

2563. ***Xebz̥V** 'breast' > HS: CS *hāḍay- (~ *hāḍajy-) id. > Hb ez#h1 hā'zē- id., BA hā'd_e-* id. (ie5&de9 hā'd_e-o-hī 'her breasts' du./pl.), Sr 'Δod≈a hād_y-a-, SmA idh hdy, MNA {OJ} hazyo, JA [Trg.], JEA ai!d6h2 hād_ya-, Md hadia 'breast, chest', Ar vU30Ha hād-w-un, iU30Hi hīdy-un 'vis-à-vis', YU"3aHi hīḍa?- 'opposite to (gegenüber)', {BK} 'celui qui fait un vis-à-vis' ¶ KB 289, 1704-5, KBR 301, Tal 248, Js. 426, Lv. T I 240, Sl. 432, OJ M 177, BK I 399, Dh. 105, MiK I #1.112 || C: HEC {Hd.} *a3o 'milk', {L} *az- 'milk' > Brj 'ad-a, Sd, Hd ado, Kmb azu-t id.; ? Ya at-a' id. ¶ L Z 120, Hd. 99, Ss. B 23 || U: FU *eḏe 'front' > F esi (gen. eden), Es esi 'fore, forepart, forefront', F edella- 'before, in front of', Es edasi 'foreward' || ObU {Ht.} *yīl 'front' (with a prosthetic *y-) > pVg yīl > Vg: T, LK il, P il ~ il', Ss e'la 'forward', LK e'lt, P ye'lt, UL e'lit 'in front, before'; pOs {Ht.} *yil > Os: V/Vy > V/Vy il, Vrt iḏə, Ty iḏ, D it, Nz yet, Kz yeḏ adj. 'front (vorder)', V/Vy ilən, Vrt iḏən, Nz yetən, Kz yeḏən 'in front' ! Hg elo- 'fore', elo''tt 'before' ¶ UEW 71-2, Coll. CG 411, SSA I 108, Ht #187, Trj. S 52-4 || ? D *etV, *etVr_V 'breast, chest' > Kt ed 'trunk from chest to navel', ed ma'r 'chest of body' (ma'r 'chest'), Kn ede, edde, erde 'chest, breast' (-rd- < *tVr_?), Tu ede 'heart, chest, bosom', Tl eda 'heart, breast', ed.a'da, ed.d.a id., Prj edram, edrom, Knd edur_am 'chest' ¶¶ D #827 || A: M *ebci-yu'n 'breast, chest, sternum' > MM [HI] ebc'e'vu'n 'breast' ({Ms., Lew.} 'poitrine'), [S] {H} ebce'vu(n) 'Brust', WrM ebcigu''(n), HIM 'вч** (н) 'sternum, chest', Kl 'вч*н о''wcu''n 'sternum', Ord o'b_c'u-, Shrn is'c'u, Mnr H {SM} s'z' i_u- 'poitrine, poitrail' ¶ MED 628, H 40-1, H SMG I 28, KRS 409-10, KW 303, SM 492, Ms. H 51, Lew. II 12 ♦ In HS, FU and D the N cluster *-b3- was simplified with loss of the reflex of *b, If the D √ belongs here, N *3- yielded D *t ♦ ≠ Gr. II #171 (*eti 'front') [U + err. IE, M + unc. Gil, CK].

2564. ***XUc'V** 'to peel, bark, scrape off (hair, etc.)' > HS: S *o/ħc.c. > Ar √ħs_s_ G (pf. ħWha ħas_s_a) v. 'shave (hair)' ¶ Fr. I 386 || ? K: (K or GZ?) *χwec.-/*χwc.- v. {K²} 'peel' > OG χwec.- v. 'bark (a tree), peel, scrape, hew', G χvec.- v. 'plain/trim (wood) (στροπαρ-, tecar-)', Mg, Lz χoc.- v. 'peel', ? Sv na-χwc.i ~ na-χc.wi 'thin' (prtc. with the px. na-) ¶ K 259, K DE 359, K² 329, FS K 485, Abul. 329.

2565. ***Xqu'dV** 'to separate' (> 'divide; part') > K: MG, G χvedr-i 'part, share, plot of arable land' ¶ DCh. 1743, Chx. 2348 || IE *H₁wei_dh-/ *H₁widh- > NaIE *wei_dh-/ *widh- v. 'separate, divide' > OI vidh- 'be destitute/bereft of, lack, want', nir-viddha- 'separated from each other, isolated', vi'dhu- 'lonely, solitary', vidhu'ra- 'bereft, bereaved (of a loved person), alone, solitary', ? 'vidha- 'distribute' || L d di-vid-o- / -e're v. 'separate, divide', Um UEF 'partes' acc. pl. (< *wei_f-f), vetu 'dividito' (< *wei_f(e)tod) | d IE *widhewo-s 'separated' > L viduus 'deprived, bereaved, destitute', W gweddw 'widower', Gk 'η[F]ι' εο 'unmarried youth'; d IE *widhew-a- 'widow' > OI vi'dhava-, Av vidava- id., NPrs %ovYb bīve (< CINPrs be'va) 'widow(er)' || L vidua 'widow; divorced \ unmarried woman' || OIr fedb, Crn guedeu 'widow' || pAl {O} *widewa- > Al ve id. || Gt widuwo-, OSx widowa, OHG wituwa, NHG Witwe, Δ Wi(t)itib, AS widewe id., NE widow || Pru widdewu 'widow' ! Sl *vdo'va id. > OCS вѣдова vѣdova, Scr udō'va, Slv vdo'va, Cz, Slk vdova, P wdowa, R вдо'ва, Uk удо'ва, Blg d вдо'вица || EI 642 (Huld) quotes Ht SALu(i)dati- 'widow', which is not confirmed by Ts. W and other available sources; if Huld's perplexing interpretation of SALu(i)dati- (with unexpected lack of h-) is valid, the derivational origin of the IE word for 'widow' (or only of the Ht word) is to be reconsidered || d NaIE *woi_dh-son- > Gmc *wai-san- 'orphan' > OFrs we'sa, OHG weiso > NHG Waise ¶¶ P 1127-8, Dv. #617, ≈ EI 160 & 642 (*wi-dh- 'put asunder' d *widh₁eweh_A- 'widow'), WH I 359 & II 785-6, Bc. G 351, Pln. 762-3, ≠ M K III 210-1 & M E II 556 (OI vidh- < vi-dh-a, vi-'dha-), Brl. 1443, F I 625-6, O 497, Fs. 562, Ho. 393, Ho. S 87, Kb. 1163, 1218, Schz. 327, KM 865, En. 273, Glh. 650, Vs. I 281-2 || A: NaT *u''du''r- > OT u''du''r- v. 'choose (one of several); part, separate', Xk u''zu''r- v. 'choose (one of several)' ¶ Cl. 67-8, BIG 254.

2566. ??? ***X'ud₁V?** 'get [somewhere], reach [some place], clash [with sth.]' > K *χwed-/ *χwd- 'meet, come across, hit (the goal); be found' > OG χwd-/χwed- 'meet (begegnen)' (da s'exudes magas... '[they] befall him'), G {DCh.} χvdoma ~ χdoma 'come across, pass by', {K²} 'meet, be found', G {Chx.} χvedr-/χvd- 'meet (treffen), hit', G G/I χvden-/χvdin- 'meet (unwillingly), come across', Mg, Lz χvad- 'meet (treffen)', Sv {K} χwīd- ({K}: < *χwi_-+ed) 'meet (begegnen, treffen)' ¶¶ K 258, K² 328, FS K 484-5, FS E 549-50, Chx. 2346, DCh. 1728-9 || HS: ? S: Ar √hd? G 'seek a refuge towards, se refugier auprès de qn.' ¶ Hv. 114, BK I 389 || pre-B ** √Hwt. > B *√Hwd_ > Ah awd_ 'parvenir à', Gd awəd_ rejoindre, arriver à, Kb awəd_ / yəββwəd_ 'atteindre, parvenir', BMn awδ 'arriver' ¶ Fc. 1461, Lf. II #1650, Dl. 851-2 || D *ut.t_- 'be trapped, caught in a trap' > Gdb ut.t_ id., Gnd urra'na- 'be jammed in a trap' (of fish) ¶ D #598 ♦ The glottal stop *? survives in S and indirectly in B (*d? > *t. > *d.).

¶ 2566a. ***XagV** 'dry, hard' > HS: S: Ar ṭahag'g- 'dur (crâne)' ¶ BK I 379 || C *√hgg > EC *hgeg-/ *hgog- ({Ss.} *(h)geg-/ *(h)gog-) vt. 'dry' > Sa -ohgog- 'be dry', pOr {Bl.} gog > Or gog-, Kns kok- 'dry', Arr gog- vi. 'dry', go'ga- adj. 'dry', Dsn gogu adj. 'hard, dry', go'gob- 'be hard, dry', Elm g og -i'd.a 'dry' || Ag: Bl {R} ha'g'ag- 'vertrocknen, verdorren', Km, Aw kag- 'dry' (k- < *hg?) ¶ AD SF 256, Ap. 12, To. DL 500, Blz. CL 177 ¶, ≈ Lms W 365 || A: M *o'ag- v. 'dry (up)' (unless it is *o'ag-) > WrM ag-, HIM ar-ax 'dry, dry up' ¶ MED 12.

2567. ***XoalygE** 'to lack, want' > HS: SES $\sqrt{hwg}$ (= $\sqrt{hu-g-?}$) > Mh, Hrs, Jb $\sqrt{hwg}$ v. (*d* stems): Mh pf. $\text{h}\bar{a}\text{-tu-g}$ / sbjn. $\text{y}\bar{z}\text{h}\bar{t}\text{zwo-g}$, Hrs pf. $\text{h}\bar{a}\text{-to-g}$ / sbjn. $\text{y}\bar{z}\text{h}\bar{t}\text{zwo-g}$ v. 'need', Mh pf. 'hat'eg , Jb E pf. 'ha'teg (sbjn. $\text{y}\bar{z}\text{h'tog}$) v. 'need', Mh $\text{'ho-g}\bar{z}\text{t}$ (pl. $\text{h}\bar{z}\text{wo-y}\bar{a}\bar{g}$), Hrs $\text{h}\bar{a}\text{-g}\bar{a}\text{h}$ (pl. $\text{h}\bar{z}\text{ga-t}$), Jb E $\text{h}\bar{a}\bar{g}\text{t}$, Jb C $\text{'h}\bar{a}\bar{g}\text{t}$ (pl. 'heg) 'need, thing' ¶ Jo. M 193, Jo. J 120, Jo. H 63 || Eg MK $\text{h}\bar{z}\text{y}$ ({EG} h.d.j , {Fk.} h.d.i) vt. 'injure, destroy, annul', vi. 'fail' ¶ EG III 212-3, Fk. 182 || C: HEC {Hd.} $\sqrt{ho-g-}$ > Kmb, Sd ho-g- v. 'lose, miss, lack' ¶ Hd. 322, 372 || IE: NaIE $\sqrt{a_1 i_1 g^h-/*\bar{a}g^h-/*\bar{i}g^h-}$ '(to be) needy' > Gk [Theo.] $\alpha\chi\eta\bar{\nu}$ 'needy (dürftig)', Gk Δ [Hs.] $\eta\chi\eta\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ · $\kappa\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$, $\pi\tau\omega\chi\omicron\iota$ 'lacking, poor' (pl.), $\kappa\tau\epsilon\alpha\nu\eta\chi\eta\bar{\iota}$ · $\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\eta\bar{\iota}$ 'poor', Gk $\iota\chi\alpha\nu\bar{\alpha}\omega$ 'I long for' :: Av a-z'i-s' 'eager desire (Begierde)', NPrs $\text{z}\bar{A}\bar{a}\text{-z id.}$, Av a-z'a-s' 'Streben, Eifer', izyati 'endeavours to obtain, longs for', i-z'a- 'Streben, Eifer', OI $\text{i}\bar{h}\bar{a}$ 'request, desire', $\text{i}\bar{h}\bar{a}\text{-e}$ v. 'endeavour to obtain; long for', e-ha-h. 'desirous, wishing' ¶ WP I 49-50 (IE $\sqrt{a-g^h-}$), ≈ P 14-5 (err.: ÷ Tc A $\text{a}\bar{k}\bar{a}\text{-l}$, B $\text{aka}\bar{l}\bar{k}$ 'wish', which are of Mltn origin, cf. Ad. 2), M K I 97, 130, F I 200, Vl. I 29 || ??? A: NaT $\sqrt{a-g-su-}$ 'be(come) defective, deficient, lacking' (× N $\sqrt{h}\bar{x}\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{k}\bar{a}$ 'to need, lack', q.v. ffd).

2568. ?₂ ***Xa^gVrV** 'to gird, tie around, surround' > HS: S $\sqrt{hgr}$ > BHb $\sqrt{hgr}$ G vt. 'gird', vi. 'gird oneself, &r7gh9 $\text{h}\bar{a}\bar{g}\text{-o-r-o}$ 'his girdle', er!&gh9 $\text{h}\bar{a}\bar{g}\text{-o-ra}$ 'girdle, loincloth', Ug $\sqrt{hgr}$ v. 'gird', Pun hgr , Nbt hrg? '(protecting) wall, enclosure', JPA $\sqrt{hgr}$ G v. 'encircle, gird', Sr $\sqrt{hgr}$ G v. 'halt, limp; hinder, restrain', Ar rjH $\sqrt{hgr}$ v. G 'prevent, hinder, withhold, restrain', v. D 'be surrounded by a halo' (of the moon), rjuHu hug-ur 'flesh surrounding the nail', Ar D mahg-ar 'abgegrenztes Weidegebiet', Sb hgr 'reserve (sth. for exclusive use)', mhgr 'land reserved (for so.'s exclusive use)', OYmn {Slw.} mhgr 'Plantage; bebautes, umfriedetes Landstück; abgegrenztes Weideland', ? Ak ege-ru 'to twist, perverse' ¶ KB 279, KBR 290-1, A #903, OLS 174, HJ 348, Js. 424, Br. 214, JPS 126, Ln. 516-8, BK I 380, Hv. 111-2, Lb. 360, BGMR 67, Slw. 67-8, Sd. 190, CAD IV 41-2 || ? amb Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl.} $\sqrt{g^w aHar}$ 'gird' > Su {MtS} gwohar, Ang {Flk.} gwar : pBT $\sqrt{ga-r-}$ v. 'tie to, bind' > Bl $\sqrt{g-ar-}$, Ngm {ChL} ngar-, Pr {ChL} $\sqrt{y\bar{z}riyo}$, ? Tng {J} ke-ri 'tie, bind, imprison, fasten' ¶ Stl. ZCh 243 [#42], 246 [#40], ChL, J T 98, AD ChSC 33 ¶ The WCh $\sqrt{}$ may be alternatively equated with Tg $\sqrt{gu-r_i-}$ 'tie under' (STM I 174) || A: NaT $\sqrt{ea-gir-}$ vt. 'encircle, surround' > OT {Cl.} $\sqrt{a-gir-}$ id., 'to twist, spin', Tk eg-ir-, Tkm exir-, Uz jigir-, ET egi(r)-, Az a-yir-, Qzq i-yi-r-, Kr G, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt iyir-, Tv e-r-; the meaning 'twist, spin' is probably due to coalescence with a different $\sqrt{}$ ¶ Cl. 113, ≈ Rs. W 37, ET Gl 227-31 || M $\sqrt{exere-}$ 'surround, rotate, revolve, twist' > MM [S] {H} $\sqrt{e\bar{v}ere-}$, WrO {Krg.} e-r- 'surround', WrM egere-, HlM $\sqrt{y\bar{z}py-}$ 'rotate, whirl, twist, spin', Brt $\sqrt{y\bar{z}py-}$, Ord e-re- 'spin', Kl $\sqrt{y\bar{z}p-}$ id., 'twist (zwirnen)', {Rm.} e-r- id., 'drehen, im Kreis um etwas gehen' ¶ H 42, MED 299, Ms. O 242-3, Krg. 78, KRS 706, KW 131, Chr. 781 || ?σ pKo {S} $\sqrt{e-r-}$ 'spool' > MKo $\sqrt{e-r-}$ id., NKo $\sqrt{e-r-}$ 'reel, spool, bobbin' ¶ S QK #413, Nam 360, MLC 1144 ¶¶ DQA #417 (A $\sqrt{egVrV}$ 'to twist, spin').

2569. ???₂ ***XakECV** 'shoulder (Achsel)' > ?? IE: NaIE $\sqrt{aks-}$ $\rightarrow$ $\sqrt{ag^h(e)s-}$ (and/or $\sqrt{ok-?}$) id.: $\sqrt{aks-}$ > Gmc: OHG {Kb.} uohhisa ~ uochisa ~ uohasa id., MHG uohse, u^hehse 'armpit'; with a $\sqrt{-n-sx-}$: OHG uochsana 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit', AS o-xn 'armpit'; with a $\sqrt{-t-sx-}$: ON o'st, o'str 'throat-pit' ('Halsgrube'), Nr Δ o'ste, AS ocusta ~ o-xta id., NE oxter 'armpit' :: ?φ L axilla 'armpit' (with a dim. sx. -illa); $\rightarrow$ OIr oxal 'armpit' :: Arm anut anut^h (< $\sqrt{asnut^h}$) 'armpit' :: ?φ OIr ochae 'hollow of the armpit' (suggests IE $\sqrt{ok-}$ without $\sqrt{-s-?}$) || Cf. also a similar word $\sqrt{ag^h s(el)-}$ $\rightarrow$ $\sqrt{aks-(el)-}$ for 'Achsel, shoulder': Av as'aya² gen. du. 'of both shoulders (Achseln)' :: L a-la < $\sqrt{aksla}$ id. ($\rightarrow$ 'wing') :: ON o-xl, AS eaxl, OHG ahs(a)la 'shoulder' > NHG Achsel ¶ P 6, Dv. #243, ≈ EI 516 [$\sqrt{h_Aek^h s-}$ 'shoulder(-joint); axle'; $\sqrt{h_Aek^h sleh_A-}$ 'shoulder'], WH I 25, KM 6, Vr. 421, 689, Ho. 87, 234, Kb. 11, 1117, OsS 7, 1058, EWA I 114-6, Lx. 259, Vn. O 6, 36 ¶ The connection between $\sqrt{akg^h s-}$ 'armpit' and $\sqrt{akg^h s-(el)-}$ 'shoulder' is not clear (derivation or semantic change, and if so, in which direction? or secondary semantic association between originally unrelated stems?). Connection with IE $\sqrt{ak^h s-}$ 'axis' (supposed by many scholars) is *unc.* for lack of sufficient semantic ties || HS: Eg: {EG} MK/NK $\sqrt{hcc.t}$ 'shoulder (Schulter, Achsel), armpit', MK {Fk.} $\sqrt{hcc.t}$ 'armpit', $\sqrt{hcc}$ v. 'carry under the arm' ¶ EG III 204, Fk. 181 || ?φ B $\sqrt{HayVt}$ > Tmz t-ayt-t (pl. t-uyat), Kb t-ayæc (pl. t-uyat) 'shoulder', Izd tayt (pl. tuyat) 'armpit' ¶ Valid if N $\sqrt{-kEC-}$ may yield B $\sqrt{-yVt-}$ ¶ Dl. 923, MT 786, Mrc. 16, 420 || Ch: ?? Ke {Eb.} ko'si 'shoulder'.

2570. ***XakERV** 'plain' ($\rightarrow$ 'field') > IE $\sqrt{heag-ro-}$ > NaIE $\sqrt{ag-ro-s}$ 'field, field in cultivation' > OI 'ajra-h. 'field, plain' :: Gk $\sqrt{\alpha\gamma\text{po}}$ 'field', Gk Hm $\sqrt{\alpha\gamma\text{po}}$ 'farm' :: L ager 'land in cultivation, a field', Um AGER 'ager', L $\rightarrow$ Izn igər 'terrain' :: Gt akrs, OSx akkar, OHG ackar $\sqrt{ac(c)har}$, NHG Acker, AS æcer 'field (in cultivation)', NE acre :: ? Arm art art 'field' ¶ ≈ P 6, EI 200 ($\sqrt{h_Aeg-ro-s}$ 'field, pasture'), ≈ M K I 23, ≈ M E I 52, ≈ WH 22 (i: $\sqrt{ag-ro-}$ 'land' $\leftarrow$ $\sqrt{ag}$ 'to drive cattle'), Bc. G 327, F I 16, Mn. 5, Schz. 83, Ho. 8, Ho. S 2, Kb. 13, EWA I 40-2, KM 6-7, Sl. 132 || HS: CS $\sqrt{hkr}$ 'field in cultivation' > Sr {Br.} $\sqrt{\text{æ}w\bar{k}w\bar{k}} \approx \sqrt{\text{h}^2\bar{k}w\bar{k}}$ [$\sqrt{haku-r-a}$] (not att. with vocalization signs) 'ager', Ar {Ln.} ÉravKu'ha $\text{h}\bar{a}\text{-ku-r-at-}$ 'a piece of land retained and enclosed by its proprietor for sowing and planting trees', MHb, JPA $\sqrt{hkr}$ G v. 'lease, rent (a field, a plot of land)', JEA $\sqrt{hkr}$ G 'contract agricultural land as a tenant'; S $\rightarrow$ Sum akar 'field' ¶ Js. 43, Sl. 460, Sl. P 201, Br. 231, Ln. 616, Lv. II 49-50 || A: M $\sqrt{exerme}$ (unless with $\sqrt{\varphi-}$) 'open plain' > WrM egerme, HlM $\sqrt{y\bar{z}pym}$ 'open plain, desert, steppe', WrO ekerme tala 'wasteland, barren plain' (tala 'plain'), Kl {Rm.} e-rm. ~ e-rmā in: e-rm. $\sqrt{ca\bar{y}a-n ta-l\bar{a}}$ 'leere, weite Wüste' ($\sqrt{ca\bar{y}a-n}$ 'white') ¶ MED 299, Krg. 76, KW 131 ◆ The sound corr. between S $\sqrt{k}$ and IE $\sqrt{g}$ suggests a common heritage rather

than borrowing. Therefore the hyp. of IE **ag̃-ro-s* as a loan from either Sum akar 'field (in cultivation)' or from S needs revision (f ≈ AD IEH 23) ♦ M **e- < *a* is due to vowel harmony (infl. of **E* of the following syll.).

2571. ***χakoARV** ≈ 'top part, tip, extremity' > IE **xag̃_lr-* > NaIE **agro-* 'top, point, uppermost (oberstes)' > OI 'agram' 'tip, summit, beginning', agri'mah, 'the foremost', Av ayra- 'der erste, oberste', ayram n. 'Anfang, das Oberste, Spitze' || Ltv agrs 'early', agrums 'early hour, early morning' || Ht {Pv.} hekur 'rock-sanctuary, acropolis' ¶ P 8-9, M K I 18, M E I 45, Brtl. 49, Kar. I 56-7, Ts. E I 235-6, Pv. III 287-9 || K: Sv hok_{er} ^d wok_{er} 'the very bottom, end' (× N ***ʔʔok.i** 'sharp point\edge', q.v. ffd.) || HS: S **õ/ħrk* > Ar {Ln.} ħarkak-at-, pl. ħara_{kik}- ~ ħara_{kik}- 'heads \ extremities of the two hips\haunches that are next the ground when one sits', ħa_{rik}- 'upper part of horse's withers', 'branches of the two shoulder-blades of a horse', 'place of growth of the lowest part of the mane, next to back upon which he who mounts lays hold' ¶ Ln. 553 ¶ The *mt* may be connected with the S morphophonemic law ruling out roots with the sequence **h...k* || B {Pr.} **√Hyṛ* > Ah {Fc.} a_hṣyār 'escarpement à pic formant le couronnement (d'une montagne)' ¶ Fc. 1752, Pr. H #348.

2572. ***χek.V** 'scrape, scratch' > K **χok-* v. 'scrape' > MG [VTq], G χok₋ 'scrape, scratch', Mg χok₋ 'scrape, shave', Sv li-χk_{-ən-e} 'to scratch' ¶ i ÷ Mg, Lz χak_{-ar-} 'scrape', that are likely to belong (acc. to K²) to K **pχek₋/*pχik₋* 'scrape' ¶ K DE 367, K² 210, 330, Q 405, Chik. 332-3, Fn. KW-2 95 [#50] || HS: S **√ħkk* v. 'scratch' > MHb, JEA Kkh /ħkk G 'rub, scratch', Sr /ħkk G 'scratch', Ar /ħkk G (pf. ħakka, ip. -ħkuku) 'rub (a th.) with, scrape off (gold) with', Gz /ħkk G v. 'itch, scratch, rub, scrape', Tgr /ħkk G 'scratch, scrape, Tgy ħak_{ek}_v, ħank^w_{ek}_v pf. 'scratch', Jb C {Jo.} /ħkk G (pf. ħekk, sbjn. yħik) 'level off', Sh pf. aħ'kek 'plane, level, smooth', Mh {Jo.} /ħkk G (pf. ħək) 'level off, scratch', Hrs {Jo.} /ħkk G (pf. ħək), Jb C pf. ħotkk 'scratch', Ak OB/LB eke_{ku} 'to scratch' ¶ Js. 462, Sl. 460, Br. 230, Fr. I 409, L G 228, Jo. M 173-4, Jo. J 107, Jo. H 58, CAD IV 63-4, Sd. 193, MiK I #2.23 || C: EC **hek₋/*hok₋* > Sa hokuk-, Sml hoq-, Bn ho_?-, Gdl hek₋-, Arr he_k-. v. 'scratch', Rn {PG} o_χ- 'scratch (an itchy place)', Or ho_k- 'scratch (an itch)', Brj hok_o_k- 'scratch oneself' (< *rdp* **hok_ohok_o-*) || Bj {R} /hg^wn (1s p. a-ha^o'gu_n, prs. ahan'gu_n) v. 'scratch, itch' || DhI {EEN} ħik₋ 'grind' ¶ Ss. PEC 48, 50, Ss. B 99-100, PG 241, R WBd 113, AD SEC 134 [#7.10], AD SF 157, E PC #528 (pC **hok_o^w/*hek_o^w-*), Grg. 213-4, Hw. A 366, EEN 27 || ??φ WCh: Ang {Flk.} gwak 'rub hard, polish, grind corn' (if Tk. is right in postulating a reg. corr.: AG **g ÷ S *h*) ¶¶ Tk. PAA 14 (Ang, DhI, S) || D **ekk-* v. 'scratch, card' > Ml ekkuka, Png ec- v. 'card (cotton)', Kt ek-, Tf o_k- v. 'scratch (oneself, an itching limb)', Gnd eh- v. 'weed' ¶¶ D #765 [♦ Blz. KM 115-6 [#9] (K, S, Bj, EC).]

2573. ***XoK.U** 'call out, speak (solemnly); incantations' > IE: Ht huek- 'conjure, treat by incantation' ¶ As shown in Pv. II 323-7, this NaIE verb is hardly connected with NaIE **wek^w-* 'speak' (cf. N ***waK.U** 'call') ¶¶ EI449 || HS: S **õ/ħkw* > Ar /ħkw G 'say, narrate', ħika_{yat}- 'narration' ¶ BK I 472 || Eg fP ħk₃ 'magic spell (Zauber), supernatural force; incantation' (= {Vc.} **hik₃?* > **hiki₃?*, verbal noun) > Cp Sd/B **zık** hik 'magic'; -d> Eg fP ħk₃.w 'magician', MK {Fk.} ħk₃.w 'magic, magic spells', ħk₃y 'magician' ¶ EG III 175-7, Fk. 179, AD WIL (pre-S **χ...k* > S **h...k*) || A: T **hok_uṛ-* ~ **hok_uṛ-* > OT {Cl.} oq₁- 'call out aloud, summon, recite' → 'read', Xlj ho_{qu}- v. 'read, sing', Osm {Zn.} oqu- 'pronounce aloud, read', Tk oku-, Az oχu-, Tkm oqa-, Uz oqi-, CrTt, QrB, Qrg, ET, LN oqu-, Qzq, Nog, Qq oq₁-, LN uqu-, VTt, Bsh uq_ṛ- 'read' ¶ Cl. 79, Rs. W 359-60, DT 134, ET Gl 439-41 ♦ IE **we* as a reflex of N **o* is explained by the rule 4 described in AD NGIE 17: N **o*ṽu > pre-IE₁ **u*ṽu (ṽ = any cns.) and later pre-IE₁ **u* > IE **we*.

2574. ***XoyEK.V** 'lap, lower front part of the belly' > HS: WS **hayk-* 'lap, loin' > BHb qih₄ ħe_k ħe_k-, Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} ħe_k.u 'lap', JA [Trg.] aq₁ih₄ ħe_k-'a' {Js.} 'lap, bosom', {Lv.} 'Schoß', Ar ħaqw- ~ ħiqw- 'cette partie du corps qui est au bas des côtes; ceinture', Sb ħk_w.w-nhn du. df., ħk_w.w-y du. cs. 'loins', Gz ħak^w_e- ~ ħawk_e- ~ ħawk^w_e- 'hip, loin', Mh {SSL} 'ħa_k.z_w 'taille' (<B- Ar?), Jb C {Jo.} ħak_o ħek_o 'hip(s), hip-bone(s)' ¶ **k_w* and *k_w* in Ar and SS go back to the S nom. form (...k_{-u}) ¶ KB 300, Hnr. 124, MiK I #113, Js. 460, Lv. T I 255, BK I 469, L G 239, SSL LNPM 220, Jo. J 108 || ? WCh: Tng {J} ag_o, {ChL} hayo_o, Krkr {Lk.} ʔa_o k_o, {ChL} ʔa_o k₃ w 'stomach, belly' ¶ J T 65, ChL || A **o_oyea₁k_ov* > T **o_oyea₁k_o* 'part of animal skin on the lower belly' > Chg {PC} o_oye₁ id., 'hair under animal's neck', Tv o_oye₁, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} o_oyo_o k 'belly (of animals), belly part of animal's hide', Shor/QK {Rl.}, Xk o_o k 'belly part of animal's hide', Qrg o_o k id., 'side of a horse', Chg {Rl.} □'Yv_o o_oya₁ k 'Bauch- und Halshaut des Eichhörnchens', VTt {Bu.} □'Yv_u u_oya₁ k 'подбрюшница' (≈ 'hair under the belly') ¶ ET Gl 515, Rs. W 369-70, TL 146, 423, PC 86, Rl. I 1179, 121, Jud. 597, BIG 136, Bu. I 165 || M {DQA} **o_oyekei_o* 'lower part of animal's belly' > WrM {Kow.} o_oyeke 'bas-ventre, ventre, entrailles des animaux', {MED} o_oyu_o ke, HIM 'ex, 'ехий 'the thin flesh of the belly; pit of the stomach' ¶ Kow. 553, MED 633 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1545 [incl. T & M].

2575. ***XAK.ArV** 'to need, want, be hungry' > HS: Eg fP ħk₁ r 'be hungry', Cpt Sd/B **zko** hko (qual. **zoker** hoker), Cpt F **zika** hika id., Eg fOK ħk₁ r 'a hungry man', Cpt Sd **zike** he_o ke, Cpt B **ziki** he_o ki 'poor' ¶ EG III 174-5, Fk. 178-9, Vc. 293 || ?σ S **õ/ħk₁r* > Ar /ħqr (pf. ħaqira, ip. -ħqaru) 'be mean, deplorable, contemptible; have no weight\worth', (pf. ħaqara) 'be mean, despicable' = 'devenir vil, méprisable, tomber dans l'abaissement' (if ← **be poor* ← **go hungry*) ¶ Ln. 611, Fr. I 407, BK I 466-7, Hv. 134 || C: SC **√k_o^wr* 'hunger' > Irq/Alg {MQK, E} q^wari, Brn {E} qori, Kz {E} k_ouliko id. || DhI k_oe₁ re id. ¶ E SC 280, MQK 89, EEN 19, To. D 138 || Ch: Mpn {Frz.} k₃-r 'hunger' ¶ Frz. DM 31 ¶¶ Cal. #72 (S, Eg), Tk. I 211 & Tk. SCC

91 [#21.4] (S, Eg, C, Ch) **II D** *akkar_- 'necessity, want' > Ka akkar_e, Tl akkar_a id., 'need', Tm akkar_ai_, akkarai_ 'concern, interest, need, necessity' ¶¶ D #21.

