

Lexical convergence
and long-range comparison of languages

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A. Coalescence of homonyms:

HS: S *šikk- 'thorn, nail' (> BHb *šek (pl. שָׁבִים Šik'īm) 'thorn', JAr סִקְקָא sik'k-ā, šikk-ə't-ā 'thorn, pin, nail', סִקְקָתָא sikk-ə't-ā 'thorn, peg, nail of a tent', Arb شک سکك-ات- 'sharp weapon, edge', Ak šikk-at- 'Spitze' (aphaeresis pS *šikk- < *?išikk-, like in pS *'b- 'mouth' < *?ap-, cf. C *?ap- 'mouth') and WS *šawk- > Arb شوک šawk- 'thorn, prickle, point', Gz Šok 'thorn, spine (of hedgehog), sting' go back to **two** Nostr. roots:

(1) *čuKE 'thorn, point (> blade), summit' > HS: S *šikk- 'thorn, nail' and WS *šawk- || u *čukkV 'hill, summit; sharp' (x? *čuKE 'thorn, point, summit') > pLp {Lr.} *čokk3 > Lp: N {N} čokk'kā / -kk-, L {LLO} tjåhkkå 'summit, mountain peak', S {Hs.} tjåkke id., 'hill', Kld {Gn.} čokk, {Tl} čo,k: 'Spitze', {SaRS} чо́гк 'sharp' | Prm {LG} *čuk > Z чу́к čuk 'mountain peak, small hills (небольшая возвышенность)' || ObU: Vg: T čakal 'heap [of hay, etc.], LK šaxal 'Insel [auf der Wiese, auf dem Sumpf]', ML mš-šokal 'small hill', Ss ur-šaxal 'hill'; Os: Ty ták 'voragendes Ende, Spitze', D ták '(Spitze einer) Landzunge; vorragende Spitze, Ecke', O šák ~ šák 'Hammer' || Sm {Jn.} *sok 'hill' > Ne: T сохо 'high pointed hill' ('высокая остроконечная сопка'), T O {Lh.} soxō 'hoher runder Erdhügel'; En X {Cs.} d sóro, En B {Cs.} d sodo 'Landspitze' | Slq Tz {Prk., KKH} sōq 'мыс, Vorgebirge, hohe Landzunge' ¶ The FU root has two semantic varinats: [1] 'sharp' → 'edge, hammer' (< N *čuKE), and [2] 'hill' (< N *žugU ~ *žuKU 'hill' [q.v. ffd.]), while the meaning 'summit' is derivable from both

(2) *režekU 'thorn, hook' (> 'tooth') > HS: S *šikk- 'thorn, pin, nail' || C {AD} *?išikw- [{E} *?iškw-] 'tooth' > SC: Kz išikuko, pl. išikwa, Asa liga, Mb iřike id. | EC {Ss.} *?ilk- id. > Sa ik-o, Smi ilig, pl. ilk-o, Rn {Oo.} i'lak, pl. i'lak-o 'tooth', Elm ilk-0?, Arbr {Hw.} ?ilig (pl. ?ilk-o), ilkwaid., Or ilk-āni 'teeth', Kns ilk-itta, Gdl ilh-itt, ilh-a, Sd hink-o, Alb ink-u, Kmb ink-e, Hd ink-ē, Brj irk-ā, Hr/Dbs {AMS} ilgakkó (pl. ílge) id., Gln {AMS} ílke, Gwd ílq-e, Bs {HL} ilk-ō 'teeth' | Ag {AD} *ärk- id. > Bln {Plm.} ȝarkw-i, Xm {R} erakw, Q {R} yerkw, Kmnt {Bnd.} ȝrkU, Aw {Hz.} ȝrkw-i id. || Bj {R} aγakw 'a front tooth' || R: Tg *elgu 'hook (for pulling fish out of a net)', (<?) 'bear's fang' > Neg ȝlgu/ȝ 'hook, bear's fang', Ewk ȝlgu, Lm ȝlg̥-ȝlg̥ 'fish-spear', Orc ȝggū, UI ȝlȝu, Ork ȝldu, Nn ȝlgu 'hook' || M *elgū- v. 'hang on (sth.) > LM elgū-, ölgū- v. 'hang, hang on (a nail), elgün qada- v. 'nail onto (as pictures to the wall)', HIM ölgö- 'вешать, подвешивать, привешивать' || ? NaT *ȝl- v. 'hang on (sth.)' > OT ȝl- {DTS} '(под-, за-)цеплять; ловить (крючьями)', {Cl.} to hatch sth. (with the hand, a hook, etc.), Tkm ȝl- 'прицепляться, зацепляться', Yk ȝl- 'навешивать, накидывать (на спину животного и пр.)', Qmq, Qrg, Qrql, Nog, Uz, ET, Tk Δ ȝl-, Qzq ȝl- ȝl-, VTt, Bsh ȝl- ȝl-, Xk ȝl- ȝl- v. 'hang on', StAlt ȝl- 'зацепить, подцепить'.

