

1. **\*ʔa**, pc. of plurality: it is found in the N *cds* **\*mi ʔa** 'we' [q.v. ffd.] (**\*mi** 'I' + **\*ʔa** of plurality) and **\*t.ʔuʔʔa ~ \*sʔuʔʔa** 'ye (vos)' [q.v. ffd.] (**\*t.ʔuʔʔa ~ \*sʔuʔʔa** 'thou' + **\*ʔa**), as well in **HS**: S nomina collectiva (→ plural forms) with the prefix **\*ʔa-** (× N **\*hʔa**, pc. of collectiveness, q.v. ffd.) || C: Bj **ʔa**, article of m. pl. (nom.-voc. case) ¶ AD KJ 106, Rop. 9 ♦ The initial lr. of the pc. (as suffix) is tentatively identified as **\*ʔ** because this is the only lr. that does not cause lengthening in NaLe (**\*me-s** rather than **i me-s**, the "secondary" ending **\*-te** rather than **i-te**). The originally bisyllabic form of the prn. for 'we' has left traces in Tg **\*buʔe** 'we' (excl.) and possibly in OHg *miv* [miuʔ]. But the Krl Ld diphthong in **muʔoʔ** 'we' is likely to result from a secondary development (**\*me** > **\*moʔ** > **\*muʔoʔ**).

2. **\*ʔa** 'to become, be' > **HS**: S **\*-a** 'is', ending of the predicative case (m. sg.) > Ak zero ending of the predicative case ("stative" of nouns and adjectives, "permansive" of verbs), WS **\*-a**, ending of the 3 m. sg. of the new perfect (developped from the predicative case of deverbal adjectives: pS **\*mawit-a** 'is dead' > WS **\*maʔit-a** 'has died' > Ar **maʔ-t-a**, Hb **tm4 met**, Gz **moʔ-t-a** 'died') ¶ Dk. JDPa 213, 241-6 || ? C: the final component of the EC, Bj and Aw sxs. of person/number/gender of the suffix-conjugated verbs that go back to prefix-conjugated forms of an aux. verb (or verbs) [which may have been either **\*-Ha-** (belonging to the N √ in question), or **\*-hay-** 'be' (akin to S **\*/hyw** 'be', ≠ N **\*howʔi** 'become, appear'), or both]: see the paradigms of suffixal conjugation: Bj [past] 2m **-t-aʔ**, 2f **-t-aʔ-y**, 3m **-y-aʔ**, 3f **-t-aʔ**, 1p **-n-aʔ**, etc., Aw [past] 1s **\*-ʔa** (> glottalization of the stem-final cns. + **-a**), 2s **-ta**, 3m **-a**, 3f **-ta**, 1p **-na**, [prs.-ft.] 1s **\*-ʔeʔ** (glottalization + **-eʔ**), 2s **-teʔ**, 3m **-eʔ**, 3f **-teʔ**, 1p **-neʔ**, Sml [past] 1s **-aʔyʔ**, 2s **-taʔyʔ**, 3m **-aʔyʔ**, 3f **-taʔyʔ**, 1p **-naʔyʔ**, Or S {Sr.} [prs.] 1s **-a**, 2s **-ta**, 3m **-a**, 3f **-ti**, 1p **-na**, Sa [prs.] 1s **-a**, 2s **-ta**, 3m **-a**, 3f **-ta**, 1p **-na**, Or S, Sa [past] 1s **-e**, 2s **-te**, 3m **-e**, 3f **-te**, 1p **-ne** ¶ AD KJ 119 [table 45], 126-9 [tables 56, 58, 62], 140 [table 76], Sr. 130 || ? B: Zng {TC} 3m aor. **yiʔ**, 3m pf. **yaʔ** 'be, exist' ¶ DCTC 293 || A: M **\*-a** 'be' [× N **\*ʔaʔV (= \*ʔaʔyaʔV)** 'grow, become'] > MM [S] **a-** 'dasein, sich aufhalten, wohnen, leben', [HI] **a-** 'être, demeurer, exister, passer ses jours de quelque façon', [PP] **a-** v. 'be', WrM **a-**, Dg **aʔ-id**. ¶ Pp. IM 74, MED 1, H 4, Ms. H 33 || D {Km.} **\*a-** 'be, become' [× N **\*ʔaʔV** 'ʔ', q.v. ffd.] ♦ IS I 243 [#102] (D, A: M + *unc.* [with a query] Tg **\*-oʔ**, which actually belongs to N **\*howʔi** 'become, appear' [q.v.]).

2a. **\*ʔa**, marker of male sex [← '(young) man'??] > **HS**: C: Bj A {AD} **-a**, sx. of masculine in verbal forms of the 2nd person: præt.: 2m **ti-dir-a** 'you (sg. m.) killed' (↔ 2f **ti-dir-i**. cp. 1st person **a-dir**, 3m **i-dir**, 3f **ti-dir**) || S **\*-a** in **\*ʔant-a** 'thou' m. (↔ **\*ʔant-i** 'thou' f., cp. C **\*anti** 'thou' without gender distinction) [see s.v. **\*t.ʔuʔʔa** 'thou'] | Ar **ʔa-** in the nominal pattern **ʔa-CCaCu** for the masc. gender of adjectives (comparative, adjectives of colours, etc.: **ʔas\_yaru** 'smaller' m., **ʔas\_faru** 'yellow', **ʔabyaδʔu** 'white') ↔ fem. **CVCaʔu** (**s\_yaraʔu** 'smaller' f., **s\_afraʔu** 'yellow' f., **bayδʔaʔu** 'white' f.) || D **\*-an** (~ **\*-a**), masc. marker > Tm **mak-an** 'son', **man\_n-an** 'king', **kaʔtal-an** 'lover', **il.ai-y-an** 'young man', **muti-ya-an** 'old man', Ml **mak-an** 'son', **tacc-an** 'carpenter', **tat.t-aʔn** 'goldsmith', **van.n-aʔn** 'washerman', Kt **kurd\_n** 'blind man', **kal\_n** (< **\*kal\_n**) 'male thief', Td **kol\_n** (< **\*kol\_n**) id., **tot.xi\_n** 'goldsmith', **konod\_y-n** 'Canarese man', Kdg **kal\_l-əʔ** 'male thief', **obb-əʔ** 'one man', **kivd\_l-əʔ** 'dumb man', Kn O **mag-an** 'son', **aras-an** 'king', Kn Bd **kal\_l-a(n)** 'thief', **anʔn-a(n)** 'elder brother', Tl **-an** (marker of masc.), Knd **-a** (e.g. **kan-a** 'blind man', **dandr-a** 'young man', **dokr-a** 'old man'), Png **-en**, **-an** (**t\_ond-en** 'brother', **potl-en** 'father-in-law', **duʔt-en** 'old man', **naʔtak-an** 'villager', **haruk-an** 'a small man', Klm **-an / -en / -on** (**mar-an** 'spouse's brother', **mal-an** 'man of barber caste', **koʔlav-an** 'Kolam man', **toʔr-en** 'younger brother', **okk-on** 'one man'), Nkr **-en ~ -an** (**toʔl-en** 'brother', **kik-en** 'son', **kaym-an** 'spouse's younger brother', Prj **-ed / (before case sxs.) -en** (**tol-ed / tol-en** 'brother', **bert-ed / bert-en**

'big man', Gdb tor'-on 'brother', Mlt -e (maq-e 'son', qad-e 'son') ¶¶ The final \*-n\_ in the sx. \*-an\_ is due to the generalization in the paradigm of cases, where \*-n- was originally present in obl. cases and went back to the N genitive marker \*nu (see s.v.) II IE: possibly one of the sources of NaIE \*-o- / -e (nom. \*-o-s, voc. \*-e), sx. of derived adjectives, masc. (↔ \*-a- fem.), e.g. \*deiwo-s 'heavenly' (→ 'god') > OI de'vah. 'heavenly, divine; god', Av dae-va- 'demon, false deity', OL deivos, Latin deus 'god', OIr dia 'god', Germanic \*tei\_waz > ON Týr 'war god', OHG Ziu, Zio 'Mars', Lt die~was 'god' (cp. \*dei\_w-a- > L dea 'goddess', Osc dei'vai' 'deae') derived from NaIE noun \*dye\_u\_s ~ diye\_u\_s 'heaven, sky, day' > OI 'dya\_uh. id., Gk Ζεύς 'Zeus', L gen. Iovis 'of Jupiter', Osc dat. Diu'vei', Διουφει 'to Jupiter', OIr die 'day', Arm tiy tiw 'day') III The autosemantic word underlying this masc. marker my be tentatively discerned in Eg MK iw 'Junge' ♦ The fact that in Bj verbal conjugation the masc. marker -a is separated from the 2nd person marker ti- suggests that the fem. marker goes back to an address word: Bj ti-dir-a 'you (m. sg.) killed' goes back to N \*t.'u'' 'thou' + verb + the address word \*ʔa (cp. the similar situation with the fem. marker in HS, see above s. v. \*ʔ'a''lyV or \*h'a''lyV 'mother').

3. \*ʔe 'not' > U \*e- (~ ? FU \*a''-) 'not to do', negative verb > F e- (1s en 'I do not', 2s et, 3s ei, 1p emme, 2p ette, 3p eiva''t), Vp e- id., Es ei 'do\does not' (negative pc.), Es S e-s-i-s negation in the past tense, Es Δ negative verb: 1s e-si-n, 2s e-si-d\_, Lv a''- neg. cop. verb (1s, 3s, 1p, 3p a''b\_, 2s a''d\_, 2p a''t''), Lp N i- / æ- / e'- id. (1s im-in, 2s ik-ih, 3s i~ii, 1d æ-m-æm, 2d æp'pe, 3d æba-æba', 1p æp-æp, 2p eppit, 3p æi), Lp L i-/i-/a''-/a''-/e-, Lp S {Hs.} ea''-/i-/ie-, Er e- neg. verb in the past tense (1s e-z'in', 2s e-z'it', 3s e-s', etc.), Mk i- id. (past 1s i-z'en', 2s i-z'et', 3s i-z', etc.), Chr L ь- id. (past 3s ь-s', 1p ь-s'-na, 2p ь-s'-da, 3p ь-s'-t, etc.), H ə- (ь- ) id. (past 3s, 3p əs', in other personal forms ə reduced to zero: 1s s'am, 2s s'ac, etc.), Prm \*e- (neg. verb in p.) > OPrm i-, Yz 'i- (1s 'i-g 'I did not', 2s 'i-n, 3s 'i-z, etc.), Z e- (1s e-g, 2s e-n, 3s e-z), Vt ə- (1s һй ə-y, 2s һд ə-d, 3s һз ə-z), Vt SW o^- [= {oLG} o-] (o^-y, o^-n, o^-z), ? pPrm \*en prohibitive > Z, Vt en, Yz 'in; as to the Chr neg. verbal stem of the present tense: L o-, H a-, it is most probably of a different origin, since these vowels are not reg. reflexes of FU \*e-: pVg \*a''(-) > Vg: T a'', a''k 'nein', K ə''t, ə''t'i, P ə'təm, Ss a't'i 'is not'; ? pOs {Ht.} \*əntə ({oHL.} \*i'ntə) 'not' (negative pc. before the verb in indicative) > Os: V/Vy əntə~əntə before cnss., ənt before vowels, Ty əntə, ənt, Y əntə, D əntə, ənt, ən, Nz a'nt, a'n°, Sh a'nt, a'n°, a'n, Sn a't, O a'n°, ? pOs \*əntVm 'is not' > Os: V/Vy əntim, etc., ?pOs {Ht.} \*ənt'a'' ({oHL.} \*i'nt'a'') 'nein' > Os: D ənta', Nz/Kz/Sh/Sn a'nta || Sm {Jn.} \*i~-\*e~-\*V-, {HL.} \*i- neg. verb > Ng {Ter.} n'i- (aor. 1s n'i-ndym, p. 1s n'i-sə-mə), proh. 2s {Prk.} n'i?, {Cs.} n'e?, En (aor. sg. 1) {Cs.} i-, {Ter.} n'e-, (proh. 2s) {Cs.} i?, Ne T {Ter.} һи-, {Lh.} n'i- (aor. 1s һи-дмј, 2s һи-н, 3s һи, proh. 2s һђн n'o-n), Ne F n'i-, Kms {KD} ε- neg. verb (prs. 1s ε-m-ə-m, p. ei\_ ), iʔ-i-ε' 'do not' (proh.), Mt {HL.} \*i- 'do not' (neg. verb) [Nh, En, Nn n'- is a reg. prosthetic cns. before \*i-] || Y {Rd.} \*e-: {Jc} ele 'nicht, nein', el 'not', oi-, ei-: oile 'nicht dasein, nicht dagewesen sein; nein', Y {Schf.} ei 'not' ¶¶ UEW 68-70, SK 32-4, Hs. 145-6, LG 331, RMarS 366-7, Ht. 198 [#725], Stn. D 121-3, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 26, KD 164-5, Hl. M 172-3, #331, JN III 187, 231-3, 248-9, 388-9, 431-2, 45, a Rd. UJ 35 [#7] (Yab U) II A {SDM95} \*e 'not' > Tg \*e-, neg. aux. verb (like in FU) > Ewk, Sln, Lm, Neg, Orc, Ud, Ork ə- id. (Ewk ə-si-m sa'rə 'I do not know', ə-sin sa'rə 'he does not know'); in Nn there are only reliques of this verb: prtcs. ə-s'i and ə-c'in following the main verb have become morphemes of negation of verbs ¶ Mng. TS 236-7, STM 432-3, Bz. 124 || M \*e-se- neg. verb > MM ese preverbal negation ([S] e-se, [MA] 'sy" and [IM] 'sYÆ e.se 'not'; acc. to Ligeti, this form preserves M e, contrasting e [from \*a'']), WrM ese- (past ese-be,

nomen futuri ese-ku'', nomen perfecti eseg-sen, etc.), HIM es, Ord ese, Mnr H s3 'not'; the final element \*-se was explained by Illich-Svitych (IS I 265) as going back to a desiderative sx. ¶ Pp. IM 286-90, Pp. MA 165, 437, Lg. NVMI 119, SM 341 ¶¶ Pp. IAL 65, KW 128, IS I 265, DQA #407 (A \*e 'not') ¶ HS: S \*ʔi (= \*ʔiy) ~ \*ʔay 'not' > Hb ia5 ʔi, Ph ʔy 'not', Ar Δ ʔa-, Sq {L} ʔe- 'not', Gz ʔi- 'not' (preverb: ʔi-nəkl hawīra 'we cannot go'), Tgr ʔi 'not', -ey (as in ʔəndey 'while not' < ʔəndo-ay), Amh y- (ʔi-) in y-ellə-m 'there is not' (cp. allə 'there is'), OAk e (before a cns.) / a (before a vw.) (< \*ay-) 'do not!', 'may not' (prohibitive pc.), Ak ay ~ ya (written a-, a-i, a-IA, IA) (< \*ʔayya, intensified variant of \*ʔay) 'do not' (proh.), e- 'no' ('nein'), e-... e- 'not... lest' ¶ KB 37, JH 11, HJ 43-4, L S 47-8, L G 1, G OA 1-2, CAD I/1 218-20 & IV 1 || ?? Eg fOK iw.i 'welcher nicht' ¶ EG I 45 || ? EC: Brj -ayʔ, Hd -yyo, suffixed negative markers of verbs ¶ Hd. 266 || ???ϕ (u) WCh: AG: Ang {Flk.} hai 'no!' (a decisive negative), Mpn {Frz.} ha'yi' 'no!' (may occur at the end of inter. sentences) ¶ Frz. GM 21, Flk. s.v. hai ¶¶ □ Tk. PAA 14 (AG, S, Eg; *err.*: pHS \*h-) ¶ ?? D \*-a-, negative affix (→ infix) of verbs > Klm -e- (si-e-n 'I do not give, shall not give'), Nk -e- (a-r'-e-n 'he does not play'), Prj -a- (cur'-a-ta 'non vides, non videris'), Gdb -a- (var-a-n 'I do\did\shall not come'), Tl -3- (1s cepp-3-n\_u 'I do\did\shall not say', 2s cepp-3-wu, 3m cepp-3-r'u, 3f\3n cepp-3-du), ClTm -a- (3n) / -θ (all other person-gender-number forms), Ml -a- (va-r-a-n'n'u 'did not come'), -a- (n'a\_n ceyy-a- 'I am not doing, I shall not do'), Kdg -a (ting-a 'do\does not eat'), Kn -a- (3n) / -θ (other person-gender-number forms). Subrahmanyam reconstructs here a D negative sx. of verbs \*-a, while Bur. and An. prefer to see here a sx. (\*-a-) forming a pD negative gerund, that served later as the first component of negative tense forms ¶¶ Cald. 468-77; Subram. N 32-43; Sbr. DVM 370-4; Bloch S 51-2, Bur. rBloch 255, An. SG 400-19. The N connections of this D affix are not clear, since D \*-a- may go back to N \*a- ~ \*a'', but not to \*e. ♦ In grammatical morphemes pN and pS \*h- (just like \*ʔ-) yield Ar and Gz ʔ-, hence a N \*h- in this root cannot be ruled out. We reconstruct here N \*ʔ- (= \*ʔh-) ♦ Cf. AD LRC #55 [S, U, A (M, Tg)], IS I 264-5 [HS (S, C), U, D, A (M, Tg)], Gr. I 214-7 ["negative E/ELE" in U, Y, A, ChK].

4. ʔ₂ \*ʔaʔV [ʔ+ 'female', → ] female marker > [ʔ+ D \*a-, \*a\_n\_ 'female (animal)' > Tm a-, a\_n\_ 'female of ox\sambur\buffalo', Ml a-, a\_n, Kt a\_v, Kn a-, Tlg a\_vu, Krx o\_y 'cow', Mlt o\_yu 'cow, ox' ¶¶ \*n\_ in \*a\_n\_ is from forms of obl. cases, i.e. goes back to N \*nu 'from' ¶¶ D #334 ¶ HS: S: Ar -a-ʔ-u, fem. ending of adjectives (mainly those of the ʔaffalu-form): s\_afra-ʔu 'yellow' f. (↔ ʔas\_faru id. m.), ʔawra-ʔu 'one-eyed' f. (↔ ʔafwaru id. m.), ʔasna-ʔu 'beautiful' f. (↔ ʔasan- id. m.) ¶ Br. AG 83, Br. G I 410 [§ 225.B.1] || SC: Irq -oʔo, {MQK} -oʔo- (sx. of fem. sg.): {Nb.} h-oʔo, {MQK} h-oʔo- 'sister' (↔ h-yaʔ 'brother'), {Nb.} k^al-oʔo, {MQK} k^aloʔo- 'widow' (pl. k^ae-li), {Nb.} wawut-oʔo, {MQK} wa-witoʔo- 'queen' (↔ wa-wita' 'kings'), irq^at-oʔo ({MQK} irq^atoʔo-) 'Iraqw woman' (↔ irq^atu 'Iraqw man'), Alg {E} -oʔo (fem. marker), Brn {E} -it-oʔo id. (with a noun-particularizing sx. -it-) ¶ Nb. 64, E SC 54, 60, MQK 50, 57, 64 ¶ IE: NaIE \*-a- (< IE {Bks.} \*-eh or < IE \*-ah), ending of fem. gender in adjectives, nouns and pronouns > OI, Av -a-, Gk D -α-, Gk A -η / -α-, L -a, Lt -a, pSl \*-a, e.g. [a] \*new-a- ~ \*now-a- 'new' f. > OI 'nava-, Gk vε'α-, L nova, pSl \*nova > OCS нова; [b] NaIE \*ek^w-a- 'mare' (< d \*ek^w-o-s 'horse') > OI 'as'va-, Av aspa-, L equa, Olt as'va- ~ es'va (not necessarily a pNaIE d, it may well have been derived in the separate history of each branch of NaIE); [c] NaIE \*wed^ow-a- 'widow' > OI vi'dhava-, Av viḍava-, L vidua, Ir fedb, Gt widuwo-, OHG wituwa, Pru widdewu-, OCS вѣдова vѣdova; [d] NaIE \*s-a- (f. of \*so-), ddn. dem. prn. > OI 'sa-, Gt sa id., Gk 'η (df. art. f. sg.), OL sa-ψsa 'ipsa' ¶ NaIE \*-a- coalesced with a suffix (or suffixes) of a different origin, with different meaning (not denoting females) and with a different lr. (or lrs.), which is suggested by the K word \*wenaq- 'vine' (> OG wenaq-, G venax-, Mg bineχ-, Sv wena-q-) which is a loan from IE \*woi\_n-aH- id. (> NaIE \*woi\_na-

> Gk οἴνη 'vine') <d- IE \*woi<sub>no</sub>-m 'wine'. The K cns. \*q rendering the IE lr. shows that the latter was different from \*ʔ (I reconstruct it as \*-x, but it may have been phonetically identic with [x] or even [q]) ¶ Brg. KVG 354-60, 373-401, BD II/1 161-2, Bur. S 83, Bks. 182-3, Bks. ONI 20-8, K 83, AD IEH 21 [ + II D \*-a<sub>i</sub>ː, fem. marker (?) > Kdg obb-a 'one woman' (↔ obb-ə 'one man'), mo<sup>-</sup>v-a 'daughter' (↔ mo<sup>-</sup>v-ə 'son'), Gnd d<sub>i</sub>yy-a<sup>-</sup> 'young woman', ? Gnd K ku<sup>-</sup>t-o 'lame woman' ¶¶ Shanm. DN 51, 66, 69. ]

5. *Ll* ?? \*ʔaba ~\*ʔap.a 'daddy, father' > HS: S \*ʔa<sup>-</sup>b- 'father' (nom. \*ʔa<sup>-</sup>b-u, -um, acc. \*ʔa<sup>-</sup>b-a, -am, gen. \*ʔa<sup>-</sup>b-i, -im) > BHb ba<sub>1</sub> 'ʔa<sup>-</sup>b<sub>1</sub>ː, cs. ʔ<sup>a</sup><sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>ː, +ppa. ʔa<sup>-</sup>b<sub>1</sub>ː-/ʔ<sup>a</sup><sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>ː- (e.g. ʔa<sup>-</sup>b<sub>1</sub>ː-k<sub>1</sub>a<sup>-</sup> 'thy father', ʔ<sup>a</sup><sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>ː-k<sub>1</sub>em 'your (pl.) father'), Ph ʔb, cs. ʔabi (as reflected in Ak and Gk transcriptions of proper names, ʔ FrdR § 240), Ug ʔab, Amr {G} ʔabum, BA ba<sub>2</sub>\* \*ʔab, st. pron.: ʔ<sup>a</sup><sub>1</sub>b<sub>1</sub>ːu<sub>k</sub> 'thy father', JPA ʔab<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>-</sup>, Sr ʔabba<sup>-</sup>, Ar ʔab-, cs. ʔabu<sup>-</sup> / ʔaba<sup>-</sup> / ʔabi<sup>-</sup>, st. pron. ʔabu<sup>-</sup> / ʔaba<sup>-</sup> / ʔabi<sup>-</sup>, Sb ʔb, Mh df. 'hayb, pl. 'hayb, df. 'ʔib, Hrs hayb, pl. ho<sup>-</sup>b, Jb C ʔiy, Sq {Jo.} ʔiyf-, Ak abu(m), +ppa.: abu<sup>-</sup>, abi<sup>-</sup> ¶ DRS 1, KB 1-2, GB 1-2, 823, OLS 1-2, G A 13, Jo. M 2, Jo. J 1, Jo. H 1, Jo. DA, L G 2, Sd. 7-8; on the pS oxytonic stress and its infl. [the length of the case vowel in cs. and st. pron.] see AD PhSS 1, 3-4, 7-8, AD PSH 101-3 || EC \*ʔa<sup>-</sup>bb-/\*abb- 'father' > Af abba, Sml a<sup>-</sup>bbe, Rn {PG} a<sup>-</sup>bba, Bs a<sup>-</sup>bo, Or {AD, Bl.}, Arr a<sup>-</sup>bbaʔ, {Grg.} abba<sup>-</sup>, Kns a<sup>-</sup>ppa, Gdl a<sup>-</sup>ppa<sup>-</sup>, Gwd a<sup>-</sup>ppa; this √ may be the source of EC \*ʔab-(-uyy-, -iyy-) 'maternal uncle' (d from the word for 'father', cf. L patruus?) > Af abo, abu, Sml ab-ti<sup>-</sup>, Or abuyya, Kns abuyya<sup>-</sup>ta, Gdl apa, apuyy, Dbs, Hr, Gwd ʔapu<sup>-</sup>yya, Gln ʔapi<sup>-</sup>yya, Brj abuy<sup>-</sup>ya ¶ Bl. 100, 112, 174, Ss. PEC 15, Ss. B 21, Hn. S 51, PG 58, Grg. 4, Brl. 2-3, Hw. A 336, Oo. 67, HL 59, AMS 31 (apu<sup>-</sup>yya d api<sup>-</sup>yya 'avunculus' interpreted as 'weiblicher Vater', i.e. 'representative of one's mother's clan'), 148, 194, 258 || Ch ¶ \*ʔVb- (~\*ʔap-) 'father' > WCh \*ʔVb/p- 'father' ({Stl.} pHAB \*ʔabV<sup>-</sup>ng<sup>-</sup>l-) > WCh: Hs u<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>-</sup>ː Cg {Sk.} o<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>-</sup>n, P' {MSk.} a<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>-</sup>ti<sup>-</sup>, a<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>-</sup>ni, Jmb, Dir a<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>-</sup>ː Jm {Gw.} abawa, Gj {ChL} a<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>-</sup>, ? Bg pa<sup>-</sup>η<sup>-</sup>ː Ngz {Sch.} a<sup>-</sup>fi<sup>-</sup>k, Bd {ChL} a<sup>-</sup>fa<sup>-</sup>η<sup>-</sup>ː CCh: ? Nz {ChC} a<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>-</sup> (independent creation as a *Ll*?), Bdm {Lk.} abu<sup>-</sup>, {Cfr.} a<sup>-</sup>pa<sup>-</sup>, a<sup>-</sup>p<sup>-</sup>ː, Lgn {Bou.} ʔa<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>-</sup>, Msg P {Trn.} a<sup>-</sup>pi<sup>-</sup>, Msg {Mch.} ap, ZmB {J} ʔ<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>-</sup>ː ECh: Smr {J} ʔa<sup>-</sup>b, Tmk {Cp.} ɔ<sup>-</sup>w<sup>-</sup>ː, ? Bar {Lk.} a<sup>-</sup>ba ¶ ChC, ChL, Ba. 1067, Sk. HCD 277, Lk. B 89 II A {DQA} \*a<sup>-</sup>p<sup>-</sup>a 'father' ({SDM97} \*a<sup>-</sup>pa 'father, grandfather') > T \*apa 'father, ancestor, bear' (→ 'bear') > OT apa id., Tkm Δ, Az Δ, ET Ili aba, Tk Δ aba, appa 'father', Qrg aba 'uncle, elder brother', Alt aba 'elder relative (of ego's clan), wife's elder brother; bear', Chv yna ub<sub>a</sub> d ob<sub>a</sub> 'bear' ¶ Cl. 5, ET Gl 54-58, DTS 1, Rs. W 1, Jeg. 274, Fed. II 281-2, Jud. 17, BT 11 || M \*ab<sup>-</sup>u<sup>-</sup> 'father' > WrM abu, HIM ав, аав 'father, grandfather', esp. applied to an old father (endeavoring), WrO a<sup>-</sup>ba 'father, daddy', Kl аав а<sup>-</sup>β<sup>-</sup> id., Mnr H a<sup>-</sup>b<sub>a</sub> ~ a<sup>-</sup>wa, Dx aba, Ba a<sup>-</sup>be; d. M {ADb.} \*aba-gay 'father's younger brother' > MM [S, MA, HI] abaya 'paternal uncle', WrM abaga, HIM авга, WrO abaya, Kl авh аβ<sup>-</sup> id., Mnr H awu 'elder brother' ¶ MED 2-3, 5, Krg. 11, T 313, T BJ 132, T DnJ 110, SM 1, 16, H 1, Pp. MA 402, Ms. H 32 || Tg: Neg apa 'grandfather; father's\mother's elder brother' ¶ Ci. N 193, STM I 47 || pKo \*a<sup>-</sup>pi<sup>-</sup> > MKo a<sup>-</sup>pi<sup>-</sup> 'father' (< \*apa-i with a diminutive \*-i), apa<sup>-</sup>:nim 'father', NKO abəʒ<sup>-</sup>i, vlg abi id. ¶ S QK #706, Vv. AEN 7, Nam 338, MLC 1074 ¶¶ DQA #80, Rm. EAS I 140, DQA #80 II D \*appa 'father' ({GS} \*ap-) > Tm appan<sub>1</sub>, appu 'father', Ml appan, Kn appa, Kdg appə 'father', Tu appa, appæ (affix of respect added to proper names of men), Tl appa 'father', Gnd a<sup>-</sup>po<sup>-</sup>r<sup>-</sup>a<sup>-</sup>l 'father', ? mai<sub>po</sub> 'my father', ? mi-apo 'thy father', Knd aposi 'father' (with reference to 3rd person) ¶¶ D #156 (a), Zv. 88 [#70], GS 37 [#64] ♦ The common origin of the HS, A and D stems is *qu*, since each of them may be an independent Lallwort creation. The *Ll* origin may be responsible for the variability \*-b- ~ \*-p.- ♦ AD NM #118, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

**6. \*ʔo.bV (= \*ʔohbV?)** 'clan' > **HS:** Eg fOK ɜ.b.t 'family' ({EG} 'Familie, die Angehörigen') ¶ EG I 7, Fk. 2 || **IE:** NaIE \*ē-pi- 'friend', {EI} \*Hē-pi-s 'confererate' > OI ā-pih. 'friend' || ʔσ Gk ἡπιος 'gentle, mild, kind; favorable' (⇔ Ch. 415) ¶¶ WP I 121-2, P 325, EI 116, M K I 75, F I 641 ¶¶ Acc. to Froehde PN 330 and Hirt E 228, Gk η is not from \*ā-, because the Greek tragic authors never used ᾱ- instead. But if this argument is disregarded, the IE stem may be reconstructed as \*ā-ē-pi || **ʔA:** NaT \*ō-ba 'clan, extended family, dwelling place of such a unit, small encampment or large tent' (× N \*ʔʔō'mV 'kin, clan, everybody', q.v.) > OT oba (Cl.: obā) id., Chg oba 'small tents which the nomads pitch and in which they reside', Osm ≥XIV oba 'a small encampment; family living in one tent', Tk oba 'large tent, nomadic family', Δ 'clan', Tkm ō-ba, ET {ML} opa, Uz Δ owa 'tent', ET opa {ML} id., {Nj.} 'shepherd's cabin', Az oba 'nomad extended family (кочевье)', 'separated farm (отселок, хутор), tent (of nomads)' ¶ Cl. 5-6, ET Gl 400-1, Rl. I 1157, Äz. 270, Bu. I 107 || M \*obug ~ \*omug 'clan, family' [× N \*ʔʔō'mV '↑' (q.v. ffd.)] ¶¶ DQA #1603 (A \*ō-p̄V 'clan, family') ♦ A N lr. preceding \*b is suggested by the length of the vowels in T and IE. IE \*-p- (instead of \*-b̄-) may be accounted for by the infl. of a vl. lr. The lr. could hardly have been \*ʔ (the cluster \*-ʔp- had to yield \*p. > IE \*p) or \*h (which would have survived in Eg). Most plausibly, it was \*h.

**7. ʔ₂ \*ʔʔā'bHV** 'water, water course' > **HS:** Eg G ibx' ({EG} ibh\_) 'water' ¶ EG I 64 || ?? C: Bj {R} aba 'river, brook' || EC: Or B {Tut.} abā (nom. abofni) 'river', Or {Brl.} 'valle stretta con pochi guadi', {Th., Brl.} abbai 'the Blue Nile' ¶ Th. 4, Tut. s.v. abā, Brl. 3 || **IE:** NaIE \*ab- ~ \*a(:)p- 'river' (× \*qapV 'to stream, flow' → 'water course' [q.v. ffd]) ♦ i ÷ FU \*ʔō-wa~\*uwa 'stream; to stream', more plausibly belonging to N \*hōlw̄ʃa (or \*hōʃwa) 'to flow, stream, a stream' [q.v.].

**8. ʔ₂ \*ʔibrE** 'fig tree' > **HS:** S \*ʔʔibar- > Ar ʔibr-at- 'sycomore tree' (pl. ʔibar-); hardly ← ʔibr-at- 'needle' ¶ BK I 3, Gass. 808, DRS 5 || C: Or {Brl.} abru 'fig tree', {Th.} abru 'sycamore tree, wild fig tree', ? (mt) Or M {LLC} harbu 'fig tree, wild fig tree' ¶ Brl. 5, Th. 6, LLC 75 || Ch: Gzg {Lk.} ʔurof-ʔərof 'sycamore tree' || ? Hs b̄.aū-re 'rough-leaved fig-tree' (< \*b̄.abre), with b̄. > \*ʔb̄ || ? Mgm bā-ra' (pl. bā-ri) 'figuier (rouge)' || ¶ Ba. 96-7, JA LM 68 || **D** (in SD) \*ir--ir- 'fig (tree)' > Tm iratti 'joined ovate-leaved fig', 'subserrate rhomboid-leaved fig, Ficus gibbosa tuberculata', iratakam 'joined ovate-leaved fig', ir̄ali 'white fig', ir̄r̄i 'tailed ovate-leaved fig', itti 'white fig, Ficus infectoria', 'stone fig, Ficus talboti', Ml itti 'waved leaved fig-tree, Ficus venosa', Kdg itti 'Ficus (gibbosa?)' (< -tt-\*rt-) ¶ D #460 ¶ N \*b was lost in D due to the D morphophonemics ruling out cns. clusters (other than nasal + stop) which presupposes simplifying the N clusters (⇔ Zv. DP 363) ♦ AD NM #1.

**9. ʔ₂ \*ʔac.VhV** 'back (dorsum)' > **HS:** EC \*ʔad̄.ah- 'spine' > Af {PH} ā'd̄.ha 'back, back-bone, spinal column', Sml {ZMO} ad̄.ah, Sml N {Abr.} ā'd̄.ā'h, df. ad̄.ā'h-di 'spine, backbone', Rn ʔad̄.ā'h 'back' ¶ PH 32, Abr. S 4, ZMO 7, PG 60 || **K** \*ʔac̄.V > Mg oc̄.is̄i 'back (dorsum)' (-is̄- may go back to the ending of gen.) ¶ Q 295.

**10. \*ʔac̄.PV** 'leaf-bearing tree' ('aspen' or the like) > **IE:** NaIE \*āosp- ~ \*āops- 'aspen' ({EI} \*h̄h̄osp- id., 'poplar') > ON ō.sp, OHG, OSx aspa, NHG Espe, AS æspe 'aspen', NE asp, aspen || Pru abse, Ltv apse id., Lt āpus̄'ē ~ ēpus̄'ē id. (dim.), Lt Δ apus̄'i's id. ({Bg.}: Lt u due to the infl. of pus̄'i's 'spruce') || pSl \*osa [< \*opsa] > P, Cz Δ osa, LLs wosa id., d̄Sl \*osi''na > OR осина osina, R ошина, Cz Δ, P osina; d̄Sl \*osi''ka ~ \*asi''ka id. > Blg офика ~ лсика, Slk osika, SCr ja'si'ka, Slv jasi'ka || Arm օտի օրի 'poplar' (< \*āopsiya- = {EI} \*h̄h̄ospsiyo[eha-]) ¶ P 55, EI 33, 599-600, Frdr. PIT 15, Frdr. PITA 49-53, AHD 77-8, Frn. 14, En. 136-7, Bg. KS 226, Vs. III 159, Glh. 290-1, EWA I 370-1 || **ʔA:** T: NaT

\*absak (~ \*as'p'ak) 'aspen' > Alt aspaq - {BT, RL} Tlt/ QK {RL}, Qmn {B} apsaq, Shor {RL}, Qmn {B, RL} aspaq, TbTt {RL} awsaq, VTt usaq, Bsh uθaq, Xk os, Chv ъвѡс ¶ BT 22, RL I 82, 554, 618, TatR 594, BsR 581, B DK 203. ET Gl 607-8 II HS (rdp.?) CS \*c.apc.aṭ.jp- 'willow' > BHb, MHb eflclf6c2 c.ap\_c.a'p.a-, Ar s.afs\_a'f- (snglt. s.afs\_a'fat-) 'willow' ¶ KB 983, Löw III 325ff., Js. 1298, BK I 134 ¶ Semantic infl. of N \*3Ec. ▽ ▯ 'willow' (q.v.)? ◇ The aspen is known in Europe, Anatolia, Transcaucasia and the northern parts of the Near East.

11. \*2ac^ ▽ 'low place, depression, wadi, pond' > HS: S \*2as^.- > Ar ʔaδ\_ā(t-un) 'étang, mare d'eau stagnante', ʔaδ\_āʔ(un) 'terrain bas remplie de cailloux' ¶ BK I 38, DRS 31 II U: FU \*ac'a '(brook-)meadow, valley' > Es aas (gen. aasu - aasa) '(gute) Wiese, Bachwiese' : Prm \*a3' 'meadow, flood-lands' > Z адз a3' 'flood-lands of a river', Z LL a3' 'river valley', Z Lu a3' 'meadow', Vt a3'-dor 'woodless land' (dor 'country') :: OHg aszo' 'river, brook', Hg Δ aszo' 'valley (with a stream during the rainy and snow-melting seasons)' ¶ UEW 3, LG 30 II D \*ac- (+ sxs.) 'mud, mire' > Tm acar\_u id., ayam id., acumpu 'soft mud, miry place', Ml ayam, Tl asalu 'mud, mire' ¶¶ D #41.

12. 2 \*2Ad ▽ (or \*1Ad ▽?) 'foot' > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} \*a'ddi'm 'leg' > Sml addin, Sml N {Abr.} a'ddi'n (pl. a'ddi'mmo'), pBn {Hn.} \*i'\_dt3\_ (pl. \*i'\_dti\_m-3\_) > Bn {Hn.} Bi i\_dd3\_, J/Kj i.dd3\_, K i'\_tt3\_ 'leg' [† : ?σ SC: Irq {MQK} ʔadah- v. 'tread on, step' (unless akin to Bj -ʔat pcv. 'step, tread' < N \*2at\_1\_ ▽ 'come') ] ¶ Abr. S 5, Hn. S 51 (pSam \*addin), Hn. BD 115 (pSam \*a'ddi'm [†, MQK 9 ] II D \*at\_-, {GS} \*ad\_- 'foot' > Tm at\_i 'foot, footprint', Ml at\_i 'sole of foot, footstep', Td or'y 'foot', Kt ar'y 'foot (measure)', Kn ad\_i id., 'foot, step', Kdg ad\_i 'place below, down', Tu ad\_i 'bottom, base', Tl ad\_uḡu 'foot, footstep', Gnd ad\_i 'beneath', Knd ad\_gi 'below, underneath' ¶¶ D #72 ◇ The initial cns. is most probably \*ʔ- (= \*ʔh-), but \*ʔ- cannot be ruled out (because \*ʔ- is sometimes lost in Sam). ◇ Blz. DA [†156 [#41]] (C, D [HS]).

13. \*2u.d ▽ (RV) 'breast' > IE: NaIE \*o\_u\_dh-/ \*u\_dh- 'female breast, mamilla' in two d stems: [1] \*o\_u\_dh(e)r-/ \*e\_u\_dh(e)r-/ \*u\_dh(er)- 'udder' with a heteroclytic stem variety \*u\_dh(e)n- in obl. cases (= {EI} \*h\_ou\_dh' / gen. \*h\_1uHd'h-n-os) OI 'u\_dhar / u\_dh'n-ah, 'udder' :: Gk οὔϋαρ / οὔϋατ-οὔ id. :: L u\_ber, -eris 'udder, mamilla, female breast' :: Gmc {Vr.} \*eu\_δura > ON ju'(g)r, OHG u\_tar(o), u\_tir, MHG u\_ter, iuter, NHG Euter, OSx, AS u\_der 'udder', NE udder :: Lt E u\_dro'-ti v. 'be pregnant' (of a sow) ] [2] \*o\_u\_dh-men- > pSl \*vi'me\_ (gen. \*vi'mene) 'udder' > OR вѣма vyme\_, Blg ѿвѣме, SCr vime (gen. vimena), Slv vi'me, Cz vy'me, Slk vema, P wymie, R 'вѣмѣ (gen. ѿвѣмѣни) ¶ P 347, EI 82, Dv. #251, M K I 115, F I 442-3, WH II 738-9, Ho. 375, Vr. 294, KM 177, Kb. 1125-6, Vs. I 358-9, Glh. 671 II HS: Eg LL idr 'heart' (× N \*du\_r ▽ - \*du\_rE 'intestines, heart' [q.v.]) ¶ EG I 155 || Ch: [1] \*2ud\_- ~ \*wud\_- 'female breast, milk' ({Nw.} \*wədi 'breast, milk', {JS} \*√wd 'female breast') > Ech: Mkl {J} ʔu'd\_u' 'milk', ʔu'd\_i-so'-ʔu'd\_u-so' (pl. ʔu'd\_i'ya'gi') 'female breast' : Skr {Nc.} wa't- 'breast' :: WCh: BT: Bl wəd\_i, Krf {Sch.} wu'd\_i, Dr {J} wo'ri, Krkr {J} ʔyəd\_i 'female breast', Pr {Frz.} wu'd\_i 'breast', Tng wə'di 'breast, udder' : Ywm {Sh.} wə't id. : SBC: Jmb {Sk.} i'fa a' wu'di' id. ¶ JI I 20 & II 46-7, J LM 189, J T 161, Frz. P 53, Sch. BTL 141, ChL, WeibP 18 ¶¶ In 1977 Stolbova (Stl. SF) reconstructed pHAB \*wa'd\_ ▽ 'fem. breast', but in 1987 (Stl. ZCh 239 [#857]) she interpreted the WCh √ as \*w'u'rdi 'breast, milk' [unj, since -rd- is not attested in any descendant lge., while pWCh \*-d\_- accounts for the observed facts rather well]. Ch \*-d\_- goes back to a cluster \*-Hd- II D \*ut\_-(al-, -amp-), {GS} \*od\_al- 'body, chest of body, belly' > Tm ut\_al, ut\_alam, ut\_ar, ut\_ampu 'body', Ml ut\_al(am) 'body, trunk', ut\_ampu 'body, anus', Td wr't\_ 'chest of body', Kt or'l\_ 'belly, trunk of body', Kn od\_al 'body, belly', od\_ambi, od\_ambe 'body', Tu

ud,aḷə, ud,aḷə, od,aḷə, Tl od,alu, ol,ḷu, Knd or'ol 'belly' ¶¶ D #586, GS 78-9 [#249] ♦ The element \*RV (found in IE and Eg) may be a second component of a *cd* (→ sx.).

**14. ? \*?ediNV** 'pater familias' (or 'owner?') > **HS:** S \*?ada-n- 'lord, pater familias' > Hb N&daḷ ʔa'd\_o-n 'lord, master', Ph ʔdn ʔado-n 'lord' (→ Gk Ἀδων-ι), Pun ʔdn id., (GkSc) λαδουν (with λ- 'to') 'to the lord', Ug ʔadn, (AkSc) ada-nu 'father', *d* Eb {Co.} a-da-na-du ʔada-ntu(m) 'signoria, padronanza', Ph, Plm ʔdt (<\*ʔadattu > S \*?ada-n-atu) 'lady' ¶ KB 12-3, KBR 12-3, HJ 15-7, A #86, OLS 9, Hnr. 104, Alb. rGUH 388-9, Co. SQF 74, DRS 9 || Eg: MKL idn 'govern; serve instead of, replace', MK idnw 'Vertreter, Verwalter' ¶ Alb. rGUH 388-9, EG I 154, Fk. 35 || **A** \*edin 'master, lord, owner' > NaT \*eḍi 'lord, host' > OT {Cl.} iḍi, [QB] ida- 'lord', Qzl {Jk.} a-zi 'Chinese emperor', Ln idi 'host' ¶ Cl. 41, Rs. W 36, 169, Rl. I 1507, ≠ ET Gl 237-241 (does not distinguish the reflexes of \*eḍi from those of \*iga- 'master, lord') || M \*ezin (< \*edin) > MM [S, HI] e3'en 'owner, lord', [IM] vnyJÀ e3'in-u- ' (of the) owner', [PP] e3'en 'ruler, master', WrM ezen, HIM ezen, Kl e3n. 'owner, lord', Dg 33'in 'lord, master, owner, king' ¶ MED 336-7, H 42, Pp. MA 436, Iw. 103, Mr. D 142, Klz. D II 128 || Tg \*edi(n-) 'husband' > Ewk, Neg 3di, Lm, Ork 3di, Ul 3di(n-), Nn 33'i id., Orc 3di 'male animal, husband' ¶ STM II 437-8 ¶¶ Pp. VG 53, 105, 137, 157, Rm. EAS I 57, ADb. SR-D 12, ADb. KL 15, DQA #414 (A \*eḍv 'host, husband') || ?? **IE:** NaIE \*edhno- ('**u** clan?') or *cd* \*sw-edhno- ('**u**one's own clan') > Gk ἑῷvoḷ 'a number of people accustomed to live together; nation' → ὀῷveḷoḷ 'foreign, strange' (← 'belonging to a different ἑῷvoḷ'); Gk ἑῷvoḷ → Cpt 2eḷnoc het<sup>h</sup>nos, Arm heḷanos het<sup>h</sup>anos 'heathen, pagan, gentile' and (in contamination with the original Gmc word) Gt haiḷno- 'heathen, pagan'; the presence of the component \*sw- is suggested by h- in the Cpt and Arm loans (pointing to an initial Gk h- < \*s-) ¶ F I 448-9 & Ch. 315 (both: ἑῷvoḷ *d* < IE \*swe- 'one's own'), Ch. GH I 150 (on the word-initial ɸ-; \*ἑῷvoḷ > ἑῷvoḷ: "l'esprit rude a disparu par dissimilation d'aspiration"), Fs. 237-8 ♦ AD NM #115 (HS, A), **u** Vv. AEN 9-10 (*unc.*: M **u** T \*eḍi), **u** S SN 154 (A \*?edi), **u** S CNM 12 (N \*?edi, because M and Tg \*-nV is a nominal sx. [in my opinion, the original \*-nV was reinterpreted in A as a sx.]; ++ NrCs), Yuliya Krivoruchko [p. c. 1999] (suggested the Gk cognate).

**15. ?? <sub>2</sub> L/ \*?aga** 'uncle, elder person' > **HS:** C \*?ag- 'maternal uncle' > Ag {Ap.} \*?ag- id. > Bln ʔag, Xm 3g, Km ag, Aw ag, -a'ga || SC: Asa {Fl.} ʔagok 'mother's brother' ¶ Ap. AV 1 || **A:** NaT \*aḷ:ga 'elder brother, uncle' > Tkm a-ya, VTt aya id., CrTt, Kr, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg aya, Uz aya 'elder brother', Osm {Rh.} aya 'eldest paternal uncle; lord, master' and a title of respect, Tk ag'a 'chief, patron', Az aya 'mister' (word of address), 'landlord', Xk aya 'grandfather'; → MM [LM] {Pp.} ('a' aya 'brother', [IM] {Pp.} ('a' aya 'elder brother, lord' ¶ The long a- in Tkm (and pT?) is puzzling (is due to its specific syntactic function and intonation as an address word?) ¶ ET Gl 70-1, TL 291-2, TkR 19, Bu. I 60-1, Rh. 146, Pp. L II 1256, Pp. MA 432 || M \*aga 'lady, dame' > WrM aga, HIM araa id.; \*agaḷyi 'paternal uncle' > MMgl {Iw.} aya-i, Ord {Ms.} ag\_a- id. ¶ MED 12, Iw. 84, Ms. O 6.

¶+ **15a. ?? <sub>2</sub> \*?egVRV** 'bone of the leg' > **HS:** S ʔigVḷr- > Ar SL {MS} ʔiz'er, {Bart.} ʔəz'er, Ar D ʔig'r, Gz ʔəgr 'foot' ¶ DRS 7, MiK I 9 [#1.7], Lb. 63 || **A:** M \*exerceg (unless it is \*qexerceg) > WrM egerceg, HIM ɣɣɣɣɣɣ 'femoral bone; hip joint' ¶ MED 298 ||

**16. ??? \*?a'h'a** 'thing(s)', collective pc. of inanimate (**u**'de ça') > **HS** \*mi ʔaha 'what thing?' (with \*mi 'what? < N \*mi id.) > CS \*mah 'what?' > Ug mVh ~ mV, Hb ma +gmc. 'what?', Ph mu (< \*ma- < \*mah), OA, Nb, Plm mh, JA, Sr E ma- (< \*mah), Ar mah ~ ma- 'what?', OAk, Ak fOB/OA ma- 'what?, why?' (expressing doubt \ disbelief) ¶ KB 522-3, BL H 263, OLS 266, HJ 599ff., Sl. 643-4, DM 234, Ln. 3016, L G 323, Sd. 570, CAD X/1 1-4, Br. G I 326-7 [§ 110] || B \*maH ({Pr.} \*ma-) 'what?' > Tw, Gh,

Shl ma, Tmz ma, may, mayd id., Wrg ma id. (used in special syntactic constructions: mai argaz i tæzrid, 'was ist der Mann, den du gesehen hast?', lit. 'quoi ce l'homme ce tu a vu?') ¶ Pr. M I-III 216-8, Fc. 1141, Nh. 19, Ds. 237, MT 393, Dlh. Ou 181 || EC {AD} \*mah<sub>1a</sub>, {Ss.} \*ma? 'what?' (either from HS \*mi?aha or a new *cd*, like Sml maha<sup>-</sup> 'what' < ma waha<sup>-</sup>) > Arr me'h, me, HEC {Hd.} \*maha > Kmb ma?a ~ maha, Hd maha, Sd ma<sup>-</sup>, ma, Alb ma ¶ Ss. B 146, Hw. A 233, 384, Hd. 167 || ? Ch: WCh: Sha ma<sup>-</sup>, ma<sup>-</sup> 'what?' || CCh: Msg ma<sup>-</sup> 'what?' || ECh: Ke ma<sup>-</sup> in ma<sup>-</sup> mo<sup>-</sup> 'what?' (where mo<sup>-</sup> is a general marker of question, that is used in all interr. sentences), EDng ma<sup>-</sup>, Jg me<sup>-</sup>, Bdy ma<sup>-</sup>, Mkl mo<sup>-</sup>~mo<sup>-</sup>, Mgm me<sup>-</sup>~me<sup>-</sup> 'what?' ¶ J LM 141, J J 115, J R 259, JA LM 161, Eb. 78, Fd. 108, AlJ 96; the Ch word belongs here unless its form (its vw.) is explainable as going back to N \*mi without additions || S \*a<sup>-</sup>, ending of pl. of f. pl. of adjectives (pred. case): Ak ; in the nom., acc. and gen. (substantive cases) the pl. form of fem. and many inanimate nouns has an ending \*-a<sup>-</sup>-t-u(m) [nom.] and \*-a<sup>-</sup>-t-i(m) [acc., gen.] [e.g. BHb t&lil4 le'lo<sup>-</sup>t\_ 'nights', Ak lila<sup>-</sup>tum nom. / lila<sup>-</sup>tum acc./gen.] (\*a<sup>-</sup> + substantivizing morpheme \*-t- + case endings \*-u and \*-i + [in st. det. → later st. abs.] a determiner ending (of sg.!) \*-m; this form has the case ending and the determiner of sg. and is treated as sg. in the sentence (the verbal predicate in Ar id f. sg.), which suggests that it was not an etymological pl., but rather a form of collectiveness || S: px. \*a- in nomina collectiva (→ pl.): the Ar patterns ?a12a<sup>-</sup>3- (?aqda<sup>-</sup>m- 'footsteps' <d sg. qadam-, ?asma<sup>-</sup>?- 'names' <d ?ism- 'name', ?abwa<sup>-</sup>b- 'doors' <d ba<sup>-</sup>b- 'door') and ?a12u3- (?anfus- 'souls' <d nafs- 'soul', ?awg<sup>-</sup>uh- 'faces' <d wag<sup>-</sup>h- 'face') [both patterns form mostly pl. of inanimate nouns, treated as syntactical singular, i.e. requiring a sf. f. form of the verba; predicate], Gz patterns ?a12a<sup>-</sup>3 (?azna<sup>-</sup>b 'tails' <d zanab, ?adba<sup>-</sup>r 'mountains' <d darb), ?a12u<sup>-</sup>3 (?ahgu<sup>-</sup>r 'cities, towns' <d hagar, ?ahk<sup>-</sup>u1 'fields' <d huk1), ?a12a3 (?as<sup>-</sup>həl 'cups' <d s<sup>-</sup>a<sup>-</sup>hl [s<sup>-</sup>a<sup>-</sup>hl], ?abk<sup>-</sup>əl 'mules' <d bak1), OSA pattern ?123 (?hgr 'cities' <d hgr) ¶ Wright 209-11, Grande V 410, GBauer 56 || IE \*-h<sub>o</sub> > \*-ə, ending of pl. ntr. (nom./acc.) > OI -i (asti 'bones'), Av -i (na<sup>-</sup>mā<sup>-</sup>ni 'names'), Gk τετταρ-α 'four' (pl. ntr.), OI ca'tva<sup>-</sup>r-i id.; in the paradigm of thematic nouns \*-eh [= \*eA<sub>1</sub>] (the stem-final vw.\*-e + pl. ntr. ending \*-h = A<sub>1</sub>) yields: (1) NaIE \*-a<sup>-</sup>, e.g. \*yu<sup>-</sup>ga<sup>-</sup> pl. ntr. (nom./acc.) 'yokes' > Vd yu<sup>-</sup>ga<sup>-</sup>, Gk ζυγα<sup>-</sup>, L iuga, Gt juka, OCS iga ¶ Brg. KVG 393 || AnIE \*-a id. > Ht, Lw, Lc, Ld -a ¶ Mer. SGA 275, 284-5 || U: FU \*ma 'what?' (< N \*mi ?a'h'a 'what thing[s]?') > Chr: L mo mo, Uf/B mo, H ma 'what?' : Prm: Vt ma ma 'what?' (cf. N \*mi 'what?') || ? A \*ma (< N \*mi ?a'h'a 'what?') > Chv ma 'what?' (see N \*mi 'what?') || D \*-a, inanim. pl. ending in pronouns of the 3rd person > Ml iv-a 'they', CITm -e- (< \*-a) in av-e-y, uv-e-y, iv-e-y 'they' (inanim. pl. of pronouns); acc. to An. SG 265, Tm avey goes back to \*av-a with an additional -y (due to hypercorrection) ¶ An. SG 262-3, 265 ♦ Another possible reflex of the N word is Eg fOK iχ.t 'thing', Eg MK/NK, DEg iχ 'what?' > Cpt {Vc.} \*o<sup>-</sup>χe > Cpt: Sd/B auy as<sup>-</sup>, F ey es<sup>-</sup>, A eχ eχ<sub>2</sub> 'what?' (EG I 123-4, Fk. 29, Er. 41, Vc. 20), that may alternatively go back to \*\*?VqV (prn.\noun of plurality) < 'thing(s)' [q.v.]. The identity of the N lr. is unknown. CS \*mah and EC \*ma? suggest \*-h-, NaIE \*-ə--a<sup>-</sup> (with zero reflex of the lr. in AnIE) suggest some "weak lr." (\*?, \*ɣ, \*h ?), while Eg iχ (if it belongs here) suggests \*-q- ♦ The comparison is doubtful.

17. ?<sub>2</sub> \*?a'kE 'to chase, drive away, take away' ('гнать, уgnать, забрать') > IE: NaIE \*ag<sup>-</sup> ( {EI} \*h<sub>2</sub>eg<sup>-</sup> ) 'drive' ('treiben, führen, in Bewegung setzen') > OI 'ajati 'drives (treibt)', Av azaiti 'treibt, führt weg' || Arm acen ac-em 'I carry, fetch, bring' ( {EI} 'I lead') || Gk αγω 'I lead' || L ag-o / ag-e<sup>-</sup>re 'drive' (vt.), 'do, act', 'behave', Osc ACVM 'agere', ACTVD 'agito' || OW agit 'goes', W, Crn, OBr, MBr a (\*aget) 'goes' || pTc {Ad.} \*a<sup>-</sup>k- > Tc A/B {Ad.} a<sup>-</sup>k- 'lead, guide, drive' ¶ P 4-5, EI 170, M K I

23, F I 18, WH I 23-4, Bc. G 311, Slt. 75-6, Flr. 50, Wn. 158, Ad. 36, Ad. H 18 || **HS**: S \*<sup>o</sup>/ʔkk > Ar ʔʔkk (ip. -ʔuk-) 'propulit, pressit' ¶ Fr. I 45.

**18. \*ʔa''ka** 'be evil, hate' > **HS**: WS \*ʔʔkk-\*/ʔʔky v. 'hate, be evil' > Sr ʔakk-ət-a- 'wrath, anger', Ar ʔakk-at- 'hatred', Gz ʔʔky G (js. yəʔkay) 'be evil, bad, wicked'; EthS ʔ- Bln {R} ekay 'evil' ¶ L G 17, Br. 16, BK I 42, DRS 18 || C: amb Bj {R} aka 'Unheil, Verderben, Widerwertiges' (unless ʔ- Ar éKWà ʔakka 'hatred') ¶ R WBd. 12 || **IE** \*hag- (or \*ʔag-?), \*h<sub>1</sub>ʔagos ({EI} \*h<sub>2</sub>e<sup>-</sup>gos / gen. \*h<sub>2</sub>eges-os) 'shame' > OI 'a<sup>-</sup>gas- 'guilt, sin', (?) Gk ᾠγοῖ ~ ᾠγοῖ 'curse', {EI} 'guilt, pollution' || NLG a<sup>-</sup>ken, AS acan 'to ache', ece 'pain, ache', NE ache ¶ P 8, EI 509, M K I 70, F I 14, WP I 115, ≠ Ch. 13 (interprets ᾠγοῖ as 'consécration' and believes that it is connected with ᾠγοῖ 'saint'), Ho. 2, 87 || **U**: FU (in BF only) \*a''k<sub>1</sub>k<sub>2</sub>ja'' > F a''ka'' 'anger, wrath, malice', Krl a''ka'' id. ¶ SK 1871, SSA III 497 || **A**: Tg \*eke 'evil' > WrMc exe, Mc Sb зэз 'evil (зло, порок)', 'bad (злой, худой)', WrMc екcu, еhecу, Mc Sb зэззз'і 'slander', Jrc {Md.} exe-be acc. 'bad', Nn Nh/KU зхэлз 'bad (плохой, худой)', зхэnc'у- vt. 'slander, defame (so.)' ¶ STM II 444, Kiy. 116, [#341], Md. ChF 133 || Blz. (← Kpl.) adduces here Ko ak<sup>h</sup>ata 'böse sein', which is valid unless it is from OChn a<sup>h</sup>k 'evil' ¶ ¶ ÷ (≠φ) T \*egsu<sup>-</sup> 'decrease, be insufficient', M \*egel- 'low, inaducated, not very good' and pJ \*a<sup>h</sup>k- 'be bored, satiated' ¶ ¶ ≠ DQA #420 (A \*e<sup>-</sup>ka<sup>o</sup> 'bad, weak': Tg + *unc.* σ: the above T, M and J stems) ♦ Cf. Blz. SNE I #9 (IE, U, Ko).

**19. \*ʔ'o'ke** (= \*ʔ'o'ku'?) 'self' (→ 'myself') > **HS**: [1] \*-a<sub>1</sub>:ku 'I' (postnom. subject marker of 1s) > S \*-a<sup>-</sup>ku id. > Ak -a<sup>-</sup>ku id. (gas<sup>-</sup>r-a<sup>-</sup>ku 'I am strong'), WS \*-ku [sx. of 1s in the new pf. of the verb ← predicative deverbal adj.] > Gz -ku<sup>-</sup>, OSA -k id., Mh, Jb, Sq -k id. (Mh kə'təbk, Jb, Sq kə'təbk 'I wrote'), Hrs -ək id. (kə'təbək 'I wrote'), Ar NY K -ku<sup>ḏ</sup> -k<sup>w</sup> ḏ -k id. ¶ Sd. G § 75, Jo. MSA 16, Bns. NJ I 114-7 [maps 65, 66] || Eg -kw ~ -ky 'I' in stative [= old perfective] (irx.kw ~ irx.ky 'I know') ¶ Lpr. 65-6 || LbB: B {Pr.} \*-ay, verbal sx. of 1s > Tw {Pr.} -a<sup>-</sup>y, Kb -əy, Gd -eṣ || Gnc -EC [\*-ek], verbal ending of 1s ¶ Pr. M VII-VIII 9-16, Lf. I 292-305, AiM 176, 221 || [2] \*ʔana-a<sub>1</sub>:ku 'I' (aut. [emphatic] prn. of 1s) > S \*ʔana<sup>-</sup>ku 'I' > Ak ana<sup>-</sup>ku, Amr {G} \*ʔana<sup>-</sup>ku, Ug ʔank, (AkSc) a-na<sup>-</sup>ku ({Hnr.} [ʔana<sup>-</sup>ku<sub>1</sub>]), OCn [EA] a-nu<sup>-</sup>ki, BHb ik57na1 ʔa<sup>-</sup>no<sup>-</sup>k<sub>1</sub>, Ph/Pun ʔnk, ʔnky, Pun [Plt.] ANECH, ANEC, M<sup>b</sup> ʔnk, Yd ʔnk, ʔnky 'I' ¶ In SCn (> OCn [EA], Hb, Ph) and possibly in Yd there is a final \*-ī on the analogy of other morphological markers of 1s ¶ KB 69-70, FrdR § 110, Hnr. 293, HJ 82, OLS 39, G A 13, 50, Rai. EAT 63 || Eg ink 'I' > Cpt: Sd/B анок, A/F анак 'I' ¶ EG I 101, Vc. 12 || B {Pr.} \*ənak<sup>w</sup> 'I' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} nək (na<sup>-</sup>k) / nəkku, Ah {Fc.} nək, Gh {Nh.} nək / nək<sup>h</sup>unān, Kb nəṣṣ {nək<sup>-</sup>k<sup>-</sup>} / nəṣṣini, Tmz nəkk / nəkkint / nəkkin ḏ nəc<sup>-</sup> / nəc<sup>-</sup>in, Wrg nəc<sup>-</sup> / nəc<sup>-</sup>in, Mz nəc<sup>-</sup> / nəc<sup>-</sup>i / nəc<sup>-</sup>in, Gd nəc<sup>-</sup> / nəc<sup>-</sup>ən ¶ Pr. M I-III 179, AiM 215, Dl. 562, Fc. 1364, Nh. 26, MT 485, 874, Dlh. Ou 226, Dlh. M 140-1, Lf. I 349 || **IE** \*ʔeg<sup>h</sup>v-m / \*ʔeg<sup>h</sup>oh 'I' nom. > NaIE \*eg<sup>h</sup>o<sup>-</sup> ~ \*eg<sup>h</sup>o(m) > OI a<sup>h</sup>am, Av azəm (~ GAv h.l. azə), OPrs adam || Gk ἑγω<sup>-</sup>, ἑγω<sup>-</sup>v || L ego<sup>-</sup> || Vnt eχo || Gmc \*ik ~ \*īk; \*ik > Gt ik, OHG ih (> NHG ich), OSx ic, ON ek; Gmc \*īk > AS īc (> NE [ai<sub>1</sub>]) || Arm es es || Olt es<sup>-</sup>, Lt as<sup>-</sup>, Ltv es, Pru as<sup>1</sup> pSl \*jaz<sup>-</sup> (< {Fort.} \*je<sup>-</sup>z<sup>-</sup> or {Brg.} \*e<sup>-</sup>z<sup>-</sup>) - (> ?) \*az<sup>-</sup> 'I' (< IE \*e<sup>-</sup>g<sup>h</sup>(H<sub>1</sub>om) > OCS азъ азъ, h.l. [Mar.] азъ еъъ, RChS, OR азъ азъ ~ азъ jazъ ~ аз ja, Blg аз, Δ 'jaze, ja, McdS jas, SCR ja<sup>-</sup>, SCR Δ, Slv ja<sup>-</sup>z, OCz, OP jaz, Cz ja<sup>-</sup>, Slk, Hls, Lls, P ja, R, Blr, Ukr 1 || Ht uk, ugga (u due to the infl. of ammuk acc. 'me') ¶ P 291, Bks. 207-8 (IE \*h<sub>1</sub>eg<sup>h</sup>Hom ~ \*h<sub>1</sub>eg<sup>h</sup>eoH), EI 454 (\*h<sub>1</sub>eg<sup>h</sup>, \*h<sub>1</sub>e<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>om), F I 441, WH I 395-6, Frn. 18, BD GVG<sup>1</sup> II 801, Fort. L 224ff., StSS 67, Bern. I 35, ESSJ I 100-3 (argues for the antiquity of Sl \*azъ), ESISJ-SGZ II 73-4, Ts. W 95, Mer. SGA 316, Rsk. 66 ¶ ¶ IE \*ʔeg<sup>h</sup>v- / \*ʔeg<sup>h</sup>oh is likely to go back to N \*ʔ'o'ke hoyV 'myself' [\*ʔ'o'ke 'self' + \*hoyV (= \*hoyV?) 'my']; NAIE \*-m in \*ʔeg<sup>h</sup>v-m may reflect either N \*mi 'I' or \*ma (accus. marker), cp. \*twe-m 'thou' || **A**: T \*ok ~ \*o<sup>-</sup>k 'oneself, just X' > OT oq (if attached to back-

vowel words) / oːk (with front-vw. words), enclitic pc. with pronouns or nouns, which means 'X ('I', 'he', etc.) and no other' (baːn oːk 'I and no one else', oːzuːm oːk 'I myself', ol ok oːt teŋri 'that same Fire God'), OT U, XwT XIV -oq / -oːk, Yk {Rm.} -oχ 'eben, selbst', Chg ≥xv oq 'exactly', Qrg {Jud.} oq (pc. of delimitation: oːzum oq 'I myself, I and nobody else'), Nog oq, VTt, Bsh uq, Xk oχ id., Alt oq 'же' (ol oq 'он же', anayip oq aytti 'он сказал так же'), Chv {Rs.} -x, -ax, -ьx, -xa, -хь (pc. of delimitation) ¶ Cl. 76, Rs. W 359, ET Gl 438-9, Rs. MTS 30-40, 248, Jud. 564, BT 115 || ? M \*kuː / \*guː 'precisely, just [this\that]' (pc. of delimitation of the preceding word) [× N \*kːuː] (dem. prn.) × probably N \*ko (adversative-thematic and reminding pc. 'же, ведь') > MM [HI] guː (Ms.: "particule corroborative") (e.g. {Lew.} neyide-guː 'justement ensemble', teŋiri-guː 'le Ciel', i.e. ʔ'the Heaven [God] himself', inu-guː 'his', i.e. {AD} 'justement de lui'), [S] ku ~ gu = kuː, guː id. (mun ku tede 'eben jene', lit. 'he-precisely those'), WrM kuː, HIM κ\*\* (MED: "particle emphasizing the preceding word"): WrM tere kuː 'the same' (tere means 'that'), WrO {Krg.} kuː 'precisely, just this' ¶ The variation \*kuː / \*guː seems to have been positional (intervoc. N \*-k- > M \*-g-) ¶ H 105, Ms. H 57, Lew. II 37-8, MED 494, Krg. 745 II E: MEI -k 'I' (apposition, subject of a subordinate predicate): sunki-k 'I the king', huttan-k 'faciens ego' → 'me faciente', hutta-k 'I made' ¶ Rnr. EL 77, 84-5, 94-5, 99-105, Dk. JDPA 100-5 ♦ AD PP 65-71, 82-3, notes 1, 8, 38 (IE, HS, El, ChK) ♦ The HS reflexes admit either N \*ʔ- or \*h-, while the lack of preservation of the N vowel quality in IE suggests an IE \*ʔ- (a zero-lr.) and hence a N \*ʔ- ♦ In IE, HS and El the N "corroborative pc." was confined to 1s (IE \*egˀHoˀ < N \*ʔoˀkE hoyV 'myself'), while in A it joined different words (pronouns, nouns, adverbs) ♦ This etymon may be identical with N \*oˀku 'head' (q.v.). In this case we reconstruct \*ʔoˀkuː 'head' → 'self' [=σ: G tav-'head' → '(one)self', Hs kaˀiː 'head' → 'self' (niˀ daˀ kaˀiː-na 'I myself'), Gz rəʔ(ə)s 'head' → (+ppa.) 'self', Q {R} aχwˀeˀ, aweˀ 'head' → 'oneself'] ♦ ¶ Gr. I 77-81 ("pronoun base GE" in IE, CK + *err.* in Hg).

**20.** ʔʔ₂ \*ʔoˀkːXLV 'ε to eat' > HS: S \*ʔʔkl (*G* prm. \*ʔʔkul~\*ʔkal) v. 'eat' > OCn ʔʔkl, Hb ʔʔkl *G*, ip. 3m lk2a7i yoˀkːal (< \*ya-ʔkal-u), Ph, Ug ʔʔkl, BA ʔʔkl *G*, ip. 3m lk8ai\$ yeˀkːul (< \*yi-ʔkulu), Sr ʔʔkl *G* (ip. 3m neʔkːuˀl, Sr W neʔkul ðwˀuˀne), Ar ʔʔkl *G* (ip. 3m ya-ʔkul-u, imv. kul), Ak akaˀlu *G* inf. 'eat', p. 3m ikul (< \*yi-ʔkul); *d* \*ʔʔukːVl- 'food' > Hb ʔʔokːel, Ar ʔʔukːl id., Gz ʔʔakːel 'food, bread, corn', Sb ʔʔkl 'grain crops, corn', 'meal', Ak uklu 'Verpflegung'; *d* \*ʔʔakːVl- > Ar ʔʔakːl 'eating' (or ʔʔakul- 'food'), Ak ak(a)l- 'bread'; Eb {Krb.} ʔʔakalum 'to eat', 'food' (or 'bread') ¶ KB 44-45, KBR 46-7, OLS 21, Sd. 26-7, 1406, BK I 43, Fr. I 46-7, L G 15, BGMR 4, DRS 18, Krb. EG 4, 6II A: Tg: Lm oqːal- v. 'eat (berries)' ¶ STM II 9.

**21.** LI \*ʔaKːa 'grandfather, elder relative' > HS: Eg BD ʔkː 'alt, bejahrt' ({Tk.}: is to be read ʔk) ¶ EG I 34, Tk. SCC 97 || C: [1] EC {Ss.} \*ʔaːkk- 'grandfather, grandmother' > Kns aːkk-a, Gdl ahh-ayya, Gwd, Gln ʔakk-awo, Brj aːkk-i, akk-eˀhano 'grandfather', Bs akk-o, Or {Bl.}, Or B/O {Sr.} akk-oˀ, Gdl ahh-ot, Brj aːkːk-oˀ 'grandmother', Hd aːkk-o 'mother's father', aːkk-eˀ 'mother's mother', Gln ʔajj-aye 'great-grandmother', Brj aːkk-inga lubb-oˀ 'grandparents' (lit. 'grandparent's soul') :: SC: Irq/Grw {E} aːko 'old man', {MQK} ʔaːko id., 'granfather', Asa akuya 'grandparent' (in address) || [2] EC \*ʔakaːk- 'grandfather' > Or {Bl.}, Or S {Sr.} akaːkuˀ, Or {Grg.} akaːkayyuˀ id., Kns akaːko 'old man', ? Bj ahaˀhacˀcˀi 'mother's father' ¶ Ss. B 21, Bl. 112, Hd. 72, E SC 377, MQK 10, Fl. AA 11, Ap. AV 1, Grg. 13, Brl. 13, Sr. 261-3 ¶¶ Tk. I 83, Tk. SCC 97 [#27.7] II A: M \*aqa 'elder brother, elder person' > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} aqa 'elder brother', [LM] {Pp.} 'Q' aqa id. in vDu 'Q' aqa duˀˀ 'brother(s)' (lit. 'elder brother [&] younger sibling') (duˀˀ < diyuˀˀ 'younger sibling'), WrM aqa 'elder brother; elder, senior, older', Ord, Brt aχa, WrO aχa, Dg {T} akːaˀ ~ aga, Mnr H {SM} aq\_a ~ a\_g\_a 'elder brother', {T} a\_ga 'father's younger brother', Kl ax aχː 'elder brother; elder', {Rm.} aχ\_a id., 'uncle'; ↗ WrM {Kow.}

aqai, WrO aḡai 'father, daddy, papa', aḡaḡi 'elder, elder brother', Kl {Rm.} aḡaḡ 'brother' (address), Brt ахай, Ba {T} age 'elder brother'; M \*aqaḡyi 'father's sister' (cd with the reflex of N \*ʔaḡyV 'mother') > MM {HI} {Ms.} aqai id., WrM aqai, HIM ахай 'madam' (respectful term used to address a married woman), Ord aḡaḡ ([ε] a title of respect for women) ¶ Ms. H 36, Pp. L II 1256 & III 57, MED 59-60, Kow. 22, KRS 56-7, KW 3, Ms. O 8-9, Krg. 8, Chr. 65, SM 2, T 313, T DgJ 118-9, T BJ 133 || NaT \*aka 'elder brother, elder relative' > Alt, SY, Ln aqa, Tv aqı 'elder brother', ?? Qrg ake and Qq aḡke 'father', Qrg ake, ET, Ln, Alt aqa, Tv aqı - a respective address word for an elder man ¶ ET Gl 121-2 || Tg \*aka, \*akay 'elder brother, father's\mother's younger brother' > Ewk akaḡ, akaḡy, akī, Lm aqa, Neg aga, axa, axay, axıḡ, axıḡy, Sln axıḡ, Nn aḡg- - aḡq- - aḡḡ- (+ppa.), aga (form of address), WrMc agu, Mc Sb aku 'elder brother', Orc aka, aḡki, Ud {Kom.} agaḡ, Ul, Ork ag- - aḡq- - aḡḡ- (+ ppa.) id., 'father's younger brother' ¶ STM I 23-4, Krm. 203 ¶¶ S AJ 280 [#380] II D: (att. in SCD) \*akka > Prj akka, Gnd B {Tr.} akkoḡ, Gnd ChM {BE ← LuS} akko, Png ako 'mother's father', Kui ake, Ku akku 'grandfather' ¶ D #24.

23. \*ʔʔalVʔE (= \*halVʔE?) 'on the other side' > HS: C: SC: Irq {Fl., E} alu 'behind, after', {MQK} ʔalu 'behind, reverse', {Wd.} alu 'back (side), reverse (side)', Alg {E} alu 'behind', Brn {E} aluḡ 'after, behind, in back of', Kz {E} alale 'afterwards' ¶ E SC 315-6 s.v. SC \*ʔaḡla 'behind, after', Wd. ##269, 746, MQK 13, cp. AD SF 222 || ? CS \*halVʔ-(asḡ), \*la 'halVʔiḡ 'further, onward, thither' (with directive case ending \*-asḡ or with preposition \*la 'to') (× N \*halV 'this', q.v.) > Hb eaḡl6Eeḡ 'haḡl6ʔ-aḡ id., JA alḡl6l6, Nlḡl6l6 l6-hallaḡ, l6-hallaḡ id., Sr Ḡhaḡ l6-hal 'afar, beyond, thenceforth', Ar laEa halaḡ 'forward, on!', but we must keep in mind a possible infl. (or even alt. et.) of deictic particles and pronouns, cp. CS \*hal 'this' [> Ug hl, (AkSc) al 'this', Ar df. art. ʔal-] ¶ KB 235, KBR 245, BDB #1973, PS 1009, OLS 164 II ʔσ IE \*ʔal-, \*ʔol- 'on\from the other side, {P} darüber hinaus' ({EI} \*hælnos 'beyond') [× NaIE \*ol- 'that (remote)' < N \*ʔolV 'that (visible)'] > Luls 'on the other side', olle, ollī 'tunc' :: Olr al, all 'beyond', Gl alla 'other', allos 'second' and allo- in the ethnonym Allo-broges (allo- + broga 'pays?'), Brtt {RE} \*allos 'other' > Br all id., W all-tud 'exile', d : OBr alall, allall, arall, MBr, Br, MW, W arall, Crn aral 'other' :: OI aḡraḡd 'aus der Ferne', 'aran, a 'fern, fremd' ] NaIE \*al-i-o-s 'other' [{EI} IE \*hæli-o-s] (× N \*halV 'this') > OIr aile '(an)other', MW eil, W ail, OBr, Br eil 'second', Gl ALLOS, ALOS 'second', ALLA 'other' :: L alius id., Osc ALLO 'alia' :: Gk ἄλλος '(an)other' :: Arm ajl ayl id. :: Gt aljis\* id., aljar 'answerswo', ON elliga(r) 'sonst', ellar, ella id., 'otherwise', AS elles, OHG alles, elles 'otherwise', NHG als ] Another derivate: L alter 'the other from two', Osc ALTTRAM 'alteram'; Gt alla 'aluid', allos 'the second one' ] pSl \*olni (< IE \*oal-nei-) 'last year' > ChS лани lani, Blg олани, Cz loni, P loni, R лони(с), SCr, Slv laḡni ¶ P 24-6, EI 64, 411, Brg. D 107, F I 76-7, , EWA I 162-3, Vn. A 31-2, 57-8, 61, RE 117, Flr. 155, Hm. 239, YGM-1 11, Billy 6-7, WH I 30-3, Billy 6-7, 35, Slr. 270, Fs. 39, Vr. 100-1, Ma. CS 275, Glh. 368 ¶ Here, as in S, there may be infl. of deictic and other dem. elements II U: FU (att. in Ugr) \*aḡIV, Ugr \*aḡIḡVḡ-mV 'the other side' > pObU {Ht.} \*aḡI-, \*aḡIḡm > pVg \*aḡI- > Vg LK ḡIḡwḡ (lative case) 'hinüber, auf die andere Seite des Wassers', pVg \*aḡIḡm > (in cds ) Vg: T aḡIḡm, LK/UK ḡIḡIḡm, P/LL ḡIḡIḡm-, Ss aḡIḡm- 'on the other side of...' (e.g., Vg: T aḡIḡmpaḡIḡt, LK ḡIḡIḡmpḡIḡt, Ss aḡIḡmpaḡIḡt 'hinter, auf der anderen Seite [des Wassers]', P aḡIḡmpaḡIḡt 'das jenseitige Ufer'); pOs \*aḡIḡm- > Os: Y aḡIḡm, Os: D/K/Kr aḡIḡm 'the other (side)', D/Kr aḡIḡm-pelāk 'the other side of a river\lake'; Hg Δ elv, eluḡ, el 'jenseitige Gegend', postposition elveḡ, elvett 'on the other side', elvoḡI 'from the other side' ¶ UEW 836, Ht. 125 [#19], Stn. D 78, MF 150 II A \*aḡIḡl- 'on the other side, across' > M \*alu-s 'on the other side, across' > MM [S] alus id., WrM alus, HIM als id., 'farther, beyond; more than', Kl алс als. 'at some distance', (with gen.) 'across, over', {Rm.} 'über,

auf der anderen Seite' → Yk olus-alis 'extremely, very much, more', Qzq алъс alis 'distant, far' ¶ H 6, MED 33, Klz. MJ 16, KRS 36, KW 8, MM 31 || Tg: WrMcaldangga 'far, distant; from a distance (издали)', ? Mc Sb ?aləduŋə 'queer, unusual, weird' ¶ Hr. 33-4, Z 39-40, Y #2560 || ?σ pJ {S} \*asu 'steep bank, precipice' > OJ asu (azu) id. ¶ S QJ #1203 ¶ d: A \*a'-í'a- (< \*al-ya-, with compensatory lengthening due to the contraction of the cns. cluster \*-ly-?) v. 'cross (mountains)' (S AJ 197 [#259], S VL) > T \*a'l'-v. 'cross (a mountain\mountains) > OT a's'-v. 'cross, Chg as'-v. 'exceed, surpass', Tkm a's'-v. 'cross (mountains, other obstacles)', OOsM, ET, StAlt as'-, Xk as-id., v. 'overflow', Tk as-, Az, Qrg, VTt, Ln as'-, SY as-v. 'cross (mountains)', Qzq as-v. 'overflow the banks' (← v. 'cross the banks'), Qq as-v. 'overflow', ET, StAlt as'-, Xk as-v. id., 'cross (mountains)', Yk a's-v. 'cross, pass' ¶ Cl. 255, Rs. W 30, ET Gl 212-4, BT 23-4 || Tg \*ala-, \*ala-n-v. 'cross (a mountain ridge)' > Ewk Skh/Urm/Uc ala-, alan-, Ewk Ald/Z/Tp alan-, Lm O ala-, Lm Ol/B/P olən-, Neg alan-v. 'cross (a mountain ridge); Tg \*ala-n 'mountain pass, crossing of a mountain ridge' > Ewk Urm alan 'mountain pass', Lm Ol alən, Lm O alan id., 'crossing of a mountain pass' (n. act.), Nn ala 'mountain pass' ¶ STM I 27-8 ¶¶ DQA #65 [A \*a'-í'a 'cross (a mountain)'] ♦ Cf. IS MS 372 (IE \*Hel- 'over, above', A \*a'l'-v. 'cross a mountain'), ⇔ AD LRC #64 (IE \*al-~\*ol- equated with A \*olam-v. 'wade' and S \*fal- 'on, above, top') and IS I 274-5 (N \*al'Λ 'to cross a mountain' > A \*a'l'a-id., HS √\*fi v. 'cross a mountain, climb, summit', ? IE \*hel- 'from\on the other side'). Today, when it has been shown that HS \*fal- had a meaning different from IS's interpretation and has a better alt. et. (F s.v. N \*OalE 'height, top', 'to climb, go up'), we must revise the rec. formulated in IS I 274-5 ♦ If CS \*halV?- belongs here, the N rec. will be \*halV?E, but if this S is qu, we have to reconstruct a less specified \*r?alV?E,

24. \*?a"la, pc. of prohibition and categorical negation > HS: WS \*?al 'do not!', prohib. and emphatic negation > BHb la2 ?al 'do not!', 'nicht doch!' (?al bə'nī ?al-na ne'lek kul'la-nu 'Nay, my son, let us not all now go' [II Sm 13.25], Ph, Yd, OA, IA İ̇ la ?l, BA la2 ?al, Ug ?al 'do not' (prohib.), Sb ?l negation (?l ð..., ?lm, 'there is no, ~~ничего~~', ?lmn 'there is nobody who...') and prohib. pc., Gz ?al-bə- 'il n'y a pas dans\chez...': ?albəya be'ta 'non est mihi (in me) domus', Tgr, Tgy albu ?alebu 'there is not', Amh, Gft, Har, Grg al- - negation of the verb in pf., DA ?l 'no, kein' ({HJ} 'absence of'), Amh, Grg, Gft alə 'without', Sq {Jo.} ?l, {L} ?al 'not' (negation with nouns and verbs), {L} a'l... wa'l 'neither... nor', Mh {Jo.} ?l (usually ?l... la-) 'not', 'do not' (neg. and prohib.), Hrs al 'not', al... w-al 'neither... nor', Jb ?l(l) 'do not!', ?l... lə? 'not': it is not clear whether Ak ula > ul (Oak, Ak A ula, Bul 'not') (neg., but not prohibitive) has any connection with pWS \*?al or should be explained (as in Sd. 1406-7) as going back to \*wa la- 'and not' ¶ KB 46-7, JH 13, HJ 55, GB 36, 894, A #180, OLS 22-3, Bst. 47, L G 17-8, L LS 60, Jo. M 4-5, Jo. H 2, Jo. J 2, Sd. 1406-7, DRS 19 || C: Af {PH} ale-y 'no' (= 'nein'), Sa {R} 'allo- 'Nichtigkeit', allo- d\_ah 'verneinen, nein sagen' ¶ PH 38, R S II 29 || ? NrOm: Kf/Anf {C} allo, Shn {C} a'li 'non esserci' ¶ C SE IV 398 II U \*a"la > \*a"la"/\*ala-\*ela" 'do not!' (prohib.) (the variant \*ela" may be due to the infl. of the negative verb \*e- 'not to be') > BF \*a"la"/\*ala-\*ela", 2s inv. of the neg. v. ('do not') > Fa"la, a"-l, Δ ela", Krl K ela", el-, Krl A a"la", a"-l, Krl L ela-a"la"-ala, Vp ala, Vo ela", Es a"-ra, Δ a"la<sup>d</sup>ala, Lv ala-a"la"; Lp S {Hs.} aalie- (inv. of the neg. v.), N {N} ale~ a"le~ (2s inv. of the neg. v.), Lp L e"le-id.; Er il'a-il'ak id. (2p il'a-do) ¶ pObU \*a"-l (- \*\*w-Vl) 'do not!' (prohib.) > Vg: 1) pVg \*a"l > Vg Ta"lid., 2) i pVg \*\*wVl > Vg: K wil, P (w)ul, N ul id. (the origin of \*w- remains obscure); pOs \*a"l id. > Os: V/Vy a"l, Ty/Y a"l, D a"t<sup>d</sup>ot, Nz at, Kz at, O a"l ¶ IS I 264 adduces the pPrm verb \*o"lə- (> Vt ali-v.

