

**751. id. \*ha**, deictic pronominal pc. ('ille', distal deixis) ( $\leftrightarrow$  N **\*h'e'** 'hic' [proximal deixis]  $\leftrightarrow$  N *id.* **\*'h'i** 'iste' [or 'hic]  $\sim$  N *id.* **\*'h'u** 'iste' [intermediate deixis?]) > **HS**: WS **\*hā-** > Ar **hāḏa** 'this', ( $\times$  N **\*Hañ∇** 'other'?) > **\*han** ( $\sim$  **\*'h'al**?) 'this' > df. art.: BHb **ha-** + gmc., Ph, M'b, Amn, Ed, Lh, Sf, Tmd **h-**, Hdr **-hri**, Sb, Mn, Qt **-ri**, ?? Ar **ʔal-** ¶ KB 225-6, HJ 263-4, GBr. JJAP 49-50, GBr. DJA 177-8, Bst. 31,  $\neq$  BL H § 262 (Hb **ha-** < **\*hā**) || C: Ag: Aw **á-n** 'that' ( $\leftrightarrow$  **ǎ-n** 'this') || Af {PH} **a** 'this/these' (proximal dem. prn.) ¶ Hz. NSA 134, PH 27, 235 || NrOm: [1] (an inversion of the relation?): Wl {LmS} **ha** 'this' ({C} **a**) ( $\leftrightarrow$  **he** 'that'), Zs {C} **ā** 'this' ( $\leftrightarrow$  **ē** 'that'), Gf {Bnd.} **ha** 'this', Bsk {Bnd.} **ḥa** 'this' m., [2] Ym {Lm.} **a** 'der/die da' ¶ LmS 81-4, Bnd. MO 16-17, C SO 15, C SE III 190, Lm. Y 85-7 || B **\*-ā**, a dem. pronominal sx ({Pr.}: an anaphoric dem. suffix [ $\approx$  'the', 'ce'] of the 'état libre' = {Pr. PE} 'nominative [absolute] case'), Tmz, Kb **a** ({DI., MT}: dem. sx of proximal deixis) ¶ Pr. M I-III 191, Pr. PE ∇, DI. 1, MT 1-2 ¶¶ But the collective prn. B **\*ā** > Tw **a** is more likely to go back to the N pc. of plurality **\*ʔa** (q.v.) || K **\*<sub>l</sub>h<sub>l</sub>a** 'this' > G **a-ka** 'here', **a-se** 'so', Lz **ha**  $\sim$  **a**, Mg **aš0-** 'here' (direction), **ašī-** 'so', Mg, Lz **a-k** 'here', Sv **aš** 'so' ¶¶ K 41, 44, 46, K<sup>2</sup> 1, 4, Schm. 92, Shan. G 51-2 || **IE**: **\*Hx0/e-no-**, {Pv.} (?) **\*o-n-yo-**, ?? {EI} **\*h<sub>h</sub>en-** 'that' ( $\times$  N **\*hEñ∇** 'iste'  $\times$  N **\*Hañ∇** 'other'; the element **\*-no-** or **\*-n-** may be alternatively explained as going back to the N genitive pc. **\*nu**) > Ht **an(n)i-** 'ille' (remote deixis), **annaz**, **annisan** 'formerly, once upon a time', **anna(l)i-**, **anna(l)a-** 'former, earlier, old', Pal **anni** (dem. prn.) || OI **a'n-ēna**, **a'n-ayā** instr., OPrs **anā** instr. '(with) this', Av **ana-** 'this' || Lt **añs**, **Δ anàs** 'that' || pSl **\*on-** 'that' (m. **\*onъ** / f. **\*ona** / ntr. **\*ono** / pl. m. **\*oni** / pl. f. **\*oně**) > OCS **онъ** **онъ** 'that, that one, he' / **она** **она** 'that, that one, she' / **оно** **оно** 'that, that one, it' / **онѣ** **они** 'those, they' (pl. m.) / **онѣ** **онѣ** 'those, they' (pl. f.), **она** **она** (du. m.), **онѣ** **онѣ** (du. f. and ntr.); later 'he, she, it, they': m.: R m. **он**, Uk **він**, SCr **он** ( $\sim$  **он**), Slv **он**, Cz, Slk, P **он** 'he', f.: R m. **она**, Uk **вона**, SCr. **она**, Slv **она**, Cz, Slk, P **она** 'she', ntr.: R **оно**, Uk **воно**, SCr. **оно**, Slv **оно**, Cz, Slk, P **оно** 'it', pl.: R **они** 'they' (for all genders), R *arc.*, **Δ они** 'they' m. and ntr., **онѣ** 'they' f., P **они** m. (of men), **онѣ** f., ntr. and m. (not of men), Cz **они**, **онѣ**, **онѣ**, **она** 'they' (with distinction of genders)'; still with remote deixis: R **во** **время оно** 'long ago, jadis' (lit. 'in illo tempore'), Blg **он-зи** (f. **онази**, ntr. **онова**) 'that'; prnl.: ChS, OR **онѣн** **онѣн**, SCr **онѣн**, Blg

оня 'ille' ||| Clt: OIr an-d 'here' ||| ? Gk D τῆνος 'ille' (< \*τέ-ενος or \*τή-ενος, cd with the dem. prn. \*te/o-) ||| OHG U enēr prn. 'that', ON enn ~ ?φinn id. ||| Arm unjū so-yn 'this, that, he, self, the same' (< \*k̄o-enō-) ¶¶ Pv. I 51-5, Carr. P 50, M K I 32, 56, Schz. 123, Kb. 522, Vr. 286, KM 332, Frn. 10, ESISJ-SGZ II 529-34, 565-6, Chrn. II 5, StSS 412-13, Glh. 454, 461, Vs. III 116-17, 140-1, Srz. II 673-4, ≈ Bks 202 (BSI \*on- < \*h<sub>2</sub>en 'there'), F I 476, 515 and II 894, EI 458 ¶¶ It is possible that IE \*ʔe- 'this\that' (> Ht a- 'this, that', -a- 'he, she, it', OI, Av a- 'he' in the obl. cases: gen. m. sg. OI a-sya, Av ahe, dat. m. sg. OI a-smāi, Av ah-māi, etc., F Pv. I-II 3-7, P 281-3) goes back to a merger: N \*ha 'ille' × N \*h'e' 'this' (hence the distance-deictically undifferentiated meaning 'he, she, it') ||| U \*a, \*an 'that' > FU \*a id. > Hg a-z 'that', pChr \*ā- > Chr H a-ń-ḃš, Chr L o-ń-ḃš 'dorthin', ? Prm: Z Ud ata 'here (?) ||| pY {IN H} \*an- pc. of distal deixis >, T {IN H} an 'that'; K {IN H} an-di: 'there', Y K/T {IN H} a-dā 'there', K {IN H} a-dōn, a-diŋ, a-duŋ 'that' ¶¶ Coll. 73, IN H 104, IN UJ 218-19, ≠: UEW 332 and MF 102-4 (Hg and Z < U \*o ~ \*u) ||| D \*ā ~ \*a 'that, yonder' (dem. base for remoter persons or things) > Tm a-, aᵛᵛ-, Ml a, ā id., Kt, Td a- 'that (distant from the speaker)', Kn a- (remote dem. base), Kdg a'- 'that' (adjective prn.), a- 'that' (m. aᵛᵛn, f. aᵛa, inanim. adi), Tu ā-, a- 'that', Tl ā-, Klm a, Nkr, Prj ā 'that', Knd aya 'that' (adjectival pronoun), Kui, Krx a- 'that over there', ā id. (in adjectival function), Mlt ā (= ā ?) id. ¶¶ D no. 1 ||| A \*a 'that' (deictic root) > T \*°a (> SY a 'that'), T \*a-n- (obl. cases of the prn. \*o| 'that') > OT an- (gen. an-iŋ), Tk an-, Az, Tkm, Qrg an- 'that', Chv L {Ash.} yH, Chv Δ oH gen. 'of him\her', poss. prn. 'his, her' ¶ Rs. W 19, Cl. 165, ET Gl 444-6, ≈ 147-9, Ash. III 238 ||| pJ \*á- 'that' (distal) (× pA \*é 'that' < N \*h'e' 'this', q.v.) > OJ a- id., J: T àre, K áre 'that, he\it', T à-no, Sh á-nù, Ns á-ṅ, Kg ái 'that' ¶ S AJ 268 [no. 76], S QJ no. 76, Mr. 376 ¶¶ SDM97 (pA \*a 'that'), ≈ SDM 487 (T, J + qu.: Tg \*e 'this', M \*e-ne 'this' [both from N \*h'e' 'this'] and pKo \*á-mò 'someone, some'), ≈ DQA no. 406 (id.), S AJ 111-12 [no. 26] ◇ Cp. IS I 258-9 ◇ I do not share IS's opinion that S \*ha(:)- 'this' has a secondary \*h- for the original \*ʔ-: Aram -ā ḫ-, 'the' (adduced by IS as an argument) provides no information as to the identity of the original initial lr. The S and Om cognates point to the HS and N initial \*h-. The apparently deviant loss of the expected IE strong lr. (regularly from N \*h) is due to the grammatical use of the particle (its

history may be described as N \***ha** [× N \***h'e'**] > pre-IE \***ʔ**∇ > pIE \***ᵏᵏ**ᵏᵏe) ◇  
Cp. Gr. I 87-91 ("demonstrative A ~ E" [in IE, U, A, Ainu, Gil]).

**751a.** <sub>2</sub> \***h'a**, particle of collectiveness > **HS:** B: pB {Pr.} \***ā** (or \***ha**) > Tw **a**, indefinite collective prn. ('pronom d'appui collectif') ↔ Tw **i**, indefinite singulative prn. ¶ Pr. M I-III 185-7, Vc. UB 321 (Tw indefinite and relative prn. **a**) || S (× N \***ʔa**, pc. of plurality?): nomina collectiva (→ plural forms) with the prefix \***ʔa-**: Ar **رِجْلُ** **ʔa-rǧul-un** 'feet' (← **riǧl-un** 'foot'), **ʔayyām-un** 'days' (← **yawm-un** 'civil day [24 hours], **сутки**'), **ʔamṭār-un** 'rains' (← **maṭar-un** 'rain'), OSA **ʔbʕl** 'owners' (← **bʕl** 'owner'), **ʔhgr** 'towns' (← **hgr** 'town'), Gz **ʔa-znāb** 'tails' (← **zanab** 'tail'), **ʔadbār** 'mountains' (← **dabr** 'mountain'), **ʔaṣṣārār** 'enemies' (← **ṣarr** 'enemy'), **ʔabyāt** 'houses' (← **bēt** 'house'), **ʔaḥḳūl** 'fields' (← **ḥaḳl** 'field'); this pattern is used mostly (but not always) with inanimate nouns; if used with inanimate nouns, it is syntactically treated (in the predicate verb) as f. sg. ] S \***-ā**, ending of pl. in the fem.-and-inanimate gender: pred. \***-ā**, nom.\***-ā-t-u(m)**, accus.-gen.\***-ā-t-a(m)**; pred. f. pl. \***-ā** > Ak **-ā** (**marṣ-ā** 'they [f.] are ill'); in WS the stative turned into a verbal form denoting state and later into a "new perfective", accordingly the form with \***-ā** became a form of f. pl. of this aspect of state and of the "new perfective": \***mawit-ā** 'they (f.) are dead' → 'they (f.) died' (> Ar **māṭ-ā** 'they [f.] died'); nom. \***-ā-t-u(m)**, accus.-gen. \***-ā-t-a(m)** are S forms of f. pl.: \***ban-ā-t-um** nom. f. pl. df., \***ban-ā-t-im** accus.-gen. f. pl. df. 'daughters' (> Ar **bānātun** [nom.], **bānātīn** [accus.-gen.] 'daughters', BHb **bā'n-ōt** 'daughters' [without case distinctions]) ¶ Br. AG 98-9, Bst. 26, GBr. JJAP 56, Di. G 267-72, Jo. M 61, Sd. G 100-1, 8\* || IE \***-h₂** / (with thematic nomina) \***-e/o-h** (\***e/o-** belonging to the stem), ending of nom.-accus. ntr. pl. > NaIE \***-ə/-ā** > OI **-i / -ā**, Gt **-a**, pSl \***-a**, Gk **-α**, L **-a**, e.g: with \***-e/o-** stems: \***yugā** 'yokes' (↔ sg. \***yugō-m**) > Vd **γυ'gā**, Gk **ζυγά**, L **iuga**, Gt **juka**; with consonantal stems: \***bʰer-ont-ə** acp. pl. ntr. 'carrying' (> OI **'bharant-i**, Gk **φέρωντα**), \***nōmen-ə** 'names' > Av **nāmən-i**, cp. Gk **ὀνόματα** 'names' || AnIE: Ht **-a**, ending of nom.-accus. ntr. pl. (**genūwa** 'knees' ↔ sg. **genū**; **aniyatt-a** 'Leistungen' ↔ sg. **aniyaz**; **salla** 'big' ntr. pl. ↔ sg. **salli**) and a zero ending of nom.-accus. ntr. pl. with lengthening of the preceding vw. in the stem (compensatory lengthening?) (Ht **uddār** 'words, things' ↔ sg. **uttar**); acc. to Rsk., in Lw, Lc and Ld the ending of ntr. pl. is also **-a** || IE \***-he** within the pIE "primary" verbal ending of 2p

\*-the ({Bks} th<sub>1</sub>e): OI -thē, pSl \*-te (> OCS -тє -тє), Lt -tē, Gk -τє, L -tis, Gt -þ, OIr -the (e.g. beirthē 'fertis'), Ht -teni ¶¶ Brg. KVG 393-4, Schmidt PN ∇, Szem. IEL 160, 186, Rsk. 54-63, Fs. 304, Kron. VLFL 107, Bks 232-5 ◊ The pN etymon is tentatively reconstructed with \*h-, because it is the only lr. that may turn into \*ʔ- and zero in S and be vocalized as \*ə in NaIE. The AnIE representation of \*h- as zero is probably conditioned by the grammatical functioning of the morpheme (unlike autosemantic words/roots where N \*h- usually yields Ht h-). Cp. on one hand N \*ha 'ille', N \*h<sup>1</sup>i 'iste' (or 'hic'), N \*hEñ∇ 'iste', N \*hæ<sub>1</sub>ʔ, w<sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup> 'to fall, to sink' (partially grammaticalized in Ht), where N \*h yields Ht zero, and on the other hand N \*ha1∇ 'call out, call, pronounce magic words, rejoice', N \*hûL∇ 'push, butt, pierce', N \*hûʔEn|ñ|η∇ 'wave', N \*hûP<sub>1</sub>U 'bad', N \*hir∇g∇ 'kill' or 'die' and N \*haR<sub>1</sub>ka 'hold\grasp', where N \*h- is represented by Ht h-. The particle \*h<sup>1</sup>a may be etymologically connected with N \*ʔa<sup>1</sup>h<sup>1</sup>a 'thing(s)', collective pc. of inanimate (q.v. ffd.) ◊ Blz. IELA 12 [no. 39] (HS, IE).

752. ?<sub>2</sub> \*h<sup>1</sup>æ ~ \*o<sup>1</sup>h<sup>1</sup>U, dual marker (for nomina animata) > IE \*-H̄(e) ~ \*-H̄u, dual ending (nom., animate gender) > [1] (with consonantal stems) \*-H(e) > Av -a, Gk -ε, OIr -Ø, [2] (with \*-o-stems) \*-o-H<sub>X</sub> ~ \*-o-H<sub>X</sub>u > OI -ā ~ -āu, Av -a ~ -ā, Gk -ω, L -ō (ambō 'both'), Lt -ū, OCS -a -a, [3] (with \*-u-stems): IE \*-u-H<sub>X</sub> > OI -ū, Av -u, OIr {Bks} \*-ū, Lt -ū, OCS -ъ -і, [4] IE \*dwo-H<sup>ω</sup> ~ \*dwo-H<sub>X</sub>u 'two' nom. > OI d<sub>v</sub>ā ~ d<sub>v</sub>āu m., L d<sub>u</sub>o m./ntr., OIr dá ~ da<sub>u</sub> (or dá<sub>u</sub>), Gt ntr.t<sub>ω</sub>a, AS ntr. t<sub>ū</sub> ~ t<sub>ω</sub>ā, OHG ntr. z<sub>ω</sub>ā ~ z<sub>ω</sub>ō, OCS m./ntr. д<sub>ъ</sub>в<sub>а</sub> д<sub>ъ</sub>в<sub>а</sub>, Lt m. d<sub>ū</sub>, Gk δύο<sub>1</sub> ~ δύο<sub>ω</sub>, [5] NaIE \*wē 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata (< N \*o<sup>1</sup>w∇y∇<sup>1</sup>h<sup>1</sup>æ [with \*w∇y∇<sup>1</sup>h<sup>1</sup>æ 'we']) > OCS в<sub>ѣ</sub>в<sub>ѣ</sub>щ<sub>ь</sub>, Lt v<sub>ė</sub> (-d<sub>u</sub>), Av G v<sub>ā</sub>, OI Vd v<sub>ā</sub>m (= v<sub>ā</sub>-am) 'we' du., AS w<sub>i</sub>t<sub>i</sub>d. (-t goes back to the IE numeral \*dwo-H<sup>ω</sup> 'two) ¶ Bks 194-5, 214, Brg. KVG 364, 387-8, 399 (Übersichtstabelle), Fs. 184, Hirt UG II 108-9, Me. VIEJ 306-7, 342, StSS 164 || HS: S \*-ā, marker of the dual number (nom. and pred.) of nouns, adjectives and pronouns, \*-ā-ni (marker of nom. dual df. [with the determiner \*-ni < N \*nE, dem. dual prn., q.v.]), \*-ā, marker of du. in verbal forms > Ar -ā / -āni in nouns (nom.), -ā in pronouns and verbal forms (2nd and 3rd persons), Gz -ā in 𐎠𐎡𐎣 𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩 'twenty', Ak nom. du. -ā-n (with the ancient determiner \*-ni > -n), Ak OB/OA nom. -a, -ā in 𐎧𐎥𐎦𐎧 'two', 𐎧𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎩 'twenty' ¶ Br. G I 455-9 [§ 244], Sd. G §§ 61c and 63h ◊ This marker of dual (< prn.) is used for nomina animata or for

the active case, while there is a different N marker of dual **\*y i** (q.v.) for the nomina inanimata or for the non-active cases (> S **\*-ay** [du. ending for oblique cases], IE **\*-o-i̯** / **\*-i(:)** [du. for nomina inanimata], T palatalization [**\*\*y** in **\*\*r+y** > **\*r̥**] for paired nouns). Cf. also the N dem. dual prn. **\*nE** ◊ The variation of vowels (N **\*h<sup>1</sup>æ** ~ **\*o<sup>1</sup>h<sup>1</sup>U**) still requires explanation. Qu. because of the problem of vowels.`

**753.** *id.?* **\*h<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>** 'this', deictic pc. (proximal deixis) > K **\*<sub>l</sub>h<sub>j</sub>e** > G K/R/Lch/I/A e 'hic, iste', G Ing hē 'this', OG e-sē, G e-s(e) 'hic', OG e-ge, G e-g(e) 'iste', Mg e 'this', e-na 'this one, he', Lz hē 'that', hē-m id., hē-a- 'that one, he'; \*e-g-, dem. pronominal stem: OG ege, G eg- 'this', Sv ežī, eža, Sv U aža id.; K **\*e-s̥-** > G ese 'so', Mg ešī, Lz eše 'so, there', Sv eš 'so' ¶¶ K 77-8, K<sup>2</sup> 45, 47, Mrtr. N 146, Ghl. 216, Chx. 333, 351, Q 192 s.v.  $\text{אָתָּךְ}$ ,  $\text{אָתָּךְ בְּךָ}$ , Marr 25-6, TK 244, Shan. G 51-2 ¶¶ Acc. to IS I 271, K **\*e-** did not change into a- in Mg and Lz due to the deictic nature of the stem || **HS** **\*h<sup>1</sup>E** > NrOm: Wl {LmS} hē 'that, those' (prn. of distal deixis) ¶ LmS 81-3 ¶ Inversion of the opposition *hic* ↔ *ille* (see s.v. N **\*ha** 'ille') || C: Ag: Aw  $\text{á-n}$  'this' ¶ Hz. NSA 134 || **IE** **\*H̑e-** > NaIE **\*e-** (gen. **\*esyō**) 'he, this' > NaIE **\*e-** > Clt {Matas.} **\*ē** 'this, that' > OIr é ~ hé 'he', ed 'it', Gl eia 'she' || Sl **\*e s̥b**, **\*e se** 'ecce' (> OCS **ѣсе же-се** ~ **есе-се**, OR **оесе осе**, Uk **оць** 'ecce' [БОТ], Blg Δ **е се** 'this, ceci' [БОТ ЭТОТ], Slv **esej / esa / eso** 'this'), Sl **\*e t̥b** (f. **\*e ta**, ntr. **\*e tō**) 'voici, this' (> Blg **ето**, SCr **ěto** 'voici', Slv **ete / eta / eto** 'this', but hardly R **это / эта / это** 'this' [a new interjection **э** + prn. **тот / та / то** 'that']) || OI a-'ta<sub>h</sub> 'von hier' (< NaIE **\*e<sup>1</sup>-tos** 'from here') | IE **\*H̑e-** may be suggested (as one of the solutions) on the basis of the gen. OI **asya**, Av ahe 'of this', the dat. OI **asmā i**, Av **ahmā i** 'to this', OLat **e m** 'him', L **ecce** (< **\*e-d-ke**), Osc **ekku m** (< **\*ed-ke-um**) 'item' | NaIE **\*e-m-** (× N **\*ha** 'ille') > Clt: Brtt {RE} **\*em-** 'he' > OW **e m**, MW **e, ef, W ef, fe**, Crn **ef**, OBr **e m**, MBr **eff**, Br **heñ** ¶¶ WP I 43, 99, P 282-4, M K I 13, 27, WH I 390, 399-400, Bc. G 315, RE 102, ≈ ESSJ VI 8, StSS 211, Matas. E 112-13 || **U** **\*e-** 'this' > FU: Er **e-t̥e** (pl. **e-ńe**) 'this', **e-še** (pl. **e-ś-ńe**) 'that', Mk **e-sa** 'da, dort', pPm **\*e-**: **\*e-ž** 'БОТ ТАК, in this way' > Vt **ož**, Yz **íži** id., pPm **\*e-t̥is** 'from there' > Vt **otís** id., Hg **e-z, e** 'this' (↔ **a-z** 'that') || Sm: ? En {Prk.} **eke**, {Ter.} **ekke** 'this', eo 'hierher' || pY {IN H} **\*en-** 'this' > Y K {IN} **ediŋ** id. ¶¶ UEW 67, LG 332, Lt. 134, ≈ MF 167-9, KP 73-4, IN H 159, IN UJ 219 || **A** **\*æ** 'that' (deictic word) > M **\*e-gün-** 'this' (stem of obl. cases), correlating with **\*ene** nom. and **\*ene-n-** for obl.

cases [ $\langle$  N \***hEñ** ▽ 'iste', q.v. ffd.)  $\rangle$  WrM {MED} e g ũ n, HIM {MED, BMR} ᳵ ᳶ ᳷; pl. M \*e-de 'these' ( $\rangle$  MM, WrM {MED} e d e, HIM {BMR} э д, Brt э д э, Dg э д э id. Kl {Rm.} e d a 'diese, die, sie', Ord e d e 'ceux-ci, ils' ¶ Ffd. see SDM 487, Pp. IM 47, 226-8, IS I 272, MED 301, BMR III 430 and IV 398, KW 117, Chr. 758 || Tg \*e-, proximal deictic stem (e.g., within \*e-du/e 'in this, here', where \*-du/e is a locative sx)  $\rangle$  Ewk э-р 'this', э-дū, э-лī 'here', Sln э(j)jэ, эр(i) 'this', э́́э 'here', Lm эр 'voici', эду 'here', Neg эдū 'here', эу 'this', Orc эду 'here', э́́и 'through this place', э́́и 'this', Ud э́́и, Ul, Nn э́́, Ork э́́э, эр(i) 'this', WrMc {Z} эрэ, Mc Sb эрэ, э́́и 'this', WrMc {Z} э-дэ, Mc Sb э-дэ 'in this, here', Jrc {Md.} e(r)se 'this' ¶ STM II 460-2, Ci. 267, Md. ChF 133, Krm. 313, Z 73, 84-5 || ?? pJ \*á 'that' ( $\times$  pA \*a 'that'  $\langle$  N \***ha**, deictic pronominal pc. of distal deixis ['ille'], q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 487 (pA \*é 'that' [deictic root]  $\rangle$  Tg, J + unc. M \*ene 'this', T \*an- 'that' in obl. cases [belonging to N \***ha** 'ille'], pJ \*á- 'that' and pKo \*á-mò 'someone, some'), DQA no. 406, S AJ 56, 111-12, 292, 277 [no. 141], SDM97 s.v. \*e 'this' ( $\rangle$  M \*e-gũn- 'this' [stem of obl. cases], correlating with \*ene nom. and \*ene-n- for obl. cases [ $\langle$  N \***hEñ** ▽ 'iste']), KW 122, Dr. MT 21, Rozycki MM 70 ◇ The particles of pronominal deixis \***ha** 'ille', \***h'e** 'this', \***h'i** 'iste' and \***h'u** 'iste' form a paradigm of N deictic particles. Therefore it may be tentatively suggested that not only \***ha** (in which \***h-** is reflected by S \***h-**), but all particles of this paradigm (even those, in which N \***h-** cannot be demonstrably distinguished from \***ʔ-**) had a N \***h-**.

**754.** *id.?* \***h'i** 'iste' (or 'hic'), demonstrative pc.  $\rangle$  HS: B: Tw i, indefinite singulative prn. ¶ Pr. M I-III 185-7 || ?? Ch {Sch.} \*-i, marker of definiteness ( $\times$  N \***h'e** 'this'): Dr gám-î: 'the ram' ( $\leftrightarrow$  gám 'ram'), Zr gэмān-i 'the husband' ( $\leftrightarrow$  гэмān 'husband'), EDng àk-í 'the fire' ( $\leftrightarrow$  àkò 'fire') ¶ Sch. ED 158-60 || EC \*-i:₁, marker of the theme form  $\rightarrow$  marker of the subject case (nom.): Or -n-i, -i ({HW} nam-ni nom.  $\leftrightarrow$  abs. nama 'man', nom. fār d-i  $\leftrightarrow$  abs. fār da 'horse', nom. mūk-i  $\leftrightarrow$  abs. mūka 'tree'), Sd -i ({Mrn.} nu'gus-i až'ž až'ino 'the king ordered', 'min-i mi'namino 'the house was built'), Rn nom. (of f.) -è, Sm nom. -i (láf-ì nom.  $\leftrightarrow$  láf abs. 'bone', dāghàn-ì nom.  $\leftrightarrow$  dāghán abs. 'stones'; dem. ending: nom. -kàn-ì 'this'  $\leftrightarrow$  abs. -kàn 'this'), as well as Sml -ī within the df. art. of the remote type: m. -k-ī, f. -t-ī || ? Ag: Xm {Ap.} -i-/-y-, def. art. m. (in the obl. case, preceding the case ending): э́́э́р-и-э́́ э́́э́у́н 'I gave it to the man' ¶ HW 145, Mrn. S 26-7, Hn. NBLK 224, PG 17, 106,

AD KJ 34-5, Anr. DSN 119, Ap. DAX 16-22 || **K** \*<sub>l</sub>h<sub>1</sub>i 'that' (distal deixis) > G Im/R/Lch/Mt/P/HA i 'that', G i-s 'he; that', i-gi id., Mg i-, Lz hi- 'that', Sv i- id.; K \*i-ma- (deictic stem for remote objects) > G ima-, Mg imu, Lz (h)imu- id., Sv im-eg 'there' ||| GZ \*-i, marker of nom. (> OG, G, Mg, Lz -i), which in the final account goes back to a dem. pronominal pc. (article?) \*i ¶¶ K 99-100, K<sup>2</sup> 80-1, Q 230 s.v. ၅၀၀, Chx. 519-33, Ghl. 257 || **IE**: AnIE: HrLw ī-, nom. ī-s 'this' || IE \*<sub>h</sub>ē<sub>1</sub>-/?i (or \*<sub>h</sub>ē<sub>1</sub>-/\*<sub>h</sub>i-?), anaphoric dem. prn. {Bks} 'that, the (just named)' (× N \*<sub>y</sub>i 'he', [?]) 'that' [anaphoric], q.v.) > OI a'y-am m., GAv ay-ā m m., OI i'y-am f., OI i-'d-am ntr., OI i'm-am, OPrs imam m. accus. 'eum' ||| Gk Cp ἔν 'eum, eam' ||| L i-s m., i-d ntr., e-a f. (dem. pronouns 'he/it/she', 'this/that') ||| OIr é ~ hé 'he' (< \*i-s), ed ~ hed (< \*id or \*id-ā) 'it', pl. hé ||| Gt i-s 'he', accus. i n-a, ntr. i ta 'it', pl. eis 'they', ORu eR, iR, i aR rel. 'that, which', ON es, later er, OHG er 'he', i z ~ e z 'it', NHG er m. 'he', es ntr. 'it' ||| Lt jì-s 'he', jì 'she' || Sl \*j- dem. 'is, ille', rel. 'which': m. nom. \*j b, f. nom. \*j ā, ntr. nom.-accus. \*j e > OCS, OR m. H i, f. H j ā, ntr. H j e; Sl \*j- in the obl. cases: OCS gen. m.\ntr. H Γ O j e g o 'of him, of it', dat. m.\ntr. H M O y j e m u 'to him, to it' etc. ¶¶ P 281-6, Mer. HHG 61-7 || **U**: Sm \*i- 'iste' (> En {Cs.} i n ô ? 'dorthin', Kms {KD} ī d ā 'dieser da, der dort', Mt {Hl.} \*i d i 'jener' [Mt K {Mll.} i d i -]) may go back either to U \*i- or to U \*e- || FU \*i- 'this' (from the functional point of view a variant of \*e- 'this', F N \*<sup>h</sup>e<sup>1</sup> 'this') may be discerned in Es i-g a 'such', Hg i-t t 'here' (↔ o-t t 'there'), i-d e 'here' (direction) (↔ o-d a 'there' [direction]), í g y 'so', pOs \*i- (proximal pronominal stem) > Os: V/Vy/Ty i n, Nz i n 'just now', K {Ps.} i n 'der, er' (von einem nicht näher Bekannten, Entfernten), Sh/Sn i n, LK {Ptk.} ī n 'ἔ τ ο τ, dieser, jener' (von einem oder etwas schon Erwähnten), V/Vy/Ty/Y i t 'now (jetzt)', O {Stn.} i t t ā 'sofort' ¶¶ UEW 67-8, Jn. 26, Hl. M no. 336, Stn. D 2-3, ≈ MF 167-9 || **A** \*i 'iste', a deictic word > pKo \*í > MKo í, NKo i 'this' ¶ Rm. SKE 66, S QK no. 88, Nam 397, MLC 1316 || pJ \*i 'iste' > OJ {S, SDM} i ({Syr.} 'thou' mostly in deprecatory speech), as well as possibly the first element i- in the OJ {Mill.} spacially indefinite dem. i d u- (in the dem. prn. i d u r e, place adv. i d u - k u 'there\here', direction word i d u - t i 'thither\hither') ¶ Mr. 420, Syr. DJ 92, Mill. JL 341-2, S QJ no. 235 || T \*i- in Xk i d i u d i, Sg {Rl.} i - d ä 'so'; \*i n- in dem. pronouns\adverbs (< N \*<sup>h</sup>i n u [with the N genitive pc. \*n u]): Yk i n n i k (\*i n - l i k) 'such', i n j ä 'so, there', Blq i n - o l 'that', Az, Chg {Rl.}, Brb {Dm.} i n d i, SbTt Tb {Tm.}

инде (= [indь]?) 'now', Bsh инде indь 'now, already', VTt инде indь 'already' ¶ Ktw. PLA 20-3, Pek. 240, 256, BIG 65, Rl. I 1450, 1506, ARL 147, Dm. JBT 139, Tm. 56, BR 206, TatR 169 ¶¶ SDM 577 (\*i, a deictic root > Ko, J, T \*i-na- 'that' + unc. Tg \*i 'he, she' and M \*i-nu 'his, her' [both going back to N \*yí 'he']), DQA no. 582 (id.), SDM 577 (T, J, Ko + err. Tg \*i- 'he, she' and M), SDM97 (A \*i > Ko, J + qu. T \*ṓ 'inside'), S AJ 56-7, 297, Rm. SKE 66 || D \*i 'hic (the nearer to the speaker)' > Tm i-, i v v-, Ml i, ī, Kt, Td i- 'this, hic', Kn i-, proximate dem. base, ī 'this', Tu ī, Klm i', Nkr, Prj, Gdb, Png, Mnd, Kui, Ku, Krx ī, Knd iya, Mlt í (= ī?) 'this', Brh i- (a base declined for case) ¶¶ D no. 410 ◇ Samoyed and Japanese suggest the original meaning 'iste', while other lges point to the meaning 'hic' ◇ The N initial \*h- is tentatively reconstructed on the analogy of N \*ha 'ille', because the paradigm of the deictical particles is likely to presuppose their similar phonological structure ◇ Cp. IS I 270-2 (IS combined together N \*h¹i [incl. our \*yí] and N \*h¹e¹ as two variants of the same word \*ʔi/(?)ʔe).

**755.** *id.*? \*h¹u 'iste', dem. pc. (intermediate deixis?) > HS: C: Bj Hd {Rop.} ū (df. art. nom. m.), 0 (accus./obl. m.), {R} ū ~ ω ū (df. art. nom. m.), 0 ~ ω 0 (accus. m.) (allomorphs with ω- when preceding a noun beginning with ʔ-, otherwise allomorphs without ω-), Bj B {Alm.} ū (df. art. nom. m.), 0 - (accus. m.), Bj A {AD} 'ʔō ~ ʔū ~ ʔu ~ hu (df. art. nom. m.) (e.g. 'ʔō ga ω 'the house' nom., ʔū 'tak 'the man', ʔu 'haḏa 'the lion', hu 'ʔor 'son, boy, child', hu 'ʔēω 'the kudu antelope', hu 'ʔab 'the kid'), 'ʔō ~ ʔō ~ ʔo ~ hō ~ ho (obl. m.) (ʔō 'tak 'den Menschen', ʔo 'haḏa 'den Löwen, dem Löwen', 'ʔō ga ω obl. 'the house', hō 'ʔa ω i obl. 'the stone', ho 'ʔōr 'den Jungen, das Kind'); the variants with h- occur when the article precedes a noun beginning with ʔ-, otherwise the variants with ʔ- are used ||| EC: Sd {Mrn.} marker of subject case (nom.) '-u (nom. nu gu 's-u ↔ abs. nu gu se 'king', nom. maga'n-u ↔ abs. maga'no 'God'), Bn J -ū nom. (ír-ū nom. ↔ írз abs. 'goat', mōf-û nom. ↔ mōfз abs. 'snake', bâl-û nom. ↔ bâl abs. 'feather'), Sml -u (marker of nom. with dem. suffixes of nouns: -kân-ù nom. ↔ -kán abs. 'this' m., -tân-ù nom. ↔ -tán abs. 'this' f., -kēr-ù nom. ↔ -kér abs. 'that' m.) || ? Af ωō 'that\those' (remote for both speaker and addressee) ¶ Mrn. S 26-7, Hn. BD 28, PG 146, AD KJ 35, PH 235 || LbB: B \*ω-a m. sg. / \*ω-i m. pl., dem. and rel. prn. > Shl, Tmz, ASgr ωa sg. / ωi pl. 'this', relative 'that of, which', B \*ω-i- m. pl. (> Tw ωə-), px of the dependent state (état d'annexion, that



Pr. proposed to call 'cas subordonné'), typical, among others, to the postverbal subject noun (\*w- is likely to go back to a thematic focalizer or "singulatif défini" [acc. to Pr.] or df. art. [acc. to Vc.] ← dem. prn.), compound pronouns: Tmz/ASgr wa-n, Shl wa-hin, Kb wa-hi 'that' || Gnc g u a (< \*wa) 'that of', g u a n id. (< \*wa + nota genitivi \*n): g u a n c h i n e c 'that of Chinec, the man of Chinec' ¶ Pr. M IV-V 11-16, Pr. PE ∇, Ai. SKBJ I 17-22, 49-52, AiM 176, 210-11, 218, Brugn. EAB, Brugn. SNBO ¶¶ In my opinion, we may adduce the HS ending of the subject case \*-u > pS \*-u (> Ar, Ug -u), ending of the nominative case sing. (← thematic focalizer ← dem. prn.), pEC \*-u (~\*-i) (the nominative case ending); the S morpheme group \*-u-m (nom. df.) (> OAk -u m nom. st. r., Ar -u n nom. indf., Ug -u nom. abs.); it would be tempting to equate S \*mu't-u-m 'the man' nom. df. (> Ak m u t u m 'man' st. r.) with Hs m u t u m [mùtûŋ] 'man' (< AncHs \*mutum, the final \*-m reconstructed on the ev. of the gen. m u t u m i n [mùtúm-ìn]) and thus to suggest that the ending \*-um existed already at the pHS level. We may also adduce the ending \*-u of the pS relative mood (= Dk.'s pS "subjunctive", used in subordinated clauses) > Ak -u (rel. mood = traditionally called "subjunctive"), CS \*-u of the new imperfective (> Ar -u id.); its semantic prehistory: N dem. \*h¹u > rel. \*-u 'that which' > \*-u of the rel. mood ¶¶ F Ss. CCSB 111-26; on the pS endings and their meaning F AD MN ∇ and AD PhSS 7 (fn. 12); on S \*mu'tu-m F AD PhSS 3; on the pS rel. mood see Dk. JDPa 254, 304, ≈ Eil. SA ∇ (W. Eilers equated the Ak -u-mood with the Ar -u-imperfective, but believed that the pS \*-u-mood is indicative) || K \*u-'it', marker of the objective version of the verb having a recipient of the 3rd pers. > G, Mg, Lz u-, Sv u-~o-: OG χ-u-ḡo ~ h-u-ḡo 'er tat es ihm(für ihn)', NG u-çer-s 'il l'écrit pour lui', u-çer-t 'il l'écrit pour eux' ¶¶ K 185, Vogt GLG 122-3, Shan. G 74 || IE \*ʔu- / \*ʔu- / \*we- / \*w0- 'iste', deictic pc. > Ht u-ni- 'jener, der da, der erwähnte; iste'; the former opposition of degrees of proximity to the speaker and hearer ('hic' ↔ 'iste' ↔ 'ille') (that probably existed in the pronouns eni-, unī- and anni-) was lost when these Ht pronouns became predominantly anaphorical; pv. u- '(hier)her' (↔ pe- 'hin', e.g. Ht u da- '(her)bringen' ↔ pe da- 'hinschaffen, forttragen', u wa te- 'herbringen' ↔ pe hu te- 'hinbringen' etc.), ? Ht -un (a rare OHT form) 'him, her' (side by side with -an) || NaIE \*u- / \*u- / \*we- / \*w0- 'iste' (→ 'ille', 'hic') > Sl \*o v b / f. \*o v a / ntr. \*o v o 'that', OCS, OR o b t o v b 'that' (often o b t ... o b t 'that\one ... the other'), SCr †, Δ, Slv, OCz o v, P ó w

'that', prnl.: SCr  $\acute{o}v\text{-}\bar{a}j$  (f.  $\acute{o}v\text{-}\bar{a}$ , ntr.  $\acute{o}v\text{-}\bar{o}$ ) 'hic', P  $\acute{o}\omega$  'ille', OCS {Mikl.}  $\acute{o}v\text{ь}$  'hic', {SJSS} 'hic, ille' ||| ? OI, Av  $a\acute{v}a\text{-}$  'jener', OI  $u\text{-}$  'and, also, further, on the other hand' ||| \* $u$  in OI  $asau$ , Av  $h\bar{a}u$  'ille', OPrs  $ha\acute{u}v$  'this'; with a \* $r$ -formant: OI  $a\acute{v}ah_2$ , Av  $a\acute{v}ar\bar{a}$  'downwards', Um  $ur\acute{u}$  'illo'; \* $\omega\bar{e}$ , \* $\omega\bar{o}$ - 'on the other hand'  $\rightarrow$  'or' ( $\times$  \* $\omega u$  'whether')  $>$  OI/Av/OPrs  $v\bar{a}$ , Gk  $\eta\text{-}(\mathcal{F})\acute{\epsilon} > \acute{\eta}$ , L  $-v\bar{e}$  'or'; this morpheme is to be kept apart from the paronymous NaIE word \* $a_u$  'or' ( $<$  N ? \* $\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\omega\hat{u}$  'whether?', 'or') in Gk  $\alpha\hat{u}$  'again, once more', L  $aut$  'or',  $autem$  'but, however', Osc AUT  $a\acute{v}t$ , AUTI 'aut, autem' ¶¶ Ts. W 63, 95-8, SomF HAB 161, Frd. HEB 68, Mer. SGA 324, P 73-5, F I 183, 619, WH I 87, II 740-1, Bc. G 313, 350, Mikl. L 486, Mikl. E 229, ESISJ-SGZ II 558-61, SJSS XXII 508-9, StSS 403, Brtl. 163-76, 1730-2, M K I 58, 66,  $\approx$  Bks 202 (NaIE \* $\omega\text{-}$   $<$  \* $h_2eu$  'away, again') || U: FU \* $\omega\text{-}$   $\sim$  \* $\bar{o}\text{-}$ : FU \* $\omega\text{-}$  is represented by Hg  $\acute{o}\text{-}d\bar{a}$  'dahin, dorthin, dort',  $\acute{o}l\bar{y}$  'such, so',  $\acute{o}t\bar{t}$  'there',  $\acute{u}g\bar{y}$  'so', FU \* $\bar{o}\text{-}$  or \* $\bar{u}\text{-}$  is reflected by Chr H {Rm.}  $umpal$  'jene Seite, die andere Seite', Chr L/H {Ü}  $umbalne$  'there, in the distance',  $umbalan$  'there, to that place',  $umbake$  'there, to that point',  $umbac\bar{e}n$  'from there', FU \* $\omega\text{-}$   $\rightarrow$  \* $\bar{o}\text{-}$   $>$  pMr \* $\bar{o}\text{-}$  in Er  $omb\bar{o}$ , Mk  $omb\bar{a}$ ,  $oma$  'other, second' (Chr and Mr  $-mb\text{-}$   $<$  FU \* $-mpa/\bar{a}$ , sx of cmpr.) ¶ Rédei (UEW) explains irreg. sound corr. by mixing of different deictic stems, IS attributes FU \* $\bar{o}\text{-}$  to the infl. of the interr. \* $k\bar{o}\text{-}$  ¶ UEW 332, IS I 258 || A \* $\bar{o}$   $\sim$  \* $u$  'this, that' (deictic pc.)  $>$  NaT \* $\bar{o}$  'jener dort'  $>$  Tk  $\acute{o}$ ,  $\Delta\bar{o}\sim u$ , Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr  $\acute{o}$ , ET, Bsh  $u$ , Uz  $u\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{d}\omega u\sim hu$ , SY, Ln  $\bar{o}\sim u$  'that', Xlj  $\acute{o}$  'he, she, it, that', Tkm  $\acute{o}$  'he, she'; but T \* $\bar{o}l$  'that' ( $>$  OT  $\acute{o}l$ , Tkm, Qzq, Yk, Tv  $\acute{o}l$ , Chv L  $\bar{b}\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{v}\bar{b}l$ , Chv  $\Delta\bar{v}\bar{b}l$ ) does not belong here, it is better explained as going back to N \* $\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{v}$  'that (visible)' ¶ ET Gl 444-6, Bu. I 106, DT 167, TkR 479, Fed. I 106,  $\neq$  SDM97 (A \* $\bar{o}(\bar{l}\bar{v})$  'this, that') || Tg {Bz} \* $u\text{-}$  'iste' in derivatives: WrMc {Z}  $\bar{y}\bar{b}a$  'hoc; this', Ud  $uti$  'this, it' (stem  $uta\text{-}$ : accus.  $utawa$ , dat.  $utadu$ , loc.  $utala$ ) ¶ Bz. 114, STM II 293-4, Z 147 || pJ {S} \* $\acute{z}\text{-}$  'this' (a deictic  $\check{v}$ )  $>$  J: Sh  $\acute{u}\text{-}n\grave{u}$ , Ns  $\acute{u}\text{-}\grave{n}\grave{u}$ , Ht  $\grave{u}\text{-}n\grave{u}$ , Y  $\grave{u}\text{-}n\acute{u}$  ¶ S QJ no. 147 ¶¶ SDM 1040 (pA \* $\bar{o}$  'this, that'  $>$  T, Tg, J + err. M \* $\bar{o}n$  'other, different' [actually from N \* $Ha\bar{n}\bar{v}$  [= \* $Ha\bar{n}\bar{o}$ ?] 'other', q.v.), DQA no. 1554 (A \* $\bar{o}$  'this, that'  $>$  T, Tg, J), SDM95 s.v. \* $\bar{o}$ , S AJ 280 [no. 136] (T, J) || D \* $u$  'iste', deictic base and demonstrative pc.\adj.  $>$  Tm, Kn  $u\text{-}$  (a dem. base indicating a person\place\thing occupying an intermediate position or a position near the person[s] spoken to), Tm  $u\sim u\bar{v}\bar{v}$ , Kn  $\bar{u}$ , Ku  $\bar{u}$ , Krx  $h\bar{u}$  'iste', dem. adjective prn. ¶¶ D no. 557  $\diamond$  The ancient meaning is best

preserved in D. Cp. UEW 332 (U, IE, T), IS I 257-8 (he adduced T \**o* and considered U \**o* to be a variant of the U deictic \**a*, arisen due to the infl. of the interr. \**k**o*) ◇ On the reason of our tentative rec. of N \**h*- in this and other N demonstrative particles *see* above (s.v. \**h*'*e*' and \**h*'*i*').

**756.** <sub>2</sub> \**hed*∇ 'to break' > **HS**: S \**o*✓*hdd* > Ar ✓*hdd* *G* vt. 'break, crush' ¶ Hv. 818, ≈ DRS 373 || Eg MK *h*đ 'break stones' ¶ EG II 505 ¶¶ But not here (⇔ Tk.) Ch \**h*đ 'break' (JS, Stl. ZCh 228 [no. 766]), because Ch \**h* hardly corresponds to S and Eg \**h*-; Ch \**h*đ is more likely to correspond to S \**h*tt (> BHb *h*tt 'was broken', Ug {Grd.} *h*tt 'broken', Tgr *h*atta 'was torn') ¶ KB 360, LH 81, Grd. UT no. 1020 ¶¶ Tk. I 147 (Eg, S + err. Ch) || **D** (att. in NED) \**e*tt- > Krx *e*tt-nā 'tear in pieces, lacerate', Mlt *e*tt v. 'deface, destroy' ¶ D no. 785.

**757.** \**hûdi* 'rot, dissolve (by boiling), boil' > **HS**: WS \**h*dy > Gz ✓*h*dy v. 'dissolve by overcooking, cook completely', Ar ✓*h*dy *Sh* pf. *h*dy 'boil meal to shreds' (← a S lge with \**-d-* > *-dy-*) ¶ L G 215, Di. 18, BK II 1408 || **A**: M \**h*dy- vi. 'rot' > WrM {BMR} *h*dy-, HIM {BMR} *h*dy- 'rot', Brt *h*dy- vi. 'rot, go bad'; d.: WrM {MED} *h*dyre-, HIM {MED, BMR} *h*dyre- 'rot' ¶ M \**-h*dy- < \*\**-di-* ¶ MED 1017, BMR III 393, Chr. 496 || **D** \**u*tt- > Tl *u*ttukv v. 'boil, seethe, bubble with heat', *u*ttikinkv, *u*ttikilv vt. 'boil, cook', Gnd *u*ttk ēr 'hot water', Ku *u*ttku 'heat', Krx *u*ttur- 'be boiled or cooked, be tired up to excitement' ¶¶ D no. 588.

