

22.2. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *b

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
b-	b-	p-	b-	b ^h -	p-	b-	p-
-b-	-b-	-pp-/-vv-	-b-	-b ^h -	-w-	-b-	-v-

1. Proto-Nostratic root **baʃ-* (~ **bəʃ-*):

(vb.) **baʃ-* ‘to pour’;

(n.) **baʃ-a* ‘torrent, outpour’

A. Proto-Afrasian **baʃ-* ‘to pour’: Semitic: Arabic *baʿʿa* ‘to pour out in abundance’, *baʿʿ* ‘abundant outpour’, *buʿāḳ*, *baʿāḳ*, *biʿāḳ* ‘raining cloud, waterspout, first shower, noise of torrent’, *baʿbaʿ* ‘gurgling of water’. D. Cohen 1970— :74. Egyptian *bʿhy* ‘to be inundated; to flood, to inundate; to pour’, *bʿ* ‘to drink (blood)’, *bʿbʿ* ‘to drink’, *bʿbʿt* ‘stream’, *bʿh* ‘basin (for irrigation)’, *bʿh* ‘inundated land’, *bʿhw* ‘inundation, flood’. Hannig 1995:249; Erman—Grapow 1921:47 and 1926—1963.1:446, 1:447, 1:448—449; Faulkner 1962:81; Gardiner 1957:564. West Chadic **baʃ-* ‘to pour’ > Tsagu *va-*, *vo-* ‘to pour’; Mburku *vay*, *vaw* ‘to pour’. East Chadic **bwa(y)-* ‘to pour’ > Somray *bo* ‘to pour’; Kabalay *bəyi* ‘to pour’; Mokilko (perf.) *buuye* ‘to pour’; Lele *boy-* ‘to pour’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:45, no. 180, **baʃ-* ‘to pour’; Ehret 1995:91, no. 39, **baaʃ-* ‘to flow heavily, to defecate’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **b-* ‘to pour’: Mingrelian *b-* ‘to pour’; Laz *b-* ‘to pour’; Svan *b-* ‘to pour out (of liquid)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:40—41 **b-*; Fähnrich 2007:43 **b-*; Klimov 1964:47 **b-* and 1998:6 **b-* ‘to pour’.

C. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *papaa-* (< **pa:(pa:)-*) ‘to urinate’, *papaa* ‘urine’. Nikolaeva 2006:343.

Sumerian *ba* ‘to pour out’.

Buck 1949:4.65 urinate; urine; 9.35 pour.

2. Proto-Nostratic root **baʃ-* (~ **bəʃ-*):

(vb.) **baʃ-* ‘to tie, to bind; to attach, to fasten’;

(n.) **baʃ-a* ‘tie, bond, bandage, fastening’

A. Proto-Afrasian **baʃ-* ‘to tie, to bind; to attach, to fasten’: Egyptian *bʿn* ‘to set (a precious stone in gold)’, *bʿn* ‘setting (a piece of jewelry)’. Hannig 1995:249; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:447. West Chadic: Sura *bəl* ‘to

join or bind together'; Mupun *bāal* 'to join'; Goemai *bal* 'to fasten'. Takács 2011a:54—55 **b-^o-l*.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **b-* 'to tie, to bind': Old Georgian *b-* 'to tie, to bind' (Georgian *b-* 'to tie, to bind; to hang'); Mingrelian *b-* 'to tie, to bind'; Laz *b-* 'to tie, to bind; to hang'; Svan *b-* 'to tie, to bind', *lə-b-e* 'tied'. Klimov 1964:47 **b-* and 1998:6 **b-* 'to tie, to bind'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:39—40 **b-*; Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:42—43 **b-*; Schmidt 1962:95 **b-*. Proto-Kartvelian **b-am-/*b-m-* 'to tie, to bind': Georgian *bam-/bm-* 'to tie, to bind; to be attached', *b-m-ul-i* 'bound'; Mingrelian *bum-* 'to tie, to bind'; Laz *bum-* 'to tie, to bind'; Svan *bem-* 'to tie up, to tie together'. Klimov 1964:48 **bam-/*bm-* and 1998:7 **b-am- : *b-m-* 'to tie, to bind'.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **bā* 'to bind': Proto-Tungus **ba-* 'to join (in marriage)' > Evenki *ba-* 'to propose for marriage'; Manchu *ba-čixi* 'married while still a child', *ba-čixila-* 'to be married as a child'. Proto-Turkic **b(i)ā-* 'to tie, to bind, to fasten', **b(i)ā-g-* 'bundle; bond, rope' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ba-* 'to bind, to fasten', *baγ* 'bundle; bond, rope; confederation'; Karakhanide Turkic *ba-* 'to bind, to fasten', *baγ* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Turkish *bağla-* 'to tie, to bind, to fasten, to attach' (*başım bağla-* 'to give in betrothal or marriage'), (passive) *bağlan-* 'to be tied; to be obliged, to be engaged (to do something)', *bağ* 'bond, tie; bandage; impediment; restraint; bundle', *bağlı* 'bound, tied' (*başi bağli* 'married; settled; connected [with some office, etc.]'), *bağlılık* 'attachment; affection'; Gagauz *bā-la-* (< **bag-la-*) 'to bind'; Azerbaijani *baγ* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Turkmenian *bāg* 'bond, rope'; Uzbek *boγ* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Uighur *baγ* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Karaim *baγ* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Tatar *baw* 'bundle; bond, rope', *bey* 'bond, rope'; Bashkir *baw* 'bundle; bond, rope', *bāy* 'bond, rope'; Kirghiz *bō* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Kazakh *baw* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Noghay *baw* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Sary-Uighur *paγ* 'bond, rope'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *bū* 'bond, rope'; Tuva *baγ-la-* 'to bind, to fasten'; Chuvash *p̣yav* 'bond, rope'; Yakut *bāy-* 'to bind, to fasten', *bīa* 'bond, rope'; Dolgan *bāy-* 'to bind, to fasten', *bīa* 'bond, rope'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:319 **bā* 'to bind'; Poppe 1960:58 and 97; Street 1974:8 **bāg* 'bunch, group'.

Buck 1949:2.33 marry; 2.34 marriage, wedding; 9.16 bind (vb. tr.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:172, no. 2, **baH₁* 'to tie to'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 180, **baH₂V-* 'to tie, to bind'.

3. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **baba* 'father' (nursery word):

- A. Proto-Afrasian **baba* 'father': Proto-Semitic **bābā* 'father' > Syriac *bābā* 'father'; Arabic *bābā* 'papa, father, daddy'; Soqotri *bāba* 'father'; Gees / Ethiopic *bābā* [ገገ] 'grandfather, ancestor'; Argobba *baba* 'grandfather';

Harari *bāb* (in address: *bābā*) ‘grandfather’. D. Cohen 1970— :40; Leslau 1963:39 and 1987:85; Hudson 2013:127. Berber: Nefusa *baba* ‘father’; Ghadames *baba* ‘father’ (term of respect preceding a masculine name); Tashelhiyt / Shilha *baba* ‘father’; Wargla *baba* ‘father’; Riff *baba* ‘father’; Tamazight *baba* ‘father’; Kabyle *baba* ‘father, grandfather’; Chaouia *baba* ‘father’; Zenaga *baba* ‘father’. Note: Some of the Berber forms may be borrowed from Semitic. Proto-East Cushitic **baabb-* ‘father’ > Dasenech *baaba* ‘father’; Gawwada *papp-o* ‘father’. Sasse 1979:44. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **baba* ‘father’ > Iraqw *baba* ‘father’. Proto-Chadic **baba* ‘father’ > Hausa *bàaba* ‘father’; Angas *baba* ‘father’; Karekare *babo* ‘father’; Ngizim *bàabá* ‘father’ (term by which a person refers to or addresses his own father or an older man with whom he feels a father-like attachment); Tera *baba* ‘father’; Gabin *babu* ‘father’; Gisiga *baba* ‘father’; Buduma *baabei* ‘father’; Mubi *baaba* ‘father’. Proto-Omotiic **baba* ‘father’ > Bench / Gimira *baba* ‘ancestors’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:42, no. 165, **bab-* ‘father’.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **baba* ‘father’: Georgian *babua-* ‘grandfather’; Laz *baba-* ‘father, dad’; Mingrelian *baba-* ‘father, dad’; Svan *baba-* ‘dad’. Klimov 1964:47 **baba-*; Schmidt 1962:94.
- C. (?) Indo-European: Palaic (nom. sg.) *pa-a-pa-aš* ‘father’ (the phonetics are uncertain — Melchert [1994a:191] reconstructs Proto-Anatolian **bāba-*).
- D. (?) Etruscan *papa* ‘grandfather’, *papals*, *papacs* ‘of the grandfather: grandson’ (the phonetics are uncertain).

Sumerian *ba-ba-a* ‘old man’.

Buck 1949:2.31ff. words for family relationship, p. 94 **papa*, **appa*, **baba* ‘father’ or ‘old man’; 2.35 father. Note: Nursery words cannot be used to establish genetic relationship. Nevertheless, they are part of the vocabulary of every language and should be reconstructed wherever possible.

4. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **baaba* ‘child, babe’ (nursery word):

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ba(a)b-* ‘child’: Proto-Semitic **bāb-* ‘child, babe’ > Akkadian *bābu* ‘child, baby’; Arabic *bābūs* ‘child, young of an animal, foal’. D. Cohen 1970— :40. Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *baabuu* ‘child’. East Chadic: Mubi *bobu* ‘child’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:42, no. 166, **bab-* ‘child’.
- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *pāpa* ‘small child’; Telugu *pāpa* ‘infant, babe, child’, *pāpāḍu* ‘boy’; Parji *pāp* ‘child, babe, young of animals’; Gadba (Ollari) *pāp* ‘child, young one, small one (of articles)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 364, no. 4095.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰābʰo-* ‘babe, child’: Old Irish *báb* ‘baby, girl’, *bábán* ‘baby’; Middle English *baban*, *babe*, *babi* ‘babe, baby’; Middle

High German *buobe* ‘boy’; Old Czech *bábě* ‘little girl, doll’; Czech *bábenec* ‘youngster’. Pokorny 1959:91 **ba^bb-*, **bha^bbh-*, **pa^bp-*, 91 **baba-*; Walde 1927—1932.II:105—106 **baba*, 107 **ba^bb-*, **bha^bbh-*, **pa^bp-*; Mann 1984—1987:59 **bhābhos*, *-ā*, *-ōn*, *-ios* ‘child, baby’; Watkins 1985:4 **baba-*; Onions 1966:67; Klein 1971:66.

5. Proto-Nostratic root **bad-* (~ **bəd-*):
- (vb.) **bad-* ‘to split, to cleave, to separate, to divide’;
- (n.) **bad-a* ‘split, crack, breach, opening’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **bad-* ‘to split, to cleave, to separate’: Proto-Semitic **bad-ak-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Hebrew *bedek* [בדק] ‘breach, fissure’; Aramaic *bədaḳ* ‘to penetrate, to break through’, *biḏḳā* ‘breach (of a dike, etc.)’; Akkadian *badāku* ‘to cleave, to split’; Ugaritic *bdḳ-t* ‘openings, sluices’ (?); Geez / Ethiopic *bedek* [ቤደቅ], *bedaḳ* [ቤደቅ] ‘cracks in a wall, wall about to collapse’ (Hebrew loan [cf. Leslau 1987:87]). Klein 1987:64; Murtonen 1989:106; D. Cohen 1970— :46. Proto-Semitic **bad-ad-* ‘to split, to divide, to separate’ > Hebrew *bādaḏ* [בדד] ‘to be separated, isolated, alone’, *baḏ* [בד] ‘part, piece, portion’; Phoenician *bdd* ‘to be separate’; Arabic *badda* ‘to divide, to separate, to spread’; Sabaean *bdd* ‘to distribute, to share out’; Ḥarsūsi *abdōd* ‘to separate, to sever’; Mehri *abdēd* ‘to separate’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bedd* ‘to separate’; Geez / Ethiopic *badada* [ቤደደ], *badda* [ቤደ] ‘to detach, to separate, to make single’. D. Cohen 1970— :44—45; Klein 1987:63; Murtonen 1989:105; Leslau 1987:86; Tomback 1978:44. Cushitic: Bilin *bid-* ‘to open’; Beja / Beḏawye *bādo* ‘furrow’; Sidamo *bad-* ‘to differentiate, to separate’, *bad-am-* ‘to be different’. Hudson 1989:351; Leslau 1987:86. Proto-Omotic **bad-* ‘to split, to cut (wood)’ > Kefa *bad* ‘to split, to cut (wood)’; Mocha *badda-* ‘to split, to cut (wood)’ (Leslau 1987:86 gives the Mocha form as *bādda(ye)* ‘to split wood’). Orël—Stolbova 1995:43, no. 171, **bad-* ‘to separate’.
- B. Dravidian: Gondi *para han-* ‘to break (intr.)’; Konḍa *paḍ-* ‘to burst out, to be broken with a crackling sound’, *paṭ-* ‘to break’; Pengo *paḍ-* (*paṭṭ-*) ‘to break (intr.)’, *paṭ-* ‘to break (tr.)’; Maṇḍa *paḍ-* ‘to break (intr.)’; Kuwi *paḍ-* ‘to break, to split, to crack (intr.)’, *paṭ-* ‘to smash’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:345, no. 3854.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hed^h-*/**b^hod^h-* ‘to prick, to pierce, to dig’: Hittite (3rd sg.) *pīd-da-i*, *pād-da-i* ‘to dig’; Latin *fodiō* ‘to dig’; Gaulish *bedo-* ‘canal, ditch’; Welsh *bedd* ‘grave’; Lithuanian *bedù*, *bèsti* ‘to dig, to bury’, *badaũ*, *badýti* ‘to pierce, to gore’; Old Church Slavic *bodō*, *bosti* ‘to stick, to prick’. Rix 1998a:51—52 **b^hed^h-* ‘to stab, to dig’; Pokorny 1959:113—114 **bhedh-* ‘to stab, to dig’; Walde 1927—1932.II:188 **bhodh-*; Mann 1984—1987:67 **bhedō*, *-iō* ‘to stab, to dig, to bury’, 88 **bhod-* ‘to stab; point, probe’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:154 **b^[h]ed^[h]-*/**b^[h]od^[h]-* and 1995.I:133 **b^hed^h-*/**b^hod^h-* ‘to dig’; Watkins 1985:6 **bhedh-* (*o*-grade

form **bhodh-*) and 2000:8 **bhedh-* ‘to dig’ (*o*-grade form **bhodh-*); De Vaan 2008:229; Mallory—Adams 1997:159 **bhedh-* ‘to dig, to burrow’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:243; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:521—522; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:41; Smoczyński 2007.1:57 **b^hed^h₂-e-*; Puhvel 1984—.9:66—69 **bhedh-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:624—626.

- D. Proto-Eskimo **paðə* ‘opening or entrance’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *pai* ‘opening, mouth (of thing)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *pai* ‘opening, mouth (of thing)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *payə* ‘opening, mouth (of thing)’; Central Siberian Yupik *paya* (pl. *payət*) ‘opening, mouth (of thing)’; Sirenik *paca* ‘opening, mouth (of thing)’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *paa* ‘entrance, opening, mouth’; North Alaskan Inuit *paa* ‘entrance, opening, mouth’; Western Canadian Inuit *paa* ‘entrance, opening, mouth’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *paa* ‘entrance, opening, mouth’; Greenlandic Inuit *paaq* ‘opening, entrance, mouth, manhole of kayak’. Cf. Aleut *haðy-iX* ‘channel, narrow entrance to bay’, *haðya* ‘its channel’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:245.
- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pətkə(ŋtæt)-* ‘to burst’ > Chukchi *pətkəntet-* ‘to burst, to explode’, *rə-pətk-ew-* ‘to hit the target, to plunge in (something sharp)’, *pətk-ew-* ‘to burst, to be pierced by something sharp’; Kerek *pəttəntaat-* ‘to burst, to explode’; Koryak *pətkəŋtat-* ‘to burst, to explode’; Alyutor *pətk-at-* ‘to shoot’. Fortescue 2005:225. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **pətqə-* ‘to hit or bang’: Chukchi *pətqat-* ‘to slap (with hand or water)’; Koryak *pətqet-* ‘to crash, to bang, to hurt oneself’, *pətqəcij-* ‘to beat, to do something many times’; Alyutor *pətqat-* ‘to tumble’, *pətqəsir-* ‘to bang, to knock’, *nə-pətqə-qin* ‘unstable’, *pətqav-* ‘to hurt oneself’, *mal-pətqat-* ‘to tumble’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *əp-ptka-kas* ‘to hit with all one’s might’. Fortescue 2005:225—226.

Sumerian *bad* ‘to open up, to spread wide, to be wide apart, to separate; to untie, to unravel, to reveal’, *bad*, *bad-rá*, *bad-da* ‘open(ed), spread wide; remote’.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 12.23 separate (vb.); 12.232 divide; 12.24 open (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:214, no. 18; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 171, **bed[ê]* ‘to pierce, to prick’ also, no. 174b, **bad[V]XV* ‘to be open’.

6. Proto-Nostratic root **bad-* (~ **bəd-*):
 (vb.) **bad-* ‘to waste, to dissipate, to squander’;
 (n.) **bad-a* ‘dissipation, waste, wasteland, desolated area’
- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **bad-aw/y-* ‘(vb.) to be desolate, to lay waste; (n.) desert, wasteland’ > Arabic *badw* ‘desert’; Epigraphic South Arabian **bdw*, *bdt* ‘open country’; Geez / Ethiopic *badwa* [በድወ], *badawa* [በደወ]

‘to be a desert, to be a wasteland, to be desolate’, *badaya* [𐎁𐎠𐎢] ‘to be a desert’, *ʔabdawa* [𐎁𐎠𐎢𐎠], *ʔabda* [𐎁𐎠𐎢] ‘to lay waste, to devastate’, *badā* [𐎁𐎠] ‘desert, wasteland’, *bədəw* [𐎁𐎠𐎢𐎠] ‘desolate, deserted, laid waste’, *badw* [𐎁𐎠𐎢] ‘desert, wasteland, wilderness, uncultivated area, desolated place, desolation’; Tigrinya *bādāwä*, *bādäyä* ‘to become a desert’, *bāda*, *bādu* ‘desert’; Tigre *bāda* ‘to perish’, *ʔabda* ‘to destroy’, *bādu* ‘fallow ground’, *bādāb* ‘desert’; Amharic *bāda*, *bādəw* ‘uncultivated land, desert’; Gurage *bāda* ‘uncultivated field, plain, meadow’. D. Cohen 1970— :45; Leslau 1987:87—88; Zammit 2002:90—91. Proto-Semitic **bad-ad-* ‘to waste, to squander’ > Akkadian *badādu*, *buddudu* ‘to waste, to squander’. D. Cohen 1970— :44.

- B. Dravidian: Gondi *paṭe* ‘small field for cultivation’; Pengo *baṭa* ‘a field on the hills’; Maṇḍa *baṭa* ‘field’; Kuwi *baṭa* ‘pasture’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:346, no. 3874.
- C. Altaic: Manchu *bada* ‘dissipation, waste’, *badala-* ‘to squander, to dissipate, to waste’.

7. Proto-Nostratic root **bad-* (~ **bəd-*):

(vb.) **bad-* ‘to occur, to happen, to experience, to endure; to cause to endure, to make to suffer, to oppress’;

(n.) **bad-a* ‘experience, happening, trouble, distress, suffering, oppression’

Derivative:

(n.) **bad-a* ‘need, want, lack, deprivation’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **bad-al-* ‘to be afflicted with pain, to suffer; to inflict pain, to cause harm’ > Arabic *badhala* ‘damage’ (that is, *bdl* with augmented *h*), *badila* ‘to suffer from pain in the hands or joints’; Sabaeen *bdl* ‘injury, disease’; Geez / Ethiopic *badala* [𐎁𐎠𐎢] ‘to do wrong, to commit an injustice, to inflict (pain)’; Tigrinya *bāddälä* ‘to mistreat, to offend’; Amharic *bāddälä* ‘to mistreat, to offend’; Argobba *beddäla* ‘to mistreat, to offend’; Gafat *biddälä* ‘to mistreat, to offend’; Gurage *bāddälä* ‘to mistreat, to offend’. D. Cohen 1970— :45; Leslau 1979:132 and 1987:86.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *paṭu* (*paṭuv-*, *paṭṭ-*) ‘to occur, to happen, to come into being, to rise (as a heavenly body), to occur to mind, to hit or strike against, to touch, to be caught (as fishes, birds, or other game), to suffer, to endure, to dash against’, *pāṭu* ‘coming into being, happening, experience, condition, nature, industry, business, concern or affair, affliction, suffering, place, situation’; Malayalam *paṭu* ‘what happens, is common’, *pāṭu* ‘suffering or damage, possibility, place, situation, nature’, *peṭuka* (*peṭṭ-*) ‘to happen, to be in, to belong to’; Kota *por-* (*poṭ-*) ‘to experience (emotion), to be caught, to seem good’; Toda *por-* (*poṭ-*) ‘to suffer, to experience’; Kannada *paḍu* (*paṭṭ-*) ‘to get, to obtain, to catch, to undergo, to experience, to feel, to suffer’, *paḍuvike* ‘getting, experiencing’, *paḍal* ‘incurring or

suffering’, *paḍe* ‘(vb.) to get, to undergo, to experience, to acquire, to obtain; to procreate, to bear; (n.) getting, etc.’, *pāḍu*, *pāṭu* ‘getting, obtaining, suffering, trouble, state, manner, fitness, likeness’; Tuḷu *paḍeyuni*, *paḍevuni* ‘to suffer, to feel, to experience, to enjoy’; Koḍagu *paḍ-*, (*paḍuv-*, *paṭṭ-*) ‘to suffer, (something) hits, (thorn) runs in’; Telugu *paḍu* ‘to feel, to enjoy, to suffer; to be possible’; Kolami *paḍ-* (*paṭṭ-*) ‘(wound) is gotten, (eye) is filled with dust, (turn in game) is won, become (loose, dusk, bald)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:345, no. 3853.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hed^h-*/**b^hod^h-* (lengthened-grade **b^hēd^h-*/**b^hōd^h-*) ‘(vb.) to press, to force, to drive away, to repel, to remove; to force asunder; to harass, to pain, to trouble, to grieve, to vex; to suffer annoyance or oppression; (n.) trouble, distress, suffering, oppression’: Sanskrit *bādhate* ‘to press, to force, to drive away, to repel, to remove; to force asunder; to harass, to pain, to trouble, to grieve, to vex; to suffer annoyance or oppression’, *bādhate* ‘to be pressed; to be acted upon, to suffer’, (causative) *bādhayate* ‘to oppress, to harass, to attack, to trouble, to vex’, *bādhā-ḥ* ‘annoyance, molestation, affliction, obstacle, distress, pain, trouble; injury, detriment, hurt, damage’, *bādhanā* (f.) ‘uneasiness, trouble, pain’; Pāli *bādhati* ‘to oppress, to hinder’, *bādhita-* ‘oppressed’; Prakrit *bāhāi* ‘to prevent, to hurt’; Oriya *bājibā* ‘to hurt, to pain (tr.)’; Lithuanian *bėdà* ‘trouble, misfortune’; Latvian *bēda* ‘sorrow, grief, distress’; Old Church Slavic *běda* ‘distress, need, necessity’; Czech *bida* ‘poverty, misery’; Polish *bieda* ‘poverty, misery’; Serbo-Croatian *bijeda* ‘grief, misfortune’; Slovenian *béda* ‘misery’; Bulgarian *bedá* ‘misfortune, misery’; Russian *bedá* [беда] ‘misfortune, calamity; trouble’. Note: The Baltic and Slavic forms are phonologically and semantically ambiguous — they are usually derived from Proto-Indo-European **b^heyd^h-* ‘to persuade, to compel, to confide’ (cf. Pokorny 1959:117 **bheidh-*), but they could just as well be from Proto-Indo-European **b^hēd^h-* (cf. Derksen 2008:38—39). Rix 1998a:53—54 **b^heh₁d^h-* ‘to press hard’; Walde 1927—1932.II:140 (**bhēdh-*); Mann 1984—1987:59 **bhādh-* ‘to hurt, to sicken, to repel, to nauseate’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:38; Smoczyński 2007.1:52 **b^heh₁d^h-*; Turner 1966.I:520; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:425—427 and II:434—435.

Buck 1949:16.12 emotion, feeling; 16.31 pain, suffering.

8. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bad-a* ‘need, want, lack, deprivation’ (> ‘hunger’):
 Derivative of:
 (vb.) **bad-* ‘to occur, to happen, to experience, to endure; to cause to endure, to make to suffer, to oppress’;
 (n.) **bad-a* ‘experience, happening, trouble, distress, suffering, oppression’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *paṭṭini* ‘fasting, abstinence, starvation’; Malayalam *paṭṭini*, *paṭṭini* ‘privation of food, starvation’; Kota *paṭu-ṅy* ‘hunger’; Koḍagu *paṭṭaṇi* ‘starvation’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:346, no. 3872.
- B. Indo-European: Lithuanian *bādas* ‘hunger, starvation’, *badù*, *badėti* ‘to die of starvation’; Latvian *bads* ‘dearth, hunger’. Smoczyński 2007.1:39—40; Mann 1984—1987:88 **bhodh-* ‘pang, pain’; Derksen 2015:75; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:29. Note: The alleged Greek cognates cited by Mann cannot possibly be related to the Baltic forms.

Buck 1949:5.14 hunger (sb.). Bomhard 1996a:225, no. 638.

9. Proto-Nostratic root **bad-* (~ **bəd-*):
 (vb.) **bad-* ‘to fall down, to lie down; to decay, to weaken; to perish’;
 (n.) **bad-a* ‘lying down, fall, sleep, ruin’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **bad-* ‘(vb.) to fall down, to lie down; to decay, to weaken; to perish; (n.) lying down, fall, sleep, ruin’: Semitic: Arabic *bāda* (*byd*) ‘to perish, to die, to pass away, to become extinct’; Ṭamūdic *byd* ‘to pass away’, *bd* ‘(vb.) to perish; (n.) loss, ruin’. Syriac *bāḏ* (*bwd*) ‘to perish’. Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *badbada* [በደበደ] ‘to perish, to disappear, to decay, to weaken, to get sick, to die, to get rusty’. D. Cohen 1970— :44, 50, and 61; Leslau 1987:86. Egyptian *bdš* ‘to become faint, weak, exhausted’, *bdšt* ‘weakness’. Hannig 1995:266; Erman—Grapow 1921:51 and 1926—1963.1:487; Faulkner 1962:86; Gardiner 1957:564. Berber: Tuareg *əbdəh* ‘to be out of wind, to be no longer able’, *zəbbədh* ‘to run out of breath’; Ghadames *əbdəz* ‘to be faint, weak, tired’, *abəddəz* ‘weakness, faintness, tiredness’, *amabduz* ‘faint, weak, tired’. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *badar-* ‘to tire, to become tired’. Hudson 1989:351.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *paṭu* (*paṭuv-*, *paṭṭ-*) ‘to perish, to die, to set (as a heavenly body), to rain’, *paṭu* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to lay horizontally, to pave, to spread out (as bedding), to kill, to cast down, to fell, to lie down to sleep’, *paṭu* ‘base, low’, *paṭai* ‘bed, layer, stratum’, *pāṭu* ‘lying prostrate, fall, sleep, death, ruin, loss, disaster’; Malayalam *paṭuka* ‘to fall, to sink’, *paṭukka* ‘(vb.) to lay stones, to build (chiefly a wall, tank), to urinate, to lie down; (n.) bed’, *paṭuppu*, *paṭappu* ‘bed, mat’; Kota *paṭ-* (*paṭ-*) ‘to lie down, to sleep’; Toda *poṛ-* (*poṭ-*) ‘to lie down, to lose (teeth, of children)’, *poṛy* ‘sleeping-place (in song)’; Kannaḍa *paḍu* (*paṭṭ-*) ‘to lie down, to set (as the sun), to be spent (as the day), to have sexual intercourse, to die’, *paṭi* ‘downfall, ruin’; Koḍagu *paḍ-* (*paḍuv-*, *paṭṭ-*) ‘to lie fallow’; Telugu *paḍu* ‘to fall, to lie, to recline, to sleep’, *paḍuka* ‘bed, bedding’; Naikṛi *paṭ-* (*paṭṭ-*) ‘to fall’, *paṭp-* ‘to make to fall’, *paṭ-* ‘to fell (a tree)’; Paṛji *paḍ-* (*paṭṭ-*) ‘to fall, to sink down, to set (sun)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:344—345, no. 3852.
- C. Indo-European: Proto-Germanic **baḏjaz* ‘sleeping place’ > Gothic *badi* ‘bed’; Old Icelandic *beðr* ‘bolster, featherbed’; Norwegian *bed* ‘bed’;

Swedish *bädd* ‘bed’; Old English *bedd* ‘bed, couch, resting place’; Old Frisian *bed* ‘bed’; Old Saxon *bed, beddi* ‘bed’; Old High German *beti* ‘bed’ (New High German *Bett*); Dutch *bed* ‘bed’. Orël 2003:32 Proto-Germanic **bādjan*; Kroonen 2013:46 Proto-Germanic **badja-* ‘bed, bedding’; Feist 1939:73; Lehmann 1986:55; De Vries 1977:29; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:49—50; Torp 1919:19; Onions 1966:84; Klein 1971:75; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:71; Kluge—Seebold 1989:80; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:33—34. See also Mallory—Adams 1997:57.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 7.42 bed; 10.23 fall (vb.). Bomhard 1996a:225, no. 637.

10. Proto-Nostratic root **bad-* (~ **bəd-*):

(vb.) **bad-* ‘to bring into being, to bring forth; to bring into action, to initiate, to instigate, to activate, to originate’;

(n.) **bad-a* ‘creation, initiation, origination’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bad-* ‘to bring into being, to bring forth; to initiate, to instigate, to activate, to originate’: Proto-Semitic **bad-aʕ-* ‘to bring into being, to bring forth; to initiate, to produce, to create’ > Arabic *badaʕa* ‘to introduce, to originate, to start, to do (something) for the first time; to create; to achieve unique, excellent results; to invent, to contrive, to devise, to think up’, *badʕ* ‘innovation, novelty; creation’, *bidʕa* ‘innovation, novelty; heretical doctrine, heresy; (pl.) creations (of fashion, art)’, *mubdiʕ* ‘producing, creating’; Tigre *bədʕ* ‘sudden action’. D. Cohen 1970— :46; Zammit 2002:90. Proto-Semitic **bad-aʔ-* ‘to begin, to start’ > Hebrew *bāḏāʔ* [בָּדָא] ‘to devise, to invent, to fabricate, to concoct’; Aramaic *bəḏā* ‘to invent, to fabricate’; Arabic *badaʔa* ‘to begin, to start; to arise, to spring up, to crop up’, *badʔ*, *badʔa* ‘beginning, start’, *mabdaʔ* ‘beginning, start, starting point; basis, foundation; principle’, *mabdaʔī* ‘original, initial; fundamental, basic’; Sabaeen *bdʔ* ‘beginning, first occasion’; Ḥarsūsi *bedō* ‘to begin’, *abed* ‘to start, to start up’; Mehri *əbtōdi* ‘to begin’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bédéʔ* ‘to begin’; Soqotri *bédəʔ* ‘to begin’. D. Cohen 1970— :44; Klein 1987:63; Zammit 2002:90. Berber: Kabyle *əbdu* ‘to begin’ (this may be an Arabic loan). Chadic: Ngizim *bàdiitú* ‘to begin, to begin doing’; Mubi *badaa* ‘to begin’ (these may be Arabic loans). Orël—Stolbova 1995:43—44, no. 172, **badaʔ-* ‘to begin’.
- B. Dravidian: Malto *paʕge* ‘to stir up, to incite’; Brahui *paʕəfing* ‘to instigate, to provoke’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:345, no. 3861.
- C. Kartvelian: Georgian *da-bad-eb-a* ‘to produce, to create; to bear, to bring forth, to be born’. Fähnrich 2007:45 **bad-*. Fähnrich also compares Svan *li-bd-e* ‘to pour something (in or out)’.

Buck 1949:4.72 bear (of mother); 14.25 begin; beginning.

11. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bag-a* ‘goat, sheep’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bag-* ‘goat, sheep’: Proto-Berber **bag-*, **bagag-* ‘calf, lamb, ram’ > Nefusa *bɣu* ‘calf’; Ayr *a-bagag* ‘ram’; Ahaggar *a-bayaɣ* ‘lamb’; Tawlemmet *a-bagag* ‘ram’. Central Cushitic: Bilin *bäggá* ‘sheep’; Xamir *bega* ‘sheep’; Xamta *biga* ‘sheep’; Kemant *bäga* ‘sheep’; Quara *bagā* ‘sheep’. Appleyard 2006:121 Proto-Northern Agaw **bäg-a*; Reinisch 1887:71. Cushitic loans in: Geez / Ethiopic *baggə*ʹ [በግዕ] ‘sheep, ram’; Tigre *bäggə*ʹ ‘sheep’; Tigrinya *bägʹi* ‘sheep’; Amharic *bäg* ‘sheep’; Gafat *bäg* ‘sheep’; Argobba *bägi* ‘sheep’. Leslau 1987:88. Omotic: Kefa *bagee* ‘sheep’; Bworo *baggoo* ‘sheep’. Central Chadic **bag-* ‘sheep’ > Gude *baga* ‘sheep’; Fali Jilvu *bəga* ‘sheep’; Fali Bwagira *bəgə-n* ‘sheep’; Bachama *m-baga-te* ‘sheep’; Fali Mubi *bəgə* ‘sheep’. East Chadic **bag-*(pl.) ‘goats’ > Sibine *bage* ‘goats’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:44, no. 173, **bag-* ‘goat, sheep’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **bag-* ‘stall, pen’: Georgian *baga-* ‘crib, manger’; Mingrelian *boga-* ‘the ground of a stall or a pen’; Laz *boga* ‘sheep and goat pen’; Svan *bag* ‘cattle-shed’. Klimov 1964:48 **baga-* and 1998:6 **baga-* ‘sheep-pen, goat-pen; floor of pen; crib’; Fähnrich 1994:224 and 2007:44 **bag-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:41—42 **bag-*.
- C. (?) Indo-European: Norwegian *bagg* ‘year-old calf’; Swedish *bagge* ‘ram’. Torp 1919:14.

Buck 1949:3.25 sheep; 3.26 ram; 3.27 wether; 3.28 ewe; 3.29 lamb; 3.36 goat.

12. Proto-Nostratic root **bag-* (~ **bəg-*):

(vb.) **bag-* ‘to tie or bind together’;

(n.) **bag-a* ‘collection of things bound together: bunch, bundle, pack’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *bağd* ‘troop of people, of horses (100 and more)’. D. Cohen 1970— :42.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pakku* ‘bag’; Malayalam *pākku* ‘bag’; Koḍagu *pa-kki* ‘bag (in songs)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:361, no. 4049.
- C. Indo-European: Old Icelandic *baggi* ‘pack, bundle’; Norwegian (dial.) *bagge* ‘pack, bundle’; Middle English *bagge* ‘bag’ (Scandinavian loan). De Vries 1977:22; Torp 1919:14; Hoad 1986:31; Klein 1971:67; Onions 1966:68. Note: Origin uncertain, though Celtic origin has been proposed — similar forms are found in Romance (cf. Old French *bague* ‘bundle’, *baguer* ‘to tie up’; Spanish *baga* ‘rope used to tie packs onto animals’).
- D. (?) Proto-Eskimo **payuy-* ‘to fasten down with pegs’: Alutiiq Alaskan Eskimo *pauk-* ‘frame supporting roof of deadfall’; Central Alaskan Yupik *pauy-* ‘to put a post in the ground’, *pauk*, *pauyun* ‘post, pole’; Central Siberian Yupik *payutə-* ‘to pound a stake into the ground’; Sirenik *payutə-* ‘to pound a stake into the ground’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *pauyaq* ‘peg,

tent stake'; North Alaskan Inuit *pauk-* 'to stake to the ground', *pauyaq* 'big stake'; Western Canadian Inuit *pauk-* 'to fasten with a peg, to ram in a stake', *pauyaq* 'peg for tent'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pauyuaq* 'peg'; Greenlandic Inuit *paay-* 'to fasten with a peg', *paayuaq* 'guard holding sealing bladder in place on kayak', *paayut* 'peg'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:246.

Buck 1949:13.19 multitude, crowd; 13.192 Note on words for collective body (of persons, animals, or things).

13. Proto-Nostratic root **bah-* (~ **bəh-*):

(vb.) **bah-* 'to shine';

(n.) **bah-a* 'brilliance, brightness, splendor, beauty; light'; (adj.) 'shining, bright, radiant'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bah-* 'to shine': Proto-Semitic **bah-ar-* 'to shine' > Hebrew *bāhīr* [בָּהִיר] 'bright, brilliant (of light)'; Arabic *bahara* 'to glitter, to shine'; Aramaic *bəhar* 'to shine'. Proto-Semitic **bah-aw-* 'to be beautiful, shining, brilliant' > Arabic *bahā* 'to be beautiful, to shine with beauty', *bahīy* 'beautiful, splendid, brilliant, radiant, shining'. Proto-Semitic **bah-ag-* 'to be shining, beautiful, bright, brilliant; to rejoice' > Arabic *bahiġa* 'to be glad, happy', *bahuġa* 'to be beautiful', *bahġa* 'splendor, magnificence, beauty'; Tigre *bāhagä* 'to rejoice'. Zammit 2002: 102. Proto-Semitic **bah-ak-* 'to shine, to be white' > Hebrew *bōhak* [בֹּהַק] 'a harmless eruption on the skin, vitiligo'; Aramaic *bəhak* 'to shine'; Arabic *bahak* 'herpetic eruption, a mild form of leprosy'; Harsūsi *behōk* 'having uncolored (white) blotches on the skin'; Šheri / Jibbāli *bhək* 'white patches on the skin'. D. Cohen 1970— :47 and 49; Klein 1987:65; Murtonen 1989:107. Central Chadic: Dghwede *biya* 'light'; Lame Pewe *buwo* 'lightning'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:88, no. 364, **bVhVw-* 'to shine'.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **b^heh-* [**b^hah-*]/**b^hoh-* > **b^hā-*/**b^hō-* 'to be bright, shining; to bring to light, to cause to appear; to make clear': Sanskrit *bhāti* 'to shine, to be bright, to be luminous; to be splendid or beautiful; to be conspicuous or eminent; to appear, to seem; to show one's self, to manifest any feeling; to be, to exist'; Avestan *bānu-* 'splendor'; Greek *φάω* 'to give light, to shine', *φᾶνός* 'light, bright, joyous', *φαίνω* 'to bring to light, to cause to appear; to make known, to reveal, to disclose; to make clear; to show forth, to display; to set forth, to expound; to inform against one, to denounce; to give light, to shine; to come to light, to be visible, to appear; to come into being; to come about; to appear to be', *φᾶος*, *φῶς* 'light, daylight; light of the eyes' (pl. *φάεα* 'eyes'); Old Irish *bán* 'white'; Old English *bōnian* 'to polish'. Rix 1998a:54—55 **b^heh₂-* 'to glisten, to shine'; Pokorny 1959:104—105 **bhā-*, **bhō-*, **bhə-* 'to glisten'; Walde 1927—1932.II:122—123 **bhā-*; Watkins 1985:5 **bhā-* (contracted from **bha₂-*)

and 2000:7 **bhā-* ‘to shine’ (oldest form **bhe*₂-, colored to *bha*₂-, contracted to **bhā-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:513 **bheh*₂- ‘to shine’; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:7—11 **b^heh*₂-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1168—1170 **bhā-* (= **bhe*₂-) and II:1170—1172; Frisk 1970—1973.II:992—994 and II:989—991; Boisacq 1950:1010—1011 **bhā-* and 1014—1015; Beekes 2010.II:1545—1546 **bheh*₂- ‘to light, to shine’; Hofmann 1966:389—390 **bhā-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:493—494.

Buck 1949:15.56 shine; 16.22 joy; 16.81 beautiful. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:216, no. 20; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 179, **beha* (or **bāha*) ‘to shine, to be bright’.

14. Proto-Nostratic root **baḥ-* (~ **bəḥ-*):

(vb.) **baḥ-* ‘to make noise’;

(n.) **baḥ-a* ‘noise, sound; voice’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **baaḥ-* ‘voice’: Egyptian *bḥn* ‘to bark, to bay, to bellow’. Hannig 1995:258; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:469. Proto-Southern Cushitic **baaḥ-* ‘to shout, to cry, to yell’ > Alagwa *baḥus-* ‘to shout’; Ma’a *-boha* ‘to bark’. Ehret 1980:136. Proto-Chadic **ba* ‘mouth’ > Hausa *baa-kii* ‘mouth’; Bole *bo* ‘mouth’; Zaar *vi* ‘mouth’; Daba *ma* ‘mouth’; Lamang *ewe* ‘mouth’; Musgu *ma* ‘mouth’; Dangla *bii* ‘mouth’; Sokoro *bo-* ‘mouth’. Newman 1977:29, no. 88. Ehret 1995:81, no. 7, **baaḥ-* ‘voice’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pātu* (*pāṭi-*) ‘to sing, to chant, to warble, to hum’, *pāṭal* ‘versifying, song’, *pāṭi* ‘singer, tune’, *pāṭṭu* ‘singing, song, music’, *pā* ‘verse, stanza, poem’, *pāvalar* ‘poets’; Malayalam *pāṭuka* ‘to sing’, *pāṭi* ‘tune’, *pāṭṭu* ‘singing, song, poem’; Kota *pa-ṛv-* (*pa-ṛd-*) ‘to make noise (crow, bees, gun)’, *pa-ṭ* ‘song’; Toda *po-ṛ-* (*po-ṛy-*) ‘to sing (the song called *po-ṭ*)’, *po-ṭ-* (*po-ṭy-*) ‘to shout’; Kannada *pāḍu* ‘to sing’; Telugu *pāḍu* ‘to sing, to chant, to warble’, *pāṭa* ‘singing, song’; Kolami *pa-d-* (*pa-dt-*) ‘to sing’; Naikri *pār-* ‘to sing’; Parji *pāḍ-* ‘to sing’, *pāṭa* ‘song, story, word, language’; Gadba (Ollari) *pār-* ‘to sing’, *pāṭe* ‘word, speech, pronunciation’; Kurux *pārṇā* ‘to sing’; Malto *pāre* ‘to sing, to bewail’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:361, no. 4065; Krishnamurti 2003:147 **pā-t-*, **pā-t-* ‘to sing’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^heh₂h-* [**b^haḥ₂h-*]/[**b^hoḥ₂h-*] > **b^hā-*/**b^hō-* ‘to say, to speak’: Greek (Doric) φᾶμί ‘to declare, to make known; to say, to affirm, to assert’, φήμη (Doric φάμα) ‘a voice from heaven, a prophetic voice; an oracle’; Latin *fārī* ‘to say, to speak’; Old English *bōian* ‘to boast’; Russian Church Slavic *bajati* ‘to tell, to heal’. Rix 1998a:55 **b^heh₂-* ‘to speak’; Pokorny 1959:105—106 **bhā-* ‘to speak’; Walde 1927—1932.II:123—124 **bhā-*; Mann 1984—1987:61—62 **bhāiō*, **bhāmi* ‘to utter, to declare, to make known’; Watkins 1985:5 **bhā-* (contracted from **bha*₂-) and 2000:7 **bhā-* ‘to speak’ (oldest form **bhe*₂-, colored to *bha*₂-, contracted to **bhā-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:535 **bheh_a-* ‘to speak’; Chantraine

1968—1980.II:1194—1196 *bh(e)₂-; Boisacq 1950:1024—1025; Hofmann 1966:396—397 *bhā-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1009—1010 *bhā-; Beekes 2010.II:1566—1567 *b^heh₂-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:525—526; Ernout—Meillet 1979:245—246; De Vaan 2008:231; Orël 2003:52 Proto-Germanic *bōniz; Kroonen 2013:72 Proto-Germanic *bōni- ‘request, prayer’.

- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *paajuu-* ‘to foretell’, *paajuujiiče* ‘prophet’. Nikolaeva 2006:341.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say.

15. Proto-Nostratic root *baḥ- (~ *bəḥ-):

(vb.) *baḥ- ‘to cut, to cut off, to strike’;

(n.) *baḥ-a ‘cut, strike, blow’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *baḥ- ‘to cut, to cut off, to strike’: Semitic: Arabic *baḥara* ‘to cut (camel’s ear)’. D. Cohen 1970— :56—57. Arabic *baḥaza* ‘to strike’. D. Cohen 1970— :56. Egyptian *bḥn* ‘to cut off, to wound; to drive off’. Erman—Grapow 1921:49 and 1926—1963.1:468; Faulkner 1962:83; Hannig 1995:258. Proto-Southern Cushitic *baḥ- ‘to kill (animal)’ > Asa *bahat* ‘trap’; Dahalo *baḥ-* ‘to kill’. Ehret 1980:136. West Chadic *baHar- ‘to cut’ > Tangale *ber* ‘to cut’; Galambu *bar* ‘to cut’. Ehret 1995:81, no. 6, *baḥ- ‘to strike with a blade or point’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:47, no. 188, *baḥar-/*baḥir- ‘to cut, to tear’.
- B. Dravidian: Kannada *pāy* ‘to butt, to gore, to knock against’; Tuḷu *hākuni* ‘to beat, to strike’; Naiki (of Chanda) *pāk-/pāg-* ‘to beat, to shoot’; Gondi *pāy-*, *pāyānā*, *pānā*, *painā* ‘to beat, to strike’, *pā-/pāy-* ‘to beat, to strike, to shoot’, *pēhc-* ‘to strike, to play on a drum, to clap (hands)’; Pengo *pāg-* (*pākt-*) ‘to strike, to kill’; Maṇḍa *pāg-* ‘to kill’; Kui *pāga* (*pāgi-*) ‘to attack, to fight’; Kuwi *pāy-*, *pañai* ‘to strike, to kill’, *paivali* ‘to hit, to kill’, *pay-* ‘to beat, to kill’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:360, no. 4044.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *b^heḥ₂-w/u- [*b^haḥ₂-w/u-] > *b^hāw/u- ‘to beat, to strike’: Latin *battuō* ‘to beat, to knock’ (Gaulish loan), *fūstis* ‘stick, staff, cudgel, club’; Old Icelandic *bauta* ‘to beat’, *beysta* ‘to beat, to thresh’; Old English *bēatan* ‘to beat, to clash together; to tramp, to tread on’, *bīetel*, *bȳtel* ‘mallet, hammer’; Old High German *bōz(z)an* ‘to beat’. Rix 1998a:66 *b^heud- ‘to strike’; Pokorny 1959:111—112 *bhāt-, *bhət- ‘to strike’ and 112 *bhāu-, *bhū- ‘to beat, to strike’; Walde 1927—1932.II:125—127 *bhaut- (?), *bhūt- and II:127 *bhaud-, *bhūd-; Mann 1984—1987:67 *bhatus, *bhatyo- ‘fight’, 67 *bhatyos ‘stupid’, 68 *bhaudō, -iō ‘to beat, to chastise’; Watkins 1985:6 *bhau- and 2000:8 *bhau- ‘to strike’ (oldest form *bhe₂u-, colored to bha₂u-, contracted to *bhau-); Mallory—Adams 1997:549 *bheud- ‘to strike, to beat’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:68;

Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:99 *bhāt-; De Vries 1977:29 and 34; Onions 1966:83; Klein 1971:75 *bhat-.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat).

16. Proto-Nostratic root *bak^h- (~ *bək^h-):

(vb.) *bak^h- ‘to declare, to utter, to announce, to assert, to proclaim’;

(n.) *bak^h-a ‘declaration, utterance, announcement, assertion, proclamation’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *pakar* ‘to tell, to utter, to declare, to say, to announce, to pronounce, to publish’, *pakarcci* ‘speech, utterance, word’; Telugu *pagatu* ‘to announce’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:340, no. 3804.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *bak- ‘to boast, to brag, to show off’: Georgian *bak-i* ‘boasting, bragging’, *bak-ia* ‘boaster, braggart’, *bak-ia-ob-a* ‘to boast, to brag, to show off’; Mingrelian *buk-ul-a* ‘boaster, braggart, show-off’, *buk-ul-ob-a* ‘boasting, bragging’, *a-buk-ar-i* ‘boaster, braggart’; Svan *li-bāk-e* ‘to waste one’s time, to amount to nothing’, *bak*, *bāk* ‘lie, fib’. Fähnrich 2007:53 *bak-.

Buck 1949:18.43 announce; 18.45 boast (vb.).

17. Proto-Nostratic root *bak’- (~ *bək’-):

(vb.) *bak’- ‘to cleave, to split, to break open’;

(n.) *bak’-a ‘crack, split, break’

A. Proto-Afrasian *bak’- ‘to cleave, to split, to break open’: Proto-Semitic *bak’-af- ‘to cleave’ > Hebrew *bāka*^o [בָּקַע] ‘to cleave, to break open or through’; Aramaic *bāka*^o ‘to cleave’; Ugaritic *bḵ*^o ‘to split’; Geez / Ethiopic *baḵ^wa* [ባጥ] ‘to scratch, to tear, to scrape, to rake’; Tigre *bāk’a* ‘to be sharp (knife)’, (?)*bḵa*^o ‘to sharpen’. D. Cohen 1970— :78; Klein 1987:81; Leslau 1987:100; Murtonen 1989:118. Proto-Semitic *bak’-ar- ‘to split open’ > Arabic *baḵara* ‘to split open, to rip open, to cut open’; Hebrew *bākar* [בָּקַר] ‘to inquire, to seek’; Sabaeen *bḵr* ‘to bore, to excavate’. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Murtonen 1989:118; Klein 1987:81. Proto-Semitic *bak’-ak’- ‘to split, to break open’ > Hebrew *bākaḵ* [בָּקַח] ‘to lay waste’; Geez / Ethiopic *baḵka* [ባጥ] ‘to split, to break up (clods of earth)’; Amharic *bāḵḵākā* ‘to open’; Gurage *b^wākāka* ‘crack in the ground after the rainy season’. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Klein 1987:81; Murtonen 1989:118. Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *baḵbaḵa* [ባጥባጥ] ‘to cultivate the soil’; Amharic *bāḵābbākā* ‘to break the soil’. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Leslau 1987:100 and 101. Proto-Semitic *bak’-aw- ‘to separate, to split, to open, to break, to cut’ > Geez / Ethiopic *baḵawa* [ባጥወ] ‘to separate, to split, to open, to break, to cut, to be wide open’. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Leslau 1987:101. Egyptian *bqy* ‘to open’, (?) *bq* ‘to be hostile, rebellious’,

- (?) *bqba* ‘rebelliousness’. Hannig 1995:262—263 and 263; Faulkner 1962:85; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:479. Proto-East Cushitic **bak*- ‘to crush’ > Afar *bak*- ‘to crush’; Somali *baq*- ‘to curdle’; Galla / Oromo *bak*- ‘to melt’, *bak’ak*- ‘to crack’; Burji *bak*- ‘to split’. Sasse 1979:48 and 1982:32. Orël—Stolbova 1995:50, no. 200, **baḳ*- ‘to cut, to split’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *paku* (*pakuv*-, *pakk*-) ‘to be split, divided; to be at variance; to be separated; to divide; to distribute; to apportion’, *pakir* ‘to divide into shares, to distribute, to break, to split, to separate’, (with nasal infix) *panku* ‘share, portion, part, half’; Telugu *pagulu* ‘to break, to crack, to go to pieces, to burst’; Tuḷu *pagiyuni* ‘to split, to rend, to fall in pieces, to give way’; Manda *pak*- ‘to split (firewood)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:340—341, no. 3808.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **bek*- ‘to trample down’: Georgian *bek*-*n*- ‘to trample down’; Mingrelian *bak*- ‘to trample down’; (?) Svan *li-bek* ‘to press close’. Klimov 1998:11 **beḳ*- ‘to trample down’; Fähnrich 2007:57 **beḳ*-. Assuming semantic development from ‘to break, to smash, to crush (under foot)’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **b^hek*-/**b^hok*- ‘to cut or split apart, to break apart’, (with nasal infix) **b^henk*-/**b^honk*-: Sanskrit *bhanákti* ‘to break, to shatter’; Armenian *bekanem* ‘to break’; Old Irish *bongid* ‘to break, to reap’. Rix 1998a:52 **b^heg*- ‘to break’; Pokorny 1959:114—115 **bheg*-, **bheng*- ‘to break, to smash’; Walde 1927—1932.II:149—151 **bheng*-, **bheg*-; Mann 1984—1987:69 **bheg*- ‘to break, to pierce’; Mallory—Adams 1997:81 **bheg*- ‘to break’; Watkins 1985:6 **bheg*- and 2000:8 **bheg*- ‘to break’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:141 **b^hjek*-; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:469 **bheg*-, **bheng*-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:6 **b^heg*-. Proto-Indo-European **b^hak*- ‘to divide, to distribute’: Sanskrit *bhájati* ‘to divide, to distribute, to receive, to enjoy’; Avestan *bag*- (*bažat*) ‘to distribute’; Greek φαγεῖν ‘to eat, to devour’; Tocharian A *pāk*, B *pāke* ‘part, portion’. Rix 1998a:51 **b^hag*- ‘to share out, to apportion’; Pokorny 1959:107 **bhag*- ‘to apportion’; Walde 1927—1932.II:127—128 **bhag*-; Mann 1984—1987:60 **bhag*-, **bhāg*- ‘to enjoy; enjoyment’, 61 **bhāḡos* ‘part, share’; Watkins 1985:5 **bhag*- and 2000:7 **bhag*- ‘to share out, to apportion, to get a share’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:141 (fn. 1) **b^hjak*- and 1995.I:121 (fn. 62), I:132 (fn. 2), **b^hak*- ‘share, portion’; Mallory—Adams 1997:161 **bhag*- ‘to divide, to distribute’; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:1—2 **b^hag*-; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:462—463; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1167—1168; Frisk 1970—1973.II:979—980; Beekes 2010.II:1543 **b^h(e)h₂g*-; Hofmann 1966:388 **bhag*-; Boisacq 1950:1010 **bhag*-; Adams 1999:363—364 and 2013:388—389 (possibly a borrowing from Iranian) **b^heh₂go*- ~ **b^hago*-; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:636 (Indo-Iranian loans).
- E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pakka*- ‘to burst, to rend, to split’ > Finnish *pakku*- ‘to burst, to rend, to split’, *pakahtu*- ‘to burst, to break (intr.), to

rend, to split (intr.)'; Vogul / Mansi *pokat-* 'to open, to come out, to blossom'; Hungarian *fakad-* 'to spring, to ooze, to blossom'. Collinder 1955:105 and 1977:120; Rédei 1986—1988:349—350 **pakka-*.

- F. Proto-Altaic **baka-* 'to divide': Proto-Tungus **baK-* 'to separate, to break, to divide bread' > Evenki *bakla* 'to separate'; Lamut / Even *bə̀kəl* 'to separate'; Nanay / Gold (dial.) *baqta-* 'to break, to divide bread'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:323 **baka* 'to divide'.
- G. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **pakak-* 'to knock into' > Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *pakaq-* 'to knock against and break'; Greenlandic Inuit *pakaŷ-*, *pakamiŷ-*, *pakammiŷ-* 'to happen to jostle'; Northwest Greenlandic *pakki-* 'to parry a thrust, to jostle so as to make miss aim, to tackle'; East Greenlandic *pakki-* 'to slap'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:247.
- H. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pako-* 'to strike, to knock' > Chukchi *pako-* 'to flick, to give a filip (on the forehead) to someone'; Koryak *pako-* 'to touch or knock against, to cut into'. Fortescue 2005:207 **pako-* 'to flick' (?).

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 19.52 enemy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:217—218, no. 22; Hakola 2000:130, no. 565.

18. Proto-Nostratic root **bak'*- (~ **bə̀k'*-):

- (vb.) **bak'*- 'to look at, to look over, to observe, to examine; to look for';
 (n.) **bak'-a* 'looking at or over, observation, examination'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bak'*- 'to look at, to look over, to observe, to examine; to look for': Proto-Semitic **bak'-aw-* 'to look at, to look over; to look upon, to regard, to observe, to examine' > Arabic *bakā* 'to look upon, to regard; to expect'; Aramaic *bə̀kā* 'to inquire into, to search for, to examine'; Mandaic *bka* 'to search for, to look for'. D. Cohen 1970— .2:78. Proto-Semitic **bak'-ay-* 'to look at, to look over, to observe' > Arabic (inf.) *baḳy* 'to look at or upon, to regard, to observe'. Proto-Semitic **bak'-al-* 'to search for, to look for' > Ugaritic *bkl* 'to search for, to look for; to investigate, to find out'. Proto-Semitic **bak'-ar-* 'to look over, to examine; to search for' > Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *baḳḳar* 'to search for'; Syriac *bə̀kar* 'to inquire, to seek'; Ugaritic *bkr* 'to examine, to scrutinize'; Hebrew *bākar* [בָּקַר] 'to inquire, to seek; to look for'. D. Cohen 1970— .2:79; Klein 1987:81; Murtonen 1989:118. Egyptian *b3k* 'to look at, to look over; to catch sight of someone, to see someone'. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963. 1:426; Hannig 1995:242 and 2006:789. Note: /β/ is a "triconsonantizer" (cf. Militarev 2005). Orël—Stolbova 1995:50—51, no. 201, Proto-Afrasian **baḳ-* 'to see, to look'. Notes: (1) The Chadic, Cushitic, and Omotic forms cited by Orël—Stolbova are problematic in various ways — the Cushitic forms, in particular, are almost certainly loanwords (as suggested, for example, by Dolgopolsky 2008:257—258, no. 187, who derives them from

Arabic [inf.] *baḳy* ‘to look at or upon, to regard, to observe’). Hence, they are not included here. (2) This root is not related to Proto-Afrasian **bak’-* ‘to cut, to split’ (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:50, no. 200).

- B. Proto-Altaic **bǎka* ‘to look at, to watch’: Proto-Tungus **baKa* ‘to find, to obtain’ > Evenki *baka-* ‘to find, to obtain’; Lamut / Even *baq-* ‘to find, to obtain’; Negidal *baxa-* ‘to find, to obtain’; Manchu *baḳa-* ‘to get, to obtain’, *baḳana-* ‘to go to get’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *bahə-* ‘to find, to obtain’; Jurchen *baxa-biar* ‘to obtain’; Orok *bā-* ‘to find, to obtain’; Ulch *bā-* ‘to find, to obtain’; Oroch *bā-* ‘to find, to obtain’; Nanay / Gold *bā-* ‘to find, to obtain’; Udihe *baʼ-* ‘to find, to obtain’; Solon *baxa-* ‘to find, to obtain’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:66—67. Proto-Turkic **baq-* ‘to look, to watch’ > Karakhanide Turkic *baq-* ‘to look, to watch’; Turkish *bak-* ‘to look, to seem, to appear; to watch’, *bakma* ‘face, gaze, appearance, aspect, air, countenance, expression, glance, guise, view’; Gagauz *baq-* ‘to look, to watch’; Azerbaijani *bax-* ‘to look, to watch’; Turkmenian *baq-* ‘to look, to watch’; Uzbek *bəq-* ‘to look, to watch’; Uighur *baq-* ‘to look, to watch’; Karaim *baq-* ‘to look, to watch’; Tatar *baq-* ‘to look, to watch’; Bashkir *baq-* ‘to look, to watch’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *baq-* ‘to look, to watch’; Kirghiz *baq-* ‘to look after’; Kazakh *baq-* ‘to watch, to spy, to follow’; Noghay *baq-* ‘to gaze’; Khakas *bax-* ‘to look, to watch’; Tuva *baq-qi-la-* ‘to peek, to arise’; Chuvash *pəʷx-* ‘to look, to watch’; Yakut *bik-* ‘to appear, to arise’; Dolgan *bik-* ‘to look out’. Stachowski 2019:75. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:323 Proto-Altaic **bǎka* ‘to look at, to watch’. Note: Not related to Proto-Altaic **bǎká* (~ -o) ‘to divide’ (cf. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:323).

Buck 1949:11.31 to seek; 11.32 to find; 15.52 to look (vb.), to look at. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:172—173, no. 3, **baKa* ‘to look’; Dolgopolsky 2008: 257—258, no. 187, **baKV* ‘to look’.

19. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bak’-a* ‘cattle, herd of cattle’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bak’-* ‘cattle, herd of cattle’: Proto-Semitic **bak’-ar-* ‘cattle, herd of cattle’ > Phoenician *bkr* ‘cattle’; Hebrew *bāḳār* [בָּקָר] ‘cattle, herd, oxen’; Aramaic *baḳrā* ‘herd’; Syriac *baḳrā* ‘herd’; Mandaic *baḳra* ‘herd, flock’; Arabic *baḳar* (coll.) ‘bovines, cattle’, *baḳara* (pl. -āt), *bāḳir*, *bāḳūr* ‘herd of cattle’, *bāḳūra-t* ‘cow’, *baḳarī* ‘bovine, cattle-, cow- (in compounds)’; Ḥarsūsi *beḳerēt/beḳār* ‘cow’; Mehri *bəḳərēt/abḳār* ‘cow’; Sabaeen *bkr* ‘bovines, large cattle; head of cattle’. D. Cohen 1970— .2:80; Murtonen 1989:118; Klein 1987:81; Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:83—85, no. 59, **baḳar-* ‘large cattle’ — potential cognates from other Afrasian daughter languages discussed by Militarëv—Kogan are, as they themselves note, not reliable. Orël—Stolbova 1995:76, no. 310, **boḳar-* ‘cattle’ —

according to Militarëv—Kogan (2005.II:85), the etymology proposed by Orël—Stolbova is “phonologically and semantically questionable”.

- B. Proto-Altaic **bāku* (~ *-kʰ-*) ‘(small) cattle’: Proto-Mongolian **bog* ‘small cattle, sheep and goats’ > Written Mongolian *boy* ‘small cattle’; Khalkha *bog* ‘small livestock (sheep and goats)’; Kalmyk *bogə* ‘small cattle, sheep and goats’. Proto-Turkic **bākana* ‘sheep skin; lamb; kid’ > Turkish *bağana* ‘sheep skin’; Azerbaijani *bayana* ‘sheep skin’; Turkmenian *bayana* ‘sheep skin’; Uzbek *bayana* ‘sheep skin’; Kazakh *bayana* ‘lamb’; Kirghiz *baylan*, *bayılan* ‘lamb that has stopped suckling’, *bayildir* ‘wild lamb, one-year-old mountain goat’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:324 **bāku* (~ *-kʰ-*) ‘small cattle’.

Buck 1949:3.15 livestock (cattle in wide sense); 3.20 cattle; 3.22 ox; 3.23 cow. Different (erroneous) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 188, **buḲa* ‘bovines’.

20. Proto-Nostratic root **bal-* (~ **bəl-*):

(vb.) **bal-* ‘to be or become dark, obscure, blind’;

(n.) **bal-a* ‘darkness, obscurity, blindness’; (adj.) ‘dark, obscure, blind’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bal-* ‘(vb.) to be blind; (adj.) blind’: Coptic *blle* [βλλε] ‘blind’. Vycichl 1983:27; Černý 1976:23. Proto-East Cushitic **balf-*/**ballaʃ-* ‘blind, one-eyed’ > Burji *balʔ-áa* ‘blind’; Sidamo *balʔ-icca* ~ *ball-icca* ‘blind’; Gedeo / Darasa *ball-eʔ-* ‘to be blind’; Harso *pallaʔ-akko* ‘blind’; Galla / Oromo *balla-a* ‘blind’. Sasse 1982:33; Hudson 1989:28. Proto-Southern Cushitic **balaʃ-* ‘blind’ > Kʼwadza *balangayo* ‘blind person’. Ehret 1980:320. Orël—Stolbova 1995:51—52, no. 204, **bal-* ‘eye, eyelid; blind’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **bʰlendʰ-*/**bʰlondʰ-*/**bʰl̥ndʰ-* ‘to make blind, to be blind’: Gothic *blinds* ‘blind’, **gabliñdjan* ‘to make blind’, **afblindnan* ‘to become blind’; Old Icelandic *blinda* ‘to blind’, *blindr* ‘blind’, *blunda* ‘to shut the eyes’, *blundr* ‘dozing, slumber’; Old English *blendan* ‘to blind, to deceive’, *blind* ‘blind’; Old Frisian *blind* ‘blind’; Old Saxon *blind* ‘blind’; Old High German *blint* ‘blind’ (New High German *blind*); Lithuanian *blendžiù*, *blęsti* ‘to become dark’; Old Church Slavonic *blędŏ*, *blęsti* ‘to go blindly’. Pokorny 1959:157—158 **bhlendʰ-* ‘dim, reddish’; Walde 1927—1932.II:216 **bhlendʰ-*; Rix 1998a:73—74 **bʰlendʰ-* ‘to become blurred, murky, confused’; Mann 1984—1987:82 **bhlendʰō* ‘to mix, to confuse, to dazzle’, 84 **bhl̥ndʰ-* ‘to confuse, to deceive, to err; confusion, error’, 84 **bhlondʰ-* ‘to confuse, to stir, to mix, to blur, to deceive’; Watkins 2000:9 **bhel-* ‘to shine, to flash, to burn; shining white and various bright colors’; Mallory—Adams 1997:147 **bhlendʰ-* ‘to be/make cloudy’; Orël 2003:48 Proto-Germanic **blendaz*; Kroonen 2013:69 Proto-Germanic **blinda-* ‘blind’; Lehmann 1986:75—76 **bhlendʰ-* ‘to be or make cloudy’; Feist

1939:100; De Vries 1977:44 and 45; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:53—54; Onions 1966:100 **bhlendhos*; Klein 1971:85 **bhlendh-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:84; Kluge—Seebold 1989:92; Derksen 2008:44; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:47—48; Smoczyński 2007.1:63—64.

- C. Altaic: Mongolian *balai* ‘dark, obscure, ignorant; intellectually or morally blind, stupid’, *balaira-* ‘to become blind; to become dark or obscure; to grow dim’, *balar* ‘dark, obscure, blind, unclear, ignorant; primitive, primeval; thick, dense, impenetrable’, *balara-* ‘to become obscure or dark, to blur, to become effaced; to become illegible; to become embroiled, confused’, *balarayyui* ‘dark, ignorant; darkness, obscurity, obscuration, stupidity’, *balarqai* ‘obscured, dark, blurred, indistinct, illegible’; Manchu *balu* ‘blind’. Note: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:339) include the Mongolian forms under Proto-Altaic **belo* ‘pale’.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pəlmə-* ‘(to be) dark from snow or rain’ > Chukchi *pəlməpəlm* ‘darkness from falling snow or rain’, *pəlm-at-* ‘to be dark from falling snow or fog’, *ləla-pəlmə-lʔən* ‘blind, with poor vision’; Kerek *ijaa-pəlmən* ‘snowstorm’, *pəlməlla-lran* ‘short-sighted’. Fortescue 2005:222.
- E. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **bolm-* ‘blind’: Amur *polm-dʷ* ‘blind’; East Sakhalin *polm-d* ‘blind’. Fortescue 2015:24.

Buck 1949:4.97 blind. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:175, no. 6, **bal* ‘blind’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:208—209, no. 13; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 200, **baLʃV* ‘blind’.

21. Proto-Nostratic root **bal-* (~ **bəl-*):

(vb.) **bal-* ‘to well up, to surge, to overflow, to pour over’;

(n.) **bal-a* ‘outpour, downpour, surge, flow’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bal-* ‘to flow, to overflow, to pour over’: Proto-Semitic **bal-al-* ‘to overflow, to pour over’ > Hebrew *bālāl* [בָּלַל] ‘to anoint, to moisten (with oil), to pour (oil on someone)’; Phoenician *bll* ‘a type of offering’; Arabic *balla* ‘to moisten, to wet, to make wet’, *billa*, *balal* ‘moisture, humidity’, *ball* ‘moistening, wetting; moisture’; Old Akkadian *balālum* ‘to pour out’; Sabaeen *bll* ‘wet, moist’; Šheri / Jibbāli *eblēl* ‘to give (animals) their fill’; Geez / Ethiopic *balla* [በለ] ‘to moisten, to wet, to immerse in liquid’; Tigre *bālāl* ‘to be full, to overflow, to flow, to rain’. Murtonen 1989:112; D. Cohen 1970— :67—68; Klein 1987:75; Leslau 1987:96. Proto-Semitic **ba/wa/l-* ‘to make water, to urinate’ > Arabic *bāla* ‘to make water, to urinate’, *bawl* ‘urine’. D. Cohen 1970— :51. Proto-Semitic **wa-bal-* ‘to flow, to rain’ > Arabic *wabala* ‘to shed heavy rain’, *wabl* ‘downpour’, *wābil* ‘heavy downpour; hail, shower’; Hebrew *yāḇāl* [יָבַל] ‘watercourse, stream’, *ʔūḇāl* [אֲוַבַּל] ‘stream, river’, *yūḇal* [יֻבַּל] ‘stream’; Amharic *wābālo* ‘heavy rain’; Gurage (Eža) *wābār* ‘strong rain’

- with wind'. Murtonen 1989:210; D. Cohen 1970— :485—486; Klein 1987:253; Leslau 1979:641. Berber: Tuareg *bəlulu* 'to be very runny', *ssəbəlulu* 'to make very runny'. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **bal-* 'to be wet', **bale* 'well' > Sidamo *bale* 'well', (pl.) *balla* 'springs, wells'; Gedeo / Darasa *bale(essa)* 'well', *ba'lessa* 'fall, season of small rains'. Hudson 1989:60 and 165—166. Ehret 1995:84, no. 13, **bal-* 'to wet'.
- B. (?) Kartvelian: Svan *li-bēl-e* 'to cause something to swell up, to swell up'. This is usually derived from Proto-Kartvelian **ber-* 'to blow, to inflate' (cf. Klimov 1964:50 and 1998:11; Fähnrich 2007:57—58). To account for the Svan form, Vogt (1939:133) proposed an alternative reconstruction, **bāl-*. However, Klimov (1998:11) rejects this.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^{hl}-ew-/*b^{hl}-ow-/*b^{hl}-u-* 'to overflow, to pour over, to flow': Greek φλέω 'to abound, to team with abundance', φλύω, φλύζω 'to boil over, to bubble up'; Latin *fluō* 'to flow', *flūmen* 'running water, stream, river'; Old Church Slavic *bljujō* 'to vomit'. Rix 1998a:74—75 **b^{hleu}H-* 'to overflow'; Pokorny 1959:158—159 **bhleu-* 'to blow up'; Walde 1927—1932.II:212—214 **bhleu-*; Mann 1984—1987:85 **bhleyō* 'to blow, to bellow, to belch, to gush', 86 **bhluō*, *-iō* 'to well up, to surge, to gush'; Watkins 1985:9 **bhleu-* and 2000:12 **bhleu-* 'to swell, to well up, to overflow'; Mallory—Adams 1997:561 **bhleu-* 'to swell, to overflow'; De Vaan 2008:228; Ernout—Meillet 1979:241—243 **bhleu-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:519—521 **bhleug^u-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1212 and II:1216 **bhl-eu-*; Frisk 1970—1971.II:1025—1026; Boisacq 1950:1030; Hofmann 1966:400 **bhleu-*; Beekes 2010.II:1568 **b^{hleu}-*. Proto-Indo-European **b^{hl}-ey-t'-/*b^{hl}-oy-t'-/*b^{hl}-i-t'-* 'to swell up, to overflow': Greek φλιδάω 'to overflow with moisture, to be ready to burst', (Hesychius) φλοιδέω, φλοιδιάω 'to seethe'; English *bloat* 'to swell'. Rix 1998a:72 **b^{hleid}-* 'to swell up, to overflow'; Pokorny 1959:156 **bhleid-* 'to blow up'; Walde 1927—1932.II:211 **bhleid-*; Mann 1984—1987:85 **bhloid-* 'to seethe, to swell'; Mallory—Adams 1997:71 **bhlei-* 'to become inflated'; Watkins 1985:9 **bhlei-* and 2000:12 **bhlei-* 'to blow, to swell'; Frisk 1970—1971.II:1027—1028; Boisacq 1950:1031; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1213—1214 **bhl-ei-*; Hofmann 1966:401 **bhlei-d-*; Beekes 2010.II:1579—1580 **b^{hlid}-*; Orël 2003:47 Proto-Germanic **blaitōjanan*; Onions 1966:100—101; Klein 1971:86 **bhlei-d-*. Some of these words may belong with Proto-Nostratic **bul-* (~ **bol-*) 'to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate' instead.
- D. Altaic: Mongolian *balbai-* 'to swell, to bulge'.
- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pəlrə(lræt)-* 'to flow' > Chukchi *pəlʔəlʔet-* 'to flow', *pəlʔə-lʔen* 'current, stream'; Kerek *pəlrəlyaat-* 'to flow'; Koryak *pəlrəlrət-* 'to flow (water)', *pəlrə-lrən* 'current'. Fortescue 2005:223.

Sumerian *bal* 'to pour out; to scoop out (water); to overflow, to spill'.

Buck 1949:10.32 flow (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:193—194, no. 29, *b₁HLA ‘to blow, to inflate’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:205—206, no. 10.

22. Proto-Nostratic root *bal- (~ *bəl-):

(vb.) *bal- ‘to bite, to eat’;

(n.) *bal-a ‘bite, morsel’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *bal- ‘(vb.) to bite, to eat; (n.) bite’: Proto-Semitic *bal-aš- ‘to eat, to swallow, to gulp down’ > Arabic *balaʿa* ‘to swallow, to gulp down’, *balʿa* ‘large bite, big gulp’, *balʿama* ‘to swallow greedily’; Hebrew *bālaʿ* [בָּלַע] ‘to swallow, to gulp down’; Aramaic *bəlaʿ* ‘to swallow’; Mehri *bōla* ‘to swallow’; Ḥarsūsi *bōla* ‘to swallow’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bélaʿ* ‘to swallow’; Geez / Ethiopic *balʿa* [በለዐ] ‘to eat, to consume, to devour’; Tigre *bälʿa* ‘to eat’; Tigrinya *bälʿe* ‘to eat’; Amharic *bälla* ‘to eat’; Gafat *bällä* ‘to eat’; Harari *bālaʿa* ‘to eat’; Gurage (Selti) *bāla*, (Soddo) *bälla* ‘to eat’, (Selti) *bīli* ‘food’. D. Cohen 1970— :68—69; Leslau 1979:138 and 1987:94—95; Zammit 2002:100—101; Murtonen 1989:113. Cushitic: Bilin *bälʿ*- ‘to eat’, *belāʿ* ‘food, nourishment’; Saho *balaʿ* ‘to eat’ (according to Leslau 1987:95, the preceding Cushitic forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic). Reinisch 1887:78. Beja / Beḍawye *bāla* ‘throat’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:52, no. 208, *bal-aš- ‘to eat, to swallow’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pal* ‘tooth’, *pallaṅ* ‘man with long or large teeth’, *palli* ‘woman with large or long teeth; a kind of harrow’; Malayalam *pal*, *pallu* ‘tooth’; Kota *pal* ‘tooth’; Kannaḍa *pal* ‘tooth’; Koḍagu *palli* ‘tooth’; Tuḷu *paru* ‘animal’s tooth’; Telugu *palu*, *pallu* ‘tooth’; Kolami *pal* ‘tooth (especially front tooth)’; Naikri *pal* ‘tooth’; Naiki (of Chanda) *pal* ‘tooth’; Gadba (Salur) *pallū* ‘tooth’; Gondi *pal* ‘tooth’; Konḍa *pal* ‘tooth’; Maṇḍa *pal* ‘tooth’; Kuwi *pallū*, *pallu*, *palu* ‘tooth’; Kuṛux *pall* ‘tooth’; Malto *palu* ‘the teeth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3986; Krishnamurti 2003:46, 108, and 196 *pal ‘tooth’.
- C. Proto-Uralic *pala- ‘(vb.) to bite, to eat; (n.) bite, bit, morsel’: Finnish *pala* ‘fragment, bit, crumb’; Estonian *pala* ‘fragment, bit, crumb’; Lapp / Saami *buola* ‘small piece, bit’; Mordvin *pal* ‘small piece, bit’; (?) Chereemis / Mari *pultāš* ‘morsel, bit’; Hungarian *fal-* ‘to eat, to devour’, *falat* ‘morsel’; Vogul / Mansi *puul* ‘piece, bit, morsel’; Ostyak / Xanty *pul*, (Southern) *pul* ‘piece; mouthful (of food), morsel, crumb (of bread or other food)’, *pulem-* ‘to devour’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *paale-* ‘to devour’; Selkup Samoyed *poly-* ‘to devour’. Collinder 1955:46—46 and 1977:64; Janhunen 1977b: 116; Rédei 1986—1988:350 *pala; Décsy 1990:105 *pala ‘a bit, a bite; to eat’; Zhivlov 2023:159 *pala- ‘to swallow, to devour’, 159 *pala ‘bit’.
- D. Altaic: Mongolian *balγu-* ‘to swallow, to gulp’, *balγu* ‘mouthful, gulp, swallow’; Manchu *bilγa* ‘throat’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:344.
- E. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *ləpəlo- ‘to gnaw or bite’: Chukchi *nalpəlo-* ‘to gnaw’; Koryak *pəlo-* ‘to gnaw, to lick around’; Kamchadal /

Itelmen *pəl-kas* ‘to bite (for example, dog)’. Fortescue 2005:165—166; Mudrak 1989b:101 **lpəlo-* ‘to bite’. Note also: Proto-Chukotian **pəl-* (or **ləpəl-*) ‘to drink (up)’ > Chukchi *pəl-* ‘to drink (up)’, *ye-lpə-lin* ‘drunk’; Kerek *pəl-* ‘to drink’; Koryak *pəl-* ‘to drink (up)’; Alyutor *pəl-*, *-lp-* ‘to drink’, *ina-lp-at-* ‘to get drunk, to be a drinker’. Fortescue 2005:221. According to Fortescue (2005:165), the relationship, if any, between these two stems is obscure.

Buck 1949:4.27 tooth; 4.58 bite (vb.); 5.11 eat. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:173, no. 4, **balʕ/u/* ‘to swallow’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 201, **baʕ[i]ʕa* (or **baʕ[i]ʕ[U] ?*) ‘(vb.) to swallow; (n.) throat’.

23. Proto-Nostratic root **bal-* (~ **bəl-*):

(vb.) **bal-* ‘to shine, to be bright’;

(n.) **bal-a* ‘glitter, gleam, brightness’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bal-* ‘to shine, to be bright’: Proto-Semitic **bal-ag-* ‘to gleam, to shine’ > Hebrew *bālay* [בָּלַי] ‘to gleam, to smile’; Arabic *balaġa* ‘to shine, to dawn’, *baġa* ‘to be happy, glad’, *ʔablaġ* ‘bright, clear, gay, serene, fair, beautiful, nice’. D. Cohen 1970— :65; Murtonen 1989:113. Proto-Semitic **bal-ac-* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’ > Syriac *bəšūšitā* ‘spark’; Geez / Ethiopic *balaša* [በለሰ] ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Tigrinya *bəlləččə bälä*, *bəlləččə bälä* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Tigre *bäläččə bela*, *bäläččə bälä* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Amharic *bəlləččə alä*, *täbläččəlläččä* ‘to shine, to twinkle, to glitter, to sparkle, to dazzle, to flash’; Argobba *bəlləččə alä* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Harari *bilič bilič bāya* ‘to scintillate’; Gurage (Wolane) *bəlləččə alä* ‘to flash (lightning), to scintillate, to lighten’, (Wolane) *bəlləččə bälä* ‘lightning’. D. Cohen 1970— :69; Leslau 1963:41, 1979:140, and 1987:97. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **bal-bal-* ‘to blaze’ > Geez / Ethiopic *balbala* [በለበለ], *ʔanbalbala* [አንበለበለ] ‘to blaze, to emit flames, to kindle into a blaze, to let glitter, to flash’, *nabalbäl* ‘flame’; Tigrinya *bälbälä*, *bälbäl*, *bälä*, *tänbälbälä* ‘to flame, to blaze, to flicker’, *näbälbal* ‘flame’; Amharic *tänbäläbbälä*, *tänboläbbolä* ‘to blaze, to emit flames’, *näbälbal* ‘flame’; Gurage (Wolane) *bolbol bälä* ‘to flicker, to blaze’. Leslau 1979:139 and 1987:95. Proto-Semitic **bal-bic-* ‘to gleam, to glitter’ > Neo-Syriac *balbiš* ‘to gleam, to glitter’. D. Cohen 1970— :65. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *balak’a* ‘lightning’; Sidamo *belek’ó* ‘lightning’; Kambata *belell-ees-* ‘to reflect (of lightning), to shine’; Hadiyya *belel-* ‘to reflect, to shine’. Hudson 1989:92 and 122. Proto-Sam **bil-ig-* ‘to flash (lightning)’ > Somali *bilig* ‘sparkling’; Boni *bilikso* ‘lightning’. Heine 1978:54. Perhaps also: Beja / Beḍawye *balöl-* ‘to burn, to flame’, *balöl* ‘flame’. Reinisch 1895:48. Orël—Stolbova 1995:52, no. 207, **balag-/*balug-* ‘to shine’ (deverbative in Somali *bilig* ‘sparkling’).

- B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) *paḷapaḷa* ‘to glitter, to shine’; Malayalam (reduplicated) *paḷapaḷa* ‘gleaming’, *paḷaṇṇuka* ‘to glitter’; Kannaḍa *paḷakane*, *paḷaṇce*, *paḷacane*, *paḷaccane* ‘with a glitter, with pure brightness, with a flash; brightness, pureness’; Tuḷu *paḷḷena* ‘to light, to shine’; Telugu (reduplicated) *paḷapaḷa* ‘glitteringly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:357, no. 4012.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hel-/b^hol-* ‘shining, white’: Sanskrit *bhāla-m* ‘splendor’; Greek φαλός ‘shining, white’; Old Church Slavic *bělb* ‘white’; Lithuanian *bālas*, *báltas* ‘white’. Pokorny 1959:118—120 **bhel-*, **bhela-* ‘glittering, white’; Walde 1927—1932.II:175—176 **bhel-*; Mann 1984—1987:63 **bhal-* ‘white, pale, white-spotted, pallor’, 63 **bhāl-*; Watkins 1985:6 **bhel-* and 2000:9 **bhel-* ‘to shine, to flash, to burn; shining white and various colors’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:496—497; Hofmann 1966:391; Frisk 1970—1973.II:988—989; Beekes 2010.II:1550—1551 **b^hēlH-o-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1176 **b^hol-*, **bhel-*; Boisacq 1950:1013—1014. Proto-Indo-European **b^hes-/b^hlos-* ‘to shine’: Old English *blæse*, *blase* ‘torch, fire’; Old Saxon *blas* ‘white, whitish’; Middle High German *blas* ‘bald’ (originally ‘white, shining’) (New High German *blaß*); Old High German *blassa* ‘white spot’ (New High German *Blesse*). Pokorny 1959:158 **bhles-* ‘to glitter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:217 **bhles-*; Onions 1966:99; Klein 1971:85; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:81—82 and 84 **bhles-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:89—90 and 92. Proto-Indo-European **b^hliyc-/b^hleyc-* > **b^hlīc-/b^hlēc-* (**b^hliyV-/b^hleyV-*) ‘to shine’: Old English *blēo* ‘color, appearance, form’, *blīcan* ‘to shine, to glitter’, *blāc* ‘bright, white’; Old Saxon *blī* ‘color’; Old Church Slavic *blēdъ* ‘light green, yellow’. Rix 1998a:73 **b^hleig-* ‘to shine’; Pokorny 1959:155—156 **bhlēi-*, **bhlai-*, **bhlī-* ‘to glitter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:210 **bhlei-*; Mann 1984—1987:83 **bhlīgsō*, *-iō* (**bhlīks-*, radical **bhlīg-*) ‘to shine, to flash’, 82 **bhlēdh-* ‘pale’. Proto-Indo-European **b^hlu-*, **b^hluH-* > **b^hlū-* ‘to shine’: Old Icelandic *blys* ‘torch’; Old High German *bluhhen* ‘to burn, to light up’; Old English *blysa* ‘torch, fire’; Middle Irish *blosc* ‘clear, evident’, *bloscad* ‘radiance’; Czech *blčeti* ‘to flash, to blaze’, *blýskati* ‘to lighten, to flash’; Polish *blysk* ‘lightning’. Pokorny 1959:159 **bhlēu-* : **bhləu-* : **bhlū-* ‘to glitter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:214 **bhleu-s-*; Mann 1984—1987:85—86 **bhlu-* ‘to flash, to shine, to turn white’, 86 **bhlu-*, 86 **bhlu-* ‘light, bright, pale’; De Vries 1977:46 **bhleu-s-*. Proto-Indo-European **b^hlek’-/b^hlok’-/b^hlk’-*, **b^helk’-/b^holk’-/b^hlk’-* ‘to shine’: Sanskrit *bhārgas-* ‘splendor, radiance’; Old Church Slavic *blagъ* ‘good’; Greek φλέγω ‘to burn, to blaze’; Latin *fulgor* ‘lightning’, *flagrō* ‘to blaze, to burn, to glow’; Old Icelandic *blakkr* ‘dusky, black, dun’; Old English *blācern*, *blācern* ‘lantern’, *blæc* ‘black’; Old Saxon *blac* ‘ink’; Dutch *blaken* ‘to burn’; Old High German *blah-*, *blach-* ‘black’ (in compounds). Rix 1998a:70—71 **b^hleg-* ‘to shine, to glitter, to glisten’; Pokorny 1959:124—125 **bheleg-* ‘to glisten’; Walde 1927—1932.II:214—215

**bhleg-*, **bhelg-*; Mann 1984—1987:80 **bhlāḡ-*, *-āiō* ‘to burn, to flame’, 82 **bhleḡ-* ‘(adj.) bare, blank; (vb.) to look, to shine’; Mallory—Adams 1997:513 **bhleg-* ‘to burn, to shine’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:479—480 **bhel-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1022—1024; Hofmann 1966:399 **bhleg-*; Boisacq 1950:1029 *bheleg-*, **bhleḡ-*, **bhelg-*; Beekes 2010.II:1575—1577 **b^hleg-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1208—1210 **bhel-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:510—511 **bheleg-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:238 and 259 **bhleḡ-*; De Vaan 2008:247 **b^hlg-e/o-*; De Vries 1977:42; Klein 1971:84 **bhleg-*; Onions 1966:97—98.

- D. Altaic: Turkish *balkı-* ‘to shimmer, to glitter’.
 E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **bləŋr* ‘ashes’: East Sakhalin *pləŋr* ‘ashes’; South Sakhalin *pləŋk* ‘ashes’. Fortescue 2016:23—24.

Buck 1949:1.55 lightning; 1.84 ashes; 15.57 bright; 15.64 white; 16.25 laugh (vb.), smile (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:174, no. 5, **balqa* ‘to flash, to sparkle’; Möller 1911:25—26 and 29—30.