2576 *ʕalV (or *h-, *Ø-) '(*forehead >) 'front, edge' > ? HS: S *ʕ/hlm (or **/ʕlm) > Ak ellamu 'front' (in space or time) ¶ CAD IV 101, Sd. 203 || ? Eg P h̄ɜ.t or h̄ɜy.t 'front part, face, forehead; beginning' (unless ɜ was followed by a vowel, i.e. it was not from *l) > Cpt: Sd/B ɜl hi, Sd ɜlm hie-, ɜɜm ehe-, A ɜl hi, ɜɜi hei, ɜɜl ehi, ɜɜɜɜi ehie 'beginning, front part' ¶ EG III 19-24, Vc. 285, 314, Tk. I 300 **II** ? K: G ɜling-i 'edge' (Chx.: ɜlingi 'Kante, Rand', DCh.: ɜlingi- lingi 'край у доски') ¶ Chx. 2369, DCh. 650, 1749 **II U** *alV (?) > FU {UEW} *alka '(front/back) edge, beginning; to begin' > F alka-, Es alga- v. 'begin', F alku, Es alg (gen. alu) 'beginning', pLp *alke- v. 'begin' > Lp S {Hs.} aalg'e-, Lp N {N} al'ge- -lg-, Lp L {LLO} al'ke-, Lp K a-l'ke- d̄ al'ke-, Lp Kld алл-кы v. 'begin', Lp L {LLO} al'go -lg-, Lp L al'ko-, Lp K a-l'k̄dalk 'beginning, origin' :: pObU *a-ləɣ ~ *a-ləŋ ~ *a-ɣəl ~ *a-ŋəl 'beginning, end' {Ht.} > pVg *a-ɣəl > Vg: T awl, LK/UL owl, MK/NV/SV o-l, P o-l / nom. pl. owlət, LL o-l / aɣlt, Ss ɔ-wl id.; pOs *aləŋ > Os: V/Vy/O aləŋ, Ty/Y a-ləŋ, D/K otəŋ, Nz ɔtəŋ, Kz ɔtəŋ id. ¶ UEW 6-7, Coll. 71, Ht. #26, Lr. #46 [believes that Lp is a loan from F], Lgc. #185, Hs. 206, SaR 24 || ? Sm {Jn.} *olɔ 'summit, head' > En {Cs.}: X ori?, B ori? 'Gipfel, Höhe', X ofo 'früher', ofo?, B oro? 'vor'; Slq Tz {KKIH} olə 'head', Kms {KD} ulu ~ ulu, Koyb {Sp.} улу id. ¶ Jn. 29, Prk. SG 120, KKIH 142, KD 80; Jn. (p.c.) does not connect Sm *olɔ with FU *alka, because the vocalism of the Sm stem does not match that of the FU word **II A** {SDM97} *a-la 'front side' > NaT *a-l 'front, forehead' > OT al (= *a-l) 'front, facing, prior position', Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Tb, SY, Tk Δ al, Qrg al(d) 'front, front side', ET, Ln ayl id., Tkm a-l-a, QK, Qrg al-ɣa 'forward', Tkm Δ al (= *a-l) 'forehead'; NaT *a-lin 'forehead' > OT alin (= *a-lin), Tkm a-lr, Az, SY alin id., Tk alin 'forehead, front, face', Alt alin 'front', QK {B} alin 'front side, space in front of', Xk, Tb {B} alin 'front' adj., Tf, Tv Tj alin 'face' ¶ Cl. 121, 147 [is not sure about OT al, because in the texts it occurs only with a 3s ppa. in oblique cases (dat., lat., abl.) which may be interpreted as cases of alin; he suggests that a-l appeared later (in Chg, etc.) as reinterpretation of the oblique cases of a-lin], ET Gl 124-5, 146-7, Tkr 43, Hüs. 15, B DLT 138, B DChT 100, 102, Jud. 48, Ra. 153 || Tg: Ewk Nr {KD} a-lmu 'front part of the garment'; ?? Tg *elmu (with a puzzling *e) 'front part of footgear' ('передки') > Ul əlmi, Ork əlmu ~ əlum, Nn ɜrmu, Neg ɜnmu, Orv ɜmmu ¶ KD K WV 26, STM II 454 || pKo {S} *a-r-p 'front' > MKo a-rp, NKo ap^h ap ¶ S QK #651, Nam 348, MLC 1098 || pJ {S} *a-ra-p-ar- v. 'appear' > OJ a-ra-p-ar-a-, J: T/Kg araware-, K a-ra-wa-re- ¶ S QJ #589, Mr. 677 ¶¶ DQA #66 [A *a-la or *e-la) 'front side': T, Ko] ♦ Cf. IS I 244 (*HalA): U, A. If the K cognate (*qu.*, because its final part is not clear) is valid, the initial lr. must have been *ɕ- (it is the only one yielding K *ɕ- and a S epiglottal cns.). If the K cognate is rejected, but the Ak one is accepted, the initial cns. could have been *h-, *ɕ-, *ɕ-, or *ɣ-.

2577. *ɕalV '(to be/become) clean' > IE *xal- > Lw halali 'clean' > Ht halali id. ¶ Pv. III 13, Ts. W I 126, Lar. 38 **II HS**: S *ɕ/hll 'be clean' > Ak ele-lu 'become pure', ellu 'clean', JA [Trg.] ɕ/hll D 'wash, rinse', JEA ɕ/hll D 'wash', Sr ɕ/hll D 'purify', Md ɕ/hll D id., 'cleanse, rinse, wash', ?σ Ug hll {OLS} 'desacralization, purification', ?σ BHb ɕ/hll D 'entweißen', N 'entweicht werden' ('desacralize' ← 'purify, clean'?) ¶ Sd. 197-8, Js. 470, Lv. T I 260, Sl. 464-5, Br. 231, JPS 143, DM 148, KB 306-7, OLS 176 || C: EC: Sml {DSI} ɕal- 'rinse, wash', Sml N {Abr.} ɕal- 'wash' :: SC: Asa hilus- v. 'strain, filter' ¶ DSI 622, Abr. S 116, E SC 335 (SC *hel- v. 'clean') || Eg OK h̄ɜ.ty d 'Bleicher, Wäscher' ¶ Hng. 501 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 96 [#26.6] (C, Eg, S) **II D** *al- v. 'wash, clean' > Kn ale v. 'wash', alambu, alumbu, alabu, alubu v. 'rinse, wash', Tm alampu-, alai-cu- id., alacu- v. 'rinse', Ml alakkuka 'wash clothes by beating', Td as_p- v. 'clean', Tu alambuni 'to wash', Tl {Brown} alamu v. 'wash' ¶¶ D #246 **II E**: NEI a-lik 'es wurde gesäubert (?)' ¶ HK 46.

2578. *ɕelA 'to dwell, live' > HS: WS *h̄ɜl- v. 'stay, live (somewhere), settle somewhere, encamp' > Sb llh h̄ll v. 'encamp', Hrs {Jo.} ɕ/hll(l) v. 'stay, alight, live (at)', Mh {Jahn} ɕ/hll G 'stehen bleiben, verweilen, wohnen', {Jo.} v. 'settle', Jb C/E {Jo.} ɕ/hll G id., Ar ɕ/hll G (ip. -hillu- -hullu) 'descendit (pec.) ex itinere, quievit (in loco)', ps. ÕWHu hulla 'habitatium fuit (locus)', ÕwhaMa maħall- 'halte; endroit, lieu, place', maħallat- 'campement, hôtellerie, quartier (de la ville)' (in Ar the verb was semantically influenced by the verb ɕ/hll 'dénouer, défaire [un nœud]', the ancient meaning 'habiter' being better preserved in the ps. hulla 'was inhabited' and in d nouns: hulu-l- 'habitation', maħall-, maħallat-, etc.) ¶ BGMR 67, Jahn MS 191, Jo. M 176, Jo. H 58, Jo. J 108, Fr. I 412-4, BK I 472-5) **II K**: GZ *ɕl- v. 'dwell, stay (somewhere)' > Mg ɕor-ua 'to settle (somewhere)' ('sich ansiedeln') ({K}: < *oɕor-ua < d̄ Mg oɕor- 'dwelling'), G ɕl- v. 'be' (verbum existentiae, copula), 'be (in good, bad, etc. condition)': ga-ɕla-var(t) 'ich bin, ich bin's', p,et, re gaɕlavart 'I am Peter', gaɕlavs, gaɕlavit 'er/sie/es ist', 'es hat', 'ist vorhanden', (k, argad/cudad) gaɕlavs 'befindet sich (gut/schlecht)'; < d̄ GZ *s_a-ɕl_ - (= {K} *(s)a-xl_ -) 'house' (nomen loci with the literal meaning 'dwelling') > OG, G saɕl- 'house', Lz oɕor- id., Mg oɕor- 'dwelling, abode; farmstead' ¶ Chx. 2365-6, Q 295-6, ≠ K 171-2, K² 176 (*s_a-ɕl_ - < d̄ *ɕal-/ɕl- 'be among, near') **II U** *ela- v. 'live, dwell' > F ela-, Es ela-, Lp N {N} ælle- v. 'live (leben, wohnen)', pLp {Lr.} *e-le- id. > Lp: N {N} ællet id., S jiel'e- 'live (leben)', L îelle-, T yîelle- 'live, visit' : Chr: H {Rm.} æle-, {Ep.} ѡлае- əla- v. 'live', L ѡла- ıla-, E ile- 'leben, wohnen' : pPrm *ɔl- id. > Z ol--ov-, Yz ol- id., Vt ул(ь) - ul(i)- v. 'live' :: Hg e-l- id., pObU *ye-l- (= {Hl.} *je-l-, {Ht.} *ja-l-/je-l-) > pVg *ya-lt- v. 'be healthy' > Vg: T

yilt-, K/P/V ya'lt-, LL yelt-, UL/O yalt- id.; pOs *ye'lpā'ylā- ({HL} *yi'lpā'ylā-) v. 'resuscitate' > Os: V ye'lwā'xlā-, Kz yi'lpā'xlā-, O yilpā'xlā- id. || Sm {Jn.} *ilyila-, {HL} *ilyile v. 'live' > Ng n'ilid'e; En {Cs.}: aor. 1s X ihiro?, B jiredo?, Ne T {Ter.} ɰle(c-), Ne O {Lh.} jil'e-, Slq Tz {KKIH} ili- id., Kms {KD} 1s prs. t'ilil'em 'wiederaufleben', d'ili 'lebendig', Mt {HL} *ilā- 'live' (Mt: M/T {MIL} ilinde, K {PL} ilinde, {MIL} illende 'vivus') ¶¶ Coll. 10, UEW 73, SK 37-8, It. LC 184, Lr. #226, Lgc. #856, N III 863-4, Hs. 780, LG 203, Ep. 167, MRS 131, Ü 53, 294, Ht. #185, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 27, Jn. UK #73, KKI 110, Hl. M #340 II A: M **ele- v. 'live, be healthy'-d adj. *ele-xu'r 'healthy', → 'sober' > MM [MA] ryl/æ ele'v'u'r 'healthy', °yLrv/YÆ ele'v'u'rlik 'health', [IM] rLu/æ elu'r 'sober', iB rVL/æ elu'r bī 'health', Brt elu'u'r elu'r 'healthy, sober', b→ Yk a'ila'r~ o'lu'o'r id., Ewk NB 3l3r 'sober'; mt *elexu'r > *erexu'l, whence WrM eregu'l, HIM ep**л eru'l, Kl eru'l 'healthy' ¶ Pp. MA 152, 437, STM II 450, otherwise Klz. MJ 17 II ??a D *ill- 'dwelling, house' (× N *zil'a' 'place to stay') > Tm il id., illam 'house, home', Ml il 'house, place', Kdg illa-vən 'man who is a relative' (lit. "house-man", with *-van_ 'man', cf. Tm i-van_ 'this man', a-van_ 'iste vir'), Tl illu 'house, dwelling', Tu ill'h id., 'family', Klm, Nkr ella, Gnd, Png, Mnd il, Knd ilu, Ku illu ~ illu 'house', Kui id_u 'house, dwelling' ¶¶ D #494 ◆ Cf. IS I 267-8 s.v. *?elA ~~xxx~~. IS adduces words from K, S, B, C, T and M, which have no obvious semantic connections with the meaning 'live' and arouse many doubts (concerning both meaning and phonology). In my opinion, among the words adduced by IS there are reflexes of different N etyma: besides *xelA 'dwell, live', there are words going back to N *?elV 'clan, tribe' [q.v.], N *woolglV 'stay, be' [q.v.] and possibly others.

2579. *xelV 'fence, border; enclosure' > HS: WS (or S) *√hwl ~ *√hyl v. 'surround' > Ar hawl- 'surrounding', hiwala'?, hula'~ 'seconde membrane qui sort de l'utérus à la partition (chez les chamelles)', Sb hwl [prep.] 'around', [n.] 'surrounding a tomb chamber'; *ha'wil- (?) > Hb he'l (spelled lih4 hyl, lh4 hl) 'outer rampart, outwork', Ug hl 'fortaleza, baluarte; torre, finca, coto'; ?φ Ak χillu 'egg membrane' ¶ KB 299, KBR 312, BGMR 73, BDB #2426, OLS 175, BK I 519, Ln. 575-6 MiK I #1.130 || EC: Sml he'l 'space surrounding a settlement' ¶ DSI 305, ZMO 187 II K *ox|qel- > G Lch xel-i 'Grenzzeichen, Steinhäufen im Wald' ¶ Chx. 2332 II IE *xel- 'enclosure' > Ht hali- 'pen, corral; lunar halo' || Gk Hm α'λωη' 'garden, threshing-floor', Gk Cp alawo = α'λωω 'garden' ¶ Pv. III 26-28, Ts. E I 128-9, F I 82-3, Ch. 67-68 II D *ell-ay 'limit, border, boundary' > Tm ellai, Ml ella, Td ely, Kn elle, Tl ella id. ¶¶ D #846, Zv. 72.

2580. ??μ *χulV ≈ 'lizard, snake' > K: GZ *(m-)χul- 'lizard' > OG mχuliw-, Mg χolar-, χvilar-, χvelar-, Lz mtχolar-, χolura- id.; G χvlik, - id. (× GZ *γwlek, -/*γwlik, - 'be crooked. curved') ¶ *m- is probably a px. ¶ K 144, K² 134, 228, FS K 232, FS E 255-6 II HS: S *χulimat, - ≈ 'lizard, snake' > Sr 'tomolw~u hulma't.a' 'large lizard', Hb ym37h 'homēt, '∈ reptile', Ak χulmittu ~ χulmit.t.u '∈ snake or lizard', ? Ar himt.a't~ {Fr.} 'animalculum in herbis vivens', hamat.it~ {Fr.} 'serpens; vermis, qui in oleribus tempore veris est' (loans from a lge. having h from S *χ) ¶ Br. 235, KB 314, Sd. 354, CAD VI 230, Fr. I 427 || Eg RT/G χrr.t 'snake in the underworld; reptiles, vermin (Gewürm)' ¶ EG III 150 || ? EC (mt): pSam *mulš- 'lizard' (cp. OG mχuliw- id.) > Sml mulaš, Sml N {Abr.} mu'laš '∈ lizard', Rn {PG} mulu'h '∈ small gray lizard' ¶ Hn. S 69, Abr. S 182, DSI 445, PG 228 II A: Tg *olga(-ma) 'snake' > Neg olgon, olgoma id., Orc ugguma id., 'grass-snake', Ud ugum3 'a red poisonous snake', Nn KU olgoma 3'abda~, Nn B olgoma 3'abda(n-) 'big snake, boa, python', Nn Nh olgoma muyki '∈ snake' ¶ STM II 13 || T: Qq, Kr Cr uluw, Qzq u'lu'w, Alt, Tv ulu, SY ulu ~ olu 'dragon' (unless a loan from Chn lu id.) ¶ ET Gl 591 II D (in SD) *ul~. 'wood-worm' or sim. > Tm, Ml ul_u id., Kn G ul_ngu 'a nit' ¶ D #700 ◆ ≠ Fn. KD #106 (K + i ÷ D *ka(v)ul~ 'lizard'). If the T cognate is valid, the lateral in pN rec. is *-l-, otherwise it is either *-l' or *-l-.

2581. *Xil'i?V (black) dirt, soot' (→ 'rust') > HS: WS *√hl? v. 'rust', *h'i'li?at- 'rust' > BHb ea115h3 *hel'a~* 'rust' [e't1a116h3 hel'fa't_a'h 'her rust'], Ar √hl? G (pf. hali?a) v. 'rust', Sq {L} hal?e 'dirt', Mh {Jo.} h3le't 'rust', h3lu v. 'become rusted', Jb E/C {Jo.} 'ha'le v. 'rust' ¶ KB 302, KBR 315, L LS 174, Jo. M 179, Jo. J 110 II IE: NaIE *il-, *ilu- 'mud, filth' ({P} 'Schlamm'), 'black' > Gk ι λυ'φ, -υ'οφ 'mud' :: pSl *jyb~b, *jyb~o, *jyb~a 'mud' > OCS нлѣ илѣ 'mud', R ил 'silt', Blg ил, SCr jī'la 'silt, slime', Cz ji'l, Slk i'l 'silt, clay', P il 'loam, mud' ¶ P 499, Mn. 430, F I 723, Tr. 103, ESSJ VIII 221-2, EI 371 (*HiHlu- 'mud, swamp') II A: ? T *il' ~ *il' 'soot, dirty smoke' > OT is' 'lamp-black, soot', Tv is', Qb, Sg, Alt, Tlt, QK is, Shor, Kü, Qrg is', Yk is 'smoke'; possible infl. of T *is 'soot' (< N *hElyjsU 'faeces, filth', q.v.) ¶ Cl. 254, Rl. I 1406, Nj. 164, ≈ ET Gl 380 (T <b- M *isu' 'smoke', see N *hElyjsU) II D (in SD) *ill- 'soot' > Tm illat.ay 'soot adhering to the inner side of the roof', Kn illn_a id., Ml illara-kkari, illara-kkari 'grime, soot' ¶ D #498.

2582. *XalbV 'white' > HS: WS *ha'lab- 'milk' > BHb bl1h1 ha'la'b id., MHb bl1h1 ha'la'b id., 'white (of an egg)', Pun, Ug, IA hlb, JA [Trg.] bl2h9 h'a'lab / aB116h2 hal'ba~, JEA {Sl.} ab216h2 halb_a~, Sr {Br.} hal(ə)'b_a~, Ar JlaHa halab {Fr., BK} 'milk', Gz halab 'sour milk'; d: Ar halīb- 'milk', Gz halīb, Tgr, Tgy halib 'milk, curds', WS *√hlb v. 'milk' > MHb, JA, Ar, Sr √hlb id.; WS (Ar?) b→ Ak NA χilpu 'milk' ¶ KB 302, KBR 315, HJ 372, OLS 176, Js. 464, Sl. 461, ≈ Lv. II 52 (JA bl1h9 h'a'la'b_ / aB116h2 hal'ba~), Br. 232, Fr. I 414-5, BK I 476-7, L G 229, CAD VI 187 || C: SC ({E} *?i'li'ba 'milk'): Irq {Mgw., MQK} zilwa~ ~ pulwa~, {Wh.} i'lwa, Brn, Alg ilba, Grw ulu'wa, Asa liba 'milk' ¶ AD SF 129, 152, Wh. IC 24, E SC 291, Mgw. 110, MQK 55 ¶¶ AD l.c., OS #1230, ≠ E EEA 93 (SC *iliba 'milk' <b- proto-East-Nilotic *lep- 'to milk') ¶¶ The S words *ha'lab- and *ha'lib- have a morphological structure typical of adjectives (the patterns *Ca'CaC- and *Ca'CīC-), suggesting an

original meaning of adj. ('white') || IE *H₂elb^ho- 'white' > NaIE *alb^ho- id. > L albus id., Um alfu f. 'white' || Gl albo- 'white' || Gk [Hs.] acc. pl. 'αλφου' id., Gk 'αλφο' 'whiteness, white leprosy' || pGmc *alb-it, *alb-ut- 'swan' > OHG albiō, elbiō, AS ælbitu, ielfetu, ON elptr, o₂lpt || Sl {Glh.} *o''lbo₂d₂ ~ *e''lbe₂d₂ 'swan' > RChS лѣбѣдъ lebedъ, Blg лебед, SCr la''bu'd, Slv lebe'd ~ labo'd, R 'лебед', Δ 'λεβιδ', P labe₂d₂, Cz labut' ¶¶ Adduction of Ht alpas 'cloud' is *unj.* ¶¶ WP I 92-4, P 30-1, Mn. 13-4, F I 81-2, WH I 26-7, Bc. G 327, Vr. 101, Glh. 365, Kb. 16, Schz. 85, ≈ EWA I 152-4, Ts. E I 18, Pv. I 37-8 (rejects the connection of Ht alpas 'cloud' with IE *alb^h- for lack of semantic proximity), EI 641 (*h.el'b^ho-s) || D *all- 'clear' (of liquids) (× N *hAlV 'to shine; bright', q.v. ffd.) ♦ If Ht alpas had belonged here, the rec. would have been *h₂albV, otherwise it is *XalbV ♦ Trmt. NE2 (S, IE), AD NM #20.

2583. ₂ *X'a'lmV 'dream; to dream' > HS: WS *√hlm v. 'dream' > Hb, JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr, SmA, Ar, Gz √hlm G, Mh, Hrs √hlm (pf. 'hayl₂m, sbjn. y₂shlō₂m), Jb C √hlm (pf. 'helm, sbjn. yah'lum) id.; WS *hul₂V₂m- ~ *h₂il₂V₂m-, *hala₂m- n. 'dream' > Ph, Ug hlm, Ar hūlm-, BA M13h4 'helem, JA, Sr hēl'm-a₂, Sb hlm, Gz halm, Hrs hā₂lōm (pl. hā₂lō₂m), Mh hām (pl. hā₂lawm), Jb E/C hum (pl. āh₂lom) id., BHb M&lh1 hā₂lō₂m id. ¶ HJ 375-6, KB 307-8, KBR 317-8, 320, HJ 375-6, Ln. 631-2, L G 230, A #103, OLS 176, Lv. T I 261, Sl. 465, Br. 234-5, Tal 272-3, BK I 482-3, BGMR 68, L G 230, Jo. M 179, Jo. H 59, Jo. J 110, Nak. 246, MiK I #2.25 || U: FU *f'a'lmV, {Sm.} *a₂lma₂ > FP: Chr: L ḥomō n. 'sleep, dream', Δ om₂ id. | Prm {LG} *onm- ({LG} *o₂nm-) n. 'sleep' > Z yH / yHm-, Z US ωn, Yz 'un, Vt ym / ymm- id. || ObU *wu₂lām / *wu₂lmV (or *-δ-) 'dream' > pVg {Ht.} *u₂lmV > OVg S Kg o₂lma, OVg S VT o₂lmb, OVg S Tr y₂lmy, Vg T o₂lām, OVg Tb ul₂mb, OVg N Chd y₂lmb, Vg LK/MK/UK/UL/Ss u₂lām, Vg P wulām, Vg NV/SV/LL ulām n. 'dream'; -d> Vg: T olma₂y-, LK/NV/SV ulmāy-, MK/UK u₂lmāy-, P wulmāy-, LL ulmay-, Ss u₂lmay- v. 'dream'; pOs {Ht.} *wulām 'dream' > Os: V/Vy ulām, Ty ulām, D/K otām, Nz utām, Kz wō₂lām, O wulām id., ? pOs {Ht.} *alām n. 'sleep' (> Os: V/Vy/O alām, Ty/Y a₂lām, D/K otām, Nz otām, Kz alām) (× FU *oda- v. 'sleep') ¶ Sm. 542 (FU *a₂lma₂ 'dream' > FP *alma, Ugr *a₂lma), LG 297, TmK 722, MRS 379-80, ≈ Ber. 45, ≈ Ht. #664, Stn. WV 209, Kn. WV 170.

2584. *Xr₂l₂t₂Vr₂V 'vein, sinew, root' > IE: NaIE *e₂tor, *e₂trom, *e₂tr₂o 'vein, sinew, internal organ' (× N *qu₂hi₂t₂V 'intestines, sinew, thread; to tie') > AS ædre, æder, ON æðr 'vein', OHG a₂dra 'bloodvessel (vein, artery), sinew', NHG Ader 'vein, artery' || Gk Hm ἡτορ 'heart', Gk A ἡτορ 'belly' || OIr inathar 'intestines' ¶ P 344, EI 359 (*h₂eh₂tr- ≈ 'lung, internal organ'), Mn. 254-5, Dv. #256, F I 645, Vr. 68, Ho. 9, Kb. 5, OsS 3, EWA I 54-7 || HS: S *₂h₂tr > Ar h₂ita₂r- (pl. h₂itur-) 'corde principale de la tente à laquelle on attache d'autres pour mieux la tendre' ¶ Fr. I 341, BK I 374 || Eg P/MK h₂tr 'Strick, Seil', Eg Md/L/G h₂tr v. 'bind together' > Cpt Sd ḡwtrp₂ ho₂tār 'réunir, attacher, lier'; cp. Cpt Sd ḡwtrpe hetre 'navel' (← 'navel string'); ?σ: Eg: fOK h₂tr 'yoke of oxen', fXVIII 'span of horses; horses' > Cpt Sd ḡwto hto, Cpt B ḡlo ht₂o 'horse' (Cpt -b> Bj {R} hata₂y id.) ¶ EG III 199-202, Fk. 180-1, Vc. 315-6, Ws. 400, Tk. I 304 || WCh: Su d₂ugur v. 'darn (flicker)' (with an epenthetic -g-, cf. AD ChSC 35; loss of the initial lr. in the AG lgs., as in Su {MtS} gwohar 'belt' < HS *₂hgr id. and in Mpn k₂z₂r 'hunger' < HS √hk₂r 'be hungry') || A: ? T *jilt₂ir₂ (< **jilt₂Xr₂ ~ **ilt₂Xr₂) 'root' > OT jiltiz, Osm {Rl.} zYdlY jildiz, Kr jildiz, Chg {Rl.} Uz ildiz, ET iltiz₂ z₂ildiz, Δ jildiz, Alt ḡiltis, SY ḡiltis ~ jiltis, Shor c₂iltis, SY jiltis ~ jiltis, Kū {Rl.} jildis, Tf sild₂is, Yk silis id. ¶ T *j- < prosthetic *y-? ¶ Cl. 922, Rs. W 200, ET Gl 350, TL 109, DTS 267, KRPS 264, Rl. I 1495 & III 488, 521, Ra. 230 ♦ If the phonetically questionable T cognate is valid, the N rec. is *XiLt₂Vr₂V, otherwise it is *XEt₂Vr₂V.

2585. ? *Xqol₂V 'middle; be among' > K: GZ *χal-/χl- v. 'be among/near sth.' > OG, G χl- id., Mg, Lz χol- id. ¶¶ K 260, K² 325 (GZ *χal-/χl- 'be among, near sth.') || A: T *ol₂ 'middle' > OT os₂ 'the heart/centre of a tree-trunk/branch/horn' ¶ Cl. 255, Rs. W 366 || ?? HS: S *₂h₂l- > Gz √hwl G (js. yā₂h₂l, pf. hawala ~ hō₂la) 'mix, mingle', T (pf. tahawla) 'be mixed, mingled', Tgr (tē)hawela 'eat and drink in community' ¶ L G 249 ♦ If the EthS cognate is valid, the rec. is *Xqol₂V.

2586. ??₂ *XamV 'womb, vulva' > HS: Eg fMd hm.t 'womb (of a cow/woman), vulva', ?σ fP 'woman' ¶ EG III 76, DW II 597-600, Fk. 168-9, Tk. I 123 || ? S *hVmm(-at)- '∈ internal cavity of animal's body', '∈ part of viscera' > Ar hama₂m-at- 'milieu de la poitrine, du poitrail, sternum, etc.', ? hamma₂- 'fesses', Tgr h₂amm₂to 'a dish of entrails cut to pieces', Tgy h₂amm₂to 'una pietanza fatta d'interiori di capra/pecora etc.', ? Sq Δ hē₂?m {SSL} 'bas-ventre', ? Ak umandu 'ein Teil des Leibesinnern' ¶ BK I 486-7, Sd. 1412, LH 62, Bsn. 40, SSL LSNP 1460, MiK I #1.119 || A: NaT *a₂l₂m 'vulva' > OT, MOg, MQp [incl. CC] am, Tk am, Kr, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, Alt am id., Xlj {DT} ha₂m id. (with a secondary h-) ¶ Cl. 155, Rs. W 18, DT 122, DHST s.v. ha₂-a₂m ♦ Cf. IS I 245 [supposes that T *a₂l₂m goes back to N *Hanga, i.e. *ʔanga 'to open (esp. mouth)'].

2587. ?₂ *XEmV 'warm' > HS: S *√hmm 'be hot', *h₂amm- 'hot' > Hb Mh1 hām (pl. Mim₂Sh₂ hām₂m-im) 'hot', JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr √hmm G (pf. hām), Ar *√hmm G (pf. hamma) 'be hot', Ak emmu 'hot'; -d> *h₂umm- 'warmth, heat' > Hb M7h hom, Sr hu₂ma₂ id., Ug hm {A} 'heat', {OLS} 'heat, draught' ('calor, sequia'), Ar humm-at- 'fever', Ak ummu 'heat' ¶ A #835, OLS 177, KB 312, KBR 325, Lv. T I 266, Sl. 469-70, Br. 238, BK I 485-7, HJ 380, Ln. 636, CAD IV 150-1 || C: Dh1 {EEN} hant₂-id- v. 'warm oneself' || SC: Irq {Mgw.} ha₂-m 'warm', {MQK} ha₂-m 'hot, warm' (of water) [†, Alg hamis- 'set on fire'] ¶

E SC 299, EEN 26, Mgw. 102, MQK 44 [†, Blz. SCL s.v. 'warm'] || ?φ Eg XVIII hm vi. 'be hot, burn' ¶ EG II 489 ¶ OS #1285 (S, Irq, Eg) II A: NaT *f¹m¹i¹k 'mild/warm' (of weather) > OT {Cl.} imik, Tk An imik ~ umuk id. ¶ Cl. 159, SDD 769, 1419.

2588. *XumV 'raw, sour, inedible' > HS *hum- > C *hum-~*ham- > Bj {R} -hami (√hmy) pcv. 'be bitter, acid, sour' (1s p. 'a-hami, 1s prs. a-'hammi), 'ha-mi 'bitter, acid, sour' || LEC *hum- ({Ss.} *ham- ~ *hum-) 'bad' (× N *XumV ± 'old, bad, miserable', q.v. ffd.) || Eg MK hmi.t, Cpt 2moy hmu 'salt' ¶ EG III 93-94, Fk. 170, Vc. 299 || S (+ext.) *√hms[^]. v. 'be sour, fermented' > Hb √hmc. id., pf. 3m (pausal form) ha⁻me⁻c. vi. 'leavened', Sh prtc. mah'mec.εθ 'sth. sour-tasting', Sr √hms[^] G vi. 'ferment, leaven', JA [Trg.] √hmf G 'be(come) sour, be leavened', Ar omH √hmd[^] G id., Tgr {d'Ab.} √hms[^]. [hms.] G (pf. hams[^].a) 'become sour\bitter', Ak eme⁻s.u v. 'be sour'; CS d *hums[^].- 'sourness, vinegar' > Hb 'homec., Ug hms., JA [Trg.] om2h9 h^ama¹f, em. ao1m6uh hum'f-a⁻ 'vinegar', Ar om0Ha hamδ[^].- 'ε salt and bitter plants'; Cn -b> Eg N hm3 'vinegar' ({Vc.} = [hum3-]), (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ha⁻m-za > Cpt Sd 2m¹ hām3, Cpt B hem3 'vinegar' ¶ KB 316, KBR 329-30, A #941, Lv. II 73, Lv. T I 266, Js. 478, BK I 492-3, Br. 230, JPS 147, EG III 99, Vc. 303, Hlk. #169, SivCR 83 || Ch {Stl.} *hama 'salt' > WCh: Fy {J} ?ama[^] id. || CCh: Msg hōm id. ¶ Stl. IF 115 ¶ OS #1231 (HS *ham- > Eg, Ch) II IE *H^wem-/H^wm- > OI a⁻ma- 'raw, uncooked' || Gk 'ωμο¹ id. || L ama⁻rus 'bitter' || OIr om, W of 'raw' || pGmc *ampra- (< *om-ro) > Dt † amper 'sharp, astrigent, sour' ('scherp, wrang, zuur'), Sw amper 'bitter, sharp (piquant)', ON apr 'hard' || ? Arm hum hum 'raw, unripe, sour' ¶ P 777, Dv. #724, EI 478 (*h₂o⁻mo-s ~ *h₂o⁻mo-s), M K I 77, WH I 35, Vn. O 21, F II 1149, Slr. 353, Vr. 11, Vr. N 16, Hlq. 17 II? U: FP *umra 'Angelica sylvestris, sorrel' (< *'sour grass') > Er umbrav, umrav 'sorrel', pPrm *ōmra > Z ompa 'Angelica sylvestris', Z US/LL umra, Prmk umra id., Yz 'umra 'angelica' ¶ Lt. 57, LG 205, U 372 ♦ Highly qu. (too loose and unreliable semantic connections): SC {E}: Brn, Alg hamis- 'get lost, forget' (E SC 379); IE *He|ou⁻mo- > ON aumr 'arm, elend', Tc B au⁻me ± 'misery', Tc A oma⁻skem 'evil' (Vr. 19, Ad. 132), ; the semantic component 'bad, unfavourable' is not sufficient for etl. equations.

2589. ?₂ *XumV (= *χumV?) 'to wish, covet' > HS: WS *-hu⁻m- (~ *χu⁻m-?) 'wish' > Ar √hwm G (ha⁻ma / -hu⁻mu) v. 'want, wish', hawam- 'altéré de soif', Mh √hwm (sbjn. y3ho⁻m) 'want, like, wish, need', Bth √hwm, Hrs √χwm (sbjn. y3xo⁻m) (with a puzzling χ for the expected h), Hbt √χwm v. 'want' ¶ BK I 521, Jo. M 194-5, Jo. H 145, Nak. #1138 || Ch {Stl.} *χam- 'look for' (× N *qumV 'to prey, ask for') > WCh: DfB {J} ga[^]m 'look for' || ECh: Ll {ChC} ha⁻m- id. ¶ Stl. IF 108, 289, J R 214 II A: NaT *um- 'ask for, covet' > OT {Cl.} um- id., MQp/OOsm XIV um- v. 'hope', Tk um-, Az, CrTt, Qmq um- id., Ggz, Kr Cr um- v. 'covet, hope', Uz Δ um- v. 'wish' ¶ Acc. to Cl., the meaning 'hope' developed due to the infl. of NPrs dyM^u omīd n. hope', whence Tk um- v. 'hope, believe', Az, Ggz, CrTt, Qmn v. 'hope' ¶ Cl. 155-6. ET GI 595-6, VI. I 122 || ?σ pJ {S} əmə⁻p- 'think', {Mr.} *omo-pa > OJ {S} o⁻mo⁻p- id., {Mr.} omo-φu- 'think, feel', J: T omo⁻, K o⁻mo⁻, Kg o⁻mo⁻ 'think' ¶ Mr. 741, S QJ #160, Kenk. 1442, ≠ DQA #34 (unc. : T *um- < *a⁻mo 'mouth, taste) ♦ The Ch cognate (if valid) points to N *χ- ♦ I am grateful to S. Starostin (p.c., 1976) for drawing my attention to the J cognate.

[† 2589a. ???σ *XumV ± 'old' (of things), 'bad, miserable' > HS: LEC *hum- 'bad' (× N *XumV 'raw, sour, unedible') > Sa, Af um-a, Sml hun/hum- 'bad, evil, worthless', Sml J hu⁻, Or {Bl.} ha⁻m-a⁻, {Grg.} ham-a⁻ (Or a < *u, acc. to Bl.) ¶ R WBd 118, Bl. 107, 201, Ss. PEC 38 (EC *ham-~*hum-), Hn. S 64, ZMO 435, Th. 185-6, Grg. 197-8, E PC #519 || SC {E}: Brn, Alg hamis- 'get lost, forget'; ??σ: Brn ham-, Alg hamu 'hardship, distress' ¶ Ss. PC 38, ZMO 435, Th. 185-6, Grg. 197-8, E SC 334, 379 II IE: NaIE *He|ou⁻mo- > ON aumr 'arm, elend' || Tc B au⁻me ± 'misery', Tc A oma⁻skem 'evil' ¶ Vr. 19, Ad. 132 II U: FU *oma 'old, worn' (of things) > pLp {Lr.} *ō⁻me⁻ 'old' > Lp: S oa⁻mie, L a⁻me⁻s, N oames, In oami, Kld {SaR} byu⁻mm⁻ vūem⁻m⁻ 'old' : Er umok 'long ago' || ? Hg [× FU *so⁻g⁻k⁻V 'old' < *3o⁻g⁻E 'old']: ? OHG XI ohut, XII out, XVI awat '(very) old', ? Hg o⁻ 'old, ancient, antique', avar 'dry fallen leaves and parched grass' ¶ UEW 337, Lr. #831, Lgc. #4573, SaR 62, EWU 10, 61-2, 1052, MF 71-2, 495 ♦ Highly qu. (too loose and unreliable semantic connections). Identical with *XumV 'raw, sour, inedible'? ♦ Suggested by Blz. (Blz. LB #7a and Blz. LNA #23: N *homa) ♦ i ÷ σ D *u⁻m- 'dumb' (better from N *r⁻o⁻um⁻h⁻V 'to sleep, lose consciousness / remembrance of) and Kl omu⁻n 'soft' (↔ Blz. LNA #23).]

