

**1351.** \*mA ({IS} \*-mA), pc. of marked accusative > **IE** \*-m / \*-m<sub>2</sub>, accus. case ending of nouns of the animate (active) gender > AnIE: Ht -n / -an, Lw, HrLw, Pal, Car -n, Ld -v id. || NaIE \*-m (accus. of m. and f.) > OI, L -m, Gk -v, OLT nasalization of the stem-final vw.; after stem-final cnss. \*-m<sub>2</sub> > OI -am, Gk -a, L -em, Lt -i ¶ Bks. 172-92, Szem. IEL 160-92, Rsk. 54-5, Km. HPL 193-7, 301, Hb. L 406-9, KrlSh. XLJ 19, 25, 62 || **HS:** Om: SOM {Fl.} accus. ending \*-m > Ari {Hw.} -m, Dm {Fl.} -im, Hm {Ldl.} -(d)am / -(d)an (positionally conditioned allomorphs, in which, acc. to Hw. CO 28, -m/-n go back to \*-m) || NrOm: Krt {Hw.} -m-within the predicative forms of pers. pronouns: ta-m-akko 'it is I', ne-m-akko 'it is you (thou)', nu-m-akko 'it is we' (pred. ← accus., as in NE it is me and Fr c'est moi), Bnc {Brz.} -m as a dative-benefactive ending of pers. pronouns: ta-m 'to me' (dat.-ben. ← generalized oblique case ← accus., as in M \*či-ma- obl. of 'thou' < N \*t'ū<sup>3</sup> mA 'thee', see below); but, acc. to Hw. CO 26-9, hardly here the NrOm accus. ending \*-n (> Kf/Bsk/Ym {C} -n, Mj {All.} -n) (see N \*nu 'from, of') ¶ Bnd. MO 167-8, Hw. CO 26-30, Fl. OO 316, Fl. D 518, Hw. NAL 443, Ldl. H 412, All. D 390, Zab. CO 625 || **U** \*-m, \*-m<sub>2</sub>, accus. of definite nouns > FP \*-m, accus. > F -n, Lp J -m, Lp S {Hs.} -m ɬ -b, Chr L/H -m (F kala-n, Lp J guole-m, Chr kolə-m 'pisces') || Vg {Lml. ← Kn.}: SV/LL/ML -mā, -m, LK/MK/UK -mə, -m, T -mʒ, -mi, -m, marker of accus. of definite object || Sm: accus. ending: Ne T -m̪, Slq Tz -m, Kms -m, Mt M {Sp.} -m; ending of definite accus.: Ng -m ¶ Wkm. FOUL 11-2, 24-5, 56, 63-71, 145-9, Coll. CG 284-6, Hs. 97-103, Lml. HFW 24-41, Beronka II 146-7, Mu. VNyJ II 56, III 363, IV 158, Lav. TJM, Rmb. MJ-93 290, Srb. PGS 70-2, Ter. NJ-93 332, Ter NgJ 80-2, Hl. SelJ 364, Hl. MTKJ 377, Kü. KJ 383 || **A:** pTg \*ba/\*be / (after a noun-final \*n) \*ma/\*me, postp. of accus. of definite nouns > NrTg and AmTg accus. ending \*-ba / \*-be, (after a stem-final n) \*-ma/\*me- > Ewk -ba/-bʒ, (after a vw.) -wa/-wʒ, (after a nasal) -ma/-mʒ, Lm -w, -m, Neg -wa/-wʒ, -pa/-pʒ, -ma/-mʒ, Nn, Ul, Ork, Sln -ba/-bʒ, (after a vw.) -wa/-wʒ, Ud {Krm.} -wa/-wʒ/-wo/-ma/-mʒ/-mo, WrMc be (marker of accus., still preserves traces of the original analytical status of N \*mA, evidenced by the lack of vowel harmony) ¶ Ci. 256, Bz. 78-9, Hrl. 35, 74-5, Krm. 86 || pJ {S} \*bʒ, {Vv.} \*bo > OJ, ClJ wo, accus. and emph. (focalizing?) pc. > J o id.; b- is still preserved in some Ryukyu ds. (Rbt., p.c., 2003) ¶ Vv. LDROJ 106, Mur. KAJ 130, Mill. JAL 25-7, BBI. 52, 57, 96, Hag. W v, Syr. DJ 106-8 || M \*-ma- in the accus. and other

oblique cases of pronouns: M \*či-ma-yi 'thee' (originally accus. \*či-ma 'thee' + nominal accus. \*-yi that was added by analogy [see s.v. N ? \*h<sup>2</sup>yā 'for']) > MM čimayi, WrM cimai, etc., M \*i-ma-yi 'him' accus. (demonstr. \*i + accus. \*ma + M nominal accus. \*-yi). The prehistory of these forms may be reconstructed as follows: N \*t<sup>2</sup>ü<sup>1</sup> mĀ 'thee' (= \*t<sup>2</sup>ü<sup>1</sup> 'thou' + \*mĀ accus.) > ppM \*t<sup>2</sup>ima 'thee' > pM \*či-ma-yi 'thee', the form \*či-ma- being generalized as the stem of the oblique cases, whence the dative \*čima-dur, the ablative \*čimača, etc. ¶ AD PP 78-9, Pp. IM 209-14 ¶ Mng. JA 11, 14 || ? D \*-n (if from \*-m), accus. case ending > Kt -n, Td -n, -n, OKn -a(:)n, Tulu -n<sup>b</sup>, OTl -n (-v), -in (-iv) -n<sup>a</sup>, Klm -(u)n, Prj -(i)n, Gdb -(i)n ~ -(i)v, Knd -n, Png -in, Krx -in, -an, -an, Mlt -e(n), -i(n). Traces of the former ending \*-m may be discerned in OKn accus. ending -am ¶ Zv. CDM 27-30, MhS 165, Shanm. DN 370-1, Ktl. G 43, Gai 42, An. SG 202-5, Rmn. OT 191 ◇ IS II 48-51 (\*-mĀ > IE, U, A, D), AD PP 92, Mng. MP 21-36, Coll. IUS 21, Coll. HUV 130, Ivn. VNZN 148 (on the original analytical status of this accus. ending), Gr. I 129 (IE, U, A, incl. J). I am grateful to Blz. for drawing my attention to the Om cognate. In IE the nouns of the non-animate (neuter) gender do not distinguish between nom. and accus. (and hence have no accus. ending), because there is no syntactic necessity for it: nouns of the non-animate gender do not usually appear as subjects of a trans. verb, therefore in sentences with trans. verbs they always function as their object. In other words, in IE (as in many lgs.) the marker of accus. is used only when it is necessary for syntactic distinctions. It is a trace of an old N syntax that had no obligatory grammatical categories (unlike in later IE lgs. with their grammatical categories of compulsive usage - even when not necessary for communication). In F the morpheme of accusative is not used after the imv., which reflects the same original situation: the form is not used wherever the syntactic function (object of the verb) is obvious from the context. In Sm and Tg this case marker denotes a definite object. All this suggests that originally N \*mĀ denoted a marked accusative.

**1352. \*mĀ**, a marker of nominalized syntactic constructions (≈ subordinate sentences), nominalizer (originally a prn.) that formed analytic equivalents of nomina actionis, nomina agentis, and other derived nouns > HS \*m<sup>2</sup> - prefix of derived (mainly deverbal) nouns: S: [1] S \*m<sup>2</sup>- as a px. of prtcs.: (α) \*mu-1a<sup>2</sup>i3-, act. prtc. of the D - stems > Akk mu1a<sup>2</sup>i3-, Ar mu1a<sup>2</sup>i3-, BHb m<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>2̄3, Aram m<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>2e3, Sr m<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>2ε3 (on the meaning of ε in Sr cf. *Phonetic symbols and other signs used in etymological entries*, III, B), Gz

ma<sup>1</sup>a22a<sup>3</sup> id., (β) \*mu-1a<sup>2</sup>'2a<sup>3</sup>-, ps. prtc. of the *D*-stems > Ar mu1a22a<sup>3</sup>-, Sr mə1a22a<sup>3</sup>, BHb (with an analogical u) mə1u22a<sup>3</sup>, (γ) \*mu-ša1'2i<sup>3</sup>-, act. prtc. of the *Sh*-stem (causative) > Ak muša12i<sup>3</sup>-, Ar mu12i<sup>3</sup>-, BHb ma<sup>2</sup>'2i<sup>3</sup>, Sr ma<sup>2</sup>'2ε<sup>3</sup>, etc. ] [2] S nomina actionis \*ma12a<sup>3</sup> > Ar ma<sup>?</sup>kal- '(act of) eating', BHb מְאַכֵּל ma<sup>?</sup>a<sup>1</sup>kāl 'food', מָבֵט mas'sa<sup>9</sup> 'trip' (↔ נָסָר 'fahren'), Gz manṣar 'the front part exposed to view' (↔ 'looking at' ↔ נָסָר 'look [at]'), whence nomina loci \*ma12∇3- > Ak maškanum 'place, tent', BHb מִשְׁקָן miš'kān 'dwelling(-place)', Sr marba<sup>9</sup> 'womb' (↔ נָרַב 'lie down'), Ar maqbar- 'cemetery' (↔ נְבָר 'bury'), Ak mūšabum 'seat, dwelling place' (וָשֶׁב 'sit, reside'), BHb מָוֹשֵׁב mō'sāb; nomina abstracta \*m∇12∇3-at- > Hb מִלְחָמָה milħā'mā 'fight, war', Ar maħmidat- n. act. 'praise', Gz mangəšt 'government, kingdom', JA mə12a<sup>3</sup> - inf. of the *G*-stem., Ak mūrakum 'length' (✓ נָרָק 'be long'), etc. ] [3] S \*ma12i<sup>3</sup>- ~ \*ma12a<sup>3</sup>-at- - patterns of nomina instrumenti > BHb מְפֻתֵּח map'tēah 'key' and Ak niptētum id. (both ↔ נְפֻתֵּה v. 'open', Ak n- < \*m-), BHb מְרַכְּבָה merkā'bā, JA מְרַכְּבָתָא markab<sup>9</sup>t-ā, Sr מְרַכְּבָתָא markab<sup>9</sup>t-ā, and Ak narkabtum 'chariot' (\*נְרַקְבָּה v. 'ride, voyage') ] [4] ? possibly a S sx. \*-m-: Ar fushum- 'wide', šadqam- 'wide-mouthed' § Br. G I 375-82 [§§ 195-203], JB NB 233-73, Sd. G 64-6, Js. 844, Br. 731, MSUS 80-3 || Eg m∇-, px. of derived (deverbal and denom.) nouns (nomina loci, instrumenti): mzwt 'food made of wheat' (↔ zw̥t 'wheat'), msx̥n 'abode (of gods)', msx̥nt 'bearing-stool; necropolis' (↔ s̥x̥ny 'descend'), mx̥t 'balance (Waage)' (↔ x̥p̥y v. 'measure'); m∇-, px. of prtc. and nomina actoris: mnħzyw 'bewachende' (↔ nhzy 'wake'), mħnk 'Beschenker' (↔ ħnk v. 'present so. with') § Ed. 109-10, Fk. 119 || C: Bj {R} ma- / me- / (before sibilants) mi-, px. of n. act.: ma-'dir ~ ma-'dēr n. act. 'killing' (↔ -dir 'kill'), 'ma-fnič ~ ma-f'nēk ~ mefnek 'Biß, das Beißen' (↔ -fnič 'bite'), mi-'sā? ~ mi'sa? 'seat, sitting' (↔ -sā? 'sit, sit down') || Af m-, px. of derived abstract nouns (n. act., etc.): mābaka 'birth, being born' (↔ īboke 'be born'), mabul 'observation, sight' (↔ uble 'see'), midir 'possessions' (↔ eddere 'possess') || Ch: Hs ma-...-ī (m. pl. ma-...-ā, f. sg. ma-...-iyā, f. pl. ma-...-iyāj) - circumfix of nomina agentis (madinkī 'tailor' [↔ dinka 'sew'], maginī 'builder' [↔ gina 'build'], makērī 'smith' [↔ kēra 'forge'], mažiyī 'ear' [↔ ži 'hear']), ma...-ī (pl. ma...-āj) -

circumfix of nomina instrumenti (*mabūdī* 'opener, key' [ $\leftarrow$  *būda* v. 'open'], *maðaukī* 'handle' [ $\leftarrow$  *ðauka* v. 'lift']), *ma-...-ī* and *ma-...-ā* (both pl. *ma-...-ai*) - circumfixes of nomina loci (*mašigī* 'ford' [ $\leftarrow$  *šiga* v. 'enter'], *makʷančī* 'lair' [ $\leftarrow$  *kʷanta* 'lie down'], *mafītā* 'exit' [ $\leftarrow$  *fīta* 'come out'], *makarantā* 'school' [ $\leftarrow$  *karanta* v. 'read']) || Mrg *m3-*, px. of nomina loci: *m3čibī* 'corral, fence' ( $\leftarrow$  *čibī* v. 'fence [in]'), *m3-nđ3lā* 'escape-hole' ( $\leftarrow$  *nđ3lā* 'go\break through'); \**m3-...-i*, circumfix of nomina agentis: *m3š3ž3bī* 'pupil' ( $\leftarrow$  *š3ž3bī* 'learn, teach'), Msg/Gdr {Mch.} *mu-*, Pdk {Mch.} *ma-*, sx. of derived nouns ¶ Taylor 63-4, Hf. M 48-9, Mch. VCQP 67-8 ¶ Zab. HSP 35-8 ¶ HS \* $^o$ -m $\nabla$ , nominalizing suffix > C \*-m $\nabla$  > EC: Af {Hw.} nominalizing sx. -m / -im, e.g. *yō̄ h̄ate-m* 'the one(s) who helped me' ( $\leftarrow$  *h̄ate* 'help'), *riasám* 'the red one(s)\thing(s)' ( $\leftarrow$  *rasa* 'red'), *iyyínim* 'whose one(s)\thing(s)' ( $\leftarrow$  *iyya* 'who'), *nammám* 'two, the two, both' ( $\leftarrow$  *nammay* 'two'); it functions as nominalizer of sentences ( $\approx$  infinitive, gerund): **is kā digibta-m** *máfađđa* 'she doesn't want **to marry him**', **yamāté-m** *kāk fāđen* 'they wanted *him* **to come**', **gīrisám** *duddah* 'she can (is able) **to swim**', **úsuk yō̄ yuble-m** *āđigeh* 'I know **that he saw me**'; Sml -mo-, sx. of nomina actionis (and nouns denoting the result of an action): *dīd-mo(-da)* 'refusal' ( $\leftarrow$  *dīd-i* v. 'refuse, deny'), *ħir-mo(-da)* 'bundle, sheaf' ( $\leftarrow$  *ħir-* v. 'tie'), *deg-mo(-da)* 'settlement, camp' ( $\leftarrow$  *deg-* v. 'live [in a place], reside'); Sd {Gs.} -umma ~ -imma, sx. of nomina abstracta: *dančumma* ~ *dančimma* 'beauty, goodness' ( $\leftarrow$  *danča* 'good, beautiful') || SC: Irq {Mous}: -īma sx. of denom. abstract nouns (*daķari?*īma 'prosperity'  $\leftarrow$  *daķār-mo* 'rich person'), -ēma sx. of abstract nouns derived from adjectives (*čērēma* 'length'  $\leftarrow$  *čēr* 'long') ¶ R BedS IV 15, R WBd 8O, 194, PH 157-68, 236, 287-8, Dbn. 7O, ZMO 89, 93, 431, Gs. 67, Mous 77, 81-2 || K: [1] \*m-, \*me-, px. of prtc. and nomina agentis > OG *m-* (*m-çē* 'helper', *m-dgom-i* 'who stands'), G *m-* (*da-m-çer-i* 'author', *m(e)-bržol-i* 'fighter', prtc. 'fighting'), Lz *m-* (*me-m-žyon-i* 'leader'), Sv *mə<sub>1</sub>-* (*mə<sub>1</sub>-ger* 'striker', *mə<sub>1</sub>-çed* 'who sees', UB *mə<sub>1</sub>-māre* 'who prepares', Sv *mə<sub>1</sub>-šķid* 'smith'); GZ \**me-čwel-* 'milch (cow, etc.)' ( $\leftarrow$  \**čwel-* v. 'milk') > G *meçwel*, Mg *mačwal-*, Lz *mančwal-u*; [2] \*m-...-e, *me-...-e*, circumfix of prtc. > OG *m-žl-e(-y)* 'mighty one', G *m-çip-e* 'ripe', Lz *m-šin-e* 'who remembers', Sv *mə<sub>1</sub>-tr-e* 'who drinks', *mə<sub>1</sub>-gč-e* 'who catches'); GZ \**me-up-e-* 'owner, possessing' ( $\leftarrow$  \**up-*

'possess') > OG *meupe-*, G *mepe-*, Mg *mapa-* 'king', Lz *mapa-* 'king' (in a place name); [3] GZ \**m-...-el-*, circumfix of prtc. (OG *m-çap-eli ełlisa* 'chariot driver', G *m-čed-eli* 'smith', Mg *m-čkad-u* id., Lz *m-šum-u* 'drinker'); [4] GZ \**m-...-el-*, circumfix of gentilicia > OG *m-egwipt-eli* 'an Egyptian (person)', G *m-ruv-eli* 'bishop of Ruisi', *m-egr-el-i* 'a Megrelian', Mg *m-arg-al-i* id.; [5] \**ma-*, derivational px. (px. of nomina agentis, nouns\adjectives of quality bearers, etc.) > OG *ma-* (*ma-rȝw-i* 'destoyer'), G *ma-* (*mar-rȝv-e* 'geschickt, geeignet', etc.), Mg, Lz *mu-* (Mg *mu-rȝgv-i* 'successful'), Sv *ma-* (*ma-qäd* 'harvest', *ma-śäd* n. 'helper', *ma-zwäb* 'spring of water') || IE \*-*mo-*, sx. of denom. and deverbal derivatives: NaIE \**d̥hū-mo-s* 'smoke' (↔ \**d̥hū-* v. 'blow') > OI *'d̥hūmāh*, Gk θύμος, L *fūmus*, Lt pl. *dūmai*, Ltv pl. *dūmi*, Pru *dumis* 'smoke', Sl \**dīmъ* id. (> OCS, OR **ΔЫМЪ** *dīmъ*, Blg, Uk *дим*, SCr, Slv *dīm*, Cz *dým*, Slk, P *dým*, R *дым* id.), Tc B -*mo* (*pālka-mo-* 'brillant, splendide', F Wn. 357), Tc A -*m(o)* || AnIE: Ht {Ts.} *werite-ma* n. 'fear' (↔ *werite* 'be afraid') || Brg. KVG 343-8, P 261-2, Ts. W 105, Kron. EHS I 177-81, Glh. 196 || U \*-*ma*/\*-*mä*, derivational sx. of deverbal and denom. nouns\adjs. and of prtc. (e.g. FU \**əða-ma* n. 'sleep, dream', \**śur(e)-ma* 'death') > F *juo-ma* 'beverage', *kalja-ma* 'skating-rink' (↔ *kalja* 'smooth'), *kuole-ma*, *sur-ma* 'death', Es *surm* id., *sure-ma* inf. 'die' || Lp N *ællem* (< \**elä-mä*) 'life' || Er *нилима* *ńili-ma* n. act. 'swallow', *udomo*, Mk *udoma* n. 'sleep' || Chr H *kay-тъ* (past prtc.) 'gone away', Chr U *о·тъ*, Chr *Ludomo* n. 'sleep' || Vt *kule-m*, Z *kulz-m* 'dead', Vt *um* n. 'sleep' || OHg *älmu* ~ *alom*, Hg *áлом* n. 'dream, sleep' || ObU {Ht.} \**wūðəm*/\**wūðm*▽ 'dream' > pVg \**ūlm*▽ id. (> OVg S: Kg **о́лма**, Vt *о́лмъ*; Vg S: T *ōləm*; Vg E: Lk/MK/UK *ūləm*; Vg W: P *wuləm*, NV/SV/LL *uləm*; OVg N Chd *улмъ*, Vg N: UL/Ss *ūləm* id.); pOs \**wuləm* 'dream' > Os: V/VY *uləm*, Ty *սֆəմ*, D/K *օtəm*, Nz *utəm*, Kz *wῶֆəմ*, O *wuləm* 'dream'; pOs \**aləm* n. 'sleep' > V/Vy/O *aləm*, Ty/Y *աֆəմ*, D/K *օtəm*, Nz *շtəm*, Kz *չֆəմ* id. || Sm: Nn T O {Lh.} *χăe·β·ă* n. act. 'going away', T F NI {Lh.} *kăem:ă* id., Ng {Cs.} *matu-mu-nəŋ firam* 'I can chop', En {Hl.} *badt-ma* n. act. 'hunt for wild reindeer', adj.: Slq Tz {KKIH} *ćɔṛt-m/p* 'thick' (↔ *ćɔṛt* 'thickness'), Koyb {Sp.} *джярјамъ* 'thick' || Lh. PUAS 82-113, Sz. 87-8, Coll. CG 266-9, Srb. IMPJ 114, 153-4, UEW 489-90, MF 85-6, EWH 30, Ht. #664, KKIH 107 || A: T \*-*m*

/ \*-im / \*-im / \*-um / \*-üm, sx. of n. act.: OT öł-üm 'death', ičim 'a single drink', Tk bil-im, Az, Tkm, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Qrg bil-im, Qz biliṁ, VTt, Bsh bъльм 'knowledge', Yk kül-üm 'a smile', Chv -ăm -ъм (sx. of n. act.); T \*-ma / \*me- > Chv inf. ending -ma/-me; the same sx. is preserved in NaT \*-mak / \*-mäk (> OT -maq/-mäk, etc.), sx. of n. act. (in most lgs.) and inf. (in the Og lgs., in Qmq, ET, Uz, etc.) ¶ Cl. xlii-xliii, Cl. TMS 148, 154, Rs. MTS 133-4, ET B 139 || M \*-m in n. act.: WrM nagadum 'play, game' (<+ nagad- v. 'play'), barim n. 'grip' (<+ bari- v. 'seize'); M \*-ma / \*-me, sf. of deverbal adjectives and nouns: WrM gaiqa-ma, HlM гайхам 'wonderful, astonihing, surprising' (<+ WrM gaiqa-, HlM гайха- v. 'wonder, marvel'), MM daqa-ma 'menstruation' (<+ daqa- 'follow'), MnR H {SM} gurma 'braided hair' (<+ guru- < \*gürü- v. 'braid, weave') ¶ Pp. IM 261-2, Pp. GWM 48, MED 345, SM 143-4 || Tg \*-ma / \*-me, sf. of deverbal and denom. adjs. > Nn nay-ma 'human', Ewk girku-ma 'pedestrian' (<+ girku- v. 'walk'), çulama- 'green' (<+ çula- v. 'be green'), Tg \*mō-ma 'wooden' (<+ \*mō 'wood') > Ewk, Neg, Ul, Nn Nh mōma, Ork mōma ~ mōmo, Orc, Ud mōmo 'wooden' ¶ Bz. 91, Vas. 769, STM I 54O-1 || Ko unproductive sx. of deverbal nouns: čugə,м 'corpse' <+ čug- 'die' ¶ Rm. NM 255-64, Rm. KhK 94-5, Rm. VAJ 192-4, Pp. NSM 1O2, 12O-1, Grz. 44-5 || D \*-may, sx. of derived abstract nouns > Tm -mai (poru-mai 'patience, self-control' <+ poru v. 'bear, sustain, endure'), Ml -ma (poru-ma 'patience'), OKn -me ({Gai} mudi-me 'dominance' <+ {D} mudi- 'advance in growth, increase'), Tl -mi (mudi-mi 'old age' <+ mudi 'old') ¶ ≈ Cald. 541, D ##4565, 4954, Gai 96, Ktl. G 2OO-1 ¶ D \*may-may go back to N \*mA + N \*ȳi 'he, (?) that' (pc. forming construction with adjectival meaning) (q.v.) (see IS II 47) ◇ The N nominalizer \*mA may be etymologically connected with the N prn. \*mu, wN, 'this, that' (q.v.) (cp. Af nammá-m 'the two' and the S determiner \*-m) ◇ U, A, and D provide evisence for a final \*a or \*ä ◇ IS II 45-8 (\*mA), Gr. I 169-73 ("nominalizer M" in IE, U, A, ChK, EA, Ai).

**1353.** \*mä - \*mäh<sup>o</sup> 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) and 'not' (negative) > HS: S \*°mā 'not' > Ar mā 'not'; ? ✓ mhmh (pf. mahmaha) v. 'prevent from', TD (pf. tamahmaha 'abstain from' ¶ Br. G I 5OO [§ 253e], BK II 1O52, 1163, Hv. 737 || Eg ∀ m 'do not!', prohibitive pc.; survives in Cpt as the initial element of the negative Cpt Sd pc. Μπωρ mpōr and B Μφωρ mp<sup>h</sup>ōr 'do not!', as well as some negative verbal pxs.: Cpt Sd

**ΜΠΡ-** *mpr-*, Cpt B **ΜΠΕΡ-** *mper-* 'do not...!', the px. **ΜΠΕ-** *mpe-* of the negative perfect I, the px. **ΜΠΟΥ-** *mru-* 'you (f. sg.) did not', the Cpt Sd px. **ΜΠΑΤΕ-** *mpate-* (and Cpt B **ΜΠΑΝΤΕ-** *mpante-*) 'not yet', Cpt Sd **ΜΑΡΕ-** *mare-* ~ **ΜΕΡΕ-** *mere-* ~ **ΜΑ-** *ma-* ~ **ΜΕ-** *me-*, B **ΜΠΑΡΕ-** *mpare-* ~ **ΜΠΑ-** *mpa-* (px. of the negative aorist) ¶ EG II 3-4, Vc. 118-9 || ? B: Tz 'amia 'nothing' ¶ Stm. 1OO, 164 || C: EC: Af *ma-* and Sa *mā-* - negative px. of verbs (incl. the prohibitive form: Af *ma-...-in*, Sa *mā-...-in*), Sml *ma* (Sml N *má*) 'not', *ma-* - negative px. of verbs, Bn {Hn.} *má-* (negative verbal px. of the pfc.), Elm {Hn.} *má-/m-* (negative px. of verbs), Rn {PG} *má* 'not, is not', Arr {Hw.} *ma* (with allomorphs *m-* a. o.) (negative pc. of verbs: *má yek(k)ení* imv. 'do not swallow!', *ma yék(k)éní* he did not swallow', *ma-na nék(k)eno* 'we did not swallow') || SC: Irq {Wh.} *ma* (/*m-* before a vw. of the next morpheme) 'do not!' prohibitive (e.g. *má dâqawar* 'don't go!' sg., *má dâqawara* 'don't go!' pl., *m-i gásar* 'don't kill me!'), {Mous} *m-* proh. pc. (*m-u aminus-ār* 'don't believe him!') ¶ PH 258-78, TB LA 548, Abr. S 168, 271-2, PG 214, Hn. BD 55, Hn. NBLK 19O-5, 232-6, Hw. A 261-5, Wh. IC 47, Mous 151-2 || Ch: Tng {J} -*m* 'not' (negation of verbs and nouns: *na wē-m* 'I shall not see', *na sāní-m* 'I am not eating', *mu-m* 'not a man, nobody', *wa-m* 'not a thing, nothing', Ang {Flk.} *man(ta)* 'don't, let not' (+ vb.) || Mrg {Hf.} *māj* 'not' ¶ JT 61, Flk. s.v. *man(ta)*, Hf. M 22, 178-8O, 233, RK 123 || IE \**meH* ({M} \**meH<sub>1</sub>*, {EI} \**mē* > NaIE \**mē*, prohibitive pc. (with the imv.): OI, Av, OPrs *mā*, KhS, Oss *ma* id. || Gk A/I/D *μή*, Gk El *μά* 'not' proh. || Al ↓ *mo* id., StAl *mos* id. (< pAl {O} \**māč* < \**mē-kʷe* 'and do not') || Arm *մի* 'not' (neg. pc.) || pTc {Ad.} \**mā* > Tc A/B *mā* 'not' (neg. and proh.) ¶ P 7O3, EI 395, Brdg. KVG 612-4, M E II 343, F II 222, O 274, KT 172, Slt. 399-4OO, Wn. 282-3, Ad. 445-6, Ad. H 19 || K \**mā-* ~ \**mō-*, prohibitive pc. (or {K} \**mad* id.) > Lz {Marr} *mo* id. (*mo čarem* 'don't write!', *mu mečam* 'don't give him!', *mo muler* 'don't come!'; {FS, K ← ?} *mot*, prohibitive pc.; Sv L {Shr.} *mā* ~ *mō*, {Dn.} *mā* (pc. of negation), Sv UB {GP} *mād* (pc. of modal negation), *mōd(e)* (pc. of negation) ¶ FS K 2O6-7 and FS E 227 (\**ma*), K 124-5 and K<sup>2</sup> 113 (\**mad*, a verbal prohibitive pc.), Marr 168, Shr. UNS 289-327, Dn. s.v. *mā*, GP 2O9, 221 || A: T \*-*ma-*/\*-*mā-*, negative infix in verbal forms > OT, Az, Bsh, ET -*ma-* / -*mā-*, Tkm, Qrb -*ma-* / -*me-*, Qzq, Xk -*ma-* / -*me-* (with positional allomorphs -*ba-* / -*be-* and -*pa-* / -*pe-*), Tv -*ma-* / -*me-* (with positional allomorphs -*ba-* / -*be-*, etc.), Uz -*ma(-)*, VTt -*m∇-*, Qrg -*ba-* / -

be-/bo-/bö-, Chv -ma-/me-/m- ¶ Rm. supposes that the T negative forms with \*-ma-/\*-mä- go back to a verbal noun with \*-m + negative verb \*e- (cp. U and Tg negative verb \*e-, M \*e-se-, see N \*ƿe 'not') ¶ Lvt. IM 53, Rm. VAS 21O-1, Rm. VAJ 1O1, Pp. L 1266, Pp. MA 87, 169 || M \*bū 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) > MM [LM, IM, MA] bü, WrM būu (Lg. reads it as bü) ~ būü (→ Ord {Ms.} bū), HlM bÿy ({P.} bū), Dg {Pp.} bū, Brt bÿ ({Pp.} bü), Mgl {Leech} bî, bøy, {Rm., Wr.} bi ¶ The denasalization \*m- > \*b- is reg. in M monosyllabic words (without an additional nasal cns.) ¶ Pp. IM 29O, Rm. VAS 198-9, Rm. M 24, Lg. VMI 22, Lg. NVMI 135, MED 141, 153, Chr. 119-2O, Wr. 143, Ms. O 88 || STg \*ume 'do not' (proh.) > WrMc ume, Mc Sb ema, Jrc {Kiy.} ume id. ¶ STM II 272, Z 163, Hr. 96O, Y#3OO5, Kiy. 123 [#472] || Ko {Rm.} neg. mō- 'not, un-', pKo {S} \*mō-t > MKo {S} mōt 'impossible' ({Rm.} Ko mōt 'no'), NKo mōs mōt 'not (possibly), definitely not' ¶ Rm. SKE 15O, S QK #631, Nam 215, 217, MLC 647 ¶ ~ DQA #1234 (pA \*ma [a negative pc.], incl. T, Tg, Ko) || D: Gnd {Grr.} -mā (prohibitive sx.: kē-mā 'don't do!' sg., kē-mā-t 'don't do' pl. ← kī- 'do'; āy i-mā 'don't be ...!' ← {Grr.} āyā, {D} ayā- 'be' (aux. verb), man-mā 'don't be..., don't stay!' ← {Grr.} māyā- 'be, stay') || ? Tm -mal in negative adverbial sx. -amal || NED: Krx mal 'not', mal-nā 'not to be (so)', mal?ā 'not, no', Mlt mala 'not, no', mal- 'be not' ¶ Grr. IV 487, D #4743, Pf. 194 [#184] ◇ AD GD 2 (HS, K, IE), IS II 56-7 (\*mä prohibitive in HS, K, IE, D, A), Gr. I 213-4 ("negative M" in IE, T, ?? Ai). ◇ In IE, K, D (Gondi), Irq, and M the particle functions as prohibitive, in Ar it is negative (of the indicative mood), while in C, Ch, and T it is used in both functions, so that we have no definite ev. to determine which of the two functions was primary, though it seems preferable to suppose that originally it was prohibitive. The length of the vw. in Ar, NaIE, K, M, and D (Gondi) suggests the presence of a lr.; the only lr. that may have been lost in S is \*h, hence we tentatively reconstruct a \*h of the second syll. (suggested also by the Ar reduplicated verb ✓ mh mh). The ev. of most lgs. suggests the vw. \*A (sc. \*a or \*ä) of the first syll., but M points to a front vw. (probably \*ä). The labialized vw. in M \*bū and in the Sv variant mō, mōd(e) point to the infl. of a labial factor (final \*o?), but the IE e-coloured lr. \*H (for the expected labialized \*Hw) still needs explaining.

**1354. \*mi T' > IE: [1a] \*-mi 'I', "primary" verbal ending of 1s subjecti (in the presence tense of the athematic verbs) > OI -mi, Gk -μι, L -m, Gt -m, Lt -mi, OCS -мь -ть, Ht -mi ||| [1b] \*-m 'I',**

"secondary" verbal ending of 1s subjecti (in the past tenses): aorist OI -m, Gk -v, L -m, OCS -ь -ь, Ht -n ||| [2a] \*me(:)-, stem of the obl. cases of the prn. of 1s, e.g. accus. \*mē, \*me(:)-m (with the accus. case ending \*-m): OI mā, mā-m, Gk με, L mē, Gt mi-k, OHG mi-h, Sl \*me ~ \*mę > OP mie, OCS мѧ mę; there is a variant \*?fi-e-me (with an additional element \*?fi-e-): Gk ἐμέ accus., Ht ammu-k accus. 'me', Arm իմ im gen. ('of mine, my') (F below at the end of the entry); Gt -k, OHG -h, and Ht -k are likely to go back to the enclitic (focalizing?) pc. \*-ge ~ \*-gē (> Gk γε in ἐμέ-γε, ? OCS κε že); in Clt this prn. is used as aut. prn. (nom.): OIr mé, Brtt {RE} \*me > OW, MW, W mi, Crn me, my, OBr, MBr, Br me, Br V mi ||| [2b] gen. \*me-ne ~ \*mej-ne 'of me, my' (< N \*mi nu, sc. N \*mi T + N gen. pc. \*nu) > Gt meina, OCS мene mene, Av mana, OI 'mama (< \*mana) gen. 'of me', Gt meins, NGH mein, NE mine, Lt mano 'my, mine' ||| [3] the N postnominal usage of \*mi as a poss. prn. 'my' survives in AnIE: Ht -mi- ppa. 'my' (nom. com. -mis, nom./accus. ntr. -met, voc. -mi, accus. com. -man, gen. -mas, gen. anim. -man, dat./lat. -mi, etc.), HrLw (enclitic poss. prn.) (a)mi- (nom. com. (a)mis, accus. com. (a)min, nom./accus. ntr. amaza, dat./lat. (a)mi, etc.), Lc, Ld ēmi- ||| Brg. KVG 407-13, 589, Bks. 207-11, 222 (on the pc. \*gē), 232-57, LP §§ 337-49, RE 105, Rsk. 66-72, Mer. SGA 316-21, Mer. HHG 18-22, ≈ EI 454 (\*'h<sub>1</sub>e'me / encl. \*h<sub>1</sub>me 'me') ||| u: [1] \*mi nom. T / \*min<sub>1</sub> (obl., which is based on N \*mi nu 'of me' - form of gen., that was generalized for all oblique cases) > Prm: Z/Prmk/Yz me T / obl. (stem of obl. cases) men- ||| Os {Vrt.}: nom. V/Vy mā, Y mā, Ty/Kz ma', Nz ma', Sh mā, Cng/O {KrT} mā T / obl.: V/Vy män- (accus. män-t, dat. män-ä), Y män- (accus. män-t, dat. män-e·m), Kz {Vrt.} män- ~ ma'n- (dat. män-em), Nz män- (accus. män-t, dat. män-e·m), Cng {KrT} män- ~ m(a)n- (accus. män-t, dat. män-e·m ~ mn-e·m), O {KrT} män- (dat. män-em); in pVg the stem is {Ht.} nom. \*ām / obl. \*ām(ā)n- (mt. > \*ānm-) > Vg: T nom. εm / accus. ε'mān ~ ε'nām / lat. ε'mān, P nom. am / accus.-lat. amnɔān, UK nom. ɔm / accus. ɔānəm / lat. ɔmna'n; a similar development may be supposed for Hg: FU \*ä-mi-n<sub>1</sub> (stem for the obl. cases), whence (acc. to MF) pre-Hg \*εmEnE > \*εmnE > \*εnnE > \*enn > OHg en εn ~ ēn ēn > Hg én ||| pY {IN} \*mat T > Y K/T mat, OY Ch {Mat.} мота T ||| In most U lgs. the stem of the obl. cases was generalized for the whole

declension paradigm: F nom. *minä*, gen. *minun*, accus. *minut*, prt. *minua*, Vp nom. *míñä*, gen. *mínun*, Es nom. *mina ~ ma*, gen. *minu ~ mi*, prt. *mind* | pLp {Wk.} nom. \**munna*, \**mun*, ill. \**munn-* + case ending, gen.-accus. \**mun* (> \**mū* in the Northern and Southern dialects, probably a back formation) > (1) nom.: Lp: N {N} *mon ~ mōn*, L {LLO} *månnē*, {Wk.} *mon*, *monno*, Ar/M {Wk.} *mon*, Kld {Kert} *monn ~ munn*, T/Nt/A {Wk.} *munn ~ mun*, (2) gen.-accus.: Lp: Kld {Kert} *mone*, T {Wk.} *munj*, N {N} *mu ~ mu*, L/Ar {Wk.} *mū*, *muwwa*, L {Schl.} *mū*, M/Nt/A/I {Wk.} *mū*, (3) in other cases \**mun* (with or without traces of \**n*), e.g. Lp N ess. *mūnen*, Kld {Kert} ess. *moneñ* | Er/Mk nom. *mon*, gen. *moñ* | Chr H nom. *мынь таń*, gen. *мыньын таńъи*, accus. *мыньым таńът*, Chr L nom. *мый тъу*, gen. *мыйын тъуъи*, gen. *мыйым тъуът* (у < pChr \**ń*), Chr B nom. *miń* | Vt nom. *mon*, gen. *mone*, accus. *miñam* || Sm \**mən̥ T* > (partially from compound forms) Ne T *мань маń*, Ne F {Lh.} *mań*, En {Ter} *moji*, *moj*, Ng {Mik, Ter.} *'mən̥z*, Slq Tz nom./gen. *man* (~ mat from a sandhi variant), Kms {KD} nom. *man* / obl. *mana*, Koyb {Sp.} *монъ 'T*, *мāнь 'my'*, Mt {Hl.} \**mən̥ T* (Mt M {Sp.} *мынь*, {Mll.} *men*, Mt T {Mll.} *men*) || Y: OY O {Mat.} *меня T* ॥ [2] U {Coll.} \*-m ~ \*-mi, verbal ending of 1s subject > F -n (palan 'I burn'), Es -n (mag a-n 'I sleep'), Lp N -m (*buolam* 'I burn' < \**pala-k-mi*), Lp S {Hs.} -m & -b (*b'issem* & *b'isseb* 'I wash'), Er/Mk -n (*vanan* 'I see'), Chr -m (*wiðem* 'I lead'), pVg \*- $\nabla$ m, verbal ending of 1s subject (Vg: Ss {Rmb.} *tē-ꝝ-əm* 'I eat', *tē-s-əm* 'I ate', LK {Vxr.} *wǣrām* 'I do, shall do', *wǣrsəm* 'I did'), pOs \*-m, verbal ending of 1s subject (Os: V *tuləm* [{Trj.} *tuläm*] 'I bring', *tuyəm* [{Trj.} *tuyäm*] 'I brought', Vy *wěləm* 'I take', *wěyəm* 'I took', D *waxtam* 'I ask\call', *waxəm* 'I asked\called', K *pāntam* 'I put\do', *pānəm* 'I placed\did', Sh *mātəm* 'I give', *māsəm* 'I gave'), Hg - $\nabla$ m (in the -ik-conjugation and in the -t-past: *eszem* 'I eat', *ettem* 'I ate', in the conjugation with a definite object: *ismerem Pétert* 'I know Peter'); Sm \*-m<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>, -m: Ne T -mí, -β, Ng -ma, Slq Tz -m (*qoŋam* 'I find', *qōsəm* 'I found'), Kms {Kü.} -m (*nuŋam* 'I stand', *nub⁹am* 'I stood'), Mt {Hl.} \*-( $\nabla$ )m (Mt T {Mll.} *chandijum* 'I sleep'); Es -n and Lp N -m suggest the presence of a final vw., because the FU word-final \*-m is regularly lost in these two lgs. ॥ [3] U {Coll.} \*-mi 'my' > F/Es -ni (< \*-n-mi), FI -mi, FΔ -m (*pojkam* 'my son'), Vp -m ~ -jn (tatam ~ tatajn 'my father'), Lp N -m (*čæccam* 'my uncle

[younger brother of my father]', *äk'kum* 'my grandmother'), Lp S {Hs.} -me / -mme (*viélleme* 'my brother'), Lp Kld -m ({Kert} *püazam* 'my reindeer'), Er -m (*kudom* 'my house'), Chr L-m (*knigam* 'my book'), Chr H -m, -em (*sola-m* 'my village', *täng-em* 'my friend'), Vt accus. -me 'my' (↔ accus. -de/-te 'thy', accus. -ze/-se 'his'), loc./ill. -am 'my' (↔ -ad 'thy', -az 'his'), pOs \*-( $\nabla$ )m 'my' (> Os: V/Ty *qut-ъm*, Kz *χöt-em*, O *χat-am* 'my house', V *qatqam*, Ty *qåtlam*, Kz *χötäm*, O *χatlam* 'my houses', V *köy-äm* 'my stone', *köyläm* 'my stones', *kür-im* 'my axe', D *χot-em* 'my house', *χottam* 'my houses', Sh {Trj.} *mis-em* 'my cow', *mis-ta-m* 'my cows'), Hg -om/-am/-em/-öm 'my' (madar-am 'my bird', etc.), pl. possessi -i-m/-ai-m/-ei-m (madar-ai-m 'my birds'; -i-/ai-/ei- is a marker of pl.); Sm \*-m<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>, {Hl.} \*-m / \*-mə > Ne T -mi ~ -β 'my' (sg. possessi), Ng -mə, Slq Tz -mi id., Kms -m (tura-m 'my house'), Mt M {Hl.} -m (after vowels), -ma/-mä (after css.) §§ Vrt. ∀, UEW 294, Stn. WV ∀, Coll. CG 299-3O2, 3O8-1O, Wkm. FOUL 19, Laan. 181-3, 191-4, Hs. 118-2O, 141-56, Wk. EUL 278-86, It. LC 46-9, 144, Schl. 554, Kert SJ 156-6O, 173, Fkt. EJ-66 181-5, Fkt. MJ-66 2O8, Kov. LV 227, 23O, Kov. GM 244-6, Ber. 37, Lt. KPJ 3O8, Lt. J 61-2, Tepl. UJ 265, Rmb. 115-44, BV 2O8-21, Ht. CO 1O7-4O, Trj. XJ 324-7, MF 154, Jn. 86, Ter. NJ 333-4, Ter. SJ 324, Ter. EJ 447, Ter. NgJ 96-1O2, 161, KHG 288-9, Hl. SelJ 365-9, Hl. M 164-5, 298, Hl. MTKJ 377-8, Hl. M 141, 164, #627, Kü. KJ 383-7, ≈ UEW 294 (\*mꝫ [sc. \*mE] 'I'), IN 234-5, 31O, 329 || A: M nom. \*bi (< N \*mi) / gen. \*minü (< N \*mi nu) 'I' > MM nom. bi / gen. minu ~ mini, WrM nom. bi / gen. minu, HlM nom. би bi / gen. миний minī, Brt nom. би / gen. минии, {Pp.} meñī ~ meñi, Kl nom. би / gen. мини, Mnr H bu 'I' / H mune, {SM} muni 'my', Mnr M bi 'I' / mini 'my', Dx nom. bi 'I' / gen., accus. mini ~ miyi, Dg nom. bī 'I' / gen. minī, Ba nom. be 'I' / gen. mene, Mgl {Wr.} nom. bi 'I' / gen. mini (> -mini ~ -mni ~ -mi 'my', ppa. 1s). In Brt, Kl, Dg, and Mgl the pers. prn. \*bi, when used in a postpredicate position as a marker of 1s, has turned into an ending of 1s (of both verbal and nominal predicates): \*bi 'I' > Brt -b (ерэхэ-б 'I shall come', багша-б 'I am a teacher'), Kl -в -в (йов-на-в 'I go', багш-в 'I am a teacher'), Dg {T} -bī ~ -bē (ičim-bē 'ich fahre, werde fahren'), Mgl -bi (irā-nān-bi 'I come, am coming') § Pp. IM 2O8, MED 1O1, 539, GBJ 139, Snz. GKJ 57, 83-5, T 319, 347, SM 3O, 247, T DnJ 28, 112, T BJ 43, 79, 135, T DgJ 53, 63-8, Rm. M 24, 56-7, Wr. 121-37 || Tg nom. \*bi 'I' / obl. \*min- > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Lm, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn B/KU nom. bi 'I' / obl. min-, Nn Nh nom.

mi 'T' / obl. min-, WrMc nom. bi 'T' / obl. min- ] Tg \*bi in postnominal position meant 'my' and in the NTg and AmTg lgs. became a ppa.: {Bz.} Ewk, Neg -w, -bi 'my', Sln -bi, Ud, Nn -i ~ -bi ] In the NTg and AmTg lgs. (but not in Mc) there is a verbal ending of 1s, reconstructible as \*-bi (Lm bū-ri-w 'I gave' < \*bū-ri-bi), with the tense sx. \*-n-: \*-n-bi > \*-mbi (Sln, Ud wā-mi 'I kill', Neg wā-m id., Nn wā-ja-mbi, Ewk wā-jə-m 'I shall kill') ¶ Ci. 27O-1, Bz. 1O8-1O, 129-41, STM I 79, Krm. 9O, Avr. GNJ I 145, 248-25O || pT nom. \*(E)mi (> \*(E)bi) / obl. \*män(-) (\*bän(-)) > Chv nom. эпě eb\_ь / gen. манăн таңын ~ ман man, dat., accus. мана mana || NaT (with generalization of the stem of the obl. cases) \*män > OT {Cl.} män & bän, Tk bən, Az, LN, ET män, Tkm, Uz, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Shor, SY, Tv men, Tf méñ, VTt, Bsh, Xk, Yk min, Slr men (~ män ~ mē) 'T'; the same stem is in gen. (OT m|bäniŋ) and later in other obl. cases, except dat. > NaT accus. \*mini > OT mini ~ bini; the same stem in OT loc./abl. min-tä ~ mindidä (F Gbn. ATG 91, Rs. MTS 13, 16) ] NaT dat. \*man-a (< \*\*m|ban-ga?) (\*-a- under the ass. infl. of \*-a of the case ending?) > OT baña ~ maña, Tkm, ET maña, as well as Nog, Qmq, Qrg, Xk, Shor maya (restructured on the analogy of the nominal dat. ending -ya) ] NaT \*män 'T' as a postpredicative subject prn. was a separate word in OT (män) and still is in Tv (men), but in most lgs. it has turned into an agglutinated ending of 1s of verbs and predicative nouns (the so called "full" ending), e.g. ET -män, Uz -man, Qmq -men / -man, VTt -mъn / -mъn (today in verbal forms only), Bsh -mъn / -mъn / -mъn / -mъn, Qzq -min / -mín / -bin / -bín / -pin / -pín, Qrg -min (with synharmonic allomorphs), Alt -min / -min / -bin / -bin / -pin / -pin, Xk -min / -min / -bin / -bin / -pin / -pin, Yk -bin / -bin / -pin / -pin || In a similar way Chv eb\_ь has been agglutinated to the verb (prs. and ft.) as a 1s ending -bəp / -əp ] pT \*-(∇)m 'T', old ("short") ending of 1s in verbs > OT -im/-im/-um/-üm (with the t-pret. of verbs), in most T lgs. -im/-im/-m or -im/-im/-um/-üm/-m, ET -m, -∇m, VTt/Bsh -m / -im / -bəm / -bəm / -bəm, Qzq/Qrg/Xk -m, Tv, Yk -(∇)m, Chv -bəm / -bəm (1s ending in -t-/r-pret. and in imv.); in some lgs. this ending \*-(∇)m has spread to the function of 1s marker of nominal predicates (partially through contamination with the reflexes of \*-m|b∇n 'am'), whence Tk -(y)i m / -(y)i m / -(y)um / -(y)üm, Az -(y)am / -(y)äm 'am' (cp. Deny OMTT 199; Kon. GTJ 222 tries to trace Tk -(y)∇m back to Tk bən 'T'), Tkm -in, -m (Bazin T 313) ] pT \*-m / \*-im / \*-im 'my',

postnominal possessive affix > Chv (after vowels) -m / (after cnss.) -ъм / -ьм || NaT (after vowels) \*-m / (after cnss.) \*-im / \*-im / \*-um / \*-üm > Tk, Tkm, Qmq -m / -im / -im / -um / -üm, ET -m / -im / -um / -üm, Uz -m / -im, VTt/Bsh -m / -ъм / -ьм, Qzq -m / -im / -im, Qrg, Alt -m / -im / -im, Xk -m / -im / -im ¶ The ancient vw. \*i (of N \*mi) was preserved in the OT accus. mini ~ bini and in the loc.-abl. mintä; in pT gen. \*män-iŋ (> Chv man(ъ)n, OT mäniŋ) and in NaT nom. \*män the ancient vw. \*-i- was replaced by \*-ä- due to unknown factors (hardly due to the "reduction of the final vowel", as supposed in IS II 65, because this NaT reduction is younger than the pT change i > \*ä) ¶ Cl. 346, Iss. M 2O8-35, Tn. SJ 127-8, Tn. SJJ 76, B SS V, JN II V, Dmt. IAS V, Dmt. GBJ 51-7, 14O-57, Gbn. ATG 9O-9, 112-3, Rs. MTS 9-26, Lvt. IF 14, 29-3O, 57-8, ChVS 314-7, Kon. GTJ 222-51, 387-8 ¶ Ktw. PLA 4-6, Rm. EAS II 79 || OJ {Mill.} mi 'T' ¶ Mill. JAL 158 ¶ Altaic nom. \*bi 'T' < N \*mi with the reg. change \*b- < \*m- in monosyllabic CV-words (cp. N \*mu<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub> 'this, that' > \*\*mū > A \*bū, N \*mä prohibitive > A \*bE- > M \*bū id.) (IS II 56-7, 65, 7O-1) ¶ DQA #126 (A \*bi/\*mi-ne 'T') || K: [1] K c. rect. \*°mi / \*me (< \*mi / \*mje < N \*mi) / obl. \*men- (< N \*mi nu) 'T' > Mg ma / obl. \*man-, Lz ma, Lz Ch man, OG men ~ me, G me, G P/Mt/Ing/ArX men(a) 'T', Sv mi 'T', mi-šgwi ~ mi-šgu 'me'. The ancient distribution of the allomorphs \*me and men- survives in Mg, while in OG and Lz Ch the form \*men has spread to the c. rect. ¶ [2] K \*m- 'me, to me', verbal px. of 1s obiecti > OG, G, Sv m-, Mg, Lz m- / p- / p-/ b- (allomorps conditioned by the following phoneme) ¶ [3] K \*č(w)e-m- 'my' (< N \*č'ü' 'that of..., that which' + N \*mi 'my') > OG čem- (deday čemi 'my mother') ~ čeym-, G čem-, Mg čkim-, Lz čkim- ~ škim- 'my', Sv: LB/L mi-šgwi, UB mi-šgu ~ mi-šgwi, Ln miškwi 'me' ¶ K 123, 132 (\*me(n)- 'T'), K<sup>2</sup> 119, 255, FS K 2O3-4, 212-3, FS E 223-4, 233-4, Dt. 28, Gm. SSh 44, GImn. AXK 324, Fn. GAS 8O-1, TK 57O-1, Top. SJ 83, GP US 45 || HS: C: N \*mi survives in HEC as a sx. of 1s subiecti: Kmb {Mrn.} yom-mi 'am' (↔ 2s yon-ti ↔ 3s yɔ?i ↔ 1p yom-mi ↔ 2p yon-ta); this verbum substantivum (with \*-m<sub>2</sub> as an ending of 1s) functioned as an aux. verb within an analytical construction underlying HEC tenses of indicative (prs. and p.): HEC 1s \*it<sub>1</sub> y<sub>2</sub>n-m<sub>2</sub> 'I eat' > Alb itam, Sd {Mrn.} itemmo, itam, Kmb, Hd itommo (↔ 2m \*it<sub>1</sub>y<sub>2</sub>n-t<sub>2</sub> 'edis' > Alb itanti, Sd itatto, Kmb ittant, Hd itotto), HEC \*it<sub>1</sub>y<sub>2</sub>n-m<sub>2</sub> 'I ate' > Sd itommo, Kmb iččem(i), Hd itammo ¶ AD PLOG V, Mrn. ApCA 269-79, Mrn. S, L K V, C SE II 228-9, 237-8, Coh. VS V, Sim DHEC 434-5 || ?

Ch: SBc: Tala L/Sh/Z *mi* 'I', Zar K/GL/L *mia-*, Gj Mg *ami*, Gj G *àmì*, Gj B *amì*, Sy Zk/B/Z *ami-* 'I' || Sh. SB 41 §§ AD PP 73, ≠ Ap. ANH 1O ||| On N \**mi* ?*a* 'we' (\**mi* 'I' + \*?*a* of plurality) *see below* N \**mi* ?*a*. On Ch {Kr.} \**mu-n* ({Blz.} \**muni*) 'we, us, our' incl. (probably < N \**o*<sup>o</sup>*mi* *n̄ā*), *see* N \**n̄ā*, prn. of collectivity and plurality. On N \**mi* t̄ū 'we' incl. (N \**mi* 'I' + N \*t̄ū 'thou') *see below* s.v. N \**mi* t̄ū ◇ In IE, FU, and Chv there is a variant form N \*HE-*mi* (> Gk ἐμέ, Ht əmmu-k 'me', Arm իմ 'my', pVg \*ām [obl. \*ām(ā)n], Hg én 'I', Chv әпә eb\_ь 'I'). IS II 64 identifies the N additional element \*HE with the N deictic pc. \*h̄e (his \*?e) (indicating the nearest object), which is not obvious and poses a phonetic problem: Vg \*ā- suggests U \*ä, which is not the reg. reflex of N \*e ◇ IS II 63-6 [#299] (\**mi* 'I'), 52-6 [#290] (\**mä* 'we'), AD PP √, Gr. I 61-7 ("first-person M" in IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA).

**1354a.** \**mi* ?*a* 'we' (N \**mi* 'I' + N \*?*a* of plurality) > IE: [1] \*-me, verbal ending of 1p subject; OI, Av, and Clt have preserved the ancient distinction between the "primary" ending \*-mes ~ \*-mos (\*-s is originally a marker of pl.) and the "secondary" ending \*-me (specialized for different verbal tempora): "primary" in OI -mas(i), in Av -mahi, and in the Ir absolute -mi (\*-mesi), "secondary" in OI -ma, Av ma, Ir conjunct -m; in other lgs. the functional distinction is lost, but the form \*-mes is still preserved in Gk D -μες, L -mus, OHG -mēs; in other descendant lgs.: Gk A, I, Ae -μεν, Al -mi, -mē, Gt, ON, OHG -m, Lt -me, Sl \*-mъ (> OCS -Мъ -мъ, R, Blg -м, Cz, OP -m) ~ \*-m† (on the analogy of \*m† 'we' or [according to Meillet] being originally a positional variant of \*-mъ before \*j- of the next word) and \*-me ~ \*-mo (possibly from the "primary" \*-mes ~ \*-mos) (> Cz -me, SCr, Slv, Slk -mo, Uk -мо, e.g. Cz jsemē, SCr jesmo, Uk есъмо jeśmo 'we are') ||| [2] NaIE Δ \*me-<sup>†</sup>s<sup>†</sup> 'we', pers. prn. of 1p > Arm մեր mek<sup>h</sup> 'we' (if Arm -k<sup>h</sup> is connected with IE \*s-) || Blt \*me-s 'we' > Pru mes, Ltv Δ mes, with secondary lengthening (due to the infl. of Lt/Ltv jūs 'ye'): Ltv mēs (gen. mūs, dat. mūms, accus. mūs), Lt mes (gen. mūs, dat. mūms, accus. mūs) | Sl \*m† 'we' (with \*-† induced by \*v† 'ye') > OCS мы м†, Blg, Uk ми, R мы, SCr, Slv м†, Cz, Slk, P my §§ In Early proto-Indo-European the prn. \*me-s 'we' probably lost its status of a separate word (displaced by synonyms), but survived as a verbal ending; later it was probably reintroduced as a separate word (on the analogy of the verbal ending) in Arm and BSl §§ BD II/3 616-23, Br. KVG 591, the table to the p. 596, ≠ 408, Szem EVS-7O 216-7, Frn. 441-2, En. LG 377-

8, En. CPh § 305, En. APG 133, Me. EAC § 59, Me. SC §§ 339-41, 516, Glh. 407-8, Bks. 208-9 || K: GZ \*m- 'us' > OG m- id. (še-m-i-çgalen čuen 'have pity on us!'), Mg, Lz m- (with positional allomorphs: p-, þ-, b-) (Mg čki m-iγuna 'nobis est') ¶ K 123, Q 080 || U: [1] \*\*m'iä' 'we' > \*me ~ \*mä ~ \*miyΔ ({It.} \*me ~ mi) > Lp: Rr miye, N {N} mī, L mij, S {Hs.} mijjiēh (gen. mijjēn), Kld mij 'we' pl. | Er, Mk мињ mij | pChr {Ber.}

\*m

e

**Error!**, B/M me, H mä mä (gen. mämnan tämnan, accus. mämnam mämnam) | Prm \*mi 'we' / gen. \*miyan > Z mi mi (gen. miyan), Z Δ miyз ~ miž, Prmk miyз ~ mi (gen. miyan), Yz 'meyaz (gen. mi'yan), Vt mi mi (processive case miya, gen. miłam); Vt -m̄t, Z, Prmk -n̄t-m, Yz -ni-m 'our' ('noster, nostra, nostrum, nostri, nostraræ') (-n̄t-, -ni- is the marker of pl. possessoris for all persons) || ? Sm \*me- (and \*me- + sx.) 'we' > Ng {Mik.} m̄η, Slq Tz mē, Kms {KD} mi? ~ mē, {Kü.} mi?, Koyb {Sp.} me; but Ne T mańa? 'we' (pl.), En B {Ter.} 'modina?', and Mt {Hl.} \*mendä (Mt M {Sp.} мэндэ, {Pl.} мэндя) id. are derivatives from the prn. of 1s (Ne mań, En modí, Mt {Hl.} \*mžn) ¶ Lp Rr miye, Lp Kld mij, Prmk/Z Δ miyз, and Prm gen. \*miyan (and possibly Es meie) are likely to go back to the bisyllabic (and conservative) variant \*miyΔ (< \*m'iA' < N \*mi ɿa) ¶ -n̄, -ní, -η in different lgs. are accounted for by generalization of the stem of obl. cases (with the N \*nu, pc. of gen.) ¶ The element -N in Mr mij goes back to the N genitive pc. \*nu (it represents the stem of obl. cases < N \*mi ɿa nu, best preserved in Prm gen. \*miyan); in some lgs. the stem of the obl. cases was generalized throughout the case paradigm of the prn. || [2] ??? Sm ({Hl.} \*-mat/\*-met 'our' (pl. possessoris) (× N \*mi t'ü' 'we' incl. [N \*mi T + N \*t'ü' 'thou'], unless it goes back exclusively to N \*mi t'ü', q.v. ffd.) || [3] The same U prn. \*\*m'iä' 'we' (pl.) (sometimes together with additional affixes) is used as a personal sfx. of verbs (1p of the subject) > Mk (sbcj.) -ma -ma, -me -mé | Prm: Z -m, Prmk -m, -mž, Yz -mʌ, -m, Vt -m̄t id. ||| Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} -m̄t/h (1p ending), Ng {Ter.} -mu?/-mū?/-m̄? / -mi? (1p ending, sbcj. and s/obcj. with sg. obiecti), Ne T {Ter.} -wa- id. (prs. -wa-?, p. -wa-ć), En {Ter.} -ba- / -a- id. (prs. -a-? / ba-?, p. -ba-ć), Kms {Kü.} -be? ¶ The Chr nominal possessive ending -na (Chr L -na, Chr H -na/-nä) 'our' and the verbal ending -na 'we' may either go back

to \*-mn $\nabla$  (also + sx.?) or be connected with N \*ñ $\nabla$  'we' excl. (q.v.) || UEW 294-5, ~ IS II 54-5, Hs. 118, Ber. 36-7, Kov. LV 227, 230-3, Kov. GM 244-9, LG 171-2, Lt. J 61, Lt. KZJ 287-92, Lt. KPJ 305-9, Tepl. UJ 265-72, Jn. 91-2, KHG 184-7, 258-64, 288-93, Ter. GNJ 342-57, 364-5, 371-9, Ter. NJ 381, 386-8, Ter. EJ 444-51, Ter. NgJ 96-7, 161, 185, Ter. NgJz 423-31, Hl. M 144, 303 [#655], Kü. KJ 383-6 || A nom. \*büa / gen. \*m'üa<sup>1</sup>nu (or \*bia / \*m'ia<sup>1</sup>nu) 'we' pl. excl. > Tg nom. \*bue ({Bz.} \*büä) / obl. \*mun- id. > Ul bū ~ bu<sup>3</sup> / obl. mun-, Nn Nh bu<sup>3</sup> / obl. bun-, Nn B bū, Nn KU mū / obl. mun-, Orc, Ud, Sln bu / obl. mun-, Ewk, Lm bu / obl. mun- || STM I 98, Bz. 108, Krm. 91 || M \*ba / gen. \*manu / dat. \*man-a 'we' excl. > MM nom. ba / gen. manu / dat. mana, WrM nom. ba / gen. manu / dat. mana id., Dg bā / gen. māñī id., Mgl -ū 'we' (sx.), māñi 'of us, our', HlM манай {Pp.} manāē 'of us' excl., Ord {Pp.} mani, Brt {Pp.} manā, Kl {Pp.} manā, mañ id. || Pp. IM 215-8, 220 || pJ {S} \*bā-'I, we' > OJ wa-, a-, J: Ht bānū, K wāte, Kg ói, Ns/Sh wāñ, cd.: ltOJ [RJ] wátákúsí, JT wātaśi id. → OJ wa(re) 'we', K wātére, Ht bāimā, Y bántá id. || S AJ 266 [#38], S QJ #38, Syr. DJ 90-1, Mr. 569, Mchz. ∀ (J watakusi < \*wa-tu-(a)ku si 'my place direction') || But pKo \*úri 'we' is likely to go back to a combination of N \*mi with the N plural marker \*r $\nabla$  yE (see s.v. ffd.) || ≈ S AJ 57, 276 [#36] (pA \*bä 'T), DQA #126 (A \*ba/\*mju-n- 'we') || HS: ? C: HEC \*-m $\nabla$ , verbal ending of 1p > Sd -mo, Hd -mo, -miya, Hd Lb -mina, Kmb, Alb -mi || The ending may go back either to N \*mi ?a or (acc. to Blz.) to the HS \*(?an)muni 'we' with \*-muni as a compound form parallel to the 2p \*(?an)tun $\nabla$  'ye' || Blz. PPCh1 1-4 || IS II 53 tried to adduce here the Ch pers. prn. of 1p incl. \*mun (reconstructed by IS as \*m(n)). But in the light of Chadic comparative ev. and the existence of the Ch prn. \*kun 'ye' it is more likely that Ch \*mun is a pCh (or pHS) innovation based on \*m (1 person) + \*-un (pl. ending). The pCh system may be reconstructed as follows:

	sing.	pl.
1 pers.	?	*mun $\nabla$
2 pers.	*ku (2m)	*kun $\nabla$

This suggests a prn. of 1s \*m $\nabla$  (< N \*mi [q.v.]) and the composite origin of Ch \*mun $\nabla$  'we' incl. || Blz. PPCh, Kr. RChP, Brq. PS, AD EPCChL || D \*ma-~\*mā- 'we' excl.: > Tl mā- ~ man- obl. 'we' excl., manamu / obl. mana- 'we' incl.; Gnd mā- obl. 'we' excl., Knd māñ / obl.

**mā-** 'we' (no opposition incl. ↔ excl.), Kui, Ku **ma-** obl. 'we' ¶ An. DJ (table 1O after p. 6O), D #3647 and 5154 ◇ Cf. N \***pa**, pc. of plurality ◇ ≈ IS II 52-6 (\*mä, 1p incl.) ◇ Unlike IS, I do not believe that this prn. (N \***mi pa**) was originally specialized as either incl. or excl. In M and Tg it was opposed to the inclusive M \*bidanu and Tg \*miti ~ \*minti (both from N \***mi t'ü'** 'I + thou' and \***mi nu t'ü'** 'I + genitive pc. + 'thou') (Pp. IM 22O, MED 1O2, Bz. 1O7, STM I 539) and therefore acquired the meaning of an exclusive 'we'.

**1354b. \*mi t'ü'** 'we' incl. (N \***mi** 'I' + N \***t'ü'** 'thou') is found in M, Tg, Gil, and probably in Y: **A:** M \*bida (~ \*bide?) 'we' incl. > MM bida, WrM **bide** ~ **bida**, Ord **bida**, Dg {Pp.} **báda** id.; in most modern lgs. the opposition excl. ↔ incl. has been lost, so that the extant forms mean 'we' without this opposition: HlM **бид**, {Pp.} **bid:ə**, **b'addə**, Brt **бидэ**, {Pp.} **be'de**, Kl **bida** and **бидн** (< gen. \***bida-nu**), Mgr {Pp.} **buda**; gen.: \***bida-nu** > MM bidanu, WrM **bidan**, Dg **bádani** 'our' incl., HlM {Pp.} **bidnī** ~ **biddānī** 'our' ¶ The final \*-a is on the analogy of M \***ba** 'we' excl. (< N \***mi pa**) ¶ Pp. IM 215-7, Pp. MA 118, MED 1O, KRS 97, SM G 36-8 || Tg \***m̥biti** (gen. \***minti**) 'we' incl. > Ewk **mit(i)**, Sln **m̥iti**, Lm **mut**, Neg **bitta** ~ **bit**, Orc **biti**, Ud **minti**, WrMc **muse** (-s- on the analogy of **s i** 'thou' or a trace of the ancient N [regional?] var. \***mi s'ü'** 'we' incl.?) ¶ \*-n- in \***minti** is from N \***nu** genitive, but the detailed history of the form is not yet clear ¶ Ci. 27O-1, Bz. 1057 (Tg \***münti** 'we' incl.), STM I 539 || **Gil:** Gil A **mer** ~ **mir** 'we' incl., Gil ES **mirn** ~ **merñ** id. (r and R are reg. reflexes of \*t and \*t̥) ¶ Pnf. I 231-4O || ? **U:** ? pY {IN} \***mit** 'we' > YK/T **mit**, **mit-** (before a noun), **mit-íe** 'our'; OY XVII {Wts.} **mitsjé**, **mitin** ¶ Krn. JJ 72-8O, Krn. JJ-T 44O-1, Krn. JJ-K 354, Ku. 144, IN 235, 31O || Sm ({Hl.}) \*-mat/\*-met 'our' [pl. possessoris]: Ng {Ter.} rect.-gen. -**mit?** / accus. -**nit?** (pl./du. possessi nom. -**nü?** 'nostri' / gen. -**nū?**), Ne T rect./accus. -**wa”** -**wā?** / gen. -**na”** -**na?** 'noster' (pl. possessoris), En B {Ter.} rect./accus. -**ba?** ~ -**a?** / gen. -**na?** id. (du. and pl. possessori: rect.-gen. -**na?** 'nostri'), Slq Tz {KHG} (-**mit<sub>2</sub>**) = -**mitn/t** 'our', Kms {Kü.} -**wa?** / -**ba?** 'our' (pl. possessoris), Mt {Hl.} \*-**ma<sub>1</sub>?** / \*-**mä<sub>1</sub>?**; benefactive forms of 1p of nouns: Ng -**mu?** (**taðə-mu?** **tu?o** 'the reindeer came for us', lit. 'cervus-nobis venit'; **satarata-mu?** **koða?amu?** 'we obtained [preyed on] a polar fox for ourselves', lit. 'vulpem-nobis praedati sumus') ¶ This Sm morpheme belongs here if

Hl.'s rec. of Sm \*-t is justified. Otherwise it belongs to N \*mi ?a 'we' ¶  
For references see above s. v. N \*mi ?a.

**1355.** \*mi 'what?' > HS: S \*mī 'what?' > Ak mī-n(u/a/i-m) || Gz  
mī 'what?' ] CS \*mah 'what?' > Ug mh ~ m, Hb -ם ma +gmc. ~ מā  
'what', Pun m? [= mu] (< \*mā) 'what' (attested as rel. prn.), [Poen.] MU,  
DA, IA, Plm, Nbt mh, Htr m?, JA מה mā (< \*mah), Sr מָה mā, Md ma,  
Ar mah ~ mā 'what?' ¶ CS \*mah goes back to N \*mi ?a'h'a 'what thing?'  
(= N \*mi + N ?σ \*?a'h'a 'thing(s)') ] The pronouns for 'who?' go back  
to cds.: S \*miy▽ 'who?' (either from N \*mi yi = N \*mi 'what?' + N \*yi  
'he' or from N \*mi ya = N \*mi 'what?' + N \*ya 'which' [as a rel. prn.?])  
> Hb מִי mī, Ug my ({Dk.}: = [mi:yā]?, {Siv.}: = [mīyu/a/i]), OAk mīn,  
Ak mīn-um (declined as an adj.); S \*manₙ- (< N \*•mī manū̄ lit. 'what  
man?', F. N \*mañū̄ 'man') > Ak mann-u(m), Amr {Dk.} manna, BA  
ମନ୍ଦ man, Sr ମନ୍ଦ man, Ar مَنْ man, Gz nom. mannū / accus. manna,  
Mh/Hrs {Jo.} mōn, Jb E/C {Jo.} mun, Sq {Jo.} mon 'who?' (cp. It cosa  
'what?' < \*ke 'kosa 'what thing?'); this etymological explanation is more  
plausible than to suppose a semantic change 'man' → 'who?'; see also  
Ug m n 'what? which?' (adjectival function), rel. 'that, which' ¶ KB 522-  
3, 1732-4, HJ 599-600, OLS 266, 281, 310, Siv. U 42-3, Br. 372, Br. SG  
50, Sd. G 48 [§ 47], Dk. AkJ 91, Dk. XAU 115, Jo. M 267 || Eg fOK m  
'what?', m 'who?' ¶ EG II 4, Lpr. 70, Ed. 90 || B \*maH ({Pr.} \*mā) 'what?'  
(< N \*mi ?a'h'a 'what thing?', cp. above CS \*mah 'what?') > Ah {Fc.}, Ty  
{GhA}, Gh, Wrg {Dlh.} ma, Tz {Stm.}, Tmz {MT} ma (in cds. like ma +  
prep. + mi); ≈ \*ma+tta ({MT}: lit. 'what he?'): Tz mat, Zkr matta, Kb  
{Hann.}, Shw {Hy.} mata, Mz {Dlh.} matta, Jrb, Snd mata 'who?', Tmz  
{MT} matta 'which?', 'who?'; B {Pr.} \*mī 'who?' > Ah, Ty, Gh mi 'who?'  
(cp. S \*miy▽ id. < N \*mi ya), Tz mīt id.; Mz {Dlh.} man-t 'lequel?',  
man-ay-u ~ man-ay-ən 'who?', Ah manəkk 'lequel est?' (cp. S \*manₙ-  
'who?' < \*mi mān▽ [lit. 'what man?'], as well as Tmz man, mani, Shw  
mən, Jrb, Snd man 'who?' [unless ↔ Ar man]) ¶ Pr. M I-III 216-21  
(analysis of the interr. pronouns at the pB and Tw level), Fc. 1140-3,  
Dlh. M 113, Dlh. Ou 181, MT 394-5 || C: EC: Brj 'miya 'what?' (cp. S  
\*miya 'who?' < N \*mi ya or, as suggested by Ss., \*ma? + \*yā 'it is'), EC  
{Ss.} \*ma? 'what?' > Kmb, Alb, Sd ma, Ged mā < ma?a (cp. CS \*mah  
'what?' < N \*mi ?a'h'a 'what thing?'); EC {Ss.} \*maḥa 'what?' (< {Ss.}  
\*ma? waḥa 'what thing?') > Af maḥa, Sml maḥā, Arr méh (/ sentence-

final *me*), Rn {PG} *máhà* ~ *méhè*, Bn *mahā*, Bs *me* (-e < \*-aḥ), Hd *maha*, Dsn {To.} *mête* 'what?'; Dsn {To.} *mâyya* 'who?' (< \*mi *?ayy-a*, with N \**?äy*  $\nabla$  'which?', 'what?', q.v. ffd.) ||| Dhl *máka* 'what?' (cd. with -k  $\nabla$ , cf. *íko* 'who?') ||| SC: Irq {Mous} *m-*, a px. that turns a statement into a question asking 'what?' (*lārī m-a ūay-ān* 'what are we eating to-day?', *m-i kahi* 'what does he say?', *ma-t(a) kahi* 'what do they say?'), Alg *mi* 'what?' ¶ Ss. B 146, PG 217, 222-3, Hw. A 232-3, HL 126, Mous 150-1, E SC 158, To. DL 517, To. D 40 || Ch \**mi* 'what?' > WCh: Hs *mè* id. | Dr *mí*, Krkr *mìya*, Ngm *mìyà* id. | Fy {J} *mi*, Bks {J} \**?á-mí*, Klr {J} \**?amû*, ? Sha *mà*, *má* id. || CCh: Tr sb.: G'nd, Gbn, Boka *mí* | Mrg, Klb *mì*, Bu *mì...ri* id.; cd.: Bu {Hf.} *mán* 'what?' | Gzg, Mtk {ChC}, MfG {Brr.} *me*, Mofu {Ro.} *méy*, Mf {BLB} *mé*, Mada/Mkt {Ro.} *má*, Myn {Ro.} *mám*, Hzr *ámà*, Mlk {Ro.} *máy*, Glv {Rp.} *mə-r* id. | Mdr *me* id. | BB: Gude *mí* id. | ? Msg *má* id. | McMs: Lame *mi* id. ||| ECh: Mb {J} *mî*; Mjl {DB} *mî*, Jg {J} *mê* 'what?' | LI *mè* id. | ? McDng.: Bdy *má*, EDng *mà*, Mkl {J} *mô* 'what?' | Mgm *mê~mè* 'what?' | Ke {Eb.} *ma* (.....*mó*) 'what?' (where *mó* is a general marker of question, which is used in all interr. sentences), *míntí* (.....*mó*) 'who?' ¶ ChC, ChL, J R 259, J J 115, Eb. 78, Lk. G 42, Hf. M 93, Hf. B 168, 182, RK 92, 163, Ro. 358-9 (pMM \**ma*), BLB 219, Brr. MG II 419, J LM 141, Fd. 108, AlJ 96, JA LM 161, Blz. EChWL #96 ||| u \**mi* 'what?' > F *mi-kä* (gen. *mi-n-kä*, prt. *mi-tä*, ill. *mi-hin*, iness. *mi-ssä*) 'what?', 'which?', Krl K *mi* (gen. *mi-n*, prt. *mi-dä*), Vp *mi* (gen. *mi-ń*, prt. *mi-dä*), Es *mi-s* (with additional *-s*, as in *ke-s* 'who?') (prt. *mi-da*), Δ *mi* ↗ *me*, Es SW *meä* 'what?', Lv *mi-s*: (prt. *mi-da*) (cp. *ki-s*: 'who?') | Lp: N {N} *mī* / obl. *mâ-* 'what?', 'which?', 'what kind?', L *mij* id., S {Hs.} *mij*, Kld *mī*, {Kert} *mí* (obl. *mε-*, e.g. gen. *menn*) 'what?' | Er *мезе* 'me-že', Δ *мeye*, *мейсэ* *мey-se* 'with what?', 'in what?', *мень* *мeň* 'which?', 'what kind?', Mk *мезе* 'mežä' 'what?' | Chr: L *mo* *mo* 'what?', Uf/B *mo*, H *má* id. | Prm: Vt *ma* *ma* 'what?', Z *мый* *mī*, Δ *mzy* ↗ *muy* ↗ *muya*, Yz *mʌy* id. ||| ObU {§Hl.} \**mě-* (a reg. reflex of FU \**mi*) 'what?' (or 'which?') > pOs {Ht.} \**mě-* > Os: V/Vy *mōsi*, Ty *měšwə*, Y *měwə*, D *měy*, Nz/Kz *mūy* 'what?', V/Vy *měttä*, Ty/Y *měttä*, D/K *mětä*, Nz/Kz *mäta*, O *mäti* 'which?'; pVg {Ht.} \**mä-nä* 'which?' > Vg: P/NMV/SV/LL *män*, UL *man*, Ss *mana* id. | OHg, Hg *mi* 'what?' ¶ Chr *mo* ~ *má*, Vt *má*, and Z *mī* ↗ *mzy* ↗ *muy* are likely to go back to N cds. (possibly \**mi ?a'h'a* 'what thing?', cp. CS \**mah* and B \**maH* 'what?') ||| Sm {Jn.} \**mz-* 'what?' > Ng {Ter.} *má*, {Cs.} *mâ* id., En {Cs.} *mī?* (gen.

mi̥lo) id., Kms {KD} mo, mō? 'weshalb?', Koyb {Sp.} мола 'what for?', Slq Tz {KKIH} m̥t 'something'; also possibly Ne T {Ter.} мы, T O {Lh.} m̥t 'something to eat', Ne F {Lh.} m̥t id., 'merchandise', Ne T d. мыим' 'a useful thing' || Coll. 34-5, UEW 296 (\*m̥v 'what, thing'), Laan. 2OO-2, N 654, Hs. 127-8, SaR 188-9, Kert SJ 174, ERV 371-7, LG 181, MF 445-6, EWU 975, Ht. #375, ~ Jn. 91 (+ unc. \*m̥z- 'give, be'), KKIH 134 || | \*m̥i' 'what?' > T \*°min > Chv мěн тъп 'what?', d.: миçе miže, Δ {Rm. ← Ash.} миñçе minše 'how much, how many?' ({Rm.}: < \*mičä), мěнле mənle 'what kind, which?', мě(н)скер mə(n)sker 'what?' | Chv ма ma 'why?', 'what for?', 'what (do you want to say)?' (in a dialog: Иван! - Ma? 'Ivan! - What?') | Ash. VIII 151, 249, 334-48, Lvt. IM 35, Jeg. 133-4 | Chv ма may be akin to Chr mo ~ ма, Vt ма, CS \*mah, and B \*maH 'what?' (< N \*mi Ra'h'a '↑') | S AJ 255 [#99] || pKo {S} \*mi 'what?' > MKo mi id., in modern Ko cds.: PhN miɔt, Ph muə,t, Chs muó,t, Ks müə,t, Hm mw̥t, Chj mɔinga, Si ūuɔt, Kw m̥j 'what?'; NKo m̥ja,t 'how many?' ({Rm.}: < \*mi-čä) | S QK #99, Nam 225, MLC 663 || ??σ pJ {S} \*m̥s-si ({S} "interrogative-dubitative pc.") > J mośi 'if' || The A suffix \*-çä in Ko m̥ja,t and Chv миçе miže & minž\_e 'how many\much?' (Jeg. 134) is identical with NaT \*ka-ç 'how many?' || The comparison with pJ {S} \*m̥s-si is legitimate because the latter means 'if (provided that)' (possibly from 'when') || ~ Rm. EAS II 79 [§ 43] (pA \*mi 'what?'), ~ Rm. SKE 147, ~ S AJ 297 [#581] (A \*m̥v [interr. stem]), DQA #1379 (A \*m̥v id.), Hmb. 75 | | D: SD: Brgd m̥i 'what?', Kkd midā id. | Grr. IV 334, 343 | | K: [1] \*may 'what?' (< \*mi Ray- < N \*mi 'what?' + N \*Rayv 'which?', 'what?' [q.v.]) > Mg, Lz mu-, Sv: UB/LB möy & mä, L may, Ln ma 'what?'; ? in the OG and G cd. rome-l- 'which' || K 124, K<sup>2</sup> 112 || [2] K (att. in Zan) \*°min 'who?' > Mg, Lz mi / (before a vw.) min | Q O47, Marr 28, ~ K 135, ~ FS K 124 and FS E 135, Mrtr. N 183, TK 554-5, GP 211, Dn. s.v. may | | IE {EI} \*mo-/\*me-, {Ped., IS} \*mo- '≈ what?' (< pre-IE \*\*mje/o- < N \*mi?) > NaIE: Clt: MBr ma 'which' (rel. prn.: ar guchenn arc'hant m'oant denet da glask 'la somme d'argent qu'ils étaient venus chercher', bon tat ... ma emaouch en Én 'pater noster qui es in coelo'), 'that' (cnjc.), (possibly also the obscure OBr ma in tre ma > Br dre ma 'par ce que'; Br Vn tre me viw 'tant qu'elle vit'), Br ma 'where?', ma 'that' (cnjc.), OIr mə, má 'if', Br mar, {Vn.} ma 'if', Crn mar 'if' | ? Tc: A mänt, B mäkte 'how?', A mäksu 'who?' | Ht masi- 'how many?' ({Ped.}: < gen. \*mo-syo-),

mahhan 'how?', cnjc. 'when, as', mān 'how?', cnjc. 'when, if, as', Lw {Mlc.} mān 'if, when(ever)', {Lar.} man 'if', ? Lc {Mlc.} mē 'if' (condition), {Carr.} me i id. JJ Acc. to AD, not here Tc A mänt and Tc B mäkte 'how?' and Tc A mäksu 'who?' (the element ma- ~ me-being akin to the Gk pc. μέν and not to an interr. stem) JJ Flr. 248, 319-2O, Ern. 382-3, 711, ≈ Vn. M 1, Hm. 537, 547, KT I 168, Wn. 286-9, Ped. H 38, Ivn. OPA 193, Ts. E II 86-9, 116-7, 158-9, CHD L-N 1OO-11, 143-61, 2O5, Lar. 67, Mlc. CL 135, Mlc. L 43, Carr. SP 76, Ad. 186-8, 439-40, 451 (denies connections of the Tc words with an interr. stem), EI 457 (\*me/o, interr.\rel. prn.) ◇ Hardly here (↔ Rm. EAS II 79, DQA #1379, IS) the T interr. verbal sx. \*-mi- (a typologically improbable semantic change 'what?' → general interr. indicator 'does [he] ...?'). The same is true of the Sml interr. indicator ma ◇ IS II 66-8 (\*mi 'what?' in HS, K, IE, U, A, and D), Schrd. DU 1O7 (D, U), Gr. I 229-31 ("interrogative M" in IE, U, A, ChK, Ai, qu. EA).

**1356.** Ll. ? \*ma<sup>?</sup>?a(-y $\nabla$ ) 'mother' > IE: NaIE \*mā-, \*mā-yā 'mother' > OI  $\wedge$  {MW} mā id. || Gk μῆ 'mother!' (μῆ γῆ 'mother Earth' [Aischylos]), 'nurse', Gk I/A μῆτη 'mother, nurse' || MLG mōje 'mother's sister', OHG holz-mōwa ~ holz-mūwa 'female wood-goblin, wood-witch' ( $\leftarrow$  \* "wood-mother") (holz 'wood');  $\rightarrow$  OHG muoma 'mother's sister', NHG Muhme, Yid מומַה 'mume 'aunt' || d. NaIE \*mā-'ter 'mother' > OI mā'tar- (nom. 'mātā), Av mātar-, KhS māta-, NPrs مادر mādär id. || Arm մայր mayr (gen. մօր mōr < \*mawr < \*mātr-os) id. || Gk A μῆτηρ, Gk D μάτηρ id. || L māter (gen. 'mātr-is), Osc gen. maatreis, Um gen. MATRER id. || Gl {Billy} MATIR, OIr máthir id., W modrydaf 'beehive' (with bydaf 'nest of wild bees') || Lt móte (gen. moter̄s) 'wife, mother', Ltv māte, Pru mūti, mothe 'mother' | Sl \*māti (gen. \*māter-e) id. > OCS МАТΗ mati (gen. МАТЕРЕ matere), Blg 'мати, SCr māti (gen. mātere), Slv māti (gen. mātere), Cz māti (gen. mateře), Slk mat' ~ mati (gen. matere), OP, P † mać, R матъ (gen. 'матери'), Uk 'мати (gen. 'матери) id. || Gmc \*mō'þer > ON móðir, OHG muoter, NHG Mutter, OSx mōdar, AS mōdor id., NE mother || pTc {Ad.} \*mācer > Tc: A mācar, B mācer id. || pAl {O} \*māter > Al moter 'sister' ( $\leftarrow$  \*'elder sister', because elder sisters assumed the role of child-rearing in the household {My.} or because in the framework of certain kinship systems of ancient Albanians the word for 'mother' was extended to [elder] sisters and female cousins {Huld}) JJ WP II 221-2, 229-3O, P 694,

700-1, EI 385-6 (\*'meh<sub>A</sub>ter), M K II 619-20, M E II 345-6, Horn 213, MW 771, Bai. 328, F II 154, 159, 232, WH II 49-50, Bc. G 317, 338, Me. EAC 81-2, Billy 104, Vn. M 25, Vr. 391, Ho. 224, Ho. S 53, Kb. 477, 704, OsS 415, 629, KM 497, Tr. 168, 170f., Frn. 465-6, En. 212, ESSJ XVII 237-69, Glh. 400-1, O 275, My. 287-8, Huld 95-6, Slt. 50-1, Wn. 283-4, Ad. 447, Ad. H 20, 44, 124, Zhr. IN 298 || HS: Eg √ mw.t 'mother' (= {Spg.} \*maȝwet, {Vc.} \*māw-i-t [possibly active ptcp.]) > DEg mw.t > Cpt: Sd MĀY maaw, B MĀY māw 'mother' ¶ Eg -t is a sx. of the fem. gender ¶ EG II 54, Vc. 126, Spg. LMS 104-5, Crn. 95 || B \*mā (< \*ma<sup>r?</sup>) > Gd mā, Ah ma, matt 'mother'; but Izd mma 'mother', Awj {Prd.} mmā, Snd yəmma, Zww imma id., and similar forms are likely to represent pB \*y᷑-mmā 'my mother' (\*y᷑- 'my') with the element \*-mmā which may go back to the N etymon in question, or to N \*r̥emA 'mother' (q.v.), or to a merger of both N words; the possessive sx. may be added after the √: Si ummaj̥ 'my mother' ¶ Fc. 1434, Lf. II #O950, La. S 259, Prd. 168 || C: SC: Asa {Fl.} maj̥ 'wife', mayito 'woman' ¶ Fl. AA 13, Blz. CWL || Ch: WCh: NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} máhái, Kry {Sk.} māh̥, My {Sk.} māx̥, Sir {Sk.} mā 'mother' | Ngz {Sch.} māj̥ id. || CCh: Gudu {ChL} māj̥ id. | HgB/Kps {ChL} mā id. | ?? Tr {Nw.} mānk̥ id. | Mdr {Mch.} mu id. | Gzg {Lk.} ma- id. | Db {Lnh.} mā- id. | Gdr {Srp.} mōkō id. | Bdm {Lk.} mā-, Lgn {Lk.} mā- id. || ECh: Mgm {J} mēdē id. ¶ The element x᷑ ~ h᷑ ~ h᷑ in the NrBc lgs. is a sx., cp. the words for 'father': Kry bāh̥, My bāx̥, and probably Wrj bāx̥ná ¶ Stl. ZCh 259 [#159] (pNrBc \*ma<sup>r?</sup>a 'mother'), ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 32 || D \*ma<sup>r?</sup>y > Gnd mai ȝ māt ȝ māyi 'woman, wife', Krx maiȝ 'female child', way of addressing girls, ? Kdg mayma 'cross-niece, daughter-in-law' ¶ D #4791 and p. 513 [#53] || ? A: T \*bē ~ \*bEyE (< \*may<sub>L</sub>E) 'mare' (< \*'female, mother animal', cp. NHG Mutterlamm 'ewe-lamb') (× A \*bey᷑ 'an ungulate animal' < N \*bEΓ᷑, \*bE᷑ 'ungulate animal [deer and sim.]', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The pN variant \*ma<sup>r?</sup>a-y᷑ (> Gk I/A μῆν, MLG mōje, D \*may, Ngz {Sch.} māj̥, and possibly T \*bē ~ \*bEyE) may be a form with an endearment morpheme ('Mütterchen') or a form with a possessive of 1s ('my mother').