24. Proto-Nostratic root **ban-* (~ **bən-*):

(vb.) **ban-* ‘to pour, to sprinkle, to drip’;

(n.) **ban-a* ‘a drop (of water, rain, dew, etc.)’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *pani* ‘to be bedewed, to flow out, to be shed, to rain incessantly, to become cool, to shiver with cold, to tremble, to fear, to spring forth (as tears)’, *pani* ‘dew, chill, cold, tears, rain, mist, fog, haze, trembling, fear’, *panittal* ‘incessant rain’, *panukku* (*panukki-*) ‘to sprinkle, to moisten by sprinkling’; Malayalam *pani* ‘dew, fever’; *panekka* ‘to ooze’; Toda *pony* ‘dew’; Kannaḍa *pani*, *hani* ‘(vb.) to drop; (n.) a drop (of water, dew, etc.)’, *haniku* ‘to fall in drops’, *hanisu*, *hanisu* ‘to pour (as water)’; Koḍagu *pann-* (*panni-*) ‘to drizzle’; Tuḷu *pani* ‘drizzling rain’, *pani* ‘dew, fog, mist, snow’, *panipuni*, *paṇipuni* ‘to drizzle, to shower’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:360, no. 4035; Krishnamurti 2003:13 **pan-i-(kil)* ‘dew, cold, chill’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **ban-* ‘to wash, to wash oneself’: Georgian *a-ban-o* ‘bath’, *ban-* ‘to wash, to wash oneself; to bathe’; Mingrelian *bon-* ‘to wash’; Laz (*m*)*bon-* ‘to wash’. Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:46—47 **ban-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:43 **ban-*; Klimov 1964:48 **ban-* and 1998:7 **ban-* ‘to wash, to wash oneself’; Schmidt 1962:95. Proto-Kartvelian (past participle) **ban-il-* ‘washed’: Georgian *banil-* ‘washed’; Laz *boner-* ‘washed’; Mingrelian *bonil-*, *bonir-* ‘washed’. Klimov 1998:8 **ban-il-* ‘washed’.
- C. Indo-European: Middle Cornish *banne*, *banna* ‘a drop’; Breton *banne* (Tréguier *banneç’h*) ‘a drop’. Not related to Sanskrit *bindú-ḥ* (*vindú-ḥ*) ‘a drop, globule, spot’ (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:430—431).

Buck 1949:9.36 wash. Bomhard 1996a:222, no. 631.

25. Proto-Nostratic root **ban-* (~ **bən-*):

(vb.) **ban-* ‘to separate, to open, to spread’;

(n.) **ban-a* ‘separation, opening, stretch, spread, scattering’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ban-* ‘to separate, to open, to spread’: Proto-Semitic **ban-an-* ‘to spread, to scatter’ > Geez / Ethiopic *banana* [በነ] ‘to rise (dust), to ascend (smoke from a fire)’; Harari *bānānā* ‘to be sprinkled’, *biñbiñ āša* ‘to scatter’; Amharic *bānnānā* ‘to fly here and there (dust, smoke)’; Tigrinya *bānānā* ‘to evaporate’; Gurage (Soddo) *abānnānā* ‘to spread, to scatter’. D. Cohen 1970— :72; Leslau 1963:43, 1979:144, and 1987:99. Egyptian *bnbn* ‘to extend, to stretch out’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:459; Hannig 1995:253. Proto-East Cushitic **ban-* ‘to separate, to open’ > Somali *ban*, *ban-n-aan* ‘plain, plateau’, (causative) *ban-n-ay-* ‘to make room’; Bayso *ban-* ‘to open’; Galla / Oromo *ban-* ‘to open’; Konso *pan-* ‘to open’; Gidole *pan-* ‘to spread the legs’; Gedeo / Darasa *ban-* ‘to open’, *ban-em-* ‘to be open’, *ban-ema* ‘(adj.) open’; perhaps Hadiyya *ban-* ‘to separate, to distinguish’; Burji *ban-* ‘to chase away’, *ban-d-* ~ *ban-?* ‘to put to flight, to be defeated’, *ban-?-a* ‘defeat’, *band-am-* ‘to lose, to be defeated’. Sasse 1982:33; Hudson 1989:49—50 and 108. Perhaps also: Proto-Agaw **bān-* ‘to divide’ > Bilin *bān-* ‘to divide’, *bānā* ‘half; part, division; gift; payment’; Xamir *bin-* ‘to divide’; Quara *bān-* ‘to divide’; Awngi / Awiya *ben-* ‘to divide’. Reinisch 1887:80; Appleyard 2006:54. West Chadic **ban-* ‘to open, to uncover’ > Hausa *bányèè* ‘to open, to uncover’. Central Chadic **ban-H-/*byan-H-* ‘to open’ > Mofu *baŋ*, *beŋ* ‘to open’. Jungrathmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:264—265. Orël—Stolbova 1995:53, no. 210, **ban-* ‘field’, no. 212, **ban-* ‘to open’.
- B. Kartvelian: Georgian *ben-/bn-*, *bnev-/bni(v)-* ‘to spread, to scatter, to disperse’.
- C. Proto-Uralic **panča-* ‘to open’: Cheremis / Mari (Kozmodemyansk) *pača-* ‘to open’, (Birsk) *poča-* ‘to open’, (Uržum) *poča-* ‘to open’; Mordvin (Erza) *panžo-* ‘to open’, (Moksha) *pañže-* ‘to open’; Ostyak / Xanty *punč-* ‘to open’; Vogul / Mansi (Tavda) *poonsš-* ‘to open’, (Lower Konda) *puunš-* ‘to open’, (Pelymka) *punš-* ‘to open’, (Sosva) *puuns-* ‘to open’; (?) Proto-Lapp / Saami **puoncō* ‘naked’ > Lapp / Saami (Lule) (pred.) *buoz’zot*, (attr.) *buozzos* ‘naked’. Rédei 1986—1988:352 **panče-* ~ **pače-* ‘to open’; Collinder 1955:106, 1960:413 **pančō-*, and 1977:120; Sammallahti 1988:548 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pāncā* ‘naked, open’; Zhivlov 2023:159 **panča-* ‘to open’.

Buck 1949:12.23 separate (vb.); 12.24 open (vb.). Bomhard 1996a:224—225, no. 635.

26. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasian only) *ban- (~ *bən-):

(vb.) *ban- ‘to cut, to strike’;

(n.) *ban-a ‘cut, wound’

- A. Indo-European: Proto-Germanic *banjō ‘wound’ > Gothic *banja* ‘blow, wound’; Old Icelandic *bani* ‘death’, *ben* ‘mortal wound’, *benja* ‘to wound mortally’, *bana* ‘to kill’, *bend* ‘wound’; Swedish *bane* ‘death, murder’; Old English *benn* ‘wound’, *bana* ‘slayer, murderer’, *bennian* ‘to wound’, *bangār* ‘deadly spear’, *banweorc* ‘homicide, manslaughter’; Old Frisian *bona* ‘murderer’; Old Saxon *beni(-wunda)* ‘wound’, *bano* ‘murderer’; Old High German *bano* ‘murderer’, *bana* ‘murder’. Orël 2003:35—36 Proto-Germanic *banjō; Kroonen 2013:51 Proto-Germanic *banjō- ‘wound’; De Vries 1977:32; Feist 1939:80; Lehmann 1986:61; Onions 1966:72; Klein 1971:69. Mann 1984—1987:65 *bhanō ‘to slay’ — Mann also compares Old Irish *banaim* ‘to cut, to strike, to dig, to kill’. However, this comparison is rejected by Lehmann (1986:61). Note also Avestan (caus.) *ban-* ‘to make ill, to afflict’ (rejected by Cheung 2007:4 but accepted by Kroonen 2013:51 and Feist 1939:80).
- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *pänz- ‘to whet, to sharpen’ > Votyak / Udmurt *penon* ‘grindstone’; Vogul / Mansi *pöñl-* ‘to grind, to cut, to sharpen’; Hungarian *fen-* ‘to whet, to sharpen; (dial.) whetstone’. Rédei 1986—1988:365 *pänz (vb.) to whet, to sharpen; (n.) whetstone’; Sammallahti 1988:548 Proto-Finno-Ugrian *pänV- ‘to grind’.
- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *pənæ- ‘to sharpen’: Chukchi *pəne-* ‘to sharpen’, *pəna-kwən* ‘whetstone’; Kerek *pna-* ‘to sharpen’, *pna-kkun* ‘whetstone’; Koryak *pəne-* ‘to sharpen’, *pəna-wwən* ‘whetstone’; Alyutor *pna-* ‘to sharpen’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *pnav-zo-s* ‘to sharpen’, *pnavöm* ‘whetstone’. Fortescue 2005:223; Mudrak 1989b:104 *pəna- ‘to sharpen’.
- D. Proto-Eskimo *pana ‘lance’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Kodiak) *panaq* ‘fish spear’, (Kenai Peninsula) *panak* ‘spear’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *pana* ‘spear’; Sirenik *pana* ‘spear’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *pana* ‘long-handled spear’; North Alaskan Inuit *pana* ‘spear, double-edged blade, porcupine quill’; West Canadian Inuit *pana* ‘lance for killing enemies in war’; East Canadian Inuit *pana* ‘snow knife’; Greenlandic Inuit *pana* ‘large knife, sword’, *pana-*, *panar-* ‘to hack with sword’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:249.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 15.78 sharp; 20.26 spear; 20.27 sword.

27. Proto-Nostratic root *ban- (~ *bən-):

Extended form:

(vb.) *ban-V-d- ‘to tie, bind, fasten, or twist (together)’;

(n.) *ban-d-a ‘tie, bond’

Note: Only the extended form is attested in the daughter languages.

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *bnd* ‘to wrap, to put on clothing’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:465; Hannig 1995:255. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:194, no. 30, also cites Hebrew *ʔafnēṭ* [אַפְנֵט] ‘girdle’. However, according to Murtonen (1989:80), Hebrew *ʔafnēṭ* [אַפְנֵט] is a loan from Egyptian (see also Klein 1987:3).
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **band-* ‘to interweave, to plait’: Georgian *band-* ‘to interweave, to plait’, *band-ul-i* ‘a type of mountaineering shoe with a braided sole’; Mingrelian *bond-i* ‘interwoven, plaited, braided; braided suspension bridge’; Svan *li-bānd-e* ‘to patch up (some cloth)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:43—44 **band-*; Fähnrich 2007:47 **band-*; Klimov 1998:7 **band-* ‘to interweave, to plait’. Proto-Kartvelian **bandγ-* ‘to twist, to tie together’: Georgian *bandγ-* ‘to interlace’, (Imeruli) *bandγ-i* ‘spider’s web, cobweb’; Mingrelian *bondγ-* ‘to spin a web’, *bondγ-i* ‘spider’s web’. Klimov 1998:8 **bandγ-* ‘to twist, to tie together’; Fähnrich 2007:47 **bandγ-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:44 **bandγ-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰendʰ-/*bʰondʰ-/*bʰndʰ-* ‘to tie, to bind, to join, to unite’: Sanskrit *badhnāti*, *bandhati* ‘to tie, to bind, to fix, to fasten; to bind round, to put on; to catch, to take or hold captive; to arrest, to hold back, to restrain, to suppress, to stop, to shut, to close; to join, to unite; to fold (the hands), to clench (the fist), to knit or bend (the eyebrows), to arrange, to assume (a posture), to set up (a limit), to construct (a dam or a bridge); to form or produce in any way; to cause, to effect, to do, to make, to bear (fruit), to take up (one’s abode)’, (causative) *bandhayati* ‘to cause to bind or catch or capture, to imprison; to cause to be built or constructed; to cause to be embanked or dammed up’, *bandhā-ḥ* ‘binding, tying; a bond, tie, chain, fetter’, *bāndhu-ḥ* ‘connection, relation, association’, *baddhā-ḥ* ‘bound, tied, fixed, fastened, chained, fettered; captured, imprisoned, caught, confined; joined, united, tied up, combined, formed, produced; conceived, formed, entertained, manifested, shown, betrayed, visible, apparent; clenched (as a fist), folded (as the hands); built, constructed (as a bridge); embanked (as a river)’, *bandhura-ḥ* ‘bent, inclined; curved, rounded, pleasant, beautiful, charming’; Gothic *bindan* ‘to bind’, *bandi* ‘band, bond’; Old Icelandic *band* ‘band, cord’, *binda* ‘to bind, to tie, to fasten, to tie up’, *benda* ‘to bend’, *benda* ‘band, tie’, *bendi* ‘cord’, *bundin* ‘sheaf (of corn), bundle’, *-byndi* in *handbyndi* ‘encumbrance’; Old English *bend* ‘band, ribbon, chaplet, crown; bond, chain’, *bendan* ‘to bind; to stretch, to bend’, *bindan* ‘to bind, to fetter’, *bund* ‘bundle’, *byndeles*, *byndelle*, *bindele*, *bindelle* ‘binding, bandage’; Old Frisian *binda* ‘to bind’, *bend*, *band* ‘bond, band, fetter’; Old Saxon *bindan* ‘to bind’, *band* ‘bond, band’; Old High German *bintan* ‘to bind’ (New High German *binden*), *binda* ‘bond’ (New High German *Binde*), *bant* ‘ribbon, band, bond’ (New High German *Band*); Middle High German *bunt* ‘band, neckband, collar,

waistband' (New High German *Bund*); Old Irish *bann* 'bond, belt, hinge, chain, law'; Thracian βενδ- 'to bind'. Rix 1998a:60—61 **b^hend^h*- 'to bind'; Pokorny 1959:127 **bhendh*- 'to bind'; Walde 1927—1932.II:152 **bhendh*-; Mann 1984—1987:72 **bhendh*- 'to bind', 87 **bh^hndh*- 'bound, binding', 92 **bhondhos*, -*ā*, -*jos* 'band, thong, company'; Watkins 1985:7 **bhendh*- and 2000:10 **bhendh*- 'to bind'; Mallory—Adams 1997:64 **bhendh*- 'to bind'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:174 **b^h[j]end^h[j]*-, **b^h[j]nd^h[j]*- and 1995.I:150 **b^hend^h*-, **b^hnd^h*- 'to tie, to bind'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:406 and II:407; Feist 1939:79 and 93; Lehmann 1986:60—61 and 71; Orël 2003:35 Proto-Germanic **b^handan*, 35 **b^handilaz*, 35 **b^handjan*, 35 **b^handjō*, 41 **b^hendan*; Kroonen 2013:51 Proto-Germanic **b^handī*- 'bond, fetter' and 64 **b^hindan*- 'to bind'; De Vries 1977:25, 32, 65, and 67; Klein 1971:69, 82—83 **bhendh*-, and 88; Onions 1966:72, 95, 106, and 126; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:49; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:48, 78 **bhendh*-, and 111; Kluge—Seebold 1989:86 **bhendh*- and 114.

- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *(*l*)*pənit*- 'to tie': Chukchi *pənit*- (medial -*lpənit*-) 'to tie laces', *pənit* 'lace'; Kerek *pcii-twa*- 'to untie laces'; Koryak (Kamen) *pənit*- (medial -*lpənit*-) 'to tie laces'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *pons-nom* 'binding, tying (of footwear)', *nypint* 'bundle'. Fortescue 2005:223.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind; 9.75 plait (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:194, no. 30, **b^hanṭa* 'to bind'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 214, **b^hæñiV* (~ **b^hæñdV* ?) 'to tie'; Bomhard 1981b:398, §3.14, G.

28. Proto-Nostratic root **bar*- (~ **bər*-):

(vb.) **bar*- 'to swell, to puff up, to expand';

(n.) **bar-a* 'swelling, bulge, increase'

Derivatives:

(vb.) **bar*- 'to bristle (up), to stand on end';

(n.) **bar-a* 'bristle, point, spike'

(vb.) *bar*- 'to blow';

(n.) **bar-a* 'wind'

(vb.) **bar*- 'to be thick, bushy, shaggy; to be coarse, rough, harsh'

(n.) **bar-a* 'roughness, coarseness, harshness; thickness, shagginess'; (adj.) 'rough, harsh, coarse; thick, shaggy, bushy'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bar*- 'to swell, to puff up, to expand': Semitic: (?) Hebrew *bārāʾ*? [בָּרָא] 'to be fat', *bārīʾ*? [בָּרִי] 'fat'. D. Cohen 1970—:80; Klein 1987:82. Arabic *barḥ* 'increase, abundance'. D. Cohen 1970—:83. Proto-Semitic **na-bar*- '(vb.) to raise, to elevate; to swell, to become swollen; (n.) raised or elevated place' > Arabic *nabara* 'to raise, to elevate; to go up with the voice, to sing in a high-pitched voice; to stress, to emphasize, to accentuate; to shout, to yell, to scream, to cry out; to swell, to become swollen', *nabra* 'swelling, protuberance', *mimbar* 'pulpit, chair (of a

teacher); platform'; Geez / Ethiopic *manbar* [ሙንበር] 'seat, chair, base, socle, residence, dwelling, high place, pulpit, throne, see (of bishop), altar on which the ark rests, session, office, function, state, position'. Leslau 1987:383—384. Egyptian *brbr* 'to boil'; Coptic *brbr* [ⲃⲣⲃⲣ] 'to boil over'. Hannig 1995:256; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:466; Vycichl 1983:30; Černý 1976:26. Berber: Ghat *abər* 'to boil', *sibər* 'to make to boil'; Nefusa *awər* 'to boil'; Ghadames *abər* 'to boil', *ubbər* 'boiling water'; Mzab *abər* 'to boil', *ssibər* 'to make to boil'; Kabyle *bbərbər* 'to be boiled, to be boiling (for example, boiling with anger)', *sbbərbər* 'to boil'. East Cushitic: Proto-Sam **bar-ar-* 'to swell' > Somali *barar* 'to swell'; Boni *barer/bareera?* 'to swell'. Heine 1978:53. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *barkat-* 'to be abundant'; Kambata *baraat-* 'to multiply', *barg-* 'to add (to), to repeat'. Hudson 1989:271 and 309.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *paru* 'to become large, bulky, plump; to swell', *paruppu* 'thickness, largeness', *pariya* 'thick, large, big'; Malayalam *paru* 'gross, big', *parukka* 'to grow bulky, stout', *paruma* 'grossness'; Kannada *hari*, *hariba* 'a mass, multitude', *bardu* 'increase, greatness'; Tuḷu *pariya* 'plenty, exceeding, much'; Telugu *prabbu* 'to increase, to extend, to flourish, to thrive'; Kuṛux *pardnā* 'to grow in number, to increase in quantity, to grow in size or age, to prosper, to succeed, to thrive'; Malto *pathre* 'to grow'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:354, no. 3972. Tamil *paru* 'pimple, pustule, blister', *parukken-* 'to blister'; Malayalam *paru* 'boil, ulcer'; Kui *parngoli* 'sore on the tongue'; Kuwi *bāresi* 'pimple'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:354, no. 3974.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^her-/b^hor-/b^hṛ-* (also **b^har-*) 'to swell, to puff up, to expand, to bristle', **b^hṛst^hi-s* 'bristle, point' (see below): Old Irish *bairen* 'bread', *barr* 'top, tip, point, peak'; Welsh *bar* 'top, tip, point'; Gaelic *barr* 'point, top, tip, end, extremity'; Old Breton *barr* 'top, tip, point, peak'; Latin *fermentum* 'leaven, yeast'. Pokorny 1959:108—110 **bhar-*, **bhor-*, **bḥṛ-* 'something jutting out', 132—133 **bher-* 'to well up'; Walde 1927—1932.II:131—133 **bhares-* (?), **bhores-*, II:157—159 **bher-*; Watkins 1985:5 **bhar-* (**bhor-*) and 2000:7—8 **bhars-* (**bhors-*) 'projection, bristle, point'; Mann 1984—1987:115 **bḥṛstis*, *-os* (**bhurst-*, **bhrust-*) 'spike, shoot, twig, bristle'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:61 (fn. 79) **b^har-* 'bristle'; De Vaan 2008:247. Proto-Indo-European **b^hrews-/b^hrows-/b^hrus-* '(vb.) to swell; (n.) swelling': Gothic *brusts* 'breast'; Old Icelandic *brjóst* 'the front of the chest, breast'; Swedish *bröst* 'breast'; Norwegian *brjost* 'breast'; Danish *bryst* 'breast'; Old English *brēost* 'breast'; Old Frisian *brust-* 'breast'; Old Saxon *brīost* 'breast'; Dutch *borst* 'breast'; Old High German *brust* 'breast' (New High German *Brust*); Middle High German *brīustern* 'to swell'; Old Irish *brú* 'belly'; Russian *brjúxo* [брюхо] 'belly, paunch'. Pokorny 1959:170—171 **bhreus-* 'to swell'; Walde 1927—1932.II:197—198 **bhreus-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:80; Mann 1984—1987:102—103 **bhreus-* 'chest, front, paunch';

Watkins 1985:9 *bhreus- and 2000:13 *bhreus- ‘to swell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:561 *bhreus- ‘to swell’; Lehmann 1986:82; Torp 1919:42; De Vries 1977:57—58; Onions 1966:117; Klein 1971:93—94; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:64—65; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:105 *bhreus-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:109—110. Proto-Indo-European *b^hard^heA (> *b^hard^hā) ‘beard’: Latin *barba* ‘beard’; Old Icelandic *barð* ‘beard’; Old English *beard* ‘beard’; Old Frisian *berd* ‘beard’; Old Saxon *barda* ‘beard’; Dutch *baard* ‘beard’; Old High German *bart* ‘beard’ (New High German *Bar*); Old Church Slavic *brada* ‘beard’; Lithuanian *barzdà* ‘beard’. Pokorny 1959:110 *bhardhā ‘beard’; Walde 1927—1932.II:35 *bhardhā ‘beard’; Mann 1984—1987:65—66 *bhardhā (*bharsdhā), -os ‘beard’; Watkins 1985:5 *bhardhā and 2000:7 *bhardh-ā ‘beard’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:61 (fn. 79) *b^hard^hā ‘beard’; Mallory—Adams 1997:251 *bhardh-eh_a- ‘beard’; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:4—6 *b^har(s)d^h-o/ah₂-; De Vaan 2008:69; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:96; Ernout—Meillet 1979:66; De Vries 1977:26; Onions 1966:83; Klein 1971:75; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:39—40; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:54; Kluge—Seebold 1989:62. Proto-Indo-European *b^herw-/*b^horw-/*b^hrw-, *b^hrew-/*b^hrow-/*b^hru- ‘to boil, to bubble up’: Latin *fervō*, *ferveō* ‘to boil, to seethe’; Middle Irish *berbaim* ‘to boil’; Old Icelandic *brauð* ‘bread’, *brugga* ‘to brew’; Swedish *bröd* ‘bread’; Norwegian *braud*, *brød* ‘bread’; Danish *brød* ‘bread’; Old Saxon *breuwan* ‘to brew’; Old English *brēowan* ‘to brew’, *brēad* ‘bread’; Old High German *briuwan* ‘to brew’; New High German *brauen* ‘to brew’, *Bräu* ‘brew’, *Brot* ‘bread’. Rix 1998a:65—66 *b^herū- ‘to boil, to seethe’, 80—81 *b^herūH- ‘to boil, to bubble’; Pokorny 1959:143—145 *bh(e)reu-, *bh(e)rū- ‘to boil, to bubble’; Walde 1927—1932.II:167—169 *bhereu-, *bheru-, *bhreu-, *bhrū-; Mann 1984—1987:75 *bherūō (*bhreūō) ‘to seethe, to ferment’, 75 *bherūos ‘brewing, brew’; Watkins 1985:9 *bhreu- and 2000:13 *bhreua- (also *bhreu-) ‘to boil, to bubble, to effervesce, to burn’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:643 *b^hreū- and 1995.I:553 *b^hreu- ‘to ferment (of beverages), to brew’; Mallory—Adams 1997:76 *bhereu- ‘to seethe’ and 199 *bhreu- ‘to brew’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:230; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:487 *bheru-; Torp 1919:37; De Vries 1977:54 and 60; Onions 1966:115 and 117 *bhreu-, *bhru-; Klein 1971:93 and 94; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:96—97 *bh(e)reu-, *bh(e)rū- and 103 *bh(e)reu-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:103 and 107—108. Proto-Indo-European *b^hrend^h-/*b^hrond^h-/*b^hrd^h- ‘to swell up’: Old Irish *bruinnid* ‘to spring forth, to flow’; Lithuanian *brėstu*, *brėndau*, *brėsti* ‘to ripen, to mature’. Pokorny 1959:167—168 *bhrendh- ‘to swell up’; Rix 1998a:79 *b^hrend- ‘to swell, to swell up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:205 *bhrend(h ?)-; Mann 1984—1987:102 *bhrendh- ‘to be full, to be ripe’. Proto-Indo-European *b^hrew-/*b^hru- ‘to sprout, to swell’: Latin *frutex* ‘shrub, bush’; Old High German *briezen* ‘to bud, to sprout, to swell’; Old Irish *broth* ‘whiskers’. Pokorny 1959:169 *bhreu-, *bhreu-d- ‘to sprout, to swell’;

Mann 1984—1987:106 **bhrud-* ‘excrescent, bulging; excrescence, bulge’, 110 **bhrutos*, *-ios* ‘excrescence’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:554 **bhrutós*; Walde 1927—1932.II:195 **bhre-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:257.

- D. Proto-Uralic **par3*, **por3* (**parwa*, **porwa*) ‘pile, heap; swarm, flock, group’: (?) Finnish *parvi* ‘swarm, flock, shoal, troop’, *parveilla* ‘swarm, flock’; Estonian *parv* ‘ferry-boat; flock, flight; covey, bevy; swarm, shoal; crowd’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *pur* ‘raft’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *pur* ‘raft, ferry’; Vogul / Mansi *pâra* ‘raft, ferry’; Ostyak / Xanty *pâr* ‘raft; swarm, flock, crowd’. Collinder 1955:46 and 1977:65; Rédei 1984—1988:356—357 **par3*, **por3* (**parwa*, **porwa*); Sammallahti 1988:547 Proto-Finno-Ugrian (?) **porâwâ* ‘loft, raft’; Décsy 1990:105 **parva* ‘pile, group’.

Sumerian *bâr* ‘to spread or stretch out, to lay out’, *bâra* ‘to spread or stretch out’, *bara₄* ‘to spread or stretch out, to open wide’.

Buck 1949:4.142 beard; 4.40 breast (front of chest); 4.46 belly, stomach; 10.31 boil (vb. intr.); 12.53 grow (= increase in size). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:198—200, no. 4; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:190—191, no. 24, **bur'a* ‘to boil, to bubble up’; Möller 1911:34; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 254, **bar'?*V ‘big, much, thick’.

29. Proto-Nostratic root **bar-* (~ **bâr-*):

(vb.) **bar-* ‘to bristle (up), to stand on end’;

(n.) **bar-a* ‘bristle, point, spike’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **bar-* ‘to swell, to puff up, to expand’;

(n.) **bar-a* ‘swelling, bulge, increase’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **bar3g-*, **bur3g-* ‘thorn, prickle, bristle’: Georgian *bar3g-i*, *bazg-i* ‘thorny plant’, (Gurian) *bazg-i* ‘thorny plant’, *bazgar-i* ‘tall tree with thorns’, *bur3g-i* ‘thorn’, *bur3g-al-a-i* ‘the prickly shell of a chestnut’; Mingrelian (**bor3g-* >) **bur3g-*, **buzg-*: *buzg-a* ‘prickles on the shell of a chestnut’. Note also Georgian *buzg-* ‘little hedgehog’. Klimov 1998:21 **bur3g-* ‘to bristle (up); to ruffle’, **bur3ga-* ‘bristle’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:46 **bar3g-*; Fähnrich 2007:51—52 **bar3g-*. Proto-Kartvelian **bur3g-* ‘to bristle’: Georgian *bur3g-*: *a-bur3g-n-a* ‘to bristle (up), to stand on end (hair, fur, etc.)’; Laz *buzg-*: *o-buzg-u*, *o-buzg-in-u* ‘to bristle (up)’; Mingrelian *buzg-*, *bizg-*: *buzg-u-a*, *bizg-u-a* ‘to bristle (up)’. Fähnrich 2007:86 **bur3g-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:69 **bur3g-*. As noted by Fähnrich—Sardshweladse, the question of the relationship between **bar3g-* and **bur3g-* is unclear.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **b^her-*/**b^hor-*/**b^hy-* (also **b^har-*) ‘to bristle (up)’, **b^hrst^hi-s* ‘bristle, point’: Sanskrit *bhr̥ṣṭi-h* ‘point, spike’; Latin **fa(r)sti-* in *fastīgium* ‘the gable end, pediment (of a roof)’; Old Icelandic *burst*

‘bristle(s)’, *bursti* ‘bristly hair’, *burst-ígull* ‘hedgehog’, *byrsta* ‘to furnish with bristles; to cover as with bristles; to bristle up, to show anger’; Norwegian *bust* ‘bristle’; Swedish *borst* ‘bristle’; Danish *børst* ‘bristle’; Old English *byrst* ‘bristle’, *brord* ‘point; first blade of grass, young plant’; Old Saxon *bursta* ‘bristle’; Middle Dutch *borstel* ‘bristle’; Old High German *burst* ‘bristle’ (New High German *Borste*); Russian *boršč* [борщ] ‘hogweed’. Perhaps also Hittite (nom. sg.) *pár-ša-du-uš* ‘leaf’. Pokorny 1959:108—110 **bhar-*, **bhor-*, **bh̥r-* ‘something jutting out’, 132—133 **bher-* ‘to well up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:131—133 **bhares-* (?), **bhores-*, II:157—159 **bher-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:61 (fn. 79) **b̥ar-* ‘bristle’; Mann 1984—1987:115 **bh̥stis*, -*os* (**bhurst-*, **bhrust-*) ‘spike, shoot, twig, bristle’; Watkins 1985:5 **bhar-* (**bhor-*) and 2000:7—8 **bhars-* (**bhors-*) ‘projection, bristle, point’; Mallory—Adams 1997:439 **bh̥stis* ‘point’ and 2006:298 **bh̥stis* ‘point’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:523—524 *bh̥s-ti-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:218; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:461—462 **bhersti-*; De Vaan 2008:203—204; Orël 2003:64 Proto-Germanic **burstiz*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:93; De Vries 1977:65 and 68; Torp 1919:50; Onions 1966:119; Klein 1971:95; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:93 **bhers-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:99 **bh̥s/*bhares-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:645—646; Puhvel 1984— .8:168—170 **bh̥stu-*.

Buck 1949:8.56 leaf. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 249, **baRžV* ‘to be uneven, rough; to bristle’.

30. Proto-Nostratic root **bar-* (~ **b̥ar-*):

(vb.) *bar-* ‘to blow’;

(n.) **bar-a* ‘wind’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **bar-* ‘to swell, to puff up, to expand’;

(n.) **bar-a* ‘swelling, bulge, increase’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-* ‘to blow’: Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **baraʃ-* or **baraʔ-* ‘to blow’ > Iraqw *barʹas-* ‘to blow away’; Kʹwadza *balatuko* ‘bellows’. Ehret 1980:338. Central Chadic **baraw-* ‘wind’ > Mbara *baraw-ay* ‘wind’. East Chadic *(*ka-*)*bar-* ‘wind’ > Kera *ka-bar* ‘wind’ (**ka-* prefix). Orël—Stolbova 1995:55, no. 220, **bar-* ‘wind’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ber-* ‘to blow, to inflate, to puff out’: Georgian *ber-va* ‘to blow, to inflate, to puff out’; Laz *bar-* ‘to blow, to inflate, to puff out’; Mingrelian *bar-*, *mbar-*, *nbar-* ‘to blow, to inflate, to puff out’; [Svan *lib̥l-e* ‘to cause something to swell up, to swell up’]. Klimov 1964:50 **ber-* and 1998:11 **ber-* ‘to blow; to inflate, to distend’; Fähnrich 2007:57—58 **ber-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:49—50 **ber-*; Schmidt 1962:97; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:878 **ber-* and 1995.I:775 **ber-* ‘to blow, to inflate’.

Sumerian *bar* ‘to blow, to stretch or spread out, to ferment, to blow away’, *bar*₇ ‘to blow at or upon’.

Buck 1949:10.38 blow (vb. intr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:198—200, no. 4.

31. Proto-Nostratic **bar-* (~ **bər-*):

(vb.) **bar-* ‘to be thick, bushy, shaggy; to be coarse, rough, harsh’;

(n.) **bar-a* ‘roughness, coarseness, harshness; thickness, shagginess’; (adj.) ‘rough, harsh, coarse; thick, shaggy, bushy’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **bar-* ‘to swell, to puff up, to expand’;

(n.) **bar-a* ‘swelling, bulge, increase’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *paraṭṭai* ‘tangled locks; shaggy, bushy hair’, *paraṭṭaittalai* ‘head with shaggy, untidy hair’, *paraṭṭaiyan* ‘person with shaggy hair’, *paraṭṭai-kkīrai* ‘wild colewort’; Malayalam *paru* ‘rough, harsh’, *paru-tala*, *paraṅ-tala* ‘curly hair’, *paraṭṭa-ccīra* ‘wild cole’; Kannada *paraṭe* ‘state of being rough, harsh, bristled, bushy, or curly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:358, no. 4022. Perhaps also: Tamil *paru* ‘coarse, rough’, *parukkan*, *parumai* ‘roughness, coarseness, grossness’; Malayalam *parukku* ‘rough surface’, *parukkuva* ‘to make rough’, *paruparukka* ‘to be rough, harsh’, *paruparuppu* ‘roughness, harshness’, *parupara* ‘roughly, harshly’; Kannada *parige*, *parparike*, *papparike* ‘roughness (of surface), harshness, rough manners’; Telugu *baraka* ‘rough’, *barusu* ‘rough, coarse, rude, brutal; roughness, rudeness’, *parusamu*, *parusana* ‘harshness, cruelty’, *parusapu* ‘hard, harsh’, *berasu* ‘cruel, rough, not fine’; Kolami *baragaṭe* ‘rough’; Konda *baRka* ‘roughness, rough’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:354, no. 3973. The Dravidian terms either were influenced by or exerted an influence on Sanskrit *paraṣá-h*, originally ‘(adj.) knotty (as a reed); (n.) a reed’, later (*Atharva-Veda*) ‘uneven, hard’, (*Mahābhārata*) ‘harsh, cruel’ as well (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:220; Mayrhofer rejects outright borrowing of the Sanskrit term, in its later meanings, from Dravidian).

B. Proto-Kartvelian **bard-* ‘shrubs, bushes, shrubbery, thicket; blackthorn, sloe’: Georgian *bard-i* ‘shrubs, bushes, shrubbery, thicket; undergrowth’; Mingrelian *burd-i* ‘sloe, blackthorn’; Svan *bārd* ‘ivy’. Klimov 1998:8—9 **bard-* ‘blackthorn, sloe’; Fähnrich 2007:50 **bard-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **bh̥rs-* ‘shaggy, coarse, rough, prickly’: Latin *burra* ‘shaggy garment’, *burrae* ‘trash, refuse, garbage’, *reburrus* ‘bristly’ (loanwords); Greek βύρσα ‘the skin stripped off, a hide’ (loanword); Danish *borre* ‘burr, burdock’; Norwegian *borre* ‘burr, burdock’; Swedish *borre* ‘burr; sea-urchin’, *kardborre* ‘burdock’; Middle English *burre* ‘burr; roughness or harshness in the throat’ (Scandinavian loan); East Frisian *bure*, *burre* ‘gnarl, knot’. Mann 1984—1987:115 **bh̥rsos*, *-ios*, *-ā*, *-is*

‘shag, tuft, bristles, fur’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:124; Ernout—1979:78; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:70 **bh̥rsos*; Torp 1919:35; Onions 1966:127 **bh̥rs-*; Klein 1971:100; Skeat 1898:84; Boisacq 1950:137; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:202; Frisk 1970—1973.I.277—278 (without etymology); Hofmann 1966:41 (perhaps loanword); Beekes 2010.I:249 (without etymology — perhaps pre-Greek).

- D. Altaic: Mongolian *barbai-* ‘to be coarse (of textiles); to be broad and thick (of a beard)’, *barbayar* ‘coarse (of textiles); broad and thick (of a beard); hairy, shaggy’, *bartaira-* ‘to swell, to distend (as eyes, face, etc.)’. Proto-Tungus **bara-* ‘(vb.) to increase; (n.) great number’ > Evenki *bara-ma* ‘great number’, *bara-l-* ‘to increase’; Lamut / Even *baran* ‘capacious’; Manchu *baran* ‘great number, large quantity’; Oroch *bara* ‘great number, large quantity’; Solon *barā* ‘great number, large quantity’. Turkish *barak* ‘long-haired (animal), thick-piled (stuff), plush’. Note: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:328) place the Tungus forms under Proto-Altaic **bara-* ‘to possess goods, to earn’.

Buck 1949:15.76 rough. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 249, **baR̥ʒV* ‘to be uneven, rough; to bristle’.

32. Proto-Nostratic root **bar-* (~ **b̥ar-*):

- (vb.) **bar-* ‘to bear children, to give birth’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘child’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-* ‘child’: Proto-Semitic **bar-aw-* ‘child, son’ > Aramaic *bar* ‘son’; Sabaeen *brw* ‘child, son’; Ḥarsūsi *berō* ‘to bear children’, *ber* ‘son’; Soqotri *bīroh* ‘to bear children’, *ber* ‘son’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bīri* ‘to give birth’, *ber* ‘son’. Proto-Berber **barar-* ‘son’ > Ayr *a-barar* ‘son’; Ahaggar *a-burir* ‘son’; Tawlemmet *barar-* ‘son’. Proto-Chadic **b̥ard-* ‘to give birth’ > Warji *vurd-* ‘to give birth’; Tsagu *v̥ard̥a* ‘to give birth’; Jimbin *vurd-* ‘to give birth’; Zime-Batna *fr̥à?à/v̥r̥à?à* ‘to give birth’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.I:77 and II:160—161. West Chadic **bar-/byar-* ‘young girl, child’ > Hausa *beera* ‘young girl’; Angas *par* ‘child’; Galambu *baryawa* ‘young girl’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:53, no. 213, **bar-* ‘child’.
- B. Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **par* ‘child, young one’: Middle Elamite *pa-ar*, Royal Achaemenid Elamite *ba-ir* ‘descendants; sperm, semen; seed’. Dravidian: Malayalam *pārppu* ‘shoal of young fish, small fry’; Tamil *pārppu* ‘fledgling, young of birds, young of tortoise, frog, toad, lizard, etc.’, *pārval* ‘fledgling, young of deer or other animals’; Kannaḍa *pāra* ‘boy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:364, no. 4095; McAlpin 1981:104.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^her-/b^hor-/b^hr-* ‘to bear, to carry; to bring forth, to bear children’, **b^her-no-s/b^hor-no-s* ‘son, child’: Sanskrit *bhāratī* ‘to bear, to carry, to convey, to hold; to support, to maintain, to cherish, to

foster; to endure, to experience, to suffer, to undergo; to conceive, to become pregnant', *bhṛtá-ḥ* 'borne, carried, brought', (passive) *bhriyáte* 'to be borne', *bhariman-*, *bhārīman-* 'supporting, nourishing; household, family'; Armenian *berem* 'to bear'; Greek φέρω 'to bear, to carry; to endure, to suffer; to bring, to offer, to present; to bring forth, to produce, to bear fruit, to be fruitful', φορέω 'to bear, to carry', φορτίον 'load, burden, child in the womb'; Albanian *bir* 'son', *burrë* 'man'; Latin *ferō* 'to bear, to carry, to bring forth'; Old Irish *biru* 'to bear, to carry'; Gothic *bairan* 'to bear, to carry, to bring forth', *barn* 'son', *baur* 'son, child'; Old Icelandic *bera* 'to bear, to carry, to give birth to', *barn* 'child, baby', *burðr* 'birth; extraction'; Old Frisian *bera* 'to bear, to give birth; to be born', *bern* 'child'; Old English *beran* 'to carry, to bring, to produce, to bring forth, to bear; to endure, to suffer, to tolerate', *bearn* 'child', *beorþor* 'childbirth'; Lithuanian *bėrnas* 'son'. Rix 1998a:61—62 **b^her-* 'to carry, to bring'; Pokorny 1959:128—132 **bher-* 'to carry, to bring'; Walde 1927—1932.II:153—157 **bher-*; Mann 1984—1987:72 **bhēr-* 'carry; conveyor, conveyance', 73 **bherətrom* (**bherədhlom*) 'bearer, carrier', 74 **bhermn-*, **bhern-* 'load', 74 **bherō* 'to bear, to carry, to bring, to take', 74 **bhernos* 'son, fellow', 74—75 **bheront-* (**bhernt-*) 'bearing, bearer', 75 **bheros* 'bearing', 75 **bhertos* 'born, carried; burden', 94 **bhorm-* (**bhormos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-jə*) 'burden; bearer, holder, container', 94 **bhorn-* 'holder, container', 94 **bhorn-* 'son, fellow', 94 **bhoros*, *-ā*, *-om* 'bearing; burden, produce, offspring', 95 **bhortos* 'carried; load, burden', 114 **bhṛjios* (**bhṛjō[n]*) 'bearer, holder', 114 **bhṛjios* 'son, young man', 115—116 **bhṛt-* 'bearing, load, product', 116 **bhṛtós*, *-ā* 'borne, carried', 125 **bhūrñ-*, **bhrūrñ-* 'son, fellow'; Watkins 1985:7 **bher-* and 2000:10 **bher-* 'to carry, to bear children'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:340 **b^[h]er-oH* and 1995.I:32 **b^her-* 'to bear'; Mallory—Adams 1997:56 **bhére/o-* 'to bear (a child)'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:473—476; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1003—1005; Boisacq 1950:1021—1022 **bher(e)-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1189—1191; Hofmann 1966:395 **bher-*; Beekes 2010.II:1562—1564 **b^her-*; De Vaan 2008:213—214; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:483—485 **bher-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:227—229; Kroonen 2013:59 Proto-Germanic **beran-* 'to bear, to carry, to give birth'; Orël 1998:26, 43 (Albanian *burrë* borrowed) and 2003:37 Proto-Germanic **ḅarnan*, 41—42 **ḅeranan*, 43 **ḅerþran*; De Vries 1977:27, 33, and 65; Feist 1939:75 **bher-*; Lehmann 1986:57 **bher-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:38—39 and 40—41; Onions 1966:83 and 96; Klein 1971:75 and 83; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:15—30 **b^her-*.

- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *para*, *-bare*, *-bara* 'basis, essence, origin; bottom, end', *paral* 'ancestor', *parañe* 'to originate from'. Nikolaeva 2006:343.
- E. (?) Proto-Altaic **bjōr[e]-* ('to bring, to offer, to present' >) 'to give; to take, to collect': Proto-Tungus **bū-* 'to give' > Manchu *bu-* 'to give';

Evenki *bū-* ‘to give’; Lamut / Even *bō-* ‘to give’; Negidal *bū-* ‘to give’; Ulch *būwu* ‘to give’; Orok *bū-* ‘to give’; Nanay / Gold *bū-* ‘to give’; Oroch *bū-* ‘to give’; Udihe *bū-* ‘to give’; Solon *bū-* ‘to give’. Proto-Turkic **bēr-* ‘to give’ > Old Turkic *ber-* ‘to give’; Karakhanide Turkic *ber-* ‘to give’; Turkish *ver-* ‘to give, to deliver, to pay, to offer, to sell’; Gagauz *ver-* ‘to give’; Azerbaijani *ver-* ‘to give’; Turkmenian *ber-* ‘to give’; Uzbek *ber-* ‘to give’; Uighur *bār-* ‘to give’; Karaim *ver-* ‘to give’; Tatar *bir-* ‘to give’; Bashkir *bir-* ‘to give’; Kirghiz *ber-* ‘to give’; Kazakh *ber-* ‘to give’; Noghay *ber-* ‘to give’; Sary-Uighur *per-* ‘to give’; Tuva *ber-* ‘to give’; Chuvash *par-* ‘to give’; Yakut *bier-* ‘to give’; Dolgan *bier-* ‘to give’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:353 **bīōr[e]* ‘to give; to take, to collect’. Assuming semantic development as in Greek φέρω ‘to bear, to carry; to endure, to suffer; to bring, to offer, to present; to bring forth, to produce, to bear fruit, to be fruitful’.

