

2656. ***z'oʔa** (or ***z'oʔya**, ***z'oyʔa**) 'to bear (a young); to be born, grow' > K ***zw-** v. 'bear a young' (of animals) > OG **zw-**, G X/Ing **zv-** id. || Sv {K, FS} **z(w)-**, msd. {K, FD} **li-za** l ~ **li-zwel-i**, Sv UP {GP} **li-za** l v. 'bear a young' ¶ K 87, K² 58, FS K 131-2, FS E 142, GP 151 || HS: Eg fP **z3** 'son' ¶ EG III 408-10, Fk. 207 || U ***s'oya** (or ***s'ol** ʔ'a) > Sm {Jn.} ***soya** v. 'be born, grow', {Hl.} ***soya-** 'give birth' > Ne T **coi-a-c-**, {Lh.} **so** ʔ'a: v. 'be born, grow up', Ne F {Lh.} **xo** ʔ'ye a-s' 'gebären, verschaffen', En X {Cs.} (1s aor.) **soa** ʔ'ro, En B {Cs.} (1s aor.) **soja** ʔ'do v. 'grow', Slq Tz {KKIH} **so** c'(i)- id. (**върасти**), Kms {Cs.} 3s p. **sibie** 'gave birth to', Koyb {Sp.} **суйтамъ** 'I give birth', Mt {Hl.} ***soy-a-** 'give birth' (Mt M {Sp.} **coi** rypa 'I give birth') > Mt {Hl.} ***soyu** h k j 'Gewächs, Gras, Heu' (Mt: M/T/K {Mll.} **so** iu 'gramen', M {Sp.} **соеекъ** 'hay, grass', T {Mll.} **heeli** m-soiu 'hay' [heelim 'dried']) ¶ Jn. 142-3, KKI 170, Hl. M ##898-9 || A: ??σ Tg ***so** i: v. 'mate' (of animals) > Ewk **so-kan-** v. 'mate', Ud **so-ni** id.; hardly here WrMc **3uy** (pl. **3u-se**) 'son' and Jrc {Md.} **3** uy-il, {Kiy.} **3** uwii 'child', because Mc/Jrc **3-** is not the reg. reflex of N ***z-** (reconstructed on the ev. of K and U) ¶ STM I 271 & II 105, Kiy. 113 [#294], Md. ChF 138 [#294]); Ewk -kan may be a verbal sx. (≠ Vas. 700-1).

2657. ***z'idu** (or ***z'itu**) 'to pull, drag, draw' > K: GZ ***zid-** v. 'drag, pull' > OG, G **zid-** id., Mg {Q} **zi(n)d-** id., 'pull out', Lz **zd-** v. 'take, arise, drag' ¶ K 87, K² 58, FS K 133, Chik. 275-6, Q 237 || HS: S ***o** /zdw > Ar /zdw (prm. -zduw-) 'tendre, étendre', 'extendit (manus versus rem)' ¶ Fr. II 231, BK I 982 || EC {Ss.} ***zit-** v. 'pull' > Sml **3** id-, pBn **(hē')** s' i d- > Bn Bi **(hē')** s' i d-, Bn J/Kj **hē'** s' i d-, Bn K **ho** s' i d- id., Rn **3** it- {Sim} id., {PG} id., 'drag', Kns tit-, Gd tis-, Gwd, Gln sit-, Hr sic-, Brj did-, (< ***dit-d-**) ¶ Ss. PEC 20, Ss. B 55, ≠ Hn. S 83, Hn. BD 122, Sim 11-2, 15, PG 166 || A: NaT ***ju** i: d- v. 'carry' > OT {Cl.} **ju** i: d- id. ([MhK] ol ju k ju i: d- 'he carried the burden'), Tlt ju y- v. 'carry (?)', ET {Nj.} **ju** i: d- 'load sth. on an animal', ET Δ {Jr.} **ju** i: d- ~ **ju** i: d- 'carry/load sth. on one's shoulders' ¶ ET -d- for *-y- is puzzling ¶ Cl. 885, DTS 283, Rl. III 611, Nj. 793, Jr. 161 || ʔ, μ D ***ce** nt-/ce t- ({GS} ***s-**) v. 'draw' > Tm **ce** ntu v. 'draw (as a rope running over a pulley)', Kn **se** du, **se** ndu v. 'draw up (water from a well), pull in (as string of kite), draw in with the mouth', Kdg **se** d- v. 'drink a deep draught', Tu **se** duni v. 'draw water', OTl {Km.} **ce** du v. 'pull up, draw up as water', Tl **ce** du, **ce** du id., Mlt **ce** nde v. 'remove in small quantities from a heap' ¶ D #2812, Km. 364 [#475] (the Tl word < <d- pSD ***ce** - / ***te** -) ¶ The origin of ***n-** has not yet been elucidated. It is likely to be a Dravidian morphological infix ♦ K, S, OT and Tlt provide ev. for N ***d-**, while EC and ET seem to point to N ***t-** (*dis* ***Z...d** > ***Z...t**?).

2658. ***z'ig'o'dv** 'stake, peg', (→) 'paling, fence' > K ***zyude** 'fence' > OG **zyude** 'fence, wall', G, Mg **zyude** 'fence', Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} **3ywid** id., L **3yud** id., ʔ Sv Δ {Wrd.} **zghwid** id., 'boundary' (a variant with **z-** is not confirmed by other sources); GZ ***zywed-/zywd-** v. 'fence in, enclose' > OG **mo-zyudva** msd., G **zyud-** v. 'fence in, enclose', ʔσ Mg **zyvind-/zyod-** v. 'destroy, exterminate' ¶ K 89 (Sv **3yud** <b- G), K² 62, Abul. 171, DCh. 533-4, TK 848, Wrd. 596, 604 || IE: ***Hod** h-/***Hed** h- > NaIE ***odh-**/***edh-** 'stake, stake fence' > AS **eodor** 'enclosure, fence, hedge; dwelling', OHG **etar** 'fence (Zaun), edge (Rand)', ON **jo** ður-r, **ja** ðar-r 'Rand, obere Zaunstange' || SI ***odr** > OCS **одръ** odrъ 'bed (κλιῖνη, κράββατοῦ, σоро́)' , Cz **odr** 'stake (Pfahl)', SCR **o** ðar 'bier, cataphalque', {P} 'rankender Weinstock', Blg **o** ðar 'flooring (**насти́л**)', Slv **o** ðar id., 'hayloft' ? Gk **οὐστρίμιον** (< ***odh-tro**?) 'byre, enclosure for cattle' (↔ Frisk) ¶ ≈ P 290, ≈ WP I 121, Vr. 289, Ho. 91, Km. 210, OsS 154, EWA II 1166-8, Vs. III 123-4, Ch. 833, ≠ F II 438 || A: Tg ***sigdi-** 'peg' > Ewk **sigdiwu** n ~ **higdiwu** n id. (with vowels of the closed series, cf. acc. **sigdiwu** nm3) ¶ STM II 76, Vas. 349, 476 || D ***ci** i: t- 'bamboo pin' > Prj citam 'bamboo pin (for leaf cup)', Gnd itam 'leaf-pin' ¶ D #2641.

2659. ***z'ugU** ~ ***z'uK.U** 'hill' > K ***zugw-** 'hill' > Mg **zugu** 'hill' in n. l.: Zugdidi, etc.; Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} **zugw**, **zwigw**, UB {GP} **zug**, L {TK} **zugw** 'hill' ¶ FS K 137, FS E 148, TK 253, GP 105 || HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} ***3** ig^{wa} 'hill, rock' > Su {J} **3** wa k 'rock' ('Felsen') ; Krkr {Kœ.} **3** igawa, **3** igawa 'hill' ; Ngz {Sch.} **3** i gwa i, 'small hill formed by hoeing in which grain is planted' ; NrBc: P' {MSk.} **zi** gi ya 'rock' ¶ Stl. ZCh 194 [#462], J S 68, Sch. DN 85, ChC s.v. 'rock', MSk. 228 || U ***c** ukk^v 'hill, summit' (× ? ***c** uK.E 'thorn, point, summit') > pLp {Lr.} ***c** okk³ > Lp: N {N} **c** o k'ka / -kk-, L {LLO} **tja** h kka^o 'summit, mountain peak', S {Hs.} **tja** kke id., 'hill', K {Gn.} **c** okk, Kld {TI} **c** o jk: 'Spitze', {SaR} **чо** r k 'sharp' ; Prm {LG} ***c** uk > Z чук **c** uk 'mountain peak, small hills (**неболта́я возвыше́нность**)' || ObU: Vg: T **c** akal 'heap [of hay, etc.]', LK **s** axal 'Insel [auf der Wiese, auf dem Sumpf]', ML **m3** s okal 'small hill', Ss **ur** s axal 'hill', Os: Ty **t** a k 'vorragendes Ende, Spitze', D **t** a k '(Spitze einer) Landzunge; vorragende Spitze, Ecke', O **s** a x ~ **s** a k 'Hammer' (← 'Spitze') || Sm {Jn.} ***sok** 'hill' > Ne: T **coxo** 'high pointed hill', T O {Lh.} **soxo** 'hoher runder Erdhügel', En X {Cs.} **d** so ro, En B {Cs.} **d** sodo 'Landspitze' ; Slq Tz {Prk., KKI} **soq** 'promontory (**мыс**), Vorgebirge, hohe Landzunge' ¶ Coll. 8, UEW 42, Lr. #159, Lgc. #450, Hs. 1298-9, Gn. 725, SaR 398-9, TI 676, LG 312, Jn. 143, Ter. 567, KKI 170, Erl. 209 ¶ The meanings 'sharp', 'edge', 'hammer' in the FU lgs. are hardly derivable from N ***z'ugU** ~ ***z'uK.U** 'hill', but may be attributed to the heritage of N ***c** uK.E 'thorn, point' || A ***z** uK^v > NaT ***jok** 'high ground' > OT **joq** id.; d : [1] NaT ***jokaru** ~ ***jokari** (< ***jok**-garu/i, directive of ***jok**) 'upwards' > OT, Chg **joqaru**, Tk **yokari**, Tkm Δ **joqori**, ET **yugari**, VTt, Bsh **juqar**, Yk **soyoru** id., [2] NaT ***jokus** 'a rise (in the ground), ascent, slope' > Kr Cr, Osm {Rh.} **joqus**, Tk **yoqus**, ¶ Cl. 896, 906-7, ET J 213-5, Rh. 2216 || Tg: Ud

B/Sm {Krm.} su^hgbo 'gentle slope (of a hill near a river)' ¶ STM II 118, Krm. 290 ✧ The irreg. reflexes of N *-g- in U (*-kk- for the expected *-x-) and T (vl. *-k) are still to be explained.

2660. ***z'VgErV** (or ***z'VrgV?**) 'back (dorsum)' > K *^ozz'urg- > OG, G zurg-i 'back (dorsum)' ¶ Chx. 420 [†, Ser. 69, DCh. 531] ¶ HS: B [1] *√zgr 'back (dos)' > Kb {Dl.} a-zajur (pl. i-zajur-ən), Kb Z {La.} a-zagur 'dos', Ntf {La.} a-zagur 'chevelure' [2] ??σ B *√zgr v. 'be high, tall, long' > Ah hæg'ræt id., tǣhhæg'ræt ~ tæzzæg'ræt 'hauteur', Ttq {Msq.} pl. i-hæg'ər-ən 'high (in a high position)' ('haut [élevé]'), 'long', hæg'ərən 'long', tazæg'ərət 'hauteur', Wrg zzæg'rər v. 'be long, tall', WTml, Ty zǣgræt v. 'be long, high, tall', Tnsl s'æg'ræt, Gh zæg'ræt, zæg'ər, Gd zæg'ræt, Mz zzæg'ræt, Tmz zæg'rit v. 'be long', Tmz azæg'rər, Mz azæg'rər, Rf Wr/Br/A a-zæg'rər, Nf {La.} a-zæg'rər 'long' ¶ Dl. 936, Fc. 531, GhA 211, MT 797-8, Dlh. Ou 387-8, Dlh. M 248, Msq. 148, 176, Rn. 325, La. MChB 115, La. S 253, Pr. H #182 ¶ B [2] *√zgr v. 'be high, tall, long' belongs here only if the original meaning was v. 'be high' ← 'be on the animal's back' ¶ A ***zVgrV** > NaT *jagr 'back\withers of a horse' (→ 'saddle-gall') (× N ***dagurV** 'shoulder-blade as part of the back') > OT, Az, Tkm jayır 'saddle-gall', OT U {Bai.}, Chg (San., Bu.) jayır 'shoulder-blade', Tk yag'ır 'horse's withers, saddle-gall', Tk Δ jayır, Chg {Bu.} r9Y jayır 'back', VTt Δ z'aw'ır 'shoulder', Tki jexır, Uz jayır, ET jexi(r), Ln jayır, Qzq, Qq z'awır, Nog jawır, Qrg z'o'ır, StAlt z'u'ır 'saddle-gall', Chv: H s'or'ım, L s'ur'ım 'back (dorsum), loins'; d> NaT *jagırın ~ *jagırın 'back (of a pack-animal) (× T *jagırın, {ADb.} *jagırın 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' < N ***dagurV**) > Tkm jayırın 'back (dorsum)', Tk Δ jayırın, Uz jayırın, Qmq jawırın, Nog jawırın, Qzq z'awırın, Qrg z'o'ırın id.; T *jagır d> M *dayari 'abrasion, saddle-sore' (> MM [S] da'vari, WrM dagari, HlM дайр) ¶ The d *jagırın 'animal's back' proves that the original meaning of *jagır was 'back' rather than 'saddle-gall' ¶ Cl. 905, ET J 65-7, TL 242-3, Rh. 2188, Tkr 805-6, MED 218 || M *sever (Pp.) *sege'r 'spine, backbone, spinal column' > Kl {Rm.} se'r 'upper back, back (dorsum), nape; spine', σ: WrM seger, HlM cypid., Brt hypp '∈ appendix of a rib (отросток реберной кости)' ¶ MED 682, Chr. 709, KW 328 || σ Tg *sigde ({ADb.}: < **sir-de < **siyr-de) 'sinew of the back, sirloin, vertebra' > Ewk sigd' id., Neg sigd' 'mountain ridge', Orc, Ul, Nn, Ud {Krm.} sigde 'a sinew of the back' ¶ STM II 76-7, Krm. 283-4 ¶ Pp. VG 73, 127, ADb. SR-D 443-4 [†] ¶ But T *sirt 'back, mountain ridge' (Cl. 846) hardly belongs here (unless it is an early loan from M).

2661. ***ZEgutV** (= ***z'EgutV?**) 'thigh, leg' > IE *h^hekTV (or *?-) > Ht egdu, igdu 'leg' ¶ Pv. I-II 260-1 ¶ A ≈ *zEgutV 'thigh, hip' > NaT *JoigtV id. > OT {Cl.} jota 'thigh', {DTS} joda jot'a^d jota 'shin, upper leg', ET jota id., StAlt z'odo, Xk, Tv, Shor c'oda 'shin', SY jota^d jawta^d jowta 'bone in a sheep leg', Yk soto 'lower part of the hind leg, shin' ¶ Rs. W 207, Cl. 886, ET J 29-30, DTS 269, 275, Tn. SJJ 185, BN 79 || M *sexu'zin 'hip, thigh' > WrM segu'zi(n), HlM c**xsu'z' 'pelvic bone, pelvis, hip, upper part of the thigh bone', Kl c**x su'z' 'hip-bone, pelvis, hip', Ord su'z' 'os iliaque, hanche', Mnr H {SM} su'z' 'hanche', MMgl {Z} seu'z' 'upper part of buttocks, haunch', Dgr seu'z' {T} 'hip', {Mr.} 'lower back' ¶ MED 684, KW 342, KRS 466, SM 357, Iw. 131, T DgJ 163, Mr. D 211 || Tg *sigdi-pu > Ork sigz'ipu 'the upper part of the tarsus' ¶ STM II 77 || pKo {S} *hə'tu'ih^h 'foot, leg' > MKo hə'tu'ih^h id. ¶ S QK #320, Nam 485 ¶ DQA #2564 [A *zi_o'gtu 'thigh, leg'] ¶ HS: σ S *^o√s|sgd > Ar √sg'd (pf. dajiSa sag'ida) v. 'be swollen (a foot)', Pasg'adu 'swollen (foot)' ¶ BK I 1052 ✧ If the S cognate is accepted and its initial cns. is *s', the reconstruction must be ***z'egutV**.

2662. ***zu''k₁V?jV** ~ ***zuk₁V?jE** 'edible cereals, harvest (of wild plants?)' > HS: S *^o√zkw > Ar √zkw (pf. 'Kaza zaka', ip. -zku) v. 'grow' (of a plant) || ??φ Eg fMK sk₃ n. 'crops', (??) d> Eg fP sk₃ ({EG} s'k₃) v. 'plough, cultivate a field' (× ÷ S *√s'kk > Ar sikk-at- 'ploughshare', Ak √s'kk 'aufreihen, eggen' ÷ Hs sa'k'w'a'mi '∈ hoe') ¶ EG IV 315-6, Fk. 251, Tk. I 217-8 ¶¶ The S-Eg comparison is qu. (Eg s is not cognate with S *3), therefore Tk. AANM 1 rejects it; however, it is acceptable if the devoicing *3 > Eg s is accounted for by as- or if the noun sk₃ is primary, while the verb sk₃ is derived from it or does not belong here ¶ U: FU *su''ks'V 'autumn' > F syksy, syys, Es su''gis (/su''gise-) id. | pLp {Lr.} *c'əkc'ə id. > Lp: S {Hs.} tjaktje, L {LLO}, U {Schl.} tjaktja, N {N} c'a'k'c'a', K {Gn.} c'e'χ'c' | pMr {Ker.} *suks'ə > *soks'ə 'autumn' > Er c'ħkc'-'oks', Δ soks', s'oks, Mk c'ħkce s'oks'ə, Δ s'oks', s'oks, seks | pChr {Ber.} *s'iz'ə id. > Chr L 'пшє s'əz'ə, Chr H пшєжє s'əz'ə | Vt сиез-ьл siz'il, Vt G s'iz'i | ObU {Ht.} *θu''γəs id. > pVg {Ht.} tu''kəs > Vg: T tu''ks, LK/SV ta''x'w's, MK/NV ta''k'w's, P ta''xs ~ ta''xs, LL ta''xs, UL/Ss tak'w's; pOs {Ht.} *so''γəs > Os: V/Vy so''γəs, Ty se'x'wəs, Y/D/K se'wəs, Nz/Kz su''s, O sus | Hg o''sz id. ¶ UEW 443, Coll. 116, Db. OS xxx, ≈ Sm. 549 (FU, FP *s'uks'i, Ugr *θu''ksr), Lr. #103, Lgc. #449, Hs. 1300, Gn. 730, Ker. II 145, Ht. #133, U3S 392, Ep. 161 ¶ Lp *c'-, Er, Mk s'- and Os *s- (reg. reflexes of FU *s'-) are due tio as- (*s'...s' > *s'...s') ¶ A ≈ *zu''KV(-rV) 'edible cereals, millet' > NaT *ju''gu'r 'millet' > OT QU ju''gu'r ~ u''gu'r (MKA III 9) id., OT U u''gu'r^d u''yu'r ∈ 'small seed, millet', MU u''yu'r 'millet', Qrg S {Jud.} z'u''go''ru' 'sorghum', Qrg N {Jus.} z'u''go''ru' 'maize', Osm c'o''ka'ri 'grains of Bukharian millet'; T d> Kl Ö z'u''go''r 'kaoliang (Sorghum japonicum)' ¶ Cl. 275-6, TL 458, Br. MT 94, KW 116, Jud. 272 || Tg *jiylga ~ **jiylge 'millet' > Orc z'iz-ktz, Ud z'akta, Neg ja'kta, {PSchm.} jīakta id., Nn Nh/KU z'izktz, Nn B z'iktz, z'izktz id., 'rice', Sln jakta 'porridge, food', WrMc ze 'fine millet; corn' ¶ STM I 244 || pKo *co'h 'millet' > MKo co' / co'h-, Nko co id., {Rm.} ci_o 'millet, Setaria germanica' ¶ S QK #249, Nam 427, MLC 1568, Rm. PKE 37 ¶¶ Rm. PKE 37 (T, Ko), Rm. EAS I 65 (i ÷ Chv s'əg_ər 'bread', which is from T

*jugu-r 'kneaded' [Jeg. 205-6, ET J 243-4]), DQA #2616 [A *zi_u'gi 'millet'] || D *cugg-, {GS} *sugg- 'harvest, season of harvest' > Gnd sugge 'harvest', Kn suggi 'the season of gathering crop (esp. the time of reaping the corn and grain)', spring (from the middle of March to that of May)', Tu suggi 'harvest, the second rice-crop, the 12th Tulu month [March-April]' ¶ DED #2176, D #2647 ◆ IS MS 370 (*zuka 'harvest'), AD NM #16, S CNM 12.

2663. *z'a''k_U 'to tie (up)' > K *sk_w- [< *zk_w- (as)?] v. 'tie (up), bind (up)' [× N *s'a''k_U V_J 'to plait, tie, bind, wicker'] > OG mo-sk_w- 'sich verschränken', sk_{ul}-, nask_w- 'knot', sk_{un}- v. 'decide', G sk_{ven}-/sk_{un}- v. 'close, shut', sk_{ul}-i 'zu bindend, Bund, Knoten', Mg sk_v-/sk_u- ~ skv-/sku-, Lz sk_v- ~ skv- v. 'tie (up)', Sv UB le-sk_w-er, Sv Ln lensk_wer 'rope' ¶ K 164, K² 160, FS K 272-3, FS E 302-3, Gm. SSh 71, Chx. 1265-6, TK 409 || HS: CS *z'i'k_k- 'fettters' > BHb zik_k-im, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} NiQiz zik_k-in, Sr zek_k-a- id. ¶ KB 266, GB 203, Lv. I 232, ≈ Js. 396 (JA Niqiz zik_k-in), PS 1042 || U: FU *s'a''ku 'to plait' -b> FU *s'a''kt_V (or *s^-) v. 'mend (a net, footwear, etc.), plait, set snares' [× N *s'a''k_U V_J 'to tie (up)'] (q.v. ffd.).

2664. ? *zULV 'to fall, crush down' > K: GZ *z'wel-/z'wl- v. 'fall, crush down' > OG {Abul.} zul- 'fall down', da-zul- ({DCh.}: = da-zwl-) v. 'collapse', G T na-zl-ob-i 'landslide', Lz z'ol- ~ z'ul-: mi-z'ol-e-e-n ~ mi-z'ul-e-e-n 'it has been disappeared' ¶ K² 64, FS K 140-1, Abul. 109, 170, DCh. 364, Ghl. 403, Xb. 126-7 || HS: WS *√zll v. 'fall (vehemently, e.g. from a rock or to a precipice' (→ v. 'attack')) > Jb √zll G (pf. zell, sbjn. 'yozzzəl) v. 'fall from a ledge, a rock; accost, attack'; GT 'zöttel v. 'fall of a rock, of a precipice', Mh, Hrs √zll v. 'attack', ?σ Ar √zll (pf. zalla, ip. ya-zill-u) v. 'slip away, lapsavit in loco lubrico' ¶ Fr. II 246, ≈ DRS 738, Jo. M 467 ¶ Ar: × N *z'il'V 'to slip, to slide' [q.v.] || ǀIE *_lH₁wel-/ *_lH₁wo_l- v. 'fall/fell down' > Arm glem glem 'I roll, wheel, incline' :: Sl (caus. stem) *vali'-ti v. 'fell, pull down' > OCS валити valiti v. 'overturn', R ва'лит-, Uk ва'лити, Sln vali'ti, P walic', Slk valit' v. 'fell, pull down', HLs walic' id., rf. walic' so 'fall down (повалит-сѣ), fall', Blg ваѣли v. 'fall' (of rain, snow, hail), ва'л-еж 'precipitation, falling of rain/hail/snow' ¶¶ This verb is to be distinguished from its homonym meaning 'to roll' at the NaIE and the pSl level (*_lH₁welH-/ *_lH₁wo_lH- / *_lH₁wleH- > pSl *vali-ti, *val'a-ti 'to roll') ¶ Slt. 81-2, Chrn. I 132, Glh. 661, Trof. 340, BER I 114, ≠ P 1140-3.

2665. ? ₂ *ZaØle(-ŋV) ~ *ZEØla(-ŋV) 'alive, awake' > HS: S *√zfl > Ar √zfl (pf. zařila, ip. -zřal-) {BK} 'être gai, dispos et alerte; marcher d'un pas rapide par suite de la vivacité naturelle', {Ln.} 'be brisk, lively, active', {BK} ?azřala 'rendre vif, alerte', zařil- 'vif, dispos' ¶ Ln. III 1232, BK I 991-2 || A {DQA} *zelX(ŋV) 'be awake, live' (→ 'human being') > Tg *sel_nje- 'wake up' > Ewk, Sln səlɜ-, Orc sənɜ-, sənɜgi-, Ud səlɜ-, səlɜgi-, Ul sənɜ-, sənɜ-, Nn sənɜ- vi. 'wake up', WrMc sela-vi. 'have a good time, cheer up, be happy' ¶ STM II 141 || T *jal_la_ŋ-uk 'human being' > OT {DTS} jala_ŋuq ~ jal_ŋuq ~ jal_ŋ(y)uq, {Cl.} jal_ŋuq id., Chv s'm(ɔ) id. ¶ Cl. 930, DTS 227-9, ≈ TL 325, ≈ Fed. II 153-4 || pKo *sa_r- 'live' > MKo sa_r-, NKo sa_l- id. ; -d> pKo *sa_rl'm 'person' > MKo sa_rl'm, NKo sa_{ram} ¶ S QK #64, Nam 290, 293, MLC 871, 897 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2554 [A *zela 'be awake, live'; incl. T, Tg, Ko] ◆ The et. is rather weak (the √ is represented in two families only, it is isolated in HS and the semantic ties between the supposed cognates of A are qu.)

2666. *r'z'UgIE 'back side' > A: M *so''lu''r > WrM so''lu''r ~ su''lu''r, HIM c' l' p adj. & n. 'bending backward (as a bow); one who throws back his head' ¶ MED 731 || Tg *sugli > EwkM sulin 'back (dorsum)', Ewk Chlm sulin 'hump', Ewk PT solin 'dorsal fin (of a fish)', Ork suli 'withers (of a reindeer, horse, bear)', Nn Nh soglt~, Nn KU solt 'wild boar's mane', Orc su'li 'mane' ¶ STM II 70, 107, 124 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2569 (*zi_u'l'a) 'spine' (does not distinguish between reflexes of *r'z'U_gIE and those of *z'il'V) || ? HS: S: Ar zuyl-at- 'podex' ¶ Ln. III 1235, BK I 995 || D *coll- ({GS} *z3'-?) 'back part/side' > Krx colla- 'back wall or back side of a house', Mlt cole 'the back of the house', ? Kn colleya, colleha, jolleha 'pointed end of a female's bundle of hair at the back of the head', Tl jollemu, jol_lemu 'a tire formed by weaving the tresses in chains and then coiling them up at the back of the head' ¶¶ D ##2858-9.

2667. *z'ilřa 'to shove, stir up' > K: GZ *zel/*zil-/*zl- v. 'crumple, press, knead, rub' > OG (da)zela- 'to press, rub', G zel-/zil- v. 'press, rub', Mg {Q} zal- v. 'knead', zeli ~ zeri 'dough', ma-zal-i 'dough-kneader', Lz o-zal-e 'trough for kneading dough', {FS} 'Knetmasse, Knetgefäß'; ? Zan: amb Mg z-/zu-, amb Lz z- (if from *zl-) v. 'knead, rub, mix' (alternatively belong to *z'i'V 'to press, knead, rub' [q.v.] ¶ FS K 130-1 & FS E 141 (GZ *zel/*zil-), Schm. 111, Chik. 274-5, Q 235, K² 57 || HS: SES *√zlf > Mh pf. zu'la, sbjn. y3zle-, Jb E/C pf. 'zelař v. 'shove, push' ¶ Jo. M 467, Jo. J 319 || A *r'z'iLV- > M *silexe- > WrM silege-, HIM шилыг- v. 'stir fire with a poker', Ord s'ile- 'attiser avec le tisonier' ¶ MED 705-6, Ms. O 616.

2668. ??₂ *z'ilQVP_V 'sorcery, witchcraft' (→ 'calamities') > HS: S *√zlřp > Ar zalřaf-at- 'malheurs, calamités' ¶ BK I 1004 || ? B *√z_llw (< **√z_lH₁ř?) 'calamities' > Kb z_zolwi 'traverser une periode malheureuse' (unless from B *√zlw 'être tordu', ≠ Pr. H #267, Fc. 599) ¶ DL 944 || A ǀ*zilVbe ({SDM95} *zilVbe, {SDM97} za''lVbi) 'sorcery, witchcraft' > NaT *jelibi- > OT {Cl.} jelvi id., Xk c'ilbigen 'monster', Yk ilbi 'demoniac, possessed'; T -b> WrM cilbi ~ cilvi 'sorcery, trickery, deception' ¶ Rs. W 196, Cl. 919-20, Kow. 2346 || ?σ M *silmu- > WrM {Cev.} silmusun, HIM шилмас, Kl s'ulm ~ s'ulm_u (pl. s'ulm_{us}) 'demon' ({Rm.}: 'Teufel, ein böser Geist') ¶ Luv. 659, Cev. 859, KW 867 || ??σ pKo (S) *si_urb v. 'be annoyed,

vexed, sad' > MKo si₂əp/w-, NKo sə₂rəp/w- id. ¶ S QK #607, Nam 305, MLC 935 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2560 [A *zi₂a₂IVbi 'sorcery, witchcraft; to investigate (by magic power)'; incl. M *silmu-, T, Ko, J] ¶ If this N stem goes back to a *cd*, its first component ****ziLV** may be discerned (with a query) in IE *Xel- 'to harm' > NaIE *el- > Arm e₂e₂n eler₂n 'rascality, offence, misdeed, malice, fatality', Gk ὀλλυ₂μι [ft. ὀλε₂σῶ] v. 'destroy, make an end of', ?? OIr {P} elc 'böse'; Ht halluwai- v. 'resort to violence, brawl, quarrel', vt. 'savage, fight', halluwai- n. 'violence, brawl, altercation, quarrel' ¶ P 306-7, F II 378-9 & Ch. 792-3 (both: no et. of ὀλλυ₂μι), Pv. III 49-51; Ts. E I 275 and Pv. III 363-8 reject the comparison of Gk ὀλλυ₂μι with Ht hulla- 'smash, quash, defeat' (proposed by other scholars and quoted in P 307) ♦ Qu. for lack of close semantic connections both within branches of A and between HS and A.

2669. ***z'ugul'V** ~ ***z'ugal'V** 'to flow, pour' > K: GZ *zywel- v. 'pour' (of heavy shower) > G I zyvel- id., {Chx.} zyvel-a 'heavy rain, shower', Mg zyvar-zyvali id., zyvar-zyval-an-s 'rain falls in a shower' ¶ K² 63, FS K 137-8, Ghl. 236, Chx. 423 ¶ HS: S *₂zyl > Ar zyl (pf. zayala, ip. -zyal-) 'verser par petites quantités', zuyl-at- 'quantité d'eau, etc., versée en une seule fois' ¶ BK I 995, Ln. III 12334-5 || Ğ B *₂zzl v. 'flow, run' (coalescence of two roots: *₂zzl v. 'flow' and *₂zzl v. 'run', the latter not becoming here?) > Ah ahəl v. 'flow (couler), run', BSn azzəl, Gd {Mot.} əzzəl id., Izn, Rif, SrSn zzzl, Mz, Kb azzəl 'courir, couler (eau)' ¶ Fc. 553-7, Rn. 442, Pr. H #212, Dlh. M 389, Dl. 940 ¶ Ğ IE: Ht {Frd.} huwalla 'ausgießen' ¶ Frd. HW 78 (rejected by Ts. E I 425 and not mentioned by Pv.) ¶ A: T: [1] T *j'u₂' - > NaT *j'u₂'s > OT {Cl.} j'u₂'s- v. 'pour out', ? Alt/Tlt {Rl.} jus- v. 'wash away' [of water] (ab-₂weg-spülen); ↳ OT j'u₂'s-ul- v. 'be poured out' (of water) ¶ Cl. 976, 978, Rl. III 566 [2] (here?) *ju₂l 'spring, fountain' [× N ***z'ER₂u₂l'V** 'to flow, stream; rapid current' (q.v. ffd.) × N ***LiLU** 'water, sea'??] ¶ T *-l- belongs to the heritage of ***z'ER₂u₂l'V** ¶ φ D *call-, {Km.} cal₂-/*cel₂-, {GS} *cal- v. 'pour out, sprinkle, disperse' (× N ***c'alV** 'pour (out)', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The cs. *-l' (rather than *-l-) in T*j'u₂' is due to contamination or to a *-y-sx.

2670. ***z'El₂l₂V₂K₂A** ≈ 'back (dos), back part of animal's body' > A: T *j₂l' 'spine' → 'mountain ridge' → 'mountain forest(s)' → 'thicket' (→ 'thick, dense') > NaT *jis > Yk sis 'spine, rump, mountain ridge, mountains', OT jis {Cl.} 'the upper part of the mountains covered with forests, mountain forests', {Ml.} id. ('черн- [лес и горы]'), Alt z'is, Tb z'is, Xk c'is id., SbTt {Tm.} jis ayac 'fir-tree' (ayac 'tree'); Cl. reads the OT word as jī₂s, with a long ī on the unreliable ev. of the plene spelling in Mah>mud al-Kashghari's çyY yys 'downward slope'; the Yk ev. contradicts Cl.'s hyp. of a long vw. ¶ Cl. 976, Ml. PDP 392, DTS 268, MKD 228, ET J 44, Rs. W 202, Rl. III 497-8 & IV 161, Tm. 92 ¶¶ SDM97 (*zi₂l'V 'spine, nape'), ≈ DQA #2569 (adduces pJ {S} *sasū 'sticking edges of the roof beams' > OJ sasū, which is *unc.* because of lack reliable semantic proximity; reconstructs *zi₂u₂l' 'spine' combining reflexes of N ***z'El₂l₂V₂K₂A** and those of N ***r₂z'Ugl₂E** 'back side', q.v.) ¶ U: FU (att. in FV) *s₂'s₂eLka₂ 'back (dos)' > F selka₂, Es selg id. : pLp {Lr.} *c'e₂lke₂ 'back, spine' > Lp: N {N} c'iel'ge id., Kld {TI} c'iel₂jk₂ 'spine', T {TI} c'el₂jk₂ 'small of the back, rump' : Chr L 'цѣлъкъ' s'yl'z 'small of the back (loins)', Uf/B s'yl'z id., 'rump', M {Wc.} s'il'e 'back (dos), sacrum', Chr (= Chr Uf?) {Ü} 'цѣлъкъ' muscles of the back' ¶ It. #333, UEW 772, SK 995-6, Lr. #152, Lgc. #610, TI 661, MRS 753, Ü 283, Ber. 320 (pChr *s'il) ¶ ? HS: S *₂zlk > Ar zalaq- 'fesses (d'une bête de sommes)' ¶ BK I 1006 ♦ In T we may suppose simplification of the final cns. cluster: *-l₂V₂K₂ > pre-T ****l₂K₂** > T -l'. N ***-a** accounts for the T vw. *i (vowel harmony: *E...a > *i) ♦ Resh. #13 (U, A).

2671. ***z'EngV** 'black, dirt-coloured, dirty' > K *₂zang- > G zang- vt. 'make black/dirty' ¶ Not here G zangi 'negro' (← NPrs za₂ngi 'Negro, Ethiopian' ← Ar?) ¶ Chx. 390 ¶ HS: S: Ar ΔN0za zang₂-^d {Ln.} ΔN0zi zing₂- '∈ nation of the blacks' ('East Africans, Ethiopians') ¶ Ln. III 1256, Hv. 297, BK I 1015 ¶ A {SDM97} *za₂ne(rV) 'yellowish, brown, gray' > NaT *₂jegren 'yellow' (of a horse) > OT jegren 'chestnut (colour)'; T ↳ M: WrM zegerde, HIM зүүрд 'red, chestnut (colour)' ¶ Cl. 914, ET J 22-3, MED 1043 || NrTg *siṇa₂r- 'yellow, brown, gray' > Ewk siṇama 'yellow, yellowish-gray, brown, dirt-coloured', Ewk siṇarīn, Neg siṇayīn 'brown, yellow, gray', Ewk siṇa₂l₂-, Lm hiṇa₂l- 'become yellow', Lm hiṇa₂a 'yellow, brown', Sln s'īṇari₂ 'yellow' ¶ STM II 90.

2672. ***za₂ṇ₂K₂U** 'skin of an animal' (→ 'waterskin', 'sleeve', etc.) > HS: CS *zi₂n₂k₂- id. > IA, Plm zk₂ 'goat-skin (used to transport oil, wine, etc.)', zik₂'k₂-a₂ 'hose, waterskin, wineskin', Sr zek₂'k₂-a₂ 'wineskin, leathern bottle', SmA zk₂ 'waterskin', Aram ↳ Ar ziqq- and Ak NA zik₂'k₂- 'wineskin', Ar ↳ Gz zək₂ 'leathern bottle, leathern bag' ¶ GB 205, HJ 339, Js. 396, BK I 998, JPS 119, Tak 238, L G 642, CAD XXI 129, Sd. 1531, DRS 785 ¶ A *zo₂ṇ₂g₂V₂nV ({SDM97} *zo₂g(e)nV, {SDM95} *zag(u)nV) 'sleeve' > T *ja₂ṇ₂n ~ *ja₂gn id. > OT {Cl.} jeṇ, [MhK] ja₂ṇ, Tk yen, Tkm, Uz jeṇ, ET ja₂ṇ, Qzq, Qq z'eṇ, VTt Чин z'in, Bsh e₂ jṇ, Qrg z'eṇ, Alt z'en, Tv c'eṇ, Xk n₂ṇ nṇ, Yk siā₂ḫ, Chv s'anṇ, Δ s'avn₂^d s'an ¶ Chv Δ -vn- points to a pT *-gn- [= *-g^wn-?], Chv *a provides ev. for pT *a₂, but VTt i goes back to *e (< *a₂ under the palatalizing infl. of pT *j- or VTt z'/?-?) ¶ Cl. 940, Rs. W 197, ET J 186-7, Ash. XII 27, 39, Jeg. 202, Fed. II 94, Rl. III 312, 322, 328 || Tg *su₂n 'outer-clothes, coat' > Ewk sun ~ su₂n (acc. sun-mṣ), Neg su₂n, Ork so₂(n-) ~ su₂(n-) 'outer-clothes', Sln su₂ 'coat, oriental robe (халат)'; Ewk ↳ Yk son 'outer-clothes' ¶ STM II 126, Vas. 369-70 || pJ su₂a₂n-ta₂i₂ 'sleeve' > OJ su₂o₂de, ItOJ [RJ] so₂de, J: T so₂de, K so₂de, Kg so₂de ¶ S QJ #360, Mr. 529 ¶¶ SDM97 [A *zo₂g(e)nV 'sleeve'], DQA #2563 [A *zjognV, i.e. *zi₂ognV] ¶ σ D (in GnD) *caṇkVr'V, *caṇkVn 'basket' (← 'leathern sack?') > Knd songor'i 'basket that holds four seers of

grain', Png hangon', Mnd hangun' '€ basket', Ku ha^hngor'i ~ hangor'i ~ hangun'i 'small basket'; D → OI can'ge^hri- 'basket' ¶ D #2288, Tu. #4565 ♦ The voicing of N *K, in A (if the pA rec. of DQA is accepted) is due to the voicing infl. of *ŋ within the cns. cluster. The labial vw. in Tg and Ko and the labial glide in pJ may be due to the infl. of the labial vw. of the second syll. ♦ SDM97 l. c. (A, U) ♦ Hardly here IE *(s)k^hen- 'abgespaltene Haut' (> Gmc *skenn- > ON skinn, AS scinn, NE skin 'skin', W cenn 'Häutchen, Haut'), because this stem is unseparable from the v. *(s)ken- 'absplalten' (OIr sca'in- v. 'split') and from words for 'film, scales' (W cen id., OCrm [LC] cennen 'membrana', Br skant 'écailles', OIr ceinn 'écaille') and requires an additional hyp. of metathesis (≠ P 929-30, Vn. C 55, S 29).

2673. ***ZapV** (= ***z'ap_hV**?) 'to make, work' > IE *Hop- (or H^wep-) > NaIE *op- v. 'work', *op-os ntr. 'work' > OI 'apah, (apas) 'work', Av hv-apah- 'good work' || L opus / oper-is 'work', oper-a^h- v. 'work', Osc u'psannam 'operandam', upsed 'fecit', Um OSATU 'facito, operator', 'make' inv. || AS e'fnan 'to carry out, do', ON efna 'to work, do', OHG uoben {Km.} 'üben, pflegen, tun', {Schz.} 'üben, ausüben, pflegen' (> NHG u'ben) || ? Tc A ops,aly 'season, time for action' ¶ P 780, Dv. #544, EI 649 (*'Hopes- n. 'work'), WH II 217-8, Bc. G 320-1, 340, Ho. 88, Vr. 94, Km. 1116, OsS 1057, Schz. 304, KM 799, Ad. 76-7 II A: NaT *jap- 'make, prepare' > OT QU, MT jap- v. 'make', OT U jap- 'create', Tk yap-, Ggz, Chg yap- 'make, build', Ggz, Kr, Ln, VTt Δ, ET Δ jap- 'make' ¶ ET J 126-7, Rs. W 187, Br. MT 37, ≠ Cl. 870-1 (unc.: OT, Az 3'ap-, Tk yap- 'to make' ← T *jap- 'to cover') II ? HS: C: Ag {Ap.} *sab- / *cab- (< *t-sab-) v. 'do' > Bln hab-, Xm {R} sab- ~ cab-, {Ap.} s'ab-, Q s'eb-, Km {CR} sab- ~ zab-, Aw c3w- (1s c3p- [AD] < *s₁Vb-? with ?- of the 1s marker) ¶ Ap. AV 17, AD SF 97, E PC #253 II ? K: G 3'apa- v. 'work hard' (unless a loan from some T lge.) ¶ Chx. 2432-3 ♦ Unless the G word is a loan, it suggests a pN *z'.

2674. o ***zap.V** 'to strike' > K: GZ *zep.- v. 'strike repeatedly' ('thrash, flog; trample down') > G zep.- {K²} id., {Chx.} 'fetstampfen, festtreten (z. B. die Erde), flach\weich klopfen (z. B. Fleisch)', Mg zap.- v. 'lash, scorch', Lz {K²} zap.- 'lash', {FS} 'schlagen, klopfen' ¶ The irreg. *z- for the expected *z'- may be due to the onomatopœic associations of the word ¶ K 87, K² 57, FS K 131, FS E 141 (*zep.-), ≈ F KW1 #20 (*zap.-) II HS: WS (+ext.) *√zbt, 'to strike, hit' > Ar Y/D √zbt_h G 'kick', Gz √zbt_h G 'strike, smite, plague, beat', Tgr √zbt_h G 'hit', Tgy √zbt_h G 'hit lightly', Amh √zbt_h G 'beat, thrash' ¶ Lb. 1818, L G 632, ≈ Di. 1050, DRS 672-3 II U: FP *sappV ≈ 'to strike (a heavy blow)' > Prm {LG} *sap- > Z sap- 'cut off; insert with a heavy blow; chop at', Vt sap-li- 'let fall, knock down (by pushing, striking)' ? Chr H s'a^hp-'kaya-s^h 'to scatter, put into disorder' ¶ LG 249 II D *capp- ({GS} *c'-) 'clap hands', 'slap' (× N ***c'ap_h1fja** 'to beat, strike, chop' [q.v. ffd.]).

2675. ??? ***zoRV** 'foreign, hostile' > HS: S *zar- 'foreign(er), enemy', whence the verb *√zr ~ *√zwr v. 'be foreign, hostile' (with insertion of an additional cns. in the root-medial position due to requirements of the S verbal morphology and on the analogy of triconsonantic verbs) > BHb za^hr 'strange, foreign(er), non-Israelite', prt. Hoph'al mu^h'za^hr 'estranged', Ph zr {HJ} 'strange, other', OA zr 'foreigner', Yd zr {HJ} 'stranger', Ar za^h'ir- (acp.) 'visitor, pilgrim' ! Ak za^h'iru ~ ze^h'iru 'hostile'. The Ar word seems to have been semantically influenced by the paronymous Ar verb √zwr v. 'turn\go around' (related to Gz √zwr id., BHb √zwr v. 'turn aside from') ¶ KB 256, 268, KBR 267, 279, JH 80, HJ 340, Jo. M 470, L G 646 II ? AdS of IE: *Her- > NaIE *er- v. 'be angry, hostile' (< N ***zeRV** 'to hate, abhor, be annoyed' [q.v. ffd.]) II A: Tg *sori- v. 'fight', *sori_n n. 'fight, battle' > Ork so^hri id., Ul sor^hi id., soru-, sorti- v. 'fight', Nn sor^hi 'fight, battle', sorti- v. 'fight' ! WrMc sori- v. 'shoot at each other' ¶ STM II 113.

2676. ***z'UR'i** (= ***z'Ur'i**?) 'to look at, examine' (or ***z'UR'i** 'to watch, spy') > K: G zver- 'auskundschaften, rekognoszieren; belauern' ¶ Chx. 404 II ? HS: either [1] WS *-zu^hr- v. 'visit' > Ar -zu^hr- G v. 'visit (esp. a saint place)', Qtb {DRS} s'tzr 'tenter de visiter', Tgr/Amh {DRS} √zyr (pf. zeyyere) 'visiter, aller en pèlerinage', Mh zo^hr v. 'visit a saint's tomb', v. 'visit (so.)', Jb E/C zör v. 'visit', ?σ SmA zrw 'idolatriy' ¶ BK I 1025, Jo. M 470, Tal 228 || or [2] S *-s^hu^hr- (or *-θu^hr-) > BHb -s^hu^hr (trad.) *√s^hwr v. 'behold, regard; to watch stealthily, lie in wait' ¶ GB 816, KB 1345-7, BDB 1003, ≈ DRS 710 II IE *_hwer- 'look at, pay attention' (× IE *wer-/w^hor- id. < N ***wfa^hrV** 'to look, watch', q.v. ffd.) II A: M *sori- v. 'test, examine, try out' > WrM sori-, HIM сор^h-, Brt hop^h- id., MM [S] sori- 'prüfen, versuchen' ¶ MED 729, H 136, Chr. 685 II D *cu^hr'- 'see, look' (× ***c'ur'fV** ~ ***c'ur'fV** '↑', q.v. ffd.) ♦ The rec. of the initial sibilant depends on the S cognate: if the latter is *-zu^hr-, we reconstruct pN *z'-, but if it is *-s^hu^hr-, the N cns. is *z'-. Since the N etymon in question is not the main source of D *cu^hr'-, the latter provides no decisive ev. of N *r'.