NaT *jer- ~ *jeri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' > OT يَرِيَّ jer-, ({Cl., Dnk.} jér-) v. 'loathe / be disgusted at (sth., esp. food)', criticize, blame', OOg -بَيْرَيَّ jer- ({Cl.} jér-) 'loathe (food)', Osm {Rh.} -رَيْرَيَّ jer- ~ jir- id., Tk yer- v. 'loathe, blame, slander', Tkm ȝr- v. 'bore (so.)', Qzq žer- v. 'loathe', Yk sir- id., 'blame', Qrql žeri- v. 'loathe, shun', Qrg žeri- v. 'shun, keep aloof from (e.g. its own youngs)' (of animals), Alt jeri- ({Rl.} järi), Tlt {Rl.} järi- id., QK {Rl.} järi- 'abhor' has **3 sources**:

1. ***zeſrV** 'to hate, abhor, be annoyed' (> K ***žar-** > G **zar-** v. 'hate, detest' || HS: S *^o✓**zſr** > Arb **zaſir-**, **zaſir-** 'méchant, dont on évite la société' || ? IE: ***Her-** > NaIE ***er-** v. 'be angry, hostile' > Av **ham-ara-** 'Gegner, Widersacher' || Gk ἔρις 'Streit' | OCS **ратьь** 'battle', R **ратьь** 'army', SCr **rát** 'Streit' || A: pj {St.} ***ira-t-** 'be annoyed' > OJ **ira-t-**, J T **iradacu**);

2. ***yerV** 'misfortune', 'to curse, be angry' (> U: FU ***yerV** v. 'curse, scold' Z **ěp-** **yor-** id. || Vg {Knn.}: T/LK/P/Ss **yēr-** v. 'curse, scold' || D (att. in McTm only) ***īč-** 'grief, anger' > Tm **īčal** 'grief (as of a broken heart), deep-seated sorrow', Ml **īča**, **īču** 'anger, fury' ¶ D #553 || ? HS: S: Arb **yarr-** 'evil, calamity');

3. ***žā?o'rV** 'to blame, scold, accuse, be angry, be annoyed \ disgusted' (> K: G **žor-** v. 'gründlich schelten' || HS: [1] S *^o✓**δ?r** > Arb **δ?r** (pf. δa?ira) 'être en colère; abhorrer qch., éviter/fuir q'un (par peur, par aversion, par méprise) || [2] S *^o✓**δrr** ~ *^o✓**δwyr** (prm. *^o-**δūr-**, *^o-**δyar-**) ≈ 'be angry, frighten' > Arb **δarār-** {Ln.} 'anger and aversion' or 'disapprobation' || B *^o✓**zwr** 'reproach, insult' || Ch: Su {J} **žigir** 'tadeln, zurechtweisen' || A: pj {St.} ***ira-t-** 'be annoyed' || D: SD ***car-** | ***zač-** 'a rebuke; abuse, jeer at' > Kn **jare**, **jari**, **jere**, **jeri** id., Tu **jaripuni**, **jar(e)puni** 'to insult, jeer, despise').

NaT ***uþð-** v. 'feel passion, sexual desire' < N ***gUžV** 'to feel, smell (sth.)' × N ***h'otE** 'to smell, smell at')

Merger of homonymic grammatical morphemes:

(a) Semitic *-ā, predicative ending of dual × *-ā, predicative of fem. pl. Whence names of paired body parts (used mostly in du.) joined the feminine agreement class (feminine gender): on the basis of the homonymic forms: ***gaynā-ni tab-ā** 'the (2) eyes are good' - ***walad-ātum tab-ā** 'the girls are good' the nouns ***gayn-** 'eye', ***uðlNjñ-** 'ear', ***karan-** 'horn', ***yad-** 'hand' etc. became syntactically feminine.

(b) HS *-at- (ending of derived nouns of "feminine gender", i.e. feminine-and-inanimate agreement class) and HS *tV- (verbal agreement prefix of the "Feminine gender") go back to two N words: [1] N ***tä**, demonstrative (deictically neutral) pronoun of non-active (inanimate) objects > IE ***to**-id., -ti, -t (verbal endings of 3 sg.), *-T (ending of neuter [inanimate] forms of pronouns: Latin **id**, **quid**, Engl. **it**, **what**, etc.), K demonstr. pronoun (Megrelian **te** 'this', **ti** 'that'), U ***tä**, demonstrative pronoun of inanimate objects (→ 'this', 'that'), A ***te-** 'der, das' (deictically neutral demonstrative pronoun) (in Mongolic, Tungusic languages, etc.), D: the "resumptive" and personal (3 sg.) pronoun ***tān** / (obl.) ***tan-** 'himself', the ending of inanimate gender *-tu, the ending *-tō of the 3 sg. neutrum (inanimate) of predicative and "appellative" words × [2] N ***?atV** 'female, woman' > HS (noun): Saho {R} **atē** 'elder sister', Yaku **ṭou** (pl. 'ṭouyō') 'sister' [where **ṭ-** < HS ***?Vt-**], O[motic]: Yemsa {Cerulli} **ētria** 'elder sister'; A: Tungusic ***atV** 'female, elderly woman'; D ***ātt-** 'woman' and *-tti, a derivational-grammatical morpheme for females: ***oru-tti** 'one female person' > Tamil, Malayalam **oru-tti** 'one female person' (**oru-** is 'one'), Tulu, Malto **or-ti** 'one woman', etc. In HS both N words merged into one morpheme denoting both inanimate objects and female beings. According to the above definition, this is what is called feminine gender. It became a grammatical category when a gender agreement between nouns and other words developed. It is worth noting that in some D languages (Telugu a.o.) the markers of neutrum and f. merged (because of phonetic changes), and a "fem.-and-inanimate" gender appeared (just as in HS).

