**751.** ι **\*ha**, deictic pronominal pc. ('ille', distal deixis) (↔ N **\*ḥ⸢e⸣** 'hic' [proximal deixis] ↔ N ι **\*⸢ḥ⸣i** 'iste' [or 'hic] ~ N ι **\*⸢ḥ⸣u** 'iste' [intermediate deixis?]) > **HS**: WS \*hā- > Ar hāδa 'this', (×N **\*Hañ∇** 'other'?) > \*han (~ \*⸢ḥ⸣al?) 'this' > df. art.: BHb ha- + gmc., Ph, M'b, Amn, Ed, Lh, Sf, Tmd h-, Hdr -hn, Sb, Mn, Qt -n, ?? Ar ʔal- ¶ KB 225-6, HJ 263-4, GBr. JJAP 49-5O, GBr. DJA 177-8, Bst. 31, ≠ BL H § 262 (Hb ha- < \*hā) ‖ C: Ag: Aw á-n 'that' (↔ ʒ́-n 'this') ⁞ Af {PH} a 'this\these' (proximal dem. prn.) ¶ Hz. NSA 134, PH 27, 235 ‖ NrOm: [1] (an inversion of the relation?): Wl {LmS} ha 'this' ({C} a) (↔ he 'that'), Zs {C} ā 'this' (↔ ē 'that'), Gf {Bnd.} ha 'this', Bsk {Bnd.} ɦa 'this' m., [2] Ym {Lm.} a 'der\die da' ¶ LmS 81-4, Bnd. MO 16-7, C SO 15, C SE III 19O, Lm. Y 85-7 ‖ Berber \*-ā, a dem. pronominal sx. ({Pr.}: an anaphoric dem. suffix [≈ 'the', 'ce'] of the 'état libre' = {Pr. PE} 'nominative [absolute] case'), Tmz, Kb a ({Dl., MT}: dem. sx. of proximal deixis) ¶ Pr. M I-III 191, Pr. PE ∀, Dl. 1, MT 1-2 ¶¶ But the collective prn. B \*ā > Tw a is more likely to go back to the N pc. of plurality **\*ʔa** (q.v.) ‖ K \*ₗhⱼa 'this' > G a-ka 'here', a-se 'so', Lz ha ~ a, Mg ašŏ- 'here' (direction), aši- 'so', Mg, Lz a-k 'here', Sv aš 'so' ¶¶ K 41, 44, 46, K² 1, 4, Schm. 92, Shan. G 51-2 ‖ **IE**: \*⸢ʔ⸣o/e-no-, {Pv.} (?) \*o-n-yo- , ?? {EI} \*hₐen- 'that' (×N **\*hEñ∇** 'iste' ×N **\*Hañ∇** 'other'; the element \*-no- or \*-n- may be alternatively explained as going back to the N genitive pc. **\*nu**) > Ht an(n)i- 'ille' (remote deixis), annaz, annisan 'formerly, once upon a time', anna(l)i-, anna(l)a- 'former, earlier, old', Pal anni (dem. prn.) ‖ OI a'n-ēna, a'n-ayā instr., OPrs anā instr. '(with) this', Av ana- this' ⁞ Lt añs, Δ anàs 'that' ⁞ pSl \*on- 'that' (m. \*onъ / f. \*ona / ntr. \*ono / pl. m. \*oni / pl. f. \*onĕ) > OCS ОНЪ onъ 'that, he' / ОNA ona 'that, she' / ОNO ono 'that, it' / ОNИ oni 'those, them' (m.) / ОNѢ onĕ 'those, them' (f.); later 'he, she, it, them': m.: R m. oн, Uk вiн, SCr ôn (~ ȍn), Slv ȍn, Cz, Slk, P on 'he', f.: R m. oна, Uk вoна, SCr. òna, Slv óna , Cz, Slk, P ona 'she', ntr.: R oнo, Uk вoнo, SCr. òno, Slv onȏ, Cz, Slk, P ono 'it', but still with remote deixis: R вo времЯ oнo 'long ago, jadis' (lit. 'in illo tempore'), Blg oн‾зи (f. oнази, ntr. oнoвa) 'that'; prnl.: OCS, OR ОNЫН oniɪ̵j, SCr ȍnāj, Blg oнЯ 'ille' ⁞ Clt: OIr an-d 'here' ⁞ ? Gk D τῆνoς 'ille' (< \*τέ-ενoς or \*τή-ενoς, cd. with the dem. prn. \*te/o-) ⁞ OHG U e̦nēr prn. 'that', ON enn ~ ?φ inn id. ⁞ Arm unʃu so-yn 'this, that, he, self, the same' (< \*k̂o-eno-) ¶¶ Pv. I 51-5,

Carr. P 5O, M K I 32, 56, Schz. 123, Kb. 522, Vr. 286, KM 332, Frn. 1O, ESlSJ-SGZ II 529-34, 565-6, Chrn. II 5, Glh. 454, 461, Vs. III 116-7, 14O-1, Srz. II 673-4, ≈ Bks. 2O2 (BSl *on- < *h₂en 'there'), F I 476, 515, II 894, EI 458 ¶¶ It is possible that IE *ʔe- 'this\that' (> Ht a- 'this, that', -a- 'he, she, it', OI, Av a- 'he' in the obl. cases: gen. m. sg. OI a-sya, Av ahe, dat. m. sg. OI asmāi, Av ah-māi, etc., ⨍ Pv. I-II 3-7, P 281-3) goes back to a merger: N *ha 'that, ille' ⤫ N *h˹e˺ 'this' (hence the distance-deictically undifferentiated meaning 'he, she, it') ‖ U *a, *an 'that' > FU *a id. > Hg a-z 'that', pChr *å- > Chr H a-ń-ъš, Chr L o-ń-ъš 'dorthin', ? Prm: Z Ud ata 'here (?) ‖ pY {IN} *an- pc. of distal deixis > Y: K/T aduŋ, K aduben id. ({IN} < *an-tuŋ, an-tuben) ¶¶ Coll. 73, IN 218-9, ≠: UEW 332 and MF 1O2-4 (Hg and Z < U *o ~ *u) ‖ D *ā~*a 'that, yonder' (dem. base for remoter persons or things) > Tm a-, avv-, Ml a, ā id., Kt, Td a- 'that (distant from the speaker)', Kn a- (remote dem. base), Kdg a·- 'that' (adjective prn.), a- 'that' (m. avaₗn, f. ava, inanim. adɪ), Tu ā-, a- 'that', Tl ā-, Klm a, Nkr, Prj ā 'that', Knd aya 'that' (adjectival pronoun), Kui, Krx a- 'that over there', ā id. (in adjectival function), Mlt ā (= ā ?) id. ¶¶ D #1 ‖ A {SDM95} *a 'that' (deictic √) > T *°a (> SY a 'that'), T *a-n- (obl. cases of the prn. *ol 'that') > OT an- (gen. an-ɪŋ), Tk an-, Az, Tkm, Qrg an- 'that', Chv gen. унӑн un-ъn ⁓ on-ъn, etc. ¶ Rs. W 19, Cl. 165, ET Gl 444-6, ≈ 147-9 ‖ pJ *á- 'that' (distal) > OJ a- id., J: T àre, K áre 'that, he\it', T à-no, Sh á-nù, Ns á-ǹ, Kg ái 'that' ¶ S AJ 268 [#76], S QJ #76, Mr. 376 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *a 'that'), ⇔ DQA # 4O6 (qu. pJ *á < A *é, *see* N *h˹e˺ 'this') ◇ Cp. IS I 258-9. I do not share IS's opinion that S *ha(:)- 'this' has a secondary *h- for the original *ʔ-: Aram -ā אָ- 'the' (adduced by IS as an argument) provides no information as to the identity of the original initial lr. The S and Om cognates point to the HS and N initial *h-. The apparently deviant loss of the expected IE strong lr. (regularly from N *h) is due to the grammatical use of the particle (its history may be described as N *ha [⤫ N *h˹e˺] > pre-IE *ʔ∇ > pIE *ₗʔⱼe). Cp. Gr. I 87-91 ("demonstrative A ~ E" [in IE, U, A, Ainu, Gil]).

**751a.** ₂*˹h˺a, particle of collectiveness > **HS**: B: pB {Pr.} *ā (or *ha) > Tw a, indefinite collective prn. ('pronom d'appui collectif') ↔ Tw i, indefinite singulative prn. ¶ Pr. M I-III 185-7, Vc. UB 321 (Tw indefinite and relative prn. a) ‖ S (⤫ N *ʔa, pc. of plurality?): nomina collectiva (→ plural forms) with the prefix *ʔa-: Ar أَرْجُلٌ ʔa-rǧul-un 'feet' (⇇

riǧl-un 'foot'), ʔa-yyām-un 'days' (⟵ yawm-un 'civil day [24 hours], сутки'), ʔamṭār-un 'rains' (⟵ maṭar-un 'rain'), OSA ᵓbˤl 'owners' (⟵ bˤl 'owner'), ᵓhgr 'towns' (⟵ hgr 'town'), Gz ʔa-znāb 'tails' (⟵ zanab 'tail'), ʔadbār 'mountains' (⟵ dabr 'mountain'), ʔaṣ̂rār 'enemies' (⟵ ṣ̂arr 'enemy'), ʔabyāt 'houses' (⟵ bēt 'house'), ʔaħḳūl 'fields' (⟵ ħaḳl 'field'); this patterns is used mostly (but not always) with inanimate nouns; if used with inanimate nouns, it is syntactically treated (in the predicate verb) as f. sg. ⟩ S *-ā, ending of pl. in the fem.-and-inanimate gender: pred. *-ā, nom.*-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen.*-ā-t-a(m); pred. f. pl. *-ā > Ak -ā (marṣ̌-ā 'they [f.] are ill'); in WS the stative turned into a verbal form denoting state and later into a "new perfective", accordingly the form with *-ā became a form of f. pl. of this aspect of state and of the "new perfective": *mawit-ā 'they (f.) are dead' → 'they (f.) died' (> Ar māt-ā 'they [f.] died'); nom. *-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen. *-ā-t-a(m) are S forms of f. pl.: *ban-ā-t-um nom. f. pl. df., *ban-ā-t-im accus.-gen. f. pl. df. 'daughters' (> Ar bānātun nom.¨ banātin accus.-gen. 'daughters', BHb bā'n-ōṯ 'daughters' [without case distinctions]) ⁋ Br. AG 98-9, Bst. 26, GBr. JJAP 56, Di. G 267-72, Jo. M 61, Sd. G 1OO-1, 8* ‖ IE *-h̥ / (with thematic nomina) *-e/o-h (*e/o- belonging to the stem), ending of nom.-accus. ntr. pl. > NaIE *-ə/-ā > OI -ā / -i, Gt -a, pSl *-a, Gk -α, L -a, e.g: with *-e/o-stems: *yugā 'yokes' (↔ sg. *yugo-m) > Vd yu'gā, Gk ζυγά, L iuga, Gt juka; with consonantic stems: *bʰer-ont-ə acp. pl. ntr. 'carrying' (> OI 'bharant-i, Gk φέροντ-α), *nōmen-ə 'names' > Av nāmən-i, cp. Gk ὀνόματ-α 'names' ‖ AnIE: Ht -a (genuwa 'knees' ↔ sg. genu; aniyatt-a 'Leistungen' ↔ sg. aniyaz; salla 'big' ntr. pl. ↔ sg. salli) and a zero ending with lengthening of the preceding vw. in the stem (compensatory lengthening?) (uddār 'words, things' ↔ sg. uttar); acc. to Rsk., in Lw, Lc, and Ld the ending of ntr. pl. is also -a ‖| IE *-he within the pIE "primary" ending of 2p *-the ({Bks.} th₁e): OI -the, pSl *-te (> OCS -те -te), Lt -te, Gk -τε, L -tis, Gt -þ, OIr -the (e.g. beirthe 'fertis'), Ht -teni ⁋⁋ Brg. KVG 393-4, Schmidt PN ∀, Szem. IEL 16O, 186, Rsk. 54-63, Kron. VLFL 1O7, Bks. 232-5 ◇ The pN etymon is tentativly reconstructed with *h-, because it is the only lr. that may turn into *ʔ- and zero in S and be vocalized as *ə in NaIE. The AnIE representation of *h- as zero is probably conditioned by the

grammatical functioning of the morpheme (unlike autosemantic words\roots where N *h- usually yields Ht h-).

Cp. on one hand N *ha 'ille', N *⸢h⸣i 'iste' (or 'hic'), N *hEñ∇ 'iste', N *hæ⸤ʔ⸥w⸢U⸣ 'to fall, to sink' (partially grammaticalized in Ht), where N *h yields Ht zero, and on the other hand N *hal∇ 'call out, call, pronounce magic words, rejoice', N *hûL∇ 'push, butt, pierce', N *hûʔEn|ŋ∇ 'wave', N *huP̣U 'bad', N *hir∇g∇ 'kill' or 'die', and N *haRK̦a 'hold\grasp', where N *h is reptresented by Ht h. The particle *⸢h⸣a may be etymologically connected with N *ʔa⸢h⸣a 'thing(s)', collective pc. of inanimate (q.v. ffd.).

**752.** ? ₂ *⸢h⸣æ ~ *°⸢h⸣U, dual marker (for nomina animata) > IE *-H(e) ~ *-Hu̯, dual ending (nom., animate gender) > [1] (with consonantic stems) *-H(e) > Av -a, Gk -ɛ, OIr -Ø, [2] (with *-o-stems) *-o-H ~ *-o-Hu̯ > OI -ā ~ -āu, Av -a ~ -å, Gk -ω, L -ō (ambō 'both'), Lt -ù, OCS -ʌ -a, [3] (with *-u-stems): *-u-H > OI -ū, Av -u, OIr {Bks.} *-ū, Lt -ù, OCS -ъι -ɨ, [4] *dwo-Hʷ ~ *dwo-Hu̯ 'two' nom. > OI dvā ~ dvāu, Gk δύω, L duo, OIr dá ~ dau (or dáu), Gt ntr. twa, AS ntr. tū ~ twā, OHG ntr. zwā ~ zwō, Lt dù, OCS дъвʌ dъva, [5] NalE *wē 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata (< N *°w∇y∇ ⸢h⸣æ [with *w∇y∇ 'we']) > OCS vě, Lt vè(-du), Av G vā, OI Vd vām (= vā-am), AS wit (-t goes back to the IE numeral *dwo-Hʷ 'two') ¶ Bks. 194-5, 214, Brg. KVG 364, 387-8, 399 (Übersichtstabelle), Hirt UG II 1O8-9, Me. VIEJ 3O6-7, 342 ‖ **HS**: S *-ā, marker of the dual number (nom. and pred.) of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, *-ā-ni (marker of nom. dual df. [with the determiner *-ni < N *nE, dem. dual prn., q.v.]), *-ā, marker of du. in verbal forms > Ar -ā / -āni in nouns (nom.), -ā in pronouns and verbal forms (2nd and 3rd persons), Gz -ā in ዕሥራ ʕaŝr-ā 'twenty', Ak nom. du. -ā-n (with the ancient determiner *-ni > -n), Ak OB/OA nom. -a(:) in šena 'two', ešr-ā 'twenty' ¶ Br. G I 455-9 [§ 244], Sd. G §§ 61c, 63h ◇ This marker of dual (← prn.) is used for nomina animata or for the active case, while there is a different N marker of dual *yi (q.v.) for the nomina inanimata or for the non-active cases (> S *-ay [du. ending for oblique cases], IE *-o-i̯ / *-i(:) [du. for nomina inanimata], T palatalization [**y in **r+y > *ŕ] for paired nouns). Cf. also the N dem. dual prn. *nE ◇ The variation of vowels (N *⸢h⸣æ ~ *°⸢h⸣U) still needs explaining. Qu. because of the problem of vowels.

**753.** ι *h⸢e⸣ 'this', deictic pc. (proximal deixis) > K *ιhⱼe > G K/R/Lch/I/A e 'hic, iste', G Ing he 'this', OG e-ꙅe, G e-ꙅ(e) 'hic', OG e-ge, G e-g(e) 'iste', Mg e 'this', e-na 'this one, he', Lz he 'that', he-m id., he-a- 'that one, he'; *e-g-, dem. pronominal stem: OG ege, G eg- 'this', Sv eži, eža, Sv U aža id.; K *e-ŝ- > G eꙅe 'so', Mg eši, Lz eše 'so, there', Sv eš 'so' ¶¶ K 77-8, K² 45, 47, Mrtr. N 146, Ghl. 216, Chx. 333, 351, Q 192 s.v. ათჱ, აათჱნა, Marr 25-6, TK 244, Shan. G 51-2; acc. to IS I 271, K *e- did not change into a- in Mg and Lz due to the deictic nature of the stem ‖ HS *⸢h⸣E > NrOm: Wl {LmS} he 'that, those' (prn. of distal deixis) ¶ LmS 81-3 ¶ Inversion of the opposition *hic* ↔ *ille* (*see* s.v. N *ha 'ille') ‖ C: Ag: Aw ɜ́-n 'this' ¶ Hz. NSA 134 ‖ IE *ʔe- > NaIE *e- (gen. *e-sʸo) *'he, this' may be suggested (as one of the solutions) on the basis of the gen. OI asʸa, Av ahe 'of this', the dat. OI asmāi, Av ahmāi 'to this', OLat em 'him', L ecce (<*e-d-ke), Osc ekkum (<*ed-ke-um) 'item', Sl *e sь, *e se 'ecce' (> OCS ксce je-ꙅe, OR oce oꙅe, Uk ось id., Blg Δ ece 'this, ceci [вот этот]', Slv esej / esa / eso 'this'), Sl *e tъ (f. *e ta, ntr. *e to) 'voici, this' (> Blg ето, SCr èto 'voici', Sln ete / eta / eto 'this', but hardly R этот / эта / это 'this' [a new interjection э + prn. тот / та / то 'that']), as well as IE *⸢e⸣-tos 'from here' > OI a-'taḥ 'von hier' ] NaIE *°e-m- (× N *ha 'ille') > Brtt {RE} *em- 'he' > OW em, MW e, ef, W ef, fe, Crn ef, OBr em, MBr eff, Br heñ ¶¶ WP I 43, 99, P 282-4, M K I 13, 27, WH I 390, 399-400, Bc. G 315, RE 102, ≈ ESSJ VI 8 ‖ U *e- 'this' > FU: Er e-te (pl. e-ńe) 'this', e-śe (pl. e-ś-ńe) 'that', Mk e-sa 'da, dort', pPrm *ę-: *ę-ʒ́ 'вот так, in this way' > Vt oʒ́, Yz íʒi id., pPrm *ę-tiś 'from there' > Vt otiś id., Hg e-z, e 'this' (↔ a-z 'that') ‖ Sm: ? En {Prk.} eke, {Ter.} ekkɛ 'this', eo 'hierher' ‖ pY {IN} *e(-n)- 'this, hic' > YK ediŋ id. ¶¶ UEW 67, LG 332, Lt. 134, ≈ MF 167-9, KP 73-4, IN 219 ‖ A {SDM97} *e 'this' > M *e-gün- 'this' (stem of obl. cases) correlating with *ene nom. and *ene-n- for obl. cases (< N *hEn̄∇ 'iste' [q.v.]); pl. M *e-de 'these' (> MM/WrM ede, etc.) ¶ ffd. *see* Pp. IM 226-8, IS I 272 ‖ Tg *e-, proximal deictic stem (e.g. *e-du/e 'in this, here', where *-du/e is a locative sx.) > Ewk ɜ-r 'this', ɜ-dū, ɜ-lī 'here', Sln ɜ(j)ɜ, ɜr(i) 'this', ɜíɜ 'here', Lm ɜr 'voici', ɜdu 'here', Neg ɜ-dū 'here', ɜy 'this', Orc ɜdu 'here', ɜ̄lī 'through this place', ɜi 'this', Ud ɜji, Ul, Nn ɜj, Ork ɜjɜ, ɜr(i) 'this', WrMc ere, Mc Sb ɜrɜ, ɜji 'this', WrMc e-de, Mc Sb ɜ-dɜ 'in this, here', Jrc {Md.} e(r)ꙅe 'this' ¶ STM II 460-2, Ci. 267, Md. ChF

133, Krm. 313 ¶¶ DQA #4O6 (A *é 'that' [deictic root]; incl. M, Tg, J), S AJ 111-2, 277 [#141] ◇ The particles of pronominal deixis *ha 'ille', *⌐h⌐e⌐ 'this', *⌐h⌐i 'iste', and *⌐h⌐u 'iste' form a paradigm of N deictic particles. Therefore it may be tentatively suggested that not only *ha (in which *h- is reflected by S *ħ-), but all particles of this paradigm (even those, in which N *h- cannot be demonstably distinguished from *ʔ-) had a N *h-.

**754.** ʟ *⌐h⌐i 'iste' (or 'hic'), demonstrative pc. > **HS**: B: Tw i, indefinite singulative prn. ¶ Pr. M I-III 185-7 ‖ ?? Ch {Sch.} *-i, marker of definiteness (× N *⌐h⌐e⌐ 'this'): Dr gám-î: '*the* ram' (↔ gám 'ram'), Zr g‡mān-i '*the* husband' (↔ g‡mān 'husband'), EDng àk-í '*the* fire' (↔ àkò 'fire') ¶ Sch. ED 158-6O ‖ EC *-i⸝ɟ, marker of the theme → marker of the subject case (nom.): Or -n-i, -i ({HW} nam-ni nom. ↔ abs. nama 'man', nom. fārd-i ↔ abs. farda 'horse', nom. mūk-i ↔ abs. mūka 'tree'), Sd -i ({Mrn.} nuʹgus-i aǯʹǯaǯino 'the king ordered', ⌐min-i miʹnamino 'the house was built'), Rn nom. (of f.) -è, Sm nom. -i (làf-ì nom. ↔ láf abs. 'bone', ɖàgħàn-ì nom. ↔ ɖagʹħán abs. 'stones', with dem. endings: nom. -kàn-ì 'this' ↔ abs. -kàn 'this'), as well as Sml -ī within the df. art. of the remote type: m. -k-ī, f. -t-ī ‖ ? Ag: Xm {Ap.} -i-/-y-, def. art. m. (in the obl. case, preceding the case ending): ‡ǯ‡r-i-z y‡wun 'I gave it to *the* man' ¶ HW 145, Mrn. S 26-7, Hn. NBLK 224, PG 17, 1O6, AD KJ 34-5, Anr. DSN 119, Ap. DAX 16-22 ‖‖ K *⌐h⌐i 'that' (distal deixis) > G Im/R/Lch/Mt/P/HA i 'that', G i-s 'he; that', i-gi id., Mg i-, Lz hi- 'that', Sv i- id.; K *i-ma- (deictic stem for remote objects) > G ima-, Mg imu, Lz (h)imu- id., Sv im-eg 'there' ⫴ GZ *-i, marker of nom. (> OG, G, Mg, Lz -i), which in the final account goes back to a dem. pronominal pc. (article?) *i ¶¶ K 99-1OO, K² 8O-1, Q 23O s.v. �  , Chx. 519-533, Ghl. 257 ‖‖ **IE**: AnIE: HrLw ī-, nom. ī-s 'this' ¶ Mer. HHG 61-7 ⫴IE *ʔei̯-/ʔi (or *ħei̯-/*ħi- ?), anaphoric dem. prn. {Bks.} 'that, the (just named)' (× N *yi 'he', [?] 'that' [anaphoric], q.v.) > OI aʹy-am m., GAv ay-ām m., OI iʹy-am f., OI iʹd-am ntr., OI iʹm-am, OPrs imam m. accus. 'eum' ┊┊ Gk Cp ἴν 'eum, eam' ┊┊ L i-s m., i-d ntr., e-a f. (dem. pronouns 'he/it/she', 'this/that') ┊┊ OIr é ~ hé 'he' (< *i-s ), ed ~ hed (< *id or *id-ā) 'it', pl. hé ┊┊ Gt i-s 'he', accus. in-a, ntr. ita 'it', pl. eis 'they', ORu ᛖᚱ, ᛁᚱ, ᛁᚨᚱ rel. 'that, which', ON es, later er, OHG er 'he', iʒ ~ eʒ 'it', NHG er m. 'he', es ntr. 'it' ┊┊ Lt jì-s

he', jì 'she' ¦ Sl *j- dem. 'is, ille', rel. 'which': m. nom. *jь, f. nom. *ja, ntr. nom.-accus. *je > OCS, OR m. и i, f. ꙗ ja, ntr. ѥ je; Sl *j- in the obl. cases: OCS gen. m.\ntr. ѥго jego 'of him, of it', dat. m.\ntr. ѥмоу jemu 'to him, to it', etc. ‖ U: Sm *i- 'iste' (> En {Cs.} inôʔ 'dorthin', Kms {KD} īdə 'dieser da, der dort', Mt {Hl.} *idi 'jener' [Mt K {Mll.} idi-]) may go back either to U *i- or to U *e- ‖ FU *i- 'this' (from the functional point of view a variant of *e- 'this', ⌐ N *ˈhˈeˈ 'this') may be discerned in Es i-ga 'such', Hg i-tt 'here' (↔ o-tt 'there'), i-de 'here' (direction) (↔ o-da 'there' [direction]), így 'so', pOs *i- (proximal pronominal stem) > Os: V/Vy/Ty in, Nz īn 'just now', Os K {Ps.} in 'der, er' (von einem nicht näher Bekannten, Entfernten), Os Sh/Sn ĭn, LK {Ptk.} īn 'этот, dieser, jener' (von einem oder etwas schon Erwähnten), V/Vy/Ty/Y it 'now (jetzt)', O {Stn.} ittằ 'sofort' ¶¶ UEW 67-8, Jn. 26, Hl. M #336, Stn. D 2-3, ≈ MF 167-9 ‖ A *i 'iste' > pKo *í > MKo í, NKo i 'this' ¶ Rm. SKE 66, S QK #88, Nam 397, MLC 1316 ‖ pJ *i 'iste' > OJ {S} i ({Syr.} 'thou' mostly in deprecatory speech), as well as possibly the first element i- in the OJ {Mill.} spacially indefinite dem. idu- (in the dem. prn. idure, place adv. idu-ku 'there\here', direction word idu-ti 'thither\hither') ¶ Syr. DJ 92, Mill. JL 341-2, S QJ #235, Mr. 42O ‖ T *i- in Xk иди idi, Sg {Rl.} i-dä 'so'; *in- in dem. pronouns\adverbs (< N *ˈhˈi nu [with the N genitive pc. *nu]): Yk innik (*in-lik) 'such', injä 'so, there', Blq in-ol 'that', Az, Chg {Rl.}, Brb {Dm.} indi, SbTt Tb {Tum.} инде (= [indь]?) 'now', Bsh инде indь 'now, already', VTt инде indь 'already' ¶ Pek. 24O, 256, BIG 65, Rl. I 145O, 15O6, Hüs. 147, Dm. JBT 139, Tm. 56, BR 2O6, TatR 169, Ktw. PLA 2O-3 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *i > Ko, J, as well as T *ȫŕ 'inside'), ≈ DQA #582 *i (a deictic √; Ko, J, T + T, M i- 'he'; no distinction between reflexes of N *ˈhˈi 'iste' and N *yi 'he') ‖ D *i 'hic (the nearer to the speaker)' > Tm i-, ivv-, Ml i, ī, Kt, Td i- 'this, hic', Kn i-, proximate dem. base, ī 'this', Tu ī, Klm iˑ, Nkr, Prj, Gdb, Png, Mnd, Kui, Ku, Krx ī, Knd iya, Mlt í (= ī ?) 'this', Brh i-, a base declined for case ¶¶ D #41O ◇ Sm and J suggest the original meaning 'iste', while other lgs. point to the meaning 'hic' ◇ The N initial *h- is tentatively reconstructed on the analogy of N *ha 'ille', because the paradigm of the deictical particles is likely to presuppose their similar phonological structure ◇

Cp. IS I 27O-2 (combines together N *⸢h⸣i [incl. our *ɥi] and N *h⸢e⸣ as two variants of the same word *ʔi/(?)ʔe).

**755.** ι *⸢h⸣u 'iste', dem. pc. (intermediate deixis?) > **HS**: C: Bj Hd {Rop.} ū (df. art. nom. m.), o (accus./obl. m.), {R} ū~ᴡū (df. art. nom. m.), ō~ᴡō (accus. m.) (allomorphs with ᴡ- when preceding a noun beginning with ʔ-, otherwise allomorphs without ᴡ-), Bj B {Alm.} ū (df. art. nom. m.), ō - (accus. m.), Bj A {AD} ˈʔō~ʔū~ʔʊ~hʊ (df. art. nom. m.) (e.g. ˈʔō ɡaᴡ 'the house' nom., ʔū ˈtak 'the man', ʔʊ ˈhaɗa 'the lion', hʊ ˈʔor 'son, boy, child', hʊ ˈʔēᴡ 'the kudu antelope', hʊ ˈʔab 'the kid'), ˈʔō~ʔō~ʔo~hō~ho (obl. m.) (ʔō ˈtak 'den Menschen', ʔo ˈhaɗa 'den Löwen, dem Löwen', ˈʔō ɡaᴡ obl. 'the house', hō ˈʔaᴡi obl. 'the stone', ho ˈʔōr 'den Jungen, das Kind'); the variants with h- occur when the article precedes a noun beginning with ʔ-, otherwise the variants with ʔ- are used ⫶ EC: Sd {Mrn.} marker of subject case (nom.) ˈ-u (nom. nuɡuˈs-u ↔ abs. nuɡuse 'king', nom. maɡaˈn-u ↔ abs. maɡaˈno 'God'), Bn J -ū nom. (ír-ū nom. ↔ írɜ abs. 'goat', mōf-ū̃ nom. ↔ mốfɜ abs. 'snake', bậl-ṳ̃ nom. ↔ bậl abs. 'feather'), Sml -u (marker of nom. with dem. suffixes of nouns: -kàn-ù nom. ↔ -kán abs. 'this' m., -tàn-ù nom. ↔ -tán abs. 'this' f., -kěr-ù nom. ↔ -kér abs. 'that' m.) ⦙ ? Af ᴡō 'that\those' (remote for both speaker and addressee) ¶ Mrn. S 26-7, Hn. BD 28, PG 146, AD KJ 35, PH 235 ‖ LbB: B *ᴡ-a m. sg. / *ᴡ-i m. pl., dem. and rel. prn. > Shl, Tmz, ASgr ᴡa sg. / ᴡi pl. 'this', relative 'that of, which', B *ᴡ-i- m. pl. (> Tw ᴡə-), px. of the dependent state (état d'annexion, that Pr. proposes to call 'cas subordonné'), typical, among others, to the postverbal subject noun (*ᴡ- is likely to go back to a thematic focalizer or "singulatif défini", acc. to Pr., or df. art., acc. to Vc. ← dem. prn.), compound pronouns: Tmz/ASgr ᴡa-n, Shl ᴡa-hin, Kb ᴡa-hi 'that' ⫶ Gnc ɡua (< *ᴡa) 'that of', ɡuan id. (< *ᴡa + nota genitivi *n): ɡuan chinec 'that of Chinec, the man of Chinec' ¶ Pr. M IV-V 11-6, Pr. PE ∀, Ai. SKBJ I 17-22, 49-52, AiM 176, 21O-1, 218, Brugn. EAB, Brugn. SNBO ¶¶ In my opinion, we may adduce here the HS ending of the subject case **-u > pS *-u (> Ar, Ug -u), ending of the nominative case sing. (← thematic focalizer ← dem. prn.), pEC *-u (~ *-i) id.; the S morpheme group *-u-m - nom. df. (> OAk -um nom. st. r., Ar -un nom. indf., Ug -u nom. abs.); it would be tempting to equate S *muˈt-u-m 'the man' nom. df. (> Ak mutum 'man' st. r.) with Hs mutum [mùtûŋ] 'man' (< AncHs *mutum, the final *-m reconstructed

on the ev. of the gen. ᴍ ᴜ ᴛ ᴜ ᴍ ɪ ɴ [mùtúm-ìn]) and thus to suggest that the ending *-ᴜᴍ existed already at the pHS level. We may also adduce the ending *-ᴜ of the pS relative mood (= Dk.'s pS "subjunctive", used in subordinated clauses) > Ak -ᴜ (rel. mood = traditionally called "subjunctive"), CS *-ᴜ of the new ip. (> Ar -ᴜ id.); its semantic prehistory: N dem. *ˁh¹ᴜ > rel. *-ᴜ 'that which' > *-ᴜ of the rel. mood ⫟⫟ Ⅎ Ss. CCSB 111-126; on the pS endings and their meaning Ⅎ AD MN ∀ and AD PhSS 7, fn. 12; on S *ᴍᴜ'ᴛᴜ-ᴍ Ⅎ AD PhSS 3; on the pS rel. mood *see* Dk. JDPA 254, 3O4, ≈ Eil. SA ∀ (equates the Ak -ᴜ-mood with the Ar -ᴜ-ip., but believes that the pS *-ᴜ-mood is indicative) ‖ ᴋ *ᴜ- 'it', marker of the objective version of the verb having a recipient of the 3rd pers. > G, Mg, Lz ᴜ-, Sv ᴜ-~ᴏ-: OG χ-ᴜ-ɢᴏ ~ ɦ-ᴜ-ɢᴏ 'er tat es ihm\für ihn', NG ᴜ-ç̌ᴇʀ-ꜱ 'il l'écrit pour lui', ᴜ-ç̌ᴇʀ-ᴛ 'il l'écrit pour eux' ⫟⫟ ᴋ 185, Vogt GLG 122-3, Shan. G 74 ‖ ɪᴇ *ʔᴜ- / *ʔᴏᴜ̯-/ *ᴡᴇ- / *ᴡᴏ- 'iste', deictic pc. > Ht ᴜ-ɴɪ- 'jener, der da, der erwähnte; iste'; the former opposition of degrees of proximity to the speaker and hearer ('hic' ↔ 'iste' ↔ 'ille') (that probably existed in the pronouns ᴇɴɪ-, ᴜɴɪ-, and ᴀɴɴɪ-) was lost when these Ht pronouns became predominantly anaphorical; pv. ᴜ- '(hier)her' (↔ ᴘᴇ- 'hin', e.g. Ht ᴜᴅᴀ- '(her)bringen' ↔ ᴘᴇᴅᴀ- 'hinschaffen, forttragen', ᴜᴡᴀᴛᴇ- 'herbringen' ↔ ᴘᴇʜᴜᴛᴇ- 'hinbringen', etc.), ? Ht -ᴜɴ (a rare OHt form) 'him, her' (side by side with -ᴀɴ) ⫟ Ts. W 63, 95-8, SomF HAB 161, Frd. HEB 68, Mer. SGA 324 ‖ NaIE *ᴜ-/ *ᴏᴜ̯-/*ᴡᴇ-/*ᴡᴏ- 'iste' (→ 'ille', 'hic') > Sl *ᴏᴠъ / f. *ᴏᴠᴀ / ntr. *ᴏᴠᴏ 'that', OCS, OR ᴏʙъ ᴏᴠъ 'that' (usually ᴏʙъ … ᴏʙъ 'that\one … the other'), SCr †, Δ, Sln, OCz ᴏᴠ, P ᴏ́ᴡ 'that', prnl.: SCr ȍᴠ-ā̃j (f. ȍᴠ-ā̃, ntr. ȍᴠ-ō̃) 'hic', P ᴏ́ᴡ 'ille', OCS {Mikl.} ᴏᴠъ 'hic', {SJSS} 'hic, ille' ⫶ ? OI, Av ᴀᴠᴀ- 'jener', OI ᴜ- 'and, also, further, on the other hand' ⫙⫙ *ᴜ in OI ᴀꜱᴀᴜ, Av ʜᴀ̄ᴜ 'ille', OPrs ʜᴀᴜᴠ 'this'; with a *ʀ- formant: OI ᴀᴠᴀḥ, Av ᴀᴠᴀrə 'downwards', Um ᴜʀᴜ 'illo';*ᴡᴇ̄, *ᴡᴏ- 'on the other hand' → 'or' (× *ᴡᴜ 'whether') > OI/Av/OPrs ᴠᴀ̄, Gk ἠ-(Ⅎ)έ > ἤ, L -ᴠᴇ̆ 'or'; this morpheme is to be kept apart from the paronymous NaIE word *ᴀᴜ̯ 'or' (< N ? *ʔˁaˀᴡᴜ̃ 'whether?', 'or') in Gk αὖ 'again, once more', L ᴀᴜᴛ 'or', ᴀᴜᴛᴇᴍ 'but, however', Osc AUT ᴀᴠᴛ, AUTI 'aut, autem' ⫟⫟ P 73-5, F I 183, 619, WH I 87, II 74O-1, Bc. G 313, 35O, Mikl. L 486, Mikl. E 229, ESⅼSJ-SGZ II 558-61, SJSS XXII 5O8-9, Brtl. 163-76, 173O-2, M K I 58, 66, ≈ Bks. 2O2 (NaIE *ᴏᴡ- < *h₂ᴇᴜ̯ 'away, again') ‖ ᴜ: FU *°ᴜ-~*°ᴏ-:

FU \*°u- is represented by Hg o-da 'dahin, dorthin, dort', oly 'such, so', ott 'there', úgy 'so', FU \*°o- or \*°ū- is reflected by Chr H {Rm.} umpal 'jene Seite, die andere Seite', Chr L/H {Ü} umbalne 'there, in the distance', umbalan 'there, to that place', umbake 'there, to that point', umbačən 'from there', FU \*°u- ¬ \*°o- > pMr \*o- in Er ombo, Mk omba, oma 'other, second' (Chr and Mr -mb- < FU \*-mpa/ä, sx. of cmpr.); Rédei (UEW) explains irreg. sound corrs. by mixing of different deictic stems, IS attributes FU \*o- to the infl. of the interr. \*ko- ¶ UEW 332, IS I 258 ‖ A \*o ~ \*u, {SDM95} \*o 'this, that' (deictic pc.) > NaT \*o 'jener dort' > Tk o, Δ o~u, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr o, ET, Bsh u, Uz uᵈoᵈwu~hu, SY, Ln o~u 'that', Xlj o̦ 'he, she, it, that'; but T \*ol 'that' (> OT ol, Tkm, Qzq, Yk, Tv ol, Chv вӑ̆л ∨ ь̊l) does not belong here, it is better explained as going back to N \*⌜ʔ⌝o┃∇ 'that (visible)' ¶ ET Gl 444-6, Bu. I 1O6, DT 167, ≠ SDM97 (A \*o(l∇) 'this, that') ‖ Tg {Bz} \*u- 'iste' in derivatives: WrMc uba hoc', urala 'hicce', Ud uti 'this, it' (stem uta-: accus. utawa, dat. utadu, loc. utala) ¶ Bz. 114, STM II 293-4 ‖ pJ {S} \*ź- 'this' (a deictic √) > J: Sh ú-nù, Ns ú-ǹ̦, Ht ù-nù, Y ù-nú ¶ S QJ #147 ¶¶ DQA #1554 (A \*o 'this, that', incl. T, Tg, J), S AJ 28O [#136] (T, J) ‖ D \*u 'iste', deictic base and demonstrative pc.\adj. > Tm, Kn u- (a dem. base indicating a person\place\thing occupying an intermediate position or a position near the person[s] spoken to), Tm u~uvv, Kn ū, Ku ū, Krx hū 'iste', dem. adjective prn. ¶¶ D #557 ◇ The ancient meaning is best preserved in D. Cp. UEW 332 (U, IE, T), IS I 257-8 (considers U \*o to be a variant of the U deictic \*a, arisen due to the infl. of the interr. \*ko; adduces T \*o) ◇ On the reason of our tentative rec. of N \*h- in this and other N demonstrative particles *see* above (s.v. \*h⌜e⌝ and \*⌜h⌝i).