2677. ***zeRV** 'to hate, abhor, be annoyed' > K *z'ar- > G zar- v. 'hate, detest', zar-ob-s / e-zar-eba 'er ist unlustig, überdrüssig', Sv: UB/LB {TK} z'ar state of being bored (mocqena), Sv UB {GP} z'ara^h'y 'so. quick to take offence or to become bored', Sv {FS} li-z'a^hr 'langweilig erden\sein', m-a-z'a^hr-da 'mir wurde es überdrüssig' ¶ FS K 138, FS E 149-50, Fn KW1 35 [#21], Chx. 391-2, 424, TK 683, GP 254, ≈ K² 63 (adduces G zar- 'be lazy' and reconstructs K *z'ar-/z'r- id.) II HS: S *√zr [× ***z'VRfV** (= ***z'u^hr'fV** < ***z'ir'fU**?) 'fear, frighten'] > Ar za^h'ir-, za^h'ir- 'méchant, dont on évite la société' ¶ BK I 990 II ? IE: *Her- > NaIE *er- v. 'be angry, hostile' (× N ***z'VRz'V** 'to incite, make ready for fight' × N ***zoRV** 'foreign, hostile' [q.v.]) > Av ham-ara- 'Gegner, Widersacher', ham-arəna, OPrs ham-arana- 'feindliches Zusammentreffen, Kampf', OI sam-a'ra- 'strife, conflict' || Gk ἔρις (gen. ἑριδος) 'strife, quarrel' || Sl *ra^h't^h (gen. *ra^h'ti) 'fight, battle, army' ({M, Vs.}: <

*or-ti-s) > OCS **ратѣ** ratъ '(G rati) battle, war; enemy troops', R †, Uk **пат** 'army', SCr **ra** 't, Blg **par** 'war' ¶ M K III 436, F I 559-60, Glh. 519, StSS 579, Vs. III 448 II A: NaT ***je**l:ri- ~ ***je**l:ri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× N ***yerV** 'misfortune', 'to curse, be angry' × N ***z'a**''**o**rV 'to blame, scold, accuse, be angry, be annoyed / disgusted') > OT ryY **jer-** ({Cl., Dnk.} **je**-r-) v. 'loathe / be disgusted at (sth., esp. food)', criticize, blame', OT Og -ryY **jer-** ({Cl.} **je**-r-) 'loath (food)', Osm {Rh.} -ry **jer-** ~ **jir-** id., Tk **yer-** v. 'loathe, blame, slander', Tkm **ir-** v. 'bore (so.)', Qzq **z'er-** v. 'loathe', Yk **sir-** id., 'blame', Qq **z'eri-** v. 'loathe, shun', Qrg **z'eri-** v. 'shun, keep aloof from (e.g. its own youngs)' (of animals), Alt **z'eri-** ({Rl.} **ja**''**p**ri), Tlt {Rl.} **ja**''**ri-** id., QK {Rl.} **ja**''**ri-** 'abhor' ¶ The length of the vw. is not certain: in Tk **i-** may go back to ***ye-**, Yk has a short vw., and Cl.'s and Dnk.'s rec. of the OT ***e**- is based on the precarious ev. of the Arabic spelling ¶ Cl. 955, DTS 257, MKD 223, Rs. W 198, ET J 193, Rh. 2202, Rl. III 338-9, Jud. 250-1 ¶¶ Not here (because of the Anlaut) pJ {S} ***ira-t-** or ***dirat-** 'be annoyed' (cf. N ***yerV** 'to curse, be angry') [↔ DQA #2598] ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2598 [A ***ze**-ri 'be annoyed/disgusted'].

2678. ***z'o**rV (or ***z'o**rV) 'line/boundary/strip of land between geographical objects/areas' > K ***zy**war- 'limit, bound' > OG **zy**vari id., G {Chx.} **zy**vari 'Grenze, (Grenz)scheide', Lz **yo**z 'border (of house), court', Sv {TK.}: UB **ha**''**y**wra, LB **a**''**y**wra, L **ay**wra, Ln **la**''**y**wera 'boundary, border'; d K {K²} ***zy**wan- v. 'limit, restrict' > OG, G **zy**van- id. ¶ Chx. 422-3, DCh. 927, 532, Abul. 171, TK 894, ≈ K² 62 (***zy**war- <d- ***zy**wan-) II IE ***H₁**worw-(o)- / ***H₁**wr_w-(o)- 'boundary, boundary-ditch, moat' [× N **wur**''**u**'' 'to scratch, to plough', q.v. ffd.] II U: FU ***s**'orV 'small area between two geographical objects, strip of land' > pPrm ***s**'ur > Z Ud mu-s'ur 'waldige Strecke Landes (bes. zwischen zwei Flüssen)' (mu is 'earth, land'), Vt s'ures, Vt SW s'u'res 'road, way' :: pObU ***sa**~r > pVg ***sari**~ 'valley, small swamp' (× N ***z'a**''**H₁**rV 'low place, valley', q.v.) > Vg T **sar**z~ 'small swamp', LK/MK **sa**~r 'Engpaß', UL/Ss **sori** 'valley'; pOs ***sa**~rt ({Hl.} ***si**~rt) 'enge Straße zwischen zwei Seen' > Os: K/O **sa**~rt, Nz/Kz **so**~rt id. In some forms there is infl. of the homonymous (or paronymous) √ for 'narrow' (represented by Hg **szoros** 'tight, close' and **szorul-** v. 'get narrow') ¶ UEW 487, Ht. 185 [#601], MF 595, LG 275.

2679. ***z'ahrV** (or ***z'ahrV**, or ***z'ahrV**) 'to shine, be bright; light (lux)' > HS: WS ***zhr** 'shine' > JA [Trg.] **rez** √**zhr** G (pf. **re2z**^ **zə**'har) 'shine, bloom', Sr √**zhr** G 'be clear, transparent, bright', Ar √**zhr** v. G 'shine' (moon), 'glow' (fire), BHb √**zhr** v. **Sh** 'shine', MHb √**zhr** D 'brighten', Tgr √**zhr** **Sh** (pf. **aZhr** ?**z**hare) 'become manifest, appear', Hrs {Jo.} √**zhr** I (pf. **ze**~hər, sbjn. **yəzho**~r) 'shine' (but √**zhr** I 'appear' belongs to N ***z'E**hRV ~ ***z'E**R?V 'see, know' [q.v.]), BHb **re2z** 'zohar' 'shining, brightness', JA **ar**le9z^ **zəh**^r-a~ 'light; brightness, splendour, moon', aS1m6S2d6 **ar**le9z^ **zəh**^r-a~ d_ā-s'ams'a~ 'reflected sun-light' (s'ams'a~ 'sun'), **ar**le9iz% **zih**^r-a~ {Js.} 'moon, moon-light' (× N ***z'eh**^a~**Ra** 'moon?'), Sr **zah**^r-a~ 'brightness', 'flashing (of a fire)', Ar **ēra**E0zu **zuhr**-at- 'whiteness, shining colour, beauty', Tgr ΩHR **zah**zr 'open (offenkundig)' ¶ KB 254-5, KBR 265, BDB ##2094-6, Js. 382, 384, 391, Lv. T I 212, JPS 111, Ln. III 1261-2, Hv. 298-9, Jo. H 149, LH 493, DRS 695 || ?φ B *o~zrr > Kb **izrir** v. 'être clair, dégagé (ciel)' ¶ Dl. 954 || ?σ WCh (× N ***z'eh**^a~**Ra** 'ŋ', q.v.): Ang {Flk.} **za**~r, Su {J}, Mpn {Frz.} **za**~r, Mnt {J} **zay**~ 'star' :: DfB {J} **z**~o~re~t id. ¶ J S 89, J ChMGB 172, Frz. DM 69, ChC, Stl. ZCh. 201 [#519] ¶¶ Tk. PAA (WCh, S) II A: NaT ***jaru**~ v. 'shine, send out light' (× N ***yar**^u~ 'to shine, light' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2556 ***ze**~ra (incl. T + unc. comparisons with M. Tg, J) II U ***s**'c'a~rV 'bright (hell), white' (× N ***s**'EXarV 'bright, daybreak') > FU ***s**'c'a~rV > pLp {Lr.} ***c**'o~re~ 'half-white, bright gray, gray-haired' > Lp: Ar {Lgc.} 'c'~o~ra~k 'half-white' (of hair), S {Hs.} **tjuo**~ries, S Sn {Lgc.} 'c'~u~riēs '(Rentier) mit hellen Haarspitzen', L {LLO} **tjuorre**~ 'reddish-yellow, bright gray' (a dog), N {N} **c**~uorre / -r- 'mottled brownish gray colour of (animal's) hair' : ?φ Prm ***z**'or ({{LG} ***z**~o~r) 'bright (clour), pale' > Z **z**'or, Z US **z**'or 'gray (hair), grey hair', Vt **z**'arit 'light (colour)', ? Vt **z**'ar 'Morgendämmerung' || ? Sm ***s**zr, ***s**zr- 'white' > Ne: T {Ter.} **c**~p~i, T O {Lh.} **s**zr~e, F L {Lh.} **z**zr; Ng {Ter, Hl.} **сзр**; En {KD} **θe**~, {Ter.} **сзр** / **сзр**; Slq Tz {Prk., KKIH} **s**zri; Kms {KD} **d** si~re, si~ri, {Cs.} **siri**, Koyb {Sp.} **d** **сзр**id. ¶ Lr. #205, Lgc. #782, LLO 1184, N I 442, Hs. 1349, LG 92, Jn. 138, Lh. 410, KP ##1224, 1309, Hl. US 137, KKIH 169, Ptp. 35, ≠ UEW 36 (equates the Prm ***z**'or with Vg ***s**~ir/s~ir- 'dusk, dawn' and OHg **szir** 'gray', which is unc., see N ***s**'ihRV 'gray, bright') II ? IE ***xarg**~, ***xarg**~i- 'white' [× N ***z**'awⁱ^a~rE (or ***z**'awErV) 'bright, white', q.v. ffd.] ◇ If the IE cognate is valid (in spite of the unexplained ext. ***g**~), the initial N cns. is ***z**'-, otherwise it may be ***z**'- as well. The Prm cognate favours N ***z**'-. The N Ir. *-h- was lost in IE probably due either to *dis* (***xahr** > ***xar**-) or to the merger of the two lrs. (***xh** > ***x**-). If the U cognate is rejected (because of its ambiguity in the Sm part), the N initial cns. will be less specified (***z**^i).

2680. ***z'a**''**H₁**rV 'low place, valley' > IE ***Ha**Hr- 'valley, low place, cave' > NaIE {WP} ? ***a**~ro- 'open place, vast space' > OI abl. **a**~ra~t 'from a distant place', loc. **a**~re~ 'far away' :: L **a**~rea 'a level/open place' :: Ltv **a**~ra 'outdoors', **a**~res 'open country', ? Lt **o**~ras 'air, weather' ¶ Identical with IE ***xa**l:ri- 'valley, low place' (< N ***gari** 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave', q.v. × N ***zar**''**u**'' 'valley, depression, pit' (q.v. ffd.)) ¶ WP I 79, ≠ M K I 78 (equates the OI word with L **o**~lim 'formerly, at that time'), M E I 173, ≠ WH I 65, ≠ Frn. 518 (equates the Blt words with NaIE ***a**~r- v. 'plough'), Kar. I 76 II U: FU ***s**'s'a~rV 'valley, ravine, low place' > pPrm ***mu**-s'a~r, ***s**'a~rt (***a**~ = {LG} ***e**) 'valley, ravine; space between two rivers \ swamps \ mountains' (***mu** is 'earth') > Z **m**z's'zr 'ravine, depression', **s**'zrt 'high fir-tree forest in a low place; a moist place in a river valley'; LG distinguish this √ from the Vt paronym **mu**-s'ur 'lange Strecke Weges, waldige Strecke Landes (bzw. zwischen zwei

Flüssen). that goes back to FU *s'orV 'small area between two geographical objects [$< N$ ***z'oΓRu**u" (or ***z'oRΓu**u") 'line\boundary\strip of land between geographical objects\areas'] :: in the ObU lgs. both FU stems merge, their vw. going back to *o of FU *s'ora and the meaning reflecting both roots: ObU {Ht.} *sa~r- > pVg *sa~ri- > Vg T sar3~ - sa°r3~ 'small swamp', Vg LK/MK sa°r, UL/Ss sori 'Waldrücken zwischen zwei Seen', {BV} 'saddle between two mountain peaks, forest between two swamps' ¶ LG 176-7, UEW 487, Ht. 185 [#601], Stn. WV 232, BV 106 ¶ A: ? T jar ({Md.} *ja~r) 'steep bank, ravine, cliff, steep bank' (< *'valley?') ¶ (× N ***da'g'rV** or ***dayrV** ~ ***daryV** 'hill, summit', q.v.)] > OT ja~r ({Cl.} ja~r) 'a vertical bank of a river eroded by water or a gorge cut through a mountain side by water', Tk yar, Qmq, Nog jar, Ln jay 'precipice', Tkm 3'ar, ET ja(r) 'ravine', Alt 3'ar, Xk c'ar 'steep ravine' (¶p), Qq z'ar, Qrg, Uz 3'ar id., 'precipice, steep bank', Qzq z'ar 'ravine, steep bank', Chv L ~bp s'ir 'precipice, steep bank', ? Yk s'r 'small hill, a height' ¶ Cl. 953-5 (OT ja~r with a long vw. on the basis of the Arabic spelling), ET J 17-8, 135-7, Rs. W 188-9, Jeg. 219-20, 225, Fed. II 139, 155-6, Md. 99, 160, TrR 912, Fed. II 155-6, Pek. 2475 ¶ T *a (for the expected *a') may be due to vw. harmony (infl. of a vw. *X of the next syll.) ¶ Possible cases of merger: ??? × A {DQA} *p'i_a~rV 'to split, crack' < N ***p.'a'ri'** (or ***p.'a'ryE**?) 'to tear, split' (q.v.) only if S's rec. of pA *i_a~ is justified. Another possible contamination: × N ***z'a~rXV** 'to cut, wound'. Both merger hypotheses are highly doubtful.

2681. ??₂ ***z'awLVRV** 'young of a beast' > K: GZ *mo-zwer- 'heifer' > G mo-zver-i, Lz mo-zar-i ~ mo-za-i ~ mu-zar-i id. ¶ FS K 132 ¶ A: T {Md.} *jabru, {Dr.} *jabrry 'young of an animal' [× A *da~bru id. > pTg *debLuren > Ul d3uru(n-), Ork d3wr3(n-) ~ d3ur3(n-) 'young of a bird', WrMc deberen 'young of a beast/bird' (STM I 239)] > Chg, MQp javri id., Osm {Rh.} jawri ~ jawru id., 'one's child', Tk yavru 'young of a beast, nestling', Chg [BaL] javri 'young wild animal', [AFT] jawri 'chicken, young bird', CrTt {Rl.} ja~wru; Chg jawru-q id., 'child', Chv L ~a~Ba~p s'v~r, Chv H {Md.} s'v~r, Chv L ~upa~ s'ur~ ({Md.} s'u_r~), ~uri s'uri ({Md.} s'u_ri) 'young of a beast' ¶ Rs. W 178, Md. 28, 160, Jeg. 219, ≈ Fed. II 140-1, Rh. 2195, TrR 917, ET J 53, TL 168-9 ¶ Pp. AU 105 (T, Tg).

2682. ***z'VrV** (***z'u~rV** < ***z'irV** ?) 'fear, frighten' > K *z~ar- v. 'frighten; horror' > OG zar-i 'terror, horror', NG zar- v. 'frighten, inspire horror', s'e-zar- 'jemanden in Angst/Schrecken setzen' ¶ Chx. 392 ¶ HS: S *z~r (× N ***zeFrV** 'to hate, abhor, be annoyed') > Ar ~r TD tazarrafa 'être prompt à faire du mal' ¶ BK I 985 ¶ A: M *su~re- > WrM, HIM su~re- v. 'awe, inspire horror'; M *su~r(e)key- > WrM su~rkey, HIM c*ркий-, Ord su~r'xī ~ su~re~xī 'terrible, frightening', Kl c*рк 'extraordinary, exceptional' ¶ MED 745, Ms. O 599, KRS 465 ¶ D (in McTm) *cu~r(-) v. 'frighten' > Tm cu~r- v. 'frighten, be cruel', cu~r 'fear, suffering', Ml cu~r 'fiend, affliction, disgust' ¶ D #2725.

2683. ***z'β'riRV** ~ ***z'β'riRV** 'be very cold' > K *z~r/- > G z(v)r- 'freeze, congeal' ({Chx.} 'erfrieren (lassen). abfrieren' ¶ Chx. 416, 426, DCh. 529, ≠ K 65 (G < K *z~r- 'become damp\wet, freeze') ¶ IE: NaIE *sre~i_g/srīg- 'cold' (AdS of N ***s'VriXKa** 'cold', q.v. ffd.) ¶ U *s'ri~rV- or *c'ri~rV- ('crust of) snow\ice' (× N ***cARLVjV** ~ ***cAYRV** 'to freeze, feel cold') > Lp {LLO} tjar'va c'ar'va 'so hart gefrorener Schnee, daß man darüber gehen kann', Lp Ml {Schl.} tjar'va tj_arwa 'Harsch, zusammengefrorene Schneedecke', tjar'ka tj_ar'ka 'gefrorener Erdboden' : Prm *c'ir > Z I c'ir 'thin ice over snow', Z Vm/LV/UD c'ir 'hardened surface of the ice', Z UV c'irs 'frozen surface of the ground'; ? Prm -b> Krl {Wc.} c'irt'e 'thin snow-crust (after a thaw)' :: Hg szirony 'thin crust on ice over snow; hoar-frost' (acc. to EWU, -ny is a denom. derivational sx.) || Sm {Jn.} *sira° 'snow, winter' > Ne: T cъpa, T O {Lh.} sir'a~, F N {Lh.} χιρτᾶ id.; Ng {Cs.} 'siru, {Mik.} su~ru id.; En {Ter.} cъpa, En {Cs.}: X 'sila, B sira 'snow'; Slq Tz {KKIH} sirī id.; Kms {KD} sære, {Cs.} sirā, Koyb {Sp.} cъpa, {Pl.} sirra id.; Mt {Hl.} *sirā (Mt T/M {Mll.} sirra, Mt K {Mll.} se'rre, {Pl.} sirā id. ¶ Not here Z c'arəm, c'ars 'ice crust on snow' (↔ UEW 464), that goes back to N ***c'arV** (or ***c.'arV**) 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface' (q.v.) ¶ LLO 1139, Schl. 137, MF 789-90, EWH 1439, Wc. FUAA 256, LG 307, Jn. 140, KKI 173, Hl. M ##891-2, ≈ UEW 464 s.v. *s'ar3 (with *a on the presumed ev. of Z c'arəm and without taking into account Lp) ◇ Hg sz- points to a pU *s' (hence to N *z'-), while Prm *c'- (< U *c'- reg.) and IE *s- suggest a pN *z'-. If the N cns. was *z'-, the IE initial *s- (for the expected *H-) may be accounted for some special reflex of *z'- in the precon. position or in the position before *r. If the initial N cns. was *z'-, G zr- is likely to result from a precon. desaffrication from K *z'-.

2684. ***z'a~rga** 'to ram, strike' > K *z~rg-wn- v. 'trample down' > G zergn- 'fest-stampfen, festtreten (z. B. Erde)', v. 'press, trample, ram' ¶ Chx. 402, DCh. 521 ¶ HS: S *z~rg > Ar ~rg 'frapper avec le fer du bout inférieur de la lance', NNEA {Mcl.} zerga 'short spear' ¶ BK I 984, Fr. II 232, Mcl. 89, DRS 791 ¶ The meaning seems to have been influenced by a paronymous Ar verb ~zg' 'frapper, percer avec le zug'g~, c.-à-d. avec le bout inférieur de la lance', <d- zug'g~ 'ferrure pointue au bout inférieur de la lance' (BK I 973, Fr. II 225) ¶ IE *h~erg~h~ (× N ***rVgLVjV** 'to quake, move in agitation' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ U: FP *s'a~rkV v. 'break; [?] fell' (× FU *s'a~rke- 'break, split, chop' < N ***s'a~RK.E** 'break, split' [q.v.]) > F sa~rkea v. 'break' : Lp L {LLO} tjer'kav 'log, billet' (< *'broken, sawn'), Lp N {N} c'ierga 'piece that has been sawn off' : Chr W 's'a~rx-em, E s'er'x-em 'öffnen, zerstreuen' {It.}, Chr H s'a~rga~ {Ep.} v. 'open sth. piled, heaped, rolled up', {Ü} v. 'open,

unroll, unfold', Chr L {MRS} **пѣра-** v. 'open wide, cut through, move/slide apart' ! Mk {PI} **с҃л҃р҃ѣро-** s'a'r'a'-ftə- v. 'fell' ! Vt sзr҃i- coѣр҃ы- v. 'break (sth.)' ¶ It. #268, SK 1170-1, N I 387, LG 267.

2685. **??σ *zVRzV** 'to incite, make ready for fight' > K: GZ *zrz-in- v. 'perturb ['verwirren, **приводит** в смѣтение], excite' > OG zrzen- id., G zrzen-/zrzin-: m-zrzn-is 'mich übernimmt ein Zittern\Schauern, ich erzittere\schaudere', Mg zзrzзni, zirzini 'noise, hubbub (**крик, шум, вопль**)' ¶ K 88-9, Chx. 417, Q 237 II HS: CS *√zrz G *'be ready to fight, be brave', D v. 'arm, instigate' > JA [Trg.] {Lv.} √zrz D 'strengthen, instigate', {Lv.} 'rüsten, ansporren', JEA √zrz D 'arouse, encourage, arm, strengthen', MHb {Lv.} √zrz D 'zu etw. ansporren', SmA √zrz D 'hasten, hurry', Sr √zrz D v. 'arm', G 'être vaillant' (× *zVRz- 'girth?'), zərīzā 'puissant, fort, rapide', MHb zir%z! za'rīz {Lv.} 'gerüstet, zu etwas geschickt, befähigt', JEA zir%z^ zərīz 'swiftm diligent, valiant', Ar {DRS} zarīz- 'agile, propre' ¶ The S cognate is valid unless it goes back to *zVRz- 'girth' [> JA Trg.] zə'raz / zar'za- ¶ Lv. I 553-4, Lv. T I 420-1, ≈ Js. 412-3, Sl. 420, Cst. 92, Tal 239, DRS 793 II IE *Her₁H₁- > [1] NaIE *√er(ə)- 'set (oneself) in motion, set on, incite' > OI (rdp) 'iy-ar-ti 'sets in motion', md. 'īrte-, ? Av iyar-īr- 'set (onself) in motion', OI r. 'n. o-ti, Av ər..naohti 'arises, moves', OI r. 'ti-h. ~ 'r. ti-h. 'attack', Av -ərəti- 'energy' || Gk ὀρνυμι 'I stir up, set on, incite', md. ὀρνυμαι (pfc. ὀρῶρα) 'move, stir oneself' || OIr {P} ad-orth 'Erregung' || Gmc {Vr.} *arnia > ON ern 'tüchtig, energisch', Gt arniba ὀσφαλω, 'sicher', d : OHG e'rnust n. 'earnest, zeal', {EWA} 'Energie, Entschlossenheit, Ernst', MHG e'rn(e)st 'Festigkeit, Ernst', NHG ernst 'earnest(ness)', AS eornost 'zeal, earnestness; earnest, serious', NE earnest || [2] AdS of NaIE *er- v. 'be angry, hostile' (< N *zeſrV 'hate, abhor, be annoyed', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 326-32 (× other roots), M K I 90, 122-3 & III 436, F II 422-4, WH II 222-3, Vr. 105, Fs. 58, Km. 208, OsS 150, EWA II 1144-5, Lx. 47, KM 172-3, Glh. 519, Vs. III 448, EI 506 (*h₁er- 'set in motion').

2686. ***z'e'r'dV** 'to grow', 'to feed, rear' ('to cause to grow') > K *z'z'ard-/z'z'r'd- v. 'grow; bring up, feed' > OG, MG zrd- v. 'feed, raise, bring up' (Mt. 6.26, III Kings 18.4, etc.; VT 5.19), OG zrd- v. 'be brought up' (Job 31.18), G zard-/zrd- ~ rd- v. 'grow', 'raise, bring up', Mg rd- id., Lz rd- v. 'grow', Sv (ə)rd-: msd. {K²} lī-rd-i (with compensatory lengthening), Sv LB/L {TK} lirdi 'to grow', ({FS} 'wachsen, heranziehen'), Sv UB/L/Ln {GP, TK} li-rdi 'rear so.sth., grow\cultivate sth., be reared, grow up', li-rd-e 'be somewhere, dwell, live, exist' ¶ K 88, K² 57, Chik. 308-9, Q 304-5, Marr 181-2, Abul. 169, Ser. 68, Chx. 416-7, Dn. s.v. rd, Ni., TK 446, GP 165, FS K 129, FS E 139-40 (*zard-/zrd-) ¶ K, K² and FS K reconstruct here K *z-, but since the Zan and Sv reflexes are zero, one cannot distinguish here between K *z- and *z'- (F Mach. KEDP 165) II HS: WS *√zrd (or *√δrd) v. 'sprout' > MHb [Msh] √zrd {Lv.} 'Zweige oder Reben in die Höhe ziehen, aufschießen lassen', zəra'd-īm 'shoots, sprouts', ? Tgr Ωred zareda ('scarf) hanging long down, (cow) long-tailed' ¶ Lv. I 552, Js. 411, LH 497 II ζ IE *f₁x'ord^h- > NaIE *ord^h- v. 'grow, rise' [× N *.erU or *.orE 'go upwards, rise?'] > OI r. dh- v. 'thrive, prosper, succeed', Av arəd- v. 'grow', Oss D ira'zun id. || OIr ard 'high, big' || Dt aarden 'to thrive, grow', ON o'rd n. 'crop, harvest', AS earð ~ ierð 'harvest' (× NaIE *ar(ə)- v. 'plough' < *garHV 'to crush, grind', whence AS e'rian, OHG arjan 'to plough', AS earð ~ ierð, OHG art 'ploughing') || pSl *rod-i-ti (/1s prs.-ft. *rod-j-o.) 'to give birth' > OCS родити roditi (/ рождѣ roz'do.), SCr ro'diti, Slv rodi'ti, Cz roditi, Slk rodit', R rodzić', R роѡдити, Uk роѡдити id., Blg роѡди 'give birth'; pSl 1s prs. *or,st-o. 'I grow' [*-st- < *-d-t-] > OCS растѣ rast-o., SCr ra'ste, Uk роcтѣ, n. act. Sl *orstъ > OCS растѣ rastъ, SCr, Slv ra'st, R роcт : Ltv ra'dr'at 'create, produce', {ME} 'give birth to' || possibly IE *xerdu- > NaIE *o'ard- > L arduus 'steep, towering, lofty', ON o'rdugi 'steep', OIr ard 'high, big', Av ərəd- 'grow', ərədva 'upright', ? Ht harduppi ≈ 'high' ¶ Mn. 886-7, otherwise P 399, M K I 124 (OI r. dh- < NaIE *al- 'grow'), M E I 118-9 (no definite et. of OI r. dh-/ardh-), Vr. 688, Ho. 86, 94, 187, Km. 45, OsS 27, 31, ≠ Vr. N 5-6 (Dt aarden < d- aarde 'earth'), Vn. A 87, Vs. III 490-2, 505, Glh. 518-9, Ma. CS 420, Chn. II 118-9, ME III 462, Pv. III 203, EI 269 (*h₂erdu-s 'high, lofty') II ? U: FU {UEW} *sera, {Ker.} *se'ra 'old' (of age), 'grown up' > pMr *sīrə > Er сѣре sir'e 'old' (of age), 'grown up' (of a wolf), Mk сѣре s'ir'ə 'old' || ? Hg o'reg 'old' (of age), Δ 'large' ¶ UEW 440, Ker. II 142, MF 515 II ? D *cer'- v. 'thrive, grow' > Tm cerī id., Ml cerikka v. 'be fertile', ? Kui ser'i 'bride' ¶ D #2789 ♦ The U and D roots belong here if N *-r'd- (or *-rd-?) > U *-r-, D *-r'-. Cf. Fn. KD (equates K with D *cand- v. 'grow').

2687. ***zɜitɣqa** 'dirt, excrements' > K: G zitɣ-i 'dirt' ¶ Chx. 408 II IE: NaIE *o'sk₁k^h-ei₁d₁H₁- > Gmc *skī~t- 'defecate' > ON skī'ta, NNr, Sw Δ skita, Dn skide, OHG scīōan (> NHG scheißen), Dt schijten, AS scēitan v. 'defecate', ON skī'tr, AS scitte 'diarrhoea', NHG Scheiße 'excrements', NE shit ¶ IE *sk₁k^h- may be due to as : *zɜitɣqa > *citɣqa > IE sk₁k^h-ei₁d₁H₁- ¶ Vr. 494, Vr. N 619, Kb. 887, OsS 800, KM 641, Sw. 148, Hi. 280, ≠ EI 144 (Gmc < *skeh₁i₁-d- 'cut') II U *sitta 'excrements' > F Δ sitta, Es sitt 'dirt, filth, excrements', F Δ sittu-, Es sitti-, sittu- v. 'defecate' ! Prm *sit 'dung, excrements' > Z c'o' sit, Vt сиет- sit' id. || Sm {Jn.} *tu't 'excrements' > Ng {C} t'it, t'it, Slq Tz {KKIH} tu't, Slq Tm {KD} to'd, Kms {KD} t'hu?, {C} thu'd; *tu't- 'defecate' > Ng {C} 1s aor. t'idi'em, Slq Tm {KD} to'tku, 1s aor. tu'nnag, Kms {KD} 1s prs. t'hu'it'em, Mt {HI.} *tu'dər- id. (Mt K {PI.} tjudernjam 1s prs.) ¶ Coll. 57, UEW 444-5, It. #390, LG 258, Jn. 167-8, KKI 89, HI. M #1071 II ?σ D *o'cit₁t₁o. ({'GS} ≈ *ɜɜ'id₁t₁o.) 'greasy substance' > Kn (Δb- TI?) jid.d.u 'a smeary, greasy or oily

substance, as ghee or oil', Tl jid.d.u 'oilness, grease, greasiness, unctuousness' ¶ ≈ D #2516 ♦ G z- suggests a N *z- more than *ʒ- (but does not rule out the latter possibility either), while IE *sk̥- points rather to a N affricate.

2688. *z₃ewi_h∇ (or *z₃ewi_hw∇?) 'to mix' > K: G (ga-)zav- 'vermischen, verdünnen' ¶ Chx. 388, FS K 131-2 II HS: ? S *_o√zhw (× N *z₃i.∇ 'to press, knead, rub' [q.v.]) > Mh, Jb {Jo.} √zhw v. 'bump into, push out of the way', ? Mh {DRS} z₃hu-, Jb {DRS} zahe 'se cogner dans qch., repousser sur son passage', ??σ Tgy {DRS} √zhw G 'tomber subitement, secouer' ¶ Jo. M 467, DRS 713 II U ≈ *sewk-t∇, {UEW} *sokta- v. 'mix, stir up', (?) v. 'sift' > F {Coll., UEW} seuhto- v. 'stir up, mix, muddle up' : ?σ Er сувтне- suvt_ne-, Mk 'сифонде- s'ifən'də- v. 'sift, sieve', Er сувтем suvt'ēm(e), Mk 'сифрем s'ift'əm, Δ s'uft'əm 'sieve' : ?σ Chr: H s'akte, U s'okte, M sokte 'sieve' || Sm: Slq {Cs.}: Tz/Chl/UO tuaktam, Kar/B te'aktam, MO tuaktau, Ke tuoktau v. 'mix, stir up (flour, meal)' ¶¶ Coll. 56, UEW 446 (does not include F seuhto- "for phonetic reasons" and reconstructs U *sokta-), Cs. 150 ¶¶ The element *-t- in the U stem may be interpreted as a verbal (frq. or another?) sx. (≠ Lh. PUAS 294-316, 322-7), the cns. *k may be tentatively considered a reflex of N *h in some special environment (cns. cluster?) ♦ Cf. N *z₃i.∇ '¶' [q.v.].

2689. ?? *z'ay.∇ 'summer', (→) 'year' > K *za- 'year', (?) 'summer' > Sv {TK}: LB za_ˊw (dat. za_ˊw) 'year, summer', UB/Bc za_ˊy (dat. za_ˊys ~ za_ˊw), L zay 'year'; the first element in names of seasons: [1] GZ *za-mtar- 'winter' > G zamtar-, Mg zotonz_ˊ- id.; acc. to K 87, the element *-mtar- may be connected with Sv UB lintw-, Sv L lunt- 'winter'; this element may be akin to S *ma't_ˊar- rain' (> BHb rylm1 ma_ˊt_ˊar, Ar mat_ˊar-, Ak mit_ˊr-u 'rain'); [2] G za-pxul- 'summer' (cd with K *px- 'warm') ¶¶ K 86-7, 194, K² 56, TK 251 II HS: B {Pr.} *√zyh₁ 'of the same age' > Ah huuyət v. id., Twl {Nic.} zəyyət id., Ah a-hi 'one of the same age', Kb {Dl.} t_ˊizzya '(one) of the same age' (pl. t_ˊizzyiwin), Mz {Dlh.} a-zuyi 'égal d'âge, de force', Wrg {Dlh.} ta-zuya 'égalité, égal d'âge', Gd {Lf.} zəg'g'awen 'compagnons du même âge' ¶ Pr. H 73 [#445], Fc. 542-3, Dl. 964, Dlh. M 257, Dlh. Ou 401, Lf. II #1772 II A: T *ja_ˊy 'summer' > OT {Cl.} ja_ˊy 'summer, spring', Az, Qmq, SY, Ln jay, Bsh ja_ˊy, VTt z_ˊa_ˊy, QrB, Qrg z_ˊay, Alt z_ˊay, Xk, Tv c_ˊay, Tf c_ˊay, Yk say, Chv L s_ˊu (gen. s_ˊu_ˊ-ən) 'summer', Nog Δ jay 'spring'; d> T *ja_ˊy-lak 'summer pasture' > Tkm ja_ˊy-la ~ ja_ˊylay 'pasture', Tk 'yayla, Az, Qmq jayla, Qzq, Qrlq z_ˊaylaw, Alt z_ˊaylu 'summer pasture' ¶ Cl. 980, Rs. W 179, ET J 74, 78-9, TL 74-5, Ra. 194, Fed. II 128.

2690. ??? *z'e₁y₁z₁∇ or *z₃-, *-i- 'to fill', (?) overflow' > K: GZ *ziz-in- {FS} 'fill, overflow', {K²} v. 'crowd (to overflowing)' > G G, Mg ziz-in- {K²} id., {FS} 'vollstopfen, vollfüllen' ¶ K² 58-9. FS K 133, FS E 144, Fs KW-3 #14 II A: T: OT [MhK] yeyδ-ti 'he filled' ¶ Cl. 884 II HS: ? EC *za_ˊz- 'flood; to flow' > Sml da_ˊd- 'flood', da_ˊd-ad- 'overflow', Kmb {Hd.} za_ˊz-, Sd/Hd {Hd.} da_ˊd- 'spill, flow', Brj {Hd.} da_ˊd- 'float', ? Kns {Bl.} ta_ˊt- 'leave residue (food, drink)' ¶ ≈ Ss. B 50 (unc. EC *da_ˊd- <d> *da_ˊ- 'rain'), Hd. 184, 274, 344, 357, L Z 119-20 (proving the phonetic law: *z > Sd, Hd *d).

2691. 2 *z₃z₃Uhb₁p.∇ 'to swallow, eat' > K: Sv: {Ni.} zweb- 'eat', msd.: UB/Ln {GP} li-zweb, Lx li-zeb, L li-zob 'eat sth.' (prs. (-)izbi); UB/Ln le-zweb, L le-zob 'food', UB {GP} zobla_ˊy 'eater (good, bad eater)' ¶ Ni. s.v. fct-, TK 394, 432-3, GP 145, 152, Dn. s.v. zob II HS: S *_o√s₃shb > Ar √shb (prm. -shab-) 'avalier avec avidité, en buvant et en mangeant' || Eg: fMd sx_ˊb ~ Md/XVIII sx_ˊp ({EG} s_ˊh_ˊb ~ s_ˊh_ˊp) v. 'swallow (einschlürfen, einnehmen [Heilmittel])' > Cpt {Vc.}: Sd cw₂z₁ so_ˊhp, A cw₂z₁ so_ˊχ₂p v. 'swallow' ¶ EG IV 268-9, Fk. 244 ¶¶ Vc. 206, Tk. I 173 II ??φ A: Tg *jep/b- v. 'eat' (> Ewk, Lm j₃b- ~ j₃p-, Sln j₃g- ~ j₃b-, Neg j₃w- ~ j₃p-, Orc j₃pt₃-, Ud {Krm.} z_ˊz- ~ z_ˊo- ~ z_ˊpt₃-, Ul z_ˊz_ˊp-, Nn z_ˊz_ˊb/p-, WrMc z_ˊe-, z_ˊef- ¶ STM I 279-80, Krm. 236 ¶ The adduction of the Tg word is problematic (its vw. does not correspond to what is expected in a Tg cognate). The regularity of the initial cns. is also qu. ♦ If Ar s- is from S *s_ˊ-, the N rec. is *z₃Uhb₁p.∇, but if the Ar sibilant is from S *s-, we may suppose a N initial *z_ˊ- with as *-zh- > *-sh- in Ar and similar as in Eg (or a reg. change z > s in the history of Eg).

2692. 2 *z₃z₃omVNV ≈ 'think (remember, have a dream)' > K: GZ *zman-, *zm- (< **zmn-) v. 'think, dream' > OG, G zman-, Mg {FS} zim- (inf. zim-ap-a) v. 'dream', Lz zmon- v. 'think', {FS} me-v-o-zmon 'I think'; Mg zim- v. 'dream', Sv {Srj.} zm- (msd. li-zm-a_ˊl-un-e) v. 'träumen' ¶¶ The meaning 'dream' is reinforced by the semantic infl. of *(s)i-zmar- 'a dream' (< N *z₃om₁V₁RV 'dream' [q.v.]) ¶¶ K 88, ≈ FS K 134, ≈ FS E 145-6 (*zm-), ≈ F KW1 #22, Chx. 409-410 II A: Tg *jo_ˊm₁V₁n- 'remember, think, have a day-dream' > Ewk jo_ˊn- v. 'remember', jo_ˊmkit/c- 'recall, have a day-dream (мечтат_ˊ)', Sln jo_ˊmv_ˊ- 'be recalled', jo_ˊn- 'think', Lm jo_ˊman- 'recall, remember (from time to time)', jo_ˊmq_ˊn 'thought', Neg, Ul jombu-, Orc jo_ˊmbu-, Nn Nh/KU jo_ˊmbo- 'think of, invent (придумат_ˊ, выдумат_ˊ)', Neg jon- 'remember', Ud z_ˊo_ˊni-, Ork do_ˊndu- 'remember', WrMc zom/n- 'remember' ¶ STM I 264, Krm. 234.

2693. *z₃om₁V₁RV 'dream' > K: GZ {K, K²} *(s)i-zmar- 'a dream' > OG, G sizmar- id., Lz izmoz_ˊ(e)-, ermog_ˊa- id.; d [× N *z₃z₃omVNV ≈ 'think, remember, have a dream'] (?) GZ *zman-/zmn- v. 'dream' > OG, G zman- id., Lz zmon- 'think'; cp. GZ *zman-/zmn- v. 'dream' ¶¶ K 172, K² 177, FS K 134 (*zm-), FS E 145-6, Chx. 1246 II HS: CS (?) *_o√s_ˊmr v. 'be/keep awake in the night' (← ** 'to doze, be half-asleep' ← *'to dream') > Ar √smr 'passer la nuit à causer, deviser pendant la nuit; veiller'; it is not clear whether BHb s_ˊimmu_ˊ-rīm '(night of) observance' (Ex. 12.42) belongs here, because it is either a semantic merger of the √ in question with Hb √s_ˊmr (< S *√θmr) v. 'guard' or a word derived from the latter √ only ¶ BK II 1136-7, GB

849) || ?? WCh {Stl.} *sa⁻m- v. 'sleep, dream' > AG: Su sa⁻m, Tal {IL} sa⁻m, Gmy sa⁻m, Kfr {Nt.} sa⁻m, Ang {Flk.} se⁻m, {ChC} se⁻m, Cp {Kr.} sam v. 'sleep' : BT {Stl.}: Ngm, Maha som, Buli ho⁻m id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 178 [#305], ChL s.v. 'sleep', JI II 298-9, J S 81, Flk. s.v. se⁻m II IE *Hon(e)r- > *h^wen(e)r- 'dream' > NaIE *oner- 'dream' > Arm anurf anurf³ (<*ono⁻r-yo) 'a dream' : Gk ὄναρ id., ὄνειρος id., 'god of dreams' : pAl {O} *anrya⁻ > Al: T e⁻nde⁻rr, G ande⁻rr 'dream' (<*onr-yo-) ¶ WP I 180, P 779, Mn. 1647, F I 393-4, Kf. 40, 97, O 92, My. 11, Sl. 287-8, Me. LHLG I 222f., EI 10 & 169-70 (*h₃enr_o, *h₃onr_o 'dream') ¶ In all probability, pIE as *-nr- < *-mr- II U: FP *s^omprV > *s^oprV v. 'dream, day-dream' > Z uobpo³дль- s^oobr³zdi- v. 'appear in one's phantasy\dream' : ? F hourata, houria, houraila v. 'be delirious, be wandering (in one's mind)', F Δ hoprehtia id., F heure 'chimera, delirium, phantasm', Es Δ houri- v. 'speak thoughtlessly' ('puhua umpimähkään, ajattelemata') ¶ SK 82, LG 320 ¶ Z -b- is a reg. reflex of U, FU *-mp-, while the F and Es forms suggest U, FU *-p- ¶ In all probability, U *-mpr- < *-mr- (a typical epenthesis of a homorganic plosive within a cluster nasal + r).

2694. *z^hEs^h's'χqV 'blood' > K *zisχl_o- 'blood' > OG, G sisχl-, Mg zisχar-, zisχir-, zisχer-, Lz di(n)cχir-, Sv UB/LB/Ln/L zisχ 'blood' ¶ K 87, K² 59, FS K 133-4, TK 252, Dn. s.v. zisχ II IE *h^hesx-r_o, gen. *h^h.sx-n-es 'blood' > OI 'asr_ok, 'asr_ot, gen. as^hnah. id. : Arm ariyn ariwn ({Ped.} < *asriyon, {P} < *esr_o-) id. : Gk ἄρα, εἴρα, Gk [Hs.] ἥρα id. : OL as(er) ~ assyr id. : Ltv asins id., pl. asinis : pTc *ya⁻sa⁻r > Tc A ysa⁻r, B yasar (pl. ysa⁻ra) id. || Ht e^hisxar, gen. esxanas 'blood', specially 'dark (venous) blood', Lw a⁻sχar-/asχan- 'blood', a⁻sχanuwant(s)- 'bloody' ¶ P 343, WP I 162, EI 71 [*h₁esh₁r_o ~ *h₁esh₂o⁻r / gen. h₁esh₂n-os '(flowing) blood'], M K I 66, F I 422, WH I 72, Sl. 129, Kar. I 78, Wn. 607-8, Ad. 487, Ad. H 114, Pv. I-II 305-313, Mlc. CL 35-6, Iv. SA 153 II ? U: FU (att. in ObU) *c^oos^hkV > *c^ooks^hV > pObU *c^ookas 'bear's blood' > pVg *s^ha⁻was > Vg LK/P s^hows, MK/UK sows, UL so⁻ws, Ss so⁻ws id.; pOs *c^oayās / *c^ooyās ({Hl.} *c^oayās / *c^ha⁻yās) > Os Kr c^hayās^h, Sh s^hows^h id. ¶ Ht. 132 [#99] ¶ pObU *-kas is a reg. reflex of both U *-s^hkV and *-ks^hV ¶ PFU (or pU?) *c^h- for the expected *-s- or *-s^h- is due to as (**sos^hkV or **s^hos^hkV > *c^hos^hkV) ? II ? A: Tg *se⁻kse (< *se⁻s-kse < as *jes-kse) 'blood' > Ewk s³ks³ ~ s³ws³ ~ s³gs³, Sln s³k³z, s³t³z, Lm h³s, Neg, Orc, Ul, Nn s³ks³, Ork s³ks³, Ud sake^h 'blood' ¶ Tg *-ksa/-kse is a reg. sx. of uncountable nouns (such as 'meat', 'fish', etc.) ¶ Ewk s³xi- v. 'flow' (of blood) and Neg s³- id. are most probably bfs. based on metanalysis of Tg *se⁻kse as *se⁻kse and/or *se⁻k-kse ¶ STM II 138-9 II ? HS: Eg fP {EG} zχn 'ein innerer 14 tierischen Körperteile als Speise', 'ein Backwerk in Form des Fleischstückes', {Fk.} 'kidney-fat' ¶ EG III 470-I, Fk. 241.

2695. *z^ha^oidV 'to cut' > HS: Eg fMK s^hid v. 'cut (off/down)' ¶ EG IV 422, Fk. 262 ¶ Hardly (⇔ many scholars) akin to S *s^hrt, 'cut' (Eg s^h is not cognate with S *r) II IE: NaIE *lai^hdh- / *lid^h- v. 'cut, wound' > Gk λι^hστρον 'a tool for levelling \ smoothing', 'spade', 'ε shovel, λιστρον v. 'dig round (a plant)', λιστρον 'Grabscheit, Hacke zum Ebneten des Bodens', {LS} 'spade, mattock' - dim. of *li^hστρον (< *li^hδ-στρο-) : L laedo⁻, laede⁻re v. 'hurt, injure' : ? Lt lydi^hmas 'glade (in a woodland), clear space, clearance', Ltv Ir^hdums 'clearance, assart', Ltv (Ir^hduma) Ir^hst (prs. Ir^hdu) v. 'make a clearance, clear woodland for tillage', Lt ly^hdyti id., 'to smooth' ¶ WP II 378-9, P 652, F II 129, WH I 749, ≈ Frn. 364 (rejects the above IE connection of the Blt √ and unc-ly proposes a different et.), Kar. I 519, 540 II U: FP *la^hdh 'incision, notch' (→ 'trace') > F latu, F Δ laju 'track, ski-track', Krl Ld, Vp ladu 'ski-track' : Lp: N {N} lat^hto / -tt-, L {LLO} la^hhtoo, Snk {TI} la^hdh_a id. : pChr {Ber.} *lo^hdh 'notch; mould (for making bricks)' > Chr: H ладыла^hdh id., Uf lo^hdh 'notch', L lod-(as^h) 'I make a notch' : Prm: Z lu 'mould' ¶ UEW 682, SK 280, MRS 279, 293, Ü 106, Ber. 31, LG 163 II D (in GnD) *nat^h- v. 'cut, tear' > Gnd nat^hk-^h net^hk- v. 'cut (wood), cut by splitting', Png nad^h- (p. nat^ht-) v. 'be torn/severed', nad^h- (p. nat^h-) v. 'tear, sever', Mnd nad^h- v. 'be broken/snapped' ¶ D #3586.