'forbid', Z 3l-v. 'calm, quiet, soothe', Yz o'l-v. 'forbid, calm'; Prm \*o' < FU \*a''), suggesting development (derivation?) of a lexical verb from a negation (cp. NHG *verneinen* < *dein*) || Sm: Kms ɛl-neg. v. (3s sbcj. ɛl 'is not') || pY {IN} \*3l, neg. pc. > Y: Y T {Krn.} ɛl 'does not', 'do not!' (negative and prohibitive pc.), Y K {AD} ʔa'ʔi id. (tu'del 'ʔa'ʔi s'o'gi 'he did not enter', ʔa'ʔi s'oi\_ 'la'k 'do not enter!'), K {Krn.} ɛ'e 'not', {AD} ʔa'ʔoi\_ 'is not', K/T {IN} ɛl(ə) 'do not, not' (with verbs and nouns) ¶¶ Coll. 4-5, UEW 68-70, SK 33, Hs. 146, Ht. 198 [#728], Stn. D 55-6, MK 692, KD 164, Krn. JJ 280, 284, AD YN, IN 218 ¶ D \*all-, neg. v. > Tm all- id. (1s alle\_n\_ ~ allen\_ 'I am not', 2s allay, 3m allan\_, 3m allal\_, 3m an\_r\_u, 3pn alla, etc.), Ml alla 'is not that, not thus', Kn alla, Kt ala\_ neg. v. (for all persons), Td alos\_y 'except' (lit. 'not being'), Gnd hal(le\_)-haille\_, Mlt -l- neg. morpheme, Brh all- neg. v. (in past tenses), ala, alava\_ 'certainly not, not a bit of it'; IS assumes that the latter form may represent a trace of the former meaning of "categoric negation" ¶¶ D #234, Stv. IDL 24 ♦ Cf. IS I 263-4 [S, C, Ch, U, D + *unc.* : G ar(a) 'no, not', S \*√lʔ (i.e. \*la\_) 'not' (actually from N \*La\_ʔi\_yV – \*Lay\_iʔiV 'not; to disappear', q.v. ffd.) and M \*u'li 'not'. It is tempting to unite M \*u'li (Pp. IM 288-91), Ak ul(a) 'not' and pVg \*\*wVl 'do not!' (> Vg: Nul, P(w)ul, etc.) as going back to a combination of some (conjunctive?) \*w-element (cognate to S \*wa 'and') with the negation \*ʔa'la or \*La\_ʔi\_yV – \*Lay\_iʔiV; cf. also Gr. I 214-7 ("negative E/ELE", "ELE" being supposed by him in U, M, ChK, EA, Ht).

**25. \*ʔelV 'clan, tribe' (→ 'all', prn. of plurality) > HS:** S \*ʔa'l- 'clan, family' > Nbt ʔl 'family, clan, tribe', Ar ʔa'l- 'family, relatives', Ak a'l-u(m) 'village, city' ¶ JH 13, HJ 55, Fr. I 70-1, CAD I/2 379-88 ¶ WS \*ʔil(l)ay 'these' (and possibly \*ʔul(l)... 'those') [× N \*L\_A analytical (> synthetical) marker of collectivity, q.v. (or \*ʔV\_L\_A, dem. prn. of collectivity) × sequences \*ʔle\_L\_A and \*ʔu\_L\_A (with the deictic pronouns \*ʔi (or \*ʔe') and \*ʔu, q.v.)] > BHb, BA ɛl'3a4 'ʔelle\_ ~ la4 'ʔel, BHb (GkSc) ελλε, ελη, Ph ʔl, Pun [Poen.] lLY, OA ʔl, ʔln, BA ʔille\_n 'these', ʔille\_k\_ 'those', IA ʔlh 'these', Ar Δ ʔila\_ id., Sb m. pl. ʔln, f. pl. ʔlt, Sq {L} ɛlhə, ɛl'hena 'these', ɛl'hegən 'those'; WS \*ʔill-u\_ m. pl., \*ʔill-a\_ m. pl. (with the endings \*-u\_ m. pl. and \*-a\_ f. pl.) > Ph ʔlw, MHb [BS] vlia ʔylw, MHb ul'a4 'ʔellu\_ 'these', Gz ʔəll-u\_ 'these' m. pl., ʔəll-a\_ f. pl.; Ar {Br.} iLv" ʔwly ʔula\_ 'ii' (dem. prn. with neutral deixis), Ar ha\_ʔula\_ʔi 'these', ʔula\_ʔi-ka 'those', that may have the vw. u due to the infl. of S \*ʔulli- 'that' [> Ak ullu^(m) 'that' m. sg. / ullitu(m) f. sg., ullu^tu(m) 'those' m. pl. / ullia^tu(m) f. pl.] ¶ KB 48, 50, 1666-7, BL H 261, Deg. 59, HJ 61, FrsR § 113a, Br. AG 8, 29, Fi. DB 102-3, 107, BK I 70 & II 1459, BGMR 37, GBr. JJAP 91, L G 17-8, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], DRS 19, Cer. ArJ 220 || C: ? Sa {R} a'le\_ (pl. 'a'lel) 'clan, family, tribe', Or {Th.} a'li (subj. case a'li-n) 'concittadino, compatriota, conterraneo', ? Arr ʔollah 'village, neighbours' ¶ R S II 26, Th. 16, Hw. A 343; alternatively, Sa a'le\_ may be from Ar ʔa'l-, and Or a'li may be from Ar ʔahl- 'family' ¶ IE \*ʔol- > \*ol-yo-, \*ol-no- (\*'everybody' →) 'whole, all, each' > Gt alls 'all, each, whole', ON allr, OHG al / all-, NHG, OSx all, AS eall 'all, each', NE all :: ? Clt {SB, Loth} \*olyo-s > OIr, NlR uile, W, Crn oll 'all', OW ell, yll 'each, every', Glolio- (in proper names) (Dtn. 276); but RE 78 prefers pBrtt \*sollos 'all' (> OW hol, MW holl, oll, Crn, OBr, Br holl) [< IE \*sol-no-] to pBrtt \*ollos 'all' from IE \*ol-no- :: Osc {Mul.} ALLO (FAMELO) (?) 'das ganze (Vermögen)' (not confirmed by Pln. and Bc.) :: Lt alia' i {Frn.} 'all, jeder, ganz, völlig' (alia' i vienas, alvienas 'each, everyone' [vienas 'one'], alia' i me\_tai 'every year', aliai rytas 'every morning') ¶¶ ¶ EI 64 (identifies this IE stem with {EI} \*haelno\_ 'beyond', cf. N \*ʔʔal\_ʔʔiE 'on the other side'), SB 52, Fs. 40, Flr. 213, Loth WKS I 441 & II 354, EWA I 129-30, ¶ Mn. 873 (wrongly adduces Oss I al(l)3, Oss D al(l)i 'all kind of', cf. N \*s'al\_u 'intact' and Ab. I 48), Mul. 19, Fs. 40, Vr. 7, Ho. 84, KM 13-4, ¶ Frn. 7 (denies the Lt-Gmc connection) ¶ A: T \*e'l 'tribe, people, political unit' > OT e'l {Cl.} 'a political unit organized and ruled by an independent ruler', {DTS} 'tribal league, tribe, people', MT òYÆ el 'Herrschaft, Reich', Chg, OOSm el 'country, state, people',

Tk el, Tkm il 'people (Volk), tribe', Tk il, VTt, Bsh il 'country, state (Land, Staat)', Nog, Qq el id., 'people (Volk)', Az el, ET il 'people (Volk)', Kr el id., 'people (Leute)', Qzq el 'people (Volk), inhabitants', Uz, Qrg, Alt el 'tribe, clan, people', Qmq el 'village', CrTt el, Chv i<sub>2</sub> al 'village, people' (i<sub>2</sub>-a is one of the reg. reflexes of T \*e- [acc. to Lvt. IF]), ? Yk i<sub>2</sub> al 'family; neighbour'; T b<sub>2</sub> Chr yel 'country; village' ¶ The etl. doublets in Tk (el, il) must be due to inter-Turkic loans ¶ f Rs. W 39, Cl. 121-3, DTS 168-9, ET Gl 339-43, TL 494, Jeg. 352, Fed. II 497-8 ¶ D \*ell- (\*'everybody' →) 'whole, all' > Tm ella<sub>m</sub> 'whole, all' (personal as well as impersonal), ellavarum, ella<sub>rum</sub> 'all persons', Ml ella<sub>m</sub>, ella<sub>vum</sub>, Kt, Td el, elm 'all', Kn ella 'all, everything, the whole', ellarum 'all persons', Kdg ella<sub>2</sub>, Tu -la (= -la<sub>2</sub> ?) 'all', Tl ella 'all, whole', ellaru 'all persons, all men', Klm ittar el 'both', Ku ele<sub>2</sub>e 'whole' ¶¶ D #844 ♦ K \*\*°el- [> MG xvii el-i 'country', as well as Gel-i 'Nomaden-\Hirten-volk', G T el-i id. (Chx. 38, DCh. 490, Qub. II 434)] is a doubtful cognate, since it may be a Turkish loan (that is highly plausible in the light of its meaning); IS I 268 (with a query): OG er- 'people, army' (> Ger- 'people') < N \*?elA (i.e. \*?el<sub>2</sub>V), which is untenable since G -r- is not a reg. reflex of N \*-l- or \*-l<sub>2</sub>- [¶♦ Hardly here (⇔ C)op IU I-1974 19 [#2], Blz. LB) U \*ulV(-yV) 'viel, groß' ¶♦ IS I 267-8 includes S \*?a<sub>2</sub>l-, T \*e<sub>2</sub>l- and the doubtful K \*er-, i<sub>2</sub>el- into the etl. entry \*?elA 'to live' [untenable, because U \*ela<sub>2</sub>-v. 'live' (justifying IS's semantic rec.) does not belong together with the abovementioned S and T roots, but goes back to N \*?x<sub>2</sub>elA 'to dwell, live' (q.v.)] [¶, ▢ Blz. LB #1b (N \*Hu<sub>2</sub>V > IE, D, err. U)]].

**26. \*?EL<sub>2</sub>i 'deer' > HS:** S \*?ayl- 'ram' > BHb li<sub>2</sub>aa<sub>2</sub> ?ayil (pl. Mil<sub>2</sub>ia<sub>4</sub> ?e<sub>2</sub>-l<sub>2</sub>im), Ug ?il (= \*?e<sub>2</sub>l-u) 'ram', ? Ak (y)a<sub>2</sub>l-u id., JA {Lv.} all<sub>2</sub>i^a<sub>2</sub> ?ay<sub>2</sub>l-a<sub>2</sub> 'Schafsbock'; the ancient meaning 'deer' is preserved in the S d noun \*?ay<sub>2</sub>yal- 'deer, mountain goat' > BHb II!a<sub>2</sub> ?ay<sub>2</sub>ya<sub>2</sub>l 'fallow deer (Cervus capreolus)', Ug ?ayl, Amr {G} ?ayyalum, JA {Lv.} all<sub>2</sub>ia<sub>4</sub> ?e<sub>2</sub>-l-a<sub>2</sub>, JEA {Sl.} all<sub>2</sub>ii^a<sub>2</sub> ?ayya<sub>2</sub>l-a<sub>2</sub>, Sr W/E ?ayal-a<sub>2</sub> 'deer', Md aiala, pl. ailia, f. ailata 'deer, hart', Ar ?ayyil-, ?iyyal-~?uyyal- 'mountain goat, stag' ({Fr.} 'Caper montanus, cervus'), Gz hayyal 'ibex, mountain goat' (the origin of h- is obscure), Ak ayyal-u 'deer'; Cn → Eg NK iyr 'deer' or 'ram' (= \*?ayya<sub>2</sub>li ~\*?ayyo<sub>2</sub>li gen., acc. to Vc.), (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ?e-yu-l 'deer' > Cpt: Sd/B eieoγλ eieul, ieoγλ ieul 'deer', Sd oeile oeile, B wial o<sub>2</sub>ili 'ram' ¶ KB 38-9, KBR 40, A ##165, 185, OLS 25 (?il 'carnero'), G A 13, Lv. I 64, Sl. 113, Br. 15, DM 14-5, Fr. I 76, L G 221, Sd. 24, DRS 17, EG I 38, Vc. 62, Hlk. #1, SivCR 77 ¶ IE \*?h<sub>2</sub>el-n- 'deer' ({EI} \*h<sub>2</sub>el<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>n / gen. \*h<sub>2</sub>el<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>nos) > Gk ε<sub>2</sub>λλο<sub>2</sub>ϑ (-λλ- < \*-ln-) 'young deer'; (with the sx. \*-b<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>o-) Gk ε<sub>2</sub>λαφο<sub>2</sub>ϑ 'deer' (<\*el-n<sub>2</sub>-b<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>o-s) : Arm e<sub>2</sub>-n e<sub>2</sub>in (gen. e<sub>2</sub>-in e<sub>2</sub>lin) 'female deer' ¶ OIr elit (< \*eln<sub>2</sub>-t-) 'chamois', W elain 'female deer' ¶ Olt ellenis 'deer', Lt e<sub>2</sub>lnis, e<sub>2</sub>lnias 'deer', e<sub>2</sub>lne<sub>2</sub> 'female deer', Ltv al<sub>2</sub>nis 'elk', Pru [El.] alne · "Hindin" 'hind' and "Tyer" 'beast' : Sl \*elen<sub>2</sub> 'deer' > OCS клень jelen<sub>2</sub>, Blg елен, SCr je<sub>2</sub>len, Slv je<sub>2</sub>len, R, Uk олен, P jelen', Cz jelen, Slk jelen'; OCS лань lan<sub>2</sub> ~ лань lan<sub>2</sub> f., ChS лань lan<sub>2</sub>, R, Uk лан, P łani (gen. łania), OCz lan<sub>2</sub>, Cz lan<sub>2</sub> 'hind, female deer, fallow deer' ¶ pTc {Ad.} \*ya<sub>2</sub>l > Tc: A ya<sub>2</sub>l, B yal 'gazelle' ¶ IE \*h<sub>2</sub>el-n- seems to go back to the oblique form (with \*-n-) of a heteroclitic stem [¶] IE d \*?el-k<sub>2</sub>-/\*l<sub>2</sub>-k<sub>2</sub>- > OI r<sub>2</sub>o<sub>2</sub>s<sub>2</sub>yah 'male antelope', KhS {Bai.} ru<sub>2</sub>s<sub>2</sub> 'ovis Poli', Wx ru<sub>2</sub>s<sub>2</sub> 'wild mountain sheep' ¶ Gmc \*algi-z > OHG elah, elaho, NHG Elch, AS eolh, NE elk, ON elgr ¶ Sl \*ols<sub>2</sub> > OR лось los<sub>2</sub>, R, Uk лос, P los', Cz los 'elk' ¶¶ P 303-4, EI 154, F I 483-4, Vr. 100, Ho. 92, EWA II 1030-1, Frn. 120, En. 140, Tp. P A-D 77-8, Vs. II 458, 522 & III 134-5, M K I 124-5, M E I 260, Bai. 367, Ma. CS 175, 257, 275, Glh. 296, Sl. 146-7, Wn. 591. Ad/ 485-6 ¶ U: Y: Y T ile 'deer' ¶ Ku. 57 ¶ R: NaT \*elik 'roe-buck, female wild goat' > OT {Cl.} a<sub>2</sub>lik id., MQp XIII elik 'male gazelle', MU {ADb.}, OOsma<sub>2</sub> a<sub>2</sub>lik, Tk Δ elik 'roe', Shor, Qrg, Qq elik 'roe-buck', Tv elik, Tf elik 'female roe', Xk ilik, StAlt elik 'roe-buck, female wild goat', Az a<sub>2</sub>lik, Qzq, Q, Alt elik 'roe',

Bsh il̥k 'female wild goat', Yk a'lik 'mottled (чыбары) reindeer' ¶ ET Gl 265-6, Cl. 142, TL 153 (\*a'lik), BT 191, Ra. 180, DTS 171 || M \*ili > WrM ili, HIM, ил il 'young deer, fawn', Kl ил id. ¶ KW 206, MED 407 || NrTg \*elke-n (unless it is \*xelke-n) 'deer' > Ewk ɜlkɜ-n 'wild reindeer', Lm: Ol i\_e'lkɜn, Okh ɜlkɜn 'domesticated reindeer (leader in herd)' ¶ STM II 448 ¶¶ DQA #425 [A \*e'IV(-k'V) 'deer'] || D \*il(ar)V- '∈ deer' > Mlt ilaru 'mouse deer' || Tl ir\_r\_i (< \*il-rV) 'antelope', ? Tl le\_t.i-le\_d.i id. ¶¶ Not here (⇔ IS I) SD \*iral\_l- (> Tm iralay 'stag', Kn eral\_e-erale, Tu eral\_e 'antelope, deer', OTl iri 'stag') ¶¶ D #476 || K: USv, Sv L {TK} ilw, Sv LB {Kald.} il ~ hil 'roe, косуля', Sv L {Dn.} ilw 'chamois, серна' ¶ TK 284, Dn. s.v. ilv, Marr SR 38, Kld. L 187, GM SAKS 85 ♦ IS I 272-3 (HD, IE, D, A, K; IS also adduces words going back to D and K \*ir- 'deer' [actually belonging to the N etymon \*sir'i] '(male, young) ungulate' (q.v.)) ♦ AD NM #37, S CNM 4 (÷ ST), Vv. AEN 3.

**27. \*ʔil'a** 'place to stay' (< 'to stand?') > **HS:** CS [1] \*ʔil-, \*ʔilay 'towards' > Hb la3 ʔel ~ -il4a= ʔelē-, Ar iLai ʔila-, +ppas.: CS \*ʔilay ka 'towards you' (m. sg.) > Hb K1il3a4 ʔe'le-k\_a-, Ar ʔilay-ka, etc.; [2] ??σ S \*°/ʔlw > Ar ʔlw (pf. |aaʔ ʔala-, ip. vLu'yaa ya'lu ~ -u'yaa ya'lu) v. 'be unable to do, neglect, be late in' ¶ Cf. also S \*la 'to' (see N \*L\_A, locative pc.) ¶ DRS 19, KB 48-9, BK I 48-50 || ??φ Eg ir- 'to, towards' (with pronouns: ir-k 'tibi', etc.) / r id. (with nouns); it is a *qu.* cognate, because both DEg r and most Cpt dialects (Sd/B εpo- εpo, P apo- aro- 'to, towards, for') suggest the reading [r] rather than [l], but cf. Cpt F εaa- ela id. ¶ EG II 386-8, Er. 236-8, Vc. 37, Tk. I 141 [⌘ || EC: Rn {PG} il 'earth, ground; land, country' ¶ PG 151, Blz. RL 258 || **IE** \*ʔelī (or \*x'h'elī?) ~ ? \*ʔ'il- > NaIE \*elī, \*el-, \*il-v. 'rest, stillstehen' > Gk ε'λι-vo'ω 'I rest, I do not act' || ? OI i'layati 'stands still' || ? Lt ilstu, inf. ilsti v. 'get tired' ¶ P 304-5, F I 495, ≠ M K I 92, ≠ M E I 196, Frn. 184 ¶¶ Lt il- (< NaIE \*l\_ - without NaIE \*ə- < IE \*H-) suggests IE \*ʔ- || **U** \*-l\_a/-l\_a-, sx. of nomina loci [> ending of local cases (× N \*L\_A '↑')] > F taka-la 'a place behind (der hinter befindliche Platz)', ete-la 'south' (lit. 'a place in front of sth.'), Lp S (Vfs?) {Sz.} manḡe-l-t 'hinten', manḡe-l-i 'hinter', Lp S {Hs.} miḡ'ḡelde d miḡḡeal'de 'nachher, hinterher' (manḡe-, miḡ'ḡe- 'das Hintere'), Er vasolo '(place) in the distance' (vasov 'far away' [direction]), Chr u'lal 'situated below' (u'l- 'das Untere'), Vt, Z -la, ending with locative meaning: Vt, Z kuz'ala 'lengthwise' (Vt, Z kuz' 'long'), Hg -fo'l, fo'l- 'das Obere' (fo' 'head, top') ¶ Sz. 63-4, Hs. 932-4, LG 144, U3S 226-7 || **R:** Tg \*-la- / \*-le- (locative case ending) (× N \*L\_A, locative pc.) > Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm -la/-lɜ-, Nn, Orc, Ul, Ork, Ud -la/-lɜ, e.g. \*mo-lā- 'in a\the tree' (> {Ci.} Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm mo-lā-, Nn, Orc, Ul, Ud mo-lā), \*do-lā- 'within' from \*do- 'Inneres' (> {Bz.} Ewk do-lo-, Sln, Neg, Lm do-lā-, Nn dola, Orc, Ud dolo, WrMc dolo), Tg \*du-le- ({Bz.} \*du'i-lā-) 'oben am Hang' (> WrMc dele, Ewk de-lɜ-, Lm de-lɜ-de-lā-, Nn duyɜ, Ork dila id., Ud dilɜ 'abseits') ¶ Ci. 257-267, Bz. 84, 96-8 || **D:** SD \*ill- 'house, home, place' (× N \*xelA 'to dwell, live', q.v. ffd.); D \*-il, marker of a locative function of the noun > Tm (-in\_)/il, Irl -(i)li, Ml -il, Kt -l, -l\_, Td -s\_ ({Em.} -s\_), Kdg -lī ¶ D #494, Zv. CDM 32; Zv. reconstructs here \*-in/\*il, but the variant \*-in (> Tm -in\_) is very likely to go back to the N genitive marker (> marker of oblique cases) \*nu ¶¶ Not here the D loc. case ending \*-ul\_ (< N \*L\_A '↑' × D \*ul\_ n. 'inside' < N \*ʔuh\_lV\_l'V 'hut' [q.v.]).

**28. \*ʔil'V** 'eye' > **HS** \*ʔhil-: it is represented in C, Ch, B and probably in Eg: C \*ʔill- 'one eye' > Ag \*ʔɜll- 'eye' > Xm, Km ɜl, Aw ɜ'l, Bln ɜl (the unexpected ɜ- is possibly due to the infl. of Tgr ɜin 'eye' or to an ancient morphological infl. of the old Cushitic pl. form \*ɜinTV 'eyes') (F Ap. AV 3) || EC \*ʔil- '(one) eye' > Sml, Rn i'l, Or B i'l-a, Kns, Gdl i'l-, Bs, Elm il, Dsn ʔil, Arr ʔul, Sd, Ged, Kmb il-i-e, Hd il-i-i, Brj 'il-a, Ya il || Dh1 {EEN} ʔi'la, {To.} ʔila 'eye' || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔila, Brn/Alg {E} ila, Kz ilito, Asa ʔilat; SC ɔ Mb iʔila 'eye' [⌘ || Bj {R} 'ile ~ 'lili, {Rop.} lili 'eye' ] ¶ Bl. 105, Sr. 332, Ss. PEC 5, 22, Ss. B 104-

5, Hd. 6O, PG 151, Hw. A 34O-1, HL 66, AD SF 144-5, MQK 54, E PC #326, EEN 21, To. D 128, To. DL 482 [†, R WBd 158, Rop. 212, Blz EDB 18-9] ¶ in EC the word refers to one eye, while the correspondent plural \*sinT- is based on N \*ØoyñV 'to see, look; eye(s)' (q.v.) || Ch \*ʔiʔiV 'eye' > CCh: Lmn {Lk.} i'li', Lmn Hd {WL.} i'li', Lmn Vz {WL.} ili, iri, Lmn A {WL.} il-yia i Bdm {Lk.} yi'l, {Cfr.} ye'l, Glf {Lk.} el 'eye' || ECh: Mkl {J} ele 'eye' ¶ JI I 6O & II 126-7, WL. G 65 || B {Pr.} \*√Hll (< \*√ʔhll) 'eyes' > Kb allən, SrSn AA, Izd allən, Sll {Ds.} a'llən 'eyes', as well as possibly Ah iha-l (imparfait intensif) 'pleurer bruyamment', vb. n. ta'hala, Tnsl, Ty əlh id. (Pr.'s √ \*√h₂lh₁); forms like Gd awəll 'eye', pl. wallən, SrSn iwaz'ən 'eyes' might appear at first glance as suggesting that the form allən-wallən belongs to the root \*√wl 'see' (> Ah aul 'avoir l'œil sur', Izd wala 'voir, apercevoir'), but in my opinion the form of pl. abs. wallən-iwaz'ən (like in Gd and SrSn) goes back to a generalization of the status annexus w-allən 'eyes' (ʔ in Izd: abs. allən, ann. w-allən, or in Sll: abs. a'llən, ann. u'w-a'llən, e.g. sna't u'wa'llən 'two eyes'), and Gd awəll 'eye' is a *bf* from pl. wallən ¶ Pr. H #487, Fc. 1493, DL 44O, Rn. 286, Ds. 2O3, Mrc. 18O, 292, ABs. EGLK 29-31 || ? Eg fOK i.r.t 'eye' [= (GkSc) i'pɪ], i.r 'das Sehen' (personification), i.r v. 'see' (att. in the inv. form in the set phrase i.r t\_w 'pay attention!') (see EG I 1O6-8, Vc. 6O); the comparison with Eg is *qu.*, because it presupposes that the Eg character r represents [l], which is at variance both with the Greek transcription i'pɪ and with the Cpt reflex (p r rather than ʌ l): *nomen actionis* ieire in the compound noun banieire 'qui a le mauvais œil' (Vc. 6O) ¶¶ The HS √ is used not only in nouns, but in verbs as well: C \*\*ʔila-l-v. 'look' > EC \*ʔila-l-v. 'look, watch' > Sa {R} ila-l-v. 'look, wait for', Or ila-la-v. 'watch, look', Kns ila-l-v. 'follow with the eyes' (said of an infant or a person with impaired vision), Ag: Bln {R} ʔalal--alal-v. 'look'. This verb is obviously derived from the C noun \*ill- '(one) eye'. Consequently, the HS √ is probably nominal ¶ Bl. 1O7, Grg. 223 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 97 [#27.6], AD SF 144-5; an alt. hyp: OS #112 (HS \*ʔir- > Eg i.r, Ch \*ʔir- 'eye') ¶¶ HS ʔʔilima 'tears' (< N *cd* \*ʔilV \*muhi - \*ʔilV mAwahi 'eye-water') > C: Dhl {EEN} ʔili'ma 'tears' || SC \*ʔilima > Asa ʔelelema, b. Mb iʔili'ma id. ! Ag {Ap. AV} \*ʔʔʔʔʔw- (= {Ap. VSA} \*ʔiriŋw-, {AD} \*ʔʔʔʔʔw-) 'tears' (Ag \*ŋ < C \*m) > Bln ʔʔʔʔʔw, Xm ʔʔʔʔʔw, Km (ʔ)ereŋ || EC \*ʔilm- > Sml ilmo, Bn ilmi, Rn i'li'm, Or {Bl.} i(m)mimm-a-ni, {Grg.} immima-n, Or S imima-ni, Kns ilma-ma-, Gdl ilmama, Brj 'ilma, il'ma-, Yk ilmamu ¶ E SC 292, Ap. AV 5, Ap. VSA 23, Ss. B 1O5, Bl. 221, PG 152, Sr. 333, Grg. 224, EEN 21 || SOM: Ari erma id. ¶ Lm. SKE 534 || ? Eg P rmy 'weep' ¶ EG II 416-7 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 1O2 [#32.8], AD SCLC 199 [#37] (C, Eg), Lm. SKE 534 [#15] (EC, Ari) || ?? IE: Clt: OIr [ɣ] {SB} a'il 'bucca (cheek)', dat. pl. ɣ o'ilib 'bucis'; Brtt (× N \*ʔʔilV 'a hair, tuft of hair'): OW {Flr.} ail 'eyebrow', W ael 'supercilium, ora' [usually in the set phrase ael y llygad 'eyebrow' (llygad 'eye')], OBr GUORAIL 'supercilium' (Flr.: *cd* with GUOR- 'upper') ¶ Flr. 198, SB 3 ({SB} pClT \*aili), Bc. 22O || R {WNL} \*ila- 'seen, visible' > Tg \*i.le-id > Orc il3-mu-v. 'show', il3-kc3-v. 'appear, become visible', Nn il3 ʔʔʔ ( 'sth. visible'), 'видное место' ('place easy to see'), Sln il3x3- 'apparent, visible', Lm il'la 'in (people's) sight', WrMc iletu 'sichtbar' ¶ STM I 311-2, Hr. 492-3 || M \*ile- 'clear, visible' > MM [S] ile 'visible', [MA] ile 'clear, manifest', WrM ile, HIM ʔʔ, Ord {Ms.} ile 'clear, manifest; visible', WrO {Krg.} ile, Kl ʔʔ ile~, Kl {Rm.} ilä, ilä 'clear, evident, manifest', MMgl [Z] ila- 'clear' [†, Dg {MYC} il3-t, Mnr E {MYC} hele (with a secondary h-?) 'open, clear, evident, obvious'] ¶ H 81, Pp. MA 195, MED 4O4-5, Krg. 94, KRS 267, KW 2O6, Iw. 1O7 [†, MYC 4O7] || T: OT [MhK] ila-r-v. 'be visible, strike one's eye' ¶ DTS 2O7, Cl. 15O || pJ \*a'ra-p-ar-v. 'come in sight, appear' > OJ a'ra-par-a, J: T/Kg araware-, K a'ra'wa're- 'to appear' ¶ Mr. 677, S QJ #589 ¶¶ WNL NC, DQA #597 (A \*i'la 'evident, visible') || E: NEL, AchEl el 'eye', MEI el-ti 'eyes' ¶ HK 393, 396 || D: Zv. finds a stem a-li 'eye' (mainly within *cds*) in the lgs. of the Nilgiri

area: Irl {Zv.} v3l.l.ena-li<sup>d</sup> v3l.l.eya-li, Aik 'b3ll-a-li, PaK b3l.l.e a-li 'the white of the eye' (v3l.l.ena-, v3l.l.eya-, b3l.l.e means 'white'), JKr kariya-li 'the eye-ball' (lit. 'black eye'), PaK kan'n'ali-li and simple a-li 'iris of the eye' ¶ Zv. BNTL 658; on the vw. {uZv.} e' [3] ɸ Zv. IL 11 ♦ Blz. BNED 3 (E, HS, D) [ʔ, Blz. DA 14 ]. Cf. WNL NC s.v. 'eye' ♦ I am grateful to V. Blazjek for drawing my attention to the possible cognates in Celtic and the D lgs. of the Nilgiri area ♦ Blz. DA #13 (D [1], HS).

**29. \*ʔol̥V** 'that (visible)' > **HS:** S \*ʔull- > Ak ullu < \*ʔulliʔ-u (f. ulliʔtu(m), pl. ulluʔtu(m), pl. f. ulliaʔtu(m)) 'that, remote' ¶ Sd. 1410, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], Dk. AkJ 91 || EC \*ʔVI-, deictic prn. (× N \*hal̥V 'this', q.v. ffd.) || **IE:** NaIE \*ol- 'that (remote)' > OL ollus 'that (remote)', L oʔlim 'at that time', ultra- 'beyond, on the far side (of)', uls 'beyond, on the other side', ulterior 'on the other side', ultimus 'farthest, last', Osc uʔlleis gen. 'of that (m.)', ulas gen. 'of that (f.)' || (× IE \*ʔal-, \*ʔol- 'on\from the other side, {P} darüber hinaus' < N \*ʔʔalE (= \*halEʔ) 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WH II 206-7, 813 || ?? **U:** Slq Tz il-na, il-tam 'iste, que voilà, **вон тот**' ¶ KHG 293, KKI 196 || **ʔ:** T \*ol 'that' (remote deictic prn.), 'he' > OT ol id., Tkm, Qzq, Qrg S, Xk, StAlt, Tv, Yk ol, VTt, Bsh ul, Chv v3l, Δ v3ʔl; Qrg, Tb al 'that' is probably an unexplained phonetic variant of \*ol rather than a prn. of different origin ¶ Cl. 123-4, ET Gl 444-6, Fed. I 106 || Nko {MLC} ol 'this, the present', ol-in {Rm.} ol-ha-or-ha v. 'be such', or-haʔ ol-hay 'this year' and onal (< ol-nal) 'this day, today' ¶ Rm. SKE 176, MLC 1207-9 ¶¶ Rm. EAS II 75 [§ 41], Rm. SKE 176; ≠ SDM97 [A \*o(IV) 'this, that'] and DQA #1556 (A \*o id.) consider T \*ol to be an extended var. of the deictic pc. \*o.

**30. \*ʔol̥LV** (or \*ʔoyil̥V?) 'bough, hook' (→ 'hang on a hook') > **HS:** CS \*ʔal̥l- 'stick' > MHb {Js., 'ASh.} el̥la2 ʔal̥la- 'lance, fork, sign-pole', 'Spitzkeule, Pfahl, Gabel', {Lv.} el̥la4 ʔeʔla- ~ {Lv. T} el̥la2 ʔal̥la- 'Holzstange, Kolben, Stange' (the form el̥la4 ʔeʔla-, unless a mistake in one variant of the traditional pronunciation or in Levi's personal vocalization, is due to contamination with el̥la4 ʔeʔla- 'terebinth tree'), Ug {OLS} ʔalt 'soporte, pilar', JA {Js.} al̥la2 ʔal̥la- 'club, bat', atll̥la9 ʔallaʔt̥-a- 'post, pole, door-post', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} al̥la9 ʔʔl̥a-, atll̥la6a2 ʔallaʔt̥-a- 'Kolben, Stange', Ar éLWà ʔall-at- 'broad-headed spear' ¶ Js. 66, 73, 'ASh. I 86, Lv. T I 29, Lv. I 80, OLS 32, Fr. I 28, Hv. 11 || B: SrSn ala 'ramée, ε branchages', Ah ali vi. 'hang (être pendu\suspendu)', s-ili caus. v. 'hang' ¶ Fc. 1016, Rn. 336 || SC: Alg {E} elemi, Irq {MQK} halmi (pl. haleʔmo- ~ haleʔma-), Brn {E} alema 'branch' ¶ E SC 336, Mgw. 103, MQK 44 || **ʔ:** Tg \*ol- > Nh Nh olpi, Ul oʔrpun 'hook near a stove (used to hang vessels and rags on)', Ud Sm {Krm.} oloʔu, Ork olʔʔʔa, Orc orjʔa, Ewk oldon<sup>d</sup> ollon<sup>d</sup> olron, Neg oloʔn, Lm olraʔwun 'hook over the fire (used to hang a kettle or tea-pot)', ʔ\*ol-san- vt. 'hang (a kettle) on a hook over the fire' > Ewk ollon-, Lm olraʔn-<sup>d</sup> oldaʔn-<sup>d</sup> ollaʔn-, Neg oloʔn- 'hang (a kettle, tea-pot) on a hook over the fire' ¶ STM II 14-15, Krm. 275 || pKo {S} \*ori > Nko ori 'a fishing hook with several barbs' ¶ S QK #792, Rm. SKE 178 || ʔʔ NaT \*ʔil- v. 'hang on (sth.)' (× N \*ʔezʔekU 'thorn, hook?') > OT il- (Cl.) to catch sth. (with the hand, a hook, etc.), {DTS} id., vt. 'hook [под-, за-цепл̥т̥; ловит̥ (кр̥ч̥м̥)]', Tkm ʔil- vi. 'hook to' ('прицепл̥т̥, зацепл̥т̥'), Yk ʔil- 'hang on, load (smth. on an animal's back)', Qmq, Qrg, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, Tk Δ il-, Qzq ʔl- ʔl-, VTt, Bsh ʔl- ʔl-, Xk ʔl- ʔl- v. 'hang on', StAlt il- vt. 'hook (за-, под-цепит̥)' ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 125, ET Gl 343-6, BT 63, BIG 67 ¶¶ **ʔ** DQA #648 \*i\_oʔle 'hang (on) sth.' (Tg, Ko, T + M \*elgu- 'to hang on', actually belonging to N \*ʔezʔekU 'ʔ') || **U:** Y T wal̥ol- vi. 'hang, hang over, lean down (висет̥, свешиват̥с̥)', wel̥ie- vt. 'hold [sth.] hung' ('держат̥ развешан̥м̥'), vi. 'hang (by) (повиснут̥ на)' ¶ Ku. 48 ♦ If T \*ʔil- belongs here, the N rec. may be \*ʔoyil̥V (with T \*ʔi from \*-oyi-), otherwise it is \*ʔol̥LV ♦ Alternatively, there may have been two roots, one designing 'bough, hook' and the other meaning 'to hang', with lexical interaction between them in some daughter lgs.

**31.** ?<sub>2</sub> \***ʔul**√ 'sole, foundation, earth' > **HS:** Eg ∇ ð.t {EG} 'Ort, Stätte', {Hng.} id., '(bewohnter) Erdhügel' [\*(x N \***ʔar**√ 'earth, land, place')] ¶ EG I 26, Hng. 22 || C: EC \***ʔul**l<sub>1</sub>a > Sa {R} 'u<sub>1</sub>la 'place', Bs {HL} u<sub>1</sub>l 'earth', HEC {Hd.} \*ulla 'earth, land' > Hd {Hd.} ulla, Kmb ulla(-ta) id., Sd {Hd.} u<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>la 'earth', Hd {Hd.}, Sd {Gs.} u<sub>1</sub>lla, Alb {PB} u<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>lata ~ u<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>leta 'land' ¶ AD SF 195, Hd. 55, 88, 423, HL 66 || pOm {Blz.} \***ʔy**all-~\*yill- 'earth' > SOM: Dm {Bnd.} (y)il 'earth, soil, ground', {Fl.} yilu, ye<sub>1</sub>le 'earth' :: NrOm: Mj {Fl.} yellu id. : Zs {Si.} ʔa<sub>1</sub>la, Hrr {Fl.} alla<sub>1</sub>? id. ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'earth', Si. ACh s.v. 'earth' || Ch {JS} \***y**il (= \*<sub>J</sub>il?) 'earth' > WCh: pAG {Stl.} \*<sub>J</sub>il, {Hf.} \*yil 'ground, earth, country' > Tal {IL, Sh.} d<sub>1</sub>il, Su {J} yi<sub>1</sub>l : Ron: DfB s<sub>1</sub>in-j<sub>1</sub>l : BT: Tng {J} yili, Pr illi<sub>1</sub>y, Glm {Sch.} yi<sub>1</sub>l, Krf i<sub>1</sub>li<sub>1</sub>, ? pBT {Stl.} \***ʔo**li 'earth' > Bl {Lk.} ʔoli, {SIL} woli, Krkr {Lk.} ʔe<sub>1</sub>li<sub>1</sub> id. ¶ JI II 116, ChC, ChL, JS 91, Stl. VZCh #245 (pHAB \*yo<sub>1</sub>IV), ■ Stl. ZCh 240 [#863] (*unc.* : pZCh \***ʔ**yasi 'earth'), Hf. AG #181 ¶¶ y-in Om and Ch is prosthetic (\*<sub>ʔ</sub>i- > \*i- > yi-) ¶¶ Blz. OL (HS \*yil-~\*yul-) || **R:** NaT \*u<sub>1</sub>l 'foundation, basis' > OT {Cl.} u<sub>1</sub>l id., {Gb.} ul 'Boden, Sohle', OT U x u<sub>1</sub>l 'sole of foot', Osm XIV ul 'foundation', ET Δ {Jr.} ul 'foundation, earth floor' ¶ Cl. 124, DTS 608, Jr. 322, Rs. W 512, U3 #23/8 || ? M \*ula > MM [S, HI] ula 'sole of the foot', [MA] hula 'sole of footwear', WrM ula, HIM ул 'sole of foot\footwear, basis, foundation, Kl {Rm.} ul<sub>1</sub> 'Sohle', Ord. {Ms.} u<sub>1</sub>la 'semelle', Mnr {SM} ula<sub>1</sub> 'plante des pieds, semelle', Dg {T} wu<sub>1</sub>ala id., MMgl {Z} ula<sub>1</sub> 'leather sole' ¶ H 162, Ms. H 105, Pp. MA 186, MED 868, KW 448, SM 469, T 368, Iw. 139-40 ¶ The M cognate is legitimate only if h- in MA is a secondary development (confirmed by the absence of h- in other MM texts [S, MI], in Mnr, Dg and MMgl) || Tg \*ola<sub>1</sub>-ci- 'unti (boots of reindeer leather)' > Ewk olo<sub>1</sub>-t<sub>1</sub> olo<sub>1</sub>-(t)cu<sub>1</sub> olo<sub>1</sub>-cik, Lm ola<sub>1</sub>-ciq, Neg olot, Ork ollo<sub>1</sub>-c<sub>1</sub>i 'short unti', Orc olo<sub>1</sub>-ci 'unti', Ul olz<sub>1</sub>vma 'footwear (made of elk's legs)' ¶ STM II 16 ¶¶ DQA #2723 (A \*u<sub>1</sub>la 'sole, foot-wear').

**32.** ? \***ʔu**√<sub>1</sub> **Lud**√ 'to grow' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>√l<sub>1</sub>dd > Ar lad<sub>1</sub>id-at- 'hortus florens' ¶ Fr. IV 97 ¶¶ Hardly here Eg fp rd vi. 'grow' > Cpt Sd/B/A **ʔw**√, Cpt F **aw**√ id., which may be better equated with WS \*<sub>J</sub>rdy > Ar √rdy 'increase, augment', Sq {L} √rdy id., Gz √rdy 'pay interest' [see EG II 462-3, Fk. 154, Vc. 179, Tk. I 242 (Eg rd ÷ S \*<sub>J</sub>rdy)] || **IE** \***ʔ**leu<sub>1</sub>d<sup>h</sup>-/\***ʔ**loud<sup>h</sup>-/\***ʔ**lud<sup>h</sup>- ({EI} \***h**<sub>1</sub>leu<sub>1</sub>d<sup>h</sup>-) 'grow' > NaIE \*leu<sub>1</sub>d<sup>h</sup>-/\*lou<sub>1</sub>d<sup>h</sup>-/\*lud<sup>h</sup>- (and \*leud<sup>h</sup>- after pxs.) vi. 'grow, thrive, rise' > OI ro<sub>1</sub>dhati ~ ro<sub>1</sub>hati 'grows', with lengthened vowels of pxs.: Vd vi<sub>1</sub>rudh- 'a plant', anu<sub>1</sub>-rudh- 'nachwachsend', sva<sub>1</sub>-rudh- 'aus der eigenen Wurzel wachsend'; Av rao<sub>1</sub>- 'grow', Prt rwd-, BdSgd rwō- 'grow', KhS rvitta<sub>1</sub> 'grows' (< \*rau<sub>1</sub>dati), NPrs 3s prs. dYavru ru<sub>1</sub>y-a<sub>1</sub>d / inf. ʔa<sub>1</sub>Sru ros-ta<sub>1</sub>n 'grow, come forth, appear', Vd ro<sub>1</sub>-h- (3s prs. ro<sub>1</sub>hati) 'to grow' (M explains the change -h- < -dh- by the infl. of the roots with -h- < -\*z<sup>h</sup>- and by the need to avoid homonymy with ruh- 'check, restrain, keep back') :: L Liber (an old Italian god of growth and agriculture), Osc lu<sub>1</sub>ver's Lu<sub>1</sub>vfrer's 'Iovis Liberi' (pl.) : Vn Louzera 'Libera' :: OIr {P} luss n. 'plant' (< \*lud<sup>h</sup>-stu-), OCrn les, MCrn leys (pl. losow), W llys 'grass', pl. llysiau ~ llysau coll. 'vegetables, herbs', MBr snglt. lousouenn, Br louzou<sub>1</sub> coll. 'plants' (snglt. lousaouenn); OIr lu<sub>1</sub>ad 'exortion' :: Gt liudan, OSx liodan, AS le<sub>1</sub>odan 'to grow', OHG liotan 'to sprout', ON loðinn 'zottig, grasreich', NLG loden (< \*lou<sub>1</sub>d<sup>h</sup>-) 'to grow, sprout'; Gt laudi 'shape', MHG lo<sub>1</sub>t 'formed, shaped', NLG Lode 'spring, shoot' ¶ P 684-5, EI 248, Mn. 683, 711, M K III 77-8, M E II 467-8 (IE \***h**<sub>1</sub>leud<sup>h</sup> 'grow'), Bai. 367, Vl. II 32-3, 85, Sg. 575, WH I 792, LP §§ 181.5, 182.5, Ern. 377, Fs. 323, 332-3, Vr. 363, Ho. 199, Ho. S 47, Kb. 622, OsS 565 ¶ M E reconstructs IE \***h**<sub>1</sub>leud<sup>h</sup> 'grow', \***h**<sub>1</sub> postulated on the basis of long vowels of the prefixes with Vd ro<sub>1</sub>-dh-. This \***h**<sub>1</sub> is best interpreted as \***ʔ**, because \***ʔ** is likely to be the only lr. lost in the word-initial preconsonantic position (rather than yielding \*H<sub>o</sub>- > \*ə-); this is confirmed by S (loss of the initial lr.) || **R:** M \*<sup>o</sup>u<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>di- (< \*u<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>di-)

> WrM u<sup>1</sup>lzi- v. 'live, live on something, subsist' (unless it is pM \*qu<sup>1</sup>lzi-, which cannot be determined for lack of ev. in MM, in f/h-conserving Mongolian lgs. or in loanwords in TM lgs.) ¶ MED 1007.

**33.** ?? \*r<sup>1</sup>el<sup>1</sup>ima '€ tree' ('elm' or the like) > IE: NaIE \*l<sub>mo</sub>- 'elm' [{EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>elem ~ \*h<sub>1</sub>(e)lmos 'mountain elm (Ulmus montana)'] > L ulmus 'elm' (↳ Kb ulmu id. [coll.], t<sub>ulmut</sub> 'elm', OHG ulmboum, NHG Ulm id.) :: OHG elm, elmo, MHG ilme, ON almr, ME elm 'elm' > NE elm :: Sl (↳ MHG ilme?): Cz jilm, OP ilem, P ilm, ilma, Plb je'lm, je'lma<sup>~</sup>, LLs lom, w'elm, welm, OR илѣмъ ilemъ 'ulmus', R илѣм, R W Δ илѣм, илѣмина, Blr °лѣма 'elm', Uk лѣом 'Ulmus montana' || NaIE \*lima<sup>-</sup> id. > OIr lem 'elm' || NaIE \*leimos id. > W llwyf-en (pl. llwyf) 'elm' ¶ WP I 152, EI 178, WH II 811-2, Vr. 7, EWA II 1056-60, Kb. 1063, DL 454, Bern. I 424-5 (Sl ↳ Gmc), ■ ESSJ VIII 222-3 (pSl \*jыльмъ 'Ulmus'), Vs. II 126-7, SRNG XII 186, Dal II 41, 92, YGM-1 315 || R: T \*ilma<sup>-</sup> (~ \*elma<sup>-</sup>?) 'elm' > VTt əlma<sup>-</sup> 'elm', Qmq elme 'elm', English elm (вѣз, карагач), Blq {Rm.} elme 'oak', Nog elmen 'asp', Chv уыме, Δ imle 'elm' ¶ Jeg. 78, KumRS 374, TatR 683, NogR 434, Ash. III 121, Fed. I 194, ■ Rs. W 41 (unc. : ↳ R илѣм 'elm', Δ илем 'Ulmus campestris'; this R word is used mostly as a technical term or a name for a special species, but not in most R dialects outside the western area [in R вѣз and берест are normal words for that tree and its species], hence R илѣм, илем can hardly be the source of the alleged loan) || M \*ila<sub>1</sub>ma 'mulberry-tree' > WrM ilama ~ ilma, HIM лѣма, Brt лѣма модон (модон 'tree'), Kl илм ilmā id. ¶ MED 402, KRS 268, Chr. 799 || ?? HS: [1] ?φ S \*palla<sup>-</sup>n- '€ tree, oak' > BHb N&l'a2 ?al'lo<sup>-</sup>n 'any big tree; oak, acorn', MHb N&l'a2 ?al'lo<sup>-</sup>n 'oak', JA Nl2ia ?ilan ~ Nl2a5 ?ilan [?illa<sup>-</sup>n], JA [Trg], JEA {Sl.} em. an!l1ia5 ?illa<sup>-</sup>n-a<sup>-</sup>, Sr 'noloΔāi ?ila<sup>-</sup>na<sup>-</sup> (Sr W ?illō<sup>-</sup>n-ō) 'tree', Ak fOAK alla<sup>-</sup>nu 'oak'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ?al-l<sub>2</sub>-lu<sup>-</sup>na 'oak' ¶ KBR 52, Js. 49-50, Sl. 116, Sd. 36, Hlk. #4, SivCR 77 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} a<sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>wu<sup>1</sup>η 'tree', Msg G {Trn.} luwuη, luwηiy id., Mbara {TrnSL} lu<sup>1</sup>η 'tree, wood' : Gdr {Mch.} wu<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>ηa., {Srp.} wulanga id. :: WCh: DfB {J} lan 'Wildnis, Busch' ¶ J R 217, ChC s.v. 'bush' & 'tree', TrnSL 269, Trn. LM 102, Trn. LDM 17, Trn. EM || S \*<sup>o</sup>?ayl- '(big) 'tree' > BHb li<sup>o</sup>a2 ?ayil (pl. Mil5ia4 ?e<sup>-</sup>līm) {KB} 'mighty tree'; CS \*<sup>o</sup>?il-at- > MHb el1a4 ?e<sup>-</sup>la<sup>-</sup> 'terebinth, (?) oak', Sr Æ4θ'lΔāi ?il<sup>1</sup>t-a<sup>-</sup> 'small tree, forest'; S \*<sup>o</sup>?al<sup>1</sup>-at- '€ tree' > BHb el<sup>1</sup>la2 ?al<sup>1</sup>la<sup>-</sup> 'magestic tree', ? Ug {OLS} ?alt 'soporte, pilar' ¶ KB 39, 50-2, KBR 40, 54, OLS 32, Js. 49-50, 68-7, Br. 15, CAD I/1 354-5 ¶ OS #31 ¶ S \*?alla<sup>-</sup>n- and its Ch cognates belong here only if the N final \*m changed into \*n (due to reinterpretation of \*m as a morphological ending [the S determiner \*-m?]); S \*<sup>o</sup>?ayl- and \*<sup>o</sup>?il-at- may have originated as a *bf* for the same reason ♦ The IE zero reflex of the lr. points to a N \*?- (otherwise we should expect NaIE i elmo-, i elimo-).

**34.** \*r<sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup>a 'food' > ? HS: CS (or WS?) \*<sup>o</sup>?alVy-at- ~ \*<sup>o</sup>?aly-at- 'fat tail of a sheep' > BHb ei!l6a2 ?al<sup>1</sup>ya<sup>-</sup>, JA [Trg.] {Sl.}, JEA {Sl.} at!il5a9 ?al<sup>1</sup>t\_a<sup>-</sup> (pl. JEA at!il!l6a2 ?alya<sup>-</sup>t<sup>1</sup>t\_a<sup>-</sup>), Sr æ4ojliNè ?el<sup>1</sup>t\_a<sup>-</sup> ~ æ4ojliāa ?al<sup>1</sup>t\_a<sup>-</sup>, Sr E ?el<sup>1</sup>t\_a<sup>-</sup> 'fat tail', Ar éyaL0!Å ?alyat- id., 'mollet, gras de la jambe; gras de la cuisse', iLaÀ ?a<sup>1</sup>la<sup>-</sup> 'qui a la queue grosse et grasse; qui a les fesses charnues' : ? EthS: Amh lat 'sheep's tail', Har {L} la<sup>-</sup>t id., Grg Sl la<sup>-</sup>t 'meat of a sheep's tail' ¶ KB 53, KBR 55, Br. 23, Sl. 134-5, PS 208, BK I 49, DRS 20, L LH 101, L EDG III 374, MiK I #1.5 || C: EC: ??? Or alal {Th.} 'carne pura', {Brl.} 'carne che si mangia cruda, carne monda per i musulmani', {IS ← Vit.} 'raw meat [as food], fat' (Th. supposes that the word is of Arabic origin) :: ? SC: Kz {E} a<sup>1</sup>lito 'fat, oil' :: Dh1 {EEN} ?a<sup>1</sup>i 'oil' ¶ the SC/Dh1 word belongs here if \*-4- < \*-lh- with a \*\*h- of secondary (suffixal, hiatic?) origin ¶ Th. 15, IS I 259, Brl. 16, EEN 20, ■ E SC 285 (s.v. \*<sup>o</sup>?as<sup>1</sup>i 'fat, oil'); on SC \*-4- < \*-lh- ƒ AD SCL || ? WCh: Krkr {J} ?i<sup>1</sup>lmo<sup>-</sup>u, {Al.} ?i<sup>1</sup>lmo<sup>-</sup> 'fat' ¶ JI II 132 || ??? B: IS I 259-60 adduces Ah a<sup>1</sup>llun 'corn' (presumably from pB \*<sup>o</sup>√Hlw, the final -n [originally pl. marker] being re-interpreted as belonging to the √, hence

pl. a<sub>1</sub>llu<sub>2</sub>nən 'kinds of corn') ¶ Fc. 1090 ¶ IE \*ʔal- (or \*hel- > \*al-) v. 'feed, nourish' (→ v. 'rear, breed', 'grow') ({EL} \*h<sub>2</sub>ael- 'grow') > Gk ὄψω-αλ-τοϑ 'unsatiable' (lit. 'un-nourish-ed (enough)') ¶ L alo<sub>2</sub>, al-e<sub>2</sub>re 'nourish', d<sub>2</sub> altus 'high' (← \*fed') ¶ OIr al- v. 'nourish', Walu, Br ala v. 'bring forth' ¶ ON ala, AS alan 'feed, rear, bring up', Gt alan 'grow' (← be fed'); d<sub>2</sub>: Gt alpeis, Gt Cr, OHG, NHG alt, OSx ald, Dt oud, AS eald 'old' (← \*'grown up' ← \*fed'), NE old ¶ WP I 86, P 26, EI 248, F I 102, WH I 31-2, Vr. 4-5, Fs. 34, 40, EWA I 171-4, Vn. A 57, Mn. 16-7, Ho. 3, 83-4, KM 16-7 ¶ R \*ʔa<sub>1</sub>l'v- ({DQA} \*i<sub>2</sub>ol'e) 'food' > T \*al' 'food' > NaT \*as<sub>2</sub> > OT as<sub>2</sub>, Tk as<sub>2</sub>, Tkm, ET, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt as<sub>2</sub>, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Xk as<sub>2</sub>, Tv a<sub>2</sub>s<sub>2</sub>, Yk as id., Uz as<sub>2</sub> 'hot food', Az as<sub>2</sub> 'porridge, gruel (**kam**), pilau', Ggz as<sub>2</sub> ~ a<sub>2</sub>s<sub>2</sub> 'fodder' ¶ On the ev. of Tkm and Yk, the NaT vw. \*a was short [↔ Cl., Sev. (\*a<sub>2</sub>), DT (half-long \*a<sub>2</sub>)] ¶ ET Gl 210-2, Rs. W 29-30, DTS 61-2, Cl. 253, Rl. I 583-6, DHST 189, DT 82, Vl. I 38, Jeg. 38 ¶ Ko al 'seed, grain, corn' ¶ Rm. SKE 6-7 ¶ ?ϕ M \*o<sub>2</sub>l- > WrM {MED} o<sub>2</sub>l, HIM 'л 'food', Brt \*л, Kl 'л 'nutritiousness', {Rm.} o<sub>2</sub>l 'stärkende Speise', Ord [\*, Mnr E {MYC}] o<sub>2</sub>l 'nutritiousness, food' ¶ The pM origin of the word is doubtful because of its strange phonetic shape (monosyllabic noun without final vw., not typical for pM) and its absence from MM sources; one of possible sources is T \*o<sub>2</sub>l 'fresh' (→ 'fresh\nutritious grass') ¶ MED 633, KRS 413, KW 29, Chr. 499, Ms. O 530 [\*, MYC 541] ¶ ?ϕ Tg \*ul<sub>2</sub>- 'feed' > Ewk ul<sub>2</sub>-, Lm, Nn Nh ul<sub>2</sub>-, WrMc ulebu- id. ¶ STM II 260 ¶ S AJ 186, 285, SDM97 (A \*e<sub>2</sub>l'u 'seed, grain, food') ¶ DQA #32 [A \*al'v 'fresh crops, germinated seeds' > T \*i<sub>2</sub>al' 'food' + *unc.*: M \*alir-su (> Kl a<sub>2</sub>l<sub>2</sub>sn<sub>2</sub> 'chaff', HIM alirs 'blue-berry') and Tg \*elu<sub>2</sub> > Ewk alu<sub>2</sub>- v. 'hatch']; *qu.*: DQA #641 [pA \*i<sub>2</sub>ol'e 'food' > T \*i<sub>2</sub>al', \*i<sub>2</sub>al'-a 'food', M \*o<sub>2</sub>l 'food', Tg \*ul<sub>2</sub>- 'feed'] ¶ It is tempting to adduce (after IS I) D \*al<sub>2</sub>(-av-) > Klm la<sub>2</sub>v 'fat', Tm al<sub>2</sub> 'strength', Gnd la<sub>2</sub>v, Kn ala(vu/i) 'power, strength', Tl alavu, alavi id., la<sub>2</sub>vu 'strength, fatness', Knd alvi 'energy', la<sub>2</sub>vu 'much' (D #291). But the D stem belongs here only if the meaning 'fat' (as in Klm and Tl) is the original one, which is doubtful ♦ Cf. IS I 259-60: HS (S, Or, B), IE, A (T, Ko), D ♦ ≠ Gr. II #330 (\*al 'seed') [untenable].

**35. \*ʔuh<sub>2</sub>l'v** 'hut' > **HS:** S \*ʔuh<sub>2</sub>al- 'tent, hut, family' (~ \*ʔah<sub>2</sub>al-?) > Hb ʔohel 'tent', pl. ʔha<sub>2</sub>l<sub>2</sub>im, Ug ʔahl {A} 'Zelt, Wohnung', {OLS} 'tienda, mansión', Amr {G} ʔahlum 'tent, house', JA {Lv.} el<sub>2</sub>le9a<sub>2</sub>l ʔah<sub>2</sub>l-a<sub>2</sub>, {Js.} el<sub>2</sub>le0a<sub>2</sub>l ʔah<sub>2</sub>l-a<sub>2</sub>, JEA {SL} al<sub>2</sub>le76&a ʔoh<sub>2</sub>l-a<sub>2</sub> 'tent', Sr ʔoha<sub>2</sub>yi'hal, em. «oh<sub>2</sub>A yah<sub>2</sub>l-a<sub>2</sub> 'gens, caterva (hominum)', Nbt ʔhlt<sub>2</sub>, Ar ʔahl-, pl. ʔahl-u<sub>2</sub>na 'people who live in the same tent' → 'family, household, people', Tmd ʔhl, ʔl 'tent, family, clan', Sf ʔl, Lh ʔhl id., Ak a<sub>2</sub>lu (< \*ʔahlu) 'Ortschaft, Stadt'; S b> Eg N ihr, (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ʔa-hi-l 'nomad's tent' ¶ DRS 10-1, KB 18-9, KBR 19, A #104, OLS 15, Sl. 86, G A 13, BK I 65-6, Brn. ITh 511, Brn. TTPh 160, BGMR 3, EG I 119, Hlk. 11, SivCR 78; the vw. a of the first syll. (in Ak, Ug, Ar and Sr) is probably due to the infl. of \*h ¶ SC: Irq {MQK} ʔis<sub>2</sub>a<sub>2</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub> (pl. ʔis<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>ri) 'watch hut in the field', {E} is<sub>2</sub>a<sub>2</sub>ṇ<sub>2</sub> 'out-structure, hut or shelter away from house', ? SC b> Mb as<sub>2</sub>a<sub>2</sub>ʔu<sub>2</sub> 'calf hut' ¶ E SC 285 (s.v. \*ʔa<sub>2</sub>l<sub>2</sub>s<sub>2</sub>a), MQK 58 ¶ ?? WCh: pAG \*lu<sub>2</sub> 'hut', {Hf.} 'compound' > Gmy {Hf.} lu<sub>2</sub> id., Su {J} lu<sub>2</sub> 'Hütte, Raum', Mnt {J} lu<sub>2</sub>, Ang lu, Cp {Kr.} li 'hut, house', Kfr {Nt.} lu<sub>2</sub> 'house', Mpn {Frz.} lu<sub>2</sub> 'house, hut, room' ¶ J S 73, ChL, Hf. AG 21 [#135] (pAG 'compound'), Nt. 25, Frz. M 34 ¶ E: MEI ul-hi 'Wohnstatt, Tempel' ¶ HK 1216-7 ¶ D \*ul<sub>2</sub> 'house, in, inside' > Prj ole(k) 'house', Gdb ule, Gnd ro<sub>2</sub>n ~ lo<sub>2</sub>n id., Knd lo<sub>2</sub>o/i 'inside', Krx ula<sub>2</sub> 'inner room; in, inside', Mlt ule 'inside, within', Brh ura<sub>2</sub> 'house, wife'; Tm ul, Ml ul<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub> 'inside', Td ul<sub>2</sub> 'the inside' ¶ D #698 ¶ ?? R \*ʔu<sub>2</sub>l'v: ? T \*o<sub>2</sub>l<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub>l<sub>2</sub> 'inside' > {Cl.} os<sub>2</sub>, OT {DTS} us<sub>2</sub> 'the heart\centre (qalb) of tree-trunk, branch or horn', {MKD} o<sub>2</sub>s<sub>2</sub> 'core (tree, branch, horn)' ¶ Cl. 255, DTS 617, MKD 49 ¶ ?? M \*u<sub>2</sub>l<sub>2</sub>us 'tribe, population' > MM [S] ulus 'Volk, Stamm, Staat', WrM ulus, HIM uls 'people, nation; state,

kingdom, empire; dynasty', Mnr H lus3 'peuple, état, contrée' ¶ MED 873-4, H 163, Kow. 403, SM 228; the M stem may belong here only if the final element \*-(u)s can be explained.

**36. ? \*ʔul'gja** 'cold (Kälte)' > **IE:** NaIE \*algʰ- 'cold', \*algʰ-e/os-n. 'cold, frost' ({EI} ? \*h<sub>AE</sub>elgʰ- 'cold') > L alg-or 'frost, cold', alg-e- v. 'freeze, feel cold', alg-idus adj. 'cold' || pGmc \*algiz (< \*algʰ-es-) > ON gen. sg. elgiar, Ic elgur 'Schneegestöber mit starkem Frost, halbgeschmolzener Schnee', 'snow-drift' ¶¶ P 32, EI 113, WH I 29, Vr. 100 || **HS:** Ech: Bdy {AlJ} ʔo'lgā n. 'froid', ʔo-ḷ (pl. ʔo'lo'w) 'refroidir', EDng {Fd.} ɔ-ḷa 'froid', ɔ-ḷe 'rafraichir', Jg {J} ʔo-ḷa n 'cold' ¶ J J 116, AlJ 104, 145, Fd. 40, JI II 80-1 || ?? S \*<sup>o</sup>/wlg > Sr W {Br.} gle,,Æ a ʔawleg 'frigidus, jejunos evasit', but acc. to PS, the word means 'fatuus, insipitus factus est' ¶ Br. 301, PS 65 || **A** {AD} \*u-ḷ'i-, {SDM94, SDM95} \*ul'v > T \*u-ḷ'i- v. 'freeze, congeal' > OT [MhK] \*u-ḷ'si- 'be very cold, shiver with cold', MQp u-ḷ'si- 'be cold', [CC] 'be frozen', Tk u-ḷ'su- v. 'suffer from cold', Az, QrB, Qrg, ET u-ḷ'su-, Tkm u-ḷ'se-, Δ u-ḷ'si-, VTt ɔ-ḷ's- id. [b> Chv v<sub>BS</sub>- v. 'blow' (of a cold wind)?], Nog u-ḷ'si- v. 'get frost-bitten', Qq, Qzq u-ḷ's(i)- v. 'freeze, suffer from cold', StAlt, Tv u-ḷ'z'u- v. 'freeze, become stiff with cold' ¶ Cl. 256-7, Rs. W 52, ET Gl 644, DTS 628, BT 171 || M \*\*u-ḷi'u- (not attested in the available M sources) b> Yk u-ḷu'i- 'frieren' ¶ Rm. SKE 73, Klz. MJ 121, Rs. W 523 || Tg \*u<sub>l</sub>an 'patch of water on ice, ~~наледо~~; glade, ~~полюс~~' > Ewk ula n id., Neg olan, Ul ula(n-), Nn ola- 'unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river' ¶ STM 258 ¶¶ SDM97 (A \*ul'v v. 'freeze') and DQA #2519 (A \*u-ḷi'e 'to freeze' > T, Tg) consider Yk u-ḷu'i- to be an inherited T word and hence have to reconstruct pT variants: \*u-ḷ'i-~\*u-ḷi- (without explaining the variation); Rm. (SKE 73) adduces Ko ɪrɪl-t-əl- v. 'tremble, shiver' [to be rejected as ideophonic].

**37. \*ʔam'o' ɪrVJ** 'morning, daylight' > **HS** \*<sup>o</sup>/mr 'morning, daylight' (× N \*ʔ'o'mrE vi. 'burn, shine; dawn', q.v. ffd.) > C {AD} \*<sup>o</sup>/mr 'morning, dawn' > Ag {E} \*ʔamer- 'morning' > Bln {R} amərī, Q {R} amər- 'morning, tomorrow', Xm {R} amir, Xm T {CR} amər 'tomorrow', b> Gz ʔamir 'sun, day, time', Gft ayməra, Grg imir, yimər 'sun': SC: ? Irq {Wh.} oma'r 'previously', and ??σ SC {E} \*a-ma 'night' (acc. to E PC; the representation in individual lgs. is not indicated) ¶ AD SF 132-3, E PC #453, L G 26, Wh. SI II **IE** \*ʔha-m(e)r / \*ʔha-m-n- ({EI} \*h<sub>2</sub>eHmer) 'day' (× N \*ʔ'o'mrE) > Gk: Hm ημαρ, gen. ηματ-ος, D/AC θαμαρ, -ατο id. d> Gk A ημε'ρα- 'day' (initial h- on the analogy of ε'σπε'ρα 'evening') 'day' || Arm ayr awr 'day' (< \*au<sub>mr</sub> < \*amur < \*a-mo'r), gen. awur ¶¶ P 35, □ EI 149 (unjustified morphemic border: \*h<sub>2</sub>eH-mer), F I 634-5, Ch. 412, Slr. 409-411, Hamp AA II ? **U** {IS} \*<sup>o</sup>amo > FP \*<sup>o</sup>a'mV/\*oma 'morning, early' > ? F aamu ḏ ahmu 'morning', eF [Agr.] amu ~ aamu, Krl oamu. uamu id., Vp a-mu 'long ago' (the length of the initial vw. and dialectal h are innovations due to unknown factors), Er umok 'long ago' ] possibly FL \*amrV > F aurinko 'sun', Lp T avr 'flame' ¶¶ Coll. 2, Coll. CG 405 (U \*oma), IS I 261, UEW 337-8, ≠ UEW 804-5, SSA I 46 ◆ Cf. AD LRC #73: [IE, HS (C & Gz), U]; IS MS 370 & IS I 260-1 (both: HS, IE, U).

**38. \*ʔamV** (= \*hamV?) dem. prn. ('iste?'), 'now' > **HS:** S \*ʔham- > Ak A ammiu 'that, jener' (f. ammitum), amma 'voilà', OAr T/SA ʔam-, Ar D ʔam-, Ar NY NE ʔam-, m-, Ar NY T ʔam- ~ m- ḏ ʔim-, Hmr {Blv.} ʔam- df. art., ? IA hn 'this' ¶ Sd. 43-4, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], Br. G I 317 [§ 107e], Bns. NJ I 64 [map #24] & II 33, Blv. XJ 116-7, Kfl. I 74, HJ 287-8 || EC: Af {PH} ama 'istud' (= 'that [thing] near you'), Sa {R} a'ma- 'dieser, jener' (= 'iste?'), Or {Grg., Th.} amma, Or S a(m)ma 'now' ¶ PH 9, R S II 84, Grg. 16, Sr. 263, Th. 18, Sr. 263 || **K** \*ama- 'this' > G ama-/am- 'this', Mg amu-, Lz (h)amu- id., Sv ama-s dat. 'to that', ama-w 'here, so far' ¶¶ □ K<sup>1</sup> 44, □ K<sup>2</sup> 2-3 (K considers the stem to be compound of \*a- and \*-ma-) || **A:** NaT \*am + -ti (> \*amti, \*amdi, \*a-mdi) 'now' (← 'in this?'), ? \*am 'now' > OT am-ti 'now', Tv, Tf amdi, ET a-mdi, Alt {RI.}, StAlt, Qrg emdi, Alt Δ {GAJ} amdi, Ln a-mde-a-mdi, Shor,

Xk, Sg {Rl.}, Tv am, Tv Δ, Tf amdı 'now' ¶ Rs. W 18, Cl. 157-8, DTS 42, ET Gl 357-8, Rl. I 643, BT 191, TvR 56, Ra. 154 ¶ Cl. supposes that am is a contraction of \*am-tı (Cl. 157-8); amtı (> amdı) and a'mdi (> emdi) may be two synharmonistic variants [progressive vs. regr. as (vowel harmony) in a bi-morphemic word] ¶¶ On the other hand, T \*e'mdi may be connected with pKo \*ima- (> Nko ima-ʒək) 'lately, nowadays', pJ \*ima 'now' (> OJ i'ma', J T ima) and possibly with Tg \*ime- 'fresh, new' (> Ewk iməkin, Nn B imki(n-), Nn KU iməki id., Neg iməxin, Ork iməw, iməu 'fresh', Ud iməxi 'new'); in this case it goes back to A {DQA} \*i'me' 'now' (DQA #599, STM I 314) ¶ E: MEI, NEI, AchEI a-am, am 'now' ¶ HK 48 ♦ If IA hn belongs here, the N initial cs. is \*h-, otherwise it is \*ʔ-, i.e. \*ʔh- (\*h- is not ruled out, since in grammatical morphemes pN and pS \*h- may yield Ar ʔ-).

**39. LI ? \*ʔema** 'mother' > **HS:** S \*ʔimm- id. (pl. \*ʔimma-h-a-t-) > Hb Ma4 'ʔem / -m'a5 ʔimm- (ʔim'm-i 'my mother'), pl. ʔimma-ho-t-, Ph ʔm, Ug ʔum\*ʔumm-, pl. ʔumht, Amr {G} ʔumm-um ~ ʔimm-um, JA, Sr ʔim'm-a-, JEA {Sl.} am'lia5 ʔim'ma-, Ar ʔumm-, Lh \*ʔumm-, OSA ʔm, pl. ʔmht, Gz ʔəm, Mh h-a-m, indf. ʔe-m, Hrs h-a-m, Jb C 'ʔem, Sq {L} ʔem- +ppas., Gz ʔəmm, pl. ʔəmma-t, Ak ummu(m) ¶ KB 59, OLS 34, DRS 22-3, Sl. 116-7, G A 14, Jo. M 5, Jo. H 2, Jo. J 3, L G 22, L LS 62, Sd. 1416-7; the variant with u is due to the ass. infl. of mm || B ʔ\*yimma 'my mother' > Kb {Dl.}, Snd {La.} yəmma, BMn {Ds.} yemma, Jrb {Bs.}, Gd {Lf.} yəmma-imma, IzN {Ds.} yemma-imma, Mtmt {Ds.} yimma, BSn imma {Bs.} id., {Ds.} 'mother', Rf {Bi.} imma id., SrSn/Grr {Bs.}, Kb Z {Bs.} imma 'my mother'; the form \*yimma- may go back to \*y- 'my' + \*ʔimmV 'mother' ¶ Dl. 921, Ds. B 219, Bi. R 86, Lf. II #0950 || C: ? HEC {Hd.} \*ama > Brj a'ma-a'ma 'mother, woman, wife', Ged/Sd/Alb {Hd.} ama, Hd {Hd.} ama, amoʔo 'mother', ama(ti) 'mater familias', Kmb {Hd.} amata, amayye voc. 'mother' ¶ SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} a'ma 'old woman', Irq {MQK} ʔa-ma id., 'grandmother, wife', ? Irq {Wh.} a'me'ni 'woman' ¶ Hd. 102, Ss. B 25-6, Wh. IC 26, MQK 13 || ? Ch (here unless an independent LI): CCh: Mrg a'ma', Klb ama, Wmd vma 'mother' ¶ ECh: Ke a'ma' 'mother' (address word) ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 26 ¶¶ This N √ is the most probable source of the fem. ending of pronouns in B, Eg and Ch: HS \*kVm 'thee, thy' f. > B {Pr.} \*kamm 'thou' f. > Tw kVm id. (Ah {Fc.} kəm, Ty/ETwl kVm 'thou' [aut. prn.], kVm [preverbal]), Kb ɰəmm, Zng {Ai.} kum ~ kəm, Shl kimi, Si s'əm, Tmz s'əm, kəmm; B {Pr.} \*-(i-)k-am 'thee' f. > Tw {Pr.} \*kVm ~ \*im id., Ty/ETwl {GhA} -kVm ~ -im, Kb, Shl -kəm, Zng kəm ~ -m, Si -im, Tmz -ikəm, -s'm, Wrg -s'əm; pB {Pr.} \*-əm ~ \*-i-m 'thy' f. possessoris > Tw {Pr.} -əm ~ -im, Ty/ETwl {GhA} -(ə)m ~ -em, Kb, Zng, Shl, Si, Tmz, Wrg -m; B {Pr.} \*ha-m 'to thee (f.)' > Ah {Pr.} ha-m id. (preverbal), -a-m id. (postverbal), Ty, ETwl am, Kb, Wrg -(i)am, Shl, Si, Tmz -am id. ¶ Pr. M I-III 164-7, 173-9, Fc. 807, GhA 93, Dl. 404, AiM 215-7 || Eg: OEg enclitic f. marker -m: cm 'thou' f. ↔ cw m.; aut. pronouns: cmt 'thou' f. ↔ cwt 'thou' m. ¶ Ed. §§ 166-7, 172 || Ch \*-m (marker of f.) in \*kVm 'thee' f. > Ngz {Sch.} ki'm, Bd gə'm, Bdm {Lk.} -gem id., Ch \*kVm > Bdm {Lk.} -g'um 'thy' f. possessoris ¶¶ AD PPN 71-3, 122 ¶ U {UEW} \*ema 'mother, female' > F ema 'female, mother, womb', ema'nta 'Hausmutter, Wirtin', ema'sika 'sow', Es ema 'mother, womb', pLp {Lr.} \*e'me 'womb' > Lp S {Hs.} jiemie yiēmiē id., Lp N {N} \*æbme, æm-: æmest 'von der Geburt an', æme-lii'ke 'die Haut des neugeborenen Kindes' ¶ OHg eme 'female (animal)', Hg Δ eme (acc. eme't) 'sow' || Sm {Jn.} \*ema, {Hl.} \*eme 'mother' > Ne T {Lh.} n'e'b\_e, StNe T нeб\_l, Ne F Ny n'em'e, En X ε-, (+ ppa. of 1s) ε'b\_o-, Ng {Cs.} n'ame; Slq: Tz {Prk.} zmi, LTz {KD} a'ma, Tur z'mi 'mother'; Koyb {Pl.} имад, Mt {Hl.} \*EmE (poss. forms \*ima- id. (Mt T {Mil.} em'e, emme id., Mt M {Pl.} иммада 'his mother', имамь 'my mother') || pY {IN} \*emey 'mother' > OY: K {Bil.} amea, {Kl.} амей, Ch {Mat.} емь 'mother', O {Mat.} емюмь '[my] mother'; Y K {IN} emey 'mother', emme 'mammy' (address) ¶¶ UEW 74, Sm. 536 (U, FU, Sm \*ema), Jn. 23, Lr. #228, Lgc.

#1735, Hs. 781, Hl. M #64, IN 217, 299, ▣ Rd. UJ 35 [#8] (Y ◀b U} ▨ ▨ {DQA} A \*e<sup>-</sup>me 'woman, female', {AD} 'mother, woman, female' > T \*a<sup>-</sup>ma<sup>-</sup> 'mother, female' (→ 'old woman') > Az Δ a<sup>-</sup>ma<sup>-</sup> 'grandmother', Qrg {Jud.} eme, Alt emegen 'old woman', Qmd {Rl.} emegen 'old woman, wife', Tlt {Rl.} a<sup>-</sup>ma<sup>-</sup>ʒa<sup>-</sup>n 'Mütterchen' (address to an old woman), Chv ama 'mother, female, old woman' ¶ S AJ 196 [#246], Rs. W 42, ET Gl 220-2, Jeg. 25, Fed. I 38-9, Rl. I 948-9 || M \*eme 'woman, female' > MM eme, eme gu<sup>-</sup>vu<sup>-</sup>n 'woman, wife; female (animal)', WrM eme id., HlM em 'woman', Brt eme id., WrO eme 'woman, female, lady', Dx ʒm3(kun), Dg {T} emeg, {Mr.} emehe, {Pp.} eme<sup>-</sup>g 'wife', {T} emgu<sup>-</sup>n, {Pp.} emgu<sup>-</sup>n, Ba ʒm3(kuŋ) 'woman', Mnr H {SM} imu in ʒara imu ('black woman'), ritual name given by a girl to herself in front of her parents the day of her marriage ¶ S AJ 238 [#106], T BJ 152, T DnJ 144, T DgJ 139, SM 192, Klz. D I 129, H 43, Ms. H 54, Pp. MA 153-4 || Tg \*em'e<sup>-</sup> 'mother, woman, female' > Ewk ʒmugd3 'female elk', Sln {Iv.} e'mo 'mother', emi'ge 'wife', Nn KU ʒmx3 'mother-in-law', WrMc {Z} eme 'mother', emxe 'wife's mother', emeke 'husband's mother', Mc Sb {Mrm.} eme 'mother', emxe 'Schwiegermutter', emhe 'wife's mother' ¶ S AJ 221 [#221], STM 451-2, Klz. MS 157-8 || MKo {S, Vv.} ʒ'mi<sup>-</sup> 'mother', {Vv.} e<sup>-</sup>ma<sup>-</sup>:nim id.; less likely pKo {S} \*a<sup>-</sup>mh 'woman, wife, female' > MKo a<sup>-</sup>m / a<sup>-</sup>mh-, NKo am id. ¶ Vv. AEN 372, S AJ 89, 256 [#135], SDM97, S QK #135 || OJ omo 'mother' ¶ Vv. AEN 372, JdH 164 ¶¶ S AJ 279 [#112], ▣ DQA #428 (incl. T, M, Tg, pK \*a<sup>-</sup>mh) ♦ Words shaped as a(m)ma in individual IE lgs. [OHG amma 'nutrix, nurse', ON amma 'nun', Al G 'ame<sup>-</sup> 'mother', ƒ Dv. 470 [#423], Kf. 39, O 4, EWA I 205-6), El (OEI/MEI/NEI/AchEI) am-ma 'mother' (HK 51-3) and D \*amma, [GS] \*am- 'mother' (> Tm amma<sup>-</sup>, Ml, Kn, Tl, Tu amma, Klm amma, Brh amma<sup>-</sup> 'mother', Knd ama 'grandmother', Png, Mnd, Kui ama 'father's sister', Ku amma 'aunt' (ƒ D #183, GS 108 [#280]), OJ E {Vv. ← JdH} amo 'mother' (Vv. AEN 372, JdH 49)] are unlikely to belong here, they are better explained as independent *L*-creations ♦ AD NM #116, S CNM 3 (÷÷ Yn and err. ÷ ST), Vv. AEN 7 ♦ ▣ Gr. II #430 (\*eme 'woman') [U, Y, A, Ko, Gil, CK + unc. OJ me 'woman'].