(c). Russian -ā (genitive sg. ending of the 2nd declination, i.e. of masc. and neuter nouns) goes back to Sl. *-ā id. [< IE *-o:d, ablative of *-o-stems) and to Sl. nom.-acc. ending of du. (2nd decl.). The reality of this merger (almost complete, except for the residual distinction: **два часа** 'two

hours' [from du.] ⇔ начало 'часа [gen.]' 'beginning of the hour') is confirmed by the fem. sg. genitive used after numerals: две сестры 'two sisters' like муж сестры 'sister's husband'.

B. Paronymic merger: **HB.** נָשָׂא ?iššā 'woman' (< *?inθ-at-, cp, Arb ?unθ-) - **Arb** אִישׁ ?išš 'man' (< S *?inaš- < N *?iñAšəli 'person, man' [cp. Arb ئىنسِ ?ins- 'hommes, genre humain' [n. coll.], FU (in FV only) *iñše 'person' > OF iñhe-miner, F ihminen, ErMr iñže 'guest']:

Gn. 2.23: לֹא תְזַעֲרֵה אֶשְׁר בַּמְאִישׁ לְבַתְּךָ-זָאת: Gn. 2.23: לֹא'זֹת יִקְרֹה אֶשְׁר בַּמְאִישׁ לְבַתְּךָ-זָאת: Gn. 2.23: 'she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man'. The merger of the paronymic stems occurred in spite of the persisting phonetic difference between *?iš and ?išš-.

M *omug ~ *obug 'clan' (> MM [MNT] oboh 'family', LM obuɣ ~ omuɣ 'clan, tribe, family, surname', HLM obog ~ omog id., Ord omoq, LO omog 'family', Mnr Nr omog 'nom de clan, nom de famille') < *?oHbV 'clan' × *?o'mV 'kin, clan, everybody' from 2 sources:

1. ?? *?o'mV 'kin, clan, everybody' > HS: S *?umm-(at-) 'kin, clan' > HB נָמָן ?um'm-a 'tribe, small group of people', Ak ummān-um 'people, army' || C: Af ummān 'all, every', Sa {R} um'mān 'totalità, Gesamtheit' || ?? IE *?Hom- 'every' > L omnis id. || ?? U *'o'ma > MkMr u'ma 'pen, enclosure for cattle, загон (для скота)' || Sm: Slq Tz {Hl.} Īmt 'остальные' (= {KKIH} īmt [ūmt] 'некоторый, остальной'), īmtie 'relative, rostvennik' || A: NaT *ōba 'clan, extended family, dwelling place of such a unit, small encampment or large tent' || M *omug ~ *obug 'clan' || D: SD *-um 'all', a morpheme used as a final component of cpta and frame constructions

2. *?oHbV (= *?ohbV?) 'clan' > HS: Eg fOK ȝb.t 'family' ({EG} 'Familie, die Angehörigen') || IE: NaIE *epi- 'friend' > OI ȝ'pih 'friend', ? Gk ἕπιος 'friendly' || A: NaT *ōba 'clan' > OT oħa 'clan, extended family' || M *obug ~ *omug 'clan, family'

C. Formal lexical attraction (contamination):

*čäΓrV 'to be in pain, feel hurt, resent'. U: FU *čärke- > F särke- v. 'ache, pain' (> Lp N {N} särigā- / -ärg- v. 'ache, be painful, be the seat of bad pain'), Vp särge-, šärge- v. 'ache, pain' | ? Lp: N čärgiidi- 'go to sleep (of limbs), L {LLO} tjiér 'kijtit id., 'become numb' (of limbs), U {Schl.} tjär'ka 'scharfes Prickeln in eingeschlafene Gliedern', Pa {TI} čärgib- v. 'ache (of a wound)' || ObU {Ht.} *čäraꝝ- > pVg *čäraꝝ- > Vg: Ss šäraꝝ- v. 'ache, pain', UL/SS šäraꝝ-, UL/Ss T čärik-, LK/MK šäraꝝ-, P/NV/LL šarr- v. 'deplore'; pOs {Ht.} *čäray- ~ čöray- v. 'ache, pain' > Os Ty čeray-, K čärav-, Nz šaray-, Kz šari- id. | OHg sér 'be hurt verletzt werden), ache', Hg sárt- v. 'injure, damage, harm, hurt', Δ sérés 'pain, ache, illness' ¶ *-ke may be due to contamination with FP *šärke- 'break, split'

*či't'V 'to clean, (?) wipe' > K: G I čit- 'säubern (Reben)' ¶ Chx. 1934 || ? HS: S *~✓θdm *'strain, filter (a liquid)' > Arb θidām- 'linge, etc., qu'on applique à une vase pour filtrer, coller un liqueur' || U: FU {Coll.} *čičV v. 'wipe' > Lp: Ar {Lgc.} cih:cɥot, Vf {Lgc.} čäh:co't 'abwischen' ¶ *-č- for the expected *-t- is probably due to the influence of the paronymic FU *čōčV (< N *cɔy|x|gčV ~ *čoy|x|gčV 'to sweep, rub\scrape away\off' [q.v.]) ¶ Lgc. ##305, 353, Coll. 75 (Lp ciččo / cižo- 'wipe'; *+ Prm & Vg words belonging to the abovementioned U *čōčV).

