tir_i-kt₃^d tir_i-ks₃^d tir_i-h₃, Neg tiy₃ks₃, Orc ti(y)₃ks₃, Ud {STM} ti₃H₃, Ud X/B/Sm {Krm.} te_ih₃, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/B tur₃ks₃, Nn KU tir₃ks₃ ¶ STM II 188, Krm. 294 ¶¶ DQA #2410 [A *t_iu_ir_i 'leg, knee']; it is not clear if we should include here T *t_iirsga_ijk 'elbow', because its meaning is hardly derivable from 'knee', from typology of semantic changes we learn that the meaning 'elbow' does not usually go back to 'knee', but rather to 'bend'. Hence T *t_iirsga_ijk 'elbow' (together with Tg *tirak [> *cirak] 'span') is to be connected with N *t_iir_iy_iV (< *t_iir_iVyV?) '¶' (q.v.) [†♦ In the light of Af and K the most likely N lr. is *t_i ♦ Blz. LB #100f (suggested to add B and K), □ Blz. LNA #54 [pN *t_iar_i ~ *t_iawri 'leg' > B, K, A + *unc.* D *ta_ir_i 'stem' ~ *ta_il_i 'leg, stem' (see N *t_io_iRu (*-r_i-?) '(ε) tree, log' and *t_iAl_iX_iV 'stem', 'tree')].]

2443. *t_iar_iXV 'to throw, disperse, scatter' > HS: WS *t_irh v. 'throw' > Ar t_irh G v. 'fling, cast away', {Fr.} 'con-\pro-\ab-\re-\in-iecit', Sq t_irh: {L} ?et_irah. 'jeter, jeter l'ancre, restier', {Jo.} (in Jo. J) z_it_irah v. 'throw, put down', Mh {Jo.} t_irh (pf. 't_iawr₃h, sbjn. y₃t_irah) v. 'leave, allow, let', Jb E t_irh (pf. 't_ier₃h) id., Hrs {Jo.} t_irh (pf. 't_iawr₃h, sbjn. y₃t_irah) 'leave, desert, leave alone', Jb C {Jo.} t_irh (pf. 't_ier₃h, sbjn. 'y₃t_irah) v. 'allow small calves to suck their mother's milk' ¶ Fr. III 46, Hv. 429, L LS 209, Jo. M 412, Jo. H 130, Jo. J 280 || CCh: McHigi: HgNk tir...e, HgG t_ire', HgF tu_ir_i, FlK t_ir...u'?, FIH t_ir_iyi v. 'fall' ¶ ChL ¶¶ OS #2484 || IE: NaIE *sterH-/°streH- > NaIE *stera-/°stra- (~*stro-/°stre-) ~ *ster- ~ strew- v. 'spread, scatter' (× N *c_iar_iu_i id. [q.v. ffd.]): the variant with a lr. is represented by Vd st_ir_in_a-(prtc.) 'spread, scattered', OI 'sta_iriman- 'act of spreading-out; bed, couch', Gk στρωτο_i 'spread, laid, covered', στρωμα 'anything spread or laid out for lying or sitting upon, a mattress, bed', L stra_itus pp. 'spread, stretched out', stra_imen 'straw, litter', OCS прострѣти pro-stre_i-ti 'to spread' ¶ The variant *ster- without reflexes of the lr. (e.g. in forms with *-nV-sx.: OI str_in_a-ti 'spreads, scatters', L sterno_i 'I spread', Gk στο_iρ-vu_i-mi 'I spread') goes back to N *c_iar_iu_i '¶' ¶ P 1029-31, EI 57 (*ster(h₃)-

'strew' -dʰ? *sterh₃mn₃ 'strewn place, bed'), M K III 517-8, M E II 756-7, F II 802-3, WH II 590-1, Cowg. EG 155ff., Vn. S 93-5, Flr. 309, Ern. 662, Hm. 760, KM 757-8, Vr. 552, O 442, AlbED 844, Frn. 909-10, 917, Vs. III 379 **II A** *t'aR'i' > M *tari v. 'sow' > MM [MA, IM] tari- v. 'sow', WrM tari-, HIM тари- v. 'sow, plant', Dx тарь-, Ba tare-, Mnr H {SM} t'ari- v. 'sow' | a related (derived?) stem: M *tara- v. 'disperse, scatter' > WrM tara-, HIM, Brt тапа- id. (Brt маһан тапа-ба 'the mist has cleared', lit. 'dispersed', ниндүн тараба 'the birds flew away [in different directions]', Kl тап- 'scatter, disperse' (**лн тап^u одв 'the clouds dispersed') **¶** Pp. MA 411, 447, MED 779, 781, Chr. 414, KRS 479, SM 411, T 363, T DnJ 135, T BJ 148 **¶¶** DQA #2315 [A *t'a'yi 'to scatter, disperse'] **◆** IE *-s- reflects the palatality within the N √. It is tempting to adduce here Tm ta_r_r_u v. 'sift, winnow'. It belongs here only if Tm ta_r_r_u is from *ta_r_-t-, but Tl tal(u)cu v. 'winnow small grains from floor' suggests that the underlying form of Tm is *ta_l-r_- **¶¶** D #3195, Km. 381 [#564] **◆** BmK 298-300 (IE, M tara-, Sum tar v. 'disperse' + Tm ta_r_r_u, FU *tara- v. 'open' & S √wtr v. 'stretch out').