**758.** \**hu*|*od*∇,?∇ 'be motionless, sleep' (→ 'be sleepy\giddy') > **HS**: S: [1] WS \**h*d? 'be motionless\quiet' > Ar ✓*h*d? *G* (*hada?a* / *-hada?u*) 'take a rest, stop (somewhere)', acp. *h*adi?- 'motionless, quiet', ✓*h*d? *D* vt. 'calmer, apaiser, adoucir', Mh {Jo.} *h*adi 'quiet' (of a person), {Jahn} *h*adi 'quiet' (of a wind), Hrs {Jo.} *h*adi, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'hudi 'quiet', Sq {L} 'hyode 'se calmer', Tgr ✓*h*d? *G* 'se calmer'; [2] + ext.: WS \**h*dm 'be sleepy\giddy' > Ar *h*dam- 'giddiness' ({BK} 'mal de mer'), Gz ✓*h*dm v. *D* (pf. *h*adama) 'sleep, slumber' ¶ BK II 1397-8, 1402-3, Jo. M 152, Jo. H 50, L G 214, DRS 371 || EC {Ss.} \**h*dr- 'sleep' > Rn *udur* / *urd-*, Sml (mt.) *h*rd- id. ¶ Ss. PEC 40, PG 285, Abr. S 113, DSI 319 || Ch: ECh: Brg *h*di, Kjk {DB} *h*di, ? Mu {Lk.} *h*di, {J} *h*di 'sleep', Mgm {JA} *h*di 'se coucher', {ChC} 'sleep' ¶ JI II 299, JA LM 113, Lk. ZSS 189, DB s.v. Kjk *h*di || **U**: FU \**o*da- v. 'sleep, (?) lie (liegen)' > pLp {Lr.} \**o*de- v. 'sleep' > Lp: S {Hs.} *o*de-dh, L *o*de-, N {N} *o*de-t (/d-), Kld {TI} *o*de / *o*deam / *o*de id. | Er *ud*- *ud*-, Mk *ud*- *ud*- id. || ObU {Ht.} \**o*de- / ? \**o*de- > pVg {Ht.} \**o*de- / \**o*de- > OVg S Vt *o*de 'I am

dozing (дремлю)', Ovg S Kg алалахъ 'sleep'; pOs {Ht.} \*a:la- / \*ol- v. 'lie (liegen)' > Os: V/Vy äla-, Ty äča- / öč-, Y äč- / öč-, D/K ät-, Kz öč- id., d. Os: Y äčtə-, Nz uttə-, Kz wŭčtə-, O oltə- 'schlafen legen' ¶ UEW 334-5, Sm. 542 (FU \*odā 'sleep' > FP \*oda, Ugr \*ādī), Lr. no. 817, Lgc. no. 4543, Hs. 1035, Ker. II 179, Ht. no. 662 || **A**: T \*uδI- v. 'sleep' > OT uδI-, XwT uy<sub>1</sub>u<sub>1</sub>-, MQp XIII ūyī-, XIV uyI-, [CC] uy<sub>1</sub>- id., Tk uy<sub>1</sub>-, Ggz, Qmq uy<sub>1</sub>-, SY, Xk, Shor/Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} uzu-, Tv udu-, Tf ud<sub>1</sub>-, Yk utuy- id., VTt oe- ъуѡ- (inf. ою ъуу), Bsh ойо- ъуѡ- v. 'doze, slumber; grow numb' ¶ It is possible that T \*ū n. 'sleep' (> OT u<sub>1</sub>:, Xlj ū and Yk ū) goes back to an earlier \*\*u<sub>1</sub>:δ (so Cl. 2, Rs. W 508 and Pek. 3098), but the alternative et. relating T \*ū to A \*ηōy∇ 'sleep' (< N \*ηuhy'a' 'to rest, to lie, to repose' [→ 'to sleep], q.v.) is more plausible ¶ The vw. \*u in the verb \*uδI- was not long (⇔ Cl.), as evidenced by Yk utuy-; if the noun \*ū 'sleep' belongs here, the length may be compensatory (for the loss of \* -δ) ¶ ET Gl 579-81, DTS 605, Cl. 1-2, 42-3 (deriving \*uδI- from \*ū n. 'sleep'), TAG 44, Ra. 236, TatR 408, 417, BR 412, Pek. 3064-5, 3098, DT 209-10, Rs. W 508 (err. initial \*ū in Yk utuy-) ◇ Comparison of U and A: Rs. UAW 42, Coll. 147, IS MS 367, IS SS no. 1.14, UEW 334-5 (U, T + \*÷ M umta- 'sleep').

**759.** <sub>2</sub> \*hak∇ 'slow, inactive' > HS: SS \*✓hky > Gz ✓hky (pf. hakaya) 'be lazy\sluggish\inactive\weary', Tgr ✓hky (pf. hakka), Tgy ✓hky (pf. hakəyə) 'be weary\indolent' (EthS б→ Bln {R} hakaу 'tired, weary', Km {CR} akēt 'laziness'), Mh {Jahn} ✓hky (pf. Gt 'hətkī 'abhängen, sich nach unten neigen') ¶ L G 216-17, Jahn 187, ≈ DRS 407 || **A** \*a<sub>1</sub>:k'∇- (and d. \*a<sub>1</sub>:k'ur-?) > NaT \*a<sub>1</sub>:kur- 'do slowly' > OT {Gbn} aqur- id., {Cl.} aq(u)ru-, Oosm XIV arqin ~ arqun ~ arχun 'gently, quietly, slowly', XwT XIV aqr u(n) 'quietly, peacefully', Cum aqrin ~ arqun 'slowly, quietly', QBl, Qzq, Qq, Qrg aqirin, VTt, Bsh äkrьn 'slow(ly), quiet(ly)' ¶ Cl. 89-90, DTS 49, ET Gl 123-4, Gbn ATG 295, Br. OTG §§ 104 and 136, Rs. W 14 || M: **[1]** M \*aki- > WrM aki- {MED} v. 'advance' ({SDM} 'advance gradually'), HIM ахи- {BMR} 'outstrip\outrun gradually', Brt ахи- id. ('постепенно опережать, мало-помалу обгонять') || **[2]** ?φ M \*\*a<sub>1</sub>za<sub>1</sub>i- ⇨ M \*a<sub>1</sub>za<sub>1</sub>i-yu > WrM {MED} agazi- qu adj. and adv. 'slow(ly), sluggishly, leisurely, by and by, gradually', HIM аажуу {MED} id., {BMR} 'leisurely (неторопливый), замедленный, небыстрый, sluggish', d.: Ord āžagā 'qui est lent à faire qch.'; M \*a<sub>1</sub>za<sub>1</sub>i-m adj. and adv. 'slow, slowly' > WrM {MED} agazim,

HIM {MED, BMR} аажим, Brt аажам id., Kl Ö {Rm.} āžm̄ 'langsam, träge', Ord āžim 'lentement'; cp. also WrM агаšар {MED} 'for a while, leisurely', HIM {MED} аашар 'for a while, leisurely', {BMR} аашаар adv. 'slowly (медленно, тихо)' and Ord āšār 'lentement, à son aise' ¶ MED 13-14, BMR I 6, 11, 178. Chr. 16-17, 66, KW 20-1, Ms. O 4-6, 33 || pJ \*žkúr(á)- 'be\come late' > OJ okura-, MJ ókúrá- id., J T òkure-, J K ókúré-, J Kg okuré- {Kenk.} 'be late, be behind time' ¶ Mr. 741, Kenk. 1430 ¶¶ SDM 282 (pA \*ǎk'è 'advance gradually\slowly' > J, M \*aki- v. 'advance gradually', T \*(i)akuru- 'slowly, quietly, gradually' + unc. M \*akuу 'work, earnings, mode of life').

**760.** \*h|X'ǎ'ka 'to need, to lack' > IE \*H̄eg|ǵ- ({{EI}} \*h<sub>1</sub>eg- 'be in need, lack') > NaIE \*eg|ǵ- 'lack' > L egē- 'be in need, want' ||| ON eklä n. 'lack, want, need', OHG еско-rōdi, еско-rōdo 'just, merely (nur, bloß, allein)' ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ EI) Ht ak(k)-/ek- 'die' ({{Pv.}}: ÷ V nt ekupeθaris ~ ecupetaris ~ equpetars 'tombstone' < IE \*<sub>1</sub>ǵek- 'die') ¶¶ P 290, ≈ EI 343, WH I 394-5, Vr. 9, Kb. 196, EWA II 945-7, Schz. 122, Pv. I 17-23 ||| HS: HEC: Ged {Hd.} hāk- vt. 'lose, miss', vi. 'be unable', ?φ Brj hōk- 'be absent' ¶ Hd. 243, Ss. B 100 ||| ? S: Gz ?akkō 'by no means, no' (unless < \*?al-kō), Tgr ?ikōn 'not, no' ¶ L G 14 ||| A: NaT \*ægsü- (× N \*Xa'ǰ'ü'gæ 'to lack, to want', q.v.) 'be\become defective\deficient\lacking' > OT ägsü- ({{Cl.}} egšü-), OT (BrSc) {Gb.} ägsö-, ET ögsü-, Oosm eksī- 'be lacking', Osm eksī- 'grow less, decrease', Tk eksī- 'sich verringern, wenif weden', Tk Δeysi-, eysi- 'be lacking', Qrg öksü- 'be lacking, be insufficient', Ln eksü- 'diminish, lessen, decrease', Chg öksü- id., vt. 'diminish, reduce', Tkm {ET} ešit- 'be(come) defective\deficient\lacking' ¶ Cl. 117, ET Gl 257-8, DTS 168, Rl. I 687, 1188, Rh. 173, Tkr 265, Jud. 589.

**761.** \*h'awk'a' 'light (lux); bright' > IE: NaIE \*\*auǵ- v. 'shine' ⇨ NaIE \*auǵ-ā, -ō(n) 'light, gleam' > Gk αὐγή 'daylight', pl. 'rays, beams' ||| pAl {O} \*auǵa > StAl T ag 'twilight, dusk', agu i dritēs 'Morgengrauen', agu i syrit 'pupil of the eye', a'goj v. 'dawn', {Ç} 'il fait jour' ||| ?σ NLG auken ɔ ooken 'attic, garret' ||| ? W gωawl 'light (lux)' ({{Mn.}} < \*auǵlo-?) ||| ? pSl \*juǵb 'south, southern wind' > OCS югъ juǵb, Blg, R, Uk юг, Slk juh 'south', OR оуғъ uǵb, SCr jǔg, Slv jǔg, Cz jíh id., 'southern wind', as well as SCr jǔgо 'south', Uk юга 'drought' ¶ WP I 25, P 87, EI 314 (\*h<sub>2</sub>eǵ- 'shine, become bright'), Mn. 41, F I 183-4, YGM-1 259, Ch. 137, Hofm. 28, BFU 29, Kf. 38, Ç I 30-1, II 344, O 2, Vs. IV

526, StSS 791, Glh. 302 || **HS:** [1] S \*<sup>o</sup>✓ wky > Gz ✓ wky L (pf. wākaya) 'shine, glisten, glitter'; \*<sup>o</sup>✓ h|?kk? > Ak akakū t u 'brandon, tison, rougeoîment du ciel' ¶ L G 612, DRS 537 || [2] (× N \*HäŋkU 'fire', q.v.): Ch {Nw.} \*aku ~ \*ak<sup>ω</sup>a 'fire', {Stl.} \*ʔakuw- id. > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ákâ, Bd {IL} ákà id. | Cg {Sk.} âk<sup>ω</sup>é, Kry {Sk.} àkú, My {Sk.} ákú, Jmb {Sk.} ak<sup>ω</sup>á, Dir {Sk.} akúwá, Wrj {Sk.} kèwáy, Sir {Sk.} kúwí, Mbr kúwá id. || CCh: Db {JI} ku id. | G'nd wā-ta id. | ? BM: Mrg {IL} ʔíʔí (= {JIL} ʔúʔú), Cb úʔù id. | Mtk {Nw.} ak<sup>ω</sup>a, Mada {BrrB} okk<sup>ω</sup>o, {Ro.} àk<sup>ω</sup>á, Mofu {Brr.} áwòw, MfG {Brr.} áwàw, Gzg D {Lk.} ʔavó; {Ro.}: Mkt ákà, Myn àkú, Hrz, Vm ák<sup>ω</sup>à, Zlg àk<sup>ω</sup>á, Mlk àkó id. | Msg {Trn.} àfú id. | Lmn {Lk.} ùu<sup>v</sup>ù id. | Suk {IL} k<sup>h</sup>ú id. | Ms {Nw.} aku-da, {J} kúdá, ZmD {KND} kú, {Srp.} ku, ZmB {J} kú, LamP ku, Lam k<sup>ω</sup>u, Bnn ku-da id. || Ech {Stl.} \*ʔakouw- > EDng {Fd.} àkò, Bdy ʔàko, Mgm {JA} ókkò, Mkl {J} ʔùw<sup>w</sup>ó id. | Skr {Sx.} òkó, {Nw.} óko id. | Jg {J} ʔǎk, Brg {J} ʔàkù, Mu {J} kěwí id. ¶ JI II 138-9, Nw. 26 [no. 48], ChC s.v. 'fire', Stl. IF 124, KNC 13, Ro. 252 [no. 271], Brr. MG II 149, BrrB 151, Fd. 14, Blz. EChWL no. 27 || C (× N \*HäŋkU 'fire'): EC: Arr {Hw.} ʔēg, Elm ēk, Yk iku, {E} ʔeku 'fire', ?σ Dsn ʔége 'ashes' || DhI ʔéga 'fire' || SC: Asa {To.} yogot, {E} yogo 'fire' ¶ Blz. CL 178, BlzT D 2, To. D 128, Hw. A 338, To. DL 481, Hn. NBLK 204, ≈ AD SF 262-3, E PC no. 106, E SC 318 || **A** \*āK- 'light (Licht), white' (→ '≈ red?') > T \*āk 'white' > OT āq, Tkm āq, Tk ak, Az aϕ, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt, Shor, Tv, ET aq, Uz aq, Tf aq, Xk aχ id. ¶ Rs. W 12, ET Gl 116-17, TL 679-80, Ra. 154 || pJ {S}: [1] pJ \*áká 'red, bright' ({S} \*áká-rú 'bright') > OJ aka- {Mr.} 'red, bright', {S, SDM} 'red', MJ áká- 'red', J: T àka-, K/Kg ákà, Kg akaka, Ns hǎ-, Sh àká-, Ht ágà-, Y àgá-ntárí id., OJ {Mr.} akarú- v. 'get bright/red', áká-ru 'bright, light', akasu 'red, bright'; [2] \*àkà- v. 'dawn' > OJ aka-/ake- id. ¶ S AJ 110 [no. 58], 267 [no. 60], S QJ no. 60, Mr. 675, 825, Kenk. 17 || (× N \*yæKæ '(very) bright, white', q.v.): M \*yagaʔan ({SDM} \*yagaʔan) 'pink' > WrM {MED} yagʔan, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brr ягаан, Oyr {T} yagʔan id. ¶ MED 423, BMR IV 455, Chr. 795 || ??σ Tg {SDM} \*ixere 'Leuchte (святильник), light (Licht)' > Ul, Ork, Nn, Orc ixere id. ¶ STM I 302 || ??σ Ko {SDM} \*ikir > NKO igil-kəri 'burn lively, igil-igil-ha 'be deeply flushed (солнечно краснеть)' ¶ MLC 1319 ¶¶ SDM 598 (pA \*iǎka 'light (Licht), white' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 634, S AJ 110, 277 || ?σ D (att. in NED) \*a<sub>L</sub>w<sub>J</sub>k- '(expose to) the heat of the fire/sun' > Krx axrñā 'warm oneself (by the fire, in the sun)', Mlt a wge 'expose to the heat of the sun or fire' ¶ D no.

18 ◇ The tentative rec. of N \*h- is based on indirect ev.: the only N lrs liable to disappear in S are \*h- and \*ʔ-, but N \*ʔ- yields IE \*ʔ, which is unable to produce coloring effect on vowels. Hence the only N lr. to be reconstructed is \*h- ◇ Blz. NDA no. 108 (D, HS, IE).

762. <sub>2</sub> \*hUwäkê 'move, walk' > HS: S [1] ?σ S {KB} \*°-hāk- > OA ✓ hk 'go' (1s ip. ʔhk, 3pm ip. ɥhkɾ), IA, EpJA ✓ hk, BA ʔʔʔʔ yə-<sup>h</sup>āk 'go'; [2] ?σ WS \*-hūk- or S \*°-hūk- > Gz ✓ hwk (js. -hūk, pf. hōka) v. 'stir, stir up, move, disturb, agitate', ? Ar ✓ hwk TD (pf. taha w w a k a) 'tomber dans qch. par étourderie ou témérité' ¶ L G 220, Di. 10, BK II 1458, KB 1697, HJ 281-2 (s.v. hlk), ≈ DRS 387 | | U: FP \*wäke- 'run, walk' or 'come' > pLp {Lr.} \*vēkɜ- 'run, walk' > Lp: L {LLO} v i e h k a- 'run, walk', N {N} v i e k k â- / -g- 'run' | Prm \*v0- 'come, arrive' (→ 'ripen') > OPrm v0-, Z B0 - v0-(n†), Z US inf. v0-n†, Yz inf. v0-n^ 'come, arrive', Yz v0is 'he came', Vt v0- (inf. Bɥ - ы н ы) 'reach, arrive, ripen' ¶ UEW 817, Lr. no. 1395, Lgc. no. 8670, LG 63 ◇ Qu.

763. \*hakɜ∇ 'stand, stop, stay, be' > HS: S \*°✓ hkɜ > Ar ✓ hkɜ G 'take rest, halt' ¶ BK II 1433, Hv. 831 | | C {AD} \*✓ ʔk v. 'be, become' > pAg {Ap.} \*ʔak-/ʔax- id. > Bln {Plm.} ʔax-/ʔak-, {R} aɣ-, Xm {R} aɣ-, Aw {Plm.} -aɣ- v. 'be' | | EC \*-ik(k)-/\*-ak(k)- id. > Sml {Abr.} ah- v. 'be', Sa, Af -ekk-, sx of stative (← copula), HEC {Hd.} \*ik- v. 'become' > Brj ih-, Sd ik-/ikk-, Hd, Kmb ik- id. ¶ AD SF 131, 260, Abr. S 7-8, Ss. B 103-4, Hd. 25 ¶ The vw. \*i in EC \*-ik- may go back to the 3m prefix \*y- (\*y-ak- > \*ik-) | | ?φ U: Sm: Kms {Cs.} ig- 'be': igäm 'sum', igäl 'es', igä 'est' etc., imv. iʔ 'be!' (sg.), imv. pl. igä, {KD} igäm 'sum' ¶ Cs. GSS 576-7, KD 22 | | A: NaT \*āg- v. 'rise' (← 'stand') > OT {Cl.} āɣ- v. 'rise (from sth.), climb (up sth.)', Tkm āɣ- v. 'climb (over), overflow, exceed (a stated period)', Chg aɣ- v. 'rise', Osm aɣ- v. 'rise, evaporate', QrB aω- v. 'climb (over)' ¶ Cl. 76-7, DTS 16, ET Gl 68-9, Rl. I 142, TkR 22, Rs. W 7 | | D \*āk- v. 'be, become' > Tm ākɜ (ākī-) v. 'come into existence, happen, be', Ml ākuka v. 'be that, become that', Kt a·g- v. 'become', Kn āgɜ v. 'come into existence', Kdg a·g- v. 'become', Tl agɜ ~ avɜ v. 'be, become' ¶¶ D no. 333 ¶¶ It is not clear if D \*ā- (> Tm ā- v. 'come into existence, happen, be', Kt a·- v. 'become' [gerund a·ʔy, a·ty], Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku ā- v. 'be, become', Gnd ā- v. 'be', Kui āva- v. 'become, be, happen') is originally a morphophonemic variant of the same word (with N \*-k- > D \*-∅-) or a different verb ◇ T \*-g- < N \*-kɜ- regularly (cp. N \*tekɜ∇ 'to touch' > T \*t̥eg- id. and N \*ĉEkɜ∇ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down' > T

\*çigru- 'trample') ◇ ≠ Blz. IELA 12 [no. 40] (HS + unk. IE \*Heġ- n. 'lead, drive' [going back to N \*ʔ<sup>r</sup>a<sup>k</sup>ê 'to chase, to drive away']) .

**764.** ₂ \*hokU 'copulate' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓hkk > Ar ✓hqq (pf. haqqa) 'cohabiter avec une femme avec violence' ({Fr.} 'vehementer inivit [feminam]'), hāqq- 'vehementer futuens' ¶ BK II 1430, Fr. IV 398 || B {ʔPr.} \*<sup>o</sup>✓wq<sup>r</sup>H<sup>r</sup> (\*wqu<sup>r</sup>H<sup>r</sup>-) v. 'copulate' (× N \*kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want'?) > Izn {Rn.} əqqi, Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əqqu, Sll {Ds.} qqū (pf. iqqū), Izd qqu 'copulate', Izd t-uqqu-t 'cohabitation, acte d'amour' ¶ Rn. 372, Mrc. 54 || ¶ \*ok<sup>r</sup>∇- > M \*oqu- 'copulate' > MM [MA, IM] oqaba p. 'copulated' (of humans and animals), WrM {MED} oqu-, HIM {MED, BMR} o×o- 'copulate', Kl {Rm.} oχo- 'Beischlaf ausüben' (von dem Manne gesagt), Ord oχo- 'coïter' (dit de l'homme) ¶ Pp. MA 266-7, 443, MED 626, BMR II 505, KW 284, Ms. O 508 || Tg \*oka- ({SDM} \*oχa) Ewk oko- 'copulate' (← M?), ?σ: Nn Δ {SDM} uχara 'testicles', Ud ua 'female genitals', WrMc {Z} ɣxαλα, Mc Sb uhalā 'testicles' ¶ STM II 10, Z 145 ¶¶ SDM 1048 (pA \*ok<sup>r</sup>∇ 'coire' > T, M) DQA no. 1564.

**765.** on.? \*hal∇ 'call out, call, utter magical words, rejoice' > IE: [1] \*<sup>r</sup>χ<sup>1</sup>el-t-/\*<sup>r</sup>χ<sup>1</sup>l-et- ({Pv.} \*xel-t-/\*xl-et-), d. \*<sup>r</sup>χ<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>tye/o- ({Pv.} \*H<sub>1</sub>l<sup>1</sup>tyé/ó-) ≈ call' > AnIE {Pv.} \*halt(i)ya- > Ht halzai- v. 'call out, cry, shout, exclaim, howl; cry for, crave; proclaim, recite, read; call, summon, invoke' || NaIE: acc. to Pv. II 5-64, NaIE \*lō'tā (< IE {Pv.} \*xlo'tā) > ORu lapu n. 'call, summons, invitation', ON lqǣ, AS laǣu 'invitation'; ⇨ Gt lapōn (·καλεῖν) 'einladen', ON laǣa, AS laǣian, OHG ladōn 'to invite, to call', NHG (ein)laden 'to invite' || ? OL lessus, accus. sg. lessum 'wailing, lamentation' (acc. to Čop, < \*lets-tu-s < \*H\*lets-tu-s) || [2] on.? : Gk ἄλαλή, Gk D ἄλαλά 'loud cry' (esp. 'war cry') and Gk Hm ὀλολύζω v. 'cry with a loud voice' (so Ts. E) ¶¶ F I 63, Pv. II 53-64, Pv. EA 88, Ts. E I 139-40, Čop IGW-8 96-7, Fs. 323, Ho. 196, Vr. 343, 373, Kb. 585 || HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓hll ≈ rejoice, cry with exaltation' > BHb ✓hll G 'be boastful\infatuated', v. D 'eulogize', 'praise (God)', MHb ✓hll D 'praise', Aram ✓hll G (pf. halla) 'rejoice', SmA ✓hll D 'praise', Sr ✓hll D 'sing, praise', BHb hillū<sup>1</sup>-īm 'festival exultation', MHb הילול hillū<sup>1</sup>, JA hillū<sup>1</sup>-ā {Js.} 'singing praises', JEA {Sl.} הילולא hillū<sup>1</sup>-ā 'festivity, wedding feast', IA [Eleph.] {KB} h|allūlat 'noise', Gz ✓hll T (pf. tahalala) 'jubilate, utter cries of joy', Ak fOB ✓?ll: atlulu 'to shout alāla, to brag, to boast', šūlulu 'to hail, to acclaim, to utter a cry' ¶ KB 235, 238-9, KBR 245-9, Js. 346, 353, Sl. 378, Tal 210, Br. 176, BK II



1434-5, L G 217, CAD I/1 331-2, DRS 414-15 || B \* $\check{h}$ ?l ({{Pr.}}  $\check{h}_2h_1$ )  
 v. 'diriger un salut (vers un absent)' > Ah, Tnsl, ETwl, Ty uha $\bar{l}$ , pf. y $\bar{a}hul$ ,  
 Gh pf. y $\bar{a}hul$  id. ¶ Fc. 576-8, Pr. H no. 218, GhA 78, 251 (Pcj. II B 3) || U:  
 FU \*a $\bar{l}\nabla$ - v. 'utter magial words, exercise magic forces', v. 'sacrifice' (× N  
 \* $\check{r}a\bar{l}\nabla$  [or \* $\check{r}ah\nabla\bar{l}\nabla$ ?] 'burn [esp. sacrifices], use magic means  
 [sacrifices, magic formulae etc.] in order to produce a particular result'  
 [q.v.] > Er {Bd.} alta-, a $\bar{l}\nabla$ ta- v. 'promise', {ERV} alta- v. 'promise,  
 dedicate', {Jv.} alta- 'doom', {Bd.} alsta- 'versprechen, zusagen, weihen;  
 verwünschen' | Chr {Szil.} ulte- v. 'pray', Chr L {MRS, Ü} ul' $\bar{\delta}a$ -š 'to pray,  
 to say one's prayers' || pOs \*a $\bar{l}$ - > Os: V/Vy a $\bar{l}+$ l- v. 'curse, scold', Vy a $\bar{l}+$ l-  
 v. 'bewitch', V a $\bar{l}+$ lt $\bar{a}$  k $\bar{o}l$  'Fluchwort, malediction', a $\bar{l}+$ m- v. 'curse, call  
 down curses upon' | OHg á $\bar{l}d$ - v. 'sacrifice, opfern', Hg á $\bar{l}d$ - v. 'bless,  
 consecrate', á $\bar{l}d\bar{o}z$ - v. 'sacrifice, offer; devote to' || ? pY {IN H} \*i $\bar{l}e$ - > Y  
 K {IN H} i $\bar{l}it\bar{z}$ -, Y T {IN H} i $\bar{l}ite$ - 'scold, abuse', Y K {IN H} i $\bar{l}id\bar{z}$ - 'have an  
 argument', Y T {IN H} v. i $\bar{l}ire$ - 'growl', Y {Iox.} ilete- 'beschimpfen,  
 schelten', Y K/T {IN H} i $\bar{l}it\bar{z}$ -, Y T {Ku.} i $\bar{l}ete$ - 'scold' ¶¶ UEW 7, MF I 81,  
 ERV 45, MRS 628, Stn. D 75, Trs. S 13, KC 16-17, Jv. 19, Ü 225, EWU 24,  
 ≈ Rd. UJ 45 [no. 58] (Y  $\leftarrow$  U), Ku. 58, IN H 172, IN UJ 260, 300 || A  
 \*a $\bar{l}$ - > NaT \*alka- v. 'bless, praise, conjure (supernatural spirits)' > OT  
 alqa- v. 'praise' (both in the religious and the ordinary sense), v. 'bless',  
 Qmq, Qrg, Qzq alqa-, Tv a $\bar{l}\check{y}a$ - v. 'bless', Xk a $\bar{l}\check{y}a$ - v. 'bless, thank', StAlt  
 alqa- v. id., Yk a $\bar{l}\check{y}a$ - v. 'bless, praise, pray, conjure (supernatural spirits),  
 cast a spell'  $\rightarrow$  Ewk alga- v. 'bless, pray', alga 'blessing' ¶ Cl. 138, Rs. W  
 17, ET Gl 137-8, Rl. I 349, Pek. 74, STM I 30 || Tg \*alg $\bar{l}$ -n 'fame, rumor' >  
 Sln alg $\bar{l}$  'rumor', WrMc {Z} алгинь, Mc Sb alg $\bar{l}$ an 'fame, rumor'; WrMc  
 {Z} алгин-, Mc Sb alg $\bar{l}$ a- v. 'become famous' ¶ ≈ STM I 30, Z 36-7 || M  
 \*aldar 'fame' > MM [S] aldar id., WrM aldar {MED} 'fame, renown,  
 reputation', HIM алдар {MED, BMR} id., Kl {Rm.} ald $\bar{r}$  'Ehre, Ruhm', Dg  
 {T} aldar ~ ald $\bar{u}r$  'fame; news', 'honorific name', Ord ald $\bar{a}r$  'renom, bon  
 renom' ¶ H 5, MED 30, BMR 74, KW 6, T DgJ 120, Ms. O 14 ¶¶ SDM 293  
 (pA \* $\check{a}li$  v. 'know; listen, hear' > M \*aldar 'fame' + (not going back to N  
 \*ha $\bar{l}\nabla$ ) Tg \*ala- 'tell; teach, explain', T \*e $\bar{l}it$ - 'hear' and pKo \* $\bar{a}r$ - 'know').

**766.** \*ha $\bar{l}\nabla$  'this' > HS: S \*ha $\bar{l}$ -, dem. prn. > Ar  $\bar{?}a$ l- (df. art.) and -a $\bar{l}$ - as  
 a component in compound pronouns (e.g.  $\bar{\delta}a$ lika 'this'), Ak A all $\hat{u}$   
 'jener', Ug hl {A} 'this', {OLS} '¡he aquí, mira!', hl $\bar{n}y$ , (AkSc) {Hnr.}  
 hallin $\bar{i}ya$  'here, now then', ? Ar هل hala ~ هالā 'here' (in  $\bar{h}ayya$  hala  
 ~  $\bar{h}ayya$  halā 'come here'), ??? CS \*'ha $\bar{l}\nabla$ ?-(aš), \*la 'ha $\bar{l}\nabla$ ? $\bar{l}i$  'further,

onward, thither' (with the directive case ending \*-aš or with the preposition \*la 'to') (× N \***h**<sup>1</sup>**a**<sub>l</sub>**i**ʔ<sub>1</sub>**E** 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Sd. 37, A no. 87, OLS 164-5, Hnr. 121, BK II 1435, KB 235, KBR 245, BDB no. 1973, PS 1009 || (× N \***ʔ**<sup>1</sup>**o**ī**∇** 'that [visible]'): EC \*ʔ∇l- > Gdl ʔéle (nom. ʔélu) 'that (remote from the speaker)', Dsn -(a)l- 'this', Arr -ló 'this': faraw-ló 'this horse', ʔummo-ló 'these children' ¶ Hw. DP 13, Hw. A 191-200, To. DL 226-7 || **K**: Sv: UB ala, LB ali, L/Ls ale 'he\it (near the speaker)', 'this', Sv al 'this' ¶ TK 39-40, GP 40, Top. SJ 83 || **IE**: NaIE \*al- (× N \***h**<sup>1</sup>**a**<sub>l</sub>**i**ʔ<sub>1</sub>**E** 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) in NaIE \*al-i<sub>o</sub>-s 'other' ({EI} IE \*h<sub>pe</sub>li<sub>o</sub>-s) (> Gk ἄλλοσ., L ali<sub>us</sub> id., Gl ALIOS, Clt. {Matas.} \*alyo-'other' [> OIr aile, MW ell ~ all ]id.] and Clt {Matas.} \*alal<sub>i</sub>y<sub>o</sub>- [> OIr arail(1), OW arall id.], Gt aljis 'another'), \*<sup>o</sup>al-ter 'the other from two' (> L alter id., Os alttram 'alteram'), IE \*<sup>o</sup>al-nej > Sl \*olni 'last year' (> ChSl ЛАНН, R Δ πο'ни, Blg лани, SCr лāни and лāни, Cz loni, P łoni) ¶ P 25-6, EI 411, Brg. D 107, F I 76-7, Vn. A 31-2, Flr. 155, Hm. 239, YGM-1 11, Billy 6-7, WH I 30-3, Slr. 270, Fs. 39, Vr. 100-1, Vs. II 516, Ma. CS 275, Glh. 368, Matas. E 28-9 and 31 || **A**: ? NaT \*a<sub>l</sub>:l 'that, he' > Qrg, Tb, Uz Δ al 'that', 'he', unless it is a secondary variant of T \*ol 'ille' (F N \***ʔ**<sup>1</sup>**o**ī**∇** 'that [visible]') ¶ ET Gl 444-6, Jud. 42-4.

**767. \*hA1∇** 'to shine; bright' > **HS**: WS \*✓hll v. 'shine' (of a heavenly body), 'be bright' > Ar hall- 'clair' (se dit des étoffes d'un tissu léger et clair), ✓hll (pf. halla) v. 'appear' (of a new moon, of a heavenly body appearing over the horizon), ✓hll v. TD (pf. tahallala) 'shine', 'be bright' (face, cloud), hall-at- {Fr.} 'vas, quo ellychnium et oleum continetur', sc. 'lampas', {BK} 'lampe', {Hv.} 'lamp', BHb ✓hll הכל Sh (Hiph.) v. (ip. כהי yā'he<sub>l</sub>, 3pm ip. כהי yā'hellū) 'flash forth, light, shine', Tgr ✓hhl D (pf. חלחל halhalə) v. 'blaze (lodern, flammen), חלחל halhalta n. 'blaze (Lohe, Flamme)', ?? Gz {DRS ← ?} ✓hll G 'être clair, se rasséréner' ¶ Fr. IV 400-1, BK II 1434-6, Hv. 832, KB 238, KBR 248, BDB no. 1984, LH 1-2, DRS 415 || B \*<sup>o</sup>✓Hll > Izn {Rn.} iuləlla pl. 'lightning' ¶ Rn. 287 || **K** \*<sub>l</sub>h<sub>1</sub>e<sub>l</sub>- v. 'lighten' (× N \***y**e<sub>l</sub>**a**y<sub>1</sub>**∇** 'to shine; light [lux]', q.v.) > OG, G e<sub>l</sub>-, G Ing he<sub>l</sub>- v. 'lighten', Lz A a<sub>l</sub>- v. 'sparkle, lighten', Sv he<sub>l</sub>- ~ e<sub>l</sub>- / -h<sub>l</sub>- (masdar li-e<sub>l</sub>-e 𐎎 li-h<sub>l</sub>-) v. 'lighten', Sv. LB he<sub>l</sub> 'lightning' ¶¶ ≈ K 78-9 and K<sup>2</sup> 46-7 (both in K and in K<sup>2</sup>: \*e<sub>l</sub>-) (Klimov adduced Mg/Lz val- 'lighten'), ≈ FS K 122 (adducing Mg/Lz val- and reconstructing K \*w<sub>e</sub>l-); on Mg/Lz val- see N \***w**<sup>1</sup>**e**<sup>1</sup>**í****∇** 'to shine, to

lighten', IS MS 362-3,, IS I 281-2 || **D** \*all- 'clear' (of liquids) (× N \*XaLb∇ 'white') > Krx all- 'become clear' (of liquid left undisturbed), Mlt {Drs.} ále 'get clear (as water when left undisturbed)', ? Kui alga 'tidy, clear' ¶¶ D no. 261, Pf. 184 ◇ To be distinguished from N \*ɣ|g'æ'hīu or \*ɣ'æ'hīu 'reddish, yellow, brown' (q.v.).

**768.** <sub>2</sub> \*hiL∇ (or \*hEyL∇??) 'new heavenly light' (≈ 'new moon, the first star seen in the sky') > **HS**: CS (or WS) \*hilāl- (~ \*°haylil-?) > BHb כַּלְהִי הַלֵּיל hē'lēl 'morning star' (scriptio plena of the first ē, as always in BHb, points to a former \*ay), Ug hll {A} 'crescent', {OLS} 'e divinidad astral', Ar hilāl- 'new moon', 'moon at the end of the lunar month', as well as Gz {L} hālāl 'new moon' and Amh hālal 'moon' (both from Ar?) ¶ KB 235, OLS 165, A no. 832, BK II 1435. L G 217 || B: Ah {Fc.} tallit (pl. tilil), Ttq {Msq.} tallit (pl. telil) 'new moon, lunar month', Tw Ud {Sdl.} tallit (pl. tilil) 'moon, month', Gt {Nh.} tallit (pl. čillil) 'month', Kb {Dl.} tallit 'moment imprévis: un instant, quelque jours' ¶ Fc. III 982, Msq. 178, 197, Sdl. 307, Nh. s.v. 'mois', Dl. 441 ¶¶ Cf. also CCh: Bdm {Cfr} h'illúgú, {Lk.} h'illógu 'star' (unless from Knr šillógu id.) (ChC s.v. 'star', Lk. B 104) || **A**: Tg: Lm ilān 'moon', 'month' (probably from \*'new moon') ¶ STM I 306 ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA no. 19 (S, B \*÷ Sa, Af als a 'moon, month', AnIE, D, Tg words for 'day', 'light', 'burn, kindle' [see N \*hA1∇ 'to shine; bright', \*yel<sub>1</sub>ay<sub>1</sub>∇ 'to shine; light (lux)' and \*yil∇ 'burn, kindle']).

**769.** <sub>2</sub> \*hiL'U' 'stand, be, exist' ([in B] → 'have') > **HS**: WS \*✓hlw 'be, exist' > Gz ✓hlw D (pf. ᵁᵁᵁ hallawa ~ ᵁᵁᵁ hallō) 'be, exist; there is', Tgr pf. ᵁᵁ halla, Tgy pf. ᵁᵁᵁ ᵁallo, Arg pf. halla, Amh pf. ᵁᵁ alle id., Hmr hl 'be', Ar Y {Mü.} pf. hallō 'there was', {Slw.} hall- 'there is' ¶ L G 217-18, LH 5, Mü. rEDG 399, Blv. XJ 69-72, Slw. 214-15, Bns. NJ I 23, DRS 412 || B: Ty ilu (3s pf. ila) [Pcj. I C 2] 'have', ETwl ɛlu [Pcj. I A 9-11], Ah əl (pf. ilā) [Fcj. 12 = Pcj. I A 11] 'have', Kb əl (pf. ila) 'have, belong to' ¶ Dl. 437-8, Fc. 974-7, PGG 108, Pr. M VI-VII 119-26 and 143-4 (on conjugations) || C: EC: Elm -el p. / -al-a pres. 'stand', Arr -ell- pf. / -all- ip., Sml -īl- ~ -ill- 'live, be' (3m p.: Sml yīl, Sml N 'yīl, 3s pres.: Sml N 'yāl, Sml C yāl(la)), Rn {PG} -īl- / -āl- 'live, dwell (wohnen)', pBn pf. \*-īl- / ip. \*-āl- 'stay' (Bn J 1s p. àkí-ᵁ-īlᵁ, 3m p. àkí-y-īlᵁ, 1s pres. àkí-ᵁ-īlᵁ, 3m pres. àkí-ᵁ-īlᵁ, Bn K 1s p. kí-ᵁ-īlᵁ, 3m p. kí-ᵁ-īlᵁ, 1s pres. káᵁ-ᵁ-īlᵁ, 3m pres. kíᵁ-ᵁ-īlᵁ), Dsn yā 'stand' ¶ AD IPCV, Bell 32, 59, Anr. VVMS, Mrn. SS 100-7, 272-7, 357-8, Abr. S 1962, Ss. OKSV 164-9,

Ss. G 426-7, Ss. D 211-12, Hn. S 33-6, Hn. BD 35-9, 57-61, 76, PG 59, 150, Schlee 17-20, Hw. A 267-9, Vg. rSimO 165-7, To. DL 532, HL 67 (pEC \*-āll- 'stand, be present') ¶¶ Coh. 80 [no. 20] || A \*i|l|∇ 'stand, stand up' > Tg \*i|l|u- 'stand up, stop still' > Orc, Ud ili-, Ul i|l|~i|u, Ork i|l|~i|l|-, Nn i|l|-, Ewk v|l|-, Lm, Neg i|l|-, WrMc {Z} или- id., Mc Sb yili- id., yula- id., 'halt', Sln v|l| 'stand up', Jrc i|l|i-buṛ 'standing, vertically' ¶ STM I 302-3, Z 106, Y no-s 537-8, Kiy. 121 [no. 424], 131 [no. 604], Gru. SSJ no. 424, Md. ChF 135 || ? pKo {S} \*ir- 'become, happen' > MKo ir- 'become', NKO irə-na- id., i|l| 'happen' ¶ S QK no. 733, Nam 405, MLC 1351, 1356 ¶¶ SDM 583 (pA \*i|l|∇ 'stand, become' > Tg, Ko), DQA no. 596, Rm. SKE 71 (connecting Ko with Tg ī- 'enter'), Mr. CL 75 ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. 'быть' ('be') \*le (U, HS + unc. K \*r- 'be') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 29 (\*le 'be', incl. Y, CK, EA, U \*le- ÷ IE \*le(i)- 'provide, obtain').

**770.** \*hûL∇ 'push, butt, pierce' > IE \*χχwel-/ \*χχul- v. 'strike' > Ht hulla-, hulliya- v. {Pv.} 'smash, quash, defeat', {Ts.} '(nieder)schlagen' (× N \*gûL∇ 'to destroy, to fight; war') || NaIE \*wel- v. ≈ push, wound, damage' (× IE \*welX- 'strike' < N \*w∇L'h'∇ 'hit, attack', q.v.) > L volnus, vulnus (gen. volneris, vulneris) 'wound' ||| Gk οὐλή 'a wound scarred over, a scar', ἀναλίσκω (< \*ἀνα- F αλίσκω) 'use up, spend' ¶¶ Pv. II 363-8 (distinguishing between IE \*χχwel-h<sup>ω</sup>- [{Pv.} H<sub>1</sub>wel-A<sup>ω</sup><sub>1</sub> > Ht hulla-] and IE \*wel-H<sub>1</sub>X<sub>1</sub>- [{Pv.} \*wel-(A<sub>1</sub>)- > \*walh-]), Ts. E I 275ff., P 1144-5, F I 74 and II 443-4, WH II 744-5, 827, Fs. 564, Vr. 642, ≈ EI 567 (see N \*w∇L'h'∇ 'to hit, to attack' and N \*<sub>1</sub>'<sub>1</sub>w'A<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>iy<sub>1</sub>∇ 'to draw, to pull out(off)') || HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓hlw v. 'push' > Jb C {Jo.} ✓hlʔ ({Jo.} ✓hlw) (pf. he'leʔ) v. 'push (animals) into a pen\cave' ¶ Jo. J 97 || A: M \*oli- v. 'butt' > WrM oli- {MED} v. 'butt' (of a goat, ram), HIM оли- {MED} id., {BMR} 'butt (with one horn)', Brt оли- 'подбрасывать на рогах, задевать рогами, butt', Kl {KRS} оль- o'li- 'butt', {Rm.} oli- 'mit den Hörnern stoßen' ¶ MED 609, BMR II 470, Luv. 297, Chr. 354, KRS 396, KW 285 ¶ The M ✓ belongs here unless it is \*ʔoli- (which cannot be ruled out, because no reflexes are known in the lges distinguishing between \*ʔ- and an initial zero). If this M root belongs here, its vw. \*o (for the expected \*u or \*ü) requires explanation.

**770a.** \*h'alu<sub>1</sub>ʔ<sub>1</sub>E '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} aluṇ 'after, behind, in back of', Kz {E} alale 'afterwards' ¶ E SC 315-16 (s.v. SC \*ʔála 'behind, after'), Wd. no-s

269 and 746, MQK 13, Fl. p.c., cp. AD SF 222 || ?σ CS \*'hal∇ʔ-(aš), \*la 'hal∇ʔ<sub>i</sub>, 'further, onward, thither' (with directive case ending \*-aš or with preposition \*la 'to') (× N \*haĪ∇ 'this', q.v.) > BHb הַלְּאֵה 'hālāʔ-ā 'further (on), onward, thither', JA לַהֲלֵךְ lə-hallā, לַהֲלֵךְ lə-hallān id., Sr لَآلِ lə-hal 'afar, beyond, thenceforth', Ar لَآلِ halā 'forward, on!', but we must keep in mind 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 no. 1973, PS 1009, OLS 164 || IE \*Hal-, \*H<sup>1</sup>ol- 'on\from the other side', {P} 'darüber hinaus' ({EI} \*h<sub>a</sub>einos 'beyond') (× NaIE \*ol- 'that [remote]' < N \*'oĪ∇ 'that [visible]') > L uls 'on the other side' || OIr 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 'ārād 'aus der Ferne', 'araṇa 'fern, fremd' | NaIE \*al-i<sub>o</sub>-s 'other' ({EI} IE \*h<sub>a</sub>eilo-s) (× N \*haĪ∇ '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 'another' || Arm ալլայլ id. || Gt aljis ('ἄλλος, ἕτερος) 'anderer', aljar 'anserswo', ON elliga(r) 'sonst', ellar, ella id., 'otherwise', AS elles, OHG alles, elles 'otherwise' | Other derivatives (× N \*haĪ∇ 'this'): L alter 'one of two, the other of two', Osc ALTTRAM 'alteram'; Gl {Fs.} alla 'aluid', {P} alios 'anderer' | pSl \*olni (< NaIE \*o|al-nei) 'last year' > ChS лани lani, Bg лани, Cz loni, P łoni, R Δ лони, лони-сь, SCr, Slv lani ¶ P 24-6, EI 64 and 411, Brg. D 107, F I 76-7, EWA I 162-3, Vn. A 31-2, 57-8 and 61, RE 117, Flr. 155, Hm. 239, Vs. II 516, YGM-1 11, WH I 30-3, Billy 6-7, 35, Slt. 270, Fs. 38-9, Vr. 100-1, Ma. CS 275, Glh. 368 ¶ Here, as in S, there may be infl. of deictic and other dem. elements || U: FU (att. in Ugr) \*äl∇, \*äl∇<sub>i</sub>-m∇ 'the other side' > pObU {Ht.} \*āl-, \*ālām > pVg \*āl- > Vg LK ṽlwa (lative case) 'hinüber, auf die andere Seite des Wassers', pVg \*ālām > (in cds) Vg: T älām-, LK/UK ṽlām-, P/LL ṽlām-, Ss älām- 'on the other side of ...' (e.g., Vg: T ä'lämpält, LK ṽlämpōlt, Ss älämpält 'hinter, auf der anderen Seite [des Wassers]', P älämpāl 'das jenseitige Ufer'); pOs \*älām > Os: Y âḫām, D/K/Kr âḫām 'the other (side)', D/Kr âḫām-peläk 'the other side of a river\lake' | Hg Δ elv, elv̄, el 'jenseitige Gegend', postposition elv̄é, elv̄ett 'on the other side', elv̄ól 'from the other side' ¶ UEW 836, Ht. 125 [no. 19], Stn. D 78, MF 150 || A \*a<sub>i</sub>́- 'on the other side,

across' > M \*alu-s 'distance, distant place; far' > MM [S] alus id., WrM {MED} alus, HIM {MED, BMR} алс id., Kl {KRS} алс als 'at some distance', (with gen.) 'across, over', {Rm.} als 'über, auf der anderen Seite', Ord alus 'au delà, au loin', ⇨ : Brt алас 'distant', алад 'distant place, даль'; M ⇨ Yk olus ~ als 'extremely, very much, more', Qzq алыс 'distant, far' ¶ H 6, MED 33, BMR I 78, Klz. MJ 16, KRS 36, KW 7-8, Ms. O 18, Pек. 88-9, JkR 271, MM 81 || Tg: WrMc {Z} алданга 'far, distant; from a distance (издали)', ?σ Mc Sb paladuḡa 'queer, unusual, weird' ¶ Hr 33-4, Z 39-40, Y no. 256O || ?σ pJ {S} \*asu 'steep bank, precipice' > OJ asu (azu) id. ¶ S QJ no. 1203 || ⇨ pA \*ā́la- 'cross (a mountain)' (S AJ 197 [no. 259], S VL) > T \*ā́l- v. 'cross (a mountain\mountains)' > OT а́л - v. 'cross, Chg а́л - v. 'exceed, surpass', Tkm ā́š- v. 'cross (mountains, other obstacles)', OOsM а́л -, ET, StAlt а́л -, Xk ас- id., v. 'overflow', Tk ас-, Az, Qrg, VTt, Ln а́л -, SY ас- v. 'cross (mountains)', Qzq ас- v. 'overflow the banks' (← v. 'cross the banks'), Qq ас- v. 'overflow', ET, StAlt а́л -, Xk ас- v. id., 'cross (mountains)', Yk ā́s- v. 'cross, pass' ¶ Cl. 255, Rs. W 3O, ET Gl 212-14, BT 23-4 || Tg \*ala-, \*ala-n- v. 'cross (a mountain ridge)' > Ewk Skh/Urm/Ucr ala-, alan-, Ewk Ald/Z/Tr alan-, Lm O ala-, Lm Ol/B/P olъn-, Neg alan- id.; Tg \*ala-n 'mountain pass, crossing of a mountain ridge' > Ewk Urm alan 'mountain pass', Lm Ol alъn, Lm O alan id., 'crossing of a mountain pass' (n. act.), Nn Nh/Bk {STM} ala 'mountain pass' ¶ ≈ STM I 27-8 ¶¶ The pA cns. \*-l- in \*a:l:l- on the other side, across' is suggested by J \*-s- in \*asu and by the connection with the pA verb \*ā́la- ¶¶ A \*-l- is likely to go back to \*-ly- from N \*-liʔ-, with compensatory lengthening due to the contraction of the cns. cluster \*-ly- ¶¶ SDM 292 (pA \*ā́la 'cross [a mountain]' > T \*(i)ā́l- v. 'cross [a mountain]', Tg \*ala- id., 'mountain pass', M \*alu-s 'on the other side, far away', pJ {S} \*asu 'steep bank, precipice' + unc. Tg \*ala- 'mountain'), DQA no. 65 (id.), S AJ 291, Pp. VG 96, Rm. EAS I 108, 139, STM I 28, ET I 214, Pp. VG 96 ◇ Cf. IS I 274-5 and IS MS 372 (IE \*hel- 'over, above', A \*ā́l- v. 'cross a mountain'), ⇔ AD LRC no. 64 (IE \*al- ~ \*ol- equated with A \*olam- v. 'wade' and S \*ʕal- 'on, above, top') and IS I 274-5 (N \*ʕal- 'to cross a mountain' > A \*ā́la- id., HS ✓ \*ʕl v. 'cross a mountain, climb, summit', ? IE \*hel- 'from\on the other side'). Today, when it has been shown that HS \*ʕal- had a meaning different from IS's interpretation and has a better alt. et. (F s.v. N \*ʕal- 'height,

top', 'climb, go up'), we must revise the rec. (N \*ʕaí∇), formulated by Illich-Svitych (IS I 274-5).

