

496.  $_2$  \*d<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>, a marker of imperfective ( $\leftarrow$  an aux. verb?)  $>$  K \*-d-, sx. of the ip. aspect  $>$  OG, G, Mg, Sv -d-, Lz -ṭ-  $\sim$  -d-  $\sim$  -t- ¶¶ Dt. 133-42, Shan. G 77-9, K 67 || A \*-d<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>  $>$  T \*-ḡi/\*-ḡi, (after cnss.) \*-ti/\*-ti (postcons. neutralization of the opposition \*ḡ  $\leftrightarrow$  \*t), marker of the Past Categorical (Past Obvious) tense  $>$  Chv -rḡ/-rḡ id., (after cnss.) -tḡ/-tḡ id. (1s muxta-rḡ-m 'I praised', 2s muxta-rḡ-n, 3s muxta-r-ḡ, 1p muxta-rḡ-mḡr, 2p muxta-rḡ-r, 3p muxta-r-ḡś; pḡl-tḡ-m 'I knew', 2s pḡl-tḡ-n, etc.) || NaT \*-ti/\*-ti, marker of the Past Categorical tense (generalization of the postcons. allomorphs)  $>$  OT O -dī/-dī, after voiceless cnss. -ti/-ti (1s bar-dī-m 'I went', 2s bar-dī-ḡ  $\sim$  bar-dī-n, 3s, 3p bar-dī, 1p bar-dī-miz, 2p bar-dī-ḡiz  $\sim$  bar-dī-ḡiz), Tk -dī/-dī/-dū/-dū, after voiceless cnss. -ti/-ti/-tu/-tū (1s al-dīm 'I took', 2s al-dī-n, 3s al-dī, etc.), VTt -dḡ/-dḡ/-tḡ/-tḡ, Qq, StAlt -dī/-dī/-tī/-tī, ET -dī/-dū/-tī/-tū, Uz -dī, Xk -dḡ -dī / -dī -dḡ / -tḡ -tī / -tī -tḡ, Tv -dī/-dī/-dū/-dū/-tī/-tī/-tū/-tū, marker of the Past Categorical tense, Yk -ti/-ti, marker of the Past Immediate tense. There is an alt. hyp. drawing back this tense to a -dī/-dī-prtc. (B PdTJ, Bii. PFPV). On other hypotheses of the origin of this T tense form *see* Rs. MTS 229-30 and Shch. OSMG 78-81 ¶ SIGTJM 373-88, Shch. OSMG 78-82, DmG GChJ 885, Rm. EAS II 125-6 || M \*-ḡi/\*-ḡu / (after certain cnss.) \*-ḡi, converbium imperfecti  $>$  MM -ḡi/-ḡi  $\sim$  -ḡu/-ḡu, WrM -ḡu / (after b, s, ḡ, r, d) -cḡ, HIM -ḡī/-ḡī, Ord, Mgl -ḡi/-ḡi, Mnr H -ḡi, Dg -ḡi/-ḡi, Kl -ḡb/-ḡb. In some modern M lgs. this form or more probably a compound form \*-ḡiḡaḡ has got the meaning of Past Imperfect: HIM -ḡā/-ḡā, Brt -ḡa/-ḡa ¶ Pp. IM 265-7, 276-7 || ? Ko: MKo -it- [-id-]  $>$  NKo -at-/-aḡt-, marker of the past ¶ Book 94 ¶¶ Pp. IM 266 (T, M), Rm. EAS II 23-6, IS I 218 (T, M, ?Ko; \*ḡ Tg \*-da/\*-de, marker of "aorist", while in fact \*-d- [and -d-  $<$  \*-r- in some cns. clusters] is a derivational sx. of certain verbal stems rather than a tense marker, *F* Sun. G 44-9, 53-4, 69-73, 106, 313-6) ◇  $\approx$  IS I 218-9 (N \*-dī, sx. of p.  $>$  D \*-t(t)- of p., A [T \*-ti/-ti  $\sim$  -ḡi/-ḡi of the definite past, M \*-ḡi/\*-ḡi of the converbium imperfecti + \*ḡ Tg \*-da/\*-dā of the "aorist"], with a query: IE: Gmc \*-ḡa, marker of the past [but an alt. etymology drawing back \*-ḡa to the IE pp. sx. \*-tō- is based on good arguments and is preferable, *F* Me. OG 107-10], K \*-dī, misinterpreted as marker of the past, while in fact this sx. \*-d- is a marker of the ip. aspect, which is not connected necessarily with the past tense [it is used for both past and future, as well as inv., etc.]; IS

did not distinguish between N \*d<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> of imperfectiveness and N \*t<sup>1</sup>∇ [marker of passive participial constructions]).

**497. \*diŕê** (~ \*d<sup>r</sup>∇HU) 'to put, to place' > HS: WS \*√(w)dŕ > Ar √wdŕ G (ip. -daŕ-) 'poser, placer, mettre', Sq {L} √dh, ps. dyaĥ 'être posé, être couché', caus.-rf. 'š edaĥ 's'appuyer, se coucher', Mh √wdŕ Sh (pf. {Jo.} ššwdē, {DRS} ššwdā) {Jo.} 'keep safe, keep sth. safe for so.', {DRS} 'conserver un dépôt', ?? Mh √dhw (pf. dzhō) v. 'pull oneself along by oneself's arms' ¶ BK II 1508-9, LLS 125, Jo. M 68, 421, ≈ DRS 503 || ? Eg fOK d(w) inf. 'place, put', {EG} wd, {Fk.} wd<sup>1</sup> v. 'place, put' (< \*\*√(w)dŕ due to metanalysis of \*√wdŕ as w-d 'extend the hand'?) ¶ EG I 384-7 and V 421, Fk. 72, 308-9 || C: Bj {R} ? dā-s-, dadā-s- 'legen', √wd<sup>1</sup> pcv. (1s: p. 'auda<sup>1</sup>, pppf. 'īwda<sup>1</sup>, prs. awan'dī<sup>1</sup>) 'setzen, stellen' ¶ R WBd 56, 236 || Ch \*d<sup>r</sup>∇ v. 'put' > WCh: Gmy {ChL} (ni)dū 'put down' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} dš 'legen, stellen' || Ech: Mu {J} dír / dês / dêr / dírà 'mettre, poser' ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk.L 88 || K \*dew-/\*d(w)- v. 'lay, put' > G d- / deV- / dV- (vt., neutral version) 'lay, legen' (1s prs. V-deb, 3s aor. -V-do- ~ -V-dw-a, 1s aor. -V-deV-i), (ps. of state) v. 'lie' (s-deV-s, u-deV-s 'liegt bei'), Mg dV-~žV- v. 'put' (b-dVank 'I put', aor. kado-b-dVi 'posui'), Lz dV- v. 'put, lay', Sv {FS ← Det.} d- v. 'put', 'hinlegen', Sv L {Dn.} d- 'put, put on (clothes)', msd. L li-d-i ¶¶ FS K 100-1, FS E 106-7 (\*dew-/\*dw-), Chik. 269-270, Q 224-5, Chx. 220-3, Marr 138-9, GP 150, Dn. s.v. d-, ≠ K 72-3 (\*d(w)- v. 'lie, put'); in fact, the meaning 'lie' is secondary and is conditioned by grammatical forms (G passive of state) ¶ The element \*-w- is likely to go back to a sx. || IE \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sup>1</sup>- / \*d<sup>h</sup>ej<sup>1</sup>- v. 'put, lay', {EI} \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>- 'put, place' > Ht {Ts.} te- / dai- (~ tai-) 'setzen, legen, stellen', {EI} dāi 'puts, lays' (< \*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-i-ej); Lc ta- ~ tā, Lw duwa- 'placer', HrLw tu(wa)- 'mettre', 'aufstellen, setzen, legen', Lc tuwe- id. ({Ts.} 'errichten'), Ld cu(ve)- 'errichten, erbauen' are more likely to go back to the N variant etymon \*d<sup>r</sup>∇HU; but Ht da- v. 'take' and HrLw ta- id. belong to N \*t<sup>1</sup>EŕU 'take' (q.v.), while Lc M {ABIV.} da-/du- v. 'give (?)' and Ld dāv 'I give (?)' belong rather to IE \*deH<sup>w</sup>- v. 'give' < N \*toH<sup>r</sup>ü<sup>1</sup> ~ \*ta|æH<sup>r</sup>ü<sup>1</sup> 'bring, fetch, give' (q.v.) || NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>ē- / \*d<sup>h</sup>ə- v. 'put, place' > OI 'a-dhā-t 'he put, placed', 'dadhā-ti 'he puts, places', Av daδā<sup>1</sup>ti 'setzt hin, bringt' || Arm Եդ ed aor. 'posuit' (1s prs. դնեմ dnem 'I put') || Phr εδαεε 'er hat gesetzt' || Gk ἔ-θη-κα 'I put, placed', τίθη-μι 'I put (now), I place' || L ab-dō / inf. ab-de-re / pfc. ab-didī / sup. ab-ditum 'put away',

ad-dō / ad-de-re 'add', con-dō / con-de-re 'put together, put, place', per-dō / per-de-re 'lose', sub-dō / sub-de-re 'put\place\set under, substitute', crēdō / crēde-re 'trust, believe' (< \*k̑red d<sup>h</sup>ē- lit. 'put the heart', cp. OI 'śrad asmaḥ dhatta 'trust him') ||| Gl δεδε {P} 'he put' (p.), {Billy} 'he gave' ||| Lt dė́-ti 'to put, to lay', Ltv dė́t 'to lay (eggs)' | Sl \*dě́ti 'to put, to place' > OCS ДѢТИ děti id., rf. ДѢТИСА děti se, OP, P Δ dziać się 'wohin geraten', Cz dítí se, Slk diet' sa id., 'to get lost', SCr дѣти њ djèti, R деть, Uk діти 'to place (somewhere)', Slk diet' 'to put, to hide', Blg дяна 'I put' ||| Tc A tā-, tās-, tas- 'ponere', p. prtc. то, B tā- v. 'place, set', tes-, tās- 'lay, set'; tāttā- sbjn. 'lay, set' < rdp. \*d<sup>h</sup>id<sup>h</sup>e-) ¶¶ P 235-9, EI 472, 506, Ts. W 80-1, 89, Ts. E III 5-11, 19-23, 291, Frd. HW 201-3, 220, Mer. SGA 261, 404, Mer. HHG 114-5, 119, 134-5, Lar. 100, Gsm. LW 94, 96-7, Shv. SHS 265, ABIV I 85 and II 110, M K II 15, F II 897-8, WH I 3, 286-7, 362-3, Billy 62, Tum. 359, Sl. 86-7, Wn. 464-5, Ad. 283-6, Ad. H 65, Frn. 90-2, SJSS X 552, ≈ Glh. 199-200, ≈ ESSJ IV 229-30 (does not distinguish Sl \*dě́ti from \*dě́jati 'to act') ||| A: NrTg \*dī- v. 'put in' > Ewk <sup>^</sup>dī-, Lm Ol <sup>^</sup>dī- v. 'put in, insert'; ?? Tg {DQA} \*dē- 'to lie' > WrMc dedu- v. 'lie down, lie' (of person or animal), Mc Sb dɔdu- id., Orc dē- 'bed, sleeping place' ¶ STM I 202, 227 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #377 (A \*dē 'lie [liegen]' > Tg \*dē-) ◇ The variant \*d∇HU is suggested by K \*deω-/\*d(ω)-, Mh ✓ d<sup>h</sup>ω, Eg d(ω), Lw duwa-, HrLw tu(ωa)-, and Lc tuwe- ◇ IS I 224 (\*d<sup>h</sup>α<sup>h</sup>α: IE, S, C, Ch, Eg ωd<sup>y</sup> 'stellen', K, U \*teke- v. 'do', D: Brh tix- 'put') → BmK 261-2 (\*diy-/dey- 'throw, cast, put, place': IE, S <sub>i</sub> \*wa-day-, \*na-day id. [reconstructed from some WS New Perfect forms like BHb yādā and from the Ak inf. nadū, both misinterpreted as the basic forms of the verb], Eg).

**498. \*dūb∇** 'edge, end' > HS: Eg N db.ω 'riverbank', Eg ∇ idb id., 'riparian land, shore of flood' > Cpt TOP top 'edge' ¶ EGI 153, 409, V 434, Fk. 35, Vc. 218 ||| C: Bj {Rop.} dibba 'mound of earth; bank, moving sandhill' ||| Ag: Bln {R} 'dibba (pl. 'dīfef, 'dīfūf) 'das freie Feld, die Weite' (↔ 'village') ||| EC: Af {R} 'dubū 'Steppe, Wüste, Wald', Sa {R} 'dibō 'Steppe, Wüste; gathering place of men in front of the village' ¶ Rop. 168, R WBd 59, R A II 43, R S II 98 ||| ECh: ?φ Ke {Eb.} téwé 'beenden' ¶ Eb. 96 ¶¶ Tk. I 396 (Eg, C) ||| A: Tg \*dubē 'end (of an object), top' > Ewk duwē ~ duɣē, Neg duwɔ, WrMc dube, duben id., 'point (of a sword)', Mc Sb {Y} duvə, duvu 'tip, point, end', {Mrm.} dube 'oberes Ende, Spitze, Schluß', Lm duwɔt 'top (of tree), point',

Orc, Ul du(ω)3, Ud, Nn du3 'end, edge; point' ¶ STM I 218, Krm. 229, Y #2604, Klz. MS 140 || pJ {S} \*túpí 'finish' (\*t- is due to the contamination with N \*tupɜ∇ 'tail, back', q.v. ffd.) > OJ túpí 'finish', J: T/K cú-i-ni, Kg cúí-ni 'atlast, finally' ¶ S QJ #37, Kenk. 2048 || pKo {S} \*tūjh 'behind, back, North' (× N \*tupɜ∇ 'tail, back'??) > MKo tūj / tūjh-, NKo tūī ¶ S QK #367, Nam 168, MLC 517 ¶¶ S AJ 71, ≈ DQA ##2264 (\*tú|ób∇ 'end, edge' > Tg, Ko, J) || **D** (in SD) \*tuvakk-/ηk- ({ǵGS} \*t-) v. 'begin' > Tm tuvakku, tuvanku, Kt tovκ-, ? Td tw+θk- v. 'start, begin' ¶ D #3350 ◊ This N word may be identical with N \*dub<sub>l</sub>ɜ∇ 'back, honder part, tail' (q.v.).

**498a. \*d∇b∇** 'hill' > **HS:** C: Bj {Rop.} dibba 'mound of earth; bank, moving sandhill', {R} 'dibba, 'dubba 'hill' || Ag: Bln {R} 'dibba (pl. 'dīfef, 'dīfǔf) 'hill near a village (used as the gathering place for the popular assembly of the village); das freie Feld, die Weite' (↔ 'village'), Q {R} debā 'mountain' ¶ Rop. 168, R WBd 59, R WB 95 || **U:** FP \*täwe 'hill, island' (× N \*tähipê 'high place, top, hill') > Lp N {N} dievva / -v- '(roundish) hill', Lp L {Wk.} tievva-, tjevva-, {LLO} tievva 'hill' || Z di di, Yz di 'island, small island', Z Lu di 'island, peninsula, hill' ¶ UEW 794, Wk. LLW 144, LG 94, Lt. J 110, SZ 108, TmK 198 || **A:** M \*dobun 'hill' (× N \*tô'p'æ 'head, top') > WrM dobu, -n, HIM дов 'hill, mound, knoll', Ord {Ms.} d\_owon 'monticule, colline', Kl {Rm.} downo 'hill' ⇨ WrM {Gl.} dobogun 'summit of a mountain, peak'; M ⇨ Yk dobun 'Erhöhung'; the variant with t- (in Kl towxno < {Rm.} \*tobu-qan) is probably a loan from T ¶ Kow. 1818, MED 255, Gl. III 177-8, SM 64, Ms. O 155, KW 97, 404 || ?φ Tg {DQA} \*dū- ~ \*düb- 'upper (on the mountain\hill); top' (× N \*d<sub>l</sub>oy<sub>a</sub> 'place (within, below), inside'?) > Ewk dīw ~ dīvū 'upper (on the slope), dī-13 'at the top', 'forest on the mountain slope', dīn 'upper part of the mountain', Lm dā 'mountain peak', d3yi 3 d3w 3 d3x 'upper, found at the top', Neg dī- (+ppa.) 'top, peak', Orc dī-13, Ud dīxi 'farther from the river bank', Ork dī-si 'up from the bank', dipti 'upper part of the tent', Ork duww3, Nn duy3 'the side from the river bank to the woods', Nn Nh duwuy 'farther', WrMc dele 'top' ¶ STM I 202-3 || ?φ pJ {S} \*<sub>l</sub>d<sub>j</sub>ípà 'rock, cliff' > OJ ípà, J: T iwá, K íwà, Kg íwa ¶ S QJ #1242, Mr. 429 ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A \*top'E 'hill, top' > T, M), DQA #400 (A \*t|dúypè 'hill, top' > M, Tg, J) || **D** \*tipp-/tiv- ({ǵGS} \*dibb-?) 'hill, heap' (× N \*tähipê '↑') > Tm tippai 'mound, elevated ground', Kt tip 'rubbish heap', Kn tippe

'heap, hillock, dunghill', *dibba*, *dibbu*, *tevar(α)* 'hillock', Tu *hippæ* 'heap, hill', Tl *tippa* id., 'mountain', *dibba* 'hillock, heap', Prj *ḏippa* 'heap', *ḏibba* 'mound', Gdb *dibbe* id., 'hillock', Gnd *dībe* 'heap', *dippa* 'highland for cultivation', Kui *ḏepa* 'rising ground, high land', Ku *debbe*, *dibba* 'hill', Krx *ḏippā* 'mound, hillock', Mlt *tube* 'rubbish heap' ¶¶ D #3229.

**499. \*dub<sub>1</sub>∇** 'back, hinder part, tail' > HS: S \**dubur-* 'back, rear part', \**√dbr D* v. 'turn the back' (× N \**dagor∇* 'shoulder-blade, upper part of the back?') > Ar *dubr-* 'partie postérieure, derrière; dos, derrière', *dubur-* id., 'cul', *dabr-* (pl. *dubūr-*) 'derrière, partie postérieure', Md *dibrā* 'back, tail', BHb *√dbr D* (pf. *דִּבְּרָה* *ḏib'ber*) {Eit.} 'turn the back', {KB} 'den Rücken kehren, sich abwenden', {KBR} 'turn aside, drive away, pursue', Mh *√dbr* (pf. *adōbər*, sbjn. *yadōbər*) v. 'turn the back', Hrs *√dbr* (pf. *adēbər*, sbjn. *yadēbər*) v. 'turn away (from)', with mt.: Mh {DRS} *ardēb* 'nuque et haut des épaules', Hrs {DRS} *ardēb* 'nuque'; Gz {L} *√dbr TD* (*tadabbara*) 'lie on one's back', ? Ak *√dpr D* (inf. *ḏuppuru*) 'go away, sich entfernen' ¶ BK I 665, KB 201, KBR 209-10, Eitan 33-4, DM 102, LG 121, Jo. M 63, Jo. H 22, CAD III 186, Sd. 177, DRS 212-4, MiK I #1.46 || EC: LEC {Bl.} \**dub-* (-*ḏ* → \**dab-*) 'tail, hinder part' > Bn *tib* 'tail', Sml *dab-o* id., *dib* (< \**dub-*) 'short tail (of goat, etc.)', Rn {PG} *dúb* 'tail; buttocks, backside', Bs *deb-e*, Elm *dup ~ tup* 'tail', Arr {Hw.} *dùb* 'buttocks, anus', Or {Grg.} *dūbā*, {Th.} *dūba* 'after, behind', Or B/O {Sr.} *dūba* id., *duba* 'a sheep's fat tail', Or H {Ow.} *dūbá* 'behind, in back', Kns *tup-a* 'behind', *tupp-ā* 'upper back', Gln {AMS} *tup-ē-nu* 'hinter; später', *tup-ē* 'später', Gwd {Bl.} 'tup-en, tu'p-ēte 'behind' || HEC {Ss.} \**dubb-* 'tail, after, behind' > Ged *duba* 'tail of sheep', Brj *dob'ba-ka* 'younger brother' (lit. 'he who is behind') ¶ Bl. 177, Ss. B 57, Ss. PEC 15-6, PG 103-4, Oo. 72, HL 88, Hw. A 353, Grg. 113, Th. 111, Sr. 289, 291, Ow. 258, AMS 226, Hd. 237 ¶ The EC variant \**dab-* may go back to (or be influenced by) N \**zeybA* 'tail' (q.v.) || B \**√dfr ~ \*√ḏfr* > Ah *ḏaffər* 'derrière', CM *dəffir* *ḏ* *təffir*, Izn *dəffər*, Rf *dəffar*, Awj *dəffər* 'behind, after', Gh *√ḏfr* v. 'be behind, follow', Kb, Gd, ETwl, Ty, Rf *√dfr* id., Shl {NZ} *dfur*, CM *dfur* *ḏ* *tfaḏ* 'follow' ¶ Fc. 261, NZ 296-7 ¶ The variant \**√ḏfr* may be connected with N \**tupḏ∇* 'tail, back' (q.v.) || Om {Blz.} \**dub-* 'tail' > NrOm: Dwr {AlA} *dup-iya*, {Bnd.} *dūwiya* id. ||| SOM: (× mt. N \**ḏaḏ<sub>1</sub>∇b<sub>1</sub>∇* 'tail, back?') Hm B {Bnd.} *dōbana*, Hm K {Bnd., Fl.} *dibini* 'tail' ¶ Blz. OLBP #95, Bnd. AL 159, Fl. OWL s.v. 'tail',

AIA ODS #134 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*dub∇ {AD} 'anus', (→ ?) 'penis' > Su {J} dúp, ? Ang {ChL}, Cp d+p, ? Gmy dèp 'penis' || CCh: pMM {Ro.} \*dɔ̀ba 'back' > Hrz, Vm, Zlg dɔ̀bá id., MfG {Brr.} dɔ̀bá, MfG M {Brr.} dɔ̀bá 'dos, derrière', Mf {BLB} dɔ̀ba 'dos', Gzg {Lk.} duba ~ dɔ̀ba 'Rücken', dɔ̀baŋ 'hinten' | Glf {Lk.} dagbe 'Hinterer', {Röd.} dabé 'Arsch' | Msy {Mch.} dúwõŋ, Db {Lnh.} dàwĩn, Kola {Sb.} dùwɔ̀ŋ 'Hinterer, buttocks' | Gdr {Srp.} debokó, {Mch.} dúbɔ̀ id. | Msg P {Mch.} dabā id. | Zm {Sa.} dùbù id., ZmD {KNC} dúb 'back (dos)', ?? Azm {Pc.} dāpà v. 'finish', dabiða 'end, last' | FJ {ChL} dúbàkú 'buttocks' || Kwn {J} tàwá 'back' ¶ Stl. ZCh 169 [#221], ChC, J S 63, ChL, Abr. H 227, Brr. MG II 99, BLB 107-8, Ro. 205 [#37], Lk. G 120, Lk. ZSS 148, 150, Sk. HCD 50, KNC 5, Pc. 110, 113 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP #95 (HS \*duby-: S, Om, C, Ch + \*÷ B [in fact an Arabism]), OS #731 (\*dub- 'back, tail') and #691 (\*di(m)bur- 'back': S, CCh: WMrg dimbur 'buttocks') || U: FU \*tupp∇ 'back, backbone' > Chr H/L tup 'back (dorsum)' | Vt тѳбыр, Vt Kz тѳбѳр 'back (dorsum), backbone' || Hg Δ топ 'der dicke Teil der Schweinskeule oder des Schinkens' ¶ UEW 537-8 || A: Tg \*dube(kī) ~ \*debe(kī-) 'lower part of the back, pelvis, croup' > Ewk duwukī ɘ duɣukī ɘ dɔ̀wɔ̀kī, Lm dɔ̀wki ɘ dōwki, Neg dōxi ~ dɔ̀wɔ̀xi 'pelvis, pelvic bones, lower back, croup (of a horse\reindeer)', Sln dɔ̀bɔ̀xi ~ dɔ̀wɔ̀xi 'side of the body', Ud dɔ̀uxi, Ul, Nn Nh dɔ̀wɔ̀, Nn KU dɔ̀uki 'pelvis, pelvic bones', Ork dɔ̀wɔ̀ id., 'croup of reindeer', WrMc {Z} dɔ̀ 'pelvic bone', 'croup, lower back' ¶ STM I 218, Z 828 ◇ This etymon may be identical with N \*dûb∇ 'edge, end' (q.v.) ◇ FU \*-pp- is a regular reflex of N \*-bʔ- ◇ D {ḡGS} \*tūv-/\*tupp- 'feather' (not 'bird's tail', as interpreted by Blz.!) [D #3393] is hardly to be adduced here (≠σ). We may suppose genetic ties between this D word and Gil [d\_ub\_r] (= [tup\_r]) 'feather' ◇ ≠ Blz. DA 155 [#30] (HS, D).

500. 2 \*dAd∇ 'thick, fat, large' > HS: NrOm: Kf {C} dadd- v. 'be fat', daddo adj. 'fat', Shn {R} dōdō id. ¶ C SE IV 426, R K 277 || ECh: Mkl {J} dóddírè 'long, big' ¶ J LM 83 || SC: Alg {Wh.} dādir 'large' (or to N \*did∇ 'large, big'?) ¶ Wh. IC 27 || D \*taṭ-, {GS} \*daṭ- 'large, thick, stout' > Tm taṭa 'large, broad, full', Ml taṭa 'large, great', taṭi 'stout, robust', Kt daṭ 'ε thick thread', Kn daṭṭa 'state of being thick\stout\robust', Tu daṭa 'thickness; thick', Krg daḍḍa 'big', Tl daṭṭamu 'thick, dense', Klm daḍpā, Nkr dʰaṛapā 'good', Gnd ḍargāl 'pot-bellied man', KLnd ḍaṭam 'too much\many; thickly', Kui ḍāṭā

'strength; strong',  $\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$  v. 'increase in number', Krx  $\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{a}}$  'stout. thick', Mlt  $\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}$  'difficult' ¶ D #3020, GS 176-7 [#445] ◇ Connected with N **\*did** 'large'? May **\*dAd** and **\*did** be two contractions of N **\*dA'y'id**?

**501. \*did** 'large, big' > HS: C: Ag: Xm {R}  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}$  v. 'be thick, be voluminous (umfangreich), be fat', rel. adj. sg. m.  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}-\text{a}\bar{\text{w}}$  'thick \ voluminous \ fat', f.  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}-\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{y}}$ , pl.  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}-\text{a}\bar{\text{w}}\text{k}$  id., {BSW}  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{w}}$  'thick', Xm T {CR}  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\text{d}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{o}}$  adj. 'fat' || SC: Brn {Wh.}  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}$  'large' || Ch:  $\text{z}$  Gdr {IS ← ?}  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}$  'big' ¶ AD GDS 72, R Ch II 352, BSW KhWL 7, Wh. IC 27, IS I 219 ¶ AD GDS 72 || K: pGZ **\*did-** 'big' > OG  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\text{d}-\text{i}$  'great', G  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\text{d}-$  'big, elder', Mg, Lz  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\text{d}-$  'big' ¶ K 73, Chik. 234, FS K 103 || IE: NaIE **\*d<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>id<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>-(i-)** 'big' > Lt  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{s}}$ , Ltv  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{s}}$  'big, large, great', Lt  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}$ - (prs.  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}-\text{a}\bar{\text{u}}$ , inf.  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}$ ) v. 'become big\large' ¶ ≠ Frn. 93, Kar. I 222 ◇ IS I 219, AD GDS 72 ◇ Connected with N **\*dAd** 'thick, fat, large'?

**502. \*dod<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>** '≈ tip, nipple; to suck (mother's breast)' > HS: B **\*d<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>gd<sub>1</sub>** v. 'suck (the breast)' > BSn  $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$ , BMn  $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{d}}$ , Izn  $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{d}}$ , Rf, SrSn  $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$ , Izd  $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$ , Ty  $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$ , Kb  $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{d}}$  'téter, être tété', Izn, Rf, SrSn  $\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$  'allaitement, action de tété', Shl/CM {NZ}  $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{d}}$  'téter', Zng {TC}  $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{d}}$  'allaiter' ¶ Rn. 311, Mrc. 249, GhA 30, Dl. 835, La. S 302, DCTC 289, NZ 433-5 || EC: Or  $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}$  v. 'suck (e.g. with a straw)', Arr {Hw.}  $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$ - 'suck marrow out of a bone', HEC {Hd.} **\*tūt-** v. 'suck' > Ged  $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}$ - v. 'suck (e.g. a lemon)', Hd  $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}$ - v. 'gulp', Sd  $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}$ - v. 'suck, drink by sucking (e.g. with a straw)'; ? C ⇨ Amh  $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{o}}$  'nipple' (unless a Ll.) ¶ Hd. 146, Gs. 331, Grg. 384, Hw. A 355 || ?σ S: Ak  $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{â}}$  'ε a thorny plant' ¶ Sd. 148 ('eine Dornpflanze'), CAD III 17 ( $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{â}}$  [plant]) || D (in SD) **\*toṭṭo** ({ḡGS} **\*t-**) 'point, nipple' > Ml  $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}$ , Tu  $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}$  'nipple of the breast', Kn  $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}$  id., 'point' ¶ D #3488 || K **\*dud-** 'point, tip, upper end, nipple' > G Gr/UA/F  $\text{dud}-\text{i}$  'sinciput, crown\top of the head, cock's comb', Mg  $\text{dud}-$  'head', Lz  $\text{dud}-$  'crown of the head, top, tip', Sv {K}  $\text{dud}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{l}}$ - 'nipple (of breast)', Sv UB {GP}  $\text{dud}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{l}}$  'breast, nipple' ¶ K 75, K<sup>2</sup> 42-3, Ghl. 213, Chik. 44, Zhgh. ChT 8, GP 97 || IE: NaIE **\*d<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>ed<sup>h</sup>-** ({P} **\*d<sup>h</sup>ed<sup>h</sup>n-**, {Dv.} **\*dad<sup>h</sup>-**) 'milk' (× N **\*čay<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>** 'female breast', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. IS I 222 [#72] (**\*d<sub>1</sub>u<sub>1</sub>λ<sub>1</sub>**) (D, K + [hardly acceptable] U **\*tuṭka** 'point, upper end'), IS MS 352 ('οκοηεχηοcτb' **\*d<sub>1</sub>u<sub>1</sub>λ<sub>1</sub>**), and IS SS 323 [#3.2] (the same comparison); in my opinion, FU **\*tuṭka-** belongs to N **\*tu<sub>1</sub>ṭ<sub>1</sub>** 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit' (q.v.). In B and EC the

glottalization of the cns. is due to onomatopoeic or Lallwort influence  
 ◇ The semantic history in some descendant languages may have been:  
 'point, nipple' → 'suck the nipple\breast' → 'suck' (encouraged by the  
 Ll.-factor for the meaning 'suck the breast').

**503. \*d'ü'ga** 'suitable, fit, good' > **A** {SDM97} \*dòge ({DQA} \*djòge)  
 'good, better' > NaT \*jeg ({S} \*jä;g) 'better' > OT jeg, Tk yeǵ, Tkm, Az  
 Δ jeʁ id.; S. Tezcan reconstructs here \*jēg, Starostin (S AJ 196) and  
 (after him) SDM reconstruct \*jä;g, but there is no ev. for the quality  
 \*ä and for the length of the vw.; S AJ 196 [#234] adduces here Chv šiy-  
 eł 'upper', but this is probably another pA √ (represented by WrM  
 dēgedü 'upper, high') ¶ F Cl. 909-10, Rs. W 194, DTS 252, ET J 165,  
 Tz. UIS 107, TkR 301, Fed. II 115-6, S AJ 196 [#234] || ?φ Լ M \*ǰaʁa ~  
 all right, yes' > WrM (← HIM) ʒa, HIM ʒaa 'all right, yes, very good',  
 IM {T} ǰā ǰǰ id., Brt ʒaa 'well, all right' (answering a request), Dg ǰē  
 ~ ǰā, Dx/ShY {MYC} ǰa id., Ord ǰā: 'bien, eh bien, oui', WrM ʒagabala  
 'for certain, absolutely' ¶ MYC 416, MED 1016, 1022, Ms. O 176, Chr.  
 239, SM 81, 87, T VM 151, T DgJ 143, Mr. D 176 || pKo \*tjōh- 'good' >  
 MKo tjōh-, NKo cōh- cō-, Ko: Sl ćōttʰa, Ks ćōttʰà ¶ S AJ 252 [#36], S QK  
 #36, Nam 162, MLC 1488 || pJ \*dǰ- 'good' > OJ ʁo-, J: Tk í, Ky è, Sh ʁu-  
 ta- ¶ S AJ 265 [#32] ¶ S QJ #32, Mr. 845 ¶¶ SDM97 (A \*\*dòge > T, Ko,  
 J), DQA #388 (A \*djòge 'good, better'), S AJ 275 [#30] || **HS:** S  
 \*°√dwg > Ar √dwǵ → Ar duwāǵ- ~ duwwāǵ- 'beauty' ('nitor,  
 pulchritudo') ¶ BK I 746, Fr. II 68 || **IE:** NaIE \*dʰeugʰ- v. 'be ready,  
 prepare', {EI} 'be useful, produce sth. useful' (→ ?? \*dʰeugʰ- 'fortune') >  
 Gk τεύχω 'I prepare, make' || Ir {P} dúal 'suitable, fit', Nir {Dnn.} dual  
 'right, proper, natural' (< \*dʰugʰ-lo-) || ON duga, Gt dugan, AS  
 duzan, OHG tujan 'to suit', NHG taugen 'to be useful/fit'; Gmc p.-  
 prs.: Gt daug, AS déaz, OHG toug 'is fit for, taugt' || Sl \*dugъ  
 'strength' > OR ДУГЪ dugъ, OCz, Cz duh id. (Cz sloužití \ jíti k  
 duhu, Slk byt' k duhu 'to be of benefit'); ? BSl: Sl \*dužьbь 'strong,  
 big' > Uk, R Δ 'дужий id., OR ДЮЖИИ djužii, R дюжий, P dužy  
 'strong, big', Cz duží, Slk dúži 'strong'; Sl \*duže 'very, much' > R Δ  
 дюже id., P dužo, Uk Δ дуже 'much', OP dužo, Blr дужа 'very' | Lt  
 daug 'much' ¶ P 271, EI 211, 614, F II 888, Dnn. 266, ESSJ V 150, 167-  
 8, ≠ SPS IV 195 (pSl \*dǰǵъ 'strength' rather than \*dugъ), ≈ Vr. 86, Fs.  
 116, 127-8, Ho. 70, 79, OsS 965-6, Schz. 288, Kb. 1043, KM 773, Frn. I  
 84, ESSJ V 150, 167-8 || ?? amb **K:** it is tempting to adduce K \*°dg-



/°deg- > G (gamo-)dg- v. 'be useful, fit, suitable' (Chx. 293), unless this is a sd. of the √ \*dg- 'stand' ◇ NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>e<sub>u</sub>g<sup>h</sup>- and S °√ d<sub>w</sub>g point to a N labialized vw. of the first syll., while the T and M vowels are not labialized. The problem needs further research ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #1.

**504.** <sub>2</sub> \*dāhgU 'watch, look at' > HS: [1] HS °√ dhg > SES °√ dhg 'look, stare' > Jb C {Jo.} √ dhg (pf. e<sup>1</sup>doh<sub>3</sub>g) v. 'look down, have a fixed stare', √ dhg (pf. ed<sup>1</sup>heg, sbjn. 3m 'yēdh<sub>3</sub>g) v. 'look fixedly', Mh √ dhg (pf. d<sub>3</sub>hēg) v. 'look at sth. with such concentration that one does not hear what is said to one', √ dhg (pf. h<sub>3</sub>dhōg) v. 'look into the distance not thinking' ¶ Jo. J 36, Jo. M 66 || Eg fP dg<sub>y</sub>, Eg fMd dg<sub>3</sub> v. 'see, look' ('sehen, [er]blicken, betrachten') ¶ EG V 497-8, Fk. 316 || C: Bj {R} √ dg<sup>w</sup> (1s p. a-'d<sub>y</sub>g, prs. an<sup>1</sup>dī<sub>y</sub>g) 'examine (nachsehen, überschauen, prüfen)' ||| LEC {Ss.} \*-d<sub>e</sub>g-/-d<sub>o</sub>g- pcv. 'recognize, perceive' (× N \*tu<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>∇ [or \*t<sub>u</sub>g<sup>1</sup>∇?] 'listen, hear') > Rn degey ~ degeh v. 'scout, spy', Sa {Wlm.} -d<sub>i</sub>g- ~ -d<sub>e</sub>g-, {Ss.} -ed<sub>e</sub>g- v. 'recognize, perceive', Af {PH} -ēd<sub>e</sub>ge 'know, understand' (3m p. yēd<sub>e</sub>geh), Arr {Hw.} -t<sub>t</sub>eg-/-t<sub>t</sub>ig- 'know' (1s ṛít<sub>t</sub>ige, 2s, 3f tét<sub>t</sub>ege, 3m yét<sub>t</sub>ege), HEC: Kmb {Hd.} dag- 'know, find'; Sa/Af \*-d- may go back to the cluster \*ʔ- (the px. of 1s) + \*-d- (see the secondary emphatization of the stem-initial cns. in the 1s forms in Aw) ¶ AD SF 255, R WBd 62, Clz. 115, PG 102, PH 95, 255, Hw. A 453, Hd. 313 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} d<sub>i</sub>g<sub>i</sub> 'think' (× N \*t<sub>t</sub>u<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>∇ '↑') ¶ Eb. 43 ¶¶ AD SF 255 (Eg, C), OS #618 (\*dag-> Eg, EC, Kr), Tk. I 226-7 (S, Eg, C, ECh) ||| [2] HS (+ext.) °√ d<sub>h</sub>g<sub>l</sub> > S °√ dg<sub>l</sub> v. 'look at' > Ak √ dg<sub>l</sub> G (inf. dag<sub>ā</sub>l<sub>u</sub>) 'look, look at', BHb (<G, ps. prtc.) כ<sub>ל</sub>ל<sub>ת</sub> dā<sub>l</sub>g<sub>ū</sub>l 'outstanding' (← \*'seen'), Sr √ dg<sub>l</sub> G 'contemplate, examine' ¶ KB 205, KBR 213, Br. 141, Sd. 149, CAD III 21-2 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} d<sub>u</sub>g<sub>u</sub>rú 'look (at)' ||| CCh: Mlw {Trn.} d<sub>u</sub>g<sub>u</sub>l<sub>i</sub> 'look (at), see', MsgP {Trn.} d<sub>u</sub>g<sub>u</sub>l<sub>i</sub> v. 'visit', d<sub>u</sub>g<sub>o</sub>l n. 'visit' ¶ Sch. DN 50, TrnSL 196, Trn. LM 85 ¶¶ Mlw, MsgP d- < HS \*dh-? ¶¶ OS #757 (\*d<sub>u</sub>g<sub>o</sub>l > Eg, S, Ch) ||| U: FU (att. in Ugr) \*tākk∇- v. 'look, watch' > Hg tekint- v. 'look at' || Os V/Vy t<sub>ä</sub>xan- 'im Gedächtnis, im Sinn behalten, sich erinnern, Kenntnis haben' ¶ UEW 893 ◇ The comparison is valid if FU \*-kk- can be explained by the devoicing effect of N \*h (\*-hg- > \*-hk- > \*-kk-).