**40. \*ʔemV** 'to seize, hold' (→ 'to take') > **HS:** Eg fOK ʒmm v. 'seize, grasp' (EG: 'mit der Faust ergreifen'), ◀ Eg fXVIII ʒmm.t 'Griff, Faust', {Fk.} n. 'grasp' ¶ EG I 10-1, Fk. 3 || B \*<sup>o</sup>Hmiy > Sll a<sup>-</sup>mi v. 'hold\contain' (of a recipient), 3s pf. i<sup>-</sup>u<sup>-</sup>mi (Pcj. I A 3) ¶ Ds. 74, Pr. M VI-VII 96 || ??ϕ C: Bj {Rop.} -ʔamit, {R} -ʔamit (1s: p. a-ʔa'mit, prs. {R} a-ʔam'mit, {Rop.} 'ʔammīt) v. 'grip, grasp' (rf. {R} -ʔama<sup>-</sup>t 'an sich nehmen, nehmen': p. 1s a-ʔama<sup>-</sup>t, prs. 1s a-t-ʔa'mit), {R} mʔama<sup>-</sup>t 'fist', {Rop.} maʔmat 'fistful' || HEC: Sd {Gs., Mrn., C} amad-v. 'catch, hold, seize, take', Hd {PB} amad- 'fassen, nehmen', Kmb {C} amad-v. 'take' ¶ R WBd 19, Rop. 150, Gs. 12, PB 135, C SE II 189, C S 656, Mrn. S s.v. amad- || ?σ Om: SOm {Fl.}: Dm im-, Hm, Ari B im- 'give' || NrOm: Kf {C} im- ~ em-, Mch {L} ʔimmi-, Wl {LmS} imm-, Zr/Cha {C} im-, Gm {Hw.} ʔi<sup>-</sup>mo-, Ym {Wdk.} i<sup>-</sup>ma<sup>-</sup> id. ¶ Fl. OO 318, C SE IV 390, L M 16, LmS 286-7, Hw. EG s.v. 'give', Wdk. BY 126 || Ch {Stl.} \*ʔV<sup>-</sup>m- 'catch, seize', {JS} \*ʔam 'take' > CCh: Tr {Nw.} o<sup>-</sup>m 'catch', ZmB ʔa<sup>-</sup>m {J} 'take', {Sa.} 'steal', ?? Msg {Mch.} ima<sup>-</sup> v. 'seize', {Lk.} ime, ime 'fangen, ergreifen, nehmen' || ECh: Ll {Cp.} o<sup>-</sup>m v. 'hold', Kbl {Cp.} a<sup>-</sup>m 'catch', Mkl {J} ʔa<sup>-</sup>mb.e<sup>-</sup> v. 'take' ¶ Stl. IF 123, JS 261, ChC II **IE** \*ʔ<sup>1</sup>em-/ʔ<sup>1</sup>m-/ {Mn.} \*m<sup>-</sup>o- (< \*ʔm<sup>-</sup>o-) v. 'take, get' ({EI} \*h<sup>-</sup>em- 'take', ≠ 'distribute') (× N \*q<sup>-</sup>a<sup>-</sup>mV 'to grasp, seize' × N \*HoNVmV 'take hold of') > Lem-v. 'take' (only in *cds.*), v. 'buy', pfc. e<sup>-</sup>mpsi (< \*e<sup>-</sup>m-, cp. Lt e<sup>-</sup>miau<sup>-</sup> 'I bought'), Osc PERT-EMEST 'perimet', PER-EMUST 'perceperit', Um emantu(r) 'accipiantur' || OIr em- in ar-fo-em-v. 'take, receive' || Lt im-u<sup>-</sup>, im<sup>-</sup>-ti v. 'take', Ltv jemu 'I take', Pru imt 'to take' || Sl je<sup>-</sup>-ti / \*(j)bm-o<sup>-</sup> 'take' (× NaIE \*yem-/ym<sup>-</sup>o- < N \*n<sup>-</sup>am<sup>-</sup>U<sup>-</sup> 'to squeeze, seize') > OCS имѣ im-o<sup>-</sup> / ѣти je<sup>-</sup>ti [\*jbm- with prosthetic \*j- (encouraged by the contamination with NaIE

\*yem-/ym-, the stem \*ym- being preserved in *cds.*, e.g. v5z6m0 vьz-ьm-o 'I (shall) take', SCr Ch je'ti, Slv je'ti, P ja'c'; ⚡ Sl \*jьma'ti > OCS *имамь* imamy 'I have', SCr i'mati, Slv jema'ti, Cz jr'mati, Slk mat', jimat', P imac', R Δ *имат*, Uk *мати*; Sl \*jьme'ti > OCS, OR *имѣти* ime'ti (1s prs. *имѣю*) 'have', R *имѣт*, Slv ime'ti, Cz mr'ti, P miec' || ?? Arm iman- iman- v. 'understand' (Mn. connects it with IE \*em-, while Solta hesitantly proposes a different et.) || ?? Ht wemiya- ~ umiya- 'finden, treffen, antreffen' (so acc. to Ped. H and P) ¶¶ P 310-1, WP I 207, *σσ* EI 564 (why 'distribute?'), Mn. 240, WH I 400-2, Bc. G 333, Frn. 184-5, En. 184, Vs. II 128, ESSJ VI 71, Glh. 276, Slr. 91-2, Ped. H 82, 135, Ts. W 104-5 ¶¶ The zero-grade \*ʔm- is probably represented by the pp. \*ʔm-to-s or \*ʔm-to-s (> Lemptus, Um emps, Lt im̄tas, Pru imtāf., OCS *ѣтъ* je'tь). The fact that the initial IE lr. in precons. position #\_C has not yielded \*ə, but rather a "schwa secundum" \*o or even a zero, suggests that this is IE \*ʔ-II K: ?? Lz {Marr} -m- (msd. m-o-m-ala) v. 'carry, bring' ¶ Marr 164 || U: FU (in Prm only) \*e<sub>1</sub>mV > pPrm \*em {oLG} \*e<sub>2</sub>m 'there is' > Z ym em, Yz 'im 'there is, exists', Z em, emlun, embur 'goods, property' ¶ LG 332, Lt. J 119 ¶ Contamination with FU \*omV 'own' (UEW 717) is possible ⚡ Cf. AD LRC #72 (IE, HS + i U), IS I 270 (HS, IE, K) ⚡ ≠ Gr. II #381 (\*amu 'take') [IE + *err.* U (< N \*ʔamTV 'to give'), A].

41. ?? \*ʔomV 'kin, clan, everybody' > HS: S \*ʔumm-(at-) 'kin, clan' > BHb em'la8 ʔum'm-a- 'tribe, small group of people', pl. ʔum'm-o-t-, ʔum'm-im, Ug ʔumt, ʔummat- 'kin, clan (?)', Sr ʔu-m(m)ə't.a-, Ar ʔumm-at- (pl. ʔumam-) {Fr.} 'coetus, multitudo, gens, familia viri, populus', {BK} 'assemblée, foule; famille; peuple, nation', Ak umma-n-um 'people, army', {Sd.} 'Menschenmenge, Herd, Arbeitsgruppe', ummat-um 'Hauptmasse' ¶ KB 60, KBR 62, Grd. UT 360 [#225], Hnr. 107, Fr. I 57, BK I 52, G OA 45, Sd. 1413-5, DRS 23 || C: EC: Af umma-n 'all, every', ummat 'inhabitants, populace', Sa {R} um'ma-n 'totalità, Gesamtheit' ¶ R S II 283, PH 204 || This N √ may be the source of \*-Vm-plural in several C lgs: EC: Dsn -am ~ -a-m, ending of pl. of nouns and adjectives (d.amad-a-m pl. of d.amad, d.i 'thigh', ʔoɲor-a-m pl. of oɲor 'black', alc'-am pl. of ʔalc'u 'fighting-stick'); Arr -me' ~ -ma', sx. of "multiple refernce plural" (dak.al-me' - pl. of dak.a'l 'cheek', de-bi-ma' - pl. of de-bi' 'cabbage') || ??? SC: Irq -e-mo sx. of pl. (da-ŋge-mo 'twins' - pl. of da-ŋgi 'twin') ¶ For further details see Zab. MNPC v ¶ To. DL 86-9, Hw. A 166-72, Mous 47, 58-9 || ?? IE \*ʔHom- 'every' > L omnis id., Osc u'mbn- 'omnis' || Arm amén ame'n, gen. ameni ameni 'all' [x ÷ OI sa'mah. 'equal, like', Av hama- 'jeder beliebige', Gk 'αμο- in 'αμου (Gk A 'αμου) 'somewhere, other', Gt sums, AS sum 'irgend einer', NE some] ¶ Slr. 269-270, *σ* WH I 209-10 || Pv. II 373-81 convincingly rejects the adduction of Ht hu-mant- 'every, each, all' ¶¶ Ped. H 165 || ? NaIE \*-o-m, sx. of genitivus pl. (e.g. with \*-o-stems: Vd cara-th-a-m 'der beweglichen', Gk λυ'κ-ων, OHG wolf-o, Lt vilk-u<sub>2</sub>, OCS *вѣтъ* vĕt'k-ъ 'of wolves', L deum 'of gods'; with \*-n-stems and \*-r-stems: OI s'un-a-m, Gk κυν-ων 'of dogs', L homin-um 'of men', Lt akmen-u<sub>2</sub>. OCS *камень* kamen-ъ 'of stones', Gt tuggo-n-o, OHG zungo-n-o 'of tongues'; in several lgs. the ending \*-o-m was lengthened due to metanalysis: OI -na-m, L -o-rum (OI vr.ka-na-m, L lupō-rum 'of wolves') ¶ Brg. KVG 394-5 §§ 486-7 and the table "übersichtstabelle zur nominalen Kasusbildung" after p. 398; Bks. 113-7, 173 || ?? U \*ʔo'ma > Mk u'ma 'pen, enclosure for cattle' || Sm: Slq Tz {Hl.} o-mi 'tous les autres, *остальные*', {KKIH} o-mi 'некоторые, *остальной*', o-min'e 'a relative' ¶ PI 284, Hl. (p.c.), KKH 145 || A: NaT \*o-ba 'clan, extended family, dwelling place of such a unit, small encampment or large tent' [x N \*ʔo.bV (= \*ʔohbV?) 'clan', q.v. ffd.] || M \*omug ~ obug 'clan' (x N \*ʔo.bV) > MM [S] oboh 'family', WrM obuy-omuy 'clan, tribe, family, surname', HIM obog-omog id., Ord omoq, WrO omoq 'family', Mnr H omog 'nom de clan, nom de famille' ¶ H 120, Krg. 115, MED 598, 611 || D (in SD) \*-um 'all', a

morpheme used as a final component of *cds.* and frame constructions: Tm *ella*-m 'everything, everybody', *ella*- + case sxs. + -um, *ella*-...-um 'all, everybody' (e.g. *ella*-man itarkalukum 'to all people'), *cakala* + case sx. + -um 'all, tous' (e.g. acc. *cakalattiyum*, dat. *cakalattukum*) (An. TL 23, An. GTJ 96-8), interr. prn. + -um have the meaning of 'every-...': *ya*-vum 'everything', *ya*-vaium 'all, whole', *ya*-rum 'everybody', *e*-vatum 'everything', Ml -(u)m 'all, any' (e.g. *en*-n'um 'anywhere', cp. *en*-n'u 'where'), Td -m 'all, any' (e. g. *et*-m 'in any direction', cp. *et*- 'in which direction?'), Kn -m (e.g. *ettam* 'wheresoever, cp. *etta* 'where?') ¶ D #5151 ♦ This √ may be the origin of the HS marker of pl. m. \*-um~\*im in personal pronouns and pronominal sxs. of 2pm and 3pm (S \*?antim ~ \*antum 'you' pl. m., \*-kum ~ \*kim 'you' acc. pl. m., 'yours' pl. m., \*s<sub>u</sub>-um ~ \*s<sub>i</sub>-im 'they' pl. m., \*-s<sub>u</sub>-um ~ \*-s<sub>i</sub>-im 'them, their' pl. m., C: Ag: Bln {R} ku<sub>m</sub> 'you' acc. pl. m., Hs kum 'yours' pl. m.) and of the D marker of pl. \*-m in pl. \*nīm 'you' pl. (cp. \*nī 'you' sg.), \*na<sub>m</sub> 'we incl., \*ya<sub>m</sub> 'we' excl. (Zv. CDM 36-44).

**42.** ?? <sub>2</sub> \*?ʔamga 'dry, thirst(y)', (?) 'dry by heat of the sun' > HS: S: Ar √ʔmg 'to be thirsty': pf. ΔaMiā ʔamigʾa 'be thirsty', ΔUMaā ʔamagʾ- 'thirst; excessive heat (of weather)' ¶ Fr. I 58 || EC: pSam {Hn.} \*ʾa<sub>n</sub>ge<sub>g</sub> 'dry' > Sml engeg-, Bn aneg 'dry', Rn a<sub>n</sub>ga<sub>g</sub>a<sub>g</sub> 'be dry, dry out\up' [ʔ+ || SC: Irq {MQK} age<sub>n</sub>-ḡ 'dry season', Alg {MousK} e<sub>n</sub>ge<sub>n</sub>, Brn {MousK} agen id.] On C \*√hgg '(be) dry' cf. N \*XagV 'dry, hard' ¶ ¶ Ss. B 82, 169, Bl. 183, Hn. S 5, PG 65, Hw. A 361-2, R WB 189, AD SF 256, Ap. 12, To. DL 500, Blz. CL 177, Blz. SCL s.v. 'dry'. II ? ¶ W: WrM aḡga-, HlM aḡra- 'be dry', gazar aḡga-qu 'for the soil to dry out' (unless identical with WrM aḡga 'be thirsty', which is from M \*qagga (> MM [S] {H} haḡga- v. 'be thirsty', Dg {Mr.} hanke- 'get thirsty, need water', hanka<sub>n</sub> 'male a person go witgout water, parch, make thirsty') ¶ MED 43, H 74, Pel. 203, Mr. D 156 ♦ Qu. because of the uncertainty of the supposed M cognate.

**43.** <sub>2</sub> \*?a<sub>m</sub>PV 'hyena, (?) wolf' > HS: EC \*?a<sub>m</sub>P- id. > Sd {Gs.} ambo<sub>m</sub>-ma, nom. ambo<sub>m</sub>-mi id. ¶ Gs. 14 || CCh: Nz {Mch.} ya<sub>n</sub>ba 'dog' ¶ ChC II U (att. in Ugr only) \*a<sub>m</sub>PV 'dog' > OHg xvi e<sub>b</sub>ek [a<sub>n</sub>bek], Hg e<sub>n</sub>b 'dog' | pObU \*a<sub>m</sub>PV 'dog' > pVg \*a<sub>m</sub>PV > Vg: T a<sub>m</sub>P, LK/MK/OK a<sub>m</sub>P, Ss a<sub>m</sub>P 'dog'; pOs \*a<sub>m</sub>P > Os: V/Vy a<sub>m</sub>P, Nz/Kz a<sub>m</sub>P, O a<sub>m</sub>P 'dog' ¶¶ UEW 836, MF 137, Ht. 126 [#33].

**44.** \*?ʔo<sub>m</sub>rE vi. 'burn, shine, be bright; dawn' > HS: [1] HS \*√ʔmr (× N \*?amʔo<sub>1</sub> ʔrV<sub>1</sub> 'morning, daylight'): B \*√ʔw<sub>1</sub>mr > Ah əmmar 'le soleil, le feu, tout corps en combustion qui chauffe à une distance; chaleur rayonnée', ʔsammər 'rayons du soleil chauffant doucement', Ty, ETwl aʔsamm<sub>m</sub>ər id., Rf summa<sub>r</sub> 's'ensoleiller, se mettre au soleil', Izd asammər 'sunny side of a mountain', SrSn, IzN sa-mmər id., ʔamiri 'moon-light' ¶ Fc. 1223, Rn. 385, GhA 131, Mrc. 237 || C {AD} \*√ʔmr 'morning, dawn' (see N \*?amʔo<sub>1</sub> ʔrV<sub>1</sub> 'morning, daylight') ¶¶ Other alleged cognates within HS (S \*√ʔmr v. 'see, be seen', etc., as well as some Ch, Eg and B words), adduced by IS (I 260-1), are semantically and phonetically unfit for comparison II IE \*?ha<sub>m</sub>(e)r / \*?ha<sub>m</sub>-n ({EI} \*h<sub>2</sub>ehmer) 'day' (× N \*?amʔo<sub>1</sub> ʔrV<sub>1</sub> '↑', q.v. ffd.) II ? U: FP \*umrV 'fire, flame' > Chr um<sub>r</sub> 'warm\calm' (of weather), Chr B um<sub>r</sub> 'warm und ruhig', Prm \*u<sub>m</sub>ir- > Vt G omi<sub>r</sub> 'flame', StVt om<sub>r</sub> 'heat (from a stove)', StVt т<sub>л</sub>л om<sub>r</sub>, Vt Y til-omi<sub>r</sub> 'flame' (т<sub>л</sub>л til 'fire'), Vt Uf ti<sub>1</sub> omi<sub>r</sub> 'das Feuer lodert auf', Z imraw-ni, imirt-ni, Z UV imral- 'blaze (as a stove), emit heat (пыкат, веѣт т<sub>л</sub>л)' ¶ UEW 804, LG 329, U3S 320 | possibly FL \*amrV > F aurinko 'sun', Lp T avr 'flame' (× N \*?amʔo<sub>1</sub> ʔrV<sub>1</sub>, q.v. ffd.) II A {DQA} \*obri<sub>e</sub> {AD} 'be bright, shine' (× N \*?u<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>rV 'light (lux), fire' × N \*χ<sub>1</sub>aw<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>rE (or \*χawErV) 'bright, white', q.v.) > NaT \*u<sub>n</sub>ru<sub>n</sub> ~ \*Ewru<sub>n</sub> 'white' > OT, Yk u<sub>n</sub>ru<sub>n</sub> id., Chg xv ewru<sub>n</sub> 'shining, bright; clear weather', MU u<sub>n</sub>ru<sub>n</sub> 'bright, clear', MQp XIII {Cl.} u<sub>n</sub>ru<sub>n</sub>, {TL} u<sub>n</sub>ru<sub>n</sub> 'milk', Tk Δ u<sub>n</sub>ru<sub>n</sub> 'milk, yoghurt', ? Qrg u<sub>n</sub>ru<sub>n</sub> baran 'morning twilight, dawn; sth. dimly seen in the dark' ¶ Cl. 233-4, TL 601, S AJ 193

[#190] || M {DQA} \*o<sup>o</sup>wr 'dawn' > MM [MA] u<sup>o</sup>r or o<sup>o</sup>r 'aurora', WrM {MED} u<sup>o</sup>r, {Gl.} o<sup>o</sup>r, HIM u<sup>o</sup>r, Ord, Kl o<sup>o</sup>r 'dawn, daybreak', WrO o<sup>o</sup>r 'morning, dawn, daybreak', Mnr H o<sup>o</sup>r 'aube du jour' ¶ Pp. MA 382, MED 1010, S AJ 243 [#216], Krg. 147, SM 294, KW 298 || Tg \*<sup>o</sup><sub>lxj</sub>oru > Ewk orumna- v. 'flame up (вспыхнул)' (of fire) ¶ Vas. 327, STM II 25 ¶¶ DQA #1580 (A \*obrie 'dawn'), S AJ 288 (A \*o<sup>o</sup>rV 'white, light [hell], dawn'); KW 298, Rs. W 375, SDM97 s.v. \*orE 'white, dawn' (all four sources: T, M).

**45. \*ʔoms'a** 'flesh, meat' > **U** {Coll.} \*oms'a id. > pLp {Lr.} \*<sup>o</sup>n<sup>o</sup>c<sup>o</sup>e 'flesh' > Lp S {Hs.} oa<sup>o</sup>ddjie, Lp N {N} oa<sup>o</sup>z<sup>o</sup>z<sup>o</sup>e, Lp Kld {TI} v<sup>o</sup>u<sup>o</sup>zn<sup>o</sup>:c<sup>o</sup>, Lp T {TI} v<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>zn<sup>o</sup>:c<sup>o</sup>e id. || Sm {Jn.} \*<sup>o</sup>msa<sup>o</sup>, {Hl.} \*<sup>o</sup>msa 'meat, flesh' > Ne T \*амба, Ne O {Lh.} <sup>o</sup>amca<sup>o</sup>, Ne F {Lh.} <sup>o</sup>amsa<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>, Ng {Mik.} <sup>o</sup>amsu, En X {Cs.} u<sup>o</sup>a, B {Ter.} ossa 'meat', Mt {Hl.} \*amsa ~ \*absa 'meat, body' (Mt: T {Sp.} <sup>o</sup>anca 'flesh\meat', K/M {Mll.} amsa 'caro'), Slq Tz {KKIH} apsi 'food' ¶¶ Coll. 104, <sup>o</sup> Sm. 542 (FU \*ons'a<sup>o</sup> 'flesh; hind' > FP \*ons'a, Ugr \*a<sup>o</sup>nc'a), Lr. #835, TI 762, Jn. 15 (believes that Sm \*<sup>o</sup>msa<sup>o</sup> 'meat' is *d* from \*<sup>o</sup>m- 'to meat'), KP 160, KKI 100, Hl. M #36, ≠ UEW 133 (Lp from \*oc'a ~ \*on<sup>o</sup>c'a 'to divide') || **HS**: ? S: Ar <sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>mis<sup>o</sup>-, <sup>o</sup>amis<sup>o</sup>- 'pickled raw meat; veal jelly' ¶ Fr. I 59, BK I 55 ¶ The emphaticity of the final cns. defies explanation || Eg fXVIII sms 'piece of beef' (IS: partial *rdp.* of \*<sup>o</sup>ms?) ¶ EG IV 141 ¶¶ I do not adduce here (⇔ IS) the NrOm word for 'cow' (Kf {C} m<sup>o</sup>nc<sup>o</sup>o<sup>o</sup>, etc.) because the sibilant\affricate element belongs probably to a nominal sx. [singulative?] - cp. Kf {C} m<sup>o</sup>mo 'cow', ≠ Lm. Sh 355. For similar morphological (and semantic) reasons I reject the alleged Or cognate {Th} ammei<sup>o</sup>sa 'milch cow' <sup>o</sup> Or B {Vnt.} amessa 'un animale che ha latte e che è dato in prestito a chi non ha cibo' (Vnt. 8, Th. 18) || **IE**: NaIE \*me<sup>o</sup>ms- 'meat' (< \*\*<sup>o</sup>me<sup>o</sup>ms- [reduplicated stem]), {EI} \*me<sup>o</sup>(m)s (gen. \*mem's-os) > OI ma<sup>o</sup>m<sup>o</sup>'sa-, 'ma<sup>o</sup>s 'flesh, meat' || Arm mis mis id. || pAl \*mis'a > Al mish id. || Gt mimz id. || Pru mensa<sup>o</sup>, Lt Zh meisa (Frn.: < \*mensa<sup>o</sup>), Ltv m<sup>o</sup>esa id. || Sl \*me<sup>o</sup>so id. > OCS <sup>o</sup>ma<sup>o</sup>so me<sup>o</sup>so, SCr me<sup>o</sup>so, P mie<sup>o</sup>so, R 'm<sup>o</sup>co || L membrum 'limb' (< \*me<sup>o</sup>ms-ro-) || OIr mi<sup>o</sup>r 'piece of meat, mouthful, food' (< \*me<sup>o</sup>ms-ro-) || Tc B m<sup>o</sup>isa 'meat, flesh' ¶ P 725, EI 374-5, WH II 64-5, Fs. 361, Vn. M 54-5, Frn. 427, En. 210, O 267, Sl. 51-2, Ad. 464 ¶ The loss of the Ir. \*ʔ in the initial clusters [\*ʔ + cns.] is reg. (cp. \*ʔs- > \*s in \*es-ti 'est' - \*s-onti 'sunt') ♦ IS I 252-3, AD NM #66, S CNM 3 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST) ♦ <sup>o</sup> Gr. II #161 (\*mim 'flesh') [IE, U + *unc.* Tg, Ko, J, Ai, EA].

**46. \*ʔin<sup>o</sup>'A<sup>o</sup>** 'place' (→ 'in' in daughter-lgs.) > **HS**: S \*ʔina 'in' > Ak: OAk, OB ina ~ in 'in', OA ina 'in'; Eb in 'in'; in WS traces of \*ʔina have been preserved in Hb l&mt6a3 <sup>o</sup>et<sup>o</sup>'mo<sup>o</sup>l 'yesterday' < \*ʔittamo<sup>o</sup>l < \*ʔina tima<sup>o</sup>li(m) (lit. 'in [the day of] yesterday'; cp. Ak ina tima<sup>o</sup>li(m), Sd. 1360; \*-ttə- > \*-t- *reg.*, ≠ AD PSH 113 (rule 63c), BL H 193 [§ 12h]), in JEA/JPA lmlt6ia5 <sup>o</sup>it<sup>o</sup>'ma<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup>it<sup>o</sup>'ma<sup>o</sup>l and in Sr <sup>o</sup>et<sup>o</sup>'ma<sup>o</sup>l id.; there is syntactic ev. (adnominal [so-called "genitive"] case of nouns following \*ʔina) suggesting that this prep. (like other S prepositions) goes back to a noun, hence the final \*-a in \*ʔina is an ending of acc. (typical of adverbials of place) and provides no ev. as to the final vw. of the pN stem ¶ CAD VII 141-2, Penn. SPE 298, Lv. I 185, PS 4459 || ? B \*ʔin 'to, into' > Nf in id.: 'ugur in əl mædrəsət 'go to school', ugu<sup>o</sup>ray in t<sup>o</sup>ara<sup>o</sup>bləs 'I went to Tripoli', Si i- (pre-nominal) 'à, dans': ikim i-ddəlu 'il entra dans le seau', Gd i- (postnominal) 'dans': allu<sup>o</sup>n-i 'dans un trou', as well as possibly Ntf {La.} -n, -ən (locative-delative pc.: iaf-n 'he found **here**', as<sup>o</sup>k-ən 'partir') ¶ Lf. II #1704, Beg. 130, La. S 128-9, La. N 186 || NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} -n, loc. ending in adverbs: gac,a-n 'in the middle', giddo-n id., 'in between', bolla-n 'above', garsa-n 'under', mata-n 'near', sinc,a-n 'in front', goye-n 'behind', awa-n 'where?', Zs/Wl/Zl {C} -n (loc. sx.: Zs ana<sup>o</sup>-n 'where?') ¶ Mrn. O 61, C SE III 192 || ? C: HEC: Sd {C} -nne, (?) -ne, loc. (of time and place): le<sup>o</sup>u bar<sup>o</sup>ti-nne 'in six days', alba-n<sup>o</sup>ne 'anticamente' (lit. 'in avanti'), gan<sup>o</sup>de ({C}: mt < \*gad-ne) 'in war' ¶ C SE II 125 || **K** \*-na, \*-n 'in', surviving in adverbs

(→ adjectives): OG s'i-na 'inside', c.i-na 'in front (of)', ze-na 'upper' (← 'above'), uk.(u)a-na 'behind', gus'in 'yesterday', Lz yoma(n) id. (cp. G yame 'night'), Sv ladey-n 'in the daytime' (cp. lada'y<sup>d</sup> ladey 'day'), Sv {Marr}, Sv L {Dn.} yos'g-in 'behind' (cp. yos'g 'back [direction]', **назад**) ¶ Shlm. 27-30, Shan. G 158, DCh. 520-1, 1217, 1520-1, 1681, Marr SS 1203-4, Dn. s.v. yos'g ¶ IE \*?en/\*n<sub>o</sub>, \*?eni, \*?on- 'in' [{EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>en(i)] 'in, into' > Gk ε'ν, \*ενι, (□) ε'νι' ¶ Mcd ι'ν ¶ Msp in ¶ L in 'in', Osc -EN ¶ OIr i n- 'in', in- pv. 'in-', Brtt {RE} \*in 'in' > OW in, MW, W, OCrn, Crn yn, Obr in, en, MBr, Br en, e, Br V in ¶ Gt, OHG, OSx, AS in, ON i' ¶ Lt i<sub>~</sub> and in<sub>~</sub>, Pru en ¶ pSl \*vъ, \*vъn- > OCS въ vъ, вън- vъn-, Blg въ, SCr u, Slv v, Cz v, ve, v(n), Slk v, vo, P we, R в, во, Uk в, y 'in' ¶ Tc (px.) A y-, yn-, B y-, iḡ-, en(e)- 'in' (in adverbs: A y-kom', B iḡ-kaum' 'in the day-time', B ene-stai 'in secret'); A anne, B enem' 'within, herein' || Ld e<sub>~</sub>n (pv., postp.) 'in, in-' ¶ IE \*?endo > OL endo., L indu 'in' ¶ Gk \*ενδον 'within, at home' ¶ ? OIr inne 'intestines' || ?? AnIE: Ht anda 'in, darin' (adv. and postp.), Lw andta, HrLw a<sup>n</sup>ta' id., Lc n<sub>~</sub>te (pv. and postp.) id. ¶ P 311-2, EI 290, Mn. 241, F I 508-9, 511, WH I 687-8, 694, LP §§ 189, 431.17, RE 106, Frn. 181, En. 166-7, Tp. P E-H 34-9, Wn. 124, 154-6, Ad. 83-4 (Tc < IE \*h<sub>1</sub>on-, \*o-grade of \*h<sub>1</sub>en- = our \*?en-), Mer. SGA 366-8, KrlSh. XLJ 42, Glh. 648, Pv. I 76-7, Kron. EHS I 351-2; the AnIE cognates are doubtful, since they may well be explained otherwise, as akin to Gk \*ε'ν'α 'there' and going back to a pN prn. + loc. postp. \*da < N \*d<sub>1</sub>oy<sub>2</sub>a 'place (within, below), inside' ¶ The zero-grade \*n<sub>o</sub>- (rather than \*ən-) suggests N \*?- ¶ IE {BD} \*-en, ? {Joh.} \*-ne, locative sx.: Ht -an id. (andan 'inside', appan 'behind', piran 'in front'), Vd 'ks.a<sup>m</sup>-an 'on earth, L super-ne 'upwards, from above', infer-ne 'below', OHG u<sup>a</sup>-fa-na 'from above', Gt inna-na 'within' ¶ BD II 178, Joh. MS III 146ff., Ts. W 4, 64, Kb. 1062 ¶ U: [1] FU \*i<sup>n</sup>nn<sup>n</sup> 'place' > pPrm \*in > OPrm in, Z in 'place', Vt инты inti 'place', in-az 'в полъзу, впрок (of profit/benefit to)' (lit. 'to the place'), {Wc.} in, in' Ort, Stelle'! OHg, Hg Δ eny 'geschütztes Ort, wo der Mensch und das Tier vor Wind, Regen, Schnee, Sonnehitze gedeckt sind' ¶ UEW 592-3, MF 156-7, Wc. W 59 I [2] U \*-na/\*-na<sup>n</sup> (or \*-n'a/\*-n'a<sup>n</sup>) locative case ending ('in') > F koto-na 'at home', ta<sup>n</sup>-na<sup>n</sup> pa<sup>n</sup>iva<sup>n</sup>-na<sup>n</sup> '[in] this day', eF echtona, Vo zhtogo-na, Lv z<sup>3</sup>:dъ-n, Lv W i<sup>3</sup>:dъ-n-u<sup>n</sup> 'dъ-n 'in the evening', Vo talvз-na 'in winter', Er тел<sup>n</sup>ы t'el'-n'a, Z tзl-in, Vg N {Mu.} te<sup>n</sup>lia<sup>n</sup>-n, Hg te<sup>n</sup>le-n 'in winter', Lp N {N} ha<sup>n</sup>r've-n 'in (during) the rain'; in the Sm lgs. it has survived with pronominal stems: Ne tay-na 'there', Ng {Ter.} tз-ni 'here, at this moment', tam-nu 'there, on that side', En kunne 'where?', Slq Tz ku-n id., as well as in adverbs: Slq Tz u<sup>n</sup>-ti-n 'in the evening', taḡi-n 'in summer'; it is found within the pSm ending of loc. {Hl.} \*-kъn (> Slq \*-qъn, Kms -ḡъn, Mt {Hl.} -ḡъn/-kъn) ~ \*-kъna ~ \*-kъne (> Ne T -ḡa<sup>n</sup>-na, En {Ter.} -ḡone, Mt {Hl.} \*-ḡъna ~ \*-ḡъna ~ \*-kъna ~ \*-kъna<sup>n</sup>) ¶ Coll. CG 286-95, Majt. SM 247-250, It. LFL ∅, Ter. NgJ 282-9, Ter. EJ 453, KHG 270-8, Hl. M 139-40 ¶ A \*i<sup>n</sup>∇ ({SDM95} \*i<sup>n</sup>∇) 'hollow, pit' > T \*i<sup>n</sup> 'hole\lair of an animal' > OT {Cl.} i<sup>n</sup> id., Tkm hīn (with a secondary h-) id., VTt 'н ъ<sup>n</sup>, Bsh ъ<sup>n</sup> id., Chv jъnъ id., 'sheath (of a knife)', Yk i<sup>n</sup> 'pit' ¶ Cl. 166, Rs. W 172, DTS 209, 261, Jeg. 79, Fed. I 195-6, Pek. 938 || Tg: WrMc {Z} un (y<sup>n</sup>) 'straw-littered bedding-place in a pigsty' ¶ Z 139 I A \*-na, locative ending: M \*-na/\*-ne: [1] \*qoyi-na > MM [MA, HI] qoyina, [S] ḡoyina, WrM qoina, HIM хойно, Ord {Ms.} ḡoo<sup>n</sup>-no, Mnr H {SM} ḡue<sup>n</sup>-no adv. 'in the rear, back', [2] \*dotu-na 'inside' > MM [S] dotona, WrM dotuna, HIM дотно, [3] \*gada-na adv. 'outside' > MM [S] {H} h<sub>1</sub>adana (= ḡ<sub>1</sub>adana), WrM gadana, HIM гадна, Mgl {Rm.} ḡadana, Dx gadane, [4] \*doru-na 'in the east' > MM [S] dorona id., 'east', [HI] dorona, WrM doruna, HIM дорно 'east'. [5] \*ḡo<sup>n</sup>-ru<sup>n</sup>-ne 'west, western side' (← 'in the west') > MM [HI] ho<sup>n</sup>-ro<sup>n</sup>-ne, WrM o<sup>n</sup>-ru<sup>n</sup>-ne, HIM 'рн' ¶ MED 263-4, 343, 644, 954, Pp. MA 306, Ms. H 91, 61, H 37-8, 55, 69, SM 177, Rm. M 28, T DnJ 115 || T: [1] \*-n within the compound locative sx.

\*-tin / \*-tīm / \*-tu'n / \*-tūn / \*-din / \*-dīm / \*-du'n / \*-dūn in adverbs (→ adjectives and locative nouns): > OT tas'dm 'outside', ku'ntu'n 'in the south', ke'din, Chg [MA] keyin 'behind' | [2] \*-nī in OT qa-nī 'where?' ¶ Gbn. ATG 89 [§ 183], Cl. XLII, 633, 705, Pp. MA 306 || ? J: OJ -ni, ending of loc.-dat. (umi-ni 'in the sea') ¶ Syr. AJL 89-90 || D \*-in\_, \*-n\_v 'in' (loc. case ending) > OTm -in\_, OTl -ə(n\_), -n\_i: perumatən\_ 'in the west', ba\_ran,asi-n\_i 'in Benares' || NED: Mlt -no--eno--ino, Krx -nu(:), -no~ id. || CD: Nk -in/-un/-en /-n, Gdb -in/-un/-n, Knd -an || Tl od,d,u-na 'on the bank', lo\_n(a) ({Shanm.}: < \*ul,a-na) 'inside', {Sank.} in,t,an 'at home' ¶¶ Zv. DCM 28-33, An. SG 220-1, Subb. 156, DzG 726, Ptrn. 81, Shanm. DN 315, Sank. TED 145 ◆ IS I 11, IS MsN (s.v. \*-na locative), Coll. UA 10 (on endings in U and A), Schrđ. DU 101 (on endings in D and U), Gr. I 150-2 [IE \*-en, \*-ne, U, A (T, M, J, qu. Ko & Tg), Gil, EA], □ Gr. II #221 (\*ena 'inside') [IE, U + unc. Ko, J, Ai, CK, EA], □ Heg. MÜ 71-3 (U, A, D, HS, IE).

**47. \*ʔan-ʔ** 'self, the same' > **HS** \*ʔan- > Eg OK in, a pc. introducing the focalized nominal subject in a cleft sentence ¶ Lpr. 64-5 || the initial component of aut. pronouns of the 1 and 2 persons: (1) HS \*ʔan-a ku 'I' (emphasized) > Eg OK ink 'I' (> Cpt: B/Sd **anok** anak, A **anak** anak), pS \*ʔana ku 'I' (> Ak ana ku, Hb ik57nal ʔa-no~k\_i, Ph ʔnk~ʔnky, Ug ʔank, (AkSc) ʔana ku(:), Amr {G} ʔana ku, Yd ʔnk), pB \*ʔanakk<sup>w</sup> 'I' > Tw na~k, Kb nām, Zng nik, Sll, Tmz nakk, ASgr nēc~ nēs's, SrSn nək, Si nis', nēs', Mz, Wrg nēs's, Nf, Izn nēc (Pr. M I-III 179, AiM 215, Fc. 1364, Lf. II #1090, Dlh. M 140-1, Dlh. Ou 226, Dl. 502, La. S 108, MT 485); (2) HS \*ʔan-i 'I' > pS \*ʔanī [> Hb in%a9 ʔanī, Ar NY T ʔanī (Bns. NJ I 71, map #31)] ~\*ʔana(:) (> JA an!a9 ʔana, Sr E {Sl.} ʔena [ʔana] (Sl. 143), Ar ʔana, Gz ʔana, etc., a secondary variant, probably on the analogy of 2m \*ʔanta 'thou' m., or representing a special form for 1m sg., as in some Ar Y dialects opposing ʔan-a m. and ʔan-i f.), pS enclitic object prn. \*nī 'me' (> Hb, Aram, Ar, Gz -nī, Ak -ni), C: Bjanī-ane; Ag: Bln ʔan, Aw a'n; EC: Sml ani-ga, ani-gī, Rn a'nī, Or a'na, Sa a'nu [-u from the case inflection of nomina (nom.?)], Sd ane aut. prn. 'I'; DhI ʔa'nī id.; SC: Irq ʔa'n, ʔanī, Brn, Alg an, ana aut. prn. 'I', Asa -ana 'my', b> Mb a'nī (E SC 283 s.v. SC \*a'nī 'I', Mous 112), as well a subject prn.: Sml a'n, Or a'nī (f AD SF 210-1); (3) HS \*ʔant-i 'thou' (aut. prn.) > C: Ag: Bln ʔanti, Aw ʔant, EC: Sml adi-ga, adi-gī, Rn a'tī, Or a'tī, Sa a'tu (-u from the nominal case inflection), DhI ʔa't\_t\_a, C b> Mb ʔa't\_a 'thou' (f E SC 282, AD SF 133-4, PG 40), S \*ʔanta 'thou' m. (> Ar ʔanta, Hb eTla2 ʔat'ta, Amr {G} ʔatta, Gz ʔanta, Ak atta) and \*ʔanti 'thou' f. (> Ar ʔanti, Hb T6a2 ʔattə, Gz ʔanti, Ak atti); in S the distinction between pronouns of m. and f. is either an innovation (probably due to the infl. of \*ka 'thee, thy' m. and \*ki 'thee, thy' f.) or a HS archaism: \*ʔanta m. < \*ʔant-i-a (with a HS masc. pc. \*-a, surviving in the 2m forms of the Bj verb, as well as in Mb ʔa't\_a 'thou', possibly a former masc. form that lost its gender meaning); Eg fOK int-k 'thou' m. and int-c 'thou' f. (restructured by adding personal sxs.: -k 2m, -c 2f) (Lpr. 65, Ed. 79-80) ¶¶ AD PP 69 || U \*onp'e ~ \*onp'a (= {Jn.} \*oni and \*ona) > pSm {Jn.} \*a\_nʔ 'self', used with ppas. to form reflexive personal pronouns: Slq Tm on-a~k 'myself', on-a~nti 'thysself', on-ti 'himself', herself', etc., Ng ʔonəna 'myself', ʔonəntə 'thysself', etc. ¶ Jn. 18, KHG 290-3, Ter. NgJz 428 || R: T: [1] OT U ona 'precisely, exactly' ¶ Cl. 170, TT5 32 (note B 80) || M: WrM o~nu~ki, HIM 'h' x 'the one in question, that very' (thing or person), e.g. WrM o~nu~ki kereg 'that very matter' ¶ MED 639 || pJ \*ʔn3 'self, the same' > OJ ono, o'no're 'self', o'na'zi 'the same', J: T o'nore, K o'no're, Kg onore 'self', T o'na'zi, K o'na'zi, Kg ona'zi 'the same' ¶ Mr. 507, S QJ #1483, Syr. DJ 92-3 ¶¶ OT o~u~n 'desert' (Cl. 168: 'desolate, uninhabited, desert', but in the text the only meaning is 'desert') hardly belongs here (for lack of reliable semantic connection) ¶¶ □ DQA #42 [A \*onpe 'self, (→?) same, only' > incl. M, J] ◆ AD PP 91 ◆ □ Gr. II #333 (\*ana self) [Sm, J + qu. Hg].

**48. \*ʔaˈl̥n̥** 'nothing, there is no...' > **HS:** S (or WS) \*ʔayn-~\*ʔin- > BHB Ni%a2 'ʔayin 'non-existence; not, no', Nia4 'ʔeːn 'there is no...', M'b ʔn, Ug ʔn [\*ʔeːn̥l̥n̥] id., Ar ʔin 'there is no...', neg. pc.: ʔin ʔal-hukmu ʔillaː-lil̥ l̥aːhi 'there is no judgement except (belonging to) God', Gz ʔən- neg. element in: (1) 1s ʔənbī 'I am not in a position to...' (literally 'there is not in me'), 2m ʔənbəka 'you (m. sg.) are not in a position to...', etc., ʔ(2) ʔəndaːʔī 'I do not know', ʔ Ak yaːnu 'is not' (unless < \*ʔiyyaːnu 'where from?') ¶ KB 40-1, KBR 41-2, OLS 37-8, L G 27-8, ¶ L NP ∇ (hyp.: Ar ʔayna <d- ʔin 'verily, indeed'), ≠ Br. G II 500 [§ 253], 577 [§ 370o] (hyp.: the negative ʔayna <- ʔayin 'where?') || Eg in, adv. within the Eg N neg. construction bn...in, Cpt Sd/B an, Cpt A/L/F en, component of the neg. construction ən...an~en ¶ EG I 90, 456, Vc. 11 || A {SDM95} \*ana, {DQA} \*aːni ({AD} better \*anV ~ \*Ena?) 'not', negative pc. & v. > T \*aːn ({S} \*an) > Chv an 'do not' (prohib.) ¶ Jeg. 27, Jeg. SChJ 45, Fed. I 43-5 (all of them: Chv an <b- pPrm \*en prohib. > Z, Vt en) || Tg \*ana 'there is not, without' > Orc, Ul ana 'there is not', Lm aːn̥ 'not having, without', Ork ana, anaː, anaya, Nn anaː id., 'there is not' ¶ STM I 41 || pKo \*aːn- 'not' > MKo aːn(i)-, NKO an(i)- '(is) not' ¶ S QK #62, Nam 334, MLC 1068 || J: [1] pJ {S} \*iːnaː 'nay' (disagreement) > OJ iːnaː, J T iːna id.; pJ \*ina-m- ~\*iːnaː-b- v. 'deny, decline, refuse' > OJ inam-~iːnaː-b-, J T inam- id.; [2] ?? pJ \*(a)n- 'not' (verbal negation) (× N \*n̥i 'not', q.v. ffd.) ¶ S QJ #56, Mr. 424, 697 ¶¶ S AJ 95-6, 277 [#54], SDM95 s.v. "\*ana 'not', neg. verb", ¶ DQA #74 (A \*aːni 'not', neg. verb > incl. T, Tg, Ko, pJ \*iːnaː, \*iːnaː-b-) || ??? U: FU: pPrm \*en prohib. > Z, Vt en, Yz 'in (unless it is a form of the Prm neg. verb \*e- [ǀLG] \*e,-] with an enigamatic \*-n) ¶ LG 331 || E: MEI, NEI, AchEI in-ni, AchEI in, NEI, AchEI in-na 'not' ¶ HK 757-8.

**49. \*ʔaNs̥i** 'foot' > **HS:** Eg fOK ins.t 'calf of leg, shank' ¶ EG I 99, Fk. 24 || ʔS S \*ʔns̥ > Ug ʔans̥ 'muscle, sinew' ('músculo, sendón') ¶ OLS 41 || B: Ah ti-nse 'foot (of animals), toe', Kb t̥i-nsa pl. 'sabots des bovidés; pattes cuites de bovidés' ¶ Fc. 1415, Dl. 576 [† || NrOm: Dz: Mj {All.} aːs̥u, {All.} aːs̥u, {Fl.} as̥s̥u, Na {AY} ʔaːs̥u, {Fl.} as̥o, Shk {Fl.} aːs̥us 'foot' ¶ All. PhD 341, AY WShND, Fl. OWL || Ch ʔʔans̥Y (Nw.'s \*as̥Y) 'leg, foot' > CCh: MsgP {Mch.} az̥, pl. aːn̥ziː 'leg' : Suk {IL} naːs̥, {Mk.} naːs̥ 'leg' || WCh: SBC: Tala as̥n̥, Zul ʔaːsiːmeː, Plc asiːm, Gj aːsaːn̥, Buli aːsiːn̥, Tule ʔasiːn̥, Zar GL {Sh.} yaːsaːn̥, Zar L yaːs̥s̥n̥, Zar K saːn̥, Sy Z yaːs̥s̥n̥, Sy B yaːs̥s̥n̥, Sy Zk ʔaːs̥s̥n̥ 'leg', Wnd ʔaːsiːn̥ 'leg, foot' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} aːseː, Mgm {J} ʔaːsiːn̥, Mkl {J} ziːnaː (pl. zoːn̥) 'foot, leg', Jg {J} ʔiːsiːntoː, pl. ʔisaːn̥, Brg {J} ʔiːsiːn̥ 'leg', Mu siːn̥, pl. saːneː 'leg, foot' ¶ Nw. 81, JI II 220-1, ChL, Sh. SB 25 || D: D \*a33a~\*anca 'foot, footprint' (× N \*ʔarc̥a 'trace') > Tl ajja id., anca id. 'step, stride', Kt a3 'footprint', Td o3 'step', Tu ajæ 'footprint, track, trace' ¶¶ DED #47, ¶ D App. #6 (derives it from InA padyaː 'footsteps', ≠ Tu. #7778) || ? A: Tg \*asiː- v. 'take up the tracks (of game)', \*asi-lga 'footprint, track' (unless it is \*xasi-, \*xasi-lga) > Ewk asi-lgaːas̥i-lga 'track (of an elk)', Lm as̥-ʔ-ːas̥-lg̥-ːasa-lga- v. 'find the tracks', as̥-m-ːasa-m- id., Neg asiː-lga 'track (of an animal)' ¶ STM I 56 [† ♦ Blz. LB #100a (suggested to add Dz).]

**50. ?? \*ʔan̥l̥** 'friend(ly), favourable, useful' > **HS:** CS \*ʔns̥ > Ar Bn! ʔns̥ G (ʔanis-a / -ʔnasu) v. 'be polite, kind, social', ʔanisa bi- 'have an intimate connection with', ʔanisa ʔalaː 'become acquainted and familiar with', ʔibnu ʔinsi-ka 'thy intimate friend', ʔ Ug {A} ʔns̥ G v. 'be friendly', D 'freundlich hegen, besänftigen', ʔans̥t 'Freundin' ¶ Fr. I 64, A #319, ⇔ OLS 41 [alt. interpretation of Ug ʔns̥ as 'langiceder, ponerse enfermo; ponerse lívido, enfermo (de ira)'] || IE: NaIE \*ans- v. 'be favourable' ({P}: 'wohlgeneigt, günstig sein') > Gt ansts 'joy, favour', OHG anst 'goodwill, grace, thanks', unst 'favour', AS æːst 'Gunst, Gnade', ON aːst, oːst 'favour (Gunst), love' || Gk αːπ-ηνι̑ (< \*αːπ-ανση̑) 'unfriendly', πρoσ-ηνι̑ (< \*πρoσ-ανση̑) 'gentle, kindly, soft' ¶ WP I 68, P 47, EI 198 (? \*h.ens- 'be

gracious to, show favour'), F I 121, Fs. 53, Vr. 16, Kb. 33, 1104, EWA I 265-7, Ho. 244 || **A:** ? T\*as 'advantage, use, benefit' > Yk as id., Chv yc us<sup>d</sup> os 'use, benefit', Uz Δ as gōr- 'be of use\benefit to'; *d* T\*as-ry 'advantage, profit, benefit' > OT asry, Chg asıq, Tk ası, Tv az'ıq id., Chv ycaÄ uz\_т<sup>d</sup> oz\_т 'use' ¶ Cl. 244-5, DTS 60, Rs. W 29, ET Gl 196-7, TL 344-5, Bu. I 48, Rh. 131, Ash. III 295, 300, Fed. II 290-1 ♦ Cf. AD LRC #75: S, IE.

**51. \*?in-As'e** 'person, man' > **HS:** S \*?inas'- 'person, man' (pl. \*?ina's'- + pl. ending [bearing the stress]) > Hb Sia5 ?is' 'man (vir), husband, human being' (< i ?i ~s'- < \*?ins'- < \*?inas'-), pl. Miß5nla9 ?ana'-s'-im 'viri, homines' (< acc./gen. pl. df. \*?ina's'i-ma), Ph ʔs', Pun ʔs', ʔys', [Plt.] YS, DA, Yd, IA id., Yd ns'y (pl. cs.), OA pl. ns'n, Ug ns'm, (AkSc) {Hnr.} nas'-u-ma 'men, people', *d* v. ʔns' 'mannhaft sein, sich ermannen', Ar İnoİ ?ins- 'hommes, genre humain' (coll.), 'ami', ʔsani ?ins-a-n- 'person' (-a-n- is a singulative sx.); *d*: coll. WS \*?una-s'- 'homines' > BHb βna= ʔe'no-s' 'Menschen' (coll.), Ug ʔns' 'people (gente)', JA Sn!a= ʔe'na-s' id., Sr #noæ- ʔna-s', em. '3oñoæ- ʔna-s'-a- id., JEA {Sl.} aSlnlia5 ?ina'-s'-a- 'man', SmA ʔns' ({Tal} = e-na°s') 'people, men', Ar B'naü ?una-s- -b'na na-s- id., Tgr A~S ʔanas 'man'; another *d*: Ak nis'-u- 'Menschen, Leute' ¶ KB 41-2, 68, KBR 43-4, 73, HJ 115-21, A #319, Hnr. 155, Sk. 120, OLS 41, Lv. I 115, Tal 52, Br. 31, LH 371-2, Sd. 796, DRS 26 [⊕ || B: Ah {Fc.} a'ynas (pl. eynasən) 'young man' ¶ Fc. 702 || C: Ag \*nVs-/n\_s- 'man (vir)' > Bln {R} (*d* adj.) nas-a'-u\_χ 'männlich', ? Xm {R} a-s-o° id. || ?? EC {Ss.} \*?is- 'self, oneself' [× N \*?yi 'he' or \*?i 'iste' + \*sEwV '(one)self', q.v. ffd.] ¶ R WB 285, Ss. PEC 35, 54, Ss. B 107, Bl. 17 [⊕ || NrOm: Anf {Grt.} nus'e, GeMa/HzMa {Fl.} nu-s'e 'husband' ¶ Grt. 357, Fl. ML || WCh: Ron: DfB {J} ni's, Bks {J} nu's- 'brother' ¶ J R 145, 219, 388 || **U:** FU (in FV only) \*inp's'e 'person' > eFinhe-minen, inhi-minen, inih-minen, Fihminen (gen. ihmisen), Δ inehmo, inehminen, inehmino, Es inemine, inimine id., Er inz'e, Mk inz'i 'guest' ¶¶ UEW 627-8 || **A:** ?σ Tg: Mc es'e 'husband's younger brother' ¶ Z 72 [⊕ ♦ Blz. LB #106a (suggested to add cognates from Ah, NrOm and Ron), Blz LNA #1 (suggested to add Ah and NrOm). ]

**52. \*?Vnt.V** (or \*?VntV?) 'he', relative 'he who, that which' (in daughter lgs.: → a sx. of participles and derived nomina) > **HS:** B \*?uinta (? ~ \*nVtta) > Ah {Fc.} ənta aut. pron. 'he, she, it' (f. ənta-t 'she'), ETwl/Ty {GhA} ənta aut. pron. m. 'he, it', Kb, Wrg, Tmz, ASgr, Shl, Si nətta id. (f. nətta-t 'she') ¶ Fc. 1422, GhA 151, MT 503, Ds. 173, Ds. AS 235, La. S 254, Bs. E 98, Dl. 579, Dlh. Ou 228 || S: Gz ʔənta rel. prn. f. 'who, that which' (reinterpreted as f. due to the cns. t), ? Tgr {L} ʔət ʔənta 'while she is', Har inte- 'she is' ¶ L G 33 || C: Ag sx. of n. ag. \*-fa'ntV: Bln {R} -ənta- (pl. -ənti), e. g. fa'd-ənta- 'seaman', ʔi'b-ənta- 'seller', ku'w-ənta- 'murderer', Aw {Hz.} -ta'nti (f. -ta'nt-a), e.g. dibs-ta'nti 'talker' (<d- dibs- v. 'talk') ¶ R BilS 662 ¶¶ a JB PrB 109, L G 33 (Gz ÷ B) || **IE** \*-ent-/\*-ont-, sx. of participles: NaIE \*-ent-/\*-nt-/\*-n\_t-, sx. of active present participles, e.g. \*bhero-nt- 'carrying' > OI bharant-, Gk m. φε'ρων (G -ovt-o), L fere'ns (G ferent-is), Gt bai'rand-s, OHG beranti, OCS берѣ berі (gen. берѣа bero's'ta), Tc: A -nt-, B -n'-c-, sx. of pres. act. prticiples (A as'ant-, B as'en'ca 'transporting'); NaIE \*s-ent-/\*s-n\_t- 'being' > OI 'sant-, Gk D ʔevt-ε, L prae-s-ens (G -ent-is) || Ht -ant-, sx. of active prtcs. of vi. and that of pp. of vt. ¶¶ The Gk forms of prtcs. ntr. ʔov, m. ʔov (gen. ntr./m. ʔovt-o), f. οἶσα 'being' are contractions from Gk Ep ntr. ʔov, m. ʔov, f. ʔovσα < \*(e)s-ont- <d- \*es- 'be', unless they represent IE \*\*ont- (monomorphemic stem of a prtcs. without verbal √) ¶ Mer. SGA 361-2, Brg. KVG 315, Bks. 249-50, Kron. VLFH 210, Krs. T 44 || **U:** Sm {Jn.} \*-nta'', sx. of active prtcs. and n. ag.: \*ila''-nta'' 'living, alive' (<d- \*ila''- v. 'live') > En X {Cs.} itedde, En B {Cs.} jiredde, Slq MO/UO {Cs.} ilndi, ilnde, Slq NP {Cs.} ilandie, Nn T илени, илена, Ne T Sy {Lh.} yil'e-n'e, Nn {Cs.} jil'ene, jil'ena id., Mt {Hl.} \*ilznda'' id. ({Mll.}: Mt T/M ili'nde, Mt K illende 'vivus') || FU nominal derivational sx. \*-ntV > [1]

deverbal: F etsinta<sup>n</sup> act. 'searching' (<ɗ etsi- 'look for'), perinto<sup>n</sup> 'heritage' (<ɗ peri- 'inherit'), syo<sup>n</sup>nti<sup>n</sup> act. 'eating' (<ɗ syo<sup>n</sup>- 'eat') : Lp N ra<sup>n</sup>ga<sup>n</sup>d 'season of mating (of reindeer)' (<ɗ ra<sup>n</sup>kka<sup>n</sup>- v. 'mate') : Vt чѣпѣт c<sup>n</sup>ipet 'dam, pond' (<ɗ c<sup>n</sup>ip- v. 'dam'), думѣт dumet, Z Δ домѣд domɗd 'bridle, rope' (<ɗ Vt dum-, Z US do<sup>n</sup>m- v. 'tie, bind'; Vt -t & Z -d < pPrm -d < FU \*-ntV ] [2] denominative: Z соеноѣд sɗnɗd 'sinewy, brawny' [of men, draught animals] (<ɗ sɗn 'sinew'), F isa<sup>n</sup>nta<sup>n</sup> 'pater familias, head of the household' (<ɗ isa<sup>n</sup>- 'father'), Hg apro<sup>n</sup>d 'page (teen-ager)' (<ɗ apro<sup>n</sup>- 'little') ¶ Sz. 85, Coll. CG 269-70, U 92f., LG 291, Bd. UNA § 33 A, Jn. 27, Cs. 24, Ter. 142, Lh. 127, Hl. M 252-3 ¶ A: T \*-nt<sup>n</sup>/i/\*-nt<sup>n</sup>i, sx. of participles (acc. to Shch.) or deverbal adjectives: OT aqind<sup>n</sup> 'flowing, running' (of water) (<ɗ aq- v. 'flow, run'), u<sup>n</sup>ḏru<sup>n</sup>-ndi 'chosen, select' (<ɗ u<sup>n</sup>ḏu<sup>n</sup>-r- 'choose'), Osm o<sup>n</sup>ru<sup>n</sup>ndu<sup>n</sup> - o<sup>n</sup>ru<sup>n</sup>ndi 'chosen', OT ekindi tarry 'sown millet', itindi neḡ 'ein weggestossenes Ding', MT [IM] sɗqind<sup>n</sup> 'juice' (i.e. 'smth. squeezed out'), Alt salıntı 'freedman'; the sx. was metanized (by Cl.) as OT -n-di/i-, i.e. -n- of refl. verbs + -di/i of deverbal n./adj. ¶ Shch. GTVT 121, Cl. xliii, 67, 70, 77, 88, Rh. 24 ¶ D \*-Vn<sup>n</sup>t<sup>n</sup>V, sx. of gerund > Tu -on<sup>n</sup>d<sup>n</sup>u, Kdg {An.} -an<sup>n</sup>d<sup>n</sup>i, Mlt on<sup>n</sup>du id., OTm {An.} seyxin<sup>n</sup>d<sup>n</sup>u 'having done, while doing' [acc. to An., < seyxu<sup>n</sup> + in<sup>n</sup>d<sup>n</sup>u <ɗ sey- 'do' and il- 'be (somewhere)'], Mlt, Gdb {Bh.} -ondi (verbal adj.) ¶¶ An. 3, Bh. O 46 ♦ IE \*t suggests N \*t<sup>n</sup>, while D \*t<sup>n</sup> seems to point to a N \*t; Gz ?- (in pronouns) may go back to ?- or \*h-, but the absence of traces of \*h- in IE provides clear ev. for N \*?- ♦ Gr. I 182-6 ["participle NT" in IE, FU (← Coll.) + qu. : Gil. predicate marker -d' and err. IE 3p \*-nti].

**53. \*ʔEḡU** 'snake' > **IE**: NaIE {WP, P} \*ang<sup>whi</sup>- ~ \*ang<sup>wi</sup>-, {Dv.} \*e(n)g<sup>wh</sup>- 'snake, worm' ({EI} \*h<sup>a</sup>eng<sup>whi</sup>s (gen. \*h<sup>a</sup>n<sup>o</sup>.g<sup>whi</sup>ei<sup>s</sup>) 'snake') > L anguis 'snake' : Lt angī<sup>s</sup>, Pru angis id., Ltv o<sup>n</sup>dze 'adder, viper' : pSl \*o<sup>n</sup>z<sup>n</sup> > OR Оѡъ uz<sup>n</sup>ъ 'snake', R yж, Cz, Slv uz<sup>n</sup>ovka 'grass-snake', P wa<sup>n</sup>ccz, Slv vo<sup>n</sup>z<sup>n</sup> 'snake' : Arm օ՜՜ (< au<sup>n</sup>z) 'snake' : OIr esc-ung 'eel' ("water snake": esc 'water', ung < \*ang<sup>wh</sup>o-), W lly-s-yw-en 'eel' : OHG unc 'snake' ¶ The OHG and L forms go back to a variant \*ang<sup>wi</sup>-. ¶ The NaIE stems \*eg<sup>hi</sup>- and \*e/og<sup>whi</sup>- (> Gk ἔχιδ<sup>n</sup> 'adder, viper', ὄφις 'snake', OHG egala 'hedgehog', Arm իլ իզ<sup>n</sup> 'snake, viper' [gen. iz<sup>n</sup>i], We eoud 'sheep worms', OI ahih, Av az<sup>n</sup>is<sup>n</sup>) should be kept apart ¶ WP I 63, P 43-5, EI 530, WH I 48, SB 15, LP § 310, YGM-1 319, 468, Frn. 10, Tp. P A-D 86-7, Vs. IV 150-1, Srz. III 1167, Chrn. II 285, Mikl. E 223, Kb. 1093, Stl. 134-5, 305-6 ¶ **HS**: S: Ar ʔaym- 'serpens, viperae mas', {Fr.} ʔim- 'a white thin snake' (or a general name for 'snake') ¶ Fr. I 76, DRS 17 ¶ Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl.} \*ḡwo 'snake' > Su {J} ḡwō<sup>n</sup>, Ang ḡwō<sup>n</sup>ḡ, Cp nwo<sup>n</sup> : ? Hs Skt/Z ganwo 'a coiled snake, coil of rope' : ?? CCh: Ms {Mch.} gwi, {J} gu<sup>n</sup>yda<sup>n</sup> : ECh: ? Ke hɗn<sup>n</sup>ɗi<sup>n</sup> 'snake' ¶ Stl. VZCh A #183, ChC s.v. 'snake', ChL, J S 78, Ba. 35, ¶ Stl. ZCh 218 [#681] ¶ ? **K**: eNG {SSO} ank<sup>n</sup>ara 'small snake', NG {AxT, DCh.} ank<sup>n</sup>ara 'grass-snake (yж)', {Chx.} 'blind worm (Blindschleiche, Anguis fragilis)' (<ɗ?) ¶ The cns. k<sup>n</sup> and the final element -ara remain puzzling ¶ AxT 21, Chx. 28, DCh. 40, SSO I 57 ¶¶ N \*-ḡ- is reconstructed on the ev. of IE \*-ng<sup>wh</sup>- and S \*-m-.

**54. \*ʔayḡo** 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (→ 'to smear, anoint') > **HS**: S: Gz ʔang<sup>w</sup>ḡs 'marrow, the soft fat of animals', Tgr ʔang<sup>n</sup>ɗfo, Tgy ʔang<sup>w</sup>ɗf, Amh ang<sup>n</sup>a 'marrow' ¶ L G 28-9 ¶ ʔσ C {E} \*hang<sup>wi</sup>- 'brain' > EC \*hangul- 'brain' > Sa {Wlm.} hangal, pl. hangul id., Af {PH} ha<sup>n</sup>gal 'brains', Or B {Anr.} engu-engo<sup>n</sup> id. : ? Dh1 {E} ʔa<sup>n</sup>i 'head' : Ag -b→ Amh angol 'brains' and Tgr hangal hangul (pl. hana<sup>n</sup>-gal hanagɗl) -b→ Bln {R} hang<sup>w</sup>el (pl. hana<sup>n</sup>-g<sup>w</sup>el) 'brains'; Ag: Aw ang<sup>w</sup>al id. (E PC) may be either a return loan from EthS (as suggested in AD SF) or an inherited C word (as in E PC) : ?? C -b→ Mb ang<sup>n</sup>alo 'head' (E SC 276 reconstructs SC \*ʔan- 'head' on the basis of Mb and Dh1) ¶ E PC #522, AD SF 153, PH 126, To. D 136, EEN 13, ¶ E SC 27; acc. to E SC, the stem of Dh1 and Mb may go back to SC \*ʔan- 'above,

up' (> Irq {MQK} ?a-ŋ 'past, already, ancient times', {E} aŋ 'in the past, long ago', Brn oŋ 'mountain', see E SC, MQK 15), but the direction of semantic change may have been the opposite as well ¶ The unexpected C \*h- is obscure || NrOm: Kcm {CR} anqa-, {Fl.} anka- 'head' ¶ Blz. OLBP #56 || Ch: CCh: Cb {ChL} ?a'ŋga'ra', Mrg {ChL} aŋgada 'brain', MbK {Mch.} a-ŋga, Bana {Lk.} ya'ŋga 'head' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'brain', Mch. VCSP 173 ¶¶ For HS comparison cp. AD SF 15 and Blz. OLBP #56 || U \*ayŋe (U {Coll.} \*ayŋo, FU {UEW} \*ayŋe) 'brain, ? marrow' > Faivo(t) 'brain, temple, temporal (bone)', Esaju 'brain', pLp {Lr.} \*vo-ŋŋz > Lp N {N} vuoiŋa's-: pl. vuoi'ŋŋa's'a'k, Lp L {LLO} vuoiŋam - vuoi'ŋam 'brain': pMr {Ker.} \*oyxə > Mkyй uy 'marrow, brain' ::? Hg agy 'brain, marrow' (OHg also 'skull') ||?? Sm: Nn T ~yvyй 'brain' (unless <d- yva 'head'); acc. to Coll. 2, here also Ng {Cs.} d-ia, En X {Cs.} ae, En B {Cs.} ebe^, Slq: Nr/Ke {Cs.} ku'u, NP {Cs.} ku-ŋ 'brain' || ?ϕ Y: OY O {Mat.} аборъ 'моръ' ('brain' or 'marrow') ¶¶ UEW 5, Sm. 542 (FU \*a'ŋŋi 'brain' > FP \*ajŋi, Ugr \*a'ŋŋi), Coll. 2, Lr. #1425 [does not distinguish it from Lp \*vo-ŋŋz v. 'breath'], Lgc. #8741, Ker. II 173, Ter. 415, Cs. 227, IN 294 ||?? IE: NaIE \*ongw- 'to anoint', \*ongw-en-~n.gw-en- 'fat, grease' ({EI} \*h<sub>3</sub>engw- 'anoint') > OI an-j-, a'nakti (3p an-'janti, pp. ak'ta) v. 'smear, anoint', 'a-jyam 'melted or clarified butter (used for oblations, for sacrifice, and for anointing anything sacrificed or offered)' (<a- + ajya <\*ngwyo-) :: Arm ocanem o'canem < au'canem 'I anoint' :: L unguo- / pp. unctus v. 'anoint, besmear', Um umtu 'unguito' :: OIr imb, W ymen-yn, OCRn amen-en, Br amann 'butter':: OHG anko, ancho, MHG, NGr Al anke id. :: Pru anctan, ancte id. ¶ WP I 81, P 779, EI 24, Dv. #779, WH II 819-20, EWA I 263-5, OsS 20, LG § 8.1, Me. EAC 237, Tp. P A-D 91, En. 142, MW 133 ◆ Cf. UEW 5 (FU, Y, T); UEW mentions i türk. \*a-ŋ 'Gedächtnis, Verstand', probably a misprint for T \*a-ŋ (a doubtful connection). The U stem belongs here only if its medial cns. is \*-ŋ- (as reconstructed by Coll. and UEW); but Hl. [p. c.] suggests an alt. rec. with a medial \*-w-; in the latter case (acc. to Hl.) the U stem may be a d from U \*oywa 'head' (UEW 336-7). If the latter conjecture is right, the U stem does not belong here, and the pN stem is to be reconstructed as \*aŋo rather than \*ayŋo. But Hl.'s et. faces difficulties: the initial vw. of U \*ayŋwe 'brain' is different from that of U \*oywa 'head', and Lp -ŋ- may hardly go back to U \*-w-; at least, such a possibility is not envisaged by Krh.'s historical phonology of Lp (Krh. 76-197, Krh. HL 274-7) ◆ □ AD NM #68, S CNM 11 ◆ Cf. Gr. II #48 (\*ayu 'brain' > U, CH \*?aywa-?aywa).

**55. \*?a-ŋŋV 'chin' > HS:** Eg P in<sup>s</sup>, Eg Md in<sup>s</sup>.t 'chin' ¶ EG I 94 || Ch: SBc: Bg {Grgs.} ŋa id. :: CCh: Ngs ("Ghvoko") {Srp.} nien id. :: ZmD {Srp.} nyau id. ¶ JI II 76-7 || U {UEW} \*a-ŋV 'chin' (× \*Xa'n V kV - \*Xa'ŋkV 'jaw, palate') > pPrm {LG} \*aŋ- 'jaw' > Vt an 'jaw', aŋges, Δ aŋdes 'chin', Z an 'palate', Z Ud andlas, aŋglas 'gum' || Sm {Jn.} \*a-ŋŋ, {Hl.} \*a-ŋoy 'chin' > En X {Cs.} eu, StNe T n-ŋ y n'aŋu 'jaw', n-ŋ y мал 'chin', Ne T O {Lh.} n'a-ŋu, Ne F {Lh.} n'a-ŋu 'chin', Slq MO {Cs.} d awaj 'Hals', Slq Nr {Cs.} aol' 'Kinn, Hals', Kms {KD} o'ŋoi- 'Kinnlade', Koyb oŋoi 'cheeks', Mt {Hl.} \*o-ŋo'ŋu-y 'Kinn, Backe' (Mt: K {Mll.} o-ŋgoi, M {Mll.} o-ŋgui) ¶¶ Coll. 3, □ UEW 25-6 (U \*a-ŋV; i ÷ Os \*a-ŋŋan 'chin', Vg K iŋan id., etc., i.e. ObU \*iŋnə < FU \*iŋe<sub>1</sub>ne<sub>1</sub> 'palate, gums, jaw'), Ht. #14, LG 32, Sm. LM 27 [#23] (i ÷ Sm \*a-ŋ 'mouth'), Jn. 20 (hyp.: Sm \*aŋŋ 'chin' <d- Sm \*a-ŋ 'mouth'), Lh. 309, Cs. 231, Ter. 355, KD 49, Hl. M #813 (misprint o-ŋu-j for o-ŋu-j) || ¶ ({DQA} \*e-ŋa, -k'V 'chin, jaw') (× N \*Xa'n V kV - \*Xa'ŋkV 'jaw, palate', q.v.): T: [1] NaT \*e-ŋ ({DQA} \*a-ŋ, {ADb.} \*ei-ŋ) 'cheek' > OT {Cl.} a-ŋ, {ADb.} eŋ 'cheek, face', MQp/XwT xiv {Cl.} a-ŋ, {ADb.} eŋ id., Chg {ADb.} eŋ 'cheek(s), appearance', Tkm a-ŋ, Az 'nə a-ŋg' 'jaw', {Rl.} 'sides of the lower jaw', ? Osm xix {Rl.} eŋ, Tk en 'complexion', Qmq eŋ id', 'cheek', Tk Δ enk 'place of juncture of jaw bones', Qrg en 'scrofula', VTt in-lyk, T a-ŋ-lik, Yk iŋ 'cheek, high colour of the cheeks' ¶ VTt i suggests pT \*e [2] T {AD, DQA} \*a-ŋa'k ({ADb.} \*eŋek) 'chin, jaw, cheek' [= T \*a-ŋ

with the dim.-assimilative sx. \*-v̥k, ƒ Gbn. ATG § 57), > OT a<sup>h</sup>ḡa<sup>h</sup>k 'jaw, jawbone, chin', OOSm xiv, Chg xv {ADb.} eḡek 'chin', MQp {ADb.} eḡek - enek 'chin, jaw', XwT {ADb.} eyek 'chin', rḡek 'jaw', Tk ene - enek 'jaw', Slr enek, VTt iya<sup>h</sup>k, Brb ina<sup>h</sup>k, Bsh ɣya<sup>h</sup>k, Nog, Qzq, Qq iyek 'chin', Uz engā<sup>h</sup>k, Δ a<sup>h</sup>ḡa<sup>h</sup>k 'chin, jaw', StAlt γγk e<sup>h</sup>k 'chin, lower lip', Qrg γγk e<sup>h</sup>k id., 'jaw', SY iḡek 'jaw', ET iḡa<sup>h</sup>k 'chin, jaw', Nog, Qq iyek, VTt ɣk iya<sup>h</sup>k, Qzq i<sup>h</sup>yek, Bsh ɣyek, Uz eḡgak iyak, Chv ana 'chin' ¶ Chv a suggests pT \*a<sup>h</sup> ¶ T \*a<sup>h</sup>ḡek < N \*Xa<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup>VkV - \*Xa<sup>h</sup>ḡkV × <d- T \*e<sup>h</sup>ḡ ¶ VTt i (in in-lk) suggests pT \*e ¶ Cl. 166, 183, DTS 174, Rl. I 714, ET Gl 284-5, TL 218-9, Tkr 798, Hüs. 131, DTS 174, BT 195, Fed. I 45 || pJ {S} \*a<sup>h</sup>nk- 'jaw, chin; gills' > OJ a<sup>h</sup>gi<sup>h</sup>i, aḡi<sup>h</sup>itopi<sup>h</sup>i, ItOJ [RJ] a<sup>h</sup>gi<sup>h</sup>to<sup>h</sup>id., J: T agito id., aḡo<sup>h</sup> 'jaw, chin', K a<sup>h</sup>ḡo<sup>h</sup>, Kg a<sup>h</sup>ḡo id. ¶ S QJ #163 || Tg: WrMc eḡe 'beak', in ds ɱ<sup>h</sup>'nose' ¶ STM II 457 ¶¶ DQA #434.

**56. ? \*ḡaḡḡi<sup>h</sup> 'breathe' > HS:** S √ḡnχ > Ak √ḡnχ (inf. ana<sup>h</sup>χu) v. 'sigh, sing an inχu-song (song of sighs, moaning)', Ug √ḡnχ v. 'moan', {OLS} adj. ḡanχ 'quejumbroso', BHB √ḡnh N hn2a=n# neḡ<sup>h</sup>naḡ 'he groaned', JA √ḡnh (pf. ḡ<sup>h</sup>naḡ hn2a9) v. 'sigh', Sr √ḡnh v. 'moan'; in Ar √ḡnh 'ana! v. 'sigh' the irreg. ḡ (instead of χ) is due to the onomatopœic associations of the √ ¶ DRS 25, CAD I/2 105-6 & VII 148 s.v. inh<sup>h</sup>u, OLS 38, Sd. 49, KB 68, KBR 72, Sl. 144, Br. 28 II IE \*ḡhanH- (> NaIE \*anə-) v. 'breathe' ({EI} \*h<sub>A</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>-mi), d : NaIE {P} \*anə-mo-s 'breath, wind', {EI} \*h<sub>A</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>-mos 'breath' > OI ani-ti '(he) breathes', 'anilah. 'wind' || Gk ἄνεμος 'wind', ?? ἀνέω 'winnow (grain)' (unless < \*ḡav-, cp. ἄνω id.) || L animus 'spirit, soul' || OIr ana<sup>h</sup>l, Brtt {RE} \*anat<sup>h</sup>l- > W anadl, Crn anal, MBr alazn, azlan, Br anal, alan 'breath' n. || Gt uz-anan 'breathe out' || pSl \*(v)on'a ~ \*(v)on'b 'odour' > OCS vonja 'fragrance', OR vonja 'odour', Cz vu<sup>h</sup>n'e 'fragrance, pleasant odour', Slv vo<sup>h</sup>nja, SCr vo<sup>h</sup>nj, P won' 'odour', Blg vo<sup>h</sup>ḡu, R von' 'stench', d pSl \*(v)on'a<sup>h</sup>ti 'to smell, emit odour' > vonjati id., SCr vo<sup>h</sup>njati, Slv vonja<sup>h</sup>ti 'emit odour', Blg vo<sup>h</sup>ḡe<sup>h</sup> v. 'stink', R vo<sup>h</sup>ḡu<sup>h</sup> 'to stink (of)', Cz vone<sup>h</sup>ti 'be fragrant', P woniec<sup>h</sup> id., 'to smell' || pAl {O} \*any > Al: G a<sup>h</sup>j, T {Kf.} e<sup>h</sup>j 'I inflate, swell, blow' (πρη<sup>h</sup>σκω, φουσκώ<sup>h</sup>νω), {C} a<sup>h</sup>j, T e<sup>h</sup>nj v. 'swell' || pTc {Ad.} \*a<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>ia<sup>h</sup>me > Tc A {Ad.} a<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup>ca<sup>h</sup>m (obl. a<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup>m-) 'soul', Tc B {Ad.} a<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup>me id., 'self, inner being' (< \*anə-mo-s) ¶ WP I 56-8, P 38-9, EI 82, M K I 33-4, WH I 49-50, F I 41, 105, Vn. A 73, Fs. 538, My. 5, BFU 127, Kf. 38, 97, Ç I 171 & II 380, O 91, RE 84-5, Ad. H 33-4, Ad. 40-1, Glh. 67, Chrn. I 165 II ? K: it is tempting to adduce here Sv: L/UB qan 'smell, запах', UB/L/Ln {TK} qan- (msd.: UB/L liqa<sup>h</sup>ne, Ln liqane, LB liqne) v. 'smell (at) sth., smell (st.)' (TK 485, 880, Dn. s.v. qan, GP 190), if this is a *mt* from the expected K \*anq-II U: FU (att. in FL) \*aḡe (or \*a<sup>h</sup>ḡe) 'spirit, ghost' (× N \*hAḡḡV 'sense, mind, soul', q.v.) > Faave, Δ a<sup>h</sup>via, ha<sup>h</sup>ve, hoave 'ghost; presage, omen', Δ aavaita v. 'feel\smell sth.', Es {W} avistama 'erkunden, erkennen' : Lp I vu<sup>h</sup>ḡḡḡḡ<sup>h</sup> 'spirit (water-spirit, wood-spirit, incumbent, gnom, etc.)' ¶ SK 3-4, W EDW 56 II A: M: WrM aḡi-l~aḡri-l, HlM aḡhila-, Kl aḡkrl<sup>h</sup>-χα ~ a<sup>h</sup>ḡkrl<sup>h</sup>-χα v. 'emit odour', b Yk aḡily- v. 'spread' (of an odour) ¶ KW 12, MED 44-5 || NaT \*aḡk<sup>h</sup>ia- v. 'emit odour' > Tkm aḡqa- v. 'give off a bad smell', Nog aḡq<sup>h</sup>, Bsh aḡq<sup>h</sup>- v. 'be fragrant, emit odour', VTt aḡq(ḡ)- v. 'be fragrant', Tbl aḡq<sup>h</sup>- 'einen starken, betäubenden Geruch haben', VTt aḡqḡt- id., Qzq aḡq(i)-, Qq aḡq<sup>h</sup>- 'spread' (of odour), Qrg, ET aḡq<sup>h</sup>- v. 'be emitted' (of a pleasant odour); \*aḡqil- v. 'gasp for breath, moan' > Qzq aḡqil- id., aḡqil 'das Gestöhn, das Japsen', Qrg aḡqilda- v. 'whine' (of a dog); if these T words or some of them are Mongolisms (which is suggested by their absence in OT texts), they must go back to archaic M words not attested (with this form and meaning) in M lgs.; I prefer to suppose that the words are not Mongolisms, but rather ancient dialectisms confined to a certain dialectal area and therefore not attested in OT texts ¶ Rl. I 186, Rs. W 21, Jud. 59, MM 61, Nj. 44, Tkr 45, KrkR 44, NogR 43, TatR 50, BR 43 ♦ IS I 261 adduces Eg OK ḡnh v. 'live' (← v. 'breathe', acc. to IS's

conjecture), which is doubtful for phonetic reasons (ɬ- that is not cognate with S \*ʔ-), see N \***ØiN<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>qV** 'live' ♦ Cf. IS I 261: HS (S, Eg), IE, ? K ♦ Cf. Gr. II #49 (\*ana 'breathe' > IE, EA).

**57. \*ʔaŋga** 'to open (esp. mouth); opening (esp. mouth), entrance' > **HS**: S \*ʔʌŋg > Ar Δn! ʔʌŋgʻ G (ʔanagʻa / -ʔniŋʻu) 'enter' ¶ BK I 60, Fr. I 63, DRS 25 || ? C: Ag {Ap.} \*ʔʌŋk- 'open, undo' [x N \***XENkV** 'to loosen, open, remove' (q.v. ffd.) x N \***n<sup>h</sup>EkU** 'to open(?)', bare, uncover?'] || Ch: (1) ECh: Kbl {Cp.} hangʻ v. 'open' ¶ JI II 284-5 || (2) ?? Ch \*wʌŋ, {Stl.} \*wan- v. 'open' > WCh: Su {J} waʻŋ, Fy {J} waʻŋ || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} wuʻnəʻ, Gzg D {Lk.} won || Ech: Mu {J} wiʻn, {Stl.} wen, ? Kwn {J} weleʻ, Mkl ʔoʻŋineʻ id. ¶ ChC, ChL, J S 87, Stl. IF 229 (Ch \*wan- possibly from \*hʌwan- or \*wanʌh-) || **IE**: NaIE \*ʔaʻŋg<sup>h</sup> > Lt anga 'opening, aperture, orifice', {Frn.} 'Tür-, Fensteröffnung' ¶ ■ Frn. IO || **U** [1] U \*aŋe- 'opening' (UEW: 'Öffnung, Einschnitt, Vertiefung') > pLp {Lr.} \*voʻŋʌs 'Maulkorb, muzzle' > Lp N {N} vuŋgaʻs -gŋ- 'halter or band on the muzzle of a dog (to prevent it from biting reindeer)', Lp L {LLO} vuŋasti- '(einen Hund) mit Maulkorb versehen' : pMr {Ker.} \*oŋʌ- > \*oŋʌ-ks- (- \*ovʌks) > Er pl. onʻksʻtʻ, Δ oŋksʻtʻ d oŋsʻtʻ d oykst, Mk овоѣт, овоѣт□ ovəstʻ '(Gebiß am) Zaum' : Prm {LG} \*oʻʌm 'mouth' > Vt im, Vt Kz ʌm 'mouth, opening, mouth of a river', Z vom vom id., Z US oʻʌm, Z Ud vʌm, Prmk ʌm, Yz uʻm, gen. 'uʻm-ʌn 'mouth' : pOs {Ht.} \*oʻŋ (pHl. \*uʻŋ) 'mouth, opening' > Os: V oʻŋ, D oŋ, O uŋ 'Mund, Mündung (einer Reuse, einer Flasche, eines Flusses u. a.) : Hg Δ aj d aʻj 'Kerbe; Tal, Schlucht', Hg ajak 'lips', OHg fel-aj-z- 'aufspreizen' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} \*aʻŋ 'mouth' > Ng ŋaŋ, En X {Cs.} eʻ (= eʻʔ), En B {Cs.} naʻ (= naʻʔ), Ne T {Ter.} nʌʻ nʻaʻ [nʻaʻʔ] / nʻ- o- nʻaŋo-, Slq Tz {KKIH} oʻʌk, oʻʌŋ, {Prk.} aʻk, aʻŋ, Kms {KD} aʻŋ 'mouth', Mt {Hl.} \*aʻŋ 'mouth' (Mt: K {Mll.} oʻŋg, M {Mll.} aʻŋg id., T {Mll., Adl.} aʻŋgde 'his mouth') || pY {IN} \*aŋ 'mouth, opening' > Y: K/T aŋa 'mouth', aŋ-il 'opening' || [2] FU \*aŋa- v. 'untie, open' (UEW: 'lösen, öffnen, aufmachen') (x N \***XENkV** 'to loosen, open, remove', q.v.) > Favaa- v. 'open' (UEW: 'öffnen, ausbreiten, erweitern'), Es ava- v. 'open' (W: 'öffnen, aufmachen'); pMr \*aŋʌ-cʻə- v. 'open an ice-hole' > Er aŋksʻe-, Mk anʻcʻə- id., Er aŋkcema aŋksʻema, Δ aŋksʻima d avsʻima, Mk aŋcema anʻcʻəma, Δ anʻcʻima 'ice-hole' : pObU \*uʻŋk-~\*iʻŋk-, \*uʻŋkət-~\*iʻŋkət- v. 'take off (clothes)' > pVg \*iʻŋkʷ, \*iʻkʷt- > Vg: T aʻŋk-, LK aʻŋʷx-, MK ʌʻŋkʷ-, P aŋk-, NV ʌŋk-, LL ʌʻŋkʷ-, ʌŋk-, Ss aʻŋxʷ- id., LK/P axt-, MK/UK/SV ʌxʷt-, NV ʌxʷt-, ʌxt-, LL ʌxt-, ML aʻxt-, UL aʻxʷt- v. 'peel'; pOs \*iŋk- d \*aŋk-, \*aŋət- v. 'take off' > Os: D/Nz/Kz eŋx-, K aŋx- id., V/Vy aŋət-, Ty iŋət-, Y ŋəət- id. : OHg oʻd, Hg old- 'undo, untie, unbind, unfasten, loosen' ¶ UEW 11-2, Sm. 542 (FU \*aʻŋi 'mouth' > FP \*aŋi, Ugr \*aʻŋiʻ), LG 62, Lr. #1447, Lgc. #8789, Ker. II 34-5, 100-1, Lt. J 202, Jn. 20, Hl. M #76. Ht. 127-8 [#47], Hl. rHt 71, KKH 144, Hl. M #76 (misprint: aʻŋ for \*aʻŋ), IN 215, ■ Rd. UJ 34 [#3] (Y ʌb- U) ¶ Acc. to Jn. 20, U \*aŋe- (= {Jn.} \*aŋ-i-) 'opening' possibly < d U \*aŋa- v. 'untie, open' || ■ \*aŋa- > M \*aŋ > WrM aŋ, HlM an(g), Kl aʻ aŋ 'crack, chink, cleft, fissure, crevice; ravine' [ʌ, Dg {MYC} aŋ sʻuʻrxaʻʻ, Mnr E {MYC} aŋgi 'crack, cleft, chap, crevice']; M \*aŋa-yi- v. 'be wide open' > WrM aŋgai-, HlM aŋgay- v. 'open up, be wide open', Kl aʻ ha- aŋyaʻ- vt. 'open (wide), move apart', vi. 'gape' ('рас-ʌот-крьват□, зѣѣт□; раздвѣгат□'), {Rm.} aŋgaʻʻ- 'offen sein, eine Ritze haben; sich spalten; offen stehen, zu offen sein', Mnr H aŋʻg\_eʻ- 'être ouvert, se crevasser, se fendre, ouvrir' ¶ MED 43, KRS 44-5, KW 11, SM 9 [ʌ, MYC 111] ¶ Not here M {IS} \*aŋ 'be thirsty' (actually M \*ʔaŋga-), see N \*ʔʻaŋga 'dry, thirst(y)' || Tg \*aŋa 'mouth (of an animal)' ('ѣаст□') > Ewk Ald/Y/Ucr aŋa id., Neg aŋa id., Sln {Iv.} aŋgaʻʻ 'mouth', WrMc aŋga 'mouth, mouth of animals', Mc Sb aŋə 'mouth' [WrMc aŋga < Tg \*aŋa 'mouth of animal' x Tg \*am<sub>1</sub>a<sub>2</sub>-ŋa 'mouth' (> Ewk amŋa, Jrc {Md.} amŋa 'mouth', etc.); but WrMc aŋga 'fissure, cleft, ravine' is a loan from WrM aŋ 'fissure, ravine']; NrTg \*aŋa- v. 'open (mouth, door, etc.)' > Ewk aŋa-~ aʻŋaʻ- v.