2696. *z^ha^h'Ki^hdV 'to move, go' > HS: S *s^hkd > Ar s^hkd v. 'give' (< *vt. 'move') || ??? WCh *z^hakV^hd^hl- ({Stl.} *s^hakV^hd^h-) v. 'move' > Hs za⁻ku^hd^ha⁻ v. 'hitch up (the child slung on one's back)', Ngz za⁻gdu^h vi. 'move off road, detour' ¶ Stl. ZCh 196 [#476], Abr. H 963, 980, Sch. DN 47 II IE: NaIE *lei^hth⁻ ~ *li^hi^hth⁻ v. 'go' (× *Lic^h.V v. 'pass, go away' [q.v. ffd.]) II U: FU *la^hkte v. 'go, go out' (× N *LVK.a^h 'leg?') > F la^hhte- 'go, proceed; go off/away', Es la^hhe- 'go' (part of the suppletive paradigm of the verb mine-), la^hhk 'Gehen, Fortgehen' : Lp: Kld {SaR} ли^hхте- 'go out', K {Gn.} li^hхте---ie-, T likte- 'sich begeben' : pMr *li^hxta⁻ > Er ливте- li^hiv^ht^he-, li^hif^ht^he- 'carry out, lead (an animal) out', Mk лифте- li^hift^hа-, Δ li^hix^ht^he-^h li^him^ht^he- id. : Chr: L лекташлек^hta-s^h 'go out', Uf lekta^h, H {Ep.} лаектаеш {MRS} лаекташ 'la^hhta^h-s^h id., 'set off (sich auf den Weg machen)' : Prm *lokt- ({JLG} *lo^hkt-) 'arrive, come' > Z lokt-, Z US lokt-, Yz 'lokt-, Vt likt- : pOs *lu^hyāt > Os: V lu^hyāt- 'go out', D tiwāt- 'go out/away' ¶ Coll. 94, UEW 239-40, Sm. 552 (FP *la^hkti- 'depart'), It. #252, #271, SaR 160, ERV 341-2, PI 148, MRS 284-6, Ep. 60, LG 160, Gn. 1332, It. #271, Ker. II 79-80 II ? D {Km.} *nat^h-a-, [GS] *n^had^h- v. 'walk, go, pass' (× N *raydV 'foot; track; to walk', q.v. ffd.).

2697. ? *z^hUK.^h'u^h (= *z^hoK.^h'u^h?) 'juice' > HS: SC: Irq {E} c^h.aq^ha 'sap' ¶ ≈ E SC 223 II IE: NaIE *sek^hwo-/sok^hwo- > Gk ὄπο^h 'vegetable juice, acid juice of fig-trees' : Sl *so^hkъ 'juice' > OCS сокъ sokъ, Blg сок, SCr so^hk (gen. so^hka ~ so^hka), Sln so^hk (gen. so^hka ~ so^hku), R сок (gen. o^hсока ~ o^hсоку), Uk c^hк (gen. o^hсоку), P sok : ? L su^hcus 'juice' (× N *s^hu^hu^hz^ha^hK.^hV(r^hV) 'resin, gum' > IE *seu^hk- 'to suck?') : pTc *sekwe > Tc: A saku, B sekwe 'pus' ¶ P 1044, EI 499-500 (*so^hk^hwo-s 'sap, resin'), WH II 622-3, F II 405-6, Frn. 756-7, ≈ Kar. II 334, En. 241, Glh. 570, Vs. III 708, Brū. 506, Ad.

698 II A ≈ *z'u'k'i 'juice' > NaT *juk 'resin, gum' > Xk чyx c'uχ, Qzl s'uχ, Qb juq, Tv c'uq, Tf c'uq 'resin', Shor/Sg {Rl.} c'uq 'Baumharz, Teer', Qrg 3'uq 'sth. stuck to', ??φ OT U [UMT] {Rcm.} ju' 'juice'; -d> NaT *juk- 'stick to' > Qrg 3'uq-, Alt 3'uq-, Xk c'uχ- id. (пpиимат-) ¶ Rs. W 119, BIG 324, Rl. III 2165, Jud. 267, BT 58, DTS 283, Rcm. I 283, TvR 546, Ra. 198 || ? M *sigu'-su'n 'juice' (× N *s'UK.X 'to drink, suck' [q.v.]) || Tg *s'cu'kse1n1 'juice, sap' > Ewk cu'ks3, Neg cu'xs3, Orc c'u'ks3 id., Lm cu's 'juice of plants (esp. berries), juice (of meat, fish), Ork su'ks3 - tu'ks3 'juice of berries' ¶ STM II 411 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *z'u'gi 'juice' (i ÷ pKo *sku'r 'honey', which belongs to N *s'Vnk.V id. [q.v.]) ◇ IE *e/o (in *sek'w-o-/*sok'w-o-) points to a N *o rather than *u; if so, A *u' and L u' must be explained by the infl. of the root-final *u' and/or by a merger with other roots ◇ ≠ The glottalized Irq c' - may result from ass. glottalization (*z'...k. > *c'...k. > Irq c'...q'w). The rules of distribution of IE *l- and *s- as reflexes of N *z' and *3' is still to be investigated. M *s- points to N *z' - ◇ ≠ IS MS 366.

2698. 2 *z'omV 'heat, sun' > HS: S *s'am'a's' - 'sun' > Ak s'amas', s'ams', Eb {Ptt.} si'-pis', Sb s'ams', Ar s'ams-, BHB s'emēs', Ug s'ps', (AkSc) {Hnr.} s'aps'u, Ph, IA, SmA s'ms', BA, JA [Trg.], JEA em. s'im's'-a-, Amr {G} s'amsu or s'aps'u 'sun'; Cn b> Eg (EgSSc) {Hoch} s'ams'a (s'a-m-s'a, s'a-ma3-s'a, etc.) n. l. In Cn (incl. Ug) and Aram there was an as law: *s'...s' > s'...s'. S *s'amas' - may go back to the N cd *z'omV me3'V (≈ hot/burning sun/fire)', cp. N *me3'V 'sun, light; to shine' ¶ HJ 1168-9, KB 1468-71, OLS 449-50, Hnr. 183-4, Lv. T II 497, Js. 1602, Sl. 1136, Tal 914, G A 31, Dah. LCE 178, Hoch #402 || Eg fOK s'm, s'mm v. 'be hot (esp. of fire and sun)' ¶ EG IV 468-9 || ? Ch: WCh *z'VmV > Ang {Flk.} lem 'sun'; unlike Stl. ZCh #844, I do not see semantic reasons for connecting this word with Plc liyem 'sky, god', Dw lem-zi 'sky' and lem-si 'god' || U: FU *VomV 'flame, embers' > Chr: H lom'z', lomb'z', L/B lom'z' 'ashes' (< 'embers') | pPrm *lo'o'm- v. 'flame', n. 'embers' > Z lomaw-, Yz lu'mal- v. 'flame', Yz lum 'embers', ? Vt Sr/M lumi't 'warm' || Hg la'ng, Δ lang 'flame' ¶ UEW 250, MRS 294, Ü 107, Ep. 62, LG 160-1, Lt. 53, It. #53, MF 386-7.

2699. 2 *z'UNgV 'young ungulate' > HS: S *o's'anag- > Ar Ana\$ā s'anag' - 'camel' ¶ Fr. II 455, BK I 1275 II A {AD} *zu'ntV ~ ? *zu1:nḡa > NaT *junt 'horse' > OT, OQrg junt id., Chg junt 'mare', MQp junt 'horses', OOSm jont 'mare; horses', Osm {Rh.} dNvYu yund 'wild, unbroken brood-mare', Tk yont 'unbroken mare', yont yil 'Horse Year (one of the 12 years in the Turkish animal cycle)', Tk Δ jund 'horse; male ass', jont 'unbroken horse', SY jut d jot d ju't d ju't 'horse', Yk {Pek.} sono-yos 'young horse'; T -d> Sm {Jn.} yunta' 'horse' [> Ne T ʾno, T O {Lh.} yu'n:a', Ng {Strl.} junta, En {Ter.} дѣла, Slq Tz {KKIH} c'unti, Kms {KD} ine, Koib {Sp.} ине, Mt {Hl.} *n'hunda 'horse' (Mt: M {Sp.} нундо, M {Mil.}, A {Msr.} nunda, {Pl.} нунда, T {Mil.} nju'nda', K {Mil.} njunda) ¶ Rs. W 211, Cl. 946, Rh. 2221, ET J 253-4, Pek. 2279, Jn. 49, KKI 107, Hl. M #789 || Tg *so'nḡa(n) ~ *so'nda(n) 'young reindeer, reindeer-calf' > Ewk so'nḡa 'new-born domestic reindeer, wild reindeer-calf', Lm ho'nḡa-ḡan 'reindeer-calf (of the first half-year), young ungulate (lamb, foal, calf)', Neg so'nḡaḡa'n 'new-born reindeer', Orc soḡoḡo(n-) 'new-born elk', Ork so'ndo(n-) 'reindeer yearling, calf, foal, young bear'; -ḡan, -ḡa'n, -ḡon is a diminutive sx. ¶ STM II 110-1 || ?? M *o'sunda-sun 'female elk/deer' > WrM sundasu, HIM сундас id. ¶ MED 737 ¶¶ DQA #2574 (A *zunti 'a young animal'), SDM97 (A *zu'nV id. > T, Tg), S VL 226 (T, Tg). This type of length (S's type 2) is of prosodic origin and does not point to any pN lr. A *-tV may go back to a sx. ◇ i ÷ FU *c'on'V 'male/young ungulate' (probably < *3'c'ix'yn-V '∈ young ungulate' [q.v. ffd.]).

2700. ??? *z'u.qU 'to putrefy, turn sour, spoil, become turbid' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *3's'ag'w- v. 'be rotten' > Hs za'g'w'a'n'e' (meat, fish, etc.) putrefied' | Ngz z'ig'w'a'd u' v. 'putrefy, decompose, go rancid' ¶ Stl. ZCh 196 [#475], Abr. H 961, Sch. DN 45 || EC: Or su'ka 'clot', su'ka?a v. 'clot, curdle' ¶ Grg. 366 II K *o'la.qe- 'rotten' > G la.qe- id. ('verfaulen, verdorben') ¶ Chx. 669, FS E 221, ≠ K² 107 (adduces Lz lo.qa- 'sweet', see N *La.qulu' 'tender, mild' → 'sweet') II A {SDM97} *zu'k'o 'rotten, turbid' > ? NaT *jog-urt 'curdled, coagulated milk' [× N *d'o'R.VgK.V 'sediment (in food), refuse' (q.v.)?] > OT, Tkm joγurt, Tk yog'urt, Az joγurd, Nog juvirt, Qrg 3'u-rat, Yk su'orat 'curdled milk' ¶ Cl. 905-6, ET J 207-8; an additional source is a d from T *juγur- v. 'knead (dough, etc.)' (et. preferred by Cl.) || M: HIM uor'ux v. 'turn too sour' (of sour milk), Brt uor'uo- id. ¶ Luv. 656, Chr. 728, Cev. 853 || Tg *su'k 'turbid/muddy water', *su'ku' 'turbid, muddy' > Ewk sik 'turbid/muddy water', siki 'turbid/muddy', Neg sxi' id., Lm htqu, Lm A saq - s3q id., 'turbid water' ¶ STM II 80-1 || pKo {S} *sə'k- v. 'rot, become spoiled' > MKo sə'k id., NKO s'ə'k- v. 'rot, decay, corrupt' ¶ S QK #820, MLC 940 || ?σ pJ {S} *su'k- 'make paper (out of soaked mash)' > OJ suk-, J: T su'k-, K/Kg su'k- ¶ S QJ #508, Mr. 758 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *zu'k'o 'rotten, turbid' > T, M, Tg, Ko), DQA #2568 (A *zi'u'ko 'to rot, ferment' > T, M, Tg, J) ¶¶ The rec. of a voiced A *z- depends on the validity of the T cognate. If it is not valid, we cannot distinguish between A *z- and *s- ◇ The voicing of the velar cns. in WCh and T still defies explanation.

2701. 2 *z'eh'a'Ra 'moon' > HS *z'Vh1V1R- 'moon' > WS *s'ah1V1R- 'moon' > JEA ar!e9b2 sah'a'r-a-, Sr sah'r-a-, Ar s'ahr-, Gz s'a'hr (*[s'ahr(ə)]) 'moon', BHB d Min57re9b2 s'ah'a'r-o-'n-īm 'crescents (amulets or jewelry)', Sb s'hr 'novilunium, beginning of month', OYmn re\$ s'hr ({Slw.} *s'ahr-) [= Hmr *s'Vhr-?] id., Mh s'e'h3r, Hrs, Jb s'eh3r 'first crescent of the moon', Sq s'e'h3r 'moon' ¶ KB 1222, KBR 1311, BK I 1281-2, BGMR 132, Slw. 127, Jo. M 376, Jo. H 119, Jo. J

any traces in AnIE) ♦ Hardly here D *k'a- 'die (sterben)' (> Tm ca-, Krx xe?e-na, Brh kahiṇ id. - ƒ D #2423, Em. *C 366), because, acc. to my tentative working hyp., D *k'- (> SD, SCD *-c- ~ Ø, GnD, CD *-c-, NED *-k-, Brh k-) goes back to the N lateral obstruents (cp. N *s'EOṛV 'reach, approach, enter' and N *c'ṽuṛPṛV 'to twist, plait' [q.v.]), hence D *k'a- is from N *c'ṽAØV 'perish'.

2704. 2 *3'ugbV 'fig tree (=?)' > HS: S °/zyb > Ar ʔazyab- 'a big fig-tree' ¶ Gass. I 808 || CCh: Glv {Rp.} acu'wa 'fig tree' ¶ RpB 7 II D *cuv-, {GS} *3'uv- 'fig tree' > Tm cuvi 'white fig, Ficus infectoria; stone fig, Ficus gibbosa parasitica', cuvalai 'pipal, Ficus religiosa', Klm zuvi id., Ml cuvann-a'l 'Ficus infectoria', Kn juvvi mara id., Tl juvvi 'Ficus tsiela', Prj zu-meri, Gnd zu-mar'a '∈ sp. of Ficus' (Kn mara, Prj meri, Gnd ma-r'a 'tree') ¶¶ D #2697, GS 116 [#307] ♦ S NM 10 inconvincingly suggests to adduce here A {S NM 7} *3'iuṅV 'berry', reconstructed by him from NaT *jigda- 'jujube tree/berry' and WrM {Pp.} zigde 'jujube (berry)' (to my mind, both from N *dik.V 'edible cereals/fruit', q.v. ffd.), M *3eṽergene '∈ berry' and Tg *ju'ksi-kte '∈ berry' ({S} *3'u'ksi-kte 'blueberry') ♦ ≈ AD NM 51 [#54], S CNM 7 (± NrCs), 10.

¶ 2704a. *3eṽHjbV '∈ a bird' (probably 'a gallinacean, waterfowl') > HS: Ch ± *3aṽb- 'guinea fowl' > WCh: Hs za-bo', Gw {Mts.} 3'a'bu'wa' | Pr {Frz.} c'a'w | NBc: Cg {sk.} sa'bu'n, Kry za'bu'r, Ny {Sk.} za'bu'rku-, {ChL} 3a'bi'ra'ku', Wrj {Sk.} za'brī-ya'i, P' {MSk.} 3'a-vu-na, Mbr c'a'pu'r, Dirī a'za'vu'na' | SBc: Bg {Sh.} s'a'p, Kir {ChL} s'a'pm, Plc {ChL} z'i'bi'n, Zar {Kr.} z'ubm. | Ngz {Sch.} za'ba'nu', Bd {ChL} sa'va'n'i'n || CCh: Tr {Nw.} c'i'va'n, Pdl {ChL} s'va'ndi' | BM {ChL}: Mrg cīvur..., Bu cī'vu'r..., Cb 3u'vu'ra' | HgB {ChL} zī'vu'no', Kps {ChL} zī'vu'ne', FIK {ChL} zī'vi'n, Gude {ChC} zo'vi'na' | Glv {Rp.} z'a'bu'ra', Gv {ChL} z'a'bu'ra', Mnd {Mch} z'a'ci're', Dgh {Frk.} za'vi'r...a' | Mtk {Sb.} za'pa'n, Myn/Mofu {Ro.} 3a'va'r, MgG {Brr.} ʔ3'ava'r / c'ava'r, Mada {BrrB} za'va'r, Mkt {Ro.} za'vu'r, Hrz sa'vna', Mf {BLB} za'pa'n, Gzg {Ro.} c'u'vu'n | Db {Lnh.} za'vi'n, {ChL} za'vu'n, Kola {Sb.} zo'vo'ṇ | Gdr {Mch.} zavuna | Ktk {Bou.} sa'fa'ṇ | Zm {ChL} 3'afan, ZmB {J} co'fno'k^d | Sa.} 3a'mba'ka' || ECh: Smr {J} s'i'bə'hī', EDng {Fr.} zu'pu'lo', Mkl {J} zo'dbi'lo', Jg {J} su'bi'lo', Brg {J} zo'bo'lo', Mu {J} zo'bo'lo' id. ¶ Chc, ChL, Sk. NB 25, MSk. 185, Sch. DN 181, Nw. WLT 42, Ro. 265 [#339], BrrB 279, Brr. MG II 208, BLB 393 II D *ce-v- ± 'cock, male of birds' > Tm ce-val 'male of birds and fowls, cock, male swan, kite', Δ ca-valu 'cock', Ml ce-val - ca-val 'cock, male of birds', Mlt cawye 'cock-bird' ¶¶ D #2818 ♦ Cp. also K: G c'ibuṣa 'snipe (Gallinago)' (Chx. 1033), though this is hardly a valid cognate (for both phonetic and semantic reasons) ♦ i ÷ D (att. in NED): Krx cubba-, Mlt cuwe 'peacock' [D #2676] ♦ Blz. DA 158 [#62] (Ch equated with D *ce-v- and with NED *cub- 'peacock').]

2705. *3eyba 'tail, penis' > HS: CS *zubb- > Ar zubb- 'penis', Ar NY zibbin, zibb, zubb id., zubbah 'vulva', MHb d {Dlm.} NB1&z zob'ba'n {Dlm.} 'skin that surrounds penis', {Lv.} 'der Beutel, welcher das männliche Glied der Tiere verhüllt', {Js.} 'the bag which contains animal's member' ¶ BK I 268, Bns. NJ II 484, Dlm. 118, Lv. I 517, Js. 383, DRS 669, MiK I #1.293 || B: Tmz {MT} azbub 'clitoris' (← Ar zubb-?) ¶ MT 790 || Possibly AdS of EC *dub- (-d- *dab-) 'tail, hinder part' and of Om {Blz.} *dub- 'tail' (both from N *dubṽV 'back, hinder part, tail', q.v. ffd.); i ÷ Sa daba ~ zaba ~ ḍaba 'Rücken' (better to be equated with *damb- 'back') II U *seypa- ~ *saypa 'tail' > Es saba, F Δ sapa | Lp N {N} sœi'be, L {LLO} sei'pe- ~ sa-i'pe- id. ¶ The variation *seypa- ~ *saypa may be due to two ways of synharmonic generalization of an early **seypa || Sm {Jn.} *ta'ywa°, {Hl.} *taywa 'tail' > Ne Т тываÄ {Lh.} ta'e<β'a<, Ne F L {Lh.} ta'e<iβ'a<, Ng 'tzybu, Kms {KD} t'ima id., Mt {Hl.} *tayba id. (Mt M {Sp.} дайба) ¶ UEW 438, LLO 947, Jn. 150, Coll. 55, SK 969, Hl. M #943 II A: Tg: Ud 3'iba 'penis' ¶ Krm. 232, STM I 255 || ʔ M *cibe > WrM cibe, HIM чив, Kl {Rm.} c'iwā, c'iwl. 'penis' ¶ MED 174, KW 442-3.

¶ 2705a. 2 *3'VcxaLV 'fire; burning wood' > K: GZ *3'ec'χl. - 'fire' > OG, G cecχl-, Mg da(n)c'χ3r-, dac'χir-, Lz dac'χir-, dac'χur-, dac'χer- id. ¶ K 234 & K² 280-1 (GZ *3ec'χl. -), ≈ FS K 424 & FS E 478 (GZ *3ec'χ-) II A: M *3'uṣal- (> *cucal-) > Ord 3'uc'ali ευφ. for 'fire', WrM cucali, HIM цуцал 'torch, firebrand; partly burnt wood', {Kow.} 'brandon, tison, flambeau', Kl цуцл цуцл 'firebrand (головушки)', {Rm.} cucul 'firebrand; partly burnt wood', Brt {Chr.} cysal id.; WrM {ChrR} cucala- v. 'kindle, set on fire' ¶ MED 204-5, Kow. 2210, KRS 643, KW 434, Chr.39, Ms. O 221 ♦ Fn. KD #69 equates the K √ with the D √ that is reconstructed by him as *ciccu 'fire', which is *unt.* because this D √ is *kicc- (ƒ Zv. 115 [#131], DED #1272, D #1514).]

2706. ?? *3Ec.V ≈ 'willow' > K {K²} *3'ec.ṽwṽn. -, {FS} *3'ec.ṽ- 'willow, Salix babylonica' > OG 3ec.n- 'willow', G 3ec.n-a- 'willow, pussy-willow', Mg zic'.on- ~ c'.ic'.on-, Sv: L c'əc'.ənd, Ln c'ic'.ənd, UB/Lx c'.əc'.ənd, Lx c'.əc'.əndra id. ¶¶ K 237, K² 286, FS K 425, TK 866 II IE: Ht sisiya(m)ma- (?) '∈ tree' ('willow?') ¶ Frd. HW EH 104, Ts. W 76 II ? A: Tg *suje-gde 'willow' [× N *3'alyj3'VχU ≈ 'leaf-bearing tree' ('linden-tree, Tilia' or sim.)] > Ud su3'əgd3 'willow', WrMc su3iqde 'willow resembling a linden', Neg su3əgd3 'poplar' ¶ STM II 120, Krm. 288 ¶ A sort of *mt* and *dis* (*3...c. > *s...3)?

2707. *3'igU 'thorn' > K: GZ *3igw- ({FS K} *3ig-) 'thorn' > G I 3igve {Ghl., FS} 'thorn', {Chx.} 'Dorngestrüpp', G Gr/I {FS} 3igur-a-i 'food made of' smilax, Stechwinde, wolfberry (Lycium, *дере́за*, ∈ thorny bush), Mg {Q} 3igiri ~ 3igzri 'thorn' ¶ FS K 425-6, Chx. 2072, Ghl. 686, KEGL VIII 746-7, Q 374 II HS: S *3'z'u'gg- > Ar {BK} Ōwzu zug'g- 'arrow-head, pointed

iron-foot of a spear, point of the elbow zug'ug' - (pl.) 'short lances, javelins', √zg'g' (pf. ŌWza zag'g'a) 'pierce with the pointed iron-foot of a spear'; ? S *zik'-at- > Ak zik,-tu 'sting (of a scorpion); sting, barb, point', JA [Trg.] tq@z^ zə'k.at., em. aTlq^z% zik,-'t-a-, JEA zik,'ta- 'goad', Sr zək,-'t-a- 'goad' ({PS, Br.} 'stimulus'), Ar √zqq G 'frapper de la lance', as well as (?) *zik.k- > BHB MiQ%z% zik,'k-īm 'fire-arrows' (h. l. Pr. 26.18), MHB {Js.} Niq5iz% zīk,-īn 'sparks, burning arrows'; 'shooting stars (meteors)', JA {Js.} aqliz% zīk,-a- 'shooting star' ¶ BK I 973, CAD XXI 132-3, Js. 395-6, 411, Sl. 411, Br. 204-5, PS 1151-2, KB 266, KBR 278, DRS 682, 786 [¶ | | ??φ Ch: WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *zak,w- ~ *zuk,w- 'stab, pierce' > Wrj nzak,w-, Mbr zuk,-um-, Cg zug-um id. :: CCh: Mf {BLB} zuk,w- 'enforcer, piquer dans' ¶ Sk. NB 41, Tk. NB 172, BLB 126 ¶¶ Tk. NB 172] ¶ A *zigu'nV 'thorn, needle' > NaT {Rm.} **jigu'na'' > *jigna'' 'needle, thorn' > OT U (MnSc), OT QU [MhK] jigna'', Chg, XwT igna'', MQP [CC] igine, OTkm {TAG} 'nkY jigna'', Tkm iñne, MQP {TAG} 'nyY jīna'' 'needle', Tk ig'ne, Az iyna'', VTt ina'' 'needle, thorn', SY {ET} ijiñne 'needle, needle of a conifer', {Tn.} jiñne ~ 3'iji 'needle', ET {BN} jiñna'' ~ igna'', Δ 3'ijna'', Uz igna, Qzq ине ъне, QBl, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt iyne, Bsh ына'', Xk ° нье ъне, Tv ine, Yk in'a'' ¶ Cl. 110, TAG 12, 110, ET Gl 367-9, TrR 432, Grøn. 105, BN 63, 76 | | M *3e3u'n 'needle' > MM [MA] ñvvJ {Pp.} 3'e3u'n, [IM] ñvju {Pp.} 3'u'n, [HI] {Ms.} 3'o'3u'n, WrM 3egu'n ~ 3egu'u'', HIM 3**(-H-), MMgl {Iw.} 3'au'n, Mgl {Rm.} 3'o'u'n, Mnr H {SM} 3'iu, Dx 3'un, WrO zu'n, Kl 3*H (gen. 3**Hə), {Rm.} zu'n id. ¶ MED 1044, Pp. MA 205, 439, KRS 260-1, KW 485, Rm. M 42, H 89, T 334, T DnJ 120, Iw. 109, Ms. H 69, Krg. 685 ¶¶ KW 485 (M, T), Rm. EAS II 206 (M, T *jigu'na'') ◆ ¶¶ If S *zik'-at-, *zikk,- and NrBc *zak,w- ~ *zuk,w- belong here, their cns. *-k,- suggests HS *√3g? and N *3'igV?U.

2708. *3'Ug'U 'to move [intr., tr.] somewhere' > HS: S *°√zgw > Ar √zg'w (3m pf. 'jaza zag'a', 3m ip. ya-zg'u) 'pousser, faire aller' ¶ BK I 976 | | Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} zəge, zege v. 'follow', zga v. 'return back (zurückkehren)' :: ECh: Mb {J} 3'a'ge' v. 'follow' ¶ Lk. L 127-8, ChC s.v. 'follow' ¶ A {DQA} *3ugi- v. 'carry (on the back)' > M *3u'3'o'3e- ({Pp.} *3u'3'o'ge-) v. 'move/carry (sth.), transport' > MM [S] 3u3e- 'hinstellen', MM [HI] d 3u'ge3u'l- 'faire transporter', WrM {Pp.} 3u'ge-, {SM, MED} 3o'ge-, HIM 3' - x v. 'move (sth.) from one place to another, transport', Kl 3' - zo' - id., 'carry/convey from one place to another' ('возит', 'тащат'), Ord {Ms.} 3'o' - 'transporter', Mnr H {SM} 3'io' - id., {T} 3'iu' - Ba {T} 3'o' -, Dg {T} 3'ug-a-, {Z} джуву- id., 'transport', Dx {T} 3'ue- 'carry from one place to another' ¶ MED 1074, KW 479, H 94, Ms. H 69, Ms. O 212, SM 89, T 334, T DnJ 120, T BJ 139, T DgJ 144 | | Tg *jugu-/3uge- v. 'transport, convey' > Ewk ju3u- v. 'carry/transport from one place to another' ('перетащит', 'перенести, перевезти'), Lm ju3u-, Neg juwu- ~ ju3u-, Orc 3'usi-, Ud 3'u-, 3'u-gi-, {Krm.} 3'u-, 3'u-si- id., WrMc 3uwe-, 3uwenu- v. 'carry/convey from one place to another, transport on ships' ¶ STM I 269-70, Krm. 234 | | pKo {S} *ci' > MKo ci-, NKo ci- v. 'carry on the back' ¶ S QK #601, MLC 1527, Rm. SKE 31 | | ?φ pre-T {Cl.} **ju' - , {Rm.} **ju' - d (with the sx. *-d-, cf. Cl. xlvi) T *ju' - d- > OT ju' - d- v. {Cl.} 'carry (sth.)', {MKD} vt. 'load (-amaHa)', Tlt {Rl.} ju'y- id. (?), ?φ ET Δ {Jr.} ju'd- 'carry, load on one's shoulders'; d- T *ju'k n. 'load, burden' > OT, XwT xiv, MQP xiv [CC], Chg 3xv ju'k id., Tk yu'k, Tkm, A, Kr, Nog, ET, SY ju'k, Uz juk, Alt 3'u'k, Xk c'u'k, Chv s'3k id. ('груз', 'тяжелсть'), Tv {Ra.} ч'3к c'ü'k, Tf {Ra.} c'ü'k 'load/burden (carried on the back)', Qmq ju'k, Qzq, Qq z'u'k, VTt, Bsh й'к jь'k, QbB 3'u'k 'load' ¶ Cl. 885-6, 910-1, Rm. W 212, ET J 262-3, MKD 235, Rl. III 611, Jr. 16, BT 59, Ra. 199 ¶¶ Pp. VG 28, 111, Rm. SKE 31 (Ko, T, M, Tg), DQA #2629 ¶ D *co(y)- ({GS} s- or s'-?) 'drive (away), send' × N *3'U'3U 'to cause (so., sth.) to move from one place to another' (q.v. ffd.).

2709. *3UgV 'mane, long hair (on animal's body)' > A *3'Ugdu > T: NaT *jogdu > OT {Cl.} joydu 'the long hair under a camel's chin', ?φ Qrg c'u-da 'long hair of a camel (under the throat, on knees); long soft sheep wool' (c'- suggests borrowing from a T lge with initial devoicing) ¶ Cl. 899, Jud. 877 | | M (←b- T?): WrM 3ogdur, HIM/Brt 3ogdor 'long hair on the throat of a camel, mane of a lion', Kl 3ogdor 3ogdor 'mane of a camel/lion', Ord {Ms.} 3'u'g_d_u'r 'long hair on the neck/legs/head of a camel' b- Qrg 3'o3dor 'lock of hair on camel's occiput; long feathers under the throat of a golden eagle or a krasavka (≡ crane)', Tv c'o3dur 'loose-hanging skin on camel's/bull's breast under its throat' ¶ MED 1067, KRS 250, Chr. 255, Ms. O 216, Jud. 255, TvR 537 ¶ HS: B: Sll {Ds.} a-za-g crin du cou', Ah a'-hag' (pl. i-hag'g'ən) 'crête de poils de la bosse de chameau', ETwl/Ty {GhA} a'-zag (pl. i-z3gg-3n) 'crin (poil de crinière), crinière', Gh {Nh.} a-ze3' 'poil (des personnes)' (pl. i-za3'3'-ən) ¶ Pr. H #171, Ds. 83 | | SC b- Mb i-zigizigi 'mane' ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 ¶ ? IE: Ht suksuqa 'Stirnhaar [?]' (des Rindes), Mähne (des Pferdes) ¶ Ts. W 77 ◆ Not here K: G 3ua 'horse hair' [← N *3u'.yV 'fibre, thick hair' (→ 'to bind, sew')].

2710. ?? 2 *3'u'3'VgV (or *3'ugV'3'V) (? 'bring' →), 'give, give in exchange' > HS: SS *°√c.gw (or *°√θ.gw) > Gz s,aggawa v. 'bestow favour, give graciously', s,agga' 'grace, favour, gift' ¶ S *c.- < **3'?) ¶ L G 551 | | Ch: pAG {Stl.} *zugum 'present, gift' > Su {J} zu'gu m, Ang {Flk.} zum :: CCh: Msy {Mou.} skəm v. 'sell' :: ECh: Mu {J} sag 'bring' ¶ Stl. VZCh A #298, ChC ¶ A: Tg *juge- v. 'exchange' > Ewk ju33-1g3-, Neg ju33-t-, Nn, Ul 3'u3-c'i-, Ork du3-li ¶ STM I 270, S AJ 225 [#304] | | pKo *cu' - 'give' > MKo cu-, NKo cu- (× a N root underlying Ugr *c'ayV 'give', cf. UEW 841) ¶ S AJ 252 [#35], S QK #35, MLC 435 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 294 [#556] (A *cu'agV), ≈ SDM97 s.v. *c'o'ga 'give, exchange', ≈ DQA #242 (A *c'i'o'ge id., incl. Tg, Ko).

2711. ??₂ ***ʒ'o'lgVmV** 'shoulder' (or '∈ part of the shoulder') > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} *zæg* ~ *ze'g* 'shoulder(-blade)', Xm {R} *zīg* 'shoulder, back side' || SC *b→ Mb ki-zo'ga* ~ *ki-zo'ra* ~ *ki-zo'ka* id. || CCh: Mofu {Ross.} *ma-zag'w'o'm*, Mlk {Ross.} *ʒa'go'm* 'shoulder' ¶ Ross. 325 [#637] ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5-6 (Ch, SC) II A: M: MM [S] {H} *ʒoqudus* 'in den Rücken, den Rücken entlang' | M {ADb.} **ʒuyan* 'waist part of the backbone' > WrM *ʒo(n)*, HIM *ʒoo(n)* 'base of spine; vertebrae, spine' ¶ H 92, MED 1068 || ? NaT **ʒagrin* ({ADb.} **ʒayrun*) 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' (× N ***dagurV** 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' × N ***ʒVgErV** or ***ʒVrgV** 'back, dorsum') ¶ ET J 65-7, TL 242-3 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ ADb.) Neg *joktoxo'n* 'a hollow between shoulder-blades' and Ud *χokpo* 'pectoral arch (of birds)', because the primary meaning of this Tg *√* is 'angle' (STM I 262) ¶¶ ADb. MSR 199, ≈ ADb SR-D 443.

2712. ***ʒEgErV** 'antelope' > HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} **ʒ'agari* '∈ antelope' > Hs Kc {Sch.} *ʒ'a'ga'ri*, {Abr.} *ʒ'a'ga'ri* 'buck duiker', Hs K {Ba.} *ʒ'a'ga'ti* id. | BT: Gera {Gw.} *jwangere* (j = ʒ') 'roan antelope' || CCh: Gude {ChL} *ʒ'i'gi'ra*, Nz {ChL} *ʒ'igi'la*, FIM *ʒ'i'gi'ru* 'antelope' ¶ Stl. ZCh 194 [#460], Sch. BTL 117, Abr. H 413, Ba. 485, ChL II A: M **ʒeʒere(n)* 'gazelle' > MM *ʒe'ren* {Ms.} 'gazelle', {Lew.} 'antelope', WrM *ʒegere(n)*, HIM *ʒyyp* 'antelope' (i.e. 'gazelle'), Kl {KRS} *ʒeep* *ze'reŋ* 'Persian gazelle, джейран', {Rm.} *ze'rn* 'Reh, Rehküh'; M *b→ NPrs* *~ryJa ʒ'ei'ra'n* 'gazelle', OOsM *~ryJ ʒ'eyran*, Tk *ceyran*, Az *ʒeyran*, Tkm *ʒ'eren*, Alt *ʒ'e'ren*, SY *ʒ'igir* 'antelope', *ʒ'iger*, *jiger* 'deer, roe' (the SY loanwords preserve the old M stem-medial cns. *-ʒ- as -g-), R *джейран* 'gazelle' (← T ← M); it is hardly tenable to postulate a pT source of the above words of T lgs. (Rm.'s pT **ʒ'a'gira'n*) because the word is not attested in texts preceding the Mongolian conquest and is easily explained as a loan from M; Chr {Ü} *йъӡгар j̕gar* '∈ a beast' may be a loan either from the abovementioned TM source or from T **jagur* 'young animal' < N ***yErØV** (= ***yErɣV**?) ~ ***yayrV** 'young of a (ruminant) animal' [q.v.] ¶ Ms. H 67, Lew. II 29, MED 1043, KRS 246, KW 474, Dr. TM I ##301-2, Rs. W 194, Ü 314 II D (in SD) **°cikar-* > Kn *cigari*, *cigare* 'black buck of antelope' ¶ ≈ D #2504 (connecting this word with Kn *jijike*, Tu *jijikæ* and Tl *jijika* 'antelope', which in fact belong to N ***ʒ'a'n'VjgkU** 'antelope' [q.v.]).

2713. ***ʒ'ega** 'to get/be sated' (> 'to eat') > K: GZ **ʒey-/ʒy-* 'be sated, be filled' > OG, G *ʒy-/ʒey-* id., Mg *rʒy-*, Lz *ʒy-* id. ¶ K 235-6, K² 280, FS K 423, Q 313-4, Chik. 390-1 II IE **sex-/sx-* 'be sated', **sex-ti-* 'satiety' > NaIE **sa-/sə-* v. 'be/get sated', **sa-ti-* 'satiety' > OI *a-si-n-'va-* 'unsatable', *sa-tan* 'pleasure' || Tc: A {Wn.} *si-*, *si-n-* vt. 'satisfaire, rassasier', vi. 'être satisfait/rassasié', B {Ad.} *soy-* 'satisfy oneself, be satisfied' || Gk aor. inf. *ῥασσαι* vt., vi. 'satisfy; be sated', *ῥατοῖ* (< **n_o-sə-to-s*) 'unsatable', *ῥαμεναι* (with α-) 'satisfy oneself' || L *satur* 'sated', *satis* 'enough' || OIr *sa'ith* (**sa-ti-*) 'satiety, sufficiency' || Gt *saps*, ON *saðr*, OSx *sad*, OHG *sat* 'satt, gesättigt', NHG *satt* 'sated', AS *sæd* 'sated; weary, disgusted with', NE *sad* || Lt *so'tis* 'satiety, satiation', *so'tu's* (accus. *so'tu*) 'sated', Ltv *sa'ts* 'satiety, moderation', Pru *sa'tuinei* 'sättigt' | It is not clear if one may adduce Sl **sitъ* 'sated' (> OCS *сѣтъ sitъ*, R *сѣгъ*, 'сѣгый', P *syty*, Cz *syty*, Blg *сит*, SCr *si't*, *si'ti*, etc.) because of its deviant vw. || Arm *ha4 hac* 'content(ed), pleased, satisfied' || Ht {EI, Ad.←?} *sa'h-* 'stuff full, clog up' ¶ WP II 444-5, P 876, EI 500 [**seh₂(i)-* 'satisfy, fill up' -d> **seh₂tis* 'satisfaction', **sh₂-tos* 'satisfied'], Mn. 1113, F I 159, WH II 481-2, Vn. S 15-6, Fs. 411-2, Vr. 459, Ho. 267, Kb. 829, KM 625, Wn. 426, Frn. 857, En. 242, Vs. III 821, Chrn. II 222, ≈ Glh. 550 (explains Sl **i* in **sitъ* by postulating its origin from IE **sex₁W*, which is *unc.*, because IE **ex^w* would have yielded NaIE **o-* rather than **u-* [a reg. source of Sl **i*] and because OIr *sa'ith* suggests **sa-*]), Ad. 703 II A {DQA} **ʒe-* 'eat' > T **je-* v. 'eat' > OT/Qp {Cl.} *je-*, MQp [CC], XwT, Chg *je-*, Tk *ye-*, Δ *jī-*, Az, CrTt, Kr Cr, Nog, Uz *je-*, Tkm *ий-* *ī-* (< **jī-* < **je-*), ET *je(y)-* ~ *ja-*, Ggz *ji-*, SY *je-* ~ *ji-* ~ *ʒ'i-*, Ln *je-* ~ *ji-* ~ *ʒ'e-*, Qzq, Qq *z'e-*, Qrg *ʒ'e-*, Alt *ʒ'i-*, Tb *je-*, Xlj *j'e-*, *je-*, Xk *ч' - c'i-*, Tv *c'i-*, Tf *c'i-*, Yk *siā-*, Chv *s'i-* ¶ Cl. 869-70, Rs. W 194, ET Gl 333-5, DT 224, Tz. UIS 107, Ra. 196, Fed. II 114-5 || pKo {S} **ca-* 'eat' > MKo *ca-si-* id., NKo *casi-* id. ¶ S QK #25, Nam 411, MLC 1380 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2596 [A **ʒe-* 'eat'; incl. T, Kol], ≠ S AJ 35, 281 ◇ IS MS 340 (**zega* v. 'eat'), Glh. 550 (**SaHU* / **SUHa*) ◇ *ī* ~ U **seʒe-* 'eat' (see N ***sEgkV** 'to eat, swallow').

2714. ₂ ***ʒVg'i** 'rank, rancid, fetid' > K {FS} **ʒay-*, {K} **mʒayē-* 'rancid' (nut) > G *mʒayē*, G G *ʒayē-* 'rank, rancid, bitter', Mg *ʒuyē-*, Sv {K} *məʒiɣ* 'rank, rancid' ¶ K DE 363, K² 130, FS K 420, Mach. K 25, DCh. 926, GhL. 684 II HS: S **°ʒyɣ* > Ar *ʒayɣ-*, *zuɣɣ-* 'odeur fétide des aisselles' ¶ BK I 993, DRS 776 || ?φ B **ʒHy* ~ *ʒ* **ʒHy* v. 'be bitter' > Gh *iz₂a* 'bitter', Si {La.} *zay* v. 'be bitter', Skn *za'y* 'bitter', Nf *yazay*, Snd *yəzaī* 'it is bitter' ¶ La. S 194 ¶ The forms registered without emphatization of **z* may be due to inaccurate recording ¶ ≠ Tk. PAA 5 (Ar ÷ ≠φ Ak *zaʔu* 'duften', ≠φ,σ Kz *ʒiʔa-muko* (pl. *ʒiʔaʔ-iko* 'sperm'))

2715. ≈ ***ʒ'i.V** 'to press, knead, rub' > K **zVH-*, {K, K²} *z-* 'press, squeeze' > Mg {Q, Chik.} *z-* 'knead', Lz {Chik.} *z-* 'crush (çqleta, раздавить)' (unless < **z_l-* < N ***ʒiLsa** 'to shove, stir up, rub' [q.v.]), Sv {K} *zih-* v. 'press, squeeze (?)' ¶ K 86, K² 55-6, Q 235, Chik. 274-5, FS E 141 II IE: Ht *sai₂-/siya-* 'festdrücken, einprägen' ¶ Ts. W 67, Frd. HW 175 II HS: Ch: WCh: pSBc **ʒVw-* v. 'press' (давиг-, мот-) > Buli *nʒ'o'wu*, Plc *z'o'wu* | NrBc: Pa'a {MSk.} *ʒew* id. || ? CCh: Bdm {Nc.} *c'ey* v.

'press' ¶ Stl. ZCh 262 [#16], ChC s.v. 'press' || ?? S *^o√zhw (× N *^zgew₁h₁v or *^zse₁h₁wv 'to mix' [q.v.]) > Mh, Jb √zhw v. 'bump into, push out of the way' ¶ Jo. M 467.

2716. *^z'to^hHE 'to scatter' > K: GZ *cw(i)- {K²} vi. 'pour, fall' (of dry substances) > OG gardamocwiden zecit 'fall from the sky' (Matth. 24.29), G cvi- vi. 'pour, fall' (сѣятъ-сѣ, 'hinunter-herunter-ab-fallen), Mg c(i)-, Lz (n)c- id. ¶ K 224 ('sich verschütten'), K² 265, FS K 398-9 II HS: S *^o-zu^h- > Ar √zwh (pf. za^hha, ip. -zu^h-) 'disperser' ¶ BK I 1025 II IE: [1] IE *seh₁y₁- > NaIE *se⁻(i₁)-/*sə(i₁)- v. 'sow' > L ser-o⁻ (< *se-s-o⁻) / -e⁻re / se⁻vī / sa⁻tu-s 'sow' || Gmc *se⁻jan > Gt saian (p. sar'so⁻), ON sa' (p. sera), OHG sa⁻en, NHG sa⁻en, OSx sa⁻ian, AS sa⁻wan 'to sow', NE saw || Lt se⁻'-ti (1s prs. se⁻'ju), Ltv se⁻t (1s pr. se⁻ju) 'to saw' || Sl *se⁻-ti (inf.) / 1s prs. *se⁻j-o₁ 'sow' > *se⁻ja-ti inf. 'to sow' > OCS сѣти se⁻ti ~ сѣяти se⁻jati / сѣж se⁻jo₁, SCr sr⁻jati / sr⁻jē⁻m, Slv se⁻ja⁻ti / se⁻jem, OCz sieti / se⁻ju, Cz sr⁻ti / seji, P siac⁻ / sieje₁, R 'ce⁻ɪɾ- / 'ce⁻, Blg (1s prs.) 'ce⁻ || Clt d : OIr sr⁻l 'a seed', W hil 'seed, progeny' || > [1a] NaIE *se⁻-mn₁ '(a) seed, sowing' > L se⁻men 'a seed' || OSx, OHG sa⁻mo, NHG Same id. || Olt se⁻muo⁻ 'sowing', Lt se⁻'menys 'linseed', Pru semen 'a seed' || Sl *se⁻'me₁ (gen. *se⁻'men-e) 'a seed' > OCS сѣмя se⁻me₁, Blg 'ce⁻me, SCr ce⁻me⁻ sje⁻me, Slv se⁻'me, Cz sime⁻, Slk semeno, P siemie₁, R 'ce⁻mi || [1b] NaIE d *se⁻-to-, *sə-to- pp. 'sown, scattered' > L sa⁻tum 'sown' || Clt: Brtt [RE] *satos 'seed (semen)' > W, Br had, OBr att, MBr hat, Crn ha⁻s || ON sa⁻ð 'chaff; seed', OHG sa⁻t 'seeds, seed-field', NHG Saat, OFrs se⁻d, AS sæ⁻d 'sowing, seed', NE seed id., Gt mana-se⁻ps 'mankind, world' (lit. 'man-seed') || [1c]: L sa⁻tio n. act. 'sowing, planting' || OIr, Nlr saithe 'swarm, litter' (< *satio), W haid, Br hed 'swarm' || Ht sa⁻(i)- {Ad.←-?} 'sow, throw', {Ts.} 'shoot' || [2] NaIE *se⁻(i₁)- 'scatter, sift' > Lt sijo⁻-ti, Ltc sija⁻t 'sift' || Sl: OCS расѣти rase⁻ti (< *raz-se⁻ti) ~ расѣяти rase⁻jati 'scatter, disperse', Cz rozsi⁻ti, R pac⁻ce⁻ɪɾ- 'disperse', HLs sac⁻ (1s prs. saju), LLs sas⁻ 'to sift', OCS просѣяти pro-se⁻jati 'to sift (cribrare, durchsieben)', Cz prosí⁻ti, R про⁻ce⁻ɪɾ- id. || Gk 'ῥέω ('ῥέω) v. 'sift' || NaIE d *se⁻i₁-to 'sieve' > Lt si⁻eta-s, Ltv sie⁻t-s, Sl *si⁻to 'sieve' > Blg, R 'ciɾo, SCr sr⁻to, Slv si⁻to, Cz sr⁻to, Slk, P sito || NaIE d *se⁻-tlo- 'sieve' > W hidl, OBr sizl, Br sil, OIr sr⁻thlaid 'he sieves' || Gmc *se⁻θla 'sieve' > ON sa⁻ld, Dn sold, Sw sa⁻ll, > F seula, Krl siekla⁻ s⁻iekla ¶ ¶ i ÷ Ht {Pv.} ishuwa(i)- v. 'shed, throw, scatter, pour' ({Pv.}: ÷ Gk 'ίνα⁻ω 'empty out', OI is⁻ 'impel' < IE *Hei₁-sH-), {Frd., Ts.} suhha- 'schütten' ¶ P 889-90, EI 534 [*seh₁- 'sow'], 505 [*seh₁-men 'seed'], 518 [*seh₁(i)- 'sift', *seh₁-tlom 'sieve'], WH II 512, 522, Vn. S 108-9, 121-2, RE 127, Fs. 344, 403-4, Vr. 459-60, Hlq. 1142-3, SK 1005, Kb. 817, 827, 829, OsS 736, 742, 745, Ho. 267, 270, Ho. S 62, Frn. 774, 778-9, 783-4, En. 245, Vs. III 600-1, 615, Glh. 546, 550, SJSS 385, 625-6, Chm. II 160, F I 624-5, Ad. 683, Pv. I-II 404, Frd. HW 196, Ts. W 67, 77 ♦ K *c- < *ch- < pre-K *^z'h < N *^z'Vh-.