2590. *χVmV 'wall, wind-break' > HS: WS *ha⁻m-at-, *ha⁻m-it- 'wall (around a city \ settlement)' > OCn (AkSc) χu-mi-tu [= *hō⁻mītu], Hb em1&h hō⁻ma⁻ 'city wall, wall (around a building or an area of a city), Ph hmyt 'fortress', M⁻b hmt 'wall', Ug hmt, (AkSc) hamītu 'city wall (Mauer, muro)', Sb hmy 'build a dam wall (for a canal)' ¶ KBR 298, HJ 381, A #944, OLS 178, Hnr. 125, BGMR 69, HJ 381 II K: G χim-i 'Zaun aus Rohr', χim-e 'Zaun aus Baumstämmen' ¶ Chx. 2361 II IE: Ht humma 'stable, stall, sty', (?) Lw hum(ma)ti 'stable' ¶ Ts. E I 283-4, Pv. III 373 II ? A: WrMc emile- v. 'screen' ({Z} 'заслонит', закрыват, застѣнит') ¶ Z 81.

2591. *Xam⁻V⁻gE (or *h⁻?) 'tight, narrow; constraint' > IE *xamg⁻h- id. > NaIE *ang⁻h- 'tight (eng), narrow', v. 'narrow down, tie up' (→ 'oppress') > Av a⁻zanghe⁻ 'zu bedrängen', ny-a⁻zara 'sie schnürt sich' || Gk ὀγχω v. 'squeeze (esp. the throat), embrace, strangle, throttle' || L ang-o⁻, -e⁻re 'press tightly; strangle, throttle' || OIr ing 'Bedrängnis' (P: < *n⁻g⁻h⁻i), Brtt {RE} *angios 'narrow' > W yng ~ ing, Crn yn, OBr enc, MBr encq, Br enk id. || Sl *ve⁻z-ati 'to tie' (1s prs. *ve⁻z⁻o⁻) > OCS вѣзати ve⁻zati, Blg (1s prs.) 'веза, SCr, Slv ve⁻zati, Cz va⁻zati, Slk viazat', R в⁻зат⁻ (1s prs. в⁻зѣ) || NaIE *an⁻g⁻h⁻-u-s

788, STM I 540-1]. In this case the abovementioned IE, S. Ch and U words with a sibilant are originally bimorphemic (< N ***XomU-s**√s√V), while those without the sibilant go back to the √ ***XomU** without this sx.; A *-r' is a different sx.

2593. ***χa''nV** (or ***-η-**) 'to bow, bend down, descend' > HS: CS √**hny**√w > Ar √**hnw** ~ √**hny** G (ip. **hny-**) v. 'bend, bow the head', **hanw-** 'crooked', BHB √**hny** (ip. **-h^ane-**) v. 'decline, encamp', Amr √**hny**√w v. 'encamp' ¶ KB 319, KBR 332, Fr. I 437-8 || ? (+ext.) Eg OK χnd ≈ 'bend (wooden sticks)', Eg MK {Fk.} 'bend (wood), twist together (flower-stems)' ¶ EG III 312, Fk. 195 II ? K: G I χvanχval- 'sich winden' ¶ Ghl. 749, Chx. 2345 II A: T ***a''n**√- ({Md.} ppT ***e-η-**) v. 'descend, bow down' > OT, XwT en-, Tkm eη-, Chv an- v. 'descend, go down', Yk {Pek.} **a''niya''-a''nia''** 'slope' (**покатост-**, **слон**); (here??) Tkm īn-, Tk in-, Ggz jin- 'descend' ¶ Cl. 168, Rs. W 43, Fed. I 43, Jeg. 26, Pek. 270, ET Gl 352-3 (T ***īn-** 'descend'), Md. 34, 164 [T ***e''η** = ***a''-η** 'descend'; rejects the connection with Tkm īn-], S AJ 18, 72, 257, 292. All forms except Tkm īn-, Tk in- and Ggz jin- can be accounted for by T ***a''n-**; the Tkm long vw. in īn- may suggest a pT long vw., but may be alternatively explained as going back to ji- (with a prosthetic *j-, as in Ggz). Acc. to Md. 34, Tkm īn- does not belong here. Tk in- and Ggz jin- must be of the same origin as Tkm īn- ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1533 [T < A ***ηe''ni** 'go (down, away)', cf. N ***ηæn'i** 'go (away)']].

2594. ***χinV** 'be happy\glad, love' > K: Sv: UB **-χe''n-** ^d **-χen-** 'bring good news', msd. UB/Ln **li-χe''n-e**, LB/Ln **li-χen-e** 'bringing (/to bring) good news' ¶ TK 484, Dn. s.v. **-χe''n-** II HS: S √**hnn**, ***-hunn-** > BHB √**hnn** (pf. **hā''nan**, ip. **ya''hon**, pf. c. NhIIv@ way'ya **hōn**) 'be gracious, generous', Ph √**hnn** N, Pun √**hnn** G, Ug √**hnn** G /D (?) 'be benevolent, merciful towards so.', Amr {G} √**hnn** 'be gracious, be merciful', JA √**hnn** G (pf. **ñWha hanna**) 'long for her child' (of a woman)', Ak ene''nu 'seek grace'; **-d** ***hā''na''n-** > Htr **hnn?** 'pity, compassion', Sr Nno ≈ **hā''na''n**, em. **nono ≈ hā''na''n-a''id.** 'mercy', Ar **ñ'naHa hā''na''n** 'mercy, prosperity, blessing, tenderness of heart', Plm **hnn?** 'clement, merciful'; CS ***hinn-** > Hb Nh4 **hen** 'favour' / +ppa. **hinn-** (3m **hinn-o''**) 'grace, beauty; favour, approval', MHb **hen**, JA [Trg.] **an''h5 ~ an''lih5 hīn''na''** 'grace, favour, loveliness', Ph **hn** 'favour', OA, IA **hn** {HJ} '(quality) which procures favour' ¶ KB 318, 321, A #947, OLS 78-9, HJ 386-7, 389, G A 20, Js. 481, 484, Lv. T I 268-70, Sl. 474, 457, JPS 149 II A: M ***inag** > MM [S] **inah** 'Favorit, Güstling', WrM **inag**, HIM **īnar** 'beloved, darling; favorite, lover; friend', 'benevolence, affection' ¶ H 82, MED 409-10 II D ***in-** 'pleasant, agreeable' > Tm in- 'sweet, pleasant, agreeable', Ml in(ip)pam, inuppam, inima 'pleasure, delight', iniya 'sweet', Kn in, ini, ine 'sweetness, pleasantness, loveliness', Tu, Tl impu 'agreeableness, pleasantness', Tl incu 'be agreeable', ?? Brh hane''n 'sweet' ¶¶ D #530 ♦ **ī** ÷ FU ***intV** 'energy' (LG 209-10, SK 108); NaIE ***ans-** 'be favorable' (P 47) is to be kept apart, because it belongs together with S ***√?ns''id.** [**< N** ***?an-√JSV** 'friend(ly), favourable, useful', q.v.] ♦ Blz. SNE #14 (***hinV** in S, A + **ī** ÷ IE + **ī** ÷ U), ≠ Bmh NMF (**ī** ÷ IE ***ans-**, S).

2595. ***XAn₁V₁SV** 'together, with' > D ***-a''n-** > Tm **-a''n-** 'with' (ending of instr.), ? OTl {An.} **-ən-** ~ **-ə** id. [**ce''yi** 'hand' ↔ **ce''tə(n-)** 'with the hand'] ¶ An. SG 211-3 II HS: Eg fP **hn''** 'together with', 'and' ¶ EG III 110-2, Fk. 172 || This √ may underly the second element of the HS compound aut. prn. ***?anihEn-nV** 'we' [***?an-** (focalizing topic pc., forming aut. pers. pronouns) + **(i)hen-** + ***nuV** 'we, our'] found in S, Bj and B: S ***?a''niñnu** 'we' [aut. prn.] > BHB **unh6n2a9 ?a''nañnu**, Ph **?nñn**, BA, JA [Trg.], JEA **† anlh6n2a9 ?a''nahna**, IA **?nñn(h)**, Plm **?nñnw**, Sr **Nxañ nāhan ~ Nnaxñæ** ' ?anahnan, Ar **ñuh0Na nahnu**, Gz **nāhna**, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} **nāha**, Jb E **'nha**, Jb C **'nhan ~ 'nha**, Sq {Jo.} **han ~ 'hanh3n**, Ak (a)nīnu ¶ KB 69, 1669, Lv. T I 40, Sl. 144, PS 250, Jo. M 290, Jo. H 95, Sd. G § 41) || C: Bj {RHd.} **hi''nin**, {Rop.} **he''nnen** 'we, us', {R} **ha''nan**, **han'in**, **he''nin** 'we', {R} **he''ne''b** 'us', {RHd.} **-ho''n**, {Rop.} **-hon** 'us', {R} **han''ne''d** **he''ne''** 'our' (× ***hinV** [= ***XinV?**] 'other'? ¶ R BdS §§ 157-165, Rop. 197-8, RHd. B 111-2 || B ***hana''y** 'us, to us' > Tw {Pr.} **a''nxy** ^d **ha''nxy** id. (ffd. see N ***nV** 'we' excl.) ¶¶ If this conjecture is right, the HS word ***?anihEn-nV** originally meant 'we together'. For an alt. et. of ***?anihEn-nV** ≠ s.v. ***hinV** (= ***XinV?**) 'other'.

2596. ***X'f'u''nCV** 'thin, narrow' > HS: Eg Md/NK **hns** ({EG} **h₁ns**) 'narrow (eng. schmal)' ¶ EG III 116 || C ***√n₁C**: ?φ EC: Sa {Wlm.} **ʔenda** 'little, small', Af {PH} **ʔund₁a** 'be small, be young', ?φ Arr ***ʔini'** 'child, boy' || Ag: Aw {Hz.} **ʔncay** 'boy' ¶ AD SF 143, HP 62, Hw. A 341 II U: FU ***o''win''c'a** (~ ***o''wic''V?**) 'thin, narrow' > Ugr: ObU {Ht.} ***wīn''c''V** > pVg ***wī''s'** > Vg: T **u''s'**, LK/UK **wis'**, P/Ll **is'** 'small', UL **us'** **e''ḡk** 'elder brother's youngest daughter (**младш¹ золовка**)' (**e''ḡk** 'elder brother's daughter'); pOs ***wa''n''c'** 'narrow' > Os: V/Vy **wa''n''t'**, Ty/D **wa''t'**, Nz/Kz **was'** || Hg [early XIX] **ve''zna** 'hager, schwächig', Hg O **ve''zna** 'lean, thin, slight (sovány, cingár)', Hg **ve''zna** 'puny, sickly, peaky, weak' ¶ UEW 899 (***wa''n''c'a** ~ ***wa''c''V**), Coll. 123 (***wa''n''c''V**), Ht. #696, EWU 1631 II A ***u''nc''i** 'thin, small' > T ***jinc₁-k₂-a''** 'thin' > OT **jinc''ga''** 'thin, slim, delicate', Tk ince, Az, Ggz **in3'a''**, CrTt **in3'e**, Tkm **īnc'e** (**ī** < ***ji**), Slr **les''ki** ^d **la''s''ki**, Qmq **inc'e**, QrB **inc''ke** ~ **inc''ge**, Nog **jijis''ke**, Qq **z''ijis''ke**, Qzq **z''i** **ḡi** **s''ke**, VTt **ns''ka''**, Bsh **ns''ka''**, Uz **ingic''ka''**, ET **inic''ka''**, Δ **jinz''ige**, Qrg, Ln **ic''ke**, Alt **c''ic''ke**, Tv **c''iḡye**, Yk **sin''n'iga''s** 'thin', Xk **h''ske** **ntske**, Chv **ñ''e** **s''inz''e** 'thin, narrow' ¶ Cl. 945, Rs. W 203, ET Gl 364-5, NogR 124, Tn. SJ 403 || M ***u''cu''-ken** ~ ***o''cu''-ken** 'small, little' (× N ***ḡu''C.V** 'small, few', q.v. ffd.) || ? pJ ***u''su'** 'thin' > OJ **u''su'**, J: T **u''su'**, K **u''su'**, Kg **u''s'i-**, Ns **u''su'-**; **ī** ÷ J **Sh inc'a'** and J **Ns i''kk'a'** 'short' (acc. to Starostin, from pJ {S} ***mī''nsi''ka'** 'short') ¶ S AJ 269 [#102], S QJ #102, Mr. 843 ¶¶ S VL 228, ≈ SDM97 s.v. ***n''iḡc''i** and ***ḡu''c''e**, Adb. NN 34, ≈ DQA #1544 [A ***ḡo''ycu** thin,

small' > incl. T *õcu-, M *õcũ-, pJ *ũsũ-] || D *ũn̄c- 'lean, thin; to dry up' > Tm un̄cat̄.t̄aī 'leanness, thinness', Tl ũca 'withered, lean, thin', Prj ũn̄- v. 'dry up, become emaciated' ¶¶ D #735 ♦ U *wi- < *ũ- may be a case of "labial fission" (see Introduction, § 2.2.7).

2597. ? *Xãn̄V̄kV̄ ~ *Xãn̄kV̄ 'jaw, palate' > HS: WS *hink-, *hãnak- 'palate, lower jaw' > BHb Kh4 hek̄ id. / +ppa. hikk- (hik̄k̄-õ 'his palate'), JA [Trg.] ak̄'1ih5 ~ af1h5 hik̄k̄-ã 'palate', JEA ak̄'1n̄ih5 hin̄k̄-ã ~ ak̄'1ih5 hik̄kã, Sr 'k.on̄ẽẽ hen̄k̄-ã ~ 'k.ōẽ hek̄k̄-ã and pl. hen̄kẽ 'palate, pharynx', Ar hanak- 'palate; lower jaw', Tgr hanek̄ 'palate' (←b- Ar?), Mh h̄nnũk̄, Jb C/E 'hõnuk̄ 'gum and palate', Hrs 'henn̄k̄ 'gum and uvula' ¶ KB 300, KBR 313, Lv. II 82, Js. 455, Sl. 457-8, Br. 244, Ln. 639, Fr. I 437, Jo. M 182, Jo. J 112, Jo. H 60, MiK I #1.124 || U *ãn̄V̄ 'chin, jaw, jaw-bone' (× N *?ãn̄V̄ 'chin' [q.v. ffd.]) > ObU *f̄ãn̄õf̄ȳ > pVg {Ht.} *ãn̄õf̄ȳ 'jaw' > Vg: T ãn̄ow, LK/MK õn̄ī, P õnã 'jaw' ¶ Ht. #39 (ī ÷ Os *on̄c̄ōȳ [{}Hl.} *ãn̄c̄ōȳ) that can be better explained from N *Tan̄c̄.̄U 'cheek' [q.v.] || A *ãn̄V̄, -k̄V̄ ({DQA} *ẽnã, -k̄V̄) 'chin, jaw' (× N *?ãn̄V̄ '↑', q.v. ffd.).

2598. ?? *XENkV̄ 'to loosen, open, remove' > HS: S *õ/hnk̄: Ar √h̄nk̄ Sh (pf. ?ah̄naka) 'éloigner, écarter, chasser' || C {E} *hink- v. 'remove, open' > Ag ≈?znk- (× N *?anga 'to open' × N *n̄EkU 'to open(?), bare, uncover') > Bln {R} ?znk- 'öffnen, auflösen, aufbinden; befreien', Xm {Ap.} zn̄k-s-, {R} iek̄--ek̄-, Q zn̄c̄-, zn̄s̄- v. 'open, undo' || SC: ĭ pRt {E} *hink- v. 'push away' (E cites no reflexes in individual lgs.) || ? EC: Or {Grg.} h̄ik̄- v. 'loosen, untie', {Th.} hic̄-ũ 'slegare, sciogliere, rilasciare, liberare' ¶ E PC #530, Ap. AV 4, R WB 37, Grg. 207, Th. 195 || ? A: Tg: Ewk SB z̄nȳz̄- 'stretch (раст̄гиват̄)' ¶ STM II 458 || ? U: FU *ãnã 'untie, open (lösen, öffnen, aufmachen)' (× N *?anga '↑', q.v. ffd.).

2599. ?? ? *χqan̄V̄K̄.V̄ (or *χqan̄K̄.V̄) v. 'bend' > HS: ? C: Bj {R} √hng (1s p. a-hãnig) 'biegen, krümmen' || ? SC: Alg xongo?os- v. 'bend, wrap' ¶ R WBd. 116, E SC 259 (SC *xon̄onko v. 'bend, fold' > Alg xongo?os- and Mb k̄õn̄õnkõ 'joint [of body]') || IE *x̄enk- (*h̄enk-) 'bend' > Ht hink- v. 'bow (reverentially), curtsy' ¶ Ts. E I 250-1, Pv. III 292-6 || NaIE *enk̄-/onk̄- vt., vi. > OI 'an̄cati, 'acati 'bends, curves' || MPrs anc̄itan̄ 'bends' || Gk ᾱγκω̄ v. 'elbow', ᾱγκάλη, ᾱγκοίνη 'bent arm' || Lt Δ ãnkã 'loop' || L [Fest] ancus 'qui aduncum brachium habet' || Tc A an̄cã 'l bow (arc)' || ? IE d̄ *x̄onko-s 'crooked, hook' > Gk ὄγκος 'barb of an arrow' || L uncus 'crooked, hook' || OIr ẽkath̄ 'fish-hook' || OHG angō 'hook', ds̄ : AS an̄gel 'fish-hook, hook', ON ōngull 'fish-hook', OHG angul 'fishing-rod', NHG Angel 'fish-hook' || OI 'an̄kã-h. n. 'hook, curve, bend', Av aka- 'hook' || OCS ꙗкотъ ōkot̄ 'hook' ¶ P 45-7 (*ank̄-), EI 61-2 (*h̄enk̄- ~ *h̄eng- 'bend an object so that it stays bent') and ≈ AHDI 3 (all of them do not distinguish between NaIE ank̄- and *anḡ-), M K I 19, 24, M E I 47, 52-3, Vr. 687, Ho. 6, Kb. 32, EWA I 251-3, KM 22, F I 10-2 & II 347, Wn. 146, WH I 46 & II 816, Frn. 11.

2600. *Xãn̄V̄t̄.V̄ 'grain, kernel' > HS: S *hint̄-at- (~ *h̄unt̄-at-?) 'wheat' > Hb eȳ'1h5 hit̄.t̄ã, Ug ht̄.t̄, OA ht̄.h̄, IA h̄nt̄. ? ~ ht̄.h̄, Plm h̄(y)t̄, JPA, JEA at̄lȳ'6h5 hit̄.t̄.ə̃t̄.ã, Sr ǣd̄,ot̄ẽẽ het̄.t̄.ə̃t̄.ã, Md ht̄.itā, Ar é̄an̄0Hi hint̄.at̄- (←b- Sq {L} h̄int̄.eh), Ak ut̄.t̄.atũ 'wheat', Gz χ̄at̄.t̄.at̄ ~ h̄at̄.t̄.at̄ 'grain, seed', BA pl. Niȳ5n̄h5 hin̄.t̄.īn̄ 'grains of wheat', Jb C {Jo.} 'hīt̄. et̄ 'ear of rice', 'hit̄. 'ears of rice, food, beans' ¶ KB 294, 1710, KBR 307, Lv. II 36, Js. 453, Sl. 453, Br. 227, Jo. J 119, L G 268 || C {AD} *√Hyt̄. > EC: Sml N {Abr.} hãd̄.ũd̄. 'corn, millet', Sml {ZMO} had̄.ũd̄. 'maize, jowari, millet, sorghum' || SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} fayitīzī (pl. fayitōo), {MQK} fayitōo- (snglt. fayitīzī) 'maize' ¶ AD SF 221-2, Abr. S 102, ZMO 177, MQK 18 || IE (mt̄) *x̄et̄(e)n̄- 'grain, kernel' > NaIE *et̄(e)n̄- 'kernel, grain' (× N *qat̄V̄ '∈ corn' [q.v.]) > OIr {P} eitnẽ 'kernel', ScGl eitẽ 'unhusked ear of corn', eitean̄ 'kernel, grain' || Gk ἔτνοϋ̄ 'a thick soup of pulse, pea-soup' || AdS̄ of Ht hat̄(t)ar̄ ∈ 'cereal' ('ein Getreideart') (< N *qat̄V̄ '↑') ¶ P 343, F I 582, Ts. E I 220, Pv. III 247 (Ht hat̄(t)ar̄- d̄> hat̄- 'dry up') || D *an̄t̄.ī 'kernel, stone of a fruit' [× N *Hãn̄t̄V̄ 'kernel' (q.v. ffd.), whence D *-t̄. rather than *-t̄-] ♦ Since Ht hat̄(t)ar̄ goes back mainly to N *qat̄V̄, it provides no decisive ev. for N *χ̄-. Therefore the N rec. is with *X̄- (*χ̄- = or *h̄-).

2601. ? *XUngV̄ 'throat' > HS: Eg fXVIII h̄ngḡ 'pharynx' ['der Schlund (in dem die Zunge sitzt)'] ¶ EG III 121 || S: Ar Érajan̄0Ha h̄anḡ'ar-at̄- 'larynx', rjnH √h̄nḡ'r̄ 'égorger' ?? dv̄jun̄0Hũ h̄unḡ'ũd̄- 'larynx' ¶ BK I 501-2 || C {AD} *h̄an̄K̄'ar̄ 'throat, pharynx' > Bj {R} ankar̄ 'palate, gullet (Schlund), throat', Bj A {AD} 'hankar̄ 'gullet (Schlund), pharynx and the back part of the mouth' || EC: pSam {Hn.} *hangũrī > Sml hungurī, Bn {Hn.} hãn̄ur̄ẽ 'throat', Sa {R} anqar̄ 'palate, throat' ¶ AD SF 153-4, Hn. S 63 || WCh: ?? Ngz̄ nḡũr̄z̄'ãz̄'í yã 'throat' ¶ Sch. DN 127 || A: T *õn̄ãc̄ > OT {Cl.} õn̄ũc̄, Tv õn̄s̄ 'larynx, wind-pipe', Xk õn̄gõs̄, ET õn̄gãc̄, Alt õn̄c̄ 'wind-pipe', Sg õn̄s̄ 'thorax', VTt *̄c̄ ũn̄ãs̄', Brb õn̄ãc̄, Bsh q̄z̄d̄ȳl̄ ũn̄ãs̄, Qzq, Qq õn̄ges̄, Qrg. Ln qizil̄ õn̄gõc̄, QK õn̄c̄ ~ õn̄s̄, Uz qizil̄ õn̄ac̄ 'gullet, oesophagus', Bsh ũn̄ãs̄ 'front side of the neck', Yk õn̄ũs̄ 'muscles of the occiput', õn̄ũs̄ bas̄ 'blood-vessels of the neck' ¶ Cl. 172, DTS 387, ET Gl 536, ≈ Adb. SR 138 (unc. *õn̄ãc̄ <d̄- *õn̄gen̄ 'upper part of the) breast') || M *õn̄gelexũr̄ (× N ? *Oom̄KĒ '(∈ part of the) neck\chest') > WrM õn̄gelegũr̄, HIM 'nr̄' l̄**p̄ {MED} depression above [sic!] the Adam's apple', {Kow., Luv.} 'depression under the Adam's apple', Kl {KRS} 'r̄' l̄**p̄ õn̄ḡolũr̄ id., {Rm.} õn̄ḡolũr̄ 'Vertiefung zwischen dem Adamsapfel und dem Brustbein' ¶ MED 638, Kow. 498, Luv. 322, KRS 418, KW 297 || Tg: Neg un̄ḡl̄z̄ 'bird's crop, Adam's apple', Lm un̄ḡr̄n̄ '∈ muscle of the neck of male reindeer/elks' ¶ STM II 279-80 || pJ {S} *ũnã(-nsi) 'back of head, nape' > OJ unã, ũnã'zī, J: T ũnã'zī, K ũnã'zī, Kg unã'zī ¶ S QJ #1114, Mr. 563 ¶¶ DQA #1573 [A *õn̄ī(cV̄) 'windpipe, part of neck'].

2602. ***XupV** 'press, crush, rub' > HS: CS $\sqrt{h}p$ - ~ $\sqrt{h}pp$ 'rub, clean by rubbing': [1] $\sqrt{h}p$ - > MHb $\sqrt{h}wp$ (prm. $\sqrt{h}p$ -, pf. $\sqrt{h}h$ $\sqrt{h}p$ -) 'rub the head with natron or another mineral in order to cleanse it', {Lv.} 'reiben, abreiben (eine Art des Kämmens)', Sr $\sqrt{h}wp$ (pf. $\sqrt{h}h$ $\sqrt{h}p$ -) v. 'wash (one's head)', $\sqrt{h}p$ -a- 'lautio (capitis et barbae)'; [2] CS $\sqrt{h}pp$ > MHb $\sqrt{h}pp$ G v. 'rub; cleanse (one's head)', Sr $\sqrt{h}pp$ (pf. $\sqrt{h}h$ $\sqrt{h}p$ -) v. 'wash', Ar $\sqrt{h}ff$ G 'pluck (the hair of the face), shave (the head \ beard \ moustache)', ({Ln.} 'cut/clip the hair of one's head, one's beard/moustache') ¶ Lv. II 24-5, 94, Js. 437, 492, Br. 221, BK I 455, Hv. 131, Ln. 597 II IE: NaIE $\sqrt{ub}$ - 'press, press down' > OI $\sqrt{ub}$ -jati 'presses down, keeps under, subdues', Av $\sqrt{ub}$ -yahte 'wird niedergedrückt' ¶ Lt Pr $\sqrt{u}$ -biti 'zur Eile drängen' ¶ WP I 193, P 1103, M K 107, Frn. 1156 II U $\sqrt{op}$ -je > Sm {Jn.} $\sqrt{ip}$ - v. 'press, squeeze' > Ne T Δ $\sqrt{bap}$ - 'crumple/squeeze (in a hand), pinch with fingernails', Ne T O {Lh.} $\sqrt{ib}$ -a-rc' 'in der Hand zusammendrücken, in der Hand drücken', Ne F {Lh.} $\sqrt{ippirh}$ -s' id., Slq Tz {KKIH} $\sqrt{ipa}$ -qo 'press/squeeze' (**давир**), $\sqrt{ipqal}$ -qo 'crush, squash' (**раздавир**), Slq Nr {Cs.} $\sqrt{e'pa}$ -ap 'drücken' ¶ Jn. 25, Ter. 406, Lh. 34, KKI 196, Cs. 103, 212 II A: NaT $\sqrt{u}$ ob- 'crush, crumble, rub to powder' > OT {Cl.} $\sqrt{uv}$ - v. 'crush, crumble, reduce to powder', Tk ov-, $\sqrt{uv}$ - Δ o- 'rub, friction, crumble', Ggz $\sqrt{u}$ -, CrTt oy-, QrB uw-, Bsh rw-, VTt u- 'rub, rub to powder', Az ov- id., 'crumble', SY uy- 'crush', Xk uy-, Qmq uw- 'crumble', Kr uw- id., 'knead' ¶ Cl. 4-5, Rl. I 1591, ET Gl 401-3 $\sqrt{a}$ ÷ A {ADb.} $\sqrt{op}$ -a 'powder' → 'flour' (≠ N ***?op.a** ≈ powder, dust, small pieces of dirt).

¶ 2602a. ? ***XArV** 'tracks, road' > HS: Eg fP hr.t 'Weg, Landweg' ¶ EG III 144 || S: Ar $\sqrt{h}$ a-r-at- 'street' ¶ BK I 525, Ln. 666, Hv. 148 || B {Pr.} $\sqrt{h_2rh_1}$ > Ah hurət, ETwl $\sqrt{h}$ urət 'suivre à la trace' ¶ Pr. H #65, Fc. 638, PGG 136 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} ?ar, Ang {ChC} ?ar... 'road' ¶ Klr {J} $\sqrt{a}$ ra'w 'Weg' ¶ ChC, J R 350 ¶ ¶ ≈ OS #122 II K: GZ $\sqrt{cher}$ - 'step; make a path/road' > Mg $\sqrt{char}$ - 'eine Spur durch den Schnee treten', Lz $\sqrt{char}$ -i n. 'step', OG $\sqrt{cher}$ - v. 'lead, steer a course' (of pilots), G $\sqrt{cher}$ - 'show the way', s- $\sqrt{cher}$ -v-el-i 'Richtungsgeber, Steuer' ¶ FS K 481, FS E 547 II D: SD $\sqrt{a}$ -r- 'way' > Tm $\sqrt{a}$ -r-u 'way, road, path', Ml $\sqrt{a}$ -r-u 'way, manner', Td o-r- 'way, entrance into thicket' ¶ D #405 $\sqrt{a}$ ≈ Blz. DA 162-3 [104] [incl. D and WCh.]]

2603. ***Xaw₁a₁rE** (or ***XawErV**) 'bright, white' > HS: CS $\sqrt{h}w$ r-, $\sqrt{h}war$ - (~ $\sqrt{h}u$ -r-?) 'be bright/white' > BHb $\sqrt{h}w$ r G (3mp ip. ur) v/h=i# $\sqrt{yeh}$ wa-ru' 'turn pale', MHb {Js.} $\sqrt{h}w$ r D (pf. ru $\sqrt{h}$ 5 $\sqrt{hiw}$ 'wer) 'make clear/evident', BA ru $\sqrt{h}$ 5 $\sqrt{hiw}$ 'wa-r 'white', JA [Trg.] $\sqrt{h}w$ r G (pf. rv@h9 $\sqrt{h}$ a'war) 'be white, pale', JEA $\sqrt{h}w$ r G 'become white, be lighter in colour', Sr $\sqrt{h}w$ r G (pf. @wa≈ $\sqrt{h}$ a'war) 'be(come) white', @wo≈ $\sqrt{h}$ ew'wa-r 'white', Md hiwara, hawara id., Ar {Ln.} $\sqrt{h}w$ r D (pf. $\sqrt{h}$ awwara) 'whiten (clothes, wheat, food)', {BK} $\sqrt{h}w$ r G (pf. $\sqrt{h}$ a-rā, ip. $\sqrt{h}$ u-r-) 'wash/whiten clothes'; but Ar $\sqrt{h}w$ r G (pf. $\sqrt{h}$ awira) 'have its white and its black strongly delineated' does not necessarily belong here, it may be related to Mh and Jb $\sqrt{h}w$ r 'turn black' ¶ KB 287, 1706, Dlm. 104, Lv. T I 240-1, Js. 438-9, Lv. II 26-7, Sl. 435, Br. 223, JPS 133, DM 142, BK I 509-10, Ln. 665, Jo. M 195 II IE (+ext.) $\sqrt{xarg}$ -, $\sqrt{xarg}$ -i- 'white' [× N ***z'ahrV** (or ***z'ahrV**, or ***z'ahrV**) 'to shine, be bright; light (lux)' [q.v.]] > Ht harki- 'white, bright' || NaIE $\sqrt{arg}$ -(i)- 'be white, gleam' > OI 'arjuna-h. 'shiny white', r_oj'ra- 'radiant, gleaming', {MW} 'red(dish)', raja'ta-h. 'whitish, silver-coloured' ¶ Gk $\sqrt{ap}$ yo'ϕ, $\sqrt{ap}$ γγ'ϕ 'shining, bright, white', $\sqrt{ap}$ γγ'-o'δooϕ 'white-toothed', $\sqrt{ap}$ γγ'poϕ 'silver' ¶ Msp ARGORIAN 'made of silver' ¶ L argu-o- / -e're 'put in clear light' ¶ Clt: Gl (in n. pr.) {Schm.} argio- $\sqrt{shining}$, bright' ('brillant'), Brtt {RE} $\sqrt{argi}$ -os 'snow' > MW eiry, W eira, OCm irgh, Crn ergh, MBr erc'h id. ¶ Gt ar'rkni $\sqrt{pa}$ acc. 'τη γνη'σιον, genuineness' [from $\sqrt{ar}$ 'rkns (conjecture for ar'rkns) $\sqrt{clear}$, immaculated' → 'holy'], OHG erkan {Kb.} 'steadfast, noble, agile', {EWA} 'hervorragend, ehrwürdig, fest, bestimmt, wirklich', {Schz.} erchan, erchen 'fest, wirklich', {OsS} e'rchan, e'rchen 'recht, echt' ¶ Tc: A a-rki, B a-rkwi 'white' || $\sqrt{d}$ IE $\sqrt{h_2r}$ g $\sqrt{u}$ -n_o-t-om 'silver' > OI raja'tam, Av ərazətam, OPrs (a)rdata-, KhS a-ljsata- id. ¶ L argentum id., Osc argentud abl. id. ¶ OIr argat, W argant, W ariant, MCm arians, Crn arhans, Brt arc'hant 'silver' ¶ Arm arca $\sqrt{t}$ arcat $\sqrt{h}$ id. (-at' under the infl. of erkat $\sqrt{h}$ 'iron') ¶ Pv. III 169-71, Ts. G I 197, P 64-5, EI 14 ($\sqrt{h_2arg}$ -i- 'white'), 641 ($\sqrt{h_2r}$ g $\sqrt{u}$ - ~ $\sqrt{h_2r}$ g $\sqrt{u}$ -es- id., $\sqrt{h_2r}$ g $\sqrt{u}$ -n_o-t-om 'silver'), M K I 50-1, 120-1 & III 34, F I 132-4, WH I 66-7, Bc. G 312, Vn. A 88-9, Schm. KGP 134, Billy 14, RE 133, Fs. 25, Kb. 208, Schz. 126, OsS 147, EWA II 1140-2, Sl. 129-31 Wn. 167, Ad. 49-50 ¶ IE $\sqrt{ar}$ - < $\sqrt{au}$ -r- (loss of $\sqrt{u}$ before sonorants) II A: T $\sqrt{u}$ -ru'' $\sqrt{h}$ (or $\sqrt{Ewru}$ '' $\sqrt{h}$) 'white' (× N ***?o'mre** vi. 'burn, shine', q.v. ffd.) > OT, Yk $\sqrt{u}$ -ru'' $\sqrt{h}$ id., Chg xv ewru'' $\sqrt{h}$ 'shining, bright, clear weather', MQp XIII $\sqrt{u}$ -ru'' $\sqrt{h}$ 'milk', Tk Δ $\sqrt{u}$ -ru'' $\sqrt{h}$ 'milk, yoghurt', ? Qrg $\sqrt{u}$ -ru'' $\sqrt{h}$ baran 'morning twilight, dawn; sth. dimly seen in the dark' ¶ Cl. 233-4, Jud. 825, TL 601.