**756.** ₂ \*hed∇ 'to break' > **HS**: S \*°√hdd > Ar √hdd *G* vt. 'break, crush' ¶ Hv. 818, ≈ DRS 373 ‖ Eg MK hd 'break stones' ¶ EG II 5O5 ¶¶ But not here (⇔ Tk.) Ch \*√hḏ 'break' (JS, Stl. ZCh 228 [#766]), because Ch \*h hardly coresponds to S and Eg \*h-; Ch \*√hḏ is more likely to correspond to S \*√χtt (> BHb נֶחַת niˈḥaṯ 'was broken', Ug {Grd.} χt 'broken', Tgr χatta 'was torn') ¶ KB 36O, LH 81, Grd. UT #1O2O) ¶¶ Tk. I 147 (Eg, S + err. Ch) ‖ D (in NED) \*eṭṭ- > Krx eṭ-nā 'tear in pieces, lacerate', Mlt eṭe v. 'deface, destroy' ¶ D #785.

**757.** \*hû̄di 'rot, dissolve (by boiling), boil' > **HS**: WS \*√hdy > Gz √hdy v. 'dissolve by overcooking, cook completely', Ar √hδy *Sh* pf.

ʔahδā) 'boil meal to shreds' (⇔ a S lge. with \*-d- > -δ-) ¶ LG 215, Di. 18, BK II 1408 ‖ **A**: M \*üȝ̌ire- vi. 'rot' > WrM üȝire-, HlM ухрэ-(х) id., Brt ухэ-(хэ) vi. 'rot, go bad' (in Brt loss of r?) ¶ \*-ȝi- < \*-di- ¶ MED 1017, Chr. 496 ‖ **D** \*uṭ- > Tl uḍuku v. 'boil, seethe, bubble with heat', uḍikincu, uḍiki(l)lu vt. 'boil, cook', Gnd uḍkēr 'hot water', Ku uḍku 'heat', Krx uʼtur- 'be boiled or cooked, be be tired up to excitement' ¶¶ D #588.

**758.** \*hu‖od‚▽‚ʔ▽ 'be motionless, sleep' (→ 'be sleepy\giddy') > **HS**: S: [**1**] WS \*√hdʔ 'be motionless, quiet' > Ar √hdʔ G (hadaʔa / -hdaʔu) 'take a rest, stop (somewhere)', acp. hādiʔ- 'motionless, quiet', √hdʔ D vt. 'calmer, apaiser, adoucir', Mh {Jo.} hōdi 'quiet' (of a person)', {Jahn} hōdī 'quiet' (of a wind)', Hrs {Jo.} hedī, Jb E/C {Jo.} ʼhudi 'quiet', Sq {L} ʼhyode 'se calmer', Tgr √hdʔ G 'se calmer'; [**2**] + ext.: WS \*√hdm 'be sleepy\giddy' > Ar hudām- 'giddiness' ({BK} 'mal de mer'), Gz √hdm v. D (pf. haddama) 'sleep, slumber' ¶ BK II 1397-8, 1402-3, Jo. M 152, Jo. H 50, L G 214, DRS 371 ‖ EC {Ss.} \*hudr- 'sleep' > Rn udur / urd-, Sml (mt.) hurd- id. ¶ Ss. PEC 40, PG 285, DSI 319 ‖ Ch: ECh: Brg ʔŏȷí, Kjk auḍu, ? Mu {Lk.} hèyít, {J} hàyyàḍé 'sleep', Mgm ʔŏȷò 'se coucher' ¶ JI II 299, JA 113, Lk. ZSS 189 ‖ **U**: FU \*oδa- v. 'sleep, lie' > pLp {Lr.} \*ōδē- v. 'sleep' > Lp: S {Hs.} oår´e-dh, L åddā-, N {N} oaḍḍe-t (/-ḍ-), Kld {TI} ˇuȝ‚ȼ‚ʔe-δ̣ / ˇuaδam̥ / ˇuw͡δiˑ id. ┊ Er удо-udo-. Mk удо-н uda- id. ┊┊ ObU {Ht.} \*wōδ- / ? \*wăδā- > pVg {Ht.} \*āl-/\*ăl- > OVg S Vt ололанты 'I am dozing (дремлю)', OVg S Kg алалахъ 'sleep'; pOs {Ht.} \*aːla- / \*ol- v. 'lie (liegen)' > Os: V/Vy ăla-, Ty ăɫa- / ōɫ-, Y ăɫ- / ōɫ-, D/K ăt-, Kz ōɫ- id., d.: Y ăɫta-, Nz utta-, Kz w͡ūɫta-, O olta- 'schlafen legen' ¶ UEW 334-5, Sm. 542 (FU \*oḍå 'sleep' > FP \*oda, Ugr \*ådĭ), Lr. #817, Lgc. #4543, Hs. 1035, Ker. II 179, Ht. #662 ‖ **A**: T \*uδi- v. 'sleep' > OT uδi-, XwT uy‚u‚-, MQp XIII ūyī-, XIV uyi-, [CC] uyu- id., Tk uyu-, Ggz, Qmq uyu-, SY, Xk, Shor/Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} uzu-, Tv udu-, Tf ud‚u-, Yk utuy- id., VTt oe̱- ъ̌уъ̌- (inf. ою ъ̌уu), Bsh ойо̱- ъ̌уъ̌- v. 'doze, slumber; grow numb' ┊┊ It is possible that T \*ū n. 'sleep' (> OT u‚ːȷ, Xlj ū, and Yk ū) goes back to an earlier \*\*u‚ːȷδ (so Cl. 2, Rs. W 508, and Pek. 3098), but the alternative et. relating T \*ū to A \*ŋʼuʼ‚ːȷya- 'sleep' (< N \*ŋuhyˈaˈ 'to rest, to lie, to repose' [→ 'to sleep], q.v.) is more plausible ¶ The vw. \*u in the verb \*uδi- was not long (⇔ Cl.), as evidenced by Yk utuy-; if the noun \*ū

'sleep' belongs here, the length may be compensatory (for the loss of *-δ) ¶ ET Gl 579-81, DTS 6O5, Cl. 1-2, 42-3 (derives *uδɪ- from *ū n. 'sleep'), TAG 44, Ra. 236, TatR 4O8, 417, BR 412, Pek. 3O64-5, 3O98, DT 2O9-1O, Rs. W 5O8 (err. initial *ū in Yk utuy-) ◇ Comparison of U and A: Rs. UAW 42, Coll. 147, IS MS 367, IS SS #1.14, UEW 334-5 (U, T + * ÷ M umta- 'sleep').

**759.** ₂ *ḥakⱱ 'slow, inactive' > **HS**: SS *√ḥky > Gz √ḥky (pf. ḥakaya) 'be lazy\sluggish\inactive\weary', Tgr √ḥky (pf. ḥakka), Tgy √ḥky (pf. ḥakⱱyⱱ) 'be weary\indolent' (EthS ᵇ→ Bln {R} ḥakay 'tired, weary', Km {CR} akēt 'laziness'), Mh {Jahn} √ḥky (pf. *Gt* 'ḥⱱtkī 'abhangen, sich nach unten neigen') ¶ L G 216-7, Jahn 187, ≈ DRS 4O7 ‖ **A**: NaT *akur- 'do slowly' > OT {Gbn.} aqur- id., {Cl.} aq(u)ru, OOsm XIV arqin ~ arqun ~ arχun 'gently, quietly, slowly', XwT XIV aqru(n) 'quietly, peacefully', Cum aqrin ~ arqun 'slowly, quietly', QBl, Qzq, Qq, Qrg aqirin, VTt, Bsh äkrьn 'slow(ly), quiet(ly)' ¶ Cl. 89-9O, DTS 49, ET Gl 123-4, Gbn. ATG 295, Br. OTG §§ 1O4, 136, Rs. W 14 ‖ M *aɣaǯi- ◁→ *aɣaǯi-gu > WrM agazi-gu, HlM аажу 'slow(ly), M *aɣazi-m id. > WrM agazim, HlM аажим id.; cp. also WrM agašar, HlM аашар 'for a while, leasurely' ¶ MED 13-4.

**760.** *ḥǁχˈäˈka 'to need, to lack' > **IE** *Hegĝ- ({EI} *h₁eg̑- 'be in need, lack') > NaIE *egĝ- 'lack' > L egē- 'be in need, want' ‖ ON ekla n. 'lack, want, need', OHG ecko-rōdi, ecko-rōdo 'just, merely (nur, bloß, allein)' ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ EI) Ht ak(k)-/ek- 'die' ({Pv.}: ÷ Vnt ekupeθaris ~ ecupetaris ~ equpetars 'tombstone' < IE *ₗʔₗek- die') ¶¶ P 29O, ≈ EI 343, WH I 394-5, Vr. 9, Kb. 196, EWA II 945-7, Schz. 122, Pv. I 17-23 ‖ **HS**: HEC: Ged {Hd.} hāk- vt. 'lose, miss', vi. 'be unable', ?ɸ Brj hoḳ- 'be absent' ¶ Hd. 243, Ss. B 1OO ‖ ? S: Gz ʔakkō 'by no means, no' (unless < *ʔal-kō), Tgr ʔikon 'not, no' ¶ L G 14 ‖ **A**: NaT *ägsü (×N *χaˈʔüˈgæ 'to lack, to want', q.v.) 'be(come) defective, deficient, lacking' > OT ägsü- ({Cl.} egsü-) id., OT (BrSc) {Gb.} ägsö-, ET ögsü-, Tk eksi-, Ln öksü- vi. 'diminish, lessen, decrease', Chg öksü- id., vt. 'diminish, reduce', Tkm eʁiθ- 'diminish, reduce', Qrg öksü- 'be lacking' ¶ Cl. 117, ET Gl 257-8, DTS 168, Rl. I 687, 1188.

**761.** *ˈhˈawkˈaˈ 'light (lux); bright' > **IE**: NaIE *aug- v. 'shine' ◁→ NaIE *aug-ā, -ō(n) 'light, gleam' > Gk αὐγή id., 'daylight', pl. 'sun-rays' ‖ pAl {O} *auga > StAl T ag 'twilight, dusk', agu i dritës 'Morgengrauen', agu i syrit 'pupil of the eye', aˈgoj v. 'dawn', {Ç} 'il fait jour' ‖ NLG

auken ⌐ ooken 'attic, garret' ¦¦ ? W g̑waw̑l 'light (lux)' ({Mn.} < *au̯glo-?) ¦¦ ?? pSl *jugъ 'south, southern wind' > OCS югъ jugъ, Blg, R, Uk юг, Slk juh 'south', OR оугъ ugъ, SCr jȕg, Slv jùg, Cz jíh id., 'southern wind', as well as SCr jȕgo 'south', Uk юга 'drought' ¶ WP I 25, P 87, EI 314 (*h₂eu̯g- 'shine, become bright'), Mn. 41, F I 183-4, YGM-1 259, Ch. 137, Hofm. EWG 28, BFU 29, Kf. 38, Ç I 3O-1, II 344, O 2, Vs. IV 526, Glh. 3O2 ▐▐ HS: [1] S *°√wky > Gz √wky L (pf. wākaya) 'shine, glisten, glitter'; *°√hʔkk? Ak akakūtu 'brandon, tison, rougeoîment du ciel' ¶ L G 612, DRS 537 ▥▥ [2] (× N *HäŋkU 'fire', q.v.): Ch {Nw.} *aku ~ *akʷa 'fire', {Stl.} *ʔakuw- id. > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ákâ, Bd {IL} ákà id. ¦ Cg {Sk.} âkʷé, Kry {Sk.} àkú, My {Sk.} àkù, Jmb {Sk.} akʷá, Dir {Sk.} akúwá, Wrj {Sk.} kɜwày, Sir {Sk.} kùwí, Mbr kùwá id. ¦¦ CCh: Db {JI} ku id. ¦ G'nd wā-ta id. ¦ ? BM: Mrg {IL} ʔíʔì (= {JIL} ʔɯ́ʔɯ̀), Cb úʔù id. ¦ Mtk {Nw.} akʷa, Mada {BrrB} okkʷo, {Ro.} àkʷá, Mofu {Brr.} áwɔ̀w, MfG {Brr.} áwàw, Gzg D {Lk.} ʔavo; {Ro.}: Mkt ákàl, Myn àkú, Hrz, Vm ákʷà, Zlg àkʷá, Mlk àkó id. ¦ Msg {Trn.} àfú id. ¦ Lmn {Lk.} ùuvù id. ¦ Suk {IL} kʰû id. ¦ Ms {Nw.} aku-da, {J} kúdá, ZmD {KND} kù, {Srp.} ku, ZmB {J} kú, LamP ku, Lam kʷu, Bnn ku-da id. ¦¦ ECh {Stl.} *ʔako|uw- > EDng {Fd.} àkò, Bdy ʔako, Mgm {JA} ókko, Mkl {J} ʔùwwó id. ¦ Skr {Sx.} òkó, {Nw.} óko id. ¦ Jg {J} ʔɔ̌k, Brg {J} ʔàkù, Mu {J} kɛ̌wí id. ¶ JI II 138-9, Nw. 26 [#48], Stl. IF 124, KNC 13, Ro. 252 [#271], Brr. MG II 149, BrrB 151, Fd. 14, Blz. EChWL. #27 ¦¦ C (× N *HäŋkU 'fire'): EC: Arr {Hw.} ʔēg, Elm 'ēk, Yk iku, {E} ʔeku 'fire', ?σ Dsn ʔége 'ashes' ¦¦ Dhl ʔéga 'fire' ¦¦ SC: Asa {To.} yogot, {E} yogo 'fire' ¶ Blz. CL 178, BlzT D 2, To. D 128, Hw. A 338, To. DL 481, Hn. NBLK 2O4, ≈ AD SF 262-3, E PC #1O6, E SC 318 ▐▐ Ⱥ: T *āk 'white' > OT, Tkm āq, Tk ak, Az aɣ, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Shor, Tv, ET aq, Uz ɑq, Tf aq̇, Xk aχ id. ¶ Rs. W 12, ET Gl 116-7, TL 679-8O, Ra. 154 ▐▐ pJ {S}: [1] *aka- 'be bright; red, bright' > pJ *áká 'red, (?) bright' ({S} *áká-rú 'bright') > OJ {Mr.} aka- 'red, bright', {S} 'red', [RJ] áká- 'red', J: T/K àkai-, Kg akaka, Ns hǎ-, Sh àká-, Ht ágà-, Y àgà-ntárí id., OJ {Mr.} akaru- v. 'get bright\red', áká-ru 'bright, light', akasu 'red, bright'; [2] *àkà- v. 'dawn' > OJ aka-/ake- id. ¶ S AJ 11O [#58], 267 [#6O], S QJ #6O, Mr. 675, 8 2 5 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #634 (A *i̯áka 'light, white': incl. T, J) ◇ The tentative rec. of N *h- is based on indirect ev.: the only N lrs. liable to disappear in S are *h- and *ʔ-, but N *ʔ- yields IE *ʔ, which is unable to produce

colouring effect on vowels. Hence the only N lr. to be reconstructed is *ħ-.

**762.** ₂*hUwäkê 'move, walk' > **HS**: S [1] WS *-ħūk- > Gz √ħwk (js. -ħūk, pf. hōka) v. 'stir, stir up, move', ? Ar √ħwk *TD* (pf. taħawwaka) 'tomber dans qch. par étourderie ou témérité'; [2] ?σ S {KB} *°-hāk- > OA √hk 'go' (1s ip. ʔhk, 3pm ip. yhkn), IA, EpJA √hk, BA יְהָךְ yǝ-'hāk 'go' ¶ L G 22O, Di. 1O, BK II 1458, KB 1697, HJ 281-2 (s.v. hlk), ≈ DRS 387 || **U**: FP *wäke 'run, walk' or 'come' > pLp {Lr.} *vēkɜ- 'run, walk' > Lp: L {LLO} viehka- 'run, walk', N {N} viekkâ- / -g- 'run' ⫶ Prm *vo- 'come, arrive' (→ 'ripen') > OPrm vo-, Z во‑ vo-(nt), Z US võ-nt, Yz vu-nʌ id., Yz vois 'he came', Vt ву‑ыны vu- reach, arrive, ripen' ¶ UEW 817, Lr. #1395, Lgc. #867O, LG 63 ◇ Qu.

**763.** *hakʕ∇ 'stand, stop, stay, be' > **HS**: S *°√hkʕ > Ar √hkʕ *G* 'take rest, halt' ¶ BK II 1433, Hv. 831 || C {AD} *√ʔk v. 'be, become' > pAg {Ap.} *ʔak-/ʔax- id. > Bln {Plm.} ʔax-/ʔak-, {R} aɣ-, Xm {R} aɣ-, Aw {Plm.} -aɣ- v. 'be' ⫶ EC *-ik(k)-/*-ak(k)- id. > Sml {Abr.} ah- v. 'be', Sa, Af -ekk-, sx. of stative (← copula), HEC {Hd.} *ik- v. 'become' > Brj ih-, Sd ik-/ikk-, Hd, Kmb ik- id. ¶ AD SF 131, 26O, Ss. B 1O3-4, Hd. 25 ¶ The vw. *i in EC *-ik- may go back to the 3m prefix *y- (*y-ak- > *ik-) || ?φ **U**: Sm: Kms {Cs.} ig- 'be': igäm 'sum', igäl 'es', igä 'est', etc., imv. iʔ 'be!' (sg.), imv. pl. igä, {KD} īgɛm 'sum' ¶ Cs. GSS 576-7, KD 2 2 || **A**: NaT *āg- v. 'rise' (← *'stand') > OT āɣ- v. 'rise (from sth.), climb (up sth.)', Tkm āɣ- v. 'climb (over), overflow, exceed (a stated period)', Osm, Chg aɣ- v. 'rise', Osm aɣ- v. 'rise, evaporate', QrB aw- v. 'climb (over)' ¶ Cl. 76-7, DTS 16, ET Gl 68-9, Rl. I 142, TkR 22, Rs. W 7 || **D** *āk- v. 'be, become' > Tm āku (āki-) v. 'come into existence, happen, be', Ml ākuka v. 'be that, become that', Kt a·g- v. 'become', Kn āgu v. 'come into existence', Kdg a·g- v. 'become', Tl agu ~ avu v. 'be, become' ¶¶ D #333 ¶¶ It is not clear if D *ā- (> Tm ā- v. 'come into existence, happen, be', Kt a·- v. 'become' [gerund a·ṛy, a·ṭy], Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku ā- v. 'be, become', Gnd ā- v. 'be', Kui āva- v. 'become, be, happen') is originally a morphophonemic variant of the same word (with N *-k- > D *-∅-) or a different verb ◇ T *-g- < N *-kʕ- regularly (cp. N *tekʕ∇ 'to touch' > T *ṭeg- id. and N *ĉEkʕ∇ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down' > T *çigru- 'trample').

**764.** ₂*hoḲU 'copulate' > **HS**: S *°√hḳḳ > Ar √hqq (pf. haqqa) 'coahabiter avec une femme avec violence' ({Fr.} 'vehementer inivit

[feminam]'), h̲āqq- 'vehementer futuens' ⨝ BK II 143O, Fr. IV 398 ‖ B {ϑPr.} *√wqˈHˈ (*wquˈHˈ-) v. 'copulate' (× N *ḳuyE 'be hungry, desire, want'??) > Izn {Rn.} əqqi, Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əqqu, Sll {Ds.} qqŭ (pf. iqqŭ), Izd qqu 'copulate', Izd t-uqqu-t 'cohabitation, acte d'amour' ⨝ Rn. 372, Mrc. 54 ‖ A: M *oqu- 'copulate' > MM [MA, IM] oqaba p. 'copulated' (of humans and animals), WrM oqu-, HlM oxo‾x, Kl {Rm.} oχb̌-χɑ vl 'copulate' (of humans), Ord {Ms.} oχo 'copulate' (of a man) ⨝ Pp. MA 266-7, 443, MED 626, KW 284, Ms. O 5O8 ‖ Tg: Ewk oko- 'copulate' (⇢ M?) ⨝ STM II 1O ⨝⨝ ≈ DQA #1564.

**765. o?** *hal∇ 'call out, call, utter magical words, rejoice' > **IE:** [1] {Pv.} *xel-t-/*xl-et-, d. *xₗˈtye/o- ({ʃPv.} *H₁ₗtyé/ó-) '≈ call' > AnIE{Pv.} *halt(i)ya- > Ht halzai- v. 'call out, cry, shout, exclaim, howl; cry for, crave; proclaim, recite, read; call, summon, invoke', Lw (3s prs. md.) hal-ti-it-ta-ri ‖ NaIE: acc. to Pv. II 5-64, NaIE *lōˈtā (< IE {Pv.} *xloˈtā) > ORu lapu n. 'call, summons, invitation', ON lǫð, AS laðu 'invitation'; ⇢ Gt laþōn, ON laða, AS laðian, OHG ladōn 'to invite, to call' (> NHG (ein)laden 'invite') ⫶ ? OL lessus, accus. sg. lessum 'wailing, lamentation' (acc. to Čop, < *letˢ-tu-s < *H*letˢ-tu-s) ⫼ [2] ?o: Gk ἀλαλή, Gk D ἀλαλά 'war-cry', and Gk H ὀλολύζω v. 'cry with a loud voice' (so Ts. E) ⨝⨝ F I 63, Pv. II 53-64, Pv. EA 88, Ts. E I 139-4O, Čop IGW-8 96-7, Fs. 323, Ho. 196, Vr. 343, 373, Kb. 585 ‖ **HS:** S *√hll '≈ rejoice, cry with exaltation' > BHb √hll G 'be boastful, infatuated', v. D 'eulogize', 'praise (God)', MHb √hll D 'praise', Aram √hll G (pf. halla) 'rejoice', SmA √hll D 'praise', Sr √hll D 'sing, praise', BHb hillūˈl-īm 'festival exultation', MHb הילוכ hilˈlūˈl, JA hillūˈl-ā {Js.} 'singing praises', JEA {Sl.} הִילוּכָא hillūˈl-ā 'festivity, wedding feast', IA [Eleph.] {KB} hi|allūlat 'noise', Gz √hll T (pf. tahalala) 'jubilate, utter cries of joy', Ak fOB √ʔll: atlulu 'to shout alāla, to brag, to boast', šūlulu 'to hail, to acclaim, to utter a cry' ⨝ KB 235, 238-9, KBR 245-9, Js. 346, 353, Sl. 378, Tal I 21O, Br. 176, BK II 1434-5, LG 217, CAD I/1 331-2, DRS 414-5 ‖ B *√hʔl ({ʃPr.} √h₂h₁l) v. 'diriger un salut (vers un absent)' > Ah, Tnsl, ETwl, Ty uhal, pf. yahul, Gh pf. yəhul ⨝ Fc. 576-8, Pr. H #218, GhA 78, 251 (Pcj. II B 3) ‖ **U:** FU *al∇- v. 'utter magial words, exercise magic forces', v. 'sacrifice' (× N *ˁˈaˈl∇ 'burn [esp. sacrifices], use magic means [sacrifices, magic formulae, etc.] to produce a particular result' [q.v.]) > Er {Bd.} alta-, al˅ta- v. 'promise', {ERV} alta- v. 'promise, dedicate', {Jv.} alta- 'doom',

{Bd.} alsta- 'versprechen, zusagen, weihen; verwünschen' ┊ Chr {Szil.} ulte- v. 'prey', Chr L {MRS, Ü} ul'δa-š 'to prey, to say one's prayers' ┊┊ pOs *al- > Os: V/Vy alɨl- v. 'curse, scold', Vy alɨl- v. 'bewitch', V alɨlta köl 'Fluchwort, malediction', alɨm- v. 'curse, call down curses upon' ┊ OHg áld- v. 'sacrifice, opfern', Hg áld- v. 'bless, consecrate', áldoz- v. 'sacrifice, offer; devote to' ‖ ? Y: Y {Jc.} ilete- 'beschimpfen, schelten', Y K {IN} iíts-, Y T {Ku.} iílete- 'scold' ⨀⨀ UEW 7, MF I 81, ERV 45, MRS 628, Stn. D 75, Trj. 13, KC 16-7, Jv. 19, Ü 225, EWU 24, ≈ Rd. UJ 45 [#58] (Y ⇦ U) ‖‖ A *al- > NaT *alka- v. 'bless, praise, conjure (supernatural spirits)' > OT alqa- v. 'praise' (both in the religious and the ordinary sense), v. 'bless', Qmq, Qrg, Qzq alqa-, Tv alɣa- v. 'bless', Xk alɣa- v. 'bless, thank', StAlt alqa- v. id., Yk alɣa- v. 'bless, praise, prey, conjure (supernatural spirits), cast a spell' ⤙⤚ Ewk alga- v. 'bless, pray', alga 'blessing' ⨀ Cl. 138, Rs. W 17, ET Gl 137-8, Rl. I 349, Pek. 7 4 ‖ Tg *algi-n 'fame, rumour' > Sln algĩ 'rumour', Mc algin, Mc Sb algian 'fame, rumour'; Mc algi-, Mc Sb algia- v. 'become famous' ⨀ ≈ STM I 3O ‖ M *aldar 'fame' > MM [S] aldar id., WrM aldar, HlM алдар 'fame, renown, reputation', Kl {KW} aldr̥ 'fame', Dgr {T} aldar ~ aldūr id., 'news', 'honorific name' ⨀ H 5, MED 3O, KW 6, T DgJ 12O.

**766.** *hal∇ 'this' > **HS**: S *hal-, dem. prn. > Ar ʔal- (df. art.) and -al- as a component in compound pronouns (e.g. δālika 'this'), Ak A allû 'jener', Ug hl {A} 'this', {OLS} '_he aquí, mira!', hlny, (AkSc) {Hnr.} hallinīya 'here, now then', ? Ar هَلَ hala ~ هَلَا halā 'here' (in ħayya hala ~ ħayya halā 'come here'), ??? CS *'hal∇ʔ-(aš), *la 'hal∇ʔˌiˌ 'further, onward, thither' (with the directive case ending *-aš or with the preposition *la 'to') (× N *⌐h⌐alˌ∇ʔˌE 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) ⨀ Sd. 37, A #87, OLS 164-5, Hnr. 121, BK II 1435, KB 235, KBR 245, BDB #1973, PS 1OO9 ‖ (× N *⌐ʔ⌐ol∇ 'that [visible]'): EC *ʔ∇l- > Gdl ʔéle (nom. ʔélu) 'that' (remote from the speaker), Dsn -(a)l- 'this', Arr -ló 'this': faraw-ló 'this horse', ʔummo-ló 'these children' ⨀ Hw. DP 13, Hw. A 191-2OO, To. DL 226-7 ‖ **K**: Sv: UB ala, LB ali, L/Ls ale 'he\it' (near the speaker); 'this', Sv al 'this' ⨀ TK 39-4O, GP 4O, Top. SJ 83 ‖ **IE**: NaIE *al- (× N *⌐h⌐alˌ∇ʔˌE 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) in NaIE *al-i̯o-s 'other' ({EI} IE *hₐeli̯o-s), *°al-ter 'the other from two', IE *°oˌal-nei̯ > Sl *olni 'last year' ⨀ P 25-6, EI 411, Brg. D 1O7, F I 76-7, Vn. A 31-2, Flr. 155, Hm. 239, YGM-1 11, Billy 6-7, WH I 3O-3, Slt. 27O, Fs. 39, Vr.

1OO-1, Ma. CS 275, Glh. 368 ‖ **A**: ? NaT *°al 'that' > Qrg, Tb al 'that', unless it is a secondary variant of T *ol 'ille' (⇐ N *ˈʔˈoӀ∇ 'ⴼ').

**767.** *hАӀ∇ 'to shine; bright' > **HS**: WS *√hll v. 'shine' (of a heavenly body), 'be bright' > Ar hall- 'clair' (se dit des étoffes d'un tissu léger e t clair), √hll (pf. halla) v. 'appear' (of a new moon, of a heavenly body appearing over the horizon), √hll v. *TD* (pf. tahallala) 'shine', 'be bright (face, cloud)', hall-at- {Fr.} 'vas, quo ellychnium et oleum continetur', sc. 'lampas', {BK} 'lampe', {Hv.} 'lamp', BHb √hll הלל *Sh* (Hiph.) v. (ip. יָהֶל yāˈhel, 3pm ip. יָהֵלּוּ yāˈhellū) 'flash forth, light, shine', Tgr √hlhl *D* (pf. ሀልሀለ halhalɐ) v. 'blaze (lodern, flammen), ሀልሀልታ halhalta n. 'blaze (Lohe, Flamme)', ?? Gz {DRS ⇐ ?) √hll *G* 'être clair, se rasséréner' ⦚ Fr. IV 4OO-1, BK II 1434-6, Hv. 832, KB 238, KBR 248, BDB #1984, LH 1-2, DRS 415 ‖ B *°√Hll > Izn {Rn.} iulǝlla pl. 'lightning' ⦚ Rn. 287 ‖ **K** *ˌhˌel- v. 'lighten' (×N *yelˌayˌ∇ 'to shine; light [lux]', q.v.) > OG, G el-, G Ing hel- v. 'lighten', Lz A al- v. 'sparkle, lighten', Sv hel- ~ el- / -hl- (masdar li-el-e ⁴ li-hl-) v. 'lighten', Sv. IB hel 'lightning' ⦚⦚ ≈ K 78-9 and K² 46-7 (both: *el-; K adduces Mg/Lz val- 'lighten'), ≈ FS K 122 (adducing Mg/Lz val- and reconstructing K *wel-); on Mg/Lz val- *see* N *wˈeˈí∇ 'to shine, to lighten', IS MS 362-3,, IS I 281-2 ‖ **D** *all- 'clear' (of liquids) (×N *Xaᴌb∇ 'white') > Krx all- 'become clear' (of liquid left undisturbed), Mlt {Drs.} ále 'get clear (as water when left undisturbed)', ? Kui alga 'tidy, clear' ⦚⦚ D #261, Pf. 184 ◇ To be distinguished from N *ˌǀgˈæˈнӀu or *гˈæˈнӀu 'reddish, yellow, brown' (q.v.).

**768.** ₂ *hiᴌ∇ (or *hᴇyᴌ∇??) 'new heavenly light' (≈ 'new moon, the first star in the sky') > **HS**: CS (or WS) *hilāl- (~ *°haylil-?) > BHb הֵילֵל hēˈlēl 'morning star' (scriptio plena of the first ē, as always in BHb, points to a former *ay), Ug hll {A} 'crescent', {OLS} 'є divinidad astral', Ar hilāl- 'new moon', 'moon at the end of the lunar month', as well a s Gz {L} halāl 'new moon' and Amh halal 'moon' (both from Ar?) ⦚ KB 235, OLS 165, A #832, BK II 1435. L G 217 ‖ B: Ah {Fc.} tallit (pl. tilil), Ttq {Msq.} tallit (pl. telil), 'new moon, lunar month', Tw Ud {Sdl.} tallit (pl. tilil) 'moon, month', Gt {Nh.} tallit (pl. čillil) 'month', Kb {Dl.} ṯalliṯ 'moment imprésis: un instant, quelque jours' ⦚ Fc. III 982, Msq. 178, 197, Sdl. 3O7, Nh. s.v. 'mois', Dl. 441 ⦚⦚ Cf. also CCh: Bdm {Cfr.} hʸìlluˊgúˋ, {Lk.} hílogu 'star' (unless from Knr šillogu id.) (ChC, Lk. B 1O4) ‖ **A**: Tg: Lm ιӀān 'moon', 'month' (⇐ *'new moon') ⦚

STM I 3O6 ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA #19 (S, B ⁕÷ Sa, Af alsa 'moon, month', AnIE, D, Tg words for 'day', 'light', 'burn, kindle' [*see* N *hA1∇ 'to shine; bright', *yel‚ay‚∇ 'to shine; light (lux)', and *yiL∇ 'burn, kindle']).

**769.** ₂ *hiL'U' 'stand, be, exist' ([in B] → 'have') > **HS**: WS *√hlw 'be, exist' > Gz √hlw *D* (pf. ᩋᩮ hallawa ~ ᩋᩮ hallō) 'be, exist; there is', Tgr pf. ᩋ halla, Tgy pf. ᩋ ?allo, Arg pf. halla, Amh pf. ᩋ alle id., Hmr hl 'be', Ar Y {Mü.} pf. hallo, {Slw.} hall- 'there is' ꟿ LG 217-8, LH 5, Mü. rEDG 399, Blv. XJ 69-72, Slw. 214-5, Bns. NJ I 23, DRS 412 ‖ B: Ty ilu (3s pf. ila) [Pcj. I C 2] 'have', ETwl ƀlu [Pcj. I A 9-11], Ah al (pf. ilă) [Fcj. 12 = Pcj. I A 11] 'have', Kb al (pf. ila) 'have, belong to' ꟿ Dl. 437-8, Fc. 974-7, GhA₂ 1O8, Pr. M VI-VII 119-26 and 143-4 (on conjugations) ‖ C: EC: Elm -el p. / -al-a prs. 'stand', Arr -ell- pf. / -all- ip., Sml -īl-~-ill- 'live, be' (3m p.: Sml yīl, Sml N 'yīl, 3s prs.: Sml N 'yāl, Sml C yāl(la)), Rn {PG} -īl-/-āl- 'live, dwell (wohnen)', pBn pf. *-īl- / ip. *-āl- 'stay' (Bn J 1s p. ạ̀kị́-ʔ-ị̀ḷȝ̣, 3m p. ạ̀kị́-y-ị̀ḷȝ̣, 1s prs. ạ̀kạ̣́-ʔ-ậ̣ḷạ̀, 3m prs. ạ̀kȝ̣-š-ậ̣ḷạ̀, Bn K 1s p. kị́-ʔ-ị̀ḷȝ̣, 3m p. kị́-š-ị̀ḷȝ̣, 1s prs. kạ̣́ʔậ̣ḷạ̀, 3m prs. kị́šậ̣ḷạ̀), Dsn yâl 'stand' ꟿ AD IPSV, Bell 32, 59, Anr. VVMS, Mrn. SS 1OO-7, 272-7, 357-8, Abr. S 1962, Ss. OKSV 164-9, Ss. G 426-7, Ss. D 211-2, Hn. S 33-6, Hn. BD 35-9, 57-61, 76, PG 59, 15O, Schlee 17-2O, Hw. A 267-9, Vg. rSimO 165-7, To. DL 532, HL 67 (pEC *-āll- 'stand, be present') ꟿꟿ Coh. 8O [#2O] ‖‖ Ⱥ (*°iL∇ 'stand [up]', {DQA} *il∇ 'stand, become'): Tg *il‚i|u‚- 'stand up, stop still' > Orc, Ud ili-, Ul ili-~ilu, Ork ili- ~ illi-, Nn ili-, Ewk ˍil-, Lm, Neg il-, WrMc ili- id., Mc Sb yili- id., yᴜla- id., 'halt', Sln ˍil- 'stand up', Jrc ili-bun 'standing, vertically' ꟿ STM I 3O2-3, Y ##537-8, Kiy. 121 [#424], 131 [#6O4], Gru. SSJ #424, Md. ChF 135 ‖ ? pKo {S} *īr- 'become, happen' > MKo īr- 'become', NKo ira₁-na- id., īl- 'happen' ꟿ S QK #733, Nam 4O5, MLC 1351, 1356 ꟿꟿ DQA # 596, Rm. SKE 71 (connects Ko with Tg ī- 'enter') ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. быть ('be') *le (U, HS + unc. K *r- 'be') ◈ ≈ Gr. II #29 (*le 'be', incl. Y, CK, EA, U *le- ÷ IE *le(i)- 'provide, obtain').

**770.** *hûL∇ 'push, butt, pierce' > **IE** *Ⅹwel-/*Ⅹul- v. 'strike' > Ht hulla-, hulliya- v. {Pv.} 'smash, quash, defeat', {Ts.} '(nieder)schlagen' (× N *gûL∇ 'to destroy, to fight; war') ‖ NaIE *wel- v. '≈ push, wound, damage' (×IE *welⅩ- 'strike' < N *w∇L'h'∇ 'hit, attack', q.v.) > L volnus, vulnus (gen. volneris, vulneris) 'wound' ⸬ Gk οὐλή 'a wound scarred over, a scar', ἀνᾱλίσκω (< *ἀνα-Ϝαλίσκω) 'waste, spend' ꟿꟿ Phv. II 363-8 (distinguishes between IE

\*✕wel-hʷ- [{ʃPhv.} H₁wel-Aʷ₁ > Ht hulla-] and  \*wel-ˏhˌ- [{ʃPhv.} \*wel-₍A₁₎- > \*walh-]), Ts. EI 275ff., P 1144-5, F I 74 and II 443-4, WH II 744-5, 827, Fs. 564, Vr. 642, ≈ EI 567 (see N \*w∇L⌐h⌐∇ 'to hit, to attack' and N \*ˏ'ˏw⌐A⌐lˏiyˌ∇ 'to draw, to pull out\off') ‖ **HS**: S \*°√hlw v. 'push' > Jb C {Jo.} √hlʔ ({Jo.} √hlw) (pf. ⌐he⌐leʔ) v. 'push (animals) into a pen\cave' ʤ Jo. J 97 ‖ **ᴀ**: M \*oli- v. 'butt' > WrM oli- v. 'butt' (of a goat, ram), HlM олих–х 'to butt (with one horn)', Kl {KRS} ольх oĺ-xъ, {Rm.} oĺį- 'butt (with horns)' ʤ MED 6O9, Luv. 297, KRS 396, KW 285 ʤ The M √ belongs here unless it is \*ɸoli- (which cannot be ruled out, because no reflexes are known in the lgs. distinguishing between \*ɸ- and an initial zero). If this M root belongs here, its vw. \*o (for the expected \*u or \*ü) needs explaining.