Sumerian *bar* ‘origin, descent, ancestry; family; descendants, offspring’.

Buck 1949:4.72 bear (of mother). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:194—195, no. 32, **b_{AR}* ‘child’; Möller 1911:34—35; Brunner 1969:27; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 230, **berEʔa* ‘to give birth to; child’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:200—202, no. 6, **bar-/bār-* ‘to bear, to carry, to bring forth’.

33. Proto-Nostratic root **bar-* (~ **bār-*):

(vb.) **bar-* ‘to take or seize hold of, to grasp’;

(n.) **bar-a* ‘hold, grasp, seizure’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-* ‘to take’: Berber: Kabyle *bbār* ‘to take, to take a small quantity of’; Tuareg *a-bār* ‘to take’. East Cushitic: Saho *bar-* ‘to grasp, to hold’. Beja / Beḏawye *bari-* ‘to get, to collect, to have’. Reinisch 1895:49. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ber-* ‘to touch’ > K’wadza *belet-* ‘to grasp’; Ma’a *ber-* ‘to touch’. Ehret 1980:137. Central Chadic **mV-bwar-* ‘to seize, to grasp’ > Sukur *mbwǝr* ‘to seize, to grasp’. Ehret 1995:86, no. 21, **ber-* ‘to hold’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:54, no. 215, **bar-* ‘to take’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *parru* (*parrī-*) ‘(vb.) to grasp, to seize, to catch, to hold, to adhere to, to touch, to comprehend; to hold (as color), to be kindled, to have effect (as drugs), to stick, to become joined to or welded to (as metals soldered), to be fitting, to be sufficient; (n.) grasp, seizure, acceptance, adherence, affection, friendship, affinity, solder, paste’, *parram* ‘grasping’; Malayalam *parru* ‘adhesion, close relation, friendship’, *parruka* ‘to stick to, to adhere, to catch, to suit, to fit, to take effect (as fire), to get, to seize’; Kota *paṭ-* (*pac-*) ‘to catch, to seize, to hold, to hold out, to be obstinate, to resolve, to catch (fire), to suit, to please’; Kannada *paṭṭu* ‘(vb.) to seize, to catch, to hold, to take hold of; to be held or contained, to stick to; (n.) hold, seizure, firm grasp, persistence, resolution, obstinacy, habit, coherence’;

Tuġu *pattuni* ‘to hold, to catch; to adhere, to stick, to be joined’; Telugu *paṭṭu* ‘(vb.) to hold, to catch, to seize, to take hold of, to restrain, to receive; to be required (days, money), to be contained; (n.) hold, grasp, seizure, a wrestler’s hold, perseverance, obstinacy, diligence’; Parji *patt-* ‘to take hold of, to buy’; Gadba (Ollari) *pat-* ‘to take hold of, to catch, to buy, (Salur) *patt-* ‘to take hold of, to catch’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:359—360, no. 4034.

- C. Proto-Altaic **bari-* ‘to take, to hold’: Proto-Mongolian **bari-* ‘to take, to hold’ > Written Mongolian *bari-* ‘to take, to hold’; Monguor *bari-* ‘to take, to hold’; Dagur *bari-* ‘to take, to hold’; Khalkha *bari-* ‘to take, to hold’; Buriat *bari-* ‘to take, to hold’; Kalmyk *bār-*, *bār-* ‘to take, to hold’. Poppe 1955:26 and 99; Starostin 1991:287, no. 268, **bārV*; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:328 **bāra* ‘goods; to possess, to earn’.

Buck 1949:11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 224, **ba[ʔ]eri* ‘to hold, to take’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:176—177, no. 8, **bari* ‘to take’.

34. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bar-a* ‘seed, grain’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-/bur-* ‘grain, cereal’: Proto-Semitic **barr-/burr-* ‘grain, cereal’ > Hebrew *bar* [בַּר] ‘grain’; Arabic *burr* ‘wheat’; Akkadian *burru* ‘a cereal’; Sabaean *brr* ‘wheat’; Ḥarsūsi *berr* ‘corn, maize, wheat’; Mehri *ber* ‘corn, maize, wheat’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bohr* ‘maize’; Soqotri *bor* ‘wheat’. D. Cohen 1970— :87; Klein 1987:82. Berber: Ayr *a-bora* ‘sorghum’; Ghadames *a-βar-ən* ‘flour’; Ahaggar *a-bōra* ‘sorghum’. East Cushitic: Somali *bur* ‘wheat’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **bar-/bal-* ‘grain (generic)’ > Iraqw *balay* ‘grain’; Burunge *baru* ‘grain’; Alagwa *balu* ‘grain’; K’wadza *balayiko* ‘grain’. Ehret 1980:338. West Chadic **bar-/bur-* ‘a kind of flour, gruel’ > Hausa *huri*, *biri* ‘a kind of flour’; Ngizim *bār̀bār̀i* ‘gruel flavored with the desert date *ákdā*’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:56, no. 224, **bar-/bur-* ‘grain, cereal’ and 84, no. 344, **b[uray-* ‘grain, corn’ (derived from no. 224, **bar-/bur-* ‘grain, cereal’).
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *paral* ‘pebble, seed, stone of fruit’; Malayalam *paral* ‘grit, coarse grain, gravel, cowry shell’; Kota *parl* ‘pebble, one grain (of any grain)’; Kannaḍa *paral*, *paraḷ* ‘pebble, stone’; Koḍagu *para* ‘pebble’; Tuġu *pareḷu* ‘grain of sand, grit, gravel; grain of corn, etc.; castor seed’; Kolami *parca* ‘gravel’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:353, no. 3959.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^har(s)-* ‘grain’: Ossetic (Digor) *bor* ‘millet’; Latin *far* ‘spelt, grain’; Umbrian *far* ‘spelt’; Oscan *far* ‘spelt’; Gothic **barizeins* ‘(prepared of) barley’; Old Icelandic *barr* ‘barley’; Old English *bere* ‘barley’; Old Frisian *ber* ‘barley’; Old Church Slavonic *brašbno* ‘food’; Russian (dial.) *bórošno* [борошно] ‘rye-flour’; Serbo-Croatian *brášno* ‘food, flour’; Albanian *bar* ‘grass’. Pokorny 1959:111 **bhares-* ‘barley’;

Walde 1927—1932.II:134 *bhars-; Mann 1984—1987:66 *bhars- ‘wheat, barley’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:872—873 *b^[h]ar(s)- and 1995.I:770 *b^har(s)- ‘grain, groats’, I:836 *b^har- ‘grain’; Watkins 1985: 5—6 *bhars- (*bhars-) and 2000:8 *bhars- ‘barley’; Mallory—Adams 1997:51 *bhárs ‘barley’; De Vaan 2008:201—202; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:455—456 *bhar-es-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:216; Orël 1998:16—17 and 2003:36 Proto-Germanic *b̄araz ~ *b̄ariz; Kroonen 2013:52 Proto-Germanic *bariz- ~ *barza- ‘barley’ (< *b^har-s-); Feist 1939:81 *bhars-; Lehmann 1986:62; De Vries 1977:27; Onions 1966:75; Klein 1977:71; Derksen 2008:57. Note: This term may be a borrowing.

Sumerian *bar* ‘seed’.

Buck 1949:8.31 sow, seed; 8.42 grain; 8.44 barley. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 219, no. 24; Brunner 1969:27, no. 79. For the semantics, cf. the following meanings of the English word *grain*: (1) ‘a small, hard seed or seedlike fruit (as of wheat, rye, oats, barley, maize, or millet)’; (2) ‘cereal seeds in general’; (3) ‘a tiny, solid particle, as of salt or sand’; (4) ‘a tiny bit, smallest amount’; etc.

35. Proto-Nostratic root *bar- (~ *b̄ar-):

(vb.) *bar- ‘to shine, to be bright, to sparkle, to flash’;

(n.) *bar-a ‘light, brightness; lightning’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *bar-/ *bir- ‘to shine, to be bright, to sparkle, to flash’, *bar-ak’-, *bar-ik’-, *bir-ik’- ‘(vb.) to flash; (n.) lightning’: Proto-Semitic *barak’- ‘to shine, to glitter, to sparkle, to flash’, *bark’-/ *birk’- ‘lightning’ > Hebrew *bāraḳ* [בָּרַק] ‘to flash’, *bārāḳ* [בָּרַק] ‘lightning’; Aramaic *barḳā* ‘lightning’; Ugaritic *brḳ* ‘lightning’; Arabic *baraḳa* ‘to shine, to glitter, to sparkle’, *barḳ* ‘lightning’; Akkadian *birḳu* ‘lightning’, *barāḳu* ‘to flash’; Amorite *brḳ* ‘to shine, to lighten’; Sabaeen *brḳ* ‘lightning’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bórōḳót* ‘to flash’, *berḳ* ‘lightning’; Ḥarsūsi *hebērēḳ* ‘lightning’, *berḳōt* ‘to flash, to lighten’; Mehri *bərḳáwt* ‘to lighten, to flash’, *bōrəḳ* ‘lightning’; Geez / Ethiopic *baraḳa* [ቦረቆ] ‘to flash, to lighten, to scintillate, to shine, to become shining, to sparkle’, *mabarḳ* [መቦረቆ], *mabrəḳ* ‘lightning, thunderbolt, bright light’; Tigre *bārḳa* ‘to flash, to lighten, to scintillate’; Tigrinya *bārāḳä* ‘to flash, to lighten, to scintillate’; Amharic *bārrāḳä* ‘to lighten, to shine, to scintillate’, *bəraḳ* ‘thunderbolt’; Harari *bəraḳ* ‘lightning’; Gurage *bəraḳ* ‘lightning’. D. Cohen 1970— :86; Klein 1987:85; Leslau 1987:106; Murtonen 1989:122; Zammit 2002:93. Proto-Semitic *bar-ac’- ‘to sparkle, to shine’ > Akkadian *barāḣu* ‘to sparkle, to shine brightly’; Arabic *barīḣ* ‘shining, glistening’; Geez / Ethiopic *tabāraḣa* [ተቦረጸ] ‘to scintillate, to flash, to redden’; Tigrinya *bārḣäḣä* ‘to shine, to flash’; Gurage (*a*)*brāḣa* ‘to be smooth and shiny’ (from either *brḣ? or *brḣʔ); Amharic *boräboč*,

- borboč* ‘multicolored smooth pebbles’. D. Cohen 1970— :86; Leslau 1987:107—108. Proto-Semitic **bar-ar-* ‘to be or become clear or bright, to purify, to clean’ > Hebrew *bārar* [בָּרַר] ‘to purify’, *bar* [בָּר] ‘bright, clean, pure’; Aramaic *bārar* ‘to purify’; Akkadian *barīru* ‘(sun’s) rays’; Ugaritic *brr* ‘pure, clean’; Geez / Ethiopic *barra* [በረ] ‘to purify, to make white’, *bārrur* [ቡሩር] ‘silver’; Tigrinya *bārrur* ‘silver’; Amharic *bārr* ‘silver, thaler’; Gurage *bār* ‘silver, thaler’, (reduplicated) *bārbār* ‘to shimmer, to flicker (flame), to burn in a wavy way’. D. Cohen 1970— :87; Klein 1987:86; Leslau 1979:149 and 1987:106—107; Murtonen 1989:119. Proto-Semitic **bar-ah-* ‘to light up’ > Geez / Ethiopic *barha* [በርሀ] ‘to shine, to be bright, to be light, to light up, to be clear’, *bārhān* [ቡርሃን] ‘light, brightness, glitter, splendor, proof’; Tigre *bārha* ‘to be bright, to be clean, to shine’; Tigrinya *bārhe* ‘to shine’; Amharic *bārra* ‘to be lit’, *abārra* ‘to be aglow, to shine, to be bright’, *mābrat* ‘lamp, light’, *bārrhan* ‘light, glow, flame’; Gurage *abārra* ‘to glitter, to shine, to illuminate’. D. Cohen 1970— :82; Leslau 1979:150 and 1987:103—104. Egyptian *brg* ‘to give light’; Coptic *ebrēce* [ⲉⲃⲣⲏⲉ] ‘lightning’ (Semitic loans [cf. Černý 1976:33; Vycichl 1983:39]). Proto-East Cushitic **bar-/*ber-/*bor-* ‘dawn, morning, tomorrow’ > Bayso *gee-bari* ‘tomorrow’, *bar-i* ‘morning’; Galla / Oromo *bor-u* ‘tomorrow’; Saho-Afar *beera* ‘tomorrow’; Somali *ber-iy-* ‘to dawn’, *ber-r-i(to)* ‘tomorrow’; Burji *buráy* ‘yesterday’, *bóru* ‘tomorrow’ (this may be a loan from Galla / Oromo); Kambata *bere* ‘yesterday’; Gedeo / Darasa *berek’e* ‘yesterday’; Sidamo *bero* ‘yesterday’. Sasse 1982:34 and 40; Hudson 1989:156 and 171. Proto-East Cushitic **bark’-/*birk’-* ‘lightning’ > Dasenech *biddi* (< **birk’-ti*) ‘lightning’; Elmolo *i-birgá* ‘lightning’. Sasse 1979:49. Proto-Southern Cushitic **bur-* ‘morning’ > Dahalo *burra* ‘morning’. Ehret 1980:321. Proto-Southern Cushitic **birik’-* ‘lightning’ > Dahalo *birik’ina* ‘lightning’. Ehret 1980:321. Ehret 1995:86, no. 22, **bir-* ‘to burn brightly’, no. 23, **birk’-/*bark’-* ‘to flash’ (**bir-* ‘to burn brightly’ plus **-k’-* intensive extension of effect); Orël—Stolbova 1995:56, no. 223, **bar-/*bur-* ‘morning’, 57, no. 225, **baraḵ-* ‘lightning’, 58, no. 321, **bariḵ-* ‘to shine, to be bright’; Diakonoff 1992:82 **bar(-)aḵ-* ‘lightning’.
- B. Dravidian: Kota *par par in-* ‘to become a little light before dawn’; Kannada *pare* ‘to dawn’; Telugu *parāgu* ‘to shine’; Malto *parce* ‘to shine brightly, to be seen clearly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:354, no. 3980.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **bar-* ‘to glow, to burn, to flame, to blaze’, (reduplicated) **bar-bar-*: Georgian *bar-bar-i/bal-bal-i* ‘to glow, to burn, to flame, to blaze’; Mingrelian *bor-bonž-ia* ‘glowing, burning, flaming, blazing’. Fähnrich 2007:49 **bar-*. Proto-Kartvelian **berc’q’-/*brc’q’-* ‘to shine’: Georgian *brc’q’-in-v-a* ‘to shine; brightness’, *brc’k’iali* ‘to light, to illuminate’, *brc’q’invale* ‘white’; Mingrelian *rc’k’-* (the initial labial has been lost) ‘to shine’; Laz *pinc’k’-/pic’k’-* ‘to shine’; Svan [*berc’q’-*] (Georgian loan). Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:60—61 **berc’q’-/*brc’q’-*;

Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:51—52 *berçq-/*brçq-; Klimov 1964:50 *berçq-/*brçq-; Schmidt 1962:99.

- D. Proto-Indo-European **b^herEk*-, **b^hreEk*-' > **b^hrēk*-' 'to shine, to gleam, to be bright': Sanskrit *bhrājate* 'to shine, to gleam, to glitter'; Avestan *brāzaiti* 'to beam', *brāza*- 'shimmering; radiance'; Welsh *berth* 'beautiful'; Gothic *bairhts* 'bright, manifest', *bairhte* 'brightness'; Old Icelandic *bjartr* 'bright, shining', *birti* 'brightness'; Old English *beorht* 'bright'; Old Saxon *berht*, *beraht* 'bright'; Old High German *beraht* 'bright'; Lithuanian *brėkšti* 'to dawn'; Palaic (3rd sg. pres.) *pa-ar-ku-i-ti* 'to clean, to purify'; Hittite *pár-ku-iš* 'pure, clean'. Rix 1998a:76—77 **b^hreh₁ǵ*- 'to glitter, to shine'; Pokorny 1959:139—140 **bherǵ*-, **bhrēǵ*- 'to glitter'; Walde 1927—1932.II:170—171 **bherēǵ*-; Mann 1984—1987:73 **bherǵ*- 'brightness, bright'; Watkins 1985:7 **bherǵ*- and 2000:11 **bherǵ*- 'to shine; bright, white'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:620 **b^h[^h]erHk*-' and 1995.I:532 **b^herHk*-' 'to shine, to be bright'; Mallory—Adams 1997:513—514 **bherh_xǵ*- 'to shine, to gleam'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:529—530; Lehmann 1986:58; Feist 1939:76—77 **bherēǵ*-; De Vries 1977:39; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:55—56; Smoczyński 2007.1:71; Puhvel 1984—.8:133—146 **b^hrg^w*-; Kloekhorst 2008b:637—639. Proto-Indo-European **b^hrek^h*- 'to shine, to glitter': Sanskrit *bhrásate* 'to shine, to glitter' (in view of the Germanic forms, the long vowel is probably secondary); Old Icelandic *brjá* (< Proto-Germanic **brexan*) 'to sparkle, to flicker, to gleam'; Middle High German *brehen* 'to twinkle, to sparkle'. Pokorny 1959:141—142 **bherǵk*-, **bhrēk*- 'to glitter'; Walde 1927—1932.II:169 **bherēk*-; Mann 1984—1987:102 **bhrēk*- 'to shine'; Watkins 1985:8 **bherǵk*- and 2000:11 **bherǵk*- 'to shine, to glitter'; Mallory—Adams 1997:514 (?) **bherk*- 'to shine'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:532; Orël 2003:55 Proto-Germanic **b^hrexanan* ~ **b^hrexōjanan*; De Vries 1977:57.
- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh (reduplicated) **barbaru*- 'lightning': South Sakhalin *bařbar*- 'lightning'; East Sakhalin *varparu-d* 'lightning'; Amur *varparu-d* 'lightning'. Fortescue 2016:20,

Sumerian *bar* '(vb.) to shine, to light, to illuminate, to sparkle, to glitter, to glisten; (adj.) bright, shining; (n.) light, brightness', *bar₆-bar₆* '(adj.) light, white; (vb.) to whiten, to make white'.

Buck 1949:1.55 lightning; 15.57 bright; 15.87 clean; 17.34 clear, plain. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 247, **bVR[V]kæ* 'to flash, to shine'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:211—213, no. 16; Brunner 1969:27, no. 74.

36. Proto-Nostratic root **bar*- (~ **bār*-):
 (vb.) **bar*- 'to be kind, charitable, beneficent; to do good';
 (n.) **bar-a* 'goodness, kindness'; (adj.) 'good, kind, beneficent'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **bar-ar-* ‘to be kind, charitable, beneficent; to do good’ > Arabic *barra* ‘to be reverent, dutiful, devoted; to be kind, charitable, beneficent; to do good’, *birr* ‘piety, good action’; Ṭamūdic *br* ‘to be righteous’, *hbr* ‘beneficence, charity, benevolence’; Sabaeen *brr* ‘to make upright’. D. Cohen 1970— :82; Zammit 2002:92. Perhaps also Harari *bārah* ‘good’ (used mainly by women), *bārah bāya* ‘to have pity’, if these are not loans (cf. Leslau 1963:45).
- B. Proto-Indo-European **b^her-/*b^hor-/*b^hṛ-* ‘to be kind, charitable, helpful, beneficent; to do good’: Avestan *bairišta-* ‘the most willing to help, the most helpful’; Armenian *bari* ‘good’; Greek φέριστος, φέρτατος ‘bravest, best’, φέρτερος ‘braver, better’; Old High German *bora-* ‘better’. Mann 1984—1987:74 **bheristhjos* ‘best, bravest’; Boisacq 1950:1021; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1002; Hofmann 1966:394—395; Beekes 2010.II:1562 **b^her-ist(H)o-*; Meillet 1936:155.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **para* ‘good’ > Finnish (superlative) *paras* ‘best’, (comparative) *parempi* ‘better, superior’; Lapp / Saami *buorre/buorrē* ‘good, kind, pleasant’; Mordvin (Erza) *paro*, (Moksha) *para* ‘good’; Cheremis / Mari (Birsk) *poro* ‘good’; Votyak / Udmurt *bur* ‘good, kind, benevolent’; Zyrian / Komi *bur* ‘good’. Rédei 1986—1988:724 **para*.

Buck 1949:16.71 good (adj.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:175—176, no. 7, **bara* ‘big, good’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:213, no. 17.

37. Proto-Nostratic root **bar-* (~ **bār-*):

- (vb.) **bar-* ‘to split (with a tool or weapon); to cut into, to carve; to scrape’;
 (n.) **bar-a* ‘carving, engraving, cuttings, chip’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-* ‘to cut, to cut off, to cut down; to carve, to scrape’: Proto-Semitic **bar-aʔ-* ‘to cut, to carve’ > Hebrew *bērēʔ* [בֵּרַעַ] ‘to cut down (timber, woods), to cut out’; Punic *brʔ* ‘engraver’; Liḥyānite *baraʔ* ‘to cut, to carve’. D. Cohen 1970— :80—81; Klein 1987:82. Proto-Semitic **bar-aṣ-* ‘to cut, to trim, to carve’ > Arabic *barā* ‘to trim, to shape, to sharpen, to scratch off, to scrape off’; Sabaeen *bry* ‘carved monument’. D. Cohen 1970— :82—83. Berber: Semlal *bri* ‘to cut’. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *barc’umma* ‘stool of wood’; Sidamo *barc’im-* ‘to be circumcised’, *barc’in-šiiš-* ‘to circumcise’. Hudson 1989:40, 232, and 352.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **berg-* ‘to hoe’: Mingrelian *barg-*, *berg-* ‘to hoe’, *berg-i* ‘hoe’; Laz *berg-* ‘to hoe’, *berg-i* ‘hoe’; Svan *li-bērg-e* ‘to hoe’, *bērg* ‘hoe’. Klimov 1998:11 **berg-* ‘to hoe’; Fähnrich 2007:59 **berg-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:50 **berg-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^her-/*b^hor-/*b^hṛ-* ‘to strike, to smite, to beat, to knock, to cut, to thrust, to hit; to kill by striking, to give a death blow, to

slay’: Sanskrit *bhāra-ḥ* ‘war, battle, contest’; Latin *feriō* ‘to strike, to smite, to beat, to knock, to cut, to thrust, to hit; to kill by striking, to give a death blow, to slay; to kill or slaughter animals for sacrifice’; Old Icelandic *berja* ‘to beat, to strike, to smite’; Middle High German *berien* ‘to strike’; Old Church Slavic *borjō, brati* ‘to fight’. Rix 1998a:64—65 **b^herH-* ‘to work with a sharp tool’; Pokorny 1959:133—135 **bher-* ‘to work with a sharp tool, to cut, to split’; Walde 1927—1932.II:159—161 **bher-*; Mann 1984—1987:74 **bheriō* (**bhor-*, **bhr-*) ‘to strike’, 74 **bhērā* ‘striker’, 94 **bhoros* ‘stroke, blow, fight’; Watkins 2000:10 **bher-* (also **bherə-*) ‘to cut, to pierce, to bore’; Mallory—Adams 1997:549 **bher-* ‘to strike (through), to split’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:476—477; Ernout—Meillet 1979:227; De Vaan 2008:213; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:481—482 **bher-*; De Vries 1977:33 **bher-*. Proto-Indo-European **b^hord^h-*/**b^hyd^h-*, **b^hred^h-* ‘(piece) cut off’: Sanskrit *bardhaka-ḥ* ‘cut off’; Old Icelandic *borð* ‘board, plank’; Old English *bred* ‘board’, *bord* ‘board, plank’; Old Frisian *bord* ‘board’; Old Saxon *bord* ‘board’, *bred* ‘board’; Dutch *boord* ‘board’; Old High German *bret* ‘board, plank’ (New High German *Brett*). Pokorny 1959:138 **bheredh-* ‘to cut’; Walde 1927—1932.II:174 **bherdh-* (also **bherdh-* ?); Mann 1984—1987:111 **bhr̥dhos, -om* ‘board, table’, 111 **bhr̥dhos* ‘cutting, separating; cut, division’; Watkins 1985:7 **bherdh-* and 2000:10—11 **bherdh-* ‘to cut’; De Vries 1977:50 **bherdh-*; Onions 1966:103; Klein 1971:87; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:99; Kluge—Seebold 1989:105. Proto-Indo-European **b^hreyH-*, **b^hriH-* > **b^hrī-* ‘to cut, to clip, to scrape’: Sanskrit *bhr̥ṇāti* ‘to injure, to hurt’; Welsh *brîw* ‘wound’; Russian Church Slavic *briju, briti* ‘to shear, to clip’; Lithuanian *brėžti* ‘to scratch, to sketch, to design’. Rix 1998a:77 **b^hrejH-* ‘to cut’; Pokorny 1959:166—167 **bhr̥ēi-*, **bhr̥ī-* ‘to cut’; Walde 1927—1932.II:194—195 **bhr̥ēi-*; Mann 1984—1987:103 **bhr̥iō* ‘to wear down, to file, to erode’; Mallory—Adams 1997:158 **bhreh_si-* ‘to destroy, to cut to pieces’; Watkins 1985:9 **bhr̥ēi-* (also **bhr̥ī-*) and 2000:13 **bhreiə-* ‘to cut, to break’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:532—533 **bhr̥ī-*. Proto-Indo-European **b^hr-ew-*/**b^hr-ow-*/**b^hr-u-* ‘to break into pieces, to cut or break off’: Old Icelandic *brjóta* ‘to break, to break open, to break off; to destroy, to demolish’, *brotna* ‘to break, to be broken’, *brytja* ‘to chop’, *braut* ‘road (cut through rocks, forests, etc.)’, *brot* ‘breaking; fragment, broken piece’; Swedish *bryta* ‘to break’; Old English *brēotan* ‘to break in pieces, to hew down, to demolish, to destroy, to kill’, *gebrȳtan* ‘to crush, to pound; to break up, to destroy’, *brēoðan* ‘to decay, to waste away’, *breodwian* ‘to strike down, to trample’, *brytnian* ‘to deal out, to distribute’, *gebryttan* ‘to break to pieces, to destroy’, (*ge*)*brytsen* ‘fragment’, *bryttian* ‘to tear to pieces, to divide; to dispense, to distribute, to share’; Old High German *brōdi* ‘breakable, brittle, fragile’, *bruzī, bruzzī* ‘fragility, frailty, feebleness, infirmity, decrepitude’; Latvian *braūna, braūņa* ‘shell, husk, pod (of fruit); scab, scale, scurf (of skin)’. Rix 1998a:81 **b^hreyH-* ‘to break into pieces,

to break off'; Pokorny 1959:169 **bhrēu-*, **bhrū-* 'to cut with a sharp instrument, to scrape off, etc.' (in Germanic, 'to break into pieces, to break off'); Walde 1927—1932.II:195—196 **bhreu-*; Mann 1984—1987:102 **bhreud-*, **bhroud-*, **bhrūd-* 'to crumble, to break'; Watkins 1985:9 **bhreu-* and 2000:13 **bhreu-* (also **bhreuə-*) 'to cut, to break up'; Mallory—Adams 1997:81 **bhreu-* 'to cut, to break up'; Orël 2003:56 Proto-Germanic **breutanan*; De Vries 1977:55, 58, 59, and 62. Proto-Indo-European **b^hr-ew-s-/*b^hr-ow-s-/*b^hr-u-s-* 'to cut or break into pieces; to smash, to crush, to crumble, to shatter': Latin *frustrum* 'a bit, piece, morsel'; Old Irish *brúid* 'to break, to crush'; Welsh *brîw* 'wound'; Old English *brīesan*, *brȳsan* 'to bruise', *brȳsian* 'to bruise, to crush, to pound', *brosnian* 'to crumble, to decay; to perish, to pass away'; Middle High German *brōsem* 'crumb'. Rix 1998a:82 **b^hreus-* 'to break in pieces, to smash, to shatter'; Pokorny 1959:171 **bhreu-s-* 'to smash, to break into pieces'; Walde 1927—1932.II:198—199 **bhreis-*; Mann 1984—1987:109 **bhrus-* '(vb.) to break, to crumble; (n.) fragment, crumb', 109 **bhrusdhō* (**bhrusd-*) 'to crumble, to break'; Watkins 1985:9 **bhreis-* 'to break' and 2000:13 **bhreu-* (also **bhreuə-*) 'to cut, to break up' (extended zero-grade form **bhrūs-* [*< *bhru₂s-*]); Mallory—Adams 1997:81 **bhreis-* 'to break, to smash to pieces'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:257; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:553—554 **bhreis-*; De Vaan 2008:245 **b^hrus-to-*; Onions 1966:121; Klein 1971:97 **bhreis-*, **bhres-* 'to break, to crush, to crumble'; Barnhart 1995:89; Hoad 1986:51. Proto-Indo-European **b^her-s-/*b^hor-s-/*b^hγ-s- *b^hr-es-/*b^hr-os-/*b^hγ-s-* 'to split into parts; to break, to divide': Hittite (3rd sg.) *pár-ši-ya-az-zi* 'to break, to divide', (nom. sg.) *pár-ša-aš* 'morsel, fragment'; Greek φάρσος 'part, portion'; Old Irish *brissid* 'to break; to defeat'; Old Icelandic *brestr* 'crash; chink, crack; want, loss', *bresta* 'to burst, to be rent; to break, to snap; to burst forth'; Old English *berstan*, *burstan* 'to break, to burst; to break away from, to escape; to break to pieces, to crash, to resound', *byrst* 'loss, calamity, injury, damage, defect', *byrstig* 'broken, rugged'; Old Frisian *bresta* 'to break; to disappear'; Old Saxon *brestan* 'to burst, to break'; Dutch *barsten* 'to burst, to crack; to explode, to snap'; Old High German *brestan* 'to burst' (New High German *bersten*). Pokorny 1959:169 **bhres-* 'to burst, to break'; Walde 1927—1932.II:206 **bhres-*; Mann 1984—1987:114—115 **bhrs-* 'break, fragment', 115 **bhrstīō* 'to break out, to shoot, to burst'; Watkins 1985:9 **bhres-* and 2000:13 **bhres-* 'to burst'; Mallory—Adams 1997:81 (?) **bhres-* 'to burst'; Hoffmann 1966:392; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1179—1180 **bhr̥s-*, **bher-s-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:994—995 **bher-s-*, **bhr̥s-*; Boisacq 1951:1017 **bhr̥s-es-*; Beekes 2010.II:1555 **b^hrs-*; Kroonen 2013:75 **bhrest-*; Onions 1966:129 **bhrest-*; Klein 1971:101 **bhreis-*, **bhres-*; Vercoullie 1898:20; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:68 **bhres-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:77; Walshe 1951:20; Sturtevant 1951:64,

§86; Puhvel 1984— .8:150—165 **bhér-s-*, **bhr-és-*, **bhr-s-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:642—643 **b^hrs-* (?).

- D. Proto-Uralic **par3-* ‘to scrape, to cut, to carve’: Hungarian *farag-* ‘to carve, to cut, to whittle (wood), to hew, to trim, to chip (stone)’, *forgacs* ‘shavings, scobs, chips, cuttings, filings’; Vogul / Mansi *pâr-* ‘to plane’; Tavgi Samoyed / Enets (Baiha) *bora-* ‘to plane, to scrape, to rub, to dress (hides), to tan’; Selkup Samoyed *poorgaana-* ‘cut leather, hides’; Kamassian *paargə-* ‘to scrape, to cut, to carve’. Collinder 1960:401 and 1977:32; Rédei 1986—1988:357 **par3-*; Décsy 1990:105 **para* ‘to cut’.
- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pare-* ‘to shave’ > Chukchi (Southern) *pare-* ‘to shave (off), to plane, to remove hair from’; Kerek *pa(a)ja-* ‘to shave’; Koryak *paje-* ‘to shave’; Alyutor *pari-*, (Palana) *paret-* ‘to shave’. Fortescue 2005:209; Janhunen 1977b:117.
- F. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **barq* (or **baɣar(q)*) ‘half’: Amur *pasq* ‘half’ (also ‘one of a pair’); North Sakhalin *pasq* ‘half’; East Sakhalin *pasq* ‘half’; South Sakhalin *payařir* / *payasiř* ‘half’. Fortescue 2016:21.

Sumerian *bar* ‘to split (with a tool or weapon)’, *bar* ‘to cut into, to notch, to cut or slit open, to carve, to slice, to cut up’, *bar* ‘to dig, to excavate’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.22 cut (vb.); 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.52 board; 9.81 carve; 13.24 half. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:226—227, no. 32.

38. Proto-Nostratic root **bar-* (~ **bər-*):

(vb.) **bar-* ‘to make a sound, to utter a noise’;

(n.) **bar-a* ‘sound, noise’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *parai* ‘(vb.) ‘to speak, to say; (n.) word, saying, statement’, *paraiccal* ‘talk, speech’; Malayalam *parayuka* ‘to say, to speak, to tell’, *paraccal* ‘speech’; Kannaḍa *pare* ‘abuse, censure’, *parcu*, *paccu* ‘to whisper’, *parisu* ‘to speak, to chat’, *parañcu* ‘to mutter’; Koḍagu *pare-* (*parev-*, *parand-*) ‘to utter’; Tuḷu *pareñcuni* ‘to prate, to prattle, to find fault with’, *parañcena*, *parañcelu* ‘prattling, grumbling, murmuring’, *parañtele* ‘prattler, grumbler’, *parañcele* ‘prattler, babbler, grumbler’, *paraṇḍa* ‘murmuring, grumbling’; Gadba (Salur) *park-* ‘to say, to speak’; Kui *bargi* ‘order, command’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:359, no. 4031. (?) Kurux *bar^axnā* ‘to snore’; Malto *barge* ‘to snore’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3983.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **br̥dgwen-* ‘to growl, to snarl, to grumble’: Georgian *br̥dyen-*, *br̥dyvin-* ‘to growl, to snarl, to be angry’; Mingrelian *burdyin-* ‘to growl, to snarl, to mutter, to mumble’; Laz *bundyin-* ‘to grumble, to hiss at (of cats)’. Klimov 1964:54 **br̥dywin-* and 1998:18—19 **br̥dyw-en-* ‘to growl, to grumble’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:61—62 **br̥dywen-*; Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:76—77 **br̥dywen-*; Jahukyan 1967:59—60.

- C. Proto-Indo-European Proto-Indo-European **b^herk’-/*b^hork’-/*b^hrk’-* ‘to drone, to bark’: Latvian *brēkt* ‘to cry’; Serbo-Croatian *brēktati* ‘to puff’; Slovenian *bréhati* ‘to pant’; Czech *břechati* ‘to yelp’; Russian *brexát’* [брехать] ‘to yelp, to bark, to tell lies’, *brexnjá* [брехня] ‘lies’; Polish *brzechać* ‘to bark’. Pokorny 1959:138—139 **bhereg-* (also **bhereq-*) ‘to drone, to bark’; Walde 1927—1932.II:171—172 **bherg-*; Mann 1984—1987:112 **bh₁gō-*, *-jō* ‘to chirp, to crackle, to bark’; Watkins 1958:8 **bherg-* ‘to buzz, to growl’ and 2000:13 **bherg-* ‘to make noise’; Mallory—Adams 1997:51 (?) **bhereg-* ‘to bark, to growl’. Proto-Indo-European **b^herm-/*b^horm-/*b^hym-*, **b^hrem-/*b^hrom-/*b^hym-* ‘to buzz, to hum, to make a sound’: Latin *fremō* ‘to roar, to murmur, to growl’; Greek φόρμυξ ‘a kind of lyre or harp’; Russian *brjacát’* [бряцать] ‘to clang, to clank’; Old English *bremman* ‘to resound, to roar’; Old High German *breman* ‘to growl, to mutter’; Middle High German *brummen* ‘to growl, to grumble’ (New High German *brummen*). Rix 1998a:78—79 **b^hrem-* ‘to growl, to grumble’; Pokorny 1959:142—143 **bherem-* ‘to buzz, to hum’; Walde 1927—1932.II:202—203 **bhrem-*; Mann 1984—1987:102 **bhremō* ‘to roar, to hum, to rumble’, 104 **bhromalos* ‘buzz, hum, roar’; Watkins 1985:9 **bhrem-* and 2000:13 **bhrem-* ‘to growl’; Mallory—Adams 1997:24 (?) **bhrem-* ‘to make a noise (of animals)’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:528—529; Boisacq 1950:1035; Beekes 2010.II:1587 (pre-Greek loanword); Frisk 1970—1973.II:1036—1037; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1222; Hofmann 1966:403 **bhrem-*; De Vaan 2008:241 **b^hrem-e/o-* ‘to hum, to rumble’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:252—253; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:544—545; Orël 2003:55 Proto-Germanic **b^hrem(m)anan*; Kroonen 2013:75 **breman-* ~ **brimman-* ‘to drone, to hum’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:104; Kluge—Seebold 1989:109.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *parčəγə-* ‘to chatter, to splash’, (Northern / Tundra) *porčəγə-* ‘to chatter, to splash’, *parčəhabod’e-kodek* ‘chatterbox’. Nikolaeva 2006:344.

Buck 1949:3.82 bee; 18.12 sing; 18.14 (words denoting various cries, especially of animals); 18.21 speak, talk. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:227—228, no. 33.

39. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bar-a* used as the base for several insect names:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-* used as the base for several insect names: Berber: Tamazight *a-burri* ‘crickets capable of flying’; Rif *a-barru* ‘cricket’; Snous *a-bərru* ‘grasshopper’. (?) Southern Cushitic: Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa *ba[?]aramo* ‘fly, bee’ (perhaps < **bara[?]* through metathesis). (?) Central Chadic: Hona *mbèra* ‘locust’; Masa *bara* ‘locust’; Banana *barrà* ‘locust’. Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:88—89, no. 62, **bur-* ‘a kind of insect’.

- B. Dravidian: Kui *parri* ‘hornet’; Kuwi *prāri* ‘wasp’, *parri* ‘wild bee’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3985.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **bher-/*bhor-/*bhy-* ‘a stinging or biting insect’: Greek *πεμφορηδών* ‘a kind of wasp’; Sanskrit *bambhara-h* ‘bee’, *bambharālī-* ‘fly’; Armenian *boṛ* ‘bumble-bee, hornet’. Pokorny 1959:135—136 **bher-* ‘to hum, to buzz’; Walde 1927—1932.II:161—162 **bher-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:410; Boisacq 1950:765—766 **bh(e)rē-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:504; Beekes 2010.II:1171; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:880; Hofmann 1966:261 **bher-*.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Volgaic **parma-* ‘gadfly, horsefly’ > Finnish *paarma*, (dial.) *parma* ‘horsefly’; Estonian *parm*, (dial.) *paarm* ‘gadfly, horsefly’; Lapp / Saami *boaro* ‘gadfly’; Mordvin (Erza) *promo*, *puromo* ‘gadfly’; Cheremis / Mari (Kozmodemjansk) *parmâ*, (Uržum) *porma* ‘horsefly, gadfly’. Rédei 1986—1988:724—725 **parma* ‘gadfly, horsefly’.

Buck 1949:3.82 bee. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 248, **baRmV* ‘a stinging insect’.

40. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bar-a* ‘bone of leg or arm’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian (n.) **bar-* ‘bone of leg or arm’: Proto-Semitic (n.) **barr-*, (reduplicated) **bar-bar-*, **ʔi-br-at-* ‘bone of leg or arm’ > Akkadian *ibrētu* ‘radius and ulna (the two bones of the human forearm)’; Hebrew *ʔēbrāʔ* [עַבְרָא] ‘limb’; Mandaic *ʔbra* ‘arm, limb, member’; Arabic *ʔibrat-* ‘tibia, shinbone’; Soqotri (reduplicated) *berbéroh* ‘thigh’; Amharic *bərri* ‘bone above the hoof of a cow’; Gurage (Muher) *bärrä*, (Gogot, Soddo) *bərrä* ‘thigh’. Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:5, no. 3) Proto-Semitic (n.) **ʔi(-)bVr-at-* ‘bone of leg/arm; limb’ — they note: “One wonders whether Eth. and Soq. forms have lost **ʔi-* or reflect an original root with no **ʔi-* prefix.” As further noted by Militarëv—Kogan, the forms listed here are to be distinguished from both Proto-Semitic **ʔa-br-/*ʔi-br-* ‘wing, pinion’ and Proto-Semitic **ʔi-br-(at-)* ‘penis’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *paraṭu*, *paraṅtai*, *peranṭe* ‘ankle’; Kannada *paraḍu* ‘ankle’, *haraḍi* ‘ankle, wrist’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:352, no. 3952.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **bark’-* ‘thigh, haunch’: Georgian *bark’-al-* ‘thigh (of animal, bird)’; Mingrelian *bork’-* ‘shin, shank’; Svan *bark’-* in *bark’-ä* ‘bow-legged’. Klimov 1964:49 **bark-(al-)*; 1998:9 **bark-* — Klimov notes: “Georg. *-al* is a word-formation affix”; Fähnrich 2007:50—51 **bark-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:45—45 **bark-*; Schmidt 1962:95.

Buck 1949:4.16 bone.

41. Proto-Nostratic **bar-* (~ **bər-*):

(vb.) **bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’;

(n.) **bar-a* ‘walking, going (away), leaving, departing’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-* ‘to go (away), to leave, to depart’: Proto-Semitic **bar-aḥ-* ‘to go (away), to leave, to depart’ > Arabic *bariḥa* ‘to leave (a place), to depart’, *barāḥ* ‘departure; cessation, stop’, *mubāraḥa* ‘departure’; Ugaritic *brḥ* ‘to flee’ (?); Hebrew *bāraḥ* [ברַח] ‘to go or pass through, to flee’; Phoenician *brḥ* ‘to depart’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *bəraḥ* ‘to flee’; Geez / Ethiopic *barrəḥa* [በርሐ] ‘to enter the wilderness, to take to the woods, to flee, to escape, to run’. D. Cohen 1970— :83; Murtonen 1989:120—121; Klein 1987:84; Tomback 1974:55; Zammit 2002:91—92; Leslau 1987:104—105. Proto-Southern Cushitic **bariy-* ‘to travel’ > Ma’a *-bāri* ‘to travel’; Dahalo *barij-* ‘to go out, to depart’. Ehret 1980:135. West Chadic: Angas *bar-* ‘to escape’; Tangale *bar-* ‘to go out’; Warji *var-* ‘to go out’; Ngizim *vəru* ‘to leave, to go out and leave a place; to escape, to get out of a dangerous situation’. Jungrathmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:164. Orël—Stolbova 1995:58, no. 230, **bariḥ-* ‘to run, to go’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **berq-* ‘step’: Old Georgian *berq-*, *perq-* (< **berq-* through assimilation) ‘foot’ (Modern Georgian *pex-i* [< **perq-*, with loss of the *r* before *x*] ‘foot’); Mingrelian *bax-* (< **barx-* < **barq-*) in *la-bax-u* ‘passage in a wattle-fence’; Svan *bērq*, *bä(r)q*, *bāq* ‘step’, *na-barq-* ‘track, foot-print’, (Upper Bal) *li-bāq-i* ‘to step over something’. Klimov 1964:50 **berq-* ‘foot, step’ and 1998:12 **berq-* ‘leg, step’; Schmidt 1962:135; Fährnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:52—53 **berq-*; Fährnrich 1994:221 and 2007:61—62 **berq-*.
- C. Altaic: Proto-Turkic **bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Karakhanide Turkic *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Turkish *var-* ‘to go towards; to arrive; to reach, to attain; to approach; to result, to end in’, *varış* ‘arrival’; Gagauz *var-* ‘to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach’; Azerbaijani *var-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Turkmenian *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Uzbek *bər-* ‘to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach’; Uighur *ba(r)-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Karaim *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Tatar *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Bashkir *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Kirghiz *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Kazakh *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Noghay *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Sary-Uighur *par-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach’; Tuva *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Chuvash *pür-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Yakut *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Dolgan *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’. Note: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:930) derive the above Turkic forms from Proto-Altaic **m̥jori* ‘road, track; to follow’. Here, I follow Dolgopolsky in deriving them from Proto-Nostratic **bar-* (~ **bər-*) ‘to walk, to go (away)’ instead.