**505.** \*dagar∇ 'shoulder-blade, upper part of the back' > HS: S \*<sup>1</sup>dubur- 'back (dos)' (× N \*dub<sub>l</sub>ṛ<sub>ṛ</sub>∇ 'back, hinder part, tail, q.v. ffd.) ||| A \*dagar(in) or \*dagar∇m ({Adb.} \*ḍayr∇m) 'the waist part of backbone' > NaT \*jagrIn 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' (× T

\*jagIRIN ~ \*jagIRNI 'back of a pack-animal ← NaT \*jagIR 'back\withers of a horse' < N \*z'VgErV [or \*z'VrgV?] 'back [dorsum]) > OT jarIN 'shoulder-blade', MOg XIV [IM], XwT XIII, OOSm XIV, MT [IM] jaYrIN, Uz jaYrIN, VTt {RI.} žawrɛn, Δ jawrɛn, Qzq jawrIN, Alt žarIN, SY jarIN, Xk, Tv čarIN id., Tk ɥaǵrIN id., 'upper part of the back', Tb jarIN, QK jarIN 'shoulder-blade, shoulder', Tkm Δ jaY(ɪ)rIN, SbTt ɥawɛrɛn, Qq žawrIN, Yk sarIN 'shoulder', Blq žavrun & žaurun 'shoulder-blade', Qrg žōrun 'shoulder-blade (bone)', Bsh jawrɛn 'заплечье' ('place behind the shoulders?'), jawrɛn ɥapsɪYI 'rucksack' (lit. 'sack behind the shoulders'), jawrɛntaq '(a man) having large shoulders', Nog jawrIN 'shoulder-blade, shoulder', Qmq jawrUN 'upper part of the back' ¶ ADb. SR 139-41, DTS 241, ET J 65-7, TL 242-3, Bai. TK 293, Cl. 970 (considers jarIN to be the original form, while the variant jaYrIN 'shoulder-blade' in the T lgs. is in his mind a result of the infl. of jaYIR 'saddle-gall', which "perhaps evolved from 'the part of the animal where saddle-galls occur'" [Cl. 905]; but if DTS is right in interpreting OT jaYrIN-la- as v. 'strike on so.'s shoulder-blades' in MKA III 343 [DTS 225], it suggests that \*ɥaYrIN 'shoulder-blade' existed in OT), San. 333v4, PC 528-9, RI. III 42-3, Bu. II 356, TTDS 563, BR 728 || M \*daYarin 'saddle-sore' > MM [S] da,ari, [MA] dāri id., WrM ɥagari, ɥair, HIM ɥайр 'saddle-sore, abrasion'; M ⇨ Tg: Sln ɥagari, Lm ɥaYɛrɛn, WrMc ɥarIN, Mc Sb ɥarin 'saddle-sore', d.: Ork dāri-, WrMc ɥari- 'make a saddle-sore on horse's\reindeer's back' ¶ H 30 (da'ari 'Geschwür\Druckstelle auf dem Rücken'), Pp. MA 139, MED 218, 222, STM I 188 || ?φ Tg \*ɥarama > Ewk ɥarama 'waist', Ewk I, Neg ɥarama 'waist, back', Ewk Brg/O ɥarama 'waist, backbone', Sln ɥarama 'back', Lm ɥarɛm 'waist, vertebra near the waist', Orc dāma 'waist', Ud dāma 'waist, waist part of the backbone', Ul ɥarama 'waist, back', Ork ɥarama id., 'backbone, vertebra of the waist', Nn ɥarama ~ ɥarma 'back', WrMc {Z} ɥarama, ɥarma, ɥara 'waist, sacrum, back', Mc Sb {Y} ɥarama 'spine, the line of the backbone' ¶ STM I 198, Y#95 ¶¶ ADb. SR-D 443 [#1], 452, ADb. MSR, ≈ DQA ##349 (A \*ɥagV 'shoulder bone, back': T, M) || D \*ɥokorɥr- ({{GS}} \*ɥ-, \*-g-) 'back (dos)' > Klm ɥogor 'back', Gnd ɥogor peɛka 'backbone', ? Kui ɥōkoli 'rear part of the cranium' ¶¶ D #2979 ◇ D \*o of the first syll. (for the expected \*a) is probably due to regr. as. (\*\*a...o > \*o...o). The unexpected D \*-k- ({{GS}} \*-g-) still needs explaining. S \*-b- in \*ɥubur- belongs to the heritage of N \*ɥubɥrV ◇ ADb. SR-D 443, 452 (A, D, EA).

**506. \*d̥wǵ|y̥w̥** 'sun, day, morning' (→ 'be bright as the sun') > **HS:** Eg d̥w̥ʒ.ω 'morning' > Cpt B **ΤΟΟΥΙ** toui id. ¶ ʒ for the expected ʕ may be due to a change \*d...ʕ > d...ʒ (evidenced by the absence of combinations d̥ʕ, d̥w̥ʕ, and d̥y̥ʕ among Eg stems, except for the Semitism y̥d̥ʕ 'clever') ¶ EG V 422-5, Vc. 317 || Ch: CCh: Msg {Rlf.} d̥oē 'morning', {GKrs.} d̥áw̥ai, {Br̥t.} d̥aw̥oī 'to-morrow' ||| ECh: Smr {J} d̥áw̥á, Tmk {Cp.} d̥éw̥, Nd D {J} ʒów̥ 'sun' | Li {Grgs.} t̥ùwa, Kbl {Cp.} t̥àb̥à id. | Ke {Eb.} č̥ʒw̥á, Kwn {Lk.} t̥ua, {J} t̥òw̥á mā ʔán̥án̥, Kwn M {J} t̥úw̥á má-án̥án̥ id. ¶ JI II 313, ChC, Lk. M 49, 51, Cp. 52, Eb. 36 || **K** \*d̥ye 'day' > OG, G d̥ye-, Mg d̥ya- (pl. d̥yał-), Lz (n)d̥ya- (pl. (n)d̥yał-) 'day' || Sv: UB lad̥äy̥, UB/L ladey̥, LB/Ln lädey̥ 'day' (< K d. \*°ša-d̥y̥-e) ¶¶ K 75-6, K<sup>2</sup> 43, FS K 101-2, Chik. 193, IS I 155 (on K \*š̥- [{IS, K} \*s̥] > Sv 1-), GM S 146, Test. KV 67, TK 359, Dn. s.v. ladey̥, GP 133 ||| **A:** Tg: WrMc d̥uwar̥ga us̥iχ̥a 'morning star' (us̥iχ̥a is 'star') ¶ STM I 218 || ? M \*do̥:̥rona 'east' (if \*o̥:̥ < \*d̥w̥w̥) (× ← M \*doura ~ \*dōra 'below' [> WrM दौरa]) > MM [HI, S] dorona, WrM dorun-a, HIM дорно, Br̥t дурна, WrO dorono 'east', Ord dorono 'eastern', Kl дорд dord̥ 'east' (× дорд 'lower') ¶ MED 263, H 37, Ms. H 50, Krg. 656, KRS 208, Chr. 203, Ms. O 153 ||| ?σ **D** (att. in McTm) \*tav̥- > Tm tavaṇai 'fixed term of payment of a due, limited time', Ml tavaṇa 'fixed time\term' ¶ D #3108 ||| ?σ **IE:** NaIE \*d̥h̥ew̥l̥ə̥- 'be bright, shine' > OI d̥h̥ava'la- 'dazzling white' ||| Gk [Hs., Theo.] θέω 'hell glänzen', 'shine, gleam', 'be very bright\white' (e.g. of teeth) ¶ P 261, M K II 95-6, IS 796, FI 669 ◇ The D cognate suggests a N vw. \***A** in the first syll., while the Mc and M rounded vowels are likely to be due to the labializing infl. of \***w** ◇ ≠ IS I 221 [#70] (\*d̥i̯g̥a 'bright'; IS equated K \*d̥ye 'day' with IE \*d̥heih̥- (sc. \*d̥hey̥H-) v. 'see', which is unc., because IE \*d̥hey̥H- is obviously nearer to EC \*dey̥-/doy̥- v. 'look at', FN \*di'h̥'a 'look at'), BmK 270-1 (\*d̥aG-/d̥əG-: K + IE {Phv.} \*d̥h̥o̯g̥h̥o- 'day' + S [Gz dagdaga v. 'be early in the morning'] + D ɫ [Tm taka-tak-eṇal - an onomatopoeic expression of dazzling, etc.]), ≠ S NSR 4-6 (err.: equates K with IE \*de̯j̥(w̥)- 'shine; daylight' [in fact from N \*tiʔû 'shine, be bright'] and reconstructs pN \*d̥w̥-; his IE-K comparison is unacceptable because IE \*de̯j̥(w̥)- has no lr.).

**507. (₂?) \*di'h̥'a** 'look at' > **HS:** EC \*dey̥-/doy̥- v. 'look at' ({Bl.} pLEC \*d̥ōy̥-) > Sml day v. 'examine', Bn day- v. 'try, test', Arr {Hw.} d̥ōy̥- v. 'look at', Kns, Gdl t̥ōy̥- v. 'look at, watch', Elm {Ss.} d̥ōy̥- v. 'regard', {Bl.}

an-ḏoy-a v. 'consider, regard', Or {Th.} *doya* (nom. *doyan*) 'observation', {Ss.} *doy-ā* id., *dōy-aʔ* 'spy, scout', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} *dōyā* 'spies, robbers', Hd *do-* v. 'lurk, spy', as well as possibly Arr {Hw.} *day-* v. 'find, obtain', Hr *tay* v. 'find', and Ya *tey-* v. 'find, get' ¶ Ss. PEC 16, Bl. 263, Th. 109, Sr. 289, Hw. A 352-3 || ? S: Ak OA *dātum* 'notice, information'; the word is not likely to go back to S \**diʕat-um* 'knowledge' (> BHb *דָּעָה* *dēʕā* id.) from the S root \**√wdʕ* 'know' (> Ak *edū*) (as suggested by Sd.) because the presence of S \**ʕ* would have brought about a vw. change S \**a* > Ak *e*; a contamination of N \**diʕhʾa* 'look at' and N \**wētʕʾ* 'look, see' may have produced Ak OB *diḡatu, daḡatu* 'notice, information' ¶ CAD III 130-1, Sd. 168 || IE \**dʰeyǵ-* / \**dʰyeH-* / \**dʰiH-* v. 'see, look at' > NaIE \**dʰeyā-* / \**dʰyā-* / \**dʰī-* > OI *dīdhēti* 'perceives', *adīdhēt* 'he looked at', *dhīʔtiḥ* 'thought, idea', *dhya-ti* 'schaut im Geiste', sc. 'denkt, sinnt' (prtc. *dhya-ta* ~ *dhī-ta*), *dhya* 'das Denken, Sinnen', Av *dā(y)-* v. 'see', *ā-diδāti* 'betrachtet', prtc. *paiti-dīta* 'erblickt', NPrs *دیدن* *dīdān* 'to see, to look' || Gk *σημα*, Gk D *σῆμα* 'sign' (< \**dʰyā-mḡ*, cp. OI *dhya-man-* 'thought') || pAl {O} \**dīya* > Al G/T *dī-* v. 'know' ('savoir'), Al G {LamP} *dij* 'he knows' ¶ P 243, M K II 45, 105, Sg. 551, Horn 132, F II 695-6, My. 66, Ç I 125 and II 372, O 64-5, Mn. AIE 357, Kf. 81, LamP 147 || ?σ **A:** M \**ʕi-a-* (or \**ʕiʕa-*?) 'point out, show' > MM [S] *ʕi-a-* 'ansagen, mitteilen', WrM *ʕiḡa-*, HIM, Brt, Kl *ʕaa-*, Ord *ʕā-* v. 'point out, show, demonstrate', Dx {T} *ʕa-* 'show, point out', Mnr H {T} *ʕā-* id., {SM} *ʕiā-* 'indiquer, promettre' ¶ H 89, MED 1049, KRS 234, Chr. 240, Ms. O 175, SM 75, T 332, T DnJ 118 ¶ WrM *-ḡ-* may be a secondary spelling device that reflects a syllable boundary ◇ The presence of a N lr. is evidenced by IE, while the zero reflex of the lr. in C may suggest either N \**h* or \**ʔ*, but \**ʔ* is ruled out by the IE form \**dʰeyā-* (because N \**ʔ* does not yield a syllabic lr. [> \**ə*] in IE). Therefore the reconstructed N lr. is most likely to be \**h* ◇ ≠ BmK 264-5 (\**day-* / \**dāy-*: IE, C, S \**dīn-* v. 'judge' [interpreted as \**day-an-* on the basis of deverbal nominal WS New Perfect], D \**tēt-* v. 'seek').

**508. \*dʰEʰa** 'with', 'together with' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'and') > **HS:** LbB \**d* 'and, together with' > ONum *d* 'with' and/or 'and' || B \**id* ~ *d<sub>1</sub>i<sub>1</sub>* 'with, together with, and' > Ah, Ty, ETwl *d*, *əd*, *də*, Gd *d*, *əd*, Shl, Si *d* 'with, and', Izd, Mz, SrSn *d* 'et', Izd *d*, *id*, Kb *δ*, *yid*, *iδ-*, Zng *iδ* 'avec';

cp. also Si {La.} dǎŋa 'also' ¶ Fv. QSL 270, Fc. 140-4, Lf. II #O229, Mrc. 29, 107, GhA 15-6, Dl. 125, AiM 181, 230, La. S 198, NZ 269-70 || C: Ag \*-dī 'with' > Q {R} -dī 'with, together with', Bln {R} -dī id., 'and' ¶ R WB 93, R QW 46 || Ch: WCh: Hs dā 'with, together with', dā ... dā 'both ... and' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} dǎ- 'with', Gude {Hsk.} dǎ 'with' (instr.) || ECh: Kwn {Mch.} dǎ, Ke dǎ 'with' ¶ Abr. H 153, RpB 27, ChC s.v. 'with', ≈ Sk. HCD 38, Hsk. 171 || IE: Ht ta 'and' || NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>d<sub>l</sub>h<sub>1</sub>ǎǵ > pSl \*da 'and, but' > OCS **ДА** da 'and', OR **ДА** da 'and, but', R да, Uk † да id., Uk та, Blr ды 'and', P † да 'and, but', Blg да ~ та 'and', SCr † да 'but' ¶¶ Ts. W 80, Ts. E III 1-3, ESISJ-SGZ II 145-7, SPS II 323-6 || **K** (in GZ) \*da<sub>l</sub> 'and' > OG, G da, Mg, Lz do 'and' ¶¶ K 68-9 ¶¶ Without Sv ev. we cannot distinguish between pK \*a and \*ā || **A** \*dā > T \*-tā / \*-tā (postnominal) 'and, also' > OT da / dā / ta / tā, Tk da / de / ta / te, Tkm -dā / -dē, Az da / dā, Qzq da / de, Qq, Nog da / de / ta / te, VTt da / dā / ta id. (→ Chv та та ~ те те 'and'), Bsh da / dā / da / dā / ta / tā 'also, and', Uz -da 'and, в е д ь, ж е', StAlt da / de / ta / te 'and', Xk, Tv - даа -dā, Yk da 'and'; VTt da, dā ¶ Rs. MTS 236, Shch. OSMN 116, Kon. GTJ 356-7, Fed. II 159-60 ¶ T \*t for the expected intervoc. \*ō is due to the generalization of the postcons. morphophonemic variant. The shortening of the vw. in Yk may be due to prosodic factors || Tg \*-dā / \*-dē ({Bz.} \*dā) 'and, also' (an enclitic pc.): Nn -da / -dǎ, Ud -da / -do / -dǎ, Lm -dā / -dē / -tā / -tē id. ¶ Bz. 143, On. RN 83, Shn. 24, CiR RES 196-7 ◇ IS I 214-5 (\***да**Ἡ, an emphatic and coordinating article; \*÷ Sml {R} rhematizing pc. -dā [a'mirka-'dā 'gerade, neben jetzt']; the pc., which is cognate with Bln {R} -tā, goes back to the dem. prn. connected with the N dem. prn. \*tā). The Slavic jussive\optative conj. \*da 'ut' and M \*-da / \*-de (identifying pc. underlining consent or impatience - / MED 211) (both adduced here by IS) hardly belong here, because they are semantically too far from 'with' and 'and'; ≠ BmK 275-6 (they do not distinguish between the etymon in question [in IE, K, Ch] and the N locative pc. \*da 'in' [< N \*d<sub>l</sub>oy<sub>1</sub>a 'place', q.v.]; they adduce NEI/AchEl da 'also', though it goes back to MEI tak 'also' - / HK 245, 270).

**509. \*de<sup>ro</sup>He** 'make, do' > **HS**: C: Bj {R} -dī<sup>?</sup> (p.: 1s a-dī<sup>?</sup>, 3f ted<sup>?</sup>it, prs. 1s a-danī<sup>?</sup>, prtc. 'dī<sup>?</sup>a) v. 'prepare, make' ¶ R WBd 56 || CCh: FIJ {ChL} dē, FIM {ChL} dī v. 'do', Bcm {Sk.} dā v. 'make' || Db {Mch.} di 'faire', {Lnh.} d<sub>l</sub>yà v. 'make' || Gude {Hsk.} da 'do, make' ¶ ChC

s.v. 'make', ChL, Mch. D 117, Hsk. 182 || IE \*d<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>- v. 'make, do' > OPrs a-dadā 'he created (schuf, machte [zu etwas])' || Lfacio, inf. facē-re / pfc. fēc-ī / sup. factum 'make, do', Osc fakiiad, Um façia 'faciat', Osc (pfc. cnj.) FEFACIT 'fecerit', Um FEITU, fetu 'facito' || OHG tuo-m ~ tō-m, AS dō-m 'I do', inf. OHG tuo-n, NHG tun, AS, OSx dō-n 'to do', NE do; p. OHG teta, NHG tat 'I did', NE did || Sl inf. \*děja-ti, 1s prs. \*děj-q > OCS inf. ДѢЯТИ dějati / 1s prs. ДѢЯ dějq 'do, act', Blg не дей 'do not do!', Slv dejáti 'to do' (secondary homonymy with dejáti 'to say' and dejáti 'to put'), OCrt dieti, diem v. 'do' (homonymy with dieti, diem v. 'say'), Cz díti 'to do', Slk dejat' 'to do', OP dziać 'to do', R Д 'дѣять 'to do' | d. NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>-l-/\*d<sup>h</sup>o-l- > pSl \*dělo 'deed' > OCS ДѢЛО dělo, SCr дѣло djělo, R, Blg 'дело id., Slv dĕlo, Cz dílo, Slk dielo 'work', P dzieło 'work, deed' || ON dæll 'easy, facilis' (< Gmc \*daliz) ¶ P 235-9, Hinz 42, WH I 440-4, Bc. G 316, 335, Schz. 289-90, KM 796-7, Kb. 1048, Ho. 75, Ho. S 13, Vr. 92, SJSS X 553-4, StSS 205; ≈ EI 472, 506 and ≈ ESSJ IV 229-30 (both fail to distinguish between \*d<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>- 'put' and \*d<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>- v. 'do' [and between their Sl reflexes \*dě- and \*děja-]), ESSJ V 7-8, SPS III 126-33 || U: FV \*tewe 'work (Arbeit, Werk)' > F työ 'Arbeit, Beschäftigung, Tat', Vp tö, Es töö 'Arbeit, Werk' | pMr \*tevā > Er tév, Δ táv 'affair, business, work (дело, занятие, работа, Sache, Werk)', Mk tév 'affair' ¶ UEW 796, Ker. II 167, KC 212, PI 268 ◇ IS I 224 [#75]. The timbre of the IE lr. \*-<sup>h</sup>- suggests a N palatal vw. (\*e or \*ä) in the stem-final position, while U \*-w- is better accounted for by a N labialized inlaut-vw. \*o; but \*-w- may go back also to a sx. or to hiatus before a suffixal vw. The scholars have not distinguished between this word and N \*di<sup>s</sup>e 'to put, to place' (at the pIE level, as well at the level of subgroups of lgs. and at that of individual lgs.) considering the semantic difference secondary (F P, Bn. PLG [ch. XXVII], etc.), but the lgs. which have preserved the distinction (Slavic, Beja) suggest that this widespread opinion is to be rejected. On the other hand, it is certain that in many lgs. (such as FU) the reflexes of N \*de<sup>ʔ</sup>o<sup>ʔ</sup>He and \*di<sup>s</sup>e merged. IS adduces here FU \*teke- v. 'do' (unacceptable [≠φ: FU \*-k- is not a reg. reflex of N \*-<sup>s</sup>-]); FU \*teke- v. 'do' and \*teke- v. 'put, place' are better accounted for by N \*t<sup>ʔ</sup>e<sup>ʔ</sup>kE 'to build, to shape, to make, to do' (q.v.) and by N ≈ \*te<sup>ʔ</sup>h<sup>ʔ</sup>aka<sup>ʔ</sup>ê 'to put, to set' (q.v.) respectively. I am grateful to V. Dybo (p.c.) for drawing my attention to the distinction between \*d<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>- v. 'do' and \*d<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>- v. 'put' at the IE and the pSl level.

**510. \*daka** 'back (dorsum), back (rear), behind' > **HS**: EC: Or {Th., Brl.} *dugda* (nom. *dugdi*) 'back (dorso, schiena), rear part', {Grg.} *dugda* ~ *dubda* ~ *dudda* 'back' ¶ Th. 115, Brl. 125-6, Grg. 111 || WCh: Ngz {Sch.} *ḍḍgú* v. 'follow (a person, an animal)', *ḍḍgáú* v. 'follow (a road)', Bd {Sch. in ChL} *ḍḍgân* v. 'follow' ¶ Sch. DN 52, ChL || **U** \**taka* 'back part, rear' > F *taka-* 'back' (e.g. *taka-oví* 'back door'), *takaa* 'from behind', Es *taga* 'Hinterraum', 'behind, in the back of', pLp {Lr.} \**tōkē* 'that which is behind so.\sth.' > Lp: N {N} *duokke*, L {LLO} *tuohkē*, S {Hs.} *duögie*, T {TI} *tk k'ēñid.*, Kld {TI} *tūjk:ēñ* 'behind' (postp.) || Sm {Jn.} \**tāk-* ~ \**tākъ-* 'das Hintere, hinten' > Ng {Cs.} *taka* 'back side', {Mik.} dat. *taga*, loc. *takani*, En X {Cs.} dat. *teho?* 'hinterhin', loc. *tehone* 'behind', En B {Cs.} dat. *taha?*, *tahu?* 'hinterhin', loc. *tahane*, *tahane* 'behind', Ne T *тяха'* (adv.) 'further', (postp.) 'over (через, за (что-л.))' (direction), *тяхана* (postp.) 'behind', Ne F {Sm.} *čahāna* id. | Slq: Tz {KKIH} *tōqq+n(+)* postp. 'behind', Tm {KD} *tāk'* 'das Hintere' | Kms dat. *t'āk'ta* 'behind' (direction), loc. *t'āk'k'on* 'behind' ¶¶ Coll. 61, UEW 506-7, Lr. #1292, Lgc. #8068, Hs. 466, SaR 359, Jn. 154, Cs. 60, 88, Ter. 705, KKH 187 || **A** \**dak∇-* v. 'follow, go behind so.' ({SDM97} \**daki* 'near; follow') > M \**daga-* v. 'follow, go behind so.' > MM [S, HI] *daqa-* (= [*daga*] or [*daɣa*]) id., WrM *daqa-*, HIM *дага-* v. 'follow so., accompany', Kl *daχa-*, Dx *daɣa-*, Dg *dag-* id. ¶ MED 216, H 31, Ms. H 48 || pKo \**ta(h)-* 'following' > Nko *taɪ-m* ¶ S QK #130, MLC 388 ¶¶ For Tg \**daga-* v. 'be near' and T \**jak-in*, \**jaɣuk* 'near' see N \**d'U'K'∇* 'to approach; near' ¶¶ ≈ DQA #351 (A \**dāk'ì* 'follow, near'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of N \**daka* 'back, behind' and those of N \**d'U'K'∇* '↑' [q.v.]; adduces pJ \**tiká* 'near' > JT *ćikái-*) ◇ Coll. 146 and UEW 506-7 (both: U, A [M, Tg]), ≠ IS I 215-6 (\**daḷa* 'near', does not distinguish between the etymon in question and N \**d'U'K'∇* '↑') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #36 (\**tak* ~ \**tek* 'behind').

**511. \*d'A'k'o'** (~ \**d'A'g'o'*?) 'to burn' (trans.) > K \**dag-* vt. '≈ burn' > G *dag-* (aor. *da-v-dag-e*) 'niederbrennen, einbrennen, brandmarken, quälen', Sv {Fn.} *dg-* (msd. *li-dg-e*) v. 'niederbrennen' (unless identical with *dg-/lidge* 'extinguish') ¶¶ Chx. 227, Fn. KW-1 34, #12 || **HS**: C: ? Bj {R} ✓ *tk<sup>w</sup>y* (1s: p. 'atk<sup>w</sup>i, prs. atan'k<sup>w</sup>ī) vt. 'cook' (× N \**tok∇?∇* ~ \**to'h'æk∇* 'to burn; fire') || Dhl {To., EEN} *ḍak-* v. 'cook' ¶ R WBd 225,

EEN 34, To. D 131, ESC 189 (equates the Dhl word with Asa rakaš 'dry' and reconstructs \*d̥ak|x- v. 'dry over fire'); the Bj word belong here only if -tk<sup>ω</sup>- is from \*-dk<sup>ω</sup>- by as.; otherwise it may belong to N \*t̥ok∇?∇ ~ \*t̥o'h'æk∇) || CCh: Zgw {ChL} d̥ugáyà v. 'burn' || IE: NaIE {P, E} \*d<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>ωh</sup>- vt., vi. 'burn' > OI 'daha-ti, Av dažatī vt. 'burns' || Gk Hm τέπρᾱ, Gk I τέπρη 'ashes', ? Gk [Hs.] θέπτανος· ἀπτόμενος 'kindled (?)' (÷ Lt d̥egtinas 'wer\was zu verbrennen ist') || L fovē- v. 'warm, keep warm', fō-culum 'brazier', fō-mentum 'poultice, fomentation', fōmes (G fōmitis) 'touchwood, tinder', favilla 'glowing ashes' || OIr daig (gen. daiged, dega) 'flame, pain', Brtt {RE} \*debīmi vt. 'to burn' > Crn dewy, dywy id., OBr [γ] deu-u-eticion · "cremata", MBr deuiff, Br dev iñ 'to burn, brûler', MW deifyaw, W deifio 'to scorch, to singe' || pAl {O} \*dega > Al djeg (aor. dogja) vt. 'burn, scorch, singe' || Lt d̥eg-ti (1s prs. d̥eg-ù) vi. 'to burn', vt. 'to kindle', Ltv degt vi., vt. 'to burn'; Lt degùtas 'tar', Ltv deguts ~ degots 'birch-tree tar' || Sl {Glh.} \*žegti (1s prs. \*žegŕ ~ \*žbgŕ) vt. 'to burn' > OCS жеци žešti / prs. жьгъ жьbgŕ, SCr žèćī & žèći, OCz žéci / žehu, P žec / žgę, R жечь / жгъ; the change \*d- > \*ž- may be accounted for by as. (\*deg- > \*geg- > Sl \*žeg- or {ð Brandt} 2s \*žebžeši < \*de|bžeši and 3s \*žebžetъ < \*de|bžetъ after \*z-prefixes, such as \*v̥bz-); \*d- is preserved in a d.: Sl \*degъtъ 'tar' (> OCz dehet, P dziegieć, R дѣготъ / G дѣгтя, Uk деготъ) || Tc: A tsäk-, tsak-, B tsäk-, tsek- vt., vi. 'burn' ¶ WP I 849-50, P 240-1, EI 87, M K II 29, F I 663 and II 888-9, WH I 466-7, O 68, AlbED 173, LP § 39.1, RE 85, YGM-1 166, Frn. 85-6, Vs. I 493 and II 38, Glh. 706-7, Wn. 526 || A: NaT \*jak- v. 'ignite' > MT XIV [IM] jāq-, XwT XIV jaq- vt. 'ignite, burn', Chg XV jaq- v. 'ignite', Tk çak, Tkm, VTt, Bsh, Nog, ET, Ln jaq-, Xlj ja`q-, Uz jaq-, Qrg žaq-, Qzq žaq- vt. 'burn', Qq žaq- vt. 'burn, strike fire', Yk saχ- v. 'strike fire' ¶ ESSJ IV 81-2, DT 221, JkR 319, Rs. W 180; Cl. 897 supposes that the verb is derived from \*ja- (his \*çā-, that he finds in \*jal- 'blaze, burn, shine' and \*jan- 'burn, blaze up'), but S (AJ 175 [#13]) rejects this assumption, because, acc. to him, the T sx. -k-/-q- never forms transitive verbs || Tg \*jegde- ~ \*degje- (acc. to S AJ and DQA, originally \*deg-je-) vi., vt. 'burn' > Ewk jəgdī- vt. 'burn', vi. 'burn oneself, get sun-burnt', jəgdī 'forest-fire', Lm jəgdə, jəgdəkəz 'site of a forest-fire' ('Гарь, пожарище'), Neg jəgdī-, Orc, Ud, Ul žəgdī-, Ud žəgdī- vt. 'burn', Ud žəgdəz- vi. 'burn, get slightly burnt' (of food), Ul



ž3gd3- 'be burnt, burn down (сгореть)', Ork d3gd3- vi. 'burn', d3gd3-ktu 'site of a forest-fire', Nn ž3gd3- 'be burnt', ž3gd3 '(forest-)fire', WrMc deųzi ~ dezi, Mc Sb dežl-~dižl- vt. 'burn' ¶ STM I 281-2, Y #483, Krm. 235 || pKo {S} \*th<sup>h</sup>- vi. 'burn' > MKo t<sup>h</sup><sup>h</sup>-, NKo t<sup>h</sup>a- id., MKo t<sup>h</sup><sup>h</sup>j'ó-, NKo t<sup>h</sup>äu- vt. 'burn' ¶ S KD #12, Nam 46-7, MLC 1684, 1697 || pJ \*dák- vt. 'burn' > OJ yàk-, J: T yàku, K yák-, Kg yá], Ns yàk<sup>u</sup>, Sh yàč-, Ht yàg-, Y dàg- vt. 'burn' ¶ S AJ 269 [#109], S QJ #109 ¶¶ DQA #367 (A \*děkà 'burn' [tr., intr.]), Cl. 897, S AJ 35-6, 279 [#102] ◇ Illich-Svitych (IS SS #10.11 and IS MS 337) assumed that IE \*d<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>wh</sup>- goes back to earlier \*teg<sup>wh</sup>- and equates it with A \*t'oga (> Tg \*toga 'fire'), with HS \*t'k<sup>w</sup> (> Eg tk3, Bj ✓tk<sup>w</sup>), and with U \*tä'v<sup>h</sup>t (actually \*te<sup>w</sup>v<sup>h</sup>-t<sup>v</sup>) 'fire' and reconstructed a N etymon \*t'og<sup>h</sup>, which I do not accept. I prefer to distinguish between three paronymous N words: \*d'A'k|g'o', \*tokv?v ~ \*to'h'ækv 'to burn' (whence the mentioned Tg ✓, as well as possibly the Eg ✓) and \*t'e'yaw'a' 'fire' (whence the mentioned U ✓). This hyp. of three N words allows us to explain many more observed facts than IS's etymology and does it on a more regular basis. It is corroborated by the fact that in some lgs. the distinction between these N words has been preserved, e.g. N \*d'A'k|g'o' > Tg \*degje- ~ \*jegde- vt. 'burn' and N \*tokv?v ~ \*to'h'ækv > Tg \*toga 'fire'. In the N word in question the quality of the medial cns. is problematic: K and IE suggest N \*-g-, while C and T suggest \*-k-. To my mind, the reflexes of \*-g- in K and IE may be explained by as. (originally in forms with the zero-grade of the apophony?), where pre-K and pre-IE \*d-k- was assimilated to \*d-g-. As to the C and T vl. reflexes of N \*-k-, they cannot be but original. Hence I am inclined to reconstruct the N word as \*d'A'k'o'. Blz. KM 114 [#4] equates K, IE, and A with D \*tī-~\*tū- 'fire' (D #3266) (unacceptable because of the quality of the D vw.). On the D ✓ see N \*t'e'yaw'a' 'fire' and GS 202 [#511]. Cf. also AD GD #121 (IE-U-A-HS without distinction between the reflexes of N \*d'A'k'o' and \*tokv?v ~ \*to'h'ækv), Mng. DA 139-40, IS MS 337 (draws back IE \*d<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>wh</sup> from N \*t'og<sup>h</sup>) ◇ Cf. Gr. II #54 (\*taku 'burn') (IE, A, Gil).

512. \*dūk'U' 'strike, beat' > HS: S ✓dwk, \*-dūk- id. > Ak -dūk- (inf. dâku) v. 'kill, break, beat', BHb ✓dwk G (ps. 3p דָּבַקְוּ dā'k-ū) 'pound, zerstampfen', Ug dk G 'zermalmen' (× S ✓dkk 'reduce to fragments', probably from N \*daKv 'small, thin, short'), Ar ✓dwk G (pf. dāka. ip. -dūk-) 'smash' ¶ DRS 234, Sd. 151-2, KB 207-8, A #739, OLS 131, Hv.

222 || WCh \*✓dk<sup>ω</sup> 'beat, kill' > Krkr dùk<sup>ω</sup>á id., Krf dù<sup>ω</sup>á, Wrj/Mbr {Sk.} t<sup>3</sup>ɣ- Sir {Sk.} t<sup>3</sup>ɣ<sup>3</sup> 'kill', Hs d<sup>ò</sup>k<sup>á</sup>, Klr {J} duk 'beat', Ngz sàdgu 'beat, thresh' ||| ECh: Mnj d<sup>ũ</sup>k, ? Li d<sup>igrì</sup> 'kill' ¶ Stl. VZCh #42, ChC, Sch. DN 39, Blz. EChWL #44 || ?ϕ B: Ah {Fc.} duqqat 'frapper de la pointe (avec un objet un peu pointu mais non piquant)', Ah də<sup>ϕ</sup>də<sup>ϕ</sup>, Tdq d<sup>b</sup>ϕd<sup>b</sup>ϕ 'frapper à plusieurs reprises de la pointe' (infl. of B \*✓dg 'prick' < N \*dEHik'a<sup>1</sup> 'pierce, dig') ¶ Fc. 237, NZ 361 ||| K: GZ (+ext.) \*tkwep- / \*tkwip- 'beat, beat up' (× N \*t<sup>ab</sup>∇,qa 'hit, strike') > OG aϕ-tkwepa vb. n. 'beating up', G tkvep-/tkvip- 'beat up', {Chx.} 'schlagen', Mg tkvp- 'beat up', Lz tkvap- 'beat, beat up' ¶ K 76, FS E 166 (both sources do not distinguish the root from the homonymous verb \*tkwep- 'mix'), Chx. 506 ||| A: Tg \*<sup>ˆ</sup>dug- v. 'beat, strike' > Ewk duɣ-, Sln duk<sup>t</sup>ɜ- id., Ewk Ald duk<sup>t</sup>ɜ- vt. 'pound, crush', Lm du- ɟ du<sup>ω</sup>- ɟ du<sup>ϕ</sup>-, Orc, Ork, Nn d<sup>ū</sup>- 'beat, strike', Ud duk<sup>t</sup>ɜ- 'beat', Ul duksin- 'strike', WrMc d<sup>u</sup>- ~ d<sup>ū</sup>- 'strike (with a stick), thresh' ¶ STM I 219.

513. <sub>2</sub> \*dEHik'a<sup>1</sup> (= \*dE<sup>ɣ</sup>ik'a<sup>1</sup>?) 'pierce, dig' > IE: NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>ējg- / \*d<sup>h</sup>ōjg- / \*d<sup>h</sup>īg- 'pierce, stick' > L fīg-ō, -ēre / fīxī / fīctum ~ fīxum 'fix, fasten', Umb fikt<sup>u</sup> 'figito' ||| ON díki 'ditch; puddle, morass', OSx, OFrs dīk, MDt dijc, Dt dijk 'dike' (↳ Fr digue ↳ diguer 'to dike' ↳ NE dig), MHG tîch 'dike, dam, pond, embankment' (> NHG Teich 'pond'), MLG dīch 'dike, dam' (↳ MHG dîch > NHG Deich 'dike, dam, embankment'), AS dīc 'ditch, moat' > NE ditch; ME dyk, dik 'dike' (↳ MDt dijc?) > NE dike ||| Lt díegi<sup>u</sup> / díeg<sup>t</sup>i v. 'stick, set, plant', Ltv diēgt 'to tack, to stitch together, to baste'; Lt dyg<sup>ūs</sup> 'prickly', d<sup>ý</sup>gti 'to spring, to shoot, to sprout' ||| a NaIE root variant \*<sup>o</sup>d<sup>h</sup>ējg<sup>ω</sup>- seems to be represented by OL [Cato] fīv-ō 'figo' ¶ WP I 832-3, P 243-4, EI 472 (IE \*d<sup>h</sup>e<sup>j</sup>g<sup>ω</sup>- or \*d<sup>h</sup>e<sup>j</sup>Hg<sup>ω</sup>- 'stick, set up' with \*g<sup>ω</sup> based on OL fīv-ō, but incompatible with the Gmc \*-k- and L -g-), WH I 495-6, Bc. G 335, ≈ KM 775, Vr. 76, Vr. N 116, Lx. 226, Ho. 72, HDEL 369, ≈ Skeat 169, 177, Frn. 93 ||| HS: Ch {Stl.} \*dig- 'dig' > WCh: Mnt {Fp.} dik id.; P' {MSk.} žígā 'dig, uncover'; Hs dāgi 'iron implement for digging holes' ||| CCh: Gzg dik, MfG -dádɜg- 'enterrer' ] (?) ↳ \*diga 'hoe' > Hs dígà 'pickaxe' (unless ↳ NE digger) ||| Mf {BLB} dɜga 'pioche' ||| Li diga, Tmk dɜgà id. ¶ Stl. IF 58-9 (Ch \*dig-/\*H∇dig-), BLB 111, Brr. MG II 100 || ?σ CS \*✓d<sup>ɣ</sup>k (× N \*dik<sub>E</sub>,ϕ<sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup> 'rumple, knead, press') > Ar دَعَكَة da<sup>ɣ</sup>k-at- 'partie la

plus foulée du chemin', madfūl- pp. 'foulé, abîmé par le grand nombre d'allants et de venants', JA, MHb ✓ dīk G 'crush, stamp upon' ¶ BK I 702, Js. 316, DRS 290-1 || B \*✓ dg 'prick' (× N \*dûk<sup>U</sup> 'strike, beat') > Wrg dugg 'poignarder, frapper avec une pointe', Ah ədəg, Tw Ng ədəg 'piquer, percer', Gh əddəž 'piquer (avec une pointe\aiguille\épine)' ¶ NZ 300-1.