**770a.** \*⌐h⌐alˏ∇ʔ ˌE 'on the other side' > **HS**: C: SC: Irq {Fl., E} alu 'behind, after', {MQK} ʔalu 'behind, reverse', {Wd.} alu 'back (side), reverse (side)', Alg {E} alu 'behind', Brn {E} aluŋ 'after, behind, in back of', Kz {E} alale 'afterwards' ʤ E SC 315-6 s.v. SC \*ʔála 'behind, after', Wd. ##269, 746, MQK 13, cp. AD SF 222 ‖ ʔσ CS \*⌐hal∇ʔ-₍aš₎, \*la ⌐hal∇ʔˏiˌ 'further, onward, thither' (with directive case ending \*-aš or with preposition \*la 'to') (× N \*hal∇ 'this', q.v.) > BHb הָלְאָה ⌐hālaʔ-ā 'further (on), onward, thither', JA לְהַלָּא lə-hallā, לְהַלָּן lə-hallān id., Sr ܠܗܠ lə-hal 'afar, beyond, thenceforth', Ar هَلَا halā 'forward, on!', but we must keep in mind possible infl. (or even alt. et.) of deictic particles and pronouns, cp. CS \*hal 'this' [> Ug hl, (AkSc) al 'this', Ar df. art. ʔal-] ʤ KB 235, KBR 245, BDB #1973, PS 1OO9, OLS 164 ‖ **ɪᴇ** \*ʔal-, \*ʔol- 'on\from the other side', {P} 'darüber hinaus' ({EI} \*hₐelnos 'beyond') (× NaIE \*ol- 'that [remote]' < N \*⌐ʔ⌐ol∇ 'that [visible]') > L uls 'on the other side' ‖ OIr al, all 'beyond', Gl alla 'other', allos 'second', and allo- in the ethnonym Allo-broges (allo- + broga 'pays'?), Brtt {RE} \*allos 'other' > Br all id., W all-tud 'exile', d.: OBr alall, allall, arall, MBr, Br, MW, W arall, Crn aral 'other' ‖ OI ⌐ārād 'aus der Ferne', ⌐araṇa 'fern, fremd' ˥ NaIE \*al-i̯o-s 'other' ({EI} IE \*hₐeli̯o-s) (× N \*hal∇ 'this') > OIr aile '(an)other', MW eil, W ail, OBr, Br eil 'second', Gl ALLOS, ALOS 'second', ALLA 'other' ‖ L alius id., Osc ALLO 'alia' ‖ Gk ἄλλος '(an)other' ‖ Arm այլ ayl id. ‖ Gt aljis id., aljar 'anserswo', ON elliga(r) 'sonst', ellar, ella id., 'otherwise', AS elles, OHG alles, elles 'otherwise' ˥ Other

derivatives: L alter 'one of two, the other of two', Osc ALTTRAM 'alteram'; Gt alla 'aluid', allos 'the second one' ⌉ pSl *olni (< IE *o̯al-nei̯) 'last year' > ChS ᴧᴀʜи lani, Blg лани, Cz loni, P łoni, R Δ ло'ни(сь), SCr, Slv láni ¶ P 24-6, EI 64, 411, Brg. D 1O7, F I 76-7, EWA I 162-3, Vn. *A* 31-2, 57-8, 61, RE 117, Flr. 155, Hm. 239, YGM-1 11, Billy 6-7, WH I 3O-3, Billy 6-7, 35, Slt. 27O, Fs. 39, Vr. 1OO-1, Ma. CS 275, Glh. 368 ¶ Here, as in S, there may be infl. of deictic and other dem. elements ‖ **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) *äl∇, *äḷ∇ʲ-m∇ 'the other side' > pObU {Ht.} *ā̄l-, *ā̄ləm > pVg *āl- > Vg LK ɔ̄lwä (lative case) 'hinüber, auf die andere Seite des Wassers', pVg *ā̄ləm > (in cds.) Vg: T äləm, LK/UK ɔ̄ləm, P/LL ɔ̄ləm-, Ss āləm- 'on the other side of...' (e.g., Vg: T ä'ləmpā̄lt, LK ɔ̄ləmpɔ̄lt, Ss āləmpā̄lt 'hinter, auf der anderen Seite [des Wassers]', P ā̄ləmpā̄l 'das jenseitige Ufer'); pOs *äləm- > Os: Y å⨁əm, Os: D/K/Kr ȧtəm 'the other (side)', D/Kr ȧtəm-pelək 'the other side of a river\lake' ⦙ Hg Δ elv, elü, el 'jenseitige Gegend', postposition elvé, elvett 'on the other side', elvől 'from the other side' ¶ UEW 836, Ht. 125 [#19], Stn. D 78, MF 15O ‖ **A** *aᶦ̮ʲl- 'on the other side, across' > M *alu-s 'on the other side, across' > MM [S] alus id., WrM alus, HlM als id., 'farther, beyond; more than', Kl алс alṣ 'at some distance', (with gen.) 'across, over', {Rm.} 'über, auf der anderen Seite'; M -b→ Yk olus ~ alis 'extremely, very much, more', Qzq алыс alis 'distant, far' ¶ H 6, MED 33, Klz. MJ 16, KRS 36, KW 8, MM 31 ‖ Tg: WrMc aldaŋa 'far, distant; from a distance (издали)', ?σ Mc Sb ʔaləduŋə 'queer, unusual, weird' ¶ Hr. 33-4, Z 39-4O, Y #256O ‖ ?σ pJ {S} *asu 'steep bank, precipice' > OJ asu (aʒu) id. ¶ S QJ #12O3 ⫼ d.: A *ā̄ʹla- (< *al-ya-, with compensatory lengthening due to the contraction of the cns. cluster *-ly-?) v. 'cross (mountains)' (S AJ 197 [#259], S VL) > T *ā̄l- v. 'cross (a mountain\mountains) > OT āš- v. 'cross, Chg aš- v. 'exceed, surpass', Tkm āš- v. 'cross (mountains, other obstacles)', OOsm, ET, StAlt aš-, Xk as- id., v. 'overflow', Tk aş-, Az, Qrg, VTt, Ln aš-, SY as- v. 'cross (mountains)', Qzq as- v. 'overflow the banks' (← v. 'cross the banks'), Qq as- v. 'overflow', ET, StAlt aš-, Xk as- v. id., 'cross (mountains)', Yk ās- v. 'cross, pass' ¶ Cl. 255, Rs. W 3O, ET Gl 212-4, BT 23-4 ‖ Tg *ala-, *ala-n- v. 'cross (a mountain ridge)' > Ewk Skh/Urm/Uc ala-, alan-, Ewk Ald/Z/Tp alan-, Lm O ala-, Lm Ol/B/P olъn-, Neg alan- id.; Tg *ala-n 'mountain pass, crossing of a mountain ridge' > Ewk Urm alan 'mountain pass', Lm Ol alъn, Lm O alan id., 'crossing of a

mountain pass' (n. act.), Nn ala 'mountain pass' ⨍ ≈ STM I 27-8 ⨍⨍ DQA #65 (A *ā́la 'cross [a mountain]') ◇ Cf. IS MS 372 (IE *Hel- 'over, above', A *āl- v. 'cross a mountain'), ⇔ AD LRC #64 (IE *al-~*ol-equated with A *olam- v. 'wade' and S *ʕal- 'on, above, top') and IS I 274-5 (N *ʕalʌ 'to cross a mountain' > A *āla- id., HS √*ʕl v. 'cross a mountain, climb, summit', ? IE *hel- 'from\on the other side'). Today, when it has been shown that HS *ʕal- had a meaning different from IS's interpretation and has a better alt. et. (𐤟 s.v. N *ʕA1∇ 'height, top', 'climb, go up'), we must revise the rec. formulated in IS I 274-5 ◇ If CS *'hal∇ʔ- belongs here, the N rec. will be *hal∇ʔE, but if this S cognate is rejected, we have to reconstruct a less specified N *⌈ʔ⌉alE.

**770b.** ₂ *⌈h⌉ali⌈w⌉∇ 'elephant' > **HS**: B *√H1w id. > Ah {Fc.} ēlu (pl. ēlwān), ETwl {PGG} eləw, Ty {PGG} iləw, Gh {Nh.} alu, Zng {Nic.} əžəh, {Bs.} ižit (pl. āǯāďən) ⨍ Fc. 982, PGG 201 ‖ ? ECh: Mkl {J} ʔêlbí 'elephant', pl. ʔêlbìḍí; ʔêlbìsó 'female elephant' ⨍ J LM 96 ‖ ?µ EC: pBn {Hn.} *àlíšì 'female elephant' > Bn: J alíši, Kj alíšɜ, K aléssɜ id. ⨍ For the element *-ši cp. Mkl ʔêlbìsó 'female elephant' ⨍ Hn. BD 104 ‖ ?σ S: Ak Bg/LB alū 'bull (as a mythological being)' ({Blz.} 'mythical giant bull') ⨍ CAD I/1 377, ASal. J 167, Dk. ESA 32 ⨍⨍ Cp. also Gk ἐλέφας (gen. -ντος) 'elephant' (a loan from some HS [perhaps Libyan] source?) ⨍⨍ Blz. EH 3-4 ‖ **D**: McTm *alliyaṉ > Tm alliyaṉ 'stray elephant separated from the fold', Ml alliyan 'female elephant' ⨍ D 258 ◇ N *⌈h⌉ is very tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of Ak (a-rules out all laryngeals other than *ʔ- and *h-) and B (Ah long ē-favours a lr. other than *ʔ-). If Ak does not belong here, we have to reconstruct an unspecified N *H|ū- ◇ Blz. DA 157 [#50].

**771.** ₂ *haL∇Ḳ⌈u⌉ 'to step, to walk' > **HS**: S *√hlk v. 'go, walk' > BHb √hlk G id. (pf. הָלַךְ hā'lak, imv. לֵךְ lek, 3m ip. יֵלֵךְ yē'-lek), Ph √hlk, Pun pf. ylk, imv. LECH, M'b 1s ip. ʔhlk, imv. lk, Ug G √hlk, Nab, Plm √hlk, Ak √ʔlk G (inf. alāku) id., IA √hlk D 'walk', Md √hlk D 'proceed, go forward, travel, walk', Ar √hlk G (pf. halaka) 'perish, pass away', Sq {L} 1p Gt nah'tilok 'we perish' ⨍ KB 236-8, KBR 246-8, HJ 280-2, OLS 165, DM 148, BK II 1439-41, Sod. 31-4, CAD I/1 300-28, DRS 413-4 ‖ B (mt.) *√Hk1 v. 'walk' > Wrg {Dlh.} akəl (3m pf. yukəl) 'follow, walk, travel', Tmz {MT} akəl ⁀ ašəl (pf. ukəl ⁀ ušəl) 'marcher sur, piétiner, fouler', Skn akəl 'cheminer', BMn {Bs.} ḵel (3s pf. iḵla) 'walk', d. verbal stems: Ah sikəl 'marcher au pas' (of animals), Gh

{Nh.} šikəl 'marcher droit son chemin', ds.: n. act.: Ah tēklɐ 'marche au pas', Gh čikalt (pl. čikkal), BSn ṯišli, BMn hišli, Zww {Bs.} ṯikli, Wrs {Bs.} ṯ́ičli, Nf tikli 'walking (marche)', Kb ṯiⱎli id., 'allure', Shnw {La.} hik̲li 'la marche, le pas' ⫟ Fc. 781-3, Dlh. Ou. 142, La. S 193, La. Ch 143, Nh. 176, MT 331, Dl. 4O, Bs. ZOu 145 ‖ **A**: M *alqu- v. 'step' > MM [MA] alqu-, WrM alqu-, HlM алха‾, Dgr alku-, ShY alɣa- id., Kl {Rm.} alχa- 'steigen, treten, schreiten'; ⇿ *alqum 'a step' > WrM alqum, HlM алха(м) 'step, pace, gait', Kl {KRS, Rm.} алх alχъ, алхм alχъm, Mnr H {SM} arg̲u ~ ? χarg̲u, MM [MA] alqu, Mnr H {SM} χarg̲u, arg̲u, {T} χalgu, Dx hanku a step' ⫟ Pp. MA 99, MED 34, KRS 38, T 372, T DnJ 139, SM 13, 161, KW 7 ⫟ Mnr and Dx χ-, h- is probably accounted for by Md.-Hl.'s law of a Mnr/Dx initial aspiration induced by the root-medial vl. cns. ‖ pJ {S} àrùk- v. 'walk' > OJ aruk-, àrík- id., J: T arúk- 'walk, go on foot, step', K àrùk-, Kg àruk-, Ns àkkʸ-, Sh átč-, Ht àrùg-, Y àìg- 'walk' ⫟ S AJ 27O [#84] ⫟⫟ S AJ 268 [#84] (*aluk'∇), S QJ #84, Mr. 677 ⫟⫟ DQA #22 ◇ HS *k < N *ḳ (HS deglottalization) ◈ ≠ Gr. II #178 (*al 'go') (A, J + unc. IE, Sm, CK).

**772.** *hА́UḰ⌐a⌐ 'be in need (hungry, thirsty), covet' > **IE**: NaIE *elk-/*olk- (or *alk-?) v. 'hunger, be hungry' > Lt álk-ti, Ltv aĩk-t 'to hunger', Pru alkīns · "nüchtern" ({Tp.} 'sober-minded'), Lt álkanas 'one on an empty stomach' ¦ Sl *olka-ti 'to hunger' > OCS ЛАКАТИ lakati ~ АЛЪКАТИ alъkati 'to hunger, to fast', OR ЛАКАТИ lakati (prs. ЛАYȢ) 'to hunger, to be thirsty', Slv lákati 'to hunger', Cz lákati, Slk lákat' 'to attract', P łaknąć 'to hunger, to be hungry; to covet, to long for' ¦¦ OHG ilgi 'famine' ⫟ P 3O7, Frn. 8, En. 14O, Tp. P A-D 75, Vs. II 452, SJSS I 27-8, Trt. 6-7, Kb. 496 ‖ **HS**: WS *√ħlk > Ar √ħlk G (ħalaka / -ħlaku) 'être extrêmement avide de qch.', Mh hə'lɜkt 'thirst', Mh √ħlk (pf. hī̆lɜk) 'be very tired and thirsty', Jb C √ħlk (pf. 'helk) id., 'miss so. who has died', Tgr {DRS} həlkɐy 'tired' ⫟ Jo. M 156-7, BK II 1439, DRS 413-4 ‖ **A**: T *aĺuk- > NaT *ašuk- > OT ašuq- v. 'long for'; ??σ → NaT *ašuk- 'be in a hurry' > OT, Ln ašuq-, CrTt, Kr Cr, QrB, Qrg ašɪq-, VTt, Bsh asъq-, Nog, Qzq, Qq asɪq-, Uz ɑšiq-, ET ošuq- id. ⫟ Cl. 239, DTS 64, ET Gl 217-8 ◇ S *k is due to deglottalization of N *Ḳ.

**773.** *⌐h⌐∇mP⌐i⌐ 'venomous vermin\(?)reptile' > **IE**: NaIE *empi- ~ *embʰi- 'stinging insect' > Gk ἐμπίς (gen. ἐμπίδ-ος) 'mosquito, gnat' ¦¦ AS imbe 'swarm of bees', OHG imbi, NHG Imme id., NGr Wf īme

'bee' ¶ WP I 125, P 311, EI 312 (IE *h₁em'pi-s 'gnat, stinging insect') ≠ F I 5O6, ≠ Ch. 344, ≈ Ho. 187, Schz. 173, OsS 443, KM 325, Kb. 496 ‖ **D** *umm▽]- '∈ stinging insect' > Kn ummuṇi '∈ insect', Tu umil∘ ~ umbḷi 'mosquito, gnat', Nkr ummel 'mosquito' ¶¶ D #638 ‖ **HS**: WS *√hmm > Ar hāmm-at- 'venomous vermin\reptile (scorpions, serpents, worms, lice)', Jb {DRS} häm 'big snake' ¶ BK II 1443, Hv. 834, DRS 424 ‖ Ch {Nw.} *ami 'bee' > CCh: pMM {Ro.} *ama > Gzg {Lk.} ʔamam, {Ro.} ámám, MfG {Brr.} ámam, {Ro.}: Myn àmú, Mlk àmóm, Zlg àmúm, Mofu úẁàm id. ∥ ECh: Jg {J} ʔímó, Brgt {J} ʔimìyú, Mu {J} ʔûm 'bee' ¶ ChC, ChL, Nw. #7O, Lk. G 117, Ro. 2O9 [#57], Brr. MG II 75 ‖‖ Cp. also the N word group *ŋ▽í▽ ⌈h⌉▽mP⌈i⌉ 'gnat, mosquito' (q.v. ffd.; the initial component may be connected with N *ń▽í▽ [or *ń▽ḷ▽] '∈ insect', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The assimilation N *-mP- > HS **-mm- (> S *-mm-, Ch *-m-) still needs inquiring.

**774.** *han▽ 'head' → 'top' → 'on, on the surface, towards' > **HS**: Eg G ḥn 'head', ḥn 'bis hin nach…' (unless < Eg fP ḥn 'box, chest'???) ¶ EG II 491-5, Fk. 158 ‖ S *∘⌈h⌉ana > Ak ana, an 'towards, to' (Sd.: 'zu, [in der Richtung] nach'), ? Gz nē 'away to', 'towards' ¶ Sd. 47-8, LG 38O ‖ C: HEC *hana 'over, above' > Sd āna 'over, on', Hd, Ged hana id. ∥ ? Bj {R} -na 'mit, bei, an, auf' ∥ C ⊕→ Mb {Fl.} aná 'above' ¶ Hd. 1O9, R WBd 176 ‖ ?? CCh: Gudu {IL} yin 'head' ¦ Tr {Nw.} ɟin id. ¶ Nw. WLT 37, JI II 182-3 ‖ **IE** *⌈x⌉an ~ *⌈x⌉anu ~ *(⌈x⌉a)nō {P} 'an einer schrägen Fläche hin, hinauf' > Av ana, OPrs anā 'über … hin', 'entlang, auf', Av anu, OPrs anuv 'nach, gemäß', 'längs, entlang', OI 'anu 'after, along, according to' ∥ ? Arm (ɦ)ɯʊ- (h)am- verbal px.: (ɦ)ɯʊ-рɯռ̈ɯʊ (h)am-baṟnam 'I raise up', (ɦ)ɯʊ-рьрьʊ (h)am-beṟem 'ich ertrage' (-m- for *-n- due to generalization of the variant preceding a nasal cns. of the √) ¦ Gk I/A ἄνα, ἀνά 'up, upon' ∥ Gt ana, ORu ana, an, ON á 'on', OHG ana, an 'at, on, over, in', NHG an, AS an, on 'on', NE on ¦¦ ? Lt anóte, anót 'according to' ¶ P 39-4O, EI 612 (IE *hₐen-hₐe 'up [onto], upwards, along'), F I 1OO-1, Fs. 41, Vr. 1, Mkj. DR 119, Ho. 4, Kb. 23-4, EWA I 214-5, MK I 3, Frn. 11 ‖ **U** *nä 'towards, into, near' > FU *-nä 'towards, into, to' > Os: N -nȧ 'towards, into' (lative, illative): χatnȧ 'into the house', ? E -nät, -nat 'with'; Vg: T -nā̈, -nā, LK -nə, -ən, -n, P -na, -n, Ss -na, -n 'to, into' (direction, lative case) ¦ Hg Δ -ni, -ńi 'zu', Hg -nek, -nak 'gegen, auf zu', OHg -nál, -nél 'zu, bei', Hg -nál, -nél 'bei' ‖ Sm *nä (postposition): dat. sg. *nä-ŋ 'zu', loc. sg. *nä-nå 'bei', abl. sg.

\*nä-tъ 'von' > Ng dat. {Cs.} nâŋ 'zu', {Mik.} nanu 'bei', En X {Cs.} dat. ne, En B {Cs.} dat. nɪ̯e 'zu', Ne T {Ter.} dat. ня' 'zu', loc. няна 'bei', Kms nå̈:mъn 'für, wegen' ¶¶ Jn. 99, MF 461-2, ≠ UEW 3OO ‖ D (in SD) \*aṅ̩ṅ̩- 'upper part' > Tm aṇ 'upper part', aṇa v. 'lift the hand', Ml aṇṇa 'upwards, above', Kn aṇṇe, aṇṇa, aṇa 'excellence, purity', Tu aṇāvuni, aṇṇāvuni v. 'look up, lift up the face, gaze' ¶ D #11O ¶ The cerebrality of \*ṅ in the D √ has not yet been explained (\*-n- + suffixal \*y > \*-ṅ- > D \*-ṅ-?).

**775.** \*hEn̄∇ 'iste' > **HS**: WS \*hinn- 'here, voici, voilà' > Ug hn 'aquí', 'he aquí; _mira!; así', Hb הֵן hen 'voici', {KBR} pc. 'behold', Ph hn id., Ar ʔinna 'certainly, indeed', Sb {Bll.} ʔn 'behold, lo!', Gz {L} ʔan-ka 'so then', ʔangā 'indeed' ¶ KBR 251, OLS 167, HJ 285-7, Bll. 22, LG 26, DRS 427 ‖ B {Pr.} \*-hīn, deictic nominal sx. of remoteness and position out of sight > Twr {Pr.} -(h)īn id., Kb -ihin, -ihinna, invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote visible object), -inna, -yinna, invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote visible person or object), Tmz {MT} -nn, -nna, invariable postnom. dem. prn (remote or absent), Mz {Dlh.} -n, -ən, -in, invariable deictic morpheme of remoteness or absence (aržaz-ən 'cer homme-là'), Wrg {Dlh.} -n id. ('that'): argaz-ən 'homme-là, cet homme-là', ass-ən 'ce jour-là en question', w-ən 'celui-là', t-ən 'celle-là', pl. i-ni 'ceux-là', ti-ni 'celles-là' ¶ AiM 217, Pr. M III 191-2, Dl. 282, 534-5, MT 456, Dlh. M 129, Dlh. Ou 2O8 ‖ eEg -n, deictic element of proximity: m. pn 'this', f. tn, ntr. nn 'this', adv. ꜥn 'so' ¶ Lpr. 68-71 ‖ C: Ag: Bln {R} ənǯa 'that', Q {Hz.} ɜn 'this', ín 'that', Km {Hz., Ap.} ɜ́n 'this', {Ap., Hz.} in 'that', Aw {Hz.} ɜ́nn 'this', án 'that'; these forms or part of them go back to N sequences \*ha 'ille' + \*hEn̄∇ and\or \*ʼhʼi (dem. pc.) + \*hEn̄∇, producing the opposition 'this' ↔ 'that' ⫶ EC: Kns {BlSO} ini 'this' ⫶ Bj {R} ūn nom. this' m. (accus. ōn, pl. nom. ān, pl. accus. ēn) ⫶ SC: ? Irq {Nb.} -síŋ 'iste, that near you': hē-síŋ 'iste homo' (the element -s- still needs explaining) ¶ Ap. K 321, Nb. 3O-2, Wh. IC 79 (Irq -síŋ 'that [particular]'), Hz. AL 21, R BedS III 32-6, Rop. 15O ‖ Ch nominal determiner (m.) \*-∇n∇ > Hs dṓkì-n '*the* horse' (↔ dṓkì 'horse'), Bd {Sch.} kʷàm-âni '*that* bull' (↔ kʷàm 'bull'), Gude {Sch.} ráhá-ná '*this* axe' (↔ ráhá 'axe'), Msg {Sch.} ɗif nà '*this* man' (↔ ɗif 'man'), and with loss of gender distinction: Mkl {Sch.} étròwó-ŋ '*the* woman' (↔ étròwó 'woman'), Ke {Sch.} hɔ̀lgɜ́-ŋ̩ '*the* woman' (↔ hɔ̀lgɜ́

'woman') ¶ Sch. ED 156-9 ‖ **IE**: [1] NaIE *eno-/*ono-, dem. prn. 'that' (intermediate or distal deixis) (× cd. with N **\*ha** 'ille'?) > Lt anàs, añs 'that, that one', an(à) 'behold' ¦ Sl *onъ 'that, that one' (→) 'he' (f. *ona, ntr. *ono, pl.: m. *oni, f. *oně) > OCS **ОNЪ** onъ m. 'that, that one, ille', 'he' / **ОNА** f. / **ОNО** ntr. / **ОNИ** pl. m. / **ОNѢ** pl. f., in later lgs. mainly 'he' / 'she' / 'it' / 'they': R sg. он / о'на / о'но, pl. о'ни, pl. f. † and Δ о'не, Uk він / во'на / во'но, SCr ôn (~ о̀n) / о̀na / о̀no, Slv о̀n / о́na / onō̃ (~ ó̃no), Cz, Slk, P on / ona / ono ‖ OI ana- 'this', base of pronouns (in a'nēna, a'nayā, a'nayōḥ), Av ana- (anaya), OPrs instr. anā ‖ Arm **ունին** so-yn 'this, that, he, self, the same' (< *k̂o-eno-) ‖ Gk cd. ἐκεῖνος 'that' (distal deixis) (< *ĕ-κε-ενος) ‖ L enim 'indeed, truly; namely', 'for' (explanatory cnjc.), Osc íním INIM εινειμ, íní 'and' ‖ Gmc cd. (< IE *y-on-yos): OHG jenēr 'that one', NHG jener 'that, ille', AS h.l. ʒeon, OFrs jen, MLG jene id., ON inn ~ enn 'the', Sw, Dn -(e)n id. ‖ Ht an(n)i- 'that, yonder' (sg. com. annis), annaz 'formerly, once upon a time'; acc. to Pv., ann- < *on-yo- ¶¶ P 319-21, Frn. 1O, Vs. III 14O-1, Glh. 454, M K I 32, F I 476, 515, WH I 4O4-6, Bc. G 317, Vr. 286, Kb. 522, KM 332, Pv. I-II 51-5, Ħ 458 (*h₄en- 'that') ꠀ [2] ? IE *h̄ēn (or *ʔēn) 'behold!', 'lo!', 'voilà' > Gk ἤν, ἠήν, L ēn id. (× N **\*ṣ̂ôyñ▽** 'see, look' [q.v.]) ‖ **A**: M nom. *ene 'hic' ('this', 'he, she, it' [hic-deixis]) / declension stem (of the obl. cases) *ene-n (× N **\*h'e'** 'this', deictic pc. [q.v.]) (with suppletion: *ene nom., *egün- for obl. cases and possibly *ede pl. 'these') > MM [S, MA] ene / obl. [MA] enen-, WrM ene, HlM энэ / obl. энэн⁻, Brt энэ e'ne'/ obl. энээн⁻ e'nēn-, Mgl enả / obl. enản-, Dg энэ, Kl enə, Mgr {Pp.} nī̃e / obl. {SM} enūn-, {Pp.} nī̃ãn ¶ Pp. IM analyzes M *ene as *e-n-e (*e- + element -n- that "occurs in all pronouns": *mi-n-u, *či-n-u, *i-nu + deictic *-e); Pp.'s analysis is untenable, because *-n- in *minu 'of me', etc. occurs in gen. (not in nom.) and goes back to the N genitive pc. **\*nu** (q.v.), while *-n- in *ene occurs in the nom. and hence belongs to the stem ¶ MED 316, ≈ Pp. IM 225-7, Pp. GMPJ 82, GBJ 141-3, SM G 4O-1, Snz. SMJ 53-5 ‖ ? **K**: GZ *-n, subject marker of 3 sg. in verbs > OG, G, Mg, Lz -n ¶ K 144-5.

**776** ₂ **\*hû?En|ŋ▽** 'wave' > **HS**: Eg N h₃nw 'wave; flood (of the sea)' > Cpt: Sd ϩⲟⲉⲓⲙ hoeim, ϩⲟⲓⲙⲉ hoime, B ϩⲱⲓⲙⲓ hôimi, coll. ϩⲓⲙⲏ himê 'wave' ¶ EG II 481, ≈ Vc. 292 ‖ ? **C**: Bj {R} haymo 'wave' ‖ **IE** *xun- / ? *xwen- > Ht hunhuwan- 'wave', hunhunessar/n- id., ?

hunhumazzi- id. || NaIE: pGmc *unθi̯ō, *unθu- 'wave' > ON unnr, uðr (pl. unnir), OSx ūthia, AS ȳð, OHG unda id. ‖ L unda id. ⁋⁋ ≈ P 79-8O, Ts. E I 287, ≠ WH I 816-8. Vr. 635, Ho. 413, Ho. S 82, Kb. 1O7O.

**777.** *hȦwŋ∇ 'sense, mind, soul' > **HS**: S *°√hwn, *hawn- 'sense' > Sr ܚܘܢܐ haw'n-ā 'mens, intelligentia', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} הַוְוָנָא hᵃwā'nā ~ הַוֹנָא hᵃwō'nā 'Vernünftigkeit, Einsicht', JPA הון hwn 'sense'; ??σ CS *√hwn 'be easy' (if from *'savoir faire'?) > Ar √hwn (pf hāna) 'become easy', BHb √hwn Sh (3p watta'hīnū) 'regard as easy'; ???σ Ph hwn 'wealth', BHb הון hōn 'wealth, sufficiency; enough' ⁋ Br. 173, Sl. P 161, Lv. I 458-9, Lv. T I 196, KB 232, BDB 22, HJ 276-7, DRS 388-9 ||
**U**: FU (att. in FL) *°a‖äŋe 'spirit, ghost' (× N *ʔaŋqⁱiˀ 'breathe' [q.v.]) > F aave, Δ āvia, hāve, hoave 'ghost; presage, omen', Δ aavaita vt. 'feel\smell', Es {W} avistama 'erkunden, erkennen' ¦ Lp I vŭĕŋŋeš̊ 'spirit (water-spirit, wood-spirit, incumbent, gnome, etc.)' ⁋ SK 3-4, W EDW 56 || **A** ≈ *āŋ∇ > T *āŋ, {Md.} *ǟ̊ŋ 'mind, intellect, consciousness' > OT, Chg aŋ 'understanding, intelligence', Osm {Bu.} اٴڭك ank (= aŋ?) 'intelligence; intellect, mind' ('сметливость; умъ, понятіе'), Tk an, Tkm āŋ, Uz aŋ, ET aŋ, QrB, CrTt, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg aŋ, Chv ăн ьn 'mind, intellect'; T *āŋ- v. 'remember, call to mind, understand' > OT, MQp, XwT aŋ- id., Chg XV aŋ- 'understand', Tk an-, Tk Δ, CrTt, Kr Cr aŋ-, Az ан– an- 'remember, call to mind', Tkm āŋ- 'understand, guess, recognize, feel'; ⇥ T *āŋ-la- v. 'understand' > OT anla-, Tk anla-, Chv ăнла– ьnla-; acc. to SDM97 (s.v. *a‖elu‖ok'∇ ~ *ä‖ö‖u-), WrM aŋӡira- ~ anӡira- v. 'know, understand, comprehend' (MED 46-7) is a loan from *aŋ-sira-, a word in some Turkic (SDM: "Siberian Turkic") lgs. ⇤ T *āŋ- with the sx. *-sira- (denoting uncomplete action) ⁋ Cl. 165, 168, 186, ET Gl 153-4, Dr. TM II #565, Rl. I 123, Bu. I 73-4, Md. 1O4, 159 || ?σ Tg *°eŋē- > Lm ӡŋǟli-, ӡŋǟt/ç- 'peep, observe, spy out, find out (разведывать)' ⁋ STM II 458 || pJ {S} ӡmȍ-p- v. 'think' > OJ ȍmȍp-, J: T omó-, K ómó-, Kg òmò- ⁋ QJ #16O, Mr, 471 ⁋⁋ S AJ 286 [#243] (A *ā̀ŋ∇), DQA #462 (A *ē̊ŋ∇ 'think, understand' > incl. T, Tg, J) || **D** *uṇṇ- 'think, consider, look' (× N *ṣ̂ôuŋ̂∇ 'see, look; eye', q.v. ffd.).

**778.** *hUP̲U 'bad', 'error, sin' > **IE** *xʷep-/*xʷop-/*xup- '≈ evil' > Ht {Ts., Pv.} huwappa- 'evil, ill, bad', {Phv.} huwapp- v. 'ill-treat, harrow, harass, disfigure, spoil', huh(h)upa- 'evil', huipi- 'ruthless, pitiless', HrLw hupasanu- v. 'cause to be harmed' || NaIE: Gk ὕβρις

'insolence, outrage; wanton violence, arising from the pride of strenth or from passion' (← IE ≈ *χuⱳappar- / *χuppar-?) ‖ Gmc (< *χupelo-): Gt ubils, OSx uvil, OHG ubilo, NHG übel adj. 'evil, bad', AS yfel 'evil', NE evil ‖ OIr fel 'bad' (< *χupelo-) ¶¶ EI 43 (IE *h₂h₃ⱳop- 'treat badly'), F II 954, Fs. 508, KM 799, Kb. 1061, Ho. 412, Ho. S 82, Ts. EI 290, Pv. III 358, 360, 430-2, Juret VELH 71, Szem. JHS 154 (Ht. ÷ Gk) ‖ HS: B *°√⌐H⌐f > Ah əhəf 'dévier' ¶ Fc. 521, Pr. H #162 ‖ ?σ S *°hūp- > Ar hūf- 'homme lâche et paresseux; peureux; sot, imbécile'; ??? Ar taḥfīf- 'lâche, poltron; sot, imbécile' (unless ↤ √hff 'léger') ¶ BK II 1428-9, 1458 ‖ A: NaT *ubut n. 'shame' > OT {Cl.} uvut 'modesty, shyness', {DTS} ubut 'shame', MT XII-XIII {Brv.} ovut ~ oyut id.; variants: *ubat ~ *uyat (< *ubyat?) 'shame' > OT T {BG} uwyat, ET Δ {Jr.} ubat ≗ uwat, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Nog, ET, Alt, Xk uyat, Qzq ŭyat, VTt, Bsh b̥yat, Tv ɪyat, Yk sāt id.; NaT *ubat- ~ *uyat- 'be ashamed' > ET Δ {Jr.} ubat- ≗ uwat- ≗ uyat-, Tk Δ, Xk uyat-, Tv ɪyat-, Yk sāt- id. ¶ Cl. 6, ET Gl 561-3, Brv. T 230, 252, Jr. 321, BG AI 467 ‖ Tg *°üb- (or *°i-), {DQA} *°üb- > Ewk ibja- ≗ iwja- 'be ashamed' ‖ pJ {S} *ɜpɜpɜ- 'perturbed, taken aback' > OJ opopo-si- ¶ S QJ #1525 ¶¶ DQA #669 (A *i̯upo 'be ashamed, taken aback'; incl. T, Tg, J) ◇ The apparent discrepancy between T *u- and Tg *°ü- (if the latter is the right rec. of pTg) may be explained by regr. as. (infl. of the T and pre-Tg vowels of the secon syll.).

**779.** **\*her∇** 'disintegrate, fall to pieces' > **HS**: CS *√hr ~ *√hyr v. 'disintegrate, be destroyed, hurt' > Ar هبر √hyr (pf. هَبَّرَ hayyara, *D* with factitive meaning) v. 'destroy' (BK: 'détruire, faire crouler, démolir'), {BK} هور √hwr (ip. -hⱳar-) 'démolir, abbatre (une maison)', 'crouler, tomber en ruines' (dit d'un édifice), {Hv.} √hwr (ip. -hūru) v. 'fall to pieces', 'crumble down' (of buildings), 'crush down' (of people), JA, Sr √hr *Sh* ⸋v. 'do harm, hurt' (Sr pf. اَهَر ʔa-har, ip. n-a(ʔ)har, acp. ma(ʔ)har), JA [Trg.] acp. sg. f. מַהְרָה mahʰrā 'beschwert' (kryⱳtʔ mhrh lbyʔ dgbrʔ 'Die Krankheit beschwert das Mannesherz') ¶ BK II 456, 466, Br. 182-3, JPS 106, Lv. T I 205, Hv. 839 ‖ IE *h̄er(H)- (> NaIE *erₐᵢ-/*arₐᵢ-) v. 'disintegrate' (IS: 'разваливаться') > OI 'ardh-aḥ 'part, side, half', Av araδa- 'side, half' ‖ Gk ἔρῆμος (< *h̄reH-) 'desolate, lone(ly). solitary' (← *'separated') ‖ Lt rārus (< *h̄reH-ro-?) 'sparse, not dense' (→ 'rare') ‖ Lt ir-ti 'to disintegrate, to fall to pieces, to break down' (with

innovating accentuation), Ltv {ME} i͂rt 'sich auf-\los-trennen, sich bröckeln', Lt ardýti (caus.) 'to unrip, to destroy, to demolish' ({Frn.} 'Zusammengefügtes lösen, auftrennen, zerlegen, abbrechen'), Ltv ȅrst (1s p. ȇrdu) 'auseinanderbringen, reffeln, trennen' ¦ pSl *ori- (caus. with the *o-grade of apophony and with the sx. *-i-) > OCS орити ori-ti 'destroy', Blg оря 'I ruin'; ⇢ Sl *ob-ori-ti > OCS оборити oboriti 'to destroy, to demolish', SCr òboriti 'to fell', Cz obořiti se 'to come down, to collapse'; Sl *orz-ori-ti 'to ruin' > OCS разорити razoriti '(δια-)λύειν', SCr ràzoriti, R разо'рить id. ¶ IS I 246, EI 158 (IE *h₂erH- 'destroy'), F I 557, M K I 51, M E I 119, WH II 418-9, Frn. 15-6, ME I 576, 71O-1, ≠ P 332-3, Vs. III 152-3, 435 ‖ U: FU *erä(-) '(*) to disintegrate' > F erä 'part, share', erässä 'separately', Es {W} ära ~ era 'Besonderes, Getrenntes, Eigentümliches', Es S erä id. ¦ Lp N {N} ǣra 'another' ¦ Chr L {MRS} и'р−аш ir(e)- vt. 'disintegrate, pull apart, destroy, break' ('разваливать [что−л. сложенное], разрушать, ломать') ¦ pPrm *ör- vt. 'tear off' > Vt ur-, Vt SW: Vt Ur/Shm ür-, and Vt B o'r- ({ʃLt.} ɵr-) vi. 'tear off', 'break' (of an abscess), Z or- vi. 'tear off, be torn', Z US ɷr- id.; Lytkin (LG) reconstructs Prm *ɷr-, but the SW ds. of Vt (the only ds. distinguishing between pPrm *ɷ- and *ö - ⌐ Lt. 75) provide ev. for *ö- ‖ pOs *är- > Os {Stn.}: V/Vy äraɤ, Ty/Y ȧrɤa, Nz/Kz ara, O ȧrri 'separately, apart' ('getrennt, auseinander') ¶ Cf. IS I 246-7, SK 4O-1, W EDW 71-2, N III 87O, MRS 137, Stn. D 155, ≠ LG 2O7 ‖ A: T *erü- (~ *ärü-?) v. 'melt, become liquid' (of ice, fat, wax, etc.), 'boil soft in cooking' > OT {Cl.} ärü-~äri- v. 'melt, become liquid', OXwT äri-, Chg eri-, MQp XIV eri- ~ äri-, Cum iri- v. 'melt', Tk eri-, VTt эр(е)− ьr(ь)-, Ggz i̯eri- id., Tkm Δ erī-, Qrg, Qq, Uz, StAlt, Tv eri- v. 'dissolve', Chv irьl- vi. 'melt', v. 'turn to ashes' (of charcoal), v. 'ravel out, come to pieces' (of clothes); the Chv stem goes back to a merger: T *erü- × T *e|är- v. 'knead, mash' (DTS 192, Rl. I 887). The latter T stem may, too, go back to the N etymon in question ¶ The origin and the age of the variant with unexpected *ä- in *ärü- (if it does exist) are not clear. The stem-final *-ü- is probably a sx. of intransitivity; Chv ir- vt. 'dissolve' may go back to an underived T transitive verb *°er- ¶ Cl. 198, ET Gl 289-9O, DTS 177, 182, Rs. W 47-8, BT 193, Ash. III 131-5 ‖ ?φ D *ir̥° v. 'break in pieces, smash' > Tm ir̥u (ir̥uv-, ir̥r̥-) v. 'break, snap (as a stick)', ir̥u(-pp-, -tt-) v. 'break off (as a branch), snap asunder, break in pieces', Ml ir̥uka v. 'break, snap', Tl iriyu v. 'be broken, smashed', Kui reŋga

v. 'be broken in pieces', Krx esnā v. 'break, divide by force' (a stick, a tooth, etc.), 'quell, crush' ⟡⟡ D #52O ◇ D *i (for the expected *e < N *e, suggested by U and T) needs explaining ◇ Cf. IS I 246-7: IE, U- A, D. The root-final lr. in IE (rec. of EI) is probably an innovation (< sx.?), because both S and D do not suggest any lr. Another solution is N *herh|ʔ∇ with loss of N *h|ʔ in S and in pre-D (D *-r̥- < intervocalic *-r-).