2444. *t.Er'gE 'to run' (→ 'running place' → 'road') > **HS:** B *√d_rg v. 'flee' > Ty, ETwl √d_rg (d_ɣrɣg) 's'évader, s'enfuir, désertier', Ah d_ɣrɣg'g'ɣg 'fuire à toute vitesse', Tdɣ d_ɣrɣg 'flee' **¶** GhA 33, Fc. 283, NZ 486 || S *√t_rk. 'way, road' (as from **√t_rg?) > Ar t_ɣrɣ-at- (pl. t_ɣraq-) 'marche', 'chemin, voie', t_ariq- 'chemin, route' (→ Gw {Mts.} tu'ri'k'i 'road'), t_ariq-at- 'sentier, voie, tracé d'une route', Ar O {Jo.} t_irigah 'way', Tgr {Ams.} t_ɣrɣk-ət 'way' (→ Ar?) **¶** BK II 77-8, Ams. 55, L G 597, Jo. H 130 || ? ECh: Ke {Eb.} t_3'ra' n. act. 'run (Lauf)', fe' t_3'ra' 'run away' **¶** Eb. 97 **II IE:** NaIE *treg^hg^h- or {Mn.} *tr_g^h- (actually *tr_g^hg^h-) v. 'run, move' > Gk tpe'xw 'I run' || Clt: ? W traw m. 'progress, lead', Gl uer-tragos, o'ue'pɣaɣoɣ {Dtn.} 'swift-footed dog', {Vn.} chien courant' → L vertragus 'greyhound', Clt {Vn.} *traget-s / gen. *tragetos 'foot' > OIr traig (gen. traiged) id., Brtt {RE} *troget-s id. > MW troet, W troed, OCrn truit, Crn tro- id., OBr treit 'feet' (sg. *troi_t), MBr troat, Br troad 'foot' || Gt pragjan, AS ðræ'zan 'to run' **¶** P 1089, Mn. 142, Ei 491 (*treg^h- 'run'), F II 927-9, Fs. 500-1, Ho. 368, Vn. T 122-3, RE 97, Dtn. 293, 298, Billy 156 **¶** It is not clear if this √ is identical or only isophonic with *trg^h- v. 'draw' (cf. N *t.aRv, -HVgV 'to drag, pull'); an interesting case of the usually avoided root-structure "tenuis + media aspirata"; it remains to found out conditions for this kind of exception **II A** *t'ca'r'ge v. 'run; road' > T *t'a'r' (DQA) *te'r'- > OT ta'z v. 'run away, flee', Az Δ ta'z-, Tkm teð-, Xk tis-/z-, ET ta'z-, Tv t'ez-, Tf t'es- v. 'run away, flee', ET ta'z- v. 'leave one's nest\home', Chv tar- v. 'run, flee' **¶** Cl. 672, Ra. 172, IS 41 [#6], Rs. W 477, S AJ 198 [#281], BIG 226, Fed. II 175 || M *tergi-le- v. 'run, flee' > WrM {Gl.} tergile- id., Kl {Rm.} tergl_-xə, Brt t_ɣrɣɣl-xɣ 'to run away, flee'; M *tergE-d'e^l- > Brt t_ɣrɣɣd- id.; M *tergen 'vehicle (carriage, wagon, chariot)' > MM [MA, HI, S] tergen id., [PP] t'erged (pl.) 'carriages, wagons', WrM terge(n) 'carriage, wagon', {Kow.} id., 'chariot', HIM t_ɣrɣɣr, t_ɣrɣɣn, Brt t_ɣrɣɣ, WrO tergen, Kl {Rm.} tergn_, Mnr H {SM} t'ie'rg_e, Dg t_3rgz 'carriage, wagon'; M d' *terge-xu'r 'wide road, highway' > MM [HI] tergevu'r 'grande route', WrM tergegu'r {MED} 'wide road, highway', {Gl.} '(wide) road, wide street', {Kow.} 'rue large, grand chemin', WrO tergegu'r 'highway, road, street', Dg t_3rgu'l 'road, way' **¶** MED 805, Kow. 1775-7, Gl. III 145-6, T 365, T DgJ 167, SM 417, Pp. MA 349, Pp. PP 131, Ms. H 101, H 149, Krg. 496, Chr. 456, S AJ 239 [#135] || Tg: Ewk tirgi- v. 'walk', ?? WrMc cir seme 'quickly' (seme 'by saying') **¶** STM II 187, 400, Z 940-1 || pKo {S} *t_Δ'ri' [x N *dæR'h'Vkv (~ *-g-) 'to walk, run; road', q.v.] > MKo t_Δ'ri' {S} 'ride quickly', Nko talli {MLC} v. 'run (canter, gallop)' (of a horse), 'run, rush, hurry' [unless an iter. from *t_Δ- 'run'] **¶** S QK #511, Nam 141, MLC 405 **¶¶** S AJ 295 [#535] (A *t'a'r'v 'run, run away'), SDM97 (A *t'a'r'ga 'run, flee'), DQA #2412 [A *t'ir'ge id. > T, M, Tg], KW 393.