2604. ***XoR₁V₁wV** 'herd/pack of (wild) animals' (→ 'animal?') > K: G $\sqrt{rov}$ -a, {DCh.} $\sqrt{ro}$ 'pack (as of wolves, etc.), herd (of deer, etc.)' ¶ Chx. 2391, DCh. 1756 II HS: S $\sqrt{h}$ o- $\sqrt{h}w$ r > Ar $\sqrt{h}$ awar- {BK} 'bull (taureau)', {Fr.} 'taurus', {Hv.} 'ox' ¶ Fr. I 440, BK I 510, Hv. 148 || B {Pr.} $\sqrt{h_2rw}$ > Ah tahrut 'herd (of camels, of sheep/goats)', Izd tawrut (pl. tiwra) id., Ah ehre (pl. ihərawən) 'menu bétail', Twl {ABs, Nic.} ehəre (pl. ihərawən), Gh ih $\sqrt{a}$ ri id., possibly Ty ehəri 'calf', Sus ahruy 'moutons', tahruyt (pl. tihray) 'brebis' ¶ Fc. 640, Pr. H #397 || C: EC {Ss.} $\sqrt{hor}$ 'herd' > Kns hor-e'ta 'wealth, livestock', Or hori id., 'cattle', Gdl horet 'cattle', HEC {Hd.} $\sqrt{hor}$ 'herd, property' > Ged hore 'herd', hor-te 'property', ?? Brj hor-? v. 'breed' ¶ Ss. B 101, Bl. 200, Hd. 79, 118 II A: AmTg $\sqrt{ora}$ on-, $\sqrt{ora}$ okV 'animal(s)' (× N ***?or'ru'** '(male) antelope, deer?') > Ul oro(n)- 'animal', Ud {Shn.} ?o, {Krm.} o-? (< $\sqrt{oroko}$) 'animal, bird' ¶ SMT II 25, Krm. 273.

2605. ***XaReV** 'rub/scratch' > HS: S $\sqrt{h}$ irθ v. 'plough' > BHb Brh $\sqrt{h}$ rs' v. G 'plough; engrave', OCn $\sqrt{h}$ rs' v. 'plough', Ug $\sqrt{h}$ irθ G v. 'plough, till (land)', IA trh $\sqrt{h}$ rt v. 'plough', Plm $\sqrt{h}$ rt, SmA, Md $\sqrt{h}$ rt G 'engrave', JA [Trg.] $\sqrt{h}$ rt G id., {Lv.}

'eingraben, aushöhlen', Sr √hrt v. G 'furrow', (here?) 'dig out', Ar ěrH √hrθ G 'till and sow', Tgr √hrs v. 'plough', Ak ere~s~u 'to cultivate/plant (a field), to seed by drilling seed into a furrow by means of a seeder-plow' ¶ KB 343, KBR 357, OLS 181, HJ 407, Js. 507-8, Lv. T I 286, Tal 298, Br. 260, DM 153, CAD IV 285-9 || ?? C: Bj {R} √hsy (1s p. 'a-hasi, pJPS 160, rs. ahansi) pcv. 'schärfen, spitzen' ¶ R WBd 127 II A: M *arci- > MM arc-i- [S] {H} 'wipe', [MA] v. 'clean, wipe clean', [IM] {Pp.} 'sweep, rub', WrM arci-, HIM арчи- v. 'wipe/clean/dry by rubbing; erase, weed', Kl arc'(ь)- {KRS} vt. 'clean, wipe', {Rm.} 'rein fegen, abputzen, abwischen', Dg {T} arc'i- vt. 'clean' ¶ H 8, Pp. MA 104-5, 432, MED 51, T DgJ 122, KRS 52, KW 15 II ? IE: Ht hars- v. ≈ 'till (the soil)' (unless a loan from Ak, as supposed by Pv.) ¶ Pv. III 184-5, Ts. E I 183, EI 434 ¶ The loan hyp. may solve the enigma of the irreg. Ht s (for the expected IE *-st- or *-d-) ♦ If Ht hars- is an inherited cognate, the N etymon is ***χaRc~V**, but if it is a Semitism, the etymon is to be reconstructed as ***χaRc~V** (= ***χhaRc~V**).

2606. ***χiRgV** 'male horned arteodactyl' > HS: C (?) ≈ ***ha**org-i- b> Gz harge~, hargī 'ram, male of sheep and goats'; EC {Ss.} *org- '∈ male herbivore' > Sml org-i 'billy-goat', Rn o' rge'y, Arr ?o'rgi' 'uncastrated billy-goat', Or B o'rg-e' 'baby she-camel', Gdl {Ss.} ork-eta 'billy-goat', {Bl.} ork-e't 'non-castrated male goat older than ca. two months', Hr ork-akko 'billy-goat', Ya org-ei_ 'male giraffe'; ? cp. also (with *mt*) Sml agor 'bull-calf to two years old', Rn {PG} o'go^r 'oryx, gemsbok' || Bj {R} er'gane, 'argin 'sheep, ram' ¶ EC *org- is a *qu.* cognate because of the initial zero (for the expected *h-) ¶ L G 242, Ss. PEC 23, Bl. 112, PG 238, 243, Hw. A 343, R WBd 29 II IE: NaIE *yorkk~ 'roe deer' (× ***n'a'RK.a** [= ***n'a'R.qa?**] '∈ deer' [q.v. ffd.]) II A {Adb.} *irge 'ram' > NaT *irk > OT {Cl.} irk 'ram', Tb {B} irk, Qb/Sg/Tlt {Rl.} ir(i)k id., Qmq, QrB irk, ET Δ {Jr.} eyik ~ iyik, Ln īk, Tv irt 'castrated ram', Qrg irik ~ irk, Tk Δ irk 'three-year old castrated ram' ¶ Cl. 220, ET Gl 377-8, Rl. I 1459, 1464, 1833, Jud. 303-4, Jr. 99 || M *irge > MM [S] irge, WrM irge, HIM ирг, Ord {Ms.} īrge, Kl ирг irgə, Mnr H {SM} yerg_e 'castrated ram, wether' ¶ H 83, MED 414, Kow. 326, KRS 272, Ms. O 387, SM 492.

2607. ***χar'fu~i** 'valley, depression, pit' > HS: S *o'√hry > Ar ěrAha ĥara~ 'gîte de la gazelle; aire de la maison, espace compris entre les murailles; plage; lieu où l'autruche dépose ses œufs', {Fr.} É'raha ĥara~t- 'atrium, mediumque domus; tractus latus; nidus ovorum' ¶ Hardly here (because of χ-) Ak χarru 'watercourse' ¶ Fr. I 373, BK I 417, CAD VI 114-5 || ?? Eg fO x'r 'under', x'ry 'which is under', Eg fMK x'rw 'base, lower side, under-side' (unless from unattested hypothetical Eg {Vc.} *x'r 'heel' > Cpt B **χa-** 'heel' or akin to Mh {Jo.} **χnχa** 'li 'under, underneath' (as supposed by Tk.) ¶ EG III 386-90, Fk. 203, Vc. 282-4, Tk. I 142-3, Jo. M 308 II IE *xery- ~ *x_ey- ({EI} *h₂eryo-s 'cavity') [× N ***gari** 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' (q.v. ffd.) and (possibly) IE *HaHr- 'valley, low place, cave' < N ***z'a~i**, **H₂rV** 'low place, valley'], q.v. ffd. II U: FP {LG} *are 'pit, depression, valley' > pPrm *or (JLG) *o_r 'ravine, gully' > Vt Sr/Y **zr**, Vt Kz o'r 'Flußbett, Graben', Vt {W} ur 'Graben', Vt N ur-kirem 'ravine (**овраг, лог**)' (kir- 'wash away, break through' [of water]), Z Ud orov 'rut, gully' (**рыгвина, промоина**) [× Z or- 'be torn'], Z {Tmk} **коѣдж-оѣроѣм кзз~зрзм** 'former river-bed in a bend of a river' (kзз~ 'bend of a river') || Chr XVIII {Pl.} op~ 'ditch (**ровь**)' ¶ LG 207 (i ÷ Os V uri 'old river-bed', which goes back to pOs *wōri, *Ƒ* Stn. D 163), ≈ UEW 721 (connecting the Vt and Chr forms with FP *orkV 'depression, valley') II A: T *o~i:~r' 'valley' > OT {Cl.} o~z 'valley (and the like)', Osm XVIII o~z 'wadi', Tk An o~z 'valley' || Chv {Ash.} var 'ravine' ¶ Cl. 278-9, SDD 1124, Ash. V 167 ¶ The vw. *o~ (instead of *a) is probably due to the palatalizing and labializing infl. of the vw. of the second syll. II D (in SD) *ar'i 'place where a lagoon/river joins the sea' > Tm ari 'place where the lagoon joins the sea', ari~u 'rivermouth', Ml ari id., 'bar', Kn ari~ave 'mouth of a river in which the tide ebbs and flows, bar', Tu al_uve 'rivermouth, harbour', Krg al_u~ba~galu 'mouth of a river' ¶ D #278 ♦ It is worth paying attention to K: G χriat.i 'steiniger Abhang, Geröllhalde' (Chx. 2389), although the structure and prehistory of this word is obscure.

2608. ***χo't. 'A'** 'scrape (off)' > K *χwet. ~/*χwt. - v. 'scrape' > G χvet. - id., 'tear/scrape off, sweep', Mg χvat. - 'scratch, gnaw', Lz χvat. - v. 'gnaw', Sv UB {GP} -χwit. ~-χwt. - (msd. li-χwt.e) vt. 'exterminate', -χwet. - (msd. li-χwet.) vi. 'perish' (of a multitude) ¶ K 259, K² 328-9, FS K 485, FS E 550, Chik. 425, TK 485, GP 188-9 II HS: S *o'√htt > Ar √htt G vt. 'rub off (mud), bark (a tree)', vi. 'fall off (leaves, plaster)' ¶ Fr. I 339-40 II ? A: NaT *ot'a- 'cut (grass)' (× <d- T *ot'- 'grass, vegetation') > OT {Cl.} ota- 'cut (grass)', 'pull up (weeds)', Tk ota-, Qzq, Qq ota-, Alt oto-^d odo-, VTt, Bsh uta-, Xk oda- 'pull up (weeds)' > ¶ Cl. 34-5, 42, ET Gl 482.

2609. ***χo't. 'i'** '∈ fish' > HS: S *o'hu~t- > Ar ĥu~t- 'fish' (esp. 'very large fish') ¶ BK I 508 || C: Bj {R} hu~t 'fish' (<b- Ar?) || WCh {Stl.} *hadV 'fish' > NrBc: Wrj {Gw.} eudei, {Sk.} **γz'da'í**, Cg {Sk.} **fiā'ti**, Kry {Sk.} **γz'de**, My {Sk.} **γz'di**, Jmb {Sk.} **a'wu'da'** ¶ Stl. ZCh 225 [747] II A *o_i:~t' 'i' > Tg *o~cV 'small fish' > Orc oc'ko ~ oc'oko, Ul o~c'o(n-), Ork otoa, Nn Nh o~c'aqa~, Nn B ocoa 'small fish', WrMc o~ca ~ oca '∈ species of Gobio (gudgeon or the like) with a large mouth and red eyes' ¶ STM II 29, Z 120, 131, Hr. 738 ¶ Tg *c (earlier *ci < A *t'i?) suggest a final A *i II IE: NaIE *o_iati- > Lt ati's, Ltv a~te 'halibut, turbot' (× N ***Øat. 'u'** 'fish', q.v.).

2610. ? ***χvt. V** 'quick' > IE: NaIE *e~t-/*o~t- 'earlier' > ON a'ðan 'earlier, before' || Lt U {Gtl.} otu 'quickly', otu's 'eilfertig, behend, Eile habend, dringend' | d> NaIE *e~tro-/*o~tro- 'quick' (P: 'rasch, heftig') > OHG a~tar (< *e~t-ro-) {EWA} 'scharfsinnig, rasch, eifrig (acer)', {OsS} atar 'quick, clever, sharp (acer, fugax, celer)', AS æ~dre, OFrs e~dre, OSx a~dro 'at once, forthwith', ON a'ðr 'earlier' (< 'early') || Ltv a~trs 'quick, fast, swift', a~tri 'quickly, fast, swiftly', Lt U {Gtl.}

otru's 'lebhaft, feurig, temperamentvoll; gierig (beim Fressen und Trinken)', ? Lt K a'trei 'schnell, heftig, ungestüm' || ?? Tc {Wn.}: A ata'r, Tc B etre 'hero' (unless an Iranian loan, as suggested by Bai.) ¶ P 345, EI 194 (? *e'tro- 'quick, fast'), Vr. 2, Kb. 47, OsS 33, EWA I 379-81, Kar. I 84, Frn. 518-9, Gtl. LS 99, Ho. 9, SiSS 22, 50, 228, 485, Wn. LE 23, Wn. 152 || HS: S *√htk v. 'hurry, go fast' > Ar √htk G (ip. -htiku) v. 'walk at a quick and short pace', Ak {Sd.} eta'ku 'sich dranhaltend, sich beeilen' ¶ Fr. I 341, Hv. 110, Sd. 260 || A: M *u'ḏ-tu'r > MM {HI} o'ter 'vite, rapidement', WrM u'dter ~ o'dter ~ u'dtu'r, HlM *дтүр 'immediately, quickly, rapidly'; the element *-tu'r may be identical with *tu'r > WrM tu'r, HlM т*р 'temporarily, for a short time', MM [MA] tu'rgen 'quick, fast' (tu'rgen usun 'quick water') ¶ Ms. H 85, MED 854, 996, KW 415, Pp. MA 359.

2611. *xawV 'to spurt, to rain' > IE: Ht he(w)u-, he(y)aw- n. 'rain' ¶ Pv. III 301-4, Ts. E I 235, 238-40 || HS: Eg: fP hw.t, hy.t, MK {Fk.} hwyt n. 'rain', MK/NK/L hwyt, hy ({Fk.} hwi) v. 'rain' (with 'the sky' as subject), as well as ambEg fMK hwy v. 'flow, flood' and amb Eg P/G hwy, hy n. 'flood (of a river\watercourse)' (× N *XoyV 'to swim, float, flow', q.v.) ¶ EG III 48-9, Fk. 165 || Ch: WCh: Sir {Sk.} h'wī 'rain' || Ech: Smr {J} ʔo v. 'rain', {OS ← ?} ʔwa- 'rain' ¶ ChC ¶ OS #1303 and Tk. I 46 (both: Eg, Ch) || ? A: T *ab- v. 'spurt' (× N *qapV 'to stream, flow') > OT U ḫ. l. ab- v. 'spurt' (of blood) (Cl. considers it to be a misreading of aq in the Uyghuric script) ¶ U2 27 (line 22), Cl. 4, DTS 1.

2612. *xawiV 'drive, chase, pursue' > HS: S *√hww > Ar haww- {Fr.} 'propulsio camelorum', {BK} 'action de faire marcher les chameaux' ¶ Fr. I 438, BK I 507 || Eg hwy v. 'drive off (cattle)' (× Eg OK hwy v. 'beat, strike', whence the double meaning 'Tiere schlagen und dadurch treiben') ¶ EG III 46-8, Fk. 165 || B *√hʔy v. 'chase, pursue' > Ah āhi 'chasser devant soi rapidement', TnsL, ETwl, Ty huyyāt 'chasser' ¶ Fc. 541, Pr. H #441 || ? K *xqew- > G xev- 'zurückweichen, sich zurückziehen' (← *v. 'be driven back') ¶ Chx. 2322 || IE *xwei- h- v. 'pursue/chase' > AnIE *xwey- v. 'run, flee' (← *v. 'pursue' or ← *v. 'be driven \ chased \ pursued') > Ht huwai-/huya- 'run, hurry', HrLw hwaya(n)ta or hu(i)ya(n)ta 'they ran' || NaIE *wei- ɪə- v. 'pursue, drive' (≠ P: 'worauf losgehen, es erstreben, erjagen') (× N *wayV 'want, wish, strive for') > Av vī- (vayehiti, vyehti 'pursue, chase', OI ve-ti ~ 'vayati 'strives for, tracks' || Gk Hm (F-) ἰώκην 'pursue' (n.), Gk Crn φάωμαι (he) pursues' || ON veiða, AS wæðan to hunt, wander', OHG weido-n {Kb., Schz.} 'graze, hunt', NHG weiden 'lead\drive to pasture; graze'; ON veiðr 'hunt', AS wað 'hunting; wandering, travelling', OHG weida {Kb.} 'prey (Beute), food (Futter), pasture', {Schz.} 'Beute, Fang, Futter, Weide', NHG Weide 'pasture' || Lt vejū, vy'ti v. 'drive\chase (away)', Ltv vāja-t 'verfolgen' || Sl *vojь > OCS вон vojь 'warrior'; -ъ [1] *vojin id. > OCS вонн voin, Cz, Slk vojín, R вoин; [2] Sl *vojnъ 'war' > OCS вонна voina, SCr вoнjna, R вoйнjна; [3] Sl *vojь-ska ~ *vojь-sko 'army' > OCS вонска voiska, Blg вoйнска, SClv vo'jska, Cz, Slk vojsko, P wojsko, R вoйско, Uk вo'йско || NaIE pp. *wī-to- 'pursued' > OI {MW} vī-ta- pp. 'approached, desired, liked' || Lt vy'tas 'pursued' || L in-vītus 'unwilling' || Tc A wa-, B wa-ya- 'will drive, lead' ¶ This prtc., together with other forms with *-ī- (Av vī-tar- 'Verfolger, Nachjagender', etc.), provides ev. for a stem-final lr. (i.e. the stem is a set_-base). The original lr. must have been a light one (it yields zero in AnIE) with unknown vocalic coloring (*h in my notation). Mayrhofer equates OI ve-ti with Ht wiya- 'schicken, jagen', but it unt. because wiya- is actually u-ya- ('schicken' ← *'herschicken', acc. to Ts. W) with the px. u- 'her', cp. p-ya- 'hinschicken' ¶ P 72-3, 1123-4, EI 208 [*wei-(H)- 'go after'], Hirt IG II 108 (on *-ī- as ev. for set_-bases), M K III 255-6, MW 1004, WP I 79, F I 747-8, WH I 79 & II 713-4, Vr. 650-1, Ho. 382, 384, Sw. 200-1, Kb. 1161-2, Schz. 313, KM 846, Tp. P A-D 142-3, SchmB EV 75, StSS 719-56, Vs. I 334-5, Chrn. II 279, Glh. 678, Frn. 1185-6, 1267, Ad. 36, Ts. W 95, Pv. III 419-23 || A *a'bV 'hunt; to hunt; wild game' (× N *Γo'wV 'wild sheep\goats'?) > NaT *a'b 'hunting, (→) wild game' > OT {Cl.} a~v id., {DTS} ab ~ av 'hunting', OT Og [MhK] a~w id., XwT aw~ av id, 'wild game', Chg aw, MQP [CC] uv 'hunting (venatio)', Tkm a~v, Tk av 'wild game, hunt', Tk av, CrTt, Qzq, Nog, VTt aw-av, Uz aw, ET ow-o~, Qmq haw-aw 'hunting'; Uz aw, ET avḏa° wḏow 'wild game, hunt', Qrg u- 'hunt'; ? NaT **aḷjb- > Tk Δ {ET ← TH[A]DS} av- v. 'drive (away), chase' ¶ Cl. 3, DTS 1, 68, ET Gl 62-3, TL 417-8, TH[A]DS I 390, Rs. W 1 || M *aḷjba 'chase, hunt' > MM [S, MA], WrM aba, HlM ab id., 'Jagd, Treibjagd', MM [IM] aw ~ ab 'battue', Kl ав awъ 'battue', {Rm.} awa 'Vogeljagd, Vogelfang'; MM [MA, IM] d aba-la- v. 'hunt' ¶ MED 1-2, KRS 20, KW 19, H 1, Ms. H 33, Pp. MA 93, T VM 105 || ? Tg *wa- [{S} < **awa-] 'to hunt, kill' > Ewk, Neg, Lm A, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn wa-, Lm ma- 'kill, get game\catch (of hunt, fishing)', Sln, Crj wa- 'kill', WrMc wa- 'kill, hunt', Mc Sb va- 'kill' ¶ STM I 127-9, Y #739 ¶ Pp. VG 46, S CNM 10 (suggests to adduce Tg wa-) ♦ In A and in some IE lgs. there is semantic change 'drive\chase' → v. 'hunt'. The IE stem-final light lr., unless it is of suffixal origin, provides ev. for a N stem-medial lr., which may be only *ʔ, because this is the only lr. which both yields zero in AnIE and K and can be lost in S and Eg.

2613. *Xay'u- 'live' > HS: WS *√hyw (G prn. *hyaw- > CS *hyay-) v. 'live' > Sb wuih hyw, Gz √hyw (pf. 1Yw haywa, js. -hyaw ~ -hyu), Sq {L} √hy'y' ({DMü.} 'a'se 'lehye 'il vivra peut-être'), Hb eih √hyw|y (ip. -hye-), Ph pf. ḫāÁ ḫw?, Ug √hwy ~ √hyy, Amr {G} √hyy, IA eih, aih √hyw|y G, BA aih √hyw|y G, JA [Trg.] iih ~ aih √hyw|y G, JEA {Sl.} iih √hyy G, Sr ḫj ~ √hyw|y G (ip. 3m 'xejñi ~ 'xeñi n-ñhe-), Ar īwH √hyy-/hyw G (pf. īwHa hayya ~ īayīHa hayiya, ip. -hya-), ~vay°Ha hayw-a-n 'living, animal; life'; WS *hayy- adj. 'alive, living' > Hb, BA, Jar ih2 hay, Ug hy, (AkSc) hayy-, Pun, IA hy, Amr {G} hayy-, Sr J≈a hay, em. 'jo≈a hayy-a', Ar īwHa hayy-, Sb ih hy, Sq {L} hay id.; the substantivized pl. of

the S adj. *h_{ay}- means 'life': Hb pl. Mił%h₂ h_{ay}'yīm (sg. cs. ih₄ hē), Ph, Ug h_{ym}, BA Nił%h₂ h_{ay}'yīn, Ar ē'yWHa h_{ayya}-t- (sg. from a pl. *h_{ay}-a-t-), Mh {Jo.} h_{ay}o-t, Jb {Jo.} h_{ay}o ¶ KB 295-7, KBR 307-10, GB 225-7, 906, A #911, OLS 185-6, G A 19, Js. 454, Lv. T I 252-3, Sl. 453-4, Beyer AHG 23, 27, JH 86-7, HJ 365-9, PS 1251-4, Fr. I 448-9, L G 252, L LS 171, Jo. M 196, Jo. J 122, BGMR 74-5 || C {AD SF} */h_{yw} > Bj {R} h_a-y- scv. 'live, be healthy', h_a-y 'alive, living', {AD} h_{ay}t 'situation', ? v 'hiyu 'husband' (← *'person' ← *'living being') || EC: Sa {Wlm.} h_{ea}w 'people, Menschen', h_{ea}'awto 'person'; ? Sa {R} h_{ay}- 'live' (if {R} h is [h] and unless it is not a loan from EthS; the word may have merged with the C reflex of N *h_{ow}'i 'become, appear' [q.v.]) || SC: Irq {MQK} h_{awa}-ta 'husband, male', {Wh.} h_a'wa-ta 'man, husband', Brn {Mnh.} h_{awata} 'Mann' ¶ AD SF 156, R WBd 132-3, R S II 200, MQK 49 || ? Eg fP h_w 'food' (≡σ: Fr viande) ¶ EG III 44, Fk. 160 || ? Ch: Bdm {Tlb.} aiju 'live' ¶ Tlb. 453 ¶ Coh. 103, Cal. 175-6, IS I 242 (with references to earlier studies), AD SF 156 II IE *h_{eyu}-/*h_{ei}-w- 'life' > NaIE *ayu-/ayw- > OI a-yu 'life', a-yu-h. 'vital power', a-yu-h. 'lebendig, beweglich', Av a-yu-, gen. yaos' (< h_{eyu}-/*h_{yew}-) 'lifetime, lifespan' || Gk α'ω'v 'vital power, life, eternity', Gk α'ε'ι', Gk Cp α'ε'ι' 'ever', Gk Cp υ'φ'α'ι' ζ'α'ν 'during one's lifetime' || Al {Jokl} eshe' 'Zeitraum' ({Jokl} < *aywesya-) || L aevus, aevum 'lifetime, time of life, period of time; eternity' || OIr a'es 'lige, age' || Gt aiws, OHG e-wo, e-wa 'eternity' -d> e-wīg 'eternal' (> NHG ewig id.), ON æ'vi, æ'fi 'eternity, lifetime'; Gt aiw 'ever' (in the construction ni ... aiw 'never'), ON æ 'always', AS a-, o- 'ever, always', OHG io, NHG je 'ever, always' || Tc A a-ym- {P} 'spirit, life', {Wn.} 'le soi, le moi' (translation of OI a-tman-) ¶ P 17, Mn. 7, M K I 77, F I 35-6, 49, WH I 21, Fs. 30-1, Kb. 211-3, 506, Schz. 126-7, 175, EWA II 1175-8, Vr. 680, 682, Ho. 1, Jokl LKU 34, Wn. 173, EI 352 & 548 (*h_Aoyus / gen. *h_Ayou_s 'vital force, life, age of vigour') II A: NaT *o-y > StAlt h_{ay} o-y, Tlt {Rl.}, Qmn {B} o-y, Tv 'h_{ay} o-y 'moment, time, season', Tb {B} o-y 'time'. IS adduces Yk o-yu-'n 'future, time', which is a Tungusism (f below) ¶ Rl. I 1172, BT 118, B DK 238, B DChT 142, TvR 333 || M *u-ye 'time, generation' > MM [HI] u-ye 'generation', [S] uye(n) u-ye(n) 'old, earlier', WrM u-ye, HIM, Brt u-ye, Kl u-y 'time, epoch, period, age; generation', Dg {Mr.} uie 'generation'; the meaning 'generation' may have been a result of a merger of homonyms: M *u-ye 'time' × M *u-ye 'joint of body' ¶ MED 1001-2, Chr. 495, KRS 547, Ms. H 109, H 167, Mr. D 231 || Tg *u.yV-, *u.yu.-(n-) 'life, living' > Ul, uyu, uyun- 'living', Nn Nh uyu-, Nn B uyu(n)-uy3(n-) 'living, alive', Ork uyu(n-) 'living; a living being; life', Mc weyχun 'living', 'provision', wey3u- v. 'resuscitate'; Tg -b> Yk o-yu-'n 'future, life, lifetime, time' ¶ STM II 252, Sun. UJ 245, Antn. YSK 49 || pJ {S} *3'y3- 'grow old' > OJ o-yu-, J: T/Kg oi- K o'i- ¶ S QJ #1337, Mr. 740 ¶¶ DQA #1560 (pA *o-y 'life, age') ◆ Cf. AD LRC #62: IE, S; IS I 242-3: HS, IE, A. The initial *o-~*u- in Altaic is due to regressive *as* of the sort called «Altaic vowel breaking» bringing about Altaic ascending diphthongs. The source of the ass. infl. must have been both rounded and palatal, i.e. *u- ◆ Gr. II *247 (*ayu 'live') [IE, A, J, CK, EA].

2614. *X_{oy}V 'to swim, float, flow' > HS: Eg MK hwy v. {EG} 'flow' (of a river) ('fließen, fluten'), {Fk.} 'overflow, surge up' (of Nile), ambEg P/G hwy 'flood' (× N *xawV 'to spurt, rain' [q.v.]) ¶ EG III 48, Fk. 165 II U *uye-~*oye- v. 'swim' > F ui-, Es uju-, Δ oju-, ojo-, pLp {Lr.} *vo-j3 v. 'swim, float' > Lp N {N} vuoggja-/-j-, Lp L {LLO} vuodja-, Lp Kld vu-jje-, Lp Nt vuojje- id., S {Hs.} vuojje- 'swim' | pMr {Ker.} *uyə- > Er ye- uye-, Mk ye- uyə- | Chr: L u- iya-, E iya-, H ia- | pPrm *uy- > Vt uya-, Z uy- id. || pObU *wu-y- id. > (1) pVg *(w)u-y- > Vg: T oy-, LK (w)oy-, UK/P wuy-, UL/Ss uy- id., (2) pOs *uy- > Os: K u-y-, frq. u-yit-, D uyit- v. 'crawl' (of a snake); Hg u-sz- v. 'swim' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *u- id. > Ne F Ly ŋu-, Slq (aor. 1s): Tm u-_{ag}-, Tz u-_{ga}g- id., Tz {KKIH} u-, Mt {Hl.} *u-_l- v. 'swim' ¶¶ Coll. 64, UEW 542, Sm. 536 (U *uxi- 'swim' > Sm *u-, FU, FP *uji-, Ugr *u-jr-), It. #211, Lr. #1422, Lgc. #8748, Hs. 1448-9, LG 296, Stn. D 20, Jn. UK 42-3 #122, Jn. 29, KKI 192, Ker. II 173-4, Hl. M #1108 II A {SDM97} *oye|o (or *uyo) v. 'swim' > M *oyi-mu- 'swim' (unless it is *qoyi-mu-?) > WrM oima-, oimu- v. 'swim', HIM оймо- id., Kl o-m- v. 'bathe, swim', Ord oo-mo- {Ms.} v. 'wade', as well as possibly M {DQA} *u-yi- v. 'sink, put in a pot for boiling' > WrM u-y(u)-, HIM *й-, Ord {Ms.} u-, Mnr H {SM} wī- v. 'put (meat, vegetables, etc.) into boiling water or soup in order to cook it' and M *u-yer 'inundation, flood' > MM [HI] {Ms.} u-yer, WrM u-yer, HIM *ep id. ¶ MED 604, 999, 1002, SM 48, Ms. H 109 || Tg *u.yV- v. 'swim' (of birds) > Ewk PT/Y/Urm uyu-, Ewk B uwu-, Ewk Y/Nr/Skh/Urm un-u-, Neg oytyan- ~ oxtyan- v. 'swim' (of a waterfowl), Ud X {Shn.} uyan- ~ wuyan-, Ud B/Sm {Krm.} wayan- v. 'swim (on the surface of water)', Nn KU oyana- id. (of waterfowls or mammals) ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 217 || pJ *3'y3nk- or *3'yu_ank- v. 'swim' > OJ oy(u_)og-, J: T oyo'g-, K o'yo'g-, Kg o'yo'g-, Ns o'g'-, Ht u-, Y u-n- ¶ S QJ #74, Mr. 744 ¶¶ DQA #1559 (A *o'ye 'swim'), S AJ 220 #209, 238 #90, 267 #74, 277 #70, MED 604-5, KW 304, SM 182, STM II 253, Pp. VG 140, Rm. EAS I 98 ◆ The U and the A (M and Tg) stems were equated by many authors: Rs. UA 42, Coll. 147, AD LRC #81, IS MS 355, Rédei (UEW 542), and others. The Eg cognate has not been adduced so far ◆ ≈ Gr. II *377 (*oye 'swim') [U, A, J + err. Ko].

2615. *X_{az}V 'to cover, spread', 'soft stuff spread on the ground as bedding' (→ 'soft stuff [fell, feathers, hay]') > HS: S *o/hs'yw¹, *o/has'w- > Ar has'iyat- (pl. has'a-t-) 'matelas, lit', has'w- 'pailles, crin, plume, tout ce qui sert à remplir un coussin, un oreiller' ¶ BK I 119 II U: FU *a|ozV 'bed (ein mit etwas bedeckter, zum Liegen [Schlafen] geeigneter Platz)' > Prm *wol' ({LG} *wo.l'-) 'bed, bedding, litter (spread for animals to lie upon)' > Vt валес val'es 'feather-bed, bed, mattress', Z vol' / vol'í- 'fell of reindeer or elk', uv vol' 'bedding (made of cloth)' (uv is 'bottom'), Z vol'3s, Z USs o.l'3s 'bedding, litter (for

animals to lay upon), Z Δ vol'-pas', Z USs o.l'-pas' 'bed' (pas' is 'coat'), Prmk ol'pas', Yz 'ul'pas' 'bedding' || Vg {Kn.}: T a°l'a°t 'bed', Ss ol'a°t-yiw, ol'a°t-pum 'hay as bedding (Bettheu)' (yiw is 'wood', pum is 'grass, hay') || Hg a'gy 'bed' || UEW 4, Sm. 542 (FU, FP *ood'i, Ugr *a'd'ir 'bed'), MF 74, LG 62, WVD VII 28 || D *al,- v. 'spread, cover' > Kn al,ur v. 'enclose, cover, overspread', OTl, Tl alamu v. 'spread, extend', Knd almi v. 'level, spread out' || D #307, Km. 285 [45] || ??? A: Tg *elbe- v. 'cover a tent with reindeer fells or cloth', v. 'cover (food, body parts, etc.)' > Ewk, Neg 3lb3- id., Orc 3bb3, Ud 3gb3- v. 'roof', Ul 3lb3m3 'foot-gear', 3lb3n3 'a sacking cover for fish and meat', Nn KU 3lb3~ 'roof', Ul, Nn Nh 3lb3n3 'sail', WrMc elbe- v. 'roof; to thatch, to cover' || STM II 445.