**780. *hoRˀiˀ** 'conceive', 'newborn, a young' > IE *Hʷer- > NaIE *or- 'child; be born' > Gk νε-ορτός 'new-born' ‖ Arm որդի oʁdi (gen. pl. որդւոյ oʁdwoy) 'son' (< *ordʰii̯o-) ‖ ?? L orior / orīri / ortus 'be born' (× orior 'rise' < NaIE *or-/*er- 'rise' < N *H₁erU 'ascend, rise') ⟡ ≈ P 326-8, Slt. 324-5, WH II 222-3, ≈ F II 423 ‖ HS: S *√hry 'conceive, be(come) pregnant' > Hb הרה √hry, Ug √hry, OA √hry, Ak fOB/OA inf. arû ~ erû, Eb ʔà-rí-tum = {Krb.} harītym id., Sb {MiK ← BGMR} √hry 'be pregnant', hry 'pregnancy' ⟡ KB 245, KBR 255-6, OLS 169, HJ 293, CAD IV 325, Sd. 72, Krb. 23, DRS 452-3, MiK I #2.21 ‖ B *√Hrw v. 'bring forth, bear (a child), beget' > Ah aru (pf. yeraw), ETwl aʁu (pf. eʁəw), Ty aʁu (pf. yaʁəw), Gd āraw, Izd aru, Tmz {MT} arew, Kb {Dl.} arəw (pf. yuraw), Mz aʁu (pf. yiʁu), Si {La.} iru 'enfanter, accoucher', Gh {Nh.} aru (pf. iru) 'enfanter', əru (3f pf. čiru) 'accoucher'; in nouns: Ah ăra 'child, young of animals', Wrg {Dlh.} ara 'progéniture, enfant', Mz {Dlh.} aʁ(ʁ)a 'progéniture, bébé', Tmz {MT} ara 'agneau d'un an', Ah ărraw, Ty {GhA} aʁʁaw 'boy', Kb arraw 'enfantement', Tmz arraw 'progéniture', Si {La.} tarau̯wai̯n pl. children', Kb, Wrg tarwa 'postérité, enfants', Mz tarwa id., 'baby', Tmz tarwa 'enfantement, naissance', Si tarwa 'postérité, descendance; enfantement', Gd tarwa 'fils, progéniture' ⟡ Fc. 1647-51, GhA 164, 246 (Pcj. I A), Mrc. 13, Lf. II #1385, MT 559, 591, Nh. 123, 156, Dl. 736-7, Dlh. M 168, 176-7, Dlh. Ou 266, 28O, La. S 23O ‖ C: Ag: Bln {R} er-t- 'conceive' (of a cow) ‖ Bj A {AD} (hʊ) ʔōr, pl. (hʟ) ʔar, Bj {R} ʔō̄r, pl. ʔar 'son, boy' ⟡ R WB 46, R WBd 27-8, ADP BFN, ≈ AD SF 82-3 ‖ Eg fOK iwr v. 'conceive (a child), become pregnant' ⟡ EG I 56, Fk. 13, Vc. 248 ‖ ECh: Nd D {J} ʔə́râ 'be pregnant', Tmk {Cp.} ùr̀ə̀r̀ 'make (a woman) pregnant, be pregnant' ⟡ ChC, Cp. 97 ⟡⟡ Coh. 8O [#9O], OS #12OO (S, ECh), Tk. I 278 (S, Eg, Bln, ECh) ‖ A: M *°ori (unless it is *°ɥori) 'young' > WrM {Kow., Gl.} ori, HlM {Luv.} орь adj. 'young', WrM {Rm. SKE} ori 'young, boy; young man' ⟡ Qu., because not attested in the available sources of lgs. outside WrM and HlM ⟡ Kow. 439, Gl. I 262,

Luv. 31O ‖ pKo *à₁rí- 'young' > MKo à₁rí-, NKo ə₁ri-(ta) adj. 'young' ¶ S QK #958, MLC 1128 ‖ Tg *or⸢o⸣-kan 'young of an animal', *or- (+ other sxs.) id. > Neg oyokon, Orc orko ~ oroko ~ oroko(n-) 'young of bears', Nn Nh orōkã, Nn KU orokõ 'young of animals, Ud {Krm.} ō? 'animal', Ewk oroŋāt 'female bear (three-year-old)', WrMc orχoca, orcun 'small; newborn (baby)' ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 273 ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 273 ‖ ? NaT *urɪ‚y‚ 'child, son' (× A *pʻuri 'child, offspring[s]' < N *p̦ôr⸢i⸣ 'child, offspring' ×N *H‖wur∇ 'male person\animal') > OT urɪ 'male child, son'; (× T *uruɣ 'clan'): Tv uruɣ 'child, girl', Tf uruɣ 'child' ¶ Cl. 197, Ra. 237, ET Gl 6O4-6 ¶¶ DQA #63O (A *i̯aru 'young of an animal' > incl. M, Tg, Ko) ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. зачать *h/u/rʌ (IE, HS). Cp. N *H‖wur∇ 'male'.

**781.** *he‚?‖y‚r⸢E⸣ 'male' > **HS**: Eg fP h₃y 'husband' > Cpt Sd/B ϩⲀⲒ hai id. ¶ Belongs here unless the variant hy (presumably underlying the verb hy 'act as a husband') is the original one (as Vc. supposes) and is akin to Bj {R} hiyo 'husband'. An alternative hyp. is that h₃y 'husband' and the v. hy are not connected etymologically ¶ EG II 475, Vc. 24O, Tk. I 81 ‖ C: EC: Gdl hēro 'male, man', Or hēr-um- ps. 'marry' (of a girl) ]*AdS* of EC {AD} *?ar- and Ag: Aw {Hz.} ŋära (< *ŋi-ara) 'her *husband*' (< N *?aR∇ 'member of one's clan\family', q.v. ffd.) ¶ AD SF 2O1, Hd. 82, Hw. A 336, Hw. B II 121, Grg. 2O6, HL 7O ‖ Ch: Bks {J} re (pl. ?arya) 'man' (× the abovementioned N *?aR∇) ¶ J R 145 ‖ *AdS* of NrOm: Anf {Gt.} arō 'man' (< N *?aR∇, q.v. ffd.) ‖ **A**: T *ēr ~ *ār 'male, man' > OT er, Tk er, Tkm ār, VTt, Bsh ir, Qq er adam, Tb ēr, Xk ir, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Uz, SY, Tv er, Yk är, Xlj här, Chv ar 'male person', Az är, ET er 'husband' ¶ Chv a- and Tkm ār provide ev. for a pT *ā́-, but VTt/Bsh i- is likely to point to a pNaT *e‚ː‚- ¶ Cl. 192, Rs. W 46, Dr. TM II ##178-9, ET Gl 321-2, DT 129, TL 561, 661 ‖ M *ere 'male person, male animal' > MM [HI, LV, IM] ere 'male', [IsV, MA] e̦re 'man', [S] ere 'husband' (pl. eres 'men'), WrM ere, HlM эр, Ord {Ms.} ere 'male (person, animal)', Kl {Rm.} erə 'man, male', Mnr H {SM} rē 'mâle non châtré' (of animals); 'masculin, de sexe mâle', MMgl e̦rra, Mgl irrȧ 'male', Dx {T} ere(kun), Ba ere kuŋ, Dg {T} er 'male person' ¶ H 45, Ms. H 55, Lg. VMI 32, Pp. MA 161, 437, Pp. L II 1262, KW 123, MED 321, SM 313, Iw. 1O2, T DnJ 144, T DgJ 14O, T BJ 152 ¶¶ DQA #2764 (*ā́ri ¬ *é́ra 'man'), S AJ 54, 283 ‖ **D** *ēɽ° 'male, bull' (× N *qer∇ '[wild] ox') > Tm ēɽu 'bull, male of certain animals (pig, deer, buffalo, tiger,

lion)', Ml ē̠r̠u 'bullock',  ē̠ran 'bull', Kt e·r 'male  buffalo',  Td e·r̠ id.,
'bull'; ? (× N **ʔaR∇** 'member of one's clan\family'): Brh arē 'man (vir),
person, husband' ЈЈ D #917 ‖ ? Acc. to IS I 248, possibly **IE** *H̄ers-
/*H̄r̥s- (≈ {AD} *H̄|ʔers-/*H̄|ʔr̥s-) 'male' > OI r̥ṣa-'bha-ḥ 'bull',  Av, OPrs
aršan- 'man (vir), male animal' ‖ Arm այր ayᴦ (gen. առն aᴦn)
'man', առնի aᴦn-i 'virile' ‖ Gk I/Cr ἔρσην 'male',  Gk ἄρσην id. Ј ≈ P
336 (unc.: ⇇ *ers- 'flow' [→ 'semen emittere']),  F I 152-3,  M K I 125,
M E I 26O-1,  Slt. 121 Ј The IE stem belongs here only if *-s- is an ext.
(according to IS l.c., induced by the synonymous IE *Hu̯ers- 'male' [> OI
vr̥ṣaḥ 'bull',  Av varašna- 'male']) ◇ The long *ē in A and D
suggests the presence of a N lr. (**ʔ** or *h, to judge upon the HS
cognates) or of *y̯ after the N vw. *e. The T variant stem with *ā̄- is
puzzling ◇ IS I 247-8 [#1O8] (misprint ἔρσην for ἔρσην) ◈ ≠ Gr. II
#259 (*er 'man') (T, M + err.: IE *r̥sen, U, Ko, Gil; cf. N **H|wur∇** 'male
person\animal').

**782.** **\*h̓o̓R∇b∇** 'run' > **HS**: S *√hrb v. 'flee' > Ar √hrb G (ip. -
hribu) id., Sb hrb id., Mh, Hrs √hrb (pf. Mh hōrɜb, Hrs hɜrōb) 'put to
flight, smuggle',  Jb E hurb, Jb C o'hurb 'smuggle; run away (from
prison)',  Ak {Sd.} arbu 'fugitive' Ј Fr. IV 382, BK II 14O9, BGMR 56, Jo.
M 159, Jo. H 52, Sd. 66, DRS 447 ‖ ?ɸamb Ch {Stl.} *r∇w-/*r∇y- 'run'
> WCh: Ngz ràwáy̯ id. ╎ Dir riya, Cg rey id. ‖ ECh: Mgm {JA} r̀ór̓ó
'galopper',  Jg {J} rer 'go' Ј Belongs here unless akin to Ar √rwħ 'go, go
away' Ј Sch. DN 138, Stl. IF 133, JA 12O ‖ **K**: OG rb-i, mi-rb-i v. 'run',
G rb- 'run (laufen, rennen)' Ј Ser. 1O49-51, Chx. 132 ‖ **U**: FU *⸢ow̓⸣rE-
'run' > Er ardo-ms, Mk ардомс arda-ms 'to run' (of animals), 'fahren',
Mk арнемс arńa-ms frq. id. ╎ Prm *ŭr- > Z {W} ɫrmaś- v. 'hurry',  Z
ɫrskɨbtɨ- 'begin to run, start with a jerk (рвануться)',  Z Ss ɫrskɨptɨ-
'vor Schreck in Galopp fallen' (of a horse),  Vt ɫrg̓at- 'anreizen, hetzen
(den Hund)' (⇇ *'make run)' ‖ OHg *ir- (OHg XIV iruele) 'laufen,
rennen',  OHg, Hg † iram- 'rennen',  Hg iram-od- 'rennen, schnell
laufen',  iram 'pace, speed',  ir-ul- 'entweichen' Ј MF 322, EWU 621-2
ЈЈ Mr a- and Hg i- apparently suggest FU *ō-, while Prm *ŭ- can be
accounted by FU *ū-, but all these vowels together may be accounted
for by a pFU *ow- ◇ Hardly here M *orgu- 'flee, escape' (> WrM
orgu-, HlM opro-) (if from **orßu-?), which is more likely to belong
together with Nn orgoči- v. 'incite'.

**783.** (₂?) **\*hüRč̣∇** '≈ wrinkle, rumple, crush, tear down' > **HS**: CS \*√hrs, \*-hrus- > BHb √hrs (ip. -ʰaros) v. 'tear down' → 'annihilate', M'b √hrs G 'destroy', Ar G √hrs, -hrusu v. {Hv.} 'bruise, bray, crush down', {BK} 'battre, piler avec force'; cp. also S \*√hrṣ̂ > OYmn √hrṣ̂ ({Slw.} haraḍa) 'tear (cloth)' ¶ KBR 256-7, BK II 1412, DRS 456-7, Slw. 213 ‖ **A**: M \*ürč̣iy- (unless ir is \*ɸürč̣iy-) > WrM ürcii-, HlM ɣрчий-х v. 'become shrunk and wrinkled; to frown; to wrinkle one's face', Kl {Rm.} ürč̌ī- 'sich runzeln, Grimassen machen'; the cognate is valid unless in pM there is an initial \*ɸ- ¶ MED 1011, KW 459 ‖ **IE**: ¿ Ht {Ts.} hars- 'aufreißen' ¶ Frd. HW 59, Ts. W 17, Ts. E I 182-3, ≠ Pv. III 184-5 (believes that hars- 'aufreißen' [= {Pv.} v. 'pound'] is a stylistic usage of the Ht verb hars- v. '≈ till the soil' [which heconsiders to be a loan from S \*√ħrθ id., *see* s.v. N **\*XaRč̌∇** 'rub, scratch']).

**784.** **\*hir∇g∇** 'kill' or 'die' > **HS**: WS \*√hrg v. 'kill' > BHb, M'b, Yd, OA √hrg G id., Ar {Fr., BK} هرج √hrǧ G (hariǧa / -hriǧu) 'kill', Sb, Mn √hrg 'kill, slaughter', Qt √hrg v. 'kill, murder' ¶ KB 245, KBR 255, BK II 1410-1, Ltm. rRSE-VII/3: 377, BGMR 56-7, Rk. 47, DRS 448 ‖ **IE** \*xer̍gʰ- 'disappear, die' > Ht har(a)k- 'get lost, disappear', {Ts.} 'umkommen, zugrunde gehn' ‖ NaIE: Tc: B erkau 'cemetery', A {Wn.} \*arkämn- id. (⧤ adj. arkämnāṣi) ‖ Clt (× NaIE \*perg- 'smite, destroy, kill' < N **\*P̱ärga** 'to split'): Gl ORGE imv. 'kill!', OIr org- 'smite, slay', OIr [ɣ] orn 'murder', W orn 'killing, destruction' ¶¶ Hardly here Arm հարկանեմ harkanem (aor. hari) 'smite, slash' (probably from \*perg- < N **\*P̱ärga**) ¶¶ Ts. W 175-6, Pv. III 157-68, P 818-9 (\*perg-), Vn. *O* 30-1, Billy 116, Wn. 150, Slt. 257-8, EI 158 (\*h₂erk- 'rend, destroy'), Ad. 95-6 ‖ **D** \*ir̠- v. 'die' > Tm ir̠a 'die', Ml ir̠u n. 'riun'; D \*ir̠∇kk- v. 'kill' > Tm ir̠akku id., Kn irku ~ ikku 'kill, destroy', derivatives: Ml ir̠akkuka- v. 'die', ? Kui eʒga- v. 'die in childbirth' ¶¶ D #514.

**785.** (₂?) **\*haRK̠a** 'hold\grasp, keep, keep in one's possession' > **HS**: SWS \*√hrk v. 'take as booty, loot' > Sb mhrk 'booty', Gz məharkā 'booty, spoils, plunder', √mhrk (pf. ᜑᜑᜐᜐᜑ māhraka [mahraka]) v. 'take as booty, plunder, loot, rob, pillage', Tgr pf. mareka, Tgy pf. mareke, Am pf. marreke id.; EthS ⊌→ Aw marexʷa, Xm, Q mirek id. ¶ BGMR 57, L G 334 ‖ **IE** \*xark- 'hold' > Ht har(a)k-, har- v. 'hold, keep, have' ‖ NaIE \*ark- > L arce-ō 'shut in, shut up; keep at a

distance, hinder, prevent', arx 'stronghold, fortress' ‖ Gk ἀρκέω 'ward off, keep off' ‖ ? Arm արգելում argelum 'hinder, restrain, hold back' ¶¶ Pv. III 145-57, Ts. W 173-5, P 65 (*arek-), EI 270 (*h₂erk- 'hold back [to prevent of doing sth.], contain'), F I 141, WH I 62-3 ‖‖ A: ?σ NaT *°arkuk- > OT arquq 'obstinate, refractory' ¶ Cl. 216, DTS 55.

**786.** *⌈h̥⌉aŝ⌈o⌉ 'burn' (of fire) > HS: C {E} *āŝ vi. 'burn' > EC: Bs {HL} elen 'fire' ¦¦ SC: Irq {Wh.} âŝa, {MQK} ʔaŝa, Grw/Alg/Brn {Wh.} aŝa, (-ɂ↦) Mb mw-áŝa 'fire' ¦¦ ??σ†Ag ({E} *aläl 'burn'): Km {CR} alɐl- v. 'be in heat' (of a horse), but of course not Bln {R} alɐl- 'rosten' (not 'rösten', as Ehret has misread it); I have my doubts about the Km word as well: it is likely to belong together with Xm {R} ielel- v. 'neigh', so that both belong to the C √ in question only if the semantic development was as follows: vi. 'burn' → v. 'be in heat' (of a horse) → v. 'neigh' ¶ ≈ E SC 297 (s.v. SC *áŝa ¬ *āŝa 'fire'), E PC #341, AD SF 29O, Wh. IC 23, MQK 16, PB 137, HL 67, Gs. 19, R WB 26, R Ch. II 23, CR LK 163, Blz. SCL s.v. 'fire' ‖ ??? Eg XX iŝf '≈ verbrennen' ¶ EG I 135 ‖‖ K *°H∇ŝw- > Sv: L {Dn.} √:šw v. 'light\kindle a fire' (aor. 1s oχwāšw, otwāšw, prs. 1s χwīšwe 'разводить огонь', mīšwe 'у меня горит огонь'), Sv UB {GP} √:šw/:šu ; masdar UB/L līšwe, LB/Ln lišwe (vt., 2nd version) v. 'set fire to', (vi., 1st vers.) v. 'catch fire' ¶ GP 179, Dn. s.v. ₗ :ⱼšu, TK 491 ‖ IE *xes- ¬ *Xas- 'hearth, ashes', v. 'dry' > Ht has(s)- 'ashes', hassa- 'fireplace, hearth, fire-altar', Lw χaššaniti 'hearth' ‖ OI 'āsaḥ 'ash, dust' (← 'burnt') ¦¦ L āra 'sacrificial altar', Osc aasaí 'in ara', Um ase 'arae'; ? L ārē- 'be dry', āridus 'dry, arid' ‖ ON aska, OHG asca 'ashes, dust', NHG Asche 'ashes', AS asce, æsce 'ash, dust', NE ash ¶¶ Acc. to Pv., the paradigm of Ht has(s)- (nom. sg. ha-a-as, accus. sg. ha-as-sa-an, instr. sg. ha-as-si-it, accus. pl. ha-s-su-us) reflects IE nom. sg. *A₁ēs, accus. sg. *ˈA₁esm̥ ¶¶ P 68-9, Mn. 38, ≈ EI 32 (*ˈh₂eHo-s 'ash' ← '≈ burnings'), Pv. III 21O-2, 221-4, Ts. E I 196-7, M K I 83, M E I 182-3, WH I 61, 65, Schz. 91, KM 33, Vr. 15, Ho 12, Kb. 46, EWA I 364-6 ‖‖ A (**aŝa-?): M *asa- (unless it is *ɥasa-) vi. 'burn, catch fire, ignite' > WrM asa-, HlM asa-, Kl as-, Brt aha-¶ KW 16, MED 55, Chr. 67 ‖ NaT *as- v. 'cook' > Alt, Tlt, Shor, CrTt, Qzq as- id., ? Tkm aθ- v. 'cook' (in the expression naχar aθ-(maq) v. 'cook a meal' [naχar is 'meal'], etc., unless from aθ- 'hang' in contexts like et aθ- v. 'cook meat' ← v. 'hang meat [over the fire]') ¶ BT 22, Rl. I 533-4, TkR 54, NogR 5O, TatR 42, Jud. 74,s MM 43 ‖ ? Tg: Ork aladu- v. 'roast

(поджаривать)' ⨿ STM I 29 ⨿ Tg \*-l- suggests a pA \*-ŝ- (??) < N \*-ŝ-, but this is doubtful because in other N words (such as \*hiŜE 'to break') N \*-ŝ- yields Tg \*-s- ⨿⨿ Ⱶ KW 16: M, T \*as- v. 'cook'; on M \*-s- and Tg \*-l- as reg. reflexes of N \*-ŝ- *see* AD PNPh; S AJ 288 [#283], ≠ DQA #54 \*ase (¬ \*p'ase) 'catch fire; hot' (incl. M) ◇ Otherwise IS I 262-3 s.v. \*ʔaŚa 'fire' (not distinguishing between the N word in question and N \*ʔüS∇ 'fire'). I reconstruct N \*ħ- on the joint ev. of HS and IE: the only cns. yielding χ- in Ht and zero in C is N \*ħ- ◈ Gr. II #53 (\*as 'burn') (IE, A, CK).

**787.** \*hiŜE 'to break' > **HS**: S \*°√hŜŝ > Ar hašš- 'fragile'; +ext: S \*°√hŜm > Ar √hšm *G* 'crush, bruise' ⨿ Ln. 2894, Hv. 328, Dz. II 757, BK II 1422, 1424, DRS 462 ‖ Ⱥ {S} \*is∇- v. 'break, break into pieces' > Tg \*ise- (or \*χise-?) v. 'break' > Ewk Δ išз- id., Neg isi-ktз- v. 'slap (in the face)', WrMc isele- v. 'butt each other, rival, compete, argue' ⨿ STM I 336 ⨿ The Tg cognate is valid unless it is \*χise- ‖ pKo \*isir- v. 'break into pieces, crush' > NKo isira₁- id. ⨿ S AJ 256 [#142], S QK #142, MLC 1287 ‖ pJ {S} \*ùsú 'mortar' > OJ ùsú, J: T úsu, K ùsú, Kg usú ⨿ S QJ #962, Mr. 564 ‖ ?σ NaT \*isir- v. 'bite' > OT isir-, Tk ısır-, CrTt, Kr, Tf isir-, Xk, Tv ızır-, Yk itir- id. ⨿ ET Gl 671-2, Ra. 24O ⨿⨿ S AJ 281 [#149], DQA #61O (A \*ìsú 'crush, grind; bite') ‖ **D** (in NED) \*ičik- v. 'crack' > Krx isbg-nā v. 'open in long slits, chap, crack', isigkā 'crack, slit, chink', Mlt isge v. 'be well parched (as grain), be cracked (as the skin)' ⨿ D #423, Pf. 185.

**788.** (₂?) \*⌜ħ⌝ot∇ 'to smell (odorare, to get the odour of)', 'to smell (olere, to have an odour\scent)' > **HS**: B \*°√Hʷt > Ah awt v. ps. 'sentir (une odeur)' ⨿ Fc. 1536 ‖ C: EC \*ʔudg- ¬ \*ʔuzg- 'fragrance' > Sml udg-ōn id., Rn ùyûg or úyùg 'pleasant smell, fragrance', Or urg-aw- sv. 'exhale fragrance' ⨿ Ss. PEC 57, PG 288 ‖ **IE** \*⌜χʷ⌝ed- 'odour' (× N \*gUŝ∇ 'feel, smell [sth.]', q.v.) > Arm հոտ hot 'odour, smell', հոտիմ hotim 'I smell (sth.)' ⁝⁝ Gk ὄζω, Gk D ὄσδω vi. (pfc. ὄδωδα) 'emit an odour, smell', Gk Hm ὀδμή, Gk D ὀδμά 'smell, scent' ⁝⁝ L odor 'smell' ⁝⁝ pAl {O} \*admā > Al G amë {AlbED} 'scent, fragrance', Al T d. am-ëz 'food odour; smell (of freshly ploughed ground, of fire)' ⁝⁝ Gmc: Sw os 'odour, smell of charcoal fumes (carbon monoxide)', Dn, NNr os (< \*od-s-o-) 'Dunst, erstinkender Dampf' ⁝⁝ Lt úodžiu (inf. úosti) vt. 'smell, sniff', Ltv ôžu (inf. ôst) vt. 'smell', vi. 'smell (of)' ⁝ OCz jadati 'to search, to

inquire' (< *'to smell out') ⨿ P 772-3, EI 528 (*h₃ed- v. 'smell'), Dv. #164, F II 353-5, Slt. 313-4, WH II 2O3, Wnt. AE 1O2-3 (Arm hot may point to the IE lr. *O- = *x^w-), Frn. 1167-8, AlbED 13, O 4 ∥ ?σ,φ **A**: T (NaT?) *üδ- v. '≈ feel lust' (× N *gūž∇ '⇑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ EC *ʔ- points to a N *h- or *ʔ-, but if Arm h- goes back to an IE lr., it cannot be N *ʔ-. Hence a tentative preliminary rec. of N *h-.

**789.** ₂ *hawt∇ 'call, speak' > **IE** *heu̯d- > NaIE *°aud- > Gk αὐδή 'voice, speech', αὐδάω 'I speak' ⨿⨿⨿ NaIE *wed- 'utter sounds, speak' (< IE **hwed- [{M} *a₂u̯ed-] ×IE *ʻwed-/*ʻud- < N *ʻwotₗ∇?ₑ ¬ *ʻwotₗEʔ,∇ 'speak, utter sounds; [?] organ of speech', q.v. ffd.) ⨿ WP I 251-2, P 76-7, M K III 133-4, F I 184, Frn. 1177-8, StSS 1O8, Ts. W 97-8 ∥ **HS**: S *√hwt (*-hūt-) > Ar √hwt *D* 'call after so.', Hb √hwtt *Pol* 2 p ip. תְּהוֹתְתוּ təhōta'tū 'overwhelm with reproofs' ⨿ KB 247, GB 178, BK II 1455 ∥ Eg RT/G hwt 'jammern, klagen', {Alb.} 'cry' ⨿ EG II 485 ⨿⨿ Tk. I 147 (Eg, S).

**790.** *haw∇ 'to desire, to love' > **HS**: CS *√hwy (*-hway-) v. 'love, desire', n. abstr. *hawway- 'desire' > Ar هوى √hwy (hawiya / -hwā) *G* 'love, desire', n. abstr. هُوًى hawā(-n) 'desire, passion, love', Ug √hw'y' *G* v. 'desire' (ip. 3f thw), Hb √ʔwy ~ √hwy: *D* ip. 3f תְּאַוֶּה təʔaw'wɛ 'desires, wishes, will wish\desire', 3m pf. אִוָּה ʔiw'wā 'desired', אַוָּה ʔaw'wā n. 'desire', הַוָּה haw'wā n. '(evil) desire' (KB: 'Willkür, Gier'), Amr {G} √hwy v. 'desire' ⨿ KB 2O, KBR 2O, 232, A #82O, OLS 17O, G A 19, Fr. IV 42O, DRS 386 ∥ **C**: ???φ Bj {Rop.} √ywy 'be thirsty' (× N *Lûb∇ 'be thirsty, be hungry' [q.v. ffd.]) and/or akin to S *√χwy 'be hungry') ⨿ R WBd 243 ⨿⨿ Cal. 36 (S + Eg fP h₃y [spelled OK h, fMK hy, Eg N h₃y] 'husband' + unc. Bj {Rop.} hiyi 'husband, wife', {R} hiyo id. [Rop. 2OO, R WBd 133]); Vc. (l.c.) rejects the comparison of these Eg and Bj words with CS *√hwy v. 'love'; I am inclined to support Vc.'s criticism both on semantic grounds (the semantic connection between 'husband' and v. 'love, desire', though quite natural today, is rather unlikely in an archaic society, like that of ancient Hamito-Semitic people) and on phonetic reasons (S *h- is not likely to corespond to Bj h-) ∥ **IE** *Hew- (or *ʔaw-) ({EI} *h₄eu̯- 'favour') > NaIE *aw- v. 'like, favour, want' > OI 'avati 'is pleased, strives', 'avi- 'favourable' ∥ Gk Ep/Hm ἐν-ηής (gen. ἐν-ηέος) {LS} 'kind, gentle', {F} 'mild, sanft, wohlwollend', Gk ἀΐτης, Gk D {Ch.} ἀΐτᾱς 'jeune homme aimé' ∥ Arm աւիւն awiwn 'libido, fury, enthusiasm' (>

NArm **ապ յուն** avyun 'inspiration') ‖ L avē- v. 'long for, desire' ‖ W awyddu 'to desire', awydd 'desire, eagerness', ewyllys 'will' ‖ ORu auja 'good fortune', Gt awi-liuþ 'thanks' ⁋⁋ The connection with Ht uwai- 'Weh, Leid, Not, Schwierigkeiten' (proposed by Mann) is not plausible. Since the AnIE reflexes are unknown, we cannot determine if the initial lr. was heavy or light. We reconstruct here a pIE unspecified *a-coloured lr. (denoted as *H-) or *ʔ- ⁋⁋ P 77, EI 197, Mn. 45-7, M K I 57, WH I 81-2, F I 47, 515-6, LS 565, Ch. 4O, 348, Slt. 133, YGM-1 37, Ts. W 98 s.v. uwai- ‖ **D** *āv- v. 'desire' > Tm āvu, Ml āvikka v. 'desire', Tm, Ml āval n. 'desire', Td ōftl 'desire to eat', Tl āba 'eagerness' ⁋⁋ D #394 ◇ Cf. AD LRC #8O (IE, HS), IS I 241-2 (IE, HS, D with references to earlier literature).

**791.** *how⌈i⌉ 'become, appear' > HS: S *√hwy (*-hway-) id., 'be' > Ak √Hwy/w (inf. ewûm, OB p. īwe < *yi-hwī) 'turn (into), werden (zu), geschehen, sein', BHb √hyw (pf. c. wayya'hī, js. ya'hī, ip. yih'yē, pf. hāyā) 'become, be (werden, sein, bleiben)', Yd √hwy (pf. 3f hwt, 1s hwyt) 'be, happen', OA √hwy id. (⌈h⌉wt 'she was', ip. y-hwh 'he will be'), IA, BA √hwy (pf. אוה hwʔ, הוה hwh) 'be, become, happen', Sr √hwʔ 'fuit, factus est' (with accus.: 'happened to …'), Ar √hwy 'se léver, paraître', 'rise' (star) ⁋ Nld. NB 92, KB 232-4, GB 177-9, 9O3, Deg. 76-8, Seg. AAG 3O3-7, BK II 1461, Hv. 841, Sd. 266-7, Sd. G 153, CAD IV 413-5, HJ 271-6, DRS 386 ‖ B ? *°√HwH v. 'appear' > Sll aggʷ (pf. yuggʷa) id. ⁋ Ds. 18 ⁋ Cp. B *√hʔʔ 'be in' < N *ʕ⌈ra⌉ʔ∇ 'grow, become' (q.v.) ‖ C: **[1]** Bj {R} hāy- / -hē 'be, exist' (3m p. 'ī-hē, imv. 2m 'hāy-a) ‖ SC ({E} pSC *haw- 'stay'): Irq {MQK} hōt- 'reside, stay', Irq {E}, Alg hot- 'live, dwell', Asa hut- v. 'stand (still)' (acc. to E, -t- is a sx.) ‖ EC: ? Sa {R} hay- 'live' (if R's transcription of the lr. is valid and unless the word is not a loan from EthS; if it is a valid cognate, it may have contaminated with HS √ħyw 'live' < N *Xay⌈ü⌉ 'live' [q.v.]) ⌉**[2]** the EC, Bj, and Aw sxs. of person/number/gender of the suffix-conjugated verbs have developed from prefix-conjugated forms of an aux. verb (or verbs), which may have been either *-ħay- 'be' (akin to S *√ħyw 'be' and going back to N ? *how⌈i⌉) or *-Ha- (< N *ʔa 'become, be' [q.v. ffd.]) ⁋ E SC 381, MQK 52, R WBd 132, R S II 2OO, AD SF 156 ‖ **IE**: NaIE *-ew-(ō), *-eu̯w-(ō), *-eu̯y-(ō) 'be X', sx. of denom. verbs > Lt prs. piemeniauju / inf. piemeniaũti 'be a shepherd' (akin to piemuo 'shepherd'), Gk βασιλεύω 'be a king' (⟻ βασιλεύς 'king'), θεραπεύω 'be attendant, do service' (⟻ θέραψ, θεράπων

'attendant'), OCS slugujǫ / slugovati 'be a servant' (⇐ sluga 'servant') ¶ Mn. 256, Me. SC § 234 ‖ **A**: Tg *ō- 'become, happen' > WrMc o-, oo- v. 'become, be', Mc Sb o- id., Ewk ō- (ō-da-n) v. 'become, appear, happen', Sln ō-, Lm ō- (ō-dъ-m, ō-d-nι) v. 'become', Neg ō- (ō-da-n) v. 'become, appear', Orc ōdoli-, Ud o-do-, Ul o- (o-sι-nι-), Ork o-sι- id., Nn o- v. 'become'. The stem should be kept apart (as it is done in Vas., but not in STM and in IS) from the homonymous stem *ō- v. 'make' (> Ewk ō- [ō-ra-n] v. 'make', Sln ō-, Lm ō- [o-rъ-m, ōn], Neg ō- [ō-ya-n], Orc ō- [ō-y-ni], Ud o-~ō- [ō-i-ni ~ō-ri-ni], Nn o- v. 'make'). The etl. relations between the two stems (if any) are not yet investigated ¶ STM II 3-4 , Vas. 312-3 ◇ N *i is tentatively suggested by IE *-y- in *-eyy-(ō)-, by S *y in *-hway- and by Bj -y- in hāy-.

**792.** *hˈoˈw∇ 'pit, depression' > **HS**: CS *haw(∇y)- 'pit, abyss' > Sy 

ܠܘܩܐ haw'-t-ā (pl. ܐܘܩ ha'wē) 'an abyss, deep; great cavern', Ar hāwiy-at- 'deep valley, abyss' ¶ JPS 1O3, BK II 1462, ≈ KB 232 ‖ **IE**: NaIE *aǀowent- 'well, spring' > OI ava'ta-ḥ (*aǀownto-s) 'well', ava'ṭa-ḥ 'cistern' ǂ Ltv avõt-s (*aǀowontos) 'spring' ǂ ? Clt: Gl Aventia (name of a well nymphe) and nomina loci ¶ P 78, EI 539 (? *hₐew(o)nt- 'spring'), M K I 57, M E I 13O-1, Kar. I 93-4 ¶ Pokorny reconstructs IE *a- on the precarious ev. of place names and the nymphe name Aventia; outside this ev. the distinction between NaIE *a- and *o- is impossible ‖ **A**: Tg *°oba 'depression, hollow in the ground' > Lm Al/O ōwa, Lm Sk ōba id. ('впадина, котловина'), Lm O ōwa 'spring (in mountains)' ¶ STM II 4 ‖ NaT *oˈbˈa 'lowland' or 'plain' > Tk ova 'plain, valley', ∆ oba 'plain', Az ova 'plain', Ggz uva 'uncultivated field', ET ova, Uz uwa 'valley', Tv howu 'steppe' (with a puzzling h-), ?σ Nog oba 'трясина' ('marsh' or 'quagmire') ¶ ET Gl 4O3-4, Rl. I 1166, Bu. I 1O6, 161 ‖ ?σ pJ {S} *úwa- 'to plant (pflanzen)' > OJ úwa-, J: T ùe-, K ùe-, Kg ué- ¶ S QJ #687, Mr. 777 ¶¶ DQA #653 (pA *i̯ubˈuˈ 'to dig, hole').