2717. ?σ₂ *^z'a¹U₁kV 'back end, tail' (> 'behind', 'after', 'to follow, follow (game) by the tracks') > HS: S *^oza¹V₁k- > Ar {BK, BKIG, Dz.} za¹ak-at- 'tail', Ar Mgr {Dz.} za¹k-at- 'derrière, cul', ?? Ar za¹k-at {Fr.} 'mora, qua subsistunt', {BK} 'temps que l'on reste quelque part' ¶ Fr. II 238, BK I 991, BKIG II 416, Dz. I 593 || B *^z√zhg (= {Pr.} *^z√zh₁g) > Ah əhəg⁻ v. 'suivre rapidement', ETwl/Ty {GhA} əzəg, TnsI {Pr. ← ABs., MtT} əs⁻əg id., Gh {Nh.} c⁻i-m-zik 'vengeance', B *^z-zu⁻k- (< *^z-zuHk-) > Tz ta-zuk-t, Tmz {MT} ta-zuk-t (pl. ti-zuk-in) 'buttock, hip, thigh', Izd {Mrc.} ta-zuk-t (pl. ti-zuk-in) 'fesse' ¶ Fc. 524, Pr. H #170, GhA 210, MT 801, Mrc. 116, 421 || C: EC: Sml z⁻e⁻go, Sml N z⁻e⁻go 'nape of the neck', Arr {Hw.} ze⁻h id. || ? C > Mb {E} ki-zo⁻ga ~ ki-zo⁻ya 'shoulder' ¶ ZMO 219, Abr. S 139, Hw. A 401, E SC 190 || NrOm {Blz.} *zikk- ~ *zukk- 'back (dorsum)' > Shn {Beke} 'z⁻ikko, {Lm.} z⁻ik⁻a⁻, Bdt {C} zahi, Kcm {Fl.} zahe, Wl {C} zikko⁻, {Beke} zokko, {LmS} zokkuw₂, Dwr {C} zikko⁻, {Beke} 'zokko, {LmS} zokke, Oyda {Fl.} 'zokko, Gm {Hw.} zo⁻kko, Male, Dc {LmS} zokko id. ¶ Blz. OLBP #4, Lm. Sh 323, LmS 568, Hw. EG II A: M: WrM zogu 'barb of a harpoon' ¶ Gl. III 511, MED 1067 II AdS of IE *sahg⁻g- > NaIE *sa⁻g⁻g⁻/*səg⁻g- v. 'track (nachspüren), follow (game) by the tracks, seek out' (P, Vn., F: an ancient hunting term) (< N *^zahk⁻a⁻ 'to search, find, know', q.v. ffd.) ♦ The tentatively reconstructed vw. *U is responsible for the internal labial vw. in B *zuHk-, in some Om lgs. and in M. In IE this (presumably unstressed) internal vw. was elided: *^z'a¹U₁kV > *^z'afkV > IE *sahg⁻.

2718. ?WW *^z'a¹kUn⁻V 'elephant' (→ 'mythical giant') > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} z⁻a⁻na⁻ (pl. z⁻a⁻n), Q z⁻a⁻na⁻ (pl. z⁻a⁻n, z⁻a⁻nt), Aw {Fl.} zizoni 'elephant', C > Amh zzhon > Xm {R} zohon ~ zehon || EC EC ≈ *zakan- id. > Af {R} daka⁻no (pl. do⁻ku⁻n), Sa {CR} dakun, Sml Hw/Og {R} dagon ~ do⁻gon id., Or B/O {Sr.} dannaba⁻ arba⁻, Or Wt {Sr.} dannawa⁻ arba⁻ 'female elephant' (arba⁻ 'elephant') [> Dhl {EEN} d⁻a⁻nnaba, {To.} da⁻nnabe 'female elephant'] || pHEC *za⁻ne ({Hd.} *za⁻ne) 'elephant' > Kmb {Hd.} zane⁻(-c⁻c⁻u) (pl. zana⁻kata), Sd {Hd., Gs.} da⁻n-ic⁻c⁻o (pl. da⁻niwo), Hd {Hd.} da⁻ne-c⁻c⁻o id. || Ya {Hn.} so⁻go⁻me⁻i⁻ (pl. sogomei⁻di) id. || Dhl {EEN} d⁻okko⁻mi, {To.} doko⁻mi 'elephant' ¶ AD SF 107, PH 79, Hd. 56, 274, 344, 358, L Z 120, Hn. Y II 124, Sr. 285, EEN 28, To. D 132 || Om: NrOm: Wl/Zl/Gf/Bk/Cha {C} dangarsa⁻, Dwr {CR} dangarsa, Gm {Hw.} danga⁻rsi, Zs {C} dongor, Bdt {C, CR} zakka⁻, Kcm {Lm. ←-?} za⁻kka, Hrr {Hw.} za⁻kka 'elephant' || Ym {Wdk.} za⁻'kno⁻ id. || Kf {C} dangiyo, Mch {L} da⁻ngao, {Lm.} dengawo, Anf dange⁻c⁻c⁻o, Shn {Mrn.} dangas, {C} danges⁻a id. (but {Lm.} danges⁻s⁻a⁻ 'buffalo') || ? Mj/Na {Lm. ←-?} do⁻r, Shk {Lm. ←-?} do⁻ro || Som: Hm {Fl.} donger, Ari B dongor id. ¶ AD SF 107, Blz. OL #133, Wdk. BY 139, L M 27, Lm. Sh 296-7, CR H

666, Fl. OO 318, Hw. EG, Hw. NKL 222 || Ch ≈ *ʒʷkVn- 'elephant' > WCh: BT: Tng {J} yu_gne_, Tng B {ChL} yo'ku'ne', Gera {Sch.} yoni, Ngm {ChL} ya'we'n, Krf {Gw.} yiwuni, {Sch.} yu'ni', Bl {Mch.} jauno? (j = [y]) id. : Ngz {Sch.} ʒ'a_u'na'k (pl. ʒ'a_u'na'ni'n) : NrBc: My {Sk. in ChC} yʒ'wu'n, {ChL} ye'wi'n, Sir {Sk.} yo'wa'ni', Mbr {Sk.} ya'wi'n, Jmb ya'wa'n id. : Bg {J} yuwa'n, {Csp.} yuwan, {Sh.} ywa'n, Grn {Hrn.} yi'wʒ'n id., {Csp.} yo'wʒn || CCh: Tr {Nw.} ʒ'u'wa'n ¶ JI II 124-5, Sk. NB 20, Sch. DN 83, J T 171, ChC s.v. 'elephant', ChL, Hrn. G #145, Sh. BZ 29, Csp. 16, 48 ¶ A: NaT *jaga'n 'elephant' > OT jaya'n, XwT XIV, MU XIV [Rbg.] jayan, SY jayan ~ jaḡan, Tv c'a'n, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} ja'n (= ʒ'a'n) id. (here also Alt/Tlt {Rl.} ja'n, Alt {BT} ʒ'a'n 'big, great??'); T → M *ʒaḡan > WrM ʒagan, HIM ʒaah za'n 'elephant' ¶ MED 1023, Kow. 2245 ¶ Cl. suggests that Alt/Tlt ja'n and Tv c'a'n may be reborrowings from M ¶ Cl. 90A, ET J 60, Rl. III 79, TvR 50A ¶ ?φ D *ya_n(ai_), [GS] *ya_n- 'elephant' > Tm ya_nai_, a_nai_, Ml a'na, Kt, Td a'n, Kn a'ne, ya'ne, Kdg a'ne, Tu a'næ, Tl e'nu'gu, e'nika, Klm ena'gī d e'ngi, Nkr e'nagī, Prj e'nu, Gdb e'nig, Gnd ye'nī d ai_nī d e'nal d e'ni d e'n, Knd e'ngu d e'ni ¶ D #5161, GS 134 [#347] ¶ IE: loans from unknown sources: Gk γι'γανθ (gen. γι'γανθο) 'giant', Lt † gogas 'giant' (P 'wielkolud'), Ltv Δ ga'gan-s 'giant; long rope', ? OI gaja-h. 'elephant' ¶ F I 305-6, Frn. 161, ME I 616, M K I 314, M E I 458 [⚡ ⚡ Blz. DA 157 [#51] [suggested that D {Blz.} *yan_ (i.e. *ya_n-) may go back to *iyan < *ciyan < *cigan]].

2719. *ʒ'alV (or *ʒ'alVØV) 'flame' > U: FU *s'ala 'to lighten; lightening' > F salama 'lightning' || ObU {Ht.} *si_l- v. 'lighten' > pVg {Ht.} *si_l- > Vg: T sa_l-, LK/UL/Ss sa_l-, MK/UK/NV/LL/ML sʒ_l-, P sʒ_l-~sʒ_l- v. 'lighten', P salna 'lightening', pOs {Ht.} *sa_l-, *sa_la- v. 'lighten' > Os: V sa_l-, sa_la-, Ty sa_l-, Km sa_t-, Nz so_t- id., Y sa_l, D/K sa_t 'lightening' ¶ UEW 459, Coll. 111, Ht. ##589 ¶ A *zali- > NaT *jal- v. 'blaze, burn, shine' > OT jal- id., StAlt {BT} ʒ'al- id., Tlt {Rl.} jal- id., Shor {Rl.} c'al- id., Yk sal- 'roast (on fire)'; → (1) NaT *jaln 'flame' > OT, MQp [CC], Chg jalin, OOsM jalin, Tk yalin, Ggz, Kr, Qmq, Nog jalin, Qzq, Qq z'aln, Qrg ʒ'aln, Tlt {Rl.} jalin, Xk c'aln, Qzl {Jk.} s'a_ln 'flame', Tv c'aln heat from the fire', Tkm jalin id., 'flame'; (2) NaT *jalkn 'flame' > Tk yalkn, ET jalqun, Uz jalqin, Qzq z'alqin, VTt, Bsh jalqun, Alt ʒ'alqin, Tb/QK {Rl.} jalyin ¶ Rs. W 181, Cl. 918, 929, ET J 106-7, TL 356-7, 363, Rl. III 165, 1877, Md. 160, TvR 515, BIG 310 ¶ Cf. N *ʒ'uØLV 'to shine; blaze; flame' (possibly a secondary source of the T √) || M *zali 'flame' > WrM zali, HIM ʒal- 'flame, spirit', WrO {Krg.} zali 'flame, splendour, glory', zalida- 'to blaze, flame', Kl ʒal- 'flame' ¶ MED 1031, Krg. 659, KRS 239 ¶ ? HS: amb S *°/zlʃ 'burn (so.'s skin) with fire' (× N *ʒ'u'ʔiʔiʔV ~ *ʒ'u'ʔiʔiʔE 'to smoulder, burn [intr.]; live coals', q.v. ffd.) ⚡ If the S word belongs here, the N rec. is *ʒ'alVØV (not *ʒ'alØV, because *-lØ- yields U *-z-). Otherwise it is *ʒ'alV.

2720. *ʒ'ælV 'to swing, wave, be shaky', (?) 'to spring, leap' > HS: WS *√zl(z)l > BHb √zll N 'shake, quake' (of mountains) (3p pf. ul'7zn1 na''zollu'), Ar √zlzl D 'faire trembler, secouer, agiter', TD (pf. tazalzala) 'be agitated, quake' (esp. of earthquake), zalza_l 'earthquake', ChrPA mzdll 'drunken', Sr √zll G {Br.} 'subsiliuit', Gz {L} √zll G 'move, be shaken, swing, be agitated' ¶ Br. 196, BK I 1004-5, BDB 272, ≈ DRS 738, L G 638 ¶ A: TM: WrMc ʒele, ʒelen 'shaky, shaky gait of a drunken man; doubtful, uncertain' ¶ Z 977 ¶ ?σ IE: NaIE *sel- / {Brg.} *s_l- v. 'jump, leap' > L salio_ (pfc. salui_) vi. 'spring, leap, jump, bound', frq. salta- 'dance' (VL *salta- 'jump' > It saltare, Fr sauter, Sp, Prt saltar), n. act. saltus (gen. saltu_s) 'a spring, leap, bound' || Gk ᾠαλομαι ({Brg.} < *s_ly-) vi. 'spring, leap, bound', ᾠαλα 'a spring, leap, bound', ᾠασι n. 'leaping' || (+ext.) Sl *sьlpa-ti (1s prs. *selpjo_) 'to spring, leap' > ChS сьлпатн slьpati id. ¶ WP II 505, P 899, EI 323, WH II 468, F I 76, BD I 467, Trt. 256, Mikl. E 307.

2721. *ʒ'ilV 'to slip, slide' > HS: S *°/zll (or CS *√zll) > Ar √zll (pf. zalla, ip. ya-zill-u) v. 'slip away, lapsavit in loco lubrico', msd. zall- 'sliding', Ar D {Lb.} √zll 'glisser', NNEA {Mcl.} LAΩē ze'l zīl, zil n. 'sliding (glissade)' (←Ar?); +ext.: Ar √zlχ v. 'slip' ¶ Fr. II 246, Ln. 1241, 1244, Lb. 1847-8, Mcl. 86, ≈ DRS 738 ¶ ?σ IE: NaIE *slei_ (× N *s'il_i ~ *s'il_ayV 'smooth' [q.v. ffd.], cf. also *ʒ'VI'i'KE 'to slip, slide' and *s'VI'χit.V ~ -dV 'to slip') ¶ U {Resh.} *c'ʃ'il- 'smooth', 'to whet' (× N *s'il_i ~ *s'il_ayV '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ? A: M: WrM ʒildam, HIM жалдам 'skillful skater' ¶ Kow. 2347, MED 1055, Rm. EAS I 65-6 (mentions WrM ʒ ilga, ʒ ilgai, ʒ ilgam, ʒ ilgag 'gleitend, glatt, fließend', not confirmed by Kow., MED, Gl. and Bb.) || T *ʒil- v. 'slide' (× T *ʒil- v. 'creep' < N *ʒ'IXI_V ~ -I_XV 'to creep, crawl') > VTt U z'ʔil- slide downhill', VTt I, SbTt Tō ʒil- id., 'slide', Xk c'il- v. 'slide, ski', Tv c'il- 'slide (of sledge)', Yk si_l- v. 'ski', Alt/QK/Kū {Rl.} ʒil- v. 'slip' ¶ Length of *i is due to the merger with *ʒil- v. 'creep' ¶ ≈ ET J 40-1, Rs. W 200, T[+T]DS 178, 579, Tm. 90, Pek. 2440, Rl. III 481.

2722. *ʒagilV (or *ʒagilVlayV) 'secret[ly], to deceive' > HS: S: Ar ʒaḡal- 'counterfeit, adulterated' (of money, metal) ¶ Ln. 1235 ¶ U *sala- v. 'do sth. secretly, steal' > F, Es sala n. 'secret', F salaa 'secretly, stealthily', Es salaja 'secretly' : pLp *so'le- 'thief, thievish, secretly' > Lp: S {Hs.} suoleh- 'steal', Vf {Lgc.} suō't-ʒh- 'thief, suā't-d_a'mʒ v. 'steal', L {LLO} suola 'thief', suolle-t 'in secret, secretly', suola'ti- 'steal', N {N} suola^ / -lla^g- 'thief, thievish', suoladi- 'steal, go stealthily', Kld {SaR} cy'лл 'thief', cy'лн 'steal' : Er, Mk sala- 'steal' : pChr *sol' 'thief', *sol' 'steal' (Ber: *s'olə_, *solə_) > Chr: Н полы s'ol' 'thief', L полып s'ol'p, Uf s'ol'p adj./adv. 'secret, -ly', H, L полып- s'ol'p's-t-, M sol'p's-t- 'steal' || pObU {Ht.} *θu_ləm- v. 'steal', *θu_lmVk 'thief' > pVg {Ht.} *tu_ləm- 'steal' > Vg: T tolma'nt-, LK/MK/UL tu_lmənt-, P/NV/SV tulamt-, LL tu_ləmt-, UL/Ss tu_lmant- id.; pVg {Ht.} tu_lmək 'thief' > Vg: T to_lmək, LK/MK tu_lməx, P/NV/SV/LL tulməx, UL/Ss

tu^lmax id.; pOs {Ht.} *^laləm- 'steal' > Os: V/O laləm-, Vy yaləm-, Ty/Y ^laləm-, D/K totəm-, Nz tətəm-, Kz ^lələm- id.; pOs {Ht.} *^lalmak 'thief' > Os: Vy yalmaq, Y ^laləmaq, D/K totmaχ, NMz tətmaχ, Kz ^lələmaχ, O lalmaχ id. || Sm {Jn.} *^lalā^l-, {Hl.} *^lale- v. 'steal' > Ne: T тале-с-, T O {Lh.} ta^ll'e⁻, F {Lh.} ta^ll'i⁻e⁻s'; Ng {C} 1s aor. obj. tole^l?ama; En {C}: (1s aor. obj.) X ta^libō, B tarebo 'steal'; Slq Tz {KKIH} t^ll-i- id., t^ll-it 'secretly', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. tu^lab⁻; -d> Sm augm. {Jn.} *^lal^lγy^lγ-, {Hl.} *^lal^lγr- 'steal' > Kms {KD} 1s prs. t'a^lγy^lam, Mt {Hl.} *^lal^lγr- (Mt M {Sp.} телернымъ 'I steal') || Y: K {IN, Jc.} olo- v. 'steal', {Jc.} 'olol 'theft' ¶ UEW 430-1, Coll. 55, Sm. 540 (U, FU *^lsa^lla⁻, FP *^lsala-, Ugr *^lsa^lla-, Sm *^lta^lla⁻ 'steal'), Lr. #1175, Lgc. #7150, Lgc. SL #2255, Hs. 1266, SaR 331, Ber. #338, MRS 716-7, Ep. 152, Ht. #141, Jn. 150-1, Lh. 470, KKIИ 182, Hl. M #975, IN UASJu 86, Ang. 194, ≈ Rd. UJ 43 [#51] (Y U) || A *^lal^li⁻ > NaT *^ljala 'false accusation' > OT {Cl.} jala⁻ ≈ 'false accusation; (?) suspicion', MQP [CC] jala 'false accusation', Nog, VTt, Bsh jala, Qzq, Qq z^lala, Qrg z^lala 'slander', SbTt jala id. (in jala jabu 'to calumniate'), Alt {Rl., BT} z^lala n. 'fine (Strafgeld, Geldbusse)', Chv L (< VTt?) jula jup 'to pretend, speak deceitfully (лукавит-), calumniate'; NaT *^ljalyan 'a lie; untruthful' > OT {Cl.} jalya⁻n id., 'a liar', MQP xiv jalyan 'a lie', Tk yalan, Ggz, Az, Tkm, Qq jala, Qzq Δ z^lalan, Kr, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jalyan, Uz jalyan, QBl, Qrg z^lalyan, Qzq, Qq z^lalyan id. ¶ Cl. 919, 926, ET J 87, 91-2, BT 44, Rl. III 154 & IV 36, Jeg. 347, TkR 811 || M *^lzali 'ruse, deceit' > WrM zali, HIM зал⁻ 'ruse, craft, cunning, trick, deceit', WrO zalida- 'deceive, trick', zalidul 'cunning, ruse'; -d> WrM zalikai, HIM залхай, зал⁻хай 'treacherous, cunning', Ord {Ms.} z^la^llixa⁻ 'astucieux', WrO {Krg.} zalixai 'crafty, wily', Kl {Rm.} zal^lxa⁻ 'listig, hinterlistig', ? Ba zelu 'cunning, cute' ¶ MED 1031, KW 465, Ms. O 183, Krg. 659, T BJ 140 || Tg: [1] AmTg *^ljelen 'deceit, lie' > Ul z^ll^lz(n-), Ork z^ll^lz(n-), z^lillz(n-), z^lllz(n-), Nn Nh z^ll^lz id.; Ul z^ll^lz^li-, Ork z^lillz⁻, z^ll^lz^ll^lz⁻, Nn Nh z^ll^lz⁻ v. 'deceive, tell a lie'; Ul z^ll^lz^l(m)bu, Ork z^lllz^lm^lngu, Nn Nh z^ll^lz^lngu, z^ll^lz^lpi 'deceiver, liar'; [2] Tg *^ljelum n./adj./adv. 'secret(ly)' > Ewk, Neg j^lelum, Lm j^lelum id., Lm j^lelum-, Ork j^lelum- 'approach stealthily, steal (into)' ¶ STM I 28 ¶ KW 465 (A *^lz^lal^l; T *^lz^lal^l 'hide', M), DQA #2590 [A *^lzela 'deceive'] < IS MS 368 s.v. тайный *^lzala (U, A).

2723. ? *^lz^lahul⁻ ≈ '(calf of) leg', {?} 'bone of leg' > K *^lz^lval⁻, {K, K²} *^lz^lval⁻ 'bone' (× N ?^l*^lewVn^lzV '∈ bone?') > OG zual-, G zval- id., Sv UB/LB/Ln z^ll^lz^lw id., ? Mg G Gr z^ll^lz^lgv- 'robust man' (← *^lbony man') ¶ K 241, K² 291, Ghl. 782, TK 888 || HS: SC: Kz {E} zulu-tiko 'calf of leg' ¶ E SC 353 || S *^lz^laha^l > Gz {L} za^lha^l 'hind leg', Amh zal id. ¶ L G 634, DRS 714 ¶ Tk. PAA 6 || D *^lcallat^ln⁻ 'cloth for legs' > Tm, Ml callat^lam 'short drawers', Kt calal^lm, cal^lm 'perineal cloth', Kn callan^la, cal(a)n^la, collana, col^lna 'drawers/breeches', Tu callan^la, calla^ll^lna, Tl calla^ll^ld^lamu 'short breeches'; D OI calanaka- 'a short petticoat' ¶ D #2379 || ?σ A: Tg *^ljalan 'knee, elbow, joint (of a limb)' > Ewk Z ja^lla 'elbow', Ewk, Neg jala, Orc, Ud, Ul z^lala(n-), Ork dala(n-), Nn z^lala⁻, WrMc zala, zalan 'joint (of a limb)', Ewk Sm † jala^l 'ell', Lm ja^llan 'joint of the knee' ¶ STM I 245-6.

2724. *^lz^liX^l ~ -l^lXV 'to creep, crawl' > HS: CS *^lzhl (~ *^lzlx) 'creep, slide' > BHb, JA [Trg.] /zhl v. 'creep, crawl', Sr √o~Ωo za^lh^ll-a⁻ 'locustae repentes' (← acp. G 'crawling') Ar Δ /zhl {GB ← Lb.} 'gleiten', {Del.} 'sich verkriechen' ¶ GB 196, KB 256-7, KBR 267, Js. 390, Lv. T I 213, Br. 194, Lb. PD 428, DRS 714 || IE: NaIE *^lsel- ~ *^ltsel- v. 'creep, crawl' (× N *^lz^lil⁻ 'to slip, slide') > OI 'tsarati 'creeps on, sneaks', tsaruh. 'a crawling animal', Av srvant- 'crawling' || Lt sele^lti 'to creep, tread noiselessly' || Arm so⁻im so^lim (< *^ltsol-?) 'I glide, creep into, slip' || MDt, ME slīken 'leise gleitend gehen, OHG slīhhan ~ slīchan 'to crawl, slink', NHG schleichen 'to crawl, creep' || ? OIr selige 'turtle' || ?? Al shllige⁻ ~ she⁻llige⁻ 'viper' (acc. to O xix, the change *s > Al sh [outside the intervoc. position after *i⁻, *u⁻] is irreg.) ¶ *t- in OI and pre-Arm may be a remnant of a px., e.g. *d- as a zero grade of the px. *ad- 'to' ¶ P 900, EI 141 [*^l(t)sel- 'sneak/crawl up on'], Hamp AIEW 145, M K I 540-1, Kb. 909, OsS 822, KM 655, Frn. 774, Vn. S 81-2, O 425 (treats Al shllige⁻ as a tabooistic description from lig) ¶ The absence of traces of a lr. points to a metathetic variant *^lz^lil⁻ XV of the N √ ¶ The meaning 'slip, slide, glide' may be due to the merger with N *^lz^lil⁻ '¶ II A *^lz^lilX 'to creep' > T *^ljl^ll- 'creep' > Qrg z^lil-, VTt Δ z^ll^ll- d^l j^ll-, Uz z^lil-, Alt z^lil-, Xk, Qzl c^lil-, Yk sl^ll- id.; -d> T *^ljila⁻n 'snake' > OT {Cl.}, Tkm jila⁻n, MU, XwT jilan, MQP, Chg jilan ~ ilan, Tk yilan, Az ilan jilan, Ggz, Kr, Qmq, Nog, SY jilan, VTt, Bsh j^lilan, ET, Ln ilan, Uz ilan, QrB, Qrg z^lilan, Qzq, Qq z^lilan, Alt z^lilan, Xk, Tv c^lilan, Chv s^llen, Δ s^llen; the loss of the vowel length in *i is puzzling ¶ ET J 40-1, 277, TL 180, Cl. 930, Jeg. 210, Fed. II 106-7 < IS MS 358 s.v. ползти *^lzila (IE, A, S + i ÷ ? K *^lzirt, > Mg zirt, - 'to slip'), Resh. NNE #14 (U, A).

2725. *^lz^lu^ll^lh^ll^lγV (or *^lz^lu^ll^lh^ll^lγE) [*^lz^lu^ll^lh^ll^lγV (or *^lz^lu^ll^lh^ll^lγE)] 'to smoulder, burn [intr.]; live coals' > HS: S *^lz^ll^l 'burn (so.'s skin) with fire' > Ar /zlf 'brûler avec le feu (p. ex. le pied à quelqu'un)' ¶ Fr. II 249, BK I 1005 || EC: Rn {PG} z^li^lla^h 'burning charcoal, glowing coal' [× N *^lc^l 'i^ll^lhV '(char)coal' ¶ PG 167, Bl. 202, 215, Ss. PEC 22, 30 [¶ II K *^lc^lh^lu^ll⁻ > Sv L c^lhul-, c^lhwl- v. 'singe, burn the surface of (опалит-, обжеч-)', msd. {TK}: UB/Ln li-c^lhwle, L li-c^lhwli id. ¶ TK 478, Dn. s.v. c^lhul- ¶ II IE: NaIE *^lswel^lə- vi. 'smoulder, burn' > OI {MW, M} 'svar- v. 'shine' || Gk ε^lλη, ε^lλη 'sun's heat/warmth', ε^lλα^lνη 'torch of reeds', α^lλε^lα 'son's warmth' || AS swelan, OFrs swela vi. 'to burn, be burnt up', MLG swelen > NLG swe^llen NHG schwelen 'to smoulder' || Lt svi^ll^lti / svi^ll^lu^l vi. 'singe, burn without flame', Ltv svil^lt (prs. svilstu, svil^lu, svilu) v. 'burn, singe, glow' ¶ WP II 531-2, P 1045, EI 88 (*^lswel- 'burn'), ≈ M K III 563 (does not distinguish this √ from

IE *seh₂wel- 'sun', MW 1281, F I 458-9, Ho. 334, KM 692, Frn. 954 || U *s'u^hz'e or *s'u^hz'e 'charcoal' > F sysi (gen. syden), Es su^hsi (gen. so^hē) id. || pLp {Lr.} *c'əðə id. > Lp: S tǝjirre, L tǝjata^h, N {N} c'əðdā^h / -d-, I c'iddā id. || pMr {Ker.} *s'ed id. > Er, Mk ced- s'ed, Er Δ {Mu.} s'a^hd' || pChr {Ber.} *s'u^hy id. > Chr: L ɲey s'u^hy, B, M s'u^hy, Uf s'u^h, H ɲey s'u^h id. || ObU {Ht.} *su^hδ' id. > pVg *su^hl' || > Vg T su^hl' i^h su^hli; pOs *so^hy ({Hl.} *su^hy) > Os V/Vy so^hy id. || Sm *s'iy^h ({Jn.} *siy^h) 'live coal' (*s'u^hz'e < as U *s'u^hz'e) > Ne F {Lh.} tu^hs' s'iy tu^hs' s'e^hy id. (tu^hs' 'fire'); En T {Adl.} sie^h 'pruna', En {Cs.} compd. tu^hsio 'coal'; Slq Tz {KKIH} sic^hi id.; Kms {Cs.} si^h id.; Mt {Hl.} *ki (or *kī, *kiyi?) 'live coal' (Mt T/K {Mll.}, T {Adl.} gi 'pruna') ¶¶ UEW 477-8, Coll. 59, It. #426, Sm. 540 (U *s'u^hd'i, FU, FP *s'u^hdi, Ugr *su^hd' i^h, Sm *sijo- 'charcoal'), SK 1149, Lr. #99, Lgc. #437, Hs. 1322, Ker. II 139, Ber. II 72, MRS 742, Ep. 157, Ht. #563, MK 573, Jn. 140, KKI 170, Ptp. 45, Hl. M 79 (unc. on Sm *s- > Mt k- preceding *e, i and *u^h), 276 [#479] || A: T *jula 'torch, lamp, a light' and M *zula id. (× N *z'u^hLV 'to shine; blaze; flame' [q.v. ffd.]) || Possibly here also d: T *jult'ur' ({Md.} *ju^hldur') 'star' (× N *z'u^hLV [q.v. ffd.]) || D *cul₁l-/*cu₁l- 'fireplace' [(× N *c. 'u^hl₁χ^h 'embers, charcoal' ?)] > Tm cul₁l₁ai₁ 'potter's kiln, furnace', cu₁l₁ai₁ 'kiln, furnace, funeral pile', Ml cul₁l₁a 'potter's furnace', cu₁l₁a 'brick-kiln'; D -b> OI, Prkr cul₁l- 'fireplace' ¶ D #2709 ¶+ ♦ The K vl. cnss. *cχ- (for the expected vd. *zχ-) may point to the presence of a lr. ± *h (that regularly disappears in S) ¶ ♦ ≈ IS MS 370 s.v. **υροῖ** *s'u^hla (IE, U + i > D *cut₁V 'burn'), ≈ AD LZL 361-2 (*z₁ul₁γ₁α^h, i.e. *z₁ul₁Ø 'smoulder, burn': U, A [T, M], HS [S, C] + i > D *cut₁V 'burn').

2726. *z^hvi^hi^hKE 'to slip, slide' > HS: S *^hzlg (or ??σ WS *^hzlg) > Ar ΔL0za zalg^h 'slippery place', ^hzlg^h 'courir légèrement, et glisser à la surface du sol' (and ??σ MHb, JA [Trg.] ^hzlg G 'drip, flow', Gz ^hzlg 'flow, trickle, drop'); cp. also Ar D {Lb.} v. ^hzhlq (pf. zahlaqa) 'slip (glisser)', Ar ^hzhlq TD (pf. tazahlaqa) v. 'slide/slip upon one's posteriors' (h due to contamination with CS *^hzhl 'creep, slide', f s.v. N *z^hiX^hl^hV ~ -I^hXV 'creep' ¶ Lb. 1827, BK I 1003, Ln. 1220, Js. 401, L G 637, DRS 733 || IE: NaIE *slei₁g^h 'slippery, smooth; to stroke' > Sl *slēz₁z₁k^h 'slippery' > OCS **слѣзькъ** slēz₁z₁k^h, Slk slizky^h, P s'lizki, Uk слиз^h-кий id., as well as (× *sliz₁z₁k^h < *sliz₁z₁ 'slime') Slv sliz₁z₁k, Cz slizky^h, slizky^h, R Δ 'слизкий' 'covered with slime, slippery'; possibly × N *s'u^hl^hz^hu^h (-kE) ~ *s'ul^hz^hi (-kE) 'mucus, slime, saliva; to spit' in R 'слиз^h-' 'mucus, slime', Uk слиз, Slv sli^hz id., Blg 'слиза' 'saliva' || ON slr^hkr 'Schleim auf der Fischhaut', Ic slr^hkur 'smooth', Gmc pp. *slixta 'geglättet' > Gt slai^hhts 'λεῖο^h, smooth', ON sle^httr 'smooth, even', OHG sle^hht 'smooth, plain', MHG sle^hht straight, even, smooth', NHG schlicht 'smooth, plain' (and schlecht 'bad?'), AS sliht 'smooth, even' (> NE slight) || OIr fo-slig- 'frotter, enduire' || Gk λι^hγδην {P} 'die Oberfläche streifend', {LS} 'just scraping\grazing' (IE *sl- > Gk λ-) ¶ P 663-4, Fs. 437-8, Vr. 515, Ho. 299, Skeat 570 (et. of NE slight), Kb. 907, OsS 819-20, Lx. 197, KM 654-7, Vn. S 133, F II 121, Vs. III 671-2 || ?? A: Rm. EAS I 65-6 mentions M (WrM?) zilga, zilgai, zilgam, zilgag 'gleitend, glatt, fließend', but these words are absent in the standard dictionaries of M ♦ Derived from *z^hu^hl^hV 'to slip' (q.v.)?

2727. *z^hal^hi^hV 'to be weak' > K: G vi-zal-ebi 'be weakened' ¶ Chx. 2053, 2095 || HS: S *^hzawl- 'cheap', *^hzwl 'be worthless, cheap' > JPA, JEA, MHb l&z zo^hl id., JA [Trg.] ^hzwl G (pf. lz^hl za^hl) 'be worthless, cheap', JEA alluz zu^h-la^h 'low price', SmA ^hzll G 'be unworthy'; KB mentions IA [Frh.] zwl or zl 'of little value (geringschätzig)' (not confirmed by HJ) ¶ KB 256, Js. 386, Lv. I 522, Sl. 404, Tal 231-2 || ? Eg MKL z^hw 'weak' (a person), z^hw-^h 'weak of arm' (unless < z^hw 'zerbrechen') ¶ EG III 419, Fk. 209 || A {DQA} *ze^h-l^ho 'weak, quiet' > NaT *jal^hi^h ~ *jil^hi^h 'be lazy, emaciated, weak, quiet' > Qrg z^has^h-i^h-q 'weak', 'lean' (of meat), z^has^h-i^h 'become soft\weak', 'start going bad' (of meat), Yk sihy^h- 'become tame' ¶ Rs. W 192, Jud. 241, JkR 362-3 || M *zaliqa- ≈ 'be lazy, tired, apathic' > MM [HI] zaliqai^h 'laziness', WrM zaliqai, HIM зал()хай 'negligent, lazy', WrO {Krg.} zaliqai 'careless', WrM zalqagu, HIM залхуу 'lazy, idle', Kl {KRS} залху zalxu^h 'lazy, lazy person', {Rm.} zalxu^h 'faul, träge, müde, apathisch', Dg {T} z^halko^h 'lazy person', {Mr.} z^haleko^h 'lazy', WrM zalqa-, HIM залха- 'get tired', Dg {Mr.} z^haleko^h-re- v. 'tire, get\be tired' (but WrM zalqa-, HIM залха- 'be afraid\frightened' seems to go back with another √); M *zalira- > MM [S] zalira- 'vom Zorn ablassen', WrM zalira-, HIM залира- v. 'shirk, be lazy\nonchalant, rest from work' ¶ MED 1032, H 85, Ms. H 65, KW 465, KRS 239, T DgJ 142, Mr. D 175, Krg. 659 || Tg *je^h-l^h > Ewk j^h-l^h 'become quiet' (of a sound) ¶ STM I 283 || pJ {S} *da^hs- > OJ ja^hsa-, J T yaseru 'be emaciated', OJ ja^hsu {S} 'quiet, easy', {Mr.} 'easy, cheap', J: T/Kg yasū^h-, K ya^hsu^h 'quiet, easy' ¶ S QJ #556, Mr. 844, Kenk. 2163, S AJ 135 (on pJ *d- > OJ j-) ¶¶ DQA #2591.

2728. *zayil^hl^hV 'wolf, dog' > K *zayl^ho- 'dog' > OG, G zayl-, Mg z^hoyor-, Lz z^hoyor-, Sv UB/Ln z^hey (dat. z^hayw), L z^hey ¶¶ K 236, K² 283, FS K 429-30, FS E 484 (*zayl-), TK 684 || HS: S: Ar zalhab- 'wolf' (< N *zayil^hl^hV-bA with the adjectival pc. *bA for animal names [q.v.]) || EC: Af {PH} da^hlhu (pl. dala^hha^h) 'striped hyena', Sa {R} da^hleho^h (pl. dala^hh) 'der Wolf' (= 'lycaon pictus') ¶ PH 79, R S II 106 ¶¶ In HS there is metathesis and an obscure devoicing: *-yl^h- > *-lh- || D *ca^hkil^h-, {GS} *z^hzayil^hl^h 'dog' > Kn ja^hyila^h 'dog', Tu ja^hval^ha nayi 'wolf-dog', Tlg ja^hgilamu 'hound, hunting dog' ¶¶ An interesting case of D {GS} *-y- < N *-y- ¶¶ D #2459, GS 159, 168 (on the reflexes of pD *-l^h-).

2729. *za^hhul^hV 'light (lux), sunshine, sun' > IE *su^hhl- / *su^hhel- / *seh₂wel- / su^hho^h-l- ({M} *su^hə₂l- / *su^hə₂el- / *se^hə₂u^hel- / *su^hə₂o^h-l-) > NaIE {P} *sa^hl₁wel- / *s(u)wel- / *s(u)wo^h-l- / *su^h-l- 'sun' > Vd 'svah, ('svar) ~ 'suvah,

('suvar) (gen. 'su-r-as, dat. su-r-e-) 'sun, sunshine, splendour, bright sky', Av hvar^o 'sun' (gen. hu-r-o-), MPrs χ^var, NPrs rvE hu-r, rXu ~ rvX χor, Oss I χu-r, Oss D χor id.; personifying *d* with *-ya-: OI su-ryah. ('su-r-ya-s) 'sun, sun-deity' || pGk {M} *ha-wel- > *ha-wel-yo- > Gk Cr [Hs.] 'αβε'λιοϋ, Gk Hm 'ηε'λιοϋ, Gk A 'ηλιοϋ 'sun' || L so-l 'sun' (< *su₂-l-, {EI} < sau₂-l- < *seh_Aul-) || MW heul, W haul, OCrn [VC] heuul, MCrn heul, houl, OBr {Flr.} houl, MBr heul, heaul, Br heol, Br V hi(a)ol 'sun' || Gmc {Fs.} *so-wula- > Gt sauil, ON, Ic so'l, AS so'l 'sun' || {P} *sa-welya-, {Fm.} *sau₂liya- > Blt: Lt sa'ule', Ltv sau₂le, Pru saule 'sun' || Sl (× IE *su₂-en-, ƒ below) *s₂lñ 'sun' in derived words: [1] *po-s₂lñ 'sun-wise (from the east to the west)' > R Δ 'посолон', SCr Cr Δ na opo₂sun id., [2] *bez-s₂lñ-n₂ > OCS бесъльньнъ besl₂ñn₂ 'ανη'λιοϋ, without sun', [3] R Δ солно'пеек 'full blaze of the sun', солново'рот 'solstice, Sonnenwende', [4] *s₂lñ-се 'sun' (originally dim.) > OCS слъньнъ слъньсе, Blg 'слънъ, SCr su₂ñce, Slv so₂ñce, Cz slunce, Slk slnce, P słońce, R 'солнце, Uk, Blr 'сонце 'sun' || NaIE *swen-, *sun- 'sun' (< {M} *su₂-en- < N ***3aHul'** + genitive pc. *nu [> IE marker of oblique cases in heteroclitic nouns]) > Av gen. x^və^{ng} 'of the sun' (< *swen-s) [in {Brtl.} x^və^{ng}.darəsa adj. 'den Anblick der (wie die) Sonne gewährend'] || Gt sunno-, ON, OSx, OHG sunna, NHG Sonne, AS sunna ~ sunne 'sun', NE sun || Glh. 594 mentions *ḡ* Lw si(h)wal- 'sun', not confirmed by available sources (Lar., GI, etc), while Mlc. CL 194 translates Lw si(h)wal- as 'stiletto' or sim. ← *'sharpness'; if there is a *lr.* in this Lw word (and if its reading and Glh.'s interpretation are right), it will suggest a strong *lr.* (*x) in pIE and a *X_Q in pN ¶ P 881-2, Ptrs. H 268 (IE heterocclisis: nom. *sa₂-el, gen. *su₂-n-es with unacceptable treatment of *el as a sx.), EI 556 (*seh_Aul- / gen. *sh_A'w-en-s 'sun'), M K III 496, 563, 566-7, M E II 793-4, WD II/2 938, BM 189, 599, Horn 111, VI. I 746 & II 1484-5, Ab. IV 246-8, WH II 553-4, YGM-1 281, Flr. 214, Hm. 378, F I 631, Fs. 412, 460, Vr. 529, 561, Ho. 306, 330, Ho. S 72, Kb. 988, OsS 894, Schz. 275, KM 716, Fm. 765-6, En. 243, Vs. III 340, 710-1, Glh. 594, Brtl. 1880 II HS: B *z₂Vhl- ({Pr.} *₂zh₂l-) (= sg. *zahl- / pl. *zihl-?) 'sunshine, daylight, day' > Ah ahəl (pl. ehilā-n), Ttq ahəl (pl. ehilan), Tnsl as'əl (pl. is'ılan), Twl {Pr.} azəl ~ as'əl ~ az'əl, Ty {Pr.} a₂zəl ~ a₂z'əl, Gh azəl (pl. iz'ılan) 'day', Kb azal (pl. izilan) 'clarté du jour; pleine chaleur', Sll azal ~ aza' 'daylight', Shnw azil 'le jour, plein soleil', Skn {Srn.} aze' 'day', Si {La.} azəl 'jour naturel, au jour' || Gnc P {Wlf.} ZELO'Y 'sun' ¶ Pr. H #219, F 579, DI. 941, La. MChB 181 [nt. 1, 3], Wlf. 588 ¶¶ The adduction of S *₂s'χl (> Ar ₂s'χl 'clarify a beverage') [AD NSAS 170] is too *qu.* (?σ); if it is accepted, the N etymon must be ***3a₂qul'** II A: T *jal₂l₂u₂l- v. 'blaze, flame' > OT jas'u- v. 'flash, shine', XwT/MQp {Cl.} j₂s'ir- 'shine', Shor c'as'- v. 'lighten', Chv s'is'/z'- v. 'lighten, flash, shine'; > NaT *jal₂l₂in 'lightning' > OT, XwT jas'in, Chg jas'in ~ is'in, MQp jas'in ~ ja's'in, Qmq jas'in, Uz jas'in, Nog jas'in, VTt, Bsh ja's'in, Alt ₂a₂z'in, Sg c'azin, Shor c'az'in, VTt {θRL} jas'ım, ET {RL} jas'im, Chv s'iz'ım id., (?) Kr Cr yes'im 'reflection of a distant lightning (seen in the sky) (зарница)'; T *jal'ik > NaT *jas'ik 'sun' > OT QU [MhK] jas'iq 'sun', Chg xv jas'iq id.; it is not clear if this word is identical with Osm, Tkm is'iq, Tk is,iq, Az is'ix 'bright, light, a light', MQp XIV is'iq 'rays of light; light, brightness' ¶ The rec. of *c₂ is based on Chv -s'/z'- (< *-l'c₂- reg.); but if Chv -s'/z'- is here due to *as*, the pT rec. must be *jal-; even if the rec. of *-l'c₂- is right, this *-l'- may well result from ass. palatalization due to *c₂; in both latter cases Chv s'iz'ım may belong to T *jal₂in (< N ***3a₂l₂V₂** 'flame', q.v.) or result from a merger of both roots ¶ Rs. W 192, Cl. 977, 979, ET J 149-50, TL 22-3, 65-6, RI. III 247-8, Ash. XII 171-3, Jeg. 214, Fed. II 123, Md. 104, 160 (*₂alc'u 'блестет') || ? pJ *sas- v. 'shine' > OJ, J T sas- id. ¶ S QJ #592 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2565 [A *zi₂ol'a 'to shine, blaze'; incl. T, J], Md. 104 (*qu.* T *jal'cu ÷ M *no₂'l'u₂'xe 'flame' ÷ Tg nul-'kindle') ♦ If the primary meaning in T is 'sun', that of pN is 'sun, sunshine, day'. But if in T the primary meaning is 'to shine', we must suppose the same meaning in pN ♦ ≈ AD NSAS 169-70 (*₂a₂q₂LU; IE, B, T + i U *yeLa 'shine' and *qu.* S *₂s'χl) → Glh. 594.