[This is an old version. The revised version see below. 2616. ***ya** 'which?' > K: Sv ya°- d ya- 'who?': Sv UB nom. ya°r, erg. ya°rd, dat. ya°-s, gen. is'a ~ yes'a, Sv L nom. ya-r, gen. ya-s°, Sv UB nom. ya°-r, gen. i-s'a, Ln nom. (y)a°r || Top. SJ 83, TK 637, Dn. s.v. yar || IE: NaIE: *yo-, rel. (and interr.?) pronominal √ ('which' or sim.) (m. *yo-s, f. *y-a°, ntr. *yo-d) > OI m. ya-s, f. ya°, ntr. ya-d id., Av yo° 'which' rel. || Gk °oñ m., °ñ f., °o ntr. id. || Clt: Gl DUGLIONTI-IO 'who serve' || ? Phr ioñ (vi) 'whoever' || Sl m. *jъ-z'e (> OCS **нже** iz'e), f. *ja-z'e (> OCS **аже** jaz'e), ntr. *je-z'e (> OCS **кже** jez'e) 'which' (rel.); the interr. meaning of the √ may be discerned (with a query) in Sl *jakъ(jъ) 'what kind of?, which?' and in *jakъ 'how?': Sl *jakъ(jъ) > OCS **какъ** jakъ id., Blg **јк**, SCr ja k m. (ja'ka f., ja'ko ntr.), Cz, Slk jaky', Lls †, P jaki, Uk **який**, R S **який** 'which?', 'what kind of?'; Sl *jako 'how?' > OCS **яко** jako, Pol jak, Uk, Blr **јк** id. (in P, OCS and ESl merged with Sl *ako 'as' in the form jako) || Ltv ja 'if' (< ntr. *yad), Lt je'i ~ jei° 'if' || Wtk. OIV 16 and IS I 278: + *unc.* Ht -ya pc. 'and, also' || ≈ P 383 (does not distinguish this √ from the NaIE dem. *ei-/*e-), EI 457 (*yo-s / *yeh_A / *yo-d 'who, what, that' rel.), M K III 14, ≈ M E II 390 (IE *Hyo-), F I 434, Frn. 182, En. LG 825, ESSJ VIII 171, StSS 793-7, Vs. IV 552-3, Glh. 286 || A: M *ya ~ *ya-n 'what?' > MM [IsV] ya 'what?' (ya kilu°° bi 'what have I done?'), [L, IsV, IM] yan 'what?', [MA] id., 'what ...!' (exclamatory: yan o°ter 'how quick (he is)!', **какой быстрый!**), as well as Brt **ја**, Dx yan 'what?, which?', Ba yan 'what?' (or < *yayun?); M *yaya- interr. v. 'to do what?' > WrO {Krg.} ya- ~ ya°, HIM, Kl **ја**- ya° id., WrM d yagaki- id., 'how to act?'; M *ya-yun 'what?, what kind of?, which?' > MM [HI] ya/у(n), WrM yagu(n), HIM **у**(н), Brt **у**н, Mnr H {SM} ya°n id., {T} ya°ñ 'what?', Ord yu° id., yu°n ~ yu°n 'which?', Kl **у**н yun, {Rm.} yu°n 'what?', WrO yuun 'what?, why?' || Pp. L III 77, Pp. MA 387, 450, Ms. H 110, MED 423-5, Lg. VMI 73, SM 487, T 337, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Ms. O 406-7, Krg. 700-1, KRS 707, 713, KW 218, 221, Chr. 785, 787 || Tg *ya 'what?' > Ewk e°, Sln **і**, Neg e°wa, Orc ya°wu, Ud {STM} yzwэңи id., {Krm.} y3у 'what?', 'who?' (of animals), WrMc ya 'what?, who?'; Tg *ya- interr. v. ('to do what?') > Ewk, Neg e°, Lm a°°, Orc, Ud ya- ~ y3- id. || STM I 288, Krm. 243 || U: FU (att. in FV) *yo- 'which' (rel.) (→ 'whatsoever') > F jo-ka (gen. jon-ka) id., 'every', Krl yoka 'which' (rel.), F, Es Δ jos 'if' (< loc. of *yo-?) || Lp: N juoga° 'something, something or other', L {LLO} juoka 'some', Kl f yuk°° k°e every || Chr: H **у**з yuz°, L **у**ж yuz°o, Uf/B yuz°o 'some (irgendeiner, **некоторый**)' || UEW 637, It. #87, SK 116-7, Ep. 31, MRS 782 || D *ya° 'what?, which?' > Tm, Ml ya° 'what?', Td e°θ (obl. e°n-) 'which person/thing?', e-/ey- 'which?, what?' interr. adj., Kn ya° 'what?, which?', Kdg, Klm e-, Tl e- 'which?', Knd aye 'which?, what?'; Tm ya°van, Ml ya°van ~ e°van, Kt evn, Kn ya°vanu, Kdg e°vəñ, Tl eva°d_u 'which man?', Nkr e°n 'who?' (m.), Gdb eyin 'which man?', eynd, 'who?', Gnd benond, 'who?, which man?', Knd e°n 'who?', Krx endr 'what?' || D #5151 || Knd aye may go back to demonstr. *ʔa + *ya (like HS *ʔayy-) || HS: ? Ch: CCh: Msg ya° 'where?' || WCh: Hs ya°ya° 'how?' (× N *ʔayV 'which?', 'what?') || ChC ♦ IS I 277-8 [*ja° 'which, what kind of' (interr. and rel.)], Gr. I 225-9 ('interrogative J' in IE, U, A, Gil + *unc.* Ai) ♦ Cf. N *ʔayV '¶' ♦ On N and pIE *°- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.]

[A new version:

2616. ***ya** 'which?' > K: Sv ya°- d ya- 'who?': Sv UB nom. ya°r, erg. ya°rd, dat. ya°-s, gen. is'a ~ yes'a, Sv L nom. ya-r, gen. ya-s°, Sv UB nom. ya°-r, gen. i-s'a, Ln nom. (y)a°r || Top. SJ 83, TK 637, Dn. s.v. yar || IE: Sl *jakъ(jъ) 'what kind of?, which?', *jakъ 'how?': Sl *jakъ(jъ) > OCS **какъ** jakъ id., Blg **јк**, SCr ja k m. (ja'ka f., ja'ko ntr.), Cz, Slk jaky', Lls †, P jaki, Uk **який**, R S **який** 'which?', 'what kind of?'; Sl *jako 'how?' > OCS **яко** jako, Pol jak, Uk, Blr **јк** id. (in P, OCS and ESl merged with Sl *ako 'as' in the form jako) || Wtk. OIV 16 and IS I 278: + *unc.* Ht -ya pc. 'and, also' || ESSJ VIII 171, StSS 793-7, Vs. IV 552-3, Glh. 286 || A: M *ya ~ *ya-n 'what?' > MM [IsV] ya 'what?' (ya kilu°° bi 'what have I done?'), [L, IsV, IM] yan 'what?', [MA] id., 'what ...!' (exclamatory: yan o°ter 'how quick (he is)!', **какой быстрый!**), as well as Brt **ја**, Dx yan 'what?, which?', Ba yan 'what?' (or < *yayun?); M *yaya- interr. v. 'to do what?' > WrO {Krg.} ya- ~ ya°, HIM, Kl **ја**- ya° id., WrM d yagaki- id., 'how to act?'; M *ya-yun 'what?, what kind of?, which?' > MM [HI] ya/у(n), WrM yagu(n), HIM **у**(н), Brt **у**н, Mnr H {SM} ya°n id., {T} ya°ñ 'what?', Ord yu° id., yu°n ~ yu°n 'which?', Kl **у**н yun, {Rm.} yu°n 'what?', WrO yuun 'what?, why?' || Pp. L III 77, Pp. MA 387, 450, Ms. H 110, MED 423-5, Lg. VMI 73, SM 487, T 337, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Ms. O 406-7, Krg. 700-1, KRS 707, 713, KW 218, 221, Chr. 785, 787 || Tg *ya 'what?' > Ewk e°, Sln **і**, Neg e°wa, Orc ya°wu, Ud {STM} yzwэңи id., {Krm.} y3у 'what?', 'who?' (of animals), WrMc ya 'what?, who?'; Tg *ya- interr. v. ('to do what?') > Ewk, Neg e°, Lm a°°, Orc, Ud ya- ~ y3- id. || STM I 288, Krm. 243 || D *ya° 'what?, which?' > Tm, Ml ya° 'what?', Td e°θ (obl. e°n-) 'which person/thing?', e-/ey- 'which?, what?' interr. adj., Kn ya° 'what?, which?', Kdg, Klm e-, Tl e- 'which?',

Knd aye 'which?', 'what?'; Tm ya⁻van, Ml ya⁻van - e⁻van, Kt evn, Kn ya⁻vanu, Kdg e⁻və³, Tl eva⁻d³u 'which man?', Nkr e⁻n 'who?' (m.), Gdb eyin 'which man?', eynd, 'who?', Gnd benond, 'who?', 'which man?', Knd e⁻n 'who?', Krx endr 'what?' ¶¶ D #5151 ¶ Knd aye may go back to demonstr. *ʔa + *ya (like HS *ʔayy-) ¶ HS: ? Ch: CCh: Msg ya⁻ 'where?' ¶ WCh: Hs ya⁻ya⁻ 'how?' (× N *ʔayV 'which?', 'what?') ¶ ChC III This etymon may be an AdS of the relative pronoun *yo- in IE and FU (see N *ʔy¹yo 'which', 'that which, related to') ♦ IS I 277-8 [*jA 'which, what kind of' (interr. and rel.)], Gr. I 225-9 ("interrogative J" in IE, U, A, Gil + unc. Ai) ♦ Cf. N *ʔayV '¶' ♦ End of the new version]

2617. ? *yE (= y¹i¹?) 'these, they' (animate plural deictic element) > HS: B {Pr.} *i⁻, nominal px. of m. pl.: {Pr.} *i⁻-yu⁻na⁻b 'feathers' ↔ sg. *a⁻-ya⁻nib 'feather' (> Ah {Pr.} pl. i⁻yu⁻nab ↔ sg. a⁻ya⁻nib), *i⁻-d³iha⁻ran 'feet' ↔ sg. *a⁻-diha⁻r 'foot' (> Ah {Pr.} pl. i⁻-d³a⁻ra⁻n ↔ sg. ad³a⁻r, Kb {Dl.} pl. i⁻d³ar³ən ↔ sg. ad³a⁻r), Tw, Shl, etc. i- (with allomorphs depending on the environment); according to Vc. ADB, this px. goes back to a df. art. of m. pl. ¶ AiM 211-2, Pr. M IV-V 14-6, 50-63, Dl. 180 || Eg O y-, pl. marker of dem. pronouns: ypn 'these' m., yptn 'these' f. (↔ pn 'this' m., tn 'this' f.), ypf 'those' m., yptf 'those' f. (↔ sg.: pf m., tf f.), ypw 'these' m., yptw 'these' f. (↔ sg.: py > pw m., ty > tw f.) ¶ Lopr. AE 68 || C: Bj R ya⁻ / a⁻ 'the' nom. pl. m., ye⁻ ~ yi / e⁻ ~ i acc. pl. m. (ya⁻, ye⁻, yi before vowels and lrs., otherwise a⁻, e⁻, i) [↔ wu⁻ / u⁻ 'the' nom. sg. m., wo⁻ / o⁻ acc. sg. m.), Bj {Rop.} yi 'the' pl. (before nouns beginning with h-), i ~ ε 'the' pl. (before byssyllables with a long vw.) ¶ EC {Zab.} *-Vy(-), pl. marker > Sml Me {Lm.} -a⁻y-ti [-ti is an article of f. sg.] (nin 'man' - pl. nim-a⁻y-ti, luk 'leg' - pl. lu⁻a⁻y-ti, ilmo 'child' - pl. ilma⁻a⁻y-ti), Arr -a⁻y ~ -e⁻y (sirg-at 'mad person' - pl. sirg-a⁻y, kede-te⁻ 'bee' - pl. ked-e⁻y, to⁻ma-te⁻ 'water-pot' - pl. to⁻ma⁻y), Elm -ay (o⁻na-te 'fruit' - pl. o⁻nay, ha⁻ruwa⁻te 'girl' - pl. ha⁻ru⁻way, e⁻lete 'jackal' - pl. e⁻lay), Or -eyyi / -iyye (obole⁻ssa 'brother' - pl. oboleyyi, Or B d⁻a⁻ha 'rock, stone' - pl. d⁻aha⁻y, wa⁻ti 'baby-calf' - pl. wa⁻ti⁻y), Kns {BISO} -iyya / -aya (ap-itta 'fire' - pl. ap-iyya, okk-atta 'cow' - pl. okk-aya), Gdl -ayya, -iyya (qi⁻m-ayt 'old man' - pl. qi⁻m-ayya, ha⁻l-itt 'stick' - pl. ha⁻l-iyya), Sd -Vyye (bal-ic⁻c⁻a 'gazelle' - pl. baliyye, og-e⁻ssa 'doctor' - pl. o⁻ge⁻y), Ya -ai ~ -ay ~ -ey (ilma⁻mu 'tear' - pl. ilma⁻may, xoxormo⁻ro 'penis' - pl. xoxormo⁻ra⁻i, mor⁻z⁻i⁻ 'sinew' - pl. mor⁻z⁻ey) ¶ Rop. 9, R BdS 60-1, Zab. MNT 77, 113-4, 118-9, 141-2, 156, 169-70, 190, 241-2, 296 || ? pre-S morpheme (*-ʔ¹i?) of nom. plural, which followed the case ending and later merged with it into nom. pl. *-u⁻, acc. pl. *-i⁻, gen. pl. *-i⁻; the palatality of the acc. pl. *-i⁻ (contrasting with the acc. sg. *-a) points to a palatal element within the original pl. marker, so that the prehistory of the S case/number sxs. may be conjectured as follows: acc. sg. *-a + pl. *-ʔ¹i > acc. pl. *-i⁻, nom. sg. *-u + pl. *-ʔ¹i > acc. pl. *-u⁻, gen. sg. *-u + pl. *-ʔ¹i > gen. pl. *-i⁻ ¶ IE *-i⁻, plural marker of animate gender (> NaIE m. and f.) of dem. and interr. pronouns, e.g. *to-i⁻ 'these' [animate gender] > OI te⁻, Lt tie⁻, OCS ти ti, OR тѣ te⁻, R te, Gt pai id., Gk B/D/Hm τοι (m. pl. article; Gk A/I ο⁻ id. was created on the analogy of m. sg. 'o), L is-ti 'those' (thou-deixis), as well NaIE m. pl. locative *to-i⁻-su 'in these' > OI 'te⁻s, OCS тѣхъ te⁻xъ id., Gk Hm τοι⁻σι, Gk A τοι⁻ϑ dat. pl. article. The form *toi⁻ is specifically connected with the animate (> masc.) gender and not with the inanimate (neuter) one (where the plural marker is *-h_o > *-ə (< *-h_o) and *-a (< thematic vowel + *h). In some dialects this *-oi⁻-form of nom. pl. m. spread to the system of nouns and adjectives (declension of the *-o-stems), whence Gk λυ⁻κοι 'wolves', εοι⁻ 'gods', OL poploe 'peoples', L lupi, OCS влѣци vlēci 'wolves', L vir-i and OIr fir (< *viroi⁻) 'men', Gt blindai 'blind' [m. pl.] || Ht k-e⁻ 'these' (pl. anim. of the dem. prn. [Rsk.] ka⁻s, ap-e⁻ 'those', HrLw ii, pl. anim. of the dem. prn. i-s ¶ Bks. 200-6, Brg. KVG 390-1, 406-6, Brand. GS II 76-7, Vnd.² II 78-9 (Sl *te⁻ > OCS ти ti, OR тѣ te⁻), Rsk. 68-70, Mer. SGA 322-3 II U {Coll.} *-yi/-ʔi (> -i-, -i⁻), pl. marker in oblique cases > FU *-y, pl. ending in obl. cases: F koulu-i-ssa 'in schools', kalo-i-sta 'from fishes', Lp N sul⁻lu-i-d acc. 'islands' (from suolo 'island') || ? Sm {AD} *-y/*-ʔi-, [+ppas.] {Hl.} *-y-id.: Kms {Kū.} ʒ⁻axa-ʔi-m 'rivers' (acc. pl.), ʒ⁻axa-ʔi-n 'of rivers' (↔ sg. ʒ⁻axa-n 'of [a/the] river'), ʒ⁻axa-ʔye⁻ 'rivers' (nom. pl.), possibly also Ne {Coll.} ɲudi⁻ 'hands' (gen. pl.) [↔ ɲuda 'hand'], Tv {Coll.} kindai⁻ 'smoke' (acc. pl.) [↔ kinta (nom. sg.)], En {Coll.} yohe⁻ 'rivers' (acc.-gen. pl.) [↔ yaha (nom. sg.)]; +ppas.: -y-nə 'my ...s' (*-y- pl. + *-nə 'my' with pl. nouns) > Mt {Hl.} *-n⁻E (*ayənE [Mt M {Sp.} аине] 'my children') ¶¶ Hajdú US 233, It. LC 41-6, Knp. KJ 383, Kün. SUKF I 31-8, Coll. CG 297-8, Hl. M 145 II A: Tg *-ye, pl. of the interr. prn. *ɲ⁻uy⁻ 'who?' > Ewk, Neg nī-yə ~ ɲi-yə, Lm n⁻i-yə ~ ɲi-yə, Orc n⁻i-yə '¿quiénes?' ¶ STM 660 ♦ IS interpreted this etymon as a sx., which is *unt.*, because in daughter-lgs. it functions both in the word-final and in the word-initial position [the latter in Eg (y-) and B] and as a separate word in Bj., which proves that *yE was movable and hence was a separate word ♦ ≈ IS I 12 (IE, U, HS), Gr. I 108-10 ("plural I" in IE, U, CK, EA, unc. Gil).

2618. *yi 'he, (?) that' (anaphoric) > HS *yi- 'he' (verbal px. of 3m): S *yi- id. > Ak i-, pWS *yi- [with verbs having a thematic vw. *a] > BHb yi-, ye- (e.g. K⁻6b6l\$y@ way⁻ye⁻b⁻k⁻l⁻ə⁻ 'and he wept'), Gz yə-; the vw. *-a- in Ar ya- and in BHb ya⁻ (Mq!l!v@ way⁻ya⁻k⁻om 'and he stood up') is due to analogical generalization of the vw. in the paradigm of the verbal personal pxs. ¶ Hz. VP 35-48; this *yi may be also present in S *miyV 'who?' (possibly from N *mi yi = N *mi 'what?' + *yi 'he', cf. ffd. N *mi 'what?') || B *i⁻, verbal px. of 3m > i- in modern B lgs. || C *yi-, verbal px. of 3m: Bj (ʔ)i-; EC: Sa, Af, Rn y-, Sml yi-, y-, y-a- (-a- in yaqa⁻n 'knows' and yahay 'is' goes back to the a px. of imperfectiveness ← aux. verb, ≠ AD IPCV), Dsn yi-, y-; Ag: Aw yi-; C *yi- is probably present in Or i-sa 'he' (marked nominative i-n-ni), Aw ʒ⁻-n 'this', in SC: Irq {Mous} ʔino⁻s, ʔi⁻s, pl. ʔino⁻ʔi⁻n, ʔini⁻n, {Wh.} i⁻no⁻s-i⁻nu⁻s 'he, she', pl. i⁻no⁻ʔi⁻n 'they', Grw i⁻no⁻(s), pl. i⁻no⁻ʔi⁻n, i⁻ni⁻n, Alg

in, pl. ina, Brn ina, pl. iney id. ¶ Zab. VC, AD KJ, AD IPCV, Hz. AL 21-2, PH 259-62, Grg. 22, PG 42-4, To. DL 200-2, Wh. 57, Mous GI 112 || NrOm: Hrr {CR} yi, Zl/Gf {C}, Wl {LmS} ī, Male {AZA} ʔi' 'he', Bsk {Bnd.} ʔiy 'he', iy 'his' ¶ CR H 630, LmS W 92, 273-4, AZA 80-2, C SO 38, 48, Bnd. MO 11 || Ch {Sch.} *-i, marker of definiteness: Dr ga'm-i: 'the ram' (↔ ga'm 'ram'), Zr gima-n-i 'the husband' (↔ gima-n 'husband'), EDng a'k-i' 'the fire' (↔ a'ko 'fire') ¶ Sch. ED 158-60 || IE *ʔei-/ʔi (or *h^hei-/h^hi-?), anaphoric dem. prn. {Bks.} 'that, the (just named)' (× N *h^hi 'iste' or 'hic'): OI a'y-am, GAv ay-ə-m m., OI i'y-am f., OI i'-d-am ntr., OI i'm-am, OPrs imam m., acc. 'eum' || Gk Cp ʔiv 'eum, eam' || L i-s, i-d || OIr e' ~ he' 'he' (<*i-s), ed ~ hed (<*id or *id-a-) 'it', pl. he' || Gt i-s 'he', acc. in-a, ntr. ita 'it', pl. eis 'they', ORu er, ir, iar rel. 'that, which', ON es, later er, OHG er 'he', iō ~ eō 'it', NHG er m., es ntr. || Lt ji'-s he', ji' 'she' || Sl *j- dem. 'is, ille', rel. 'which': m. nom. *jъ, f. nom. *ja, ntr. nom.-acc. *je > OCS, OR m. ѿ i, f. ѿ ja, ntr. ѿ je; Sl *j- in the obl. cases: gen. m. ѿro jego 'of him, of it', dat. m./ntr. ѿmoy jemu 'to him, to it', etc. || ? AnIE: Ld -i-, enclitic px. of the 3rd pers., but it does not necessarily belong here: it looks like a variant of a more typical -a- id. (Mer. SGA 319: "A fianco di -a- [in lidio] compare qualche volta una forma di -i-... Si può provvisoriamente accettare che si tratti d'una variante per evoluzione fonetica") ¶ P 281-3, Bks. 202, M K I 13, 46, 86, M E I 103, WH I 720-1, F I 726, Fs. 296, Vr. 105, EWA II 1092-1107, LG § 358, Thr. §§ 25, 405, Frn. 194, ESSJ VIII 204-5, Gsm. LW 129 || K *h^hi 'that' (distal deictive stem), 'he' > G i-s 'he'; that'-i-gi id., Mg i-, Lz hi-'that' (× N *h^hi 'i', q.v. ffd.) || A *i > T *-i/*-i 'his/her/their' (after cnss.; *-i and *-i are distributed acc. to palatal harmony of vowels; in lgs. with labial harmony of vws. there are additional allomorphs -u/-u) > OT, MQP [CC], XwT, Chg, Tkm, CrTt, ET Δ, Nog, Qq, Alt -i/-i, Qzq, Xk -i/-i, VTt -i/-i, Tk -i/-i/-u/-u, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qrg, Tv, Tf -i/-i/-u/-u, Bsh -i/-i/-i/-i/-i/-i, Kr T/G -i/-i/-u, Yk -a/-a/-o/-o, Chv -i, (stem-final vw. -a or -e + ppa. >) -i, (after geminated cnss.) -i; ? Blq inol 'that'; the T allomorph *-si / *-si 'his/her' (after vowels) is of more complicated origin [probably N *sE 'he/she' (q.v.) + vw. *-i/i induced by the postcons. allomorph] ¶ Ktw. PLA 46-7, Bz. BT 1-17, Rs. MTS 21-5, Dmt. KP ∇, Sev. KP ∇, PhTF ∇, Pokr. GJ 117, Mag. 198, Ra. MTJ 22 || M *-i- 'he' (gen. *-i-nu, in other cases *-i-ma-, which goes back to the N accusative compound *yi ma 'him') > MM, WrM i-nu 'his', ima-, stem of the obl. cases of 'he'; *-i 'his' > PCIWrM -i id.; gen. *-i-nu > Dg Cc {Pp.} iñ ~ iñ ~ 'he', gen. in'ī, as well as WrM inu (focalizing marker of the theme) ¶ Pp. IM 214-5, MED 412 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #582 *i (a deictic √; T, M i- 'he' + deictic *-i- in Ko and J; no distinction between refkexes of N *yi 'he' and *h^hi 'iste') ◇ Cf. IS I 270-2 (combines together *yi 'he', *h^hi 'iste' and *h^he' 'this' as variants of the same word), Gr. I 81-5 ("third-person I ~ E" and a similar "pronoun/demonstrative" in IE, U, A, Gil and Ai).

2619. *yi 'a couple' (inanimate) → dual marker > IE: NaIE dual marker (ntr.) *-o-i- / *-i(:) [1] NaIE ntr. *-o-i- (of *-o-stems): OI yu'ge- 'two yokes', OCS ѿзѿ ize', [2] NaIE *-i(:) of consonantic stems: Av vīsaht-i, Gk ʔi'κατ-ι, L vigint-ī 'twenty', OCS r ѿмени imeni 'two names', ѿѿлеси te'lesi 'two bodies'; [3] NaIE *-ai-, nom.-acc. du. of *a-stems m., f.: OI 'as've- 'two mares', OIr tuaith 'two peoples' (sg. tuath 'people') [< pClt *tou, tai-], Lt ranki, OCS ѿѿцѿ ra'ce' 'two hands'. Bks. 194-5 reconstructs the IE dual marker of nom. ntr. as *-iH₁ (i.e. *-iH) - mainly on the ev. of NaIE *-ī in OI (aks.ī 'eyes'), which would suggest N *yihV, but since this IE lr. has no counterpart in S and Eg, I am inclined to suppose that the length of i in OI is of analogical origin and does not go back to any ancient lr. ¶ Brg. KVG 388-9 || HS: S *-ay, the marker of acc.-gen. dual > Ar -ay, -ay-ni acc.-gen. dual (ʔibn-ayni acc.-gen. 'two sons', ʔibn-ay acc.-gen. cs. 'two sons of...'), with loss of case distinction: BHb -'ayim du. [st. abs.] (Mi%2&i yo-'m-ayim 'two days'), -e- du.pl. cs. (in4r6q2 k.ar,ne' 'horns of.), OAk -ī-n (s.almin annin 'diese beide Bildnisse'), Ak OA -e-n (s'e-ne-n patite-n 'two open shoes') ¶ Br. AG § 69, Sd. G 76 [§ 61] || Eg -wy du. masc., -ty du. fem. (nominal sxs.): zn.wy 'two brothers', zn.ty 'two sisters' || ? Ch: Hs D/Dm {Vc.} -ay, -a'ye-, dual sx.: fantaziye-y 'zwei Hacke' ¶ Vc. HÅ 93-6 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 60 (S, Eg, B) || A: T palatalization of *-r in names of paired body parts > T *ko''r' 'eye, both eyes' (> OT ko''z [ko''z-in ko''ru''p 'seeing with the eyes'], Tk go''z, Tkm go''d, etc.; cp. T *k'o''r- v. 'see' < N *gfu''rV 'to look, look for' [q.v. ffd.]), *k'o''ku''r' 'breast, two female breasts' (> OT ko''ku''z 'chest, breast, both breasts of a woman' [ko''guzi qara 'with black breasts'], Tk go''g'u''z 'breast', Tkm go''vu''θ 'female breast, woman's breasts', Chv: L ka'ka'p k'g'g'r, H k'g'g'r, etc.; cp. T *k'o''ku''r-a'k 'breast, chest' > Tkm ku''krek, Qrg ko''ku''rek, Qzq ko''krek), *t'ir' 'knee' (> OT tiz, Tk diz, Tkm d i'θ, Tv dis-kek, Chv c'yr), *mu'ny'ur' (> *mu''ny'u''r') ({Md.} *bo-'n'η'or') 'horn(s)' (> OT mu''ny'u''z d mu''yu''z, Tk boynuz, Tkm buyniθ, Az buyniz, Chv {Ash.} m'byra, [cd] Chv L m'byrag_a, Chv V mir'ag_a ~ mu,r'ag_a, Chv MK mir'aya 'horn', cp. M *mo''gere-su''n 'cartilage, gristle') ¶ Cl. 570, 712-4, 736, 756, Rs. W 202, 288, 294-5, 347, 482, Ash. VIII 292, Jeg. 98, Fed. I 249, Md. 51, 169, 174, TkR 194-5, 420, MED 545, KW 268 ◇ IS MsN s.v. *-i- dual (IE, HS).

2620. *yabE (~ *yapE) 'to cover, fence, protect' > HS: Eg MK ib.w 'refuge, shelter' ¶ EG I 62, Fk. 15 || C: DhI {EEN} ʔ'aβ-, {E} ʔ'aβ- v. 'save' || SC: Irq {MQK} ya'w- 'protect with a fence', {E} yaw- v. 'enclose, fence', Alg yaba 'fence' || HEC {Hd.} *if- 'be covered' d> caus. *if-i-; s- 'cover' (× N *qup.V ~ *qupV 'to cover, to close; a lid, a cover') > Hd {Hd.} if-īs-, Kmb {Hd.} if-is- 'cover', Hd if-oc'c'u n. 'cover, stopper (e.g. cork)', Sd {Gs.} if-ic'c'o n. 'cover'; C b> Grg {L}: Ch efa v. 'cover with a lid, stop up (an opening)', Ez, Ms effa' id., Gt ifa'', Ed, Sl, Wl iffa'', Ms, Go iffa n. 'lid, cover' ¶ E SC 315, MQK 122, EEN 29, Hd. 44, 284, 323, 373, L EDG III 19 || ? WCh: Ngz {Sch.} a'bu' 'hiding, seeking refuge' ¶ Sch. DN 4 ¶¶ Tk. SCC

104 [#34.1] (SC, Dhl, Eg, Ch) **II A:** T *jap- 'cover; build (a wall)' > OT {Cl} jap- 'cover (things), build (a wall)', XwT xiv, MQp xiv [CC] jap- v. 'cover, shut', OOsM jap- v. 'cover; hide, conceal', Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jap-, Uz jap-, QrB, Qrg ʒap-, Qzq, Qq ʒap, Xk cʼap-, Tv sʼip-, Tf cʼrʼp-, Yk sap- 'cover', ?σ: Tk yap-, Ggz jap- 'make, build' ¶ Cl. 870-1, Rs. W 187, ET J 126-9 || M *ibe(-ʒe)-*iʒe(-ʒe)- > MM [HI] {Ms.} ihe- v. 'protect', iheʒen 'protection', iheʒde- 'be protected', [S] {H} iheʒe- ~ ihe- 'protect, help', iheʒel ~ iheʒel 'protection (Schutz)', WrM ibe-, HiM ивү- v. 'pad, lay sth. between or under', WrM ibege-, HiM ивүг- 'protect, help', Ord {Ms.} iwege- 'traiter avec bonté (prince, ses sujets)', WrO {Krg.} ibe- v. 'protect, save', ibe- 'save, rescue, protect', ibege- v. 'protect', Kl † ив- iwa- 'patronize, protect (покровительствовать, опекать)', Kl {Rm.} iwe- 'be-unter-schützen, hüten, helfen', Kl ив л iwa- 'protection, care', {Rm.} iwe- 'Schutz, Hut, Segen, Hilfe', Brt W үбигүүл 'patronage, protection' ¶ Ms. H 62, Ms. O 390, H 81, MED 396, Krg. 89, KRS 262, KW 212, Chr. 753 || Tg *u, u_psi 'garment' > Ul upsi 'shaman's garment', Neg upsi id., 'skirt', Nn B ufsi 'belt' ¶ STM II 281, Ci. N 285 || pKo *psi- 'wear/put on (headgear)' > MKo psi-, si- NKo ssi- ¶ S QK #900, Nam 317, 319, MLC 1023-4 || pJ {S} ʒp- 'put on clothes (on the upper body), cover' > OJ op-, o'po'p-, J: T o-ʼ-, K/Kg o-ʼ- ¶ S QJ #1047, Mr. 742-3 ¶ ≈ DQA #644 (A *i_o'pe 'to cover, wear', M, Tg, Ko, J), Pp. VG 236, 286 **II IE:** NaIE *yebh- / (SA) *oi_bh- 'copulate' [× possible IE ?? *yeP- 'enter' > pTc {Ad.} *ya-p- 'enter' and Lw ipatarma 'west'] > OI 'yabhati 'copulates', BdSgd ʔʔʔʔʔʔk 'adulterous' ¶ Gk D ο'ιφω 'futuo' ¶ Sl {Bern.} *jeb- (1s prs. *jeb-o-, inf. *jeti and *jebati) 'futuer' > Blg prs. eθba 'futuo', SCr je'be-m / inf. je'batī, Slv je'bam / je'batī, P jebac-, R prs. eθby / inf. eT- ~ eθti ~ eθbat-, Uk Ъати yi'batī id., OCz jebati id., 'beat' ¶ WP I 198, P 298, ≈σ EI 508 (*yebh/o- 'copulate' ← 'enter/penetrate'), M K III 7, M E II 398-9, F II 371, Bern. I 452, ESSJ VIII 188 (Sl *je'batī with *e- on the ev. of Uk i in yi'batī, but his *e- is at variance with many attested forms, e.g. R p. eeб yob), BER I 474, Ad. 496-7 Mlc. CL 91 ¶ The semantic change 'to cover' → 'futuer' is most natural when referred to cattle ('the steer covers a cow'), so that he may suppose that it occurred in the language of the IE cattle-breeders.

2621. ? ***ya'dV** 'to go' > HS: B *y|wdw 'to go' B *y|wdw 'to go' (× N *wE.adV 'to walk, go, set out for', q.v. ffd.) **II U:** FU *yæð|V v. 'go' > ObU *ye-l- > pVg *ya-l- > Vg: T yil-, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL ya-l-/ya-l-, UL/Ss yal- 'go' ({BV} 'сходит', 'ездит'); pOs *ye-l- ({Hl.} *yi-l-) > Os V/Vy ye-l- 'go' ({Trj.} 'ходит', 'ездит') ¶ Ht. #184, BV 151, Trj. S 91 **II A:** NaT *jaða- v. 'walk', *jaða-k (jaða-g) 'on foot, pedestrian' (× N *raydV 'foot, track; to walk' [q.v.] with *a- > T *a due to vowel harmony) > OT, MT jaða-y 'on foot, pedestrian', Chg {Rl., Cl.} jaya- 'im Wasser gehen, indem man Grund unter sich hat', Tk yayalık n. act. 'walking', Tk yaya, Az jayay, ET jayaq, Uz jayaw, VTt z'a'ya'w, Bsh ja'ya'w, Qzq z'ayaw, Qrg ʒ'o-ʼ, Alt ʒ'oyu, SY jazay, Xk c'azay, Tv c'aday, Tf c'ad_ay, Yk satī 'pedestrian, on foot' ¶ Cl. 887, Rs. W 177, ET J 68-9, TrR 918, Rl. III 72, Ra. 193.