**1357. \*mĀ?᷑ 'ruminant (deer, antelope?)'** > HS: Eg fP m᷑ 'antelope' ¶ EG II 11 || D {Pf.} \*mā, \*mā-kk- 'e ungulate (deer, antelope?)' > Tm mā 'animal, beast' (esp. 'horse, elephant'), mān 'deer, beast', Ml mān, Kt ma·v, Td mo·f, Klm ma·g 'deer', Tl māv u 'horse', Gnd mau ȝ māv(i), Knd māv, Png māŋges, Mnd māŋgeh, Ku māyu 'sambar', Kui

māžu (pl. māŋga) 'elk', Krx māk 'antelope, red deer', Mlt māku 'stag' || A: Tg \*°menj- 'deer' > Ewk məŋstu (≈ məŋstī ≈ məy̥stu ≈ məŋjz̥kū ≈ məŋti ≈ məŋsti) 'wild reindeer', Ewk Ald məŋstu, Ewk Skh məŋti 'elk' || Alternatively, Tg \*menj- may have developed from Tg \*menj 'gray' (of animals) (> Lm məŋti, Ork məŋguri id.) || STM I 57O-1 || If Tg \*menj- belongs here, the vw. was \*ä. Did Tg \*-ŋ- go back to \*?-ŋ- (N \*mA?ŋ? nu with the N genetival \*nu > marker of obl. cases > generalized part of the stem)?

**1358.** \*‘mU?æ (probably \*‘mU?e) 'cut, reap (→ 'mow') > HS: Eg m̥ (phonetic meaning of the character H that represents a sickle) || EG II 6 || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} má 'cut', ? Lgn {Bou.} m̥yó 'knife' || ChC || IE: NaIE \*‘mē- v. 'mow, cut' > Gk ἀμάω 'I reap, cut (reeds, etc.)' || OHG māen 'to mow, to cut', NHG mähēn, MDt maeyēn, Dt maaien, AS māwan 'to mow', NE mow || WP II 259, P 7O3, F I 88, Kb. 649, OsS 584-5, KM 453-4, Ho. 216, Vr. N 419, Mn. 474, GI II 691 [\*meH(i)-], ≈ EI 258 (\*h<sub>2</sub>meh<sub>1</sub>- 'mow') || A: Tg \*m[ū]j- ({§Bz.} \*mü-) v. 'cut' > Nn Nh mui- 'cut oneself, cut one's hand with a knife', Ul, Nn nui-, Ewk, Neg, Ork mī-, Orc mi-, Ud {Shn.} minz-, Ud Sm Krm.} mindz- 'cut', WrMc meyle-, meyele- id., meyte- 'cut an animal's carcass into parts' || STM I 535, Krm. 26O || pKo {S} \*mīj- 'tear a hole', 'get torn' > MKo mīj 'get torn', NKo mīj- id., mī- id., 'tear a hole' || S QK #1137, Yu 344, MLC 687 || DQA #2758 (A \*mūy̥ŋ 'to cut, to tear') ◇ Hardly here T: OT bī '≈ knife', which belongs to N \*P'i?ŋ 'sharp edge, blade' (q.v.), unless ← Chn p'i 'split' (as supposed by Cl. 291) ◇ In IE the labial glide (< \*U) was lost after the sonant \*m (\*me?- < \*\*m̥ye?-, see AD NVIE) ◇ ≈ BmK #517 (\*mī?/\*me?- 'to reap, to harvest': Eg, IE) ◇ On N and IE \*‘- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

**1359.** (2?) \*maŋ|ga 'good' > HS: C: LEC {Bl.} \*maŋ- > Af {PH} meŋe 'be good, be right', Sa {R} maŋ-ē 'Güte, Edelsinn; Schönheit', maŋəm 'was gut\schön ist', -maŋ 'Gutes erweisen, edel\gut sein', Sml maŋ-ān-, Dsn mé? 'sweet', pOr {Bl.} \*meŋ- > Or {Grg.} miŋ-aŋ- 'be sweet\flavoured', Or H {Ow.} miŋ-aŋ- 'be sweet', Or B {Sr.} miā / miōfta id., miā 'sweet, tasty', Kns/Gdl {Bl.} meŋ-āw-, Bss {Bl.} miŋ-aŋ-, Turo {Bl.} me-ay- 'taste good' || Bl. 111, 136, 2O3-4, PH 167, R S II 254-5, Grg. 28, Ow. 264, Sr. 366, To DL 517 || IE: NaIE \*mā- 'good, in due time', (?) 'great', d. \*°mā-no- 'good, early' > OL mānus 'good', māne, mānī 'in the morning' (← \*'early'), mānic-ō / -āre 'get up early'; d.

\*mā-t<sup>Δ</sup>- > L Mātūta 'the goddess of the early morn', mātūtinus 'pertaining to the morning', mātūrus 'timely, ripe, mature; grown up' ||| OIr maith, Gl {Evn.} mati- (in proper names), Brtt {RE} \*mati-s > OCrn mat, Crn mās, OBr, MBr mat 'good', Br mat 'good, well', mad 'well', MW mad 'happy, lucky', W mad 'good, seemly, lucky' ||? an unspecified lge. (Gk Δ?) [Hs.] ματίς · μέγας 'great' ¶ FBS II 199, WP II 220-1, P 693, EI 235-6 (? \*meh<sub>H</sub>(t)- 'good'), WH II 25-6, 53-4, F II 185, Vn. M 12-3, Evn. 228-32, Billy 1O4, RE 1OO, Flr. 251-2, Hm. 537, 554, YGM-1 32O ||? σ Δ (in SD) \*mā 'bravo!' (an exclamation of admiration) > Tm mā (an expletive), Ml, Kn mā 'bravo!' (interjection of wonder) (unless an interjection without etymology or a sd. from D \*mā 'great' < [?] N \*mEkræ [or \*mEskæ] 'big', q.v.) ¶ D ##4787.

**1360. \*mUc<sup>Δ</sup>** 'to press, to squeeze' > HS: S: [1] WS \*✓mcwyl 'squeeze out, wring out' > BHb מְצַח 'mcy G 'wring out (wet fleece)', 'slurp (from a cup)' ('ausschlürfen'), IA, JA ✓mcy G , D 'squeeze\wring (esp. blood)', Sr ✓mṣy G 'draw\suck out (esp. blood)' (× S \*✓mṣṣ 'suck'), D 'squeeze out', SmA ✓mṣy T 'be drained' (blood), 'expire', ? G 'shed (blood)', Ar ✓mṣṣ 'suck, sip in', 'lente et sugendo bibit', Tgy ✓mṣy G v. 'suck'; [2] S \*°✓mwyl<sup>c</sup> v. 'squeeze out' < BHb מִיצָה mīc (< \*ma'wic-) 'pressing (for milk), pressing the nose for anger', MHb מִיץ mīc 'juice, sap' ¶ KB 547, 587, KBR 578, 621, Js. 825-6, Lv. III 2O9-1O, Fr. IV 184, Hv. 723, Sl. 699, Br. 398, JPS 293, Tal 482 || K \*°muč<sup>c</sup>- > G I/G muč- 'zusammenkneifen, zusammenpressen (Lippen)', ? G (← Zan?) muč- 'ballen (Faust)' ¶ Chx. 859 ¶ If the G verb muč- is a loan from Zan, the pGZ rec. must be \*muč-, ergo N \*mUc<sup>Δ</sup> || u: FP amb\*mUc<sup>Δ</sup> v. 'squeeze; fist' (× N \*muč<sup>Δ</sup> v. 'fist; to squeeze with a fist', q.v.) > F musertaa v. 'crush, smash', Krl A mužuo v. 'press, crumble', Vp mučoida v. 'twist (fingers)' | ? Lp Sw {SK ← ?} močetet, moččot v. 'break, be breaking off' | ZΔ mž̥t̥r 'clenched fingers, fist', {W} mž̥t̥rt- 'clench one's hand\fist' ¶ LG 176, SK 353 || ?? Δ (in SD) \*muč(c)- v. 'be torn, crumpled' > Tm mucí v. 'be torn\crumpled (as a garment), Ml mušiųka v. 'frown faint, weary, be worn out', Tl musinčiu v. 'be spoiled' ¶ D #49O3.

**1361. \*muč<sup>Δ</sup>(-k<sup>Δ</sup>)** 'to immerse, to wash' > HS: S \*°-mūč- (\*✓mwč) ~ ? \*°✓msH (= \*°✓mṣf<sup>h</sup>?) v. 'wash, cleanse' > Ar ✓mwṣ (ip. -mūṣu) id., ?? Ak A masā?u(m), Ak B mesū(m) id. ¶ BK II 1168, Hv. 74O, Sd. 647-8, CAD X/2 3O-5 || C ({AD}) ✓myč) > EC: Sml {ZMO} maydo

'wash, bathe', Sml N {Abr.} mayd- v. 'wash', Or {Grg.} mičča v. 'wash (clothe, objects)', Or B/O/W {Sr.} mīča id., v. 'squeeze', Kmb {L, Hd.} mečč-, Qbn {L} meččiyo', Sd {Hd.} mēč- v. 'wash', ? Ged mīč- v. 'squeeze', ?? Or {Sr.} mičīra- v. 'wring out (clothes), squeeze' (→ Brj {Hd., Ss.} mičir- v. 'wring out') ¶ AD SF 308, Grg. 285, Sr. 366-7, Hd. 164, 212, 255, 333, 385, Ss. B 144 || NrOm: Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.}, Wl {C} meč-, Kf {C} māč- v. 'wash', Ym {C} mē?-, {Wdk.} mē?ū / mē?ū, māsō / māsō id., Bnc {Wdk.} mās(k)- vt. and vr. id. ¶ AD 1.c., Wdk. BY 107, 131 (the verbs in Omt [= Gf?], Wl, Kf may be loans from Or) || Ch: CCh: Msg {Lk.} mās-, {Mch.} mās id., {J} mùsnà v. 'wash (things)' || Ms {Caït.} mūs, BnnM {ChL} mbusa, Azm {Pc.} mbūsà v. 'wash' || ?? Mrg {Hf.} nçu v. 'immerse, plant' ¶ ChC, ChL, Hf. GML 126, 131, Caït. 109 s.v. mūs 'laver', Pc. 292-3 || IE: NaIE \*mesg- v. 'immerse', {E} 'dip under water, dive' > OI 'majjati 'sinks' || L merg- v. 'dip, plunge (into liquid), immerse' || Blt iter. \*mazg- v. 'plunge in, wash' > Lt mazgōti, Ltv mazgāt v. 'wash' ¶ P 745-6, EI 160, WH II 76-7, M K III 548-9, M E II 291, WH II 76-7, Frn. 421 || U \*muške v. 'wash' > FP {UEW} \*muške > Es mōške id. | pMr {Ker.} \*mūškə- > Er мусъке- muške-, Mk мусъко- muškə- v. 'wash (clothes)' | pChr {Ber.} \*mušk- > Chr: L мүшк- mušk-, H мышк- тъшк- v. 'wash' | Prm {LG} \*mūś-, \*mūšk- > Z mīškīnīt v. 'wash', mīšsīnīt v. 'wash (oneself)', Vt mīškīnīt v. 'wash, bathe (so.)', mīštaškīnīt v. 'wash (clothes, oneself)' (Vt i for \*† due to the infl. of ś) || Hg mos- v. 'wash', mos(ako)d- v. 'wash oneself' || Sm \*māsъ- v. 'wash' > Ne T мака-съ, Ne T O {Lh.} mās·ā id., Ne F {Lh.} imv. 2s mās?, En {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. masuabo, Slq Tz {KKIH} musīltiøo v. 'wash, wash oneself', Slq Tm {KLD} muz-, mus-, Kms {KD} bāzālām, buzəlōm id., Koyb {Sp.} бызла 'washes', Mt {Hl.} \*masə- 'wash' (Mt: M {Sp.} 1s мазіямъ, K {Pl.} maàsisin 'I wash') ¶ UEW 289, It. #189 (\*muške), Coll. 35, Sm. 538 (U \*moškī-, FU \*moški-, FP \*mo|uški-, Ugr \*moskī-, Sm \*māsъ- 'wash'), MF 450-1, Ker. II 91, Ber. 39, MRS 337, 343, LG 184, Jn. 89, KKIH 133, Hl. M #642 || D {IS} \*muč(č)- v. 'wash' > Kui musa v. 'wash the head', mīspa v. 'bathe, wash (another person)', Krx mūž- v. 'wash the face of', Gnd mičnā, mīh- v. 'bathe another'; the D cognate is valid unless this is a derivative from D \*mī- 'wash' (< N \*mūhi 'water, fluid', q.v.) ¶ D 4878, Pf. 41 (Krx mūž- < D \*mī-nč-) ◇ Cf. UEW 189 and P 745-6 (both draw attention to the U-IE parallel), IS II 71 (\*mučnā v. 'wash'). U \*ś for the expected \*č is due to its precons.

position. In IE *mesg-* the element \*-g- belongs together with U \*-k- in \*muśke (a final element in a N cluster of words?).

**1362.** ?σ<sub>2</sub> \*m<sup>1</sup>ν<sup>2</sup>č<sup>3</sup>ν<sup>4</sup>ν<sup>5</sup> 'in rodent' > **HS:** C: pAg \*?z<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup>č<sup>3</sup>w 'mouse' > Bln {Ap.} ?z<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup>č<sup>3</sup>wa, Xm {Ap.} z<sup>1</sup>č<sup>2</sup>wa 'mouse', Q/Km {Ap.} z<sup>1</sup>n<sup>2</sup>šä<sup>3</sup>wa id., 'rat'; Ag → EthS: Gz ?an<sup>1</sup>šawā, ?an<sup>1</sup>šēwā, ?ansōwā 'mouse, weasel', Tgy ኃናዊዋ ?an<sup>1</sup>č<sup>2</sup>wa, Tgr ኃናጋይ ?an<sup>1</sup>šay ~ ቃናጋይ የንሬይ 'mouse'; EthS → Sa {Wlm.}, Af የንድዋ 'id. || ? EC: Or {Grg.} hantūta, {Brl., Th.} antuta 'mouse, rat', Or B/O {Sr.} hantūta 'rat' ¶ R WB 41, Ap. AV 3, Ap. WLQ 13, AD SF 142, 222-3, G L 32, LH 476, Brl. 24, Th. 2O, Grg. 2OO, Sr. 323 || NrOm: pGng {Ap.} \*inč- > Kf {C} iččō, Mch {L} īčče, Anf īnčō 'mouse', Shn {Lm.} īnčā id., 'rat', Bnc {Wdk.} úč, She uč, Hrr ērēčē, Cha {C} učā, Wl {C} ečärē, Zs {C} ečerē, Dwr {Ap. ← ?} ečere, ečeria, Bdt {C} erečē 'mouse' ¶ Ap. AV 3, AD SF 142, Wdk. BY 112, Lm. Sh 269-7O || ? CCh: Gzg D {Lk.} mocod, Gzg Mj {Lk.} močod 'mouse', MfG {Brr.} máčad, móčod 'in mouse', ? Db {Lnh.} mašay 'mouse' (× N \*muks'a' ~ \*mugz'a' 'in rodent') ¶ Lk. G 13O, Brr. MG II 163 || **K:** G {DCh.} mčav-i 'in beaver, otter', čav-i, čvav-i 'beaver, otter', {NCh.} mčavi, čav-i, čvav-i 'otter', {GL, Chx.} čav-i 'otter, Fischotter' ¶ DCh. 927, 1629, NCh. 3O6, Chx. 2O99, SSO I 534 and II 362, GL 57O ◇ The comparison is doubtful, because common origin of words for 'mouse' and for 'beaver, otter' is questionable.

**1363.** (2?) \*mečXA 'forest, tree, wood (Holz)' > **HS:** Eg MKL mž̥h v. 'hew timber', Eg OK mž̥h(w) 'carpenter', Eg XXVI mž̥h.t 'behauenes Holz' ¶ EG II 189-91, Fk. 124 || EC: Kns {BISO} mīssa 'bush, bush country', ? Hr, Dbs, Gwd mando 'forest' (acc. to Lm. Sh 36O, mt. from \*mid-an-) ¶ BISO 116, AMS 174, 278 || Om ({Blz.}): NrOm: Kf {C} mičō 'tree, wood (albero, legno, legname)', Mch {L} mīčō 'wood, tree', Anf {C} miččō, miššō, Shn {Lm.} mittā, Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} mičā ~ mičā (mičā) 'tree, wood (legno), firewood', Bdt {C} mitsē, mitsi, Wl {C} mittā, Cha {C} mitsā, Gf/Bdt {C} mitsē ~ mitsi 'tree, wood (Holz)', Zl {C, CR} miččā, Malo mičā, {Lm.} micci, Male {Si.} 'miči, Dwr mičī, Gnj {Si.} 'mič, Krt {Si.} miče, Zrgl {Si.} 'minča 'tree', Zs {Si.} mičča 'tree', {Lm.} minča 'tree, firewood', Kcm {Si., Lm.} 'mici id., Dumo {CR} mičē 'plant, tree, wood (Holz)', Dc {Lm.} mičč 'tree', minčā 'wood (Holz), firewood' ¶ Blz. OL #117 (Om. \*mič- ~ \*mič- 'wood'), AD SF 25O, C SE III 172 and IV 475-6, C SO 33, 44, 62, Mrn. O 152, L M 43, Si. ACh 21, Si. M 11, Lm. Sh 36O || ??σ S \*°małish|č- > Ak

mēs-*u* 'e a native tree and its wood' ¶ CAD X/1 33-4 ¶ The deglottalization \*ç > Ak ș may be due to regr. as. (caused by \*h|f) || AD SF 25O (Om, Eg; \*÷ S: Hb mat'ł̥ 'stick'), Blz. OL #117 || ?σ K \*°mičča- > OG miča-γ, G miča 'land, earth' ¶ Ser. 1O1, Chx. 782 || U: FU {Coll.} \*mećčä, {UEW} \*mećä 'forest' → 'remote place' > F metsä 'forest, wood (Wald, Forst)', Es mets 'forest' | pLp {Lr.} \*mēćčē 'far away; go far way' > Lp: L {LLO} miehttjēn, A miehtijen, I {It.} mećčin 'weitweg', S {Hs.} miettjie- ~ mietts'e- 'sich entfernen' (× mietseñe 'behind, far in the northern side') || OHg, Hg messz-e 'far off\away' (-e is a sx. of lat.) ¶ Coll. 98, UEW 269-7O (semantic interpretation of the FU word as 'Rand'), Lr. #654, Lgc. #3811, Hs. 925, EWU 97O.

**1364. \*muč, ń, ᄀ 'damage, (physical) defect, illness' > HS: S \*°✓mθń > Ar ✓mθń (ip. -mθuń- ~ -mθań-) 'avoir une démarche disgracieuse' (se dit d'une femme qui marche comme une oie) ¶ BK II 1O6O || U: FU \*muč ᄀ '(physical) defect, illness' (→ 'guilt') > pChr {Ber.} \*mužъ 'evil spirit causing illness; illness' > Chr: L 'мужо 'mužo, H 'мыж 'mъž id. | Prm {LG} \*mūž 'illness as punishment' > Z мыж m̤ž 'guilt, fault (проступок), crime', Yz {Gn.} m̤ž 'guilt', {Lt.} m̤ža 'guilty', Prmk m̤ža 'punishment \ illness sent by God \ by the deceased parents', Vt S m̤ž 'unkept sacrifice vow; illness inflicted by deities as punishment', m̤žtint v. 'send illness' || pObU {Ht.} \*māč ~ \*mōč > pVg \*măš 'illness, defect' > LK măš, UK măš, LL maš, Ss mos id. ({Mu.} 'scrofula, illness, deficiency', {BV} 'illness'); pOs \*mɔč 'illness, wounds' ({Stn.} "general name for illnesses and visible wounds") > Os: V moč, Ty moč, Nz muš, Kz mōš, O mos id. | ? OHg máz 'epilepsy', Hg Δ hagymáz 'hitziges Fieber, wobei man immer phantasiert', 'typhus' ¶ Coll. 97, UEW 283, It. #225, ≈ Sm. 553 (FP \*mužψ 'illness'), Ber. 4O [#2O2], MRS 333, 34O, Ep. 73, Ü 124, Lt. 194, Lt. J 148, LG 181, Ht. #378, MK 315, BV 56, Stn. D 89O-1 || D (in SD) \*muč- > Tm түсі v. 'faint', Ml тушиука v. 'grow faint', Kn түссүрү v. 'become torpid\stupified, lose consciousness, faint away' (× D \*muč(č)- v. 'be torn, crumpled' < N \*mūč ᄀ 'to press, to squeeze', q.v.) ¶ D #49O3 ◇ IS II 72 [#3O5] (\*muč, sc. \*mučč ᄀ 'порча, недостаток': U, D).**

**1365. \*mō'č̥s, ᄀ, ᄀ 'cut, cut into pieces, tear off' > HS: Eg XX mš̥ 'cut off (abschneiden) [?]' ¶ EG II 156 || S \*✓°mš̥n > Ar ✓mš̥n G (ip. -mšań- ~ -mšiń-) {Fr.} 'eripuit', {BK} 'arracher\enlever violamment',**

{Hv.} 'steal (a th.) away', 'card (cotton)' ¶ BK II 1262, Fr. IV 182, Hv. 722 || C: EC: Sml N {Abr.} *тифх-* 'strip off, undress, despoil', Sml {R} *тифах-* 'strip off the skin' ¶ The devoicing \*f > h id probably due to as. (pC \*t̥f > \*t̥h) | Bj {R} ✓ *mš?* pcv. (1s: p. 'амшар', prs. *аманшат*?; prtc. 'меš?а) 'tear to pieces, split, divide', {Rop.} ✓ *mš?* pcv. vt. 'split' || SC: Irg *musa* {MQK} 'pestle, mortar stick', {Wd.} 'mortar', Kz {E} *musiko* 'pestle' ¶ Abr. S 182, R WBd 175, Rop. 219, ESC 159, Wd. #611, MQK 75 || NrOm: Kf {C} *тæч-* 'tagliare, incidere', Gm {Hw.} *түсө* ¶ C SE IV 468, Hw. EG || U \*<sup>o</sup>*m'ūt̥C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>a* > Sm \**mъčā-* 'cut' > Nn: Т *мада-* v. 'cut', T O {Lh.} *тæдā-* 'durchschneiden', F NI {Lh.} *matta*-s id.; Slq: Tz {KKHI} *māt̥t̥-* v. 'chop, cut, cut to pieces', Tm {KD} *tažāb* 'cut'; Kms {KD} 1s prs. *bāθčuom* ~ *bāhčuom* ~ *buθčuom* 'cut' ¶ Jn. 84, KKHI 129, KD 7 || D (in NED) \**mōč-* 'cut into pieces' > Krx *mōč-nā* 'cut up into convenient pieces any object too large for use, give a cut in\through', Mlt {Drs.} *mōce* 'cut (as meat)' ¶ D #513O, Pf. 195 [#194] || A: Tg \**mōsa-* v. 'grind' > Nn B *mōso* 'millstone', Nn B/KU *mōsolə-*, WrMc *mosela-* v. 'grind (cereals)', Nn Nh *mōsoləqu*, Ul *mosoloqu* ~ *maysalaqu*, WrMc *moselaqu* 'mill' ¶ STM I 547 || ?σ T \**bīç-* ~ \**bīç-* v. 'cut; cut out a garment' (× N \**bīç*▽ 'cut, crumble, crush', q.v. ffd.) ◇ SC, Bj, and Tg point to N \*-S-, while EC, Om, and U suggest a N affricate. The exact sound corrs. are still to be elucidated.

**1366.** \**muč*▽ 'cupped\clenched hand' > HS: B \*<sub>LW</sub>*māz-* 'fist, cupped hand' > Kb {Dl.} *tummažt* (pl. *tummaž*) 'fist', Sll {Ds.} *amaz* id., *tummažt* (pl. *tummāž*) 'cupped\clenched hand (poignée)', Izd {Mrc.} *tummizt* (pl. *tummaz*), Gd {Lf.} *tamməst* (pl. *təmmaş*, *təmməžēn*) id., *wməz* 'prendre à poignée' ¶ Dl. 529, Mrc. 196, Lf. II #1054 || K \*<sup>o</sup>*muč-* > G *muča* 'hollow of the hand, handful', *muč-i* id., 'fist', *muč-* 'ballen (Faust), eine Handful von etw. nehmen, in der Hand halten' ¶ DCh. 911-2, Chx. 859 || U: FU \**mučk*▽ 'fist' > pMr {Ker.} \**muškъ* id. > Er *мокшна* *mokšna*, Mk *мокшенда* *mokšənda* id. (sc., acc. to Ker., the mt. occurred in the prehistory of Mr) | pChr {Ber.} \**muškъndъ* id. > Chr: L *мүшкындо* 'мушкъндо, Н мышкынды тъш'къндъ | Prm {LG} \**mūžik* id. > Vt *мыжык* *mɪžɪk* id., Z LV *mɪžɪk* n. 'blow with the fist, cuff, punch (удар кулаком, тумак)' || pOs \**měčək* ({JHl.} \**mīčək*) 'fist' > Os: Ty/D *měčək*, O *măsək* id. ¶ UEW 704 (unc.: Os ↔ Z), Coll. 99, It. #221, Sm. 553 (FP \**mukč*▽ 'fist'), Ker. II 89, Ber. 39, MRS 338, 343, LG 181, SZ 230.

**1367.** \**muč̥ɪ́ŋ* 'end' > **HS:** S \*°✓ *mθɪ́* > Ar **مُظْهَرٌ** *maðɪ́r-at-* 'la fin, le reste du discours' ¶ BK II 1125 || **U:** FU \**muč̥ɪ́ŋ* 'end' > pChr {Ber.} \**muč̥-akš* (\*-akš is a nominal sx.) > Chr: L *мүчаш* *mu'čaš*, V *mučakš*, H *мычаш* 'тъčaš' 'end ('Ende, Spitze)'; pChr *muč-* with a locative ending > Chr H *мычны* 'тъč-nъ 'at the end of' || pObU \**m'ɔ́č̥ɪ́* (/ \**moč̥-* ?) 'up to' > pVg \**m'ɔ́č̥ɪ́* id. > Vg: T *miš*, LK *måš*, MK/UK *mås*, P/NV/SV *moš*, IL *maš*, UL *mos*, Ss *mus*; pOs \**moč̥ə* ({ʃI.} \**măč̥ə*) id. > Os: V/Vy *moč̥ə*, Ty/Y *mōč̥ə*, Km *măša*, O *măšă* ¶ Coll. 99, UEW 283, Ber. 38, MRS 33O, 342, Ht. #78O || **A:** {DQA} \**m'úč̥i* > AmTg \**muča* 'end, edge' > Ul *muča*, Ork *mutča* ~ *mučča*, Nn *moča* id. ¶ STM I 561 || T \**muç-gak*, \**muç-mak* {DQA} 'external angle' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} *buččaq* 'corner', MQp XIV, Chg xv, OOsm XIV *bužaq*, Tk *bucak* id., Az *bužaq*, ET Δ *bužek* ~ *bužεk*, Chv *přsmex* id. ¶ ≈ Cl. 294, ET B 282-3 || pKo {S} \**mʌč̥h-* v. 'finish' > MKo *mʌs-*, *mʌč̥h-*, *mʌč̥hʌ-*, NKO *mač̥hi-* id.; pKo {S} \**mʌč̥h-* n. 'finish, end' > MKo *mʌč̥hám* ¶ S QK #661, Nam 198, 205-6, MLC 568 ¶ S AJ 76, DQA #1372 (pA \**mōč̥'a|u|o* 'end, edge') ◇ Resh. NNE #5 (U, A).

**1368.** \**m'A'č̥ɪŋgɪ́ŋ* 'be foolish, be mad, be intoxicated' > **HS:** S \*°✓ *mşɪ́* > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} **مضاغة** *maðɪ́ðāy-at-* 'fatuus', {BK} **مضاغة** *muðɪ́ðāy-at-* 'sot, imbécile', {Bel., Hv.} **مضاغة** *maðɪ́ðāy-at-* 'mad, insane' ('fou, insensé') ¶ Fr. IV 188, BK II 112O, Bel. 774, Hv. 724 || EC: Or {Grg.} *maččā(w)a* 'bel\get drunk', *maččī* 'drunkenness', Arr *mačče* id., *maččow-* 'get drunk', Ged {Hd.} (↔ Or?) *maččor-* 'be drunk', Sd {Gs.} *maččarara* 'be mad\crazy', Hd/Kmb {Hd.} *maččār-* 'be crazy'; Or ↔ (?) Kf {C} *maš-*, Mch {L} *maša* 'be drunk' ¶ ≈ AD SF 305-6, Grg. 272, Brl. 286, Hw. A 383, Gs. 217, Hd. 45 (HEC \**maččarār-* 'be crazy'), 254, 293, 331, 384 || **A:** Tg \**moçɪ́ŋ* 'awkward, stupid' > WrMc *moco* 'slow-witted, dull, awkward', Ul *moč̥o* 'it is awkward, uncomfortable', Nn Nh/KU *moč̥o* 'awkward', B *moco nač* 'an awkward, clumsy man', Orc *moçolā-* 'be unable, clumsy', Ork *motčouvl̩* 'awkward, uncomfortable' ¶ STM I 547 ¶ The vw. \**o* may be due to the infl. either of the second syll. (a rounded vw.?) or of the initial \**m-* || **D:** \**mač̥-* 'be intoxicated; intoxicating beverage' (× D \**may-* 'mix, bel\make unsteady' < N \**magy'E'* 'to swing, to wave, to sway', q.v.) > Mlt *méca* 'an intoxicating beverage prepared of corn', Krx *māyā* 'malt prepared for making beer, beer in its preparatory stage, arrack made of rice', Tl *maikamu* 'intoxication, inebriation', *maida* 'intoxication', Tm

**macakkū** vt. 'charm, bewitch, confuse, perplex', **macakkam** 'dullness, swoon', **macakkaī** 'morbid longings of a pregnant woman', **mayakkū** v. 'bewilder, make one swoon', **myakkū** n. 'mental delusion', **maiyal** 'infatuation of love, madness', Ml **mayanquka** 'be drowsy, giddy' § D #47O6.

**1369. \*mAdū** 'honey' > IE: NaIE \*med<sup>h</sup>u- 'honey' > OI madhu- 'honey, mead', Av maðu 'berry wine', Sgd accus. mðw 'wine', Oss I mð, D mud 'honey' || Gk μέθυ 'wine, alcoholic drink' || OIr mid (gen. medo), W medd, Br mez 'mead', OCrn medd Γ 'sicera (ε alcoholic drink)' || ON mjøðr, OHG mētu & mito, NHG Met, AS medu ~ meodu 'mead', NE mead || Lt medus, Pru meddo 'honey', Ltv mēdus id., 'mead' || Sl \*mēdъ (gen. \*medu) 'honey' > OCS мēдъ medъ, Blg мед, Cz, Slk med id., SCr mēd, P miód, R мёд, Uk мед id., 'mead'; the ancient root-final \*u is preserved as \*v in derived and compound words (as ChS МЕДВЕНЬ medvěnъ, R мед'вяный 'made of honey', Sl \*medv-ědъ 'bear' ['honey-eater'], etc.) || Tc B mīt [mit] 'honey' § P 707, M K II 57O-2, M E II 3O2-3, Bai. 34O, Ab. II 134-5, F II 191-2, Vr. 39O, Ho. 218-9, Kb. 68O, KM 476, Frn. 425, En. 2O9, ESSJ XVIII 62-72, Vs. II 588-9, Glh. 4O2-3, Vn. M 48, Wn. 298, Ad. 461, Ad. H 17, ≈σ EI 271 (\*\*med<sup>h</sup>u 'mead') || D (in SD) \*maṭ̥. 'honey, sweetness' > Tm maṭ̥tu 'honey, toddy, sweet juice', Ml maṭu 'sweetness, honey', maṭ̥tu 'nectar', ? Tu mitṭi 'sweetness' § D 4662 || HS: ECh: Mkl {J} māddé 'bee, honey' § J LM 136 || NrOm {Blz.} \*mat/t/č- 'bee, honey' > Shn mačča 'honey', Kf māṭo 'bee', Mch maṭi 'bee, wasp', Anf maččo ~ maššo, Zs, Dc mačč 'bee', Gm {Hw.} mácci, WI matta, Cha meca id. § Lm. Sh 363, C SE III and IV 475, Blz. OL #177, Hw. EG ◇ Ar مادی mādīy- 'miel blanc, vin' (BK II 1166) is hardly an inherited cognate (because Ar δ does not go back to N \*d), it is more likely to go back to an Iranian source (cp. Phl mād 'wine') ◇ The S root \*v̥mtk̥ 'sweet' does not belong here (against the opinion of some scholars) and is likely to be connected with Ht mitgaimi- 'sweet, sweetened' (acc. to Ts. E II 221, originally a Lw word [ $\leftarrow$  Lw \*mitga(j)- 'sweeten']) ◇ AD NM #79, ≠ S CNM 14 (IE \*mad<sup>h</sup>u- 'honey' \* $\leftarrow$  NrCs \*hw̥mīžōū 'honey'; therefore S rejects the N et. in question) ◇ In the chart "Main phonetic correspondences in the Nostratic languages" in AD NM 1O2 and in AD NMI 21 there is a misprint: the IE reflex of N \*-d- is misprinted as \*d for \*d<sup>h</sup>, which caused Coleman's remark (Clm. R

117): "The derivation of PIE \*medhu- 'honey' from PN \*madu is incompatible with the table of reflexes".

**1370.** <sup>2</sup> \*m<sup>A</sup>dU 'lake' ([in descendant lgs.] → pond') > **HS:** B \*-md(w)- 'lake, pond' > Sll {Ds.} 'tamda (pl. timduin), BMn tamda id., Kb tamda (pl. ti-madw-in) 'mare, réservoir, bassin', Tmz {MT} amda ~ anda (pl. imdwan ~ indwan) 'pond (étang), lake', tamda & tanda (pl. timdwain ~ tindwin) 'small pool, puddle' ('mare, flaque'), mdu (pf. mdi ~ mda) v. 'be filled with water' (of a basin, well, pit, ditch), 'stagnate' (of water) ¶ Ds. 165, Ds. B 190, La. S 234, Dl. 486, MT 402-3 || ? CCh: Bu {ChL, Hf.} manda, Ngx {ChL} māndā 'lake' ¶ ChL, Hf. B 76 || **D** \*maṭu ({GS} \*-d-) 'pond, lake' > Tm maṭu 'lake, pond', Ml maṭu 'deep place, pool', Kt maṛv 'deep pool in a stream', Kn maḍu ~ māda 'water', Tl maḍugu 'pond, tank, lake' ¶ D #4658.

**1371.** \*mud<sup>Δ</sup> 'finish', 'to end' > **HS:** S \*°√mdy > Ar مَدِيَةٌ mady-at-, مَدِيٰ mada(n) 'terme, limite', مَدِيَّا mīdā? - 'terme, limite extrême' ¶ BK II 1079 || B \*√mdH (most probably \*√md?) > Ah {Fc.} āmdu (3m pf. imdā, Fc. 14 = Pcj. 1 A 8) 'finir,achever', 'être fini, se finir', Ty ܒmdu (= {GhA} āmdu) 'être complet \ entier \ fini \ achevé', ETwl ܒndu id., Kb timmad 'le fait d'être entier', Gd {Lf.} āmdu (3m pf. imda) 'achever, compléter', Izn {Rn.} ām̥a 'être passé \ terminé' (secondary emphatization of \*d?), Sll {Ds.} S smad / pf. ismād 'vt. 'achever', Zng {Nic.} 3m pf. i-mad 'was finished' ¶ Acc. to Pr.'s morphonological rec., verbs of this conjugation have a final lr. (here \*-mduH / pf. \*-mdaH); the S cognate (\*√mdy) suggests that the lr. was secondary, most probably \*? (as in Ar mīdā?-) ¶ Fc. 1154-7, 2000, Pr. M VI-VII 118, Rn. 385, Lf. I 265 and II #0966, GhA 123, Nic. 206 ¶ ≈ Coh. EC 180 || **A:** Tg \*mudan 'finish' > Ewk mudan, Ewk Tkm/Hng mōdan, Neg modan, Sln mudā, Lm mudən & mudon & mudon, Nn modā, Ud muda(n-), Ul muda(n-) id. ¶ SDM I 550, Vas. 258 ¶ ≈ Rm. SKE 139 (Tg, Ko mačhi-da 'finish', but SDM97 rejects the Ko cognate as containing \*-s- [MKo mās-ta]) || **D** \*muṭi,- ({GS} \*-d-) vi. 'end, terminate, be completed' > Tm muṭi (p. -v-) id., 'die', muṭi (p. -pp) vt. 'end', Ml muṭiyukā 'come to an end', muṭikka vt. 'finish, spend, destroy', Kt muṛc° v. 'finish (work)', Kn muḍi vi. 'end, come to an end, become extinct', Tu muḍusu- vt. 'eat up, consume', Tl muḍu, muḍu vi. 'end, terminate', Gnd muṛi 'end, termination', Ku {Isr.} muṭ-, {Slz.} muth'nai v. 'complete' ¶ D

#4922 ◇ In Tg and D (due to the merger of N \*-d- and \*-t-) the reflexes of N \*mud $\nabla$  merged with those of N \*mût $\nabla$  'die' (← 'go away, be removed'??) (q.v.) ◇ IS II 72-3 (\*mud $\Delta$  in B, D, and A [Tg + Ko mætči-]), ≈ IS MS 344 (\*mut $\Delta$  'finish' [vi.] in A, D, and HS) ◇ ≠ Gr. II 4 (\*muta 'all', untenable comparison of Tg with forms of other lgs., like MM mōči 'just enough').

**1372.** (2?) \*mæ'h'ûd $\nabla$  'speak' > HS: Eg √ mdw v. 'speak', mdw 'word, speech', md.t 'spoken words, speech', DEg mt 'speak; speech', Cpt: Sd MΟΥΤΕ mute, B MΟΥΤ muti v. 'call, speak' ¶ EG II 179-82, Er. 184, Vc. 124 ¶ Probably positional loss of the expected lr. (\*h?) || B {Pr.} \*mūh<sub>2</sub>ud- / pf. \*-mūh<sub>2</sub>ad- 'prey' > Ah muhəd 'réciter en priant' (Fcj. 39, Pcj. XII A 1), ETwl mud (Pcj. XII A 4), Ty {ABs.} mud, Gh {ABs., Nh.} muhəd, Gd, Awj mūd 'prier' ¶ Fc. 1137-8, 2OO3 (on Fcj. 39), Pr. H #516, Pr. M VI-VII 242, GhA 122-3, 268, Lf. II #O965, Prd. 172 || Ch: WCh: P {MSk.} mùndé, Dir {Sk.} ndà (< \*md $\nabla$ ) 'say' || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} ndáhá id. || Msg G {MB} mud ~ məd- id., Msg P {Trn.} inf., pl. midi / sg. məda 'say, speak', Mlw {Trn.} mìdi (✓ m̩ d̩) id. | Mrg {Hf.} ndz (< \*md $\nabla$ ) id., Br {Hf.} ndir 'word' || ?σ ECh: Jg {J} mād- 'ask (a question)' | ? EDng {Fd.} índé 'ask for, ask (a question)' ¶ ChC, ChL, Hf. M 226, Hf. B 57, 151, Trn. LM 1O6, Trn. MVM 3O6 ¶ OS #387 (\*mud- 'speak' in Eg, EC, Ch, B) || IE: NaIE \*mēydh-/\*məydh-/mūdh- 'speak' (→ 'think') (semantic infl. of NaIE \*med- 'think' < N \*mæt $\nabla$  'feel, realize?') > Gk μῆθος 'speech, word, talk; tale', μῆθεματι 'I say, speak' || Gt (ga)maudjan 'remind' || Lt maūsti (prs. maudžiu) 'to long for', 'to miss' (× maūsti 'to ache') | Sl: Cz mdlíti (po...) 'to desire (sth.)', Sl d. \*mīsl̩ f. (gen. \*mīsl̩) 'thought' (< \*mūd-tli-s) > OCS мысль mīsl̩, Blg 'мисъл, SCr mīsao (gen. mīsl̩), Slv mīsel, OCz, Cz mysl̩, Slk mysel, P mysl̩, R 'мысль, Uk 'мисль id. ¶ WP II 255-6. P 743, ≈ EI 158 (? \*moud- 'desire strongly'), F II 264-5, Tr. 171-2, Fs. 35O, ≠ Frn. 42O, ESSJ XXI 44-51, Vs. III 25, Glh. 412 ¶ The intonation in Lt maūsti (suggesting an IE short diphthong) is probably secondary (due to the merger with maūsti 'to ache' of a different origin?) || ? U (possibly) \*mūd $\nabla$  > Sm: Slq UTz {Hl.} muli-mp̩i- v. 'speak' ¶ KKIH 133 ◇ The primary meaning may have been 'speak' (whence 'think', as in Hb way'yōmer bəlib'bō 'and he said in his heart' → 'he thought') ◇ ≈ IS II 76-7 (\*mūd $\Delta$  'think' in Eg, Ch, IE, Sm + unc. S \*✓?md [> Ar ?amad-

'extreme point', Aram  $\checkmark\sqrt{?}$ md 'form an approximate estimate, guess', etc.]).

**1373.** <sub>2</sub> \*med<sub>1</sub>ν<sub>2</sub>χν 'in fig tree' > **HS:** S: Ar mudaħ- 'Ficus religiosa' ¶ BK II 1077, Hv. 712 || D \*mēt<sub>1</sub>i<sub>2</sub> ({§GS} \*-d-?) 'in fig-tree' > Kn mēdi 'glomerous fig tree (*Ficus racemosa* Wall. = *Ficus glomerata* Roxb.), opposite-leaved fig tree (*Ficus oppositofolia*), Tl mēdi, Klm mēri 'glomerous fig tree' ¶ D #5090.

**1374.** <sub>2</sub> \*magē 'earth, land' > **IE:** NaIE \*mag<sup>h</sup>g<sup>h</sup>- 'land, earth' > OIr mag 'plain, free field, field', NIr mag 'earth' || Gl n. l. Argantomagus, Clt d. \*magestu > W maes 'field', Crn mēs 'open field', Br maez 'champ, campagne' || ? OI ma'hī 'earth, ground, soil, land; earth (as substance)' (x adj. ma'hī 'magna') ¶ ≠ P 709, M K II 610, M E II 337-9 (OI ma'hī 'earth' ← ma'hī 'magna'), MW 83, Vn. M 8, Hm. 540 || U \*mae 'earth, land' > F, Es maa 'land' | ? pChr {Ber.} \*mūy 'ground, earth' > Chr: M mū-nō ~ mū-nō ~ mūy-nō 'unten, auf dem Boden, auf der Erde', mū-ꝑō 'auf die Erde, auf den Boden hinunter', K mūlānðə, U mъlanðe 'earth, ground', B mъlanðe, melanðe 'land' | Prm {LG} \*mu 'earth' > Z, Vt mu 'earth, ground, land' || ObU \*mνγ- 'earth, land' > pVg {Hl.} \*mā > Vg: T mā', LK/UL/Ss mā, MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML mā id., 'place'; pOs {Hl.} \*mēγ > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K mēγ, Nz mīγ, Kz mūw 'earth, ground, land' || Sm {Jn.} \*mъyā 'Erde, Gelände', {Hl.} \*mъya 'land, landscape' > Ng {Ter., Mik.} mā, {Cs.} mou 'earth' ('Erde, föld'), Slq Tz {KKIH} mač̄ 'forest', {Pr.} mač̄ 'forest, tundra', Slq Nr/Yel/B/Tz {Cs.} mač̄, Slq Kar mat̄, Slq Ke mat̄e, Slq Ch mat̄eä 'forest', Kms {KD} māγ·ε, {Cs.} mijā 'mountain', Koyb {Sp.} мыя, {Pl.} muijā, Mt {Hl.} \*bijā id. (Mt: A {Msr.}, M {Pl.} bia, M/T {Mll.} bīe, K {Mll.} būi e) ¶ Coll. 33, UEW 263-4, Sm. 546 (FU \*mīxi, FP \*mēxi, Ugr \*mīg i 'earth, land'), Ber. 41, LG 177, Lt. 203, Ht. 202 [#775], Hl. rHt 74, Hl. MTKV 57, Trj. S 272, BV 50, Jn. 85, Cs. 75, 172 (equates Slq mač̄ 'forest' with F metsä), 192, Hl. M #124 (misprint: \*bijā for \*bijā) ◇ IS SS 334 [#6.25], IS MS 342 (\*mag<sub>2</sub> 'земля' > IE, U) ◇ Gr. II #118 (\*mag 'earth') (IE, U, Ai, EA + err. Y + qu. Gil).

**1375.** <sub>2</sub> \*magU 'bad' > **HS:** C: Bj {R} -māg (1s p. a-'māg, prs. a't'mīg) pcv. md. 'schlecht/böse werden', caus. -sō-mig 'Schlechtes zufügen' || Ag: Bln {R} māq'lā (= māχʷ'lā) 'Vergehen, Verbrechen; schlecht, unbrauchbar, verdorben' || EC: Or {R} māg-, magū- 'schlecht sein', {Brl.} mog-ačču 'avvilirsi, corrompersi, guastarsi', ?σ: Or O {Sr.}

mōga 'idiot', Arr {Hw.} mōk 'stupid, ignorant' ¶ R WBd 163-4, R WB 268, Brl. 307, Sr. 369, Hw. A 385 || WCh: Hs mūgū 'bad, evil', Gw {Mts.} mūgu 'bad' | NrBc (←b- Hs?): Cg {Sk.} mūgunti, Kry {Sk.} mūgúnz̃h̃, Jmb {Sk.} mūgúntažú 'bad' ¶ Ba. 797, Abr. H 68O, ChC s.v. 'bad' ¶ OS #1705 (\*mag- 'be bad'; forms of Bj, Or, and Hs quoted earlier in IS) ||

**A:** M \*māyu 'bad' > MM [LV] {Pp.} mayui, [HI] mau 'bad', [S] maou(n) 'schlecht, übel', [IM] {Pp.} mau 'stingy, damned; bad', WrM magu, HIM мүү тū, Ord, Brt, Kl, MnR H {SM} тū, Dx mau 'bad, evil' ¶ Pp. IM 83, Pp. MA 441, Pp. L III 69, KW 269, Ms. H 74, H 107, MED 52O, SM 243, T 346, T DnJ 128 ◇ IS II 38 [#275] (\*magu > HS [C, Ch], M).

**1376.** \*mig∇ 'make a present' > HS: S \*✓mgn 'make a present' > Ph ✓mgn D 'offer', BHb ✓mgn D (pf. נָגַן mig'gen) 'give up, hand over', Ug ✓mgn G 'make a present, donate', {OLS} id., 'show hospitality', Ug, Pun, Plm mgn 'gift, present', Pun mgnh 'gift, offering', JPA, SmA, MHb נָגַן mag'gān '(undeserved) gift, present; gratis', Ar مَجَانٌ maġġān- 'gratuitious, jolly', مَجَانٍ maġġān-an 'free of charge, gratis', Ak NA/NB/Bg/Nz magannu 'gift, present', ana maganna 'gratis' (the unexpected -nn- may be due to reborrowing, possibly pre-Ak or Archaic Ak \*magan- → Hur {Lar.} maganni 'gift, present' → Ak magannu); the hyp. (Sd., CAD) of an IIR origin of the word (cp. OI magha-) is hardly acceptable (Laroche is right to reject it and to suggest that the word is of S origin), also because no word resembling \*magħann- is known in IIR ¶ KB 517, A #1513, OLS 264, HJ 593-4, BK II 1066, Hv. 709, CAD X/1 31-2, Sd. 574-5, Lar. GLH 164, Speiser H 39 ||

**IE:** NaIE (att. in IIR) \*meg<sub>1</sub>ω<sub>2</sub><sup>h</sup>- 'present, gift', \*omeng<sub>1</sub>ω<sub>2</sub><sup>h</sup>- prs. (with a nasal infix of prs.) 'make a present, grant' > OI ma'gha-hi 'gift', Av maga- 'gift, grace'; OI 'mamħatē 'gives, grants, bestows', Av mazara*ii*- 'Reichtum spendend' ¶ MK II 538-9, 545-6, ≈ ME II 286, 289-90 ||

**U:** \*miȝe- ({Jn. \*mexi-}) 'give, sell' > F түү-, түө-, Es түү- 'sell', Lv {Ktn.} mī- & mū- id., mīməz, Lv I {Ktn.} mīm ~ mūm 'gifts of a bride to the retinue of the bridegroom' | pLp {Lr.} \*mēkz- 'sell' > Lp: Kld мīгкэ, {TI} mīkə-, Nt {TI} mīk:a- id. | Er, Mk мие- miye- 'sell' | Prm d. \*med ({LG} \*mēd) > Vt мēд med 'wages', Z мēд med id., 'reward' || ObU {Ht.} \*mī-, \*mīȝ-/\*mīȝ- 'give' > pVg \*mī-, \*mīȝ-, \*mäy- > Vg: Т mä- / mäy- & mäw- / mäy-, LM/MK/LK mi- / miȝ- / mäy-, P mi- / mäy- /

māy-, LL mi- / māy-, UL/Ss mi- / miꝝ- / may-; pOs {Ht.} \*mě- / \*měy- > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K mě- / měy-, Nz/Kz mā- / mīy-, O mā- / miy- id. || Sm {Jn.} \*mi- 'give, sell' > Ne: T d. inf. ми-ць, T O {Lh.} mí-ć, F mí?š; Ng d. 1s aor. obcj. mīji?ema, p. misi?ema; En inf. ми-ть, {Cs.} d. 1s aor. obcj. mi?ebo; Slq Tz {KKIH} inf. mi-qo; Kms {KD} 1s p. mēlēm ~ məlēm ~ mīlēm, Koyb {Sp.} 1s prs. мелямъ id; Mt {Hl.} \*mi-'geben, hingeben' ({Sp.} міямъ 'I give') ¶ Coll. 37, UEW 275, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP \*mexi-, Ugr migi-, Sm \*mi- 'give, sell'), SK 356-7, Ktn. 226, Lr. #663, SaR 189, TI 250, LG 171, Ht. #378, Jn. 94, KKIH 130, KD 40, Hl. M #667 ◇ BmK 636 (IE, S, U) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #194 (\*ma-n ~ \*ma-k ~ \*ma-r 'hand/give/mrasure') (U, Gil + err. IE, A, Ai, Y, Ko, J, CK).

**1377.** <sup>2</sup> \*mU<sup>ř</sup>i<sup>g</sup>Δ (= \*mUřigΔ?) 'snake' > HS: C: LEC \*māg-a > Kns {BIO} māk-ā, Gdl {Bl.} māk-a 'snake', Or {Th.} māga, {Brl.} maga 'intestinal worm(s)', {Grg.} māgā 'ascarid (roundworm)' ¶ BIO 1O4, Bl. GD 77, Th. 231, Brl. 287, Grg. 27O || NrOm: She {CR} māg 'ε snake' ¶ CR NGS 621 || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} māyī 'snake, worm', {Mch.} māgi 'snake' | ? Msg {Mch.} wāla mógo id. || WCh: ? Ngz {Mk.} mikđa, {Sch.} mbíkđa id. ¶ ChC, ChL, JS 242, Lk. L 1O6, Sch. DN 114 ¶ Blz. OL s.v. 'snake' || S \*°✓mřg > Ar ✓mřg TD 'ramper, s'avancer en décrivant des courbes' (un serpent), 'serpenter, couler en serpentant' (un ruisseau) ¶ BK II 1125 || A ~ \*mUyKΔ 'snake' > Tg \*mužki ({DQA \*mūkū}) 'snake' > Neg L mīxi, Neg {PSchm.} miyki, Orc mīki, Ul mui, Nn Nh/B/KU muyki, WrMc meyxe, Mc Sb mejxe 'snake', Ork mui ~ tuyxi id., 'worm', Ud miki {Shn.} 'small snake', {Krm.} 'adder' ¶ S AJ 217 [#181] (pTg \*mūkū), ~ STM I 537-8, Krm. 26O || M \*mogayi 'snake' > MM [MA, IM, IsV, LM] moyai, WrM mogai (pl. mogas), HlM, Brt могой, Ord mogj, Kl moħa moyā, {Rm.} moyā ~ moyā, MnR H {SM} mu'q\_uē, {T} mugue, MMgl {Iw.} moyāj, Mgl {Rm.} mayōj, Dg mogø, Dx mogi, Pa moguj id. ¶ Pp. MA 238, 442, Pp. L III 7O, Lg. VMI 54, MED 541, Chr. 297, SM 244, T 346, T DnJ 128, T BJ 142, Iw. 116, KW 263, Rm. M 33, Mr. D 183 || T \*°mökäle > OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} bökä 'a big snake' ¶ Cl. 324, TL 18O || pJ {S} \*múkátaj ~ \*múkátja 'centipede' > OJ mukádè, J: T mukade, K mukádè, Kg mukáde ¶ S QJ #344, Mr. 487 ¶ S AJ 36, 257 [181], 293 [437], and DQA #1332 adduce Ko Ph mə,k-kuri 'ε big black snake' (NKO mə,k kurə,ŋi), but the latter is obviously a cd. of mə,k '(black) ink' and kuri, kurə,ŋi 'snake' (see Rm SKE 145 and MLC 609 s.v. mek kwulengi [mə,k kurə,ŋi]) ¶ ~ S AJ l.c., SDM97 (A \*mūk'ø

'snake'), DQA #1332 (A \*mjūko id.) ◇ The long vw. in C and the Tg diphthong \*u̥j point to the presence of a N lr. The lr. is \*f or \*v, provided that Ar  $\check{m}\acute{r}g$  TD belongs here. The glottalization of N \*-g- to \*-k- underlying Tg \*mu̥ki suggests that the lr. was \*f.

**1378.** 2 \*mæhgæ 'young, small' > IE: NaIE \*mēgh-/\*mōgh-/\*məgh- 'young (person), little, small' > Clt \*magus ( $\times$  NaIE {Huld} \*maghus 'young man') > Gl \*magu- 'young', magulus 'servant', OgIr maguno- '≈ slave, servant (?)', OIr mu̥g (gen. mog-a) 'boy, servant', {IEC} 'male slave\servant', Crn maw 'youth, servant', MW meu-dwū cd. 'God's servant, ascetic, hermit'; f.: Crn mowes 'maid-servant, girl', Br maouez 'woman' || Gmc ( $\times$  NaIE {Huld} \*maghus 'young man'): Gt magus, OSx magu 'son', ON mōgr 'son, young man', AS māzō (pl. mæc̥jas) 'son, man, servant'; d.: AS mæȝ 'wife, mother, maiden', NE may; Gmc {Wtk.} d. \*magadi- (< NaIE d. {Wtk., P} \*magho-ti-) > Gt magaþ-s 'young woman', OSx magath, OHG magad 'maid, girl, virgin', NHG Magd ( $\leftrightarrow$  dim. Mädchen 'girl'), AS mæȝ(e)ð 'girl, maiden, wife', NE maid; dim. \*magadin- > AS mæȝðen 'virgin, maiden, female servant' > NE maiden || Lt māž-as 'small, few', Ltv maz-s 'small', Pru massai̥s 'less', Lt mōžis 'smallness' | Sl \*mězinъ / \*mězinъ-jъ 'small', 'young' (of a child) > OR **МѢЗИНЪЫН** mězinyj 'smallest, youngest', R Δ 'мизин' 'small, little (klein)', OUk ми'зинъй 'youngest (младший)', Blr Δ 'мезинъй' 'little finger, smallest, youngest', Slk Δ mězeni pal'ec 'little finger' (pal'ec 'finger'), OCz mězený prst 'the fourth finger (adjacent to the little finger)' (prst 'finger'), P † mieziny 'smallest' (of fingers);  $\leftrightarrow$  [1] Sl \*mězinъкъ 'youngest son', 'little finger' > SCr mězinak, Slv mězinek 'favourite son (the youngest one)', P Δ mizynek id., 'little finger', Uk ми'зинок 'little finger', Δ мізинок 'youngst child'; [2] Sl \*mězinъсь 'youngest child, little finger' > OR **МѢЗИНЪЦЪ** mězinъсь 'youngest son', R ми'зинец 'little finger', SCr mězimac 'youngest son', mjèzinac, mìzinac, Slv mězinec id., 'little finger' || ??? Av maχava-'unmarried' ¶ Hardly here ( $\Leftrightarrow$  Jokl and P) Al T makth 'leveret' ({Or.}): Al T makth, Al G mākth id.  $\leftrightarrow$  Al mang 'small [of animals], urchin' [supposedly  $\leftrightarrow$  L mancus 'maimed, infirm']); not here Av maχava-'unmarried' (< NaIE {Huld} maghus 'young man') ¶ WP II 228 (\*māg̥h- 'sth. small', \*maghu- 'boy, unmarried'); AHDI 38 (\*maghu-), P 696

(\*mag<sup>h</sup>-os, f. \*mag<sup>h</sup>-ā), EI 656 (\*maghus 'young man', \*maghwih<sub>A</sub>- 'young woman') (all of them do not take into account BSI); Vn. M 70-1, Billy 1O2, Vr. 4OO, Fs. 339, Ho. 21O, 214, Ho. S 49, Kb. 649, OsS 582, KM 452-3, Frn. 422-3, En. 2O8, ESSJ XVIII 227-31, Srz. II 24O, Vs. II 62O, O 242-3 || HS: S: Ar mahk-at- ~ muhk-at- 'young age' (-hk- < N \*-hg- [as.?]); less probably ?amħaqu 'petit, qui n'a pas grandi' (presumably ← ?amħaqu 'unprosperous' from √mħq 'efface, deny blessings of God' ¶ BK II 1O68-9, 1162, Hv. 71O, 738 || B \*mīk (< \*\*mīhk- < \*\*mīhg-??) 'few' > SII {Ds.} imik(k) (imikk wamān 'un peu d'eau'), Izd imik 'few' (originally 3s m. of the verb \*mīk-), ? Tmz īmiq 'peu, un peu, un peu de' ¶ Ds. 218, Mrc. 191, TM 415 || ? Eg XVIII mgħ 'young warrior' ¶ EG II 164 ◇ Hardly here D \*mak<sub>L</sub>a 'young person, child', which is likely to be connected with N \*maķū 'baby, son' (q.v.) ◇ ≠ Bm. 443 (IE, D).

**1379.** \*‘mūyga 'mist, fog, cloud' > IE: NaIE \*‘meiḡh- / \*‘mīgħ- id. > OI mē'gha- 'cloud, cloudy weather', 'mīh- 'mist, fog', Av maēġa- 'cloud', Phl, CINPrs {VI., Sg.} مَبْعَثَةٌ mēġ, NPrs {BM} مَبْعَثٌ mīġ 'mist, fog, cloud', Oss I mīġ, Oss D meġħä id. || Arm սէգ mēg (gen. սիզի mīgi) 'mist, fog, haze' (← Irn?) || ON mist-r (Gmc \*mixstaz) 'cloudy weather', NNr misstr, mōstr, Sw, Dt mist, AS mist (< \*mixsta-) 'fog, mist', NE mist || Sl \*mīga > 'mist, cold fog' > R Δ μρά 'hoarfrost, snowstorm, cold mist', 'fog in warm summer', SCr Δ μερά 'drizzle', Cz mīha 'mist, fog', R Δ мжитъ, P Δ mžyć, Cz mžíti 'to drizzle' || d. NaIE \*mīgħ-<sub>1</sub> lā > Gk ὄμιξλη (↓ Gk A ὄμιξλη) 'mist, fog' || pAl {O} \*megħu<sub>1</sub> lā > Al mjegull 'cloud' || BSI: Lt miglā, Ltv miglā 'fog' | Sl \*mīgla 'fog' > ChS, OR МЬГЛА mīglā, R, Uk мгла, Blg мъ'гла, SCr māglā, Slv māglā, Cz mlha, Δ mhla, Slk hmla, P mgla 'mist, fog, haze' || here?: Gmc: Dt Δ miggelen, miegelen, NGr WF miggelje v. 'drizzle' ¶ ≈ WP II 246-7, ≈ P 712, ≈ EI 11O (\*h<sub>3</sub>meiḡh-, \*h<sub>3</sub>mīgħleħ<sub>A</sub>- 'drizzle, mist'), M K II 68O-1, M E II 374-5, MW 831-2, Horn 226, VI. II 1256, Ab. II 117, Bai. 341, F II 387, O 269, Vr. 389, Vr. N 446-7, Ho. 223, Vs. II 587-8, ESSJ XXI 92-7, 182-3, Ma. CS 3O1, 315, Glh. 394, Slt. 186 || ? U: FU \*°mük∇ > Es SVI {W} mügar 'large thin clouds' (unless ← Es mügar 'protuberance') ¶ W EDW 7O4 || HS: C: Bj {R} 'magħwa 'cloud, rain-cloud' || ??σ EC: pSam {Hn.} \*múgdì 'darkness' > Rn mügdì, Sml {ZMO} mugdi 'darkness, dark days of the month (period of the waning moon)', pBn {Hn.} \*múgtż̃ 'darkness' (> Bn: Bi

mútt<sub>3</sub>, Sa múgti, J/Kj múgt<sub>3</sub>, K mū?utt<sub>3</sub>) || R WBd 164, Hn. S 91, Hn. BD 1O1. ZMO 295, PG 228 || A: M {S} \*<sup>o</sup>möki > Ba {BuL} mok<sub>3</sub> 'cloud' || S AJ 239 [#125] || T \*mūg 'steam, fog, cloud' > Tkm būy 'steam', Osm {Zen.} buy, Tk Δ buy ~ boy 'cloud, steam', ET {Nj.} buy, Qrg бүү бүү, Nog бүв був 'steam', Qzq бүү був, Chg {Rl. ← VZ} مُؤْمَنْ muw 'steam, perspiration (Dampf, Ausdünstung)' || ET B 229-3O, Rl. 1799, 18O4, 2174, TkR 116, Jud. 163, Nj. 22O || S AJ 295 [#532], SDM95 (A \*mök<sup>2</sup> 'cloud' > Ba), and DQA #1341 (A \*mok<sup>2</sup> 'cloud' > Ba) || D \*muk<sup>2</sup>-({<sup>o</sup>GS} \*-g-) 'cloud' > Tm, Ml mukil, Tu mugal<sub>3</sub> ~ mugal<sub>3</sub>, Tl mogulu ~ moyilu, Klm morgar, Prj malgur, Gnd moyol ~ moyol ~ moyyelid., Td niş muxuʃm 'mist on hills in morning', Kn mugil, Gdb mogul ~ moggul 'cloud; sky' || D #4892 ◇ The cns. \*k in FU and M is accounted for by their original postcons. position (postcons. \*g > \*k). The element \*-l<sup>2</sup> in IE \*mig<sup>h</sup>-l<sup>2</sup>lā and in D \*muk<sup>2</sup>- may belong to the ancient heritage: a N compound (→ derived word?) \*<sup>o</sup>\*müyga-l<sup>2</sup> ◇ On N and pIE '- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ Blz. LB #63 (suggested to adduce Sam \*mugdi).

**1380.** (2?) \*mag<sub>1</sub>i<sub>2</sub>za 'liver' > HS: Eg fP myz.t 'liver' ({DW} id., {EG}: 'ein inners Organ, neben Lunge und Milz; vermutlich die Leber') > DEg myz 'liver' > OCpt ΜΑΟΥΣ maus id. || DW I 357-8, EG II 44, Er. 187, Vc. 127 || NrOm {Blz.} \*mayz- 'liver' > Bnc {Wdk.} māy 'heart, liver', She {Fl.} may 'liver', Cha {Fl.} mayya, Bdt, Kcm mayye, Gdc māyye, Gnj, Zs, Zrg maye, Male māyz<sub>1</sub>, {Fl.} mayz, Bsk māy<sub>3</sub>z, {Fl.} mauz, Dk mayz 'liver' || Blz. OLBD #78, Wdk. BY 1O7 || Tk. I 8O || The origin of \*y for the expected guttural is not clear || u \*maksa 'liver' > F maksa, Es maks id. | pLp {Lr.} mōksē > Lp: S {Hs.} müöksei, U {Schl.} müeksē, Vfs {Lgc.} müök'si id. | pMr {Ker.} \*maksъ > Er makso, Mk макса maksə id. | pChr {Ber.} \*moks > Chr: L/H мокш mokš, E/U/B mokš, M moks id. | pPrm {LP} \*musk- id. > Z, Vt myc mus || pObU {Ht.} \*m̥yəθ > pVg \*m̥yət / māyt- id. > OVg S Vt матъ, OVg S Ss maat, OVg N SoO мáитъ, OVg W Sol méť, Vg: T mayət, LK māt, MK/UK/SV/LL m̥t, P mat, NV m̥t ~ moyt, UL/Ss māyət, nom. pl.: LK/P moyt-ət, MK/UK māytət, NV/LL maytət; pOs \*muγəθ id. > Os: V/Vy muγəl, Ty muγəθ, Y muwəθ, D/K/Nz muχət, Kz mōχəθ, O māχəl | Hg māj id. || Sm {Jn.} \*m̥itъ id. > Ne: Т мыйд, T Sd {Lh.} m̥t̥, T O {Lh.} m̥t̥, F {Lh.} m̥t̥; Ng {Mik.} 'mitə; En X {Cs.} muro, En B {Cs.} mudо; Slq Tz {KKIH} m̥t̥t̥, Slq Tm {KD} m̥t̥d̥; Kms {KD} m̥t̥t̥; Koyb {Sp.} мëттъ id. || UEW 264, Coll.

33, Db. OS xxxi, Sm. 538 (U, FU \*m̥ksā, FP \*m̥eksā, Ugr \*m̥kθā, Sm \*m̥tə 'liver'), MF 417-8, It. #27, Lr. #688, Schl. 98, Hs. 95O, Ker. II 83, Ber. 37, MRS 328, Ep. 7O, PsS 72, Lt. 2O8, LG 179, Ht. 163 [#382], Jn. 93-4, Lh. 266, KKIH 134 || ?φ Α: T \*bagir 'liver' > OT, Chg, Tkm, Osm, Az, CrTt, Slr bayır, OQp bāyır, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qq, Qzq bawır, Qrg, Tv, Tf bār, Alt būr, ET beyir, Xk pār, Yk bıar id.; with front vowels Chv пѣвѣр рәver id. ¶ Does Chv рәver suggest a pre-harmonic OT \*bagir? ¶ Cl. 317, ET B 17-2O, TL 278-9, Jeg. 155 ¶ The T cns. \*-r and the absence of any reflex of N \*-z- (unless \*-r is this reflex) are not yet explained.

**1381. \*magy<sup>E</sup>** 'to swing, to wave, to sway' > HS: S \*°✓m̥ymy > Ar ✓m̥ymy D (+ prp. fī) 'shake sth. in (water)', {BK} 'agiter qc. ça et là, p.ex. un linge dans l'eau, pour faire en aller les saletés' ¶ Hv. 727, BK II 1133 || IE \*meH(j)-/\*moH(j)- v. 'wave, swing' > Lt mó-ti (1s p. mójau) 'to wave (one's hand, etc.)', Ltv mā-t 'to wave, to beckon' | Sl \*majá-ti (1s prs. \*májø) 'to wave, to beckon' > SCr mājati 'to beckon (with the hand, head), to move quickly to and fro', Slv májati 'to move to and fro, to swing, to shake', OR မာတိ maati 'agitare, vibrare', မာတိ majati id., 'to wave (hand)', Uk 'маяти vt. 'to wave', vi. 'to flutter'; Cz mávatí 'to wave' || Gk μῖμος 'imitator, mimic; actor, mime' ¶ IS III 35-44 (with further details), ~ ESSJ XVII 132-4 (against the distinction between Sl \*majati 'to wave' and \*majati 'to linger' [in fact from NaIE \*mā|ō(j)- 'be\make tired\exhausted' < N \*maXyΔ 'lose force, weaken, be worn out']), Frn. 466-7, F II 241 (no decision about the et. of μῖμος) || Α {AD} \*māyi-, {IS} \*mayi- > M \*mayi-: \*mayimar > WrM maimar, HlM маймар, Kl {Rm.} māmṛ 'unsteadily' (of gait), \*mayimari- > WrM maimari-, HlM маймра-, Kl мәэмр- māmṛ- v. 'walk unsteadily, reel'; WrM maimagar, HlM маймгар, Kl {Rm.} māmayṛ adj. 'having an unstady gait'; \*mayiga > WrM maiga, HlM майга 'bandy-legged, crooked-legged, in-toed', Kl мәәһг māybg 'crooked' (of legs), {Rm.} 'kuhbeinig'; Brt майзагар 'bent, crooked' ¶ MED 522-3, KRS 346, KW 259, Chr 29O || T: [1] \*māy- 'bend, swing' > Tkm māyip 'cripple', adj. 'crippled', таумид 'curved\bent', Qzq mayis-, Qrg mayiš- vi. 'bend oneself\itself'; [2] T \*may-r- vt. 'bend, sway' > Tkm mayir- vt. 'cripple, mutilate', Qzq mayir- vt. 'bend', 'за-\с-гибать', Qrg mayriy- 'get crooked\bent' ('кривиться'); [3] T \*may-ba- 'walk unsteadily, have an unsteady gait' >

Qrg *maypay-* v. 'waddle, walk slowly', *maypar* 'having sick legs, stumble' (of horses); [4] Qrg *maytar-* vt. 'bend (a point\spike)' ('загнуть') ¶ ~ Cl. 348, 772-3, MM 233-4, Sht. 139, Jud. 511-2, TkR 439-40 || Tg \*māyi ~ \*mēyi- 'sway, swing' > Ewk məy- vi. 'swing, rock', Lm mə̄i- ~ məy- vt. 'swing', WrMc *maymada-* ~ *maymida-* vi. 'stagger, hobble', miyəχude- ~ miyəχude ({STM} máχude ~ méχude) vi. 'frisk, jump' (of animals), 'rush about, rush (to attack so.)' ¶ STM I 543, 564, Z 863 || pK {S} \*mūj-//\*mūj'ú- v. 'shake, sway' > MKo mūj-/mūj'ú-, NKo † mūj- ¶ S QK #563, Nam 224, MLC 685 ¶ DQA #1270 (A \*meyu 'to shake, to sway') || D \*°may- 'mix, be\make unsteady' > Kdg me·k- vt. 'mix thoroughly' || D (in SD) \*may- 'be bewildered, confused' (× D \*mač- 'be mad, be intoxicated' < N \*m'A'č̣ṿg̣ id., 'be foolish', q.v.) > Tm *maya* v. 'mistake, misunderstand', Ml *mayakku* 'perplexity, doubt', Kn *mayamu*, *maymu* 'bewilderment, perplexity' ¶ D #47O6 ◇ IS III 35-48 (\*maḥy[e] in IE, D, A + [with a query] S roots \*✓my + cns.) (with detailed information on the reflexes in individual lgs. within IE, A, and D); the D cognate (absent in IS MsN) was proposed by the editors of IS III.

**1382. \*mūhi** (or \*mūhyi?) 'water, fluid' > **HS: S:** [1] with loss of \*h: S \*may- ~ \*māy- (~ \*'maway-??) 'water' > OAk {G} nom. pl. t. ma?ū, Ak OA {Sd., CAD} mā?ū, Ak B/fMA mū nom. pl. t., Eb (SumSc) {Co., Rnb.} ma-u6 (= {Co.} [māyū], ma-wu ({Frnz.} [māwū]), OCn (AkSc) abs. du. t. or pl. t. mēma, mumi, BHb מַיִם 'mayim pl. t. (cs. מַיִם), Ug my, pl. mym, OA cs. my (+ ppa. 3m mẉh), IA abs. myn, IA, Nbt em. my?, JA may'y-ā, Sr مَاءٌ may'y-ā, Md mia, mai, Ar nom. sg. mā?-u (~ māh-un) (-?- < \*-y- reg. , see Br. AG § 64e), Sb mw sg. (< \*mā?u?) 'water', → (?) Sb/Mn pl. mẉy, Gz māy, Mh {Jo.} ḥe-mōh (dim. mīyāhen), Hrs {Jo.} ḥe-'myōh, Jb {Jo} C 'e-'mih, Jb E {Jo.} 'e-'mi, Jb C/E dim. 'miyōh, Bth {Jo.} muh id. ¶ The alternative S reconstructions \*mawy- and \*ma'way- are highly qu., because the reg. reflexes of \*aw or \*a'wa are at variance with those attested (e.g. the reg. Gz reflex of \*mawy- and \*ma'way is \*mōy rather than māy) ¶ G OA 166-7, Sd. G §§ 54b, 61a, CAD X/1 149-56, Co. SQF 172, Frnz. EL 145, 156, Rnb. 92, KB 546, HJ 620-1, A #1559, OLS 266-7, BK II 1164, 1169, Sl. 662-3, Br. 383, DM 242, 265, BK II 1169, BGMR 88, MA 63, LG 376, Jo. M 274-5, Jo. H 92, Jo. J 176 ¶ In several lgs. the word was reinterpreted as du.\pl. due to its stem-final \*y (resembling the sx. of du.) 1[2] with preservation of \*h: WS \*✓mhw 'be watery\clear' (of a liquid) > Ar

✓ *mhw G* (pf. *mahwā*) 'be watery' (of milk), (pf. *mahā*) 'be white-haired' (of a beast'), *mahw-* 'clear milk', *Gz ✓mhw G* (pf. *mahwa* ~ *mahawa*, js. *yamhaw*) vi. 'melt, be liquefied \ dissolved', ? *Ug mh* 'water' (a variant form) ¶ LG 334, Hv. 738-9, OLS 266-7 || Eg ∀, DEg *mω* ({Vc.} < \**mωy*) (= {Vrg.} \**mawy-*), *mωw* 'water' (originally pl. t.) > Cpt: Sd **MOOY** *mōu*, B **MWOY** *mōu* (= {Vc.} *mōw*), F **MAY** *maw* id.; Eg Md *mwy* 'be wet' (of a wound), Eg fMd *mwy.t* 'moisture, wetness', possibly also Eg Md *mwy*, *mwy.t* 'urine' (which is uncertain, because the reflexes in DEg *m³* and Cpt: Sd/B **MH** *mē*, Cpt Sd **MI** *mi* 'urine' are different from those of *mω* 'water') ¶ EG II 50-3, DW I 353-68, Er. 147, 154, Vc. 107, 126 || C: Dhl {To., EEN} *ma?a*, {E} *m̄a?a* 'water' || SC: Irq {Wh.} *m̄ay*, {E, MQK} *ma?ay*, Grw {Wh.} *m̄ay*, Brn/Alg {Wh., E} *ma?ay*, Kz {E} *ma?aya*, Asa {E} *ma?a*, {Fl.} *maya* 'water'; SC → Mb {E} *ma?i* id. || Bj {R} *mū?* (pl. *mi?*) 'Feuchtigkeit, Nässe', {Rop.} *mi?ə* 'damp', {R, Rop.} *mi?- scv.* 'feucht\naß\flüssig sein', 'be\become damp' || ? Ag: Xm {R} *maw-* 'fließig werden' (← EthS?) ¶ R WBd 161, R Ch II 83, Rop. 213, Wh. IC 26, ESC 156, MQK 68, EEN 36, To. D 142 ¶ Sml *māh* 'water that accumulates in a well; spring' (ZMO 266) (adduced in IS II 62-3 in R's inaccurate transcription *māh-i* 'fresh flowing water' [R SS II 289]) hardly belongs here because of its lr. *h*; it may rather belong together with Ar pf. *māha* (ip. *yamīhu*) 'descend into a well for drawing water' (Hv. 741) || Ch: WCh: SBc: Grn {Sh.} *mā* 'water' | AG: Ang {Flk.} *mωē* 'sap, milky juice', *yitmwe* 'tears', Su {J} *yit-mwān* 'tears' (in both lgs. cd. with *yit*, *yit* 'eye[s]') || CCh: BB: Gude {IL in ChC} *ma?in*, FIM {ChL} *m̄i*, FIB *m̄ayin* 'water' ¶ Flk. s.v. *mωē* and *yit*, JS 89, JI II 340-1, ChC, ChL ¶ It is tempting to adduce here the B word for 'water' (Ah *amān*, Kb, Shl, etc. *aman*), but in the light of the Gnc glossas AHEMON, AEMON 'water' (where H is a sign for hiatus, acc. to the spelling norms of Sp and Fr) the stem is not \**m-* ~ \**maH-*, as reconstructed by Pr. (Pr. M IV 146), but \*-<sup>?</sup>*ama*x- (sc. \*-<sup>?</sup>*amaH|w|y-*) related to S \**yamm-* 'body of water' and Ch \**Ham-* 'water' < N \**yām* 'body of water' (q.v. ffd.); but the HS √ \**ma*y<sub>w</sub>- may have contaminated with \**yam-* and is likely to account for the long vw. of the last syll. (as reflected in Pr.'s rec. \*\**Ha-māH-an*, that in the light of the Gnc data we modify to \**?a-?ama*x-an) || IE: NaIE \**meugə-* / \**mū-* '≈ plunge, wash' > BSl: Sl \**mī-ti* (1s prs. \**m̄jø* ~ \**m̄tjø*) v 'wash' > OCS

**МЫТИ** mítí / **МЫНК** mítq, SCr míti / míjém, Slv míti / míjém, Cz móti, P myć- R **мыть** / 'мою id., Blg 'мия v. 'plunge, wash' | Ltv Δ māut 'to plunge, to swim', Lt māudytí 'to bathe', Pru aumūsnan 'Abwaschung' ||| Arm -մոյն -moyn 'plunged in' || Gk Cpr μυλάσασθαι vi. 'to wash oneself' || ? MDt moy, Dt mooi, LG moi(e) 'beautiful' (< \*'clean' < \*'watery, clear') ¶ ≈ WP 249ff., ≈ P 741, F II 268, Frn. 417, ESSJ XXI 76-9, Vs. III 26, Glh. 413, Kar. I 573-4, Vr. N 453-4, EI 108 (\*m(e)uH- 'wash [in urine]') || **A:** Tg \*մաղ 'water' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ork mā, Lm mō, Ul mā ~ muž, Nn Nh muž 'water', Ud mu- 'water' in ds. mudž 'inundation', mudž sinž 'water-rat', Jrc mu ({Lg.} = [mā]) 'water', WrMc d. muke id. ¶ STM I 548, Krm. 262, Kiy. 1OO [#O51] || JK: pJ {S} mí(-n-tú) 'water' > OJ midu, J: T mīzu, K mīzu, Kg mí], Ns mùží, Sh mīží, Ht mīžt, Y mīñ || ?? Kgr {Lee} \*mie 'water' ¶ Lee GKS 37, S AJ 268 [#87], S QJ #87, Mr. 483 ¶ S AJ 28-9, 69, 86, 278, and SDM97 (s.v. \*mū:ri) suggest to connect the Tg and J words with M \*mören 'river', which is hardly convincing. On the M √ see N \*mōRE 'body of water' || **D** {GS} \*mī- 'wash' > Td mi·y- v. 'bathe', Kn mī, mīyu v. 'take a bath, bathe', Tu mī-pini id., v. 'wash oneself', Prj mī-, Gnd miy-, mī- 'to bathe', Kui mīva v. 'lave\bathe\anoint oneself', Ku mīali 'bathe (oneself), mī- 'bathe', ? Krx mūž- v. 'wash the face of' (Pf.: < D \*mī-nč-), Mlt munže v. 'wash another's face', munžre v. 'wash one's own face' ¶ GS 49 [#121], D 4878, Pf. 41 ◇ IS II 62-3 (\*mēwū 'water, moisture': HS, IE, Tg), AD GD 1.

**1383. \*mäkē, \*mäkē-tE** 'top, head, hill' > **HS** (× N \*muk∇ 'top, head, hill[ock]'): CCh: McMgg: Msg {Rlf.} mágé-ni 'his head', {Ov.} muk 'head', Mnj {Trn.} mok id. ¶ AMS 253, Ss. B 148 || ?? C: EC \*mug- 'head' (unless from N \*muk∇) > Cm {Hw.} müga?-te, Brj {Ss.} müg-a 'head' ¶ Blz. CWL, ≈ Ss. B 148 || **U:** [1] U \*mäke 'hill' > F mäki (gen. mäen) 'hill, mountain', Es mägi (gen. mäe), Krl, Vp mägi id., Lv mäg\_ 'mountain' || Os: Vy mü, Ty miꝝ, Y miw 'grassy hummock' ('Bülte, kleiner Rasenhügel', 'кочка'), d.: Os SI mäøsta id. ({Stn}: < \*miꝝøsta) || ? Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} makka 'small woody hill', Slq {Cs.}: Tz/Ke/Ch/NP/UO/B makka, Nr maka 'grassy knoll (Rasenhügel)', d. Tz/Ke/Ch/NP/UO/B makkal, Nr makal 'hügelig, mit Rasenhügeln versehen' || Y: OY Ch {Mat.} maka 'stone', ?? (× N \*muk∇ '↑'): pY {IN} \*mug- 'hill, (?) rock' > K T mug-il 'high ground, eastern side of a ridge of hills' || [2] U \*mäkte 'hill, grassy knoll' > F mätäs (gen.

mättäǟn), Es mätas (gen. mätta) 'hummock, tussock' | Lp N {N} miektä 'a species of Carex which forms tussocks and grows on bogs' || Sm {Jn.} \*mektъ 'small hill, grassy hillock' > Nn F Nl {Lh.} míe·t id., Slq Tz {KKIH} mëkti 'hummock, hill', LTz {KD} mäkte 'small hill', Slq Tm {KD} mëg\_d\_ə 'grassy hillock (kleiner Rasenhügel), Slq Ke mäktə 'heap, pile', Kms {KD} mek'te 'grassy hill, hillock (Rasenhügel, Erdhügel)', ? Koyb {Sp.} бакты 'hillock', ? Mt M {Sp.} нёхтө 'grassy hummock' ¶¶ UEW 266 (FU \*mäke 'Hügel, Berg', U \*mäkte 'Rasenhügel, Hügel'), Set. FUS 37 (equates BF with Slq mak(k)a), SK 358, ZM 342, Ktn. 238, Stn. 903-4, Trj. S 259, KKIH 128, 130, Cs. 171-2, 261, Jn. 92, KD 88, Hl. M #769, IN 236 || A: Tg \*megdin 'steep river-bank' > Lm mëydin, Neg mëgdin, Orc, Ul, Ork mëgdi(n-), Ud {Krm.} mogžo?, Nn Nh/KU mëgži, Nn B mëgži(n-) id., Ewk mëgdin 'terrace bank', WrMc mudun 'mountain slope with a low ridge' ¶ STM I 553-4, 563, Krm. 260 ◇ Rs. UAW 33 (U, A), IS MS 371 (\*mäkn 'hill' > Tg, BF), IS MsN s.v. \*mäkn (BF, Slq, Tg).

**1384.** <sub>2</sub> \*<sup>2</sup>\*<sup>2</sup>mi<sup>2</sup>k<sup>1</sup>o 'carry, bring, give in exchange' > **HS:** C: Ag: Bln {R} mūx-r- 'carry', mūxrā 'load, burden' ¶ R WB 267-8 || NrOm: Kf {C} miy-, Mch {L} miya- 'carry on the back', Kf miyō, Mch miyō 'load' ¶ C SE IV 476, L M 43 || IE: NaIE \*<sup>2</sup>meigw- 'exchange' > Gk ἀμετίω v. 'exchange', ἀμοιβή n. 'requital, recompense' ({Ch.} 'don en retour') || L migr-ō / -āre (← \*migw-ros 'wechselnd') 'change' (omnia migrant 'all things change' [Lucretius]), 'remove from one place to another' ¶ WP II 245, P 712, F I 90, Ch. 73-4, WH II 86-7 ◇ On N and pIE \*<sup>2</sup>- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ IE \*-gʷ- suggests that the N word-medial consonant was \*k, while the glottalized k in Bln is still to be explained.

**1384a.** \*muk<sup>2</sup>V 'top, head, hill(ock)' > **HS:** C: EC \*mug- 'head' > Cm {Hw.} mūga?-te, Brj {Ss.} mūg-a id. ¶ Blz. CWL, AMS 253, ≈ Ss. B 148 || CCh: McMMsg: Msg {Ov.} mok, Mnj {Trn.} mok 'head' ¶ ChC, Lk. DQM 102, Trn. LM 106 || U: pY {IN} \*mug- 'hill, (?) rock' > K T mug-il 'high ground, eastern side of a ridge of hills' ¶ IN 236, Ku. 157 || A: Tg \*mūku<sub>1</sub> > Lm O mukul 'steep slope, precipice (on the seashore), WrMc mūku 'hill'; NrTg \*muk- 'grassy hillock' > Ewk mūkz̥ id., Lm mūqъlrb id. ¶ STM I 563 || D \*mukať-, \*mukal- 'top' > Tm mulat̥u 'top, highest part, ridge of roof, hump of a camel', Ml mukaťu 'head-end of a cloth', mukal 'top, summit, ridge', Kt moy], Td muxul, Kn mogadu,

mogaļu, Tl mogadu 'ridge of roof', Tu mugili 'turret, top as of a temple', Gnd mukur 'comb of cock'; D → Sk mukuta-, OI BHS, Pali makutā, Prkr maula 'crest, diadem' §§ D #4888, Tu. #1O144 ◇ Is this etymon a var. of N \*mäkē 'top, head, hill' with the N vw. \*u due to the labializing infl. of N \*m-? ◇ Blz. DA #153 [#5]-(D, HS).