'open (mouth of animals); open wide; open (door), move apart (раздвигать)', Lm aṇa- v. 'open wide, open (mouth, door, etc.)', Neg aṇa- v. 'open wide (mouth of animals)' ¶ STM I 38, 45, Z 16-7, Y #27, Md. ChF 124 || ? Ko aṇ- in aṇ-si-əl-p<sup>hi</sup>i- v. 'be wide apart, be separated, scattered' ¶ Rm. SKE 11-2 ¶¶ IS: i ÷ M \*ama(n) 'mouth', Tg {Bz.} \*aṇma (i.e. \*am<sub>i</sub>aṇa) 'mouth' and T \*am 'vulva'; for an alt. et. = N \***g'am** v. 'mouth' || D \*aṇk- v. 'open the mouth wide, gape' > Tm an'ka- v. 'open the mouth', Tu an'ga-vu- v. 'yawn, gape, open the mouth', an'gu- v. 'open the mouth, be seized with a fit of yawning', Klm aṇgasi, Nkr aṇga-s'i 'a yawn', Gnd aṇl-/aṇl<sup>d</sup>aṇḡ-/aṇḡ-, Mnd aṇla- v. 'open mouth', Prj aṇalp- v. 'gape, open the mouth wide', Kui angali a<sup>va</sup>/giva id., angalanga 'with mouth agape', Ku aṇgala- v. 'gape, open', Krx aṇḡna<sup>-</sup>, aṇḡaṇa<sup>-</sup> v. 'gape, open the mouth wide, be open', Mlt aṇḡle v. 'gape', aṇḡlo 'open-mouthed' ¶¶ D #34 ♦ Cf. AD LRC #58: U, A + i ÷ S \***h**nk 'palate', IS I 244-5: U, D, A, IE + i ÷ HS (B, Ch) (with further bibliography); ¶ S \*ng and D \*-ṇkr- suggest N \*-ṇḡ- rather than \*-ṇ- (which would have yielded S \*m and D \*-m- or \*-n<sub>-</sub>) ♦ Gr. II #271 (\*anga 'mouth, opening') [U,Y,A,J. Gil, CK, EA].

**58.** \***ʔo'ḡK** v. 'to pant, sigh, groan' > HS: CS \***ʔ**nk > BHB **ʔ**nk. G 'sigh' (ip. 1s q7na=a3 ʔe-ʔ<sup>e</sup>nok.), Sr Qñææe æ e ʔetelʔnek v. 'groan, sigh' ¶ KB 70, KBR 72, Br. 30, DRS 26 || IE: NaIE \*enk- v. 'sigh, groan' > pSl \*je.c<sup>ʔ</sup>ati 'to groan, emit sounds', \*je.k<sup>ʔ</sup>, \*je.ka 'sound, groan' > RChS **ἰαυοῖ** jac<sup>u</sup>, **ἰαυατι** jac<sup>ati</sup> 'to sigh', **ἰακλιεῖς** jakliv<sup>ʔ</sup> 'μογιλα'λοῖ, aegre loquens', R Δ **ἰ'χάτῳ** 'to groan, call for help', Blg **εῖφα** v. 'reverberate, buzz', **ῥεκνα** 'I emit sounds, groan', SCr je.c<sup>ʔ</sup>ati 'to reverberate, echo, resound, groan', je<sup>ʔ</sup>ka n. 'echo', Slv je.c<sup>ʔ</sup>ati 'to groan', Cz jec<sup>ʔ</sup>eti 'to yell, shriek, screech, scream', P je.k 'groan, moan', je.czec<sup>ʔ</sup> 'to groan, moan' || MLG anken 'to groan, sigh', Dn ank, anke 'Klage, Beschwerde' || ? L unc-o<sup>-</sup> / unca<sup>-</sup>re 'utter sounds' (of bears) ¶ Acc. to O 6, not here Al G ankoj v. 'cry, weep', {P} 'I sigh' (< pAl \*anaka < Gk ἄνα'γκη 'grief, distress') ¶ P 322, WH II 816, Vs. IV 570-1, ESSJ VI 61-2, LamP 145, Kf. 40, 232, 297, BFU 36, O 6 || ? **A:** WrM oṇḡuli-, HIM oṇḡoli- v. 'be out of breath, pant' ¶ MED 613.

**69.** ʔ**ʔa'p** v. 'take, seize' > HS: C: EC: ? Bs {HL} ab- 'have, keep', ʔσ Elm {Ss.} ap- v. 'touch', HEC {Hd.} \*af- v. 'seize, hold, get' > Kmb af-, ap.p-, Alb {Lm.} af- v. 'hold, seize', Ged af- v. 'seize, have, get, find', Sd af- v. 'find', af-ir- v. 'find for oneself, have', Sd {Gs.} abb- 'bring', abb-ir- 'bring for oneself', ?? Kmb {Hd.} abid- v. 'hold, seize' || ?? Bj {R} **ʔ**bk (1s: p. a-ʔa<sup>ʔ</sup>bik, prs. a-ʔam<sup>ʔ</sup>bik) 'anfassen' ¶ Hd. 69, 80, 230, 306, 308, Gs. 1, 5, R WBd 5, **ʔ** HL 59, **ʔ** LmS 279, **ʔ** Ss. PEC 14 || S \***ʔ**bb > Ar **ʔ**bb (pf. ʔabba) 'mettre la main, porter la main a qch.; remuer qch., remuer en touchant' ¶ BK I 2 || ? Eg XVIII ipw **ʔ**'Abgabe', {Fk.} 'payments' (unless < d Eg ip v. 'count, reckon up') ¶ EG I 66-7, Fk. 16 || ? NrOm: Ym {HL} op- 'seize, take', Zs {HL} ef-/ep-p-, Wl/Bdt {HL} ef-, Dc {HL} ep-p- 'take' ¶ **ʔ** HL 59, **ʔ** Lm. Y 320 and **ʔ** LmS W 279 (Lm.'s *err.* hyp.: Ym, Ometo, Kmb, Alb, Sd < C \***k**.ab- 'take, grasp, have') || IE \***ʔ**lep- ({M, EI} \***h**<sub>1</sub>ep-) > Ht ep(p)-/ap(p)- v. 'take, seize, grab, pick, capture' || NaIE \*əp-/e<sup>-</sup>p- (× N \***qVpf** v. 'seize, hold'?) > OI a<sup>-</sup>p-: a<sup>-</sup>p<sup>-</sup>no<sup>-</sup>ti 'reaches, overtakes', Av apayehti 'reaches (erreicht)' || OL ap-o<sup>-</sup>, apio<sup>-</sup> 'I attack', L apiscor 'I grasp, reach', co<sup>-</sup>e<sup>-</sup>p-i (later coepi) 'I began' || Gk Hm ἄφα'ω ~ ἄφα'ω 'I touch', ? Gk A ἄπτω 'I fasten' (ft. ἄῤω, aor. ἤῤα), ἄφῃ 'a touching, a grasp (Berühren, Griff)'; P (← Krtm.) unconvincingly explains Gk h- by the infl. of the verb ἔπ- 'be about, be busy with' || ?? AS æfna, e<sup>ʔ</sup>fnan v. 'hold, sustain, endure' (unless from e<sup>ʔ</sup>fnan 'ausführen, vollbringen') ¶¶ Pv. I-II 273-82, P 50-1, EI 563, Mn. 29-30, 246, Dv. #333, M K I 76, M E I 167, WH I 57-8, F I 126, Ho. 88 || ʔ**K:** GZ \*up- v. 'possess, own' > Mg p- v. 'possess', 'be X to so.' (where 'X' is a kinship term), a-p-un 'he has him\her'; d: OG up-al- 'Lord', G s-up-eva 'Herrschaft, Reich', supev- v.

'dominate, reign', GZ \*me-up-e 'owning, owner' > OG meupe ~ mepe 'king', G meupe 'Lord' (of God), mepe 'king, ruler, tsar' (-> mep- v. 'reign, dominate'), Mg mapa- id., Lz n. l. mapa-c.k.ari 'King-source' ¶ K 186, K<sup>2</sup> 120, 196, FS K 310, FS E 346, Chx. 756-7, 1296 II ¶ \*apV- v. 'take, hold' (× N \*qVpfV '¶') > M \*ab- 'take' > MM [LM, MA, IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} ab- 'take', [S] {H} ab-, [IM] {Mel.} app-, [HI] {Ms., Lew.} ab-, Ord {Ms.} ab- 'take, take away from', WrM ab-, HLM aba- 'take, grasp, get hold of', MMgl ab- 'take, receive', Brt aḅa-, Kl, Dg {Pp.} aw-, Ba {Y} ab-, Mgl {Rm.} af- 'take', Mgl {Lg.} ab-<sup>d</sup> af- 'enlever, obtenir', Mnr H {SM} aw- 'prendre, ôter', {T} awu-, Mnr M abu- {T} 'take' ¶ Pp. MA 94, 432, Pp. L II 1254, H 1, Ms. H 33, Lew. II 7, Lg. VMI 14, MED 1, Iw. 8, SM 1, T 313, T BJ 132, KRS 23, KW 19, Chr. 21-3 || Tg \*apV- v. 'hold, possess' > Ork apuḡi- v. 'hold, have the power (держат□, имет□ власт□)' ¶ STM I 47 || T {DQA} \*abuḡ 'handfull' > OT xi [QB], XwT xiv, OOSm ≥xiv avuc', MQp xiv awuc', Tk avuc', Ggz avuc', Az, Tkm owuc', CrTt awuc', ET awus', Qzq, Qq, Nog uwis, VTt yu us', Bsh us, Qrg u-c', Alt u-s', Xk o-s, Chv ЪВѦЇ ІѦѦ' ¶ □ Cl. 44, ET Gl 409-10, ADb. SR 179-81, Jeg. 342 ¶¶ DQA #47 [A \*apV 'take': incl. T, M] ♦ IS SS 345 [#10.10] (IE, A + *err.* Eg χf' 'grasp' and ḡ Ar ḡχf' 'seize'). But Eg χf' actually belongs to N \*qVpfV 'seize, hold' (q.v.), and Ar ḡχf' does not mean 'seize' ♦ □ Gr. II #40 (\*ep 'bind', incl. IE, Gil ep- 'hold').

**60. \*ʔeipV 'mouth' (→ 'speak') > HS \*\*ʔVp- > S \*p- 'mouth' (df. forms: nom. \*p-u-m, acc. \*p-a-m, gen. \*p-i-m; forms without determiner [→ cs.]: nom. \*p-u > \*pu-, acc. \*p-a > \*pa-, gen. \*p-i > \*pi) > Hb ep3 'pe' (< gen.), cs. pi-, st. pron. pi- (e.g. 'pi-k-a- 'your [m. sg.] mouth'), Ph, Pun st. pron. py-, Pun cs. py, Ug p, Amr pu-, OA, IA p, pm, BA Mp8 pum, JA amlup pu-ma-, Ar indf. fam-un (generalization of the pS form of acc. \*pam; more archaic forms were registered by an-Nad>r ibn-Shumayl: nom. fum-un, acc. fam-an, gen. fim-in, ʔ Wright I 239), cs. nom. fu-, acc. fa-, gen. fi-, Sb f, Ak pu-m, cs. pi-, st. pron. pi- ¶ KB 864-6, AD PhSS 1, 3-4, 7-8, AD PSH 20, 123, Sk. 889-90, Hff. 254, HJ 916, 1263, BGMR 43, Sd. G 84-86 [§ 65, esp. § 65i], □ MiK I #1.223 (\*pay- 'mouth') || C {AD} \*ʔap-/ʔapp- 'mouth' > Ag: Bln {R} ʔab 'mouth', pl. ʔaʔaf; Ag -> Gz ʔaf 'mouth' || Bj {R} yaʔf, Bj A {AD} yaf 'mouth' || EC {Ss.} \*ʔaf- id. > Sa, Af af, Rn aʔf, Bn {Hn.} aʔf, Sml af, Sml N {Abr.} aʔf, pl. aʔaʔf, Or B {Anr.} aʔaʔni, Kns af-a-, Sd, Ged, Alb af-o id., Hd af-oʔo 'hole', Kmb {L} afo 'language', Brj aʔf-ay 'mouth', Dsn ʔafu id., 'language' [ʔ+ Dhl 'ʔafo 'mouth'] || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔafa (pl. afe-), Alg/Brn {E} afa, Kz {E} afuko, Asa {E} ʔafok 'mouth', -> Mb {E} afeʔa 'doorpost' ¶ AD SF 135-6, Ss. PEC 19, 51, Ss. B 23, Bl. 99, Abr. S 5, Hn. BD 118, PG 61, Oo. 70, PH 33, E SC 281 (SC \*ʔaʔo 'mouth'), MQK 9, To. DL 477, To. D 127 || Om: SOm {Blz.} \*apipj- 'mouth' > Dm ʔappo, Ub afa, Hm ap, {Fl.} afo, Hm B a-po 'mouth' ¶ Blz. OLBP #78 || Ch: WCh (1) \*ʔap- > Hs aʔa v. 'throw into one's mouth', (2) ? \*ʔVpwV 'mouth' > AG: Su {J} pwo-, {Kr.} pwo-, Ang po-, Gmy {Kr.} pi, Cp {Kr.} po- ! Ron {J}: Fy fo, DfB fo(h), Bks fu- ? CCh: Lmn {Lk.} eʔwe' 'mouth', Mdr {Mch.} uwe, bwe, {Eg.} we', {ChL} we, Dgh {IL} uʔwe', {Frk.} wuʔwe' ¶ JI II 244-5, J S 79-80, ChL ¶¶ AD PSH 40, Sk. HCD 2 II ¶ {DQA} \*ipit- 'mouth; say' > Tg \*ipke- v. 'order, tell, lure' > Ewk ipku-, ipk3- id. ¶ STM I 322 || pKo iʔp 'mouth' > MKo iʔp, NKO, Ko Ph/Chs/Chj ip, Ko Hm i\_p; MKo iʔp<sup>h</sup> v. 'recite' ¶ S QK #56, Nam 406-7, 409, MLC 1363 || pJ iʔp- v. 'say, speak' > OJ ip-, ItOJ iʔp-, J: T yu-, K yu-, Kg yu- Sh iʔ- ¶ S AJ 267 [#64], S QJ #64, Mr. 700 ¶¶ S AJ 111, 277 [#62]), DQA #606 II ʔσ D (att. in SD) \*eʔv- v. 'speak, say' (→ v. 'command') > Tm eʔvu (eʔvi) v. 'command, speak', Ml eʔkuka v. 'say, command', eʔval 'command, work', eʔalan 'a servant', Kt eʔlv 'matter, affair', eʔlgarn 'a servant' ¶ D #909 ♦ The cns. \*p- is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of AG \*p. The A data (A \*p- in SDM's rec.) provide no conclusive ev., because in Tg the cns. p is in a neutralizing preconsonant position, while pJ \*p- may represent all labial stops (besides being semantically doubtful). The**

semantically *qu*. D supposed cognate with \*-v- does not prove the opposite (that the N cns. was \*-p-).

**61.** <sup>2</sup> \***ʔop.a** 'powder, dust, small pieces of dirt' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>ʔupp- > Ar ʔuff- {Hv.} 'dirt of the ears\nails', {Ln.} 'dirt, filth, dirt of the nails; piece of stick\reed which one takes up from the ground' ¶ Ln. 67, Fr. I 42, BK I 39, Hv. 10 || Eg ʔppt 'earth, clay for bricks' ¶ Mks. I #O243, Os. 723 [note 850] || WCh \*ʔʋptʋ 'powder' > Sbc {Stl.} \*ʔapt,i 'powder' > {ChL} Bg ɔʔti, Gj apti, Sy nʔʔtu. || Ngm ʔɔpti, Krkr ʔaʔti || Bd uptaʔn id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 263 [#33] **II A** {ADb., DQA} \*opʔa 'powder' > NaT \*opa id. > OT {Cl.} opoʔ 'a white cosmetic or face powder', {DTS} ubu 'white lead, Bleiweiß', {Mng.}, Shor {Rl.} oba 'chalk', Tel {Rl.} obo 'chalk, white colour (weiße Farbe)', Uz, ET, Qrg upa, Qzq, Qq opa 'face-powder', Qq opa id., 'white paint (белѣла)', Qmq oba 'ceruse', ET Δ {Jr.} upa 'paint, face-powder, a white powder\paint for cosmetic purposes', {Mng.} opa 'weiße Gesichtsschminke' ¶ Cl. 6, DTS 603, Rs. W 363, ET Gl 465-6, Rl. I 1155-9, 1782, MM 261, Sht. 153, Krkr 496, KumRS 240, RKumS 48, Jr. 323, Mng. G 764 || M {Rm.} \*oʔa (or ʔ \*oʔoʔa?) 'powder, face powder' > WrM {Rm.} oo, oga, ogo 'Reispuder, Schminke', HIM/Kl {Rm.} oʔ id., WrM {MED} ou ~ o ~ oua, HIM {Luv.}, Kl {KRS} oo oʔ 'powder, face powder', HIM {Gl.} ou 'white lead', WrO {Krg.} oʔ 'face powder, cosmetic', Ord {Ms.} oʔ 'fard blanc' ¶¶ KW 292, Rm. EAS I 90, MED 625, Krg. 105, Luv. 303, KRS 399, Gl. I 205, Ms. O 505 || Tg \*upa 'flour, (flat) bread' > Sln vʔoʔ 'bread', Orc, Ork upa 'flour; flat bread [лѣпенка]', Ul upa, WrMc ufa, Mc Sb ufa, Jrc ufa 'flour' ¶ STM II 247, Kiy. 126 [#531] ¶¶ ADb. KL 14, Rm. EAS I 90, Pp. VG 48, 123, 147, DQA #1578.

**62.** <sup>2</sup> *WW?* **ʔʔʔʔʔʔʔ** 'ape (Pongidæ)' > **IE:** NaIE {P} \*aboʔ(n)- id. > Gmc: ON api 'monkey, fool', OSx apo, OHG affo m., affa f., NHG Affe, MDt ape, Dt aap, AS apa 'ape (Pongidæ)', NE ape; Gmc ʔ OR **опѣца** opica, OCz opice 'monkey' || Clt: Gl {P} \*ʔαββαʔναʔ 'long-tailed ape' (from Hs.'s gloss ʔαββαʔναʔ [emendated by Schrader as \*ʔαββαʔναʔ] · Κελτοι του ʔ κερκοπι ʔ η ʔκουʔ) ¶ P 2-3 [hyp.: \*aboʔ(n) is a loanword], EI 384, Vr. 11, Ho. S 3, Ho. 6, KM 8, EWA I 58-60 **II HS:** Ch {Stl.} \*ʔiʔpuki 'monkey' > WCh {Stl.} \*ʔipʔki 'baboon' > Krkr {ChL} yifki, Cg yipʔk-ʔn || CCh {Stl.} \*ʔʔʔʔʔʔʔ 'monkey' > {ChL.} McTr: Bk fusʔi, Gʔnd fiʔcʔaʔ, Gbn fiʔcʔeʔ || Mrg pcʔuʔ || Kps psʔiʔ || FIM viʔʔiʔ || Nkc viʔkeʔy, Gv vicʔ-ʔadʔya 'monkey' ¶ Stl. IF 34 || ??? B: CM, Izd abayus, Zng {TC} aʔʔbugaʔr 'monkey' ¶ Mrc. 236, NZ 85, TC D 4.

**63.** **\*ʔaʔʔʔʔʔʔʔ** 'bake, cook food on hot stones' > **HS:** S \*ʔʔpy v. 'bake' > BHB ʔʔpy/w (pf. efʔaʔ ʔaʔʔaʔ), OA ʔʔpy v. 'bake', IA, Ph ʔʔpy, Ug ʔʔpy/w id., v. 'cook', JA ifa ʔʔpy (pf. afʔa9 ~ ifʔa9 ʔaʔʔeʔ) v. 'bake', Sr ʔæ ʔʔpʔ (pf. Sr ʔʔæʔʔe ʔeʔʔaʔ, Sr E ʔeʔʔaʔ) v. 'bake, cook', Ar dʔifAyMi mʔfaʔ-n 'Backofen', Sb ʔʔy-m (sort of foodstuff), Ak ʔʔpy/w (inf. epuʔ) v. 'bake' ¶ KB 75, KBR 78, HJ 94-5, A #350, OLS 45, Sk. 155, Br. 39, Lv. I 140, Js. 102, CAD IV 247-8, Sd. 231, BGMR 3, DRS 28 || ʔʔʔ.σ Eg ʔbʔ {Mks.} 'brûler, cuire' ¶ Mks. I #OO34, Os. 814, note 1962 (ʔbʔ vt. 'verbrennen'), Crn. 514 (ʔbʔ 'verbrennen'), BnH (ʔbh 'kochen') || Ch: WCh: Pr aʔpoʔ v. 'bake' ¶ Frz. P 200 **II ? IE:** \*ʔʔʔʔʔʔʔ (unless it is \*sepʔ-) v. 'cook' > Arm efem epʔem 'I cook' || Gk ʔʔʔ id. (so-present), pp. εʔʔoʔ 'baked', ʔʔ ʔʔʔoʔ 'roasted, baked' || Not here (because of h-) Ht happin(a) 'open flame' ¶ Gk h- remains perplexing ¶ WP I 124, P 325 (both reconstruct \*eph- or \*eps-), EI 88 (connects Gk ʔʔʔoʔ with Ht and reconstructs IE \*hʔep- 'roast'); F I 431, Slt. 445 (both reconstruct IE \*sepʔ-); Ch. 394, Hofm. 101, Mn. AIE 165 **II A** ({S} \*epʔe): NaT \*aʔp- v. 'bake (?)' in OT [MhK] aʔp-maʔk ~ aʔpaʔk 'bread', Az ʔ mʔ κ aʔppaʔk, Δ aʔpmaʔk id., VTt aʔpaʔy id. ¶ Cl. 8, 12, DTS 175, Rl. I 919, 925 || Tg \*epeʔ(n) 'cake (Fladen)' > Ewk ʔwʔdi, Ul ʔpʔ(n-), Nn Nh ʔpʔʔ, Nn KU ʔfʔʔ id., Sln {Iv} oʔuʔo ~ uʔʔon ~ ʔʔwʔnʔ 'bread', WrMc {Z} efen '(baken) bread, pancake', Mc Sb {Y} ʔefən 'Manchu bread', {Mrm.} 'Brot, Gebäck' ¶ STM II 436, Z 90, Y #364

|| pJ {S} \*ʒp3-m3n3 'food' > OJ {S} opo-mono 'food' ¶ S QJ #1388, ▢ Mr. 509 ¶¶ ▢ DQA #441 (A \*ep'o 'bread, food': incl. T, Tg, J), S CNM 4 || D (in McTm) \*avi-v. 'be boiled, cooked' > Tm avi id., avai v. 'cook, boil', Ml aviyuka v. 'boil on fire, be digested' ¶ D #268 ♦ Cf. Bru. #35 (S, IE), Bm. TPN #209 (S, IE), AD rTPN 94 (S, IE, T, D). The IE √ belongs here only if it is \*epH- (rather than \*sepH-) ♦ ▢ Gr. II #77 (\*ep 'cook/food') [IE, A, CK, *qu.* J, *err.* Ko, U].

**64.** ? \*ʔvqʋ 'thing(s)' and prn.\n. of plurality, > HS: Eg fOK iχ.t 'thing, something', Eg MK/N, DEg iχ 'what?' (← '[which] thing?', like It cosa 'what?' < che cosa 'which thing?' [< cosa 'thing']) > pCpt {Vc.} \*o~χe > Cpt: Sd/B au as, F eu, A eχ eχ2 'what?'; Eg iχ.t-nb.t 'all things, everything' ¶ EG I 123-4, Fk. 29, Er. 41, Vc. 20 || E: MEI -h-, marker of pl. in verbs: {Rnr.} 3p (-h-s~) ↔ 3s (-s~), 2p (-h-t-) ↔ 2s (-t-), e.g. {Dk.} kus'i-h-t(ə) 'you [pl.] build' ↔ kus'i(a)t(i) 'you [sg.] build', kus'i-h-s~(i) 'they build' ↔ kus'i-s~i 'he builds', and probably also kus'i-h-h(u) 'we build' ↔ kus'i-hu 'I build' ¶ Dk. JDPa 101, Rnr. EL 76 || ? K: Sv -χ-, marker of 3p (agens of vi. and patiens of vt.): qəle 'he says' ↔ qəle-χ 'they say'; marker of pl. in the 2nd and 3rd person of object: ʒi-χal 'thou knowst' [lit. 'to thee it is known'] ↔ ʒi-χal-χ 'you [pl.] know' [lit. 'to you it is known'], χo-χal 'he knows' ↔ χo-χal-χ 'they know', χo~kwa 'has said' ↔ χo~kwa-χ 'they have said' ¶ Dt. 65-6.

**65.** ʔφφ \*ʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔ 'night, dark hours' > HS: ? Eg fMK wχ 'night, evening', Eg NKL/Md wχ v. 'be dark' [of a night, (μφ) of the condition of a sick person] ¶ EG III 352, Fk. 67 || B ʔʔhy ({Pr.} \*ʔh1h2y) > Ah, TnsI tihay, Twl tihay ~ sʔəyyay, Ty tihay ~ tiyay, Gh cʔihay 'ténèbres' ¶ Fc. 544-5, Nh. 210, GhA 207, Pr. H 73 [#444] || Ch: {JS} \*ʔywn ~ \*ʔwn ({JL} \*ʔywn) 'sleep' > Ngz yu~wa~n 'spending the night; period of 24 hours', etc. (× N \*Oaw1y1V or \*OawiʔV 'pass the night, sleep', q.v. ffd.) || IE \*ʔh'eu\_H- / 'h'weH- / 'h'woH- > NaIE \*au~ / \*əwe~ / \*əwo~ -v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep' (× N \*Oaw1y1V ~ \*OawiʔV 'ʔ', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU \*u~ye 'night' > F yo~, Es o~o~ ! pLp {Lr.} \*iy3 > Lp: S {Hs.} jijje yiyye d yiyye, U {Schl.} jijja, L {LLO} idja, N {N} iggja~, Kld yiyy id. ! Prm {G} \*o~y id. > Z voy voy, Z US o.y 'night, 'north', Yz u'y (gen. 'u'y-ʌn), Vt yñ uy, Vt SW u'y 'night' || ObU {Ht.} \*yi~y 'night' > pVg \*yi > Vg: T/NV yī, LK yī, yi, MK/UK yi, P yix, SV/LL ī id.; pOs {Ht.} \*ye~y ({pHL} \*yi~y) > V ye~y, Vy e~y {Trj.} id. ! OHg e'j (~e'~i'), Hg e'j id. ¶ Coll. 127, Coll. CG 415 (FU \*u~ye), UEW 72 [\*eye (\*u~ye)], Db. OS xxx (\*u~ye), Lr. #241, Lgc. #1555, Hs. 787-8, Schl. 73, LG 60, SZ 56, Lt. J 202, Ht. 140 [#172], Hl. rHt 71, Trj. S 91, MF 730.

**66.** \*ʔarV 'earth, land', place > HS: [1] Eg fP ʔ.t 'place, site (Ort, Stätte)' (× N \*ʔulV 'soil, foundation, earth') ¶ EG I 26 [2] +ext. : ] HS \*ʔarVc.^-id.: S \*ʔaras.^-id. > OAK ars.atu(m), Ak ers.etu 'earth, land', BHb ɸ3a3 'ʔerec. id. (paus. ɸ3'a1 'ʔa~rec., pl. ɸɸcrla9 ʔa~ra~c.o~t.), Ph ^~ʔ ʔrs., Ug ʔars., (AkSc) ʔars.u, OA abs.\cs. qra ʔa~raχ, em. aqra ʔar'χ-a~, JA em. aolr6a2 ʔar'f-a~, Sr em. '00@æa ʔar~a~, abs.\cs. ,@aÑÑæa ʔa~raʔ, Ar fir0a ʔarδ^-, pl. ^av5uraā ʔaraδ^~u~na id. ¶ KB 87-7, A #420, OLS 51-2, Sl. 170-1, PS 397, CAD IV 308-313, Hnr. 110, DRS 33-4; on the ev. of the posttonic \*a ʔ AD SNSE 76, AD PSH 92, 94; on OA qχ ʔ AD AR ʔ, AD PSH 31-2 || Ch {Stl.} \*ʔaric.^- 'earth' > WCh \*iHV1ric.^V 'earth' {Stl.} > (1) NrBc {Stl.} \*i1ric.^V [ʔ, {Tk.} \*ric.^-] 'earth, ground' > Sir {Sk.} r3c^u', {IL} i~ri^c^i', Mbr ric^i {Sk.}, ri^c^u' {Sk. in ChC}, Cg hi^c^e' {Sk.} id., P' {MSk.} ri^c^a' id., 'ground, country', (2) ?? SBc {Sh.}: Kir ac^, Tala a^c^i, Gj ʔac^i, Buli ʔac^, Tule ʔac^i, Dw ʔa~c^, Zar K/GL ya~c^, Zar L ya~c^, Sy B/Z ya~c^3, Sy Zk ya~c^3 'earth', (3) (??) Stl. ZCh 236 adduced (with a query) Su d.i.gi~r 'land' (which she draws back to \*d.ihir presumably *mt* from \*√Hrc.^) || Ech {Stl.} \*ʔirac.^a (*mt* of vowels) > Bdy {J} ʔi~ra~d^a 'valley' ¶ JI II 116-7, J S 64, Stl. IF 199, Stl. ZCh 236 [#830], Sk. NB 19, Sh. SB 23 [ʔ, Tk. NB 178] ¶¶ The element \*-c.^- of the HS stem seems to go back to a sx. or the second component of a

cd ¶¶ OS #54 (HS \*ʔaric^.-), Tk. PAA 20 (S, NrBc) ¶ IE: [⊕ []1] ¶ \*ʔʼer- ({EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>er-) 'earth' > NaIE \*er- (\*er-t-, \*er-w-) id. > Gk ἔρα\* 'Erde' (att. ἔρα-ζε 'to earth, to the ground', Gk D ἔρα-σδε id.) ¶ pGmc \*ero- > OHG ero, AS e'ar 'earth'; pGmc \*erθo- (\*erpo-) > Gt ai'rpa, ON joṛð, OHG erda, NHG Erde, AS eorðe 'earth', NE earth ¶ P 332, EI 174, F I 646-7, Ch. 363, Ho. 85, 93, Fs. 25-6, Vr. 295, KM 171, EWA II 1146-8 [⊕ []2] NaIE \*a-ro- 'open space' > L a-ra 'an open or level space' ¶ Lt o'ras 'outdoors; air, weather', {WP} id., 'freier Himmel', Ltv a'rs 'outdoors, open air', a-ra 'outdoors', a-ra- 'out of doors' ¶ WP I 79 [\*a-ro- 'das Freue, Weite, Raum' (unsicher)], ¶ Frnk. 518, WH I 65 ¶¶ U: FP \*arV 'lowland, (?) low place, river-bed' > Faro 'vallis inter colles, locus demissior herbidus; Tal, Anger, Steppe; grasbewachsenes Tiefland, kleines Tal', Es {W} aru 'fruchbares, trocken gelegenes Land, trockene Wiese' ¶ pPrm \*ro-r- > Vt N [UR] ur-kirem 'ravine' (kir- 'break through, erode, wash away'), Z k33'-3r3m 'old river-bed in the bend of a river' (k33' 'bend of a river') ¶ ? ObU: Os Vuri, Os Durā 'river-bed', pVg \*wu-rVy- > Vg: T ora-y, LK oray, P wuray, Ss u-ray id. ¶ Coll. 72 (BF, Os), SK 24 (BF, Os), UEW 17 (BF, ObU), LG 207 (Prm, Os + some other less plausible comparisons), UR 310, Ht. 196 [#712] ¶ R: NaT \*a-ra 'locality; space\distance between 2 places' > OT bu a-ra-da 'in this locality', ara-miz-da 'among us'; in later T lgs. (Tkm a-ra, etc.) it is used in the meaning 'space between 2 objects, interval, middle': Tkm a-ra 'distance, interval', Tk ara, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Tv, ET, SY ara, Uz ara id., Yk a-ra 'way between two points' [] ?? d: \*a-ra-l 'island, a forest near water' > Qzq, Nog, ET, Qrg aral, SY ayal 'island', Bsh aral 'small island', Alt aral 'shrubs near a river or lake; island; forest'; \*arig > Sg/Qb/QK {RL} arıy 'island in a river', Shor {RL} arıy 'island', Yk arı 'island, wooded island, grove'; acc. to Pp. TLM 38, T \*aral -b> M \*aral 'island' > MM [MA, S] aral 'island', WrM aral, HIM арал id., 'peninsula; oasis', Ord, ShY aral, Kl arl., Mgr ra'l 'island' ¶ Cl. 196, ET Gl 162-4, 167, Pek. 103, 126-7, TkR 47-8, Rl. I 272, 300, MED 48, Pp. MA 104, KW 14-5, Dr. TM I 119-20 ¶ Tg \*ara- (+ sxs.) 'open country, flat ground' > Ewk PT arayan 'open ground on a mountain top', 'sunny place (солнцепек)', Lm araan d arayan d aragan d arogon 'open woodless country', Orc ara-c'u, Ul arac'u 'flat ground for the bear-killing ritual' ¶ STM I 48 ¶¶ Hardly reliable is the comparison with MM arc'i 'defender, protector', M \*aracila- v. 'defend, protect' (Pp.: ← \*'to stand between') [see Pp. VG 97, KW 15] ¶¶ DQA #82 (A \*a-rV 'open space': T, Tg) ¶ D: [⊕ [1] \*ar\_a 'room' > Tm ar\_al 'room, apartment, chamber', Ml ar\_a 'room, partition', Tl ar\_a, ar\_r\_a id., 'chamber', Tu adā 'inne\small room', Gnd arra 'room' ¶¶ D #322 [] [2] ¶ (in SD) [⊕ ?σ] \*ar\_al (\*'earth' →) 'mud, clay' > Kn ar\_il, ar\_al, ar\_ulu, arla, arlu 'mud, clay', Tm, Ml ar\_al 'black sand' ¶ ¶ D #312 ♦ Cf. AD LRC #69 (IE, S, FU) ♦ The meaning of words in F, Prm and ObU and the length of \*a in pT suggest that the U and the T words go back to a merger: N \*ʔarV 'earth, land' × N \*gari 'valley' [⊕ ¶¶ This may have been the origin of the N postposition \*ʔV\_rV 'towards; in' (q.v. ffd.).].

67. \*ʔarV 'member of the clan\family' > HS: S \*ʔar<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>y- > Ug ʔary {A} 'Anverwandter, Sippenmitglied', {OLS} 'congénere, amigo, afín' ¶ A #391, OLS 54 ¶ Eg fOK ıry 'relating to; thereof, thereto; comrade', DEg ıry 'comrade', Cpt: B нр e-r 'compagnon, ami', Sd/A ериу eriw, B ариу ariu, ериу eriu 'comrades' ¶ EG I 103-5, Fk. 25, Er. 38, Vc. 46, 53-4 ¶ C: Bj {R} ʔaraw 'friend' ¶ possibly also C {AD} \*ʔar- (× N \*he<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>r'E' 'male?') > HEC {Hd.} \*aroʔo 'husband' > Ged, Hd aroʔo, Sd, Kmb aro- id.; ? Rn a'ra'm 'man, husband, elder' ¶ Ag: Aw {Hz.} ɲa-ra (< \*ɲi-ara) 'her **husband**' ¶ AD SF 201, Hd. 82, Hw. A 336, Hw. B II 121, PG 68 ¶ Ch \*ʔarV > WCh: Ron: Bks {J} re' (pl. ʔa'rya) 'man' ¶ ?σ ECh {Stl.} \*ʔarV > Mkl {J} ʔe'ro'wo' 'woman'; d> ECh \*tV-ʔVr- 'girl' (\*tV- f.) > Ke {Eb.} t3r 'girl', Smr {J} dur

'daughter' ¶ J R 145, Stl. IF 50, Eb. 97 ¶¶ OLS 54 (S, Eg) || IE \*aro- ~ aryo- ({EI} \*h<sub>4</sub>e'ros ~ \*h<sub>4</sub>er'yos) 'member of one's own ethnic group' (→ 'freeman') > NaIE \*aryo- id. (≠ {P}: 'Herr, Gebieter') > OIr aire 'homme libre' (→ 'chef, prince') || OI 'aryah, 'master of the house', ar'yah, '(hospitable) lord', 'a-rya-h., Av ahyo- 'Aryan (person)', OPrs ariya- 'Median, Aryan (person)'; pIir \*arya- b- FV \*orya 'slave' > F orja 'slave', Es ori 'slave, bondsman' : pMr {Ker.} \*u-r'a- ~ \*u-rya > Er ype ur'e, Mk ype ur'a 'slave, servant' || Ht {EI} ara- 'member of one's own ethnic group, peer, companion, friend' ¶ P 67, EI 213, Vn. A 42, M E I 174-5, M K I 52, 79, UEW 721, LG 52, Ker. II 76-7 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) {UEW} \*arV- ~ \*arwa 'relative belonging to one's mother's clan', 'mother's (younger) brother' > OHg ara 'brother', Hg (early XVIII) 'Schwiegertochter', Hg ara 'bride' (att. from 1792; an innovation in the framework of the Hg "language renewal") : ObU: Os: Kz wər-ti 'mother's younger brother, his male descendants, his son', Os N O or-ti, {KrT} or-di 'mother's brother'; Vg: ML oa°r, N a°r 'mother's relative', K o-r in ya°xor o-rnor 'parents' vexation, **родителскаѡ досада** 'ya°x 'father', nor 'revenge') ¶ UEW 832-3, EWU 44, KrT 244 ¶ Rédei's hyp. about the proto-Irn origin of the word (cp. Av, OPrs, KhS bra'tar, Sgd br?t, Blc bra't, Oss D a°rvada- 'brother', Oss I a°rvad 'kinsman' - f Ab. III 437-9, Bai. 313) is hardly tenable (unless we suppose very late Oss origin of the pUgr word) ¶¶ A \*a°rV 'man' (> T \*a°r, M \*ere 'man') [cf. DQA #2764 (A \*a°ri ~ \*e°ra 'man')] is more likely to belong to N **\*he<sub>L</sub>y<sub>r</sub>r'E** 'male' (q.v.) ♦ AD NM #120, CNM 9 (÷ NrCs, ST, Yn).

**68. ? \*erV** v. 'divide, one share, one, single' > HS: S \*°√?rm > Ar ?aram- 'unus, ullus' = 'quelqu'un, certain', ?urma- 'Mar0ù, iMar0ù 'ullus, aliquis', ?arim- 'unus, ullus' ¶ Fr. I 28 || K: GZ \*ert- 'one' > G ert-, Mg art-, Lz ar(t)- ¶ K 79, K<sup>2</sup> 147, FS K 116, Chik. 212 || U: FU \*era (> \*a°rV) 'part, single, one' > F era- 'share', era°lta°a°n 'at a time', tella°era°a° 'this time', era°s 'one, a', Vp eraz 'other', Es {W} a°ra 'Besonderes, Getrenntes', Lv ja°ra, jara, jera : Lp N {N} ære 'quantity of milk obtained at one milking from one female reindeer\cow' || Os: V/Vy a°r-əx 'getrennt, auseinander', Ty/Y a°rə, Nz/Kz ara, O a°ri id. ¶ SK 40, W EDW 80-1, N III 873, Stn. D 156, SSA I 107-8 (FL only), Ht. 129 [#58], M UEW 75 ¶ Stn. rejects connection between F and Os and believes (like UEW) that the Os word is derived from Os V a°r, Os D a°r 'much' (acc. to UEW, < U era- 'much'), which is hardly tenable: Os makes a clear phonological distinction between the -əx-derivate from pOs \*a°r- 'too much' and the word in question: Os V has e°rəx-o°rəx 'überschüssig, zu viel' and a°rəx 'getrennt' || D \*e°r- v. 'divide, separate' > Tl e°r\_u v. 'sift', Klm ers-id., e°ra°na° v. 'be separated, be separate from', Knd e°r\_p-v. 'keep apart, keep separate', e°r\_-v. 'be separated', Gnd e°r- v. 'be separated from, eht- v. 'wead', Kui e°za v. 'be separate from, detached', e°spa- v. 'separate', Ku e°r°lali-v. 'be separated' ¶¶ Km. 313 [#190], D #915.

**69. \*?ir'a** ' (or \*?iy<sub>r</sub>r'a?) 'drag, pull, push' > HS: Eg fMK ɜr 'push aside [(jem. verdrängen [von Habe, Grenze, Thron, usw.)]', {Fk.} 'drive away', Eg G ɜr 'jem-n bedrängen' ¶ EG I 11, Fk. 3 || A: Tg \*ira- v. 'drag' > Ewk \_ir- id., Sln iru-, Lm ir-, Neg iy-, Ork ira-~irra- id. (**волочитѡ, тацитѡ**), Ul ira- v. 'drag, drag over' (**тацитѡ, перетаскиватѡ**), Nn ira- v. 'carry, transport' ¶ STM I 323-4 ¶¶ Hardly here (because of the meaning and the cns. \*r') A {DQA} \*ir'u 'trace, furrow' > Tk \*°ir' ~ \*i°r' id., M \*i°φirayā 'ripples on the surface of water', Tg \*iru-n 'furrow' and pKo \*i°ra°id. (DQA #687) || D \*ir- v. 'drag, draw, pull' > Tm ir- v. 'drag along, pull, attract', Ml iruka v. 'saw', irkkuka v. 'draw, drag', Td iθ-, Gdb ir- v. 'pull, drag', Kn ir v. 'pull, draw', Prj irp-v. 'pull' ¶¶ D #542 ♦ D \*-r- usually goes back to a \*-r-cluster rather than to an intervoc. \*r, which suggests a cluster in pN (\*-y<sub>r</sub>r-?) ♦ M IS I 251 [#112] (\*Hir'a **тацитѡ, волочитѡ**: D, Tg + i ÷ Tk \*ir°an 'furrow' and Ko iran 'ridge of a furrow').

**70. ?? \*?uRE** (or **\*?uRV**) 'drink, swallow' > **U** \*u'rV 'drink; be drunken, intoxicated' (× N **\*weXVrV** 'mad, dizzy, intoxicated') > Prm {LG} \*u'r- > Z ьроеш irzsʹ, Yz ʌ'rasʹ 'kvass (ε small beer)' | Er иреде- ir'ed'e-, Mk иреде- ir'ed'a- 'be drunken, get carbon monoxide poisoning (from burning firewood)' || Sm \*зr- v. 'drink' > Ne T ʹyp-и, Ne F ɲзr-, Slq Ke {Cs.} ira-, Mt {Hl.} \*зr- id. [Mt T/K/M {Mll.} orsu 'bibere', K {Pl.} urschim 'I drink', Mt M {Sp.} урни мь id., урна мь 'I eat (liquid food)'], Slq Tm {KD} oʹ-ra- ~ з-ra- 'get drunk' ¶¶ Coll. 16, UEW 85, LG 329, Lt. J 160, Jn. 21-2, Hl. M #249 || **fl**: M \*oʹruʹbki- v. 'gobble, swallow' > WrM oʹruʹbki-, HlM 'p' вхий-х, Brt \*pʹbхи-ху id., WrO oʹroʹbki- v. 'inhale, drawn in' ¶ MED 643, Krg. 148, Chr. 514 ¶ Valid, unless it is \*ʹoʹruʹbki- (which cannot be ruled out, since the word is not attested in MM and in \*h-preserving lgs.) || **HS**: Eg G ir v. 'eat', ζ Cpt B εpi eri 'bread' ¶ EG I 114, Vc. 64.

**71. \*?urV** 'to gather' (→ 'everybody belonging to...') > **HS**: EC: pSam \*uʹruʹri v. 'gather, collect' > Sml {ZMO} ururi vt. 'collect, gather, cause to assemble', urur vi. 'assemble, meet; gather', urur 'meeting, assembly, gathering', Sml N {Abr.} urur- v. 'become assembled', Bn eru-ri id., Rn {PG} uʹruʹra vi. 'gather together' ¶ Hn. S 97, PG 286, ZMO 401, DSI 595, Abr. S 244 || WS \*ʹry v. 'collect, gather' > BHb era ʹry (pf. 1s ʹaʹrit i) v. 'pluck', Gz ʹry (js. yə-ʹri, pf. ʹaraya) v. 'gather, glean' (KB 82, KBR 85, L G 40, Di. 744); Gz ʹrr (js. yə-ʹrar-yə-ʹrər, pf. ʹarara) v. 'reap, gather, harvest' <b- or >b- AfS lgs.: Sa {R} arar (p. 'irira, inv. i'ra-r) 'sammeln, ernten' (Di. 741, L G 39, R S II 46-7); the existence of a corresponding Af verb i arar (mentioned in R S II 46-7 → other authors) is not confirmed by Af dictionaries (PH, Clz.) || **IE**: NaIE \*wer-/ʹwr- 'multitude, group of people, troop' > OI vr n'dam 'group, troop, crowd' || OIr foirinn, foirenn 'factio, Gruppe, Schar', OW guerin 'factio', W gwerin 'viri, virorum multitudo, plebs', {YGM} 'ordinary folk, populace', OBr guerin 'factiones', {Flr.} 'parti, ligue, troupe', MBr gueryn 'people' || AS weorn, wearn 'troop, crowd' ¶ WP I 266, P 1150-1, EI 268 (connects the stem with IE \*wre-tos 'flock, herd'), M K III 249-50, Flr. 189, YGM-1 264, Ho. 387 || **fl**: M \*urug 'clan, relatives' > MM [MA] {Pp.}, [HI] {Ms.} uruq [uruq] 'a relative', [HI] {Lew.} urux, [S] {H} uruh 'relatives', WrM urug, HlM ypar 'relatives, posterity, clan, a relative'; M > Yk, Ewk, Lm uru- 'relatives, родн' ¶ MED 885, H 167, Ms. H 106, Pp. MA 367; Lew. 83, Pek. 3068-9, STM II 287 || Tg \*uruʹbʹ- v. 'gather, collect' > Ewk uru-w-, Sln orow-, Neg oyow-id., Ork uru-, urugi- v. 'arrange (разложит, расставит, уложит по порядку)' ¶ STM II 287 || pKo \*ur 'clan, relatives' > NKO ul id. ¶ S QK #1150, MLC 1246 || pJ uʹi nʹti 'clan' > OJ udi, [RJ] uʹti, J: T/Kg uʹzʹi, K uʹzʹi ¶ S QJ #1529, Mr. 566 ¶¶ DQA #673 (pA \*i uʹru 'to gather, crowd' > Tg \*uru-, pKo ur, M \*irge- v. 'fill up, heap up, stuff, pack', \*ir- id., 'to crowd', T \*irk- 'collect, assemble') || **D** \*ur- 'multitude; be numerous' > Tm ur\_u v. 'be numerous', ur\_u 'much, abundant', Ml ur\_u 'plenty, copious, much', Kn ur\_al,i, ur\_ube 'a mass, multitude', ur\_e 'abundantly, much', Δ ur\_u v. 'increase', Tu ur(u)bu, urbi 'increase', urdi n. 'increase', Tl ur\_avu-uravu 'abundance, much' ¶¶ D #711 ♦ This N √ may have contributed to the development of the N pl. marker \*rʹiʹ (q.v. ffd.).

**72. \*?UrV (ba)** 'squirrel or a similar animal' > **HS**: S \*ʹhVrrab- > Ak arrabu 'dormouse (?)', 'jerboa (?)' ¶ CAD I/2 302-3, Lds. FAM 107 || **IE** \*wer- (and *rdp* : \*werwer-, \*wewer-, \*wai\_wer-, \*wiwer-, \*wa\_wer-) ¶ 'squirrel', {EI} \*werwer- 'squirrel' > NPrs %aravarva vaʹrvaʹre id. || L viverra 'polecat' || W gwiwer, Br gwiber 'squirrel', Ir iora rua id. (rua 'red') || Lt vaiveri's, vaivaras 'male polecat', ve'veri's, vaiveris, voveri's, vovere~, Δ vo'veris 'squirrel', Ltv va-vere, -is id., Pru weware id. | pSl \*ve'ver-ька, -ика 'squirrel' > OCS вѣверица, P wiewio'rka, Cz veverka, Uk вив'рка, SCr ве'верица d (v)je''verica || pGmc \*ai\_k-werna ~ \*ik-werna id. (with \*ai\_k- 'oak?') > AS a-c-weorna, ON i'korni,

OHG eichurno, eichorno, eich(h)orn, NHG Eichhhorn 'squirrel'; acc. to Schr. GW 134 and Schr. 165, pGmc *\*ai\_k-/\*ik-* may go back to IE *\*ai\_g-*, cp. OI 'e-j-ati vi. 'stirs, moves' ¶ WP I 287-8, P 1266, EI 540, ZVSZ 475, Ma. CS 564-5, YGM-1 267, Frn. 1233-4, En. 273, Vr. 284, KM 154-5, EWA II 974-6, Ho. 2, 390, Vl. II 1421 ¶ U *\*ora*, *\*ora-pa* 'squirrel' > F orava, Es orav, oravas id. ¶ pLp {Lr.} *\*ōre-v* > Lp N {N} oar're -rr-, Lp S {Hs.} oā'r'eve oā'r'eve<sup>d</sup> oā'r'u've, Lp Kld {SaR} выйррeв id. ¶ pMr {Ker.} *\*u-rъ* > Er/Mk ur id. ¶ Chr ur id. ¶ pPrm *\*ur* > Z ur id. ¶ Sm: in a Samoyedic lge. of the Sayan region (Pl.: "ejus stirpis monticolis sajanensibus") {Pl.} orop 'Sciurus striatus' ¶ UEW 343, Sm. 552 (FP *\*ora* 'squirrel'), LG 297-8, Kecsk. IPZ, Lr. #847, Lgc. #4587, Lgc. SL #1497, Hs. 1035-6, SaR 63, Ker. II 176 ¶ ? D *\*ur\_utt-* 'squirrel' > Tm ur\_uttay, Tl ur\_uta id. (if the connection with D *\*ur\_ukk-* 'jump' is secondary or non-existent) ¶¶ D #713, Tyler DU 810 [#130] ¶ A {S} *\*Ur\_ij-k'v* 'ground-squirrel' > NaT *\*o'rke* id. > Alt {BT} o'rko", Xk {BIG} o'rke<sup>d</sup> o'rge, Yk o'rgo", Tv {TvR} o'rge id.; T -b> Hg u'rge id., T -b> ? Brt E {Chr.} *\*pxy* id. ¶ Shch. Zh 148, BT 120, BIG 136-7, TvR 339, Pek. 1955, Chr. 513, EWU 1589 ¶ The presence of the word in Hg proves that the T word was not originally confined to Siberia (⇔ Shch. l.c.) ¶ Tg. {S} *\*urike* > Ewk Brg/Nrc uriks id., 'marmot' (≠ T or Brt?), ?σ Orc urikz, urkz 'black seal (animal) with white stripes' ¶ STM II 285 ¶¶ S CNM 7 ♦ The comparison with D has been suggested by Blz. (p.c.) after Tyler l. c. The A cognate has been suggested by S (S CNM 7). The quality of the N rounded vw. of the first syll. is controversial: the IE and D data suggest *\*u* (N *\*u* > IE *\*we*), while U suggests *\*o*. A plausible solution may be found if we assume a N rec. *\*?oRu* (ba) with *\*o* of the first syll. changing to *\*u* under the ass. infl. of the second syll. (cp. the change N *\*o* > pre-IE *\*u* [> IE *\*we*] in the presence of *\*u* of the second syll., as formulated in AD PIEG). The N vw. *\*u* of the second syll. may be responsible for *\*wv* of the second syll. in the IE reduplicated variants of the stem in question (*\*werwer-* a. o.) ♦ AD NM #51.

**73. *\*i₂v\_rv*** 'towards' (→ 'in?') > HS: Eg v r 'hin nach...', hin zu...; bis hin nach', conj. 'bis daß...', DEg r 'to, towards'; ? Eg O ir 'towards' > Cpt Sd/B ερo- ero-, ε- e-, Cpt F ελα- ela-, ε- e-, Cpt P αρo- aro- id. (× N ?? *\*?il'a* 'place to stay') ¶ EG II 386-8, Er. 236-8, Vc. 37 ¶ IE: NaIE *\*-r* (< *\*i\_Hr?*), locative sx. in adverbs: Lt ku-r̃, Ltv ku'r 'where?' (place and direction), Gt h̃a-r, ON hvar, OSx hwa-r̃, OHG wa-r̃ 'where?', AS hwar ~ hwæ-r id. (> NE where), OL quo-r̃, L cu-r̃ 'why?', Gk νυκτωρ 'by night', OI ka-r-hi 'when?', us̃a-r 'at dawn'; NaIE *\*to-r/\*te-r* 'there' > Gt, ON þar, OSx thar, OHG da-r̃, AS ðæ-r̃ (> NE there) 'there', OI tar-hi 'then' ¶ The long vw. (in quo-r̃, νυκτωρ) suggests the presence of a lr. ¶ Bks. 220, WH I 313, WP I 521, P 1087, Kb. 144, 1145, EWA II 533-5 ¶ ?? U: FU: Prm *\*ko-r* ({LG} *\*ko\_r*) 'when' > Z kor, Z US ko\_r, Prmk k̃zr ¶ ?? Y T tigira 'there' ¶¶ LG 126, Krn. JJ 209 ¶ A {Rm.} *\*-ru/\*-ru*, directive case ending > T *\*-ru/\*-ru* > OT a-b-im-ru 'towards my house', ba-ru 'hither', a-ru 'there (dorthin)', soḡra 'nachher', tas-ra 'hinaus', MQp qa-ru 'whither?', OT ba-ru 'hierher', ka-ru ~ kiru 'zurück', and after the dative sx.: jayi-qa-ru 'against the enemy', taḡri-ga-ru 'against God', yoq-qa-ru 'nachoben', ic̃-ga-r-ru ~ ic̃-ga-ri 'nach innen', tas-qa-r̃ ~ tas-ḡa-ru 'nach aussen', jayi-qa-ru 'against the enemy', taḡri-ga-ru 'against God', yoq-qa-ru 'nachoben', ic̃-ga-r-ru ~ ic̃-ga-ri 'nach innen', as well as variants T *\*-r*, *\*-ra/a* > OT q̃aḡar 'whither?', ic̃-ra 'innen', is-ra 'behind', bisra 'hierher', soḡra 'nachher', tas-ra 'hinaus' ¶ Rm. VAJ 44-5, Br. OTG 157-8, Gbn. ATG 28 ¶ M {Rm.} *\*-ru*, e.g. WrM ina-ru 'this side, prior to', cina-ru 'that direction, after', HlM -ru/-lu- модо-руу 'towards the woods', гол(у)руу 'towards the river\middle', морилуу (*dīs* < *\*mori-ru*) 'towards a\the horse', Ord -ru/-lu- (otog-ru 'i the direction of the Otog banner', Brt -ru/-lu- (uha-ru 'toward the water', mori-lu- 'towards the horse', ? Kl ḡa-r-a-n (with a reflexive sx.) 'wohin' ¶ Pp. IM 161, 205 (a *qu.* hyp.:

M \*-ru < \*quruyu 'down') || ? Ko {Rm.} ro, Ko N -ru (-ri), -ilri (-ilri) 'by ... way', cibi-ro, Ko N ciburu 'home' (direction), Ko al-lo 'down' (direction) ¶¶ Rm. VAJ 44-6 ♦ Eg i- and the vowel lengthening in NaIE (OL quo-r, Gk vu-κτωρ) suggest the presence of an initial lr. The word may be etymologically identical with N \*ʔarV 'earth, land' (q.v.) ♦ ▢ Gr. I 147-50 ["locative RU" in IE, U (Prm, Y), A (T, M, Tg, J, qu. Ko), Ai, unc. Gil (in fact -r- is from \*-t-?), err. Hg sublativ 'onto' (not "dative") -ra/-re (on its origin see EWU 1224)].

**74. \*ʔu,w,rV** 'light (lux), fire' > **HS** ▢ \*ʔurr- > S \*ʔurr-~\*ʔawr- 'light (lux)' > Ak urru '(heller) Tag', BHb r&a ʔo-r 'daylight, light, dawn', √wr (pf. r&a ʔo-r) v. 'dawn', Ug ʔur {A} id., {OLS} 'heat; fire, burning (combustión)', ? Ug {OLS} ʔar ~ ʔir 'light (luz)', Amr {G} ʔu-r-um id., √wr 'to shine', Ar ʔawr- 'ardeur du feu, flamme', ʔawwara 'allumer', OSA {Jm., Av.} ʔwrn 'la divinité patronale des flammes', Jb C e-r&t, df. e-r&t 'moon', Sq HS df. 'ʔʔʔʔʔh, Sq {L} 'ere, Mh ha-r&-rit, Hrs ha-r&-t id., Sq {L} 'erir 'allumer' ¶ KB 23-4, KBR 24-5, OLS 46-7, G A 14, Jo. M 7, Jo. J 4, Jo. H 4, L LS 72-5, Av. G II 68, DRS 13 || Eg G ir.t 'flame (or sim.)' ¶ EG I 114 || C: ʔʔσ Bj {R} 'e-ra 'light (hell), white; white colour', era-m- 'get white' ¶ R WBd 27 || ? CCh: Mofu {Brr.} -u-r- vt. 'burn', Gzg Mj {Lk.} wur id. ('[ver]brennen, rösten') ¶ JI II 55, Lk. G 138 **II** **Ⓐ**: NaT \*u-ru-ŋ ~ \*Ewru-ŋ 'white' and M {DQA} \*o-wr 'dawn' (× N \*ʔo'mrE vi. 'burn, shine, be bright; dawn', q.v. ffd.) || ? Tg: Ewk PT/I orumna- 'blaze up', orumna- adj. 'burnt', Ewk {Vas.} urum-mi 'shine, twinkle (сверкат, мерцат)', ? Ewk Okh orakın 'flash, appear for a moment (мелккат)' ¶ STM II 23, 25, Vas. 453 ¶¶ ▢ S AJ 288 (A \*o-rV 'white, light [hell], dawn') **II** ?? **D** {Km.} \*u-r-/\*ur-V- v. 'burn' > Tm uru v. 'burn', Kn uri v. 'burn, blaze, glow', Tu uri 'blaze, flame', uriyu- v. 'burn, blaze', Tl uriyu, uralu vi. 'burn', Mnd rund- v. 'ignite' ¶¶ D #656, Km. 299 [##113-4] ¶ The D √ is ambiguous, it may be alternitatively connected with C \*hur- v. 'light' ♦ Cf. IS MS 337 (\*ura vi. 'burn') ♦ D \*-r- (reg. from \*r-clusters) suggests the presence of an additional cns. (\*w) in the Inlaut ♦ One cannot rule out the possibility that this N root is a phonetically reduced variant of \*ʔo'mrE (\*-mr- > \*-wr- > \*-r-).

**75. \*ʔir,Eʔ,u** 'intestines' > **HS**: S \*ʔiriʔ-at- 'intestines, lung' (> reduced forms \*ʔir-at- and WS \*riʔ-at-) > Ak irtu 'lung, breast', Ug ʔirt, (AkSc) {Hnr.} ʔiratu 'chest (?)', {OLS} 'pecho, repecho (de un monte)', MHb ealir\$ reʔa- 'lungs', Sr æfoæ@o ra-ʔit\_a-, Ar éri riʔ-at-, Mh r&yeʔ, Hrs r&yi (pl. r&yot), Jb E e-roʔt, Jb Cr&ʔt (pl. 'r&i) id. ¶ Sd. 386, CAD VII 183ff., OLS 53, A #430, Grd. UT #365, Hnr. 109, Js. 1472, Br. 705, Jo. M 554, Jo. H 101, Jo. J 201, MiK I #1.9 [S \*ʔir(r)-at- 'chest, breast'], 1.224 [\*riʔ(-at)- 'lung'] || EC: Brj ir-a 'stomach', Ya ira 'belly', ?? Sml u-r, ?? Rn u-r id. ¶ Ss. B 106, PG 287, Blz. RL 257 || B {Pr.} √HrH 'lung(s)' (\*H = \*ʔʔ) > Ah {Fc.} ta-rut 'lung' ({Pr.} < \*t-HaruH-t), ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Mz {Dlh.} tarut, Gh {Nh.} tur (pl. turawin), Kb {Dl.} t\_ur&t, Gd {Lf.} t\_ω-ra (pl. t\_ωrawe-n), Izd {Mrc.}, Tmz {MT} turt, Rf Wr {Rn.} t\_ura, Rf B/A t\_aura, SrSn {Rn.} t\_ur-in (pl.), Izn t\_arut, Sll tur&t, Wrg {Dlh.}, Nf {La.} tura, Skn {La.} t\_u-ra id. ¶ Fc. 1558, Pr. M IV-V 214-5, Rn.327, GhA 155, Lf. II #1370, MT 559, Dlh. Ou 267, Dlh. M 168, Dl. 697, Mrc. 199 ¶¶ ▢ OS #36 [ʔ || ʔʔσ Eg irw 'piece of meat' ¶ Mks. I #O393] **II** **IE**: NaIE {P} \*oreu-/\*.reu- 'gut' > Gk [Hs.] 'opov'α · xop&ŋ 'gut(s)', Gk [Epc.] 'opov'α 'sausage' (or 'guts') || L arvina 'fat, lard (esp. that between the skin and the intestines)', "Sicilian" (= L Sc?) [γ] [Hs.] 'αρβι'vνη · κρε'αλ ('meat, flesh') ¶ WP I 182, P 782, F II 420, Ch. 828, WH I 71 **II** **D** (in SD) \*ir- 'e internal organ of the body (as liver or spleen)' > Tm iral, irul id., Ml iral, Irl iralu, irvo, AIK iruvu, Kt iruv, Td u-ruf, Kn hiri 'liver' ¶ D #546 ♦ D \*-r- is a reg. reflex of N \*r-clusters (rather than of the intervoc. \*-r-), hence it points to the presence of an additional element (lr.?) adjacent to N \*r.

Therefore I prefer to reconstruct pS  $\sqrt{r}?$  ( $\square^*?iri?$ -at-) rather than a metathetic pair  $\sqrt{r}?$ -at- ~  $\sqrt{r}?$ -at-  $\diamond$  Blz. DA  $\llbracket + 154 \llbracket \#18 \rrbracket - \#17 \rrbracket$  (D, HS, IE).

**76.  $\sqrt{r}?$ erq'i'** 'ruminant' > **HS:** S  $\sqrt{r}?$ ar<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>χ- 'cattle, cow' > Ug  $\sqrt{r}?$ arχ (=  $\sqrt{r}?$ ar<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>χ-) {A} 'cattle', {OLS} 'vaca, novilla', Amr {G}  $\sqrt{r}?$ arχum 'cow', Ar  $\sqrt{r}?$ 0à  $\sqrt{r}?$ arχ- 'young bull', Ak arχ- 'cow', Tgy {Bsn.} ar<sub>1</sub>  $\sqrt{r}?$ arha 'bull',  $\sqrt{r}?$ arh-ī 'heifer (that never bore young)'  $\P$  A #389, OLS 49, G A 13, Sd. 67, CAD I/2 263, Bsn. 493, DRS 33 II IE: NaIE  $\sqrt{r}?$ er-~ $\sqrt{r}?$ eri- 'ruminant'

## Error!

**77.  $\sqrt{r}?$ urVqV** 'path, way' > **HS:** S  $\sqrt{r}?$ urax- id. > BHb hr@7a 'porah 'way', OA/IA/Plm  $\sqrt{r}?$ rh, BA hr@a0  $\sqrt{r}?$ rah, JBA ah<sub>1</sub>r^&a  $\sqrt{r}?$ or'h-a-, ChrPA  $\sqrt{r}?$ wrh (em.  $\sqrt{r}?$ wrh?), Sr W/E  $\sqrt{r}?$ ur'h-a- 'road, way', OAK, Ak urχu 'way, path, track' ('Weg, Pfad, Bahn')  $\P$  KB 83-4, 1673, HJ 106, Sl. 94, Sd. 1429 || EC: Sa/Af {R} a'ra'h (pl. 'a-roh) 'way, path' ('Weg, Pfad, Straße'), Af {PH} arah 'place, spot'  $\llbracket + \rrbracket$  ? Ged {Hd.} ora 'road'  $\P$   $\P$  R S II 45, PH 44, Hd. 258  $\P$  OS #122 II U: FV {UEW}  $\sqrt{r}?$ ura 'way, path' > F ura id.  $\P$  Mk {Ps.} u-r, ura-, urks'ka 'narrow footpath'  $\P$  UEW 804 II A: NaT  $\sqrt{r}?$ oruk, ?  $\sqrt{r}?$ or-gak 'path' > OT oruk, Alt, QK oruk id., Brb oraq, Tlt {Rl.} orok, Shor/Brb {Rl.} oraq, Xk orax, Yk orox 'animals' path' ('Wildpfad'), Bsh Δ uraq 'hare-path, traces of a hare', Tv oruk 'road, way', Tf oruk 'road, path'  $\P$  Cl. 215, Rl. I 1050, 1054, TvR 327, Ra. 212, Tm. 163,  $\square$  TL 531-2 (*unc.* :  $\sqrt{r}?$ orok <- T  $\sqrt{r}?$ or- 'dig') II ? D (in SD)  $\sqrt{r}?$ or'uk- > Tm orun'kai 'lane, alley', Tu orn'ku - or'n'k' 'lane, footpath'  $\rightarrow$  Kn orn'ku 'narrow path between two walls in a garden'  $\P$  The unexpected -r- in Tm or in pSD needs explanation [infl. of SD  $\sqrt{r}?$ var'i 'way, road' (cf. N  $\sqrt{r}?$ ArV 'way, road'))?  $\P$  D #1014  $\diamond$  T  $\sqrt{r}?$ uk and SD  $\sqrt{r}?$ uk- go back to sxs.

**78.  $\sqrt{r}?$ arba** 'lie in ambush, scheme evil to so.', '(?) use magic tools' > **HS:** ? CS  $\sqrt{r}?$ rb 'lie in ambush, scheme evil' > BHb bra  $\sqrt{r}?$ rb G 'lie in ambush, lie in wait for so.', IA bra  $\sqrt{r}?$ rb 'ambush', Ar  $\sqrt{r}?$ rb (pf. iaru!A  $\sqrt{r}?$ aruba - iari!A  $\sqrt{r}?$ ariba) 'be cunning', Sf mwr'b 'intrigant, comploteur', Tmd wrb 'se mettre en embuscade'  $\P$  KB 80, KBR 83, JH 23, HJ 101, DRS 31 II U: FU  $\sqrt{r}?$ arpa [att. in FL]  $\square$  'magic, magic device' > Farpa (gen. arvan) 'lot, magic stick or any other magic tool for finding hidden things, soothsaying, etc.', arpa-mies 'soothsayer' (mies 'man'), arpo- v. 'cast lots', Es arp 'lot, magic', Lv ar:bi 'witch', pLp {Lr.}  $\sqrt{r}?$ orpe- > Lp N {Fri.} vuorbbe 'sors secunda, fortuna; anulus oricalchi, in membranam tympani magici, quoties pulsabatur, imponendus', {N} vuor'be 'a piece of wood, stones etc., used by persons who are going to cast lots about sth.; lot; destiny', Lp L {LLO} vuor'pe- 'Glück, Los, Geschick'  $\P$  UEW16, SK 24-5, MF 504-6, Lr. #1463, Lgc. #8812, Fri. 837 II A: T  $\sqrt{r}?$ arba- v. 'make magic, cast spells' > OT arva- (Cl.: arva-), Chg, Qrg, Qq, Bsh, Xk arba-, ET arba-  $\square$  arva-, SY arva- id., Qzq arba- v. 'tempt, seduce, try to win so. over by deceit', Yk arba- v. 'flatter, exaggerate', OT arvis 'a magic spell, or charm' ( $\rightarrow$  Vt urves', urbec' 'remedy for evil eye?'), Chg arvis'-c'i 'sorcerer' (a T - most probably, Blgh - word is probably the source of Vt urves', urbec' 'Waldgeist; a person inflicting illness by magic', Hg orvos, Δ o'ros, o'rvas, o'rvos, urus 'physician', as well as of Blg врач 'sorcerer' and R врач 'physician')  $\P$  ET Gl 168-70, Rs. W 24, Cl. 199,  $\neq$  EWU 1071-2  $\diamond$  IS I 261-2 (S, FU, T), UEW 16 (FU, T);  $\neq$  LCM. NLP 20 (FU and A cognates "are almost certainly loans")  $\diamond$  AD NM #121  $\diamond$  An alt. et.: N  $\sqrt{r}?$ arpaV 'make magic' > U: FU  $\sqrt{r}?$ arpa id. II T  $\sqrt{r}?$ arba- id. II **HS:** S  $\sqrt{r}?$ rp? v. 'heal, soothe' > Ak  $\sqrt{r}?$ rp? G, Ph, Pun  $\sqrt{r}?$ rp?, BHb, Sr  $\sqrt{r}?$ rp? G, Gz  $\sqrt{r}?$ rp? G 'heal', Ar  $\sqrt{r}?$ rp? 'allay the fear of, soothe', Cn  $\rightarrow$  Eg (EgSSc) ha-r-fi 'to heal' (KB 1188, Hlk. #157, SivCR 83). This latter et. is *qu.*, because the primary meaning of S  $\sqrt{r}?$ rp? is likely to be 'repair' (cf. Ar  $\sqrt{r}?$ rp? 'mend [clothes]', Gz  $\sqrt{r}?$ rp? 'sew, mend').

**79.  $\sqrt{r}?$ arc'a** (or  $\sqrt{r}?$ ac'V<sub>1</sub>ra) 'trace' ( $\rightarrow$  'sign', 'choose') > **HS:** S  $\sqrt{r}?$ aθar- 'trace, track, place' > Ar  $\sqrt{r}?$ aθar- 'vestigium, signum' (and, with a different vowel pattern,  $\sqrt{r}?$ iθr- 'vestigium'), Ug  $\sqrt{r}?$ aθr, Pu, Yd, DA

ʔsʔr, OA ʔsʔr [ʔaθar], IA ʔtr, ʔtrʔ, JA ʔaʔt\_ar, ʔat\_r-aʔ, SmA ʔtr, Sr ʔaʔt\_ar, ʔat\_r-aʔ 'place', Gz ʔasʔar (etymologically erroneous spelling) ~ ʔasar 'path, trace, track', Amh aser 'footprint', Ak asʔ-r-u 'place, site; region, country'; WS \*ʔʔʔr v. 'follow the traces, choose' > Gz ʔʔsʔr *G* (erroneous spelling for ʔʔsr) v. 'follow the traces', Tgr ʔʔsr (pf. ʔasrə), Tgy ʔʔsr (pf. ʔassrə) v. 'follow the traces', Ar ʔʔʔr (pf. ʔaθara) v. 'choose' ¶ JH 27-8, HJ 125-8, OLS 61-2, L G 45, Sl. 179, Lv. I 156, Tal 74, Fr. I 12-3, Br. 55-6, Sd. 82-3, CAD I/1 456-60, DRS 37 ¶ K: G arcʔ-eva 'Wahl, Erwählung, Auswahl' ¶ Chx. 36 ¶ ?? D \*acca (~\*anca) 'trace, foot' (× N \*ʔaNsʔi ʔʔʔ ∈ foot', q.v. ffd.).

**80. \*ʔar<sub>l</sub>V<sub>l</sub>ka** (or \*yar<sub>l</sub>V<sub>l</sub>kaʔ) 'see, observe' > IE: NaIE \*re(:)g- (< \*\*ʔreg-) v. 'see, observe' > pAl {O} \*raʔgn'a > Al: StAl T ruaj, T {Kf.} ruanj, G ruej 'guard, keep, observe' ¶ Lt regeʔti (1s prs. regiuʔ), Ltv redzeʔt 'to see', Lt raʔgana 'witch' (cp. NHG boʔser Blick), reʔgimas 'visible, apparent' ¶ Gmc: ON rœkja, AS reʔcan, OHG ruohhen, OSx roʔkian v. 'care', OHG ruoh > MHG ruoch 'care' ¶ Gk αʔ-pnʔγω 'I help, save' (< \*smʔ-reʔg- 'co-observe?'), αʔpōγnʔ 'Hilfe', αʔpōγoʔ 'helfend' ¶ Mn. 1065, F I 137, Vr. 45, Ho. S 61, OsS 730-1, Kb. 813, Frn. 712-3, Ç II 82, 447, Kf. 299, O 374; WP II 366 & P 54 (Al and Blt only) ¶ HS: C {AD} \*ʔʔrʔKʔ > EC \*ark- v. 'see' > Sml ark-, imv. aʔrag, Rn imv. ʔaʔgar, pl. ʔaʔrga, Bn imv. ʔaʔrk, pl. ʔaʔrka, Arr ʔaʔrg-, Dsn ʔaʔrig, Elm amaʔnʔ-arg-e 'see', pOr \*arg- > Or arg-, Kns, Gdl akk- (acc. to Ss., EC \*ʔarg-, but \*g is doubtful) ¶ ʔ, Dl: Hr/DbS/Gln/Gwd {AMS}, Cm {Hab.} ʔar- 'know' ¶ ʔʔ SC: WRt \*ʔar- 'see' > Irq {Mgh.} ʔar-, {MQK ar-, Grw/Alg {Wh.} ar-, Brn arim- ¶ MQK 15, Wh. IC 56, E SC 286} ¶ Ag: Xm T {CR} arek-, {Bnd.} arqʔ v. 'know', Xm {R} ar(e)q- 'learn (erfahren), understand, know', Bln {R} arʔ- v. 'know' ¶ AD SF 201-2, Ss. B 26, Bl. 195, 250, Hn. S 52, PG 68, Sim 7, 9, 13, Hw. A 336, To. DL 322, 479 ¶ ʔ, AMS 280, Blz. CL 180 ¶ A: NaT \*arka- > OT {Cl.} arqa- 'search, investigate', MU arqa- 'search, look for' ¶ Cl. 216, DTS 54 ¶ D \*aʔr-aʔ-y- v. 'examine, search, look for' > Tm aʔraʔy v. 'investigate, examine, seek', Ml aʔraʔyka v. 'seek, examine', Kt aʔryek 'carefulness', Kn aʔray(y)u v. 'search, investigate, take care of', Tu aʔraysu- v. 'expect, look for, desire', Tl aʔrayu, arayu v. 'think, consider, search, examine, know, see, observe', Knd rey v. 'search for', but D \*ar\_i-, {GS} \*yer\_d\_- v. 'know, find out, search' is likely to go back rather to N \*wʔaʔʔrʔV 'look, watch', q.v. ffd.) ¶ D #377, ≠ Km. 289 [#64] [hyp.: *cd* \*aʔra 'fully' (cp. Tl aʔru- v. 'become full') + \*aʔy- v. 'select, choose, examine'] ♦ N \*ʔ- is being reconstructed on the ev. of IE (the IE reflex of N \*ʔ is the only IE lr. that becomes zero when not adjacent to a vw.) and C (EC \*ʔ- may go back to \*ʔ-, \*h- or \*y-).

**81. \*ʔʔar.VmV** (. = \*hʔ) 'upper part of a limb' > HS: Eg fP rmn 'upper arm, shoulder' ¶ EG II 418, Fk. 149 ¶ IE: NaIE \*arəmo-/ʔrʔmo- ({EI} IE \*hAerHmos ~ \*hAʔr.H'mos) 'arm' > OI ir'mah 'arm', Av ar.moʔ 'Arm', Oss aʔrm 'hohle Hand' ¶ L armus 'the shoulder where it is fitted to the shoulder-blade' ¶ ʔ Gk αʔpμoʔ 'shoulder-joint; joint (in masonry)' (with a puzzling irreg. h-) ¶ Pru irmo 'arm', Ltv eʔrmi 'part of a wagon to which the shaft is attached', Lt armaiʔ {P} 'Vorderarm am Wagen', {Frn.} 'Teil des die Deichsel haltenden Wagenteils' ¶ Sl {Glh.} \*oʔrme (gen. \*oʔrmene, pl. \*oʔrmena) ~ \*oʔrmo 'shoulder' > OCS ramo ramo, OR ramo ramo (pl. ramena), R † ramo (pl. ramoʔna), Uk ramoʔna, ramoʔna, Blg ramo, SCr ramo (pl. ramena), Slv ramo, Cz ramoʔ, Slk ramoʔ, P ramoʔ ¶ Gt arms, ON armr, OHG arm, AS earm, NHG Arm 'arm', NE arm ¶ Arm armukn arm-ukn 'ellbow, fore-arm' ¶ P 58-9, EI 26, M K I 96, WH I 69, ¶ F I 144, Fs. 58, Vr. 14, Ho. 86, KM 30, EWA I 331-3, Jah. OSK 14, 49, ¶ Frn. 16 (hyp.: Lt armaiʔ < NGr OP arme '∈ part of a wagon', but why not NGr OP < Lt?), En. 184, Tp. P I-K 68-70, ME I 575-6, Vs. III 440-1, Glh. 517-8 ¶ ?? U \*nʔaʔrmaʔ 'groin' > FP \*nʔaʔrmaʔ [× N \*nʔaʔgoRV 'groin, small abdominal organs (kidneys, pancreas and sim.), q.v. ffd.] ♦ The origin of

the U initial \*n'- is obscure; it may go back (together with the length of the vw. of the 1st syll.) to an initial component of a set phrase \*n'V... 'ʔar.VmV.

**82. \*ʔor'ru'** '(male) antelope, deer' > **HS:** S \*ʔarway- > Amr {G} ʔarwiyum 'gazelle', Ak arwium~ arwu'm 'gazelle (male)', Ar éyWvir0ù ʔurwiyat- (pl. ivar0à ʔarwa~) 'mountain goat' ({Fr.} 'capra montana, rupicapra'), Gz aRë ʔarwe~ 'beast, animal' ʔʔ Ak armu 'mountain ram', Sr ʔarn-a~ 'mountain goat' ¶ Fr. IV 214, L G 40, KB 85, DRS 32, G A 13, Sd. 69-70, 73, CAD I/2 294, Br. 50, JPS 29 ¶ In MAk (after the phonologic merger of -w- and -m-) Ak arwu~ merged with Ak armu~ 'gazelle' (connected with Ak armu 'mountain ram') || C: ʔʔ Bj {R} ra 'Ariel-Antilope' or 'antilope Someringii' || Dhl {EEN} ʔa~ro~le 'eland' ¶ R WBd 188, E SC 287, EEN 20 || **A:** M: WrM oruggu, HIM, Brt оронго '€ small dark antelope with long flat horns', б WrMc oronggo {STM} 'wild goat, wild mountain ram (каменный баран)', {Hr.} 'schwarze Hirschziegentantilope', {Z} 'wild dark-coloured ram, resembling a chamois' ¶ MED 623, Chr. 362, KW 289 || Tg \*oron 'reindeer' > Ewk oron, Lm orɣn, Neg oyon, Orc oro, Ud oro-olo, Ul oro(n-), Nn oro~ 'domestic reindeer', WrMc oron buxu id. ¶ STM II 24-5, Z 132, Hr. 741 ¶¶ **DQA #629** [A \*orV 'deer, antelope'; incl. M, Tg] || **D** \*Ur~ay- 'deer' > Tm uray, Tu uræ, ule, {BhK} ul'e 'deer', Prj ur'up 'spotted deer' ¶¶ **D #694** ♦ AD NM #5, S CNM 5 (suggests to add T \*ar-kun 'cross-bread horse' and \*ar-ga-mak 'stallion'), Vv. AEN 2. d

**83. ʔur'E** 'top' > **HS:** C: EC \*ʔurr- 'top' > Dsn ʔu~r~ru 'sky, high', Elm urr-u 'above', Brj urr-a 'mountain', Or urr-atta 'clouded mountain top', ? 'fog', ? DI: Gln ʔurr-atte 'cloud', Hr, Dbs ʔurr-ac~c~e 'cloud, fog'; EC \*ʔirr- > Or irr-a 'on top of', Kns irr-o~ta 'mountain', ʔσ Sa, Af ir-o 'outside, away, abroad' ¶ Ss. B 184, To. DL 485 || B \*wHu~ir (× N \*erU 'go up, rise' [q.v.]) > Ah {Fc.} a~wr (pf. iwər) (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6), Gh {Nh.} war (pf. iwar) 'be on\above (sth.)', ETwl, Ty əwər id., 'être levé (lune, soleil)' ¶ Fc. 1511, 2005, Pr. M VI-VII 106, Nh. 208, GhA 201 || **IE:** Ht aru- 'high' (× N \*erU '↑' [q.v.]) || ʔʔσ NaIE \*wer- 'knob' ({EI} \*wr~Hos 'pimple') > L va~rus 'rash\pimples on the face', varulus 'sty (in the eye)' || Lt vi~ras, Lt E viry~s 'pig's' measles' || AS wer-nægl 'abscess' > NE warnel, Dt weer 'callosity', Nr Δ vere 'tumor under cow's skin' || Tc B yoro d~pustule, boil' ¶ P 1151, EI 523, WH II 734, Ad. 512 || **A:** T \*u~r~r- 'top' > SY yu~z, Chv vir 'top' (× N \*p.orEfu 'summit, top') ʔ d~T \*u~r~r~a~ 'above, on high, on' > NaT \*u~r~r~za~ > OT u~r~za~ 'above, on high', ET Δ {Jr.} u~ze, Ln u~r~za~, SY u~ze d~u~zi~d~yu~ze, Ln u~r~za~, Yk u~o~sa~ ~ u~sa~ 'top, upper part, upper surface', ET {Nj.} u~r~za~ 'superficial', {Nj.} u~r~za~, ET Δ {Jr.} u~zere 'on, upon'; NaT \*\*u~z-t > \*u~st > OT u~st, Tk u~st, Tkm u~θt, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qzq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Ln, ET {Nj.} u~st, Uz ust 'top; upper part \ surface' ¶ Cl. 242, 280-1, DTS 629, ET GI 622-3, 638-9, MI. ZhU 45-6, Nj. 124, 126, Jr. 328, ≠ Jeg. 54, ≠ Fed. I 124 ¶ The length of \*u~ (evidenced by Yk) may be due to the initial lr. || pKo {S} \*o~r~a~ -v. 'rise' (× N \*erU ~ \*orE 'go upwards, rise', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ **DQA #1607** [A \*o~r~i 'to rise, up'; incl. T, Ko].