**514.** <sub>2</sub> \*dak<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>?U '(young of an) equid' > HS \*d∇k<sup>ω</sup>- 'donkey' > C {AD} \*d∇(k)k<sup>ω</sup>∇r-, {E} di<sup>k</sup><sup>ω</sup>- id.: Ag {AD} \*dɜk<sup>ω</sup>ar- / (pl.) \*dɜk<sup>ω</sup>ar<sup>h</sup>- (= \*dɜk<sup>ω</sup>all-), {Ap.} \*dɜv<sup>ω</sup>ar- id. > Bln/Xm {Ap., R} dɜx<sup>ω</sup>ara, pl. {R} dɜk<sup>ω</sup>al, Q {Ap.} dɜv<sup>ω</sup>era, {R} dewora ~ dehora, Dmb {R} dəq<sup>ω</sup>ara ~ deg<sup>ω</sup>ara, pl. dəg<sup>ω</sup>al-t, Aw {Ap.} dɜv<sup>ω</sup>arí, {CR} dux<sup>ω</sup>ari id. || EC: Or Brr {Fl.} dongorra 'donkey' → Amh denqoro 'stupid, ignorant, deaf' || SC: Irq {Wh.} dāq<sup>ω</sup>ay (pl. dāq<sup>ω</sup>āye), Grw {Fl.} dog<sup>ω</sup>ay, Alg {Wh.} daq<sup>ω</sup>i, {Fl.} ndag<sup>ω</sup>ay, Brn {Fl.} daq<sup>ω</sup>a, {Wh.} daq<sup>ω</sup>ay, Kz {E} daq<sup>ω</sup>ak<sup>ω</sup>ayiko, {Fl.} dag<sup>ω</sup>ag<sup>ω</sup>ay-ko 'donkey' (Ehret reconstructs Rt \*daq<sup>ω</sup>-, \*daq<sup>ω</sup>ayi); Irq daketi, Alg deketi 'zebra' (Rt {E} \*daq-et-) ¶ AD SF 275, AD GDS 70, L CAD 197, Wh. SI, E PC #406, E SC 345, R WB 103, R QW 48, R Ch II 353, Ap. AV 9 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*dak<sup>ω</sup>i 'horse' > Hs dōk<sup>i</sup> id. | BT \*dak<sup>ω</sup>i id. > Krkr {Lk.} dōkú, Bl {Mk.} doku, Ngm doku, Dr {J} dōk id., {Nw.} dók, Krf {ChC} pl. dúkkùšín 'horses', Grm {Sch.} dùwá (pl. dùččénží) 'horse' | NrBc {Stl.} \*dak<sup>ω</sup>i 'horse' > {Sk.}: Wrj dūhúná, Mbr dākù, My dúwàkè, Sir dük<sup>ω</sup>í, Cg dākən, Jmb dāk<sup>ω</sup>à, P' {MSk.} žìkí, Kry dūhú, Sir dük<sup>ω</sup>í | Ngz {Sch.} dùkà, Bd {ChL} dùwún id. || CCh: Mrg {Hf.} tágú, Klb {Mk.} tákù, Hld {ChL}, Wmd {ChL} tagu id. | Higi: HgK {Mk.} tuku, FK {ChL} tuku, FG {ChL} tuku id. | Gude {ChL} tux<sup>ω</sup>a, {Mk.} tuhwa, Bt {Mch.} dúwə, Bcm {Sk.} dèwé id. || Ech: EDng {Fd.} dèwkì 'antilope cheval' (Sk.: = 'roan antelope') ¶ Stl. ZCh 170 [#232], ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 29, 115, 135, 147, JI II 194-5, Fd. 186-7, ≈ Sk. HCD 49 ¶ In the BT, NrBc, and CCh lgs. this word for 'horse' may be a loan from Hs ¶¶ OS #667 (\*dawak- 'horse': SC, Ag?, WCh) || A: M \*da<sup>r</sup>y<sup>1</sup>aqan 'colt' > WrM dagagan ~ dagan, HIM даган 'colt between one and two years', Ord dāya 'poulain de deux ans', WrO daḡān 'two-year-old colt', daḡā 'a colt of 1-2 years', Kl дааһн 'two-year-old colt', Mnr H {SM} dāḡa 'poulain, ânon', Dx dagan, Ba daḡaḡ 'colt'; M → WrMc daḡan 'colt (from 2 to 5 years)' ¶ SM 40, MED 216, T 328, T DnJ 117, T BJ 138, Krg. 534, Z 777 ◇ Ag and SC point to a N word-internal \*-k-, but the M cognate suggests a N \*-k|g-. The discrepancy may be resolved

by reconstructing a pN etymon **\*dak<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ʔU** (with **\*-k<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ʔU** > C **\*(k)k<sup>w</sup>-**).

**515. \*dik<sub>l</sub>E<sub>l</sub>ʔU** 'rumple, knead, press' > **HS**: EC: Sa {R} *dakah-* ~ *takah-* 'die Polenta umrühren', Af S *dakħa* (pl. *dakoħ*) 'pastry', Af N *dakħa* (pl. *dakoħ*) 'porridge' ¶ R S II 105, PH 79 || S (mt. **\*√dɛk** < **\*√dkɛ** ?): CS **\*√dɛk** '≈ crush, rub' > Ar **√dɛk** (ip. *-dɛak-*) 'frotter, lisser en frottant', JA/MHb {Js.} **√dɛk** v. *G* 'crush, stamp upon' (absent in Lv. and Sl!) ¶ BK I 702, Js. 316, DRS 290-1 || **K** **\*dɥw-** v. 'mix' (→ v. 'splash?') > Lz *dɥval-* v. 'mix' ('перемешивать'), ?σ Mg *dɥvab-* v. 'flop into water', ?σ Sv {K} *dɥul-* /*dɥa<sub>l</sub>* 'splash of milk when milking a cow\goat', Sv UB/L {TK} *dɥū<sub>l</sub>*, Sv UB/Ln *dɥul* id. ¶¶ K 76, Chx. 329, Chik. 271, TK 199 ¶¶ K **\*-ɥ-** < **\*-kɥ-** ? || **IE**: NaIE **\*dʰeǵʰ-** 'knead', {P} 'Lehm kneten und damit mauern oder bestreichen', {E} 'work clay, smear' > OI *dēh-* (prs. 1s 'dēh-mi, 3s dēgdhi) v. 'smear, anoint' || Gk *θ<sub>l</sub>γ<sub>γ</sub>ά<sub>ν</sub>ω* (aor. inf. *θ<sub>l</sub>γ-εῖν*) 'touch with the hand, handle' || L *fiŋg(ē)-* (pp. *fiŋg-tum*) vt. 'shape, fashion, form, mould', {WH} 'knead\mould out of clay, wax, or sim.' || Gt *digan* 'to knead, to form out of clay', *daig-s* 'dough' (< **\*dʰoǵʰom**), OHG *teik* ~ *teig* (> NHG *Teig*), AS *dāz* id., NE *dough* || Sl **\*děža** 'trough for kneading dough' > OR **Δ.ЂЖА** *děža*, R *дежа*, Uk *ді'жа*, Cz *díže*, *díž*, Slk *dieža*, P *dzieża* id., Slov *déža* 'kneaded dough', SCr **Δ** *díža*, *dīžva*, *diježva* 'milk pail' ¶ WP I 833-4, P 244-5, EI 649, WH I 501-2, M K II 62, FI 674-5, Fs. 118-9, OsS 924, Kb. 1014, KM 775-6, Ho. 69-70, ESSJ V 23-4, Bern. I 198, Vs. I 494, Mn. 181, 195 || **A**: Tg **\*jig-** (< **\*dig-**) > Ewk *jigirē-* v. 'warp, get wrinkled from fire' (of leather), v. 'shrink' (of cloth), *jigirē* 'warped, wrinkled, shrunk', Nn *žigda-* v. 'press, tread down' ¶ STM I 255 || **D** (in GnD) **\*tik-** ({ǵGS} **\*tig-**) v. 'press down' > Knd *tig-* v. 'press down hard, lay pressure on', Png, Mnd *tig-* v. 'push' ¶ D #3205 ◇ IE **\*ǵʰ** suggests a following N front vw., while K **\*ɥw** suggests a final rounded vw.; at the same time both HS and K provide ev. of N **\*ɥ**. Therefore (and in the light of Sa and Af data, where the reflexes of N **\*k** and **\*ɥ** are separated by a vw.) one may assume that originally there was a vw. between N **\*k** and **\*ɥ**, so that there probably were a front vowel (**\*E**) and a rounded one (**\*U**): N **\*dik<sub>l</sub>E<sub>l</sub>ʔU**. If it is right, Tg and D lost the final syll. (N **\*-ɥU**) without traces, while in IE the front vw. palatalized the velar cns. (N **\*kE** > pre-IE **\*ǵ**) and later the pIE cluster **\*ǵH** (with **\*H** < N **\*ɥ**) yielded NaIE **\*ǵʰ**.

**516. \*daḲ** 'small, thin, short' > **HS:** S \*daḲḲ- 'small, fine' > Ug dḲ, (AkSc) daḲḲu 'small', BHb דַּק 'daḲ (f. daḲkā, pl. daḲḲīm) {BDB} 'thin, fine, small', Pun dḲ 'fine, pulverized', IA dḲḲ 'fine' (of salt), JA דַּק 'dünn, fein, zart' (pl. em. דַּקִּים 'die dünnen, kleinen Därme'), Ak daḲḲu 'small'; d. \*daḲīḲ- adj. 'small, fine' > Ar daḳīq-, Sb dḲḲ 'flour', Ak daḲīḲ- 'small'; JEA daḲ'daḲ 'very small' ¶ KB 220, KBR 229, GB 167, BDB #1851, Sl. 349, BGMR 36, OLS 135, Hnr. 119, Grd. UT #695, CAD III 107, Lv. I 418, HJ 257-8, DRS 305 || EC {Ss.} \*diḲḲ- 'small' > Or B/Wt {Sr.} diḲā m., diḲō f., Or H {Ow.} diḲḲā m., diḲḲō f. 'small, little', Hr tīḲḲ-assa 'small', ?σ Sml dīq- v. 'become faint, become tenuous', dīq 'faintness'; ?φ Af {PH} daḡo 'one who is small' ¶ Ss. PEC 50, Sr. 287, Ow. 257, PH 79 || Om: SOM: Ari B {Fl.} toko-mi, {Bnd.} tok-, Ub {Fl.} tok<sup>ω</sup>mi, Ari {Blz.} tok<sup>i</sup>mi (= tok<sup>b</sup>mi?) 'small' || NrOm: Male {Fl.} ḍaḳa id. ¶ Fl. AJ, Fl. SO, Bnd. AL, Blz. OL || Ch \*√dk<sup>ω</sup> 'small, short': WCh: BT: Grm {ChC} ḍèk·ám, {Gw.} deḱumu 'small' | SBc: ? Grn žeka id., ?? Wnd {ChL} nduk 'short' | ? Ron: Klr ḡdīk<sup>ω</sup> 'small' || CCh: Higi: FlG {ChL} duk<sup>ω</sup> 'short', HgB {Kr.} tiku 'small' | Glv dèyk<sup>ω</sup> id., Gv {ChL} déx<sup>ω</sup>è, Dgh {Frk., ChL} dúk<sup>ω</sup>è id. | Db {Lnh.} duk, Kola {Sb.} dúk id. | Lane dáke id. || Ech: ? Mu {J} √dgs (dàgàsé / dégís / dìgās) v. 'be short' ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 135, 138 ¶¶ OS #704 (S, C) || **A:** Tg: WrMc daḳdaḡun 'short' (of garment) ¶ STM I 191, Z 777 || **D** \*takaḷ- ({ǵGS} ~ \*tagaḷ-) 'thin and flat' > Tm takaḷ- 'quality of being thin and flat', Ml takaḷu, takiḷu 'thin metal plate', Tu tagaḷu id., Kn tagaḷu 'flat piece or sheet of metal', Tl tagaḷu 'plate, sheet, leaf of foil\metal' ¶¶ D #2995.

**517. \*diḲ** 'edible cereals\fruit' > **K:** pGZ \*diḲ- 'wheat' > G diḳa 'Triticum carthlicum (a kind of spring wheat)', Lz diḳa 'wheat' ¶ Chik. 141-2, Chx. 313, FS K 104 || **A** \*\*diḲ- ⇨ **[1]** A \*di<sub>Ḳ</sub>-ktä 'edible berries' > NaT \*jigdä 'edible berries (of Zizyphus and possibly Eleaeagnus)' ({ET}: 'the berries Zizypha rubra') > OT [MhK] jigdä {Cl.} 'jujube tree (Zizyphus angustofolia) and its fruit (an edible berry)', {DTS} 'Elaeagnus' ([MhK]: jigdä talqanī 'flour of dried Eleaeagnus berries'), Tkm iḡde 'Elaeagnus and its berry; date fruit', Tkm Δ žigde 'Elaeagnus', Tk iḡde {TrR} 'Elaeagnus, Zizypha rubra (джидә), wild olive', Az iydä, Qrg, Qq žiyde, Qzq žbyde, Uz žiyda ~ Δ žiydä 'Elaeagnus and its berries' ¶ Cl. 911, DTS 260, ET Gl 325-6 || Tg \*jikte 'berries, Vaccinium' > Ewk jiktə 'berries', Orc žiktə, Ud žiktə- 'bog bilberry

(*Vaccinium uliginosum*), Neg *jiktɜ* id., 'bilberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*)' ¶ STM I 256, Krm. 233 ||| [2] A: NaT \**jig<sub>l</sub>d<sub>j</sub>ellek* 'berries' > Tk *çilek*, Ggz *čilek*, θkm *čixelek*, QrB *žlek*, Qmq *žielek* 'strawberries', VTt *žiläk*, Bsh *žbläk*, Qzq *žide* ~ *židek* 'berries' (unless from \**jigdä*), Alt *žilek* 'berries', Nog *jelek* id., 'fruit' ¶ TL 122 ||| D (in NED) \**ʔtik<sub>l</sub>k<sub>j</sub>∇*] - > Krx *tīxɔl* 'rice, paddy cleansed of its husk', Mlt *tiqalu* 'rice' ¶ D #3271, Pf. 192 ||| HS: Eg fMK *ɖkɾ* 'edible fruit' (general name), {Fk.} *ɖkɾ.ω* 'fruit' ¶ EG V 495-6, Fk. 316 || *AdS* of ? B \**ɖāyū*- 'grain, seed' (< N \**ɖowkâ* 'germ', 'seed' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ Fn. KD #58 (K, D) ◇ S CNM 10 (rejects the Tg cognate and unconvincingly considers it to be a loan from M \*\**žedegene* 'berry' allegedly borrowed from T \**jigdä*; ÷÷ NrCs \**diḳwi* 'ε cereal [millet, rice]'), Vv. AEN 18 (rejects the "teleological rec." of \*K in A \**diK-ktä*; on legitimacy of "teleological recs." see AD NMI 41-2 and above: Introduction, § 8.7).

**518.** \**doḳê* '≈ observe, learn (erfahren)' > HS: CS \*-*dūḳ-* v. 'observe, inspect' > Ar ✓ *dωq* (ip. -*dūq-*, pf. *dāqa*) v. 'taste (food)', BHb ✓ *dωḳ Sh* pf. c. *ḳṭṭṭ* *way<sup>1</sup>yāḏεḳ* (h. 1.) [LXX] ἡρῶμισησεν' ({L} 'inspect, review', {KB} '[?] mustern, aufbieten'), JEA, ChrPA, SmA, Sr, Md ✓ *dωḳ Sh* 'scrutinize' ¶ KB 208, KBR 217, BK I 751, DRS 238 ||| U \**ʔok<sub>l</sub>k<sub>j</sub>e* (or \**š-*, \**ć-*) > pSm {Jn., Hl.} \**ʔok<sub>l</sub>-* ~ ? \**ʔok-* v. 'learn' > Ne T *τοχο-σβ*, Ne O {Lh.} *to·xō* id., Ne F {Lh.} 3s aor. *toχūηηḏə* id., Slq Tz {Prk.} d. *toḡ+lt+qo* 'to read, to count', Mt {Hl.} \**ʔok<sub>l</sub>ə-* 'get accustomed' ⇨ \**ʔoktə-* 'learn, teach (erlernen, lehren)' (Mt M {Sp.} *μανδοοχομῶ* 'I get accustomed' [*μαν T*], *τοχτήμῶ* 'I learn' [*научаюся*], *τοχтыямῶ* 'I teach') ¶ Jn. 165, Hl. M ##1049, 1051 ||| IE: NaIE \**doḳ<sub>l</sub>k-* v. '≈ make clear, teach, believe' > L *docē-* (pfc. *docui*, sup. *docum*) v. 'make clear, teach' ||| Gk *δοκέω* (ft. *δόξω*, aor. *ἔδοξα*) 'videor mihi, suppose, think, have an opinion', (here?) *δοκεύω* 'keep an eye upon, watch narrowly' ¶ An alt. (less plausible) et.: NaIE \**doḳ-* ⇨ NaIE \**deḳ-* v. 'be fit, suit' (EI 564) ¶ WH I 331, FI 404-6 ¶¶ IE \**d-* (for the expected \**d<sup>h</sup>-*) is due to the IE incompatibility law rejecting combinations of media aspirata and tenues in roots.

**519.** <sub>2</sub> \**d<sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup>'ḳ'∇* 'to approach; near' > HS: C (acc. to AD SF) \**ɖ∇K∇* 'near' > EC: Sa I {R} *ɖagā* 'proximity', postp. 'chez' ||| Ag: Aw *diḡ-* (1s *dik-*) v. 'approach'; C ⇨ Gz *ṭaḳā* ~ *ṭaḳā* 'proximity, near', Tgy *tɜḳa* 'proximity' ⇨ Bln {R} *ta'ḡā* 'Seite, neben' ⇨ *taḡa-t-* vi. 'approach', Xm {R} *ṭaḳe-t* id.; for further (rather qu.) cognates in C lgs. see IS I 215 ¶ AD SF 55-6, L G 595, R WB 334, R S II 123 ¶ Secondary

glottalization of the initial cns. (mte. \*d...k̥ > \*t̥...K?) || Ch: WCh: Gmy {Kr.} duk, Kfr {Nt.} dük 'near' || CCh: Gude {ChL} nduk<sup>ω</sup>(u) id. || Bnn {ChL} tɔktɔŋ, BnnM {ChL} tɔk id. ¶ ChL, ChC ¶¶ Coh. #339, Gr. LA 60 [#53], AD SF 55-6 ¶¶ If we had accepted O. Rössler's theory (Eg <sup>ε</sup> < \*d), we would have adduced Eg fP <sup>ε</sup>k̥ 'enter, come in', Eg N <sup>ε</sup>k̥<sup>ε</sup>k̥ 'betreten, (jemanden) erreichen' (EG I 230, 234, Fk. 49) || A (\*d<sup>r̥</sup>ō<sup>r̥</sup>k<sup>r̥</sup>i<sup>r̥</sup>- v. 'approach, be near'): M \*dökü- vi. 'approach' > WrM dökü- v. 'approach, move closer, be close to', HIM dɔxɔ- id., Brt dɣxɔ- vi. 'approach' ¶ MED 266, Chr. 213 || T \*j<sub>L</sub>ak- v. 'approach' > NaT \*jak- > OT {Cl.} jaq-, ET Δ jaq- id.; variant pT verb \*j<sub>L</sub>agu- 'approach' > OT {Cl.} jaṽū- v. 'approach, be near to', Chg jaṽu-, Nog juṽi-, Qrg žū-, Qzq žūṽ- v. 'approach'; d. NaT \*jak-in adj. 'near' > OT {Cl.} jaqin, Tk ɣakɪn, Qq, Nog, SY, Ln jaqin, VTt, Bsh jaqɪn, Uz jaqin, ET jeqin, Az jaχin, Qzq žaqin, Xk čaṽin id. ¶ Cl. 896-9, 904, ET J 81, 84 || Tg \*daga ~ \*d<sup>r̥</sup>i<sup>r̥</sup>ga 'near' > Jrc {Kiy.} digasa, {Md.} diṽa-sa id., Ewk daṽa ɖ daa ɖ daga, Sln daga, Neg daṽa 'near', Lm daṽm v. 'approach', daks- id., dās'a 'near' ¶ STM I 187-8, Gru. SSJ #681, Kiy. 135, Md. ChF 136 ¶ Tg \*-g- for the expected \*-k- still needs explaining || ?φ pJ {S} \*tiká- 'near' > OJ tika-, J: T ćikái, Ky ćíkai, Kg čiké, Ns čikýá-, Sh čiká-, Ht s̄iká-, Y t̄á- id. ¶ S QJ #100, Mr. 142 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #351 (A \*dāk'í 'follow, near'; does not take into account M \*dökü- and does not distinguish between A \*d<sup>r̥</sup>ō<sup>r̥</sup>k<sup>r̥</sup>i<sup>r̥</sup>- 'be near' and A \*dak∇- v. 'follow, go behind so., FN \*daka 'back [dorsum], back [rear], behind'), STM I 188; on the vowel corr. justifying the rec. of A \*dōki- see SDM VC (A \*ō (with \*i of the second syll.) > T \*ja, M \*ō, pJ \*i); in Tg \*daga ~ \*d<sup>r̥</sup>i<sup>r̥</sup>ga 'near' the vowels \*a ~ \*i (for the expected labialized vw.) have not yet been explained ◇ IS I 215-6 (\*d̥ak̥a 'near', adduces the U and A reflexes of N \*daka '↑').

520. \*da<sub>L</sub>∇ 'tasty, sweet' > IE: NaIE \*d<sub>o</sub>̥k̥k̥u- 'sweet' (< N \*da<sub>L</sub>∇ + N \*Laqû 'tender, mild' [→] 'sweet', q.v.) > L dulcis (< \*d<sub>o</sub>̥k̥k̥wi-s) 'sweet, pleasant' || Gk ὄλυκος, ὄλυκερός 'sweet' (P: ὄλ- < \*δλ- due to dis. from the word-medial -κ-) ¶ WP I 816, P 222, EI 560 (\*d<sub>o</sub>̥ku-s ~ \*gluku-s), WH I 379-380, FI 314-5, Ch. 228-9, Hofm. 46 ¶¶ IE \*d- (for the expected \*d<sup>h</sup>-) is due to one of the IE incompatibility laws (\*d...k̥ > pre-IE \*t...k̥ > IE \*d...k) || HS: ECh: Mu {J} d̥il / d̥êl / d̥illa 'être sucré', {Lk.} d̥ílit 'sweet', Mkl {J} d̥alûl 'gentillesse, douceur' ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, J LM 78 ¶ The glottalized d̥- in Mu still is still to be explained || A {SDM97} \*dalo 'tasty, sweet' > NrTg \*dal- id. > Ewk dalli ɖ daldi, Lm

dalrb 𐌆 dalda 𐌆 dald𐌆 𐌆 dalla 𐌆 dall𐌆, dalsu 𐌆 dalhu, Neg dalugdī id. 𐌆 STM I 195 || Ko \*tār- 'sweet' > MKo tār-, Ko tal- v. 'be sweet' 𐌆 S KD #545, Nam 140, Rm. SKE 253 || ?σ NaT \*j<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>l- > OT [MhK] {Br.} jalInč̣̣a (aš), {Cl.} jilInč̣̣a (aš) '(food) which has no fat in it, or salt, or taste' (unless from T \*jalIn, \*jalIn<sup>r</sup>aq 'naked', see ET J 104-6); other possible Tk words of this √ are Alt {GAJ} žalIm-ćI 'fresh water' (GAJ 167) and VTt žalaṃk 'feiner Grießbrei' (Rl. IV 37) 𐌆 Br. MT 75, Cl. 931, DTS 266 𐌆 Rm. EAS I 50-1, DQA #353 (A \*dalō 'sweet, tasty') || **D** {tr., 𐌆GS} \*tā]- v. 'season\flavour food with spices' > Tm tāli id., Ml tālikka, Kn tāliṣu, OTl {Km.} tālāboyu, Tl tālincu, Δ tālābōyu v. 'season food', Kn tālida, tālada, tālda, tāllu 'boiled and seasoned vegetables', Tl tālimpu 'seasoning, a seasoned curry', OTl {Km.} tālupu n., Knd tālep 'seasoning of food with spices' 𐌆 D #3186, Km. 381 [#560].

**521. \*d<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>la** (= \*d<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>la?) 'sunshine, daylight, bright' > **HS:** SC: Irq {Wh.} délo 'day' (as opposed to 'night'), Alg {Wh.} délu id., Kz {E} deles- 'yellow', ?? Asa {E} -dili?i 'red' 𐌆 Wh. IC 23, E SC 346 [#11] (pRt \*del- 'daylight') || **K** \*dila 'morning' > OG, G dila 'morning', OG dila 'dawn', 'to-morrow', diliti 'in the morning' 𐌆 DCh. 478, Ser. 58, Abul. 142 || **IE:** NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>el- 'sun, bright' > Arm դեղին deḡin (gen. deḡnoy) 'yellow, pale' (< \*d<sup>h</sup>eleno-) || ? pAl {O} \*delwa, {Huld} \*dieḡ 'sun' > Al: G/T diell, {Kf.} G dill 'sun', {Huld} SG/Ba diḡ, Sh dīḡ, D/Be/Ç dieḡ, A dyeḡ, P dīeḡ id., dīeḡna id. ({P} < \*del-no-) || OIr {P} dellrad 'Glanz', ? NIr {Dnn.} dealrach 'bright, shining' || ON Dellingr 'father of the god of day (Dagr)', MLG {P} ge-telle 'hübsch, artig' 𐌆 P 246 (does not adduce Al and reconstructs \*d<sup>h</sup>el- 'leuchten, hell'), Vr. 72, 75, Kf. 81, ≈ O 65 (qu.: pAl \*delwa < IE \*ḡ<sup>h</sup>elw- 'yellow' with a tabooistic change), Huld 50-1, ≠ Slt. 349 (unc.: Arm deḡin connected with Arm դալար dalar 'green, fresh' [which, acc. to P 234, goes back to IE d<sup>h</sup>al- {P} 'blühen, grünen']), Dnn. 228-9 || **A** ({DQA} \*d<sup>ī</sup>lo 'sun, sun cycle, year'): NaT \*jil 'year' > OT jil, Tk 𐌆il, Tkm jil, VTt, Bsh j̣il, Az il, Qzq, Qq žil, Qrg žil, Uz, ET, SY jil, StAlt žil, Xk, Tv čil, Yk sil 'year'; T 𐌆 M: WrM žil, HIM, Kl, Dg žil 'year' 𐌆 Lack of the final vw. in the M word suggests that it is a loan from T 𐌆 ET J 275, S AJ 186 [#105], 239 [#118], Rs. W 200, Cl. 917, TL 70-2, MED 1054 || NrTg \*dilaçā 'sun' > Neg Δ dilaça, Ewk dilaçā id. 𐌆 STM I 206, S AJ 238 [#201] || pKo \*tolč̣s 'full year, anniversary (cycle)' > MKo tors, NKo tot [tols], tol id. 𐌆 S AJ 256



[#131], S QK #131, MLC 478 || pJ \*təsì 'year' > OJ tòsì, J: T tośí, K tósì, Kg tóśí\_, Ns tùśí, Sh túśí, Ht tù\_sí, Y tùtçì id. ¶ S AJ 269 [#107], S QJ #107, Mr. 551 ¶¶ S AJ 31, 88, 278-9 [#100], ≈ DQA #382 (A \*dǎlo 'year; sun, sun cycle' > T, Tg, Ko, J) || ?σ D \*tE]- ({ǵGS} \*t-) > Tm tēl, Kn tiḷi, taḷi v. 'become clear', Ml tēli 'clearness, brightness', Td tüly 'clear', Tu tiḷi 'transparent, clear, distilled', teli 'clear, pure, filtered', Tl teli 'white, pure', Klm telmi, Gdb tellan, Knd telani 'white' ¶¶ D #3433 ◇ IS I 219-20 [#28] (K, IE, A [T, M, Tg]) (→ BmK 273-4: IS's comparison + SC + D). If the D cognate is valid, the reconstructed N etymon must be \*d'i'ḷa.

522. \*duḷi 'fire; to heat' > U \*tuḷle 'fire' (× N \*tūḷḷ 'fire; to kindle [a fire]') > F, Es tūli 'fire' | pLp {Lr.} \*tōlɜ > Lp: N {N} dollâ, S {Hs.} dǎlle, Kld tōli id. | pMr {Ker.} tuḷ > Er/Mk тол toḷ id. | Chr: L тул tuḷ, H тыл tьl id. | pPrm \*tūḷ > Z t+v, Vt t+l id. || Sm {Jn., Hl.} \*tuuy id. > StNe T ту, Ne O {Lh.} tū, Ne F {Lh.} tu', Ng {Ter., Mkl.} tuuy, En {Cs.} X tû, B tu | Slq Tz {KKIH} tü, Tm {KD} tū, Ch {Cs.} tḷḷ id. | Kms {KD} šû:, šû 'Feuer, Licht', Koyb {Sp.} cю 'fire' | Mt {Hl.} \*tuuy 'Feuer, Feuerzeug' (Mt: M/T tui, K {Mll.} dui, A {Msr.} thui, {Strl.} thuy 'fire', M {Sp.} туѣ 'огниво = flint\steel for striking fire') ¶¶ UEW 535, Coll. 63, It. #205, Sm. 540 (U \*tūḷi, FU, FP \*tūli, Sm \*tūj), Lr. #1266, Lgc. #7914, Hs. 415, Ker. II 168-9, Ep. 124, LG 292, Jn. 166, Hl. M ##1085-6, KKIИ 189, KD 66 ¶¶ Sm \*-y < U \*-ḷi || A \*dūli- 'be(come) hot\warm' > NaT \*jili- v. 'be(come) hot' > OT {Cl.} jili- id., Tk il-, Tkm jila-, Bsh jьль-, Uz jili-, ET ili-, Qrg žili-, Qzq žili-, StAlt žili-, Xk, Tv čili-, Yk siliy- v. 'become warm \ warmer'; d. NaT \*jilig ~ \*jilug adj. 'hot, warm' > OT {Cl.} jiliy id., QK jiliy, SY jiliy, Az iliy, Tkm, Qmq jili, Bsh jьль, Tk il-, ET jiliq, Uz jiliq ~ iliq, Qrg žilu, Qzq žili, StAlt žilu, Xk čiliy, Tv čiliḷ 'warm' ¶ Cl. 919, 925, ET J 275-6, Rs. W 431, Dr. TM III 281-2 || M \*dula-yan 'warm' > MM [HI] {H} dulaḥan 'lau', {Ms., Lew.} dulaḥan 'chaleur modérée', WrM dulagan, HIM дулаан dulān, Kl дулан, Brt дулаа(н), Dg, ShY dulān 'warm; warmth'; (× N \*tūḷḷ 'be bright, be light [hell]', q.v. ffd.): WrM dul, HIM дул 'clear, serene, bright' (of weather) ¶ H SMG I #73, Ms. H 51, Lew. II 36, MED 272, KRS 214, Chr. 200, T DgJ 138, S AJ 238 [#101] || Tg \*dūḷ- vt. 'warm' (of sun) > Ewk dūḷ-, Lm dūḷ- id., Jrc {Md.} duluhun 'warm', {Kiy.} dulhun 'sunny (?)' ¶ STM I 221, Gru. SSJ #20, Kiy. 97 [#020], Md. ChF 136 || pJ \*dù 'warm water' > OJ yu, J: T yú, K yǔ, Kg yù ¶ S AJ 72, 271 [#170], S QJ #170,

Mr. 578 ¶ S AJ 51, 72, 284 [#215], ADb. KL, SDM95 (A \*dūli (-ū-) 'warm'), SDM97 (A \*dūlu id.), DQA #392 (A \*dīlū id.) || D {tr., †GS} \*tu]- v. 'shine, sparkle, be bright' (× N \*tu|l|∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || HS \*d∇l- > CS \*√d|k vi. 'burn' > BHb כִּבְּרָה d|k G 'set on fire', JA, Sr, MHb √d|k G vi. 'burn' ¶ BDB #1814, KB 214, KBR 223, GB 163, Js. 311, Sl. 340, Br. 155, DRS 268-9 || ? EC: Sa dilh-eno 'charcoal', {R} dilhenō 'live coals' (× N \*zū|h∇,|y∇ or \*zū|h∇,|yE 'smoulder, burn' [intr.], 'live coals', q.v. ffd.) || ? WCh \*T∇l- 'hot', (?) v. 'heat' > Ang {ChL} tal vt. 'burn', Su {J} tāl 'heiß, fiebrig', Kfr {ChL} tāl 'hot' | Tng {J} tūldūl 'warm', ? tēlè v. 'fry, put in\on fire, roast' ¶ J T 152, 157, J S 84, ChL, ChC, ≠ Stl. ZCh 173 [#254] (WCh \*d∇l- with \*d- on the presumed ev. of Hs dallarō, actually meaning 'protrude' rather than {Stl.} 'kindle') ◇ IS I 221-2 [#71] (→ BmK 274-5). Since this N etymon is not the main source of D \*tu]-, the latter does not provide legitimate ev. for identifying the N lateral. Hence we reconstruct it not as N \*l, but as a less specific N \*l̄ (sc. \*l|l). The delabialization of N \*u in T (producing T \*l) occurs in several N words, but the conditions of this delabialization still need investigating.

**523.** (₂?) \*daHl̄∇ ~ \*da|H∇ 'lick' > A \*dāl'u' > T \*\*jal'u' yā- > \*jalga- ~ \*jala- v. 'lick': [1] \*jalga- (~ \*o|jalwa-?) > OT jalga- ~ [MhK] jalwa-, Xlj jalya-, SY jalya-~jalya-, Xk čalya-, Tv čilya-, Tf čilga-, Yk salā- id.; [2] T \*jala- id. > Tk yala-, Tkm. Ggz, Az, Kr, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET, Ln jāla-, Uz jalä-, Qzq, Qq žala-, Qrg žala-, Alt žala-, Chv šula- id. ¶ Cl. 926-7, ET J 87-8, Rs. W 182, DTS 228, 230, MKD 211, DT 219, Ra. 199-200 || M \*dōlyā- (~ \*dōliya-?) 'lick' > MM [MA] dolā-, [IM] dolō-, WrM doluga- ~ doliya-, HIM долоо-, Brt долëо-, WrO dolō-, Kl дола- dolā-, Ord, Dg dolō-, Mnr H {SM} dōli-, T} dōli-, Dx dolu-, Ba dolz-, ShY dōl-, MMgl dōl̄- ¶ The length of \*-ō- is evidenced by MMgl ¶ Pp. MA 142, 436, MED 259, Krg. 562, KRS 205, KW 94, SM 59, T 330, T DnJ 118, Iw. 98, Ms. O 150, Hatt. LV ∇ (on pM long vowels preserved in Mgl) || Tg \*dala- v. 'lap' (of animals) > Ewk, Neg, Ud dala-, Ork dal(ly)a-, Ewk dal- id., ⇨: Neg dalaw-, Orc dalau-, Ul dakan-, Ork dalaw-, dallau-, Nn dalo ≈ dala- v. 'feed (dogs)' ¶ STM I 193 || HS: Ch: WCh: Tng {J} delme- 'lick' || Ech: Mkl {J} dâldâ- id., v. 'taste' ¶ ChC, J T 79, J LM 78 || ?ϕ K: GZ \*t̄lek- 'lick, lick oneself' (× N \*t̄' i|l̄∇ (-kō) 'tongue') > G t̄lek-, Mg t̄irk- 'lick, lick oneself' ¶ K \*t̄- (rather than \*d-) is due to

the abovementioned merger and possibly to regr. as. ¶ K 182, Fn. KW-1 36, K<sup>2</sup> 190.

**524.** <sub>2</sub> \*dū|u<sub>1</sub>H|w|y<sub>1</sub>l∇ 'itching, lust' > A: \*dū|u<sub>1</sub>l∇ > T \*°jūl- > Yk sūl- 'be in heat' (of male reindeer, stallions, capercaillies, etc.), sūl 'heat (of male animals)' (× N \*dū|U<sub>h</sub>∇ 'be mad, be stupid' [q.v.]) ¶ JkR 352, Pek. 2887, ≈ Md. 66, 163, ≈ Rs. W 213 || J: OJ turub- v. 'copulate' ¶¶ DQA #404 (T < A \*dūli 'mad, crazy', see N \*dū|U<sub>h</sub>∇) || D \*tūl- ({ǧGS} \*d-) > Kn dūle 'itching, lust', Tl dūla 'itching, itch', Prj dulkañid, duladāma 'cow-itch' (kañid 'ε creeper'), Gnd M {LuS} doorwa 'Indian cowhage', Knd dūla 'itch' ¶¶ D #3392 ◇ The long vw. in T suggests the presence of an additional cns. (a lr., \*w, or \*y) in the pN word.