**1384b.** \*mô<sup>7</sup>k<sup>7</sup> 'tree, (piece of) wood' > **HS:** EC \*mukk- > Or muka {Grg.} 'tree, bush, woody plant', {Th.} 'tree, wood (legno), plant', Sml {DSI, ZMO} mukay 'in large tree that grows along a stream\river' || Bj ፩ [← Mz.?] mokʷa 'curved tent pole' || SC: pRt {E} \*muka 'stem, stalk' > Brn muka 'chaff', Asa mogengera 'root' § Grg. 293, Th. 249, ZMO 296, DSI 445, E PC #1O1 (pC \*mukʷ- 'stick'), E SC 343 || ?φ Eg P m̥c.t 'in plant, in tree' § EG II 34 || **D** \*mokk- 'piece of wood' > Tm mokkai id., 'stump', Tl mokka 'stub of wood', Gnd meka 'stump' §§ D #51O9 || **A:** Tg \*muk- (+ sxs.) 'stick, club' > Neg mukočan, Sln muqšā: 'club (weapon)', Ul mukča 'stick (part of fishing device)', WrMc {Z} muqšan 'stick, cudgel, fishing-stick (лъсина)', Lm moqol, muqamı 'harpoon haft' § STM I 553, Z 9O1 || T: ? Qrg buqa 'stick (of wood or horn) used to untie knots' § Jud. 156 ◇ EC \*-kk- (evidenced by Sml -k-), Tg -k-, D -kk-, and Eg -q- suggest the presence of a N lr. (\*?) within a cns. cluster (N \*-?k-?) ◇ Blz. DA #159 [#76 (incl. EC, SC, D)].

**1385.** \*mō<sup>7</sup>kE 'to press' > **HS:** S \*✓m̥k 'press, squeeze' > BHb ✓m̥k G (inf. -m̥ok) 'press, squeeze', MHb ✓m̥k G, D, JA ✓m̥k D 'crush, dissolve by rubbing', Ar ✓m̥k G vt. 'rub' § KB 579, BDB 59O, Js. 816, Fr. IV 193, Hv. 727 || **IE:** NaIE \*mag-/ \*mōg- 'knead, smear' > MBr mezaff 'to knead (pétrir pâte)', Br mezañ 'pétrir, faire du mortier', W maeddu 'to beat, to foul, to mix by pushing', OIr maistr- v. 'churn' ('baratter') || Gk μαγ- (prs. μάσσω, aor. ps. ἐμάγην) 'knead dough' || Sl \*máza-ti (prs. \*máž-q) 'to smear' > OCS МАЗАТИ mazati, SCr mázati, Slv mázati, Cz mazati, Slk mazat', P mazać, R 'мазать, Uk 'мазати 'to smear', Blg 'мажа' I smear' § ≈ WP II 226, ≈ P 696-7, ≈ Mn. 725 (all of them include here Gmc \*mak- 'make', see N \*me<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>kē 'to make, to work'), F II 18O-1, Vn. M 11-2, Flr. 256, Ern. 414, Hm. 567, YGM-1 321, F II 18O-1, Ch. 67O, ESSJ XVIII 21-37, Vs. II 557-8, Glh. 4O1-2, ≈σ EI 649 (Sl, Clt, Gk < ? \*mag- 'work with the hands, form, shape', see N \*me<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>kē '↑') || **D** {tr., §GS} \*mukk- v. 'strain, make great efforts, press' (× N \*muŋka|ū [= \*muŋka|ū?] 'to make great efforts, [?] to be heavy?') > Tm mukku, Kt muk- v. 'strain

as a woman in travail, make great efforts', Ml *mukkuka* v. 'strain, grunt, make an effort as in travail or when easing nature', *mikuka* v. 'press, strain at stool', Kt *muk-* v. 'make a strenuous effort, strain to deliver child', Td *muk-* v. 'grunt while defecating when constipated', Kn *mukkiri*, *mukkare* v. 'strain, make violent efforts in pain', Tu *mukkurū-* v. 'snort, grunt, growl', Tl *mukku-* 'strain', Png *mūk-* v. 'lift with effort' || A: T \**bog-* (\**mog-*) v. 'strangle, choke (so.), tighten (a knot), squeeze' > OT *boγ-* 'strangle, choke', MQp XIII *boγ-* 'strangle', Chg XV *boγ-* 'strangle, squeeze (the throat)', Osm {Rh.} *boγ-* 'choke, strangle, suffocate; constrict by binding', Tk *boğ-*, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, ET, Ln *boγ-*, Alt *b\_ū-*, Tf *b\_oy-*, Xk *poγ-* 'strangle, suffocate', VTt *bu-*, Bsh *b\_ow-* id., 'tie up', Tv *b\_oy-* 'strangle, choke, tighten (a knot)', Nog *b\_uw-* id., 'fasten (a loop)', Qzq *buw(I)-*, Qq *buw-* v. 'tie, tie together, pack', Qrg *bū-* 'tie up, constrict by binding', Chv *пāв-* *p̄v-* 'strangle, suffocate' (with irreg. *-b̄v-* due to morphological generalization [ffd. see Md. 44]), *p̄i-mak* 'constricted \ narrowed place (перехват, сужение)' (with a reg. *-i-* < T \*-og-) || Cl. 311, Rs. W 78, Rh. 404, ET B 164-5, TvR 112, Ra. 163, Sht. 58, Jud. 163, Md. 44, 174.

**1386. \*meh,kē** 'to make, to work' > IE: NaIE \**māg̃g-* > Gmc \**makkōn* 'to make' > OHG *mahhōn*, NHG *machen*, OSx *makōn*, Dt *maken*, AS *macian* 'to make, to build', NE *make* || ~ WP II 226, ~ P 696-7, ~ Mn. 725, ~ Ho. 209 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from \**māg̃g-* [their \**māg̃-*] 'press', see N \**mōske* 'to press'), F II 180-1, Vr. N 424, Ho. S 49, Kb. 652, OsS 585, KM 451, Hth. AE 209, ~ EI 649 (?) \**māg̃-* 'work with the hands, form, shape'; includes reflexes of NaIE \**māg̃-/mōg̃-* 'knead, smear' < N \**mōske* '↑') || U \**meke-* v. 'make, do, work', n. 'work, thing, deed' > OHg *miu* 'Handlung, Arbeit, Werk', Hg *mū* (accus. *mūvet*), Hg Δ *mīv* 'work', Hg *mūvel-* v. 'work' || Sm \**mey-* 'make' > Ne T *ми-сь*, Ne T O *mi-ś*, Ne F {Lh.} *mīedzā*, Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. obcj. *mē'áma*, En {Cs.} 1s aor. obcj. *mēbo* 'make', Slq Tz *mē-* 'make, build' || UEW 270, MF 454-5, EWH 1009, Jn. 92, KKIH 129 || HS: CCh: Mdr {ChL} *m̄ḡunam̄ḡa* 'do' || ChL || ?σ S \**✓mhk* > Ar *✓mhk* TD (pf. *تمحّك tamahhaka*) 'perform the work becomingly', {BK} 'faire qc. en artiste' (unless derived from *✓mhk* G v. 'pound, bruise') || Hv. 738, BK II 1162 ◇ ~ BmK 670-1 (\**mak'-/māk'* - 'to handle, to work with the hands': IE, U + err. HS: Hd *mikess-* 'to touch', Kmb *mekess-* 'to snatch', Irg *minqis-* 'to squeeze') ◇ The meaning of Gmc \**makkōn* 'to

'make' is usually explained by a semantic change 'knead, press' → 'make, build' in the history of IE (or Gmc), but the exact parallel in FU and CCh make that hyp. less probable (unless we presuppose a parallel semantic change in Gmc, FU, and CCh).

**1387.** \*mE<sub>k</sub>æ (or \*mE<sub>h</sub>æ) 'big' > IE \*meg<sub>H</sub>x-/\*meg<sub>O</sub>Hx-/\*meg<sub>O</sub>x- 'big' (accus. sg. m. \*'meg<sub>O</sub>Hx-m, nom.-accus. sg. ntr. \*'meg<sub>H</sub>x-, gen. sg. \*me<sup>1</sup>g<sub>H</sub>x-os, in cds.: \*m<sub>G</sub>Hx-) > NaIE \*meg- / \*meg<sup>h</sup>- 'big' (accus. sg. m. \*'meg-ō-m > Vd accus. sg. m. mahām; nom.-accus. sg. ntr. \*'meg<sub>a</sub> > Vd 'mahi, Gk μέγα; gen. sg. \*me<sup>1</sup>g<sup>h</sup>-os > Vd ma'ha-h ÷ Av G mazā [ffd. see Rsm. AT 84]). The representation in lgs.: Vd 'mahi' ntr. 'great, big'; IIr {M} d. \*maž<sup>h</sup>ānt- / \*maž<sup>h</sup>at- > OI ma'hān / accus. sg. ma'hānt-am / nom.-accus. ntr. ma'hat 'great, large', Av accus. m. mazānt-əm, ntr. mazat id. || Gk m. μέγας, ntr. μέγα, f. μεγάλη 'great, big', sprl. μέγιστος || Arm մեծ meç 'great, large, big' || L magnus 'big' (< NaIE \*meg-no-s), magis, [Plt.] mage 'bigger' || pAl {O} \*maza > Al madh 'big, large, tall' || OIr maige 'great, large', mochtæe 'big, powerful' || Gt mikils, ON mikill, OHG mihihil, OSx mikil 'big', AS mičel, myčel 'big, much' > NE much || pTc {Ad.} \*mākā > Tc: A māk, B māka 'many, much' || Ht mekk(i)- 'much, numerous' (< IE \*meg<sub>H</sub>x-iHx-) (nom.-accus. ntr. mekki, adverbial abl. meqqayaz), mekki adv. 'greatly, much', ? Lw {Lar.} maia- id. ({Lar.}: IE \*-g-, -g<sup>h</sup>-, \*-gH- > Lw -Ø-; Mlc. CL 145 rejects the existence of the word), ? HrLw {Ts.} man (< \*mayan-) 'much' (not mentioned in Mer. HHG § WP II 252, P 708-9, EI 344 (\*megh<sub>A</sub>-), M K II 609-10, M E II 337-9, F II 189-O, WH II 10, EM 378-9, Vn. M 58, Fs. 358-9, Vr. 386-7, Kb. 684, OsS 608, Schz. 212, Ho. 221, Ho. S 52, Huld 88-9, O 240, Slt. 70-1, Ad. 446-7, Ts. E II 181-5, CHD L-N 245-9, Lar. 65, Ivn. SA 153 (accepts Lw maia) || HS: S \*°✓m̥k > Ar ✓m̥q 'be deep' (of a well), 'be far distant' § BK II 129, Hv. 727 || Ch: WCh: Jmb {Sk.} mákṣ 'long (a long time)' || CCh: Msg G {BM} mogo, Msg P {Trn.} mogo (f. muguwīy, pl. mogokay ~ mogoway), Msg Ng {Ov.} mo'go 'long', Msg {GKrs.} mogwa (f. mugu'ī, pl. mo'gwākai) 'long, high', {Rlf., Röd.} 'mogo 'large, big (groß)', a-na 'mogo 'it is large\big', Mlw {Trn.} mágð (f. mágúwī, pl. mágðkáy) 'long, deep', ? Msk {Trn.} màwà 'large\big (grand)' § JS 169, Lk. DQM 68, ChC s.v. 'long', ChL, Trn. LM 106, Trn. MVM 286, Trn. Musk. 22 || ? EC: Rn mīg 'strength, heaviness' (× N \*maññga [or \*mangga?] 'strong, numerous') § PG 224 || A: Tg \*°mēk∇ > Lm A mākṣ 'big' § STM I 566 ||

**D [1]** {tr., §GS} \*mik(k)- 'exceed, grow, great; increase' > Tm miku v. 'exceed, grow; increase', mikka 'great, much', Ml mikuka v. 'surpass, abound', mikka 'the greater part', Kn mikku 'grow abundant, increase', Tu migguni, mikkuni 'surpass, exceed', Tl mikkiili 'great', Knd mis- 'increase' || ?φ **K:** GZ \*make- ~ \*manke- 'heavy' ({IS}: < \*\*mwank-) (× N \***munka|ū** 'make great efforts, (?) be heavy'??) > Mg moča- ~ monča-, Lz monča- 'heavy', G mače 'heavy with young' (of a female animal) (× N \***mačU** [= \*mačU?] 'baby, son; [?] be pregnant', q.v.); → GZ \*mačen- 'get heavy\pregnant' > OG, G maken-/mačn- 'be conceiving', Mg, Lz mončan- 'grow heavy' || The additional \*-n- in Zan may have been induced by contamination with N \***mañvga** (or \***maŋga**) '↑' (q.v.) || K 125, K<sup>2</sup> 113-4, FS K 207, FS K 228, DCh. 662, Chik. 242, 304, Q 281, Schm. 122 ◇ N \***čk** ~ \***kč** > S \***čk**, K \***č** (positional glottalization?) ◇ ≈ IS MS 331 (\*magā 'big' > IE + K \*magar 'strong', D \*mā), ≠ IS SS 334 [#6.24] (K \*magar-, D \*mā).

**1388.** \***māk, n̥ha** '(nape of the) neck, back' > **HS:** C: Bj {R} mōk (pl. maka) 'nape, throat', {Rop.} 'front side of the neck' || Ag: Bln {Lm.} makkʷa, {R} mā'kʷā 'buttocks', Ag → Amh {R} makʷa 'id. (?)' || EC: Af {PH} makuḥ ~ mukuḥ 'spine, spinal cord', Ya {E} muk 'lower side of the body', Rn {PG} mókkòlò '(bones of) the lower spine; small of the back', Bn J/Ba {Hn.} múkkə 'buttocks' || R WB 267, R WBd 167, Rop. 215, Hn. BD 97, PH 162, 171, PG 227 || Eg fXVIII mkħ 'occiput, hind part of the head' > DEg mkħ 'Hinterkopf, Nacken, Hals' > Cpt Sd **MAKQ** makħ {Vc.} 'nape, neck', {Crn.} 'neck' || EG II 159, Er. 183, Vc. 111, Crn. 80 || **U** \*muka 'back (dorsum)' > FP \*°muka 'back, hind part, back side, following (seuraaminen)' > F muka- in fossilized case forms: mukaan 'according to', mukaa 'accordingly', mukana 'with, together with', muassa 'with, accompanying', d.: mukainen 'agreeing with, in accordance with' || Sm {Hl.} \*mžka, {Jn.} \*mžkā 'back (Rücken)' > Ne T **maxa**, Ne T O {Lh.} maχā, Ne F {Lh.} mχā, En {Cs.} mahā, Ng {Ter.} mžku, Slq Tm {KD} mžy, Slq Tz {KKIH} d. moqal id., Kms {KD} d. bēgəf, Koyb {Sp.} d. бягаль, Mt {Hl.} \*baga id. (Mt: K/M {Mll.} bága 'dorsum', T {Mll.} bagáda 'his back') || Jn. UK 223 (U \*mukā), Sm.

538 (U, FU \*mukā, FP \*muka, Sm \*məkā), SSA II 175-6, ≈ SK 350, Jn. 85, KKIH 131, KD 9, Hl. M 213 [#90] || A: pKo {S} \*mòk 'neck' > MKo mòk, mòkàj, NKo mok id. ¶ S QK #987, Nam 214, MLC 821 || Tg: Ewk muka n. 'hide from reindeer's neck' ¶ STM I 551 || T \*°bakan > OT baqan 'necklace'; ???σ NaT \*bogmak 'necklace' (> OT, Osm XIV boymaq) (unless derived from \*bog- 'choke, tie around', as supposed by Cl.) ¶ Cl. 315-6 ¶ DQA #1242 (A \*mìák‘ù 'neck': T, Tg, Ko + unc. pJ \*múk- 'turn one's head'), Rm. SKE 15, STM I 551 (Tg, Ko) || D (in CD) {tr., §GS} \*makk- 'neck' > Klm mak, Nkr makk id. ¶ D #4622 || IE: Irn: Pmr: Shgh, Wx mäk, Srk mok, Ish mak 'nape of the neck, neck' ¶ Mrg. EShG 44, Blz. LNA #38 (supposes that the Pmr word is due to "a Dravidian-like substratal influence") ◇ The equation between D, HS, U, and A was suggested by Blažek (Blz. DA 154 [#22] and Blz. LB #6a [Eg, C, U, Ko, D + T \*bogmak], ≈ Blz. LNA #38 [N \*muk|ka ~ \*mak|ku 'neck']).

**1389.** <sub>2</sub> \*mAk<sub>s</sub>'a<sup>1</sup> 'give, reward' > HS: S \*'mik<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>2</sub>s- ~ \*'mak<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>2</sub>s- 'tribute' > Ak miksu 'tribute', BHb מִקְסָע 'mek̑es, Sr **ማክሳ** mak's-ā, Md makṣa id., IA, Plm mks 'tax', JA mik's-ā 'toll, tax', SmA mks 'toll', Ar (← b- Aram) maks- 'market-tax, custom-duty' ¶ KB 550, Js. 783-4, Sl. 676, Tal 468, Br. 385, Sd. 165, Hv. 730, HJ 625 ¶ The Aram and Hb words may be (but not necessarily are) loans from Ak (see Zmr. 2 10, Kfm. AIA 72) || U: FV \*makṣa 'give, pay' > F, Es makṣa- v. 'pay, reward'; BF → pLp {Lr.} \*māksē- v. 'pay, cost' > Lp: N {N} mak'se- / -vṣ-, S {Hs.} maaks'edh, L {LLO} makṣē- 'pay, reward', Kld {SaR} мāккъсә v. 'pay', мāккс 'payment' | Er, Mk максо- 'give' ¶ UEW 698, Lr. #644, Lgc. #3747, Hs. 888, SaR 180-1.

**1390.** \*muks'a<sup>1</sup> ~ \*mugz'a<sup>1</sup> (or \*ma|oh<sub>2</sub>uks'a<sup>1</sup> ~ \*ma|oh<sub>2</sub>ugz'a<sup>1</sup>?) '∈ rodent (mouse, mole, or sim.)' > IE: NaIE \*mūs 'mouse' > OI mūh (obl. mūš-) id., Blc mušk, MPrs, NPrs مُوش mūš {VI.} id., {BM} id., 'rat', Psh mažak 'mouse, maža 'rat', Oss: I məst, D mistä 'mouse' || Arm **մուկն** mu-kn (gen. **մկան** mkan) 'mouse' (on the nominal sx. -kn [dim.?] see Ld. A 82-3 and Mn. 821) || Gk μῦς (gen. μυός) 'mouse, rat' || pAl {O} \*mū(s) > Al: T mi, G mī 'mouse' || L mūs (gen. mūr-i-s) id. || ON mūs, OHG, OSx, AS mūs, NHG Maus, Dt muis 'mouse', NE mouse || Sl \*mīšь f. (gen. \*mīši) id. > OCS мышь mīšь f. (gen. мыши mīši), Blg миш f., R мышь f., Uk миш f. (~ 'миша'), SCr mīš (today m.), Slv mīš (gen. mīši), Cz, Slk myš, P mysz || Tc B pl. maścītsi 'mice, rats' ¶ WP II 312-3, P 752-3, EI 387 (\*'mūs ~ \*'mus-s

/ gen. \*mu's-os), M K II 668, Mn. 821-2, M E II 369-70, Horn 223, VI. II 1228, BM 542, Ab. II 142-3, Bai. 337, F II 275-6, WH II 132-3, Ho. 227, Ho. S 54, Kb. 708, OsS 631-2, KM 469, Vr. 396, Vr. N 458, O 265, Huld 91-2 (O and Huld: the Al G nasalization is secondary), ESSJ XXI 55-72, Glh. 412-3, ZVSZ 258, Vs. II 27-8, Slt. 189-90, Ad. 143 ¶ The compensatory lengthening of the vw. \*u is due to the loss of the velar stop in the cluster \*-g3- || U: FU \*°ma|ōksa > Er максазей maksa-žey, максака maksa-ka 'mole', Mk максака 'maksa-ka 'hamster' ¶ ≈ Coll. 97, ≈ UEW 264 (\*maksa; adduces Os may ~ max 'beaver', but he does not mention Os Δ -ŋq ~ -ŋχ and does not take it into account; cf. N \*m<sup>ñ</sup>K<sup>ñ</sup> 'beaver'), ERV 358, KC 128, PI 154 || A: Tg \*muktu-<sub>r</sub>/n, 'mole, ∈ mouse' > Neg muktuy 'short-tailed mouse', Ork muktuli 'mouse, mole', Nn KU muktur 'mole', WrMc muqdun ~ muqtun 'tailless field mouse, mole' ¶ STM I 552 ¶ Tg \*-tu- seems to be a derivational sx. (see Ewk -do in nouns for insects: lōre-do 'butterfly' related to lorukī 'small butterfly [мотылёк]' - see Vas. 239, 754) || pJ {S} \*munkura 'mole' > ItOJ [RJ] ugūrō-motì, ugura-, J: T mögura, mügura, K mügürä, mügürá, Kg mugurá ¶ S QJ #1459, Mr. 484, 560 ¶ DQA #1362 (A \*m<sup>ñ</sup>k<sup>ñ</sup> 'mole') || ? K \*°muž- > Sv {Ni.} mužulid 'bat' (a cd.?) ¶ Ni. s.v. летучая мышь || ?? HS: CCh: Db {Lnh.} mašay, ? Gzg D {Lk.} mocod, Gzg Mj {Lk.} močod 'mouse', MfG {Brr.} máčad, móčod '∈ mouse' (x N \*m<sup>ñ</sup>c<sup>ñ</sup>w<sup>ñ</sup> '∈ rodent' [q.v.]) ¶ ChC, Lk. G 130 ◇ FU vw. \*a (or \*ō) in \*°ma|ōksa suggests (as a possible solution) a pN etymon \*ma|ōh<sub>2</sub>uks'a' ~ \*ma|ōh<sub>2</sub>ug3'a'. If Sv mužulid belongs here, the N rec. is \*mug3'a' or \*ma|ōh<sub>2</sub>ug3'a', otherwise the best N reconstruction is \*muks'a' (or \*ma|ōh<sub>2</sub>uks'a'). Tg \*-kt- and pJ \*-k- (reflexes of N \*-ks- or \*-g3-?) are still to be explained.

**1391. \*maKU (= \*maķU?)** 'baby, son', (?) 'be pregnant' > IE: NaIE \*°mak<sup>w</sup>- > Clt: OgIr gen. maqq<sup>w</sup>i, OIr macc, NIr mac 'son'; Gl MAPO-'son' (in proper names: Mapo-no-s, etc.), Crn map / mab 'son', OBr {Flr.} mab, map 'child', OW map, MW, W, Br mab 'son, boy' ¶ ≈ P 696, Vn. M 1-2, Dnn. 454, Billy 1O3, Flr. 249, ECCE 268, SEv. 31, Loth 180, YGM-1 320, Schm. KGP 244 || ? K: OG, G maķ- 'make\get pregnant\conceiving', MG, G maķe 'heavy with young' (of animals), Mg monķ-at-al-a 'pregnancy' (unless from K \*maķe- [or \*manķe-] 'heavy' < N \*mEķ<sup>ñ</sup>aæ [or \*mEřk<sup>ñ</sup>aæ] 'big') ¶ K 125, K<sup>2</sup> 113-4, FS K 207, FS K 228, DCh. 662, Chik. 242, Q 281 || HS: S \*°✓mķķ > Ar ✓mqq G (pf. مُقَّ)

maqqā, ip. -muqq-) 'impregnate (a female palm-tree)' § BK II 1134, Hv. 728 || D \*mak(k)- 'child, son' > Tm maka 'child, infant, young of animals; son\daughter', Ml makan 'son', makkal 'children; the young of animals', Kt mog 'child', Td mox 'child, son\daughter', EpOKn makan 'son', Kn maga 'son, male person', Kdg makka 'children', mo·və₁n 'son', mo·vā 'daughter', Tl maga, mogā 'male', Gnd maga sindū 'boy child' (sindū 'son'), Kng mogā kōrō 'boy child', Mnd gār (< \*mgār) 'daughter', na-mgār 'my daughter', Krx maka (voc. used to daughters\sisters), Mlt maqe 'boy' §§ D #4616, Zv. 12O || ??ϕ,σ A \*muk‘▽ 'male' > Tg \*muke- ~ \*muka- 'male person, male animal' > Neg muχ̥sti ↗ muk̥sti 'male (dog, fox, sable)', Orc mužti, Ud mug̥sti, mužti 'male' (of some animals), Nn B moχ̥a(n-) 'male animal, male person', WrMc muχ̥an 'male (tiger, leopard)' § STM I 543, 554, Krm. 262 || pJ {S} \*mùk̥uā 'son-in-law, bridegroom' > OJ mùkwó, J: T muko, K mùkô, Kg mukó id. § S QJ #933, Mr. 487 || M \*muqa- > WrM {MED} muqali, {Gl.} muquli, WrO muχ̥ala, muχ̥alai, muχ̥uli, Kl мүхла, {Rm.} moχ̥lā 'slave, serf'; the WrM variant bugul id. (Gl.) is a re-borrowing of the M word from some ancient T lge., where m- > b- and the final vw. is lost (cp. Chg {Rm.} bulyun 'slave, servant'); ⇔ SDM97, not here Kl {Rm.} muχ̥ur 'penis' (< muχ̥ur 'blunt, blunted') (Rm.: "Penis, eig. abgerundet") § MED 553, 1209, Krg. 611, KRS 363, KW 263, 268, Gl. III 314 || ?? T \*buka 'bull' (× N \*buK̥a 'bovines' [q.v. ffd.]) §§ S AJ 293 [#452], DQA #1375 (\*mūk‘▽ 'male' > T, M, Tg, with unjustified long \*ū in T) ◇ Altaic \*muk‘▽ 'male' is a highly qu. cognate both because of its vw. \*u and because of its meaning. It may be alternatively compared with S \*°✓ muhk (> Ar muhkat- ~ mahkat- 'jeunesse, jeune âge', see BK II 1162, Hv. 738), which suggests a pN \*muhK̥▽ ◇ If the K̥ belongs here, we reconstruct pN \*-k̥-, otherwise it is \*K̥ (= \*k̥|q̥) ◇ Not here (⇒ Tromb. CL) OHg magw, Hg mag 'Nachkomme, Nachkommenschaft', which is obviously from mag(w) 'seed, kernel' (see EWU 920-1, MF 414) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 156 [#43] (incl. D, IE), ≈ BmK # 545 (IE, D).

**1392.** <sub>2</sub> \*moK̥▽ 'blunt' > A: M \*moqu- 'be\become blunt' > WrM moqu-, HIM, Brt moχo-, Dg mogo- id.; d. M \*moquqr- 'blunt' > WrM muquqr ~ moquqr, HIM myχap, Ord {Ms.} muχ̥u'r, MnR H {SM} muχ̥ur, Kl {Rm.} moχ̥r ↗ muχ̥ur id., Kl {KRS} moχ̥p moχ̥ar 'short, blunt', Brt myχap 'less' (χ̥л myχap '[a person] without legs'); d. M

\*moqudaq 'blunt' > [HI] {Ms.} тоғодақ, [MA] {Pp.} موقاداғق moqadaq, WrM тоғудағ, HIM мөхдөг id.; d. M \*моқуға- 'make blunt' > WrM тоқуға-, HIM мөхөо- id., WrO {Krg.} тохо- 'get dull'; d. M \*моқуға 'blunt' > WrM тоқуга, HIM мөхөо, WrO тохо, Brt мөхөо, Dg mogō; d. Dx mogutu 'blunt'; MM d. [S] {H} d. muqutqa- 'abschneiden' || Ms. H 76, H 111, Pp. MA 238, MED 544, 553-4, KRS 356, KW 263-4, 268, SM 244, T DnJ 128-9, Krg. 602-3, Chr. 301, 304 || D {tr., §GS} \*mokk- > Tm mokku, mokkai 'bluntness', mokaṭṭai 'that which is blunt', Tl mokka 'blunt, pointless, not sharp' || D #5106.

**1393. \*mǖK<sup>Δ</sup> or \*mūKE** 'a bend, corner, hump' > HS: S: Ar {Fr.} ماق māq(i)n, māqy-at- 'internal angle of the eye', {Fr., BK} маq- id. (× ✓ m̄aq 'weep'), Ar māqī?- ~ mūqī?- 'the front\back part of the eye' || Fr. IV 197, 199, BK II 1053, Hv. 705 || U: FP \*m̄ūkk<sup>Δ</sup>(r<sup>Δ</sup>) (= \*mEkk<sup>Δ</sup>(r<sup>Δ</sup>)?) 'hump; bent' > F Δ {Lnr.} mykky 'hump', Es mügar 'protuberance, tuber' | Chr: L мүгыр тиът, H мыгыр тъяът 'hump' | Prm {LG} \*mūkir > Z мыкыр mīkīr n. 'humpiness, stoop', mīkīra 'stooping', Vt мыкырес mīkīres id., Z Izh/Ud, Vt mīkīrt- v. 'incline, bend' || LG 182, SK 355-6, ≠ UEW 705 (considers Chr тъяът and similar words to go back to onomatopoeia) || A: Tg \*mūke- > Ewk muk̄ā 'humpbacked, 'hump', muk̄ā- vi. 'stoop, arch one's back', WrMc məχu- id., 'bow one's head, be bent'; → Tg \*mūkče- v. 'stoop, bend (under a load)' > Ewk mək̄z̄l̄- vi. 'bend under a load', mək̄z̄m̄ 'hump', Lm mōkt̄l̄- v. 'stoop', Ul moqčožu/l̄- ~ muqčužu- 'stoop, bend one's back', Ork moqčoron- ~ muqčurz̄n- id., Nn Nh mukčurz̄n-, mukčurz̄ŋgu- id., Nn KU mukčurz̄n- vi. 'bend oneself' || STM I 553, 565 || pJ {S} \*mánká- v. 'bow, bend' > OJ mágá-(r-), J: T m̄agar-, m̄æg-, K mágár-, mágé-, Kg magár-, magé- id., J Sh {Mr.} magar-, J Ht {Mr.} mank̄gar- 'bend, turn' || S QJ #927, Mr. 719 || T \*bǖk (\*mük) 'corner' (× N \*bǖK<sup>a</sup> 'to bend; bent') > OT bǖk corner, the corner post of the house', Tk Δ bǖk, Alt Δ {Verb.} pük 'corner'., StAlt бүк b\_ük, Yk bǖk 'bend of a river' (see ET B 290-1); T \*bǖk- v. 'bend' > OT {Cl.} bǖk- id., etc. (× N \*bǖK<sup>a</sup> '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) || ≈ SDM97 (s.v. \*mäk'ø 'to bow' (A \*mäk'ø 'to bow'), DQA #1301 (A \*mjók'ū id.) (equates the Tg and T roots with M \*mekügi-, with Tg \*mjaku-r-, and with pJ {S} \*mánká-, see N \*mæHaK<sup>Δ</sup> 'to bend, to turn') || D {tr., §GS} \*mukk- 'corner' > Ml, Tu

мukku 'corner, lane', Tm mukku id., 'hook', Td muk 'edge', Kui mudgu 'corner', Krx mūxā 'edge, brink, margin' §§ D #4898.

**1394.**  $\text{₂} *m^r'a^?_1 \nabla_1 K \nabla$  'cry, shout' > **HS:** S  $*^o\sqrt{m?k}$  > Ar  $\sqrt{m?q}$  G 'sob' § BK II 1053, Hv. 705 || **A:** T  $*mākīr-$  'shout, bellow' ( $\times$  N  $*w^r'a^?Ko$  'to call'??) > OT {Cl.} bāqīr- 'shout, bellow', Osm XVIII bāyīr- 'shout', Tkm bāyīr-, Tk bāğīr-, Ggz bair-, Az bāyīr-, Bsh, Qrg baqīr- 'shout, bellow', CrTt bāyīr-, Alt bāyīr-, Qmn mayīr-, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt baqīr-, Uz baqīr-, Kr baqīr-  $\notin$  maqīr-, Chv макар- mag\_ъr- 'shout' § Cl. 318, ET B 20-2, B DK 231.

**1395.**  $\text{₂} *m\nabla_1 K a|æ$  or  $*m^r'a^?K a|æ$  'plain, steppe, field' > **HS:** Eg XVIII-XXII m̄k̄k̄ 'in arable land' § EG II 159 || S  $*^o\tau a\bar{s}k$ - > Ar  $\tau a\bar{s}q$ - 'a tract of land without vegetation (terra omni carens planta)' (unless a sd. from  $māq$ - 'distance') § Fr. IV 193 || **IE:** NaIE  $*māk|kō-$  or  $*mok|kō-$  /  $*māk|kō-$  'plain, steppe' > ON móðr (< Gmc  $*mōxa-z$ ) 'sandy plain, open woodland', NNr mo 'sandy land', Sw mo 'sandy heath' || OIr macha 'pasture land (pâture pour le bétail), fenced field (champ clos)', in nomina loci macha 'plain, field', NIr macha 'lawn; a field where cows are kept at night' § WP II 226, Vr. 392, ≠ Torp N 429, Hlq. 654-5, ≈ Vn. M 3-4, Dnn. 454 ◇ If Ar  $\tau a\bar{s}q$ - belongs here, the N etymon is  $*m\nabla_1 K a|æ$  (then the absence of  $\nabla$  in Eg is puzzling), otherwise it is  $*m^r'a^?K a|æ$ .

**1396.**  $*mæHaK \nabla$  'bend, turn' > **A [1]**  $*mak^{\nabla} > M *mak̄ȳi-$  > WrM {Cev.} makii-, HIM махий- vi. 'bend, curve (Гнуться, из-выйгнуться)', Kl мәки- mäkī- id., 'be bent', Kl D {Rm.} mäki- 'verrenkt \ verdreht \ ungelenk sein' (Kl -ä- due to the infl. of тәки- täkī- 'huddle oneself, скрючиваться') § Cev. 335, Luv. 239, KRS 346, KW 258 || Tg  $*makti-$  > Neg makčında-, Orc makčinda-, Ul maqtıla-, Nn B maxčıra- v. 'twist a rope', Orc makči, makčixi, Ul maktı(n-), Ud maktigi, Nn B {Sem} maxčıxı, Neg makčıxlı 'rope-twister (a device)', ? WrMc maci- 'tuck up (roll up) one's clothes' § STM I 523, Sem BD 172 || pJ  $*mak-$  v. 'wrap, wind around, tie into' > OJ, J K/Kg mák-, J T màk- § S QJ #675, Mr. 72O §§ SDM97 (A  $*mak^{\nabla}a > M$ , Tg, J) and ≈ DQA #1263 (A  $*ma\bar{k}^{\nabla}o$  'wind, twist, bend', incl. M, Tg) || **[2]** A ≈  $*mEak^{\nabla}U$  ( $*mEak^{\nabla}U?$ ) > M  $*^o\tau e\bar{k}ȳi-$  v. 'bow, incline, bend' > WrM mēküi-, HIM мәхий-, мәхий- id.; WrO d. mēkelže- v. 'tuck up, bend the neck under the load' § MED 534, Krg. 598 || Tg  $*m̄jaku-r-$  'bow (before so.)' > Neg {PSchm.} m̄jaxuru- 'kneel', Neg L m̄ixərət/ç- 'bow (before ...), pray',

Orc mäxurana- id., {PSchm.} *mjaxurana-* 'kneel', Ud {STM} mäula(si)-'bow (before ...), Ul *mexorači-* id., *mexoron-*, {PSchm.} *makurandi-*'kneel', Ork *mēxoran-* id., Nn Nh *mīxoran(go)-* id., *mīxorači-*, Nn KU *mīakora-* 'kneel before (so.)', WrMc *ńakura* id., *ńakun* n. act. 'kneeling', Chj *miyakuru* v. 'kneel' ¶ STM I 536, Kiy. 123 [#466] || ???σ pJ {S} \*mánká- v. 'bow, bend' > OJ *mágá-(r-)*, J T *magaru* id., J Sh {Mr.} *magar-*, J Ht {Mr.} *mank|gar-* 'bend, turn' ¶ S QJ #927, Mr. 719 ¶ SDM97 (A \*mäk‘o 'to bow'), DQA #13O1 (A \*mjók‘ū id.) || D \*mak₄k₁-, {GS} \*mag- 'turn' > Tm *makiči* 'be overturned', Kt *mavñ-* vi. 'overturn', *mavč-* vt. 'overturn, roll over', *makič-* '(tree) is unrooted and falls', Kn *magur-*, *mogar-* vi. 'turn round', Tu *mag̡pu-*, *mag̡pu-*, *mag̡cu-*, *mogapu-* vt. 'turn round', Tl *magudu* 'turn back, return', Klm *magud-* ~ *magur-* ~ *maguč-*, Nkr *magur* 'vomit', Knd *mak-* 'turn over\upside down', Ku *meg-* 'fall down\off', (of a tree) 'fall' ¶ D #4617, GS 188 [#48O], 31-2 [#36, 4O] || HS: C: Af {PH} make scv. 'bend, distort, twist' ¶ PH 161 || ?σ Eg fXVIII *mžḥ* v. 'tie (a band\diadem\garland) round one's head', Eg OK/MK *mžḥ* 'girdle', Eg fMK *mžḥ* 'head-band' ¶ EG II 189-9O ◇ Eg *mžḥ* may be explained by mt. (then it points to a pN \***mæXaK**▽) ◇ Compare N \***müK**▽ or \***muKE** 'a bend, corner, hump'.

**1397.** 2 \***mU<sub>1</sub>Ha,Ka** 'frog' > A: T \**bāka* (\*māka) 'frog, tortoise' ({ADb.} \**bākka* 'frog') > OT *baqa*, MQp, XwT *baqa*, Chg *baqa* ~ *baqqa*, Tk *bača*, Az *bayā* 'frog, tortoise', Tkm *gur-bāga* 'frog', XIj {DT} *bāqa* 'tortoise', Uz, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, VTt, Qrg, Qmn *baqa*, QRb *maqa*, ET *baqa* ~ *paqa*, Alt *b\_aqa*, Ln *paqa*, CrTt, Kr *baqa* ~ *bayā*, Xk *payā*, Yk *bayā*, Tf *b\_ača*, Tv *p'aya*, SY, Slr *payā* 'frog' ¶ The vw. ā in Tkm *gur-bāga* and XIj *bāqa* suggests pT \*ā (but cp. Yk *bayā* with a short a) ¶ Cl. 311-2, Rm. W 58 (pT \**bāka*), ET B 4O-2, TL 179-8O, TkR 211, Hüs. 3O, Shch. Zh 152-3, Ra. 72, Pek. 323-4, DT 86 || M \**mekeleyi* ~ mt. \**melekeyi* 'frog' (× N \***mæqUR**▽ 'frog, toad' or '∈ reptile\amphibian') > WrO {Krg.} *mekelē*, Kl *меклә* *meklä*, {Rm.} *meklē* 'frog', WrM *melekei*, HIM *мэлхий* 'frog, toad', Ord *meleh"xi*, Dg {T} *melek*, {Mr.} *meleke* 'frog', ? Brt *мэлхэй* 'tortoise'; WrO {Krg.} *melekei* 'frog, amphibian' (← WrM) ¶ Krg. 597-8, MED 534, Ms. O 461, KRS 348, Rm. 26O, T DgJ 154, Chr. 311 || ?σ Tg: Ewk Brg *mokoloči* 'bat' ¶ STM I 544 || pKo {S} \**mà,kúri* 'toad' (× N \***mæqUR**▽ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ SDM97 (A \*mök‘o

'frog') and DQA #1299 (A \*m̥ják'ó id.) (both: T, M, Tg, Ko) ¶ The vw. \*e in M (and \*ə<sub>1</sub> in Ko?) is due to the merger with N \*mægURV | | D (in NED) \*mūk- 'frog' > Krx mūxā, Mlt mūqe id.; ? D → OI mūkaka- id. (unless an independent onomatopoeia) ¶ D #5O23, Pf. 194 [#185], M K II 662 ◇ The long vw. in T and NED suggests the presence of a N lr.; the pM vw. \*e may be accounted for by the infl. of N \*mægURV; the quality of T \*ā may be due to vowel harmony (infl. of the N final \*-a).

**1398.** \*ma<sup>r</sup>X<sup>1</sup>Kæ 'thin\lean and long' > IE \*mehk-/\*mh̥k-/\*mhek- > NaIE \*māk- / \*mək- / \*mak- 'thin and long, slender' > Av mas- 'long' (cmpr. masyā, sprl. masištā); masah- 'Länge, Grösse', masita 'groß, umfangreich', OPrs maθištā- 'greater', KhS mästa- 'great', mase 'in size\greatness\amount' (accus. of reference) (÷ Av masō 'in size') || Gk A μῆκος, Gk D μάκος 'length', Gk μάσταν cmpr. 'longer, greater' (-σσ- < \*-k-γ-) || L maciēs 'leanness, thinness', macer 'lean', macē- 'be lean', macer 'lean, meager, thin' || ON magr, OHG magar 'meager', NHG mager, AS mæger 'lean', NE meager || Ht mak-l-ant- 'thin, meager' (of animals) ¶ WP II 223, P 669, Bks. IELG 183, Bn. CH 14O, 295, Brtl. 1154-5, Bai. 325-6, 333, F II 164-5, Ch. 66O-1, WH II 2, Vr. 375, Ho. 21, Kb. 65O, OsS 582, KM 453, Ts. E II 98-9, CHD L-N 121-2, Kron. EHS 265, EIC 357 (\*meh<sub>R</sub>k-), 574 (mh̥<sub>A</sub>'kros 'thin, long') || HS: ? S \*°✓ m̥k > Ar maħīq- 'very sharp, sharpened' (Fr.: 'extrematus et acutus') (× acp. of ✓ m̥q 'efface, erase') ¶ Fr. IV 155, BK II 1O69, Hv. 71O (maħīq- 'sharpened' [spear-head]) || A: M \*°megde- > Kl {Rm.} megda- 'be\become lean', {KRS} мегдә- 'be lean (быть подтянутым, худым)'; bf.: WrM {MED ← Rm.} meg 'lean' (of domestic animals), WrO məq təq 'thin, scrawny', Kl {Rm.} meg\_ 'ganz abgefallen, mager (vom Vieh)'; M \*megde- may have been influenced by the homonymous verb, represented by WrO məqde- v. 'suffer, hunger' ¶ MED 533, Krg. 598, KW 26O ◇ If Ar maħīq- belongs here (sc. unless it is derived from ✓ m̥q 'efface, erase'), the N lr. was \*X, otherwise the N rec. must be \*maH<sub>K</sub>æ (with an unspecified lr.) ◇ M \*e of the first syll. in \*°megde- may be due to regr. as. (\*e...e < \*\*a...e).

**1398a. (1)** \*muK<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>V 'mouth' > HS: C: Ag \*m<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>k<sub>1</sub>V 'mouth, lip' > Xm {R} 'mīk-ā, Dmb {R} məkiyā, Q {R} makiyā, Km {CR} məkəy 'mouth, lip' ¶ R Ch II 392, R Q II 98, CR K 228 || CCh: Gdr {Srp.} mokó, Mln {ChL} mágì, Msk {Lk.} mágu 'mouth' ¶ JI II 245, Lk. ZSS 143, Trn. LDM 18 || IE: NaIE: IIr: OI muk<sup>h</sup>- 'mouth, face' (infl. of Dravidian?),

Orm, Prc *mux*, Psh *خ* *məx* 'face', Oss I *mūkū* (usu. pl. *mūkūtä*), Oss D *močo* ab 'face, snout' (possibly infl. of some NrCs lgs., like Gunzib *močo* 'beak') || M K II 648-9, Asl. 801, Mrg. 48-9, Ab. II 131 || D \**mułok-* 'face, mouth' > Tm *mukam*, Kn *moga* id., Ml *mukam* id., 'front', Tu *moga* 'the front', Tl *moga* 'the front part, mouth of a river', Klm, Nkr *mokam*, Prj, Knd *mokom*, Gnd *mukam* ~ *mukum* ~ *mokom*, Png *mūm*, Mnd *mūmb*, Ku *mūkā* 'face' || D #4889 ◇ Blz. DA 153 [#9] (Ag, CCh, D, IE), LB #112f (Ag, CCh, D) || | (2) Another semantic var. of this N etymon (or a different etymon?): N \**muč, ḥ, ı, ı, ı* 'eat\drink (greedily, in large mouthfuls)' > HS: S: Ar *mqf* G 'avaler avec avidité (un liquide), téter sa mère (un petit)', *Gt* (ifta‘ala) 'boire tout le lait qui se trouvait dans le pis' || BK II 1135-6 || A {DQA} \**m'ūk’è* {AD} '≈ fill one's mouth with food\water' > T \**bök-* (= \**mök-*) 'eat one's fill' > OT {DTS} *bök-* id., 'be fed up with', {MKD} *bük-* 'be fed up with, be filled to nausea', Tv *pök-*, SY *peč-* 'eat one's fill', Qrg *bök-*, Tf *pōk-* 'be sated with fat food', Qzq, Nog *bök-* 'eat too much', Bsh *büge-* 'overeat' || DTS 117, ET B 211, MKD 83, BR 124 || Tg \**muku-* 'fill one's mouth with water' > Lm *muq-*, Neg *moxon-* ~ *mokun-*, Ud *mukun-* id., Ewk *muku-*, WrMc *muku-* 'hold water in one's mouth', Ewk *muku-* 'swallow', Sln *moxo-* 'swallow water' || STM II 552 || pKo {S} \**mə, k-* 'eat' > MKo *mə, k-* 'eat', NKO *mə, k-* 'eat, drink' || QK #19, Nam 211, MLC 609 || pJ {S} \**màkà-nàp-* 'feed, provide meals' > OJ *makanap-*, J: T *makaná-*, K *mákáná-*, Kg *màkànà-* || S QJ #1233, Mr. 719 || ??? M: Dg {T} *mekē-*, {Pp.} *mekē-* 'suck' (unless derived from Dg {Pp., Mr.} *meke* 'woman's breasts') || T DgJ 154, Mr. D 190, Klz. D II 120 || DQA 1384 (\**m'ūk’è* 'suck') || D \**mukk-* 'eat in large mouthfuls' > Tm *mukku* 'eat in large mouthfuls', Kn *mukku* 'put food into the mouth with the hollowed hand and gobble', Tu *mukku-* v. 'gobble, swallow, devour', Kui *muka* 'cast food into the mouth with the hand'; D \**mukk*]- 'mouthful' > Kn *mukkul(e)* 'mouthful of water for rinsing the mouth', Tu *mukkuli* ~ *mukkulı* 'mouthful of liquid', Kui *mukal* 'mouthful' || D #4897 || ? E: *ma-ak-*, *ma-kv* 'verzehren', *ma-qə* 'Verzehrtes' || HK 848-50, 875, 861-3 ◇ The semantic pre-history of the latter N source may be: 'mouth' → 'mouthful' → 'eat\drink in large mouthfuls'.

**1399.** 2 \**muč, ḥ, ı, ı, ı* 'arrive' > HS: S \**✓mθy* ~ \**✓mθ?* ~ ? \**✓mθh* 'arrive', ? 'go' > Ug *✓mɣy* G 'arrive, come to', BA *✓mt̪y* (pf.: 3m **✗**✗✗)

~ מִתָּה ma'tā, 3f מִתָּה ma'tāt; ip. אֶתְמַיִּיעַ i-m'tē) 'reach, come, arrive', IA mt̄? (sc. \*✓mty|w) (2m pf. mt̄t), JA ✓mty G (pf. מִתָּה ma'tē, אֶתְמַיִּיעַ ~ מִתָּה ma'tā), SmA ✓mty G 'arrive, reach', Sr ✓mty G (pf. מִתָּה ma'tā, acp. m. מִתָּה mātē, acp. f. מִתָּה māt̄yā) 'come, arrive, reach', Md ✓mty G (pf.: 3m mt̄a, 3f mt̄iat) 'arrive, reach', Sb {BGMR} ✓mθ? G 'go, proceed, march', Mn ✓mθ? 'se trouver dans un endroit', ✓mθ? Sh (pf. שׁמָθָ?) 'arrive', Qt {Rk.} ✓mθ? G (בְּ-מָθָ?) 'enter, go through', Gz ✓mṣ? G 'come, happen to', ? Ar [Qam.] ✓mgh G (pf. مَظَاهِه mağaha) {Fr.} 'abiit (per terram)', {BK} 's'en aller et s'enfoncer dans l'intérieur des terres' ¶ A #1627, OLS 265-6, KB 1735, BDB 11OO, HJ 616-7, Js. 767, Sl. 658-6O, Br. 381-2, JPS 266, Tal 462-3, DM 264, BGMR 89-9O, MA 64, Rk. D 14O-1, LG 369-7O, Fr. IV 191, BK II 1125 || u \*mukča- v. 'walk, cross (a river, a place)' > pLp {Lr.} \*moksē- (~ \*mokcē?) > Lp: L mok'se- / moyse- 'come, arrive, take one's course', I mo'hce'-, Kld {TI} moyse- 'cross rapids (rowing), T {Gn.} moyse- 'cross a water' ('über ein Wasser fahren') || Sm: Ne T мада- 'cross (a place, water-course), go through', Ne T O {Lh.} madā- 'cross (a water-course)', Kms {Cs.} mākter-lam 'schreiten' ¶ Coll. 35, UEW 284-5 (\*mukča- 'über das Wasser fahren'), Lr. #674, Ter. 214, Cs. 192 ◇ The rec. of N \*h is valid only if the Ar root ✓mgh preserved the ancient N lr., which was lost in Ug, in Aram, and in the SS lgs., but replaced in SS by a hiatus-filling \*? ◇ IS MsN (S, U).

**1399a.** <sup>2</sup> \*m'a'קְרָב 'big, long' > IE: Gk μακρός 'long, large' ¶ F II 164-5, Ch. 66O-1 || HS: B \*myr > Izd ✓myr 'être grand, grandir' (2s imv. imqqor), amoqrān m. sg. 'grand', Gh əmyar 'be big', məqqər 'big', Gd {CM} meqqur 'be big', {Lf.} əmqwṛ (pf. məqqwṛ) 'être grand, vieux, notable', Ah ✓myr (imyar) 'be big', Kb ✓myr (imyur) vq. 'be big, grow', Zng {TC} pf. үөмүүр (aor. үүмүүр) 'grandir' ¶ Mrc. 13O, Fc. 1235-8, Dl. 5O8-9, Ds. B 156, CM 124, Lf. I 288 and II #1O19, DCTC 296 ◇ Doubtful. Valid unless Gk μακρός is a derivative that goes back to IE \*māk- / \*maḱ- 'thin, slender' (see N \*ma'X'KE 'thin\lean and long') and unless B ✓myr goes back to N ?? \*KERV 'grow, be(come) big'.

**1400.** \*mA1V 'another, second' or 'two' > HS: C: Bj {R} 'mallo ↗ 'malo, {Rop.} 'male 'two', {R} before m. nouns mal'lē 'two'; construct forms: {Rop.} 'malo-b 'two' m., 'malo-t 'two' f., Bj A {AD} 'malō-b m., 'malō-t f. 'two', Bj {R} 'maly-a, {Rop.} 'mali-a 'the second', Bj {R} malhō-'yān 'two of us', malhō-'yāk 'two of you', malhō-'yās 'two

of them' || ?? EC: Af {PH} mal̥īn, Sa {R} malehən 'seven' (if derived from the word for "two" in the framework of the quinary numeric system) || R BedS III 6-11, R WBd 168, Rop. 21-3, PH 162, R S II 266, AD SF 196 || D \*mal 'other, next, second' > Kn mala id., Tl malu 'next, second' || D #4732 || EA ≈ \*mallaq- 'two' > Esk: SbY malꝫ(uꝫ), CSbY {Rb.} malꝫ(uk), CAY, WGI malꝫ(uk), MKI mallay(ok) || Ale {Men.} allax 'two'.

**1401. \*mal<sub>N</sub>** 'incline, bend' > HS: WS \*-mīl- > Ar pf. māla / ip. ya-mīl-u 'lean, incline to', Jb E/C {Jo.} ✓ myl (pf. mēl, sbjn. yīl) 'turn sidewise, incline to one side', Mh {Jo.} ✓ myl (pf. məyūl, sbjn. yəməyēl) id., 'look sideways', Hrs {Jo.} ✓ myl (pf. məyōl) 'turn away\asid'e' || BK II 1174-5, Hv. 742, Jo. M 276, Jo. J 179, Jo. H 92 || A: Tg mał:lt- v. 'bend, fold' > Ewk maltu-, Lm maltъ- id., Sln malta-, Neg maltu- v. 'fold', Ork d. māltuma 'folding knife' || STM I 524-5 || D (in SD) māl- 'bend, turn\look sideways' > Kn mālu 'bend', māla, mālu 'sloping, slanting', mālisu 'look obliquely, bend to one side', Td malf- 'look sideways' (of a buffalo), Tu mālu- v. 'lean, incline' || D #4825 ◇ The long vw. in Tg and D may suggest the presence of an additional element, which in the light of the S ev. is likely to be identified as \*y (N \*mayl<sub>N</sub>?).

**1402. \*mæl<sub>N</sub>** (= \*mæl<sub>I</sub><sub>N</sub>?) 'to hide' > K: MG [VTq.], G mal- v. 'hide, hide oneself' || Chx. 708-9, DCh. 662-3 || HS: ? EC: Sml maldah- v. 'hide, veil, conceal', ?σ Rn {PG} mälläqä (imv. mälläw) 'get\be lost', Or {Brl.} millik-, {Th.} milič- 'schivare, evitare, usar sotterfugi' || ZMO 274, PG 218, Brl. 304, Th. 244-5 || IE: NaIE \*mel- (\*s)mel-?) v. 'deceive; be mistaken' (possibly × N \*me<sub>I</sub>y<sub>I</sub>l<sub>N</sub> 'mind; be clever' [q.v.]) > Av mairyā- 'betrügerisch, tückisch, schurkisch' || ? OIr mellaid 'il flatte, séduit, trompe' (unless ← mell 'pleasant' [acc. to Vn.]) || Lt mēlas, Lt Z mālas 'lie, falsehood', Ltv mēli n. 'lie', Lt mēluoti, Ltv mēlōt 'to lie' | Sl \*mēliti 'to involve in error, to mislead' > P, HLs mylič, Cz myliti, R Δ 'мылить', LLs mylis id., P mylič się, Cz myliti se, Uk милютися 'to err, to be mistaken' ({Frn.:} the irreg. \*+ is due to the infl. of the synonymous verb \*x+b- [> Cz chybiti 'to err', P chybīac 'to miss, to fail']?) || Arm մեղ meł 'sin, fault' || ?? Gk βλάσ- ('falsehood') in βλάσ-ψημος 'evil-speaking, slanderous', βλάσφημέω 'speak ill, slander' (ψη- 'speak'), ? μέλεος 'miserable, fruitless, vain' || ? Tc A smale 'a lie', smālok 'liar' || ≈ WP II 291. ≈ P 719-2O, Brtl. 1151-2, FI 241-2 (no et. of the Gk words), Vn. M 31-2,

Frn. 43O, Ma. CS 314, ESSJ XXI 39-4O, Vs. III 23, Slt. 181-2, Wn. 431, ≈σ EI 155 (\**mel-* 'fail', \**melos* 'bad', \*'*meles-* 'fault, mistake') || A: Tg \**mel-* vi. 'hide' > WrMc *mele-* vi. 'hide', steal away', Ewk PT *məltiž-* vi. 'hide, shrink into one's shell' ('прятаться, съёжиться, уйти в себя') ¶ STM I 567 ◇ If the Tc words *smale*, *smāloč* belong here, they suggest an IE root with \*(S)*m-* and therefore a palatal element within the N word (hence N \**mæí*▀) ◇ It is tempting to adduce here the FP word, represented by Z *мылöс тižs* 'a piece of bark used to cover the load of a boat (to protect it from the rain)' and by Chr *meləž* & *malvž* 'lid of a bee-hive (in a hollow of a tree-trunk)' (LG 182, ≈ UEW 289-8O). If this FP word belongs here, the original meaning of the N etymon must be 'cover' (whence 'to hide').

**1403.** ?? \**m'ǽl*▀ '≈ eye' > HS: Eg fKD *mr.t* 'eye(s)' (of a god) ¶ EG II 1O7 || IE: NaIE \**omṇl-* > Clt: OIr *malá* (gen. *malach*) 'eyebrow', NIr *malá* id., π *malá-porc* 'eye', MBr {Ern.} *malvenn* 'eyelid' ¶ Vn. M 14, 33, Dnn. 461, Ern. 386-7 || ? A: M: WrM *hon. tmelmei* 'eye(s)' (unless ← *melmei-* 'be full, shine') ¶ MED 535 ◇ Qu. because of the honorific (hence originally metaphoric?) character of the WrM and Eg words.

**1404.** \**mol*▀ (or \**molh*▀??) 'to pound, to gnaw\smash into pieces' > IE \**mel-*, \**melh-* v. 'grind, pound' > Ht *mallā/i-*, *malliya/i-* v. mill, grind' || NaIE: Arm **մալես** *malem* vt. 'bruise, mash, crush, break to pieces' || Gk μύλη 'mill' || pAl {O} \**melwa* > Al *miell* 'flour' || L *mol-ō*, -ēre v. 'grind' (⇒ Al *blianj* id.) || OIr *mel-* 'grind', W *malu*, MBr *malaff*, Br *malañ*, Crn *mala* 'to grind' || Gt *malan* 'to grind', OHG *malan* id., 'to rub', NHG *mahlen*, ON *mala* 'to grind'; Gmc \**mulwjan* > ON *mylja* 'to grind, to crush', OHG *mullen* 'to oppress, to break into small pieces, grind, destroy' || Lt *málti* 'to grind' || Sl \**mél-ti* id. > OCS **млѣти** *mlěti* (1s prs. *meljо*), Blg 'меля', SCr Cr *mljěti* / *měljem*, SCr Sr *млѣти* / *мěљем*, Slv *mléti*, Cz *mléti* ~ *mlíti*, P *mleć* / *mielę*, OR **молоти**, R *мо'лоть* / *ме'лю* || pTc {Ad.} \**melw-* > Tc: A *malyw-*, B *mely-* {Wn.} 'presser fortement, broyer, écraser', {Ad.} 'crush, squeeze', {JGH} 'press' || ? OI *mr.нāti* 'crushes, grinds' (× IE \**mer-* 'crush' < N \**mur*▀ 'to break, to crush, to cut') ¶ P 716-7, EI 247 (\**melh<sub>2</sub>-*), F II 268-7O, WH II 1O4-6, M K II 673, M E II 319-2O, Ch. 721, Vr. 377, 397, Schz. 2O6, 216, Kb. 654, 699-7OO, OsS 586, 625, KM 454, Vn. M 32, Hamp AIEW 147, O 3O, 265-6, ESSJ XVIII 89-91, Vs. II 597, Glh. 417, Wn. 278-9, Ad. 47O, Ad. H 73, JGH 2O3, Slt. 99-1, CHD L-N 125-6, Ts. E II 1O2-3,

Ivn. OPA 1O8-9 || HS: CS \*✓*mll* 'crush, squeeze (e.g., for husking the grain)' > MHb, JA, Md ✓*mll* v. 'crush, squeeze, rub ears for husking the grain', BHb מְלִיכָה *məlī'lah*, JA מְלִיכַתָא *məlīla'tə-ā* 'Reibähren (noch milchige Ähren, deren Körner man ausreibt)', MHb {Js.} מְלִיכָה *məlī'lah* 'ripe ear of corn', Ar ✓*mll* D 'presser, activer', ? G 'bâtir une pièce d'étoffe' ¶ KB 558, KBR 598, Js. 79O-2, BK II 1141 || u \**mo1|l* v. 'crumble, break to pieces', n. 'crumble' > pLp \*<sup>o</sup>*mōl* > Lp N {N} *moallo* 'crumb, little, bit, piece, morsel', *moallāni-* ~ *mqllāni-* vi. 'crumble away' || Sm {Jn.} \**mъl* v. 'break' > Nn T Ym *мǎль-съ*, Nn T BZ *мǎлье-съ*, Nn T O {Lh.} *maí·ā* v. 'break, smash'. Slq Tz {KKIH} *mala-* v. 'gnaw (грызть)', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. *malāab* id., Kms {KD} *boł·də́jam* ~ *buł·də́jam* vt. 'break', Koyb {Sp.} *блаламъ* 'I gnaw', Mt {Hl.} \**balə-* v. 'gnaw, bite' (Mt M {Sp.} *балъямъ* 'I gnaw', *баліямъ* 'I bite') ⇨ Mt {Hl.} \**bilabtə-* v. '(?) break' (Mt M {Sp.} *пиляптыымъ* 'I break') ¶ Coll. 35, UEW 278, Jn. 86, KKIH 128, Hl. M #97, 125 || A ({AD} \**mo1E*, {IS} \**mōl* & {DQA} \**mōle* 'bite, gnaw'): M \**mōlži-* (< \**mōl-di-*) 'gnaw, eat the bones clean' > MMgl *mōlži-* 'gnaw', WrM *mōlži-*, HIM *мөлжи-*, Brt *мүлжэ-*, Kl *мөлж-* *mōlži-* 'gnaw, eat the bones clean' ¶ MED 546, Chr. 3O5, KRS 357, Iw. 116 || Tg \*<sup>o</sup>*mul-* > WrMc *muliyan* 'jaw', ?σ {Z} *muliya-* v. 'swallow' ¶ Z 9O8, Hr. 677 || pKo {S} \**mır-* v. 'bite' > MKo *mır-*, NKo *mul-* ¶ S QK #7, Nam 229, MLC 677 || ?φ, σ pJ {S} \**músír-* v. 'pluck out, pick out' > OJ *músír-*, J: T *múśiru*, K *múśír-*, Kg *muśír-* ¶ S QJ #844, Mr. 72O ¶ DQA #1343 ◇ In the light of the S cognates the lr. in IE \**mēlh-* is likely to be a root-extension rather than an ancient part of the root. An alt. solution (N \**moTh* > CS \*✓*mll* [with loss of N \**h*]) is less likely, albeit not ruled out ◇ IS II 69-7O (\**moLə* 'раздроблять', AD NM #63, S CNM 7 (suggests the Mc, Ko, and J cognates; ⇨ ST), Vv. AEN 18 (the segmentation of M \**mōlži-* as \**mōl-* + \**-ži-* is considered a "teleological reconstruction", ⇨ AD NMI-2 § 7.7), Glh. 417. J \*-s- suggests pA and N \*í, which is at variance with the U evidence. Hence our N rec. is with \**Í* (= \**1|l*) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #186 (\**meli* 'grind') (IE, U, EA + unc. Ko, CK + qu. A {Gr.} \**mōli* 'cut', J).

**1405.** \**m'a'Hl* (or \**m'a'ył*) 'little, young' > IE: NaIE \**mōlo-* ~ ?? \**smelo-* 'small, little' > Sl \**mǎlъ* adj. (dad. \**malъjъ*) 'small, little' > OCS, OR **малъ** *malъ*, Blg d. *малък*, SCR *mǎo* (f. *mǎla*), Slv dadj. *mǎli*, Cz, Slk dadj. *malý*, P dadj. *mały*, R dadj. 'малый, прадж. *мал*

(f. **мáла**) || ?? Gmc \*smal- 'small, narrow' > Gt **smal-ista** sprl. 'smallest', OSx **smal** 'small, little' ('klein, gering'), OHG **smal** 'small, narrow', NGH **schmal** 'narrow', AS **smæl** id., 'slender, small', NE **small** || ?? Lt **smulkus, smulkus** 'small, fine, thin', Ltv **smaik-s** 'fine, thin' ¶ ≈ WP II 296, ≈ P 724 (does not distinguish it from \*mēlo-'sheep and goats', cp. N \*mU<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>̄ȳN̄ 'in animals, meat'), ESSJ XVII 167-83, Bern. II 13-4, Vs. II 564, Vr. 519, Ho. 301, Ho. GEW 93, Ho. S 68, Fs. 439, Kb. 916, Sw. 156, Kar. II 238-9, Frn. 849-50, ≈ EI 23 (\*meh<sub>1</sub>l- 'small animal') || **HS:** SC: ? Brn {E} **mela** 'house of unmarried young men', ? SC → Mb {E} **milo** 'child', **míli** 'heifer' ¶ E SC 17 || **U:** FU \*°m̄ō]N̄ (or \*°mō]N̄ < \*°mā]N̄?) \*'child' or 'little' > ObU: Vg K **mōli** 'boy, dear boy'; pOs \*mō]N̄ ({ʃHl.} \*mū]N̄) 'little' (in cds.): Os: Ty **mōłt**, K/Kr -māłə, Nz -mōłə, Kz **mōjī**, e.g. Os: Ko/K **ewə-māłə** 'little girl', pāx-māłə 'little boy', K mox-mālit 'children', Nz ay **peŋ-mōłə**, Kz **peŋ-mōjī** 'kleiner, eben ein wenig aus dem Zahnfleisch hervorgekommenner Zahn' ¶ Ht. #777, Stn. D 927 || **A:** T \*bāla (\*māla) > NaT \*bāla 'young bird, nestling; young of an animal' > XwT XIV, Chg XV **bala** 'young of an animal', Tk **bala**, Tk Δ, Tkm, Uz Δ, ET Δ **bāla**, CrTt **bala** id., 'child', Az, Qmq, VTt **bala**, Uz бóла **bala**, Slr **bala** id., 'nestling, young bird', Qrb, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Bsh, Qrg, ET **bala** 'child, baby' ¶ Cl. 332, Rs. W 59, ET B 47-9, TL 306-7, TkR 69 ◇ The N vw. \*a (suggested by T) is represented in FU by a tentatively reconstructed vw. \*o, which may be due to the labializing infl. of \*m-; if the FU etymon is \*°mō]N̄ (which is still to be investigated), its \*ō may go back to an earlier \*ā (because any pre-U \*ā yields U \*ō) ◇ If the Gmc and Blt roots (and hence IE \*smel-) belong here, it suggests a palatal element in the N etymon, which cannot be \*i (on the FU and T ev.), hence the N rec. \*m̄āȳN̄. If so, the long \*ō in IE does not go back to a vw. + lr., but represents the apophonic L-grade (Dehnstufe), while N \*y is lost in IE due to its presonantic position. If IE \*smel- does not belong here, the N rec. is \*m̄āH̄N̄ (corroborated by the long vowels in NaIE \*mōlo- and T \*bāla).

**1406.** \*mUhL̄N̄ (~ \*-Lh-) 'slow, quiet' > **HS:** WS \*✓mh̄l 'be slow, quiet' > Ar ✓mh̄l {BK} id., {Hv.} 'act at leisure, without haste', Mh ✓mh̄l Sh (pf. amōhʒl), Jb ✓mh̄l Sh (pf. ūhʒl) vt. 'ease, lighten', Mh Gt (pf. məthūl) 'become easier\lighter', Sq {L} 'muhələ 'delay', {Jo.} 'mehʒl 'delay, respite' ¶ BK II 1162-3, Hv. 738, Jo. M 262, Jo. J 169, L LS 239 || **IE:** NaIE \*mel- 'linger, delay, be slow' > Gk μέλλω 'delay, intend

to do' || L [Fest.] *prō-mell-ō* / -ěrē 'litem promovere, adjorn a (legal) action', [Pl.] *re-melīgō* 'delay (Verzögerung)' || OIr *mall* (< \*m<sub>2</sub>-so-) 'slow, lazy', W {Vn.} *mall* 'lent, mou, flétri' ¶ WP II 292, P 72O, F II 2O2-3, WH II 37O, 427-8, Vn. M 15 || A: Tg: Ewk *mulu-* 'be silent' ¶ STM I 555 ◇ NaIE \*mel- (without traces of the expected lr.) may go back to \*m<sub>2</sub>ULh<sub>2</sub> with subsequent loss of \*ə in the prevocalic position.

**1406a.** \*meH<sup>r</sup>a'T<sub>2</sub> 'a person (of ego's generation?) from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > HS: C: Bj {R} *me'*āli ~ 'm<sub>2</sub>āli, {Rop.} *m<sub>2</sub>ali* 'brother\sister-in-law' ¶ R WBd 162, Rop. 216 || ECh: Kwn M {J} *mòlō* ~ *mòló*, ? Kbl {Cp.} *magz̑l̑z̑j*, Ll {Grgs.} *malgy̑i* 'female relative-in-law', Mkl {J} *mâlsá*, Tmk {Cp.} *m̑l̑lā* 'sister-in-law'; Kwn M {J} *kū-mālē* ~ *k̑-māl̑i*; Kbl {Cp.} *ka-m̑l̑z̑j*, Ll {Grgs.} *kū-māl̑i* 'male relative-in-law', Mkl {J} *m̑l̑lé* 'brother-in-law' ¶ ChC, J LM 211, Cp. 1O5 || D (in NED) ≈ \*me[l]k- > Krx *melk<sup>h</sup>ō* 'husband's brother's wife; concubine', Mlt *melqo*, *melqor* 'two or more contemporary wives' ¶ D #5O81, Pf. 195 [#19O] || A: T: [1] \*bölä 'cousins' (children of two sisters) > Qzq, Qq, Tv Tj *böle*, Qrg *bölö* ~ *bülä*, Xk, Shor *pöle* id., Nog *böle*, Uz *bwla*, Δ *bölä*, Tk Δ *bola* ↗ *bulla* ↗ *bülem* ↗ *bele*, Qmn *bölö* 'cousins', Alt {BT} *b\_ölö* 'children of sisters; cousin', Yk {Pek.} *aymax-bilä* 'relatives, neighbours'; T → M: WrM *bülu* ~ *böle*, HIM бүл 'cousins' (of children of two sisters only) ] [2] T: Tk Δ {THDS} *bal* 'girl; brother'; → T \*bāl-t̑íř 'wife's younger sister' > OT, Qzq, Qq, Qrg *baldíz*, Bsh *baldíš* id., Tkm *bāldíš* 'husband's sister', Tk *baldíz* 'wife's\husband's sister', Az, CrTt, Kr Cr *baldíz*, Uz *baldiz*, Chv *puld\_þr* 'wife's sister' ¶ ET B 53-4, 217-8, TL 293-4, BT 34, Pek. 463. MED 14, Cl. 334, THDS II 495, Jud. 1O4 ◇ The rounded \*ö in T \*bölä may be explained by the assimilating infl. of \*b. T \*-ā- in \*bāl is probably from N \*-eHa- ◇ The equation between D, Bj, and Ch was suggested by Blažek (Blz. DA 157 [#48]).

**1407.** \*‘mihLi ~ \*‘milhi 'be weak' > HS: CS \*✓mħl > Sr ✓mħl G 'weaken', Ar ✓mħl G 'be barren (land, year)' ¶ Br. 381, BK II 1O69-7O, Hv. 71O || IE: NaIE \*‘mlej- / \*‘mli- / ? \*-mle:<sub>2</sub>ȝ- '≈ weak' > W *blin* (< \*mli-n<sub>2</sub>-) 'tired', OBr *blin* {Flr.} 'mou, uncertain, négligent', MBr {Ern.}, Br {Hm.} *blin* 'faible, débile' || Ltv Δ {ME} *blīnis* 'a tired person who cannot move' | Sl \*mlit- 'weak, flabby' > McdS *млита* 'flabby, languid, apathetic', SCr *mlitav*, *mlit*, *mlitak* 'feeble, slack, lax', *mlitati* 'be lazy' || Gk ἀμβλύς 'blunt, weak' and possibly ἀμαλός 'soft,

weak, feeble' ( $\times$  N \***me<sup>l</sup>H<sub>1</sub>** 'soft' [q.v.]) || Ht malisku- ~ milisku- 'weak; 'light, unimportant (?)' §§ ≈ P 716-9, Flr. 86, Ern. 71, Hm. 87, YGM-1 47, ME I 316, ESSJ XIX 68, F I 85, 89-90, CAD L-N 130, Ts. E II 106-7 || A: M: WrM milmere- 'grow weak \ feeble' § MED 539 ◇ The N etymon in question may be identical with \***me<sup>l</sup>H<sub>1</sub>** 'soft' (which in that case must be reformulated as N \*'**me<sup>l</sup>hi**, with M \*i [in WrM milmere-] due to the assimilative infl. of the final \*-i).

**1408.** \***mU<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>l** 'animals, meat' > **HS:** C \*māl- 'livestock, meat' > HEC {Hd.} \*māla 'meat' > Brj, Ged, Kmb, Sd māla, Hd māra id. | Rn {PG} māl 'female camel on loan', Sml N {Abr.} māl 'livestock', Sml {ZMO} māl 'goods, wealth' ( $\times$  ← Ar māl- 'flocks, wealth'?) § Hd. 98, 210, 257, 292, 331, 383, Ss. B 137, C SE II 213, Abr. S 172, ZMO 264, PG 214-5, Hv. 740 || NrOm: Bdt {C} mālē ~ māli 'cow' (← or → HEC?) § C SO 62 || B \*māl<sup>V</sup>y (pl. \*mūl<sup>V</sup>y) > Ah a-māli (pl. i-mūlay), ETwl a-malay (pl. i-mulay), Ty āmelay (pl. imulay) 'male (non castrated) domestic animal' § The long vw. goes back either to \*VH or to \*Vw § Fc. 1199, GhA 128 || S \*<sup>o</sup>-māl- (\*-mūl-?) → \*<sup>o</sup>ma<sup>l</sup>wal- 'having flocks' > Ar māl- 'rich \ wealthy (person)', ✓ mw<sup>l</sup> G (pf. māla, ip. -mūl-) 'be rich in flocks', māl- 'flocks; wealth, personal property' (originally a n. coll., derived by means of the -ā-infix) § BK II 1168, Hv. 740 || IE: NaIE \*mēlo- 'sheep and goats, young\small animal' > Gk Ep, D, A μῆλον pl. id., → sg. μῆλον 'sheep, goat' || OIr míl 'animal, small animal', NIr míol 'louse', Brtt {RE} \*mīlon > MW mil-eit, W -mil, OCrn, OBr, Br mil, Crn myl 'animal' || Gmc: OFrk [LxS] māla 'cow', Dt maal, Dt G maole 'young cow' || Arm մալ mal 'wether, mutton' ( $\times$  ← malem v. 'castrate, geld' ← 'bruise, break') || Ht {Ivn.} miluli- 'meat' ({Ts.} miluli- ~ maluli- 'Körperteil, Weichteile') §§ But not here (↔ P 724) Uk малъ 'sheep and goats, young sheep' (coll.) and R Δ μα'лич 'e a Crimean sheep', which are loans from a Turkic lge., most probably from CrTt mal 'livestock' (← Ar māl- 'flocks') (see RI. IV 2035-6) §§ ≈ WP II 296, ≈ P 724 (\*mēlo- 'kleineres Tier'; + err. Sl and Gmc words for 'small, little' and L mālus 'bad'), F II 226-7, Vn. M 51, Flr. 256-7, RE 79, Vr. N 419, Bern. II 13-4, ≠ ESSJ XVII 156, 176 (Uk малъ, Р Δ μалич ↔ Sl \*malъ 'small'), EI 23 (\*meh<sub>1</sub>l- 'small animal'), Ts. W 53, Ivn. SL 153 || A {DQA} \*mula 'deer' > T \*bulan 'elk' > OT bulan ({Cl.} bulān) 'large wild animal which is hunted' (Cl.: obviously 'elk'), MQp xv bulan 'wild ass, onager', Qzq бүлан būlan, VTt, Bsh болан bōlan,

Xk pulan, Qb {Cl.} bulan 'elk', Tv b<sub>u</sub>lan, Qrg f bulan 'elk, deer', Uz hist bulan 'wild horse', No, Qrg bulan 'e gazelle', Chv L пăлан рълан, Chv H рълан 'stag', Δ 'elk' ¶ Cl. 343, ET B 26O, TL 154, BT 35, RL IV 1374, Shch. Zh 141, Dr. TM II #81O, Jud. 157, NogR 9O, BT 35 || NrTg \*mul- (dim. \*mul-kan) 'deer, elk' > Ewk mulkan 'castrated reindeer (of 1.5 to 2 years)', mul-kaçān 'male reindeer, elk, Manchurian deer (of 2 to 3 years)', Lm mulqan 'domesticated\wild reindeer (of 1 year)', mulqaçan 'wild reindeer, elk' (of 2 to 3 years)', Neg molkān 'wild reindeer' (of 1 to 2 years)', Ewk mul-ta 'herd of wild reindeers, a wild reindeer', Ewk PT melele, Ewk Nr mēlan 'young elk, ∈ small reindeer' ¶ STM I 534, 555 ¶ ≈ DQA #1363 (A \*mula, incl. T, Tg) || U: pY {IN} \*mol- > Y K mol-il 'trunk of body' (nominal sx. -il) || FU \*mâl]yâ 'breast; breast (meat)' (semantic infl. of the paronymous U √ \*mälxe 'breast' < N \*‘mälgē [or \*‘mälkē?] 'breast, udder' [q.v.]) > Vt m̥lā, m̥l 'breast, breast (meat) of an animal (ox, etc.), Vt S m̥lā, K mūla 'Bauchteil unter den Rippen' || OHg XII-XIII malos, malu 'breast', Hg Δ mál ɬ máj ɬ mály 'Bauchfell eines Pelztiers' ¶ UEW 289-9O, MF 418-9, EWU 928, IN 246, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#75] (Y ← U) ¶ The supposed semantic pre-history of the word: 'meat' → 'trunk of a body' → 'breast (meat)' → 'breast' ◇ The factor of lengthening in B has been interpreted as a N \*w (rather than a lr.) on the ev. of S (absence of a lr. and presence of \*ū/w). The palatalized l̥ in Vt and OHg points to the presence of a palatalizing element, but T \*-l- rules out a pN \*l̥, so that a N \*-L̥V̥y- remains the best solution (supported by the B ev.): in T the former intervoc. \*-y- was lost, while in U the cluster \*-L̥y- yields Vt l̥ and Hg -l̥y-.

**1409.** (2?) \*me<sub>u</sub>y<sub>u</sub>T̥V 'mind; be clever' > HS: EC \*mal- > LEC {Bl.} \*mal- > Sml mál-e 'a thought, guess', mal-ay- caus. v. 'think (about sth.)', Rn {PG} mál 'thought, idea', mal-d-a v. md. 'think, plan', Bs {HL} ma;<sub>u</sub>ll- 'reflect, think about', Or {Grg.} mal- vt. 'plan, design', Or WI mal- {Bl.} 'come up with a plan', {Brl.} 'pensare, escogitare, ordire, macchinare', Kns {Bl.} mal- 'apply a tactic', Gdl mal- 'prepare a plan of action' | HEC: Sd {HL} mal- 'give advice, ponder, consider' ¶ Bl. 163, Brl. 291-2, Grg. 275, ZMO 274, Abr. S 172, PG 217-8, HL 127 || EthS \*myl (↔ C?) > Tgr ሙላ mela 'trick, wile, artfulness', Tgy ሙላ 'mela 'prudence, habilité' (?) ↔ Bln {R} mil- 'zum Besten halten, in schalkhafter Weise hintergehen, betrügen; geringschätzig behandeln'), Amh mela 'prediction, opinion, occasion' (× EthS √, represented in Gz ሙላ

malaya v. 'separate, divide, distinguish'); Amh ? → Or {Th.} mala 'avviso, parere, opinione, idea'; Har {L} mela 'ways and means', Grg Ez/Gt/Mh/SI/So mela, Grg Ch mella, mela, Grg WI mèle, Grg Ed male, Grg En mala 'chance, guess, ways and means' ¶ LH 138, CS 123, R WB 269, Th. 233, L CAD 15, L G 346, L EDG III 401 || ?σ IE: NaIE \*mel-'deceive' ¶ WP II 291, P 72O (× N \*mæLΔ 'to hide' [q.v. ffd.]) || | U: FU \*mēl[e] > FP \*mēle 'mind, sense' > F mieli, Es mœel id. | pLp {Lr.} \*mēlə 'mind, sense' > Lp: S {Hs.} miële, Vfs {Lgc.} mīləz 'wish, will, sense', N {N} miellâ / -l- 'disposition, temper; desire, wish; opinion', (pl.) 'sense', L {LLO} miella 'mind, temper; understanding; opinion', Kld мīлл mīll 'mind' | Mk мяль māl 'wish, opinion', Er мөль meí id., 'thought' | Prm \*mūl > Vt мыл mīl 'wish'; Prm cd. \*mūl-kūd > Z мывкыд mīvkid, Yz mālkāt 'mind', Vt mīlkid 'temper, desire' (\*kūd 'mind, conscience'); Prm (d.?) mōlp- v. 'think' > Z Δ тзvраv- √ тзlpal- √ тзрō-, Vt малпаны malp- ¶ The Prm vw. \*ū (unlike \*ō) is irreg. and still unexplained ¶ UEW 701-2, Sm. 553 (\*meeli 'mind'), LG 173, 18O, Lt. J 148, It. #356, Lr. #665, Lgc. #3875, Lgc. SL 85, Hs. 92O-1, SaR 189-9O, ERV 374, PI 17O-1 ◇ The long vw. \*ē in FU and the EthS root \*√ myl may be interpreted as tentatively suggesting the presence of a N \*y (hence the etymon is \*me,y,łΔ).

**1410.** \*mä1?Δ 'full, much' > HS: S \*√ ml? G 'be full' > BHb, Ug, Mh, Hrs, Sq √ ml? G id., Jb E/C √ ml? G (pf. 'miṣi') id., Ar √ ml? G (pf. mali?a) id., √ ml? G (pf. malu?a) 'be rich\wealthy', √ ml? G (pf. mala?a), BA √ ml? G 'fill', JEA √ mly G 'be full\complete; fill', Md, Gz √ ml? G 'be full, fill', Ak √ ml? G (inf. malū) 'be full'; → S \*√ ml? D 'fill' > Ug, OA, IA, BHb, JA, Sr, Ar, Ak √ ml? D id.; → S \*ma'lī? 'full' > BHb מְלָא mā'lē, Ug mlā, JA [Trg.] מְלִי mə'lē, JEA מְלָא ~ מְלִי mə'lē, Sr مَلِي mə'lē id., Ar pf. (< pred. adj.) mali?a 'was full', Sb ml? n. 'total sum (of money)', Ar NY T malān 'much', Ak √ malū 'full, covered, complete'; Qt d. ml?t 'period, duration' ¶ KB 552-4, 1735, A #568, OLS 273, Lv. II 118-2O, Lv. T III 39, SI. 678-9, Br. 388-9, HJ 627-8, DM 272, BK II 1141-2, Hv. 731, Bns. NJ I 171, BGMR 85, MA 6O, Rk. 96, L G 342, Jo. M 265-6, Jo. J 171, Jo. H 88, CAD X/1 173-89 || IE \*mel-'much, very, (?) strong' > NaIE \*mel- 'much, very' > Gk μάλα 'very', cmpr. μᾶλλον 'more', sprl. μάλιστα 'most' || L cmpr. melior / ntr. melius 'better', mult-us / -a / -um / pl. mult-i / -ae / -a 'much, many' (< {Mul.} \*ml'to-), Osc MOLTO nom. sg. f. 'multa',

MOLTAS gen. sg. f. 'multae', MOLTAM accus. sg. f. 'multam', Um MOTAR gen. sg. f. 'multae', muta nom.-accus. sg. 'much' || Ltv Δ {ME} milns 'very much' || ?? Ht {CHD} mālant- 'powerful (?)', vigorous (?)', mal n. (a quality desirable for men in combat, such as boldness, ferocity, skill) §§ WP II 292, P 72O, ≈σ EI 235 (\*mel- 'good'), F II 165, Bc. G 32O, 338, WH II 63-4, 124-5, Mul. 274, ME II 627, Ts. E II 1OO, CHD L-N 124-8, Frd. HW 133 (mal 'viel' [??], 'Fülle' [??]) || A: [1] ? M \*mel > WrO {Krg.} mel 'complete, whole', Kl мел 'completely, quite', {Rm.} mel 'gerade, ganz' (unless < \*men-1 ↔ men 'gerade', as suggested by Rm.), Ord {Ms.} melū ~ melē 'beaucoup, très, en grand nombre, en grande quantité'; M \*melmeyi- > WrM melmei-, HlM мэлмий-; Kl {Rm.} melmē- 'become very\completely full', WrO {Krg.} melemelʒe- 'be full, overflowing' § MED 534-5, Krg. 597, KW 26O, Ms. O 462 || pJ \*m̥r- 'fill, heap up' > OJ mó̥r-, J: T mó̥r, K/Kg mó̥r- § S QJ #1152, Mr. 277 || Tg: Nn B malda- v. 'fill' § STM I 524 || ?σ,φ T \*mol 'abundant' > Tkm Δ, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, ET {Rl.} mol, Tk bol, Tkm, Az Ggz, CrTt, Qmq bol, Uz mw̥l, VTt, Bsh mul § The T rounded \*o is due to the infl. of \*m- § ET B 184-5, Rl. IV 1669, 2125, Bu. II 287-8 || [2] d.: A ?φ \*milt‘▽ ({DQA} \*milt‘e|i) or \*melt‘▽ > M \*melteyi- > WrM meltei-, HlM мэлтий-; Kl мелтә- meltā- 'be full to overflowing', Ord melč‘irme 'rempli jusqu'au bord' § MED 535, KRS 349, Ms. O 462 || Tg: Lm miltərз 'full, whole', Ork miltз-miltз 'full' ('полно') (↔ M?) § STM I 536-7 || pJ \*m̥it- 'full' > OJ m̥it-, J: T mičí-, K/Kg mičí-, Ns mič-, Sh m̥i-, Ht n̥č- § S AJ 111, 268 [#94], S QJ #9, Mr. 725 §§ S AJ 111, 278 [#88] (A \*milt‘▽ 'full, to fill'), SDM97 (A \*mil(t)e 'full, fill'), ≈ DQA #1312 (A \*mjólo 'full, to fill, thick'; incl. M, J, T) and #1294 (A \*milt‘e|i 'full, fill') || D (in SD?) \*mal- v. 'abound, become full' > Tm malar- id., mali- 'abound, be full\plentiful', Ml malika 'v. 'abound, overflow', Kn malya, Tu malla 'great, big', ? Tl malayu 'spread' §§ D #4729 ◇ The vw. \*i in Tg still defies explanation ◇ (↔ IS): Ar √mlħ 'be good' hardly belongs together with IE \*mel- 'much, abundant', it is most probably a sd. from √mlħ 'be salty' (from pS \*'milħ- 'salt') (Hv. 732), cp. Ar malħ- 'salted, good'. Neither does Eg mn̥x 'convenient' belong here ◇ ≈ IS II 41 [#273] (\*maln 'numerous, abundant': IE, D + unc. HS: Ar √mlħ, Eg mn̥x); ≈ IS MS 331 (\*mal▽ 'big' > IE, D + unc. HS \*√mlħ 'good'), ≠ OS #1816 (Ar √mlħ, Eg mn̥x) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #262 (\*mel 'many, much') (IE, A, Gil + qu. J + unc. Ko, CK, EA).