**793.** *hæˌʔˌwˈUˈ 'to fall, to sink' > **HS**: WS *√hwy (*-hw∇y-) v. 'fall' > Sr √hwyǀw 'fall' (pf. ܐܘܗ ha'wā), Ar √hwy G (pf. هوى hawā / ip. -hwī) 'fall', 'go down, set' (of a star), Hb √hwy (imv. הוא ~ הוה hᵉ'wē) 'fall' (of snow), 'fall upon (so.)', Mh √hwy (pf. hзwū, vb. n. hōwi), Jb C √hwy (pf. hē, sbjn. 'i'hi, vb. n. 'hbet) v. 'fall, swoop', Hrs √hwy (pf. haₗwō, sbjn. yaₗhwī) 'fall (upon sth.)' ¶ KB 231, KBR 241, K

II 1461, Hv. 841, Jo. M 162, Jo. J 1OO, Jo. H 53 ‖ B *√HhH (pf. *-HhiH-) > Ah i-hi v. 'fall' ⨍ Fc. 498 ‖ Eg fP ḥȝy v. 'come\go down, descend', Eg fMK ḥȝy 'fall' > Cpt: Sd ϩⲉ ḥe, B ⳩ⲉ χe, A ϧⲉ χ₂e v. 'fall' ⨍ EG II 472-4, Fk. 156, Vc. 285 ‖ SC: Irq {MQK} ḥū?- 'drop, fall, tumble', Irq/Brn/Alg {E} ḥu- 'fall', Asa ḥu?- 'fall' (of rain) ⨍ E SC 381, MQK 52, AD SF 243 ‖ Ch: CCh: Glf {Por. ← Sö.} hawai v. 'fall', Bdm {Lk.} hai, hey 'absteigen' ┊┊ ECh: Ke {Eb.} áwé v. 'fall', ? Jg {J} ?ō 'hinabsteigen' ⨍ JI II 131, Eb. 29. Por. IKK 7O ⨍⨍ Vc. 285 (Eg, Ar) ⨍⨍ Tk. I 72, Tk. SCC 9 8 [#28.6] ‖ IE *нχоu̯(e) 'down, away' > NaIE *o|au̯(e) 'down (herab), away' > OI 'ava 'down (ab, herab); off' (pv. and prep.), Av, OPrs pv. ava 'down', OI avaḥ 'herab' ┊┊ Pru, Lt, Ltv au- 'away, down' ┊ possibly Sl *u- 'away, down': *u-pasti 'to fall down' (> OCS оупасти upasti, Slv upásti, R у'пасть, P upaść), *u-běžati 'to run away', *u-xoditi 'to go away', *u-jęti 'to take away, to catch hold of, to seize' (> OCS ujęti 'to take away', P ująć, Slv ujéti 'to catch hold of, to seize'), *u-nesti 'to carry away', OCS ubežati, R убе'жать, SCr ùbeći, Slv ubežáti, P ubieżeć 'to run away', ChS оухо̄дити uxoditi, R ухо'дить, P uchodzić ip. 'to go away', R уй'ти, Cz ujíti, Slv uíti pf. inf. 'to go away', R унес'ти, Cz unésti, P unieść 'to carry away', etc. ‖ Ht awan in awan arha 'away, off', awan katta 'down' ⨍⨍ No connection with N *χawi̮?∇ 'drive, chase, pursue' because N *χ- does not yield zero in Ht ⨍⨍ P 72-3, EI 37 (*h⁴eu̯ 'away [from]'), M K I 56, ESlSJ-SGZ I 261-2, Vn. O 1, Frn. 24, Tp. P A-D 142-3, ≈ ESlSJ-SGZ II 261, Pv. I-II 245 ‖‖ A: Tg *ebu- v. 'descend, go down' > Ewk ᴈw- ꟼ ᴈb-, Sln ᴈwū- ~ ᴈgū- ~ ᴈ?ū, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn ᴈw-, Orc, Ud, Ul ᴈu-, WrMc ebu-, Mc Sb ᴈbu- id. ⨍ STM II 433-4 ‖ ?φ M *°ibEl- (unless it is *°φibEl-) v. 'descend' > WrM ibil- ~ ibel-, HlM ивлэ-х v. 'descend, come\go down' (unless ← *ibEl- v. 'flow') ⨍ MED 397.

**794.** ₂*ho̤w̤ʕa (or *hoʕwa) 'to flow, to stream; a stream' > HS: WS *√hwʕ ~ *√hyʕ v. 'flow' > Ar هوع √hwʕ G (ip. -hūʕ-, -hwaʕ-) v. 'vomit', هيع √hyʕ (ip. -hīʕ-, -hyaʕ-) v. 'fuse (lead)', Sb √h(y)ʕ v. 'flow, run (water)', hyʕ-m 'flow of water, libation' ⨍ Fr. IV 418, 424, BGMR 57-8, Bll. 1O9-1O, DRS 4O4 ‖ C {E} *waʕ- v. 'run, flow' > Bj {R} wiya 'rainy season', wāt 'pus' ┊┊ SC: Irq {MQK} wāʕ- 'vomit, flood, overflow, flow', Irq/Alg/Brn {E} waʕ- v. 'vomit', Irq {E} waʕam- v. 'flow, trickle', Brn {E} waʕamu 'well', Alg {E} waʕamu 'river', Kz {E} wa?amuko id.,

(C ъ⃗ ) Mb {E} -ᴡa v. 'urinate' ┊┊ EC: Sa/Af {Ss.} ᴡeʕ 'flowing water', Af {PH} ᴡḗʕa 'flood, torrent of water', ?? HEC: Hd ᴡoʔo, Kmb ᴡaʔa, ᴡiʔa, Sd ᴡā, Brj ʼᴡā (gen. ᴡayin-) 'water' (×N ʻᴡetê ʼ[flowing] water', q.v.); ? EC *ya̤ʲʔʕ- v. 'flow away' > Sml yāʕ- v. 'run away', Gdl yeʔ- v. 'fall down in particles, sprinkle down', Or {Grg.} yāʔ-, Brj yaʔ- v. 'flow' ⵟ E PC #586, E SC 313 (s.v. SC *wa̤ʲʔʕ- v. 'flow'), MQK 113, Grg. 4O4, ≈ Ss. B 186 (a wrong et. for Sa/Af ᴡeʕ), Ss. B 192, PH 211 ┃┃ **U**: FU *⌐ō⌐ᴡa (~ *uᴡa??) 'stream; to stream' > F ᴠuo 'stream', Es {W} ᴠoo 'Strömung, Wellengang', ? Lv: E ɜᴠaˑ, W iᴠaˑ, Lv Slc üᴠa 'Strom, Strömung' ┊ Lp OSw {LÖ} uᴡe, uᴠᴡe 'flumen placide fluxus', Lp N {Fri.} uᴠᴠe (gen. uᴠe) 'flumen placide labens, fluvium' ┊┊ pObU *ōᴡ- v. 'stream', *oᴡ 'stream' > pVg *ɔ̄ᴡ-, *ɔ̄ᴡ > Vg: T/LK/MK/P/Ss oᴡ 'stream', Ss oᴡ- v. 'stream'; pOs {Ht.} *oɣ-, *oɣ ({ʃHl. *ă̄ɣ-, *ă̄ɣ) > Os: V/Vy oɣ, Ty ă̄ɣʷ, Y/K/O ă̄ᴡ, D/Nz/Kz ō̆ᴡ 'a stream', V ō̆ɣa-, Ty ă̄ɣʷ-, Y/K/O ă̄ᴡ-, D/Nz/Kz ō̆ᴡ- v. 'stream' ⵟ Cp. Coll. 125, UEW 544-5, SK 1813-4, Fri. 79O, Kt. 51-2, W EDW 1386, Ht. 123-4 [#8], Hl. rHt 71. The variant with *⌐ō⌐- is represented by F and ObU, while Lv and Lp are likely to suggest a variant with initial *u- (from *o- ¬ *ō- under the ass. infl. of *-ᴡ-?) ┃┃ Cf. also NaIE *a|oᴡent- 'well' (P 78), which is better accounted for by N *h⌐o⌐ᴡ▽ 'pit, depression' (q.v.) ◇ Cp. IS I 256: IS equates the FU stem with A. He adduces a Tg stem reconstructed by him as *ū(a) 'wave' and the M word for 'water' (WrM usun 'water', etc.). In the light of extant data this is untenable, because the Tg stem is to be reconstructed as *ūge [=*ō̄gɜ] (or *ūpe) and in pM there was an initial *φ-: Mnr H fuʒ_u and ShY χsun ~ husun provide ev. for pM *φu-sun 'water'.

**794a.** ? *h▽ya 'for, for the sake of', directive-designative pc. > **HS**: S *°hay > Gz hē, ≈ directive-locative pc.: kʷalla-hē 'everywhere', kʷalla-hē 'in every direction' (kʷall- is 'all, every') ⵟ LG 213 ┃┃ **IE**: NaIE *-ei̯ 'to', ending of the dative case > *ped-ei̯ 'to the\a foot' (> OI paʼd-ē, L ped-ī), *mātr-ei̯ 'to the mother' (> OI mātr-ē, L matr-ī, OCS ᴍᴀᴛєᴩн mater-i), dat. of *dyeṷ- '(god of) daylight' > OI diᴠ-ē, Gk Δι(F)εί- (in Δι(F)εί-φιλος), L Iouī; the dative of thematic nouns underwent morphological changes (metanalysis, etc.), resulting in the following forms: (dat. of *wl̥kʷo-s 'wolf') OI ᴠr̥k-āya, Gk λύκοι, L lupō(i), Lt ᴠilkui, OCS ʙᴧькоᴫ vlьku ⵟ Szem. IEL 16O-92 ┃┃ **A**: Tg: [1] *-ya as a designative pc.: -ya-n 'for him' in Lm mō-yā-n 'einen Baum für ihn, Holz für ihn' (mō is 'tree, wood', -n is 'he'), Neg mō-ya-n 'Holz

für ihn'; [**2**] *-ɥa, ending of indefinite accusative: Ewk, Sln, Neg -ɥa ~ -a, possibly here also the Orc ending of the designative case -ɥa ~ -a ¶ Ci. 256-7, Bz. 82-3 ‖ ?σ M *-ɥi, accusative ending > MM -ɥi / -i, WrM -i (possibly pronounced as [-i̦] after vowels and [i] after consonants) (unless from ppM *-igi / *-ɪgɪ, as supposed by Poppe on the basis of comparison with OT), pM *-ɥi in *či-ma-ɥi accus. 'thee' and *i-ma-ɥi accus. 'him' (*see* s.v. N *mA [pc. of marked accus.]) ¶ Pp. IM 191-3 ‖ ?? **K** *-a-, causative (← designative) verbal px. (that follows the personal prefix for objects ['me, thee, him']): OG, G -a-, Mgr, Lz -o-, Sv -a-. e.g. OG m-a-su 'er tränkte mich, gave me a drink' (m- 'me' + -a- + su 'drink'), Sv χ-a-tre 'er tränkte ihn' (χ- 'him' + -a- + tre 'drink') ¶¶ Kl. 42, Dt. 73-6, 2O7 ◇ Qu., because the S, K, and A cognates are not irreproachable.

**795.** *H₂i, pc. of past (preterite) > **HS**: B (one of several alternative interpretations): *-ī- (marker of the past tense) > Shl -i- in the pret. (ft-i-ɣ̱ 'I went away', t-ft-i-t 'you [sg. m.] went away' ↔ aor. 1s ftuɣ̱, 2m tftut) ‖ **U**: FU *-i-, sx. of the pret.: F sano-i 'he said', Lp N gullâ-i-mek 'we heard', Lp S {Hs.} gō̄l-i-b ⁴ gō̄l-i-m 'I fished', Er кунд-ы-нь 'I caught' (↔ кунд-а-н 'I catch'), Chr L ужж-ы-м 'I saw' (↔ ужж-а-м 'I see'), Chr G лыд-ы-м 'I read' pret. (↔ лыд-а-м 'I read' prs.), Z гиж-и-м 'we wrote' (↔ гиж-а-м 'we write'), Prmk мун-i-м 'we went' (↔ мун-а-м 'we go'), OHg men-í-k ~ men-é-k, Hg men-é-k 'I went', ül-é-nk 'we sat' ¶ Sz. 122-3, Hs. 141-54, Fkt. EJ-66 187-9, Kov. LV 231-2, Kov. GM 248, Lt. KZJ 291-2, Lt. KPJ 3O9 ‖ **D** *-i-, sx. of the past tense > Tm -i- (aṅɜ-i-ṉēṉ 'I was scared' from aṅɜ- v. 'fear'), Td -y-, Kdg -i-/-ɨ-, Kn -iδ- ({An.} < -i-̦and *-d-), Tu -iɥ-/-ɨɥ-/-ɨ-, Tl -e-/-i-, Krx, Mlt -y- ¶¶ An. SG 322-35, An. GTJ 113-7 ‖ **K** *-e / ? *-i (? < **-ei̦/**-i), sx. of the aorist (in the 1st and 2nd persons) > OG -e, ? Mg -i, Sv -Ø ¶¶ GM SAKS 62-73 ‖ ? **IE** *e-augment of the past tenses > OI a-, Gk è-, Arm ь-e- ¶ IS I 249-5O [#111] tried to connect this IE *e-augment of the past tenses with the vw. *i or the cns. *ɥ, which serve as affixes of the pret. in B, K, U, C, and D (*see* above) ◇ This preliminary comparison may become valid only after reconstructing the prehistory of the corresponding morphological structures (verbal tenses, etc.). In some cases forms of the past tense are likely to have been based on analytical constructions with verbal nouns. In any case, a direct comparison between *i, *e, and *ɥ as markers of past seems is premature and too shaky to be reliable. There is also a phonetic

difficulty: the reg. NaIE reflex of N *ʜ₂i should have been *ei̯ rather than *e, but this apparent irregularity may be due to generalization of *e before a sonant (where *e < N *i regularly).

**796.** ₂ *ʜ₁icχⱱ ¬ *-c̣- ¬ *ʜ₁icⲅǁhⱱ 'father, head of a family' (→ or ← 'master, lord') > IE *hˀpesχo-s ({EI} *h₁es'h₂o-s) 'master' > Ht isha ~ esha 'master, lord'; AnIE ↤→ Arm իշխան išχan 'prince, sovereign' ‖ NaIE: OL esa, L era 'mistress', L erus 'master of the house\family, lord, owner' ¶¶ WH I 419, WP I 161 (both: no satisfactory et. of the L words), Pv. I-II 385, EI 371-2 ‖ U *ićä 'father' > F isä, Es isa id. ¦ pLp {Lr.} *ȝćē 'father' > Lp: S {Hs.} aattjie, L {LLO} ahttjē, N {N} ač'če, Klt ečč̓, Kld ẹ̩̇č̓:, T yīečče id. ¦ ? pMr {Ker.} *ućä > Mk оця оćä 'father's elder brother', Δ 'father, grandfather' ¦ Chr: H ыза 'аza, KB əzä, L иза i'za, Uf iza, M iźa 'elder brother; father's younger brother' ‖ Vg LK/P {Kn.} ā̇ś 'mother's brother' ¦ OHg ős 'grandfather', Hg ős 'ancestor' ‖ Sm {Jn.} *eysä 'father' > Ne T нися̆, Ne F {Lh.} ńīes:aä̆, Ng {Cs.} jase, {Ter.} 'десы, En {Cs.} ese, Slq Tz ȝsɨ id. ‖ pY {IN} *ečē 'father' (more probable than from N *ʜacǀ̣ꞔ'iˀ [= *χǀꞨǀhacǀ̣ꞔ'iˀ?] 'father') > OY: OY XVII {Wts.} otjé, OY K {Bil.} etchea, {Merk} aittsche, {Lnd.} otschè, OY Ch {Mat.} ете id., OY O еземъ '(my?) father'; Y K ešē 'father' ¶¶ Coll. 16, UEW 78, Db. OS xxxi, Lr. #2, Lgc. #129, Hs. 22O-1, MF 516-7, It. #369, MRS 125, 768, Ker. II 1O2, Jn. 22, KKIH 1O9, IN 217-8, 299, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [#9] (Y ↤ U) ◇ This word may be one of the etl. sources of the N pc. *c̣a ¬ *c̣a, a marker of relative constructions (in descendant lgs.: → sx. of adjectives and singulatives [→ diminutives]) (q.v. ffd.). Cp. a similar usage of Ar ʔabū 'father of' ◈ Gr. II #141 (*ece 'father') (U [incl. Y], A, Ko, Ai, Gil, CK).

**797.** *ʜacǀ̣ꞔ'iˀ (or *χǀꞨǀhacǀ̣ꞔ'iˀ?) 'father, ancestor' > U *äćä 'father' > pLp {Lr.} *āććē ᐩ *ēćē 'father' > Lp: S aattjie, L ahttjē, N ač'če, Kld {SarS} аджь, K {Gn.} aǯ̌ǯ̌̓ id. ‖ ObU *ā̄ć > pVg *ā̄ć(ⱱ) 'grandfather' > Vg: T ā̄ćī, K ō̄ś, UL ā̄ś; pOs *äći 'father' > Os: Ty ȧti, Nz aśa, Kz aśi, O ȧśi id. ‖ Sm: Nn T BZ {Ter.} няця, Nn T Y няця 'daddy', Nn T O {Lh.} ŋā̄ćeʔ voc. 'daddy', 'father!', En K {Mik.} ačaʔ 'father' ‖ ? Y: Y K {Jc.} ečie, {IN} ešē 'father' (× N *ʜ₁icχⱱ ¬ *-c̣- ¬ *ʜ₁icⲅǁhⱱ 'father, head of a family') ¶¶ UEW 22, Lr. #2, Lgc. #129, SaR 2O, Ht. #1, Ter. 391, 425, Lh. 2O, ≈ Rd. UJ 34 [#4] (Y ↤ U) ‖ A: T *äči 'ancestor, elder relative' > OT {Grøn.} eči 'a close male relative younger than one's father and older than ego', Chv аҫа aź_a 'father' (+ppas.: аҫăр,

aɕăвӑр 'your [pl.] father', aшшӗ 'his\their father'), 'male (animal)'; but Tk † ece 'old man' (and Tk ∆ eǯe 'elder sibling'?) may be a loan from M *eǯen 'lord, master' ɟ Cl. 2O, Grøn. TSK, Rs. W 35, Jeg. 35-6, TrR 259 || M *ečige 'father' > MM [S] ecige, [MA, IsV] ečige, WrM ecige, HlM эцег, Dg {T, Pp.} ečig, {Iv.} ецыге, {Mrm.} e'čihe ~ e'čige, {Mr.} ecihe id. ɟ MED 292, H 41, Lg. VMI 28, Pp. MA 151, T DgJ 141 || NrTg *ači 'ancestor, elder relative' > Ewk Vtm ači 'ancestor', Ewk {Cs.} ači 'cousin', ? ι Sln {Iv.} a'ča 'father' ɟ STM I 59 || pKo {S} *ač∧- 'aunt, uncle' > MKo ač∧mí 'aunt', ačapí 'uncle', NKo aǯä 'aunt, uncle', aǯuma₁ni 'aunt', aǯäbi 'uncle' ɟ S QK #978, Nam 341, MLC 1O76-7 ɟɟ Hardly here M *eǯen 'lord, master' (rather belonging to N *ʔediNⱴ 'pater familias' or 'owner' [q.v.]) ɟɟ DQA #4 (A *áč'ⱴ 'ancestor': T, Tg, Ko), S CNM 9, Vv. AEN 9 || **Gil**: Gil A ӡs / ӡz- 'lord, owner' ɟɟ ST 466, ST RN 448 || **D** *ačč₍a₎ 'father' > Tm accaṉ, Ml accan id., Kt aǯ ayṅ 'very old man' (and aǯ aᴠ 'very old woman'), Kn ajja, Kdg aǯǯə₁, Tu ajje 'grandfather'; d. words for 'mother': Ml acca (bf.), Kn acci id., Kn, Tu ajji, Krx aǯǯī 'grandmother', Mnd aǯi 'father's mother' ɟɟ D #5O (unc.: probably from OI āṛya-, ⸕ Tu. #1347) || ??σ **IE**: Ht hassu 'king' ɟ Ts. EI 2O7-9, ≈ Pv. III 24O-6 (Ht hassu- 'king' ← 'Born One' or 'Begotten One' ⇜ Ht has(s)- 'beget'), EI 330 ◇ If Ht hassu belongs here (⇔ Pv.'s qu. et.), we may reconstruct a pN initial *X̣|Q|ɦ-, otherwise the quality of the initial lr. (or uvular cns.) remains unknown. If this lexeme is a Lallwort, typologcal considerations point to an initial *ʔ- ◇ Several scholars (including AD) equated the A √ with U *ićä 'father' (i.e. N *H₁ìċXⱴ ¬ *-ċ̣- ¬ *H₁ìċГ|ɦⱴ 'father, head of a family'): ≈ AD NM 9O [#66] (⸙ ÷ M *eǯen instead of M *ečige), S CNM 8-9 (÷÷ ST), Vv. AEN 9-1O (WrM ecige ÷ U *ićä), but in the light of recent research it is preferable to adduce the A root here (because of its vw.). The original vw. of the first syll. is likely to have been *a (still preserved in Tg), while the U, T, and M front vw. (U, T *ä, M *e) may be due to the ass. infl. of the final front vw. (*i?) ◈ Gr. II #141 (*ece 'father') (U [incl. Y], A, Ko, Ai, Gil, CK) (without distinguishing it from the relexes of N *H₁ìċXⱴ ¬ *-ċ̣- ¬ *H₁ìċГ|ɦⱴ).

**798.** *H₂eċ̣⌐U⌐ (or *H₂eH₂iċ̣⌐U⌐??) 'to sink', (→ ?) 'to dip' > **K**: GZ *ċ̣(w)- v. 'dip' > OG, G ċ̣-, Mg ċ̣(ᴠ)- (n. act. geċ̣uapa), Lz nċ̣- (msd. o-nċ̣-u) id. ⫲ Cp. GZ *ċ̣a- pv. 'down, away' and *ċ̣a-re ~ *ċ̣a-le adv. 'downward' (< N *ċ̣ä v. 'away, downward' [q.v.]) ɟ K 241, K² 294, FS K

438, Chik. 391, Q 378, Marr 217 ‖ U *ećć∇- v. 'sink' (× N q'ê'Ĉˌ∇ˌʕ∇ 'sink') > Prm *⌈ö'⌉ś- v. 'fall' > Z uś- v. 'fall', Z Ud uśɜ 'falls', Vt uś-, Vt SW ŭś- v. 'fall' ‖| Hg es-ik v. 'fall, rain' | pObU *Es- > pVg *ĭs- v. 'alight' (of a bird) > Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/NV/UL/Ss is- id.; pOs {Ht.} *es-əl- ({ʃHl. *ǟs-əl-) v. 'let' ('lassen') > Os V/Vy ĕsel-, Ty ǎsəl-, Y ǎsɬə-, D/K estə-, Nz esəɬ-, O esəl- id. (*-əl- is a transitivizing sx., ⊢ Majt. SM 367) ‖ Sm *∇s- > Kms {KD} ùzùĭ-ɛm v. 'fall, go down (fallen, niedersteigen)', Sq Tm {KD} äs- v. 'fall', caus.: Sq Tz {KKIH} ɜstɬ-, Sq Ke äset'ta-, Sq Nr {Cs.} äs-ta-u, Sq NP {Cs.} äsa-p'ta-m, Slq UO {Cs.} äs-'ta-m v. 'let fall, bring down' ⨾⨾ UEW 71, Coll. 1O, Lt. 221, LG 298, MF 162-3, Ht. #67, Hl. rHt 71, Cs. 1O4, KD 82, KKIH 1O9 ⨾⨾ The rec. of a geminated *-ćć- is based on Prm *-s- (while *-ć- would have yielded Prm *-z-) ‖

**A**: M *iċe- v. 'retire into hibernation' (× N *q'ê'Ĉˌ∇ˌʕ∇ 'sink'?) > WrM ice-, HlM ичи−, Kl ич-(х) iċ-хə 'retire into hibernation' ⨾ MED 397, KW 212, H 8O, Ms. H 62 ‖ **D** (in GnD) *iċ̇- vt. 'soak, steep' > Kui ihpa (p. iht-) id., Png ih- (p. ist-) 'soak, steep (grain for preparing landa)', Mnd ih- v. 'soak, brew (landa)' (landa is beer made from rice or manḍeya [BB PnL 227]) ⨾ D #426, BB PnL 196 ◇ M *i- and D *i- are puzzling. The problem can be solved by supposing a pN etymon *H₂eH₂iĊ'U' with loss of the internal *-H₂i− in K and U.

**799.** *H₂Ud∇ (= *ħUd∇?) 'sister', '∈ female relative' > K *˛uˌda 'sister' > OG, G da-, Mg, Lz da(l)- id., Sv UB/L udil-, Sv LB widil- 'sister (in relation to another sister)' ⨾⨾ K 69, K² 36, FS K 92-3, FS E 97 (all of them reconstruct K *da-), TK 725 ‖ U *⌈o'⌉δ∇ > Es õde 'sister' ‖ Slq Tz ɬlɛnta, ɬlta 'younger niece-in-law, wife's sister, husband's sister' ⨾⨾ KKIH 195 ⨾⨾ The Sq cognate was suggested by Hl. (p.c., 1975) ‖ **HS**: S: Ar ħadād-at- 'wife' (unless ⇐d √ħdd 'empêcher d'approcher') ‖ Ch: Ke áditdɜ̀ 'daughter-in-law \ mother-in-law (of a woman); grandmother' ⨾ Eb. 23.

**800.** *Hüwd∇ (= *ruwd∇?) 'evening, night' > U *yūt∇ 'night' or 'evening' > Chr: L йӱд yüδ, B yüt, Uf jüt, H {MRS} йыд, {Ep.} йыт yъt 'night' ‖| pObU *˛yˌīt(∇) 'evening' > pVg *˛yˌīt, {Ht.} *īt > OVg S Vt eтъ, Vg T yīt ᴸ īt, Vg LK/MK/UK/NVg/LL īt́, Vg P ēt́, OVg N Ber aтъ, OVG N SoG êt, Vg Ss ēt id.; pOs {Ht.} *ät 'night' > Os: V ät, Ty/Y/D/O ȧt, Nz/Kz at id.; pOs *˛yˌitən, {Ht.} *itən '(in the) evening' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D itən, Nz/Kz yetən id. ‖ Sm {Hl.} *üꚝt∇ (= *ūt∇) 'evening' > Slq: Tz {KKIH} ūtɬ, Nr {Cs.} ūd, Kr {Cs.} ūte, Chl {Cs.} ūtö 'evening',

Tur {Lh.} ǖtit '(in the) evening'; Kms {KD} nŭd́i, Koyb niude, Mt {Hl.} *ń|nǖd∇ 'evening' (Mt T {Mll.} njúde 'evening', Mt M {Mll.} njúde id., {Sp.} ню̄дē 'late', нудюнь 'evening', Mt K {Pl.} njuude id.) ¶¶ Coll. 2O, UEW 99, MRS 155, Ep. 33, Ht. #72, KKIH 194, Ps. B 7O, Cs. 11O, Hl. M #777 ‖ A *üt|d∇ > M *üden 'evening, in the evening' > MM [S] üde, üdeši id., 'late', [MA] üdeši 'evening', üdešin 'of the evening', 'vespertinus', WrM üde, HlM үд, Brt үдэ 'noon', WrO üde, Kl үд üdə, {Rm.} üdü, Dg {T} udu 'noon, midday', Dx {T} udu, Ba ude(r) 'day', WrM üdesi, HlM үдэш, Brt үдэшэ '(in the) evening', WrO üduši 'evening', Kl Ö {Rm.} üdüš 'in the evening' ¶ H 158, Pp. MA 373, MED 995-6, Chr. 494-5, Krg. 19O-1, KRS 545, KW 455, T DnJ 136, T DgJ 17O ¶ The semantic shift 'evening' → 'noon, day' in the modern M lgs. may have been influenced by M *edür (> üdür ~ ödü|ör) 'day' (WrM edür, HlM едер, WrO ödör ~ ödür ~ ödur, Kl едр, {Rm.} ödṛ, Dg udur, Ba ude(r) id., ⸕ MED 295-6, KRS 412-3, Krg. 139, KW 293, T DgJ 17O) ‖ Tg: Ewk Nor {Cs. ← Mdd.} ödün 'evening' ¶ Cs. T 119 ‖ ?σ NaT *ö̤ːᵣδ 'time (point\period of time)' > OT ö̤ːᵣδ ({Cl.} ō̄δ) id., 'hour', MU XIII öz 'time', eChg [Rbg.] اوذ̇ ōδ, MT [IM], Tlt {Rl.} öy, ET Tar {Rl.} öt 'Zeit, Zeitpunkt'; ⇥ *ö̤ːᵣδ-läg 'time' → 'noon' > Chg {Rm.} özläk, Tk öyle (spelled öǧle), Kr Cr, Nog üyle, VTt ∆ ülä, Slr üĺe, Tkm öylän, Ggz ǖlen 'noon' ¶ Cl. 35, 55-6, DTS 376-7, 395, Br. MT 138, KW 455, Rl. I 1172, 1259. ET Gl 516-7, TL 68-9 ¶ Cl. postulates an OT long vw., probably on the basis of the Ar plene spelling, which is not a reliable source; Tkm öylän suggests a pT short *ö (unless *ö > Tkm ö in a closed syll.) ‖ **HS**: C *√ Hwd 'evening, night' > Bj A {AD} (ʔu) ́hawād 'evening (after the sunset), night', -hawid v. 'come late in the evening', {R} hawād 'night', hawid- v. 'spend the evening\night', rest' ¦ Ag: Q {R} awāda 'late evening, night' ¦ EC {AD} ≈ *Hawed- > Sml N {Abr.} ʕá́wa 'tonight', ʕāwé́ysín 'time from 7 p.m. to bedtime', Gdl {Bl.} aw'wedḍ, Brj {Ss.} ́yedi, {Blz.←?} (hi)yedi 'night', Or {Grg.} (h)eda 'last night', Or BI {Sr.} ēda id., ēdana 'tonight' ¦ Dhl {To.} heddo 'evening' ¶ AD SF 239-4O, Abr. S 17, Bl. G 6, Ss. B 192, Grg. 133, Sr. 3OO, To. D 135, Blz. CL 179 ‖ ?φ B *√ βḍʔ ({Pr.} *h₂dh₁) 'night' > Gd {Lf.} ēβεḍ, {CM} iβaḍ, Awj aβoṭ, Ntf iḍ ~ iyaḍ, Nf uaṭ, Ah {Fc.} ehoḍ, Ty, ETwl ehъḍ, Gh ihaḍ, Izn, Izd iḍ, Kb iδ, Sll ī̆ḍ, BSn {Bs.} ēḍ, Si iṭ, Zng {TC} ī̆ḍ 'night' ¶ Pr. H 21, #145, Fc. 516, Dl. 17O, Dray 339, Lf. II #OO32, TC Z 3O6, NZ 26, 436-7 ¶ The B √ may belong here only if *-β- is a reflex of *-w-; the emphatic *-ḍ- is still

puzzling ◇ IS I 257 [#12O] (\*Hüt⋏ 'rest hours'; U, M, Tg + qu. T \*öð-le 'noon'), Sauv. 76 (U, A) ◇ The N precons. \*w is responsible for the length of the vw. in pSm (and pU) , as well as for the vl. \*t in U (N \*d > U \*t in the postcons. position). Sml ʕ- and Dhl h- are likely to suggests something like initial N \* г- (\*ɣ- or \*g-).

**800a.** (₂?) \*Hoɡᴇ 'top, above' > **HS**: B \*√H‖wɡH 'be on the top' > Ah {Fc.} aɡ́ɡ́ (pf. yuɡ́ɡ́a), ETwl {GhA} aɡɡu (pf. oɡɡa), Ty {GhA} aɡɡu (pf. yoɡɡa) 'be above (sth.), be higher than (sth.)', Adgg aɡɡʸ- 'être au-dessus de', Gh yuǯa 'il est élevé \ haut', Sll {Ds.} iɡɡi 'on', Tmz {MT} aɡɡ 'see\look at sth. from above' ꟼ Fc. 381, 2OO1 (Fcj. 17 = Pcj. I B 5), GhA 47, 248, MT 144-5, Ds. 94, 269, ≈ NZ 698-7OO ‖ C: Ag {Ap.} \*ʔaɣʷ-, {AD} \*ʔak̲ʷ- 'top, head' > Q {Ap.} awa, {R} awā̲, Km {CR} awā̲, Aw {Ap.} aɣa, Bln {R} awáɣ, Xm {R} u̲ɡ̇ā̲ 'top, Oberteil'; Ag {AD} \*ʔak̲ʷ-ət ({Ap.} ʔaɣʷ-är) 'head' (×N \*ᶜH₂ᵔôkᴜ 'head', q.v. ffd.) ꟼ Ap. AV 3, R WB 19, R Q II 23, CR K 162, 172 ‖‖ A {SDM97} \*oɡi 'up, above' > M \*öɤe-id. ⊷ [1] \*öɤe-de 'upwards' > MM [S] o₁ede 'entgegen, gegen den Strom, aufwärts', WrM ögede, HlM өөд 'upwards, uphill, upstream', Kl {Rm.} ȫdö̊, ȫdā̈n, {KRS} өөдəн 'upwards', Ord {Ms.} öd̲ö id., 'upstream', Brt өөдэ, MMgl {Iw.} ȫde 'upwards, above', Mgl {Lg.} ȯ:da ~ u̲ȯda, {Rm.} öådå̊, {Iw.} ödé 'upwards'; ⊷ [2] M \*öɡsü- 'ascend, go upstream' > WrM ögsü- id., HlM өсөө–х, Brt үгсэ–хэ 'to ascend, to go upstream', Kl {KRS} өгсх ögs-хə, Kl Ö {Rm.} öksö̊-хə id., 'to go uphill' ꟼ H 121, MED 63O, 633, KW 294, 3O3, Iw. 121, KRS 412, 419, Chr. 367, 49O ‖ Tg \*uɡᴇ- 'top, above, up' > Ewk uɤī 'top', Lm oy ᵈ uy id., 'upper', oɤaɤ ᵈ ȯɡȯw ᵈ uɡзɡ 'upper', Sln öɡ ~ uɡ 'bank (of a river)', Neg uwu ~ uɤu~ uu 'upper', uwi- ~ uɤi- ~ uyi- v. 'ascend', Orc ui- ~ uyi- v. 'raise', ui-lз 'above, up', Nn Nh/B uyз 'upper side, space above (sth.)', Ul, Ork ui-lз, Nn uyз-lз ~ ui-lз ~ uy-lз 'above', Ork uwwē ~ uwu ~ ui 'upper, upper side, high', Ud ui-хi 'up' ꟼ STM II 245-6 ‖ pKo {S} \*ùh > MKo ù / ùh-, NKo wi 'up, above' ꟼ S QK #62O, Nam 388, MLC 1258 ‖ pJ {S} \*ú-pa- id. > OJ úpe, J T ue ꟼ S AJ 15, 81, Mr. 247 ꟼꟼ SDM97 s.v. A \*oɡi 'up, above', S AJ 15, 81, DQA #658 (A \*i̲úɡu 'up, above' > M, Tg, Ko, J + unc. T \*jüɡ- in NaT \*jüɡe‖ärü 'upwards', *see* Cl. 915-6, ET J 215, 263-4), Rm. SKE 284 ‖ ?φ,σ **U**: Y T {Ku.} waɣa 'face' (< \*'head'), waɣadɨˆlᴉ̂e 'kerchief', waɣadɨr 'head part of a bridle for reindeers (недоуздок)', waɣane, waɣine 'own' (← 'of oneself' ← 'of [one's] head') ꟼ Ku. 37-8 ◇ Not here NaIE \*aɡro- 'top, point,

uppermost (oberstes)' and Ht {Phv.} hekur 'rock-sanctuary, acropolis' (P 8-9, Phv. III 287-9), which belong to N *χako|aR∇ '≈ top part, tip, extremity' (q.v.).

**800b.** ₂ *HAk∇ 'leaf', (?) 'branch' > **HS**: EC: Sd {Gsp.} hoˈga 'leaf of the wêse plant', Gln/Gwd {AMS} āχ-itté (pl. áχe) 'leaf', Sa/Af {R} hak, Sa I {Hw.} ħak 'branch' ⨅ R S II 179, Gsp. 162, AMS 234 ‖ **D** *āk 'leaf' > Kn āku id., 'young sprout', Tl āku 'leaf, petal', Gnd āk ⁺ āki(:), Knd, Kui āku, Png, Mnd āki, Ku akkū, āku 'leaf' ⨅⨅ D #335 ◇ Blz. LB #98b (N *ħak∇), ≈ Blz. DA 16O [#84].

**801.** *HˈoˈkE (= *Hˈoˈkü or *Hˈoˈkæ?) 'goat' > **IE**: NaIE *o|aĝ- 'goat' ('he-goat'?) > OI aˈja-ḥ 'he-goat', aˈjā 'she-goat', YAv aza- 'he-goat', ZPhl ˀz 'goat' ‖ Lt ožỹs, Ltv âzis 'he-goat', Pru wosee 'goat' ‖ pTc {Ad.} *ās(e) 'goat' > Tc: A ās id., B asiye 'pertaining to a goat' ⨅ Not here (⇔ P) Al dhi 'goat' (< pAl {O} d. *aižiyā ÷ Gk αίξ id.; acc. to Ħ 229, from IE *Heiĝ-s 'goat') ⨅ ≈ P 6-7, M K I 23, M E I 51, Bai. 6, Frn. 519, O 83, Ad. 32, EI 229 (*hₐeˈĝo-s 'he-goat') ‖ **HS**: Ch ≈ *ʔo|akʷ∇ 'goat' > WCh {Stl.} *ʔakʷi 'he-goat' ({AD} 'goat') > Hs àkuyà 'he-goat', àkʷíyà 'goat' ¦ Kfr {Nt.} ɔk id. ¦ Ron {J}: Df ʔə̃́h, Btr ə̃́χ, Klr ʔə̃́h id. ¦ Krkr {Lk, J} ʔõ̀čí (pl. ʔõ̀kai̯), Krf {Sch.} wùččí, Bl/Ngm {Mk.} ɔši id. ¦ NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj awai̯, Kry àhùn, My áhú, Jmb {Sk.} àkʷá 'goat' ¦ Ngz {Sch.} ákù id. ‖ CCh: BuP {Mk.} kʷi, Klb {Mk.} kʷa, Mrg {Hf.} kú id. ¦ HgNk {Mk.} ukʷɛ, FlK {Mk.} ku id. ¦ Gude {Srp.} oxōá, {Mk.} ohʷa, Nz {Mk.} hoɛ, Bt {Srp.} hué, Bcm {Sk.} hõ̀tó id. ¦ Lmn {Lk.} ógù id. ¦ Glv {Rp.} ə̃́gʷà, Dgh {IL} ɔ́ɣè id. ¦ Gzg D {Lk.} ʔaw, {Ro.} áw; {Ro.}: Mada, Mkt, Myn, Vm, Zlg àwák, Hrz àwá, Mlk áwàk id. ¦ ZmB {Sa.} úhʷú id. ⨅ JI II 166-9, J R 212, 35O, ChC, ChL, Ro. 26O, Stl. ZCh 231 [#789] ‖ **A**: M *uquna (~ *uˈgˈuna?) 'he-goat' > MM [HI] uɣuna ~ [MA] اوقونة uquna, WrM uquna ~ uqana, HlM ухна, Mgl {Rm.} uqōna, Dg {T} ukan id., Brt ухана, Kl Ö {Rm.} uχunɑ 'young he-goat' ⨅ MED 892, Pp. MA 365, Ms. H 1O5, T DgJ 17O, Rm. M 41, KW 447, Chr. 483 ⨅ The variant with M *-q- still defies explanation ◇ Ch ≈ *ʔo|akʷ∇ and M *uquna suggest a labialized vw. in the pN second syll., while IE *o|aĝ- point to a pN front vowel (*ä or *e); we can suppose here a hypothetic pN *ü, if in the prehistory of pIE this *ü may have lost its labiality. In the prehistory of M we may suppose repeated assimilation of vowels: N *o...ü > *o...u (synharmonism) > *u...u ◇ The initial zero cns. in some Ch lgs.