**770b.** <sub>2</sub> \***h**'a**l**i'**w**'∇ (or \***H**|**Q**a**l**i'**w**'∇) 'elephant' > **HS**: B \***✓**H**l**w id. > Ah {Fc.} ēlu (pl. ēlwān), ETwl {PGG} eləw, Ty {PGG} iləw, Gh {Nh.} alu, Zng {Nic.} ažəh, {Bs.} ižit (pl. āžāžən) id. ¶ Fc. 982, PGG 201 || ? ECh: Mkl {J} ʔēlbí 'elephant', pl. ʔēlbìdǐ; ʔēlbìsó 'female elephant' ¶ J LM 96, JI II 125 || ?μ EC: pBn {Hn.} \*alíšì 'female elephant' > Bn J alíši, Bn Kj alíšɜ, Bn K aléssɜ id. ¶ For the element \*-šì cp. Mkl ʔēlbìsó 'female elephant' ¶ Hn. BD 104 || ?σ S: Ak Bg/LB alū 'bull (as a mythological being)' ({Blz. EH} 'mythical giant bull') ¶ CAD I/1 377, ASal. J 167, Dk. ESA 32-3 ¶¶ Cp. also Gk ἑλέφας (gen. ἑλέφαντος) 'elephant' (a loan from some HS [perhaps Libyan] source?) ¶¶ Blz. EH 3-4 || **D**: McTm \*alliyaṇ > Tm alliyarū 'stray elephant separated from the fold', Ml alliyarū 'female elephant' ¶ D 258 ◇ N \***h**' is very tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of Ak (Ak ə- rules out all laryngeals other than \*ʔ- and \*h-) and B (Ah long ē- favours a lr. other than \*ʔ-). If Ak does not belong here, we have to reconstruct an unspecified N \***H**|**Q**- ◇ Blz. DA 157 [no. 50].

**771.** <sub>2</sub> \***ha**L∇**K**'u' 'to step, to walk' > **HS**: S \***✓**h**l**k v. 'go, walk' > BHb **✓**h**l**k *G* id. (pf. ַהַלַּק hā'laq, inv. ַלַּק lek, 3m ip. ַהַלַּקְיָהּ yē'-lek), Ph **✓**h**l**k, Pun pf. ַלַּק, inv. LECH, M'b 1s ip. ַהַלַּק, inv. lk, Ug *G* **✓**h**l**k, Nab, Plm **✓**h**l**k, Ak **✓**ʔ**l**k *G* (inf. alākū) id., IA **✓**h**l**k *D* 'walk', Md **✓**h**l**k *D* 'proceed, go forward, travel, walk', Ar **✓**h**l**k *G* (pf. halaka) 'perish, pass away', Sq {L} 1p *Gt* nah'tilok 'we perish' ¶ KB 236-8, KBR 246-8, HJ 280-2, OLS 165, DM 148, BK II 1439-41, Sod. 31-4, CAD I/1 300-28, DRS 413-14 || B (mt.) \***✓**H**k**l v. 'walk' > Wrg {Dlh.} akəl (3m pf. yukəl) 'follow, walk, travel', Tmz {MT} akəl ɘ ašəl (pf. ukəl ɘ ušəl) 'marcher sur, piétiner, fouler', Skn akəl 'cheminer', BMn {Bs.} kəl (3s pf. iklə) 'walk', d. verbal stems: Ah sikəl 'marcher au pas' (of animals), Gh {Nh.} šikəl 'marcher droit son chemin', ds: n. act.: Ah tēkle 'marche au pas', Gh čikəlt (pl. čikkal), BSn tišli, BMn hišli, Zww {Bs.} tikli, Wrs {Bs.} tičli, Nf tikli n. 'walking (marche)', Kb tišli id., 'allure', Shnw {La.} hikli 'la marche, le pas' ¶ Fc. 781-3, Dlh. Ou. 142, La. S 193, La. Ch 143, Nh. 176, MT 331, Dl. 40, Bs. ZOu 145 || **A** \*a**l**∇**k**'u' v. 'walk, step (schreiten)' > M \*a**l**qu- v. 'step (schreiten)' > MM [MA] alqu-, WrM {MED} alqu-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt alxə-, Dg alku-, ShY algə- id., Kl {Rm.} alχə- 'steigen, treten, schreiten', Ord alχu- 'faire un pas, avancer en faisant des pas, marcher';  
-d→ : **[1]** \*a**l**qu 'a step' > WrM

{MED} алqu, Brt алха id., Kl {KRS} алх алхъ id., {Rm.} алха 'Schritt, Tritt', Ord алху 'pas' | [2] M \*alqum 'a step' > WrM {MED} алqu m n. 'step, pace, gait', HlM алхам n. 'step, pace, gait' {MED} id., {BMR} 'a step', Brt алхам id., Kl {KRS} алхм алхъм id., {Rm.} алхам 'Schritt, Tritt', Mnr H {SM} argu 'pas', MM [MA] алqu 'step (pas)', Ord алхум 'pas' ¶ Hardly here: Mnr H {SM} х argu 'pas', {T} х алqu, Dx hanku 'a step' ¶ Pp. MA 99, MED 34, BMR I 80-1, Chr. 45, KRS 38, KW 7, T 372, T DnJ 139, SM 13, 161, Ms. O 15-16 || pJ {S} àrùk- v. 'walk' > OJ aruk-, MJ àrík- id., J: T arúk- 'walk, go on foot, step', K àrùk-, Kg àruk-, Ns àkk<sup>u</sup>-, Sh átč-, Ht àrùg-, Y àìg- 'walk' ¶ S AJ 270 [no. 84], Mr. 677, Kenk. 47 ¶¶ SDM 284-5 (pA \*àlak<sup>u</sup> v. 'walk, step' > M, J), DQA no. 22, S AJ 268 [no. 84] (\*aluk<sup>u</sup> ▽), S QJ no. 84 ◇ HS \*k < N \*ḳ (HS deglottalization) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 178 (\*al 'go') (A, J + unc. IE, Sm, CK).

**772. \*hAÍUḶ<sup>a</sup>** 'be hungry\thirsty', 'covet' > IE: NaIE \*elk-/ \*olk- (or \*alk-?) v. 'hunger, be hungry' > Lt álk-ti, Ltv aĩk-t 'to hunger', Pru alkīns 'nüchtern' ({Tp.} 'sober-minded'), Lt álkanas 'one on an empty stomach' | Sl \*olka-ti 'to hunger' > OCS ЛАКАТИ lakati ~ АЛЪКАТИ al'kati 'to hunger, to fast', OR ЛАКАТИ lakati (pres. ЛАУЎ) 'to hunger, to be thirsty', Slv lákati 'to hunger', Cz lákati, Slk lákat' 'to attract', P łaknąć 'to hunger, to be hungry; to covet, to long for' || OHG ilgī 'famine' ¶ P 307, Frn. 8, En. 140, Tp. P A-D 75, Vs. II 452, SJSS I 27-8, StSS 69, Tr. 6-7, Kb. 496 || HS: WS \*√hlk > Ar √hlk G (halaka / -hlaku) 'être extrêmement avide de qch.', Mh hɜ'ɪɜkt 'thirst', Mh √hlk (pf. hīɪɜk) 'be very tired and thirsty', Jb C √hlk (pf. 'helk) id., 'miss so. who has died', Tgr {DRS} hɛlkɛy 'tired' ¶ Jo. M 156-7, BK II 1439, DRS 413-14 || A: T \*a<sub>1</sub>íuk- > NaT \*ašuk- > OT ašuq- v. 'long for'; ??σ → NaT \*ašuk- 'be in a hurry' > OT ašuq-, Ln ašuq-, CrTt, Kr Cr, QrB, Qrg ašiq-, VTt, Bsh ašɛq-, Nog, Qzq, Qq asiq-, Uz ašiq-, ET ošuq- id. ¶ Cl. 239, DTS 64, ET Gl 217-18 ◇ S \*k is due to deglottalization of N \*ḳ.

**772a. <sub>2</sub> \*hamga** 'dry, thirst(y)' > HS: S: Ar √ʔmğ 'be thirsty': pf. أمج ʔamiğa 'be thirsty', أمج ʔamağ- 'thirst; excessive heat (of weather)' ¶ Fr. I 58 || EC: pSam {Hn.} \*'ángèg 'dry' > Sml engeg-, Bn aneg 'dry', Rn àngàgà 'be dry, dry out\up' || SC: Irq {MQK} agē-η<sup>ω</sup> 'dry season', Alg {MousK} ēgē, Brn {MousK} ageη id. ¶ 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. CP s.v. 'dry'<sub>2</sub> || A: M [1] M \*hanq|qa- 'be thirsty' > MM [S] {H} hanqa- v. 'be



thirsty', WrM {MED} аηγα-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt аηга- 'be thirsty', Dg {Mr.} hanke- 'get thirsty, need water', hankā 'make a person go without water, parch, make thirsty'; [2] WrM аηγα- {MED} 'be dry', HIM аηга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'vertrocken, trocken werden (иссохнуть, высохнуть)', Brt аηга- 'ausbleichen, verbleichen (выцветать, выгорать), fahl werden' ¶ MED 43, BMR I 109-10, Chr. 52, H 74, Pel. 203, Mr. D 156.

**773.** \*h<sup>1</sup>∇mP<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> 'venomous vermin, (?) venomous reptile' > IE: NaIE \*empi- ~ \*emb<sup>h</sup>i- 'stinging insect' > Gk ἐμπίς (gen. ἐμπίδ-ος) 'mosquito, gnat' ||| AS imbe 'swarm of bees', OHG imbi, NHG Imme id., NGr Wf īme 'bee' ¶ WP I 125, P 311, EI 312 (IE \*h<sub>1</sub>em<sup>1</sup>pi-s 'gnat, stinging insect') ≠ F I 506, ≠ Ch. 344, ≈ Ho. 187, Schz. 173, OsS 443, KM 325, Kb. 496 ||| D \*umm∇l- 'ε stinging insect' > Kn ummuṛi 'ε insect', Tu umilo ~ umbli 'mosquito, gnat', Nkr ummel 'mosquito' ¶¶ D no. 638 ||| HS: WS \*✓hmm > Ar hām-m-at- 'venomous vermin\reptile (scorpions, serpents, worms, lice)', Jb {DRS} hām 'big snake' ¶ BK II 1443, Hv. 834, DRS 424 || Ch {Nw.} \*ami 'bee' > CCh: pMM {Ro.} \*ama > Gzg {Lk.} ?amam, {Ro.} ámám, MfG {Brr.} ámam, {Ro.}: Myn àmú, Mlk àmóm, Zlg àmúm, Mofu úwàm id. ||| ECh: Jg {J} ?ímó, Brgt {J} ?imiyú, Mu {J} ?ûm 'bee' ¶ ChC s.v. 'bee', ChL, Nw. no. 70, Lk. G 117, Ro. 209 [no. 57], Brr. MG II 75 ||| Cp. also the N word group \*η∇í∇ 'h<sup>1</sup>∇mP<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> 'gnat, mosquito' (q.v. ffd.; the initial component may be connected with N \*ń∇í∇ [or \*ń∇l∇?] 'ε insect', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The assimilation N \*-mP- > HS \*\*-mm- (> S \*-mm-, Ch \*-m-) still needs inquiring.

**774.** \*han∇ 'head' → 'top' → 'on, on the surface, towards' > HS: Eg G hn 'head', hn 'bis hin nach...' (unless < Eg fP hn 'box, chest'???) ¶ EG II 491-5, Fk. 158 ||| S \*<sup>o</sup>h<sup>1</sup>ana > Ak ana, an 'towards, to' (Sd.: 'zu, [in der Richtung] nach'), ? Gz nē 'away to', 'towards' ¶ Sd. 47-8, L G 380 ||| C: HEC \*hana 'over, above' > Sd āna 'over, on', Hd, Ged hana id. ||| ? Bj {R} -na 'mit, bei, an, auf' ||| C ⇨ Mb {Fl.} aná 'above' ¶ Hd. 109, R WBd 176, Fl. p.c. || ?φ CCh: Gudu {IL} yin 'head' || Tr {Nw.} jin id. ¶ JI II 182-3, Nw. WLT 37, ChC s.v. 'head' ||| IE \*χ<sup>1</sup>an ~ \*χ<sup>1</sup>anu ~ \*(χ<sup>1</sup>a)nō {P} 'an einer schrägen Fläche hin, hinauf' > Av ana, OPrs anā 'über ... hin', 'entlang, auf', Av anu, OPrs anuv 'nach, gemäß', 'längs, entlang', OI 'anu 'after, along, according to' ||| ? Arm (h)am - (h)am - verbal px: (h)am - pwan<sup>h</sup>am (h)am-ba<sup>r</sup>nam 'I raise up', (h)am - p<sup>h</sup>er<sup>h</sup>em (h)am-be<sup>r</sup>em 'ich ertrage' (-m- for \*-n- due to generalization of the variant preceding

a nasal cns. of the  $\sqrt{\text{V}}$ ) || Gk I/A  $\delta\nu\acute{\alpha}$  'up, upon' || Gt  $\alpha\eta\alpha$  ( $\epsilon\pi\iota, \epsilon\lambda\varsigma$ ) 'an, auf', ORu  $\alpha\eta\alpha$ ,  $\alpha\eta$ , ON  $\acute{\alpha}$  'on', OHG  $\alpha\eta\alpha$ ,  $\alpha\eta$  'at, on, over, in', NHG  $\alpha\eta$ , AS  $\alpha\eta$ ,  $\alpha\eta$  'on', NE  $\alpha\eta$  || ? Lt  $\alpha\eta\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\alpha\eta\acute{o}\tau$  'according to' ¶ P 39-40, EI 612 (IE  $*h_2en-h_2e$  'up [onto], upwards, along'), F I 100-1, Fs. 41, Vr. 1, Mkj. DR 119, Ho. 4, Kb. 23-4, EWA I 214-15, M K I 3, Frn. 11 || **U**  $*n\grave{a}$  'towards, into, near' > FU  $*-n\grave{a}$  'towards, into, to' > Os: N  $-n\grave{a}$  'towards, into' (lative, illative):  $\chi\alpha\tau\eta\grave{a}$  'into the house', ? E  $-n\grave{a}\tau$ ,  $-n\acute{\alpha}\tau$  'with'; Vg: T  $-n\bar{a}$ ,  $-n\bar{a}$ , LK  $-n\bar{a}$ ,  $-an$ ,  $-n$ , P  $-n\bar{a}$ ,  $-n$ , Ss  $-na$ ,  $-n$  'to, into' (direction, lative case) | Hg  $\Delta$   $-ni$ ,  $-\acute{n}i$  'zu', Hg  $-nek$ ,  $-nak$  'gegen, auf zu', OHg  $-n\acute{a}l$ ,  $-n\acute{e}l$  'zu, bei', Hg  $-n\acute{a}l$ ,  $-n\acute{e}l$  'bei' || Sm  $*n\grave{a}$  (postposition): dat. sg.  $*n\grave{a}-\eta$  'zu', loc. sg.  $*n\grave{a}-n\acute{a}$  'bei', abl. sg.  $*n\grave{a}-t\bar{b}$  'von' > Ng dat. {Cs.}  $n\acute{a}\eta$  'zu', {Mik.}  $nanu$  'bei', En X {Cs.} dat.  $ne$ , En B {Cs.} dat.  $n\grave{e}$  'zu', Ne T {Ter.} dat.  $\eta\acute{\alpha}$  'zu', loc.  $\eta\eta\eta$  'bei', Kms  $n\acute{a}:m\bar{b}n$  'für, wegen' ¶¶ Jn. 99, MF 461-2,  $\approx$  UEW 300 || **D** (att. in SD)  $*a\grave{n}_1\grave{n}_2-$  'upper part' > Tm  $a\eta$  'upper part',  $a\eta\alpha$  v. 'lift the hand', Ml  $a\eta\eta\alpha$  'upwards, above', Kn  $a\eta\eta\epsilon$ ,  $a\eta\eta\alpha$ ,  $a\eta\alpha$  'excellence, purity', Tu  $a\eta\bar{a}\nu\bar{u}ni$ ,  $a\eta\eta\bar{a}\nu\bar{u}ni$  v. 'look up, lift up the face, gaze' ¶ D no. 110 ¶ The cerebrality of  $*\grave{n}$  in the D  $\sqrt{\text{V}}$  has not yet been explained ( $*-n-$  + suffixal  $*y$  >  $*-\acute{n}-$  > D  $*-\grave{n}-?$ ) ◇ Blz. NDA no. 110 (D, HS, IE).

**775.  $*hE\bar{n}\nabla$**  'iste' > HS: WS  $*hinn-$  'here, voici, voilà' > Ug  $h\bar{n}$  'aquí', 'he aquí; ¡mira!; así', Hb  $\eta\eta$   $h\bar{e}n$  'voici', {KBR} pc. 'behold', Ph  $h\bar{n}$  id., Ar  $\eta\eta$  'certainly, indeed', Sb {Bil.}  $\eta\eta$  'behold, lo!', Gz {L}  $\eta\eta$ -ka 'so then',  $\eta\eta\eta$  'indeed' ¶ KBR 251, OLS 167, HJ 285-7, Bil. 22, L G 26, DRS 427 || B {Pr.}  $*-h\bar{i}n$ , deictic nominal sx of remoteness and position out of sight > Twr {Pr.}  $-(h)\bar{i}n$  id., Kb  $-ih\bar{i}n$ ,  $-ih\bar{i}nna$ , invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote visible object),  $-inna$ ,  $-y\bar{i}nna$ , invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote visible person or object), Tmz {MT}  $-nn$ ,  $-nna$ , invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote or absent), Mz {Dlh.}  $-n$ ,  $-an$ ,  $-in$ , invariable deictic morpheme of remoteness or absence ( $a\eta\eta\eta$  'cet homme-là'), Wrg {Dlh.}  $-n$  id. ('that'):  $a\eta\eta\eta$  'homme-là, cet homme-là',  $a\eta\eta\eta$  'ce jour-là',  $w\eta$  'celui-là',  $t\eta$  'celle-là', pl.  $i\eta$  'ceux-là',  $ti\eta$  'celles-là' ¶ AiM 217, Pr. M III 191-2, Dl. 282, 534-5, MT 456, Dlh. M 129, Dlh. Ou 208 || eEg  $-r\eta$ , deictic element of proximity: m.  $p\eta$  'this', f.  $t\eta$ , ntr.  $r\eta$  'this', adv.  $\eta\eta$  'so' ¶ Lpr. 68-71 || C: Ag: Bln {R}  $e\eta$ ,  $i\eta$  'der, dieser',  $i\eta\eta$  'jener', Xm {R}  $(i)\eta$  'dieser', Q {Hz.}  $\eta\eta$  'this',  $i\eta$  'that', {R}  $e\eta$  'dieser',  $y\eta$  'jener', Km {Hz., Ap.}  $\eta\eta$  'this', {Ap., Hz.}  $i\eta$  'that', (CR)  $\eta\eta$  'ceci, celui-ci',  $(y)\eta$  'celui-là', Aw {Hz.}  $\eta\eta$  'this',  $\acute{a}\eta$  'that'; these forms

or part of them go back to N sequences **\*ha** 'ille' + **\*hEñ∇** and/or **\*h' i** (dem. pc.) + **\*hEñ∇**, producing the opposition 'this' ↔ 'that' ||| EC: Kns {BISO} ini 'this' ||| Bj {R} ūn nom. 'this' m. (accus. ōn, pl. nom. ān, pl. accus. ēn) ||| SC: ? Irq {Nb.} -síη 'iste, that near you': hē-síη 'iste homo' (the element -s- still requires explanation) ¶ Ap. K 321, Nb. 30-2, Wh. IC 79 (Irq -síη 'that [particular]'), Hz. AL 21, R WB 32-3, R Ch II 339 (3.p. 25), R QW 26, 150, R BedS III 32-6, Rop. 150, CR LK 165 || Ch nominal determiner (m.) \*-∇n∇ > Hs dōkì-n 'the horse' (↔ dōkì 'horse'), Bd {Sch.} kʷàm-âni 'that bull' (↔ kʷàm 'bull'), Gude {Sch.} ráhá-ná 'this axe' (↔ ráhá 'axe'), Msg {Sch.} dif nà 'this man' (↔ dif 'man'), as well as (with loss of gender distinction): Mkl {Sch.} étròwó-η 'the woman' (↔ étròwó 'woman'), Ke {Sch.} hǝlgǝ-η 'the woman' (↔ hǝlgǝ 'woman') ¶ Sch. ED 156-9 ||| IE: [1] (× N **\*ha**, deictic pronominal pc.) NaIE \*eno- / \*ono-, dem. prn. 'that' (intermediate or distal deixis) (× cd with N **\*ha** 'ille?') > Lt anàs, ańs 'that, that one', an(à) 'behold' ||| Sl \*onъ 'that, that one', (→) 'he' (f. \*ona, ntr. \*ono, pl.: m. \*oni, f. \*oně) > OCS ONЪ onъ m. 'that, that one, ille', 'he' / ONA f. / ONO ntr. / ONH pl. m. / ONĚ pl. f., in later lges mainly 'he' / 'she' / 'it' / 'they': R sg. m. OH / f. o'na / ntr. o'no, pl. o'ni, pl. f. † and Δ o'ne, Uk m. viH / f. vo'na / ntr. vo'no, SCr m. ōn (~ òn) / f. òna / ntr. òno, Slv m. òn / f. óna / ntr. onô (~ óno), Cz, Slk, P m. on / f. ona / ntr. ono, Cz pl. m. oni / pl. f. ony / pl. ntr. ona ||| OI ana- 'this', base of pronouns (in a'nēna, a'naγā, a'naγōh), Av ana- (anaya), OPrs instr. anā 'this' ||| Arm unjū so-yn 'this, that, he, self, the same' (< \*k̂o-eno-) ||| Gk cd m. ἔκεῖνος (f. ἐκεῖνη, ntr. ἐκεῖνο) 'that' (distal deixis) (< \*ἔ-κε-ενος) ||| L enim 'indeed, truly; namely', Osc íním INIM εινειμ, íní 'and' ||| Gmc cd (< IE \*y-on-yos): OHG jēnēr 'that one', NHG jēner 'that, ille', AS h.l. zēon, OFrs jēn, MLG jēne id., ON inn ~ enn 'the', Sw, Dn -(e)n id. || Ht an(n)ī- 'that, yonder' (sg. com. annis), annaz 'formerly, once upon a time'; acc. to Pv., ann- < \*on-yo- ¶¶ P 319-21, Frn. 10, Vs. III 140-1, Glh. 454, M K I 32, F I 476, 515, WH I 404-6, Bc. G 317, Vr. 286, Kb. 522, KM 332, Pv. I-II 51-5, EI 458 (\*h<sub>α</sub>en- 'that') ||| [2] ? IE \*Hēn (or \*pēn) 'behold!', 'lo!', 'voilà' > Gk ἦν, L ēn id. (× N \*ḡyUn∇ 'see, look' [q.v.]) ||| A \*Enæ > M nom. \*ene 'hic' ('this', 'he, she, it' [hic-deixis]) / stem of the obl. cases \*ene-n- (× N \*h'e' 'this', deictic pc. [q.v.]) (with suppletion: \*ene nom., \*egūn- for obl. cases and possibly \*ede pl. 'these') > MM [S, MA] ene / obl. [MA] enen-, WrM {MED} ene, HIM {MED} энэ,

{BMR} энэ / obl. энэн-, Brt энэ / obl. энээн-, Kl {KRS} эн энэ, {Rm.} энэ 'dieser', Mgl enā / obl. enān-, Dg энэ, Mnr {Pp.} nīē / obl. {SM} enūn-, {Pp.} nīān id., Ord ene 'celui-ci, ceci' ¶ Pp. IM analyzed M \*ene as \*e-n-e (\*e- + element -n- that "occurs in all pronouns": \*mi-n-u, \*či-n-u, \*i-nu + deictic \*-e); Pp.'s analysis is untenable, because \*-n- in \*minu 'of me' etc. occurs in gen. (not in nom.) and goes back to the N genitive pc. \*n u (q.v.), while \*-n- in \*ene occurs in the nom. and hence belongs to the stem ¶ MED 316, BMR IV 418, Chr. 768-9, KW 122, KRS 699, Ms. O 239-40, ≈ Pp. IM 225-7, Pp. GPMJ 82, GBJ 141-3, SM G 40-1, Snz. SMJ 53-5 || T \*ina 'that' (× N \*yī 'he', [?] 'that' [anaphoric]) > Tkm {SDM} ina-ru 'туда', Xlj ina {SDM} 'that', Tf in-da 'there', {Ra.} ināri 'туда', Indiy 'such (такой)', Tv in-da 'there (там)', Indiy 'such (такой)', Indi 'that (opposite) side', Indī 'that, other' ¶ SDM 577, TvR 596 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 577 (\*i deictic root > M, T + [belonging to N \*yī] Tg \*i, J \*i, Ko \*i), Ra. 78, 80, TvR 596-7 || ? K: GZ \*-n, subject marker of 3 sg. in verbs > OG, G, Mg, Lz -n ¶ K 144-5.

776. <sub>2</sub> \*hû?En|ñ|η∇ 'wave' > HS: Eg N h3nω 'wave; flood (of the sea)' > Cpt: Sd ʒoεim hoεim, ʒoime hoime, B ʒwimi hōimi, coll. ʒimh himē 'wave' ¶ EG II 481, ≈ Vc. 292 || ? C: Bj {R} haymo 'wave' ¶ R Bd 133 || IE \*χχun- / ? \*χχwen- > Ht hunhuwan- 'wave', hunhunessar/n- id., ? hunhumazzi- id. || NaIE: pGmc \*unθjō, \*unθu- 'wave' > ON unnr, uðr (pl. unnir), OSx ūthia, AS ȝǣ, OHG unda id. || L unda id. ¶¶ ≈ P 79-80, Ts. E I 287, ≠ WH I 816-18, Vr. 635, Ho. 413, Ho. S 82, Kb. 1070.

777. \*hAωη∇ 'sense, mind, soul' > HS: S \*°✓hwn, \*hawn- 'sense' > Sr 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢 haw'n-ā 'mens, intelligentia', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢 h<sup>a</sup>ωā'nā ~ 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢 h<sup>a</sup>ωō'nā 'Vernünftigkeit, Einsicht', JPA 𐎧𐎠𐎡 hωn 'sense'; ??σ CS \*✓hwn 'be easy' (if from \*'savoir faire'?) > Ar ✓hwn (pf hāna) 'become easy', BHb ✓hwn Sh (3p watta<sup>1</sup>hīnū) 'regard as easy'; ???σ Ph hωn 'wealth', BHb 𐎧𐎠 hōn 'wealth, sufficiency; enough' ¶ Br. 173, Sl. P 161, Lv. I 458-9, Lv. T I 196, KB 232, BDB 22, HJ 276-7, DRS 388-9 || U: FU (att. in FL) \*°a|āne 'spirit, ghost' (× N \*?aηq<sup>1</sup>i 'breathe' [q.v.]) > F aave, FΔ āvia, hāve, hoave 'ghost; presage, omen', Δ aavaita vt. 'feel|smell', Es {W} avistama 'erkunden, erkennen' || Lp I {SK} vūṣ̌ηηeẓ̌ 'spirit (water spirit, wood spirit, incumbent, gnome etc.)' ¶ SK 3-4, W EDW 56, SSA 20 || A \*āηE- 'think' > T \*āη ({Md.} \*ạ̄η) 'mind, intellect, con-sciousness' > OT, Chg aη 'understanding, intelligence', Osm {Bu.} 𐎧𐎠 | ark (= aη?)

'intelligence; intellect, mind' ('сметливость; умъ, понятие'), Tk an, Tkm āη, Uz aη, ET aη, QrB, CrTt, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg aη, Chv а́нън 'Auffassungsgabe (соображение), Bewußtsein (сознание), Gedächtnis'; T \*āη- v. 'remember, call to mind, understand' > OT, MQP, XwT aη- id., Chg XV aη- 'understand', Tk an-, Tk Δ, CrTt, Kr Cr aη-, Az aн- an- 'remember, call to mind', Tkm āη- 'understand, guess, recognize, feel'; ⇨ T \*āη-la- v. 'understand' > OT anla-, Tk anla-, Chv а́нла-ъnla- id.; acc. to SDM97 (s.v. \*a|e|u|ok'∇ ~ \*ä|ö|u-), WrM aηzirа- ~ anzirа- v. 'know, understand, comprehend' (MED 46-7) is a loan from \*aη-sira-, a word in some Turkic (SDM: "Siberian Turkic") lges ⇨ T \*āη- with the sx \*-sira- (denoting uncomplete action) ¶ Cl. 165, 168, 186, ET Gl 153-4, Dr. TM II no. 565, Rl. I 123, Bu. I 73-4, Md. 104, 159, Ash. IV 42, Fed. I 83-4, Jeg. 40-1, ChVS 22-3, Jeg. 40-1 || ?σ Tg \*°eηē- > Lm зηēli-, зηēt/ç- 'peep, observe, spy out, find out (разведывать)' ¶ STM II 458 || pJ {S} žmž-p- v. 'think' > OJ omop-, MJ òmòφ-, JT omó-, JK ómó-, J Kg òmò- ¶ QJ no. 160, Mr. 741, Kenk. 1442 ¶¶ SDM 511-12 (pA \*ēη∇ 'think, understand' > T, Tg, J + unc. M \*aγuda-la v. 'search, investigate, rummage'), DQA no. 462 (id.), S AJ 286 [no. 243] (pA \*āη∇) || D \*uηη- 'think, consider, look' (× N \*ζôγUn∇ 'see, look; eye', q.v. ffd.).

**778. \*hûP\_U** 'bad', 'error' ([in the Altaic lges] → 'shame') > IE \*xʷep-/ \*xʷop-/ \*xʷup- ≈ 'evil' > Ht {Ts., Pv.} huwappa- 'evil, ill, bad', {Pv.} huwapp- v. 'ill-treat, harrow, harrass, disfigure, spoil', hu(h)upa- 'evil', huipi- 'ruthless, pitiless', HrLw hupasanu- v. 'cause to be harmed' || NaIE: Gk ὑβρις 'insolence; wanton violence, arising from the pride of strength or from passion' (← IE ≈ \*xuwappar- / \*xuppar-?) (the unexpected spiritus asper is still to be explained) || Gmc (< \*xupelo-): Gt ubils (·κακός) 'übel, schlecht', OSx uvil, OHG ubilo, NHG übel adj. 'evil, bad', AS yfel 'evil', NE evil || OIr fel 'bad' (< \*xupelo-) ¶¶ EI 43 (IE \*h₂|h₃wop- 'treat badly'), F II 954, Fs. 508, KM 799, Kb. 1061, Ho. 412, Ho. S 82, Ts. E I 290, Pv. III 358, 360, 430-2, Juret 71, Szem. OGL 154 (Ht ÷ Gk) || HS: B \*°✓<sup>h</sup>f > Ah aħəf 'dévier' ¶ Fc. 521, Pr. H no. 162 || ?σ S \*°hūp- > Ar hūf- 'homme lâche et paresseux; peureux; sot, imbécile'; ??? Ar taħfīf- 'lâche, poltron; sot, imbécile' (unless ⇨ ✓ hff 'léger') ¶ BK II 1428-9 and 1458 || A \*ûb|p- 'be ashamed, be perturbed' > NaT \*ubut n. 'shame' > OT {Cl.} uvut 'modesty, shyness', {DTS} uvut 'shame', MT XII-XIII {Brv.} ovut ~ oγut id.; variants: NaT \*ubat ~ \*uyat (< \*\*ubyat?) 'shame' > OT T {BG} uvyat, ET Δ {Jr.} ubat

𐎠 uwat, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Nog, ET, StAlt, Xk uyat, Qzq ұят, VTt, Bsh Ёyat, Tv ıyat, Yk sāt id.; NaT \*ubat- ~ \*uyat- 'be ashamed' > ET Δ {Jr.} ubat- 𐎠 uwat- 𐎠 uyat-, Tk Δ, Xk uyat-, Tv ıyat-, Yk sāt- id. ¶ Cl. 6, ET Gl 561-3, Brv. T 230, 252, Jr. 321, BG AI 467 || Tg \*ûb- ({{SDM}} \*ûb-) > Ewk ibja- 𐎠 iŵja- 'be ashamed', Nn Nh/KU obosa- v. 'panic' (not registered by On.), Nn KU obosa- v. 'refuse, disagree (отказываются, не соглашаться)', WrMc {Z} ибѣя v. 'abhor, hate', цбѣя v. 'abhor' ¶ STM I 294-5, 639, II 4, Z 98, 149 || pJ {S} \*зрзрз- 'perturbed, taken aback' > OJ op<sub>L</sub>ω<sub>L</sub>op<sub>L</sub>ω<sub>L</sub>o-si-, MJ obobosi- ¶ S QJ no. 1525, Mr. 838 ¶¶ SDM 620-1 (pA \*juro 'be ashamed, be taken aback' > T, Tg, J + unc. M \*(φ)ubaу 'consciousness, attention'), DQA no. 669.

**778a. \*hAr∇** 'rock, mountain, stone' > **HS**: S (in Cn) \*'harar- 'mountain' > BHb 𐎧𐎡 har id. (hārār-r-ī 'my mountain'), Ph, Ug hr, OCn TA hārri 'mountain' ¶ KB 244, OLS 168 || EC: Ya {Hn.} hḗrɔʔ (pl. hērɔ́r) 'big rock' ¶ Hn. Y II s.v. hḗrɔʔ || B: Ah {Pr.} ā-hor 'amoncellement de rochers' ¶ Pr. H 69 || **IE**: Clt {Matas.} \*arto- 'stone' > Gl artuas 'stones', Mlr art 'stone' ¶ Matas. E 43 || **D** \*ar̥a- 'rock, stone' > Tm ar̥ay 'rock, grinding stone', Kt ar, Td ar̥ 'flat rock', Kn ar̥e, Tl r̥ayī, rayī 'stone, rock' ¶¶ D no. 321 || **E**: AchEl hār 'stone' ¶ HK 623, Blz. E 62 || ?σ **A** ≈\*aRgE or ≈\*æRga > M \*ergE > WrM ergi {MED} 'steep bank, steep precipice\slope', HIM эрэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'bank (Ufer)', Kl {KRS} эрг erəg 'Ufer; Abhang (обрыв)', {Rm.} ergə 'steiles Ufer, Felsenufer', Ord erge 'bord élevé et abrupt d'une rivière, falaise, escarpement' ¶ MED 323, BMR IV 435-6, KRD 701, KW 124, Ms. O 344 || ?σ Tg: Ewk argas- 'cross a mountain ridge' ¶ STM I 50 ◊ Blz. NDA no. 89 (D, HS, E), ≈ Blz. IELA 13 [no. 41] (HS + unc. IE \*h<sub>1</sub>er- 'high' [going back to N \*h<sub>1</sub>erU 'go upwards, rise']).

**779. \*her∇** 'disintegrate, fall to pieces' > **HS**: CS \*√hr~\*√hyr v. 'disintegrate, be destroyed, hurt' > Ar هير √hyr D (pf. هير hayyara, D with factitive meaning) v. 'destroy' (BK: 'détruire, faire crouler, démolir'), {BK} هور √hwr (ip. -hwar-) 'démolir, abbatre (une maison)', 'crouler, tomber en ruines' (dit d'un édifice), {Hv.} √hwr (ip. -hūru) v. 'fall to pieces', 'crumble down' (of buildings), 'crush down' (of people), JA, Sr √hr Sh v. 'do harm, hurt' (Sr pf. 𐎧𐎡𐎢𐎣 a-har, ip. n-a(?)har, acp. ma(?)har), JA [Trg.] acp. sg. f. 𐎧𐎡𐎢𐎣 mah<sup>a</sup>rā 'beschwert' (krywt<sup>?</sup> mhrh lby<sup>?</sup> dgbr<sup>?</sup> 'Die Krankheit beschwert das Mannesherz') ¶ BK II 456, 466, Br. 182-3, JPS 106, Lv. T I 205, Hv. 839

|| IE \* $\hat{H}$ er(Hx)- (> NaIE \*er<sub>1</sub>ə<sub>1</sub>- / \*ər<sub>1</sub>ə<sub>1</sub>-) v. 'disintegrate' (IS: 'разваливаться') > OI 'ardh-ah<sub>1</sub> 'part, side, half', Av arəðā- 'side, half' || Gk ἐρήμος (< \* $\hat{H}$ ren-) 'desolate, lonely, solitary' (< \*'separated') || L rārus (< \* $\hat{H}$ ren-ro-?) 'sparse, not dense' (→ 'rare') || Lt ìr-ti 'to disintegrate, to fall to pieces, to break down' (with innovating accentuation), Ltv {ME} iṛt 'sich auf-\los-trennen, sich bröckeln', Lt arđųti (caus.) 'to unrip, to destroy, to demolish' ({Frn.} 'Zusammengefügtes lösen, auftrennen, zerlegen, abbrechen'), Ltv èrst (1s p. èrdū) 'auseinanderbringen, trennen' || pSl \*ori- (caus. with the \*o-grade of apophony and with the sx \*-i-) > OCS **орити** ori-ti {P} 'auflösen, stürzen, zerstreuen', Blg **оря** 'ruin'; ↗ SI \*ob-ori-ti > OCS **оборити** oboriti 'to destroy, to demolish', SCr obòriti 'to fell', Cz obořiti se 'to come down, to collapse'; SI \*orz-ori-ti 'to ruin' > OCS **разорити** razoriti (καταλύειν, λύειν, διαλύειν) {StSS} 'zerstören, vernichten', SCr razòriti, R разо'рить 'to destroy, to ruin' ¶ IS I 246, EI 158 (IE \*h<sub>2</sub>erH- 'destroy'), F I 557, M K I 51, M E I 119, WH II 418-19, Frn. 15-16, ME I 576, 710-11, ≠ P 332-3, StSS 396, 572, Vs. III 152-3, 435 || **U**: FU \*erä- \*'disintegrate' > F er ä 'part, share', er ä ss ä 'separately', Es {W} ära ~ era 'Besonderes, Getrenntes, Eigentümliches', Es S er ä id. || ?σ Lp N {N} æra 'another' (< 'Eigentümliches?') || Chr L {MRS} ir(e)- (inf. и'р-аш) vt. 'disintegrate, pull apart, destroy, break' ('разваливать [что-либо сложное], разрушать, ломать') || pPrm \*ōr- vt. 'tear off' > Vt ur-, Vt SW: Vt Ur/Shm ūr- and Vt B oʔr- ({Lt.} θr-) vi. 'tear off', 'break' (of an abscess), Z or- vi. 'tear off, be torn', Z US ωr-id.; Lytkin (LG) reconstructed Prm \*ōr-, but the SW ds of Vt (the only ds distinguishing between pPrm \*ō- and \*ō [F Lt. 75]) provide ev. for \*ō- || pOs \*är- > Os {Stn.}: V/Vy ärəʃ, Ty/Y ärʃə, Nz/Kz ara, O ārri 'separately, apart' ('getrennt, auseinander') ¶ SK 40-1, W EDW 71-2, N III 870, MRS 137, Stn. D 155, ≠ LG 207, cf. IS I 246-7 || **A**: T \*erü- v. 'melt, become liquid' (of ice, fat, wax etc.), 'boil soft in cooking' > OT {Cl.} ärü- ~ ärī- v. 'melt, become liquid', OXwT ärī-, Chg erī-, MQp XIV erī- ~ ärī-, Cum irī- v. 'melt', Tk erī-, VTt эр(е)- ьр(ь)-, Ggz ĵeri- id., Tkm Δ erī-, Qrg, Qq, Uz, StAlt, Tv eri- v. 'dissolve', Chv ирёл- ірьл- vi. 'melt; zergehen, zerschelzen' ¶ The Chv stem goes back to a merger: T \*erü- × T \*æř- v. 'knead, mash' (DTS 192, Rl. I 887). The latter T stem may, too, go back to the N etymon in question ¶ The stem-final \*-ü- is probably a sx of intransitivity; Chv ир- ір- vt. 'dissolve' (ChVS 54, Fed. I 170) may go

back to an underived T transitive verb \*<sup>o</sup>er- ¶ Cl. 198, ET Gl 289-90, DTS 177, 182, Rs. W 47-8, BT 193, Ash. III 131-5, Fed. I 171, Jeg. 71 || D \*i<sub>o</sub> v. 'break into pieces, smash' > Tm i<sub>o</sub>u (i<sub>o</sub>u<sub>v</sub>-, i<sub>o</sub>u<sub>r</sub>-) v. 'break, snap (as a stick)', i<sub>o</sub>u(-pp-, -tt-) v. 'break off (as a branch), snap asunder, break in pieces', Ml i<sub>o</sub>uka v. 'break, snap', Tl iriyu v. 'be broken\smashed', Kui rēnga v. 'be broken in pieces', Krx esnā v. 'break, divide by force' (a stick, a tooth etc.), 'quell, crush' ¶¶ D no. 520  
 ◇ D \*i (for the expected \*e < N \*e, suggested by U and T) requires explanation ◇ Cf. IS I 246-7: IE, U A, D. The root-final lr. in IE (rec. of EI) is probably an innovation (< sx?), because both S and D do not suggest any lr. Another solution is N \*herh|?▽ with loss of N \*h|? in S and in pre-D (D \*-r̥- < intervocalic \*-r-).

**780. \*hoR'i'** 'newborn, a young', 'bear (enfenter)', 'conceive (become pregnant)' > IE \*H<sup>w</sup>er- > NaIE \*or- 'child; be born' > Arm **որդի** օրժի (gen. pl. **որդւոյ** օրժւոյ) 'son' (< \*ord<sup>h</sup>i<sub>o</sub>-) ||| Gk {P} νε-ορτός 'neugeboren' (absent in LS and Ch.) ||| L orior / orīri / ortus 'be born' (× orior 'rise' < NaIE \*or-/\*er- 'rise' < N \*H<sub>1</sub>erU 'ascend, rise') ¶ ≈ P 326-8, Sl. 324-5, WH II 222-3, ≈ F II 423 || **HS**: S \*✓hry 'conceive, be(come) pregnant' > Hb הרה ✓hry, Ug ✓hry, OA ✓hry, Ak fOB/OA inf. arû ~ erû, Eb ʔà-rí-tum = {Krb.} harītym id., Sb {MiK ← BGMR} ✓hry 'be pregnant', hry 'pregnancy' ¶ KB 245, KBR 255-6, OLS 169, HJ 293, CAD IV 325, Sd. 72, Krb. EG 23, DRS 452-3, MiK I no. 2.21 || B \*✓Hr<sub>w</sub> v. 'bring forth, bear (a child), beget' > Ah aru (pf. yerəw), ETwl aru (pf. erəw), Ty aru (pf. yərəw), Gd āraw, Izd aru, Tmz {MT} arew, Kb {Dl.} arəw (pf. yurəw), Mz aru (pf. yirū), Si {La.} iru 'enfenter, accoucher', Gh {Nh.} aru (pf. iru) 'enfenter', aru (3f pf. čiru) 'accoucher'; in nouns: Ah āra 'child, young of animals', Wrg {Dlh.} ara 'progéniture, enfant', Mz {Dlh.} ar(č)a 'progéniture, bébé', Tmz {MT} ara 'agneau d'un an', Ah ārraw, Ty {GhA} arčaw 'boy', Kb arraw 'enfantement', Tmz arraw 'progéniture', Si {La.} tarawaj<sub>n</sub> pl. children', Kb, Wrg tarwa 'postérité, enfants', Mz tarwa id., 'baby', Tmz tarwa 'enfantement, naissance', Si tarwa 'postérité, descendance; enfantement', Gd tarwa 'fils, progéniture' ¶ Fc. 1647-51, GhA 164, 246 (Pcj. I A), Mrc. 13, Lf. II no. 1385, MT 559, 591, Nh. 123, 156, Dl. 736-7, Dlh. M 168, 176-7, Dlh. Ou 266, 280, La. S 230 || C: Ag: Bln {R} er-t- 'conceive' (of a cow) ||| Bj A {AD} (h<sub>u</sub>) ʔōr, pl. (h<sub>u</sub>) ʔar, Bj {R} ʔōr, pl. ʔar 'son, boy' ¶ R WB 46, R WBd 27-8, ADP BFN, ≈ AD SF 82-3 || Eg fOK i<sub>w</sub>r



v. 'conceive (a child), become pregnant' ¶ EG I 56, Fk. 13, Vc. 248 || ECh: Nd D {J} ʔárá 'be pregnant', Tmk {Cp.} ùr̀z̀r̀ 'make (a woman) pregnant, be pregnant' ¶ ChC s.v. 'to be pregnant', Cp. 97 ¶¶ Coh. 80 [no. 90], OS no. 1200 (S, ECh), Tk. I 278 (S, Eg, Bln, ECh) || ¶ **¶** ≈ \*or̄▽ 'young' > M \*ori (unless it is \*<sup>o</sup>φori) 'young' (→ 'energy' → 'completely') > WrM {Kow., Gl.} ori, HIM {BMR} opь adj. 'young, new', WrM {Rm.} ori 'young, boy; young man' (mentioned in Rm. SKE), Ord or̄: 'tard, sur le tard'; ???σ M \*ori 'completely, very' > WrM {MED} ori, HIM {MED, BMR} opь 'completely, absolutely; only', Brt опи 'allein (совсем один), einzig (единственный)', Kl {KRS} op 'very, completely', {Rm.} ora, or 'ganz, durchaus, lauter' ¶ Kow. 439, MED 618, Gl. I 262, BMR II 503, Luv. 310, Chr. 360, KW 287, KRS 400, H 125, Ms. O 522 || pKo \*<sup>h</sup>ri- 'young' > MKo <sup>h</sup>ri-, NKo <sup>h</sup>ri-(ta) adj. 'young' ¶ S QK no. 958, MLC 1128 || Tg \*or-, \*or<sup>o</sup>-kan 'young of an animal', \*or- (+ other sxs) id. > Neg oyokon, Orc orko ~ oroko ~ oroko(n-) 'young of bears', Nn KU orokō 'young of animals (birds, mammals)', Nn Nh {STM} orōkã id., {On.} orōkã: 'domesticated (при-рученный) young of a bird\mammal', Ud {Krm.} ō? 'animal', Ewk oronāt 'female bear (three-year-old)', WrMc {Z} opxoxo, opчунь 'small; newborn (baby)' ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 273, On. 315 || ??φ,σ T \*a<sub>1</sub>:rkun 'cross-bred horse' ({SDM}: if from 'young horse, stallion' ← 'young [animal]) > OT Kr arcun, ET a(r)yun, Qrg aryin 'cross-bred horse' ¶ Cl. 216, ET Gl 171 ¶¶ SDM 603 (pA \*<sup>h</sup>aru 'young [of an animal]' > Tg, M \*<sup>h</sup>ori 'young, energetic', T, Ko) ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. 'зачать' \*h/ux/r̄ (IE, HS). Cp. N \*H|wur▽ 'male person\animal.