Buck 1949:4.37 foot; 10.45 walk (vb.); 10.47 go; 10.49 go away, depart. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 238, **barqV* (~ **barXV*) ‘to go, to go away, to step’. The Dravidian forms included by Dolgopolsky do not belong here.

42. Proto-Nostratic root **bar^y-* (~ **bər^y-*):(vb.) **bar^y-* ‘to be or become barren, desolate, useless, unfruitful’;(n.) **bar^y-a* ‘open, fallow, or barren land’; (adj.) ‘barren, desolate, useless, unfruitful’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-* ‘open, fallow, barren, or uncultivated land’: Proto-Semitic **barr-* ‘open country, field’ > Akkadian *barru*, *bāru* ‘open country’; Hebrew *bar* [בַּר] ‘field, open country’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Syriac *barrā* ‘open field’; Arabic *barr* ‘land, mainland, open country’, *barrīya* ‘open country, steppe, desert’; Sabaeen *barr* ‘open country’; Šheri / Jibbāli *əbrór* ‘far away desert’. D. Cohen 1970— :87; Klein 1987:82; Murtonen 1989:119; Zammit 2002:92. Proto-Semitic **ba/wa/r-* ‘fallow, uncultivated; wasteland’ > Syriac *būrā* ‘uncultivated land’, *bayyīrā* ‘barren, fallow, uncultivated’; Arabic *būr* ‘uncultivated, fallow’ (Syriac loan). D. Cohen 1970— :53. (Orël—Stolbova 1995:82—83 connect the preceding Semitic forms with words meaning ‘earth, sand’; however, the primary meaning in Semitic appears to be ‘open, fallow, barren, or uncultivated land’). Semitic: Arabic *barāḥ* ‘a wide, empty tract of land, vast expanse, vastness’; Geez / Ethiopic *baraḥā* [በረሐ] ‘wilderness, uninhabited place’ (Amharic loan); Tigrinya *bārāka* ‘desert’; Tigre *bārāka* ‘desert’; Gurage *bārāha* ‘uncultivated land, uncultivated pastureland’; Amharic *bārāha* ‘wild region, wilderness’, *bārāhamma* ‘deserted’. D. Cohen 1970— :83; Leslau 1979:153 and 1987:104—105. East Chadic **bar-H-* ‘field’ > Kwan *koo-baraa* ‘field’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pār* ‘(vb.) to go to ruin, to be laid waste, to become useless, to be accursed (as a place or house); (n.) desolation, ruin, damage, loss, corruption, baseness, evil, emptiness, barrenness, barren or waste land’, *pāri* ‘desolation’, *paṛutu* ‘unprofitableness, damage, ruin’; Malayalam *pār* ‘an empty place, void, desolation, waste; vain, useless’, *pāran* ‘one good for nothing, wicked, scamp; left uncultivated’; Kannada *pār* ‘ruin, desolation, a waste’, *pārtana* ‘a ruined state’; Tuḷu *pālḷu*, *hālḷu* ‘ruin, destruction, desolation; desolate, waste, ruined, destroyed’, (?) *paḍiḷu* ‘waste, barren, unfruitful; wasteland’; Telugu *pāḍu* ‘ruin, destruction, dilapidated condition; ruined, dilapidated, desolate, waste, dreary, bad, wicked, evil’; Gondi *pār* ‘desert’, *pār* ‘a deserted village site’; Koṇḍa *pār* ‘old, devastated’, *pāru* ‘neglected, spoiled’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:365, no. 4110.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **barč’-* ‘barren, infertile’: Old Georgian *berc’i* ‘barren, infertile (of a woman)’; Mingrelian *burč’i* ‘barren, infertile (of a cow)’. Klimov 1964:49 **barç₁-* and 1998:9 **barç₁-* ‘barren, dry’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:46—47 **barç₁-*; Fähnrich 1994:229 and 2007:52 **barç₁-*.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pəra-* ‘to dry out’ > Chukchi *pʔa-* ‘to dry (out) (intr.)’, *rə-pʔa-w-* ‘to dry out (tr.)’, *ta-pʔa-ŋ-* ‘to dry out, to

hang out to dry’; Kerek *nə-pʷa-u-* ‘to dry out (tr.)’, *hətyə-pʷailən* ‘dried out lake’, *nuta-pʷa-* ‘to dry out (earth)’; Koryak *pəra-* ‘to dry (out) (intr.)’; to be thirsty’, *jə-pra-v-* ‘to dry out (tr.)’; Alyutor *pra-* ‘to dry (out) (intr.)’, *tə-pra-v-* ‘to dry out (tr.)’, *qasa-pra-* ‘to be thirsty’. Fortescue 2005:225.

Sumerian *bar* ‘open land, steppe; wasteland, desert’.

Buck 1949:15.84 dry. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 219, **bArV* ‘earth, land, dust’.

43. Proto-Nostratic root **baw-* (~ **bəw-*):
- (vb.) **baw-* ‘to be or become aware of or acquainted with, to observe, to notice’;
- (n.) **baw-a* ‘awareness, knowledge’
- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **baw-aḥ-* ‘to become known, to be revealed’ > Arabic *bāḥa* ‘to become known, to be revealed; to reveal, to disclose’; Geez / Ethiopic *bōḥa* [ቦሐ] ‘to be seen, revealed, clear’; Amharic *bāha* ‘to be visible, seen’ (loan from Geez), *buh* ‘that which is seen’. D. Cohen 1970— :51; Leslau 1987:115. Proto-Semitic **baw-ah-* ‘to be aware of, to be mindful of’ > Arabic *bāha* ‘to understand’; Maghrebi *bawwah* ‘to stare’; Ṭamūdic **bwh* ‘to remember’. D. Cohen 1970— :51.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **bʰewdʰ-/bʰowdʰ-/bʰudʰ-* ‘to be or become aware of’: Sanskrit *bódhati* ‘to wake, to wake up, to be awake; to perceive, to notice, to understand, to be or become aware of or acquainted with; to think of; to know to be, to recognize as; to deem, to consider, to regard as’, *buddhá-ḥ* ‘awakened, enlightened, learned, understood, known’, *buddhi-ḥ* ‘intelligence, reason, mind, discernment, judgment’, *bodhi-ḥ* ‘perfect knowledge or wisdom, the illumined or enlightened mind’, *bodhá-ḥ* ‘perception, thought, knowledge, understanding, intelligence’; Greek *πεύθομαι* ‘to learn of’; Lithuanian *budėti* ‘to be awake’; Old Church Slavic *bŭděti* ‘to be awake’, *buditi* ‘to awaken’, *bŭdrŭ* ‘watchful’. The following Germanic forms probably belong here as well: Gothic **biudan* in: *ana-biudan* ‘to order, to command’, *faur-biudan* ‘to forbid’; Old Icelandic *bjóða* ‘to offer’; Old English *bēodan* ‘to offer’, *on-bēodan* ‘to announce, to tell; to command’, *for-bēodan* ‘to forbid’; Old Frisian *biada* ‘to order, to offer’; Old Saxon *biodan* ‘to order, to offer’; Old High German *biotan* ‘to order, to offer’ (New High German *bieten*), *far-biotan* ‘to forbid’ (New High German *verbieten*). Rix 1998a:66—68 **bʰeudʰ-* ‘to awaken, to be aware’; Pokorny 1959:150—152 **bheudh-*, **bhun-dh-* ‘to awaken’; Walde 1927—1932.II:147—148 **bheudh-*; Watkins 1985:8 **bheudh-* and 2000:11 **bheudh-* ‘to be aware, to make aware’; Mann 1984—1987:75 **bheudhō* ‘to prompt, to arouse, to exhort; to be awake’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:174 **bʰ[eudʰ]-*, **bʰ[judʰ]-* ‘to be awake, to notice’ and 1995.I:193 **bʰeudʰ-/bʰudʰ-* ‘to be awake, to notice’; Mallory—Adams

1997:516 **bhoudhėje/o-* ‘to waken, to point out’ and 636 **bheudh-* ‘to watch over, to be concerned about’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:449—450; Hofmann 1966:266; Frisk 1970—1973.II:625—626 **bheudh-e(-ti, -tai)*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:954—955 **bheudh-e-*; Boisacq 1950:776—777 **bheudh-*; Prellwitz 1905:365; Beekes 2010.II:1258 **b^heu^hd^h-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:78—79 **b^heu^hd^h-e-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:62; Kroonen 2013:61 Proto-Germanic **beudan-* ‘to command, to offer’ (< **b^heu^hd^h-e-*); Orël 2003:43 Proto-Germanic **beudanan*; Feist 1939:41 **bheudh-*; Lehmann 1986:30; De Vries 1977:40; Klein 1971:81 **bheudh-*; Onions 1966:93 **bheudh-*, **bhudh-* and 369; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:45—46; Kluge—Seebold 1989:84 **bheudh-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:75—76 **bheudh-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:36—37 **b^heu^hd^h-*.

Sumerian *bu-i* ‘knowledge, learning’.

Buck 1949:15.11 perceive by the senses, sense; 17.16 understand; 17.24 learn; 17.31 remember. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:195—196, no. 1.

44. Proto-Nostratic root **bay-* (~ **bəy-*):

(vb.) **bay-* ‘to apportion, to divide into shares, to distribute, to allot, to share’;

(n.) **bay-a* ‘portion, share’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bay-* ‘to apportion, to divide into shares; to trade, to buy and sell’: Proto-Semitic **bay-as-* ‘to trade, to buy and sell’ > Arabic *bāʿa* ‘to sell, to offer for sale; to buy, to purchase’, *bayʿ* ‘sale, exchange’, *mubtāʿ* ‘buyer, purchaser’, *bayʿa* ‘agreement, arrangements, business deal, commercial transaction, bargain; sale, purchase’; Tamūdic *byʿ* ‘to sell’; Punic *bʿt* ‘tariff’. D. Cohen 1970— :62—63; Zammit 2002:104. Proto-Semitic **bay-aḥ-* ‘to cut into pieces and distribute’ > Arabic *bayyaha* ‘to cut into pieces and distribute’; Soqotri *ʿebih* ‘to fall to one’s lot’, *šeʿebah* ‘to share’. D. Cohen 1970— :62. Berber: Tamazight *bbəy* ‘to cut, to divide, to pluck’, *ubuy* ‘cut, pluck’; Kabyle *əbbi* ‘to cut, to pluck’, *tibbit* ‘plucked’; Nefusa *əbbi* ‘to gather, to pick fruit’; Ghadames *əbbək* ‘to gather’; Mزاب *əbbi* ‘to take, to take away, to remove, to gather’. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **biʔ-* ‘to trade, to buy and sell’ > Iraqw *bu-* ‘to pay’; Alagwa *bu-* ‘to pay’; Kʿwadza *beʔ-* ‘to buy, to sell, to trade’. Ehret 1980:338. West Chadic **bay-* ‘to sell, to trade’ > Tangale *paya* ‘to trade’; Kirfi *bayi* ‘to sell’; Galambu *baya-* ‘to sell’; Hausa *bayaɗ* ‘to give’. Ongota *biʔe* ‘to give’. Fleming 2002b:48. Orël—Stolbova 1995:64, no. 254, **bayVʕ-* ‘to sell’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *paya* (-*pp-*, -*nt-*) ‘to yield, to produce, to put forth fruit, to be productive’, *payappu* ‘profit, advantage’, *payam* ‘profit, advantage, fruit’, *payantōr* ‘parents’; Tuḷu *paya*, *payi* ‘an ear of rice’, *payakely*, *payac(c)ely* ‘the time of shooting of the ears of corn’, *payatāye* ‘thriving’.

- man', *payāvuni* 'to shoot (as an ear of corn)', *pāya* 'gain, profit; coming into existence, being delivered of a child'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:351, no. 3937. Semantic development as in English *yield* '(n.) the amount produced, gain, profit' < Old English *gielð* '(n.) payment, tribute, tax, compensation', (vb.) *gielðan* 'to pay, to pay for, to give, to render'.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hey-/*b^hoy-/*b^hi-* 'to give': Hittite (3rd sg. pres., *hi*-conjugation) *pa-a-i*, (3rd sg. pres., *mi*-conjugation) *pi-e-ya-zi*, *pi-iz-zi* 'to give'; Palaic *piša-* 'to give'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *pi-ya-* 'to give'; Luwian *piya-* 'to give'; Lycian *piye-* 'to give'; Lydian *bi-* 'to give'. Kloekhorst 2008b:614—616; Puhvel 1984— .8:39—57 **bheA₂-*, with suffixes **-y-* or **-n-*. Semantic development as in Kashmiri *bazun* 'to give away (prizes, etc.), to distribute' < Old Indic (Sanskrit) *bhājati* 'to divide, to distribute, to allot or apportion to, to share with; to grant, to bestow, to furnish, to supply'.
- D. Altaic: Proto-Turkic **bāy* 'rich' > Old Turkic *bay* 'rich'; Karakhanide Turkic *bay* 'rich'; Turkish *bay* (originally) 'a rich man', (now) 'gentleman, Mr.'; Gagauz *bay* 'rich'; Azerbaijani *bay* 'rich'; Turkmenian *bāy* 'rich'; Uzbek *bay* 'rich'; Uighur *bay* 'rich'; Karaim *bay* 'rich'; Tatar *bay* 'rich'; Bashkir *bay* 'rich'; Kirghiz *bay* 'rich'; Kazakh *bay* 'rich'; Noghay *bay* 'rich'; Tuva *bay* 'rich'; Chuvash *pojan* 'rich'; Yakut *bāy* 'rich'. Turkic loans in Classical Mongolian *bayan* 'rich' and related forms in other Mongolian languages. Poppe 1955:128 and 1960:66, 97; Street 1974:8 **bāya(n)* 'rich'. Semantic development as in Old Church Slavic *bogatъ* 'rich', *bogatiti* 'to be rich' < **bogъ* 'share, portion' < Proto-Indo-European **b^hak'-* 'to divide, to distribute' (cf. Sanskrit *bhājati* 'to divide, to distribute, to allot or apportion to, to share with; to grant, to bestow, to furnish, to supply'; Tocharian A *pāk*, B *pāke* 'part, portion'). Note: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:340—341) include the above forms under Proto-Altaic **bēžu* 'numerous, great'.
- E. Proto-Eskimo **payuy-* 'to bring food or supplies to': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *payuxtə-* 'to take food to'; Central Alaskan Yupik *payuxtə-* 'to take food to'; Central Siberian Yupik *payuxtə-* 'to go check on'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *payuk-* 'to bring food or supplies to'; Western Canadian Inuit *payuk-* 'to give food, clothing to those remaining'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *payuk-* 'to bring a gift to'; Greenlandic Inuit *payuy* 'to bring a gift to'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:253.

Sumerian *ba* 'to give as a gift or ration'.

Buck 1949:11.21 give; 11.42 wealth, riches; 11.51 rich; 11.65 pay (vb.); 11.73 profit; 11.81 buy; 11.82 sell; 11.83 trade (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:219—220, no. 25; Arbeitman 1987:19—31.

45. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *bay-a ‘honey, bee’:

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *bī-t*, *by-t* ‘bee, honey’, *bīty* ‘bee-keeper’; Demotic *ibi-t* ‘honey’; Coptic *ebiō* [ⲉⲃⲓⲱ] ‘honey’, *ebit* [ⲉⲃⲓⲦ, ⲉⲃⲉⲓⲦ] ‘honey dealer’. Gardiner 1957:564; Erman—Grapow 1921:46 and 1926—1963.1:434; Faulkner 1962:79; Vycichl 1983:38; Černý 1976:32; Hannig 1995:245 and 2006:796—797.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *b^hey-/ *b^hoy-/ *b^hi- ‘honey, bee’: Old Icelandic *bý* ‘bee’; Swedish *bi* ‘bee’; Old English *bēo* ‘bee’; Old Frisian *bē* ‘bee’; Old Saxon *bīa* ‘bee’; Old High German *bīa*, *bīna* ‘bee’ (New High German *Biene*); Old Irish *bech* (< *b^hi-k^ho-s) ‘bee’; Lithuanian *bitė*, *bitis* ‘bee’; Old Church Slavic *bčela* ‘bee’; Baluchi *bēnog* ‘honey’; Dameli *bin* ‘honey’, *binaká* ‘bee’; Pashai *bēn* ‘honey’; Shumashti *bāen* ‘honey’. Pokorny 1959:116 *b^hei- ‘bee’; Walde 1927—1932.II:184—185 *b^hī-; Mann 1984—1987:80 *b^hit- ‘bee’; Watkins 1985:6 *b^hei- and 2000:8 *b^hei- ‘bee’; Turner 1966:548, no. 9614, *b^hēna- ‘honey’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:611 (fn. 1) *b^h[i-t]^hh- and 1995.I:516, I:523—524 *b^hei- ‘bee’; Mallory—Adams 1997:57 *b^hi-k^wó- ‘bee, stinging insect’; Kroonen 2013:64 *b^hōn- ‘bee’; Orël 2003:46 Proto-Germanic *b^hīō(n); De Vries 1977:66; Onions 1966:84; Klein 1971:76; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:75 *b^hī-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:83 *b^hi-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:45; Smoczyński 2007.1:62; Derksen 2015:91—92 *b^hi-.

Buck 1949:3.82 bee; 5.84 honey. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:222—223, no. 27; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 273, *b^hγ^h (or *b^hγ^hʔ) ‘bee’.

46. Proto-Nostratic root *baṣ- (~ *bāṣ-):

(vb.) *baṣ- ‘to be abundant, to be numerous, to be much, to be many’;
(n.) *baṣ-a ‘abundance’; (adj.) ‘abundant, much, many’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *baṣ-ax- ‘(vb.) to be abundant, to be numerous, to be much, to be many; (adj.) abundant, much, many; (n.) abundance’ > Arabic *baṣḥ* ‘abundance of wealth’; Geez / Ethiopic *baṣḥa* [ባሰጎ], *baṣḥa* [ባሰጎ] ‘to be numerous, to be abundant, to be much, to be many, to increase’, *bāzuḥ* [ባሰጎ] ‘many, much, numerous, abundant’, *bāzḥ* [ባሰጎ] ‘multitude, large number, large amount’; Tigrinya *bāzāḥa* ‘to be abundant, to be numerous’; Tigre *bāzḥe* ‘to be abundant, to be numerous’; Harari *bāzāḥa* ‘to be abundant, to abound, to be numerous, to increase’; Argobba *bāzzaḥa* ‘to be abundant, to be numerous’; Amharic *bāzza* ‘to be abundant, to be numerous’; Gurage *bāzza* ‘to be abundant, to be too much, to become more, to be augmented’, *bāzā* ‘abundant, much’. D. Cohen 1970— :54; Leslau 1963:49, 1979:168, and 1987:117.
- B. Dravidian: Pengo *bajek* ‘much’, *bajon* (pl.) ‘many’; Maṇḍa *bejek* ‘much’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:343, no. 3830.

- C. Proto-Altaic **bēžu* ‘numerous, great’: Proto-Tungus **bežun* ‘multitude’ > Evenki *bežen* ‘ten deer’; Manchu *baži* ‘a little bit (more), a while’, *bažikan* ‘just a tiny bit (more)’; Nanay / Gold *bežu* ‘thick (of a tree)’. Proto-Mongolian **buža-* ‘strong, durable; quite good’ > Mongolian *bužayai* ‘strong, sturdy, stalwart; hard, firm, durable, solid; quite good’, *bužamayai* ‘strong, solid, hard, durable; rigid, stiff’; Khalkha *bužgay* ‘strong, durable; quite good’; Buriat *bužagar* ‘strong, durable; quite good’; Kalmyk *buzgā* ‘strong, durable; quite good’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:340—341 **bēžu* ‘numerous, great’.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **paδ-ol*, **paδ-oc* ‘excess (what is left over)’ > Chukchi *parol*, *paroc* ‘excess, extra, additional’, *parol-at-* ‘to add’; Kerek *pajul* ‘excess, additional’; Koryak *pajoc* ‘excess, additional’, *pajoc-at-* ‘to remain, to be in excess’; Alyutor *pasus* ‘excess’, *pasus-at-* ‘to remain’, (Palana) *patol* ‘additional’. Fortescue 2005:207.

Buck 1949:12.15 much; many.

47. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ber-a* ‘swamp’:

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian (pl.) *berātu*, *birātu* ‘swamps’.
- B. Indo-European: Pre-Slavic **b^hōr-* ‘swamp’ > Czech *bara* ‘swamp’; Slovak *bára* ‘swamp’; Bulgarian *bara* [бара] ‘small river, stream; stagnant water; puddle’; Macedonian *bara* [бара] ‘puddle’; Serbo-Croatian *bāra* ‘puddle, meadow’.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **perz* ‘mud; swamp’ > Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *pera* ‘soft, black earth used to dye cloth’, *ber-gop* ‘swamp, quagmire’; Zyrian / Komi (Letka) *pereb* ‘moss-covered riverbank in a forest’; (?) Hungarian *berék* ‘grove, marshy pasture’. Rédei 1986—1988:374—375 **perz* ‘mud; swamp’.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 219a, **beRV* ‘mud, swamp’.

48. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **b[e]r-a* (or **b[i]r-a*) ‘knee’:

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **birak-* ‘knee’ > Akkadian *birku*, *burku* ‘knee’; Ugaritic *brk* ‘knee’; Hebrew *bereḫ* [בִּרְכָּיִם] ‘knee’, *bāraḫ* [בִּרְכָּיִם] ‘to kneel’ (denominative); Aramaic *birkā* ‘knee’; Syriac *burkā* ‘knee’; Mandaic *burka* ‘knee’; Arabic *baraka* ‘to kneel down’ (denominative), (metathesis in) *rukba* ‘knee’, *bārikat-* ‘knee’; Šheri / Jibbāli *berk* ‘knee’, *bérók* ‘(camels) to kneel’ (denominative); Mehri *bark* ‘knee’, *bərōk* ‘(camels) to kneel’ (denominative); Soqōṭri *bərək* ‘knee’; Ḥarsūsi *bark* ‘knee’, *berōk* ‘to kneel’ (denominative); Geez / Ethiopic *bərək* [ቦርክ] ‘knee’, (denominative) *baraka* [ቦርክ] ‘to kneel, to kneel down, to bend the knee, to genuflect’; Tigre *bərək* ‘knee’, (denominative) *bārāka* ‘to kneel, to lie down’; Tigrinya

bərki ‘knee’; Gurage *bərk* ‘knee, elbow, joint of finger’; Amharic *bərk* ‘knee’ (loan from Geez); Harari *bərxi*, *bəxri* ‘the unit between two joints (in a finger, sugar-cane, etc.)’, from the term for ‘knee’. Klein 1987:85; Murtonen 1989:121; D. Cohen 1970— :84; Leslau 1963:41, 45—46, 1979:153, and 1987:105; Militarëv 2011:79, no. 44, Proto-Semitic **bi/ark*, and 2015:110—111, no. 44, Proto-Afrasian **bar(bar)*- ‘knee; (bone of) leg, arm’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:36—37, no. 39) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **bi/ark*- ‘knee’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates. According to Militarëv—Kogan, “-*u*- in Akk. (alongside with -*i*-) and Arm. (Syr. and Mnd.) is likely a secondary development under the influence of *b*-.” In my opinion, the *-*i*- is original.

- B. Kartvelian: Mingrelian (Zugdidian) *birgul*-, (Senakian) *burgul*- ‘knee’; Laz (Atinuri) *burgul*-, (Xopuri) *burgil*- ‘knee’.

Buck 1949:4.36 knee. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:194, no. 31, **barKa* ‘knee’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 244, **b[E]RV[k]V* ‘knee’. If we are not dealing with loanwords here, then the Proto-Nostratic root is to be reconstructed as **b[e]r*- or **b[i]r*- (the root vowel is uncertain), to which different derivational suffixes have been added in Afrasian, on the one hand, and Kartvelian, on the other.

49. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bey-a* ‘spirit, soul, self’:

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *bʿ* ‘soul’ (Demotic *by*); Coptic *bai* [𐌪𐌱𐌰] ‘soul’. Hannig 1995:237; Faulkner 1962:77; Erman—Grapow 1921:44 and 1926—1963.1:411—412; Gardiner 1957:563; Vycichl 1983:25; Černý 1976:20.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pēy* ‘devil, goblin, fiend; madness (as of a dog), frenzy; wildness (as of vegetation)’, *pēyan* ‘demoniac, madmen’, *pēytti*, *pēycci*, *pēcci* demoness, woman under possession of a demon’; Malayalam *pē*, *pēyi* ‘demon; rage, madness, viciousness’, *pēna* ‘ghost, spirit’, *pē-nāyi* ‘mad dog’; Kota *pe-n*, *pe-nm* ‘possession of a woman by spirit of the dead’, *pe-y* ‘demon’; Toda *ō-n* ‘the god of the dead’; Kannada *pē*, *hē* ‘madness, rage, viciousness; growing wild (as plants); worthlessness’, *pētu*, *hētu* ‘demon’, *pēṅkuṇi*, *pēṅkuḷi*, *hēkuḷi* ‘demon; madness, fury’, *hēga* ‘a mad, foolish man’; Tuḷu *pēyi* ‘demon’; Gondi *pēn*, *pen*, *ven*, *pēnu* ‘god’, *peṅ* ‘idol, god’, *pēnvor* ‘priest’; Pengo *pen* ‘god’; Kui *pēnu*, *vēnu* ‘a god, a spirit’; Kuwi *pēnū*, *pēnu* ‘god’, *pēnu* ‘devil’, *pēneʹesi* ‘deceased person’; (?) Malto *peypeyre* ‘to feel fervent or animated’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:393, no. 4438; Krishnamurti 2003:7 **pē(y)*/**pēṅ* ‘devil’, 11.
- C. Proto-Altaic **bēye* ‘person, self, body’: Proto-Tungus **beye* ‘person, man’ > Evenki *beye* ‘person, man’; Lamut / Even *bey* ‘person, man’; Negidal *beye* ‘person, man’; Nanay / Gold *beye* ‘person’; Solon *bei*, *beye* ‘person, man’. Proto-Mongolian **beye* ‘body, person, self’ > Written Mongolian

beye ‘body, physique, organism; health’; Khalkha *biye* ‘body, physique, stature’; Buriat *beye* ‘body, person; self’; Kalmyk *bī, bīyā* ‘body, person; self’; Ordos *biye, beye* ‘body, person; self’; Dagur *bey(e)* ‘body, person; self’; Dongxiang *beije* ‘body, person; self’; Shira-Yughur *bai* ‘body, person; self’; Monguor *bīye, buye* ‘body, person; self’. Poppe 1955:47. Poppe 1960:66 and 126; Street 1974:9 **beye* ‘body, person’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:335 **bėje* ‘man; self, body’.

Buck 1949:4.11 body; 16.11 soul, spirit; 22.34 devil; 22.35 demon (evil spirit); 22.45 ghost, specter, phantom. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 274, **beʔyV* ‘body, self’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘soul’). The semantic development is more likely to have been from ‘spirit, soul, self’ (= ‘life force, vital energy; living being’ [same semantic range as Latin *anima*]) to ‘body, person’ rather than the other way around.

50. Proto-Nostratic relational marker **bi* ‘in addition to, with, together with’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bi* ‘in addition to, with, together with’: Proto-Semitic **ba* ~ **bi* ‘in, with, within, among’ > Hebrew *bə-* [בְּ-] ‘in, at, on, with’; Arabic *bi* ‘in, within, among’; Ugaritic *b* ‘in, with, from’; Sabaeen *b* ‘from, of, in, on, at’; Šheri / Jibbāli *b-* ‘at, about, by, with, in’; Ḥarsūsi *b(e)-* ‘in, with, by’; Geez / Ethiopic *ba* [በ] ‘in, at, into, on, by, through, with (by means of), after (kind and means), by reason of, because of, out of, on account of, according to, concerning, against (contiguity)’; Harari *-be* ‘with, from, by, of, in, on, at’; Gurage *bä* ‘with, in, at, by, out, out of, from’. D. Cohen 1970— :39—40; Klein 1987:62; Leslau 1987:82; Zammit 2002:87. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye (postposition) *-b* ‘by, in, of’. Reinisch 1895:38; Appleyard 2007a:456.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **(-)bʰi/y-*, **-bʰo-* ‘in, with, within, among’: Gothic *bi* ‘by, about, over; concerning, according to; at’, *bai* ‘both’; Old English *be, bi; bī* ‘(of place) near, in, on, upon, with, along, at, to; (of time) in, about, by, before, while, during; for, because of, in consideration of, by, by means of, through, in conformity with, in comparison with’, *-b(e)* in: *ymb(e)* ‘around’; Old Frisian *be-, bī-* ‘by, about, at, on’; Old Saxon *be-, bī-* ‘by, about, at, on’; Dutch *bij* ‘by, about, at, on’; Old High German *bi-, bī* ‘by, about, at, on’ (New High German *bei*); Greek (suffix) *-φ(ι)*, ἀμ-φί ‘on both sides, around’, ἄμ-φω ‘both’; Latin *ambō* ‘both’, (pl. case ending) *-bus*; Sanskrit *a-bhī* ‘to, towards’, *u-bhau* ‘both’, case endings: (instr. pl.) *-bhī*, (dat.-abl. pl.) *-bhyas*, (instr.-dat.-abl. dual) *-bhyām*. Pokorny 1959:34—35 **ambhi* ‘around’, **ambhō(u)* ‘both’, **ṃbhi*, **bhi*; Walde 1927—1932.I: 54—55 **ambhi*; **ṃbhi*, **bhi*; **ambhō(u)*; Mann 1984—1987:1 **abhāi* (**abhāi*) ‘both’, **abhi* (**abhī*) ‘round, about’, 1—2 **abhu* (**abhudu*, **abhūdud*) ‘both’, 18 **ambh-* (**ambh-*, **ṃbh-*) ‘round’, 18—19 **ambhi* (**ambhi*, **ṃbhi*) ‘on both sides, around’, 19 **ambhō* (**ambhō*, **ṃbhō*)

‘both’, 77 **bhī-* ‘by, at’, 862 **obhi-*, **obh-* ‘athwart, against, at’; Watkins 1985:2 **ambhi* (also **ṁbhi*) ‘around’, 2 **ambhō* ‘both’ and 2000:3 **ambhi* (also **ṁbhi*) ‘around’, 3 **ambhō* ‘both’; Brugmann 1904:386, 389, 467—468, and 468; Meillet 1964:298—299; Meier-Brügger 2003:197 **-bhi*; Fortson 2004:106—107; De Vaan 2008:37—38; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:288, I:380, I:381, I:394, I:396 **-b^[h]i/*-b^[h]i-s*, **-b^[h]os* and 1995.I:250, I:333, I:334, I:345, I:347 **-b^hi/*-b^hi-s*, **-b^hos*; Orël 2003:44—45 Proto-Germanic **ḥi*; Feist 1939:74 and 88 **bhi*; Lehmann 1986:56 and 67; Onions 1966:131; Klein 1971:102; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:45; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:61; Kluge—Seebold 1989:70.

C. Etruscan *pi* (also *pul*) ‘at, in, through’.

Sumerian *bi* ‘with, together with, in addition to’; *-bi*, *bi-da*, *-bi-(da)* ‘and’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:218—219, no. 23; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 272, **bayV* ‘(n.) place; (vb.) to be somewhere’.

51. Proto-Nostratic root **bin-* (~ **ben-*):

(vb.) **bin-* ‘to tie (together), to fasten, to twist together, to bind (together)’;

(n.) **bin-a* ‘tie, bond’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ben-* ‘to tie’: Berber: Ghadames *aβən* ‘to tie’; Ahaggar *ahən* ‘to tie’. Central Chadic **byan-* ‘to tie’ > Logone *βən*, *bən* ‘to tie’; Buduma *peenai*, *fanai* ‘to tie’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:66, no. 262, **ben-* ‘to tie’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *piṇai* (-*v-*, -*nt-*) ‘to entwine (intr.), to unite, to copulate; to tie, to fasten, to clasp each other’s hands as in dancing’, *piṇai* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) ‘(vb.) to link, to unite, to tie, to fasten, to clasp hands; (n.) being knit together, joint in planks, tie, flower garland, bail, security, pledge, consent’, *piṇaiyali* ‘joining together, flower garland, hinge, copulation’, *piṇi* ‘(vb.) to tie, to fetter, to link, to win over; (n.) fastening, bond, attachment, plait’, *piṇippu* ‘binding, tie, attachment’, *piṇaṅku* (*piṇaṅki-*) ‘to be linked together, to be intertwined, to be at variance’, *piṇakku* (*piṇakki-*) ‘to fasten, to intertwine’; Malayalam *piṇa* ‘tying, yoke, being involved, bail, surety, coupling’, *piṇekka* ‘to tie together, to yoke, to ensnare’; Toda *piṇ* ‘surety’; Kannaḍa *peṇe* ‘(vb.) to unite or tie different things together, to intertwine, to twist, to plait, to braid; to be jointed, to unite, to be intertwined, to get entangled; (n.) an entwined state, union, company’; Telugu *peṇa* ‘a twist of ropes, tie, bond’, *peṇācu* ‘to twist, to twist together’, *peṇāgonu* ‘to be twisted, to be mingled, to join, to unite’, *penapu* ‘(vb.) to join, to unite, to twist; (n.) dispute’, *pēnu* ‘to twist, to entwine, to twist two or three single threads into a thick thread’; Naikṛi *pēṇḍ-* ‘to twist, to twine’; Parji *pinna* ‘bund of field’; Brahui *pinning* ‘to be twisted’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:368, no. 4159. Tamil *pinnu* (*pinni-*) ‘to

plait, to braid, to lace, to knit, to weave, to entwine, to bind, to embrace; to become united', *pinnal* 'braiding, web, entanglement, matted hair', *pinnakam* 'braided hair', *pinnu* (*pinni-*) 'to weave'; Gadba (Salur) *pannap-* 'to weave'; Kuṛux *pandnā* 'to roll and twist together filaments into threads'; Malayalam *pinnuka* 'to plait, to twist', *pinnal* 'embroilment'; Toda *pīn-* (*pīny-*) 'to be matted (of hair); to weave (basket), to plait (hair)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:373, no. 4207.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind; 9.75 plait (vb.).

52. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bin-a*, **ban-a* 'younger relative: (m.) younger brother, younger son; (f.) younger sister, younger daughter':
- A. Proto-Afrasian **bin-* (~ **ban-*) '(m.) younger brother, younger son; (f.) younger sister, younger daughter': Proto-Semitic (m.) **bin-* 'son', (f.) **bint-* 'daughter' > Akkadian *bīnu*, *binnu*, *būnu* 'son', *bintu*, *bunatu*, *buntu* 'daughter'; Amorite *binum*, *bunum* 'son', *bintum*, *bittum*, *bina* 'daughter'; Hebrew *bēn* [בֵּן] 'son' (construct *ben-* [בֶּן]), *baθ* [בַּת] 'daughter'; Phoenician *bn* 'son', *bt* 'daughter'; Moabite *bn* 'son'; Ugaritic *bn* /bun-/ 'son', *bnt*, *bt* 'daughter', *bnš* /bun(n)ōš-/ or /bunuš-/ 'man' (< *bn* /bun-/ 'son'); Arabic *?ibn* 'son', *bint* 'daughter'; Liḥyānite *bin* 'son', *bint* 'daughter'; Sabaeen *bn* 'son', *bnt* 'daughter'; Mehri *hə-bōn* (construct *bāni*) 'children'. D. Cohen 1970—:70—71; Murtonen 1989:114; Zammit 2002:102; Klein 1987:76. West Chadic **mV-bVn-* 'person' (prefix **mV-*) > Buli *mbən*, *mban* 'person'. Central Chadic **bin-* 'brother' > Lame Pewe *bin* 'brother'. Ehret 1995:85, no. 18, **bin-/*ban-* 'to beget'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:72, no. 288, **bin-* 'man, male relative'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pin* 'younger brother', *pinnavan* 'younger brother, youngest son', *pinnaval*, *pinnan* 'younger brother', *pinni* 'younger sister, mother's younger sister', *pinnar* 'younger brother', *pinnai* 'younger brother, younger sister'; Toda *pīn* 'younger (son), second (wife)'; Tuḷu *piṅyaṅvu* 'small, little', *panne* 'small'; Telugu *pinnayya* 'father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband', *pina*, *pinna*, *punna* 'young, younger, small, tiny', *pinni*, *pinnamma* 'mother's younger sister, father's younger brother's wife'; Koṇḍa *pina* 'young, small'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:373, no. 4205. Kuṛux *pinnī* 'aunt (wife of father's younger brother), niece (older brother's daughter)'; Malto *peni* 'mother's elder sister'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:373, no. 4209.
- C. Proto-Eskimo **paniy* 'daughter': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *panik* 'daughter'; Central Alaskan Yupik *panik* 'daughter'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *panik* 'daughter'; Central Siberian Yupik *panik* 'daughter'; Sirenik *panəx*, *panix* 'daughter'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *panik* 'daughter'; North Alaskan Inuit *panik* 'daughter'; Western Canadian Inuit *panik* 'daughter'; Eastern

Canadian Inuit *panik* ‘daughter’; Greenlandic Inuit *panik* ‘daughter’.
Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1995:249.

Buck 1949:2.41 son; 2.42 daughter; 2.44 brother; 2.45 sister; 14.14 young.
Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 212, **beñ|ñV* ‘younger relative’.

53. Proto-Nostratic root **bir-* (~ **ber-*):

(vb.) **bir-* ‘to swell, to rise, to grow’;

(n.) **bir-a* ‘largeness, greatness, height, tallness’; (adj.) ‘big, large, great, tall’

Extended form:

(vb.) **bir-V-g-* ‘to be high’;

(n.) **bir-g-a* ‘height, high place’; (adj.) ‘high, tall, lofty’

Note: The unextended form is found in Dravidian.

- A. Proto-Afrasian **birVg-* ‘to be high’: Berber: Tuareg *burg-ət* ‘to rise’.
Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *birga* ‘high, tall’; Galla / Oromo *borgi* ‘height’.
Reinisch 1895:51. Orël—Stolbova 1995:73, no. 294, **birVg-* ‘to be high’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *per*, *perum*, *pēr* ‘great’, *peru* ‘to grow thick, large, stout; to become numerous’, *peruku* (*peruki-*) ‘to increase in numbers, to multiply; to become full, perfected; to rise, to overflow, to swell; to be increased, augmented, enlarged; to prosper, to grow’; Kannada *per*, *pēr* (before vowels) ‘largeness, tallness, greatness; large, tall, great’; Koḍagu *perī-*, *perīm-* ‘big’, *perī-* (*perīp-*, *perīt-*) ‘to increase’; Tuḷu *peri*, *periya* ‘large, great, high, superior’, *percuni*, *pērcuni* ‘to rise, to increase’; Telugu *perūgu*, *per(u)gu*, *per(u)vu* ‘to grow, to grow up, to increase, to accumulate, to be augmented, to expand, to extend’; Malayalam *peru*, *pēr* ‘great, large, chief’, *periya* ‘large, great’, *perukuka* ‘to grow large, to be multiplied’; Kolami *perg-* (*perekt-*) ‘to grow’; Konḍa *pergi-* ‘to grow up’, *per*, *peri* ‘big, large, elder (of siblings)’, *pir-* ‘to grow’; Kuwi *bir-* ‘to grow, to multiply’; Brahui *piring* ‘to swell (of the body or limbs)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:389—390, no. 4411; Krishnamurti 2003:118 **per-V-* ‘to grow big’ and 393—394 **pēr*/**per-V* ‘big’. Tamil *perram* ‘greatness; bull or cow; buffalo’, *perru* ‘greatness, bull’, *perri*, *perrimai* ‘greatness, esteem’, *pirāṅku* (*pirāṅki-*) ‘to be great, exalted, lofty, elevated; to grow full, complete, abundant; to overflow; to grow large in size; to be densely crowded’, *pirāṅkal* ‘greatness, abundance, fullness, height, mountain, heap, mass’, *pirakkam* ‘loftiness’; Malayalam *perran* ‘stout, robust’; Telugu *perugu*, *perūgu* ‘to swell, to rise’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:392, no. 4425. (?) Kui *prihpa* (*priht-*) ‘to be tall, high, lofty; to grow tall’, *priṅpa* (*priṅ-*) ‘to be tall’, *priṅsa* ‘tall, high, lofty’; Kuwi *pli-* ‘to be big’, *plīnai* ‘to grow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:371, no. 4192.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **byg-* ‘strong, high, large’: Georgian *brge* ‘high’; Svan *bəg-i* (< **big-* < **byg-*) ‘firm, bold’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:60—

61 *brg-; Fähnrich 2007:76 *brg-; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:879 and 1995.I:776 *br̥g-. Proto-Kartvelian *breg- ‘hill’: Georgian *breg-i* ‘hill, hillock’; Mingrelian *rag-a* (< *brag-) ‘hill’ (toponym). Fähnrich 2007:77 *breg-.

- D. Proto-Indo-European *b^herg^h-/*b^horg^h-/*b^hrg^h- ‘(adj.) high, tall; (n.) mountain, hill’: Hittite *pár-ku-uš* ‘high’; Sanskrit *br̥hánt-* ‘high, tall, great, strong’; Avestan *bərəzant-* ‘great, lofty’; Armenian *barjr* ‘high’; Welsh *bre* ‘hill’; Gothic **bairgs* ‘mountain’, *baurgs* ‘city, town’; Old Icelandic *bjarg*, *berg* ‘mountain, rock’, *borg* ‘stronghold, fortification, castle; fortified town, city’; Old English *beorh*, *beorg* ‘hill, mountain’, *burg*, *bur(u)h* ‘fortified place, (fortified) town, city’; Old Frisian *berch* ‘mountain’, *bur(i)ch* ‘fortified place, castle, city’; Old Saxon *berg* ‘mountain’, *burg* ‘fortified place, castle, city’; Old High German *berg* ‘mountain’ (New High German *Berg*), *burg* ‘fortified place, castle, city’ (New High German *Burg*); Tocharian A *pärk-*, *park-*, B *pärk-* ‘to rise (sun)’, B *pärkare* ‘long’; Greek *πύργος* ‘tower’ (pre-Greek loanword). Germanic loans in: Latin *burgus* ‘castle, fort, fortress’; Old Irish *brugh*, *brog*, *borg* ‘castle’. Rix 1998a:63—64 *b^herǵh- ‘to be high, to rise, to raise’; Pokorny 1959:140—141 *b^hereǵh- ‘high, noble’; Walde 1927—1932.II:172—174 *b^herǵh-; Mann 1984—1987:74 *b^herǵh- ‘high; height’, 125 (**b^hurgh-*, **b^hrug^h-*); Watkins 1985:8 *b^hergh- and 2000:11 *b^hergh- (reduced-grade form **b^hrg^h-*) ‘high’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:217 *b^h[^h]erǵ^h[-], II:744—745, II:781, II:879 *b^h[^h]erǵ^h[-]/*b^h[^h]rǵ^h[-] and 1995.I:150 *b^herǵh- ‘high, large; strong; top’, I:576—577, I:648; Mallory—Adams 1997:269 **b^hrg^hhús*, **b^hrg^hhént-* ‘high’, 269 **b^hrg^hhntih_a-* ‘high one’, and 269 **b^herǵh-*, **b^hrg^h-* ‘high; hill, mountain’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:445—447 **berǵh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:629—630; Beekes 2010.II:1262 (pre-Greek loanword); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:958; Boisacq 1950:829; Hofmann 1966:291; Ernout—Meillet 1979:78; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:124; Orël 2003:42 Proto-Germanic **berǵan* ~ **berǵaz* and 63—64 **burǵz*; Kroonen 2013:60 **berga-* ‘mountain’; Feist 1939:75—76 and 85—86; Lehmann 1986:57—58 and 64—65; De Vries 1977:39 and 50; Onions 1966:108; Klein 1971:89 **b^herǵh-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:39; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:66 and 111—112; Kluge—Seebold 1989:75 and 114—115; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:362 **b^herǵh-*; Adams 1999:372—373 and 2013:399—400 **b^herǵh-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:30—34 **b^herǵh-*; Puhvel 1984— .8:127—133 **b^hrg^h-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:636—637; Georgiev 1981:99 and 100; Katičić 1976.I:71—72, 93, and 94. Probable Indo-European loans in Semitic (Arabic *burg* ‘tower, castle’; Aramaic *burgin*, *burgon* ‘tower’; Syriac *bürgā* ‘tower’).