2445. [← 2446.] *t.UtV '(fore)arm' > **K** *t.ot.- 'arm, branch' > G P/X t.ot.-i 'hand', G P t.ot.-i 'limb of a horse', MG [VTq] t.ot.-i 'limb (of an animal)' (t.ot.i lomisa 'lion's paw'), G t.ot.-i 'twig, branch, arm of a river', s'arvlis t.ot.i 'trouser-leg', Mg t.ot.-i, t.vat.v-i 'paw, hand', Lz t.ot.-i 'branch', Sv: UB/LB t.wet / t.ot.-, LB t.et., L t.ot., Ln t.wet. 'arm, hand' **¶¶** K 182, Chx. 1361, Chik. 135 (G, Lz), Q 330, DCh. 1225, NCh. 379, GTK KD I 594, GhI. 515, TK 720, GP 260, Dn. s.v. t.ot., Ni s.v. **пыка** (Sv t.wet.) **II HS:** C: LEC *d.u(n)d.um- 'forearm' > Sml N {Abr.} d_u'd_u(n) (pl. d_u'd_u'mmo') 'forearm (from elbow to fingertips)', Sml {DSI} d_u'd_u(n) / pl. d_u'd_u'mmo 'forearm, ell', Or {Th.} d_und_uma id., {Grg.} d_und_uma, Or M {AD} 'd_und_uma 'ell', {LLC} d_und_uma 'lower arm', dunduma 'ell', Or H {Ow.} d_u'nd_u'ma 'forearm, arm's length, half a meter', Or B {Vnt.} dunduma 'pugno', {LLC} d_und_umo 'lower arm', Kns {BISO} d_und_uma 'cubit (from elbow to fingers)' **¶** AD SF 251, Abr. S 67, DSI 179, Th. 117, Grg. 131, Ow.

GHO 259, Vnt. 47, LVCZ 10, 64, BISO 26 || ??σ,φ Eg BD cycy {Fk.} 'trot', {EG} a word for legs ¶ EG V 357, Fk. 304 || **Gil:** Gil A t'ot' 'forearm' ('предплечье') || **D** *tut₁- 'thigh' > Tm tut.ai₁, tot.ai₁, Ml tut.a, Td twar', Kn tod.e, Tl tod.a 'thigh', Tu tud.æ id., shank', Klm dut₁ 'hip', ? Kui d.ond.o 'thigh', ? Ku tunt'u 'hip' ¶¶ D #3302 ♦ D *-t₁- suggests N *-t₁-, while the K and C glottalized cns. in the Inlaut is due to *as*.