**84. \*ʔu~r~r~VwV** 'large feline' > **HS:** CS \*ʔar'yay- 'lion' or sim. > BHb eiSr^a2 ʔar'ye~, ir^a9 ʔa~ri 'lion', Ph ʔrw, Ug ʔarw, BA eiSr^a2 ʔar'ye~, pl. ʔar,ya~wa~ta~, JA ailr^a2 ʔar'ya~, SmA eira ʔryh, Sr ʔar'ya~ 'lion', as well as Gz ʔarwe~ 'wild beast' [× N \*ʔor'ru'] '(male) antelope, deer']; ? Cn б> Eg N ir 'lion' ¶ KB 85, HJ 104, Sl. 166, Tal 61, A 13, DRS 32, EG I 106 || Eg fP, DEg rw 'lion' ¶ EG II 403, Er. 243 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} ʔo~ru~wa~, Mgm {J} ʔa~r~u~m 'lion', Tmk {Cp.} ʔr~w 'leopard' || ʔʔ CCh: MsgP {Trn.} a~hi~ra~w, {Mch.} ahraw id. : Lmn {Lk.} ʔr~va~re~ 'lion' : Mdr {ChL} ʔuvuv~ʔri~, {Mch.} ə~r~va~re., Glv {Rp.} a~r~va~ra, {ChL} a~r~va~ra~, Gv {ChL} ʔu~r~va~ra~, Dgh {Frk.} rvi~re~, {ChL} a~rvi~re~ id. : Lgn {Lk.} rə~vəni id. ¶ ChC, JI II 223, 227, ChL, Cp. 59 || **D** {Tr., GS} \*ur~uv- 'tiger' > Tm uruvai~, Tl duvvu, Klm duv, d~u~, Gnd d~u~, d~u~al 'tiger', d~uwa~l, d~uwwal 'panther' ¶¶ **D #692**, GS 224-5 [#551] || **A:** ʔʔʔσ,ϕ T \*irbi~i~ or \*irbilc 'leopard'

> OT *irbic*~*irbis* id., OT U [Trf] {BG} *irpiz* 'lynx (?)', Tv *irbis* 'leopard' ¶ Cl. 199, ET Gl 346, TL 156-7, ≠ Mng. G 730 → S CNM 9 (both suggest that *ilbirs* is a tabooistically corrupted form of \**jolbars*), ≠ Vv. AEN 10 (qualifies OT *irbis* as a "ghost" word, but it is quoted in this form in Cl. 199; this *s* [if true] is from \**l̥*) ♦ ▢ AD NM #3, CNM 9 (÷÷ ST).

**85. \*ʔa<sup>h</sup>ʔs<sup>h</sup>ʔo<sup>h</sup>** 'stay, be' (IS: ← 'settle') > **HS** \*ʔis<sup>h</sup>-v. 'be, exist': S \*ʔis<sup>h</sup>-v. 'have', 'exist' > OAk (-)is-, Ak (-)is<sup>h</sup>- [inf. is<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup> v. 'have', "prefixed stative" t̄is<sup>h</sup>u 'you [sg.] have', Ak MB stative 1s is<sup>h</sup>-a<sup>h</sup>ku 'I have', 3m \*ʔy-is<sup>h</sup>u 'he has', 'it has' → 'there is' (cp. Fr *il y'a*, Port *tem*) > Ak {CAD} is<sup>h</sup>u, {Sd.} is<sup>h</sup>u 'he has', BHb Siš yes<sup>h</sup>, SmHb yas<sup>h</sup> 'there is, it exists', SmA ys<sup>h</sup> 'there is'; adj. \*ʔays<sup>h</sup>-(um) 'existing' (\*la<sup>h</sup> ʔays<sup>h</sup>-(um) 'non existing' > Ak las<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>u(m) 'non existing', 'is not', 'there is not'), in the predicative case \*ʔays<sup>h</sup>-a 'there is' (> Ar ʔaysa 'there is'), \*la<sup>h</sup> ʔays<sup>h</sup>-a 'there is not' > Ar laysa, OA sil lys<sup>h</sup> id., Ak las<sup>h</sup> [spelled la-as<sup>h</sup>] 'is not, there is not'. The semantic development of the word in HS and S is connected with the complicated syntactic history of these lgs.: in my opinion, at the ancient stage the prefix-conjugated verbs were dative-oriented (similar to ergative syntactic orientation): \**yi-wdaš* meant 'tibi notus est, tibi visus est' → later 'you know' (like in the history of pIE \**woyd-a*), hence \**y(i)-* meant 'to him', and \**y-is*u meant 'ei est, & l̄ siš'. Later there was a syntactic revolution, namely a reinterpretation of dative-oriented sentences into nominative-oriented, so that the personal pxs. (\*ʔa- 'to me', \*ti- 'to you', \*yi- 'to him', etc.) were reinterpreted as markers of the nominative subject (\*ʔa- 'I', \*yi- 'he', etc.), whence, in line with the general development, \**yi-s*u 'ei est' was reinterpreted as 'he\it has' (a meaning preserved in Ak). But at the same time the S form \**yi-s*u had a fossilized WS semantic variant (not any more a conjugated verb form) that escaped the abovementioned syntactic reinterpretation and preserved its original meaning 'il'y a' (on the "nominative syntactic revolution" in HS cf. AD PP, esp. p. 96). In addition, the same HS stem has a different S reflex, namely \*ʔiθay 'there is' > BA it̄ia5 ʔit̄ay, JEA at̄ia5 ʔit̄a<sup>h</sup>, Sr 4Δæi ʔit̄, SmA ʔyt, Ug ʔθ (= {Blau} \*ʔiθe<sup>h</sup>), BHb Siš ~ Sia5 ʔis<sup>h</sup> 'there is'. The enigmatic \*θ of this form goes back to HS \*c<sup>h</sup> and is likely to be due to some sx. (or infix) containing \*t at the pre-S (HS?) level: i-t-s<sup>h</sup>- → i-s<sup>h</sup>-t- > \*-c<sup>h</sup>- > S \*-θ-. ¶ Cf. Blau MS II 58-62, KB 423, 1665, KBR 443-4, KB LVT 1049, OLS 60, BH IV 130, Tal 25, 363, G OA 72-3, CAD VII 289-93, Sd. G §§ 78b, 106r, Sd. 402-3, 539, Fr. I 75 & IV 140, Br. 16 || ʔσ B {ʔPr.} \**h*<sub>1</sub>suH v. 'arrive' > Ah as id., ETwl/Ty asu (Pcj. I A 10 = \*-HCuC- structure), Gd a<sup>h</sup>s, Gh, Nf, Kb, Mz as v. 'arrive, come', ?? Zng {TC} es<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>i-ddeh 'come'; the pB lr., symbolized by Pr. as \**h*<sub>1</sub>, regularly represents pHS \*ʔ ¶ Fc. 1794-5, GhA 168, Pr. M VI-VIII 122, Nh. 213, Lf. II #1411, Dl. 752, Dlh. M 182, DCTC 286 || C: EC \*ʔV̄s<sup>h</sup> [s- [v. 'be\stay (somewhere)'] → v. 'spend the day' > Af {PH} as-e, Sa {R} as-, Sd {C, Mrn.}, Kmb {C, Mrn.}, Ged {Mrn.} os-, Hd {PB} oss- v. 'spend\pass the day'; the ancient meaning 'be\stay' is still present in Af {PH} as-e ...-k v. 'be absent from' (-k means 'from', the construction literally means 'be out of') ¶ C SE II 191, C S 656, PB 140, PH 46, R S II 48, Mrn. S s.v. os-, Mrn. ApCA s.v. os-**II K**: Sv l-a<sup>h</sup>sw 'was' (ipf. of a copulative verb), -esw (conjunctive of the same verb, 3s l-esw) ¶ Top. SE 249, GP US 53-4 **II IE** \*ʔes-/ʔs- ({EI} \**h*<sub>1</sub>es-: 3s \**h*<sub>1</sub>esti, 3p \**h*<sub>1</sub>senti) > NaIE \*es-/s- v. 'be' (prs. 1s \*es-mi 'I am', 3s \*es-ti 'is', 3p \*s-enti~\*s-onti); e.g. \*ʔes-ti 'is' > Ht es-zi, NaIE \*esti > OI asti, Gk ἔστι, L est, Osc r̄st, Gt ist, Lt Δ e<sup>h</sup>sti, e<sup>h</sup>st, Sl \*es-ty (> OCS кѣтъ jestь), etc.; 3p \*s-enti~\*s-onti > OI 'santi, Gk Δ ἔντι (< \*senti), L sunt, Um sent, Gt sind, OCS сѣтъ so<sup>h</sup>ty, etc.; Ht asa-nzi 'sunt' with its \*o-grade for the expected zero-grade is innovational (?). The lr. \*ʔ- is suggested by the fact that in the zero-grade it did not become \*ə, but was reduced to zero. In my opinion, there was an Early IE lr. \*ʔ- (< N \*ʔ-) that, unlike other lrs., was reduced to zero in unstressed positions (not adjacent to a vw.) where other lrs. became \*ə. It is not clear if IE \*ʔe<sup>h</sup>s- v. 'be seated' [> (prs. 3s) OI a<sup>h</sup>ste<sup>h</sup>, Av a<sup>h</sup>ste, Gk

ῥησται] is a Dehnstufe of the same IE  $\sqrt{\text{ }}$  or it belongs to a different N  $\sqrt{\text{ }}$  (cf. N **\*ṛis√** 'to sit', 'set') ¶¶ P 340-3, EI 53, BD II/3 595-642, Bks. 228, M K I 67, F I 463-4, Fs. 292, Frn. 124, Bc. G 334, Pv. I-II 285-300 || U **\*raːsːruo-** v. 'be somewhere, settle, dwell' > FP **\*aːs'e-** (in Lp and Mr) ~ **\*as'√-** (in BF) > Vo asə-vi. 'settle': əlud asəˈb 'beer is settling', Fasu-v. 'reside, inhabit', as-etta- (causative?) v. 'put, place', ase-ma 'place', F Δ as-e- (with a factitive sx.?) v. 'prepare a sauna' (← v. 'put, set'), Es asu-vi. 'be, be found, lie, dwell, settle', ase, asu 'place': pLp {Lr.} **\*aːsə** > Lp N {N} aːssaː- / aːsaː- 'live, dwell, settle, settle down', Lp L(h)assaː- 'sich niederlassen, ansässig werden', Lp N {N} aːssaːm-saːggje 'place of residence' (the Lp forms are not necessarily loans from F, as assumed by Coll. (FUV), Rédei and Lr., but may well go back to FU **\*aːs'e-** v. 'dwell, reside' and **\*aːs'e-maː** 'place', esp. in view of the exact sound corrs. between Lp N aːssaːm and Mk aːz'əm): Mk γεμ aːz'əm, Δ yaːz'əm, Er γεμ ez'əm 'place' (< **\*aːs'e-maː**) || Sm **\*isːy-** {Jn., p.c.} > Ne T {Ter.} ḡeso- 'settle and build a tent (ο<sup>ς</sup>τα<sup>ς</sup>νο<sup>ς</sup>μι<sup>ς</sup> τ<sup>ς</sup>υ<sup>ς</sup>μι<sup>ς</sup>)' (of nomads), T O {Lh.} ḡæso 'haltmachen und ein Zelt oder Zelte errichten' ¶¶ Coll. 4, SK 26, W EDW 64-5, Slv. 28-9, Lr. #62, Lgc. #261, Lh. 26, Ter. 422, ¶ Coll. CG 405, UEW 18-9, Ker. II 39 ¶¶ The rec. of vowels in this  $\sqrt{\text{ }}$  is problematic, since the vowels observed in the daughter lgs. deviate from the known sound corrs. Collinder (CG) and Rédei (UEW) reconstructed here **\*as'eː-** (**\*as'ə-** of my notation) resp. **\*as'eː-**; Rédei tried to explain the front vw. in Mr by ass. infl. of -s' (which would have been irreg., since in many roots **\*a** remained unchanged before s'); their rec. gives no explanation to the Samoyed vowel. Jn. {p. c.} reconstructs U **\*is'i-**, since in his theory (Jn. UK) there is a reg. corr. between FP **\*a---**e and Sm **\*i---**ɛ, interpreted as pU **\*i---**i. But his theory (even if it is true) does not account for e, ɛ in Mr; IS and Dybo reconstruct here pre-harmonic U **\*e...A**, which after harmonic levelling gave rise to **\*a** in BF and **\*e** in Mrn. But in this case there is no explanation for Sm **\*i**. I share the opinion of IS and Dybo assuming that the cause for irregularity lies in the interaction of Early U vowels of both syllables, but I suppose that the first vw. has been preserved without ass. changes in Mr and probably Lp (U **\*aː**) and has changed into **\*a** in BF (due to vowel harmony) and into **\*i** (probably high back vw.) in Sm due to the infl. of the high back **\*u** (or mid back **\*o**). If the final vw. was **\*-u**, F and Es asu-v. 'dwell, reside' preserve the old vw., but reinterpret it as a sx. of intransitivity\passivity (infl. of other words with the sx. -u) ♦ AD LRC #78 (IE, U, S), IS I 268-70 [HS (S, B, C, Ch [highly doubtful]), IE, U, K], GP US 54 (K, S, IE). The rec. of the final labial vw. is based on the ev. of B and K, as well as on my preliminary rec. of the U stem. This labial vw. could have been only N **\*o** rather than **\*u** or **\*uː**, since **\*u** and **\*uː** would have yielded **\*w/u/ow** in IE, while N **\*o** yields no consonantal traces in IE (≠ AD NVIE) ♦ IS l.c. supposed that the original meaning of the word was 'to settle' (of nomads), apparently suggested by U (Lp, Sm 'settle' etc.) and B ('arrive'). This is not certain because an opposite semantic change ('stay' → 'begin to stay' → 'settle, arrive') is possible too (cp. L fuit pfc. 'was' > Sp fue' 'went') ♦ ¶ Gr. II #28 (**\*es** 'be').

**86. \*ṛis√** (or **\*ṛis√?**) 'to sit', 'seat (part of the body that bears the weight in sitting)' (→ 'foundation, basis') > **HS:** S **\*ṛisːsː--\*ṛusːsː-** 'basis, foundation' > Ar ṛuss--ṛiss-id., BA ṛosː\* (att. forms: pl. em. al[2a8 ṛusːsː-ay'y-aː 'Grundfeste', ie57]a8 ṛusːsːoːhī 'seine Grundfeste'), OAk usːsːum, Ak usːsːu (mostly in pl.) 'Fundament' ¶ BK I 31, GB 896-7, Sd. 1442, DRS 35-6 || ? C: Bj {R.} -saː? pcv. md. (1s p. aːsaː?, prs. 'eːsti? ~ esːti?) 'sit, dwell' [⊕: EC: Elm aːsiya, Arr {Hw.} siy?-/sid.i- 'sit down' ] ¶ R WBd 194 [⊕, Hw. A 393, Hn. E 282, Blz. CL 180 ] || Ch: Ke {Eb.} 3s-, iːsiː 'sich niederlassen, (sich) ansiedeln', 's'asseoir, s'installer', iːs 3ːeːṛiː 'sit down' ¶ Eb. 58 || ? **IE** **\*ṛeːs-** v. 'be seated' ({EI} **\*h<sub>1</sub>eːs-** 'sit') > NaIE **\*ṛeːs-** (only md.) id. > OI 'aːs-teː, Av aːste || Gk A ῥησται 'he is seated' (h- from ῥεζομαι 'sit' <

IE \*sed-) || Ht es-, as- (<\*he<sup>-</sup>s-/\*h<sub>s</sub>s- = \*e<sup>-</sup>s-/\*əs-?) v. 'sit, remain (seated), reside', OHt es-, as-id., v. 'sit down, be seated', HrLw a's-v. 'sit, sit down', a'sa-s 'seat'; acc. to Pv., the apophony goes back to \*e<sup>-</sup>/\*E<sub>o</sub> alternation; Oettinger reconstructs here IE \*E<sub>1</sub>eE<sub>1</sub>s- ¶¶ P 342-3, EI 522, M K I 84, F I 633-4, Ch. 411-2, Pv. I-II 291-300, Ts. E I 110-1, Oett. IGS 112, Mer. HHG 35 ¶¶ This IE √ my either belong here or be a variant (NaIE Dehnstufe?) of \*es- / \*s- v. 'be' (< N \*ʔa<sup>-</sup>'s'ʔo<sup>-</sup> 'stay, be' [q.v.]). Both hypotheses have their drawbacks: in the former case it is hard to explain IE \*e<sup>-</sup> for the expected \*ei<sub>h</sub> (≠ AD PIEG), while in the latter case we should not expect \*ə- as the zero-grade (in Ht as-), but rather a zero vw. (< \*E<sub>o</sub>1- < N \*ʔ-). This \*ə seems to suggest the presence of a postvoc. N lr. (N \*ʔiʔsV > IE {Oett.} \*E<sub>1</sub>eE<sub>1</sub>s-), possibly preserved (with *mt*) in Bj. Neither can we rule out *mt* in IE (N \*ʔisʔV > Bj √sʔ, IE {Oett.} \*E<sub>1</sub>eE<sub>1</sub>s-) || U: FV \*isV- v. 'sit, sit down' > F istu- v. 'sit', Es istu- v. 'sit, sit down' : Er/Mk oza- 'sit down', Er ozado, Mk ozada 'in sitzender Stellung, in sitting position, сиди' ¶ UEW 629, ERV 432-3 || ? E: MEI us'-ta-na 'Sockel, Fundament' ¶ HK 1251.

**87. \*ʔu<sup>-</sup>sV 'fire' > HS:** S \*ʔis<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>, \*ʔis<sup>-</sup>is<sup>-</sup>ja<sup>-</sup>t- 'fire' > BHb Sa4 ʔes<sup>-</sup> (with a short e, evidenced by SmHb as<sup>-</sup> 'fire'), +ppa. ʔis<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>: &[a5 ʔis<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>-o<sup>-</sup> 'his fire', pl. [BS] tvsa \*ʔis<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>-o<sup>-</sup>t<sub>h</sub>, Ph ʔs<sup>-</sup>, Ug ʔs<sup>-</sup>t, (AkSc) i-s<sup>-</sup>i-tu, OA ʔs<sup>-</sup>, BA em. a[la3 ʔes<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>-a<sup>-</sup>, IA esa ʔs<sup>-</sup>h, em. atsa ʔs<sup>-</sup>t-ʔ, SmA ʔs<sup>-</sup> ({Tal} = as<sup>-</sup>), ʔs<sup>-</sup>h, JA a[ia5 ʔis<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>-a<sup>-</sup>, atl[ia5 ʔis<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>-a<sup>-</sup>t<sub>h</sub>-a<sup>-</sup>, Sr æ4o3oæÑe ʔes<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>-a<sup>-</sup>t<sub>h</sub>-a<sup>-</sup>, Gz ABT ʔasa<sup>-</sup>t, Tgr, Amh ABT ʔasat, Har ʔasa<sup>-</sup>t, ʔisa<sup>-</sup>t, OAk is<sup>-</sup>um, Ak is<sup>-</sup>a<sup>-</sup>tu(m), Eb {Krb.} ʔis<sup>-</sup>a<sup>-</sup>tum 'fire' ¶ KB 89, BH IV 34, GB 69, 897, Blau MS II 62-7 (hyp.: \*ʔis<sup>-</sup> with a short \*s<sup>-</sup>, Hb and Aram gemination is secondary), A #436, OLS 57-8, Hnr. 110, Sl. 126, Tal 67, JH 27, HJ 121, L G 44, CAD VII 227-233, Sd. 392-3, G OA 72, DRS 35-6 || WCh {Stl.} \*wusi 'fire' > AG: Ang, Gmy, Su, Ywm wu's, Tal wə's : Ron: Klr wu's<sup>-</sup> : BT: Gera {Sch.} wu'si<sup>-</sup>, Krkr {Lk.} ye'si<sup>-</sup>, esi, {Kr.} ʔe'si<sup>-</sup>, Ngm ye'si<sup>-</sup>, Krf {Sch.}, Glm {Sch.} wu'si<sup>-</sup>, Bele {Sch.} u'hi<sup>-</sup>, Grm {Sch.} u'si<sup>-</sup>, Pr {Frz.} wu'zi<sup>-</sup>, Bl wəsi; SBC: Grn {Sh.} i'si<sup>-</sup>, Grn Mb {Sh.} is'i<sup>-</sup> ¶ Stl. ZCh 238 [#849], JI II 138, ChL, Frz. P 53, Sch. BTL 144, Sh. SB 24 || U: FU [ʔ: [1]] [att. in Ugr] \*u<sup>-</sup>sV- v. 'fire (a hearth, etc.), kindle the fire, heat, be very hot' > pOs {Stn.} \*o<sup>-</sup>t<sub>h</sub>- ({Hl.} \*u<sup>-</sup>t<sub>h</sub>-) v. 'fire (oven, etc.), kindle the fire' = 'heizen (den Ofen, Tschuval), Feuer anmachen' > Os: V/Vy o<sup>-</sup>l-, Lk o<sup>-</sup>θ-, Ty/Y o<sup>-</sup>t<sub>h</sub>-, I (D, etc.) ət-, Nz/Sh a<sup>-</sup>t-, Kz a<sup>-</sup>l-, O a<sup>-</sup>l- id. : OHG izzad- 'sehr hitzig sein, sehr warm sein', Hg izzad- v. 'sweat' [ʔ: [2]] [att. in Prm] ʔə \*a<sup>-</sup>sX > Prm {LG} \*es- 'ignite' > Z zzyi- 'catch fire, caus. zyti- 'ignite, kindle', Yz 'o'zta-tni 'kindle fire \ a bonfire', Vt est- 'stoke', Vt Kz ezyl- 'auftauen, wchmelzen' ¶ The shift \*u<sup>-</sup> > \*a<sup>-</sup> still defies explanation ¶ MF 334-5, Stn. D 64, Hl. rHt 71, ¶ UEW 27, LG 210, Lt. Y 157 || ? A: AdS of T \*h<sub>1</sub>s-s-/hi<sub>1</sub>s-su<sup>-</sup>- v. 'heat', \*h<sub>1</sub>s-su-ʔ-/ \*hi<sub>1</sub>s-su<sup>-</sup>-s- 'hot' ({Md.} \*i<sup>-</sup>ssig ~ \*i<sup>-</sup>ssig) 'warm' (< N \*p<sub>1</sub>os'i 'be hot \ warm', q.v. ffd.) || ? D \*i<sup>-</sup>l<sup>-</sup>c- 'fire' > Mnd iske 'fire', Png iske ʔipoli, iski-d<sub>h</sub>ipuli 'firefly', Klm isre 'glow-worm' ¶¶ D #428 ♦ The √ is to be distinguished from N \*ʔh<sup>-</sup>as<sup>-</sup>ʔo<sup>-</sup> 'to burn' (of fire) (q.v.). Cf. otherwise IS I 262-3 s.v. \*ʔaSa 'fire' [ʔ: ♦ Cf. ¶ Blz. DA 162 [#101] [unconvincingly equates the above HS, D, FU and T roots with the IE and M reflexes of \*ʔh<sup>-</sup>as<sup>-</sup>ʔo<sup>-</sup> 'burn' (of fire)].]

**88. \*ʔiʔVs<sup>-</sup>V 'they' > K \*<sup>-</sup>Vs:** Mg -es / -is, Lz -es, 3p aor.: Mg c<sup>-</sup>.v-es vt. 'they burnt\baked', c<sup>-</sup>.ar-es 'they wrote', ibir-es 'they sang', tkvi-is 'they said', Mg/Lz -es, 3p ipf.: Mg dvan-d-es 'mittebant', Lz c<sup>-</sup>.ar-es 'scripserunt', c<sup>-</sup>.arum-t<sub>h</sub>-es 'scribebant' ¶ Q O62-5, Marr 50-1 || IE: [1] \*-es (< \*\*ʔes), nom. pl. com. > AnIE: Ht -es ~ -is, Pal -us || NaIE nom. pl. m./f. \*-es (with consonantic stems) > OI -as, Gk -εθ, Gt -s, L -es, Osc -s, ON -r, Lt -es, OCS -e; \*-o<sup>-</sup>s (< \*-o-es with \*-o-stems) > OI -a<sup>-</sup>s, Osc -u<sup>-</sup>s, Gt -o<sup>-</sup>s, ON -ar; \*-a<sup>-</sup>s (< -a<sup>-</sup>-es) with \*-a<sup>-</sup>-stems > OI -a<sup>-</sup>s, Osc -AS, Gt -o<sup>-</sup>s, Lt -os [2] \*-n-s (< \*-m acc. + \*-s pl.), acc. pl. com. > AnIE: Ht -us, Lv -anza (whence nom. pl. -anzi), HrLw -a<sup>n</sup>zi (→ nom. pl. -a<sup>n</sup>zi) || NaIE \*-n<sub>o</sub>-s acc. pl. m./f. of consonantic stems > Gt -ns, OI -as, Gk -αθ, L -e<sup>-</sup>s (→ nom. pl. -e<sup>-</sup>s), Osc -s, Um -F, Lt -is;

\*-o-ns with \*-o-stems > OI -a<sub>n</sub>, Gk -ov̄ (> Gk A -ov̄), L -o<sub>s</sub>, Gt -o<sub>s</sub>, etc. ¶¶ The presence of \*-e- in \*-es and the vowel lengthening in \*-o<sub>s</sub>, \*-a<sub>s</sub> suggest a pre-IE initial \*ʔ- (otherwise the pl. ending would have been \*-s, like in nom. sg.), but the absence of vowels in the acc. pl. \*-n-s still needs explanation ¶¶ Mer. SGA 275, 282-4, Brg. KVG 390-9, Bks. 173, 191-2, Bc. G 113-30 ¶ A: T: ? Chv † {Ash.} -əs' ~ -əz' -ə 'their', Chv -əs' - 3p ending of verbs (in aor., ft. and conjunctive) ¶ Rs. MTS 201-3, Andr. ChJ 487, Ash. MI 305 ¶ The palatality of Chv -s' needs investigation || M \*-s, pl. of nouns: MM [MA] u'ge-s 'words', [S] ere-s, WrM ere-s 'men', HIM {Pp.} u'les 'mountains', Kl zalu-s 'young men', Mgl ta'ka'-z 'bucks', Ord eme-s 'women' ¶ Pp. IM 177-8 || ? Tg {Bz.} coll. \*-sa / \*-se: \*xol-sa 'fish' (coll.) > Nn Nh/KU, Ork xolto, Ul xolto(n-), Ud olo<sup>ho</sup> 'cooked fish', Ewk ollo, Lm olra 'fish' coll., Tg \*ul-se 'meat' > Ul uls<sub>3</sub>, Ud uls<sup>h</sup><sub>3</sub>, Ewk ull<sub>3</sub>, Sln uldi - uld<sub>3</sub>, Lm ulrə ¶ Bz. 69, STM II 14, 262 ¶¶ Rm. VAJ § 25, Pp. PSA II ? U: FU: Prm: Z -zs', pl. of adjective: ʒen'id-zs' 'short' (pl.) | hardly here pPrm \*-yo'sV (pl. of nouns) (> Z -yas, Z Ud -y<sub>3</sub>s, Prmk -ez ~ -yez, Yz -yo'z, Vt -yos, -os); Rd. believes that this sx. goes back to pPrm {Rd.} \*yo'sV, {LG} yo'z- 'Glied, Gelenk' (presumably akin to F ja'sen 'joint of limbs, member'); in any case, Prm \*-s- in \*-yo'sV does not correspond phonetically to K \*-s- in \*-Vs ¶ LtT 873, Bat. KZJ 220, Rd. GPS 379-80, LG 112 [‡ II HS: pCh (in WCh.) {Kr.} \*sun 'they', \*su(n) 'their, them' (in some Ch lgs. postnominal, pre- and post-verbal) > [1] \*sun 'they' > Hs su | Fy {J} so'n, Bks {J} si'n | Krkr du-su | Ngz ak-s'i | Dw su<sub>1</sub>, Gj si, Sy ya'-s'a | 2] \*su(n) 'them' > Hs su | Bl, Krkr su, Ngm nsu | Ngz ak-s'i | Sy si, Gj si, Dw -su<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>1</sub> | 3] \*su(n) 'their' > Hs su | Bl (s)su, Ngm nsu, Krkr su | Ngz -k-s'i | Sy ya'-sn', Dw gu'-su<sub>1</sub>, Plc gi-sin, Gj g'a'-sin | Fy {J} -u's, Bks {J} -is; ¶ Kr. RChP ∇, J R] ♦ IS MsN (\*S<sub>A</sub> in IE, T, Tg, Mg), Gr. I 116-7 ("plural S" in IE, A, Aleut, ? Prm).

**89.** ?? <sup>2</sup> \*ʔ<sub>1</sub>u's'Ut. ∇ 'to sweep, to rake' > HS \*su't- ({AD} \*s<sub>2</sub>u't-) > WS \*-s'u't- (= \*ʃs'wt.) v. 'make raking\rowing\sweeping movements' > BHb -s'u't- (ʃs'wt.) v. 'row', MHb -s'u't- (ʃs'wt. G) 'row, fly, float, swim', MHb ʃs'wt. Po 'swim', EpJA ʃs'wt. Po (s'wt.t.) 'roam', JBA {Sl.} ʃs'wt. G 'fly', JA {Js.} ʃs'wt. D 'roam, fly, swim, row', Sr s'uwa't-ət-a- 'weaver's comb\shuttle', CPA ʃs'wt. 'umherstreifen', Md ʃs'wt. G 'move hither & thither, fly, flow', Ar ʃs'wt. (ip. ya-su't-u) v. 'mix up', Gz ʃs'wt. (pf. so't.a, js. yə-su't.) 'mix, add' ¶ KB 1336-7, HJ 1116, Sl. 1116, Js. 1531, DM 454, BK 1164-5, L G 521 || Ch {JS} \*ʃs<sub>3</sub>d. v. 'sweep' > WCh: Hs s'a're-, Klr s'u't, Kir sa'de', Zar sat id. || CCh: Mdr s'ad-a v. 'sweep', Glv s'e'd.i-, Dgh s'ad-, pMM {Ro.} s'ad- (> Mada s'a'd., Myn s'z'd.a', Mkt s'a'd.a'y), Db z'a'd.-id. ¶ JS 259, Ba. 929-30, ChC, Ro. MM 339 [#710], ≠ Sk. HCD 242 ¶¶ On HS \*s<sub>2</sub> see AD ChCS II U: FP \*is'tV ~ \*u's'tV v. 'sweep' > Chr u's'tas' v. 'sweep' | pPrm \*is' 'broom' > Z yis', Yz is' 'a broom with a long haft (made of birch tree)', Vt is'-n'er 'broom' (n'er < n'zr 'twig') ¶ U 330, LG 112.

**90.** \*<sub>1</sub>ʔ<sub>2</sub>ʋ<sub>3</sub>s'ru' ∇ 'wild boar' > K: pGZ \*es'w- 'wild boar, swine' > OG es'w- 'wild boar', 'fang', G es'v- 'fang', Mg a-sk-u (< \*o-askw-u) 'pigsty' (\*askw- 'swine'), ??σ Lz c'kva 'fang' ¶ K 81, K<sup>2</sup> 48, FS K 11, Abul. 152 ¶ IE: NaIE \*su(:)-s, \*su'w-os [{EI} \*'su-s / gen. \*s(u)'w-os] '(wild or domesticated) pig' > Av hu- 'swine' gen. sg. (< \*huvo-) || Gk ʋ̄ (gen. u'ō) 'wild swine; pig' || Gk (ϕ- Pls?) σ̄ id. || pAl {O} \*su''(s) > Al G/T thi {ALED} 'boar' || L su-s id., Um sim acc. 'swine', sif acc. pl. 'swines' || ON sy'-r, OHG su-, NHG Sau, AS su- 'sow', NE sow || Ltv sive, ^ns, suve, ^ns 'small pig, sucking pig' || Tc B suwo 'pig, hog' (< \*suw-on-) | d IE \*suw-ino- 'belonging to pigs' > L suinus id. || pSl \*svinъ > OCS, OR свинъ svinъ id., dadj.: R свиной, Uk свиний id. | Pru seweynis 'pigsty' || Tc B swa'n'e (in swan'ana misa 'pork') | sunstantivized adj.: Gt swein, ON svi'n, OHG, AS swin, NHG Schwein 'swine', NE swine, d from adj.: Sl \*svin'ja 'swine' > OCS свинья svinija, SCr svi'nja, Sln svi'nja, Cz svin'e, Slk svin'a, P s'winia, R сви́н, Uk сви́н ¶ P 1038-9, EI 425, F II 824, 973-4, WH II 635-6, Bc. G 346, O 477, Ç II 219-220, 478, Kf.

366, AIED 891, Ho. 329, 337-8, Vr. 570, 574, KM 628, 691, Kb. 982, Fs. 465, Wn. 446, Kar. II 189-90, En. 246, Vs. III 578-9, Glh. 599-600, Ad. 698 || **R**: Tg: Ud siu 'two-years-old boar' ¶ STM II 100 || ?? **HS**: ? Eg fMK {EG} sʔy, sʔ 'pig (Schwein)', Eg L sʔy.t ({Vc.} \*{esʔo-yet}) 'sow', DEg isʔ 'swine, sow', Cpt: Sd **uc** sʔe 'swine', Sd/B **ucw** esʔo, B **ucaw** esʔaw 'sow' ¶ EG IV 401, 405, Fk. 260, Er. 44, Vc. 49, 254 ¶ sʔ (for the expected s) is puzzling || The Ak word saxu- 'swine' is considered a loan from Sumerian (Sd. 1133); is it a return loan of a [Hamito-]Semitic word?

**91. \*ʔʔatV** 'female, woman' > HS \*ʔVt- > C \*ʔVtV 'elder sister' > EC: Sa {R} ate- (pl. a-tet) 'elder sister', Ya {Hn.} t,ou (pl. 't,ou'yo') 'sister' (t- < \*ʔVt-) ¶ AD SF 243 (C \*ʔVtV), R S II 54, Hn. Y II 133 || NrOm: Ym {C} eʔna-, {Lm.} eʔta- ~ eʔti- 'sister', {Wdk.} eʔta- 'my sister' (if t originally belonged to the stem and only later was reinterpreted as belonging to the ppa. -ta 'my', as analyzed by Wdk., or as a marker of fem., as supposed by Lm.; cp. Ym {C} ne- t-etna- 'you are my sister') ¶ C SE III 69, 90, Wdk. BY 121, Lm. Y 326 || HS marker of the fem. sex in nouns: S \*-a-t- in \*ʔax-a-t- 'sister' [> BHb t&ha1 ʔaʔh-oʔt-, Ph \*ʔahut- [in proper names ʔht-, (AkSc) axut-milki, lit. 'king's sister'), Ug ʔaxa-tu (ʔaxt, (AkSc) axa-tu], JA at1h1a9 ʔaʔha-t-a-, Sr ha-t-a-, SmA cs. tha ʔht, Ak axa-tu], in S \*ham-a-t- 'husband's mother, mother-in-law' [> BHb t&mhl ha-m-oʔt-, JA at1m1h9 hama-t-a-, Sr hama-t-a-, Gz hama-t, Tgr, Tgy 1µT hamat, Ak eme-tu id., SmA etamh hmʔt-h 'his mother-in-law'], as well as S \*-at- in nouns for female beings, e.g. \*bin-at- 'daughter' > BHb tB2 bat-, Ar bint-, etc. ¶ KB 30-1, 314, KBR 327, Hnr. 105, FrdR § 94, Sl. 106, ▢ Tal 18-9, 279 (unjustified abs. i cha, i emh), L G 235, LH 62 || LbB \*-t (marker of f.) in forms like B \*tV-funas-t 'cow', ONum ul-t 'daughter' ¶ Fv. LJ 418-20 || C: EC: Or H -tiʔ, sx. of f. (denoting female sex): ʔa-r-tiʔ 'wife' (↔ ʔa-r-sa- 'husband'), obbole-ttiʔ 'sister' (↔ obbolesa- 'brother'), oge-ttiʔ 'expert (woman)' (↔ og-esa- 'expert'), adj.: ha-m-tu- 'bad (female)' (↔ ha-m-a- 'bad') ¶ AD SF 243, Ow. 95 || Ch: [1] Ch {Sch.} \*tV, f. sg. determiner of nouns: {Sch.} Hs goʔd.iya-r 'the mare' (↔ goʔd.iya- 'mare') (-r < \*t), Bd sʔa-tiʔwu 'that cow' (↔ sʔa- 'cow'), Mlw mu-niʔ ti-na- 'this woman' (↔ muni 'woman'), and with loss of gender distinction: Gude raʔha-ta- 'that axe' (↔ raʔha- 'axe'), as well as possibly (× N \*t.aʔ, dem. prn. of non-active objects [q.v.]) the prefix of dem. pronouns in Kera: f. sg. taʔ, m. sg. toʔ 'this', pl. teʔ 'these' ¶ Sch. ED 158-9 || [2] CCh: acc. to Mch. VCQP 65-6, "**Kotoko**: t s'infixe au singulier entre épouse et le suffixe possessif... **Masa**: suffixes masculin en na, féminin en ta (dialectal da). **Gidar**: affixes n au masculin, t au féminin. Exemple: vieux = mugalen, vieille = mugalta. **Bata**: suffixes nominaux we, tiye, où ti indiquerait le féminin... **Jeg** [= Njey]: suffixes niminaux... cʔi (féminin); cʔi se suffixe au nom et à l'adjectif: madagalci<sup>1</sup> madacʔi<sup>2</sup> 'vieille<sup>1</sup> femme<sup>2</sup>' ¶ Gr. LA 46-7 || This N √ is probably one of the two sources (together with the inanimate dem. prn. \*t.aʔ) of the HS marker \*tV-/Vt of the so-called "feminine" gender (actually feminine-and-inanimate gender), namely (1) of the verbal px. \*tV- of 3 person "feminine" (= feminine-and-inanimate\collective) > S \*ta-/t- (F Hz. VP), B \*tV-id., EC \*t(V)-, Bj, Aw t-of 3f in prefix-conjugated verbs, \*t- as marker of 3f in many Ch lgs., as well as the 3f marker \*t- within the person/number/gender sxs.; and (2) of the pHS ending \*-Vt-, marker of both the female sex in nouns (f above) and the fem.-and-inanimate gender (functioning as sx. of singulative, collective and abstract nouns) in S, Eg, B, C and Ch, (3) of the HS prn. \*tV- (prn. of the fem.[and-inanimate] gender) > Bj t-, fem. gender marker in the df. art.: Bj A {AD} sg. nom. tu--tu-, acc. sg. to--tu-, pl. nom. ta--ta, pl. acc. te--ti-, Bj Hd {Rop.} sg. nom. tu--ti-, acc. sg. to--ti-, pl. nom. ta--ti-, nom. pl. te--ti-, Bj (dialect, recorded by Reinisch) nom. sg. tu-, acc. sg. to-, nom. pl. ta-, acc. pl. te-; Berber \*tV-, px. of fem. nouns, both sg. and pl. (from an article similar to that of Bj), e.g. Sll, Nf ta-lyəmt

'she-camel', pl. ti-ləymin, ti-ləymatin, Kb t<sub>a</sub>-funast<sub>1</sub>, Tmz ta-funast 'cow', Zwr t-funast, Zmr t<sub>1</sub>-funast<sub>1</sub> id., pl. t<sub>1</sub>ifunasin, t<sub>1</sub>-myart<sub>1</sub> 'old woman', Mz t-mət<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>ut 'woman', etc. (≠ AiM 208-9); Sml -ta, -tu, -tī, fem. form of df. articles; Cushitic fem. gender marker \*t- in dem. pronouns: Bj {R} t-u<sub>1</sub>n 'this' f. (acc. t-o<sub>1</sub>n), t-a<sub>1</sub>n 'these' f. (acc. t-e<sub>1</sub>n), Sa {R} t-a<sub>1</sub>, t-ay 'this' f., t-o, t-oy 'that' f., Sml -t-ani<sub>1</sub> (acc. -t-a<sub>1</sub>n) 'this' f. (sx. of a noun), -t-a<sub>1</sub>-si (acc. -t-a<sub>1</sub>) 'that' f. (general deixis), etc., Or B tuni<sub>1</sub>-(ni<sub>1</sub>) 'this' f., acc. t-a<sub>1</sub>na<sub>1</sub>, gen. ta<sub>1</sub>na<sub>1</sub>, etc., Sd t-e, t-enne, t-e<sub>1</sub>ne, t-in 'this' f., etc. (≠ AD KJ 28, 46-8, 106, 116-7), as well as fem. gender marker in nominal ppa. in Bj (-t-), Sml (-t-: i<sub>1</sub>na<sub>1</sub>n-t-a<sub>1</sub>y-d-u 'my daughter', where -t- is the fem. marker in the suffixed possessive prn. taydu, -ay- is a ppa. of 1s, and -d- is the fem. marker of the postpositional article ↔ i<sub>1</sub>na<sub>1</sub>n-k-a<sub>1</sub>y-g-u 'my son', where -k- and -g- are masc. gender markers), Rn -e<sub>1</sub>t genitive marker of fem. nouns, Or Δ -t-, etc. (AD KJ 107-8, PG 26). In Ch this HS prn. \*t<sub>1</sub> became a personal prn. of 3s fem. (actually, fem.-and-inanimate), which Blz. reconstructs as \*ta. In WCh it functions (1) as a preverbal subject marker of 3f: Hs ta<sub>1</sub> (with past), ta (with some other verbal forms), in BT lgs. (with neutral form, pf.: Bl, Gera ti<sub>1</sub>, Krf, Glm, Grm ta<sub>1</sub>, Tng ta, etc.), in the Ron lgs. (with the main aspect of the verb: Fy, Bks, Klr ti<sub>1</sub>); (2) as an aut. prn. of 3f (prefix + \*ta, acc. to Kraft's rec.): Hs i-ta, Bl i-ta<sub>1</sub>, Ngm te<sub>1</sub>, Krkr di-t<sub>1</sub>z, Tng ŋ-ta, Fy, Bks yi<sub>1</sub>-t, Ngz, Bd a-tu<sub>1</sub>, Zul ti; (3) as an object prn. of 3f (\*t<sub>1</sub>, acc. to Kraft): Hs, Bl ta, Krkr, Tng ta<sub>1</sub>, Ngz atu<sub>1</sub>, Bd tu<sub>1</sub>; (4) as a possessive prn. of 3f (\*ta, acc. to Kraft): Hs ta, Bl to, Krf ta<sub>1</sub>a, Krkr (ti<sub>1</sub>)-t<sub>1</sub>z, Tng to<sub>1</sub>, Pr te<sub>1</sub>, Ron: Fy -it, Bks -et. In CCh it appears: (1) as subject prn. of 3m: Msg G {MB} t<sub>1</sub>z, Msg P {MB} te, Mbara, Mlw ti; (2) as a possessive marker of 3f: Gude -ta<sub>1</sub>, Bcm -ro<sub>1</sub> (where -r- < \*t-), Mln -(g<sub>1</sub>)-to<sub>1</sub>, FIM -tu<sub>1</sub>, Mbara -ta<sub>1</sub>; (3) as an object prn. of 3f: Bcm (na)-ro<sub>1</sub>, Gudu ba-r (where -r- < \*t-), FIM (ga<sub>1</sub>)-ta<sub>1</sub>, Msg G/P {MB} -ti 'her', Mbara -ta<sub>1</sub>; (4) in some CCh lgs. it is one of the elements within aut. pers. pronouns of 3f (as in Mbara ti<sub>1</sub>ti<sub>1</sub> 'she'). In ECh this morpheme functions as a subject prn. of 3f (Mkl ti<sub>1</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>, Bdy -ti<sub>1</sub>, -g-i<sub>1</sub>t), as a pronominal object sx. of verbs (Mkl -t<sub>1</sub>, -ti<sub>1</sub> 'her', Bdy -ta<sub>1</sub> 'her', -ti<sub>1</sub> 'to her', Tmk -d 'her', Mgm -ti<sub>1</sub>, -ti<sub>1</sub> 'to her') and as a ppa. of 3f (Mkl -tu<sub>1</sub>, Bdy -t<sub>1</sub>, -ti<sub>1</sub> 'her') ¶ Cf. Kr. RChP, MB SMSM, J R, Sch. BTL, Sch. DN, Frz. GP, Blz. PPCh, Trn. MVM 76, TrnSL 163-6, J LM 33-9, JA LM 39, AI DB 196-206, Cp. 32

**II B:** Tg \*at<sub>1</sub> 'female; elderly woman' > Mc atu 'female fish' (× N \*Øat<sub>1</sub>.u<sub>1</sub> '∈ fish'), Ud {Shn.} at<sub>1</sub>a buyi, at<sub>1</sub>a mafa 'she-bear', {Krm.} atiga 'female animal', {Shn.} atiya id., 'woman, wife', Orc ataga 'mother-in-law, elder sister-in-law, grandmother', Ork atī 'mother-in-law', ataga 'wife's elder sister, grandmother', Ewk atē<sub>1</sub>-ati, Ewk NB ata 'old woman' (address word), Ewk atkī (ppa.) 'husband's mother', 'wife's mother', atirka<sub>1</sub>n 'old woman, wife', Sln atikka<sub>1</sub>: 'old woman', {Iv.} атыркан 'wife', Lm ata 'grandmother, father's elder sister', atē<sub>1</sub> 'grandmother' (address), Neg N atıyakkā<sub>1</sub>n 'old woman', atıxa<sub>1</sub>n-atıxa<sub>1</sub>n id., atkī<sub>1</sub> 'mother-in-law' ¶ STM I 58, Krm. 209

**II D** \*a<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>- 'woman' > Tm a<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>i 'woman, wife', a<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>aval 'woman', Kn a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>angi 'a female', Tu a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>e 'a coward', Tl a<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>adi, a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>adi, a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>udi 'woman', a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>u 'womanishness', Prj ad<sub>1</sub>ey 'wife', Gdb a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>a payya 'female calf', Knd a<sub>1</sub>n<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>u 'female', Knd N/W a<sub>1</sub>r<sub>1</sub>u 'wife', Ku a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>i, Δ a<sub>1</sub>r<sub>1</sub>u 'wife' ¶¶ D #400, An. SG 132 (\*a<sub>1</sub>nt<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>-), ▢ GS 208 [#524] (D \*al<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>-) ¶¶ Derivational\grammatical affix for females: {Zv.} \*oru-tti 'one female' > Tm, Ml oru-tti 'one female person' (oru- is 'one'), Tu or-ti, Mlt or-ti 'one woman'; unlike in HS, in pD there is no merger of the fem. gender (\*oru-tti 'one female') and the inanimate gender (\*on-t<sub>1</sub>u 'one thing'). But in some D lgs. this merger did occur: Tl a-di, Klm, Nkr a-d 'that woman, that thing' (D 4 [#1]) ¶¶ D #990, Zv. DL 21, GS 72 [#234] ♦ The vl. \*-t- in Tg (for the expected \*-d-) defies explanation. IS MsN included the HS marker of fem. \*t into the etymon "\*t neutr."

**92. \*ʔitE** 'eat' > **IE** \*ʔed- ({EI} 1s \*h<sub>1</sub>ed-mi) v. 'eat' > Ht ed-/ad-/ezza-, prs. 1s ed-mi, 3p adanzi, Lw ad-, azza-, HrLw ad-, ar-, {Mer.} a'-ta-, Pal ad-v. 'eat' || NaIE \*ed-/od-/d- 'eat' > OI 1s prs. 'ad-mi, Av 3s sbjn. ada-iti || Arm 1s prs. utem utem (< o-d-) || Gk Hm inf. ἔδ-μεναι, ft. ἔδ-ο-μαι 'eat, devour' || L ed-o- / ede-re 'eat' || Gt (thematic) itan, ON eta, OHG e-ô ô an, NHG essen, OSx, AS etan v. 'eat', NE eat || BSl \*e-d-(mi) > Olt e'-mi, Lt μ e'-d-u (inf. e'-sti) 'fressen', Ltv e-^mu ~ e-^du 'I eat' (inf. e-^st), Pru īst v. 'eat', īstai 'food' || Sl \*e-d- 'eat' [1s prs. \*e-мъ (< \*e-d-mi), 3s prs. \*e-s-тъ, 3p prs. \*e-d-e-тъ, inf. \*e-s-ti] > OCS 1s prs. ѣмъ jamъ, 3s prs. ѣстъ jastъ, 3p ѣда-тъ jade-тъ, inf. ѣсти jasti 'eat', Blg їм 'I eat', SCr jēm (~ je-de-m) id. / je-sti 'to eat', Slv je-m / je-sti, Cz jím / jísti, Slk jem / jest', P jem / jes'-c', R ем / ест, Uk їм / їсти || Tc B yesti ({Ad.} < h<sub>1</sub>ed<sup>S</sup>-to) ʔ'meal' || d- IE \*ʔ<sub>o</sub>dont-, \*dont-/dn<sub>o</sub>t- ({EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>dont-) 'tooth' (originally acp. 'eating one, edens?') > OI 'dan (acc. dan'tam, gen. da'tah. < \*dn<sub>o</sub>t-os), Av dantan- m., da-ta-f. || Arm atamn atamn || Gk ὀδω-v (gen. ὀδο-vτοῖ), ὀδουῖ, Ae Gk pl. ὀδοντες || L dens (gen. dentis) || Clt: OIr de't, Brtt {RE}\*dant > W, OBr, Br dant, OCrn, Crn dans || Gmc: Gt tunþus (μ of the acc. tunþu + L dentem), ON to-nn, OHG zand, NHG Zahn, AS to-ð, NE tooth || Lt danti's || WP I 118, P 287-9, EI 175, 595, M K I 28, M E I 61-2, F I 444-5 & II 352, WH I 340-1, 392-3, Fs. 296-7, 483-4, Vr. 106, 604 (*unc.* doubts about \*dn<sub>o</sub>t- from \*ed-), Ho. 94, 351, EWA II 1184-7, Slr. 26-7, 103-4, Frn. 124-5, En. 185, Tp. P I-K 88-90, Vs. II 18, Glh. 299, Pv. I-II 315-20, Mer. HHG 41, Ad. 507 || **HS**: EC \*it- v. 'eat' > Or it-o 'food', Brj, Sd, Ged, Kmb, Alb, Hd it- v. 'eat' || Ss. B 108, AD SF 136, 243 || Ch: WCh: Ron: Fy ʔet- v. 'eat' || BT: Tng {J} edi v. 'eat (rice, groundnuts, beans, etc.)' (J R 241, J T 86, Nw. KL 120); in the BT lgs. there is contamination with the reflex of N \*ʔEtH'a' 'sharp instrument, sharp tooth' [q.v.], whence the meaning 'to bite hard food'; Stl. ascribes Fy ʔet v. 'eat' to WCh \*ʔac^c^-, but this is at variance with what we know (from her own papers) about WCh historical phonology: WCh \*c^ yields Ron \*s^ rather than pRon or Fy t (WCh \*ʔq'ac^ - v. 'cut, chop' > Dfb gie'as' [Stl. ZCh 82], WCh \*c^vr- v. 'grow, belarge, long' > Sha s'o'ho 'long' [Stl. ZCh 51]), while WCh \*t- does yield Fy -t, cp. WCh \*fvv 'sun' > Fy vivat 'sun' (Stl. ZCh 159 [#129]) || ??? CS \*ʔt<sub>m</sub> 'bite' > Ar ʔt<sub>m</sub> G 'saisir avec ses dents et mordre', Ug {A} ʔt<sub>m</sub> 'bit (Bissen)' [not confirmed by OLS] || BK I 38-9, A #158 || If CS \*ʔt<sub>m</sub> belongs here, it is likely to go back to a *cd* ±\*ʔit- + \*ʔvm (< nN \*ʔaemv 'seize, hold, take', q.v.), whence the secondary glottalization of \*t || A {SDM} \*ite > M \*ide- v. 'eat' > MM, WrM ide-, Ord ide-, HIM ил- idə-, Brt ede-, Kl idə-, Dg ide-, Mnr H id\_i-e-, ShY ede-, Mgl ida- 'eat' || Pp. IM 107, Iw. 107, MED 398, SDM97 s.v. \*ite) || ? T: [1] \*et 'meat, flesh' (× N \*P<sub>a</sub>l<sub>i</sub>t<sub>v</sub> 'skin, bark', q.v. ffd.) || [2] NaT o-t-ma-k ~ \*et-ma-k 'bread' > OT, XwT, MQp, Cmn o-tmek ~ etmek, Kr T et'm'ak, Kr G etmek, Qmn\CrTt\Osm {Rl.} a-tma-k, SbTt Tb itma-k, Chg, OOSm o-tmek, Alt\Tlt {Rl.} o-tpo-k, QK {Rl., B} utpo-k || The variant vw. o- remains puzzling || Cl. 6O, Rl. I 847, 1275, 1868, B DLT 219, DHST 293, ET Gl 254-7 || DQA #612 (A \*ite 'eat' > T \*et-mek, M) ♦ IS I 273-4 (#136) s.v. \*ita- [IE, C, M; no S; adduces S \*ʔtw v. 'eat', Egt 'bread', *err.* B \*əts' < \*ətk (in fact \*ʔHks', cf. N \*ØEK.V'3'IV ≈ 'peck'), C \*ʔtyʔ, Ch \*ʔty/w, which is doubtful, cf. N \*t.uhye 'to eat, feed; food'], BmK #418 (\*ʔit-/\*ʔet- 'chew, bite, eat, consume'; IE, M, S; ignores [deliberately?] EC \*it- 'eat' and Ch: Fy ʔet 'eat', etc.).

**93. ?? \*ʔat<sub>i</sub>ʔ<sub>j</sub>v** 'come' > **HS**: WS \*ʔtw<sub>y</sub> G v. 'come' > BHb eta ʔtyw G, Amr {G} pf. ʔata-, Aram eta-ata ʔtw<sub>y</sub>, Sr æcæ ʔtw<sub>y</sub> id., Ar ʔty G (pf. itaa ʔata-), Ar NY T ʔty G, Gz ʔtw (js. yaʔtu-) id., Sb ʔtw<sub>y</sub> 'come, come back', Ug {OLS} ʔtw 'come, go' || DRS 36, KBR 102, OLS 59, G A 14, BGMR, Bns. NJ I 154 || C: Bj {Rop.} -ʔat pcv. 'step, tread', {R} -ʔat pcv. 'treten, stampfen, trampeln' (1s: p. a-ʔat, pqp. iʔat, prs. a-ʔa'nīt) || ? SC: Irq {MQK} ʔadah- v. 'tread on, step' (unless < N \*ʔAdv 'foot', q.v.)

]] ¶ Rop. 156, R WBd 34-5 [†, MQK 9 ] || Om (× N \***ṣodU** 'to go' × N \***qad<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>ʔ'o** 'to step, walk?'): NrOm: Gf {C} ad.- 'passare', Male {Fl.} ad.-v. 'come', {Fl.} ad.-a.d.-v. 'go', Gmr {Fl.} at- 'go' :: SOm: Ari B {Fl.} ad, Hm U {Fl.}, Gll {Fl.} a.d, Dm {Fl.} a.d-at v. 'come' ¶ Blz. OL #205, Fl. OO 317 ¶¶ Blz. OL [Om \*ad- 'go' ÷ WS \*<sub>1</sub>ṣdw 'go' and its B cognates, cf. N \***ṣodU**] || IE: NaIE \*<sub>1</sub>ad- 'go, walk' ({EI} \*Het- 'go') (× N \***qad<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>ʔ'o** '†') > OI 'atati 'goes, walks' ¶ P 69 & M K I 26 (*unc.* identification with \*at-no- 'year'), M E I 56, EI 228 || A {SDM97} \*a<sub>1</sub>e<sub>1</sub>tV- v. 'step, walk', {S} \*a<sub>1</sub>tV- '**marat**' (× N \***qad<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>ʔ'o** '†') > T \*a<sub>1</sub>t- v. 'step' > Tkm Δ a<sub>1</sub>t-, Tkm a<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>-, Osm {Rl.} ad- v. 'step', Xk at-<sub>1</sub>x- v. 'jump, jump over', ? Chv (< some VTt Δ) at- v. 'walk with dipped feet (on water, mud, deep snow)', VTt at-la- v. 'step', Slr aht-la- id., Yk atilla- id. :: Chv L y<sub>1</sub>t- ud<sub>1</sub>- v. 'walk' ¶ T d<sub>1</sub> \*at-<sub>1</sub>m (= \*at<sub>1</sub>-<sub>1</sub>m) 'step' (n.) > Tkm Δ a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>m, Tkm a<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>-dim, Tk, Az, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, CrTt adm, VTt ad<sub>1</sub>m, Bsh ad<sub>1</sub>m, Uz adim, Chv L y<sub>1</sub>ta<sub>1</sub>Δ<sub>1</sub>mud<sub>1</sub>-<sub>1</sub>m 'step'; T b<sub>1</sub> M \*adam 'pace, step' (SDM: 'hurried walking') > WrM adam, HIM адам, Kl adm<sub>1</sub> 'pace, step' ¶ S AJ 192 [#171], ET Gl 88, Fed. I 66-7 & II 293-4, S AJ 241 [#172], KW 1 ¶¶ A S AJ 280, SDM97 (A \*a<sub>1</sub>tV ~ \*e<sub>1</sub>tV), ≠ DQA #1756 [A \*p<sub>1</sub>e<sub>1</sub>-ta 'to step, walk': incl. T, M] || ?σ D \*a<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>- vi. 'move' (× N \***qad<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>ʔ'o**) > Tm a<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>u, Kt ar<sub>1</sub>-, Tl a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>uni id., Td o<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>- v. 'move violently', Ka a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>u ~ a<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>u v. 'be in motion, move about' ¶¶ D #347 ♦ The word-medial lr. in \***ʔat<sub>1</sub>ʔ<sub>1</sub>V** is suggested by the long vw. in T and D (that may be also due to convergence with \***qad<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>ʔ'o**). The lr. is likely to have been \*ʔ or \*h, because these are the only laryngeals that can disappear (in non-initial position) in S.

**94.** <sub>2</sub> \***ʔEtu<sub>1</sub>RV** 'day, noon' > **HS**: Sa {R} i'tra- 'noon' ¶ R S II 54 || CCh: MfG {Brr.} d<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>r 'day (24 hours)' ¶ d<sub>1</sub>- < \*t<sub>1</sub>- < \*ʔ<sub>1</sub>t- ¶ Brr. MG II 110, ChC || A: M \*edu<sub>1</sub>r 'day' > MM [MA] o<sub>1</sub>du<sub>1</sub>r 'day, noon', [LV] o<sub>1</sub>du<sub>1</sub>r ~ o<sub>1</sub>der 'day', [IM, IsV] o<sub>1</sub>du<sub>1</sub>r 'day', o<sub>1</sub>du<sub>1</sub>r du<sub>1</sub>li 'afternoon', [S, HI] {H} u<sub>1</sub>du<sub>1</sub>r 'day', u<sub>1</sub>du<sub>1</sub>r du<sub>1</sub>li 'noon', [PP] {Pp.} u<sub>1</sub>du<sub>1</sub>rc<sub>1</sub>in 'all day', WrM edu<sub>1</sub>r, HIM 'd<sub>1</sub> p 'day; in the daytime', Ord {Ms.} u<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>u<sub>1</sub>r, Brt \*дур, Kl 'дур, {Rm.} o<sub>1</sub>dr<sub>1</sub> 'day', Mnr H {SM} ud<sub>1</sub>ur 'day', d<sub>1</sub>ur 'noon', {T} dur 'day, noon', MMgl [ZM] u<sub>1</sub>du<sub>1</sub>r, Mgl {Rm.} u<sub>1</sub>du<sub>1</sub>r, {Iw.} o<sub>1</sub>du<sub>1</sub>r, Dg {Pp.} u<sub>1</sub>du<sub>1</sub>r, {T} udur, {Mr.} udure 'day' ¶ Pp. M 273, 443, Pp. L II 1259, H 158, Ms. H 107, MED 295-6, Chr. 494, KRS 412-3, SM 65-6, 464-5, Ms. O 748, T 331-2, T DgJ 170, T DnJ 136, Iw. 143, KW 293, Rm. M 41.

**95.** \***ʔey<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>V** 'reach, obtain' > **HS**: EC: HEC \*a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>- v. 'receive, take' > Sd a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>(d<sub>1</sub>)-, Ged ad<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>-, Kmb a<sub>1</sub>k<sub>1</sub>k<sub>1</sub>- (< \*a<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>-k<sub>1</sub>-) v. 'receive, accept, take', Hd a<sub>1</sub>ʔ- v. 'buy, receive, accept'; ? Arr ʔehad<sub>1</sub>- 'take' (unless ÷ S \*<sub>1</sub>ʔhδ 'seize, hold') ¶ Hd. 121, 230, 268, 306, 348, Hw. A 338-9 || WS \*<sub>1</sub>ʔiy(y)a<sub>1</sub>t- *nota accusativi*, originally a noun ('receipt, sth. obtained') used with a following gen. or poss. affixes to denote direct objects: Ar 'yWi ʔi<sub>1</sub>ya<sub>1</sub>-, a noun used with ppas. for denoting direct objects [ʔi<sub>1</sub>ya<sub>1</sub>-ka ('thy ʔi<sub>1</sub>ya<sub>1</sub>-') meant 'thee': ʔi<sub>1</sub>ya<sub>1</sub>-ka naʔbudu wa-ʔi<sub>1</sub>ya<sub>1</sub>-ka nastaʔinu 'thee we worship and to thee we cry for help', ʔaʔt<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>-nī ʔi<sub>1</sub>ya<sub>1</sub>-hu 'he gave it to me', qatala-hu wa-ʔi<sub>1</sub>ya<sub>1</sub>-ha<sub>1</sub> 'he killed him and her'], Ar ChrNG {I'A} postverbal -(ə)yya<sub>1</sub>t- id. [3s -(ə)yya<sub>1</sub>t-u 'him'], Cn and Aram *nota accusativi*, preposition denoting the accusative function of df. nouns: BHb ta<sub>4</sub> ʔe<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>- ~ ta<sub>3</sub> ʔet<sub>1</sub>- / -t<sub>7</sub>a ʔo<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>- (+ ppas.), prep. of df. direct object, Ph ʔyt, Pun ʔyt ~ ʔt ~ t, [Plt.] YTH, M'b, Ed ʔt, ʔYd wt, OA ʔyt ~ yt, BA ti! ya<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>-, IA wt (yth 'him', ythm 'them', wtk 'thee' m. = nota accusativi + ppas.), Sr 4Δo ya<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>-, Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq t- (accusative pc. prefixed to the pers. pronouns: Mh l<sub>3</sub>t<sub>3</sub>gt t-<sub>3</sub>is 'you have killed her', Jb C t<sub>3</sub> 'me', t<sub>3</sub>k 'thee' m., t<sub>3</sub>s 'thee' f., t<sub>3</sub>s 'him', t<sub>3</sub>s 'her', tun 'us' pl., 'tokum 'you' m. pl., 'tekən 'you' f. pl., 'tohum ~ 'təhum 'them' m. pl., 'tesən 'them' f. pl., 't<sub>3</sub>s'i 'us' du., 'you' du., 't<sub>3</sub>s'i 'them' du., Hrs t<sub>3</sub>h 'him', t<sub>3</sub>is 'her', 'teni 'me', tu<sub>1</sub>k 'thee' m.) ¶ Fr. I 74, Wright I 103 & II 69, 326, Fi. G 127, HJ 47-50, KB 97, FrdR §§ 255-6 [\*ʔiyyat], Seg. AAG O6, Br. 311, Jo. MSA 26, Jo. H 126, Jo. J xxvi, Jo. M xvi-xvii, 398, I'A (p.c., 1998), ≠ HBr. SSP 369-71 (*err.* < \*ʔa<sub>1</sub>t- 'come'); KB 97 [erroneously identifies (with a query) this *nota accusativi* with the noun 'Wesen, Sein' (> Sr ya<sub>1</sub>ta<sub>1</sub>-) which is phonetically

untenable: Sr ya<sup>-</sup>ta<sup>-</sup> goes back to S \*<sub>y</sub>θ, but S \*θ ≠ S \*t (in \*ʔiy(y)a<sup>-</sup>t-)] **II D** \*eyt- v. 'reach, obtain' > Tm eytu, Kn aydu, eydu v. 'approach, reach, obtain', Ml eytuka v. 'get, obtain', Td ic<sup>-</sup> v. 'reach, be sufficient', Tu etta<sup>-</sup>vuni, etta<sup>-</sup>d<sub>uni</sub>, Tl ey(i)du ~ e<sup>-</sup>du 'attain, obtain', Gnd ev- v. 'reach', Gnd Mu {Bht.} avh-/avih- v. 'make reach, obtain', Kui e3ali- v. 'reach, overtake'; this D <sub>y</sub> coalesced with a *d* from D \*ey- v. 'go', whence the additional meanings: 'go to' in Tl eydu and Kn aydu, 'arrive' in Kdg ett-, Klm end-, Prj e<sup>-</sup>d-, Gdb ed- and Ku e3ali-] **¶¶ D #809**, Km. 308 [#168] s.v. eydu **II A** \*a<sup>-</sup>et<sup>-</sup> > Tg: Ewk Urm 3ti v. 'hit the target (in shooting)' (< v. 'reach') **¶ STM II 469** || hardly here T \*a<sup>-</sup>δ 'property' (\*-δ for the expected \*t) **¶ Rs. W 33 III** It is probable that the N accusative pc. **\*t.∇** (q.v. ffd.) is a reduced variant of N **\*ʔey'a't.∇** [used as a nominalized object-relation: 'N's receipt' = 'N ʔ', (Latin) 'N-em']. If this is right, **\*ʔey'a't.∇** with a pronominal attribute had the following semantic-syntactic evolution: 'his (my, thy) being received' → 'him (me, thee)' [focalized object] → (later on in daughter lgs.:) the acc. form of pronouns [and of nouns, as in Hg]), and its grammaticalization brought about a phonetic reduction **\*ʔey'a't.∇ > \*t.∇**.

**96. \*ʔUt.∇,lh∇** (or **\*ʔUt, lh∇**) 'heavy', → 'difficult' > **HS**: S \*<sub>y</sub>ʔth > Ar ʔutu<sup>-</sup>h-, ʔatah- 'respiration pénible de celui qui porte une charge trop lourde' **¶ BK I 8**, DRS 36 || ??? Eg MK itnw {EG} 'Schwieriges (in Büchern), Widerstrebendes', {Fk.} 'secret, mystery', unless eymologically identical with Eg MKL itnw {Fk.} 'opponent', {EG} Widersacher, Feind', {EG} itn 'sich jemandem widersetzen' **¶ EG I 145-6**, Fk. 33 **II A**: Tg \*u.tem ({Bz.} \*o<sup>-</sup>tVm) > Ewk utum3m3 'hard (conditions of life)', 'cruel', Ork ut3-m3gd3 'bad person' **¶ STM II 294 II D** (in NED) \*ott- 'heavy' > Krx ott<sup>h</sup>a- 'burden', 'heavy, difficult', 'hard to suffer', Mlt ote 'heavy, important' **¶ D #977**, Pf. 186 ♦ Tg and D suggest pN \*-t-, while S \*-t- may be accounted for by HS de-emphatization.

**97. ? \*ʔ'a'wu** 'whether?' (pc. of general question), 'or' > **HS**: S \*ʔaw 'or, whether' > Ug ʔu [\*o<sup>-</sup>] 'either... or', 'whether', BHb &a ʔo<sup>-</sup>, OA, Yd, IA, Plm, Nbt ʔw, IA &a ʔo<sup>-</sup>, Sr ʔaw, Ar ʔaw, Sb ʔw, Gz ʔaw, Ak u<sup>-</sup> 'or', ? SmA ia ʔy i<sup>-</sup> 'or'; EthS b3 Sa {R} o<sup>-</sup> 'or' **¶ KB 19**, GB 14, A #3, OLS 1, HJ 21, BGMR 9, L G 47, Sd. 1308, DRS 11, Tal 22 **II IE**: NaIE \*we(:) / \*u 'whether?', 'or', ({EI} \*-we<sup>-</sup> 'or') > OI, Av, OPrs va<sup>-</sup> || Gk 'η-(φ)ε', 'η (η) 'whether, or' || L -ve<sup>-</sup> 'or' || Gt -u 'whether?' (pc. of general question) || Clt: OIr no<sup>-</sup> 'ou bien', OBr nou 'or' (if < \*ne-we)) || Tc B wa-t 'or; rather than' || NaIE \*au<sup>-</sup> 'or' > L aut 'or' (< \*aw-ti), Osc aut AUT, AUTI, Um ute OTE 'or' || ? Gk αλῦ 'again' **¶ WP I 188-9**, P 7, 73-5 (considers the stem \*we(:) an apophonic grade of \*aw- 'jener, andererseits'), Bks. 223, EI 410, M K I 180, F I 183, 619, WH I 87, Bc. G 340, Vn. N 17-8, Wn. 349, Ad. 575-6, MlrA 410 **II A**: M \*u<sup>-</sup> / \*u<sup>-</sup> (distributed by the rules of vowel harmony), encl. pc. of general question > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} -u (interr. pc.: busu<sup>-</sup>/u bui<sup>-</sup> 'is not it?', uqaba<sup>-</sup>/u ci 'have you noticed?'), WrM uu / u<sup>-</sup>u<sup>-</sup>, HlM yy, \*\* - pc. of general question at the end of sentences, Kl -u / -u<sup>-</sup>, Mnr {SM, T} -u<sup>ḏ</sup> -u<sup>-</sup> (interr. pc.) **¶ Ms. H 104**, H 157, MED 689, SM G 88, 136-7, 197, Snz. GKJ 83, T M 153 ♦ Cf. Bm. TPN 268 [#263] (S, IE). NaIE \*a suggests N \*a.

**98. ʔφ \*ʔ'i'wy∇** 'island, seashore' > **HS**: S \*<sub>y</sub>ʔiyy- > BHb ia5 ʔi<sup>-</sup> 'coast, island', MHb ia5 ʔi<sup>-</sup> 'island', Pun ʔy 'peninsula' **¶ KB 37**, KBR 38, HJ 43, DRS 17 || Eg fOK iw 'island' **¶ EG I 47 II IE**: NaIE \*<sub>y</sub>ou<sub>y</sub>- > Gmc \*awja- 'island' > ON R auju, ON ey, NNr øy, Dn ø, Sw o<sup>-</sup>, AS iez, ME e<sup>-</sup>, i, NE [ai<sub>2</sub>] in is-land, OFrs e'i-land, OSx o'i-land 'island'; Gmc b3 L -avia in Scandin-avia **¶ Ho. 186**, Hlq. II 1451-2, Vr. 106 **II U**: Sm {Jn.} \*wo<sub>2</sub>y, {Hl.} \*i<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>o<sub>2</sub> 'island' > Ng {Cs.} ɲuai, En {Cs.} n'ue (a phonetically unaccurate recording?), {Ter.} нуи, Ne T ʔo, {Lh.} ɲo<sup>-</sup>, Ne F {Lh.} ɲo<sup>-</sup>id., Slq Nr {Cs.} ko, ku, cds. kollaga 'small

island', ol-ko 'island', Mt {HL.} \*o<sup>-</sup> (or \*o) id. (Mt K {Pl.} o) || ?? FU: F Vuojanmaa 'Gotland' (lit. 'Isle-land' with F maa 'land'), unless the first part is a loan from NrGmc ¶¶ Jn. 177, HL M #793.

**99. ???<sub>2</sub> \*ʔa<sup>o</sup>Xi ~ \*ʔuXi** 'egg' (or 'white of egg') > **HS:** S \*ʔawh- > Ar SL Óv0à ʔawh- ~ ÓÀ ʔa<sup>h</sup>- 'white of egg' ¶ Bel. 16 **II IE:** NaIE \*ou<sub>u</sub>(y)o- ({EI} \*h<sub>o</sub>o(u<sub>u</sub>iom) 'egg' > Gk A/I ʔo<sup>v</sup> (< \*o<sub>u</sub>y-om), Gk Ae ʔoiov, Gk D ʔoεov 'egg' || Arm 3u 3u (gen. 3yoj 3woy) || L o<sup>-</sup>vum (< OAl voe, Al T ve, Al G vo) || Clt: OW ui, W wy, OCrn uy, Crn oy, MBr uy, Br vi || Gmc {Vr.} \*ajja-m > Gt Cr ada (< Gt pl. \*addja?), OHG ei, NHG Ei, ON egg (< NE egg) || Sl \*a<sup>h</sup>je id., (dim.) \*aj<sup>h</sup>se id. > SCr ja<sup>h</sup>je, HLs jejo, wejo id., 'testicle', LLs jajo, Plb joji, P jaje, Uk Δ айо; OCS анце ајсе, Blg лй'це, Δ ай'це, P †, Δ jajce, jajco, OR анце jaice, SCr K ja<sup>h</sup>jce 'egg', Slv ja<sup>h</sup>jce, Cz vejce, R лй'цо 'egg, testiculum' || ? OPrs xa<sup>h</sup>ya 'egg', ? Av ap-a<sup>h</sup>vaya- 'entmann' (if < \*apa-a<sup>h</sup>vaya- 'without testicles') ¶ P 783-4, EI 176, WH II 230, RE 92, O 497, F II 1150, Fs. 2, Vr. 94-5, KM 153-4, EWA II 967-9, Slr. 177-8, ESSJ I 61-3, Glh. 285-6 ♦ AD NM #72, CNM 13.

¶ **99a. ?? \*ʔu<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>ʔ<sup>h</sup>ʔ<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>** 'one' > **HS:** S \*ʔhd ~ \*ʔwhd 'one' > [1] \*ʔhd 'one' > Ak e<sup>-</sup>du 'individual, solitary, single', BHb dh1a3 ʔe<sup>h</sup>ha<sup>-</sup>d (< \*ʔah<sup>h</sup>ha<sup>-</sup>d), Ph ʔhd, Ug ʔahd, (AkSc) ʔahadu, BA dh2 had<sub>u</sub>, Sr had<sub>u</sub>, hə<sup>h</sup>d<sub>a</sub>, Ar ʔahad- 'one', Gz ʔahad- 'one'; [2] \*ʔwhd 'one, alone' > BHb dh2l@ 'yahad<sub>u</sub> 'together', dih5l! ya<sup>h</sup>hīd<sub>u</sub> 'alone, the only', Pun (LSc) YAD 'together', Ug yhd 'alone, unique, isolated', Amr {G} yahadu 'one, alone', Ar wahad 'alone, unique', wa<sup>h</sup>hid 'one', wa<sup>h</sup>hid- 'lonely, apart', OSA whd 'together, in unison', Gz wa<sup>h</sup>had 'unique, only, one', Ak (w)e<sup>-</sup>du 'only, alone' ¶ CAD IV 36-7, Sd. 1495, KB 29-30, 387-8, 1704, BL H 219, OLS 16, 524-5, G A 22, Br. 215, Ln. 27, Hv. 4, 855, BK I 15 & II 1497-9, BGMR 159, L G 12, 612 || C: EC: Ya {Hn.} wehe(t), wehetu 'one' || Dh1 {EEN} wat<sub>u</sub>u<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e, {To.} vattu<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e 'one' m., vatte<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e 'one' f. || ?σ SC: Asa wataka 'all' ¶ Hn. Y I 40, To. D 150, EEN 43, E SC 384, Blz. CL 180 **II U:** FU \*u<sup>h</sup>kte ~ \*ikte 'one' > F yksi (gen. yhden), Es u<sup>h</sup>ks (gen. u<sup>h</sup>he) | pLp {Lr.} \*əktə 'one' > Lp: S akte, L akta, N o<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ta<sup>h</sup> ~ a<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ta<sup>h</sup>, Kld {SaR} e<sup>h</sup>ht ~ eft 'one' | Er veyke, Δ vij<sup>h</sup>ka<sup>h</sup>, Mk (i)fka<sup>h</sup> | pChr {Ber.} \*iktə > Chr: L ikte, adj. ik, H iktə, adj. ik 'one' | Prm \*o<sup>h</sup>tik > Z o<sup>h</sup>тик зт'ik / o<sup>h</sup>ти зт'i, Prmk ztik, Yz o<sup>h</sup>tik, Vt оди<sup>h</sup>г odig, ot og || Vg: T u<sup>h</sup>k, LK a<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>, P a<sup>h</sup>k, Ss ak<sup>h</sup>a 'one' ¶ UEW 81 [FU \*ikte (\*u<sup>h</sup>kte)], Lr. #7, Lgc. #35, SaR 425-6, Ber. 9, MRS 128-9, Ep. 21, LG 212 **II K** \*ode 'hardly, just, while' (< \*\*'only?') > OG oden conj. 'while', es-oden 'so much', G -ode 'only' (ori-ode 'only two, samiode 'only three', Sv wode 'hardly, while' ¶ K 150, K <sup>2</sup> 145 **II D** \*ut- 'a match, equal' > Tl uddi id., Tu udri 'a match, pair' ¶ D #623 **II ?? R:** Tg: Nn sx. -ragda ~ -rəgdə 'only' (ogdadiragda 'only in\by boats', ?σ Ewk -ragda ~ -rəgdə 'in one place' (ilaragda 'three obkeets in one place') ¶ On. RNS 234, Vas. 785 ¶ -r- may to be connected with the Tg collective sx. \*-r- **II ??φ IE:** NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>ed<sub>h</sub>- in Sl \*ed(ь)-va 'hardly, only just' (> OCS кд(ь)ва jed(ь)va, SCr, Slv je<sup>h</sup>dva, Cz jedva, OR od(ь)va, R Δ одва) and \*ed-in<sup>h</sup> ~ \*ed-ьн<sup>h</sup> 'one' (> OCS кдинъ jedinъ, кдынъ jedьнъ, R один, P jeden, etc. with \*-in<sup>h</sup> < IE \*ei<sub>n</sub>- 'one'); Pedersen (Ped. PD 231) supposed that this morpheme ({Ped.} \*i<sub>u</sub>-ed-) originally meant 'only' ¶ ESSJ VI 11-3, 16 ♦ AD SShS 300-1 ♦ The FU and K cognates are valid if N \*-yd- (or \*-χd-) may yield U \*-kt- and if N \*χ<sub>h</sub> may be lost in K clusters. If the FU and Tg cognates are rejected, the N rec. must be something like ± \*ʔuhdV.]]

**100. \*ʔayV** 'which?', 'what?' > **HS** \*ʔay(y)- 'which?' > S \*ʔayy- (~ \*ʔiyy-?) 'which?' > Ak nom. ayy-u-(m) / acc. ayy-a-(m) / gen. ayy-i-(m), Ar ʔayy- id., BHb ia4 ʔe<sup>-</sup> / -ia2 ʔayy- ~ eI\$2 ʔay<sup>h</sup>ye<sup>-</sup> 'where?' (Ib3e3 ia4 ʔe<sup>-</sup> 'heb\_el 'where is Abel?', ek<sup>h</sup>lI#2 ʔay<sup>h</sup>yekka<sup>-</sup> 'where art thou?) and in cds. : ez#-ia4 ʔe<sup>-</sup>ze<sup>-</sup> 'which?', e7fia4 ʔe<sup>-</sup>p\_o<sup>-</sup> 'where?', Kia4 ʔe<sup>-</sup>k\_ ~ ek<sup>h</sup>lia4 ʔe<sup>-</sup>k\_a<sup>-</sup> 'how' (with ze<sup>-</sup> 'this', po<sup>-</sup> 'here', k<sub>l</sub>-<sub>l</sub>, ka<sup>-</sup><sub>l</sub>-<sub>l</sub> 'as'), Ug ʔay 'whatsoever', ʔy 'where?', Amr {G} ʔayya ~ ʔiyya id., JA [Trg] ia4 ʔe<sup>-</sup> id., Sr ʔayna<sup>-</sup> 'which?', Qt {Rk.} ʔy(y) 'whoever, wha(so)ever', Mn ʔy - enclitic indf. pc., Gz ʔay 'which?, what (kind of)?' ¶ Br. G I

327-8 [§§ 111-2], Lip. 328-9, Sd. G § 47, KB 36-8, 41, GB 28-32, A ##161, 172, OLS 64-5, G A 13, Lv. T I 23, L G 49, Rk. 9-10, MA 8 || C: EC {Ss.} \*payy- / (precons. & pausal) \*pay- 'who?, which?' > Sa ay, Sml N {Abr.} ayyo', Sml Db {AOM} ayyo 'who?', Rn a'yyo', Bn {Hw.} ayyo (pl. ayyos) 'who?', {AOM} 'who is?', Bs {HL} ayo 'who?', Or e-(n)nu 'who?', e-sa 'where?', Kns, Gdl ay-nu 'who?', Kns ay-s'a 'where?', Sd/Hd {Ss.} ay ~ ayye, Ged ayye, Hd ay, ayy-e, Brj {Ss.} a'yye 'who?'; [⊕ Dsn {To.} ma<sup>ˆ</sup>yya 'who?' (< \*mi payy-a, with N \*mi 'what?, which?', q.v. ffd.)] || Ag {Ap.} \*paw- 'who?' > Bln {Ap.} ?aw, Q/Xm {Ap.} aw, Aw ay (Ap.: < \*aw-i) || Bj {Rop.} au, {R} nom. aw (< \*pay-u), gen. ay (< \*pay-i), nom. a<sup>-</sup>b 'who?' ¶ Ss. PEC 46, Ss. B 30, Bl. 102, 214, 306, HL 79, Abr. S 20, PG 71, Hw. B II 110, AOM 6, Ap. AV 3, R WBd 35, Rop. 15, PG 71, To. DL 516 || Om: SOM: Ari {Fl.} ayi 'who?' || NrOm: Cha {C} ay 'what?', Bsk {C} ay 'who?', ayba 'what?', Dwr/Gf {LmS} ay, Wl {LmS} ay-ba<sup>-</sup>, Ym {Wdk.} a'wu 'what?' ¶ Fl. OO 321, C SE III 113, 163, LmS 306, Wdk. BY 118 || ? Ch: ECh: Jg {J} ?au<sup>-</sup>wa 'where?' || WCh: Hs ya<sup>-</sup>ya<sup>-</sup> 'how?', ? Klr {J} ?a<sup>-</sup>n 'which?', Fy {J} ?a<sup>-</sup>...a<sup>-</sup>n 'where?' || CCh: Msg ya<sup>-</sup> 'where?' ¶ ChC II K \*may 'what?' (< N \*mi 'what?' [q.v.] + \*?ayV) > Sv: UB/LB ma<sup>-</sup>y ~ ma<sup>-</sup>, L may, Ln ma; Mg, Lz mu-, ?? in the OG and G *cd.* ro-me-l- 'which' ¶ K 124, K<sup>2</sup> 112 (\*ma-), TK 554-5 II A: Tg \*e<sup>-</sup> 'what?', \*e<sup>-</sup> - interr. verb ('quid facere?') > Ewk e<sup>-</sup>, Sln i<sup>-</sup> 'what?', Ewk, Neg e<sup>-</sup>, Lm a<sup>-</sup> - interr. verb ¶ × N \*ya 'which' (q.v.)?? ¶ STM I 286-7 ¶ Tg \*e<sup>-</sup> < pA, pN \*ay *reg.* || ? M \*ali (< \*ay-li) 'which (one)?', 'what?' > MM [MA, IM, S] ali 'which one?', [IsV] ali 'where?', WrM ali(n), HIM ал□ id., 'what?', Mnr {SM, T} ali 'which?', ? MMgl [Z] almad 'which' ¶ Pp. MA 98-9, 432, H 5, Lg. VMI 16, MED 31, T 314, T DnJ 133, SM 4, Iw. 85 II ? U: Sm \*<sup>-</sup> (= {Jn.} \*<sup>-</sup>) d<sup>-</sup>\*<sup>-</sup>m- 'what?' > Ne: T O {Lh.} ḡa<sup>-</sup>w<sup>-</sup> 'what, what kind of?', T {Ter.} <sup>-</sup>am<sup>-</sup>y 'what?', 'what for?', T O {Lh.} a<sup>-</sup>mg<sup>-</sup>i<sup>-</sup> 'what?', 'why', gen. pl. <sup>-</sup>a<sup>-</sup>bo<sup>1</sup> ḡa<sup>-</sup>wo? (< \*<sup>-</sup>m<sup>-</sup>-y-), F L {Lh.} ḡammi<sup>-</sup> (< \*<sup>-</sup>m<sup>-</sup>y<sup>-</sup>) 'what?'; En d {Cs.} awuo, {Prk.} abbua, {Mik.} obu<sup>-</sup> 'what?'; ? Kms {Cs.} u<sup>-</sup>mbi, {KD} am<sup>-</sup>bi ~ m<sup>-</sup>bi 'what?' ¶ Jn. 15, Ter. 376, Lh. 4-5, KD 19, 38 ♦ N \*?ayV 'which?', 'what?' may be somehow connected with N \*ya 'which?' [q.v.]. For instance, it may go back to a *cd.* \*ha (deictic pc., q.v.) + \*ya.