2622. ***y'o'dV** 'claws (as of a lobster/scorpion)', 'to hold between fingers/claws (e.g. of a lobster)' > D *it_uk- 'claws of a lobster/scorpion', 'to take between the claws' > Tm it_ukku 'prehensile claws (of a scorpion \ lobster)', it_ukku v. 'take between the fingers/toes, grasp as with pincers', it_ukki 'prehensile claws of a crab/scorpion, pincers, tongs', Ml it_ukku 'claws of lobster', Kt ikl_ 'tongs', Kn ikkur_, ikkur_a, Tu ikkul_i 'pair of tongs \ pincers', Kn ir_kur_i, Kui d_ipa 'tongs, pincers', Kn id_aku v. 'pinch, queak' ¶ D #444 **II A:** Tg: WrMc yo'da- v. 'hold' **II HS:** S *yad- 'hand' > BHb di! 'ya-d_ 'hand, forearm', cs. di@_yad_, st. prn. &di! ya'd-o- 'his hand', du./pl. Mi%od2i! ya'd_ayim, pl. cs. id4i^ yə'd_e-, Ph, Ug, IA yd 'hand', JPA di@_yad_ (~ dia5 ʔi'd_ ~ dia3 ʔe'd_), BA cs. di@_yad_, Sr dΔa 'yad_, cs. dΔai ʔid_, em. AEdoΔai ʔi'd_-a-, Ar dYa yad-, Sb, Mn, Qt yd, Gz AD ʔəd, OAk, Ak v id-u(m), Eb i-tum = {Frnz.} yidum id., i-tim yidim gen. sg. & acc.-gen. du. 'hands', Mh {Jo.} indf. ʔid, df. ħa-yd, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'ed 'arm (from fingertip to shoulder), hand', Hrs {Jo.} ħayd 'hand, arm, forepaw', Sq {Jo.} 'ʔʔʔʔ, {L} ʔed 'hand'. In some lgs. (Aram dialects, SES, Eth, Ak, Eb) there is as *ya- > *yi- and later (ʔ)i- ¶ KB 39-71, KBR 386-8, HJ 443-9, A #1138, OLS 520-1, L G 7, BGMR 167, Rk. 80-1, MA 108, Jo. M 460, Jo. J 313, Jo. H 146, L LS 52, Krb. EG 19, 21, Frnz. EL 144, BHKKLMBiz. SAL #96, MiK I #1.291 || Eg v d hier. *hand' [alternatively, Eg fP {Rsl.} 'arm' (Rsl.: HS *d > Eg ʔ)] ¶ EG I 156 & V 414, 580, Fk. 308, Tk. I 37 ♦ The semantic change 'claw of a lobster/scorpion' → HS 'hand' is a typical zoomorphic μφ (reminding the NE slang usage of paw for 'hand', muzzle for 'face', etc.).

2623. ***yugE** (or ***yukE**?) 'to drink' > U: FU *yuxē (or *yuke?) v. 'drink' > F juo-, Es joo- (inf. II juu-a, 1s p. jo~in), Lv inf. ju'o-dē id. | pLp {Lr.} *yuk3 id. > Lp: S {Hs.} juvge-, L {LLO} juhka-, N {N} jukka- / -g-, Kld ʔrkʏ, K {Gn.} jukke- id. | pChr {Ber.} *yu'y- > Chr: L ĩyea- yu'a- (inf. ĩyeamyu''as'), B yu'ya-, Uf ju'a-, H ĩyeae- yu'a'- (inf. ĩyea''myu''a's') id. | Prm {LG} *yu- > Z, Vt ʔ- yu-. Prmk, Yz yu- || ? ObU: ? pOs *ya'n'c'- id. (belongs here if *n'c'- is a sx.) > Os: V/Vy ya'n't'-, Ty/Y yen't'-, D/K yan't'-, Nz yas'-, Kz yen's'-/yan's'-, O yen's'-/yes'- id., ?? Vg: T a'y-, LK a''y-, MK/UK/P/LL a''y-/a''y-, UL/Ss ay- id. | OHg ʒxi i-, y''u-, Hg iv- (/i-, isz-), Δ ihu- id. ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 105, Db. OS xxvii, xxxii, It. #231, Sm. 543 (FU, FP *juxi-, Ugr *ju'gī-), SK 124, SSA I 249, Lr. #285, Lgc. #1807, SaR 427-8, Gn. 468, Ber. 12, MRS 155, Ep. 52, LG 335, Ht. #726, MF 329-30, EWU 629-30, Māgiste ELLE **II A:** NaT *joL:ig > OT {DK} jo'γ 'meal for the dead', {Cl.} jo'γ 'funeral feast' (the long o- has been reconstructed on the basis of the Ar spelling with v in MhK, which is not a sufficient proof), OT v1 b→ BzGk v1 [MnP] δo'γiα 'Turkic funeral feast' (Gk δ- renders eOT j- and thus confirms

the hyp. of an obstruent pT *j-) ¶ Cl. 895, MKD 229 II ?? HS: EC (× C */ʃg 'drink' < N *ʃʼEʃʼgU id. [q.v.]): Arr {Hw.} ʔig-, Dsn ʔiʔk, Elm {Hn.} īk-, Kns ik-, Msl/Gdl {Bl.} uk- v. 'drink' ¶ Ss. PEC 17, Wh. IC 56, Bl. 108, BISO s.v. ik, Hw. A 340, To. DL 482 || Ch: Tng {J} yē-^d ē- v. 'drink' ¶ J T 86.

2623a. ?? ***yuHV** 'to tie, bind' > IE: NaIE *yeu- > OI 'yau-ti 'binds, unites', yu⁻ti- 'Verbindung, Vereinigung' :: ? Blt: Lt ja^utis 'ox, steer' ({EI}: 'that which is yoked'), Ltv ju⁻tis 'fork in a road' ¶ EI 64 (*yeu⁻ - 'bind, join together'), M K III 28-9, Fm, 191 II A: T *jular (with a sx. *-lar of n. coll.) > OT yular ({Cl. yula⁻r with *unj*. vowel length) '(a horse's) halter', Osm {Rl.} yular, Tk yular, Ggz yular, Alt ʒ'ular, Slr ʒ'ulur, Tv c'ular, Yk sular id., Slr c'ulir 'short rope (part of a snaffle-bridle)', Chg {ShSB} yular 'a rope attached to the animal's neck', Tk Δ yular 'golden thread hanged on a woman's forehead' ¶ Cl. 932, ET J 244-5, Rl. III 554, ShSB 105 II HS: C: Bj {R} ya'y 'rope' ¶ R WBd 243, 336.

2624. 2 ***yakV** ≈ 'to pour; ground covered with water' > A: T *jag- v. 'pour, pour rain' > OT jaγ-, MU, XwT, MQp, Chg, OOsM jaγ-, Tk yag⁻, Tkm, Az, ET, Slr, CrTt, Kr, SY, Xlj jaγ-, Gz ja⁻, Uz jaγ-, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh jaw-, Qzq, Qq z'aw-, Qrg ʒ'a⁻, Alt ʒ'a⁻, Xk, Shor, Tv c'aγ-, Tf c'aγ-, Chv L y- s'u-, Δ s'ɤv- v. 'rain'; T d *jagmur n. 'rain' > OT jaγmur, MQp [CC] (j)amγur, Tk yag⁻mur, Az jaγmur, Tkm Δ jaγmur, ET jamγu(r) ~ jaγmur, Uz jamγir, Qmq jaγur, VTt jaγur, Bsh jamγur, Qzq z'aγbir, Qq z'amγir, Qrg ʒ'amγir, Alt ʒ'aγmir, Xk naγmir, Yk samī⁻r, Chv L ymaĀp s'umɤr 'rain' (in some lgs. and contexts also 'snow') ¶ Cl. 896, 903-4, 908, ET J 57-8, TL 25, Rs. W 177, TkR 804, Āz. 182, Jeg. 216-8, Fed. II 127-8, 135-6, Ra. 193 || Tg *o^oyaku- 'be covered with water' (of ground) > Ewk yaku- id.; Tg *yaku_un_i 'ground covered with water, pit filled with water' > Ewk yaku 'grassy swamp, puddle, pit filled with water', WrMc yo⁻χon 'pit filled with water, ditch (in a field)' ¶ STM I 339 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #620 [Tg < A *i₋ak_i 'ja] II HS: Eg Wc ikn 'draw (water), (Wasser) schöpfen' ¶ EG I 139.

2625. ***ya⁻ka** 'ice, cold' > IE: NaIE *yeg- 'ice' > ON jaki 'piece of ice, icicle', NGr Sw Ja⁻ch, Gicht (= Gejicht) 'hoar-frost; frozen dew on trees'; dim.: Gmc {Vr.} *jekulaz > ON jo⁻kull, Sw jo⁻kel, NLG is-hekel, ja⁻kel, OLG {Vr.}, OHG ihilla, NGr Δ Ichel 'icicle', AS {Ho.} ʒ'icel(a), ʒ'icele 'icicle, ice' (ʒ' = [j]), NE ickle, (cd >) icicle :: OIr aig (gen. ega), Brtt {RE} *yagis, {Vn.} *yago- > W ia⁻, OCrn [γ] iey ice'; d> *yagnyos 'cold' (← *icy') > OCrn iein, MCrn yeyn, yen, MBrt yen, Brt ien 'cold' || Ht eka- 'cold, frost, ice', cikuna- 'cold' ¶¶ WP I 206, P 503, EI 287 (*yeg- 'ice, icicle'), Vr. 289, 294, Ho. 142, Sw. 74, Km. 495, Vn. A 28, RE 106, Frd. HW 40, 81, Pv. I 257-9 II HS: C: Ag {Ap.} *ʔəyay- 'ice' > Bln {Ap.} ʔəxaxa, {R} eg'ag'a⁻ 'hail, ice, snow', Q {Ap.} (y)əxaxa, {R} yeg'a⁻g'a⁻ id., Aw {Ap.} ʔ'ayai 'ice'; possibly (but not certainly): Aw {Bnd.} ʔgumi 'cold', {Hz.} ʔgəmt- v. 'feel cold' ¶ Ap. AV 6, R WB 17, R QW 149 & III 14, ≈ AD SF 263 [ʔ || ??φ NrOm: Kf {C, Fl.} ak-, 'be cold', {Fl.} ak.k.o, {C} ak.k.o⁻ 'cold', Shn {Fl.} ak.a, {C} ak.a⁻, Amuru {Fl.} a k^wa, Anf {Fl.} ak.o 'cold' ¶ Fl. OWL, C SE IV402 ¶ The unexpected glottalized k. needs explanation] II U (+ext.) ≈ **ya⁻ks'a > [1] FU *ya⁻ks⁻V 'cool, cold' > F ja⁻a⁻hty-^d ja⁻hty- 'grow cold, become cold/cool', Krl ya⁻htu⁻ id., Vp ya⁻u⁻htu- 'congeal' : Lp: N {Fri.} iksem, jiksem 'frigidus', L {LLO} jiekso⁻ - 'get cooler/colder' (weather), jeuhsas 'cold and windy' (weather), T {TI} yik:sem adj. 'cold' : pMr {Ker.} *ya⁻ks⁻a > Er ykue eks'e, Mk yue, {Ps.} a⁻s'a⁻, Δ ya⁻s'a⁻ 'cool; cool weather', Mk yu⁻ks a⁻s'ks adj. 'cool' : pChr yu⁻ks⁻a⁻ 'get colder' > Chr: L yu⁻ks⁻em (inf. йекуиаш yu⁻k's'as⁻), B yu⁻ks⁻e, Uf ju⁻ks⁻e-, H u⁻ks⁻e- (inf. yekuiash 'u⁻ks'as⁻) id. :: Os: V yo⁻γli, Ty ya⁻γli n. adj. 'cold', D ya⁻γtə 'cold, cool', Kz yi⁻fi⁻ 'cool' || [2] FV (+ext.) *yaks'a 'cool, cold' > Es jahe (gen. jaheda) 'cool', jahtu- 'cool down, become cool', Lv yo⁻ʔ- id. : Lp Sw {LÖ} juoskos 'rigidus', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} ju⁻o⁻sk'i⁻e n. 'cold', jo⁻ska⁻ - 'get cooler' : Er I kiuamo yaks'amo, Mk I kiuama yaks'ama adj. 'cold', Er I kiuamo, Mk I kiuam yaks'am n. 'cold, cold weather' ¶ The variation *ya⁻ks⁻V ~ *yaks'a suggests an old U √ with combination of a front vw. and a back one (probably **ya⁻ks'a) with subsequent as (due to "vowel harmony") in two opposite directions ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 90-1, 631, It. #241, SK 133, SSA I 260, TI 65, ERV 776, 801, PI 318, 321, Ker. II 37, Ber. 13, MRS 156, 641, Ep. 132 II D (in NED) *o^oγa⁻ek- > NED *o^oek- 'become cool' > Krx e⁻x- vi. 'lose heat, cool', e⁻xta⁻a⁻ vt. 'cool', Mlt e⁻ge 'become cool', e⁻gtre 'make cool' ¶ D #875, Pf. 186 [#43] ◇ ≈ AD GD 5 & IS MS 346 (IE, U, A; both do not distinguish this √ from N ***ya⁻ηig_iE** 'ice; to freeze') [ʔ, Blz. DA 162 [#98] (suggested to add NrOm).]

2626. ***yu⁻ka** 'to attach, tie/bind to' > IE: NaIE *yeu⁻g- / *yung- v. 'bind, harness, yoke' > OI yuj- (prs. 1s yu'najmi, 3s yu'nakti, 3p yun⁻janti), Av yaog- / yuj⁻ v. 'harness, yoke, join', d : MPrs a⁻yo⁻xtan- v. 'harness', ʒ'uxt, CINPrs †fj ʒ'uft 'yoke, pair', NPrs ʒ'oft 'pair' :: Gk ζευ⁻γ-vu⁻-μi 'yoke, put to; bind, bind fast' :: OHG untar-jouhhen 'subjugare' :: L jung-o⁻ / -e⁻re 'join, unite, connect' :: OIr cuing 'yoke' (< *kom-yung-) :: Lt ju⁻ngti (1s prs. ju⁻ngiu) 'to yoke, join, connect', Ltv ju⁻gt 'to harness, put to' || d> [1] IE *yug-o-m 'yoke' > Ht iuka- id. || OI yu⁻ga-m, Av yuga-, CINPrs *Ju ʒ'uγ id. :: Gk ζυγο⁻v id. :: L jugum id. :: OW iou, W iau, OCrn ieu, Brt ieo id., Ir ughaim 'harness' :: Gt, OSx juk, ON ok, OHG joh, NHG Joch, AS ʒ'eoc ~ ioc 'yoke', NE yoke :: Sl *jъ⁻go > *jъ⁻go id. > OCS нго igo, Blg, R 'нго, SCR †, b igo, Slv igo⁻, Cz, Slk jho id., P jugo id., '∈ cross-beam', SCR Δ ji⁻go '∈ cross-beam' : Lt ju⁻ngas 'yoke' (with n due to the infl. of ju⁻ngti), Ltv ju⁻g-s id. || [2] NaIE d *yeu⁻g-os ntr. 'yoke/team of beasts' > Gk ζευ⁻γο⁻ ntr. id., team (of oxen\horses\mules) [Gespann] :: L ju⁻gera id. d> sg. ju⁻gerum 'a measure of land, ≈ 2,500 m²' (← 'a plot ploughed by a team of oxen') :: MHG jiuch 'ein Morgen Landes' ¶ WP I 201-2, P 508-10, ≈ EI 64 [*yeu⁻ - 'bind, join together' (cf. N ***yuHV** 'tie, bind'), *yeu⁻g- id.], EI 655 (*yu⁻go-m 'yoke'), Bc.

726, M K III 19-21, M E II 412-3, 417-8, Horn 95, Vl. I 517, Sg. 364-5, BK 151, F I 609-10, 615-6, WH I 726-31, Vn. C 273, LP § 35.3, YGM-I 295, Dnn. 774, KM 333, Fs. 304, Vr. 417, Kb. 522, 1107, Schz. 178, OsS 465, KM 333, Ho. 141, Lx. 102, Frn. 196-7, ESSJ VIII 206-8, Glh. 274, Pv. II 495-6, 498-9 II HS: EC: Sml {DSI} yo'ke 'legare le mani \ i piedi a qualcuno', yo'ko 'legatura delle mani \ dei piedi' ¶ DSI 647 || NrOm: Mch {L} 'yokka(ye)' v. 'spin', Kf {Msr.} yokke id., Kf {C} yok- 'domare (un bue per l'aratro; filare (il cotone ecc.))' ¶ C SE 520, Msr 241, L M 58 II A: T *ju'ga'n (~ *jugan?) 'bridle' [< pre-T **ju'gan?] (× N ***Luk₁ʔje** ≈ 'flexible rod, thong', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #38 (*yeu 'belt') [IE ÷ U *yaye 'belt']

2627. ***yaKs'o** 'to loosen' > U: FP *yaksa- ~ *yoksa- id., 'untie' > pMr {Ker.} *yuksə- > Er yuks'e- (inf. ʔксемс juks'ems), Δ uks'e-, Mk yuksə- v. 'untie, loosen' i Krl A yaksa- vi. 'undress', Krl {Gn.} yaks'a- id., vt. 'ausziehen, entblößen', Vo yahza- 'die Fußbekleidung ausziehen', ʔσ F jaksa-, Es jaksa-, ja'ksa- 'be able to, have strength enough to' i Prm {LG} *jusk- > Prmk, Vt ʔскыны yuskini, Yz jusk- v. 'unharness' ¶ UEW 630-1, Sm. 552 (FP *je'ksa- 'take off'), Ker. II 46, LG 336 ¶ The variation *yaksa- ~ *yoksa- suggests an earlier etymon with a stem-final *-o (*yakso-) with subsequent vowel assimilation in two opposite directions II A: NaT *jas- 'loosen' > OT jas- v. 'unstring (a bow); disband (troops)', MQp XIII jas-, OOSm ʔXIV jas-, Tk yas- v. 'unstring (a bow)' ¶ The √ *jas- 'to flatten; flat' (represented in OOSm, Tk and other T lgs., cf. Rs. W 191 and ET J 155-6) is either a semantic derivate from 'to unstring the bow' or a different (albeit homonymous) √ ¶ Cl. 973 II ? HS: WCh: pAG {Hf.} *yok- v. 'become loose' > Kfr {Nt.} yo'k 'loosen', Gmy {Hf.} yok 'become loose', Ang {Hf.} 'be shaky, loose' ¶ Hf. AG #184, Nt. 45.

2628. ***yaEK.E** (or ***yaEK.ħE**?) '(very) bright, white' > HS: S *^o-yik.k.- > Ar √yqq (ip. -yiqq-) 'être d'une blancheur éclatante' ¶ BK DAF II 1631 || C: Ag *^oyak.k.- > Bln {R} yaq- 'be light/bright (hell)' ¶ R WB 365, ≈ AD SF 185 || ?? Eg L/G ik.h. 'to shine' [unless connected with Eg MK k.h. 'light (hell), light (lux)'] ¶ EG I 138 & V 66 II IE: NaIE *yek̂-(o-s)/oî.k̂-(o-s) 'light colour, clearness, brightness' > OI 'yas'-ah. ntr. 'beauty, splendour', Av yasô.h/ya- 'Ansehen verleihen' :: SI *e'sa n. 'light colour, radiance' > SCR jas 'clearness', Slv ja's 'light, splendour, radiance', ja'sa - jesa 'a ride cut in a forest', Slk jas 'radiance, glitter'; -d̥ *e''sān̥ (Trb.) {es'kān̥} adj. 'clear, light (hell)' > OCS jasъnъ, Blg 'јасен', SCR ja'san, Slv ja'sen, R 'јасен / јасный' 'clear', Cz, Slk jasny, P jasny 'clear, bright', Uk 'јасний - јасний' 'bright, clean' i Lt ais'kus 'clear, bright' ¶ Mn. 440, M K III 12, M E II 405-6, Bern. I 276, ≈ ESSJ VI 50-3 (SI *e'sa, *e'sā, *e'skān̥ with unjustified *k) II U *yækkV > Sm {Jn.} *yekV (unless it is *1ekV) 'white' > Ng {Pl.} d d̥kara', Slq Nr {Cs. in Lh.'s interpretation} 'ca'g(a), Slq Mke {KD} t'ē'qə, Slq Eke {Kzm., Katz} t̥be: k̥ t'ē'qə 'white' ¶ Jn. 42, Katz SQ 179-181, Kzm. DMSJ 274, KD D 73, Cs. 133, 153, 302, CsL SSM 96 || FV *yaks't̥t̥e'rV 'red' (< N ***yaEK.E.c.AshidV** 'light red?') > Er yaks'tere, Mk yaks'tər, Chr: Л йошкарге yos'kar̥ge, Н йақшаргы jaks'ar̥g̥y ¶ ≠ UEW 606 (Chr < FV *aks'te-rV or *aks'V-terV 'gelt, güst, unfruchtbar') II ʔφ A {DQA} *i_a'ka 'light, white' > M *yaga-yan 'pink' > WrM yagan, HIM лгаан 'pink, ruddy, violet, lilac', {Kow.} 'vermeil, rouge clair', IM {T} yağa'n, Brt лгаан 'pink' ¶ MED 423, Kow. 2246, T VM 273, Chr. 795 || pJ {S} *a'ka' - 'bright, red' [× N ***h'lawk'a**, q.v. ffd.) || Tg *ikere 'light (lux), lighting appliance' > Neg UA ikəɾɜ, Neg LA, Nn ixɜɾɜ 'light (lux)', Neg ikɜɾɜ ~ ixɜɾɜ, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn ixɜɾɜ 'lighting appliance, lamp (burning fat), candle', Ng LA ixɜɾɜ, Ork ikɜɾɜ'i- v. 'light' ¶ STM I 302 ¶ S AJ 110, 277, SDM97 (A *a'k'a 'light, white' > T, J, Tg), DQA #634 (T, J, Tg, M) ◇ Resh. NNE #3 (A, FV *yak-s't̥t̥e'rV). The age of the semantic change 'bright, light' → 'pink, red(dish)' is not clear. It may be rather ancient (because it is present in several ascending lgs: FU, M and J. But it may also result from cds [e.g. ***yaEK.E.c.AshidV** 'light red' → 'pink'] (that are not necessarily very ancient) with ellipsis in M and J.

2629. ? ***yoK.{E}** (or ***ʔoK.{E}**?) 'to catch, seize' > HS: Eg fOK icy (= {EG} it̥j) 'nehmen, rauben, fortführen', fNK ic̥: 'etw. fortnehmen' ¶ EG I 149-50, Fk. 34 || EC: Hr/DBs {AMS} ekk-, Gln/Gwd {AMS} akk- 'take' ¶ AMS 260 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} yak 'pick up/out, ladle out', Mpn {Frz.} ya'k 'hold, catch', Su {J} yak id., 'seize', Cp {J} ya'k 'catch, seize' i Bl {Lk.} yokk- 'pflücken', Pr {ChL} yuko' 'seize' i Bg {Sh.} yok 'carry (load)' :: ECh: Jg {J} ʔek-it- 'take' ¶ JI II 62, J S 88, J J 112, Frz. DM 67, ChL, ChC ¶ Tk. I 235 II D (in SCD) *okk- ({GS} *-gg-) v. 'trap' > Tl oggu 'lay a trap/net, lay a wager', Gnd HMB {BB} og- v. 'set (fishtrap)', Gnd Mn {Ph.} vagga-na-, vakka-na- 'set snare', Kui oga- v. 'trap, snare', Ku og- v. 'set a trap', u'r'u- ogali v. 'noose' (u'r'u- 'a snare') ¶ D #934 II ?? A: Tg *ukī 'fishing-tackle, trap (for fish/birds)' > Lm u'kit, Neg uxī, Orc, Nn uki id., Ewk ukī id., 'fishtrap', WrMc uku 'fishtrap', 'trap for birds' ¶ STM II 253 II ?? IE: NaIE *ei_k̂-/i_k̂- 'take possession, possess' (*ei_k̂- is a SA from *i_k̂-?) > OI 'is'e-, 'is.t.e' 'owns, possesses, is master of', Av ise 'is lord over', ise 'ich verfüge' :: Gt aigan* 'to have' (aih 'I have', aigum 'we have'), ON eiga, OSx e'gan, OHG eigan, AS a'zan 'to possess', NE own v.; -d̥ ON eigan, OSx e'gan, OHG eigan, NHG eigen, AS a'zen adj. (← pp.) 'own', NE own; Gt aigin, ON eigin, OSx e'gan, AS a'zen 'possession' :: ʔσ Tc B ai_k- 'know, recognize' ¶ The length of *i in *i_k̂- is still puzzling ¶ P 298-9, EI 270 (*h_Aei_k̂- 'possess'), M K I 96, M E I 207, Fs. 20, Vr. 95-6, Ho. 2-3, Ho. S 14, Sw. 8, Kb. 187, OsS 126, EWA II 981-3, KM 156, Ad. 101-2 ◇ HS de-emphatization *K. > *k.

¶ 2629a. ??₂ ***yiLV** 'burn' (tr.), 'kindle' > A: Tg *yila- id. > Mc Sb yila-, Ewk ila-, Lm ula- id., Sln ila- '**чжч**', Orc, Ud ila- 'kindle'] (× N ***yel₁ay₁V** 'to shine; light (lux)'): Sln ila' : 'light (lux)' ¶ STM I 303-4 II HS: WCh: Jmb {Sk.} yila 'burn' (tr.) ¶ ChC

II ??φ IE (× N ***ǵʰaʰlV** 'burn', q.v. ffd.): OI ala-tam 'a fire-brand, coal', Sw Δ {P ← Joh.} ala v. 'to blaze, flame' ✧ In other lgs. this N root is hardly discernable because its contamination with paronymic roots of similar meaning (such as ***yelajV** 'light', ***ǵʰaʰlV** 'burn', etc.) ✧ It is worth paying attention to M *ilcin 'warmth, heat' (> WrM ilci(n), HIM илч(ин) id., cf. MED 403).]

2630. ***yelajV** 'to shine; light (lux)' > U ***yel** 'light; sun, day' > FU: pLp {Lr.} ***ye** 'clear (weather), bright' > Lp: L {LLO} jielakis, N {N} jæ-la-ka's ~ ja-la-ka's 'complete cloudlessness, clear weather', K {Gn.} jiel'χ' s 'clear weather' || Sm {Jn.} ***yela** ~ ***ya** 'la' 'light (lux), sun, daytime' > Ne: T ɪɪɪ, T O {Lh.} ya-ɪ'e, F {Lh.} ya-ɪ'e-a; Ng {Mik.} 'jali; En {Cs.}: X 'jele, B 'jere; Slq: Tz c'e-li 'day, sun, light', Tm {KD} t'e-l 'day', d t'e-lə-d 'sun'; Kms {KD} ʒ'a-ɪ-a ~ d'a-ɪ-a ~ c'a-ɪ-a ~ t'a-ɪ-a 'day', ʒ'a-ɪ-mn-a 'es tagt, es dämmert', Koyb {Sp.} джлла 'day', джллобла 'I am lighting (свѣчу)' || pY {IN} ***yel** ʒ- > Y K {IN} yel'o-ʒ'e 'sun' (formally a prtc.), OY K {Bil.} yelo'nsha, {Merk} jelondscha id.; ???σ Y K/T yel'ʒ- 'boil, be cooked' (← ***fire** ← 'light'??) ¶¶ Coll. 17, UEW 96-7, Lr #261, Lgc. #1618, Jn. 40-1 (Sm ***ya** 'la'), Jn. p.c. (Sm ***yela** ~ ***ya** 'la'), KKIИ 103, KD 14, Pot. 38, 47, IN 224, 303, ≈ Rd. UJ 36 [#13] (Y < b U) II K ***hjel**- v. 'lighten' (× N ***hAlV** 'to shine; bright', q.v. ffd.) II A: T ***jal** 'u- ~ ***jɪl** 'u- > NaT ***jas** 'u- ~ ***jɪs** 'u- v. 'flash, shine' > OT jas-ɪ- id., XwT xiv jɪs-ɪ- v. 'shine', MQp xiv yɪs-ɪ- id. ('øamaLa'), Shor c'as- v. 'lighten', Kr G jas 'lightning' | < T ***jal** 'in ~ ***jɪl** 'in > NaT ***jas** 'in 'lightning' > OT, XwT xiv, Qmq, Tb {Rl.} jas'in, Uz jas'in, Nog jas'in, VTt, Bsh ja's'ɪn, Alt ʒ'a-z'in, Shor {Rl.} c'az'in, Xk, Sg {Rl.} c'az'in || Chv /s'is'ɪm/ [s'iz'ɪm] id. ¶ pT ***-a**- of the first syll. is likely to result from ass. infl. of the following ***a** ¶ Cl. 977, 979, ET J 149-50, TL 22-3, Md. 104, 160 [reconstructs pT ***ja** 'ɪ-ɪ- with -ɪ- on the alleged ev. of Chv. ***-s**-, but the latter may be explained by as (***s**...ɪ' > **s**...s')] ¶¶ The pT back vw. ***a** (~ ***i**) for the expected ***e** (< N ***e**) may be due to vw. harmony ¶¶ Md. 104 equates the T √ with M ***no** 'le- 'fire, flame' and Tg ***nu** 'l- 'kindle', which is less plausible semantically (albeit not ruled out as an alt. or additional source of the T root); cp. Pp. VG 38 and STM I 609 that equate the M and Tg √ with T ***jal** 'in 'flame' ¶¶ M ***ile** 'clear, manifest; visible' hardly belongs here (⇔ IS); it goes back to A ***ila** 'seen, visible' < N ***ɪil** 'V' 'eye' (q.v.) II D ***ell**- 'light (lux), sun' > Tm el id., 'lustre, splendour', elli, ellai 'sun, daytime', Ml ella 'light (lux), ilakuka v. 'shine, twinkle', Tl {Km.} elamu 'be shiny/splendid' ¶¶ D #829 ✧ D ***-l**- and U ***-l**- point to a N ***-l**-, hence T ***-l**- is secondary, probably from ***-ly**- < ***-lVy**-, the vw. ***V** being suggested by the fact that in U and D ***-l**- is not etymologically palatalized, i.e. it was not in direct contact with ***-y**- ✧ IS MS 362-3, IS I 281-2.

2631. ? ***y'a'm'u** 'to go, set out/off' > HS: S ***o** /ymm > Ar /ymm D 'aller prendre qch., diriger sa lance à dessein contre qn.' ¶ BK II 1634 II U (att. in Ugr) ***yom** 'go, set out/off' > Vg: T ya-m- / yam-, LK/P yo-m-, Ss yō-m- 'go' ! ? OHg xiv indol- 'bewegen, rücken', Hg indul- 'start, begin to move, set out/off, depart', OHg xv indeit- 'abgehen lassen', Hg indit- 'start, set off; set going' (-dul- and -dit- are derivational sxs.) ¶ UEW 100-1, MF 319-20, EWU 613 II ? A: M ***yabu**- 'go, walk' > MM [MA, IM, PP] yabu-, WrM yabu-, HIM ɪba-x, Ord yawu-, Mnr H {SM} yu-ɪ-, {T} yu-, Mnr M {T} yau-, Dx {T} yawu-, Ba {T} yu-, Mgl {Rm.} yobu- id., WrO {Krg.} yabu- 'go', Kl йов-х, {Rm.} yow-χъ, Brt ɪba-xa 'go, walk, travel' ¶ Pp. MA 385, 450, Pp. KP 159, MED 420, SM 494, T 338, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Krg. 701-2, KRS 279, Rm. RW 220, Chr. 793-4.

2632. ***yamV** 'body of water' ('sea, lake' → 'pond') → 'water' > HS: CS ***yamm**- 'sea' > BHb Mi! ya-m (pl. Mim 'Si@ yam'm-īm) 'sea, large lake', Ph, Ug, OA ym, BA, JEA yam'm-a-, Sr yam'm-a-, Ar μwYa yamm- 'sea', JA [Trg.] yam'm-a- 'sea, lake'; Cn -b> Eg fXVIII ym, (EgSSc) {Hoch} ya-ma, ya-mu (= yamma/u) 'sea', Cpt: Sd eioM eioM, B ioM ioM, A/F iam iam id. ¶ KB 395, HJ 458-9, OLS 527-8, EG I 78, Hoch #52, Lv. T I 336, Js. 579, Sl. 536. Reym. 163ff., RR 1181, Eg I 88, Fk. 18 || ?? B ***amaHwly**- 'water' (with the masc. article ***ʔa**- and the pl. ending ***-a-n**: ***ʔa-ʔamaHwly-a-n** > ***ʔa-ʔam-a-n** > ***a-m-a-n** pl. 'water') > Ah, Gd a-m-an, Kb, Shl, Wrg, Mz, Izd, Si, Zng aman, Nf {Beg.} ame-n, ama-n, Awj {Prd.} imin 'water', Gd {Lf.} a-man id., a-mɪn 'in water' || Gnc AHEMON, AEMON 'water' (going back to the eB form ***ʔa-ʔam-a-n**) ¶ The second syll. ***maHwly**- (with ***aHwly**- reflected in the final a < ***a**- in the attested B lgs.) may be due to contamination with HS ***maYJw**- 'water' (see N ***muhi** 'water') ¶ Vc. UB 314, Vc. ADB 143, Fc. 1139, Lf. II #0951, Mrc. 91, Dl. 479, La. S 228, La. MChB 196, Bs. NLB I 48, Wlf. 513, Nic. LBM 202, Beg. 215, 272, Prd. 139, Pr. M IV 146 (reconstructs pB ***Ha-ma** 'H-an without taking into account the Gnc form suggesting a syll. between the px. and ***m**) || Ch ***iHVJyVm**- 'water' > CCh: Tr {Nm.} ʔyim, G'nd {ChL} ye'ma, Gbn ye'me : BM: Cb yɪ mi, BuP {Mch.} jimi : HgNk yiemi : Lmn i' mi : Suk {IL in ChC} ya'm : Mtk {Sb.} i' ya'm ~ ya'm, pMM {Ro.} ***yam** id. > Gzg {Lk.}, Mf {BLB} yam, MfG {Brr.} ya'm, as well as {Ro.}: Mada, Myn, Mlk, Zlg, Mofu ya'm, Mkt ya'w : Db {Lnh., ChL} yim, Kola {Sb.} yɪ'm, Msy {Mch.} yim : Msg {Mch.} yim || WCh: Su {J} a'm, Tal {J} ham, Ywm {J} yam : Fy/DfB/Bks {J} ham, Klr {J} ʔa'm : Krkr {J} ʔam, Tng am || ECh: Mgm {J} a'mmi : Brg {J} ʔa'mi, Mu {J} ʔa'm, ʔa'm [ʔ, Jg ʔa'm, Mjl {DB} a'm, Kjk {DB} a'me'] (with the px. ***k**-): Kwn {J} ka'm, Kbl {Cp.} ka'mə, Ll {Grgs.} ka'ma' id. ¶ JI II 340-1, ChL, ChC, Ro. 362-3, BLB 387, Brr. MG II 259 [ʔ, Blz. LECh #94] ¶¶ ≠ Ap. ANH 23 (joins those suggesting to adduce S ***may**- 'water', which is phonetically unacceptable) II U: Sm {Jn.} ***ya** 'm {AD} 'large body of water (sea, large river)' > Ng {Prk.} 'dɜ-ɪ m ʒ'ama, {Cs.} jam 'sea', Ne T ɪ mʒ 'sea, large river', {Cs.} jam 'sea', {Lh.} ya'm? 'large river, the Ob', Ne F L {Lh.} ye'a:m 'large river', Kms {Cs.} nam ('large river?') ¶ Jn. 40, Ter. 841, Cs. 12,

52 II D *am 'water' > Tm am, a m, Krx amm, Mlt amu id. ¶ D #187 ¶¶ IS (IS I 279-8O) added NED *amm with a query ✧
AD GD 5 (HS, U), IS I 279-8O (HS, U, D), S CNM 6.