2730. ***3a₂l'** XV (or ***3a₂l'** HV) 'dripping fluid' > IE: NaIE *sal₂ə₂- 'saliva, slime' > L salīva 'saliva' || ScGl sal 'wet dirt, ear-wax', OIr saile 'saliva', W haliw id., 'spittle' (< b- L?), Br halo, hal id. || ?? Gk 'ολο'ϋ (WH: < 'ολο'ϋ?) 'dark liquor (the ink of the cuttle-fish, blood)' ¶ × homonymous *sal-words of different origin ¶ ≈ WH II 468-9, ≠ P 879, ≈ Mn. 1110, F II 381, Vn. S 14, Hm. 368 II A: T: [1] T *ja₂l' 'tears' (× ***n'oga₂l₂y₂V** 'slime, moisture, fluid; raw', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 975-6, ET J 161-4 (both of them treat jas' 'fresh', jas' 'green', jas' 'tears', jas' 'year of one's life', etc. as one polysemic T word), DT 218, Jeg. 120-1 || Tg *jali₂- v. 'flow' (of saliva) > Ewk jali-; d *jali₂-ksa 'saliva, slime' > Ewk jaliksa, Lm jals₂, Orc diliks₂ ~ duluska 'saliva', Neg jalsa, Ud ₂ale₂h₂, Ul ₂e₂lc₂uqsa, ₂ilavqsa, Ork jelusqa, Nn Nh ₂l₂oqsa 'saliva', 'slime (as on the skin of fish)'; *jali₂-ptu₂n 'bib (protecting the baby's garments from saliva)' > Ewk jaliptun, Neg jalipu₂n ¶ STM I 246 || ? M: HIM, Brt залхар 'slime, mucus, pus' ¶ Luv. 190, Cev. 263, Chr. 248 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2586 [A *₂a₂lu 'saliva'; incl. M, Tg] II D *cal₂V ({GS} *₂35-) 'slime, mucus' > Tm cal₂i 'catarrh, mucus blown out of the nose, phlegm', Ml cal₂i 'mucus, semen', Tl jalubu, Gdb zalbu 'a cold, catarrh, influenza' ¶¶ D #2409 II ? HS: S *₂zlh > MHb {Js.} hl2z# 'zela₂h 'sprinkling fluid, perfume', MHb ₂zlh v. G 'drip, wet', JA [Trg.] ₂zlh v. G id., 'sprinkle', JEA ₂zlh D 'sprinkle', Sr ₂zlh v. G 'pour out, sprinkle, bedew', Md zh₂l pf. 'sparsit', Ar D {L < -?} mezela₂h 'vessel for drawing water', Gz ₂zlh v. G or D 'drain out, draw empty all the liquid from a vessel, wring out a wet garment' ¶ Js. 401, Sl. 414, Br. 197-8, JPS 116, L G 637 || WCh: Mpn {Frz.} ze₂'l 'saliva' ¶ Frz. DM 69 ♦ The T long vw. points to the presence of a *lr.* [(following *-l'- rather than preceding it, otherwise we would have expected a long vw. in IE (and

D?]). If the S cognate is rejected (for insufficient semantic proximity), one remains with unspecified cnss. *3- and *H ◇ AD GD 7, ≈ IS MS 365 s.v. **снз** – *za/l/Λ (IE, Tg, D).

2731. ?σ ***3omV** 'spice, pungent mineral, pungent food' > K: K {K²} *3'm(u)-, {FS} *3'um- 'salt' > Mg 3'imu id. (d 3'imol- v. 'salt'), Lz (n)3'umu, Sv: UB/LB/L 3'im (LB gen. 3'ə-m-am) in. 'salt'; -d> *3'mar- 'vinegar' > OG 3mar-i id., Mg 3'umor-i, Lz 3'umo(r)-, n3'umor-, Sv 3'imar id. ¶¶ K 239-40, K 289-90, FS K 437, FS E 493-4, Dt. ASK I 51, Chik. 23, Chx. 2081, Q 376, 416, TK 888, GP 313 II D *comm-, {GS} *33'omm- ≈ 'spicy food, (spicy) soup' > Klm 3omma 'broth', Gnd M/B {Tr., Ph.} 3ammo- 'meat-soup, curry' ¶¶ D #2851, BB CVG #1394 II HS: ? Eg smyn (< *zmyn?) 'soda (Natron)' ¶ Mks. II #78.3538 || B *°/zmm > Tmz azəmmum 'orge encore légèrement verte qu'on moissonne pour le griller et piler, sert à confectionner le bendeq (pâte faite du blé grillé)' ¶ MT 807.

2732. ***3'a''m1?jV** (or ***3'-?**) 'together; to unite, tie together' > HS: WS (or CS) /zmm > Ar /zmm G 'tie, bind, fasten', Sr /zmm G (pf. zam) 'tie/train a tree, tie a vine', zəma-m-a- 'tie of a vine', Gz /zmm G (pf. zamama, js. yəzməm) [tie with a cord the lower jaw of a horse/mule], zəma-m 'nose rope of an animal, halter, muzzle of a wooven cord' ({Nld.}: <b- Aram/Sr) ¶ Ln. 1248-9, BK I 1008, JPS 117, L G 638, Nld. NB 41, DRS 748-9 || Eg fP zm3 'unite; be united with, join' ¶ EG III 446, Fk. 225 II ?σ K {K} *3'ma-, {FS} *3'am- 'brother' > OG 3ma-y, G 3ma id., 3ama, 3am-o id. (used as vocative), 3am-ia, 3am-ik, -o id. (dim., used as vocative), G P 3am-ula 'brother' (dim.), Mg 3'ima, Lz 3'uma 'brother', Sv: UB 3'əm-il, LB 3'im-il, L/Ln 3'umil 'brother (in relation to the sister)' ¶ K 239-40, K² 288-9, FS K 428-9, FS E 483, Chx. 2056, 2080, TK 890 II IE: NaIE *som-/sm. - 'together, with' (× N ***s'imV** 'name, the same; → one' [q.v.]) > OI sa-'ha, (in cds) sadha- 'together, jointly, with', Av hada-, haða, OPrs hada- id. (< N ***3'a''m1?jV da** [***da** 'in' < ***d1oyja** 'place']); OI 'sam- 'together', Av ham-, han-, hən-, haçm-, OPrs ha(m)- 'with, together' || Lt sam-, saç- px. 'together' (sam-das, sam-da- 'hire, rent' (*som- + *d^he- 'put'), sam-buvis 'coexistence', saç-junga 'union, alliance', Ltv so- [suo-] px. 'together' (so-vardis 'Namensvetter' [va-rd-s'name']), Pru sen prep. 'with, together', san- (in sanday 'go away!' ← *'with god') || Sl *soç- px. 'together, with', e. g. *soç-se'd-ъ 'neighbour' (lit. 'Mit-wohn-er') > OCS **сѣсѣдѣ** soçse'dě, Blg сѣсѣд, SCr cy'ced^d su'sjed, cy'ced^d su'sjed, Slv so'se.d, Cz soused, P saçiad, R со'сѣд, R Δ, Blr cy'сѣд, Uk cy'c° d id. || ? BSI *su 'with' (here unless < IE *ksu₁n₁, cp. Gk ξυ'v, συ'v 'with') > Lt su- 'with', Sl *sъ (+ instr.) 'with' > OCS, OR съ sъ, Blg c / съ, SCr s / sa, Slv s / z, Cz s / se, R c / co, Uk, Blr з || OI 'smat 'together, jointly', Av mat- 'together, with' || Gk 'α- / dis 'α- (α copulativum, px. of union/likeness), 'αμα prep. 'together with, at the same time with' (× IE *sem- 'one') ¶ P 902-5, EI 646 [*som- '(together) with'], M K III 450, 548, M E II 779-80, Frn. 753-4, 935-6, En. 242, 246, En. APG 152-3, Vs. III 539-40, 736, F I 1, 83, Ch. 2, 68-9 II A: NaT *ja''ema''e ({Cl.} *ja''ma''-) 'and; also, too' > OT {Cl.} ja''ma'' id., XwT xiv jma'' 'and', MQp xiv [CC] jemese (Rs.: < *Jema''-a''rsa'') 'or also' ¶ Cl. 934, ≈ Rs. W 196, ≈ Rl. III 388-9 ◇ If the K √ belongs here, the N initial cns. is *3-, otherwise it is *33- (= *3').

2733. ***3'iwVm1VjgE** 'leopard' > IE: NaIE *sing^ho- 'leopard' or 'lion' > Arm in3 in3 (gen. pl. 'n3uç ən3u-c^h) ~ inc inc 'leopard' || OI sim'ha-h. 'lion', Pali, Prkr sīha- id. ¶ WP II 508, Mn. 158, EI 350 (?? *sin'g^hos- 'leopard'), 356, Tu. #13384, Hü. I 450, Ach. II 243, Slr. 420-1, M K III 463, M E II 727-8 (no et. of OI sim'ha-h.) II HS: EC: HEC *zagum 'leopard' (metathesis *-mg- > *-gVm-) > Tmbr {L} zəgu'ma, Sd dagu-n-c'o i Ya {Hn.} suŋqai (pl. suŋ'qaimo) 'lion' ¶ L Z 120, Hd. 91, Hn. Y II 129 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} 3'í'gi'z'í'u., Bd ʔ3-zg-e'n 'lion' i Hs za'kī, Gw 3'a'k'í id. || CCh: pMrg *3iŋVy > Cb {ChL} 3uŋzy, WMrg {ChL} 3'uyzy, ? Br {ChL} ciŋi, ? Ngx {ChL} ciŋi i Lgn {Lk.} z3'v3ni i Db {Lnh.} n3'a'ga w i Ms {Mou.} zí'mí, ? {J} s'ó'ná, ? Bnn {ChL} z'ó'ná, ? BnnM {ChL} s'óna || ECh: Mkl {J} su'wwu', Kwn {ChC} se'mki', se'mgi' id. ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 295, ChC, ChL, Sch. DN II ?σ A: ??? M: HIM жнгрп 'bitch' ¶ Luv. 180, Cev. 247 ¶ Dubious, because not attested in M outside HIM (even not in WrM) || ? AmTg *yenggu > Ul y3ngul(i) 'wolf, racoon-like dog', Nn Nh/KU y3ngur, Nn B y3nguru 'wolf', ?φ: Orc n'inggu, Ud n'3ngu id. (× N ***LunpK.E** 'beast of prey') ¶ STM I 498, 639, 650 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1200 [A í'engV '∈ predator' > HIM, Tg] II D *civVŋki 'leopard' and sim. (× N ***c'í'ibVŋV** 'hyena' and ***SibVØV** 'beast of prey') > Tm civin'ki 'Indian lynx, hunting leopard', Ml civin'i 'hunting leopard', Kn sivan'gi 'tiger-wolf, hyena', Tl civa'gi, civva'gi, civvan'gi, siva'gi, sivan'hi, sivvan'gi 'hyena' ¶¶ D #2579 ◇ In IE, pMrg and D there is as *-mg- > *-ng- ◇ AD NM #4 (*SiwVŋgE 'leopard', all pertinent lgs. except T), S CNM 5 (suggested to adduce T *jebken; ++ NrCs, ST), Vv. AEN 17 (doubts about the semantic changes in Tg).

2734. ***3'am1Vjka** ~ ***3'am1VjK.V** 'to cast, throw' > HS: CS /znk. 'throw' > Sr /znk. G 'throw', BHb /znk. D 'spring out', MHb /znk. D {Js.} 's squirt, sputter, reject wih force', Sh (pf. qin5z'e5 hiz'nīk.) vt. 'drop, pour' ¶ Br. 201, KB 265, Js. 407, DRS 765 || ?? Ch: Msg {Trn.} s'V'nV'kV 'throw' ¶ ChC II IE: NaIE {WP} *sma(:)g- 'throw, (→) strike' > Lt Δ prs. smag-iu- / inf. smo~g-ti (Δ) 'throw (sth. heavy)', (Δ and StLt) 'fling, beat, whip', Lt Δ smo~gis 'heftiger Wurf, Schlag' i Sl *smaga-ti 'to strike, flog' > P smagac' 'to whip, flog', R Δ cma'rat-, Uk cma'рути, cma'рати 'strike, flog' || Sw sma'cka 'heftig niederwerfen', (Hlq.) 'slānga (to fling)', NGr Δ schmacken 'to cast, fling away', MLG smacken, Dt smakken 'to throw, fling, slap, smack' (b> NE smack 'strike heartily \ noisily') ¶ WP II 682, Mn. 1221, Tr. 270, Mikl. E 309, Frn. 848, DLKZ 746, PiesS 662, Vs. III 683, Hlq. 1006-7, Vr. N 655 II A: M *3aŋgu- > WrM 3aŋgu- vt. {MED} 'cast, throw; direct to', Kl 3a'hx

зәңгә-хә, Brt зангаха зәңга-ха 'to raise one's hand (in order to strike), swing [e.g., one's arms]' (**зәмахиват-сф**, **размахиват-**), ('raise one's hand' → 'threaten'): WrM zānga-, WrO zāṅṅa- 'threaten' ¶ MED 1035, Gl. III 427, KRS 241, Chr. 249, Krg. 655 ♦ As *mk. > *ṅk. (> S *nk.) and *mk > M *-ṅg.

2735. ***ǵʷənV** 'ear/sheaf of cereal, head of grass' > K: OG, G ʒna 'sheaf of corn' ¶ Chx. 2082, DCh. 1621 II IE: NaIE {WP} *songʰo/a- or *sonko- 'sheaf of corn/straw' (× N ***sʰaʷṅK.e** ≈ 'bough, inedible or less valuable parts of plants?') > Arm ung ung (gen. ʰngoj əngoy) 'chaff, straw; grain, corn; legume' ∥ MHG, MLG sange 'sheaf of corn, manipulus', eNHG, NGr Δ Sange, Sangel, NE Δ sangle 'sheaf of corn', NLG † sangeln 'kleine Büsche mit Erdfrüchten' ∥ Gk ῥαυρα pl. 'chaff, husks, bran' ¶ WP II 510, OsS 743, Lx. 176, Paul 493, F I 203-4 II D *ceʷn- / *cenn- ({GS} *sʰ-) 'ear of corn' > Tm eʷn, Tl ennu, venny, Knd ser_en (pl. ser_eku), Gnd KM en id., Gnd s'en d han id. d san 'head of jowar' d seṅk pl. 'corn', Klm, Prj cen 'head of paddy', Nkr s'en 'head of jowar', Gdb cennu d sen 'ear of corn or paddy', Krx hessu cannu 'head of rice', Mlt canu 'pod' ¶¶ D #2798.

2736. ***ǵʷenV** 'to burn (intr.), live coal (embers), fire' > HS: Eg P zznz.t 'Feuerbrunst' ¶ EG III 461 | | S *ʷznd 'strike fire' > Ar ʷznd G 'faire jaillir le feu (à l'aide d'un zand-)', zand- 'briquet consistant en deux morceaux d'une espèce du bois qui frottés l'un contre l'autre donnent le feu' (-b> Amh {DRS} zand [zəndʔ] id. (?) ({DRS} 'briquet fait de deux bâtons') ¶ BK I 1016, DRS 759 | | B: Zww {Ds.} zizən- 'get warm/heated', Kb {DL.} zizəzən id. (secondary emphatization), Zng {TC} oʔzʷuzʷun, {MH→Nic.} o-zzun 'fire' ¶ Ds. IVB 257, AiM 260, TC D 3, TC Z 306 (oʔzʷuzʷun) | | ? WCh: Krf ʒʷinʒʷinʒi 'charcoal' ¶ JI II 66 ¶¶ Tk. I 128 (Eg, B, Ch) II A {SDM97} *zaʷna 'to burn; ashes, tar' > T *jan- vi. 'burn, blaze up' > Tk yan-, Tkm, Az, Kr, Nog, ET jan-, Qq zʷan-, Qrg ʒʷan- id., Ggz, CrTt, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Ln jan-, Uz jan-, Qzq zʷan-, Chv L sʷun- vi. 'burn' ¶ Cl. 942, 947-8, Rs. W 184, ET J 112-3, Jeg. 218, Fed. II 136 | | Tg *jaʷin- ({DQA} *jiʷan-) 'flame' > Ewk PT/Ald/Z/Np/Uc jaʷnʒə-, Ewk Nr/Skh v. 'blaze', Ud ʒʷaṅa 'live coal', ? Ewk Sm yandʷa, ? Ewk Np yanda 'ceremoinal fire', ? Nn B yaṅgora v. 'kindle, stoke (a hearth)', WrMc yaṅga, yaṅgan 'torch' ¶ STM I 249, 341-2, Krm. 231 | | pKo {S} *caʷi- 'ashes' > MKo caʷi-, NKo caʷ-, Ko Δ: Chs cʷaʷL, PhN/Hm cʷaʷ-, Ks cʷeʷ, Chj caʷ-, Kw Lcaʷ ¶ S QK #2, Nam 418, MLC 1409 | | pJ {S} *daʷni 'tar, pitch' > OJ yaʷni, J: T/Kg yaʷni, K yaʷni ¶ S QJ #186, Mr. 573 ¶¶ S AJ 287, SDM97 (A *ʒʷaʷna), DQA #2603 (*ʒʷiʷaʷna 'to burn; ashes; tar') II U: FU *sʷiʷinʷe ({UEW} *sʷine) 'charcoal' > Lp N {N} cʷidnaʷ / -n- id. ∥ Hg szeʷn (acc. szenet) 'coal', Hg Δ szeʷn 'fire, live coal' ¶ UEW 480, Sm. 549 (FU, Fp *sʷiʷini, Ugr *sinʷ 'charcoal').

2737. ***ǵʷihNV** 'to lie down, sleep' > K: GZ *ǵʷin- 'lie, sleep', *ǵʷil- (< **ǵʷin-l-) n. 'sleep' > OG, G ʒin- v. 'sleep, fall asleep', ʒil-i n. 'sleep', Lz ʒʷir-i id., o-nʒʷir-u 'go to bed, fall asleep', o-ʒʷin-u 'lie down (sich hinlegen)', {Marr} ʒʷin- 'lie down, lean (**ложит-сф**, **прислонит-сф**)', Mg ʒʷir-, nʒʷir- v. 'lie, sleep', v-o-nʒʷir-u-an-k 'I go to sleep', Lz o-nʒʷir-e, Mg o-nʒʷir-al-i 'bed' ¶ K 238, K² 287, FS K 434, FS E 489-90, Marr 236-7 II HS: WS *ǵʷh̥n > Gz ʷh̥n G 'be tranquil \ quiet \ calm, repose', Ar ʷh̥n G 'be slow, dilatory (in doing sth.)' ¶ L G 634, Fr. II 229, BK I 980, Hv. 285, DRS 716 | | NrOm: Zl {C} zand-, Wl {C} zinʷ- 'lie (giacere), sleep', {Bnd.} zinʷ-, Dc {Bnd.}, Gm {Hw.} zinʷ-, Drz {Bnd.} zinaʷ- 'sleep' ¶ Blz. OL #218 (NrOm *zin-/ʷzan- 'to sleep'), Hw. EG, C SO 36, 45 | | Ch: WCh: Pr {ChL} zʷingéno 'lie down', Dr {J} ʒʷówaʷn 'dream' ∥ CCh: ?? Tr {Nw.} zʷine n. 'dream' (unless < HS *sʷn with the reg. Tr voicing of cnss.), Pdl {ChL} ʒʷeʷni 'to sleep', ʒʷina 'to dream' ∥ BB: Bcm {Sk. in ChC} ʒʷiʷroʷ, n. ʒʷiritoʷ-, Mln {ChL} zuʷriʷti 'a dream' ∥ FIM {ChL} zunuft 'lie down' ¶ JI II 108, ChC, ChL, Nw. WLT #312, 458 | | ?ḡ EC: Af {PH} dʷine 'sleep, spend the night', Sa/Af {R} dʷin- ~ dʷin- v. 'sleep', Sa {Bnd.} dʷine 'sleep', {R} dʷin ~ (rare) dʷin n. 'sleep' [only if Af/Sa dʷ- may go back to EC *z-] ¶ PH 92, R A II 839, R S II 126 ♦ Blz. KM 123-4 [#30] (K, EC, Om, Ch), ≠ AD NSAS 167 [adduced HS *sʷn-, ʷwsn 'sleep, dream', cp. N ***sʷuʷNV** 'breathe, take a rest, be calm' and ***sʷuʷNY(-kV)** 'dark, night'].

2738. ? ***ǵʷicʷinV** 'young ungulate' > K *cʷcʷxen- 'horse' > OG, G cʷxen-i id. ¶ Strj. 254, DCh. 1605-6, Chx. 2041, KEGL VIII 681 II U: FU *cʷcʷiʷnʷ > OHg ʒxiii csina 'foal' (? × N ***ǵʷaʷnʷiʷgʷkU** 'antelope' [q.v.]) ¶ Ewu 212-3 II ? D *ciṅmk- ({GS} *ǵʷiʷ-) 'antelope', (?) 'deer' (× N ***ǵʷaʷnʷiʷgʷkU** 'antelope?') > Kn ʒinʷke, Tu ʒinʷkæ, Tl ʒinʷka 'antelope', Kn Bl ʒimke 'deer' ¶¶ D #2504 ¶ The element *-k- ~ *-mk- is likely to go back to a sx. or a component of a cd.

2739. ***ǵʷeʷnʷhV** ≈ 'to acquire, seize, increase' > K: GZ *ʒen-/ʷʒin- 'add, be added, acquire' (× N ***ǵʷenqV** 'to seek, try to obtain') > OG ʒen-/ʷʒin- 'acquire, gain', G ʒin-/ʷʒen- {Chx.} 'erwerben, anschaffen', {Kl.} 'add, increase', Mg ʒin- v. id., 'acquire', Lz (n)ʒin- 'add, be added. increase, be increased' ¶ K 235, K² 279, FS K 422, FS E 476 (*ʒen-/ʷʒin-), Q 374-5, Chik. 389, Chx. 2065 II HS: Eg XXII znn.w 'kaufen, an sich bringen' ¶ EG III 461 II IE *senX- ≈ '(try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > Ht {Ts.} sanh- 'seek, try, strive for; require' (× N ***sʷnʷiʷfʷV** 'to make, build' × N ***ʒonʷhV** v. 'want, wish' × N ***ǵʷenqV** '↑', q.v. ffd.) II ??σ D *cen_a 'much, many' > Knd seʷna 'much', Png heni 'many', ? modern Tl {Km.} sʷaʷna 'a lot' ¶¶ D #2824 ♦ N *h is the only lr. that yields h in Ht and is lost in K (and may be lost in the HS lgs.). If the Ht cognate is rejected, the rec. will be ***ǵʷeʷnʷiʷV**. If D *cen_a belongs here, the N nasal is *n, otherwise we remain with a less specified *n̄ (i.e. *n̄iʷ).

2740. ***ǵʷuwʷnʷiʷV** 'to copulate, fornicate' (or 'membrum virile?') > HS: WS *ǵʷny v. 'fornicate' > BHb enz ʷznyw G id., JA ʷznyw G 'commit fornication, become involved with another man (as wife, betrothed girl)', SmA ʷzny G (pf. znh)

'commit adultery \ fornication', Sr ḥΩ √znwly G 'commit whoredom', Ar ḥNz √zny G 'commit adultery', Mh √zny id., 'fornicate', Hrs, Jb E/C, Gz {L} √zny 'fornicate', Gz z3nyat, z3ne-t 'fornication, sperm', BHb prtc. en!7z ~ en!&z zo-na- 'whore, fornicatrice', NNEA {Mcl.} za-nīta- 'fornicatrice, prostitute', Plm znyt? 'whore, harlot'; Mn tōnt 'fornication' and Ug dnt 'lujuria, fornicación' (with WS *δ-) may be explained (after MiK) by the infl. of WS *√δmm 'blame, reprove; dispise, disgrace' [< *3EmV 'blame' ← 'manner of behaviour' (q.v.)] ¶ KB 263-4, KBR 275, Tal 234-5, Lv. I 545-6, Lv. T I 225, ≈ Js. 406, JPS 118, Mcl. 88, BK I 1018, L ESAC 19, L G 642, Jo. M 468, Jo. H 149, Jo. J 149, DRS 760, MiK I #2.84 ¶ K *3'uwan-/3'uwn- v. 'copulate, get pregnant, be in heat' (of animals) > G zuvn-: MG {SSO}, G {DCh.} m-zuvn-ob-a 'copulating' (of dogs and wild beasts of prey), G zuvn- 'be in heat' (animals), {Chx.} m-zun-a-ob-a 'Läufigkeit, Brunst', {DCh.} 'heat (of animals), mating', {Chx., DCh.} m-zun-av-i adj. 'in heat (läufig, brünstig)', Mg 3'un-, 3'ud-/3'vid-, Lz 3'und- v. 'kiss', Sv {FS} 3'uwa--n--3'wa--n-/3'uwn-: li-3'wa--n-i / ad-3'uwn-e v. 'get pregnant' (of an animal), Sv UB {GP} li-3'wan-a--l msd. 'copulate' (of cats, dogs, wolves, bears) ¶ K² 291, FS K 437, FS E 493, Chx. 877, DCh. 927, GP 191 ¶ ??φ,σ D *cun'n'- (/ *cun't.-?) ({GS} *c'c'-) > Tm, Ml cun.n.i, Kn tun.n.i, tun.n.e, Krx con'd.o- 'membrum virile' ¶ D #2666.

2741. *3'a'n[V]gkU '∈ antelope' > HS: B *zVnkVd.- > Ah {Fc.} tihənkā-d, Twl {Pr.} azənkəd, d az'ənkəd, d tas'ənkət, Ty {Pr.} azənkəd, ETwl/Ty {GhA} az'ənkəd (as *z...d > z...d.) 'gazelle' ¶ Fc. 679, Pr. H #319, GhA 222 || Ch: WCh: Hs za'nke- 'duiker antelope' : Ang {Flk.} zung '∈ antelope' (Hs kanki) : Sir zəngəri '∈ a big antelope' ¶ Stl. ZCh 191 [#418] || ?? C: Ag *c'a'ngVn- > Bln {R} s'ən'gīna- 'antilope strepsiceros (female)', Xm {R} s.aje'na- id. ¶ R WB 326 ¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 11 (Ang ÷ B *√zmm 'antelope oryx') ¶ A: M: WrM {Kow.} 3angu-tai, {MED} 3anguudai 'young antelope or elk' ¶ Kow. 2240, MED 1035 ¶ U: FU *c'on'V 'male or young ungulate' > F sonni 'bull, bullock', Es so-nn 'bull, female foal, ram', Lv sonn 'ram' : Prm {LG} c'a°n' 'foal' > Z чан- c'an', Vt чунгыс'un' i id.) || ?? OHG ẓxiii csina 'foal' (× N *3'c'ix[V]n-V '∈ young ungulate' [q.v.]) ¶ UEW 614, It. #121, LG 301, EWU 212-3 ¶ D *ciñ[mk- ({'GS} *3'3-) 'antelope', (?) 'deer' (× N *3'c'ix[V]n-V '∈ young artiodactyl') [† > Kn 3iñke, Tu 3iñkæ, Tl 3iñka 'antelope', Kn Bl 3imke 'deer' ¶ D #2504] ♦ FU *o [for the expected *a may be due to the infl. of the root-final *U (> M *-u)] [† ♦ Cp. Blz. DA 157 [#54] (B, WCh, D)].

2742. *3'igU 'to sing, produce musical sounds' > K *z'z'en- > G P zen- 'sing' ¶ Chx. 401 ¶ HS: CCh: Msg {Trn.} zV'nV' ({'Trn.} z'n') 'sing' ¶ ChC || ? WS (or SS?) *√zym (prm. *-zīm-?) > Gz √zym G (pf. zem ze-ma) 'produce a tune, sing', zeμ ze-ma- 'harmony, melody, song, liturgical chant', Ar Mgr {Cln.} pf. za-m [zam] 'mugir, grogner (sanglier), roucouler (pigeonneau)' (unless an independent o), Ar Sd {DRS} zīm 'cris' ¶ The S word belongs here if N *-ḡ- may yield S *-m- ¶ L G 638, DRS 725-6 ¶ IE: NaIE *seng^{wh}- 'speak, make an incantation', (in Gmc) 'sing' > Gmc *sing^{wh}-an > Gt siggwan 'to sing, read aloud, to prophesy', Gt Cr singhen, ON syngva ~ syngja, OSx singan 'to sing', OHG singan 'to sing, sound', NHG singen 'to sing', AS sinzan id., 'to sound', NE sing; Gmc *sang^{wh}-s > Gt saggs 'Gesang, Musik, Vorlesung', ON soṅgr '(sacred) song(s)', OSx sang 'singing, song', OHG sang 'song, sound', NHG π Sang 'song', AS san3 'song, singing, poem; noise', NE song || Prkr sam'ghai- 'sagen, belehren', {EI} 'say, honour', pIAr {Tu.} *sang^hati ~sa^hhati 'tells' || Gk 'ομφη (< *song^{wh}a-) 'divine voice, prophecy; voice' || Clt: MW de-(h)ongli 'explain' ¶ × N *Song^go' 'to produce loud vocal sounds (to make an incantation, weep)' [q.v.], the meaning 'sing, song' going back to N *3'igU, while the other meanings are connected with *Song^go' ¶ WP II 246, P 906-7, EI 519 (*seng^{wh}- 'sing, make an incantation'), Dv. #368, AHDI 58, F II 392-3, Fs. 403, 419, Vr. 573, 578, Ho. S 62, 64, Ho. 270, 294, Kb. 828, 855, OsS 743, 766, Tu. 757 (pIAr without specification) ¶ A: M o *3ingine- > WrM 3ingine-, HlM жингүһү-, жинхү- vi. 'ring, tinkle' (of bells) ¶ MED 1057.

2743. *3onE (or *3on'E) 'old' > K *3'wen- 'become old' > Lz m3'ven- (n. act. o-m3'ven-u) id.; -d K *3'wen-l- ~ GZ *3'wel- 'old' > Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK, GP} 3'winel- 'old' (inanimate), UB {GP} 3'wina-l'd 'formerly', Sv {Ni.} 3'wnel- 'become old'; OG 3uel-, G 3vel-, ? Mg 3'ves-, Lz (m)3've(s)-, n3'ves- 'old' (Mg/Lz *-s- < the gen. ending *-s-, see Top. NS 238-9) ¶ K 238 (*3iwen- 'grow old', *3iwel- 'old'), FS K 432-3, FS E 488 (*3iw- 'alt, altern'), TK 889, GP 313 ¶ U: FU *son^gk¹V 'old' > pChr {Ber.} *song^g > Chr: H {Ep.} шоныс'онъ 'old' (of animates), {UEW} s'ong^g 'old', L шo'го s'ong^go 'old, decrepit' (of a person), Uf/B s'ong^go, M song^go id. || OHg agg 'old' (of persons/things), Hg agg 'very old, aged', OHg agg- 'grow old', ? OHg av- 'altern, abgenutzt werden', ? OHg avul- 'altern', ? Hg avul- 'become obsolete \ antiquated', ? OHg xi ohut, xii out, xvi awat '(very) old', ? Hg o' 'old, ancient, antique' ¶ Coll. 71 (*song^g), UEW 448 (*son^gk¹V), Sm. 548 (FU *song^gka°, FP *song^gka, Ugr *θa°ḡka), Bk. S 94, Ber. 66 [#345], MRS 719, Ep. 152-3, Ü 268, EWU 10, 61-2, 1052, MF 71-2, 495 ¶ A: T *o'j'o°nu- > Tv c'o°nu- 'grow decrepit/old', c'o°nu- 'aged, very old, decrepit' ¶ TvR 543, ≈ Rs. W 213 ♦ To distinguish from the reflexes of N s'e'n-V 'year; old' [q.v.].

2744. ? 2 *3Vñ[V]n-V 'image, sign' > HS: Eg fMKL znn 'statue, sculptural \ pictorial image; image, figure; likeness', ? fMK znn 'official document, written list and sim.' ¶ EG III 460, Fk. 232 ¶ IE: Ht sena- ~ sina 'figure, doll, effigy (Ersatzbild)' ¶ Ts. W 74-5.

2745. ***3oŋhV** v. 'want, wish' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{zn}}\text{h}$ > Ar $\sqrt{\text{zn}}\text{h}$ (pf. zanaħa, ip. -znaħ-) v. 'praise' ({BK} 'louer, combler d'éloges'), Ak zenuħ 'be angry, hate', zenuħ 'angry' ¶ BK I 1016 ¶ IE: NaIE *se ana -, *se anu - 'try/wish to obtain, obtain' (× ***3EŋqV** 'to seek, try to obtain', q.v. ffd. × N ***3're'n'hV** ≈ 'to acquire, seize, increase' × N ***s'Vn'lVjSV** 'to make, build') ¶ U: FU *soŋe- v. 'wish, want' > ObU *θoŋk- (~ *θaŋka-?) v. 'want' > pVg *taŋk- > Vg: LK/P taŋk-, MK taŋk- ~ taŋk-, Ss taŋx- id.; pOs *4aŋka / *4oŋk- ({HL} *4iŋka / *4aŋk-) > Os: V laŋqa-, Vy yaŋqa-, Ty/Y 4aŋq- ~ 4aŋq^w-, D taŋχ-, K taŋχ(a)-, Nz taŋχa-, Kz 4aŋqa- id. ¶ BF [× FU *s's'ŋe v. 'desire, want' < N ***s'ŋŋV** 'to wish' → 'to love', 'to wish evil to so.', 'to strive'), q.v.]: Es soovi- v. 'wish, want', F suo- 'not to grudge, allow, wish', Vo so-vi- v. 'hope, wish' ¶ UEW 447, 775-6, Ht. #146, LG 256 ♦ This et. presupposes the loss of *h in S. Zero cns. in S and h in Ht can point only to N *h ♦ An alt. (and less plausible) et.: ***3oŋhV** v. 'want, wish' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{zny}}$ > BHb enz $\sqrt{\text{zny}}$ w G (3f pf. cons. en3z⁺T5v@ wattiz'ne-) 'become involved with another, commit fornication' (of a wife, betrothed) (see N ***3uwV'n'V** 'to copulate, fornicate') ¶ KB 264, KBR 275 ♦ Not here WrM 3oŋ, HlM 3' h 'will, arbitrariness', it is obviously a *sd* from MM 3oŋ, WrM 3oŋ 'omen, sign', which is a loan from Chn (F MED 1075, Kow. 2408).

2745a. ***3EŋqV** (= ***3'EŋqV**?) to seek, try to obtain' > IE *senXV (× N ***s'Vn'lVjSV** 'to make, build' × N ***3oŋhV** v. 'want, wish' × N ***3're'n'hV** ≈ 'to acquire, seize, increase') > Ht {Ts.} sanh- 'seek, try, strive for, require' || NaIE *se ana -, *se anu - ≈ '(try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > OI san- (prs. sa'no-ti, aor. 'sanat) 'gain, obtain, procure', Av han- 'obtain, achieve' ¶ ? Gk Hm αἰνύμαι (Mn: < *san-i-u-) 'take, take off, take hold of' (unless *ai_-nu- < IE *ai_- 'seize' [> Ht ai- 'give']), Gk ἄνυμι, (thematized) ἄνωω ~ ἄνωω, Gk Hm ἄνω (< ἄνωω) 'effect, achieve, accomplish' ¶ OIr {P} con-sní 'fights (for sth.), wins', {Vn.} 'il se bat (pour), il dispute (qch.), il gagne', do-seinn 'pursues, strives', ?σ W cynyddaf 'overrun, win', {P} 'erobem, zu gewinnen suchen', {YGM} 'increase, grow, augment' ¶ MHG senen, NGr Sw sanen, sa-nen, NHG sehnen 'to long, yearn', MLG senentliken 'sehnstüchtig' ¶ WP II 493-4, P 906, EI 3 [*sen(h_A)- 'seek, accomplish'], Mn. 1111-2, M K III 427-8, Vn. C 200, ≈ LP § 631, YGM-I 149, F I 41, 115, KM 698, Ts. W 70 ¶ HS: *mt* Eg fP zχn 'look for, seek', zχn.w n.act. 'looking for, seeking' ¶ EG III 468-70 ¶ A: T *jind- > OT {Cl.} jind- 'search (smth.), seek (smth.)' ¶ Ck. 946 ¶ K: GZ *3en-/3in- 'acquire, add' (× N ***3're'n'hV** ≈ 'to acquire, seize, increase', q.v. ffd.) ♦ But handle here (because of *o) FU *soŋe 'wish, want' (× N ***3oŋhV** id. [q.v. ffd.]). K *3- seems to suggest N *3'-, but the K $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ is amb., so that its ev. is not decisive.

2746. ***3'u'ŋka** (or ***3'u'n'ika**) 'to bend' > K: G znek-/znik- 'bend, curve' (zn- < *33'n-) ¶ Chx. 411-2, DCh. 526 ¶ ? HS: C: Ag: Aw {E} z3kk- v. 'stoop' ¶ ? Bj {Rop.} $\sqrt{\text{dgy}}$ (3m p. i-dgi; di'giti fantit 'he is combing [his hair] back'), but acc. to R's data, the $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ is $\sqrt{\text{tgy}}$ ({R} inv. 'tegya, p. 'adgi, plqp. e'ta-g, prs. atan'gi) with d by *as* (-tg- > -dg-) in the past tense only; but forms with t may have resulted from *bf* (based on -dgi interpreted as -tgi) ¶ E PC #397, R WBd 223-4, Rop. 169 || S: ? Ar {Fr., BK} éykNz zVnkīyat- (vocalization not attested) / pl. †"v'kNz zVnka-wa-t- 'stirrup, fulcrum equestre, escabeau', {Bel., Hv.} Éva'kaN0za zanka-wat- / pl. †"va'kaN0za zanka-wa-t- id. (unless the word is a loan from NPrs, as believed by Hv.; cp. Tjk uzangu 'stirrup'), TA {Rt.} zingo id. (← Ar?) ¶ Fr. II 259, BK I 1017, Bel. 299, Hv. 298, Rt. 568, DRS 763 ¶ IE: NaIE *swe(n)g- ~ *s(w)enk- ≈ 'bend' > OI 'svajate- 'embraces, clasps', Vd 'pari-s, van'jiyas 'fester umfassend', Av pahris'-χüaxta- 'rings umschlossen', Sgd {Grsh.} ʔwxwnc (*avahvan3'a-?) 'Umfassen' ¶ ?σ OIr seng {Vn.} 'mince' (← ***flexible'), Nlr seang 'slim, slender' ¶ MHG, MLG swanc 'biegsam, schwankend, beweglich', NHG schwank 'pliant, flexible, supple; slender', AS swancor 'pliant, supple'; NaIE *swenk- > Gmc *sweng- > OHG swingan, NHG schwingen 'to swing', AS swinzan vi. 'fling oneself', NE swing v. ¶ WP II 526-7, P 1047-8, EI 63 [*swe(n)g- 'bend, swing'], M K III 558, M E II 788, Vn. S 85-6, IED 92, Kb. 1006, OsS 916-7, Lx. 220, KM 688-9, 694-5, Sw. 166, Ho. 332, 338, ≈ Mn. 1346 ¶ U *s's'ŋe n. 'curve, bend, sth. bent' > F sii 'big beam (rafter) under the inner roof' | Prm *s'ig > Z сигроп s'igzr 'slope of a roof/haystack', s'igorav-ni 'to roof a house', Z I s'ig 'Gewölbe', Vt сиг s'ig 'garret' ¶ pOs *siŋ > Os: V siŋi, Ty/Y/D siŋ 'the bend of a sledge-runner (сгиб полоза нарты)', Kz siŋ id., 'leichte Krümmung (eines Baumes)', Nz siŋ 'bend of the skis' || Sm {Jn.} *siŋ (~ *sVŋ?) 'hind part of a tent (i.e. that opposite to the entrance)' > Ne: T сиб s'i2, T O {Lh.} s'i2, F L {Lh.} siŋ; Ng {Pop.} saŋ, {Ter.} siŋ; En {HL.} s'ie2, {Ter.} se2 id. | Kms {KD} siŋ id. ¶ UEW 480-1, LG 254, Lt. 182, Stn. D 1348-9, Trj. S 429, Jn. 141, Ter. 554, Xm. 140, Hl. TO 43, KP 189-90.

2747. ***3ap.V** (or ***3apV**?) 'to hold, catch' > IE: NaIE *sep- 'hold, elaborate (by hands)' > Av hap- 'hold', OI 'sapati 'touches, handles, caresses; venerates' ¶ Gk επω (mostly with pxs: ἀμφι-επω, ἐφε-πω, με-επω, περι-επω) 'prepare, elaborate, is busy about' (in the last meaning × επω < IE *sek^w- 'follow') ¶ ≈ P 909, EI 450 [*sep- 'handle (skillfully), hold (reverently)'], Brtl. 1764, M K III 429-30, F I 548 ¶ A *3apV ({SDM97} *3abV) v. 'catch, hold' > Tg *japa- v. 'catch, seize, take hold' > Ul 3'apa-, Ork dapa- ~ dappa-, Orc 3'awa-, Ud 3'awa- id., 'take', Ewk jawa-, Ewk VI/I/Ucr jaba-, Lm jaw-, Sln, Neg jawa- 'catch, seize, take hold', WrMc zafa- id., 'take', Mc Sb 3'af3- ~ 3'av3- 'catch, seize, take hold, hold', Jrc 3'afa- 'capture, catch' ¶ STM I 240-1, Y #1522, 1539, Kiy. 118 [#365-6] || pKo {S} *ca`p- v. 'catch, take hold' > MKo ca`p-, NKo cap- ¶ S QK #512, MLC 1397 ¶ ≈ DQA #2580 [*3ap'u; incl. Tg, Ko], Rm. EAS I 64, Rm. SKE 23, Pp. VG 28 ¶ K: GZ *c'.ap- 'take, seize' > G c.ap- 'seize' (ac.apna 'he stole'), 'learn, study' (← *take knowledge'), Mg, Lz c'.op- 'take, seize, hold';

in OG the metaphorical meaning 'learn, study' is attested (mo-c.ap-e 'pupil') ¶ K 248, ≠: FS K 441, FS E 497-8, K² 293 (equate G c.ap- 'study, learn' with Lz c.op-, nc.op- id. [which is likely to be an old loan from G] and reconstruct *c.ap- 'learn, study') ¶ Mte : *zap- > **c.ap- (> K *c'.ap-) ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. **брат-** *zap.Λ, IS SS #10.33 (in both sources IE, A).

2748. ₂ ***3'z'ap-∇** 'to cover' > HS: WS *√zbn > Hrs √zbn G (pf. z3bo'n, sbjn. y3zbe'n) v. 'protect', Mh √zbn Sh (pf. h3zbu'n, sbjn. y3'hazb3n) id., Jb E/C ez'bin v. 'accompany and protect so. apprehensive', s'3zīn 'go with so. for protection', Ar D {Lb.} √zbn D 'défendre, donner asile', zibn 'secours, aide, protecteur', ?σ Ar Mgr {DRS} √zbn D 'soudoyer des mercenaires' ¶ Jo. H 148, Jo. M 463, Jo. J 315, Lb. 1820, DRS 675-6 II A: NaT *jap- 'v. 'cover, shut' > OT jap-, Tkm, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jap-, Uz jap-, Qzq, Qq z'ap-, QBlq, Qrg z'ap-, Alt z'ap-, Xk c'ap-, Qzl s'ap-, Yk sap-, Tf c'īp- v. id., Tv s'īp-/s'īv- v. 'cover'; d> *ja'p'īg 'roof' > Tlt {Vrb.} jabu, Sg, Shor c'abīy ¶ ET J 126-7, Rs. W 187, Tl 530, DTS 235, TvR 585, Ra. 200, ≈ Cl. 870-1 II ???σ,φ U: FU: a seemingly apparent cognate is Mk {Ps.} s'opā-, Er c'opo- vi. 'hide', but it is more reasonable to see here a sd of the verb that means 'to enter (a forest), dive, fall (into a hole)' ¶ Ps. sL 105, ERV 755.

2749. ₁ ***3'ip.∇** 'a pinch; to pinch' > IE: NaIE *skei_p-~*skip- v. 'pinch' > Arm xiṭ χit^h (< *skiptis) 'gripes, colic' i Sl *s'c'ьp-/s'c'ip- > ChS **инпати** s'tipati 'vallicare', R **ипат** (prs. **ипат**), P szczypac', Cz s'tī'pat, SCr s'tī'pati (prs. s'tī'pa'm), Slv s'c'ī'pati 'to pinch', Blg **ипи** v. 'pinch', R **е'пот**, Cz s'petka 'a pinch' i Lt skypata 'small piece, a crumble', Ltv s'k'ipsna, s'k'ipsta 'a pinch; a lock (of hair)' ¶ Mikl. L 1135, Vs. IV 503, 507, ME IV 42, ZVSZ 434, ≈ P 922, ≈ Glh. 614, ≈ Frn. 805 ¶ IE *skeip- < pre-IE *c'ip- < *3'ip.∇ (due to the pre-IE root structure law ruling out a voiced cns. and a glottalized one in the same √ [the source of the IE incompatibility of media aspirata and tenuis within a √]) II U: FU *c'EppV 'to pinch; finger-tip' (× N ***c'.Ep.∇** 'finger') > Chr: H {MRS} **цѣвешта-**, {Ep.} **цѣвештае-** cə'wes'ta- v. 'pinch, take a pinch, nip', **цѣвештъшцѣ** cə'wes'təs' n. 'pinch', L **чъвышта-** c'w̥ws'ta-, U c'w̥ws'te-, B c'əwəs'ala- v. 'pinch' i Prm *c'ep-, *c'zpel'- ({JLG} *c'ēpel'-) n. 'pinch, finger-tip', v. 'pinch' > Z S c'epzł 'a pinch', Prmk {UEW} ce'pžł 'finger-pit', {KPR} 'pinch', Z чепоел-т- c'epzł't-, Prmk c'e'pžł't-id., Vt чепыл-т- c'epil't- v. 'pinch' (**ушипнут**, **приемит**), Z чепоелы c'epzł'a 'tongs/tweezers', Z Ud c'epэр 'Zwick, Kniff', c'epzrt- v. 'pinch (zwicken, kneifen)', 'to pinch', Yz c'ep'l'al- 'kneifen, rupfen' i OHg, Hg csi'p 'pinch, nip' ¶ UEW 49 (convincingly rejecting the adduction of F hyppy, hypi 'finger-pit' and of Lp Kld ciehp 'finger, toe' because of the initial cns. going back to FU *c'-), MRS 682, Ep. 140, MF 118-9, EWU 217, LG 303, Szin. 28 II ?σ D *cippam ({GS} *c'c[s-] 'bundle, parcel' (< *a pinch') > Tm cippam, Tl cippamu 'bundle, parcel', Ml cippam 'bundle' ¶¶ D #2534 II A: pKo {S} *ci'p- v. 'pick up, pinch' > MKo ci'p-, NKO cip- id., {Rm.} 'pinch; pick up, take, arrest' ¶ Rm. SKE 34-5, S QK #1018, MLC 1554-5 || Tg: WrMc zifu- v. 'pinch', zifu-bu- 'be pinched' ¶ Z 991 ¶¶ Rm. l.c. ◇ IS MS 373 s.v. **ипат** *3'ip.Λ (IE, U, A).

2750. ***3'or'U'** 'to crawl, climb' > K *^o3'wr- / *^o3'wer- v. 'creep, crawl' > OG 3wr-, G 3vren- / 3vrin- / 3(v)rom- / 3vr- / 3ver- 'krieche, klettern', {DCh.} 'crawl', {AxT} **лєзт**, {GL} 'remper, se traîner' ¶ Chx. 2070-2, DCh 1622-3, KEGL VIII 746, 775, AxT 439, GL 569 II HS: B *√zrrw > Ah {Fc.} həriru, hərirw- 'se traîner, être traîné', Twl {Pr.} zəruw (n. act. a-zəru'ru) id. ¶ Fc. 662-3, Pr. H #394 II D *cor'U'Vk- ({GS} *s'-?) 'crawl, creep' > Krx corg- 'move forward with one's seat on the ground, crawl on the hands and seat, move on with difficulty', Mlt corge, corgre 'creep along stealthily, corgtre v. 'drag the feet, trudge', ? Kdg ogg- 'wriggle on belly' (of a child) ¶¶ D #2854.