T *jun 'wool' > OT, OQp xiii jun, Tk Δ, ET, Sir jun, Alt jun ↗ jöŋ, Az Δ, Qry T/G, SY, Ln jun, Uz žun, Tkm jün, SY jun ~ jün ~ jüň, Tk ȝün, Ggz jün ~ ün, Qrj, Qmq, Nog jün, Qzq žün, Tv čun, Xk nuŋ, Tb {RI.} hün, Yk sun, Chv: L čäm šüm, H šüm 'wool', Qrg žün, Qrql žün, VTt йон jyn, SbTt, Bsh jyn

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APPENDIX

***P**V**R**V̄ć,χ,ν 'fingernail, claw' > HS: CS *paras- 'hoof, cloven hoof' > BHb פְּרַסָּה par'sā 'cloven hoof, hoof', JAr, Sr parsə't-ā, pl. parsē, parsā'tā 'cloven hoof', Arb firs- 'hoof of a camel' || Om: Cha {C} harçā (h < *f is irregular), Bdt {C} partā, Kcm {CR} beradē, WI {C} beradđe, beradŷā, {HL} biraddiya, Omt (= Gf?) {Mr.} bi'raddę, Dwr {Borelli} biraddę, Dc/Gamu {HL} biradđe 'finger' || Ch: Hs fárčě (pl. fárawtā) 'fingernail', Gw {Mts. G} á-píráčí 'finger', Gw Kr fíráčí, Gw Nm pírsi id. || CCh: Gude {Hosk.} pářs̄yáns 'hoof of animal' | ?? Gdr {Mch.} purđumay 'fingernail' (đ = ī or ţ [Mouchet does not explain the sign đ, but refers to the transcription of the Institut d'ethnologie, which is not yet available to me]) || K *prčxa- 'fingernail, claw' > OG prčxil- 'claw', G prčxil- 'fingernail, claw', Δ pircxil- id., Mg bircxha- 'fingernail, claw', Lz bu(r)cxa- 'fingernail, claw', cxeñi-bucxa 'hoof of a horse' (lit. 'horse-claw'), Sv cxa- 'fingernail, claw, talon' || IE: NaE (att. in BSI) *přst- 'finger, toe' > pSl *přrstъ (G *přr'sta) id. > OCS пръстъ 'finger', OR пърстъ, R ꙗ, Uk перст 'finger', SCr přst, Slv přst, Blg 'пръст(ът)', Cz, Slk prst, Uls porst 'finger, toe', P parst 'finger' | Lt piřštas (1st accentual paradigm), Ltv pirksts, piirsts, Pru pīrsten 'finger' ◇ It is tempting to suppose that *PVRV̄ć,χ,ν goes back to a cd *P'ā'rV̄ čuuya 'finger-thorn'.

Compare: 1. *p'ā'R V̄ 'finger' > HS: C {AD} *pVr- > LEC *fer- 'finger' > Af {PH} fēra, Sa {R} ferā id.; pSam *farr- ({Hn.} *far-) 'finger' > Sml {DSI} far (pl. farro), Sml J far (pl. far-hā), Bn far (pl. farṣ), Rn far (pl. {Hn.} far'ru, {Oo.} fa'ru) id.; Bs {HL} fer 'finger, toe', {Fl.} per 'finger', Elm farrit, fārr, Arbr farrit (pl. farró) id. || Ch: WCh *pVr- 'finger' > AG: Kfr {Nt.} furap-sár 'fingers' (sár means 'hand') || ECh: EDng {Fd.} pérné 'finger' (pérme in JI ChLR II 137 is a misprint), Mgm {JA} pùrrùn (pl. pòrònna ~ pòrinná) 'ongle, griffe', Mu {J} fěrí 'finger'|| CCh: HgWI {Mk.} piri 'fingernail' (in the light of sound correspondences within Higi gr. and within CCh, HgWI piri does not belong together with HgMd {Mk.} billi, HgMk {Mk.} billa, HgSn billę id., Suk {Mk.} pilak, MrgP, Mrg L {Mk.} pil, Klб {Mk.} pilu 'fingernail'; these forms correspond rather to HgWI {Mk.} pilla 'finger' || IE: Tc A prār, B prāri 'finger' ¶ Wn. 390, Adm. 120 || n *p'äränjä 'thumb' ~ *pjarañ'a > T: (1) NaT *härnjæk 'finger' or 'thumb' ({Cl.} *ärnják, {ADb. SRAE} *ärnják, {ADb. NPAJ} *ärnjek) > LT *härnjæk > OT Uyg erjek ~ erjäk 'finger' (or 'thumb'), Chg erjek ~ ärmäk 'finger', Yk ärbäx 'thumb', Tv erjek 'thumb, small finger', Tf erjek 'thumb', Xk, Shor ergek id. ||| (2) T *pjarnjak ({Md.} *p'ja-rnjak) > NaT *parmaq ~ *parnaq 'finger' > MUyg, Chg, OXwT barmaq, OOsm barmaq ~ parmaq, Tk parmak, Δ barmaq, ET barmaq ɻ pamaq, ET H parmaq, Ggz parmak, Az barmaq, Tkm, Bsh, Qmq, Qzq barmaq, Slr parmax, VTt barmaq, Δ barnaq 'finger' || Chv pürne 'finger' || M *ψerekey 'thumb' > MM (MNT) heregay, LM er(e)keyi, Hlм эрхий, Brт эрхы, Kl erkē, Dg B xergi, Dg Hl