2446 [¶2445]. ***t.ut.E** 'clan\tribe, everybody, all' > **IE** *teu₁-t(a-) 'people (Volk), tribe' ({Dv.} 'tutto, popolo', {P} 'Menge Volkes', {McC} 'Stamm', {Bn.} 'plénitude, peuple, nation, civitas') > Osc τοῦτο, TOUTO 'community (civitas)', Um acc. TOTAM, gen. TOTAR 'citizenry (civitas)', TOTAPER, TUTAPER 'pro civitate'; ? L to₁tus 'whole' (unless from *towātos 'vollgestopft') || OIr tuath 'tribe, people', Crn tu's 'folk, people, relatives', MBr tut - tud 'people' ('gens'), pl. tudou 'nationes', Br tud 'people' (pl. of den 'man, person'), MW tut 'people, country, land', W † tud id. || Gt þiuda, OHG diot, AS ðe'od, ON þjoð 'Volk, Leute'; *ds* : NHG deutsch 'German', deutlich 'clear', deuten 'explain' || Ltv ta'uta 'people (Volk), nation', OLt, Lt tauta id., Lt tauta 'Oberland, Germany', Pru tauto 'Land' || ? Irn {Mrg.} *tau₁-ta-ka- > NPrs {BM} %odvT tu₁-de 'mass of people, people' ('масса людей, народ') (as well as CINPrs %odvT {Sg.} to₁-da, NPrs %odvT tu₁-de 'heap', Sgd twōʔk 'Masse, Erdhaufen?') || ? AnIE {ABlv} *tuti- 'army (Heer)' > Ht tuzzi- 'Heer, Heerlager, Truppenmacht', Lc tuta/i 'army' (Bn. and Neu reject the connection between AnIE *tuti and IE *tewta₁ - ʔ Bn. VIII I 366 & Neu HB 105) ¶¶ P 1084-5, EI 417 [*teu₁-teh₁- 'the people (?under arms)'], Frd. HW 232, Ts. E III 499-504, ABlv II 172-3, Dv. #449, WH II 695-6, Bc. G 325-6, 349, GM 137, BM 137, Vl. I 478 (%odvT 'acervus, cumulus'), Fs. 496, Kb. 158-9, EWA II 684-8, KM 129, Vn. T' 164, YGM-1 422, Frn. 1069, En. 263, GI II 749, Zm. IGSS 326, 328-9 [notes 47-53], McC 112-6, Vr. 613 ¶ Mul. 490, EM 1050, Szem. and others favour the connection of L to₁tus with the IE √ in question, while Walde & Hofmann (WH II 695-6) reject it and prefer to interpret the IE word as *towā-tos- 'vollgestopft'. McCone HWK 116 rejects the *towātos-etymology as phonetically untenable (lack of lr. in IE *tewt-) and prefers a semantically unreliable et.: *tewt- <d- *tew- 'aufmerken, dienen, schützen'. Ernout & Meillet (EM 1050) suppose a dialectal development *ew > L o₁. The IE √ may go back to a coalescence of the N √ in question and N ***t.a₁wdV** 'to be full' (q.v.) || **A** *t'Uti > NaT *t'o₁t'u₁ 'everybody, everything' > Tv τ'δ* t'o₁du₁, Tf t'o₁do₁ id., ?? OT tu₁zu₁ 'all' ¶ Ra. 235, Cl. 573 || M *tuzi (< *tudi) > WrM tuzi, HlM τυζ 'throughout, always', WrM edu₁r tuzi 'all day long' (edu₁r means 'day') ¶ MED 848, Luv. 421 || ? **HS:** ?σ S: Ar t₁u₁t₁-, t₁a₁t₁- 'long, grand, haut' ¶ BK II 119 || WCh: Pr {Frz.} d.o'e₁, Dr {Nw.} da₁i 'all' !??φ Gw {Mts.} du₁du₁ 'all', Hs du₁, du₁ka₁ 'all' ¶ Ba. 272, Frz. P 29, Nw. KL 123, ■ Sk. HCD 50 ♦ There is no satisfactory explanation for the reflex *-3- (rather than *-c-) in M. An alt. rec. is ***t.utE** supposing *as* (*t₁...t > *t₁...t.) in S, IE and T. Hardly here **U:** Sm {Hl.} *tu₁-k- 'all' (> Ne T τ₁ky₁ⁱ, {Prk.} t'uku₁?, t'ukuti? 'alle(s)', Mt {Hl.} *tu₁-gu₁y 'everywhere' [Mt M {Sp.} τυρυί]), unless *-k- is a sx. and the U etymon is **tu₁-t-kV (ʔ Jn. 168 [Sm *tu₁-cskt₁-], Cs. 28, 90, KP #1601, Ter. SILSJ 98, Hl. M ##1069, 1078, 1087).