2751. ₂ ***3'o'rV** '∈ bird of prey' > K: GZ *3'er- 'kite' > OG 3eri (Lev. 11.13), G 3er-i, 3er-a 'kite (Milvus)', Lz m3'a3'-i, Mg *3'a3'- > G Gr 3'a3'-a-i id. ¶ FS K 431, DCh. 1615, KEGL VIII 733 II ?? HS: Eg MK zwrwt '∈ bird'; or ??φ Eg fp 3r.t '∈ bird of prey (falcon, kite, or sim.)' (> Cpt: Sd **тре** tre, B **оре** t're 'kite' ['milan']), Eg fXXII 3r.ty 'falcon or sim.', Eg {Mks.} 3r 'Milan' ¶ EG III 429 & V 596-7, 601, Mks. II #4942, Vc. 220, BnH ĀW s.v. d.r 'Milan', Hng. 1011 (3rw 'Vogel [*Milan]) ¶ The irreg. Eg 3 (in 3r) < N *3 still defies explanation ¶ EG III 429 II A: NaT *Jo'U'ri '∈ bird of prey' > Qrg 3'oru 'vulture', SY jori '∈ bird of prey (bigger than sar)' ¶ ET J 29, Jud. 262.

2752. _? ***3'z'orV** 'hand (palm of hand and fingers), span' > HS: WS *'zar-at- (unless <b- Eg fp 3r.t 'hand, palm of hand') > BHB tr3z# zeret_ 'span (as a measure)', Ź Ug {Grd., Dah.} dr.t id. (not in A & OLS), IA, JA [Trg.], JEA aTl'r^z@ zar't-a-, SmA zrt, Sr zar't-a-, Md zirta id., MHB tr3z# zeret_ 'the little finger', Tgr {LH} reyam zəra(t) 'middle finger', {d'A} reyam zərat 'little finger' (reyam 'long') ¶ KB 272, BDB 284-5, Grd. UT 710, Dah. UH 7ff., HJ 342, Lv. T I 232, Sl. 422-3, Tal 241, Br. 208, DM 168, ≈ DRS 806, LH 161, MiK I #1.298 || NrOm: Ym rl. {C} zerum 'hand' (× N ***3'ERVOE** 'upper part of a leg/arm' [q.v.]) ¶ C SE III 89 II U: FU *sorV(-s'V) 'span' > pChr {Ber.} *sor, *sorz' > Chr: YU s'or, M s'orz', Uf sorz' id. i ObU {Ht.} *θo-rəs 'span' > pVg {Ht.} *ta-ra-s > Vg: T tara-s ({Mu.} ta'ras), LK/MK/UK to-rəs, UL to-ras, Ss to-ras id.; pOs {Ht.} *sorəs, *sort > Os: O sorəs, Ty/Y so'rt, D/K/Nz surt, Kz so'rt id. ¶¶ UEW 448, Coll. 3, Sm. 548 [FU, FP *sors'i, Ugr *θa'rsi' 'quarter (m.)], Ber. 67 [#352], Ht. #165, MF 194 II ? D *co't.t-/*cot.t.- (/ *co'n't.-?) (| *3-?) 'span' (< *cor-t.-) > Ml co't.t.a-cca-n.- 'span of the thumb and forefinger', Kt co't.t. 'breadth of four fingers', Kn co't.t.u, cut.u, Kdg cu't.t, Tu co't.t.u, co't.t.u, co'n.t.u 'the small span of the thumb and forefinger', Tu cut.t.i 'a span', Tl 3ut.t.ili 'the small span' ¶¶ D #2834 ◇ Qu. (the S word may be a loan from Eg), and rejection of the S cognate changes the N rec.

2753. ??? ***3'UR** 'inside of body, heart' > HS: S *^ozawr- > Ar zawr- 'upper part of the breast' ¶ Hv. 301, DRS 709 || C: Ag {Ap.} *3^zr 'intestines' > Bln 3^zr, Xm z3la, Q 3^zir, Aw z3ri ¶ Ap. AV 23, R WB 158-9 || A {S} *3^urV^k 'heart' (× N ***du**rV ~ ***dUR** 'intestines, heart') > T *ju^r-a^k 'heart' > OT ju^r-a^k, Tk yu^rrek, Tkm, Ggz, Qmq, Nog ju^rrek, ET ju^r-a^k ~ z^u-ra^k, Az u^r-ra^k, Δ ju^r-a^k, Ln ju^rjek, Uz juraq, Qzq z^u-rek, VTt, Bsh j^b-ra^k, Qrg 3^u-rek, SY (j)o^rrek, Alt 3^u-rek, Xk, Tv c^u-rek, Shor c^u-rex, Tf c^u-r^eek, Yk su^r-ra^k; Chv c^ure (← a NaT lge.) ¶ Cl. 965, Rs. W 213, ET J 270-1, TL 276 (T *ju^rrek), Ra. 199, Jeg. 324, S AJ 179 [#41] || M *3u^r-i^ru^rken 'heart' (× N ***du**rV ~ ***dUR** '¶', q.v. ffd.) || Ğ Tg: Sln ju^rugu 'heart' (unless ← M) ¶ STM I 278 ¶ S AJ 282 [#176], ≈ DQA #2624 [A *3u^r-r(V)k^e; incl. T, M] || ???σ D: Tm cu^r-u 'anus' ¶ ≈ D #2724 ♦ Qu. (the A cognate is ambiguous).

2754. ***3'URV** 'female being' > K *zura⁻ 'female' > Lz zura- 'female animal', Mg zura- 'coward', Sv: L {TK} zuray, LB/Ln {TK} zura⁻, UB zura⁻y {TK} 'ewe, female goat', {GP} 'female animal', d UB/L zura⁻, Ln zural 'woman' ¶ K 89 & K² 61, (*zura-), FS K 137, FS E 149, Q 238, TK 253, GP 105 || IE *sor- 'woman, female' in cds : [1] AnIE: Ht -sara-, sx. for female beings: ishassara- 'lady, mistress' (←d- isha- 'lord, master'), supessara 'pure girl, virgin' (←d- suppi- 'pure'), *hassussara (SAL.LUGAL-ra) 'queen', HrLw hasusara 'queen', Lw {Mlc.} na⁻na-sri(ya) gen. 'sister' [←d- na⁻ni-(ya) gen. 'brother'] || [2] NaIE *tri-sor-es 'three' f. (← *three women') > OI tisah., OIr te⁻oir id., *k^wetwor-sres 'four' f. > OI catasrah. || [3] NaIE *swe-sor- 'sister, female member of the clan' (← *[one's] own girl\woman', a cd of *swe- 'own' + *sor-) > OI 'svasar- (nom. 'svasa⁻), Av χ^vanhar- 'sister' || Arm ^ojr k^hoyr (< *sweso⁻r) id., gen. ^e® k^her (< *swesr-os) || L soror id. || OIr siur (< *sweso⁻r), W chwaer, OCm [LC] huir, MCm hoer, hor, OBr guoer ({Flr.}: spelling for hu⁻oer), MBr hoar, Br c⁻hoar id. || Gt swistar, ORu, OSx swestar, OHG swester, NHG Schwester, Dt zuster, AS sweostor, s(w)ustor, ON systir id. (← NE sister), Sw, NNr syster, Dn søster id. || BSl: Lt sesuo⁻ (gen. seser⁻s), Pru swestro id. || Sl *ses⁻tra, acc. *ses⁻tro⁻ (passed into the *-a⁻-declension) id. > OCS сестра sestra, Blg, R, Uk cec⁻tpa, SCr se⁻stra, Slv. se⁻stra, Cz, Slk sestra, P siostra id. || Gk Δ [Hs.] ^uεop 'daughter, cousin' || pTc {Ad.} *s⁻a⁻is⁻er > Tc: A s⁻ar, B s⁻er 'sister' ¶¶ Kron. EHS I 109-12, Pv. I-II 384, Ts. W 28, Mlc. CL 154-5, WP II 533, P 1051, ≈ EI 521 (*swesor / gen. *swe⁻sr-os 'sister'; doubts about the element *sor in *swesor), M K III 565, M E II 796, Renou § 269, F I 530-1, WH II 563-4, Vn. S 123 & T 51-2, Slr. 62-3, Flr. 195, Fs. 469, Vr. 574, Ho. 330, 335, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1003, OsS 917-8, Schz. 278, Frn. 777-8, En. 260, Glh. 545-6, Vs. III 612, Ad. 661 || HS: CCh: Suk {IL} z3⁻r, {Mk.} z3⁻r 'woman' ¶ JI II 347, Mk. I 318 || ?σ Eg fP zr.t 'ewe' (only if the form is primary, while zr 'buck' is a bf) ¶ EG III 462-3, Fk. 235 || U *s⁻Vr^δa > Sm {Jn.} *s3ra⁻ 'widow(er)' > Ne: T cy\$pa s3ra 'widow(er)', cy\$pa he s3ra n⁻e 'widow', T O {Lh.} s3⁻r-a⁻ 'widow(er)', Ne F N χi⁻ε⁻rra⁻ id.; Ng {Cs.} 'seru; En {Cs.} 'sifa - sira id.; Slq Kt {KD} s3⁻ru⁻ ne⁻i⁻yum 'widow'; Kms {KD} seri 'widow(er)', serine 'widow'; the Sm cognate is valid only if the meaning 'widow' is primary, whence a broadened meaning 'widow(er)'. The change of meaning 'woman' → 'old woman' (→ 'widow') may have been induced by the reflexes of U *sera⁻ 'old' (UEW 440) ¶ Jn. 138-9, Cs. 31, 65, 91, 189, 304.

2755. ***3'aIVRV** 'hedgehog' > K *33⁻yarb- id. > MG [KC] g3yarbi, eNG {SSO} 3yarbi 'hedgehog', g3yarbi {SSO} 'big hedgehog' ('didi ZGarbi'), G 3yarbi ~ 3yarbi ~ † g3yarbi 'hedgehog', {DCh. RGS} 3yarbi, g3yarbi id.; the word g3yarbi may go back to a cd (SSO: g3yarbi = didi 3yarbi 'big 3yarbi') ¶ Chx. 422, 2092, DCh. 1624 (3yarbi 'hedgehog'), DCh. RGS 94, SSO I 181, 291 & II 360 || IE *sXVr- > some AnIE lge. reflected in a gloss: [Hs.] σχυ⁻p⁻ · εχι⁻vo⁻ 'hedgehog' ¶ Ch. 1257 || U: FU *c⁻l⁻arV > pObU *c⁻l⁻a⁻o⁻r > Vg: T {Mu.} sār 'badger', P {Mu.} mo⁻-sor m3⁻-sor 'hedgehog' (m3⁻ 'earth') ¶ MK 552 || A: M *zariβ⁻ya 'hedgehog' > MM [HI, MA] 3⁻ari⁻va, [IsV] 3⁻ari⁻a-sun, [NQ] {Pel.} 3⁻aria, {Pp.} 3⁻arya, WrM 3araga, HIM 3ara⁻, Kl 3apa, {Rm.} zara⁻, Brt 3ap⁻a zarya⁻, Dg {T} 3⁻z3⁻, MMgl 3⁻ai⁻ra, Mgl {Lg.} 3⁻a⁻i⁻ra⁻ 3⁻ei⁻ra⁻ id., M b⁻ Tjk 3⁻ayra 'porcupine' ¶ Ms. H 65, Pp. MA 201, Lg. VMI 37, MED 1037, Kow. 2301, KRS 241, KW 467, Chr. 252, T DgJ 143 ♦ All data (except Vg) suggest an affricate (*3⁻). The desaffrication in the pre-history of some Vg dialects (bringing about s- and s'- is known in other words as well, cp. FU {Coll.} c⁻u⁻ka 'hill' > ObU {Ht.} *c⁻u⁻ηk > Vg T su⁻k (Ht. #81), ObU *c⁻a⁻rəy- 'rinnen' > Vg P s⁻arr- (Ht. #86), as well as below s.v. ***3'a⁻hRV**. K *-b- is likely to go back to the N component ***bA** of animal names [q.v. ffd.].

2756. ***3'a⁻hRV** 'flower, blossom, ? unripe berry' > HS: S *zah⁻a⁻r- > Ar zahr-, zahr-at- ~ zahar-at- 'flower, blossom', ?? JA [Trg.] √zhr v. G 'bloom' (× √zhr 'shine') ¶ Ln. 1261-2, Js. 382, Lv. T I 212 || EC *zara⁻r- 'flower' > Bs dara⁻ra, Or {Th.} darara (nom. dararri), Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} dara⁻ra⁻, Or M/Gj {LLC} dara⁻ra, HEC {L} *zara⁻r- > Kmb/Qbn/Alb zara⁻r-, Sd dara⁻r-o, Brj dara⁻r-a 'flower' ¶ Ss. B 53-4, 195, Th. 93, Grg. 99, Sr. 285, LLC 77, L Z 120, Hd. 66 || U: FU *c⁻l⁻a⁻rV ({UEW} *c⁻XrV) 'flower, blossom; unripe berry' > Lp {Fri.} c⁻uruk 'bacca immatura, crudo', Lp N c⁻uoro / c⁻ur⁻ru- 'unripe cloudberry' || ?? Prm *c⁻3⁻orV > pZ {LG} *3⁻VrV- > StZ дзоридз 3⁻oriz⁻ 'flower', Z UV/Vm/I/Sk 3⁻oriz⁻, Z Le 3⁻zriz⁻ 'flower of berries', Prmk 3⁻or, Yz 3⁻oriz⁻ 'unripe' (of berries); *-3⁻ is a derivational suffix; if the FU vw. is *a, the Prm vw. *o (for the expected *ω) [JLG] *o⁻] is irreg. || ObU {Ht.} *c⁻a⁻r- > pVg *c⁻a⁻ri⁻ 'flower' > Vg: K/P/LL s⁻o⁻r, Ss s⁻o⁻ri id.; pOs {Ht.} *c⁻arək > Os Kz s⁻orəχ 'blossom', s⁻orχat- 'Blüten bekommen', Nz s⁻orχəm- 'Beerenknospen bekommen' ¶ Coll. 76, UEW 47-8 (rejects the Prm cognate), LG 92, Ht. #83.

2757. ***3'ĒhRV** ~ ***3'Ē'R?V** 'to see, know' > K: GZ {K²} *zer-/zīr- v. 'look' > OG, G mzer-/mzīr- 'look', Mg zīr-, Lz (n)zīr- ~ zīr- ~ c.īr- 'see, find' ¶ K² 57-8, Chik. 390 II HS: S: [1] WS *√zhr G (ps.) 'be seen', Sh, [?] D (caus.) 'instruct, warn' (← **'let know'; ≡: Tl inv. cu- 'see!' - cumī, cud.ī 'take care!', exclamation of warning [D #2735, Km. 359]) > Hrs {Jo.} √zhr G (pf. ze'hər, js. yəzho-r) 'appear' (but √zhr G 'shine' belongs to N ***z'ahrV** ~ ***3'ahrV** ~ ***3'ahRV** 'shine' [q.v.]), BHb √zhr Sh (pf. rie5z'e5 hi-z'hīr) {KB} 'warn', {BDB} 'instruct, teach, warn', JPA B {Sl.}, SmA √zhr Sh 'warn', BHb √zhr N (pf. re2z'n% niz'har) 'be instructed, admonished, warned', BA Nir%ie5z' zəhī'r-īn pl. 'careful, cautious', IA zhr {HJ} T 'take heed, take care of', JPA √zhr G {Js.} 'look out, guard', JEA MHb rie5z! za-hīr, JEA rie5z' zə'hīr 'careful', JPA Bz {Sl.} riez zhyr 'careful, prudent, watching over', ChrPA {Schlt.}, Md √zhr D 'warn', ChPA G zhr acp. 'animum attendens ad cavendum'; [2] *°√zrr > Ar {Ln.} √zrr (pf. zarra) 'increase in intelligence (and in probation and experience)', √zrr (pf. zarira) 'become intelligent' ¶ Jo. H 149, KB 254-5, 1700, BDB 264, HJ 307, Js. 381-2, Sl. 400, Sl. P 172-3, Schlt. 54, Tal 222-3, BK I 1025-6, Ln. 1222-3, DRS 695 || ?φ B *-z_uraH- ~ *-z_uruH- ~ ? *-z_iHR- 'see; know' (× N ***c'uf_rrV** ~ ***c'ur'fV** 'to see, look', q.v. ffd.) || ??φ Eg fP sy3 (EG) s'j3 'recognize so. (erkennen); perceive; know' ¶ EG IV 30-1, Fk. 212 ¶¶ Zl. KÄLV 115 (Eg, B) ¶¶ Both the B and the Eg cognates are *qu.* because of the irreg. sibilant (*z_u for *z in B, s gor z in Eg [s due to infl. of the Ir. *h?]) ♦ IS MS 333 s.v. **вѣдет** ~ zīrA (K, Eg, B) ♦ The Ir. (*h) is suggested by S *√zhr, B *-z_uraH- ~ *-z_uruH- ~ ? *-z_iHR-. S points to the sequence *-hr'-, while most B lgs. suggest the root-final position of the Ir. The uvularization in B belongs to the heritage of N ***c'uf_rrV** ~ ***c'ur'fV**.

2758. ?₂ ***3'RVmV** 'to stream, flow, pour' > HS: WS *√zrm > BHb 'zerem 'heavy rain', JA [Trg] tim5r^z@ zar'mīt₁, tim5r1z^ zəra'mīt₁ id., MHb √zrm v. G 'stream', ?σ OSA √zrm in ð-zrm (an epitheton of the moon-god ʕm) ¶ KBR 281-2, Js. 414, ≈ Lv. T I 231, BK I 984, Mü. ASAH 308 II IE: NaIE *sermo- 'flowing' > Vd 'sarma {Bt., WP, P} 'flowing, das Fließen', {MW} 'going, running, flowing' (RV I 80.5) :: ? Gk 'ορμη' 'a violent movement onwards, assault' :: hydronyma: Σε'ρμιοθ, Fr la Sermanne (< Gl *Sermanna), It N Sermenza (< *Sermenia), Vn n. l. Sirmio (< *Sermio), Pnn n. l. Sirmium, P n. l. S'rem ({P}: < Vn *Sermo-) ¶ WP II 49-50, P 909-10, Bt. VII 84, MW 1183, F II 419-20, ≠ M K 471 (denies that the OI √ means 'to flow') ¶ We may try to etymologize the IE word as derived from *serH- v. 'stream, flow', but in this case the absence of the Ir. in *sermo- will remain unexplained.

2759. ?₂ ***3'VRTV** 'lewd' > HS: S *°√zrd > Ar zirda-n- 'pudenda muliebra' ¶ BK I 984 II IE: NaIE *sert- v. 'practise lewdness' > ON serða / sarð / ps. prtc. sorðinn ~ stroðinn v. 'Unzucht treiben' (→ AS seorðan 'copulate with a woman'), OSw sarþ 'stupravit', MLG serden, MDt seerden, OHG sertan^d serten^d serden 'sleep with, copulate', MHG se'rten id., 'stuprare, to torture' :: ?σ W serth {P, Vr.} 'obscene', {YGM} 'discourteous, unclean, base' ¶ P 911, Vr. 470, Kb. 845, Schz. 249, OsS 757, Lx. 192, Ho. 290, YGM-I 391.

2760. ***3'ur'fV** ~ ***3'u'r'fV** 'to stream' > HS: B *√zrr 'be liquid, melt' > Tmz {MT}, Izd {MT ← ?} zrir vi. 'être\devenir liquide; fondre' | B *√wzr 'flow, stream' (× N ***wVR3V** ~ ***wV3VRV** 'to pour, flow', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Dl. 952, MT 811 || C: EC: Sa {R} za-r- 'fließen, rinnen', zar 'Bach, kleiner Fluß, fließendes Wasser', ? Af {PH} dare-ra n. 'pouring out until empty', ?σ dara 'pool, lake, pool left behind in wadi; water which seeps out of the ground' :: Ag: Xm {R} zar 'river' ¶ R S II 332, PH 80-1, R Ch II 96 II IE: NaIE *serH-, *sreu- v. 'stream, flow' (× N ***s'a'ri'X'u** 'to stream, flow' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ But IE *sermo- (> Vd 'sarma 'flowing, das Fließen', etc.) is better explained as going back to N ***3'u'RVmV** 'to stream, flow, pour' [q.v.] ¶ P 909-10, 1003, M K III 554-5, M E II 784-5 II A *3u'u'r'V ({S} *3'ur'V ~ *u'-) > T *ju'r'- 'swim' > NaT *ju'z- > OT ju'z- 'swim', Tk yu'z-, ʔ*3- Tkm ju'ð-, Ggz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog ju'z-, Tlt/QK {Rl.} ju's-, VTt ʔ' 3- jʔ z-, Bsh ʔ' & jʔ ð-, Az, ET u'z-, QrB, Qrg 3'u'z-, Qzq, Qq z'u'z-, Alt ɰ'ec-/ɰ'yez- 3'u's-/3'u'z-, Xk c'u's- 'swim' ¶ Cl. 984, ET J 281, TatR 194 || ?σ NrTg *ju_rku_ 'rapids in a river' (× ÷ M *dargil 'rapid current', cf. MED 233) > Lm jurku 'rapids in a river, rapid current', Neg joyku 'fairway in a river' ¶ STM I 277 ¶¶ S AJ 284 [#207]; DQA #254 (pA *cu'rka ~ *i_o- 'swift stream, current' > Tg, M) II D *co'r'- ({GS} *c|s-?) 'to tickle, drip' (× N ***c'or'V** 'to drip, trickle', q.v. ffd.).

2761. ≈ ? ***3'asV** 'bush (shrub), wood (Holz)' > K *3es'a- 'fire-wood' > OG, G s'es'a-, Mg dis'ka-, Lz dis'ka-, dis'k,a-, ?φ Sv UB/LB/L/Ln zek (dat.: UB/LB zekw ~ zek-s) [zek(w) hpl from the expected *zeskw?] ¶¶ K 234, K² 280, FS K 424, Chik. 157, TK 252, GP 104 II U: FU *°c'as|skV 'bush (shrub), brushwood' > StChr L c'as'ker 'thicket (ча~~а~~, ча~~оба~~)', Chr L {Ü} c'as'kar 'shrubs (bushes)', Chr E {Ps.} c'as'kar 'dichter Gebüsch', Chr H {Rm.} 'cas'ke'r 'das Reis, Reisig', {Ep.} cas'ker, c'is'ker, Chr {Coll.} c'as'ka 'small-wood, brushwood, scrub', 'birch' ¶ Coll. 74, Ep. 136, MRS 668, Ü 242, PsS 157, Rm. BT 150 II Gil: Gil: A ces / zes / jes (3ec₁), ES 3er 'branch, bough' ¶ ST 349, Km. N 485 (ES 3er 'bough') II ??σ, φ HS: Eg fP ss3 'Art kostbares Holz' (as from *zs with a sx.??) ¶ EG IV 279.

2762. ?₂ ***3'isV** 'fire' > U: FP *c'f'isV vt. 'scorch, burn' > Chr L {MRS} чъѣдыр-ашс'ъз'д'ъ'r-as' vt. 'burn, scorch', {Ü} c'ъз'д'ъra- v. 'scorch' (of the sun) | pPrm *c'u's'- or *c'is'- > Z чискав-ны c'iskav- ~ c'iskal- v. 'burn, scorch; touch with frost', Vt ч'ушка- c'us'ka- v. 'scorch, burn (one's skin, fingers); pour boiling water on, scold', ч'ушас'кы- c'us'tas'ki- 'be burnt (esp. of food, so. 's skin')' ¶ Lt. 186, LG 308, MRS 682-3, Ü 250 II ? HS: Eg fP s3.t = {Vc.} [*s3ya.t] 'fire, flame' (mt of

voiced and vl. cnss.: ***zic-** > ***siž-**?) > DEg sty.t > Cpt: Sd **caṛe** sate, B **caṛ**ṭ sati, A **ceṛe** sete ~ **ceṛe** seete id. ¶ EG IV 375-6, Fk. 257, Er. 475, Vc. 197 ¶ The unexpected Eg affricate **ž** (for the fricative **s**) may be due to *dis* of the expected ***zVs** [II Cp. also K: GZ ***ṛž'ec'χl**ₒ - 'fire' (> OG, G **cecχl**-, Mg **da(n)c'χzr**-, **dac'χir**-, Lz **dac'χir**-, **dac'χur**-, **dac'χer**- id.), if it goes back to a N **cd ± *ž'is'V c**ₒ 'flame embers' (cf. N ***c'f'u'ṛ'χV** 'embers, charcoal'). Deglottalization of N ***c** (yielding K **c**) is under the ass. infl. of ***χ** ¶ K 234 & K² 280-1 (GZ ***žec'χl**ₒ -), ≈ FS K 424 & FS E 478 (GZ ***žec'χ-**) ◇ Fn. KD #69 equates the K **√** with the D **√** that is reconstructed by him as ***ciccū** 'fire', which is *unt.* because this D **√** is ***kicc-** (≠ Zv. 115 [#131], DED #1272, D #1514).]

2763. ***ž'æw'i** 'left' (or ***ž'æwy'i** 'bad, ugly' → 'left') > IE: NaIE ***seu_yo-** (= {EI} ***seui_o-**) 'left (link)' > OI **sav'ya-** 'left, left hand/arm', Av **haoya-**, MPrs **ho'y-** 'left' || Sl **s'uyь** 'left' > OCS **шолн** **s'ui** id. ('εὐὸν/νομόν'), **шолница** **s'uica** 'left hand', Slv **s'u_j** (f. **s'u'ja**) 'left', SCr **s'u'va_k** (gen. **s'uva'ka**) 'left-hander', OR **s'ui** 'left', R Δ **шуйца** 'left hand', Uk **шуйб°** ч 'on the left side' || ? Clt: MW {SEv.} **assw** (< **asswy** / **asseu**), W **aswy** 'left' (if < ***ad-sewyo-**, as suggested by Ped. and Mn.), ?? Br **su** (call to a horse to turn left) ¶ WP II 472, P 915, EI 349 (***seu_yo-s**), M K III 449, Tr. 260 (none of them mentions the Clt cognates), Vs. IV 484, Ped. VG II 16, Mn. 38 (reconstructs ***aḥsewyos** ~ ***sewyos** 'left-hand, sinister', adduces Clt and Arm **ahēak** 'left' + **ī** ÷ Tc B **saiwai** v. 'the right'), Bc. 865-7, SEv. 4, YGM-1 34, Wn. 410-1 (rejects the connection of Tc B **saiwai** with the IE **√** in question) || A: ppM ***zeβu'n** 'left' > MM [L] XIII {Pp.} **ž'ewu'n**, [HI] **ž'e'v'u'n**, [IsV] **ž'u'yu'n** 'left', WrM **žegu'n**, HIM, Brt **ž*H**, Kl **ž*H**, {Rm., Pp.} **zu'n** 'left; east'; M **↳** ? Ork **džwun'ji** ~ **džun'jz** ~ **džun'ji** 'left', Ewk **jžvin**, Neg **jixinidžgdž**, Orc **ž'ž'n'ž'ž**, Ud **ž'ž'n'ž'ž**, {Krm.} **ž'e'ž'ž'ž** 'left', Nn **ž'žunc'i** 'from/to the left side', WrMc **žun** id. ¶ Pp. L II 1271, Ms. H 67, Lg. VMI 40, MED 1044, STM I 282, Krm. 232, KRS 259-60, KW 485 || ?σ HS: S ***o/δδδδ** (**rdp**) > Ar **ḏaḏa-ḏiḏ** 'bad, of poor quality' (of palm trees) ¶ BK I 773 || ?? K: G **ž'χuna** 'ugly' ('unschön, häßlich'), G K **ž'χurta** 'mißgestalteter, häßlicher Mensch' ¶ Chx. 2457 ◇ IS MS 346 s.v. **левый** (***z'e'wA**, represented in IE and M; adduction of WrMc **zebele** is to be rejected because the word means 'right side' rather than 'left side' [as in IS l.c.]) ◇ If the *qu.* K and S cognates are accepted, the N rec. will be ***ž'æwy'i** ◇ It is possible to find a semantic connection between this N **√** and ***ž'o_l'jwV** ***o** 'of poor quality/appearance; weak, bad' (q.v.), but the cognates in M suggest that these two etymons have different vowels and hence represent two separate N roots.

2764. ***župowV** 'to eat, taste' > K ***ž'ow-** v. 'fill one's mouth with food, eat one's fill, graze' > OG **zow-** (~ **zov-** ~ **zo-**), G **zov-** v. 'graze', Lz **ž'um-**, **ž'up-**, **nž-**, **ž'-**, **ž'-** id., Sv **ž'u_b-** 'fill one's mouth with food' (msd. {Fn.} **li-ž'u_b-e**) ¶ K 240, K² 290 (GZ ***ž'ow-** 'graze'), Fn. KW-2 44-5, FS K 436, FS E 491-2 (pK ***ž'ow-**) || HS: CCh: Ngs **za'we**, Mdr {Eg.} **za**, Glv {Rp.} **z-**, Gdf {IL} **zu** (?) a 'eat (soft things)' || It is not clear whether we should adduce here the ***zVm-** 'eat (soft things)' that is represented in most other subgroups of CCh (see JI II) ¶ JI II 120-1, ChC, ChL || ??σ EC: pSml {Hn.} ***zei_** 'to try, test' (if ← 'to taste') > Sml **is ku dei_**, Bn **ki'-de i_** id., Rn {Hn.} **ye'y id.** (= {PG} **yey-** 'look at?') ¶ Hn. S 77, 38 (on the particle **ku** in Sml and **ki'** in Bn), PG 299 [†] || Perhaps here: Eg P **zw.t** {EG} 'wheat (*Triticum durum*)', {Hng.} 'Dinkel' ¶ EG III 426, Hng. 674 || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} ***zu** 'guinea corn, sorghum' > {Sk.}: Wrj **zu-na**, My/Kry **zu**, Mbr **z'u**, Cg **zun** id. ¶ Sk. NB 24, Tk. NB 173 || D (in McTm) ***cuḡov-** v. 'taste' > Tm **cuvai_** v. 'taste, eat, chew', **cuvai_n** 'taste, flavour, sweetness', Ml **cuva n.** 'taste, flavour', **cuvekka** v. 'taste' ¶ D #2396 (b).

2765. ? ***ž'ixV** (or ***ž'ixV**) 'go (away), come' > HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} ***žV** 'enter, come' > Hs **zo'** 'come' || NrBc ***ža** 'enter' > Wrj, Kry **zau**, P', Sir **za**, Jmb, Mbr, My **za-** ¶ Stl. ZCh 187 [#382] || S ***-žih-** > Ar **žyḥ G** (ip. **-žih-**) 'go away, be far away', as well as (× CS ***žhḥ** 'remove' < N ***ž'U'χU** 'to cause to move from one place to another') BHb **žy|wh** ~ **žhḥ N** (3m ip. **hZ2i% yiz'zah**) 'be removed, displaced', {KB} 'sich loslösen, verschieben', JA [Trg.] {Js.} **žwh G** (ipf. **yə'zu'ah**) vi. 'be unsteady, move' ({Lv.} 'weichen, von der Stelle sich fortücken'), vt. 'remove, turn away' ¶ Ln. 1775, BK I 1030, KB 255, BDB 267, Js. 385, Lv. T I 215, DRS 700 ¶ S l.c. || A ***zi_**ₒ- ({SDM97} ***zi_** ~ ***za**ₒ, {DQA} ***zi** ~ ***zi_a**) 'come' > Tg ***ji-** 'come' > Nn, Ul **ž'i-** 'come, approach', WrMc **zi-**, Mc Sb **ž'i-** id. ¶ STM I 255, Y #1172 ¶ DQA #2599 (equates the Tg **√** with T ***jet-reach** [Rs. W 199] and with M ***ž'id-ku**ₒ- > Kl **zu'tkə-** 'to strive').

2766. ***ž'U'χU** 'to cause (so., sth.) to move from one place to another (to lead, drive)' > K ***ž'eγw-/ž'γw-** v. 'lead' > OG **žγw-/zeγw-v.** 'lead', G **zeγv-/žγv-/žγ-** v. 'lead, march at the head of, accompany', Mg {K} **b-ž'yu-k** 'I go in front of', {Q} **n-ž'γver-i** 'leader (**предводитель**)' || Sv {TK}: UB **mu-z'weγ** ~ **mu-z'eγw**, Ln **muz'weγ** ~ **məz'weγ**, L **mu-z'oγ** 'leader', Sv {K} **li-z'oγw**, Sv UB {GP} **li-z'weγ** v. 'lead (so.)' || d > K ***ž'γw-a-n-** v. 'send' > OG **žγwan-/žγwn-** v. 'send, make a present of, žγweni ~ žγweni 'present', G **žγvan-/žγvn-**, Mg, Lz **ž'yon-** / **ž'yun-** v. 'send', Sv {FS} **ž'γwa-n-**, **ž'γwan-**, **ž'oγwan-** 'take with oneself, send' ¶ K FSK 27, K 240-1, K² 285, FS K 432, FS E 487-8, TK 576-7, GP 164 || HS: CS ***o/žhḥ** [× N ***ž'ixV** or ***z'ixV**] 'go (away), come', q.v.] > Ar **žhḥ** (3m ip. **ya-zuhhu**) 'ōter (une chose) de sa place', 'faire aller en avant et en arrière, pousser en avant et en arrière', BHb **žy|wh** ~ **žhḥ N** (3m ip. **hZ2i% yiz'zah**) 'be removed, displaced', {KB} 'sich loslösen, verschieben', JA [Trg.] {Js.} **žwh G** (ipf. **yə'zu'ah**) vi. 'be unsteady, move', vt. 'remove, turn away' ¶ BK I 977, KB 255, BDB 267, Js. 385, Lv. T I 215 || D ***co(y)-** ({GS} **s-** or **s'?**) [× N ***žUg'U**] 'to move [intr., tr.] somewhere' (q.v.?) > Ka **so**ₒ,

so⁻vu, so⁻hu v. 'drive off, chase away', ? Tm o⁻ppu, o⁻ccu v. 'drive away', ? Gdb co⁻y-^d soyp- v. 'send' ¶¶ D ##2866, 2878 ◇ IS MsN [N *ʒ'uya⁻ 'вестн' (?): K + qu. A *zuge- v. 'carry']. S suggests an original vl. word-medial *-χ-. The voiced *y in K is due to as : pre-K *ʒ'χ > K *ʒ'χ. Connected with *ʒUg'U' 'fl'?

2767. ?? *ʒ'Vχ'i¹ 'to plait, spin, bind' > K: GZ {K} (?) *ʒaχ- v. 'spin' > G ʒaχ- id., Mg tuχ- id. (tuχuns 'he spins'), Lz tχ- v. 'spin' (tχups 'he spins') ¶ K 233 II ?? HS: Eg fP zh 'Zelt aus Matte aus Leinenstoff' ('Zelt aus Matte' interpreted by EG as 'Flechtwerk'), zh-ncr 'Leinenstoff' ¶ EG III 464-5 || ? B: Gh tā-zayzay-t 'corde' ¶ Pr. H #450 || ?? SC b→ Mb u-zi 'thread' ¶ Tk. SCC ← E ms. (1974) убрat-, пок не найду источник || ? CCh: Lame {Sa.} ze⁻o⁻ 'corde' ¶ Sa. DL 434 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 (B, Mb, CCh) II IE *sex⁻ - ({Pv.} *seE₂-) / *sex⁻ y- v. 'bind' > Ht ishiya-, ishai- v. 'bind, wrap', Lw 3p prs. active gender hishiyanti (≡ Ht prtc. nom. pl. com. ishiyantis) || [1] NaIE *se⁻ > Vd 'a-sa⁻t 'he bound', 'sa⁻tum v. 'bind', ava-sa⁻tar 'unbinder' | *se⁻ y- > Av ha⁻y- v. 'bind' | [2] *se⁻oy- (< *sx⁻ e⁻oy-) > Vd saya'tvam 'binding', OI se⁻tar- 'binder', 'se⁻tu-h, 'binding; fetter, bond' || L saeta 'coarse hair, bristle' || ON seiðr 'Band, Gurtel', seil 'cord, rope, fetter', OSx se⁻l, AS sa⁻l 'rope, fetter' (> NE sole), OHG seil 'rope, string', NHG Seil 'rope, cord'?? OHG silo 'belt', {OsS} 'Geschirr für Zugvieh, Riemenwerk des Zugviehs', NHG Siele 'breast-piece (of harness)' || Lt sie⁻ti (prs. sie⁻ju), Ltv si⁻et (prs. si⁻enu, se⁻ju) v. 'bind', Lt sai⁻tas 'tie; leash, lead; tether', sai⁻las 'Eimerschnur, Tragbügel' | [3] *sy- (< *sx⁻ y-), *si(-) (< *sx⁻ i(-)) > OI 'syati 'binds, ties, fetters', Vd si⁻ta- 'bound' (unless from *sə⁻to- < *sx⁻ to-), Av hinu- 'bond, fetter' | d→ [3a] *si-man- > Gk ἵμα⁻ (gen. ἵμα⁻ντος) 'leathern strap/thong, lash of a whip' || OI si⁻ma⁻ / si⁻man- 'parting of the hair, boundary' || ON si⁻mi 'Band, Strick', OSx simo 'rope', AS sima 'string, band, bond', NGr Δ Seime 'rope for drying linen' ¶¶ Pv. I-II 398-403, Ts. E I 384-8, Mlc. CL 70, P 891-2, M K III 501, 549-50, 745, WH II 462, F I 724-5, Vr. 468, 476, Ho. 269, 294, Ho. S 63-4, Kb. 837, 853, OsS 750, 764, Frn. 755-6, 783 ◇ Hardly here IE syuh- > *syu⁻ v. 'sew' (because of its sonorants *y and *u), f N *ʒu⁻.yV 'fibre, thick hair'.

2768. *ʒu⁻.yV 'fibre, thick hair' (→ 'to bind, sew') > K {K²} *ʒ'ua-, {FS} *ʒ'u- 'horsetail hair' > G ʒua 'horsetail hair, horse-hair', Mg ʒ'ua, Sv {Marr} ʒ'ə/ ʒ'i 'horsetail hair' ¶ K² 290, FS K 436-7, FS E 492, Chx. 2089, Q 376, 416, Marr JNDR 773 II IE *syuh- v. 'bind, sew' > NaIE *syu⁻ / *siū⁻ v. 'sew', *syu⁻to- 'sewn', *syu⁻men- 'band', *syu⁻d^hla⁻ 'awl' > OI 'sīvyati 'sews, joins (bindet/fügt zusammen)', syu⁻ta- 'sewn', 'syu⁻man- 'band, thong, bridle' || Gk κασσυ⁻ω (< *kat-su⁻o⁻) 'sew' || L su-o⁻ / -e⁻re, su⁻i, su⁻tum v. 'sew', su⁻bu⁻la (< *syu⁻d^hla⁻) 'owl' || Gt siujan, ON sy⁻ja, AS siow(i)an ~ seowian (> NE sew), OHG siuwen 'to sew'; *syu⁻to- > MHG siut 'Naht', ON sjo⁻ðr, AS se⁻od 'bag, pouch, purse'; *syu⁻d^hla⁻ > OHG siu(wi)la, NHG Sa⁻ule 'owl' || Lt prs. siuvu⁻, inf. siu⁻ti, Ltv prs. s⁻u⁻t (prs. s⁻uju ~ s⁻uvu ~ s⁻u⁻nu) v. 'sew', Pru schutuan 'Zwirn', Lt siuvi⁻k-as ~ -is, siuve⁻jas, Ltv s⁻uve⁻js ~ s⁻uva⁻js 'tailor', Pru schuwikis 'shoe-maker' | pSl *s⁻i⁻ti (inf.) 'to sew' > OCS шити s⁻iti, SCr s⁻i⁻ti, Slv s⁻i⁻ti, Cz s⁻i⁻ti, Slk s⁻i⁻t, P szyc⁻, R шит⁻, pSl *s⁻i⁻jo⁻ 'I sew' > OCS шить s⁻ijo, Blg 'ши', SCr s⁻i⁻je⁻m, Slv s⁻i⁻jem, R шить, IE *syu⁻d^hlo-m > pSl *s⁻i⁻dlo 'owl' > P szydlo, Cz s⁻i⁻dlo, Blg, R 'шило, SCr s⁻i⁻lo, Slv s⁻i⁻lo; pSl *s⁻it⁻ 'sewn' > OCS шить s⁻it⁻, R шить (шь) || Tc A su- 'sew' || Ht {Ts.} suel- (= {Pv.} suwel-) 'Faden, Band', {Ts.} suwarwil- '∈ Material für Festbinden, Binse(?)' || d→ IE *syuh-men- > Gk ὀμν⁻ 'sinew' → 'thin skin, membrane', Pru schumeno 'Schusterdraht', OI 'syu⁻man- 'band, strap, seam', Ht {Ts.} sum(m)anza(n)- 'Strick, Band' ¶¶ WP II 514, P 915-6, EI 573 (*syuh⁻ 'sew'), M K III 477-8, M E II 734, MW 1273, F II 964, WH II 631-2, Ho. 290, 296, Fs. 425, Vr. 479, 572, Kb. 860, OsS 769-70, Lx. 196, KM 627, Ho. 290, 296, Frn. 789-90, En. 244, Vs. IV 438, 443-4, Glh. 607, Ts. W 77, 78, 80, Pv. I-II 403 II U *su⁻ye 'fibre' > F syy 'fibre, filament; annual ring (of a tree)', F † syi 'fibre', † syve (gen. syveen) 'fibre, nerve' | pChr {Ber.} *s⁻iy 'annual ring of a tree' > StChr L ший s⁻iy, H ший s⁻i, B s⁻o⁻y, U s⁻iya id. | Prm {LG} *se > *se > *si ({LG} *se⁻ > *se⁻ > *si) > Z c⁻ si 'fibre', Vt cñ⁻ si 'layer', Vt Y {Wc.} si 'annual ring' || Sm *ti ~ *tu⁻ ~ ? *tiw 'fibre, annual ring of a tree' > Ne T ти, {Lh.} t⁻i, Ne F {Lh.} c⁻i 'annual ring', Ng {Cs.} t⁻i, En X {Cs.} t⁻i, En B {Cs.} t⁻i 'Holzader', Slq: Tm {KD} pod⁻tu⁻, Nr {Cs.} po⁻t-tu⁻, B {Cs.} put⁻tu⁻, Tz/Kar {Cs.} puot⁻tu⁻ 'Holzader' (pod⁻ etc. means 'of [a] tree') ¶¶ UEW 443, Coll. 59, Sm. 540 (U, FU, FP *su⁻xi, Sm *ti 'annual ring'), Ber. 62, MRS 705, Ep. 150, LG 257, Jn. 161, Jn. UK 223, Cs. 63, 80, 166, 236.

2769. Ll o *ʒ'u⁻ʒ'V ~ *ʒ'u⁻n'ʒ'V 'teat, female breast' > HS: S Ll o *ziz- id. > BHb ziz% ziz 'nipple, full breast', ? Ug {A} zd 'female breast' (× N *c⁻ayVd⁻VjyV 'female breast'), Ar AT {Dz.} ÉzaYzi ziz-at- 'female breast, teat', Ak NA zizu 'teat' ¶ KB 268, A #321, BK I 1032, Dz. I 619, Sd. 1532, CAD XXI 149, MiK I #1.295 II Ll K: GZ {K} *ʒuʒu 'female breast' > OG, G ʒuʒu-i, Mg ʒuʒu- id. ¶ K 235, K² 281; FS K 427 & FS E 481 (*ʒu-) II U: FU {Coll.} *c⁻u⁻n⁻c⁻a⁻ (< *c⁻u⁻n⁻c⁻a⁻) 'female breast' > pLp {Lr.} *c⁻in⁻c⁻e⁻ id. > Lp: S tjiddjie, Ll tjiddje⁻, N c⁻iʒ⁻ʒ'e, Klt c⁻iʒ⁻ʒ' id. | Chr L чьве c⁻ze 'female breast, nipple, teat' || Hg szu⁻gy 'breast of animals'; Ll cse⁻cs 'mamma' (with phonetic transformation due to tendencies of Lallwörter) | ObU {Ht.}: Vg (partially in cds): T s⁻u⁻s⁻aw, LK/MK s⁻o⁻s⁻, s⁻o⁻s⁻, P s⁻is⁻, NV s⁻u⁻s⁻a, SV/LL s⁻u⁻s⁻, UL s⁻is⁻, Ss s⁻is⁻, s⁻us⁻ 'nipple, teat'; Os {Ht.}: V/Vy/Ty/Y t⁻ut⁻i, Nz s⁻u⁻s⁻a, Kz s⁻u⁻s⁻i⁻ 'nipple' ¶ Db. OS xxxi (FU *c⁻ic⁻a⁻), Coll. 75, Coll. CG 402, 410 (FU *c⁻u⁻nc⁻V), Lr. #139, Lgc. #568, MRS 683, MF 113-4, LG 311, Ht. #824 II ?ϕ A: Tg *jadan (~ *jajan) 'udder, female breast' > Ewk jadan, Lm j3jin⁻ jajan 'udder', Neg joyan, Ork dadaqta 'female breast' ¶ STM I 242 ◇ The length of *i

in S may be due to the loss of *n. The loss of *n and other irregularities may be due to the phonetic tendency of nursery words to the CVCV-structure (whence K *ʒuʒu, pre-ObU *c'Uc'U, Hg cse'cs, S *ʒizV).

2770. ?? *ʒaɣɣɣʒVɣU ≈ 'leaf-bearing tree without berries or edible fruits' ('lime-tree, Tilia' or sim.) > K {K, FS} *ʒacɣw- 'lime-tree, Tilia' > OG cacɣu-, G cacɣv-, Mg cacɣu-^d cɣacɣu-, Lz ducɣu-, Sv {TK}: UB zaʒsɣw, LB zesɣ, zesx-ra ¶¶ K 233, K² 278, FS K 420-1, FS E 473-4, Q 370, Abul. 514, TK 251 ¶¶ HS: S: Ar SL zayzafu'n- 'lime-tree' ¶ This word is to be distinguished from the homonymous word Ar SL zayzafu'n- 'fruitless sorb-tree', which is probably a loan from Gk ζιζυφον 'jujube-tree, Zizyphus' (though both homonyms are likely to have influenced each other) ¶ Bel. 293, Bel. DFA 681, Hv. 291 ¶ A: Tg: WrMc {Z} ʒaʒixi, ʒaʒuri 'dense forest' ¶ It is worth paying attention to Tg *jugde'n 'alder-tree' (< *-gd- < *-j-d- < N *-c'ʒ'- + a sx.?) > Ewk jugdʒn, Lm jo'dʒn, Neg jugdʒn, Orc jugdʒ(n-), Ud ʒ'ugdʒ(n-), Ork ʒ'uwʒgdʒ ~ ʒ'uʒgdʒ id.], which may well belong to A *ʒUgɣɣɣVɣV > NaT *so'gu'td 'willow' (see Rs. W 429) ¶ STM I 242, 269 & II 120, Krm. 235, 288, Z 970, Hr. 514.