(including WCh) may serve as a highly tentative suggestion of a N weak lr. (*ʜ₂-), if compared with WCh {Stl.} *ħ- in N *X⌐o¬ṭ⌐i¬ '∈ fish' (> Wrj ɣàdái̯, Cg ɦâtì, Kry ɣə́dè, My ɣə́dí), but this issue is still to be investigated.

**802.** *⌐ʜ₂¬ôkU 'head' > **HS**: C: Ag {AD} *ʔakʷ-(at), {Ap.} *ʔaɣʷ-(ar) 'head' (×N *Hog̃E 'top, above') > Bln {Ap.} ʔaxʷar, {R} ʔaɣʷar (pl. ʔaɣʷat-), Xm {Ap.} awʒr, {R} awr, Xm T {CR} awúr, Km {Ap.} aɣʷäy, {CR} awē, aɣʷäy (pl. aɣʷät), Dmb {R} aɣʷē, aɣʷē 'head', Q {R} aɣʷē, awē 'head, oneself', {Ap.} awa 'top', Aw {Ap.} aya 'top', {CR} aɣā 'head, lord' ¶ R WB 19, CR K , Ap. AV 3 ‖ **U** {UEW} *u‖okꞬ 'head' > FU: ObU {Ht.} *ūɣꞬ, {Hl.} *ᵻwꞬ id. > pVg *ᵻwꞬ 'bear's head' > LK {Kn.} āwt, P {Kn.} ᵲwt, MK {MK} äw id., pVg *ᵻwā {Ht.} 'bear's crane' (AD: or 'bear's head') > UL {Ht.} āwa 'bear's crane', Ss āwa {Ht.} id., {Mk.} 'bear's head'; pOs *ɔɣ 'head' > Os: V/Vy ɔɣ, Ty oɣʷ, oɣ, Y ow, D/K/Nz uχ, Kz/O ōχ id. ‖ Sm {Jn.} *ukъ 'tip, front part' (×N *⌐ʕ¬oḳi 'sharp point\edge', q.v.) > En {Ter.} ubŏ, ub, {Cs.} 'ubo 'tip, front part', ? Ne T d. ӈyхyд, {Lh.} ŋuˑχūδ, ? Ne F {Lh.} ŋūχuntᵻ ᵈ ŋūχūttæ͡e‘i 'upper lip' (← 'top'), Slq Tz {KKIH} ūkɬ 'nose (of humans\animals), beak, front part, tip', Slq NP {UEW ←?} ugɔ 'tip (Ende), lip', Slq Nr {Cs.} ūg 'Ende, Schluß' ¶¶ UEW 542-3, ≈ Ht. #9 (without data of Vg LK/MK/P and with pVg *ᵻwꞬ 'bear's crane'), MK 59, Hl. rHt. 73, Jn. 3O, KKIH 191, Cs. 1O8; Coll. 44 and Hl l.c. equate the ObU word with Lp N oai‘ve 'head' and hence with U *oɣwa 'head', but UEW l.c. rejects it on phonetic grounds, because U *-ɣw- cannot yield ObU *-ɣ- or *-w- (𝓕 UEW 336-7 s.v. U *oɣwa 'head') ‖ **E**: El uk-ku, uk-gi 'head' ¶¶ HK 12O6, 121O-4 ◇ An initial weak lr.*⌐ʜ₂¬- is tentatively suggested by Ag *ʔ- ◇ On the possible connection with N *ʔ⌐o¬kE (= *ʔ⌐o¬kü?) 'self' (whence rec. of a N etymon *ʔ⌐o¬kü 'head' → 'self') *see* s.v. N *ʔ⌐o¬kE.

**803.** *H⌐i¬Ḳæ 'eat' > **IE** *heḱ- v. 'eat' > OI aś- (3s prs. aś'nāti) 'eat', 'aśana 'eating, food' ¦¦ ON, NNr, Dn, Sw agn 'bait, lure' ¦¦ ??μ Gk Hm ἄκολος 'a bit, morsel' ¶ Cp. N *ʕ⌐æ¬g̃o 'drink' (q.v.) ¶ ≈ IS I 275-6 s.v. *ʕEḲu ¶ M K I 6O, M E I 136, F I 55, Vr. 3, 681 ‖ **HS**: EC: Yk {Hn.} -ɛk- 'eat', ɛ́któ 'food'? (×N *ʕ⌐æ¬g̃o 'drink') ¶ Hn. Y II 124-5 ‖ ?ɸ ECh: Nd {J} yígâ v. 'eat (hard food)' ¶ JI II 119 ¶¶ Not here B *√HksH v. 'eat', which is more likely to belong to N ?σ *ʕEḲꞬ⌐ʒ¬Ꞟ '≈ to peck, to prick' (of birds and other animals) (q.v. ffd.) ‖ **A**: T: OT igiδ- v. 'feed (a

person, animal), [MhK] igdil- v. 'be nourished, fed' (× N ?σ *ʕEḴ∇ʳⅉ¹∇ '⇑') ⅉ Cl. 1O, 1O4.

**803a.** ≈ *ʳH₂¹el∇ 'sprout, twig' > **HS**: S: ? Ak ⋀ elû 'sprout' (unless derived from S *√ ʕly 'rise') (× N *ʕǀgol̗∇y̗∇ 'leaf'?? or derived from S *√ ʕly 'rise') ⅉ CAD IV 114 || SC {E} *hǀʔalēm- 'branch' (unless akin to Sml ʕalēn- 'leaf' < N *ʕǀgol̗∇y̗∇ 'leaf') > Irq halmi, Alg elemi, Brn alema 'branch' ⅉ E SC 336 || **U**: FU (att. in FP) *elʲ∇ 'sprout, twig' > Er iʲlev 'twig', Δ iʲley, iʲliy, Mk iʲli 'Rute' ('rod, twig') ¦ Prm *ul 'twig, sprout' > Vt ул ul 'bough', Δ {Wc.} ul 'bud, sprout', Z ув uv, Δ ul, Prmk, Yz ul 'bough, twig' ⅉ UEW 624, LG 295, UZS 446 || **D** *el- 'leaf' > Tm ilaị 'leaf, petal', Ml ila, Kt el, Td eṣ, Kn ele, ela, Kdg elakaṅḍa, Tu elæ 'leaf', Gnd kork-ila 'new leaf' (kork 'sprout') ⅉⅉ D #497.

**804.** *H₃iLʳi¹ (= *ħiLʳi¹?) (or *H₃i̗ʔǀy̗Lʳi¹??) '∈ entrails' > **IE**: NaIE *ei̯li- / *ili- / ? *jeli- (or *īli-) 'entrails' > L īlia / -ium (pl.) (> īlium sg.) 'entrails, guts; loin, womb, Schamgegend', (EM: 'flancs, parties latérales du ventre qui s'étendent depuis le bas des côtes jusqu'à la naissance des cuisses') ¦¦ Gk [Hs.] ἴλια · μόρια γυναικεῖα '(private) parts of women)' (unless to be read δῶρα γυναικεῖα, as in some codexes), ἴλιον · τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφήβαιον δηλοῖ ('it means: woman's pubes') ¦¦ Sl {P, WH} *jelito, {ESSJ} *elito 'gut(s), entrails' > SCr jelito 'sausage', Δ 'gut', Slv jelita '∈ sausage', Δ olito 'gut', Cz jelito '∈ sausage', Slk jelito 'sausage, stomach, gut', HLs jelito 'sausage', HLs Δ jĕlto, LLs jelito 'entrails', P jelito 'gut, sausage', Slvnz älẽta, Uk яли'ти 'entrails', Blr я'літы 'testicles (of animals)' ⅉ WH I 678-9, P 499, F I 722, EM 3O8, ESSJ VI 21-2, Brü. 2O6, ≠ EI 356 (L īlia < IE *isg̑ʰis 'loins') || **K**: G ilao {Chx.} '∈ intestinal disease', {DCh.} 'colics' ⅉ Chx. 523, DCh. 579 || **HS**: HEC {Hd.} *hillē 'intestines' > Hd hillenna, Kmb hillēta, Sd helʲle ⅉ Hd. 84, 282, 321, 371 || **A**: Tg *°īlen 'spleen' (and 'liver'?) > Ewk PT/Vl/Nr īlзn 'spleen', Ewk Y īlзn id., 'gall', Ewk I īlзn '≈ liver' (unless a loan from some M lge., cp. Brt эльгэ(н) id.) ⅉ STM I 312 ⅉⅉ But MM eligen, Brt эльгэ(н) 'liver', WrM elige, HlM элэг 'liver, belly' do not belong here, because (on the ev. of MM [LV] and Mnr) the pM word is *ɸeligen (Ϝ SM 152) ◇ C suggests that the initial lr. is probably to be reconstructed as *ħ-. If the IE etymon is *īli-, the IE and Tg long *ī- suggests the presence of some lengthening factor after *i (it is likely to have been either *y or a laryngeal; in the light of the K, Sl, and HES zero reflexes of this lr. it

may have been **ʔ**). But if the IE etymon is *ei̯li- / *ili- / ? *jeli- (which is preferable in the light of Sl) and if the length of Tg *ī is of prosodic origin, no pN lengthening factor is needed.

**804a.** *H⸢ä⸣íᐁ (= *χ|q⸢ä⸣íᐁ?) 'female' > **HS**: EC *hal(1)- 'female' > Sa {Wlm., Ss.} al-a 'goats' (general and female), Sml hal, Sml N {Abr.} hál, Or hal-ā 'she-camel', Rn al-ó 'female camels', Af {PH} ala 'female camel which has given birth', Bs {Fl.} hilel ~ hᴌlɛl 'woman' ¶ Ss. PEC 37, 39-4O, ZMO 178, PG 6, PH 37 ‖ NrOm: Male {Bnd.} lāli 'woman' ‖ ECh: Gdr hàlà 'girl' ¶ ChC ¶¶ AD SF 137, 193 (EC, NrOm) ‖ **A**: T: OT [MhK] iši or (Cl.'s alt. interpretation) ēš 'lady', MT XIV [IM] išler (to be read eš-lär?) pl. 'women' ¶ Cl. 256 ‖ **D** *-a], SD *-ᐁa], marker of fem. in pronouns and nouns > Ml a-ᐁa] 'that woman' (↔ a-ᐁan 'that man' ↔ a-tu 'that thing'), Td aᐁa 'that woman' (↔ {Shanm.} aᐁën 'that man'), Kt aᐁ] 'that woman' (↔ aᐁn 'that man'), Tu ā]u 'that woman' (↔ āɥe 'that man'), Kn Bd aᐁa] 'that woman', iᐁa] 'this woman', Tm, Ml mak-a], Kn mag-a] 'daughter', Kn kiri-ɥ-a] 'girl', kandal-a] 'Geliebte', Kn maduᐁ-a], Prj kor̤-al bride', OTl VII manamar-ā]u 'granddaughter', MTl kōd̤-alu 'daughter', celi-ɥ-alu 'younger sister', (?) Png -el, fem. sx.: tor̤nd-el 'sister', harukad-el 'small woman', Kui -ali, marker of fem.: mrīg̤-ali 'female cousin', kū-ali 'Kond woman', ɡah-ali 'sweeper (woman)', Klm -al, fem. ending: komm-al 'daughter', kor-al 'younger brother's wife', pod-al 'spouse's sister', Prj, Gdb kēt-al 'widow', murtal 'old woman', Gdb kor̤-al 'son's wife' ¶¶ *-ᐁ- in SD *-ᐁa] may be due to analogy with the marker of masc. *-ᐁan that occurs in the same context: Tm a-ᐁan 'that man', a-ᐁa] 'that woman', i-ᐁan 'this man', i-ᐁa] 'this woman', oru-ᐁan 'one man', oru-ᐁa] 'one woman' ¶¶ Shanm. DN 3O-14O ◇ According to AD's hyp. (AD WIL), EC *h- goes back to pHS *χ-, sc. to N *q-.

**805.** *H₃am⸢u⸣ 'be/become quiet, enjoy' > **K**: G am- vt. 'quieten, calm, allay (pain)' ('beruhigen, stillen'), 'please (so.)' ¶ Chx. 15-6, DCh. 25-6, NCh. 36 ‖ **A** *ām⸢u⸣-, {SDM97} *āmᐁ 'be quiet' > Tg *ām- 'sleep, be sleepy' > Ewk āmз-, Neg, Ork āma-, Ul amasᴌ- ~ amasᴜ-, Nn Nh āmasᴌ-, Nn B āmosᴌ- 'be sleepy', Ewk āmī, Ul, Ork amᴌ, Nn {Pt.} āmi n. 'sleep', Ewk āmз, Neg āma, Ud {Krm.} amahi imprs. 'there is sleepiness, one is sleepy (спать хочется)', WrMc amɡa- ~ amqa-, Mc Sb amaha- v. 'sleep, doze' ¶ STM I 2-3, Pt. 16, Krm. 2O6 ‖ M *amu- vi. 'rest, feel contentment, be relieved' > MM [IM] amu- v. 'rest', [HI] 'rest,

be quiet', [MA] 'rest, feel pleasure', [S] {H} amu- 'ruhig sein, aufhören', WrM amu-, HlM ама-х vi. 'rest, relax, feel contentment\joy, b e relieved'; M \*amur > WrM amur, HlM амар 'peace, quiet, calm, rest; pleasure', Ord amuˁr 'rest'. Kl амр amra 'calm, well-being, r e s t (покой)', {Rm.} amr̥ n. 'quiet (Ruhe), peace', adj. 'quiet, peaceful, healthy, comfortable'; M \*amu-ra- 'relax, rest, be relieved, feel contentment\joy' > WrM amura-, HlM амрах id., Ord amara- vi. 'rest, be quiet', MM [S] {H} d. amurli- 'be\feel calm\secure', amurul- vt. 'calm', MM [HI] d. amraq [amraɣ] 'loving each other', Mnr H {SM} χamurā- vi. 'rest, calm, recover, go out (fire)', {T} χambura-, Ba hamera-, Dx {T} hamura- vi. 'rest', Kl амр⁻ amr- 'rest', {Rm.} amr̥- 'ruhen, Ruhe bekommen, ausruhen' (Mnr χ- and Ba, Dx h- are due t o contamination with the √ of Mnr H {SM} χamuli-, {T} χambuli- vt. 'extinguish, efface') ¶ Pp. MA 1O1-2, 432, Ms. H 35-6, H 7, MED 4O, KRS 41-2, KW 9-1O, SM 153-4, T 373, T DnJ 139, T BJ 15O ‖ NaT \*aₗ:ₗm-uǀɪl (with the derivational sx. \*-l [Cl. XIII]?) > OT amuǀɪl 'quiet, mild, peaceable', Tk Δ ɪmɪl ~ umul 'quietly, gently'; NaT \*aₗ:ₗmɪra- vi. 'calm, be at peace' > OT {DTS} amra- v. 'love', Tv amɪra- vi. 'calm, take confort, be glad', Tlt/Qmn {Rl.} amɪra- 'sich beruhigen', Alt {Rl.} amra- id., 'in Ruhe leben'; ⟿ NaT \*amur-t- v. 'quieten, calm (sth., so.)' > OT XI amurt- vt. 'calm (sth.)', Tk Δ amurt- vt. 'quieten, calm'; ⟿ NaT \*amrɪǀul- 'be at peace' > OT VIII-XIII amruǀɪl- id.; NaT \*amɪr > (or M \*amara- ⟿) Tv, SY amɪr, Qzq Δ ämĭr n. 'calm, peace', Alt/Tlt/Sg/Qb/Kü {Rl.} amɪr id., 'rest (Ausruhen, Erholung)', Xk amɪr 'peaceful, quiet' ¶ Rs. W 19, Rl. I 647-51; ≈ Cl. 16O-3 (claims t h a t \*am(∇)r- is based entirely on a loan from M amara-, which is highly doubtful because derivatives from \*am(∇)r- are attested in p r e - Mongolian OT from the VIII c. on; the idea of M origin may be valid f o r the T noun amɪr only, because it is not attested in OT), ≈ ET Gl 59-6O (does not distinguish between \*abra- and \*amra-), DTS 41, TvR 58-9 ¶¶ DQA #72 (A \*ằm∇ 'be quiet, sleep'), KW 9, S AJ 292 ‖ **D** (in SD) \*am- 'be(come) still\quiet' > Tm amai̯ 'become still\quiet, abide, remain', amar- 'v. 'abide, remain\become tranquil', Ml amaruka v. 'subside, settle, be settled, rest on', amarcca 'calmness, self-government', Tu amaru-ni 'to become quiet\calm; to settle', amapu-ni 'to quiet' ¶ D #161 ‖ ?σ **IE**: NaIE \*am- v. 'love' > L amā- (amō, -āre) v. 'love', amor 'love', amīcus 'a loved one, friend', Mrc AMATENS 'voluerint'

‖ ?φ Phr [Hs.] ἀδαμεῖν · τὸ φιλεῖν 'to love'; [Hs.] καὶ Φρύγες τὸν φίλον ἄδαμνα λέγουσιν 'Phrygians call a loved one ἄδαμνα' ¶ WH I 4O-1, ≠ P 3 6 ◇ If the IE cognate is valid, the initial N lr. may be **ˤ-**, **ħ-** or **h-** (N **ˤ‖ħ‖ha- >** IE **\*he- >** NaIE **\*a-**), but not **\*ʔ-** (N **\*ʔa-** would have yielded IE **\*e-**/zero).

**805a.** **Homgʳüˈ** 'breast' > **HS**: C ≈ **\*ʔ∇ngᵂ/\*n̥gᵂ-** 'breast' > Ag {Ap.} **\*ʔзngᵂ-/\*angᵂ-** id. > Bln зngᵂi, Xm **\*зk̟ᵂ**, Km **\*зngᵂз**, Aw angᵂ id. ‖ EC: Sa, Af angu ({Ap.}: ↤ Ag), Sml J {Blz. ← ?} ʔenek id. ‖ Bj nūg, nūgᵂe 'female breast' (× the etymon of EC **\*nūg**, Ag **\*ʔ∇ngᵂ-** 'suck the breast', unless the verb is derived from the noun) ¶ Ap. AV 4, Blz. CL 177, R WB 35 (Bln u̠nˈgū̠ ~ u̠ŋˈu̠-ī 'nipple') ‖ **D**: SD **\*oŋk-** 'woman's breast' > Kn oŋgu 'teat, pap', ? Tm ońci ~ occi 'woman's breast (nursery)' ¶ D #943 ‖ **A**: NaT **\*ömgen** (× NaT **\*ömgeᵢˌn** '≈ neck' < N **\*ṣomKê** '[∈ part of the] neck', q.v.) > Brb {Tm.}, SbTt Tv {Tm.} ȫmgän 'horse's chest', Qzq öŋmen 'breast, oesophagus' ¶ Cl. 15O, Rl. I 1315, ET Gl 537, Tm. 165.

**806.** (₂?) **\*Hʳeˈm∇n̄∇** (= **\*ʔʳeˈm∇n̄∇**?) 'oak, tree' > **IE**: OIr omnae 'tree, oak' ¶ Vn. *O* 22 ‖ **A**: T **\*emän** 'oak' > Tkm imen, Uz eman, ET emän, VTt, Bsh imän, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg emen, Kr amän, Alt ermen, Chv юман yuman ⁀ yoman 'oak' ¶ r in Alt still needs explaining ¶ Rs. W 42, Dm. NRTAJ 185-6, Jeg. 348, Fed. II 485, Md. 115, 165 (T **\*i̭aman ~ \*emen**, NaT **\*emen**), TL 124 (**\*ermen**) ‖ ? **HS**: Eg fO im3 '∈ fruit-bearing tree (date-palm?); '∈ sacred tree; wood used for statues and toils\utensils' ¶ EG I 79 ◇ If the Eg word belongs here, the N rec. must be **\*ʔʳeˈm∇n̄∇**.

**807.** **\*Han̄∇** 'other' > **IE**: NaIE **\*a‖on-** (× N **\*ha** 'ille'?) ↤ : [1] NaIE **\*a‖on-yo-** 'other' > IIr **\*ani̠o-s** 'other, different' > OI anˈya-ẖ, Av anyō, OPrs aniya id., Oss annä 'the other (of two, of many)' ‖ ? Gk ἕνη (ellipsis from ἕνη ἡμέρα [with ἡμέρα̣ 'day']) 'the day after tomorrow'; [2] NaIE **\*a‖ontero-s** 'the other (of two)' (built on the analogy of **\*al-tero-s** id.?) > OI ˈantara-, Oss ändär 'other' ‖ Gt anþar 'other, the second', ON annarr (pl. aðrir), OHG ander, AS ōðer 'other', NE other ‖ Lt añtaras ~ añtras, Ltv òtrs, Ltv E ũtors 'other', Pru antars ~ antars 'other, the second' ¶ Brg. KVG 4O1, Me. OSJ 352-3, ≈ P 37-8 (unc.: **\*anios** and **\*anteros** ↤ **\*an** 'there, on the other side'), ≈ EI 411 (**\*h₁en- ~ \*h₁on-** 'that', **\*ˈh₁on-tero-s** 'other'), Frn. 12, En. 142, M K I 35-7, Ab. I 545, Fs. 53, Vr. 1O, Ho. 243, EWA I 241-2 ‖ **U**: Sm {Jn.}

\*ån▽- 'other' > Ne T ңани, Ne T O {Lh.} ŋāńī 'other, different', En {Cs.} ańiʔ 'aufs neue', Ng {Mik.} ŋonə 'and', {Cs.} ŋanai 'aufs neue, noch' ЈЈ Jn. 1, Ter. 383 ‖ **Ꟑ**: NrTg \*aŋ- (unless it is \*хaŋ-) > Lm aŋɩli 'other, different', Neg anɩskī ~ aŋɩskī id., 'otherwise' (may have been influenced by Tg \*хaŋgi 'side', whence Neg anɩlī ~ aŋɩlī 'aside, far') Ј STM I 46 ‖ ?σ **HS**: WS \*han (dem. prn.) (× N **\*ha** 'ille') > IA/EpJA hn {HJ} 'this', BHb ha- +gmc. 'the', Mo, Ph h- 'the', Ar {Nld.} han 'der da, das da' Ј HJ 287-8, KB 225-6, ≈ Nld. NB 119 (unc.:Ar han 'iste' ← han- 'thing') ◇ If WS \*han belongs here, the N rec. is \*hanˉ▽, otherwise we remain with an unspecified **\*H-** (N **\*Hanˉ▽**) ◈ ≈ Gr. II #288 (\*ena 'other') (IE, U, ?? Gil + err. J, A + unc. CK, EA).

**808.** **\*Hin▽** (= **\*Xin▽**?) 'other' > **IE**: NaIE \*ei̯n- > Sl \*jьnъ(jь) (f. \*jьna, ntr. \*jьno) 'other, different' > OCS инъ inъ (f. ina, ntr. ino), OR, RChS инъ inъ, R и'ной, Uk 'иний, SCr ȉn, ȉnī, Cz jiný, Slk iný id., Blg 'иный, ин (f. ина, ntr. ино), Slv in, OP iny, P inny 'different' ⁞ IIr \*ai̯n- > Oss I иннæ īnnä 'the other one (from two)', the other (from many)', Xwr īnī 'other' Ј Brg. KVG 4O1, Me. OSJ 352-3, Frn. 12, En. 142, ≈ ESSJ VIII 233-4, Glh. 277, Bern. I 432, Me. *MSL* X (1898): 254-5, M K I 35-7, Ab. I 545, Fs. 53, Vr. 1O, Ho. 243 ‖ **D** (in SD) \*°ēn̯- 'other' > Tm ēn̯ai̯ 'other, the rest' Ј D #919 ‖ **Gil**: Gil A/ES ena- 'other, belonging to another person, strange', A ena-ɟ, ES ena-nd 'be other, belong to another person, be strange' ЈЈ ST 482-3, Krn. N 493 ‖ **HS** \*-(i)ħEn- within the cd. \*ʔaniħEn-n▽ 'we' (aut. prn.) (\*ʔan- [focalizing topic pc., forming autonomous pers. pronouns] + \*(i)ħen- + \*nu▽ 'we, our' [< N **\*nˉ▽** 'we' excl.]) (× N **\*Xanˉ↓▽↓ʕ▽** 'together, with' [q.v.]?) > S \*ʔa'niħnu|a 'we' (aut. prn.) (> BHb אֲנַ֫חְנוּ ʔa'naħnū, Ph ʔnħn, BA אֲנַ֫חְנָא ʔa'naħnā, IA ʔnħn(h), Plm ʔnħnw, JA אֲנַ֫חְנָ(א) (ʔa)naħnā, JEA {Sl.} אֲנַ֫חְנָא ʔa'naħnā ~ אֲנַ֫ן ʔa'nan, Sr ܐܢܚܢ nəħan ~ [an obsolete form] ܐܢܚܢܢ [unvocalized ʔnħnn, presumably to be vocalized as ܐܢܚܢܢ ʔ ə naħnan], Ar نَحْنُ naħnu, Gz nəħna, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} nзħā, Jb E 'nħa, Jb C 'nħan ~ 'nħa, Sq {Jo.} ħan ~ 'ħanhзn, Ak (a)nīnu id.), Bj {RHd.} hi'nin, {Rop.} he'nnen 'we, us', {R} ha'nan, han'in, he'nin 'we', etc. This is one of two alternative etymologies of HS \*ʔaniħEn-n▽ 'we'. It presupposes that \*ʔaniħEn-n▽ originally meant 'we others' (like Sp nosotros, Ctl nosaltres 'we' < L pl. accus. nos alteros 'we others', cp. also Fr nous autres). The other alternative explanation

presupposes that *ʔaniħEn-n∇ originally meant 'we together', with *-ħen- going back to N **ХАn̄ͺ∇ͺˁ∇** '⇑' (q.v. ffd.) (> Eg fP ħnˁ 'together with, and') ◇ IE points to a N **ɨ**. Tm ē- for the expected reflex of a D *ɨ- or ɨ̄- still needs explaining.

**809.** ₒ **\*Han̄ˈgˈ∇(t̞∇)** (or **\*Haŋˈgˈ∇(t̞∇)**??) 'duck' > IE \*Hn̥Hti- / \*HenHti- ({M} \*h₂n̥h₂ˈti-, {EI} \*hₐn̥hₐti- / \*hₐenhₐti-) > NaIE \*anati 'duck' > L anas (accus. anatem ~ anitem) id. ‖ Gmc \*anud- ~ \*anid- 'duck' > ON ǫnd, OHG anut (~ aneta), nom. pl. enti, NHG Ente, Dt eend, OSx anad, AS ened ‖ OI m. ā'ti-ḥ, f. ātī 'duck', KhS āce 'aquatic birds, geese', Oss acc {OsR} 'wild duck; male duck' ‖ Gk I νῆσσα, Gk A νῆττα, Gk B νᾶσσα 'duck' (< \*νᾱτι̯α) ‖ BSl \*ānt- (< \*anat-) > Lt ántis, Pru antis id. ¦ Sl \*ǫ̇tɨ (gen. \*ǫ̇tьve) 'duck' > ChS ѫтꙑ ǫtɨ (gen. ѫтъвє ǫtьve), OR ѹтꙑ utɨ (gen. ѹтовє utove), SCr ȕtva, R Δ ут'ва, Slv {Vs.} ǫ̑tva, {Glh.} ótva, Uk утва, Blr вутва, уць, (dim. →) R 'утка ¶ P 41-2, EI 171, M K I 72-3, M E I 163-4, Bai. 16, Ab. I 27, OsR 61, WH I 44, F II 317-8, Vr. 687, EWA I 291-3 and II 1O75, Kb. 39, 2OO, KM 167, Frn. 11-2, En. 142, Tp. P A-D 95-6, Vs. IV 174, Glh. 568 ‖ U \*aŋ∇ '∈ aquatic bird (duck or sim.), ∈ game bird (Tetraonidae, Phasianidae)' > Lp: N {N} hâŋˈŋa -ŋŋ- ~ hâŋˈŋja 'long-tailed duck; Harelda glacialis', L {LLO} haŋŋā ~ haŋŋēk ~ haŋŋōk 'ice duck, Harelda hiemalis', Kld {TI} aŋ�·ŋ-łonˁͺt:a̱ 'polar duck (Harelda)', U {Schl.} aŋŋàlahka 'domestic duck' ‖ ObU {Ht.} \*ɨ̄ŋk 'partridge, ptarmigan' > pVg \*ɨ̄ŋkā id. > OVg S SSs angō, anka ≈ id., Vg S: Vg T {Mu.} ā̊ŋghå̱, Vg MK ɔ̄ŋkə, OVg N BerG 'aŋgə, Vg Ss āŋχa 'ptarmigan', Vg P āŋkə id., 'partridge'; pOs \*ɨ̄ŋk > Os: V/Vy ɨ̄ŋq, D/K eŋχ 'partridge, ptarmigan' ‖ Sm: Ne T {Ter.} ңа″ңо ŋaʔŋo 'diving duck (Aythya, нырок), long-tailed duck (Clangula hiemalis, утка-морянка)', {Lh.} ŋāŋū 'polar duck, Anas hiemalis', En {KD} ŋau 'duck', Ng {Mik.} ŋaŋoja 'duck', Slq Tz {KKIH} ū 'partridge', {Prk.} u 'ptarmigan', Slq Nr/Yel/Kar {Cs.} û id., Kms uŋa 'partridge', Koyb {Pl.} angat 'Anas rutila', Mt {Hl.} \*oŋͺgͺo 'Schneehuhn' or 'Rebhuhn' (Mt: K {Pl.} onhò 'куропатка', [in Pl. Z] 'Tetrao Lagopus') ¶¶ UEW 13, Schl. 6, TI 15, Ht. #45, Ter. 392, KKIH 191, Cs. 1O8, Erl. 282, Hl. M #811, ≠ Jn. 19 ‖ **А** ({ADb.} \*aŋgi-, {DQA} \*āŋat∇ '∈ duck'): NaT \*aŋɪt {Cl.} 'ruddy goose, Anas casarca' (→ names of other large birds) > OT aŋɪt {Cl.} 'ruddy goose', OOsm XV aŋɪt id., MQp XIV aŋɪt 'a bird called *ʼal-ʼunaysa* (in Ar)', Chg [San.] aŋkud, Tk Δ ankɪt, Qmq hankut '∈ wild duck', SY aŋɪt

{Ml.} 'wild duck with yellow feathers', Xk аат āt 'scoter (Melanitta, турпан)', ? Yk andɪ ~ annɪ 'ɛ 'black duck', 'scoter, diving duck' (unless Yk ⇦ Ewk aŋir) ⨝ Cl. 176, TL 172, Ml. ZhU 16, Tn. SJJ 172 || Tg *aŋ˳g˺i (~ *andi?) 'ɛ aquatic bird' > Nn Nh āŋgʟ id., Neg anʟ, Ewk anni ⅃ andi ~ aŋir, Neg anʟ 'bluebill (чернеть, Aythya)' ⨝ STM I 43 || M *aŋgir > WrM aŋgir, HlM ангир 'ɛ yellow duck' (× *aŋgir 'yellow'?) ({Cl.} 'black diver'); M ⇥ Alt {Rl.} aŋar 'an aquatic bird (smaller than a goose, with a red-yellow breast)', {BT} aŋir 'варнавка (ɛ a bird)', Qrg {Jud.} aŋir 'красная утка, атайка' ('Tadorna'?), Tv aŋɣir, Brt ангир, Ewk Brg aŋir 'scoter, Melanitta (турпан)', Ewk I aŋir 'hazel grouse', Mc aŋgir ńexe 'scoter; ɛ yellow duck' ⨝ MED 445, Cl. 176, Rl. I 184, BT 19, Jud. 6O, TvR 62 || pJ {S} *anti > OJ adi 'ɛ duck' ⨝ S QJ #757 ⨝⨝ ADb. KL, DQA #4O || **D** (in McTm) *aṇṛil (= *aṇṭil) 'ɛ bird' (= 'ɛ duck'?) > Tm aṇril 'ɛ aquatic bird (OI cakravāka [= Anas casarca?])', Ml annal 'ɛ a bird of stately walk' ⨝ D #331.

**810.** *Hoñka (= *ноñка?) 'angle, joint\bend (of a limb, etc.)' > **IE**: NaIE *o|ang- 'joint (of body), angle' > OI 'áṅgam 'limb' ⦙ Arm ɯնկիւն ankiwn 'angle, corner' ⦙ L angulus id., Um ANGLOM-E 'ad angulum' ⦙ ON ekkja 'heel', dim. →: ON ǫkla, OHG ancala, ancla, anchla 'ankle, ankle-joint; talus', AS anclēow 'ankle', NE ankle ⦙ Sl *ǫgъlъ 'angle, corner' > OCS ѫгълъ ǫgъlъ, Blg 'ъгъл, SCr ȕgao (gen. ȕgla), Slv vọ̑gǝl (gen. vọ̑gla), Cz úhel, Slk uhol, P węgieł (gen. wę'gła), OR ѹг(ъ)лъ ug(ъ)lъ, R 'угол, Uk 'вугол ⨝ ≈ P 45-7 and ≈ AHDI 3 (both do not distinguish between NaIE *ank- 'bend' [see N *χ|q˺a˺n̪₌∇ˌҚ∇ 'to bend'] and NaIE *o|ang-), M K I 21, M E I 48, WH I 48-9, Ho. 5, Vr. 99, 686, EWA I 26O-1, Kb. 33, ≈ OsS 2O, EWA I 26O-1, Slt. 286-7, Vs. IV 145, Glh. 65O-1 || **A**: NrTg *o̦˷ŋŋ- 'corner', *oŋŋī- v. 'bend as to form an angle' > Ewk ōŋŋān 'internal corner', oŋŋī- v. 'bend\break a stick in order to form an angle, bend a board (to make a ski with an arched front part)', Lm oŋʟt-~oŋʟç- v. bend (together)' ('гнуть, сгибать'), Neg oŋŋʟ-~oŋŋʟ- 'bend a board (to make a ski)', Ork o, oŋʟ 'angle, corner' ⨝ STM II 19 || M *öncüg (unless with *φ-) > WrM öncüg, HlM энцег, Kl энцг öncǝg, {Rm.} öncǖg̣ 'external corner, angle' ⨝ MED 636, KRS 417, KW 296 ⨝ The element (sx.?) *-c̣üg is of unknown origin ⨝⨝ DQA #1598 (A *ȫni|e 'angle') || **HS**: C: Bj {R} 'ankʷa 'hump', {Rop.} ankʷa 'hump of camel' ⨝ R WBd

24, Rop. 152 ‖ ?σ S: Ar حَنَكَة‎ ḥanak-at- 'colline très élevée qui se dresse comme un tour' ⨳ BK I 5O5.

**811.** **\*HEn̄om∇** (= ? **\*ħEn̄om∇** or ?? **χEn̄om∇**) 'take hold of, have, own' > **IE**: NaIE {WH} \*enm-/\*nem-/\*i̯em- 'take, acquire, have' (×IE \*⸢ʔ⸣em-/\*⸢ʔ⸣₀m- v. 'take, get, acquire, have' < N **\*ʔem∇** 'seize, hold' [q. v. ffd.] ×N **\*qʌm∇** 'grasp, seize'): [**1**] \*enm- > \*em- > L emō, -ĕre / ēmpsi / ēmptum 'take', Osc PERT-EMEST 'perimet', PERT-EMUST 'peremerit', PER-EMUST 'perceperit', Um emantu(r) accipiantur' ‖ OIr ar-fo-emat 'they take' ‖ Lt prs. imù / inf. im̃ti 'take', Ltv jemu 'I take', Pru īmt 'to take' ¦ Sl prs. \*ьm-ǫ / inf. \*ję-ti 'take' > OCS prs. ИМѪ imǫ / inf. ѨТИ jęti, prs. ИМАМЬ imamь, and ИМѢѨ imějǫ / inf. ИМѢТИ iměti 'have', as well as the cognate forms of other Sl lgs.; the Sl form \*ьm-ǫ is proved by the OCS compound verb ВЪЗ̑ЬМѪ vъz-ьm-ǫ 'I (shall) take', R возьму 'I shall take' ⫴ [**2**] \*i̯em- > OI yamati 'holds' ⫴ [**3**] \*nem- > Gt, AS niman, ON nema, OHG neman, NHG nehmen 'to take' ‖ OIr nem 'gift' ‖ Lt núoma, Ltv nôma 'rent, lease', Ltv nem̃t 'to take' ⨳ WH I 4OO-2, WP I 2O7, Kb. 719-2O, Frn. 512, ≈ EI 564 (\*h₁em- 'take, distribute', \*nem- 'take\accept legally') ‖ **HS**: Eg fP χ́nm (= ḫnm) 'put one's arm around, touch; join' ⨳ EG III 377-81, Fk. 2O2 ‖ **U**: FP \*oma 'own, property' > F, Es oma id. ‖ pLp {Lr.} \*ɔ̄mē 'property; a thing belonging to smb.' > Lp OSw {LÖ} åme 'res', Lp N {Fri.} oabme 'res, pecus, proprietas', {N} oabme/-m- 'sth. which belongs to so., property', Lp L åpmē 'property, thing', Lp I {SK} oami 'own, property' ‖ ? Vt умой umoy 'good, fit' (← \*'proper to...'), Vt G {Wc.} umoy 'good' ⨳ UEW 717, Lr. #83O, Lgc. #4572 ⨳ The prehistory of FP \*oma may have been: N **\*HEn̄om∇** > **\*\*Ẽ⸢'⸣oma** > \*oma ◇ It is tempting to tie in M \*ömčin > WrM ömci, HlM өмч 'inheritance, share of property; property', Kl өнчн önčən 'inheritance', {Rm.} ömčĭ ~ önčĭ 'Erbteil, Anteil' (MED 635, KRS 417, KW 296), but it belongs here only if the meaning 'property' is ancient in M (which is doubtful).

**812.** ₂**\*H⸢'⸣ān̄t∇** 'kernel' > **IE**: NaIE \*endr- 'egg, kernel' > Vd ān̥ḍa- 'egg', du. 'testicles', ān̥ḍi- 'testicles, OI an̥ḍa- 'egg, testicle', Kls ⸢'⸣ōn̥ḍrak 'egg' ‖ Sl \*ędro 'kernel' > OCS ѨДРО jędro, McdS јадро, SCr, Slv jédro, Cz jádro, Slk jadro, P jądro, R, Blr я'дро id., Uk я'дро 'grain of corn, kernel, testicle', HLs jadro 'kernel, testicle' ⨳ ESSJ VI 65-6, EI 5O7-8 (IE \*h₁en'dro-s 'egg, scrotum', err.: ⇇ \*h₁en-

'in'), ≠ P 774 (unc.: Sl < IE *oid-), ≠ M K I 26 (rejects the connection of aṇḍa- with Sl and supposes its Munda origin), M E I 162-3 (considers the OI - Sl conection "überlegenswert") ¶ NaIE *-r- may go back to a sx. ‖ **D** (in SD) *aṇṭi- 'kernel, stone of a fruit' (× N *Хäṅ▽ṭ▽ 'grain, kernel') > Ml aṇṭi 'kernel, stone of mango, etc., nut', Tm aṇṭi-kkoṭṭai 'cashew-nut', Tu aṇḍi 'stone of fruit (mangoes, etc.)', Kdg ma·ŋge a·ṅḍi 'mango stone'; D ⇸ Prkr aṇṭhi, Hnd ã:ṭʰī, Bngl ã:ṭ(ʰ)i 'kernel', Ori ã ṭʰi id., Hnd Bhj ã ṭʰī 'kernel\pip of fruit' (× OInA *aṣṭi- [> Sk aṣṭi-] 'kernel'); NInA ⇸ Krx aṭʰū 'mango stone', Mlt aṭi 'stone\seed of a fruit' ¶ D #126, Tu. #955 ◇ The positional neutralization of the N opposition *n ↔ *ṅ is denoted here by the symbol n̄.