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 12.31 high. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:214—216, no. 19; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:177, no. 9, **berg/i/* ‘high’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 243, **b[i]rVgE* ‘high, tall’.

54. Proto-Nostratic root **bir-* (~ **ber-*):

(vb.) **bir-* ‘to sing, to play (a musical instrument)’;

(n.) **bir-a* ‘singing, playing (a musical instrument), musical instrument’

A. Dravidian: Konḍa *piruṛi* ‘flute’; Kui *piroṛi* ‘flute’; Kuwi *pīrūri*, *pīruḍi*, *pīruṛi* ‘flute’; Kurux *pēḍē* ‘flute, pipe, whistle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:370, no. 4178.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **bir-* ‘to sing’: Mingrelian *bir-* ‘to sing, to play (a musical instrument)’; Laz *bir-* ‘to sing’; Svan *br-* ‘to sing’, *la-brjäl* ‘singing’. Klimov 1964:53 **br-* and 1998:17—18 **br-* ‘to sing’; Fähnrich 2007:68—69 **bir-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:56 **bir-*.

Buck 1949:18.12 sing.

55. Proto-Nostratic root **bir-* (~ **ber-*):

(vb.) **bir-* ‘to cut, rip, pull, break, or tear off; to pull’;

(n.) **bir-a* ‘the act of cutting, ripping, pulling, breaking, or tearing off’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ber-* ‘to cut off’: Proto-Southern Cushitic **biir-* ‘to cut off’ > K’wadza *bila?i-* ‘dull’, *bilat-* ‘to drill, to cut a hole’; Dahalo *biir-* ‘to cut grass, to mow’. Ehret 1980:138. Central Chadic **byar-* ‘to cut off’ > Tangale *ber* ‘to cut off’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:67, no. 266, **ber-* ‘to cut’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *piri* (-*v-*, -*nt-*) (also *pīri*) ‘to become disjoined or parted; to become unfastened; to be untwisted, ripped, or loosened (as a seam or texture); to disagree (as persons); to part (tr.), to sever’, *piri* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) ‘to separate (tr.), to disunite, to sever, to divide, to untwist, to disentangle, to untie, to solve (as a riddle), to dismantle (as the thatch of a roof), to distribute’, *pirical* ‘division, partition, threadbare or tattered condition’, *pirippu* ‘separation, division, estrangement’, *piripu*, *pirivu* ‘separation, severance, division, disunion, disagreement, loosening, secession, gap’; Malayalam *pirikka* ‘to sever, to dismiss, to divorce’, *piriccal* ‘separation, dismissal’, *piriyukka* ‘to become disjoined, to separate, to part with’; Kota *pīry-* (*pirc-*) ‘to separate part from part (intr., tr.); to demolish (building)’, *pirc-* (*pirc-*) ‘to separate (persons) (tr.)’, *pirnj-* (*pirnj-*) ‘to separate oneself from’, *pīryv* ‘a place separate from another’s place’; Toda *pīry-* (*pīrs-*) ‘to be demolished’, *pīry-* (*pīrc-*) ‘to demolish’; Kannāḍa *hiri* ‘to separate into portions, to break up, to pull to pieces, to demolish, to pull out of, to unsheathe, to take (pearl) from (a string); to be broken up or demolished, to fall from (a bundle, a string)’, *higgisu* ‘to separate, to disjoin’, *higgu* ‘to separate (intr.), to be disconnected’, *higgalisu* ‘to separate or disjoin (as the

legs), to open wide (as an eye with the fingers, as the mouth of a bag)'; Kodagu *piri-* (*pirip-*, *piric-*) 'to turn (cattle) in a different direction; to send away, to cause to disperse', *piri-* (*piriv-*, *piriñj-*) '(assembly) to disperse, (person) to return to one's own place', *piriv* 'dispersing'; Tuḷu *piripu*, *biripu* 'abatement, cessation'; Koraga *pirpi* 'to make the spirit leave a person'; Telugu *pridulu* 'to become loose, to fall off, to separate, to leave each other, to be dislocated'; Gadba (Salur) *pirg-* (*pirig-*) 'to open (like a flower)', *pirukp-* 'to open (like a book, packet) (tr.)'; Kui *prīva* (*prīt-*) 'to be cracked, cloven, opened out; to be hatched', *prīng-* 'to be torn'; Kuwi *prik-* 'to break open (fruit)', *prik-* 'to split (bamboo)'; Malto *pirce* 'to be smashed'; Brahui *pirghing* 'to break, to rend, to transgress, to solve (a riddle)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:370, no.4176.

- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **pər-* 'to pull out': Chukchi *pər-* 'to pull out by the root, to rip out'; Koryak *pəj-* 'to pluck, to harvest, to peel, to take away'; Alyutor *pr-* 'pluck, to take off'. Forescue 2005:225.

Sumerian *bir* 'to tear, to rip, to rend; to pull, to snatch, to yank', *bir₆* 'to tear up, to tear to pieces, to shred; to rip apart, to sever, to break up'.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.).

56. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bir-a* 'gnat, mosquito, midge, fly':

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bir-* 'a kind of insect': East Chadic: Dangla *biribinò*, *birinò* 'dragonfly'. (?) North Cushitic: Beja / Beḡawye *biret*, (*e*)*mbiret* 'white ant, termite', *birat* 'termite'. Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:88—89, no. 62, **bur-* 'a kind of insect'. Note: Blažek (2003b:241) compares the Beja / Beḡawye forms cited here with several East Cushitic (Somali, Boni) forms also meaning 'termite'. However, the vowels of the root (**bVr-*) do not match.
- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *pirukku* 'gnat, mosquito'; Koḍagu *puriki* 'mosquito'; (?) Gondi *porki*, *pork*, *purki*, *por̥ki*, *par̥kī* 'louse'; Kurux *put^hngī*, *putuṅgī* 'midge'; Malto *putgi* 'sand-fly'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:372, no. 4203.
- C. (?) Proto-Altaic **bjure* 'flea': Proto-Mongolian **bürge* 'flea, louse' > Written Mongolian *bürge*, *büürge* 'louse'; Khalkha *büreg* 'louse'; Kalmyk *bürgə* 'flea'; Ordos *bürge* 'flea'; Monguor *bürge* 'louse'. Proto-Turkic **bürče* / **bürge* 'flea' > Turkish *pire* 'flea'; Azerbaijani *pirä* 'flea'; Turkmenian *büre* 'flea'; Uzbek *burga* 'flea'; Uighur *bürgä* 'flea'; Karaim *bürče* 'flea'; Tatar *börče* 'flea'; Bashkir *börsä* 'flea'; Kirghiz *bürgö* 'flea'; Kazakh *bürge*, *bürše* (dial.), *burša* (dial.) 'flea'; Noghay *bürše* 'flea'; Chuvash *p^hwrza* 'flea'. Tenishev—Dybo 2001—2006.III:182—183 **bürye* 'flea'; Räsänen 1969:92. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:363 **bjure* 'flea' — Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: "In Turkic one would rather

expect **bir-*: this variant is indeed reflected in most Oghuz languages; others have reintroduced -ü- under Mongolian influence.”

Sumerian *bir₃* ‘fly’.

Buck 1949:3.81 insect.

57. Proto-Nostratic **bir^y-* (~ **ber^y-*):

(vb.) **bir^y-* ‘to enjoy, to savor’;

(n.) **bir^y-a* ‘fruit’

Extended form:

(n.) **bir^y-q-a* ‘plum’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic (collective) *barkūk* ‘plum’, *birķūk-*, *burķūk-* ‘apricot, yellow plum’. Note: These may be loanwords from Latin.
- B. Dravidian: Konḍa *pirika*, *prika*, *pirka* ‘green mango’; Pengo *prīla* ‘green mango’; Maṇḍa *prīla* ‘green mango’; Kui *pria* ‘unripe mango’; Kuwi *prilā* ‘unripe mango’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:371, no. 4184.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **berq’en-* ‘wild pear, wild plum(-tree)’: Georgian *b(e)rq’ena-* ‘wild pear’; Svan *barq’wen(d)*, *bārq’en* ‘wild plum(-tree)’ (this may be a loan from Georgian). Klimov 1964:54 **brqen-* and 1998:12 **berqen-* ‘wild pear, wild plum(-tree)’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:41 **berqen-*; Fähnrich 2007:60 **berqen-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **b^{hr}-uH-k-* (> **b^{hr}rūk-*) ‘(vb.) to enjoy, to use; (n.) fruit’: Latin *frūx* (gen. sg. *frūgis*), usually plural *frūgēs* ‘fruits of the earth’, *fruor* (< **frūuor* < **frūguor*) ‘to have the benefit of, to enjoy’, (dat. sg.; used as indecl. adj.) *frūgī* ‘useful, honest, discreet, moderate, temperate’, *fructuōsus* ‘fruit-bearing, fruitful, fertile’, *frūgifer* ‘fruit-bearing, fruitful, fertile’, *fructus* ‘enjoyment, enjoying; proceeds, profit, produce, fruit, income’; Umbrian (acc. pl.) *frif*, *fri* ‘fruits’; Gothic *brūks* ‘useful’, *brūkjan* ‘to use’; Old English *brȳce* ‘useful’, *brūcan* ‘to make use of, to enjoy’ (Middle English *brūken* ‘to enjoy, to use’, [pres.] *brouke*; *brūche* ‘useful’), *broc* ‘use, benefit’; Old Frisian *brūka* ‘to use’; Old Saxon *brūkan* ‘to use’; Dutch *gebruiken* ‘to use’; Old High German *prūhhi* ‘useful’, *brūhhan*, *brūhhen* ‘to use’ (New High German *brauchen* ‘to need, to want, to require’). Rix 1998a:81 **b^{hr}reuHg-* ‘to use, to enjoy’; Pokorny 1959:173 **bhrūg-* ‘(n.) fruit; (vb.) to use, to enjoy’, perhaps originally from **bhreu-* ‘to cut off’, becoming ‘to remove fruit for one’s own use’, then ‘to enjoy, to use’; Walde 1927—1932.II:208 **bhrūg-*; Watkins 1985:9—10 **bhrūg-* and 2000:13 **bhrūg-* ‘agricultural produce; to enjoy (results, produce)’; Mann 1984—1987:106 **bhrūg-* ‘use, benefit, product, profit’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:256—257 and 257; De Vaan 2008:244—245; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:552—553 **bhrūg-*; Orël 2003:60 Proto-Germanic **brūkanan*; Kroonen 2013:79—80 **bruk(k)ōn-* ‘to break, to crumble’;

Feist 1939:107 possibly originally from **bhrey-* ‘to cut off’ (for the meaning, cf. Sanskrit *bhunákti* ‘to enjoy, to use, to possess’, especially, ‘to enjoy a meal, to eat, to eat and drink, to consume’); Lehmann 1986:81 possibly originally from **bhrew-* ‘to cut off’; Onions 1966:120 **bhrug-*; Klein 1971:96; Barnhart 1995:88; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:96 **bhrüg-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:102—103; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:64.

Buck 1949:5.71 fruit; 9.423 use (vb. = make use of). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 257, **b[i]ṛ[üw]qa* (or **b[i]ṛ[uw]qa* ?) ‘edible fruit’.

58. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bir^v-a* ‘penis’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bVr-* ‘penis’: Proto-Semitic **ḡi-br-(at-)* ‘penis’ > Hebrew *ʿēḇār* [עֶבֶר, עֶבֶר] ‘penis’; Aramaic *ʿēḇrā* ‘penis’; Arabic *ʿibrat-* ‘penis’; Arabic (Daḡina) *burrat*, *barbūr* ‘glans penis’; Arabic (Omani) *barbur* ‘penis’. Klein 1987:4; Militarëv 2005:92. (?) Egyptian *b33wt* ‘virility’, *b3ḥ* ‘foreskin, phallus’ (if from **brḥ*). Gardiner 1957:563; Erman—Grapow 1921:45 and 1926—1963.1:417, 1:419—420; Faulkner 1962:77 and 77—78; Hannig 1995:240 and 2006:785. Chadic: Hausa *buuraa* ‘penis’; Bura *bura* ‘penis’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:83, no. 339, **bur-* ‘penis’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:4—5, no. 2) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **ḡi-br-(at-)* ‘penis’, Proto-Afrasian **bVr-* ‘penis’. Militarëv—Kogan point out that the Egyptian form is “[p]roblematic both phonetically and semantically”. Note: The Omotic (Basketo *búlli* ‘penis’) form cited by Militarëv—Kogan does not belong here. Rather, it belongs with Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bul-a* (~ **bol-a*) ‘penis, testicle(s)’.

- B. Dravidian: Kota *pi-r* ‘penis’; Maḡa *pīḍa* ‘penis’; Kuwi *pīrā*, *pīrā* ‘penis’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:374, no. 4220.

Buck 1949:4.492 penis.

59. Proto-Nostratic root **bit^v-* (~ **bet^v-*):

(vb.) **bit^v-* ‘to press between the fingers, to squeeze, to crush’;

(n.) **bit^v-a* ‘squeeze, pinch, pressure’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *picai* ‘to work with the thumb and fingers in mixing, to knead, to squeeze or mash between the palms, to crush and separate (as kernels of grain from the ear), to rub or apply on the skin, to strike against one another (as branches in the wind)’, *picakku* (*picakki-*) ‘to press between the fingers, to squeeze, to crush’, *picaru* (*picari-*) ‘to mingle, to mix with the hand’; Kota *pick-* (*picky-*) ‘to squeeze, to pinch’; Kannāḍa *pisuku* ‘to squeeze, to press (as a fruit), to knead, to shampoo’, *hisi* ‘to squeeze (a ripe fruit) so as nearly to separate it into two pieces’; Tuḷu

piskuni, *pīsuni* ‘to squeeze, to press’; Koraga *pijan̄ki* ‘to crush’; Telugu *pisuku* ‘to squeeze, to press, to knead, to shampoo, to handle’; Naik̄ri *pijg-* ‘to knead’; Parji *pīk-* ‘to crush’; Gadba (Ollari) *piskolp-* (*piskolt-*) ‘to squeeze’; Gondi *piskānā* ‘to knead flour’; Pengo *pīc-* (*pīcc-*) ‘to squeeze, to milk’; Kui *pīc-* ‘to press, to squeeze, to milk’; Kuṛux *picka’ānā* ‘to press and bruise, to flatten by crushing’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:366, no. 4135; Krishnamurti 2003:149 **pic-V-* (~ **piz-V-*) ‘to squeeze’.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **bič’k-* ‘to break, to crumble’: Old Georgian *bič’-* ‘to crumble’, participial derivatives *na-bič’-* // *na-bič’-ev-* ‘crumb’; Svan *li-beč’k’w* ‘to break (apart), to burst’, *li-bč’k’we* ‘to split something’. Klimov 1964:52 **bič-* and 1998:14 **beč-/bič-* ‘to crumble, to break’; Fähnrich 1994:230; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:54 **beč-/bič-*.

Sumerian *biz* ‘to press or squeeze out (oil)’.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:179, no. 12, **bič-* ‘to break’; Bomhard 1996a:226.

60. Proto-Nostratic root **bitʰ-* (~ **betʰ-*):

(vb.) **bitʰ-* ‘to break, to split, to prick (tr.); to split apart, to break open, to burst forth (intr.)’;

(n.) **bitʰ-a* ‘break, slit, hole, piece broken off’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bitʰ-* ‘to break, to split, to prick (tr.); to break open, to burst forth (intr.); (?) to split’: Proto-Semitic **batʰ-aʃ-* ‘to prick, to pierce, to break or tear off’ > Geez / Ethiopic *basʿa* [ጠሰ] ‘to flay alive’; Tigrinya *bāsʿe* ‘to pierce’; Tigre *basʿä* ‘to tear off a very small piece’; Amharic *bāssa* ‘to perforate, to puncture, to pierce, to drill a hole’. Amharic *bässākā* ‘to tear, to rip’. D. Cohen 1970— :73 **bse* (that is, **bsʃ*); Leslau 1987:109. Proto-Semitic **batʰ-at-* ‘to slit’ > Šheri / Jibbāli *bósóʃt* ‘to slit’; Ḥarsūsi *bešōʃt* ‘to slit’; Mehri *bəsōʃt* ‘to slit’. (?) Egyptian *bšy*, *bšī* ‘to spit; to vomit’, *bšw* ‘vomit’ (semantic development as in German *sich (er)brechen* ‘to vomit’ < ‘to break open, to burst forth’). Hannig 1995:262; Faulkner 1962:85; Erman—Grapow 1921:50 and 1926—1963.1:477; Gardiner 1957:564. (?) West Chadic **bitʰ-* ‘to spit’ > Angas *bis*, *bes* ‘to spit’. (?) East Chadic **bVtʰ-* ‘to spit’ > Somray *bə:sə* ‘to spit’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:43, no. 170, **bačaf-* ‘to tear off, to break off’ (but, for Chadic, cf. Newman 1977:23, no. 15, Proto-Chadic **bahlə* ‘to break’), and 70, no. 280, **bič-* ‘to spit’.

- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *pikkuka* (*picc-*) ‘to break in pieces’; Telugu *pigulu*, *pikulu*, *pivulu* ‘to burst’; Kui *pinja* (*pinji-*) ‘to burst’; Kuwi *pinj-* ‘(fire) to explode, to spark out’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:366, no. 4129.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **peđä-* ‘to prick’ > Lapp / Saami *bæððä-/bæðä-* ‘to prick, to make a hole in’; Mordvin *pele-* ‘to bore, to drill’;

Vogul / Mansi *peel-* ‘to prick’; Ostyak / Xanty *pel-*, (Southern) *pet-* ‘to prick’. Collinder 1955:74, 1960:410 **pedä-*, and 1977:90; Sammallahti 1988:547 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pedä-* ‘to prick’. But, cf. Rédei 1986—1988:371 under **pel3-*.

Buck 1949:4.56 spit; 4.57 vomit; 9.27 split (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 379, no. 214.

61. Proto-Nostratic **borʷ-a* ‘(n.) a dark color; (adj.) dark, dark-colored’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bor-* ‘dark-colored’: Egyptian *br* ‘pigment, color’. Hannig 1995:256. Berber: Mzab *bbərçən* ‘to be or become dark’, *abərçən* ‘black’; Tamazight *bərkin*, *bərçin* ‘to be black, swarthy; to blacken’, *abərkan* ‘black; Kabyle *ibrik* ‘to be black’, *abərkan* ‘black, dark, swarthy, of a dark complexion’. Proto-East Cushitic **boʔr-* (< **borʔ-*) ‘red, yellow, brown, dark-colored’ > Burji *bóor-ee* ‘(n.) yellow color’; Somali *bor-a* ‘gray, dirty’; Arbore *bur-iy-dā* ‘red’; Dasenech *bur* ‘red’; Konso *poor-* (pl. *puʔʔur-*) ‘black’; Dobase *poor-e* ‘burned or carbonized material’; Elmolo *burr-i-dā* ‘red’; Galla / Oromo *boor-uu* ‘ash-colored, dim, dull’; Hadiyya *bork-* (< **borʔ-*) ‘dark-colored’; Gidole *poor-* ‘black’. Sasse 1982:39. Orël—Stolbova 1995:76, no. 307, **boHar-* ‘to be yellow, to be gray’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **bʰor-*, **bʰru-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **bʰer-*) ‘brown’ (< ‘dark-colored’), (reduplicated) **bʰe-bʰru-*: Sanskrit *babhrú-ḥ* ‘reddish brown, brown’; Latin *fiber* ‘beaver’; Old Icelandic *brúnn* ‘brown’, *björn* ‘bear’, *bjórr* ‘beaver’; Swedish *brun* ‘brown’; Old Norwegian *brúnn* ‘brown’; Old English *brūn* ‘brown’, *bera* ‘bear’, *beofor* ‘beaver’; Old Frisian *brūn* ‘brown’; Old Saxon *biḅar* ‘beaver’, *brūn* ‘brown’; Dutch *beer* ‘bear’, *bever* ‘beaver’, *bruin* ‘brown’; Old High German *brūn* ‘brown’ (New High German *braun*), *bero* ‘bear’ (New High German *Bär*), *bibar* ‘beaver’ (New High German *Biber*); Lithuanian *bėras* ‘brown’, *bebrūs* ‘beaver’; Old Church Slavic **bebrъ* ‘beaver’; Russian *bobr* [бобр] ‘beaver’; Polish *bóbr* ‘beaver’; Greek φρῦνη, φρῦνος ‘toad’. Pokorny 1959:136—137 **bher-* ‘glittering, bright brown’; Walde 1927—1932.II:166—167 **bhēro-s*, **bheru-s*; Mann 1984—1987:69 **bhebhros*, *-us* ‘red-brown, beaver’, 108 **bhrūnos* ‘dun, brownish; brown or dun-colored creature’; Watkins 1985:7 **bher-* and 2000:10 **bher-* ‘bright, brown’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:22 **b[ʰ]jer-*, II:530 **b[ʰ]ib[ʰ]jer-*, **b[ʰ]eb[ʰ]jer-* and 1995.I:23 **bʰer-* ‘brown’, I:448 **bʰibʰer-*, **bʰebʰer-* ‘beaver’; Mallory—Adams 1997:57 **bhébhrus* ‘beaver’ and 85 **bher-* ‘brown’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1230—1231; Hofmann 1966:405—406; Boisacq 1950:1040; Beekes 2010.II:1594; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1047; De Vaan 2008:217; Ernout—Meillet 1979:231—232; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:490—491 **bhe-bhru-s* (**bhe-bhro-s*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:409—410 **bhe-bhr-u-* (also **bhebhro-*); Orël 2003:40—41 Proto-

Germanic **bēbruz*, 60 **brūnaz*; Kroonen 2013:56—57 Proto-Germanic **bebura-* ‘beaver’; De Vries 1977:40, 41, and 61; Torp 1919:44—45; Klein 1971:74—75 **bhero-* ‘brown’, 75 **bhe-bhru-s* ‘very brown’, and 97; Onions 1966:83 and 121; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:64; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:50—51 **bhero-*, 73—74 **bhebhru-*, and 97; Kluge—Seebold 1989:59—60, 82—83, and 103; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:39.

- C. Proto-Altaic **bor*^y*V* ‘dark-colored, gray’: Proto-Mongolian **boro* ‘dark-colored, gray’ > Written Mongolian *boro*, *boru* ‘gray, brown, dark, swarthy (face)’; Monguor *boro* ‘gray’; Ordos *boro* ‘gray’; Khalkha *bora* ‘gray’; Buriat *boro* ‘gray’; Moghol *borō* ‘gray’; Kalmyk *borə* ‘gray’. Mongolian loans in: Manchu *boro* ‘gray’; Evenki *boron* ‘gray’, *boronkōn* ‘brown stag, hart’. Proto-Turkic **bor*^y- ‘dark-colored, gray’ > Old Turkic *boz* ‘gray’; Azerbaijani *boz* ‘gray’; Turkmenian *boz* ‘gray’; Uzbek *buz* ‘gray’; Uighur *boz*, *bos* ‘gray’ Kirghiz *boz* ‘gray’; Kazakh *boz* ‘gray’; Noghay *boz* ‘gray’. Poppe 1955:54 and 1960:20 and 81; Street 1974:9 **bor*²- ‘gray’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:376 **boŕ**V* ‘gray’.

Buck 1949:3.37 bear; 15.63 dark (in color). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:224, no. 29; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:183—184, no. 18, **bor’a* ‘brown, gray-brown’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 255, **boŕ*[?]ŭ ‘brown, yellow’.

62. Proto-Nostratic root **bud-* (~ **bud-*):

(vb.) **bud-* ‘to set fire to something, to kindle’;

(n.) **bud-a* ‘blaze, light, fire’

A. Dravidian: Pengo *puŋ-* ‘to set fire to, to kindle’; Kui *puŋpa* (*puŋŋ-*), *purpa* (*puŋŋ-*) ‘to roast’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:377, no. 4260.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **bdw-* ‘to set fire, to catch fire’: Old Georgian *bdv-* ‘to set fire, to catch fire’, (participle) *m-bdvin-vare-* ‘kindled’; Laz *d(v)-* ‘to set fire, to catch fire’; Svan *bd-/bid-* (*li-bd-ine*) ‘to set fire to something’, *mə-bid* ‘combustible’. Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:67 **bidw-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:55 **bidw-*; Klimov 1998:10 **bdw-* ‘to set fire, to catch fire’, **bdw-in-* ‘to set fire’.

Buck 1949:1.86 light (vb.), kindle.

63. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bud-a* ‘lowest part or region (of anything)’:

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **budu* ‘buttocks’ > K’wadza *bulituko* ‘woman’s garment covering the hips’, *bulum-* ‘to bend over’; Ma’a *mbúru* ‘goat’s tail’; Dahalo *buḍuw-* ‘to run away’ (for the semantics, Ehret cites English ‘to turn tail’). Ehret 1980:140.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *puŋtai*, *puŋtam* ‘side, place’; Malayalam *puŋa* ‘side’; Kannada *hoḍe* ‘side’; Tuḷu *puḍē* ‘border, edge, brink, margin, brim, side,

interval, space’, *pođatarè* ‘the side-bone of the skull’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:377, no. 4255. Assuming semantic development from ‘lowest part or region’ to ‘side’ (cf. Buck 1949:12.36 side: “...in general, words for ‘part’ [besides those included in the list here] are often used in the sense of ‘side’.”).

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **bud-* ‘lowest part or region (of anything)’ (?): Georgian *bud-e* ‘nest’; Svan *bud*, *bid* ‘vulva’. Klimov 1964:54 **bude-* and 1998:20 **bude-* ‘nest’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:66 **bud-*; Fähnrich 2007:81 **bud-*. Note: Mingrelian *bude* ‘nest’ is borrowed from Georgian.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **b^hud^h-* with various extensions: **b^hud^h-no-*, **b^hud^h-mo-* **b^hud^h-men-*, **b^hu-n-d^h-* ‘bottom, ground, base, depth, lowest part of anything’: Sanskrit *budh-ná-ḥ* ‘bottom, ground, base, depth, lowest part of anything’; Prakrit *bum̐dha-* ‘foot of a tree, root’; Pāli *bunda-* ‘root of a tree’; Gujarati *būdhū* ‘bottom of a pot’; Marathi *būdh* ‘bottom of a pot’, *būd* ‘bottom or base of anything’; Sindhi *bunḍaru* ‘buttock, rump, hip’; Lahnda (f.) *bunḍrī* ‘anus, buttock’; Greek πῦθμῆν ‘the bottom or foundation (of a thing); the bottom or depth (of the sea); the bottom, stock, root (of a tree); the hollow bottom or stand of a cup’, πύνδαξ ‘the bottom (of a vessel)’; Latin *fundus* ‘ground; the bottom or base of anything’; Old Irish *bond*, *bonn* ‘sole of the foot’; Welsh *bon* (< **b^hud^h-no-*) ‘stem, base, stock’; Old Icelandic *botn* ‘bottom (of a vessel, of a haycock, of the sea); the head of a bay, firth, lake, valley’; Faroese *botnur* ‘bottom’; Norwegian *botn* ‘bottom’; Swedish *botten* ‘bottom’; Danish *bund* ‘bottom’; Old English *botm* (Middle English *boþem*), *bodan* ‘bottom, ground, foundation; ship’s keel’, *bytme*, *byþme*, *byþne* ‘bottom; ship’s keel’; Old Saxon *bodom* ‘bottom’; Dutch *bodem* ‘bottom’; Old High German *bodam* ‘bottom, ground’ (New High German *Boden*). Pokorny 1959:174 **bhudh-m(e)n* ‘bottom’, also **bhudh-mo-*, **bhudh-no-* (> **bhundho-*); Walde 1927—1932.II:190 **bhudh-men-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 **bhudhnó-* ‘bottom’ > ‘ground, depth, foot, root’; Watkins 1985:10 **bhudh-* and 2000:13 **bhudh-* (also **budh-*) ‘bottom, base’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:488—489 **b^hud^h-*, **b^hud^h-n-*, II:490 **b^hud^h-n-*, II:528 **b^hud^h-* and 1995.I:408 **b^hud^h-*, **b^hud^h-n-* ‘bottom, soil’, I:410 **b^hud^h-n-* ‘Lower World’, I:447 **b^hud^h-* ‘Lower World’; Mann 1984—1987:118—119 **bhudhmn-* (**bhudno-*) ‘base, bottom, stock, stump, root, stone’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:438 **b^hud^h-nó-*; Turner 1966—1969.I: 525; Frisk 1970—1973.II:620—621 **bhudh-*; Boisacq 1950:825—826 **bheudh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:952 **bhudh-*; Beekes 2010.II:1255 **b^hud^h-*; Hofmann 1966:289—290 **bhudh-no-*, **bhudh-mo-*, **bhundh-(n)o-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:261—262 **bhudh-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:564—565 **bhundhos*; **bhudh-no-*, **bhudh-mo-*; De Vaan 2008:250 **b^hud^h-n-ó-*; Orël 2003:61 Proto-Germanic **būdmaz* ~ **butmaz*; Kroonen 2013:82 **budman-* ~ **buttman-* ‘bottom’; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:85; Torp 1919:35; De Vries 1977:51; Barnhart 1995:80; Onions

- 1966:109 **bhudhm(e)n-*, **bhudh-* (also **bhundh-*); Skeat 1898:72; Klein 1971:90; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:88; Kluge—Seebold 1989:95 **bhudh-men-*.
- E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **putʒ* ‘rectum, large intestines’ > (?) Lapp / Saami (Southern) *puht’egē* ‘rectum’; (?) Ostyak / Xanty (Northern) *pūtə* ‘large intestines, rectum (of animals, possibly also of humans)’, (Kazym) *pūtī* ‘large intestines, rectum (of reindeer)’; (?) Vogul / Mansi (Northern) *puti* ‘large intestines’. Rédei 1986—1988:410 **putʒ*. Assuming semantic development from ‘lowest part or region (of the body)’ > ‘bottom, rear end, backside, rump, behind, buttock, anus’ (as in Sindhi and Lahnda, cited above) > ‘rectum, large intestines’.

Buck 1949:4.47 womb; 12.34 bottom; 12.36 side. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 270, **bu[w]iV* ‘lower part of the body’. Note: The Afrasian material cited by Dolgopolsky does not belong here.

64. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bud-a* ‘stick’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bud-* ‘stick’: Proto-Semitic **badd-* ‘pole, stick, beam’ > Hebrew **baḏ* [בַּד] ‘pole, bar, rod; branch (of a tree)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *baddā* ‘pole, stick’; Arabic *badd-* ‘beam’. Klein 1987:63; D. Cohen 1970— :44—45. Berber **budid-* ‘pole of a hut’ > Kabyle *a-budid* ‘wooden post’. East Chadic **bVdVH-* ‘stick’ > Kera *bəd-uwa* ‘stick’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:80, no. 325, **bud-* ‘stick’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *uṭu* ‘oar, boatman’s pole’; Toda *puṭ* ‘stirring stick’; Kannaḍa *puṭṭu* ‘wooden ladle or spoon, paddle’, *huṭṭu*, *uṭṭu* ‘paddle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:377, no. 4265.

Buck 1949:10.85 oar.

65. Proto-Nostratic root **bug-* (~ **bog-*):

(vb.) **bug-* ‘to blister, to swell’;

(n.) **bug-a* ‘boil, blister, pustule’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *pokuṭṭu* ‘bubble’, *pokku* (*pokki-*) ‘to be blistered’, *pokkuḷam* ‘boil, bubble, blister’, *pokkuḷi* ‘to rise in blisters’; Malayalam *pokkuḷa*, *pokkiḷa* ‘blister, vesicle, bubble’, *pokkuḷikka* ‘to bubble’; Kota *pogl* ‘blister’; Toda *piḡ* ‘bubble’; Kannaḍa *puguḷ*, *bokke*, *bobbe* ‘blister’, *hokku* ‘boil’, *hoppaḷa* ‘blister occasioned by a burn’, *hoppaḷisu* ‘to blister’; Koḍagu *pokkālā* ‘a blister’; Tuḷu *pokkè* ‘a blister, pustule; a sore, ulcer’, *bokki*, *bokkè* ‘an itch, pustule, pimple’; Telugu *pokku* ‘(vb.) to blister; (n.) blister’, *bugga* ‘bubble’; Pengo *poka* ‘blister’; Maṇḍa *puka* ‘boil’; Kuwi *bugga*, *būga* ‘bubble’; Kuṛux *pokkhnā* (*pokkhyā*) ‘to get blistered, to swell’; Malto *poka* ‘blister, blain’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:394, no. 4455.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **bug-* ‘pimple, pustule’: Old Georgian *bug-r-i* ‘rash, pimple’; Svan *bugw-ir* ‘pockmarks, smallpox’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:65—66 **bug-*; Fähnrich 1994:226 and 2007:80—81 **bug-*.

66. Proto-Nostratic root **bug-* (~ **bog-*):

Extended form:

(vb.) **bug-V-r-* ‘to make a sound, to make a noise’;

(n.) **bug-r-a* ‘sound, noise’

Note: Only the extended form is attested in the daughter languages.

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *bgʷ* ‘moan, cry, weeping, lamentation, sighing, groaning’. Hannig 1995:264; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:482.
- B. Dravidian: Iruḷa *bugari*, *bugiriya* ‘large bamboo flute’; Alu Kuṛumba *buguri* ‘bamboo flute’; Pālu Kuṛumba *bugiri* ‘bamboo flute’; Kota *bugi-r* ‘flute’; Toda *puxury* ‘Toda flute’; Kannaḍa (Badaga) *buguri* ‘Toda flute’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:375, no. 4239.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **bger-* ‘to make a sound’: Old Georgian *bger-* ‘to make a sound’, *bger-a* ‘loud sound, groan(ing), noise’; Mingrelian *ngar-*, *gar-* ‘to weep, to cry’; Laz *bgar-*, *mgar-* ‘to weep, to cry’. Klimov 1964:49 **bger-* and 1998:9 **bger-* ‘to utter; sound, ring’; Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:55 **bger-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:48 **bger-*.

Buck 1949:16.37 cry, weep. Bomhard 1996a:225.

67. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **buk’-a* (~ **bok’-a*) ‘he-goat, buck’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bok’-* ‘goat’: Central Chadic **ḡwak-* (< **bwak’-*) ‘goat’ > Mafa *bokw* ‘goat’. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *bōk* ‘goat’. Reinisch 1895:46. Orël—Stolbova 1995:76, no. 309, **boḳ-* ‘goat’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **bʰuk’-* ‘buck, he-goat’: Avestan *būza-* ‘buck’; Farsi *buz* ‘goat’; Armenian *buc* ‘lamb’; Old Irish *bocc* ‘buck’; Welsh *bwch* ‘buck’; Cornish *boch* ‘buck’; Breton *bouc’h* ‘buck’; Old Icelandic *bokkr*, *bukkr* ‘buck, he-goat’, *bokki* ‘buck, fellow’; Old English *bucc* ‘buck, male deer’, *bucca* ‘he-goat’; Old Saxon *buck* ‘he-goat’; Middle High German *boc* ‘he-goat’ (New High German *Bock*); Latin *bucca* ‘he-goat’ (loan). Pokorny 1959:174 **bhūḡo-s* ‘buck’; Walde 1927—1932.II:189—190 **bhūḡo-*; Mann 1984—1987:120 **bhūḡos*, *-ios*, *-ō(n)* ‘small, animal’; Watkins 1985:10 **bhugo-* and 2000:13 **bhugo-* ‘male animal of various kinds: stag, ram, he-goat’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:586 **bʰuk’o-* and 1995.I:501 **bʰuk’o-* ‘goat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:229 **bhūḡos* ‘buck, he-goat’; Orël 2003:61—62 Proto-Germanic **bukkaz*, 62 **bukkōn*; Kroonen 2013:82 **bukka(n)-* ‘billy-goat’; De Vries 1977:64; Onions

1966:122—123; Klein 1971:98; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:87; Kluge—Seebold 1989:94—95.

Buck 1949:3.36 goat; 3.37 he-goat; 3.38 kid; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 185, **bukEǂV* ‘billy goat, ram’; Blažek 2013:45, no. 19.

68. Proto-Nostratic root **bul-* (~ **bol-*):

(vb.) **bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate’;

(n.) **bul-a* ‘large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow’

Derivatives:

(n.) **bul-a* (~ **bol-a*) ‘penis, testicle(s)’

(vb.) **bul-V-γ-* ‘to ripen, to blossom, to bloom, to sprout, to mature’;

(n.) **bul-γ-a* ‘increase, growth, ripening, maturity, prosperity, blossoming’

Reduplicated:

(vb.) **bul-bul-* ‘to swell, to bubble up’;

(n.) **bul-bul-a* ‘puff, bubble, swelling’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow’:

Central Chadic **HV-bwal-* ‘rain’ > Bachama *bole* ‘rain’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:77, no. 312, **bol-* ‘to flow, to be wet’. Proto-Afrasian (reduplicated) **bul-bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow’: Berber: Kabyle (reduplicated) *bbəlbəl* ‘to be fat, pudgy, chubby’, *abəlbul* ‘fat, pudgy, chubby’. West Chadic (reduplicated) **bul-bul-* ‘to pour out’ > Hausa *bulbulaa* ‘to pour liquid in or out of a vessel with gurgling sound’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:81, no. 331, **bul-bul-* ‘to pour, to flow’. Proto-Afrasian **bul-ul-* ‘to flow, to be wet’: Berber: Ahaggar *bəlulu* ‘to be liquid’; Tuareg *bələl* ‘to have everything in abundance’, *səbbələl* ‘to give abundantly, to lack nothing’, *ənəbbələl* ‘a person who has everything in abundance’. Lowland East Cushitic **bulul-* ‘to flow’ > Galla / Oromo *bulula* ‘to flow’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:82, no. 334, **bulul-* ‘to flow, to be wet’.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *pu-li-[in-ri]* ‘one who sprinkles with water, one who washes’ (?).

C. Kartvelian: Georgian **blom-* ‘multitude’ in (adv.) *blomad* ‘in a crowd, mass, mob, multitude’.

D. Proto-Indo-European **b^hl-eE-/*b^hl-oE-* > **b^hl̥e-/*b^hl̥o-* ‘to puff up, to inflate, to blow up’: Latin *flō* ‘to blow’; Old Icelandic *blása* ‘to blow’; Old English *blāwan* ‘to blow’, *blæd* ‘blowing, breath’; Old Frisian **blā* ‘to blow’; Old High German *blāsen* ‘to blow’ (New High German *blasen*), *blājan* ‘to inflate, to swell out, to bulge’ (New High German *blähen*). Pokorny 1959:120—122 **bhel-*, **bhl̥e-* ‘to blow up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:177—180 **bhel-*; Mann 1984—1987:81 **bhlājō* ‘to blow, to blossom’, 82 **bhl̥jō* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Watkins 1985:9 **bhl̥e-* (also **bhlā-*) and 2000:12 **bhl̥e-* (contracted from earlier **bhleǂ-*, or possibly

lengthened-grade **bhlē₂-* ‘to blow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:71 **bhel-* ‘to blow, to blow up, to swell’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:240—241; De Vaan 2008:226—227; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:517; Orël 2003:48—49 Proto-Germanic **blēanan*, 49 **blēsanān*; De Vries 1977:42—43; Onions 1966:101—102; Klein 1971:86; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:81; Kluge—Seebold 1989:88—89 and 89. Proto-Indo-European **bʰel-gʰ-/bʰol-gʰ-/bʰǵ-gʰ-* ‘to swell’: Irish *bolg* ‘belly, bag’; Gothic *balgs* ‘skin’; Old Icelandic *belgr* ‘the skin; skin bag, skin case; bellows’, *blástrbelgr* ‘bellows’; Swedish *bälg*, *blåsbälg* ‘bellows’; Old English *bielg*, *bylig* ‘leather bag’; Old Saxon *balg* ‘leather bag’; Old High German *balg* ‘(sg.) skin, leather bag; (pl.) bellows’ (New High German *Balg*). Rix 1998a:59 **bʰelǵʰ-* ‘to swell’; Pokorny 1959:125—126 **bhelǵʰ-* ‘to swell’; Walde 1927—1932.II:182 **bhelǵʰ-*; Watkins 1985:7 **bhelǵʰ-* and 2000:10 **bhelǵʰ-* ‘to swell’; Feist 1939:78 **bhelǵʰ-*; Lehmann 1986:59—60; Orël 2003:33—34 Proto-Germanic **balǵiz*, 34 **balǵjanan*; Kroonen 2013:49 **balgi-* ‘skin bag’, 49 **balgian-* ‘to make swell, to make angry’, and 58 **belgan-* ‘to swell’; De Fries 1977:32; Onions 1966:87—88; Klein 1971:77 **bhelǵʰ-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:46 **bhelǵʰ-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:56 Proto-Germanic (v.) **belg-a-* ‘to swell’, (n.) **balgi-m*. Proto-Indo-European **bʰl-ekʷ-/bʰl-kʷ-* ‘to swell, to expand’: Greek φλέψ ‘vein’; Old High German *bolca*, *bulchunna* ‘a round swelling’. Pokorny 1959:155 **bhlegʷ-* ‘to become bloated’; Walde 1927—1932.II:215 **bhlegʷ-*; Boisacq 1950:1030 **bhlegʷ-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1025; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1211—1212 **bhlegʷ-*; Hofmann 1966:400 **bhlegʷ-*; Beekes 2010.II:1578 (pre-Greek loanword). Some of these words may belong with Proto-Nostratic **bal-* (~ **bəl-*) ‘to well up, to surge, to overflow, to pour over’ instead.

- E. Uralic: Proto-Ugric **p[u]lʒ-* ‘to flow forth, to overflow’ > Ostyak / Xanty (Obdorsk) *pāli-* ‘to gush forth (water)’; Vogul / Mansi *pol’ciit-*, *pol’siit-*, *pol’s̄t-*, *pol’s̄at-* ‘to splash’; Hungarian *foly-* ‘to flow’, *folyam*, *folyó* ‘river, stream’. Rédei 1986—1988:881 **pʷlʒ-*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *pulgulət-* ‘to pour into’. Nikolaeva 2006:369.
- F. Proto-Altaiic **bǵūlo-* ‘to soak, to gush forth’: Proto-Tungus **b[ü]lkkü-* ‘to soak, to wet, to splash, to swash’ > Manchu *bulχū-* ‘to bubble up, to swell up’; Evenki *bilki-* ‘to soak, to wet’, *bulkiw-* ‘to splash, to swash’; Nanay / Gold *bilχo-* ‘to soak, to wet’, *bolqo-*, *bolχo-* ‘to splash, to swash’; Udihe *beäku-* ‘to soak, to wet’. Proto-Mongolian **bul(ka)-*, **bilka-* ‘to soak, to wet; to flow forth from the ground (water); to overflow’ > Written Mongolian *bulqa-* ‘to dip in water, to rinse’, *bulara-* ‘to flow forth from the ground (water)’, *bilqa-* ‘to overflow, to pour over the edge or brim’; Khalkha *bulχa-* ‘to soak, to wet’, *b’alχa-* ‘to overflow’; Buriat *bulχa-* ‘to gargle’, *bilχa-* ‘to overflow’; Kalmyk *bulχə-* ‘to soak, to wet’, *bilχə-* ‘to overflow’. Proto-Turkic **bulak* ‘spring, well’ > Old Turkic *bulaq* ‘spring, well’; Karakhanide Turkic *bulaq* ‘spring, well’; Turkish *bulak* ‘spring, well’; Azerbaijani *bulag* ‘spring, well’; Turkmenian *bulaq* ‘spring, well’;

Uzbek *bulɔq* ‘spring, well’; Uighur (dial.) *bulaq* ‘spring, well’; Tatar *bolaq* ‘spring, well’; Kazakh *bulaq* ‘spring, well’; Noghay *bulaq* ‘spring, well’; Tuva *bilaq* ‘spring, well’. Note also Kazakh *bula-* ‘to flow, to gush forth’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:362 **biũlo* ‘to soak, to gush forth’.