**525.** \*dū|U<sub>h</sub>∇ 'be mad, be stupid' > U: FU (att. in ObU) \*ot'U'∇ 'mad' > Os (partially in composita) \*tu] 'mad' > Os: V/Vy/Ty tu], Y tu], D/K tūl, Nz tūl id.; Vg Ss tu] (< Os?): tu]-pāṅq 'sinnlos machender Fliegenpilz' ¶ Ht. #827 || A ({AD} ≈ \*dūlwE, {SDM97} \*dūlbi, {DQA} \*dūli 'crazy, stupid' [→ 'deaf']): T \*jūl-, {Md.} \*jūjla- 'be crazy', 'anger' > Alt žūl- 'be crazy, mad', ET Tr {Rl.} jōlā- 'be a sleep-walker, rave', Chv силě sílb ~ {Fed.} síl 'anger, fury', possibly also Yk sūl- 'be in heat' (of male reindeer, stallions, capercaillies, etc.), sūl 'heat (of male animals)' (× N \*dū|u<sub>1</sub>H|w|y<sub>1</sub>l∇ 'itching, lust') ¶ Rs. W 213, BT 60, JkR 352, Pek. 2887, Md. 66, 163, Ash. XII 152-5, Fed. II 117, Rl. III 608, 628 || M \*düley 'deaf' > MM [MA, IM, IsV] dülej, [L] dūlī, WrM dūlei, HIM дүлий, K1 дүлә, {Rm.} dūlā, Mnr {T} dūlī, {SM} dūlī, Dgr dūlī, Dx dūley id. ¶ KW 105, MED 280, T 331, T DgJ 138, T DnJ 118, Pp. L III 57, Pp. MA 147, 436, Lg. VMI 28, KRS 218 || Tg \*dūlbu- v. 'become stupid' > Ewk dūlbu- id., Lm dūlbur 'fool, stupid', WrMc dūlba 'stupid' ¶ STM I 221-2 || ?σ pKo {S} \*tor 'wicked, base, wild' > NKo tōl id., tu]- 'stupid, clumsy' ¶ Rm. SKE 272, S QK #869, MLC 478, 509-10 ¶¶ DQA #404 (A \*dūli 'mad, crazy') || HS: S (or WS?) \*°√dlh 'go mad' > Ar √dlh G 'perdre la raison, être frappé d'aliénation mentale; tomber dans la stupéfaction; éprouver un violent trouble, perdre la tête (d'amour, de chagrin, etc.)', dālih-un 'qui a perdu la tête; aliéné, fou', Ar O dilih, Hrs (← Ar?) [deleh] 'dēleh 'foolish, silly' ¶ BK I 726-7, Jo. H 24, DRS 262.

**526.** \*dalqa|U 'wave' > HS \*°√dlχ v. 'rise in waves, stir up' > S \*√dlχ id., 'agitate' > BHb √dlh G 'make turbid (water)', IA, JA, Sr √dlh G id., 'stir up' (? Aram \*√dlh v. 'mix' → Ar ḍullāh- 'milk mixed with water'), Ak fOB/OA √dlχ v. 'stir up, roil (water), blur (eyes)', Ak OB

dilχu 'trouble, confusion' ¶ KB 213, KBR 222, Js. 309, DRS 264, CAD III 43-6, 141-2 || B: Ah dālaγ 'être trouble' (of water) ¶ Fc. 196, NZ 332 || IE \*<sup>o</sup>d<sup>h</sup>e<sup>l</sup>H- > ⇨ Gk θάλασσα, Gk A θάλαττα 'sea' (< \*d<sup>h</sup>̄<sub>o</sub>-t<sub>ya</sub>; \*d<sup>h</sup>̄<sub>o</sub>- < \*d<sup>h</sup>̄<sub>h</sub>-), Mcd [Hs.] θαλάσσαν accus. 'sea' ¶ FI 648-9, Ch. 42, ≠ EI 503 (the Gk word ← non-IE lge.) || D {tr., θGS} \*tal<sup>l</sup>- v. 'be agitated, wave' > ds.: Kn tallana 'agitation, amazement, alarm, fear, grief', Tu tallana 'wavering, vexed', Tl talladamu 'agitation, commotion, anxiety, turmoil' ¶¶ D #3104 || A: Tg \*dalan 'flood, inundation' > Neg dalan, Ul dala(n-), Nn dalā id. ¶ STM I 193 || [1] M \*dal<sup>l</sup>a<sup>l</sup>y (unless the word as a Chn loan, F Cl. 502: Clauson treats OT taluy as a loan from Chn ta 'large' + lej 'Sang-kan river') > MM [S] dalay 'sea, lake', [HI] dalay 'sea, ocean', WrM dalaγ, HIM далай 'ocean, sea, great lake', Mnr H d<sub>alē</sub> 'sea'; M \*dal<sup>l</sup>a<sup>l</sup>y ⇨ OT taluy 'sea, large body of water' ¶ H 31, Ms. H 48, MED 224, SM 41, T 327, Cl. 502 || [2] M d. \*doli-gi- > WrM dolgi- v. 'wave, undulate, be tempestuous; ⇨ M \*doligiγān 'wave' > MM doligiγēn, dolgiyan, WrM dolgiya(n), Dg dolgēn, dolgān, HIM долгино(н) 'wave' ⇨ Ewk A tōlgān 'whirlpool', WrMc dolcin 'wave', Yk dolgun, Tkm tolqun, Qzq tolqin, Az dalγa, Tk dalga 'wave' ¶ MED 259, IS AD #6.43, Pp. AU 100, Pp. IM 77, Rm. VMT 15, 55, KW 94 || ?σ T \*tā<sup>l</sup>(+)- v. 'overflow' > OT, XwT XIV, Chg ≥XV taš- id., MQp XIV taš- v. 'boil over' (of a pot), Tkm dāš, Ggz, Kr taš- 'overflow', 'overflow its banks' (a river), ET taš-, Uz тош- таш- id., 'run over', Tk taš, Az daš, CrTt taš- id., 'boil over' (of water\milk in a pot), Xk tas- 'run over, overflow its banks' ¶ Cl. 559, ET VGD 169-70 ¶ T \*t̄- for the expected \*j- (< A \*d-) may be due to the infl. of T \*t̄ōl- v. 'be filled, be full' (see N \*toH<sub>2</sub>l̄∇ ⇨ \*toH<sub>2</sub>∇ 'to fill, to pile up; full') ¶ T \*-l̄- < \*\*-ly- < \*\*-l̄y- (cp. M \*dal<sup>l</sup>a<sup>l</sup>y) ¶¶ ≠ The origin of u in OT taluy and of \*o in M \*doli-gi- remains obscure (presence of some rounded vw., e.g. \*U in N \*dalqU?) ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2719 (A \*čalγ 'sea' (> M \*dalay 'sea' + unc. T \*t̄ā<sup>l</sup>- [actually meaning 'immerse, dip, dive', see ET VGD 133-4] and Tg \*o<sup>o</sup>jal- [in fact \*o<sup>o</sup>jā<sup>l</sup>-] 'overflow, be filled with water' > Lm jā<sup>l</sup>- id. [STM I 245-6]); in an earlier version of DQA: A \*tā<sup>l</sup>∇ (> T \*t̄ā<sup>l</sup>(+)-, M \*dalay 'sea', Tg \*dalan 'flood'), ≠ SDM95 s.v. \*t̄jōl∇ 'wave, shallow place' (\*÷ pKo \*tór 'ditch' and pJ \*tù 'ford'; the T words [Yk dolgun, Tk dalga, etc.] are considered inherited A words representing pT \*t̄alKu 'wave') ◇ IS I 216-7 (\*dalq<sup>l</sup>u<sup>l</sup>), cp. IS MS 334 (\*t<sup>l</sup>o<sup>l</sup>lg<sup>o</sup>) ◇ N \*q is

reconstructed on the ev. of S \*χ and IE \*H ◇ ≠ Resh. NNE #11 (phonetically unjustified comparison of A \*tā́l̥ with FU \*täwðe 'full', see N ≈ \*täwod̥ 'be full').

**527. \*dæLb̥** 'to gouge, to dig, to cut through' > IE: NaIE \*dʰelbʰ- v. 'dig, gouge', {E} 'dig' > OHG bi-telban ȝ -telpan, OSx bi-delvan 'to bury', MDt, Dt delven, OFrs delva, AS delfan 'to dig\bury', NE delve || ?? Blt (×N \*tal̥ʰo̥' ≈ [back of the] neck, shoulders'): Lt dālba 'crow-bar, lever', Pru dālp̥tan · "Durchschlag" 'crow-bar (for punching holes)' || Sl \*dъlb-ti / 1s prs.\*dъlbq v. 'gouge' > OR, RChS ДЪЛБСТН dъlbsti ~ ДЛЪБСТН dlъbsti, Uk дов'сти / prs. дов'бу, Blr даўб'ці, Blg дъл'бъ, SCr dúp̥sti / prs. dúbēm, Slv dól̥bsti / dól̥bem, R дол'битъ / μ дол'блю ¶ WP I 865-6, P 246-7, EI 159, Mn. 179, Vr. N 110-1, OsS 825, Kb. 1016, Ho. 71, Ho. S 12, Frn. 81, En. 156, Tp. P A-D 291-4, Bern. I 250-1, ESSJ V 206, Glh. 213, SPS III 36, 246-8 (\*d̥l̥ba-ti, \*delb-ti) || | A: M \*delbe > WrM delbe, HIM дэлбэ 'through and through, to pieces, asunder', M \*delbere- > WrM delbere-, HIM дэлбэрэ- v. 'burst, crack asunder'; WrM delberkei-, HIM дэлбэрхий 'split, cracked; crack, cleft, crevice', Kl {Rm.} delw̥rkē 'tiefer Riß; tief gespalten' ¶ MED 248, KW 87 || | HS: S: (mt.) Ar dubl-at- (pl. dubal-, dubul-) {Ln.} 'the hole of a hoe\adz\axe', {BK} 'trou dans la hache, qui sert à la suspendre' ¶ BK I 668, Ln. 850 ◇ Cf. BmK 268-9 (\*dal-/\*d̥al- v. 'cut, prick, pierce, gash, notch, wound', based on semantically and phonetically shaky comparison of truncated roots: IE dʰel-bʰ- v. 'dig, hollow out', \*dʰel-g- 'sharp object', C \*√dl̥s v. 'be cracked', v. 'gash, notch', D \*tall- v. 'beat, crush', M delbere- (F above), Tk delik 'hole').

**528. ?σ \*dæL'k'a** 'to prick' > IE: NaIE \*dʰelg- v. 'prick', n. 'thorn', {E} 'sting, pierce', 'pin' > OIr {P} delg 'thorn, needle' || ON dalkr 'fastening needle (fibula)', 'spina dorsalis piscium', 'dagger, knife', AS dalc 'buckle, bracelet', possibly LG dolc, NHG Dolch, NGr Δ Tolch 'dagger' || Lt dilgùs 'stinging', dilgė 'nettle' ]?σ possibly words for 'sickle, scythe': Lt dāl̥gė, Ltv dalgs, Pru doalgis 'scythe' || L falx (gen. falcis) 'sickle' ¶ P 247, EI 424, 428, Vr. 72, Ho. 70, KM 137, Paul 129, Frn. 81, En. 162, Tp. P A-D 354-6, WH I 449-50 || | A: ?σ Tg \*delk̥- v. 'split' (×N \*tāl̥ 'cut (split, trim, cleave]', q.v.) > Ewk d̥l̥ki- v. 'split\chop into pieces', Lm d̥l̥k̥- v. 'separate, chop into pieces', Lm Sk d̥l̥k̥- 'split, chop (a tree) into pieces', Nn d̥l̥ki- v. 'split (reed in order

to plait mats)', WrMc *dəlxə-* vi. 'separate', Mc Sb *dəlyz-* 'be disconnected \ ripped off; come off, go off, peel off', Jrc {Md.} *dəlxə-*, {Kiy.} *təlxə-* v. 'separate' ¶ STM I 232-3, Y ##1200, 1713, Kiy. 119 [#390], Md. ChF 136 || ?φ HS: SC: Brn {E} *dəlaɸ-* v. 'gash, notch', Kz {E} *dəla-* v. 'shoot (with arrow)' ¶ E SC 345 ◇ Doubtful (Tg \**dəlk∇-* has an alt. explanation, the ev. of SC is phonetically imperfect) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #295 (\**təl* 'pierce') (IE, Tg + err. A, Ko, J, Gil + *qu.* CK).

**529.** ?σ<sub>2</sub> \**dəL<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>P<sub>1</sub>∇* 'to flap, to wave', 'to fly' (← 'to flap wings'?) > HS: S \**o*√*d*lp > Ar *dəluɸ-* 'rapide dans son vol' (of eagles, birds) ¶ BK I 724 || A: T \**jəlp*i- v. 'flap, fan, winnow' > OT *jəlp*i-n- v. ps. 'fan oneself', *jəlp*i-t- v. caus. '≈ order to fan', *jəlp*ir- 'blow' (of wind), Tkm *jəlp*e-, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Uz *jəlp*i-, ET *jəlp*ü-, Bsh *jəlp*ь-, VTt *ž*ilpь-, SbTt Tb {Tm.} inf. *jəlp*-ü-, Brb {Tm.} *jəlp*ä-, Qzq, Qq *žəlp*ĩ-, Qrg *žəlp*i-, Alt {BT}, Tlt {RI} *žəlp*i- v. 'fan', 'blow (on so.\sth.) (of wind)' ('обмахивать, обдуть'), Xk *čəlp*e- 'wave hands, produce wind', Tv *čəlp*i-, Tf *čəlp*ĩ-, Yk *səlp*i- 'winnow'; T \**jəlp*ik n. 'fan, waving object' > Az *jəlp*ik 'fan', Shor *čəlp*eg 'fortune telling by letting a cloth wave in the air' ¶ Cl. 920, ET J 182-3, RI. III 356-7, 1981, BT 52, Tm. 77-6, Ra. 195 || M: [1] M \**dəlb*'e'- > Dg {T} *dəlp*ur, {Pp.} *dəlp*ür, {Mr.} *dəlp*ure, {Mrm.} *dəlp*ur ~ *dəlp*ur 'fan', WrM *dəlp*e-gene-, HIM *dəlp*əgə-, WrM *dəlp*e-lze-, HIM *dəlp*əlzə- vi. 'move\sway' (of flat\protruding objects), Kl {Rm.} *dəlp*əzə-xə inf. 'flattern, fächeln' || [2] M \**dəle-* (loss of \*-b(e)- due to metanalysis?) > WrM *dəle-*, HIM *dəle-* v. 'wave, flap (as wings), fan', Brt *dəle-* 'swing (размахивать(-ся))', Kl *dəle-* 'flap (wings), take wing (fly up)' ¶ MED 238, 247-8, KRS 198, KW 8, Chr. 21, Klz. D I 122, T DgJ 136.

**530.** \**d∇lqâ* 'feather' > HS: CCh: Glv {Rp.} *žāk*ʷà 'feather', Gdf {ChC} *žāk*ʷà *d*ṭka 'feather' (lit. 'bird feather', where *d*ṭka means 'bird'); the Ch √ is acceptable if *ž-* goes back to the cluster \**d*l- ¶ RpB 31, ChC || K: pGZ \**bur*ṭq̄l- 'down and feathers' > G *bur*ṭq̄l- id., Mg *bu*ṭqu- 'soft'; pGZ \**bur*ṭq̄l- is likely to go back to a N phrase \**bü*|ur<sub>1</sub>?<sub>1</sub>∇ *d∇lqâ* (lit. 'hair\down feather', see N \**bü*|ur<sub>1</sub>?<sub>1</sub>∇ 'lock of hair, down' [q.v.]) ¶¶ K 55, FS K 65 || U \**tul*ka 'feather, wing' > FU: pLp {Lr.} \**tol*kē 'feather' > Lp: N {N} *d*ql'ge / -lg-, Kld *tāl*:g, T *tol*:g'e id., L {LLO} *tāl*'kē id., 'down' || pMr {Ker.} \**tə*lga > Er/Mk *tol*ga 'feather' || Prm {LG} \**tul* > Vt *тылы*, Z Le *təl* id., Yz *təl* id., 'fin of fish', StZ *тыл* *t+v* 'Schwung- oder Schwanzfeder' || Hg *tol*l 'feather' || ObU \**tö*ϕ|wəl id. > pOs \**tö*ϕəl

({Hl.} \*tūʷal) > Os: V/Vy tōʷal, Ty tōʷaɬ, Y tōʷaɬ, D/K/Nz tōχæt, Kz tōχəɬ, O tōχəl id.; pVg \*tōʷal > Vg: T tōl, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/LL/ML towl, SV tawl, UL/Ss towəl id., 'wing' || Sm {Jn.} \*tuɣy, {Hl.} \*tua 'feather, wing' > Ne T τo, T O {Lh.}, Ne F {Lh.} tō, Ng {Mik.} tū̄z, {Cs.} t̄u, t̄ua, En {Cs.} tua, Slq Tz {KKIH} tū, Mt {Hl.} \*tu<sub>l</sub>g<sub>a</sub>, ? \*toga id. (Mt M {Sp.} τυ, K {Pl.} τόγα 'feather', M {Sp.} τυδα 'its wing') ¶ UEW 535-6, Coll. 62, ≈ Sm. 540 (U \*tuχlī 'feather' > FU \*tu<sub>l</sub>kā, P \*tu<sub>l</sub>ka, Ugr \*tū<sub>l</sub>ka, Sm \*tuəj), MF 637, It. #216, Ker. II 169, IG 292, Lt. J 186, Ht. #624, Lr. #1267, Lgc. #7912, Jn. 166, KKIИ 188, Hl. M #1070 || A \*°dāle<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>k</sub>'- > NaT \*jeläk '(large) feather' > Tk yelek, Osm {Rl.} jäläk (كَلْب, كَلْب) 'feather (of a wing, an arrow)', Tkm jelek 'feather, down', Xlj jäläk 'feather' (DHST 309, but not mentioned in DT), Az läläk 'feather, plumage' (l- for j- < \*j- by as.), SbTt Tr jbläk 'combcrest (of a bird)', SbTt Tö d. jьlbьrcāk id. ¶ ET J 179, DHST 309, Rl. III 347, Tm. 77-8 ◇ Gr. II #145 (\*tul 'feather') (U, A, Ko, CK, EA + unc. Ai).

**531. \*dEgíâ** (= \*dügíâ?) 'bush(es), shrubs, thicket' > HS: S \*°daʷl- > Ar daʷl- 'thicket', ✓ dʷl Sh (pf. ʔadʷala) v. 'be bushy' (of land) ¶ BK I 708, DRS 295 || B \*°✓dly > Ah te-dāle 'gros tronc d'arbre', Ttq ti-dāli 'tronc d'arbre' ¶ Fc. 192, Msq. 341, NZ 328 || U: FU \*tEí∇ (= \*tūí∇?) 'young thick forest, shrubs' > pPrm {Lt.} \*teí > Z тиль tíí, тильсод tíísod 'thick pine forest, young thick coniferous forest', Prmk, Yz teí 'young thick forest', Vt C тэль teí 'forest', Vt N teí 'low wood, underwood, shrubs' || Ugr: OHg {Seb.→LG} tölgy 'shrubs', but hardly here OHg tölgy ~ töl, Hg tölgy 'oak' (← Alan, cp. Oss: I тулдз tūlɜ, D tolɜæ id.) ¶ LG 279, Seb. WUS 326, EWU 1539-40, Ab. III 315-6 || A \*d<sup>r</sup>íâ: T \*j<sup>r</sup>í ' (ε) forest' > OT jīš or jīš 'mountain forest', Qmn/QK {Rl.} jīš, {B} žīš 'forest', StAlt {BT} дьыш žīš 'thick forest', Tb {Rl.} jīš id., 'taiga', {B} дьыш žīš id. ('чернь, тайга'), дьыш žīš 'forest', Xk чыс čis 'mountain forest' ¶ Cl. 976 (OT jīš with a long vw. on the insufficient ev. of Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī's Arabic spelling), Rl. III 497, B DChT 116, 118, B DLT 145, B DK 213 || D (in GnD) \*tu||- (ǰGS) \*d-) > Knd dōlu 'a creeper plant, shrub, plant of shoot height', Png dōl 'plant', 'stem, trunk', Mnd dūl 'plant; sapling', Ku kūli-dōlu 'rice plant', dūlomi 'plant' ¶ D #3517.

**532. \*dûHí|∇** 'dust' > D \*tū|-, {ǰGS} \*dū|- id. > Tm tū|, Kn dū|(u) 'dust, powder, pollen', Ml tū|, Tu dū|u, d<sup>h</sup>ū|u 'dust', Prj dū|- v. 'rise'

(of dust), Mnd *tulve* 'earth, soil'; D  $\rightarrow$  OI *dhūli-* 'dust, powder, pollen' (which has influenced Tu *dhūl̥u* 'dust' and Ml *dhūl̥uka-* v. 'fly about as dust') ¶ D #3283 (does not distinguish this  $\sqrt$  from D *\*tuka-* 'dust'), Tu. #6835 || IE: NaIE *\*dʰeǵl̥a-*/*\*dʰūl-*/*\*dʰwolo-* 'dust' > OI *dhūli-*, *dhūlikā* id. || Gk *θολός* 'mud, dirt' || L *fūlīgō* 'soot; powder used for darkening the eyebrows' (but EI:  $\leftarrow$  'smoke') || Lt *dūlis* 'punk, piece of rotten wood', † {Ju.} 'Nebel, Dunst, Baummoder zum Beräuchern der Bienen', Ltv *dūlais*, *dūlis* 'fumigator (Räuchermasse zum Fortttreiben der Bienen)' ¶  $\approx$  P 265,  $\approx$  M K II 110,  $\neq$   $\square$ FI 677, WH I 560,  $\approx$  Frn. 109,  $\neq$  EI 160 (rejects IE *\*dʰūli-* 'dust') ||| Not here NaIE *\*tel-* > L *tellus* / *-ūris* 'earth' and OIr *talam* id.; in the light of comparative ev. within IE the original meaning of NaIE *\*tel-* is likely to have been 'flat surface' (see N *\*taīh* ▽ 'flat') ¶ P 1061 || HS: NrOm {Blz.} *\*tul(1)-* 'ashes, dust' > Ym {Wdk.} *tulō*, {C} *tulō* 'dust', Kf {Fl.} *tullo*, {C} *tullō*, Mch {L} *tullo*, Shn {Fl.} *tulla*, {Lm.} *tullà* 'ashes', Dwr {Bnd.} *dīliya* 'sand' (Blz. p.c. 2001) ¶ NrOm *\*t-* < *\*d...H-?* ¶ Blz. OL ##99-100, Wdk. BY 136, C SE III 85, C SE IV 506, LM 54, Lm. Sh 388-9 || ECh: Mgm {J} *bùrúntùllé*, EDng {Fd.} *búrìntàl* pl. (sg. *r búrìntìlò*) 'dust' (possibly a N phrase *\*bôri'γ'U nu dūHí|l̥* ▽, sc. N *\*bôri'γ'U* 'loose earth, dust' + [?] N *\*nu* genitive + N *\*dūHí|l̥* ▽ 'dust') ¶ JA LM 72, Fd. 101 ¶ One may try to adduce here Ch {JS} *\*j̥il* (= *\*j̥il?*) 'earth', but it is more likely to belong to N *\*puī* ▽ 'sole, foundation, earth' (q.v. ffd.) || ?σ ('dust' → 'earth'): LEC *\*d̥ul-* > Sml *d̥ul*, Sml N {Abr.} *d̥úl* 'earth, soil; country, land', Kns {BISO} *d̥ula* 'field, cultivated area', Bs {HL} *ūl* 'earth' (× EC *\*p̥ul̥l̥a* 'earth' < the abovementioned N *\*puī* ▽), ? Sa {R} *d̥ūl* 'country (Bezirk, Gebiet, Landschaft)' (influenced by Tgr *d̥w̥el* 'district, country') ¶ LEC *\*d̥-* < *\*dH-?* ¶ AD SF 59, DSI180, ZMO 124, Abr. S 69, R S II 106, HL 66, BISO 25 ¶¶ Blz. OL (Om *\*j̥'ail-~\*j̥ill-* < HS *\*j̥il-~j̥ul-*), Tk. I 62 (on the Eg - Ch parallel), EG I 26, Hng. 22 ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I 241 [#5] (*\*Tul* ▽; compares C, IE, D, and unacceptably K *\*(m)ṭwer-* 'dust').

**533. \*deqí|l̥** ▽ '(to be) thin' > HS: S *\* $\sqrt$ dχl* > Ar  $\sqrt$ dχl G 'amaigrir', *madχūl-* 'maigre, amaigri' ¶ BK I 678 || K *\*d̥tχel-* (> *\*ttχel-*) v. 'be thin' > OG, G *tχeli* 'thin, sparse', Mg *tχitχu*, Lz *tutχu ~ tittχu* id., Sv UB/LB/Ln {TK, GP, Dn., Ni.} *d̥ətχel* 'thin', Sv {Ni.} *nadtχeli* 'thinness' ¶¶ K 93-4, Chik. 239,  $\approx$  K<sup>2</sup> 71 (GZ *\*ttχ-el-*),  $\neq$  FS K 102-3 (*\*dtχ-* v. 'be thin'), Abul. 185, TK 199, Ni. s.v. тонкий, GP 97, Dn. s.v. *d̥ətχel* || D



(in SD) {tr., ṡGS} \*te| - 'thin' > Kn te|, telu 'thinness', telupu id., Kdg ta|lane 'thin' (of person or thing), Tu telpu 'thinness'; D b̄ OI talina- 'thin, fine' ¶ D #3434 ◇ The corr. K \*χ - S \*χ is irreg.; the solution may be found by supposing a change: pre-K \*tq- > K \*tχ- (i.e. N \*deq| | ▽ > reduplicated \*d ▽ dq ▽ | - > [as.] \*d ▽ tq ▽ | - > K \*d ▽ tχ el-).

534. \*dA|o|\_ ▽, \_ ▽ (= \*dA|o\_ ▽ or \*dA|\_ ▽, \_ ▽?) 'to push, to press, (?) to squeeze' > HS: SES \*° √ d|\_ > Jb C √ d|\_ G (pf. 'de|a\_ , sbjn. 'yod|a\_ ) v. 'shove, push' ¶ Jo. J 38-9, DRS 267 || Ch: [1] WCh: Dr {ChL} d|\_ è v. 'push' |[2] ? (× N \*dä'z' ▽ 'to strike', q.v. ffd.): Ch \*° √ d|\_ > ECh: EDng {Fd.} dé|è 'frapper' ||| WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} žil, {IL} žili, Sir {Sk.} žilí 'mortar' | SBc: Gj {IL} t'ùlí id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Fd. 187 ||| U: FU \*to| ▽ - v. 'push' > pPrm {LG} \*to|\_ y- vt. 'push, shove' (× FU \*tek ▽ - v. 'push' < N ≈ \*te'h'aka\_ ê 'to put, to set?') > Z LL toy-n+ 'to prick, to pierce, to thrust, to poke', StZ toy-+št-n+ 'push' (mom.), toylav-n+ 'push, push out', Z US twylal-n+, Yz 'túy- v. 'push', Vt Uf tüy- (< \*túy-) 'push in, thrust', StVt tuy+l+n+ id., 'stick in ([hinein-]stecken)', caulk (конопатить), Vt Sl tuy-+št- vt. 'stick in '(hinein-)stecken' ||| Hg † to|\_ y-, Hg to|\_ -, Δ toy- 'schieben, rücken, stoßen' ¶ Coll. 119, UEW 528-9 (\*toy ▽), LG 281, U3S 427 ||| D {Km., ṡGS} \*ta| - v. 'push' (× N \*ta|ka 'strike, push') > Tm tal|u v. 'push, force forward, expel, reject', 'be removed\lost', Ml tal|uka v. 'push, reject', tal|u n. 'thrust, push', Kt ta| -, Td to| -, Kn tal|u 'push, shove away, thrust', Tu talluni ~ tal|uni 'push in', OTI {Km.} talāgu, talūgu (and TI talgu) 'remove, shove away, expel', OTI talāgu / tal- 'be lost (as wealth, kingdom)', 'get out of the way (as crowd)' ¶¶ D #3135, Km. 379 [#549] (\*ta| -), 380 [#552] (s.v. talūgu) ||| ?σ,φ K: Sv: {Ni.} ot-tile v. 'squeeze', Ln {TK}, UB {GP} li-tle

### Error!

535. (₂?) \*dam ▽ or \*dam ▽ d ▽ 'to cover, to close' > HS: WS \*° √ dmm > Ar √ dmm (ip. -dumm-) v. 'stop up, level, cover' ({Fr.} 'illinivit [e.g. gypso domum], textit\obtexit aequaliter', {BK} 'boucher les trous [avec de la terre, de la boue]; enduire'), Gz √ dmm D 'close, cover, fill up, heap up, level', Tgr √ dmm L (pf. daməmə) v. 'close the udder' ¶ BK I 128, L G 134, Fr. II 53, LH 515, ≠ DRS 274 || B \*dīm- or \*diHm- > Kb ta-dim-t (pl. ti-dim-a) 'bouchon, couvercle', Shw dimi 'pièce de mousseline qui se met sur la table' ¶ DI. 14, NZ 341 ||| A: M \*°damda- > WrM {MED} damda- v. 'cover, enclose, close', {Gl.} 'be covered,



ja<sub>2</sub>m 'a piece of dust' ¶ Cl. 933 ◇ It is not yet clear if this N word is genetically identical with (and is a sd. from) N \*d<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub> 'to breathe, to blow', or these are different N words that contaminated in IE. In addition, in IE there was a merger with \*d<sup>h</sup>em(ə)- 'dark' < N \*d<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>hm<sub>1</sub> ~ \*d<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>mh<sub>1</sub> '(be) dark' (q.v.) ◇ Cf. BmK 267 (IE, S, C).

**537. \*dūm<sub>1</sub>** 'be motionless, be silent, be quiet' > HS: WS \*-dūm-, \*√dmm (prm. \*-dumm-) (and a secondary root \*√dmy|w) v. 'be quiet, silent' > BHb דוּמָא dū'mā 'silence', דוּמְיָא dūmiy'ya 'silence, stillness, rest', דוּמְ-ām (fossilized loc. of \*dūm-) 'quiet, silence' (← 'in silence'), Ug {OLS} √dm G 'quedarse quieto', Ar -dūm- (√dwm, ip. ya-dūm-u) 'être tranquille, être en repos'; BHb דוּמָא √dmm G (inv. דוּמָא 'dom, inv. f. דוּמָא†dommī, ip. 3m yid'dom) v. 'stand still, keep quiet, be motionless \ rigid', MHb √dmm G 'be silent', IA dmy 'rest, calmness (?)', Gz √dmm T (pf. tadamma, tadamama) v. 'be silent, stop, be immobile, be stupefied', {KWK} dāmām 'silence'; BHb √dmy G (ip. 3f תִּדְמָה tid'mē) 'still sein; zur Ruhe kommen, enden (Träne)' ¶ KB 208, 216-7, KBR 216-7, 226, BDB ##1745, 1747-8, 1826, OLS 132, BK I 752-3, Ln. 935ff., L G 134, JH 58, HJ 252, Lv. I 413, DRS 236-7, 274 || C: Bj dīm-, dūm- v. 'be silent' ¶ R WBd 66 || K \*°dum- > G dum- v. 'be silent' ¶ Chx. 324 || A ({IS} \*dūnga): M \*dūnsūyi- > WrM dūr̥sūi-, HIM дүңсий- 'be silent' ¶ MED 281 || AmTg \*dūng<sub>1</sub>- > Nn {On.} dūngirīzn, Nn Nh {STM} dūngurз- 'become silent\calm', Nn KU {STM} dūngurз adv. 'quietly, in silence', Nn, Orc, Ul dūngum id. ¶ STM I 223 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2271 (A \*tjūm(k)u 'silent, calm' > M, Tg + err. T \*dīm-, sc. \*t<sub>1</sub>'im 'silence' [in fact from N \*t<sub>1</sub>'i'm<sub>1</sub>n<sub>1</sub> 'be quiet, be calm']) ◇ ≠ IS I 222-3 s.v. \*dūnga. IS equates the HS and K √ with Ltv dīngt and A \*dūng<sub>1</sub>, but this may be accepted only if the sound corr. IE \*-ng<sub>1</sub><sup>h</sup> ÷ A -ng- ÷ HS \*m ÷ K \*-m- is proved to be reg.

**537a. (2?) \*d<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>** (= \*dīm<sub>1</sub>?) 'to breathe, to blow' > IE: NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>em- v. 'blow (blasen, wehen)' > OI 'dhamati 'blows, blows up, kindles by blowing', NPrs دَمِيدَن dāmīdān 'to blow (blasen, wehen), to breathe', دَم dām 'breath, air, scent', Oss I дәм- dām-, Oss D дым- dām- v. 'blow', Yzg dam- v. 'inflate, blow with bellows', Av dāδma<sup>1</sup>nyā 'sich aufblasend, blähend' || Lt dūmti (prs. dūmi<sup>u</sup>) 'to blow (blasen, wehen)', dūmplēs 'bellows', Pru dūmsle 'urinary bladder' || SI \*dq-ti / 1s prs. dām-q 'blow', OCS ДѢТН dq-ti / 1s prs ДѢМѢ dām-q, R

дѹ-тъ, SCr *dùti* / prs. *dmēm*, Cz *douti* / prs. *dmu*, P *dąć* v. 'blow'; in some lgs. contamination with Sl *\*dùti* / prs. *\*dujq* 'blow' (< *IE* *\*dʰeuH-*/*\*dʰouH-* < N *\*duqV* or *\*dūqV* 'blow [wehen, blasen], breathe'), whence the prs. forms: R *дѹю*, SCr *dùjēm*, Blg *дѹя* 'blow', as well as Slv *dúti* 'to blow') ¶ P 247-8, Ab. I 382-3, M K II 92, Sg. 534-6, Frn. 88, 510, En. 164, Tp. P A-D 391, Vs. I 555-6, ESSJ V 99-100, 166, Glh. 213-4 ¶ cp. N *\*dAmV* 'steam, mist, dust' || D *\*tīm* (?) ({*ǵGS*} *\*t-*) > Tu *tīmpuni* v. 'snort, breathe heavily, snivel', Knd *tīm ik-* 'sob' (v.) ¶¶ D #3276 || HS: ?σ S *\*√dmm*, *\*-dumm-* v. 'wail' (← *\*moan*, breathe heavily' ← *\*\*breathe*?) > BHb *דמם* *√dmm G* (inv. *דמ* 'dom) v. 'wail', Ug *√dmm G* 'gemir, lamentarse', Ak *√dmm G* 'jammern, klagen' ¶ KB 217, KBR 226, Sd. 155, CAD III 59-61, DRS 274, Grd. UT #674, OLS 133 ◇ In IE *\*dʰem-* v. 'blow' contaminated with *\*dʰem-* 'stieben, rauchen' (< N *\*dAmV* '↑'); the two N stems may be genetically identical.

538. (2?) *\*dʰm̥hmV* ~ *\*dʰm̥mhV* '(be) dark' > HS: S *\*√dhm* > Ar *duhm-at-* 'blackness', *duhm-* 'tres noctes mensis illunes', *duhām-* 'black', *ʔadham-* 'black, dark green', Jb {Jo.} *'do'hum*, Jb C *dhum* 'heat-haze, shimmer, morning mist', Mh *dʒhōm* 'heat-haze, shimmer', Jb C {Jo.} *ed'him* (sbjn. *'yɛdhɜm*) v. 'come upon so. unexpectedly at night (to steal, to attack), do sth. by stealth at night, sleep with one's wife when children or guests are sleeping in the same room', Mh {Jo.} *hɜdhōm* v. 'have sexual relations with one's wife at night when another person (usually a child) is in the sleeping area', Ak *√dʔm G* (inf. *daʔām*) 'become dark' ¶ Fr. II 66, Jo. J 36, Jo. M 66, CAD III 1, DRS 227 || EC *\*dum-*, *\*√dm* v. 'become dark' > Sa, Af, Sml *dum-* id., ? Brj {Ss.} *damm-* v. 'spend the night', ? Or {Grg., Th, BrL} *dimimmisa* 'twilight', Or {BrL} *dimimmis-awu* 'imbrunirsi, oscurarsi, farsi notte' ¶ Ss. B 52, 58, Th. 104, BrL. 114, Grg. 105 || WCh: SBc: Zul {ChL} *d̀múní*, Gj {ChL} *d̀mšâl*, Buli {ChL} *dum*, Jm {Csp.}, *dúmlùkò*, Tala *tum* {Csp.}, Tala Z {Csp.} *tùm*, Kir Mn *túm* 'dark' (Tala/Kir *t-* < pSBc *\*d-*, see Sh. SB 16) ¶ ChL, Csp. 14, 46 || IE: NaIE *\*dʰem(ə)-* 'dark' (× *\*dʰem-* v. 'smoke', 'fly about [dust] < N *\*dAmV* 'steam, mist, dust'), {Mn.} *\*dʰemy-ō* v. 'darken', *\*dʰeməro-s* 'dark, gloomy, grim' > Gk *θέμερος* 'serious, grim', *θεμερῶπις* 'grave and sedate of look' || OHG *timbar* 'dark', OSw *dimber*, ON *dimmr* id., *dimma* 'darkness', AS *dimm* 'dark', *dimmian* v. 'darken', NE *dim* || OIr {P} *dem* 'black, dark', {SB} *deim* 'düster', *deme* 'darkness' ¶ WPI 851, P 248, Mn. 182, FI 660, SB 147, Vr. 77,

OsS 939, Kb. 1018, Ho. 73 || **A:** ?φ Tg: WrMc *dur̄gi* ~ *dur̄ki* 'dark' ¶ STM I 224.