**813.** *HUŋ⌐d⌐▽ 'root' > **HS**: EC *Hund▽ 'root' > Or {Grg.} hundē id. (but not Or Wt {Hn.} hidda_ 'root', Brj ʼhiddi 'root of big trees; bloodvessel, tendon', which are from EC {Ss.} *ħizz- 'root', cf. Ss. PEC 2O, 36) ¶ Grg. 218, Brl. 219, Th. 2O6, Hn. W 62, ≈ Ss. B 95 ‖ **U**: FU (att. in FV only) *ont▽ 'root' > pLp {Lr.} *ɔntē id. > Lp: L {LLO} åttēs 'the main root of a tree' ('die größte, dickste, unverzweigte Wurzel, Hauptwurzel'), ? S {Hs.} vieddie, N {N} væd'de, Kld vu̯eṅ·d, {SaR} vu̯eṅtēs 'root' ⁞ Mk уHкс unks id., Er Δ {Ps.} unduks ~ undoks 'root, stalk (of a cucumber, etc.), sprout' ¶ UEW 719, Lr. #834, Lgc. #4541, SaR 62-3, Ps. B 13O ‖ **A** *°üŋt|de ~ *⌐ŋ⌐üŋt|de 'root' > M *ündü-sün, {ADb.} *ünde-sün 'root' > WrM ündüsün, HlM ундэс, ундсэн, Kl {KRS} ундсн, {Rm.} ündüsṇ, Dg {Pp.} und_ūs, ündüsü, {Mrm.} undusun, {Mr.} unduse, {T} undus id. ¶ MED 1OO7, KW 458, T DgJ 171, Klz. D II 141 ‖ Tg *ŋūŋte 'root' > Ewk ŋīŋtɜ ⁁ nīŋtɜ, Lm ŋēntə, Neg niŋtɜ ~ ŋiŋtɜ, Orc, Ud X/I/Sm {Krm.} ŋiŋtɜ, Ud B iŋtɜ, Ul munktɜ ~ ŋunktɜ, Ork, Nn munktɜ id.; in Ul, Orl, Nn the word is reinterpreted as having a derivational sx. -ktɜ ¶ STM I 662, Krm. 272 ‖ pJ {S} *màtò > OJ mòtò 'root, foundation', J: T/Kg motó, K mótò id. ¶ Valid only if pJ *m- is a reg. reflex of pA *ŋ- (which is not indicated in S's sketch of the J phonetic prehistory, cf. S AJ 67-82) ¶ S QJ 2O9. Mr. 486 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *ŋū̆ŋte 'root', S AJ 18, 39, 92, 291, ADb. KL (A *ʔuiŋte), DQA #1543 (A *ŋi̯ūnt'e) ◇ Tg *ŋ- and pJ *m- (< *ŋ-?) are likely to result from as. (*Ø...ŋ > *ŋ...ŋ) ◇ ADb. NNN 34 (N *ŋ₁Uынṭ▽ > A, U, IE) ◇ Hardly here NaIE *wei̯t- 'dyer's woad, Isatis inctoria (a plant used to produce blue dye)' (> L vitrum 'woad' ‖ Gmc *wai̯da- id. > OHG weit, NHG

Waid, MLG wēd, Dt weede, AS wād, NE woad ¶ WP I 236, WH II 806, KM 833, Kb. 1164, Ho. 378), because such connection is semantically unj. (the most important part of the woad [used to produce dye] is its leaves rather than its root).

**814.** *HäŋkU 'fire' > **HS** (× N *ˈhˈawkˈaˈ 'light [lux], bright', q.v. ffd.): Ch {Stl.} *ʔakuw- 'fire' ‖ EC *ʔēg- > Dhl {To.} ʔéga ⦙ SC: Asa {To.} yogot, {E} yogo 'fire' ¶ To. D 128, E SC 318 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 95 [#26.2] ‖‖ **IE** {EI} *Hŋgʷni-s > NaIE *ŋgni-s ({P, Dv.} *egni-/ogni-) 'fire' > OI agˈnih̯ id. ⦙ L igni-s id. ⦙ Lt ugnìs, Ltv uguns id. ⦙ Sl *ognь 'fire' > OCS огнь ognь, Blg огън, SCr öganj, Slv ogenj ôgań, Cz, Slk oheň, P ogień, R, Uk oˈгонь 'fire' ¶ P 293, EI 202, Dv. #33, M K I 18, WH I 676, Frn. 1158-9, Vs. III 118-9 ‖‖ **U**: FU {UEW} *äŋ∇ ({IS} *eŋk∇) 'fire', vi. 'burn' > Chr {Szil.} eŋ 'fire', {Ü} eŋdem vt. 'I incandence (on fire), roast, burn (bricks)', Chr: L ъˈŋ-aš vi. 'smoulder' ('тлеть, истлеть'), Uf/B eŋa-, H aŋgä- 'schwelen, anbrennen, angesengt werden, verkohlen' ⦙ Z {Savv.} ынь 'flame', {W} +ńal- 'flammen, entbrennen', +ń-ed- 'entzünden' ⦙ Os: Vy yäŋləl-, Kz yaŋaɬ- v. 'roast on fire' ⦙ Hg ég- vi. 'burn' ¶ UEW 26, Ü 297, MRS 774-5 ‖‖ **D** (in SD) *aṉal 'fire' > Tm aṉal, Ml anal 'fire, heat', Kn analu 'heat' ¶ D #327 ◇ IS I 245-6 [#106] (*Henka).

**815.** ₂ ≈ *HUṇ∇-(t∇k|g∇) or *HUˌPˌt∇k∇ ~ -∇g∇ (*H = *h or *ħ?) 'stalk (of a plant), stem' > **IE**: NaIE {P} *aˌoˌˌd(e)gˌʷˌo- 'stalk' > OI [AthV] ˈadga-h̯ 'cane, stalk' (× N *q∇t∇ or *q∇ṛˌ∇ˌt∇ 'tail, hinder part' [q.v.?]) ⦙ ??φ Lt vedegà 'adze' ({Frn.} 'ϵ Axt zum Aushauen, Zimmeraxt'), ?? Ltv vędga 'Brechstange (mit hölzernem Griff)' ¶ WP I 175, P 773, M K I 29, M E I 63, Frn. 1164-5 ‖‖ **HS**: ?σ Eg hpw.tj 'ϵ Gestell, Kletterbaum (auf dem die göttlichen Vögel zu sitzen\hocken pflegen)' ¶ EG II 489 ‖ C: Bj {R} 'ʔabka 'Stiel, Handhabe' ⦙ Or hofa {E} 'stalk, stem', {Brl.} 'lancia con punta di legno', {Grg.} hofā 'spear made of sharpened wood' ⦙ SC: Brn {E} hopi-na 'handle, haft' ¶ E SC 309, Brl. 21, Grg. 211 ‖ B ({ϑPr.} ≈ *√wdg) > Sll taddägt (pl. taddägin) 'tige ligneuse', Shl {NZ} addag 'arbre, branche' ¶ Ds. 278, NZ 298 ‖ S: Ak YB {Sd.} udugu ~ edigu 'ein Stock z. B. zum Walken' (but {CAD} edigu - "meaning incertain") ¶ Sd. 1402, CAD IV 33 ¶¶ Tk. I 147 and Tk. SCC 98 [#28.4] (Eg, C) ¶¶ The initial HS cns. is rather uncertain. Eg hpw.tj (if it belongs here) points to *h-, Ak YB edigu seems to suggests *ħ- (but its ev. cannot be decisive because Ak YB was not a really spoken lge.), while the origin of Or h- is less clear (both HS *h- and HS *ħ are not ruled out, cp. [1] Or hēr-um- ps. 'marry' and Eg fP h3y 'husband' <

N \*heₗʔ|yⱼrᵀEᵀ 'male' and [2] Or hirriba ~ irriba 'a sleep' < EC \*ħinrib-'eyelash, eyelid' < N \*(ħiN∇-)rimP∇ or \*(ħim∇-)rimP∇ id.) ◇ Qu.

**816.** ₂\*HᵀæᵀR∇ 'goat, sheep' > **HS**: C: Dhl {EEN} h̃éri 'goat, sheep' ‖ SC: Irq {MQK} ʔāri 'she-goat', pl. āra 'goats', Irq/Grw/Alg/Brn {E} ara 'goats' ¶ EEN 15, E SC 297, MQK 16 ‖ ?σ Ch: WCh: Mnt/Ywm ur 'he-goat' ‖ ECh: Ll ōrē 'goats' ¶ JI II 167, ChC, ChL ¶¶ EG l.c., Ember ESS #3.b.6, OS #1O81, Tk. I 54, Tk. SCC 95 [#25.3] ‖‖ IE \*ᵀħᵀer(i)- ({EI} \*h₁er- 'lamb, kid') > NaIE \*er-, eri- 'goat, sheep' (×N \*ſiRᵀiᵀ '[male, young] big ungulate' [q.v.] and N \*ʔerqᵀiᵀ '∈ ruminant' [q.v.]); I am grateful to Blz. for drawing my attention to the contamination with N \*ʔerqᵀiᵀ) > L ariēs (gen. ariētis) 'ram', Um erietu 'arietem' ‖ BSl (< NaIE \*er-, \*eri- × IE \*yeHr- 'springtime, year' [< N \*ʿńaſŕE '≈ young, new-born', q.v.]) > Pru eristian, Lt (j)éras, Ltv jêrs 'lamb' ¦ Sl \*jarьka 'female lamb' (×Sl \*jarьka ⇐ \*jaro 'springtime' < N \*ʿńaſŕE) > OR ꙗрька jarьka, R 'ярка, 'ярочка 'lamb (female)', Uk, Blr ярка, Slk jarka 'year-old sheep', P jarka 'heifer, a lamb of this year' ‖ ? Arm որոջ oroǰ 'lamb' (initial o- from \*e- by as., according to P) ‖‖ NaIE \*er(i)-bʰ- (with the sx. \*-bʰ(o)- of animal names) '∈ horned artiodactyl' (×N \*ſiRᵀiᵀ '(male, young) big ungulate', q.v.) > Gk ἔριφο-ς 'kid' ‖ Clt: OIr heirp (\*erbʰ-ī-) 'dama, capra', erb(b) (\*erbʰ-ā-) 'cow', NIr earb 'goat', ScGl earb 'roe (deer)' ¶ P 326, EI 511, F I 56O, WH I 67, Bc. G 333, KSchm. TE, Ld. A 23ff., Ach. III 586, Frn. 121, En. 17O, Tp. P E-H 72-5, ≈ ESSJ VIII 179-8O.

**817.** \*H₁erU 'ascend, rise' > **HS**: B \*√wHu|ir 'be above' (×N \*ʔür∇ or \*ʔuŕE 'top', q.v. ffd.) ‖‖ IE \*her- (or \*hʷer-), \*hₗʷⱼeru- ({IS} \*hʷer-) 'ascend, rise' (×N \*ʔür∇ or \*ʔuŕE '⇑') > AnIE: Ht arai-, ariya-'(a)rise, lift; raise, (a)rouse', Lw ari(ya)- 'raise'; Ht aru- 'high', arriya- 'rouse, stir (from sleep), awaken; start (from sleep), be awake', ar- 'stand (by), remain standing' ‖ NaIE \*er-/\*or- 'rise, move, stir' > Gk ὄρνῡμι and ὀρνύω v. 'stir, stir up, urge on, incite', md. ὄρνῡμαι (pfc. ὄρωρα) 'arise, start up; stir oneself', [Hs.] ἔρετο · ὡρμήθη 'was set in motion' ‖ OI r̥-'n̥ō-ti vi. 'arises, moves', Av arᵊnaoⁱti vt. 'moves' ‖ Arm յառնեմ yaṙnem 'I rise, stand up' (aor. յարեայ yareay) ‖ L orior v. 'rise, arise' ‖ MW dy-gyf-or 'height, high place' ¶¶ IS I 254 (\*Hʷer-, in spite of Gk ὄρνῡμι), Pv. I 1O4-8, 123-7, 138-9, 177-8, WP I 148-9, M K I 122, WH I 64-5 and II 222-3, F II 422-4, Vn. A 87, Slt. 1O3-3, ≠ EI 5O6 (orior < \*h₁er- 'set in motion') ‖‖ **D** \*ēr̤-, [GS] \*ēr̤d- > Tm

ēṟu 'v. 'rise, ascend', Ml ēṟuka, Kn ēṟu v. 'rise, increase', Kt e·r, e·re·r, ẹrr 'up', Td ö·r- v. 'rise high', Kdg ə₁·r- '(liquor) rises to head', Tu ēru- v. 'ascend, climb, rise', Knd ēṟasi 'steep, steeply rising' ¶¶ D #916, GS 217 [#532], 61 [#184] ‖ ?φ **A**: NaT *ōr- 'rise' (× N **\*p̣orʳä¹ʕ∇** 'summit, top', q.v. ffd.) ‖ M *örni- (unless it is *φorni-) > WrM örni-, HlM өрнө–х v. 'grow, increase, rise' ¶ MED 242, Pp. ICML 54 ¶ Qu., because the available sources (WrM and HlM) do not distinguish between *∅- and *φ- < *p- ‖ Tg: Ewk Brg oro- v. 'climb on sth.' ¶ Vas. 327 ‖ pKo {S} *òrʌ̀- v. 'rise' > MKo òrʌ́-, òr-, NKo ori- id., {Rm.} ori- ~ oru- v. 'go upwards, rise, go up to' ¶ Rm. SKE 178-9, S QK #991, Nam 38O, MLC 1199 ¶¶ The labialized vw. of the first syll. is probably due to the infl. of *U of the next syll. ¶¶ ≈ Rm. SKE 178-9 (Ko, Tg + unc. Mg *oru- 'enter' and T orun 'place, site, bed') ◇ An alt. pN rec. is **\*ʜ₁orE** (based on the A reflex), but it is less acceptable because of the D evidence ◇ The reflexes are sometimes hard to distinguish from those of N **\*ʔüŕ∇** or **\*ʔuŕE** 'top' (q.v.) ◇ IS I 116-7 (*ʜorä with *o in spite of D *ēṟ-). ≈ Gr. II 9 (*or 'arise').

**818.** **\*ʜ‖wur∇** 'male person\animal' > **HS**: NrOm: Wl/Zl {C} urā 'man (vir)', Zl {LmS} ūra, Gf LmS} ura 'man', Wl {LmS} issi-ʔura 'someone', Kf {C} ūrō ~ wurō 'man (vir), 'person, male', �⟩ ūr-ē 'woman', Mch {L} wuró 'male animal' ¶ C SE IV 4O3-4, C SO 25, L M 57, LmS 292 ‖ CCh:? Mdr {ChL} ʔurà 'man, person' (unless -r- < *-d-, which is reg.) ‖ **U**: FU *ur∇ 'man, male animal' > F uros (gen. uroon ~ urhoon) 'adult man, brave man, hero', uros (gen. uroksen) 'male animal, two-years-old male reindeer' ⋮ ? Lp: N {N} vârres / -rʹras- ~ vâres / -rras- 'male animal, a male', vârek '2-year-old male reindeer', I årēk ~ varek id., årēs 'male animal', Kld oʳes id., adj. 'male' ⋮⋮ OHg úr 'powerful person; lord, God; husband', Hg úr (accus. urat) 'lord, mister; husband'; �⟩ OHg ország 'reign(ing) (Regierungszeit, uralkodás); country, empire', Hg ország 'country, state' ¶ Coll. 121, UEW 545, Sm. 542 (FU *urå 'male' > FP *ura, Ugr *ūra), MF 653-4, MTE II 1O95, EWU 1O7O, 1579 ‖ **A** {SDM97} *ur∇ {AD} 'male; young male relative' > Tg *°u̯r > Ewk ur (ur-wз) 'man (vir), male amimal' ¶ Vas. 45O, STM II 281 ‖ M *üreʁe 'young stallion' > MM [S] {H} uri₁e 'three-year-old horse', WrM ürege ~ üriye, HlM үрээ, Ord ürē '3- to 5-year-old stallion', Brt үриэ '3- to 4-year-old horse', Kl үрə ürä '3-year-old horse', {Rm.} ürē 'dreijähriges Hengstfüllen' ¶ H 166, MED

1O11-3, KW 459, KRS 553, Chr. 512, Ms. O 76O ‖ NaT *urɪ 'male child, son' (× A *pʻuri 'child, offspring[s]' < N *p̣ôrˈiˈ 'child, offspring' ×N *hoRˈiˈ 'conceive', 'newborn, a young') > OT urɪ 'male child, son' ⹂ Cl. 197 ‖ pKo {S} *órȧpí 'brother' > MKo órȧpí, NKo {S} orȧbi id., {Rm.} orȧbi ~ oräbi 'brother (used by and in relation to a sister)', or-a₁mi 'brother's wife' ⹂ Rm. SKE 177-8, S QK #791, MLC 1197 ‖ ? pJ {S} *ə̀tə 'younger brother' > OJ oto, otopị̈i, [RJ] ȯtòùtò, J: T/Kg otő̀to, K ótő̀tó ⹂ S QJ #368, Mr, 513 ⹂⹂ SDM97 s.v. *ur∇ (T, M, Tg, Ko), ≈ DQA #65O (A *i̭ore 'male, young male' > incl. Tg, M, Ko, pJ); Rm. SKE 177-8 and Rm. EAS I 1O7 (in both sources Ko, T + M *ori 'young' [see N *hoRˈiˈ '⇑']) ◇ ADb. NNN 34 adduces here Tg *ŋur (Ewk ŋur 'male dog') ({ADb} < A *ŋurU 'young male animal') and reconstructs N *ŋ₁Ir∇ 'male' ◈ ≠ Gr. II #259 (*er 'man') (U + err.: IE *r̥sen, T, M, Ko, Gil; see N *heˌʔ|y˩rˈEˈ 'male').

**819.** *ʜ₁â̂ʔ∇ŕ∇ (= *ʔaʔuŕ∇?) 'long, big' > IE *ʜxˈalˈoˈʜxr- 'long', (?) 'far' > OI ā̃ˈrē loc. 'far, in the distance', ā̃ˈrāt abl. 'from a distant place' ⦙ Tc A {Wn.} aryu 'long' (of time) ‖ AnIE: Lv {Mlc.} ārray(a)-, {Lar.} ara-, a(r)rai-, ari-, HrLv {Mer.} ara- 'long' ⹂⹂ Wn. 15O-1 (with unc. IE etymology of Tc aryu), Mlc. CL 26, Lar. 3O, Mer. HHG 3O, Ivn. SANA 153 (Lv aryu-), WP I 79 (IE *āro- 'die Freie, Weite, Raum'), ≈ M K I 78 ‖ **D**: SD *aȑ- 'great' > Tm aṛuvam 'greatness, abundance', Kn aḷumba 'excess, greatness' ⹂ D #287 ‖ **HS**: ECh: Mgm {JA} ʔârrò adv. 'loin, lointain' ⹂ JA 66 ‖ S (+ext.) *√ʔrk 'be\become long' > BHb, Ph, Ug, Aram G √ʔrk, Ak inf. arāku id., Ar G √ʔrk 's'arrêter longtemps (quelque part)', BA אֲרִיךְ ʔᵃrī̱k, Sr ʔarī̱k, Md arika 'long', Sb ʔrk '(?) duration of time' ⹂ HJ 1O8, KB 85-6, 1674, OLS 49, Br. 49, Ln. 50-1, BK I 26, CAD I/2 223-, Sd. 83-5, BGMR 7, Bll. 27, DRS 33 ‖ **A** *uŕa|o|u > T *uŕa- 'be(come) long' > OT uza- 'be(come) long, be long drawn out' (usually of time, less often of space), XwT XIV uza- 'be long drawn out', Chg ≥XV uza- 'be(come) long', Tk uza- 'be(come) long, last long, be\go far away', CrTt, Uz, Ln, Tv uza- 'be(come) long', Tkm uδa-, Yk uha- 'get elongated', ET uzaɣ-, Qzq ɣza-ūza-, Qq, Qmq uza- 'become longer, go away far', Kr G uza- 'be(come) long, last long', Alt uza- id., 'move far away', Qrg uza- 'go away far'; ⊲: [1] *uŕatɪ (gerund?) ~ *uŕata > ET uzatɪ 'for a long time', Qrg uzata, Alt uzada, Xk uzada id., 'further', Tv uzadɪ 'prolonging' (gerund), Tf uzadˌɪ 'in a drawling manner (протяжно)'; [2] *uŕak 'long' > OT uzaq 'long

drawn out, long lasting', 'far away, distant', MOsm xv uzaq 'long' (of time)', Chg ≥XV uzaq 'far away, distant', Qrg uzaq, VTt озак ʊ̊zaq, Bsh ʊ̊δaq 'long' (of time), 'for a long time', Tkm uδaq, ET uzaq, Qzq ŭzaq id., 'lasting; distant, remote', Tk uzak 'remote', Xlj {DT} uzāq, Chv вăрах vŏrax 'long' (of time); [3] T *uŕu⸗n 'long' (of time and space) > OT, XwT XIV, Chg ≥XV uzun, MQp XIII {Cl.} uzūn, Tk uzun, Tkm uδūn, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Uz, ET, Qrg, Alt, Ln, Xk, Tv, Tf uzun, Qzq ұзын ŭzin, Nog, Qq uzin, VTt озын ʊ̊zin, Bsh озон ʊ̊δʊ̊n, Yk uhun, Chv вăрăм vŏrŏm id. ¶ Cl. 281-3, 288-9, ET Gl 570-2, Sht. 279, Naj. 123-6, Jud. 798-9, TkR 657, BR 411, Ra. 238, DT 307, Md. 59, ≈ Rs. W 518 (unc.: T *uŕ < *puŕ-) ‖ M *ur-tu 'long' > MM [L, MA, IM] urtu 'long', [S] {H} urtu 'long, distant', WrM urtu, HlM урт, Brt ута, Δ урта 'long' (in time and space), 'length', Ord {Ms.} uꞏrtꞏuꞌ 'long, length', Dg {Pp.} orꞌt ~ orꞌt'ō 'long' {MYC} ortu, Mnr E {MYC} rdʒ 'long'; M *uri-da 'before' (with the locative *-da?), *uridu 'former' > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Ms.} uridu 'der frühere, antérieur', [MA] {Pp.} urida 'before (vor, avant)', IM {Pp.} urida 'прежде', 'передний' (mistake for 'прежний, former'?), WrM uridu, HlM урд 'former, past, old', Br урид, Kl {KRS} урд urda 'before' (adv., postp.), Kl {Rm.} urᵢdä 'vor, vorn; früher', MMgl, Mgl urtu, Dg {MYC} ordōn, Mnr E {MYC} urda 'before, former'; but hardly here (⇔ S, DQA) Mnr H {T} fudur, Mnr Nr {SM} fud_ur, Dx {T} fudu, Ba {T} fdu 'long' (see N *pŪꞌhꞌˌ∇ˌd∇(-R∇) 'long, spacious, [?] far') ¶ S AJ 23 [#53], H 166, Pp. L I 1255, Pp. MA 366, 449, MED 883-5, KRS 536, KW 450, Chr. 475-9, Iw. 141, Rm. M 41, MYC 680-1, SM 101, T 370, T DJ 138, T BJ 149 ‖ pKo {S} *ŏrá 'late, long ago' > MKo ŏrá, NKo orä ¶ S AJ 256 [#146], S QK #146 ¶ S AJ 23 [#53] ¶¶ S AJ 34 (unc. adduction of Mnr φudur), 283 (A *uŕA), DQA #2545 (A *i̯uŕo 'long, late'; unc. adduction of Mnr φudur and Tg *ˌχˌi̯ür- [actually *χüǀir-] 'be ripe, cooked') ◇ The S cognate is not certain because of the cns. *k (from a sx., cp. T *uŕak 'long'?). If the S cognate is valid, the initial N cns. was *ʔ. The A cognate is dubious because of the deviant vw. *u. A possible solution is to suppose a N *ʔaʔuŕ∇ with a syncope (loss of the internal *-u-) in IE and D and with the loss of *a in A ◇ Blz. LB #104c (IE, D, S).

**820.** *Haˌw∇ˌš∇ (= *ʕawiš∇?) 'male, male person' > **HS**: NrOm: Zl {CR} ašo, {C} asā, Shn {Lm.} aššà 'person, man', Bdt {Fl.} ače, Hrr {Fl.} ači, Cha {C} asā, aččā, Gmr {Fl.} ac, {Bul.} ацъ, Bnc {Wdk.} ȧc, Ym

{Wdk.} àsù 'person, man (vir), Kf {Fl.} aš(š)o, {C} ašō 'person', Mch {L} ʔašo 'man', Amuru {Fl.} aso, Anf {MYTY} ašo, Doka {CR} ass, Wl {C} asā, Drz/Malo {Fl.} asa, Oyda {Fl.} a·si ᵈ ass, Male {Fl.} asi, Bsk {Fl.} asɜ, BMa {Fl.} ɛ·se 'person' ¶ The forms with č, c may be due to the addition of a snglt. sx. (*-t∇?) ¶ C SE III 68 and IV 4O6, Wdk. BY 97, 117, 164, Fl. OWL s.v. 'person', Lm. Sh 272, MYTY 116 ‖ C: Ag: Xm {R} ās-aw / as-ō adj. 'male' (asō wi'dīl 'ein männliches Junges', āsō du̲ʸarā 'male ass') (× [?] N **ʔiñ∇šê** 'person, man' [q.v.], cp. Bln {R} ne's-āu̲χ adj. 'male') ¶ R Ch. II 28 ‖ CCh: Msg {Mch.} awus 'man, male', Mbara {TrnSL} wùs 'husband, male' ¶ TrnSL M 281, ChC ¶ The Ch cognate has been suggested by Blz. ‖ ?σ S *°√ʕayš|s- > Ar ʕays- 'sperm of a male' ¶ BK II ¶¶ ≈ Blz. OL #51 (HS *aw̲u̲s- 'male, strength'), C SE III 68 (Om, C) ‖‖ U: FP *°a|oš∇ 'male animal' > Chr: L ожо 'ožo, U/B ožo, H ожы 'ožъ 'stallion', L {Ü} ožo sösnä 'boar' (lit. 'male swine') ⁞ Prm *už > Z, Vt už 'stallion' ¶ UEW 6O7-8, Sm. 552 (FP *ošʌ 'stallion'), MRS 371, Ü 14O, LG 296 ‖‖ A: Tg *as- + sxs.: *as-ī 'woman' (*as- *'male' + *-ī, probably a fossilized marker of female sex < N **ʔ˹a˺y∇** 'mother' [→ 'female', marker of fem.], q.v.): Ewk asī, Sln ašé ~ ašǐ, Lm, Ork asι, Neg asī̆, ? Orc asa 'woman', Ul asι- (with a ppa.) 'wife', Nn asι 'female (animal), asι- (with a ppa.) 'wife' ⌉ *as- + other sxs.: *asātkān 'girl' > Ewk asātkān, Lm asatqan, Neg. asatkān id., *asanta > Orc asanta 'woman', Ul aʰanta 'girl, maiden', etc. ¶ STM I 55 ◇ N **-w∇-** is suggested by CCh (Msg awus). If Ar ʕays- belongs here, the N rec. must be **ʕawiš∇**, otherwise it is to be reconstructed as **Ha̲w∇̲š∇**.

**821.** **Haya** 'pursue' > HS: Ch **√ʔy v. 'hunt' > NrBc: P' {MSk.} ndɜr ʔíyà, Sir {Sk.} ʔíyá v. 'hunt' ¶ ChL, Sk. NB ‖ IE *Hai̯- (= *Hₓei̯-)/*Hi- > OI i'nō-ti, 'inva-ti 'advances upon, presses upon, drives', Av inao'ti 3s prs. 'vergewaltigt, kränkt' ⁞ ? Gk αἰνός 'terrible' ¶ P 1O, M K I 87, 128, F I 41, Ch. 35 ‖ U: FU *aya- v. 'drive, pursue' > F aja- v. 'drive, chase, pursue, hunt; ride', Es aja- v. 'drive, pursue', pLp {Lr.} *vōjē > Lp N {N} vuoggje-/-j- v. 'drive (a horse, reindeer), drive on\over', Lp L {LLO} vuodjē- 'fahren (mit Renntier oder Pferd)', Lp Kld vujje-, Lp Nt vu̲ajje- 'fahren, lenken' ⁞ pPrm *{LG} ⱳy- v. 'pursue, run, rush' {≠ LG: v. 'run, rush'} > Vt C uy‡- v. 'pursue', Vt N [URS] uy‡- v. 'overtake (догнать)', Z вой—†voy- 'run downhill without restraint' (of a horse with a rider), Z Vm/I/Le voy-l‡- 'бегать, носиться' ⁞ pObU

**\*\*ˌwˌuуt- > pVg \*ˌwˌuуt > Vg: MK {Kn.} woуt- 'verfolgen', UK {Mu.} vuуt- id., 'jagen' ¶ Coll. 129, UEW 4-5, Sm. 542 (FU \*ăjă- 'drive' > FP \*aja-, Ugr \*ăja-), LG 61, Lr. #1423, Lgc. #8751, MK 744, Mu. AKE 622 ¶ IS (I 243) is right in rejecting the alleged Aryan (IIr) origin of FU \*aya- (presumably from the stem, represented by OI aj- and Av az- v. 'drive'), because the Aryan stem was \*aź- ¬ \*aś-, hence the expected FU stem should have been \*aš∇- or the like rather than \*aya-** || **A**: M \*aya-n 'hunt' > MM [S] aya(n) 'hunt, military expedition, campaign' ('Jagd, Kriegszug, Jagdzug'), WrM ayan, HlM аян 'travel, journey, expedition', Brt ayan 'long journey', Kl аян 'military expedition', {Rm.} ayn̩ ~ ayn̩ 'Reise, Weg, Richtung' ¶ H 1O, MED 23, Chr. 4O, KRS 6O, KW 4 || ?σ pJ {S} \*àyùm- 'walk' ({AD} 'step, walk') > OJ àyùm- {Mr.} 'step, walk', J: T ayúm-, K áyúm-, Kg àyùm- id. ¶ S QJ #153, Mr. 679, Kenk. 7O || Tg \*āу-: **[1]** Nn {On.} āi- v. 'step (on sand\snow, entering deep in it)' ⌐[2] ?σ Tg \*ayˌaˌ- 'run quickly' > WrMc aya- 'run fast' (of a horse), 'take wing, fly', Ewk ayιŋ 'swift-footed', 'fast' (of running, walking), Ork ayamapu(n-) 'беговой (fast-running?)' (a reindeer, horse, dog)', ayamunžι adv. 'fast' ¶ STM I 2O-1, Vas. 44, On. 3O, Z 1O, Hr. 62-3 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #62 (A \*àya 'go, walk'; qu. comparison with IE \*ei̯- 'go' [< N \*ʔˈeˈу∇ 'come, arrive', q.v.]) ◇ Cf. IS I 243: IE, U, A (N {IS} \*Haya 'pursue, chase').

**822. \*H₂oу∇ (= \*hoу∇?) 'by me, my'** > **K** \*ˈhˈw-, agentive px. of 1s in verbs > OG v- / -w- (after the px. χ- of 3s objecti), OG X χw-, OG H hw- (in the "absolute passive" forms: OG X χw-i-mal-v-i 'I hide myself', χw-i-qav 'I was'), G v-, G In h-ü- (÷ G v-i-), Mg, Lz v- (before vowels), b-/p-/p̣- (before cnss.), Sv χw- - agentive px. of 1s in verbs ¶¶ The initial lr. is probably identical with what Mach. (Mach. K 71-3) reconstructed as \*h- ¶¶ Dt. 25-7, Fn. GAS 79, Marr 44-5 || **HS**: **[1]** HS \*\*°ʔuу∇ > Eg wу 'I' (enclitic prn.) (× N \*w∇у∇ 'we'??) ⊓⊓ **[2]** S \*°yā- 'me' (stem of the prn. in oblique cases): Ak yā-ti 'me', ana yā-šim 'to me' || C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} yɨ-t 'me', Bln { R} yi-t 'me, to me' ⫴ Bj {RHd.} -ē- (-h-ề-b 'me', sx. of verbs) ⫴ EC: Sml N í 'me', í̃ 'to me', Rn i- (verbal px.) 'me, to me', Elm {Hw.} ye-se, yo-lo 'I', Dsn {Hw.} ye abs., yu nom. 'I', {To.} yú abs., yẫ (subject) 'I', ye 'me', Arr yé 'I', Sd -ē 'me', as well as probably Hd. i- 'my' ⊓⊓ **[3]** HS \*ʔ∇ya 'my' > C: HEC \*-ʔˌ∇ˌya 'my' > Sd {Hd.} -ʔya, Kmb -e, -ī-ha m. / -ī-ta f.; LEC \*-ya 'my' > Sml -k-ay(-ɡu)

/ -t-aɣ(-du), Rn {PG} -kāɣa / -tāɣa, Or -k-i(ɣ)ɣa / -t-i(ɣ)a (in Sm, Rn, and Or -k- and -t- are gender markers of the noun, Sml -gu and -du are gender-dependent determiners ['≈ the']) ‖ SC: Irq {Mous} -ếʔ, Alg -í, Brn -aɣí 'my' ‖ Ag: Aw {Hz.} ɣí- my' ‖ B *-ɣ / *-ī 'my' > Kb, Shl, Tw, Si, Tmz, Wrg -i, etc. (ffd. *see* Pr. M I-III 164 and AiM 215-7) ‖ S *-ɣa 'my' (> *-ī after stem-final cns.) > Ak -ɣa / -ī, Hb, Aram -ī, Ug -ɣ, Ar -ɣa / -ī, Gz -ɣa ¶ Lip. 3O6-7 ‖ Eg -ɣ 'my' ¶ Lpr. 63-4 ‖ Ch: Mrg -áɣù, Msg -a, -ɣa, Hs -a 'my' ¶¶ Ap. Kh I 259, 263, Hd. HEC 258-9, Ow. 1O5, Sr. 121-3, Ss. D 2O7, RHd. B 112, AD EPCChL, AD KJ 29-31, Abr. S 125, PG 4O-1, Hw. A 14, 215, To. DL 21O, Mous 92 ¶¶¶ **[4]** HS *ʔ∇-, marker of 1s subiecti: S {Hz.} *ʔa- in active *G*-verbs > Ak a-, WS (in prefix-conjugated tenses): Hb ʔɛ- (before cns. clusters) / ʔā- (before single cnss.), Ug ʔa-, BA ʔɛ-, JEA ʔi- (before cns. clusters), Sr W ʔɛ-, Ar ʔa-, Gz ʔa-, Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq ʔɜ-; in the ps. verbal forms and in derived stems the marker of 1s is *ʔ- + a vw. that depends on the prehistory of the S ps. voice and derived stems (mostly *-u-) ¶ Hz. VP ‖ C *ʔ∇-, 1s marker of prefix-conjugated verbs > Bj *ʔa-, Ag: Aw a-, EC: Sa, Af ʔu/i- (p.), ʔ-a- (prs.), Sml, Rn ∅- (Sml N iqīn 'I know' ↔ t-iqīn 'thou knowst' and ɣ-iqīn 'knows', idi 'I say' ↔ 2s t-idi, 3m ɣ-idi, Rn amīt 'I am coming' ↔ ɣ-amīt '[he] is coming', t-amīt 'thou art coming') ¶¶ Dk. SHL 8O-1, Lip. 37O-1, Rsnt. GBA 44, Jo. MSA 15, AD KJ 5O, 118, AD IPCV, PG 43 ‖ **IE:** **[1]** pIE stative marker of 1s *-xe > Ht -hi, NaIE *-Ha, e.g. *woi̯d-Ha 'I know' (← 'seen by me') > OI vēda, Gk ϝοῖδα, Gt wait ¶¶¶ **[2]** pIE marker ({Bks.} *-$h_2$) of 1s in the medium voice (preceding the voice-marker *r) (with a complicated and obscure development, yielding Ht pres. -ha(ha)ri, p. -ha(ha)ti, L prs. -o-r, etc.) ¶¶¶ **[3]** NaIE *-ō (< *-o-H), 1s marker in the prs. tense of the thematic verbs (*-o- being the thematic vw. of the stem) > OI -ā-(mi), Lt -ù, Gk -ω, L -ō, OIr -u (biru 'I carry'), Gt -a ¶¶ Kur. Ap 41-8, Kur. IC 61-2, Wtk. GIV 1O5-6, Bks. 238-42, Bks. OH 72-6, ≈ EI 467 (1s *-$h_2$ei̯, thematic 1s *-o-$h_2$) ‖ **D** *ɣˈaˈ > Brh ī 'I', NaD *ɣaṉ / (stem of the obl. cases) *ɣaṉ- 'I' > OTm ɣāṉ / eṉ, Ml ńān- / en-, OKn ān / en-, Tu ɣānъ ~ ɣēnъ / en-, Tl ēnu, Klm, Prj ān / an-, Krx, Mlt ēn / eŋg-. The NaD element *-ṉ- (< N *nu, marker of genitive → marker of obl. cases) is due to the levelling within the case paradigm of the prn. ¶¶ Zv. 35-6, 128, Zv. CDM 4O-4, An. DL 68-74, D #516O ‖ **E:** MEl, LEl u 'I' < {Dk.} *hu id.; MEl -h (> AchEl -∅), verbal subject sx. of 1s (MEl hutta-h > AchEl utta 'I do'); Dk.'s hyp. is

based on comparison of ʊ 'I' with this postverbal -ħ 'I' (ħ > ∅ regularly in the history of Elamite) ¶¶ Dk. JDPA 1O8, Rnr. EL 76, 89-9O, Paper RAE 93-7 ◇ The pK (> OG, G, Sv) syntax (at least in the past tenses) was ergative, the agens of the transitive verb being expressed by a noun in the agentive (ergative) case. This fact suggests that the agentive px. of 1s *(ħ)w- goes back to a N prn. meaning 'by me'. The existence of an etymologically identical 1s px. (*ʔ∇-) in HS suggests that in the prehistory of HS there was an ergative period, with the ergative construction being predominant in the language, hence the prevailing verb structure with *ʔ∇- as the marker of 1s subiecti. But it is likely to have coexisted with a HS nominative construction, as far as one can judge from its scarce traces: [1] the verb yom-mi 'I am' / yon-ti 'thou art' in Kmb, the form of the dependent verb in Hd: 1s 'yō̆-m-o, 2s 'yón-t-o, ending *-m∇ / *-t∇ of certain tenses in HEC (going back to the analytic construction of a verbal noun + the aux. verbum substantivum *yon-mi / *yon-ti, ⅀ AD PLOG 1O3-1O), suggesting that verbs with *-mi as the subject ending of 1s (similar to and etymologically identical with verbs in IE and U) still existed in early pHS, [2] the accus. ending *-m∇ that survived in SOm, unlike in all other HS lgs., where its absence may be explained by the predominantly ergative syntax and where patiens (later accusative) is the unmarked actant of the sentence ("actant" in I. Mel'čuk's terminology). The preverbal position of the agentive subject markers in K (*「ħ¹w-) and in HS (*ʔ∇-) corresponds to the syntactic rules of pN: agentive pronouns do not occupy the post-predicative (sentence-final) position (as the N subject pronouns **mi** 'I' and **ṭ「ü¹/*ś「ü¹** 'thou' do), but are placed before the predicate (as all object words do). In apparent contradiction to this rule, the pIE stative marker of 1s *-ᵆe and the other abovementioned pIE endings of 1s follow the verbal stem rather than precede it. The contradiction can be explained away by supposing that these IE verbal forms go back to a pre-IE analytic construction of a verbal nominal + a prefix-conjugated aux. verbs (as in C) ◇ The N vw. **\*-o-** is reconstructed on the ev. of K (pointing to a labialized vw.) and IE (*-ᵆe rules out N **\*u** and **\*ü**) ◇ For ffd. *see* AD PP 67-74, 82-7, 93-1O3, 112 ◈ ≠ Gr. I 67 (connects IE **\*-H** of 1s with "EurA" K 'I' > Hg. -k 1s, etc.).