**1411. \*m<sup>A</sup>l<sub>1</sub>ξ<sub>2</sub>∇** 'hill, mountain, sth. protruding' > **IE** \*mel<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>- > **NalE** \*mel- '≈ high bank, mountain' > **pAl** \*mala > **Al** mal 'mountain' and → Rum mal 'bank'; **pAl** d. \*mal-yā > **Al** majē 'summit, peak || Ltv mala 'bank, river\lake-side, beach; edge, rim', Lt † malā 'Land, Landschaft', d. pa-mal-iš 'edge', Lt jūr-mala, Ltv jūr-mala 'sea-side, sea-shore' (Lt, Ltv jūra 'sea') | ? Sl: RChS **ΗΖΜΟΛΈΤΗ** iz-mol-ěti 'to protrude', Slv moleti moléti 'to project, to jet out, to overhang' || ??σ OIr mell (< \*mel-no-) 'round object (hill, ball, etc.)' (semantic infl. of OIr mul {Vn.} 'masse ronde, boule?'); ? (× N ?? \*m<sup>'</sup>a<sup>1</sup>L∇ '≈ eye'): OIr, NIr mala 'eyebrow', MBr {Ern.} malvenn 'eyelid' (possibly from 'protuberance') ¶ ≈ P 721-2, Bc. 219, Vn. M 14, 33, Ern. 386-7, O 243, Frn. 400-1, ≈ ESSJ IX 49, ≈ Bern. II 74 || **D** \*mal, mal-ay 'hill, mountain' > Tm malai id. Ml mala 'mountain, raised land, hill-land', Kt mal a·ṛ, Td maṣ o·ṛ 'high downs on western half of Nilgiri plateau', Td mal 'the Nilgiri mountains', Kn male 'mountain, forest', Tu malæ 'forest, hill overgrown with forest', Tl mala 'mountain', Klm ma·le ~ mālē 'hill', Prj malang 'forest', Gdb mare ~ māre 'hill(ock)', Brh maš 'hill, mountain' ¶ D #4742 || **HS:** B \*°mūl- > Mz a-mul (pl. i-mul-an) 'crête (supérieure, d'un coq, etc.)' ¶ Dlh. M 118 || Ch: Kwan {J} mōldo 'mountain' ¶ ChC || Eg MK/XVIII m̥s̥ 'bank of river\lake' ¶ EG II 25, Fk. 1O2 ◇ IS II 51 (\*m<sup>A</sup>l<sub>1</sub>ξ<sub>2</sub>; IE, D) ◇ The long vw. in B and the lr. s in Eg suggests a N lr. \*ξ.

**1411a. \*mæl∇y|χ∇** 'lizard, small reptile' or sim. > **HS:** EC \*mul∇s- > Af {Clz.} muł'⁹ ūitā 'worm', {R} mul'lū⁹ it '≡ lizard', Sml {ZMO} mula⁹ '≡ small lizard', Sml N {Abr.} mūla⁹ '≡ lizard', {Lm.} mułas, Sml My {Lm.} mułas?, Sml Db {Lm.} mułu?, Sml T {Lm.} mułs? 'lizard', Rn {PG} mulūḥ 'small grey lizard', possibly also Sml malow, Sml N málow '≡ lizard' ¶ Clz. 127, R A II 89, ZMO 275, 296, Abr. S 172, 182, Lm. SD 270, PG 228 || WCh: Bks {J} mulúsūs 'lizard' || CCh: ? Nz {Srp.} mālawā 'chameleon' ¶ ChC, J R 144 || ??? B: Kb a-mulab, BMn/BSlh {Ds.} mūlāb 'green lizard' (× ← Ar Mgr [cp. Mz cd. bu-lab '≡ green lizard', Mtm cd. bū-lāb 'green lizard' with bu-, bū- from Ar ʔabū 'father of' → 'having the quality of']) ¶ Dl. 496, Ds. B 198, Dlh. M 1O2, Bs. NLB V 174 ¶ OS #1792 (HS \*mulus- > EC, WCh) || **K:** GZ (mt.?) \*mxul- 'lizard' > OG, G mxuli⁹-, Mg xvi(l)ar-, xolar-, xvelar-, Lz mtxola(r)-, xolura- || G muxlux-i G muxlux-i {Chz.} 'caterpillar (Raupe)', {DCh.} 'worm that eats leaves' (× N \*m<sup>A</sup>l<sub>1</sub>Aŋk∇ 'eel', [?] 'worm, snake') ¶ K

144, K<sup>2</sup> 134, FS K 232, FS E 255, DCh. 912, 939, Chx. 861 || IE: NaIE \*mol- / (?) \*mel- 'small reptile' or sim. > Arm մողէզ moğéz 'lizard' || Gmc: OSx, MLG mol, OHG mol, molm, molt, MHG molle 'salamander', NGr d. Molch id. || (× N \*mA1Aŋk<sup>2</sup> 'eel', [?] 'worm, snake'): ??σ OI malūka-h̄ 'e worm' ¶ Kb. 695-6, KM 485, ≈ P 717, M K 600 (no et. of malūka-h̄) || A: M \*melek(eyi) 'frog, toad' > WrM melekei, HlM мэлхий id., Kl меклә meklä id., {Rm.} meklē, Ord {Ms.} melex<sup>2</sup> 'frog', WrM lag melekei, Ord lag melex<sup>2</sup>, Kl {Rm.} yag\_melkē 'turtoise' (lit. \*≈ firm frog?), Brt мэлхэй 'turtoise', Dg {MYC} мэлзг 'frog, toad', {Lg.} мэлзг, {Mrm.} melex, {Mr.} melexe 'frog'; the M word was probably influenced by the paronym \*menekayi 'frog, turtoise' (> MM menekay id., [HI] nag menegēj 'turtoise') ¶ MED 534, MYC 484, Klz. D II 120, Mr. D 190, KRS 348-9, KW 2650, Chr. 311, Lg. VMI 53, Ms. H 75, Pp. MA 235, Ms. O 442. 461 ◇ The equation between K, HS, Arm, and Gmc was suggested by Blz. (Blz. KM 137, #19); ≠ Blz. DA 158, #66 (unc. adduction of D \*mal<sub>2</sub>aŋk<sub>2</sub>- 'eel', see N \*mA1Aŋk<sup>2</sup> 'eel').

**1412. \*mel<sup>1</sup>H<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>ŋ<sup>2</sup> 'soft' > IE \*mel<sup>1</sup>H<sub>X</sub><sup>1</sup>- (or \*'mel<sup>1</sup>H<sub>X</sub><sup>1</sup>-) > NaIE \*<sub>L</sub>'melā-'soft' > OI 'mlā-ya-ti' 'withers, fades', Vd pp. mlā-'tā-'made soft by tanning', Av mrāta- 'tanned' || Gk ἀμαλός 'soft, weak, feeble' (× N \*'miħLi ~ \*'milħi 'be weak' [q.v.]), μαλακός 'soft' || Arm մեղմ mełm 'soft, mild, gentle' || Gmc: OHG mol(a)wēn 'to dwindle, to decay, to pine away; tabere', MDt malsch ~ mals 'reckless, soft', MHG molwic 'weich, staubartig', NHG mollig 'soft', molsch ~ mulsch 'too mellow, over-ripe' (of fruit) || ?σ OIr mlén ~ blén 'groin' (≡σ: NHG Weichen) || ?φL molli-s 'soft' || ?Ht mīluli ~ maluli ~ melu<sub>1</sub>li<sub>1</sub>- 'soft tissue' (?), 'skin' (?), 'flesh' (?), {Gtz.} 'Weichteile' ¶ P 716-9, EI 532 (\*melħ<sub>1</sub>- 'soft'), M K II 698, M E II 388-9, WH II 103-4, F I 85 and II 165, Vn. M 56-7, Kb. 695, OsS 619, KM 480, CHD L-N 130, 253-4, Ts. E II 210-1, Gtz. T 77 || D \*mel(l)- 'soft, tender' > Tm, Kn mel id., Tm mellā, mellā 'softly, slowly, gently', Ml mel 'slender, tender', Kt melg- vi. 'soften', Td mesx- 'become soaked and softened', Kdg melle 'lightly, slowly', Tu mellā 'slow, soft, gentle', Tl mellā, melamella 'slowly, gently', Gdb mellaga, Knd meleka 'slowly', Kui mřērna 'soft, quiet, gentle' ¶ D #5078 || A: M \*milčayi-> WrM {MED} milcái-, HlM мялцай- 'become soft\wet' (unless ← M \*milčayi- 'become flat \ flat-faced' [> WrM {Kow., Gl.} milcái- id.])**

(M \**i* due to the infl. of N \*‘**miħLi** – \*‘**miLħi** 'be weak'?), ?σ M \*‘**melmeyi**-> Kl мелмә- **melmā-** 'be quiet' (of a person)' (unless ← M \***melmeyi**-, Kl {Rm.} **melmā-** 'be full') ¶ MED 539, KRS 349, Rm. 26O, Kow. 2O25, Gl. III 3O8 ◇ If the Ht words belong here, they suggest an IE weak lr. (\***h₂x**) and a N \***H₁**. If we adduce here some other roots for 'weak' (S \*✓**mħl**, NaIE \*‘**mlej-**/\*‘**mli-**, and Ht **malisku-** 'weak'), we may reformulate the N rec. as \*‘**mēħħi** 'soft, weak' (see N \*‘**miħLi** – \*‘**miLħi** 'be weak').

**1413.** <sub>2</sub> \***m'ā'Ld** **Δ** 'young, soft\tender' > **IE:** NaIE \***maldʰ-** id. > Pru **maldai** nom. pl. 'young men, adolescents', **maldian** accus. sg. 'foal', **maldūnīn** accus. sg. 'youth' ('Jugend'), **maldenikis** 'child' || Sl \***mōldъ** m. (\***moldà** f., \***moldъjь** dadj.) 'young' > OCS **младъ** **mladъ**, Blg **млад**, SCr, Slv **mlād**, Cz dadj. **mladý**, P dadj. **młody** 'young', R dadj. **молодой** id. / pradj. 'молод' 'is young' || Clt: W **blydd** 'tender, juicy, soft' || Gk μάλθων (gen. μάλθονος) 'weakling' (of a person), μαλθακός 'soft', μαλθάσσω 'I soften' (× μαλακός 'soft', μαλάσσω 'soften' < N \***mel'H₁** **Δ** 'soft'), but not βλαδύς 'slack' ¶ ≈ WP II 284-9O, ≈ P 716-9, ≈ EI 532 (\***m̥du-s** with unj. rec. of \***d** on the ev. of Gk βλαδύς), F II 167, En. 2O7, ≈ ESSJ XIX 174-9, ≈ Glh. 415-6 (all of them do not distinguish IE \***maldʰ-** from similar stems [\***melə-**, \***meld-**, etc.] for 'soft', 'weak', 'crush', etc. that go back to different N words) || **HS:** S \*✓**mld** > Ar **mald-** 'tender, delicate' (youth), 'soft' (bough), ✓**mld** G (ip. -**mlad-**) 'be tender', {Fr.} **maladān-** 'iuventus, adolescentia' ¶ Fr. IV 2O5, Hv. 732-3.

**1414.** \*‘**mälgē** (or \*‘**mälkē**?) 'breast, udder' > **HS:** S \*✓**m̥lg** > Ar **مَلْج** ✓**m̥lg** v. G 'suck (one's mother)' (of a child) ¶ BK II 1143, Hv. 731 || ? Eg **mn̥z** 'female breast, breast', Eg RT/G 'udder' > Cpt B **MNOT** **əmnot**, **MNOT** **əmnoti** 'breast'; but Vc. p.c. and Tk. EAAT suggested alt. etymologies: Vc. interpreted Eg **mn̥z** as \***m-ynk** (cp. S \*✓**ynk** 'suck'), Tk. connected it with C \***nug** 'suck' ¶ EG II 92-3, Fk. 11O, Vc. 117, Crn. 86, Crum 176 || EC: Sml, Rn **māl-** v. 'milk' ¶ Abr. S 172, DSI 396, ZMO 264, PG 215 ¶ Cal. 64, ≠ Tk. EAAT 232 || **IE:** NaIE \*‘**melg-** v. 'milk' > Gk ἄμελγω 'I milk' || pAl {O} \***melga** > Al **mjel** (aor. **mola**) v. 'milk' || L **mulge-ō** / **mulgēre** v. 'milk' || OIr **mlig-** ~ **blig-** v. 'milk', pfc. **do-om-malg** || OHG **mēlcan**, **mēlchan**, NHG, Dt, NLG **melken**, AS **meolcan** 'to milk'; Gmc {Zlz.} \***meluk-** ~ \***melik-** 'milk' > Gt **miluks**, ON **mjölk**, OHG **miluh** ~ **milih**, NHG **Milch**, Dt **melk**,

OSx miluk, AS mioluc ~ meolc, AS A milc id., NE milk; → ON molka v. 'milk'; Gmc → Sl \*melko > OCS **ΜΛΈΚΟ** mlěko, Blg 'мляко, SCr mléko ѧ mlijéko, Slv mléko, Cz mlēko, mlíko, P mleko, OR **ΜΟΛΟΚΟ** moloko, R, Uk **моло'ко** 'milk' || Lt mélžu / mīlžti v. 'milk' | Sl \*melzti / prs. \*melzq v. 'milk' > RChS **ΜΛΈЩΗ** mlěšti / **ΜΒΛΩΣΤΗ** mъlzq, Blg Δ мъл'зя, SCr mǖstí / múzēm, Slv mléstí / mózem id., Slk mlzt' 'to suck' || pTc {Ad.} \*mälk- v. 'milk' > Tc A mālkluṇe n. act. 'milking'; pTc \*melk-ā > Tc: A malke, B malk-wer n. 'milk' ¶ P 722-3, ≈ EI 381 (\*h<sub>1</sub>melg- v. 'milk'), O 27O, Huld 94-5, Frn. 434-5, FI 91, Vn. M 57, Fs. 36O-1, Vr. 389, 392, Vr. N 436, Ho. 219, 223, Ho. S 52, Kb. 673, 686, OsS 6O1, 61O, KM 473, 478, Zlz. II #3O.31, WH II 121, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 84-8 (tries to deny the Gmc origin of Sl \*melko), 95-6, Glh. 416, 429, Wn. 284, Ad. 442 ¶ IE \*ǵ for the expected \*ǵʰ is puzzling; on the prosthetic vw. in Gk and on IE and N \*‘- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 || **U** \*mälꝝe 'breast' > FU \*mälꝝe id. > F mälvi, Es mälv 'breast of a bird\fowl' | pLp {Lr.} \*mēlk3 'breast of an animal' > Lp: L {LLO} miel'ka 'breast-bone, breast of reindeer', N {N} miel'gā 'breast\chest of an animal' | Er meikt 'lungs', Mk mäkkä 'breast' | Chr: H/Uf/B mel id., L mel 'Brustöffnung des Hemdes' | Vt mžl 'breast' || ObU {ʃHl.} \*mēꝝal 'breast' > pVg {Ht.} \*māꝝal > Vg: T mäwl, LK möyl, MK māy1, LL maꝝ1, NV/SV/UL/Ss māy1; pOs {Ht.} \*möꝝal id. > Os: V/Vy möyəl, Ty māꝝəf, Y māwəf, D/K mewət, Nz mewət, Kz mewəf, O mewəl | Hg mēll 'chest, breast, bosom' || pY {IN} \*mel- > YK {IN} melut 'breast' (-t is a nominal sx.), {Jc.} meļu, meļut id., OY: K {Bil.} mélud, {Lind.} mélut, Ch {Mat.} малыть, O {Mat.} мелуръ id. ¶ UEW 267, Sm. 546 (FU, FP \*mälki, Ugr \*mälkī 'breast'), Ht. #383, IN 234, 31O, IN RJ 9, Ang. 152-3, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#75] (Y ← U) || **D** (in SD) {GS} \*molul-aj 'female breast' > Tm mulai 'woman's breast, teat', Ml mula, Td mis id., 'udder', Kt mel, Kdg mole 'breast', Kn mole 'female breast', Tu miræ 'breasts, nipple, teat of animal' ¶ D #4985, GS 79 [#252] ¶ The unexpected vw. \*o may be due to contamination with D \*mol- 'waist' (D #4986, GS 74 [#241]) ◇ If Sm.'s phonological hyp. and his rec. of FU \*mälki are accepted, it may point to a N \*‘mälkē, whence regularly IE \*melg- and FU \*mälki and a secondary voicing in Ar ✓ mlg ◇ IS II 57-8 (\* mälgi 'breast, udder' > HS, IE, U) ◇ On N and pIE ‘- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #281 (\*melk 'nurse' v./ 'breast') (IE, U, Y, EA + err. A, Ko, J, CK).

**1415.** <sup>2</sup> \***mULΝkâ** (= \***muLΝkâ**?) '≈ think, deliberate, come to a decision' > **HS:** S \*✓**młk** *G* > Ak fOAk ✓**młk** (inf. *malāku*) 'give advice; ponder, deliberate, come to a decision', IA ✓**młk** *G*, DA ✓**młk** *T*, Plm ✓**młk** *Sh* 'promise', JA {Dlm.}, ChrPA ✓**młk** *G* 'decide', JEA ✓**młk** *T*, JPA Bz ✓**młk** *G* 'consult', *T* (אִתְמַלְכּוֹן יְעַטְמַלְקָוֹן) 'reconsider', Sr ✓**młk** *G* 'persuade, promise'; → S \*✓**młk** *G* v. 'rule, hold power, possess' > Ug, BHb, M'b, Ph, Amr, Yd, OA, IA, JA, JPA Bz, Md, Tgr ✓**młk** *G* 'reign', Ar ✓**młk** *G* 'possess, become the owner of', Sb ✓**młk** *G* 'become king; own, possess', Gz ✓**młk** *G* 'own, possess, rule', Mh ✓**młk** *G* (pf. *məlūk*, sbjn. *uṣmłēk*) 'possess, keep for oneself', Jb C ✓**młk** *G* 'own', Ak RS ✓**młk** *G* (↔ a WS lge.?) 'rule, hold power'; → S \*'**malik-**' 'ruler, chieftain' (→ 'king') > BHb מֶלֶךְ 'melech', SmHb 'mālak (pl. mālēk-əm), BA מֶלֶךְ 'melech', em. מֶלֶכָא mal'k-ā, Ed, Ph, Pun, Yd, OA, IA **młk**, Ug **młk**, (AkSc) {Hnr.} **malku**, JA [Trg.] מֶלֶךְ 'melech', JA [Trg.], JEA em. מֶלֶכָא mal'k-ā, Sr مَلِكْ صَاحِبٌ mal'k-ā, Md **malka**, Ar مَلِكَ malik-, Qt **młk**, Sb, Mn **młk** (pl. ?**młk**) 'king', Gz d. הַמֶּלֶךְ Ramlač 'Lord, God' (↔ pl.), Ak fOAk **malku** 'king, (foreign) ruler', Eb **ma-li-gú-um** or (cs.) **ma-lik** = **malik-(um)** 'king' ¶ CAD X/1 154-8, 166-9, Dlm. 226, KB 558-61, 1736-7, HJ 633-44, G A 25, Hff. 230-1, OLS 275-6, Hnr. 147, T II 41, Schlt. 112, A #1577, Sl. 680-1, Sl. P 310, Br. 391-2, DM 243, BK II 1150-2, Hv. 734, AD PSH 93, 101, 107, 114, BGMR 85-6, MA 60-1, LH 109, Jo. M 266, Jo. J 171, Krb. EG 3, Frnz. EL 145, 155 || **A:** NrTg \***mulgâ** 'thought, quick-wittedness, wisdom' > Ewk PT **mulgit/ç-use\be cunning**', Lm **mūlgъn** 'thought, quick wits', Lm A **mūlgъn** 'wise', **mūlgъ-** v. 'invent' ¶ STM I 554-5.

**1416.** ?σ (2?) \***mVLKâ** '≈ to erase, to undo, not to do' > **HS:** WS \*✓**młk** > Ar ✓**młq** vi. *G* (ip. -*młuq-*) 'erase', {BK} 'effacer', N (pf. ?*inmalaqa*) 'escape from', Tgy ✓**młkʷ** *G* (pf. *məlaχʷa*) 'get loose, get disintegrated' ¶ BK II 1150, Hv. 734, ≈ LG 345 || **IE:** NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>**młkʷi-** > Sl \***mъlčā-ti** 'to keep silence' > OCS **МΛЬУАТН** **mъlčati**, SCr **múčati**, Slv **mólčati**, Cz **mlčeti**, Slk **mlčat'**, P **milczeć**, HLs **mjelčeć**, LLs **mélcaš**, R **мол'чать**, Uk **мов'чати** id., Blg **мъл'ча** 'keep silence'; Sl \***mъl-k-nq-ti** 'to get silent' > ChS **МАЛЪКНѢТН** **mъlknqtì**, SCr **múknuti**, Cz **mlknouti**, Slk **míknut'**, P **milknäć**, HLs **mjelknuci**, Blg + {Gerov} **млъкнѫж**, Blg 'мълкна', cds.: RChS **ѹМъЛКНѠТН** **u-molknuti**, R **ѹ'молкнутъ**, Slv **za-mólkniti** id. || ?σ Lt **mùlkis** 'fool' ¶ Vs. II 643, 648, ESSJ XXI 99-108, Glh. 427, Frn.

471 || ? **A:** M \*möltüre- (if from \*\*mölk-tü-re-?) v. 'undo, detach, loosen' > WrO möltör- 'undo, unsnap, detach', WrM möltüre- 'loosen, detach; escape'; M \*möltü > WrM möltü, möltüs, HlM мөлт 'slightly, somewhat, superficially', in a set phrase: Brt халта мүлтэ 'slightly, superficially' ('чутъ-чутъ, поверхностно, бегло'), Ord galt'u' malt'u' 'à moitié, incomplètement' ¶ MED 546, Krg. 606, Ms. O 290, Chr 539.

**1416a.** \*mAlAnk $\nabla$  'eel', (?) 'worm, snake' > D \*mal<sub>L</sub>anj<sub>J</sub>- 'eel' > Tm malan<sub>KU</sub> 'eel', Tl maluga 'e eel', malanj(i) 'eel-like fish', ?φ: Kui mrāu (pl. mrāŋga), Ku mñiya, Krx miñž 'eel' ¶ D #4737 || **A:** pJ {S} \*mùnánkí 'eel' (× N ? \*m $\nabla$ nī 'e fish', q.v.) > OJ mùnágijí, J: T ùnagi, K ùnágí, Kg unagi 'eel' ¶ S QJ #340, Mr. 562 || **IE:** ?φ OI malūka-h 'e worm' (× N \*mæL $\nabla$ y|x $\nabla$  'lizard, small reptile' or sim.) ¶ ≈ P 717, M K 600 (no et. of malūka-h) || **HS** (mt.): B: Skn i-mækłam 'worm' || ?? Eg G mkr.t 'e a holy snake' (× N \*mægUR $\nabla$  'frog, toad' or 'e reptile\amphibian', q.v.?) ¶ EG II 159 || **K:** ?φ G muxlux-i {Chz.} 'caterpillar (Raupe)', {DCh.} 'worm that eats leaves' (× N \*mæL $\nabla$ y|x $\nabla$  '↑') ¶ Chx. 861, DCh. 912 ◇ ≠ Blz. DA 158 [#66] (suggested to equate the D word with the reflexes of N \*mæL $\nabla$ y|x $\nabla$  '↑') ◇ The eel is likely to have existed in South-West Asia (proto-Nostratic habitat), to judge from the presence of words for 'eel' in JEA {Sl.} צָלָבָחָא cəlōbə'h-a, {Lv.} צָלָבָחָא cəlōbə'h-a (or cəlābə'hā?), MHb צָלָפָחָא cəlō'pāħ, and Ar šilbāħ-, ḡirīy- 'eel', see Ln. 401, BK I 272, Sl. 964, and Lv. IV 190.

**1416b.** \*m $\nabla$ í $\nabla$  'e small predator' > **HS:** Ch: WCh: Bg {Csp.} muli, Tala {ChL} mámále, Zul {Grgs.} mamal, Buli {ChL} mùmàlt, Sha/DfB/Bks {J} mürüm, Sir {Sk.} mbálí, ??μ Tng {ChL} àmítòmi 'hyena' || ECh: Skr {Nc.} melā 'cat' ¶ ChC, ChL, Csp. 55, J R 145, 219, 287, Lk. ZSS 36 || **K:** GZ \*mel- (< K \*me:l-) 'fox' > OG mel-, G mel-i, mela-i (→ Mg mela-, Lz mel- id.), eMg \*mal- → Sv: UB/L māl, LB malw, Ln maul id. ¶ K 125-6, K<sup>2</sup> 119, DCh. 699 TK 559 || **A:** M: WrM malur, HlM малар 'striped wild cat, Felis sylvestris', → ET molun 'wild cat'; d.: M \*malu-qayi (> WrM {FLD} malu-qai 'wild cat') → WrMc malaxi 'wild cat', {Ha.} 'gefleckte gelbliche Wildkatze' ¶ The back vw. \*a may be due to vw. harmony ¶ MED 525, Kow. 1995, Nov. IE 122, FLD III 4919, Nj. 712, Rs. W 326, Z 871, Ha. 636, STM I 523 || T \*m $\bar{u}$ 'í > OT QU mü: $\check{s}$  {Cl.} 'wild cat', SY miš ~ miš, T → Kl мис, {Rm.} mīs, Kl Ö mīš 'cat'; → NaT \*mišik ~ \*pišik '(wild?) cat' (with a dim.[?] sx. \*-ik) > MOsm, Chg

pišik, Tk Δ pišik ~ pišik ~ pušuk ~ mišik, Xlj pušuq, Az, Tkm pišik, Δ mišik, Slr mišix ~ müšük ~ mešux, Qmq mišik, VTt Δ төшүп, Bsh бөшәү, Nog, Qzq misiq, Qq pisiq, Qrg mišiq, Uz mušuq, ET möšük, SY mišik ~ mišiq, Chl miziq ~ mižiq 'cat' ¶ The variations may be due to the infl. of the child lge. and to foreign influences (see Sgd mwškyšč 'wild cat') ¶ The rather late date of the spread of domesticated cats in Asia suggests that NaT \*mišik ~ \*pišik originally denoted wild cats ¶ ET 191, Rs. W 332, Cl. 774 (supposed that OT müš is a loan from an unidentified lge.), KRS 353, KW 263 ¶ ~ DQA #1243 (A \*mále 'wild cat': T, M, Tg + unc. pJ \*músásà(m)pi 'flying squirrel' || | IE: NaIE {E} \*meli- > L mēlēs ~ mēlis 'marten, badger' || Sl \*melbəc > Kshb {Lrn.} məlc 'badger' ¶ Blz. IZT 15-7, EI 45 (Sl. \*melici-), ~ WH I 474, EM 394 (no et. of mēlēs), Lrn. PI 501, Ma. C I 225 ◇ The short \*e in the Sl root suggests that IE \*e was short (the L long ē representing the L-grade of apophony?), hence there was no lr. in the N word ◇ ~ Blz. KM 136-7 [#17].

**1417. \*mÁÍHø** (+ ...) 'head, (?) skull' > HS: B \*√mlyy > Ah taməlyiq (pl. timelyay) 'part of the skull over the forehead', Kb a-məlyiy 'sommet de la tête, os de la crâne' ¶ Fc. 1204, DI. 500 || | IE: NaIE \*məlōdʰ-/\*molədʰ- 'head, top' > OI mūr'dhā (/ mūrdhan-) 'head', Av ka-mərəða- 'head of a supernatural being (daēva-)' (lit. '[sth.] like head ...') || Gk μέλαθρον 'ceiling of a room, beam that bears the ceiling', ? βλωθρός 'tall, stately' (of trees) || OFrs melde-ke 'head' (with dim. sx. -ke), AS molda 'top of the head', NE mould † id. || OIr mul {Vn.} 'masse ronde, boule, tête', mul-lach 'top of the head', Br {Vn.} melle 'sinciput', mellenn an penn 'top of the head', MBr {Ern.} melle-gouzouc 'cervix', mell-gouzouk, Br {Hm.} mell-ar-c'hil 'nuque', mellenn(-gein) 'vertèbre' || Tc A malto 'at first' ({Wn.} 'en premier lieu, d'abord') ¶ WP II 295, P 725, M K II 666, M E II 368, F I 246 and II 198 (no et. for μέλαθρον), Ch. 182, 68O, Ho. 225, Vn. M 74, Ern. 402, Hm. 558, Wn. 278 || | A \*maíñ ~ \*m̥áíñ > T {Md., DQA} \*baíç 'head' > NaT \*baš > OT, Az, ET, Ln, CrTt, Qmq, Qrb, VTt, Bsh, Qrg baš, Tk baş, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Yk bas, Alt, Slr b\_aš, Uz баш baš, Tv báš, Tf b\_áš id. || Chv L πυç puś 'head' ¶ Cl. 375-6, ET B 85-8, Ra. 159, Md. 30, 173, TL 194 ({ADb.} \*balç 'head') || M: [1] M \*mala-gayi (derived with the M sx. \*-gayi / \*-qayi) > WrM malagai, HIM малгай, Ord {Ms.} malaga 'headgear; head (of a nail, pin, etc.)', Brt

малгай, Kl Ö {Rm.} malχā, WrO {Krg.} malaxai ~ malaxa ~ malaxai, MMgl {Iw.} malχay 'cap, hat', Mgl malχey ~ malχāy id., with mt.: MM [IM] {Pp.} **مَفَالِهٰ** mayala, [S] {H} maqalay 'headgear', WrO {Krg.} mayala ~ mayalā 'hat, cap', Kl махла, Kl D/Ö {Rm.} maxlā, MnR H {SM} marg\_a, Dg {Pp.} magāl id., possibly also M {Rm.} \*malayi- > Brt малай-, Kl {Rm.} malā-χa 'be bald' ] [2] M \*malžan 'bald spot (on the forehead of an animal), broad forehead' (semantic infl. of the rhyming stem \*qalžan 'bald-headed, blaze on the forehead' < N \*Καίξυ 'bare, naked' [q.v.]) > WrM malžan, HlM малзан 'bald spot (on the forehead of a horse), broad forehead', Ord xalžā malž\_an 'having a bald spot on the forehead' (of a horse \ camel \ ox \ goat), Dg malžin 'bald' ¶ MED 524-5, KRS 344, Ms. O 327, T DgJ 153, Pp. GMPJ 101-2, 109-10 (on the sx. -gai / -qai), Pp. MA 441, H 106, Iw. 115, Krg. 589, 591, KW 254-5, Chr. 291 || pKo {S} \*mà,ri 'head' > MKo mà,ri, NKo mə,ri, Ko Δ: PhN mɔri, Sl mɔrī, Chs mɔrī, Ks má,ri, Hm mɔ\_rī id. ¶ S AJ 253 [#40], S QK #40, Nam 210, MLC 608 || Tg \*meli- 'sinciput, nape of the neck, spine' > Lm məlimki 'jugular vertebra', Ork məlimu id., "orifice of the skull" (= 'foramen magnum?'), 'nape of the neck', Ul mugže 'sinciput', Nn Nh/KU mulgiktz, Nn B məygiktz, Orc muggikta 'skeleton of a fish' ¶ STM I 549-50, 567 ¶ S AJ 31-2, 282 [#174], SDM97 s.v. \*meíA (T, M \*malža-, Ko, Tg; A \*e is reconstructed on the ev. of Tg), ≈ DQA #1274 (A \*mēížu|a 'head'; incl. T \*malja and M \*malža, but does not explain Ko, Tg, M \*mala-gayi and \*malay-) ◇ Tg \*e may either go back to N \*ä or result from regr. as. (\*a...E > \*ä...E > Tg \*e...i).

**1418. \*mÄñV** 'herd\flock, gregarious animal(s)' > **HS**: Eg fMK mn̩mn̩nt 'herd, domesticated animals (Herdenvieh) and birds', {Fk.} 'cattle' ¶ EG II 81, Fk. 109 || NrOm: Kf {C} m̩m̩, Mch {L} mi:mí 'cow', {Lm.} m̩n-žo 'cow, bovine cattle (Rindvieh)', Shn {Lm.} m̩n-zà id., Anf {MYTY} min-žo 'cow', {C} min-cō 'bovine cattle', Kf {C} minžō id. (in minž-ifō 'cowdung'), Wl {LmS} m̩za 'livestock, cattle', Bsk {C} miza 'bull', Gm {Hw.} m̩zi, Zl/Dwr {LmS} miza, Gf {LmS} mizza, Dc {LmS} m̩zzj 'cow' ¶ Lm. Sh 355, LmS 477-8, C SE IV 471-3, LM 41, MYTY 118, Hw. EG || **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) \*mäñV 'herd, gregarious animal(s)' > Os Nz mañəŋ 'herd (of reindeer, horses, bovines)' | OHg XIV, Hg mén 'stallion', OHg ménes 'horse', Hg ménes 'stud(-farm)', Δ mines id., 'horse' ¶ UEW 869, Stn. D 937, MF 433, EWU 959-60 || **A**: Tg \*man\_

'flock of birds' > Ewk, Neg man, Orc mańi, Ud mani, Ul mandu, Ork mandu, Nn Nh/B mando ~ mandu id., Ewk Skh 'crowd' ¶ STM I 526, Krm. 259 || D \*manta<sub>ug</sub> ({‡GS} \*-nd-) 'flock, herd' > Tm mantai, Tl manda, Prj, Gnd, Ku manda id., Kn manti, mante 'flock of sheep\goats, herd of cattle\buffaloes', Knd manda 'herd' ¶ D #4700 (a) ◇ Hardly here Km {CR} miyən 'young cow' (CR K 235); obviously not here Eg mn̄t 'Milchkuh' (mistranslated in OS #1773 as 'cow'), which is derived from mn̄ v. 'milk'.

**1419. \*mĀñV** 'hut, dwelling' (sd. of N \*māñV 'remain, stay'??) > HS: C: EC {Ss.} \*min-/ \*man- 'house' > pSam {Hn.} \*min > Sml N + min 'bridal house', Sml S {Ss.} min 'room', pl. minan 'house', Sml C {ZMO} min 'house, hut, room', Sml J {Hn.} miŋ 'house', Rn {PG} míñ, pBn {Hn.} \*míñ (> Bn: Bi/Kj/K míñ, J mún) id.; Bs, Elm min, Arr {Hw.} míñ, pOr {Hn.} \*mana ~ \*mina\_, Or {Grg.} mana 'house', Or B {Sr.} mana, Or B/O {Sr.} mina id., 'hut', Or Wt {Hn.} mina\_, Kns, Gdl mana, Gwd, Gln, Dbs, Grs mano 'house', HEC {Hd.} \*mine > Sd, Ged, Hd, Kmb mine, Alb mino, Brj mina id. ¶ Ss. B 145 suggests that \*man- goes back to the pl. form with an \*-a-infix (cf. Or AM {Hw.} mina 'house' ↔ man 'houses') || Dhl {To.} mini 'house' || ?? SC: Kz {E} munžalimo 'young man's house' || Ag {Ap.} \*ŋʒn- 'house' > Xm, Km ŋʒn, Aw ŋʒn, Bln (dis.) lʒŋ ¶ Ss. PEC 24, Ss. B 145, ZMO 291, Hn. S 69, Hn. BD 113, PG 225, Grg. 276, Sr. 364, 368, Hn. W 60, 68, HL 128, Hw. A 385, Hd. 81, 212, 255, 294, 386, AMS 247, To. D 143, E PC #436, EK 4, Ap. AV 16 || WCh: BT: Tng {J} mána 'house, home', Dr {J} mánna, Pr {Frz.} míñà, Kwm {Leg.} máná, Kpt {Leg.} mán 'hut, house' ¶ JI II 202, J T 119, Frz. P 42, Leg. KK 21-8, Leg. KYB 172 || ??σ Eg P үмн 'create; bilden, schaffen' (if ← \*'build a house') ¶ EG I 83 ¶ Tk. SCC 99 [#29.5], OS #1723, Tk. I 395 (C, Ch ÷ Eg үмн) || D \*maŋ- 'house' > Tm manai 'house, dwelling', Ml mana, Kdg mane 'house', Kt man devr 'household god', mantanm 'affairs of household', Td man 'family, household', Kn mane 'habitation, abode, house', Tu manæ 'house, home', Knd poñdeŋ mane 'cowshed' ¶ D #4776 || A: T \*°man 'fence, enclosure' > StAlt {BT} man 'fence', QK/Tb {Rl., B} man id. ('Zaum'), QK/Tb/Sg {Rl.} mana- v. 'fence in' ¶ BT 108, Rl. IV 2015-6, B DChT 136, B DLT 177, Rs. W 325 || pKo (< d.) \*mʌñárh 'village, vicinity' > MKo \*mʌñáṛ (\*mʌñáṛh-), NKo mail ¶ S QK #383, Nam 196, MLC 564 || ??φ pJ (< d.) \*múrà 'village' > OJ mürà, J: T murá, K mürà, Kg múra ¶ S QJ #394, Mr. 488 || ?φ M \*mayi-qan 'tent' (unless ←b- Chn, as

supposed as a possibility in KW) > WrM *maiçan*, HlM, Brt *майхан*, WrO {Krg.} *maiχan*, Kl *мәəхн* *mäχn*, Kl Ö/D *mäχan*, Dg {T, Mr.} *maikan* 'tent', Ord *mäχu'n* 'tente de voyage'; M → WrMc *maykan* 'tent' ¶ MED 523, T VM 166, Chr. 290, Krg. 592, KRS 346, KW 259, T DgJ 153, Ms. O 45, Z 862 ¶ ~ DQA #1279 (A \*meñ'ō 'dwelling place, village'; incl. Ko, T, J) ¶ Ko \*-ń- and M \*-y- ({DQA}: < \*ń-) go back to \*-n-y- with \*-y- of a sx. Acc. to DQA, the Ko, and J stems are derived with a \*-r|l-sx. || ? K: MG [VTq], G {DCh., SSO} *mena* 'dwelling, abode (жилище)' (unless a loan from an Iranian lge) ¶ DCh. 702, SSO I 463 || ? IE: Psh {Mrg.} *mēna* 'house', Ygn {ALP} *mayn*, *meyn*, *men* 'village', KhS *mūna* 'abode' ¶ Mrg. 44, ALP 285, Bai. 335.

**1420. \*mäñā** 'remain, stay' > HS: Eg ∀ *mn* 'remain; be firm \ established \ enduring; reside', DEg *m n* 'bleiben', Cpt Sd/B **ΜΟΥΝ** *mun* 'stay, remain' ¶ EG II 60-2, Fk. 106, Er. 159, Vc. 114 || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} *mun* 'sit down, reside, live; remain', Sha/Klr {J} *mun* n. 'place' (× N \***μΑÑΔ** 'hut, dwelling'), ? Bks *té-mun* 'sit down' (*té* 'an einem Platz sitzen, leben') || CCh: Msg Ng {GKrs. → Lk.} *mine* 'sich befinden' ¶ J R 146, 219, 287, 354, Lk. DQM 67 ¶ Coh. 83, ≠ Cal. 63 (Eg, S \*✓?mn 'be faithful, true') || IE: NaIE \**men-* (prs. \**mimne/o-*) 'remain, stay' > Vd *man-* 'wait, stay, hesitate', {El} 'delay, stand still', Av *man-* 'bleiben, warten', OPrs *amānaya* 'er erwartete', MPrs *mān-dan*, NPrs **مادن** *mān-dān* 'to remain', KhS *mānätä* 'he stays', *mānda-* 'remained' || Arm **մՆԱՄ** *mnam* 'I remain, wait' || Gk *μένω*, *μίμνω* 'stand, stay fast, abide' || L *maneō* / *manēre* 'remain, stay' || OIr *aínmne*, MW *anmynedd*, W *amynedd* 'patience' (F: all < \**an-menjā?*) || ? pTc \**mäsk-* > Tc A, B *mäsk-* (< \**mñ-ske/o-*) 'be, become' ¶ WP II 267, P 729, EI 482, M K II 573, M E II 306-7, Horn 215-6, Bai. 327, F II 208-9, WH II 26, Slt. 262, Vn. A 37, Ad. 458-9 || D \**mañ-*, {GS} \**man-* 'remain, be permanent, stand fast' > Tm *mānū* 'be permanent, endure, remain long, stay', Ml *mannuka* 'stand fast, persevere', Tl *manu* 'live, exist', *mannu* v. 'last, be durable', Nkr, Png, Mnd, Ku *man-* 'be', Prj *men-*, Gdb *man-* 'be, stay', Knd *man-* id., 'dwell', Gnd *man-*, Kui *manba* 'remain, abide, be', Krx *man-* 'become, come off, be', Mlt *mene* 'be, become, grow, or be produced', Brh *manning* 'become, be' ¶ D #4778, Pf. 108 [#814], GS 34-5 [#54] || A ({AD} \**mäna-*): Tg \**men-* 'remain, lead a settled life' (↔ 'nomadize') > Ewk *mānā-* 'lead a settled life', 'remain in the same place for a long time' (of a nomad camp), *mānā* adj. 'settled'

(↔ 'nomadic'), Lm тзпзвјзк id., тзпз 'a settled Lamut', Ork тзпзји- 'remain', Neg тзпзјз- id., caus. тзпзв- vt. 'leave, abandon', Ud {ðShn., Krm} тзпзз- 'remain at home, remain working in the settlement' (↔ 'go hunting to the forest'), 'домовничать' ¶ STM I 569, Shn. 5O, Krm. 264 || M \*мана- 'keep vigil' > MM [HI] mana- 'veiller', WrM mana-, HlM мана-, Ord mana- 'keep vigil, hold a night watch', WrO mana- v. 'guard, watch', Dg mana- v. 'guard, keep watch over (сторечь, охранять, караулить)', Brt мана- id., 'graze herds in the night', Kl ман-х id., {Rm.} танъ- 'Nachtwache halten' ¶ Ms. H 73, MED 525, KRS 342, Krg. 586, T DgJ 153, Ms. O 452, Chr. 292, KW 256 ¶ ≠ DQA #1279 (A \*meñ<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup> 'dwelling place, village': equates Tg with M, Ko, and J roots that belong to N \*мАñН 'hut, dwelling', q.v.) ◇ ≈ IS II 51-2 (\*мАнл 'оставатся на месте, прочно стоять' > HS [Eg, Om, Ch], IE, D, ? Tg, ? G mena 'dwelling' (see N \*мАñН '↑'); + err. S \*✓?mn 'be faithful, true').

**1421.** \*мāñū 'man, male' > HS: B: Zng {MH → Nic.} mīn (pl. māñ), man 'person', {Bs.} min 'homme', man 'gens', ? B \*-māñ 'soul, oneself' (× N \*me<sub>1</sub>y<sub>2</sub>ñū 'oneself, one's own', 'body' [q.v.]) ¶ Nic. 205, Bs. MS I 245, Msq. Z 515 || EC \*māñ- 'man, male' > HEC {Hd.} \*mana 'man, person' > Sd, Hd man-čo, Kmb man-ču, Ged manžo, pl. \*manna 'men, people' (> Sd, Hd, Kmb, Tmbr manna id., Brj {Ss.} 'mēna 'people', {Hd.} mēna 'people, man, person'; Sml {DSI} māñ 'adult) male monkey, (young) male ass', Sml Hw {C} mun 'male (animal)' ¶ Hd. 96, 212, 254, 293, 384, Ss. B 143, ≠ 133, ≠ Ss. PEC 24 (unc.: \*man- < EC \*nam-), DSI 453, ZMO 300, C SE III 80 || NrOm {Blz.} \*man- 'male; people' > Wl {C} minō 'warrior', Ym {C} monō 'people (gente)'; not here Kf {C} manō 'brother' and Ym {Lm.} manó 'male twin' (probably loans from Nilotic, cp. Masongo {C} māñə 'brother') ¶ Blz. OL 85, C SE III 80, C SO 33, Lm. Y 365, C SE IV 472 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Zul māñi 'man', Plc māñi, Grn {Sh.} māndān, Gj mmāñi, Tale māñž, Dw māñi (pl. min) id. || Krkr {Lk.} mún 'people, persons', Pr {Frz.} mānnà 'spouse' || Ngz {Sch.} mānāmín (term for Hausas, Kanuris, Fulanis used in order to conceal their commonly known names when speaking to other Ngizim) (cp. MHb גּוֹיִם go'yim 'gentiles', Modern Hb גּוֹיִם go'yim, and Yid 'goyim 'non-Jews' ← 'peoples') || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} mēni 'person', {Mch.} mēni 'man' || BB: FlM {ChL} mundu, FIB {ChL} mündiñ, Gudu māndù, Nz {ChC} mīnde 'person' || Ms: ZmD {ChC} ← Srp.} mānyi, cā-mānyi 'person', {ChL} sou-manji

'man' ({KNC} sú 'un homme') ¶ JI II 266-7, ChC, ChL, KNC 23, Frz. P 41, Sch. DN 11O, ≈ Stl. ZCh 232-3 [#8O1] ¶ OS #1722, Blz. BKTA 1O5 111? sd. HS \*man- 'who?' (< \*mī man- 'what [for a] person?', cp. It cosa 'what?' < che cosa 'which thing?') > S \*man<sub>1</sub>n<sub>-</sub> 'who?' > OAk man, Ak √ mann(u/a/i-m) 'who?', Sb mn rel. prn. 'who, whosoever', Qt mn 'he who, whoever', Mn {MA} mn rel. prn. 'qui, quiconque', Gz mann-ū (accus. mann-a), Tgy mən ~ mən, Tgr mən, Amh man 'who?', CS \*man<sub>1</sub>n<sub>1</sub> > DA, Yd, OA, IA, Plm, Nbt mn, BA, JA, Sr, Ar man, Md man 'who?', pCn \*man > Amr {G} manna 'who?', ? Ug mn 'which?', 'that, which, who' rel. ¶ ≈ Lip. 328-9, CAD X/1 213-8, G A 24, G OA 177-8, LG 348, HJ 648-9, KB 1738, OLS 281-2, Lv. T III 45, Sl. 636, DM 246, BK II 1154, Br. AG 32, BGMR 86, MA 61, Rk. 97 || Acc. to Ai. MCB 5O, there is a B prn. (reconstructible as \*m<sub>1</sub>n<sub>1</sub> 'who?' opposed to \*matta, etc. 'what?') > Mz man, manajn, Shw mən, Jrb, Snd man 'who?', although there are alternative possibilities of analysis of these pronouns. For the time being, the question of B interr. pronouns remains open || IE: NaIE \*majonu 'man, person' > OI 'manu-, 'manuš- 'person, man', Av, MPrs Manus 'Manush, ancestor of mankind' || Gmc \*manwaz 'man' > Old Gmc [Tacitus] Mannus p.n. ('ancestor of the Germans'), Gt manna, mann- (gen. mans, dat. mann), ON maðr ~ mannr, OHG man, NHG Mann 'man', OSx, AS mann 'man', NE man; d.: Gt mann-isk-s, ON mennskr, AS mēnnisc, OSx mēnnisk, OHG mennisc adj. 'human, of a person', OSx mēnnisko, OHG mennisco 'man, person', NHG Mensch 'person' || Sl \*mōžb (< d.) 'man' > OCS Мѫжъ mōžb, OR Мѫжъ тиžb, Blg мъж, Slv mōž, OCz, Cz, Slk muž, P mąż 'man, husband', SCr muž, R муж 'husband', † 'man (vir)' ¶ WP II 266, P 7OO, M K II 575-6, M E II 309-1O, Fs. 344-5, Vr. 374-5, 384, Ho. 215, 219, Ho. S 5O-1, Kb. 656, 675, OsS 587, 59O, KM 459-6O, 471, ESSJ XX 158-61, Glh. 429-3O, Vs. II 67O-1, EI 367 (\*manu- 'Man, ancestor of mankind') || U: FU (att. in Ugr) \*mańće 'man, person' > pObU {Ht.} \*māńć ~ \*māńć 'a person (man?) of ego's tribe \ exogamous moiety' > pVg \*māńśi 'a Vogul' > Vg: T māńśi, LK/MK māńś, P/LL māńś, UL/Ss māńsi id.; pOs {Ht.} \*mańć (name of one of the Ostyaks' phratrias) > Os: V mańt, I mońt, Kz mōś, O maś | OHg, Hg magyar 'Hungarian'; the var. Megyer (in n. l.: Békásmegyer, Pusztamegyer, Megyercs, Megyered) goes back to the name of an old Hungarian tribe known in Byzantian sources as Μεγέρη ¶ The variant with a palatal vw. (pVg \*māńśi, Hg Megyer) is due to vowel harmony ¶ Coll. and UEW

unconvincingly suppose an Ir origin of the word (cf. Av *Manuš*) ¶ Hardly here ( $\neq \phi$ ) F *mies* and Es *mees* 'man (vir)', that can be traced to N  $\approx *mexaz\Delta$  'man (vir), male' (q.v.) ( $\Leftrightarrow$  Tv. → Coll., SK, IS a. o.) ¶ Coll. 99, UEW 866-7, MF 415-7, Ht. #398, SK 345 || D: [1] D \**maŋ* 'man (vir), warrior, chief (of a family \ clan \ tribe)' > Tm *man* 'king, kshatriya, warrior, chief, husband', *mannan* 'king, lord, chief, husband', Ml *mannan* 'king', Kn *manneya* 'chieftain, commander', Tl *manniya* 'lord, suzerain, chief(tain)' ¶ [2] D \**manti*, 'persons, people' > Kn *mandi*, *mande*, Tu *mandi*, *mandæ* id., Tl *madi* 'crowd, collection of persons', Klm *mandi* 'men' ~ *mandi* 'man', Png *mananakar* 'people belonging to the same side or party', ? Krx *mēt* ~ *mēt* 'adult man, husband', ? Tm *māntar* 'persons, male persons' ¶ D #47OO (b),  $\approx$  D #4791 ¶ [3] D \**mańc* $\Delta$  > Prj *mańža* & *mańña* 'man', Gnd *mańža* 'man, person' ¶  $\approx$  D #4791 ◇ In FU \**manče*, D \**mańc* $\Delta$ , Ged *mańžo* (and OI 'manus-?') one may see reflexes of an ancient cd. ( $\approx *māñū$  c|ča) possibly with an adjective-forming (or individualizing) pc. \*ča - \*ča (a marker of relative constructions), *see* above Gt *mann-i-sk-s* and NHG Mensch ◇ IS II 58-9 (\**mānə* 'man, male') ◇  $\approx$  Gr. II #294 (\**mon* 'person') (IE, U + unc. J, Ai).

**1422.** \**m'æ'ñ* $\Delta$  'front' > IE \**men-* '≈ front' > Ht *meni-*, *mena-* 'face, cheek', cd. *mēnahanda* ~ *menahhanda* adv., prep. 'before, against, in front' (< N \**m'æ'ñ* $\Delta$  *qañt* $\Delta$  'face to face, vis à vis' [*see* N \**qañt* $\Delta$  'forehead, front']); Ht *meni-* 'cheek' may have been influenced by \**ment-* 'chin' < N \**mĀñt* $\Delta$  'jaw, chin, (?) skull' (q.v.) || NaIE \**men-* v. 'protrude, project', 'mouth' > L ē-*mineō* / -ērē vi. 'project, stand out', *prō-mineō* / -ērē id., 'jet out' || ON *mœna* 'stand out, project (emporragen)', ON *mœnir*, NNr *møna*, BNr *møne* 'ridge of a roof' || Av {Brtl.} *fra-man-* 'Vorsprung gewinnen' || Clt: OIr *mén* 'opening of the mouth, open mouth', Crn *myn* 'mouth', Br *min* 'museau, mufle' ¶ CHD L-N 274-9O, Ts. E II 194-8, WP II 263, Vn. M 36, P 726, WH II 108-9, Brtl. 1125, Vr. 400, Ark. 557,  $\approx$  Po. LmanE (Ht *meni/a-* ÷ Lw *mana* 'see') || D \**muŋ-* 'front' > Tm *mun* 'in front, previous', *munai* 'front, face', Ml *mun*, *munnam* 'priority in space and time; first, former; before', Kt *mun-* 'front, fore', Td *mud-k* 'in front' (-k, sx. of dat.), *muda'l* 'first', Kn *mun* 'that which is in front \ before', Kdg *mińña* 'in front', Tu *mundaña* 'priority, first', Tl *muni* 'first, former, front', Klm *mut*, Nkr *mund* 'before', Nk *muř*, Knd *mungal*,

mundala 'in front (of)', Prj mundi id., muna vanda 'forefinger', Gdb mundēl 'the front', Gnd munne 'before, in front', Ku muu 'point (of needle, etc.)', Krx munddh, mund 'first, ahead of, before', Mlt mundi 'formerly' || HS: EC: Rn {PG} mīn 'forehead', Kns {Bl.} mīn-tá 'forehead, face', Gwd {AMS} mīn-té, Hr/Dbs {AMS} mīn-čé id., 'front', Cm {Hab.} mīn-te, Alb, Kmb mīne 'face', ? Ya maña 'eyebrow', ? Af minin id. || PG 223, Lm. SKE 533, BIO K s.v., AMS 175, 244, 271, 278, PH 169 || CCh: Db H {Srp.} maneno 'forehead' || Blz. DA #7 || A: M \*mañlayi 'forehead' (d. or cd. with the vw. \*a [of the first syll.] due to as. to the vw. of the next syll.) > MM [LM, IsV, HI, S] mañlay, [MA] mañqlay, [IM] manlay 'forehead', WrM mañlai, HIM манлай id., 'front', MnR H {T} manlī, {SM} māñlay, Dg {Pp., T, Mr.} mañgil, Dx {T} manley 'forehead', WrO {Krg.} mañlai ~ mañnai id., 'top', Klm мањна мањна, {Rm.} mañnā, Kl Ö {Rm.} mañnā 'forehead' || Pp. MA 233, 441, Pp. L III 70, Lg. VMI 53, H 107, Ms. H 74, MED 527, T 344, T DgJ 153, T DnJ 128, Mr. D 183, Krg. 588, KRS 342, KW 257 || J Y mimbūrū 'head'; but pJ {S} \*mīmī 'ear' (> OJ mīmī, J T mīmī) cannot be reliably adduced here (the semantic is too distant) || Not here (↔ DQA) T \*beyñi 'brain' (see N \*beññiX̥i '≈ head') || AED1239 (A \*māyñi 'temple, forehead, ear'; incl. M, J Y mimbūrū) ◇ WP and P suggest (at the pIE level) that \*men- 'protrude' is the √ of the stems \*mñ-ti, \*moniyo- 'mountain(s)' (sc. N \*mu|oññV 'mountain, hill'). If they are right, both N etyma are identical. In that case the semantic development may have been: 'hill' → 'hillock' → 'protrude as a hillock' → 'front'. The vw. \*u in D may be due to the labializing infl. of \*m- ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 153 [#7] (D, C, Ch, IE), ≈ BmK #533: \*mun-/ \*mon- 'protrude, stand out'; 'be first', etc. (IE, D, + err. Eg mn 'mountain, stone hill' [in fact, from N \*mu|oññV '↑']); adduces words with highly qu. semantic ties, such as L mentum 'chin').

**1423. \*menē** 'walk, go' > IE: NaIE \*men- 'go, walk' (× N \*m'ä'ññV 'to rumple, to bend', q.v.) > OIr men- 'go', W myned, Crn mones, OBr (in a cd.) -minet, MBr monet, Br mont 'to go', MBr, Br tremen 'passer', W tre-myru(u) 'to walk, to wander', Crn tre-mene 'to pass' || ? L minō, -āre vt. 'drive (cattle)', ltL [LxS] minō, -āre v. 'lead' (> Fr mener, Prv, Ctl menar, It menare 'to lead', Rum mīna 'drive [cattle]') (× NaIE \*mej- 'go, pass' < N \*mñyñV 'come' or 'go, pass', whence L -i-) || Vn. M 35-6, Flr. 257, Hm. 578, WP II 263; ≈ ML

#5585 and Kö. # 6185 (Romance lgs. < L *mināre* 'drive cattle'), ≈ P 726 || HS: pCh ({JS} \*✓ mn 'come'): WCh: pAG \*mwān 'go, walk' > Gmy mwān, Kfr {Hf.} mwān id., {Nt.} mwán 'go', Mpn {Frz.} mùan 'walk', Ang {Hf.} mwēn 'go, walk', {Brq.} mwēn, Su {J, Hf.} mwān v. 'travel' || SBC: Zar {IL} mān, Zar K/L {Sh.}, Sy Zk/B/Z {Sh.} man, Sy {Csp.} mán 'come' ¶ JI II 82, ChC, JS 74, Hf. AG #54, J S I 76, Nt. 28, Frz. DM 38, Sh. SB 34, Csp. 45 || u \*mene- 'go' > F *mene-*, Es *mine-* 'go' || pLp {Lr.} \*mənə- 'go' > Lp: S {Hs.} mīnnedh, Vfs {Lgc.} mānnat 'go, walk', L {LLO} mānnat, N {N} mānnā- / -n- 'go, journey', Kld мэннэ, {Tl} inf. mānnā- / māna- 'go' || pChr {Ber.} \*miyə- 'go, come' > Chr L *мием* / inf. *мияш* mi'y-aš 'come, arrive', Chr H inf. {MRS} *мияш*, {Ep.} *мияш* 'miäš, {Rm.} miäš id., Chr {Ü} *miyem* 'I go (gehe, fahre)', Chr E {Ps.} *miyem* 'I go, visit, come' || Prm {LG} \*mEn- (Lt. 22O-3: Prm \*E < \*ü?) > Vt mīn- (Lt. 222: unstressed + < \*u), Z, Yz mun- 'go', Z Ud munz 'goes' (Lt. G: Z Ud -z suggests FU \*-e) || ObU {Ht.} \*mīn- 'go' > pVg \*mīn- > Vg: T mīn, LK.MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL, UL/Ss min-; pOs {Ht.} \*mēn-, {Hl.} \*mīn- > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K mēn-, Nz/Kz mān-, O mān- id. || Hg mēn- (3s pres. mēgy) 'go (gehen, fahren), pass' || Sm {Jn.} \*min- 'go' > Ne: T *мин-зъ*, T O {Lh.} *mīn-ć*, F {Sm.} *mīn-š*; Ng {Ter.} *мыңсы*, {Cs.} 1s aor. 'mendem id. || Kms {KD} *məŋgem* 'I go' ] ↳ (?) Sm {Hl.} \*ment▽- 'go past\by' > Ne T *мене-цъ* 'to pass' (of a misfortune, danger)', 'to dwell for a long time (in one place)', Slq Tz {KKIH} d. mēnti- 'go past\by, overwalk', Mt {Hl.} \*mində- 'pass, elapse' (Mt T {Mll.} óp'ha mīndunga 'annus' (← 'one year has passed', with óp 'one', ha 'year') || pY {IN} \*men- > YK men-mə-gə-у- 'jump up (подпрыгнуть)', men-ži-h- iter. 'jump, leap' ¶ For the meaning 'jump' cp. below WrMc munġire- vi. 'gambol' (suggesting a semantic change 'go, run' → 'jump') ¶ Coll. 34, UEW 272, Db. OS xxxii (\*mene-), Sz. 31, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP \*meni-, Uhr \*minī-, Sm \*min-), SK 34O, Lr. #636, Lgc. #3692, Lgc. SL #1188, Hs. 93O-1, LLO 493-4, SaR 2O1-3, TI 246, MRS 323, 325, Ep. 7O, Ü 119, Rm. BT 78, PsS 71, LG 178, Lt. KG 56, Ht. #392, MF 428-9, EWU 954, Jn. 92, 94-5, KD 4O, Hl. M 3O6 [#677], 425, IN 234, ≈ Rd. UJ 4O [#33] (Y ←b- U) || a: T \*maŋ n. 'running, trot' > Alt {BT, Rl.}, Tlt/QK/Shor {Rl.} maŋ id., Tv maŋ 'running, speed' ¶ Rl. IV 2OO6, BT 1O8, TvR 288 || Tg \*meŋ- 'hurry' > Lm mənu- vi. 'hurry', caus.: Lm mənu-, Ewk məniw- & məŋiŋ- vt. 'hurry\hasten (so.)'; ?φ \*munŋ- (or \*mulŋ-): Lm munŋən-, Lm Al mulŋʒn- 'run around', 'run away from

its owner' (of a dog), Lm Okh մողՅՅՆՅՅՆ 'run away to look for a game', WrMc մողյրե- ~ մողրե- vi. 'gambol' (of cattle) § STM I 556-7, 569 §§ ≈ DQA #1281 (A \*mē̥ja 'to run, to trot', incl. T) §§ A \*-ŋ- may go back to \*n-K- (\*K belonging to a sx.) ◇ AD GD 1, IS II 61 (\*mene 'ступать' > IE, U) ◇ The vw. \*a in Tk \*maŋ still needs explaining ◇ ≈ Gr. II #41O (\*men 'walk') (IE, U, Y, A, CK, EA).

**1424.** <sub>2</sub> \*meñ∇ 'tear, tear into pieces, divide' > **U:** FU (in Ugr only) \*°meñ∇ 'tear, tear into pieces' > ObU \*mēñ- ({Ht.} \*mēn-) v. 'tear' > pVg \*mān- > Vg: ML mānit-, UL maniyt- id., T mānām, Ss manām- id., T/MK mānāmt-, LK mānāmt- id.; pOs {Ht.} \*meñ-, {Hl.} \*māñ- > Os: D mēnemā-, K mānimā-, Nz/O menām-, Kz meñām- 'abreißend', D mēnč-, K mānč-, Nz mānšə-, Kz mānši-, O {Hl.} mānsi- 'zerreißen' | Hg Δ ki-mēnyü'l-'verrenkt werden, sich verrenken', ki-mēnyít- 'ver-/aus-renken' § UEW 87O, Ht. #391, Hl. rHt 71, 75 || **HS:** S \*manay-, \*manat- share' (× S \*✓mny 'count') > BHb מִנָּה mā'nā, Ug mnt, IA/Plm mnħ 'share, part, portion', JEA em. מִנְתָּא mānā't-ā (cs. מִנְתָּה mānāt) 'share', Ar منى mana-n 'fate' (→ 'death'), du. manawāni ~ manayāni 'two pounds (unit of weight)', Ak fOAk manū ~ mana?u 'mina (unit of weight)', Ar ✓mnw TL (pf. تَمَانَى tamānā, ip. يَتَمَانَى yatamānā) 'se partager qch. en séparant avec les doigts', Ak ✓mnw|y G (inf. manū), D 'assign', BHb ✓mny|w D (pf. מִנָּה min'nā) 'assign (a share), zuteilen', Mn {MA} ✓mnw 'attribuer', ? Sb mn 'bénifice' § KB 567, A #1600, OLS 264, HJ 657, Lv. T III 49, Js. 802-3, Sl. 688-9, BK II 1158-9, Hv. 735, CAD X/1 219-27, MA 62 ◇ The comparison is valid unless the S words are derived from S \*✓mny v. 'test, count' (< N \*moñ∇ 'to test, to think' [q.v.]).

**1425.** <sub>(2?)</sub> \*mEñ∇ (= \*mEń∇?) 'from' > **HS:** S \*min (or \*minu?) 'from, out of' > BHb, BA, JA min ~ mi-+gmc., Ph mn ~ bn, OA, IA mn, IA (AkSc) mi-in, Sr ~~مِن~~ mən, Md mn, min-, Ar min, Sb mn, Tgr mən, ? Gz əmənna ({Rgr.}: < rdp. \*minmin), əm, Mh {Jo.}, Jb E/C {Jo.}, Sq {Jo.} mən, Hrs {Jo.} mən, m, Eb {Krc.} minu, {Lmt.} minu id. § Br. G II 494, 497-8 [§ 252], KB 565-7, 1738, Br. 393, Js. 796, Sl. 683-5, BK II 1154-5, BGMR 86, LH 126, LG 22, 25, Rgr. B 22, Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Krc. 72-8, Lmt. 69-70 || Eg fP m 'aus etw. heraus, von einem Ort an', ?? Eg fP m 'in' § EG II 1 || **K** \*-man, ending of the ergative case > OG -man, G -m, -ma, Sv -m id. §§ K S 49-67 || ?σ **IE:** NaIE \*-mis instr. pl. > Lt -

**mīs**, Sl \*-mīb (> OCS -мъ, etc.); NaIE \*-mis x dat. pl. \*-mos > Gmc dat./abl./instr. pl. \*-mīz > OWGmc {Kluge} -m(i)s (in n. pr. **Vatvims** 'Vatviabus', **Aflims** 'Aflibus', **Saitchamim(i)s** 'Saithamiabus'), Gt, AS -m, ON -mr ¶ Brg. KVG 396-8, Bks. 117-8, 173, Kluge U 197, En. APG 159 ¶ The final \*-s in \*-mis may go back (through the infl. of other cases of pl.) to IE \*-(e)s of pl. (see N \***τ̄νέντ** 'they') ◇ The loss of \*-N- in IE may be accounted for either by the reg. change N \*n̄ > IE \*j̄ (if the N etymon is \***mEñN**) or by reduction in a grammaticalized (hence unaccented) word → morpheme ◇ Gr. I 139-44 ("locative M" in IE, Y, Tg, Gil, CK + err. U \*maxe 'earth' and qu. the Vg sx. -ma for place of action, that probably belongs to the U derivational suffix \*-ma/\*-mä of deverbal nouns [see N \***mA**, marker of nominalized syntactic constructions, nominalizer] and is cognate to the \*m-sx. of the same meaning in IE and other lgs.).

**1426.** <sub>2</sub> \***mEñN** 'tell a lie, deceive' > **HS:** WS \*-mīn- 'tell a lie, deceive' > Ar ✓ myn (pf. māna, ip. -mīnu) 'tell a lie', mayn- n. 'a lie', Gz mīn 'cunning, fraud, trickery, ruse', ✓ myn TD (pf. tamayyana) 'deceive' ¶ BK II 1175, LG 376 || **IE:** NaIE \*men- 'tell a lie, lure' > L mendāx / -āc-iſ 'lying, mendacious' | Sl \*manī-ti ~ as. \*mamī-ti 'to deceive, to lure, to entice' > ChS **МАНІТИ** maniti 'decipere' ~ **МАМНІТИ** mamiti 'to lure, to deceive', SCr māmiti, Δ mániti 'to lure, to entice', Slv māmiti, Δ mániti id., 'to tempt', HLs maniſ 'to deceive', PΔ manić 'to delude, to beguile', P mamić id., 'to dazzle', Cz māmiti, Slk māmit' 'to deceive, to entice', Blg 'мамя' 'I beckon' ] AdS of Pru mēntimai 'we lie (lügen)' and L mentior / mentīri 'tell a lie' (both from IE \*ment- < N \***men̄t̄N** or \***men̄t̄V** 'miss one's aim', q.v.) ¶ WH II 68-9, Vs. II 569, ESSJ XVII 197-9, Chrн. I 508, Mikl. E 182, Glh. 397-8, ~ Frn. 454-5, En. 210.

**1427.** \***moñN** 'many, much' > **HS:** C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} ménč 'many, much', Knf {TBZAC} menči 'many' ¶ Hz. NSA 139, TBZAC s.v. menči || ECh: Mgm māní, Bdy mán(i) 'beaucoup' ¶ AlJ 97, JA LM 105, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'many' || **U:** FU \*monjñe 'much, many' > F moni (gen. monen) 'many a, numerous', pl. monet 'many', Es mōni 'some, a few' | Lp: N {N} pl. moanâk 'more than a couple, a good many', L {LLO} mānah 'some, a couple', Klt mūñas 'some' | Prm \*mūn 'quantity' > Z, Vt мында mīn-da 'about (approximately)', in cds.: Z кымын kī-mīn 'how many?', сымын sī-mīn 'so many', комын ko-mīn '30', нелямын '40',

вегымын '50', қвайтымын '60', Vt қуамын қуа-мін '30', Prmk mun-da 'how many?' || ObU: Vg: (in cds.) -mən ә -man / -pən, e. g. LK/P nälmən, Ss naliman '40', K/P ätpən, N atpən '50', etc. | ? Hg -van / -ven in compound numerals: negyven '40', ötven '50', hatvan '60', etc. ¶ FU \*<sup>o</sup> < \*a (labializing effect of \*m-?) ¶ Coll. 133, UEW 279-80, It. #1O3, TI 262, LG 182-3, Kn. WV 147 || A: pKo {S} \*mān<sub>h</sub>- 'many, much' > MKo mān-hā-, NKO {MLC} mānh-(ta) 'be many\much', manh-i 'many, much', mān-, Ko {Rm.} manhi id., man-thā 'be many' ¶ Rm. PKE 1O6, MLC 578, S QK #52, Nam 199, MLC 578 || pJ {S} \*manaj- 'many' > OJ mane- ¶ S QJ #47 || T \*mu|on▽ > Chv мāн тъп, мāнă тъпъ, Δ {Md.} тъпъ 'big, great' (× N \*mañvga [or \*mangə?] 'strong, numerous'); Ch ā [ø] goes back to pT \*u, as well as to pT \*o before nasal consonants (cf. Md. 41) ¶ Jeg. 13O || ??φ M \*mandugur > WrM mandugur, HlM мандгар 'big, fat, stout', Brt мандагар 'large, big' (unless ↔ M \*mandu- 'rise, become higher', \*'grow' [> WrM mandu- 'rise, become higher'], cp. MM [HI] caus. manduγul- 'faire croître', WrM mandugul-, HlM мандуул- 'raise, lift up') ¶ MED 526, Ms. H 74, Chr. 292 ¶ Rm. SKE 1O6 (Ko, Ch) ¶ ≈ DQA #1249 (A \*mana 'many, big', incl. Ko, T, M) || ?φ D \*meñt- 'much, full' > Tm meñdū 'abundance, plenty, much', Gnd mēnd 'full' ¶ D #5O6O ¶ The D vw. is puzzling ◇ If pA vw. is \*a (as reconstructud in DQA), its quality may be explained by the infl. of N \*mañvga ◇ ≠ Coll. IUS 13 and Coll. HUV (U ÷ IE \*mengh-/\*mənogh- 'numerous'), ≈ IS II 41-2 (\*mangə > HS, IE, K, A) → Glh. 418; in all these sources there is no distinction between this etymon and N \*mañvga; DQA #1249 (A, D, U + unc. IE).

**1428. \***mañvga 'to test, to think' > HS: S \*✓mny ~ \*✓mnw vi. 'test, reckon, count' > Ar ✓mny ~ ✓mnw G (pf. ﴿ ﴾ ~ ﴿ ﴾ manā, ip. үамнū ~ үамнī) vt. 'test (so. by sth.), determine (upon sth.)', Ak ✓mnwly (inf. manū) 'consider (sth., so. as belonging to a certain class), count', Sr ✓mnw G (ip. 3m ﴿ ﴾ nem'nē) 'reckon (be of the opinion), count', BHb, BA ✓mny G (BHb pf. ﴿ ﴾ mā'nā, ip. יְמָנָה yi-m'nā, BA pf. מְנָה mə'nā, JA [Trg.] מְנֵה mə'nē ~ אֲנָה mə'nā), Md mn? vi. 'count', Qt {Rk.} mtñ-n 3p 'agree, consent'; Ug mnt {A} 'Aufzählung', {OLS} 'repartición, recuento, lista'; Ak fOB mīn-u 'number, amount'; IA, ChrPA mnyn, JA [Trg.] מְנִין min'yān, JEA {Sl.} מְנִינָא minyā'nā, Sr

**मनि॒या॑न-ा**, Md miniana, MHb מִנְיָן min'yān 'number' ¶ BK II 1158-9, Hv. 737, KB 567, 1739, A #16OO, OLS 284, Lv. T III 47-8, Js. 8O1, Sl. 687, DM 268, 274, Nld. MG 176, 179, Dlm. 24O, Br. 394, JPS 281, CAD X/1 221-7 and X/2 96-7, Rk. D 142 || B \*<sup>o</sup>m<sup>Δ</sup>n- > ETwl/Ty {GhA} te-men-t (ann. tъ-men, pl. ti-men-en) 'esprit, intelligence' ¶ GhA 129 || EC: Sml mān, Sml N mān (pl. mānān) 'mind, intelligence' ¶ Abr. S 172-3, ZMO 265 || Ch: WCh: pAG \*man 'know' > Ang {Brq.} mān, Gmy {Hf.} man, Kfr {Nt.} mān id., Su {J} man id., 'recognize (so.)', Mpn {Frz.} mān 'know, be able to' | BT: Krkr {Lk., J} ment-, Bl {Lk.} mon- 'know' || SBc: Buli {Sh.} man, {ChL} мэнт, Zem {Sh.} -mani, ? Bot {Sh.} minši id. || ?? CCh: Lame {Sa.} mán 'observer, analyser (pour le devin)'; ???σ: Lame {Sa.} mún 'hear, understand', ZmD {KNC} mún 'hear, understand, listen' ¶ JI II 216, ChC, ChL, Hf. AG #41, JS I 73, Nt. 26, Sh. SB 36, Sa. LII 317, KNC 17, ≈ Stl. ZCh 153 [#84] (combines WCh \*√mn and \*√bn and reconstructs pWCh \*m-ban-; a view rejected later by Stl. in OS) ¶ OS #1721 (\*man- 'know, test': S, Ch, Sml) || IE: NaIE \*men- 'think', {EI} id., 'consider' > OI 'manyatē, manu'tē, Av ma'nyete 'thinks', OPrs maniyaiy 'ich erwäge', MPrs mēnītan 'think' || Gk μνήμη 'remembrance, memory', μεμνήσκω 'remind, put in one's mind', Gk A μνῆμα, Gk D μνᾶμα 'memorial, remembrance' || Arm իմանամ i-manam 'I understand, know, conceive' (< \*m.нā-mi) || L memini 'I remember, recollect' || OIr men- 'think', mēnme 'spirit, mind', domoiniur 'I believe, think (am of the opinion)', cuman, cuimne, MW covein 'memory', W co-f (\*kom-men) id., mynnu 'to will, to wish' || Gt inf. munan / p. munda 'believe, be of the opinion', munan, ga-munan 'remember', ON muna id., OSx munan p./prs. 'think', AS munan p./prs. (prs. man, p. mundē) 'be mindful of; think, esteem', ȝe-mun 'remembering'; Gt muns 'thought, opinion, ON munr 'mind', AS myne 'memory'; Gmc d. \*majn-j-an > MDt mēnen, Dt menen 'to mean, to think', OSx mēnian, OHG meinen 'to think, to have an opinion, to mean', MHG, NHG meinen, AS mānan 'to have an opinion, to have in mind', NE mean || Lt miñti (prs. menū) 'to recall, to remember', manýti 'to think', mēnas 'memory' (→ 'art'), Ltv minēt 'to guess, to mention' | Sl \*мънѣти ~ \*мънити (1s prs. \*мънъq, 3s prs. мънi-ть) 'to think (esteem)' > OCS, OR Мънѣти мънѣти / Мънік мънјq, SCr mn̄iti, Slv mnéti ~ mn̄iti, Cz † mněti id., R мнить 'to imagine', Blg мля, мня 'I think'

(esteem)'; Sl \**po-mъněti* 'to remember' > OCS **помънѣти** *pomъněti*, R 'помнить', P *pomnięć*, Slv *pómniti* id., Blg 'помнѧ 'I remember' || Tc: A *mnu* '≈ spirit, appreciation, desire', B *mańu* 'desire' (× IE \*men- < N \***mAyñN** 'ask, desire' [q.v.]) || NaIE d. \*men-os / \*men-es- > OI 'manas- 'mind, intellect, understanding, thought', Av *manah-* 'mind' || Gk μένος (gen. μένεος) 'spirit (Geist), intent, purpose' → δυσ-μενής 'full of ill-will' || ? pre-L \*menes-wā > OL *Menerva*, L *Minervā* (name of the goddess of handicraft) || NaIE d. \*m̥-ti-s (~ \*men-ti-s) 'mind, thought' > OI *ma'tih* 'thought', Av -ma<sup>i</sup>ti- id. (in *anu-ma'ti-* 'in Gedanken Wiederholen') || L *mēns* (gen. *mēnt-is*) 'mind' || d.: Gt *gəmünds* 'remembrance, memory (μνημοσύνη, μνεία)', OHG *gimunt* 'memory', AS ȝemynnt 'intention' || Lt *mintis* 'thought' || Sl d. \*pāmęТЬ 'memory' > OCS **памѧть** *pamęТЬ*, R 'память', P *pamięć*, Cz *paměť*, Slk *pamäť*, Blg 'памет' id., SCr *pāmēt*, Slv *pámet* 'intellect, sense, mind' || NaIE cd. \*mens-d<sup>h</sup>ē- / \*m̥s-d<sup>h</sup>ē- 'learn, become wise' (lit. 'put the mind') > Av/OPrs {M} *mazdā-*, Av *mazdra-* 'wise', Av *maz-dā-* ~ *maz-dā-* 'notice, bear in mind' | OI *mē'dhā* 'wisdom' || Gk μανθάνω (aor. μαθεῖν) 'learn' || Sl \*mōdrъ(jь) 'wise' > OCS **мѣдръ** *mōdrъ* 'φρόνιμος, σοφός', OR **мѣдръ** *mūdrъ*, R *pradj* мудр, dadj мудрый, Blg мъдър, SCr *múdar*, dadj. *mūdrī*, Slv *moder* *módər*, P *mądry*, Cz *moudrý*, Slk *múdry* 'wise' || Lw {EJ} *mimma-* (< \*mimne/o-) v. 'regard, favour' §§ ≈ WP II 27O-1, ≈ P 73O (\*mend<sup>h</sup>- < \*men-d<sup>h</sup>ē- 'seinen Sinn worauf richten, lebhaft sein', \*m(o)nd<sup>h</sup>-ro 'munter'), EI 575, M K II 583-4, 685-6, M E II 296-7, 305-9, 378-9, Brtl. 116O-1, 1181, F II 17O-1, 208, 238-41, WH II 65-7O, Vn. M 35, 37-8, YGM-1 95, 34O, Fs. 194, 366-8, Vr. 395-6, Ho. 211, 227-8, Ho. 51, 54, Kb. 361, 669, OsS 258, 599-600, KM 472, Trt. 181, Frn. 455-6, ESSJ XX 126-34 and XXI 112-5, Vs. II 633, 67O, and III 195, Glh. 417-8, 427-8, 466, Ad. 437 || **U** \**monhñN* > FV \**monN* > pLp \**mōnž-* 'suppose, guess' > Lp: L {LLO} *mānnna-* id., S {LÖ} *muone-* 'nominare', {Hs.} *muonedidh* v. 'guess', {Fri.} *moanna-* 'guess (conjicere, divinare)' | pMr {Ker.} \**mānā-* (sc. \**mānž-?*) > Er *мұня-* *muńa-*, Mk {Ker. ← ?} *muńa-* (Mk {UEW} \**māńa-*) 'conjure, bewitch' §§ UEW 290-1, Coll. 33, Szin. 33, Lr. #69O. Lgc. #4013d, Fri. 436, Hs. 95O, Ker. II 91 || ? **A** (× N \***mAyñN** 'desire, ask', q.v. ffd.): pJ \**máná*, *máp-* 'learn', Tg \**man's'u-* 'try, attempt' §§ DQA #125O (A \**mána* 'to learn, to try') ◇ IS II 42-3 (\**manu* 'think' > HS, IE, U, ? D) → ≈ BmK #519

(\*man-//\*mən- 'divide, apportion': IE \*man-//\*mon-//\*mən- 'reckon, consider, think', U \*mana- or \*mona- 'consider', S \*man-//\*mən- [sc. √ mny|w] 'divide, count, reckon']) ◇ Gr. II #127 (\*men 'think/say') (IE, U, A, J + err. Y, CK) (< N \*moñ́ν × N \*mañ́νу́ν 'speak').

**1429.** \*muñ́ν(-t|d) 'egg' (→ 'testicle') > **U** \*muñá 'egg, testicle' > F, Es muna 'egg' | pLp {Lr.} \*monē > Lp: S {Hs.} münnie, L {LLO} mānnē, N {N} mānnē, Kld {SaR} маннъ тəнн(ə) 'egg' | Er/Mk mona 'testicle' | Chr: Н мыны мана, L/Uf muno 'egg', B muno id., 'testicle' || ObU {Ht.} mōñ 'testicle' > pVg {Ht.} \*mān id. > Vg: T/LL man, LK/MK mān, P/UL mon, Ss mūñj id.; pOs {Ht.} \*moñ 'penis' > Os: V/Vy moñ, Ty/Y mōñ, D/K/Nz mun, Kz mōñ, O mon id. | Hg Δ mony 'egg, testicle' || Sm {Jn.} \*mъnå, {Hl.} \*mъna 'egg' > Ng {Mik.} мэни, En {Cs.} mona, Kms {KD} mun·əj ~ mun·uj, Koyb {Sp.} мүнны 'egg', Slq Tz {KKIH} man†, Slq Tm {KD} man<sup>‘</sup>, Slq B {Cs.} māne, Slq Y(Cs.) man 'penis' ¶ Coll. 36, UEW 285-6, Db. OS xxx, It. #191, Sm. 538 (U, FU \*mūnå, FP \*muna, Ugr \*mūna, Sm \*mēnå), Lr. #677, Lgc. #369O, Hs. 949, SaR 182, MRS 334, 341, Ü 125, Ht. #394, MF 449-5O, Jn. 86, KKIH 129, KD 41, Hl. M #639 || **HS:** CCh: զ Msg {Rlf.} tur̄ 'testicles' (unless it is Rohlf's faulty transcription of a word identical with Msg G {Trn.} mōhom 'testicles' [= Msg {Röd.} mohom, {Mch.} mohqom]; but Rohlf's record may represent a dialect different from Msg G recorded by Trn. and probably by Röder and Mouchet); on the other hand, Msg G mōhom may belong here as well ¶ Lk. DQM 99, ChC, Trn. LM 1O7 || EC: ? Or {Grg.} mundō 'penis' (× N \*mĀñ́νу́ν or \*mĀñ́ν 'in genitalia') ¶ Grg. 295 || **D** (in SD) \*m'ñ̄t- ~ \*m'ñ̄t- 'egg' > Tm muñ̄tai ~ muñ̄tai, Ml muñ̄ta, mot̄ta, Kt mot̄, Td muñ̄, Kn/Tu mot̄te 'egg', Kdg muñ̄te id., 'testis' ¶ D #4939, GS 83 [#258] (err. \*moñ̄-aj), 195-7 (on the reflexes of pD \*-ñ̄t-) ¶ The D cognate is valid only if the variant \*moñ̄t- is original; in this case \*-ñ̄t- is likely to go back to a sx. equatable with Sl \*-d- in \*mōdē 'testicles' || **IE:** NaIE \*°mond<sup>h</sup> -> Sl \*mōd-o 'testicle' (du. \*mōd-ě) > ChS **М҃ДО** mōdo, Blg **М҃ДО** (new spelling мъдо), SCr mūdo, Slv módo, OCz mūd, Cz moud, HLs/LLs mud, OP mādo, mēdo, P † mādo, OR **М҃ДО** mudo (du. **М҃ДЕ** mudě), R Δ **М҃ДО** (pl. [sc. du./pl.] **М҃ДЕ**), Uk 'мудо id. ¶ ESSJ XX 123-5, Glh. 428 || **A:** Tg: Lm A maña 'testicle', ? (mt.) Ewk Y nāma id. ¶ STM I 53O, 581 ◇ The vw. a of the first syll. in Lm and Ewk is aberrant and has to be explained ◇ Glh. 428 (IE, U, D) ◇ Gr. II #127 (\*mun 'egg') (IE, U, CK, EA + unc. A, Ko, Ai).

**1430.** \***μῆντός** 'defect, damage, physical defect' > IE \*mend- '≈ defect' > L **mēndā**, **mēndūm** 'fault, bodily defect' || OI **min'dā** id. (M: < \*man'dā due to contamination with **nīn'dā** 'Schmähung'), Kshm **mjondū** 'leprous, leprosy' || ? OIr **mennar** 'stain, defect' ('macula', {Vn.} 'tache, faute'), W **mann** 'stain on the skin' || AnIE: Lc **mēte-** 'damage, harm' ¶ WP II 27O, P 729-3O, EI 155 (\*mend-o-, -eh<sub>R</sub>- '≈ [bodily] defect'), M K II 637, M E II 356, Tu. #1O122, WH II 69, Vn. M 39 || HS: WCh: Hs **mūni** 'ugliness; vice, evil', {Ba.} **mūnānā** 'render ugly, spoil', **mūnānā** 'be(come) ugly \ unpleasant \ spoiled' | Su {J} **mwèn** 'stupidity' (× N \***meñ'tō** or \***men'tō** 'miss one's aim' [q.v.]?) ¶ Ba. 8OO-1, Abr. H 683-4, J S 2O7 || A: [1] T: (a) NaT \***mǖl̄n** > OT {Cl.} **būn** 'defect', Qzq **mīh mīn** 'shortage, deficiency, defect, roughness', Qq, Nog **мін** min, Qrg **mün** ~ **mūn** 'defect, deficiency' ¶ Cl. 347, Sht. 145, Jud. 543-4 || M \***munda-** 'lack, be(come) insufficient, come to an end' > WrM **muñda-**, HIM **munda-** 'become insufficient; come to an end', WrO **munda-** 'exhaust oneself, finish off', Kl {Rm.} **mundā** 'fehlen, mangeln, zu Ende sein' ¶ MED #551, Krg. 61O, KW 268 || pJ {S} \***màntù-** 'poor' (× N ?σ \***mañ̄sa** 'to cease', 'to delay' [trans.], 'to finish') > OJ **màdū-si**, J: T/Kg **mazu-śí**, K **mžúší** 'poor' ¶ S QJ #1334, Mr. 834 ¶ DQA #1365 (A \***mūne** 'defect, lack') | ?? pJ {S} \***múná-si-** 'empty, useless' (× N ?σ \***mañ̄sa** '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ [2] ?σ A {DQA} \***múnu** 'wrong, mad, uneasy', {AD} 'stupid, mad' (× the A reflex of N \***meñ'tō** or \***men'tō** '↑') > T \***mun-** 'be mentally deranged \ disturbed' > OT **mun-** (**mun-**) id., 'be senile, feeble-minded, lose control of oneself', MQp **bun-** 'be senile', Tk Δ **bonul-** 'be feeble-minded', Yk **mun-** 'lose one's way, roam'; T d. \***mun-dúr** > OT {Cl.} **munduz** 'senile, feeble-minded', [QB] **munduz** 'ignorant, stupid man', [MhK] {Dnk.} **bunduz** 'simpleton', MQp XIV [CC] **munduz** 'simple-minded' ¶ Cl. 348, 767-8, Pek. 162O, MKD 119, Rs. W 344 || M \***munu-** > WrM {Kow.} **mono-** (sc. **munu-**) 'become weak \ senile', {MED} **munu-**, HIM **мұна-** 'become weak \ feeble-minded', Ord {Ms.} **mu'nu'** 'become stupid', Kl **мұнх** **mun-χъ** 'become senile', {Rm.} **mun-χа** 'become stupid, old'; WrM {Ms. ← ?} ؟ **тұнақ**, Ord **mu'nu'q** 'stupide, qui a l'intelligence obtuse', Kl {Rm.} **munaq** 'altersschwach (körperlich und geistig)'; M \***muñqaq** 'stupid' > MM [HI] {Ms.} **муңқау**, [S] {H} **munħah** [munχaψ] id., [IM] {Pp.} مُنْفَقَة **munqāq** 'ignorant', WrM **muñqag**, HIM **мұнхаг**, Ord. {Ms.} **mu'ñχaq** 'stupid, stupidity', WrO

тиηχαқ ~ тиηχиқ 'stupidity, 'ignorance', тиηχақ 'ignorance', Brt мүнхаг 'ignorant, stupid', Kl мүнхіг тиηхъд id., {Rm.} тиηхū 'stupid', Kl Ö {Rm.} тиηхаг 'dumm, blödsinnig', WrO тиηχар- 'get disturbed', WrM тиηqara- 'be(come) stupid \ ignorant, 'become dull' (of the mind), Ord тиηχара- 'be disturbed \ perplexed, lose memory' ¶ H 112, Ms. H 76, Ms. O 475-6, Pp. MA 442, Kow. 2O28-9, MED 551-2, Krg. 61O-1, KRS 362, KW 268-9, Chr. 3O2 || Tg: Ewk мөңон 'stupid', Ul монт, Nn Nh/KU монжā 'uncomfortable (unbequem, неудобный, неловкий)' ¶ STM I 544-5 || MKo {Lee} мә,ңтһә,ң'i 'stupid' || ???σ pJ {S} \*múntú-ká- 'difficult' > OJ mútuká-si, J: Т мұзukaśi- ~ музukaśi-, K мұзúkáśi-, Kg музukaśi- ¶ S QJ #942, Mr. 835 ¶ The M (and T?) forms may have been influenced by MChn {S} \*mūñ 'dark, stupid, ignorant' ¶ DQA #1366, KW 268, Pp. VG 35 ◇ IS III 55-6 (\* munE 'drawback, defect, deformity').