ergi 'thumb', MnR Nr xuri 'finger' and Ba xur 'finger' || Tg *perenjen ~ *purenen 'thumb' > Ewk hurusun, SlN ərgū ~ ərgəs, {Iv.} or'gun ~ ur'gun ~ uru'gun), Lm hörəyən, Neg xöyəzən, Orc xōja(n-), Ud xuz, UI poro / poron-, puru / purun-, Nn Nh pərxə, LMc ferxe 'thumb' || IE: NEI pu-ur 'finger' or 'thumb' ¶ HK I 241-2 ◇ Cf. IS III 70-7 → Glh. 507 (*p'a'rā' 'fingernail', not distinguishing between the etymon in question and *P̄V̄R̄V̄č̄x̄, V̄ 'fingernail, claw')

+ 2. *čuyya 'thorn' > K *c̄xwi- id., 'arrow' > Mg a-c̄xva-c̄xvi-n-aia 'thorny, burning' ({IS} 'needles of cereals') (IS: < *sa-c̄xwe-c̄xw-in- with reduplication of *c̄xw-) , Sv c̄xwi, c̄xu 'arrow' || HS: S *č̄n > Arb müşəşən- 'terminé en pointe, effilé' (se dit, par ex., des oreilles de quelques animaux' || IE: NaIE *skʰweiH- 'thorn' > pAl {O} *skuna (wirh a secondary *n-sx. from earlier *skuya) > Al hu 'stake, pole, ox-goad, penis', Al G hū, (with the article) huni 'penis' || Clt: OIr scé (G pl. sciad < *sk̄l̄h, wi-^h-at-) 'thorny bush, haw (Crataegus)'; Brtt *spijat- > OW dir ispidatten 'up to the thorny bush', MW yspydat '(bark of) haw', W yspyyddaden 'Spinus albus, spina acuta', ysbypdad 'Santis, Leucacanthe', Crn spethes, {Erl.} spedhes 'thorny shrubs', MBr spezaden snglt. 'groseille' || Lt skujā 'needle of a conifer', Ltv skujas (f. pl.) id. | Sl *xvoja ~ *xvojъ 'needles of a conifer' > OCz chvojě, Cz chvoje, R 'хвоя 'needles of conifers', Slv hôja 'fir-tree, conifer', P choja 'conifer, pine-tree', Blg 'хвоя 'pine-tree'; Sl *xuјъ 'penis' > Blg, R xуй, P chuj || u: NaT *čüy(ä) > Alt čä 'young coniferous forest', ET I čüä 'penis', Nog šüy, VTt čyly, Bsh šby 'nail, wedge', Tkm čuy 'wedge', Tk čivi id. (< *čüy-i < [assimilation] *ču'y-ä) || NTg *čīyeña > Ewk čīyə, Ewk Nk čiya 'needle of a coniferous tree (fallen out to the ground); an animal hair (that has come out)', Neg čiya 'dog's hair (that has come out)' || D **čīya- 'thorn' in *čīya,-kkāy (lit. 'thorn-pod') > Tm cī-kkāy, cīya-kkāy 'soap-pod wattle, Acacia concinna', Ml cīya-kkāy, cīkka-kkāy 'Mimosa abstergens', Td sī-x 'Acacia delibata, Acacia melanoxyton', Kn sīge 'in a climbing prickly shrub; Acacia concinna', Tu sīgæ, sīge-kayi 'pods of Mimosa abstergens reduced to powder and used as soap', Tl sī-kaya 'Acacia concinna', Knd sīkō 'soap-nut tree'

*k'ū'R̄V̄ šuʃl̄V̄ 'in bottom [bone] of the foot' > HS: S *k̄uʃarsull- 'ankle' > BHb קָרְטָל kār'sal / k̄arsull-, JAr אַרְצָלְקָרְטָל k̄arsul'l-ā ~ קָרְצָלְקָרְטָל k̄arsul'l-ā, Sr կորշալ-ā, Ak kursinnu || K: GZ {K} *kurs-, {FS} *kurs- 'heel' > OG, G kusl-, Lz kus-, ku(r)- id., Mg kurs-, kurc-, kur- id., 'kick by hoof' ◇ The etymon is a N compound of *k'ū'rū' 'foot, hoof' (q.v.) and *šuʃl̄V̄ 'heel'. We prefer to reconstruct here the cns. *š (evidenced by K) rather than *č (suggested by S) on the evidence of the etymon *šuʃl̄V̄. The vowel *'ū' is tentatively reconstructed on the evidence of the reflexes of the cd *k'ū'rū-γV̄C̄V̄ 'shin' that shares the first component with the compound in question.