**823. \*ħʊ˳w˳ĉ̣∇** (or **\*ħʊw∇ĉ̣∇**) 'loins, lap' > **HS**: WS *'ħuĉan- id. > Hb חֹצֶן 'ħoçɛn 'fold of garment, bosom', Amr {G} √ħṣn v. (?) 'embrace', Ar حِضْن ħiĝ̣n- {Fr.} 'pars corporis sub axillis usque ad hypochondrium *aut* pectore et brachiis et id quod inter brachia est', {BK} 'sein; toute la partie du corps comrise enre les bras, les aiselles, les

côtes; l'entre-bras, l'étreinte', Gz ሕፀነ ħəṣ́n (pl. ħəṣ́an) 'bosom, womb, lap, embrace', Tgr ሕጽን ħǝṣ̣n 'lap'; Aram (dis. *ħ...ʕ > *ħ...ʔ > ħ...∅): JA [Trg.]חֵינָא ħênnā 'gremium, sinus', {Js.} 'lap, bosom', Sr ܚܢܐ ħannā 'lap, privy parts', Md hana 'lap, loins, embrace, privy parts'; hardly here (because of the initial χ-) (⇔ KB and other authors) Ak χiṣnu 'protection' (rather a derivative from the verb √χṣn 'shelter, receive in a friendly way') and χuṣannu 'sash, belt' (⇔ MiK) (most probably a loanword) ] d-emp.: ?? S *°ħaṣ́- > Ar ħaša-n, ħašwat-, ħišwat- 'viscère (toute partie intérieure du corps)', ?ɸ Ak fOB χašū {CAD} 'lungs, belly, entrails' (the unexpected χ- suggests that this is loan from a WS lge.) ¶ KB 330, KBR 344, GB 252, G A 20, Js. 481, Lv. T I 269, Br. 242, PS 1317-8, BK I 435-6, 449, DM 124, Fr. I 394, L G 226, LH 102, CAD VI 129-30, 143, 203, 259, Sd. 335, MiK I ##1.128-9 ‖ ?σ K *°o|ač̣- > Mg oč̣iši 'back (of the body)', oč̣iša 'waist of a garment'; Mg -iš- (< K *-iṡ-) is a sx. of gen., -i is the nominative ending, so that oč-iš-i means literally dors-ali-s ¶ Q 295 ‖ А: T *ūça 'loins' or the like (×N *ɣôč̣∇ 'bone', [?] 'backbone' ×N *ˈpˈoqEǯ∇ ~ *ˈpˈoǯ∇q∇ 'thigh, haunch', q.v.) > OT uča {Cl.} '≈ loins, haunches, rump', MQp XIV ūǯā, [CC] uča 'back', OOsm XV uǯa 'buttocks', Chg اوجه, اوجه uča 'back (dos)', Tkm ūǯa 'rump; dock (part of animals' body adjacent to the base of the tail); sacrum', Osm {Rh.} uǯa 'a stump, the bottom part of a thing', Tk uca [uǯa] 'coccyx', VTt оча ṵ̆ṡ̌́a, Bsh оса ṵ̆sa 'pelvis, buttocks', StAlt уча uća 'back (dos), haunch, loins', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} uča uća, Shor/Sg {Rl.} uča 'Hinterteil, Kreuz, Rücken (bei Tieren und Menschen)', Qrg, QK {Rl.} uča, uǯa 'rump', QK {Rl.} ⵏǯa, Tb uča, Qmn {Rl.} ⵏǯa 'back (dos)', ET, Ln uča 'rump, back (dos)', StAlt uća 'thigh, rump, meat of the hind part of an animal, back', Sg uča 'rump, back, hind part of an animal', SY uǯa~uča, Nog uša, VTt ṵ̆ṡ̌́a, Bsh Δ ṵ̆sa 'loins', Tv uža 'fatty tail (of a sheep), rump', Yk uħa 'hind part of an animal', Chv {ChVS} ыса шӑмми ⵏz̧a šьmmi 'sacrum, rump', {Ash.} 'thigh-bone', {ET} ыса ⵏz̧a 'rump' ¶ Cl. 20, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu. I 116, TkR 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3, 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, Ash. V 337, TvR 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, ChVS 288. Tkm ū provides ev. for a long pT *ū, while Yk u is likely to point to a pT short vw. (unless this is a shortening in uncertain conditions [before an open second syll.?] mentioned by Poppe - ⊬ Pp. J 55) ¶ T Ꞗ⇢ M: MM [LV, MA, IsV], MMgl [Z] ūča, WrM uquca 'croup, sacrum, loins', HlM ūc id., Brt ūsa 'croup, sacrum', Kl ūcạ 'sacrum, back

(dos), hind quarters', Ord ūč‘a 'hind quarters of animals', Mgl uča 'back (dos)' (on the borrowing *see* s.v. N **ɣôč̌∇**) ‖ Tg *u̯͑ça 'hind part of the body' (the length of *u being suggested by the T and M cognates) > Orc uč(č̌)a 'hind part, stern of a boat', WrMc uča 'hind part, sternum, sacral bone', {Hr.} 'weichgekochter Rinder-, Schaf- oder Hirschschwanz' ⨍ STM II 29O, Z 165, Hr. 942 ⨍⨍ DQA #272O (A *ūč̌∇ 'behind, rump, fish fin') (*see* N **ɣôč̌∇** '⇑') ‖ **D** *Uṭ- 'groin, lap, waist' or the like > Ml oṭi, oṭuku 'groin', uṭa id., 'testicle of oxen', Kt oŕ 'waist', Kn uḍi, uḍa, uḍu, uḍe 'hip, waist', uḍi, uḍalu 'pouch made in front by folding or doubling a part of the lower garment', Tl oḍi 'lap (part of body or of clothing)', Nk oḍḍi 'lap' ⨍⨍ D #947.

**824.** **\*ħaLû** (or **\*ħaLw∇**) '∈ a leaf-bearing tree' > **HS**: S *°√ħ1w > Ar {Fr.} ʔal-ħulāwā(y) '∈ a small tree', {Ln.} ħulāwā(y) ∈ a small (evergreen, or thorny?) tree' ⨍ Fr. I 421, Ln. 634 ‖ **K**: G alva, alvis-χe 'poplar' ‖ **IE** *Helis- 'alder' > L alnus (*als-no-s) id. ⦙ Gmc *aluz, *aliso id. > OHG elira ~ erila > NHG Eller, Erle, Dt els, ON ǫlr, AS alor > NE alder'; Gt *alisa ⇸ Sp aliso id.; Gmc lgs. ⇸ Bsq (s)altza, It Cl auʒinu id. ⦙ Lt alksnis id., Ltv àlksnis, Pru *al(i)skande (attested as abskande) 'alder' ⦙ Sl *elьxa (~ *olьxa) 'alder' > SrChS ꙗльха jelьxa, Blg елха, SCr jóha, Slk jelcha, P olcha, R ольʹха; ⇷ *elьša (< *elьx-ya) id. > Slv jélša, Cz olše, Slk jelša, P olsza ⦙ Mcd [Hs.] ἄλιζα 'white poplar' ⨍ P 3O2-3, WH I 31, Vr. 686, Ho. 3, EWA II 1O49-53, OsS 132, Gml. 27, ≈ ML #345a, Frn. 8, En. 136, Tp. P A-D 53-4, Vs. III 137-8, EI 11 (*ʰₐeliso- ~ *ʰₐelisehₐ- 'alder'), 599-6OO.

**825.** ₂**\*ħ∇LiLV** 'flower, a plant with flowers' > **IE** *Hₓlei̯l- > NaIE *lei̯l- ~ dis. *lei̯r- '≈ flower' (?? ×N **\*L|ẑi̯ḷ|Í∇** [= **\*L|ẑiÍ∇**?] 'reed, ∈ water-plant', q.v.) > Gk λείριον 'lily' ⦙ L līlium id. (⇸ Al lil id., NHG Lilie id. ⇸ Es lill 'flower', etc.) ⦙ Lt {Mn. ← ?) lielis 'spearwort, Ranunculus', lielius 'water crowfoot, Batrachium' ⦙ Cz lilek 'nightshade, Solanum' ({Ma.}: a loan from L through Gmc) ‖ Ht {Pv.} alel- 'flower, bloom' ⨍⨍ Pv. I-II 32-3, Mn. 673, ≈ WH I 8O1 (believes that L lilium and Gk λείριον are loans from an East Mediterannean lge., like Eg ħrr.t 'flower', B alili 'Oleander', but Vc. 31O rejects the Eg origin of the L and Gk word), F II 1OO-1, ≠ Hub. MS 37-9 (ascribes the word for 'lily' to the "Mediterranean substrat"), Masson ESG 58-9 (Gk λείριον ⇷ S), O 228, Ma. CS 27O, Vc. 31O ‖ **HS**:

?ф Eg fXVIII ḥrr.t 'flower, bloom', DEg ḥrry 'flower', Cpt: Sd ϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ hrire, B ϩⲣⲏⲣⲓ hriri id. (dis. *√ḥll > *√ḥlr > as. √ḥrr?) ⌡ EG 149, Fk. 176, Er. 326, Vc. 31O ‖ B *-li̯ˌli̯ˌ 'oleander, rose laurel' > BMn/Grr/Wrs {Bs.}, Sll {Ds.}, Tmz {MT}, Izd {Mrc.} a-lili, BSn {Ds.} å-līli, Izn {Ds.} a-liˌli, {Rn.} a-lili, Mtm {Ds.} a-līli, SrSn {Rn.} i-lili, Rf {Rn.} a-řiři id., Kb i-lili, Gh {Nh.} i-lɛl, Ah {Fc.} e-ləl id. (coll.) ⌡ Ds. 167, Ds. B 174, MT 366, Dl. 441, Fc. 1O71, Rn. 337, Mrc. 153, Bs. ZOu 151, Nh. 172 ◇ Cp. also Bsq lili 'flower' ◇ Qu., because some of the connections may be due to borrowing.

**826.** ₂ *ḥɛm∇d∇ 'desire, covet' > **HS**: WS *√ḥmd id. > Ug, BHb, IA, JA √ḥmd G id., Ph ḥmd G id., 'try to secure a coveted object', IA ḥmd 'sth. valuable, precious object', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} חֶמְדָּתָא ḥɛmdə'tā ~ חֲמִידְתָא ḥᵃmīdə'tā 'Lust, Gelüste', MHb חֶמְדָּה ḥɛm'dā {Lv.} id., {Js.} 'sexual appetite', JEA {Js.} חַמְדָא ḥam'dā id., {Lv.} חֶמְדָא ḥɛm'dā 'Lust, Gelüste', {Sl.} חמדא ḥmdʔ (unk. voc.) 'sexual desire', OCn (AkSc) ҳamudu [*ḥamūdu] 'sth. valuable, precious object' (pp., a gloss = Ak iapu 'beautiful', ÷ BHb ḥa'mūd 'darling'), Ar √ḥmd G 'praise', Sb √ḥmd id., 'thank', Mh √ḥmd (pf. ḥɜmūd) v. id., √ḥmd (pf. ḥaymad) v. 'thank (for a gift), praise', Hrs √ḥmd (pf. šḥamōd) v. 'thank', Jb C √ḥmd (pf. ḥõd) id. ⌡ HJ 38O, KB 312-3, KBR 325-6. Siv. GAG 171, 223, A #936, OLS 177, Js. 475, Sl. 468, Lv. II 7O, Ln. 638-4O, BGMR 168, Bll. 178-9, Jo. M 18O, Jo. H 59, Jo. J 111 ‖ **K**: OG, G imed- n. 'hope', G imed- v. 'hope', OG, G imedeuli 'voller Hoffnung', {DCh.} 'обнадёженный' ⌡ Abul. 188, Srj. 96, Chx. 525-6, DCh. 58O.

**827.** *ˈḥˈoⲚˈa (or *ҳoⲚˈa) (front) end, extremity, edge, tip' > **U**: FU *ońća 'front end\part, forehead' > F otsa 'forehead', Krl oččǎ id., 'front side', Es ots 'end, extremity, tip, forehead', Lv vu̯ǫnca 'forehead' | Chr: L ончыкс, H анзыкы 'anzъkъ 'forward', postp. 'in front of', L ончыл, Uf ońʒъl, H анзыл 'anzъl n. 'front side\part', adj. 'front' | Prm *oʒ́ ({ЈLG} *oǯ) 'front, front part' > OPrm u̯oʒ́, Z водз voʒ́, Z US ǫʒ́, Yz 'uʒ́, Vt азь aʒ́ ‖ ? OHg agy 'skull, head, brain', Hg agy 'brain, marrow' ⌡ UEW 339, It. #113, LG 591, MRS 28, 383, EWU 12 ‖ **A**: T *ūç 'tip, end' > OT ūč, Tkm ūč id., Tk uç id., 'summit, edge', CrTt, Kr, Qrg, Uz, SY uč, Alt uc̄, Chv вĕҫ vbś 'tip, end', Az uǯ, Qq, Tv uš, ET uč id., 'tip', Ggz, Ln uč id., 'edge', VTt оч ъ̌ś, Bsh ъ̌s id., 'summit', Xk us 'sharp edge' ⌡ Cl. 17-8, ET Gl 611-2, TL 578, TkR 665-6, Fed. I 119-2O ‖ **HS**: Eg G ҳss 'corner (Ecke)' ⌡ EG III 4OO ⌡ The cns. ҳ (spelled ḫ in the tradition of Egyptology) may be explained by reg. sound changes: N

*ħǀχo- > pre-Eg *ħu- > *ħi̯u- > Eg [ꭓu-] ‖ SC: Irq {MQK} ħaysō, {Wh.} ħayîso, Grw {Wh.} ħâyso, Alg/Brn {Wh.} ħayso, {E} ħayisi, Kz {E} hayisowa, Asa {E} hesa 'tail' ¶ Wh. 25, E SC 379, Blz. SCL s.v. 'tail' ◇ IS I 253-4 [#115] (U, T).

**828.** ₂ *⌈ħ⌉añd▽ (or *χañd▽) 'shade, darkness' > **IE** *ʜendʰ- > NaIE *andʰo- 'blind, dark' > OI anꞌdha-ḥ, Av andō id. ‖ Gl ↤ L anda-bata 'a gladiator who fought with a "blind" helmet (that had no openings for the eyes)' ¶ Dv. #32O, M K I 36, M E I 78-9, Billy 11, EI 70 (*hₐenˌdʰo-s 'blind') ‖ **HS**: C: Bj {R} ꞌandala 'shade' ¶ R WBd 22 ‖ S (+ext.): Ar √ħnds 'be(come) very dark' (of a night), ħindis- ꞌ(intense) darkness, very dark night' ¶ BK I 5O2, Ln. 655-6 ◇ NaIE *a- suggests a N lr. different from *ʔ-. Ar √ħnds points to the N lr. *ħ or *χ ◇ A comparison of the above IE root for 'blind' with Ht antara ({Pv.} = andra) 'blue' and Sl *modrъ 'blue' (proposed by Machek) is hardly acceptable, because the absence of reflexes of *a- in Sl *modrъ rules out an IE stem *ʜm̥dʰ-ro-; but if this difficulty is explained away, the N etymon will be *ħǀχamd▽ (⸋ Pv. I-II 77-8, Ma. HS 131-2, Ma. CS 3O4).

**829.** *ħUˌn̄ǀmˌₚ▽ʔ▽ 'navel' > **K**: GZ *uˌmˌₚeǀa, {K} *o(m)ₚe- 'navel' > G uₚe, Lz ompₐa id., Mg ompₐa 'upper log of a roof' ¶ K 186, K² 146, IS I 248 ‖ **HS**: Eg P/BD/Md ꭓpꝫ 'navel' ¶ EG III 365; ≠ Ebb. MÄW 61-3 (in his opinion Eg ꭓpꝫ meant 'genitalia' rather than 'umbilica; cord' or 'navel') ⇔ DW 62 (note 2), 682 (ꭓpꝫ did mean 'navel') ‖ CCh: MsgP {Trn.} hif-na 'navel' ¦ Ms {J} hif-dá, {Mch.} hifa̠, ZmB {J} úfú, {Sa.} úfu̇ id. ¶ JI II 251, Trn. LM 256 ‖ C: Bj {R} tēfa 'navel' (< *t▽ hefa [*t▽ < article of f. gender]), Bj A {AD} ꞌtōfta 'navel' (pl. ꞌtēfta) ¶ R WBd 222-3, ADP BFN ¶¶ Tk. I 4O (Eg, CCh) ⫴ HS cd.: S ≈ *ħ▽NP▽ʔ▽-ṭ▽bˌbˌūr-(at)- 'navel' (the second component identical with CS *ṭ▽bbūr- 'navel' > MHb ṭabꞌbūr, BA ṭibꞌbūr) > EthS (↤ C??): Gz ħanbart id., Tgr ħꞣmbꞣr ~ ħꞣnbꞣr, ħꞣnbꞣrt, Tgy ħꞣmbꞣrti, ħanberti, Amh, Argb ꞣmbꞣrt ~ ꞣnbꞣrt id.; EthS ↤ Xm {R} herꞌbir and Q {R} gumbrā 'navel' ¶ LG 236 ‖ C ≈ *ħ▽nṭ▽p▽r- id. > EC *haǀunꞌḏub▽r ({Bl., Ss.} *haǀunḏuˌːr-) 'navel' > Af {PH} ħundub, Sa {R} handub id. ¦ pSam *⌈ħ⌉anḏūr ({Hn.} *hanḏúr) id. > Sml ħunḏur, Rn {PG} ħanḏúr, {Hn.} hanꞌḏúr, pBn {Hn.} *haꞌnúr (> Bn: Bi hanûːr, J/Kj/K hanúr) ¦ Arr {Hw.} he🇳čur ~ he🇳ḏur, Dsn ⁿońir, Elm uńur, Or {Grg.} (h)anḏūr-ā, Gdl hunḏūr-t, Gwd ħunḏur-te, Hr ħunḏur-če, Ya hendero id. ¦ Brj {Ss.} hanꞌʔūr-a, {Hd.} hanꞌdura, Ged {Hd.} haꞌnura id. ‖ Ag: Bln {R} eteba ~ itibā 'navel' ¶ AD SF 236-7 (C *χ▽nt▽p(▽r)-), R

Ch II 58, L G 236, Bl. 1O7, 114, 196, Ss. PEC 24, 3O, 39, Grg. 199, Ss. B 91, PH 131, Hn. S 62, Hn. BD 119, 145, PG 136, Hd. 1O4, 196, 244, Hw. A 366, To. DL 5O7 ‖ B *-Hanbūṭ- (< *Hanbūʔ-t-?) 'navel' > CA taḥanbut, Ah təbūtut (pl. tibūtūtīn), ETwl tabūtut, Izn ṭaʕabbutt (pl. ṭiʕabbudin), Izd tabuṭṭ, abuḍ 'navel', ETwl əbutu, Ty əbutut 'gros nombtil en saillie', Sll {Ds.} abǔḍ (pl. ibǔḍən), Shl {NZ} abuḍ, tabuṭ 'navel, navel string' ⁋ Fc. 1O8, Rn. 378, Ds. 199, Mrc. 176, PrGG 18, NZ 29, 136, Coh. #123 ⁋ EG III 365, DW 62 (note 2), 682 ⁋⁋ Coh. #123, OS #35O, err. #1O71 ‖‖ IE *ʜʷembʰ- ("base I") / *ʜʷnebʰ- ("base II") ({EI} *h₃nobʰ-) > NaIE *ombʰ-/*nebʰ- 'navel' > Gk ὀμφαλός 'umbilical cord' ⦙ OI 'nabhyam 'nave of a wheel', 'nabhi-ḥ 'nave, navel, central point', Pali nābhi 'navel', Av nāfa- 'navel; family, relatives' (with -f- from an anomalous *-pʰ-), nabā-nazdišta- adj. 'closest (relatives)', MPrs nāf, NPrs ناف nūf 'navel' ⦙ L umbilīcus id., umbō / -ōnis 'the boss\centre of a shield' ⦙ OIr imbliu 'navel' (< *emblīōn- < NaIE *embʰ-, based probably on bf., sc. reinterpretation of *ombʰ- as an *o-grade of apophony) ⦙ ON nǫf, OHG naba, NHG Nabe, AS nafa ~ nafu 'nave', NE nave; ON nafli, OHG nabalo, NHG Nabel, AS nafela 'navel', NE navel; (*ombʰ- >) OHG ambon 'belly' ⦙ Pru nabis 'navel, nave', Ltv naba 'navel' ⁋ P 314-5, EI 391, M K II 135, M E II 13-4, Brtl. 1O4O, 1O62, Vl. II 128O, WH II 814, F II 2O1-2, Vr. 4O3, 414, KM 498, Kb. 71O, Schz. 218, Ho. 231, Kar. I 613, En. 213 ⁋⁋ The anomality in the Irn reflex with -f- (Av nāfa-, MPrs nāf, NPrs nūf) may suggest the presence of some reflex of N *ʔ ‖ ??φ ᴀ: NrTg: Ewk uɣ 'umbilical cord; aorta, vein', Lm O uɣ 'blood vessel', ?σ Sln ōg 'heart' ⁋ This is a valid cognate only if NrTg *-g|ɣ- may go back to a labial stop (through the stage of hiatus: *up̣∇ > *uw∇ > *u∇ > *uɣ∇?) ◇ IS I 248-9, AD MRV, K 186 (K, IE). The expected triple cluster **Np̣ʔ (after elision of the stem-internal vw.) was simplified by losing the nasal cns. (in G and Eg) or the lr. *ʔ (in EthS and IE).

**830.** *(ħiñ∇-)rimP∇ or *(ħim∇-)rimP∇ 'eyelid, eyelash' (cd.?) > **HS**: C: EC *ħinrib- id. > Sml ħirrib, Sml N ħírríb 'corner of the eye', Sml C hirrib 'eyelid', Kns {Bl.} hírrip-ā (ᵇ→ Gln hirrip-e), Gdl hírrip-itt 'eyelash', Yaku hereban 'eyebrow', Brj imbír-ō 'eyelid', Or {Grg.} hirrib-a ~ irriba 'a sleep', Or B/O/W {Sr.} (h)irriba 'a sleep, a nap' ⁋ Bl. 165, Ss. B 1O5, Abr. S 121, DSI 635, ZMO 431, Grg. 21O, Sr. 326, ≈ AD SF 156, Blz. DA #14 ‖ ? B *√nHr (mt?) > Ah ənər (pl. ănārən), Gh anar,

Tnsl {ABs.} inhər, anhar, ETwl, Ty {GhA} aŋar (pl. aŋarъn) 'eyebrow' ¶ Fc. 1399, Pr. H #56O (*√nH₂r), GhA 149 ‖ **IE**: Ht {Pv.} enera-, enira-, inira-, innari-, inniri- 'eyebrow' ¶ Pv. I-II 271-2 ‖ **D** *iṛapp-(ai̯) ~ *iṛamp- 'eyelid' > Tm irappai̯, rappai̯, reppai̯, Kn ṛepper, ṛappe, Tl ṛeppa, reppa, Knd ṛepa id., Knd ṛema, Ku reppa 'eyelash', Kdg reppe 'eyelid, hair of eyelashes', Tu reppæ 'eyelid, eyelash', rampæ 'eyelid', (with kaṇḍ- 'eye'): Klm kaṇḍ-repa 'eyelid', Nkr kaṇḍle reppa 'eyelash', Gnd kaṇḍ reppa 'eyebrow' ¶¶ D #5169 ‖ **U** (probably the second element of the N cd.) FL *rim₁p∇ˌse > F ripsi, Es ripse 'eyelash' ¦ pLp *rɜmɜs 'eyelid' > Lp: Ar ramas, L {LLO} ramās, N {N} râmâs, Kld pēмас rɜmas id. ¶ ≈ SSA III 81, ≈ SK 8O9, Lr. #1OO6, Lgc. #5477, SaR 292 ◇ The first element of the compound (*ħiñˌ∇ˌ-) may be discerned in SC: Irq {Wh.} ħámħamo (pl. ħámħâma) 'eyelash', {MQK} ħamħamō 'eye-brow\-lid\-lash' (MQK 48). If this Iraqw word belongs here, the N rec. must be *(ħim∇-)rimP∇. The second element of the cd. may be somehow connected with N *ʕrib∇ 'to cover' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA #14 (D, C, FU [BF + err. Lp L rapsa 'membrane, napkin']).

**831.** *ħoṗˌ∇ˌ⁻IE 'flow down' > **HS** *√ħṗl v. 'flow, flow out (abundantly)' > S *°√ħṗl > Ar √ħfl G 'be copious' (milk, water); 'pour torrents of rain' (sky); 'flow abundantly' (tears) ¶ BK I 46O-1 ‖ Eg P x̣ɜp v. '≈ flow abundantly', Eg fP x̣ɜp.t 'Unwetter' ¶ EG III 362 ‖ **K** *oṗ̥- 'sweat' > OG, G opl- id., 'perspiration', Mg up(u), Lz up-, Sv wep-, wop- 'sweat' ¶¶ K 151, K² 146 ‖ **A**: NaT *öṗül- v. 'be sucked in, swallowed' > OT öpül- id., (??) VTt уб̌ыл⁻ ubъl- 'tumble in, collapse (в-/об-валиться)' ¶ DTS 387-8, Cl. 1O, TatR 582; reinterpreted as the ps. of *oṗ- v. 'devour, suck in' (ET Gl 464-5) ‖ ?φ **U** *wop̌ta (or *wop̌sa, *wop̌ša) > Sm {Jn.} *wåptå- v. 'pour' (×N *woṗ∇ 'pour, strew', q.v. ffd.).

**832.** *ħˌʼüˌrɣ∇ĉ∇ 'to scratch, to comb' > **K**: GZ *warcɣ- v. 'comb' (×N *wArĉ∇ 'rub, scrape', q.v. ffd.) ⊶ [1] *warcɣ-wn- v. 'comb' > OG, G varcɣn-, G Gr barcɣn-, Mg rcɣon-, Lz (n)cɣon- id., msd. o-(n)cɣon-u; [2] GZ *(s)a-warcɣ-ar- n. 'comb' > OG savarcɣal-, G savarcɣel-, Mg orcɣonǯ-, orcɣond-, Lz o(n)cɣoǯ- id. ¶ K 81, 169, K² 49, 173, Abul. 336, 356, Chx. 369, Chik. 18O, Ghl. 6O ‖ **HS**: S (CS?) *√ħrŝ v. 'scratch oneself' > Ar √ħrš G 'scratch (gratter)', Ak ʌ√ɣrs G 'itch' ~ √xrš id. (?); ⊶ CS *ʼħarˌ∇ˌ⁻ŝ- n. 'scab, itch' > BHb ˈħɛrɛs, JA

ħar's-ā, Sr ħɛr's-ā ~ ħarā's-ā id. ¶ The unexpected Ak x̌- and the variation -s- ~ -š- suggest that the Ak verb is a loan (from Aram?) ¶ KB 341, BK I 558, CAD VI 92, 96 ‖ **D** *irↄr∇c̃- v. 'scratch, comb' > Gnd irsānā Ↄ īrs- v. 'comb the hair', Krx irc̃- 'scratch and turn over (as fowls in the ground), poke, dig into', Mlt irc̃e 'scratch the ground (as fowls do)', Brh iris 'a comb' ¶¶ D #493 ◇ Here K *c is strange (taking into account that in the initial position the regular K reflex of N *c̃ is *c̣). Is it a special development in a cns. cluster? Unfortunately, no other unequivocally reconstructible K roots with reflexes of N *c̃ (in Inlaut) are known so far.

**833.** *ħˈʊˈreɬˈ́∇ 'reed' > **K**: GZ *lēl- 'cane, ∈ rush' (×N *Lↄẑ̂iɬ́∇ 'reed, ∈ water-plant') > OG lel-i 'cane', G lel-i 'cane, rush (Phragmites communis)'; cd. {K} *lel-c̣em-, {K²} *ler-c̣em-, {FS} *lel-c̣am- 'cane, rush; reed (Arundo donax)' > OG lerc̣am- 'reed (κάλαμος), G lerc̣am-i ~ lelc̣am-i 'Phragmites communis', Mg larč̣am-i ~ larč̣em-i 'reed' ¶ K 12O-1, K² 1O8-9, FS K 199-2OO, FS E 218-9, Abul. 2O8, Ser. 82, Chx. 677-8, Q 27O; *lel-c̣eɬam- is a cd. with the √ *c̣em- ({FS} *c̣am-) 'grass' (*see* K 249, FS K 457-8, FS E 518-9) ‖ **HS**: S *ħʊr∇ll- > Ak OB/YB urull- '∈ eine Rohrart', Ar ħall-at- 'grand panier en jonc ou en roseau', ħill-at- 'natte oblongue' ¶ BK I 474, Sd. 1436 ‖ **D** *∇reɬ]- 'reed' > Kn reɬlu 'a reed used to write with, Saccharum sara', Tl ṟellu, rellu 'a reed, Saccharum spontaneum', Ku relli tuppa 'bulrush' (D *tuppa '∈ small bush' - *see* D #3322) ¶¶ D #5171 ¶ The initial vw. is supposed because an initial *ṟ- (as well as *r-) is ruled out by D morphophonemics ◇ Fn. KD #5O ( K, D).

**834.** *ħEↄyˈ˞sʊ 'faeces, filth' > **HS**: Eg P ħs 'excrement, faeces' (= {ʃVc.} [ħisy-]) > Cpt Sd ϩⲁⲥ has, Cpt B ϩⲟⲥ hos, Cpt F ϩⲉⲥ hes 'fumier, excréments' ¶ EG III 164, Vc. 313 ‖ C: Bj 'ōša, 'ūša(y), {Rop.} iša 'urine', {R} ōš- v. 'urinate', {Rop.} oš- 'urinate, defecate' ⋮ ??φ EC *ʔus- 'contents of stomach (of ruminants)' (highly qu. as a cognate because of *ʔ- for the expected *ħ-) > Sml ūs id., Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} ʔus-ko id. ¶ R WBd. 33, Rop. 156, DSI 597, Ss. B 185, AMS 227, 261 ‖ NrOm {Blz.} *ʔayš- 'dung' > Kcm {CR} oyšā̌ 'cowdung', Gnj ʔãša 'dung' ⋮ SOm: Dm {Bndd.} ʔuš 'faeces, dung' ¶ Blz. OLBP #27 ‖ Ch {Stl.} *ħesaɬi 'faeces' > WCh {Stl.} *ʔesa id. > Su {J} jiyɛs. Ang ji̠ɛ̀s, Gmy ʔyɛ̀s, Cp ɛ̀s, Kfr {Nt.} ès id. ⋮ Krkr {Kr.} išè̠, Dr ʔiše id. ⋮ Gj ʔìšì, Buli ʔiš,

Bgm ɥīs, Zar ɥīs id. ‖ CCh: ZmB ʔísì 'dirt, dregs' ‖ ECh: Smr ʔìšíń, Nd ʔìsìn, Skr {Lk.} ìssì, Jg ʔìš, Mu (pl.) ʔàsè, Mkl ʔîzí, Ke k-usi, Kwn k-ùsì(ń) 'faeces' ¶ Stl. ZCh 23O [#786], JI II 128-9, ≈ JS 97, Stl. IF 116-7, ChL, J LM 111 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 14 (Ang, Eg; he sees here a reg. corr. of Su gɥ- with Eg ħ-) ‖ **IE**: Ht isuwan 'residue, sediment, refuse, scraps, waste, remains' ¶ Pv. I-II 486-7, Frd. HW 92, Ts. E I 44O ‖ **D** (in SD) *ečč-, {ϑGS} *ećć- 'faeces, excretions of the body, remains of food (defiled by contact with the mouth)' > Tm eccam 'remains of food, spittle, dung (of birds, lizards)', eccil 'whatever defiled by contact with the mouth (saliva, spittle, remains of food), excretions of the body: faeces, urine, sperm', Ml eccam 'dung of lizards and flies', Kt ecl 'water that has been used to wash hands after eating, remnants of food', Td icil 'pollution of food by being left as a remnant, pollution caused by death or birth', Kdg ecci 'scraps of food that falls to the floor during meal'; × D *enc- v. 'remain' ¶ D #78O, Zv. 115 ‖ ?σ **A** *i‖ɟɥs▽ 'soot, smoke' > T *ɪɥɪs 'soot, smoke' > OT i‖ɪs 'soot, dirty smoke', Tk is, Az his, Uz is, VTt ьs, Bsh ьθ ~ ɥьθ, Qzq, Nog, Qq ɪs 'soot', Qrg ɪs 'yellow dirt from smoke; smoking', SY ɪs 'soot, smoke', ET, Ln is 'smoke', Yk īs 'smoking', Qmq iɥis-pus, Chv ɥьs-pьs {Jeg., ChVS} 'smoke, fumes' ('чад, угар'), {Fed.} 'bad smell', Chv ɥьslьn- v. 'smoke (emit smoke)' ¶ Cl. 254, ET Gl 379-38O, TL 37O-1, Jeg. 76, Fed. I 186-7, ChVS 58, Rs. W 167 ‖ M *isü (unless with *ɸ-) 'soot' > WrM isü, HlM ис 'soot, black', Kl {Rm.} iš 'Ruß, Kienruß' ¶ MED 417, KW 21O-1 ¶¶ Rs. W 167, KW 21O-1, Pp. VG 116, SDM97 s.v. *ijsʌ 'soot, smoke' ◇ Blz. DA #38 (D, C, Om, Ch) ◇ Ht and M suggest a N final *-U. The labialized vw. in Bj, EC, and SOm needs explaining (traces of an internal *U in a supposed N *ħEɥs̄U or the influence of the final *-U?).

**835.** *ħUẓ́E(-g▽) 'look, see' > **HS**: WS *√ħzɥ‖w v. 'look' > BHb √ħzɥ‖w G 'see, behold', Ph, OA, IA, Plm, SmA √ħzɥ G, DA √ħzw G 'see', Ar {Ln.} √ħzw‖ɥ v. G 'divine (particularly from the flight, cries, etc. of birds)', {Hv.} √ħzw v. G 'augur (sth.) from the flight of birds', {BK} 'faire partir les oiseaux de l'endroit où ils se sont abattus, pour augurer de leur vol', {Fr.} √ħzɥ 'excitans aliquo loco aves ex earum volatu hariolatus est et omen cepit', {Fr.} ħāzi(n) 'qui ex membrorum et faciei signis hariolatur', Tgr ሐዘ ħazā [ħaza] 'looked for'; ?σ Ug {A} √ħdˊwˈ G 'nachsehen, prüfen', {OLS} √ħdɥ G 'look, watch' ('mirar,

contemplar') (apparently reflecting S *°√ħδʍ|ɥ with an enigmatic *δ for the expected *z) ¶ KB 288-289, KBR 3O1, HJ 357-61, Tal 259-6O, Js. 443, Ln. 562-3, Fr. I 376-7, BK I 422, A #9O5, OLS 174 ‖ **K**: pGZ *uċɋ- v. 'see, know' > OG uċɋ- 'know', Mg orċɋ- v. 'see', Lz oċ(ḳ)- v. 'look' ¶¶ K 186-7, K² 196 ‖ **IE**: Ht ａｕｓ- v. 'see' and ｕｓｋｉ- id. (within the framework of the Ht morphology ｕｓｋｉ- is interpreted as iterative); the verb ａｕｓ- was reinterpreted as a variant of ａｕ- v. 'see' (of different origin) ¶ Frd. HW 236, Ts. W 1O, 97, Ts. E I 95-98, Pv. I-II 234-244 ‖ **A** *üₑ̃ₓ̣e- > M *üₑ̃ₓ̣e- v. 'see, look' (× N *ｇ∪ₓ̌∇ 'feel, smell [sth.]') > MM [HI, IM, IsV] üₓ̌e-, [MA] (ħ)üₓ̌e- 'see, look', WrM üₓｅ-, HlM үзэ⁻, Mnr H {SM} uₓ_î͡ä̂-, {T} uₓ̌e-, Dx uₓ̌e-, MMgl öₓ̌ä, Mgl {Rm.} u̇ₓ̌ǎ- v. 'see', Dg uₓi-, u̇ₓi- v. 'see, look' ¶ Ms. H 1O8, T 368, T DnJ 137, Pp. MA 19O, 377, 499, SM 465-6, Lg. VMI 72, Iw. 121, Klz. D II 14O ‖ ? NaT *ō̄(ɥ)- v. 'think, remember' > OT ö-, Cl. ō̄- id., Yk u͡ôɥ- 'remember, notice' ¶ Cl. 2-3, Rs. W 368, ≈ ET Gl 429, Pek. 3137-8 ‖ ?? Tg *eʝe- v. 'understand, remember' > Orc зₓ̌з-, Ud зɡ̌ₓ̌з- 'understand', Ul, Nn зₓ̌з- v. 'rememeber', Ork зdзmu 'get accustomed', WrMc eзe- v. 'notice, remember' ¶ STM II 439 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. "?*üₓ̌∇ ? v. 'see'", ≈ SDM97 s.v. *eₓ̌o|u 'see, understand' (an unc. rec.).