**1431.** \*mu|oñ́v (or \*mu|oñ́, T́v?) 'mountain, hill' > IE: NaIE \*mṇt-, \*monyo-, {EI} \*men- 'mountain' > Av mati (< \*mṇti-), {Brtl.} matau 'foothills', {Brtl.} 'promuntorium, Vorsprung des Gebirges' || L mōns (gen. mōntis) 'mountain' || Brtt {RE} \*moniyos id. > W mynydd, OCr menit, Crn meneth, OBr monid, MBr mened, menez, Br menez id. ¶ WP II 263, P 726, EI 27O, Dv. #8O2, Mn. 781-2, RE 113, Flr. 259, GI 666, Brtl. 1112-3, WH II 1O8-9 || HS: Eg G mn.ty du. 'the two mountain ridges on both sides of the Nile valley', ? mn.t 'sky' (< 'height, high place') ¶ EG II 69, Fk. 1O8 || A: Tg: WrMc munjan, r. munja 'hill, burial mound' ¶ Z 898, STM I 557 || ? M: WrM {Kow.} mondaga 'high ground, steppe, ?? {MED} mündürgē 'embankment, bank', {Koz.} ɿ mondag 'mountains, peaks', Brt мүндарга 'woodless rocky summit (голец)' ¶ Kow. 2O28, MED 551, 554, Gl. III 31O, Chr. 3O2, KW 268, Ms. O 475 ◇ WP and P suggest (at the pIE level) that the √ in question is identical with IE \*men- 'protrude' (sc. N \*m'æ̃ñ́v 'front' [q.v.]) ◇ ≈ BmK #533: \*mun-/ \*mon- 'protrude, stand out'; 'be first', etc. > IE, Eg, D (adduces words with very loose and qu. semantic ties, such as L mentum 'chin', as well as ghost-words like \* Eg mn, mnj 'mountain, stone hill' [Bm.'s interpretation of Eg MK {Fk.} mn 'kind of stone', {EG} 'Art kostbarer Stein?']).

**1432.** ? \*mññi 'fish' > IE: NaIE \*m̥ni- 'fish' ({EI} \*mñH- ≈ minnow, small fish') > Gk μαίνη 'a small sea-fish, which was salted', {EI} 'Maena vulgaris' (→ L maena id.) → μαίνεις 'sprat' || Sl \*мънь 'burbot, Lota lota' > SCr Δ mānj, OCz, Cz meň, Slk mieň, PΔ mieň,

OR **МЕНЬ** *mēnъ*, R, Uk, Blr *mēnъ* id. | ?? Blt d.: Lt *mēnkē* 'cod' (unless a fem. form of the adj. *mēñkas* 'poor, small'), Ltv *mēñca*, *mēñce* 'cod' || ? Gmc d.: OHG {Ho., KM, Vr.} *muniwa*, *munuwa*, MHG {KM} *mūnwē*, NHG *Münne*, Dt *meun*, AS *myne* 'minnow', NE *minnow* ¶ WP II 367-8, P 731, EI 205, F II 160, WH II 8, Ho. 228, Vr. N 441, Kb. 701, KM 494, ESSJ XXI 117-9, ≠ Frn. 438, Kar. I 581-2 || **HS:** B \*m<sup>DN</sup> > ETwl *e-mēn* (pl. *i-mēn-an*), Ah *e-mēn* (pl. *i-mēn-ān*) 'fish', Shl Sm {Ds.} *a-mun* '€ gros poisson comestible' ¶ PGG 218, Fc. 1207, Ds. 225 || **D** \*mīn. 'fish' > Tm *mīn*, Ml, Kn *mīn*, Kt, Td, Gdb, Gnd, Knd *mīn*, Kdg *mīnī*, Tu *mīnъ*, Tl *mīnu*, Prj *mīni*, Png, Mnd *mīn*, Kui, Ku, Mlt *mīnu*; D → OI *mīna-* id. ¶ D #4885, Zc. CDPH 50, 175, Tu. #10140a || ? **U:** FU \*<sup>o</sup>māN<sup>DN</sup> ({Coll.} \*mān<sup>DN</sup>) > Lp Klt {TI}: Lp Pa *māníi*\*, Lp Snk *māñe*'k 'Coregonus lavaretus (big whitefish, сиg, Felch)', Lp Klt {Coll.} *moanji* 'Coregonus' ¶ Coll. 99 mentions Mr, Chr, and Hg nouns for 'Lota lota': Er *mentuk*, Chr H *men* 'Lota lota', Hg *mēny-hal*, *mēny-hal* id., 'Namacheilus barbatulus' (*hal* 'fish'), but they are certainly loans from Sl (Er *mentuk* ← R Δ *мeнtюк* [Dal II 318], etc., Chr H *men* ← R *менъ*, Hg *mēny-*, *mēny-* ← the Sl source of Slk *mieñ* and Cz *mēň*) ¶ Coll. 99, Ü 131, MRS 321, TI 238, EWU 963 || **A** {DQA} \*mańuk'<sup>DN</sup> (< ≈ \*\**man-yuk'*-) '€ fish' > T \*<sup>o</sup>mańak- > Yk *mayagas* ~ *maýayas* 'white-fish (сиg, Coregonus), щокур (Salmo lavaretus Berg)' ¶ Pek. 1507 || M {SDM97} \**munig* 'Alburnus (bleak, ablet, уклейка [a kind of fish])' > WrM *munig*, HlM *муниг*, Kl *мүүнъг* *mūnāg* id. ¶ Luv. 249, Cev. 350, KRS 363 || Tg [1] {SDM97} NrTg \**māńma* 'trout' > Ewk *mayma*, Lm *manma* ~ *manma*, Neg *manma* id., Tg → Yk *mayba* '€ salmon'; [2] Tg \**māńgu* 'лeнoк' (€ 'trout') > Ewk *māygu*, Ud *тзызи*; [3] Nn *тeнзкз* '€ fish', [4] WrMc *mongošun* 'crucian (carp)', [5] WrMc *тиңку* 'frozen снятки (€ fish)' ¶ STM I 531-2, Z 892, 898 || pKo {S} \*mə<sub>1</sub>jyukí 'trout' > MKo {S} mə<sub>1</sub>jyukí id., NKo {S} *megi* id., {MLC} *megi* 'catfish, wels, horned-pout' ¶ S QK #291, Nam 213, MLC 616 || pJ {S} \*mūnā(n)kí 'eel' (× N \*<sup>o</sup>**mæL<sup>DN</sup>y|x<sup>DN</sup>** 'lizard, small reptile' or sim., q.v. ffd.) ¶ DQA #1254, S CNM 8 (suggested to adduce the A word to the N et.) ◇ IE \*-n- rules out N \*-ń-, hence A \*-ń- is likely to go back to \*n-y- (with \*-y- of the sx. ≈ \*-yuk'-) ◇ Doubtful, because no consistent correspondence between vowels is observed, and the abundance of names of different kinds of fish leaves much room for chance similarities ◇ AD NM 62-3 ]#75] (IE-D-U), Blz DA 158 [#67] (added B

to the D-I-U equation), S l.c. (÷÷ ST \*ma<sub>1;2</sub>n 'eel, shark', Yn \*boŋ 'herring').

**1433. \*m<sup>A</sup>γ̄n̄V** 'desire, ask' > IE: NaIE {Vn.} \*°mejn-/\*°mojn- > OIr mían 'desire, object of desire', W ar-o-fun 'avoir l'intention, se proposer', go-funed 'to desire', dámuno (< \*do-am-mun-) 'to wish', ? mwyn 'pleasure' ||| NaIE \*men- (loss of the glide \*j preceding a sonant) 'wish eagerly' (× \*men- < N \*m<sup>O</sup>n̄V 'to test, to think' [q.v.]) > OI ma'nā 'devotion, zeal', manah / manas- ntr. 'will' || Gk μέμονα 'wishes eagerly, yearns', μενοινή 'eager desire', μενοινάω v. 'desire eagerly', ? μνάωμαι 'woo for one's bride, sue for, solicit' || AS myne n. 'desire, love', OFrs minne, OSx minnea, OHG minna, NHG Minne 'love', MHG, NHG † π meinēn 'to love', ? ON munr 'pleasure, joy' || Tc A mnū '≈ esprit, appréciation, désir', B mańu 'désir' (see N \*m<sup>O</sup>n̄V '↑') || ?? OIr menmē n. 'wish' (unless ← 'mind, thought' < N \*m<sup>O</sup>n̄V '↑') ¶ WP II 264-6, P 726-8, M K II 583-4, F II 206-8, 238-41, 247, Ho. 228, Kb. 687, KM 472, 480, Vn. M 37-8, 47, Wn. 301, ≈ H 410 (Clt \*mejno- < IE \*mejno-/\*mojno- 'opinion'), ≈ EI 575 (words for 'desire' ← \*men- 'think, consider') || HS: S \*✓mny 'wish, desire' (× N \*m<sup>O</sup>n̄V '↑'?) > Ak menū inf. 'to love, to be(come) fond (of so.)', Ar ✓mny G 'let flow sperm (as in copulation)', ✓mny G ps. (pf. مُنِي muniya) 'be favoured in', TD (pf. تَمَنَّى tamannā) 'desire, wish', Gz ✓mny TD (pf. tamannaya) 'wish, desire, be eager for', mənu� 'who wishes ardently; wished for, desired', Mh pf. 'matni, Hrs pf. ḥmtōni, Jb E/C pf. 'mutni (Jb C sbjn. յՅմ'tin), Sq {Jo.} pf. 'mɔtənə? (sbjn. լ-իմ'տենչ?) v. 'wish' ¶ LG 352-3, CAD X/2 19, Sd. 645, BK II 1158-9, Hv. 737, Jo. M 268, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172, MiK I #2.41 || CCh: Ms {Caït.} mìn 'wish, desire, love', Azm {Pc.} minda v. 'will, desire, like' ¶ Caït. 104, Pc. 296 || D \*maŋ 'petition, request' > Tm manu 'petition, request, prayer', Kn manave, manuve 'petition, request, solicitation', Tl manavi 'humble \ respectful representation, request, prayer' ¶ D #4775 || A \*manV > Tg \*man's'u- 'try, attempt' > Ewk mannūw- ~ mandūw-, Lm manru- ~ mandu-, Ork mandu- ¶ DQA #1250 (A \*mána 'to learn, to try') || pJ \*máná(m)p- 'learn' (× N \*m<sup>O</sup>n̄V '↑'?) > OJ manáb-, J: T mánabu, K mánábú, Kg manáb- ¶ S QJ #935, Mr. 720 ◇ Compare also N \*m<sup>A</sup>nd̄V 'excitement, wish, desire' ◇ BmK #541 (IE, S + qu. D \*maṇ- 'be united, mingled' → 'marry').

**1434.** \***me<sub>1</sub>u, n̄ū** 'oneself, one's own', 'body' (→ 'alone, one'): (1) > IE \*monwo- / (?) \*menu- 'alone' > NaIE \*°monwo- > pGk \*μόνος > Gk Α μόνος, Gk Ι μοῦνος 'alone' || ἡ Ht minu {Frd., Ot., Neum., Ts.} 'alone' ¶¶ Frd. HW 143, Ot. T 48, Ts. E II 212-3, CHD L-N 290-1 (rejects the meaning 'alone' for Ht minu without proposing anything instead), F II 253-4 || HS: ECh \*m̄n 'one' > Kwn {Mch., J} míñ, míñ, m̄ñ, Ke {Eb.} m̄ñà, Smr {J} m̄ñ, Nd D {J} mán, Tmk {Cp.} m̄ñ ¶ JI II 263, Eb. 81, Cp. 83 || Eg fP mn 'a such and such' ({Vc.} 'un tel') (× N \*mañū 'man, male') > Cpt B -ΜΑΝ -man in παφμΑΝ παρ<sup>h</sup>man, παθμΑΝ παθ<sup>h</sup>man, etc. 'a certain person \ thing' ¶ EG II 64-5, Vc. 114 || C: Dhl {To.} móni 'self' || EC: Sd mann-imma 'body' ¶ Hd. 384, To. D 142 || ? B \*-māñ 'soul, person' (× N \*mañū '↑') > Ah imāñ pl. 'soul, person', imāñ īñ 'myself', Kb imāñ, Nf imāñ +ppa. '-self' (myself, himself, etc.), Gd {Lf.} iman (reinterpreted as grammatical pl.) 'person', '-self' ¶ Fc. 1138, Di. 503, Lf. II #1007, Beg. 300 ¶ The B form is conceived as pl. because the final -ñ is reinterpreted as a sx. of pl. But if this final -ñ is a genuin ending of pl., B \*-māñ does not belong here || S: [1] ? S \*-ma (emphatic enclitic pc.) (× N \*mu<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub> 'this, that', dem. prn.?) > Ak {Sd.} -ma 'and then', 'only', Ug -m̄ñ (emphatic pc.), Amr {G} -ma, -mi, Sb -m, -mw, -my (enclitic pc., {Bst.}): "which is facultatively added to the end of a word, without perceptibly modifying the sense of the word or the sentence", Gz -mma 'precisely, quite' (emphasizes the word to which it is attached) ¶ OLS 251-2, G A 24, Sd. G § 123, Di. 142, LG 323, Bst. 47-8 | [2] ? S \*°mīñ- 'kind' > BHb mīñ\* n. 'kind (of)' (att. with ppa: מִין מִינָה 'his kind', מִינָה מִינָה 'her kind'), MHb mīñ 'kind (of)', Ug {Drv.} mn 'kind', {OLS} 'especie (animal)' ¶ KB 547, DrvG CML 161, OLS 282 || A: Tg \*mēñ 'oneself, one's own' > Ewk m̄ñ 'one's own', m̄ñz̄kzwñ 'oneself', Sln m̄ñ: id., Lm m̄ñ 'one's own', Neg m̄ñ id., m̄ñ + ppa. 'oneself (sich, се́бя)', Orc m̄ñ i id., m̄ñ 'one's own, to oneself', Ud m̄ñiññ, Ork m̄ññ 'one's own', Ud, Nn m̄ñz, UI m̄ñ(з) id., 'oneself (selbst, сам)', WrMc meni meni 'anyone, each, by oneself (всякий, каждый, сам по себе)' ¶ STM I 568 || M \*mōñ 'the very same, real, true' (× \*mōjñ 'this, that', dem. prn. < N \*mu<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub> id., q.v. ffd.) || pKo \*móñ 'body' > MKo móñ, NKo móñ ¶ S QK #137, Nam 218, MLC 645 || ?σ pJ {S} \*m̄ñz̄ 'thing, method, being' > OJ mōñò, J: T/Kg móñó, K móñò ¶ S QJ #1102, Mr. 485 ¶ ≈ DQA #1293 (A \*mēñò 'self, body'; incl. Tg, M, Ko, J), S AJ 280 [#125] || D \*mēñi ~ \*mēñu 'body' > Tm

mēn̩i, Ml mēni 'body, shape, beauty', Tl mēnu, Klm me'n, Nkr, Nk, Prj men, Gdb mēnu ~ mēn, Gnd mēndur, Krx mēd ~ mēd, Mlt mēθ 'body', Knd mēndol 'human body' §§ D #5099 ◇ The long vw. in Tg, D, and B may be due to the loss of a cns. The HS data and the lack of lengthening of the vw. in IE rule out the presence of a lr. (\***meHñū**); Ht minu suggests that the cns. was \*y) ||| (2) This N word may underly reflexive-passive formatives in the IE, HS, and Tg verb: IE: NaIE {Brg.} \*-meno-/\*-mno-, sx. of medial-passive participles > OI bōdha-māna-h 'wachsam', Gk πευθό-μενο-ς 'aware', participia präsentis mediopassivi from OI bodh-, Gk πευθ-; L fē-mina 'woman' (← \*'sucked one'), alumnus 'nursling, foster-chuld' (← \*'fed one'), as well as 2p passivi -mini (finite verb for, ← participle); Sl \*-mъ m., \*-ma f., \*-mo ntr. (OCS везомъ vezo-mъ, prtc. präsentis passivi 'transported'), Lt nešama-s 'carried'; possibly AnIE: Lw kes-ama- 'combed', HrLw asīma- 'loved' §§ Brg. KVG 316, M K II 449, Szem. IEL 320-1 || HS: C \*m-, prefix of the passive-reflexive (and collaborative) form (stirps) of verbs: Sa -սմանց- 'be burried' ⇌ -սբց- 'bury', -imfiteh- 'be untied' ⇌ -իֆտեհ- 'untie', -օմմօկօմ- 'take part in a race' ⇌ -ոկում- 'win'; in Bj it means 'do together with so., help doing sth.' (← reflexive): -մօլաւ- 'burn sth. together (with so.)' ⇌ -լիւ- vt. 'burn', -mdabāl- 'gather together (with so.)' ⇌ -ձբլ- 'gather'; in Af this affix is a sx.: fiyyīme 'be swept' ⇌ fiye 'sweep', kamadime 'be tied tightly' ⇌ kamade 'tie tightly' §§ PH 247, AD KJ 94-5 || B \*m-, px. of the reciprocal-reflexive-passive stirps: Rif m-ȝarn 'ils se sont vus' ⇌ -ȝar- 'see', Tw {Pr.} տնկեց 'être coupé' ⇌ անկաց 'couper', տես 'be eaten' ⇌ ետք 'eat', makər 'be stolen' ⇌ ակար 'steal', with the meaning of reciprocity: տեղյոն 'faire halte' ('kneel together with the camels') ⇌ ացան 'kneel' (of camels) §§ Cadi 48-50, Pr. M VI-VII 61-2 || A: NTg \*m- > Ewk Δ -m-, verbal sx. of the passive voice: Ewk çukça-m- 'be broken' ⇌ çukça- 'break', Ewk PT yaŋgu-m- 'be broken' ⇌ yaŋgu- 'break', Lm -m-, sx. of the passive voice §§ Vas. 769 || Gr. I 237 mentions M sx. of reflexivity -βen, that I have not been able to find in the available literature ◇ Cf. Gr. I 237 ("reflexive M" in Tg, in the M reflexive sx. \*-βen, and in the EA refl. possessoris -mi/-mi-k).

**1435.** \*m<sup>r</sup>ä<sup>1</sup>n<sub>1</sub>?<sub>2</sub>Ν 'rumple, bend' (trans.) > IE: NaIE \*men- 'squeeze, press, trample' (× N \*menē 'walk, go' [q.v.]) > W mathru 'to trample', W {Vn.} mantalon, Gl \*mantalo- 'road' (← \*'trampled

[ground]') (in n. l. Petro-mantalon ['four roads'] and Mantalo-magus ['road field']), MBr, Br *mantra-* 'accabler, navrer', ? Br {Mn. ← ?} *mantra* 'way, road' || Ltv *mīt* (prs. *min-ū*) v. 'to tread, to tan', Lt *mīn-ti* (prs. *min-ū*) 'to tread, to trample down', 'to brake (flax, hemp)', Pru *mynix* · "Gerber" 'tanner, leather-dresser' | Sl inf. \**mē-ti* / prs. \**mēn-q* vt. 'rumple, crumple' > ChS **МАТН** *mēti* / **МЕНЖ** *mēnq*, Slv *mēti* / *mān-em*, OCz *mieti* / *mnu*, Slk *mät'* / *mnem*, P *mięć* / *mnę*, R *мять* / *мну*, Uk 'м'яти' / *мну* || OI *carma-mnah* 'tanner' (*carma* 'leather') || Gk ματέω\* 'tread': Gk Ae [Sph.] μάτεσαι prs. prtc. pl. f. 'those who tread', Gk [Hs.] ματεῖ· πατεῖ 'treads' ¶ WP II 263, P 726, Mn. 756 (adduces here Ht *minu-*, *mienu-* {CHD} 'make mild \ pleasant; heal', interpreted by him as meaning 'soften', but Ts. E II 214 believes that this is a factitive d. of *miu-* 'mild, weich'), Vn. M 35-6, Billy 1O3, Frn. 454-5, En. 211, Ern. 392, Hm. 546, Vs. II 634, ESSJ XVIII 18-9, F II 184-5; ≠ M K I 379 and M E I 537-8 (rejects the connection of OI *carmamnah* with this √), CHD L-N 291 || HS: B \*✓ *mnd* > Sll ✓ *mnd* M (mmunad, pf. immunnd) 'be rumpled', Tmz {MT} ✓ *mnd* (imv. munnad) 'être tordu, enroulé, entortillé' ¶ Ds. 125-6, MT 423 || ?σ S \*°✓ *mn?* > Ar ✓ *mn?* 'macérer la peau avant de la tanner', mani?-at- 'peau qui reçoit la première préparation; la macération' ¶ The meaning 'soak hide' is likely to go back to 'soften the hide by pressing' (cp. below Tg) ¶ BK II 1156 ¶ B \*✓ *mnd* (< \*✓ *mnt*) may go back to \*✓ *mn?- + sx. \*-t-* || U: FU \**māñ̄n̄*- 'bend' or 'be bent' > Er meñe, Mk *mañe-* vi. 'be bent' || pOs \**māñay-* v. 'bend' > Os: V/Vy *māñi*, Ty frq., Kz, Sn *māñi-*, D *māñay-*, Kr *māñay-* ~ *menay-*, K *menay-*, Nz *mani-*, O *māni-* 'be bent' ('sich biegen, sich [ver]beugen'), Os \**miñ* > Os V/Vy/Ty *miñ* 'Krümmung, Knick (an einem Baum)', Kz *meñā* 'Krümmung, Biegung' | ? Hg Δ *mén*, *mény* 'Brunnenschwengel' || Sm {Jn.} \**mun*▽ ~ \**mīn*▽- 'bend' > Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. obcj. *muni'ñema*, p. *munijuama*, En {Cs.} 1s aor. objc. 'munuabo & munabo 'bend sledge runners', Slq {KKIH} *mīnnī́-* 'be bent' ('согнуться'), Kms {KD} *mūn'am* vi. 'bend', d. *mūnū́o'm* vt. 'bend', Koyb {Sp.} *мунублямъ* vt. 'I bend' ¶ Stn. D 932-3, PD 126, ≈ Ht. 1O1 (Os \**māñay* 'be bent' ← \**miñ* 'Krümmung' + \*-ay-), ≈ UEW 275-6 (\**min*▽ with \*i based on the Os E forms like Os V *miñ* 'Krümmung', which to my mind is the secondary [high-vowel] grade of the East Ostyak apophony, see Ht. 73-1O3), Jn. 95-6, KKIH 134 || A: Tg \**monñj-* 'rumple, knead, soften

(hide) by pressing' > Ewk *moni-* v. 'mash (berries)', *m̥ən̥j̥i-* ~ *mon̥j̥i-* ~ *moŋ̥i-* vt. 'soften hide or sinews by pressing (preparing leather and threads)', Lm *mon̥j̥b̥-*, Orc *moŋ̥(n)iči-*, Ul *moŋ̥čeči-* ~ *moŋ̥vču-* ~ *m̥əŋ̥čiči-* 'soften hide by pressing (to dress leather)', Nn *moŋ̥lči-* id., *m̥əŋ̥lčiči-* 'be rumpled', Neg *moŋ̥l-* ~ *moŋ̥l-* 'soften hide by pressing, rumple', Lm *moŋ̥i-* ~ *m̥əŋ̥i-* 'soften (hide) by pressing, rub, knead (dough), trample' ¶ STM I 545 || pj {S} \*m̥ám- ~ muám- 'knead, rumple' > OJ *m̥uóm-*, J: T *móm-*, K/Kg *mòm-* ¶ S QJ #576, Mr. 726 || ?σ M \*muna 'wooden club, mallet' > WrM *muna*, HlM, Kl *мұна* id., Kl Ö *munu* 'Keule, Streitkeule', Brt *мұнса* 'mallet, pestle' ¶ MED 551, KRS 362, KW 268, Chr. 3O2 || ?σ T \*<sup>o</sup>*moŋ* 'mallet' (← M?) > Tv *moŋ* 'mallet used to beat skin in order to soften it (to dress leather)', Tf *moŋ* 'mallet, stick used to knock down cedar cones' ¶ TL 383, Ra. 2O7 ¶ The M and T words belong here if their primary meaning is 'a mallet for beating skin (in leather-dressing), for pounding, etc.)' ¶ TL 383 (T, M, Tg), ~ DQA #1346 (A \*món̥o 'knead, press, stroke'; incl. Tg, M, J) ◇ The rounded vw. in A and \*-u- in Sm \*mūn̥V may be due to the labializing infl. of \*m- ◇ The OI, Ar, and Tg ev. suggest that this N word was used, i.a., to denote the first phase in preparing leather (softening by pressing) ◇ If Ar √mn̥ belongs here, the N rec. is \*m̥áññ̥V, otherwise it is \*m̥áññ̥V. Tg \*-n̥- may represent pN \*-ñ̥-? ◇ IS MS 35O s.v. МЯТЬ \*mäññ (IE, U).

**1436.** ?σ \*maññā 'to cease', 'to delay' (trans.), 'to finish' > HS: WS \*√mn̥ 'withhold, refuse' (partial merger with N \*mæññ̥V 'hold, carry', q.v.) > BHb, Yd, IA √mn̥ G 'hold back, withhold, refuse', JA [Trg.] {Js.} √mn̥ G 'withhold, refuse, refrain', JEA {Sl.} √mn̥ G 'deprive, prevent, refrain', Md √mn̥ G 'keep away, withhold, refuse', Ar √mn̥ G 'hinder (so.) from, deny (sth.) to', Sb {BGMR}, Mn {MA} √mn̥ G 'prevent, ward off', Tgr √mn̥ D 'withhold, refuse' ¶ KB 57O, HJ 61, Js. 8O2, Sl. 687-8, DM 274, BK II 1157, Hv. 736, LH 129, BGMR 86, MA 61-2, Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172 || A: Tg \*mana- 'spend all, come to an end' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn mana- 'spend all, wear out', Ewk *mana* n. 'end', Sln *mana*- 'come to an end', WrMc *mana*- 'be worn out, come to an end', Jrc *manala* 'destroy' ¶ STM I 526-7, Kiy. 144 [#839] || J: [1] pj {S} \*màntù- 'poor' (× N \*mûññ̥V 'defect, damage, physical defect', q.v. ffd.) | [2] ? pj {S} \*múná-si- 'empty, useless' (possibly also a merger with N \*mûññ̥V) > OJ *múná-si-*, J: T *munaši-*, K

múnásí-, Kg munaší- § S QJ #923, Mr. 835 §§ ≈ DQA #1267 (A \*mán̥'u 'useless, insufficient'; incl. Tg, J \*múná-si-) || D \*mā́ñ̥- > Tm māntu 'be ruined, perish, die, be extinct', Kn māndu 'stop, cease; stop, ward off', Tl mānu 'cease, stop' §§ The stem-final cns. \*-ñ- (required by D morphophonemics) yields Tl n and Tm/Kn precons. n §§ D #4811 ◇ IS II 41 (\*mana 'прекращать, задерживать').

**1437.** (2?) \*mæñ̥ɪ́ŋ̥V (= \*mæñ̥ɪ́ŋ̥yV?) 'hold, carry' > HS: WS \*✓ mn̥ id. > Jb E/C {Jo.} ✓ mn̥ G (pf. 'minař') 'hold, take hold of', Mh {Jo.} ✓ mn̥ G (pf. māna, sbjn. үзмнē) 'catch, get, take', Hrs {Jo.} ✓ mn̥ G (pf. māna, sbjn. үзмнē) 'take, catch, hold', ? σ Sr ✓ mn̥ G 'bring, lead, arrive' § Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172, Br. 395, JPS 282 || Ch: WCh: pAG \*mañ- 'take' > Gmy/Ang {Hf.} mañ, Kfr {Nt.} máñ 'take, grasp', Su {J} mān 'auf-über-nehmen, in Besitz nehmen', Mpn {Frz.} māñ 'pick up, carry' § Hf. AG #42, Nt. 26, J S I 73-4, Frz. DM 35-6 §§ OS #1725 (HS \*manɪ́ŋ̥- 'hold, take': SES, WCh) || A: NrTg \*men- or \*meñ- > Ewk NB mənkz- (i.e. məñkz-?) 'bring', Sln mənzi- 'carry, carry\drag over' § STM I 569 || ?? IE: NaIE: it is tempting to adduce here L minō, -āre vt. 'drive (cattle)', ltL (= proto-Romance) [LxS] minō, -āre v. 'lead' (> Fr mener, Prv, Ctl menar, It menare 'to lead', Rum mīna 'drive [cattle]'); the L word has no satisfactory IE etymology, but a connection with NaIE \*men- 'go' (represented in Clt) and N \*menē 'walk, go' (q.v.) is rather plausible § ≈ WH II 9O, ≈ EM 4O3-4, ML #5585 ◇ The cns. \*-ñ- in AG \*mañ- suggests that the N lr. was \*y (N \*mæñ̥ɪ́ŋ̥yV) rather than \*f.

**1438.** \*mañ̥ɪ́ŋ̥ 'paw, foot\leg of animals' > HS: Eg fP {EG} mn̥t 'Schenkel' (mostly du.), Eg MK mn̥t {Fk.} 'thigh of man' (usually du.), Eg Md {DW} mn̥t 'Oberschenkel' (← \*'leg'?), {EG} mn̥y du. 'die beiden Oberschenkel' § EG II 68, 76, DW I 37O-1, Fk. 1O7 || SC: Asa {E} mongok 'arm' § E SC 16O, Blz. CWL s.v. 'hand' || IE: NaIE \*manu- (or \*mənu-) 'hand' > L manu-s (gen. manū-s) 'hand', Osc accus. sg. MANI-M, Um abl. sg. MANI, mani, loc. sg. MANUVE id. || W mūn 'hand' (Ped.: < du. \*menū) || ON, AS mund, OHG munt 'hand' || ??σ Ht maniyyahh- 'hand over' §§ WH I 34-59, 338, Mul. 256 (L -u- is secondary), Bc. G 125 (abl. sg.: Um -i, Osc -īd), 132 (Osc -i- for \*-u- on the analogy of abl. \*man-īd), 319, 338, Ped. VG I 384, Vr. 395, Ho. 227, Kb. 7O2, WW 2O5, ≈ WP II 272, DEv. #27O, Mn. 732, CHD L-N 163-7, ≈ EI 254-5 (\*'mehār / \*mēhā'n-os 'hand') || A: Tg \*mana ~ \*maña 'paw, leg of

animals' > Ewk mana  $\notin$  mańa id., Lm māna  $\notin$  mana id., 'flipper (of seals, walruses, etc.)', Neg mańa 'bear's foreleg', Orc māńaka, Ul mañ ~ mańa, Nn Nh māl ~ māya 'bear's paw', Ud mana 'paw of waterfowl'; some Tg lge. (or lgs.)  $\rightarrow$  Ne T мана 'bear's foreleg, front flipper of seals and walruses', Ne T O {Lh.} mān·ă 'paw, foot (of wolves, bears, etc.)', Ne T Δ {Lh.} mān·æ 'flipper' ¶ STM I 526, Krm. 259, Ter. 226, Lh. 253 || T \*mań 'foot' > ds.: Xk maymax, Sg/Qb {Rl.} maymaq 'footwear', Tkm maytīq 'lame', ET {Nj.} maytuq 'bow-legged', maymaq 'in-toed, bow-legged', taš maymaq 'walking with toes outward', ič maymaq 'walking with toes inward and heels outward', ET Tr {Rl.} maymaq 'mit auseinandergespreizten Beinen', Qzq {Rl.} maymaq 'beim Gehen auf die Sohlen tretend' ¶ The rec. of \*-ń (rather than \*-y) is suggested by the preservation of \*m- as m- (conditioned by the presence of a nasal cns. in the stem) ¶ TkR 440, Rl. IV 1991, Nj. 699-700, Rs. W 323 ¶ DQA #1252 (A \*máńa 'paw, thigh') || D \*mańi,- \*'forefoot' or \*'hand' (in a compositum with \*kaṭṭ $\nabla$  'knot, bundle' [D #1147], ≈σ: NHG Handgelenk 'wrist'): \*mańi,-kaṭṭ $\nabla$  'wrist, ankle' > Tm maníkkat̄tu, Ml maníkkantam, maníkket̄tu, Kn maníkat̄tu, Tl maníkat̄tu, manikat̄tu 'wrist', Tu manígan̄tu 'ankle', Klm menekti, Gdb mandā, Gnd mańta, Krx mulguńā 'wrist', Tl manđda id., 'back of the hand'; D  $\rightarrow$  Mrt mańgaṭ 'wrist, ankle', OI mani-bandhah, Pali manibandha- 'wrist' (bandha- is an OI translation of D \*kaṭṭ $\nabla$ ), OI (late) manī,  $\wedge$  mani- 'wrist' ¶ D #4673, M K II 555-6 ◇ IE \*-n- rules out N \*-ń-. Therefore T and Tg \*-ń- must go back to a N cluster \*-ńy-. D \*-ń- suggests a N \*-ń-. The original meaning is likely to have been 'animal's foot\leg' (whence 'hand' in one dialectal area of IE and possibly in D) rather than 'hand' (that would have involved a semantically implausible change 'hand' → 'thigh'). The anatomy of animals was sometimes more important for ancient hunters than that of humans ◇ ≈ Gr. II #194 (\*ma-n ~ \*ma-k ~ \*ma-r 'hand/give/measure') (IE, A + qu. Ai + err.: U and Gil [both from N \***mig** $\nabla$  'make a present'], Y, Ko, J, Gil, CK).

**1439.** \***mań** $\nabla$ y, $\nabla$  'speak, call, invoke magic forces' > **IE:** NaIE \*mon- 'warn, admonish; remind' ( $\times$  IE \*men- 'mind' < N \***moń** $\nabla$  'to test, to think' [q.v.]) > L moneō / monē-re 'admonish, warn, remind' || Gmc: OHG manōn 'admonish, remind, call', NHG mahnen 'remind', AS manian id., 'claim, advise' ¶ ≈ WP II 265, ≈ WH II 107, KM 454, WW

19O, Sw. 11, ≠ EI 575 (L *moneo* < \*men- 'think, consider') || U  
 \**manjñ* 'say, call, invoke magic forces' > F *manaa-* v. 'summon (to appear), conjure, exorcize, swear', Es *mana-* 'evoke, call up; exorcize, conjure, curse' || Chr L/H *мана-* *mana-*, Uf/B *mana-* 'say' || Hg *mond-* v. 'say, name', Hg Δ *mond-* 'speak' || Sm \**mān-* 'say' > Ne: T *манзъ*, cngt. *манъ* *ман?*, T O {Lh.} *mānč*, F {Lh.} *mānš* id., Ng {Ter.} -*мунса* in *ку-мунса* 'what to say', En *мадъ таž* (cngt. *манъ* *ман?*) 'say' || Slq Tz {KKIH} *тompā* pc. 'they say, man sagt' || Kms {KD} 1s prs. *maíem*, *maíem* 'I say' ¶ The variant stem \**må-* (in Kms) may be due to the loss of the precons. \*n || pY {IN} \**mon-* 'say' > Y K {IN, Jc.}, T {IN} *mon-* id. ¶ ≈ UEW 29O-1 (does not distinguish this √ from FU \**monjñ* (see N *moñ* '↑') and therefore fails to reconstruct the U vw. of the initial syll.), Coll. 33, SK 332-3, Szin. 33, MF 448-9, Jn. 88, KKIH 13O, IN 235-6, Ang. 164-5, ≈ Rd. UJ 4O [#34] (Y ←b- U) || D (in SD) \**mañi* v. 'talk, speak' > Irl *mañi* id., Kt *mayñ* v. 'talk, scold, abuse', Tu *manipuni*, *manipuni* 'speak, utter' ¶ D #4671 || ? HS: Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} *mánté* 'call, require' ('rufen, verlangen') || CCh: Gdr {Mch.} *mnə* 'talk' ¶ Eb. 79, ChC || A: T (< cd.?) \**mañra-* 'shout' > OT {Cl.} *mañrā-* id., MQp XIV [CC] *mañra-* v. 'bleat', Chg XV *mañrā-* v. 'low, bleat' (of a cow, sheep, etc.), Osm XIV *bañla-* 'shout, call to prayer', Uz *маъра-* *māra-* v. 'bleat, low', Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog *mañira-*, Qrg, Alt *māra-*, Xk *mara-* 'bleat', Yk *mañira-* v. 'low' ¶ The meaning 'low, bleat' is due to the infl. of the paronymous verb \**müñrä-* id. ¶ Cl. 77O, Rs. W 327, UzR 256, Jud. 5O7, KrkR 446, BT 1O7, Pek. 1526 ◇ D \*-ñ- < \*\*-ñ- < N \*-ñ<sub>1</sub>ñ<sub>2</sub>y- ◇ Gr. II #127 (\*men 'think/say') (IE, U, Y, CK + err. A, J) (cp. N \**moñ* 'to test, to think').

**1440.** <sub>2</sub> \**mAññyñ* or \**mAññ* '∈ genitalia; copulate' > HS: EC: Bs {Hw.} *man-to* 'penis', *man-tīti* 'vagina', Ged {Hd.} *mī?no* 'penis', Or {Grg.} *mundō* id. (× HS ≈ \**muNd-* 'testicles' [> Msg *muñ* id.] < N \**muññ*(-t|dñ) 'egg'), Brj 'munn-a 'vagina', ? Or {Grg.} *munne* 'anus'; ¶ Ss. B 149, Grg. 295 || ? B \*°✓*mny* > Ah {Fc.} *mənay* v. 'copulate' (× *mə-nay* 'meet together' ←d *əni* [< B \*✓*nHy*] 'see') ¶ Fc. 1357 || S \*°✓*mny* (\*°*minay*-?) > Ar مُنْيٰ ~ مُنْيٰ *minā(n)* 'sperme; liqueur de la femelle qui se mêle au sperme', *manīy-* id. ¶ BK II 1159 || D (in SD) {tr., §GS} \**māñi* 'penis' > Tm, Ml, Ka *māñi* id. ¶ D #48O5 ◇ S \*°*minay*- (?), B \*✓*mny*, and the long vw. in D suggest N \**mAññyñ* ◇ Blz. DA 155 [#33] (D, EC).

**1441.** \**miñ, i, yä* (or \**miñä*) 'woman, female relative' > **HS:** C: EC \**m'ent-* 'woman' (< \*\**m'eñ-* + \*-t- [sx. of fem.], [partially] × \**man-* 'man, person') > Dsn {To.} *min-ni* (< \**min-t-i*) 'woman', Brj {Ss.} *man'd-ē*, {Hw.} *man'd-ay* (pl. *man'd-annā*) 'virgin, young unmarried girl, young woman', HEC {Hd.} \**mento* 'woman' > Hd *mento* id., *ment-iččo* ~ {Hd. 294} ? (misprint?) *mēnt-ičč(č)* 'female', Kmb *ment-ičču(-ta)* (pl. *mēnto*) 'woman', Sd pl. *mēnto* 'women', Alb {L} *menčú-ta*, Qbn {L} *mančú-ta* 'woman' ¶ Ss. B 14O, Hd. 17O, 254, 294, 385, LM 39, To DL 518 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} *mäyn* 'woman', She {CR ← Mnt.} *mainn*, Shn {Abb.} *mān* id. ¶ Wdk. BY 107, CR NGS 621 || Ch: WCh: BT: Bl {IL} *mondu*, {Mk.} *mundu*, Krkr {Lk.} *mēndō*, {IL} *mēndau*, Ngm {ChL} *māndū*, {Mk.} *mēndu* ~ *mandu* 'woman', Gera {Sch.} *mēndū*, Grm {Sch.} *mānā*, Bele/Krf {Sch.} *mōndō*, Glm {Sch.} *māndī* (pl. *mānnā*) id., 'wife'; ? Ngm {IS ← ?} *mīno* 'one of the wives (in polygamy), manō woman!' (addressing one's wife or female relative) || CCh: Gude {Hsk.} *mīnž* (pl. *makinž*) 'woman, wife', {Mk., IL} *min*, {Srp.} *mina* 'woman' | Msg P {Trn.} *mēnij*, Msg Ng {GKrs.} *mūni* 'woman', Mlw {Trn.} *mūni* id., 'wife' ¶ JI II 346-7, ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 3O, 57, 86, 118, 137, 157, Mk. II 283, 286, Lk. DQM 69, Trn. LM 105, Trn. MVM 2OO, Hsk. 243 ¶ Gr. LA 64 || **U** \**miñ, i, yä* 'daughter-in-law, young woman' > FU: F *miniä*, Es *minia* 'daughter-in-law' | pLp {Lr.} \**mēñē* 'daughter-in-law' > Lp: S {Hs.} *männjaa*, Vfs {Lgc.} *māñjā* 'younger brother's \ son's wife', Kld *mañny* *maññ* 'son's wife', N {N} *mānnje* / -nj- 'daughter-in-law, wife of one's sibling's son', L {LLO} *mannjē* 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, nephew's wife' | Prm \**mōñ* ({LG} \**mōñ*) 'daughter-in-law' > Z *moñ* *moñ*, Z US *moñ*, Yz 'muñ' id., Vt *иçименъ* *içi-meñ* 'younger brother's wife' (lit. \*'little daughter-in-law') || ObU {Ht.} \**mēñ* 'daughter-in-law' > pVg \**mäñ* > Vg: T *miñ*, LK *mäñ* / +ppa. 1s *māñəm*, MK *māñ* / *māñəm*, UK/P/NV/SV/LL *māñ*, UL/Ss *mañ*; pOs {Ht.} \**meñ*, {Hl.} \**mäñ* > Os: V/Vy, D/K/Nz/Kz/O *meñ*, Ty/Y *măñ* id. | OHg *mēny* 'daughter-in-law, bride, young woman', Hg *mēny* 'daughter-in-law' || Sm {Hl.} \**meñä*, {Jn.} \**meñyä* 'daughter-in-law' > Ne T *meя*, Ne T O {Lh.} *mēy·e* id., Ne F L *míje·dáæ*; Ng {Cs.} *meai*, *meae* id.; En {Cs.} *mē* id., 'son's wife'; Kms (d.?) {Cs.} *mēji* 'Schwiegerochter', Koyb {Sp.?} *meimъ* id.; Mt {Hl.} \**mäñä*, \**mäyä* 'daughter-in-law' (Mt M {Sp.} *maemъ* 'my daughter-in-law') ¶ Coll. 35, Db. OS xxxi, UEW 276 (\**miñä*), Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP \**miñä*, Ugr \**mīñä*, Sm \**meñä*), Lr. #637, Lgc. #3695, Lgc. SL #1225, Hs. 9O6-7, SaR 182,

It. #373, LG 174, Ht. #396, Hl. rHt 68-9, MF 436-7, EWU 962-3, Jn. 92, Cs. 279, Hl. M #65O (misprint: \*māńā, mājā with ā for ä) || A: pKo {S} \*mjā,nírī, OKo {gLee} \*mjänjri, MKo {S} mjā,nírī ~ mjā,nari, NKO myenuli mjā,niri ({Rm.} mjā,nari ~ mjā,neri), Ko Ks S {Mazur} minuri 'daughter-in-law' ¶ S QK #894, Nam 213, MLC 619, Rm. SKE 147, Mazur KD 212 ¶ IS II 68-8 ({IS}: Tg \*bene < \*\*mene) || D \*miñt- ({gGS} \*-ñd-) 'woman of nubile age, lusty female' > Kn mindi id., Kdg muñdə, id., muñdigarati 'mistress', Tu mindi 'incontinent woman', Tl mindata 'unchaste woman, adulteress', Brh {Bray} miñd 'female dog'; derived words of this √ denote libertine men as well: Kn minda 'man who does not restrain the animal passion, libertine', Kt miñdñ, muñdñ, Tl miñthūdu 'paramour'; D → OI 'mēnā 'concubine' ¶ D #4858, Bray II 206, ≈ M K II 686, ≈ M E II 379 ◇ The dental (rather than postalveolar) \*n in ancient D (as suggested by the OI Dravidism 'mēnā), the forms of BF (F miniä), of Ko, and of some HS lgs. (Msg P məniy, Bnc māyn) point to the presence of a \*y (pN \*miñi,yä) rather than of \*-ñ- (N \*miñä); the cns. -ñ- in most FU lgs. goes back to contraction of the cluster \*-Ny- ◇ The cns. \*d (> Ch \*d, D \*t) in some Ch and D lgs. may represent a sx. or the second component of a cd. ◇ IS II 68-9 (\*miñä: HS, U, D, Ko + err. Tg \*bene '[male\female] relative-in-law', which is most likely to belong to N \*wāñv 'relative of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' [q.v.]).

**1442.** (2?) \*mĀñdV 'excitement, wish, desire' > IE: NaIE \*mendh- 'be excited, wish' > OHG mendī 'joy, pleasure', mendēn 'to rejoice', mendōn 'to be glad', ON munda 'to aim (with a weapon)', Gt mundrei 'goal' || Clt (xN \*mĀyñV 'desire, ask'): W mynnu 'to want, to wish', Crn mennaf 'I want' ¶ Hardly here Gk μαθάνω (aor. μαθεῖν) 'learn' and Sl \*mqdrb 'wise' (see N \*mōñV 'to test, to think'), as well as NaIE \*men- 'wish eagerly' (see N \*mĀyñV 'desire, ask') ¶ WP II 270-1, P 75O, F II 170-1, Fs. 367-8, Kb. 674, ≠ EI 348 (Gmc and Clt < \*men(s)-d<sup>h</sup>(e)h<sub>1</sub>- 'learn' ← place in the mind') || D \*māñt- {gGS} \*mañd- v. 'like, wish' > Gnd mānd- v. 'like', Kui mānda 'intend, aim at, desire, wish', Ku māndinaj v. 'profess', māndinaj v. 'agree, sanction, wish', māñd- 'marry', ? Krx māñd- v. 'select' ¶ D #4807 || ? K: Sv: UB {TK} mand, L {Dn.} manda n. 'wish, will (желание, воля)', Sv {Ni.} mand

'love' (unless = px. *ma-* + *nd-* 'wish', see N \**n̥idN* '≈ eye, to look') ¶ Ni. s.v. *любить*, Dn. s.v. *manda*, DCh. 977-8.

**1443. \*mañNga** (or **\*manga?**) 'strong, numerous' > **HS:** C: EC \*<sup>o</sup>mang- > Af {PH} *mango* 'be many\much', Sa {Bnd.} *mango* 'many', {R} *man'gō* ~ *mån'gō* 'Fülle, Menge', -mang- pcv. (p. 'ə-mengə) 'be full, numerous', ???σ,φ Rn {PG} *mīg* 'strength, heaviness'; ?? EC {Ss.} \**mīg-*/\**mug-* 'full(ness)' > Sa *mige* 'fullness', Sml {R} *mug* 'Fülle, Vollheit', {ZMO, DSI} *mug* 'capacity, volume, amount a vessel can contain', Bs {HL} *mīg-* 'be full', {Ss.} *mīg-i* 'full', Or {Ss.} *moga* 'fullness', {Ss.}, Or B {Sr.} *mīž-ū*, Or M {LLC} *mīžū* 'full'; ? EC {Ss.} \*-mg- pcv. 'fill'; (× N \***mEķæ** ~ \***mEķe** 'big' [q.v.]?) > Sa {Ss.} -meg- 'fill', Or Wt {Hn.} *imēk-*, Kns *immak-* 'fill'.; the loss of the stem-medial \*-n- may be due to morphological levelling in the system of EC verbs; Ya {Hn.} -mok (pl. -'mōže?') 'many' may belong either to EC \**mang-* or to EC {Ss.} \**mīg-*/\**mug-* ¶ PH 163, R S II 258-60, R SS II 288, Ss. PEC 25, Sr. 333, 367, LLC 82, DSI 444, ZMO 295, PG 224, HL 127, Hn. W 59, Hn. Y II 129 || NrOm: Shn {Lm.} *mangá*, Anf {MYTY} *mango*, Kf {C} *maggo*, Mch {L} *maggo* 'heavy', Kf *magg-*, Mch *mäggi-* 'be heavy'; Hrr {Abb.} *mōno* 'forte', Gf {Mrn.} *min-* 'be strong \ firm (essere forte)', *mino* 'forte', Dk {CR} *mińń-irē* 'forza, fu forte', Malo {CR} *minō* 'forte' ¶ Mrn. O 152, CR H 654, CR LLR s.v., Lm. Sh 349-50, MYTY 118, C SE IV 470, LM 40, ≈ AD SF 256-7 || ? **K:** Mg *mangar-i* 'firm, strong', mt. *marg-* v. 'strengthen', OG, G *magar-i* 'strong, firm', *magr-* 'be strong, firm, steady' ¶ DCh. 358, Abul. 211-2, Chx. 701-4, Q 275-6 || **IE:** NaIE \**mengh-*/\**m̥negh-*/\**m̥nogh-* 'numerous' > OIr *me(i)nic* adj. 'abundant, frequent', W *mynych*, Crn *menough* 'frequent; often' || Gmc: Gt *manag-s*, ON *mangr*, Sw *mången*, Dn *mangen*, OSx *manag*, OHG *manag*, *manīg* 'numerous', AS *maniȝ* id., pl. *maniȝe*, *maniȝa* 'many', NHG pl. *manche* 'several', NE *many*; Gmc \**managīn* 'multitude, great number' > Gt *manag-ei* 'Menge, Volk', OSx *mēnigi* 'Menge, Schar', OHG *managī(n)*, *mēnigī* 'multitude, crowd', NHG *Menge* 'great number', AS *mēnīo*, ON *mēngi* id., 'crowd' || Sl \**тъногъ(jь)* 'numerous' > OCS **МЪНОГЪ(Н)** *тъногъ(i)*, SCr, Slv *mnoȝ*, Cz, Slk *mnoȝý*, R 'многий' id.; adv. \**тъного* 'much, many' > OCS **МЪНОГО** *тъного*, Blg, R 'много' ¶ ≈ P 739, EI 3 (\**menegh-* 'abundant'), Vn. M 37, Fs. 343-4, Vr. 378, 384, Ho. 214, Ho. S 50-1, Kb. 656-7, KM 458, 471, Vs. II 633-4, Glh. 418 || **A:** Tg \**maŋa*

'strong, firm, hard; very' > Orc *māŋga* 'strong', Ud {Krm.} *māŋga* ~ *māŋga* 'strong, firm; strongly, very much', Ul *māŋga* 'difficult', Nn *māŋga* id., 'strong, firm', Ork *māŋga* 'strong, firm', 'hard', Ewk *māŋga* 'hard, firm', Lm *māŋ* id., 'difficult', Sln *mandē*, *mandī* 'difficult (adv.), very', *mandīj* 'very', WrMc *māŋga*, *mēŋge* 'hard, strong', Mc Sb {Y} *māŋə*, {Mrm.} *māŋga* 'difficult, hard to', Jrc {Kiy.} *māŋga* 'difficult' ¶ STM I 529-3O, Krm. 259, Y #1845, 2516, Kiy. 136 [#7O2], Klz. MS 221 || pJ {S} \**manki-* 'big' > J: Sh *mágí-*, Y *mái-* ¶ S QJ #151 || T: Chv *мăн тъп*, *мăнă тъпъ*, Δ {Md.} *тъпъ* 'big, great' (× N \***мăн** 'many, much') ¶ Jeg. 13O ¶ DQA #1256 (A \**māŋgəlo* 'big, strong': Tg, J) || **Gil:** Gil: A {ST} *māŋg-*J '(be) strong, firm, difficult', ES {Krn.} *māŋg-d* '(be) strong, vigorous' (↔ Tg?) ¶ ST 175, Krn. N 677 ◇ Coll. IUS 13 and Coll. HUV (IE, U), IS II 41-2 (\**māŋga* > HS, IE, K, A) → Glh. 418; in all these sources there is no distinction between this etymon and N \***мăн** 'many, much' ◇ Gr. II #26O (\**manka* 'many') (IE, A, Ai, Gil, EA + qu. Ko + err. U).

**1444.** (2?) \**miñt'ū* 'jump, (?) run away' > **A:** NTg \**mundu-* 'jump' (as from \**mindu-?*) > Ewk *mundu-* 'jump'; d. \**mundu-kān* 'hare' > Ewk *munnučān* ~ *mundukān*, Lm *muñruqan* ~ *munduqan* ~ *muñnuqan*, Neg *monoxān* ~ *monokān* 'hare' ¶ STM I 556 || **D:** \**miñt-/miñt-*-†{GS} \**miñt-* 'jump' > Kn *miñt'u* v. 'jump, bounce', *muñdi* v. 'leap, bounce, hop', Tl *miñdiyu* v. 'jump, leap forward, flash\fly off (as a chip)', *miñt'u* v. 'jump, leap', Klm *miñt-* v. 'leap', Nkr *miñt-* v. 'jump', Gnd *mirr-* ~ *mir-* 'run, flee' ¶ D #485O (a) || ??σ **HS:** S \*°✓ *mtn* > Ar ✓ *mtn* G 's'en aller, s'éloigner pour un voyage' ¶ BK II 1O58.

**1445.** \**m'o'nt*⁻ **¬** \**mñtñ*⁻ 'to be slow, to last' > **IE:** NaIE \**meñondo-* 'slow' > OI *mandā-h* {MW} 'slow, tardy, moving slowly, idle, lazy', OI *mandara-* 'slow, tardy' || Sl \*°*mød-* > OCS **мѡдьнъ** *mødъnъ* 'slow', **мѡднти** *møditi* 'to delay, to linger, to tarry' (unless a secondary variant of OCS **мѹдьнъ** *mudъnъ* 'slow', **мѹднти** *muditi* 'to be slow', as suggested in ESSJ XX 167-7O) ¶ WP II 3O5-6 (Ary, Sl), StSS 341-2, MW 787-8; M K II 581 and M E II 312 (no IE etymology for OI *mandā-*) || **HS:** CS \*✓ *mtn* 'stay, be immobile, slow' > MHb ✓ *mtn* G 'be slow\long; wait', Sh (pf. *הִמְתִּין* *him'tin*) v. 'last, wait', Sr *mat̪i'ñ-ā* 'slow, sluggish, dull, inert', Ar ✓ *mtn* G (pf. *matuna*) 'être ferme, solide, robuste et résister aux fatigues', (pf. *matana*) 's'arrêter dans un lieu' ¶ Js. 863, Br. 41O, JPS 319, BK II 1O58-9 || **D:** \**mōt-*

/\**moṭṭ-* ({<sup>9</sup>GS} \**moṇṭ-*?) 'dull' (of a person) > Tm *mōṭ̥u*, *moṭṭai* 'stupidity, dullness of intellect', *moṇṇaiyan* 'dullard, idiot', Ml *mōṭ̥tu* 'obstinacy', Kt *međ* 'dullness of senses', *međn* 'dull man', Kn *mōṭ̥a* 'stupidity', Tu *mōđe* 'ignorant man, silly fellow', Tl *mōṭ̥u* 'rough, rude, dull, stupid', Brh *mōṭ̥* 'foolish' ¶ D #5135.

**1446.** \**mAñṭ̥N* 'jaw, chin, (?) skull' > IE: NaIE \**mento-* 'chin' > L *mentum* id. || OIr *mant* {Vn.} 'gum, jaw', {P} 'the place of a tooth that has fallen out; gum', W *mant* 'jaw-bone, mouth' ({Vn.}: ↔ OIr) || Gt *munþs*, ON *muðr*, *munnr*, OHG *mund*, NHG *Mund*, AS *mūð* 'mouth', NE *mouth* ¶ Hardly here the √ of L *mand-ō* / -ēre 'chew, bite' and Gk μασάομαι id. (P's unjustified rec. \**menth-* v. 'chew', 'mouth', based on the err. comparison of these words with OI *math-* 'entreißen, rauben' [that P translates as 'fressen']) ¶ Connection with Ht *mēni-* {CHD} 'face, cheek' (not 'chin' [↔ EI]) is not plausible enough ¶ ≈ P 726, ≠ 732 (Gmc \**munθ-* 'mouth' < \**menth-*), ≈ EI 107 (?\**men-* 'chin'), 453, WH II 72-3, Fs. 868, Vr. 396, Ho. 227-8, Kb. 700, KM 493, Vn. M 17, CHD L-N 289-90 || U: Sm {Hl.} \**munt̥cɔykt̥c* ∇n, {Jn.} \**munt̥c̥y̥k̥t̥c* ∇n or \*-n̥c̥- 'beard' (cd. or d.) > Ne: Т *муноцъ*, Ne T O {Lh.} *mu·n̥·ōć*, FNI *munnūš:əŋ*, Yr {Pl.} *му'дүть*, En {Cs.} *muddute?*, Ng {Mik.} *mündüša*, {Cs.} *munduišan*, Kms {KD} *mu?z\_en*, {Cs.} *müi?zen* 'beard', Mt {Hl.} \**munduč* ∇n id. (Mt: M {Mll.} *mundutschen*, {Sp.} *мундученъ*, Mt K {Mll.} *mundutsjin*, {Pl.} *múndutin* id., Mt T {Mll.} *mundutschēnda* 'his beard') ¶ Jn. 96, Hl. M 311 [#703] || D (in SD) \**mañṭ̥-(a)* 'skull, cranium' ({GS} \**mand-* 'cup, vessel') > Tm *mañṭ̥ai* 'skull, cranium', 'head, begging bowl', Ml *mañṭ̥a* 'skull', Tu *mañđæ* 'skull, head, large earthen vessel', Kt *mañđ*, Td *mađ*, Kdg *mañđe*, Krg *mañđa* ~ *mañđe* 'head', Kn *mañđe* id., *mañđage* 'big jar'; D → OI *mañđa-* 'head' ¶ D #4682, ≈ GS 28 [#18] || ? HS: EC: Bs *munže* {Hw.} 'mouth', {HL} 'lip, mouth' (unless akin to Sa/Af {R} *min'gāgā* 'jaw, cheek') ¶ HL 128, Hw. B II 127, R S II 269 ◇ The apparently irreg. D \*t̥ (for the expected \*t < N \*t̥) still needs investigating (a special development within a cns. cluster?). The rounded vw. of the first syll. in Sm (Sm \*u most probably from U \*o) may be explained by the assimilative infl. of \*m-.

**1447.** \**men't̥'ä'* (or \**men't̥'ä'*) 'miss one's aim' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'be mistaken', 'forget') > IE: NaIE \**ment-* '(in) vain; liar, deceit' > Gk μάτην 'in vain, fruitlessly', μάτη 'fault' || (x N \**mEñN* 'tell a lie,

deceive') NaIE \*ment- v. 'lie (lügen)': L *mentior / mentīri* 'tell a lie', *mēntītus* 'false' || Pru *mēntimai* 'wir lügen', *ερμēntimai* 'wir belügen' ¶ IS II 52, ≠ WH II 68-9, F II 185, Frn. 455, En. 21O || u \*mentä- > FU {UEW} \*mentä- v. 'miss one's mark, be mistaken' > pLp {Lr.} \*mentē- id. > Lp: Lp N {N} *mæd'det* v. 'miss (not hit), mistake (one's way)', S {Hs.} *mieddedh* 'fehlen, irren, sündigen', L {ILO} *mieddē-* ~ *mäddē-* 'fehlen, Fehler machen, fehlgreifen, sich irren', Lp Kld {TI} *mēānda* 'weg, fort' (< \*'vorbei') || Os V/Vy *mintəxta-* v. 'miss one's aim (in shooting)'; ?σ Vg: ML {Mu.} *mänt* ~ *mäntä* ~ *mänti*, K {Mu.} *mänt* ~ *mēnt*, P {Kn.} *mäntl* 'längs, entlang', Vg {IS without specifying the dialect and source} åm *mäntsəm* 'passing by me' ('прохождение мимо меня') || pY {IN} \*mönte- > Y K {IN} *mudedə-* 'pass (away), elapse' ('проходитъ, миновать'), {Jc.} *mudede-* 'elapse' (*malxijelokun poz'er'xo mudededeige* 'when 8 days will elapse' ¶ Coll. 97-8, UEW 272, Lr. #657, Lgc. #3812, Hs. 917, TI 244, Trj. S 256, MK 298, WVD VII 197, IN 235, Ang. 167, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#76] (Y ← U) || HS: Ch \*✓ *mnt* ({Nw.} \*✓ *mn*) 'forget' > WCh {Stl.} \*mant- v. 'forget' > Hs {Ba.} *mânčē* / *mântā*, Gw {Mts.} *mōči* id. | Gmy men, Mnt mun, Su {J} mander id. | Bl mont-, Krkr mantau, Bele mōntú, Krf mūnd-, Gera mōnž-, Grm mūn-, Ngm {ChL} mōntēt, Glm {Sch} nūnd- id. | My {Sk.} man- id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *mónà*, Pdl {ChL} *mōnēha* id. | Bcm {Nw.} myentz id. ¶ Ba. 767-9, Stl. ZCh 233 [#802], Nw. 26 [#53], ChC, ChL || A: T \*män- > Chv man- 'forget' ¶ ≠ Jeg. 128 || ?σ M \*menđe > WrM menđe-, HIM мэндэ-, мэгдэ- 'be(come) excited \ worried \ embarrassed; become stupid', Brt мэгдэ- 'get excited \ embarrassed, lose one's head', Ord {Ms.} menđ\_e- ~ meg\_d\_e- 'avoir des soupçons', d. caus. menđ\_ē- 'faire perdre contenance', Kl {Rm.} menđa- 'aufgeregt sein (über etw.)', {KRS} d. † мендкүр menđakür 'sorrow, distress' (the unexpected voiced \*d [for \*t] needs explaining); ? M \*mene- > WrM menere-, HIM мэнэрэ- 'become stupid \ dull, faint', Kl {Rm.} menđ- 'lose consciousness, faint', {KRS} id., 'grow numb', Brt мэнэр- 'grow dull, lose sensitivity', WrM menen̄ ~ meneg, HIM мэнэн, Kl {Rm.} menag\_ 'stupid', Ord {Ms.} menen, menek (in menen t'anān 'stupid', t'enek menek 'stupid' [infl. of MChn {S} \*mūŋ tūŋ 'stupid']) ¶ The absence of the expected \*t in M \*mene- needs explaining ¶ MED 536, Ms. O 462, Chr. 309, 312, KW 261, KRS 350 ◇ IS MS 357 s.v. промахнуться (\*mentə; IE, U), IS III 52 [#357] (\*mentə 'промахнуться, пройти

мимо, быть тщетным \ напрасным \ безрассудным \ ложным \ лживым' > IE, U, Ch, M \*men̥de, \*men-; \*- A \*mun̥V 'be mistaken, mad' [actually belonging to N \*mûñ̥V 'defect, damage', q.v.] ◇ If M \*men̥de- belongs here, the N rec. is \*men̥t̥'ḁ̈, otherwise it is \*men̥t̥'ḁ̈ ◇ The vw. \*ä in T \*°män̥- may be due to regr. as. (N \*men̥n̥t̥'ḁ̈ > \*\*mäntä > T \*°män̥-).

**1448.** \*m̥o̥l̥wE̥ñ̥V 'entrails, belly' > HS: C {AD} \*m̥n̥n̥- 'entrails, intestines' > Bj 'mana {Rop.}' 'viscera, bowels, intestines', {R} 'Darm, Gedärme, Eingeweide', Bj A {AD} 'mana 'guts' || EC: pSam {Hn.} mindi'qar 'intestines' > Sml Δ {Hn.} mindiqir id., Sml C {ZMO} mindi'fir 'viscera, part of the intestine', Sml N {Abr.} míndi'fir 'the large intestine', Rn {PG} mìndaxár 'intestine', Bn {Hn.} miní'fir id., mineper 'part of intestines', Bs {Hw.} men̥er, {HL} min̥er 'intestines'; Arr {Hw.} merde id. || Dhl {EEN} máni 'large intestine' ¶ EEN 37, AD SF 182, To. D 142, R WBd 170, Rop. 217, ZMO 291, Abr. S 180, PG 225, Hn. PS 69, HL 128, Hw. B II 125, Hw. A 384 || CCh: ?? FIB manževit̥n̥ 'entrails' || **u** \*mUñ̥V 'belly' > Sm \*m̥u̥ñ̥V > Ne Т мынь 'fish belly (брюшная часть рыбы)', 'smoked belly of sturgeon (тёшка)', {Klp.} myn̥ 'Bauch', Т О {Lh.} muń 'Fischmagen', muńć 'stomach', {Klp.} mun̥ 'Bauch', En B {Cs.} 'munedi, En X {Cs.} 'munori 'Magen', En T {Klp., Pl.} mu'nuri, En M {Klp.} münäde, {Pl.} munjade 'belly', En {B} muńobo, En X {Cs.} muńabo 'Fischmagen', Ng {Cs.} mina, minaiku 'Fischmagen', minadâ 'Magen', {Klp.} mino'wa 'Bauch' || pY {IN} \*mon- 'belly' > Y T {IN} mon-il id. (\*-il is a nominal sx.), {Ku.} mońił 'belly', {Krn.} mońił 'belly; stomach (Magen)', {Jc.} monił 'Magen', OY Ch {Mat.} маняло 'belly' ¶ Coll. JU 83, Ter. 266, KP 130, Klp. SA vii, SWV 36, Cs. 75, IN 236, 311, Ku. 150, Krn. JJ 275, Ang. 165 || **a:** {DQA} \*mōbina > NaT \*mögän ({DQA}: < \*\*möben) 'entrails, ∈ intestine' > OT [MhK] bükän (= \*[böügän]?) '∈ part of the entrails, coecum', XwT XIV büken (= \*[böügen]?) 'entrails', Tkm böwen, Qq büyen 'large intestine', Qrg, Alt, Tv mön̥, Bsh büöän 'duodenum', Xk pöñ 'coecum' ¶ Cl. 328, ET B 205, DTS 132 || NrTg \*mōmańa (as. from \*\*mōbańa) '∈ intestine' > Ewk mōmańa 'large intestine, stomach (Magen)', Lm mōmīna 'sausages (reindeer's intestines filled with suet)', NrTg → Yk momunaj 'suet on guts' ¶ STM I 544 || ???φ Ko mānhwa 'spleen and pancreas' ¶ MLC 578 ¶ DQA #1349 (A \*mōb|p̥in̥V 'large intestine' > T, Tg) ◇ U and Tg point to a N \*-ń-, while T suggests \*-n̥- . In U and Tg there is infl. of the

reflexes of N ≈ \*mE?awUń $\nabla$  'breast, heart' ◇ IN 236 (Y, Ko), Blz SNE I #16 (C, U, Ko) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #37 (\*man 'belly').

**1449.** ≈ \*mE?awUń $\nabla$  (or \*mUń $\nabla$ ?) 'breast, heart' (→ 'middle') > **HS:** SC: Irq {Wh.} mūna (pl. mūne), {MQK} mūná, {Mgh.} mūna, Brn {Wh.} mūna 'heart', {E} muna?i 'chest', Grw/Alg {Fl.} mona, Kz {Fl., E} munako, Asa {E} munok 'heart'; SC → Mb mūna id. || Ag: Bln {R} mangū (mang $\omega$ ) n. 'middle' → Tgy ማኑን 'mango 'middle, centre' ¶ E SC 159, Mgh. 115, MQK 75, R WB 271, Blz. ADB 21, AD SF 182, CS 161 || S: Ar ma?an-at- (pl. mu?un-) 'part of the belly surrounding the navel; fat covering the inner surface of the peritoneum' (← \*'middle'??) (× N \*m'o'wE'ń $\nabla$  'entrails, belly?') ¶ BK II 1O54, Hv. 7O6 (Ar ma?an-at-'navel and its surrounding parts'), ≠ MiK I #1.183 (Ar ma?an-at- ↔ S \*mV(?)n(-at)- 'tendon, sinew, muscle') ¶ But Eg mn̄z 'breast' is more likely to go back to N \*‘mälgē 'breast, udder' (q.v. ffd.) || **A:** Tg \*mjāban 'heart' > Ewk, Neg mēwan, Lm māwun, Orc māwa(n-) ~ mjawa(n-), Ud māwa(n-), Ul, Ork mēwa(n-), Nn m̄awā ~ m̄au 'heart', SIn mēyā ~ mīyā id., {Iv.} mā'wań ~ mewan 'breast' ¶ The depalatalization \*ń > Tg \*n is still puzzling ¶ WrMc r̄aman 'heart' hardly belongs here (unless one reconstructs pTg ≈ \*mjabańam), but is more likely to be akin to MKo njə, m-thōŋ 'heart' (acc. to Lee) and possibly to FU \*ńime- 'suck the breast' (Coll. 15-6, MF 153, It. #368) || pKo {S} \*māńäm 'heart' > MKo māńäm, NKo maim ¶ S QK #42, Nam 196, MLC 564 || pJ {S} \*múnà-i 'breast' > OJ múnè, J: T muné, K múnè, Kg múnë ¶ S QJ #2O2, Mr. 488 ¶ ≈ DQA \*1315 (A \*mjóńu 'heart, breast'; unjustified rec. of the Tg root as \*mjánam) || **D** (in SD) \*mUńni, ({θGS} \*-ńć-?) > Tm mońni, mońci 'breasts', Tu muńňa, muńńiæ 'breast' (as called by children) ¶ D #5111 ◇ If Ar ma?an-at-and Tg \*mjāban do not belong here, the N rec. may be \*mUń $\nabla$ .

**1450.** \*moyAŋ $\nabla$  'neck, nape of the neck' > **HS:** ECh: Kbl {Cp.} muŋgo 'nape' ¶ ChC || **IE:** NaIE \*mon- 'nape of the neck, neck' > OI man'yā 'nape of the neck', Av manaoθrī- 'neck, nape', pa'ri-mānya-'Nackenschutz'; d.: OI ma'nih 'necklace, pearl, jewel', Irn \*many-a- 'necklace' (→ Arm մանեակ maneak id., 'collar', Gk [Pol.] μανιάκης 'necklace, torque [worn of gold by Persians and Gauls]', JA [Trg.], JEA מְנִיאָא mənī'k-ā 'necklace') || OIr muin 'neck, upper part of the back', muinél 'neck', muin-torc 'chain for the neck', Brtt {RE} \*mon- 'neck' > OW [ɣ] minci 'necklace, collar', MW mwn, W

mwnwgl, mynwgl, OBr mun 'neck' || L monīle 'necklace, collar'  
 || Gk D μάνυος, μόνυος 'necklace' || d. : Gmc \*manja- > ON men, OHG  
 menni, AS mēne 'necklace'; Gmc \*manō 'mane' > OHG mana 'mane,  
 neck', ON mōn, Sw man, NHG Mähne, MLG mane, OFrs mona,  
 mana, AS manu 'mane', NE mane || d.: Sl \*monisto 'necklace' > OCS,  
 OR **МОНІСТО** monisto, Blg {Gerov} ма'нисто, McDS, R, Uk  
 мо'нисто ¶ WP II 305, P 747-8, EI 391 (\*monis ~ \*moneh<sub>A</sub>- 'neck'), M E  
 II 556-7, 584-5, Dlm. 230, Js. 801, Sl. 687, Vn. M 72, RE 114, Loth  
 190, WH II 108, F I 171, ~ Ch. 664-5 (μάνυος, μόνυος ↔ [bf.]  
 μανιάκης), Vr. 384, 401, Kb. 656, 675, KM 454, Ho. 215, 219, ESSJ XIX  
 209-11, Vs. II 650 || A ({SDM97} \*mōy<sub>1</sub>o<sub>2</sub>ŋ<sub>3</sub>Δ, {DQA} \*mōy<sub>1</sub>o 'neck'): T  
 \*mōy<sub>1</sub>iŋ ({DQA, TL} \*bōy<sub>1</sub>n) 'neck' > OT boyin ~ boyun id., MU, MQp XIII,  
 XwT XIV, OOsm ≥XIV boyun, Chg xv boyin ~ boyn, MQp [CC] boyin or  
 boyun, Tk boyun, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, ET boyun, Uz бүйин boyin,  
 VTt мүен тиүөн, Bsh тиүөн, Alt, Xk moyin, Qrg, Ln, Tv moyun id., Tf  
 mōɛn id. (+ppa: тәүн-и 'his neck'), Yk моой төү 'neck' (+ppa: moyn-um  
 ('my neck'), {Md.} mōy / moññ- 'neck' | Chv: L/MK мәй тъү, Chv H  
 тъү, Chv V miy ~ miy 'neck' (< \*mōy<sub>1</sub>u<sub>2</sub>ñ < as. \*mōy<sub>1</sub>u<sub>2</sub>n) 'neck' ](< d.?)  
 T \*mōynaq > OT boynaq 'narrow pass', Qrg moynoq 'camel's neck;  
 mountain pass', Qzq moynaq 'skin of camel's neck', Qq moynaq 'sand-  
 hill in a desert' ¶ Cl. 386, Rs. W 80, ET B 180-2, TL 233-4, Ra. 207, Pek.  
 1580-1, Jeg. 129, Md. 46, 174 (pT \*bōy<sup>1</sup>u<sup>2</sup>ñ), Jud. 529-3, MM 242, KrkR  
 462 || ???σ M \*mundaya 'withers, place between the shoulder-blades (of  
 animals)' > WrM mundaga {Gl.} id., {Kow.} 'withers of a horse\mule',  
 {MED} 'withers of a horse', HIM, Brt мұндаа, Ord мұndā, Kl Ö {Rm.}  
 mundā id. ¶ MED 351, Kow. 2028, Gl. III 310, Ms. O 47, KW 268, Chr.  
 302 || Tg \*moja(n) 'neck' > Ewk, Neg moyon, Nn Nh/KU möngö, Orc  
 moyo(n-), Ork, Ul mögo(n-), WrMc mögon ¶ STM I 546 || Ko: [1]  
 pKo {S} mј<sub>1</sub>ɛ<sub>2</sub>,k 'neck, throat' > MKo, NKo mј<sub>1</sub>ɛ<sub>2</sub>,k id. (÷ T \*moy-nak); [2]  
 MKo mј<sub>1</sub>o<sub>2</sub>-'ɛ<sub>1</sub>j 'yoke, harness' (σ=: pT \*moyuntırık 'yoke', see ET B 182)  
 ¶ S QK #58, Nam 213, MLC 619 ¶ SDM97, ~ DQA #1336 (incl. T, M,  
 Tg, Ko) || D: McTm \*maŋŋ- > Tm manŋŋai 'throat, neck', MI manna,  
 menna 'neck' ¶ D #4779 ◇ D \*a may go back to N \*A with loss of  
 the word-medial \*-oy-.

**1451.** \*mAn<sup>1</sup>g<sup>2</sup>ŋ<sup>3</sup>Δ ~ \*mAN<sub>1</sub>i<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>ŋ<sub>4</sub>Δ 'monkey' > HS: ECh: Mu {J} móŋgö  
 'small black monkey' ¶ J Mu, ChC || A: Tg \*moño > WrMc moño  
 (spelled moniyo) {Z} 'yellowish monkey with a short tail'

('обезьяна, желтоватая съ короткимъ хвостомъ'), {Hr.} 'kurzschwänziger Affe', but on p. 511 Zaxarov refers to *мо́но* as 'common monkey' ('обыкновенная обезьяна'), Mc Sb {Y} /*moni*/ [мо́н] 'monkey', {Mrm.} *мо́ни*, Mc N {Rdn.} мε̄н̄у тз̄ни 'monkey'; Mc → Slн *мо́нō*, Orc, Ud, Ul, Nn *мо́но* 'monkey'; there is also a variant STg word \**бо́но* 'monkey' > WrMc *бо́но* {Z} 'large monkey', {Hr.} 'monkey', Jrc *dobi bonon* 'monkey' ¶ STM I 94, 545, Krm. 26O, Z 51O-1, 89O, Hr. 111, 665, Y#2212, Klz. MS 226, Rdn. 7, Kiy. 105 || D (in SD) \**maŋk-* {§GS} \**maŋ-* 'monkey' > Ml *моңға*, Kn *маңға*, Krg *маңғи* 'monkey', Tu *mange* id., 'ape' ¶ D #4666 ◇ The origin of NE *monkey* and of the Romance word \**monna* (> Sp, Port *mona*, -o 'monkey', OIt, It *monna*, Fr *mone* 'female monkey') remains unknown. They may be loans from an unknown source (but hardly from Prs [sc. CINPrs *maymūn*, NPrs *mäymūn*] 'monkey', as believed by ML #5242). For other unconvincing etymologies (e.g., < It *madonna*) see Pian. 872-3. Nothing is known about their possible connection with N \**mAŋ'g*▽ 'monkey' ◇ Tg \**o* goes back probably to \**a*, that was labialized due to the ass. infl. of \**m-* ◇ AD NM #6, ≠ S CNM 12, ≠ Vv. AEN 7 (rejects the Tg cognate because of the irreg. Mc -ń-, which, however, may be explained if we assume pN \**mAŋ'i,ŋ*▽).

**1452.** UA <sub>2</sub> \**mŋ̄K*▽ 'beaver, mole' (a substratum word?) > **U:** pOs \**maŋk* 'beaver, mole' > Os: V/Vy/Vrt *maγ*, Ty *måγ* (+ppa. 1s *muγəm*), Y *måγ* 'beaver', K *maχ*, Nz *moŋχ*, Sh *muŋχ-*, O *maŋχ*, {Ahl.} *moŋk* 'mole', Kz *mῶŋχ*, Sn *moχ* 'rat, mole' ¶ For \*-ŋk > V/Vy/Ty/Y -γ/-χ, K -χ/-x cp. Ht.'s reconstructions: pOs \**moŋk* 'Axtrücken' (> Os: V/Vy *moγ*, Ty *moγʷ*, K *moχ*), pObU \*ć▽:ŋk 'Eiskruste' (> Os V/Vy *ťoγ*, Ty *ťaγʷ* 'thin ice'), pObU \*čüŋk 'fog' (> Os V/Vy *čüχ*, Ty *čiχʷ*), pObU {Ht.} \*θōŋkāl (sc. \*θōŋkāl) (> Os V *loŋəl*, Vy *yoŋəl* 'Rübe, Zwiebel'), pOs \*čoŋk- 'ausschlagen' (> Os V/Vy *čoγ-*, *čoχ-*, Ty/Y *čoq-*), etc., see Ht. ##8O, 1O7-8, 149. 4O1 ¶ Stn. D 897, ≠ UEW 264 (equates Os *maγ* & *maχ* 'beaver' with Mr *maksi*- 'mole' and reconstructs FU \**maksi* without taking into account the Os Δ forms with -ŋχ) || **A:** M \**miŋžin* 'beaver' > WrM *miŋžin*, HlM *минж* *minž*, Kl *минж* *miŋžə* id., Brt f *мэнжэн* *халюун* 'water mole, desman' (*халюун* 'otter') ¶ MED 539, KRS 352, Chr. 312 || ?? T: Tv *möndele* 'young of a marmot' ¶ TvR 3O1, Shch. Zh 148.

**1453. \*μυη̄κα|ū** (= \*μυη̄κα|ū?) 'make great efforts; (?) be heavy' > IE: NaIE (att. in Sl) \*<sup>o</sup>monk<sub>L</sub>ω<sub>-</sub> > Sl \*mō̄ka 'torment, hard work' > OCS **мъка** mō̄ka, Cz, Slk mukā, R, Uk 'мукā', Slv múka ~ móka 'torment', SCr mī̄ka, P mē̄ka id., 'work', R Ps/Sml/Tmb 'мукā' 'hard work', Blg 'мъка' 'torment', 'property' (← \*'result of hard work'); Sl  $\leftrightarrow$  Rum muncă, Hg munka 'work' ¶ ESSJ XX 136-8, Vs. III 7, EWU 1OO4, ≠ P 731 || D {tr., §GS} \*mukk- 'strain, make great efforts' ( $\times$  N \***μοξκE** 'to press') > Tm mukku, Kt muk- v. 'strain as a woman in travail, make great efforts', Ml mukkuka v. 'strain, grunt, make an effort as in travail or when easing nature', mī̄kukā v. 'press, strain at stool', Kt muk- v. 'make a strenuous effort, strain to deliver child', Td muk- v. 'grunt while defecating when constipated', Kn mukkī̄i, mukkare v. 'strain, make violent efforts in pain', Tu mukkuru- v. 'snort, grunt, growl', Tl mukku- 'strain', Png mū̄k- v. 'lift with effort' ¶ D #4896(a) ¶ The absence of the expected n-consonant in the D root may be due to the heritage of N \***μοξκE** || A: T \*\*μuŋk > [1] T \*μuŋ > OT {Cl.} bun  $\ddot{\alpha}$  muŋ 'grief, sorrow', MQp XIV muŋ ~ bun, Osm bun 'pain, distress', Tk bun 'crisis, difficult situation', Ggz bun- 'be tired (of travelling), be discontented', Qzq **μύη** tūŋ, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg, Uz b, ET {Nj.} muŋ 'melancholy, sadness, sorrow', ET {Rs.} muŋ 'Mühe, Leiden, Sorge, Kummer, Trauer', Yk muŋ 'torment, suffering ('мукā, мучение, страдание'), d. muŋ-nā- v. 'torment' ( $\leftrightarrow$  Ork muŋna- vt. 'torment', Ewk muŋ-, muŋan-, Neg muŋnan- vt. 'torment, beat'), ? Xk d. **мөнъис** möŋis 'sorrow(ful), sad(ness)', **мөнек** mönek 'sad, sorrowful'; [2] ? T \*μuk > Qrg бүк buq 'melancholy, depression' ('тоска, угнетенное состояние'), Alt/Shor {Rl.} muqan- 'sich abquälen, abmühen, sorgen', Xk {BIG} **мүхан-** muhan- 'suffer (e.g. from an illness)' ('мучиться, страдать'), Osm {Rl.} موقايق muqaṣ-(taq) '(to) suffer, toil, fatigue oneself'; here the initial m- suggests the (former?) presence of a medial \*n (\*munk?) unless these words are loans from an unknown source ¶ Cl. 347, Rs. W 344-5, Sht. 146, GRM 97, Nj. 719, BIG 11O-1, Jud. 156, 538, Rl. IV 2171-2, Pek. 1625-9, STM I 557 || ? M: MM [S] {H} muŋ 'Schwierigkeit, Not' (muŋ tani-qu 'Not erfahren, in Schwierigkeit sein'), WrM **муңда-**, HIM **мұнда-** 'be in trouble or in difficult circumstances' (unless ← **муңда-** 'become insufficient, come to an end') ¶ MED 551, H 112 ¶ The monosyllability of MM muŋ suggests a

possible loan from T **¶** Pp. VG 71 (T, M + err. Ewk **μυηναյա-** 'suffer' [in fact, a loan from Yk]), Nm. UT 79 || ?φ **K:** GZ (or Zan?) \***manke-** ~ \***maķe-** 'heavy' (× N \***մԵկա** or \***մԵրկա** 'big' [q.v. ffd.]) **¶** {IS}: K \***manķ-** < \***mwanķ-** ◇ For the semantic connection between 'work' and 'torment' cp. L **trepalium** '≡ instrument of torture' → VL {ML} \***tripaliāre** 'to torture' > Fr **travailler**, Prv **trebalhar**, Sp **trabajar**, Prt **trabalhar** 'to work' (ML #8911), and, on the other hand, Ft **travail** 'labour of childbirth' (→ NE **labour**) ← Fr **travail** 'work' ◇ {IS}: the cognates without a medial nasal (in K, D, T) may be accounted for by dis. ◇ IS MS 369 (\***μυ(n)κη** 'τρυπή': IE, T, D, ?K), IS II 73-4 (K, D, T).