**538a.** ≈ \**dUm<sub>l</sub>ʔ<sub>l</sub>û* (= \**d'o<sup>1</sup>m<sub>l</sub>ʔ<sub>l</sub>û*?) or \**dUŋw∇* (= \**d'o<sup>1</sup>ŋw∇*?)  
 '(ε?) big tree' > **HS:** S: Ar *dawm-* {Ln.} 'doum palm (Hyphaene thebaica)',  
 'big tree of any kind' ¶ Ln. 937, BK I 753 || C: Bj {R} *dōm* 'doum palm'  
 (← Ar?) ¶ R WBd 66 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: My {Sk.} *d̄m*, Cg {Sk.} *d̄nī*, Kry  
*d̄in*, Wrj {Sk.} *d̄náj*, Mbr {Sk.} *d̄in*, Jmb {Sk.} *d̄iná* (inChC) 'tree' | AG:  
 Ang {CL} *t̄in*, Su {J} *t̄in*, Ywm {IL} *t̄in*, Cp *t̄in* 'tree' | Bd {ChL} *d̄mán*  
 'tree, wood', Ngz {Sch.} *d̄m* 'wood (for fire, etc.), stick of wood' ¶ Stl.  
 ZCh. 253 [#59] (NrBc \**d̄m∇* 'nec'), ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 45, Sch. DN 34 ||  
**IE:** NaIE \**d̄honu-*/\**d̄honw-* {EI} 'fir' > Ht *tanau* 'fir' or sim. || Gmc  
 \**danwō-* (< IE \**d̄honwōn-*) > OSx *danna*, MDu, MLG *danne*, OHG  
*tanna-*, NHG *Tanne* 'fir (Abies)'; Gmc \**dannio-* > OSx *dennia*, Dt  
*den* 'spruce' || OI \**dhanvāna-* 'Grewia asiatica', as well as possibly OI  
 \**dhanu-*, *dhanu-*, \**dhanvan-*, \**dhanuṣ-* 'bow' and Av *θanwarə*  
 id. ¶ EI 202, Ts. W 84, WP I 825, P 234, M K II 90-1, KM 769, Kb. 1012  
 || **A:** It is worth paying attention to WrM *dom*, HIM *дом* 'lime-tree,  
 linden' (MED 260) that makes the impression of being a loanword  
 (because of its un-Mongolian phonetic shape [a WrM noun without final  
 vw.] and its absence in MM and the Mongolian lgs. other than WrM and  
 HIM). The source of the loan is unknown. Is it Tib Δ 'dum-po 'trunk,  
 body of a tree' < Classical Tib 'sdoŋ-po id. (Jäschke D 296)? ||| N  
 \**dUm<sub>l</sub>ʔ<sub>l</sub>û* *puʔi* (~ \**dUm<sub>l</sub>ʔ<sub>l</sub>û* *buʔi*?) or \**dUŋw∇* *puʔi* (~ \**dUŋw∇*  
*buʔi*?) '(ε?) big tree' (with \**puʔi* [~ \**buʔi*] 'tree, bush', q.v. ffd.) >  
**IE:** NaIE \**d<sub>l</sub>h<sub>1</sub>omb<sub>l</sub>h<sub>1</sub>-* (or \**d<sub>l</sub>h<sub>1</sub>amb<sub>l</sub>h<sub>1</sub>-*?) 'oak' > BSl \**dombo-s* id. > Sl  
 \**dq̄bъ* id. > OCS *ДѢБѢ* *dq̄bъ*, Blg *дѣбѣ*, SCr *dūb*, Sln *dōb*, Cz, Slk,  
 Hls, Lls *dub*, P *dąb*, R, Uk, Blr *дуб* id. | Blt \**damba-s* id. (lost in Lt and  
 Ltv) → FV \**tamm∇* 'oak' > F *tammī* id., Er *tumo*, Mk *tuma* id., Chr: H  
*tum*, L *tu'mъ* id. ¶ ESSJ V 95-7, It. #45, SSA III 265, Coll. CG § 309 (FV  
 \**tomma*) ¶ The alternative hyp. of a FU source (FV \**tamm∇*) of the Sl  
 word is hardly acceptable, because it does not explain the Sl cns. \**b* and  
 because there is no geographical proximity between the areas of pSl  
 and early FU (see TpT 246) || **U:** FU \**tom-puwe* > Prm \*\**tum-pu* > \**tu-*  
*pu* (\**pu* 'tree') > OPrm *tupa*, Vt *t̄p̄t̄* 'oak' ¶ LG 286, Coll. CG § 309 (FV  
 \**tomma*) || **D:** [1] D \**tump-* 'Acacia arabica (babool tree)' > Tl  
*tumma*, Kl *tumbā* ≈ *tumba*, Gnd *tumma* (← Tl?); [2] D \**tump-* 'ebony'  
 > Tm *tumpi* 'Diospyros tomentosa, Diospyros ebenum (two kinds of  
 ebony tree)', Kn *tumaki*, *tumari*, *tumbar-a~i*, *tumburu*, Tl

tubiki, tumiki 'wild mangosteen tree (Diospyros embryopteris)', Tl tumida, Klm, Nkr tumki, Prj tumbri 'Diospyros melanoxylon', Gnd tumrī & tumri & tumir & tumer(i) id., 'ebony', Nk tumik 'tendu tree', Gdb tumur, Ku dūri 'ebony', Kui duri, durenī & dūri 'Coromandel ebony' ¶¶ D ##3329, 3335 ◇ If \*-m- in U, M, and HS may go down to N \*-ŋw-, the N rec. is likely to be \*dUŋw∇. If, on the contrary, the N cluster \*-m?- yields \*-ŋ- (and later -n-, \*-nʷ-) in pIE and some Chadic lgs., the tentative N rec. is \*dUm<sub>l</sub>ʔ<sub>l</sub>û. The vw. \*o in M and the absence of the glide \*u in NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>d<sub>l</sub>h<sub>l</sub>omb<sub>l</sub>h<sub>l</sub>- and \*d<sup>h</sup>onu- suggest that the N labialized vw. was \*o ◇ Blz. 159 [#77] (D, HS, FP, M).

539. \*dim<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ŋa|æ 'rubbish, dirt, animal faeces' > HS: CS \*<sup>l</sup>dim<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>n- (or \*<sup>l</sup>dum<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>n-) 'rubbish, dung' > Ar dimn- 'débris, ordures; crottin, fiente de bêtes; tas de fumier', ✓dmn v. G 'manure (a field)', BHb 𐤃𐤌𐤍 'domen 'dung' (the variant \*<sup>l</sup>dum<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>n- (in BHb 'domen) may be explained by as. \*i > \*u close to a labial cns.) ¶ GB 164, KB 217, KBR 227, BK I 735, DRS 274-5, MiK I #1.53 || C: Bj ✓dmr pcv. ({R} 1s: p. a'dāmer, prs. e'd'mīr) 'be dirty', 'dāmra 'dirty' ¶ R WBd 67 || Ch: CCh: Db {Lnh.} dām 'dirt' || WCh: ? Hs {Abr.} dáwḏà id. (w < \*m before a cns.) ¶ ChC, Abr. H 199, ≠ Sk. HCD 46 || IE: NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>d<sup>h</sup>eng<sup>h</sup>ḡ<sup>h</sup>- 'rubbish, dung, dirt' (→ 'earth') > Gmc (× NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>d<sup>h</sup>eng<sup>h</sup>- v. 'cover' < N \***doŋa** 'to cover?'): OHG tunga 'dung', tung 'cellar, ground-house' ('unterirdische zur Abwehr der Kälte mit Mist bedeckte Stätte als Winterwohnung'), ON dyngja 'dung-heap; underground room for women', OSx đung 'underground weaver's work-room', AS đung 'dung; prison', Ic, NNr dyngja 'dung-heap', OHG tunga 'Düngung, stercoratio', NHG Dung, Dünger, Sw dynga, Dn dyngje 'dung', NE đung ¶ ≠ P 250, Vr. 90, OsS 969-70, Kb. 1046, ≈ KM 147, Ho. 80, Ho. S 14 || A: NaT \*jin ~ \*jin 'faeces, mucus' > OT {CL} j|eŋ, {DTS} jin 'nasal mucus', jin 'animal faeces', SY jin ~ jin 'faeces of sheep; cud', Tv čin 'faecal mass', Qq, ET žin 'contents of animals' stomach; cud', Qrg žin 'contents of guts and stomach', Alt žin id., 'excrements', 'cud', Qzq žin 'cud', Xk 𐌸𐌹𐌸 𐌺𐌹𐌸, Tb {RI.} rīr, Tlt/Brb {RI.} jir 'contents of guts' ¶ Cl. 941, DTS 261-2, Rs. W 203, ET J 27-8, TL 148-9, BIG 118, RI. III 514, 632 ◇ An alt. et. is also plausible: the S and the Gmc words for 'dung, rubbish' go back to a N etymon \***dom<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ŋa** 'to cover' (to be reconstructed instead of N \***doŋa** 'to cover', q.v.) with a parallel semantic change in S and Gmc: 'cover' → 'cover the field with manure,

düngen', whence ds. for 'dung'; but the latter et. does not account for the T word.

**540.**  ${}_2 *d\bar{\nabla}mp\bar{\nabla}$  (=  $*d\bar{\nabla}mp\bar{\nabla}$ ?) 'back, rear part, tail' > **HS:** C: Ag  $*damb-$  > Bln {R}  $d\bar{a}nb\bar{i} \sim d\bar{a}mb\bar{i}$  'back, backbone', (postpos.) 'behind' || ? EC (× EC  $*zanb-/zinb-$  'tail' < N ??  $*\check{z}a\bar{n}_l\bar{\nabla}b_l\bar{\nabla}$  'tail, back', Ss. WOKS 140): Sml {DSI}  $dambe$  'behind, after; later',  $ka\ damb\bar{e}$  'be behind, come after, follow', Arr  $d\bar{u}mm$  'tail', Dsn {To.}  $d\bar{u}m$  'tail tip' ¶ R WB 107, DSI 130-1, ZMO 83, Hw. A 353, To. DL 492 || NrOm: Kf/Anf {C}  $domb\bar{o}$  'vulva', Anf {MYTY}  $domb\bar{o}$  'vagina' (←  $*anus$ ) ¶ C SE IV 430, MYTY 116 || CCh: WMrg  $dimbur$  'buttocks' ¶ ChC || **IE:** NaIE  $*\textcircled{d}umb-$  'tail, penis' > YAv  $duma-$  'tail', ZPhl  $dum, dumb, dumbak$ , NPrs  $\text{دوم}$   $dom$ ,  $\text{دومب}$   $domb$  (←  $*dum_lh_jma-$ ), KhS  $dumaa-$  id., BdhSgd  $\beta r z-\delta\omega n p^?k$  'long-tailed' ( $\delta\omega n p^?k = [\delta\bar{u}mb\bar{a}k]$ ), Oss I  $d\bar{a}m\bar{a}g$ , Oss D  $dum\bar{a}g$  'tail' || OHG  $zumpfo$  'penis' ¶¶ P 227, Brtl. 750, Vl. I 900, Sg. 534-5, Horn 128, Bai. 161, Ab. I 381, Kb. 1265, OsS 1300 ◇ Qu.: the attested forms may alternatively go back to N  $*\check{z}a\bar{n}_l\bar{\nabla}b_l\bar{\nabla}$  '†' (if Sml, Om, CCh  $*d-$  and IE  $*d-$  are legitimate reflexes of N  $*\check{z}-$ ) ◇ IE  $*d-$  (for the expected  $*d^h-$ ) may be accounted for by the IE incompatibility law that rules out media aspirata and tenues in the same  $\sqrt{\quad}$ , implying the rec. of N  $*p_l$  ( $*d\bar{\nabla}mp\bar{\nabla}$ ).

**541.**  $*d^{\textcircled{h}}o^{\textcircled{h}}n\bar{\nabla}$  'flat, low', (→ ?) 'lowland' > **HS:** WS  $*\sqrt{dwn}$  (~  $*\textcircled{h}\sqrt{dn?} \sim *o^{\textcircled{h}}\sqrt{dny?}$ ) > Mn {MA}  $b-dwn$  'en aval', Sb {BGMR}  $^?d\bar{y}n$  'irrigated field',  $\zeta$  Ug {Blz. ← ?}  $d\bar{n}.t$  'lowland' (absent in Aistleitner and OLS), Ar  $\sqrt{dn?}$   $G$  (pf.  $dana?a \sim danu?a$ , ip.  $-dna?-$ ) 'be mean' ('être vil, bas'),  $dan\bar{a}?-at-$  'baseness, weakness',  $dany-$  'vil, bas; faible' ¶ BK I 678, Br. 150, DRS 277-8, BGMR 37, MA 27 || ?σ **K:**  $G\ done \sim doni$  'level' (Chx: 'Niveau, Stand, Stufe') ¶ Chx. 318-9, Fn. SK 94 [#65] || **IE:** NaIE  $*d^hen-$  'palm of hand; plain, lowlands' > OI  $'dhanu\bar{h}$  'sandbank, island',  $'dhanvan-$  'dry soil, shore' || Gk  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}νυρ$  'palm of hand, surface of the sea' || OHG  $t\bar{e}nar, t\bar{e}nara$  'hollow hand', MHD  $t\bar{e}ner, t\bar{e}nre$  'palm of hand' ¶ P 249, MW 509, M K II 90, F I 361, OsS 925-6, Kb. 1016, Lx. 225 || ?φ **U:**  $FV \approx *tant\bar{\nabla}r_l\bar{\nabla}_l < F\ tanner$  (gen.  $tantere-n$ ) 'field, lowland', pLp {Lr.}  $*t\bar{o}nt\bar{a}r$  'bare mountain, woodless highland' > Lp: N {N}  $duodd\bar{a}r$  'bare mountain, high mountain moorland', S {Hs.}  $duoddere$  'Hochgebirge', L {LLO}  $tuottar$  id., 'waldloses Land', Kld  $t\bar{u}ndar$  'bare mountains, woodless highland'; Lp  $\rightarrow$  F  $tunturi$  'bare mountains in Lappland', R  $\text{тундра}$  'tundra' ¶ UEW 41, Lr. #1299, Lgc.

#8065, Hs. 464-5, SK 1224, 1402 || **A**: Tg \*dunse 'land' (< \*dun-nse, with the sx. \*-nsa/e of n. coll.) > Ewk dunns 𐌆 dundrs 𐌆 dundz 𐌆 dunrs 'land', Lm dō:ndb 𐌆 dō:nnz 𐌆 dōndz 𐌆 dūndz 𐌆 dō:nrz 'mainland; forest', Ud {STM} düHō, {Krm} dühö 'mainland', Ul, Nn duzntz 'forest' ¶ Ci. 199, STM I 224, Krm. 229 ◇ If FV ≈ \*tant∇r<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub> belongs here, its vw. \*a is still to be explained ◇ Blz. KM 114 [#5] (K, ?S, IE, ??U, Tg) and 130.

**542. \*dōñ∇** 'to cut' > **HS**: S: Tgr ✓ dnn G (or D ?) 'cut off' ¶ LH 531 || Eg fMK dñ v. 'cut off' ¶ EG V 463, Fk. 313 || **A** \*d<sup>o</sup>ñ∇ > T \*jōñ- v. 'cut' > OT {Cl.} jōñ- v. 'cut, wound', Tkm jōñ-, Tk yōñ-, Az, Qmq, Nog, ET jōñ-, Qzq žōñ-, Qrg žōñ-, VTt, Bsh jun-, StAlt žōñ-, Tv čōñ-, Tf hōñ-, Chv L šun- v. 'hew\plane (wood)' ¶ Cl. 942, ET J 221-2, Rs. W 206, Jeg. 218, Fed. II 136, Ra. 210, TkR 316 || **D** {tr., 9GS} \*tuñ- > Tm tuñi 'be sundered\cut', Ml tuñi 'piece', tuñiyuka v. 'cut short', Kn tuñaka, tuñaku, Tl tuniya 'fragment, piece', Nkr tunke 'half portion', Gnd tunkī 'piece', Knd tuns- v. 'be broken in pieces', Png, Mnd tūñ v. 'cut, slaughter', Ku tūñ- v. 'cut (with axe)', Kui tūñu 'log of wood' ¶¶ D #3305 || **IE**: NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>en- > pAl {O} \*den-ta > OAl [Bgd.] dhend > Al G dhēnn 'haue aus, schneide'; pAl {O} \*ga-den-ta > Al T gdhënd v. 'form with a bladed tool: chisel, carve, whittle, sculpt; engrave', Al G gdhënd id. (unless akin to Gmc \*dang-/ding- > ON danga 'prügeln', MHD tingelen 'klopfen, hammeren', OGH tangal 'Hammer', in which case the primary IE meaning must be 'hit', so that the semantic distance from other N lgs. becomes too great to be reliable) ¶ WP I 853-4, P 249-50, Hamp AIEW 144, AlbED 250, O 112 ◇ The length of the vw. in Tkm (hence in pT) remains unexplained so far (does it suggest a N \*d<sup>o</sup>ñ<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>H∇ with complementary lengthening of the vw. \*o: \*donH∇ > T \*dōñ-?). The discrepancy between the T ev. for a N vw. \*o and the D \*u (pointing to N \*û) is still puzzling. Not here G dana 'knife' (a loan from Arm դանակ danak id.) ◇ BmK 263 (\*don<sup>u</sup>-/\*dun<sup>u</sup>- 'to cut off, to cleave, to split': S, Eg, D, IE \*d<sup>h</sup>en-/d<sup>h</sup>on-/d<sup>h</sup>ŋ-).

**543. \*duñ∇** (or \*düñ∇) 'to stream, to flow' > **HS**: C: HEC {Hd.} \*dun- v. 'leak' (e.g. bag, roof), 'pour' > Sd dun- id., Hd dun- id., v. 'sprinkle', Ged, Kmb dun- v. 'leak' (of a bag, a roof), \*dun-am- v. 'leak' (of liquid) > Sd, Hd, Kmb dunam-, Ged dunem- id. | ??φ,σ Dsn {To.} δάνu- 'swim' ¶ Hd. 89, 238, 276, 314, 360, To. DL 496 || WCh: Su {J} dúñ 'river', Kfr {Nt.} dúñ 'lake, pool, spring', Cp dùñkón 'lake', Mpn {Frz.} dúñ 'swampy area, pond' | ? Bd dùwân 'lake' ¶ J S 63, 208, Nt. 8, ChC s.v. 'lake', Frz. DM 12



|| **K** \*dn- / \*dwn- ({FS, K<sup>2</sup>} \*dn-, {K} \*dn-/den-) v. 'melt, thaw' > OG dn-, G dn- / dwn-, Lz din- / (n)dun-, Sv n- id., Mg d3n- / din- v. 'disappear, get lost' ¶¶ K 74, K<sup>2</sup> 41-2, FS K 106-6, Schm. 105, Chik. 271, Chx. 316-7 || **IE**: NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>en- v. 'stream, flow, leak', {EI} 'run, flow' > OPrs danuvatiy 'flows', OI 'dhanvati 'runs, flows', ? dha'nayati 'sets in motion, runs' (if the semantic change 'flow' → 'run' is typologically plausible) || L fōns / font- 'spring' ('Quelle'), ? Um {Pln.} FONDLIRE 'in fontulis' || Tc: A tsän- vi. 'flow, stream (couler)', B d. tseñe n. 'river, stream, current' || NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>ōnu- ({EI} \*d<sup>h</sup>ōnu- or \*deh<sub>h</sub>nu-) 'river' > Av dānu-, Oss don id.; Im → names of rivers Don (Gk Ταναΐς ~ Τάναις, OR ΔΟΝЪ donъ), Dnieper (OR ДЪНѢПРЪ dñěprъ, Uk Дніпро, R Днепр, Gk Δάναπρις), Dniester (OR ДЪНѢСТРЪ dñěstrъ, Gk Δάναστρις, L Danastius, Danaster), etc. || Clt: W Donωυ (river name), Gl → L Dānuvius 'Danube' ¶ P 249, EI 491, 486, M K II 90-2, WH I 525, Pln. II 738, Wn. 527, Ad. 741, Ab. I 366-7, Vs. I 518-9, 528-9 || **D** (in NED) \*tunt- v. 'pour, spill' > Krx tund-nā 'to be poured out, to spill, to pour out', Mlt tunde v. 'spill, shed, throw out as water' ¶ D #3321 ◇ BmK 271-2 (\*dan-/\*dān-: IE, K, C).

**544. \*dońćE** 'large', 'heavy' (of load) > **D** (in GnD) \*tōč- ({ǵGS} \*d-?) v. 'carry a load' > Gnd B tōčānā 'to put (a load) on one's head', Gnd KM tōs- 'carry (a load) on the head', Knd dōs, Png ʒōs-, Kui dūsa, Ku ʒučč- ɖ dučč- id. ¶ D #3540 || **A**: NaT (att. in Og) \*<sup>o</sup>jüçä|e 'high' > MT [TAG] يوجا jüčä 'back (Rücken), highest part, high', OOSm [AH] jüčä, Tk ɥüce, CrTt {Rl.} jüžä, Az uža 'high' ¶ TAG 109, ET J 263, Rs. W 212 || possibly **IE** \*<sup>o</sup>d<sub>l</sub><sup>h</sup>tes- > Ht dassu- 'strong, heavy; mighty' ¶ Ts. E III 259-66, ABIv II 113 || **HS**: Eg fMK dñs 'be heavy', 'heavy' ¶ EG V 468-9, Fk. 314 || ? WCh: Su {J} d<sup>h</sup>és 'big; much, many', {Sh.} d<sup>h</sup>és 'big' || Fy {J} d<sup>h</sup>és 'big, powerful' ¶ ChC, J R 85, J S II 64 ◇ The loss of the nasal cns. in IE points to a N \*ń (\*dońćE > \*doyćE > \*d<sup>h</sup>ejs- > AnIE \*des-); if so, the adjacent affr. must have been palatal (\*ć). The glottalized ɖ- in Su and Fy still needs explaining.

**545. \*doŋa** 'to cover' > **HS**: B \*<sup>o</sup>√<sub>l</sub>H<sub>l</sub>dn v. 'cover' > Izn aḏan, BSn āḏan, Skn, Nf aḏan (pf. 3m uḏan), Gd āḏan 'couvrir, mettre en couvercle', Awj udan 's'habiller, se vêtir', Kb idni 'couverture de chaume', Zng {NZ} edden 'couvrir unealebasse ou un puits' ¶ Rn. 310, Lf. II #O289, NZ 348-50 || Ag: Bln {R} dang- 'verhüllen das

Gesicht beim Trinken' ¶ R WB 108 || *AdS* of WS \*√dmm, \*-dumm- 'stop up, cover' (< N \*dam√ 'to cover, to close', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>eng<sup>h</sup>- v. 'cover, press on' > Lt ls prs. dengiù, inf. deñgti v. 'cover, wrap', dangà 'Decke' || OIr dingid, for-ding 'oppresses' || Gmc (× NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>eng<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>- 'rubbish, dung' < N \*dim<sub>1</sub>√,ǵalæ 'rubbish, dirt, animal faeces'): OHG tung 'cellar, ground-house (unterirdische zur Abwehr der Kälte mit Mist bedeckte Stätte als Winterwohnung)', ON dýngja 'underground room for women', OSx dung 'underground weaver's work-room', AS durnz 'prison' ¶ ≠ P 250, Frn. 88-9, Thr. 355, Vr. 90, OsS 969-70, Kb. 1046, Ho. 80, Ho. S 14 || U \*toŋe- v. 'cover, patch' > pLp {Lr.} \*tōkŋz- v. 'patch' > Lp N {N} duog'ŋât, Lp S {Hs.} duoŋedh, Lp L {LLO} tuogŋat, Lp Kld tūvŋeδ id. | ? Er тавадо- tavado-, Mk тавадо- tavada- v. 'cover' (the vw. ā is not expected, therefore E. Itkonen and K. Rédei reject the Mr cognate) | Chr H/L тумыш tumъš 'patch', Chr H тумыж tumъž 'constipation (of animals)' | pPrm {LG} \*dôm- > Z dэм- v. 'patch; dam (a river) for fishing', Z dэmas, Yz 'dūmas 'patch', Z Ud dэмэ 'patches' (v., 3s), Z dэмэд, Yz 'dūmэ,t 'dam used for fishing with fishing-baskets' || pY {IN} \*tuŋ- v. 'cover' > YT {IN, Ku.} tuŋ- v. 'cover', tuŋu-í n. 'patch' || UEW 798 mentions a Sm √ that is represented in individual lgs. as follows: StNe T тo? (H-) to? / ton- 'covering garment for men at night, blanket' (= Ne O {Lh.} tō' 'Decke'), Ne F L {Lh.} tōñd<sup>y</sup> 'Decke', StNe T тонда- (= Ne O {Lh.} tōntā-) v. 'cover', Ng {Cs.} t<sup>y</sup>ūi 'Decke', Slq Tz {KKIH} taq+t+- vt. 'close, shut' (= {Cs.} takatam 'zuschließen'); UEW mentions Slq tāgada 'bedecken (mit einem Tuch)' without indicating the dialect and the source], Kms {KD} túydú|- 'decken, bedecken'. Rédei does not accept this Sm cognate "aus semantischen Gründen". But if the meaning of the U √ is 'to cover' (→ 'to patch', sc. 'to cover with a patch') (rather than 'to patch' only, as interpreted by UEW) and if the phonetic corrs. are accurate (still an open question), the Sm cognate is valid ¶¶ Coll. 9, UEW 798 (FU \*toŋe- 'flicken, usbessern'), Lr. #1293, Lgc. #8084, Hs. 468, MRS 597, Ber. 78, KKIИ 179, LG 96, Lt. J 112, Cs. 64, 144, Lh. 489, IN 248-9, Ku. 278 || ?φ A {SDM95} \*t'uŋ√ 'a cover' > Tg \*tuŋke 'a cover, covering' > Nn Nh/B tuŋkэ, Nn KU tumkэ, ? WrMc туxε 'a cover (of a cauldron)', ? Mc Sb туxε 'roof', ? Jrc {Kiy.} tuko 'outer garment', ? Ewk Brg tuk-çargu 'roof (Überdachung, навес) between buildings' ¶ STM II 210, 216, Kiy. SJL 127 [#544], Md. ChF 137 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. \*t'uŋ√ 'a cover' (adduces also M \*tuŋurga 'felt walls

[covering] of a tent' > WrM *tugurga*, HIM, Brt *тыурга*); the A cognate is qu. because of the initial \*t'- for the expected \*d-.

**546.** (2?) \**dūŋg,â* '(be) quiet, silent' > IE: NaIE \**d<sub>h</sub>eng<sub>h</sub>* > Ltv *dīngt* 'to be quiet, to keep one's temper' ('ruhig sein, sich beherrschen'), *sa-dīngt* 'erstarren' ¶ ME I 469 and III 610-1; the unexpected preservation of \*n in Ltv suggests that the words go back to a loan from Curonian or some other Baltic lge preserving the cluster \*ng || A \**dūng* > M \**dūnge-* > Kl *dūngē-* v. 'be silent' (< \**dūnge-yi-*), d.: WrO *dūngūgūr* 'quiet, peaceful', Kl {Rm.} *dūngəgŕ* 'schweigend'; d.: WrM *dūng-sü-i-* v. 'be silent, maintain one's silence', HIM *дүнгсий-* id.; ¶ KW 105, MED 281, Krg. 578 || AmTg *u* \**dūngu* > Orc, Ul, Nn *dūngu-dūngu*, *dūngum*, Nn *dūngumžī*, *dūduygən* 'quietly, in silence', Orc *dūngus-* v. 'be quiet, taciturn', Nn KU *dūngurəl* 'quietly, silently', Nn Nh *dūngurēn* v. 'get quiet' ¶ STM I 223 || ? $\phi$  HS: WS \*-*dūm-*, \* $\checkmark$  dmm (prm. \*-*dumm-*) (and a secondary  $\checkmark$  \* $\checkmark$  dmy|w) v. 'be quiet, silent' (x N \**dūm* 'be motionless, be silent, be quiet', q.v. ffd.) || ECh: ? $\phi$  Kwn {J} *dēwé* 'silent' ¶ ChC  $\diamond$  If S \*m in S \*-*dūm-*, \* $\checkmark$  dmm belongs to the heritage of the N etymon in question (rather than to that of N \**dūm*), it suggests a N rec. \**dūngâ* (N intervoc. \*-*ŋ-* [near \*U] > S \*m reg.)  $\diamond$  Cp. IS I 222-3 (s.v. \**dūnga*); Illich-Svitych compares IE, S, and A + unc. Q *zem y-*, Km *zīm y-* ans Sd *sammī y-* 'be silent'; besides, he adduces Bj {R} *dum-*, *dim-* 'be silent' and K \**dum-* 'be(come) silent', but this may be accepted only if the change N \*-*ŋ-* > Bj, K \*-*m-* (following N \**ū*) is proved as reg. In my opinion, the Bj and K words belong to N \**dūm* (q.v.).

**547.** \**daP* (K) 'to stick (adhere), to glue' > HS: CS \* $\checkmark$  dbk (~ \* $\checkmark$  t̥bk) v. 'stick to' > BHb  $\checkmark$  dbk G (pf. *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ* ~ *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ*, ip. -*dbak*) v. 'stick to, cling to', BA *daḅkīn* 'they stick together', IA  $\checkmark$  dbk G 'cling, adhere, be contiguous', JA [Trg.]  $\checkmark$  dbk G (pf. *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ* ~ *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ*) 'stick to (kleben), adhere to', JEA {Sl.}  $\checkmark$  dbk G 'adhere, touch', Sr  $\checkmark$  dbk G (pf. *دَابَقَ، دَابَقَ* ~ *دَابَقَ، دَابَقَ*) id., Ar  $\checkmark$  dbq G (pf. *dabiqa*) 's'attacher, s'agglutiner (de manière visqueuse)', CS \**dib<sub>h</sub>q-* 'soldering' (n.), 'glue' > Ar *dibq-* 'bird-lime, glue', Md *ḍubka*, Sr *ḍebk-ā* 'glue', BHb *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ* n. 'soldering, welding together', PBHb {Js.} *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ* 'glue, paste; junction' ¶ KB 200-1, KBR 209, Sl. 312-3, Js. 277-8, BK I 667-8, HJ 238, DRS 211-2 || U \**tappE* (or \**tāppâ*) > FP \**tapp-* ~ \**tāpp-* v. 'stick, adhere, press to

sth.' > Hg *tapad-* v. 'stick, adhere, cling (to sth.)', OHg XIII-XVI *tapasz* 'klebriger Stoff, Lehm, Wandbewurf', Hg *tapasz* 'lute, putty; plaster' || pLp {Lr.} \**topз* > Lp N {N} *doppât* vi. 'stick, get stuck in' || pPrm \**top-*, \**topal-* > Z *topэд-* vt. 'cover tightly, press together, knock together, unite', Vt *tupa-* v. 'fix, repair, fix to' ¶ LG 282, MTE III 842-3, EWU 1480, Lr. #1270, N I 564 ¶ Hg *a* suggests FU \**a*, while Prm \**ɔ* suggests \**ä* (or \**e*), and pLp \**o* suggests FU \**u* (ass. infl. of \**p*?); most probably, \**tapp∇* ~ \**täpp∇* are two variants of the same √ based on different synharmonic generalizations of an ancient eU root having both a front vw. and a back vw. || A: M \**dabirqay* 'resin of a coniferous tree' > MM [MA] *dabirqay* id., WrM *dabirqai*, HIM *давирхай*, Brt *дабирхай*, Ord *d\_a'wirχā* id., 'pitch'; M ↗ Ewk *dabirkay* 'resin of a coniferous tree'; M ↗ Yk *dabarχay* id. ¶ Pp. MA 137, MED 212, Chr. 179, Ms. O 130, STM I 184 || Tg: Ewk *dapkaIdī-* vi. 'be adjusted well, fit together well' (of building details, handicraft wares), Ewk PT *dapkān-* vt. 'unite, attach', Ewk Y/I/Np *dapkar* 'junction, joint (of two details)' ¶ STM I 197.

**548.**  ${}_2 \approx$  \**dûp∇* 'to squat', 'to hide' (intr.) (→ 'to steal') > HS: EC: Sa {R} *dafay-* ~ *dəfəy-* ~ *difī-* 'sit down, sit', Af {PH} *daffē-* 'sit down, sit up' ¶ R S II 102, PH 78 || SOm {Bnd.}: Ari *dif+*, Ari G *dīb+*, Dm *dēb+* v. 'steal' ¶ Bnd. AL 159 || IE: NaIE \**teup-* (for \**dʰeup-* due to one of the incompatibility laws) v. 'squat', 'cover (also in order to get hidden)', {E} \**teubʰ-* 'steal' > Lt *tūpti* (1s prs. *tupiù*, {Krsch.} *tūpiù*) 'to squat, to crouch' ({P} 'sich hinhocken, sich in die Knie setzen'), *tupéti* 'to squat', Ltv *tupēt* 'to squat, to cover', *tupties* vr. 'to squat' || Gmc: Gt *piubjō* adj. 'secret, concealed', *piubi* 'theft', *piubs* 'thief', ON *þjófr*, Nnr *tjuv*, *tjov*, Sw *tjuv*, Dn *tyv*, OSx *thiof*, OHG *diob*, NHG *Dieb*, AS *þéof* 'thief', NE *thief* || ζ Gk Hm h. l. *ἐν-τυπός* (if it means 'kauern, hockend', which is not obvious) || Tc B *cowai* *tärk* 'rob' (lit. 'commit a theft') ¶ P 1085, WP I 714, Vr. 613, Hlq. 1195-6, Fs. 495-7, Ho. 363, Ho. S 78, OsS 105, EWA II 665-7, KM 131, Frn. 1141-2, Kar. II 442, F I 525-6, Ad. 257-8.

**549.** \**d'ä?i'p∇* 'to wave, to flap, to wave the wings, to fly; wing' > HS: S \* $\checkmark$  *dpp* > Ar  $\checkmark$  *dff G* 'agiter les ailes, voler en agitant les ailes' ¶ BK I 710 || Ch: WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} *d'íp* 'feather, wing' || CCh: Msg {Trn.} *d'f∇l∇* v. 'fly' ¶ Nt. 10, ChC s.v. 'fly' v. || U: FU (att. in BF) \* $\circ$  *tīpe* ~ \* $\circ$  *tīpa* (> \* $\checkmark$  *tīpa*) 'wing' > F *siipi*, Es *tiib* (gen. *tiiva*), Es S *sīb* (pl. *sīva*, *sīvo*), Lv *tībъz* (pl. *tībъd*) id. ¶ SK 1016-7, SSA III 176 || A: M

\*debi- > WrM debi- v. 'wave, flap (as wings), fan', 'winnow' (of grains), HIM дэвэ-х, Brt дэби- id., Kl de w- 'soar (schweben), float in the air; take wing', {Rm.} 'die Flügel heben, sich zum Fliegen anschicken' ¶ Pp. VG 95, MED 238, KRS 191, KW 90 || Tg \*dep- v. 'flap (wings), fan', \*depsi- id. > Ud дэψи- 'flap (wings)', Orc дэpsэ- v. 'fan\wave away (mosquitoes, midges)', Ul, Nn Nh/KU дэpsi-, Nn B дэfsi- 'flap, wave, махатъ', WrMc debsi- ~ debše-, Mc Sb дэpši- ~ дэpšэ- 'flap (wings)'; Tg \*dapsi- > Ewk dawsi-, Lm dawсэ- v. 'wave, flap (as wings)', Neg dawсл-, Ork dapsл- 'wave (one's hands)', Orc dapsuku 'fan', WrMc dasiχa- v. 'fan\sweep away, dust (sth.)' ¶ STM I 186-7, 228 || ?σ T: Osm {Rl.} jāp- 'mit Sprüngen entlang laufen', {Rh.} يېمك jep-mek 'to run along with leaps' (adduced as a cognate by Rm. [KW 90] with an underlying assumption of a semantic change: 'die Flügel heben, sich zum Fliegen anschicken' → 'run by leaps') ¶ Rh. 2197, Rl. III 384 || ?φ pJ {S} \*támp- v. 'fly' > OJ tób-, J: T tòb-, K/Kg tób-, Sh/Y tùb-, Ns tùby-, Ht tùp- id.; (-d→ ?) pJ {S} \*tumpasa 'wing' > J T tubasa ¶ S AJ 110, 275, S QJ ##28, 1608, Mr. 768 ¶¶ KW 90 (M, T), ≈ SDM97 s.v. \*dép'e 'wave, flap; fly' (> M \*debi, Tg, J \*temp- + err. T \*jełpi- 'flap, winnow' [see N ?σ \*deL<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>P<sub>1</sub>∇ 'to flap, to wave, to fly']); qu.: DQA #2646 (A \*d̥up'ú 'wing, fin' > J \*tumpasa ÷ M \*z̥iber 'fin of fish') ◇ Ch \*d̥- suggests N \*d...?. FU \*-p- points to N \*-p-. An alt. pN rec. is \*dEp∇ (with mte. in Ch), but it fails to explain the discrepancy of vowels (FU \*ī, but A \*e) and the length of the vw. in FU.