Compare: 1. *k̄ur'u' 'foot, hoof' (→ 'hand') > u {ADb.} *k̄uru > Tg *xuru-n 'hoof' > Ewk urūn, Ork xūrū 'hoof (of a heindeer)', Orc ūŋki, Ud u, Nn Nh xōrō ~ xōroā, Nn B xoro(n-) 'hoof'; Tg *xuru 'handful' > Ewk ur, urū, d ū, Ul, Orc xuru ~ xurū, Nn xoro || M *quruyuʃan 'finger, toe' (← 'hoof') > MM [IM] quryan, [IsV] quru'upn, [MA, LV] qurūn, LM qurugun, HlM xuryu, MnR Nr {SM} xuri, MnR H {Pot.} xuryu, MnR M {Pot.} күрү, MMgl [Z] qurūn, Mgl {Rm.} qurūn, Dx {T} gurun, Dg {T} qorō 'finger, toe' || IE: NaIE *kern-/ *korn- (or *kōrn- if the Sl cognate is rejected) 'hoof, (?) handle' > Clt: W, Crn carn 'hoof', OBr carn id. ('ungula caballi, sabot de cheval'), Br karri 'hoof' ('sabot de bête') || ? Sl *černъ 'handle' > Blg, R 'черен' 'handle, haft, graft', SCr crēn, Slv črēn, HLs črona, P trzon id. || u: FP *kurmV̄ 'hollow of the hand' > Chr H кормъж 'kormъž, Chr L/Uf/B kormъž id., 'handful' | MkMr kurmoš 'handful' | Prm {LG} *kūrim 'hollow hand' > StZ кырым 'hand', Z I/Ud, Prmk kīrim 'hollow of the hand, handful', Yz kʌrʌm, Vt кырым 'handful' || D *kurV̄, n, k̄o 'thigh' > Tm kurənku, Kt korg, Tl kūruvnu, Klm kudug, Prj kudu & kuđu, Gdb kuyug, Gnd kurki & kurku, Knd kurgu, Kui kuzu, kuz(u)gu, Kuwo kūdgū & kuđugu, Krx xosgā, Mlt

qosrə 'thigh', Ml kur₂aku, kur₂avu 'quarter of animals, ham, thigh, loins' ¶ D #1840 ◇ If the Sl cognate is accepted, the IE root has an initial *k-, in that case the pN reconstruction must be *kūru' (*u > *y lost in IE before the root-final sonant). But in this case the plausible connection of the N etymon with the cd *kūru- γ VcV 'shin' (with a front vowel suggested by IE *k- in *krūs-) is ruled out. Otherwise, if the questionale Slavic cognate *černъ 'handle' is rejected, the N etymon is likely to be *kūru', in accordance with its connection with *kūru- γ VcV 'shin' ◇ The D, IE and U cognates are likely to go back to a cd or cds (~ *kūru' Nv...).

+ 2. *su₂l¹V (or *sūlwV?) 'heel, sole of the foot, bottom', *kūlR¹V su₂l¹V 'in bottom [bone] of the foot' > HS: S *kursull- (see above) || B *-s₁l- 'sandals, shoes', *-s₁w-₁s₁v. 'put on footwear' > Ah es₁l 'paire de chussures', BSn tisili (pl. tisila) 'sandals', Ntf tasilt (pl. tasila) 'fer à cheval', Zng tasiži 'chaussure', Skn tsila (pl. tsilawin) 'sandals', Kb assal 'mettre des gambierres, des chaussettes', Gh asal 'être chaussé', ETwl, Ty asal 'se chausser de' ¶ Some of these words may alternatively go back to L solea 'sandal' || K: GZ *kurs]- 'heel' (see above) || IE: NaIE swol-/*sul- 'sole of the foot' > L solum 'sole of the foot; soil, ground', solea 'a leather sole strapped on the foot, sandal' || Mir fol. i. bond 'basis (Grundlage), sole of the foot' (A folaig, N pl. solaig), OIr d pl. soilgib 'to the soles' || Gk ὑλία 'sole' || ?? U: FU *-s₁l¹V 'low' (or *-e-, *-s-) > ObU {Ht.} *θēl-, {fHt.} *θēl-/*θēl- 'low' > pVg *tālk^wV id. > Vg: T tālkwī \notin tālkī, LK tālkwā, tālk^w, MK tālk^w, UK tālkwā, NV tālka, SV/LL tālkwā, UL/Ss tālkwā id.; pOs {Ht.} *θēl id. > D/Nz tet, Kz 4e4, O lel ¶ Ht. 136 [#135], Kann. WV 137, Stn. GWV 206, Ht. HGOV 73 ◇ If the FU (ObU) cognate belongs here, the initial N cns. is *s-. In this case K *-s- (for the expected *-s-) may be due to its position within a cns. cluster.