**781. \*hæ<sub>1</sub>ʔ|y<sub>1</sub>r<sup>E</sup>' 'male' > HS: Eg fP h3y 'husband' > Cpt Sd/B ʔaihai id. ¶ This word belongs here unless the variant hy (presumably underlying the verb hy 'act as a husband') is the original one (as Vc. supposes) and is akin to Bj {R} hiyo 'husband'. An alternative hyp. is that h3y 'husband' and the v. hy are not connected etymologically ¶ EG II 475, Vc. 240, Tk. I 81 || C: EC: Gdl hēro 'male, man', Or hēr-um- ps. 'marry' (of a girl) | AdS of EC {AD} \*ʔar- and Ag: Aw {Hz.} ṅāra (< \*ṅi-ara) 'her husband' (< N \*ʔaR▽ 'member of one's clan\family', q.v. ffd.) ¶ AD SF 201, Hd. 82, Hw. A 336, Hw. B II 121, Grg. 206, HL 70 || Ch: Bks {J} re (pl. ʔaryā) 'man' (× the above-mentioned N \*ʔaR▽) ¶ J R 145 || AdS of NrOm: Anf {Gt.} arō 'man' (< N \*ʔaR▽, q.v. ffd.) || ¶ **¶** \*ār▽ 'man (vir), male animal' > T \*ār 'male, man' > OT er, Tk er, Tkm ār, VTt, Bsh ir, Qq er adam, Tb ēr, Xk ir, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Uz, SY, Tv er, Yk**

är, Xlj här, Chv ap ar 'male person', Az är, ET er 'husband'; ⇨ NaT \*ær-kæk 'man (vir), male' > OT, Tr erkek, Ggz, Tkm, Kr, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg erkek, Az erkäk, Slr ärkek, Xlj hürkäk, Uz erkak 'man (vir)', StAlt erkek id., 'husband', VTt Δ irkäk 'male animal', Bsh irkäk 'male mammal', Tv irgäk 'male bear', Tf irhek 'male bear, male sable', Yk irgex 'male animal' ¶ Chv a- and Tkm ä- provide ev. for a pT \*ā- ¶ The short vw. \*æ (for the expected \*ǣ) in NaT \*ær-kek is still to be explained ¶ Cl. 192, Rs. W 46, Dr. TM II no-s 178-9, ET Gl 297-8, 321-2, DT 129, TL 303, 561, 661, Ra. 201, JkR 153, BR 213, TatR 174, Ash. I 302-3, Fed. I 54-5, Jeg. 30 || M \*ere 'male person, male animal' > MM [HI, LV, IM] ere 'male', [IsV, MA] ę re 'man', [S] ere 'husband' (pl. eres 'men'), WrM ere {MED} 'male (person, animal)', HIM ap {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'husband', Brt apə id., Kl {Rm.} erə 'Mann, männlich', {KRS} ap erə 'male person; male (animal)', Mnr H {SM} rē 'mâle non châtré' (of animals); 'masculin, de sexe mâle', MMgl ę r r a, Mgl irrâ 'male', Dx {T} ere(kun), Ba ere kuŋ, Dg {T} er 'male person', Ord ere 'male (person, animal), husband' ¶ H 45, Ms. H 55, Lg. VMI 32, Pp. MA 161, 437, Pp. L II 1262, MED 321, BMR IV 419-20, Chr. 775-6, KW 123, KRS 700-1, SM 313, Iw. 102, T DnJ 144, T DgJ 140, T BJ 152, Ms. O 242 ¶¶ SDM 312 (pA \*āri - \*ēra 'man' > M \*ere, T), ≈ SDM 607-8 (pT \*er-kek 'male, man' < pA \*jōre 'male, young male' [unconvincingly separating pT \*er-kek from pA \*ēr∇ 'male person, male animal']), S AJ 54, 283, KW 123, Vld. 324, Pp. VG 79, 106, Ci. EATR 45-9 || D \*ēr̥o 'male, bull' (× N \*qer∇ '[wild] ox') > Tm ē r u 'bull, male of certain animals (pig, deer, buffalo, tiger, lion)', MI ē r u 'bullock', ē r a n 'bull', Kt e r 'male buffalo', Td e r̥ id., 'bull'; ? (× N \*?aR∇ 'member of one's clan\family'): Brh arē 'man (vir), person, husband' ¶¶ D no. 917 || ?σ E: {BLz.} \*eri, \*iri 'uncle' (attested words: OEl e-ri-ri, i-ri-ri 'Onkelchen [?]) ¶¶ HK 401, 774, Blz. E no. 17 (connecting the Elamic word with HS \*ary- 'kinman' (see s.v. \*?aR∇ 'member of one's clan\family') || ? Acc. to IS I 248, possibly IE \*h̥ers- / \*h̥rs- (≈ {AD} \*H̄ers- / \*H̄rs-) 'male' > OI r̥oṣa- 'bha-ḥ' 'bull', Av, OPrs arš an- 'man (vir), male animal' ||| Arm ա յ ր ա յ ք (gen. ա ն ն ա ռ ն) 'man', ա ն ն ր ա ռ ն-ի 'virile' ||| Gk I/Cr ἄρσην 'male', Gk ἄρσην id. ¶ ≈ P 336 (unc.: IE \*ers- ← \*ers- 'flow' [→ 'semen emittere']), F I 152-3, M K I 125, M E I 260-1, Slr. 121 ¶ The IE stem belongs here only if its \*-s- is an ext. (according to IS l.c., induced by the synonymous IE \*H̄uers- 'male' [→ OI v̥r̥oṣaḥ 'bull', Av varəšna- 'male']) ◇ The long vw. \*ā- in A and the

vw. \*ē- in D suggest the presence of N \*y or of a N lr. (\*ʔ or \*h, to judge upon the HS cognates) after the vw. \*æ. The discrepancy between the D data (suggesting pN \*-e-) and those of pA (suggesting pN \*-ä-) is puzzling ◇ O HSN 121 (N 'male' > D, A + err. IE [{AD} NaIE \*ʔaryo- 'member of one's own ethnic group?'] and HS \*ʔar- 'young male person' [both actually from N {AD} \*ʔaR∇ 'member of one's clan/family']) ◇ IS I 247-8 [no. 108] (misprint 'έρσην for 'έρσην) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 259 (\*er 'man') (T, M + err.: IE \*r̥sen, U, Ko, Gil; cf. N \*H|wur∇ 'male person/animal').

**782.** \*h'o'R∇b∇ 'run' > HS: S \*✓hrb v. 'flee' > Ar ✓hrb G (ip. -hribu) id., Sb hrb id., Mh, Hrs ✓hrb (pf. Mh hōrəb, Hrs hərəb) 'put to flight, smuggle', Jb E hurb, Jb C o'hurb 'smuggle; run away (from prison)', Ak {Sd.} arbū 'fugitive' ¶ Fr. IV 382, BK II 1409, BGMR 56, Jo. M 159, Jo. H 52, Sd. 66, DRS 447 || Ch: CCh: Kbl {Cp.} àr̄z̄ 'go' ]?φ amb Ch {Stl.} \*r∇w- / \*r∇y- 'run' > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ráwa, Bade {ChC} rawan id. | Dir {Sk.} r̄iyá, Cg {Sk.} rey id. | Jimi {Gwrs} re, Zr {Sh.} ri 'go' ||| CCh: Gzg D {Lk.} ro 'go' ||| ECh: Mgm {JA} r̄ōr̄ó 'galopper', Jg {J} rer 'run' ¶ These words (except Kbl àr̄z̄) belong here unless they are akin to Ar ✓rwh 'go, go away' ¶ Sch. DN 138, Stl. IF 133, JA LM 120, J J s.v. rer, ChC s.v. 'run' and 'go' ||| K: OG rb-i, mi-rb-i v. 'run', G rb- 'run (laufen, rennen)' ¶ Ser. 1049-51, Chx. 132 ||| U: FU (mt.?) \*'ow'rE- 'run' > Er inf. ardo-ms, Mk inf. ардомс arda-ms 'to run' (of animals), 'fahren', inf. арнемс arná-ms frq. id. | Prm \*úr- > Z {W} írmaś- v. 'hurry', Z írskipti- 'begin to run, start with a jerk (рвануться)', Z Ss írskipti- 'vor Schreck in Galopp fallen' (of a horse), Vt írgat- 'anreizen, hetzen (den Hund)' (← \*'make run') ||| OHg \*ir- (OHg XIV ir u ele) 'laufen, rennen', OHg, Hg † ir am- 'rennen', Hg ir am- o d- 'rennen, schnell laufen', ir am 'pace, speed', ir ul- 'entweichen' ¶ MF 322, EWU 621-2 ¶¶ Mr a- and Hg i- apparently suggest FU \*ō-, while Prm \*ū- can be accounted by FU \*ū-, but all these vowels together may be accounted for by a pFU \*ow-.

**783.** (₂?) \*hüRc'∇ ≈ 'wrinkle, rumple, crush, tear down' > HS: CS \*✓hrs, \*-hrus- > BHb ✓hrs (ip. -hāros) v. 'tear down' → 'annihilate', M'b ✓hrs G 'destroy', Ar G ✓hrs, -hrusu v. {Hv.} 'bruise, bray, crush down', {BK} 'battere, piler avec force'; cp. also S \*✓hrš̄ > OYmn ✓hrš̄ ({{Slw.} harač̄a) 'tear (cloth)' ¶ KBR 256-7, BK II 1412, DRS 456-7, Slw. 213 ||| A: M \*ürčiy- (unless ir is \*φürčiy-) > WrM ūrcii- {MED} 'become shrunk and wrinkled; frown; wrinkle one's face', HIM үрчий- {MED} id.,

{BMR} 'become shrunk and wrinkled' (skin, leather, fabric etc.); 'wrinkle one's face', Kl {Rm.} ūrčī- 'sich runzeln, Grimassen machen', Ord ūrčī- 'se rider, être chiffonné', ūrčī- 'se rider, se froncer' ¶ The cognate is valid unless in pM there is an initial \*φ- ¶ MED 1011, BMR III 423, KW 459, Ms. O 540, 763 || IE: ?σ Ht {Ts.} hars- 'aufreißen' ¶ Frd. HW 59, Ts. W 17, Ts. E I 182-3, ≠ Pv. III 184-5 (Puhvel believed that hars- 'aufreißen' [= {Pv.} v. 'pound'] is a stylistic usage of the Ht verb hars- v. '≈ till the soil' [which he considered to be a loan from S \*✓hrθ id., see s.v. N \*XaRč∇ 'rub, scratch'])).

**784.** \*hir∇g∇ 'kill' or 'die' > HS: WS \*✓hr̥g v. 'kill' > BHb, M'b, Yd, OA ✓hr̥g G id., Ar {Fr., BK} هرج ✓hr̥g G (hariġa / -hriġu) 'kill', Sb, Mn ✓hr̥g 'kill, slaughter', Qt ✓hr̥g v. 'kill, murder' ¶ KB 245, KBR 255, BK II 1410-11, Ltm. rRES-VII/3 377, BGMR 56-7, Rk. 47, DRS 448 || IE \*χxer<sup>g</sup>h<sup>1</sup> - 'disappear, die' > Ht har(a)k- 'get lost, disappear', {Ts.} 'umkommen, zugrunde gehn' || NaIE: Tc: B erkau 'cemetery', A {Wn.} \*arkäm̄n- id. (-d→ adj. arkäm̄nās̄i) || Clt (× NaIE \*perg- 'smite, destroy, kill' < N \*Pär<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>ga 'to strike, to split'): Gl ORGE imv. 'kill!', OIr org- 'smite, slay', OIr [ʃ]orn 'murder', W orn 'killing, destruction'; ?σ Clt {Matas.} \*org-0- 'destroy' > OIr orgaid-, -org, MW yny-orth ¶¶ Hardly here Arm հարկանեմ harkanem (aor. hark) 'I smite, I slash' (probably from \*perg- < N \*Pär<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>ga) ¶¶ Ts. W 175-6, Pv. III 157-68, P 818-19 (\*perg-), Vn. O 30-1, Billy 116, Wn. I 150, Sl. 257-8, EI 158 (\*h<sub>2</sub>erk- 'rend, destroy'), Ad. 95-6, Matas. E 300 || D \*i<sub>2</sub>- v. 'die' > Tm i<sub>2</sub>a 'die', Ml i<sub>2</sub>u n. 'ruin'; D \*i<sub>2</sub>∇kk- v. 'kill' > Tm i<sub>2</sub>akku id., Kn i<sub>2</sub>ku ~ i<sub>2</sub>ku 'kill, destroy', derivatives: Ml i<sub>2</sub>akkuka- v. 'die', ? Kui e<sub>2</sub>ga- v. 'die in childbirth' ¶¶ D no. 514.

**785.** (₂?) \*haRḲa 'hold\grasp, keep, keep in one's possession' > HS: SWS \*✓hr̥k v. 'take as booty, loot' > Sb mhr̥k 'booty', Gz məharkā 'booty, spoils, plunder', ✓mhr̥k (pf. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 māhraka [mahraka]) v. 'take as booty, plunder, loot, rob, pillage', Tgr pf. marəka, Tgy pf. marəḳə, Am pf. marrəḳə id.; EthS ⇨ Aw marex<sup>w</sup>a, Xm, Q mirek id. ¶ BGMR 57, L G 334 || IE \*χark- 'hold' > Ht har(a)k-, har- v. 'hold, keep, have' || NaIE \*ark- > L arce-ō 'shut in, shut up; keep at a distance, hinder, prevent', arx 'stronghold, fortress' || Gk ἀρκέω 'ward off, keep off' || ? Arm արգելում argelum 'I hinder, I restrain, I hold back' ¶¶ Pv. III 145-57, Ts. W 173-5, P 65 (\*arek-), EI 270 (\*h<sub>2</sub>erk- 'hold back [to prevent of doing sth.], contain'), F I 141, WH I 62-3 || A \*?aRk'∇k'- > T:

?σ OT арцац 'obstinate, refractory' ¶ Cl. 216, DTS 55 || M: WrM арцац {MED} 'chronic, continuous' (of sth. bad: арцац еbedcin 'chronic illness'), HIM аржаг {MED} 'chronic, continuous', {BMR} 'chronic' (of smth bad), 'застарелый, закоснелый, erschöpfend (изнурительный)' ¶ MED 55, BMR I 153.

**786.** \*h<sup>1</sup>aš<sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup> 'burn' (of fire) > HS: C {E} \*aš- vi. 'burn' > EC: Bs {HL} elen 'fire' || SC: Irq {Wh.} âša, {MQK} ʔaša, Grw/Alg/Brn {Wh.} aša, (→) Mb m<sup>w</sup>-âša 'fire' || ??σ Ag ({E} \*alāl 'burn'): Km {CR} al<sup>l</sup>- v. 'be in heat' (of a horse), but of course not Bln {R} al<sup>l</sup>- 'rosten' (not 'rösten', as Ehret has misread it); I have my doubts about the Km word as well: it is likely to belong together with Xm {R} iel<sup>l</sup>- v. 'neigh', so that these words of Ag lges belong to the C √ in question only if the semantic development was as follows: vi. 'burn' → v. 'be in heat' (of a horse) → v. 'neigh' ¶ ≈ E SC 297 (s.v. SC \*âša → \*āša 'fire'), E PC no. 341, AD SF 290, Wh. IC 23, MQK 16, PB 137, HL 67, Gs. 19, R WB 26, R Ch. II 23, CR LK 163, Blz. CP s.v. 'fire' || ??? Eg XX išf '≈ verbrennen' ¶ EG I 135 || K \*<sup>o</sup>H∇š<sup>w</sup>- > Sv: L {Dn.} √:š<sup>w</sup> v. 'light\kindle a fire' (aor. 1s oχwāš<sup>w</sup>, otwāš<sup>w</sup>, pres. 1s χwīš<sup>w</sup>e 'разводить огонь', mīš<sup>w</sup>e 'у меня горит огонь'), Sv UB {GP} √:š<sup>w</sup> / :š<sup>u</sup>; masdar UB/L līš<sup>w</sup>e, LB/Ln liš<sup>w</sup>e (vt., 2nd version) v. 'set fire to', (vi., 1st vers.) v. 'catch fire' ¶ GP 179, Dn. s.v. √:š<sup>u</sup>, TK 491 || IE \*χes- → \*χas- 'hearth, ashes', v. 'dry' > Ht has(ɔ)- 'ashes', hassa- 'fireplace, hearth, fire altar', Lw χaššaniti 'hearth' || OI 'āsaḥ 'ash, dust' (← 'burnt') || L āra 'sacrificial altar', Osc aasaí 'in ara', Um ase 'arae'; ? L ārē- 'be dry', āridus 'dry, arid' || ONaska, OHG asca 'ashes, dust', NHG Asche 'ashes', AS asce, æsce 'ash, dust', NE ash ¶¶ Acc. to Pv., the paradigm of Ht has(ɔ)- (nom. sg. ha-a-as, accus. sg. ha-as-sa-an, instr. sg. ha-as-si-it, accus. pl. ha-s-su-us) reflects IE nom. sg. \*A<sub>1</sub>ēs, accus. sg. \*<sup>1</sup>A<sub>1</sub>esm<sub>o</sub> ¶¶ P 68-9, Mn. 38, ≈ EI 32 (\*<sup>1</sup>h<sub>2</sub>eHo-s 'ash' ← '≈ burnings'), Pv. III 210-12 and 221-4, Ts. E I 196-7, M K I 83, M E I 182-3, WH I 61, 65, Schz. 91, KM 33, Vr. 15, Ho 12, Kb. 46, EWA I 364-6 || A ≈ \*aša- > M \*asa- (unless it is \*ʔasa-) vi. 'burn, catch fire, ignite' > WrM }MED} asa-, HIM }MED, BMR} asa-, Brt aha- id., Kl {Rm.} as- 'sich anzünden, brennen ¶ MED 55, BMR I 164, Chr. 67, KW 16 || NaT \*as- v. 'cook' > AtAlt, Tlt, Shor, CrTt, Qzq as- id., Tkm aθ- v. 'cook' (in the expression naχar aθ- v. 'cook a meal' [naχar is 'meal'] etc., unless from aθ- 'hang' in contexts like et aθ- v. 'cook meat' ← v. 'hang meat [over the fire]') ¶ BT 22, Rl. I 533-4, TkR 54, NogR 50, TatR 42, Jud. 74, MM 43 || ? Tg: Ork aladu- v. 'roast

(поджаривать)' ¶ STM I 29 ¶ Tg \*-l- suggests a pA cns. \*-ŝ- (??) < N \*-ŝ-, but this is doubtful because a similar development (pA \*-ŝ- > Tg \*-l-) is rare (in our materials only in Tg \*<sub>l</sub>χ<sub>l</sub>u|-'fall down' from N \*<sub>l</sub>χ<sub>l</sub>ŝ<sup>1</sup>ŝ<sup>1</sup>∇ 'to fell, to fall'), in most cases N \*-ŝ- yields Tg \*-s- (cf. our items no-s 690, 748, 787, 955, 1211, 1213, 1214, 1819, 2128 and 2540). On M \*-s- and Tg \*-l- as reg. reflexes of N \*-ŝ- see AD PNPh and S AJ 288 [no. 283] ¶¶ SDM 316-17 (pA \*ase - \*p'ase 'catch fire; hot' > M and T), DQA no. 54 (id.), S AI 288, KW 16 (M, T \*as- v. 'cook') ◇ Otherwise IS I 262-3 s.v. \*ʔaṣa 'fire' (not distinguishing between the N word in question and N \*ʔisü [or \*ʔüs∇] 'fire'). I reconstruct N \*h- on the joint ev. of HS and IE: the only cns. yielding χ- in Ht and zero in C is N \*h- ◇ Gr. II no. 53 (\*as 'burn') (IE, A, CK).

**787.** \*hiŝ<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> 'to break' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓ hŝŝ > Ar hašš- 'fragile'; +ext: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓ hŝm > Ar ✓ hšm G 'crush, bruise' ¶ Ln. 2894, Hv. 328, Dz. II 757, BK II 1422, 1424, DRS 462 || A \*is∇ 'break, grind; bite' > Tg \*ise- (or \*χise-?) v. 'break' > Ewk Δ išš- id., Neg isi-ktš- v. 'slap (in the face)', WrMc {Z} исэлэ- v. 'butt each other, rival, compete, argue' ¶ STM I 336, Z 89 ¶ The Tg cognate is valid unless it is \*χise- || pKo \*isir- v. 'break into pieces, crush' > NKo isirə- id. ¶ S AJ 256 [no. 142], S QK no. 142, MLC 1287 || pJ {S} \*ùsú 'mortar' > OJ usu, MJ ùsú, J T úsu, J K ùsú, J Kg usú ¶ S QJ no. 962, Mr. 564, Kenk. 2111 || NaT \*isir- v. 'bite' > OT, Tk isir-, CrTt, Kr, Tf isir-, Xk, Tv izir-, Yk itir- id. ¶ ET Gl 671-2, Ra. 240 ¶¶ SDM 593 (pA \*isú- 'crush, grind; bite' > Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 610, S AJ 281 [no. 149], Rm. SKE 73 || D (att. in NED) \*içik- v. 'crack' > Krx isbg-nā v. 'open in long slits, chap, crack', isigkā 'crack, slit, chink', Mlt isge v. 'be well parched (as grain), be cracked (as the skin)' ¶ D no. 423, Pf. 185.

**788.** <sub>2</sub> \*<sup>r</sup>hot∇ 'to smell (odorare, to get the odor of)', 'to smell (olere, to have an odor\scent)' > HS: B \*<sup>o</sup>✓ Hwt > Ah awt v. ps. 'sentir (une odeur)' ¶ Fc. 1536 || C: EC \*ʔudg- - \*ʔuzg- '(be) fragrant' > Sml {Abr.} udg-ōn 'fragrant', Rn ùyûg or úyùg 'pleasant smell, fragrance', Or urg-aw- v. 'exhale fragrance, have a good smell' ¶ Ss. PEC 57, Abr. S 242, PG 288, Th. 338, Sr. 198 || IE \*<sup>r</sup>χ<sup>w</sup>ed- 'odor' (× N \*gUž∇ 'feel, smell [sth.]', q.v.) > Arm **hnut** hot 'odor, smell', **hnuti** hotim 'I smell (sth.)' || Gk ὀζω, Gk D ὀσδω vi. (pfc. ὀδωδα) 'emit an odor, smell', Gk Hm ὀδμή, Gk D ὀδμᾶ 'smell, odor' || L odor 'smell' || pAl {O} \*admā > Al G amē {AlBED} 'scent, fragrance', Al T d. am-ēz 'food odor; smell (of freshly ploughed

ground, of fire)' ||| Gmc: Sw  $\text{o}\text{s}$  'odor, smell of charcoal fumes (carbon monoxide)', Dn, NNR  $\text{o}\text{s}$  (< \* $\text{o}\text{d-s-o-}$ ) 'Dunst, erstinkender Dampf' ||| Lt 1s  $\text{úodžiu}$  (inf.  $\text{úostti}$ ) vt. 'smell, sniff', Ltv 1s  $\text{ôžũ}$  (inf.  $\text{ôst}$ ) vt. 'smell', vi. 'smell (of)' || OCz inf.  $\text{jadati}$  'to search, to inquire' (< \*'to smell out') ¶ P 772-3, EI 528 (\* $\text{h}_3\text{ed-}$  v. 'smell'), Dv. no. 164, F II 353-5, Slr. 313-14, WH II 203, Wnt. AE 102-3 (Arm  $\text{h}\text{o}\text{t}$  may point to the IE lr. \* $\text{O-} = *_{\text{g}}\text{w-}$ ), Frn. 1167-8, AlBED 13, O 4  $\diamond$  EC \* $\text{?}$ - suggests a N lr. \* $\text{h-}$  or \* $\text{?}$ -, but if Arm  $\text{h-}$  goes back to an IE lr., it cannot be N \* $\text{?}$ -. Hence a tentative preliminary rec. of N \* $\text{h-}$ .

**789.**  $\text{haw}\nabla$  'speak, utter sounds' > IE \* $\text{Heud-}$  > NaIE \* $\text{°aud-}$  > Gk  $\alpha\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}$  'human voice, speech, sound',  $\alpha\upsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\omega$  'v. utter sounds, speak' ||| NaIE \* $\text{wed-}$  'utter sounds, speak' (< IE \*\* $\text{hwed-}$  [{M} \* $\text{a}_2\text{ued-}$ ]  $\times$  IE \*'wed-/ \*'ud- < N \*'wot $\text{,}\nabla\text{,}E$   $\rightarrow$  \*'wot $\text{,}E\text{,}\nabla$  'speak, utter sounds; [?] organ of speech', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP I 251-2, P 76-7, M K III 133-4, F I 184, Frn. 1177-8, StSS 108, Ts. W 97-8 || HS: S  $\checkmark$   $\text{hwt}$  (\*- $\text{hūt-}$ ) > Ar  $\checkmark$   $\text{hwt}$  *D* 'call after so.', Hb  $\checkmark$   $\text{hwt}$  *Pol* 2p ip.  $\text{תַּהֲרִיבֵנִי}$   $\text{tə-hōtə'tū}$  'overwhelm with reproofs' ¶ KB 247, GB 178, BK II 1455 || Eg RT/G  $\text{hwt}$  'jammern, klagen', {Alb.} 'cry' ¶ EG II 485 ¶¶ Tk. I 147 (Eg, S).

**790.** \* $\text{haw}\nabla$  'to desire, to love' > HS: CS  $\checkmark$   $\text{hwy}$  (\*- $\text{hway-}$ ) v. 'love, desire', n. abstr. \* $\text{hawway-}$  'desire' > Ar  $\text{هوى}$   $\checkmark$   $\text{hwy}$  ( $\text{hawiya}$  / - $\text{hwā}$ ) *G* 'love, desire', n. abstr.  $\text{هوى}$   $\text{hawā(-n)}$  'desire, passion, love', Ug  $\checkmark$   $\text{hw}^{\text{r}}\text{y}$  *G* v. 'desire' (ip. 3f  $\text{tħw}$ ), Hb  $\checkmark$   $\text{?wy} \sim \checkmark$   $\text{hwy}$ : *D* ip. 3f  $\text{תַּאֲוֶה}$   $\text{təʔaw}^{\text{r}}\text{wē}$  'desires, wishes, will wish\desire', 3m pf.  $\text{הִאָוָה}$   $\text{ʔiaw}^{\text{r}}\text{wā}$  'desired',  $\text{הִאָוָה}$   $\text{ʔaw}^{\text{r}}\text{wā}$  n. 'desire',  $\text{הִאָוָה}$   $\text{haw}^{\text{r}}\text{wā}$  n. '(evil) desire' (KB: 'Willkür, Gier'), Amr {G}  $\checkmark$   $\text{hwy}$  v. 'desire' ¶ KB 20, KBR 20, 232, A no. 820, OLS 170, G A 19, Fr. IV 420, DRS 386 || C: ??? $\phi$  Bj {Rop.}  $\checkmark$   $\text{pwy}$  'be thirsty' ( $\times$  N \* $\text{Lûb}\nabla$  'be thirsty, be hungry' [q.v. ffd.] and/or akin to S  $\checkmark$   $\text{χwy}$  'be hungry') ¶ R WBd 243 ¶¶ Cal. 36 (S + Eg  $\text{fP hṣy}$  [spelled OK  $\text{h}$ ,  $\text{fMK hṣy}$ , Eg N  $\text{hṣy}$ ] 'husband' + unc. Bj {Rop.}  $\text{hiyi}$  'husband, wife', {R}  $\text{hiyo}$  id. [Rop. 200, R WBd 133]) ¶¶ Vc. 390 rejected the comparison of these Eg and Bj words with CS  $\checkmark$   $\text{hwy}$  v. 'love'; I am inclined to support Vc.'s criticism both on semantic grounds (the semantic connection between 'husband' and v. 'love, desire', though quite natural today, is rather unlikely in an archaic society, like that of ancient Hamito-Semitic people) and on phonetic reasons (S \* $\text{h-}$  is not likely to correspond to Bj  $\text{h-}$ ) ||| IE \* $\text{Hew-}$  (or \* $\text{ʔaw-}$ ) ({EI} \* $\text{h}_2\text{eu-}$  'favour') > NaIE \* $\text{aw-}$  v. 'like, favour, want' > OI  $\text{avati}$  'is pleased, strives',  $\text{avi-}$  'favourable' ||| Gk

Ep/Hm  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\eta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  (gen.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\eta\acute{\epsilon}\theta\varsigma$ ) {LS} 'kind, gentle', {F} 'mild, sanft, wohlwollend', Gk D {LS}  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ , {Ch.}  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  'a beloved youth' ||| Arm  $\omega\lambda\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\alpha\omega\iota\omega\eta$  'libido, fury, enthusiasm' (> NArm  $\omega\psi\text{ }j\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\alpha\nu\psi\eta$  'inspiration') ||| L  $\alpha\nu\bar{\epsilon}$ - v. 'long for, desire' ||| W  $\alpha\omega\psi\delta\delta\upsilon$  'to desire',  $\alpha\omega\psi\delta\delta$  'desire, eagerness',  $\epsilon\omega\psi\lambda\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$  'will' ||| ORu  $\alpha\upsilon\text{ }j\alpha$  'good fortune', Gt  $\alpha\omega\iota\text{-}li\upsilon\text{ }p$  ( $\text{-}\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ )-'Dank' ¶¶ The connection with Ht  $\omega\alpha\iota$ - 'Weh, Leid, Not, Schwierigkeiten' (proposed by Mann) is not plausible. Since the AnIE reflexes are unknown, we cannot determine if the initial lr. was heavy or light. We reconstruct here a pIE unspecified \*a-colored lr. (denoted as \*H-) or \*ʔ- ¶¶ P 77, EI 197, Fs. 70, Mn. 45-7, M K I 57, WH I 81-2, F I 47, 515-16, LS 565, Ch. 40, 348, Sl. 133, YGM-1 37, Ts. W 98 s.v.  $\omega\alpha\iota$ - ||| D \* $\bar{a}$ v- v. 'desire' > Tm  $\bar{a}\nu\upsilon$ , Ml  $\bar{a}\nu\acute{\iota}kka$  v. 'desire', Tm, Ml  $\bar{a}\nu\alpha\lambda$  n. 'desire', Td  $\bar{o}f\ddagger\lambda$  'desire to eat', Tl  $\bar{a}b\alpha$  'eagerness' ¶¶ D no. 394 ◇ Blz. IELA 13 [no. 43] (S, IE) ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 80 (IE, HS), IS I 241-2 (IE, HS, D with references to earlier literature) ◇ Blz. EIAL 13 [no. 43] (S, IE).

**791. \*how<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>** 'become, appear' > HS: S \* $\checkmark$  h $\omega$ y (\*-h $\omega$ ay-) id., 'be' > Ak  $\checkmark$  H $\omega$ y /  $\omega$  (inf.  $\epsilon\omega\hat{\upsilon}m$ , OB p.  $\bar{i}\omega e < *y\acute{i}\text{-}h\omega\bar{i}$ ) 'turn (into), werden (zu), geschehen, sein', BHb  $\checkmark$  h $\psi$ w (pf. c.  $\omega\alpha\psi\psi\alpha'h\bar{i}$ , js.  $\psi\alpha'h\bar{i}$ , ip.  $\psi\acute{i}h'y\bar{\epsilon}$ , pf.  $h\bar{a}\psi\bar{a}$ ) 'become, be (werden, sein, bleiben)', Yd  $\checkmark$  h $\omega$ y (pf. 3f h $\omega$ t, 1s h $\omega$ y $\ddagger$ ) 'be, happen', OA  $\checkmark$  h $\omega$ y id. ( $\checkmark$ h $\omega$ t 'she was', ip.  $\psi\text{-}h\omega h$  'he will be'), IA, BA  $\checkmark$  h $\omega$ y (pf.  $\aleph\eta h\omega?$ ,  $\eta\eta h\omega h$ ) 'be, become, happen', Sr  $\checkmark$  h $\omega?$  'fuit, factus est' (with accus.: 'happened to ...'), Ar  $\checkmark$  h $\omega$ y 'se leaaver, paraître', 'rise' (star) ¶ Nld. NB 92, KB 232-4, GB 177-9, 903, Deg. 76-8, Seg. AAG 303-7, BK II 1461, Hv. 841, Sd. 266-7, Sd. G 153, CAD IV 413-15, HJ 271-6, DRS 386 ||| B ? \* $\circ\checkmark$  H $\omega$ H v. 'appear' > Sll  $ag\checkmark$  (pf.  $\psi\upsilon g\checkmark a$ ) id. ¶ Ds. 18 ¶ Cp. B \* $\checkmark$  h?? 'be in' < N \* $\checkmark$ Γ $\alpha$ ? $\nabla$  'grow, become' (q.v.) ||| C: [1] Bj {R} h $\bar{a}\psi$ - / -h $\bar{e}$  'be, exist' (3m p. ' $\bar{i}$ -h $\bar{e}$ ', imv. 2m 'h $\bar{a}\psi$ -a) ||| SC ({E} pSC \*h $\alpha$ w- 'stay'): Irq {MQK} h $\bar{o}$ t- 'reside, stay', Irq {E}, Alg h $\bar{o}$ t- 'live, dwell', Asa h $\bar{u}$ t- v. 'stand (still)' (acc. to Ehret, -t- is a sx) ||| EC: ? Sa {R} h $\alpha\psi$ - 'live' (if R's transcription of the lr. is valid and unless the word is not a loan from EthS; if it is a valid cognate, it may have contaminated with HS  $\checkmark$  h $\psi$ w 'live' < N \* $\aleph\alpha\psi\acute{u}$  'live' [q.v.]) ||| [2] the EC, Bj and Aw sxs of person/number/gender of the suffix-conjugated verbs (see N \* $\checkmark$ a 'become, be') have developed from prefix-conjugated forms of an aux. verb (or verbs), which may have been either \*-h $\alpha\psi$ - 'be' (akin to S \* $\checkmark$  h $\psi$ w 'be' and going back to N ? \*how<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> 'become, appear') or \*-Ha- (< N \* $\checkmark$ a 'become, be') ¶ E SC 381, MQK 52, R WBd 132, R S II



200, AD SF 156 || IE: NaIE \*-ew-(ō), \*-euw-(ō), \*-euu-(ō) 'be X', sx of denominative verbs > Lt 1s pres. *piemeniaujū* / inf. *piemeniaũti* 'be a shepherd' (akin to *piemuō* 'shepherd'), Gk βασιλεύω 'be a king' (<† βασιλεύς 'king'), θεραπεύω 'be an attendant, do service' (<† θέραψ, θεράπων 'attendant'), OCS 1s pres. **СЛОУГОУИ** *slugujō* / inf. **СЛОУГОВАТИ** *slugovati* 'j-m dienen', {StSS} 'служить кому-либо' (<† **СЛОУГА** *sluga* 'servant') ¶ Mn. 256, Me. SC § 234, StSS 613 || **A**: Tg \*ō- 'become, happen' > WrMc {Z} o-, oo- v. 'become, be', Mc Sb o-id., Ewk ō- (3s pres. ō-da-n) v. 'become, appear, happen', Sln ō-, Lm ō- v. 'become', Neg ō- (3s pres. ō-da-n) v. 'become, appear', Orc ōdoli-, Ud o-do-, Ul o- (o-sj-), Ork o-sj- id., Nn Nh/KU {STM}, Nn Nh {On.} o- v. 'become' ¶ The stem should be kept apart (as it is done in Vas., but not in STM and in IS) from the homonymous stem \*ō- v. 'make' (> Ewk ō- [in 3s pres. ō-ra-n] v. 'make', Sln ō-, Lm ō- [in o-rъ-m, ōn], Neg ō- [in ō-ya-n], Orc ō- [in ō-y-ni], Ud o-~ō- [in ō-i-ni ~ ō-ri-ni], Nn Nh/KU {STM} o- v. 'make'). The etl. relations between the two stems (if any) are not yet investigated ¶ STM II 3-4, Vas. 312-13, On. 305, 315-16, Z 120, 130 ◇ N \*i is tentatively suggested by IE \*-y in \*-euu-(ō)-, by S \*y in \*-hway- and by Bj -y- in hāy-. ◇ O HSN 121 (N \*Ha 'become, be' > HS, IE + unc. D [does he mean pD \*ā- 'come into existence, happen, be' of uncertain N origin, possibly from the N {AD} deictic pronominal pc. \*ha 'ille'], cf. D no. 333).

**792.** \*h'o'w∇ 'pit, depression' > HS: CS \*ha w(∇y)- 'pit, abyss' > Sy **ܠܗܘܐ** *haw'*-t-ā (pl. **ܠܗܘܐܐ** *hawē*) 'an abyss, deep; great cavern', Ar hāwiy-at- 'deep valley, abyss' ¶ JPS 103, BK II 1462, ≈ KB 232 || **IE** (+ sx \*-nt-): NaIE \*a|owent- 'well, spring' > OI *ava'ta-h* (\*a|ownto-s) 'well', *ava'ta-h* 'cistern' || Ltv *avõt-s* (\*a|owontos) 'spring' || ? Clt: Gl *Aventia* (name of a well nymph) and several nomina loci ¶ P 78, EI 539 (? \*h<sub>a</sub>ew(o)nt- 'spring'), M K I 57, M E I 130-1, Kar. I 93-4 ¶ Pokorny reconstructed IE \*a- on the precarious ev. of place names and the nymphe name *Aventia*; outside this ev. the distinction between NaIE \*a- and \*o- is impossible || **A** \*oba- 'depression, lowland', {?} 'hole' > Tg: **[1]** Tg \*oba 'depression, hollow in the ground' > Lm Al/O ōwa, Lm Sk ōba id. ('впадина, котловина'), Lm O ōwa 'spring (in mountains)' ¶ STM II 4 ] Tg \*o|ub-gā 'burrow, hole' > Ewk ubgā, Lm ōwa id., Neg obgā- 'пролезть под снегом' (birds), ?φ WrMc {Z} o 'armpit' ¶ STM II 4, 243, Z 119 || NaT \*o:; 'b'a 'lowland' or 'plain' > Tk ova 'plain, valley', Δ oba

'plain', Az ova 'plain', Ggz uva 'uncultivated field', ET ova, Uz uwa 'valley', Tv howu 'steppe' (with a puzzling h-), ?σ Nog ova 'трясина' ('marsh' or 'quagmire') ¶ ET Gl 403-4, Rl. I 1166, Bu. I 106, 161 || ?σ pJ {S} \*úwa- v. 'plant (pflanzen)' > OJ uwa-, MJ úwa-, JT ùe-, JK ùè-, J Kg ué- ¶ S QJ no. 687, Mr. 777, Kenk. 2088 ¶¶ SDM 609 (pA \*júb'u' 'dig'; 'hole' > Tg \*ub-gā, T, J), DQA no. 653, ET Gl 403 (T, Tg) ◇ IS I 403.

**793. \*hæ̌ʔ, w'U'** 'to fall, to sink' > HS: WS \*✓ hwy (\*-hwy- y-) v. 'fall' > Sr ✓ hwy|w 'fall' (pf.  $\int_{\text{e}}^{\text{o}}$  hə'wā), Ar ✓ hwy G (pf.  $\int_{\text{e}}^{\text{o}}$  hawā / ip. -hwi) 'fall', 'go down, set' (of a star), Hb ✓ hwy (inv.  $\int_{\text{e}}^{\text{o}}$  ~  $\int_{\text{e}}^{\text{o}}$  h'wē) 'fall' (of snow), 'fall upon (so.)', Mh ✓ hwy (pf. hzwū, vb. n. hōwi), Jb C ✓ hwy (pf. hē, sbjn. 'i'hi, vb. n. 'hbet) v. 'fall, swoop', Hrs ✓ hwy (pf. hzwō, sbjn. yəhwī) 'fall (upon sth.)' ¶ KB 231, KBR 241, MK II 1461, Hv. 841, Jo. M 162, Jo. J 100, Jo. H 53 || B \*✓ HhH (pf. \*-HhH-) > Ah i-hi v. 'fall' ¶ Fc. 498 || Eg fP hzy v. 'come\go down, descend', Eg fMK hzy 'fall' > Cpt: Sd zε hε, B hε χε, A zε χ<sub>2</sub>ε v. 'fall' ¶ EG II 472-4, Fk. 156, Vc. 285 || SC: Irq {MQK} hūʔ- 'drop, fall, tumble', Irq/Brn/Alg {E} hu- 'fall', Asa huʔ- 'fall' (of rain) ¶ E SC 381, MQK 52, AD SF 243 || Ch: CCh: Gf {Por. ← Sö.} hawai v. 'fall', Bdm {Lk.} hai, hey 'absteigen' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} áwé v. 'fall', ? Jg {J} ?ō 'hinabsteigen' ¶ JI II 131, Eb. 29, Por. IKK 70 ¶¶ Vc. 285 (Eg, Ar) ¶¶ Tk. I 72, Tk. SCC 98 [no. 28.6] || IE \*h<sub>2</sub>ou(e) 'down, away' > NaIE \*o|au(e) 'down (herab), away' > OI 'ava 'down (ab, herab); off' (pv. and prep.), Av, OPrs pv. ava 'down', OI avah 'herab' || Pru, Lt, Ltv au- 'away, down' | possibly Sl \*u- 'away, down': \*u-pasti 'to fall down' (> OCS **упасти** upasti, Slv upásti, R y'пасть, P upasć), \*u-běžati 'to run away', \*u-xoditi 'to go away', \*u-jęti 'to take away, to catch hold of, to seize' (> OCS ujęti 'to take away', P ująć, Slv ujęti 'to catch hold of, to seize'), \*u-nesti 'to carry away', OCS ubežati, R убежать, SCr ubeći, Slv ubežati, P ubieżeć 'to run away', ChS **уходити** uхoditi, R уходить, P uchodzić ip. 'to go away', R уйти, Cz ujíti, Slv uíti pf. inf. 'to go away', R унести, Cz unésti, P unieść 'to carry away' etc. || Ht awan in awan arha 'away, off', awan katta 'down' ¶¶ No connection with N \*χawi<sub>1</sub>ʔ, 'drive, chase, pursue' because N \*χ- does not yield zero in Ht ¶¶ P 72-3, EI 37 (\*h<sup>4</sup>eu 'away [from]'), M K I 56, StSS 741-2, ESISJ-SGZ I 261-2 and ~ II 261, Vn. O 1, Frn. 24, Tp. P A-D 142-3, Pv. I-II 245 || A ≈ \*Eb- (or \*Eр-?) > Tg \*ebu- v. 'descend, go down' > Ewk 3w-  $\int_{\text{e}}^{\text{o}}$  3b-, Sln 3wū- ~

згӯ- ~ з?ӯ, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn зw-, Orc, Ud, Ul зу-, WrMc {Z} эбц-, Mc Sb збу- id. ¶ STM II 433-4, Z 69-70 || ?φ M \*ibE1- (unless it is \*<sup>o</sup>φibE1-) v. 'descend' > WrM ibil- ~ ibel- {MED} v. 'descend, come\go down', НlM ивлэ- {MED} id, {BMR}. 'провалить, надавив обрушить вниз\внутрь' (unless ← \*ibE1- v. 'flow'), ?σ Ord e<sub>1</sub>wel- 'laisser sortir facilement le lait' (une vache) ¶ MED 397, BMR II 259, Ms. O 251..

**794.** <sub>2</sub> \*h<sub>o</sub>w<sub>1</sub>a (or \*h<sub>o</sub>wa) 'to flow, to stream; a stream' > HS: WS \*<sup>o</sup>h<sub>o</sub>w<sub>1</sub> ~ \*<sup>o</sup>h<sub>o</sub>y<sub>1</sub> v. 'flow' > Ar هوع <sup>o</sup>h<sub>o</sub>w<sub>1</sub> G (ip. -hū<sub>1</sub>-, -hwa<sub>1</sub>-) v. 'vomit', هيع <sup>o</sup>h<sub>o</sub>y<sub>1</sub> (ip. -hī<sub>1</sub>-, -hya<sub>1</sub>-) v. 'fuse (lead)', Sb <sup>o</sup>h(υ)<sub>1</sub> v. 'flow, run (water)', h<sub>o</sub>y<sub>1</sub>-m 'flow of water, libation' ¶ Fr. IV 418, 424, BGMR 57-8, Bll. 109-10, DRS 404 || C {E} \*wa<sub>1</sub>- v. 'flow' > Bj {R} w<sub>1</sub>ya 'rainy season', w<sub>1</sub>ā<sub>1</sub> 'pus' || SC: Irq {MQK} w<sub>1</sub>ā<sub>1</sub>- 'vomit, flood, overflow, flow', Irq/Alg/Brn {E} wa<sub>1</sub>- v. 'vomit', Irq {E} wa<sub>1</sub>am- v. 'flow, trickle', Brn {E} wa<sub>1</sub>amu 'well', Alg {E} wa<sub>1</sub>amu 'river', Kz {E} wa<sub>1</sub>amuko id., (C →) Mb {E} -wa v. 'urinate' || EC: Sa/Af {Ss.} we<sub>1</sub> 'flowing water', Af {PH} wē<sub>1</sub>a 'flood, torrent of water', ?? HEC: Hd w<sub>1</sub>o<sub>1</sub>o, Kmb wa<sub>1</sub>a, w<sub>1</sub>i<sub>1</sub>a, Sd w<sub>1</sub>ā, Brj <sup>1</sup>w<sub>1</sub>ā (gen. wa<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>n-) 'water' (× N <sup>1</sup>wetê '[flowing] water', q.v.); ? EC \*ya<sub>1</sub>;<sub>1</sub>- v. ≈ 'flow (away)' > Or {Grg.} y<sub>1</sub>ā<sub>1</sub>-, Brj ya<sub>1</sub>?- v. 'flow', Sml {Abr.} y<sub>1</sub>ā<sub>1</sub>- v. 'flee helter-skelter, stampede', Gdl ye<sub>1</sub>?- v. 'fall down in particles, sprinkle down' ¶ E PC no. 586, E SC 313 (s.v. SC \*wa<sub>1</sub>;<sub>1</sub>- v. 'flow'), MQK 113, Abr. S 254, Grg. 404, ≈ Ss. B 186 (a wrong et. for Sa/Af we<sub>1</sub>), Ss. B 192, PH 211 || U: FU \*<sup>o</sup>wa (~ \*uwa??) n. 'stream', v. 'stream' > F υuo n. 'stream', Es {W} υoo 'Strömung, Wellengang', ? Lv: E зva<sup>o</sup>, W i<sup>o</sup>va<sup>o</sup>, Lv Slc ūva 'Strom, Strömung' || Lp OSw {LÖ} uwe, uvwe 'flumen placide fluxus', Lp N {Fri.} uvve (gen. uve) 'flumen placide labens, fluvium' || pObU \*ōw- v. 'stream', \*ow 'stream' > pVg \*jw-, \*jw > Vg: T/LK/MK/P/Ss ow 'stream', Ss ow- v. 'stream'; pOs {Ht.} \*oy-, \*oy ({{Hl. \*āy-, \*āy}) > Os: V/Vy oy, Ty āy<sup>ω</sup>, Y/K/O āw, D/Nz/Kz ōw 'a stream', V ōya-, Ty āy<sup>ω</sup>-, Y/K/O āw-, D/Nz/Kz ōw- v. 'stream' ¶ Coll. 125, UEW 544-5, SK 1813-14, Fri. 790, Kt. 51-2, W EDW 1386, Ht. 123-4 [no. 8], Hl. rHt 71 ¶ The variant with \*<sup>o</sup>- is represented by F and ObU, while Lv and Lp are likely to suggest a variant with initial \*u- (from \*o- → \*ō- under the ass. infl. of \*-w-?) || Cf. also NaIE \*a|owent- 'well' (P 78), which is better accounted for by N \*h<sup>o</sup>1w<sup>o</sup> 'pit, depression' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cp. IS I 256: IS equated the FU stem with Altaic. He adduced a Tg stem reconstructed by him as \*ū(а) 'wave' and the M word for 'water' (WrM u<sub>1</sub>u<sub>1</sub>n 'water' etc.). In the light of extant data this is untenable, because the Tg stem is

to be reconstructed as \*ūge [= \*ōgɜ] (or \*ūpe) and in the pM word there was an initial \*φ-: Mnr H fu<sub>3</sub>u and ShY xsun~husun provide ev. for pM \*φu-sun 'water'.