550. \*dap<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>γ∇ ~ \*daγop∇ 'to push' > HS: WS \*√dpɿ > Ar دفع √dfɿ G (ip. -dfaɿ-) 'repousser, pousser', Gz √dfɿ G 'thrust, push'; S \*√dhp v. 'push (away)' > BHb 𐤃𐤆𐤍𐤏 √dhp G 'push away', MHb, JA √dhp G 'push (stoßen)', Gz 𐩇𐩣𐩆𐩣𐩆𐩣 [dahf] 'pushing out, expulsion', ? Ak √dʔp G (inf. daʔāpu, p. idʔip) {Sd.} '(an\weg)stoßen', {CAD} v. 'push, press, knock over' ¶ \*h- in \*√dhp is due to the infl. of WS \*√dhw v. 'push, press' (< N \*daXw∇ 'to press, to push') and possibly to as. \*-ɿp- > \*-hp- ¶ KB 210, KBR 219, Sl. 325, Js. 293, Sd. 146, L G 124, 127, CAD III 1, DRS 247, 299-300 || EC \*d̥īp-, {AD} \*t̥īp- (mte. from \*√dp) > Or d̥īb- v. 'push, annoy', {Grg.} d̥īb- vt. 'push forward', Or B/O {Sr.}, Or H {Ow.} d̥īb- 'push' (Or ⇨ Brj {Ss.}, Ged {Hd.} d̥īb- v. 'push'), Sml N d̥īf- v. 'bully', Sd {Hd.} t̥īb-, {Gs.} t̥īwa v. 'push' ¶ Abr. S 59, Gs. 327-8, Grg. 124-5, Sr. 297, Ow. 259, Hd. 238, 397, ≠ Ss. B 64 (does not distinguish this √ from EC \*d̥īb- v. 'press, squeeze'), Hd. 119

(HEC \*dīb- > Ged, Brj dīb-, Sd ṭīb-) || WCh {Stl.} \*dap- v. 'push' > Hs dāfā v. 'press on with one's palm' | Su {J} tūp v. 'push', Ang {Flk.} tūp 'stir soup while cooking' | Ngz {Sch.} dābáú (n. act. dábí) v. 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 169 [#217], J S 86, Sch. DN 38, ChL, Flk. s.v. tūp ¶¶ ≈ OS #753, ≈ Sk. HCD 39 || IE \*depH- > NaIE \*dep<sup>h</sup>- 'trample, push, knead, strike' (× N ? ʌ \*ṭābHa or \*ṭabHE 'to trample, to kick', to crumple, to press' [q.v. ffd.]) || K: G {Chx.} dṽveb-/dṽvib- 'make butter by churning' ¶ Chx. 329 || ʌ U \*tapp∇- v. 'strike, beat' (partially × N ? ʌ \*ṭābHa or \*ṭabHE '↑) > F tappa- 'totschlagen, ermorden; schlachten', tappele- 'sich schlagen, kämpfen', taputta- 'klopfen', Es tapa- v. 'kill, slaughter' | pMr \*tapa- > Mk tapa- 'break (glass, etc.), smash', Er tapa- 'defeat\smash (an army, host)' | pPrm \*tap- > Prmk tapəd- 'strike with a fist; einen Faust in den Rücken stoßen', Z tapk+- 'strike with the hoof of a forefoot'; but pPrm \*tap- v. 'flap' is obviously a different √ of onomatopoeic origin; the same may be true of Prm root \*tap- represented in Vt tap+r- 'stamp one's foot', Z tapk+- 'walk\step slowly (медленно шагать)', though a contamination of an inherited FU root and a recent onomatopoeic factor is quite probable || Sm: Ne O tapar- 'mit dem Fuß treten, stoßen', Slq Tz {KKIH} tap+r-q0 'to kick with feet', tappa1-q0 id. (mom.) ¶¶ UEW 509-10, PI 266, KC 209, LG 278, Ker. II 164, KKIИ 179, Lh. 466 || A ≈ \*dap<sub>1</sub>i<sub>1</sub>-, ≈ \*dab- v. 'push, press' > M (× N \*ṭa'p'E 'to squeeze, to press' × N \*daXw∇ [~ \*dawX∇?] 'to press, to push'?) > [1] dabi- > WrM dabī-, HIM дави- v. 'spur on a horse', Ord d\_a'wī- 'frapper les pieds contre les flancs du cheval pour le faire aller plus vite' ¶ MED 212, Ms. O 130 | [2] \*dabta- v. 'forge, rivet' > MM [S] dabta- vt. 'hammer', dabtamal 'gestampft', WrM dabta- v. 'forge, beat', {Kow.} vt. 'battre, forger, aplatir', HIM давта-, Brt дабта-, Kl давт- v. 'forge, rivet', WrO dabta- 'strike repeatedly, forge'; M → WrMc dabta- id. ¶ MED 213, Kow. 1609-10, H 30, Krg. 537, KRS 175, Chr. 179, Z 784 || Tg \*dap- v. 'press' > Ork dapāw- 'squeeze, press', ?amb Ewk (unless a loan from M): Ewk PT/Y/Np dapça-, Ewk Al/Z/Ucr dapta- v. 'flatten, crush flat; hammer out; tap with one's palm', dapçarawçā ~ dapçarapçā 'pressed to', Ewk PT dapçaran- 'clutch, squeeze, pinch' ¶ STM I 197-8 || D \*topp-, {ṽGS} \*dobb- v. 'push' > Kn dobbu ~ ḍobbu ~ dabbu ~ ḍabbu, Tl d(r)obbu v. 'shove, push', Tu dobbu 'pushing, shoving', dobbuni v. 'push, shove, put off' ¶¶ D #3340, ≠ Km. 406 [#687] (suggests that OTl drobbu v. 'push, trust' goes back to \*tor-b-

< \*tor-upp- / -v-, but remarks: "the following are confusing: Kn  $\text{dobbu}$ ,  $\text{dobbu}$  v. 'shove, push, thrust', Tu  $\text{dobbuni}$  id.")  $\diamond$  S  $\sqrt{\text{d}p\text{r}-}$ , IE  $\text{*depH-}$  (<  $\text{*d}^h\text{epH-}$  due to one of the IE incompatibility laws), and D  $\text{*tobb-}$  (or  $\text{*dobb-}$ ) suggest a N cns. cluster  $\text{*PH-}$ , while S  $\sqrt{\text{d}hp}$  (<  $\text{*d}p$  by as.) and the C long vw. suggest that the lr. preceded the labial stop (a mt. at the pHS level?). The presence of  $\text{*}\psi$  in K suggests N  $\text{*P}\psi$ -  $\diamond \approx$  Gr. II #208 ( $\text{*tap}$  'hit') (IE, U, M, Tg + unc. T, Ko + qu. J, CK).

**551.**  $\text{*dEq}\nabla$  'earth' > HS: B  $\sqrt{\text{dHy}}$  (unless it is  $\sqrt{\text{dpy}}$ ) 'sand, (?) pebbles' > Ah {Fc.}  $\text{edahi}$  'sable fin' (pl.  $\text{idahān}$ ),  $\text{tedahit}$  'petite dune basse de sable fin',  $\text{edayān}$  'plaine unie de sable fin', Ty/ETwl {GhA}  $\text{edahi}$  (pl.  $\text{idāhan}$ ) 'colline', Gh {Nh.}  $\text{idahi}$  (pl.  $\text{idahan}$ ) 'petite colline de sable', Rf A {Rn.}  $\text{īdīt}$ , Rf B {Rn.}  $\text{īaudīt}$  'galet, caillou roulé' ¶ Because of the root-final  $\text{*y}$ , ETwl, Ty -h-, and Rf -∅- this word cannot belong to B  $\sqrt{\text{w}^1\text{dz}}$  'piler' (> Ah  $\text{addah}$ , ETwl  $\text{addaz}$ , Kb  $\text{dđaz}$ ) or to B  $\sqrt{\text{w}^1\text{d}p}$  'piler' (> Ah  $\text{add}$ , Gd  $\text{addaβ}$ ) ¶ Fc. 186-7, Pr. H 35 [##37-8], GhA 21, Nh. 203, Rn. 307 ||  $\text{?}\sigma$  Eg N  $\text{d}\chi.\omega.t$  'Steinblöcke' ¶ EG V 484 || S  $\text{?}\sigma$   $\sqrt{\text{d}\chi y}$  > Gz  $\sqrt{\text{d}\chi y}$  G (js.  $\text{yā-d}\chi ay$ ) v. 'excavate, dig up' ¶ L G 130, DRS 249 || K: pGZ  $\text{*diqa}$  'soil, clay' > Mg  $\text{di}\chi a \sim \text{de}\chi a$  'soil, earth, land, place', Lz (n)  $\text{di}\chi a$  'earh, soil'; Zan  $\rightarrow$  G Gr  $\text{di}\chi a$  'earth'; OG  $\text{tiqa}$  'clay', G  $\text{ti}\chi a$  'clay, mud' (acc. to Mach. K 22 and FS K 105, assimilation K  $\text{*d}\dots\text{q}$  >  $\text{*t}\dots\text{q}$ ); d- has been preserved in G Gr  $\text{di}\chi a$  'earth' (infl. of Zan?) ¶¶ FS K 105 ( $\text{*diq-}$ ), Chx. 316, Q 227, ≠: K 94-5 and K<sup>2</sup> 72 ( $\text{*tiqa-}$  with  $\text{*t-}$  > Zan d-)  $\diamond \neq$  IS I 220 [#69] ( $\text{*di}\text{q}\psi$  > K  $\text{*diqa}$  and IE  $\text{*d}^h\text{g}^h\text{em-}$  'earth') ( $\rightarrow$  BmK 269-70: IE, K); I prefer to connect IE  $\text{*d}^h\text{g}^h\text{em-}$  with N  $\text{*}\text{t}og\text{æ}$  'dust, earth' for phonetic reasons: IE  $\text{*g}^h$  is a reg. reflex of N  $\text{*g}$  rather than of  $\text{*q}$ .

**552.**  $\text{*duq}\nabla$  or  $\text{*dūq}\nabla$  'blow (wehen, blasen), breathe' ( $\rightarrow$  'smoke') > HS: S: Ar  $\text{du}\chi\chi-$   $\sim$   $\text{da}\chi\chi-$  'smoke',  $\text{du}\chi\text{ān-}$  id. ¶ BK I 677, 680, DRS 249 ||  $\text{?}\phi$  C  $\sqrt{\text{d}^1}$  'wehen' > EC: Sml {ZMO}  $\text{d}a\text{r-}$ , {R}  $\text{d}a\text{r-}$  'blow' (wind), Ya {Hn.}  $\text{dehmo}$  (pl.  $\text{dehmai}$ ) 'wind' ¶ If the rec. of pC  $\text{*d}^1$ - is valid, its unexpected emphaticity may be due to the infl. of  $\text{*}\text{r}$ . The C cns.  $\text{*}\text{r}$  as a cognate of the vl. S  $\text{*}\chi$  (< N  $\text{*q}$ ?) still needs explaining ¶ AD SF 315-6, Hn. Y II 137, DSI 150, R SS II 528, ZMO 106 || IE  $\text{*d}^he\text{uH-}$  v. 'shake, blow' ({EI}  $\text{*d}^he\text{uH}_1$  'be in [com]motion, rise [as dust or smoke]') > OI  $\text{dhū-nō-ti}$ ,  $\text{dhu'vatī}$  'shakes', pfc.  $\text{dudhāva}$  || Arm  $\text{դեղեկիմ}$   $\text{dedewim}$  vi. 'I vacillate, totter, shake' || Gk  $\text{θύω}$  {LS} v. 'rush on\along' (of a rushing wind) || ON  $\text{dýja}$  'to shake' || pAl {O}  $\text{*deg-ska-}$

> Al T *deh* v. 'become intoxicated, get drunk'; pAl {O} \**deg-nya* > Al *dej-* *đ* *dēnj-*, G {Ç, Kf.} *dej* {Ç} 's'enivrer', {LP} *dejs*hem 'drunk' || Lt *dujā* 'Stäubchen, feiner Regen, Nebel' | Sl \**dūti* / prs. \**duj*q 'blow' > R *дуть* / prs. *дую*, SCr *dūti* / prs. *dūjēm*, Blg *дуя*, Slv *dúti* 'blow' (inf. \**dūti* coalesced in some lgs. with Sl \**dq-ti* 'blow' < NaIE \**dhem-* < N \**dVmV* 'to breathe, to blow') || *dh*uH-mo- 'smoke, steam', {EI} \**dʰuh₂*'mo-s 'smoke' > OI *dhū*'maḥ 'smoke, steam' || Gk *θυμός* 'breath' → 'soul, life, Lebenskraft' || L *fūmus* 'smoke, steam' || Lt *dūmai* (pl.), Ltv *dūmi* (pl.), Pru *dumis* 'smoke' || Sl \**dīmbъ* 'smoke' > OCS *ДЪМЪ* *dīmbъ*, Blg, Uk *дим*, SCr, Slv *dīm*, R *дым*, Cz *dým*, Slk, P *dym* || OIr {P} *dumacha* (pl.) 'fog' (< \**dum-*) || OHG {Kb., EWA} *doum*, {OsS} *toum*, *thoum* 'smoke, steam', MHG *toum* ~ *doum*, NGr Sw *taum*, Nr B *dâum*, *dām* id., OSx *dômi*an 'to steam' (< \**doum-*) || Ht *tuhhu*i- ~ *tuhhu*wai- 'smoke' ¶ P 261-7, EI 388, 529, Frd. HW 227, Frd. HW EH II 25, Ts. E III 47-9, FI 693-4, 697-8, WH I 561-2, Vr. 89, OsS 948, Kb. 163, EWA II 744-6, Ho. S 13, Sl. 242-3, O 57-8, Ç I 111 and II 368, AlbED 155, Kf. 77, LamP 147, BFU 92, Frn. 109-110, En. 164, Wn. 519, M K II 107-9, ESSJ V 99-100, 203, Vs. I 555-8, Glh. 196, 213-4, SPS V 207-8 ◊ ≠ IS I 217-218: IS equates IE \**dʰeuH-* v. 'shake, blow' with WrM *debi-* 'winnow (grain), flap (wings)' and with Lm *dɜwū* 'whirlwind, hurrican, wind', *ɖɜwū-* 'brausen, toben, aufwirbeln' (of wind, snow-storm) (Pp. VG 45, cp. LW 180-1), but this is hardly acceptable because Lm *ɖɜwu-* *ɖ* *dɜwū-* 'brausen, aufwirbeln' and *dɜwū* *ɖ* *dəgu* '(whirl)wind, hurrican' go back to Tg \**deg-* [STM I 228-9], while M *debi-* belongs together with Tg \**dep*₁i- 'flap' (> Ud *dɜp*i-, etc.; cp. STM I 228).

**553. \**diqa*** 'goat' (or 'ε ruminant?') > HS: NrOm {Blz.} \**dVg-* ~ \**dVq-* {AD} 'ε ruminant' > Oyda *doge* 'greater kudu (antelope *Tragelaphus strepsiceros*)', Bsk *daḱiṣi*, Doka *daḱiṣa* 'lamb', Bdt {Hw.} *deggele* 'goats' ¶ Blz. OL #152 || Ch: WCh: AG: Cp *dḱgun* 'he-goat', Kfr {Nt.} *dɜgūŋ* 'castrated male goat, ?? Su {J} *dūgum* ~ *dūwum* 'male antelope' | Ron: Fy {J} *~dákùs* 'he-goat' || CCh: Pdk {Mch.} *dúg-zumā* id. | Tr {Nw.} *žīg* 'goat' || ECh: Nd {GD} *dīhi*, Nd D {J} *dḱgâ*, Tmk {Cp.} *žīg* 'goat' ¶ ChC, JI II 167-9, ChL, J S 62, Nt. 7 || K \**dqa-* 'she-goat' > OG, NG *tχa*, Mg *tχa-* (pl. *tχal-*), Lz (m) *tχa-* (pl. (m) *tχal-*), Sv: UB/LB/L/Ln *daqəl* (pl. UB/Ln *daq-är*, L *daql-är*) ¶ K 77, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 80 (\**tqa-*), TK 188, GP 95, Dn. s.v. *daqəl* || IE: NaIE {EI} \**dik-s* (gen. \**dīg-os*) ({P} \**digh-*, {Dv.} \**digh-*



~\*dik-) 'goat' > Gk Δ [Hs.] δῖζα· ἄξξ ('goat'); Fick and P supposed that this gloss is Thracian, which is not accepted by Grgv., Durid., Russu, and Dechev || OHG zīgā 'goat' (> NHG Ziege), with a hypothetical "consonant sharpening" OHG zickī, zickīn 'kid' ('Zicklein'), AS tiććen id., Nr Δ tikka 'sheep' || Arm unḥly tik 'leather bottle, goat's skin' ¶ Huld 59 adduces here StAl T dhi, Al: SG dhi, D/P δī, T Sl/V/F δī 'goat', but O 83 suggests that this Al word goes back to pAl \*ajziya 'goat' related to Gk ἄξξ id. ¶ WPI 814, P 222, Dv. #978, EI 229, FI 390-1, OsS 125, Kb. 1250, , KM 882, Ho. 346, O 128, Sl. 335-6, Jokl KA 241  
 ◇ IE \*-k- < N \*-g-; the origin of the IE cns. \*-g- is not clear; the IE initial \*d- for the expected \*dh- is probably due to the IE root structure rejection of the \*\*g<sup>h</sup>et-structure (asp. vd. + vl. cns. in the same √). The deglottalization of \*g in K is still to be explained ◇ AD NM #43, S CNM 10 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

554. (2?) \*dAr▽ 'have a suitable size (be just right, быть впору)' > K \*<sup>o</sup>da<sub>;</sub>r- > G dar-/dr- 'j-m gleichkommen, ebenbürtig sein', dar-i 'gleich, gleichartig, gleichwertig, ähnlich' ¶ Chx. 254-6 || D \*tar- ({ǰGS} \*t-) v. 'be fit' (× N \*dar<sub>;</sub>▽H<sub>;</sub>▽ 'hold, hold fast, fasten') > Tm taru v. 'wear tightly as a cloth', taram 'opportune moment, time, turn', taruṇam 'right time, proper season', Ml tarayuka v. 'be fixed', tāru 'wearing clothes tucked in', taram 'time, opportunity', Kn tari 'state of being joined, fixed, or settled', Tl tarī 'opportunity, proper time', ? Ku dari 'next' (adv.) ¶¶ D #3142 || A: ?σM: WrM daru-, HIM дара- v. 'outshine, eclipse, excel' (× ← WrM daru-, HIM дара- v. 'press, push down'), (?) darui, HIM даруй 'immediately', MM [HI] darui-tur 'aussitôt après' ¶ MED 233-4, Luv. 147, Ms. H 48 ◇ Fn. KD #14 (K, D). FU \*ter▽ 'Raum oder Platz haben oder finden, hineingehen' does not belong here because of its vw. \*e. It rather belongs to N \*teR▽ 'to contain (aufnehmen können)' (q.v.).

555. \*duri (or \*dori??) go, walk' > A: Tg \*duere- ({DQA} \*dūrē-) v. 'walk' > Nn, Ul duṛṛṛ-, Orc duwṛ-~duṛ-, Ewk dūrṛ- v. 'walk', Neg dūyṛ-, Ud duṛ- v. 'walk along the bank (near the waterline)' ¶ STM I 226, Krm. 229 || NaT \*jori- ~ \*jūr- v. 'walk, go' > [1] \*jori- > OT jori-, SY jor-žor-, Alt žor- id., Uz, ET H {Ml.} jur-, Tv čor(u)-, Tf ć'oru-~ć'ori- v. 'walk, ride, go'; [2] \*jūr- ~ \*jō<sub>;</sub>r- > Tk yūrū-, Az jūrū-, Ggz, ET jörü-, Tkm jöre-, Qzq žür-, VTt jōr-, Bsh jōrō-, Blq žür(ü)- ~ zür-, Qzq žür-, Nog jür-, Qrg žür-, Xk čör-, Shor čür-, Yk sūr- v. 'walk, move', Qq žür-

'move', StAlt žür- v. 'walk, ride; be', Chv šüre- 'walk, move' ¶ Cl. 957, DTS 274, Rs. W 207, ET J 229-31, Ra. 197 || ?σ pJ \*džr- v. 'approach' > OJ jor-, J: T yòr-, K/Kg yór- ¶¶ S AJ 284, S QJ #169, Mr. 787 ¶¶ DQA #399 (A \*dōre 'go, walk, approach' > T, Tg, J) || D \*tūr(-) v. 'enter' (× N \*tor'∇h'a 'to pass over; through', q.v.) > Tm NA tūr v. 'enter', Kn tūr̄u v. 'enter, enter a hole as a mouse, go through a hole or eye as a thread, penetrate, pierce', Tl tūr̄u ~ dūr̄u to enter, penetrate', Gnd turrv- v. 'thrust into', dorrānā v. 'penetrate', Ku dūh- v. 'pierce, go right through', Krx turd- v. 'pass through a narrow aperture, fall through a hole, ooze out', Mlt tuθr-kaṭe v. 'pass through a place, pass through (as an arrow)' ¶¶ D #3399(a) || HS: WS \*-dūr- v. 'roam (of nomads), go and come back, wander about within some territory' > Mh ✓dwr G (pf. dōr, sbjn. y3-dōr) v. 'wander about, herumgehen; go and come back', Hrs ✓dwr (pf. dōr, prs. y3dōr) v. 'go round', Jb ✓dwr (pf. dōr) v. 'come between, in front of', (pf. dēr) v. 'wander about', Ar دور ✓dwr G 'aller tout autour, tourner, tourner', ? (× S \*-dūr- 'turn round', see DRS 239): BHb ✓dwr G {KB} 'rundherumschichten' ¶ Jo. M 76, Jo. J 42-3, Jo. H 26, KB 208-9, Fr. II 69, BK I 747, DRS 239-41 ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #11.

**556. \*dur∇** (or **\*dür∇**) 'hole, hollow' > K: pGZ {Fn.} \*duro > G duro 'deep hole', Mg duru 'hollow, depression, hole, pit' ¶ Chx. 325, Fn. KW-1 34 [#16] || IE: NaIE \*dʰwe(:)r- / \*dʰwo(:)r- / \*dʰur- / \*dʰwr̥-, {E} \*dʰwór (gen. \*dʰu'r-os) 'door, gate' (× N \*dûR∇ 'log, stick', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 278-9, EI 168-9 || NaIE (in BSI) \*dʰur-/ \*dʰūr- > Sl \*dīra 'hole' > OR Δ τῖρῖα dīr ja, R дыра, Plb darã id. || Lt dūr̄ti 'to thrust, to stab' ¶ Vs. I 205, ESSJ V 205. Frn. 113 || D \*to|ur̥a- ~ \*to|ura- 'hollow, hole, cavity' (× N \*tūr∇ or \*tuRE 'pierce, stick into; hole'???) > Ml tura 'hole, burrow', Kn tor̄alu, tor̄ale 'hole', tor̄e, ḍore 'hollow, hole', Tl tor̄a, tor̄ata, tor̄ra 'hole, cavity in a tree', Gnd Δ dora 'hole in tree' || D {Pf.} \*tūr-/ \*tur-∇- (~ \*tur̥-) v. 'make a hole' > Tm tura v. 'tunnel, bore', Ml turav̄u 'burrowing, mine, hole', Kn turi, turuv̄u v. 'hollow, bore, drill, make a hole', Tl tur̄umu v. 'scrape with a toothed instrument', Krx tūr- v. 'pierce through, perforate', Mlt tūre v. 'scratch out' ¶¶ The variant with \*-r- (reg. from N \*r-clusters) may be due to the infl. of N \*tor'∇h'a 'to pass over; through'. Tm, Ml u and Kn, Tl 0 may go back either to \*u or to \*0, but Krx and Mlt point to

pD \*u(:) only 𐌆𐌆 D #3533, Pf. 135 [#1167] , Zv. 65-6, Km. 111-8, Em. DCPH § 14 ◇ Blz. KM 115 [#7] (K, D) and 133 (added R д ы р а).

**557. \*dûR∇** 'log, stick' > **HS:** Eg L dr 'prod, goad' 𐌆 Jsn. 22 || **K** \*dwire- 'log, beam; squared beam' > OG dwire- ~ dire- id. ('plank' in Mt. 7.3), G dire, G Gr dviro-, G I diro- 'log, squared beam', Mg dære- 'cross-beam', Sv: UB/L dīr, Ln/LB dir, LB dər 'beam' 𐌆𐌆 K<sup>2</sup> 40, ≠ Rog. GRL (K ⇐ Gk) (⇔ K<sup>2</sup> 40), TK 196, GP 97, Dn. s.v. dīr || **IE:** NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>we(:)r- / \*d<sup>h</sup>wo(:)r- / \*d<sup>h</sup>ur- / \*d<sup>h</sup>wr̥-, {EJ} \*<sup>1</sup>d<sup>h</sup>wór (gen. \*d<sup>h</sup>u'r-os) 'door, gate' (× N \*dur∇ (or \*dür∇) 'hole, hollow', q.v.) > OI nom. pl. 'dvār- 'door' (nom. pl. 'dvārah, accus. pl. du'rah ~ 'durah, nom. du. 'dvārau, nom. sg. 'dvāh), Av accus. sg. dvarəm 'gate' || Arm pl. 𐎱𐎠𐎡 dur-k<sup>h</sup> 'door' || Gk θύρα, Gk I θύρη id. || pAl {O} \*dwōrā, {Huld} \*der^ 'door, gate', pl. \*düer- > Al T/G 'derē (pl. T, G 'dyer, G dyr), {Huld} SG dēr / dūr, D dēr / dūr, B der / dūr || L foris 'door', pl. forēs 'folding-doors' || W dōr, MBr {Em.} dor, Cm {P} dor 'door', OIr dorus, W drws 'door' || OHG turi, NHG Tür, ON dyrr 'door', Gt daúr, OHG tor, NHG Tor 'gate', OSx duru 'door', dor 'gate', AS duru, dor 'door, gate', NE door || Lt accus. pl. duris 'door', gen. pl. dūrū, Olt, Lt EA dures, Lt dūr̃ys d. id., Ltv duris, dūr̃vis pl. 'door', Pru pl. dauris 'big gate' (ce. for duaris?) || pSl \*dṽri pl. 'doors' > OCS ДВЕРИ dṽri, Blg †, R 'двери, Slv dver̃i, duri, Cz dveře, P drzwi, Δ dźwierze, Uk двері 'door(s)', SCr Δ двѣри 'middle gate of the altar'; secondary sg.: pSl \*dṽrb 'door' > OCS ДВЕРЬ dṽrb, R дверь, SCr † dṽar || pTc \*twere > Tc B twere 'door' || ?? NaIE {Mn.} \*<sup>o</sup>d<sup>h</sup>r̥n- > ON drumbr (name of a slave ← 'Klotz'), Icl drumbur 'Holzklotz', OSw drummer 'Keule' 𐌆 P 278-9, EI 168-9, M K II 83-4, F I 695-6, WH I 529-30, LP §§ 117.2, 178.2, 268.1, 296, Fs. 117-8, Vr. 91, OsS 946, 972, Kb. 1051, Ho. 75, 80, Ho. S 13-4, KM 783, 797, Frn. 112-3, En. 157, Tp. P A-D 309-10, Bern. I 241, YGM-1 194-5, Ern. 192, O 60, Huld 49, Kf. 77-8, SPS V 140-2, ESSJ V 171-2, Wn. 520, Ad. 323-4, Vr. 85, Mn. 205, 212 ◇ ≠ S NSShS #4 (K ÷ A \*t<sup>1</sup>iōr(g)e 'beam, prop' ÷ IE derw- 'tree', see N \*tarû '[ε] tree, log'), ≈ Blz. KM 132 [#6] (K, IE <sup>o</sup>d<sup>h</sup>r̥n- + unc.: names of trees in HS, U, and the T lgs., as well as D \*tur̃u 'bushes, thicket').

**558. ₂ \*dUR∇** 'deaf' > **HS** \*dur- > B \*√dr̥dr̥ ~ \*√dr̥dr̥, \*dūr̥d̥v̥r̥ v. 'be deaf', \*d̥v̥r̥d̥ūr̥ ~ \*dardūr 'deaf' > Sll {Ds.}, Shl {NZ} dur̥'d̥eṛ̥ v. 'be deaf', Izd dur̥'d̥eṛ̥ id., aḡar̥d̥ur̥ 'deaf', ZAS aḡar̥d̥uṛ̥ (pl. iḡar̥d̥urr) id., BSn {Bs.}

aðarǵūr, Izn {Bs.} aðerðūr, Ntf {La.} adardur, Zmr {La.} \*aðarður 'deaf' ¶ Ds. 267, Mrc. 240, Loub. 518, La. MChB 147, NZ 482 ¶ In the light of external comparative ev. we may suppose that here the emphatic \*ǵ is secondary; one of possible explanations may be a cd. (such as \*ǵr-dūr > \*ǵar-dūr or \*dǵr-ǵūr > \*dar-ǵūr) in the pre-history of B, whence, due to as., two variants (\*ǵarǵūr and \*dardūr) || C: Bj 'durndur 'deaf and dumb' (acc. to IS, from \*dum 'silent' + dur 'deaf') ¶ R WBd 68; IS I 223 equated it with Bln {R} dīrā 'deaf' (R WB 110) (untenable because the Bln pl. form dīd and the cognate words in Q/Xm [de'dā] suggest that here Bln -r- goes back to a dental stop) || Ch: Hs dūrúmà 'a deaf and dumb person' (and dūrúmà 'a blind person') ¶ Abr. H 238, Ba. 284 || K: Lz: Ar durani, X dura, A ʔura 'deaf' (Lz A ʔ- < \*d is a typical dialectal change within Lz) ¶ Zhgh. ChT 140 ◇ IS I 223-4. IS suggested to adduce here M \*dulei 'deaf' (hardly tenable [≠ϕ]).

**558a.** <sub>2</sub> \*d'û'r∇ 'woods, bush(es)' > HS: C: Ag \*\*duḥ- 'thicket' (× N \*ʔu|o, w, r'û' 'grow, grow densely, sprout forth, become bushy, thrive; thicket, thick bush\grass') > Xm {R} dīr 'Gebüsch, Wald; Wüste', Xmt {CR} dur 'woods, forest; edge of a hill'; Ag ḅ→ Gz dūr 'forest', dōr 'wilderness', Amh dur 'wood, forest', Tgy dur {YGE} id., 'thicket, bush' || EC: Sml {R} dīr f. 'Dickicht, Gebüsch, Dschungel', {ZMO, DSI} dūr 'jungle, woods, forest, wilderness', 'boscaglia, luogo disabitato', ?σ Rn dūr 'rocky / impassable place; large pile of boulders' || SC: Irq {MQK} darma (pl. darēmi, darēmō) 'wilderness (large and far from habitat)' ¶ R Ch II 40, R SS II 116, L G 141, ZMO 103, DSI 203, PG 105. MQK 28 || Ch: ??ϕ CCh: FIJ {ChL} dorn 'bush (woods)' || ??μ ECh: Kbl {Cp.} d̄rosuḡ id. ¶¶ ChL, ChC || D \*tūr 'bushes' ({GS} \*t-?) (× N \*ʔu|o, w, r'û' '↑') > Tm tūr 'bushes, shrubbery, thick underwood, low jungle', Kt tu'r 'bushy bunch of leaves of tree', Td tu'r 'branch with leaves; bushes', Knd tūr 'thicket, bush' ¶¶ D #3401 ◇ Blz. 259 [#74] (HS [without SC], D).

**559.** <sub>2</sub> \*dūr∇ or \*dUrE 'entrails, heart' > HS ≈ \*dur- > C: SC: Irq {E} durumi 'first stomach', Brn {E} durumiya 'large intestines' || DhI {To.} dūra 'bowels', {E} dūra 'intestines' ¶ E SC 167, To. D 132 || Ch: WCh: Ang {ChL} dur 'heart' || ECh: LI {WeibP} dūrè ~ dūrò 'milieu, centre' ¶ ChL, WeibP 18 || B: Izd {Mrc.} ta-duwwar-t (pl. ti-dur-in) 'tripe' ¶ Mrc. 404 || ?ϕ Eg LL idr 'heart' (× N \*ʔûHd∇(R∇) 'breast') ¶ EG I 155 ¶¶ Tk. I 241 (C, Ch, Eg) || A \*dūr∇k'∇ 'heart' (× N ? \*ʔûr∇ 'inside of body,

heart'?) > T \*jür-äk 'heart' (ffd. *see* N ? \***žûr**∇) || M \*žü|irüken (< \*\*dirüken) 'heart' (× N ? \***žûr**∇ '↑?') > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [MA] {Pp.} žürüken, [S] {H} žürüge(n) ~ žirügen, [IM] {Pp.} žürüke, [L] {Pp.} جوركُه žürke, WrM žirüken, HIM зүрх(эH), Brt зүрхэ(н), Ord {Ms.} žüre"xe, WrO züreke(n), Kl зүркH zürkən, {Rm.} zürkŋ, Mnr H {SM} ž̇ierg\_e, Mnr H/M {T}, Ba {T} žirge, Dg {Pp.} žürgü, Dx {T} žuge, Mgl {Pp.} žürkâ, {Rm., Pp.} žürkâ 'heart' ¶ Ms. H 69, Ms. O 225, Pp. MA 211-2, 439, Pp. L II 1273, Pp. SD I 28, Pp. MDG 28, H 91, 95, MED 1062, Krg. 687, KRS 260, SM 87, KW 483-4, Rm. M 42, T 334, T DnJ 120, T BJ 139 || ?σ pJ {S} \*džkžsì 'spleen' > OJ yᵛyᵛòkᵛyᵛósì ¶ S QJ #1668, Mr. 576 ¶¶ S AJ 282 [#176], DQA #2624 (A \*žŭr(∇)k'e 'heart, inner organ'), ≈ ADb. SR 5 (T, M + unc. Tg \*jurgā 'of high moral standards, brave') ◇ If the cns. d- in SC, Dhl, B, and Ch may have developed from N \***ž**-, all the abovementioned words belong to N ? \***žûr**∇, so that this rec. of N \***dŭr**∇ ~ \***dŭrE** will be null and void.

**560. \*daʔur**∇ 'stand, stay' > A: T \*t'ur- (~ \*ṭur-?) > OT tur-, Tk ḍur-, Az, Ggz, Tkm, SY dur-, VTt, Bsh топ- ṭ̊r-, Qzq т̣̊р- ṭ̊r-, Qq, Nog, Qrg, ET, Uz, Xk, Yk tur-, Tv t'ur-, Tf d\_ur- id., Chv L т̣̊р- ṭ̊r-, Chv H ṭ̊r- 'stand up, stand' ¶ Tv t'- suggests a pT \*t'-, while Tf d\_ and d- in the Og lgs. point to a lax \*ṭ- ¶ Cl. 529-30, Rs. W 100, Ra. 176, Fed. II 195, S AJ 182-3 [#75], Md. 58, 180 (pT \*t'ur-) || HS: CS \*dawar- 'sojourn, abode, place to stay, dwelling place', S \*dawᵛar- 'dwelling place, camp site' and CS \*ḍwr (\*-dŭr-) v. 'dwell (wohnen)' (× N \***dŭr**∇ 'camping-site, abode', q.v. ffd.) ¶ S \*dawar- goes back probably to earlier \*\*daʔu'r- || WCh \*ḍr 'stand, stop (remain standing)' > AG \*ḍár > Su {J} ḍár 'stehenbleiben, bleiben', Kfr {Nt.} ḍár v. 'stay, stand', Ang {Flk.} d̄ār id., Mpn {Frz.} ḍár 'stand' (living beings, trees), 'stand up' || Ngm ḍire 'stand, stay' || Fy {J} ḍar 'stand' ||| ECh: Mu {J} ḍár 'rester debout', {Lk.} 'sich hinstellen, stehen', Mjl {DB} ḍéyrù, Kwn {J} jèrè 'stand' ¶ JI II 304-5, Stl. ZCh 174 [#269], J S 62, Nt. 9, Flk. s.v. d̄ār, Frz. M 14, ChC, Blz. EChWL #78 || D: SD \*tar- 'stop, stand still' > Tm tari id., 'rest, abide', Kn tarahara n. 'staying, exercise of patience, forbearance', Tu tariyuni 'stay, stop' ¶ D #3094 ◇ Ch \*ḍ- and T \*t'- < N \***d** + \***ʔ**; D \*-r- is a reg. reflex of \*r-clusters (here N \*-ʔur- > \*-ʔr- > D \*-r-) ◇ Alternatively, we may reject the S cognate \*dawar- and adduce SES \*ḍṛh > Jb C {Jo.} 'ẓ̌tṛh v. 'stay, stop, cast anchor' (Jo. M

412). In this case we have to reconstruct N **\*t̥r̥X̥**, but the problem of the vowels (\*a in Ch and D, \*u in T) will be harder to solve.

**560a. \*degar** 'hill, summit' > **HS**: B **\*drār-** (< **\*\*d<sub>u</sub>raHr-**) 'mountain' > Ah a-drar, Shl, Tmz, Shnw a-drar, Kb a-drar (pl. i-durar), Rf, SrSn, Izn a-drār, Nfs drar, Gd adurar 'mountain', Si a-drar id., 'hill' ¶ NZ 371, Fc. 234, PGG 42, Dl. 153, Ren. 308, Lf. II #0305 || S: SES **\*√d̥r̥** > Jb C 'daṽṽr 'top, edge, point', Mh dṽṽ'rayr (pl. dṽṽrōr) 'point, summit, peak' ¶ Jo J 35, Jo. M 65 || ?EC: Bss {Bnd.} tarra 'mountain' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} deriya, Zl {C} daryā, {Mrn.} darya, Gf {AlA, Mrn.} dere, Hrr {CR} darē, Malo/Oyda {Fl.} dere, Cha {C} derā, Kcm {LmS} dare 'mountain', Gm {LmS} dare 'mountainous country' ¶ LmS 348, C SO 29, 43, C SE III 166, CR H 644, Fl. OWL. AIA ODS 8, Mrn. O 140-1 || **D**: SD: McTm **\*tēri** > Tm tēri 'sandhill', Ml tēri 'hillock' ¶ D #3461 || **A**: T jar ({Md.} **\*jār**) 'steep bank, ravine, cliff' (× N **\*z̥'a'ḥ<sub>r</sub>** 'low place, valley', q.v.) > OT jaṽṽr ({Cl.} jār) 'a vertical bank of a river eroded by water or a gorge cut through a mountain side by water', Tk ɟar, Qmq, Nog jar, Ln jay 'precipice', Tkm žar, ET ja(r) 'ravine', Alt žar, Xk čar 'steep ravine (яp)', Qq žar, Qrg, Uz žar id., 'precipice, steep bank', Qzq žar 'ravine, steep bank', Chv L ɟыр śir 'precipice, steep bank', ? Yk sīr 'small hill, a height' ¶ Cl. 953-5 (OT jār with a long vw. on the basis of the Arabic spelling), ET J 17-8, 135-7, Rs. W 188-9, Jeg. 219-20, 225, Fed. II 139, 155-6, Md. 99, 160, TrR 912, Fed. II 155-6, Pek. 2475 ◇ SES **\*√d̥r̥** suggests the presence of the cns. **\*g** in the N etymon. T **\*a** (that cannot go back to N **\*e**) may be explained if the N etymon was **\*degar**. This rec. suggests that D **\*-r-** (a reg. reflex of N **\*r-** clusters) goes back to a cluster **\*-Hr-** from N **\*gar-**. B **\*drār-** (< **\*\*d<sub>u</sub>raHr-**) suggests a mt. in the prehistory of B ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #111a (incl. B, C, Om, T, and D), Blz. DA 161 [#90].

**561. \*dä<sub>u</sub>R** ⇨ **\*da<sub>u</sub>RE** 'be(come) stiff/firm' > **HS**: S **\*√drr** 'robust, strong' > Ar darīr- 'fort, robuste, et aux chaires fermes et compactes' ¶ BK I 682 || **U**: FP **\*tar** 'get stiff with cold' (< **\*\*därâ** due to the vw. harmony or from the original **\*\*darä**) > Er tarde- 'get stiff with cold, be chilled' ¶ Prm {LG} **\*tur-** > Z turav- v. 'get stiff with cold', ? turdī- id., 'be frozen' ¶ UEW 792, LG 287, ≠ Lt. 217 (connects the Prm √ with F turtua v. 'get stiff') || **A**: M **\*dereyi-** v. 'become stiff' > WrM derei- id., HIM дэрий-х {MED} id., {Luv.} 'be stiff anf stick out' ¶ MED 253, Luv. 170 || ? NaT **\*jarp** (× N **\*yoR**(-b) 'firm, strong, hard' [q.v.]) > OT jarp 'firm, solid' ¶ Cl. 957 || **IE**: NaIE **\*dh<sup>r</sup>ī<sup>r</sup>-** / **\*dher-**

'firm' ({EI} \*d<sup>h</sup>er- 'be immobile; support, hold up') (×IE \*d<sup>h</sup>er- v. 'hold' < N \*dar<sub>1</sub>√H<sub>1</sub>√ 'hold, hold fast, fasten') > OI 'dhīraḥ' 'firm, steady' || L firmus, EpL fīrmus 'firm' || AS darian 'be motionless, lurk' || Arm ηωηωπηυ dadarem 'become quiet, stop' || Av dārayat 'holds fast' ¶ M K II 105, P 253, EI 270, WH I 505-6, ≈ Sl. 373-4 ◇ NaIE \*ī suggests the presence of a N \*y (lost in S, A, and FU).