[¶ **2446a.** ??σ ***t.ut.V** 'dust, ashes' (→ 'smoke') > **K** *t.ut.a- 'ashes' > G XVIII {SSO} t.ut.i, G {DCh.} t.ut.i 'lye', {Chx.} t.ut.a 'lye (Aschenlauge)', t.ut.-e 'alkali', G I t.ut.a, Mg t.ut.a-, Lz mt.ut.a-, USv, Sv Ln t.æt., Sv UB, Sv L dæt. 'ashes' ¶ K 183, K² 192, FS 335, DCh. 1228, Chx. 1370, Ghl. 518, BU 295, TK 722-3, Ch. 160-1 (G, Mg, Lz) || **A** {SDM97} *t'u₁t'i (or *-t-) 'smoke' > T *t'u₁-t'a₁- 'to smoke (emit smoke)' > OT {Cl.} tu₁-ta₁-, {Gb., DTS, Rs., TL} tu₁-t-, XwT {Faz.} tu₁-ta₁-, Tk Δ tu₁-te-, Xlj {DT} titi-, Tkm, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq tu₁-te-, VTt, Bsh t₁ta₁-, Qrg tu₁-to₁-, Qmn tu₁-de-, Ln du₁-du₁-, SY t'uti-^d tu₁-t-, Xk, Shor tu₁-de-, OOsM du₁-t-, Tk tu₁-t-, Ggz tu₁-t- id.; d> T *t'u₁-t'u₁n n. 'smoke' > OT, Chg Xw, MQp tu₁-tu₁n, OOsM xiv du₁-tu₁n, Nog, Qq tu₁-tin, Qzq t^{*}t[°]h tu₁-t₁n, Qrg, ET tu₁-tu₁n, Alt, Xk, Shor tu₁-du₁n, Chv tətəm 'smoke', Tk tu₁-tu₁, Az, Tkm tu₁-tu₁n 'tobacco' ¶ Cl. 432 (the original stem is tu₁-ta₁-), 457-8. TL 364-5, DTS Rs. 506, Faz. II 426, DT 206, ET 329 || pKo t₁t₁kr₁ ~ t₁t₁h₁r 'dust' > MKo t₁t₁kr₁ ~ t₁t₁h₁r id. ¶¶ DQA #2472 || ? **HS:** Ch: WCh: Dr {J} dud.a₁ 'ashes' (unless from N ***dArØV** 'ashes') ! Klr {J} atoto₁ 'ashes' ¶ JI II 4-5, J R 350 || C: Ag: Awn tət₁r₁ 'dust'; ?φ pAg *tiza 'smoke' > Bln {R} te₁-da₁ (pl. tid), Km {Ap.} tiza, Xm tiya id., Ag b> Gz -t₁is- (3m sbjn. yət₁is, 3m pf. t₁e₁-sa) v. 'smoke' || ? SC {E} *ted₁ri > Irq {MQK} te₁-ri 'dust, cloud of dust', SC b> Mb ite₁ri 'dust'; the SC word eblongs here only if it is *tedi || ? EC: Sml {ZMO} d₁edo 'mist' ¶ Hz. NSA 137, R WB 334, Ap. IV 47, L G 601, E SC 170, MQK 100, ZMO 114 ♦ The semantic change 'smoke' → 'ashes' (or viceversa) is not confirmed typologically; a possible filiation is: 'dust' → [1] 'smoke', [2] 'ashes' ♦ Cp. also **D:** Tm ta₁-tu 'powder, dust', Td to₁-θ 'powdery' (D #3159); this D √ (as well as SC, EC and Ag roots with a front unrounded vw.) may belong here only if the discrepance of

vowels is explained away (e.g. by reconstructing the N etymon as ***t.uHAETV** or ***t.AEHuTV**) ♦ The etl. connection between K and A was proposed by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #4f) and in 1992 (Bl. KM 140-1 [#28]; ▣ Blz. LNA #56 (N *t.ut.i 'ashes, smoke' > Ch, K, Ko + i M (in fact T) *tu'tu'n, *tu't-su'g))

2447. ▣ ? ***t.oHt.V** (or ***t.otV**?) 'to run, to stream' > **А** *t'Ut'V > Tg *tu.te- ({▣Bz.} *to'ta-) v. 'run' > Sln tutə-, Ewk tut-, Orc, Ud tutu-, Nn tutu-, Ul tutv-, Ork tota- v. 'run'; the lower series of vowel harmony in Ul and Ork is probably a late development ▣ STM II 223-4 || pKo {S} *t'ad- 'run' > MKo t'at/r-, NKo tat/r- ▣ S QK #855, Nam 139, MLC 401 || ?ϕ pJ {S} *tanta-yu-ap- {S} v. 'float, ramble', {Mr.} 'drift' > OJ ta'da-yu-op-, J: T tadayo'-, K ta'da'yo'-, Kg ta'da'yo'- {Kenk.} v. 'float, swim, drift' ▣ S QJ #731, Mr. 761, Kenk. 1864 ▣ DQA #2439 [A *t'ota' 'to run'] || **D** *to-t. ({GS} *to-d.-) 'a stream' > Ml to-t.u, Kn to-d.u 'water-course', Kdg to-d.i 'small stream', Tu to-d.u 'drain, sewer, brook', Krg to-d.a 'stream', Gnd d'o-d.a(:) d'o-r'a d'o-d.a 'river', Δ dora 'running brook' ▣ D #3543 ♦ D *t. (-d.) < N *Ht.- [de-emphasizing effect of the lr.?], while otherwise a cluster N *t. could have yielded D *t. An alt. solution: N ***t.otV** with Tg as **t...d > *t...t.