**794a.** ? \*h∇ya 'for, for the sake of', directive-designative pc. > HS: S \*°hay > Gz hē, ≈ directive-locative pc.: k<sup>ω</sup>alla-hē 'everywhere', k<sup>ω</sup>alla-hē 'in every direction' (k<sup>ω</sup>all- is 'all, every') ¶ L G 213 || IE: NaIE \*-e<sub>ǵ</sub> 'to', ending of the dative case > \*ped-e<sub>ǵ</sub> 'to the/a foot' (> OI pa'd-ē, L ped-ī), \*mātr-e<sub>ǵ</sub> 'to the mother' (> OI mātr-ē, L matr-ī, OCS МАТЕРИ mater-i), dat. of \*dye<sub>ǵ</sub>- '(god of) daylight' > OI di v-ē, Gk Cp Διφεύ- (in Διφεύ-φίλος 'son of Zeus'), L Io u ī 'to Jupiter'; the dative of thematic nouns underwent morphological changes (metanalysis etc.), resulting in the following forms: (dat. of \*w<sub>ǵ</sub>k<sup>ω</sup>o-s 'wolf') OI v<sub>ǵ</sub>k-āya, Gk λύκοι, Lt vilkuī, OCS ВѦКОУ v<sub>ǵ</sub>ku ¶ Szem. IEL 160-92 || A: Tg: [1] \*-ya as a designative pc.: \*-ya-n 'for him' in Lm mō-yā-n 'einen Baum für ihn, Holz für ihn' (mō is 'tree, wood', -n is 'he'), Neg mō-ya-n 'Holz für ihn'; [2] \*-ya, ending of indefinite accusative: Ewk, Sln, Neg -ya ~ -a, possibly here also the Orc ending of the designative case -ya ~ -a ¶ Ci. 256-7, Bz. 82-3 || ?σ M \*-yi, accusative ending > MM -yi / -i, WrM -i (unless from ppM \*-igi / \*-igi, as supposed by Poppe on the basis of comparison with OT), pM \*-yi in \*č<sub>2</sub>i-ma-yi accus. 'thee' and \*i-ma-yi accus. 'him' (see s.v. N \*mA [pc. of marked accus.]), Brt accusative ending -ye ¶ Pp. IM 191-3, Brtg. BJ 18-19 || ?? K \*-a-, causative (← designative?) verbal px (that follows the personal prefix for objects ['me, thee, him']): OG, G -a-, Mg, Lz -o-, Sv -a-. e.g. OG m-a-su 'er tränkte mich, gave me a drink' (m- 'me' + -a- + su 'drink'), Sv χ-a-tre 'er tränkte ihn' (χ- 'him' + -a- + tre 'drink') ¶¶ Kl. 42, Dt. 73-6, 207 ◇ Qu., because the S, K and A cognates are not irreproachable.

**795.** ? \*H<sub>2</sub>i, pc. of past (preterite) > HS: B (one of several alternative interpretations): \*-ī- (marker of the past tense) > Shl -i- in the pret. (ft-i-ϣ 'I went away', t-ft-i-t 'you [sg. m.] went away' ↔ aor. 1s ftuϣ, 2m tftut) ¶ Ds. 213 || U: FU \*-i-, sx of the pret.: F sano-i 'he said', Lp N gullâ-i-mek 'we heard', Lp S {Hs.} gōl-i-b ɖ gōl-i-m 'I fished', Er кунд-ы-нь 'I caught' (↔ кунд-а-н 'I catch'), Chr L цж-ы-м 'I saw' (↔ цж-а-м 'I see'), Chr G лыд-ы-м 'ich las' pret. (↔ лыд-а-м pres. 'ich lese'), Z гиж-и-м 'we wrote' (↔ гиж-а-м 'we write'), Prmk мун-і-м 'we went' (↔ мун-а-м 'we go'), OHg men-í-k ~ men-é-k, Hg men-é-k 'I went', ũl-é-nk 'we sat' ¶ Sz. 122-3, Hs. 141-54, Fkt.

EJ-66 187-9, Kov. LV 231-2, Kov. GM 248, Lt. KZJ 291-2, Lt. KPJ 309 || D \*-i-, sx of the past tense > Tm -i- (aríj-i-nēn 'I was scared' from aríj-v. 'fear'), Td -y-, Kdg -i-/-i-, Kn -iδ- ({An.} < -i- and \*-d-), Tu -iy-/-iy-/-i-, Tl -e-/-i-, Krx, Mlt -y- ¶¶ An. SG 322-35, An. GTJ 113-17 || K \*-e / ? \*-i (? < \*\*-ej/\*\*-i), sx of the aorist (in the 1st and 2nd persons) > OG -e, ? Mg -i, Sv -Ø ¶¶ GM SAKS 62-73 || ? IE \*e-augment of the past tenses > OI a-, Gk é-, Arm Է- e- ¶ Illich-Svitych (IS I 249-50) [no. 111] tried to connect this IE \*e-augment of the past tenses with the vw. \*i or the cns. \*y, that serve as affixes of the pret. in B, K, U, C and D (see above) ¶ BG III 10-19 ◇ This preliminary comparison may become valid only after reconstructing the prehistory of the corresponding morphological structures (verbal tenses etc.). In some cases forms of the past tense are likely to have been based on analytical constructions with verbal nouns. In any case, a direct comparison between \*i, \*e and \*y as markers of past seems is premature and too shaky to be reliable. There is also a phonetic difficulty: the reg. NaIE reflex of N \*H<sub>2</sub>i should have been \*ej rather than \*e, but this apparent irregularity may be due to generalization of \*e before a sonant (where \*e < N \*i regularly).

796. <sub>2</sub> \*H<sub>1</sub>ičχ∇ → \*-č- → \*H<sub>1</sub>ičΓ|h∇ 'father, head of a family' (→ or ← 'master, lord') > IE \*h<sub>1</sub>esχo-s ({EI} \*h<sub>1</sub>es'h<sub>2</sub>o-s) 'master' > Ht isħa ~ esħa 'master, lord'; AnIE → Arm իշխան iščan 'prince, sovereign' || NaIE: OL esa, L era 'mistress', L erus 'master of the house\family, lord, owner' ¶¶ WH I 419, WP I 161 (both: no satisfactory et. of the L words), Pv. I-II 385, EI 371-2, Bdr. 246 || U \*ičä 'father' > F isä, Es isa id. | pLp {Lr.} \*zčē 'father' > Lp: S {Hs.} aattjie, L {LLO} ahtttjē, N {N} ač'čē, Klt ečč', Kld èčč':, T yīēččē id. | ? pMr {Ker.} \*učä > Mk оця оцä 'father's elder brother', Δ 'father, grandfather' | Chr: H ѿза 'aza, KB əzä, L иза i'za, Uf iza, M iž'a 'elder brother; father's younger brother' || Vg LK/P {Kn.} āś 'mother's brother' | OHg óś 'grandfather', Hg óś 'ancestor' || Sm {Jn.} \*eysä 'father' > Ne Т нися, Ne F {Lh.} níes:ä, Ng {Cs.} jase, {Ter.} 'десы, En {Cs.} ese, Slq Tz zst id. | pY {IN H} \*ečē 'father' (× N \*Häč|č'i' [= \*X|Q|häč|č'i' ?] 'father') > OY: OY XVII {Wts.} otjé, OY K {Bil.} etchea, {Merk} aittsche, {Lndn.} otschè, OY Ch {Mat.} ete id., OY O eземь '(my?) father'; Y K {IN H} ečē 'father' ¶¶ Coll. 16, UEW 78, Db. OS xxxi, Lr. no. 2, Lgc. no. 129, Hs. 220-1, MF 516-17, It. no. 369, MRS 125, 768, Ker. II 102, Jn. 22, KKIИ 109, IN H 150, IN UJ 217-18, 299, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [no. 9] (Y ← U) ◇ This word may be one of the etl. sources of the N pc. \*č'a → \*c'a, a marker of relative constructions (in

descendant lges: → sx of adjectives and singulatives [→ diminutives]) (q.v. ffd.). Cp. a similar usage of Ar ʔabū 'father of' ◊ Gr. II no. 141 (\*ece 'father') (U [incl. Y], A, Ko, Ai, Gil, CK).

**797. \*Häč|č'í** (or \*X|Q|häč|č'í?) 'father, ancestor' > **U** \*äčä 'father' > pLp {Lr.} \*āčē ē ̣ \*ēčē 'father' > Lp: S aattjie, L ahttjē, N ač'če, Kld {SarS} аджъ, K {Gn.} а́žž' id. || ObU \*āč > pVg \*āč(∇) 'grandfather' > Vg: T āčī, K ǰś, UL āś; pOs \*äči 'father' > Os: Ty áťi, Nz aśa, Kz aśi, O áśi id. || Sm: Ne T BZ {Ter.} Һэця, Ne T Y Һаця 'daddy', Ne T O {Lh.} Һāče? voc. 'daddy', 'father!', En K {Mik.} ача? 'father' || pY {IN H} \*ečē 'father' (× N \*H<sub>1</sub>ič<sub>1</sub>χ∇ - \*-č' - \*H<sub>1</sub>ič'Γ|h∇ 'father, head of a family', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ UEW 22, Lr. no. 2, Lgc. no. 129, SaR 2O, Ht. no. 1, Ter. 391, 425, Lh. 2O, ≈ Rd. UJ 34 [no. 4] (Y ← U), IN H 15O || **A** \*äč'∇ 'elder relative, ancestor' > T \*äč'č'í 'ancestor, elder relative' > OT {Grøn.} eč'í 'a close male relative younger than one's father and older than ego', Chv ача а́́а 'male animal; father' (+ppas: ач, а́р, ач, а́в а́р 'your [pl.] father', ашшэ́ 'his\their father'); but Tk † ece 'old man' (and Tk Δ ež'e 'elder sibling'?) may be a loan from M \*ež'en 'lord, master' ¶ Cl. 2O, Grøn. TSK, Rs. W 35, Ash. II 116-18, Fed. I 65-6, Jeg. 35-6, ChVS 19, TrR 259 || M \*eč'ige 'father' > MM [S] eci ge, [MA, IsV] eč'ige, WrM {MED} eci ge, HIM {MED, BMR} эцэг, Brt эсэгэ, Dg {T, Pp.} eč'ig, {Iv.} ецы́ге, {Mrm.} e'č'ihē ~ e'č'ige, {Mr.} ecihe, Ord eč'ige id. ¶ MED 292, BMR IV 442, Chr. 776, H 41, Lg. VMI 28, Pp. MA 151, T DgJ 141, Ms. O 25O || NrTg \*ač'í 'ancestor, elder relative' > Ewk Vtm ač'í 'ancestor', Ewk {Cs.} ač'í 'cousin', ? (Ll.?) Sln {Iv.} a'č'a 'father' ¶ STM I 59 || pKo {S} \*àč'∇- 'aunt, uncle' > MKo àč'ámí 'aunt', àč'ápí 'uncle', NKO až'ä 'aunt, uncle', až'uməni 'aunt', až'äbi 'uncle' ¶ S QK no. 978, Nam 341, MLC 1O76-7 ¶¶ T and NrTg \*-i may go back to a sx ¶¶ Hardly here M \*ež'en 'lord, master' (rather going back to N \*?ediN∇ 'pater familias', 'owner, lord' [q.v.]) ¶¶ SDM 271-2 (pA \*āč'∇ 'elder relative, ancestor' > T, Tg, Ko), DQA no. 4 (A \*āč'∇ 'ancestor'), S CNM 9, Vv. AEN 9 || **Gil**: Gil A 3s / 3z- 'lord, owner' ¶¶ ST 466, ST RN 448 || **D** \*ač'č'a<sub>1</sub> 'father' > Tm accan, MI accan id., Kt až' ayñ 'very old man' (and až' av 'very old woman'), Kn ajja, Kdg až'ž'ə, Tu ajje 'grandfather'; d. words for 'mother': MI acca (bf.), Kn acci id., Kn, Tu ajji, Krx až'ž'ī 'grandmother', Mnd až'í 'father's mother' ¶¶ D no. 5O (unc.: probably from OI ārya-, F Tu. no. 1347) || ??σ IE: Ht hassu 'king' ¶ Ts. E I 2O7-9, ≈ Pv. III 24O-6 (Ht hassu- 'king' ← 'Born One' or 'Begotten One' ← Ht has(s)- 'beget'),

EI 330 ◇ If Ht *hassu* belongs here (⇔ Pv.'s qu. et.), we may reconstruct a pN initial *\*X|Q|h-*, otherwise the quality of the initial lr. (or some uvular cns.) remains unknown. If this lexeme is a Lallwort, typological considerations point to an initial *\*ʔ-* ◇ Several scholars (including myself in AD NM) equated the A √ with U *\*iċä* 'father' (sc. N *\*H<sub>1</sub>iċχ∇ - \*ċ'- - \*H<sub>1</sub>iċΓ|h∇* 'father, head of a family'): ≈ AD NM 90 [no. 66] (*\*÷ M \*eʒen* instead of M *\*eċige*), S CNM 8-9 (*÷÷ ST*), Vv. AEN 9-10 (WrM *eċige ÷ U \*iċä*), but in the light of recent research it is preferable to adduce the pA root here (because of its vw.). The original vw. of the first syll. is likely to have been *\*a* (still preserved in Tg), while the U, T and M front vw. (U, T *\*ä*, M *\*e*) may be due to the ass. infl. of the final front vw. (*\*i?*) ◇ Gr. II no. 141 (*\*ece* 'father') (U [incl. Y], A, Ko, Ai, Gil, CK) (without distinguishing it from the reflexes of N *\*H<sub>1</sub>iċχ∇ - \*ċ'- - \*H<sub>1</sub>iċΓ|h∇*).

**798.** *\*H<sub>2</sub>eċ'U'* (or *\*H<sub>2</sub>eH<sub>2</sub>iċ'U'*??) 'to sink', (→ ?) 'to dip' > K: GZ *\*ċ'(w)-* v. 'dip' > OG, G *ċ-*, Mg *ċ'(v)-* (n. act. *geċuapa*), Lz *nċ-* (msd. *o-nċ-u*) id. ||| Cp. GZ *\*ċa-* pv. 'down, away' and *\*ċa-re* ~ *\*ċa-le* adv. 'downward' (< N *\*ċæ* v. 'away, downward' [q.v.]) ¶ K 241, K<sup>2</sup> 294, FS K 438, Chik. 391, Q 378, Marr 217 || U *\*eċ'ċ∇-* v. 'sink' (× N *\*q'ē'ċ'∇,∇* 'sink') > Prm *\*'ö'ś-* v. 'fall' > Z *uś-* v. 'fall', Z Ud *uśə* 'falls', Vt *uś-*, Vt SW *úś-* v. 'fall' ||| Hg *eś-ik* v. 'fall, rain' | pObU *\*Es-* > pVg *\*is-* v. 'alight' (of a bird) > Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/NV/UL/Ss *is-* id.; pOs {Ht.} *\*es-əl-* ({Hl. *\*ăś-əl-*) v. 'let' ('lassen') > Os: V/Vy *ěśel-*, Ty *ăśəl-*, Y *ăśə-*, D/K *estə-*, Nz *esə-*, O *esəl-* id. (*\*-əl-* is a transitivizing sx, / Majt. SM 367) || Sm *\*∇s-* > Kms {KD} *úzü'í-εm* v. 'fall, go down (fallen, niedersteigen)', Sq Tm {KD} *äs-* v. 'fall', caus.: Sq Tz {KKIH} *əstí-*, Sq Ke *äset'ta-*, Sq Nr {Cs.} *äs-ta-u*, Sq NP {Cs.} *äsə-p'ta-m*, Slq UO {Cs.} *äs-ta-m* v. 'let fall, bring down' ¶¶ UEW 71, Coll. 10, Lt. 221, LG 298, MF 162-3, Ht. no. 67, Hl. rHt 71, Cs. 104, KD 82, KKI 109 ¶¶ The rec. of a geminated *\*-ċċ-* is based on Prm *\*-s-* (while *\*-ċ-* would have yielded Prm *\*-z-*) || A: M *\*iċ'e-* v. 'retire into hibernation' (× N *\*q'ē'ċ'∇,∇* 'sink' [q.v.]) > WrM {MED} *iċe-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *ичи-*, Kl {KRS} *ич-ič'* 'retire into hibernation', {Rm.} *iċ'i-* 'sich für den Wintwe zurückziehen, sich zum Winterschalf niederlegen' (of animals), d.: Ord *eċ'ēle-* ~ *eċ'igle-* 'hiberner' ¶ MED 397, BMR II 290, KRS 275, KW 212, H 80, Ms. H 62, Ms. O 250 || D (att. in GnD) *\*iċ'-* vt. 'soak, steep' > Kui *ihpa* (p. *ih-t-*) id., Png *ih-* (p. *ist-*) 'soak, steep (grain for preparing landa)', Mnd *ih-* v. 'soak,

brew (landa)' (landa is beer made from rice or mandeya [BB PnL 227]) ¶ D no. 426, BB PnL 196 ◇ M \*i- and D \*i- are puzzling. The problem can be solved by supposing a pN etymon \*H<sub>2</sub>eH<sub>2</sub>ić.'U' with loss of the internal \*-H<sub>2</sub>i- in K and U.

799. \*H<sub>2</sub>üwd∇ (= \*Γ<sub>2</sub>üwd∇?) 'evening, night' > U \*yūt∇ 'night' or 'evening' > Chr: L йүд yüδ, B yüt, Uf jüt, H {MRS} йыд, {Ep.} йыт yьt 'night' || pObU \*<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>īt(∇) 'evening' > pVg \*<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>īt, {Ht.} \*īt > OVg S Vt етъ, Vg T yīt ɖ īt, Vg LK/MK/UK/NV/LL īt, Vg P ēt, OVg N Ber атъ, OVG N SoG êt, Vg Ss ēt id.; pOs {Ht.} \*ät 'night' > Os: V ät, Ty/Y/D/O ât, Nz/Kz at id.; pOs \*<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>itän, {Ht.} \*itän '(in the) evening' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D itän, Nz/Kz yetän id. || Sm {Hl.} \*ü<sub>2</sub>t∇ (= \*ūt∇) 'evening' > Slq: Tz {KKIH} üt+, Nr {Cs.} ůd, Kr {Cs.} ůte, Chl {Cs.} ůtö 'evening', Tur {Lh.} ūtit '(in the) evening'; Kms {KD} nūdi, Koyb niude, Mt {Hl.} \*ñ|nūd∇ 'evening' (Mt T {Mll.} njúde 'evening', Mt M {Mll.} njúde id., {Sp.} нюдē 'late', нүдүнь 'evening', Mt K {Pl.} njude id.) ¶¶ Coll. 20, UEW 99, MRS 155, Ep. 33, Ht. no. 72, KKIИ 194, Ps. B (s.p.) 70, Cs. 110, Hl. M no. 777 || A \*ü<sub>2</sub>d∇ (or \*üt'∇?) > M \*üden 'evening, in the evening' > MM [S] ůde id., 'late', WrM {MED} ůde, HIM {MED, BMR} yд, Brt yдэ 'noon', WrO ůde, Kl {KRS} yд üdä id., {Rm.} üdü 'Mittag, Mittagsstunde', Dg {T} udu 'noon, midday', Dx {T} udu, Ba ude(r) 'day', Ord üde 'midi, repas de midi'; ⇨ M \*üdesi 'evening', \*üdesin 'in the evening' > MM [S] ůdesi, [MA] ůdesi 'evening', ůdesin 'of the evening', 'vespertinus', WrM {MED} ůdesi, HIM {MED, BMR} yдэш, Brt yдэшэ 'evening, in the evening', WrO ůdüşi 'evening', Kl Ö {Rm.} üdüš 'abends', Ord üdeš 'soir' ¶ H 158, Pp. MA 373, MED 995-6, BMR III 389-90, Chr. 494-5, Krg. 190-1, KRS 545, KW 455, T DnJ 136, T DgJ 170, Ms. O 648 ¶ The semantic shift 'evening' → 'noon, day' in the modern M lges may have been influenced by M \*edür (> üdür ~ ödü|ör) 'day' (WrM edür, HIM edep, WrO ödör ~ ödür ~ ödur, Kl {KRS} edp, {Rm.} ödr, Dg udur, Ba ude(r) id., F MED 295-6, BMR III 12-13, KRS 412-13, Krg. 139, KW 293 and T DgJ 170) || Tg: Ewk Nor {Cs. ← Mdd.} ödün 'evening' ¶ Cs. T 119 || ?σ NaT \*öδ 'time (point/period of time)' > OT ö<sub>1</sub>:δ ({Cl.} ö:δ) id., 'hour', MU XIII öz 'time', eChg [Rbg.] ٥|öδ, MT [IM] öy, Tlt {Rl.} öy, ET Tar {Rl.} öt 'Zeit, Zeitpunkt'; ⇨ \*öδ-läg 'time' → 'noon' > Chg {Rm.} özlāk, Tk öyle (spelled öğle), Kr Cr, Nog üyle, VTt Δ ülä, Slr üle, Tkm öylän, Ggz ülen 'noon' ¶ Cl. 35, 55-6, DTS 376-7, 395, Br. MT 138, KW 455, Rl. I 1172, 1259, ET Gl 516-17, TL 68-9 ¶ Clinton



postulated an OT long vw., probably on the basis of the Ar *plene* spelling, which is not a reliable source; Tkm öylän suggests a pT short \*ö ¶¶ SDM 1042 (pA \*odi|e 'day, time' > M \*üd- 'afternoon, day, evening', T \*öδ 'time [Zeit]'), KW 155, Vld. 153, TL 68-9 ¶¶ If T \*öδ belongs here, the pA rec. is \*üdü-, otherwise it may be either \*üdü- or \*üt'ü- || **HS: C** \*✓ Hwd 'evening, night' > Bj A {AD} (?u) 'hawād 'evening (after the sunset), night', -hawid v. 'come late in the evening', {R} hawād 'night', hawid- v. 'spend the evening\night', rest' || Ag: Q {R} awāda 'late evening, night' || EC {AD} ≈ \*Hawed- > Sml N {Abr.} řāwa 'tonight', řawéysín 'time from 7 p.m. to bedtime', Gdl {Bl.} aw'wedđ, Brj {Ss.} 'yedı, {Blz. ← ?} (hi)yedı 'night', Or {Grg.} (h)eda 'last night', Or BI {Sr.} ēda id., ēdana 'tonight' || Dhl {To.} heddo 'evening' ¶ AD SF 239-40, Abr. S 17, Bl. G 6, Ss. B 192, Grg. 133, Sr. 300, To. D 135, Blz. CL 179 || ?φ B \*✓ βđ? ({Pr.} \*h<sub>2</sub>đh<sub>1</sub>) 'night' > Gd {Lf.} ēβεđ, {CM} iβađ, Awj aβođ, Ntf iđ ~ iyad, Nf uađ, Ah {Fc.} ehod, Ty, ETwl ehđ, Gh ihad, Izn, Izd iđ, Kb iđ, Sll iđ, BSn {Bs.} ēđ, Si iđ, Zng {TC} iđ 'night' ¶ Pr. H 21, no. 145, Fc. 516, Dl. 170, Dray 339, Lf. II no. 0032, TC Z 306, NZ 26, 436-7 ¶ The B ✓ may belong here only if \*-β- is a reflex of \*-w-; the emphatic \*-đ- is still puzzling ◇ IS I 257 [no. 120] (\*Hütā 'rest hours'; U, M, Tg + qu. T \*öδ-le 'noon'), Sauv. 76 (U, A) ◇ The N precon. \*w is responsible for the length of the vw. in pSm (and pU), as well as for the vl. \*t in U (N \*d > U \*t in the postcons. position). Sml ř- and Dhl h- are likely to suggest something like an initial N \*Γ- (\*Υ- or \*g-).

**800.** (₂?) \*HogE (or \*HiʔogE) 'top, above' > **HS: B** \*✓ H|wgH 'be on the top' > Ah {Fc.} aǵǵ (pf. yuǵǵa), ETwl {GhA} aggu (pf. ogga), Ty {GhA} aggu (pf. yogga) 'be above (sth.), be higher than (sth.)', Adgg agg<sup>y</sup>- 'être au-dessus de', Gh yuǵa 'il est élevé\haut', Sll {Ds.} iggi 'on', Tmz {MT} agg 'see\look at sth. from above' ¶ Fc. 381, 2001 (Fcj. 17 = Pcj. I B 5), GhA 47, 248, MT 144-5, Ds. 94, 269, ≈ NZ 698-700 || C: Ag {Ap.} \*ʔaʔ<sup>w</sup>-, {AD} \*ʔak<sup>w</sup>- 'top, head' > Q {Ap.} awa, {R} awā, Km {CR} awā, Aw {Ap.} aʔa, Bln {R} awáy, Xm {R} ʔǵā 'top, Oberteil'; Ag {AD} \*ʔak<sup>w</sup>-et ({Ap.} ʔaʔ<sup>w</sup>-är) 'head' (× N \*<sup>1</sup>H<sub>2</sub>ŏkU 'head', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Ap. AV 3, R WB 19, R Q II 23, CR LK 162, 172 || **A** \*Ug|kE- (or \*i<sub>1</sub>UgE-?) > M \*\*öʔe-id. ⇨ [1] M \*öʔe-de 'upwards' > MM [S] o<sub>1</sub>ede 'entgegen, gegen den Strom, aufwärts', WrM ögede {MED} 'upwards, uphill, upstream', HIM eed {MED} id., {BMR} 'upwards, upstream', Kl {Rm.} ödö 'aufwärts, nach oben, hoch', ödān 'aufwärts', {KRS} eedəh 'upwards', Ord öd\_ö 'en haut,

en amont, contre le courant, contre le vent', Brt  $\Theta\Theta\Delta\epsilon$ , MMgl {Iw.}  $\bar{o}d\epsilon$  'upwards, above', Mgl {Lg.}  $\acute{o}:da \sim \ddot{u}\acute{o}da$ , {Rm.}  $\ddot{o}\acute{a}d\acute{a}$ , {Iw.}  $\acute{o}d\acute{e}$  'upwards';  $\rightarrow$  [2] M \* $\acute{o}gs\ddot{u}$ - 'ascend, go upstream, go uphill' > WrM  $\acute{o}gs\ddot{u}$ - {MED} 'ascend, go upstream', HIM  $\Theta\Gamma\Theta$ - {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'go uphill', Brt  $\Upsilon\Gamma\Theta\epsilon$ - v. 'ascend, go upstream, gallop uphill', Kl {KRS}  $\Theta\Gamma\Theta$ -  $\acute{o}gs$ - 'ascend, go upstream\uphill', Kl  $\ddot{O}$  {Rm.}  $\ddot{u}ks\ddot{o}$ - 'aufwärts gehen, bergauf \ den Fluß aufwärts gehen, in die Höhe steigen' ¶ H 121, MED 630, 632, BMR III 10, 31, KW 294, 303, Iw. 121, KRS 412, 419, Chr. 367, 490. Ms. O 527 || NaT \* $\acute{o}j\ddot{u};g$ - 'upwards' ( $\times$  N \* $\acute{z}\acute{o}g\ddot{u}\nabla\uparrow\uparrow$  or \* $\acute{z}\acute{o}g\ddot{u}\uparrow\nabla$ , 'hill?') > OT  $j\ddot{u}ger\ddot{u}$ ;  $\rightarrow$  NaT \* $j\ddot{u};ks\ddot{a}$ -(l)- v. 'rise' > OT Kr  $j\ddot{u}kse$ -, MT  $j\ddot{u}ks\ddot{a}t$ -, Tk  $\ddot{u}ksel$ -, Ggz  $\ddot{u}:sel$ -, Az  $j\ddot{u}ks\ddot{a}l$ -, Kr  $\ddot{u}ksel$ - id.; NaT \* $j\ddot{u};ks\acute{E}k$  'elevated' > OT  $j\ddot{u}ks\ddot{u}k$  id., Tk  $\ddot{u}ks\acute{e}k$  'high' ¶ Cl. 915-16, ET J 263-4, TkR 936-7 || Tg \* $ug\acute{E}$ - 'top, above, up' > Ewk  $u\acute{x}\bar{i}$  'top', Lm  $uy\acute{d}$   $uy$  id., 'upper',  $\Theta\acute{x}\Theta\acute{x}$   $\acute{d}$   $\acute{o}g\acute{o}\omega$   $\acute{d}$   $ug\acute{z}g$  'upper', Sln  $\acute{o}g \sim ug$  'bank (of a river)', Neg  $uwu \sim u\acute{x}u \sim uu$  'upper',  $uw\bar{i}$ -  $\sim u\acute{x}\bar{i}$ -  $\sim uy\bar{i}$ - v. 'ascend', Orc  $ui$ -  $\sim uy\bar{i}$ - v. 'raise',  $ui$ -l $\bar{z}$  'above, up', Nn Nh/Bk  $uy\bar{z}$  'upper side, space above (sth.)', Ul, Ork  $ui$ -l $\bar{z}$ , Nn Nh {STM}  $uy\bar{z}$ -l $\bar{z}$ , {On.}  $ui$ -l $\bar{z}$ , Nn Bk  $ui$ -l $\bar{z}$ , Nn KU  $uy$ -l $\bar{z}$  'above', Ork  $uw\omega\bar{e} \sim uwu \sim ui$  'upper, upper side, high', Ud  $ui$ - $\acute{x}\bar{i}$  'up' ¶ STM II 245-6, On. 424, 426 || pKo {S} \* $\acute{u}h$  > MKo  $\acute{u} / \acute{u}h$ -, NKo  $w\bar{i}$  'up, above' ¶ S QK no. 620, Nam 388, MLC 1258 || pJ {S} \* $\acute{u}$ -pa-'up' > OJ  $upe$ -, MJ  $\acute{u}\phi e$ - id., J T  $u\acute{e}$ ,  $\acute{u}e$ , J K  $\acute{u}\acute{e}$ , J Kg  $u\acute{e}$  'upside' ¶ S AJ 15, 81, Mr. 247, Kenk. 2087 ¶¶ SDM 614-15 (pA \* $\acute{u}gu$  > T, M, Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 658, SDM97 s.v. pA \* $\acute{o}gi$  'up, above', S AJ 15, 81, Rm. EAS I 146-7, Rm. SKE 284, Pp. VG 60, Mng. KA 291, Mr. KJ 247 || ? $\phi, \sigma$  U: pY {IN H} \* $\omega\acute{o}\psi\acute{o}$  > T {IN H, Ku.}  $w\acute{a}\psi\acute{a}$  'face', {IN H}  $w\acute{a}\psi\acute{a}d\bar{i}l\bar{i}e$ , {Ku}  $w\acute{a}\psi\acute{a}d\bar{i}l\bar{i}\bar{e}$  'kerchief',  $w\acute{a}\psi\acute{a}d\bar{i}r$  'head part of a bridle for reindeers (недоуздок)',  $w\acute{a}\psi\acute{a}ne$ ,  $w\acute{a}\psi\acute{a}ine$  'own' ( $\leftarrow$  'of oneself'  $\leftarrow$  'of [one's] head'), OY O {Mat.}  $\omega\acute{o}gg\acute{o}r\bar{i}$ - $\omega\acute{o}g\acute{o}$  'forehead' (lit. 'face of the face') ¶ IN H 457, IN UJ 250, Ku. 37-8  $\diamond$  If T \* $\acute{o}j\ddot{u};g$ - belongs here (rather than to N \* $\acute{z}\acute{o}g\ddot{u}\nabla\uparrow\uparrow$  or \* $\acute{z}\acute{o}g\ddot{u}\uparrow\nabla$ ), the pA root is likely to be \* $i\bar{u}g\acute{E}$ - and to suggest N \* $H\bar{i}\uparrow\acute{o}g\acute{E}$   $\diamond$  Not here NaIE \* $ag\bar{r}\acute{o}$ - 'top, point, uppermost (oberstes)' and Ht {Pv.}  $h\acute{e}k\bar{u}r$  'rock sanctuary, acropolis' (P 8-9, Pv. III 287-9), which belong to N \* $\chi\acute{a}k\acute{o}|aR\nabla \approx$  top part, tip, extremity' (q.v.).

**800a.** ( $\bar{z}$ ?) \* $H\acute{A}k\nabla$  'leaf', (?) 'branch' > HS: EC: Sd {Gsp.}  $h\acute{o}'ga$  'leaf of the wêse plant', Gln/Gwd {AMS}  $\bar{a}\chi$ -itté (pl.  $\bar{a}\chi e$ ) 'leaf', Sa/Af {R}  $h\acute{a}k$ , Sa I {Hw.}  $\acute{h}\acute{a}k$  'branch' ¶ R S II 179, Gsp. 162, AMS 234, Blz. L no. 98b ||

**D** \*āk 'leaf' > Kn āku id., 'young sprout', Tl āku 'leaf, petal', Gnd āk 𐌆 āki(:), Knd, Kui āku, Png, Mnd āki, Ku akkū, āku 'leaf' ¶¶ D no. 335 | | ?σ **E**: NEI h`u-uk 'Holz', OEI hu-ki 'diesen Holz(pfahl) [?]', NEI hu-h-qa-ad-du- 'hölzern' ¶¶ HK 686, 689, 714 ◇ Blz. L no. 98b (N \*hak∇), ≈ Blz. DA 16O [no. 84], Blz. NDA no. 87 (D, C + unc. B, ? Ch), Blz. E no. 64.

**801. \*H<sup>o</sup>kE** (= \*H<sup>o</sup>kū or \*H<sup>o</sup>kæ?) 'goat' > **IE**: NaIE \*o|aḡ- 'goat' ('he-goat?') > OI a'ja-h 'he-goat', a'jā 'she-goat', YAv aza- 'he-goat', ZPhl ʔz 'goat' || Lt ožỹs, Ltv âz is 'he-goat', Pru wosee 'goat' || pTc {Ad.} \*ās(e) 'goat' > Tc: A ās id., B aṣ iyē 'pertaining to a goat' ¶ Not here (⇔ P) Al dhi 'goat' (< pAl {O} d. \*aḷziyā ÷ Gk αῖξ id.; acc. to EI 229, from IE \*Hejḡ-s 'goat') ¶ ≈ P 6-7, M K I 23, M E I 51, Bai. 6, Frn. 519, O 83, Ad. 32, EI 229 (\*h<sub>pe</sub>'ḡo-s 'he-goat') | | **HS**: Ch ≈ \*ʔo|ak<sup>w</sup>∇ 'goat' > WCh {Stl.} \*ʔak<sup>w</sup>i 'he-goat' ({AD} 'goat') > Hs àkuyà 'he-goat', àk<sup>w</sup>íyà 'goat' | Kfr {Nt.} ɔk id. | Ron {J}: Df ʔāh, Btr āχ, Klr ʔāh id. | Krkr {Lk, J} ʔōč í (pl. ʔōkàḷ), Krf {Sch.} wùčč í, Bl/Ngm {Mk} ɔš i id. | NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj àwàḷ, Kry àhùn, My áhú, Jmb {Sk.} àk<sup>w</sup>á 'goat' | Ngz {Sch.} ākù id. || CCh: BuP {Mk} k<sup>w</sup>i, Klb {Mk} k<sup>w</sup>a, Mrg {Hf.} kú id. | HgNk {Mk} uk<sup>w</sup>ε, FIK {Mk} ku id. | Gude {Srp.} oxōá, {Mk} oh<sup>w</sup>a, Nz {Mk} hoε, Bt {Srp.} hué, Bcm {Sk.} hōtó id. | Lmn {Lk.} ógù id. | Glv {Rp.} āg<sup>w</sup>à, Dgh {IL} jóyè id. | Gzg D {Lk.} ʔaw, {Ro.} áw; {Ro.}: Mada, Mkt, Myn, Vm, Zlg àwák, Hrz àwá, Mlk áwàk id. | ZmB {Sa.} úh<sup>w</sup>ú id. ¶ JI II 166-9, J R 212, 35O, ChC s.v. 'goat', ChL, Stl. ZCh 231 [no. 789], Ro. 26O, Sch. BTL, Sk. NB, Hf. M, Nt. s.v. ɔk, Sch. DN s.v. ākù | | **A**: M \*uquna (~ \*u<sup>g</sup>una?) 'he-goat' > MM [HI] uḡuna ~ [MA] وقونة|uquna, WrM {MED} uquna ~ uqana, HIM {MED, BMR} yxha, Mgl {Rm.} uqōna, Dg {T} ukan id., Brt yxaha id., Kl Ö {Rm.} uxunα 'junger Geißbock', Ord uxana 'bouc' ¶ MED 892, BMR III 378, Chr. 483, KW 447, Pp. MA 365, Ms. H 105, Ms. O 725, T DgJ 17O, Rm. M 41 ◇ Ch ≈ \*ʔo|ak<sup>w</sup>∇ and M \*uquna suggest a labialized vw. in the pN second syll., while IE \*o|aḡ- point to a pN front vowel (\*ä or \*e); we can suppose here a hypothetical pN \*ü, if in the prehistory of pIE this \*ü may have lost its labiality. In the prehistory of M we may suppose repeated assimilation of vowels: N \*o...ü > \*o...u (synharmonism) > \*u...u ◇ The initial zero cns. in some Ch lges (including WCh) may serve as a highly tentative suggestion of a N weak lr. (\*H<sub>2</sub>-), if compared with WCh {Stl.} \*h- in N \*X<sup>o</sup>t<sup>i</sup>' 'e fish' (> Wrj ʔèdáḷ, Cg hâtì, Kry ʔédé, My ʔédí), but this issue is still to be investigated.

**802.** \* $\text{H}_2^1 \hat{\text{o}}\text{kU}$  'head' > HS: C: Ag {AD} \* $\text{ʔak}^\omega$ -(at), {Ap.} \* $\text{ʔa}\text{ʔ}^\omega$ -(ar) 'head' (× N \***HogE** 'top, above') > Bln {Ap.}  $\text{ʔax}^\omega\text{ar}$ , {R}  $\text{ʔax}^\omega\text{ar}$  (pl.  $\text{ʔax}^\omega\text{at}$ -), Xm {Ap.}  $\text{aw}3\text{r}$ , {R}  $\text{awr}$ , Xm T {CR}  $\text{aw}ú\text{r}$ , Km {Ap.}  $\text{a}\text{ʔ}^\omega\text{äy}$ , {CR}  $\text{aw}ē$ ,  $\text{ax}^\omega\text{äy}$  (pl.  $\text{ax}^\omega\text{ät}$ ), Dmb {R}  $\text{ax}^\omega\text{ē}$ ,  $\text{ax}^\omega\text{ē}$  'head', Q {R}  $\text{ax}^\omega\text{ē}$ ,  $\text{aw}ē$  'head, oneself', {Ap.}  $\text{awa}$  'top', Aw {Ap.}  $\text{a}\text{ʔa}$  'top', {CR}  $\text{ax}ā$  'head, lord' ¶ R WB 19, R QW 23, CR LK 172, Ap. AV 3 || **U** {UEW} \* $\text{u|ok}^\nabla$  'head' > FU: ObU {Ht.} \* $\text{ū}\text{ʔ}^\nabla$ , {Hl.} \* $\text{f}^\nabla\text{w}^\nabla$  id. > pVg \* $\text{f}^\nabla\text{w}^\nabla$  'bear's head' > LK {Kn.}  $\text{āwt}$ , P {Kn.}  $\text{āwt}$ , MK {MK}  $\text{äw}$  id., pVg \* $\text{f}^\nabla\text{w}ā$  {Ht.} 'bear's crane' ({AD}: or 'bear's head') > UL {Ht.}  $\text{āwa}$  'bear's crane', Ss  $\text{āwa}$  {Ht.} id., {Mk} 'bear's head'; pOs \* $\text{ɔ}\text{ʔ}$  'head' > Os: V/Vy  $\text{ɔ}\text{ʔ}$ , Ty  $\text{o}\text{ʔ}^\omega$ ,  $\text{o}\text{ʔ}$ , Y  $\text{o}\text{w}$ , D/K/Nz  $\text{u}\text{χ}$ , Kz/O  $\text{ũ}\text{χ}$  id. || Sm {Jn.} \* $\text{uk}^\flat$  'tip, front part' (× N \* $\text{ʕ}^\flat\text{ok}^\flat$  'sharp point/edge', q.v.) > En {Ter.}  $\text{ub}^\flat$ ,  $\text{ub}$ , {Cs.} 'ᵘᵇᵒ 'tip, front part', ? Ne T d.  $\text{ḥ}\text{ʔ}\text{ʔ}\text{ḥ}$ , {Lh.}  $\text{ḡu}\text{χ}^\flat$ , ? Ne F {Lh.}  $\text{ḡu}\text{χ}^\flat\text{unt}^\flat$  ≈  $\text{ḡu}\text{χ}^\flat\text{utt}^\flat\text{æ}^\flat$  'i upper lip' (← 'top'), Slq Tz {KKIH}  $\text{ūk}^\dagger$  'nose (of humans\animals), beak, front part, tip', Slq NP {UEW ← ?}  $\text{ug}^\dagger$  'tip (Ende), lip', Slq Nr {Cs.}  $\text{ūg}$  'Ende, Schluß' ¶¶ UEW 542-3, ≈ Ht. no. 9 (without data of Vg LK/MK/P and with pVg \* $\text{f}^\nabla\text{w}^\nabla$  'bear's crane'), MK 59, Hl. rHt. 73, Jn. 30, KKI 191, Cs. 108 ¶¶ Coll. 44 and Hl rHt. 73 equate the ObU word with Lp N  $\text{o}\text{a}^\flat\text{i}^\flat\text{v}^\flat$  'head' and hence with U \* $\text{o}\text{y}\text{wa}$  'head', but UEW 542-3 rejects it on phonetic grounds, because U \*- $\text{y}\text{w}$ - cannot yield ObU \*- $\text{y}$ - or \*- $\text{w}$ - (F UEW 336-7 s.v. U \* $\text{o}\text{y}\text{wa}$  'head') || **E**: El  $\text{uk-k}^\flat$ ,  $\text{uk-g}^\flat$  'head' ¶¶ HK 1206, 1210-14 ◇ An initial weak Ir.\* $\text{H}_2^1$ - is tentatively suggested by Ag \* $\text{ʔ}$ - ◇ On the possible connection with N \* $\text{ʔ}^\flat\text{o}^\flat\text{kE}$  (= \* $\text{ʔ}^\flat\text{o}^\flat\text{kü}$ ?) 'self' (whence rec. of a N etymon \* $\text{ʔ}^\flat\text{o}^\flat\text{kü}$  'head' → 'self') see s.v. N \* $\text{ʔ}^\flat\text{o}^\flat\text{kE}$ .

**803.** \* $\text{H}^\flat\text{i}^\flat\text{K}^\flat\text{æ}$  'eat' > IE \* $\text{H}\text{χ}^\flat\text{ek}^\flat$ - v. 'eat' > OI  $\text{as}^\flat$ - (3s pres.  $\text{as}^\flat\text{nāti}$ ) 'eat', ' $\text{as}^\flat\text{ana}$  'eating, food' || ON, NNr, Dn, Sw  $\text{agn}$  'Lockspeise, Köder' || ?? $\mu$  Gk Hm  $\text{ἄκολλος}$  'a bit, morsel' ¶ Cp. N \* $\text{ʕ}^\flat\text{æ}^\flat\text{g}^\flat\text{o}$  'drink' (q.v.) ¶ ≈ IS I 275-6 (s.v. \* $\text{ʕ}^\flat\text{EK}^\flat\text{u}$  'water'), M K I 60, M E I 136, F I 55, Vr. 3, 681, P 23, Hofm. 10, Ivn. OPA 63 || HS: EC: Yk {Hn.} - $\text{ek}^\flat$ - 'eat',  $\text{éktó}$  'food'? (× N \* $\text{ʕ}^\flat\text{æ}^\flat\text{g}^\flat\text{o}$  'drink') ¶ Hn. Y II 124-5 || ? $\phi$  ECh: Nd D {J}  $\text{yí}\text{g}^\hat{\text{a}}$  v. 'eat (hard food)' ¶ JI II 119 ¶¶ Not here B \* $\text{✓HksH}$  v. 'eat', which is more likely to belong to N ? $\sigma$  \* $\text{ʕ}^\flat\text{EK}^\flat\text{V}^\flat\text{ʕ}^\flat\text{V}^\flat$  '≈ to peck, to prick' (of birds and other animals) (q.v. ffd.) || **A**: T: OT {Cl.}  $\text{igi}\text{δ}$ - v. 'feed (a person, animal), [MhK]  $\text{ig}\text{d}^\flat\text{il}$ - v. 'be nourished/fed' (× N ? $\sigma$  \* $\text{ʕ}^\flat\text{EK}^\flat\text{V}^\flat\text{ʕ}^\flat\text{V}^\flat$  '↑') ¶ Cl. 10, 104.