*muŋi'H'ořK¹V (or *muŋi ɁařK¹V?) 'gristle, horn' > HS: EC {Ss.} murķ- 'gristle' > SmI mūruq 'muscle', Kns {Bl.} murq-a 'tip of the nose', Gdl {Bl.} morķ-a 'bone of the nose; kneecap', Ya {Hn.} morž-i? (pl. morž-ei) 'sinew of neck' ¶ Bl. 198, Ss. PEC 54, Hn. Y II 133 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Zar {Sh.} K/GL mōri, Zar L {Sh.} nēri, Sy {Csp.} nēri 'horn' | Ngz {Sch.} mākém 'horn blown in hunting to call other hunters; trumpeting with horn' || CCh: Msg {MB} ámiyók, Ms mičkna 'horn' ¶ MB 59, ChC, ChC, Sh. SB 25, Sch. DN 109, Csp. 54 || U: FU {Db.} *ñorke 'gristle' > pLp {Lr.} *ñörkēs > Lp N {N} njuorges / -riga, L {LLO} njuorakis, Kld {Gn.} ñoargas id. | Ch: L/Uf/B Hörgö nörssö, H {Ep.} Hörgö nörssö id. || ObU {Ht.} *ñírkV id. > pVg {Ht.} *ñírav > Vg: T ñérkš \notin ñérav, MK ñřri, P ñerir, Ss ñarir; pOs {Ht.} *ñarak > Os: Vy ñaraq, Ty/Y ñáraq, D/K ñora, Nz ñora, O ñar id. | ? OHg xvi nyír, Hg Δ nyír (+ ppx. 3s nyír ja) 'flesh ("frog") in the horse-hoof' ('Strahl am Pferdehuf') [semantic influence of nyíl id. ← nyíl 'arrow', which is a loan-translation from Sl or German] || Sm {Jn.} *ñár 'gristle' > Ne: T ñer'', T Ø {Lh.} ñer? id., F NL cd puuyen-ñje-rr̄ 'gristle of the nose', d ñje-řakú 'gristle'; Ng {Ter.} ɿip id.; En {Ter.} ɿý / ɿip- id.; Slq {KD} : LTz ñřr, Ch ñřr id. ¶ Db. reconstructs the pFU (and pU) vowels as *ø...e on the basis of his theory (Db OS xxvi-xxxiv) of two correspondence sets for pU *ø: [1] in *-e-stems (those with a final *-e) *ø > F ø, Lp N ue, Mr ø, Chr ü, ö, Prm *u, Vg ȝ (~ a), Os a, ø (preceding ȝ?), Hg í; [2] in *-a-stems FU *ø > F ø, Lp L oa, Mr u, Prm {fLt.} *u, *ø, Vg ȝ / ȝ (~ ü), Os a (/ø / u / ȝ), Hg a (/ á). UEW reconstructs here U *ñírkV = {fUEW} *ñérkz or *ñörke ¶ Coll. 43, Db. OS xxvi, UEW 317, It. #62, Lr. #794, Lgc. #4467, ~ Ber. 43, MRS 360, Ep. 77, Ü 134, LG 187, Ht. #317, MSzFUE 485, EWU 1043, Jn. 108, Ter. 305, Ter. SILSJ 287, Lh. 314, KP 144 || R: T *mūňjūř 'horn' > Nat *mūňjuz > OT {Cl.} müňjuz \notin müyüz, büyüz, OQp/OTkm xii būyuz, Chg xv bünjüz, Tk bøyuz, Ggz, CrTt boyuz, Tkm būyudi, Az būyuz, Uz mugiz ~ muguz, Kr, ET müňjüz, ET Δ muňuz, Slr {Kk.}, SY monjus, Ln mügüs ~ müyüs, VTt mərəz təbəz, Δ təbəs, Bsh mərəz təbəb, Qzq myjiz müyiz, Nog, Qrl, Qrg müyüz, Tb münüs ~ müs, Alt, Xk müs, Tv miyis, Tf müs, Yk müüs \notin moyuüs ¶ Cl. 352, Rs. W 347, ESTJ B 243-5, Jeg. 130, St.

AJ 179 [#42], Rass. 207 || M *mö(*ŋ*)gere-sün 'cartilage' > LM mögeresün, HlM мөгөрөс(ен), Ord möös(ú), Brt {Chr.} мэнгээрхэ(н), Δ {SM} möjöröhön, LO mörsün, Kl мөөрсн mörsan, {Rm.} mörsn, MnR Nr {SM} munq_irz̥z, Dx {SM} munjörsön id. ¶ MED 545, Ms. O 471, Chr. 312, Krg. 608, KRS 358, Rm. KW 268, SM 248 ¶ Pp. VG 73, St. AJ 282 [#177] || Tg: Ewk munji 'sinew at the end of a muscle; muscle' ¶ STM I 557 || ??? (adduced by SDM) MKo n̄is-m̄t̄j(*ŋ*)im 'gums' ¶ SDM97 (pA *muŋoyne 'horn, cartilage, tendon') 207-8, Rm. EAS 120, Pp. VG 73, St. AJ 282 || **GII:** Gil A (murgi) murk'i 'horn' ¶ ST 107 ◇ The presence of a word-medial velar element (surviving in M *-g- ~ -ŋ-, T *-j- and Ewk -ŋ-) rules out an intervocalic *-ń- (i.e. *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. ~*munji ęarK ∇ with the second component *ęarK'u 'sinew' [q.v.], which may account for the semantic variant 'sinew' in some descendant lgs. In such a case the vowel *ó in U *ńorke must be explained by assimilative influence of some adjacent phoneme. In Tg the second component of the original cd was lost either by back formation or (in prehistory) by ellipsis.