**101.** <sup>2</sup> \*?a<sup>-</sup>yV 'say, call' > HS: Eg BD iy 'Spruch (?)' ¶ EG I 36 || C: EC {Ss.} \*-iy(y)- 'say' pcv. > Af -iy(y)- pcv., scv.: Sa, Af iy- 'say', i Dsn {Fl.} y- (absent in To. DL), Sml {R} i<sup>-</sup>, ? (h)ay- 'say', Dbs ?iyanna 'he/she says; it means'; HEC \*y- 'say' > Ged, Kmb, Alb, Hd y-, Sd i- / y-, Brj iy- || Ag {Ap.} \*y<sup>-</sup> 'say' > Bln, Xm, Q y<sup>-</sup>, Aw <sup>-</sup> || SC: Irq {MQK} ?o<sup>-</sup>, {Wh.} o-, (?) b<sup>-</sup> Mb {E} -yo id. ¶ AD SF 184-5, Ap. AV 23, R WB 364, Ss. B 108, AMS 166, Hd. 128, MQK 79 || NrOm: Kf {C}, Drz {Bnd.} y-, Zs, Zrg {Bnd.} iya- id., Ym {Wdk.} i<sup>-</sup> id. (the rising tone [low to high] pointing to a former bisyllabic √) ¶ C SE IV 517, AD SF 184-5, Wdk. BY 125, 78-9 (on Ym tones), Lm. Y 310 || Ch {Stl.} \*ya<sup>-</sup>w- 'call' (× N \*OawyV 'to shout, speak', q.v. ffd.) > [1] ECh: Kbl {Cp.} yu<sup>-</sup>w<sup>-</sup> [⊕, Ll {WeibP} ya<sup>-</sup>] 'say' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wa<sup>-</sup>, {Mch.} wa 'say' || [2] WCh: Pr yo<sup>-</sup> v. 'call' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} ?ya<sup>-</sup>, Msg {Mch.} yi, Ms {Mch.} ya, {J} yi<sup>-</sup>na<sup>-</sup>, {Stl.} ←?) yu-mo, Bnn {Stl.} ya-mi, BnnM {Stl.} ya-mo id. || ECh: Gbr ye id. ¶ Frz. P 55, ChC, ChL, Stl. IF 143 ¶ OS #2564 II A \*ayV 'speak, sound' (× N \*OawyV '↑?') > NaT \*ay- 'speak, say' > OT ay- id., XwT xiv ay- 'say, recite', Az Δ, ET Δ {Jr.}, SY ay-, Tk Δ ey-, Yk iy- 'speak, say' ¶ Cl. 266, DTS 25, Rl. I 9, ET Gl 99-100, Jr. 16, Rs. W 10 || M \*aya 'sound, pronunciation, noise' > WrM aya, HIM, Brt ai 'sound, tune, melody; pronunciation' [⊕, Dg {MYC} ailag, Mnr H {MYC} ayan 'melody, tune']; M \*ayi > WrM ai, HIM ай 'sound, noise', WrO aitai 'with noise', Kl ə e<sup>-</sup> 'sound', {Rm.} a<sup>-</sup> 'sound, voice, tune'; ? M d \*ayilad- 'know, say' > WrM ailad-, HIM айлд-ax id.; ? M d \*ayalgu 'melody, pronunciation' > WrM ayalgu, HIM алгуй id., WrO ayalga(n), ayalxu, ayalyu 'sound, melody', Brt алга 'tone, voice, pronunciation'; M \*ayila- 'produce sounds' > Kl {Rm.} a<sup>-</sup>l-ḡa 'tönen, schreien, rufen; schwatzen', Dg

{T} aila- v. 'pronounce' ¶ Dg aila- points to the absence of initial \*ɸ- in the pM word ¶ MED 19, 20, 22, Kow. 127-8, Krg. 41-2, KRS 61, KW 25, Chr. 69-70, T DgJ 119 [‡, MYC 99] || pKo {S} \*o'ĩ-o'-v. 'recite' (suggesting a pA final rounded vw.) > MKo o'ĩ-o'- id., Nko oywu-weu- 'recite from memory, learn by heart' ¶ S QK #636, Nam 387, MLC 1223 ¶¶ DQA #419 (A \*e-yu'o 'speak, cry, sound'; incl. T, M, Ko) || IE: ? NaIE \*ai- > L a-i-o- 'say, affirm', Um AIU 'oracula' || Gk ἦν 'he spoke' (prs. 1s ἦμι, 2s ἦσι, Gk D 2s ἦτι) (unless these forms go back resp. to \*agi-o- and \*e-g-t, as supposed by WH and F) ¶ WH I 24-5, F I 636, ≠ EI 535 (L and Gk < IE \*h<sub>1</sub>eg- 'say').

**102. \*ʔa'lyV 'mother'** (originally a *LI*) (→ 'female', marker of fem. sex or fem. gender in nouns, pronouns and [originally as vocative] in verbs): **I. 'mother':** > **HS:** C {AD} \*ʔay(y)- > EC {Ss.} \*ʔa-yy- 'mother' > Sml a-y-o 'stepmother', Sml Mt {Lm.} a-yo id., 'uncle's wife, mother's sister', Sml My/Dgl {Lm.} a-y- 'mother', Rn {PG} a-yo, {Hn.} a-y-o, {Oo.} a-yo 'mother' (call-name), Bn a-y-o, Bs a-y-o, Or a-yy-o, Kns a-y-a- 'mother', Sa a-y-a 'elder sister', Hd ayy-a 'sister', ay-mine- 'mater familias', Kmb {C} aya- 'sister', Brj a-y-y-e- 'mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife', Hr/Dbs/Grs/Gwd {AMS} yayye, Gln {AMS} ya-ye 'mother' || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔa-yo-, {E} ayo, Alg, Brn iyo 'mother' ¶ Ss. B 22, Hn. S 51, Oo. 70, PG 59, LmS 305, Hd. 102, HL 79, AMS 258, Wh. IC 24, E SC 317, MQK 18 || NrOm: Wl/Zl/Gf {C} aye-, Gf {Mrn.} aye ~ aye ~ ay, Wl {LmS} a-yu-, Malo ʔayo, Dwr ay-to, Gm/Dc {LmS} a-yo 'mother'; ? Ym {Lm.} e-ta- ~ e-ti- 'sister', {Wdk.} e-ta- 'my sister' [if -tV is a marker of fem. (acc. to Lm.) or a ppa. 'my' (acc. to Wdk.); otherwise it belongs to N \*ʔatV 'female, woman', q.v.] ¶ C SE III 200, Lm. Y 326, LmS 305 || CCh: Zm {KNC} ya- 'mother; female' ¶ KNC 30 || **IE:** pGmc \*ai-θī 'mother' > Gt aipei, ON eiða id., OHG fuotar-eidī Nāhrmutter, wet-nurse' (fuotar 'food'), MLG eide 'mother'; pGmc \*ai-θī > F a-iti, Es eit (gen. eide), Lp L {LLO} eiti, Lp N Δ æi'de 'mother' ¶ Fs. E 20, Fs. 28-9, Vr. 95, Kb. 302, SK 1869 || ?? **U:** Sm: Kms {KD} iya, ya, {Cs.} ija, ja, En {Cs.} e-ʔ, {Dlx.} eʔ, {Ter.} e- 'mother' ¶ Cs. 54, 76, KD 22, KP 70-1 || **D** {Pf.} \*a-y 'mother' (→ 'woman') > Tm a-y, a-yi, Kn a-yi, Klm a-ly, Gdb a-ya-aya, Gnd ayal, Knd, Png, Mnd aya, Kui ai-a 'mother', Ku a(i)-ya 'woman', Krx ayo 'mother', Mlt ayya 'my mother' ¶¶ D #364, Pf. 20 [#82] ♦ It would be tempting to tie in Alt/Tlt/Shor {Rl.} a-ya- 'aunt, elder sister' (Rl. I 720), but this form does not belong here, because the intervocal cns. recorded by Rl. as -j- (i.e. -y-) is actually -ʒ- (voiced palatal affricate) < pT \*-j-, and the word should be reconstructed as NaT \*eje > StAlt, Tb, Qmn yd-e eʒ'e 'aunt, elder sister' (BT 189, B DChT 169, B DK 273), Qrg ez'e 'sister, cousin', Xk °q\_e iʒ'e 'mother', Tk ece 'queen', Tkm eʒ'e 'mother', Δ 'elder sister', etc. (ffd. ET Gl 231-5) ♦ AD NM #117, CNM 12 (÷ NrCs) || **III. marker of fem. (sex/gender):** > **HS: a)** HS \*-i fem. in pronouns of the 2nd pers.: [1] \*k-i 'thee' f. (→ 'thou' f. [clitic]) > S \*ki 'thee' in postverbal position > Ak, Ar -ki, BHb -k-, Gz -kī || WCh \*ki 'thee, thou' f. > Hs ki id. || BT: Ngm c'í, Dr {Nw.} ʒ'í, Tng ʒ'i-go 'thee' f. || Su yí id. || Ron \*ki 'thou' f., used as a subject px. > Klr k'í, Sha c'í, Fy, Bks, DfB s'í || ? but Eg OK cm, cn 'thee, thou' f. [enclitic] and cmt 'thou' f. [aut. prn.] do not necessarily belong here (c- < \*ki-), because the same c- is found in the prn. of 2m cw [encl.] (cp. Eg OK kwid.), and the fem. gender marker here is -m || [2] \*k-i 'thy' f. possessoris (enclitic) > S \*ki 'thy' > Ak, Ar -ki, Hb -k, Gz -kī || Eg OK -c 'thy' f. [-cV < \*ki] || C \*ki 'thy' f. > Bj -ki || EC: Hr -a-hi ¶ AMS 91 || WCh \*ki 'thy' f. > Hs (-n)-ki, (-r)-ki || BT: Krf c'í, Bl (s')s'í, Krkr (ti)c'í || Ron: Klr -m-ik', Sha -m-ic', -m-a-ac', Fy -is' 'thy' f. || [3] S \*an-t-i 'thou' f., aut. prn. > Ak atti, Ar ʔanti, Hb T6a2 ʔattə, Gz ʔantī || **b)** HS \*-ī fem. marker in verbs of the 2nd person > S \*-ī > Ak, Gz, Hb -ī, Ar -ī(-na), Mh -i, e.g. BHb 'k.u-m-ī 'stand up!' inv. 2f., ta-'ku-m-ī 'you [sg. f.] will stand up', Ar qu-l-ī 'say!' 2f, taqu-l-ī-na 'you [sg. f.] say, will say', Ak taprus-ī 'you [sg. f.] separated', Gz k.u-m-ī 'stand up!' [sg. f.],

tək.əwwəm-i 'you [sg. f.] are standing', Mh təmayt-i 'du [f.] stirbst' || C: Bj -i, e.g. ti-dir-i 'you [sg. f.] killed') **I c)** HS \*-i- ~ yV, marker of f. in pronouns of 3s > S \*-i- fem. in \*s'-i-ʔa 'she' (> Ak s'ī, Ar hiya, Ug hy, BHB aie5 hī, JA, Sr hī, Sb hyʔ) ↔ \*s'-u-ʔa 'he' > Ak s'u-, Ar huwa, Ug hw, BHB aue hu-, JA, Sr hu-, Sb hwʔi) || Eg O sy ({Lpr.}: \*siy) 'she; her (obj.)', enclitic prn. (↔ sw 'he') || C: Or B i'si 'she' (↔ i'sa- 'he'), Or T {Mrn.} -s'i ~ -s'e 'her' (px.) (↔ -sa 'his'), Sd {Mrn.} ise 'she' (↔ iso 'he') **I d)** HS \*-ay > S: Ar i-a -ay ([a-], OWA [-ay]), fem. marker in some adjectives and a numeral: îra90Cu s.uyray s.uyra- 'smaller' f. (↔ ʔas.ʔaru 'smaller' m.), îrak0Sa sakray sakra- 'drunken' f. (↔ sakra-nu id. m.), îLab0Hu h.ublay (traditional Ar [hubla-]), îLavù ʔu-lay ʔu-la- 'first' f. (↔ ʔawwalu id. m.), îdaH0i ʔih.day ʔih.da- 'one' f. (↔ ʔahad-un 'one' m.). As indicated by Sibawayhi (II 349), the spelling i-a (-ay) in the form îLab0Hu h.ublay 'pregnant' was pronounced in OWA (Hijaz) as -ay (hublay). Chaim Rabin (Rb. AWA 115-9) has shown that the same is true about any final i-a. But in the orthoepy of ClAr (based presumably on dialects other than OWA) i-a is pronounced [a-]. ¶¶ MSUS 102-9, AD PP 69-73, AD IPCV, AD EPCChL, Nw. KL 19, Ed. 70-81, Kr. RChP 69, 74-80, 85, J R 371-4, J S 88, Ap. ANE 8 (HS fem. marker \*-Vi- > \*-ay/-a-), Ed. 70-80, Lpr. 64-5 **II ??? K:** traces of a fem. sx. \*-ay may be discerned in the OG form igi-a(y) 'she' (Naum 2.7) ↔ igi 'that, he' [without opposition of sexes] and possibly in G c'.abuk -a 'girl' ↔ c'.abuk -i 'boy' ¶ DCh. 578, 1701, Dirr G 11 (fn. 1) **II IE:** NaIE \*-i, \*-i-, a nominal sx. of fem. (sex and gender): \*wl̥kʷ-i 'she-wolf' (> OI vr̥kī, ON ylgr < pGmc \*wulxʷi) <d- \*wl̥kʷo-s 'wolf' (> OI vr̥ka-h., Gk λυ'κοῦ, Lt wulf-s, Lt vilka-s, etc.), \*nept-i-s > OI nap't-i-h., gen. nap't-iy-ah, 'female descendant', L neptis, OHG nift 'niece'; ʔ also OI 'janitr-i 'genitrix', Gk γενε'τειρα, etc., as well BSl \*-i (< \*-i), fem. marker in active prtcs.: OCS мѣръши мѣръс'-i, Lt m'rus-i 'dying' (act. prt. nom. sg. f.) ¶ Brg. KVG 29-330, § 405, Me. SC § 403 **II A:** M {Pel.} \*-ay, marker of fem. sex of nouns: WrM sutu 'emperor' ↔ sutay 'empress', qutugtu 'saint man' ↔ qutugtay 'saint woman'; MM {Pp., Dr., Oz.} -y / -i, fem. marker of verbs [-b-i as fem. of the praet. perfecti ↔ non-feminine -ba/-be; -ligi--li/i as fem. of the prs. perfecti; -ku--y as fem. of ft. ↔ -ku- m.]; front harmonic vowels of words (possibly going back to a sx. \*-e) as a marker of female sex: WrM aqa 'elder male relative (elder brother, uncle)' ↔ eke 'elder female relative, mother', gatulgagci 'liberator (transporting across water)' ↔ {Vld.} getu'lgeci 'liberatrix, salvatrix' (epithet of the goddess Tara) ¶ Pp. IM 265-7, Pp. MM 101, Dr. SB 62-3, 68, Vld. SGR v, Vld. 133-4, Pel. VNS, KW 3, 118, Snz. SGR 73-4, Oz. GHMDG || Tg: front (closed) harmonic vowels denoting female sex: WrMc dehema 'uncle' ↔ deheme 'aunt', amila 'male bird' ↔ emile 'female bird', haha 'man' ↔ hehe 'woman', {Sun.} arsalan 'lion' ↔ erselen 'lioness', Nn aṇpa 'father-in-law' ↔ ʔṇpʔ 'mother-in-law', aga 'elder brother' ↔ ʔgʔ 'mother-in-law' ¶ STM I-II, Z 801, Sun. M 171 ¶¶ The M pair aqa ↔ eke and the Nn aga 'elder brother' ↔ ʔgʔ 'elder sister' may be explained away as Lallwörter, but this is not the case in most other aforementioned M and Tg words ♦ D and A (D \*a and M and Tg marker of female sex \*-e-) suggest pN \*a-.

**103. \*ʔey'o-** 'come' > HS: Eg fOK iʔ v. 'come' > DEg iʔ > Cpt: Sd ei, B i id.; Vc. vocalizes the inf. of this verb as \*iʔyi.t; Eg fOK iʔ v. 'come' > DEg iʔ id.; Cpt ei ei v. 'come' may go back to the Eg verbal noun iʔw.t; acc. to Vc., Cpt B/Sd ʔaʔʔo tauo v. 'send' goes back to DEg ty iʔ 'send' < Eg \*dy.t iʔw-a 'faire qu'(il) vienne'; acc. to Ed. and Vc., Eg iʔ and iʔw are two different, albeit akin, verbs ¶ EG I 37, 44, Er. 18, 20, Ed. §§ 456, 724, Vc. 59-60, 223 || B \*/ʔyʔw > ETwl ʔyo-əyʔo, Ty ʔyo-iyo 'come!' (imv. 2s), imv. 2pm ETwl ʔyowʔt ~ ʔyew(w)ʔt ~ əyʔowʔt, Ty ʔyowat ~ (ʔ)ʔyʔwat ~ yowʔt; Mz əyya 'come' (imv. 2s), imv. 2pm əyyat; Iz imv. eo 'come!'; Pr. mentions ETwl pf. intens. iʔay v. 'come' ¶ GhA 205, Dlh. M 241, Zl. KÄLV 120, Pr. H #441 || C: Bj ʔi-/ʔe- scv. 'come': Bj A {ADP} p. 3m 'ʔe-ya '(he) came', Bj {R}

p. 3m 'e-ya, 3f 'e-ta, 3p 'e-ya<sup>n</sup>, {Rop.} p. 1s i-'an, 2m 'e-ta, 2f 'e-ta<sup>i</sup>, 3m 'ea, 3f 'e-ta, 1p 'e-na, gerund ʔi-a, pp. ʔi-e [Roper often does not indicate the initial ʔ-, because "the hamzah is very elusive"], Bj B {Alm.} p. ʔi- :: EC: Sd {C, Mrn., Gs.} eʔ- v. 'go in, enter'; ?? Arr pcv. -iʔit- / -eʔet- (ipv. ʔi't) 'go' (× N \*ʔodU 'go', q.v. ffd.) ¶ AD SF 184, R WBd 3, R BedS II 41-2, Rop. 79, ADP BFN, C SE II 184, Gs. 89, Hw. A 451-9 || Om: SOM: Hm {Fl.} y-, Ari Gll {Bnd.} ay- 'go' :: NrOm: Wl {LmS} y-, Bdt/Zs/Cha/Zl {C, Mrn., LmS}, Hrr, Malo, Mj {Fl.} y- v. 'come', Ym {Wdk.} inf. yo' / yo', 2s ye', Bdt {Fl.} yo, Oyda {Fl.} yiʔ/yi-, Male {Fl.} yeʔ, Bnc {Wdk.} 2s yeʔ- id. ¶ AD SF 184, Fl. OO 318, Fl. OWL, C SE IV 88, 208, C SO 36, 45, 51, 64, 69, Blz. OL #207 (Om \*yi-/\*ʔi-), Wdk. BY 113, 139, Bnd. AL 151 [#33] || Ch {Stl.} \*yaʔ-/\*yaw- 'go' > WCh: Hs ya'-ka' 'come here!', ??? ya'-wa' 'wander trough' : Ywm ya 'go' : Dr {Nw.} ya i- 'arrive', Krf yow-, {Stl.} yeʔey 'go' : Ngz {Sch.} ya' 'go' : Bg {Csp.} yu we'y 'run' : DfB {J} yu' 'go' :: CCCh: Db {Lnh.} ya-, Kola {Sb.} ...ya... v. 'come' : Ms {Mch.} ya v. 'come, go' :: ECh: Tmk {Cp.} ye' 'run', [+Ll e-], Tbn {Cp.} yz' 'walk' ¶ Stl. IF 143, JI II 82-3, ChL, Nw. 24 [#27] (Ch \*ya 'come' imv.), Nw. KL 135, Abr. H 942, 952, Sch. DN 174, Csp. 64, J R 223 [+], Blz. LECh #92 || IE \*ʔei-/\*ʔi- ({EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>ei-) v. 'go' > Ht i-, (i)y-, Lw, HrLw i- || NaIE \*ei-/\*i- > OI e-/i-/y- (prs. 3s 'e-ti, 1p i-'mah, 3p 'y-anti) v. 'go', Av ae-ti, OPrs aitiy 'goes' :: Gk ei-/i- v. 'go' (prs. 3s εἶμι, 1p ἵ-μεν) :: L i-/i- id. (prs. 2s ī-s, imv. ī-, prtc. i-ens) :: Gt iddja 'I went' :: Pru e-isei 2s prs. 'gehst', Lt ei- (OLT ei'-ti 'goes'), Ltv ei'-mu<sup>d</sup> ie'-mu 'I go', Ltv C/E ie'-t, Ltv W ie'-ti v. 'go' : pSl inf. \*jy'-ti / prs. \*jy'-d-o. 'go' > OCS ити iti/ prs. иѣ ido, SCR ic'i / i'-de-m, Slv i'ti, Cz jiti / jdu, P is'c', R иѣти / иѣду, Blg prs. иѣ :: pTc {Ad.} \*i- 'go, travel' > Tc A i-, Tc B i-/ya- id.; d pTc {Ad.} rdp. \*(y)iya- > Tc A {Wn.} ya- 'aller, rouler, voyager' (past prtc. ya'yo), B {Wn., Ad.} [rdp.] \*iya- 'go, travel' ¶ P 293-7, EI 227-8, Mn. 234, Pv. I-II 325-35, M K I 128, F I 462-3, Fs. 88-9, ME II 79, Frn. 119, En. 165, Tp. P E-H 20-2, Glh. 273, Wn. 589, Ad. 60-1, 66-7, Ad. H 54, 65 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) \*yu'-i-we- v. 'come' > OHg jo'', NHg jo'-n (jo''vo'k, jo''ttem) id., pObU \*yu'wV - \*yiwV v. 'come' > pVg \*yi-/\*yi'w-/ya'-y- v. 'come' > Vg: T yi-/yu'w-<sup>d</sup> ya'w-/ya'-y-, LK/MK/UK yi-/yiw-/ya'-y-, P yi-/yiy-/ya'-y-/ya'-y-, SV yi-/ya'-y-/ya'-y-, UL yi-/yay-, Ss yi-/yuw-/yay-; pOs {Ht.} \*yo'-/\*yo'-y- ({Hl.} \*yu'- / \*yu'-y-) v. 'come' > Os: V/Vy yo'-/yo'-x-, Ty yo'-/yo'-x-/ye'-x-, Y yo'-/ye'-x-/ye'-w-, D ye'-, K ye'-/ye'-w-, Nz yi-/yi'w-/yu'w-, Kz yi'-, yu'w-, O yi- v. 'come' ¶ MF 340-1, UEW 109, Ht. 140 [#169], Hl. rHt 67-8, 72-4 ¶ IS I 267 (U \*ye'-ye, *unt.* in the light of new achievements in FU hist. phoology), ¶ MF 340-1 & UEW 109 [FU \*yEp]xV ({UEW} \*jʕʕʕ, \*jʕʕʕ) based on *unc.* adduction of F/Es ja'a- v. 'remain']; IS supposed that the U stem is derived from the expected U ieyV-, like IE \*yeh- (i.e. \*ʔyeh-) v. 'walk, go' [> Ht (i)ya-(tta) id., OI ya-ti 'goes', Lt jo'-ti 'to ride', Tc A ya- 'go, travel'] < IE \*ʔey- || H \*i- > Tg \*i- v. 'enter' > Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn, Ewk, Sln, Lm, Neg i- id. ¶ STM I 293 || M: d' : (1) \*i-re- v. 'come' > MM, WrM ire-, HIM, Dx, Ord ire-, Kl, Dg ir-, Mnr H, Ba re-, Mgl ira'-d-ira-, {Wr.} ira--ire- ¶ Iw. 107, MED 413, H 82-3, Rm. M 29, Wr. 168, Klz. D I 110, T 356, KW 209 || (2) \*i-le- v. 'go, go away' (> MM [S, SMD] ile- id., ʔ H 81, H SMD 53) d \*ile-ge- v. 'send' > MM [S, MA] ile-, [HI] ile-, WrM ilege-, HIM ilgee-, Kl ilge- ¶ Ms. H 62-3, MED 404, KW 207, Pp. MA 195-6, 438 ¶ Pp. IAL 117, S AJ 292 [#482] || D {Km.} \*ey- v. 'arrive, reach' (→ v. 'obtain'), d {Km.} \*ey-t- > Knd i-, Png ika-, Ku e-, Kdg etti, Klm end-, Prj e-d<sup>d</sup>e-y-, Gdb ed- v. 'arrive', Gnd ev-<sup>d</sup> av-<sup>d</sup> awwa-na-, Kui epa- / et- v. 'reach, arrive', OTl {Km.} eydu- ~ eyidu- ~ e-du- v. 'reach, go to', v. 'obtain', Tl e-tencu v. 'come, arrive, go', Tm eytu v. 'approach, reach, obtain', Ml eytuka v. 'obtain', ettal, ettu 'reaching', Td ic-, Tu ettə, ekkə v. 'reach', Kn ay-du, eydu v. 'approach, reach' ¶ D #809, Em. DIL 104-110, Km. 308 [#168] ♦ Cf. AD LRC (HS, IE, A), IS I 265-7 [HS (Eg, B, C, Ch), IE, D, A (M, Tg), ? U] ♦ Gr. II #177 (\*i ~ \*ya 'go') [IE, U, A, Ko, J, EA + *unc.* Ko].

**104.**  ${}_2$  \*ʔezʰekU 'thorn, hook' (→ 'tooth') > **HS:** S \*sʰikk- 'thorn, pin, nail' [× N ʔʔ₂ \*cʰuK.E 'thorn, point (> blade), summit'] > BHb K6B4\* sʰek\_\* (pl. Mikʰ5B5 sʰikʰkīm) 'thorn', JA akʰ1x5 ~ akʰ1ix sikʰk-a-, at1kʰ6x5 ~ at1kʰ6ix5 sikk-əʰt\_-a- 'thorn, peg, nail of a tent', SmA skh 'thorn', Ar ékW\$ī sʰikk-at- 'sharp weapon, edge', Ak sʰikk-at-u 'Spitze' (aphaeresis pS \*sʰikk- < \*ʔisʰikk-, like in pS \*ʰp- 'mouth' < \*ʔap-, cp. C \*ʔap- 'mouth') ¶ GB 785, KB 1236, KBR 1326, Js. 988, 993, Tal 585, BK I 1256-7, Lv. III 521, L G 529, Sd. 1234 || C {AD} \*ʔisʰikʰw- [{E} \*ʔisʰikʰw-] 'tooth' > SC: Kz isʰikuko, pl. isʰikʰwa, Asa liga, bʰ Mb iʔiʰke id. || EC {Ss.} \*ʔilk- id. > Sa ik-o, Sml ilig, pl. ilk-o, Rn {Oo., PG} iʰlaʰ (pl. iʰlk-oʰ) 'tooth', Elm ilk-oʔ, Arr {Hw.} ʔilig (pl. ʔilk-oʰ), ilkwa id., Or ilk-a-ni 'teeth', Kns ilk-itta, Gdl ilh-itt, ilh-a, Sd hink-o, Alb ink\_-u, Kmb ink-e, Hd ink\_-e-, Brj irk\_-a-, Hr/DBs {AMS} ʔilgakkōʰ (pl. iʰlge) id., Gln {AMS} ʔiʰlke, Gwd ʔiʰlq-e, Bs {HL} ilk-o 'teeth' || Ag {AD} \*ʔɜʰkʰw-, {Ap.} \*ʔɜʰrkʰw- 'tooth' > Bln {Plm.} ʔɜʰrkʰwi, Xm {R} erəkʰw, {Ap.} ɜʰrkʰw, Q {R} yerəkʰw, Km {Ap.} ɜʰrkʰwɜ, Aw {Hz.} ɜʰrkʰwi id. || Bj {R} ayəkʰw 'a front tooth' ¶ AD SCLC 203-4, AD SF 132, Ap. AV 5, Ss. PEC 12, 22, 40, Ss. B 106, Bl. 164, 190, Hw. A 341, HL 66, PG 151, Oo. 72, AMS 165, 205, 281, E PC #342, E SC 292 (s.v. SC \*ʔisʰikʰwa id.) || **А:** Tg \*elgu 'hook (for pulling fish out of a net)', (← ?) 'bear's fang' > Neg ɜlgu/ɜ 'hook, bear's fang', Ewk ɜlgu, Lm ɜlgʰ-ɜlgʰ 'fish-spear', Orc ɜggu, Ul ɜlɜʰu, Ork ɜldu, Nn ɜlgu 'hook' ¶ STM II 445-6 || M \*elgu- v. 'hang on (sth.)', hook' > WrM elgu- v. 'hang, hang on (a nail)', elgu-n qada- 'to nail onto (as pictures to the wall)', HlM oʰlgo- id. ('вешат, под- \при-вешиват') [+, Mnr E {MYC} olgo- 'hang, suspend'] ¶ MED 309, Luv. 319 [+, MYC 543] || ? NaT \*il- v. 'hang on (sth.)' > OT il- , {Cl.} to hatch sth. (wuth the hand, a hook, etc.), {DTS} '(под-, за-)цеплѣт; ловит (хрчѣѣми)', Tkm il- vi. 'hook, fasten upon (при- \за-цеплѣтѣтсѣ) ', Yk il- vt. 'hang up, load (animal's back) with', Qmq, Qrg, Qrql, Nog, Uz, ET, Tk Δ il-, Qzq °л- ыл-, VTt, Bsh ыл- ыл-, Xk °л- ил- v. 'hang on', StAlt il- 'hatch sth.' ('за- \под-цепит') ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 125, ET Gl 343-6, BT 63, BIG 67 ¶¶ SDM95 (\*eʰlku v. 'hang on, hang on hook'); □ SDM97 [A\*\*oʰl(k)i id.] and □ DQA #648 (A \*iʰoʰle id.) [in both papers M \*elgu- and T \*il- are unconvincingly equated with Tg \*ol- 'hook for hanging kattle; to hang over fire' and Ko \*ori 'a fishing hook for several barbs'; in fact, Tg \*ol- and Ko \*ori belong to N \*ʔoʰLV 'bough, hook', q.v.) ♦ AD NM #90, Vv. AEN 5-6, cf. AD PNCPh #53

**105.**  ${}_2$  \*ʔuɜʰV 'hear', (→?) 'ear' > **HS** \*\*ʔuɜʰ-(Vn)- > S \*ʔuðan- 'ear' > Ak uz-n, Hb Nzʰ7a 'ʔozen, Ug ʔuðn (= \*ʔuðn-), JA [Trg.] Nd2ua ʔuð\_n-an, JA [Trg.], JEA em. an1d6ua ʔuð\_n-a-, Sr ʰnōðæe ʔed\_n-a-, SmA ʔdn, Ar ʰ30ū ʔuðn-, OSA ʔðn, Gz AZN ʔəzn, pl. AzN ʔəzan, Jb C {Jo.} ʔiʰd\_en, Mh ʰɜyðe\_n, dim. ʔiðe\_noʰt, Hrs ʰɜyðe\_n, Sq {Jo.} ʔɜd(ɜ)han ¶ DRS 10, KB 27, A #89, OLS 9-10, Js. 22, Sl. 85, Tal 9-10, Lv. I 30, BGMR 2, L G 52, Jo. M 3, Jo. H 1, MiK I #1.4 || Eg idn 'ear' ([ink]... s3m ɜrw mʰ idn ggwy 'I am he who hears a sound\voice like an attentive ear' [Coffin Texts 7.30k [from Vc. p.c.], ʰ Gilula 'IE 251), idn hier. \*'ear' ¶ EG I 154, Tk. I 83-4, 248, □ 37 || C: Ag \*was- v. 'hear' > Bln was-, Xm waʰsʰ-, Km was- id. || ?? SC: Kz wato 'ear' [+, (unless akin to Asa yot-, Dhl ʔeʰet-it- 'hear, Af ayti 'ear')] ¶ Ap. AV 22, E K 15 [+, Blz. CL 178 ] || Om {Blz.} \*\*wayz- (= {AD} \*wayɜʰ-) 'ear; to hear' > NrOm: Male wayz-, Kf waʰy- ({Lm.}: -y- < \*-z-), Ym {Wdk.} weʰ-soʰ ~ weʰ-s-oʰ v. 'hear', Mch waʰɜʰɜʰi 'ears' (?) (in waʰɜʰɜʰi 'k.a.kko 'earring'), ? waʰ-mo 'ear', Cha {C} waʰy, Zs, Zrg waye, Bsk wəyci, Doka wayci, Bdt waʰeʰ id., Shn {Lm.} waʰza 'ear' ¶ Blz. OLBP 11 [#28], L M 56, Lm. Sh. 407, Lm. Y 473, C SE III 87, 177, Wdk. BY 138, Ap. AV 22 || **IE** \*ʔhou\_s- / \*ʔhus- ({EI} \*ʰhou\_s- / gen. \*ʰheu\_s-s or \*ʰAu's-os) 'ear' > NaIE \*ou\_s- / \*oʰu\_s- / \*us- [/? \*əu\_s-] id. > Av usʰi, OPrs usʰi nom. du. 'both ears', KhS uʰi 'intelligence' || Gk: A οφϑ, D ωϑ 'ear' || Arm unkn unkn 'ear' (-kn on the analogy of akn akn 'eye') || pAl {O} \*wau\_si, {Huld} \*vesʰ- 'ear' > MAI G [FB], Al T/G vesh || Lauris 'ear' || OIr au (later oʰ) || Gt ausoʰ,

ON eyra, AS e'are, NE ear, OHG o-ra, OSx o'ra, NHG Ohr; Lt ausi's, Ltv a'uss, Pru ausins; pSl \*u<sup>h</sup>xo (du\pl. \*u<sup>h</sup>s'i) > OCS *oxyxo* uxo (du.\pl. *oxyxi* us'i), Blg *yoxo*, SCr *u'ho*, Slv *uho*, R 'yxo, Uk *oxyxo*, Cz, Slk, P *ucho* ¶ P 785, EI 173, Mn. 43, Bai. 35, Vn. A 99-100, WH I 85-6, F II 448-9, Fs. 69, Vr. 107-8, Ho. 85, Ho. S 57, OsS 666, Kb. 747, KM 521, Slr. 54-5, SchmB EV 37, Hamp EAlb 138, O 501, Huld 127, Frn. 26, En. 149, Vs. IV 179, Glh. 651 ¶ In L and Ir *aw-* is either a special development of \*ow- with a non-apophonic \*o [cp. Hirt IG II 30, BD I/1 153, 193 (\*a<sup>o</sup>us- = \*ou<sub>s</sub> with non-apophonic \*o)], or some kind of delabializing *dis* (≠ Mart. EChPh 229), or reflex of \*\*əu<sub>s</sub>- (in a zero-grade \*\*əu<sub>s</sub>-?), Szem. SM I 45 [hyp.: \*au<sub>s</sub>- is original and \*o- in \*ou<sub>s</sub>- (> Gk *oxy*) is due to the infl. of \*ok<sup>w</sup>- 'eye'].

**106. \*ʔu<sup>h</sup>ʔʔ** (or \*ʔu<sup>h</sup>ʔʔʔ) 'throat; to swallow' (→ 'mouth') > **HS:** S \*ʔʔʔʔ > Ar ʔʔʔʔ *G* (pf. ʔazaʔa) 'rassassier (les moutons)' ¶ BK I 28, DRS 13 || ʔʔ Eg Md *izw* 'Schilfrohr', Eg G *iz.t* 'Luftrohr, Schlund' (if the meaning 'throat' is primary) ¶ EG I 127-8 || Om *u<sup>h</sup>uc<sup>h</sup>.c<sup>h</sup>v.* 'drink' > SOM: Hm B {Fl.} *wzc<sup>h</sup>.--wu-c<sup>h</sup>.*, Bako, Ub, Gll {Fl.} *wzc<sup>h</sup>.* || NrOm: Cha {Fl., C}, Bdt, Bsk, Zs {C} *us<sup>h</sup>.*, Bdt {Fl.} *us<sup>h</sup>.*, Hrr {Gr.} *wus<sup>h</sup>.*, Ym {C, Fl.} *us<sup>h</sup>.*, {Wdk.} *us<sup>h</sup>a*, Shn {C} *us<sup>h</sup>.*, Shn {Fl.} *Anf* {Fl.} *u-s<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>.*, {MYTY} *uco*, *uc-*, Kf {C} *uy-/uc<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>.*, {Fl.} *uc<sup>h</sup>.*, Mch {L} ʔu<sup>h</sup>ssi-, Bnc {Wdk.} *us<sup>h</sup>(k)-v.* 'drink' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'drink', C SE IV 393, L M 20, MYTY 119, 122, Wdk. BY 112, 137, 150 [†||] ʔʔʔ SC: Irq {MQK} *isa* (pl. *is-o<sup>h</sup>*) 'neck' (esp. 'back part of the neck'), Brn *isa*, Kz *isito*, Asa *isat* 'neck' ¶ E SC 283, MQK 57 || **IE** \*ʔhoʔhw(e)s- or \*ʔhowʔh(e)s- ({Pv.} \*A<sub>1</sub><sup>w</sup>eE<sub>1</sub>es- / \*A<sub>1</sub><sup>w</sup>eE<sub>1</sub>s-, {EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>4</sub>oh<sub>1</sub>(e)s / gen. *h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>4</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>'s-os*) 'mouth' > \*Hoi<sub>s</sub>- id. (= \*ʔhoys-) > Ht *ais*, gen. *iss-as* (s-stem), Lw *as(sa)-* 'mouth' (?) || NaIE \*o<sup>h</sup>u<sub>s</sub>-/\*əu<sub>s</sub>- 'mouth' > OI *a<sup>h</sup>* (= *a<sup>h</sup>s*), *a<sup>h</sup>s'yam*, Av *a<sup>h</sup>-h-* || L *o<sup>h</sup>s*, *o<sup>h</sup>ris* || OIr *a<sup>h</sup>* 'mouth' || AS *o<sup>h</sup>r* 'beginning, origin; forehead', ON *o<sup>h</sup>s* 'mouth of a river' |→ \*əws-ta<sup>h</sup> 'lip' > OI *o<sup>h</sup>s.t.ha-h* 'lip', Av *aos'ta-*, *aos'tra-* id. || L *o<sup>h</sup>stium* 'entrance' || Lt *uo<sup>h</sup>stas*, *uosta* 'mouth of a river, golf (Haff)', Ltv *osts*, *o<sup>h</sup>sta* 'haven', Pru *austo* 'mouth', *austin* 'mouth of an animal'; pSl \*us'ta pl. 'mouth' > OCS *oxyta* *usta*, Blg, R *yc<sup>h</sup>ta*, SCr, Slv *u<sup>h</sup>sta*, Cz, Slk *u<sup>h</sup>sta*, P *usta*, Uk *byc<sup>h</sup>ta* ¶¶ Pv. I-II 15-7, P 784, EI 387, M K I 84, 133, WH II 224-8, Vr. 421, Ho. 241, Frn. 1167, Tp. P A-D 172-4, En. 149, Glh. 656, Vs. IV 172, Vn. A 4, Ped. H § 41, Ts. E I 6-8, Kron. VLHS 42 [†, Ivn, SA 154] ¶ NaIE \*o<sup>h</sup>ws-/\*əws- suggests N \*ʔu<sup>h</sup>ʔʔʔ || **A** {SDM95} \*ic<sup>h</sup>ʔʔ (?) > T \*ic<sup>h</sup>-v. 'drink' > OT, Tkm, Az, Qrg, Uz, ET, Tv *ic<sup>h</sup>.*, Tk *ic<sup>h</sup>.*, VTt *y<sup>h</sup>-* (\*) *bs<sup>h</sup>-*, Bsh *bs-*, Yk *is-*, Chv *eÄ<sup>h</sup>-* *bs<sup>h</sup>/z<sup>h</sup>-* v. 'drink' ¶ Cl. 195, Rs. W 168, DTS 201, ET Gl 391, Jeg. 66, Fed. II 159, SDM95 s.v. (?) \*ic<sup>h</sup>ʔʔ 'drink' ♦ The glottalized -c<sup>h</sup>- in SOM, the vl. -c<sup>h</sup>- in NrOm and the fortis \*-c<sup>h</sup>- in A (for the expected voiced cnss.) seem to go back to the cluster \*-ʔʔʔʔ-.

**107. \*ʔʔʔʔ** (= \*ʔʔʔʔʔ) 'grow, become' (→ 'be') > **HS:** Eg ʔʔ ʔʔ v. 'grow, become great\much' → 'be great\much' (Vc. interprets the verb as a triradical ʔʔʔʔ on the ev. of Cpt) > DEg ʔʔ id. > Cpt Sd/B/L *ai<sup>h</sup>ai* *ai<sup>h</sup>ai*, F *ai<sup>h</sup>ei* *ai<sup>h</sup>ei* 'grandir, avancer dans l'âge, être honoré', qualificative OCpt *oi oi*, *ai<sup>h</sup>ei* *ai<sup>h</sup>ei*, Cpt A *ai<sup>h</sup>ey* *iew*, *ai<sup>h</sup>ei* *ai<sup>h</sup>ei*, Sd/B *oi oi* 'large, big';→ Eg ʔʔ ~ ʔʔy (prtc.) 'great, much' (on the spelling ʔʔy cf. Ed. § 337) > Cpt Sd/B m. *o o*, f. *w o<sup>h</sup>*; the Eg set phrase *pr-ʔʔ* 'big house' (→ 'palace' → 'king') has been preserved in Cpt Sd/A/L *ppo* *ro* ~ *epo* *ero*, B *oxyro* *uro* 'king', Ak *pirʔu*, Gk [Hdt.] *Φερω<sup>h</sup>*, AnchB *eorf* \*parə'fo<sup>h</sup> 'Pharaon' > BHB [Mas.] *e7or6p2* *par'fo<sup>h</sup>* and Gk [LXX] *Φαραω*, [JF] *Φαραω<sup>h</sup>* ¶ EG I 161-3, 516, Fk. 37, Er. 53, Vc. 5-6, 154, 177, GB 660-1, KB 913-4 ¶¶ ≠ Vc. 5-6 (Eg ʔʔ ÷ S \*ʔʔly v. 'rise') || B \*ʔhʔʔ (= Pr.'s *ʔh<sub>2</sub>h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>*) v. 'be in' > Ah *əh*, pf. int. *iha*, Tnsl, Ty, ETwl, Gh pf. int. *iha* id. ¶ Pr. H #119, Fc. 495-8, GhA 77 || **A**: M \*a-v. 'be' (× N \*ʔa 'become, be', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Not here Tg \*o<sup>h</sup>- v. 'become, happen' [< N \*how'i 'become, appear' (q.v. ffd.)] || **D** {Km.} \*a<sup>h</sup>-v. 'become, be' (× N \*ʔa id.?) > Tm *a<sup>h</sup>*, Kn *a<sup>h</sup>gu* 'come into existence, happen, be', Ml *a<sup>h</sup>kuka* 'be(come) that', Kt *a<sup>h</sup>-*, Kdg *a<sup>h</sup>g-/a-*, ? Td *o<sup>h</sup>x-/o-* 'become', Tu *a<sup>h</sup>pini* (2n p. *a<sup>h</sup>n.d.ɔ*) 'be, become, happen', Tl *agu*, *avu*, *Kn<sup>h</sup>*, *Png*, *Mnd*, *Ku a<sup>h</sup>-*, *Kui*

a-va- 'be, become', Klm an- 'be (in a place), be (so-and-so)', Nkr and-, Nk an-, Gnd a-, Brh aan-/ar-/ as-/a- 'be' ¶¶ D #333, Km. 277 [#2], Cald. 355-6 ¶¶ Not here Kn, Tl a-gu v. 'be, become' [probably from D \*a-k- < N \*hakfV 'stand, stop, stay, be' (q.v.)]. In D both roots have formed one suppletive paradigm ✧ Cf. IS I 243: D, A. IS reconstructs N \*ʔa 'become, be' and assumes that there is a connection between monosyllabicity of the stem and its function as an aux. word (a copula?). To my mind, this connection does exist, but it is not original, but rather a result of later development. There is a universal tendency of shortening syntactic words (cp. IE \*esti 'is' > Rum i\_e, New Arm i\_e; in New G the verbum substantivum ar(i)s has been shortened to -a when used as a copula). But in our case there was no need in special extra-normal shortening, since in D and A the lrs. were lost (with compensatory lengthening of the vw.). K \*q- < a cluster i g?-

**108. \*ʕeʔu** 'female breast, bosom' > **HS** \*ʕiʔb- > CS \*ʕubb- 'bosom' (or sim.) > JA [Trg.] aBlua ʔubʔa- {Lv.} 'Schoß, Inneres, Brust, Busen', {Js.} 'bosom, lap', JEA ʔubba- 'bosom', JPA Bz ʔubba- 'breast', Sr ʔ:əʔuə {PS} ʔubb-a- 'bosom, lap, womb', Ar ʔwOu ʔubb- 'neck of a sleeve' ({Fr.} 'manicae inferior pars eiusque radix'), {Bel.} 'base de la manche', 'sein' ¶ Lv. T II 195, Js. 1046, Sl. 84, Sl. P 397, Br. 503-4, SJPS 403, Fr. III 95, BK II 148, Bel. 468, ¶ MiK I #1.104 [S \*ʔa/ub(ab)- 'bosom, chest, dewlap'; adduces Ar ʔabab- 'chaire pendante sous le menton; gorge', ʔ BK II 429] || ? B \*-bbV- (< {ʔPr.} \*-ybV- - \*wbV-) 'female breast' > Sll ti-bbī-t, pl. ti-bba-t-in, Tgn {La.} (not Gh, as erroneously mentioned in IS I 275 and AD SF 146!) a-bbui-, pl. i-bbui- (unless developed from Lallwörter independently in Sll and Tgn) ¶ Ds. 258, La. MChB 115-6 || EC: Sml {R} ib ~ ʔib, Sml B {AD}, new StSml (based on Sml B) {DSI} ib, ibbo 'nipple' ¶ AD SF 146, DSI 321, R SS II 7; IS I 275 (*unc.* ʔ: the Sml word ʔb Ar) || Ch: CCh \*wʔub. 'female breast': Lmn {Mch.} wuʔwa, wuʔba, {Lk.} uʔb.a; McMDr: Mdr {Kr.} ʔub.a, Glv {Rp.} uʔba, {Kr.} ʔuʔb.a, Gv {Kr.} wuʔb.a, {IL} uʔb.a, Dgh {Frk.} wʔb.a, Nkc {Blg.} wub.a; BM: BuP {ChC} uʔwa, Bu/Cb {Kr.} ʔuʔw.a, Mrg {IL in ChC} ʔwʔwa, Ngx, Wmd ʔuw.a; McHigi: FIK {Kr.} ʔuʔwa, HgNk ʔuw.a; ? Ktk: Lgn {Lk.} iʔwaye; Suk {Mk.} waʔ, {IL} waʔ ¶ JS 53 (Ch \*ʔwb.), JI II 46-7, ChC, ChL ¶ Ch \*b, < \*\*ʔb < \*ʔ...b (*mte*) ¶¶ Coh. #56 (S, C), AD SF 146 (C, S, Ch, B) || **K**: pGZ {K} \*ube- ~ \*uba- {AD} 'bosom, lap, female breast' > OG, G ube- 'bosom, lap, hem (of clothes)', Mg (l)uba-, lʔba- 'bosom', Lz uba-, oba- 'female breast, bosom' ¶¶ K 185, K<sup>2</sup> 195, Abul. 416-7, DCh.1236, Chx. 1385, Q 274, Marr 192 || **A** \*ebuʔ-: 1) M \*ebuʔ-r 'breast, bosom' > MM [S] ebur 'breast, bosom, front', WrM ebuʔ-r ~ oʔbuʔ-r, HIM 'b' p 'breast, bosom, front, lap', Kl 'bp oʔwr. 'bosom, breast', ? Mnr H {SM} yer 'breast, bosom'; IS assumes that M \*ebuʔ-r goes back to a plural form, with \*-r being an ancient A plural marker; 2) M \*eb-ci-yuʔn > MM [HI] ebcʔeʔuʔn 'breast' ({Ms., Lew.} 'poitrine'), [S] {H} ebceʔu(n) 'Brust', WrM ebciguʔ(n), HIM 'bʔ\*\* (H) 'sternum, chest', Kl 'bʔ\*\*H oʔwcuʔn 'sternum', Ord oʔb\_cʔuʔ, Shrn isʔcʔu, Mnr H {SM} sʔʔ\_i\_uʔ 'poitrine, poitrail' ¶ MED 628, H 40-1, H SMG I 28, KRS 409-10, KW 303, SM 492, Ms. H 51, Lew. II 12 ✧ C and M suggest a front vw. in the first syll. (most probably \*e). In S, Ch and K the vw. \*u is due to the ass. infl. of \*b (as well as possibly of the labial vw. of the second syll.). S \*ʕ- and K initial zero suggest a pN \*ʕ- (rather than \*ʔ- yielding S \*ʕ- and K \*ʔ-). Cf. AD LRC #56 [HS (S, C), K, M]; IS I 275 [HS (S, B, Ch), K, M]. In some lgs. (e.g. Ch and B) the word got a *LI* connotation, but I do not share IS's opinion that the ʔ is of onomatopœic origin.

¶ **108a. ? ± \*ʔVCuʔVʔP** 'salt' > **HS**: C: EC: pSam {Hn.} \*ʔusuʔbo (in Hn. S) or \*usuʔubo (in Hn. BD) 'salt' > Sml ʔusbo, pBn \*uʔsuʔuʔbʔ 'salt' > Bn: Bi usuʔuʔbʔ, J/Kj usuʔbbʔ id.; Or {Grg.} asʔʔabo- 'salt', {Brl.} asʔʔabo- 'salsedine, sale marino sciolto' (-bʔ Anf asʔʔaʔbo 'salt'); ??ʔ Rn cʔiʔmbi 'salt' || Ag \*cʔw (Ap.) \*cʔaw 'salt' > {Ap.}: Bln, Q sʔəwa, Xm cʔəwa, Awn cʔiʔwi id.; Ag -bʔ Gz sʔəw 'salt, salty land', Tgy, Amh cʔəw, Tgr cʔəwa 'salt' ¶ Or asʔʔabo- may be a loan from NrOm ¶ Hn. S 78, Hn. BD 125, Grg. 20, Brl. 29, Ap.

AV 20-1, L G 565 || NOM: Mch {L} 'hic' iwo, Kf {Cc.} ic'ewo ~ ic'ebo 'salt' ¶ R K 255, L M 34 ¶¶ Blz.

SAAII R: OJ {Mr.} sipu\_o 'salt' > J s'io id.; OJ b- Ainu sippo ¶ Mr. J 525 II D \*cupp- (/'GS} \*-) 'salt' > Tm, Ml, Kn, Tu, Tl uppu, Kt, Td up, Kdg uppi, Klm, Nk sup, Nkr supp, Prj cup, Gdb sup<sup>d</sup> cuppu ¶¶ D #2674

◆ The equation between HS, J and D has been proposed by Blazjek (Blz. DA 163 [#112].)

**109. ? \*Ø'a'c. 'E** 'to blow, yawn' > HS: S \*°/ʃc.p > Ar fco /ʃs.f Gv. 'blow hard' (of wind) ¶ BK II 272II  
U: FU \*oc'c'v- ~ \*ac'c'v- v. 'yawn' > Chr us'tem id. : Z oc'-saw- id., oc'est- id. mom. ('зевнут') :: Hg a'si't- v. 'yawn' : pObU {Ht.} \*wu's- id. > 1) pVg \*u'sənt- > Vg: T o'sənt-, LK u'sənt-, UL/Ss u'sint-, P u'səntə'l- id., 2) pOs \*wus- > Os: O us- id., d- a) V/Vy usil-, Ty/Y usit-, Nz usii\_t-, Kz wō'slā- id.; b) D wa'ses-, K uses- id. ¶ LG 209, Ht. #720 II ? R: NaT \*a's- v. 'blow' (→ v. 'yawn') > OT a's- v. 'blow (gently)', Chg a's- 'wehen, blasen', Tk es-, CrTt, Kr, Nog, Qq, Uz, Ln es-, Az a's-, VTt is-, Bsh iθ- v. 'blow' (of wind), Qzq es- v. 'blow hard' (of wind), d- NaT \*a'sin > OT a'sin 'breeze, gentle wind', d- NaT {Bang} \*a'sina- > OT a'sna- to blow gently, yawn', MQp [CC] esne-, Chg esna-, Tk esne-, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB esne-, Az a'sna-, Uz esna-, ET a'sni-, Δ esne-, VTt isna-, Qzq, Qq, Nog esine- id., Qrg, StAlt este- yawn (from time to time, позевывает) ¶ Bang TB VII 195, Cl. 240-1, 248-9, Rs. W 49, 50, ET Gl 311-2, 553, Äz. 157, MM 147, Jud. 966.

**110. ? 2 \*ʃVc.VLV** 'guts' > HS: S \*°/ʃc.l > Ar ʃis.l-, ʃas.al- 'guts' ('intestins') ¶ BK II 272 II K: \*c.'el- 'guts, intestines' (× N \*c'.'i'l.V,ʃV 'side of body' [q.v. ffd.]).

**111. \*Ø'i'c'v** 'seek, look for' > HS: S \*°/ʃs.s̃^ (~ \*°/ʃs̃.s̃^?) > Ar /ʃs.s̃^ (pf. ʃas.s̃^a) v. 'seek, acquire'; ? Gz /ʃs.s̃^ (js. yəʃs̃.əs̃^) v. 'seek, look for, desire' (as -ʃs̃^ < \*-ʃs̃^ or a loan from an unknown C source?) ¶ BK II 259, L G 266 || C: HEC \*has- v. 'want, seek' > Brj ha's-, Ged, Hd, Kmb, Sd has- id. ¶ AD SF 153 (s.v. \*h.As^-'искат', 'хотет'), Hd. 163, 195, 244, 281, 320, 369, Ss. B 88 II U: FU (att. in BF) \*°e'c'c'v- > F etsia' v. 'seek, look for', Krl A ec'c'i-, Krl Ld ec'c'i-, Vp ec'-t'a, ec-t'a", Vo accia, Es otsi-, Es Δ o'tsi-, Lv vo>c'c'ə id. ¶ SK 42, Kt. 506 ¶ SK equates the BF word with Lp N occa't v. 'seek' (< pLp {Lr.} \*oc̃z id.), but acc. to the reg. sound laws Lp \*oc̃z does not belong here, but is akin to F udella v. 'be curious, inquire' < FU \*uc'c'v, ʃ Krh. 159, SSA I 109, Lr. #799 II IE: NaIE \*ai.s-, \*ai.s-sk̃- v. 'seek, wish' ({EI} \*h̃aei.s- 'wish for, seek out') > OI 'e's.ati 'seeks, looks for', e's.ah, 'wish, choice', ic'chati (< \*ays-sk̃-) 'looks for', Av is'ahti 'wishes' :: Arm ajç ayc<sup>h</sup> (< \*ays-sk̃-a-) n. 'search, inspection' (→ 'visit') :: Um EISCURENT 'arcessierint', L aerusc-o- /-a're v. 'beg, ask' :: OHG eisco'n v. 'search, question, require', OSx e'scon, e'scian v. 'require', AS a'scian v. 'try, require, ask (a question)' (> NE ask) :: Lt i'es'kau / ies'koti 'look for', Ltv ie'ska't 'to louse' : Sl \*jbska"-ti 'look for, seek' > OCS искати iskati (prs. искж isko, ~ иж is'to), R ис'кат (prs. и'у) id., Blg 'и-а 'I look for', 'искаm 'I want', SCR i'skati 'to wish' (prs. i's'te'm), Slv i'skati, OCz iskati 'look for', P iskac'' 'to louse, seek, search' ¶ Dv. #14, P 16, EI 629, M K I 85, WH I 19, Bc. G 333, Ho. 7, Ho. S 17, EWA II 1022-3, Kb. 196, Frn. 182, Slt. 366, ESSJ VIII 238-9, Glh. 278 II R: M \*ica- (unless it is \*qica-) 'hope' > WrM, WrO ica-, Kl ии-ic- v. 'hope for, expect', WrM icag, WrO icaq, Kl ииг icəg n. 'hope' ¶ Gl. I 190, MED 397, Krg. 99, KRS 275, KW 211-2 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #588 [A \*ic'v 'hope, see' > incl. M].

**112. \*ʃawc'v** (or \*ʃac'wv) 'light of the sun below\on the horizon' > HS: S \*°ʃas'f.w¹- > Ar ʃas'iy- 'dernière partie du jour', ʃas'wat- 'obscurité de la nuit depuis qu'il s'est fait nuit jusqu'au quart de la nuit' ¶ BK II 265 || ? EC: Sml {ZMO} ʃas'o 'day, full day', Sml N ʃa's'o 'day' \ [÷Elm a'ote, Arr ʔawate' f.] 'sun'; cp. EC and Dhl words for 'sun, daylight' s.v. \*Ø|ga3'v 'white, bright' ¶ AD SF 300-1, ZMO [÷53, ] 62, Abr. S 16, Ss. SPhG, Grg. 9 [÷, Hw. A 337, To. DL 476, To. D 127, Blz. DL s.v. 'sun'] || ? ECh: Brg {J} ʔu'sta'ŋ 'morning' ¶ ChC II IE: NaIE \*au.s-/us- (/wes-?) 'shine (leuchten)' ({EI}

\*h<sub>A</sub>(e)u<sub>s</sub>-sk<sup>h</sup>eti 'it lights up, dawns'), \*au<sub>s</sub>-o<sup>s</sup>- 'dawn, morning-twilight' ({EI} \*h<sub>A</sub>eu<sub>s</sub>-o<sup>s</sup>-, {Mn.} \*au<sub>s</sub>-a<sup>s</sup>-, \*au<sub>s</sub>-sora<sup>s</sup>- 'dawn'), \*aws-tero 'eastern' > OI us<sub>a</sub>-s/us<sub>as</sub>- (nom. u's<sub>a</sub>-h<sub>h</sub>-, acc. u's<sub>a</sub>-s-am, gen. u's<sub>as</sub>-ah<sub>h</sub>-), Av us<sup>ā</sup> (acc. us<sup>ā</sup>h<sub>h</sub>em, gen. us<sup>ā</sup>h<sub>h</sub>o<sup>-</sup>) 'dawn-light', OI us<sub>a</sub>-ra<sup>s</sup>- 'dawn-light' || Gk Hm 'ηω<sup>ω</sup> (<\*aws-o<sup>s</sup>), gen. 'ηου<sup>ω</sup> ('ηο<sup>ω</sup>), Gk A 'εω<sup>ω</sup>, Gk D α<sup>ω</sup>ω<sup>ω</sup> id. || L auro-ra 'dawn', auster 'southern wind' || Lt aus-ra<sup>s</sup>- 'dawn, dawn-light', au<sup>s</sup>-ta 'dawn is coming', Ltv a<sup>s</sup>ust id., a<sup>s</sup>ustra 'morning twilight' || Sl \*ustro 'morning' > OP justrenka 'dawn-light', justrzejszy 'of tomorrow', nazajutrz 'to the following day', OCS заоуѣтра zaustra 'in the morning', Blg 'застра, McdS 'zastra 'morning, tomorrow' || Gmc: AS e<sup>-</sup>arendel 'morning star'; \*awstro<sup>-</sup> in AS e<sup>-</sup>astre 'goddess of the spring', e<sup>-</sup>astron 'Easter', \*aws-t(e)ro- in OHG o<sup>-</sup>star 'östlich', 'to the east', ON austr 'east' || \*wos-er-/wo<sup>-</sup>s-er-: Vd vasar- 'in the dawn' (in the *cd* vasar-'ha<sup>-</sup> 'striking \ (?) meeting \ (?) coming in the dawn'), va<sup>s</sup>-rah<sub>h</sub> adj. matutinus' || OIr fa<sup>r</sup>ir 'sunrise', W gwawr 'dawn', Br gwere-laouen 'morning star, Venus' [IE \*-sr- (after a long vw.) > Clt \*-r-] ¶ P 86-7, EI 148, Mn. 43, M K I 113 & III 172, M E I 23, II 532, MW 93OKb. 749, F I 605-6, WH I 86, LP § 26.3, SB 278, YGM-1 259, Hm. 357, Frn. 27, ■ ESSJ VIII 201-2 (rejects pSl \*ustro), BER I 611, Sls. I 594-5 || U: FP \*ac<sup>v</sup> 'early' > pChr {Ber.} \*os<sup>-</sup>-n<sup>-</sup> > Chr: L 'ожно 'earlier', H ажны az<sup>n</sup> 'earlier, long ago' || pPrm \*wo<sup>3</sup> (= {LG} \*wo<sup>3</sup> 'early' > OPrm wo<sup>3</sup>, Z vo<sup>3</sup>, Yz u<sup>3</sup>, Vt ваз<sup>□</sup>, Δ waz<sup>v</sup> ¶ UEW 605, LG 60, Ber. 47, MRS 371, Ep. 1 || ?? D (in KK) \*o<sup>-</sup>c- > Kui o<sup>-</sup>spa / o<sup>-</sup>st- v. 'be bright, give light', o<sup>-</sup>steri 'light', Ku o<sup>-</sup>zi 'beautiful', o<sup>-</sup>zu 'beauty' ¶ D #1037.

**113. \*fa<sup>-</sup>c<sup>v</sup>.** 'bush, shrubs, forest' > **HS:** S \*sis<sup>-</sup>- (- \*sis<sup>-</sup>.s<sup>-</sup>?) 'tree' > BHb ɬo4 ɬe<sup>-</sup>c. (pl. Mic5o4 ɬe<sup>-</sup>c.im), Pun ɬs., Ug ɬs. {A} 'tree', IA qo ɬk. (etymological spelling for OA \*fa<sup>-</sup>χ.), em. aqo < \*fa<sup>-</sup>χ.a<sup>-</sup>, IA (Akkadianized) (AkSc) aχ-χu, BA oal ɬa<sup>-</sup>ɬ 'wood' (em. aolal ɬa<sup>-</sup>ɬa<sup>-</sup>), Nbt oa ɬ<sup>s</sup> id., JA {Js.} ɬa<sup>-</sup>ɬ, ɬa<sup>-</sup>ɬa<sup>-</sup> 'tree', JEA {Sl.} ɬa<sup>-</sup>ɬa<sup>-</sup>, SmA oa ɬ<sup>s</sup> 'wood', Ar D ɬa<sup>-</sup>ḏa 'tree', Ar ∞wOi {Ln.} 'small thorny tree', {BK} '∈ several kinds of coniferous trees and shrubs', ? Ar %5aOi ɬiḏ<sup>-</sup>a<sup>-</sup>h- {Ln.} 'any great trees having thorns', {BK} '∈ famille d'arbres à épinés', {Hv.} ɬaOi ɬiḏ<sup>-</sup>ah- 'coniferous tree., ∈ acacia-tree', OSA ɬs<sup>-</sup> 'building materials (wood?)', Gz ɬas<sup>-</sup> 'tree, shrubs', Ak is<sup>-</sup>.u, is<sup>-</sup>.u 'tree' ¶ L G 57, KB 817-8, KBR 863-4, HJ 879-80, BDB 1982, Js. 99, Sl. 152, Tal 55, Ln. 2070, 2076, BK II 277, 282, OLS 91; on OA q χ: AD AR & AD PSH 31-2 || ?? Eg Md/BD 3<sup>s</sup> 'branch\bough of a tree' (*mt* from\*ɬV3?) ¶ EG V 535 || K \*ec<sup>-</sup>.|c<sup>-</sup>.er<sup>-</sup> > G I/Gr ec<sup>-</sup>.er<sup>-</sup> 'mit Riedgras, Gebüsch, Gesträuch usw. bewachsene Niederung', G † ec<sup>-</sup>.er<sup>-</sup> 'Hain, Gehölz, Gebüsch' ¶ Chx. 356 || D (in SD) \*acar- > Kn ajara-nīli, ajura-nīli 'low under-shrub', ? Tu ajara '∈ moss' ¶ D #44.

**114. \*fuc<sup>-</sup>.** 'exchange, compensate\ion' (> 'trade', 'revenge') > **HS:** S \*<sup>-</sup>fu<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup> > Ar √fwḏ<sup>-</sup> G (fa<sup>-</sup>ḏ<sup>-</sup>a /-fu<sup>-</sup>ḏ<sup>-</sup>u) 'remplacer une chose à qn., lui donner une chose en échange de...' ¶ BK II 408 || IE \*<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>wes-/ \*<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>wos-, {EI} \*wes- 'buy', \*wes-no- 'purchase' > Ht was-, wasiya- v. 'buy', usnyazi 'sells' || NaIE \*wes-/ \*wos- v. 'trade, deal' > OI vas<sup>-</sup>na-m 'price, value' || Ilr -b>FU \*wos- 'exchange, trade' (ffd. see Jk. 298-9, UEW 585) || Arm gin gin (gen. gnoj gnoy) 'price, value' || Gk Mc o-no- 'price', Gk ɬovo<sup>ω</sup> 'venum, purchase-money, a price', 'ωνη', Gk L ɬovva<sup>-</sup> (< \*wos-na<sup>-</sup>) 'buying (Kauf)' || L ve<sup>-</sup>no- (acc. ve<sup>-</sup>num, dat. ve<sup>-</sup>no<sup>-</sup>) 'sail', {EI} 'that which is sold' ¶ P 1173, WP I 311-2, EI 185, M K III 177, WH II 753-4, F II 1149, Slt. 295-6, Ts. W 103 || A: T \*o<sup>-</sup>c<sup>-</sup> 'revenge, vengeance' > OT o<sup>-</sup>c<sup>-</sup> id., 'malice', Tk o<sup>-</sup>c<sup>-</sup>, Az o<sup>-</sup>3<sup>-</sup>, ET, QrB, Qrg o<sup>-</sup>c<sup>-</sup>, Alt o<sup>-</sup>c<sup>-</sup>, CrTt o<sup>-</sup>c<sup>-</sup>, Uz ωc<sup>-</sup>, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Tv o<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>, Xk, Yk o<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>, VTt \*q u<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>, Bsh u<sup>-</sup>s<sup>-</sup>, Chv Δ beÄneÄ v<sup>-</sup>3<sup>-</sup> 'revenge, vengeance', Tkm o<sup>-</sup>c<sup>-</sup>, Qmq, Ln o<sup>-</sup>c<sup>-</sup> id., 'hostility', Kr o<sup>-</sup>c<sup>-</sup> id., 'punishment' ¶ Cl. 18, ET Gl 558-9.

**115. \*fad<sup>-</sup>.** 'up to, until' > **HS:** S \*fad-ay, \*fad-u/i 'up to, towards' > Oak ad-um, Ak adi, adu, ad 'up to, towards', Hb ɬad<sup>-</sup>e<sup>-</sup>, ɬad<sup>-</sup> 'until', Ph, Ug, OSA ɬd 'up to, till', Aram ɬad<sup>-</sup> 'up to', Jb 'ʔed, d 'to, up to',

ʔed 'till, until' ¶ Sd. 12, CAD I/I 115-121, KB 743-4, KBR 786-7, OLS 71-2, BGMR 12, Jo. J 1 || ? EC: Sa {R} -d, marker of acc./dat. ¶ R S II 95 || K \*<sup>o</sup>-d > Sv -d 'up to, till' (lupχw-d 'till the springtime'), homonymous with -d 'as' (transformative case) and therefore reinterpreted as one of the meanings of this transformative case ¶ Ni. s.v. do, GP US 41-2 || IE \*<sub>ha</sub>T ({EI} \*<sub>h</sub>Aed) 'at, to' > NaIE \*aT 'towards' (where \*T is an archiphoneme resulting from neutralization of the opposition \*-d<sup>h</sup> ↔ \*-d ↔ \*-t in word-final position) > L ad 'towards', ad- pv. of approaching, Um AR, ARS prep., -ar<sup>o</sup> postp., 'towards', Osc adpu'd 'quoad' || OIr, Gl ad- pv. of approaching, W add- id. || Gmc \*at- pv. 'towards, near' (pv. of approaching) > Gt, ON, OSx at 'towards, near', OHG a z id., AS æt, NE at, etc. || Phr αδ-δακετ 'af-fecit', αβ-βερετ 'ad-ferebat' || HrLw a'-ta 'towards' ¶¶ P 3, EI 590, WH I 11-2, Bc. G 329, Pln. II 675, 727-8, EWA I 405-6, Vn. A 13, Vr. 16, Fs. 60-1, Ho. 13, Schz. 92, Mer. HHG 40-41 || ?? ¶ Tg \*d'U<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub> 'to, in', case sx. of dative-locative ({Bz.} \*-dua / \*-du''a'') [x N \***d<sub>1</sub>oy<sub>1</sub>a** 'place (within, below), inside' (→ locative pc.)] > WrMc -de (e.g. ama-de 'to the father'), Nn -du 'to, in' (e.g. amen-du 'to the father'), with ppa. -doa (amen-doa-si 'to his father'), Ud -du, -di- (e.g. xoton-du 'zur Stadt', amin-du 'to the father', amin-di-hi 'to his father'), Ul, Sln -du/-du, Orc -du, Ewk -du (amīn-du 'to the father', amīn-du-s 'to his father') ~ -tu (devoicing due to progressive *as*), Neg -du--tu, Lm -du (aman-du 'to the father') ~ -tu ¶ Bz. 83, Ci. 256, Sun. S 212-223 ♦ The rec. of \*ʔ- is based on S \*ʔ- and K initial \*Ø-. The AnIE reflex is *qu.*, because HrLw a'-ta may be also connected with Ht anda 'towards'.

**116.** ?? \*ʔ<sup>o</sup>idU 'go' > K: GZ \*wed-/ \*wid- 'go, walk' (x \***wVd<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>ʔV** id., q.v. ffd.) || HS: WS \*ʔidw 'go, step\pass over' > BHb ʔidw: pf. lo2 ed1o1 ʔa<sup>o</sup>-d<sub>a</sub>- ʔal ... 'step over', Ug {OLS} ʔidy D 'make go\disappear' ('hacer pasar\desaparecer'), JA ʔidy ~ ʔidw G (pf. id4o9 ʔa<sup>o</sup>-d<sub>e</sub>- ~ ad1o9 ʔa<sup>o</sup>-d<sub>a</sub>-) 'pass by', JEA ʔidy G 'pass, pass over', Sr ʔidw (pf. ædo0 ʔa<sup>o</sup>-d<sub>a</sub>-) 'come suddenly upon', Md ada, ʔda 'pass by, pass over', Ar ʔidw G ('daOa ʔada<sup>o</sup> / -ʔdu-) 'transgress, run', Sb ʔidw (~ ʔdy) 'move, march, go', Qtb {Rk.} ʔdw 'go beyond, exceed', Mn {MA} m<sup>o</sup>dwt-n 'passage', Gz ʔidw (pf. ʔadawa, js. yəʔdu-) 'cross over, pass over', Mh ʔidw (pf. ʔaddo-) v. 'assault without reason', Jb C ʔidw<sub>y</sub> (pf. ʔa<sup>o</sup>-de) v. 'infect', a<sup>o</sup>te<sup>o</sup>-de (sbjn. yaʔtode 'attack, set upon' ¶ KB 475, OLS 74, Js. 1043-4, Sl. 844-5, Br. 511, JPS 400, Fr. III 122, BGMR 12, L G 56-7, MA 10, Rk. 115, Jo. M 12, Jo. J 7 || B {ʔPr.} \*ʔwdH 'go' [x N \***wVd<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>ʔV** 'ʔ', q.v. ffd.] || ?φ C: EC: Sa {Wlm.} -ad/-ed- 'go', Sml N {Abr.} a<sup>o</sup>-d- 'go to', ?φ Sd {Mrn.} had- 'andare', {Hd.} haʔr-, {Gs.} har.a 'go' (b> caus. {Mrn.} had.d.idis-, {Gs.} har.isisa 'accompany'); ? Arr pcv. -iʔit- pf. / -eʔet- ip. / ʔi<sup>o</sup>t imv. m. 'go' (x N \***ʔey<sup>o</sup>** 'come?') || SC: Asa {Fl.} adi 'go' ¶ AD SF 242, Abr. S 4, Mrn. S 220, Hd. 369, Gs. 147, Hw. A 451-9 || SOM: Ari {Fl.} ada 'go', Male {Fl.} ad- 'come?' ¶¶ In B, C and SOM there may be contamination with N \***qad<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>ʔ<sup>o</sup>** 'to step, walk' and N \***ʔat<sub>1</sub>ʔ<sub>1</sub>V** 'to come' || ¶ M: M \*o<sub>1</sub>-id- 'go, depart, set out for' (x \***wVd<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>ʔV** 'ʔ') > MM [HI] {Ms.} od- 'go, depart', [IsV] {Lg.} od- 'go', [S] otχu (= od-χu) 'go, go away', WrM od-, HlM odo- 'go to, proceed to', WrO {Krg.} od- id., 'depart', o<sup>o</sup>-d- 'go', Brt W odo-, Kl od- od- 'go, depart', Kl {Rm.} od- 'sich begeben, sich auf den Weg machen' ¶ Ms. H 83, Lg. VMI 59, H 129, MED 600, Krg. 112, KRS 393, KW 283, Chr. 350, S AJ 270 [#153] ♦ *Qu.*, because all cognates outside HS have alt. etymologies.

**117.** \*ʔudV 'follow, pursue' (> 'repeat, continue') > K: Sv L {Dn.} ud, Sv -ud ~ -əd ~ -id 'still\even (noch)' (χoxar ud 'even less, even smaller'), 'again, also' ¶ Dnd. s.v. ud, TK 725 || HS: S \*ʔu<sup>o</sup>-d- 'do again' > Ar (x S \*ʔwd return') ʔwd (pf. daOa ʔa<sup>o</sup>-da) 'return to, do again' (ʔa<sup>o</sup>-da-ikalbu fī kayʔihi 'the dog returned to his vomit', i.e. 'vomited again'), Sb ʔwd 'return'; S \*ʔa<sup>o</sup>-d- n. 'duration', \*ʔa<sup>o</sup>-d- ~ \*ʔawd- adv. 'again, still' > BHb d&o ʔo<sup>o</sup>-d- 'duration' (d&oB6 bə-ʔo<sup>o</sup>-d- 'during': M&le2 d&oB6 bə-ʔo<sup>o</sup>-d- hay'yo<sup>o</sup>-m 'als es noch Tag war', bə-ʔo<sup>o</sup>-d- s'əna<sup>o</sup>-t<sup>o</sup>-ayim 'in two years', id5&om4 me<sup>o</sup>-ʔo<sup>o</sup>-d<sup>o</sup>-i 'as long as I live' [lit. 'from my

duration']), d&o ʃoˈd\_ 'still', 'as long as (still)', 'still more, again' ('noch'), Ph {HJ} ʃd 'still, moreover, Ug ʃd 'time, period', BA d&o ʃoˈd\_ 'still' (ɬ- Hb?), Nbt ʃd id., IA lʔ ʔd 'not yet' (lʔ 'not'), Ar dʀOa ʃaˈd-in 'while', Sb ʃd 'again', Gz ʃaˈd\_ 'still, still more, again, once more', Tgr ʃadu 'yet', Mh, Hrs ʃaˈd 'still, yet, again', Jb C d-ʃad 'still', Ak fOAK adi 'as long as, while' (× Ak adi 'up to' < N \*ʃadV 'up to, until' [q.v.]) ¶ KB 752, 1756, OLS 72, Ln. 2188-92, JH 203, HJ 831-2, L G 55-6, BGMR 22, Jo. M 35-6, Jo. H 12, Jo. J 19, CAD I/1 112-5 ¶ A: NaT \*uδ- v. 'follow, pursue' > OT uδ- ({Cl.} uˉδ-) v. 'follow', Tk uy- v. 'follow, suit, fit', Az uy- 'fit, correspond', Tkm uy- v. 'obey implicitly', {ET} 'follow', Uz Δ uy- 'follow', Yk utaˉ 'following' ¶ Cl. 38, DTS 605-6, ET Gl 573-4 || M \*uda- follow, delay' > MM [S] uda/adu 'following, second (son)', [S, MA] uda- 'be late', WrM uda-, HIM уда- v. 'delay', Mnr H {SM} ud\_a- 'persister longtemps dans le même état; tarder', Kl Ö {Rm.} ud\_a-χa ' (ein Tier) erfolgen, nachjagen' ¶ H 158, Pp. MA 361, MED 860-1, Kow. 380, SM 463, KW 446, T 368 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ DQA) T \*iˉδ- 'send (sth.)', (→) 'allow to go, release' [more likely from N \*wedha 'to cause to go (drive, lead)', q.v. ffd.] ¶¶ DQA #678 (A \*i\_uˉˈdu 'lead, direct': incl. M), Rm. EAS I 143 (A \*udV 'follow' > M, T \*uδ- 'follow').

**118. \*ʃE'gU** 'to drink' > **HS:** C \*ʃg, {E} \*ʃag- v. 'drink' > EC \*-ʃag-/\*-ʃig-/\*-ʃug- pcv. 'drink' > Bn pcv. -aʔak-/iʔik-, Arr ʔig-, Dsn ʔiˈk, Elm ʔik-, Kns ik-, Ya {Hn.} -eˈq; HEC \*ag- v. 'drink' > Sd {Gs., Mrn., C}, Kmb {C}, Hd {PB} ag- v. 'drink'; (× N \*yugE 'to drink') Gdl uk-, Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} ʃuk-, Cm {Hab.} ʃug-id. [ʔ, (× N \*HfiˈK.E 'eat')]: Yk ek- 'eat', εˈktoˈ 'food' || DhI {EEN} ʃag- 'eat', {Ss.} ʃaˈga 'food' ||? SC: Irq {MQK} ʃaˈy-, Grw {Wh.} ʃay-, Brn {Wh.} ag-, ? Alg {Wh.} gag- v. 'eat' ¶ E PC #483, Ss. PEC 17, Wh. IC 56, MQK 18, Bl. 108, BISO s.v. ik-, Gs. 6, AMS 274, Hn. Y II 124, Hw. A 340, To. DL 482 [ʔ, EEN 13, Ss. PEC 17, Hn. Y II 124-5, Blz. CL 178, Blz. SCL s.v. 'eat'] || S (d?) \*ʃgw v. 'suckle, ? to force to drink' > Ar ʔo ʃgˈw G 'put out (a child) to nurse', ? (mt) Gz ʃwgʃ G 'feed with milk', Amh/Arg/Grg {L} wegga v. 'force to drink' ¶ Fr. III 117, BK II 186, Hv. 456-7, L G 607-8 ¶ **IE** \*hˉegˈh- ({EI} 1s pres. \*h<sub>1</sub>eˈgˈmi) 'drink' > Ht eku-/aku- (3s pres. ekuzi = {Pv.} ekˈci), Lw aku-, Pal aχu- v. 'drink' || NaIE \*egˈh-/\*eˈgˈh- > Tc: A, Byok- id. || L eˈbrius 'drunk' (← 'having drunk one's fill': qom tu satura atque ebria eris 'when you have had enough to eat and drink', Terence, Hecyra 5.2.3) ¶ Not akin to IE \*akw- 'water' (⇔ Hrozny@ a. o.) (see Ph. l.c.); not akin to IE \*ekˉ- v. 'eat' (⇔ Mn.), because Ht -ku- and L -b- indicate an pIE labiovelar cns. ¶¶ Pv. I-II 261-8, EI 175-6, ≠ Mn. 235, 237, Wn. 601-2, Ad. 509-10, Ad. H 22, JGH 147-9, ≠ WH II 387-8 ¶ **A** \*eˈgu or \*eˈgu > M \*uyu- v. 'drink' > MM [S] uvu-, [MA] vˈuˉ-, WrM ugu-~uu-~agu-, HIM yy- uˉ- v. 'drink', Ord uˉˉ-, Mnr H uˉ- id. ¶ H 160, Pp. MA 371, MED 864, SM 462 ¶¶ SDM95 (s.v. ? \*ugV ? 'drink'): (?) pA \*ugV, but SDM VC envisages a possibility of A \*e in the first syll (A \*e - u > M \*u - u).