2771. *ʒiʒVbV ' (young?) wolf' > HS: S *ʒiʒib- 'wolf' > BHb ba4z^ zəʒe'b_, pl. Mib5a4z^ zəʒe'bīm, IA [Frh.] bad dʒb, JPA bD4 de'b_, JPA, JEA em. abliD4 de'b_a_, Sma bid dyb, Sr ʒoæd % de<ʒ>b_a_, Ar ʒo3i diʒb- (-b) Bj {R} dīb), Ak zīb- 'wolf', Gz ZAB zəʒb 'hyena' (the posttonic vw. is evidenced by BHb, where pS *-iʒi- yields -əʒe'-) ¶ AD PSH 41, 98, 121, 139, KB 250, KBR 260, Js. 276, Sl. 326, Br. 137-8, Lv. I 370, HJ 237, Tal 179, CAD XXI 106, L G 630, DRS 324-5 ¶ Eg fP zʒb 'jackal' (either a cognate of or a loan from S) ¶ Eg N ʒshb (= [*ʒVshVb-]) '∈ wolf or dog' (acc. to EG I 132, a foreign word) [with a prosthetic ʒV- and with as *(-δʒ- >) *-sʒ- > sh] ¶ EG I 132 & III 420, Fk. 209 ¶ C: EC *ʒVhb-: HEC *ʒo'bb- 'lion' > Sd do'bb-ic'o, pl. do'bb-a, Alb zobe-c'c'o, Kmb zo'bbe-c'c'u, Tmbr zob'be-c'c'u, Qbn zo'bbo' 'lion' ¶ pSam *daʒaw- ~ (mt) *dawaʒ- 'jackal' [× N *d'æ'wVŋV] 'wolf' or 'jackal', q.v. ffd.] ¶ SC: Irq duʒuma 'leopard' ¶ AD SF 106, Hd. 92, L Z 120 ¶ Ch: WCh ? *ʒiʒVɣb- ({Stl.} *ʒiʒVb-) > Ngz {Sch.} ʒiʒb-da' 'civet cat (Viverra civetta)' ¶ ECh *ʒʒabi- 'hyena' > Bdy ʒʒebay-gi 'striped hyena', Mgm ʒʒa'biya' 'brown hyena' ¶ Sch. DN 84, ChC s.v. 'hyena' ¶ OS #2660 ¶ K: G c'iba 'young dog' (K *c'- < **ʒ'H-?), G ciba 'small dog', a call-word for dogs, G Kzq ciba 'Hündchen' (c- is still obscure) ¶ Chx. 1933, 2003, KEGL VIII 501, 614 ¶ A *ʒe'be-ken 'wolverine, glutton (Gulo gulo)' > T *je'a''bke id. > Tv c'epke ~ c'ekpe, Qb {Rl.} ja'kpa'', Qmn {B.} Alt {BT} ʒ'e'ken, Alt {Rl.} ja''kka'n (= ʒ'a''kka'n), Shor {Rl.} c'a''ka'n, Yk {Pek.} siā''ga'n ¶ Shch. Zh 140, B K 212, BT 51, TvR 526, Pek. 2185, Rl. III 318, 320, 1948 ¶ M *ʒeʒekgen (< **ʒeʒeken?) 'wolverine' > WrM ʒeʒege, {Rm.} ʒeʒeke, Brt ʒyʒyʒn, Kl ʒeʒen ʒe'gən, {Rm.} ʒe'kn_, HLM ʒyʒyʒ (< *ʒeʒegen < mt *ʒeʒegen) ¶ CHR. 275, KRS 246, KW 474, MED 1051 ¶¶ 'wolverine' <d- (dim.?) 'wolf'; ≡σ: NE wolverine <d- wolf ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2571 [A *ʒibe 'a kind of predator' > T + unc. M *sibor 'panther' and Tg*sibige' '∈ big beast of prey' (in fact from N *SibVŋV 'beast of prey', q.v. ffd.)] [† ≠ BK DA 157 [#56] (unc. equation of the HS root with D *civɣjanki 'leopard, lynx, hyena' (in fact from N *ʒiʒwVɣɣVɣE 'leopard' × N *c'ʒiʒVɣV 'hyena', q.v.)].

2772. 2 *ʒuɣɣɣɣV 'to pour, flow' > HS: S *-du'b- v. 'flow' > BHb bvz √zwb G (ip. -zu'b_-) 'flow' (water), 'drip with some fluid', Ug mdb {OLS} 'flood of tide', JA [Trg.] √dwb G 'flow, drip', JEA √dwb G 'flow out, discharge', Md √dwb v. 'flow', Sma √dwb G 'melt, have a discharge', Sr √dwb G 'flow out, have an issue (menstruation, semen, etc.), melt', Ar √dwb v. G 'melt', √zwb v. G 'flow' (<b- some z-lge.?), Ak za'bu inf. 'dissolve, ooze' ¶ KB 255, KBR 266, OLS 260, BK I 787, 1024, A #720, Grd. UT #1425, Tal 171, Js. 282, Lv. T I 163, Sl. 315, Br. 144, JPS 84, DRS 329, Sd. 1501-2, CAD XXI 9-10 ¶ Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ʒubɣb v. 'pour' > Hs zuba v. 'pour' ¶ Bl ʒ'ubɣb-, Dr ʒ'o'b.e' id. ¶ ? Ngz ʒ'i'c'b.u' v. 'sprinkle' ¶ CCh: MfG {Brr.} -ʒ'ʒb- v. 'wetten (the lips, iron)', Dgh {Frk.} ʒ'u'pa' 'be wet', Db {Lnh.} ʒ'u'p id., 'wet' ¶ Stl. VZCh #93, Stl. ZCh 194 [#457], Abr. H 975-6, Sch. DN 85, ChC, ChL, Brr. MG II 136 ¶ Eg fP zʒb 'fließen, rinnen', {Fk.} 'drip' ¶ EG III 420, Fk. 209 ¶ OS #2669 (*ʒub- 'flow, pour'), ≈ OS #2631 (*√ʒub v. 'pour', based on an unc. rec. of pS as *√zwb), ≈ Sk. HCD 547 ¶ K *ʒVɣb-p- > ? Zan *ʒgVp- -b> G I ʒ'gep-i 'heavy rain' ¶ Chx. 2436 ¶ A *ʒub- > M *ʒubag > WrM ʒubag, HLM ʒyʒar 'irrigation channel, drain' ¶ MED 1077 ¶ Tg *ʒubɣp- > Ewk juwa't- v. 'have diarrhea' ¶ STM I 268.

2773. ʒo 2 *ʒUɣɣɣɣVɣbV '∈ insect' > HS: S *ʒ'u'bVb- ~ δVbδVb- 'a fly' > BHb bubz^ zəʒb_u'b_, JA [Trg.] ab1b6iD dib_ə'b_-a_, Sr 'boʒoδ a dabba'b-a- ~ 'boʒoδ e dēbba'b-a- id., Ar δuba'b-, Mh {Jo.} δʒb'be't (pl. δʒbe'b), Jb E {Jo.} δʒb'bət, Jb C {Jo.} δʒb'bət (pl. 'δbeb), Sq {L} dbiboh, Ak zubbu ~ zumbu id., Hrs δʒbbe't (pl. δʒbde'b) id., δebδʒbe't 'worm' ¶ KB 250, KBR 261, Js. 294, Jo. M 79, Jo. J 45, Jo. H 27-8, DRS 326 ¶ B *ʒVbb- 'fly' > Ah a-həb (pl. i-həbb-in) 'mouche plate', ETwl, Ty e-zəbb (pl. i-zəbb-ən) 'mouche (æstre) du bœuf', Tnsl {ABs.} a-səbb, Gh {ABs.} azəb 'fly', Izd {Mrc.} i-zib (pl. i-zabb-ən) 'mouche de cheval' ¶ Fc. 505, GhA 208, Pr. H #122, Mrc. 170 ¶ Eg MK zb.t ≈ 'vermin (Ungeziefer)', DEg sb 'vermin, louse' > Cpt Sd cɣs sib, Cpt B cɣn sip 'vermine, tique' ¶ EG III 432, Vc. 183 ¶ ? φ C: Bj {R} d.ɣba'b (pl. d.ɣbəb) 'flee' ¶ R WBd 73 ¶ ? Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ʒ'u'wa'k, Bd {ChL} ʒ'u'wa'n 'fly' ¶ CCh: Mtk {Sb.} ʒu'wa'y, pMM {Ro.} *ʒiway (> Mada {Ro.} zu'we', Myn {Ro.} a'zu'we', Mkt {Ro.} zu'wa'y, Hrz {Ro.}, Mf {BLB} ʒu'wa'y, Mlk/Vm/Mofu {Ro.} ʒu'wa'y, Zlg {Ro.} ʒu'we', MfG {Brr.} ʒ'a'ʒ'u'wa'y, Gzg D {ChC} ʒ'uʒuwed., Gzg {Ro.} ʒ'iʒ'i'we'd., Gzg Mj {Lk.} ʒ'iʒ'uwed.), Glv {Rp.} nʒ'u'wiya', Gv {ChL} nʒ'uwa', Dgh {ChC} n'ʒ'u'we', {ChL}

nzu'we', Nkc {IL} nzu'we', Mdr {Mk., ChL} n3'ugwa || ECh: Mu {J} d,u'wo', Jg {J} diwo id. ¶ Nw. 52 (s.v. *diwa 'fly'), ChC, ChL, Ro. 254 [#282], Lk. G 125, RpB 74, BLB 128, Brt. MG II 137 || A {SDM97} *3u'bu '∈ stinging insect' > ?? NaT *ji:bin ~ *ci'pin > OT c'ibin ~ c'i'bin 'fly, gnat', Tk cibin, Az c'ibin 'fly, mosquito, gnat', Tkm c'i'bin, Uz c'ibin 'gnat', Qmq 3'ibin 'fly', {Rm.} 'Sandfliege', VTt чебен c'ьбьн, ET c'ivin, Qrg c'immin, Alt, Tb {B} c'immin 'fly', Qzq s'ibin id., s'ibin-s'i'rkey 'swarm of midges', ?φ Tv s'imil 'larve' ¶ The variations *j- ~ *c- and *-b- ~ *-p- are due to the ideographic (onomatopœic) associations of the word ¶ TL 186, Cl. 838, Rs. W 110, TatR 632, TkR 743, Sht. 235, Nj. 416 || Tg *jube wasp, bee' > Ewk juwuk, juwukt3 'wasp', Sln ju'kt3, Lm j3wət ~ j3w3t 'bee, wasp', Neg j3w3-kt3 ~ j3y3kt3 ~ j3y3kt3, Nn Nh/KU 3'3w3, 3'3w3k3, Nn B 3'3w3(n-) ¶ STM I 268 ¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *3'u'bu > T, Tg + i ÷ M *3'o'gey 'bee'), ≠ KW 487 (M, T), Pp. VG 28, 58.

2774. ? *3'aOdV 'to spread, be flat' > A *3'a-da- > NaT *ja-d- > OT {Cl.} ja-d- v. 'spread out (on the ground, etc.)', XwT/MQp xiv, Chg xv jay- id., Tk yay-, Ggz, Kr jay-, Uz eeй- jay-, VTt z' a'y-, Bsh ja'y-, Qzq, Qq z'ay-, Qrg 3'ay-, Alt {BT} дай- 3'ay-, Xk c'as-, Tv c'at-, Tf c'at- id., Tkm ja'y- v. 'roll out dough', Az, Qmq, ET jay- id., 'spread out' ¶ Cl. 883-4, ET J 76-7, TkR 808, Ra. 195 || ?? M *zada-: WrM {MED} zadara-, HIM задра- v. 'spread' (here unless ← zadara- v. 'unfold, unwrap, loosen'), WrM {Rm.} zada-gai 'lying open, spread out', ?σ Kl задха 'open, not closed'; WrM {Rm.} ←-? zada-i- 'sich ausbreiten', zada-gar 'flach ausgebreitet'; if the primary meaning of the M √ is 'to open, loosen', 'apart' (WrM zada 'apart'), the M √ does not belong here (⇔ Rm.) ¶ MED 1021, Kow. 2277-8, KRS 236 ¶ Rm. EAS I 64 & Rm. SKE 24 (T, M + unc. Ko cak:i (Rm.: < cat-ki-) 'to place with the back down', arbitrarily interpreted by Rm. as 'mit ausgebreiteten Armen auf den Rücken legen'), DQA #2584 [A *3a'dV 'to spread, unravel (расстилат-, распутыват-)> T, M] || D *cat.t.- 'flat(ness)' > Kn cat.t.u, cat.t.a, cat.t.e 'flatness, levelness', Tu cat.t.æ 'flat, level', Knd sat.u, sat.u-pan'ku 'flat rock' (pan'ku 'stone') ¶ D #2308 || HS: S *°/δfδ > (as in the framework of a rdp pattern) Ar √δfδf D 'disperse' ¶ BK I 772-3 ◆ IS SS #3.19 (A, D), IS MS 359 s.v. расстилат-цφ (A, D).

2774a. *3'Uh'i' ≈ 'show; learn, get accustomed' > HS: Eg fMK zh 'advice', zhy 'adviser; clever, understanding' ¶ EG III 465-6 || K *c'w(e)- v. 'get accustomed, train, school' > OG c'ue-, G c've-/c'vi- id., Mg *rc'kv(a)-, Sv c'kw- 'get accustomed (?)' (msd. UB {TK} li-c'kwne) ¶ K 219 (GZ *c'we-), K² 256 (K *c'w(e)-), FS K 388 & FS E 436 (*c'w-), TK 471 || IE: Ht siya- md. 'sich zeigen' ¶ Ts. W 75 ◆ K *c'- < *3'h.

2775. *3'a'kU (or *3'a'gU?) 'low', 'short and stocky' (of a person) > K: G G {Chx., Ghl.} 3'agvera(-i) 'a short robust person' ¶ Chx. 2424, Ghl. 772 || U *c'oka 'low', 'shallow', 'low water' > Lp: L {LLO} tsa'hke- 'shallow' (of a lake), N {N} coakke / -g- 'low water' (of river or sea), Kld uyгk-, K {Gn.} cuo-ikk 'shallow'; L {UEW} tsa'hko-, N {N} coakko- / -g- 'fall' (level of water), sink' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} t3'kke- vt. 'dry out', t3'kiri- vi. 'dry out', Tur {Lh.} t3'kki- id., Ke {Cs.} cakka-, Nr {Cs.} c'aga- 'austrocknen' || Y K {Jc.} c'oynun'e- 'be shallow' (of a river), ? Y T {Ku.} c'oynun- 'be thin', c'oynuyay- 'grow thinner' ¶ UEW 60-1, LLO 1242-3, SaR 381, KKI 182, Cs. 133, Ku. 235-6, Ang. 39 || A: M *zag3a-yi- 'be short and stocky' (of a person) > WrM zag3ai-, HIM, Brt зарзай-, Kl зарзи-х zagzi-x id., Kl Ö {Rm.} zayza'-χα 'kurz und dick sein', Ord {Ms.} 3'ag_3'_a'- ~ jag_3'_a'- 'be short' (of a person); M *zag3a-gar > WrM zag3agar, HIM зарзгар ~ заржар, Kl зарзhp zagzəhər, Brt зарзгар 'short, stocky' (of a person), 'broad and thick' (of a beard), Kl Ö {Rm.} zayzəyar 'kurz und dick, von kleinem Wuchs, stämmig', Ord {Ms.} 3'ag_3'_agar ~ jag_3'_agar 'short' (of a person); Brt зарзуул zagzu'l 'be low/undersized' (of a pine forest) ¶ MED 1025, KRS 235, KW 463, Chr. 243, Ms. O 179 || ?σ HS: S *°/δkw > Ar √δkw D 'être gros, corpulent' ¶ BK I 778 ◆ U *-o- (for *a) is under the ass. infl. of the labial vw. of the next syll. G Gr -g- in 3'agvera- (for the expected -k-) has not yet found explanation.

2776. ??φ *3'Eyl V (or *3'El YV?) '∈ fox, weasel' > K: eNG 3'ilyao ({SSO} 's]avi mela' (lit. 'black fox'), G 3'ilyao ~ 3'ilyo 'silver fox', {DCh.} 3'ilyao id., 'red fox', G {Chx.} 3'ilyao 'schwarzer Fuchs' ¶ Chx. 2448, DCh. 1771, KE VIII 1591 || HS: S: Ar du?a'l-at- 'fox', da?l- ~ di?l- ~ du?l- 'jackal, weasel' (? for the expected √ is due to the infl. of di?b- 'wolf' or to derivational processes [like pl. fractus **du?l V] du?a'l-]?) ¶ Hv. 194 || A: Tg *jele(-kī) 'weasel' > Ewk j3l3-kī, Lm jiliki, Neg j3l3xi, Orc 3'3l3ki, Ud 3'3l3xi, Ul 3'3l3i(n-) ~ 3'3li ~ 3'3liki, Ork j3l'3i, Nn 3'3li, 3'3lik3 'weasel', WrMc zelken '∈ small carnivore mammal' [? {Z} 'бурундук (chipmuck, Tamias), колонок (Siberian weasel, Mustela sibirica), жлты хоржк' ¶ STM I 28, Z 977, Krm. 236 ◆ 'Fox' and 'weasel' may be semantically connected as names of two fur-bearing animals.

2777. *3'amV 'to be dying, perish' > HS: S *°/δmy > Ar √δmwly v. G 'writhe in agony' (of a dying or slaughtered beast) (pf. 'Ma3a δama-, ip. -δmiy-, n. act. δamy-) ¶ BK I 783, Hv. 230 || But hardly here Sml d,imas'o 'be dying' (⇔ Blz.), because there is no confirmed etl. identity between Sml d, and S *δ || D *cam- (({GS} *s-) 'die, be finished', (caus.) 'kill' > Tl samayu 'die, perish, be destroyed', camaru 'kill', Tm camai- vi. (p. -v-) 'be consumed \ destroyed', vt. 'finish', camai- (p. -p-) 'kill, destroy', Ml cavati 'consumption', Kt cam- 'be finished \ spent', Kn same, save, savi 'be destroyed \ consumed, wear away', Gnd zavu-ka-na- d havk- 'kill' ¶ D #2343 || ? U: FV *yama- 'be dying' > pLp {Lr.} *ya-me- 'die' > Lp: S {Hs.} jaam'edh, L

{LLO} japmeˊt, N {N} jabmet, K {Gn.} yaˊmˊmˊeð 'die, perish' : pMr {Ker.} *yuˊma- > Er eeṁa- yoma- 'be missing (get lost, etc.), perish', Mk ʾma- yuˊma-, Δ ima- id. : pChr {Ber.} *yom- > Chr: H ʾmāš 'yamas', L ʾmāšyoˊmasˊ, B/Uf yoma-, M joma- 'to get lost, perish' || ?? Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} yaˊmaˊ- 'be unable', T Sd {Lh.} nˊewˊaˊw yaˊmaˊ 'my mother is ill', Ng {Cs.} jama-jua- 'nicht können' || pY {IN} *yam-p- 'be ill, die' > Y T {Ku.} yaba-, {IN} yawe- 'die', yamzˊi- 'be ill', yaw, {Jc.} jobe, Y K {IN} yoˊ-, {Jc.} jobo 'illness', ? Y T {Ku.} yaw- 'feel pain' ¶ Coll. 17, UEW 89, Lr. #256, Lgc. #1661, Hs. 753-4, LG 337, Rd. rLG 422, Ker. II 44-5, ERV 182-3, PI 319, Ber. 11, Ep. 25, MRS 147-8, 787, Lh. 97, Cs. 52, Ku. 63-4, Ang. 82, 94-5, IN 224, IN RJ 4 ♦ Not here Alt zˊobo- 'be sick' (BT 55), which is a loan from M (pM *zoba- 'suffer' < N *zˊoˊlˊwˊv ≈ of poor quality, weak, bad' [q.v.]) (cf. also Cl. 872) ♦ The U cognate is valid if N *zˊ- may yield U *y- (hyp. formulated by the present author in 1974 [AD NSAS 163-75], but not confirmed later) ♦ Blz. SNE I 239 [#1] (*zama; U, D + [unc.]) Alt zˊobo-, C + Ko samāṇ 'death' [in fact a loan from Chn]).

2778. ?σ₂ *zˊEmV 'way [??]' → 'manner of behaviour' → 'blame, fault' > [1] 'blame, fault': HS: WS *√δmm ~ *o√δ?m > Ar √δmm v. G (pf. δamma) 'blame, reprove', δamm- 'blame, vice'; (× √δ?m 'drive away, repousser'): √δ?m G 'blame, dispise, disgrace', δa?m- 'vice, shameful action', BHb emˊlˊz% zimˊmaˊ 'evil device, wickedness' (× emˊlˊz% zimˊmaˊ 'plan, purpose' < √zmm 'consider'), 'infamy, shameful behaviour', MHb (<b- Aram) emluD duˊmaˊ 'woman of ill repute', {Lv.} id., 'woman suspected of illicit intercourse', Ug tdm̄m {TOu} 'se conduire mal', {OLS} 'trato lascivo \ denigrante', tdm̄mt {TOu} 'inconduite', {OLS} 'lascivia', Mh {Jo.} √δmm G (pf. δzm, sbjn. yzδmzm) 'miscall so. behind his back, Jb E/C {Jo.} √δmm G id., Mh aḏmeˊm 'put all the blame on soˊst.', Gz √zmw D 'fornicate, commit adultery\whoredom, have illicit intercourse', Tgy √zmw D 'fornicate, commit adultery', Amh zem̄ma 'whore, harlot' ¶ KB 272, Js. 284, Lv. I 383, BK I 762, 781, Hv. 225, 230, BDB 273, TOu I 201, OLS 463, DRS 335, Jo. M 80, L G 639, Bsn. 723, Kane 1612, MiK I #2.14 II A: M *zime- ~ *zeme- > WrM zimed- v. 'accuse; blame, reprimand', zimele- id., 'to child, scold; to lecture', WrO zeˊm 'blame', zem n. 'harm, evil, guilt', zeme n. 'blame, fault, reprimand; scolding', zemele- 'scold, reprove' ¶ MED 1056, Kow. 2348-9, Krg. 667 III [2] 'manner of behaviour, natural law': HS: S: Ar ḏimaˊm- 'right, due, honour' II A: M *zime 'conduct, manner of behaviour' > WrM zime ~ zeme, HIM zym̄id., WrO zeˊm 'discipline, natural law', zeme 'discipline, sacred instructions' ¶ MED l.c., Kow. 2348, Krg. 667 III ?? [3] 'way' > HS: Eg L/G zm̄.ty 'Weg, Straße' ¶ EG III 452 II A: It is tempting to adduce here the M word that is represented by WrM zam, HIM zam, WrO zam 'road, way, pass', Kl {Rm.} zam 'Weg, Landstraße' (MED 1033, Kow. 2290, Krg. 661, KW 466, Kg. AD 328 [#1162]), but this M word is at least influenced by (contaminated with) [if not identical with] the loanword zam 'posting station' (MM [S] {R} zˊam id.) probably of Chn origin (<b- l̄tMCn ≈ cˊam < MChn {Starostin, p.c.} tˊem [> Chn M zˊ_an] 'to stop; stage of journey') (cf. Kg. AD 328 [#1162], H 85; on the T word jam 'posting station' of the same Chinese origin cf. Cl. 933). If the M word is a loan from Chn, it does not belong here. If there is a contamination, the Chn infl. is responsible for the one-syll. structure and the vw. *a in the M word ♦ It is not yet clear whether the above semantic entities are connected and, if so, whether our tentative hyp. of the semantic development ('wrong behaviour, vice' ← 'conduct, manner of behaviour' [?] ← 'way') is correct.

2779. ??φ *zˊaˊm̄pˊVK.E ~ (in HS) *zˊaK.Vˊm̄pˊV 'chin, beard' > IE {EI} *smekˊ-, *smokˊwr̄ 'chin, beard': [1] *smekˊ- > OIr smeck 'chin' (< *smekˊaˊ) || possibly L maˊla 'cheek-bone, jaw-bone', cheek, jaw', dim. maxilla 'jaw-bone, jaw' (maˊla < *sm̄kˊ-slaˊ) || [2] *smokˊwr̄ > Ht {Ts.} zamankur ~ zamakur 'beard', samankurwant- 'bearded' ('bärtig') || NaIE: OI sˊmasˊru 'beard' || Arm mayruˊ mawrukˊh ~ mōruˊ moˊrukˊh id. || pAl {O} *smekraˊ > Al mjekeˊr 'chin, beard' || Lt smaˊkras, † smakraˊ 'chin', Ltv smakrs chin, palate' || ?σ AS smæˊras 'lips' ¶ The depalatalized *-k- (in Al and Blt) is due to its precon. position ¶ Frd. HW 259, Ts. W 69, 108, WP II 689, P 968-9, EI 107, 251, M K III 982, WH II 15, Vn. S 140-1, Slit. 180-1, O 269-70, Frn. 839 II HS: ??φ [1] HS **zˊVK.VN- 'chin, beard' > S *ḏaˊk.an- 'beard' > BHb Nq!z! zaˊk.ān id., side whiskers', Ph zk̄.n, JA [Trg.] Nq@D6 dāˊk.an, em. JA [Trg.], JEA an!qˊD5 dik̄.n-aˊ, Sr dak̄.n-aˊ, SmA dk̄.n, Ak zik̄.n-u id., Ug dk̄.n 'beard, chin', Ar ḏaq(a)n- 'chin' || Ak fOB zuk̄.tu ~ suk̄.tu 'chin' ¶ KB 267, KBR 278, AD PhSS 2-5, OLS 135-6, HJ 339, Js. 319, Lv. I 420, Sl. 335-6, Tal 192, Br. 164, Sod. 1061, 1530-1, CAD XXI 125-6, DRS 339, MiK I #63 || WCh {Stl.} *zˊaKam̄V 'chin' > Su {J}, Kfr M {Hf.} zˊayam, Ang {Flk.} zˊaˊm, Gmy {Hf.} zˊoˊm, {Kr.} zˊoˊoˊm, Cp {Kr.} zˊəkzm 'chin', Kfr {Nt.} zˊagaˊm 'jaw' : BT: Grm {Gw.} zˊangumu id. || ECh: Mkl {J} zuˊkuˊmoˊ ~ zuˊkiˊmoˊ (pl. zuˊḡkiˊmaˊgiˊ) 'chin, beard' ¶ Stl. ZCh 195 [#463], Hf. AGL 22 [#162], Nt. 16, ChL, ChC, J LM 202 || ??φ [2] C: Bj {R} sˊaˊnak (pl. 'sˊanaka) 'jaw-bone, chin, beard' || Ag ≈ *oˊrcˊAngabat > Km {CR}, Q {R} sˊangabat 'beard, chin' ¶ R WbD 217, R QW 127 II A: NaT *jaṇak, {ADb.} jayṇak, {Rs.} *jaṇˊak 'jaw, cheek' > OT jaṇaq, {Cl.} jaṇaˊq 'cheek-bone, cheek', MU, XwT, ET jaṇaq, Chg jaṇaq ~ jaṇay 'cheek', MQp jaṇaq 'cheek, jaw', Bsh, Kr T jaṇaq, QrB zˊayaq, Qzq. Qq zˊaq, Alt, Tb zˊaˊq, Tf nˊaˊq, Tv cˊaˊq, Yk sṇaˊχ 'jaw, cheek', ? Qzq iyeq 'jaw', Qrg zˊaˊq, Uz zˊay 'jaw', Chg janay ~ janaq, Tk yanak, Az janag, Tkm, VTt, ET jaṇaq, Qmq jayaq, Slr Ul jaṇaχ, SbT Tb {Rl.} nˊaṇaq, Xk naˊχ 'cheek', Shor {Rl.} naˊq 'cheek, cheek-bone', Uz janaq 'cheek-bone' ¶ Rs. W 187, Cl. 948, ET J 123, TL 219-20, Tn. SJ 346, Rl. III 627, 636 || Tg *jegi 'chin' > Ewk j3y d̄ j3w d̄ j3y d̄ j3k 'chin, lower jaw', Sln j3gi, Orc zˊzy, Ud {Krm.} zˊzi ~ zˊzy 'chin', Nn Nh zˊzyl3~ 'cap-lace tied under the chin', WrMc zelgin ~ zelgiyen id. ¶ STM I 281, Krm. 235 ♦ The connection between HS **zˊVK.VN- and the other supposed

cognates is *qu*. If it does exist, it may be accounted for either by *mt* or by a suffixal element **-VN* (cp. S **'ʔuδ-₁V₁n* 'ear', **'k_{ar}-an-* 'horn' and **'gur-an-* 'throat' with a *sx*. **-an-* typical of names of body parts). If HS **'ʔVNk.VN-* does not belong here, in the N rec. **ʒ-* must be replaced by **ʒ-* (unspecified voiced affricate). The reflexes of the etymon in question should be distinguished from those of N **s'am₁V₁ge* 'lock of hair, fine hair' (q.v.).

2780. **ʒ'em_u.qa₁.e₁* 'fog, smoke, hot/sultry air' > K: G *ʒ'an.q-i* 'dense fog' ¶ Chx. 2430 II IE: NaIE **(s)meu₁k^h-* ~ **(s)meu₁g-* 'smoke' > Gk *σμῦζω* 'burn in a smouldering fire' ¶ Gmc: MHG *smouch* n. 'smoke, steam', MDt *smooc*, Dt *smook*, NHG *Schmauch* 'dense smoke', AS *smoca* 'smoke', NE n. *smoke*; AS *smīec* 'smoke, steam', NE Δ *smitch* 'smoke'; MDt *smieken*, *smuiken*, Dt *smoken* ^d *smuiken* v., AS *smēocan* vi. 'to smoke', *smocian* 'to smoke', NE v. *smoke*; AS *smīec'an* vi. 'smoke', vt. 'to fumigate', MLG *smo¹ken*, NHG *schmauchen* 'to smoke, puff at a pipe' ¶ Arm *mux muχ* (gen. *moxj mχoy*) 'smoke' (< **₁smuk^ho-*) ¶ Clt: OIr *mu'ch*, Brtt [RE] **mukos* 'smoke' > W *mwg*, Crn *mo'k* id., Br *moged* id., *moug*, *mog* 'foyer, habitation d'un village', *moug* n. 'suffocation', adj. 'étouffant' ¶ Lt *sma'ugti* (prs. *sma'ugiu*) 'to stifle' (← **to stifle by smoke*), 'to strangle' ¶ WP II 688-9, P 971, EI 529 [**(s)m(e)ug^h₁* 'smoke'], F II 752, Slit. 187-8, Vn. M 69-70, RE 131, Frn. 841, Ho. 301-3, OED IX 275, Vr. N 659-60, OsS 835, Lx. 200, KM 662 II U: FU **c'enke* 'current of air, hot air, sultriness' > F *henki* (gen. *hengen*) 'breath, current of air, air, spirit, ghost', Es *hing* (gen. *hinge*) 'breath, current of air, soul' ¶ Prm: Vt *æor ʒ'og* 'hot air (in a oven, in a sauna)', Sr/M {Wc.} *ʒ'og*, Vt Uf {Wc.} *z'og* 'very hot, sultry' ¶ ObU {Ht.} **c'E ŋk* > pOs {Ht.} **c'e'ŋk* ({Hl.} **c'i'ŋk*) > Os: Ty/Y/D/K *c'e'ŋk*, Nz/Kz *s'a'ŋk*, O *sa'ŋk* 'heat, hot' (of air, weather), D {Stn.} *χotnə c'ŋk* 'it is hot in the room', *mənem c'ŋk* 'mir ist heiß'; pVg **sa'ŋk* > Vg: T *sa'k*, LK *sa'x*, MK/UK *so'x*, P/NV/SV/LL *sax*, Ss *sa'ŋk* 'hot, heat' ¶ Besides, there is a FU **c'u'ŋV* 'smoke, fog' (either contamination with N **c'u'ŋV* 'smoke, smell' [q.v.] or going back entirely to N **c'u'ŋV*) ¶ UEW 57, 59, Coll. 80, U3S 145, Wc. FUAA 246, Ht. #106, Stn. D 287.

2780a. **ʒ'UhNV* 'show; understand, be taught' > HS: WS **ʒ'hn* > Ar *ʒ'hn* G (ip. *-δhan-*) 'understand', *δihn-* 'understanding, sagacity', {BK} 'intelligence', {Fr.} 'ingenium', *δahab-* {Fr.} 'ingenium, intellectus, memoria', {Hv.} 'prudence', Jb C {Jo.} *ʒ'hn* G (pf. *δe'hen*, sbjn. *ʒδ'hun*) 'have sense, have acquired intellectual maturity, be clever', *Sh* (pf. *eδ'hin*) 'teach, instruct' ¶ Fr. II 98, BK I 786, Hv. 232, Jo. J 45 II K **c'wen-* > OG *c'uen-*, G *c'ven-* v. 'show' ¶ Ser. 194, DCh. 1576 ¶ K **c'-* < **c'h-* < **ʒ'h-* (as).

2781. ?? **ʒ'an₁ab₁V* 'back, tail' > HS: S **δa'nab-* 'tail' > BHb *bn!z! za'na¹b₁*, Ug *δnb*, JA [Trg.] *aB1n¹D2* *dan'b-a¹ ~ aB1n¹u¹D dun'b-a¹*, Md *dinba*, SmA *dnb*, Sr *dun'ba¹*, *dunbət¹-a¹ ~ dumbət¹-a¹*, Ar *danab-*, Gz *zanab*, Tgy *zəneḅ*, Mh *δənu¹b*, Hrs *δəne¹b*, Jb C *δu'nub*, Sq {L} *'dinob*, {Jo.} *denob*, Ak *zibb-atu¹* ^d *zimb-atu*, Eb *s'e¹-na-bu¹* ({Krb.} *δin₁a₁ḅ₁bu(m)*, {Frnz.} *δinabum*) 'tail' ¶ Ar *δuba¹bat-* 'tail', ?? Gz *zaba¹n* (< *b-C?*; see ↓) ¶ KB 263, KBR 374-5, OLS 140, Br. 159, Lv. I 415, Js. 315, Tal 191, Ln. 98Off., L G 640, L LS 130, Jo. M 81, Jo. H 28, Jo. J 47, CAD XXI 100-2, Krb. EG 44, Frnz. EL 154, DRS 336, BK I 763, MiK I #64 || C: EC {Ss.} **zanb-* ~ **zinb-* 'tail' (× **dVmpV* 'back, hinder part, tail') > Sa *daban¹* ^d *zaban¹* ^d *ḍaban*, Rn {PG} *du¹b* 'tail; buttocks, bakside', Sml {DSI} *dambe* 'behind, after; hind' ('dietro; dopo; posteriore'), *ka dambe¹* (v.) 'essere indietro', Sml N *damb-ayn-ayya* 'hinten sein', Or {Brl.} *daballe¹* 'codino (pigtail?)', {Th.} *daballe* 'tail, tress (of hair)' ({Ss.} < **daban-le¹*), Hr *sinp-o¹* 'uncircumcised penis', Arr {Hw.} *du¹mm* 'tail' [†, Dsn {To.} *du¹m* 'tail tip']; Gz *zaba¹n* 'back, tail' may be a loan from a Cushitic source (unless a *mt* from S **δa'nab-*) ¶ DSI 130-1, Ss. WKOS 140, PG 103, Brl. 84, Th. 81, Hw. A 353[†, To. DL 492], ≠ L Z 126 (doubts about EC {Ss.} **z-*), L G 631, MiK I #62 ¶ L Z 126 (EC ÷ S) II ? IE: NaIE **dumb-* 'tail' (→ 'penis') [× N **dVmpV* (≠ **-mp₁-*) '†' [q.v. ffd.]] II ? A: NaT **jan-* vi. 'turn back' > OT {Cl.}, ET, SY, Ln, Chg *jan-* id., Uz *eeH- jan-* vi. 'return' ¶ Cl. 940-2, ET J 111-4 ¶ This N *√* may be an *AdS* of T **ja¹n* 'side' (mainly from N **Lan¹V* 'side (of body)' (q. v. ffd.)).

2782. **ʒ'U'n¹c¹.U* 'ant, stinging insect' > K: GZ {FS} **ʒ'inc¹.w-*, {K, K²} **ʒ'inc¹.wel-* 'ant' > OG *ʒ'inc¹.vel-* 'ant', G *c¹.i¹anc¹.vela-* id. (× **c¹ia-* 'worm'), G Gr *ʒ'inc¹.vela-i*, Mg *c¹.k¹ic¹.k¹-i-t¹.ia-* ~ *ʒ'ging¹g-i-t¹.ia-*, Lz *dimc¹.k¹.u-* ~ *dumc¹.k¹.u-* 'ant'; *ī ÷ Sv mərəs¹k¹-* 'ant' (or a merger with a different *√*?) ¶ K 269, FS K 504, FS E 573-4 II HS: C: EC: Sa *d₁u¹d₁e*, Sml Ji {Lm.} *d₁ud₁d₁u¹?* 'ant', ? Bs {HL} *tunc¹e* 'red ant', HEC {AD} **c¹.unc¹.- ~ *c¹.uc¹.- 'ant', {Hd.} **c¹.u¹c¹.a* 'small ant' > Sd {Gs.} *c¹.unc¹.a* (coll.) 'big black ants', (snglt.) *c¹.unc¹.-ic¹c¹o* 'a big black ant', Kmb *t₁ut₁.i-ta* 'small ant', Brj *c¹.u¹c¹.c¹.e¹* id. ¶ EC *↳* EthS: Arg *t₁uc¹*, Grg Sl *c¹.u¹nc¹.e¹*, Grg Wl *c¹.unc¹e* 'gnat', Har *c¹.u¹c¹* 'small black ant', (× N **s¹'A¹ʔc¹.¹V* 'e stinging insect'): o: Gz *s₁a¹s₁.u¹t₁*, *s₁a¹s₁.o¹t₁*, *s₁a¹s₁.e¹t₁* 'gnat, stinging insect, red ant', Tgr *s₁as₁.ot*, Tgy *s₁as₁.e* 'ant', Amh *c¹.ʒc¹.at* 'gnat' ¶ Ag {Ap.} **cənc-* (= {Ap.} **cənc-*) 'fly' > Bln, Q *s'in¹s'a*, Xm {R} *s₁.əs₁.a*, Aw *cə¹nca¹* id., Ag *↳* EthS: Gz *s₁əns₁.ən'a*, Tgy *s₁əns₁.əya*, Tgr *c¹.ənc¹.ay* 'fly' ¶ Hd. 20, 184, 341, 357, Gs. 62, L EDH 50, L G 564-5, L EDG III 183, R WB 308, Ap. AV 19, Hz. AL 11 [fn. 15], Lm. Sh 401-2, HL 144 || NrOm (the data are mainly from {C} and {Lm.}): Kf *c¹.uc¹.o*, Mch {L} *c¹.u¹t₁o*, Anf {Lm.} *c¹.uc¹.c¹.o*, Mj *c¹.u¹c¹.u*, Nao {Lm.} *c¹.u¹c¹o*, Wl *c¹.u¹c¹a*, Zs, Dc, Gamu *c¹.uc¹.c¹e*, Bdt *c¹.unc¹e*, Kcm *c¹.use*, Bnc {Wdk.} *c¹.u¹c¹*, Wl *c¹.unc¹.alle*, Dc *c¹.unc¹.alle* 'ant' ¶ C SE IV 419, Lm. Sh 401-2, Wdk. BY 100, 163 II U: FU **c¹onc'a ~ *c¹on¹c'a* 'flea' > F Δ *sonsar*, *sonsari* 'flea', Krl A, Ld *c¹on¹ʒ¹oi*, Krl A *c¹onc¹oi*, Vp*

sonzar ~ sonzar, Lv {Kt.} si'e_zər :: Er чичав c'ic'av, Δ c'uc'av, Mk шичав s'i'c'av :: pChr {Ber.} *s'urs'ə > Chr L цурш 's'urs'o, Chr H цурш s'urs'ъ :: pObU *c'u'n'c' 'flea' > pVg {Ht.} *s'u'ns' ({AD} *c'u'nc') > OVg S Vt ч'ч', OVg S Ss tschutsch, OVg N SoO цунь, OVg W Sol цунь, Vg: T s'os', LK s'ons', MK sons, UK suns, P/NV/SV/LL s'us', UL/Ss sus; pOs {Ht.} *c'un'c' > V/Vy/Ty c'un'c', Y c'unc', D/K c'u'nc', Nz s'u'ns', Kz s'u's', UL/Ss sus id. ¶ Coll. 114, UEW 39, Ht. #104, SK 1071-2, Kt. 363, ERV 751, PI 305 ¶ The variant *c'onc'a is present in Mr, Chr and ObU. The variant *c'on'c'a (found in BF only) may be accounted for by as (N ***з'у'н'ц'U** > *c'on'c'a > *c'on'c'a [as] > *c'on'c'a [distant as]), by ideophonic influences (UEW: 'Die lautliche Unregelmäßigkeiten ... hängen mit dem affektiven Charakter des Wortes zusammen') or by a merger with another word II D (in KK) ***т'у'нт'V** 'ant' > Kui d_u'nd_u, d_u'nd_uri 'large black ant', Ku {Isr.} d_ond_o'or'i id., {Fzg.} dondori, {Slz.} dond_odi 'ant', Ku K {Mah.} d_und_unu orla' 'black ant' ¶ D #2969 II A: ??φ pJ {S} *sunsu-musi (*musi 'insect') > OJ suzumusi, J T suzumus'i 'in cricket' (× N ***c.eriajV** 'in (stinging?) insect' [q.v.] ??) ♦ IS MS 350 (U, K, C: ***з'onc'Λ** 'stinging insect'). If we reconstruct a N *n', it may explain the FU variant *c'on'c'a (see above).

2783. ***з'fi'qV** 'shame, humiliation' > K: G G 3'a,q- in Unehre \ in üblen Ruf bringen', 3'a,q-i 'Unehrenhaftes' ¶ Chx. 2433 II HS: S ***o**√δyχ > Ar √δyχ D (pf. ≈ayW3a δayyaχa) vt. 'abase' ({BK} 'humilier, abaisser; soumettre qu'un à sa volonté') ¶ BK I 790, Fr. II 101, Hv. 233 ¶ S *χ < **q < [HS de-emphatization] N ***q** II D *cikk° ({GS} *siggV) > Tm cikku 'modesty, shame', Kt cig 'shame, self-respect', Td sig 'shame', Kn (ϕ- Tl?) siggu 'shame, decency, modesty, bashfulness, disgust', Tl siggu 'shame, disgrace. bashfulness', Knd sigu, Ku siku, sigu 'shame' ¶¶ D #2500.

2784. **з'arE** 'good, favourable, beneficial' > K: G 3'er- 'be satisfied' ('sich begnügen; zufriedenstellen; satt kriegen') ¶ Chx. 3442-3, 2459 II A {SDM97} *zare ({SDM} *3'are) > T *jara- 'be beneficial/useful/suitable for' > OT jara- id., Tk yara- 'be useful, be of value for', Ggz, Az, VTt, Bsh jara-, Alt 3'ara- id., Tkm, Kr, Qmq, Nog, ET jara-, Qrg 3'ara- id., 'be liked', Qzq, Qq z'ara-, Xk c'ara- 'to fit, match, suit', Chv L c_ypac,- s'uras'/z_- vi. 'reconcile' ¶ Cl. 956, UEW 189, ET J 137-8, Ash. XII 265-6, Jeg. 219, Fed. II 141-2 || Tg *jari-n 'for, for the sake of' > Ewk jarin, Sln ja-ri-, Ud 3'iz, ? WrMc 3alin ¶ STM I 253 || pKo {S} *car 'well, favourable' > Nko cal ¶ S QK #750, Nam 416, MLC 1376 || pJ {S} *d3'r3 'good, right' > OJ jo'ro'-si-, J: T yo'ros'i- ~ yoros'i', K yo'ro's'i-, Kg yoro's'i- ¶ S QJ #664, Mr. 845 ¶¶ DQA #2581 [A *3a'ra 'good, favourable'].

2785. ***з'urV** 'pole, stake, long piece of wood' > HS: Eg M z3w, Eg XIX z3yy 'Balken', DEg sy, Cpt: Sd/B soi, F sai, A sa 'poutre' ¶ EG III 419, Vc. 185 || B *√zrr 'branch, cluster' > Gd {Lf.} ta-zrira 'branchette porte-fleur', {CM} azerar 'poutre', BMn {Bs.} a-zerrur id., Tmz {MT} a-zrur 'grappe', ? ta-zra 'collier', ? Kb a-zrar id. ¶ MT 811-2, Dl. 954-5, Lf. II #1844, CM 149 ¶¶ Tk. AANM 2 II K: GZ *3'war- 'stake, picket' > OG 3'uar-, G 3'var- 'cross', Mg 3'gun3'g- 'stake (used a a prop for vine), prickly, spike', Lz m3gu3'-, m3gu3'- 'stake, post' ¶ K 269, K² 343, Chx. 2445, Q 412 II IE: NaIE *swer-/°sur- 'pole, rod' > OI 'svaru-h, 'sacrificial post, stake, long piece of wood' :: Gk 'ερμα 'prop, support', Gk Hm acc. 'ερμ'v-α 'bed-post' :: MHG swir 'Uferpfahl', {EI} 'mooring post', NGr Sw Schwir(r)en 'pole', AS swīer, swīor 'post, pole (Pfosten), column, prop' :: L surus 'twig, shoot, stake' :: ?? Ltv Δ {ME} sve-re 'Ziehbalken beim Brunnen' (× the √ of Ltv {ME} sve-r-t 'mit dem Hebel heben') ¶ P 1050, EI 442, WH II 635, M K III 563, M E II 794-5, ME III 1153-4, F I 561-3, WH II 635, Ho. 337, OsS 917, Lx. 223, Frn. 949, ME III 1153-4 II?? A: M: WrM 3oruga 'arrow with a horn head' ¶ MED 1072, ≠ S CNM (the M word i < A *n'o'ra 'blade, edge'; rejects its connection with N ***з'urV**) ♦ AD NM 70 [#88].

2786. ***з'a'?'o'rV** 'to blame, scold, accuse, be angry, be annoyed / disgusted' > K: G 3'or- v. 'gründlich schelten' ¶ Chx. 2453, 2459 II HS: [1] CS *√δr > Ar δr G (pf. δa?ira) 'être en colère; abhorrer qch., éviter/fuir q'un (par peur, par aversion, par méprise)', Sr @da dar G pf. (prtc. @æaδo da'?'ar) 'fight', ?σ JA [Trg.] raD2 dar pf., acp. {Lv.} 'schlagen, abprügeln' ¶ BK I 761, JPS 81, 97, Lv. I 370, Lv. T I 158 [2] S *√δrr ~ *δwlyr (prm. *°-δu'r-, *°-δyar-) ≈ 'be angry, frighten' > Ar δara-r- {Ln.} 'anger and aversion' or 'disapprobation', {BK} 'colère violente, fureur', √δyr (pf. ra"3a δa-ra, ip. -δyar-) 'avoir en horreur, avoir de la répugnance pour qu'un', ? √δwr (pf. ra"3a, ip. -δu'r-) 'effrayer, faire peur à' ¶ BK I 766, 788, 790, Ln. 957, DRS 325-6 || B *√zwr 'reproach, insult' > Izn {Rn.}, Rf T {Rn.} zaur 'réprimander qu'un, lui faire des reproches', Tmz {MT} azwar (pl. izwarn) 'honte, déshonneur, opprobe, insulte' ¶ MT 819, Rn. 320 || Ch: Su {J} 3'igir 'tadeln, zurechtweisen' (with an epenthetic -g-, see AD ChSC ∇) ¶ J S 67, ≠ Stl. VZCh #96 (equates Su 3'igir with Hs za'gi' v. 'abuse') II A: NaT *je1:1r- ~ *je1:1ri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× M ***zefrV** 'to hate, abhor, be annoyed', q.v. ffd. × N ***yerV** '↑' ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2598 [A *3e-ri 'be annoyed\disgusted'] II D (in SD) *car_-, {GS} *33'ar_- 'a rebuke; to abuse, jeer at' > Kn jar_e, jar_i, jer_e, jer_i id., Tu jaripuni, jar(e)puni 'to insult, jeer, despise' ¶ D #2422.