2634. ***yum'a'** 'daylight' (→ 'heaven, god') > HS: S **yawm-* (or **yaw_{1a}m-?*) 'day, daylight' > Ak *u₁m-u*, Eb {AD} *yawam-u* (a-wa-mu) pl. 'days' ({Krb., Frnz.} *yawmu*), BHb M&i 'yo₁m 'day' (pl. Mim5i! *ya₁'m-īm*), Ph, Pun IĒ *ym*, Ug *ym*, (AkSc) {Hnr.} *yo₁mu*, OA IĀĒ *ywm*, IA Mvi *ywm* = BA M&i *yo₁m*, em. *aml&i yo₁'m-a₁* 'day', JA [Trg.], JEA *aml&i yo₁'m-a₁* 'day, sun', Sr W 'mowΔa *yaw'm-a₁*, Ar *ʔv0Ya yawm-*, Sb *mui* ~ *mi y(w)m*, Qt *mui ywm* 'day', Gz *yo₁m* 'today', Mh {Jo.} *h3-'yawm*, Hrs {Jo.} *h3-yo₁m* 'sun', Jb E/C {Jo.} *yum* 'sun', Jb E *yum*, Jb C *yu(h)m* 'day', Mh *h3-yu₁m* pl. 'days', Hrs *h3-yo₁m3t* (pl. *h3-yīm*), Sq {L} *yo₁m* 'day'; JA *amlml₁^ yəma₁'m-a₁* 'daytime, daylight'; BHb pl. *ya₁'m-īm* and Eb a-wa-mu (*yawamu*) 'days' suggest the presence of **a* after **w* [lost in sg. and preserved in pl.: sg. **yawam-* > (posttonic syncope) **yawm-*, but pl. **yawa'm-u₁ī* without syncope] ¶ KB 382-4, HJ 448-53, OLS 527, L G 627, Js. 569, 580, Sl. 529-30, Hnr. 133, Krb. EG 29-30, Frnz. EL 137 || C: Bj {R} -a₁yim (1s p. a-₁?a₁yim, prs. e'-?e'yīm ~ e'-yyīm), Bj B {R} -yaym v. 'pass the day', Bj {Rop.} ?a₁yim id., 'pass the noon-time' ¶ R WBd 37, Rop. 158 ¶¶ ≠ OS #2576 (err. genetic comparison of S **yawm-* with Jg {J} *yom*, while in fact Jg *yom* is a loan from Ar ChCS *yo₁m* [RL 541-2]) || U: FU (att. in FV) **yuma* 'sky, heaven, god' > BF *d* (with the derivational sx. **-la*): F *jumala*, Vp *jumal* ~ *yumal*, Es *jumal*, Δ *jummal* 'god' ! Mr XVIII {Strl.} *Jumishipas* [{UEW}: = *jumi-s₁-pas*] 'Mordvinian gods', Er ħndol *yondol*, Mk ħndol *yondal* 'lightning' (lit. 'heaven fire' or 'god's fire', with Er/Mk tol 'fire') ! Chr {Ber.} **yumъ* 'sky, weather, god' > Н ѣмѣ уѣмъ, L ꙗмо *yumo*, Uf *yumo* 'god', {Ü} *yumъndu₁'r*, *yumъn-tu₁'r* 'horizon' ('edge of sky'), B {PsS} *yumo* 'sky, chief god' ¶ UEW 638, It. #173, SK 122, SSA I 247, Ber. 12, MRS 163, 782, Ep. 32, Rm. BT 31, PsS 99, Ü 311-2 || IE: NaIE **ye₁om-*, name of a mythical being (deity) > Vd Ya'mah. - name of a mythical being ruling the spirits of the dead, Av Yima- - name of a legendary king of Iran, MPrs *3'am*-(s'e₁t), CINPrs *muJa 3'am*, dy4mJa *3'a₁m-s'e₁d* - names of kings (lit. 'rex splendidus', s'e₁d from a Phl word for 'lux') ! Nrs proper names: Ash imra₁-, Pra yumra₁- (< **yama-ra₁3'a* 'king Yama') || ON Ymir 'Urriese' ¶ M K III 8, Vl. I 528, Sd. 369-71, Vr. 678, Gnt. AWH 337.

2636. ***yæntV** ≈ 'to stretch, strain' > D (in McTm) *e⁻nt- v. 'stretch' > Tm e⁻ntu 'stretch out the hands', Ml e⁻ntuka 'take up, stretch arms/legs' ¶ D #894 II ??φ A: T *ja⁻t⁻(a⁻)- v. 'lead, pull' > OT {Cl.} ye⁻t⁻d- 'lead (a horse)', {DTS} yet- id., 'pull (a person by the hand, an animal by a bridle rein)', Tk yet-, yede-, CrTt, Nog jet-, Tkm it-, Tv c⁻et-, SY jet-^d 3⁻it-, Ggz jede- 'lead', Yk sia⁻t- 'lead by the hand/rein/rope', ?? Chv s⁻av⁻t- 'lead by the hand, by a rein' ¶ Cl. 884, DTS 258-9, ET Gl 387-8, Jeg. 202, Pek. 2194-5 ¶ The long vw. is suggested by Yk and (according to IS) by the voiced -d- in Tk yede- ¶ The loss of *n (with complementary vowel lengthening?) is still to be explained II ??σ U *ya⁻nta⁻ 'sinew, tendon' (× N ***ya⁻ṇṇiyE**, q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I 281 [#147] (D, A, U).

2637. ***ya⁻ṇṇiyE** 'sinew, tendon' (→ 'bow [weapon]' > HS: Eg: [1] Eg fO iwn.t ∈ 'bow (weapon)' ('Art Bogen') ¶ EG I 55, Fk. 13 [2] Eg MK iny 'Schnur, Seile des Schiffes', {Mks.} 'corde, lien', {Vc.} 'ficelle, corde (d'un navire)' > Cpt Sd/A **enne** 'entrave, lien pour les pieds' ¶ EG I 93, Mks. I #O322, Vc. 65 II U: [1] U *yoṇse ~ *yoṇkse 'bow (weapon)' > F jousi (gen. jousen), joutsu 'bow' : pLp {Lr.} *yo⁻ksə 'bow' > Lp: S {Hs.} juokse, L {LLO} juoksa, Kld ju⁻x⁻:s : pMr {Ker.} *yoṇgaks 'bow' > eMr XVIII {SJRn} ionks yoṇks, Er {Ker.} yoṇks id., {KC} кед- еенкс '∈ hand tools' (кед- is 'hand'), Er SA {ERV} еенс 'hand-driven device for carding wool, wool-carding bow (ручна́я персточесалка, лучок)', Mk {Ker.} -yoṇks 'bow' : pChr {Ber.} *yoṇəz⁻ 'bow (weapon)' > Chr: H yaṇyez⁻, Uf yoṇez⁻, M yoṇu⁻z⁻ :: ObU {Ht.} *yo⁻ḡəθ 'bow' > pVg {Ht.} *ya⁻ḡət > Vg: T ya⁻wt^d yawt, LK/MK/UK/UL/Ss yowt, P/SV ya⁻wt, NV ya⁻wt, LL yeḡt; pOs {Ht.} *yoṇḡət > Os: V/Vy yoṇḡəl, Ty yaḡwət, Y yawət, D/K yoḡət, Nz yuḡət, Kz yw⁻ḡət, O yoḡət id. || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *int⁻ 'bow, shooting bow' > Ne T ⁻ьн, {Lh.} ṇin⁻, Ne F {Lh.} ṇi⁻n⁻, Ng {Ter.} d⁻intə, En {Cs.} eddo id., Slq Tz {KKIH} inti id., u⁻nti 'arc', qo⁻n u⁻nti 'rainbow', Slq Ch {Cs.} yn⁻3'e 'bow', Kms {KD} in⁻a, i⁻ina id., Koyb {Sp.} ину, Mt {Hl.} *mindi 'bow' [influenced by Sm *win⁻, *wintV- v. 'bend, bend a bow'] (Mt: T/K {Mll.} mi⁻ndi, K {Pl.} mi⁻ndi 'Bogen', M {Sp.} мнди 'shooting bow') || [2] U {UEW} *ya⁻nte 'sinew, tendon' [× N ***ya⁻nTV** ≈ 'to stretch, strain' (q.v.)?] > F ja⁻nne (gen. ja⁻nteen) 'tendon, sinew, cord' : Lp Nt {TI} ye⁻a⁻dd⁻a⁻_pes⁻sa⁻_ 'loaded gun' (pes⁻sa⁻_ is 'gun') : Chr: H yaḡa⁻n, Uf/B yḡaḡ 'bow-string', L {MRS} йдан ya⁻ḡan 'string for lockering wool and fluffing it up' (**перстобойна́я струна́**) :: ObU {Ht.} *yE⁻ntəḡ 'bow-string' > Vg *ya⁻ntəḡ > Vg: LK yantəḡ, MK/UK yo⁻ntəḡ, P yanti ~ ya⁻ntuw, NV yantu, SV/ML ya⁻ntul, LL yantu⁻, UL ya⁻ntaw, Ss ya⁻ntew; pOs {Ht.} *yo⁻ntəḡ > Os: V/Vy yo⁻ntəḡ, Ty/Y yo⁻ntəḡ, D/K ye⁻ntə, Nz yi⁻ntə, Kz yi⁻nti⁻, O yinti : OHg ideg 'sinew, bow-string', Hg ideg 'nerve' || Sm {Jn.} *yent⁻ 'bow-string' > Ne T ен, T O {Lh.} ye⁻n, Ne F {Cs.} jien, Ng {Cs.} yenti, En X {Cs.} je⁻ddi, Slq Tz {KKIH} c⁻i⁻nti, Slq Tm {KD} c⁻3⁻n⁻d, Kms {KD} nen⁻3⁻ id. ¶ Coll. 19, UEW 92, IO1-2, It. #90, Sm. 537 (U *jinsi, FU, FP *joṇsi, Ug *joṇθ⁻, Sm *jinto- 'bow'; FU, FP *ja⁻nti, Ugr *ja⁻nti⁻ 'bow string'), Lr. #290, Lgc. #1838, Hs. 804, TI 52, Ht. #195, MF 317, Ker. II 45, Fkt. RMS 136, Ber. 11, Jn. 25, 43, KKI 105, 192, 196, Cs. 102, Hl. M #678 II A: T {Rs.} *ja⁻n⁻ 'bow' (> *ja⁻y ~ *ja⁻) > Bsh jan, Shor nan, OT ja⁻, Tkm ja⁻y, Tk yay, Az, Ggz, Kr, Nog jay, Uz jay, Qzq, Qq z⁻ay, Qrg 3⁻a⁻, Alt 3⁻a⁻, Yk sa⁻ id., Chv L s⁻u in yk⁻y uk⁻s⁻u **перстобитный лук** ('a bow for lockering wool and fluffing it up'), Δ ωk-s⁻u 'shooting bow' (Chv L uk⁻ < T *ok⁻ 'arrow') ¶ Rs. W 186, Cl. 869, ET J 74-5, Ash. III 203-4, Fed. II 129 || ? pJ {Vv.} *ya > OJ {S} ya 'arrow' ◇ U *-k⁻se and *-ta⁻ go back probably to sxs of derivation. The vw. *a⁻ in the first syll. of U *ya⁻nte is due to as (vowel harmony). The labialization of the first vw. in U *yoṇ(k)se is obscure ◇ ≈ AD NM #26, ≈ S CNM 13 (equates T *ja⁻n⁻ 'bow' with Tg *jeye-n 'sharp point' and has doubts about the N et. in question), ≈ Vv. AEN 8 ["The ev. for reconstructing Turkic *3⁻ rather than *y is more than meager"; in fact, in my system there is neither T *3⁻- nor *y-, but a palatal obstruent *j- (suggested by the BzGk transcription with δ- and by the T phonological structure avoiding initial sonorants); the remark on pJ *ya < A *da⁻n⁻ or *3⁻a⁻n⁻ with pJ *y- < *d⁻3⁻- not from N *y- is interesting, but needs a proof].

2638. ***ya⁻ṇṇiyE** 'ice; to freeze' > U: FU *ya⁻ṇe 'ice' > F, Es ja⁻a⁻ : pLp {Lr.} *ye⁻ṇ3 id. > Lp: S {Hs.} jie⁻ṇe, L {LLO} jiekṇa, N {N} jiegṇa⁻, Kld и⁻ṇṇ, K {Gn.} yṇṇ : pMr {Ker.} *ya⁻ḡ id. > Er yṇ ey, Δ en^d ev ~ iy ~ i, Mk yṇ a⁻y, Δ ya⁻y : pChr {Ber.} *iy > Chr: L иṇ iy, B iy, Uf i, H и i : Prm *yo⁻ ({LG} *yo⁻) id. > Z иṇ ji, Z US yi, Yz 'yu', Vt йоe y3 :: ObU {Ht.} *ye⁻ṇk 'ice' > pVg ya⁻ṇkV id. > OVg S ChusO ja⁻nka, OVg S Kg iṇka, анка, , OVg S SSs jong, ja⁻ng, OVg N SoG jank, Vg: T i⁻a⁻ṇ, LK/MK/NV yo⁻ṇk, P/SV/LL/ML yo⁻ṇk, UL/Ss ya⁻ṇk id.; pOs {Ht.} *yo⁻ṇk / *ye⁻ṇk, {Hl.} *yo⁻ṇk/*yi⁻ṇk > Os: V/Vy yo⁻ṇk, Ty/Y ya⁻ṇk^w, D/K/Nz/Kz yeṇk, O yoṇk 'ice' : OHg xv ieg, xvi y⁻eeg^d gy⁻egh 'ice', Hg je⁻g (acc. jeget), Δ gye⁻g 'ice, hail' ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 93, Db. OS xxx, It. #244, Sm. 543 (FU, FP *ja⁻ṇi, Ugr *ja⁻ṇki⁻), Lr. #168, Lgc. #1738, SaR 92, Gn. 484, Ker. II 37, Ber. 8, MRS 138, Ep. 20, LG 111, Lt. J 123, Ht. #197, Hl. rHt 71-2, MF 338, EWU 642 II A: NaT *ja⁻ṇe⁻ṇ ({Rs.} *ja⁻ṇ) 'pieces of ice on the surface of water/ground' > Tv че⁻, Kc нинь нин **пу́га** (pieces of thin ice on a river), Qb Sl n⁻eṇ id., 'drifting of ice', Xk Δ нинь нин 'drifting of ice', Sg/Qb {Rl.} neṇ 'ice on the ground, snow-crust' ¶ Rs. W 197, TvR 527, Rl. III 677, BIG 117 || ? Ko N {Rm.} i⁻ṇ e⁻rgi- ~ eṇ e⁻rgi- 'freeze, stiffen entirely in the cold' (unless -Chn iṇ 'ice'), ?? Ko {Rm.} eṇṇi⁻-da 'congeal, stuffen, become solid', Nko {MLC} eṇki-ta 'curdles, congeals' ¶ Rm. SKE 55, MLC 1154 ¶¶ Rs. W 197, Rm. SKE 55 (Ko, Tg) ¶¶ It is tempting to adduce here OJ yuki⁻i and J yuki 'snow', but if OJ y- goes back to pJ *d-, such comparison is *unt*. II ?? HS: Ch: Dr {J} cd ye⁻n-do-r⁻a⁻li⁻ 'hail' (the second part related to Tng {J} da⁻ḡltk 'hail') ¶

ChC, J T 77 $\diamond \approx$ AD GD 5 & IS MS 346 (IE, U, A; both do not distinguish this $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ from N ***ya''ka** 'ice, cold'), $\approx$ Rs. UAW 31 & Rs. W 197 (U, A; + *err.* Ewk iŋ- 'cold' (in fact from Tg ***xiŋ₁V₁**) $\diamond \approx$ Gr. II #219 (***yenka** 'ice') [IE, U, A, J + *qu.* CK].

2639. ?? ***yVP₁ŋi** 'to rise, up' > HS: S $\ast \sqrt{\text{yp}}\sqrt{\text{f}}$ > Ar $\sqrt{\text{yff}}$ G 'climb (a mountain), be grown up', yafaŋ- 'hill', ya-fif- 'élevé' ¶ BK II 1631, Hv. 903 II IE: NaIE ***epi-/opi-/pi-** 'upon, thereupon' (direction) (loss of ***i₂**- by analogy with ***pi-** < ***i₂** [i₂ p₁H₁i-?]) > Gk 'επι' / 'επι 'upon' ¶ OI 'api- ~ pi- px. {MW} 'near, over', OI 'api 'also, and', Av aŋpi, OPrs apiy 'bei, nach' ¶ Arm 'ú ew (> NEArm yev) 'and, also' ¶ L ob 'auf - hin, nach - hin, auf - zu' → 'in front of; in return for, to the purpose; because of' ¶ Gt iftuma adj. (← sprl.) in iftumin daga 'on the following day' ¶ Pru ep- pv. 'be-' (← ***over**), Ltv ap prep. 'around', Ltv ap- pv. 'round', Lt apie~ 'about' ¶ Sl ***ob** prep. (+ acc.) 'against, against the surface of' (direction) > OCS, OR обѣ обѣ, о о, R, Uk об(о), о, P o, Δ ob, LLs wo ~ we ~ ho, HLs wo, Slk, Scr o, Sln ob ¶ WP I 122-3, P 323-5, 1105-7, MW 55, M K I 39, M E I 86, F I 535, WH II 192-4, Fs. 290, Frn. 12-3, En. 93, 169, Vs. III 96, ESSJ XXVI 71-4, ESISJ-SGZ I 133-4, 140-1, Slt. 397-8, EI 391 (***h₁epi** ~ ***h₁opi** 'near, upon') ¶¶ The absence of NaIE ***ə**- in the apophonic zero grade suggests the pIE Ir. ***ʔ**- or the glide ***i₂**-. The evolution N ***yV-** > NaIE ***e-** still needs investigation (shall we suppose an intermediate stage ***i₂epi-/i₂pi-** [cp. AD NVIE?]) $\diamond$ The alt. NaIE cognates ***upo/*up-/eu₂p-** 'up' and ***up-s-** 'high' are ruled out because of the absence of the expected ***ə** in the intercons. position in ***ups-**; on NaIE ***up(o)**, ***ups-** cf. s.v. N ***Oup.E** 'to take wing' $\diamond$ The rec. ***yVP₁ŋi** is more plausible than the formally possible alt. ***yVP₁yi**, because the obstruent cluster ***-P₁y-** is more likely to undergo as (***-P₁y-** > ***-by-**) than the cluster ***-P₁ŋ-** (obstruent + sonorant).

2640. ***yUPxV** 'leopard' > HS: C: Ag ***y₁i₁p-** 'leopard' > Bln {R} 'yība₂, pl. yi₂f, Dmb/Q {R} yība₂ 'leopard. panthere' ¶ R WB 365, R QW 149 II K ***owepx-** 'leopard' > OG verpxi-, MG [VTq.] verpxvi, G verpxvi ~ verpxi id. ¶ Abul. 157, DCh. 506.

2641. ***yulE.qi** 'both, two (persons)' > A: T ***iekki** 'i, {Md.} ***e.k(k)i** 'two' [x A ***p'Ek'ye**, {SDM} ***p'æk'e** 'follow, be next' < N ***p.₁E'K.yV** 'to follow (game) by the track'] > OT ekki, MQp xiv ikki, Uz, ET, Qzl, Sg/Qb/Kc/Tb {Rl.} ikki, Xlj {DT} a₂kki, Yk a₂kki ~ ikki, Tk iki, Tkm, Az, Ggz, Kr G iki, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz Δ, Qrg, Alt {BT}, Tb {B} eki, Qzq eki, VTt, Bsh ике икь, Qmn {B} eki ~ iki, Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} a₂kki (a₂ = /e/, no opposition /e/ ↔ /a₂/), QK {B} eki ~ ekki, Shor iygi, Xk κ° tki, Ln i₂ke ~ i₂kke ~ i₂s₂ke, Tv iy₂i, Tf ih₂i, ET Δ {Jr.} is₂ki ~ is₂ki, {ML.} is₂ke, Slr {Tn.} iSki [is₂'ki] ~ iSke [is₂'ke] ~ is₂ki ~ is₂ki ~ i₂cki ~ i₂cki, {Kk.} i₂s₂qi ~ s₂qi, SY {Tn.} is₂qi ~ is₂ki ~ s₂ki, Chv иккеÄ иккь, икеÄig₂, T ***ikkir** 'twin(s)' (d at the pA or the pT level) > OT {Cl.} ik(k)iz, {DTS} ikkiz ~ ekiz, MQp xiii jikiz, OTkm xv ikkiz, Tkm ekiδ, Az ekiz id., Qzq egi₂z, Qrl, Nog, Qrg, Uz egiz, Chv уькь 'double', jькьres₂ 'twinsCl. 100-1, 119, Cl. TN 20 (on the pT geminated ***-kk-**), DTS 167-8, 206-7, ET Gl 337-9, Md. 90, 163 [T ***e₂'k(k)i**], Rl. I 682, 1421, Nj. 174, BT 190, B DLT 32, B DChT 37, B DK 49, BIG 412, Ra. 200-1, Jr. 139, Ml. UN 113, Tn. SJ 121, Tn. SSJ 71, DT 109, Jeg. 67-8, Fed. I 162-3 ¶¶ The gemination of **-k-** may reflect a pA cluster ***-k'y-** || M ***iki₂ere** 'twins' (unless <b- T) > MM [MA] ikir, WrM ikere ~ ikire, HIM ихүр id., WrO ikire id., 'pairs', Kl икр ик₂r, Brt үхир 'twin(s)' ¶ Pp. MA 195, MED 401, Krg. 101, KRS 267, KW 206, Chr. 779, ≠ DQA #1785 (M < A ***p₁i₂o₂k'e** 'next, following') II U: [1] Sm ***yuk₂k₂** 'twin' (< U ***yuk₂k₂V** [or ***I₂-**, ***z₂-**]) > Ne T d **ixai₂** ya₂xa₂?, {Lh.} ya₂'xa₂, Ne F {Lh.} d ja₂'xa₂l₂i₂ə₂, Ng {Cs.} 'jaka, En {Cs.} 'jeho id., Slq Tm {KD} ɕa₂'ya s₂z₂ta₂'x₂ '2 twins' || U {Coll.} ***-ka₂' / *-ka₂**, dual ending of nouns: Vg N -x (a₂pa-x₂ '2 cradles', pu₂t-i₂x₂ '2 kettles'), Os V -xən / -xən / -qən / -kən (ko₂'t-kən '2 hands', weli-xən '2 reindeers', etc., Sm: Ne T nom. -ha₂? / -ga₂? / -ka₂?, En -hi₂? / -gi₂? / -ki₂?, Ng nom. -gz₂y / -kz₂y, Slq Tz -qi₂, as well as in verbs: Kms {Kü.} -y₂y / -g₂Vy (3d ending) ¶ Jn. 34, Coll. CG 302-3, Ht. ChrO 123-40, Kálmán ChrV 43-4, Ter. NJ 380, Ter. EJ 442, Ter. NgJz 422, KHG 168-9, Kü. KJ 383 II K ***ə**-.qe > OG xi-xiii -.qe, G F -.qe, G Ing -.q, G Mt/Kx -.qe ~ -k₂e, sx. of plurality of the indirect object of the 2nd and 3rd persons (geubnebi 'I say to thee' ↔ geubnebi.qe 'I say to you [pl.]', unda 'he wants' ↔ unda.qe 'they want') ¶ Dt. 60-1, Chik. Q II ? HS: the final element ***y** (< ppB ***k₂**.) in pB ***hana₂-y** 'us, 'to us' (> Tw {Pr.} a₂n₂y₂ h₂a₂n₂y id.), in the postnominal sx. ***-nay** 'our' (> Tw -n₂y, Kb, Shl -nəy, Si, Wrg -nnəy, etc.), in the postverbal sx. ***-V₂y₂** < **-(V)n₂V₂** 'us' (> Ah -n₂y, Kb, Shl, Wrg -a₂y, Si -ana₂y, Zng -əng) ¶ Pr. M I-III 164, 170-3, AiM 216-7 || WCh: Ron {J.} Fy kon 'we' du., Bks ku₂n, Sha g₂^n, Klr yig₂i₂:n id., proclitics: Fy, Bks ku₂, Sha gr₂, Klr g₂i₂ id. ¶ J R 371, 390 $\diamond$ In G (or already in pK?) the original meaning of dual shifted to plural. If the N vw. of the first syll. was ***u** (which is suggested by Sm), the T and M vw. may be explained by vowel harmony and the infl. of ***y**: N ***yu₂.qi** > ***yu₂'k₂i** > **yik₂i** > T ***ik₂i**.

2642. ***yar'fu** 'to shine, light' > A ***yarV** > NaT ***jaru-** 'be(come) bright, shine' > OT {Cl.} jaru₂- 'be/become bright, shine', XwT xiv, Chg xv jaru₂-, MQp xiv, Qmn/Kr {Rl.} jari₂- id., Uz ħri- jari₂- v. 'be bright/light, dawn', ET joru₂-, Qrg z₂ari₂-, Kr, SbTt jari₂-, Alt z₂ari₂-, Xk, Shor c₂ari₂-, Tv c₂iri₂-, Tf c₂iri₂-, Ln jayu₂- v. 'shine, light'; < T ***jaruk** 'light, clean; bright, shining' > OT jaruq, MQp xiv jaruq, [CC] jariq n. 'light', Tkm Δ jariq 'bright', Kr jarik₂ jariq, Slr jaruq, Uz ħry₂ jariq, ET joruq, Qzq, Qq z₂ariq, Qrg z₂ariq, Alt z₂ariq, Xk c₂ariq, Tv c₂ariq n. 'light', adj. 'bright' ¶ Cl. 956, 963-4, Rl. III 120, ET J 134-5, Bu. II 327, Rs. W 189, Ra. 200 || M ***yarV-** 'shine, gleam; burn (as fire)' > MM [MA] {Pp.} yarilduba v. (p.) 'burned' (of fire), Kl {Rm.} yar-χ₂ 'blinken, schimmern (in der Ferne), leuchten', WrO {Krg.} yara₂za- v. 'gleam, glisten, sparkle', Kl {KRS} лрлэх yag₂z₂-χ₂, HIM {Luv.} лралза- 'glitter, gleam (сверкат, блестет)' ¶ Pp. MA 387, KW 216 (mentions

WrM yara-, which is not confirmed by the available dictionaries of WrM), Krg. 706, Luv. 695, KRS 711 || ?σ Tg *ya₁:r₁u¹-, *ya₁:rukta- 'have a good look at, examine' > Ewk e⁻rukta-, Lm a⁻ru-^d e⁻ru-^d ya⁻ru-, Neg e⁻wukta^d e⁻yukta-, Orc a⁻oktaçi- ~ yauktaçi-, Ud I {Krm.} yzukt3si-, Ud K/Sm {Krm.} yaktasi-, Ul yorosu/t-, Ork e⁻roqto-, Nn: Nh ya⁻rsi-, B ya⁻raqta-, KU ya⁻roqta- id. ¶ STM I 291, Krm. 243 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 68, Rs. W 189 (T, M) II D (in McTm) *°er₋ 'shine' > Tm er_i 'shine, litter', Ml er_{ik}ka 'shine (as sun)', er_{ippu} 'sunshine' ¶ D #861 II HS: Ch *√yr 'burn' > WCh: Bg {Sh.} yar, ? Tala Sh {Sh.} ya⁻ vt. 'burn' :: ?? CCh: Bdm {Lk ← Nc.} yīrou₋ ~ yirau ~ ye⁻rau 'heat, day' ¶ Sh. SB 34, JI II 54-5, Lk. B 131 || ? Eg G īr.t ≈ 'flame'; but Eg G {Crn., Vc.} īrr 'shed light' hardly belongs here, because Cpt Sd ειελεε eielel and Cpt B ιελεε ielel, ελεε elel 'shine, glitter' point to an Eg *√ill (÷ Hb lle /hll) ¶ EG I 114, Vc. 62, Crn. 46 ¶¶ OS #2579 ♦ IS MS 364 (*jarλ 'cнѣт¹': A, D).

2643. ? ***yerV** 'misfortune', 'to curse, be angry' (< *'to cause misfortune') > U: FU *yerV v. 'curse, scold' > Prm {LG} *yo⁻r- ({} LG *jo⁻r-) v. 'curse' > Z hp- yor-, Z US yo_x-, Prmk yord-, Yz 'yur-', Vt ѳис-к- yuris⁻k-, {Wc.} yu⁻r-, Vt B yλr- id. :: Vg {Kn.}: T/LK/P/Ss ye⁻r- v. 'curse, scold' ¶ UEW 97-8, LG 101 II A *ye₁:r- > pJ {S} *ira-t- or *dirat- 'be annoyed' (× ***3a⁻?o⁻rV** 'to blame, scold, accuse, be angry, be annoyed / disgusted'??) > OJ ira-t-, J T iradat- ¶ S QJ #833, Mr. 698 || NaT *je₁:r- ~ *je₁:rri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× M ***ze₁rV** 'to hate, abhor, be annoyed', q.v. ffd. × ***3a⁻?o⁻rV** '↑') ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2598 [A *3e⁻ri 'be annoyed\disgusted'; incl. T, J] II D (in McTm) *īr₋ 'grief, anger' > Tm īr_{al} 'grief (as of a broken heart), deep-seated sorrow', Ml īr_a, īr_u 'anger, fury', īr_{uka}, īr_{ekka} 'be angry' ¶ D #553 II ? HS: S: Ar yarr- 'evil, calamity' (unless <d- √yrr 'be hard') ¶ BK II 1626, Hv. 902 ♦ L īra 'anger' and OI iras⁻yati 'is angry' do not belong here (cf. M K I 91, P 335 and WH I 717-8).

2644. ? ***ya⁻1?Vru** 'body of water' > [+ HS: B: Zng {Bs.} t-ier-t 'river' || NrOm: Anf {Bnd.} yuro 'river' || CCh: Msg {Mch.} e_{re}?, {Tm.} a_{re}[^], {GKrs.} e_{re}-^d re⁻ 'river', {Brt.} ere⁻ 'Tal', Mbara {TmSL} re⁻ 'river' ¶ ChC, Lk. DQM 93, TmSL 289 || ?? Eg ītrw 'river', ītr 'the Nilus', [AkSc] na⁻ru⁻ya⁻ru-?u-u⁻ 'the Great Riber' or 'the Nilus', DEg yr, y⁻r 'Fluß, Kanal', Cpt: Sd ειοορ eioor, B ιορ ior, A ιωωρε io⁻re 'canal, watercourse'; acc. to Vc., the history of the word is as follows: *yatraw > *yarrow > *dis* *ya⁻raw ¶ EG I 146-7, Er. 49, 50, Vc. 66 || S: BHb r7ai[^] ~ r&ai[^] yā⁻?o⁻r 'the Nilus', 'big river' (e.g. 'the Tigris') [Dn. 12.5-7], 'wasserführende Stollen eines Bergwerks'; Vc. 66 suggests the reading yo⁻r, which is ruled out by the spelling var. rvai; unless the word is a loan from Eg, it may go back to S *yV⁻?a⁻r- or *yV⁻?ur- ¶ KB 364-5 II IE {EI} *yuHr- > NaIE: Blt *yu⁻r- 'sea' > Lt ju⁻ra, pl. ju⁻re's, Ltv ju⁻ra, Pru iu⁻rin 'sea' :: ? Thr iuras (name of a river) ¶ Frnk. 198-9, Kar. I 362-3, ≈ P 81, EI 636 II] U: FV {UEW} *ya⁻rwa⁻ 'lake' > F ja⁻rvi (gen. ja⁻rven), Es ja⁻rv id. : pLp {Lr.} *ya⁻vre⁻ id. > Lp: S jaavrie, L jau⁻re⁻, N jaw⁻re, Kld yav⁻:r⁻e : pMr {Ker.} *ya⁻rā-kā > Er yp⁻ke er⁻ke, Mk yp⁻κke a⁻r⁻kā id., 'pond' : Chr: L ep yer, Uf/B yer, H йаер ya⁻r 'lake' ¶ UEW 633, It. #242, SK 132, Lr. #258, Lgc. #1673, Ker. II 38, MRS 114, Ep. 28 [+ II A: ?μ T *jir-mak 'river, waterstream' > Chg [LM] jirmaq 'large river, waterstream', Qmq jirmaq, Uz irmaq 'waterstream, affluent', Tk irmak 'river', VTt {Rl.} 3⁻irmaq 'die Bucht', Chv s⁻irma 'small river' ¶ Dubious because the meaning of *jir- is not clear ¶ Rs. W 202, ET Gl. 664-5, Rl. IV 124] II D *ya⁻r₁u₁, {GS} *ya⁻d₋ 'river', → 'water' > Tm ya⁻r_u ~ a⁻r_u 'river, brook', Ml a⁻r_u, Tl e⁻r_u 'river', Kt peyv-e⁻r id., te:lvi-e⁻r 'Pykara river', Tu a⁻r_u 'river, stream', Prj per-ed 'river' (per- 'big'), Gdb ber beret₋ 'big river' (ber 'big'), Gnd ye⁻r^d e⁻r, Knd e⁻r_(u), Png ez, Mnd ey, Kui e⁻zu^d e⁻su, Ku e⁻yu⁻d e⁻yu 'water' ¶¶ D #5159, GS 134 [345] ♦ D *r₋- suggests an intervocalic N *-r-. FV *ya⁻rwa⁻ may go back to ***ya⁻?Vru** + sx. *-A ♦ [+Cf. also Eg ītrw 'river', ītr 'the Nilus', BHb r7ai[^] yā⁻?o⁻r id. (with puzzling t and Hb ?) IE *H in *yuHr- and BHb -? in yā⁻?o⁻r (unless it is a loan from Eg) suggests the presence of a lr. (N ***ya⁻?Vru**). The vw. *u in IE and o⁻ in Hb. may be accounted for, if the N second vw. *V was *u (***ya⁻?uru**) ♦ Blz. LB #96 (suggested to add the T and Zng words), Blz. LNA #24 (suggested to add B, Om, Ch, Blt and T).].