**803a.** ≈ \***h<sub>2</sub>'e1U** 'sprout, twig' > **HS:** S: ? Ak  $\wedge$  e1 $\hat{u}$  'sprout' (unless derived from S \* $\check{r}$  ɛly 'rise') (× N \* $\check{r}$  |gɔ1 $\nabla$ y $\nabla$  'leaf'?? or derived from S \* $\check{r}$  ɛly 'rise') ¶ CAD IV 114 || SC {E} \*h|ʔalēm- 'branch' (unless akin to Sml ɛalēn- 'leaf' < N \* $\check{r}$  |gɔ1 $\nabla$ y $\nabla$  'leaf') > Irq halmi, Alg elemi, Brn alema 'branch' ¶ E SC 336 || **U:** FU (att. in FP) \*e1| $\nabla$  'sprout, twig' > Er iíev 'twig', Δ iíey, iíiy, Mk iíi 'Rute' | Prm \*ul 'twig, sprout' > Vt ул ul 'bough', Vt Δ {Wc.} ul 'bud, sprout', Z цв uv, Δ ul, Prmk, Yz ul 'bough, twig' ¶ UEW 624, LG 295, U3S 446 || **A** \*öleŋ 'grass' (× N \***P<sub>2</sub>û1 $\nabla$ Hû $\nabla$**  'grass', q.v.) > T \*öleŋ 'grass' > OT U {Cl.}, Chg {Cl.} öleŋ 'grass', Qq öleŋ, Uz öläŋ 'grass', Nog ölen 'grass', StAlt ölöŋ 'grass', VTt, Bsh үлэн 'grass', Qmq ölen 'soft grass, feather grass', Xk öleŋ 'feather grass', Yk ölöŋ 'couch grass', Tkm 'öleŋ Wiese, Weide'; T  $\rightarrow$  Kl {Rm.} öŋ 'saftiges Gras, Wiese' ¶ Cl. 147, DTS 383 (OT öläŋ 'лужайка, [?] трава'), ET Gl 527-8, TtR 750, DTS 383 (OT öläŋ 'лужайка, [?] трава') || **M:** **[1]** M \*öleŋ > WrM ölüŋ {MED} 'sedge (*Carex*)', HIM {MED} өлөн(г) id., {BMR} өлөн 'sedge (*Carex*)'; Nährwertarmes Gras; dichtes Gras', Brt үлэн үбһэн 'sedge' (үбһэн means 'grass'), Kl {Rm.} öŋ 'saftiges Gras', {RKS} өлн цаһан өвсн 'sedge' (цаһан өвсн 'white grass'), Ord ölöŋ 'herbes épaisses constituées par les feuilles de *Lasinrostis splendens*'; M  $\rightarrow$  Qrg ölöŋ 'sedge, carex' and Qzq öleŋ id., Nährwertarmes Gras' ¶ MED 634, BMR III 17, Chr. 502, RKS 403, KW 295, Rm. SKE 215, Ms. O 534, Jud. 592, MM 794 || **[2]** M: WrM {MED} ulalzi 'sedge (*Carex*)', HIM улалж {MED} id., {BMR} 'осока желтая, осока стройная', Brt {SDM} улалж 'sedge' (not mentioned by Chr.) ¶ MED 871, BMR III 321 ¶¶ In pA \*öleŋ the initial labial vw. is due to regr. as. (from N \***h<sub>2</sub>'e1U**) ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1051 (pA \*oía 'a kind of grass' > WrM ulalzi + [not belonging to the N etymon in qu.]: T \*oí- 'a kind of plant' and pJ \*asi 'reed, rush') || **D** \*e1- 'leaf' > Tm ilai 'leaf, petal', Ml ila, Kt el, Td eɟ, Kn ele, e1a, Kdg elakañda, Tu elæ 'leaf', Gnd koʔk-ila 'new leaf' (koʔk 'sprout') ¶¶ D no. 497.

**804.** \***h<sub>3</sub>iL'i'** (= \***h<sub>3</sub>iL'i'**?) (or \***h<sub>3</sub>iL'ɣ<sub>1</sub>L'i'**??) 'entrails' > **IE:** NaIE \*e $\check{r}$ li- / \*ili- / ? \*yeli- (or \*īli-) 'entrails' > L īliā / -iūm (pl.) (> īliūm sg.) 'entrails, guts; loin, womb, Schamgegend', (EM: 'flancs, parties latérales du ventre qui s'étendent depuis le bas des côtes jusqu'à la naissance des cuisses') || Gk [Hs.] ἔλλα (· μόρια γυναικεία) '(private) parts of women' (unless to be read δῶρα γυναικεία 'gift of women', as in some codexes), ἔλλον (· τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφήβαλον δηλοῖ) ('it means: woman's pubes') || SI {P, WH} \*jelito, {ESSJ} \*elito 'gut(s), entrails' > SCR

jelito 'sausage', Δ 'gut', Slv jelita 'ε sausage', Δ olito 'gut', Cz jelito 'ε sausage', Slk jelito 'sausage, stomach, gut', HLs jelito 'sausage', HLs Δ jěltο, LLs jelito 'entrails', P jelito 'gut, sausage', Slvnz älēta, Ук ялѣти 'entrails', Blr я'літы 'testicles (of animals)' ¶ WH I 678-9, P 499, F I 722, EM 308, ESSJ VI 21-2, Brü. 206, ≠ EI 356 (L īliā < IE \*isǵʰis 'loins') || K: G ilaο {Chx.} 'ε intestinal disease', {DCh.} 'colics' ¶ Chx. 523, DCh. 579 || HS: HEC {Hd.} \*hillē 'intestines' > Hd hillenna, Kmb hillēta, Sd hel'le ¶ Hd. 84, 282, 321, 371 || A: Tg \*ōīlen 'spleen' (and 'liver?') > Ewk PT/VI/Nr īlɜn 'spleen', Ewk Y īlɜn id., 'gall', Ewk I īlɜn '≈ liver' (unless a loan from some M lge, cp. Brt эльгэ(н) 'liver') ¶ STM I 312, Chr. 764 ¶¶ But MM eligen, Brt эльгэ(н), WrM elige, HIM элэг / элгэн 'liver' (MED 309, BMR IV 407, Chr. 764) do not belong here, because (on the ev. of MM [Lg. VSU] helige and Mnr {SM} χalīēg\_e) the pM word is \*φeligen (F SM 152) ◇ HEC suggests that the initial lr. is probably to be reconstructed as \*h̥-. If the IE etymon is \*īli-, the IE and Tg long \*ī- suggests the presence of some lengthening factor after \*i (it is likely to have been either \*y or a laryngeal; in the light of the K, Sl and HES zero reflexes of this lr. it may have been \*ʔ). But if the IE etymon is \*eǵli- / \*ili- / ?\*jeli- (which is preferable in the light of Sl) and if the length of Tg \*ī is of prosodic origin, no pN lengthening factor is needed.

**804a.** \*H'ä'í▽ (= \*χ|q'ä'í▽?) 'female' > HS: EC \*hal(ɫ)- 'female' > Sa {Wlm., Ss.} aɫ-a 'goats' (general and female), Sml hāl, Sml N {Abr.} háɫ, Or hāl-ā 'she-camel', Rn aɫ-ó 'female camels', Af {PH} aɫa 'female camel which has given birth', Bs {Fl.} hileɫ ~ hɫɫɫɫ 'woman' ¶ Ss. PEC 37, 39-40, Abr. S 103, ZMO 178, PG 6, PH 37, Fl. p.c. || NrOm: Male {Bnd.} lāli 'woman' ¶ Bnd. PO s.v. lāli || ECh: Gdr hālà 'girl', ?φ Ke {Eb.} hɜlgé 'woman' ¶ ChC s.v. 'girl' and 'woman', Eb. 56 ¶¶ AD SF 137, 193 (EC, NrOm) || A: T: OT [MhK] iš i or (Cl.'s alt. interpretation) ēs 'lady', MT XIV [IM] išler (to be read eš-lär?) pl. 'women' ¶ Cl. 256 || D \*-aɫ, SD \*-vaɫ, marker of fem. in pronouns and nouns > Ml a-vaɫ 'that woman' (↔ a-vaɫn 'that man' ↔ a-tu 'that thing'), Td a va 'that woman' (↔ {Shanm.} avēn 'that man'), Kt avɫ 'that woman' (↔ avn 'that man'), Tu āɫu 'that woman' (↔ āye 'that man'), Kn Bd av aɫ 'that woman', i vaɫ 'this woman', Tm, Ml mak-aɫ, Kn mag-aɫ 'daughter', kiri-y-aɫ 'girl', kandal-aɫ 'Geliebte', Kn maɫuv-aɫ, Prj koʀ-aɫ bride', OTI VII manamar-āɫu 'grand-daughter', MTI kōɫ-aɫu 'daughter',

celi-ɥ-alu 'younger sister', (?) Png -el, fem. sx: toʀnd-el 'sister', harukad-el 'small woman', Kui -ali, marker of fem.: mriḡ-ali 'female cousin', kū-ali 'Kond woman', ḡah-ali 'sweeper (woman)', Klm -al, fem. ending: komm-al 'daughter', kor-al 'younger brother's wife', pod-al 'spouse's sister', Prj, Gdb kēt-al 'widow', murtal 'old woman', Gdb koʀ-al 'son's wife' ¶¶ \*-v- in SD \*-va] may be due to analogy with the marker of masc.\*-van that occurs in the same context: Tm a-van 'that man', a-va] 'that woman', i-van 'this man', i-va] 'this woman', oru-van 'one man', oru-va] 'one woman' ¶¶ Shanm. DN 30-140 ◇ According to AD's hyp. (AD WIL), EC \*h- goes back to pHS \*χ-, sc. to N \*q-.

**805. \*h<sub>2</sub>am'u** 'be\become quiet\calm' ([in some descendant lges] → 'feel contentment', 'love') > K: G am- vt. 'quieten, calm, allay (pain)' ('beruhigen, stillen'), 'please (so.)' ¶ Chx. 15-16, DCh. 25-6, NCh. 36 | | ¶ \*a<sub>1</sub>:m'u - 'be quiet' > Tg \*ām- 'sleep, be sleepy' > Ewk āmз-, Neg, Ork āma-, Ul amasi- ~ amasu-, Nn Nh āmasi-, Nn Bk āmosi- 'be sleepy', Ewk āmī, Ul, Ork amī n. 'sleep', Nn Nh {On.} āmī n. 'sleep (sleepiness)', Ewk āmз, Neg āma, Ud {Krm.} amahi imprs. 'there is sleepiness, one is sleepy (спать хочется)', WrMc {Z} амга- ~ амха-, Mc Sb amaha- v. 'sleep, doze' ¶ STM I 2-3, Pt. 16, Krm. 206, On. 36-7, Z 42 | | M \*amu- vi. 'rest, feel contentment, be relieved' > MM [IM] amu- v. 'rest', [HI] 'rest, be quiet', [MA] 'rest, feel pleasure', [S] {H} amu- 'ruhig sein, aufhören', WrM amu- {MED} vi. 'rest, relax, feel contentment, be relieved', HIM ama- {MED} id., {BMR} 'rest (sich erholen, sich ausruhen), Atem holen, aufatmen'; M \*amur > WrM amur {MED} 'peace, calm, rest; quiet', HIM amar {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'Wohlergehen, Wohlstand (благополучие, благоденствие)', Brt amar 'quiet, easy; calm, rest (покой), Wohlergehen', Kl {KRS} амр амрә 'calm, wellbeing, rest (покой)', {Rm.} амр n. 'Ruhe, Friede', adj. 'ruhig, friedlich, gesund, bequem', Ord амур 'paix, tranquillité; en paix, à l'aise; tranquille, aisé'; M \*amura- v. 'relax, rest, be relieved, feel contentment\joy' > WrM amura- {MED} id., HIM амра- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'rest (отдыхать)' Brt амар- id., Ord amara- vi. 'se reposer, être tranquille', MM [S] {H} d. amurli- 'be\feel calm\secure', amuru- vt. 'calm', [HI] d. амрац [амрац] 'loving each other', Mnr H {SM} χamuraā- 'se reposer, se calmer, se guérir', 's'éteindre', {T} χamura- vi. 'rest', Ba hamera-, Dx {T} hamura- id., Kl {KRS} амр- амр- v. 'rest', {Rm.} амр- 'ruhen, Ruhe bekommen, ausruhen'

(Mnr χ- and Ba, Dx h- are due to contamination with the root of Mnr H {SM} χamuli-, {T} χambuli- vt. 'extinguish, efface') ¶ Pp. MA 101-2, 432, Ms. H 35-6, H 7, MED 40, BMR I 85-6, 92, Chr. 47-8, KRS 41-2, KW 9-10, SM 153-4, T 373, T DnJ 139, T BJ 150, Ms. O 19, 22-3 || NaT \*a<sub>1</sub>:<sub>1</sub>m- u|I1 (with the derivational sx \*-l [Cl. XIII]?) > OT am u|I1 'quiet, mild, peaceable', Tk Δ IMI1 ~ umul 'quietly, gently'; NaT \*a<sub>1</sub>:<sub>1</sub>mira- vi. 'calm, be at peace' > OT {DTS} amra- v. 'love', Tv amira- vi. 'calm, take comfort, be glad', Tlt/Qmn {Rl.} amira- 'sich beruhigen', Alt {Rl.} amra- id., 'in Ruhe leben'; ⇨ NaT \*amur-t- v. 'quieten, calm (sth., so.)' > OT XI amurt- vt. 'calm (sth.)', Tk Δ amurt- vt. 'quieten, calm'; ⇨ NaT \*amri|ul- 'be at peace' > OT VIII-XIII amru|I1- id.; NaT \*amir > (or M \*amara- ⇨) Tv, SY amir, Qzq Δ ämir n. 'calm, peace', Alt/Tlt/Sg/Qb/Kü {Rl.} amir id., 'rest (Ausruhen, Erholung)', Xk amir 'peaceful, quiet' ¶ Rs. W 19, Rl. I 647-51; ≈ Cl. 160-3 (claiming that \*am(∇)r- is based entirely on a loan from M amara-, which is highly doubtful because derivatives from \*am(∇)r- are attested in OT from the VIII c. on (incl. the time before the Mongolian infl.); the idea of M origin may be valid for the T noun \*amir only, because it is not attested in OT), ≈ ET Gl 59-6 O (without distinguishing between \*abra- and \*amra-), DTS 41, TvR 58-9 ¶¶ The long vw. in Tg may be a Tg innovation (not necessarily pointing to a pA long vw.) ¶¶ SDM 298-9 (pA \*ã m∇ 'be quiet, sleep' > M \*amu-, \*ami- v. 'rest, be\become quiet', 'peace', T \*am- 'gentle, wuiet', 'love', Tg \*ã m- 'sleep'), DQA no. 72 (id.), KW 9, S AJ 292, Rs. W 19, STM I 2-3, ADb. SR 13, Rozycki MM 17 || D (att. in SD) \*am- 'be(come) still\quiet' > Tm amai 'become still\ quiet, abide, remain', amar- v. 'abide, remain\ become tranquil', Ml amaruka v. 'subside, settle, be settled, rest on', amarcca 'calmness, self-government', Tu amaru-ni 'to become quiet\calm; to settle', amaru-ni 'to quiet' ¶ D no. 161 || ?σ IE: NaIE \*am- v. 'love' > L amā- (1s pres. amō, inf. amāre) v. 'love', amor n. 'love', amīcus 'a loved one, friend', Mrc AMATENS 'voluerint' || ?φ Phr [Hs.] ἄδαμεῖν ('τὸ φιλεῖν) 'to love'; [Hs.] καὶ φρύγες τὸν φίλον ἄδαμνα λέγουσιν ('Phrygians call a loved one ἄδαμνα) ¶ WH I 40-1, ≠ P 36 ◇ If the IE cognate is valid, the initial N lr. may be \*r-, \*h- or \*h- (N \*r|h|ha- > IE \*he- > NaIE \*a-), but not \*ʔ- (N \*ʔa- would have yielded IE \*e-/zero).

**805a.** (₂?) \*H|qamb∇ 'other, different, else, more (than)' > IE: NaIE \*amb<sup>h</sup>ō(ū) du. 'both' > Gk ἄμφω id. || L ambō (m., ntr.), ambae (f.) id.



] NaIE loc. \*amb<sup>h</sup>i / \*m̥b<sup>h</sup>i 'from both sides, around' > Gk ἄμφω 'on both sides', 'around, about', ἀμφὶ- 'on both/all sides, for the sake of', ἄμφω-ς 'on both sides; round about' ||| L amb-, am-, an- pv. 'around' (amb-īō 'go around'), Osc am- 'amb-' (amfret 'they go around'), ampt 'around', Um AM-, AMBR- pv. 'around', amprehto 'ambito' ] NaIE \*m̥b<sup>h</sup>i 'from both sides, around' > OI a'bhi-tah<sub>2</sub> 'on both sides', Av aiwito 'ringsher', OI abhi- 'around' ||| Clt: Gl ambi- (Ἄμβι-δραυοῦ 'those living on both sides of the river Dravos'), W am(-), Crn, OBr, Br am-, em-, OIr imb-, imm- 'around' ||| ON umb, OHG, OSx umbi, NHG um, AS ymb, ymbe 'around' ] with absence or loss of \*m: ?? OI ubhā<sub>2</sub>, Av uwa- 'both' ||| ?BSl: Lt abu<sup>2</sup>, Ltv abi, Pru abbai id. | Sl \*oba id. (m.), \*obě (f., ntr.) > OCS oба oба (m.) / oбѣ obě (f., ntr.), R 'oба (m., ntr.) / oбе (f.), Blg 'oба / oбе, SCr õba / õbje, Slv obā / obē, Cz oба / obě, Slk oба / obe, P oба / obie id. ¶ The loss of the labial cns. in Ir and BSl is not yet explained ¶ P 34-5, Bc. G 312, 327-8, F I 100, WH I 37-8, Flr. 60, YGM-1 12-14, M K 41-2, 107, Frn. 1, Glh. 446, Vr. 633, Ho. 412, Ho. S 80, Kb. 1064, Schz. 294, KM 802, ≠ EI 400 (\*b<sup>h</sup>ō<sub>2</sub> 'both') ||| U: [1] FV \*ompa 'other, other (further) side' > Er oмбо oмбо, Mk oмба 'omba, {Ker.} omba, {Ps.} ombā 'other, that of the opposite side', Δ {Jh.} omā id. ||| Chr: B umpal 'the other side', Chr {Szil.} umpake 'hinüber', L ym'бале, yмба'лан 'far away' ('палан' 'far away') ||| [2] U \*-mp∇ 'more', sx of cmpr. > F -mpri / -mpa-, sx of cmpr. (uudempi / uudempa- 'newer'), Es -m / gen. -ma, sx of cmpr. (nooree-m 'younger') | Lp (sx of cmpr.): Lp N -b / -b'bo (ođđâsâb / ođđâsâb'bo- 'newer'), Lp S {Hs.} -be (nuore-be 'younger') ||| Hg -bb, sx of cmpr. (újabbb 'newer') ||| Sm: Ne -мбой 'rather' (Һарка-мбой 'rather big' < Һарка 'big') ¶¶ UEW 332, Coll. CG 260-1, Hs. 109-10, Ker. 100, Jh. 107, Ter. 385-6 ¶¶ The vw. \*o- (for \*a-) in \*omp∇ may be due to the labializing infl. of \*m ||| ??σ HS: S \*✓χnb > Ar χanāb-, χinnāb- {BK} 'long, grand, haut', {Hv.} 'tall, long', Ak ✓χnb (inf. χanābu, p. i-χnu b) 'grow abundantly' ¶ BK I 636, Hv. 186, CAD VI 75-6 ◇ If S \*✓χnb belongs here (which is not certain), the N initial cns. is \*q (see s.v. \*qañ∇b∇ 'other, different, else, more (than)').

**805b. \*Hom<sub>1</sub>∇,g<sup>r</sup>ü<sup>1</sup>** 'breast' > HS: C ≈ \*?∇ng<sup>ω</sup> / \*ng<sup>ω</sup>- 'breast' > Ag {Ap.} \*?zng<sup>ω</sup>- / \*ang<sup>ω</sup>- id. > Bln {Ap.} zng<sup>ω</sup>i, Xm zḱ<sup>ω</sup>, Km zng<sup>ω</sup>z, Aw ang<sup>ω</sup> id. ||| EC: Sa, Af angu ({Ap.}: < Ag), Sml J {Blz. < ?} ?enek id. ||| Bj {R} nūg, nūg<sup>ω</sup>e 'woman's breast' (× the etymon of EC \*nūg, Ag \*?∇ng<sup>ω</sup>-

'suck the breast', unless the verb is derived from the noun) ¶ Ap. AV 4, Blz. CL 177, R WBd 181, R WB 35 (Bln  $\underline{u}n'g\bar{u} \sim \underline{u}\eta'_{\underline{u}}\bar{i}$  'nipple') || **D** (att in SD) \* $\text{o}\eta k$ - 'woman's breast' > Kn  $\text{o}\eta g\text{u}$  'teat, pap', ? Tm  $\text{o}\acute{r}i\text{c}i \sim \text{o}\text{c}\text{c}i$  'woman's breast (nursery)' ¶ D no. 943 || **A** \* $\text{omE}_{\underline{g}}|k_{\underline{j}}$ - or \* $\text{öm}\nabla_{\underline{g}}|k_{\underline{j}}$ - > NaT \* $\text{ö}_{\underline{j}}m\text{g}\text{æ}n$  ( $\times$  NaT \* $\text{ö}_{\underline{j}}m\text{g}\text{æ}_{\underline{j}}n \approx$  neck' < N \* $\text{om}_{\underline{g}}\nabla_{\underline{j}}\text{Kê}$  '[ $\epsilon$  part of the] neck', q.v.) > Brb {Tm.}, SbTt Tv {Tm.}  $\text{ö}m\text{g}\text{än}$  'horse's chest', Qzq  $\text{ö}\eta\text{men}$  'breast, oesophagus' ¶ Cl. 150, Rl. I 1315, ET Gl 537, Tm. 165 || M \* $\text{emü}ne$  'front, south' > MM [S, MA]  $\text{emü}ne$  'in front of', [HI]  $\text{emü}ne$  'south', WrM  $\text{emü}ne$  {MED} 'south, front', HIM  $\text{em}\eta\text{e}$  {MED} id., {BMR} 'in front of; south', Brt  $\gamma\text{m}\text{ə}\eta\text{ə}$  'in front of', Kl {KRS}  $\text{em}\eta\text{ə}$  'front, south', {Rm.}  $\text{ö}mn\text{ö}$  'vorn, vor; der vordere', Ord  $\text{ö}m\text{önö}$  'devant, avant; est'; WrM {MED}  $\text{emü}nesi$ , HIM {MED}  $\text{em}\eta\text{e}\text{w}$  adv. 'forward, southward', Kl {KRS}  $\text{em}\eta\text{ə}\text{c}$  'from the front side', Mnr H {SM}  $\text{mie}\acute{\text{z}}$  'devant, avant, partie antérieure', Ord  $\text{ö}m\text{ö}\acute{\text{ö}}n$  'vers l'est' ¶ M \* $\text{e}$ - for the expected labialized vw. may be due to regr. as. (\* $\text{omE}$ - > M \* $\text{emE}$ -) ¶ H 44, MED 314-15, BMR III 19-20, Chr. 504, KW 295, KRS 415-6, Pp. MA 155, Ms. H 54, Ms. O 532-3 ¶¶ SDM 505 (pA \* $\text{em}\text{o}$  'front' > M, T + unc. Tg \* $\text{ume}$ - ~ \* $\text{emu}$  'one').

**806.** ( $_{2}$ ?) \* $\text{H}^{\text{e}}\text{m}\nabla\bar{n}\nabla$  (= \* $\text{?}^{\text{e}}\text{m}\nabla\bar{n}\nabla$ ?) 'oak, tree' > IE: OIr  $\text{om}\eta\text{ae}$  'tree, oak' ¶ Vn. O 22 || **A**: T \* $\text{Emän}$  'oak' > Tkm  $\text{imen}$ , Uz  $\text{eman}$ , ET  $\text{emän}$ , VTt, Bsh  $\text{imän}$ , QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg  $\text{emen}$ , Kr  $\text{amän}$ , StAlt  $\text{ermen}$ , Chv L  $\text{юман}$   $\text{yuman}$ , Chv  $\Delta$ .  $\text{yoman}$  'oak' ¶ r in StAlt still requires explanation ¶ Rs. W 42, Dm. NRTAJ 185-6, Ash. IV 322-4, Fed. II 485, Jeg. 348, Md. 115, 165 (T \* $\text{jaman} \sim$  \* $\text{emen}$ , NaT \* $\text{emen}$ ), TL 124 (\* $\text{ermen}$ ) || ? **HS**: Eg fO  $\text{im}\acute{\text{z}}$  'e fruit-bearing tree (date palm?)'; 'e sacred tree; wood used for statues and toils\utensils' ¶ EG I 79  $\diamond$  If the Eg word belongs here, the N rec. must be \* $\text{?}^{\text{e}}\text{m}\nabla\bar{n}\nabla$ .

**806a.**  $_{2}$  \* $\text{H}_{2}\text{ay}\text{?EmP}\nabla$  'heavy' > IE \* $\text{hayEmP}\nabla$  'weight' > Ht {Kas.}  $\text{ayimpa}$ ,  $\text{aimpa}$ ,  $\text{impa}$  'weight, burden', ? $\phi$  Gk  $\text{ἵπος}$  'poids qui tombe, presse' ¶ Kas. AL 154-5, Ch. I 467 || **A** \* $\text{ambEn}$  > Tg \* $\text{amban}$  > Nn  $\text{amba}(n)$  'heavy', Ul  $\text{amba}(n)$  'big, very', Ork  $\text{ambaram}\acute{\text{z}}i$  'very', WrMc {Z}  $\text{амба}$  'big, huge', Mc Sb  $\text{aba}$  'big, many, very', Jrc  $\text{ān-pān}$  [\* $\text{amban}$ ] big, strong' ¶ STM I 37, Z 42-4 || M \* $\text{amban}$  > WrM {MED}  $\text{amban}$  'big, large; governor, dignitary', HIM  $\text{амбан}$  {MED} id., {BMR} 'big, larg, huge', Brt  $\text{амба}(н)$  'beautiful' (clothes); dignitary', Kl {Rm.}  $\text{amb}\eta$  'groß, erwachsen' ¶ MED 36, BMR I 87, Chr. 48, KW 9 || pKo \* $\text{mì}$ - 'heavy' {SDM}  $\text{mì-kép}$ - ( $\text{mì-ké}\omega$ -), NKo  $\text{mugəp}$  'heavy' ¶ Nam 225, MLC 652 || pJ {SDM}

\* $\acute{z}m(\bar{p})\acute{z}$ - 'heavy' > OJ om(ω)o-, MJ ómó-, J T òmo-, J K, JKg ómo-, StJ {Kenk.} omoi 'heavy' ¶ Mr. 838, Kenk. 1434-5 ¶¶ Kas. AN 155, SDM 295 (pA \*ámbe 'heavy, big' > Tg, M, J, Ko), S AJ 103, 277, Mr. 233 ◇ Kas. AL 154-5 (IE, A + unc. U \*umpe 'whole, complete').

**807. \*Hañ∇** (= \*Haño?) 'other' > IE: NaIE \*a|on- (× N \*ha 'ille?') ⇨ :  
 [1] NaIE \*a|on-yo-'other' > Iir \*anjo-s 'other, different' > OI an'ya-ḥ, Av anyō, OPrs aniya id., Oss annä 'the other (of two, of many)' ||| ? Gk ἔννη (ellipsis from ἔννη ἡμέρα [with ἡμέρα 'day']) 'the day after tomorrow';  
 [2] NaIE \*a|ontero-s 'the other (of two)' (built on the analogy of \*al-tero-s id.?) > OI 'antara-, Oss ändär 'other' ||| Gt anpar (· ἄλλος, ἕτερος, δεύτερος) 'anderer, zweiter', ON annarr (pl. aðrir), OHG ander, NHG anderer, AS oðer 'other', NE other ||| Lt añtaras ~ añtras, Ltv òtrs, Ltv E ūtors 'other', Pru antars ~ antars 'other, the second' ¶ Brg. KVG 401, Me. OSJ 352-3, ≈ P 37-8 (unc.: \*anios and \*anteros <⇨ \*an 'there, on the other side'), ≈ EI 411 (\*h<sub>1</sub>en- ~ \*h<sub>1</sub>on- 'that', \*h<sub>1</sub>on-tero-s 'other'), Frn. 12, En. 142, M K I 35-7, Ab. I 545, Fs. 53, Vr. 10, Ho. 243, EWA I 241-2 ||| **U:** Sm {Jn.} \*añ∇- 'other' > Ne Т џани, Ne Т O {Lh.} ηāñī 'other, different', En {Cs.} ańí? 'aufs neue', Ng {Mik.} ηonə 'and', {Cs.} ηanai 'aufs neue, noch' ¶ Jn. 1, Ter. 383 ||| **A:** M \*ondô<sup>1</sup>∇n 'other, different' > WrM {MED} ondu, HIM {MED, BMR} ондоо, Kl {KRS} ондан, 'other, different', {Rm.} onđān 'ein anderer', ShY ondōn, Dg {T} enčū 'other, different', Brt ондо ондоо pl. 'different (разные)', ондоо 'different (другой, иной, отличный)', Ord ondōn 'autre, différent; étrange'; M \*onc<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> > WrM онци ~ онца {MED} adj. 'particular, specific, separate, unique, special, exclusive', adv. 'especially, particularly', HIM онц {MED} id., {BMR} 'particular, отличный, best, important', Brt онцо particular, exclusive, extraordinary', Ord онч'о 'seulement; seul, unique'; ⇨ M \*oncôgôy > WrM онцигу {MED} 'peculiar, unusual; specific; separate, special', HIM онцгой {MED} id., {BMR} 'other, different; verschiedenartig; separate', Brt онцгой adv. 'отдельно, обособленно, специально', Ord онч'огĵ 'qui est à l'écart, isolé' ¶ MED 611-13, MYC 529, BMR II 478-9, 482-3, Luv. 300, Chr. 356-7, KRS 399, KW 286-7, T DgJ 140, Ms. O 512-13 ||| NrTg \*aη- (unless it is \*χαη-) > Lm aηili 'other, different', Neg aniskī: ~ aηiskī: id., 'otherwise' (thie NrTg word may have been influenced by Tg \*χαηgi 'side', whence Neg aηili: ~ aηili: 'aside, far') ¶ STM I 46 ¶¶ M \*o- suggests pN \*Haño (with regr. as. N \*-año > M \*o-) ¶¶ SDM 1040 (err.:

M \*on- < pA \*ó 'this, that' || | ?σ HS: CS \*han (dem. prn.) (× N \*ha 'ille') > IA/EpJA hn {HJ} 'this', BHb ha- +gmc. 'the', Mo, Ph h- 'the', Ar {Nld.} han 'der da, das da' ¶ HJ 287-8, KB 225-6, ≈ Nld. NB 119 (unc.:Ar han 'iste' ← han- 'thing') ◇ If WS \*han belongs here, the N rec. is \*hañ∇, otherwise we remain with an unspecified \*H- (N \*Hañ∇) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 288 (\*ena 'other') (IE, U, ?? Gil + err. J, A + unc. CK, EA).

**808.** \*hin∇ (= \*Xin∇?) 'other' > IE: NaIE \*eḡn- > Sl \*jьnъ(jь) (f. \*jьна, ntr. \*jьно) 'other, different' > OCS HNB inъ (f. ina, ntr. ino), OR, RChS HNB inъ, R и'ной, Uk 'иний, SCr in, inī, Cz jíný, Slk iný id., Blg 'иный, ин (f. ина, ntr. ино), Slv in, OP iny, P inny 'different' || | Ir \*aḡn- > Oss I иннæ īnnä 'the other one (from two)', the other (from many)', Xwr inī 'other' ¶ Brg. KVG 401, Me. OSJ 352-3, Frn. 12, En. 142, ≈ ESSJ VIII 233-4, StSS 262, Glh. 277, Bern. I 432, M K I 35-7, Ab. I 545, Fs. 53, Vr. 10, Ho. 243 || | D (att. in SD) \*°ēḡ- 'other' > Tm ēḡaḡ 'other, the rest' ¶ D no. 919 || | Gil: Gil A/ES ena- 'other, belonging to another person, strange', A ena-ḡ, ES ena-nd 'be other, belong to another person, be strange' ¶¶ ST 482-3, Krn. N 493 || | HS \*-(i)hEn- within the cd \*ʔanihEn-n∇ 'we' (aut. prn.) (\*ʔan- [focalizing topic pc., forming autonomous pers. pronouns] + \*(i)hen- + \*nu∇ 'we, our' [< N \*ñ∇ 'we' excl.]) (× N \*XAnḡ∇,ḡ∇ 'together, with' [q.v.]?) > S \*ʔa'niḡnu|a 'we' (aut. prn.) (> BHb ʔnḡḡḡ ʔa'naḡnū, Ph ʔnḡḡ, BA ʔnḡḡḡ ʔa'naḡnā, IA ʔnḡḡ(h), Plm ʔnḡḡw, JA ʔnḡḡḡ(ḡ) (ʔa)naḡnā, JEA {Sl.} ʔnḡḡḡ ʔa'naḡnā ~ ʔnḡḡ ʔa'nan, Sr ʔnḡḡ nāḡhan ~ [an obsolete form ʔnḡḡ] [unvocalized ʔnḡḡn, presumably to be vocalized as ʔnḡḡḡ] ʔanaḡnan], Ar ʔnḡḡ naḡnu, Gz nāḡna, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} nāḡā, Jb E 'nḡa, Jb C 'nḡan ~ 'nḡa, Sq {Jo.} ḡan ~ 'ḡanhḡn, Ak (a)nīnu 'we') || C: Bj {RHd.} hi'nin, {Rop.} he'nnen 'we, us', {R} ha'nan, han'in, he'nin 'we' etc. (ffd. cf. AD SF 154-5) ¶¶ This is one of two alternative etymologies of HS \*ʔanihEn-n∇ 'we'. It presupposes that \*ʔanihEn-n∇ originally meant 'we others' (like Sp nosotros, Ctl nosaltres 'we' < L pl. accus. nos alteros 'we others', cp. also Fr nous autres). The other alternative explanation presupposes that \*ʔanihEn-n∇ originally meant 'we together', with \*-hen- going back to N \*XAnḡ∇,ḡ∇ '↑' (q.v. ffd.) (> Eg fP ḡnḡ 'together with, and') ¶¶ Dk. JDPa 224-5, AD SF 154-5, KB I 69, BK II 1217, L G 395, Rop. s.v. he'nnen ◇ IE points to a N \*i. Tm ē- for the expected reflex of a D \*i- or ī- still requires explanation.

**809.** *on.?* \*Hañ'g'∇ (t̥∇) (or \*Haŋ'g'∇ (t̥∇)??) 'duck' > IE \*H<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>ti- / \*HenHti- ({M} \*h<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>'ti-, {EI} \*h<sub>h</sub>h<sub>h</sub>ti- / \*h<sub>h</sub>enh<sub>h</sub>ti-) > NaIE \*anati 'duck' > L *anas* (accus. *anatem* ~ *anitem*) id. || Gmc \*anud- ~ \*anid- 'duck' > ON *and*, OHG *anut* (~ *aneta*), nom. pl. *enti*, NHG *Ente*, Dt *eend*, OSx *anad*, AS *ened* id. || OI m. *ā'ti-h*, f. *ātī* 'duck', KhS *āce* 'aquatic birds, geese', Oss *acc* {OsR} 'wild duck; male duck' || Gk I *νῆσσα*, Gk A *νῆττα*, Gk B *νᾶσσα* 'duck' (< \**νᾶττα*) || BSl \*ānt- (< \**anət-*) > Lt *āntis*, Pru *antis* 'duck' || Sl \**ǫ̇t̥i* (gen. \**ǫ̇t̥ve*) 'duck' > ChS *ꙗтѣ* *ꙗтѣ* (gen. *ꙗтѣвѣ* *ꙗтѣвѣ*), OR *ꙗтѣ* *ꙗтѣ* (gen. *ꙗтѣвѣ* *ꙗтѣвѣ*), SCr *ꙗтѣ*, R *ꙗтѣ*, Slv {Vs.} *ꙗтѣ*, {Glh.} *ꙗтѣ*, Uk *ꙗтѣ*, Blr *ꙗтѣ*, *ꙗтѣ*, (? dim. →) R *ꙗтѣ* id. ¶ P 41-2, EI 171, M K I 72-3, M E I 163-4, Bai. 16, Ab. I 27, OsR 61, WH I 44, F II 317-18, Vr. 687, EWA I 291-3 and II 1075, Kb. 39, 200, KM 167, Frn. 11-12, En. 142, Tr. P A-D 95-6, Vs. IV 174, Glh. 568 || **U** \*aŋ∇ 'ε aquatic bird (duck or sim.), ε game bird (*Tetraonidae*, *Phasianidae*)' > Lp: N {N} *hâŋ'ŋa* / -ŋŋ- ~ *hâŋ'ŋja* 'long-tailed duck; *Harelda glacialis*', L {LLO} *haŋŋā* ~ *haŋŋēk* ~ *haŋŋōk* 'ice duck, *Harelda hiemalis*', L Kld {TI} *aŋ'ŋ-ŋon':t̥a* 'polar duck (*Harelda*)', L U {Schl.} *aŋŋàlahka* 'domestic duck' || ObU {Ht.} \**ŋk* 'partridge, ptarmigan' > pVg \**ŋkā* id. > OVg S SSs *angō*, *anka* ≈ id., Vg T {Mu.} *āŋghā*, Vg MK *ŋka*, OVg N BerG 'anga, Vg Ss *āŋxa* 'ptarmigan', Vg P *āŋka* id., 'partridge'; pOs \**ŋk* > Os: V/Vy *ŋq*, D/K *eŋx* 'partridge, ptarmigan' || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} *ŋa"ŋo ŋa?ŋo* 'diving duck (*Aythya*, *нырок*), long-tailed duck (*Clangula hiemalis*, *ꙗтѣ-морьянка*), {Lh.} *ŋāŋū* 'polar duck, *Anas hiemalis*', En {KD} *ŋau* 'duck', Ng {Mik.} *ŋaŋoŋa* 'duck', Slq Tz {KKIH} *ū* 'partridge', {Prk.} *u* 'ptarmigan', Slq Nr/Yel/Kar {Cs.} *ū* id., Kms *uŋa* 'partridge', Koyb {Pl.} *angat* '*Anas rutila*', Mt {Hl.} \**oŋg̊o* 'Schneehuhn' or 'Rebhuhn' (Mt: K {Pl.} *oŋhò* 'куропатка', [in Pl. Z] '*Tetrao Lagopus*') ¶¶ UEW 13, Schl. 6, TI 15, Ht. no. 45, Ter. 392, KKIH 191, Cs. 108, Erl. 282, Hl. M no. 811, ≠ Jn. 19 || **A** \*aŋg̊i- (~ \**aŋki-*) 'ε duck' > NaT \**aŋit* or \**aŋkit* 'wild duck\goose' > OT *aŋit* {Cl.} 'ruddy goose, *Anas casarca*', OOSm xv *aŋit* id., MQp XIV *aŋit* 'a bird called 'al-'unaysa (in Ar)', Chg [San.] *aŋkud*, Tk Δ *ankit*, Qmq *hankut* 'ε wild duck', SY *aŋit* {Ml.} 'wild duck with yellow feathers', Xk *aat āt* 'scoter (*Melanitta*, *тырпан*)', Tkm *aŋk* 'red duck', ? Yk *andi* ~ *anni* 'ε 'black duck', 'scoter, diving duck' (unless Yk ← Ewk *aŋir*) ¶ Cl. 176, TL 172, Ml. ZhU 16, Tn. SJJ 172 || Tg \**aŋg̊i* (~ \**andi*?) 'ε aquatic bird' > Nn Nh *āŋg̊i* ~ *āni* 'loon (*Gavia*)', Neg *aŋi*, Ewk *anni* & *andi* ~ *aŋir*, Neg *aŋi*

'bluebill (чернетъ, *Aythya*)', Ewk Ucr зндз 'fish duck (*Mergus*)' ¶ STM I 43 and II 453, On. 40, 43 || M \*aŋgir > MM, WrM {MED} aŋgir 'scoter (*Melanitta*)', HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt ангир id., Kl Ö {Rm.} äŋgr̥ 'ein Vogel'; M ⇨ Alt {Rl.} aŋar 'an aquatic bird (smaller than a goose, with a red-yellow breast)', {BT} aŋir 'варнавка (ε a bird)', Tv aŋyir, Qrg {Jud.} aŋir 'ruddy shelduck' (*Casarca ferruginea*), Tv aŋyir, Ewk Brg aŋir 'scoter, *Melanitta* (турпан)' ¶ MED 445, BMR I 112, Chr. 52, KW 23, Cl. 176, Rl. I 184, BT 19, Jud. 60, TvR 62, STM I 43, Z 18 || Tg: Ewk I aŋir 'hazel grouse', WrMc {Z} ангиръ нѣхэ 'scoter; ε big ellow wild duck' (нѣхэ means 'duck') ¶ STM I 43, Z 18 || pJ {S} \*anti > OJ adi 'ε duck' ¶ S QJ no. 757 ¶¶ SDM 304-5 (pA \*āŋat̪ 'ε duck' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 40, ADb. KL, S AJ 71, TL 172 || D (att. in McTm) \*aŋr̥il (= \*aŋt̥il) 'ε bird' (= 'ε duck?') > Tm aŋr̥il 'ε aquatic bird (OI сакрав̄ака [= *Anas casarca*?])', Ml aŋnal 'ε a bird of stately walk' ¶ D no. 331.

**810.** \*Hoŋ|ŋka 'angle, joint\bend (of a limb etc.)' > IE: NaIE \*o|ang- 'joint (of body), angle' > OI 'aŋgam 'limb' ||| Arm անկիւն ankiwn 'angle, corner' ||| L angulus id., Um ANGLOM-E 'ad angulum' ||| ON ekkja 'heel', dim. →: ON qkla, OHG ancala, ancra, anchla 'ankle, ankle joint; talus', AS anclēow 'ankle', NE ankle ||| Sl \*oŋьль 'angle, corner' > OCS ѡгьль oŋьль, Blg 'ьгьл, SCr ūgao (gen. ūgla), Slv vōgəl (gen. vōgla), Cz úhel, Slk uhol, P węgieł (gen. węgła), OR ѡг(ь)ль uŋ(ь)ль, R 'угол, Uk 'вугол id. ¶ ≈ P 45-7 and ≈ AHDI 3 (both did not distinguish between NaIE \*ank- 'bend' [see N \*χ|q'a'ŋ̥, K̥ 'to bend'] and NaIE \*o|ang-), M K I 21, M E I 48, WH I 48-9, Ho. 5, Vr. 99, 686, EWA I 260-1, Kb. 33, ≈ OsS 20, StSS 804, Sl. 286-7, Vs. IV 145, Glh. 650-1 ||| A \*o|ö̥:ŋ̥K̥<sup>1</sup> - (or \*o|ö̥:ŋ̥<sup>1</sup>) > NrTg \*o̥:ŋ̥- 'corner', \*oŋ̥ī- v. 'bend as to form an angle' > Ewk oŋ̥ān 'internal corner', oŋ̥ī- v. 'bend\bend a stick in order to form an angle, bend a board (to make a ski with an arched front part)', Lm oŋ̥it̥- ~ oŋ̥iç- v. bend (together)' ('гнуть, сгибать'), Neg oŋ̥i- ~ oŋ̥i- 'bend a board (to make a ski)', Ork o, oŋ̥i 'angle, corner' ¶ STM II 19 || M \*öncüg (unless with \*φ-) > WrM öncüg {MED} 'external corner, angle', HIM өнцөг {MED} id., {BMR} 'corner; end (of an object)', Kl {KRS}} өнцг öncəg 'external corner', {Rm.} öncög 'Ecke, hervorstehende Kante', Ord önc'ök 'extrémité d'un objet terminé en angle, coin' ¶ MED 636, BRM III 29-30, KRS 417, KW 296, Ms. O 535 ¶ The M element (sx?) \*-cüg is of

unknown origin ¶¶ SDM 1053 ([A \*ð̥ni|e 'angle' > Tg, M), DQA no. 1598 (id.) || HS: C: Bj {R} 'aɾkʷa 'hump', {Rop.} aɾkʷa 'hump of camel' ¶ R WBd 24, Rop. 152 || ?σ S: Ar حَنْكَة ḥanak-at- 'colline très élevée qui se dresse comme un tour' ¶ BK I 505 ◇ If Ar ḥanak-at- belongs here, the N word is \*Χοῆ|ηκα.

**811. \*HEñom∇** (= \*ħEñom∇ or χEñom∇?) 'take hold of, have, own' > IE: NaIE {WH} \*enm-/\*nem-/\*<sup>o</sup>jem- 'take, acquire, have' (× IE \*ʔ<sup>1</sup>em- / \*ʔ<sup>1</sup>om- v. 'take, get, acquire, have' < N \*ʔem∇ 'seize, hold' [q.v. ffd.] × N \*qAm∇ 'grasp, seize'): [1] NaIE \*enm- > \*em- > L emō, -ēre / ēmpsi / ēmptum 'take', Osc PERT-EMEST 'perimet', PERT-EMUST 'peremerit', PER-EMUST 'perceperit', Um eman̄tu(r) accipiantur' || OIr ar-fo-emāt 'they take' || Lt 1s pres. imù / inf. im̄ti 'take', Ltv jem̄u 'I take', Pru īm̄t 'to take' | Sl 1s pres. \*ьm-ŕ / inf. \*je-ti 'take' > OCS 1s pres. **ИМѦ** im̄ŕ / inf. **ИТИ** je-ti 'take', 1s pres. **ИМАМЬ** im̄am̄ 'I take, I grasp', 1s pres. **ИМѢЯ** im̄ějŕ / inf. **ИМѢТИ** im̄ěti 'have', as well as the cognate forms of other Sl lges; the Sl form \*ьm-ŕ is found in the OCS compound verb 1s **ВЪЗЬМѦ** v̄z-ьm-ŕ / inf. **ВЪЗАТИ** 'take, receive', R **возьму** 'I shall take' || [2] NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>jem- > OI 'yamati 'holds' || [3] NaIE \*nem- > Gt, AS **niman**, ON **nema**, OHG **neman**, NHG **nehmen** 'to take' || OIr **nem** 'gift' || Lt **núoma**, Ltv **nôma** 'rent, lease', Ltv **ņem̄t** 'to take' ¶ WH I 400-2, WP I 207, StSS 259-60, 807-8, Kb. 719-20, Bern. I 425-30, Frn. 512, ≈ EI 564 (\*h<sub>1</sub>em- 'take, distribute', \*nem- 'take\accept legally') || HS: Eg fP **xn̄m** (= h<sub>1</sub>n̄m) 'put one's arm around, touch; join' ¶ EG III 377-81, Fk. 202 || U: FP \*oma 'own, property' > F, Es **oma** id. || pLp {Lr.} \*ōmē 'property; a thing belonging to smb.' > Lp OSw {LÖ} **āme** 'res', Lp N {Fri.} **oabme** 'res, pecus, proprietas', {N} **oabme / -m-** 'sth. which belongs to so., property', Lp L **āpmē** 'property, thing', Lp I {SK} **oami** 'own, property' || ? Vt **умой** umoy 'good, fit' (← \*'proper to...'), Vt G {Wc.} **умоу** 'good' ¶ UEW 717, Lr. no. 830, Lgc. no. 4572 ¶ The prehistory of FP \*oma may have been: N \*HEñom∇ > \*\*Ē<sup>1</sup>oma > \*oma ◇ If Eg **xn̄m** is a valid cognate, the pN etymon is \*ħEñom∇ or χEñom∇ ◇ It is tempting to tie in M \*ōm̄cin > WrM {MED} **ōmci** HIM **емч** 'inheritance, share of property; property', HIM **емч** {MED} id., {BMR} 'property', Kl {KRS} **енчн** önčän 'inheritance', {Rm.} **ömčj** ~ **önčj** 'Erbteil, Anteil' (MED 635, BMR III 22, KRS 417, KW 296), but it belongs here only if the meaning 'property' is ancient in M (which is not certain).

**812.**  $\text{₂} *H^{\bar{a}}\bar{n}t\bar{\nabla}$  'kernel' > IE: NaIE \*endr- 'kernel', (?) 'egg' > Vd  $\bar{a}n\bar{t}\bar{d}a$ - 'egg', du. 'testicles',  $\bar{a}n\bar{t}\bar{d}i$ - 'testicles, OI  $an\bar{t}d\bar{a}$ - 'egg, testicle', Kls 'ōndrak 'egg' || SI \*ędro 'kernel' > RChS {P}  $\text{ЯДРО}$  jadro 'nucleus, testiculus', OR  $\text{ЯДРО}$  jadro, R, Blr я'дро, McdS jadro, SCr, Slv jédro, Cz jádro, Slk jadro, P jądro я'дро 'kernel', Uk я'дро 'grain of corn, kernel, testicle', HLs jadro 'kernel, testicle' ¶ ESSJ VI 65-6, EI 507-8 (IE \*h<sub>1</sub>en'dro-s 'egg, scrotum', err.: ← \*h<sub>1</sub>en- 'in'), ≠ P 774 (unc.: SI < IE \*o<sub>1</sub>d-), Vs. IV 547-8, ≠ M K I 26 (rejecting the connection of  $an\bar{t}d\bar{a}$ - with SI and supposing that it is of Munda origin), M E I 162-3 (considering the OI-SI connection "überlegenswert") ¶ NaIE \*-r- may go back to a sx || **D** (att. in SD) \*an̄ṭi- 'kernel, stone of a fruit' (× N \*Xäñṭṭṭ 'grain, kernel') > Ml  $an\bar{t}i$  'kernel, stone of mango etc., nut', Tm  $an\bar{t}i$ -kkot̄t̄aj̄ 'cashew nut', Tu  $an\bar{t}i$  'stone of fruit (mangoes etc.)', Kdg maṅge aṅṭi 'mango stone'; D → Prkr  $an\bar{t}hi$ , Hnd  $\tilde{a}ṭḥī$ , Bngl  $\tilde{a}ṭḥī$  'kernel', Ori  $\tilde{a}ṭḥī$  id., Hnd Bhj  $\tilde{a}ṭḥī$  'kernel\pip of fruit' (× OInA \*aṣṭi- [> OI Sk aṣṭi-] 'kernel'); NInA → Krx aṭḥū 'mango stone', Mlt aṭi 'stone\seed of a fruit' ¶ D no. 126, Tu. no. 955 ◊ The positional neutralization of the N opposition \*n ↔ \*ñ is denoted here by the symbol  $\bar{n}$ .