**562. \*derʔ<sup>i</sup>** 'thrust back, drive away' > HS: S \*√drʔ > Sr √drʔ G 'thrust back (so.)', Ar √drʔ G 'éloigner, chasser (qn.)', L (pf. dāraʔa) 'repel (so.)', Sq {L} ʔedre 'chasser', Ak OB/YB {Sd.} durruʔ 'abstoßen (?)' ¶ BK I 685, Hv. 200, L LS 135, Sd. 178, DRS 306 || Eg fP dr, Eg MKL dr ~ dʔr 'entfernen' ¶ EG V 473-4 || NrOm: Kf {C} dar- 'drive away', 'divorce (a wife)' (unless ← Ar √dhr 'drive away') ¶ C SE IV 433 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ C) Af {R} daʕar- 'wegschicken, fortschicken', likely to be connected with Af {PH} daʕār- 'go, leave' (PH 77); neither should we adduce Ar √dhr G 'drive away' and Gz √dhr G 'divorce' ¶¶ OS #660 || IE: NaIE (+ext.) \*d<sup>h</sup>rej<sub>1</sub>b<sup>h</sup>- 'drive away, push', {EI} 'drive' > Gmc: Gt dreiban id., OHG trīban 'to push, to expel', NHG treiben 'to drive, to expel', OSx drīvan, AS drīfan id., NE drive || ?σ Lt drēbti (prs. drebiū) 'to throw down (a thick liquid)' (unless ← drībti 'to fall, to drop') ¶ P 274, EI 170, Fs. 124-5, Ho. 77, Ho. S 13, OsS 953, Kb. 1032, KM 788, Sw. 44, Frn. 104 || D (in SD) \*tēr- ({ʔGS} \*d-) 'drive (away)' > Tu dēru- 'drive, drive away', Kdg doʔt- ʔ deʔt- ʔ dʔt- 'drive away (cattle, persons)', Ml tēruka v. 'attack, pursue' ¶ D #3472 ◇ D \*-r- (a reg. reflex of N \*r-clusters) and S \*ʔ suggest the presence of a N lr.

**563. \*d<sup>i</sup>ʔ<sup>i</sup>r<sub>1</sub>ʔ<sub>1</sub>√** 'dirt' > HS: S (+ext.): Ar √drn G (ip. -dran-) v. 'be dirty', darin- 'dirty', ? Tgr {DRS} dərə 'éruption cutanée' ¶ BK I 693, DRS 315 || Ch: WCh: Jmb adʔri 'dirt' || ECh: Kwn {J} dórúwó 'dust' (cp. N \*ʔox|qUry√ ~ \*ʔUx|qʔ√ 'dirt; be dirty') ¶ ChC, ChL, ≈ Stl. ZCh 253 [#71] || IE: NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>er-(k-), \*d<sup>h</sup>er<sub>1</sub>-/\*d<sup>h</sup>re<sub>1</sub>- 'defecate; faeces' > L foria pl. 'Durchfall (bei Schweinen), dünne Exkremente', forī- 'defecate' || Gmc.: ON dríta, Ic, Far, NNr drita, Dn drite, NLG drīten, AS drītan 'to defecate', OHG trīzan 'to urinate', NE drite; OHG trīz- stuoł 'chamber pot, Nachtgeschirr' || Mcd (?) [Hs.] δαρδάνει · μολύνει ('he stains, sullies') || Lt deřk-ti (prs. derk-iū) 'mit Unrat besudeln, den After leeren' || ? Sl driskati (d. with \*-sk-) ~ \*dristati 'to have

diarrhea' > SCr, Slv drískati, Slv drístati, Cz dřístati, Slk drístat', РΔ drzystac', R дрискать, Uk дрискати id., Blg (1s prs.) дрискам 'I have diarrhea' ¶ P 251, 256, WH I 527-8, Vr. 84, Ho. 78, Kb. 1035, ESSJ V 116 || D {tr., †GS} \*tur- > Tm turu 'rust, verdigris, flaw', turicu 'blue vitriol', MI turísu id., turumpu, turuvu 'rust', TI t(r)урпу 'rust' ¶¶ D #3343 ◇ The D cognate suggests a N \*r-cluster (\*r + Ir.?). The only N lrs. liable to be lost in S are \*ʔ and \*h (\*ʔ|h = \*ʔ of our notation) ◇ BmK 266-7 (S, IE, D) ◇ Cf. N \*t̥Ur<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>y∇ 'litter, dirt, dust' (q.v.).

**563a.** <sub>2</sub> \*dAr<sub>1</sub>∇ 'ashes' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} \*dar<sub>1</sub>- id. > Or dār-ā, Kns {Ss.} tar-a, Gato {Fl.} tara, Gdl {Ss.} terʔ-ata ({Bl.} terḍ-ata), Brj dār-a, Gwd, Hr, Gln tar<sub>1</sub>-o || SC: Irq {MQK} darara, {Wh.} dářárítôʔo (pl. dářára) id. ¶ Ss. PEC 16, Ss. EDB 51, AD SF 205, Bl. 207, MQK 24 || Ch: WCh: Dr }J} duḍá 'ashes' (unless from N \*t̥üt̥'a' 'dust, ashes') || ? ECh: Kwn {Mch., J} d'rwz 'ashes' (unless from \*√dbr, see Tmk dëbër, Smr, Nd dëbriń id.) ¶ JI II 4-5 || ??σ S: Ar duřr-, duřr-at- 'pourriture (du bois)' ¶ BK I 700 ¶¶ HSVA #314 (EC, Ar √dřr v. 'smoke\steam\rot') || D (in GnD) \*otaramp- ({†GS} \*d-) 'ashes' > Ku darmbu ḍ darambu ~d<sup>h</sup>armbu 'ashes', Mnd nīy-darambu id. (nīy- < D nīr- id.), Png (← Mnd?) darmu id. ¶ D #3092 ◇ This etl. connection was discovered by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #4e); see also Blz. LNA #9.

**564.** \*dar<sub>1</sub>∇H<sub>1</sub>∇ 'hold, hold fast, fasten' > IE: NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>er(ə)- v. 'hold, hold fast, hold up', {P} 'halten, festhalten, stützen', {EI} 'hold up' (× N ?? \*dä<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>R∇ ~ \*da<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>RE 'be[come] stiff/firm') > OI dhārayati 'holds, bears, preserves, keeps' (pfc. dā'dhara, pp. dhṛ'taḥ), Av vī-ḍāraye'ti 'supports' (pp. dər<sup>ə</sup>ta-), OPrs dārayāmiy 'ich halte', Sgd ḍ<sup>ə</sup>r 'hold', Oss darʒn v. 'have (domestic animals); support (a family); wear', OI dhārūṇa 'haltend, stützend', dhar'tar ~ 'dharitar 'Halter', dhar'tra- 'Halt, Stütze', Av darəpra- 'das Festhalten, Begreifen' || Gk θράομαι 'be seated' (← 'be supported'), θράνος 'bench, form' ({F} 'Tragbalken, Bank, Schemel'), Gk θρήσασθαι aor. inf. 'to sit down' ({F}: ← '≈ sich aufstützen, sich aufstemmen'), Gk θρόνος 'a seat, chair', θρήνυς 'footstool' || L frē-tus 'relying on', Um FRITE (abl. or loc.) 'fretu, fiducia', ?σL firmus (~ EpL fīrmus) 'firm, strong' || Lt deréti / prs. derù v. 'be fit, suited', caus. darýti and Ltv darīt 'to do, to make, to prepare' ¶ P 252-4 (adduces here Ht



tarh- v. 'win', better explainable as belonging together with NaIE \*terā- v. 'win', F ABIV II 155-60), OsR 183, EI 270, M K II 100, Mn. 185-6, 198, FI 678-9, 686-7, WH I 505-6, Bc. G 336, Frn. 83 || **U**: FU \*tartt∇- v. 'hold, seize' > F tartttu-, Vo tarttu- v. 'grasp, grip, seize' || OHg ≥xIII tart- 'hold, keep', Hg tart- v. 'hold' ¶ ≈ UEW 511-2 (\*tartt∇- 'steckenbleiben, klebenbleiben'), SK 1240, MF 616, EWU 1487 ¶ Cf. FU \*°tarka- > Er 'targa-(ms) 'take out, draw out' < N \***ṭaR∇**, \***ṭaR∇-H∇g∇** 'to drag, to pull' || **D** \*tar̥- ({ṭGD} \*t-) v. 'fasten, stick' (× N \***dAr∇** 'have a suitable size') > Tm tar̥u v. 'wear tightly as a cloth, fasten', Ml tar̥ayuka v. 'be fixed', t̥ār̥u 'wearing clothes tucked in', Td tar̥- v. 'get stuck (in mud)', Tu tarapuni, tarpuni v. 'rivet, fasten firmly', Tm tar̥upu v. 'join together, amass (wealth)', Ku dari 'next' (adv.) ¶¶ **D** #3142 || **HS**: C: SC ({E} \*dar- v. 'handle, make with the hands'): Kz ?σ,φ dāl- v. 'make, do, prepare', SC ⇨ Mb -dāra v. 'grip, hold' || Dhl dar- v. 'put (a lot of things)' ¶ ESC 166 ◇ The N Ir. \***H<sub>1</sub>** is evidenced by the IE vw. \*a (preserved in L ē). D \*-r̥- < N intervoc. \*-r-, suggesting the presence of a vw. between \*r and \*H ◇ ≠ BmK 307 (D, SC + \*÷ IE \*derg<sup>h</sup>- > Gk δρᾶσσομα v. 'grasp, clutch').

**565. \*dūr<sub>1</sub>∇h<sub>1</sub>∇** 'to deceive, (?) to outwit' > **HS**: CS \*dr̥? > Ar ✓dr̥? G (n. act. durū?-) 'sortir soudain et fondre sur quelqu'un' (se dit, e. g., d'une troupe qui attaque l'ennemi à l'improviste), Sb ✓dr̥? v. 'make a sudden assault on'; S \*°✓drh > Ar ✓drh G 'survenir à l'improviste, tomber sur quelqu'un' ¶ BK I 683, 693, BGMR 36, DRS 306, 312 ¶ In the variant ✓dr̥? the cns. ? < \*h (a rather typical case of weakening) || EC: Sa {R} dī'rāb 'a lie, libel, calumny', dī'rāb-it- v. 'lie', Af {PH} dirab / pred. dirāb-a 'falsehood, lie' ¶ PH 85, R S II 112-3 || **IE** \*d<sup>h</sup>wer(H)- > NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>wer(ə)- v. 'deceive, seduce' ({P} 'durch Täuschung, Hinterlist zu Fall bringen'), (+ext.) {P, E} \*d<sup>h</sup>reugg<sup>h</sup>- 'deceive' > Vd 'dhr̥u-ti-ḥ 'misleading, seduction', Av družaiti 'stiftet Unheil, betrügt', OPrs aduruḥīya ipf. 'he told lies' || L fraus, -dis 'deceit, deception, fraud', frūstra 'in error', frūstro, frūstor v. 'disappoint, deceive, trick' || OHG triogan, NHG trügen, betrügen, OSx driogan, bidriogan 'to deceive' ¶ P 276-7, EI 154, WH I 543-4, M K II 118-9, OsS 957, Kb. 1034-5, Ho. S 13, KM 784 || **U**: ? Sm: Slq: Ke/Ch/UO/B {Cs.} tuernar̥ v. 'steal', Tz {Hl.} t̥r-it-qo id., Tz B {Cs.} tuerennar̥ id. ¶ Cs. 150, 284, Hl. (p.c., 1976) || **D** \*tūr̥- ({ṭGS} \*d-)

v. 'slander, blame' > Tm  $t\bar{u}r\bar{u}$  v. 'traduce, slander', n. 'calumny, slander', Ml  $d\bar{u}r\bar{u}$  v. 'blame, slander',  $t\bar{u}r\bar{r}u\bar{k}a$  v. 'abuse, blame', Kn  $d\bar{u}r\bar{u}$  v. 'bear tales, report evil of others, blame', Kdg  $du'r\bar{i}$  'information laid against so.', Tu  $d\bar{u}r\bar{u}$  'aspersion, blame, reproach',  $d\bar{u}r\bar{u}ni$  v. 'accuse, complain, blame', Tl  $d\bar{u}r\bar{u}$  v. 'reproach, blame, censure', Kui  $doh\text{-}pa$  v. 'mention a name of so., cite, accuse, blame' ¶¶ D #3397, ≠ Km. 403-4 [#670] (reconstructs pSD  $*t\bar{u}r\bar{-}$  /  $-r\bar{r}\bar{-}$ , "ultimately to"  $*t\bar{u}\bar{-}$  +  $*-r\bar{r}\bar{-}$ ).

**565a.**  $_2$   $*darH\bar{\nabla}$  or  $*daHr\bar{\nabla}$  'path, way' > HS: EC: Ya {Hn.}  $d\bar{a}r$  'path, road', ? Sa {R}  $d\bar{o}r\bar{-}$  'follow' ¶ Hn. Y II 131-2, R S II 111 || WCh: Ywm  $der$  'road' || Krkr  $ndaru$ , Mh  $\dot{d}ore$ , Grm {ChC, ChL}  $ndar\bar{u}$  id. || My {Sk.}  $d\bar{e}r\bar{a}h\bar{i}$ , P {MSk.}  $d\bar{a}r\bar{h}\bar{i}$ , Mbr {Sk.}  $d\bar{e}r\bar{i}$ , Kry {Sk.}  $derahi$ , Jmb {Sk.}  $d\bar{a}r\bar{u}$  'road, path, way' ||| Ech: Jg {J}  $d\bar{e}r\bar{i}p$  'road' (× N  $*der\bar{r}'\bar{u}b\bar{\nabla}$  'way, path') ¶ Stl. ZCh. 172 [#248], Sk. NB 37, ChC, ChL ¶¶ OS #657 (HS  $*dar\bar{-}$  'road'; incl. WCh and Ya) ||| D  $*t\bar{a}ri$  ({ǵGS}  $*d\bar{-}$ ) 'way, path' > Tm  $t\bar{a}ri$ , Kn, Tu, Tl  $d\bar{a}ri$  'way, road, path', Kt  $a\bar{d}a\bar{r}y$  'road, path' ¶¶ D #3170 ◇ Blz. DA 163 [#105].

**566.**  $_2$   $*der\bar{r}'\bar{u}b\bar{\nabla}$  'way, path' > HS: WS  $*darb\bar{-}$  > Sr  $d\bar{a}r\bar{b}\bar{-}\bar{a}$  'road', Ar  $darb\bar{-}$  {BK} 'rue; chemin, route; défilé dans les montagnes', {Ln.} 'narrow pass', Jb C {Jo.}  $d\bar{e}rb$  'village street' ¶ DRS 307, BK I 684, Ln. 866-7, Jo. J 40 || Ech: Jg {J}  $d\bar{e}r\bar{i}p$  'road' (× N  $*darH\bar{\nabla}$  or  $*daHr\bar{\nabla}$  'path, way') ¶ ChC s.v. 'road' ||| D  $*teruv\bar{-}$  'road' > Tm  $teru$ ,  $teruvam$ ,  $teruvu$  'street, highway, public road', Ml  $teru$  'street', Kt  $tervi$  'neighbourhood', Bel  $teru$  'way', Tl  $teruvu$  'way, road, path' ¶¶ D #3422 ◇ D  $*-r\bar{-}$  (regularly from  $*r\bar{-}$  clusters) suggests the presence of an additional N cns. that was later lost in S (most probably, a N "weak" lr.  $*r$  or  $*h$ ).

**567.**  $*daRuga$  or  $*daRüga$  'tremble, shake' > ? HS: S: amb Ar  $درا\bar{g}$   $d\bar{a}ri\check{g}$  'tremblant' (se dit du timbre de la voix du chanteur), unless ← Ar  $درج$  ✓  $dr\check{g}$  G 'walk' ¶ BK I 685 ||| IE: NaIE  $*d^hr̥eug\bar{h}_1\bar{-}$  v. 'tremble, shake' > Lt  $drug\bar{y}̃s$  'fever', (here?) 'butterfly', Ltv  $drudzis$  'cold fever; fever' || Sl  $*dr\bar{y}g\text{-}a\text{-}ti$  (sę), {SPS}  $*d\bar{r}y\bar{g}ati$  'to tremble' > Slv  $d\bar{r}y\bar{g}ati$ , P  $d\bar{r}y\bar{g}a\bar{c}$  'to tremble',  $d\bar{r}y\bar{g}a\bar{c}$  'to hop, to skip', Slk, Cz  $\Delta$   $d\bar{r}y\bar{g}ati$  'to shake', OR, RChS rf.  $\Delta P\bar{Y}GATH CA$   $d\bar{r}y\bar{g}ati$  sę 'to tremble', R 'дрыгать 'to shake'; Sl  $*dr\bar{y}g\text{-}n\bar{q}\text{-}ti$  'to tremble' (mom.) > OR  $d\bar{r}y\bar{g}n\bar{u}ti$ , R 'дрогнуть, P  $d\bar{r}y\bar{g}n\bar{a}\bar{c}$ ; Sl  $*d\bar{r}y\bar{z}a\text{-}ti$  'to tremble' >

OCz *držěti*, *dřežeti*, P *držeć*, OR *drožati*, R *дро'жать*, Uk *дрижати* || ? Gk *τοιδρούσσω* 'shake violently', *τοιδρούκτρια* 'those shaking violently', *τοιδροούζω* 'quiver, shake' ¶ P 275, F I 852, Frn. 105, ESSJ V 137-8, 144, Vs. I 540-1, SPS V 43-5 || U: FU *\*tar(k)∇*- v. 'tremble' > [1] FP *\*tar∇* (< *\*\*tar∇∇∇??*) > Z *taržiti*- v. 'tremble' | Er *тарно-* *tarno-* id., 'quake', Mk *тапо-* *tarə-* id., vi. 'swing' | [2] FU *\*tark∇* > Z *tarkəd-* 'knock', vt. 'shake' || pObU *\*tārəy-* v. 'tremble' > pVg *\*tārəy-* > Vg: UL *tōrə-*, Ss *tōrə-* id.; pOs *\*tarəy-* > Os: Vy *tārəy-*, Ty *tārəy-*, K *torəy-*, Nz *tōriy-*, Kz *tōri-*, O *tāri-* id. ¶ LG 278, Ht. 189 [#647] || A: M *\*dorgi-* > WrM *dorgi-*, HIM *дорги-* 'tremble, shake, vibrate' ¶ MED 262 || Tg *\*dargja-* v. 'shake; threaten by shaking one's feast\hand' > Nn *darǵan* ~ *darglan* 'raise one's hand against so.', WrMc {Z, Hr.} *dargi-* 'tremble', *dargiya-* {Z} 'threaten by shaking one's feast, brandish a sword', {Hr.} 'ausholen (mit Faust, Schwert, Stock usw.)'; Tg *\*dergi-* v. 'tremble' > Ul *dərži-*, Nnd *dərgi-* ~ *žərgi-* id., Ewk *dərgi-* 'quiver (вздвогнуть), shake one's head' ¶ STM I 200, 237, Z 795-6, Hr. 181, Vas. 137 || ?φ pJ {S} *\*dúr-* 'shake, sway' > OJ *jur-*, J: T *yūr-*, K/Kg *yúr-* ¶ S QJ #826, Mr. 788 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #374 (A *\*dēru* 'shake, sway' > Tg *\*der(gi)-*, J) ◇ M *\*-o-* in *\*dorgi-* (for the expected *\*-a-*) may be due to the assimilative infl. of some labialized vw. (< N *\*u|ü*) of the next syll. in pA or ppA. The front vw. *\*e* in Tg *\*dergi-* suggests that it was influenced by a front vw. of the next N syll. (most probably *\*ü* > Tg *\*i*).

**568. *\*dæR'h'∇ga* ~ *\*dæR'h'∇k∇*** 'to walk, to run; way, path' > HS: S: [1] S *\*√dr̥g* > Ar *دَرَج* *√dr̥g* G 'walk', Ak *√dr̥g* G 'schreiten', *daraggu* 'path' | [2] CS *\*√dr̥k* v. 'walk, tread' (× N *\*d'o'í'∇, k∇* 'to tread, to trample', q.v.) > BHb *דרק* *√dr̥k* G (ip. *-d̥r̥k̥*) v. 'tread, press out (juice by stamping)', Ph/IA {HJ} *√dr̥k* G 'go (to), enter', Ug {OLS} *√dr̥k* G 'pisar, hollar (?)', Ar *√dr̥k* v. 'follow, pursue'; Cn *\*'dar<sub>l</sub>∇, k-* 'road, way' > BHb *דרק* *√d̥r̥k̥* id., Ug {OLS} *dr̥k* 'traficante (i)'; ?φ (× S *\*√dr̥k̥* > Ar *√dr̥q* G 'walk hastily') Ug {A} *√dr̥k̥* 'herankommen', Ug (AkSc) *dar̥ku* 'path' and {Grd.} *t̥dr̥k̥* n. 'tread, gait' ¶ KB 221-2, KBR 281, HJ 261, BK I 685-6, Hnr. 119-120, A #794, OLS 137, Grd. UT #708, DRS 308-9, 313-4 || ?? WCh: Kry {Sk.} *déràhí*, My {Sk.} *dâr hí* 'road' ¶ ChC, ChL || IE: [1] {E} *\*dʰregʰ-* 'run' > Lt {Fm.} *dróž-ti* 'ziehen, gehen', *dérž-ti* 'mit großen Schritten gehen', Lt *pa-dróž-ti* 'go\run away, scamper away', Ltv *drāz-t* 'rush, speed', {Fm.} 'sich

schnell wohin begeben, laufen' || Gk τρέχω 'run' (× IE \*tregʰ- 'run')  
 || [2] NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>dʰorag<sub>h</sub>- > pSl \*dǫrga 'road, way' > OR Δορογα 'way', R  
 до'пора, OCz, Cz, Slk dráha, P, LLs droga 'road', SCr arc dràga  
 'way', SCr dràga 'narrow gulf, ravine' || [3] ?σ NaIE \*dʰrogʰo-, {E}  
 \*dʰro<sup>g</sup>ʰo-s 'wheel' (× N \*doRkæ [~ \*doRgæ?] 'to bend, to turn, to  
 wrap', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 273, EI 640, EI 491 (on IE \*dʰregʰ- and \*tregʰ-), Bc.  
 #10.76, Frn. 106, F II 927-9, Thr. § 220, Slr. 301, ESSJ V 74-5, Bern. I  
 212, DbZN OSA 10-42 (on the acute intonation and the 1st accentual  
 paradigm in pSl and their IE origin), SPS IV 113-5 (\*drǫga 'wyzłobienie,  
 wgłębienie; bruzda wymyta przez wodę, wydeptana przez bydło, ludzi  
 lub jeźdźców', 'semita, callis', 'via, iter') ¶ Sl \*dǫrga has no plausible  
 direct cognates within the IE family. ESSJ V is right in rejecting all  
 earlier etl. hypotheses, but its own et. (repeated in EI 471) (← Sl  
 \*dbrga- 'to jerk, to pull, to pull out, to pinch' through the meaning of  
 \*dǫrga as 'a cleared one, расчищенная') is unc. || A: M \*derkEre-  
 'ε run quickly' > WrM derkire- v. 'run, race', Kl derkṛ-ḫə ~ derkḷ-ḫə  
 '(schnell, im Fluge) rennen\fließen, um die Wette rennen', Ord  
 der<sup>h</sup>xere- 'aller l'amble ou d'un pas rapide' (of donkeys and mules) ¶  
 MED 253, KW 89, Ms. O 141 || ? pKo {S} \*tλrṛí > MKo tλrṛí {S} 'ride  
 quickly', NKo talli {MLC} v. 'run (canter, gallop)' (of a horse), 'run,  
 rush, hurry' (unless an iter. from \*tλd- 'run') (< the A √ in question ×  
 pA {DQA} \*t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>o</sup>r(g)i- 'quick, swift', F.DQA #2394 and N \*tE<sup>h</sup>rgE 'run')  
 ¶ S QK #511, Nam 141, MLC 405 ◇ Cp. also D \*teruv- 'road' (D  
 #3422), but on the ev. of its \*-v- it is more likely to be akin to Ar darb-  
 'rue; chemin, route', 'narrow pass' (see N \*der<sup>h</sup>ʷ<sup>h</sup>ub<sup>h</sup> 'way, path').

569. \*d<sup>h</sup>R<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>∇g|K<sup>h</sup>∇ 'sediment (in food), refuse' > IE: NaIE  
 \*dʰeragʰ- 'sediment, residue' > L fracēs 'dregs of oil, olive-cake' (WH:  
 < \*dʰrak-s ← \*dʰerēgʰ- [= \*dʰrēgʰ-/\*dʰeragʰ-]) || Lt Δ dragēs  
 'sediment of fat from cooked smelt fish', {Frn.} 'was sich beim Kochen  
 des Stints zwecks Trankgewinning am Boden absetzt', 'yeast', Pru  
 dragios 'yeast', Ltv Δ dradži (← Cur) 'sediment in melted butter' ||  
 Sl {ESSJ} \*droždž-a, -i. \*-bje > OCS ДРОЖДНѦ droždije f. pl. 'leaven,  
 yeast', Blg † 'дрождие id., SCr droždja 'residue, husks', Slv drožje, P  
 drożdże, OR ДРОЖДН droždje, R 'дрожжи 'yeast' || Gmc {Vr.}  
 \*dragjō > ON dregg 'yeast' (→ ME dreg(ge) > NE pl. dregs), Sw  
 drägg 'yeast', d. Gmc \*drahsta > AS dræst, dærst(e) 'leaven', pl.  
 'dregs, lees' (> NE † pl. drasts 'dregs, lees'), OHG trestir pl.  
 'husks', NHG Trester pl. 'residue of brewery and grape-pressing' ||

pAl {O} \*dragā > Al G drâ, -ni, StAl T dra, -u 'waste residue left from melting butter; dregs, lees, sediment' ¶ P 251, EI 170 (IE \*dʰrogʰ-'dregs'), WH I 539, EM 251, Vr. 82, Hlq. 157-8, Sw. 40, Ho. 69, Kb. 1031, OsS 953, KM 789, Frn. 100, En. 162, Tp. P A-D 363-5, ESSJ V 128-9, Kf. 85, FGjSSh 365, AlbED 179, O 71 || K: G durdo 'sediment in wine' (as. from \*durg∇?) ¶ Chx. 325 || A: M: WrM zirig 'litter of grass\leaves under an animal being flayed' ¶ MED 1080 || ?σ T amb \*jogurt (mt.) > OT {DTS} [MhK] joʔurt ~ OT [QB], BdUig joʔrut, OT {Cl.} juʔrut 'coagulated curded milk', Tk ʔoğurt, Tkm, Osm joʔurt, SY joʔurt ~ juʔurt, Az joʔypɹɹ, Qmq juwurt, Nog juwirt, QrB žuwurt, Qrg žūrat, Sg {Rl.} čōrt, Yk sūōrat id. ¶ Belongs here unless it is from A \*zūk'o 'rotten, turbid' < N \*žUqU 'putrefy, turn sour, spoil, become turbid' (q.v.) or derived from T \*juʔur- v. 'knead (dough, etc.)' ¶ DTS 270, Cl. 905-6 (derives juʔrut from juʔur- v. 'knead [dough]' - hardly convincing), ET J 207-8, Rl. III 542, 2020.

**570. \*doRkæ (~ \*doRgæ?)** 'to bend, to turn, to wrap' > K: pGZ {K} \*dreḳ-/driḳ-/derḳ- v. 'bend, bow' > OG dreḳ-/driḳ-/derḳ-, G dreḳ-/driḳ- v. 'bend, curve', Mg dirak-/diriḳ-/dirḳ- 'bend, stoop', Lz draḳ-/driḳ-/druḳ- 'bend' ¶¶ K 74-5, Chik. 270, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 42 (\*dr-ek-/dr-ik-/dr-ḳ-) || IE: NaIE \*dʰerǵʰ-/dʰorǵʰ-/dʰrǵʰ-/dʰreǵʰ-/dʰroǵʰ- v. 'turn' > ?σ NPrs {Sg.} دَرَز dārz 'seam, suture', دَرِزَة dārze 'a rent in a garment which has been seen' ||| Arm դարձամ daṙnam (< \*darznam) (aor. դարձայ daṙzay) vi. 'turn, turn about, return' ||| pAl {O} \*dreza > Al dredh (aor. drodha) v. 'twist, spin, curl' ||| ? NaIE \*dʰrogʰo- 'wheel' (× N \*dæR'h'∇ga ~ \*dæR'h'∇k∇ 'to walk, to run; way, path') > Gk τροχός 'wheel' (× ← τρέχω 'run' < IE \*tregʰ- id.?) ||| OIr droch 'wheel' ||| Arm դուրդն duṙgn 'potter's wheel' ¶ P 258, 273, Sg. 511-2, Horn 122, Thr. § 220, AlbED 179-80, O 73, Slit. 301 || HS: S \*✓drk ~ \*✓drḡ v. 'roll, wrap' > Ak OA ✓drk v. G 'pack (cloth)', Ar درج ✓drḡ G v. 'roll' ('rouler\ployer [étoffe, papier]'), Sh (pf. ʔadrağā) 'rouler, ployer', durğ- rouleau de papier, pli', Tgr ✓drḡḡ (pf. dergēḡe) v. 'make roll down, roll away, ?? Jb C 3'durg v. 'wrap in a white cloth, enshroud' (× d. from a noun for 'white cloth', cp. Mh darg 'white cloth') ¶ BK I 685-6, Sd. 163, Jo. J 40, Jo. M 73, LH 523, DRS 309, 314 || A: NaT \*jörgä|e- v. 'wrap' > OT Jörgä- v. 'wrap up, swaddle', Tki Jörgä-, Ln jöjgö-, Tv čörǵe-, Yk sörö- v. 'wrap', ET Jörgö- ~ jögö- id., Δ jürgē- id., v. 'pack, roll, wind (a string\rope)' ¶ Cl. 965-6, DTS 276, ET J 234-5, Jr.

162, Rl. III 449 ◇ IE \*ǵʰ and the cns. \*ǵ in S \*√drg and in NaT \*jörgä|e-point to the variant \*doRǵæ of the N etymon. Another possibility is that the Ar verbs are derived from durǵ-, and the latter is akin to Mh darg 'white cloth' and does not belong to the etymon in question. S \*k is a case of reg. de-emphatization ◇ □ ≠ BmK 272-3 (\*dar-/\*där- v. 'bend\|twist\|turn' reconstructed by "kernel comparison" between IE, K, and S (\*√drg v. 'wrap') with arbitrary truncating the third cns. and with untenable adduction of IE dʰregʰ- v. 'run' and S \*√drg v. 'go', that belong to a different etymon - F N \*dæRʰʷga ~ \*dæRʰʷk (↑)).

571. \*durʷ 'camping-site, abode' > HS: S (× N \*daʷurʷ 'to stand, to stay'): S \*daʷa, r- 'camping-site, abode' > BHb דֹר dōr 'tent-camp, dwelling-place', Md daura 'home, abode, dwelling', Ak dūru 'Stadtmauer, settlement', Ug {A} dr 'house, dynasty' (but Ug {OLS} dr 'círculo, agrupación, cabildo' does not belong here, but is connected with S \*daʷr- 'circle'); CS \*daʷar- 'sojourn, abode, place to stay, dwelling place' > Ar دَار dār- 'Haus mit Hof', {BK} 'demeure, séjour; habitation, lieu habité où il'y a plusieurs maisons ou tentes', Sr دَار dār- 't-ā 'domus, domicilium'; CS \*√dʷr (\*-dūr-) v. 'dwell (wohnen)' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JEA, SmA, Sr, Amr √dʷr G id. ¶ KB 208-9, KBR 217, A #785, Js. 288, Sl. 321, DM 99, BK I 748, Hff. 183, G A 18, Br. 147, DM 99, DRS 239-41 || B {Pr.} \*(-)ddʷr- (< {Pr.} \*√ʷ|wʷdr) v. 'live' (< \*'dwell?') > Kb əddər, Mz, Izn, SrSn, Rf, Shw {NZ}, Gh, Ah, Ty, ETwl əddər, Gd {Lf.} əddər (pf. iddər), Tmz {MT} ddər (pf. idir), Izd {Mrc.} ddər (pf. iddər), Sll {Ds.} əddər (pf. iddər), Si əddər (pf. iddər) 'vivre'; B \*taddārt (< {Pr.} \*ta-ʷ|wʷdār-ʷ|t) 'house, abode' > Gd {Lf.}, Wrg {Dlh.}, Tmz {MT} taddart 'maison, demeure', Mz {Dlh.}, Nf {La.} taddart, Izd {Mrc.} taddart (pl. taddərwin, tiydrin), Izn {Rn.} tiddärt, Rf Wr {Rn.} taddärt 'maison', Kb {Dl.} taddärt 'village' ¶ Fc. 226, Lf. I 243, II ##O298, O3O2, Dl. 151-2, Dl. VK #456, Dlh. M 31, Dlh. Ou 56, MT 70-1, GhA 25, Mrc. 160, 264, Ds. B 295-6, La. S 256, 312, Nh. 215, NZ 368-71 || ECh: Mkl {J} dārmā 'case au mur en terre cuite et toit de paille', EDng {Fd.} dārñè 'village', ???φ Kwn M {J} tār 'house', ? tār 'village' ¶ ChC, JI II 203, J LM 79, Fd. 183 || IE: NaIE \*dʰwor-/\*dʰur- 'courtyard, abode', {E} \*dʰworo-m 'enclosure, courtyard' > OI durō'na-m 'dwelling, home', Av accus. sg. dvarəm, loc. dvarə 'courtyard' (while accus. dvarəm 'gate' belongs to IE \*dʰwe(:)r- 'door' < N \*durʷ or \*dūrʷ 'hole, hollow', q.v.) || L forum 'market place, open square', Um FURO furu

id. || Lt *dvaras* 'estate, landed property, manor' | pSl *\*dvōr̥* / gen. *\*dvōra* (accentual paradigm B) 'courtyard, large house with courtyard, farmstead (усадьба)' > OCS *dvorъ* 'aula, οἶκος, domus', 'courtyard', OR **ДВОРЪ** *dvorъ* 'dwelling, house, farmstead, courtyard', Blg **ДВОР**, Slv *dvōr*, Cz *dvůr*, Slk *dvor*, HLs, LLs *dwór* 'courtyard', SCr *dvōr* id., 'palace, house', P *dwór*, R **ДВОР**, Uk **ДВІР** 'courtyard, farmstead (усадьба)', Plb *dör* 'farmstead' ¶ M K II 51, WH I 537-8, Bc. G 336, ≈ Frn. 112-3, ESSJ V 169-70, DbZN OSAS I 185-9, SPS V 130-4, Glh. 214-5, ≠ P 278, ≈ EI 168-9 (*\*d<sup>h</sup>woro-m* ← *\*d<sup>h</sup>wōr* 'door, gate') ¶¶ The connection of IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>wor-/\*d<sup>h</sup>ur-* 'courtyard' with IE *\*d<sup>h</sup>wē(:)r-* 'door' ('courtyard' interpreted as 'a place in front of the doors') (< N *\*dûR̥* 'log, stick' × N *\*dur̥* or *\*dür̥* 'hole, hollow') is secondary (popular et.) || A: T *\*jūr-t* 'camping-site, dwelling place, abode' > OT jurt id., MQp [CC], OOsm ≥XIV jurt 'dwelling place', Chg jurt 'residence, mansion', MQp XIII jurt 'stopping place, inn', Tkm *jūrt*, Tk *yurt* 'house, homeland, country', Az jurt 'house, tent', Xlj *jūrt* 'dwelling place', Nog jurt 'homeland', Uz jurt, Alt *žurt* id., 'country', Qq *žurt*, Qrg *žurt* 'country, people; abandoned camping-site', Qzq *žurt*, Tv *čürt*, Tf *ćürt* 'camping-site', Az jurt 'dwelling place, tent, house', Qmq jurt 'home, village', VTt, Bsh *jūrt* 'house', Yk *sūrt* 'camping-site, (land for) pasture', Chv L *śurt* 'house' ¶ Cl. 958, Rs. W 211, ETJ 254-5, TL 490-1, DT 230, Jeg. 221, Fed. II 144-5, Md. 68, Bich. 52 (on the origin of *ű* in Tv *čürt*), Ra.19, RI. III 548-51 ¶ *\*-rt-* < *\*\*-řt-* acc. to a law discovered by Helimski (Hl. TRN 71): pre-T *\*ř* > T *\*r* in preconsonantal position || D *\*toř(-)* ({GS} *\*t-*) 'cattle-stall, stable, pen for cattle' (× N *\*tū|urí* 'turn round, surround, enclose', q.v. ffd.) ◇ □D *\*o* (for the expected *\*u*) and the long *vw.* in the T root still need explaining.