2787. **з'ERVØ** 'upper part of a leg/arm' > HS: WS *δira-ŋ- 'arm' > BHb o&rz^ zəro-āŋ, Ug δrʕ, BA or!d6a3 ?ed_r'a-ŋ, IA drʕ, JA [Trg.], JEA aolr!D^ dəra-ŋ-a-, JA [Trg.], JPA aolr!D^a3 ?ed_rə'ŋ-a-, Sr '90oδoδ dəra-ŋ-a-, Md dra 'arm', Ar Ø"ra3i dīra-ŋ- 'fore-arm, fore-foot', OYmn δrʕ ({Slw.} *δira-ŋ) 'hill near a mountain', Mh {Jo.} δar?, Hrs {Jo.} dera-, Jb C {Jo.} 'deraŋ forearm', Sq {L} di're'i du. 'two cubits', Gz d mazra-ŋt 'arm, shoulder (of an animal)' ¶ KB 269, 1662, 1695, HJ 342, OLS 141, Js. 19, 324-5, Lv. T I 13, 189, Sl. 353, Br. 168, Slw. 93-4, L G 379, L LS 136, Jo. M 81, Jo. H 29, ≈ DRS 341, MiK I #65 || EC *zir- > Sa dir-o 'hip', Arr {Hw.} yirr 'upper arm', Dsn δi'r 'rib', Brj {Ss.} 'dirri, {Hw.} 'diri 'backbone' ¶ Ss. B

56, Hw. A 400, To. DL 496 || ?σ Om: Ym rl. {C} zerum 'hand' [× N ***z**oRV 'hand (palm of hand and fingers), span', q.v.] || C SE III 89 || Blz. OLBP (Om, S) || IE *sreH-no- > NaIE *sre-no- ≈ 'loins, hip, thigh' > Av ra-na- 'the outer part of a thigh; thigh', MPrs ra-n, NPrs ~r ra-n 'thigh (femur)', KhS rra-na- 'belt (?)', Oss I ron, Oss D rona- 'belt' (← 'that of the thigh') || Lt stre-nos pl. 'loins, the small of the back' (sg. stre-na), Δ sre-na 'Lende, Hüfte, Keule', Pru straunay ({Tr., Frn.}: read strannay or strainay, En.: strannay) 'Lenden' || WP II 705, P 1002, EI 260 (*sre-no/ehA- 'hip, thigh'), Brtl. 1523, McK 70, VI. II 11, Bai. 361, Sg. 564, Ab. II 419-20, Frn. 889, 921, Tr. APS 439, En. 257.

2787a. ***z**ER₁u₁l V 'to flow, stream; rapid current' > U: FU (in Ugr) *c'a-rla- 'rapid current' > Vg: N {Mu.} sa-rla- 'abschüssige Stelle im Flusse, wo das Wasser stürzend fließt', T {Kn.} sa-rl'i- **настрѣвник (на лугах)**, LL {Kn.} sa-rlə-waŋkə **лѣжина (в болотах)** || Hg sello- 'rapid current' → 'Nixe, Wasserfrau' || UEW 841, Mu. AKE 537 || A: Tg ***o**žilan > WrMc žilan ~ žulan 'unfrozen rapid current of water (**быстрина**) in an icebound river (**по́льн-ѣ**)' || STM I 257 || M {Rm.} *zilayu > Kl ^ualy, {Rm.} ž'alu- 'unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river' || M *zilga > WrM žilga, HIM, Brt жалга 'ravine, dell, basin, ditch', Kl {Rm.} ž'ilya- 'river bed, dry river bed', ž'alja- 'river-bed', {KRS} ^ualh 'ravine, depression' > Sln žilga 'ravine' || MED 1055, Chr. 231, KW 107, 109, KRS 224, STM I 257 || T *ju₁:l 'spring, fountain' (× N ***Li**LU 'water, sea' × ***z**'agul' V ~ ***z**'ugal' V 'to pour'?) > OT {Cl.} jul, {DTS, Gbn.} ju^l, Slr jul ~ ju^l id., Qb/Qc {Rl.} jul 'mountain river, brook', Xk c'ul 'brook', Qzl {Jk.} s'u^l, Chv ~a^l s'yl, Δ s'yl 'spring'; Qzq (čb- M?) z'ilim 'unfrozen patch of water in a river/lake' (× z'ilr 'warm') || Cl. 917-8, DTS 277, ET J 244, TL 89, Rl. III 552, 2175, Tn. SJ 365, Jk. K 30, MM 182-3 || DQA #2612 [A *zi₁o₁lu 'river bed, stream'] || HS: ? S ***o**/δyl > Ar mutaḏayyal- 'arrosé d'une pluie légère (un champ)' || BK I 792 ◆ ***r**lu₁l- > ***r**l- > -l- (by as) in A and S ◆ Qu., because the supposed phonetic transformations are too complicated to be certain.

2788. ***z**'awV 'to have a changed taste (to get sour, to ferment, fade)' > K: G m-z'av-e 'sour' || DCh. 894 || ??σ HS: AdS of S ***o**/δwy (×) (< N ***z**'o₁l₁wV ≈ 'of poor quality weak, bad', q.v. ffd.) || IE: Ht siwai- 'sour (bread)' || Ts. W 77 || A: M *zaba'g'ara- 'have a bad taste\odour' > WrM {Kow.} zabagara- 'gâter le goût, spoil the taste', {MED} ama zabagara- v. 'have a bad taste in one's mouth, have a dry mouth', Ord ž_awa-ra- 'emit unpleasant odour'; M *zabaŋa- 'tasteless, emitting an unpleasant odour' > WrM žabaga(n) {Kow.} 'qui a l'odeur des herbes, qui sent l'herbe', {MED} 'rank odor, halitoris; tastelessness', HIM {MED} заваа(н) id., Kl зава 'unpleasant, foul' (of odour, etc.), Brt забаан 'tasteless', Ord aman ž_awa- 'bad odour in one's mouth', Mnr H {SM} ž_īa-wa-n 'insipide, fade' || Kow. 2257, MED 1018, KRS 235, Chr. 241, Ms. O 190, SM 85 || ?? NaT *jab- 'bad' (× N ***z**'o₁l₁wV '†', q.v. ffd.) > *jabur- 'bad', *jab-lak 'bad; extremely', *jabrri- > OT jabrri- v. 'become bad\weak'.

2789. ***z**'o₁l₁wV ≈ 'of poor quality\appearance; weak, bad' > K: GZ rdp *ž'w₁ižw- 'clumsy, awkward' > G Kzq ž'iz'a 'a clamorous, ugly-dressed woman' ({FS} 'schmutzige, häßlich gekleidete Frau'), Mg ž'gviž'gv-in- 'grob\plump aussehen' || Fn. KW-1 38 [102], FS K 505, FS E 574 || HS: S ***o**/δžy ~ δwy > Ar δžy G 'fade, wither' (of grass), δwy (pf. ḏawa- ~ ḏawiya, ip. ya-ḏwī) v. 'wither, become thin\weak' (of plants) || BK I 762, 78, Ln. 989 || cp. N ***z**'awV 'to have a changed taste' || NrOm {Blz.} *ž'e-? 'bad' > Kf {C} yež'o- 'bad' ('brutto, cattivo') || Blz. OL #191, C SE IV 517 || CCh: Ms {Vnb.} ž'ožo 'evil' || ChL III 169 || Blz. l.c. [pHS *žV^lw^lH^lV 'bad, evil' > Om, CCh + unc. σ Ag - he certainly meant Bln {R} ž'īya^l, pl. ž'īχ ~ ž'īk 'a poor person' (R WB 178), that cannot belong here because of its -k/-y-] || A *žabōV 'weak, bad' ({SDM97} *žo^lbV) 'weak, bad' > T **jab- > [1] T *jabu^lr > NaT *jabu^lz 'bad, evil, wicked' > OT {Cl.} javiz- 'bad', {DTS} jabuz ~ jafuz 'bad, weak', XwT, MQp, Chg jawuz, OOsM javuz id., Osm zv'y jawuz, Tk yavuz 'stern, inflexible, ferocious' (→ 'good, excellent'), Tkm eevyž jowuḏ 'hard' (as in jowuḡ gu'nler 'hard times', lit. 'hard days'), ET javuz 'cruel', Uz eevyž jawuz, VTt jawyž 'wicked, evil, villainous, cruel', Qzq, Qq ž'awiz 'villain, scoundrel; malicious, mean', SY yus 'wicked', Yk suos 'strict(ness), severe, threatening'; [2] *jablaq > OT {Cl.} javlaq 'bad, evil', MQp, XwT jawlaq, OOsM javlaq 'extremely', Tk Δ jablaq ^d javlaq 'coward, miserable'; [3] T *jabrri- > OT jabrri- v. 'become bad\weak' > OT jabrri- vt. 'weaken', MQp javrut- 'overstrain (a horse)'; [4] ? VTt jabaŋay, Bsh jabaŋy 'poor' (in VTt jarl^l jabaŋay, Bsh jarl^l-jabaŋy 'poor people') || Cl. 876-9, 881-2, DTS 222-3, Rs. W 176, Rh. 2195, TkR 312, UzR 141, Sht. 97, Pek. 2351-2, ET J 46-8, TI 335 || ?σ M *žoba- 'suffer', *žobalaŋ n. 'suffering' > MM [S] {H} ž'oba ~ ž'obo-, {MA} {Pp.} ž'oba-, WrM žoba-, HIM зово-х, Kl зов-х, {Rm.} zow-, Brt зобо- v. 'suffer', MM [S] {H} ž'obolaŋ 'Beschwer, Belästigung', [HI] {Ms.} ž'obolaŋ, [MA] {Pp.} ž'obalaŋ, WrM žobalaŋ, HIM зовлон, Ord ž_owoloŋ, Kl зовл^l zowl^lŋ, {Rm.} zowl^lŋ, Mnr H {SM} ž_ī₁og₁lo₁ŋ 'suffering' || H 91, Ms. H 67, Pp. 207, MED 1065, KRS 249-50, SM 89, KW 476 || Tg *jo^lb^l- > Ewk joxor- ~ jowo- ~ joxo- 'suffer from poverty, be poor', Neg jobo-, Orc ž'obo-, Ud ž'o^l- id., Lm jox- id., v. 'suffer', Sln jowo ~ joxo- v. 'suffer', Ul ž'ob^l, Ork jobb^l 'a person in need, a poor man', Nn Nh/B/KU ž'obo- v. 'work; be in need, be poor', WrMc žobo- v. 'grieve, suffer', Jrch {Kiy.} ž'obogun 'hardship' || STM I 260-1, Krm. 233, Kiy. 145 [844], Md. ChF 138 (ž'o-bo-hun) || pJ {S} *du₁a₁wa₁- 'weak' > OJ yu₁o₁wa₁-, J: T/Kg yowa^l-, K yo^lwa^l- id. || S QJ 634, Mr. 845 || pKo {S} *cubir 'be hungry \ fanished' > MKo cu^li^lri^l-, NKo cu^lri^l- || S QK #573, Nam 434, MLC 1496 || DM97 (*ž'o^lbV 'weak, bad'), ≈ DQA #2630 (A *ž'u^ljbe 'weak, bad' > M, Tg, Ko, J).

/-toθ 'the upper planking of a ship, deck; seat, throne' ¶ Gk σ- (for the expected h-) needs explanation (a loan from Pls or another "pre-Gk" *s-preserving sister-lge.?) ¶ P 998, EI 431 (swel- ~ *sel- 'plank, board'), Ho. 286, F II 691-2, AIED 288, Frn. 785, 942-3, O 137, ≠ Mn. AHG 87.

2795. ***ǵuǾLV** 'to shine; blaze; flame' > HS: S *^o/s'ǵl v. 'shine', *^os'uǵl_{al}- 'flame' > Ar √s'ǵl (pf. s'ašila) v. 'have a white spot on the tail or forelock (a horse)', √s'ǵl (pf. s'ašala) v. 'light (a fire)', s'uǵl-at- (pl. s'uǵal-) 'flamme; tison morceau de bois allumé par un bout', s'ašal- 'blaze on the tail or forelock of a horse' ¶ BK I 124O-1, Hv. 368 II A (× N ***ǵ'u"iǵilǵV** ~ ***ǵ'uǵilǵE** 'to smoulder, burn; live coals?'): M *zula 'light (lux), torch, lamp' > MM ǵ'ula [MA] {Pp.} 'a light, torch', [PP, IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} 'a light, lantern', [HI] {Ms.} 'lamp', WrM ǵula, HIM зул 'lamp, candle, light', Ord {Ms.} ǵ'_u<la 'lamp (in front of Buddhist statues and images of divinities)', Mnr H {SM} ǵ'_u<la 'lamp, lantern', {T} ǵ'ila, Mnr M {T} ǵ'ula 'lamp, butter-lamp', Dx ǵ'ula, Ba ǵ'ila 'butter-lamp (лампадка)' ¶ Pp. MA 21O, 439, Pp. KP 152, Lg. VMI 39, MED 1O78, Gl. III 517-8, Ms. O 217, SM 96, T 333, T DnJ 12O, T BJ 139, KRS 255, KW 479 || T *jula 'torch, lamp' > OT jula id., XwT xiv jula 'lamp'; <D> T *jult'ur' 'star' > OT jultuz, XwT xiii juldūz ~ ulduz, MQp xiii, xiv [CC], Chg xv juldūz, Tk yildiz, Tkm jıldırđ, Ggz, Az, Kr Cr, Uz jıldız, Tk Δ jılduz, XT {Dr.} jılduz_~^d juldus, Brb/Tb/Kū {Rl.} jıldis, Qb/Qc {Rl.}, SY jiltis ~ jultis, Slr jil'tis, Tk Δ, Kr T/G, Qmq, Uz, ET Δ juldūz, Xlj juldūz ~ juldūz, Ln juldūz^d juldus, VTt jъ'ldъz, Bsh jъ'ndъ'δ, Qzq жылъв z'uldiz, Qq z'uldiz, Qrg ǵ'ildiz, Alt ǵ'ildis, Xk c'iltis, Yk sulus, Tv sildis, Tf sild_{is} :: Chv: L ~aÄttaÄp s'ыл_ъr, H s'ъ'ld_ъ r ¶ Acc. to Bang and Br., *-t'ur' is a sx. (cp. NaT *ku'ndu'z 'noon'), in the light of comparative ev. it goes back to N ***t.ǵur'i** (or ***t.ǵur'i?**) 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' (q.v.) ¶ Cl. 919, 922-3, ET J 279-81, Ra. 229, Rl. III 488-92, 553, 559, DT 228, Jeg. 2O6, Md. 57, 162 (T *r > u due to the infl. of j-), 162, Br. OTG § 47 ¶ KW 479 II IE: acc. to reg. sound laws, the IE reflex of this √ must be *sweL- (in the presence of *-l- the initial N *z^- yields IE *-s-). It practically means that IE *swelǾj- v. 'smoulder, burn' (P 1O45) goes back to a merger of N ***ǵ'u"iǵilǵV** ~ ***ǵ'uǵilǵE** 'ǵil' [q.v. ffd.] and the N √ in question (though semantic considerations suggest that ***ǵ'u"iǵilǵV** ~ ***ǵ'uǵilǵE** is the main source).

2796. ***ǵ'U'ǵhu** 'take, take away, pull out' > HS: S *^o/s'ǵh > Ar √s'ǵh G 'undress oneself', Δ 'throw off, reject', Ar √s'ǵh D 'strip so. of his clothes' ¶ Fr. II 446, Hv. 375 II K *^oǵ'el- > Lz ǵ'al- ~ ǵ'el- in ma-n-ǵ'ale, ma-n-ǵ'eloni 'a person) able to carry much (скол-ко угоднo) wood or firewood' ¶ Marr 235 II IE: NaIE *sel(w)- 'take, lay hold of' (dissimilative delateralization *ǵ'...ǵ > *ǵ'...ǵ > IE *s...l) (× N ***s'ǵil'u** 'to take, take away/off\up' [q.v. ffd.] × N ***s'el'V** 'to take off, destroy, pull off') II A: T *jul- 'pull out, pluck out, take' > OT jul- 'take back, redeem (a prisoner); pluck (a bird)', Chg xv jul- 'pluck out', MQp [CC] jul- 'redeem', Tk yol- 'pull out, tear away, pluck out, depilate; strip', Ggz, Az, Tkm jol- 'pull out, pluck out', Uz, Ln jul-, Qrg ǵ'ul-, Qzq жыл- z'u<l-, Qq, ET z'ul-, Alt д-ул- ǵ'ul-, Xk, Tv c'ul-, Tf c'ul- id., Kr Cr, SY jul-, Chv ~aÄl- s'ыл- id., 'save (sb.), liberate', VTt jъ'ǵl- 'shave', Bsh jъ'ǵl- v. 'pluck' ¶ Cl. 918, ET J 218-9, DTS 277, Rs. W 21O, Ra. 198, TvR 546 || M *zul- <D> *zulga-, *zulmu-, *zulgul-, ? *zulbu-: M *zulga- > WrM zulga- v. 'pull, pull out, tear by pulling, pluck, remove the hair; weed', Kl {Rm.} ǵ'ulǵa-ǵa 'ausreißen, ausreißen lassen (Haare, Wolle, Federn)'; M *zulga-ǵa- > HIM зулгаа-x 'to pull (out), tear by pulling', Brt зулгаа-ха 'pull out, pluck out (hairs from wool), tear away, bark (a tree)', Kl {Rm.} ǵ'ulǵa- 'ausziehen, ausreißen lassen', Ord {Ms.} ǵ'_ulga- 'arracher (qch. qui croît)'; M *zulmu- > WrM zulmu-, HIM зулмах v. 'pluck (a bird); shed skin \ hair \ feathers', Kl Ö {Rm.} ǵ'ulma-ǵa 'herausziehen (Haare)', Brt зулма-ха 'fall out' (of animal's hair), 'cast the coat' (of snakes); M *zulgul- > WrM zulgul-, HIM зулгалах v. 'flay, skin, pull out hair\wool', Kl Чулһл- ǵ'ulǵl- id., Kl D {Rm.} ǵ'ulǵa- 'die Felle) schlichten, zu lange Haare ausreißen'; ? M *zulbu- > WrM zulbu-, HIM зулбах 'shed skin, lose hair', Kl ǵ'ulwu-ǵa 'ausfallen (von den Haaren)', ? Ord {Ms.} ǵ'_ulbu- 'mettre bas avant terme' (< *throw away', as in R въкинут-), Kl {KRS, Rm.} Чул- ǵ'ul- 'pull out, pluck\tear out (hair, feathers)' may be either a loan from T or an inherited word (< M *zul-); in any case, Kl ǵ'- (for the expected z- [Pp. IM 114-8]) may be due to the influence of the T cognate ¶ MED 1O78-9, 1217, KRS 233, KW 115-6, Chr. 261-2, Ms. O 217-8 II D *col- ({GS} *-s-) > Tm coli- 'strip off, peel off; tear', Kn suli 'tear/strip off, peel; plunder, rob', Tu sulipini, sulipuni 'to peel, flay, skin, pare off', suligæ 'pillaging, plundering, robbing', Krg solpu v. 'peel'; D <D> pInA {Tu.} *c'holl- (> Prkr chollaī 'to skin', etc.) ¶ D #2856, Tu. #5O73 ¶ A dubious cognate: WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *z3l- 'to skin' > Wrj, Mbr nz3l-. ? Sir zinu ¶ Skn. 4O, Tk, NB 173 ¶ ≠ IS MS 364 s.v. **сиг-ный** *ǵ'AlA (?) (K + err. S *d_ls [i.e. *ǵ'ǵl]).

2797. ***ǵ'imV** 'to put, to place' (→ 'to do') > K *^oz'ǵm- v. 'do' > OG, G zm- id. ¶ Mol. AGG 71, DCh. 525, Chx. 4O9 II HS: S *s'ǵim- 'put, set' > BHb √s'ǵym G (pf. M81 s'a_~m, ip. -s'ǵim) v. 'place, put, lay', Amr {G} √s'ǵym (ip. -s'ǵim-) G 'place', Ph, Pun, Yd, OA s'm (ip. [-s'ǵim]), IA s'm ~ sm G (ip. [-s'ǵim]) 'place, put, set up', BA √s'ǵym [= √sym] (pf. M81 s'a_~m, inv. pl. umi85 's'ǵim-u') v. G 'put, set, lay', JA [Trg.] √sy|wm (spelled with β s' ~ x s) [ipv. s'im] 'place, put, appoint', JEA √swm 'put on shoes/sandals', JPA Bz {Sl.} Mvx √swm G v. 'place', Sr √sym (pf. M8o sa_~m, ip. -s'im) 'put, place', Ar μy\$ √s'ǵym (ip. -s'ǵim-) v. G 'sheath (the sword), penetrate into', {Fr.} 'recondidit (rem in aliquid), immisit (telum in pectus), inivit (virginem), inivit (in rem)', Sb mi8 s'ǵym 'set up, erect (sth.), perform (ceremony)', Gz √s'ǵym (pf. fεM s'e_~m, js. YfiM yā-s'ǵim) 'set, set in order, put, place, appoint', OAk *ǵ's'ǵym (inf. s'ia_~mum) 'fix, determinate', Ak √s'ǵym G (inf. s'ia_~mu > s'a_~mu) 'establish,

assign a role \ an activity; allot power\qualities' ¶ KB 1232-6, 1785, KBR 1321-6, GB 783-5, 926, G A 32, G OA 260, Js. 1535, Sl. 793-4, Sl. P 370, Fr. II 473, Br. 469-70, BGMR 136, L G 539-40, Sd. 1225, CAD XVII/1 358-64 II ?σ, φ D (in CD) *cum- v. 'catch, lay' > Prj summ- v. 'seize, catch hold of', Klm sum- v. 'catch, seize, buy', Nkr sum- id., v. 'lay', Nk sum- v. 'buy, catch, hold'. The vw. *-u- for the expected *-i- may be due to ass. infl. of *-m-.

2798. UA ₂ ***3**[^]**o****a****H****E****m****U** ∈ 'berries, tree with berries (Prunus padus and sim.)' > U ***λ****o****̄****m**e 'bird-cherry tree' > F tuomi id., Es toom 'bird-cherry' i pLp ***θ****o****̄****m**z ({Lr.} ***δ****o****̄****m**e.) > Lp: Vfs {Lgc.} 'hipmiē-, -mu'ore 'bird-cherry tree', N {N} duobma[^] / -m- 'bird-cherry', S {Hs.} fuome, Fi {SK} fuōm, Nt {TI} tuōmm_a id. i Mr: Er леем l'om 'bird-cherry tree', d леемеер l'omz'or 'bird-cherry', Mk лайме laymā, Δ {Ps.} laym'a[~] 'bird-cherry tree' i pChr *lom-pu id. (*pu 'tree') > Chr: L ломбо, B lombo, H ломбы lombb^ъ id., Uf lombo id., 'bird-cherry' i Prm {LG} ***l**'**o****̄****m** / ***l**'**o****̄****m**y- ({LG} ***l**'**o****̄****m**) 'bird-cherry' > Z л-оем l'zm / l'zmy-, Yz l'u'm, Vt л-оем l'zm id. || ObU ***λ**i[~]**m**V ({Ht.} ***δ**i[~]**m**z) id. > pVg {Ht.} ***l**'i[~]**m**V > OVg N SoG lja[~]**m**, OVg S ChusO le'ma, OVg S Vt лема, Vg: T/P/NV/SV/LL/ML l'e[~]**m**, MK/UK l'z[~]**m**, UL/Ss l'a[~]**m**; pOs {Ht.} *yom > V/Vy yom, Ty/Y yom, D/Nz yum, Kz yom || Sm ***l**'**z****m** ({Hl.} *y[~]**z**m) 'bird-cherry' > pSlq {Hl.} ***l**'**z****m** > Slq Tz {Hl., KKIh} c[~]**z**m, Kms {KD} lem[~] id. ¶ Coll. 64, Db. OS xxiii, UEW 65-6, It. #164 (FU ***δ**'**o****̄****m**e), Sm. 536-7 (U ***d**'**i**xmi, FU ***d**'**i**mi, FP ***d**'**o**omi, Ugr ***d**'**i**mi[~], Sm *je[~]**o**-m 'bird-cherry'), Lr. #221, Lgc. ##1119, 8083, Lgc. SL #1389, Hs. 803, Rv. LpFU 33 (on FU ***λ**- [= {Rv.} ***δ**'-] > Lp d-^d h-^d f-), Ker. II 80-1 (pMr *la[~]**m** < *loa[~]**m** < pre-Mr *lo[~]**m**ə), ERV 340-1, Ber. #154, MRS 294, Ep. 62, Ü 107, LG 164-5, Ht. #167, Jn. UK 240, Hl. M #693, KKIh 104, KD 36 II A: M ***z**imu'y^u-sun 'bird-cherry, buck-thorn' > WrM {Rm. <-?} zimugusun, Kl {Rm., RKSA} **z**'imsuⁿ 'bird-cherry', 'buckthorn (Frangula, Wegedorn = Färberbeere)', Kl {KRS} **u**' мсн co[~]msn 'bird-cherry, bird-cherry tree' (< *co[~]Emu[~]-suⁿ?) ¶ KW 110, KRS 638, RKSA 68, 125, Pp. IM 42 [WrM **z**'imugusun > Kl **z**'imuⁿsn. 'buckthorn (a palnt)'] || T *jimurt 'bird-cherry tree' > Tk Δ jumurt, Uz s'umurt, VTt Δ, Bsh Δ s^ъ**ъ** m^ъrt^d s^ъm^ъrt, Brb {Rl., Tm.} jumrut, SbTt {Tm.} s^ъ**ъ** m^ъrt^t d jom^ъrt, Alt, Qmn {B} **z**'imirt, Tlt {Rl.} jimirt, Kü {Rl.} jumurt, Tb {R} n'imirt, QK {Rl.} jurbut, Xk nimirt, Sg {Rl.} imirt, Qzl {Jk.} umurt, Shor {Rl.} nuburt ~ nibirt ~ nimirt id., as well as possibly (with an obscure phonetic transformation) StAlt д-одро **z**'odro and Tv чодро c'odroⁿ id. || Blgh > Chv: L ^ъ**ъ**м^ърт s^ъ**ъ** m^ъrt, H s^ъ**ъ** m^ъrt; Blgh **ъ** > VTt **ъ**м^ърт s^ъ**ъ m^ъrt, Uz s'umurt 'bird-cherry', Blg смардлъка 'a good spot for bird-cherries, place with many bird-cherries', Qzq s'omirt 'sloe' ¶ Rs. W 211, ET J 283-4, TL 135-6, Rl. I 406 & III 500, 551, 577, 584, 697, 708, BIG 114, 120, BT 55, B DK 214, Jeg. 211, RKazS 811 ◆ IS II 37-8 (***λ**a[~]**m**H^u 'bird-cherry'). The final vw. was probably *u rather than a front vw. (*u[~]), as suggested by M ***z**imu-(y^u-sun) [a final *u[~] would have yielded i **z**imu[~]]. U *e may be explained by a series of conditioned changes, possibly ***3**[^]**o****a****H****E****m****U** > as ***3**[^]**o****a****H****E****m****U** > (contaction) ***3**[^]**o****̄****m** > U ***λ****o****̄****m**e (delabialization of final vowels).**

2799. ₂ ***3**[^]**z****v****m****v****v** (or ***z**[^]**v****m****v****v**?) 'wax' > K: G zumiri 'wax; fragrant resin' ¶ Chx. 420 II HS: WS ***s**'**a****m**a^f- ~ ? ***s**'**a****m**a^f- 'wax' > Ar s'ama^f- ~ s'am^f 'wax, wax-candle', s'amma^f- 'chandler', Sr s'am^f-a[~] 'wax' (<b- Ar?), Gz s'am^f- wax, candle ¶ Br. 787, Ln. 1598, Fr. II 451-2, L G 530.

2800. ***3**[^]**a**[~]**p**[~]**v** (or ***z**[^]**a**[~]**p**[~]**v**) 'lip', (→) 'edge, shore, riverbank' > HS: S ***s**'**a****p**-at- 'lip', 'edge, shore, riverbank' > BHb eflβl s[^]**a**[~]**p**-a[~], OAk s'ap-tum 'lip, edge, shore', Eb sa-ba-tum = {Krb.} s'ap₁a₁tum, Ug s'pt, OA, IA s'pt (+ppa.) id., Sr sep₋t-a[~], Md sipta, NMd {Mc.} sefta[~] 'lip', JA [Trg.] aT1f6(i)x5 sip₋t-a[~] 'lip, border, hem', JEA sip₋'ta[~] (spelled with β s[^] ~ x s) 'lip, shore, edge', SmA sfh 'lips', Ar s'af-at-, s'if-at-, Ar NY T s'ifah ¶ GB 790-1, KBR 1346-8, JH 315, HJ 1181, A #2663, OLS 450-1, Lv. III 564, Js. 985, Sl. 1188, Tal 604, DM 509, Mc. HM 509, BK I 1251, Bns. NJ I 186, Sd. 1176, CAD XVII/1 483, Krb. 11, Blz. EP, MiK I #1.265 || Eg fP sp.t 'lip', (× N ***s**'**a**[~]**p**[~]**v** 'riverbank, river'), Eg fMKL/Md sp.t 'edge; bank (of a waterway), shore' ¶ EG IV 99-100, Fk. 222 ¶ The contamination with N ***s**'**a**[~]**p**[~]**v** is responsible for Eg s- (for the expected s[~]) || SC: Irq {E} s'ufi, Brn {Dmw.} s'ufi, Kz {E} s'ifito 'lip' ¶ E SC 212 (s.v. SC ***s**'**u**[~]**f**- v. 'sip'), AD SCLC 202, AD SF 117 || ?? WCh: Hs le[~]**b**, e[~], Pr {Kr.} lo[~]**v**o[~]**k** 'lip' ¶ Ba. 725, ChL I 109 ¶ ≈ OS #572, ≈ Sk. HCD 187, Tk. SCC 85 [#15.1], Tk. PAA 9 ¶ OS #572 (HS ***c**'**u**[~]**p**- > S, SC), MiK I #1.265 II IE: NaIE *lab-yo-m, -ya, *lab-uro-m, *lab-s- 'lip' > NPrs JLa la[~]**b** 'lip, edge, shore, bank'; Im > Z l'z[~]**b** 'lip' || OL labia, L labium, labrum 'lip' || OHG lefs, leffur, NHG † Lefze, Sw la[~]**p**p, Nr lepe, OFrs lippa, MLG lippe (NLG **ъ** > NHG Lippe), AS lippa id., NE lip || ? Sl *lob^ъzati 'to kiss' > OCS, OR лобъзати lob^ъzati id. (< OCS лобъзъ lob^ъzъ n. 'kiss'), R π лоб^ъзат[~], Scr Δ lo[~]**z**bat ~ lo[~]**z**bat 'to kiss' ? (< **ъ**) → 'speak': Gk λαβρευ[~]ομαι 'talk rushly, brag', {F} 'heftig reden' [× <d- λα[~]βρο[~] 'furious' (of wind \ water), 'fierce'], the earlier meaning 'to speak' is likely to be preserved in the G loanword lap[~]**a**rak[~] 'speak', lap[~]**a**rak[~]-i 'speech' || Brtt [RE] *labaros 'speech' > W llafar, OCrn, Crn, Br lavar id., d : W llafar, Crn leverel, Br lavared v. 'say' ¶ P 651, Mn. 655-6, EI 356 ((leb- 'lip'), Sg. 1115, Horn 212, LG 164, WH I 738-O, Kb. 597, OsS 540, KM 430-1, 442-3, Zhr. IN 355, Ho. 204, Hlq. 618, ESSJ XV 241-3, Vs. II 507-8, ≈ F II 66, ≈ Ch. 610, RE 125, Chx. 663-4 II A: M *zabazi(n) 'corner of the mouth' > MM [S] **z**'abazⁱ(n), WrM zabazⁱ, HIM завжид[~], Ord **z**'awa^z[~]**i** 'corners of the mouth, commissure of lips' ¶ H 84, MED 1018, Ms. O 190 || Tg *japka 'edge, riverbank' > Ewk japka id., Sln jakka 'riverbank', Lm jarp^ъ 'interval, chink, border', Neg japka 'gap', Nn Nh **z**'aqpa-si 'nearer to the bank (from the river)', **z**'aqpia 'strip of water near the bank' ¶ STM I 250-1 ¶ ≠ DQA #2588 (unc. : Tg < A ***z**'**a**[~]**p**[~]**v** 'crack, interstice') ◆ M ***3**- point to a N affricate (***z**[^]-), while Ch seems to suggest a lateral fricative (***z**[^]-).

2801. ***f³apV** 'basket, vessel' > HS: S *^o√s¹app- '∈ vessel' > Ak OB/MA s¹appu '∈ clay vessel', Ak MA/YB s¹appatu '∈ clay vessel'; Ak OA dialectal variant sappu 'metal vessel' (with a reg. Ak A s?) -> Ug sp id. ('patera'), BHB sap₁ 'ritual bowl (made of metal)', SmA Fx sp 'goblet' ¶ Sd. 1027, 1175, KB 720, KBR 762-3, OLS 406, Tal 603 **II** ? U: FU *^os¹awnU '∈ basket' > pObU {Ht.} *s¹i¹wən (Ht.) *s¹V¹yan (Ht.) 'birch-bark basket (**ryecok**)' > pVg *s¹i¹n id. > Vg: T s¹a¹n, LK s¹a¹n, MK/UK s¹z¹n, P/NV/SV/LL/ML s¹z¹n, UL/Ss s¹a¹n; pOs *soyən (Ht.) *sa¹yan > Os: V/D/K soḡən, Vy soḡən, Ty sa¹y¹ən, Y/O sa¹wən, Nz suḡən, Kz sō¹n ¶ Ht. #584 **II** A: M *^ozabi 'small boat' > WrM zabi, HIM zāb- {MED} id., WrM {Kow.} zabi 'esquif, canot, chaloupe', 'birch-bark boat, small boat; -d> M *zabiya > WrM {MED} zabiya 'a metal water vessel with a spout used in Lamaistic ritual', HIM {Luv.} zāb-ā, Brt {Chr.} zāb-ā 'large tea kettle', WrO {Krg.} zabiya 'tea kettle', Kl {Rm.} za¹wa¹ 'kettle made of copper, tea kettle' ¶ MED 1119, Kow. 2258, Luv. 257, Chr. 242, Krg. 657, KW 470 || Tg *japakun 'quiver' > Orc z¹apku ~ z¹apu ~ z¹apuku, Ul z¹apau(n-), Nn B z¹afu 'quiver', WrMc zāpqu 'small quiver' ¶ STM I 251 ¶ SDM97 (A *z¹apV 'sack') less convincingly equates the Tg √ with pKo *ca¹r 'sack' (> MKo ca¹r) and with pJ {S} *ta¹pā¹ra 'sack' (> OJ ta¹pā¹ra, J T tawara). If indeed Tg *japakun 'quiver' goes back to a word for 'sack', it may be equated with FU (in FV only) *c¹awa 'Sack, Schale' (UEW 619) and possibly to D *caval_i 'any cloth' (D #2394) [F s.v. N *c¹aw¹ba 'hide as cloth/sack'] **II** ?? D *cav_in_it_i- (GS) s- 'ladle, spoon' > Kn savat_i, savut_i, so¹t_i id., Tu saun_i, saut_i id. ♦ The U (ObU) cognate suggests N *z¹ rather than z¹-, while the M, Tg and D cognates point to a *z¹-. Unless the conflicting ev. is explained, the ObU cognate remains *qu*.

2802. ***z¹irgu¹** 'vein, sinew' > K *z¹aryw- 'vein, sinew' > OG zaryv-i 'sinew', G zaryv-i 'vein', Mg z¹eryv-i, Sv UB/LB/Ln z¹a¹ryw id. ¶ K 236, K² 282-3, DCh. 1612, FS E 483-4, TK 887, GP 313 **II** ?? AdS of IE: NaIE *ser- 'string, join in a string' (< N *s¹eRV 'row' [q.v.]) **II** ? U: FU *^os¹erwV ≈ 'blood-vessel' > FP *s¹erwV > Es su¹u¹re (gen. su¹u¹rme) 'Ader (im Holz), Jahresring' (influenced by Es su¹u¹ 'jahresring') ! Prm: Z vircep vir-s¹er 'blood-vessel' (vir means 'blood') [to distinguish from the paronymous Prm word *vir-ser 'blood-vessel' > Z UV vir-s¹r id. < N *sa¹ru 'sinew, fibre' (q.v.)] ¶ W EDW 1103-4, LG 264 **II** ? HS: SES *^o√s¹r¹χ 'root' (with devoiced *χ from the expected *y < N *g) > Jb C s¹i¹rōχ (pl. s¹i¹rχt₃) id. ¶ Jo. J 256 || ?? SC: Irq {MQK} de¹fa¹r 'roots', sg. de¹far-mo¹ 'root', {Wh.} de¹fara¹-mo¹ 'root, sinew' ¶ MQK 25, Wh. SI ♦ IS MS 341 (followed by S CNM 5) adduced here D *ci¹r- [i.e. *c¹ir_i-] 'root', but it obviously belongs to N *z¹irwV ~ *z¹ir¹u¹ 'root' [q.v.] ♦ AD NM #89, S CNM 5 (≠ Nrcs, ST), Vv. AEN 5.

2803. ***z¹irwV** or ***z¹ir¹u¹** 'root' > K: GZ *z¹ir- 'root, bottom' > OG zir- 'root', G zir-, Mg z¹in(z¹)- 'root, bottom' (ДНО), Lz {Schm.} z¹i¹z- 'root' ¶ K 238-9, K² 288, FS K 434-5, Q 414, Chx. 2075-6, Schm. 152 **II** HS: S *^os¹uraw- 'sinew, root' > Gz s¹arw, pl. s¹araw 'sinew, tendon, nerve, root', Tgr, Amh s¹ar, Tgy s¹ar, sur 'root, vein, sinew', Sr s¹a¹ri¹t-a¹ (coll. s¹a¹r-a¹) 'joint, articulation', d : Ar s¹ariya¹-n-, pl. s¹arayin- 'artery', Ak fOB/OA s¹ejir¹a¹nu 'sinew, tendon, muscle', JEA s¹urya¹-na¹ 'muscles (of the eye)', {Sl.} 'sinew, vein, bronchus' ({Sl.}: <b- Ak), Md s¹iriana 'vein, artery'; (× N *c¹a¹OU¹RV 'calf of the leg, shank'): Ar s¹ir¹-at- ~ s¹ar¹-at-, d : s¹ira¹-f-, s¹ara¹-f-at- 'bow-string', Pus¹ru¹-f- 'sinew of gazelle's leg' ¶ ≈ L G 535-6, BK I 1082, 1217, 1224, Js. 1543, Sl. 1124, JPS 598, DM 463, CAD XVII/2 308, Sd. 1216, MiK I #1.239, ⇔ Br. 808] S *^os¹ur¹a¹s¹- 'root' (d ?) > Sb s¹rs¹ 'foundation', hs¹rs¹v. 'extirpate', ? Ar s¹aras-, s¹irs- (∈) 'thorny plant', BHB Sr37S 's¹ores¹', pl. MiS5r¹S0 s¹ra¹-s¹im, Ph, Ug s¹rs¹, Sr s¹ers¹-a¹, Ak s¹urs¹-u(m) 'root' (the as S *s¹...s¹ > Cn, Aram *s¹...s¹ is a phonetic law) ¶ GB 864, A #2694, OLS 454, Br. 810, BGMR 134-5 || B *√zwr (*zu¹r, *zwVr) 'root, vein' > Izn azwar, Tmz az¹ur id., Gd az¹ur, Izd, Sll az¹ur¹ 'root', BSn az¹war, BMn azw¹ar 'vein' ¶ Mrc. 212, 260, MT 826-7, Ds. 239, Lf. II #1840, La. MChB 476 ¶ The forms with z_i may have been influenced by the B √ *z_ir_iw_i 'nerf' of a different origin || C: Ag *zi¹r 'root' > Bln {R} zir, pl. zilil, Xm {R} zir, Q {R}, Km {CR} s¹ar ¶ AD SF 98 || Ch: WCh *s¹arwa ~ *s¹arya (= {Stl.} *c¹arw_iya) 'root' > Hs sa¹ywa¹ : pBT *surya > Bl sori-, Krf so¹riyo¹, Gln su¹rya¹ : pNrBc *s¹ar_iwa > P¹ s¹ari, Sir s¹u¹-ra, Jmb s¹era, My s¹erwa, Mbr s¹arnani : pSBc {Sh.} > Kir s¹z¹ri¹, Tala s¹e¹r ki¹, Wnd s¹z¹r, Buli s¹i¹r, Plc s¹z¹rt₃, Zar K s¹o¹rtu¹, Zar GL s¹a¹rta¹, Sy Zk s¹z¹rt₃, Sy Z s¹z¹rt₃, Sy B s¹z¹rg₃ : DfB {J} su¹re¹ : CCh: pMM {Ro.} *s¹iray > {Ro.}: Mada s¹i¹re¹, Mlk s¹ay, Myn s¹i¹ri¹, Mkt s¹i¹h, Hrz s¹i¹li¹ka¹, Zlg z¹i¹z¹e¹, Mofu s¹a¹s¹a¹y id., ? Gzg s¹a¹la¹k 'medicine' : ZmB s¹o¹r, ZmD {KNC} s¹o¹r : ECh: Smr sa¹rb₃, Nd {J} si¹rwe¹, Tmk {Cp.} h₃ra¹w ¶ JI I 140-1 & II 276-7, Stl. ZCh 200 [#511], Ro. 316-7 [#595], Sh. SB 30, KNC 25 [†, Sk. NB 37, Tk. NB 179 (pNB *s¹ar--*s¹er--*s¹ur-)]; some of the quoted forms may go back to another HS √ represented by S *√s¹r¹χ 'root' ¶ Tk. PAA 18 (NrBc, S) **II** D (in GnD) *c¹ir_i- (GS) *s¹z¹- (?) 'root' > Gnd Δ sir¹, sir¹, (h)ir¹/r¹, Png cira, Kui siru, Ku hiru¹, hiru id. ¶ D #2626.

2804. ***z¹at¹V** 'fluid, body of water' > HS: S *^os¹at_i- > Ar 6wSa s¹at_i- 'large river' **II** IE: NaIE *lat- 'humid, moist; swamp, mud' (possibly × N *wVL_iV_it_iV 'moist; mud') > L latex n. 'fluid, liquid' (hardly a loan from Gk λα¹ταξ) : ? Gk λα¹ταγ-εϑ pl. (sg. λα¹ταξ) 'drops of wine, remains of wine in a vessel' (if it really means this rather than {Ch.} 'fond de la vase') : Olr {P} laith 'beer, liquid; swamp', Gl Are-late (name of a town to the east of a swamp), Crn lad, OW llat 'liquid' n., {EI} 'slime', W llaid (< *latyo-), Olr lathach 'mud', Nlr lathach, laitheach 'mud, mire' : ON {P, KM} leþja (< *laθyon-) 'loam, dirt', Ic leðja 'silt, slime', OHG letto 'clay, loam', NHG Letten 'potter's clay, loam' : ? Blt river names: Lt Latupe¹, Latuva¹, Ltv

Late ¶ WP II 381-2, P 654-5, EI 639 (*leh_At- 'wet, moist'), WH I 770, SB 238, YGM-I 301, Dnn. 416, 420, Kb. 608, OsS 550, Bv. 400, KM 437, Paul 373, F II 89, ≠ Ch. 122 ¶ D *c₁at- 'damp, moist, swampy, thin current of water' > Tm cetumpu v. 'become damp and moist; mud, mire; thin current of water as of rivers in summer', cetukku 'mud, mire', catuppu-nilam 'bog, marshy ground', catuval 'swampy ground', Ml catuppu 'marsh', Tl caduku 'mud' ¶ D #2326 ¶ A ≈ *zat ∇ > NaT *ja₁:jt 'rain magic' > OT ja₁:jt id. ¶ Cl. 883, DTS 247, Dr. TM I 157 || ?φ M *zadagay 'pond, pool' (unless ← *zadagay 'open' through some ellipsis) > WrM zadagay id., Ord z₃'_ad_aga 'mare, flaque d'eau, étang' ¶ MED 1021, Ms. O 178 ¶¶ The M voiced *-d- and the A *-t- still defy explanation ♦ If the M word does belong here, the initial cns. is *z^h-. The D reflex points to *z^h-, too. But neither *z^h- can be ruled out.

¶ 2805. ??σ,φ *z^hæw^ri 'up, upper point, extremity' > HS: Eg P s'wy 'sich erheben' ¶ EG IV 431 || SC: Irq/Brn {E} c^h.aw- 'get up, awake', Irq {MQK, Wd.} c^h.aw- 'wake up' ¶ E 212, 216, MQK 103, Wd. 326 || Ch: NrBc {Tk.} *c^haw- (> *c^hu--*c^hz-) 'stand up, rise' > {Sk.}: P', Sir c^hu, Dir c^ha, Jmb, My, Mbr, Kry c^ha-, Cg c^hz- id., Wrj c^haw id., 'grow' ! SBc: Kir {Sh.} c^hak, Tule {Sh.} c^ha, Wnd {Sh.} c^hu, Zar K {Sh.} c^hi 'stand up' ! Ngz {Sch.} c^ha'u id. || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} c^h- id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 24, 42, Tk. NB 179-80, Sch. DN 163 ¶¶ i ÷ (⇔ Tk.) BHb aiß5 s^hi (+ppa. 3m & aiß5 s^hi'?'-o⁻) h.l. 'loftiness' (or 'pride?') (> NHb aiß5 si 'highest point'), which is more plausibly understood as derived from √ns^h? 'rise' (GB 782, KB 1228) ¶ K *z^he 'up(wards), upon' > OG, G ze, Mg, Lz z^hi(n), Sv z^hi id. ¶ K² 63 ¶ A: ?σ M *zebe > WrM zebe, HlM зѸв, Brt зѸб(Ѹ) 'arrowhead, spearhead', Ord {Ms.} z₃'_iwe 'arrowhead', MM [Hl, S] {Ms., Lew., H} zebe, Kl {Rm.} zew₃ 'weapon(s)' ¶ MED 1042, Ms. O 206, Ms. H 66, Lew. 29, H 88, KW 474, Chr. 271.]