2448. ***t.a"whV** 'to abandon, leave, get lost' > **K:** *t.ew- v. 'leave, abandon' > OG t.ew- v. 'abandon', G t.ov- v. 'leave\abandon'; acc. to Klimov, also Mg, Lz t.al- v. 'be mixed' ▣ K 180 || **HS:** WS *t.uh- (or *t.wHh-?) 'go away, leave (partir)' > Ar √t.wh (pf. t.a"ha, ip. ya-t.uh-u) 'périr, être près de sa ruine; error; s'en aller', Jb C et.bah (√t.wh) v. 'wander off' ▣ BK II 117, Jo. J 281 || **А** *t'abV > M *tebci- v. 'leave' > MM tebci- [S] 'werfen, verlassen, verraten', [HI] 'abandonner, sacrifier', WrM tebci- ~ tebsi-, HlM түвчи-, Brt түбш- v. 'abandon, leave', Kl {Rm.} tepc- 'beiseite lassen, verlassen, sein lassen, dulden' ▣ MED 789, H 147, Ms. H 100, KW 392, Chr. 451 || ?σ **D** (in SD) *tavVr- ({GS} *t-) > Tm tavis- v. 'abstain, cease, leave, separate from', Ml tavisuka v. 'be put aside', Kn Hv tavnru v. 'drive away', Tu tauruni v. 'remove' ▣ D #3113 ♦ ▣ BmK 319-20 (K, S, D + Sum du v. 'go\leave' i÷ IE *dew(ə)/-dwa-/du- v. 'move forward' and other stems without reliable semantic connections with the √ in question).

2449. ***t.a"yV** 'louse' > **HS:** NrOm: Ym {C} tu'a, {Wdk.} tu'a, {Lm.} tu'a 'louse' ▣ C SE III 85, Wdk. BY 137, 163, Lm. Y 378 || **U:** FU *ta"ye 'louse' > F, Es ta"i i pLp {Lr.} *ti-kke- > Lp: N {N} dik'ke, S {Hs.} dikkie, L {LLO} tihkee, Kld tik'k/ id. i Chr: H ти ti, L тий tiy, E ti d tiy i Prm *to"y (= {LG} *to"j) id. > Z toy, Z US to,y, Yz 'tu'y, Vt tzy || ObU {Ht.} *te-k(t)əmV ({Ht.} *te-k(t)əmV) id. > pVg ta"kmV > Vg: T ta"kam, LK/MK/UK to"xəm, P/NV/LL taxəm, SV ta"xəm, UL/Ss ta'kəm; pOs *to"ytəm ({Hl.} *to"ytəm) > Os: V/Vy to"ytəm, Ty ta"ytəm, Y ta"wtəm, D/K/Nz/Kz/O tewtəm i Hg tetu" id. ▣ UEW 515, It. #613, Coll. 119, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *ta"ji, Ugr *ta"ji' 'louse'), LG 250, Lt. 65, MF 631-2, Lr. #1251, Lgc. #7850, Hs. 437, MRS 374, Ep. 117, Ht. 188 [#634]; on pObU {Ht.} *e- = e- cf. Hl. rHt 68-9 || **А** {DQA} *ti'yV 'louse' > Tg *ti-le- v. 'look for lice, louse (so.)' > Ewk, Neg tīl-, Lm tīl-; cf. Orc tīna- id.; Tg *ti-kte n. 'louse' > Ul tikə, Ork tikə ~ çiktə, Nn Nh c'iktə, WrMc cixi ~ cixe 'louse' ▣ STM II 179, 181, 392 || T *t'ji- > OT U ti-la'r 'e insect' ▣ Cl. 501 ▣ DQA #2367 ♦ IS MS 335 (*t.a"ja 'louse') and IS SS #1.9 (in both: A, U, K *t.il- 'louse'); K {K} *t.il- 'louse' or {K²} *t.il- id. (> G t.il-, Mg t.i(y)-, Lz mt.i-, Sv t.is'-; K 181, K² 188, TK 718) may be accepted as cognate only if we can explain Sv -s'- or K's *i- ♦ Gr. II #254 (*tay 'louse') [(← IS): L U, A + Ai].