**1454. \*muŋi'H'orķ** (or \***muŋi ūarķ'u?**) '≈ gristle, horn, muscle, sinew' > **HS:** EC **murķ-** (~ \***morg-**) 'gristle, tendon, sinew' (× N \***մՈրկ** 'root, root-crops, edible roots', → 'sinew') > Or {Brl.} **morga** 'tendon', {Th.} **morg-aya** id., 'nerve', Or B {Sr.} **morgā** 'tendons, muscles', Kns **murq-a** 'tip of the nose', Gdl {Bl.} **mork-a** 'bone of nose, kneecap, soft part of ensete', Sml **muruq-** 'muscle', Arr {Hw.} **morgi** 'tendon, sinew', Brj **mor'ganka** 'miča 'ankle', Rn {PG} **mórðögò** 'string', Ya {Hn.} **morž-i?** (pl. **morž-ei**) 'sinew of neck' **¶** Bl. 198, Ss. PEC 54 (EC \***murķ-** 'gristle'), Ss. B 148, Th. 248, Brl. 309, Sr. 369, PG 227, Hw. A 385, Hn. YII 133 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Zar {Sh.} **K/GL mōri**, Zar L {Sh.} **ńerì**, Sy {Csp.} **ńéri**, Grn {Hrn.} **myáw**, {Jgr.} **m̥yáw**, {Gw.} **miyaw** 'horn' || ?φ NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} **mūwí** id. || ?φ Ngz {Sch.} **mākím** 'horn blown in hunting to call other hunters; trumpeting with horn' || ?φ CCh: Msg P {Trn.} **miyok**, Msg {MB} **ámíyók**, Mlw {Trn.} **àmōk**, Msk {Trn.} **miyót** 'horn' || Ms {Caït.} **miyok** (df. **miyók-ńá**), {J} **myóggá**, {Mch.} **myók**, ZmD {KNC} **miék**, ZmB {Sa.} **méké**, {J} **mék** 'horn' **¶** JI II 192-3. MB 59, ChC, ChL, Sh. SB 25, Sch. DN 109, Csp. 54, Hrn. #141, Jgr. 185, KNC 17, Caït. 115, Trn. LDM 20, Trn. LM 106 || **U:** FU \***ńorke**, {Db.} \***ńorke** 'gristle' (× N \***ńaxli,rU(-k|gē)** 'cartilage [→ 'cartilage of the vertebra'], q.v. ffd.) || **A:** T \***muŋjuŕ** 'horn' > NaT \***muŋuz** (> \***müňüz**) > OT {Cl.} **müňüz** & **müyüz** & **büyüz**, MQp/MOg XIII **buynuz**, Chg XV **büňüz**, Tk **boynuz**, Ggz, CrTt **boynuz**, Tkm **buynuð**, Az **buynuz**, Uz **mugiz** ~ **muguz**, Kr, ET **müňüz**, ET Δ **muňuz**, Slr {Kk.}, SY **moňus**, Ln **mügüs** ~ **müyüs**, VTt **мөгөз** **төгөз**, Δ **төңөс**, Bsh **мөгөз** **мөгөз**, Qzq **մյիչ** **մյիչ**, Nog, Qq, Qrg **müyüz**, Tb **münüs** ~ **müs**, Alt, Xk **müs**, Tv **miyis**, Tf **mīs**, Yk **muos** & **moyuos** ({Md.} **moýos**) 'horn' || Chv **մեղրագ** **a**, Chv Δ: V {Md.} **mirága** ~ **muřaga**, MK {Md.} **miřaga** 'horn'

¶ The variant with back vowels suggests the rec. \*muγηύ (with the front-voweled NaT variant \*müŋüz due to the infl. of γ) ¶ Cl. 352, Rs. W 347, ET B 243-5, TL 148 (NaT \*buγηuz), Jeg. 130, S AJ 179 [#42], Ra. 207, Md. 46, 174 (pT \*bö'ńγ'oř), Pek. 1584 || M \*mö(ŋ)gere-sün 'cartilage' > WrM mögeresün, HIM мөгөөрс(өн), Ord mōrös(ú), Brt {Chr.} мэнгээрхэ(н), Δ {SM} möjöröhön, WrO mōrsün, Kl мөөрсн mōrsən, {Rm.} mōrsŋ, MnR H {SM} muŋ\_irž\_ž, Dx {SM} muŋjörsön id. ¶ MED 545, Ms. O 471, Chr. 312, Krg. 608, KRS 358, KW 268, SM 248 ¶ Pp. VG 73, S AJ 282 [#177] || Tg: Ewk muŋi 'sinew at the end of a muscle; muscle' ¶ STM I 557 || ?ϕ (adduced by DQA) pKo \*mij'ím 'gums' > MKo nì-s-mij'ím ~ nì-s-mi'jom ~ ni-s-mi'im ~ ni-s-mij'iom 'gums' (nì- 'tooth') ¶ S QK #316, Nam 127 ¶ DQA #1359 (A \*múγji 'horn; cartilage, tendon'), Rm. EAS I 120, Pp. VG 73, S AJ 282 ||

**Gil:** Gil A (*murgi*) murk̩i 'horn' ¶ ST 107 ◇ The presence of a word-medial velar element (surviving in M \*-g- ~ -ŋg-, T \*-ħ-, and Ewk -ŋ-) rules out an intervoc. \*-ń- (sc. \*muńorK▽) and points to a combination of a velar nasal and palatal elements (\*-ŋy- or more plausible \*-ŋiH-) that later (in U) contracted into \*ń. The unusual length of the etymon suggests that it goes back to a compositum, e.g. N \*muŋi ǵarK' with the second component \*ǵarK' 'sinew' (q.v.), which may account for the semantic variant 'sinew' in some descendant lgs. In such a case the vw. \*o in U \*ńorke must be explained by the ass. infl. of some adjacent phoneme. In Tg the second component of the original cd. was lost either by bf. or (in prehistory) by ellipsis.

**1455. \*'miqU₁?N'** 'to push, to fell' > HS: CS \*✓ mxḥ? 'push, strike' > BHb ✓ mḥy|w ~ ✓ mḥ? (pf. מְחַהָּ מָה' חָהָהָה, ip. 3pm יְמַחַּחַתִּי מַחַּחַתִּי) 'push, strike, clap (hands)', OA, IA מְחַחָה ✓ mḥ? (✓ mḥw|y) 'beat', JA מְחַי ✓ mḥy ~ מְחַחָה ✓ mḥw G 'smite, wound', JEA {Sl.} ✓ מְחַי ✓ mḥy 'strike, hit', Sr לְמַחַת ✓ mḥw|y G 'strike, smite, beat' ¶ KB 537, HJ 610-1, Js. 756, 760, Sl. 655-6, Br. 380-1, JPS 263 || Eg G mx̥ {Vc.} v. 'pierce a prey or parts of its body' (of a spear) > (x Eg mx̥ 'fight') DEg mx̥ ~ myx̥ v. 'strike, fight' > Cpt: Sd **מִשְׁגֵּן** miše, B **מִשְׁגִּיל** miši id. ¶ EG II 131, 176, Er. 176, Crn. 96, Ws. 108, Vc. 128 || SC: Irg {MQK} mūx- v. 'fight, beat, spank', {Wd.} muχ- 'fight' ¶ Mg. 115, MQK 75, Wd. 42 [#403] ¶ Tk. SCC 99-100 [#29.7] || K \*mqw- 'overturn, overthrow' > OG mqu- (aor. da-a-mqu-a, prs. da-mqu-eb-a}, G mx̥- / mx̥v- id., Mg χu- / χv- id., 'lay, lay face down', Lz χu- 'throw, splash out', Sv ηqw- v.

'overturn; fall' (msd. *li-nqwe*-e; 3s prs. {TK}: UB/L *χ-ānqwe*, LB *χ-anqwe*, Ln *χ-ānqwe* vt. 'overturns' [աՅօՐՅՅԵՅԵՑԵ, լցալու-ածրովնեցելս] || J<sup>2</sup> K<sup>2</sup> 134-5, FS K 233, FS E 256-7, Chx. 885-6, ≈ K 149 (\**nqwe*-), Q 396, TK 136 || IE \**meuH-* ~ \**mieuH-* > NaIE \**meu(a)-*, \**mieuə-/\*l<sup>‘</sup>mīu-* 'push, push away' > OI *mīvati* 'moves, pushes', Av *ava-mīva-* 'remove', Oss I *mi*, Oss D *miwä* 'deed, work, affair' ({Bn.} < \**mīva-*) || Gk D *ἀμεύομαι* 'surpass, outstrip; pass over' ({P} < \*vi. 'push ahead'), Gk *ἀμύνω* 'keep off, ward off' ({F, P} < \*vi. 'push off') || L *moveō* / -ēre / pfc. *mōvi* / pp. *mōtus* 'move, set in motion, stir', Um COMOHOTA (abl. sg.) 'commota\_, oblata\_' || Lt *māuti* (1s prs. *mauti*) {PiesS} 'to put\get on, to don; to rush, to dash', Δ *movéti*, *mūvéti* 'to wear (clothes)', Ltv Δ {ME} *maut* (prs. *mauij*, *maunu*) 'an-\auf-ziehen, zäumen' || MLG *mouwe* 'muff', NHG *Hemds-mauen* 'shirt sleeve' || pTc \**miw-* > Tc: A *mew-*, B *miw-* vi. 'shake, quake' || ???σ, φ Ht *mau-* / *mauss-* / *mu-* v. act. and mp. 'fall' || WP II 252-3, P 743, EI 388 (\**meu(H)-* 'move'), M K II 645, Ab. II 112-3, Bn. ELO 89, F I 92, 97, WH II 116, Bc. G 331, Frn. 421, ME II 570, Ad. 463, ≈ Ts. E II 166-8, CHD L-N 211-3 ◇ The absence of lr. in the Ht verb (if it belongs here) is puzzling ◇ On N and pIE \**‘-* see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

**1456.** (2?) \**mag̥a* (or \**maKa*?) 'humid, wet' > HS: B \**v̥wm̥y* (> \*-mm̥v̥y) > Izd *mm̥ay* (pf. *imm̥ay*) v. 'wetten (mouiller)', Tmz *mm̥ay* 'se mouiller, être mouillé \ trempé' || Mrc. 171, MT 407 || ? S (+ext.) *v̥m̥ql* > Ar *v̥m̥ql*, -*m̥qul-* 'plunge (sth.) into water', *maql-* 'urinatio, descensus in aquam; quidam lactandi modus' || Fr. IV 198, Hv. 729 || ?σ K: G -*mg̥aq-* 'faulig\moderig werden', *mg̥age* 'stagnierend, faul(ig), moderig' || Chx. 865-6 || IE: NaIE ≈ \**mak-*/\**māk-* 'wet', 'moisten' > pAl {O} \**makā* > Al *makē* 'film that forms on a liquid; scum\skin (on milk, etc.)' || ? Arm *մօր* *môr* 'mud, mire, slime' (< \**ma<sub>1</sub>k-ri-*) || Lt *makonē* 'Pfütze', *makénti*, *maknóti* 'durch Kot waten' || Sl \**mōkrъ(-jb)* 'wet' > OCS **мокръ** *mokrъ*, Blg 'мокър', SCr *mōkar*, Slv *móker*, Cz, Slk *mokrý*, P *mokry*, R 'мокрый id.; Sl \**močí-ti* vt. 'wetten, moisten' > OCS, OR **мѹнти**, Scr *mōčiti*, Slv *móčiti*, Cz *močiti*, P *moczyć* id.; Sl \**mok-nq-ti* vi. 'get wet' > SCr † *moknuti*, Slv *mókniti*, Cz *moknouti*, P *moknać*, R 'мокнуть id., L-gr.: Sl \**makati* (prs. \**makayo*) vt. 'to dip' > ChS, OR **макати** *makati*, SCr *mákati*, Cz *mákatí*, R *ма'катъ* id., Blg *макам* 'eat by dipping sth.'

in a liquid' ¶ P 698, Frn. 339-4O, ESSJ XVIII 138-9 and XIX 81-2, 129-3O, 144-7, Glh. 419-2O, O 242.

**1457.** (2?) \*mægUR $\nabla$  'frog, toad' (or '∈ reptile\amphibian') > K: OG mqvar-i 'toad' [Ex. 8.3], G mqvari {GL} id., {Chx.} 'spade-footed toad (Pelobatidæ, Krötenfrosch)' ¶ DCh. 916, GL 374, Chx. 866 || A: pKo {S} \*mà,kúri 'frog, toad' (× N \*mU,Ha,Ka 'frog') > MKo {S} mà,kúri 'frog, toad', Ko {Rm.} mə,gíri 'frog' ¶ Nam 2O9, S QK #179, Rm. SKE 144 || M \*mekeleyi ~ mt. \*melekeyi 'frog' (× N \*mU,Ha,Ka, q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ SDM97 (A \*mök‘o 'frog') and ≈ DQA #1299 (A mjäk‘o 'frog') (both SDM97 and DQA incl. Ko, M), ≈ Rm. 144 (Ko, M) || HS: ?σ Eg G mkr.t '∈ a holy snake' (× N \*mA1Aŋk $\nabla$  'eel', (?) 'worm, snake', q.v.) ¶ EG II 159.

**1458.** 2 \*maR $\nabla$  'sand, dust, earth' > HS: SS: Gz marēt 'earth, dust of the ground, dirt', ✓mrt G 'become soil\rusty', Sb {Bll.} mrt 'clay, clayey soil', Qtb {Rk.} mrt 'limestone, gypsum' ¶ LG 361, Bll. 285, Rk. 99 || A: pKo \*mòr’áj 'sand' > MKo mòr’áj, Ko: Sl/Ph/PhN/Kw morä, Chs morá, Ks mōre, Hm mo\_rá, Chj mollä id. ¶ S AJ 254 [#7O], S QK #629, Nam 218, MLC 629, Rm. SKE I 151 || AdS of T \*bōr '∈ (barren) soil\ground' (× N \*bohr $\nabla$  'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd. × N \*bōri'v<sup>U</sup> 'loose earth, dust' × N \*bAr $\nabla$  'earth, land; dust') || M \*maraya > WrM {Rm. ← ?} maraga, Kl Ö {Rm.} marā 'Sodaerde, Salzsteppe', Brt Δ маraа(н) 'солонцы (salty ground\land)' ¶ KW 257, Chr. 293 || ? Tg: Ewk Ald/Urm mar 'peat-bog' → Yk mār 'moss-grown swamp, swampy tundra' ¶ STM I 531 || ??φ pJ {S} \*mana-n-kua 'sand' ({S} ass. nasalization from \*\*mara-n-) > OJ mana-guo ¶ S QJ #134 ¶ ≈ S AJ 288 [#291] and ≈ Rm. SKE I 151 (Ko, T \*bōr 'chalk'), DQA #1268 (A \*māro 'sand, stony earth, marsh').

**1459.** \*mAr'ū 'trace, path; to follow, to trace' > A: M \*mör 'trace, trail, way, path' > WrM mōr, MM (ChSc, ArSc), HlM, Brt мөр 'path, trail', Kl мөр mör 'trail, path', Ord mör 'trail', MnR H {SM} mōr (the length is secondary), Mgl {Rm.} mōr, {Wr.} mor, Ba mor 'way, path'; M \*mörde- v. 'trail, trace, follow' > WrM mörde-, HlM мөрдө-, Brt мүрдэ-, Kl мөрд- ¶ SM 24O, T 345-6, T BJ 143, MED 548, Chr. 3O7-8, KRS 358-9, KW 2O6, Rm. M 34, Wr. 173, Pp. MA 239, H 11O, Ms. H 76, S AJ 237 [#73] || pKo \*mōr- v. 'pursue, follow, chase' > MKo mōr-, NKo mol- ¶ S AJ [#126], S QK #126, Yu 325, MLC 641 || pJ \*mítí 'road' > OJ mjítí, J: T mìći, K míćí, Kg mí], Ns mìćí, Sh míči, Ht mìćt, Y àmítí

¶ S AJ [#61], Mr. 481 || T \*bär- 'go' > Xlj bär ] T \*bar- v. 'walk, go' ({Md.} \*bår- ~ \*bär) (× N \*barq $\nabla$  ~ \*barX $\nabla$  'to go, to go away, to step', q.v. ffd.) ¶ S AJ 277 [#59] (A \*mjör $\nabla$ ), SDM97 (A \*mōri 'road, track; follow'), DQA #1319 (A \*mjóri 'road, track; follow') || D (in McTm) \*maruk $\circ$  'in road' > Tm maruk $\circ$  'street, narrow street, lane', Ml maruk $\circ$  'street' ¶ D #477O || HS: Eg fMK mrr.t 'street', Eg G mr.t 'way' ¶ EG II 108, 110, Fk. 112 || S \*✓mrr v. 'go away, pass' (× N \*muR $\nabla$  'go away, perish, die', q.v. ffd.) || CCh: Pdl {Mk.} mirvi 'path' || ECh: Jg {J} morφ ~ morb 'way, path' ¶ ChC s.v. ◇ M \*-ö- < \*-ä|a- (labializing as., caused by \*m- and/or possibly by \*-ū) ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #17.

**1460. \*mer $\nabla$**  'to flash, to sparkle, to shine' > HS: B \*✓mry > Sll amarruy (pl. i-marruy-ən) 'spark', s-murrgi v. 'sparkle (briller)', ? Izn tamiri 'moonshine' ¶ Ds. 46, 118, Rn. 386 || IE: NaIE \*mer- v. 'sparkle, glitter, flash', {El} 'shine, shimmer' > OI 'marīci-h' 'particle of light, shining mote\speck in the air, ray of light' || Gk μαρμαρόω, μαρμαρίζω v. 'flash, sparkle' || L merus 'pure, unmixed' (< \*'clear') || AS (ā-)mērian 'to purify (esp. melted metals), to test' || ? Sl \*marъ (< \*marъ '≈ mirage, dream') > R Sib мар 'blaze of the sun (солнечный жар, солнечный зной)', ds.: Blg мара'ня 'very hot weather', Δ марина 'heat', R 'марево' 'mirage in hazy and very hot weather; haze' ¶ WP II 273-4, P 733, EI 514, M K II 589, WH II 78, Ho. 220, ESSJ XVII 215-8, SRNG XIII 367 || ?φ A: Tg: Ul mūrən- v. 'glitter' ¶ STM I 560 ¶ The unexpected vw. ū needs explaining (ass. infl. of m-?) || D {tr., GS} \*mer- 'shine, glitter' > Kn mirugu v. 'glitter, flash, sparkle, shine', miru 'shining, sparkling', mere v. 'shine, gleam, glitter', Tu merepi-, mereyu-, merevu- v. 'shine', Tl meracu v. 'glitter', Prj marp-; Klm merp- v. 'lighten', Klm mirjūd 'spark', Nkr merp-v. 'flash, lighten', Gdb merč(i) er-; glitter', mers 'lightning' ¶ ≈ D #5074 (ties in D \*mer- > Tm meruk $\circ$  'smoothness', etc.), GS 153 [#388].

**1461. \*mōRE (= \*mōRi?)** 'body of water' > HS: Eg fP mr 'canal, artificial lake', Eg M mryyy.t 'Uferdamm am Fluß \ am Meere; Stelle am Ufer, wo Schiffe landen können', DEg mr 'Hafen, Uferland', mryy.t 'Hafen' > Cpt Sd Mpw 'landing stage, port' ¶ EG II 97, 109, Fk. 111, Er. 169, Vc. 119 || IE: NaIE \*mor-, \*mori / \*mōri 'sea, lake' > L mare 'sea' (< \*mōri-, generalization of the originally unstressed stem variant, as in gen. sg. \*mōr'j-es; the pure root stem is found in OL gen. pl. mar-um,

F EM 689) ||| Clt \*mori- 'sea' > OIr *muir* (gen. *mora*), Brtt {RE} \*mori > OW, MW, OCrn, MBr, Br *mor*, W *môr*, Crn *môr* id. ||| Gmc: Gt *marei* 'sea', OHG {Kb.} *meri*, {OsS} *marei*, NHG *Meer* 'sea', ON *mar-r* (gen. *mar-ar*), AS *mere* 'sea, lake'; the L-gr. \*môr- means 'lake, swamp': OSx *môr* 'swamp', OHG *muor* 'lake, swamp', NHG *Moor* 'bog, fen, swamp' ||| Pru *mary* 'the Curonian Lagoon (Kurisches Haff)', Lt pl. *märēs* (gen. *märios*) id., 'sea', Ltv *mare* (gen. *mar̄a*) 'the Curonian Lagoon' (and 'lake' in names of lakes, e.g. Ltv {En.} *Tuosmare*); Blt → F, Es *meri* 'sea' | Sl \*môre 'sea' > OCS **морє** *morje*, Blg *mo'pe*, SCr *môre*, Slv *morjé*, Cz *moře*, Slk *more*, P *morze*, R 'mope' || Oss *mal* 'deep standing water; deep place in a lake\river', {OsR} 'омут, лужа' || Ht *marmar(r)a-* {Ot. → El} 'swamp, marsh' (if Ot.'s interpretation is right) ¶ P 316, EI 5O3-4 (\*'mori 'sea'), WH II 38-9, Vn. *M* 73, RE 126, Fs. 346, Vr. 379-8O, Kb. 676, OsS 591-2, 628, Schz. 216, Frn. 4O9-1O, En. 2O8, Kar. I 557, SSA II 16O, SK 341, ESSJ XIX 227-32, Glh. 422-3, Ab. II 68-9, HCD L-N 192 (Ht *marmarr(a)-* 'in terrain') || K \*°môlaer- > Zan \*môlar-ey > Mg *mere* 'lake' || A: M \*mören 'large river, lake, sea' > MM [MA] {Pp.} gen. *mörenü* 'of the sea, of a large river', [IsV] {Lg.} *mören* 'large river (fleuve), stream of water', [HI] {Ms.} *mürin* 'river (fleuve, rivière')', WrM *mören*, HlM *мөрөн* 'large river or lake', Kl {KRS} *мөрн* *mörän* 'river (falling into a sea)', {Rm.} *mörñ* 'breiter Fluß', Ord *mörön*, MnR H {SM} *murōn* 'river', MnR M {Pot.} *mururn* 'the Huanghe', Dgr *mûr(ù)* 'river' ¶ MED 548, Pp. MA 24O, Ms. H 76, Lg. VMI 55, SM 25O, T 347, T DgJ 155, KRS 36O, KW 267 || pKo {S} \*mír 'water' > MKo *mil*, NKo *mul* ¶ S QJ #97, Nam 229, MLC 675 || ?φ pJ {S} \*mí(-n-tú) 'water' > OJ *mijidú*, J: T *mìzu*, K *mízú*, Kg *mí]*, Ns *mùží*, Sh *mížì*, Ht *mìžt*, Y *mín* ¶ S QJ #87, Mr. 483, Vv. AEN-d 2-3 (< \*mi- < \*miri) ¶ S AJ 28-9, 69, 86, 278, SDM97 (s.v. \*mú:ri), DQA #1335 (A \*mijúri 'water'), Vv. AEN-d 2-3 (all of them: M, Ko, J + unc. Tg \*mū 'water' [see N \*mûhi 'water']); in addition, Vv. adduces Tk \*-mur in \*jaymur 'rain' ◇ IS II 6O-1 [#294] (\*märá 'moisture, moist'; does not distinguish between this etymon and N \*márñ 'rain, cloud' [q.v.]) → S CNM 3. The presence of the specific meaning 'body of water (sea, lake, river, pool)' in Eg, IE, K, and M suggests that this is not an independent parallel semantic change, but is the ancient meaning of the √, so that it must be distinguished from N \*márñ '↑'. Connecting words for 'sea' and 'cloud' is hardly justifiable ◇ ≈ Gr. II #415 (\*mor 'water') (IE, A, Ko, J + unc. CK).

**1462.** \**mur*Δ '≈ twist, roll, go round, tie' > **HS:** C: LEC {Bl., HL} \*mar- {HL} 'be round \ wrapped, turn \ twirl' > Or {Grg.} *mara* vt. 'wrap', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} *mara* 'go round, turn, spin a tread, wrap', Or Wl {Bl.} *marata* 'cloth wound around head and waist', Gdl {Bl.} *mar-* 'coil, roll up', Kns {Bl.} *mar-* 'roll up, meander', Sml {ZMO} *ku mar-* 'tie sth. up with sth. else', *mar(-ta)* 'woman's belt', {Bl.} *mar-m-ad-* (caus. + ben.) 'put on clothes', Rn *mar-* {PG} v. 'go round, circle, revolve', {HL} 'be round', Bs {HL} *mara-mut-* vi. 'turn', Arr {Hw.} *mar-* 'be wrapped \ wound round, Af {PH} *maro*, *marmāru* 'circle', *marrōwe-* v. 'encircle', *márrōw* 'encirclement', *marmorite-* 'go round' ¶ Bl. 156, PG 219, HL 129, Grg. 278, Sr. 364, ZMO 277-8, Hw. A 383, PH 164, ≈ Ss. B 140-1 || Om: SOM: Ari {HL} *mār-* v. 'twirl' || NrOm: Ym *mar-* {HL} v. 'gird', {Lm.} 'einen Verband anlegen' (← Or?) ¶ HL 129, Lm. Y 366 || CS \*-mūr- > Ar ✓ *mwr* G (ip. -mūr-) vi. 'move to and fro', 'move within a wounded person' (of a sword), 'be in commotion' (sea), BHb inf. *N המֹר him'mōr* 'schwanken', N pf. (paus.) נָמַר nā"mār vi. 'he altered', Sh pf. אָמַר hē'mīr vt. 'he exchanged, altered', JEA ✓ *mwr* Sh (pf. ?ā'mēr) vt. 'exchange' ¶ KB 531, Js. 748, Hv. 739, BK II 1166-7 || Eg fMd, DEg *mr* v. 'tie', Cpt **ΜΟΥΡ** *mur*, **ΜΕΡ**- *mer-*, **ΜΟΡ** *mor-* id. ¶ EG II 105, Er. 106, Vc. 119 || WCh: Pr *mérú-r̥*, Su {ChL} *muyer*, Ang {ChL} *myer*, Gmy {ChL} *mīyōr* 'twist' ] Possibly Ch \*✓ *mrd* ~ \*✓ *mrkd* 'twist' > Hs *múrdā* / *múrdē*, Gw {Mts.} *mírińa*, Klr {ChL} *móřújì*, Krkr {ChL} *múrdú*, Ngm *márdít*, Bl {Lk.} *markud-*, My a *murđuszy*, Jmb {Sk.} *márgžd-*, Dir (← Hs?) *márdā*, Zar {Sh.} (← Hs?) *múrdí*, Bd *mářdátu* id. ¶ ChL, ChC || **K:** G *mor-* {DCh.} 'round off (округлять)', {Chx.} 'zu Rundholz machen' ¶ DCh. 831, Chx. 809 || **Ie:** NaIE \**mer-*, (+ext.) \**meragh-* ~ \**mergh-* 'tie together, twist': [1] \**mer-* > Gk μηρύομαι (Gk D μαρ-) 'zusammen- \ aufwickeln, winden' ({LS} 'draw up, furl [sails]; wind up [the strands of a torsion-engine]'), μέρμις (gen. μέρμιθος) 'cord, string, rope' || MDt *marren*. MLG *mōren* 'to tie', ON *merðr*, OSw *mierder*, miärdhe, Sw *mjärd*, Δ *mjärde* 'fish-basket (Fischreuse)' || [2] NaIE \**meragh-* ~ \**mergh-* > Gk βρόχος (< \*μρόχος) 'noose', μόροττον 'basket made of bark' || Ltv *mařga* 'Geländer, Bäume zum Anbinden der Pferde', ? Lt *mářka* ({P} < \**meragh-ska*) '(bed)sheet, fishing net' | Sl \**merža* > OCS **ΜΡѢЖА** *mrěža* 'net, snare', Blg 'мрежа 'net', OR **Μερεζά** *mereža* Δ *με'ρέжα* & *με'ρежа*, Uk *ме'режа* 'fishing net', R dim. *me'řekka* 'drawn-thread-work', SCR *mrěža* 'net; trap,

snare', Slv *mréža* 'net', Cz *mříža*, Slk *mreža* 'grating, lattice', OP *mrzeža* '€ (hunting \ fishing) net' || OIr *brágā* 'prisoner, hostage' ¶ P 733, EI 64 (\*mer- 'braid, bind'), FI 272, II 211, 231, Frn. 412, ESSJ XVIII 1O2-3, Glh. 425-6, Vr. 384, ≈ Vn. *B* 76 (OIr *brágā* 'prisoner' ← *brágā* 'throat, neck') || A \**mur*Δ > M \**mura* > MM [MA] *mura* 'bent', ? Kl {Rm.} *mur* 'uneben'; M \**muruyi-* > MM [IM] *muruy-* 'be bent\crooked', WrM *murui-*, HlM *муруй-* v. 'bend, be crooked, turn, meander', Ord *mu'rūī-* 'être courbe \ tortu' MnR H {SM} *mūrī-* 'être incliné d'un côté, être sinueux \ tortu'; M \**muruyi* > MM [MA] *murū*, [IM] مُرْعَى *muruy* 'bent', WrM *murui*, HlM *муруй* 'awry, slanting, bending', Ord {Ms.} *mu'rūī*, MnR H *mūrī* 'incliné d'un côté, sinueux, tortu', Kl T {Rm.} *mu'rū* 'schief, sich schlingernd, biegend' ({Rm.} < \**muruyi* or d. \**muri-gu*) ¶ Pp. MA 241, 442, MED 552, Ms. O 476, KW 269, SM 249-50 || Tg \**mūr-* 'go round, turn aside' > Ewk *muru-* id., Lm *mərək-* v. 'return', Ul *muru* adv. 'in the shape of a circle\sphere (кругло, шарообразно)'; Tg d. \**mūrukī*, \**mūrg-* 'round' > Ewk *muruku*, *murukā* 'circle', WrMc *murgiyeken*, *murgiyen* adj. 'round', *murki-* v. 'make round'; other derivatives: Ewk *mūrəlī* 'around', Lm *mərətī* 'circle', Ork "moroliqtu 'round; circle', morolimz adj. 'round' ¶ STM I 559 || T \**bür-* (= \**mūr-*) ~ \**bur-* (= \**mūr-*) v. 'twist' (× N \**būr*Δ 'to turn round, to rotate', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The variants with -u- ~ -ü- are due to contamination with different N words, e.g. \**būryi* 'to cover' (q.v.) and \**bōr'a* 'to pierce, to bore' (q.v.) || Ko: [1] (acc. to DQA) pKo {S} *muri* 'halo, ring (around the sun or moon)' > NKo *muri* ¶ S QK #842, MLC 658 ] [2] ? pKo {S} \**mīrī-* v. 'return' > MKo *mīrī-*, NKo *muri-* id. ¶ S QK #129, Nam 226, MLC 657 || pJ {S} \**márš* 'round' > OJ *maro*, J: T *màrui*, K *máru*, Kg *mári*, Ns *màrù-*, Sh *màrú*, Ht *múrù-*, Y *màrú-nká* ¶ S AJ 269 [#98], S QJ #98, Mr. 834 ¶ SDM97 (A \**mure* [or \*-r-] 'round; turn, return'), DQA #1369 (A \**múra* id.; rejects the adduction of pKo {S} \**mīrī-*) || D (d.?) \**murukk-* v. 'twist, twirl' > Tm *murukku* v. 'twist (as a rope), twurl, spin (as a potter his wheel)', *murukku* v. 'wringle, twist', Ml *murukku* n. act. 'twining, twisting, writhing', Kn *murukku* 'twist (the face) out of its natural shape, distort (it), give a different shape (to it)', Tl *murakaṭamu* 'turning', Klm *murgađileŋ* v. 'twist (a limb)', Krx *murkařā-* v. 'sprain' ¶ D #5012 || ??? D \**muri-* 'bend, curve' > Tm

muri v. 'bend', muri-muri v. 'curve, bend', Kn muri v. 'bend, be bent, grow crooked', Tu muri n. 'curve, circle', Tl murincuvt. 'turn', Prj murg- 'be bent', Gdb murg- 'bend (while peeping); bend down', Gnd muřitana 'be dislocated'; D → Prkr muria- 'twisted', OMrt murad- v. 'turn, twist' ¶ The variant \*mur- (if it belongs here) must go back to an extended stem (< \*mur-Hi-†\*muwri-?), because D \*-r- goes back to N \*r-clusters rather than to a N intervoc. \*-r- ¶ D #4977 || ?? U: FU \*m<sup>o</sup>r- > Er мурда- murda- 'turn aside, return from (свернуть, возвратиться)', {Ps.} 'um- \ zurück-kehren', Mk мрда- mъrda- vi. 'return' || OHg XVI marjul- 'become sprained \ dislocated (verrenkt werden)', XIX ki-maritt 'sprain, dislocate (verrenken)' ¶ ERV 394, PI 169, Ps. M 97, MTE II 846, EWU 938, IS II 74 ◇ It is not clear whether FU \*m<sup>o</sup>r- with its aberrant vw. \*r<sup>o</sup> (for the expected \*u) belongs here ◇ IS II 74-5 (\*muri 'скручивать' > HS, IE, U, A, D, K).

**1463.** \*murΔ 'break, crush, cut' > HS: EC \*mur- 'cut' > Dsn mür-, Or B, Kns, Msl, Sd, Kmb mur- id., Hd mur- 'cut, reap', Brj mur- 'cut, castrate', Gdl mur- 'cut person's genitalia to take trophy', Elm, Arr d. mur-i 'short', Arr muras- 'shorten' ¶ Bl. 294, Ss. PEC 23, Hd. 214, 294, 334, 387, 418, Grg. 295, To DL 519, Hw. A 386 || ?? NrOm: Kf {C} mureččo 'eunuch' || K G mor- v. 'trim (fallen trees)', Sv UB {IS ← ?} mur-in- v. 'break' (-in- is a caus. sx.) ¶ IS II 74, Chx. 8O9 || IE \*mer- v. 'crush, crumb' > L mortārium 'mortar' (← \*mr̥-tos 'rubbed away, pulverized') || ? Gk μαραίνω 'make so. waste away, wear sth. out', ps. ft. μαρανθήσομαι 'die away, waste away, decay' || ON merja (p. marða) 'schlagen, zerstoßen' ({EI} 'prick, sting'), OSw morþ 'bröckelige Masse, Abfall', Ic mor 'dust', ? OHG {Vr.} meren 'zerschlagen' (not mentioned in Kb. and OsS) || Sl \*mrvā 'crumb(s), small bit(s)' > Blg 'мръва 'piece of meat', Δ 'мръва' & 'мърва' id., 'fine dust', McDS мрвā 'crumb, small piece of meat', SCr mr̥vā 'crumb', Slv mrvā 'crumb, small bit', OCz mrvā 'fragment', Cz mrvā 'small pieces, litter', Slk mrvā 'hash, litter', Pmierzwā 'short-straw, straw litter', OR мєрвѧ mervā 'small waste of flax\cereals', 'refuge in wax', R Δ 'мервѧ 'small waste of flax' || OI mr̥nāti ~ mr̥nati 'crushes, grinds' (× IE \*mel- 'grind' < N \*mołΔ 'to pound') || Ht {Ts.} marriya- 'zerstückeln, zerkleinern' (not mentioned in CHD) ¶ P 735-7, EI 142, WH II 112; F II 174 and Ch. 666 (in both no clear et. of μαραίνω), Vr. 385, ESSJ XXI 151-4, Glh. 427, M K 672-3, M E II 319-2O, Ts. W 51 || A:

T \*mor- > VTt **мур-** mur- 'become rotten (as wood)' ('трухляветь'), {Rl.} 'mürbe werden, verrosten', ? ET {Rl.} پور pur 'verdorben, verfault'; (+ sx. \*-t) T \*mort □'fragile, brittle' > Tkm port, Uzмүрт mwrt id., Bsh murt, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg mort 'fragile, frail, brittle', StXk, Sg/Qb {Rl.} port, VTt murt id., VTt {Rl.} murt, SbTt Tb {Rl.} mort 'mürbe, morsch', d. StAlt бортىق, QK {B} portiq 'fragile', Chv L муртак murdak id. ¶ TatR 379, Jeg. 135, TkR 532, Jud. 532, BT 33, B DLT 189, BIG 158, Rl. IV 1271, 1365, 2125, 2190, 2194, Cl. xlivi (on the sx. \*-t), Jeg. 135 || ?σ Tg: Ewk PT murdunз- v. 'bark (a tree)' ¶ STM I 558 || **D:** [1] \*mur- 'break' > Tm mur\_i (p. -υ-) vi. 'break, give way as a branch', mur\_i (p. -ρρ-) vt. 'break (as a stick), cut', Ml mur\_i 'fragment, piece of cloth', murikka vt. 'break, cut', Kn mur\_i vt. 'break (off\down), crush, severe by fracture', Tl mur\_iyu 'be broken, severed', n. 'piece, crumb' ¶ D #5008 | [2] D \*mur- 'break' (× N \*muhrΝ 'part, piece' [q.v.]) > Tm mur\_i (p. -υ-) vi. 'break off, snap off, perish', muri (p. -ρρ-) vt. 'break off, snap off', Ml mūruka vt. 'cut, cut up (a hog, etc.), reap', Kt mury vi., vt. 'break' (of stick-like things), Td müry vi. 'break in two (a stick)', vt. 'break', Kdg muri 'make a cut', Tu muri 'an incision, notch', mūruni vt. 'mince, cut up', Tl muriyu v. 'break', Klm murk- 'split (wood), break', Nkr vi. 'break', Png mur- 'cut (horizontally)', Kui mroku inba 'snap off, be broken off', Krx muruk- v. 'abscind, amputate, cut in twain', murčr- 'get broken', Mlt murke 'cut in bits, cut across' ¶ D #4975 | **u** \*mura- v. 'crumble away, crumble to pieces', \*mura 'small bit, crumb' (× N \*muhrΝ 'part, piece') > F muren(e) 'crumb, particle, bit, fragment', muru 'crumb', murea 'crisp', murakka 'crispness', murtaa 'break, crack, crush', Es mure (gen. mureda) 'crumbly, friable' | Lp: N {N} moarrā- / -r- 'break to pieces (ice or frozen surface of snow)', morrē / -r- 'crumb, small bit (e.g. bread)', L {LLO} muor'hka- 'become brittle \ friable' (of wood, etc.) || ObU {Ht.} \*mūr- vi. 'break, be broken' > pVg \*mūr- > Vg: LK/MK mor-, UK/Ss mur- id., d.: LK/MK morl-, UK/Ss murl- vt. 'break partly, murtaa'; pOs {Ht.} \*moray- ~ \*maray- > 'break to pieces (zerbrechen)' > Os: V/Vy morī-, Ty mort-, Ymori-, D/K moray-, Kz mōri-, O mari- id., Ty mort- ~ imv. mīrta id., ds.: V/Vy mōrayəl- id., Ty mōraqtnt- id. | Hg mar- v. 'bite, corrode, mill' || Sm {Jn.} \*m̥r̥ibj- vt. 'break' > Ne: T d. мăрда-, T O {Lh.} мардă id., F {Lh.} vt. martā- 'stark schlagen', d. T мăркадă-, T O

*mark·æðā* vi. 'plötzlich durchbrechen', F *marokāttē* vi. 'zerbrach plötzlich'; Ng {Cs.} 1s obcj. *maru'?*ama, p. *marajuama* 'zerbrechen, zerschlagen'; En X {Cs.} *moke?*ibo?, En B {Cs.} *more?*ebo 1s obcj. 'break'; Slq MTz {KD} *murālta-*v. 'crumble', Tm {KD} *morənnab\_*, Slq Ch {KD} *mōrnau* 1s aor. id.; Kms {KD} *b̄ru'ūjābālām* 1s prs. 'I break, break to pieces' §§ Coll. 36, UEW 288, SK 352-3, Ht. #406, Jn. 87-8, Cs. 74, 306 §§ The variability of the vw. (Lp N q < \*u, but o:a < \*o:;) may be somehow connected with the merger of two N words within this U √ ◇ The vw. \*o (for the expected \*u) in T \*mor- is still to be explained ◇ IS II 75-6 (\**mur*₮ 'break, crush' > HS, IE, K, U, D, A; ties in some reflexes of N \***muhr**₮ '↑' and N \***m**₮R₮, C₮ 'to crumb, to crush' [q.v.]), UEW 288 (U, IE).

**1464.** \***muR**₮ (= \***mur**₮?) 'go away, perish, die' > **HS:** S \*√ mrr G 'go away, pass' (×N \***m**₮Ar<sup>ū</sup> 'trace, path; to follow, to trace'?) > Ug √ mrr G 'go away', {OLS} 'partir, marchar', Ar √ mrr v. G (pf. <sup>ω</sup> marra) {Fr.} 'transivit, præterit; abiit', {Hv.} 'elapse' (of time), 'pass', Jb C √ mrr v. G (pf. mirr, sbjn. 'yummur'), Jb E √ mrr v. G (pf. mir), Mh √ mrr v. G (pf. mɔr) v. 'pass', Hrs √ mrr (pf. mʌr) 'continue, go', Ak √ mrr v. 'go away' § A #1658, OLS 292, Fr. IV 163-4, Hv. 713, BK II 1082-3, Jo. M 268, Jo. J 173, Jo. H 89, Sd. 609 || C: EC \*mar- 'pass, go' > Sml mar- 'pass (through\by\along)', Rn mar- 'move across (to one side of the house)' (of a woman after childbirth); Af {PH} mare scv. 'continue, live'; HEC {Hd.} \*mar- 'go' > Brj {Ss., Hd.}, Ged/Hd/Kmb {Hd.}, Sd {Gs., Hd.} mar- 'go' § ZMO 277, PG 219, PH 164, Hd. 71, 211, 254, 293, 332, 385, ≈ Ss. B 140-1 (err.: \*mar- 'go' < 'go round' [cp. N \***mur**₮ '≈ twist, roll, turn round']) || IE \*mer-/\*mr- 'die' > OI mri'yatē 'dies' (aor. a-mr<sub>ø</sub>-ta, pf. ma'māra), OI BdhSk marati, Av miriyeite (= ma'ryeite) id., OPrs a-mariyatā 'he died' || Arm **մեռանիս** meñanim 'I die' || L morior / inf. mori 'die' || Lt miřti (prs. miřštu), Ltv miřt (prs. miřstu) 'to die', Lt d. mèris, mìre 'death', miřé 'dead' | Sl inf. \*mer-ti (1s prs. \*mъr-q) 'to die' > OCS **мрети** mrěti (prs. **мърж** mъrq), SCr mréti ѧ mrijéti (prs. mrém), Slv mréti (mrém), Cz mříti, Slk mriet', P mrzeć, OR **мерети** mereti id., R **мереть** 'to die' (of many people) (prs. **мрү**), with pxs.: **умереть** 'помереть' 'to die', Uk 'мерти (мрү) 'to die', Blg **мра** > **мра** 'I die' ] ↳ NaIE caus. \*mor-ej-

'cause to die' > OI 3s prs. *mā'rāya-ti* || Sl \**mor̥iti* id. > SCr *mōr̥iti*, Slv *mor̥iti*, Cz *mořiti*, Slk *morit'*, P *morzyć*, R *морить*, Uk *морити*, OCS cd. **ѹмѹрнти** u-*moriti* | Lt *mariinti* vt. 'starve (verhungern lassen), exterminate; attend a dying person' ] NaIE d. (pp.) \**mṛ̥-to-* 'dead' > OI *mṛ̥ta-*, Av *mərəta*, OPrs *marta-* id. || Lt *mirtōji dienā* 'day of death' ] NaIE \**mṛ̥t-u-o* (< \**mṛ̥-to* × \**mṛ̥-u-o*) 'dead' > L *mortuus* || Sl \**mṛ̥tvъ(jь)* 'dead' > OCS **мрътвъ** *mṛ̥tvъ*, Blg *мъртъв*, SCr *mṛ̥tav*, Slv *mŕtev*, Cz *mrtvý*, Slk *mŕtvu*, P *martwy*, R 'мёртвый', Uk 'мертвий' ] NaIE \**mṛ̥-to-* ~ \**mor-to-* 'dead', 'mortal' → 'human being' (× N \***marip** 'young man'?) > Gk *βροτός* 'human being' (← \*'mortal'), 'dead', [Hs.] *μορτός* (or *μόρτος*) 'human being; dead', d.: [Hs.] *ἔμορτεν* aor. 'died', OI 'martaḥ' 'man, mortal', Av *marəta* id., Sgd *mṛ̥t mṛ̥t* 'jedermann', NPrs **مرد** *märd* 'man', Arm **մարդ** *märd* 'person' ] NaIE \**ŋ-mṛ̥-to-* 'immortal' > OI *a'mṛ̥ta-*, Av *aməša-*, Gk *ἄμβροτος* ] d. NaIE \**mṛ̥-to-m* 'death' > OI *mṛ̥ta-* id., ON *mord*, OHG *mord*, NHG *Mord* 'murder', AS *mord* id., 'death' ] d. NaIE \**mṛ̥ti-* 'death' > Vd *mṛ̥tyu-h*, OI *mṛ̥ti-h*, Av *mərəti-* id. || L *mors* (gen. *mort-is*) id. || Lt *mirtis* id. | Sl (cd.) \**sъ-mṛ̥tъ* id. > OCS **съмрътъ** *sъmrъtъ*, Blg *смърт*, SCr, Slv *smṛ̥t*, Cz *smrt*, Slv *smrt'*, P *śmierć*, R, Uk *смерть* ] d. NaIE \**mṛ̥-u-* 'dead' > Clt: OIr *marb*, NIr *marbh* 'dead', Brtt {RE} \**marwos* id. > Crn *marow*, MBr *maru*, marf, Br *marv*, W *marw* 'dead' ] d. NaIE \**'mor-o-s* 'death' > OI *māra-* ~ *mara-* id. || Gk *μόρος* id., 'corpse', (here?) 'doom' || Lt *māras* 'plague, pestilence' | Sl \**morъ* id. > OCS **моръ** *morъ*, Blg, R *мор*, Uk *мір*, SCr *mōr*, Slv *mōr*, Cz, Slk † *mor*, P *mór* || Ht {CHD} *merr-*, *mirr-*, *mar-* 'disappear, go away, vanish, be\get lost, cease to exist', {Ts.} id., 'die off' ¶ WP II 276, P 735, EI 150 (\**mer-* 'die', \**mṛ̥-to-s* 'dead, mortal', \**'morto-s* 'person, mortal', \**mṛ̥-ti-s* 'death', \**mṛ̥-to-m* id., \**'moro-s* id.), M K II 594, 674-5, 696-7, M E II 318-9, 327-8, 371-2, MW 811, 827, F I 270-1, II 257, LS 331, 1147, Ch.197-8, 713, WH II 112-3, Kb. 696, KM 487-8, Ho. 226, Vn. M 19, RE 88, Hm. 552, Frn. 409, 457-9, ESSJ XVIII 101-2, XIX 250-1, and XXI 140-51, Glh. 423, 426-7, 567, Vs. II 602, 606, 651, 655 and III 685-6, Slt. 180, CHD L-N 293-5, Ts. E II 199-201 || **U:** FU (att. in Os only) \**°murv*- > pOs \**°murv* > Os K {PD} *mür-* 'be starving, starve almost to death' ¶ PD 1303, Stn. D 953 || ? **D** (in SD) \**mur-* > Tm *muri* 'perish, cease to exist', Kn *muri* 'destroy, put an end to, do away' (unless ← D

\*mur̥- v. 'break') ¶ ≈ D #5008 ◇ If D \*mur̥- belongs here, the N rec. must be \*mur̥N ◇ In IE the glide \*u (< N \*u) was lost due to phonetic laws: \*m̥u- > \*m- and \*-u > zero before a sonant (ffd. AD NVIE and AD NGIE) ◇ The semantic difference between this N word and N \*mæR̥h̥N 'be wounded, ill' and the phonetic difference (between their vowels) prevent us from identifying them as the same etymon, as long as we cannot explain Os \*u as cognate with M and Sm \*e ◇ ≈ IS 59-6O (\*m̥ār̥n 'be ill, die'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of the N etymon in question, N \*mæR̥h̥N '↑' [q.v.], and N \*m̥āR̥N, ēN 'be ill, wounded' [q.v.]), ≠ BmK #525 (\*mir-/mer- 'to stab, to pierce, to cause pain', etc.: unc. equation of IE \*mer-/\*mor-/\*mr̥- 'die' with S \*mar-atl' [sc. \*✓mr̥s] 'be[come] sick, fall ill', Eg mr̥ 'be ill; \*die [a ghost-meaning]', and D \*mer̥- 'oppress, pierce').

**1465.** \*m̥N R̥U 'ant' > IE: NaIE \*morwi- 'ant' > Av {Brtl.} maurvay- (/maori-), Sgd ?m̥wṛč, NPrs مور mūr id. || OIr moirb, MW myr, pl.: MW myrion, MBr merien, Crn muryon id. || Sl \*morvъ 'ant' > Blg Δ мраф, McdS Δ мрав, SCr, Slv mrāv, R Δ 'мурав 'ant', Blr 'мураў 'anthill'; d. Sl \*morvъjъ 'ant' > OCS мрави мravii, Blg мравей, R мура'вей, Δ мора'вей || mt. \*mouro- / \*meuro- > Gmc: ON maurr, Dn myre, Sw myra, Dt mier 'ant', ME mīre id., NE mire id. (in pis-mire) (↔ ON?), Gt Cr miera || \*morm- ({P}: tabuistic transformation) > Gk μύρμος, μύρμηξ 'ant' || ? L formīca id. ({WH}: dis. from \*morm-?) || Arm մրջիւն mṛžiwn ~ մրջիսն mṛžimn 'ant' ¶ WP II 306-7, P 749, EI 24, Brtl. 1152, Horn 222-3, Vn. M 6O, Vr. 38O, Vr. N 442, Fs. 357, ESSJ XIX 241-5O, Glh. 425, Blz NSS 361-2, F II 272-3, WH I 531-2, Bedr. 489 || K \*°m̥Nr̥s- > Sv: UB {GP} məršk, UB/LB/Ln məšk 'ant' (× N \*m̥ūśN 'insect, fly, ant', q.v.) ¶ TK 594, GP 223, Ni. s.v. Муравей || HS: Ch: P' {MSk.} mamári 'black ant' || MfG {Brr.} mámbərzáy 'ant' ¶ Brr. MG II 177, ChC.

**1466.** \*m̥N R̥N '(hollow) hand; to grasp' > IE: NaIE \*mar- 'hand', \*mar-n- v. 'grasp' > Gk μάρη 'hand' || pAI {O} d. \*mar-na- > Al marr (aor. mora) 'take, grasp' || Vd mr̥'nāti, mr̥'nati 'robs, seizes' ¶ ≈ P 74O (IE \*mə-r / gen. \*mə-n-es, mn̥'tos 'hand'), F II 175, Ch. 667, O 246, Huld 89-9O, Dmr. 257-8; ≈ M K I 673 and ≈ M E II 32O (\* ÷ Gk μάρνασθαι 'fight'); ≈ EI 254-5 (\*mehar̥ / \*mh̥ar̥'n-os 'hand', see N \*maṇy̥ū 'paw, foot\leg of animals') || HS: S \*°✓m̥wṛ (\*-mūr-)

\*'acquire' (< \*\*'grasp by hand') > Sr  $\checkmark$  mwr (ip. -mūr) G 'buy (corn)', Aram  $\rightarrow$  Ak NB māru 'to buy' ¶ Br. 377, CAD X/1 317, JPS 259, HJ 605 || C: Bj {R}  $\checkmark$  mry (~  $\checkmark$  mrw?) G pcv. (imv. meri ~ mēru, 1s: p. 'amri ~ 'amru, prs. aman'rī; prtc. 'merya, 'mēra) 'take', {Rop.} miri, meri pcv. 'find, get' ¶ R WBd 171-2, Rop. 218 || ??? Eg G m̥w.ty (?) 'arms' (-ty is a sx. of f. du.) ¶ EG II 28 || U: FU (in Ugr only) \*m̥r̥ 'hollow hand' > OHg XIII marok 'hollow hand, handful', Hg marok, Δ marék & morok & marák '(hollow of the) hand', Hg markol- v. 'grasp, grip, clutch, seize' | pOs \*murəs > Os: K {Ps.} murəs 'distance between the lower edge of the palm of hand to the tip of the thumb (as a unit of length)', D murəs 'vershok (a Russian unit of length)', Ty/Y f {Trj.} murəs 'distance between stretched fingers, четверть (a unit of length)' ¶ UEW 872, EWU 940, PD 1296, Stn. D 964-5, Trj. S 270 || E: mā(r)-rī 'grasp, hold, catch' ¶ HK 881, 884-8 ◇ ADb. MRS 22 (IE, U + err. D).

**1467.** \*μιγρα 'emit vocal sounds (shout, sing)' > K: MG, G myera 'song, singing (Singen, Gesang); play', G myer- {Chx.} 'sing', si-myer-a 'song' ¶ DCh. 914-5, Chx. 863-4 || U: FU \*mura- 'shout, sing' > Er moro, Mk mor 'song', Er/Mk mora- v. 'sing, play music' | pChr \*murъ ({Ber.} murā) > Chr: L мураш mu'r-aš, Н мыраш 'mъr-aš 'to sing', B/Uf mure- 'sing', L муро 'mur-o, Н мыры 'mъrъ, B muro 'song', Uf muro 'Gesang' || Os: Vy mora- v. 'shout (at the arrival of rowers to the village, bringing an official)', V moray- 'make big noise' (of people) (× N \*m̥u'ř́ 'make loud noise' [q.v.]) ¶ Coll. 99, UEW 287-8, It. #272, Ber. 39, MRS 334-5, 342, Ep. 73, Ü 129, Stn. D 956-7, Trj. S 262 || A: AmTg \*mura- v. 'shout' > Ork mura-, Ul, Ork mura-, Nn Nh/B/KU mora- id. (× Tg \*mojura- v. 'low, roar, bellow' [of animals] < N \*m̥u'ř́ '↑'?) ¶ STM I 546-7 || D \*mur- > Tm mural v. 'emit sounds, cry, sing', Kdg morad- v. 'weep', more 'lamentation', Tu moræ v. 'cry', muriya n. 'cry, weeping', Klm moray- v. 'produce musical sound' (bell, etc.), morp- v. 'play (flute), ring (bell)', Mlt mure v. 'speak, say yes or no', possibly also Tl morayu, Nkr moray- v. 'sound', Ml muraluka, muruluka, Kn moral v. 'hum, grunt, growl' ¶ D #4973 || ?σ HS: S \* $\checkmark$  mry > Ar  $\checkmark$  mry Sh (pf. ?amraya) v. 'chat', {BK} 'bavarder, babiller' (× ← Ar ?amraya v. 'slaver') ¶ BK II 1094, Hv. 716 ◇ IS MS 345 s.v. 'кричать' \*mura (U, D) ◇ If the Ar verb belongs here, the N rec. must be \*murga - \*mugra (unless the Ar root is explained by mt.).

**1468. \*muhr $\nabla$**  'part, piece' > HS: WS \*'muh $\nabla$ r- 'dowry, marriage portion; property' > Ar mahr- 'dowry, nuptial gift',  $\checkmark$ mhr G (pf. mahura, ip. -mhur-) 'assign a dowry to a woman', BHb מָהָר 'mohar 'dowry, bride price', Ug {OLS} mhr 'dowry' ('dote, precio\compensación por la esposa', {Grd.} 'marriage price'), IA מָהָרָא mhr $\text{?}$  'dowry', JA [Trg.] {Js.} מָהָרָא muh'rā 'bride price; the wife's settlement, widowhood', JEA {Sl.} מָהָרָא muh'rā 'an endowment pledge collectable upon the dissolution of the marriage', Sr מָהָרָה mahrā 'marriage portion, gift from the bridegroom to the bride; marriage dowry', Sb mhrt 'wealth, possessions',  $\checkmark$ mhr Sh (pf. hmhr) (?) 'levy payment, imposer un paiement', Mn {MA}  $\checkmark$ mhr 'fixer le dot', Qt {Rk.} mhrt 'possessions' ¶ Fr. IV 216, BK II 116O-1, Hv. 737, KB 525, HJ 6O1-2, Grd. UT #1441, ~ A #1531, OLS 267-8, Br. 376, Br. G I 194 [§ 74b], Js. 739, Sl. 646, JPS 256, Ln. 274O, MA 6O, Rk. 94 || B \*\*-muHr- > \*-mūr- 'part, portion' > Kb, Izd a-mur (pl. i-mur-ən) id., Tmz a-mur (pl. i-mur-ŋ) id., 'share' ¶ Dl. 513, MT 427-8, Mrc. 186 ¶ The long vw. (reflected in the B lgs. as u) suggests the presence of a N lr. || D \*mur- 'piece' (x N \*mur $\nabla$  'to break, to crush, to cut' [q.v. ffd]) > Tm muri 'piece, bit broken off', Kt mury 'small piece', Tu murku 'fragment, piece, bit', Tl muri, muriya 'a bit, piece', ? Nkr murnde 'a quarter (of bread)', ? Ku mukə 'small piece' ¶ D #4975 ¶ D \*-r- is a reg. reflex of \*-r-clusters (in this case of \*-hr-) || u \*mura 'small bit, crumb' (x N \*mur $\nabla$  '↑' [q.v.]).

**1469. \*mari $\nabla$**  'young man, young male' > HS: S \*ma(:)ri?- 'man, male person' (→ 'husband, lord', 'boy') > OA, IA, Nbt, Plm mr $\text{?}$  'lord'; the var. \*māri?- (> \*māriy- with a \*-y-, appearing in hiatus after the loss of -?-) > BAr מָרָא mā'rē 'lord', +ppa. מָרָיִ?-'ā 'my lord', Sr מָרָה mā'r-ā ~ מָרָיִ?-'ā mār(a)'y-ā (with the former marker of definiteness -ā, which lost its meaning), Hmr {Rb., Slw.} māriy- 'lord'; the variant \*'mari?- (whence, due to the law of posttonic syncope, \*'mar?-) > Ar صَرْ mar?- (un) 'man, husband', Ak: OAk mar?-um ~ mer?-um, Ak OA mer?-u(m) ~ mar?-u(m), Ak OB mār-u(m) 'son, boy', OAk mar?-at-um 'girl' (d. with the marker of fem. -at-); denom. verbs: Ar  $\checkmark$ mr? 'den Männchen spielen',  $\checkmark$ mry v. 'be male' ¶ JH 166-7, HJ 682-9, Sd. 615-6, CAD X/1 3O8-16, KB 596, Br. 4O1, BK II 1O85, Rb. AWA 28, Slw. 197-8 || ? Eg fOK mr.t 'Hörige, Untertanen'

('so.'s men'), Eg MK/XVIII *mr* 'Angehörige jemds., seine Anhänger, seine Parteigänger' ¶ EG II 98, 1O6 || Ch: WCh {StL} \**mar̥i* 'slave' (< \*'so.'s man) > NrBc: Mbr *mar*, Sir *mar-*č̥ki, Jmb *maržu* 'slave' | Ron {J}: DfB *mōr*, Klr *mahór* (-h- is secondary?), Sha *moħ* (-ħ regularly from \*-r) 'slave', ? DfB *mára* 'male', *mār* 'boy' || CCh: ? BB: Nz *mūré*, Bt {Mch.} *mure* 'man, male animal', FIM *mūru*, FlB *mūrfn*, Bcm {Sk.} *mūré*, Mln *mūrò*, Gudu {IL, JI} *mīr*, {ChL} *mər* 'man (vir)' ¶ StL. ZCh 233 [#8O5], J R s.v., JI II 23O-1, J R 218-9, 353, ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 4O || IE: NaIE \**meryo-*, \**mer-* 'young man' (→ 'husband') > OI 'marya-ḥ', Av *mairyā-* 'young man', OI *marya'*kaḥ 'Männchen, Jüngchen', MPrs *mērag* 'young man, husband', Bct *μαρησο* 'servant' || Gk *μειράκιον* ntr. 'young man, lad', *μειραξ* 'young girl, lass', (later) 'lad' || L *maritus* 'married man, husband', lit. 'one possessed by a wife' (< \**mr̥-i* 'wife', «*МУЖ-НЯЯ*») || W *merch* 'girl, daughter', Br *merc'h* 'girl, woman', pl.: W *merched*, Crn *myrhes*, Br *merc'ed* 'maidens'; OBr, OCrn *moroin* (< \**morignā*) 'virgo = girl', Crn *moren*, W *morwyn* 'maiden, virgin' || ? Gt Cr *marzus* 'wedding' (< \**marθ-hūs* '≈ marriage house?') || Lt *marti*, Pru *mārti-n* (accus. sg.), *mārtan* 'bride'; ?? +ext.: Lt *mergā* 'peasant girl', dim. *mergēlē*, *mergaitē* 'girl', Ltv *mērga* 'girl', Pru *mergo*, *merga* 'virgin' ¶ WP II 281, P 738-9, EI 656 (\*'*merjō-s* 'young man', \**merihā-* 'young woman'), Mn. 76O, IS II 39, M K II 596-7, M E II 329, F II 195-6, WH II 4O-1, YGM-1 331, Fs. 348, Flr. 26O, ECCE 1O5, LP § 271, Frn. 412, 439-4O, En. 2O8 || D \**mar̥i*, {GS} \**mad̥-i* 'son, child, young of animals' > Kn *mar̥i* 'young of an animal, child', Tm *mar̥i* 'young of ungulate (sheep, horse, deer, etc.); female ruminant; deer', Ml *mar̥i* 'offspring, young of animals, young deer', Kt *mayr*, Td *mar̥y*, Tu *mar̥i* 'a young animal', Tl *mar̥aka* 'kid', Gnd *mar̥i* ~ *mari/mar̥i* ~ *mar̥i* 'son', Knd *mar̥in* 'son', *mē-mari* 'husband, man', Png *mazi* 'son', Kui *mriēnžu* ~ *mriēnži*, Ku *mi̥resi* ~ *mr̥esi* 'son', Brh *mār* 'son, boy, lad' ¶ D #4764, GS 157 [#392] || ? K: pSv amb \**māra-i* 'person, man' (\*-i nom.) > Sv L/UB *māre*, Sv LB *märe* id., unless a loan from the Nakh lgs. (Chechen *mār*, Batsbi *mar* 'husband') ¶ GM S 166, Dn. s.v. *māre*, GP 212, Dn. s.v. მარე, IS II 4O || A: Tg: Nn Δ *marin-* v. 'marry a man' (STM I 539); see also the Tg stem \**mīrēn-* v. 'marry' (of a woman) > Ork *mīrən-*, Ul *mirən-*, Ewk *mirən-*, and Lm *mīerən-* v. 'marry a man' (F Ci. 1O9, Mng. TS 34). If it belongs here, its

\**ī* may be accounted for by regr. as. caused by the N vw. \**i* of the second syll. IS reconstructs the N etymon as \*mayr $\nabla$ , which is based on an untenable rec. of the Tg  $\sqrt{}$  with \*ay. Closer examination proves that there is not enough ev. to reconstruct here a cns. \*y. The only apparent ev. is the diphthongoid  $\overset{\cdot}{e}$  in Lm in the verb *m̄erən-* v. 'marry' (of a woman) and in the related Lm nouns *m̄erən* 'marriage (of a woman)' and *m̄erənn̄* 'bride' (STM I 538-9, LW 690-1). But acc. to the sound laws established in Tg historical phonology (Ci. and Mng. TS), the Lm diphthongoid  $\overset{\cdot}{e}$  goes back not to the pTg diphthong \*ja (which, acc. to IS, goes back to N \*ay), but to the pTg vw. \**ī*, hence the Tg verb in question must be reconstructed not as \**m̄iar* $\nabla$ -, but as \**m̄irə-n-* to marry' (of a woman) (whence the abovementioned reflexes in Ork, Ul, Ewk, and Lm) (F Ci. 109, Mng. TS 34). As to the Tg diphthong \*ja, it regularly yields quite a different vw. in Lm, namely  $\overset{\cdot}{æ}$  (sc. æ with palatalization of the preceding cns.) (Mng. TS 34) ¶ ≠ DQA #1305 (A \**m̄iarṛā* 'male, mature': unc. comparison of the Tg  $\sqrt{}$  with pJ \**m̄ṛā* 'penis') ◇ IS II 39-40 (#277) (N \**m̄ajra* 'young male') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #63 (\**mer* 'child') (IE, U, Ai).

**1469a.** (2?) \**maRi?* $\nabla$  (or \**‘maři?* $\nabla$ ) 'animal fat' > HS: S \* $\sqrt{mr?}$  v. 'fatten' > Ug  $\sqrt{mr?}$  G vi. id., Ak  $\sqrt{mr?}$  (inf. *marā?*u, *marū?*) id., BHb d. מָרִיא mā'rī 'fatling' ( $\leftarrow$  pp. 'fattened one'), Ar  $\sqrt{mr?}$  G {Hv.} 'be wholesome' (of food), {BK} 'profiter à qn., tourner à la santé de qn.' (les aliments sains) ¶ A #163, OLS 288, KB 600, CAD X/1 306-8, 316-7, Sd. 617, Hv. 714, BK II 1085 || EC: Or {Grg.} *mōra* 'fat, cattle fat', Kn {BISO} *mōr-a* 'abdominal or kidney fat', Brj {Ss.} *mōr-i* 'id. ({Ss.}  $\leftarrow$  Amh), Alb *mōr-a* 'fat', Gdl {Bl.} *mōr* 'stomach fat', Sml *mōr* 'sealing-wax', Rn *mōr* 'fat around the intestines and stomach', C  $\rightarrow$  Amh マラ mora 'animal fat, subcutaneous fat covering the ventral region' ¶ Grg 291, PG 237, L CAD 19, Ss. EDB 147, ZMO 94, BISO 118, Bl. G 83, Blz. RL 258 || Ch: CCh: Bt {Srp.} *māré* n. 'fat', {MCh.} *mārē* id., 'oil', Bcm {Mch.} *mare* n. 'fat', {Sk.} *māré* 'oil', Gude {Hsk.} *mārá*, {IL} *mařa*, Gudu {IL, ChL} *mar*, Nz {Mk., ChL} *mare*, FIM {ChL} *mīru*, FIB {ChL} *māřt̄n* 'oil' || Tr {Nw.} *mar* 'oil' || WCh {StL} \**mawr* $\nabla$  ~ \**miwra* 'fat', {AD} 'oil' > pAG {Hf.} \**m̄w̄z̄r* 'oil' > Su {J} *m̄w̄ž̄r*, Ang {Brq.} *m̄w̄ž̄r*, {Hf.} *m̄w̄ž̄r*, Gmy {Hf.} *m̄w̄ž̄r*, Kfr {Nt.} *m̄w̄ž̄r*, Cp {ChL} *m̄r* id. | Klr {J} *mār*, DfB/Bks {J} *bār* id. | Krkr {J} *marū*, {ChL} *mārū*, Gera {Sch.} *mori*, Grm {Sch.} *mōrī*, Ngm {CgL} *mōr*, Krf {ChC} *mūrū*, Bl {Mk.} *mōr* id. | Kir {Sh.} *mār*, Tala

{Sh.} *mīr*, Zul {Sh.} *miri*, Buli {Sh.} *mīr*, Zem D {Sh.} *mjer*, Zar {Sh.} *mīr* id. | Ngz {Sch.} *mīrāk* (pl. *mīrārin*) id. || ECh: Suk {IL} *mīrid* id. ¶ JI II 133, ChC s.v. 'fat' and 'oil', ChL, Hsk. 233, Stl. ZCh 233 [#8O3], Hf. AG #53, J S I 76, Nt. 28, J R, Sch. DN 105 || A: M \**mariya-* > MM [S] *mariya(n)* 'flesh (of a person), body', WrM *mariya*, *miriya*, HIM *мария* 'body, flesh; corpulence, pudginess', Brt *маряа(н)* 'corpulence, stoutness, fatness', WrM *mariyazī-*, HIM *мариажи-*, MnR H {T} *maraža-* 'become fat, pudgy, or stout', {SM} *maraž\_iä-* 's'engraisser, prendre de l'embonpoint', *mara* 'chair, corpulence', *marad\_u* adj. 'fat' (esp. of animals), {T} *mara* 'stout' ('полный, дородный') ¶ H 108, MED 529, Chr. 294, SM 233, T 344 || possibly also IE: NaIE \**smeru-* n. 'fat, ointment' (× N \***Sämir**  $\nabla$  'fat' [q.v. ffd.] and possibly N \***meřūq**  $\nabla$  'to smear' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≈ IS II 61-2 (? \**meř* $\Delta$  'fat, to smear': HS (including an unc. comparison with some S roots), ? M; does not distinguish this N etymon from N \***meřūq**  $\nabla$ ) ◇ Not here D \**mu(:)r-* > Tm *murańcu* 'be full, abundant', *mūri* 'strength, greatness', Tu *mūrъ* 'fat, stout, corpulent', Tl *mūru* 'increase, be full'. This D  $\checkmark$  (or at least Tu *mūrъ*) may be connected with N \***mur<sub>1</sub>? $\nabla$ gE** 'animal fat, brain' (q.v.). If nevertheless (in spite of the semantic distance) the D  $\checkmark$  belongs here, the N reconstruction may be ≈ \***maw<sup>r</sup>i?**  $\nabla$  (for \*-w- cp. WCh \**ma|iwr*  $\nabla$ ) ◇ NaIE \**s-* may be either original (sc. pointing to a N \*-ř- in N \***maři?**  $\nabla$ ) or due to the contamination with N \***Sämir**  $\nabla$  and N \***meřūq**  $\nabla$  '↑' (in such case the N rec. must be \***maři?**  $\nabla$ ).

**1470.** \***mæR<sub>1</sub>h**  $\nabla$  (= \***‘mæř<sub>1</sub>h**  $\nabla$ ?) 'be wounded, be ill' > HS: Eg fMd *mr* {EG, DW} 'be ill, ache; illness', {Fk.} 'sick, ill, diseased; painful', Eg fP *mr.t* {EG} 'krankhaftes, Krankheit; Böses, Schlimmes' ¶ EG II 96, DW I 376-82, Fk. 110 || S \*<sup>o</sup> $\sqrt{mr_1h}$  > Ar <sup>مَرِّهٌ</sup> *marih-un* 'ill, sick', *marihu-l-fuřādi* 'affected with heart-disease',  $\sqrt{mrh}$  G (pf. *mariha*, ip. -*mrah-*) 'be weakened' (of an eye) ¶ Fr. IV 173, Hv. 717 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} *mērō* 'illness', {Lm.} *mērō* id., 'pain' ¶ Wdk. BY 131, Lm. Y 366 || U \**m'eřr*  $\nabla$  > Sm {Jn.} \**mēryuъ* 'wound' > Ne: T *mērë*, T O {Lh.} *mēřw*, F NI *mīřřw* 'wound, sore'; Ng {Cs.} 'mearun, mearu id., {Mik.} 'meru 'pimple (pattanás)'; Kms {KD} *mēřw* 'wound', *mērařam* vt. 'I wound' ¶ Jn. 93, Ter. 249 || A: M: MM [S] *mer* 'wound', HIM *мэр* adv. (indeclinable word) denoting dull pain: *мэр гэж өвдөх* 'feeling of dull pain within one's body (chest, stomach, etc.)', ? WrM (< d. or cd.? ) *mermerki-* 'feel a slight pain at the pit of the stomach or in the

chest' ¶ H 1O9, MED 537, Luv. 253 || Tg: Ewk murdul- v. 'slaughter (a reindeer) ¶ STM I 558 || ?σ,φ pJ \*mjar- ~ \*majr- v. decrease, diminish, drain away' > OJ m̄j̄er- id., J: T meri n. 'loss, waste, leakage' ¶ S QJ #12OO, Mr. 475, 723, Kenk. 1213 ¶ ≈ DQA #1317 (A \*m̄j̄ore 'to hurt, to damage, to wound'; incl. M, Tg, J) || ?? IE: ? NaIE \*(s)mer- (+ ext.) 'pain, sickness' > L *morbis* (< \*mor-b̄o-s) 'disease, sickness' || Gmc \*smert- 'pain' > OHG smērzo ~ smērza, NHG Schmerz, MLG, MDt smērte, smarte, NE smart 'pain' ¶ ≈ WH II 11O-1, Kb. 917, OsS 833, ≈ KM 663-4 ◇ At the present state of research we cannot yet establish any genetic relationship between this N word and N \*muR $\nabla$  'go away, perish, die' ◇ If NaIE \*(s)mer- 'belongs here, the N rec. must be \*'mær̄h $\nabla$ , otherwise we remain with an unspecified \*R (N \*mæR̄h $\nabla$ ) ◇ ≈ IS II 59-6O (\*m̄är̄n 'be ill, die'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of the N etymon in question, N \*muR $\nabla$  '↑' [q.v.], and N \*m̄ä'R̄h $\nabla$  'be ill, be wounded' [q.v.]), ≠ BmK #525 (\*mir-/mer- 'to stab, to pierce, to cause pain', etc.: unc. comparison of Eg mr̄ 'be ill' with IE and D [*see* above s.v. N \*muR $\nabla$ ]).

**1471.** \*märiq $\nabla$  'spot, stain, (?) dirt' > HS: S \*°✓mr̄x > Ar ɬamraħu 'bigarré, tacheté de taches rouges et blanches' ¶ BK II 1O88 || IE: NaIE \*mer<sub>1</sub>a-/\*mor(u)- 'dirty, dark' > Gk μορυχ-\* v. 'soil, defile' (attested: prtc. pf. μεμορυχμένος 'soiled, blackened'), μορυχώτερον adv. cmpr. 'more obscurely' || Lt morāī pl. 'mould' | Sl \*marati 'to soil, to stain' > HLs marać, mórać, PΔ marać, OR მარათი marati, R ма'ратъ id. || Arm մուշյլ m̄shyl 'mist, darkness, obscurity' ¶ WP II 279-8O, P 734, F II 257, Frn. 464, ESSJ XVII 2O7-9 || A: Tg \*mer- '(be) motley, spotted' > Ewk m̄rīmz, m̄rīlz, m̄rīktz 'spotted, striped, skewbald, motley', m̄rīkz- 'make (sth.) motley', Lm Ol mārgi- 'be motley', Lm Okh mergi- vt. 'ornament', WrMc mersen 'small spots on feathers (пятнышки, пестринки), freckles', mersenge 'motley, freckled' ¶ STM I 571-2 || M \*meriyen > WrM {Pp.} meriyen 'bunt, scheckig, Schecke', Ord erēn merēn id. (unless a secondary M \*m-rdp. of \*eriyen 'motley, variegated') ¶ Pp. VG 35, MED 327 || T \*beřä- v. 'ornament, adorn' > OT bežä-, Tk beze-, Tkm beđe-, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qq beze-, Az bázä-, Uz beza- ~ beža-, VTt bizä-, Bsh bīđä- ¶ Cl. 39O, 392, Pp. VG 35 (on the NaT d. \*bežän-), ET B 1O5-6 || pJ {S} \*múrá 'spot(ted)' > ItOJ [RJ] mura, J: T mūra, K múrá, Kg múra ¶ S QJ #1O83,

Mr. 488 §§ S AJ 74, DQA #1286 (A \*meríru 'spot = πάτη'; doubts about the adduction of T \*bärä-, sc. \*berä-), Pp. VG 35 (T, M, Tg) || D \*mar- 'dirty spot, stain' > Tm maru 'stain, blot, spot (esp. on the moon), stigma', Ml maru 'spot, freckle', Tl maraka 'stain, blot, spot', Gnd marrō & marmor 'black mole' §§ D #4767 ◇ T \*-r- < \*-ry- < N \*-riq-. T \*e (rather than the expected \*ä) may be due to the palatalizing infl. of r̥. If the T cognate is rejected, the N rec. will be \*märā IS II 52 (\*mĀrā 'spot, dirty': IE, D) → BmK #539 (IE, D).

**1472.** \*m'a'rwē 'in tree' > HS: CS \*<sup>o</sup>marāw- 'in tree' > Ar marw- {BK} 'sorte d'arbre (macrúa)', {Fr.} [Kam.] 'in tree' ('nomen arborum'); S → Eg fOK mrw, Eg fXVIII mry 'in red wood of a coniferous tree from Syria' § BK II 1097, Fr. IV 175, EG II 108-9 || Eg OK/NE mr.t '≈ desk', Eg NE mry 'in a useful kind of wood (Holz)' § EG II 108 || EC: pKns \*múr-a 'forest' > Kns, Gato mura, Gdl mür id. § Bl. 255 || WCh: DfB {J} mēr 'tree' § J R 218 || U: FU \*m'o're 'in tree' > pLp {Lr.} \*mōrɔ 'tree, wood (Holz)' > Lp: L {LLO} muorra, Kld mÿpp mūrr id., S muore id., 'board', N {N} muorrā / -r- 'tree, wood, stake, pole' || OHg mórágy, ? morágy 'in wood (Wald) \ forest' (preserved in OHg XIII and modern Hg toponymy) | pOs \*mōr 'bush, shrub, thicket' > Os: V mōrt 'Busch', D mōrāy id., 'Strauch', Ty mōrt id., 'Dickicht, junger Nedelwald', Nz mōra 'Haufen, Menge (Bäume u.a.)' § The Lp vw. may go back to \*o or \*a, the Hg vw. may be from \*o, while Os \*ō are likely to point to \*u (< \*o due to the infl. of some labial phonemes of the word) § Coll. 97, UEW 281, ≈ 291-2, Lr. #92, Lgc. #4O2O, LLO 536-7, Hs. 951, SaR 198, MF 45O || A: pKo {S} \*mōrō 'wood, forest; mountain' > MKo mōrō id. § S QK #55, Nam 215 || pJ (S) \*mári 'forest' > OJ móri, J: T mōri, K móri, Kg móri § S QJ #213, Mr. 485 §§ ≈ DQA #1377 (\*mūro 'tree, forest'; incl. Ko, J) || D \*mar-, {GS} maran- 'tree, wood' > Tm, Ml maram id., 'timber', Kt marm, Td me·ñ, Kn, Tu mara, Kdg mara, Tl m(r)ānu, m(r)āku, Klm ma·k, Nkr mak, Prj meri, Gdb mar & marin & māren, Gnd mara & mara & mara & māra, Knd maran, Png, Mnd mar, Kui mrahnu & mānu, Ku mānu & marnu & mara, Krx mann, Mlt manu 'tree' §§ D #4711, GS 224 [#549] || ?? IE: Ht marmarr(a)- {CHD} 'in terrain', {Frd.} 'Dickicht' (acceptable if Frd.'s interpretation is true; but Ot. and El interpret it as 'swamp, marsh', cf. IE \*mor- < N \*mōRE 'body of water', q.v.) § Frd. HW 137, Frd. HW EH III 24, Ts. E II 14O-1, CHD L-N 192 ◇ IS II 45 (\*marā 'tree' > U, D, ? S) ◇ D \*-r- suggests a N cns.

cluster (\*-rw-?); U \* $\theta$  (tentatively reconstructed in the UEW) (for the expected \* $\alpha$ ) points to the presence of a N labializing factor (\*w?); D \* $\alpha$  may go back either to N \* $\alpha$  or to \* $\ddot{\alpha}$ , but the back vw. in the FU cognate suggests that N \* $\alpha$  is more plausible. The N cns. \*w survives in S ◇ ~ Gr. II #207 (\*mor 'hill') (U, A, J + unc. Ai, Gil, CK).

**1473.** \*maR<sub>L</sub>y<sub>N</sub> 'mul-, black- berries' > IE: NaIE \*mor- 'mulberry, blackberry' > Arm մոր mor 'blackberry, mulberry' || Gk μόρον id. || L mōrum id., mōrus 'mulberry-tree' (ō proves that it is not a loan from Gk) || OIr mēr (pl. mera) 'mulberry' ({Vn.}: ←b- Brtt?), W merwydd 'mulberry-trees', sglt. merwydden (cd. with gwydd 'tree'? ) || ? Ht muri-, muri(ya)n- 'cluster of grapes or other fruit' §§ ≠ P 749, EI 388 (\*'morom 'blackberry'), F II 256, Bois. 645, EM 738, WH II 114, Vn. M 40, YGM-1 331, CHD L-N 333 || HS: ? Eg {Budge} mr 'mulberry tree (morus tree)' (Palermo Stele, F Schäfer BAA IV 1149) § Budge I 314; the word is not confirmed by EG, Mks., and other reliable sources and is therefore qu.; Tk AAN 2 identifies the word with Eg mr.w 'Lebanese cedar (cedrus Libani)' (Hng. 348) (= Eg fOK {EG} mrw ~ mry ∈ 'coniferous tree'?) || K \*marçqw- 'strawberry' > eNG {SSO} մարչյզmarçqw-i, eNG, G մարչյցոmarçqv-i, Sv UB/Ln bäsqi, UB/LB bäsq id. §§ K 127, K<sup>2</sup> 115, FS K 209, FS E 230, SSO I 444, Chx. 675, TK 147, GP 91 §§ This is a cd. of N \*maR<sub>L</sub>y<sub>a</sub> + N ? \*c<sub>N</sub>m<sub>N</sub> 'fruit, berry' (a N etymon represented by K {FS} \*cimqw- 'strawberry or bilberry' > G cmqva, Mg cəm̥wa, cim̥wa 'strawberry', Sv UB {TK} cīnga, UB {GP}, LB/L {TK} cīnga, Ln {TK} cīnaqa 'bilberry' - F K 224 [\*cīngwa], FS K 400, FS E 450 [\*cimqw-], TK 838, GP 277) || U: FU \*marya 'berries' > F marja, Es mari id. | pLp {Lr.} \*mōryē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} muörjie, L/N {LLO, N} muor'je, Kld {TI} mūry | Er/Mk mār 'berries' (in cds.) | Chr: H mōr 'berry', B mōr, Uf mōrō 'garden strawberries' || ObU \*m<sub>N</sub>r- > pVg \*mār̄ > ML {Mu.} moāri, N {Mu.} mā:ri 'Stengel der Beere', N moriŋ/pil 'büschelige Beere'; pOs \*murap 'bunch of berries' > Os: VK murwa, Ty/Y/O murap, K/Kr mūrap, Nz/Kz mūrap id. § Coll. 97, UEW 264-5, It. #28, Ht. #407, Trj. S 270, Lr. #693, Lgc. #4018, Hs. 952-3 || A: pKo {S} \*mār̄'ūj 'grapes', {Vv.} 'wild grapes' > MKo mār̄'ūj, NKO māru, Ko SW {Mazur} morā 'grapes', ? Ko Chl {Vv.} melgwu, Ko Chj {Choy} melguy 'wild grapes' § S QK #246, Nam 212, MLC 608, Vv. AEN 10-1 || ?? T \*bürü-lgän 'in Rubus (berry)' (analyzed by IS as \*büri- + sx. -lig- + ancient plural parker -n) > Qmq bürülgen 'blackberries', VTt qara

բԵրլեցän id., զԵզъ1 բԵրլեցän 'bramble', Chv пёрлехен ръrlъ\_ен id.; acc. to IS, T \*bürü-lgän → WrM бүрүлгене, HIM бүрэлгэнэ 'Viburnum, қалина'; Az Qb müri 'strawberry' (quoted in IS II 44 and in AD NM #59) is rejected by Starostin (S CNM 4) as a loan from Lezgian and by Pp. (Pp. rISOS-II 223) who believes that it "is certainly not Altaic") ¶ TatR 93, KumRS 89; Jeg. 157, Dm. NRTAJ 175, 186, Rs. W 93 || Tg {ADb.} \*meruŋu > Ewk moroŋo 'cloud-berries' (→ Ne Т мăраңгă id.), Nn {On.} мîrзңкулз 'mountain-ash tree (Sorbus)' ¶ STM I 547, On. 263, Ter. 235 || ? M: WrM {Cev.} maril, HIM марил '€ red round fruit of a plant' ¶ Cev. 333 ¶ DQA #1285 (A \*méra '€ berry'), ADb. {p.c., 2OO2: drew my attention to the Nn cognate} ◇ AD GD #2 (IE, U, K), IS II 43-5 [#282] (\*marja 'berry' > IE, K, U, A), Bm. NM #432 (IE, Eg, U), Pp. rISOS-II 223 (rejects the adduction of WrM бүрүлгене and HIM бүрэлгэнэ 'Viburnum, қалина', proposed by IS), AD NM #59, Vv. AEN 1O-1 ◇ If T \*bürü-lgän belongs here and its vowels can be explained, the N etymon is \*mar\_y,▽.

**1473a. \*mAr\_y,▽** 'horned mammal' > HS: Eg MK mr 'Kampfstier' ¶ EG II 1O6 || S \*°✓mry > Ar مارِ māri-n 'jeune veau tout blanc', māriyat- 'jeune veau femelle au pelage blanc', ماریة māriy-at- 'antelope blanche', {Hv.} ماري māriy- 'white smooth-haired calf' ¶ Qu. because of the semantic component 'white' (infl. of Ar ✓mry 'presser les pis de la chamele pour en tirer du lait', miryat- 'lait qui sort du pis de la chamele'?) ¶ BK II 1O97-8, Hv. 718 || EC: Sa {R} 'mārū 'sheep, ram (Schaf, Schafbock, Widder)', mā'rū 'ewe', Af {PH} maruw ~ maruy 'ram'; Af marṣa 'male lamb' ¶ R S II 271, PH 164 || NOm {Blz.} \*mar\_r\_- 'buck, ram' > WI {LmS} mara 'lamb, kid', Omt {Mrn.} mārā 'giovane d'animale', Bdt {C} marrē 'pecora', Gm {Hw.} mára 'calf', Shn {LmS} merēra 'sheep' ¶ Blz. OL #154, LmS 465, Hw. EG, Mrn. O 151 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Zul {ChL} māri, Plc {ChL} mār, Buli {ChL} mar, {Grgs.} maro, Tala {Csp.} mār 'goat', ?σ Sy {Crn.} māriyá 'harness antelope' || CCh: Mtk {ChL} mari 'bull' ¶ ChC, ChL, Csp. 19, 4O || D \*mar- '€ deer' > Tm marai 'sambar, Indian elk; bison, wild cow', Kn mare '€ deer', Gnd maramām 'sambar'; OI → OI marūka- '€ deer' ¶ D #4724 || A: M \*maral 'female deer' > MM [S] {H} maral id., WrM maral, HIM марл, Brt марал 'red deer (Cervus elaphus sibiricus)', Kl марл mar] {Rm.} 'female deer'; M → Tkm, ET, Qrg maral 'female deer, Shor paral 'deer',

Qzq maral, R **марал** 'red deer' ¶ H 108, MED 529, KW 257, Chr. 293, Rs. W 327 ◇ N \*-r<sub>1</sub>y<sub>2</sub>- is very tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of D (D \*-r- suggests a N \*r-cluster), Eg (the absence of lr. in Eg mr rules out N \*-rH- or \*-Hr-), S \*°✓mry, and Af maruy (suggesting the presence of N \*y) ◇ Blz. DA 157 [#53] (HS, D).

**1474.** \*m<sub>1</sub>✓R<sub>1</sub>✓N<sub>2</sub>✓C<sub>2</sub> 'to crumb, to crush' > **HS:** S: [1] \*✓°mrθ > Ar ✓mrθ v. D 'crumb with fingers', or [2] ? \*°✓mrš > Ar ✓mrš G 'scratch and tear with fingernails' ({BK} 'gratter et déchirer avec les ongles'), {Hv.} 'scratch (the face)' ¶ Fr. IV 166, 169, BK II 1091, 1986, Hv. 714, 716 || IE: NaIE \*mers- 'crush, grind' > OI mašam kār-, mašma'sākar- 'grind to powder' || OHG morsāri 'mortar' (reshaped from L mortārium id.), MHG zermürsen 'to crush, to squash (zerdrücken, zerquetschen)', MDt zermorschen, NGr Sw morsen, mürsen 'to bruise, to crush, to pound (in a mortar)', MHG, NLG mursch, murs, NHG morsch 'decaying, frail', Dt (ver)morzelen 'to smash to pieces, to crush' ¶ P 737, M K II 604, ~ ME II 335, Kb. 697, OsS 621, KM 488-9 || U: FU: Hg morsza 'crumb, breadcrumb(s); morsel, bit', morszol- v. 'crumble' ¶ MF 421-2 ◇ If the legitimate Ar cognate is ✓mrθ, the N sibilant is \*-č-, which rules out the Hg cognate. If, however, Ar ✓mrš and Hg morsza belong here, the N sibilant is \*š or \*č, but in this case the semantic connection is less plausible.