[+ 2644a. ? ***yVØgVrV** 'honeycomb', {?} 'beehive' > HS: WS *ya₁ŋ₁V₁r- (or *°wa₁ŋ₁V₁r-) > BHb ro2i@ 'ya₁ŋar 'honeycomb', sngl. cs. tr2o9i@ ya₁ŋ^a,rat₋ id., JA [Trg.] aS1b6uD tr@o6i@ ya₁ŋ^a,rat₋dub₋s^a id. (dub₋s^a 'honey'), ? (d ?): Gz ma₁ŋar ~ ma₁ŋar 'honey, honeycomb', Tgr, Tgy ma⁻ŋar, Amh mar 'honey' ¶ KB 404, Lv. T I 340, Di. 207, ≈ L G 326, Ap. CAAL 29 II D {Blz.} *y⁻a⁻r₋ 'honeycomb, beehive' > Tm ir_{av}u, ir_{al}, Δ ir⁻a⁻t_t.u, Kdg te⁻n-eri, Tu edi, Kui ze⁻ka 'honeycomb', Kn irl_e id., e⁻ri 'empty beehive', Gnd ye⁻ri 'the bee's comb in which the eggs and grubs live' ^d avey 'part of hive where bees and grubs live' ♦ The S-D equation was suggested by Blaz]ek (Blz. DA 163 [#111]).]

2645. ***yoarV(-bV)** 'firm, strong, hard' > HS: S *°√yrr > Ar √yrr G 'be hard' (of a stone), ?ayarr- (pl. yurr-) 'dur et uni naturellement (comme une pierre)'; ?? √rb TD (pf. ta⁻arraba) 'be hard towards so. in' ¶ BK II 1626, Hv. 6 || ? EG √.t ≈ '(so.'s) force (Kraft)', {Fk.} 'striking-power (of god, etc.)' > Cpt O ит- e⁻t- in итq e⁻t-f 'sa force' ¶ EG I 2, Fk. 1, Vc. 56 || ? C: Bj {R} e⁻ra⁻b 'strong [mächtig, stark]' (of people) ¶ R WBD 28 II U: FU *°yorV > ObU {Ht.} *yo⁻r 'force, power' > pVg *ya⁻r > Vg: ML {Mu.} yo⁻r, Ss {Kn.} yō⁻r 'Kraft, Macht; kräftig, mächtig', {BV} hp тапа 'by force, with difficulty (насилу, через силу)'; pOs {Ht.} *yō⁻r ~ *yor 'force, strength, power, violence' > Os: K/Nz/MO yur, Kz yō⁻r, O yor id. ¶ Ht. #203,

MK 175-6, BV 31, Stn. 403 II A: T *^ojarb 'firm, solid' [× N *^{da}lyjRV ~ *^{da}lyjRE 'to be(come) stiff/firm'] > OT jarp id. ¶ Cl. 957 ◆ N *^bV is probably identical with the adjectival pc. *^{ba} forming compound (> derived) names of quality bearers [q.v.].

2646. *^yErØV (= *^yEryV?) ~ *^yayrV 'young of a (ruminant) animal' > HS: WS *^{ya}ŋVjr- 'kid' > BHb pl. t&roli^ yəŋa-r-o-t_ 'kids', Ar yaŋr- 'goat'; S *^{ya}rŋ- > Ar yarŋ- 'calf', ? Tgr wərŋe 'mountain-goat' ¶ KB 404, BK II 1626, LH 235 II U: FU *^yEra > Z йоера yzra 'elk' ¶ ≈ LG 113 [adduces (with a query) Chr {Ü} йыӡар уӡар, which is a loan from T or M] II D *ir- 'antelope, deer' [× N *^ŋir'i] (male, young) artiodactyl] > Tm iralai_ 'stag', '€ deer', Kn eral_e ~ erale '€ antelope, deer', Tu eral_e 'antelope, deer', EpTl iri (pl. irilu) 'stag', ir_r_i 'antelope', Mlt ilaru 'mouse deer' ¶ ≈ D #476 II ?? A: T **jagur 'a young of an animal'; possibly б> Chr {Ü} йыӡар уӡар '€ a beast' (unless a loan from T or M word that belong to N *³EgErV 'antelope') ◆ D *-r- is the reg. reflex of *r-clusters (here*-rØ-).

2647. *^{ya}rV 'to draw/scratch a sign' > U: FU (att. in Ugr) *^{ya}rV id. > Os: V/Vy yeri- v. 'draw (lines), scratch (on the surface of sth.)' (чeртит, чeркат, царапат), Ty/Y ya~ri- id. ['einen Strich ziehen, kratzen (Nagel, Holzsplitter usw.)'] i ?? Hg i'r-, Δ ir- 'write', Δ 'einen Muster zeichnen, malen' (unless <b- Blgh, cp. Chv s'ir- 'write', as supposed by Cl.) ¶ UEW 850, MF 321-2, Trj. S 72 II A: T *jar'- (Md.) *ja'r'-) [× N *ⁿirV 'to rub, scratch, draw/make a sign', q.v.] > OT, OOSm xiv, Chg xv jaz- 'write', OTkm xiii -z'Y jaz- (read by Cl. as ja~z- on the insufficient ev. of the plene spelling), Tkm 13- yaδ- (short a), Tk yaz-, Ggz, Az, Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, ET, Ln jaz-, Bsh jaδ-, Uz ħ3- jaz-, QrB, Qrg 3'az-, Qzq, Qq z'az-, Xlj ja~z- id.; the variant *j'r'R- (represented by Chv ьp s'ir and by the M loanword ġiru- 'draw, paint') belongs to N *ⁿirV ¶ Cl. 984, Md. 104, 160, DT 221, Tkr 807 (yaδ- with a short a), ET J 70-1 ¶ ≠ DQA #1470 [*ⁿi_a~r'e 'to draw' > T, M + unc. Tg *ⁿiru- 'draw' (in fact from N *ⁿirV) and MKo ni'rk- to read] II D (in SD) *er'ut- v. 'draw (lines, pictures)' > Tm erutu v. 'write, paint, draw', Ml erutuka v. 'paint, write, learn', Kt el_d-, Kdg ɔ_lrd- v. 'write' ¶ D #853.

2648. ?₂ *^{ya}hVjrV 'broad open place' > HS: S *^oya'har- or *^oyahar- > Ar yahar- 'broad place' ¶ BK II 1637, Hv. 905 II A: T *jar'i 'broad open place' > OT jazı id., Tkm ı́зы jađı 'steppe, vast space', Tk yazı 'plain, valley', Nog Δ jazı, ET yazı ɔ́ ja~zi ɔ́ yezi 'steppe', Alt/Kü {Rl.} jazı (= 3'azi) 'vast plain', Qzq Δ z'azi, Qrg 3'azi 'plain', Xk c'azi 'field, steppe', Yk sihi_ 'glade' ¶ Cl. 984, Rs. W 194, ET J 73, Rl. III 229, Jr. 155, Ml. UN 116, Mng. G 738, BIG 306.

2649. *^{as}V 'bone, (€) limb, joint (articulation)' > U: FU *^{ya}se 'limb, joint (articulation)' > F ja~sen id., 'member', Es ja~se 'limb' i pMr {Ber.} *^{ya}zən'ə 'limb, joint' > Er ү́не ez'n'e, Mk ү́не a~z'n'a~, Mk P {Ps.} ya~z'n'a~ ~ ya~zna~ 'joint (Gelenk)' i pChr {Ker.} *yiz'əŋ id. > StChr L йыӡ уӡз'əŋ, Chr E Δ Jзз'əŋ, Chr H ежы yez'əŋ i Prm {LG} *yo~z- 'joint, articulation (in a limb, in a plant)' > Vt ee3 yoz 'joint/node (in a palnt)', Z йоезви y3z-vi, Z USs y3z-viy, Vt ee3vi yoz-vi id. (with vi 'force?') i Hg i'z 'limb, joint' ¶ UEW 95, Sm. 552 (FP *ja~si 'joint'), MF 333, It. #243, 211, 291, Ber. 11, Ker. II 40, LG 112 II A: M *yasun 'bone' > MM [MA, IM, LV] yasun, [IsV] ya~sun 'bone', WrM yasu(n), HIM 1c(аh) id., 'corpse', Kl 1сh yasn_ 'bone', Brt 1ha(h) id., 'skeleton', Mnr H {T} yase, {SM} ya~s3, Mgl {Rm.} yo~sun, (ArSc) {Wr.} ya~su~n ~ ya~su~, Dgr {T} yasun, Dx {T} yasun, Ba yason 'bone' ¶ Acc. to Hattori's hyp. (Hatt. LV), Mgl long vowels go back to long vowels in pM; but his hyp. has not yet been sufficiently proved to reconstruct here pM *^{ya}sun, the more so that Mgl {Rm.} yo~sun has a deviant o~, while in Mgl (ArSc) ya~su~n (just as in IsM) the orthographic a~ reflects the Persian spelling of [a]-sounds; in any case, the et. of pM long vowels (if any) is unknown ¶ MED 430, KRS 711-2, Chr. 802, Pp. MA 388, 450, Pp. L III 77, Lg. VMI 73, SM 490, T 337, T DgJ 197, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Rm. M 30, Wr. B 171 II HS: Ch (× N *^yUc~V 'bone'): WCh {Stl.} *ywasV(-kV) 'bone' > pAG *^{as} > Su jı́ ye's, Ang jis ~ yis, Cp *^{re}s i SBc: Zem, Brw, Wnd {Sh.} yes, es, Sy yiski, Gj {Sh.} ʔisi, Dw ʔis i BT: Tng {J} wos, Krkr ɔosu, Ngm {Kr.} ʔwo'so, Krf {Gw.} wo'sen_i i ECh: Kbl {Cp.} ʔi'si, Ll {Grgs.} i si~; Skr {Sx.} ɔ'si'hi; Mgm {J} ʔa'ssu, Mkl {J} ʔo'sse, Jg {J} ʔaso, Brg {J} ʔa'so 'bone' ¶ Stl. ZCh 231-2 [#795], JI II 36-7.

2650. *^{yo}sV ≈ 'to go/run, go away' > HS: S *^oyss'rs' > Ar ʔyss (pf. yassa, ip. ya-yiss-u) 'aller, partir, s'éloigner' ¶ BK II 1627 i i ʔϕ Eg: fOK ızy ≈ 'go!' ('gehe!'), MK {Fk.} ı́s (< ı́z) id. ¶ EG I 126, Fk. 29, Tk. I 176 (considers i- to be prosthetic and equates the Eg word with Mz zwa 'go', Hs 3'e~ 'go to' and related words of other B and Ch lgs.) II IE: NaIE *ei_s-/*is- v. 'move (go/run) in a hurry' (× NaIE *ei_s-/*oi_s- 'move with impetus' < N *^oizV 'strong, healthy?') > OI is, na~ti, is, yati 'sets in motion, swings', Av ae~s- ('sich) in eilige Bewegung setzen' i OSx ovast (< *ob_aist-?) n. 'haste', AS of-ost ~ of-est ~ of-st 'haste, zeal (Eile, Eifer)', ON eisa 'vorwärtsstürzen', {EI} 'go dashing' ¶ P 299-301, EI 506 (*^hei_s- 'set in motion'), M K I 94, M E I 271-2, Ho. S 57, Ho. 240, Vr. 98 II U: FU *^yo'sV 'to ski, to toboggan' > Z islav-ni, Z Lu/LV/UD islav-ni, Prmk islas'-ni, Yz 1s'las-na id. i ObU *^yo'θl- > Os D/K yut- v. 'ski' ¶ LG 110, Stn. D 418 II ? A: Tg *^os- v. 'retreat' > Ewk, Lm o~s- id., Neg o~s-, Ork o~sst- v. 'step aside, clear (a place), Ul ost-, Nn Nh/B o~st-, ostgo- v. 'clear (a place), tidy up' ¶ STM II 25-6.

2651. *^{yu}lJt'i 'with, beside' > HS: S *^{itt}V id. > OAk, Ak ʔ itti, ittum 'with, along with', 'by' (agens of ps. verbs), Ak MB/NA itu 'with, beside', BHb ta4 ʔet_ 'with' (/ -Ta5 ʔitt- before pronominal endings: iT5a5 ʔit't-i 'with me', etc.), Ph, Pun ʔt id., 'near, beside', Tgr ʔ3t 'by, with' (here also ʔ3t 'on, in?'), Hrs h3t 'with, at the home of, at' ¶ Ug ht, interpreted in A

#862 as 'with', actually means 'now' (OLS 169-70) ¶ CAD VII 302, 312, KB 97-8, A 93, HJ 131-2, LH 349, Jo. H 53 || ? C: Bj {R} -t 'in, an, bei, von, aus, mittelst' ¶ R Bd § 134b II IE: Ht -it 'with' ¶ Rsk. 54, 56, Mer. SGA 275, 292 II K: GZ {K} *-it, ending of the instr. case > OG -it(a) ~ -yt(a), G -it / (after stem-final -o, -u) -t, Mg -it / (after stem-final vowels) -t, Lz -t(en) id. ¶ K 101, K S 99-104, Fn. GAS 55-61 II U: FU *yuttV > Ugr *yuttV > ObU {Ht.} *yoṭt 'with' > pVg {Ht.} *yoṭt > Vg: LK/MK yaṭt, Ss yot id.; pOs {Ht.} *yoṭt (= {Hl.} *yuṭt) id. > Os: V/Vy yoṭt, Ty yoṭt, Y yoṭta; Hg Δ yaṭt 'namesake' ¶ UEW 852 (pUgr *yutV 'friend, comrade', ≈ Coll. 18, Ht. #210 II A: Tg *-ji (< *-di), ending of the instr. case > Nn, Ul, Ork, Ud -ṣi, {Krm.} -ṣu, Sln -ji, Neg -ji ~ -di, Lm -t, -ḡ, (after a stem-final -n) -ji, (stem-final) -n + *ji > Lm -n', ? WrMc -i (< *-ji partially due to metanalysis) ¶ Bz. 1027, Ci. 257-8, Krm. 86 II D *-tV, ending of the sociative case > Tm -t, u, Ml -t, a id., Klm -at, Brh -at - endings of the instr. case, ? Brh to (postposition) 'together with' ¶ Shanm. DN 250-386, An. SG 209-14 ♦ Ht -it and K *-it suggest a front vw. (≈ *i), while FU *yuttV point to a labial u-like vw. The solution may be *u, that was palatalized into i by *as* to *y- and to final *-i. S, D and K point to a N plain *t, while U *-tt- is a regulat reflex of *-t- or some cns. clusters. The solution may be *-ṭt- or another cluster (*-ṭt-, where ṭ is a symbol for an unspecified cns.).

2652. ***yaHt.V** (= ***yaṭt.V**) 'stranger, foreigner' > A: NaT *jaṭt 'foreign(er)' > OT jaṭt 'stranger, foreigner; strange, foreign', Chg jat ~ jad 'strange, foreign', MQp [incl. CC] jat, OOSm jad 'stranger, foreigner', Tkm jaṭt, Qrg ṣat 'strange, so. else's (fremd); other', Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jat 'fremd', Az jad, Uz ҳд jad, Qzq, Qq zṭ at id., Tk yad, Alt ṣat 'strange, foreign'; Qp ḡ Blgh > Chv yut 'fremd' ¶ Cl. 882, ET J 158-9, TL 564, DTS 247, Jeg. 352 II D (in McTm) *eṭt- 'stranger, foreigner, enemy' > Tm eṭtalan 'foe, enemy', eṭtilan 'stranger, neutral', eṭtilar 'other, strangers, foes, enemies', eṭtinmai 'strangeness, foreignness, enmity', Ml eṭtil 'neighbourhood', eṭtalar 'enemies' ¶¶ *eṭ- < *yaṭt- *reg.*; the irreg. reflex of N *-t- (D *-t- for the expected *-tV-) may be accounted for by the preceding lr. (assuming that N *-Ht- may yield D *-t-) ¶ D #890 II ? HS: Eg ṣd 'enemy' ('der Frevler, Feind') (unless ← Eg XIX/G ṣd 'der Elende, der Arme') ¶ EG I 35.

2653. ***yuvV** 'in tree' > IE: NaIE *eiwa / *oiwa, *eiwo-s id. (SA from *yew-/yow-) > Gk οἰνη, ὄνη, ὄα 'service-tree (Sorbus domestica)' || Arm ajgi aygi 'vineyard' || L uva 'bunch of grapes, vine' || Gl *ivo-s 'yew' (-ḡ VL *īvu-s > Fr if, Fr S lieu id.), OIr e'ó, W ywen (coll. yw), OCm [γ] hiuin ('taxus'), Crn {ECCE} ewen (coll. ew), Br ivin id. || ON y'r, OHG īwa, NHG Eibe, MLG īwe, MDt ijf, AS īw, e'ow 'yew', NE yew || Pru iuwis 'yew', Lt ieva, jieva, Ltv ieṭva 'bird-cherry tree' || SI *jḡva 'willow' > OR нба iva, R, Uk, Blg 'ива, SCr iṭva, Slv i'va, Cz ji'va, Slk iva, P iwa || ?? Ht e(y)a(n)- 'evergreen tree' ¶¶ P 297-8, EI 654 (*h₁eiwo-s 'yew'), ≈σ EI 63 (*Hoiwo/e_A- ≈berry, fruit'), F II 343, WH II 849, SB 46, Billy 90, ML #4560, Wb. IV 826, Dauz. 398, YGM-I 447, Hm. 400, ECCE 200, Vr. 679, Ho. 189, Kb. 519, OsS 460, KM 154, Fm. 183, En. 186, ESSJ VIII 248-9, Glh. 281, Pv. I-II 253-7 II HS: Eg G iwy 'in shrub or tree' ¶ EG I 49 II U *yuvV 'tree' > FU *yuvV 'tree' > ObU {Hl.} *yuvV id. > pVg *yiw id. > OVg: S Tg ṣ, S Tr ṭ, S Chus ṭ, ju, E TM jju, N SoG jiu, W P iuxḡ, Vg: T/LK/MK/UK/NV yiw, P yuṭw, SV/LL īw, ML/UL/Ss yiw id.; pOs {Ht.} *yuy id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty yuy, Y yuw, D/K/O yux, Nz/Kz yuḡ id. || Sm {Jn.} *yeṣ₁w₁ 'pine-tree' > Ne: T {Ter.} e (= ye), T O {Lh.} yeṭ, F L {Lh.} j₁e id.; Slq: Tz {KKIH} c'oṭ id., Tm P {KD} t'oṭ, B/Y {Cs.} t'oṭ, NP {Cs.} t'uṭ, Kar {Cs.} t'uṭ, MO, UO kuṭ 'Föhre, Fichte'; Kms {KD} d'uṭ, d'wṭ (= ju, j'wṭ :?) id., Koyb {Sp.} джḡ 'pine-tree'; Mt {Hl.} *c'aṭ id. (Mt: T/K {Mue.} dschaṭ, K {Pls.} dja, M {Mue.} tsjaṭ, {Sp.} тча) || pY {IN} *yaw 'birch-tree' > Y T yaṭ id., OY NW {Lnd.} jaijaṭ id. ¶¶ Coll. 18, UEW 107, Sm. 537 (U *joxi- 'tree' > FU *juxi, Ugr *jugr, Sm *jeṭ), Ht. #175 (ObU *yuyV), Hl. rHt 73, Sm. #31, Jn. 42, ≈ Jn. UK 260 (U *yVHi), KKIH 106, Cs. 127, 154-5, KD 16, Pot. 48, Hl. M #194-5, IN 223.

2654. ***yowV** ≈ 'good, right, proper' > IE: [1] NaIE *yew-s ~ *yow-s 'good, right, proper; goodness' > OI 'yoṭh, (yoṭs) ntr. 'welfare, happiness, prosperity', Av yaos 'Heil', yaosṭa- 'heilkraftig machen', yaozṭa-θra- 'Heilkraftigkeit, Vervollkommnung', yaozṭa- 'purification ritual', MPrs yoṭzṭ-dahr 'holy' || OL ious > L iuṭs (gen. iuṭr-is) n. 'right, law', d iustus 'just, equitable; lawful' || OIr (h)uisse 'just, gerecht' (< *yus-tiyos) || [2] NaIE *yewa- v. 'ease, relax, benefit' > NPrs rvaY yaṭvaṭr 'helper', irvaY yaṭvaṭr 'assistance' || Gk εἰς v. 'allow, let' ¶¶ WP I 203, P 512, EI 410-1 (*yew(e)s- 'order/normality required by the rules of ritual'), Mn. 447, M K III 27-8, M E II 420-1, Vl. II 1509, Sg. 1527, WH I 733-4, Thr. § 25, LP § 20, Ch. 308-9, ≈ F I 434 [εἰς < ??? NaIE *sewə-, cp. OI savi- 'set in motion'] II A: M *yo-sun 'generally accepted rule, custom, habit' > WrM yosun, HlM ḡc(oh), Brt ḡho(h) id., MM [HI] yosun id., 'principle, norm', WrO {Krg.} yosun 'manner, custom, way', Kl йосн yosṭn id., '(political) power', {Rm.} yosn. 'Sitte, Gewohnheit, ererbte Praxis' ¶ MED 435-6, Ms. H 111, Krg. 712, KRS 280-1, KW 219 (supposes that M yosun is a loan from Chn yoṭ, but it is not clear which Chn word was meant), Chr. 228 II HS: Eg NK ṭwṭ 'be glad (sich freuen)' ¶ EG I 49 || Ch: Krkr {Kr.} yṭwṭw, {J} ṭyawau, {IL} yawo 'good' ¶ ChC, ChL.

[This is an old version. The revised version see below. 2655. ***y₁iyV₁** (enclitic pc.) 'that which, related to' (individualization through relation) > IE: NaIE *(i)yo- 'related to', suff. of adjectives, e.g. NaIE *pətr-iyō-s 'fatherly, paternal, belonging to [the] father' > OI pitr(i)yah, Gk πατριοῦ, L patrius id.; Av asnya- 'day-...', referring to [the] day' <d- azan- 'day';

Sl *-ьj-: OCS **чловѣкъ** *človečъ* (pronominalized adj. **чловѣкъни** *človečъni*), R **человечий** 'of a person, human'; Tc A -i, sx. of possessive adjectives (man'-i 'of the moon, lunaire', Tc B -i, sx. of asp. (ya-m-i 'doing, making') || Ht -iy-, sx. of derived adjectives (antur-iy-a 'staying within') || Here also L -ī (gen. sg. of the *-o-stems), Oglr -i id. in maqi (makk^wi) 'son's', Gl -ī in SEGOMARI (gen. of a proper name) (Bks. on Itc-Clit *ī: "an adjectival sx."), as well as the glide in L -ae (gen. sg. of *-a-stems) ¶ BD II/1 190-1, Vnd.¹ I 403, Saf. GHJL 131-2, Bks. 192, KK 28, 86, Kron. EHS I 168-70 || HS: S *-iy-, sx. of denom. adjectives ("nisbah") and nomina gentilitia > BHb -ī (f. -i'ya- and -īt-, both from *-iy-at-), Amr -iy-, Ar -īy-, Gz -ī, Ak -iy-, in Aram within compound sxs. (of the same meaning) -a-y-, Hz. is probably right in adducing here the S genitive case ending *-i (> Ar -i, Ak -i, Ug -i, Gz -Ø); according to Hz., the gen. cs. and st. pron. form -ī in Ak points to the original case ending *-ī; an alt. explanation of the Ak gen. cs., st. pron. form -ī is generalization based on the lengthened ending gen. cs. and st. pron. form ī of the oxytonic nouns (and pronouns), where the lengthening was due to prosody (as shown in AD PhSS) ¶ Br. G I 397 [§ 220], Hz. ACCS 219-21, Siv. U 49, Hnr. 294-301 || Eg -y, sx. of denom. adjectives: ncr 'divine' (<d- ncr 'god'), z3by 'belonging to a jackal' (<d- z3b 'jackal'), also in denom. nouns: χtmy 'Siegeschneider' (<d- χtm 'seal') ¶ Ed. §§ 246, 342 || ? B *-ī, sx. of deverbals > Zng {Bs.} ets'-i 'food' ¶ Bs. MS I 156-8 || C: Bj {Rhd.} -i / gen. sg. -ī id. (preceding another grammatical affix) (wi-ʔo-r-i ba'ba 'pueri pater', ʔi-ba'ba wi'-wi-ʔo-r-i-b 'patrem pueri' [-b, acc. marker of the nominal phrase], wi-ʔo-r-i-t de 'pueri mater' [-t is a fem. marker of the nominal phrase], {Rop.} -i (gen. sg. m.), -t-i (gen. sg. f.): 'tak-i 'ka'm 'a man's camel', ta'kat-t-i 'ka'm 'a woman's camel'; Bj A {AD} -(y)i, ending of gen. sg. / -ī id. preceding another affix (-t of fem. possessi, -b of accusative possessi) || EC: Sa {R} -(h)i, genitive ending (gala-y'to-hi lak 'camel's leg'), Af {PH} -i, -i-h id. (awk-i' miga' 'the boy's name', ka' y danan-ih ge-ra 'his donkey's tail') ¶ AD KJ 34, 109, Rop. 14-5, Rhd. B 109, PH 226-7 || NroM: Shn {PB} -i (gen. ending: fokk-i gas'o-ni 'river-of bank-on', i.e. 'on the bank of the river') [but Rtl. does not mention this ending], Kf {C} -e (gen. ending: ta-t-e bus'o 'king's son'), -i, Bdt -i (gen. ending) ¶ Zab. CO 619-20, PB SMS 68, C SE IV 294-7, Fl. KL 373, Rtl. SM || U ≈ *-ī ~ *-yV, sx. of denom. adjectives > F -i (at the end of the initial component of a tatpurusha): silm-i-vete- 'water for the eyes and the face' (silm- 'eye'), lehm-i-karja 'herd of cows' (lehma- 'cow') || Vg {Sz.} *-i (ta-ī-li- 'winter-...' <d- ta-ī 'winter'; xo-li 'morning-...' <d- xol 'morning', i-o-li 'der untere' <d- i-ol 'bottom'), Os {Sz.} xo-d-i 'house-...', belonging to the house' <d- xo-t 'house', to-wi 'pond-...', of a pond' <d- to-w 'pond' || Hg -i, sx. of denom. adjectives (isten-i 'divine' <d- isten 'god', tegnap-i 'of yestersay' <d- tegnap 'yesterday') || Sm: Ne T пѹй, Ne T O {Lh.} pu-i, Ne F pu-ī d pu-y 'situated behind' (cp. Ne F Ks pu- 'buttocks, hind part'), Ne T F теѹ, Ne T O т'е-і 'gestrig, of yesterday' (cp. t'і-е-η 'yesterday'), Ne T таѹы, Ne T O та-і- 'sommerlich' (cp. Ne T таѹ та-η, Ne F та-η 'summer'), Ng {Cs.} kufuya 'leathern' <d- 'kufu 'leather', En X {Cs.} t'īyo, En B {Cs.} t'ei-yo 'gestrig' (cp. t'ē? 'yesterday') ¶ Sz. 86-8, 100, Coll. CG 264, Lh. PUAS 55-60 ◆ N ***y'lyyV** may be connected with N ***ya** 'which?' [q.v.] ◆ IS I 14, 282-4 (besides denom. sxs. in HS, IE and U, IS adduces here the sx. *-i of deverbals and prtcs. in A and the D sx. *-i of converbs, which is less convincing). **End of the old version**].

[A new version: 2655. ***y'lyy** 'which' (rel.), (enclitic pc.) 'that which, related to' (individualization through relation): [I] as a prn. (× N ***ya** 'which?'): IE: NaIE: *yo-, rel. (and interr.?) pronominal √ ('which' or sim.) (m. *yo-s, f. *y-a-, ntr. *yo-d) > OI m. ya-s, f. ya-, ntr. ya-d id., Av yo- 'which' rel. || Gk ὅς m., ὅς f., ὅς ntr. id. || Clt: Gl DUGIIONTI-IO 'who serve' || ? Phr τοῦ (v) 'whoever' || Sl m. *jъ-z'e (> OCS **иже** iz'e), f. *ja-z'e (> OCS **аже** jaz'e), ntr. *je-z'e (> OCS **еже** jez'e) 'which' (rel.) || Ltv ja 'if' (< ntr. *yad), Lt je'i ~ jei 'if' ¶ Wtk. OIV 16 and IS I 278: + *unc.* Ht -ya pc. 'and, also' ¶ ≈ P 383 (does not distinguish this √ from the NaIE dem. *ei-/*e-), EI 457 (*yo-s / *yehA / *yo-d 'who, what, that' rel.), M K III 14, ≈ M E II 390 (IE *Hyō-), F I 434, Frn. 182, En. LG 825, ESSJ VIII 171, StSS 793-7, Vs. IV 552-3, Glh. 286 || U: FU (att. in FV) *yo- 'which' (rel.) (→ 'whatsoever') > F jo-ka (gen. jon-ka) id., 'every', Krl yoka 'which' (rel.), F, Es Δ jos 'if' (< loc. of *yo-?) || Lp: N juoga 'something, something or other', L {LLO} juoka 'some', Klf yuk-k'e every' || Chr: H ʔж yuz', L ʔж yuz'o, Uf/B yuz'o 'some (irgendeiner, **некоторый**)' ¶ UEW 637, It. #87, SK 116-7, Ep. 31, MRS 782 || [II] As a postnominal pc.: IE: NaIE *-i(y)o- 'related to', suff. of adjectives, e.g. NaIE *pətr-iyō-s 'fatherly, paternal, belonging to [the] father' > OI pitr(i)yah., Gk πατρίος, L patrius id.; Av asnya- 'day-...', referring to [the] day' <d- azan- 'day'; Sl *-ьj-: OCS **чловѣкъ** *človečъ* (pronominalized adj. **чловѣкъни** *človečъni*), R **человечий** 'of a person, human'; Tc A -i, sx. of possessive adjectives (man'-i 'of the moon, lunaire', Tc B -i, sx. of asp. (ya-m-i 'doing, making') || Ht -iy-, sx. of derived adjectives (antur-iy-a 'staying within') || Here also L -ī (gen. sg. of the *-o-stems), Oglr -i id. in maqi (makk^wi) 'son's', Gl -ī in SEGOMARI (gen. of a proper name) (Bks. on Itc-Clit *ī: "an adjectival sx."), as well as the glide in L -ae (gen. sg. of *-a-stems) ¶ BD II/1 190-1, Vnd.¹ I 403, Saf. GHJL 131-2, Bks. 192, KK 28, 86, Kron. EHS I 168-70 || HS: S *-iy-, sx. of denom. adjectives ("nisbah") and nomina gentilitia > BHb -ī (f. -i'ya- and -īt-, both from *-iy-at-), Amr -iy-, Ar -īy-, Gz -ī, Ak -iy-, in Aram within compound sxs. (of the same meaning) -a-y-, Hz. is probably right in adducing here the S genitive case ending *-i (> Ar -i, Ak -i, Ug -i, Gz -Ø); according to Hz., the gen. cs. and st. pron. form -ī in Ak points to the original case ending *-ī; an alt. explanation of the Ak gen. cs., st. pron. form -ī is generalization based on the lengthened ending gen. cs. and st. pron. form ī of the oxytonic nouns (and pronouns), where the lengthening was due to prosody (as shown in AD PhSS) ¶ Br. G I 397 [§ 220], Hz. ACCS 219-21, Siv. U

49, Hnr. 294-301 || Eg -y, sx. of denom. adjectives: ncr̥y 'divine' (<d- ncr 'god'), zɜby 'belonging to a jackal' (<d- zɜb 'jackal'), also in denom. nouns: χtmy 'Siegelschneider' (<d- χtm 'seal') ¶ Ed. §§ 246, 342 || ? B *-ī, sx. of deverbal nouns > Zng {Bs.} ets̥-i 'food' ¶ Bs. MS I 156-8 || C: Bj {RHd.} -i / gen. sg. -ī- id. (preceding another grammatical affix) (wi-ʔo-r-i ba-ba 'pueri pater', ʔi-ba-ba wi'-wi-ʔo-r-ī-b 'patrem pueri' [-b, acc. marker of the nominal phrase], wi-ʔo-r-ī-t de 'pueri mater' [-t is a fem. marker of the nominal phrase], {Rop.} -i (gen. sg. m.), -t-i (gen. sg. f.): 'tak-i 'ka-m 'a man's camel', ta'kat-t-i 'ka-m 'a woman's camel'; Bj A {AD} -(y)i, ending of gen. sg. / -ī- id. preceding another affix (-t of fem. possessi, -b of accusative possessi) || EC: Sa {R} -(h)i, genitive ending (gala-y'to-hi lak 'camel's leg'), Af {PH} -i, -i-h id. (awk-í' migaŋ 'the boy's name', ka'y danan-ih ge-ra 'his donkey's tail') ¶ AD KJ 34, 109, Rop. 14-5, RHd. B 109, PH 226-7 || NrOm: Shn {PB} -i (gen. ending: fokk-i gas'o-ni 'river-of bank-on', i.e. 'on the bank of the river') [but Rtl. does not mention this ending], Kf {C} -e (gen. ending: ta-t-e bus'o 'king's son'), -i, Bdt -i (gen. ending) ¶ Zab. CO 619-20, PB SMS 68, C SE IV 294-7, Fl. KL 373, Rtl. SM II U ≈ *-ī ~ *-yV, sx. of denom. adjectives > F -i (at the end of the initial component of a tatpurusha): silm-i-vete- 'water for the eyes and the face' (silm- 'eye'), lehm-i-karja 'herd of cows' (lehma'' 'cow') || Vg {Sz.} *-i (ta''li- 'winter-...' <d- ta''l 'winter'; xo'li 'morning-...' <d- xol 'morning', i_o'li 'der untere' <d- i_o' 'bottom'), Os {Sz.} χo'd_i 'house-..., belonging to the house' <d- χo't 'house', to'wi 'pond-..., of a pond' <d- to_w 'pond' || Hg -i, sx. of denom. adjectives (isten-i 'divine' <d- isten 'god', tegnapi 'of yestersay' <d- tegnap 'yesterday') || Sm: Ne T nyñ, Ne T O {Lh.} pu-i, Ne F pu-i̇ d pu-y 'situated behind' (cp. Ne F Ks pu- 'buttocks, hind part'), Ne T F teñ, Ne T O t'e-i: 'gestrig, of yesterday' (cp. t'i_e-ñ 'yesterday'), Ne T taÄ`ы Ne T O tañ-i̇ 'sommerlich' (cp. Ne T rañ tañ, Ne F tañ 'summer'), Ng {Cs.} kufuya 'leathern' <d- 'kufu 'leather', En X {Cs.} t'iy_o, En B {Cs.} t'ei_yo 'gestrig' (cp. t'e? 'yesterday') ¶¶ Sz. 86-8, 100, Coll. CG 264, Lh. PUAS 55-60 ♦ IS I 14, 282-4 (besides denom. sxs. in HS, IE and U, IS adduces here the sx. *-i of deverbal nouns and prtcs. in A and the D sx. *-i of converbs, which is less concincing). **End of the new version]**