Sumerian *bul* ‘to blow, to breathe, to puff’.

Buck 1949:4.46 belly, stomach; 10.32 flow (vb.); 10.38 blow (vb. intr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:205—206, no. 10; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:193—194, no. 29, **bAHa* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 199, **bVLV?a* ‘to blow, to inflate’.

69. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bul-a* (~ **bol-a*) ‘penis, testicle(s)’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate’;

(n.) **bul-a* ‘large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **bolokke* (?) ‘testicles’ (assimilation from **bulokke* ?) > Burji *bolókk-o*, *bulúkk-o* ‘testicle’; Gedeo / Darasa *omborakke* ‘testicles’. Hudson 1989:150; Sasse 1982:38. Omotic: Basketo *bulli* ‘penis’.

B. Dravidian: Kannāḍa *bullā*, *bulli* ‘penis’; Telugu *bullā*, *bulli* ‘penis (used with reference to a child)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:380, no. 4309.

C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰǵ-* (secondary full-grade forms: **bʰel-/bʰol-*) ‘penis, testicle’: Latin *folliculus* ‘a leather bag; a pair of bellows; puffed out cheeks; scrotum’, *folliculus* ‘a little sack or bag; an inflated ball; scrotum’; Greek φαλλός ‘penis’; Phrygian βαλλίον ‘penis’; Old Icelandic *böllr* ‘ball, testicle’; Old English (pl.) *beallucas* ‘testicles’. Pokorny 1959:120—122 **bhel-*, **bhlē-* ‘to blow up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:177—180 **bhel-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:71 **bhel-* ‘to blow, to blow up, to swell’; Watkins 1985:6—7 **bhel-* and 2000:9 **bhel-* ‘to blow, to swell’; Boisacq 1950:1013 **bhel(e)-*, **bhel(ē)-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:987—988 **bhel-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1175 **bhel-*; Hofmann 1966:390—391 **bhel-*; Beekes 2010.II:1550 (pre-Greek loanword); Ernout—Meillet 1979:244; De Vaan 2008:230; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:524—535 **bhel-*; Orël 2003:34 Proto-Germanic **balluz*; Kroonen 2013:50 **ballan-* ‘ball’; De Vries 1977:70 **bhel-*; Onions 1966:70 and 71; Klein 1971:68 **bhel-*.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *puléetka* ‘penis’. Nikolaeva 2006:369.

Buck 1949:4.49 testicle. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 211, **bólx[a]* ‘tail, penis’; Takács 1997:374—375 (Proto-Afrasian **bul-(h)-* ‘penis’).

70. Proto-Nostratic root **bul-* (~ **bol-*):

Extended form:

(vb.) **bul-V-γ-* ‘to ripen, to blossom, to bloom, to sprout, to mature’;(n.) **bul-γ-a* ‘increase, growth, ripening, maturity, prosperity, blossoming’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate’;(n.) **bul-a* ‘large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bul-Vγ-* ‘to grow, to mature’: Proto-Semitic **bal-aγ-* ‘to ripen, to mature, to attain puberty’ > Arabic *balaġa* ‘to reach, to arrive, to come, to attain puberty, to ripen, to mature’; Ḥarsūsi *belōġ* ‘to arrive’, *bēleġ* ‘to reach puberty, to be fully grown’; Mehri *bēlāġ* ‘to reach maturity, puberty’, *bōleġ* ‘grown up, adult’; Šheri / Jibbāli *bélāġ* ‘to reach puberty’. D. Cohen 1970— :69; Zammit 2002:100—101.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *poli* ‘to flourish, to prosper, to abound, to increase, to live long and prosperously’, *polivu* ‘prosperity, abundance’, *pular* ‘to mature (as grain)’; Malayalam *poliyuka* ‘to be accumulated’, *polikka* ‘to measure corn-heaps, paying the reapers in kind’, *poli*, *policcal*, *polippu* ‘increase’, *polivu* ‘accumulation, contribution’, *polima* ‘increase, excellence’; Kannaḍa *hulisu* ‘to increase in bulk, to thrive, to grow rich’, *hulusu* ‘increase, richness’; Koḍagu *poli* (*poliv-*, *poliñj-*) ‘to increase’; Tuḷu *poli* ‘interest in kind, increase, abundance’, *pollusu*, *polsu* ‘interest, gain, luck’, *polleḷu* ‘abundance, increase’; Telugu *poli* ‘gain’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:402, no. 4550.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hul̥s̥h₂-*/**b^hol̥s̥h₂-*, **b^hlo̯s̥h₂-* > **b^hlō-* (later also **b^hlē-*) ‘to blossom, to sprout’: Greek φύλλον ‘leaf’; Latin *folium* ‘leaf’, *flōs* ‘a flower, blossom’; Old Irish *bláth* ‘flower’; Gothic *blōma* ‘flower’; Old Icelandic *blóm* ‘bloom, blossom, flower’, *blað* ‘leaf of a plant’; Old English *blōwan* ‘to bloom, to flower’, *blēd* ‘shoot, branch, fruit, flower’, *blæd* ‘leaf, blade’, *blōstma* ‘blossom, flower’; Old West Frisian *blām* ‘flower, bloom’; Old Saxon *blōmo* ‘flower, bloom’, *blōian* ‘to bloom’, *blad* ‘leaf, blade’; Dutch *bloeien* ‘to bloom’; Old High German *bluoēn*, *bluojan* ‘to bloom’ (New High German *blühen*), *bluomo* ‘flower, blossom’ (New High German *Blume*), *bluot* ‘flower, blossom, bloom’ (New High German *Blüte*), *blat* ‘leaf, blade’ (New High German *Blatt*); Tocharian A *pält*, B *pilta* ‘leaf’. Rix 1998a:72 **b^hleh₁-* ‘to bloom, to blossom’; Pokorny 1959:122 **bhel-*, **bhlē-*, **bhlō-*, **bhlə-* ‘leaf, bloom’; Walde 1927—1932.II:176—177 **bhel-*, **bhlē-*, **bhlō-*; Mann 1984—1987:85 **bhlōs-* (**bhlōj-*) ‘flower, bloom’, 122 **bhūlos*, *-ō(n)*, *-jom* ‘leaf, layer, film, tissue’; Watkins 1985:7 **bhel-* and 2000:9—10 **bhel-* ‘to thrive, to bloom’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:468 **b^[h]el-*/**b^[h]loH-*/**b^[h]lH-* and 1995.I:389 **b^hel-*/**b^hloH-*/**b^hlH-* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Mallory—Adams 1997:207 (?) **bhloh_xdhos* ‘flower’, **bhel-* ‘to blossom, to bloom’; Boisacq

- 1950:1041 **bhel(e)*-, **bh(e)lē*-. **bh(e)lō*-; Hofmann 1966:406 **bhel*-, **bhlō*-; **bhlō-t*-, **bhlē-t*-, **bhlā-t*-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1050—1051; Beekes 2010.II:1596—1597 **b^hel*-, **b^hlh₃*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1232—1233 **bhel*-; Sihler 1995:42 **bholyom*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:518—519 **bhlō*- (: **bhlē*-, **bhlā*-) and I:423—524 **bhel*- (**bhlē*-, **bhlō*-); Ernout—Meillet 1979:241 **bhlō*- and 244 **bhel*-, **bhol*-; De Vaan 2008:230 **d^holH-io*- ‘leaf’; Orël 2003:50 Proto-Germanic **blōmōjanan*, **blōmōn*; Kroonen 2013:70 **blōman*- ‘flower’; Lehmann 1986:76 **bhel*-, **bhlō*- ‘to flower’; Feist 1939:100 **bhlē*-; De Vries 1977:41 **bhlō*- and 45 **bhlō*-; Klein 1971:84 **bhlō*-, **bhlē*-, **bhlā*- and 86; Onions 1966:98, 101, and 102; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:82, 86, and 87; Kluge—Seebold 1989:90 **bhel*-, 93, and 94; Adams 1999:388; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:358.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *polžičə* ‘leaf’. Nikolaeva 2006:356—357.
- E. Proto-Altaic **bōlo*- ‘to be, to become’: Proto-Mongolian **bol*- ‘to be, to become’ > Classical Mongolian *bol*- ‘to be, to become, to exist, to be possible’; Ordos *bol*- ‘to be, to become’; Khalkha *bol*- ‘to be, to become’; Buriat *bolo*- ‘to be, to become’; Shira-Yughur *bol*- ‘to be, to become’; Kalmyk *bol*- ‘to be, to become’; Monguor *boli*-, *ōli*- ‘to be, to become’; Dagur *bol*-, *bole*-, *bolo*- ‘to be, to become’. Proto-Turkic **bōl*- ‘to become’ > Old Turkic *bol*- (Orkhon, Old Uighur) ‘to become’; Karakhanide Turkic *bol*- ‘to become’; Turkish *ol* ‘to be, to become’; Gagauz *ol*- ‘to be, to become’; Azerbaijani *ol*- ‘to be, to become’; Turkmenian *bol*- ‘to become’; Uzbek *bul*- ‘to become’; Karaim *bol*- ‘to become’; Tatar *bul*- ‘to become’; Bashkir *bul*- ‘to become’; Kirghiz *bol*- ‘to become’; Kazakh *bol*- ‘to become’; Noghay *bol*- ‘to become’; Tuva *bol*- ‘to become’; Chuvash *pol*- ‘to become’; Yakut *buol*- ‘to become’. Poppe 1960:99 and 1955:29, 30, 59, 99; Street 1974:9 **bōl*- ‘to become’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:372—373 **bōlo* ‘to be’.
- F. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **blay(q)* ‘leaf’: East Sakhalin *play* ‘leaf’; South Sakhalin *play* ‘leaf’. Fortescue 2016:23.
- G. Eskimo-Aleut: Aleut *hula*- ‘to dawn, to begin (month or day), to be new (moon), to happen in the morning’, Atkan also ‘to bloom’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:268.

Sumerian *buluḡ₃* ‘to grow, to make grow’.

Buck 1949:8.56 leaf; 8.57 flower; 12.53 grow (= increase in size). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:206—207, no. 11; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:181—182, no. 16, **bol?i* ‘to grow (of plants)’.

71. Proto-Nostratic root (reduplicated) **bul-bul-* (~ **bol-bol-*) (> **bum-bul-* [*~*bom-bol-*]):
- (vb.) **bul-bul-* (> **bum-bul-*) ‘to swell, to bubble up’;
- (n.) **bul-bul-a* (> **bum-bul-a*) ‘puff, bubble, swelling’
- Derivative of:
- (vb.) **bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate’;
- (n.) **bul-a* ‘large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow’
- A. Dravidian: Gondi *bomoli* ‘foam’, *bommul* ‘foam, bubble’, *bomoolee* ‘saliva, foam, froth’; Pengo *pumel* ‘foam’; Manḍa *pumbel* ‘foam’; Kui *pumbeli* ‘foam, froth’; Kuwi *pomboli* ‘foam’, *pumbulli* ‘froth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:378, no. 4280.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **bumbul-* ‘down-feathers’: Georgian *bumbul-* ‘down-feathers’; Mingrelian *bumbul-* ‘featherbed’; Laz *bumbul-* ‘featherbed’. Klimov 1964:55.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^humb^hul-*, **b^homb^hol-* ‘puff, bubble, swelling’: Ossetic *būmbūl* ‘down-feathers’, (Digorian) *bomboli* ‘down-feathers’; Armenian *bmbul* ‘furry animal, ball of fluff, eiderdown’; Greek πομφόλυξ ‘a bubble’; Old Czech *búbel* ‘bladder, bubble, cyst’; Lithuanian *bum̃bulis* ‘knot, knob, clump’. Probably also: English *bubble*; New High German (dial.) *bobbel*, *bubbel* ‘bubble’; Dutch *bobbel* ‘bubble’; Swedish *bubla* ‘bubble’; Danish *boble* ‘bubble’. Walde 1927—1932.II:108; Mann 1984—1987:123 **bhumbhulis*, *-os*, *-ā* ‘swelling, bulge, knob, puff’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:880; Boisacq 1950:803; Hofmann 1966:279; Frisk 1970—1973.II:503; Beekes 2010.II:1171; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:64; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:66; Onions 1966:122; Klein 1971:97.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) (*pibil-*)*pubuški* (< **pumpuski*: < **pumpul-*) ‘pimple’. Nikolaeva 2006:372.
- E. Altaic: Manchu *bumbulča-* ‘to swell, to distend’.

Sumerian *bu-bu-ul* ‘boil, abscess’.

72. Proto-Nostratic root **bul-* (~ **bol-*):
- (vb.) **bul-* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse’;
- (n.) **bul-a* ‘mixture, confusion, turbidity, blur’
- Derivative:
- (n.) **bul-a* ‘that which is dark, dark colored; that which has mixed colors, that which is spotted’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **bul-* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse’: Proto-Semitic **bal-al-* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse’ > Akkadian *balālu* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse, to mingle’; Hebrew *bālal* [בָּלַל] ‘to mingle, to mix, to confuse’; Syriac *bālil* ‘mixed, confused’; Mandaic *blila* ‘confused, idle, useless’;

Geez / Ethiopic *balla* [በለ] ‘to spoil, to ruin, to destroy, to mix, to confuse’. D. Cohen 1970— :67; Klein 1987:75; Leslau 1987:96. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **bal-bal-* ‘to confuse, to mix’ > Arabic *balbala* ‘to disquiet, to make uneasy or restive, to stir up, to rouse, to disturb, to trouble, to confuse’; Geez / Ethiopic *bābbala* [በበለ] ‘to be mixed up, messed up, confused, scattered’, *ʔabābbala* [አበበለ] ‘to mix, to confuse’; Tigre *ʕabālbāla* ‘to be confused’; Amharic *bolābbolā* ‘to combine *nug*-seeds with flax seeds’. D. Cohen 1970— :65; Klein 1987:74; Leslau 1987:85 and 96. Proto-Semitic **bal-aš-* ‘to destroy, to confuse’ > Hebrew *billaʕ* [בִּלְעָ] ‘to destroy, to confuse’; Soqotri *balaʕ* ‘to be changed, ruined’. D. Cohen 1970— :68. East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo (reduplicated) *bulbul-addā* ‘to mix’; Sidamo (reduplicated) *bulbul-* ‘to melt, to add water and shake, to mix’. Hudson 1989:100 and 355.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **bʰl-en-dʰ-/bʰl-on-dʰ-/bʰl-ŋ-dʰ-* ‘to mix, to blend, to stir, to confuse’: Gothic *blandan* ‘to mix, to mingle’; Old Icelandic *blanda* ‘to blend, to mix’, *blendingr* ‘blending, mixture’; Old English *blandan* ‘to mix’; Middle English *blundren* ‘to stir up, to confuse’; Old Saxon *blandan* ‘to mix’; Old High German *blantan* ‘to mix’; Lithuanian *blandūs* ‘troubled, turbid, thick’, *blėstis* ‘become dark’. Rix 1998a:73—74 **bʰlendʰ-* ‘to become blurred, murky, confused’; Pokorny 1959:157—158 **bʰlendʰ-* ‘dim, reddish’; Walde 1927—1932.II:216 **bʰlendʰ-*; Mann 1984—1987:82 **bʰlendʰō* ‘to mix, to confuse, to dazzle’, 84 **bʰlŋdh-* ‘to confuse, to deceive, to err; confusion, error’, 84 **bʰlondʰ-* ‘to confuse, to stir, to mix, to blur, to deceive’; Mallory—Adams 1997:147 **bʰlendʰ-* ‘to be/make cloudy’; Orël 2003:47 Proto-Germanic **blādanan*; Kroonen 2013:66—67 **blandan-* ‘to mix, to mingle’; Feist 1939:98—99 **bʰlendʰ-*; Lehmann 1986:74—75 **bʰlendʰ-* ‘to be or make cloudy, to shimmer, to err’; De Vries 1977:42 and 43; Onions 1966:99 and 102; Klein 1971:85 and 86; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:47—48; Smoczyński 2007.1:63—64.
- C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *pulʼaŋa-* ‘to rush about, to dash; to toss’. Nikolaeva 2006:369.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **buli-* ‘to stir, to shake’: Proto-Mongolian **būli-* ‘to stir’ > Middle Mongolian *bule-* ‘to stir’; Khalkha *büle-* ‘to stir’; Buriat *būli-* ‘to stir’; Kalmyk *bülə-, bül-* ‘to stir’; Ordos *būli-* ‘to stir’. Proto-Turkic **bulga-* ‘to stir, to stir up’ > Old Turkic *bulŋa-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Turkish *bula-* ‘to smear, to bedaub, to soil, to mix’; Turkmenian *bula-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Uzbek *bula-, bulŋa-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Uighur *bulŋu-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Kirghiz *bulŋa-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Kazakh *bilya-, bulŋa-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Noghay *bilya-, bulŋa-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Chuvash *pɘlŋan* ‘to become turbid’; Yakut *bulā-, bulkuy-, bilā-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Dolgan *bulkuy-* ‘to stir, to stir up’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:381—382 **buli* ‘to stir, to shake, to smear’.

Buck 1949:5.17 mix. Möller 1911:27—28; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:207—208, no. 12; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:185—186, no. 20, **bul* ‘precipitation, mud’.

73. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bul-a* ‘that which is dark, dark-colored; that which has mixed colors, that which is spotted’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **bul-* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse’;

(n.) **bul-a* ‘mixture, confusion, turbidity, blur’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bul-* ‘dark colored; having mixed colors, spotted’: Semitic: Amharic *bullā* ‘yellow, brown’; Tigrinya *bullā* ‘light brown, white reddish’; Gurage *bula* ‘white horse’, *balbula* ‘reddish brown, brown (horse)’. (According to Leslau [1979:139], the Ethiopian Semitic forms are loans from Cushitic.) East Cushitic: Burji *bull-ānc-i* ‘gray; all mixed colors; spotted’; Hadiyya *bula* ‘(horse) spotted: black and white’; Konso *pull-a* ‘gray’. Sasse 1982:43.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pul* ‘tawny color’, *pullai* ‘dull, yellowish color’; Malayalam *pulla* ‘a yellowish color of cattle’; Kota *bul* ‘liver-colored’; Telugu *pula* ‘yellowish’, *pulla* ‘brown, tawny’; Gadba (Salur) *pula* ‘light brown color’ (loan from Telugu). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:381, no. 4310.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hl-en-d^h-*/**b^hl-on-d^h-*/**b^hl-ŋ-d^h-* ‘mixed or dark colored’: Proto-Germanic **blundaz* ‘mixed colored, gray’ > Old English *blonden-feax*, *blandan-feax* ‘having mixed colored or gray hair’. Germanic loans in: Medieval Latin *blundus*, *blondos* ‘yellow’; French *blond(e)* ‘fair-haired, blond’; Italian *biondo* ‘fair-haired, blond’; Spanish *blondo* ‘blond’; Old Provençal *blon* ‘blond’. Pokorny 1959:157—158 **bhlendh-* ‘dim, reddish’; Orël 2003:47 Proto-Germanic **blandanan*.

Buck 1949:15.63 dark (in color).

74. Proto-Nostratic root **bul-* (~ **bol-*):

(vb.) **bul-* ‘to crush, to grind, to weaken, to wear down; to become worn out, weak, tired, old’;

(n.) **bul-a* ‘that which is worn out, weak, tired: weakness, decline, decay, wear, etc.; (adj.) worn out, weak, tired, old’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bul-* ‘(vb.) to crush, to grind, to weaken, to wear down; to become worn out, weak, tired, old; (adj.) worn out, weak, tired’: Proto-Semitic **bal-ay-* ‘(vb.) to become worn out, weak, tired, old; (adj.) worn out, weak, tired’ > Akkadian *balū* ‘to come to an end, to become extinguished’; Hebrew *bālāh* [בָּלָה] ‘to become old and worn out’, *beleh* [בִּלְהָ] ‘worn out, old’, *bālī* [בָּלִי] ‘destruction, defeat, failure’; Aramaic *bālē* ‘to become worn out’; Ugaritic *bly-m* ‘worn out’; Arabic *baliya* ‘to be or become old, worn, shabby; to dwindle away, to vanish; to deteriorate, to

- decline, to become decrepit; to disintegrate (corpse), to decay, to rot; to wear out', *bilan* 'decline, deterioration; decay, putrefication, decomposition; worn condition; wear; shabbiness', *balīy* 'worn, decrepit, old, shabby', *balīya* 'trial, tribulation, affliction, distress, misfortune, calamity'; Mehri *bəlō* 'to trouble, to tire out; to nag, to interrupt'; Ḥarsūsi *belō* 'to trouble; to nag'; Šheri / Jibbāli *bélé* 'to tire out, to nag'; Geez / Ethiopic *balya* [𐩧𐩢𐩨] 'to be old, worn out, decrepit, obsolete', *bəlu* [𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣] 'old, ancient, antiquated, decrepit, obsolete, worn out'; Tigrinya *bäläyā* 'to be old, worn out'; Tigre *bāla* 'to be old, worn out'; Amharic *bəlu* 'old' (loan from Geez). D. Cohen 1970— :66; Klein 1987:74; Leslau 1987:98; Murtonen 1989:113; Zammit 2002:101. East Cushitic: Afar *bulul-* 'to become pulverized'; Galla / Oromo *bull-aw-* 'to become pulverized'; Konso *pull-a* 'flour made from dried ensete'. Sasse 1982:43. Highland East Cushitic **bulle* 'flour' > Burji *bull-a* 'a type of flour'; Gedeo / Darasa *bulle* 'flour', *bull-eess-* 'to grind', *bullo?* 'to be fine (for example, powder)'; Hadiyya *bullo* 'flour, porridge'; Sidamo *bullee* 'flour', *bulleess-am-* 'to be fine (for example, powder)'. Hudson 1989:65 and 74.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *pu-lu-un-ri* 'one who destroys'. Dravidian: Tamil *pulampu* (*pulampi-*) 'to fade', *pular-* 'to fade, to wither, to faint, to become weak, to decrease'; Malayalam *poliyuka* 'to be extinguished', *polikka* 'to extinguish', *polivu* 'extinction', *policcā*, *polippu* 'destruction'; Telugu *poliyu* 'to die, to be destroyed or spoiled', *poliyincu* 'to kill', *poliyika* 'death, destruction'; Kuṛux *polnā* 'to be unable, to fail'; Malto *pole* 'to be unable, to be helpless, to be vanquished', *poltre* 'to vanquish, to tire out'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:404, no. 4571.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hol-/b^hl-* '(adj.) worn out, weak; (n.) misfortune, calamity': Greek φλαῦρος 'bad, useless, mean, shabby'; Gothic *balwjan* 'to torment, to plague', **balweins* 'punishment, torture', *blauþjan* 'to abolish, to make void'; Old Icelandic *böl* 'bale, misfortune', *blauþr* 'soft, weak'; Swedish *blöd* 'weak, timid', *blödīg* 'sentimental'; Old English *bealo* 'evil, calamity, injury', *blēat* 'miserable'; Old Frisian *balu* 'evil'; Old Saxon *balu* 'evil', *blōdian* 'to make weak, timorous', *blōdi* 'timorous'; Old High German *balo* 'destruction', *blōdi* 'weak, timorous' (New High German *blöde* 'bashful, timid, shy'), *blōz* 'bare, naked' (New High German *bloß*); Old Church Slavic *bolēti* 'to be sick'; Lithuanian *bliūkšti* 'to become weak'. Pokorny 1959:125 **bheleu-* 'to hit, to weaken', 159 **bhlēu-*, **bhlāu-*, **bhlū-* 'weak, miserable'; Walde 1927—1932.II:189 **bhol-*, II:208—209 **bhlau-*; Mann 1984—1987:81 **bhlauros*, **bhlausros* (?), 81 **bhlautos*, *-jos* 'limp, timid'; Watkins 1985:7 **bhelu-* and 2000:10 **bhel-u-* 'to harm'; Boisacq 1950:1028; Beekes 2010.II:1575 (no clear etymology); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1207; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1021—1022; Hofmann 1966:399; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:50; Kroonen 2013:50 Proto-Germanic **balwa-* 'evil'; Orël 2003:34 Proto-Germanic **balwan*, 34—35 **balwa-wīsaz*; Feist 1939:79 and 87; Lehmann 1986:60 and 75;

Klein 1971:68; Onions 1966:70; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:31; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:86; Kluge—Seebold 1989:93.

- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *pul'gəžej-* 'to break away', *pul'd'əgədej-* 'to drop, to let go', *pul'd'əgə-* 'to be loose (of the binding of a ski); to break loose (of a dog); to become unhinged (of a door)', (Northern / Tundra) *pulgej-* 'to go out, to grow out', *puld'i-* 'to break frequently'. Nikolaeva 2006:368—369.
- E. Altaic: Mongolian *bular-* 'friable, crumbly, soft (of soil)'.
 F. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **bol-* 'to fall over': Amur *pol-dʷ* 'to fall over, to lose balance' [*volu-* 'to knock over, to fell']; North Sakhalin *pol-t* 'to fall over'; East Sakhalin *pol-d* 'to fall over' [*volu-* 'to throw down, to fell']. Fortescue 2016:24.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.84 sick, sickness; 4.91 tired, weary; 14.15 old; 16.72 bad. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:209—210, no. 14; Möller 1911:28—29.

75. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bulʷ-a* 'a kind of small bird: pigeon, dove':

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bul-* 'a kind of small bird: pigeon, dove': Proto-Semitic **bul-* 'a kind of small bird' > Akkadian *bulīlu* 'a species of crested bird'; Arabic *bulbul* 'nightingale'; Mandaic *bulbul* 'nightingale'; Tigrinya *bāla* 'a small brown bird'; Gurage (Muher) *bulle* 'dove, pigeon', (Masqan, Gogot, Soddo, Wolane) *bullal* 'pigeon'; Amharic *bəlul*, *bullal* 'turtledove'. D. Cohen 1970— .2:65. Berber: Ahaggar *ābilbil* 'a kind of bird (white, with a yellow bill, larger than a pigeon)'; Wargla *bibelli* 'fowl, poultry'. Chadic: West Chadic: Hausa (dial.) *bóló* 'dove'; Sura *mbul* 'dove'; Ankwe *bel* 'dove'; Karekare *beləwi* 'dove'; Bolewa *bole* 'dove'; Dera *hīlīl* 'swallow'. Central Chadic: Pižimdi *mbolèdi* 'dove'. East Chadic: Gabri *bélu* 'dove, pigeon'; Bidiya *bályà* 'turtledove'. (?) Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *buloʷe* 'bird'. Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:85—86, no. 60, **bVl-* 'a kind of small bird'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:81, no. 330, **bul-* 'dove'; Blažek 2003b:240 — according to Blažek, Beja / Beḍawye *belbel* 'wild dove' is "borrowed from Ar. *bulbul*, p. *balābil* 'nightingale'...".
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *puḷ* 'bird; stick used in the game of tipcat'; Malayalam *puḷ* 'any small bird'; Kota *puḷ*, *piḷ* 'small stick used in tipcat'; Toda *piḷ* 'bird'; Telugu *pulūgu* 'bird'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:382, no. 4319.

Different (erroneous) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 197a, **bVLLV* 'dove'.

76. Proto-Nostratic root **bun-* (~ **bon-*):

- (vb.) **bun-* 'to puff up, to inflate, to expand, to swell';
 (n.) **bun-a* 'rounded protuberance, swelling, lump, hump, growth'

Extended form:

(vb.) **bun-V-g-* ‘to swell, to increase, to expand’;

(n.) **bun-g-a* ‘swelling’; (adj.) ‘swollen, fat, thick’

Derivative:

(vb.) **bun-* ‘to flow, to overflow’;

(n.) **bun-a* ‘flow, flood’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **b[u]n-* ‘to puff up, to inflate, to expand, to swell, to grow, to abound’: Semitic: Akkadian *banū* ‘to grow; to be pleasant, friendly (said of the face)’, *bunnū* ‘to make grow’, *bunnannū* ‘general region of the face (especially the eyes and nose); outer appearance, figure, likeness, features’, *bunnu* ‘favor’, *bunnū* ‘beautiful’. D. Cohen 1970— :71. Semantic development probably as follows: ‘(friendly) face’ < ‘puffed up (said of cheeks, from smiling)’. Egyptian *bnn* ‘bead, pellet’, *bnnt* ‘pellet’ *bng* ‘to have plenty, to abound in (food)’. Hannig 1995:254 and 255; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:460 and 1:464; Faulkner 1962:83.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **poñk-* ‘to increase, to swell, to expand’: Tamil *poñku* (*poñki-*) ‘to boil up; to bubble up by heat, to foam and rage (as the sea); to increase; to swell; to shoot up; to be elated; to burst with anger; to be swollen; to rise; to grow high; to abound, to flourish; to be fruitful; to cook’, *poñkam* ‘increase, abundance, joy, splendor’; Malayalam *poñnuka* ‘to boil over, to bubble up, to spread’; Kota *poñg-* (*poñgy-*) ‘to increase magically in number’; Kannada *poñgu* ‘to boil over, to burst open, to expand, to open, to blossom, to swell, to be elated, to exult, to be overjoyed’; Kodagu *poñṅ-* (*poñṅi-*) ‘to swell’; Tuḷu *boñguni* ‘to be distended’, *boñky*, *boñku* ‘protuberance’; Telugu *poñgu* ‘to bubble up, to boil, to effervesce, to rejoice, to be elated, to be puffed up, to be proud’; Kolami *poñg-* (*poñkt-*) ‘to boil over’; Naikṛi *poñg-* ‘to expand’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:395—396, no. 4469.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hong^h-*/**b^hṅg^h-* (secondary full-grade form: **b^heng^h-*) ‘to swell, to fatten, to grow, to increase’, **b^hṅg^hu-* ‘swollen, fat, thick’: Sanskrit *bañhate* ‘to grow, to increase’, *bahú-ḥ* ‘much, abundant, great, large’; Greek *παχύς* ‘thick, stout, fat, massive’; Old Icelandic *bingr* ‘bed, bolster’, *bunga* ‘elevation’, *bunki* ‘heap, pile’; Old High German *bungo* ‘clod, lump’; Latvian *biezs* ‘thick’; (?) Hittite *pa-an-ku-uš* ‘all, whole’ (for an alternative etymology, cf. Polomé 1968:98—101). Pokorny 1959:127—128 **bhenḡh-*, **bhṅḡh-* (adj. **bhṅḡhú-s*) ‘thick, dense’; Rix 1998a:61 **b^henḡ^h-* ‘to make thick, solid, firm, dense’; Walde 1927—1932.II:151 **bhenḡh-*, **bhṅḡh-* (adj. **bhṅḡhú-s*); Mann 1984—1987:87 **bhṅgh-* ‘big, mass, lump’, 124 **bhunghos*, *-ā* ‘hump, bulge, growth’; Watkins 1985:7 **bhengh-* (zero-grade form **bhṅghu-*) and 2000:10 **bhengh-* ‘thick, fat’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:174 and II:782 **b^[h]enḡ^[h]-*, **b^[h]ṅḡ^[h]-* and 1995.I:140 and I:684 **b^henḡ^h-*, **b^hṅḡ^h-* ‘thick, solid’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:400 and II:424—425; Mallory—Adams 1997:3 **bhénḡhus* ‘thick,

abundant'; Boisacq 1950:753 **bhṅghú-s*; Hofmann 1966:256 **bhṅghús*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:866 **bhṅgh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:484—485 **bhṅgh-*; Beekes 2010.II:1159—1160 **bhṅgh-u-*; Orël 2003:62 Proto-Germanic **bunḡōn*, 62 **bunkōn*; De Vries 1977:37 and 65; Kloekhorst 2008b:624—625; Sturtevant 1951:40, §62d, Indo-Hittite **b'ḡng'éws*; Puhvel 1984— .8:84—93 **bhṅghú-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:13—15 **b'engh-*.

- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **puṅka* (**poṅka*) 'rounded protuberance, lump' > Estonian *pung* 'rounded protuberance (bud, knob, etc.)'; Lapp / Saami *bug'ge* 'bump, lump; hump; swollen or expanded object'; Mordvin *pokol'* 'lump, protuberance'; Zyrian / Komi *bugyl'* 'hump, ball, globe'; Vogul / Mansi *puuṅhläp* 'having a knob (or knobs)'; Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *puṅkəl*, (Southern) *poṅgəl* 'knob, knoll, protuberance; gnarl on a tree; clod of snow', (Tremyugan) *puṅkət*, (North Kazym) *poṅət*, (Southern) *poṅgət* 'abscess, boil, gnarl on a tree'; Hungarian *bog* 'knob; thickening on a plant stalk; gnarl on a tree'. Collinder 1955:109 and 1977:123—124; Rédei 1986—1988:404 **puṅka* (**poṅka*). Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *punkə* 'hill', *pungəgə-* 'to burst (intr.); to thunder, to clatter, to make a noise', *pungunə-* 'swollen', (Northern / Tundra) *punke* 'hummock', *puṅed'ile* 'pimple', *puṅed'ilere-* 'to get covered in pimples'. Nikolaeva 2006:371. The unextended form may be preserved in Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *pönnigej-* 'to become big'. Nikolaeva 2006:360.
- E. Altaic: Manchu *boṅgo* 'point, apex; first' (cf. *boṅgo de gene-* 'to go first' [*gene-* = 'to go']); Orok *boṅgo* 'fellow, chap, lad'; Solon *boṅḡ* 'thick, big'. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:182—183, no. 17.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **pəṅur* 'mound or hillock': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *pəṅuq* 'hill'; Central Alaskan Yupik *pəṅuq* 'hill'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *pəṅuXqaq* 'hill'; Central Siberian Yupik *pəṅuq* 'hillock', *pəṅur-* 'to swell, to rise in a lump'; Sirenik *pəṅuynəX* 'hillock', *pəṅkuṭtaX* 'hill'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *piṅu(q)* 'dune, mound'; West Canadian Inuit *piṅuq* 'hill'; East Canadian Inuit *piṅuq* 'pimple'; North Alaskan Inuit *piṅu* '(n.) mound, pimple; (vb.) to develop a pimple, to swell (wave)', *piṅuktaaq* 'small round hill isolated in a flat area'; Greenlandic Inuit *piṅu* 'hillock, hummock'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:255. Proto-Inuit **pəṅuy(y)ak* or **pəṅuy(y)aq* 'swelling on skin' > North Alaskan Inuit *pəṅuyaq* 'ringworm, pimple'; West Canadian Inuit *piṅuyaq* 'wart'; Greenlandic Inuit *piṅuyak* 'blister'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994: 255.

Sumerian *bun* 'breath', *bún* '(vb.) to blow, to inflate; (n.) breath', *bún* 'nose'.

Buck 1949:4.204 face; 12.63 thick (in dimension); 12.83 sphere; 13.13 whole; 13.15 much, many. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:223—224; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:182—183, no. 17, **bongä* '(adj.) fat; (vb.) to swell'; Dolgopolsky to

2008, no. 217, **bungä* ‘(adj.) thick; (vb.) to swell’; Hakola 2000:148, no. 651; Takács 2004a:198, no. 126; Fortescue 1998:157.

77. Proto-Nostratic root **bun-* (~ **bon-*):

(vb.) **bun-* ‘to flow, to overflow’;

(n.) **bun-a* ‘flow, flood’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **bun-* ‘to puff up, to inflate, to expand, to swell’;

(n.) **bun-a* ‘rounded protuberance, swelling, lump, hump, growth’

A. Proto-Afrasian **b[u]n-* ‘to flow, to overflow’: Egyptian *bnn* ‘to overflow’, *bnnb* ‘to flow, to run’. Hannig 1995:254; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:459 and 1:460; Faulkner 1962:82—83. Proto-Chadic **bəna* ‘to wash oneself, to bathe’ > Bole *bināa* ‘to wash oneself, to bathe’; Hausa *wànkàà* ‘to wash something, to wash off or away’; Tera *vənə* ‘to wash oneself, to bathe’; Paduko *para* ‘to wash oneself, to bathe’. Newman 1977:33; Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.I:174 and II:338—339.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *punal*, *puṇai* ‘water, flood, river’; Malayalam *punal*, *puṇal* ‘water, river’; Kannaḍa *ponal* ‘stream, river’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:383, no. 4338. Gondi *pōṅānā* ‘to flow; to be washed away, to drown; (of a river) to overflow its banks’, *poṅānā* ‘to flow’, *pongānā* ‘to float away’, *pongsahtānā* ‘to cause to flow (water, blood, etc.)’, *poṅ-* ‘to flow (saliva); to flow, to drop (tears)’, *pōñ-* ‘(pus or blood) to come out of a wound’; Koṇḍa *poṅ-* ‘to be spilled’, *pok-* ‘to spill; to pour (water)’; Pengo *boṅ-* ‘to be spilled’, *bok-* ‘to spill’; Kui *ponga* (*pongi-*) ‘to be spilt, scattered’, *popka* (< **pok-p-*; *pokt-*) ‘to spill, to scatter’; Kuwi *bōkhali* ‘to spill’, *bokh’nai* ‘to shed, to spill’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:396, no. 4470.

Buck 1949:9.36 wash.

78. Proto-Nostratic root **bur-* (~ **bor-*):

(vb.) **bur-* ‘to twist, to turn’;

(n.) **bur-a* ‘twist, turn’

Derivatives:

(vb.) **bur-* ‘to fight, to wrangle (over), to quarrel, to wrestle’;

(n.) **bur-a* ‘fight, dispute, quarrel, battle, struggle’

(vb.) **bur-* ‘to bore, to pierce’;

(n.) **bur-a* ‘gimlet, borer, auger’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **bar-am-* ‘to twist, to twine’ > Arabic *barama* ‘to twist, to twine (a rope)’, *barīm* ‘rope; string, cord, twine’. D. Cohen 1970—:85. Proto-Semitic **bar-aw/y-* ‘to tie, to bind’ > Akkadian *birītu*, *barītu*, *berittu*, *birtu*, *bertu* ‘link, clasp, fetter’; Hebrew *bərīθ* [תִּרְיָθ] ‘covenant, pact’. Murtonen 1989:120.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **br-un-* ‘to spin, to rotate’: Georgian *br-un-va* ‘to spin, to rotate’, *bor-b-ali* ‘wheel, potter’s wheel’, *bru* ‘dizziness’, *tav-bru* ‘dizziness in the head’; Mingrelian *bur-in-* ‘to throw something with spinning; to whirl’. Klimov 1998:19 **brun-* ‘to spin, to whirl’; Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:72 **bor-*, 75—76 **br-*; Schmidt 1962:98; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:59 **bor-*, 60 **br-*. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated; dissimilated from earlier **bor-bora-*) **borbala-* ‘spider’: Georgian *borbala-* ‘spider’; Mingrelian *bo(r)bolia-* ‘spider’; Laz *bombula-* ‘spider’. Klimov 1964:53 **borbala-* and 1998:17 **borbal-* ‘spider’. Assuming semantic development from ‘to spin, to twist’ as in Old English *spībra* ‘spider’ < **spinbron* < **spinnan* ‘to spin, to twist’.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **purk3* ‘to twist, to turn’ > Mordvin (Erza) *puvra-*, (Moksha) *puvra-*, *puvoia-* ‘to turn (tr.), to wind, to turn around; to put out of joint, to dislocate’; Votyak / Udmurt *porjal-* ‘to turn around (intr.), to whirl around’; Hungarian *forog-* ~ *forg-* ‘to turn (intr.), to revolve; to whirl, to rotate; to circulate; to move (intr.)’, *fordul-* ‘to turn, to turn around (intr.)’, *fordit-* ‘to turn (tr.)’; Vogul / Mansi *poger-* ‘to roll (intr.), to trundle’. Collinder 1955:78 and 1977:95; Rédei 1986—1988:414 **purk3-* (**pɣrɣ3-*); Décsy 1990:106 **purka/*pirkä* ‘to twist, to turn’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *porqo-* ‘crooked’, *porqušej-* ‘to bend’, *porqəjə* ‘curved bank’, *porqušu-* ‘to bend’, *porqəjəñ-* ‘steep’. Nikolaeva 2006:362.
- D. Altaic: Proto-Turkic **bur(a)-* ‘to twist, to wind around’ > Turkish *bur-* ‘to twist, to wring; to castrate’, *burma* ‘act of twisting; castration; screw; convolution; griping of the stomach; screwed, twisted, castrated’, *buruk* ‘twisted, sprained’; Gagauz *bur-* ‘to twist, to wind around’; Azerbaijani *bur-* ‘to twist, to wind around’; Turkmenian *bur-* ‘to twist, to wind around’; Uzbek *bur-*, *bura-* ‘to twist, to wind around’; Uighur *bur-* ‘to twist, to wind around’; Karaim *bur-* ‘to twist, to wind around’; Tatar *bor-* ‘to twist, to wind around’; Bashkir *bor-* ‘to twist, to wind around’; Kirghiz *bur-*, *bura-* ‘to twist, to wind around’; Kazakh *bur-*, *bura-* ‘to twist, to wind around’; Noghay *bur-*, *bura-* ‘to twist, to wind around’; Chuvash *pɔ̃ʷr-* ‘to twist, to wind around’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:955—956) include the above forms under Proto-Altaic **mura* ‘round; to turn, to return’.

Buck 1949:10.12 turn (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:202, no. 7; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 221, **bUrV* ‘to turn round, to rotate’.

79. Proto-Nostratic root **bur-* (~ **bor-*):
 (vb.) **bur-* ‘to fight, to wrangle (over), to quarrel, to wrestle’;
 (n.) **bur-a* ‘fight, dispute, quarrel, battle, struggle’

Derivative of:

(vb.) *bur- ‘to twist, to turn’;

(n.) *bur-a ‘twist, turn’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *barā* ‘to vie, to compete, to contend, to be rivals; to meet in contest, to try each other’s strength’; Sabaeen *brw* ‘to slaughter; to contend with, to attack’. D. Cohen 1970— :82.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *poru* ‘to fight, to engage in battle, to compete, to dash against (as waves)’, *pōr* ‘battle, fight, war, rivalry’; Malayalam *porutuka* ‘to fight, to vie, to emulate’; Kannada *pōr* ‘to fight, to wrestle, to strive’, *pōr* ‘quarrel, fight, battle, wrestling’; Tuḷu *pōriyuni* ‘to wrestle, to quarrel’, *pordu* ‘battle, combat’; Telugu *pōru* ‘to fight, to contend, to struggle, to rival, to compete’, *pōru* ‘fight, battle, war, quarrel, rivalry, teasing’; Kui *prohpa-* (*proht-*) ‘to rebuke, to upbraid, to reprove, to fight, to wage war’, *pōru* ‘quarrel, contention’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:401, no. 4540; Krishnamurti 2003:8 *pōr ‘fight, battle’ and 9 *pōr/*por-u- ‘to fight’.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian *bṛg- ‘to wrestle’: Georgian *br3-* ‘to wrestle, to fight’, *br3-ola* ‘struggle, fight’; Mingrelian *burž-* ‘to wrestle, to grapple (roughly), to turn, to toss’, *burž-ap-i* ‘dispute, quarrel, fight, wrestling match’; Svan *libərgjēl* ‘to wrestle’. Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:79—80 *br3₁₋; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:64—65 *br3₁₋; Klimov 1964:53 *bṛg- and 1998:18 *bṛg- ‘to wrestle’; Schmidt 1962:73 (fn. 3) and 99. Proto-Kartvelian *burs- ‘to fight, to wrangle’: Georgian *burs-* ‘to fight unfairly, to wrangle’; Mingrelian *burs-* ‘to barge into, to brawl, to be rowdy’, *mi-ša-burs-u-a* ‘to twist, to turn’. Fähnrich 2007:84 *burs-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:67—68 *burs-.