**1475.** (2?) \*m<sup>r</sup>ä'R<sub>1</sub>✓N<sub>2</sub>✓č<sub>2</sub> 'be ill, be wounded' > **HS:** S \*✓mrš 'be(come) sick, fall ill' > Ug ✓mrš G 'be sick', mrš n. 'illness', Amr {G} ✓mrš, OA \_\_ mrk (= mrχ), IA mr⁹ 'illness', JA ✓mr⁹ G (pf. מְרַעַת ma'rət⁹) {HJ} 'be ill', {Js.} 'fall sick, be(come) weak', מְרֻעָת ma'rət⁹ adj. 'sick, suffering', JEA {Sl.} מְרֻעָת mar⁹ā (cs. מְרֻעָת ma'rət⁹) 'illness', Sr ✓mr⁹ G (pf. נִמְרַעַת, ip. נִמְרַעַת nem'rət⁹), SmA ✓mr⁹ G 'fall ill, become sick', BHb prtc. N נִמְרָאֵת nim'rāç {BDB} 'sore, grevious' (← 'made sick'), {KB} 'schlimm, schmerhaft', Ar مَرْضٌ✓mrḍ G 'be diseased\ill', Sb ✓mrš 'suffer from disease', Mh {Jo.} ✓mrš (= {Jo.} ✓mrž) (pf. mērɔš, sbjn. yɔmrōš) 'be ill', Jb E/C ✓mrš (pf. 'mirš, sbjn. yɔmrɔš = {Jo.} mirž / yəmrɔž) id., Hrs {Jo.} ✓mrš (pf. {Jo.} mērež) 'be unwell, be ill', Sq {L} ✓mrš Sh†(pf. hemrōš) 'guérir', Ak √mrš G 'fall ill, have a disease' ¶ A #1683, OLS 292-3, HJ 694-5, G A 25, Js. 845, Sl. 71O, Br. 405, JPS 302-3, Tal 486-7KB 604, BDB 599, Fr. IV 169, BK II 1019, Hv. 716, BGMR 87, Jo. M 271, Jo. J 174, Jo. H 9,

L LS 271, CAD X/1 269-76, Sd. 609, MiK I #2.42 || **U:** FU: Chr: L *merće-*, H *merce-*, inf. L *мерчаш* *mer'č-aš*, H *мерцаш* 'merc-aš 'be\grow ailing\sickly', {MRS} '(за)хиреть, (за)чахнуть', H {Ep.} *мэрцбік* 'mercək 'chronic disease; desabled person, invalid', {Ü} 'sickly (болезненный)', {Ps.} *merče-* 'kränklich \ gebrechlich sein' ¶ MRS 322, Ep. 70, Ü 131, PsS 71 || ?**σ IE:** NaIE: Lt *merdēti* 'agonize' (if Lt *d* may be a reflex of \**č* after a sonorant) ¶ ≈ Frn. 457 ◇ Chr *e* suggests a FU \*ä and hence a N \*ä ◇ ≈ IS 59-60 (\**mä́rə* 'be ill, die'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of the N etymon in question, N \***muR**▽ 'go away, perish, die' [q.v.], and N \***mæR h**▽ 'be wounded, be ill' [q.v.]), ≠ BmK #525 (\**mir-/mer-* 'to stab, to pierce, to cause pain', etc.: unc. comparison of S \*✓*mr̥s* with Eg *mr* 'illness', IE \**mer-* 'die', and D [*see above s.v. N \*muR*▽]).

**1475a.** <sub>2</sub> \***m<sup>ū</sup>rg**▽ '∈ (male?) horned animal' > **HS** \**mu|rg-* > EC \**mirg-* > Or *mirg-ō* 'half-grown male calf' (→ Hd *mirg-o?* id., Brj *mirg-ō* 'ox'), Gdl *mirk-ot* 'young bull trained for farming', Gln *mirk-iya* 'gazelle' ¶ Ss. B 145 || CCh: Gdr {Mch.} *mūrgo* 'he-goat' ¶ ChC || **D** \**mūr-* 'bovine' > Tm *mūri* 'buffalo; ox, bullock', Ml *mūri* 'bullock, ox', Ln *muri* 'bull, ox', Gnd *mura* ~ *mute* ~ *mūrā* ~ *mūṛā* 'cow' ¶ D #5041

**1476.** \***mur<sub>1</sub>?<sub>2</sub>rg**▽ (probably = \***mur<sub>1</sub>?<sub>2</sub>rgæ**) 'animal fat, brain', (?) 'marrow' > **IE:** NaIE \**mreg<sup>h</sup>-*/*mrg<sup>h</sup>-* 'brain; skull' > Gk βρέχμός, βρέχμα ~ βρέχμα ntr. 'forehead, top part of the skull' || MLG *bregen* ~ *bragen*, OFrs *brein*, AS *braȝen* ~ *bregen* 'brain', NE *brain* || Av {Ch. ← Bnv.} *mərəzav-*, *mərəzu-* 'vertebra of the neck and nape', Awr *möł*, Krd *möl(l)*, Luri *mul* 'nuque', Psh {Mrg.} *warmēž* (with the px. \**fra-*), {Asl.} *or'mež* 'neck' (semantic prehistory: \*'brain' → \*'skull' → \*'nape of the neck') ¶ ≈ WP II 314, ≈ P 750, ≈ EI 79-80 (\**'mreg<sup>h</sup>men-* ~ \**mreg<sup>h</sup>(m)n-o-* 'brain' with unj. \**g<sup>h</sup>*), Brtl. 1173-4, FI 266-7, Ch. 195, Ho. 32, Bn. AM 80, Brtl. 1174, Mrg. 89, Asl. 87 || **HS:** S \**mu᷍r-* 'marrow, brain' > JA {Trg.} מָוְקָרָא *moq'ra* id., JEA {Sl.} מָוְקָרָא *mu᷍rā* 'cranium, brain', Sr <sup>جُهْمَةٌ</sup> *muk'rā* 'yolk of the egg', Md *mukra* 'marrow, sperm, brain, gelatinous matter, living substance, plasma', Ak {Sd.} *mukāru(m)* 'eine weiche Masse (?)' ({CAD} "meaning uncertain") ¶ Lv. III 56, Lv. T III 18, Sl. 649, Br. 400, PS 2047, JPS 259, DM 262, Sd. 674, CAD X/2 212 || **A:** Tg \**burgu* (< \**burge*) 'fat' > Ewk *burgu* 'subcutaneous fat', Ewk, Sln *burgu* adj. 'fat', Lm *bərgə* ↗

bòrgò  $\triangleq$  burga, Lm A burgz, Neg boygo ~ bzygз, Orc boggo, Ud bogo, U1 božo(n-) ~ bužu(n-), Ork bod(d)o(n-), Nn Nh buygu id. ¶ STM I 112, Krm. 213 ¶ The denasalization \*m- > Tg \*b- has not yet been explained || D: [1] \*°mūr- > Tu mūrъ 'fat, stout, corpulent' || [2] ?φ \*mū]- (~ \*mūr-?), {GS} \*mū]- 'brain, marrow' > Tm mūlai, Ml mūla id., Kt mi·], Tl mūlagā, Klm mull, Prj nulli, nūlgum, Gnd muře, muřonži, Knd muřva, muči, Krx murmā 'marrow', Kui nīli id., kāda-mūla, mūla, Tu mūle 'brain', Brh mīlī 'marrow, brain, kernel of nut' ¶ D #497O, 5051, Pf. 4O [#233], GS 52 [#13O] ¶ The origin of D \*-]- (< \*-r?-??) is not yet clear ◇ The glottalization \*-g- > \*-k- in S and D \*-r- (regularly from a N \*r-cluster) suggest the presence of a N glottalizing cns. (sc. \*?). Cf. N \*maRi?Δ (or \*'maři?Δ) 'animal fat'.

**1476a.** (2?) \*mäR<sub>1</sub>k<sub>2</sub>?Δ 'think, believe, be clever' > HS \*\*✓mrk > Eg fOK m̥c 'erdenken, ersinnen', Eg MK m̥c 'preisen' ¶ EG II 35 (m̥c 'erdenken': "eigentlich m̥w̥ zu lesen") || U: ?φ FU (in Ugr only) \*mär?Δ- 'believe, trust' > Vg {MK}: Vg T/P/K mår-, LL mār-, ML mār-, mar-'glauben, vertrauen' | Hg mer- 'dare, adventure' ¶ UEW 869, Gomb. ES 74 || A: Tg \*merge- 'think' > Ewk mərgz-, Lm mərgə-, Neg mzygз- 'think', Ork mərgz 'conscious (сознательный), clever', WrMc merki-{Hr.} 'sich besinnen auf, sich bewußt sein' ¶ The WrMc vl. k is still to be accounted for ¶ STM I 571, Hr. 653 || M \*merge-: \*mergen 'wise, sagacious' > MM (hPSc) {Pp.} mergen id., WrM mergen, HlM мэргэн 'a good marksman; wisdom; wise, learned, sage; apt', MnR H {SM} mīerg\_än 'habile, adroit, sage, intelligent', {T} mergen 'wise, good marksman', Dx {T} mergen id.; WrM mergezi-, HlM мэрэгжи- 'become learned\wise', WrM {Pp.} merge 'Treffsicherheit' ¶ MED 537, Pp. PP 127, SM 23, T 345, T DnJ 129 ¶ Pp. VG 35, 88, 125 ◇ The loss of N \*k in Ugr (or pFU, pU?) still defies explanation.

**1477.** \*mar?r<sup>o</sup>kE 'side (of body), side, edge' > IE: NaIE \*morg-/ \*mroğ-/ \*mr̥g- 'edge, border' > Av marəza 'border country' ('Mark, Grenzgebiet'), NPrs مَرْجَ 'märz 'border\boundary of a country; region, country' || L margō / margin- 'border, edge' || OIr mruig > bruig 'territory', OBr bro 'pays, région', W, Crn, Br bro 'district', Gl BROGA 'country' (in *Scholia ad Juvenalem*) || Gt, OSx marka 'border, frontier', OHG marca  $\triangleq$  marcha 'border', NHG Mark, OFrs merke 'boundary, frontier, border-country', ON mørk 'forest, wood' (forests

served as frontiers between political entities), Sw *märk* 'district', AS *mearc* 'mark (district); end, limit of given space, boundary', NE *mark* (← 'boundary, landmark) (< \**morgā*) || WP II 283-4, P 738 (\**mereg-*), EI (\**morg-* 'border'), Brtl. 1153, Horn 218, VI. II 116O, Sg. 1214, WH II 39-4O, Vn. M 67-8, Billy 35, Flr. 9O, Fs. 347, Vr. 4O1, Sw. 114, Ho. 217, Ho. S 5O, Kb. 662, OsS 593, KM 462 || HS: Ch: ECh: Kwan mórgó 'bank of a river' || WCh: Sir {Sk.} máṛṣṇ 'side of body' || ChC || S \*°✓mr̥k (< \*\*✓mr̥k?) > Ar ✓mr̥q G (ip. -mr̥uq-) 'miss the goal' (of an arrow), 'stray from the orthodox religion', *Gt* (pf. ?imtaraga) 'go out quickly from' || BK II 1O94-5, Hv. 717 || D \*maruŋk- 'side, side of the body' > Tm *maruŋku* id., 'limit', MI *maruŋnu*, Kt *magl*, Kn *maggal*, *maggil*, *maggul*, Png *marŋgar* 'side', Td *magil* 'slope of hill', ? *maṛ* 'side', Tu *margilъ* 'side, flank', TI *makka* 'side of the part of the body just above the hip', Prj *makka* 'burrock', Gnd *marŋg* 'side', *maruŋ* 'ribs of mat', *maṛgi* 'rib bone' || D #4717 || U \*marv̥- ~ \*m'ɔ'r̥v̥ 'side, side of the body' (loss of \*-v̥- due to bf.?) > Hg Δ *mart* 'bank, shore; edge\side of a ditch; hillside' || ?φ Sm \*m̥ra 'edge, bank', {Jn.} \*m̥rā 'edge' > En: X {KD} *mōra*, {Cs.} 'mōka, B {Cs.} 'mora 'bank, beach, shore'; Ne: T *mapa*, T O {Lh.} *mar·a* 'low sand beach, sand'; Ng {Hl.} *maru* 'bank, shore', {Mik.} 'maru 'part'; Kms {KD} *mårå* 'edge, end' || Coll. 34, Coll. CG 124, ≈ UEW 28O-1 (unconvincingly rejects the Hg cognate and reconstructs U \*mortv̥), 288 (unc. comparison of Hg *mart* with *mar-* 'bite' < U \*mura- 'Stück'), Jn. 88, Hl. US 121, KP 125 || Ugr \*-t- is likely to go back to a sx. ◇ In U the N final syll. \*-kE was lost due to some restructuring of the root in the prehistory of U (reinterpretation of \*-kE as a sx.?). Ugr \*-t- is likely to go back to a sx. Sammallahti's historical phonology of Uralic (Sm. 484-5, 5OO, 513-5) suggests a pU vw. \*† in a closed syll. (sth. like pU \*m†Hr̥v̥ or \*m†rHv̥), the latter alt. being compatible with pre-U \*m̥v̥r̥v̥ (i.e. N \*m̥v̥r̥v̥kE with loss of \*-kE) ◇ The N labialized vw. of the second syll. is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of D and S; it was probably \*o rather than \*u, because N \*u would have yielded a glide in IE. This \*o may have had labializing effect on the U (> Sm) vw. of the first syll. The lr. is reconstructed on the indirect ev. of S (glottalization of N \*k), D (D \*-r- goes back to a N cns. clusters rather than to an intervoc. \*-r-), and IE (any other N lr. would have yielded NaIE \*ə in the intercons. position) ◇ It is tempting to adduce here NrOm: Kf {C} mallekkō

'side of body', Hrr {CR} *mīllē* id., but there is no proof that Kf and Hrr -ll- may go back to \*-r-.

**1478.** \*m<sup>1</sup>rk<sup>2</sup>ṇ(-ŋk<sup>2</sup>ṇ) 'root, root-crops, edible roots', (→?) 'sinew' > K \*<sup>o</sup>murk- > G *murk-i* 'stump of cabbage' ¶ Chx. 855, DCh. 907 || IE: NaIE \*mrk- (~ \*brk-) 'edible roots, (in descendant languages [→?] carrot)' > AS *more*, *moru* 'edible root, carrot, parsnip', OHG *moraha*, NHG *Mohrrübe*, *Möhre* 'carrot' || Sl \*m<sup>1</sup>rk<sup>2</sup>t / \*m<sup>1</sup>rk<sup>2</sup>v- 'carrot' > SCr *mřkva*, Slv *mřkev*, *mřkva*, OCz *mrkev*, Cz *mrkva*, OR **морковь** *morkovъ*, **морква** *morkva*, R **мор'ковь** | ? Blt {IS} \*burkū > Lt *burkūnas* 'carrot', Ltv *burkāns* id., 'Aetusa cynapium' || Gk [Hs.] βράκανα · τὰ ἄγρια λάχανα ("wild vegetables") ¶ P 750, EI 620, Sw. 120, Ho. 226, Kb. 696, OsS 620, KM 484-5, IS MT 16-20, Vs. II 564-5, ESSJ XX 247-9, Glh. 426, FI 263, Ch. 192, ≈ Kar. I 155 (Ltv *burkāns* ← Frs E *bura*, *bure* 'a conical root' + dim. sx. -ken- < \*-kan) || HS: EC \*murk- (~ \*morg-) 'tendon, sinew, gristle' (× N \*muŋi<sup>1</sup>H<sup>2</sup>or<sup>3</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ṇ '≈ gristle, horn, muscle, sinew', q.v. ffd.) || D \*murṇŋk- > Tm *murunŋkai* 'Moringa pterygosperma, Indian horse-radish tree', Kn *nugga*, *nuggi*, Tu *nurige*, *nurge*, Tl *munaga*, Prj *muŋga*, *mulŋga*, Gnd Δ *mulgē*, *mungē* id., Knd *muŋna maram*, *muluŋa mara* id. (mara, maram is 'tree'), Ml *muřiŋŋa* 'Hyperanthera moringa, Indian horse-radish', Krx *muŋgā* 'is a shrub, the fruits and leaves of which are eaten as curry'; D → OI *murangi*-, *murungi*- 'Moringa pterygosperma' ¶ D #4982, Tu. #1O2O9 ◇ The same N word is used both for the root and the sinew, which is explained by their common technical functioning as ropes. D \*-r- suggest a N cns. cluster with \*r (here most probably \*-rk-) ◇ ≈ AD NM #62, S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs and ST).

**1479.** (2?) \*m<sup>1</sup>ṇR<sup>2</sup>ṇ<sup>3</sup>K<sup>2</sup>a 'moist, liquid; to moisten' > IE: NaIE \*merk- (or {P} \*merk- ~ \*merak-) v. 'soak; become wet', \*mr<sub>o</sub>ku- ({P} \*mrəku-) 'swamp' > OIr *mraich* ~ *braich*, W, Crn *brag* 'malt' (sc. 'soaked corn'), Gl BRACUS 'marais' → VL Gl {ML} \*braku-s / -m 'morass' (> It *braco*, *brago*, Fr *brai*, Prv, Ctl *brac*), W *brag-wellt* 'is swamp-grass', Gl → L *mercarius* 'swamp' (> OFr *marchais*), ?? Gl [Hs.] ἐμβρεκτόν (a word of uncertain meaning, interpreted by WH as 'Brühe zum Eintunken') → L *imbractum* ~ *embractum* 'is sauce'; \*mrakno- > OIr (MIr) *brén* (< older \*mrēn) 'fetid, rotten', W *braen* 'decayed, rotten', MBr *breyn* 'rotten' || MHG *mär(e)n*, MDt *meren*

'to dip bread in wine\water' || Lt *mērk̥ti* (prs. *merku*) 'to soak (flax)', *mir̥kti* (prs. *mirkstū*) 'to soak, to be steeped in water', Ltv *mērkt*, *mērcēt* 'to soak, to steep', *mērka* 'moisture', *mērce* 'sauce' | Sl \**mork-*/ \**m̥rk-* '(be) moist, soaked' in derivatives: [1] \**m̥rk-nq-ti*, \**m̥rka-ti* > Cz *za-mrknouti* 'to soak and to be spoiled' (of wood), Uk Δ *мeрчит* 'it drizzles', Uk P *m̥ir'čatt* 'to drizzle', R Ks *mara'kun* 'light rain', Blg Δ 'мръцкам' v. 'dip (sth. small) in water\liquid'; [2] \**morčь*, \**merčь* > R Δ 'мороčь' light rain', 'мeречь' 'in swampy ground', *мереча* 'swamp'; [3] \**morkt*, \**morka* > Uk Δ *морок'ва* 'quagmire, swamp', Blg Δ *mpa'ka* 'wet lowland' § ≈ P 739-40, Vn. B 84-5, M 66-7, Billy 33, 71, Ern. 80, YGM-1 52, WH I 681, EM 310, ML #1258a, 5515a, OsS 603, Lx. 138, Frn. 440-1, ESSJ XIX 218, 231, 234 and XXI 135, Ma. CS 310, Ma. C 380 || HS: WS \**ma'rak-* 'broth' (\*← 'liquid'?) > BHb *k m̥rak* *mā'rak*, q *m̥rak* \**mā'rāk*, Gz *maraḳ*, Tgy *mərəq* 'broth', Ar مرف maraq- id., 'gravy', Tgr *mərək* 'gravy soup' § KB 603, Fr. IV 171, Hv. 717, LG 359, LESAC 32, LH 114 § The vocalic pattern of this stem (\*Ca'CaC-) is typical of adjectives, hence the original meaning is probably 'liquid' || B \*<sup>o</sup>✓*mry* > Tmz i-*məry-an* pl. 'bouillon pour arroser le couscous' (the cns. ي suggests that it is hardly a loan from Ar *maraq-*) § MT 431 || A: ?T \**bürk-* (or \**pürk-?*) v. 'spurt, sprinkle' (× N \**burū(-KU)* 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If in the NaIE √ there was \*ə (which is doubtful), the N rec. must be \**m'ü'r'h'NKa* (because \*h is the only lr. that is liable to disappear in S, but yields \*ə in NaIE). But, in my opinion, it is preferable to reconstruct both the pIE root and the pN etymon without lr.

**1480.** \**mArN* 'rain' (← or → 'to drop'?), 'cloud' > HS: S: BHb {GB, KB} *מַר* *mar* 'drop' (?) (h. l. in Is. 40.15) § GB 457, KB 595, ≈ KBR 629-30 (םַר 'myrrhe') || ECh: Smr {J} *mă:ri* 'rain' § ChC §§ OS #1733 (HS \**mar-* 'drop, rain') || D (in SD) \**maṛ-ay-* 'rain' > Tm *marai* 'rain, cloud, water', Ml *mar'a* 'rain', Kt *may*, Td *maw*, Kn *mare*, Kdg *male*, Tu *male* 'rain' § D #4753 || K: Sv: UB/L {TK, GP, Dn.} *mēre*, LB/Ln {TK} *mere*, Ln {TK} *meri* 'cloud' § TK 570, GP 217, Dn. s.v. *mēre*, Ni. s.v. облако (*märe*), ≈ IS II 60 (Sv L *mare*, UB *märe* < \**mar-ej* or \**mar-aj* 'cloud') || ? A: pKo {S} \**mír* 'water' > MKo *mír*, Ko: Sl/Ph *mul*, Ks *mūl*, Hm *muł* § S AJ 255 [#97], S QK #97, Nam 229, MLC 575 ◇ IS II 60-1 (does not distinguish between this etymon and N \**moRE* 'body of water' [q.v.], reconstructs \**märä* 'moisture, moist') → S CNM 3. It is

too shaky to adduce here forms with an additional cns. ( $\Leftrightarrow$  IS), such as CS \* $\check{v}$ mrθ (Ug mrθ 'grape juice', Ar  $\check{v}$ mrθ 'soften'), and Ltv {ME} mē̄rka 'Feuchtigkeit'.

**1481.** ? $\phi$   $_2^*$ mA $\acute{r}$ Ν 'pluck out hair, make bald' > **HS:** (+ext.?) S \* $\check{v}$ mr̄t id. > BHb  $\check{v}$ mr̄t G 'plusk out hair, make smooth', JA, Sr  $\check{v}$ mr̄t G 'pull out\off (feather, hair)', Ar  $\check{v}$ mr̄t G (pf. مَرْتَ maraṭa) 'pluck out hair', (pf. مَرِيتَ marīṭa) 'have little hair', Ak  $\check{v}$ mr̄t 'abschaben' ¶ KB 600, Br. 404, Sl. 706, BK II 1092, Hv. 716, Sd. 61O || **D** \*ma $\acute{r}$ - 'shave' > Tm mar̄i 'shave (esp. the head), Knd mañ- v. 'shave' ¶ D #4748 ◇ Qu., because there is no good explanation for the S \*t̄ (except for postulating an extension in S or formulating an *ad hoc* rule of N \*-ṛt̄- that yields D \*-ṝ-).

**1482.**  $_2^*$ mērΝ 'hoe' > **HS:** S \*marr- 'hoe, spade' > Ak fOB marru 'spade, shovel', JEA {Sl.} מָרֵה mar'r-ā 'spade', {Js.} hoe, rake', Sr מָרֵה mar'r-ā ~ מָרֵה ma<?>r-ā 'mattock, hoe, mallet', Ar marr- {Hv.} 'iron-shovel, spade', {BK} 'pelle en fer'; S → L marra 'a hoe for rooting up weeds' ¶ CAD X/1 287-90 (Ak ↔ Sum), Sl. 703, Js. 834, BK II 1083, Hv. 713, Br. 400, JPS 247, WH II 43 || Eg mr hier. {Gard.} \*'hoe', {EG} \*'holzerne Hacke' ¶ EG II 98, Gard. 516 || ECh: Smr {J} mārā 'hoe' || WCh: Bl mar, Ngm mira v. 'hoe', ??σ Ngm marra, Glm {Sch.} mārā 'farm' | ??σ Ang {Flk.} mār v. 'farm', n. 'farm', ??σ pAG {Hf.} \*mar 'farm' > {Hf.}: Gmy mār, Kfr mar, Su, Ang mār id. ¶ ChC, Stl. ZCh 233 [#804], Hf. AG 18, Flk. s.v. mār, Sch. BT 86 ¶ OS #1738 (S, E, ECh + err. \* Hd morāra 'hook of the plough' for mofāra 'type of plough', see Hd. 213), ##1735, 1739 || **D** \*mē̄r- 'plough' > Tm mē̄ri 'plough', Ml mē̄ri, Kn mē̄ti, mē̄ni 'plough-tail', Kt mēy 'handle of plough', Knd mē̄ri id., 'plough-tail', Tl mē̄di & mē̄:di 'hind part or handle of a plough', Ku mē̄ri 'plough handle' & meēri 'plough' ¶ D #5097 || Cp. Sumerian mar 'hoe' ◇ Borrowing (S, Eg, Ch, D from Sum?) cannot be ruled out ◇ Blz. DA 163 [#108].

**1483.** \*m'u'ṛΝ 'make loud noise' > **D** (in SD) \*muṛ- > Tm murāŋku v. 'roar, thunder, make loud noise', Ml murāŋŋuka v. 'roar, reverberate', Kt moṛv 'a child's continuous crying', Kn moṛagū v. 'sound' (certain musical instruments), 'roar, thunder' ¶ D #4989 || **U:** FU: Os Ty/Y m̄t̄- v. 'low' (of cows), as well as (× N \*muΓra 'emit vocal sounds [shout, sing]') Os V moray- 'make big noise' (of people) ¶ Stn.

D 953, 956-7 || A: Tg \*mojura- v. 'low, roar, bellow' (of animals) (× N \*muΓra) > Ewk Np moro-, Ewk Np/Nr mɔrɔ- v. 'roar, bellow' (of beasts), Ewk Y/Np/Uc mɔrɔw- v. 'low' (of cows), Ork mura- v. 'roar, bellow', WrMc murā- id., v. 'low' ¶ STM I 546-7.

**1484. \*mûq<sub>1</sub>E,ří** 'shoulder' > K \*mqar- id. > OG mqar-, G mxar- id., Mg χuž-, Lz (m)χuž-, pχuž- id., Sv UB {GP, TK}, Ln {TK} meqär, LB {TK} meqra, L {TK} meqer, {Dn.} meqar {Dn., K, FS} 'part of the arm between shoulder and elbow' ({TK} 'arm'); ? eNG [SSO] mqare, G mxare 'side, side of the body, edge' ¶ K 144, K<sup>2</sup> 134, Chik. 57-8, FS K 232-3, FS E 256, Q 409-10, SSO I 552, DCh. 935, NCh. 308, TK 569, GP 220, Dn. s.v. meqar || U \*°m᷑rk᷑ > Sm {Hl.} \*mъrkijb 'shoulder' > Ne: Т мǎрцъ, TO {Lr.} marć, F NI marăs id.; En {Ter.} modi; Ng {Ter., Mik.} mərst; Mt {Hl.} \*marg᷑ id. (Mt: M {Sp.} маргомъ 'my shoulder', K {Pl.} mārahada 'his shoulder') ¶ Hl. M 300 [#640], ≈ Jn. 88 (Sm \*mъrkä) ¶ U \*-rk- < N \*-qr-? Or U \*-k- goes back to a sx.? || A: M \*mōrin 'shoulder' > MM [MA] möri, [HI] mürü id., [S] muru id., 'shoulder-blade', WrM mörü(n), HIM мөр(өн), Ord mörö, Brt мүрэ, мүр, WrO möri, Kl {Rm.} mörn, Dg {Pp.} mürü, {T} mur(u), {Mr.} mure 'shoulder' ¶ Ms. I 77, H 112, Pp. MA 240, MED 549, Ms. O 471, Chr. 308-9, Krg. 608, KW 267, T DgJ 155 || Tg \*mūyre, {ADb.} \*mūre 'shoulder' > Ork muyrɔ, Orc miyɔ, Ewk mīrɔ, Lm mīr 'shoulder, shoulder bone', Sln mīri, mīrɔ, Neg mīyɔ, Ul ḥuyrɔ, {PSchm.} мүирэ, Nn Nh/B/KU mzyrɔ, WrMc meyrən 'shoulder', Ud {STM} müö, {Krm.} mō ~ müö 'neck' ¶ STM I 538, Krm. 262 || pKo {S} \*māj- 'carry on the shoulder' > MKo māj-, NKo mē- ¶ Nam 212, MLC 616, S QK #600, Nam 212, MLC 616, Rm. SKE I 145 || ??σ pJ \*māt- 'carry, hold' > OJ mó-, J: T mó-, K/Kg mó- ¶ S QJ #1204, Mr. 728 ¶ Pp. VG 35, 142, SDM97 (A \*mūre 'shoulder'), DQA #1331 (A \*miūyre id.), S AJ 291 (A \*mūre), ADb. MSR 11 (A \*möjre id.), Rm. l.c. || D \*muři 'elbow, shoulder, joint' > Tm muři 'joint as of the body', moři 'joint as of wrist, knee, ankle, etc.', Tm, Ml muřam 'cubit', Ml muři 'knuckle, joint', Tu mora, mura, Tl mūra, Prj mūra 'cubit', Kn mora id., 'joint', muγ 'upper part of the arm, shoulder(blade)', Klm mu·ra, Gnd moři 'elbow', Knd miřva 'knee', Kui miru, mriu, među 'knee-joint', mireka 'a cubit's length', ?? Kt mojm, Kdg moja; → D \*muři-mp. 'shoulder' > Tm moympu, Ml muřippu, Krb mirpu, Knd mipi, Mnd mūpa id., Kui mōpo 'upper arm', Kn muγ(i)vu, muđupu id., 'shoulder(blade)', Kt muř, Tu muđù

'shoulder joint', Tl *mū̄pu* 'upper part of the back, shoulder', Ku *mōpa* 'outer edge of the shoulder' ॥ To judge from the derivative \**muṛi-mpo*, the original meaning of D \**muṛi* was 'shoulder' ॥ D ##499O, 5122, ≈ Pf. 41-2 [#241] ◇ ADb. MSR 11 (U, A, D).

**1485.** \*‘*meṛūq* ॥ 'to smear' > HS: WS \*✓*mrχ* v. 'smear' > BHb ✓*mrḥ* G 'smear, anoint, rub', JPA {Lv.} ✓*mrḥ* D '(ein Gewand) reiben, glätten', JEA {Sl.} ✓*mrḥ* G 'plaster, level a pile' (↔ Hb?), Ar ✓*mrχ* (pf. مُرخ marax̥a, ip. -*mrax̥-*) 'anoint (the body)', Jb C ✓*mrχ* (pf. 'mirṣχ') 'throw sth. sticky on sth., smear (paint, etc., on sth.) with one's hands' ॥ KB 599, BDB 598, Lv. III 248, Sl. 705-6, Hv. 715, Jb. JL 174 ॥ But not here Eg *mrḥ* and *mrḥ.t* 'Salböl' (↔ wrḥ, salben', see EG II 110-1) || IE: NaIE \**smeru-* 'ointment' (× N \*Sämir ॥ 'fat [Fett]' × N \*‘*maṛi* ॥ 'animal fat' [see \**maRi* ॥]) > Gk (σ)μυρίζω v. 'rub with ointment\unguent, anoint', ? σμύρις 'emery powder (used by lapidaries for rubbing and polishing)', as well as probably μύρον 'unguent, perfume, sweet oil' (× Gk μύρρα 'myrrh' ↔ S \**murr-* id. [> OCn, Ak *murrū*, BHb מָר mor, Ug *mr*, JA מְוִרָא mū'rā id., etc.]) || ON *smyria*, *smyrva* 'bestreichen, salben', Sw *smörja*, Dn *smøre*, NNr *smyrja* id., OHG *smirwen* 'to smear, to anoint', NHG *schmieren* 'to smear, to grease', AS *smierwan* 'to anoint', NE *smear* ॥ WP II 690-1, P 970-1, F II 273-4, 751, Ch. 723-4, 1028-9, Vr. 521, Sw. 15, Ho. 302, Kb. 918, OsS 834, KM 663-5, ≈ EI 194 (\**smeru-* 'oil, grease'), Js. 748, Sl. 649 || D {tr., GS} \**meṛ-* 'smear' > Tm *mer ulu*, Kt *mek-* v. 'cleanse floor with cowdung solution; smear as the body with paste; varnish', Ml *meru*, *meruku* 'wax', *merukuka* v. 'anoint', Irl *ma,kku*, Td *mōsk* 'wax', Kt *mek* 'bee-wax', Td *mōšk-*, Klm *me:g-* v. 'smear with dung of buffaloes as a ritual purification', Kdg *mukk-*, Tl *m(r)ēgu*, *mrēvu* v. 'smear', Nkr *mēgh-* 'apply', Knd *miṛis-* v. 'rub and clean utensils with ashes', Kui *mrānda* v. 'plaster, smear', Ku *mr̥ispikīnai* 'polish', Brh *mirīng* v. 'plaster'; it is not clear if one may adduce here Prj *mer-*, Gdb *mar-*, and Gnd *marehtana* ~ *marahtana* v. 'rub' (-r- < D \*-r-, \*-ṛ-, or \*-ṛ-?) ॥ D ##5082, 4709, GS 65-6 [#203] ◇ On the word-initial laryngoid \*‘- as the source of the NaIE \*s-mobile before root-initial sonorants see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ IS II 61-2 (? \**meṛ* ॥ 'fat, to smear': HS [including an unc. comparison with some S roots], D, ? M) → ≈ BmK #536 (IE, HS + qu. D \**mar-* 'rub').

**1486.** \*‘mä́r̥n̥c̥n̥’ ‘contents of animals’ stomach\intestines’ > **HS:** C: EC: Arr mèrdé ‘intestines’ ¶ Hw. A 384 || ? S \*°v̥m̥cr > Ar maş̥ir- {BK} ‘intestins où s’élabore le chyle’, {Hv.} ‘intestin, gut’, ? {BK} maş̥r- ‘reste de lait dans les pis d’une femelle’ ¶ BK II 1116, Hv. 723 || **IE:** NaIE \*smerd- ‘excrement; to stink’ > L merda ‘excrement’ || Lt smirdéti ‘to stink’, Ltv {ME} smir̥dēt vi. ‘to stink, to smell’, Lt smárdas ‘stench, smell’, Ltv smárd̥s n. ‘smell’, Pru smorde ‘Faulbaum’ (called so because of the smell of its wood) | Sl \*sm̥rd̥eti (1s prs. \*sm̥rd̥jo) ‘to stink’ > OCS смръдѣти smr̥d̥eti, SCr sm̥djeti, Slv smrdéti, Cz smrd̥eti, Slk smr̥det’, P śmierdzieć, R смердеть, Uk смердіти ‘to stink’, Blg смърдя v. ‘stink’; Sl \*sm̥ord̥ ‘bad smell’ > OCS смрадъ smradъ (→ R смрад), Blg смрад, df. смрадът, SCr, Slv smrád, Cz, Slk smrad, P smród, R Δ смород, Ўк сморід || Gk [Hs.] σμόρδωνες pl. (acc. to Hs., an abusive nickname of the μορίοι [members of the council?]) (if ← ‘stinkers’) ({Ch.}: “an obscure erotic term”) ¶ WP II 691, P 97O, WH II 74-5, Frn. 84O, 847-8, En. 251, Vs. III 685, 691-3, Glh. 566-7, F II 75, Ch. 1028 || **U:** FP \*mär̥n̥c̥n̥- ‘cud, to ruminate’ > □FΔ märhe, märeh, märe ‘Wiederkäuen, Kauen bis zum Wiederkäuen’, Es {W} mäletse- ~ mälitse- ‘chew the cud’ | ? Lp: N sm̥riži- id., L smieriti-, smietitji- & smieritsi-, T {TI} m̥rede- id. ¶ ≈ UEW 700-1 (FP \*mär̥n̥-, no rec. of the sibilant), It. #256, SK 359-6O, W EDW 585, TI 559 ¶ Thr initial s- in Lp is puzzling. The quality of the sibilant is not clear: Es and Prm suggest \*-č-, while FΔ and Lp point to \*-č- ◇ On the word-initial laryngoid \*‘- as the source of the NaIE \*s- mobile before root-initial sonorants see Introduvtion, § 2.2.6.

**1487.** \*muš̥n̥ ‘to cover, to conceal, to clothe’ > **K** \*mos- v. ‘cover, get dressed, put on’ > OG mos- v. ‘get dressed, put on’ (Mt.11.8, Lc. 16.9), v. ‘conceal’ (Jud. 8.5), G mos- ‘bekleiden, bedecken’, še-mos ‘be dressed’, Sv {FS} li-msw-i msd. ‘to conceal, to cover (oneself with), to get dressed’ ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 124, FS K 221, FS E 244, Chx. 811-2 || **HS:** Eg N/G msy ({EG} mśj) ‘garment’ (→ BHb ‘meš̥i’ ‘fine cloth for garments’), Eg XVIII mss {EG} ‘Panzerhemd’, {Fk.} ‘tunic’, Eg N mss.t ‘garment (shirt or sim.)’, ? Eg G msd ({EG} mśd) ‘bekleiden’ ¶ EG I 143, 149, 152, Fk. 118, KBR 645 || **IE:** NaIE \*mus-/\*mous- v. ‘steal, conceal’ > Vd muš̥n̥ati ‘(he) steals, robs’, muš̥a'yati ‘robs, takes away’, OI mōš̥ati ‘steals’, KhS muš̥sa (< \*muš̥ya-) ‘robbers’, Wx müš̥-, mōš̥t v.

'conceal' ||| Gmc: OFrn [LxS] **chrēo-mōs-ido** 'grave-robery' ¶ Not necessarily here Tc A, B **mus-** 'lift, move aside' (may be akin to IE \***meug-** 'fortschieben', Av **ava-mīva-** 'put aside, remove') ¶ EI 543 (\***mus-** 'steal'), M K II 658-9, M E II 383-4, Bai. 338-9, Gnt. AM 193, ≠ P 743 (\***meug-s-** ↔ \***meug-** 'fortschieben'), Ad. 463, 466 ||| D \***mučč-/muč-** v. 'cover' > Tm **muccū**, Kt **muč-**, Td **mūč-**, Nkr **mus-** id., Tu **muccuni** v. 'shut, close, cover', Kn **muccū** id., v. 'conceal', Tl **mūčyū** id., Kdg **mučč-** v. 'close', **mučči** 'lid, cover', Klm **muns-**, Nk **muč-**, Kui **musa** v. 'close, cover', Prj **muy-** v. 'cover oneself', Gdb **muy-** v. 'cover oneself with wrapper', Gnd **muččānā** v 'cover; wrap sth. round one's body', **muč-** v. 'cover', Knd **mus-** id., v. 'close with lid, bury', Mnd **muč-**, Ku **muh-**, mūssali v. 'bury', Krz **mučč-** to close door\lid, shut', Mlt **muče-** v. 'close, shut up', Brh **must** 'shut, closed' ¶¶ D #4915, Pf. 35 [#176] (\***muč-/**\***muy-**); Km. 468-9 [#1O16] (\***muy-**) and GS 52-3 [#132] (\***muy-**, \***muy-c-**); if Km. and GS are right, either D \*-y- may go back to N \*-š- or the D √ does not belong here.

**1488. \*mūs**  $\nabla$  (= \***mūs**  $\nabla$ ?) 'insect, fly, ant' > IE: NaIE \***mus-/**\***mous-** 'fly' > Gk μῦτα (< \***mus-ja**) 'fly' ||| L **musca** 'fly' ||| Gmc: Gtl **mausa** (< \***mūsa**), Dt Fl **meuzie** (< \***musī**) id. ||| Lt **musē**, **musīs**, Ltv **mūsa**, muša, Pru **muso** 'fly' | Sl \***mu'xa** id. > OCS **μούχα** **muxa**, Blg **му'ха** ~ 'муха', McdS **мұва**, SCr **mūha**, Δ **mūha**, Slv **múha**, Cz **moucha**, Slk, P **muchā**, R, Uk 'муха' id., ds.: OCS **мъшнцѧ** **mъš-ic-a** 'gnat', R 'мoшкa' 'small insect', мoш'кa 'mosquitoes, gnats' ||| ? Arm **մուն** mun (gen. **մունյ** mnøy) 'flesh-worm; gnat, midge, mosquito' ({Mn.}: < A of \***mus-ja**) ¶ ≈ P 752, F II 265-6, EM 424, WH II 133, Frn. 474, En. 212, ESSJ XX 170-2, Glh. 428, Mn. AIE 15, ≈ EI 207-8 (**mus-**~\***muH-** 'fly, gnat, midge') ||| A {SDM97} \*°**mus**  $\nabla$  > pJ {S} \***músí** 'worm, insect' > OJ **músí**, J: T **mùsi**, K **mūsi**, Kg **mú\_ši**, Ns **mùši**, Sh **múši**, Ht **mùst**, Y **mùči** id. ¶ S AJ 269 [#1O6], S QJ #1O6, Mr. 489 ¶¶ SDM97 (A \***mus**  $\nabla$ ) ||| D: [1] \***muč-** ({GS} \***mus-**?) '∈ ant' > Ku **muh'iri** id., Kui **muci trāku** id., **mužoři** ~ **muraři** 'large red ant', Tm **muciru** ~ **muýiru** 'red ant', Ml **mīru** id.; [2] ??φ (in SD) \***mučanṭ-** ({GS} \*-ž-?) '∈ small bee' > Tu **mujanṭæ**, **mujjinti**, **mojanṭi** id., Kn **mujanṭi** '∈ honey (very small bees)' ¶¶ D ##49O6, 49O8 ||| ?φ K \*°**m**  $\nabla$  **s-** (or \***m**  $\nabla$  **r** **s-**?) > Sv: UB/LB/Ln **mə,šk**, UB {GP} **mə,ršk** 'ant'; the origin of UB -r- may be connected with the infl. of N \***m**  $\nabla$  **R** **ū** 'ant' (q.v.) ¶ TK 594, GP 223, Ni.

s.v. муравей || HS: Eg L m̥st̥t̥ 'e scorpion' § EG II 152 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} miséñin 'ant' (for the meaning cp. D and K) || ?? WCh: Cp {Kr.} ns̥i, Ang ~ši 'fly' § ChL, ChC ◇ Sv š goes back to K \*š < N \*s. Eg s < N \*s, \*š, or \*š reg. If the Sv word belongs here, the N sibilant was \*s ◇ ≈ Gr. II #163 (\*mus 'fly' n.) (IE, J, Ai + unc. U).

**1489.** \*mažis<sup>Δ</sup> '≈ rub, polish' > HS: S \*°✓m̥š|s > Ar ✓m̥s 'rub (leather, etc.) strongly'; the variant root ✓m̥š 'rub slightly' (registered in the Qāmūs, but absent in the classical lge.) may be due to borrowing from a related lge or dialect that preserved pS \*š as š § Fr. IV 192, BK II 1127, Hv. 727 || U: FU (att. in FV) \*mays<sup>Δ</sup> '(be) polished' (→ 'beautiful') > Lp N {Fri.} muoissa- 'speciem pulchram habere (de re obsoleta polita)' | Er мазы mazi ~ maze, Mk мази maži ~ мазы mazi 'beautiful' § UEW 697, Fri. 447, ERV 357-8, PI 154 || D \*māč- / \*mač- v. 'rub, polish, sharpen' > Kn mase 'rub, grind, whet, sharpen', Tm māy v. 'grind and sharpen', Tu masiyuni, masevuni, maševuni 'whet, sharpen', Krg maža & maže, Klm, Nkr, Nk may-'sharpen', Prj, Gnd mayp- id., Prj maykip- 'rub', Gnd mesitānā v. 'polish', masitānā 'sharpen a razor\knife', mesi- 'whet' §§ D #4628.

**1489a.** <sub>2</sub> \*mA<sub>1</sub>H<sup>Δ</sup>, S<sup>Δ</sup> 'snake' > HS: EC: Sml mas, Sml N {Abr.} más 'snake', Or {Th.} maska 'horned boa snake' | ?? HEC {Hd.} \*hamasa 'snake' > Brj {Ss.} hamási ~ {Hd.} homasi, Hd {Hd.} hamašša (< \*hamasča), Sd hamaššo id., Kmb hamāsu 'roundworm' ({OS}: HEC \*hamasa < \*maHas- [mt.]; it may also go back to a cd.]) § ZMO 282, Abr. S 176, Th. 239, Hd. 137-8, Ss. B 9O-1, Ss. WOKS 127 (EC \*h<sup>Δ</sup>, maš-) || Ch: WCh: Hs mésà, Gw {Mts.} méše, Tng {J} mīzō 'python' || ?? ECh: Bdy māzila 'serpent rouge' § Ba. 79O, Mts. G 81, JT 12O, Sk. HCD 2OO, AJ 96 §§ Budge I 323 quotes Eg Gr ms ({Budge} mes) 'serpent', but EG's interpretation of this hieroglyphic orthographeme is only "von der Brut des Apophis" (EG II 14O) §§ OS #1757 (HS \*meħas- > EC, Hs + unc. σ Eg mzħ 'crocodile') || D \*māč- 'python' > Tm mācunām, Prj māyond̥bam id., Gnd māsul & māsor id. & māsūl 'rock python' §§ D #4793 ◇ Blz. DA 158 [#63] (EC, ECh, D).

**1490.** <sub>(2?)</sub> \*m<sup>Δ</sup>s|š|čka<sup>h</sup><sup>Δ</sup> 'marrow, brain' > IE: NaIE \*mosg-o/en- ~ \*mosgho- id. > OI maj'jā /maj'jan-, KhS mäjsā 'marrow', Av mazga- id., 'brain', MPrs mazg, NPrs مَعْزَ māyz id. || ON mergr, NNr merg, Sw märg, Dn marv, OSx, OHG marg, NHG Mark, AS mearȝ 'marrow', NE marrow || Sl \*mōzgъ (gen. \*mozgu) id., 'brain' > SrChS,

OR **мозгъ** *mozgъ*, Blg 'мозък, SCr *mòzak* (gen. *mòzga*), Cz *mozek* (gen. *mozku*), Δ *mozg*, Slk *mozog*, P *mózg* (gen. *mozgu*), R *мозг* (gen. 'мозга'), Uk 'мозок, 'мізок id., Slv *mòzg* (gen. *mòzga*) 'marrow'; BSl d. \*\**mozgēno-* adj. 'of marrow' > Sl \**moždžanъ* > OCS adj. **МОЖДАНЪ** *moždanъ* 'μεμυελωμένος, medulla impletus' | Pru *musgeno* 'marrow' || Tc A *mässunt* 'marrow' ¶ WP II 309 (\**mozg<sup>h</sup>-*), P 750, EI 370 (\**mosg<sup>h</sup>o-s*), M K II 549-50, M E II 291-2, Horn 221, VI. II 1198-9, Sg. 1280, Bai. 332, Vr. 385, Kb. 663, OsS 592, KM 462, Ho. 217, Ho. S 50, En. 212, Vs. II 638, Glh. 424-5, ESSJ XX 94-7, 104-5, ≈ Wn. 293 ¶ IE \**g<sup>h</sup>* (for \**g*) in the var. \**mosg<sup>h</sup>o-* may be due to the N Ir. ||| **HS:** EC: pSam \**mižskah* ({Hn.} \**misqah*) 'brain' > Sml C {ZMO, DSI} *maskah*, Sml {R} *mas'kah*, Sml N {Abr.} *máskáχ*, Sml {Hn.} *masqah* (is q a mistake?), Sml J {Lm.} *massih*, pBn {Hn.} \**máskah* > Bn: Bi *m̥eskah*, Sa/Ba *m̥eskáh*, J *mskah*, K *makáh* ¶ Hn. S 69, Abr. S 176, ZMO 283, DSI 425, Hn. BD 96 || SOm {Blz.} \**makč-* 'brain' > Ari {Bnd.} *makca* id. ¶ Bnd. AL 146 || ?σ Ch: Hs *másκi* {Abr.} 'greasiness' ¶ Abr. H 664, Ba. 779 || ???σ **D:** Knd *musku* 'topmost part, upper side (of sth.)' ≈ D #5128 ◇ If Hn. is right in recording q in Sml and in reconstructing pSam \**misqah*, the ancient cns. must have been \***K**. If this is so, we have to suppose that in pre-IE the cns. \***K** was de-emphatized (= deglottalized?) due to as. to \***h** (\***Kh** > \***k** > IE \**g*) ◇ Blz. DA #5 (D, C, Knd). Cf. pLzg {StN} \**masq<sub>L</sub>w* ▽ 'brain, marrow'.

**1491. \*me?** iš **▽** 'hide', (→) 'clothes' > **HS:** S \**ma?iš|š|θ-* 'hide, leather' > Gz *mā?ṣ* *ma?ṣ*, Tgy *ma?si*, Tgr *ma?as*, Amh *mas* 'hide, leather' || ?? Ak *ma?iš-* 'e a breed of sheep' ] ? +ext.: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓*mšr* > Ar *mašr-at-* 'vêtement, habits', ✓*mšr* D v. 'clothe so.' ¶ CAD X/1 116, L G 324, BK II 1109-10, Hv. 721 ¶ The Gz spelling with the letter *S* rather than the expected *š* may be due to the infl. of the new EthS lgs. (mother tongues of the scribes) that lost the distinction between Old EthS \**s* and \**š* ¶ The alt. spelling *mā?ṣ* of the Gz word may be a mistake of Amhara scribes caused by the loss of OEth \*? or \*? in Amh which is suggested by the presence of ? in Tgr and Tgy which preserved the ancient lrs. ¶ But Bj {R} *mesik* 'hide of an animal' and Eg fXVIII *msk* 'skin of an animal, leather' (EG II 149, Fk. 118) are likely to belong to a different HS etymon, which explains Eg *s* rather than *š* (the reg. reflex of N and HS \**š*). Sa {R} -*m̥es-*/-*m̥is-* (pf. 'ə-m̥eseə, imv. em'̥is) v. 'tan hide' and Ar ✓*m̥s* ~ ✓*m̥š* v. 'rub' are likely to belong to a different etymon,

too (F BK II 1127, R S II 257) || IE: NaIE *mo̥jso-s* 'hide, fleece' (× \**mo̥jso-s* 'sheep' < N \**mi̥z̥i* 'sheep, goat' [q.v.] > Vd *mē'sa-*, *mē'si-* 'fleece, fell' (× *mē'sa-* 'ram', *mē'si-* 'sheep' < N \**mi̥z̥i*) || BSl: Lt *máis̥as* '(large) sack', *máis̥é* 'bag knitted of cords, large sack for hay', Ltv *máiss* 'bag, sack', Pru *moasis* 'smith's bellows' | Sl \**měxъ* (gen. \**měxa*) 'fur; animal's skin used as bag; bellows' > OCS **ΜΈΧЪ** *měxъ* 'pellis, uterus', 'fur, wine-skin', Blg *мях* 'animal's skin used as a bag; bellows', SCr *měx* ~ *mijěh*, SCr Δ *мijěx*, SCr W *mīh*, Slv *měh* 'sack, wine-skin, bellows', Cz *měch* 'leather-bag', Slk *mech* 'bag, sack', pl. *mechy* 'bellows', P *miech* 'bag, smith's bellows', OR **ΜΈΧЪ** *měxъ* 'whole hide of an animal, tanned hide with fur, fur; bellows; skin', R *měx* 'fur', pl. *me'xi* 'smith's bellows', Uk *mix* 'bag, wine-skin, smith's bellows' || ON *meiss* 'basket', OHG *meisa* {Kb.} 'Gefäß, Tragkorb', {OsS} 'Gestell zum Tragen auf dem Rücken', MLG *mēse* 'Tonne' ¶ WP II 303, P 747, ≈ EI 511 (\**moj'so-s* 'ram, sheep; fleece, skin'), M K II 689, ≈ M E II 380 (Vd *mēs̥i* 'sheep's fleece' ← *mēs̥i* 'sheep'), Tr. 165, UEW 703, LG 171, MRS 320, 323, Ep. 70, Frn. 397, En. 212, ESSJ XVIII 156-9, 220-1, Chrn. I 528, Glh. 408, Vr. 382, Kb. 671, OsS 600 || u: FU \**mešv* 'clothes; to wear clothes' > Lp: N {Fri.} *māccu* 'pallium', T {TI} *mācaug*, Kld {TI} *mācex* 'ein hemdförmiges, äußeres Sommerkleid aus grobem Wollentuch oder Leder' || pVg \**mäš-* > Vg: T *mäš-*, LK/P *mäš-* 'kleiden', So *mas-*'anziehen, ankleiden' | Hg *mezelen*, *mezitelen*, Δ *mestelen* 'naked, bare' (lit. 'clothe-less') ¶ UEW 869-70 (rejects the relationship between Lp and Ugr for alleged semantic reasons: "stößt auf semantische Schwierigkeiten", which is not convincing), MF 444-5.

**1492. \*mæt̥v** 'feel, realize' > IE: NaIE \**med-* 'think' (× NaIE \**med-* v. 'measure' < N \**mAt̥d̥v* ~ \**mAd̥t̥v* 'to stretch', [in descendant lgs.] → 'to measure') [q.v. ffd.] > Clt: OIr *mid-* 'juger, adjudger, estimer', Brtt \**medami* 'say' (← \*'think') > W *meddaf* 'I say', C *meth*, MBr *emez* 'say', Br *eme* / *emez-* 'inquit', MW *medylyeist* 'you thought', W *meddul-* 'think' ¶ WP II 259, P 705, Vn. M 48-9, RE 138 || HS: C: EC \*°*v̥m̥t̥* > Sml *mōd-* 'think, guess, suppose' ¶ Abr. S 181, ZMO 293-4 || u: Y: Y K {IN} *medi-*, YT {IN} *meri-*, OY K {BM} *moedik* 'hear', Y {Ku.} *metu-* 'let know, inform' ¶ IN 309-10, Ku. 163 || a: \**m̥e'te-* 'feel, know' > M \**mede-* 'know' > MM [LV, MA, IM] *mede-*, [IsV] *mede-* 'know', WrM *mede-*, HIM, Brt *мэдэ-* 'know, understand, perceive, find out', Ord *mud\_e-*, MnR H {SM} *mud\_ie-*, {T} *mude-*, MnR M

{T}, Ba {T} mede-, Dx {T} mežie- 'know' ¶ Pp. L III 7O, Pp. MA 234, 441, Lg. VMI 53, MED 531, SM 244, T 346, T DnJ 129, T BJ 143 || Tg \*mede- 'feel, recognize' > Ewk, Neg mədə-, Lm məd- 'feel, guess', Sln mədə- 'learn (erfahren, узнатъ)', Orc mədə- 'feel', Ud mədə-, Ork məddə- ~ mədə- 'feel, notice', Orc mədə, Ud, Nn mədə, WrMc mede 'news, information', Jrc medige 'tidings' ¶ STM I 563-4, Krm. 264, Kiy. 124 [#483] || ? pKo {S} \*m̥it- 'believe' > MKo m̥it-, NKo mit- id. ¶ Rm. SKE I 149, S AJ 257 [#184], S QK #184, Nam 234, MLC 695 ¶ STM I 503-4 ¶ ¶ Not here (↔ DQA) T: Yk bit ~ büt 'sign, omen', because it is obviously derived from T \*bit'- 'draw (lines)' → 'write; determine the fate' (Pek. 478-9, ET B 155-8) ¶ S AJ 15, 294 [#498] → SDM97 s.v. \*m̥ūtu 'know, believe' → DQA #1383 (A \*m̥ūti 'know, believe'; incl. M, Tg, Ko) ¶ ¶ An alt. et. of Ko \*m̥it- 'believe' is a possible N etymon ~ \*m̥ūt̥H₂t̥N > D \*m̥ūt- 'establish with ev., confront with proof' (D #504O) ◇ IS II 62 (\*metA 'ощущать, сознавать' > IE, A [M, Tg]) ◇ Gr. II #387 (\*met 'think') (IE, Y, A, Ko, Ch + unc. Gil, EA).

**1493.** \*m̥Ut̥N (or \*m̥Ut̥t̥N) 'man, person' (→ [in A] ?σ 'people, tribe') > HS: S \*mut- 'person, man' > OAk mutum, Ak 𒀭 mutu(m) 'husband, man, warrior', Eb mu-tum = mutum, Ug mt 'husband, man; hero', Amr {Hff.} mutum 'man', BHb pl. מִתִּים ma't-īm, pl. cs. מִתִּים ma'tē 'men, people (homines)', Gz mat 'husband' ¶ CAD X/2 313-6, Sd. 69O-1, Krb. PE 97, KB 617-8, A #1705, Grd. UT #1369, OLS 305, Hff. 234-5, L G 371 || Ch: Hs mutum [mùtūn] (pl. mútānē) 'man, person', Gw {Mts.} pl. նտանi 'men, persons' || CCh: Mrg {ChL} mdū, WMrg {ChL} mdà 'person'. Br նդà id., 'man (vir)', HgNk/HgF {ChL} յօդi 'person', FIJ {ChC} mdì, Nz {ChC} m̥tde || ECh: Skr {Lk.} māti, {Sx.} māti 'man (vir)', EDng {Fd.} m̥età 'person', m̥itikò 'man (vir)', Bdy m̥idò, Mgm {J} m̥idì, Brg {J} m̥idiwó, Jg {J} m̥ító id. ¶ Ba. 807, Abr. H 69O, JI II 231, ChC, ChL || Eg G mt 'man', adj. 'male', ??σ (× N \*mot̥E 'sprout, stem, penis?') Eg fP mtw.t 'sperm, son' ¶ EG II 168-9 and V 144 (s.v. t̥ʒj) || ?φB {Pr.} \*m̥idid-an 'homines' > Ah {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.}, Tmz (MT), Izn, Rf A {Rn.}, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} middən, BSn/Izn/Mtm {Ds.} middən ~ midđən, Ty/ETwlm meddən, Rf Wr/T/B {Rn.} midən 'homines', SrSn {Rn.}, Izd {Mrc.} maddən, Kb məddən, Sll {Ds.} 'məddən, Tz {Stm.} măddən ~ müddən ~ middən, Gd {Lf.} meddēn, Awj {Prd.} middēn 'les gens' ¶ Pr. M IV 414 reconstructs here a form \*m̥idid-an; an alt. rec. may be \*m̥id-wan ~ \*med-wän (with a typical pl. sx. \*-wan and with the reg. change \*-dw- >

\*-dd-). The voiced cns. \*-d- (for the expected \*-t-) still needs explaining | Fc. 1124, GhA 123, Dl. 487, Pr. M IV 242, 414, MT 404, La. S 244, Rn. 307, Stm. 208, Ds. 141, Ds. B 150, Dlh. M 115, Dlh. Ou 184, Mrc. 128, Lf. II #0971, Prd. 166 | ~ OS #1806 (S, Ch) (unc. connection with HS {OS} \*mawut- 'die') || D \*mut 'aged man' (→ 'old') > Tm mutu 'old, ancient', Ml mutu 'old, prior', Kt mud, mudk 'old age', Td muθ, muθy 'old', mu't π 'old age', Kn muttu, mudi id., Kdg mudi 'old', Tu mudu, mudu 'old, aged, ancient', Tl mudu 'old age, old'; Tl mutta, muttu 'old person', d.: Tm mutiya(va)n, Ml mutukkan, Kt mudkn, Kn mudaka, muduku, Kdg mudikə, Tu muduke, Prj, Gdb muttak, Gnd muytor & muytond 'old man', Nkr mudgan 'husband', Brh mutkun 'old, old thing' | D #4954 || A: NaT \*bəδ 'self' (× N \*bodΔ 'body, belly') > Alt {BT} boy (+ ppas.) '-self', Qz1 {Jk.} pōs, Tf {Ra.} boṭ, Tv b\_ot 'self' (+ ppas.: bodum 'myself', boduŋ 'yourself' sg., etc.); NaT ?σ \*bəδ 'clan' (against Cl. and in accordance with DTS, hardly identical with \*bəδ 'stature, the size of a man, body') > OT bəδ 'clan, people', MOg bołiγ 'clan, tribe; the people', OOsm XIV boy 'clan'; → NaT \*bəδun 'people, populace' > OT bəδun 'tribal community, people' ({Cl.}: ← 'clans'), SbTt boyun 'servant' (but Qzq \*boden 'subject [Untertan], prisoner, slave' cannot belong here [↔ Musajev in TL 316]) | Cl. 296-7, 306, DTS 107-11, ET B 176-9, TL 316, Rl. IV 1282-3, Ra. 164, BT 32, MKD 75, Rs. W 77, Dr. TM II #812, S AJ 196 (#247), Jeg. 170-1, Fed. I 416 || M ?σ \*muži (< \*mudi) 'people (Volk), province, region' > Kl Ö {Rm.} muži 'people (Volk), province', WrM muži, HlM myž 'province, region, area', Brt možo 'a party in a conflict', † 'region', WrO {Krg.} müži 'province, district', Ord {Ms.} muži 'province', Dg {T, Mr.} moži 'province, region' | KW 268, MED 554, Chr. 298, Ms. O 473, Krg. 612, T DgJ 155 ◇ D \*t suggests N \*t (\*mUtΔ), while the M root (if it belongs here) points to a N \*t (\*mUtΔ). NaT \*-δ- belongs to the heritage of N \*bodΔ ◇ ≡σ of the semantic change 'person' → 'people': [1] NIr daoine 'people, public' ← daoine 'homines', pl. of duine 'man, person', [2] Lt P {Krsch.} žmonēs 'people, nation' ← žmonēs 'homines', pl. of žmogus 'man, person' (Bc. 1314) ◇ An alt. et. of the IE and D roots: N \*mUtΔ 'man, person, a young' (see item 1503a).

**1494.** (2?) \*mūtΔ 'die', (←?) [?] 'go away, be removed' > HS \*mūt- 'die' > S √ mwt, prm. \*-mūt- G 'die' > Ak, Ug, Ar, Gz -mūt- (Ak 3m p. i mūt, Ar 3m ip. yamūtu, Gz 3m js. yəmūt, etc.), BHb, Aram -mūt- (BHb

3 m ip. **յա'mūt̄**) id., Pun, Amn, OA, IA, JA, Sr, Sb, Mn ✓ **mwt** id., Mh, Hrs ✓ **mwt** id. (pf. **mōt̄**, sbjn. Mh **յՅՄԻT̄**, Hrs **յՅ'մԵT̄**); S \***mawt-** 'death' > Ak **mūtu(m)**, BHb **մօթ** 'māwet̄' (originally a pausal form), cs. **մօթ**, BA, JA **մօթ** **մօթա** **մօթա** **մօ'տ̄ā**, Sr **լուսա** **maw't-ā**, Md **muta**, Ar **موت** **mawt-**, DA, Sb, Mn **mwt**, Gz **mōt̄**, Mh **mawt**, Hrs **he-mōt̄**, Jb E/C 'mit id., Sq {Jo.} **mayt̄** 'mortal illness' ¶ KB 532-4, A #17O3, OLS 3O3-4, HJ O5-7, 7O7, Js. 751-2, Sl. 65O-1, Br. 378, DM 263, Nld. MG 337, BGMR 89, BK II 1165-6, MA 64, LG 375-6, Jo. M 275, Jo. H 93, Jo. J 176, CAD X/1 421, Sd. 634, MiK I #2.43 || Eg ∀ **mt̄**, **mwt** v. 'die' > Cpt Sd/B/A/F **մօY** mu 'die', qual.: Cpt Sd **մօօYT̄** **mout**, Cpt B **մաօYT̄** **mōut**, Cpt A/F **մԱYT̄** **mawt** 'be dead'; Eg ∀ **mt̄**, **mwt** 'death' > DEg **mwt**, Cpt **մօY** mu 'death' ¶ EG II 165-7, Er. 157, Vc. 1O7 || B \***լw, mt̄** 'die (mourir)' > Ah {Fc.} **əmmat** v. imv. (3m pf. **յəmmut**), Tw {Pr.} **əmmät** imv. (3m pf. **յămmut**) 'die', Ty/ETwl {GhA} **թբթեt̄** (3m pf. **immut**), Gd {Lf.} **əmmat** (3m pf. **յεmmūt̄**), Awj {Prd.} **mmut** (3m pf. **im'mut**), Gh **əmmat** (3m pf. **immut**), Izd {Mrc.} **mmat** (3m pf. **immut**), Nf **əmmat** (3m pf. **immat**), SII **əmmat** (3m pf. **immūt̄**), Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} **əmmat̄** (3m pf. **immut̄**), Kb {Dl.} **əmmat̄** (3m pf. **յəmmut̄**), Nf {Beg.} **'əmmat** (3m pf. **յəm'mat̄**) 'die', Si {La.} **immūt̄** 'is dead', Zng {TC} aor. int. **yitmetteh** 'die', n. act. **imattant̄**, ?**Փ յԵՐՄՅԻH** 'il est mort' ¶ Fc. 1131-3, 2O26, GhA 134, Lf. I 27O and II #O959, Rn. 389, Dl. 524-5, Pr. M VI-VII 197-8, Beg. 288, Prd. 169, ABs. LBV § 167, TC Z 308 || EC: Rn {PG} ip. -**amūt(-)** (3s **յàmūt̄**) / p. -**umuuy** and -**umāt-** (3s **յùmùy**, 1p **nùmùy**, 3p **յùmàtèn**) 'die', Gdl {Bl.} **mūt-** v. 'become very weak and close to death'; Sml **mōtan** 'dead' ¶ Hn. R 214, Hn. S 35, 52, PG 64, 284, Bl. GD 85, ZMO 294, AD SF 246-7 || Ch: WCh: Hs **mútú** 'die' | Su {J} **mūt̄**, Tal {IL} **mū:t̄**, Ywm {IL} **mwɔt̄h** id. | Fy/DfB/Bks/Klr {J} **mot** id. | Tng {J} **mudε**, Krkr {J} **mēt̄**, Grm {Sch.} **mótú-kò**, Krf {Sch.} **mük-kò** (vb. n. **mütó**), Glm {Sch.} **máz-àlá**, Gera {Sch.} **múdù-mí**, Glm {Sch.} **mút-álá**, Bl {Lk.} **mot-** id. | Dir {IL} **mótú**, {Sk.} **matu** id. | Ngz {Sch.} **mìtú**, Bd {IL} **mútù** id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} **mədi** id. (vb. n. **mətá**) | Mrg {IL} **m̄t̄hòy** id. | HgNk/FIK {Kr.} **mte** id. | Nz {Kr.} **mute** id. | Lmn {Lk.} **mt-** id. | Mdr {Mirt} **mc-a**, Glv {Rp.} **mc-**, Gdf {IL} **mc(z)gana**, Dgh {Frk.} **m̄čà**, {IL} **mcáyà** id. | Mtk {Sb.} **məca**, Myn {Ro.} **mt-**, Mkt {Ro.} **máč**, MfG {Brr.} **'-məč-**, **mé-məčey**, {Ro.} **məčé**, Mf {BLB} **məca**, Gzg D {Lk.} **moc**, {Ro.} **múč**, Mada {BrrB} **á-mat**, Mada/Mlk {Ro.} **mát** id. | Db {Lnh.} **mìč**, Kola {Sb.} **múty** id. | Bdm {Cfr.} **màtž**, Lgn

{Lk.} m̄ti id. | Msg {Trn.} m̄r' id. | Ms {J} mítná, ZmB {J} m̄át id. || ECh: Skr {Sx.} m̄ité id. | EDng {Fd.} m̄at̄e, Mgm {J} m̄ató id. | Jg {J} m̄at̄, Br̄g {J} m̄at̄í, Mb {Lk} m̄at̄, {J} inf. m̄adé id. ¶ JI II 1O2-3, ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 3O, 57, 86, 118, 137, 142, Sch. DN 1O6, BLB 235, Brr. MG II 163, 175, BrrB 194, Ro. 237 (pMM \*mac) ¶ OS #1751 (\*m̄awut-), Tk. I 227 || D \*muṭ- 'die' (× D \*muṭ̄i-) vi. 'end, terminate, be completed' < N \*mud▽ 'finish', to end' [q.v.] > Tm muṭ̄i (p. -v-) v. 'die' ¶ D #4922 || ?σ IE: Ht mutai- v. 'remove (evils)', ?? mudan(s) 'garbage, scraps' (< 'sth. removed') ¶ CHD L-N 335-7, Ts. E II 235-6 ◇ Because of phonetic circumstances (coincidence of N \*-t̄- with the reflex of either \*-d̄- or \*-t̄- in most cognate lgs.) the N word in question was doomed to contaminate with paronymous words, such as N \*mud▽ 'finish', to end' (q.v.). Ht mutai- v. 'remove' belongs here if the meaning 'die' (attested in HS and D) developed from an earlier (pN) meaning 'go away, be removed'.

**1495. \*mat̄▽ ~ \*maṝt̄t▽ 'approach' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'meet', 'enter') > HS: CS \*✓m̄t̄? > IA ✓m̄t̄? G 'arrive at, reach' (? is a real lr. rather than a mater lectionis, as confirmed by forms such as 3 p pf. m̄t̄? [\*maṝta?ū]), Plm ✓m̄t̄? G 'come', Ar ✓m̄t̄? G (pf. مَاتَأَ m̄ata?ā) 'init (feminam)'; the ✓ was transformed in \*✓m̄tw̄y in BA (3m pf מָתַה ~ מָתֵה m̄a'ṭā, 3f pf. מָתַתְ m̄a'ṭā-t̄) and in later Aram: JA [Trg.] ✓m̄tw̄y G (אָתַה m̄a'ṭā), JEA {Sl.} ✓m̄ty G, Sr ✓m̄tw̄y G (3m pf. أَتَاهُ m̄a'ṭā) 'come, arrive at, reach'; in Aram the verb contaminated with ✓m̄t̄? ~ ✓m̄tw̄y (< S \*✓m̄θ̄? 'find'), but the meaning 'arrive, come' is still present ({KB} 'kommen über' and 'eintreten, da sein' in BA [Daniel], in JA and Sr) ¶ HJ 616-7, KB 1735, Lv. T II 26-7, Sl. 658-60, Br. 381, JPS 26O, BGMR 88, Fr. IV 189, BK II 1121 || EC \*✓mt̄, \*-mt̄i, \*-(i)mit̄- 'come' > Af {PH} pcv. 1s pf. emēte 'come', Sa {Wlm.} pf. -emēte / ip. -amate id.; pSam {Hn.} \*i-mit̄ 'arrive' > Rn {PG} ip. -amīt(-) (3m yāmīt, 3p yāmītīn) / pf. -imiy and -imāt- (3m yimiy, 1p n̄imiy, 3p yimātēn), Sml C pcv. p. -imid- (3m yimid(ey)) / prs. -imād- (3m yimāda) 'come', pBn {Hn.} pf. \*-imid- / ip. \*-imād- 'come' (> Bn: K-imid-/imād- ~ -ibid-/ibād-, Bi/J -īd- / -iyād-); Bs {HL} ēmet̄- 'come, arrive', Dsn {To.} -i(:)m̄i/-i(:)meδ̄- 'come'; HEC: Brj {Ss.} int-ay 'come' (< p. \*imt̄-), Alb {HL} < ?}, Kmb {Hd.} amēt̄- id. || Ag {Ap.} \*?znt̄/-\*-znt̄- 'come' > Bl̄n ?znt̄-, Km znt̄-, -t̄-, Aw -nt̄; → Ad \*?nt̄-ät̄- id. > Bl̄n \*?znt̄-ər-, Xm (z)t̄ər- ¶ Ss. B 1O5, Hn. S 65, Hn. BD 99, PH 96, PG 42-4, Vg. rSimO 165-7, HL 69, Ss. OKSV, Ss. Hd. 3O7,**

AD IPCV, AD SF 246, To. DL 201, Ap. AV 5 || IE: NaIE \*mād-//\*mad- (or \*mōd-//\*mad-) 'approach, meet' > Arm մատչիմ matč̄im vi. 'gain access, approach, draw near' (aor. մատեայ mateay), մատուցանեմ matuchanem vt. 'draw\bring near' || ON mótt, MHG muoȝ, AS mōt n. 'meeting, assembly', NE moot; Gt ga-mōtjan, ON mæta, Dn mæde, Nr mæta, Sw möta, OSx mōtian, AS mætanȝ 'to meet', NE meet ¶ WP II 304, P 746, Fs. 193-4, Vr. 393-4, Ho. 225-6, Ho. S 53, Skeat 370 || u (att. in Prm only) \*°mattv > FU: pPrm \*matin, \*mate 'near' > Z, Vt matin adv. 'near', Z matz 'near' (adv. of direction), Z LL matzd- vi. 'approach', Vt mate 'approximately' ¶ LG 170 || ?σ Α: NrTg \*mata 'newly arrived person' > Ewk, Lm mata id., 'guest; foreigner' ¶ STM I 533, Vas. 29 || ? Ko {Rm.} mat 'mate, friend', manna-da 'meet' ¶ Rm. SKE I 142 ◇ S \*√m̄t? ~ \*√m̄tw̄y and U \*mattv suggest a N rec. \*mat?v, while the long vw. in IE \*māð- points to a N rec. \*maHt v (= \*ma'ʔitv?).

**1496.** \*matv̄'ʔitv̄ 'moisture' > IE: NaIE \*mad- 'wet, moist, liquor', v. 'drip' > Gk μαδάω 'be moist \ sodden' (of diseased fig-trees), μαδαρός 'moist' || L madeo / madēre 'be wet \ moist' ¶ Not here OI 'mada-, 'madya-, Av maða-, maðya- 'exhilarating \ intoxicating drink' (↔ mad- 'exhilarate, intoxicate') ¶ WP II 231-2, P 694-5, ≈ EI 638-9 (\*m(e)hād- 'become wet\moist\fat'), M K II 568, M E II 299-300, F II 157-8, WH II 6-8 || HS: Eg NE mty.t 'flood' ¶ EG II 169 || C: SC: Brn madiŋ 'rainy season' || HEC: Qbn, Kmb {Hd.} muṭa 'wet', Kmb {Hd.} muṭ- 'be wet', maṭō 'rainy season' ¶ E SC 153, Hd. 332, 334 || Ch \*m̄vd- 'dew' (× N \*mūṭitv̄ 'drop', q.v. ffd.) || Α: T \*mat 'thick liquid' > OT bat 'thick juice of pressed dates', Qrg {Jud.} bat 'glue, paste, starch' ¶ Cl. 296, Jud. 116 || | N d. or cd. 2 \*matv̄'ʔitv̄Rv̄ 'rain' or 'rainy season' > HS: S \*ma'tar- 'rain' > Bhb מַתָּר mā'tār, Ug m̄tr, IA m̄tr(?), Htr m̄tr?, JA [Trg.] מִתְרָא mit'r-ā, Sr مَطْرَأ met'r-ā, Md mitra id., Ar مَطَرٌ matar- 'shower, heavy rain', Ak LB miṭru 'small canal, ditch', Ak fOB d. miṭirtu 'in canal, ditch; in field \ orchard'; WS \*√m̄tr v. 'rain' > Amr, Ug √m̄tr G, Ar √m̄tr G, BHb √m̄tr N id.; WS → Ak RS miṭar 'field irrigated by rain' ¶ KB 544, A #1555, OLS 308, HJ 619, Js. 769, DM 265-6, BK II 1122, Hv. 725, Sd. 663, G A 26, CAD X/2 144-7 || Eg fAm m̄tr 'flood, water' (Eg G 'inundation water') ¶ EG II 174 || Κ: GZ \*za-mtar- 'winter' > OG, G zamtar-i, Mg zotonȝ-i id.;

\*za-mtar- is a cd. with the component \*za- (originally 'year') used in names of seasons (cp. G za-pχul-i 'summer'); the pK stem \*-mt<sub>L</sub>ar<sub>J</sub>- may be discerned in Sv UB/Ln li-ntw and Sv L lu-nt 'winter' ¶ K 86-7, K<sup>2</sup> 56, Q 228, FS K 128, 217, FS E 138, 239, TK 443, GP 162 ◇ The N lr. was lost in IE, Eg, and K, but preserved (as glottalization or its traces) in S, EC, and Ch (\*t? > \*t̚ > S \*t̚, HEC \*t̚, Ch \*d̚) ◇ ≈ BmK #537 (IE, HS [S, HEC, NrBc, but not Eg]; the Eg cognate is not mentioned deliberately, because it is at variance with Bm's preconceived theory about IE \*d [his \*t'] < N \*t̚) ◇ The semantic change 'rain' → Eg 'flood' is easily explained by the special geographical conditions of Egypt (absence of rains, importance of the Nile flood), while the change 'rain(y season)' → K 'winter' provides ev. for the climate of the Nostratic original habitat (Southwestern Asia with the rainy season in November-February, see AD NM).

**1497.** \*met<sub>V</sub>ha 'head, top, summit' > **HS:** C: EC {Ss.} \*math- 'head' > pSam {Hn.} \*mataħ > Sml madáħ, Sml J mádi?, Rn {Hn.} ma'taħ, {PG} mātāħ (cs. mātakkí), pBn {Hn.} \*mádāħ > Bn {Hn.}: Bi máda(h), J/K/Kj máda; Bs {HL} mete, Or máta?, {Grg.} matā, Kns {Bl.} matta, {Lm.} mattá, Msl {Lm.} matta, Di/Mos {Lm.} maššá, Gato {Fl.} mätta, Gdl {Bl.} mašš(a), Dsn mé (pl. met-u), Bs {Lm.} mete, Elm mété?, Arr {Hw.} mettéh, Ya {Ss.} míteh id. || Bj {R} mat 'crown of the head' || ?ϕ Ag: Bln {R} mād-, mad- 'auf den Kopf schlagen, den Kopf blutig schlagen' (×N \*muʒ<sub>V</sub>ya 'fist, fingers; to squeeze\hit with a fist, to punch on the head?') ¶ AD SF 182, Bl. 157, 185, 25O, 317, Ss. PEC 5, 8, 1O, 36-7, 57, 63, HL 131, Grg. 282, Hn. S 69, Hn. BD 111, PG 221, Lm. SKE 532, Hw. A 384, R WB 263, R WBd 175, Blz. EDB 21-2, To DL 517 || Om: SOM: Dime met, {Fl.} mət, Ari U mātā, Ari {Bnd.} matá, Ari G {Bnd.} məta, Hm mät-, Hm K mət, Banna {Blz. ← ?} māte 'head' || NrOm: Dzd {Blz.}: Na {Fl.} mot id., Shk {Fl.} mōto, mūtu 'head, brain' ¶ Blz. OLBP #6O, Blz. EDB 21-2, Bnd. AL 152, Fl. OWL s.v. 'head' || CCh: Pdk {Blz. ← Mch.} mudara, Msg P {Trn.} mədiy (cs. midi-), Msg Ng {Lk. ← GKrs.} māda, maidi, mīdi, Msg {Mch.} māda 'head', Mlw {Trn.} māt id. (with pos. prns.: mīdā á 'my head', mīdī nī 'his head', mūdu kù 'thy [m.] head', etc.), ? Mbara {TrnSL} mbət 'head' ¶ Lk. DQM 65, Trn. LM 1O5-6, Trn. MVM 186-7, TrnSL M 299 ¶ Blz. OLBP #6O and Blz. EDB 21-2 (C, Om, Ch + err. Ak muttu [Holma NK 35: \*'front, forehead', but in fact 'front side']) || **K:** OG mta-y, G mta 'mountain' ¶ Ser. 92, DCh. 719-2O, Chx. 765 || **A:** Tg \*m̥jata 'hide from the animal's head; skin of the head' >

Neg, Ork mēta, Ul mēta ~ m̄ata id., Lm māt ~ mēt ~ m̄at, Orc miata-ksa, Ul mēta-ksa, Nn Nh m̄ata 'hide from the animal's head', Ewk mēta id., 'scalp', Sln mēta 'face' ¶ STM I 535 ¶ Tg \*ja < \*e due to vowel breaking (as. of the second part of the vw. to the vw. of the next syll.) || T \*bet 'face' > OT [TT] bet, Tk b̄et, Az b̄at, Tkm Δ, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, ET b̄at, Δ bet, Alt b̄et, ET b̄at, Chv pit 'face', Chg, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Uz bet, VTt, Bsh bit, SbTt pit 'face, cheek', Tv b̄eti 'this side', Tf b̄ēt 'front side', Yk bāttāχ 'here, on this side' ¶ DTS 1O, ET B 121-2, TrR 111, Ra. 162, ~ TL 2O7 (\*b̄at 'face'; the rec. of \*ä is unc. because of VTt and Bsh i) || M \*metü 'similar(ly), as' (< \*'face of'?) > MM [S] {H} metü 'such as, as', [HI] {Ms.}, [PP] {Pp.} metü, WrM metü, HIM мэт, Brt мэтэ 'similarly, as', Kl мэт, {Rm} metə, metü, MMgl [Iw.] metü, Dg {Mr.} me'tu 'similar(ly), as', Ord {Ms.} möt'ü, MnR H {SM} mad\_u, {T} madu, Dx {T} mutu 'as (comme)' ¶ H1O9, Ms. H 75, Ms. O 472, Pp. KP 153, MED 538, Chr. 313, KRS 351, KW 262, Mr. D 172, Iw. 115, SM 229, T 343, T DnJ 129 ¶ Rm. EAS I 79, KW 262, DQA #13O7 (A \*m̄iat'i 'head skin, face') || D: [1] \*me|itt- 'top, upper part of the house' > Td midy 'upper storey', Tm mettaɪ id., 'storied house', Ml metta 'terrace', Kt med 'upstairs room', Kn metti 'the upstairs', Tu mettingæ 'pavement \ boards of the floor of an upper storey', Tl middiya, mide 'flat roof, terrace', Knd mide in mēra mide 'terraced building' || [2] \*mēt- 'raised place' > Ml mēta id., 'tower, upper storey', Tm mētaɪ 'platform, raised floor, terraced house', Png mēr 'storied house', Tl mēda id., 'upper chamber', Gnd mērā 'large house', Knd mēra in mēra mide (see above), Ku mēra 'upstair building', D → OI λ metə-, Prkr medaya 'whitewashed storied house'; [3] \*māt- 'upper storey, terrace' > Tm māti 'terrace', Tm, Ml mātam, Tl mādugu 'house with an upper storey', Kn māda, māta, mādi 'upstair house', Kdg, Klm mādi, Gnd mādi 'upper storey', Tu mādъ 'roof', Nkr māri 'large house', Nk mārā 'raised platform', D → OI λ mādi 'palace' ¶ D ##4796, 5O69 ◇ Tg -t- and D \*-tt- (usual reflexes of N \*-t̄-) are likely to represent the cluster \*-t̄h- (< N \*-t̄Vh- with elision of the vw.); D \*-t̄- goes back to N \*-t̄- (here probably from \*-t̄Vh- without vowel elision) ◇ The N vw. after \*t̄ is reconstructed on the indirect ev. of D \*-t̄-.

**1498. \*mAtVdV ~ \*mAdVtV** 'to stretch' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to measure') > HS: S \*✓mdd 'stretch, measure (the length)' > Ak

✓ **mdd** v. *G* (inf. *madādu*, 3m pret. *i-mdu*) 'measure (using a measure of capacity\length), pay, measure the length', BHb ✓ **mdd** (pf. **מְדַד** *mā'dad*, ip. *-mod*) v. *G* 'measure (length\surface)', Pun **mdd** acp. 'measurer', Ar ✓ **mdd** v. *G* 'spread (a carpet), stretch (one's arm), strain (a rope), lengthen by stretching', *madda* *?umra* (*fulānin*) 'lengthen (so.'s) life' (of God), Gz ✓ **mdd** v. *G* (pf. **מָדָד** *madada*) 'spread, level', Tgr ✓ **mdd** *G* (pf. **מָדָד** *madad*) 'stretch, spread', Mh ✓ **mdd** (pf. *m3d*, sbjn. *y3mdēd*) 'stretch out, stretch (one's limbs)', Hrs ✓ **mdd** (pf. *mād*), Jb C ✓ **mdd** (pf. *mid*, sbjn. 'yummud ~ yūd'), Jb E ✓ **mdd** (pf. *mid*) id.; d. CS \*'madd- 'stretching', (→ \*'measure of cloth' → ) 'garment' > Ar **مَدَّ** *madd-* 'reach of the sight, prolongation (of vowels \ voice)', BHb *mad*\* / *madd-\** 'garment' (attested: sg. +ppa. **מַדֵּן** *mad'd-ō* 'his garment', pl. +ppa. **מַדִּין** *mad'dāw* 'his garments'), Ug *md* {A} 'in garment', {OLS} 'capa, cubierta', JEA **מַדָּא** *mad'd-ā* {Sl.} 'garment', {Js.} 'priest's cloak'; WS \**mu|idd-* > Ar **مَدَّ** *mudd-* 'in measure (of various standards)', Tgr **מְדֹד** *m3dd* 'in measure of corn'; WS \**midd-at-* > Ar **مَدَّ مَدَّ** *mudd-at-* 'length, space of time', BHb **מִדָּה** *mid'dā* 'measurement (of length)' ('Meßstrecke'), Sb *midt* 'period', Tgr **מְדֹדָת** *m3ddat* 'spice of time, period', Jb C *m3d'det* 'period' ¶ CAD X/1 5-9, KB 518-2O, HJ 595, A #1516, OLS 259-6O, Js. 731, Sl. 642, BK II 1075-7, Hv. 711-2, LG 329, BGMR 83, LH 141-3, Jo. M 26O-1, Jo. H 87, Jo. J 168 || IE: NaIE \*med- v. 'measure' ({EI} id., 'weigh') (× NaIE \*med- 'think' < N \***mæt** *feel, realize* [q.v.]) > OI ∧ 'masti-ḥi' < \*med-ti-s?) n. 'measuring, weighing' || Arm **միսն** *mit* (gen. **միսին** *mti*) 'mind, intellect, sense' || Gk μέδομαι 'think on, provide for, am mindful of, bethink one of' (hardly connected with μέδων 'guardian, lord') || L *modus* 'a measure, standard of measurement', *modo* adv. 'by measure, according to a limit', *meditor* / -āri 'think over, consider', *modius* 'a Roman corn-measure (16 sextarii, rather less than 2 gallons)', Um *mer̥s*, MERS 'ius' (< \*med-os), *mersus* 'ex moribus', Osc *med-díss* 'magistrate' (< \*medo-diķ-s), gen. *medíkeís* || OIr *midiu*r (p. *ro-mídar*) 'cogito, judico', *airmed* 'measure', *mess* 'judicium', *med* 'balance', W *meddwl* 'animus, mēns, cogitatio'; on Brtt \**medami* 'think, say' see N \***mæt** *↑* || Gt *mitan*, OHG *mē(z)zan*, NHG *messen*, AS *metan* 'to measure', ON *meta* id., 'evaluate, count', *met* 'measurement, weight', OSx *met*, OHG *mēz*, NHG *Maß*, AS *met*

'measure', AS *mitta* 'in a corn-measure' (÷ L *modius*) ¶ WP II 259-60, P 705-6, ≈ EI 374 (includes reflexes of IE \*med- 'think'), M K II 607, ≈ F II 191, WH II 55-6, 99-100, Bc. G 319, 338, Vn. M 27, 42-3, 48-9, Fs. 363-4, Vr. 25-6, Ho. 220, 224, Ho. S 52, Kb. 682, OsS 606, KM 465, 475-6 || D (tr., §GS} \*maṭṭ- v. 'measure' > Tm *maṭṭu* 'measure, quantity, standard', *maṭṭam* 'measure, evenness, flatness', Ml *maṭṭu* 'measure, limit', *maṭṭam* 'measure of length', Kt *maṭṭm* (obl. *maṭṭ-*) 'level place, all', Kn *maṭṭu*, *maṭṭa*, *maṭṭa* 'measure, extent, height', Tu *maṭṭu* 'measure, extent, limit', *maṭṭa* 'carpenter's \ bricklayer's square, level, measure', Tl *maṭṭu* 'limit, bound, measure', *maṭṭamū* 'level, a levelling instrument' ¶ D #4660 || A: M \*badara- v. 'spread, expand' (× N \*paṭṭhā) 'to be open, to open', q.v. ffd.).