2450. ***t.iya** 'to be narrow' > **HS:** EC (× N ***t.u"q'E** 'near; be close to, approach'): Af {PH} d.ayi v. 'be close\near', Sa {R} day- v. 'be close\narrow', 'nahe\schmal\eng sein' ▣ PH 91, R S II 121, 408, 448, 462 || **U** *tiya" 'narrow (eng, schmal)' > Er тей t'eya, {ERV} теине 'narrow', Mk тийн t'ayn'a 'eng, schmal' || Sm {Jn.} *tiya° id. > En {Cs.} ti'ja, Ne Т ть, Ne Т О {Lh.} ti-y'e id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ti-c'i 'narrow passage, isthmus, neck of land', {Prk.} tic'i 'narrow passage (теснина)', Slq Ch/UO {Cs.} tet'eka 'eng' ▣ Coll. 62, UEW 523, ERV 652, 661, PI 279, KKI 183, Cs. 147 || **А:** Tg *ti'y'e 'narrow' > Ewk tiyə ~ tiyə, Lm tiə'kun, Lm KO tiwakun ~ ti'yakun, Lm A tzyə'kun 'narrow (eng, schmal)', Ork çīmzy, Nn KU ti'z'o ~ -u, Nn Nh/B c'i'z'o ~ -u 'narrow (eng)' ▣ STM II 176, Vas. 408, Cīr 640, Pt. 155 ♦ IS MS 370 s.v. узкий *t.iya, IS SS 318 [#1.15], Coll. 146, Rs. UAW 36, Sauv. 71 (in all sources U, Tg).

2451. ? ***t.uhye** 'to eat, feed; food' > **HS** *√t'hy/w ~ ? *√t.hy/w > S [1] *√t'w/y 'eat' > Ak ta'u v. 'eat, graze', Mh {Jo.} √twy v. G 'eat' (pf. tzuw- ~ twuh, ip. yz'tayw, sbjn. yzte-), Hrs {Jo.} tzuw-, Jb E/C {Jo.} pf. 'te, prs. 'yte, sbjn. 'yit, Sq {Jo.} 'te id.; ? [2] *√t.hy/w > Ar √t.hw/y (pf. t.aha-, ip. -t.hu- ~ -t.haw-, n. act. t.ahw-, *t.uhw-, *t.uhy-) 'préparer à manger (cuire, rôtir, arranger les viandes\mets)', %l'6a t.a"hi-n

'personne qui prépare à manger (cuisinier \ rotisseur \ boulanger), qui donne à manger' ¶ Sd. 1340, BK II 116, Jo. M 404 || Eg fP t 'bread' ¶ EG V 209, Fk. 292 || C: Bj {R} tiyu 'Kost, Nahrung, Lebensunterhalt' ¶ R WBd 233 || ?? NrOm: Ym resp {C} taʔ- v. 'eat', {Wdk.} taʔraʔ id. ¶ C SE III 85, Wdk. BY 135, Fl. OWL s.v. 'eat'; the adduction of this Ym word is *qu.* for three reasons: (1) there is no explanation for -r-, (2) the Ym word is isolated within Om (at least in the meaning 'eat'), (3) the social essence of the "respectful language (linguaggio di rispetto)" suggests that the word's original meaning is not 'to eat', but sth. else (possibly a μφ) || Ch {AD} *√thʷy ~ √tyw, {Jl} *√twy v. 'eat (soft things)', {Nw.} *ti v. 'eat' > WCh *√thʷy ~ *tyw, {Stl.} *tiʰ / *taʰ v. 'eat (soft things)': Hs cʰiʰ : BT: Dr {J} twi / twa, {Nw.} tuʰi, Krkr {Lk., J} t- / {J} tu-, Grm {Sh.} tiʰyaʰ, Krf {Sch.} tiʰ-woʰ, Bl {Lk.} ti- : Klr {J} cʰi, {IL} thix, DfB {J} cʰuh / cʰwaʰy, Bks {J} cʰu / cʰwaʰy, Tmbs {Sh.} cʰi : NrBc: Sir {Gw.} twa, {Sk.} tuʰ-, Mbr {Sk.} tiʰ / taʰ-, Jmb {Sk.} tiʰ / taʰ- : SBc: Gj/Buli/Tule {Sh.} cʰi : Ngz {Sch.} taʰ, Bd {IL} tʰgi / tʰdi : CCCh: Ms {J} tiʰnaʰ ~ cʰiʰnaʰ, ZmB {J, Sa.} tiʰ : ECh: Mgm {J} tiʰy-, tiʰyaʰw, EDng {Fd.} teʰ-, Bdy {AlJ} aor. taʰ- / pfc. teʰ- / aor. pl. teʰyeʰw : Skr {Sx.} teʰ, Mw {J} teʰ : Mu {J} tiʰ / tuʰwaʰ-, {Lk.} tuʰwaʰ-, inf. tiʰyaʰ, Mjl {DB} tuʰk, Kjk {DB} tu, Kjr {DB} tuye, Brg {J} taʰyaʰ ¶ JI I 56 & II 120-1, J M, Stl. ZCh 167 [#201] (*ti/ahv), J R 213, J B, Nw. KL 133, DB, Blz. ChWL ¶¶ OS #2345 (HS *taʔ- 'eat' > S, Eg, C, Ch), AD SF 53 (S, Eg, C, Om, Ch), ¶ Sk. HCD 34 II D (in SD) *tuʰyʰ v. 'eat' > Tm tu v. 'eat' (generally used in negative forms), tu 'food', Kn tuyal 'a dish of rice, milk and sugar' ¶ DED #2685, D #3282 II ?σ¶ *tʰUyV {AD} 'offer food to so.' (× N *toHo ~ *taHo 'to bring, fetch?'): Tg *tu.yu- v. 'offer food to so. (e.g. a guest)' > Ewk, Ul .tuyu-, Ewk Skh tuyʰ-, Lm toy-, Lm Al tuy-, Neg, Orc, Ork toyo-, Nn Nh tuyu- id. ('yrocat'), Ewk tuyun, Ewk Skh tuyʰn, Neg toyon, Orc, Ork toyo, toyon-, Ul tuyu, tuyun-, Nn Nh tuyu~ 'food offered to a guest' ¶ STM II 206 || NaT *tʰiʰjoy 'feast' (unless ← *tʰiʰjoy 'camp, community') > OT toy '(wedding) feast', XwT XIII, Cmn/MQp/OOsm XIV, Chg xv toy 'feast', Tkm toy 'wedding feast, wedding, feast', ET, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk toy, VTt, Bsh tuy, Tv tʰoy id.; T bʰ WrM toy 'feast' ¶ Rm. W 567, Jeg. 255 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *tʰoye (T, Tg + i ÷ M *tuʰgeve- 'distribute') and DQA #2457 (pA *tʰuʰya 'give, give a feast': T, Tg), ≠ Rm. SKE 260-70 (+ untenable parallels for the Tg √) ¶¶ Tg *t- is a reg. reflex of N *tʰ-, but the quality of the pT dental is not clear: Tkm t- suggests *tʰ- while Tv tʰ- points to T *tʰ- ♦ A *tʰUyV belongs here only if its etymological meaning is 'feed' and not only 'give' or 'feast'.