572. *\*dûr̥* ▽<sub>g|q</sub> ▽<sub>g</sub> 'lamb, kid (of a wild ram, etc.)' > HS *\*d<sup>u</sup>r̥<sub>g</sub>* ▽<sub>g</sub> ▽<sub>g</sub> 'ram, sheep' ({Blz.} *\*duri* 'ram') > Om {Blz.} *\*dur-* 'sheep, ram' > NrOm: Wl {Beke} *dūrsa*, Wl/Zl/Gf/Cha {C} *dorsā*, Bdt/Zs {C} *dorō*, Oyda {Fl.} *duro*, *dorsa*, Zs {Fl.} *doro*, Bsk {Fl.} *dōri* 'sheep', She {C} *dor* 'ram' || SOM: Ari {Bnd.} *dertí* 'sheep', Dm {Bnd.} *dér* 'goat' ¶ C SO 29, 67, C SE III 166, Blz. OL #153, Bnd. AL 151, 158, Fl. AGC 681 || ?φ C: Bj {R} 'dirfin 'lamb' ⇨|⇨ Tgr **ԶԸԳ՝Ն** *dərfəɛn* 'lamb, ram' ¶ R WBd 70, LH 523-4 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *\*dvr-*, *\*dvr-gaši* 'ram' > Ron: DfB {J} *~dû:r*, Bks {J} *ʔa-~dûr* (pl. *~duráy*), Sha *dur* 'ram' || NrBc: Mbr {Sk.} *dargáži*, Jmb {Sk.} *tiržēži* 'ram' || CCh: ? Mtk {Sb.} *drək*, {ChL} *drək* id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl.

ZCh 172 [#251] || S: Ug  $\text{d}r\chi$  'mountain goat' ('cabra montés'),  $\zeta$  Ak {Sd.}  $\text{d}ar\text{iu}$  'Opferschaf' (not confirmed by CAD) ¶ Sd. 164, OLS 137 || K: G {Fn., Chx.}  $\text{dura}\check{\text{q}}\text{-}$  ~  $\text{dura}\check{\text{v}}\text{-}$  'yearly ibex' ({Chx.} 'einjähriger Steinbock'), {DCh.}  $\text{dura}\check{\text{v}}\text{-i}$  'junger Steinbock' ¶ Fn. SK 93 [#61], Chx. 325, DCh. 484 || D (in SCD)  $*\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}'\text{a}$  ({GS}  $*\text{d-}$ ) > Tl  $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$  'calf', Knd  $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{ra}$  id. ( $\leftarrow$  Tl?), Gnd  $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}$  'female young of buffalo' ¶ D #3378 ◇ Blz. KM 114-5 [#6] (NOm, Ch, K, D).

573.  $*\text{d}'\text{o}'\text{r}'\text{v}_1\text{k}\nabla$  'to tread, to trample' > HS: S  $*\check{\text{v}}\text{drk}$  'tread' ( $\times$  N  $*\text{d}\check{\text{a}}\text{R}'\text{h}'\nabla\text{ga}$  ~  $*\text{d}\check{\text{a}}\text{R}'\text{h}'\nabla\text{k}\nabla$  'to walk, to run; way, path?') > BHb  $\text{r}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{r}}$   $\check{\text{v}}\text{drk}$  G (ip.  $-\text{d}\bar{\text{r}}\text{o}\check{\text{k}}$ ) v. 'tread, press out (juice by stamping)', Ug {OLS}  $\check{\text{v}}\text{drk}$  G 'pisar, hollar (?)', Ar Mgr {DRS}  $\check{\text{v}}\text{drk}$  G 'fouler, bourrer', Tgy {DRS} pf.  $\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}$  'opprimer'; ? ( $\times$  S  $*\check{\text{v}}\text{dr}\check{\text{k}}$  > Ar  $\check{\text{v}}\text{dr}\check{\text{q}}$  G 'walk hastily') Ug {Grd., Hnr.}  $\text{t}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{r}}\check{\text{k}}$  n. 'tread, gait' ¶ KB 221-2, KBR 281, Hnr. 119-120, OLS 13, Grd. UT #708, DRS 313-4 || K (mt. and as. within the cns. cluster ["harmonic complex]): G  $\text{t}\bar{\text{k}}\text{er-}/\text{t}\bar{\text{k}}\text{ir-}$  'trample under foot, trample\tread down' ¶ Chx. 505 || D  $*\text{to}\bar{\text{r}}_1\text{i}_1(\text{kk})\text{-}$  ({GS}  $*\text{t-}$ ) v. 'tread, trample, kick' > Kn  $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}_1$ , Tl  $\text{t}\bar{\text{r}}\text{o}\check{\text{k}}\text{u}$  v. 'tread, tread on, trample, crush to pieces with the feet', Ml  $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}_1\text{k}\bar{\text{k}}\bar{\text{a}}$  v. 'kick, beat the breast from grief', Tu  $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}_1\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}$  v. 'kick, tread', {MBhK}  $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}_1\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}$  v. 'kick', Krg  $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}_1$   $\bar{\text{d}}$   $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}_1$  id., Ku  $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}_1\text{b-}$  v. 'trample, tread out grain' ¶¶ D #3522 ¶¶ The absence of the expected  $*\text{-kk-}$  in Kn, Tu, Krg, and Ku still needs explaining.

574.  $*\text{d}\nabla\check{\text{s}}\text{t}\nabla$  'moon' ( $\rightarrow$  'star') > K  $*\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\check{\text{s}}\text{te-}$  ~  $*\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\check{\text{s}}\text{te-}$  'moon' > OG  $\text{t}\bar{\text{w}}\text{i}\text{te}$ ,  $\text{t}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{e}$ ,  $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{e}$ , G  $\text{t}\bar{\text{v}}\text{e}$  'month' ( $\rightarrow$  Sv {Ni., GP}  $\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\text{w}$  'month'), G  $\text{m}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{v}}\text{are}$  'moon', Mg  $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{ta-}$ , Lz (m)  $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{ta-}$  'month, moon', Sv: UB/LB/L  $\text{d}\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{s}}\text{d-}\text{ul}$ , Ln  $\text{d}\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{t}}\text{-ul}$  'moon', UB  $\text{d}\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{s}}\text{d-}\text{i}\check{\text{s}}$  ~  $\text{d}\bar{\text{w}}\check{\text{e}}\check{\text{s}}\text{d}\text{i}\check{\text{s}}$ , LB  $\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\check{\text{s}}\text{d}\text{i}\check{\text{s}}$ , L  $\text{d}\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{s}}\text{d}\text{i}\check{\text{s}}$ , Ln  $\text{d}\bar{\text{w}}\check{\text{e}}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{t}}\text{i}\check{\text{s}}$  'Monday' ('lunae [dies]', lit. 'of the moon') ¶¶ K 75 ( $*\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}(\text{s}_1)\text{te-}$ ), K<sup>2</sup> 74 ( $*\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{te-}$ ), Chik. 270; FS K 107 and FS E 113-4 ( $*\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{te-}$ ), TK 197-8, Ni. s.v.  $\text{m}\bar{\text{b}}\text{s}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{z}}$ , GP 96-7, 106, Dn. s.v.  $\text{d}\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{s}}\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{l}$  and  $\text{d}\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{s}}\text{d}\text{i}\check{\text{s}}$  || U: FU (att. in FV)  $*\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$  'star; sign' > F  $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{h}}\text{t}\text{i}$  (gen.  $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{h}}\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}$ ) 'star', Es  $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{h}}\text{t}$  'star, sign' | pLp {Lr.}  $*\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}$  'star' > Lp: S {Hs.}  $\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{a}\text{s}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$ , Klt  $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}$  ; Kld  $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}$  ; T  $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}$  e id. | pMr {Ker.}  $*\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$  > Er  $\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\text{s}\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}$   $\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}$  'star', Mk  $\text{t}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{s}\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}$   $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$  'star, sign' | pChr {Ber.}  $*\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}\bar{\text{b}}$  'sign' > Chr H/YU  $\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$ , Chr M  $\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}$  id. ¶ UEW 793, SK 1472-3, It. #272, Lr. #1233, Lgc. #7752b, Hs. 406, Ker. II 167, Ber. 76 [#409] || HS: Ch: ECh: Smr {Lk.}  $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\text{s}\bar{\text{u}}$ , L {Grgs., WeibP}  $\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\check{\text{s}}\bar{\text{e}}$ , Kbl {Cp.}  $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{s}}\bar{\text{a}}$ , Skr  $\check{\text{c}}\bar{\text{i}}\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{o}}$  'star' || ? WCh: Diri {Sk.}  $\text{a}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{'s}\bar{\text{u}}$  id. ¶ ChC, Blz. EChWL #79 || ? SC: Alg {Wh., E}  $\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}\check{\text{c}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{?i}$ , Irq/Grw



{Wh.} çáçéři, Brn {Wh.} čičařiya, {E} čičaře 'star' (infl. of SC \*✓Č? {E} \*{a?} 'to light') ¶ Wh. IC 25, MQK 107. ≈ E SC 226-7 ◇ This etl. comparison (together with others) suggests a law: the pre-K clusters \*St (= \*st, \*št, \*št) yielded K \*št > G, Mg, Lz t, Sv šd (cp. also S \*šitaw- 'winter' ÷ K \*što<sub>l</sub>w<sub>l</sub>- v. 'snow' [-d→ \*što<sub>w</sub>l- 'snow'], S \*řaša'rat- 'ten' -b→ K \*ašt- 'ten', etc.).

**575. \*doTgiʔû** 'fish' > IE {EI} \*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>uH- > NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>ū- 'fish' > Gk ἰχθῦς id. (< \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>ū-, sc. mt. from \*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>ū-) || Lt žuvis, Ltv zivs, Δ zuvas id., with a \*k-sx.: Pru suckis ([z-]) id., accus. pl. suckans || Arm ʔánl<sub>l</sub>ý<sub>l</sub> ʔzukn 'fish' ¶ Acc. to Me., Lej., Schw., and Ch., the initial ʔ- in ἰχθῦς is of prothetic origin; acc. to Frisk, Arm -kn is a sx. ¶ WPI 664, P 416-7 (\*ǵhdū - \*ǵhyū), EI 205, Ch. 474, F I 745-6, Sl. 317-8, Frn. 1323, En. 258 || **HS:** CS \*'dag- or \*'da'wag- 'fish' > BHb ʔ<sup>l</sup>ʔ<sup>l</sup>dāg, Ug dg 'fish'; MHb -dūg- v. 'fish', BHb ʔ<sup>l</sup>ʔ<sup>l</sup>ʔ<sup>l</sup>ʔ<sup>l</sup>da<sub>w</sub>wā'g-īm pl. 'fishers', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ʔ<sup>l</sup>ʔ<sup>l</sup>ʔ<sup>l</sup>ʔ<sup>l</sup> dāgū'gā, {Lv.} ʔ<sup>l</sup>ʔ<sup>l</sup>ʔ<sup>l</sup>ʔ<sup>l</sup> dāgū'gīt 'fisher boat' ¶ KB 204-6, KBR 213, 215, A #725, OLS 130, Js. 279, Lv. I 376, Lv. T I 162-3, DRS 217 ¶¶ Cf. {Rö.} Eg XVIII/G ʔd<sub>w</sub> 'e fish' (EG I 237), but it is probably from N \*'a<sub>l</sub>U 'e fish' (q.v.) || **U** \*totke 'e a cyprinid fish' > Es tōtkes 'tench, Tinca tinca', F totke (in the n. l. Totkijärvi) || pMr \*tutk<sub>l</sub> > Er τυτκο tutko, Mk τυτκα tutka 'tench' || Chr: KB tat<sub>l</sub>, M toto id. || Vg T {Mu.} tāxt id., {Kn.} takt-kōl id. || Hg tat-hal 'a worthless fish; tench' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} tuti 'crucian carp, Carassius', Tur {Lh.} tūt<sub>l</sub>, Kt {Lh.} tutto, Tm {KD} tutä id. ¶¶ UEW 532, Coll. 63, Coll. CG 409, Sm. 550 (FU, FP \*totki, Ugr \*tāt<sub>l</sub>kī 'Tinca'), Ker. II 173, ERV 684, KKIH 189 || **A** {SDM95} \*dó<sub>l</sub>ki 'fish' > Tg {S} \*jog<sub>l</sub>yi 'Salmo lenoc' > Nn žoi, Ud žüi-so, Neg joyo id., Neg joyolan 'minnow, Phoxinus phoxinus' ¶ STM I 262, Krm. 235, S AJ 218 [#174] || M \*žiga-sun 'fish' > WrM žigasun, MM [MA] جفاسون žiřasun, [S, HI] ži-řa-sun žiřasun, HIM žagas, Kl zařas<sub>l</sub>, Dx žařasun, Dg žause, ShY žařas<sub>l</sub>, Mnr H {SM} žjāg<sub>l</sub>as<sub>l</sub> ¶ KW 463, MED 1050, Pp. MA 205, 439, H 89, Ms. H 67, SM 78, Mr. D 176, 269, Pot. 419, T 333, T DnJ 119 || pKo {S} thi ({Vv.} \*č<sub>l</sub>∇Hi) 'fish' in fish names: MKo kāmó-t<sub>l</sub>hi 'eel', NKo kamul-č<sub>l</sub>hi id., sam-č<sub>l</sub>hi 'mackerel' ¶ S QK #1147, Vv. AEN 9 || ?? pJ {S} \*<sub>l</sub>d<sub>l</sub>íwuá, {Vv.} \*<sub>l</sub>d<sub>l</sub>íwo 'fish' > OJ iwo, J: T ùo, Kg íwo, Sh íyu, Nk řyú, Ht yú, Y ñyú ¶¶ S AJ 265 [#27], S QJ #27, Vv. AEN 9 (suggests the Ko cognate, rejects the J one [because pJ \*-w- does not reflect A \*-g-], unconvincingly rejects the M reflex) ¶¶ DQA #2611 (A \*d<sub>l</sub>ági - -j<sub>l</sub>o- 'fish') ◇ The N cluster \*-

**Tg-** is likely to have been reduced to the reflex of N \*g in S, A, and IE  
 ◇ The M vowels \*i...a are puzzling (mt. of vowels?) ◇ IS I 219: S, IE, M (→ BmK 269: S, IE, M), AD SShS 303 (U, S, IE, M), MichMR 11-13 (they reject the FU cognate and reconstruct N \*digHU); F AD AltAD #14  
 ◇ AD NM #74, S CNM 7 (÷÷ Yn \*tʒʔg 'perch').

**576. \*daXw∇ (~ \*dawX∇?)** 'to press, to push' > **HS:** WS \*✓dhw id. > BHb ✓dhw|y G (pf. הָדָהּ dā'hā, ip. הִדָּהּ yī-d'hē) v. 'push (down)', JEA ✓dhy 'הָהּ G (pf. הָדָהּ dā'hā) id., Sr |א, ✓dhw|y G, JPA 'הָהּ ✓dhy v. 'repel, push', Ar ✓dhw G (pf. دَاهَا dahā) 'pousser violement en portant à quelqu'un un coup par derrière; jeter, lancer', Hrs ✓dhw G (pf. دهه dēhō) v. 'press (dates into a bag)' ¶ KB 210, KBR 218, Js. 291-2, Sl. P 142, Br. 148, Fr. II 13, BK I 676-7, Jo. H 34, DRS 244 || **IE:** NaIE \*d<sup>h</sup>o|aw- v. 'press' > Av दाव- 'drängen' || Gt {P} af-dojar\* (att.: nom. pl. pp. af-dauidai 'ἔσκυλλμένοι, geplagt, angehetzt') (a controversial interpretation) || Sl \*davi'ti 'to press' > OCS ДАВИТИ davi-ti / prs. ДАВЛѦ davljq, R давить / давлю, Uk давити, P † dawić, Slk dáviti', SCr, Slv dáviti 'to press, to strangle', Cz dáviti id. (dáviti 'he vomits'), Blg давя v. 'suffocate, oppress' ¶ P 235, EI 150, Brtl. 687, Fs. 4, Vs. I 481, Glh. 190, ESSJ IV 198-9, ≠ EI 150 (OCS davi-ti 'strangle' < IE \*d<sup>h</sup>e<sub>u</sub>- 'die') || **A** (≈ \*dab- (× N \*dap<sub>L</sub>∇, y∇ ~ \*dayop∇ 'to push', q.v.): > M: [1] \*dabta- v. 'forge, rivet' > MM [S] dabta- vt. 'hammer', dabtamal 'gestampft', WrM dabta- v. 'forge, beat', {Kow.} vt. 'battre, forger, aplatir', HIM давта-, Brt дабта-, Kl давт- v. 'forge, rivet', WrO dabta- 'strike repeatedly, forge'; M → WrMc dabta- id. ¶ MED 213, Kow. 1609-10, H 30, Krg. 537, KRS 175, Chr. 179, Z 784 | [2] \*dabi- v. 'spur on a horse' > WrM dabi-, HIM дави- v. 'spur on a horse', Ord d\_a'wi- 'frapper les pieds contre les flancs du cheval pour le faire aller plus vite' ¶ MED 212, Ms. O 130.

**577. <sub>2</sub> \*d'æ'w∇|g∇** 'wolf' or 'jackal' > **HS:** EC: pSam {Hn.} dawawo 'jackal' (× N \*ǰæ'w∇b∇ 'ε beast of prey [wolf or sim.]') > Sml {DSI} dawaw 'male jackal', dawawo ~ dawawo, Sml N dáwwaw(-ī) 'male jackal', dáwwawo (df. dawwawádī) 'female jackal', Rn {Hn.} do'wóho, {Oo.} do'wóho 'jackal', {PG} dōwwóhò 'black-backed jackal, Canis mesomelas' ¶ Hn. S 56, Abr. S 52, DSI 123, 139, Oo. 68, PG 103 || CCh: Msy {Mch.} mčáwā 'jackal' ¶ ChC || **A:** Tg: Ewk Sm dɜwɜɜɜ 'wolf' ¶ STM I 228.

578. \*d̥w̥<sub>1</sub>̥w̥<sub>2</sub>y̥ 'be ill\weak, die' > HS: WS \*√d̥w̥y (\*-d̥way-) v. 'be ill', \*da'way- 'sick' > BHb דַּוָּי dā'wē 'faint, sick', Ug {A, OLS} d̥w̥, Ar دَوَّى dawā-(n) 'sick', Ug {OLS} √d̥w̥y G 'fall ill', JA יָדַע d̥w̥y G (pf. יָדַעְתִּי d̥ā'wā) 'betrübt sein', {Js.} 'mourn', JA [Trg.] {Js.} יָדַעְתִּי d̥ā'way, JEA {Sl.} יָדַעְתִּי d̥āwā'yā, Sr E d̥āwā'yā 'grief', Sr √d̥w̥y|w G (pf. יָדַעְתִּי d̥ā'wā ~ יָדַעְתִּי d̥ā'wā) 'tristis\miser fuit, afflixit, anxit', Ar √d̥w̥y G (pf. dawīya, ip. -d̥way-), Gz √d̥w̥y G (pf. dawaya) v. 'be ill' ¶ KB 207, KBR 216, OLS 138, Lv. I 381, Js. 284, Sl. 317, Br. 143, PS 828-9, Fr. II 74-5, BK I 755-6, MiK I #2.12 || C: EC: Dsn {Fl.} דָּעַד 'die', {To.} דָּאָת 'dead' || IEC {AD} \*duʔ- v. 'die' > Or {Th.} du-a (nom. du-rni, du-ti) 'death', {Grg.} duʔ-a, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} du-a v. 'die', duʔa 'death', Kns 'tōta, Gdl 'toʔot 'death' || SC: Kz dīʔako 'sick person' ¶ Blz. DL s.v. 'die', To. DL 493, ≈ Bl. 108, 205 (LEC \*duʔ- with unj. \*ʔ), Th. 111, Grg. 110, Sr. 289, E K 5 || Ch: CCh {ChL}: HgNk דָּעָא, Kps דָּעָא 'fever' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} דַּעַע 'weak' ¶ ChL II 134, 154, Eb. 39 ¶ OS ##666, 684 ¶ In Ch there is an apparently similar √ for v. 'kill' (represented by Su {J} t̥ù, Ang t̥ù, Dr/Bl {IL} d̥ùw̥í, SBc {Sh.}: Zar K d̥ù, Zar L d̥ù, Zar GL d̥ù, Sy Zk d̥ù, Ds D -duyè-, Skr {Sx.} d̥ē, EDng {Fd.} d̥ē, Mgm {J} d̥íyáw, Mkl d̥áya, and Jg {J} d̥íyá v. 'kill' and partially adduced by Illich-Svitych [IS I 225]), but in view of the cognates with medial -k-, -k̥-, -ʔ̥-, -ʔ- (Krk̥r d̥ùk̥á, etc.) it should belong to N \*d̥úk̥'U' 'strike, beat' (q.v.) rather than here || IE \*d̥h̥ey-, d̥h̥we̥j̥<sub>1</sub>H̥<sub>2</sub>- v. 'die, faint', {ED} \*d̥h̥ey- 'die' > Gt diwans (< \*d̥h̥ew-ono-) 'mortal', OHG touwen ̥ tewen, OSx dôian, ON deyja (/ dó / dáinn), AS dīeʒan 'to die', NE die; Gt daups, ON dauðr, OHG tōt, NHG tot, OSx dôd, AS déad 'dead', NE dead; Gt daupus, OSx dôth̥+OHG tōd, NHG Tod, AS déað, ON dauð-r 'death', NE death; the meaning 'faint' is represented by ON dā (< Gmc \*dawa) 'Ohnmacht' || Clt: OIr díth 'end, death' (< \*d̥h̥w̥ītu-); ?σ Clt 'person' (if from \*'mortal'): OIr duine 'person' (< \*d̥h̥u-n-yo-) (pl. dōini < \*d̥h̥ewen-yo-), Brtt {RE} \*donjos 'person' > W dyn, OCm den, Crn dēn, OBr don ~ den, MBr, Br den id. || Arm դի di (gen. դիոյ dioy) 'corpse' ¶ P 260-1, EI 150, Fs. 118, 122, Vr. 71, 74, 76, Ho. 70, 73, Ho. S 12-3, Kb. 1025, OsS 942, 946-8, KM 780, 784, Sl. 299-300, LP § 22, RE 118, Flr. 149 || U: FP \*t̥w̥y̥ 'illness' > Z doy 'pain, bruise, trauma', Z US doy 'wound', Yz doy 'furuncle', Vt dey 'hernia' || Chr L туйо туйо 'sick' ¶ LG 95, MRS 505 ◇ The unexpected glottalized ɖ in

Dsn and in some Chadic lgs. may go back to \*d∇?∇- < \*d∇w∇- (a hiatus-?), as attested in Or du?a and Kz di?ako ◇ IS I 224-5 (→ BmK 273).

**579. \*d<sub>l</sub>oy<sub>a</sub>** (> **\*da**) 'place (within, below), inside' (→ locative pc., 'in') > **HS**: C \*da 'place', \*-d<sub>l</sub>a<sub>1</sub>, locative > Ag: Aw {Hz., Plm.} -da 'in' (kani-dá 'on a tree' [direction], bɜtí-da 'in his land'), Bln {Hz., Plm., R} -d 'in, to' (loc.-dir. case) (R: 'dɛr b-ĩd 'auf dem Wege', ba'ɛ̄l-d 'am Festtage', lɛ bba'ka-d 'in the heart') ||| EC: Sa {R} -d 'in, into' (loc.-dir. case) ('ɛ̄r ē-d 'into\in the house', 'bā d-ad 'in the sea', 'dik-id 'in the village', san'dū k-ud 'into the box\chest'), Brj -ddi 'in' (dawa-ddi 'in the road'), ? Sd {Mrn.} -(t)te 'in' (an'ga-tte 'in the hand[ful]', do'gotte ~ do'gōte 'in the road') < \*-t-de with the feminine ending \*-t ||| Dhl {To.} da- 'in, at' ||| Bj {AD, TB} -da 'towards' (Bj A {AD} ?U ta'kīda 'to a man') ||| SC: Irq {E} di, Brn {E} da 'place', Alg {E} di 'places' ¶ AD SF 238, R WB 92, R S II 95, Hz. VS 75-6, Hz. AL 16-7, Mrn. NLB 357, E SC 191, To. D 152 || B: [1] \*d<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>1</sub> 'in' (preposition) > Ah, Ty, ETwl d 'in' (Ty {PGG} d-əs 'dans lui', Ah {Fc.}: mūsa j̄eqqīm d əsən 'Musa sits in them' [sc. 'among them'], tallit s̄ətt̄əfet u d əs tidawən 'le mois noir non dans lui ils se marient', sc. 'people do not marry in the black month', n̄əȳəq q ewa d ĩns̄ā 'je l'ai vu au lieu que dans il a été couché', sc. 'I saw him in a place that he was lying in'), Wrg di- 'in' (e.g., di-s 'en lui'), BMn di, BHlm dī 'in' (the forms di, dī may also go back to a compound preposition \*d∇-ɥ 'in', present as dəɥ in many B languages); \*d 'in' should be distinguished from its homonyms: B \*d 'with' (probably of different origin) and B \*d 'here' (pc. of proximity, belonging here only if it goes back to sth. like \*da ?e 'here', lit. 'in this') | [2] \*d, a directional (en)clitic 'to, towards' (after a verb or a chain of other clitics); in Tmz, Shl, Dmn, ASgr, Kb, and many other B lgs. the directional d is opposed to the ablative n 'from' (< N \*nu 'from, of', q.v.): Kb awi-d 'bring' ↔ awi-n 'carry away', Tz idda-d 'come' ↔ idda-n 'go away', Ntf əkšəm d 'come in' ↔ əkšəm n 'come out', Ah äns-äd 'lie down here' ↔ äns-īn 'lie down there'; in some other B lgs. (Shw, Shnw, Nf, Awj, etc.) this d is opposed to zero (ablative): Shw awi-dd 'bring' ↔ awi 'carry away', Nf as-d 'come' ↔ as- 'leave') ¶ Fc. 140-1, GhA 15, PGG 23, Dlh. Ou 44, Bs. ZOu 85, AiM 226-7, Ai. MCB 117-8, 208 [table 26], Pr. M I-III 208ff., NZ 266-8, ≈ 272 (\*d∇ 'in' < \*daɥ 'in'), AD BR § 1 || ? Eg N dɥ 'hier, da, dort' ¶ EG V 420 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 78 [#4.5] ||| **K**: [1] \*-da 'towards', directive

case ending > OG -da id., 'to X's place, chez' (dir., used with pronouns: šen čem-da moxvala 'do you come **to** me?' [Matth. 3.14], šen-da 'to(wards) thee', mowida ʏmertī tkuen-da 'God came **to** you' [Ex. 20.20]), Mg, Lz -da (directive case ending) (Mg čkim-da 'to(wards) me', skan-da 'to(wards) thee', škin-da ~ čkin-da 'to(wards) us', tkvan-da 'to(wards) you' pl.), Sv -d 'to(wards)': mišgwašw-d 'to(wards) me', išgwašw-d 'to(wards) thee' (reinterpreted as one of the variants of the polysemantic "circumstantial" case) ¶ [2] K \*-d, \*-ad, "circumstantial (adverbial) case", having many semantic variants, including directive > OG -d (betlem-d 'to Bethlehem', sion-d 'to Zion', adgil-d 'to the place', lot šewida segor-d 'Lot entered **into** Zo'ar' [Gen. 19.23], ganved vel-ad 'go out **to** the field!'), Lz -t (fossilized ending in some forms: o-χaparapu-t 'for a conversation', mo-d ~ mo-t 'what for?'), Sv -ad, ending of the polysemantic circumstantial (transformative) case, including the directive meaning: zi-ad 'nach oben, aufwärts', tχum-ad 'up to the summit'; this "adverbial case" has resulted from convergence of several ancient postpositions ¶ [3] GZ \*da- pv. 'downward' > OG da- id. (OG da-sxedir manda 'sit **down** there!' - Gen. 22.5), G da- {Chx.} pv. 'hunter, hunab', Mg, Lz pv. do- 'downward' ¶¶ K 43, 68-9, 78, K S 78-87, FS K 93-4, Fn. GAS 119, Ser. 44, Q O41, Marr 29, Dt. 14, Chx. 224, Imn. SBDzK 736, Test. S 5 ¶¶ IE: NaIE \*-dʰe, locative ending ('in') in adverbs: \*ku-dʰe 'where?' > OI kuḥa, GAv kudā, OCS КЪДѢ кѣде, Osc puf, Um pufe PUFÉ 'where?', as well as in other adverbs: OI i'-ha, Pali i-dha, OPrs iḍā 'here', OCS СЪДѢ сѣде 'here', ONЪДѢ онѣ-де 'elsewhere', Gk πρόσθε(ν) 'in front, before', ἔνερ-θ(ε)ν 'beneath, from beneath', ἰθα-γενής 'born here, indigenous', loc. of place names Ἰαλωπεκῆθε, Ἐλευσίνόθε ¶¶ NaIE \*-dʰi, locative ending > OI 'adhi 'on', Gk πόθι 'where?', ὅθι 'where' (rel.), τόθι 'there', οἰκοθι 'at home', οὐρανόθι 'in the sky/heaven', OL iβει, Libi 'where?', OL uβει, L uβι 'there' ¶ \*-i in \*-dʰi goes back to N \*-oy̯ (the IE zero grade of apophony) ¶ BD II/2 728-30, Bks. 220, M K I 249, F I 569-70, WH II 739-40, Bc. G 343, Pln. II 702, 752 ¶¶ A: [1] \*dō 'place, place within' > Tg \*dō 'inside' > Ewk, Lm, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn dō, Neg dō(n) 'inside', Sln dō 'heart', dō-lā 'inside, within' (place, direction), Ud {Krm.} dō, WrMc dō 'inside' ¶ STM I 209, Krm. 227 ¶ [2] A \*-da ~ \*-dU 'in', locative ending > T \*-ta / \*-tä (originally after cnss.), \*-ḍa / \*-ḍä (after vowels), loc. case ending > Chv -ta / -te (after cnss.), ra / -re (<

\*-δa / \*-δä) (after vowels), NaT \*-ta / \*-tä (generalization of the postcons. allomorph) > OT -da / -dä, (after stem-final l, n, r) -ta / -tä, Tk -da/-de (after voiced cnss. and vowels), -ta/-te (after vl. cnss.), Ggz, VTt, Bsh, ET, Kü -da/-dä/-ta/-tä, CrTt, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Xk, Shor, Tv -da/-de/-ta/-te, Tf -da/-dä/-ta/-te, Brb -da/-dä/-ta/-tä, (after stem-final n, ŋ, m) -na/-nä, Kr T -da/-dʲa/-ta/-tʲa, Az -da/-dä, Qrg/Alt (after vd. cnss. and vowels) -da/-do/-de/-dö, (after vl. cnss.) -ta/-to/-te/-tö, Trkm, Qmq, QrB -da/-de, Uz -da 'in'; on the ablative (> partitive) \*-ta / \*tä in Yk, OT, Xlj, and Az Δ *see* N \*t'ä 'away, from'; in Yk the locative meaning of the ending survived in the compound sx. -tā-ϣI (adj.) 'that in' ϣ pT \*t̥ < N \*d after cnss.; pT \*δ < N \*d between vowels ϣ Rs. MTS 61-2, Sev. KP 53-5, Gbn. AT 38, Gbn. ATG 88, IsxP 135, Ra. MTJ 31 || M \*-da/-de (locative-directive-dative case ending) > MM -da / -de, (rare after vl. cnss.) -ta / -te ([PP] šine-de 'at the time of the new moon', daruqas-da 'to the chieftains', [MA] širū-da 'into the earth', [S] merkit-ta 'to the Merkits [ε a tribe]), PCIWrM -da/-de (oracid-da 'to the physicians', c i m a - d a 'to thee'), HIM, Brt, Kl -dɔ / -dɔ̄ / -də / -də̄ / -tɔ / -tɔ̄ / -tə / -tə̄ (dat.-dir.-loc. case), Dg {T} -da / -de / -do / -d; in Classical WrM the form with -da/-de is not used, except for fossilized adverbs: ende 'here', tende 'there', urtuda 'for a long time', nasuda 'always', önide 'long ago'; in WrM and some new M lgs. this ending of loc.-dat. forms has been partially or completely replaced by the ending \*-du and the (compound) ending \*-dur > MM -du / -tu, Mgl, Mnr -du, Ord -du / -tu, WrM -dur / -tur (~ -du / -tu) ϣ Pp. IM 185-99, Snz. SG 164-8, Vz. 63-4, T DgJ 42-3 || Tg \*-du<sub>1e</sub> (dative case ending) ({Bz.} \*dua?) (× N \*rad∇ 'limit, edge'? → 'up to, until, towards', q.v. ffd.); Tg \*-du-lā (ending of loc.) (< N \*d<sub>1oy</sub>a 'place [within, below], inside' + N \*lA, locative pc.) > Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm -dulā, Orc, Ud, Ul -dula, Nn -dola; Tg \*-du-ki (ending of abl.) (< Tg \*-du<sub>1e</sub> + N \*k∇ 'out of, from') > Ewk -duk, Sln -duxi, Ud -digi, Orc -duy(i), Nn -duy) ϣ STM I 209-10, Ci. 256, Bz. 79, 83, Krm. 227, Y#2989, Kiy. 42, 93, Lg. IDT 14 || [3] pKo {S} \*t'ä 'place, inside' > MKo t'ä, NKo te id., {Rm.}: Ko t'ä 'place, site', idä < yə-d'ä 'here' (yə 'this'), čädä < čə-d'ä 'there' (čə < Ko N t'ə, tə 'that'), ədä < wə-d'ä 'where?' (wə < pKo \*mə 'what?') ϣ Rm. SKE 248, S QK #1057, Nam 147, MLC 454 ϣϣ The M ending \*-du, Tg \*dū, and Ko \*t'ä may be explained as going back to a hypothetical N \*d<sub>1oy</sub>a ϣϣ Rm. SKE l.c., Pp. IM 195 || U: Y T locative -da in qa-da

'where?', ta-da 'there' ¶ Krn. JJ 206-7 || ? FU: Os {KrT} -t (loc.): V/Vy/Ty k0-t 'where?', t3-t 'here, dort (nahe)' ¶ KrT 367, 967 || D: \*t̥t̥u, locative-ablative case ending (×N \*t̥ä 'away [from], from', ablative [separative] pc.), \*-tt̥ (loc.) > OTm \*(a)ttu (loc. case marker: parāna-ttu 'in the fields'), Tu -ṭi ~ -ṭu- ~ -ḍi ~ -aṭi ({Zv.} -ṭi ~ ḍi), Tu Br -ṭu loc., Knd -ṭo ~ -ṭo ~ -t(u) ~ d(u) (loc.-dir.: unṛi nāṭo soṛad 'it went into a village' - from nāṛu 'village', ḍokri gusil-du bastad 'the older woman sat on a stump'), Brh -aṭī 'in, into', Tl {Shanm.} -an-du 'in' (loc.: ūḍl-andu 'in the village'), Prj -t-i (-el-ti 'in': meram-el-ti 'in the jungle'), Gnd -te (loc.), Kui KK -ta (loc. case ending) ({BB} ḍeḍi-ta 'on a tree', neppi-ta 'on the shoulder') (unless from -t-a with the presuffix -t-, as in Ku kaḍḍa-t-a 'in the river', cp. kaḍḍaṇa-ṇ-a 'in the rivers'), Klm -t (loc.-dir.: eḷla-t 'in the house, into the house, pāl-t 'in milk') (unless < \*-t-a with the presuffix \*-t-) ¶¶ Shanm. DN 273, 310-1, 326, 330-3, 340, 348, 369, BB KKK 128, Zv. CDM 28-30, IS I 213, An. SG 220-1 (hyp.: the forms with gingival \*-t-~\*-tt- go back to the increment [presuffix of the oblique cases] \*-t-) ¶¶ The variant \*-tt̥ may go back to pre-D \*t̥t̥ < \*-d̥t̥ < \*\*d̥oṭ̥ < N \*d̥oṭ̥a ◊ N \*-y- survives in Ko as -ḷ, in IE \*-d̥h̥i as \*-i, in B as \*-i (Wrg -di, etc.), in Tg as the length of the vw. (in \*d̥ō) and possibly as \*-eḷ in \*-duḷeḷ ◊ IS I 212-4 (\*ḍa, locative pc.: HS [B, C], K, IE, D, A + qu. U ablative \*-ḍa/\*-ḍä), Gr. I 155-9 ("locative TA" in IE, U, A, ? Gil, ? Ai).

**580. \*d̥äṛ̥ṇ̥** (or \*d̥äṛ̥ṇ̥?) 'to strike' > HS: Ch \*√d̥l (×N \*d̥A|oí ḷṇ̥ṇ̥ 'to push?') > WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} ṣ̥il, {IL in ChC} ṣ̥ili 'mortar', Sir {Sk.} ṣ̥ilí id. | SBc: Gj {IL} t̥h̥ulí id. || ECh: EDng {Fd.} déḷḷ 'frapper' ¶ ChC, Fd. 187, JS 183, Sk. NB 32 || C: Dhl {EEN} ḍaṣ̥- v. 'split', {E} ḍaṣ̥- v. 'be split\ torn', {To.} ḍaṣ̥id-, {EEN} ḍaṣ̥ēḍ-, {E} ḍalēḍ- v. 'tear' || SC: Irq {E} ḍaṣ̥o 'crushed malt' ¶ E SC 188 (s.v. SC \*ḍaṣ̥- v. 'be split, crushed'), EEN 35, To. D 131 ¶ Dhl ḍ- still needs explaining (from \*ṭ̥-d- in an ancient prefix-conjugated form: \*ṭ̥-d- of 1s or perhaps \*ṭ̥-d- < \*yṭ̥-d- of the 3rd prs.); an alt. hyp.: N \*d̥äṛ̥ṇ̥ and Dhl \*ḍ < N \*d̥ṇ̥ṇ̥- || IE: NaIE (+ext.) \*d̥h̥eḷg̥h̥- v. 'strike, beat' > AS ḍolṣ, OHG tolc ~ tolg ~ dolg 'wound', NLG dalgen, daljen 'schlagen', MHG talgen 'kneten', NGr HsN/EP dalken ḍ talken 'prügeln, schlagen' || ?σ Gk θέλω v. 'enchant, bewitch' (← 'bewitch by striking', acc. to Hvr. W 190-4) ¶ P 247, Hofm. 112, Ch. 427, F I 658-9, Ho. 74, Kb. 1023, OsS 94, Lx. 224 || A \*d̥äḷeL- > M \*deled- v. 'beat, strike' > MM [S] delet̥(ḡu) 'schlagen', WrM delde- v.

'strike, beat, knock', КІ дєлд- 'strike; play (a musical instrument)', {Rm.} deld- 'schlagen, klopfen', Brt дэлдэ- 'beat, strike'; М \*deles- > WrM deles-, HIM дэлсэ- v. 'beat, hit, pluck; beat, pulsate', КІ дєлс- 'flutter' (of flaggs, etc.) ¶ Н 35, KW 85, MED 248-9, Chr. 216, KRS 197-8 || **Д** \*ta]- v. 'beat, knock, pound' (× N \*tAÍ∇ 'to tread, to pound', [in descendant lgs.] → 'to thresh', q.v. ffd.).