**119. ?₂ \*ØElyagV** 'fat' > **HS:** S \*ʃgr, \*ʃgn 'be stout, fat': [1] \*ʃgr > Ar rjO ʃgˈr (ip. -ʃgˈaru) 'crassus\obesus\ventrosus fuit', rjaOa ʔaʃgˈar- 'crassus, pinguis, ventrosus' (vir); [2] \*ʃgn > Ar ʃgˈn 'pinguis fuit' (de camela), ʃagˈin- 'compacto corpore et pinguis' (camelus) ¶ Fr. III 110-1, 116 || Eg OK ʔ3 n. 'fat' ¶ EG I 239, ≠ Tk. SCC 94 [#24.1] ¶ **A** {DQA} \*i\_aˈgi 'fat', {SDM97} \*aˈgi > M \*exuˉˉ-kuˉˉn ({SDM} \*exuˉˉˈkuˉˉ, \*uˉˉˈxekuˉˉ) 'fat' > MM [S] eˉvˉuˉˉˈkuˉˉn ~ oˉˉˈvˉuˉˉˈkuˉˉn, WrM oˉˉˈgekuˉˉ(n), HIM 'ˉˉ x 'fat, lard, grease', Kl 'ˉˉ κη oˉˉˈkən 'fat, animal fat (σαλο)', Mnr H {SM} oˉˉˈkˉe 'grease, suet', Dg ʒugu, Dx ɸugun (Hl., Md.: a secondary ɸ-), ShY uˉˉˈkoˉˉn 'fat' ¶ H 47, MED 631, SM 296, KRS 420, St AJ 235 [#29] || T \*jaˉg 'fat' n. (× N \*LʔaguˉˉyVˉˉ 'fat meat', q.v.) > OT jay 'grease, fat, oil' (incl. OT Og xi [MhK] jaˉy 'suet'), Tk yagˉ, Tkm jaˉy 'oil, butter, grease', Az jay 'fat, butter', Uz eˉˉˈf jay, ET jay, Δ jaq 'grease, animal fat, butter', {Jr.} jay, Δ {ML.} jaq 'grease, oil, animal fat', Ln yay ~ yaq 'grease, suet, fat', Slr jay 'suet, fat, oil', Xlj jaˉy, Uz jay, Qmq jaw 'oil, butter, fat', Qrg S жов zˉow 'fat, butter', Alt д-yy ʒˉuˉˉ 'suet',

дꞑу з'у 'animal fat', Qmn {B} з'у id., 'butter', Tb {B} з'у 'fat', QK {B} з'ау, Tv с'ау, Tf с'ау 'hard animal fat (сало)', Xk с'ау, Yk s̄a 'fat', Chv s'u<sup>d</sup> s'ъv 'butter, fat' ¶ Cl. 895, Rs. W 177, ET J 58-9, TL 453, DT 218, Ra. 193, BT 57-8, BN 67, B DChT 11, B DK 213, B DLT 144, Jeg. 215, Md. 27, 160 || Tg \*<sup>o</sup>i<sub>ag</sub>jakta (= \*<sup>o</sup>i<sub>ag</sub>-ja-hta) 'fat of a bear' > Ul yagz'akta id. ¶ STM I 337 ¶ The word belongs here if \*-ja- goes back to a sx. (extension) ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. \*a<sup>o</sup>-gi 'fat', DQA #632 (A \*i<sub>a</sub>-gi 'fat').

**120. \*ʕogUIV** (or **\*o.qUIV**) 'offspring, child, young (of an animal); to beget, bear a child' > **HS**: ? WS \*ʕigul- 'calf' > BHB lg#04 ʕeg<sub>el</sub> 'young bull\ox', Pun, Ug, OA ʕgl, JA lg@i04 ʕe'g<sub>al</sub>, JEA em. allg6io5 ʕig<sub>l</sub>-l-a-, Sr ʕog<sup>o</sup>e ʕeg<sub>l</sub>-l-a-, Ar -j00i ʕig<sub>l</sub>-, Gz ʕəg<sup>w</sup>əl ~ ʕəg<sup>w</sup>əl 'calf'; Cn -b> Cpt aroa agol 'ox' ¶ KB 741, KBR 784-5, A #1995, OLS 75, HJ 824, Lv. III 618, Sl. 851, Br. 509-10, L G 11 || C ¶\*ʕk<sup>w</sup>l (or \*ʕk<sup>w</sup>l) 'give birth, child' > Ag {Ap.} \*q<sup>w</sup>3r-/\*ʕ3q<sup>w</sup>3r-, {AD} \*k<sup>w</sup>3t-/\*ʕ3k<sup>w</sup>3t- v. 'beget, child' (< Early Ag \*\*ʕk<sup>w</sup>l?) > Bln ʕ3x<sup>w</sup>ra 'boy', f. ʕ3q<sup>w</sup>ra 'daughter', pl. q<sup>w</sup>3r 'children', Xm (3)x<sup>w</sup>3r 'child', pl. 3q<sup>w</sup>3r, Km x<sup>w</sup>3ra 'child', Bln ʕx<sup>w</sup>a<sup>o</sup>-r, Xm 3x<sup>w</sup>3r- v. 'bear, beget'; Early Ag \*\*ʕk<sup>w</sup>l -b> Tgy k<sup>w</sup>əlfə 'child' || HEC \*k<sub>al</sub>- v. 'give birth' > Sd, Kmb k<sub>al</sub>-, Hd {Hd.} k<sub>ar</sub>-, {Ss.} k<sub>a</sub>-r- v. 'give birth' (of animals), Brj k<sub>al</sub>- v. 'give birth', k<sub>a</sub>'la 'child' ¶ Ap. AV 17, R WB 23, Hd. 70, Ss. B 123, ≠ AD SF 200 **II K**: Sv L qlaw- 'child, boy' ¶ Dn. s.v. qlaw-, ≠ K<sup>2</sup> 243-4 (*unc.* : Sv \*ql- < K \*qle- 'penis') (× N qul'a<sup>o</sup> 'boy, child') **II A**: T \*ogul (pT {Md.} \*og<sub>ul</sub>) 'offspring, child' (→ 'male child') > OT oyl 'offspring, child', Chg oyl 'son', Tkm, Az, ET, SY, Ln, Xlj oyl, Tk og<sup>u</sup>l, Qzl oyl, Uz oyl, Qrg, StAlt u<sup>l</sup>, Qq ul, Qzq u<sup>l</sup>, VTt, Bsh ul, Tv o<sup>l</sup>, Tf o<sup>l</sup>, Yk uol, Blgh òva<sup>o</sup> Vwal, Chv ьваӡл ивл, Δ ивл<sup>d</sup> ьвл<sup>d</sup> увл, Chv MK u<sup>l</sup> 'son', Xk Sg/Kc o<sup>l</sup> 'young man, son, Qzl oyl id. ¶ Cl. 83-4, ET Gl 414-6, Rs. W 358, TL 313-4, DHST 299, DT 168, Ra. 213, BT 168, Md. 45, Md. OJ 133, 228, IsxP 57, BIG 123, 127, Fed. II 468, Jeg. 341 || ?σ M: WrM ugalza ~ ugulza, HIM угалз, Kl uyulza 'male wild mountain sheep' ¶ MED 863-4, KW 447 ¶¶ **II Starostin** (S CNM 9 & S SN 154) equates T with M ugalza (which I accept) and MKo a<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>i<sub>o</sub> 'child' and reconstructs pA \*uka(IV) 'child, son' [not convincing because the element \*IV has a proto-N age] **II Gil**: Gil: A oyla 'son, child', ES {Krn.} exlq ~ exla<sup>o</sup> 'child', A oylagu, ES exlgun 'children' ¶ ST 241, ST RN 127, 369, 416, Krn. N 494 **II D** (in SD) {tr.} \*okkal-, {GS} \*okal- 'relations, kinsfolk' > Tm okkal id., Ml okkaliyan 'a cultivating class', Kt okl 'family', Td wkl 'family within clan', Kn okkal 'residing, residence, home', okkala 'husbandman, farmer', Kdg okka 'patrilineal joint family', Tu okkel<sup>o</sup> 'a tenant'; D -b> Prkr okkia- 'a dwelling, residence' ¶ D #925, GS 82 [#255] ♦ If WS \*ʕigl<sub>U</sub>l- belongs here, we must reconstruct \*ʕ- for pN and suppose that the glottalized stop and its reflexes in C, K and D have developped from a cluster \*ʕg (> C \*k<sub>o</sub>-, Sv q<sub>o</sub>-, SD \*kk<sub>o</sub>-, [GS] \*k<sub>o</sub>-) ♦ Starostin (S CNM 9, S SN 154) suggests to equate Sv qlaw- 'child, boy' with A \*ku<sup>o</sup>IV 'slave, servant' and with D \*kuli 'hired laborer', i.e. to transfer it either to N \*k<sub>ul</sub>l'a<sup>o</sup> 'clan, village; everybody' and \*qul'a<sup>o</sup> 'boy' (→ 'servant, slave') or to \*kul<sup>o</sup> 'to work' ♦ AD NM #119, S CNM 9 (÷ NrCs, ST).

**121. ???2 \*ookK<sub>U</sub>V** 'listen' or 'ear' > **HS**: EC: Sa {R} o<sub>o</sub>kka<sup>o</sup>, Sa I {CR} ʕok<sub>o</sub>k<sup>w</sup>a<sup>o</sup> 'ear', Af {PH} ʕo'kka 'ear-wax', ? Brj {Ss.} akkab- v. 'hear' ¶ R S II 23, PH 61, AD SF 264 **II D** (in SD) \*<sup>o</sup>ok<sup>o</sup>- v. 'listen' > Td o<sup>o</sup>x 'hear', Kt o<sub>o</sub>garv- 'listen without speaking' (BE: \*ok<sup>o</sup>- + \*karv- 'lie hidden') ¶ D #1032 ♦ Connected or identical with \*Ouk<sub>a</sub> 'see', 'eye' [q.v.]? The et. is *qu.*, because the cognates are isolated in both HS and D.

**122. ??σ \*Oayka** 'move (quickly), jump' > **IE**: NaIE \*ai<sub>g</sub>- {P} '(sich) heftig bewegen, schwingen, vibrieren' ({EI} ? \*h<sub>1</sub>ei<sub>g</sub>- 'move') > OI e<sup>o</sup>jati 'stirs, moves' || ON eikinn 'wütend, rasend, gewaltsam', NNr eikjen 'streitsüchtig' || ? Gk Δ [Hs.] αἰγες<sup>o</sup> τα<sup>o</sup> κυ<sup>o</sup>ματα 'waves', Gk α<sup>o</sup>ιγί<sup>o</sup>ξ 'rushing storm, hurricane' || pSl \*jəgra<sup>o</sup> 'amusement, play, dance' > OCS игра igra 'lulus', RChS, OR игра igra 'παίγνιον, παιδι<sup>o</sup>α, ludus',

Blg, R иг'pa, Cz, Slk hra 'play, amusement', SCr i`gra, SCr Ch ji`gra 'play, dance', Slv i`gra, Δ igra'', Hls jhra ~ hra, OP igra, P gra, Uk гpa 'play'; pSl \*jъgrati (se.) 'amuse oneself, dance, play' > OCS играти играти 'παί'ζειν, ludere', RChS, OR играти 'amuse oneself, jump', Blg иг'pa, McdS игра v. 'play, dance', SCr i`grati, OP igrac' 'to play, dance', SCr Ch ji`grati, Slv igra'ti, P grac', R иг'pa, Uk 'грати 'to play', R Δ иг'pa 'to dance', Cz hra'ti 'to play, amuse oneself' ¶ WP I 11, P 13-4, EI 388, M K I 126, ¶ F I 32, Vr. 96, ESSJ VIII 208-11, Glh. 274-5 II HS: S \*°√fьk > Ar √fьk G (fa`ka / -fiku) 'marcher en remuant les épaules' ¶ Fr. III 251, BK II 422 || B \*°√Hky (\*-Hkuy-) 'tremble, jump' > Sl {Ds.} ak'wi (3s pf. yuk'wi) v. 'trembler, sautiller; sauter en se laissant tomber', Tz {Stm.} a`kwy (= a`kwi?) v. 'jump' ¶ Ds. 256, 284, Stm. 162 II D \*ak- v. 'tremble, fear' (× N \*qagi?ja 'to fear') > Ka agi v. 'tremble, fear', Tu aguruni v. 'totter, stagger', Tl agurvū 'fear, terror' ¶¶ D #12.

**123. \*OaK.u** 'water' > HS \*f'a'k.w- > S \*°√fьk.k > ? SS \*°√fьk.w- / √fьk.w- (p'water surface', 'lake' or the like) > Jb E {Jo.} 'f'o'k.ət, Mh ?a'k.əwt, pl. ?iwe'k. 'mountain pool', Hrs ?a'k.əwt, pl. ?awe'k. id., ?? Sb f'wk. (h. l. translated in BGMR as '(?) bank, embankment', 'berge, talus'); Ar √fьq G (pf. əWOa faqqa) 'in pluviam dissolvit (ventus nubem)' (× Ar √fьq G 'split, rend') ¶ Fr. III 188, Jo. M 36, Jo. H 12, BGMR 23 || C \*°fak.w- > Ag \*fak.w- 'water' > Bln {Plm., R} fak.w [fa'u.k.], Xm {R} ax.w, Xm T {CR} ax.w, ak.wi, {Bnd.} a-qw, Q {R} aχu-, Km {CR} aχw, {Bnd.} a-yw, Aw {Bnd.} agu 'water' || EC: ? Gdl {Bnd.} haka 'water' ¶ AD SF 273-4, R WB 62, ¶ Ap. AV 2 (Ag \*?ak.w-) || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} a'ka 'river, water', {C} ak, {Bnd.} a-ka 'water' ¶ Wdk. BY 116, C SE III 66., ¶ AD SF 273-4 II IE \*hek'- [or \*hak'-] ({EI} \*h<sub>A</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>eh<sub>A</sub>- 'water') > NaIE \*ak<sup>w</sup>-a- id. > L aqua 'water' || Gmc {Vr.} \*ah<sup>w</sup>o- > Gt alva, ON o', a' (~ o'c) 'river', Dn a 'small river', AS e-a, OSx, OHG aha 'water, stream, river' || BSl: R Oka (river) ({Trb.}: < Blt), ? Slk Oka (a lake in the Tatra mountains) ¶ P 23, EI 636, Mn. 31, WH I 60, Vr. 1, Fs. 18, Ho. 82, Ho. S 1, EWA I 100-3, Kb. 10, Vs. III 127 II ??? σ, φ ϖ: T \*ak- v. 'stream, flow' > OT aq- v. 'flow', Tk ak-, Tkml, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Ln, StAlt, Tv aq- id. !? Chv L yux- v. 'flow' ¶ Cl. 77, ET Gl 118-120, Fed. II 495-6 ¶¶ Md. 115, 165 (→ DQA #620) reconstructed ppT \*i<sub>-</sub>ak'- v. 'flow, stream' and equated Chv yux- with Ewk yaku- 'be flooded' and with WrMc yoχon 'ditch, trench, furrow'; but Tg \*yak- is better to be equated with T \*jag- > OT jay- 'pour, pour rain' (Cl. 896) [see N \*yakV 'pour; ground covered with water'] ¶¶ ≠ DQA #620 (A \*i<sub>-</sub>a'k'a - \*k-); ♦ Not identical with N \*f'egU 'drink' [q.v.]. Cf. AD LRC #54 (IE, C), IS I 275-6 [HS (S, C), IE, D + i ÷ EC \*fьg- v. 'drink' and Ht eku- id.], WNL s.v. 'water' (HS-IE-T, as well as Esk uq-łɜɜ-nɜɜ 'a drop' and Gil ɜxi- v. 'stream [river]') ♦ ≠ Gr. I #414 (\*akwa 'water') [IE + qu. CK, Ai + err. U, A (\*i<sub>-</sub>ak'a/i<sub>-</sub>aka), Ko, J, Gil].

**124. \*f'lok.i** 'sharp point\edge' > IE \*h<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>-</sup> (- \*hek<sup>-</sup>?) / \*h<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>-</sup> - ({EI} \*h<sub>2</sub>ek<sup>-</sup>) 'sharp, pointed' > NaIE \*ok<sup>-</sup> - / \*ək<sup>-</sup> id. > OI 'as'ri-h. 'corner, angle, edge' || Gk ῥακρῖ 'hill-top, mountain peak', ῥακρῖ 'point', ῥακρῖ (gen. ῥακρῖδοϛ) 'pointed object'. ῥακρῖ 'sharp' || pAl {O} \*ac-eta ({O} \*atseta) > Al athe't adj. 'bitter, harsh, unpleasantly sour' || L acu-s (gen. acu-s) 'needle', acies 'edge (of a sharp instrument)', a-er 'sharp', Osc akrid 'acriter' || OIr ochair 'angle, edge', W ochr {Vn.} id., {YGM} 'side', hōgi 'to sharpen, whet' || Gmc {Vr.} \*agjo- > ON egg 'blade, edge', Sw egg 'blade', OSx e'ggia id., 'edge', OHG egga ~ ecka 'sharp point, edge, corner, Schneide', MHG ag ~ egle 'perch', NHG Ecke 'edge, corner', Eck 'angle', AS e'c'z 'edge, blade, sword', NE edge || Lt as'muo~ (pl. a~s'mens), as'menys 'sharp point, blade', Ltv asmens 'blade, edge' || Sl \*o'strъ 'sharp' > OCS, OR остръ ostrъ, Blg 'остър, SCr o's'ta'r, Slv o'ster, Cz, Slk ostrý, P ostrý, R 'острый, Uk '(r)острий id. || Arm ase-n aseln, as-an aslan 'needle' || pTc {Ad.} \*a'ke > Tc: A {Wn.} a'k 'bout, fin, pointe, sommet', B {Ad.} a'ke 'end', B akessu 'at the end, last' || ? Ht aku- (nom. aku-s) 'stone' ¶¶ P 18-22, EI 509, M K I 61, F I 52, ¶ 59, WH I 7, 11, Vn. O 6, YGM-1 347,

Schz. 119, KM 151, Ho. S 14, Ho 87, EWA II 955-6, Kb. 196, O 12, Frn. 19, Vs. III 166-7, Glh. 460, Slt. 123, Wn. 157, Ad. 37, Ad. H 131 || **K**: G ek.-al- 'thorn', G Ms hek.-al- id.; (× N \***χakolaRV** ▯'top part, tip, extremity') Sv: USv {TK} hok<sub>er</sub>, LSv {TK} wok<sub>er</sub> 'the very bottom, end (Pskeri, Ziri, bolo, **дно**, **коней**)', UB {GP} hok<sub>er</sub> 'at the very bottom, below' || **TK** 897, GP 316, IS I 251 || **A** \*ok'i ({Pp.} \*ok<sub>i</sub>) > T \*ok 'arrow' > OT, Chg, XwT, MQp, Chg oq, MOg oχ, Tk ok, Tkm, CrTt, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, ET, SY, Ln, Tv oq, VTt, Bsh uq, Uz oq, Az, Yk oχ, Xk uχ id., Tf o'q 'bullet'; Chv L yxaÄuxъ 'shooting bow' (IS: < \*oq-ja'y 'arrow-bow?') || Cl. 76, ET Gl 437-8, TL 577, Rs. W 359, Ra. 212, Jeg. 279-80, Fed. II 296 || Tg: WrMc oki yo-ro 'blunt-headed arrow' (yo-ro 'arrow with a head of bone') || Z 123 || M \*oki (unless it is \*φoki) 'top, point' > WrM oki, HlM oχ id., WrO oki 'top, point, summit', ? Kl oκ, {Rm.} ok<sub>i</sub> 'first strongest portion of distilled vodka' (← 'Spitze?') || MED 607, Krg. 118, KW 284 || pJ {S} \*a'ku\_a'yai 'pheasant's spur' > OJ a'ku\_o'ye || S QJ #751 || Rs. W 359, Pp. VG 98, 134, DQA #17 (A \*o'k'a 'sharp point, notch') || ? **U**: FU \*okkV > BF \*okka 'thorn', \*okas / \*okkaha- 'thorn, spine, prick' with a secondary variant \*oyas (generalization of the weak grade of cns. gradation) > F oka / gen. oan, Δ okka 'thorn', F oas 'thorn, spine, prick', Δ okkas, Krl Ld ogaz id., Vp ogaz<sup>d</sup> ogah 'thorn, awn of a plant ear', Es okas / gen. okka 'thorn, prickle' || AdS of Sm {Jn., Hl.} \*ukz 'tip, front part' < N \***okU** 'head' [q.v.] || SK 423-4, ZM 376, Jn. 30, Hl. M #1113, KKH 191 || ? **HS**: S \*<sup>o</sup>/fwk<sub>i</sub> > Ar řawaqq-pl. 'petits rejetons qui poussent au haut de la tige du palmier' || BK II 306 || The Ar cognate is *qu.*, because it is isolated within HS ♦ If Ht aku belongs here, the IE reflex suggests N \*<sup>h</sup>- or \*<sup>h</sup>- (the only lrs. that do not yield Ht h-, preserve the infl. of the following N vw. in NaIE and yield zero in K). Without Ht aku- and without the S cognate the rec. will be \***hok.i**. If the S cognate belong here, the rec. must be \***ok.i** ♦ IS I 251-2 (\*Hok<sub>i</sub>; IE, K, A, U), Rs. W 359 (A, U). ♦ ▯ Gr. II #18 (\*ok 'arrow/point').

**125. \*Ouk.a** (or \***OukV?a?**) 'see', 'eye' > **HS**: S [1] \*<sup>o</sup>fwk<sub>i</sub> > Ug {OLS} <sup>o</sup>k 'pupil of the eye', [2] SWS \*<sup>o</sup>-fu<sub>i</sub> (?) > Gz -fu<sub>i</sub> (pf. řo<sub>i</sub>k.a, js. -fu<sub>i</sub>) v. 'know, understand, take notice, observe', Amh 0wq awwək.v. 'know, be familiar with', Har a<sub>i</sub>k.a id.; the EthS word is hardly a Cushitism (↔ C, L, IS, AD SF), because its presumable Agaw origin does not account for the preservation of the ancient labial element -u/-o/-ww- of the stem, while the EC word does not explain its cnss. || OLS 86, C SE I 234, L G 78-9, IS I 255, AD SF 264 || C: Ag \*<sup>o</sup>řak<sub>i</sub> v. 'see, know' > Q {R} ax- ~ ah- v. 'see', Aw {Hz.} -aq-, Km {Ap.} ax-, {CR} ax- v. 'know' || C -b Mb {Fl.} axo v. 'see' || ??? EC {Ss.} \*<sup>o</sup>g- 'know' > Sml o'g 'knowing', wa<sup>n</sup>o'gaha'y 'I know', Rn -o'g- 'aware of', o'gahe 'be aware of, know', Dsn řo'gadj. 'knowing', Or {Grg.} og-e<sup>ssa</sup> (< \*og-ays<sup>a</sup>) 'one who knows, wise, expert' (-b Brj o'gays<sup>i</sup> 'one who knows, skilful person, specialist, expert', Amh wəges<sup>s'a</sup> 'local medical practitioner'); ? Sd {Gs.} egen- v. 'know'; this EC cognate is highly problematic because of its initial and medial cnss. [†; hardly here Kns, Gdl akk- 'see' (acc. to Bl. 250, from EC \*řark-, cf. N **řar<sub>i</sub>Vjka** 'see') \ ??? DI: Hr {AMS} řax-ic<sup>c'e</sup> (pl. řa<sup>x</sup>xe), Dbs {AMS} řaxac<sup>c'e</sup>, Gln {AMS} řix-te<sup>i</sup> (pl. ři<sup>x</sup>xe), Gwd {AMS} řaxa, Cm {Hab.} řaxi<sup>i</sup>-te 'eye'; even if this DI word belongs here (which is *qu.*), it certainly does not go back to EC \*<sup>o</sup>g- || AD SF 264, R QW 21-2, Ap. K 331, Ap. AV 2 (Ag \*řak<sub>i</sub> 'know'), Ss. B 154, Grg. 303, PG 240, Th. 259, Gs. 89, To. DL 483, AMS 231 || WCh: NgzB: Ngz {Sch.} i:k- / (y)k- 'see, look' (3s p. i<sup>i</sup>ka'u.), Bd {IL in JI} i<sup>i</sup>ka<sup>i</sup>, {Sch. in ChL} i<sup>i</sup>:ka<sup>n</sup> v. 'see' || Sch. DN 80-1, JI II 284, ChL I 260 || **IE**: \*<sup>h</sup>wek<sup>w</sup>-/\*<sup>h</sup>eu<sub>k</sub>- 'eye', v. 'learn': [1] \*<sup>h</sup>wek<sup>w</sup>- ({EI} \*<sup>h</sup>ok<sup>w</sup>-) 'eye' (> NaIE stems \*ok<sup>w</sup>-(s)-\*ok<sup>w</sup>i-, *d* : \*ok<sup>w</sup>-o-, \*ok<sup>w</sup>-yo-, \*ok<sup>w</sup>-mn<sub>i</sub>-) > OI 'aks<sub>i</sub> ntr., aks<sub>i</sub>- f., Av du. as<sup>i</sup> || Arm akn akn, gen. akan akan, pl. nom. ač<sup>o</sup> ac<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>, pl. gen. ač<sup>o</sup> ac<sup>h</sup>-ac<sup>h</sup> || Gk řo<sup>i</sup> (gen. řo<sup>i</sup>-o<sup>i</sup>) 'eye, face', Gk D [Hs.] řokkov acc. 'eye', Gk Hm řoosε 'eyes' (Arm ac<sup>h</sup>-k<sup>h</sup> and Gk řoos- <

\*ok<sup>w</sup>-y-; acc. to Me. EAC, \*-y- belongs to the marker of du.), Gk ὄψις 'sight, face' (in set phrases, *cds*. and *ds*: εἰς τὸ ὄψα 'in Gesicht, Auge in Auge', μυωπία 'short-sighted', ὄπτη 'face', ὑπὸ τοῦ π-ια 'part of the face under the eyes', etc.) || L oculus 'eye' || Lt aki's (du. aki'), Ltv acs | pSl \*o''ko 'eye', du. \*o''c'i > OCS око oko / du. оуи oc'i, Blg oľko / pl. oľчи, SCR o''ko / o''c'i, Slv oko / oc'i, Cz, Slk, P oko, R око / pl. очки || pTc {Ad.} \*ek- > Tc A ak, B ek 'eye' || [2] \*h<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>- 'hole' (← 'eye') > Gk οπή 'hole' (esp. in roof) || Lt a'kas 'ice-hole', Ltv aka 'spring, source' || [3] IE \*h<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>-(y)- v. 'see, watch, show' > Av axs-, Gk ὄπτομαι ~ ὄσσομαι, ft. ὄφομαι, pfc. ὄλωπα v. 'see', OFrs a<sup>-</sup>uwia ~ a<sup>-</sup>wia, AS e'awian ~ e'awan ~ e'owan v. 'show' || [4] IE \*heu<sub>k</sub>-/\*hou<sub>k</sub>- 'eye', v. 'learn' ({EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>eu<sub>k</sub>- 'become accustomed') > pGmc \*au<sub>h</sub>an 'eye' ({trad.} \*augan) > Gt augo-, ON auga, OSx o'ga, OHG ouga, NHG Auge, AS e'aze 'eye' (> NE eye); Gt bi-u'hts 'gewohnt' || Lt ju'nti (prs. ju'nkstu) 'get accustomed', Ltv ju'kt 'accustomed', Lt jauki'nti, Ltv jaukt vt. 'accustom', Pru iaukint 'exercise (üben)' | Sl \*uc'-i'-ti, \*uk-/vik- > OCS, OR оучи-ти, R y'чи-т□, SCR u'c'i-ti, Cz uc'i-ti, P uczyc'- v. 'teach', OR оучѣ 'learning', R на-ука 'learning, experience, science', Sl \*vi-'k-no<sub>2</sub>-ti v. 'learn' > OCS въкъ-нѣ-ти vik-no<sub>2</sub>-ti, SCR vi<sub>2</sub>knuti id., R (при-)въкъ-ну-т□ v. 'get accustomed' || OI 'ucya-ti 'is accustomed to', Sgd ywc't 'teaches' || Arm usanim usanim 'I learn' || OIr to-ucc- v. 'understand' ¶ P 775-7, EI 4, 188 (does not connect between roots for 'become accustomed' and 'eye'), Mn. 882-3, M K I 16, ME I 42-3, F II 281, 407-8, 1154, Ch. 811-2, Fs. 64, Vr. 19, Ho. 83, ¶ 87, Ho. S 56, KM 38, Kb. 751, Vn. U 13, Slit. 20-2, 264-5, IS I 255 (IE \*heu<sub>k</sub>- > Gmc), Frn. 196-7, En. 183, Trp. P I-K 22-3, SJSS VII 357, Vs. I 368 & IV 179-80, Glh. 452, 649, Wn. 141, Ad. 74-5, Ad. H 17, 37, 42, 137 ¶ I am grateful to Blz. for convincing me to adduce Sl \*uc'i- in spite of the semantic distance between 'eye' and 'learn' (≡ M) II? U: FU (att. in Ugr) \*wokV (or \*woxV) v. 'see, look' > OHg o'-, Hg o'v- v. 'protect' (← v. 'look after') | pObU \*wi<sub>1</sub>-, \*wi<sub>1</sub>j-/wi<sub>1</sub>y- v. 'see' > pVg \*wi<sub>1</sub>-, \*wi<sub>1</sub>y-/wi<sub>1</sub>y-, \*wa<sub>1</sub>y- id. > Vg: UL/Ss wa<sub>1</sub>-, wa<sub>1</sub>y-, P wā<sub>1</sub>-, wā<sub>1</sub>y-, NV/SV/LL way-, u<sub>1</sub>-, T wa<sub>1</sub>-, wa<sub>1</sub>-, wa<sub>1</sub>y-, way-, LK wa<sub>1</sub>-, wa<sub>1</sub>y-, u<sub>1</sub>-, MK u<sub>1</sub>-, UK wā<sub>1</sub>-, wa<sub>1</sub>y-, u<sub>1</sub>- v. 'see'; pOs \*wu-, \*wuy- id. > Os: V wu-, Vy/Y/K/Kr u-, uy-, Ty wu-, wuy-, Nz u-, Kz wā<sub>1</sub>- v. 'see' ¶ MF 508-9, Ht. #652. The cognate is doubtful for phonetic reasons: \*-k- ~ \*-x- for the expected \*-kk-, the change \*u- > \*wo- (probably through \*wu-?) II A {DQA} \*uk'u- v. 'look into, understand' > NaT \*uk- v. 'understand, find out' > OT, MQp uq-, Qzq, Qq, Uz, ET, Tb uq- v. 'understand', Qrg, StAlt, ET Δ uq- v. 'listen, hear', Az Mgn uy-uz 'knowing much, wise' ¶ Cl. 77-8, DTS 613, Rs. W 511-2, ET Gl 584 || M \*uqa- v. 'learn, notice, understand' > MM [S, HI] uqa- id., [MA] 'Qv' uqa- v. 'understand', WrMuqa-, HIM, Kl uxa-, WrO uxa- id., 'perceive, be aware', d Ord ux'a- 'intelligence, esprit' ¶ H 160, H SMG 23, H SMD 57, Ms. H 105-6, Ms. O 226, Lew. II 82, Pp. MA 365, KW 447, MED 890, Krg. 162; Cl. 77-8: M < T || pJ {S} \*u''ka'-(n)ka'p- v. 'look into, inquire' > OJ ukakap-, J: T u'kaga-, K u'ka'ga', Kg ukaga' ¶ S QJ #197, Mr. 778 || ??σ Tg (in NrTg) \*ixjoksa > Lm oysa 'think, ponder (how to live\survive in the next winter)', Ewk okso 'think over, change one's mind' ¶ STM II 11 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. \*uk'a, DQA #2503 (A \*uk'u 'understand, look into') II D (in NED) \*ak- v. 'know' > Krx ax- v. 'know, realize', Mlt a'ge v. 'know, understand', a'g-re v. 'get accustomed to' ¶ D #17, Pf. 184 ¶ NED \*a still need explanation ♦ Hardly here IE \*au<sub>g</sub>- 'shine' (cf. N \*h<sup>1</sup>awk'a' 'light (lux), bright') ♦ EC and U apparently point to a plain \*-k- rather than to \*-K-, suggesting an etymon with \*-k- + \*-z- (> \*-k- ~ \*-k-), i.e. N \*r<sup>1</sup>ok<sup>1</sup>uk<sup>1</sup>V?a ♦ Cf. IS I 255-6 [IE, A (T, M), HS (C)]; IS MS 333 [\*, Bl. LB #47.]

**125a.** ??? <sub>2</sub> \*OEK.V'3'1V ≈ 'peck' (of birds) > HS: CS \*√fk.s ~ \*√fk.c. v. G 'sting' > Sr √fk.s T 'be stung' (by a scorpion, serpent), ək.u'-'s-a' 'aculeus', JA [Trg.], JEA √fk.c. G 'sting' (e.g. of scorpions), MHb √fk.c. G 'sting, prick' (of insects, reptiles) ¶ JPS 425, Br. 543, Js. 1107-8, Sl. 877, Klein 482 || B

\*√HksH (= \*a<sup>o</sup>ksiH?) v. 'eat' > Ah əks<sup>o</sup>, Gd ɛs<sup>o</sup>s<sup>o</sup>, Izn, Gh, Mtm, etc. əc<sup>o</sup>, Kb əc<sup>o</sup>c<sup>o</sup>, Tmz əts<sup>o</sup>, Zng {TC} et<sup>o</sup>s<sup>o</sup>i ¶ Fc. 736, Lf. II #O164, Nh. G 176, Pr. M I-III 58, MT 729, DL 68-70, DCTC 285, NZ 163-9 ¶ A: M \*<sup>o</sup>o<sup>o</sup>gzu<sup>o</sup>ge<sup>o</sup>n<sup>o</sup> (unless with \*φ-) > WrM o<sup>o</sup>gzu<sup>o</sup>ge, HIM 'rɜ<sup>o</sup> r 'food for birds' ¶ MED 633 || ? T: OT igið- v. 'feed (a person, animal)', MT [MhK] igdil- v. 'be nourished, fed' (× N \*H<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup>K<sup>o</sup>E 'eat', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 10, 104.

**126. ? \*ØalE** 'height, top', 'climb, go up' > **HS** \*<sup>o</sup>ʔal- 'high place', v. 'ascend' > S \*<sup>o</sup>ʔal- 'height' > Hb ləl ʔal 'height, high place', IA, Nbt, Plm lə ʔl, Ar ØOa ʔal- 'above, upwards', Ug ʔl 'darüber', Mh ʔa<sup>o</sup>le<sup>o</sup>w 'on the top', Hrs 'baʔla 'on, on top of', Cn b<sup>o</sup> Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ʔa<sup>o</sup>-l-ta<sup>o</sup> 'upper room'; combined with \*la- 'to': IA [Frh.] lʔl 'up, upwards', Plm lʔl 'above, upon', Sr La0- lə<sup>o</sup>ʔal 'above, on', Gz -)l laʔle (in modern pronunciation) < OEth \*laʔla, Tgr ləl ləʔal, Tgy L)li ləʔli id.; du. cs. \*ʔalay > prep. \*ʔalay 'above, on' > Hb lə2 ʔal 'on' [+ppa: K1il3ol ʔa<sup>o</sup>-l<sup>o</sup>k<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup> < \*ʔa<sup>o</sup>layka 'on thee (m.)', etc.], Ph lə, ilo ʔl(y), Ug, OA, IA ʔl id., Ar ÈlaOa ʔala<sup>o</sup> [-ppa: ʔalay-ka 'on thee (m.)'], Sb ʔly id.; S \*√ʔly, \*-ʔlay- v. 'ascend, go up' > Hb elo √ʔlw<sup>o</sup> (pf. ʔa<sup>o</sup>-la<sup>o</sup>, ip. yaʔa<sup>o</sup>le<sup>o</sup>), Ph, Ug √ʔly id., Ar √ʔlw (pf. ʔa<sup>o</sup>-la<sup>o</sup> laOa) v. 'ascend, be high', Sb ʔly v. 'go up to (a place)', Ak elu<sup>o</sup> v. 'travel uphill, go up, ascend'; S adj. \*ʔaliy- 'high' > Amr {G} ʔaliy- 'high', Ug {OLS} ʔly 'altísimo, excelso', Ar ʔaliy- 'high, elevated, lofty' ¶ KB 770-5, KBR 824-30, OLS 76-8, G A 15, JH 208-12, HJ 842-50, 852-3, Fr. III 215-7, Ln. 2146-7, BK II 352-7, BGMR 15-6, Jo. M 23, Jo. H 8, L G 303-4, CAD IV 114-35, Hlk. #37, SivCR 78 || Eg fOK i<sup>o</sup>r, fMK {EG, Fk.} r [= \*√ʔli], {EG} r<sup>o</sup>y v. 'mount up, ascend' > DEg ʔl > Cpt: Sd aale ale, B aali ale<sup>o</sup>, F aali ali id. ¶ EG I 41, 208, Fk. 11, 45, Er. 67, Vc. 6 || B \*-Hliy v. 'climb, ascend' (Pcj. I A 3, Fcj. 68) > Kb, Mz ali, pf. 3s yuli, ASgr, Wrg ali 'monter', Shw {Hy.} a<sup>o</sup>li 's'élever en l'air, monter comme un ballon', BSn a<sup>o</sup>-li v. 'climb (a tree, etc.)', Ah ali, 3s pf. yulə<sup>o</sup>i, ETwl aləy v. 'be suspended (in the air)' ¶ DL 470-1, Dlh. M 111, Hy. 107, Fc. 1016-7, 2006, GhA 120, Pr. M VI-VII 96 || C: EC {Ss.} \*ʔal- 'mountain, highland' > Sa ʔal, Af ʔale, Rn ha<sup>o</sup>l 'mountain', Sml ʔa<sup>o</sup>l 'lofty, coastal range of mountains', Sml Mt ʔal 'high mountain', Arr ʔe<sup>o</sup>l 'mountain', Hr, Dbs, Gln ʔale 'highland' ¶ AD SF 140-1, Ss. PEC 35, Oo. 70, PG 135, PH 53-4, AMS 150, 195, Lm. SD 312, Hw. A 339 || Ch: WCh \*ʔaly- v. 'stand up' {Stl.} > pAG \*yaHal (< \*yaʔal from \*ʔaly-, which Stl. explains by *mt*) > Su {J} ya<sup>o</sup>ʔa<sup>o</sup>l, Ang {Flk.} ya<sup>o</sup>l Tng ʔil, Dr yil G<sup>o</sup> {Sh.} hilya ¶ Stl. ZCh 228 [#765], J S 88 ¶¶ Coh. #58 (S, Eg, B, C), AD SF 140-1 (C, S, Eg, B), Vc. 6 (Eg, S, B) ¶ ? U \*a<sup>o</sup>IV- v. 'raise, lift, carry' > pObU {Ht.} \*a<sup>o</sup>-lām- v. 'raise, lift' > pVg \*a<sup>o</sup>-lām- id. > Vg: T a<sup>o</sup>-lm-, LK ə<sup>o</sup>-lm-, MK ə<sup>o</sup>-lm-, P/LL alm-/a<sup>o</sup>-lm-, NV/SV/ML/UL, Ss a<sup>o</sup>-lm- id., LK ə<sup>o</sup>-lēmka<sup>o</sup>-t- v. 'rise' ('sich erheben'); pOs \*a<sup>o</sup>-lām- v. 'raise, lift' > Os: V/Vy a<sup>o</sup>-lām-, Ty/Y a<sup>o</sup>-lām-, D/K a<sup>o</sup>-lām-, Nz a<sup>o</sup>-lām-, Kz a<sup>o</sup>-lām-, O a<sup>o</sup>-lām- id. ? Hg emel- v. 'lift, raise' (*mt*) || Sm {Jn.} \*il<sup>o</sup>-\*yil<sup>o</sup>- v. 'raise' > Ne T {Ter.} ila<sup>o</sup>Ä, O {Lh.} yira<sup>o</sup>-, Ne F L yirra- v. 'raise', Ng jiləji id., En {Cs.} 1s aor. obcj. Xi<sup>o</sup>ʔabo, B ji<sup>o</sup>ʔabo id., Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. ɪlab<sup>o</sup> 'I weighed', Kms {KD} jild<sup>o</sup>em ~ c<sup>o</sup>ild<sup>o</sup>em 'in die Höhe heben' ¶¶ Coll. 5, UEW 24, MF 152-3, LG 211, Ht. #27, Jn. 26, Ter. 139, Lh. 126-7, KD 16 ¶ A \*al'E<sup>o</sup>- 'top, hill' > T \*<sup>o</sup>al'u<sup>o</sup>k > Qrg {Rl.} aliq - aluq 'peak, summit' ¶ Rl. I 372, Cl. 135-6 || M \*<sup>o</sup>ala (unless it is \*<sup>o</sup>qala) > WrM ala, HIM al 'flat-topped hill' ¶ MED 26 || Tg \*<sup>o</sup>ali-n > WrMc alin 'mountain', Mc Sb {Y} ʔalin 'mountain, hill', {Mrm.} alin 'Berg, Berge, Gebirge', Jrc {Lg., Kiy.} alin 'mountain', Tg \*alV 'hill, small mountain' > Mc ala 'hill, flat-topped mountain', Nn ala 'small mountains' (the pTg word \*al-a [but not \*\*alin] results from a merger with the √ \*ala- v. 'cross mountains' < A \*a<sup>o</sup>lV-, due to the merger of A \*l and \*l' in Tg) ¶ STM I 27-8, Y #2067, Klz. MS 100, Kiy. 99 [#O39], Lg. IDT 225, Md. ChF 133 ♦ ≠ AD LRC #64 (S \*√ʔl 'on, above, top' ÷ IE \*al-, \*ol- 'over, on the other side' ÷ A \*olam- v. 'ford'), ≠ IS I 274-5 [HS \*√ʔlw<sup>o</sup> (presumably 'cross a mountain') > Ak elu<sup>o</sup> 'cross mountains', Gz √ʔlw<sup>o</sup> {Di.} 'transgredi'] ÷ IE \*hel- 'on the other

side' ÷ A \*a<sup>1</sup>la 'cross a mountain'). But in the light of new ev. the Ak and Gz roots do not mean 'cross mountains' or anything similar, so that these earlier comparisons are not plausible. ▣ Gr. II #10 (\*ol 'arise'). ♦ Hardly here G mayali 'high' adj., mayla 'high' adv., mayl- 'höcher machen' (Chx. 729-30, Chik. 243); it would have been tenable if the √ had been -yal/-yl-, but K<sup>2</sup> 5 analyzes the word as m-ay-al- 'high' < GZ \*ay- 'up, upwards'. If nevertheless the G cognate is valid, the initial N cns. was \*y-.

**127. \*ʕa<sup>1</sup>IV** 'burn (esp. sacrifices), use magic means (sacrifices, magic formulae etc.) to produce a particular result' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>√ʕly v. 'infringe, act perversely' > Sr √ʕly *Sh* (pf. ʔaʕlī) v. 'act perversely', ʕel'ya- 'scelus, injuria'; CS \*√ʕlw v. 'burn a sacrifice' > BHb el17o ~ el1»o ʕo<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>, BA Ni11o9 ʕa<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>ya<sup>1</sup>n 'sacrifice which is wholly burnt', IA [Eleph.] evlo ʕlwh, SmA elo ʕlh 'burnt-offering', JA at11o9 ʕa<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> 'sacrifice', Sr Æ4ø1ø0 ʕəla<sup>1</sup>-t<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> 'offering, holocaust, sacrifice; altar', Plm atlo ʕltʔ 'altar' ¶ L G 61-2, Tal 637, Br. 527, KB 785-6, KBR 830-1, KB LVT 1108, JPS 416 || ECh: Smr {J} ʔu<sup>1</sup>vt. 'burn' ¶ JI II 55 **II IE** \*ʕ<sup>1</sup>h<sup>1</sup>el- (𐎧𐎲𐎠𐎠) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices' ({EI} \*h<sup>1</sup>ael- 'burn') > OI ala<sup>1</sup>-tam 'a fire-brand, coal' (← \*burnt') ¶ ? Gk [Hs.] ἄλφαβη · ἄλφῶν ῥακεῖ 'coal' ¶ L alta<sup>1</sup>-ria ntr. pl. 'altar (for sacrifice)' (< \*al-t-a<sup>1</sup>-li-, ʔ EM 43), ad-oleo<sup>1</sup> 'I am burning (a sacrifice)', Um ur<sup>1</sup>etu 'adolesco, in order to burn' (< Itc \*ol-) ¶ Sw Δ {P ← Joh.} ala v. 'to blaze, flame' ¶ IS I 276, P 28, EI 87, M K I 55, WH I 13-4, 32, Bc. G 350, Ch. 52 **II ? K** \*h<sup>1</sup>jal- v. 'flame', n. 'flame' > G al-i 'flame', al- (1s v-a- al-eb) 'aufflammen lassen', al-d-eba 'flammt auf', G Ing hahn- v. 'burn, flame', Sv UB ha<sup>1</sup>-l (pl. hal-a<sup>1</sup>-r) 'flame' ¶¶ Chx. 12, 14, Jan. 274, TK 893, Ni. s.v. **𐎧𐎠𐎠𐎠** **II U:** FU \*a<sup>1</sup>V- v. 'pronounce magic words, exercise magic forces; to sacrifice' [× N \*hal<sup>1</sup>V 'call out, call, praise' (q.v. ffd.)] **II A:** NaT \*a<sup>1</sup> > OT {Cl.} a<sup>1</sup> 'device' (esp. 'dishonourable device'), 'deceit, guile, dirty trick', {DTS} 'ruse, contrivance, artful advice (хитрост, уловка, ухищрение, хитроумный совет)', Tk Δ al 'ruse', Tkm a<sup>1</sup> 'ruse, contrivance, archness', Az Δ al 'archness, a lie', Chg/MU {Rl.} al 'Schlauheit, List, Betrug, Strategie' ¶ Cl. 120, 138, ET Gl 126-7, 137-8, Rl. I 349 || ?? Ko {Rm.} alcin alcin ha<sup>1</sup>da 'deceive, adulate' ¶ Rm. SKE 8 ¶¶ Rm. l.c. (Ko - T), ≠ Vv. AEN 13 (rejects the Ko cognate as "an obvious onomatopœic word") ♦ Cf. IS I 140 (HS, IE, [with a query] K). IS considered the et. doubtful, since he envisaged an alt. explanation: the IE stem 𐎧𐎠𐎠𐎠 S. But now, in the light of the U cognate (unknown to IS), the et. becomes more plausible ♦ AD NM #122, S CNM 9 & SN 155 (semantic doubts about the A cognate).

**128. \*ʕa<sup>1</sup>L<sup>1</sup>U** 'know' > **HS:** CS \*√ʕlm 'know' > Ar √ʕlm *G* id. (pf. ʕalima, ip. -ʕlam-), ʕilm- 'knowledge', (ȝ) Ug {A} √ʕlm *G* 'kennen (?)', ʕlm 'kundig, wohlunterrichtet' (the Ug root is not mentioned in OLS) ¶ A #2035, Hv. 495 **II U** \*a<sup>1</sup>ll<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>- (< \*a<sup>1</sup>ll<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-): FP \*a<sup>1</sup>lwa<sup>1</sup>- v. 'notice, catch sight of' > F a<sup>1</sup>ly 'intelligence, understanding', a<sup>1</sup>lyā<sup>1</sup>-, a<sup>1</sup>lyta<sup>1</sup>- v. 'understand', Lp L iel<sup>1</sup>ve<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ve<sup>1</sup>- 'merken, bemerken, gewahr werden', Z P al 'Verstand, Vernunft' ¶¶ UEW 609-10, W SDW 2, SZ 11, LG 30, SK 1872 **II D** \*e(ȝ)l<sup>1</sup> 'knowledge, wisdom' > Kui e<sup>1</sup>lu, elki 'mind, reason, thought', Ku e<sup>1</sup>d<sup>1</sup>u 'wisdom', Brh he<sup>1</sup>l 'knowledge, wisdom' ¶¶ D #912 ♦ S \*-m- in \*√ʕlm is likely to go back to the N nominalizer \*m<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> (q.v.) (pre-S n. act. \*\*ʕa<sup>1</sup>Vl-Vm- 'knowledge').

**129. \*ʕol<sup>1</sup>V** (= \*ʕol<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>?) 'starve, die; dead' > **HS:** EC: Af {PH} ʕulul 'famine, shortage of food', ʕulule 'be famished, be starved', Sa {R} ʕolu<sup>1</sup>- 'Hunger leiden', ʕolu<sup>1</sup> 'Hungersnot' ¶ PH 62, R S II 62, 432 || ??σ S: possibly Ar √ʕyl *G* (ip. -ʕīl-) 'become poor \ destitute' ¶ BK II 422-3, Hv. 513 **II IE** {EI} \*wel<sup>1</sup>- 'die' > NaE \*wel<sup>1</sup>- 'dead', 'die' > Olt ve<sup>1</sup>-le<sup>1</sup>s ~ ve<sup>1</sup>-le<sup>1</sup>s 'ghost (soul of the dead person)', Lt ve<sup>1</sup>-le<sup>1</sup> id., 'ghost', Ltv velis (pl. veli) id., Lt velioni<sup>1</sup>s 'the deceased, Verstorbener', Olt ve<sup>1</sup>-linas, Lt ve<sup>1</sup>-lnias, Ltv ve<sup>1</sup>-l<sup>1</sup>ns 'devil, deuce' ¶ Tc A wa<sup>1</sup>-l, wal- 'die' ¶ ? Gmc \*wal- 'bodies of those slain in battle' (× N \*wel<sup>1</sup>h<sup>1</sup>V

'hit, attack' → 'to wound, kill', q.v. ffd.) || Lw {Mlc.} walliya- 'of the dead' ¶¶ EI 150, ▢ P 1144, Tr. 548, Frn. 1218-9, Wn. 554-5, Mlc. CL 253 ¶¶ Acc. to AD's theory of the pre-history of IE vowels (AD NVIE), N \*o changed into pre-IE \*u (> IE \*we-) before \*u of the next syll. II ▢ \*olu- (/ \*olu-E > \*olwe-?) 'die; be hungry, starve', {DQA} \*olei- > T \*o-l- 'die' > OT, MQp XIII-XIV [incl. CC], XwT XIII, Chg xv, Tkm, Az, ET, Ln, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Tv, Yk o-l-, Tk o-l-, Uz yÄl- ol-, VTt, Bsh, Slr u-l-, Tf o-l-, Chv vil- id., SY o-l- - yu-l- id., 'be dead' ¶ Cl. 125-6, ET Gl 525-7, Md. 50, 172, Ra. 214 || M \*o-lu- 'starve, be hungry' (> WrO o-lu- id. - o-l- 'be hungry', o-lo-d n. 'hunger', Kl {Rm.} o-lö 'hungry') -> [1] \*o-lu-ṇ 'starvation, famine, hunger' > WrM o-lu-ṇ, HIM 'л' н(г), Kl {Rm.} o-lṇ - o-lṇ id.; [2] \*o-lo-n 'hungry' > WrM {Cev.} o-lo-n, HIM {Luv.} 'л' н 'hungry, not having eaten', WrO o-lo-n, Kl 'лн. {Rm.} o-lṇ, Brt \*лṇ 'hungry', Ord {Ms.} o-lo-n 'qui est à jeune, affamé'; [3] \*o-lu-s- 'suffer starvation \ famine' > WrM o-lu-s-, HIM 'лс-' х, MM [L] o-lu-s-, [S] {H} olos- - oles-, [HI, MA] o-ls-, Ord o-lo-s- id., WrO o-lo-s- 'feel hunger, starve', Kl 'лс-' 'starve, go\be hungry', {Rm.} o-ls-ḫə 'hungern, hungrig sein', Brt \*лсḫ-xy 'go hungry', MMgl u-ls, Mnr H {T} lose-, Mgl {Rm.} u-la-s-, Dx {T} u-lsu- 'be hungry', Mnr H {SM} losə- id., losṽ-i fug-u- 'starve'; -> [3a] \*o-lu-sku- 'hunger' (> MM [MA] o-lsku- id., d : [IM] o-lu-su-kc-i 'hungry') -> [3b] \*o-lu-sku-leṇ 'hunger, famine, starvation' > MM [ISv] o-lo-sku-leṇ, [MA] o-lsku-leṇ - ṇ, WrM o-lu-sku-leṇ, HIM 'лс' гл' н(г), Mnr H {T} loseguloṇ, Dx {T} oliesulan, Mgl {Lg.} o-lasku-laṇ - u-lasku-laṇ; [4] \*o-lu-gle- v. 'starve, be hungry' > WrM o-lu-gle-, HIM 'л' гл' -x id.; [5] \*o-lber- 'suffer extreme hunger, starve' > WrM o-lber- - o-lmer-, HIM 'л' вp' -x, 'лб' p' -x, WrO o-lbare- id., Ord o-lbo-r- 'être épuisé de faim'; [6] \*o-lu-de- > WrM {Cev.} o-lu-de-, HIM 'лд' - 'be very hungry', Ord o-lo-d-o- 'be hungry' (of animals), Brt \*лдḫ- 'go\be hungry' ¶ Ms. H 84, H 123-3, Pp. L II 1260, Pp. MA 275-6, 443, Lg. VMI 61, MED 633-5, Kow. 529-30, Luv. 318-20, Cev. 434-5, SM 226, Krg. 140-1, KRS 414-5, KW 294-5, T 343, T DnJ 131, Iw. 144, Ms. O 530-2, Chr. 500-2 || Tg \*u.lbV- > Ewk ulbin- 'go hungry', ulbimčz- 'hungry' ¶ STM II 258 ¶¶ DQA #1567 \*o-lie 'die', 'be hungry, exhausted', KW 295, Rm. EAS I 146, Pp. VG 108, S AJ 281 ¶¶ II ?σ D (in McTm) \*o-lu- [xN \*guLV 'to destroy', q.v.]: > Tm ula- 'become diminished, die, terminate', Ml ulakkuka- 'shrink up' ¶ D #671 ¶♦ The Sa/Af initial f- and the AnIE initial zero suggest point to a N \*f- ♦ The supposed IE and A reflexes of this etymon may be alternatively (but less plausibly) explained as belonging to N \*wel'hV '↑' or N \*guLV 'to destroy, fight; war' [q.v.].

**130.** \*Øga-hl̥u or (if the Ht cognate is accepted) \*Ta-HVl̥u 'reddish, yellow, brown' > HS: EC \*fawl- 'yellow, reddish, light brown' > Sml N {Abr.} fa'wl 'yellowness', Sml C {DSI} fawl(l)an 'be reddish-gray (grigio rossiccio)', Kns awl- 'brown', Hr, Dbs fa'wl-a-kko' 'gray, green, light brown, sand-coloured, gold-coloured', Gln fa'wl-a-kko' 'yellow', Gwd fa'wl-e-tte' 'yellow', Sa fowla 'dust storm' ¶ Bl. 211, Ss. PEC 46, Abr. S 18, AMS 150, 195, 244, DSI 96 II IE \*Helu-/\*Helw- (if the Ht √ belongs here, = \*x'elu-/\*x'elw-) 'reddish, yellow' ({EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>elu- 'dull red') > OI aru'n.a-h 'reddish, gold-yellow', aru's.a-h 'fire-coloured', Av aurus'a- 'white' :: Gmc \*elwa- 'brown, yellow' > OHG e-lo (aadj. e-lwe-r) 'brown, yellow, yellowish' > MHG e-l (aadj. e-lwer), NGr Sw a-lv 'fahl, weißgelb' (of sheep), NGr Sb elb 'blaßgelb' || ?? Ht {Pv.} hahli-, {Ts.} hahla- 'green, yellow', {Pv.} hahhal- 'greenery, verdure'; the Ht word suggests a variant with reduplicated lr. (or an original form of the √ ?) \*x'eXlu- ¶¶ P 302-3, EI 481, M K I 49, Ts. E I 123ff., Frd. HW EG I 3, Pv. II 3-5 (derives Ht hahli- from hahhal- 'greenery, verdure'; if he is right, the Ht cognate is to be rejected), OsS 132, EWA II 1060-2, Kb. 198 II ▢: NaT \*a1 'red, scarlet, yellow' > OT a1 'scarlet', 'brown' (of eyes), MQp XIII-XIV al 'dust- or ash-coloured', 'chestnut tending towards yellow', [CC] al 'bright red', Tkm a1 'bright red, pink', Tk al 'bright red,

pink', 'chestnut' (of horses), Az al 'scarlet, red', VTt al 'scarlet, pink'; T ЁM: WrM al, HIM ал 'red, scarlet, vermilion' ¶ Cl. 120-1, DTS 31-2, ET Gl 125-6, RI. I 349-350, MED 26; the long pT vw. (proved by Tkm) suggests a N postvoc. lr.; the back vw. \*a may be due to synharmonic ass. infl. of the lost \*u of the second syll. || ?σ M \*ọ'le p'ε grey' > MM [S] ọ'le 'dark-grey', WrM ọ'le {Gl.} 'сизый' (dove-coloured, warm grey), skewbald (пегий, железистого цвета)', HIM {Luv.}, Kl {KRS} 'л, Brt \*лу 'dove-coloured (сизый)', 'grey (сивый)' (of horses), Ord ọ'lọ 'grey'; the rounded vw. \*ọ may reflect the infl. of the ancient root-final \*-u|| ¶ Gl. I 303, KW 294-5 (Kl ọ'lọ 'graugespenkelt'), Dr. TM I 145-6, Rs. W 371, H 122 ¶¶ DQA #1541 derives the T root from A \*ḡi-ọle (> M \*ọ'le, Tg \*ḡule 'scarlet, pink', pKo \*nu'ri- 'yellow', pJ \*mu'ra-sa'ki 'purple').

**131. ??? \*Oulfe** 'recent' (> new') > **HS:** WS \*fu-l-, \*√fwl 'child, young of an animal' > BHb luo fu-l, JA allv^o2 'aw'l-a- 'baby, sucking child', MHb elluo 'u-l-a- 'girl', Pun 'l 'nursling', Ug 'l 'young of animal' ('lamb', etc.), 'member of a clan', OA 'l 'foal', Sr «øw^u 'u-l-a- 'foetus, infans', loj^i 'l-l-a- 'foal', Md 'ula 'embryo, foetus', Gz 'əwa-l 'young of animal, foal, colt'; in BHb fu-l, Sr 'u-l-a-, etc. there is contamination with S \*√fwl 'suckle' ¶ pS lost the second \*\*√ of the expected √ \*\*√f(w)l (haplology) ¶ KB 753-4, HJ 843, OLS 77, Br. 516, DM 343, L G 78 || ¿ Eg L 'sy 'child (?)' (< √fvy < \*\*√fvy < \*\*√fvy) ¶ EG I 169 || **U:** FU {Coll.} \*u-z'e ( {Coll.} \*u-d'e), {UEW} \*wuz'e 'new' > F uusi (gen. uuden), Es uus (gen. uue) 'new' : pLp {Lr.} \*oδz id. > Lp: S {Hs.} urre, U {Schl.} udda, L {LLO} a'ta^, N {N} o\_δa^s / -δδ-, Kld o-tt : Er, Mk od 'new, young' : pChr \*u- 'new' > Chr L/H y u, Chr Uf u, Chr B uw : Prm \*vu'l 'new' > Z, Vt vil', Vt K/G vil' || Hg u'j 'new' || Hl. (p.c., 1976) suggested to adduce here Slq Tz oc'ik 'again' || pY {IN} \*wil'\_{ə}- 'new' > Y K il'o- 'new' ¶¶ Coll. 121, UEW 587, Sm. 551 (FU \*wud'i 'new' > FP \*vud'i, Ugr \*wud'r), Lr. #800, Lgc. #4481, Hs. 1381, Ber. 81 [#438], LG 72, IN 250 || ?? **R:** Tg: WrMc ulxiyen ( {Z} улхгн ) 'little by little' (unless < Tg \*xul-, cp. Ewk xul- 'small') ¶ STM II 261, Vas. 438-40 ♦ AD LZL 364-5 (on \*-l- > U \*-z- ♦ ≠ Gr. II #277 (\*ud 'new') [U + err. J]

¶ **131a. 2 \*ØgolVvV** 'leaf' > **HS:** S \*fa'lay- (or \*ya'lay-) 'leaf' > BHb el3o1 fa-'le- 'leaf, foliage (Laub, Blatt)', JEA ilo 'ly pl.t. (s.e. ailo 'ly?, vocalization is unknown) 'leaves'; ? perhaps Ak Λ elu^ 'sprout' (but more plausibly it is from N \*?elV 'sprout, twig' or derived from \*√fly 'rise') ¶ If Ak elu^ belongs here, the pS rec. is \*fa'lay-, otherwise the initial cns. may be either \*f- or \*y-. ¶ KB 785, Lv. III 650, Sl. 864, CAD IV 114 || B: Ah {Fc.} ela, ETwl/Ty {PGG} ɛla (pl. ilattɛn) 'feuilles minuscules', Tmz ala (pl. alatin) 'branche ave feuilles, feuillage' ¶ Fc. 984, GG 179, MT 366 || EC: Sml fale-n (pl. fale-mo) 'leaf' ¶ ZMO 56, AD SF 161 || Ch: WCh: Pr {Frz.} a'la'w, Jmb {Sk.} a'lu'hu 'leaf' || CCh: ??σ Gzg {Lk.} ?alar 'Gemüse'; ¿ "Muffu" {Srp.} e'le 'leaf' (neither the lge. nor the word have been identified in other sources) ¶ ChC, Sk. NB 28, ChL, Lk. G 117, Srp. WSH || **D:** SD \*o-l- (\*o'lay?) 'leaf' > Tm o-lai-, Kt o-l 'palm leaf', Ml o-la id., 'writing leaf', Td wa- 'writing, education', Kn o-le 'leaf of a palmyra palm, leaf used to write on', Kdg o-le 'screw-pine leaf', Tu o-le 'letter on a palmyra leaf, palmyra leaf rolled up and put into the hole of an ear' ¶ D #1070 ♦ Alternatively, Gzg ?alar may be tentatively equated with D \*alar 'to blossom, open up; flower' (> Tm alar v. 'blossom, 'full-blown flower', M alar 'a blossom', Kn alar, Tu alaruni 'to spread, blossom', Tm, Ml alari, Kn alar, Tl alaru 'flower', see D #247) ♦ □ Blz. LB #98a (incl. S, EC, Ch, Ah, D + unc. FP \*elV 'Ast, Zweig' and some other parallels), □ Blz. DA 160 [#83].]

**131b. ? \*f'alpV** 'weak, exhausted' > **IE** \*halp- 'weak, swooned' > Ht {Pv.} alpant- 'swooned; weak, mild' || NaIE \*aolp- > Lt al-p-ti v. 'faint (away), swoon', a'lpē-ti 'lie in a swoon', alpi-mas 'a swoon' || Gk 'αλαπαδνοϝ 'weak', ??σ 'αλαπαζω 'destroy' || ?? Al laps- vt. 'exhaust, tire out', vi. become

exhausted, get tired out' ¶¶ P 33, ¶ EI 528 (IE \*h<sub>2</sub>elpos 'weak'), Pv. I-II 38-9, ≠ Ts. E I 18 (interprets Ht alpant- as 'bewitched'), Frn. 8 (no et. of Lt al<sup>~</sup>pti), O 213, F I 64 ¶ HS: ? S \*°√fip > Ar fīllawf- 'very aged' (of an old man), ? fīlfawt- 'sot, qui parle sans réfléchir' ¶ Ln. 2132, BK II 342-3 ¶ A: Tg \*alba-v. 'be unable' > Ewk, Neg, Ork alba-, Lm albъ- id., Nab Nh/KU albqto - albaqtu 'lazy' ¶ STM I 30 ◇ ¶ IS I 239-40 [#96] (IE, Tg + *unc.* K \*ǵalp- 'weak', cf. N \*ǵo<sup>~</sup>Lpa 'weak, small').

**132.** \*Øal<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>u (= \*Øal<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>u<sup>~</sup>?) 'a Liliaceous plant (garlic, onion, aloë or sim.)' > HS: CS \*falw(ay) 'aloë' ('Allium aloë') > Sr Ōwal<sup>~</sup>a falway id., ChrPA Æwl<sup>~</sup> ?lw?, MHb [Msh.] Nia5v!l6o2 falwa<sup>~</sup>in- Nii%v!l6o2 falwa<sup>~</sup>yīn id. ¶ Löw II 149-52, Js. 67 ¶ IE: NaIE \*°a(:)lu- 'leek' ({EI} ? \*a<sup>~</sup>lu- 'esculent root', {P} \*a<sup>~</sup>lu-, \*a<sup>~</sup>lo- 'bitter plant') > L a<sup>~</sup>lium, (after I c. CE) allium 'garlic', Osc (or Msp) \*allo<sup>~</sup> (< \*ali<sup>~</sup>a<sup>~</sup>): [Hs.] ὄσλιν · λαχάνον · ἰταλοί ('garlic' in the speech of Italics) ¶ Gk I ὄσλιν, Gk ὄσλα\* in ὄσλα<sup>~</sup> (gen. ὄσλα<sup>~</sup>ντο<sup>~</sup>) 'force-meat, sausage' (Kr.: ← \*'sausage with garlic') ⇨ ὄσλαντο-ειδη<sup>~</sup> 'sausage-formed', ὄσλαντο-ποιό<sup>~</sup> 'maker of sausages' ({WH}: Gk <b- Osc) ¶ ? OI a<sup>~</sup>lu<sup>~</sup>kam 'the esculent root of Amorphophallus campanulatus' ¶ P 33, EI 620, WH I 30, F I 75, Ch. 63, M K I 81 ¶ D \*ul<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>i, {GS} \*ul<sup>~</sup>i 'onion, garlic' > Tm, Ml ul<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>i, Tl ulli id., Kt ul<sup>~</sup>y, Td ul<sup>~</sup>y, Klm, Prj, Gdb ulli, Nk ullig, Gnd ulli<sup>~</sup> ulli<sup>~</sup> uli, Knd, Mnd uli, Png u<sup>~</sup>r<sup>~</sup>i, Ku u<sup>~</sup>lli<sup>~</sup> ulli, Krx uli 'onion', Tu ulli, ul<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>i 'garlic' ¶¶ D #705, GS 170 [#426], 51 [#127] ¶ A: Tg \*elu, 'onion' > Ul, Orl, Nn Nh/KU 3lu, WrMc elu id. ¶ STM II 448 ◇ Tg \*e- may be due to vowel harmony: N \*Øal<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>u<sup>~</sup> > \*a<sup>~</sup>lu<sup>~</sup> > Tg \*elu. The long \*a<sup>~</sup> in L and OI may represent the apophonic L-grade (Dehnstufe).

**133.** ? \*Øal<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>o<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>qu 'to bend', 'a joint in a limb' (esp. 'elbow', 'ankle') > HS: Eg fOK ʔrk. [\*√fkl.] 'bend' > Cpt Sd/B wlk o<sup>~</sup>lk 'plier, courber, contracter' ¶ EG I 211, Fk. 45, Vc. 249 || ? B \*√lk 'be bent' [× N \*Luka 'to bend; (?) flexible twig, q.v. ffd.] || Bj {R} √hlg 'biegen, krümmen' (1s: p. a-ha<sup>~</sup>lig, prs. ahan<sup>~</sup>lig) ¶ R WBd 116 || Ech: Mkl {J} ?o<sup>~</sup>le<sup>~</sup> 'elbow', Jg {J} lukho id. ¶ J LM 156, J J 114 ¶ IE \*helk<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup> (-> NaIE \*alk<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup> / \*holk<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup> 'bent, elbow' (with secondary Schwebeablaut NaIE \*olk<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup> / \*lok<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>) ({EI} \*h<sub>2</sub>elek- 'elbow, forearm'): [1] NaIE \*alk<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup> / \*olk<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup> / \*ok<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup> > Arm olo<sup>~</sup> olok<sup>~</sup> shinbone, fibula, perone' ¶ Gk [Hs.] ὄλεξ, ὄλεξ · πηχὺς ('fore-arm') ¶ Lt uolekti's, u<sup>~</sup>olektis, Ltv o<sup>~</sup>lektis 'ell' (both from \*o<sup>~</sup>lekt-), Pru woaltis, woltis (< \*o<sup>~</sup>lkt-) 'Unterarm', Pru alkunis, Lt alku<sup>~</sup>ne<sup>~</sup>, Ltv e<sup>~</sup>lks, e<sup>~</sup>lkons 'elbow' ¶ pSl \*olk<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup> 'elbow' > OCS лакътъ, Blg ѿлакът, SCr la<sup>~</sup>kat, Δ la<sup>~</sup>kat, Slv lake<sup>~</sup>t, Cz loket, Slk loket, P łokiec, R, Uk 'локот' id. ¶ [2] ?? NaIE \*lek<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup> / \*lok<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup> > Gk λοξό<sup>~</sup> 'slanting, crosswise, aslant' ¶ OIr {SB} losc (gen. pl. luscú) 'lame' ¶ L luxus 'dislocated', licinus 'aufwärts gekrümmt, aufwärts gebogen (von Hörnern)' ¶¶ P 308-9, EI 176, F II 136-7, SB 244, Slr. 322-3, Frn. 8, 1167, En. 140, 276, Tp. P A-D 75-7, Glh. 367, WH I 798, 841 ¶ U: FP \*l<sup>~</sup>Ekke 'ankle' > pPrm \*l<sup>~</sup>ekke > Vt {W} leky (= [\*l<sup>~</sup>eki] 'ankle, knucklebone', Z lek, leky- 'horse's pastern, ankle, knucklebone'!) Chr l<sup>~</sup>ekan 'block of wood' ¶ LG 158 ¶ A: T \*al<sup>~</sup>uk 'ankle joint' (× T \*al<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup> ~ \*al<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>ik 'knuckle-bone' < A \*al<sup>~</sup>l<sup>~</sup>a id., cp. Tg \*al<sup>~</sup>cu-kan id., see ET Gl 144-5) > OT as<sup>~</sup>uq 'ankle-bone, ankle', MQp XIV, Chg ≥xv as<sup>~</sup>uq, OOs, as<sup>~</sup>uq/as<sup>~</sup>uq, Tk as<sup>~</sup>ik, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg as<sup>~</sup>iq, Az as<sup>~</sup>iq, Qzq, Nog, Qq as<sup>~</sup>iq, Alt az<sup>~</sup>iq, Ln as<sup>~</sup>uq-as<sup>~</sup>s<sup>~</sup>i, Uz as<sup>~</sup>iq, ET os<sup>~</sup>uq 'ankle' ¶ Cl. 259, Rs. W 30, ET Gl 216-7, TL 288-9, ADb. SR 15 ¶ K: pGZ \*dla<sup>~</sup>q<sup>~</sup>w- 'elbow' > OG (n)ida<sup>~</sup>q<sup>~</sup>wi, MG {SSO} dla<sup>~</sup>q<sup>~</sup>wi, G ida<sup>~</sup>q<sup>~</sup>wi, nida<sup>~</sup>q<sup>~</sup>wi, Mg du<sup>~</sup>f-, Lz du(r)<sup>~</sup>qu-, xe-du<sup>~</sup>y- (xe- is 'hand, arm') ¶¶ K 74, K<sup>2</sup> 41 (\*d(l)a<sup>~</sup>w-), FS K 96-7, 105, FS E 101-2, Chik. 58-9, Chx. 522, 959 ◇ The labial vw. in T may be due to the infl. of the final \*U; \*ʔl<sup>~</sup> - \*ʔl<sup>~</sup> - > K \*dl<sup>~</sup> - ?

**134.** \*Øim<sup>~</sup>e<sup>~</sup> 'suck, swallow' > HS: Eg fOK ʔm v. 'swallow' ¶ EG I 183-4, Fk. 42 || ? S \*°-ʔim- > Ar μyO √ʔym G (ip. -ʔimu) v. 'long for milk' ← \*v. 'swallow \ suck milk greedily', under the semantic infl. of Ar μy(-ʔim- v. 'be thirsty', S \*°√ʔimm > Ar NY T √ʔimm (pf. ʔamm, ip. yiʔumm) 'drink water' ¶ Fr. III

251, 307, BK II 423, Bns. NJ I 190 || Ch: WCh: BT: Krkr {Al.} ʔi'mpa', Bole {Lk.} ʔyump-, {Ib.} (n. act.) ʔy'u'mpa' 'suck' : P' {J} ʔm<sub>u</sub>ma 'eat' :: ECh: Smr {J} ʔʒ'm 'eat (soft food)', ? Ke {Eb.} ha'me' id., Skr {Sx.} ʒyme', Mgm {J} ʔa'ymo' 'eat (hard food)', EDng {Fd.} e'me' id. ¶ JI II 119, 121, J PW 198, ChC, Fd. 24 || ? C: Bj {R} a-m- scv. 'essen, verzehren, gierig und viel essen, fressen' :: Dhl {EEN} ham- v. 'toss little food in mouth' ¶ R WBd 16, EEN 14 ¶¶ ■ Tk. SCC 95 [#25.2] (Bj, Dhl, Eg, Ch + *unc.* Sml fun- 'eat', Kz am- 'chew') || U \*ime- v. 'suck' > F, Es ime-, OHg em-, pOs \*em-/ə́m- ({HL.} \*a''m-/i''m-) > Os: V/Vy em-/ə́mi, Ty/Ya''m-/ə́ma', I em- v. 'suck' || Sm {Jn.} \*n'im-~\*n'u''m- 'suck' > Ng {Cs.} caus. 1s aor. obcj. n'imaʔbteʔama v. 'suckle', Ne T d НИМЕ-с□ 'suck out, start sucking', durative НИМЕ-(М)баА-с□ v. 'suck', Ne O {Lh.} n'imn'e-- n'u'mn'e- v. 'suck', Slq Tz {KKIH} n'im- id., Kms d 1s prs. n'imeterl'a'm v. 'suckle', Mt {HL.} \*n'nu''mnə- 'suck' (Mt: M {Sp.} d 1s [prs.?] Н-МН'ГМЬ 'I am sucking breast'); Sm {HL.} \*n'immV 'female breast, milk' > Ng {Cs.} n'imij 'breast', {Pl.} d НИМИНГЪ 'milk', Slq Tz {KKIH} n'ima id., Slq LTz {KD} n'u''m-a'' 'female breast, milk', Mt {HL.} n'nimu''ihj 'milk' (Mt T/K {Mll.} nimu 'milk', Mt M {Mll.} ni'mu 'kumys [mare's fermented milk]') || pY {IN} \*iw- 'suck' > Y: K ibi-, T iwi- id. (-i- is a sx. of vt.), ? K ibis'i 'female breast, milk' ¶¶ Coll. 15-6, UEW 82-3, Sm. 536 (U, FU, FP \*imi, Sm \*n'im-), SK 107, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 110-1, Hl. M ##759, 781, 786, KKIh 141, IN 218, ■ Rd. UJ 35-6 [#10] (Y <b- U) || R \*imV- v. 'suck' > T \*im-~\*em- v. 'suck': (1) T \*im(-) > Chv eAm- ьm(-), Δ ьm(-) id., (2) NaT \*em- ~ \*a''m- id. > OT ea''m(-), Chg em-, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Kr, Qzq, Nog, Qqlp, Uz, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Tv em-, Tk em-, Yk a''m-, Az, ET a''m-, Ggz i-em-, VTt, Bsh им- im- id. ¶ Cl. 155, DTS 172, Rs. W 41, ET Gl 271-2, Rl. I 918, 945, 1414, 1571, Jeg. 63, Fed. I 149, SDM97 (T \*a''m-ig, \*a''m-c'a''k 'fem. breast') ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ DQA #2651) M \*emku''- 'put into \ hold in the mouth' ¶¶ Not here Tg \*um(i)- v. 'drink', pKo {S} \*ma- v. 'drink' and M \*umda- 'drink' (in *ds*), which are likely to belong to N \*q'u'mʔV 'drink' [q.v. ffd.] ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2651 (A \*emV 'to suck': T, M) ◇ Cf. AD LRC: Eg, U, T, and IS I 248: U, A (T, M) ◇ Gr. II #371 (\*ima 'suck') [U, A, CK + *err.* Y + *unc.* Ko, EA].

**135. ?? \*Ø'o'mdE** 'stand upright, rise' > **HS:** S \*√fmd 'be raised, propped up, lean against', 'stand upright' > BHb dmo √fmd G v. 'stand', Ar √fmd G (pf. damaOa ʔamada) vt. 'stay [sth.], prop it up, support', JA √fmd D (pf. ʔam'med\_) v. 'place'; Mh/Jb √fmd [d]: Mh pf. ha'mo'd 'prop up one's head (with a pillow, arm)', Jb C pf. aʔmid 'put a pillow under the head'; Ak eme-du 'lean against, cling to, stand near by' ] S \*ʔa'mad- (- \*ʔamad-) n. 'support, pole' > Ar ʔamad- 'pole of a tent, column, pillar', Ak imdu 'stanchion support', (here?) Sb ʔmd '(?) vine-support, vinestock', Gz ʔamd 'column, pillar, post' ] pWS \*ʔa<sub>m</sub>mu-d- 'prop, pole of a tent, column, pillar' > BHb dum'o2 ʔam'mu-d\_, SmHb ʔammod id., Ph, IA, Plm ʔmd, JA {Js.} dum'o2 ʔam'mu-d\_, JA/Sr em. adlum'o2 æðowmu'a ʔammu-d\_-a- 'column', JEA {Sl.} ʔammu-d\_-a- 'pillar, column', Ug ʔmd 'column, ceiling beam', Ar ʔamu-d- 'prop, support, column, base', Sb (pl.) ʔʔmd 'columns, pillars', Mh {Jo.} ʔamawd 'ceiling beam', Jb C {Jo.} ʔa'mud 'beam, pillar' (<b- Ar?) ¶ KB 795-8, Ln. 2151-3, Sl. 869-70, Js. 1086-7, Br. 529-30, BGMR 16, L G 62-3, Jo. M 23, Jo. J 13, CAD IV 138-47 & VII 109-10 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} WCh \*ʔum- 'rise, climb' : NrBc: Wrj {J, Sk.} ʔzm-, Kry {Sk.} ʔimo, P' {MSk.} ʔun, Mbr/My/Jmb {Sk.} ʔzma-, Cg {Sk.} wum, {Sk. in ChC} ʔwum, Sir {Sk.} ʔzmu 'mount (an animal), climb' : Bl {Lk.} ind-, Krkr {Lk.} hind-, Ngm {ChL} hi'nd.i'n, Tng ai<sub>i</sub>di id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 227 [#759] (WCh \*ʔimVd- 'stand up'), ChC s.v. 'stand up', ChL, Sk. NB 32, MSk. 183, Stl. IF 120 || C: SC: Irq {MQK} ʔo'm- 'no longer give milk' (of a cow), 'dry up' (of a river), {E} ʔom- vi. 'stop', <b>Mb ʔu'ma v. 'stand, come to stop', ʔuma'ti vt. 'stop' ¶ E SC 278, MQK 80 || R: M \*u''o''ndu''- <b> [1] \*u''ndu''-s > MM [HI] u''ndu''s 'upright (debout)', Kl o''ndo''s 'hinauf, hoch', [2] M \*o''ndei''- > WrM o''ndu''i- ~ o''ndu''i-, HIM 'ндий- 'raise one's head, raise oneself, rise slightly', Kl {Rm.} o''ndo''-χə 'sich

heben, sich aufrichten', \*u<sup>ndi</sup>yi- > Kl {KRS, Rm.} 'ндә-х о<sup>nde</sup>-хә 'rise slightly', Dg {T} undī- id., [3] M \*o<sup>ndu</sup>r 'high' > MM [MN, S] o<sup>ndu</sup>r id., WrM o<sup>ndu</sup>r, HlM 'нд' p, Kl 'ндр о<sup>ndər</sup> 'high, tall; height', Ba onder, Dx undu 'high', [4] M \*undur- > WrM undur-, HlM ундра-х v. 'rise' ¶ Ms. H 109, Pp. MA 276-7, H 164, MED 636-7, 876, KRS 416-7, KW 296, T DgJ 171, T BJ 146, T DnJ 137 II ???σ IE \*Hend<sup>h</sup>-/\*Hn<sup>o</sup>d<sup>h</sup>- v. 'rise, appear' > Gk Hm {Hofm.} ἔν-η'vo<sup>ε</sup> 'hat sich erhoben', {LS} ἄν-η'vo<sup>ε</sup> 'mounted up', {Ch.} ἔπενη'vo<sup>ε</sup> 's'élever, monter à la surface', {LS} '[a thin coat] grew thereupon; was on it', Gk D ἦν'ov 'came' || (here?) ??σ IE \*Hn<sup>o</sup>d<sup>h</sup>-wen- > OI d'adhva-/adhvan- 'way', Av Y adva<sup>a</sup> id. ¶ WP I 130, Hofm. 83-4, Ch. I 87, LS 138, 167, F I 516-7, M K I 32, M E I 68.

**136. ?\*OomKE** '(= part of the) neck\chest' > **HS:** S \*<sup>i</sup>un<sub>l</sub>u<sub>j</sub>k.- (- \*<sup>i</sup>in<sub>l</sub>u<sub>j</sub>k.-?) [× N \***ṇiK.a** 'jugular vertebra, neck'??] > Ar <sup>i</sup>unq-, <sup>i</sup>unuq-, <sup>i</sup>anīq-, Ak unk.- 'neck', Eb {Co.} in-gu = <sup>i</sup>ink<sub>g</sub>u<sub>m</sub>j; -d̪ CS \*<sup>i</sup>u<sup>na</sup>k.- 'neck-chain, necklace' > BHb qn!o9 <sup>i</sup>na<sup>na</sup>k.- 'neck-chain', Ug {OLS} <sup>i</sup>nk., JA aq!n^o8 <sup>i</sup>un<sup>k</sup>.a-, Sr <sup>i</sup>ek<sup>k</sup>.k.a-, <sup>i</sup>ek<sup>k</sup>.k.-a<sup>t</sup>-a- id., 'neck-lace', JEA aq!n^uo <sup>i</sup>un<sup>k</sup>.a- 'neck'; -d̪ WS \*<sup>i</sup>nk. G v. 'put round the neck' > Gz <sup>i</sup>nk. G id., BHb qno <sup>i</sup>nk. G 'adorn the neck' ¶ OLS 83, KB 812-3, KBR 858-9, BK II 387, Co. SQF 143, MiK I #15 (S \*<sup>i</sup>un<sub>k</sub>.- 'neck') || ??φ C ± \*<sup>i</sup>Vng<sup>w</sup>/\*n<sup>o</sup>g<sup>w</sup>- 'breast' > Ag {Ap.} \*<sup>i</sup>zng<sup>w</sup>/\*ang<sup>w</sup>- id. > Bln zng<sup>wi</sup>, Xm \*zk<sup>w</sup>, Km \*zng<sup>w</sup>z, Aw ang<sup>w</sup> id. || EC: Sa, Af angu ({Ap.}: -bAg), Sml J {Blz.←-?} ?enek id. || ?? Bj nu<sup>g</sup>, nu<sup>g</sup>we 'female breast' (× ÷ EC \*nu<sup>g</sup>, Ag \*<sup>i</sup>Vng<sup>w</sup>- 'suck the breast', unless the verb is derived from the noun) ¶ Ap. AV 4, Blz. CL 177, R WB 35 (Bln u<sup>n</sup>gu<sup>u</sup>- ~ u<sup>ḡ</sup>u<sup>u</sup>-i 'nipple') II **A:** NaT \*o<sup>m</sup>ge<sub>l</sub>:n > OT {Cl.} o<sup>m</sup>ge<sup>n</sup> ? 'jugular vein', Chg xv o<sup>m</sup>gen ~ o<sup>m</sup>gu<sup>n</sup> 'the base of the throat and the collar-bone', Brb {Tm.}, SbTt Tv {Tm.} o<sup>m</sup>ga<sup>n</sup> 'horse's chest', Qzq o<sup>m</sup>men 'breast, oesophagus' ¶ Cl. 150, Rl. I 1315, ET Gl 537, Tm. 165 || NrTg \*u<sup>men</sup> 'Adam's apple' > Ewk umz<sup>n</sup>, Lm Ol/B/P/Sk o<sup>m</sup>id., Lm O u<sup>m</sup> 'pharynx (горлано)' ¶ STM II 213 ¶¶ Pp. VG 216 || M \*<sup>i</sup>o<sup>m</sup>ge<sub>l</sub>u<sup>r</sup> [× N \***XUḡgV(rV)** 'throat', q.v. ffd.] II ? **D:** SD \*oḡk- 'woman's breast' > Kn oḡgu 'teat, pap', ? Tm on<sup>ci</sup> ~ occi 'woman's breast (nursery)' ¶ D #943.