2451a. *t.ahyV 'to go away, take away' (→ 'conceal') > IE *teh(y)- 'take away, steal' > IE *taʰi- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *taʰy-u-s-, *taʰi-s 'thief' (× IE *steh- id. < *sʰat.ʰahiʰ ¶ 'to take away', q.v.) > OI taʰ-yu- 'thief', Av taʰ-yu- id., taʰya- 'theft' || Gk τητα'ομαι 'I am deprived\bereft of, in want of', τηυ'σιος, Gk D ταυ'σιος 'idle, vain, undertaken to no purpose' (if ← ¶ *[self-]deceptive') || OIr taʰid 'thief' || Sl *taj- 'steal, conceal': *taʰjiti (prs. *tajo.) 'to conceal' > OCS таити tajiti (prs. таѣ тajo.), R та'ити (prs. та'и), SCr taʰjiti (prs. taʰjī), Slv tajiti 'to conceal'; *tajʰ 'secret' > OCS таи taji adv. 'λα'ρῶ, secretly', OR таи 'secret', Slv taʰj 'denial', Cz pod tajem 'secretly'; Sl *tatʰ 'thief' > OCS таѣ татʰ, R † tatʰ, SCr, Slv taʰt 'thief, robber' || Tc B ene-stai in secret' || Ht, HrLw taya- 'steal' ¶¶ P 1010, EI 543 [*(s)teh- 'steal, bring secretly, conceal'], M K I 496 & III 513-4, M E II 75, Vn. T 7, F II 895-6, Vs. IV 11, 28, Glh. 618, Ad. 84-5, Ts. E III 24-6 II U: Ugr tayV-tta- 'verbergen, verheimlichen' (ϕ Irn?) > Vg: T tuyt-, toʰyt-, P tuyt- id., 'verstecken', MK tuyt-, Ss tuʰyt- vt. 'hide', LL tuytkaʰt- vi. 'sich verbergen' : Hg titok 'a secret', † adj. 'geheim, heimlich' ¶ UEW 892 II A: Tg *tey- or *ti- 'take away (sth. from so.)' > Ewk, Ud, Ul .ti-, Lm teʰ-, Sln tīn-, Nn Nh cʰi- id., Neg tʰayama 'thief' ¶ STM II 173-4 II HS: S *°√t.ʰy ~ *°√t.ʰy > Ar √t.ʰy G 'être loin, être éloigné', √t.ʰy G 's'en aller, périr' ¶ BK II 62, 117.