**1499.** 2 \*matR<sup>Δ</sup> ~ \*maRt<sup>Δ</sup> 'midday' ([in ObU] → 'south') > HS: Eg MKL *mtr.t* ({Vc.} = \*mitra-t) 'midday' > DEg *mtr* id. > Cpt: Sd **ΜΕΡΕ** *meere*, B **ΜΕΡΙ** *meri* id. ¶ EG II 174, Er. 192, Vc. 119 || U: FU (att. in ObU) \*°mart<sup>Δ</sup> > ObU {Ht.} \*mārt<sup>Δ(y)</sup> 'country where migratory birds spend their winter' > pVg \*mārt̄ id. > Vg (partially in cds. with mā 'land', sām 'region', īoŋk 'way', woy 'beast'): MK *mōrt*, LL *mort*, UL *mōrti*, Ss *mōrti* 'country where migratory birds spend their winter', d. P *mortəm* id. || pOs \*mart̄†(in similar cds.): Ty/Y *mårt̄*, D *mōrtə*, K *märtə*, Nz/Kz *mōrtə*, O *marti* id. ¶ Ht. #412, KrT 543-4, ≈ UEW 280-1.

**1500.** \*maṭ<sup>Δ</sup> 'to bend' > HS: WS \*-mīṭ- ~ \*-mūṭ- '≈ shake, waver, turn away' > Ar ✓ *myṭ* (pf. *māṭa*, ip. -mīṭ-) 'turn away, retire from, deviate', BHb ✓ *mwṭ* (pf. *māṭ*, ip. -mūṭ) 'totter, shake', MHb ✓ *mwlyṭ* Sh (pf. מִטְהֵא 'mīṭ̄') 'bend, shake', JA [Trg.] ✓ *mwṭ* G 'inline, waver, decline; give way, bend', {Lv.} 'wanken, zum fallen neigen', Sr ✓ *mwṭ* G 'totter, lean over, stagger', Gz ✓ *myṭ* G (js. -mīṭ̄) vt., vi. 'turn, turn aside' ¶ KB 526, LG 377, BK II 1173, Hv. 742, BDB 536 [#4131], Js. 740, Lv. TM II 14, Br. 376, JPS 207 || A \*mat̄a vt. 'bend' > M \*mata- > WrM *mata-*, HlM, Brt *мата-* v. 'curve, bend', Kl {Rm.} *mata-* 'biegen, bogenformig machen', ds.: WrM *matai-* *matayi-*, HlM *матий-*, Kl *мати-* *matī-* vi. 'bend, curve', Kl {Rm.} *matī-*, *matā-*, Kl Ö {Rm.} *matā-*, *matā-* 'sich biegen, sich schief drehen', Ord *mat̄ā-* 'etre contourné \ courbé', WrM *matailga-*, HlM *матийлга-* vt. 'bend, bow, curve', Dg *mat̄en* 'bent, curved' ¶ MED 530, Chr. 294, KRS 344, Rm, KW 258, T DgJ 154, Ms. O 456 || Tg \*mata- vt. 'bend' > Ewk *mata-*,

WrMc mata- id. ¶ But not here ( $\Leftrightarrow$  DQA) STg \*mita- > WrMc mita-vi. {Z} 'turn\bend back, turn over back; give back', {Z, Hr.} 'unbend, zurücksschnellen' (of a bow after removing the bowstring), Jrc {Kiy.} mita- vi. 'retreat', because the basic meaning here is 'backward' rather than 'bend' ¶ STM I 533, 539, Z 887, Hr. 659, Kiy. 12O [#414] || ?φ pJ {S} \*mətər- vi. 'bend, deviate' > OJ motor- vi. bend', J: T/Kg motó-, K mótor- 'deviate\depart from, run contrary to' ¶ S QJ #929, Mr. 727, Kenk. 1273 ¶ ≈ DQA #13O6 (A \*m̥iat̥'e 'to bend'; incl. M, J) || Gil: Gil A (mod-) (prs./p. moṭ-ç) 'lie with one's head on the cushion' ¶ ST 193 || D: [1] D \*maṭank- vi. / \*maṭakk-, {§GS} \*maḍaŋk- vt. 'bend, fold' > Tm maṭaŋku 'become bent as the arm or leg, be closed\folded as a knife or table', Ml maṭaŋnuka 'be bent \ folded', Kt maṛk, Kdg maḍak- vt. 'fold', Td moṛy- vi., vt. 'fold neatly', moṛx- vi. 'bend', Kn maḍate 'folding, a fold', Tu maḍatæ 'a fold, crease', maḍi 'fold, a quantity added', Tl maḍakā 'fold, plait', maḍagū 'bend, fold, be bent\folded', Prj maḍkip- 'fold, roll up', Gnd maṛp- v. 'fold' || [2] (in SD) \*māṭ- ({§GS} \*-d-) > Tm māṭai 'being bent downwards as horns of cattle', Ml māṭa 'cow with horns bent downwards', Kt maṭ et 'bullocks with horns curving back', Tu mōḍæ 'ox\buffalo with curved horns' ¶ D ##4645, 4799, Sbr. DVM 64 ¶ The cns. \*-t- for the expected \*-t- has not yet found explanation (suffixes that were lost due to D sound laws ruling out stop-initial clusters?).

**1501.** \*mĀṭ $\nabla$  '≈ increase, make long/broad' > HS: S \*°✓mṭt > Ar ✓mṭt G (pf. matṭa) 'tendre et allonger une chose en la tirant avec force; allonger (les joues, les sourcils)' ¶ BK II 1121 || K {Fn.} \*°maṭ- > G maṭ-ul- / maṭ- (ft. i-maṭ-eba, inf. matul-oba) vi. 'increase, become larger' ¶ Chx. 727-8 || D \*mat-, {§GS} \*mad- > Tm matippu 'growing fat' (of a person), 'growing leafy' (of a plant), matukay 'strength', Tl madincu 'become fat' ¶ ≈ D #4687 (+ err. D \*mat-, {GS} \*mady- 'be furious, excited' - cp. GS 148-9 [#508]) ◇ Fn. KD #25 (K, D).

**1502.** \*moṭE 'sprout, stem, penis, genitals' > HS: Eg mt (reading of the character representing male genitalia), DEg mt 'phallus', as well as possibly (× N \*mUṭ $\nabla$  'man, person') ? Eg fP mtw.t 'sperm, son' ¶ EG II 168-9, Er. 184 || EC: HEC: Sd {Hd}, Hd {L} muta 'penis', Hd/Kmb {Hd.} mut- v. 'sprout', Hd {Hd.} muta 'awl for basketwork' || LEC: Or {Grg.} muṭ- v. 'sprout, blade' (of crop) ¶ LrCoh. 315, Hd. 141, 387, Grg. 295 || NrOm: Zl/Dc {Lm.} mute 'penis' ¶ Tk. I 227 || K: eNG {SSO} muṭ-el-i

'membrum muliebre' (x N \*mû̥s, t̥<sup>1</sup> **Ν** 'woman, female', sc. an adj. 'that of a woman, muliebre'??) || SSO I 529, Fn. SK 98 [#191] || **A** \*mot'Ε (or \*met'Ε?) 'pudenda; bird's crop' > Tg: Ewk {Cs.} motoko 'vulva' (unless from N \*mû̥s, t̥<sup>1</sup> **Ν** 'woman, female', q.v.) || STM I 547 || T: VTt b̥t̥<sup>1</sup>g 'vulva', Qz bötäkä 'kidneys of animals', Yk bötögö 'bird's crop, crow', Chv {Ash.} пүтөкө pud\_eg\_e id., 'kidneys of animals' || Rs. W 8, Ash. X 44 || pJ {S} \*mitua > OJ mituo 'pudenda' || S QJ #482 || DQA #1289 (A \*mét'i(-rk<sup>1</sup>) > incl. T, Tg, J) || T and Tg suggest a rounded vw. of the first syll., but in the light of the J cognate the T/Tg rounded vw. may be due to as. || **D** \*mot(t)-, {gGS} ≈ \*modd- '≈ trunk, straw' > Tm mutal 'stump, lowest part of stem', Td miθ 'straw', Kn moddu 'log of wood', Tu madaqъ 'log, trunk', mudelъ 'stubble, stump of a tree', Klm modal 'tre trunk', modda 'log', Nkr modhal, Prj model, Gnd modol, modal, Knd modol 'tree trunk', Nk maddum 'stem of tree' || D #4951.

**1503.** <sup>2</sup> \*mô̥t̥Ε 'whole, complete' > **A:** T \*büt- (= \*müt-) 'be complete \ all' > OT büt- 'be complete', XWT XIV büt- 'be completed, achieved', Qrg, ET büt-, Tk bit-, Ggz, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Uz bit-, Qq pit-, Qzq bit-, VTt бөт- бът-, Bsh бөт- бът-, Yk but-, Chv L пёт- рът/d-, Chv H рът/d- id., 'be finished', Alt b\_üt-, Tf b\_ü̥t̥<sup>1</sup>, Xk püt- 'be completed, achieved', Tv b\_üt- 'come true, be realized, occur', d.: Qmn {B} büd-ir- vt. 'complete, finish'; → T \*mütün (> \*bütün) 'complete, entire' > OT, MQp XIII-XIV, Osm XIV bütün id., Tkm bütin, Δ mütin, Ggz, Az, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Qrg bütün, Qq pütin, Qzq бүтін bütin, ET, Ln pütün, VTt, Bsh бөтен бътън, Xk püdün, Alt, Tv b\_üdün, Tf b\_ü̥t̥<sup>1</sup>ün, Chv: L пётем ръд\_ым, H ръд\_ым id.; T → M: [1] MM d. [S] {H} bütē,e- 'erledigen', [MA] {Pp.} bütē- ~ bütü-, [IM] {Pp.} bütē- v. 'achieve, complete', WrM bütü-, HIM, Brt бүтэ-, Kl бүт- büt- 'be(come) formed \ fulfilled \ executed', Ord {Ms.} büt'ü- 'se produire, se faire, s'achever, réussir', Dg bute- 'be fulfilled, realized', [2] MM [MA] bütün, WrM bütün, HIM, Brt бүтэн, Kl бүтн bütən, Ord büt'ün 'whole, complete, entire' || Cl. 298-9, 302-4, ET B 152-4, 302-4, Ra. 167, TvR 125, Md. 64, 175, Pp. MA 128-9, 434, H 24, MED 152-3, Ms. O 107-8, SM 3O, T DgJ 128, KRS 131, Chr. 126 || Tg \*mûte- 'be able' > Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Mc Sb, Nn Nh/B mutz-, Nn KU maz-, WrMc mute- id. || STM I 561, Krm. 263 || pKo {S} \*mòt- 'all, whole' > MKo mótl, Ko: Sl modú, Ph/PhN/Kw modu, Ks/Chs módu, Hm mo\_du\_, Chj modɔ id. || St AJ 245 [#1], 251 [#1], S QK #1, Nam 214, 217, MLC 641 || pJ {S} \*muta > OJ

muta 'together with' § S QJ #1 §§ Rm. EAS I 58, S AJ 27, 70, 86, 274, ≈ DQA #1371 (A \*mūt‘i 'to complete, to gather together'; incl. T, Tg, Ko, J) || D \*mott-, {GS} mot- 'all, total' > Tm mottam, Tl mottamu 'sum, total, whole', Ml mottam 'whole, total', Kn motta 'heap, multitude' §§ D #5119, GS 82 [#256] ◇ N \*ō > T ü due to the front vw. of the next syll. An alt. rec. of a N \*mūt̄ is ruled out by the D cognate with \*o.

**1503a. \*mŪt̄** 'man, person, a young' (an alternative to \*mŪt̄ or \*mŪt̄ 'man, person', q.v.) > HS: S \*mut- 'person, man' > OAk mutum, Ak 𒂗 mutu(m) 'husband, man, warrior', Eb mu-tum = mutum, Ug mt 'husband, man; hero', Amr {Hff.} mutum 'man', BHb pl. 𒂔תִם ma't-īm, pl. cs. 𒂔תֵי ma'tē 'men, people (homines)', Gz mat 'husband' § CAD X/2 313-6, Sd. 69O-1, Krb. PE 97, KB 617-8, A #17O5, Grd. UT #1369, OLS 3O5, Hff. 234-5, L G 371 || Ch: Hs mutum [mūtūŋ] (pl. mūtānē) 'man, person', Gw {Mts.} pl. նտան 'men, persons' || CCh: Mrg {ChL} mdù, WMrg {ChL} mdà 'person'. Br մդա id., 'man (vir)', HgNk/HgF {ChL} մդի 'person', FIJ {ChC} mdì, Nz {ChC} m̄de || ECh: Skr {Lk.} māti, {Sx.} māti 'man (vir)', EDng {Fd.} mētā 'person', mítikò 'man (vir)', Bdy mīdō, Mgm {J} mīdī, Brg {J} mīdiwó, Jg {J} mītō id. § Ba. 8O7, Abr. H 69O, JI II 231, ChC, ChL || Eg G mt 'man', adj. 'male', ??σ (× N \*mot̄E 'sprout, stem, penis'?) Eg fP mtw.t 'sperm, son' § EG II 168-9 and V 144 (s.v. t̄ʒj) || ?φ B {Pr.} \*mīdid-an 'homines' > Ah {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.}, Tmz (MT), Izn, Rf A {Rn.}, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} middən, BSn/Izn/Mtm {Ds.} middən ~ mīd̄ən, Ty/ETwlm meddən, Rf Wr/T/B {Rn.} midən 'homines', SrSn {Rn.}, Izd {Mrc.} māddən, Kb māddən, Sll {Ds.} 'māddən, Tz {Stm.} māddən ~ müddən ~ middən, Gd {Lf.} meddən, Awj {Prd.} middən 'les gens' § Pr. M IV 414 reconstructs here a form \*mīdid-an; an alt. rec. may be \*mīd-wan ~ \*med-wän (with a typical pl. sx. \*-wan and with the reg. change \*-dw- > \*-dd-). The voiced cns. \*-d- (for the expected \*-t-) still needs explaining § Fc. 1124, GhA 123, Dl. 487, Pr. M IV 242, 414, MT 4O4, La. S 244, Rn. 3O7, Stm. 2O8, Ds. 141, Ds. B 15O, Dlh. M 115, Dlh. Ou 184, Mrc. 128, Lf. II #O971, Prd. 166 § § ≈ OS #18O6 (S, Ch) (unc. connection with HS {OS} \*māwut- 'die') || D \*mut 'aged man' (→ 'old') > Tm mutu 'old, ancient', Ml mutu 'old, prior', Kt mud, mudk 'old age', Td muθ, muθy 'old', mu:t π 'old age', Kn muttu, mudi id., Kdg mudi 'old', Tu mudu, mudu 'old, aged, ancient', Tl mudu 'old age, old'; Tl mutta, muttu 'old person', d.: ||

Tm mutiya(va)n, Ml mutukkan, Kt mudkn, Kn mudaka, muduku, Kdg mudikə<sub>1</sub>, Tu muduke, Prj, Gdb muttak, Gnd muytor  $\Delta$  muytonq 'old man', Nkr mudgan 'husband', Brh mutkun 'old, old thing' §§ D #4954 || A: T \*mot'U' or \*bot'U' 'camel colt, (?) boy' > OT botu:<sub>1</sub> 'camel colt', MQp, Chg bota, XwT boda, Tk pota,  $\Delta$  potuk ~ putuk, Qq, Qzq, Nog, Kr, ET bota, Qrg bota, Qrg S bodo, VTt, Bsh buta id., Uz bwta id., 'child', ET {Zn.} bota 'boy', Chg {Bu.} buta 'son' § Cl. 299, ET B 198-200, TL 448, Bu. I 272, Shch. Zh 1O6 || M \*botugun 'camel colt' > WrM botugu(n), HlM ботго, Kl ботхн id., 'young camel in its first year', Brt ботогон 'camel colt' § MED 125.

**1504.** <sub>2</sub> \*mūt $\nabla$  (or \*mūKt $\nabla$ ?) 'drop', 'tear(s)' > HS: B \*m $\nabla$ tt-'tear(s)' > Ah {Fc.} amit̪ (pl. imattawən), BSn/Sll {Ds.}, Gd {Lf.} amatta (pl. mattawən), Gh {Nh.}, SrSn {Rn.} amat̪aw, Izn/Rf {Rn.} amat̪ta, Kb {Dl.}, Tmz {MT} imatt̪i, Izd amat̪ti, Si {La.} pl. imatt̪awən, Nf {Beg.} mätt̪in (pl. imatt̪iwan ~ imatt̪āwan), Zng {Nic.} əndawən, {Bs.} əndawn 'tears' § Fc. 1163, Dl. 527, MT 445, Rn. 385, Ds. 167, Ds. B 193, La. S 252, Beg. 239, Lf. II #1O49, Nic. 2O8, Bs. MS I 134 || Ch \*m $\nabla$ d- 'dew' ( $\times$  N \*mat $\nabla$ t $\gamma$   $\nabla$  'moisture' [q.v.]) > WCh: NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} màd-áj, Kry {Sk.} mág̃, My {Sk.} ámàdí, P' {MSk.} mádá, Dir {Sk.} màdá, Sir {Sk.} mûdé, Jmb {Sk.} àmádá 'dew' | Ngz {Sch.} mág̃áwà, Bd {ChL} madāwān 'dew' || CCh: Ms {Caït.} mág̃íí [= mág̃í?] (df. mág̃í-ná), {ChC} madajta, ZmB {ChC} mida, ZmD {KNC} mb̃ádá, Lame {Sa.} mb̃ádá, Azm {Pc.} mbađīda id. § Sk. NB 18, Sch. DN 1O8, ChC, ChL, Sa. L II 311, Caït. 113, KNC 17, Pc. 286 || D \*mutt- (< \*mukt-?) 'drop', 'tear' (n.) > Tm muttu 'pearl, tear', Ml muttu 'pearl kernel', Td mut, Kn muttu, Kdg mutti, Tl muttiyamu, muttemu 'pearl', Tu muttu id., 'a drop', Kt mut 'woman's ear-ring'; D  $\rightarrow$  OI mukta 'pearl' §§ D #4959.

**1505.** <sub>2</sub> \*m $\nabla$ t $\gamma$   $\nabla$  'to pull, to pull out (a plant, etc.), to uproot, to reap' > HS: S \*° $\check{v}$ m̄t̄w > Ar  $\check{v}$ m̄t̄w (pf. لَمْتَ mat̄ā, ip. -m̄tuw-) 'pull (a rope)' → 'urge a beast' (of a rider) → 'hasten, hurry the walk' § BK II 1124, Hv. 725 || EC: ? $\phi$  Sd mid- {Mrn., Hd.} 'reap', {Ss.} 'mow, cut', Ged mid- v. 'uproot, weed', Brj mid- {Hd.} v. 'pull, uproot', {Ss.} 'uproot, dislocate', 'extract' (of tooth), Kmb mid- 'reap, uproot, drag'; Gdl {Ss.} mit- v. 'snap a string, yank a leaf off a tree' § Hd. 212, 255, 333, 386, Ss. B 144 || IE: NaIE \*met- v. 'reap, harvest' > L met-ō / -ēre / messum 'reap, mow, harvest; pluck off (abpflücken)' || Clt: W medi

'to reap, to harvest', *medelw̥r* 'reaper', OCrn *midil* 'messor', OIr [ɣ] *meithleorai* · "messores", *methel*, OIr *meithel* 'a party of reapers', OW *medel* id. ¶ ≈ WP II 259, ≈ P 703, ≈ EI 258 (\**h₂met-*'mow'), ≈ WH I 82-3, Vn. M 45, SB 206.

**1506. \*m'ar̥i't̥n** (or \*m'o?i't̥n?) 'worm, larva, (?) small insect' > **HS:** C: EC {□AD} \**miṭ-* > Sml {R} *miṭ* 'Würmchen in Wasserpfützen', Sml N {Abr.} *míðhárēdād*, Sml C {DSI, ZMO} *míraharēdād* 'mosquito larvae (in water)', Or {Th.} *miṭi* 'ant', {Brl.} *miṭi*, {Grg.} *miṭi* 'tiny black ant', ? {Th., Brl.} *minni* 'tenia, verme solitario', Arr *mínne* 'tapeworm' (↔ Or?) ¶ AD SF 250, R SS II 287, Abr. S 179, ZMO 292, DSI 438, Th. 245-6, Brl. 305-6, Grg. 289, Hw. A 385 || Ch: CCh: Db {Lnh.} *màḍad* 'worm' || ECh: Kwn {Cp.} *mìččá*, Mgm {JA} *mèčémèče* 'termite' ¶ ChC, JA 106 || **K** \**maṭ-*- 'worm' (× \**ma-ṭ-*- 'worm' ↔ \**ṭ-*- 'gnaw') > OG, G *maṭl-i*, Mg, Lz *munṭur-* 'worm', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln *maṭ* 'worm (in fruit)' ({IS}: < \**muṭ* < \**maṭw*) ¶ GM 82, K 129, ≈ K 117 (\**ma-ṭ-*- ↔ \**ṭ-*-), Schm. 123, TK 595, GP 223 || **IE:** NaIE \**mat-* (or \**mot-*) 'worm, larva' > Gmc \**maθa-n* 'worm, larva' > Gt *maþa* 'worm', OSx *matho*, OHG *mado* 'worm, maggot', NHG *Made* 'maggot, mite, worm', AS *maða* 'worm, maggot', NE *moth*; dim. ON *maðkr* 'maggot'; ? (from a d.) MHG *matte*, *motte*, NHG *Motte* 'moth'; Gmc → F *mato* 'worm, maggot', Es *madu* 'snake' || Sl \**motví* (~ \**motuí*) 'insect' > Cz *motýl* 'Lepidoptera', Slk *motýl'* 'a motley-winged insect', P *motyl* 'butterfly', R *мо'тыль* 'mosquito grub', dim. *моты́лек* 'small butterfly', Uk *мо'тиль* id., Slv *motúlj* 'butterfly' || OI *matkunah* 'bug', ?? Av *maðaxa-* 'grasshopper' || ?φ Arm **Մարիլ** *mathil* 'small louse' (unless from OZan, cp. pK \**maṭ-*- 'worm') ¶ EI 650 (\**mat-* ≈ worm, maggot, insect'), M K II 564-5 (no et. for *matkunah*), Vr. 374, Fs. 349, Kb. 649, OsS 581, KM 452, 489-90, Ho. 216, ESSJ XX 82-6, SK 337, ≠ P 700 || **A:** T \**miyt* (\**biyt*) ~ \**mit* (\**bit*) 'louse, vermin' > OT, MQp, MU, Chg *bit* 'louse', MQp XIII *bit* 'bug', OOsm {Zn., Bu.} بـت ~ بـيت *bit* 'worm, vermin', Tk *bit*, Az, Tkm, Uz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qrb, Qzq, Qq, Qrg *bit*, Nog *biyt*, VTt, Bsh *бет* *быт*, Alt *b\_iyt*, Xk *put*, Yk *bit*, Tv *b\_it*, Tf *b\_it'*, SY *pišt*, Slr *bišt*, Chv *пыйтă* *piyd\_a* id., Ggz *bit* 'bug' ¶ SY, Slr *š* < \**y* (unvoiced before voiceless cns.). The back vw. i in Tv, Tf, Yk, and Chv may be due to a final back vw. (vw. harmony) or to dis. in front of y) ¶ Cl. 296, ET B 151-2, TL 182, Bu.

I 241, TvR 131, Ra. 73, Md. 75, 174 (\*bit'▽; suggests a positional lengthening of the vw. before \*t') ◇ The C and T vowel i (~ i) and \*a in IE and K cannot go back to the same N source, hence a sequence like \*-aHi- (or \*-oHi-?) can be a solution. The absence of vw. lengthening in IE suggests that the N hypothetical word-internal lr. was \*? (the only lr. that does not cause lengthening of the preceding NaIE vowels) ◇ IS II 77 s.v. \*mət̪n (K, IE, C).

**1507.** \*mū<sub>1</sub>ti<sub>2</sub>t̪▽ 'woman, female' > HS: B \*m̄t̪t̪uH<sub>2</sub>- 'woman' > Ah {Fc.} tamat̪, {GhA} tamatt̪, Gh {Nh.} tamat̪ 'woman, wife', Ty tamt̪at̪, Gd {Lf.} tamat̪ ~ tamat̪ 'woman', Kb {Dl.}, Izn {Ds.} ta-mt̪t̪ut̪ (pl. t̪imt̪t̪at̪), Rf {Rn.} ta-mat̪t̪ut̪ ~ ta-mat̪t̪ut̪, BSn {Ds.} ta-mt̪t̪ut̪, Tmz {MT} tamatt̪t̪ut̪ 'woman, wife', Mz {Dlh.}, Izd {Mrc.} tamatt̪t̪ut̪ (Mz pl. timatt̪t̪at̪), Nf {La.} tamatt̪t̪ut̪, {Beg.} tmatt̪t̪ut̪, Skn {Sarn.} tamatt̪t̪ut̪ 'woman', Wrg {Dlh.} tamatt̪t̪ut̪ id., 'female', Zng {Bs.} تِمْتِي temti 'femelle', {MH→Nic.} temti (pl. t̪ūmt̪a<sup>2</sup>n) 'woman, female (animal)' || Gnc CHAMATO 'woman, wife' ¶ Fc. 1124, GhA 134, Lf. II #O953, Dl. 527, Rn. 385, Ds. B 129-30, MT 445, Dlh. M 125, Dlh. Ou 201, La. S 236, Beg. 230, Bs. MS I 116, Nic. 208, Wlf. 406 || S ? \*°✓m̄t̪ > Ar mařt̪ā?- (pl. muřt̪-) 'genitalia of a woman' (if the interpretation as a f. from ?amřat̪- 'shaved, without hair' is folk-etymological) ¶ BK II 1128 || NrOm: Anf {Fl.} mačo, {Lm.} maco, Shn {Fl.} maču 'woman', {Lm.} māčā 'wife', Gm {Hw.} máčča, Kcm {CR} māčo 'woman', possibly Kf {C} maččē, WI {C} maččē, Zl/Gf/Bdt {C} maččo, Gm {Hw.} maččó 'woman', Anf {Lm.} maččo 'wife' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'woman', ~ Lm. Sh 360, Hw. EG, Gt. 360 || Ch: ECh: Skr {Sx.} mēđe 'woman' || WCh {Stl.} \*mata 'woman, wife' > Hs māčē (pl. mātā), Gw {Mats.} māčē (pl. mata) | Su, Tal {ChC}, Cp {ChL} māt̪, Ang {ChL} mat, Gmy {ChL} māt̪, Grk {ChC} mōt̪ 'woman' || CCh: Nz {Sk.} madeší, BtD {Srp.} moičé, Bcm {Sk.} mēt̪, Gudu {IL} madl(:)ci id., Gude {Hsk.} mādāns 'bride' ¶ JI II 346-7, ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 232 [#796], Hsk. 234 || K: eNG {SSO} muṭ-el-i 'membrum muliebre' (unless from N \*moṭE 'sprout, stem, penis, genitals') ¶ SSO I 529, Fn. SK 98 [#191] || A: Tg: Ewk {Cs.} motoko 'membrum muliebre' (unless from N \*moṭE '↑') ¶ STM I 547 || D (in SD) \*mūt̪-/\*muṭ- ({§GS} \*-d-) 'female' > Tm mūt̪u 'ewe', muṭuku 'female elk', muṭuvval 'bitch', Kdg muḍi 'girl' ¶ D #5036 ¶ D \*-t̪- is a reg. reflex of N \*-t̪- and \*-d- (rather than \*-t̪-); the de-emphatization is probably due to the adjacent lr. (suggested by El and Ar) || E: MEI mu-h-ti-ir-ri 'his wife', AchE mu-ti 'woman,

wife; female', *mu-tur* 'woman, wife' ¶ HK 948, 961-2 ◇ It is tempting to adduce here NaIE \*māter 'mother', but the quality of the vw. \*ā suggests lack of labiality (even if \*ā goes back to \*e|ah); therefore NaIE \*māter hardly belongs here (\*mā- is likely to belong to the N Ll. ? \*ma<sup>r?</sup>a 'mother', q.v.); cp. Ari/Hm ma 'woman, female' (Bnd. AL 162), Skr {Lk.} mā id. (Lk. ZSS 35). The N lr. was a weak one (most probably \*f rather than \*v, to judge from the absence of \*v in K). Both Ar maṣṭā?- 'female genitals' and K muṭ-el-i id. go back to adjectives (lit. 'weib-lich'), because both the Ar pattern 1a23ā?- and the G sx. -el- are usual derivational devices that form adjectives ◇ Blz. KM 116-7 [#12] (K, HS, E, D) and 13O [addition to #12] (added Tg), McA 105 (E, D).

**1508.** \*m<sup>r</sup>äy<sup>1</sup>t<sup>2</sup>▽ 'earth, land, place, place of residence' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>māt-> Ak ɻ mātu 'country, land (↔ 'sea'), flat country' ¶ CAD X/1 414-28 || ?? (+ ext.): B \*<sup>o</sup>✓ mdr > Kb ṫa-mðiṛ-t ~ ṫa-mðar-t (pl. ṫi-mðiṛ-in) 'parcelle de terre', Tmz tamdirt (pl. timdirin) 'parcelle de terrain délimitée par des sillons qu'on doit labourer en une journée'; B → Ar Mgr {Mrç.} mtira id. ¶ Dl. 488, MT 406, WMrç. 488 || IE: NaIE \*mejt(<sup>h</sup>)- 'live (wohnen), remain; 'stay, residence; place of residence' > Av maēt- (prs. miθna-) 'remain', maēθanəm 'place of residence of humans and gods, dwelling, house', Phl mēhan 'home', NPrs میهان mīhān 'one's native soil, home; wife and children'; KhS cd. par-mihā- 'village' || Ltv mis-t (1s prs. mít-u) 'live (wohnen), reside, stay, abide', mitināt 'give lodging and board', Lt mīsti (1s prs. mintū) 'feed (on), nourish oneself, live (on), live, exist', Pru maitā vt. 'feeds'; the meaning 'nourish oneself, earn one's livelihood' is secondary (← 'live', as in NE live on; in Blt there is contamination with NaIE ≈ \*mejt- 'fat' (> OIr méith [gen. méith] adj. 'fat', Ic meið 'das Fetteste vom Speck des Walfisches?') | Sl \*město 'place' > OCS, OR мѣсто město, Blg 'място, R 'место 'place', McDS място, SCr мѣсто ~ mīsto ~ mjěsto, Slv město, Cz město 'place, town', Slk miesto 'place, settlement, town', P miasto, Uk 'місто 'city, town, place' ¶ Sl \*-st- < IE \*-t-t- ¶ WP II 242, P 715, Brtl. 1105-7, Horn 227, VI. II 1260, Sg. 1365, Bai. 219, BM 549, Tr. 185, Frn. 459-60, En. 207, Vs. II 608, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 203-6, ≈ Glh. 415 || U \*mätt▽ 'house, hut' > Chr: H {Rm.} † mat, U мѣт 'house, family' | Prm \*mat-in, \*mat-e 'near' > Vt, Z матын

mat<sup>in</sup> locative adv. 'near', Z **матö** mat<sup>z</sup> directive adv. 'near', Vt **матэ** mate 'approximately' ¶ UEW 269, LG 170, Rm. BT 84 || Sm {Jn.} \*mät 'tent, home' > Ne T **мя”** mā? / **мяд-** mād- id., Ne FL {Lh.} mādāt id., En {Ter.} mε? / mεδ-, Ng {Mik.} ma? (gen. mādə) id., Slq Tz {KKIH} māt, Slq Tm {KD} mād\_ id., Kms {KD} mā? (gen. mādən), {Cs.} ma?d id., Koyb {Sp.} **матъ** id., Mt {Hl.} \*māt ~ \*ma?n 'house, tent, home' (Mt T/M/K {Mll.} mat 'house, tent', {Sp.} менъ id., M {Pl.} **мять** 'house') ¶ Jn. 90-1, Hl. M 304 || A \*māt 'earth, place' > Ko: [1] \*mut 'dry land' > MKo mut, NKo mut<sup>h</sup> mut | [2] ??? pKo {S} \*mat<sub>h</sub> 'place, enclosure, yard' (× A {DQA} \*múgdà 'bank, earth?') > MKo māt, māt<sup>h</sup>, NKo † mat (mat, mat<sup>h</sup>), NKo matan̄ madañ 'place, enclosure, yard' ¶ S QK 238, 948, Nam 199, 206, 223, MLC 560, 578, 596, 685, S AJ 256 [#136] || pJ {S} \*mita -\*-u- 'earth' > J: Ns mīčá, Sh ūčá, Ht ūtā, Y ūtā id. ¶ S AJ 259 [#22], 270 [#122], S QJ #122 ¶ S AJ 279 [#44], DQA #1357 (A \*mīot'i -\*-u- 'land': J, Ko \*mut), DQA #1358 (incl. Ko \*mat<sub>h</sub>) || D \*maṭi, {§GS} \*mađi 'field' > Kn mađi 'the bed of a garden, division of a field', Tl mađi 'field, garden bed', Knd maři 'paddy field' ¶ D #4655 ¶ D \*t̄ for the expected \*t̄ has yet not been explained ◇ The N cns. \*y was lost in S and U (simplification of the N cluster \*ȳt̄ or monophthongization?), in D it was either lost or underwent mt. (\*ȳt̄ > \*t̄i).

**1509.** \*‘**meyt**’<sup>Δ</sup> 'throw' > IE: NaIE \*(s)mejt-/\*met- 'throw, cast' > Av maēθ- (\*s)meit(<sup>h</sup>)- 'send' ({Brtl.} 'mittere'), hamista-'niedergeworfen, unterdrückt' (P: < \*ham-, \*h̄mista-) || L mitt-o, -ere 'send, let go', [Fest.] Γco-smitt-ere 'committere' || BSl \*met- 'throw' > Blt: Lt mēsti (1s prs. metū), Ltv mest (3s prs. met) 'throw, cast', Lt mētis, Pru metis n. 'throw (Wurf)', Ltv mēts 'sketch, project, design', Pru pomests 'unterworfen', pomettewingi 'Untertan' | Sl \*met- (1s prs. \*met-q, inf. mesti) 'throw' (to distinguish from the homonymous verb \*met- 'sweep!') > Slv mēsti / mētem, Cz † mēsti / metu, P mieść, Slvnz mēsc 'throw', OR **мєстн жрєбни** mesti žrebii 'to cast a lot'; d. Sl \*meta- 'cast, fling, throw' > OCS **мєтати** metati / **мєшк** meštq, Slv métati / méčem, Uk me'tati id., Cz metati, Slk metat', P miotać 'throw', R мєтать / мє'чу 'cast, fling', SCr mētati / mēcēm 'put, throw'; Sl \*met-nq-ti mom. 'cast, fling, throw' > OCS **мєтнжти** metnqtí, Cz metnouti, P miotnać, R мєт'нуть id.,

SCr *mètnuti* 'put' || OFrs *smita* 'to throw', MLG, MDt *smitan*, Dt *smijten* 'to throw, to fling', NNr *smita*, Dn *smide* 'to fling'; sd. 'to smite': MHG *smizēn*, NHG *schmeißen*, NE *smite* ¶ WP II 687-8, P 968, EI 582 (? \**smejt-* 'throw'), Brtl. 1105-6, 1778, Bai. 219, WH II 97-9, PF 67, Mul. 432, EM 407-8, Frn. 442-3, Kar. I 586, En. 210, 231, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 105-15, 120-1 (all of them do not recognize the connection between \*(s)*mejt-* and BSl \**met-*), Hlq. 1003, Lx. 200, KM 603, Ho. 302, Vr. N 658-9 ¶ The variant stem \**met-* goes back to pre-IE \**mjet-* (AD NGIE 17-9), so that the relation of \*(s)*mejt-* to \**met-* is that of Bn.'s "state I" to "state II" of IE roots (Schwebeablaut). This legitimate alternation removes the argument against the connection between the verb in BSl and that in L and Av || HS: B (+ ext.) \*√*mđr* ~ \*√*mđr* (< \*√*mđr*) 'throw' > Izn {Ds.} *əmdər* (hab. *mattər*), {Rn.} *əmdar* ≈ *əndar*, Mtm/BSlh {Ds.} *əmtər*, Ntf {La.} *əntər* 'throw', Kb {Dl.} *əntər* 'jeter à terre', Gd {Lf.} *əndər* 'abattre, faire tomber' ¶ Lf. II #1100, Dl. 583-4, La. S 249, Ds. B 184 || A: AmTg \**met-* (~ \**mut-*?) v. 'throw, fling' > Ork *mətə-* v. 'fling a stone', *mətəl(l)ə-* 'throw', *mətətči-*, *mətəčči-* 'throw, throw away', Ul *mutuka* 'a sling (for casting stones)', ? Orc *mučkədə-* ~ *məčkədə-* 'throw\bandy (objects from one to another)' (of several people) ¶ STM I 544 ¶ The vw. ү of the first syll. in Ul and Orc may be due to the ass. infl. of *m-* || D \**met-* 'throw, cast (into an enclosed space)' > Gdb *medd-*, Mnd *met-* vt. 'plant', Png *met-* 'cast (as a fishing net), put in (e.g. rice into a pot)', Kui *mespa-* 'cast, put into', Ku *met-* 'throw, put inside' ¶ D #5067 ◇ Acc. to IS's hyp., the IE \**s-* mobile (here in \*(s)*mejt-*) is connected with palatal elements in the N word (here \**y*). On the word-initial laryngoid \**h-* as the source of the NaIE \**s-* mobile before root-initial sonorants see Introduvtion, § 2.2.6.

**1510. \*mu<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>** 'this, that', dem. prn. > HS: S \*-m, determiner (≈ df. art.) in sg. forms (as well as in \*-āt- and \*-ūt-pl.) of nomina > Ak -m, ending of st. r. in sg. (nom. -u-m / accus. -a-m / gen. -i-m), in m. pl. of adj. (nom. -ūt-u-m / accus.-gen. -ūt-i-m), in \*-āt-pl. (f. pl. of adj., pl. of f. nouns and some m. nouns) (nom. -āt-u-m / accus.-gen. -āt-i-m), Ar -n, ending of the st. idt. in sg. (nom. -u-n / accus. -a-n / gen. -i-n) and in -āt-pl. (nom. -āt-u-n / accus.-gen. -āt-i-n) ¶ AD TPSL, Sd. G 3\*-5\* || Ch: WCh: traces of the determiner \*-m in Hs *mutum* 'person' (÷ S \**mut-u-m* 'man') | Fy {J} mí / muú 'he' (preverbal subject prn. 3m), DfB {J} mà, Sha/Klr {J} má (genitival linker of 3m of the head noun), DfB

mà, Sha mí, Klr mó (genitival linker of 3p), Sha m. mà / f. mó 'this', pl. mì 'these', m. ma-nò / f. mó-nò / pl. mì-no 'that/those' visible, m. múnó / f. mó-nò / pl. mí-nò 'that/those' invisible | Su {J} mó, Ang {J} mwá 'they' (aut. prn.), Ang mwâ (with ip.) / mwá (with pfc.) / mwà (with ft. and sbjn.) 'they' (subject prn.), Cp mu 'they' (aut. prn.), Cp mumú, Mnt mó 'they' (subject prn.), Cp {ChL} m̄s̄t̄ 'this', Gmy {Kr.} mw̄tp 'their', mw̄tpa 'them' | Tng {J} mó, mó 'this', Dr {ChL} mē 'this', me 'that', Pr {Frz.} -mó and -mò (dem. pronouns), Bl màté 'they' (aut. and subj. prn.) | Kir {ChL} míñi 'this', mono 'that', Zal {ChL} muntu (múntú?) 'this', múnta 'that' | Buli {ChL} m̄nna 'this' | Bd {ChL} móčô 'this', móčíyù 'that' || ?CCh: FlB {Kr.} miži(tu) 'they', Boka {Kr.} mul-lan 'he' ¶ ChL, PorS 375-81, J R 37O-1, 414, J T 121, Kr. RChP 8O, 85, 93-4, Frz. P 42 || **K** \*ma- (< ≈ \*\*mwá-) 'he, she' > OG ma- id.: erg. ma-n, gen. m-is, dat. ma-s (ma-n hrkua ma-s 'he told her'), G ma-, Mg mu 'he, himself', Lz mu-k 'he'; pK \*a-ma 'this' (*hic-deictic* \*a + \*ma-) > G ama-/am-, Lz (h)amu-k 'this', Mg amu- (in compound adverbs), Sv: LB {TK} ami, LSv {TK} ame 'this', Sv UP/L amən, L aman, UP/L amis 'to this', UB/L amša ~ amiš 'of this', amaw 'till here, up to now'; pK \*i-ma- 'that' > OG, G -i-ma- (erg. i-ma-n, dat. i-ma-s), Lz (h)i-mu, Mg i-mu- (in cds.: imu-dýas 'in that day', t-imu-seri 'in that night'), Sv i-m- in Sv {K} i-m-eg 'there' ¶¶ K 44, 1O1-2, 124, K<sup>2</sup> 2-3, 81, 112-3, FS K 2O6, FS E 226-7, Q 2, TK 4O, GP US 47, GP 44-5, Dn. s.v. am, ame, ami || **U**: FU \*mū 'other, that (jener)' > F, Es тиц 'an)other' | pLp \*nu-mbē- 'the other (of two), other' (dis. from \*\*mu-mbē- with the sx. of cmpr. \*-mbē) > Lp: N {N} nub'be / -b̄b̄- 'one (of two), the other, another, the second', L {LLO} nubbē 'the second, another, the other, T {TI} num:p(ε), Kld {TI} num:p̄ 'the second' | Chr: Н молы толъ 'other things', моло 'still, more (noch)', L моло molo, Uf/B molo '(an)other' | Prm: [1] \*mō-d ({LG} \*mōd) '(an)other' > Vt мыд m̄d, Yz 'mūd id., Z мөд m̄d 'the second, (an)other'; [2] \*muked 'other', '(all) the other' (pl.) > Vt мүкет muket 'other', Z мүкөд mukəd 'another, different' || ObU {Ht.} \*m̄t-/ \*mā- > pVg \*māt-/ \*m̄t- 'another, strange (fremder)' > Vg: T māt, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/LL/UL mó, Ss mó 'strange (fremder), other, the second'; T mó't, LK mó't, MK/UK mó't 'a stranger'; pOs {Ht.} \*makay- 'earlier' > Ty/Y móq̄t, D/K/Nz móχa, Kz móχ, móχa id.; another Os stem: Os O {Páp.} móχ- (attested: pl. móχət) 'jene; other people', Kz f {Stn.} móχət 'much', {Páp.} móχol

'more, other' | OHg *mā* 'now', Hg *mā* 'today'; OHg *más* '(the) other, next', Hg *más* 'other, another', OHg *másod* 'the second, next, other', Hg *második* 'the second' ¶ Coll. 1OO, UEW 281-2, TI 287, MRS 329, Ep. 7O, LG 175, 177, Ht. #376, Stn. D 9O2, 9O4, MF 424-5, EWU 917, 941-4 || A \**bū-* (< \*\**mū-*) / obl. \**mu-n-* > T \**bū-* / obl. \**mu-n-* 'this' > OT *bū* / obl. *mun-* ~ *bun-* 'this', BdOT *bō* / obl. *mun-* ~ *mūn-*, MQp XIII *bu* / obl. *mu-n-*, Tkm *bū* / obl. *mun-*, Tk *bu* / obl. *bun-*, Az, CrTt, Kr, Uz *bu* / obl. *bun-*, VTt *бү* *бу* / obl. *мөн-* *мөн-*, SbTt B *pu-* / obl. *mun-*, Qmq *bu* / obl. *mun-*, Qzq *būl* (x *ol* 'that') / obl. *būn-*, Qrg, ET *bu(l)* / obl. *mun-*, StAlt *bu* / obl. *min-*, Tv *bo* / accus. *mon-u* / dat. *maŋā* / gen. *mōŋ*, Xk *pu* / obl. *min-*, Yk *bu* / obl. *man-* ¶ Cl. 291-2, ET B 225-8 || M \**möü-n* (~ *mu-n?*) 'this\that same' > MM [HI] {Ms.} *mün* 'celui-là, ceci même, cela même' (pl. *müt* [*müd*]), [S, PP] *mun* 'he, himself, the same one' (pl. [S] *mut*, [PP] *mud*), WrM *mör*, HIM *мөн* 'real, the very same', Ord {Ms.} *mön* 'the very same' (marking the identity), 'that in question', 'precisely', WrO {Krg.} *mön* 'is, are, is indeed, namely', Brt *мүн* 'real, true; is', Kl *мөн* *mön* id., 'truely, really', MMgl [Z] *muna* 'this', *muta* 'that' ¶ Ms. H 76, H 111-2, MED 547, KRS 357, Chr. 3O6, Ms. O 469, Krg. 6O5, Iw. 117 ¶ Altaic \**b-* < \**m-* (reg. in monosyllabic stems without other nasal cnss.); in the obl. cases \**m-* survived due to the presence of \*-n-; in M \**m-* was generalized throughout the case paradigm || ? IE: NaIE: Crn -*mā* sx. (< encl.) 'this', W *yma* 'here, this', Br *mā(ñ)* 'this' ¶ ECCE 267, YGM-1 43, Hm. 545, LP 272 (§ 367.2) ◇ IS II 7O-1 (\**mu*, dem. prn.: K, U, A, ?HS, ?IE). In spite of the long vw. in U and A, IS prefered to reconstruct a monosyllabic etymon, because a bisyllabic form "would have contradicted the typical monosyllabic structure of the non-autosemantic stems (незнаменательные основы)". But the monosyllabicity of pronouns and other non-lexical words in the attested lgs. is not necessarily due to their original shape, it is often due to the universal diachronic tendency of their shortening (e.g. L ecce iste > Fr ce, L illōrum > F leur, Sl \*azъ > R я 'I', AS tōweard > NE toward [tōd], pS \*šu?pa > BHb hū 'he', etc.). In the light of the extant ev., IS was right in supposing that this prn. did not take part in the distance opposition *hic* ↔ *ille*, so that the *hic*-deixis of the prn. in T and the *ille*-deixis in FU must have developed within these descendant lgs. due to the opposition to other dem. pronouns.

**1511. \*moyN** 'give, give back, restore' > IE: NaIE \*mej- 'exchange' > OI Ep ri-'mayatē 'exchanges', Vd mi'nāti id. || Ltv mī-t (prs.

míju) 'to (ex)change' ||| Possibly (but not necessarily) d. \*moj-no- n. 'exchange' > Lt maīnas, Ltc mains id., Sl \*měna n. 'exchange' > OCS, OR **МЕНА** měna, R mena, Blg {Ger.} мъна > mena ~ м, SCr мена ~ mijéna, Sln měna, Cz měba, Slk mena, P miana ¶ Not here Gk ἀμεῖβω v. 'change, exchange' (*see* N \*<sup>2</sup>**mi<sup>k</sup>’o** 'carry, bring, give in exchange') ¶ WP II 240-1, P 710, M K II 635-6, ≈ M E II 314-5 (adduces Gk ἀμεῖβω and reconstructs IE \*h₂mej-), Frn. 395-7, Bern. II 59, ESSJ XVIII 171-4, Glh. 408-9, FI 90 ||| This N word may underlie the pre-IE postposition \*m<sup>2</sup>ν 'to' (dative), preserved [1] in the NaIE ending of dative pl. \*-mus (reconstructed so by Beekes after Kortlandt) > Gmc \*-mus (> Gt brōþru-m 'to brothers', gibō-m 'to gifts, talents'), BSl \*-mus (> Lt dukteri-ms 'to daughters', OCS matere-mъ 'to mothers', Lt rasóms, OCS rosamъ 'to dew' [pl.]), as well as in pronominal endings: Lt tiems, OCS těmъ, Gt þaim 'to those', Lt jums, OCS vāmъ 'vobis' dat., [2] in the NaIE ending of dative du. \*-me|ōH (?) > Lt vilka-m, OCS vльko-mа 'to two wolves'; the elements \*-s in \*-mus and \*-H in \*-me|ōH (?) are markers of numbers (\*-s of pl., \*-H of du.) ¶ Bks. ONI 143-6, Krtl. SA 50, Bks. 173-91, 204-8, Brg. KVG 386-99, 404-6 || | D \*moy- 'present(s), gift, requital' > Tm moy 'presents', Kn miу(i) 'requital', Tu miуi 'gift at a wedding', Knd moy 'contribution' ¶ D #5121 || | HS: WCh: Hs máy dà 'give back, put back, restore' (dà 'with'), Cg {Sk.} mā- 'sell' ¶ Ba. 748, Abr. H 638-9, ChC.

**1512.** <sub>2</sub> \*mu|oy<sup>2</sup>ν 'touch, feel (by sense of touch)' > HS: S \*°✓myw|y > Jb C ✓ myw|y (pf. 'mi, sbjn. 'умε, ip. 'i'mi) 'touch' ¶ Jo. J 177 || | U: FU \*mu|oya 'touch, feel' > Vp muya- 'touch, feel by touch, taste', Krl A {Gn.} muya- v. 'taste', F d. muistā- 'remember, call to one's mind, think of', Es d. mōistā- 'understand, conceive, realize, see', Lv d. mojistъ ({[Ktn.] mojistā}) 'verstehen, merken' | Er мүе-мс tuye-ms, Mk мү-мс tu-ms 'to find' | Chr: L, U tua-, H moa- v. 'find' | Prm \*mođ > Z мойд moyd, Prmk mođ '(fairy) tale', Vt N мадъ mad' 'song', Vt S mad' 'proverb' || Os: V tuywati, D moyaptə, Nz түяртə 'riddle' | ? OHg d. mut- 'show, indicate', mutat- 'indicate, let see, show', Hg d. mutat-, Δ mūtat- vt. show' ¶ Coll. 99-100, It. #190, UEW 284, ZM 335, Ktn. 232, ERV 393, PI 169, MRS 326, 332-3, LG 173, MF 453-4, EWU 1007 ◇ Qu., because it is isolated in HS.

**1513.** <sub>2</sub> \*m<sup>2</sup>νy<sup>2</sup>ν 'come' or 'go, pass' > HS: Eg ∀ my 'come!' imv. ¶ EG II 35 || Ch: WCh: Dr {Nw.} māj, Pr {Frz.} mé- vi. 'return', Bl {OS ← ?} mā

id. || CCh: Mrg {ChL} *m̥y*, Wmd {ChL} *m̥ay* 'go' | Gzg {Lk.} *me* 'dorhin zurückkehren' | Ms {ChL} *maj* 'come', ZmD {KNC} *mbu* 'come', Azm {Pc.} *mbeya* imv. 'come!', msd. *mbadā* 'to come' ¶ Nw. KL 129, Frz. P 41, ChL, ChC, Lk. G 128, Caït. 118, KNC 18, Pc. 285, 288 || ?? EC \*am $\nabla$  'come!' imv. (unless from \*a-m $\nabla$ t  $\leftrightarrow$  \*-m $\nabla$ t- 'come') > Sa {R} -*maw-* 'kommen, anlangen' (2s imv. *a'mō*, 2p *a'måw-ā*), Af *am* 'come!' 2s imv., Brj *'āmu* id. (2p *'āme*), Sd *'amu* id. (2p *'āmme*), Ged *'amo* (2p *'āmme*), Alb *'ami* (2p *'āmmehe*), Kmb *ami* (2p *amme*) id. ¶ R S II 277, PH 96, Ss. B 21, Hd. 43 ¶ OS #1752 (Ch, EC + Eg *nmy* 'go'; mentions Arr *maye* 'come', not confirmed by Hw. A and other available sources; pHs \**may* 'come, go') || IE: NaIE \**mej-* 'go, pass', {EI} \**mejH-* > L *meā-* (1s prs. *meō*, inf. *meāre*) id., 'wander' || Sl \**m̥yjä-ti* 'go\pass by' > OCz *míjěti*, Cz *míjeti*, P *mijáć* id., Slk Δ *míjam* sa 1s;  $\rightarrow$  Sl \**mi-n̥q-ti* (1s prs. \**m̥in̥q*) 'go\pass by, elapse' > OCS **ΜΗΝΩΤΗ** *mīnqti* 'transire, præterire', SCr *mínuti*, Slv *minítí* 'go\pass by, finish', OCz *minúti*, Cz *minouti*, P *mináć*, R 'минуть, мино'вать 'pass by, elapse', Slk *minut'* id., 'spend'; P *mijäć* 'pass by';  $\rightarrow$  (with the sx. \*-mo) Sl \**mimo* adv.\prep. 'past, by (vorbei, præter)' > OCS **ΜΗΜΟ** *mimo*, Blg †, R *мимо*, SCr *mīmo*, Slv *mīmo* ~ *mímo*, Cz *mimo* ~ *mímo*, P *mimo* || *AdS* of L *minō*, -āre vt. 'drive (cattle)' (< N \**menē* 'walk, go', q.v. ffd.), which explains L -i- ¶ P 71O, EI 228 (\**mejH-* / prs. \**mineh<sub>H</sub>-* ~ *mejHeh<sub>H</sub>-* 'go'), WH II 73, EM 398-9, Bern. II 59, ESSJ XIX 31, 50-3, Vs. II 622, 624, Glh. 41.

**1514. \*maXy $\nabla$**  'lose force, weaken, disappear, be worn out' > **HS:** S: [1] \* $\sqrt{m̥hh}$  > Ar  $\sqrt{m̥hh}$  *G* 'be worn out' (of garment); ? [2] WS \* $\sqrt{m̥hy|w}$  'wipe out\off, efface, (?) destroy' > BHb *מְהַהֵּה*  $\sqrt{m̥hw|y}$  *G* 'wipe out', JA [Trg.]  $\sqrt{m̥hw|y}$  id., 'blot out', Ph  $\sqrt{m̥hy|w}$  'efface', Ar  $\sqrt{m̥hw}$  (pf. *מְהַהָּה* *maħā*) 'erase; be effaced', {Fr.} 'delevit, oblitteravit', Ug  $\sqrt{m̥hy|w}$  {OLS} *G* vt. 'clean, efface (limpiar, borrar)', ?σ Gz  $\sqrt{m̥hw}$  *G* 'uproot, pluck out'; but hardly here Ak {Sd.} *ma?*  $\hat{\alpha}$  'wegstoßen (?)' (Ak -a- rules out S \**ḥ*) ¶ Fr. IV 142, 156, BK II 1066, 1071, Ln. 3018, Hv. 709-10, KB 537-8, HJ 612-3, Js. 759-60, Lv. T II 24-5, Sd. 637, OLS 268, ≈ A #154, L G 337 || IE \**meHj-* > NaIE \**mālō(j)-* 'be\make tired\exhausted' > Gmc: Gt *af-mauip̚s\** (attested nom. pl. *af-mauidai*) 'εκλυόμενος', {Fs.} 'ermüdet' (pp. of \**af-mojar* 'to tire out'), OHG *muo-en* vt. 'to labour, to urge, to tire out' ('anstrengen,

bedrängen, abmühen'), NHG **sich mühen** 'to take pains\trouble (about sth.)', d.: ON móðr, Dn, NNr mod, OSx móthi, MDt moede, mœde, OHG muodi, NHG müde 'tired, exhausted', AS {BosT} mēðe 'weary' || Sl \*maja-ti 'to tire out, to make suffer, to detain' > R Δ 'маять' 'to tire out, to torment', R 'маяться' 'to suffer, to languish', Blg 'мая v. 'detain, linger' ¶ Fs. 9, Kb. 7O3, OsS 627, Schz. 216, KM 491, Vr. 391, BosT 682, ≈ ESSJ XVII 132-4 (against distinction between the above Sl verb and Sl \*majati 'wave, swing') || A {IS} \*may $\nabla$ - 'weaken, disappear, vanish' > T \*ma: $\text{y}$ - ({DQA} \*bAñi) (× T \*bayi- v. 'set' [of heavenly bodies] < N \*w $\text{ay}$ H $\nabla$  'to descend; below?') > Qzq may- 'be exhausted\weak', Qrg mayi- 'be damaged', Osm {Rl.} بَيْمَق bayi-(maq), Kr/Qzq {Rl.} bayi- 'elapse, pass away (vergehen)', VTt {Rl.} bay $\text{y}$ - id., OT mayiš- (coop. of \*may-) '≈ collapse', mayil- (ps. of \*may-) 'be over-ripe, go bad' (of fruit), Tk bayil- vi. 'faint, swoon (away)', Kr {Rl.} mayiš- 'collapse', Chg mayruq 'weak, meager', Shor/Sg/Qc/Qb {Rl.} mayiq 'matt, müde, mager', Sg/Qrg {Rl.} mayiq- 'ermüden, ermatten', StXk {BIG} mayix- 'get tired, exhausted, lose force', mayil- 'get tired', Qc/Sg/Qb/Qz {Rl.} mayil- id., 'schwach\mager werden', Sg {Rl.} mayan 'welk, unbeholfen, langsam', StXk mayin 'weak, languid', Qzq maymaq 'clumsy', maymanda- v. 'hobble, toddle, stumble along'; a T lge. (Xk?) → Mt {Hl.} \*mayə- 'get tired' (Mt M {Sp.} маямъ 'got tired') (unless an inherited Sm word) ¶ Cl. 772-3, Rl. IV 1468-9, 1986, 2011, 2014-5, BIG 1O1, Sht. 139, MM 233, Rkh. 338, Hl. M #634 || Tg \*maya- 'disappear' > Ork maya- 'fail to be caught, disappear' (of game\animals in hunting), Ewk, Neg maya-, Lm may-, Nn Nh maña- id., 'be unsuccessful', Orc maymaki 'there us not, is absent', WrMc maya- 'disappear', 'be past' (of danger) ¶ STM I 521 ¶ ≈ DQA #1237 (A \*maya 'to miss, to fail; bad luck'; incl. T, Tg) || D \*māy $\nabla$ - 'disappear, vanish' > Tm māy id., 'hide, be annihilated, die', Ml māyuka 'grow dim, vanish', Kt ma:yum, Kdg ma:yə<sup>n</sup>, Tu māya 'diappearance', Kt ma:n<sup>2</sup>- 'disappear' (of menstruation in menopause), 'keep secret', Td mo:ž- 'hide (information, secret)', Kn māy- 'be hidden, disappear, pass away', Tu māyuni 'be extinguished, evaporate', Tl māyu 'be destroyed, perish', Prj māy-, Gdb māyŋ(g)- 'get lost, disappear', Gnd māy- 'be lost', Knd māya 'vanishing, disappearing suddenly' ¶ D #4814 || ? U ≈ \*may $\nabla$  'suffer' > FU: Er майсе- may-še- 'suffer, languish, lose time'

(мучиться, маяться, проводить время даром)' (hab. of \*may-) | Z may-*tš* in ds.: майышт- may-*tšt-* vt. 'grieve, cause distress', майшась- may-*šas-* 'worry' || Sm {Hl. Jn.} \*måyå- (= {Hl.} \*maya-) → \*måyåta- 'make suffer, grieve, cause trouble, kill' > Ne: Т mayab-а-, Т О {Lh.} māyēðā 'he killed', StNe Т маядярэй 'having been tortured, having suffered' (from so. strong\mighty); \*måyånt- > Ne Т маяндо- vi. 'suffer, be in distress', En maedo 'suffer (мучиться)'; \*måyåkk- > En maeku- 'make suffer', \*måyå-η > Ne Т мая' / маян-, En mae' 'trouble, suffering', Ne F {Lh.} māy·ā komm- 'he suffered' (lit. 'found suffering'), En mayan-, mayam- 'be tormented, suffer from an accident'; \*måyə- 'get tired' (a loan from T, see above) ¶ LG 169, ERV 358, PI 154, TmK 4O7-8, SZ 215-6, Ter. 245-7, Lh. 250, SamEMGU, Hl. M 299 [#634] ◇ IS III 48-52 (with further details about the reflexes in the IE and A lgs.) (\*маñуа: IE, U, A, D; the etl. comparison and the reconstructions have been proposed by the editors of IS III).

**1515.** ~ \*meXAz̥N 'man (vir), male' > HS: S \*°✓mħzħ 'young man' > Gz ሙሐዘኛ maħazā 'young man, adolescent, lover', Tgy ሙሐዘኛ məħaza 'one of the same age', Har mžħażż məlāk 'best man in a wedding' ¶ LG 338, CS 121 || WCh {Stl.} \*mīži 'man (vir), husband' > Hs mīži (pl. mázā) 'husband', Gw {Mts.} mīži (pl. maža) 'male' | Su {J} miš, Gmy {ChL} mīs, Cp {ChL} mis, Tal {ChC} (in cds.) mīs 'man (vir)' | BT: Krkr {Lk.} mżżi, Ngm {ChL} mżżi 'man (vir)', Bele mħiġi (pl. mħħa), Glm mī muši (pl. mżżżi), Gera {Sch.} mżżi (pl. mazzini), Krf {Sch.} mżżżi, Grm {Sch.} mżżi id., 'husband' | Ngz {Sch.} mżżi (pl. mżżaskiñ) 'husband' ¶ Stl. ZCh 232 [#799], ChC, ChL, Ba. 791, Sch. BTL 3O, 57, 86, 148, Sch. DN 1O6 || IE ~ \*mehs / \*mhs- > NaIE \*mās / \*mas- > L mās (gen. mār-i-s) adj./n. 'male' ¶ WH II 46-7, EM 388 || U: FU (att. in BF) \*mēsše 'man (vir)' > F mīes / gen. mīehēn, Es mees / gen. mehe, Krl mīeš / mīehe-, Lv mīez id. ¶ UEW 866-7, ~ Coll. 99, ~ SK 345, Kt. 223 || D \*māč > Klm mās 'man, husband', Nk mās 'man', Knd māsi 'husband' ¶ D #4791 ◇ IE \*s is likely to result from devoicing of the original voiced sibilant under the ass. infl. of N \*χ|h.

**1516.** \*m'E°χažN '∈ berry, fruit' > K: GZ \*mxal- 'vegetables' > OG mxal-i, G mxal-i ~ pxal-i 'greens', Mg χul-i {FS K<sup>2</sup>} '∈ a kind of vegetables' ('ertgvari mxali'), {Q} 'greens, swede', {FS E} 'Futterrübe' ¶ K 143, Q 4O7, FS E 254-, FS K<sup>2</sup> 346 || U \*mołežN > FU {ðSm.} \*meži, {UEW} \*možN '∈ berry of some bush' > Chr H мүдүи тибъ, Chr L/Uf

модо тօðօ 'bilberries' | Prm {LG} \*moíi ({Lt.} \*moði) 'berry, stone of a fruit' > Vt мүлъы 'stone of a fruit', Vt Sr muít, Vt Kz moíz 'berry, nut', Z ñur-moí 'cranberries' (ñur 'swamp'), moí 'button, stone of a fruit', Yz tər-'muíi 'cranberries' || pOs \*wír-máí 'red-currant' (\*wír 'blood') > Os: Ty wírmæð, D wěrmǣt, Kz wūrmǣ | Hg mëggý 'morello cherry (Prunus cerasus)' || pY {IN} \*maí- > Y K maí-žə 'cloudberry' (-žə is a nominal sx.) ¶ If we reconstruct FU \*mežv, it involves labialization of the vw. in Chr (due to \*m-), while FU \*možv presupposes ass. palatalization in Ugr (due to the following palatal \*ž) ¶ UEW 279, Coll. 98, Sm. 545 (FU, FP \*medí, Ugr \*midí), Ep. 72, MRS 327, 333, Ü 12O, LG 173-4, Lt. 53-4, Ht. #7O6, IN 233, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#77] (Y ←- U) || A: Tg \*mile-kte ~ (?) \*mol'i'-kte 'rowan berry' > Ewk Z molikta, Neg miktan, Ul/Ork milzktz, Ork miktz ~ mittz id. ¶ STM I 536 || T \*mele(í) 'rowan (Eberesche)' > VTt милеш milbš, StAlt bele, QK pele, Tkm {AB} мелеш id.; VTt Δ \*bilbš → Chv пилеш pileš id. ¶ Jeg. 16O, RAltS 672, Bask. DLT 187, RI. IV 2159 || M \*moyil 'bird-cherry' ({DQA}: regularly from \*molil-) > WrM moil, HlM, Brt мойл id., Kl Ö {Rm.} möl id., 'bird-cherry tree' ¶ MED 542, Chr. 298, KW 267 ¶ S CNM 11 (suggested to adduce T), DQA #1277 (A \*mělu 'berry') || IE \*mexl- > NaIE \*māl- 'apple' > L mālum id. (→ Al mollē id.), mālus 'apple tree' || Gk μῆλον, Gk D μᾶλον || Ht mahla 'branch of a grapevine \ apple (?)' ¶ WP II 296, EI 25-6 (\*meh<sub>2</sub>lom 'apple'), WH II 18-9, EM 381 (L ←- Gk), Ch. 694, F II 226 (all of them suppose that the word \*māl- is a loan from an unknown source), Mn. 73O, O 272, CHD L-N 112-3, Ts. W 49.

**1517. \*miž<sub>1</sub>w<sub>2</sub>v-(k)v-** 'mix, stir' > HS: [1] S \*°-mīš- > Ar ip. -mīšu (pf. مَاش māša) 'mix (sth. with sth.)' ¶ BK II 1173, Hv. 742 || B \*✓msy ({Pr.} \*-msuy) > Ah əmsi / pf. imsəj 'mix (fresh milk with sour milk)' (Fcj. 32, Pcj. I A 1), Ty əmsəy 'mix (mélanger)' ¶ Fc. 1249, 2OO2 (on conj. 32), Pr. M VI-VII 86, GhA 133 || [2] CS (or WS?) \*✓m̥g ~ \*✓mzg ~ \*✓msk 'mix' > Ar مُشَج✓ mšg (pf. مُشَاج mašaġa, ip. -mšuġu) 'mix, confuse', مُنْج✓ mzg (pf. mazaġa, ip. -mzuġu) 'mingle (a liquid) with', IA ✓ mzg G 'mix', MHb, JA [Trg.] ✓ mzg G 'mix' (esp. 'mix wine with water\spices, temper'), JEA ✓ mzg G 'mix, dilute', MHb ✓ mzg 'pour (liquid)', Sr ✓ mzg G (pf. مُذَاج mə'zag, ip. -mzug) 'mix (esp. wine with water), mingle, blend, temper', Md ✓ mzg G 'mix, combine', BHb

גְּזֵג 'mezeg' 'mixed wine, spiced wine', MHb גְּזֵג 'mezeg' 'mixture', JA [Trg.] אֲגַזָּה miz'g-ā 'mixture, mixed wine\drink', Sr حَذْجَة mazā'g-ā 'a mixture, a drink, wine and water', Md mzaga 'mixing, mixture', Ug msk v. 'mix', BHb ✓msk G 'mix, produce by mixing', מְסֵק 'mesek' 'mixture, admixture of spices', MHb ✓msk v. 'temper, mix wine; cast metal'; ? Tgy {CS} ✓msg<sup>w</sup> G (pf. 'mesag<sup>w</sup>a) 'oindre de beurre frais la tête; enduire sa tête\chevelure d'une couche grasse' ('anoint' ← 'pour liquid' ← 'mix'); S ↔ Cpt: Sd מְזֵגְתִּים mu3t, B מְזֵגְתִּים mu3t, P מְזֵגְתִּים mu3x<sub>3</sub> vt., vi. 'mix' ¶ S \*ṣg < \*ʒg < as. \*ʒk; S \*zg ~ \*sk < \*ʒg ~ \*čk < as. \*ʒk < \*ʒk; the delabialization \*ʒ > \*ʒ may be due to positional factors or to the infl. of a different √ ¶ A #1611, OLS 295, BK II 1O98-9, 11O9, Hv. 718, 721, HJ 6O8, KB 535, 572, BDB 587, Js. 752-3, 8O7, Lv. T II 19, Sl. 651-2, JPS 261, DM 263, Frnk. 172 (Ar ↔ Aram), CS 139-4O, Vc. 133 [suggests to compare the Cpt word with DEg m̥zg 'in vessel (cratère?)'], Er. 195 || B \*°✓msk 'mix' > Gd emsak id. ¶ Lf. II #1O37 || IE: NaIE \*misg- / \*meisg- 'mix' (> as. \*mis̥k- / \*meis̥k-) ~ mt. \*mei̥gs- ~ \*mei̥g- (zero < \*Z?) > OI mikṣ- 'mix': prs. mēk'sayati 'stirs up, mixes, mingles', miś'rah 'mixed, mingled, blended', miśrayati 'mixes, mingles, blends, combines', Av minaštī 'mixes', myāsaite 'they mix' (vi.), MPrs hamistak 'mixed' || Gk μείγνυμι ~ μέγνυμι 'I mix' (aor. ps. ἐμέγην), μέσω 'I mix' || L misce-ō / miscē-re / miscui / mixtum v. 'mix' || OIr mesc- v. 'mix, dip in', W mysgu, Crn mysky, MBr mesca, meski, Br meskañ 'to mix' || WGmc \*miskan (↔ L??) > OHG misken, MLG, NHG mischen, AS misćian 'to mix', NE mix || Lt miēš-ti 'to dilute', mišras 'mixed', mišrainē 'salad', maišyti / maišau 'stir, agitate' (→ 'hinder'), Ltv màisit 'to mix, to stir', mistrs 'mixture; mixed corn; barley and oats mixed', Pru mayso tan · "gemenget" 'mixed' | Sl \*mēši-ti / prs. \*mēš-q 'mix, stir' > OCS МЕСТИ mesiti / МЕШАТЬ měšq, Blg 'месяц, SCr месити / месим ~ mijésiti / mijésim, Slv mésiti, OCz miesiti, Cz míšiti, Slk miesit', P miesić / mieszę, R ме'сить / † ме'шу, Uk мі'сити id.; d. \*mēšati id. > OCS МЕШАТЬ měšati, SCr мешати ~ mijéšati, Slv méšati, Slk miešat', P mieszać, R ме'шать id.; the latter Sl verb means also 'to hinder' (← 'to mix?') ¶ WP II 244-5, P 714, ~ EI 394 (\*mei̥k-, \*mei̥k-s̥ke/o-), M K II 632-3, M E II 373-4, Brtl. 119O, F II 192-3, WH II 95-6, Vn. M 42, Ern. 4O9, Ho. 223, Kb. 689, OsS 612-3, KM 48O-1, Frn. 431-2, Tr. 175, En.

207, ESSJH XVIII 199-201, 210-7, Vs. II 606-7, 615, Glh. 409 || A: T \*bíl- ~ \*bíl- 'stir up (milk, butter)' > Qrg bís-, Bsh býš-, Qzq pis-, Qq pis-, Alt, Tv bís- 'stir', SbTt пеš- ръš- 'churn' ¶ ET B 309-10, Tm. 173 || Tg \*melbi- v. 'row' > Ul, Nn мэлби- id., WrMc v. 'row, boat by rowing'; → Tg \*melbi-ken, ? \*мэлбун 'short oar (for noiseless rowing during the hunt)' > Ewk мэлбикз, Neg мэлбихэн, Orc мэлббу(ку), Ud {STM, Krm.} мэг(b)у, {Shn.} мэ(l)бу, Ul мэлбикз(n-), мэлбу(n-), Ork мэлби, Nn мэлбиž, melbížkž, WrMc melbiku id. ¶ STM I 566, Krm. 263-4 || ??φ pJ {S} \*mánsi-(p) v. 'mix' > OJ màžipa-, maža-, J: T mažié-, mažé-, K mážié-, màžè-, Kg mažié-, màžè- ¶ S QJ #940, Mr. 722 ¶ Tg \*-e- and pJ \*-a- are still to be explained ¶ DQA #1275 (A \*mě́lb|pa 'to stir up, помешивать': Tg, J) || ?σ D \*mičuk-, {GS} \*mis- 'stir, move from position' > Kn misuku 'move, stir, quiver', Td misx- vi. 'move slightly upward from position, budge', Kt mičk- 'yield to importunity' (for the semantic change cp. Lt and Sl), Tu misku- 'move, venture; interfere with, meddle', Tl misiku v. 'move' ¶ D \*-č- is likely to go back to a N devoiced affricate (positional devoicing?) ¶ D #4839, Km. 461, GS 42 [#82] ◇ IE \*s is probably a reg. reflex of N \*ž before a cns. An alt. rec.: N \*mičv-(kv); it does not explain the voiced \*ž in S \*mzg and the IE variant stem \*mejg-. On the other hand, D \*-č- < N \*-ž- has not yet been established as a reg. reflex. D \*-u- and A \*-b- suggest the presence of N \*w.

**1518.** <sub>2</sub> \*mižiŋv (or \*mižiŋv) 'sheep, goat' > HS: S \*°mŋv₁ŋv₂z- > Ar mařz- ~ mařaz- 'bucks and goats', māřiz- {BK} 'sheep or goat' ¶ BK II 1127, Hv. 726 || B: SrSn {Rn.} i-mži 'kid (chevreau)' (x \*mžy > SrSn məžzey 'jeune, petit') ¶ Rn. 386 || IE: NaIE \*°mo|ažo-s 'sheep' (x \*mo|ažo-s 'hide, fleece' < N \*meřišv 'hide', [→] 'clothes', q.v.) > OI mē'sa-h̥ 'ram', Av maēša- m., maēšī- f. 'sheep', CINPrs میش mēš, NPrs میش mīš 'sheep, ram'; Ary → FU (att. in FP) \*mešv 'sheep, ram, bock' > Chr L/U меж mež, Chr H miž 'wool of sheep and goats', Z mež 'ram', {W} 'sheep' (the Chr word is not an inherited cognate, because in an inherited word we have to expect the vw. b < pFU \*e; in Z mež the cns. ž may be explained only if the word is a loan) || ?σ Ht maista- '≈ bale of wool' ¶ The N lr. was lost in IE in the prevoc. position ¶ WP II 303, P 747, ~ EI 511 (\*moj'so-s 'ram, sheep'; no distinction from \*moj'so-s 'fleece, hide' < N \*meřišv 'hide'), M K II 689, M E II 380, Horn 226, Vl. II 1255, Sg. 1362, Tr. 165, UEW 703, LG 171, MRS 320,

323, Ep. 7O ◇ NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>mo<sup>l</sup>a<sup>j</sup>so-s suggests that in pN the vw. \*i was immediately followed by a sibilant (\*-iS- rather than \*-iHS-), which means that the S root \*✓m<sup>l</sup>z underwent mt. of consonants. Alternatively, we can reconstruct a N etymon \*mi<sup>l</sup>z<sup>3</sup>▽ and suppose mt. in the prehistory of IE.

**1519. \*mu<sup>3</sup>l<sup>1</sup>▽, v<sup>1</sup>▽** 'fist, fingers; to squeeze\hit with a fist, to punch on the head' > K: [1] GZ \*m<sup>3</sup>i<sup>v</sup>- 'fist' > OG m<sup>3</sup>i<sup>v</sup>- 'fist' (an old loan from Zan?), eNG [SSO] m<sup>3</sup>i<sup>v</sup>- 'fist', Mg žix-, Lz m<sup>3</sup>ix-, nžix- 'fist, handful' || [2] K \*m<sup>3</sup>v<sup>w</sup>- 'press, squeeze, crumble' > Sv {FS} -m<sup>3</sup>v<sup>w</sup>- (msd. li-m<sup>3</sup>v<sup>w</sup>-une) id., G R -m<sup>3</sup>v<sup>w</sup>l- {K} 'break': {Chx.} inf. da-m<sup>3</sup>v<sup>w</sup>l-eba vt. 'zerreißen' ¶ K 142, K<sup>2</sup> 122, 13O, Chik. 62, Fn. KW-3 27, FS K 217, FS E 238 || HS: S \*✓m<sup>3</sup>v > Ak OA/MA/LB inf. mazū 'squeeze, produce a liquid', 'auspressen', Ak ḡ mēzū 'beer brewer', Ar ✓m<sup>3</sup>v G {Hv.} v. 'pick (cotton) with the fingers', {BK} 'éplucher et séparer avec les doigts le coton, etc.' ¶ The apparently irreg. ā in Ak mazū (for the expected e) may be accounted for by the Assyrian dialectal preservation of ā even near pS \*t̪ CAD X/1 439-4O and X/2 46, BK II 1O99, Bel. 767, Hv. 718 || C \*ma<sup>3</sup>- > EC: Or {Grg.} madā(w)a v. 'wound', madā n. 'wound', {Brl.} mada 'ferita, piaga, ulcera', mad-awu '(im)piagarsi, ferirsi', Arr {Hw.} madá n. 'wound', madēss- v. 'wound'; HEC {Hd.} \*ma<sup>3</sup>-, {L} \*maz- v. 'wound' > Brj {Ss., Hd.}, Hd {Hd.} mad-, Kmb maz- id.; HEC {Hd.} \*maza, {L} maza n. 'wound, sore' > Kmb {Hd.} maza-t, Brj {Ss.} ma'dā id., Hd {Hd.} mada, {Ss.} mada?a, Sd mada 'wound' || ?? Ag: Bln {R} mād-/mad- 'auf den Kopf schlagen, den Kopf blutig schlagen (jemandem)' (× N \*met<sup>3</sup>ha 'head, top, summit') ¶ R WB 263, Grg. 223, Hw. A 383, Gs. 278, LZ 121, Hd. 17O, 417 || IE: NaIE \*mus-ti- 'fist, clenched hand' > OI muš'ti- h̄ id., Av mušti-(masah-) 'Faust(größe)', NPrs مُشْتَ mušt 'fist, handful' || Tc B maśce (< \*muš'te<sup>3</sup>-s) 'fist' ¶ EI 255, M K II 658, M E II 363, Horn 22O, VI. II 1181, Ad. 443 ¶ The absence of any traces of the expected \*ə may be accounted for by NaIE derivation: the stem was derived from \*mus- that had no traces of lr. because of its the stem-final (prevoc.) position || U: FP \*mUć▽ v. 'squeeze; fist' (× N \*mUć<sup>3</sup>▽ 'to press, to squeeze', q.v.) > Krl KA {SK} mužuo- v. 'press, crumple', Krl Ld mučurdada 'to compress' ('pusertaa kokoon'), F musertaa 'to crush, to smash', Vp mučoida 'to twist (fingers)' | ? Lp Sw {SK ← ?} močetet, moččot v. 'break, be breaking'

off' | Z Δ m<sup>z̄</sup>tr 'clenched fingers, fist', {W} m<sup>z̄</sup>rt- 'clench one's hand\fist' ¶ LG 176, SK 353 || ?φ D: [1] \*muṭṭ-, {GS} \*muṭ- v. 'blow with knuckles of the fist or with the fist' (→ v. 'hammer', n. 'hammer') > Kn muṭ- v. 'rap the head (of another) with the knuckles of the fist', Tl motṭu 'give a blow\stroke with the knuckles', Ml muṭṭu 'knocking', muṭṭi 'hammer', Tm miṭṭikai 'jeweler's small hammer', Kt muṭṭi 'small hammer', Prj muṭka 'blow with fist', muṭṭ- v. 'hammer', Png, Mnd, Ku muṭla 'hammer', Krx muṭga?ā- 'deal a heavy blow with the fist', muṭka?ā- 'hit\hammer at with the fist', muṭgā ~ muṭkā 'clenched hand or fist, hammering with the fist'; [2] D (in SD) \*muṭṭ- v. 'press' > Ml muṭṭikkā id.; the meanings 'dash against, butt' (as in Tm muṭṭu, Ml muṭṭuka id., Kdg muṭ- v. 'bump against') may be due either to semantic broadening or to contamination with a different pD √ ¶ D #4932, GS 51 [#126] ◇ ADb. MSR 22 [#27] (K, IE, D + err. FU \*mučk√ 'fist' that in fact belongs to N \*muč.√ 'cupped\clenched hand', q.v.).

**1520. \*mež.√** 'sun, light; 'to shine' > K \*mž-e 'sun' (\*-e is a sx. as in \*(ša-)dž-e 'day') > OG, G mze, Mg bža, Sv UB/LB/Ln miž, Sv Lməž 'sun', Lz mžora ~ mžura (with a sx.) id., Lz bžačxā, Mg žešxā 'Sunday' (< \*bža-š dža 'Sun's day') ¶ K 133-4, K<sup>2</sup> 121, Schm. 124, FS 216-7, TK 571, Dn. s.v. məž, GP 22O || HS: ? Ch: CCh: HgG mǎšé, HgNk, Kps mǎšké, HgF mamǎški, FIG {ChL} mǎkší 'morning' || ECh: Suk {Mk.} mašin id. ¶ ChC, ChL || S: the second element of S \*'šamaš- 'sun' < N \*°žom.√ mež.√ ('≈ hot\burning sun\fire') (with N \*žom.√ 'be hot', 'sun', [?] 'flame', q.v. ffd.) || B \*-missi- 'fire' > Ah te-mse, pl. ti-məs, ETwl te-mse, pl. šiməss, Ty te-mse, pl. ti-məssa, Gh či-msi, Kb t̄i-məss, Si tə-msi, Skn, Snd, Mz ti-msi, Izn, Rif, SrSn Өi-məssi 'fire' ¶ Fc. 1247, Dl. 52O, GhA 132, Nh. 16O, La. S 237, Rn. 85, Dlh. M 123 || U: FU (in Prm) \*°m<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>ž.√ (or \*°m<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>í.√) > Prm \*m<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup>í- ({LG} \*m<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup>í-) to shine, beam' > Vt maídtni v. 'be dazzled (by light)', maídtnon 'dazzling', Z moítd 'glossy, smooth', Z Ud usis moíz 'beams with joy' ¶ LG 174 || A: M \*meliyi- > Brt мэлии- 'be glossy, shine', ? HlM мэлий- 'be smooth'; M \*melm.√ > WrM melmeger, HlM мэлмгэр 'bright-eyed; the shimmer of a brimming body of water', Ord melmeger 'brilliant, qui a les yeux brillants', Brt мэлмэн 'shining (reflecting light)', Brt мэлмы- , Kl мелмә- melmā- 'shine' (of glassy water surface), Ord melmī- 'reluire, briller au soleil', Kl б мелмә melmā 'lustre, glitter (блеск)' ¶ MED 534,

Luv. 252, KRS 349, Chr. 311, Ms. O 461-2 || Tg: Ewk millūn- 'shine, be bright' (of eyes) ('поблескивать') ¶ Vas. 252 || ? pKo {S} \*m̄rk- 'clear, transparent' > MKo m̄rk-, NKo malk- [mak-] ¶ S QK #69, Nam 2O3, MLC 587 ¶ ~ DQA #13O3 (A \*mjalī(-k'a) 'bright; to shine': M, Ewk, Ko), ≠ Rm. SKE 139 (Ko, T) || D \*mel(∇k)- v. 'lighten', v. 'flash' (of light) > Prj melk- v. 'lighten', Δ malk- '(light) to flash', Gdb mel-'(lightning) to flash', Png malkā- v. 'lighten' ¶ D #5O79 | Less plausible: D \*māt̄t̄- v. 'kindle (as fire), burn' > Tm māt̄t̄u id., Kt ma·t̄- v. 'make (fire) burn', Td mo·t̄- v. 'put fuel on fire', Tl mād̄u, mād̄u v. 'be burnt', Gnd mās- v. 'kindle fire' ¶ D #48O1 || ??? IE: NaIE \*molk- 'fire, firewood' (← \*\*mol- 'fire'? ) > OIr molc {WP, Vn.} 'fire' || Lt málka 'log, fuel', pl. málkos 'firewood', Ltv małka 'firewood' ¶ WP II 3O8, Mn. 792, ~ Frn/ 4O1-2, ME II 558, Vn. M 62.

**1521. \*mayž∇** 'tasty beverage, sap of trees' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'honey', 'milk') > K \*°mž∇ > Lz mža 'milk, buttermilk' ¶ Marr 168-9 || HS: EC: Sd mal(?) - 'sweet', Af {PH} malab, Sa {R} malāb, pSam {Hn.} \*'málāb > Sml malab, Rn {PG} málāb, Bn 'málub, Bs {HL} malab(a) 'honey'; HEC \*malabo > Hd marabo, Sd malawo, Ged malebo, Alb {HL}, Kmb malabu id., Arr {Hw} mūl 'liquid part of raw honey' ¶ C SE II 214, PH 162, Mrn. S 228, Hn. S 68, DSI 41O, Oo. 68, PG 218, Hd. 81, 417, HL 127, Hw. A 386 || IE \*mel-i-(t) / \*mel-n- 'honey' > Arm մեղս mełs (gen. մեղսու mełu) id. || Gk μέλι (gen. μέλιτ-ος) id. || pAl {O} \*melita > Al mjaltē id. || L mel, gen. mell-is (< \*mel-n-) id. || OIr mil (< \*meli) (gen. melo ~ mela), W mēl, Crn, Br mel id. || Gt miliþ id., AS milscian 'to sweeten with honey', milissć 'sweet' || Ht milit- 'honey' ¶ P 723-4, EI 271 (\*'melit / \*mli't-os), Bn. IEIS 31, F II 2OO-1, WH II 61-3, Vn. M 5O-1, YGM-1 329, Fs. 359-6O, Ho. 222, Slt. 182-6, O 268, CHD L-N 25O-2, Ts. E II 2O7-1O || U: FP \*mayž∇ 'sap of trees' (→ 'milk') > F maito 'milk', F Δ majto 'birch sap', Es Δ mait 'cream (Sahne)' | Vt Δ mží 'tree honey, tree sap' ¶ UEW 697 || A: T \*bal (\*mal) 'honey' > OT bal ({Cl.} bāl), Tk bal, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg bal, Uz bal, Slr pal, Chv pil ¶ ET B 47, Cl. 33O ¶ ~ DQA #1248 (A \*male 'honey, vegetable oil' > T) ◇ IS II 38-9 [#276] (\*majλa) (C, IE, U, T), AD NM #21, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts about the T cognate; T ← IE?) ◇ Gr. II #213 (\*mal 'honey') (IE, U, CK).