**137. \*<sup>i</sup>U<sup>l</sup>umḡh-V** 'sleep, lose consciousness/remembrance of' > **A** \*umḡU-(t), \*umḡU-ta- 'sleep, forget' > T: [1] \*umun- > Yk umun-, Chv man- 'forget'; [2] \*umNu-t 'oblivion' > Uz, Qrg, Alt, Qzq {Rl.} unut, CrTt {Rl.} umut id.; [3] NaT \*umḡi-t- ~ \*umni-t- v. 'forget' > OT unit- ~ unut- id., Tk unut-, Ggz, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Qrg, Uz, ET, SY, Ln unut-, VTt, Bsh. ь<sup>o</sup>н<sup>o</sup>т<sup>o</sup>-, Qzq u<sup>m</sup>it-, Nog, Qq umit-, Tv ut- id.; [4] NaT \*umḡtu- > Xk umdu- ~ undu- 'forget', Alt undu-, Tb {B} uḡdu ¶ Cl. 179, ET Gl 597-8, Jeg. 128 || M: [1] M \*umarta- 'forget' > MM [S, IsV] umarta-, [MA, IM] marta-, WrM umarta-, marta-, HlM уmapта-, Ord mart'a-, Kl mapr- martə- id., Mnr {SM} mus<sup>d</sup>a-, MMgl [Z] ma<sup>rt</sup>-, Mgl {Rm.} mo<sup>rt</sup>a-, Dx {T} mata- id., 'not to think of'; [2] M \*umta- v. 'sleep' > MM [HI, S, MA, IM] unta-, WrM umta-, HlM унта-, Ord {Ms.} u<sup>nt</sup>a-, Kl унт- untə-, Mnr H {SM} nc<sup>i</sup>a<sup>-</sup>, {T} nta<sup>-</sup>, nc<sup>a</sup>-, Mnr M {T} nta- id., d': MM [S, HI] untara-, Mnr H {SM} nt<sup>z</sup>ra<sup>-</sup>, Dx huntura- (with a secondary h-) id. ¶ H 163, 165, Pp. MA 234, 364, 441, 449, Ms. H 105, Lg. VMI 71, Iw. 115, MED 874-5, SM 251, 285-6, T 352, T DnJ 128, KW 257, 450 || Tg \*omḡa- 'forget' > Ewk, Neg, Nn KU omḡo-, Sln, Orc ommo-, Lm omḡḡ-, Ud oḡmo-, Ork omgo- ~ oḡbo-, Nn Nh oḡbo-, Nn B omgo- ~ oḡgo-, WrMc oḡgo-, Mc Sb oḡo- ¶ STM II 17 ¶¶ S AJ 295, DQA #2523 (A \*umḡ(t)o- 'forget'), KW 257 (M, T), 450 (M, T, Tg) II **HS:** Eg XIX <sup>i</sup>wn v. 'sleep' ¶ EG I 173 || ?? S [1] \*<sup>i</sup>ṽmy > Ar <sup>i</sup>ṽmy G 'be blind', Sr <sup>i</sup>ṽmy D (pf. <sup>i</sup>ammī) 'to blind', Tgr <sup>i</sup>mw G (pf. <sup>i</sup>ama) 'be blind' || [2] S \*<sup>i</sup>ṽmh > Ar <sup>i</sup>ṽmh 'be(come) confounded \ perplex \ unable to see one's right way' ¶ BK II 373, Ln. 2160-2, F III 224-5, JPS 416, Br 529, LH 457, MiK I #2.3 || Ch {JS} \*<sup>i</sup>ywn ~ \*<sup>i</sup>wn ({JI} \*<sup>i</sup>ywn) 'sleep' (× N \***Oaw<sub>l</sub>y<sub>j</sub>V**~\***Oaw<sub>i</sub>ṽV** 'to pass the night, sleep', q.v. ffd.) II **U:** FU \*<sup>i</sup>w<sub>j</sub>unḡh<sup>h</sup> e 'sleep, dream, forget' > F uni (gen. unen), Es uni (gen. une) n. 'sleep, dream', F uno-hta- v. 'forget', unho 'oblivion', Es une- 'forget', unu- 'fall into oblivion' ; Er, Mk on 'sleep, dream' ; Prm \*wun- > Vt vun- 'be forgotten', Z vun- id.,

'forget', Yz vuns'i- 'forget' || Sm: Ng {Cs.} ɲanaʔbta- 'forget' ¶ UEW 588 (U \*wunV 'vergessen werden'), 804 (FV \*unV 'sleep, dream'), LG 70, Cs. 43 || **D** (in SD) \*ụm 'dumbness', \*ụm- 'dumb' > Tm ụm 'dumbness', ụman 'dumb man', Ml ụman 'dumb, stupid', Kn ụme 'dumb man, taciturn man' ¶ D #746 [**U** ?? **K**: G van-~~jmn.~~ beherbergen, ~~jm~~-m ein Dach gewähren', van-i 'Haus, Obdach'] ♦ Coll. 65, UEW 588, ET Gl 598 (all of them: A, U).

**138.** ? \*ØoyñV 'see, look; eye' > **HS** \*ʕi'n-/ʕayn- 'eye', (→) 'spring' > S \*ʕayn- 'eye' > Ak īn-, Ar ʕy00a ʕayn-, BHb Ni%o2 'ʕayin, Ph, Ug ʕn, OA, IA, Nbt, Plm ʕyn, BA cs. Nio4 ʕẹn, pl. Nin5i'o2 ʔay'n-īn, JA [Trg.], JEA em. anlio4 ʕẹ'nạ, cs. Nio4 ʕẹ'n, Sr W Nj'oī ʕīn, Sr E cs. Nj%o° ʕẹ.̣n, Sr W em. 'nøj'a ʕay'n-ạ, Sr E em. 'n—j°Ā ẹ'nạ, Sb ʕyn, Gz ʕayn; the same word means 'spring (of water)' in Hb, Ug, Ar, Nbt, Plm, JA, Sb, Gz, Ak, etc.; ḍWS \*ʕyn D v. 'look, contemplate' and the like > Hb, Ug, Sr, Gz ʕyn D id. ¶ KB 773-5, KB LVT 1107, KBR 817-9, JH 207, HJ 839-40, A ##2055-2056, OLS 82, Lv. T II 212-3, Sl. 855-7, Br. 522, PS 2867, BGMR 23, L G 79-80, MiK I #1.28 || Eg ʕn, ʕyn *hier*: \*'eye'; Eg G ʕny 'Name von Gewässern' (interpreted by Budge as 'well, fountain') ¶ EG I 189, Budge I 123 || ? B {Pr.} \*ʕnḥy ~ \*ʕḥny v. 'see, look' (× N \*n'ʕẹ'xa 'see') > Tnsl ənhi = ənhy, ip. intens. i-hannəy, vb. n. a-hanay, Ah əni (Pr.'s phonemic transcr.: əny), ip. intens. i-hạnnəy, vb. n. ạ-hanay, Gh əni = əny, ip. intens. i-hannəy, Ty, ETwl ənəy, ip. intens. i-hannəy, Tdq ənhy v. 'see', NB: Sll {Ds.} anna'y, prs. y-ạ'nnay 'apercevoir qch. qui tombe sous les yeux', Izd {Mrc.} inni, iannay v. 'look at' ¶ Fc. 1357, Pr. H #563, GhA 152, Mrc. 218, Ds. 296; in Pr.'s opinion, the variant \*ʕnḥy is original, while \*ʕḥny goes back to *mt* (Pr. H 15-6), but in the light of external HS comparison the opposite seems to be the case || C: Dhl {E} ʕẹ'n-ạḍ- 'see from afar' || EC \*intV- \*inḍV 'eyes' (< \*ʕin-tV- \*ʕin-ḍV with loss of \*ʕ- due to the infl. of the sg. \*il 'eye?') > Af {PH} inṭita, Sa {Wlm.} inṭit, {R} inṭiṭ -ʕinṭiṭ 'eyes' (whence a *bf*: sg. Af {PH}, Sa {Wlm.} inti 'eye'), Sml Ṇi'nḍo' 'eyes', Bn inṇz, Rn i'nḍo', Gdl i'nḍạ, Dsn ʔinnu, Elm i'nnay, Arr ʔi'nḍa' 'eyes' (in all these lgs. there is uppletivism: sg. \*il- pl. \*inḍV), ?? Bs {HL} iḍo 'eye(s)'; probably from \*ʕin- 'eye' with the pl. marker \*-tV; the glottalization \*ṭḍ is still to be explained ¶ Bl. 196, AD SF 149-50, Hw. A 340-1, PG 156, PH 137, Oo. 66, Lm. SD 315, HL 63, To. DL 482 [†, E 274] || ? NrOm: Kf {C} īno- 'salt water spring', unno- 'spring', Anf {Gt.} ino id., ɿ Gmr {Bulat.} aḥ 'eye' ¶ AD SF 149-50, C SE IV 400, Gt. 347, Bulat. 343 || Ch: [1] Ch {Stl.} \*ʕiyan- 'see' > WCh {Stl.} \*ʕiʕayan- v. 'see' > Bl {Lk.} ʔinn-, NrBc: P' {MSk} ḥan, {IL in ChC} hani, SBc: Gj {Sh.} yenī, {Luc.} yẹ'ni, Plc {Luc.} yenụ; Ron: DfB yen v. 'see' || CCh: G'nd {ChL} ạnni' v. 'see' || Ech: Jg {J} ʔinn- 'können, kennen' || [2] Ch \*\*HindV 'eye(s)' (¶ {Nw.} \*iḍ [i.e. \*iḍY], {Stl.} Ch \*ʔida-n- 'eye') > WCh \*ʔinda > Hs i'do- 'eye', pl. i'da-nụ, Gw ṇdạ'ni 'eye(s)' | pAG {Hf.} \*yit, {Stl.} \*yiḍ 'eye(s)' > Su, Mnt, Gmy, Cp yit, Tal {IL} yī't, Ywm {J} yi't, Kfr yit | BT \*ʔi₁ṇḍV ({Stl.} \*ʔiḍV) > Bl {IL} i'do', Dr {J} yẹ'ro', Krkr ʔi'do', Gera {Sch.} i'ḍi', Grm {Sch.} i'da', Bele {Sch.} i'do', Krf {Sch.} i'ro', Tngl i'do', {Lk.} idu, ? Pr {Frz.} ạnḍo' | NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} ʔi'da', pl. ʔi'di', Sir {IL} i'ta', My ai-ti-eti | Ngz/Bd {Sch.} da'eye' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} yiti | Dgh {Frk., ChL} ṇdẹ | HgN {Mk.} inc̣z, HgK {Mk.} nc̣i || Ech: Skr {Nc.} i'd-, {Brt.} yīdi | EDng {Fd.} o'do', Mgm {J} ʔi'ḍẹ | Jg {J} ʔu'dẹ, Brg {J} ʔu'di' 'eye' ¶ Nw.'s pCh \*iḍ, JS's pCh \*ʕyd and S's Ch \*ʔida-n- do not take into account the ev. for \*-nd- provided by Gw, Pr and Dgh ¶ JI I 80 & II 126-7, JS 96, ChC, ChL, Mts. GD 29, Stl. ZCh 230 [#784], Hf. AG #182, Sch. BTL 144, Frz. P 19, Stl. IF 119, 172 ¶¶ ■ Sk. HCD 115 || **IE** [1] \*\*H₁wei\_n- > NaIE (in IIr only) \*°wei\_n- v. 'look, see' > OI 'vẹnati 'looks, observes', Av vac̣nahti 'sees', OPrs vainạmiy 'I see', MPrs vẹn-, NPrs bīn- (imv. ḥyBi bīn, acp. bīnā- 'seeing') v. 'see', Sgd, Prth wyn- id. || [2] ? \*ḥẹn (or \*ʔẹn) 'siehe da!' (× N \*ḥEnV 'iste' [q.v.]) > Gk ḥḡv, ḡḡv, L ẹn id. ¶¶ M K III 259-260, Vl. I 306, P 314, F I 637, WH I 403-4 || **U**: FP (in Lp only) \*oyñ'a > pLp \*ẉyne- v. 'see' > Lp: L {LLO} ại'n-ẹt, S {Hs.} vuō'jṇedh, N oai'dnet v. 'see', Pa {TI} vụ'ạ'ḡi\_ṇẹ-, Kld {TI} ui\_ṇẹ-

id., {SaR} уйһу 'see, notice' [|| Y: Y K {IN} aŋʒ'ə 'eye'] ¶ Lr. #819, Lgc. #4548, Hs. 1452-3, TI 765, SaR 370, IN 47, 295 || **Æ**: M \*oy'u'n 'mind' > MM [MA] oi\_n-da\_n bo\_l {Pp.} 'буду в уме!', 'be [still] in [your] mind!', [S] oyi(n) 'Sinn, Gefühl', WrM oyun, HIM оуһ, WrO oyun~oyon, Kl оһ, ойһ 'intellect, mind' ¶ MED 606, Pp. MA 262, H 130, Krg. 118, KRS 393, 407 || Tg: Lm Һһъ Һһо 'hyaloid membrane (of an eye), reindeer's eye' || The A *cd.* \*in'a-mu- 'tears', lit. 'eye-water' (< N \*ØoyñV + \*muhi 'water, fluid') > Tg \*in'a-mu- v. 'weep' > Ewk in'amu-; Tg \*(i)n'a-mu-kta 'tears' > Ewk in'amukta ~ n'amukta, Sln nama-kta ~ naŋmukta, Lm Һһъmtъ, Neg in'amta, Ud in'amukta, Ork ye\_ndumusqa, Nn n'i\_amoqta ~ n'amoqta ~ n'umoqta id. ¶ STM I 319, Krm. 239 || cp. pKo (> MKo nu'n-mi'r 'tears') and pJ \*na-mi'(n)ta 'tears' - ffd. see s.v. \*n'ɽe'ɣa 'see' ¶ Cf. DQA #1473 (A \*ni\_a- 'eye'), S AJ 30-1, 275 [#21] (A \*n'ia- 'eye', \*n'ia'(l)-mu-ri 'tears') || ? **D** \*un\_n- v. 'look, think, consider' (× N \*hAwñV 'sense, mind, soul') > Tm un\_nu v. 'think, consider', un\_ni v. 'meditate', Ml unnuka, unnika, Kt, Td uny-, Kn unnisu v. 'think', Tl {Km.} uŋkisu v. 'consider', Ku onpinal v. 'intend', Brh hunniŋ v. 'look, look at, consider' ¶¶ D #727 ♦ The adduction of Ilr \*wayn- has been suggested by Blz. (p.c., 1994) ♦ S and WNL NC adduce here A {SDM95-97} \*n'a-: 'eye' [> Tg {SDM} \*n'ia-sa, {AD} \*n'ia-sa(l) 'eye(s)', M \*nidu'n 'eye', T \*ja'l 'tear', pKo \*nu'n 'eye'], which is more doubtful than to connect A \*n'a-: with N \*n'ɽe'ɣa 'see' (q.v.).

**139. ? \*ŋoN3V** (or \*ŋoN3V?) 'fang, stake' > 'weapon (dart, javelin, or the like)' > **HS**: S \*ŋnz > Ar ŋanaz-at- '∈ javelin, staff with a pointed iron' ¶ BK II 383, Fr. III 231, Hv. 504 || **K**: MG [KC] aŋza 'stake (Pfahl, кол)', G aŋza id., 'mast' ¶ DCh. 40 || ? **IE** \*ɽx'n\_sis- ({EI} \*h₂h₃n\_sis) 'large (offensive) knife, dagger, ? sword' > NaIE \*n\_sis- 'sword' > OI a'si-h. 'sword; knife (used for killing animals)', Av aŋhu- 'sword' || L ensis id. || Pal hastra- 'dagger' ¶¶ P 771, Dv. #489, EI 561, M K I 64-5, WH I 406 || ? **U**: FU {UEW} \*onc'a-rV 'fang (of a bear, etc.)' > Prm \*woʒVr (= {LG} \*wo\_ʒVr) > Z woʒ'ir 'fang', Z Ud vʒz'ir, Vt vʒerʒin id. (пин 'tooth'), Δ waz'er, vaʒ'er || ObU: Vg: T ʒn'c'ər, LK/P a'n's'ər, Ss an's'ar 'tusk (Hauzahn)'; ? Os: D/K a'ŋcəl 'bear's canine tooth (Reißzahn)', Km a'ŋcəl 'bear's tooth', O a'ns'a'r 'am Gürtel getragener Bärenzahn', Kz a'n's'ar 'Eck-\\Reißzahn des Bären' || OHg xv agyar 'boar's tusk (Hauer, Hauzahn)', Hg agyar 'tusk, fang' ¶ UEW 340, MF 74, LG 60, Coll. 71, EWU 13 ♦ Pal h- seems to point to IE \*x and N \*ɣ, while the K data suggest a weak lr. (\*f-). To solve the problem we need to check well the interpretation of the Pal word and to elucidate the origin of Pal h-.

**139a. \*ØiN₁V₁qV** 'live' > **HS**: Eg fOK ɽnɣ v. 'live', ɽnɣ 'life' ¶ EG I 193-206 || **Æ**: Tg \*in- 'live' > Ewk in-, Δ in3- 'live', Ewl in- in3e 'life', Lm, Neg in- 'live', Sln inirg3- ~ in3rg3- 'come to life', Orc ini, iniyi, inihi, Ud inigi, Nn KU iŋki 'alive' ¶ STM I 315 || **D** \*iŋk₁u₁- 'abide' > Tm iŋku (prœt. iŋki) 'abide, stay', Tl iŋkuva a place, haunt' ¶¶ D #420 ♦ It is tempting to adduce here SC {E} \*ni₁:ɣh- or \*ne'h- 'live, be alive' > ???σ Brn ilanih 'to sprout'; SC ɣ Mb nihi 'animal' (E SC 186), but its SC rec. is too shaky to be reliable..

**140. \*Øup.E** 'take wing', 'up' > **HS**: WS \*-ŋu\_p- v. 'fly' > Hb ʒŋwp (prm. -ŋu\_p-), Ug ʒŋwp, Gz ʒŋwf (js. -ŋu\_f) v. 'fly', Ph ʒŋwp (*G* imv. sg. m. ɽp) v. 'fly, fly away', Ar ʒŋwf *G* (ip. -ŋu\_fu) 'circle over [sth.]' (of birds); ɔ CS \*ŋawp- 'bird' > Hb F&o ŋo\_p\_, Ug ɽp, Sr ɽw\_p\_a-, Gz ŋo\_f, Ph ɽp-t 'fowl, bird', Ar ɽawf- 'cock; omen, fortune' ¶ KB 756-7, HJ 833, 878, OLS 84, Ln. 2198, Br. 517, L G 78 || Eg L/G ɽpy v. 'fly' ¶ EG I 179 || **IE** \*Hupo [{EI} \*h₄u'po 'up (from underneath)'] > NaIE \*upo- 'upon, on to' > Av upa, OPrs upa- 'auf' || ON of 'over', OHG u\_f 'up, above' (> NHG auf 'on'), AS ufe-weard 'up, upper, later', OHG ob(a) 'on, above, over', ON upp, AS upp (> NE up), OFrs, OSx up 'up', OSx uppan adv. 'on the top, above, over', OHG obana id., 'from above' > NHG oben || NaIE \*up-ero- 'upper' > Av uparo- id.; \*uper-(i) 'over' > OI u'pari 'above, over', Av upahri, OPrs upariy 'over' || ?φ Gk 'ὕπερ, ὕπερ 'over' || OIr for 'over, on', W gwarthaf 'height' (< \*vortamos) || Gt ufar, ON yfir, AS ofer (> NE over), OHG ubar, ubir (> NHG u'ber), OSx

ovar 'over'; Gt ufaro<sup>-</sup> adv. 'above', OHG obaro 'upper, higher' (> NHG ober), AS yferra adj. 'upper' || NaIE \*up-emo- 'der oberste' > OI upa<sup>-</sup>ma-, Av upəma-, AS ufemest, yfemest || NaIE \*ups- 'high, upper' > Gk ὑψι adv. 'high' || OIr o's, uas 'above' (P: < \*oup-su), OW uuc, MW uch id., W uwch 'higher', Crn (a) ugh, OBr uh, Br Δ euc'h, oc'h, ouc'h 'above' || \*u<sup>-</sup>psa- > Sl \*vis- -d> [1] \*vis-o<sup>-</sup>къ m. 'high' (f. \*vis-o<sup>-</sup>ка, ntr. \*vis-o<sup>-</sup>ko) > OCS вѣсокъ visokъ, Blg виѣсок, SCR vi<sup>-</sup>sok, Slv viso<sup>-</sup>k 'high', R высок 'is high', prnl. adj.: R высокий, Uk виѣсокий, P wysoky, Cz, Slk vysoky', [2] Sl \*visъ f. height (what is high above)' > OCS вѣсь visъ, R вѣсѣ, Blg вис id., SCR vi<sup>-</sup>s, Blg Δ вис 'top (of mountains); [3] Sl comp. \*visъjъ 'higher', ntr.\adv. \*visъe > SCR vi<sup>-</sup>sъi, ntr.\adv. vi<sup>-</sup>sъe, OCS вѣшини visъiji, ntr.\adv. вѣше visъe, adv.: Blg ѣвише, R ѣвише, Slv vi<sup>-</sup>sъe, Cz vy<sup>-</sup>sъe ¶ WP I 192, P 1106-7, EI 612, Mn. 1478-9, F II 966-7, 978, Fs. 509, Vr. 416, 635, 676, Ho. 240, 376-7, Ho. S 57, 81, Kb. 740-1, 1054-5, 1061, KM 36, 518, 799, Vn. O 31-2, Flr. 326, Glh. 672, BER I 152, Ma. CS 578, M K I 105-6 || R: [1] A: M \*obuya > MM [HI] {Ms.} obo<sup>-</sup>o 'tertre', WrM obuga(n), obu, HlM oboo 'heap, pile; heap of stones'; "obo", i. e. 'mound\cairn of stones built as a landmark\monument for special religious ceremonies', Kl ova id., {Rm.} owa<sup>-</sup> 'hill, heap, heap of stons on roads or on a hill', Mnr H {SM} ob\_o<sup>-</sup> 'obo, monceau de pierres qu'on venère'; M б> T: MQP [CC] oba 'hill', Kr oba 'heap of stones', QrB oba id., 'grave', Qzq, Nog oba 'kurgan, tumulus', Bsh uba id., 'hill' ¶ Ms. H 81, MED 598, Kow. 370, KRS 391, KW 291, SM 296, Cl. 5, Dr. TM II 133, ET Gl 398-400, Rs. W 356, Grøn. 173 ¶ ¶ DQA #1603 (\*o<sup>-</sup>p<sup>-</sup>v 'hill, heap of stones' > M, T [treated as a cognate and not as a loan]) || [2] Tg \*u<sup>-</sup>pu-, \*u<sup>-</sup>pu-kte 'feather' > Orc upuktz ~ opukte, Ud ofokto, Ork upuktz, Nn Nh upultz, Nn KU ufuktz, Nn B ufultz 'feather, down'; Nn KU ufu-, Ud ofo-di-v. 'pluck feather\down' ¶ \*-kta/e is a sx. of mass nouns ¶ STM II 281, Ci. 209.

**141. \*ØVPVrV** '(river-)bank' > **IE:** NaIE {P} \*a<sup>-</sup>per-o-, \*a<sup>-</sup>per-yo- 'shore', 'mainland' ({EI} \*h<sub>3</sub>eHperos (?) 'river bank, shore of sea') > Gk: A ἡπειροϋ, D ἡπειροϋ (long α<sup>-</sup>), Ae ἡπερροϋ (α<sup>-</sup>) 'mainland' [< \*a<sup>-</sup>per-yo-] || AS o<sup>-</sup>fer, Dt oeuer, MHG uover > NHG Ufer 'shore' [< \*a<sup>-</sup>per-o-], MLG o<sup>-</sup>ver id. [< \*a<sup>-</sup>per-yo-] || ?? Arm առ ա<sup>h</sup>n 'bank, shore' ¶ Bc. #1.26, WP I 47, P 53, EI 515, F I 640, Hofm. 109, Ch. I 415, Ho. 240, KM 801, Ach. I 365 || **HS:** S \*ʕib<sub>1</sub>ṽ<sub>1</sub>r- 'the region beyond\across a body of water (river\lake\sea)', '(further) shore' > BHb rb3o4 ʕeb.ər 'opposite side (of a river, lake, etc.); side, edge, bank', SmHb {BH} ʕe<sup>-</sup>ba<sup>-</sup>r id., JA ar<sup>-</sup>lb6o5 ʕib<sup>-</sup>r-a<sup>-</sup> ~ ar<sup>-</sup>lb5o3 ʕeb<sup>-</sup>r-a<sup>-</sup> 'opposite side', Sr ærob0e ʕeb<sup>-</sup>r-a<sup>-</sup> 'crossing (a river), further shore', Md ʕbra 'coastland, foreshore', Ar ʕibr- ~ ʕabr- ~ ʕubr- 'shore', Ak eber-na<sup>-</sup>ri (n. l., lit. 'the region beyond the river') [ϕ-WS?], Eb a-bar-ri<sup>-</sup>is<sup>-</sup> = ʕabar-is<sup>-</sup> ({Frnz.} ʕaba<sup>-</sup>ris<sup>-</sup>) loc. 'on the other bank'; S \*ʕibr v. 'cross (a body of water), pass over' (→ \*'pass over a stream to the other side') > Hb, Ph, Pu, Ug, OA, IA, JA, Sr, Ar, Sb ʕibr G 'cross over (water, etc.), pass', Ak ebe<sup>-</sup>ru 'to cross (water)', Eb a-ba-ri<sup>-</sup>im = {Krb.} ʕaba<sup>-</sup>r-im inf. gen. id.; Cn б> Eg (EgSSc) ʕa<sup>-</sup>br<sup>-</sup>ya 'ford, crossing' (Eg NK y < r, cf. Erm. NÄG 23-4) ¶ KB 735-8, HJ 821-3, A #1990, OLS 71, Sl. 840-1, Js. 1039-40, JPS 399, DM 4, 340, Fr. III 97-8, BK II 152-3, CAD IV 10-2, Sd. 182, Slw. 145-6, Hlk. #28, SivCR 18, Frnz. EL 133 || **D** (in SD) \*e<sup>-</sup>ri '(raised) bank, lake, reservoir for irrigation' > Tm e<sup>-</sup>ri 'large tank, reservoir for irrigation; lake', Ml e<sup>-</sup>ri 'bank; stakes to support banking work', Kn e<sup>-</sup>ri 'a raised bank, the bank of a tank, a tank', Kdg e<sup>-</sup>tri 'parapet of well, bund (in paddy-fields, of tank)', Tu e<sup>-</sup>ri 'a bed for planting vegetables' ¶ D #901.

**142. \*ØVP.VrV** 'wild boar' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>/ʕpr > Ar ʕifr- ~ ʕufr 'wild boar, swine, young pig' ({Fr.} ʕifr- 'porcus, aper', ʕufr- 'porcus') ¶ Fr. III 183 || ??ϕ Eg fXX ip<sup>h</sup> 'swine' ¶ EG I 69 || **IE** \*hepero- [{EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>eperos 'boar (adult male of Sus scrofa)'] > NaIE \*apro-s 'wild boar' (with \*a on the analogy of \*kapro-s 'he-goat'), > L aper, -i 'wild boar', Um apruf, ABROF id. (acc. pl.), abrunu id. (acc. sg.) || pGmc \*ebura- 'wild boar' > AS efor, MLG ever, OHG ebur, NHG Eber || BSl \*weprya- (with \*w- on the analogy of a different

word) > Ltv *vepris* 'castrated boar' : Sl \**veprъ* ~ \**veprь* 'wild boar' > OR *вепрь* *veprъ*, R *вепр*, gen. '*вепри*', Blg '*вепър* 'wild boar', Uk '*вепер* 'wild boar, hog', SCR *ve\_par* (gen. *ve\_pra*), P *wieprz* (gen. *wieprza*), Cz *veprъ* 'hog' :: ?σ Thr *ῥεβροῖ* 'ram' ¶ P 323, EI 425, WH I 56, Ho. 92, KM 150-1, EWA II 941-3, Bc. G 327, Kar. II 507, Glh. 666-7, Vs. I 292, Pln. II 724 || A possible highly doubtful cognate: *ἄ* \**ep'vrV* 'horn' (if from 'fung' ← 'wild boar's fung' ← 'wild boar'?) > M \**eber-* 'horn' (> MM [HI, S, MA, IM] *eber*, WrM *eber*, HIM *ывър*, Mnr *uyer*), pKo {S} \**s-pr'id*. (> MKo *sp'r*, NKo *p-ul*), Tg \**oporV* 'nose' (> Nn *oporō* <sup>d</sup> *oforo*, WrM *oforo*) ¶¶ DQA #646 (A \**i\_op'e'rV* ~ \**i\_aplo'rV*), S AJ 46, 291, MED 286, SM 480, Ms. H 52, H 40, Pp. MA 150, 436, S QJ #43, Nam 274, MLC 832, STM II 22) ♦ AD NM #46, S CNM 13 & SN 146 (÷÷ OChn?).

**143. \**ṣir'i*** '(male, young) ungulate' > HS: WS \**ṣayr-* ~ \**ṣir-* 'male wild ass, ass foal' > BHb *ri%o2* '*ṣayir*, SmHb *ir* 'male ass; young ass', BHb +ppa: *ṣir-*: »*rio5 ṣir-o-* 'his male ass' (the pl. form of the Masoretic tradition *Mir5i!o9* ~ *Mr5i!o9 ṣ'ya-rim* is on the analogy of \**1a2a3-* nouns, cp. the SmHb cognate form *Mrio irām*), MHb *ri%o2* '*ṣayir*, Ug *ir* {A} 'ass foal', {OLS} 'ass', JA [Trg.] pl. *Nir%io2 ṣay'r-in* id., Ar *ṣayr-* 'wild ass, domestic ass', WS *ḫ* Ak Mr *ḫa-ru* ~ *ḫaʔaru* ~ *ayaru* 'ass foal' ¶ KB 777-8, KBR 822, A #2090, OLS 87, Lv. III 643, Lv. T II 214, Js. 1075, BK II 419, CAD VI 118, Sd. 328 || Eg fOK *ṣ* 'ass' > DEg *ṣ* > Cpt Sd *ew*, Cpt B *iw* ¶ EG I 165, Vc. 60-1 || ?σ C: DhI {EEN} *he'ri* 'goat, sheep' :: SC: Irq {MQK} *ṣa'ri* 'she-goat', pl. *a-ra* 'goats', Irq/Grw/Alg/Brn {E} *ara* 'goats' ¶ EEN 15, E SC 297, MQK 16 || ?σ Ch: WCh: Mnt/Ywm *ur* 'he-goat' :: ECh: Ll *o-re* 'goats' ¶ JI II 167, ChC, ChL ¶¶ EG I.c., Ember ESS #3.b.6, OS #1081, Tk. I 54, Tk. SCC 95 [#25.3] || K \**ir-* > OG, G *irem-* 'deer' ¶ Abul. 189, DCh. 582 || IE \**r* <sup>h</sup> '*er(i)-* ({EI} \**h<sub>1</sub>er-* 'lamb, kid') > NaIE \**er-*, *eri-* '€ horned artiodactyl' (× N \**ʔerq'i* '€ ruminant' [q.v.]; I am grateful to Blz. for drawing my attention to this contamination) > L *arie*-s (gen. *arie-tis*) 'ram', Um *erietu* 'arietem' :: BSl [er-, \**eri-* × IE \**yeHr-* 'springtime, year' (< N \**n'ayr'E* *ṣ* 'young, new-born', q.v.)] > Pru *eristian*, Lt (j)e'r<sup>s</sup> 'ras, Ltv *je'rs* 'lamb' : Sl \**jaṛka* 'female lamb' (× Sl \**jaṛka* < \**jaro* 'springtime' < N \**n'ayr'E*) > OR *ѡръка* *jaṛka*, R *лрка*, *лрочка* 'lamb (female)', Uk, Blr *лрка*, Slk *jarka* 'year-old sheep', P *jarka* 'heifer, a lamb of this year' :: ? Arm *oroṣ* *oroṣ* 'lamb' (initial *o-* from \**e-* by *as*, according to P) || NaIE \**er(i)-b<sup>h</sup>*- (with the sx. \**b<sup>h</sup>(o)-* of animal names) '€ horned artiodactyl' > Gk *ῥεριφο*- 'kid' :: Clt: OIr *heirp* (\**erb<sup>h</sup>-i-*) 'dama, capra', *erb(b)* (\**erb<sup>h</sup>-a-*) 'cow', Nlr *earb* 'goat', ScGl *earb* 'roe (deer)' ¶ P 326, EI 511, F I 560, WH I 67, Bc. G 333, KSchm. TE, Ld. A 23ff., Ach. III 586, Frn. 121, En. 170, Tp. P E-H 72-5, *ṣ* ESSJ VIII 179-80 || D \**ir-* (€) deer, stag' [× \**yErØV* ~ \**yayrV* 'young of a (ruminant) animal', q.v. ffd.] ¶¶ D \**r-* (pointing to a N \**r*-cluster) suggests that the main source of D \**ir-* is N \**yErØV* rather than \**ṣir'i* ♦ AD NM #47, S CNM 7 & S SN 146 (÷÷ ST).

**144. ??<sub>2</sub> \**ØvrV*** 'run' > ? HS: Eg fMK *w'r* 'flee' ¶ EG I 286, Fk. 57 || C: EC: Sml N {Abr.} *ṣarar-* 'flee', Sml {ZMO} *ṣarar-* 'run away, flee', ?σ Rn *a'ra'rsi* vt. 'hurry, rush', caus. *a'ra'ri'c'a* vt. 'hurry up' :: Ag: Bln {R} *harar-* 'laufen, rennen'; Ag *ḫ* Tgr {LH} *ḫrr* 'hurry' ({R} *ḫrr* 'laufen, rennen') *ḫ* Bj {R} *here-r-* ~ *hire-r-* scv. 'marschieren, wandern, gehen, zu Fuß gehen' ¶ R WB 200, R WBd 126, LH 10, Abr. S 14, PG 68 || SES \**ṣrm<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>* > Hrs *ṣrm* (pf. *ṣa-ro-m*) 'run fast' (of a camel), Mh/Jb *ṣrmd* (pf. Mh *ṣa-rmed*, Jb C *a'far'mid*) id. ¶ Jo. H 10, Jo. J 15, Jo. M 28 || ? D: Tl *ur\_u* 'retreat, retire, withdraw' ¶ *ṣ* D #713.

**145. \**Øar|wu*** ~ \**Øa.ru* 'back (dos), loins' > HS: S \**ṣHrw* (= \**ṣrw*?) > Ak *eru-tu* ~ *aru-tu* 'back (dos)', ? Ar *ṣurṣur-at-* 'top of a camel's hump, peak of a mountain' ¶ Sd. 248, BK II 225 || Eg P/BD *ṣr.t* 'hinder parts (of men), hindquarters (of animal)' ¶ EG I 209, Fk. 45 || B: Si {La.} *ərrao*, *ərrau*, {Bs. ← BrR} *vrE* "ahrau 'back (dos)', Ah *aru-ri*, Gh {Nh.} *aruri*, ETwl *əruuru* (pl. *iroran*), Ty *ṣrōri* (pl. *iroran*), Ttq {Msq.}

arurī, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} aʃrur, taʃrurt, Zww {La.} aʃarur 'back (dos)'; the unexpected presence (= preservation?) of ʃ in Izn, Rf, SrSn, Zww has not yet found explanation ({La.} "ne s'explique guère") ¶ Rn. 379, Fc. 166O, GhA 163, Msq. 95, La. S 228, La. MChB 115 [fn. 2] || ECh: Mu {J} haʃr 'back (dorsum)' ¶ ChC II ¶ \*arʃu 'back (of humans, animals)' > NaT \*arka 'back' > OT, MU, MQp, XwT, Chg, OOsm arqa 'back (dorsum), upper part of the back', Tk arka, VTt, Bsh, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt arqa, ET a(r)qa, Uz arqa, Xk arya, Tv aʃrya 'back, shoulders; back side', Yk aryaʃ id., nape, withers', Tlm arqa, Az arxa 'back, upper part of the back; animal's back', Ln ayqa 'hind part', Chv urxa 'animal's back' in urxalax 'saddle-bag' | NaT \*aʃrt 'back or hinder part of anything; nape of the neck' > OT aʃrt id., Tk art, Tkm aʃrt, VTt art 'hind part, back (dos)', Az ard\_, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, SY art, Tv art- (+ppa.) 'hind part' ¶ Cl. 200-1, 215, TkR 50-2, ET Gl 174-5, 179-80, TL 267-8, ADb. SR 116-7, 185, Pek. 142 || Tg \*arka-n 'back (dos)' > Ewk arkan, Sln arkaʃ, Lm arqʃn, Neg aykan, Orc akka(n-), Ud aka(n-), Ork atta(n-) ¶ STM I 51, Krm. 205 || M \*aru ({ADb.} \*aryu) 'animal's back' > MM [S, HI, MA] aru, WrM aru, HIM ap 'back (dorsum)', Dgr ar 'the northern side of a mountain, northern side' ¶ ADb. MSR 9, H 9, Ms. H 37, Pp. MA 106, MED 54, Klz. D I 109-10 ¶¶ Pp. VG 76, 94, 192 (explains T \*arka and Tg \*arka-n as *d* from \*aru [\*arka < \*aru-ka]) || pJ {S} \*aʃtu\_aʃ 'behind, trace' > OJ aʃtu\_oʃ, J: T aʃto, K aʃtoʃ, Kg atoʃ ¶ S QJ #767, Mr. 387 ¶¶ DQA #48 \*aʃra 'back (dos), behind', ¶ ADb. SR 305 (T \*arka-n ≠ M \*aru) II D (in SD) \*ar- 'waist, loins' > Tm arai\_ id., 'stomach', Ml ara 'middle of the body, loins, waist', Td ar nm 'silver waist-string' (nm 'string'), Kdg are 'waist' ¶ D #230 ♦ The long \*aʃ in T \*aʃrt and the D cns. \*-r- (normally from cns. clusters) point to a presence of an additional element in pN (a lr. or \*w?). If Ar ʃurʃur-at- belongs here, the pN postcons. lr. may be \*ʃ (N \*ØarʃV).

**146.** ??₂ \*ØarVbV 'dry, arid; arid land' > HS: WS \*ʃarab- > BHb eb1r1o9 ʃʃraʃb\_aʃ 'desert, steppe', br@o6B2 ba-ʃrab\_, (in pause br!o6B2 ba-ʃʃraʃb\_) 'in the desert', br1o9 ʃʃraʃb\_, Ar ʃraOa ʃarab-, Mh ʃaʃreʃb 'Arabs' (← 'inhabitants of a desert\steppe'), Sb ʃrb coll. 'bedouins' and Mn ʃrb coll. 'nomads' (in both lgs. ← 'inhabitants of the desert'), Gz ʃarab 'Arabia', ? (mt) Gz ʃʃbr 'be dry, unfruitful' ¶ KB 831-3, GB 616, BGMR 19, MA 15, Jo. M 27 II D \*aʃr\_- v. 'be(come) dry' > Tm aʃr\_r\_u vt. 'dry (as the hair)', Ml aʃr\_uka vi. 'dry up (as land, washed hair, wounds)', Kt ar- vi. 'dry' (as dew), 'heal' (as a wound), Td or\_- 'become dry by heating', Kn aʃr\_, aʃr\_u, Tu aʃruni, Tl aʃr\_u vi. 'dry', Kdg aʃr- vi. 'dry up' (of a stream, cloth), Klm ar-, Nkr aʃr- vi. 'become dry', Nk aʃr- 'be dried, emaciated', Gnd Mn aʃranaʃ vi. 'warm oneself', Krx artaʃaʃnaʃ v. 'spread out in the sun for drying' ¶¶ In some D lgs a homonymic merger with the verb \*aʃr\_- ({GS} \*aʃd\_-) 'to cool' (GS 150-1 [#380]) ¶¶ D #404, Zv. 44-5, Sbr. DVM 56, Pf. 83 (\*aʃt\_-).

**147.** ? \*ØuRḷVḷK.V 'to flee' > HS: CS \*ʃrk. 'run away, flee' > Sr ʃrk. G 'flee', JA [Trg.] ʃrk. 'flee, run', JEA ʃrk. ~ ʃrk. 'flee', Ar {Ln.} ʃʃrq G: ʃariqa (fi-l ʃarδʃi) 'go away into the country', {BK} ʃarq- 'way, road, beaten path' ('chemin, route, sentier frayé') ¶ BK II 228-9, Ln 2017-9, Br. 550, Js. 1123, Sl. 883, KB 841 II U: FV ¶\*urke- 'flee, go away' > Lv {Kt.} ur\_gʃ- 'flee, avoid', F prs. urkene- / inf. urjeta 'wegkommen [komma åstad (iväg, till vägs)], abgehen, abreisen, abfahren, sich entfernen' :: Er оргоде- orgod'e-, Mk вор\_годе- vor'gad'e- 'flee, run away' ¶ UEW 805, SK 1548, Kt. 457, ERV 442, Ker. II 101 II D \*ur\_uk- 'run away' > Tl ur\_uku, Knd ur\_k- id. [(partially) × D \*ur\_uk- 'jump' > Tm ur\_ukku id.] ¶¶ ¶ D #713 ♦ Not here WrM orgu-, HIM орго-x v. 'flee' (MED 617) because this word goes back to M \*ʃorgu- (cp. MM [MA] horgu- id., ʃ Pp. MA 186).

**148.** \*ʃaʃrʃVḷ - \*ʃaʃri ḷ 'without, no' > K: OG ara 'no, not', G ara 'no', ar 'not' ¶ Ser. 3 II IE: NaE \*ar- / \*oʃr- v. 'deny' (P: 'verweigern, leugnen') > Gk ᾠρνέομαι 'I deny' :: Arm uranam uranam 'deny' :: pAl {O}

\*arn-enya > Al: T rrej, G rreʃj v. 'deceive' ⇨ Al T rrem 'mendacious, false' ¶ P 62, F I 145-6, 158, Ch. 112, Slt. 385-6, O 380, Bugge BA 38ff., BFU 484, Me. EAC 111, 142 ¶ HS: S \*√ŕy|w (~ \*√ŕr) 'be(come) naked\empty' > BHb ur&o ſo~ru 2pm inv. 'strip naked!', D erlo4 ſe~ra~ '(he) bared, made naked', 'blossgehen, ausleeren', Ph √ŕy D (3s ip. yŕ) 'strip of', Ug ſrw 'naked, uncovered', Ar √ŕy G (pf. ſariya) 'be(come) naked, bare of clothes', Ak eriu ɖ eru~ 'naked, empty'; \*ſŕy-at- 'nakedness' > BHb ei!r^o3 ſer'ya~, Sr ſaryat, JA at!irio5 ſiryə't\_a~ at!i^r^o1 ſoryə'ta~, Ar éyar0Ou ſuryat- ¶ KB 834-5, HJ 887, OLS 90, Br. 548, CAD IV 320, Sd. 242 ¶ U: Y T {Ku.} araw 'naked', {Ku.} ara~wya~, {Ang. < Jc.} arauneje 'bald', K {Jc.} arau(lei), T {Jc.} araulei 'naked', T/K {Ang. < Jc.} 'araulei 'naked, bare, undressed' ¶ Ku. 34, Ang. 23, Jc. JR s.v. arau, Jc. XR s.v. araulei ¶ ?o D \*ar'i 'perish, be destroyed' > Tm ari v. 'perish, be ruined', Ml ariyuka 'be destroyed', Kt al\_c- 'beerased', al\_yv 'destruction', Td od\_y- '(money) is spent', Kn ari 'be ruined, destroyed, perish', Tu arpuni vt. 'efface, waste', al.ipuni 'perish', Tl arisina 'which destroys', Prj and\_kip- 'destroy', Gnd ar'ih- v. 'destroy' ¶¶ D #277.

¶ 148a. 2 \*Øger'v 'rainy cloud' > HS: C {AD} ſŕr- 'cloud, rain', {E} \*ſir- 'rain' > Ag: Awn {Hz.} ɖ'ri 'rain' ¶ EC: Af {PH} ſir- ~ ſer- 'smoke, steam', Arr {Hw.} ſiri, Elm {Hn.} i'ri, Dsn {To.} ſi'r, Hr/DbS {AMS} ira~wwo, Gln/Gwd {AMS} irra~wo, Cm {Hab.} e~ro, {SLE} ?erro 'rain', pSam {Hn.} \*ſir- > Sm {R} ſi'ro 'fog, cloud', Sm N {Abr.} ſi'ro 'fog', Sm {Hn.} ſir ſadda~ga~ 'continuous light rain', {ZMO} ſir 'rain, weather, sky', Rn {PG} hi'r 'rain' ¶ AD SF 143, E PC #489, PH 60-1, Hw. A 342, To. DL 3483, Hn. S 77 (pSam \*ſir- 'light rain'), ZMO 68, PG 141, AMS 263 || NrOm \*irv 'cloud, rain' Kf {C} iro~ 'cloud', Wl/Zl/Dwr/Gf/Dc/Bdt/Zs/Bsk/Cha {LmS} ira, Malo {LmS} ſira, Gm {Hw.} ſi'ro, Hrr {CR} ira, Ym {Wdk} i'ro~, Na/Shk/Mj {Fl.} iru 'rain' ¶ Blz. OL (Om \*ir- 'rain'), AD SF 143, LmS 292, Lm Y 321, CR H 637, Wdk BY 170, Hw. EG s.v. 'rain', Fl. OWL s.v. 'rain' ¶ D: McTm \*er'ili 'cloud' > Tm, Ml er'ili id. ¶ D #849  
 ✧ Suggested by Blazjek: Blz. LNA #2 (N \*ſer'v).]]

149. \*Øar'K.'u' 'sinew' (> 'bow-string, bow') > HS: WS \*ſi'rk- (nom. \*ſi'rk-u) 'sinew, vein, root' > Ar ſirq- 'root, sinew, vein', Mh ?ark- 'artery, sinew, nerve, root', Jb C ſark- 'root, sinew', JA aq!r6o2 ſar'k-a~ 'leather thong', Tgr ſarek. 'tendon, nerve', ?o Sb ſrk. 'neck-muscle, collar-bone' ¶ Fr. III 143, Jo. M 28, Lv. III 705-6, BGMR 20, LH 359, MiK I #1.20 || AdS of Eg fp rw3 'cord; bow-string; sinews' (< \*ræwJ.K.E 'sinew, cord, rope; bind, tie' [q.v.] × [??] N \*lŕŕŕK.a 'bend' [→ 'a bow']) ¶ EG II 410, Fk. 148, Tk. I 249-50 ¶ IE \*herku- ~ \*herk^w- 'bow, net' ({EI} \*hAerkwo-s 'bow and\or 'arrow') (× N \*y'o'rk.ŕu 'to bend, be bent\crooked' [q.v.]) > NaIE \*arku- \*ærk^w- 'bow, net' > L arcus id. ¶ Gmc \*arx^w- [\*'belonging to a bow' →] 'arrow' > Gt d arhazna, ON o\_r (gen. o\_rvar), OSw arf, AS earh 'arrow', NE arrow ¶ Gk ᾠαρκυθ, -υοθ 'net' ¶¶ WP I 81, P 67-8, EI 78, EM 78-9, WH I 64, Bc. G 329, Vr. 688, Ho. 85, Coll. ULF 174, IS I 240, Fs. 56, F I 142-3 ¶ A: NaT \*arka- > Osm {Rs.} arqa- 'an den Sattelriemen festbinden' (× T \*arka 'back, dorsum', cp. Chv urxalax, VTt arqal'eq 'saddle-bag', Osm {Rh.} arqaliq 'porter's knot for carrying burdens', Tk arkalk 'luggage carrier in a bicycle'), Chg {Rs.} arqa- 'den Faden einschließen', Tv арғы- aryi- v. 'knit, plait, weave', Xk arya- v. 'embroider in satin-stitch'; NaT {ET} \*arka~n 'lasso, thick rope' > Chg {RL.}, Kr Nqra arqan, Tkm arqa~n 'lasso, thick rope', CrT, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh arqan, Uz arqan, Tk {ET} argan 'thick rope, cable', Qrg, Alt arqan 'rope made of hair', Qzq {RL.} arqan 'rope made of horsehair'; T б> R ар'кан 'lasso' ¶ Rs. W 26, ET Gl 175-6, BIG 30, TvR 68, Rl. I 288, Bu. I 30 ¶ N \*r' > T \*r in the precon. position (a law discovered by Hl.) || M ɖ\*argamzi 'rope' > MM [IM] aryamzi 'rope', [S] {H} arh.amji aryamzi 'Leitstrick', WrM argamzi, HIM аргамж, Brt аргамжа, Kl aphm^l 'rope, tether', {Rm.} aryamzi 'rope (Strick)', WrO aryamzi 'rope, line, halter, hawser, bridle', WrM argamzi-, HIM аргамжи- v. 'tie, fasten with a rope', WrO arxala- v. 'fasten, tether'; M б> Tf argamzi 'lasso,

leather rope', Tv арґамыд., Xk арґамз'и, Alt арґакчы арґаґс'и 'lasso, rope', Qrg арґамґы арґамз'и 'rope (made of hair)' ¶ Pp. MA 432, H 9, MED 52, Krg. 52-3, KW 13, Ra. 155 ¶ D (in NED) \*er'v̄t- > Krx er'et'h 'long-bow', Mlt er'tu 'a bow', er'tyo 'archer' ¶ D #789, Pf. 186 [#34] ♦ AD NM #25, S CNM 6 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn), Vv. AEN 17-8 (points to the problems with the sxs. in M).

**150. \*ØEwVS̄V' (€) grass' > HS:** C: EC {Ss.} \*faws̄-/ \*fays̄' (? < \*fawis̄-) > Sa, Af fayso 'grass, straw, vegetation', Sml faws 'dry grass', ?φ Rn ho'-s, Bn e-s, Dsn ?is̄' 'grass', Or e-s '€ corn' ({Th.} 'farro, farragine, spelta, specie di frumento'), Hr, Dbs, Gln, Gwd fas̄'-ko 'grass', Sd {Ss.} ays-o 'grass', {Hd.} haysso 'blade of grass', hays'so 'grass' ¶ Ss. PEC 44-5, 47, Hn. S 77, PG 143, Th. 123, Hd. 72, AMS 245, 263, To. DL 482 || Ch: WCh: pNrBc {S} \*awasi 'grass' > Jmb awas'i, My awasu || Ech: Skr {Sx.} u'su', Bdy {AlJ} ?a'wso id. | possibly also \*√ws > NrBc: Wrj was3-na, Mbr wa's3, Kry wasisi, SBC: Bg w3'si' id. || CCh: Ms {J} wu'sna', Bnn u'si'na' id.; G'nd u's'i' nna, Tr {Nw.} wu'z3'n, Pdl wu'zi'ndi' id. ¶ Sk. NB 24, Stl. ZCh 260 [#183], ChL, ChC, AlJ 35, Blz. ChTP 8 [⌘, Tk. NB 183 [NB \*(a)was- < \*fawas-] ]¶¶ Tk. PAA 31 (NrBc, EC) ¶ A: M \*ebesu'n (< \*\*ebes-su'n with a nominal sx \*-su'n) 'grass, hay' > MM [L, MA, IM] ebesu'n, WrM ebesu'n ~ ebu'su'n, HIM 'вс('и), Ord o'wo'su' ~ o'wo's id., Kl {Rm.} o'wsn̄, Mnr H {SM} wes3 ~ yes3 id., 'straw', {T} wese ~ yese, Mnr M {T} bese, MMgl [Z] eb̄esu'n, Mgl {Rm.} eba'sun, Dg {T} eu'se, Ba {T} weson 'grass, hay' ¶ Pp. MA 150, 436, Pp. L II 1254, Rm. M 27, KW 303, Iw. 100, Pot. 421, MED 287, 291, Ms. O 544, SM 483, 493, T 321, T DgJ19, T BJ 136 ¶ ?? IE \*iH1wei\_s- > NaIE \*wei\_s-v. 'grow, sprout forth' (P: 'sprießen, wachsen') (× N \*wis̄'2V or \*wu's̄'2V 'to grow' [esp. of plants] [q.v. ffd.]).

**151. ? \*fes̄'i' 'make, do' > HS:** WS \*√fs̄'y 'make, do' > BHb eBo √fs̄'yw G, M'b √fs̄'y (1s pf. 's̄'ty), Ug √fs̄'y G id., SmA eso 's̄'h [Hebraized spelling for 's̄? (√fs̄y)] 'do', n. act. 's̄'y (for 'sy) 'doing, making', Sb/Mn yiSo 's̄'y G 'do, make; acquire', Qt iSo 's̄'y G {Rk.} 'acquire' (OSA s̄ s̄ for the expected β s̄ is puzzling) ¶ KB 842-5, HJ 890-1, OLS 93, Tal 667, BGMR 20-1, MA 16, Rk. 125 || C: Ag {Ap.} \*?3s- 'make, do' > Bln {Ap.} ?3s-, Xm/Q {Ap.} 3s̄-, Dmb {R} es- id. || EC: Sa {R} is-/is̄-, Af {R} is- id., pBn {Hn.} \*as- v. 'prepare' (> {Hn.} Bn Bi/K as- id., Bn J/Kj a'ḡal as- 'brew beer'); HEC {Hd.} \*ass- / \*iss- 'do, make' > Sd {Gs., Hd.} ass-, Kmb {Hd.} ass-, es-, Ged (h)ass-, Hd {Hd.} iss- 'do', Brj {Hd., Ss.} iss- 'do, act, make' || SC: Alg {Wh.} fes̄im-, Brn {Wh.} fes̄im- 'do' ¶ AD SF 151, Ap. AV 5, Ss. B 107, R S II 52, Hn. BD 122, 143, Hd. 51, 95, 201, 244, 285, 308, 315, 35, Wh. IC 56 || Ech: Mkl {J} sbjn. ?i'se' (pl. ?a'se'), aor. ?i'ze' 'do, make' ¶ J LM 113 ¶¶ AD SF 151 (S, C), Ap. AV 5 (S, Ag, EC), OS #1097 (HS \*fic̄- 'do, make'; S, C, Ch) ¶ IE: Ht essa- / issa- 'do, make' (unless an iterative of Ht iya- id.) ¶ Pv. I-II 300-5 ¶ U: FP \*es̄'te- 'make, make\be ready', (→ 'succeed, have time to do sth.') > pChr {Ber.} \*is̄'ta- 'do, make' > Chr L/B 3s̄'te-, Chr H 3s̄'te- id. | pPrm {LG} \*3s̄'t- > Z es̄'tini, Prmk, Yz yes̄'t- 'be ready, be fulfilled (a word)', 'succeed in fulfilling, have time to do' | pLp {Lr.} \*3st3- > Lp: N {N} a's̄'ta't 'have time\leisure (to do sth.)', L {LLO} astat, Kld γ̄cc̄ty 3s̄'te-δ id., S {Hs.} astedh id., 'arrive in time' | F ehti- id. ¶ U UEW 626 (FP \*es̄'te 'have time, be ready'), Sm. 552 (FP \*es̄'ti- 'manage'), Ber. 8, LG 333, SK 35, It. 303, Coll. 76-7, Lr. #25, Lgc. #111, Hs. 250, SaR 424 ♦ N \*s̄^ > U \*s̄^ is puzzling: a positional change \*-s̄'t- > \*-s̄'t-?

**152. \*f̄'os̄'V (K,a) 'hard-wood tree' ( a'ash-tree') > HS:** Eg fOK 's̄' 'cedar, abies cilicica (as a tree and esp. as wood)' ¶ EG I 228, Fk. 49 ¶ IE \*Hwes- 'ash-tree' ({EI} \*h2eHo's 'ash') > L ornus (< \*os-en-os) 'mountain-ash' || W onn, singlt. onn-en / pl. onna 'ash-tree' (< \*osna-), MCrn onnen, Br onn, Δ ounnenn, OIr (h)uinnius, dat. uinsinn (< \*onn-ist-o-) || Gk 'oξυ'α ~ 'oξυ'η 'beech-tree' (< \*oskes-?) || pAl {O} \*aksa > Al ah 'beech-tree' || Arm haçi hac̄'i 'ash-tree' (< \*H'o's-k-) || ON askr, OHG asca id. || Pru woasis, Lt u'osis, Ltv

o<sup>h</sup>sis id. : Sl \*a''senъ ~ \*a''senъ id. > Slv ja'sen, je'sen, Slv R a'sen, Blg 'ЈсеН, SCr ja\_se-n, Δ je''se-n, OR **Јасень** yasenъ, R, Blr, Uk 'ЈсеН, Cz jasan, Slk jasen' : The BSl vw. goes back to IE \*o<sup>-</sup> (L-gr. of IE \*o) ¶ P 782, ¶ EI 32 (*unc.* : 'ash' ← ▯'burnings'), F II 400, WH II 223, Vn. U 20, O 2-3, Vr. 15, EWA I 364-6, Slt. 312-3, Frn. 1167, En. 276, ESSJ I 79-80, Glh. 290, Frdr. PIT 20 [#13], Frdr. PITA 92-8 ¶ **U** \*os's'ka '∈ tree (ash-tree, elm, poplar)' > Chr H os'kъ 'ash-tree', L os'ko 'black poplar (Populus nigra), **осокоpo** ▯ ▯pMr {Ker} \*u'skъ > (*mt*) \*uksъ > Er ukso, Mk uks 'ash-tree' || Sm: Kms [KD] a\_zoy p'a° 'poplar' (p'a° 'tree') ¶¶ Ker. II 174, Ber. 93, KD 6, Coll. 138 ¶ ? **A**: T \*os > Sg, Qb, Qc, StXk os 'aspen, poplar', Qzl {RL} os 'poplar', Chv ѡвѡс, Δ us 'aspen'; there may be semantic infl. of NaT \*apsak 'aspen' (< N \*?ac' **PV** '∈ leaf-bearing tree') ¶ Hoops 123-4 and after him Tenishev (TL 131) unconvincingly suggested an IE origin of the T word (from the non-existent Sl i\_osa 'aspen') ¶ ET Gl 607-8, Fed. I 80-1, BIG 131, Rl. I 1138, Ash. III 295 ◇ Coll. IUS 87, Coll. HUV 121 (in both sources: IE, U), IS I 255 s.v. \*Hosa 'ash-tree' (IE, U), Jk. 333 (proposes as an alternative [with a query] that the Chr and Mr words may be loans from Irn [Scythian]: "Entlehnung aus einer altertümlichen iran. (Skyth.) Sprachform wäre ebenso möglich..., die Sippe ist aber in den iran. Sprachen kaum belegt").

**153.** ? \*Øat 'u' '∈ fish' > **HS**: S \*o'ʔvt. > Ug ʔt. id. ¶ OLS 94 || Eg XVIII/G ʔdw '∈ fish (forbidden to eat)' ¶ EG I 237 ¶ **A**: Tg: WrMc atu 'a female fish (with roe)' > (or <?) WrM atu 'a female fish' (× Tg \*atV 'female' < N \*r'ʔatV 'female, woman', q.v.); WrMc atuḫa 'a male fish' > (or <?) WrM atuqa id. ¶ Z 29, MED 58-9 ¶ ??φ **D** (in SD) \*at\_v '∈ fish' > Tm at.al '∈ fish', Tm at.alai, Ml at.ava '∈ marine fish', Tu ad.aminu, ad.a\_vu '∈ fish' ¶ D #68 ¶ \*-t. for the expected \*-t- is still to be explained ¶ **IE**: NaIE \*ateli- (and \*ra'ti-?) '∈ fish' [× N \*X'o't.ʔi' '∈ fish', q.v.] > Gk [Arist., Hs.] ἰεταλῖ (or ἰεταλῖ) '∈ fish' (F: 'Goldbrasse, gilthead?') ▯ L attilus '∈ a big fish resembling sturgeons (in the Padus)' (< Gl?) > It V '(l)adano, It Ml 'ladan, OIt Pv 'agano; VL \*atillus 'sturgeon' id. > OIt V \*adello > It adello id. ▯ Lt o\_tas 'halibut, turbot', (N \*X'o't.ʔi' > ?) Lt ati's, Ltv a\_te id. ¶ P 70, ML #766, Frn. 21, Bg. KS 274, F I 580, Hld. I 275, WH I 78.

**154.** \*Øat\_v 'to throw, cast' > **HS**: EC {Ss.} \*ʔad. 'throw' > Kns, Gdl ad., Hr ʔad., Brj ad.-ad. 'throw', Sa ʔed- 'throw away', Af S ʔid- 'throw, kill' ¶ Ss. B 23 || S \*o'ʔt. > Ar ʔt. G 'fell so. on the ground' ¶ BK II 283, Hv. 480 ¶ **A**: T \*at- 'throw, shoot (arrows)' > OT, Chg, XwT at- id., MQp at- 'shoot', Tk at-, Tkm, Ggz, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Bsh, ET, Qrg, Alt at- 'throw, shoot', Az, Nog, VTt at-, Uz at- id., 'cast', Qzq, SY, Xk, Tv at- 'shoot', Yk it- 'shoot (arrows)' ▯ Chv L ut- 'throw', Chv Δ twъt- 'throw, cast' ¶ Cl. 36, ET Gl 199-200 ¶ **D** \*at\_v- 'throw, shoot' > Tu ad.akuni 'throw, cast out, discharge (as a gun)', Tl ad.rincu, ad.arucu v. 'discharge, shoot (as an arrow or other missile)' ¶¶ D #61 ◇ The irreg. reflex \*-t. in D may be due to some phonetic element in sxs.

**155.** \*Øot\_v 'breathe, blow' > **IE** \*H<sup>w</sup>ot-/H<sup>w</sup>ot- > NaIE \*o\_t-/at- v. 'breathe' [d\*o\_t-men- ({EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>t-men)] 'breath' > OI a\_t'ma- (gen. a\_t'manah.) 'breath, soul, self' ▯ AS æ\_ðm, OSx a\_thom, OHG a\_tum, MLG a\_dem, Dt adem, NHG Atem, (Δ >) Odem 'breathing, breath' ▯ OIr athach (< \*at-a\_ko-) 'breath, wind' ¶ WP I 118, P 345 (\*e\_t-men), EI 82, Mn. 254, M K I 73, Ho. 13, Ho. S 4, EWA I 391-3, KM 34, Vn. A 99-100 ¶ **HS**: +exts. : S \*o'ʔot.n > Gz ʔt.n G 'burn incense, fumigate with incense' ▯ ?? S \*o'ʔt.m > Ak et.emmu 'spirit of the dead, ghost' ▯ ?σ WS \*ʔt.r.v. 'exhale (as vapour\smoke\ steam)' > Sr rto ʔt.r (pf. ʔa't.ar) id., JA [TrgJ] ryo ʔt.r (pf. ry2o9 ʔa't.ar) 'rauchen, to exhale smoke', Ar ʔt.r G (pf. ra6aOa ʔat.ara) 'exhale fragrance, smell sweet', Mh ʔo\_t.3r v. 'perfume', Mh ʔa\_t.3r, Jb ʔ3t.r 'perfume' ¶ Br. 521, JPS 410, Lv. T II 211, Lv. III 636, Js. 1063-5, Fr. III 176, BK II 284, Jo. M 35, L G 76, CAD IV 397-01 || B \*ʔadu? 'wind, odour' > Ah {Fc.} a\_d\_u, Gd ad\_ω, Izn/Rf {Rn.} a\_d\_u, Gh {Nh.}, ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Tmz {MT}, Izd, Wrg {Dlh.} a\_d\_u, Nf at\_u id., Kb {Dl.} a\_d\_u, Mz {Dlh.} a\_d\_u, Snd at\_u 'wind', Tz {Stm.} a\_d\_u id.,

Sll {Ds.} adu° 'gentle wind', BSn/BMn {Bs.} adu° 'heavy wind', Izd adu 'smell', Zng {TC} adih 'odor' ¶ Pr. H #141, Fc. 252-3, GhA 30, Nh. 213, Rn. 311, Lf. II #0332, Dl. 170, Stm. 158, Ds. 290, MT 86, Dlh. M 37, Dlh. Ou 63, Mrc. 180, 261, TC D 4, NZ 437-9 [¶|| ? Ch ± \*ʔvtvn 'nose' (× N \*ʔhotE 'to smell, smell at', q.v. ffd.) ¶|| A: ? AmTg \*oti\_ > Ul oti 'the north-eastern wind', Nn oci 'the north wind' ¶ STM II 28 II ? D \*ut v. 'blow (blasen)' > Tm utu v. 'blow (as a wind instrument, a fire)', Ml utuka id., uttu n. 'blowing', Kt ud- v. 'become swollen, bloated', Kn udu v. 'blow', Tu uduni v. 'blow (as a pipe), swell', Tl udu v. 'blow with the mouth or with bellows', Klm, Nk, Nkr, Gdb und-, Gnd ud- v. 'blow', ? Ku hutinay v. 'kindle' ¶¶ D #741, ≠ Km. 304 [#143] (reconstructs \*uy-nt-/uy-t- for pCD [i.e. pSCD and pCD] & pSD, \*uy-r\_-/-r- for pNED) ♦ The quality of the D vw. \*u- (for the expected \*o or \*o-) is still to be explained.

**156.** ??? \*OawyV 'shout, speak' > IE  $\zeta$ \*Heu\_ > NaIE  $\zeta$ \*au\_ > o Gk (ipf.) αυε, ft. 'αυ'σω, aor. 'αυ'σαι 'cry out, shout, call aloud' ¶ P 76-7, F I 193 II HS: WS  $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{wy}$  'shout' > Ar  $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{wy}$  'shout, howl', Gz  $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{awya}$  n. 'moan, wail',  $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{awya}$  'wailing',  $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{wyw}$  (pf.  $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{awyawa}$ ) 'wail in mourning, howl, cry, cry out' ¶ L G 7, BK I 414 || C: EC {Ss.} \*ʔiyy- 'cry' > Sml  $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{iy}$ -, Bs {HL} iyi, Or iyy- v. 'cry, shout', Arr {Hw.}  $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{iy}$ -'cry out', Brj iyy- v. 'cry for help', Af ey iy- shout (iy- 'say'); ??ϕ Rn oya v. 'cry' ¶ Ss. B 108, ¶ HL 80, Hw. A 342, Grg. 228, PG 242 || ?? Om {Blz.} \* $\sqrt{\text{u}}$ wV- 'say' > NrOm: Sz {Fl.} we 'say', Ym {Wdk.} u 'say', ? Gf {Mrn.} iwet 'speak' ¶ Blz. OL #238, Wdk. BY 137 || Ch (× N \*ʔalyV 'say, call'): [1] ECh: Kbl {Cp.} yuw3 'say' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wa', {Mch.} wa 'say'; [2] Ch {Stl.} \*yawʔ- 'call' (ʔbaʔ) > WCh: Pr yo v. 'call' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} ʔyaˆ, Msg {Mch.} yi, Ms {Mch.} ya, {J} yinaˆ, {Stl.} ←ʔ? yu-mo, Bnn {Stl.} ya-mi, BnnM {Stl.} ya-mo id. || ECh: Gbr ye id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'say', ChL, Stl. IF 143, Lk. L 125 II A \*ayV 'speak, sound' (× N \*ʔalyV 'ʔ', q.v. ffd.) II ??ϕ D \*urv- 'speak' > Prj ub- 'speak, converse', ubal 'a saying', ? Tl ubusu 'chat, talk', Tl Vs usul-adukoni v. 'chat' ¶¶ D #631.

**157.** ? \*OawyV ~ \*OawiV 'pass the night, sleep' > IE: \* $\text{h}^{\text{e}}\text{u}_\text{H}$ - /  $\text{h}^{\text{e}}_\text{H}$ weH- /  $\text{h}^{\text{e}}_\text{H}$ woH- > NaIE \*au\_ / \*awe- / \*awo- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep', \*au\_s- id. (× N \*ʔalyV 'night, dark hours') > Arm aganim ag-anim 'I pass the night', øt oth < auth- 'pernoctation, passing the night in a place; sleeping place, inn' || Gk 'αυω 'I sleep' (< rdp. \*i-aus-o-) (aor. 'i-αυ'σαι and unreduplicated \*αεσα), Gk Hm 'αωτεω 'sleep well', Gk L [Sappho] \*αωροϕ 'sleep, ὕπνοϕ', Gk  $\delta$  αϕυλiϕ 'place for passing the night', αυλη 'court-yard; lair' (← 'sleeping place') ¶ P 72, Hofm. 28, 30, 122, F I 186, 205, 706, Ch. 139-40, 454, 1304, Slr. 442-3 II HS: Eg MK/G {EG}  $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{w}$ , {Fk.}  $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{wy}$  v. 'sleep' ¶ EG I 169, Fk. 38 || Om {Blz.} \*wayʔ- 'sleep, lie down' > NrOm: Bdt {Fl.} woyʔ- 'sleep', Hrr {Fl.} way 'lie down', Oyda {Fl.} woʔ- ~ woy- 'sleep' ¶ Blz. OL #120 || Ch (× N \*ʔalyV 'sleep' [q.v.] × N \*ʔalyV 'night, dark hours'): [1] CCh: Nz {ChL} viʔi v. 'sleep' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} yi, Skr {Sx.} woʔe v. 'sleep', EDng {Fd.} wejeˆ ~ wejeˆ 'être couché', wejiˆ ~ wejiˆ 'sommeil', Mgm {J} ʔoʔyoˆ, amb Mu {J} ʔewen n. 'sleep' [× Ch \*ywn 'sleep' (see below)] || [2] Ch {JS} \*ywn ~ ywn ( {J} \*ywn) 'sleep' (× N \*ʔalyV 'night') > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} yuwan 'spending the night; day and night (24 hours)', Bd {IL} iwan, {ChL} unaˆ 'sleep' || CCh: Msy {Mch.} wan, Db {Lnh.} wan 'sleep'; Gudu {ChL} wiyenuˆ 'sleep' (n. act.) || ECh: Mgm {J} wani n. 'sleep', amb Mu {J} ʔewen n. 'sleep' ¶ JI I 154 & II 298-9, ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 177, Fd. 147 II U: FU \* $\text{w}_\text{J}$ oyV- v. 'sleep, fall asleep' > ObU {Ht.} \*woy- / \*waya- id. > pVg {Ht.} \*ay- v. 'sleep' > Vg: T/SV/LL ay-, LK/MK/UK ay-, P oy- ~ oy-, Ss oy- id.; Vg: T ayaltakt-, LK ayaltaxt-, P/LL oyaltaxt-, SV oyaltaxt-, UL oyiltaxt-, Ss oyaltaxt- v. 'try to fall asleep'; pOs \*waya- / \*woy- ( {Ht.} \*wiya-/\*way-) 'fall asleep' > Os: V waya-, Vy waya- / woy-, Ty woy- id.; Os: V/Vy woyamt-, Ty/Kz woyamt-, D/K/O wayamt- id. || Y: Y T {Ku., Krn.} awe- v. 'sleep', {Ku.} awe, {Krn.} awan n. 'sleep', Y K {AD} abuda-,

{Jc.} a'buda- 'lie down, lie down to sleep' ¶¶ Ht. #669, Hl. rHt 71, Ku. 13-4, Jc. JR s.v. abu'da-, AD YN, Krn. JJ 270 II R: Tg \*a<sub>L</sub>:bV- v. 'sleep' > Ork a-, a<sub>w</sub>- ~ av-, Ul aw- ~ av-, Ewk, Neg, Orc a- id., Nn Nh a<sub>w</sub>- 'let sleep', awan- 'go [somewhere] to pass the night', Ul awya ~ avya, Ewk Urm a<sub>w</sub>- 'bed (sleeping place)', Neg a<sub>w</sub>-n. 'passing one night (одна ночевка)', Ork a<sub>w</sub>-ya ~ avya 'bed-clothes' ¶ STM I 1-2.

**158. \*ʕuyh¹V** 'to bend' > **HS:** S (WS?) \*ʕwy 'bend' > Hb itʕiv%o9n@ naʕa<sup>1</sup>wit<sub>i</sub> (N pf. 1s) 'I was bent, bowed down, twisted', (G 3f pf.) etlv^o1 ʕa<sub>w</sub>-t<sub>a</sub>- 'she did wrong', eu!o5 ʕiw'wa- (D pf. 3m) 'he twisted', Ar ivO ʕwy G (ʕawa<sub>w</sub> / -ʕwī, -ʕwiya-) v. 'bend, twist', Gz °W ʕa<sub>w</sub> 'bending, curvature', ? Ak OBewu<sub>m</sub> 'belasten mit' ¶ KB 752-3, KBR 796-7, Ln. 2185-6, L G 77, L ESAC 38 II IE \*hwei<sub>X</sub>- v. 'twist, weave, plait, braid', ¶ {EI} \*wei<sub>(H)</sub>- 'plait, wattle' > Ht {Ts.} weχ-/waχχ- (1s weχ-mi), md. weχ- 'sich drehen, sich wenden' || NaIE: OI 'vayati 'weaves, plaits', pfc. u<sub>v</sub>-vuh., pp. u<sub>v</sub>-ta-, inf. o<sub>v</sub>-tum, va<sub>y</sub>-a-m. 'Weben, das Weben', 'vyayati v. 'envelop, wrap', Av vī- v. 'twist, wrap', Oss I bzyzn (pp. bzd), Oss D biyun (pp. bid) v. 'twist, weave, braid' ¶ Gk [Hs.] υί'ο'ν · α'ναθενδρα'δα A 'vine that grows up trees' (υ- = w-) ¶ L vie<sub>v</sub>- v. 'twist, bind with withes' ¶ ? OIr {P} tech fithe 'a wicker house', Br gwia<sub>d</sub> 'web, issue', W gwau / gweu v. 'weave, knit', Crn gwy<sub>a</sub> id., v. 'twine, twist' ¶ pGmc \*wajjus 'wall' (← 'Flechtwerk') > ON veggr 'wall', Gt waddjus 'Wall, Mauer' ¶ Lt vy<sub>i</sub>ti (prs. veju<sub>v</sub>), Ltv vi<sub>v</sub>-t (prs. viju) 'to twist, wind (up)' ¶ Sl \*vi<sub>i</sub>'-ti 'to twist, curl' > ChS вити vi-ti (1s prs. виѣ vij-o), SCr vr<sub>i</sub>ti (1s prs. vr<sub>i</sub>'je-m), Slv vī<sub>i</sub>ti, Cz vī<sub>i</sub>ti, P wic', R вит (1s prs. вѣ) id., Blg ѿви 'I twist' ¶ IE \*hweX<sub>-</sub>'to-(s) ({Mn.} \*u<sub>e</sub>-to's) pp. 'woven, enmeshed' ('weave, mesh') > ON va<sub>d</sub>' 'textile, fishing-net', MHG wa<sub>t</sub> f. 'garment', NHG Wat 'cloth, garment', AS wæ<sub>d</sub> 'robe' ¶¶ P 1120-1, ¶ EI 571 (no mention of Ht and hence no certainty about the root-final lr.), Mn. 1505, 1531, ¶ M K III 147 (OI ÷ Lt a<sub>v</sub>usti 'to weave'), Ch. 1153, WH II 786-7, Ab. I 277, YGM-1 259, ECCE 252, Hm. 360, Vr. 637, 650, Fs. 538-9, Frn. 1267, Vs. I 322, Glh. 67, Srz. I 266 II R \*uya- > Tg \*u<sub>y</sub>a-(n) 'flexible, soft; coiling (as a snake)' > WrMc uyan 'flexible, soft, fine, tender', uyalza- ~ uyanza- ~ uyanca- v. 'be flexible, soft; to coil (as a snake)', Lm uy<sub>y</sub>, Lm T uy<sub>y</sub>w 'weak (tobacco, wine), soft (metal)', Nn oya<sub>w</sub> 'soft, flexible', oyan- v. 'become soft, flexible', Ul uya(n)- 'soft, tender' ¶ STM II 251 ¶ Lm T uy<sub>y</sub>w 'soft' [referring to metal] may have been influenced by Yk uyan 'soft, weak' || M \*uya-n 'flexible, soft' > WrM uya-n, HIM y<sub>u</sub>h<sub>n</sub> 'soft, flexible, Kl uy<sub>n</sub> 'flexible'; M \*uya-d- v. 'become too soft an flexible' > WrM uyad-, HIM y<sub>u</sub>da-(x) id., Kl y<sub>u</sub>d- vi. 'to bend' (of trees, spears); b> Yk uyan 'soft (iron), weak', Xk uyan 'weak', Qzq y<sub>u</sub>~ u<sub>y</sub>an, Qrg, Qq uyan 'soft', Alt uyan 'soft, weak', Tlt {Rl.} uyan 'schwach, elend' ¶ The M word belongs here unless it is \*ɸuya-n (that cannot be ruled out for lack of ev. distinguishing between \*ɸ- and zero) ¶ MED 867, KW 447, KRS 529, Rl. I 1629, ET Gl 577-8.

**159. ?? \*ʕa<sub>v</sub>zV<sub>i</sub>q¹V** 'wedge' > **U:** FV \*a<sub>v</sub>skā<sub>v</sub> 'wedge' > Chr L ишке 'is'ke, Δ is'kē, H ишкы<sub>v</sub> is'kə 'wedge (for splitting), wooden hook, peg (for hanging clothes)' ¶ pMr {Ker.} \*a<sub>v</sub>skā<sub>v</sub> > Mk a<sub>v</sub>'skā, Er ʕske eske, Δ es'k'e 'nail (гвоздь)' ¶ It. #291, Ker. II 39, Ber. 9, ERV 788, PI 317, MRS 139, Ep. 23, Ps. sL 7 II HS: Ar ʕzq (pf. ʕazaqa) 'bêcher (la terre) avec une bêche ou un hoyau', miʕzaq-, miʕzaq-at- 'bêche\pelle pour remuer la terre; large pelle avec laquelle on nettoie le grain' ¶ BK II 244 II ? K: G azyudi 'gore, gusset' ['keilformiger Stoffeinsatz (an Kleidern), Zwickel'] ¶ Chx. 9, DCh. 13 ¶ K -zχ- < \*-z.q- (as ) ¶ The K cognate is doubtful, because the element -ud- has no explanation so far.

**160. \*Øi<sub>3</sub>zV** 'strong, healthy' > **HS:** S \*ʕazz- 'strong' > Hb zo2 ʕaz (/ ʕazz-), Ug ʕz, Amr ʕazz-, Ak ezzu; d> S \*ʕuzz- 'might, strength' > Hb z7o ʕoz (/ ʕuzz-), Ph, Ug ʕz, Ug (AkSc), Amr {G} ʕuzz- id., SmA ʕz 'strength'; Pun ʕzz, IA ʕyz 'strong', SmA ʕyz pp. 'excited', ʕyz 'strong' ¶ KB 762, KBR 804-6, Sd. 269,

A #2021, OLS 95-6, Tal 629, G A 15, JH 206, HJ 835, Hnr. 252 || ? B \*√Hss (- \*√dss) > Ah asəs 'faire effort', Kb sis (rare), it -əssəs 'avoir du prestige, inspirer la crainte', t issas 'restige; autorité naturelle', Sll {Ds.} du''ss /idu''s 'be strong' ¶ Fc. 1864-6, DL 751, Ds. 132 || ??σ,ϕ C: SC: Alg ʕacˤa 'mature', Irq {MQK} ʕacˤaramoˀ (pl. ʕacˤaraˀy) 'old cow' ¶ E SC 275, MQK 17 || Ch: ECh: Ll {Grgs.} e'si 'strong' ¶ ChC s.v. 'strong' || IE: NaIE \*ei\_s-/\*oi\_s- 'move with impetus' ({EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>ei\_s- 'set in motion') (× NaIE \*ei\_s-/\*is- v. 'move [go\run] in a hurry' < N \*yosV ▯'go\run' [q.v.]), \*isəro-s 'vehement, strong' > OI is.n.a.ti, 'is.yati 'sets in motion, swings', is.i'ra- 'vigourous, flourishing, refreshing', Av ae's- (prs. is'a-, is'ya-) vi., vt. 'set in motion' || Gk ιβα'ω, ιβε'ω {LS} 'carry off by evacuations', Gk L/I ιποϑ, Gk D ιαποϑ 'mighty', Gk A ιεποϑ id., 'holy', οημα (G οηματοϑ) 'impetus', οημα (< \*ois-mat) 'impetus' || L ĩra, [Plt.] eira (< \*ei\_sa-) 'wrath, anger, ire' || ON eisa 'vorwärtsstürzen', OSx ovast ~ ofst (< \*ob\_-aist-?) {Ho.} 'haste', {P} 'Eile, Eifer', AS of-ost ~ of-est ~of-st id. ¶ WP I 106-7, P 299-301, EI 506, M K I 93-4, M E I 271-2, MW 168-9, F I 712-4, 726-7, WH I 717-8, Vr. 98, Ho. S 57, Ho. 240 || R: NaT \*esa'n 'in good health, sound; safe' > OT {Cl.} a'sa'n id., MQp XIII, OOSm ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV esen, Tk esen, VTt isa'n ~ a'sa'n, Bsh iθa'n, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY esen, Uz, ET esa'n, Qrg esaen - isa'n, StAlt, Tlt, QK, Sg, Kü ezen, Xk izen ¶ Cl. 248, ET Gl 308-9, TL 684 (\*esa'n), Rl. I 873, 889-90 ¶ Cl. is right in warning before confusing this √ with NPRs 'sā a'sa-n 'easy' (≠σ,ϕ: {ET} T from NPRs a'sa-n) || M \*esen 'healthy' (≠b- T?) > MM [IM] esen, WrM esen, HIM γcyH id. ¶ MED 333, Pp. MA 437.

¶+ 160a. \*ʕa3~V 'white, bright' > HS: EC {Ss.} \*ʕazz- 'white' > Af {PH} ʕado 'be white\clear', Sa {Wlm.} ʕado 'white', Sml N ʕa'd 'white colour', ʕad- 'be white', Sml N {Ss.} ʕadd-, Sml J {Ss.} ʕay, Or a'd-i?, Kns, Gdl at, Elm {Hn.} ε'w-i'-da, Arr ezzi' 'white', Dsn {To.} ʕe'd 'white, bright' ¶ Bl. 203 (LEC \*ʕad-), Ss. PEC 36 (EC \*ʕazz-), Ss. WOKS 137, AD SF 144 (C \*ʕV3-), PH 52, DSI 49, BISO 10, Bl. G 5, Hw. A 341, Hn. E 282, To. DL 480, Blz. DL s.v. 'white' | [× N \*ʕawc~V (or \*ʕac~wV) 'light of the sun'?]: ???σ Sml ʕadʕe'd 'sun, daylight', Or {Ss.} adu', {Grg.} adu' 'sun', Dsn {To} ʕa^du 'sun, sunlight' || DhI ʕaddo 'sun, day') ¶ AD SF 300-1, ZMO 53, Abr. S 16, Ss. SPhG, Grg. 9, Hw. A 337, To. DL 476, To. D 127, Blz. DL s.v. 'sun' || IE: Ht asara- ~ esara- 'white, bright' ¶ Pv. I-II 206-7 || U: FU \*ac'ka 'white' > F Δ ahka 'Eidergans (Anas mollissima)', hahkea, haahkea 'grey', Es hahk (gen. haha) id., ahka 'eider duck (Somateria mollissima) | Mk aks'a, Er as'o 'white, clean' | pChr {Ber.} \*os'ъ 'white' > Chr: L om os' id., 'fair-haired', H om(ь) os'(ь), E os'(o) d os'u 'white' || Os: D as' 'white clay' Cng a's' id., 'chalk', Kz as'~lampi' 'spröde' (lampi' 'similar') ¶ UEW 3-4, SK 45, Ber. 47, MRS 396, Ep. 83-4 || R: M \*o'azay (unless it is \*ʕazay) > WrM a3ay bugural, HIM азай буурал 'silvery grey hair' (bugural, буурал 'fey, grey-haired') ¶ Valid unless it is \*ʕazay ¶ MED 61.]]