**813.** \*HängkU 'fire' > HS (× N \*h<sup>1</sup>awk<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> 'light [lux], bright', q.v. ffd.): Ch {Stl.} \*ʔakuw- 'fire' > WCh: Cg  $\hat{a}kwé$ , My  $\hat{a}kú$ , P<sup>1</sup>  $\hat{a}kú$ , Mbr  $kùwá$ , Jmb {Sk.}  $akwá$ , Dir  $akúwá$ , Ngz  $\hat{a}kâ$ , Bd  $\hat{a}kán$ , Wrj {Sk.}  $kèwá$ , Siri {Sk.}  $kúwí$ , Ngz {Sch.}  $\hat{a}kâ$ , Bd {IL}  $\hat{a}kà$  'fire' || ECh: Skr {Sk.}  $\hat{o}kó$ , Dng {Fdr.}  $ako$ , Mgm {J}  $\hat{o}kkò$ , Mkl {J}  $\hat{p}ùw\hat{w}ó$ , Jg {J}  $\hat{p}ó\hat{k}$ , Brg {J}  $\hat{p}àkù$  'fire' ¶ JI II 13-89, ChC s.v. 'fire' || C: DhI {To.}  $\hat{p}éga$  id. || SC: Asa {To.}  $yogot$ , {E}  $yogo$  'fire' ¶ To. D 128, E SC 318 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 95 [no. 26.2] || IE {EI} \*Hng<sup>w</sup>ni-s > NaIE \*ngni-s ({P, Dv.} \*egni-/\*ogni-) 'fire' > OI ag<sup>1</sup>niḥ id. || L igni-s id. || Lt ugnis, Ltv uguns id. | SI \*ognь 'fire' > OCS  $\text{ОГНЬ}$  ognь, Blg  $\text{огън}$ , SCr  $\hat{o}ganj$ , Slv ogenj  $\hat{o}gán$ , Cz, Slk  $\text{ohně}$ , P  $\text{ogień}$ , R, Uk  $\text{огонь}$  'fire' ¶ P 293, EI 202, Dv. no. 33, M K I 18, WH I 676, Frn. 1158-9, StSS 404-5, Vs. III 118-19 || **U**: FU {UEW} \*ǎṅṭ ( $\{IS\}$  \*eṅkṭ) 'fire', \*ǎṅṭ- vi. 'burn' > Chr {Szil.} eṅ 'fire', {Ü} eṅdem vt. 'I incandence (on fire), I roast, I burn (bricks)', Chr: L  $\text{ъ'η-аš}$  vi. 'smoulder' ('тлеть, истлеть'), Uf/B eṅa-, H  $\text{əṅgä}$ - 'schwelen, anbrennen, angesengt werden, verkohlen' | Z {Savv.}  $\text{ынь}$  'flame', {W}  $\text{+ńal}$ - 'flammen, entbrennen',  $\text{+ńed}$ - 'entzünden' || Os: Vy  $\text{yǎṅlǎl}$ -, Kz  $\text{yǎṅəṭ}$ - v. 'roast on fire' | Hg  $\text{éḡ}$ - vi.



'burn' ¶ UEW 26, Ü 297, MRS 774-5 || D (att. in SD) \*aṅal 'fire' > Tm aṅal, Ml anal 'fire, heat', Kn analu 'heat' ¶ D no. 327 || ??φ E: OEL, MEI hu-un 'Licht' (?) ¶¶ HK 717 ◇ IS I 245-6 [no. 106] (\*Henka), Blz. E no. 35.

**814.** \*HUṅ't'∇ 'root' > HS: EC \*Hund∇ 'root' > Or {Grg.} hundē id. (but not Or Wt {Hn.} hidda\_ 'root', Brj 'hiddi 'root of big trees; bloodvessel, tendon', which are from EC {Ss.} \*hizz- 'root', cf. Ss. PEC 20, 36) ¶ Grg. 218, Brl. 219, Th. 206, Hn. W 62, ≈ Ss. B 95 || U: FU (att. in FV only) \*ont∇ 'root' > pLp {Lr.} \*ṅntē id. > Lp: L {LLO} āttēṣ 'the main root of a tree' ('die größte, dickste, unverzweigte Wurzel, Hauptwurzel'), ? S {Hs.} vieddie, N {N} væd'de, Kld vyeñ'd, {SaR} vyeñteṣ 'root' | Mk цнкс unks id., Er Δ {Ps.} unduks ~ undoks 'root, stalk (of a cucumber etc.), sprout' ¶ UEW 719, Lr. no. 834, Lgc. no. 4541, SaR 62-3, Ps. B 130 || A \*ṅṅtē 'root' > M \*ündü-sün, {ADb.} \*ünde-sün 'root' > WrM {MED} ündüsün, HIM {MED, BMR} үндэс, үндсэн, Brt үндэһэ(н), Kl {KRS} үндсн, {Rm.} ündüsṅ, Dg {Pp.} ünd\_ūs, ündüsù, {Mrm.} undusun, {Mr.} unduse, {T} undus id., Ord ünd\_üsü 'racine' ¶ MED 1007, BMR III 411-12. Chr. 506, KW 458, T DgJ 171, Klz. D II 141, MYC 693, Ms. O 757 || Tg \*ṅṅte 'root' > Ewk ṅṅtэ ~ nṅtэ, Lm ṅṅtə, Neg niṅtэ ~ niṅtэ, Orc, Ud X/I/Sm {Krm.} niṅtэ, Ud B iṅtэ, Ul muiktэ ~ nuiktэ, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} muiktэ, Nn Δ niṅktэ id., Nn Nh {Pt., On., LN} muiktэ 'root', Nn Nh {On.} 'волоски боковых корней'; in Ul, Orl, Nn the word is reinterpreted as having a derivational sx -ktэ ¶ STM I 662, Krm. 272, On. 271, On. LN 105, Pt. 84 || pJ {S} \*mṅtṅ > OJ moto, MJ mòtò 'root, foundation', J K mó'tò, J T/Kg motó 'root, beginning', StJ moto-ni 'under' ¶ S QJ 209, Mr. 486, Kenk. 1271-2 ¶¶ SDM 1033-4 (pA \*ṅṅnt'e 'root' > Tg. M, J), DQA no. 1543 (id.), SDM97 s.v. \*ṅṅte 'root', S AJ 18, 39, 92, 291, ADb. KL s.v. A \*ṅṅte, KW 458, 1, MYC 693 ◇ A \*ṅ- (> Tg \*\*ṅ-, pJ \*m-, M \*∅-) is likely to result from regr. as. (\*∅...ṅ > pA \*ṅ...ṅ) ◇ ADb. NNN 34 (N \*ṅṅnt'∇ > A, U, IE) ◇ Hardly here NaIE \*wejt- 'dyer's woad, *Isatis inctoria* (a plant used to produce blue dye)' (> L vitrum 'woad') || Gmc \*wajda- id. > OHG weit, NHG waid, MLG wēd, Dt weede, AS wād id., NE woad ¶ WP I 236, WH II 806, KM 833, Kb. 1164, Ho. 378), because such connection is semantically unj. (the most important part of the woad [used to produce dye] is its leaves rather than its root).

**815.** <sub>2</sub> ≈ \*HUp∇ (t∇k|g∇) or \*HU<sub>1</sub>P<sub>1</sub>t∇k∇ ~ \*HU<sub>1</sub>P<sub>1</sub>t∇g∇ (\*H = \*h or \*ḥ?) 'stalk (of a plant), stem' > IE: NaIE {P} \*a|o<sub>1</sub>:<sub>1</sub>d(e)g<sub>1</sub>ω<sub>1</sub>o- 'stalk' > OI [AthV] 'adga-h<sub>1</sub> 'cane, stalk' (× N \*q∇t∇ or \*q∇p<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>t∇ 'tail, hinder

part' [q.v.?) || ??φ Lt *vedegā* 'adze' ({Frn.} 'ε Axt zum Aushauen, Zimmeraxt'), ?? Ltv *vedga* 'Breachstange (mit hölzernem Griff)' ¶ WP I 175, P 773, M K I 29, M E I 63, Frn. 1164-5 || | HS: ?σ Eg *hpw.tj* 'ε Gestell, Kletterbaum (auf dem die göttlichen Vögel zu sitzen\hocken pflegen)' ¶ EG II 489 || C: Bj {R} 'ʔabka 'Stiel, Handhabe' || Or *hofa* {E} 'stalk, stem', {Brl.} 'lancia con punta di legno', {Grg.} *hofā* 'spear made of sharpened wood' || SC: Brn {E} *hopi-na* 'handle, haft' ¶ R WBd 336, E SC 309, Brl. 21, Grg. 211 || B ({ʔPr.} ≈ \*✓wdg) > Sll *taddägt* (pl. *taddägin*) 'tige ligneuse', Shl {NZ} *addag* 'arbre, branche' ¶ Ds. 278, NZ 298 || S: Ak YB {Sd.} *udugu* ~ *edigu* 'ein Stock z.B. zum Walken' (but {CAD} *edigu* ["meaning uncertain"]) ¶ Sd. 1402, CAD IV 33 ¶¶ Tk. I 147 and Tk. SCC 98 [no. 28.4] (Eg, C) ¶¶ The initial HS cns. is rather uncertain. Eg *hpw.tj* (if it belongs here) points to \*h-, Ak YB *edigu* seems to suggest \*h̄- (but its ev. cannot be decisive because Ak YB was not a really spoken lge), while the origin of Or h- is less clear (both HS \*h- and HS \*h̄ are not ruled out, cp. [1] Or *hēr-um-* ps. 'marry' and Eg *fP h̄y* 'husband' < N \**hǣʔ|y,r'E* 'male' and [2] Or *hirriba* ~ *irriba* 'a sleep' < EC \**hinrib-* 'eyelash, eyelid' < N \*(*hiN*∇) *rimP*∇ or \*(*him*∇) *rimP*∇ id.) || | ?σ A: Tg \**upu-* 'pluck a fowl > Nn Nh {On.} *upu-* Nn KU *upu-*, Ud *oφodi-* id.; Tg \**upu-kte* 'feather' (unless from N \**ʔup*∇ 'take wing', 'up', q.v.) > Nn Nh {On.} *rc upuktz* ~ *opukte*, Ud *oφokto*, Ork *upuktz*, Nn Nh *upultz* ¶ \*-kta/e is a sx of mass nouns ¶ STM II 281, Ci. 209, On. 432 ◇ Qu.

**816.** ₂ \**H'æ'R*∇ 'goat, sheep' > HS: C: Dhl {EEN} *hēri* 'goat, sheep' || SC: Irq {MQK} *ʔāri* 'she-goat', pl. *āra* 'goats', Irq/Grw/Alg/Brn {E} *ara* 'goats' ¶ EEN 15, E SC 297, MQK 16 || ?σ Ch: WCh: Mnt/Ywm {J} *ur* 'he-goat' || ECh: Ll *ōrē* 'goats' ¶ JI II 167, J ChMGB s.v. Mnt/Ywm *ur*, ChC s.v. 'goat', ChL ¶¶ Ember ESS no. 3.b.6, OS no. 1081, Tk. I 54, Tk. SCC 95 [no. 25.3] || | IE \**H̄<sup>1</sup>er(i)-* ({EI} \**h<sub>1</sub>er-* 'lamb, kid') > NaIE \**er-*, *eri-* 'goat, sheep' (× N \**ʔiR'i* ' [male, young] big ungulate' [q.v.] and N \**ʔeRq'i* 'ε ruminant' [q.v.]); I am grateful to Blz. for drawing my attention to the contamination with N \**ʔeRq'i*) > L *ariēs* (gen. *ariētis*) 'ram', Um *erietu* 'arietem' || BSl (< NaIE \**er-*, \**eri-* × IE \**yeHr-* 'springtime, year' [< N \**ḥaʔrE* ≈ young, newborn', q.v.]) > Pru *eristian*, Lt (j) *éras*, Ltv *jērs* 'lamb' | Sl \**jarьka* 'female lamb' (× Sl \**jarьka* ← \**jaro* 'springtime' < N \**ḥaʔrE*) > OR *яръка* *jarька*, R 'ярка, 'ярочка 'lamb (female)', Uk, Blr *ярка*, Slk *jarьka* 'year-old sheep', P

j a r k a 'heifer, a lamb of this year' ||| ? Arm n p n o z o x o ž 'lamb' ([according to P] initial o- from \*e- by as) ||| NaIE \*er(i)-b<sup>h</sup>- (with the sx \*-b<sup>h</sup>(o)- of animal names) 'ε horned artiodactyl' (× N \*ʕiR'i' '(male, young) big ungulate', q.v.) > Gk ἔριφο-ς 'kid' ||| Clt: OIr heir p (\*erb<sup>h</sup>-ī-) 'dama, capra', erb(b) (\*erb<sup>h</sup>-ā-) 'cow', NIr ear b 'goat', ScGl ear b '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, ≈ ESSJ VIII 179-80.

**817. \*H<sub>1</sub>erU** 'ascend, rise' > **HS: B** \*✓ wHu|ir 'be above' (× N \*ʔür▽ or \*ʔurE 'top', q.v.) > Ah {Fc.} ã w r (pf. i w a r) (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6), Gh {Nh.} w a r (pf. i w a r) 'be on\above (sth.)', ETwl, Ty a w a r id., 'être levé' (lune, soleil) ¶ Fc. 1511, 2005, Pr. M VI-VII 106, Nh. 208, GhA 201 ||| **IE** \*h<sub>1</sub>er- (or \*h<sup>w</sup>er-), \*h<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>eru- ({IS} \*h<sup>w</sup>er-) 'ascend, rise' (× N \*ʔür▽ or \*ʔurE '↑') > AnIE: Ht a r a i -, a r i y a - '(a)rise, lift; raise, (a)rouse', Lw a r i (y a ) - 'raise'; Ht a r u - 'high', a r r i y a - 'rouse, stir (from sleep), awaken; start (from sleep), be awake', a r - 'stand (by), remain standing' ||| NaIE \*er-/ \*or- 'rise, move, stir' > Gk 1s pres. ὀρνύμι and ὀρνύω v. 'stir, stir up, urge on, incite', 1s pres. md. ὀρνυμαι (pfc. ὀρωρα) 'arise, start up; stir oneself', [Hs.] ἔρετο (\* ὠρμήθη) 'was set in motion' ||| OI r o -'r<sub>o</sub>-ti vi. 'arises, moves', Av a r a n a o 'ti vt. 'moves' ||| Arm j a n u t u y a r n e m 'I rise, I stand up' (aor. j a p t a j y a r e a y) ||| L o r i o r v. 'rise, arise' ||| MW d y -g y f -o r 'height, high place' ¶¶ IS I 254 (\*H<sup>w</sup>er-, in spite of Gk ὀρνύμι), Pv. I 104-8, 123-7, 138-9, 177-8, WP I 148-9, P 326-32, M K I 122, WH I 64-5 and II 222-3, F II 422-4, Vn. A 87, Sl. 103-3, ≠ EI 506 (o r i o r < \*h<sub>1</sub>er- 'set in motion') ||| **D** \*ē<sub>1</sub>-, [GS] \*ē<sub>1</sub>d- > Tm ē<sub>1</sub>u v. 'rise, ascend', Ml ē<sub>1</sub>u k a, Kn ē<sub>1</sub>u v. 'rise, increase', Kt e<sub>1</sub>r, e<sub>1</sub>re<sub>1</sub>r, e<sub>1</sub>rr 'up', Td ö<sub>1</sub>r- v. 'rise high', Kdg a<sub>1</sub>r- 'rise to head' (liquor), Tu ē<sub>1</sub>ru v. 'ascend, climb, rise', Knd ē<sub>1</sub>ra si 'steep, steeply rising' ¶¶ D no. 916, GS 217 [no. 532], 61 [no. 184] ||| **A: [1]** pA \*ō<sub>1</sub>r▽- or \*ō<sub>1</sub>rE > NaT \*ō<sub>1</sub>r- 'rise' > Tkm ō<sub>1</sub>r- 'rise', Tk Δ ō<sub>1</sub>r- 'get up', VTt, Bsh ū<sub>1</sub>r- v. 'sprout', Qmq ō<sub>1</sub>r, VTt ū<sub>1</sub>r 'ascent', Nog, ET ō<sub>1</sub>r, Uz ω<sub>1</sub>r, Bsh ū<sub>1</sub>r 'ascent'; (× A {SDM} \*p'ō<sub>1</sub>re 'top' < N \*p<sub>1</sub>or'ā'▽ 'summit, top', q.v. ffd.) OT ō<sub>1</sub>r 'height, high, high ground', Chg ≥XV ō<sub>1</sub>r, ō<sub>1</sub>rk 'high ground, upwards', Tkm ō<sub>1</sub>r 'steep ascent', Tkm NC ō<sub>1</sub>r 'upwards', Tk ö<sub>1</sub>r 'high ground, hill', QrB, Qrg ö<sub>1</sub>r, SY ū<sub>1</sub>r ~ j<sub>1</sub>ur 'top', VTt ū<sub>1</sub>r 'high ground', Qq ö<sub>1</sub>r 'upper waters'; ¶ Cl. 193, ET Gl 542-3 ||| M (?) \*örn<sub>1</sub>- (unless it is \*φörn<sub>1</sub>-) > WrM ö<sub>1</sub>rni- {MED} v. 'grow, increase, rise', HIM e p h e - {MED} id., {BMR}. vi. 'grow, develop', ?σ Ord ö<sub>1</sub>rnö- 'se laisser monter, se laisser entraîner' ¶ MED 242, BMR III 40, Pp. IM 54. Ms. O 538 ¶ Qu., because

the available sources (WrM, HIM and Ord) do not distinguish between \*∅- and \*φ- < \*p- ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1173 (pA p'ṓre 'top' > T \*ṓr- + [not belonging here]: Tg \*poran 'top', M \*horay, \*horgil 'top' and J \*p3r3 'top of carriage') and ≠ DQA no. 1837 (id.) || Tg: Ewk Brg 0r0- v. 'climb on sth.' ¶ Vas. 327 || pKo {S} \*òr' - v. 'rise' (× A \*ü|ö́r'∇(-) 'to rise, up' < N \*ʔǘr'∇ or \*ʔúr'E 'top', q.v.) > MKo òr' - , òr- , NKo 0rI- id., {Rm.} 0rI- ~ 0ru- v. 'go upwards, rise, go up to' ¶ Rm. SKE 178-9, S QK no. 991, Nam 380, MLC 1199 ¶¶ The labialized vw. of the first syll. in the Altaic lges is probably due to the infl. of \*U of the next syll. ¶¶ SDM 1065 (pA 'rise; up' > Ko + the M and T roots, belonging to pA \*ṓr'∇- or \*ṓr'E [cf. below]) || [2] pA \*ṓr'∇- or \*ṓr'E- 'rise; up' (× A \*ü|ö́r'∇(-) 'to rise, up' < N \*ʔǘr'∇ or \*ʔúr'E) > M \*örgü- v. 'lift, raise' > MM {H, Lew.} ergu-, {Battal} wärgo-, {[IM] urg(i)-, WrM {MED} örgü-, ergü-, HIM {MED, BMR} örgö-, Brt ürge-, Kl {KRS} 0pɾ- örg- id., {Rm.} örgə- 'aufheben, in die Höhe heben', Dg ergue-, {Mr.} erewē-, Dx ugu-, ShY orgomžili, Mnr urgu- id., Ord ürgü- 'soulever, lever, élever' ¶ Lew. 33, MED 325, BMR III 39, Chr. 511, SM 475, MYC 548, KRS 424, KW 299, Ms. O 761 || T \*ǘr 'on top, high above' > OT, MT üze, ShY üze, üzi, Yk ũhe, üöhe id., Tk üzer 'upper part', Az üzäri 'on, over (на, над)' ¶ ET Gl 622-3, 638-9, Cl. 280-1, Rs. W 541, ARL 304 || pJ \*ura(i) 'end of a branch, top of a tree' > OJ ora, ore, J T ura id. ¶ Mr. 563, BJRS II 363 ¶¶ SDM 1065 (pA \*ṓri- 'rise; up' > M, T, J + unc. Ko \*òr' - v. 'rise' [going back to pA \*ṓr'∇- or \*ṓr'E [see above]) ¶¶ For both above-mentioned pA roots: Rm. SKE 178, Rm. EAS I 107, Shch. RTM 131 (unc.: M <b- T) ◇ An alt. pN rec. is \*H<sub>1</sub>orE (based on the A reflex), but it is less acceptable because of the D evidence ◇ The reflexes are sometimes hard to distinguish from those of N \*ʔǘr'∇ or \*ʔúr'E 'top' (q.v.) ◇ IS I 254-5 (\*Horä with \*o in spite of D \*ēɾ-), IS I 154 ≈ Gr. II 9 (\*or 'arise').

**818. \*H|wur'∇** 'male person\animal' > HS: NrOm: Wl/Zl {C} urā 'man (vir)', Zl {LmS} ūra, Gf LmS} ura 'man', Wl {LmS} issi-ʔura 'someone', Kf {C} ūrō ~ wurō 'man (vir), 'person, male' (-d→ ūr-ē 'woman'), Mch {L} wuró 'male animal' ¶ C SE IV 403-4, C SO 25, L M 57, LmS 292 ¶¶ But hardly here CCh: Mdr {ChL} ʔurà 'man, person', because its -r- is a reg. reflex of \*-d-, cp. Glv {RpB} ūdà 'person' (unless in Mdr ʔurà there is contamination of McMdr \*uda with the Ch reflex of N \*H|wur'∇) ¶ JI II 267 || **U:** FU \*ur'∇ 'man, male animal' > Furos (gen. uroon ~ urhoon) 'adult man, brave man, hero', uros (gen. urokšen) 'male

animal, two-year-old male reindeer' || ? Lp: N {N} *vâres* /-r'ras- ~ *vâres* /-r'ras- 'male animal, a male', *vârek* 'two-year-old male reindeer', I *ârēk* ~ *varēk* id., *ârēs* 'male animal', Kld *ořes* id., adj. 'male' || OHg *úr* 'powerful person; lord, God; husband', Hg *úr* (accus. *urāt*) 'lord, mister; husband'; ↪ OHg *orszáǵ* 'reign(ing) (Regierungszeit, uralkodás); country, empire', Hg *orszáǵ* 'country, state' ¶ Coll. 121, UEW 545, Sm. 542 (FU \**urā* 'male' > FP \**ura*, Ugr \**ŭra*), MF 653-4, MTE II 1095, EWU 1070, 1579 || ¶ A \**ūr*∇ 'male, young male' > Tg \**ur* > Ewk *ur* (accus. *urwǝ*) 'man (vir), male animal', ? WrMc {Z} *уррэшэнь* 'one-year-old deer' ¶ Vas. 450, STM II 281, 284, Z 172 || M \**üre*∇ 'young stallion' > MM [S] {H} *urī*∇ 'three-year-old horse', WrM *ūrege* ~ *ūriye* {MED} 'three- to four-year-old horse', HIM *урээ* {MED} id., {BMR} 'two- to four-year-old horse', Brt *урээ* 'three- to four-year-old horse', Kl {KRS} *урэ ürä* 'three-year-old horse', {Rm.} *ürē* 'dreijähriges Hengstfüllen', Ord *ürē* 'étalon de trois à cinq ans' ¶ H 166, MED 1011, 1013, BMR III 425, KW 459, KRS 553, Chr. 512, Ms. O 760 || NaT \**u:ri* 'male child, son' (× A \**p'uri* 'child, offspring[s]' < N \**p.ôr'i* 'child, offspring') > OT *uri* 'male child, son', (× T \**uru*∇ 'clan'): Tv *uru*∇ 'child, girl', Tf *uru*∇ 'child' ¶ Cl. 197, Ra. 237, ET Gl 604-6 ¶¶ SDM 603, DQA no. 630 || pKo {S} \**óràpí* 'brother' > MKo *óràpí*, NKo {S} *orabi* id., {Rm.} *orabi* ~ *oräbi* 'brother (used by and in relation to a sister)', *or-əmi* 'brother's wife' ¶ Rm. SKE 177-8, S QK no. 791, MLC 1197 || pJ {S} \**z̥t̥z̥* 'younger brother' > OJ *oto*, *otop̥i*, MJ *òtòùtò*, J T/Kg *ot̥t̥to*, J K *ót̥t̥tó* ¶ S QJ no. 368, Mr. 513, Kenk. 1471 ¶¶ SDM 607-8 (pA \**j̥òre* 'male, young male' > T, M, J, Ko + unc. T \**er-kek* 'man, husband, male' [going back to N \**hæ̥p̥|y,r'E* 'male']), DQA no. 650, SDM97 s.v. \**ur*∇ (T, M, Tg, Ko); Rm. SKE 177-8 and Rm. EAS I 107 (in both sources Ko, T + M \**ori* 'young' [see N \**hoR'i* 'newborn, a young']) ◇ ADb. NNN 34 adduced Tg \**ηur* (Ewk *ηur* 'male dog') ({ADb} < A \**ηur*∇ 'young male animal') and reconstructed N \**η<sub>1</sub>Ir*∇ 'male' ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 259 (\**er* 'man') (U + err.: IE \**r̥sen*, T, M, Ko, Gil; see N \**hæ̥p̥|y,r'E* 'male').

**819.** \**h<sub>1</sub>âp̥∇r̥*∇ (= \**pa<sub>2</sub>ur̥*∇?) 'long, big' > IE \**h<sub>x</sub>a|o<sup>1</sup>h<sub>x</sub>r-* 'long', (?) 'far' > OI *ā'rē* loc. 'far, in the distance', *ā'rāt* abl. 'from a distant place' || Tc A {Wn.} *aryu* 'long' (of time) || AnIE: Lv {Mlc.} *ārray(a)-*, {Lar.} *ara-*, *a(r)rai-*, *ari-*, HrLv {Mer.} *ara-* 'long' ¶¶ Wn. I 150-1 (with unconvincing proposal of an IE etymology of Tc *aryu*), Mlc. CL 26, Lar. 30, Mer. HHG 30, Ivn. SANA 153 (Lv *aryu-*), WP I 79 (IE \**āro-* 'die

Freie, Weite, Raum'), ≈ M K I 78 || **D**: (att. in SD) \*aṛ- 'great' > T m aṛ u v a m 'greatness, abundance', Kn a l u m b a 'excess, greatness' ¶ D no. 287 || **HS**: ECh: Mgm {JA} ṛârrò adv. 'loin, lointain' ¶ JA 66 || S (+ext.) \*√ṛk 'be\become long' > BHb, Ph, Ug, Aram G √ṛk, Ak inf. aṛ ā k u id., Ar G √ṛk 's'arrêter longtemps (quelque part)', BA ṛ'ṛṛ, ṛ'ṛīk, Sr ṛ a r ī k, Md a r i k a 'long', Sb ṛ k '(?) duration of time' ¶ HJ 108, KB 85-6, 1674, OLS 49, Br. 49, Ln. 50-1, BK I 26, CAD I/2 223-6, Sd. 83-5, BGMR 7, Bll. 27, DRS 33 || **A** \*uṛ∇ 'long' (→ old [not new]) > T \*uṛa- 'be(come) long' > OT u z a- 'be(come) long, be long drawn out' (usually of time, less often of space), XwT XIV u z a- 'be long drawn out', Chg ≥XV u z a- 'be(come) long', Tk u z a- 'be(come) long, last long, be\go far away', CrTt, Uz, Ln, Tv u z a- 'be(come) long', Tkm u ḍ a-, Yk u ḥ a- 'get elongated', ET u z a y-, Qzq ṽ z a- u z a-, Qq, Qmq u z a- 'become longer, go away far', Kr G u z a- 'be(come) long, last long', StAlt u z a- id., 'move far away', Qrg u z a- 'go away far'; -ḍ: [1] T \*uṛatī (gerund?) ~ \*uṛata > ET u z a t i 'for a long time', Qrg u z a t a, StAlt u z a d a, Xk u z a d a id., 'further', Tv u z a d i 'prolonging' (gerund), Tf u z a d i 'in a drawling manner (протяжно)'; [2] T \*uṛak 'long' > OT u z a q 'long drawn out, long lasting', 'far away, distant', MOsm XV u u z a q 'long' (of time)', Chg ≥XV u u z a q 'far away, distant', Qrg u z a q, VTt o z a k ḥ z a q, Bsh ḥ ḍ a q 'long' (of time), 'for a long time', Tkm u ḍ a q, ET u z a q, Qzq ṽ z a q, u z a q id., 'lasting; distant, remote', Tk u z a k 'remote', Xlj {DT} u z ā q, Chv в ā р а х v ḥ r a x 'long' (of time); [3] T \*uṛu; n 'long' (of time and space) > OT, XwT XIV, Chg ≥XV u z u n, MQp XIII {Cl.} u z ū n, Tk u z u n, Tkm u ḍ ū n, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Uz, ET, Qrg, StAlt, Ln, Xk, Tv, Tf u z u n, Qzq ṽ z y n, Nog, Qq u z i n, VTt o z y n ḥ z i n, Bsh o z o n ḥ ḍ ḥ n, Yk u h u n id., Chv в ā р ā м v ḥ r ḥ m ḍ v ḥ r ḥ m id., 'high'. ¶ Cl. 281-3, 288-9, ET Gl 570-2, Sht. 279, Nj. 123-6, Jud. 798-9, Ash. V 314-17, Fed. I 110, Jeg. 50, ChVS 31, TkR 657, BR 411, Ra. 238, DT 307, Md. 59, ≈ Rs. W 518 (unc.: T \*uṛ < \*puṛ-) || M \*ur-tu 'long' > MM [L, MA, IM] u r t u 'long', [S] {H} u r t u 'long, distant', WrM {MED} u r t u, HIM {MED, BMR} у р т, Brt у т а, Δ у р т а 'long' (in time and space), 'length', Ord u r t ' u 'long, longueur', Dg {Pp.} or ' t ~ or ' t ḍ, {MYC} ortu, Mnr E {MYC} rdz 'long'; M \*uri-da 'before' (with the locative \*-da?), \*uridu 'former', 'vordere' (sem. infl. of N \*per∇ [= \*per'o'] 'lip, edge' [→ 'front, vordere, before']) > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Ms.} u r i d u 'der frühere, antérieur', [MA] {Pp.} u r i d a 'before (vor, avant)', IM {Pp.} urida 'прежде', 'передний', WrM u r i d u {MED} 'former, past,

old', 'front (vordere). south', HIM урд {MED} id., {BMR} 'former, past, old', 'front, in front, south', Br урид, Kl {KRS} урд urdā 'before' (adv., postp.), {Rm.} urīdā 'vor, vorn; früher', MMgl, Mgl urtu, Dg {MYC} ordōn, Mnr E {MYC} urda 'before, former', Ord urid\_a 'auparavant, anant. autrefois, jadis', urd\_a 'avant toute autre chose, avant tous les autres'¶ But hardly here (⇔ S, SDM, DQA) Mnr H {T} fudur, Mnr Nr {SM} fudur, Dx {T} fudu, Ba {T} fdu 'long' (see N \*P\_U'h'₁∇₁d∇ (R∇) 'long, spacious, [?] far') ¶ S AJ 23 [no. 53], H 166, Pp. L I 1255, Pp. MA 366, 449, MED 883-5, BMR III 344, 348-9, Chr. 475-9, KRS 536, KW 450, Iw. 141, Rm. M 41, MYC 680-1, SM 101, T 370, T DJ 138, T BJ 149, Ms. O 738, 741 || pKo {S} \*òrá 'late, old (not new)' > MKo òrá, NKo orā id. ¶ S AJ 256 [no. 146], S QK no. 146 ¶ S AJ 23 [no. 53] ¶¶ SDM 623 (pA \*júrō 'long, late' > M [with unc. adduction of Mnr φudur 'long, prolongé, longueur'], T, Ko + unc. Tg \*χ₁i|ür- 'ancient, former'; pA \*j- is erroneously reconstructed on the alleged ev. of Tg \*χ₁i|ür-), DQA no. 2545 (id.), S AJ 34 (unc. adduction of Mnr φudur) and 283 (A \*urA), S AI 34, 283, Rm. EAS I 112, KW 452, Pp. VG 81 ◇ The S cognate is not certain because of the cns. \*k (from a sx, cp. T \*urák 'long?'). If the S cognate is valid, the initial N cns. was \*ʔ. The pA cognate is dubious because of the deviant vw. \*u. A possible solution is to suppose a N \*ʔaʔur∇ with a syncope (loss of the internal \*-u-) in IE and D and with the loss of \*a in A ◇ Blz. L no. 104c (IE, D, S).

**820.** \*Ha₁w∇₁š∇ (= \*ʔawiš∇?) 'male, male person' > HS: NrOm: Zl {CR} ašo, {C} asā, Shn {Lm.} aššà 'person, man', Bdt {Fl.} ače, Hrr {Fl.} ač i, Cha {C} asā, aččā, Gmr {Fl.} ac, {Bul.} ацъ, Bnc {Wdk.} ac, Ym {Wdk.} àsù 'person, man (vir), Kf {Fl.} aš(š)ō, {C} ašō 'person', Mch {L} ʔašō 'man', Amuru {Fl.} asō, Anf {MYTY} ašō, Doka {CR} asś, Wl {C} asā, Drz/Malo {Fl.} asa, Oyda {Fl.} a'si ʔ ass, Male {Fl.} asi, Bsk {Fl.} asɜ, BMa {Fl.} ε'se 'person' ¶ The forms with č, c may be due to the addition of a snglt. sx (\*-t∇?) ¶ C SE III 68 and IV 406, Wdk. BY 97, 117, 164, Fl. OWL s.v. 'person', Lm. Sh 272, MYTY 116 || C: Ag: Xm {R} ās-aω / as-ō adj. 'male' (asō ω i'dīl 'ein männliches Junge', āsō dū'χarā 'male ass') (× [?] N \*ʔiñ∇šê 'person, man' [q.v.], cp. Bln {R} rñ's-āuχ adj. 'male') ¶ R Ch. II 28 || CCh: Mch {Mch.} aωus 'man, male', Mbara {TrnSL} wùs 'husband, male' ¶ JI II 231, TrnSL 281, ChC s.v. 'man (male)' ¶ The Ch cognate has been suggested by Blz. ||??σ S \*°✓ ʔayš|s- > Ar ʔays- 'sperm of a male' ¶ BK II ¶¶ ≈ Blz. OL no. 51 (HS \*aω₁u₁s- 'male, strength'), C SE

III 68 (Om, C) || **U:** FP \*a|oš̄∇ 'male animal' > Chr: L oжo 'ožo, U/B ožo, H oжы 'ožь 'stallion', L {Ü} ožo sösna 'boar' (lit. 'male swine') ||| Prm \*už > Z, Vt už 'stallion' ¶ UEW 607-8, Sm. 552 (FP \*oš̄∇ 'stallion'), MRS 371, Ü 140, LG 296 || **A:** Tg \*\*as- + sxs: \*as-ī 'woman' (\*as- 'male' + \*-ī, probably a fossilized marker of female sex < N \*ʔ'a'y∇ 'mother' [→ 'female', marker of fem.], q.v.): Ewk asī, Sln aš̄ē ~ aš̄ī, Lm, Ork asi, Neg asi:, ? Orc asa 'woman', Ul asi- (with a ppa.) 'wife', Nn Nh/Bk/KU asi 'female (animal), asi- (with a ppa.) 'wife' | Tg \*\*as- + other sxs: \*asātkān 'girl' > Ewk asātkān, Lm asatqan, Neg asatkān id., \*asanta > Orc asanta 'woman', Ul aHanta 'girl, maiden' etc. ¶ STM I 55, On. 47 ◇ N \*-w∇- is suggested by CCh (Msg awus, Mbara wūs). If Ar fayš- belongs here, the N rec. must be \*ʔawiš̄∇, otherwise it is to be reconstructed as \*Ha,w∇,š̄∇.

**821. \*Haya** 'pursue' > **HS:** Ch \*\*√ʔy 'hunt' > NrBc: P' {MSk.} ʔíyà, Sir {Sk.} ʔíyá n. 'hunt' ¶ JI II 198, ChC s.v. 'hunt', Sk. NB, MSk. s.v. ndar ʔíyà || **IE** \*oHx̄i- / (?) \*oHx̄aj̄- or \*oHx̄ej̄- > OI i'nō-ti, i'nvā-ti 'advances upon, presses upon, drives', Av i'nao'ti 3s pres. 'vergewaltigt, kränkt' ||| ? Gk αἰνός 'dread, horrible, terrible' ¶ P 10, M K I 87, 128, F I 41, Ch. 35 || **U:** FU \*aya- v. 'drive, pursue' > F aja- v. 'drive, chase, pursue, hunt; ride', Es aja- v. 'drive, pursue', pLp {Lr.} \*vōjē > Lp N {N} vuooggje- / -j- v. 'drive (a horse, reindeer), drive on\over', Lp L {LLO} vuođjē- 'fahren (mit Renntier oder Pferd)', Lp Kld vujjē-, Lp Nt vuajje- 'fahren, lenken' | pPrm \*{LG} ay- v. 'pursue, run, rush' {≠ LG: v. 'run, rush'} > Vt C uy+ v. 'pursue', Vt N [URS] uy+ v. 'overtake (догнать)', Z вой- vuy- 'run downhill without restraint' (of a horse with a rider), Z Vm/I/Le vuy-l+ 'бегать, носиться' ||| pObU \*\*l̄w̄uyt- > pVg \*l̄w̄uyt > Vg: MK {Kn.} woyt- 'verfolgen', UK {Mu.} vuyt- id., 'jagen' ¶ Coll. 129, UEW 4-5, Sm. 542 (FU \*ājā- 'drive' > FP \*aja-, Ugr \*ājā-), LG 61, Lr. no. 1423, Lgc. no. 8751, MK 744, Mu. AKE 622 ¶ Illich-Svitych (IS I 243) was right in rejecting the alleged Aryan (Ir) origin of FU \*aya- (presumably from the stem, represented by OI aj- and Av az- v. 'drive'), because the Aryan stem was \*až- → \*až̄-, hence the expected FU stem should have been \*aš̄∇- or the like rather than \*aya- || **A** \*a:l̄y∇- 'go, walk'; (?) 'journey, military expedition' > M \*aya-n 'journey, travel' > MM [S] ayā(n) 'hunt, military expedition, campaign' ('Jagd, Kriegszug, Jagdzug'), WrM ayān {MED} 'travel, journey, expedition', HIM аян {MED} id., {BMR} 'travel, journey, дальняя дорога, странствие', Brt аян id., Kl {KRS} аян



'military expedition', {Rm.} ауη ~ ауη 'Reise, Weg, Richtung', Ord ауап 'voyage, expédition, chasse' ¶ H 10, MED 23, BMR I 198, Chr. 40, KRS 60, KW 4, Ms. O 10 || pJ {S} \*àyùm- v. 'walk' ({AD} 'step, walk') > OJ ауум-, MJ àyùm- {Mr.} 'step, walk', J T ауúm-, J K áyúm-, J Kg àyùm- id. ¶ S QJ no. 153, Mr. 679, Kenk. 70 || Tg \*āy-: [1] Nn Nh {On.} āi- v. 'step (on sand\snow, entering deep in it)' | [2] ?σ Tg \*ay<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>- 'run quickly' > WrMc {Hr} ауа-, {Z} ая- 'run fast' (of a horse), 'take wing, fly', Ewk ауіη 'swift-footed', 'fast' (of running, walking), Ork ауамапу(п-) 'беровой (fast-running?)' (reindeer, horse, dog)', ауамунžі adv. 'fast' ¶ STM I 20-1, Vas. 44, On. 30, Z 10, Hr 62-3 ¶¶ SDM 277-8 (pA \*āya 'go, walk' > Tg \*āy-, M, J + unc. T \*Ay 'revolve, rotate, go round; tarry'), DQA no. 62 (pA \*āya 'go, walk'; a questionable comparison with IE \*e<sub>1</sub>- 'go' [< N \*ʔ'e<sub>1</sub>y∇ 'come, arrive', q.v.]), Mr. 679 ◇ Cf. IS I 243: IE, U, A (N {IS} \*Haya 'pursue, chase').

**822. \*H<sub>2</sub>oy∇ (= \*hoy∇?)** 'by me, my' > K \*<sup>h</sup>w-, agentive px of 1s in verbs > OG v- / -w- (after the px χ- of 3s objecti), OG X χw-, OG H hw- (in the "absolute passive" forms: OG X χw-i-mal-v-i 'I hide myself', χw-i-qaV 'I was'), G v-, G In h-ü- (÷ G v-i-), Mg, Lz v- (before vowels), b-/p-/p̄- (before cnss), Sv χw- ¶¶ The initial lr. is probably identical with what Mach. (Mach. K 71-3) reconstructed as \*h- ¶¶ Dt. 25-7, Fn. GAS 79, Marr 44-5 || **HS: [1]** HS ≈ \*<sup>o</sup>ʔuy∇ > Eg ωy 'I' (enclitic prn.) (× N \*w∇y∇ 'we'?) ¶ Ed. 75, EG I 270-1 ||| **[2]** S \*<sup>o</sup>yā- 'me' (stem of the prn. in oblique cases): Ak yā-ti 'me', OAk yā-šim) > Ak yā-šim 'to me' ¶ Sd. G 41 || C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} yī-t 'me', Bln {R} yi-t 'me, to me' ||| Bj {RHd.} -ē- (-h-ē-b 'me', sx of verbs) ||| EC: Sml N í 'me', í 'to me', Rn i- (verbal px) 'me, to me', Elm {Hw.} ye-se, yō-lo 'I', Dsn {Hw.} ye abs., yu nom. 'I', {To.} yú abs., yâ (subject) 'I', ye 'me', Arr yé 'I', Sd -ē 'me', as well as probably Hd. i- 'my' ¶ RHd. B 112, Ap. ACA, R WB 364-5, Abr. S 125, To. DL 210 ||| **[3]** HS \*ʔ∇ya 'my' > C: HEC \*-ʔ<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>ya 'my' > Sd {Hd.} -ʔya, Kmb -e, -ī-ha m. / -ī-ta f.; LEC \*-ya 'my' > Sml -k-ay(-gu) / -t-ay(-du), Rn {PG} -kāya / -tāya id., Or -k-i(y)ya / -t-i(y)a id. (in Sm, Rn and Or -k- and -t- are gender markers of the noun, Sml -gu and -du are gender-dependent determiners [≈ the']) ||| SC: Irq {Mous} -éʔ, Alg -í, Brn -ayí 'my' ||| Ag: Aw {Hz.} yí- 'my' ¶ Hd. HEC 258-9, Abr. S 125, 312-3, Mous 97, Hn. W, Sr. GBO, Sr. 121-3, Mrn. G || B \*-y / \*-ī 'my' > Kb, Shl, Tw, Si, Tmz, Wrg -i etc. 'my' (ffd. see Pr. M I-III 164 and AiM 215-17) || S \*-ya 'my' (> \*-ī after stem-final cnss) > Ak -ya / -ī, Hb, Aram -ī, Ug -y, Ar

-ya / -ī, Gz -ya 'my' ¶ Lip. 306-7 || Eg -y 'my' ¶ Lpr. 63-4 || Ch: Mrg -á yù, Msg -a, -ya, Hs -a 'my' ¶¶ Ap. Kh I 259, 263, Hd. HEC 258-9, Ow. 105, Sr. 121-3, Ss. D 207, RHd. B 112, AD EPCChL, AD KJ 29-31, PG 40-1, Hw. A 14, 215, To. DL 210, Mous 92 ¶¶ [4] HS \*ʔ∇-, marker of 1s subiecti: S {Hz.} \*ʔa- in active G-verbs > Ak a-, WS (in prefix-conjugated tenses): Hb ʔε- (before cns. clusters) / ʔā- (before single cns), Ug ʔa-, BA ʔε-, JEA ʔi- (before cns. clusters), Sr W ʔε-, Ar ʔa-, Gz ʔa-, Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq ʔʒ-; in the ps. verbal forms and in derived stems the marker of 1s is \*ʔ- + a vw. that depends on the prehistory of the S ps. voice and derived stems (mostly \*-u-) ¶ Hz. VP ∇ || C \*ʔ∇-, 1s marker of prefix-conjugated verbs > Bj \*ʔa-, Ag: Aw a-, EC: Sa, Af ʔu/i- (p.), ʔ-a- (pres.), Sml, Rn ∅- (Sml N i q ī n 'I know' ↔ t-i q ī n 'thou knowst' and y-i q ī n 'knows', i q i 'I say' ↔ 2s t-i q i, 3m y-i q i, Rn a m ī t 'I am coming' ↔ y-a m ī t '[he] is coming', t-a m ī t 'thou art coming') ¶ AD KJ 50, 118, PG 43 ¶¶ Dk. SHL 80-1, Lip. 370-1, Rsnt. GBA 44, Jo. MSA 15, AD IPCV || IE: [1] pIE stative marker of 1s \*-χ<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> > Ht -h i, NaIE \*-Ha, e.g. \*w o j d -Ha 'I know' (← 'seen by me') > OI √ē d a, Gk ῥ ο ῖ δ α, Gt w a i t id. ¶¶ [2] pIE marker ({Bks} \*-h<sub>2</sub>) of 1s in the medium voice (preceding the voice-marker \*r) (with a complicated and obscure development, yielding Ht pres. -ha(ha)r i, p. -ha(ha)t i, L pres. md.-ps. -o-r etc.) ¶¶ [3] NaIE \*-ō (< \*-o-H), 1s marker in the pres. tense of the thematic verbs (\*-o- being the thematic vw. of the stem) > OI -ā-(m i), Lt -ū, Gk -ω, L -ō, OIr -u (b i r u 'I carry'), Gt -a ¶¶ Kur. Ap 41-8, Kur. IC 61-2, Wtk. GIV 105-6, Fs. 547, Bks 238-42, Bks OH 72-6, ≈ EI 467 (1s \*-h<sub>2</sub>e j, thematic 1s \*-o-h<sub>2</sub>) || D \*y<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> > Brh ī 'I', NaD \*yā n̄ / (stem of the obl. cases) \*ya n̄- 1s prn.) > OTm yā n̄ / e n̄, Ml r̄ā n̄- / e n̄-, OKn ā n̄ / e n̄-, Tu yā n̄ ~ yē n̄ / e n̄-, Tl ē n̄ u, Klm, Prj ā n̄ / a n̄-, Krx, Mlt ē n̄ / e n̄ g- ¶¶ The NaD element \*-n̄- (< N \*n u, marker of genitive → marker of obl. cases) is due to the levelling within the case paradigm of the prn. ¶¶ Zv. 35-6, 128, Zv. CDM 40-4, An. DL 68-74, D no. 5160 || E: MEI, LEI u 'I' < {Dk.} \*h u id.; MEI -h (> AchEI -∅), verbal subject sx of 1s (MEI h u t t a -h > AchEI u t t a 'I do'); Diakonoff's hyp. is based on comparison of u 'I' with this postverbal -h 'I'; (h > ∅ regularly in the history of Elamite) ¶¶ Dk. JDP A 108, Rnr EL 76, 89-90, Paper RAE 93-7 ◇ The pK (> OG, G, Sv) syntax (at least in the past tenses) was ergative, the agens of the transitive verb being expressed by a noun in the agentive (ergative) case. This fact suggests that the agentive px of 1s \*(h)w- goes back to a N prn. meaning

'by me'. The existence of an etymologically identical 1s px (\*ʔ∇-) in HS suggests that in the prehistory of HS there was an ergative period, with the ergative construction being predominant in the language, hence the prevailing verb structure with \*ʔ∇- as the marker of 1s subiecti. But it is likely to have coexisted with a HS nominative construction, as far as one can judge from its scarce traces: [1] the verb yom-mi 'I am' / yon-ti 'thou art' in Kmb, the form of the dependent verb in Hd: 1s 'yó-m-o, 2s 'yón-t-o, ending \*-m∇ / \*-t∇ of certain tenses in HEC (going back to the analytic construction of a verbal noun + the aux. verbum substantivum \*yon-mi/\*yon-ti, *F* AD PLOG 103-10), suggesting that verbs with \*-mi as the subject ending of 1s (similar to and etymologically identical with verbs in IE and U) still existed in early pHS, [2] the accus. ending \*-m∇ that survived in SOm, unlike in all other HS lges, where its absence may be explained by the predominantly ergative syntax and where patiens (later accusative) is the unmarked actant of the sentence ("actant" in Mel'čuk's terminology). The preverbal position of the agentive subject markers in K (\*ʰw-) and in HS (\*ʔ∇-) corresponds to the syntactic rules of pN: agentive pronouns do not occupy the post-predicative (sentence-final) position (as the N subject pronouns \*mi 'I' and \*t'ü'/\*s'ü' 'thou' do), but are placed before the predicate (as all object words do). In apparent contradiction to this rule, the pIE stative marker of 1s \*-xε and the other above-mentioned pIE endings of 1s follow the verbal stem rather than precede it. The contradiction can be explained away by supposing that these IE verbal forms go back to a pre-IE analytic construction of a verbal nominal + a prefix-conjugated aux. verbs (as in C) ◇ The N vw. \*-o- is re-constructed on the ev. of K (pointing to a labialized vw.) and IE (IE \*-xε rules out N \*u and \*ü) ◇ For ffd. *see* AD PP 67-74, 82-7, 93-103, 112 ◇ ≠ Gr. I 67 (connects IE \*-H of 1s with "EurA" K 'I' > Hg. -k 1s etc.).