Compare: *ęarK'u 'sinew' (> 'bow-string, bow') > **HS:** WS *f̄i'r̄k- (N *f̄i'r̄k-u) 'sinew, vein, root' > Arb firq- 'root, sinew, vein', Mh ?ark- 'artery, sinew, nerve, root', Jb C fark- 'root, sinew', JAր Արկ Արկ Արկ-ā 'leather thong' || **IE** *herku- > NaIE *arku- 'bow; net' > L arcus id. || Gmc *arxʷō > Gt ձ arhazna, ON qr (G qrvar), AS earrh 'arrow', NE arrow || Gk ἄρκυς, -υος 'net' ¶ × N *v̄'r̄kō 'to bend, be bent\crooked' [q.v.] || **R:** NaT *arka- > Osm {Rs.} arqa- 'an den Sattelriemen festbinden', Chg {Rs.} arqa- 'den Faden einschließen', Tv аргы- ary- v. 'knit, plait, weave', Xk ary- v. 'embroider in satin-stitch'; NaT {ESTJ} *arkān 'lasso (аркан)', thick rope' > Chg {RI.}, Kr אַרְקָן arqan, Tkm arqān 'lasso, thick rope', CrT, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qrql, VTt, Bsh arqan, Uz arqan, Tk {ESTJ} argan 'thick rope, cable', Qrg, Alt arqan 'rope made of hair', Qzq {RI.} arqan 'Strick aus Pferdehaar'; T → R ар'кан 'lasso' || M: LM argamži, HlM аргамж, Brt аргамжа, Kl aphimž 'rope, tether', LO аргамži 'rope, line, halter, hawser, bridle', LM argamži-, HlM аргамжи- v. 'tie, fasten with a rope', LO аргала- v. 'fasten, tether'; M → Tf argamži 'lasso, leather rope (аркан, кожаная веревка)', Tv аргамчы id., Xk арыамži, Alt армакчы 'lasso, rope', Qrg аргамжы 'rope (made of hair)' || **D:** NED *eřv̄t- > Krx eřet^h 'long-bow', Mlt eřtu 'a bow', eřtyo 'archer'.

Homonymy and deep etymology. Every generation reconstitute its language an its stock of roots and words. The lexical stock of one generation is different from that of previous generations (especially in unwritten languages). Therefore synchronic description of a language (as well as linguistic competence of its speakers) often fails to establish etymological identity of words, roots and affixes: whether one word (root, morpheme) of a language goes back to one or several words (roots, morphemes), whether synchronically different words/roots (as English *of* and *off*, *queen* and *quean* 'prostitute', Russian *государь*, *сударь*, *-ста* in *пожалуйста* and *-с* in *да-с*, Russian *сон* and *стг-* in *спать*) are etymologically identical. Both speakers of Georgian and learned Georgian lexicographers feel that *guli* 'slave' (a Turkic loanword) and *guli* 'coolie' (< Russian < English < Tamil) is the same word. They are quite right, as far as the synchronic system of Georgian is concerned. But their synchronic Sprachgefühl has nothing to do with etymology.

In order to establish this sort of historical identity of words/roots/morphemes in a language, we must go deeper than that particular language, go to its previous stage (a kins of etymological Goedel's theorem). Therefore Pokorny's, Redei's or Ramstedt's lists of Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Uralic (or Proto-Finno-Ugrian) and Proto-Turkic roots cannot satisfy us as far as homonymy-polysemy distinction is concerned.

Can we establish genetic identity vs. polygenesis of Proto-Nostratic words? Unfortunately, the answer is no. Our judgements in this field are not more than guesswork. But even this guesswork may be useful. If we see the apparent homonymy between **mi* 'I' and **mi* 'what?', we guess that a complete homonymy in this field endangers communication. There must have been some phonemic distinction between these two words: tone, qualitative or quantitative difference between two **i*-vowels, unless there were some unknown syntactic rules capable to avoid the homonymic clash.

Submorphemic association between sound and meaning. All of us have learned that a morpheme is "a meaningful linguistic units that contains no smaller meaningful parts". Now we see that this definition is not entirely accurate, because there are sound-and-meaning associations at a submorphemic level (phonemes, phonemes in a certain position, phomeric sequencies, etc.). Even if we do not mention onomatopoeia and ideophony, we still remain with many cases of such submorphemic associations: if we hear names like [buas'son], ['зотто], ['штрумпель] and ['пфайфер] (all in Russian pronunciation), we identify them as French, Italian and German names because of their phonemic structure; if I hear in Russian a phrase (with non-existant words) *Она такая фёха, а сястра у ей шлёндра, да и хахаль ейный – просто шмендрик*, we guess what their meaning is because of *фё-*, initial preconsonantic *ш-*, the preconsonantic sequences *-ен-*, *-ён-*, etc. My Hebrew students smile when they here the name 'čukčit' 'the Chukchee language' (because of the emotionally charged č, its repetition and two closed syllables in a paroxytonic word), while Russian students laugh on hearing the name of the South Arabian dialect Kurya-Murya. These submorphemic sound-and-meaning associations deserve consideration.