**823.** \*hU<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>ĉ∇ (or \*hUw∇ĉ∇) 'loins, lap' > HS: WS \*huĉan- id. > Hb 𐎧𐎢𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 'fold of garment, bosom', Amr {G} ✓ hšn v. (?) 'embrace', Ar حَضَنٌ hîĉn- {BK} 'sein; toute la partie du corps comprise entre les bras, les aisselles et les côtes; l'entre-bras; l'étreinte', Gz 𐎧𐎢𐎫 hāšn (pl. hāšān) 'bosom, womb, lap, embrace', Tgr 𐎧𐎢𐎫 hššn 'lap'; Aram (dis. \*h...f > \*h...ʔ > h...∅): JA [Trg.] 𐎧𐎢𐎫 hēnnā 'gremium, sinus', {Js.} 'lap, bosom', Sr 𐎧𐎢𐎫 hānnā 'lap, privy parts', Md hana 'lap, loins, embrace, privy parts'; hardly here (because of the initial χ-) (⇔ KB and other authors) Ak χiṣnu 'protection' (rather a derivative from the verb ✓ χṣn 'shelter, receive in a friendly way') and Ak χuṣānnu 'sash, belt' (⇔

MiK) (most probably a loanword) | with a de-emphasized sibilant: ?? S \*<sup>o</sup>ħaš- > Ar ħaš-a-n, ħaš-wat-, ħiš-wat- 'viscère (toute partie intérieure du corps)', ?ϕ Ak fOB ḫaš ū {CAD} 'lungs, belly, entrails' (the unexpected ḫ- suggests that this is loan from a WS lge) ¶ KB 330, KBR 344, GB 252, G A 20, Js. 481, Lv. T I 269, Br. 242, PS 1317-18, BK I 435-6, 449, DM 124, Fr. I 394, L G 226, LH 102, CAD VI 129-30, 143, 203, 259, Sd. 335, MiK I no-s 1.128-9 || ?σ K \*<sup>o</sup>ħač- > Mg oč-iš-i 'back (of the body)', oč-iš-a 'waist of a garment'; Mg -iš- (< K \*-iš-) is a sx of gen., -i is the nominative ending, so that oč-iš-i means literally dors-ali-s ¶ Q 295 || A \*ūč-a > T \*ūč-a 'loins, haunches, rump' (× N \*<sup>u</sup>ôč-∇ 'bone', [?] 'backbone' × N \*<sup>u</sup>oqEž-∇ or \*<sup>u</sup>ož-∇q-∇ 'thigh, haunch', q.v.) > OT uč-a {Cl.} '≈ loins, haunches, rump', MQp XIV ūžā, [CC] uč-a 'back', OOsM XV už-a 'buttocks', Chg لچو | ~ ڤچو | uč-a 'back (dos)', Tkm ūž-a 'rump; dock, part of animals' body adjacent to the base of the tail; sacrum', Osm {Rh.} už-a 'a stump, the bottom part of a thing', Tk uca [už-a] 'coccyx', VTt oča bš-a, Bsh oca bsa 'pelvis, buttocks', StAlt yča uca 'back (dos), haunch, loins', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} uč-a uca, Shor/Sg {Rl.} uč-a 'Hinterteil, Kreuz, Rücken (bei Tieren und Menschen)', Qrg, QK {Rl.} uč-a, už-a 'rump', QK {Rl.} +ž-a, Tb uč-a, Qmn {Rl.} +ž-a 'back (dos)', ET, Ln uč-a 'rump, back (dos)', StAlt uca 'thigh, rump, meat of the hind part of an animal, back', Sg uč-a 'rump, back, hind part of an animal', SY už-a ~ uca, Nog uša, VTt bš-a, Bsh Δ bsa 'loins', Tv už-a 'fatty tail (of a sheep), rump', Yk uha 'hind part of an animal', Chv L {Fed.} věče 'thighbone', {Ash.} id., 'область между ребрами и os illum', Chv Δ {Ash.} vāčā 'thighbone'; some NaT lge b→ Chv {ET} yca +z-a 'rump', {ChVS} yca šāmmi +z-a šāmmi 'sacrum, rump' ¶ Cl. 20, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu. I 116, TkR 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3, 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, Ash. V 337, 386, TvR 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, ChVS 288 ¶ Tkm ū provides ev. for a long pT \*ū, while Yk u seems to point to a pT short vw. (unless this is a kind of shortening in uncertain conditions [before an open second syll.?] mentioned by Poppe [F Pp. J 55]) ¶ T b→ M: MM [Mukaddimat al-Adab, Vocabulaire mongol d'Istanboul], MMgl [the Zirni manuscript] ūč-a, WrM uquca {MED} 'croup, sacrum, loins', HIM yuc {MED} id., {BMR} 'sacrum, loins, hind part of animal's trunk (задняя часть туловища)', Brt yuca 'croup, sacrum', Kl {KRS} yuc ūcъ 'sacrum, back (dos), croup of a horse', {Rm.} ūca 'das Kreuz im Körper, Hinterteil, Rücken, Steiß', Ord ūc'a 'la partie postérieure du dos (chez un animal)', Mgl {Wr.} uca 'back (dos)' (on the borrowing see s.v. N \*<sup>u</sup>ôč-∇) (cf. MED 864, BMR III

372, Chr. 481, KRS 543, KW 455, Wr. B 165, Ms. O 745, as well as on MM  $\bar{u}\check{c}a$ : Pp. MA, Iw. and Lg. VMI) || Tg \* $\bar{u}_{\cdot}c\grave{a}$  'hind part of the body' (the possible length of \* $\bar{u}$  being suggested by the T cognate) > Orc  $u\check{c}(\check{c})a$  'hind part, stern of a boat', WrMc {Z}  $\bar{u}c\grave{a}$  'hind part, sternum, sacral bone', {Hr}  $u\check{c}a$  'weichgekochter Rinder-, Schaf- oder Hirsch-schwanz' ¶ STM II 290, Z 165, Hr 942 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1482-3 (pA \* $\bar{u}\check{c}'i$  'end, edge' > T \* $\bar{u}\check{c}$ - 'end, edge' + [not belonging to pA \* $\bar{u}\check{c}a$  'back, backbone'] M \* $\bar{u}\check{c}\grave{u}g\grave{u}r$  'end, edge' and pKo \* $u\check{c}uk$  'top of a tree, upper branches'), ≠ DQA no. 2720 (pA \* $\bar{u}\check{c}'\nabla$  'behind, rump, fish fin') (see N \* $\bar{y}\hat{o}\check{c}\nabla$  '↑') || D \* $\bar{u}\check{c}$ - 'groin, lap, waist' or the like > Ml  $o\check{c}i, o\check{c}uku$  'groin',  $u\check{c}a$  id., 'testicle of oxen', Kt  $o\check{c}$  'waist', Kn  $u\check{c}i, u\check{c}a, u\check{c}u, u\check{c}e$  'hip, waist',  $u\check{c}i, u\check{c}alu$  'pouch made in front by folding or doubling a part of the lower garment', Tl  $o\check{c}i$  'lap (part of body or of clothing)', Nk  $o\check{c}i$  'lap' ¶¶ D no. 947.

**823a.** \* $\bar{h}u\check{c}\nabla$  'sister', 'ε female relative' > K \* $\bar{u}_{\cdot}c\grave{a}$  'sister' > OG, G  $da-$ , Mg, Lz  $da(l)-$  id., Sv UB/L  $udil-$ , Sv LB  $widil-$  'sister (in relation to another sister)' ¶¶ K 69, K<sup>2</sup> 36, FS K 92-3, FS E 97 (all of them reconstructed K \* $\bar{d}a-$ ), TK 725 || U \* $\bar{r}o'\delta\nabla$  > Es  $\check{c}de$  'sister' || Slq Tz  $\check{c}lenta, \check{c}lta$  'younger niece-in-law, wife's sister, husband's sister' ¶¶ KKI<sup>H</sup> 195 ¶¶ The Sq cognate was suggested by Hl. (p.c., 1975) || HS: S: Ar  $\check{c}ad\bar{a}d-at-$  'woman, wife' ¶ BK I 388 || Ch: ECh: Ke  $\acute{a}d\grave{i}d\grave{e}$  'daughter-in-law \ mother-in-law (of a woman); grandmother', Mgm {J}  $\acute{a}y\grave{d}\acute{i}n\acute{e}$ , Mkl {J}  $\check{c}\hat{a}nd\acute{e}$  'daughter-in-law', 'mother-in-law' || CCh: Msg {To.}  $\grave{a}d\check{i}$ , Msg Ng {ChL}  $\acute{a}d\acute{a}$ , ? $\phi$  Klb  $\grave{a}\check{z}\acute{i}n\acute{i}$  'grandmother' ¶ Eb. 23, ChC s.v. 'daughter-in-law', 'mother-in-law' and 'grandmother', ChL || A: pJ {S} \* $\bar{d}ia$  or \* $\bar{d}ai$  'elder brother\sister, elder relative' (× N \* $\bar{t}a'q|g'ay'\hat{u}'$  'relative-in-law', q.v.) > OJ  $ye$  ¶ S QJ no. 813, Mr. 392.

**824.** \* $\bar{h}aL\hat{u}$  (or \* $\bar{h}aLw\nabla$ ) 'ε a leaf-bearing tree' > HS: S \* $\bar{o}\check{c}h\bar{l}w$  > Ar {Fr.}  $\check{c}al-\check{c}ul\bar{a}w\bar{a}(y)$  'ε a small tree', {Ln.}  $\check{c}ul\bar{a}w\bar{a}(y)$  'ε a small (evergreen or thorny?) tree' ¶ Fr. I 421, Ln. 634 || K: G  $alva, alvis-\chi e$  'poplar' ¶ Chx. 14 || IE \* $\bar{H}elis-$  'alder' > L  $alnus$  (\* $\bar{a}ls-no-s$ ) id. || Gmc \* $\bar{a}luz$ , \* $\bar{a}liso$  id. > OHG  $elira \sim erila$  > NHG  $Eller, Erle, Dt els, ON qlr, AS alor$  > NE  $alder$ ; Gt \* $\bar{a}lisa$   $\rightarrow$  Sp  $aliso$  id.; Gmc  $lges \rightarrow$  Bsq  $(s)altza$ , It Cl  $au\check{z}inu$  id. || Lt  $\acute{a}lksnis$  id., Ltv  $\acute{a}lksnis$ , Pru \* $\bar{a}l(i)skande$  (attested as  $\bar{a}bskande$ ) 'alder' || Sl \* $\bar{e}l\bar{x}a$  ( $\sim$  \* $\bar{o}l\bar{x}a$ ) 'alder' > SrChS  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\nu}\bar{x}\bar{a}$   $jel\bar{x}a$ , Blg  $e\bar{\lambda}\bar{x}a$ , SCr  $j\acute{o}\bar{h}a$ , Slk  $jel\bar{c}ha$ , P  $ol\bar{c}ha$ , R  $o\bar{l}\bar{x}a$ ;  $\rightarrow$  \* $\bar{e}l\bar{s}\bar{a}$  (< \* $\bar{e}l\bar{x}-ya$ ) id. > Slv  $j\acute{e}l\bar{s}a$ , Cz  $ol\bar{s}e$ , Slk  $jel\bar{s}a$ , P  $olsza$  || Mcd [Hs.]  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\zeta\alpha$  'white poplar' ¶ P 302-3,

WH I 31, Vr. 686, Ho. 3, EWA II 1049-53, OsS 132, Gml. 27, ≈ ML no. 345a, Frn. 8, En. 136, Tp. P A-D 53-4, Vs. III 137-8, EI 11 (\*<sup>h</sup><sub>h</sub>eliso- ~ \*<sup>h</sup><sub>h</sub>eliseh<sub>h</sub>- 'alder'), 599-600.

**825.** <sub>2</sub> \***h**∇LiL∇ 'flower, a plant with flowers' > IE \***h**<sub>χ</sub>le<sub>l̥</sub>- > NaIE \*le<sub>l̥</sub>- ~ dis. \*le<sub>l̥</sub>r- '≈ flower' (?? × N \*L|**z̥**i<sub>l̥</sub>||**í**∇ [= \*L|**z̥**i<sub>l̥</sub>∇?]) 'reed, ∈ water plant', q.v.) > Gk λείριον 'Madonna lily, *Lilium candidum*' || L līlium id. (↳ Al lil id., NHG Lillie id. ↳ Es lill 'flower' etc.) || Lt {Mn. ← ?} lielis 'spearwort, *Ranunculus*', lieliu<sub>s</sub> 'water crowfoot, *Batrachium*' || Cz lilek 'nightshade, *Solanum*' ({Ma.}: a loan from L through Gmc) || Ht {Pv.} aləl- 'flower, bloom' ¶¶ Pv. I-II 32-3, Mn. 673, ≈ WH I 801 (believing that L līlium and Gk λείριον are loans from an East Mediteranean lge, like Eg ḥrr.t 'flower', B alili 'oleander', but Vc. 310 rejected the Eg origin of the L and Gk word), F II 100-1, ≠ Hub. MS 37-9 (ascribing the word for 'lily' to the "Mediterranean substrat"), Masson ESG 58-9 (Gk λείριον ↳ S), O 228, Ma. CS 270, Vc. 310 || **HS**: ?φ Eg fXVIII ḥrr.t 'flower, bloom', DEg ḥrru 'flower', Cpt: Sd **z̥p̥hp̥e** hr̥ire, B **z̥p̥hri** hr̥iri id. (dis. \***z̥**hll > \***z̥**h<sub>l</sub>r > as. **z̥**hrr?) ¶ EG 149, Fk. 176, Er. 326, Vc. 310 || B \*-li<sub>l̥</sub>li<sub>l̥</sub> 'oleander, rose laurel' > BMn/Grr/Wrs {Bs.}, Sll {Ds.}, Tmz {MT}, Izd {Mrc.} a-lili, BSn {Ds.} ā-līli, Izn {Ds.} a-li<sub>l̥</sub>li, {Rn.} a-lili, Mtm {Ds.} a-līli, SrSn {Rn.} i-lili, Rf {Rn.} a-řiři id., Kb i-lili, Gh {Nh.} i-ləl, Ah {Fc.} e-ləl id. (coll.) ¶ Ds. 167, Ds. B 174, MT 366, Dl. 441, Fc. 1071, Rn. 337, Mrc. 153, Bs. ZOu 151, Nh. 172 || EC: Or ililli 'flower' ¶ Th. 213 ◇ Cp. also Bsq lili 'flower' ◇ Blz. NDA no. 84 (D, HS, IE) ◇ Qu., because some of the connections may be due to borrowing.

**826.** <sub>2</sub> \***h**Em∇d∇ 'desire, covet' > **HS**: WS \***z̥**hmd id. > Ug, BHb, IA, JA **z̥**hmd G id., Ph ḥmḏ G id., 'try to secure a coveted object', IA ḥmḏ 'sth. valuable, precious object', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} **אֲתִדְמֵה** ḥemḏə'tā ~ **אֲתִדְמֵה** ḥ<sup>a</sup>mīḏə'tā 'Lust, Gelüste', MHb **הֲמִדָּה** ḥem'dā {Lv.} id., {Js.} 'sexual appetite', JEA {Js.} **אֲתִדְמֵה** ḥam'dā id., {Lv.} **אֲתִדְמֵה** ḥem'dā 'Lust, Gelüste', {Sl.} **אֲתִדְמֵה** ḥmḏ<sup>?</sup> (unk. voc.) 'sexual desire', OCn (AkSc) **χ**amud<sub>u</sub> [\***h**amūdu] 'sth. valuable, precious object' (pp., a gloss = Ak iapu 'beautiful', ÷ BHb ḥa'mūḏ 'darling'), Ar **z̥**hmd G 'praise', Sb **z̥**hmd id., 'thank', Mh **z̥**hmd (pf. ḥ<sub>3</sub>mūd) v. id., **z̥**hmd (pf. ḥayməd) v. 'thank (for a gift), praise', Hrs **z̥**hmd (pf. šḥamōd) v. 'thank', Jb C **z̥**hmd (pf. ḥōḏ) id. ¶ HJ 380, KB 312-13, KBR 325-6, Siv. GAG 171, 223, A no. 936, OLS 177, Js. 475, Sl. 468, Lv. II 70, Ln. 638-40, BGMR 168, Bll.

178-9, Jo. M 180, Jo. H 59, Jo. J 111 || K: OG, G *imēd-i n.* 'hope', G *imēd-* v. 'hope', OG, G *imēdeuli* 'voller Hoffnung', {DCh.} 'обнадеженный' ¶ Abul. 188, Srj. 96, Chx. 525-6, DCh. 580.

**827.** \**h<sup>1</sup>oNc'a* (or \**χoNc'a*) '(front) end, extremity, edge, tip' > U: FU \**ońca* 'front end\part, forehead' > F *o t s a* 'forehead', Krl *očč'a* id., 'front side', Es *o t s* 'end, extremity, tip, forehead', Lv *vùqnc'a* 'forehead' || Chr: L *oHчыкc*, H *aHзыкы* 'aHзъкъ 'forward', postp. 'in front of', L *oHчыл*, Uf *ońзыл*, H *aHзыл* 'aHзыл n. 'front side\part', adj. 'front' || Prm \**ož* ({JLG} \**ož*) 'front, front part' > OPrm *už*, Z *водз* *v o ž*, Z US *už*, Yz 'už, Vt *азь* *až* id. || ? OHg *agū* 'skull, head, brain', Hg *agū* 'brain, marrow' ¶ UEW 339, It. no. 113, LG 591, MRS 28, 383, EWU 12 || A: T \**ūç* 'tip, end' > OT *ūč*, Tkm *ūč* id., Tk *uç* id., 'summit, edge', CrTt, Kr, Qrg, Uz, SY *uč*, StAlt *uč*, Chv *вѣç* *v b s* 'tip, end', Az *už*, Qq, Tv *uš*, ET *uč* id., 'tip', Ggz, Ln *uč* id., 'edge', VTt *oç* *b s*, Bsh *b s* id., 'summit', Xk *us* 'sharp edge' ¶ Cl. 17-18, ET Gl 611-12, TL 578, TkR 665-6, Ash. V 374-5, Fed. I 119-20, ChVS 35, Jeg. 52 || HS: Eg G *ács* 'corner (Ecke)' ¶ EG III 400 ¶ The cns. *á* (spelled *h* in the tradition of Egyptology) may be explained by reg. sound changes: N \**h|χo-* > pre-Eg \**hu-* > \**hju-* > Eg [*hu-*] || SC: Irq {MQK} *haysō*, {Wh.} *hayîso*, Grw {Wh.} *hâyso*, Alg/Brn {Wh.} *hayso*, {E} *hayisi*, Kz {E} *hayisowa*, Asa {E} *hesa* 'tail' ¶ Wh. IC 25, E SC 379, Blz. CP s.v. 'tail' ◇ IS I 253-4 [no. 115] (U, T).

**828.** <sub>2</sub> \**h<sup>1</sup>añd∇* (or \**χañd∇*) 'shade, darkness' > IE \**Hend<sup>h</sup>-* > NaIE \**and<sup>h</sup>o-* 'blind, dark' > OI *an'dha-h<sub>2</sub>*, Av *andō* id. || Gl *h* → L *anda-bata* 'a gladiator who fought with a "blind" helmet (that had no openings for the eyes)' ¶ Dv. no. 320, M K I 36, M E I 78-9, Billy 11, EI 70 (\**h<sub>2</sub>en<sub>1</sub>d<sup>h</sup>o-s* 'blind') || HS: C: Bj {R} 'andala 'shade' ¶ R WBd 22 || S (+ext.): Ar ✓ *hnds* 'be(come) very dark' (of a night), *hindis-* '(intense) darkness, very dark night' ¶ BK I 502, Ln. 655-6 ◇ NaIE \**a-* suggests a N Ir. different from \**ʔ-*. Ar ✓ *hnds* points to the N Ir. \**h* or \**χ* ◇ A comparison of the above IE root for 'blind' with Ht *antara* ({Pv.} = *andra*) 'blue' and Sl \**modrъ* 'blue' (proposed by Machek) is hardly acceptable, because the absence of reflexes of \**a-* in Sl \**modrъ* rules out an IE stem \**h<sub>2</sub>md<sup>h</sup>-ro-*; but if this difficulty is explained away, the N etymon will be \**h|χamd∇* (F Pv. I-II 77-8, Ma. HS 131-2, Ma. CS 304).

**829.** \**h<sub>2</sub>U<sub>1</sub>ñ|m<sub>1</sub>p<sub>1</sub>∇ʔ∇* 'navel' > K: GZ \**u<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>p<sub>1</sub>e|a*, {K} \**o(m)p<sub>1</sub>e-* 'navel' > G *upe*, Lz *ompa* id., Mg *ompa* 'upper log of a roof' ¶ K 186, K<sup>2</sup> 146, IS I 248 || HS: Eg P/BD/Md *á p<sub>3</sub>* 'navel' ¶ EG III 365; ≠ Ebb. MÄW 61-3 (in his

opinion Eg  $\acute{x} p\acute{e}$  meant 'genitalia' rather than 'umbilica; cord' or 'navel')  
 $\Leftrightarrow$  DW 62 (note 2) and 682 ( $\acute{x} p\acute{e}$  did mean 'navel') || CCh: Msg P {Trn.} hif-na 'navel' | Ms {J} hif-dá, {Mch.} hífā, ZmB {J} úfú, {Sa.} úfú id. ¶ JI II 251, J KKS, Trn. LM 256 || C: Bj {R} tēfa 'navel' (< \*t∇ hefa [\*t∇ < article of the f. gender]), Bj A {ADP} tōfta 'navel' (pl. tēfta) ¶ R WBd 222-3, ADP BFN ¶¶ Tk. I 40 (Eg, CCh) || HS cd ≈ \*h∇NP∇?∇-t∇b∇r- > S ≈ \*h∇NP∇?∇-t∇b<sub>l</sub>ūr-(at) 'navel' (the second component is identical with CS \*t∇bbūr- 'navel' > MHb t̥ab'būr, BA t̥ib'būr) > EthS (< C??): Gz h̥anb̥art 'navel', Tgr h̥amb̥ər ~ h̥anb̥ər, h̥anb̥ərt, Tgy h̥amb̥ərti, h̥anb̥erti, Amh, Argb ʒmb̥ərt ~ ʒnb̥ərt id.; EthS  $\rightarrow$  Xm {R} her'bir and Q {R} gumb̥rā 'navel' ¶ Js. 529, L G 236 || C ≈ \*h∇nt∇p∇r- id. > EC \*h̥alun'dub∇r ({Bl., Ss.} \*h̥alundu<sub>l</sub>r-) 'navel' > Af {PH} hundub, Sa {R} h̥andub id. | pSam \*<sup>r</sup>h̥andūr ({Hn.} \*handūr) id. > Sml hundur, Rn {PG} h̥andūr, {Hn.} han'dūr, pBn {Hn.} \*h̥à'nūr (> Bn: Bi hanúr, J/Kj/K hanūr) id. | Arr {Hw.} hençur ~ hendur, Dsn <sup>h</sup>ònír, Elm uñur, Or {Grg.} (h)andūr-ā, Gdl hundūr-t, Gwd hundur-te, Hr hundur-če, Ya hendero id. | Brj {Ss.} han'ūr-a, {Hd.} han'dura, Ged {Hd.} ha'nura id. || Ag: Bln {R} eteba ~ itibā 'navel' ¶ AD SF 236-7 (C \*x∇nt∇p(∇r)-), R WB 57, R Ch II 58, R S II s.v. h̥andub, L G 236, Bl. 107, 114, 196, Ss. PEC 24, 30, 39, Ss. B 91, Grg. 199, PH 131, Hn. S 62, Hn. BD 119, 145, PG 136, Hd. 104, 196, 244, Hw. A 366, To. DL 507 || B \*-Hanbūt- (< \*Hanbūt-t-?) 'navel' > CA tahanbut, Ah t̥abūtut (pl. t̥ibūtūtīn), ETwl t̥abūtut, Izn t̥aʃabbutt (pl. t̥iʃabbudin), Izd tabūtū, abud 'navel', ETwl abutu, Ty abutut 'gros nombtil e n s a i l l i e ' , S l l {Ds.} abūd (pl. ibūd̥ən), Shl {NZ} abud, tabūt 'navel, navel string' ¶ Fc. 108, Rn. 378, Ds. 199, Mrc. 176, PrGG 18, NZ 29, 136, Coh. no. 123 ¶¶ Coh. no. 123, OS no. 350, err. no. 1071 || IE \*H<sup>ω</sup>emb<sup>h</sup>- ("base I") / \*H<sup>ω</sup>neb<sup>h</sup>- ("base II") ({EI} \*h<sub>3</sub>nob<sup>h</sup>-) > NaIE \*omb<sup>h</sup>-/\*neb<sup>h</sup>- 'navel' > Gk ὀμφαλός 'navel, umbilical cord' || OI 'nabhyaṃ 'nave of a wheel', 'nabhi-h̥ 'nave, navel, central point', Pali nābhi 'navel', Av nāfa- 'navel; family, relatives' (with -f- from an anomalous \*-p<sup>h</sup>-), nabā-nazdišta- adj. 'closest (relatives)', MPrs nāf, NPrs نَاف nōf 'navel' || L umbilīcus id., umbō / -ōnis 'the boss\centre of a shield' || Clt {Matas.} \*ambliyon 'navel' > OIr imbliu id. (< \*embliōn- < NaIE \*emb<sup>h</sup>-, based probably on bf., sc. reinterpretation of \*omb<sup>h</sup>- as an \*0-grade of apophony) || ON nōf, OHG naba, NHG Nabe, AS nafa ~ nafu 'nave', NE nave; ON nafli, OHG nabalo, NHG Nabel, AS nafela 'navel', NE



navel; (NaIE \*omb<sup>h</sup>- >) OHG *ambon* 'belly' ||| Pru *nabis* 'navel, nave', Ltv *naba* 'navel' ¶ P 314-15, EI 391, M K II 135, M E II 13-14, Brtl. 1040, 1062, Vl. II 1280, WH II 814, F II 201-2, Vr. 403, 414, KM 498, Kb. 710, Schz. 218, Ho. 231, Kar. I 613, En. 213, Matas. E 33 ¶¶ The anomaly in the Irn reflex with -f- (Av *nāfā-*, MPrs *nāf*, NPrs *nōf*) may suggest the presence of some reflex of N \*ʔ ||| ??φ ʔ: NrTg: Ewk *uʔ* 'umbilical cord; aorta, vein', Lm O *uʔ* 'blood vessel', ?σ Sln *ōg* 'heart' ¶ STM II 243 ¶ This is a valid cognate only if NrTg \*-g|ʔ- may go back to a labial stop (through the stage of hiatus: \*u<sub>p</sub>∇ > \*u<sub>w</sub>∇ > \*u∇ > \*uʔ∇?) ◇ IS I 248-9, AD MRV, K 186 (K, IE). The expected triple cluster \*\*N<sub>p</sub>ʔ (after elision of the stem-internal vw.) was simplified by losing the nasal cns. (in G and Eg) or the lr. \*ʔ (in EthS and IE).

**830.** \*(*hīn*∇) *rim*P∇ or \*(*him*∇) *rim*P∇ 'eyelid, eyelash' (cd?) > HS: C: EC \**hinrib-* id. > Sml *hirrib*, Sml N *hírrib* 'corner of the eye', Sml C *hirrib* 'eyelid', Kns {Bl.} *hírrip-ā* (↪ Gln *hirrip-e*), Gdl *hírrip-itt* 'eyelash', Yaku *hereban* 'eyebrow', Brj *imbír-ō* 'eyelid', Or {Grg.} *hirrib-a* ~ *irriba* 'a sleep', Or B/O/W {Sr.} (*h*)*irriba* 'a sleep, a nap' ¶ Bl. 165, Ss. B 105, Abr. S 121, DSI 635, ZMO 431, Grg. 210, Sr. 326, ≈ AD SF 156, Blz. DA no. 14 || ? B \*✓*nHr* (mt?) > Ah *anar* (pl. *ānārān*), Gh *anar*, Tnsl {ABs.} *inhār, anhar*, ETwl/Ty {GhA} *aṇar* (pl. *aṇarān*) 'eyebrow' ¶ Fc. 1399, Pr. H no. 560 (\*✓*nH<sub>2</sub>r*), GhA 149 ||| IE: Ht {Pv.} *enera-*, *enira-*, *inira-*, *innari-*, *inniri-* 'eyebrow' ¶ Pv. I-II 271-2 ||| D \**iṛapp-*(*aṛ*) ~ \**iṛamp-* 'eyelid' > Tm *irappai*, *rappai*, *reppai*, Kn *repper*, *rape*, Tl *reppa*, *reppa*, Knd *repa* id., Knd *rema*, Ku *reppa* 'eyelash', Kdg *repe* 'eyelid, hair of eyelashes', Tu *reppæ* 'eyelid, eyelash', *rampæ* 'eyelid', (with *kand-* 'eye'): Klm *kand-repa* 'eyelid', Nkr *kand-reppa* 'eyelash', Gnd *kand-reppa* 'eyebrow' ¶¶ D no. 5169 ||| U (probably from the second element \**rim*P∇ of the N cd): FL \**rim<sub>p</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>se* > Fr *ripsi*, Es *ripsi* 'eyelash' ||| pLp \**r3m3s* 'eyelid' > Lp: Ar *ramas*, L {LLO} *ramās*, N {N} *râmâs*, Kld *pēmac rēmas* id. ¶ ≈ SSA III 81, ≈ SK 809, Lr. no. 1006, Lgc. no. 5477, SaR 292 ◇ The first element of the compound \*(*hīn*∇<sub>1</sub>-) may be discerned in SC: Irq {Wh.} *hámhamo* (pl. *hámhâma*) 'eyelash', {MQK} *hamhamō* 'eyebrow, eyelid, eyelash' (MQK 48). If this Iraqw word belongs here, the N rec. must be \*(*him*∇) *rim*P∇. The second element of the cd may be somehow connected with N \*'rib∇ 'to cover' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA no. 14 and Blz. NDA no. 14 (in both: D, C, FU [BF + err. Lp L *rapsa* 'membrane, napkin']).

**831.** \**h<sub>1</sub>op<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>īE* 'flow down' > **HS** \**✓h<sub>1</sub>p<sub>1</sub>l* v. 'flow, flow out (abundantly)' > **S** \**✓h<sub>1</sub>p<sub>1</sub>l* > **Ar** *✓h<sub>1</sub>fl* *G* 'be copious' (milk, water), 'pour torrents of rain' (the sky), 'flow abundantly' (tears) ¶ **BK** I 460-1 || (with mt.) **Eg** *P* *χ<sub>3</sub>p* v. '≈ flow abundantly', **Eg** *fP* *χ<sub>3</sub>p.t* 'Unwetter' ¶ **EG** III 362 || **K** \**op<sub>1</sub>*- 'sweat' > **OG**, *G* *op<sub>1</sub>*- id., 'perspiration', **Mg** *up(u)*, **Lz** *up-*, **Sv** *wep-*, *wop-* 'sweat' ¶¶ **K** 151, **K<sup>2</sup>** 146 || **A**: **NaT** \**ö<sub>1</sub>:<sub>1</sub>pü<sub>1</sub>*- v. 'be sucked in, be swallowed' > **OT** *örü<sub>1</sub>*- id., (??) **VTt** *убыл-* *убыл-* 'tumble in, collapse (в-/об-валиться)' ¶ **DTS** 387-8, **Cl.** 10, **TatR** 582 ¶ Reinterpreted as the ps. of \**op-* v. 'devour, suck in' (**ET** *Gl* 464-5) || ?**φ** **U** \**wop<sub>1</sub>ta-* (or \**wop<sub>1</sub>sa-*, \**wop<sub>1</sub>śa-*) > **Sm** {**Jn.**} \**wāptā-* v. 'pour' (× **N** \**wop<sub>1</sub>∇* 'pour, strew', q.v. *ffd.*).

**832.** \**h<sub>1</sub>ü<sup>1</sup>rx∇<sub>1</sub>ĉ<sub>1</sub>∇* 'to scratch, to comb' > **K**: **GZ** \**warcx-* v. 'comb' (× **N** \**wAr<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>ĉ<sub>1</sub>∇* 'rub, scrape', q.v. *ffd.*) ⇨ [1] **GZ** \**warcx-wn-* v. 'comb' > **OG**, *G* *varcxn-*, *G* *Gr* *barcxn-*, **Mg** *rcxon-*, **Lz** *(n)cxon-* id., *msd.* *o-(n)cxon-u*; [2] **GZ** \*(*s*)*a-warcx-ar-* n. 'comb' > **OG** *savarcxal-*, *G* *savarcxel-*, **Mg** *orcxonž-*, *orcxond-*, **Lz** *o(n)cxož-* id. ¶ **K** 81, 169, **K<sup>2</sup>** 49, 173, **Abul.** 336, 356, **Chx.** 369, **Chik.** 180, **Ghl.** 60 || **HS**: **S** (CS?) \**✓hrš* v. 'scratch oneself' > **Ar** *✓hrš* *G* 'scratch (gratter)', **Ak** *Λ* *✓χrε* *G* 'itch' ~ *✓χrš* id. (?); ⇨ **CS** \**har<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>š-* n. 'scab, itch' > **BHb** *ḥeres*, **JA** *ḥar's-ā*, **Sr** *ḥer's-ā* ~ *ḥarā's-ā* id. ¶ The unexpected **Ak** *χ-* and the variation *-s-* ~ *-š-* suggest that the **Ak** verb is a loan (from Aram?) ¶ **KB** 341, **BK** I 558, **CAD** VI 92, 96 || **D** \**ir<sub>1</sub>r∇<sub>1</sub>ĉ<sub>1</sub>*- v. 'scratch, comb' > **Gnd** *irsānā* *ḍ* *īrs-* v. 'comb the hair', **Krx** *irĉ<sub>1</sub>*- 'scratch and turn over (as fowls in the ground), poke, dig into', **Mlt** *irĉ<sub>1</sub>e* 'scratch the ground (as fowls do)', **Brh** *iris* 'a comb' ¶¶ **D** no. 493 ◇ Here **K** \**c* is strange (taking into account that in the initial position the regular **K** reflex of **N** \**ĉ<sub>1</sub>* is \**ĉ<sub>1</sub>*). Is it a special development in a cns. cluster? Unfortunately, no other unequivocally reconstructible **K** roots with reflexes of **N** \**ĉ<sub>1</sub>* (in Inlaut) are known so far.

**833.** \**h<sub>1</sub>U<sup>1</sup>rel<sub>1</sub>í∇* 'reed' > **K**: **GZ** \**lē<sub>1</sub>*- 'cane, ∈ rush' (× **N** \**L|ž<sub>1</sub>il<sub>1</sub>í∇* 'reed, ∈ water plant') > **OG** *le<sub>1</sub>-i* 'cane', *G* *le<sub>1</sub>-i* 'cane, rush (*Phragmites communis*)'; cd {**K**} \**le<sub>1</sub>-ĉ<sub>1</sub>em-*, {**K<sup>2</sup>**} \**ler-ĉ<sub>1</sub>em-*, {**FS**} \**le<sub>1</sub>-ĉ<sub>1</sub>am-* 'cane, rush; reed (*Arundo donax*)' > **OG** *lerçam-* 'reed (κάλαμος)', *G* *lerçam-i* ~ *le<sub>1</sub>çam-i* '*Phragmites communis*', **Mg** *larçam-i* ~ *larçem-i* 'reed' ¶ **K** 120-1, **K<sup>2</sup>** 108-9, **FS** **K** 199-200, **FS** **E** 218-19, **Abul.** 208, **Ser.** 82, **Chx.** 677-8, **Q** 270 ¶ **GZ** \**le<sub>1</sub>-ĉ<sub>1</sub>e|am-* is a cd with the *✓* \**ĉ<sub>1</sub>em-* ({**FS**} \**ĉ<sub>1</sub>am-*) 'grass' (see **K** 249, **FS** **K** 457-8, **FS** **E** 518-19) ¶ **GZ** \**l-* in \**lē<sub>1</sub>*- belongs to the heritage

of N \*L|ž̥i||í∇ || HS: S \*hUr∇ll- > Ak OB/YB urull- 'e eine Rohrrart', Ar hall-at- 'grand panier en jonc ou en roseau', hill-at- 'natte oblongue' ¶ BK I 474, Sd. 1436 || D \*∇r̥el̥l- 'reed' > Kn r̥el̥l̥u 'a reed used to write with, *Saccharum sara*', Tl r̥ellu, r̥ellu 'a reed, *Saccharum spontaneum*', Ku relli tuppa 'bulrush' (D \*tuppa 'e small bush' [see D no. 3322]) ¶¶ D no. 5171 ¶ The initial vw. is supposed because an initial \*r̥- (as well as \*r-) is ruled out by D morphophonemics ◇ Fn. KD no. 50 (K, D).

**834.** \*hEyEšU or \*hEyUšU 'faeces, filth; dirt' ([in pA] → 'soot, smoke') > HS: Eg P h̥s 'excrement, faeces' (= {Vc.} [h̥is̥y-]) > Cpt Sd ʔac has, Cpt B ʔoc hos, Cpt F ʔec hes 'fumier, excréments' ¶ EG III 164, Vc. 313 || C: Bj 'ōš̥a, 'ūš̥a(y), {Rop.} iš̥a 'urine', {R} ōš̥- v. 'urinate', {Rop.} oš̥- 'urinate, defecate' || ?φ EC \*ʔus- 'contents of stomach (of ruminants)' (highly qu. as a cognate because of \*ʔ- for the expected \*h-) > Sml ūs id., Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} ʔus-ko id. ¶ R WBd. 33, Rop. 156, DSI 597, Ss. B 185, AMS 227, 261 || NrOm {Blz.} \*ʔayš̥- 'dung' > Kcm {CR} oʔš̥ā 'cowdung', Gn̄j ʔāš̥ā 'dung' || SOm: Dm {Bnd.} ʔuš̥ 'faeces, dung' ¶ Bnd. AL, Blz. OLBP no. 27 || Ch {Stl.} \*h̥<sup>1</sup>esa|i 'faeces' > WCh {Stl.} \*ʔesa id. > Su {J} j̄iȳεs. Ang j̄j̄è̄s, Gmy ʔȳè̄s, Cp è̄s, Kfr {Nt.} è̄s id. | Krkr {ChL} iš̄è̄, Dr ʔiš̄è̄ id. | Gj ʔiš̄ī̄, Buli ʔiš̄, Bgm ȳī̄s, Zar ȳī̄s id. || CCh: ZmB ʔísi 'dirt, dregs' || ECh: Smr ʔiš̄ī̄n̄, Nd ʔiš̄ī̄n̄, Skr {Lk.} issī̄, Jg ʔiš̄, Mu (pl.) ʔàsè̄, Mkl ʔīzī̄, Ke k-usi, Kwn k-ùsī̄(n̄) 'faeces' ¶ JI II 128-9, Stl. ZCh 230 [no. 786], Stl. IF 116-17, ≈ JS 97, ChL, J LM 111 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 14 (Ang, Eg; Tk. saw here a reg. corr. of Su ḡy- with Eg h̄-) || IE: Ht i s u w a n 'residue, sediment, refuse, scraps, waste, remains' ¶ Pv. I-II 486-7, Frd. HW 92, Ts. E I 440 || D (att. in SD) \*eč̥č̥-, {ʁGS} \*eč̥č̥- 'faeces, excretions of the body, remains of food (defiled by contact with the mouth)' > Tm e c c a m 'remains of food, spittle, dung (of birds, lizards)', e c c i l 'whatever defiled by contact with the mouth (saliva, spittle, remains of food), excretions of the body: faeces, urine, sperm', Ml e c c a m 'dung of lizards and flies', Kt e c l 'water that has been used to wash hands after eating, remnants of food', Td i c i l 'pollution of food by being left as a remnant, pollution caused by death or birth', Kdg e c c i 'scraps of food that falls to the floor during meal'; × D \*e n c- v. 'remain' ¶ D no. 780, Zv. 115 || A \*i|Iȳi|IS∇ 'soot, smoke' > T \*IȳI, s 'soot', \*iȳis 'smoke' > OT i|IS 'soot, dirty smoke', Tk i s, Az h̄is, Uz is, VTt ʔs, Bsh ʔθ ~ ȳθ, Qzq, Nog, Qq IS 'soot', Qrg IS 'yellow dirt from smoke; smoking', SY IS 'soot, smoke', ET, Ln is 'smoke', Yk īs 'smoking', Chv L йăс-пăс {Ash., Fed.}

'schlechter Gruch (дурной запах)', {ChVS} 'fumes (чад)', {Jeg.} 'fumes (чад, угар)', Chv L {Ash, Fed., Jeg.} йăслан- v. 'smoke (emit smoke)', Nog, Qq iуis, Qzq иис n. 'smoke' ¶ Cl. 254, ET Gl 379-380, TL 370-1, Jeg. 76, KrkR 291, 76), NogR 117, 428, MM 200-1, 410, Ash. V 96-8, Fed. I 186-7, Jeg. 76, ChVS 58, Rs. W 167 || M \*isü (unless with \*φ-) 'soot' > WrM iсü {MED} 'soot, black', HIM ис {MED} id., {BMR} 'soot; dark', Brt эһэ(н) 'soot (сажа, копоть)', Kl {Rm.} iš 'Ruß, Kienruß' ¶ MED 417, BMR II 282, Chr. 779, KW 210-11 ¶¶ SDM 580 (pA \*iуs ▽ 'soot, smoke' > M, T \*iуs), Rs. W 167, KW 210-11, Pp. VG 116, S AJ 286, TL 370-1, SDM97 s.v. \*ijсn 'soot, smoke' ◇ Blz. DA no. 38 (D, C, Om, Ch) ◇ Ht and M suggest a N final \*-U. The labialized vw. in Bj, EC and SOm requires explanation (traces of an internal \*U in a supposed N \*hEyUṣU or the influence of the final \*-U?).

**835. \*hüžE (q ▽)** 'look, see' > HS: WS (mt.?) \*√ hzy|w v. 'look' > BHb √ hzy|w G 'see, behold', Ph, OA, IA, Plm, SmA √ hzy G, DA √ hzω G 'see', Ar {Ln.} √ hzω|y v. G 'divine (particularly from the flight, cries etc. of birds)', {Hv.} √ hzω v. G 'augur (sth.) from the flight of birds', {BK} 'faire partir les oiseaux de l'endroit où ils se sont abattus, pour augurer de leur vol', {Fr.} √ hzy 'excitans aliquo loco aves ex earum volatu hariolatus est et omen cepit', {Fr.} hāzi(n) 'qui ex membrorum et faciei signis hariolatur', Tgr ҺҺ hāzā [hāzā] 'looked for'; ?σ Ug {A} √ h d'w' G 'nachsehen, prüfen', {OLS} √ hdy G 'look, watch' ('mirar, contemplar') (apparently reflecting S \*°√ hδw|y with an enigmatic \*δ for the expected \*z) ¶ KB 288-289, KBR 301, HJ 357-61, Tal 259-60, Js. 443, Ln. 562-3, Fr. I 376-7, BK I 422, A no. 905, OLS 174 || K: pGZ \*uçq- v. 'see, know' > OG uçq- 'know', Mg oçq- v. 'see', Lz oç(ḳ)- v. 'look' ¶ K 186-7, K<sup>2</sup> 196 || IE: Ht aуs- v. 'see' and уski- id. (within the framework of the Ht morphology уski- is interpreted as iterative); the verb aуs- was reinterpreted as a variant of ау- v. 'see' (of different origin) ¶ Frd. HW 236, Ts. W 10, 97, Ts. E I 95-98, Pv. I-II 234-244 || A \*üžæ- > M \*üže- v. 'see, look' (× N \*gUž ▽ 'feel, smell (sth.)', q.v.) > MM [HI, IM, IsV] üže-, [MA] (h)üže- 'see, look', WrM {MED} üže-, HIM үзэ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'study', Brt үзэ- 'look at, see, рассматривать', Mnr H {T} уže- 'see, look at', {SM} уз\_îâ- 'voir, regarder, examiner', Dx уže-, MMgl öžä, Mgl {Rm.} üžâ- v. 'see', Dg узі-, üзі- v. 'see, look', Ord üž\_î- 'voir, apercevoir, regarder' ¶ Pp. MA 190, 377, 499, MED 1014-15, BMR III 398-400, Chr. 498, Ms. H 108, Ms. O 749, T 368, T DnJ 137, SM 465-6, Lg. VMI 72, Iw.

121, Klz. D II 140 || NaT \*ü<sub>1</sub>δ- v. 'feel passion, feel sexual desire' (× N \***h'**ot∇ 'to smell [odorare, to get the odor of]', 'to smell [olere, to have an odor\scent]', q.v. ffd.) > OT {Cl.} üδ- 'feel sexual desire' (?); ⇨ NaT \*üδ-ig 'passion, sexual desire' > OT üδig id., OXwT XIV üδüḡ 'passion' ¶ Cl. 39, 50 || Tg: **[1]** Tg \*eje- v. 'understand, remember' > Orc 3ž3-, Ud 3ḡž3- 'understand', Ul, Nn Nh/KU 3ž3- v. 'remember', Ork 3d3mu 'get accustomed', WrMc {Z} 3чжэ- v. 'notice, remember', Mc Sb e3a- 'memorize' ¶ Tg \*e- of the initial syll. is due to regr. as. ¶ STM II 439, On. 522, Z 84; | **[2]** Tg \*içe- 'see' (× N \***γ'**ay'e'c∇ 'seek, look for'?) > Ewk, Neg içe-, Lm it-, iç-, Orc ičē-, Ork ite-, Ud ise- 'see', Slr isö:- 'appear' ¶ STM I 334-5 ¶¶ SDM 491 (pA \*ēbž0- 'see, understand' > Tg \*eje-, M + unc. NaT \*ö<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>- 'think, understand') and SDM 579-80 (pA \*iç'∇ 'hope, see' > Tg \*içe- + unc. M \*(h)iča- v. 'hope, trust, believe'), SDM95 s.v. pA ?\*üž∇ ? v. 'see"', ≈ SDM97 s.v. pA \*ež0|u 'see, understand'.