Buck 1949:20.11 fight (vb.); 20.12 battle. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:197—198, no. 3.

80. Proto-Nostratic root *bur- (~ *bor-):

(vb.) *bur- ‘to bore, to pierce’;

(n.) *bur-a ‘gimlet, borer, auger’

Derivative of:

(vb.) *bur- ‘to twist, to turn’;

(n.) *bur-a ‘twist, turn’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *bur- ‘to bore, to pierce’: Proto-Semitic *bar-a3- ‘to bore, to pierce’ > Aramaic *bəraz* ‘to bore, to pierce’; Arabic *barzaḥ* ‘interval, gap, break’; Ḥaḍramawt *barzat-* ‘hole’. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *bar-bar- ‘to bore, to pierce, to hollow out’ > Amharic *boräbborä* ‘to hollow out, to cut a groove’; Tigre *bärabära* ‘to pierce’. Proto-Semitic *bar-ar- ‘to pierce, to penetrate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *barra* [ቦረ], *barara* [ቦረረ] ‘to pierce, to penetrate, to go through’; Amharic *bärrärä* ‘to pierce, to make a

- hole in a water jug', *bärr* 'door, gate'; Tigrinya *bärr* 'passage, entrance'. D. Cohen 1970— :81, 83, and 87; Leslau 1987:107. Berber: Nefusa *bärsi* 'clump of earth'; Tamazight *bræc* 'to crush, to grind, to be crushed, to bruise', *abrac* 'crushing, grinding; Riff *abärsässi* 'clump of earth'; Kabyle *äbræc* 'to crush, to grind', *abrarak* 'grain, lump'. Cushitic: Somali *burur* 'broken piece'; Saho *burūr* 'broken piece'.
- B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *burma*, *burmu* 'a gimlet', *perepini* 'to bore, to perforate', *perevuni* 'to be bored, perforated', *berpuri* 'a borer'; Tamil *purai* 'tubular hollow, tube, pipe, windpipe'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:380, no. 4297.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hor-/*b^hṛ-* 'to bore, to pierce': Greek *φάρῶν* 'to plow', *φάρῶς* 'plow'; Armenian *brem* 'to dig out, to drill (out)'; Albanian *brimë* 'hole'; Latin *forō* 'to bore, to pierce'; Old Icelandic *bora* 'to bore, to bore holes in', *borr* 'borer, auger, gimlet'; Old English *borian* 'to bore, to pierce', *bor* 'auger, gimlet'; Middle Dutch *boren* 'to bore'; Old High German *borōn* 'to bore' (New High German *bohren*), *boro* 'auger' (New High German *Bohrer*); Russian *bort'* [борть] '(beehive in) hollow tree trunk, hollowed-out tree'. Rix 1998a:64—65 **b^herH-* 'to work with a sharp tool'; Pokorny 1959:133—135 **bher-* 'to work with a sharp tool'; Walde 1927—1932.II:159—161 **bher-*; Mann 1984—1987:110—111 **b^hṛāiō* (**bhur-*) 'to bore, to pierce', 126 **bhurō*, **bhurāiō* 'to incise, to bore'; Watkins 1985:7 **bher-* and 2000:10 **bher-* (also **bherə-*) 'to cut, to pierce, to bore'; Mallory—Adams 1997:549 **bher-* (pres. **bhórje/o-*) 'to strike (through), to split'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:707 **b^h[^h]er-* and 1995.I:612 **b^her-* 'to work (for example, wood, land) with a sharp tool'; Frisk 1970—1973.II:392; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1179 **bher-*; Boisacq 1950:1016—1017 **bher(e)-*; Beekes 2010:1554—1555 **b^herH-*; Hofmann 1966:392 **bher-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:248—249 **bhorō*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:481—482; De Vaan 2008:235—236 **b^horH-ie/o-* 'to pierce, to strike' (?); Orël 2003:62 Proto-Germanic **buraz*, 64 **burōjanan*, 64 **burōn*; De Vries 1977:49—50 and 51; Kroonen 2013:85 Proto-Germanic **burōjan-* 'to bore'; Onions 1966:108; Klein 1971:89 **bher-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:89; Kluge—Seebold 1989:96 **bher-*.
- D. Proto-Uralic **pura* 'borer, auger': Finnish *pura* 'borer, auger, (big) awl'; Vogul / Mansi *pore*, *porä* 'awl'; Ostyak / Xanty *pōr* 'borer, auger'; Hungarian *fūr-* 'to bore, to drill'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *parō* 'borer, auger'; Selkup Samoyed *pur* 'borer, auger'; Kamassian *pārāŋ* 'borer, auger'. Collinder 1955:52 and 1977:70; Décsy 1990:106 **pura* 'to drill, to push; to squeeze (out)'; Rédei 1986—1988:405 **pura*; Sammallahti 1988:539 Proto-Uralic **purā* 'drill', Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pura*, Proto-Ugric **pūra*; Janhunen 1977b:114.
- E. Altaic: Mongolian *buryui-* 'a piece of wire used to clean a smoking pipe'. Turkish *bur-* 'to bore a hole', *burgu* 'auger, gimlet, corkscrew'; Tatar *borau* 'borer, auger'.

Sumerian *būr* ‘to bore through, to pierce’.

Buck 1949:9.46 bore. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:196—197, no. 2; Brunner 1969:27, no. 73; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:186—187, no. 21, **bura* ‘to bore’; Möller 1911:33—34; Hakola 2000:149, no. 656; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 251, **bōr[a]* ‘to pierce, to bore’.

81. Proto-Nostratic root **bur-* (~ **bor-*):

(vb.) **bur-* ‘to blow, to blow about, to whirl, to rage’;

(n.) **bur-a* ‘storm, whirl, rage’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bur-* ‘to blow’: Proto-Southern Cushitic **bur-* ‘to blow (of wind)’ > Alagwa *bur-* ‘to fan’; K’wadza *bul-* ‘to blow’; Dahalo *būri* ‘to fart’. Ehret 1980:140. Proto-Southern Cushitic **buru-* ‘dust, blowing dust’ (derivative of **bur-* ‘to blow’) > K’wadza *bulatiko* ‘high stratus overcast’; Asa *buʔurita* ‘cloud’; Ma’a *maburú* ‘dung (of sheep or goat)’; Dahalo *búrunne* ‘dust’. Ehret 1980:141. Proto-Chadic **bVr-* ‘to blow’ > Kwang *bō:ré* ‘to blow’; Kera *bò:rè* ‘to blow’. Jungrathmayr—Ibriszimow 1995.I:15 **b-r* ‘to blow’ and II:32—33.
- B. Dravidian: Kui *buru*, *burku* ‘fine rain’; Kuwi *būri būri rīnai*, *būri pīyu rīnai* ‘to mizzle, to drizzle’, *būri pīyu*, *huri huri pīyu* ‘drizzle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:379, no. 4288.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hur-/b^hṛ-* ‘to move rapidly, to rage, to quiver, to palpitate’: Sanskrit *bhurāti* ‘to move rapidly, to stir, to palpitate, to quiver, to struggle (in swimming)’, *bhurváni-h* ‘restless, excited’; Greek φῶρῶ ‘to mix’; Latin *furō* ‘to rage’; Old Icelandic *byrr* ‘fair wind’; Old English *byre* ‘strong wind, storm’; East Frisian *bur* ‘wind’; Middle High German *burren* ‘to rush, to roar, to whirr’; Armenian *burn* ‘violence’; Old Church Slavic *burja* ‘storm’. Pokorny 1959:132—133 **bher-* ‘to well up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:157—159 **bher-*; Mann 1984—1987:126 **bhūr-* ‘wild, dashing; dash, passion’, 126 **bhūrō*, *-iō* (expressive variant **bhur-*) ‘to rush, to roar, to rage’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:508—509 and 509—510; Boisacq 1950:1042; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1054—1055; Beekes 2010.II:1598—1599 (pre-Greek loanword); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1235—1236; Hofmann 1966:406—407 **bhur-iō*; De Vaan 2008:252; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:570—572; Ernout—Meillet 1979:263; De Vries 1977:68.
- D. Proto-Uralic **purki* ‘snowstorm, drifting of snow’, **purka-* ‘to whirl, to fall, to drift (of snow)’: Finnish *purku*, *pyrky* ‘snowstorm, whirling, drifting of snow, snowdrift’; Lapp / Saami *bor’gá* ‘cloud, spray of snow’; Cheremis / Mari *purge-* ‘to fall, to whirl (of snow or dust)’, *purgōž* ‘snowstorm, drifting of snow’; Vogul / Mansi *paark*, *poarka* ‘snowstorm, drifting of snow, a place drifted over with snow’; Ostyak / Xanty *pörki* ‘drifting of snow’. Collinder 1955:52 and 1977:70; Sammallahti 1988:547 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **purki* ‘snow flurry’; Rédei 1986—1988:406—407 **purkz*;

Zhivlov 2023:123, 164, and 165 Proto-Uralic **purki* ‘snowstorm, snow-drift’, **purka-* ‘to be a snowstorm’.

- E. Proto-Altaic **böru* ‘dust, smoke; whirlwind’: Proto-Tungus **bure-ki* ‘dust, new-fallen snow’ > Evenki *burki* ‘new-fallen snow’; Lamut / Even *burku* ‘new-fallen snow’; Manchu *buraki* ‘dust’; Jurchen *bureŋ-ki* ‘dust’; Ulch *burexi* ‘dust’; Nanay / Gold *burexi* ‘dust’; Oroch *burexi* ‘dust’. Proto-Mongolian **bur-gi-*, **bür-gi-* ‘to rise (of dust, smoke)’ > Written Mongolian *burgi-(ra-)*, *bürgi-ni-* ‘to rise in clouds; to whirl (as dust, water, or smoke)’; Middle Mongolian *burqaliḡ* ‘whirlwind’; Khalkha *borgi-* ‘to rise (of dust, smoke)’; Buriat (Tsongol) *burya-*, *buryol-* ‘to rise (of dust, smoke)’; Kalmyk *bürgn-*, *bürgəñ-* ‘to rise (of dust, smoke)’; Ordos *burgila-*, *burgi-* ‘to rise (of dust, smoke)’. Proto-Turkic **bur-uk-* ‘(n.) dust, smoke, soot; (vb.) to blow (of a snowstorm); to curl (of smoke); to choke (in smoke); to produce smoke puffs’ > Turkmenian *burug-sa-* ‘to curl (of smoke)’; Uzbek *buruq-sa-* ‘to curl (of smoke)’; Uighur *buruḡ-t-un bolmaq* ‘to choke (in smoke)’; Kirghiz *buruq-su-* ‘to curl (of smoke)’; Yakut *buruo* ‘smoke’; Dolgan *buruo* ‘smoke’. Poppe 1960:21, 79, and 102; Street 1974:9 **bur-* ‘to rotate rapidly’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 375—376 **boru* ‘dust; smoke, whirlwind’.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **pirtur* ‘snowstorm’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *piXtuq* ‘snowstorm’; Central Alaskan Yupik *piXtuk*, *piXta* ‘snowstorm’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *piXtuq* ‘snowstorm’; Central Siberian Yupik *piXtuq* ‘drifting snow’; Seward Peninsula Inuit (Imaq) *piqtuq* ‘snowstorm’; West Canadian Inuit *piqtuq* ‘drift snow’; East Canadian Inuit *piiqtuq* ‘snow flurry’; Greenlandic Inuit *pirtuq* ‘snowstorm’. Fortescue—Jacobsen—Kaplan 1994:264. Proto-Eskimo **pircir-* ‘to be a snowstorm’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *piXciq-* ‘to be a snowstorm’; Central Alaskan Yupik *piXcir-* ‘to be a blizzard’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *piXsir-* ‘to be a blizzard’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *piqsiq-* ‘to be a snowstorm’; North Alaskan Inuit *piqsiq-* ‘to be a wet snowstorm’; Western Canadian Inuit *piqsiq-* ‘to drift (snow)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pirsi(q)-* ‘to drift (snow)’; Greenlandic Inuit *pirsir-* ‘to be a snowstorm’. Fortescue—Jacobsen—Kaplan 1994:264.

Buck 1949:10.26 shake (vb. tr.); 10.38 blow (vb. intr.); 16.43 rage, fury. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:188—190, no. 23, **bur_Λ* ‘(sand) storm, snowstorm’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:225—226, no. 31; Hakola 2000:141—142, no. 619; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 252, **bu_ʀu(-K_U)* (or **bu_ʀü(-K_U)*) ‘to spurt, to gush forth, to boil, to seethe’.

82. Proto-Nostratic root **bur-* (~ **bor-*):
 (vb.) **bur-* ‘to bite, to eat’;
 (n.) **bur-a* ‘food’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bor-* ‘to bite, to eat’: Proto-Semitic **bar-ay-* ‘to eat’ > Hebrew *bārāh* [בָּרַחַ] ‘to eat (bread)’, *bārūθ* [בָּרוּת], *bārōθ* [בָּרוֹת] ‘food, nourishment’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). Klein 1987:83 and 84. Egyptian *br* ‘food, nourishment’, *brbr* ‘food, drink’, *brbs* ‘a kind of drink’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:465 and 1:466; Hannig 1995:256 and 257. East Chadic **HV-bwar-* ‘to eat’ > Tumak *bor* ‘to eat’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:77, no. 315, **bor-* ‘to eat’.
- B. Indo-European: Sanskrit *bhārvati* ‘to chew, to devour’; Avestan *baoirya-* ‘to chew’, *baourvō* ‘food’. Walde 1927—1932.II:164—165 **bher-* ‘to devour, to eat’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:481—482.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pure-* ‘to bite, to eat’ > Finnish *pure-* ‘to bite’; Estonian *pure-* ‘to bite’; Lapp / Saami *borrâ-/borâ-* ‘to eat, to bite (of dog, etc.)’; Mordvin *pore-* ‘to chew, to gnaw, to corrode’; Cheremis / Mari *pōra-*, *pura-* ‘to bite, to chew’; Votyak / Udmurt *pury-* ‘to bite, to bite to pieces (of dogs)’; Zyrian / Komi *pur-* ‘to bite (of animals)’; Vogul / Mansi *pur-* ‘to bite’; Ostyak / Xanty *pōr-* ‘to bite’. Collinder 1955:109—110 and 1977:124; Décsy 1990:106 **pura* ‘to bite’; Rédei 1986—1988:405—406 **pure-* ‘to bite’; Sammallahti 1988:539 Proto-Uralic **pori-* ‘to bite’. See also Janhunen 1977b:127—128 Proto-Samoyed **por-* ‘to eat’.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 5.11 eat. Hakola 2000:150, no. 660.

83. Proto-Nostratic root **bur-* (~ **bor-*):

(vb.) **bur-* ‘to cover, to wrap up’;

(n.) **bur-a* ‘cover, covering’

- A. Afroasiatic: Berber: Kabyle *sburr* ‘to cover, to wrap up’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pōr* ‘to wear, to wrap oneself in, to cover, to envelope, to surround’, *pōrvai* ‘covering, wrapping, upper garment, cloak, rug’; Malayalam *pōrkkuka* ‘to wrap, to cloak’; Telugu *pōruva* ‘cloth’; Koḍagu *poraḍ-* (*poraḍuv-*, *poraḍ-*) ‘to dress (well)’; Kolami *porkip-* ‘to cover, to close’; Naikri *porkip-* ‘to cover, to close’; Gadba *porege* ‘loincloth’; Gondi *poriyā* ‘loincloth’; Konḍa *porpa-* ‘to cover the body with a garment, to put on an upper garment’; Pengo *por-* ‘to put on an upper garment, to wear round the shoulders’; Maṇḍa *pur-* ‘to put on an upper garment’; Kui *porpa* (*port-*) ‘to wrap around the body, to put on an upper cloth’; Kuwi *por-* ‘to wrap around myself, to wear (cloak)’, *porbi ki-* ‘to cover another’, *porvu* ‘a cover’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:406, no. 4590.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **bur-* ‘to muffle up, to wrap up, to darken’: Georgian *bur-* in *da-bur-va* ‘to muffle up, to darken’; Mingrelian *bur-* in *burua-* ‘to patch, to mend’; Laz *bur-* in *o-bur-u* ‘to patch, to mend’; Svan *bur-* ‘to darken’, *huri* ‘dark’ in *rəhijhuri* (idiomatic) ‘life’ (that is, ‘light and dark’: *rəhi* ‘clear [light]’), *bi-bwr-e* ‘to darken something, to get dark’, *libwṛāl* ‘to become dark’, *mubwir* ‘dark; darkness’ (semantics as in Latin *obscurus*

‘dark’, originally ‘covered’). Fährnich—Sardshweladse 1995:67 *bur-; Klimov 1964:55 *bur- and 1998:20 *bur- ‘to muffle up, to wrap up, to darken’; Fährnich 1994:230 and 2007:82 *bur-.

- D. Proto-Altaic *būri- (~ -jū-, -e) ‘(vb.) to cover; (n.) shade’: Proto-Tungus *bū- ‘to shade (light)’ > Evenki bū- ‘to shade (light)’. Perhaps also Evenki boro ‘dusk’; Manchu boro ‘hat (made of straw)’. Proto-Mongolian *būrū- ‘(vb.) to cover; (n.) dusk, darkening’ > Written Mongolian būriy, būriḡ ‘dark, darkness’; Khalkha būre- ‘to cover’, būriḡ, būriy ‘dusk, darkening’; Buriat būri- ‘to cover’, būriḡ, būriḡ ‘dusk, darkening’; Kalmyk būr- ‘to cover’, būri ‘dusk, darkening’; Ordos būri- ‘to cover’; Dagur burī, burgiēn ‘dusk, darkening’; Monguor burə-, buri- ‘to cover’. Poppe 1955:50—51. Proto-Turkic *būrū-, *būr-ke- ‘to cover up’ > Karakhanide Turkic būriin- ‘to be covered’, būrkek ‘cloudy’, būrkūr- ‘to become cloudy’; Turkish būri- ‘to wrap, to enfold, to cover up’, būriḡ ‘wrapped up, enfolded’, būriim ‘a wrapping up, folding; fold’; Gagauz būri- ‘to cover up’; Azerbaijani būri- ‘to cover up’; Turkmenian būre- ‘to cover up’; Uzbek burka- ‘to cover up’; Uighur pū(r)kā- ‘to cover up’; Tatar bōrke- ‘to cover up’; Bashkir bōrkā-n- ‘to be covered’; Kirghiz būrkō- ‘to cover up’; Kazakh būrke- ‘to cover up’; Noghay būrke- ‘to cover up’; Tuva būrge- ‘to cover up (also of clouds)’; Chuvash pəwrke- ‘to cover up’; Yakut būriy-, būrküy- ‘to become cloudy’; Dolgan būriy- ‘to become cloudy’, būrkük ‘cloudy’. Poppe 1960:111 and 135; Street 1974:10 *būr- ‘to cover, to enclose’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:374 *bōrkī ‘to cover; cover’ and 385—386 *būri (~ -jū-, -e) ‘to cover; shade’.

Sumerian bur ‘to spread (out), to cover over (with a garment)’.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 12.25 shut, close (vb.); 12.26 cover (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:191—192, no. 26, *būri ‘to cover’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 239, *būryi ‘to cover’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:225, no. 30.

84. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *bur-a ‘(fine, soft) feathers, fur, wool, (body) hair’:

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian br in br n sd ‘tuft of hair on [the end of] the tail’ (sd = ‘tail’). Hannig 1995:256.
- B. Dravidian: Malayalam pūṭa ‘down of birds, wool, fine hair’; Kota kam bu- (kam- < kaṇ ‘eye’) ‘eyebrow’; Tuḷu pulle ‘plume, feather’; Kolami bu-r ‘eyelash, eyebrow’, būr ‘fur’; Naiki būr ‘down, fine feathers’; Parji (pl.) būḍul ‘hair, fine feathers, down’; Gadba (pl.) burgul ‘eyebrows’; Gondi būrā, bura ‘down’, būrā ‘feather’, būiyā ‘down’, buiyā ‘hair, feathers’; Koṇḍa bulus ‘pubic hair, feathers, hair (on legs and chest)’, burus ‘feathers, down’; Pengo būra ‘small feathers, down, wool, pubic hair’; Maṇḍa būriṅ ‘pubic hair’; Kui būri, būru ‘hair, fur, feather, wool’, pṛuma ‘feather’; Kuwi kanu būru ‘eyebrow’, (pl.) būrka ‘down’; Malto purgu

‘hair on the body’; Brahui *puṭ* ‘hair’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:385, no. 4358. Dolgopolsky (2008, no. 231) has identified three distinct Proto-Dravidian roots that have been lumped together by Burrow—Emeneau in this etymology: (1) **pūt-* ‘down, fine hair’; (2) **pūr-* ‘hair, fur, feathers’; and (3) **pur/rV-* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’. In accordance with Dolgopolsky’s views, the forms for ‘eyelash, eyebrow’ are to be removed from this etymology and compared instead with Proto-Indo-European **b^hr-uH-* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’ (see below).

- C. Kartvelian: Proto-Georgian-Zan **burdga-* ‘down, plumage’ > Georgian *burdya-* ‘down, plumage’; Mingrelian *burdya-* ‘down; shaggy’; Laz *bundyā-* ‘down, plumage’. Klimov 1964:55 **burdya-* and 1998:20—21 **burdya-* ‘down, plumage’; Fähnrich 2007:84 **burdy-*. Proto-Georgian-Zan **burt’q’l-* ‘down and plumage’ > Georgian *burt’q’l-* ‘down and plumage’; Mingrelian *but’q’u-* ‘soft’. Svan *bint’q’-il-* ‘down’ appears to be a loan. Klimov 1964:55 **burtq̄l-* and 1998:21 **burtq̄l-* ‘down and plumage’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:68 **burtq̄l-*; Fähnrich 2007:85 **burtq̄l-*.

Buck 1949:4.14 hair; 4.393 feather; 6.22 wool; 6.28 fur. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 231, **bū|ur[?]V* ‘lock of hair, down’.

85. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bur-a* ‘wing, pinion, feather(s)’:

Comments:

1. There was probably a corresponding Proto-Nostratic verb form **bur-* ‘to fly’, which is attested in Ethiopic Semitic, Highland East Cushitic, and Central Chadic within Afrasian (cf. Militarëv—Kogan 2000.I:3—4, no. 1).
 2. This is similar to the preceding etymology, and the two may ultimately be related. Indeed, the Kartvelian evidence can be grouped with either one.
- A. Proto-Afrasian (n.) **bur-* ‘wing, pinion, feather(s)’: Proto-Semitic **ʔa-br-* / **ʔi-br-* ‘wing, pinion’ > Akkadian *abru* ‘wing (of bird), fin (of fish)’; Ugaritic *ibr* ‘wing’; Hebrew *ʔeḇrāh* [עֶבְרָחַ] ‘pinion’; Palmyrene *ʔbr* ‘wing’; Syriac *ʔeḇrā* ‘wing’; Mandaic *ʔbra* ‘wing, pinion’. Militarëv—Kogan 2000.I:3—4, no. 1, Proto-Semitic **ʔa/ibr-* ‘pinion, wing’, Proto-Afrasian **ʔabVr-* ‘wing’ — they note: “What looks like a Sem.-Beja **ʔabVr-* is probably a deverbal noun (cf. [Bla. Beḍ. 2]) with prefixed **ʔa-* from **b(i)rr* ‘to fly’”; Klein 1987:4; D. Cohen 1970— :5 **ʔbr*; Murtonen 1989:81. Proto-Semitic (Ethiopic) **barr-* ‘to fly’ > Ethiopic / Geez *barra* [በፈ] ‘to fly, to run fast’; Tigrinya *bārārā* ‘to fly’; Tigre *bārā* ‘to fly’; Amharic *bārārā*, *bərr alā* ‘to fly’; Argobba *bərr ala* ‘to fly’; Harari *bārāra* ‘to fly’; Gurage *bārārā*, *bārārā* ‘to fly’. Leslau 1987:107. Note: Regarding the Ethiopic Semitic forms, Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:3—4, no. 1) observe: “Borrowing from C. Cushitic cannot be ruled out.”

Cushitic: North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *anbir*, *ambir* ‘wing, feather, chest’, *anbuur*, *anbúur*, *ambuur* ‘wing’. Blažek 2020:27. Highland East Cushitic: Burji *burr-* ‘to fly’; Kambata *burri y-* ‘to fly’. Hudson 1989:66 Proto-Highland East Cushitic **barar-* ‘to fly’ ?; Sasse 1982:44 — Sasse notes: “PEC **-brir-* (pref. conj.) ‘fly’ is attested in Sa. *-brir-* (pref. conj.). Other languages have only suffix conjugation forms with different vocalizations, probably reflections of deverbal nouns: Or. *barar-*, caus. *barr-is-*, Had. *barar-*.” Central Chad: Musgum *bara* ‘to fly, to jump’; Kwang *bre* ‘to fly’.

- B. Dravidian: Telegu *puri* ‘peacock’s tail’; Kolami *pūrage* ‘peacock’s tail’; Parji *pūril* (pl.) ‘peacock’s tail feathers’; Gondi *pūri* ‘peacock’s tail’; Konḍa *puri* ‘feather of a peacock’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:386, no. 4367.

Buck 1949:4.392 wing; 4.393 feather — Buck notes: “The majority of the words for ‘feather’ are cognate with words for ‘wing’...” Different (false) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 242, **bur[u]dV[g]V* (~ **bar[u]dV[g]V* ?) ‘facial hair, animal’s body hair, down’.

86. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bur-a* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’:

- A. Dravidian: Kota *kam bu* (*kam-* < *kaṇ* ‘eye’) ‘eyebrow’; Kolami *bu-r* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’; Gadba (pl.) *burgul* ‘eyebrows’; Kuwi *kanu būru* ‘eyebrow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:385, no. 4358 (see above for the complete entry from Burrow—Emeneau).
- B. Proto-Indo-European **b^hr-uH-* (> **b^hrū-*) ‘eyelash, eyebrow’: Sanskrit *bhrū-ḥ* ‘an eyebrow, the brow’; Pāli *bhamu-*, *bhamuka-*, *bhamukha-* (< **bhramu-* < **bhrūmu-* [cf. Gray 1902:29, §57] ‘eyebrow’; Khowār *brū* ‘eyebrow’; Avestan (f. dual) *brvat-* ‘eyebrows’; Greek ὀ-φρῶς ‘the brow, eyebrow’; Middle Irish (gen. dual) *brúad* ‘eyebrow’; Old Icelandic *brún* (< **b^hruwōn-*) (pl. *brynn*) ‘eyebrow’; Faroese *brún* ‘eyebrow’; Norwegian *brūn* ‘eyebrow’; Swedish (properly a plural form) *bryn* ‘eyebrow’; Danish (properly a plural form) *bryn* ‘eyebrow’; Old English *brū* ‘eyebrow; eyelid, eyelash’ (Modern English *brow*); Lithuanian *brūvis* ‘eyebrow’; Old Church Slavic *brъвь* ‘eyebrow’; Serbo-Croatian *ōbrva* ‘eyebrow’; Polish *brwi* ‘eyebrow’; Russian *brov’* [бровь] ‘eyebrow’; Tocharian A *pār-wān-*, B (dual) *pār-wāne* ‘eyebrows’. Pokorny 1959:172—173 **bhrū-* ‘eyebrow’; Walde 1927—1932.II:206—207 **bhrū-* ‘eyebrow’; Mann 1984—1987:108 **bhrūn-* (**bhreun-*, **bhrun-*) ‘edge, top, crest, brow’ and 108—109 **bhrūs* ‘brow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:786, fn. 1, **b^hruH-*, II:812 **b^h[^h]ruH-* and 1995.I:688, fn. 11, **b^hruH-* ‘eyebrow(s)’, I:712 **b^hruH-*; Watkins 1985:9 **bhrū-* (contracted from **bhru₂-*) and 2000:13 **bhrū-* (contracted from **bhru₂-*) ‘eyebrow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:188 **bhrūh_s* ‘eyebrow’ and 2006:41, 175 **bhrūh_s* ‘eyebrow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:534—536; Boisacq 1950:733—734 **obhrū-* (**obhrēu-*) :

bhrū-*, **bhrēuā* in Old Icelandic *brá* ‘eyelash’ (see below); Frisk 1970—1973.II:454—455 *bhrú-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:842—843; Hofmann 1966:246 **bhr-ēus*, **bhrū-es* (bhruyés*); Beekes 2010.II:1135—1136; Orël 2003:60 Proto-Germanic **brūwō*; De Vries 1977:60; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.1:80; Barnhart 1995:88; Onions 1966:121 **bhrūs*; Klein 1971:97; Adams 1999:374 **b^hruh_x-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:366—367 **bhruy(ā)-* < **bhrū-*, **bhruy-*; Derksen 2008:66 **h₃bhruH-s*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:41—45 **b^hruH-*; Winter 1965b:192 **bhrwX-*; Brugmann 1904:150 **bhrū-s* (for **bhrēu-s*) ‘eyebrows’. The following Germanic forms may belong here as well: Old Icelandic *brá* ‘eyelash’; Faroese *brá* ‘eyelash’; Norwegian (dial.) *braa* ‘eyelash’; Old Swedish *brā* ‘eyelash’; Old Danish *brå* ‘eyelash’; Old English *bræw*, *brēaw* ‘eyelid’ (Middle English *brēu* ‘eyelid, eyebrow; bank, river-side’, Modern English [dial.] *brae* ‘steep bank’); Old Frisian *brē* ‘eyebrow’; Old Saxon *brāha*, *brāwa* ‘eyebrow’, *slegi-brāwa* ‘eyelid’; Dutch *brauw* in *wenkbrauw* ‘eyebrow’; Old High German *brāwa* ‘eyebrow’ (New High German *Braue*), *wint-prāwa* ‘eyelash’. Orël 2003:57 Proto-Germanic **brēxwō* ~ **braxwan*; Kroonen 2013:76 Proto-Germanic **brēwō-* ‘eyebrow’; De Vries 1977:51—52; Onions 1966:113; Klein 1971:92; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:59; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:96; Kluge—Seebold 1989:103. Opinions differ on the origin of the above forms. Some scholars consider them to be derived from the full-grade variant of the Proto-Indo-European stem underlying **b^hr-uH-* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’ through laryngeal metathesis, **b^hr-ewH-* > **b^hr-eHw-* (cf. Lehmann 1952:47—48, §5.3a, **bhreXw-*; Polomé 1965:39, fn. 171, Old English *bræw* < **bhreHw-*, Tocharian *pärwā-* < **bhrwH-*), while others compare them with Gothic **brahv* (< **brah+wa-* [cf. Orël 2003:57; Feist 1939:103; Lehmann 1986:78]) ‘glance’, found only in the phrase *in brahva augins* ‘in the twinkling of an eye’ (translates Greek ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ), and derive the lot from Proto-Indo-European **b^hr-eE-k^h-* ‘to shine, to gleam, to glitter’ (cf. Pokorny 1959:141—142 **bherək-*, **bhrēk-* ‘to shine, to gleam, to glitter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:169 **bherək-*; Feist 1939:103—104 Proto-Germanic base forms **brēhwō*, **brēḡwō*, **brēhwī*, root **brēh-* ‘to light up, to sparkle’; Lehmann 1986:78—79 **bhrēk-* ‘to gleam’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:96 **bherək-* ‘to shine, to gleam, to glitter’ [but not Kluge—Seebold 1989:103]). According to De Vries (1977:51—52), however, two different stems are involved here: (1) Old Icelandic *brá* ‘eyelash’, related to Sanskrit *bhrū-ḥ* ‘an eyebrow, the brow’, Old Icelandic *brún* ‘eyebrow’, Old English *brū* ‘eyebrow; eyelid, eyelash’, etc. (see above), and (2) Old Icelandic *brá* ‘beam (of light)’, as in, for example, *brá-máni* ‘moonbeam’, *brá-sól* ‘sunbeam’, related to Gothic **brahv*, both of which are, in turn, derived from the same stem found in Old Icelandic *brjá* ‘to sparkle, to glitter, to gleam’, Middle High German *brehen* ‘to light up, to sparkle’, etc. (< Proto-Germanic **brēxan* [cf. Orël 2003:55; De Vries 1977:57]).

Buck 1949:4.206 eyebrow. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 237, **bûrûHV* ‘eyebrow, eyelash’.

87. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bur^y-a* used as the base for several insect names, perhaps originally ‘buzzing insect’ (if this be the case, the following underlying verb form may be implied here: Proto-Nostratic **bur^y-* ‘to make a buzzing sound’):

- A. Proto-Afrasian **bur-* ‘insect (generic term)’: Proto-Semitic **bur-* ‘a kind of insect’ > Akkadian *burta*, *burti* in *burta šamḫat*, *burti šamḫat* (also *burdi šamḫat*, *bur-di šá-ḫi*) ‘caterpillar’; Gurage (Muher) *burä*, (Chaha, Gyeto) *bura*, (Ennemor) *bûra*, (Eža) *b^wəra* ‘insect that eats the root of the *āsāt*’. North Omotic: Benesho *bur* ‘fly of the biting type’. Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:88—89, no. 62, **bur-* ‘a kind of insect’ — Militarëv—Kogan also list potential Berber, Chadic, and Cushitic cognates, but they note: “Afrasian insect names with the biconsonantal element **bVr-* exhibit a wide semantic variety (‘locust’, ‘kind of flying insect’, ‘ant, termite’), probably implying a reconstruction of more than one protoform.” I concur — see the comment below.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **puṛ-u-* ‘insect (generic term), worm’: Tamil *puṛu* ‘worm, maggot’; Malayalam *puṛu* ‘worm, caterpillar, maggot, grub, moth, mite’; Kannaḍa *puṛu*, *puṛa* ‘worm, insect (in general), snake’; Kota *pu* ‘worm, maggot’; Koḍagu *puḷu* ‘worm; Tuḷu *puri* ‘worm, mite, moth, skin parasite’; Telugu *pur(u)gu*, *pur(u)vu*, *pruvu* ‘worm, any insect or reptile, snake’; Kolami *purre* ‘worm’; Naiki *purre* ‘worm’; Naikṛi (of Chanda) *pur(r)e* ‘worm, insect’; Parji *purut* ‘worm’; Gadba *puḍut* ‘insect’; Gondi *purī*, *purī* ‘worm, insect’; Pengo *prī* ‘worm, insect’; Kui *prīu*, *prīu* ‘wingless insect, worm, maggot’; Kuwi *prīyūli* ‘caterpillar’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:381, no. 4312; Krishnamurti 2003:12 **puṛ-u-* ‘insect’ and 110 **puṛ-u* ‘worm’.
- C. (?) Indo-European: Proto-Germanic **br-em-* ‘buzzing insect’ > Old High German *brema* ‘horsefly, gadfly’ (New High German *Bremse*); Old Saxon *brimissa* ‘gadly’; Middle Dutch *breemse*, *bremse* ‘gadfly, locust, beetle’; Old English *brimse* ‘gadfly’; Middle English *brēse*, *brimse* ‘gadfly, locust’. Note: Alternativvely, these forms may be derived from Proto-Indo-European **b^herm-/*b^horm-/*b^hṛm-*, **b^hrem-/*b^hrom-/*b^hṛm-* ‘to buzz, to hum, to make a sound’ instead (see above, Proto-Nostratic **bar-* (~ **bər-*: (vb.) **bar-* ‘to make a sound, to utter a noise’; (n.) **bar-a* ‘sound, noise’).
- D. Altaic: Written Mongolian *buryuusu(n)* ‘mosquito, gnat’.

Buck 1949:3.81 insect; 3.84 worm.

Comment: Most likely, several Nostratic proto-forms are involved here. These forms have been confused in Indo-European and Afrasian. Consequently, it is difficult to sort out which forms in the daughter languages go back to which Proto-Nostratic roots.

88. Proto-Nostratic root **buw-* (~ **bow-*):
- (vb.) **buw-* ‘to go, to come, to proceed, to spend time’;
- (n.) **buw-a* ‘going, coming, staying; abode, dwelling, residence’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **buw-* ‘to come, to go (in), to enter’: Proto-Semitic **baw-aʔ-* ‘to enter, to go in, to abide, to dwell’ > Hebrew *bōʔ* [בּוֹʔ] ‘to come in, to come, to go in, to enter’; Arabic *bāʔa* ‘to come again, to return, to come back; to take a place, to settle down, to live or stay at a place, to reside’, *mabāʔa* ‘abode, dwelling, habitation’; Old Akkadian *buāʔum* ‘to come’; Amorite *bwʔ* ‘to come’; Ugaritic *bā* ‘to come, to enter’; Sabaeen *bwʔ* ‘to enter’; Geez / Ethiopic *bōʔa* [ቦአ] ‘to enter, to penetrate, to proceed, to penetrate, to be involved, to intermingle, to have intercourse’; Tigrinya *bōʔa* ‘to enter’; Tigre *bōʔa* ‘to enter’; Harari *bōʔa* ‘to enter, to go in’. D. Cohen 1970— :50; Murtonen 1989:107—108; Klein 1987:65; Leslau 1987:114—115; Militarëv 2010:60; Zammit 2002:103. Cushitic: Beja / Beɣawye *biʔ-* ‘to return home, to rest’. Reinisch 1895:38. North Bauchi Chadic **buw-* ‘to come’ > Jimbinanci *boo-* ‘to come’; Warjanci *buw-* ‘to come’; Miyanci *bəə-/bu-* ‘to come’; Mburkanci *buu-* ‘to come’; Kāriyanci *bə-/buu-* ‘to come’. Skinner 1977:16. Different etymology in Orël—Stolbova 1995:39—40, no. 157, **baʔ-/baw-/bay-* ‘to walk, to go’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pō* (*pōv-/pōkuv-/pōtuv-*, *pōṇ-/pōyin-*; neg. *pōk-*) ‘to go, to proceed, to go away, to reach a destination, to be admissible, to become long, to extend, to spread, to exceed, to be tall, to become expert in, to undergo, to cease, to abandon, to go by, to lapse, to disappear, to be lost, to die’, *pōkai* ‘departure’, *pōvi* ‘to cause to go, to lead’, *pōkku* (*pōkki-*) ‘to cause to go, to send, to complete, to perform, to pass or spend (as time), to ruin, to kill’; Malayalam *pōka* ‘to go, to go away, to go towards, to be lost, to be able’, *pōkkuka* ‘to make to go, to remove’; Kota *po-k-* (*po-ky-*) ‘to spend (time)’; Kannaḍa *pō*, *pōgu*, *pōguha* ‘going, departing, proceeding’, *pōgu*, *hōgu*, *ōgu* ‘to go, to go away, to pass away, to be spent’; Tuḷu *pōpini* ‘to go, to go away, to be lost, to disappear, to depart, to start, to pass (of time)’; Telugu *pōvu* (stems *pō-*, *pōy-*) ‘to go, to proceed, to pass, to be over, to be lost, to disappear, to be ruined, to die, to begin’, *pōka* ‘going, movement, departure, conduct, behavior’; Koṇḍa *pōk-* ‘to spend’; Pengo *pōk-* ‘to spend’. Krishnamurti 2003:103 **pō-* ‘to go’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:404—405, no. 4572.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hewH-/b^howH-/b^huH-* (> **b^hū-*) ‘to spend (time), to abide, to dwell’: Sanskrit *bhāvati* ‘to become, to be, to exist, to live, to stay, to abide’; Albanian *buj* ‘to spend the night’; Gothic *bauan* ‘to dwell, to inhabit’; Old Icelandic *búa* ‘to prepare, to make ready; to dress, to attire, to adorn; to fix one’s abode in a place; to deal with, to treat; to live, to dwell; to have a household; to be; to behave, to conduct oneself’, *bú* ‘household, farming’, *ból* ‘lair’; Swedish *bo* ‘to dwell’; Danish *bo* ‘to dwell’; Norwegian *bua*, *bu* ‘to dwell’; Old English *būan* ‘to dwell, to

inhabit, to occupy (house)', *bū* 'dwelling', *būnes* 'dwelling', *būr* 'bower, apartment, chamber; storehouse, cottage, dwelling', *bōgian* 'to dwell, to take up one's abode'; Old Frisian *bowa*, *būwa* 'to dwell', *bōgia* 'to dwell'; Old Saxon *būan* 'to dwell'; Dutch *bouwen* 'to dwell'; Old High German *būan*, *būwan*, *būen*, *būwen* 'to dwell' (New High German *bauen*). Pokorny 1959:146—150 **bheu-*, **bheuə-* (**bhyā-*, **bhyē-*): **bhōu-*: **bhū-* 'to grow, to prosper'; Walde 1927—1932.II:140—144 **bheu-*; Mann 1984—1987:97 **bhouən-* 'dwelling'; Watkins 1985:8 **bheuə-* (also **bheu-*) and 2000:11—12 **bheuə-* (also **bheu-*) 'to be, to exist, to grow'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:485—487; Orël 1998:39 and 2003:52—53 Proto-Germanic **ḥōw(w)anan*, 53 **ḥōwwiz*, 53 **ḥōwwjanan*, 65 **ḥūwan*, 65 **ḥūwiz*, 65 **ḥūwōn*; Kroonen 2013:84 Proto-Germanic **būra-* 'cabin, hut' and 86 Proto-Germanic **buwwēn-* 'to dwell; to form, to build'; Feist 1939:83—84 **bhō(ū)-*, **bhū-*; Lehmann 1986:63—64; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:66; De Vries 1977:63 **bheu-*; Torp 1919:47; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.1:65 **bheuə-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:57 **bhū-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:64—65 **bhewə-*.

D. Altaic: Manchu *boo* (< Khitan **buay*) 'house, room; family'.

Sumerian *BU* 'to reach or arrive at a destination; to come upon, to meet, to encounter'.

Buck 1949:7.11 dwell. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:202—203, no. 8; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 163, **boʔV* 'to go'; Möller 1911:37.

89. Proto-Nostratic root **buw-* (~ **bow-*):

(vb.) **buw-* 'to become, to arise, to come into being, to grow';

(n.) **buw-a* 'growth, fullness, prosperity; blossom, bloom'

A. Proto-Afrasian **buw-* 'to become large, to grow, to arise': Egyptian *bwʒ* 'to be high'. Hannig 1995:251; Erman—Grapow 1921:48 and 1926—1963.1:454. Cushitic: Proto-Sam **buuḥ-* 'to be full' > Rendille *buḥ* 'to be full'; Somali *buḥ*, *buuḥ-so* 'to be full'. Proto-Sam **buuḥ-i*, **buuḥ-ica* 'to fill' > Rendille *buḥi* 'to fill'; Somali *buuḥi* 'to fill'; Boni *buuhi*, *buhhia* 'to fill'. Proto-Sam **buur* 'big (of things)' > Rendille *buur* 'big (of things)'; Somali *buur-an* 'stout'. Heine 1978:54 and 55.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite (reduplicated) *pu-pu-ma* (?) 'the act of filling', *pu-pu-man-ra* 'one who (continuously) fills', *pu-* 'to be full'. Dravidian: Tamil *pū* 'to blossom, to flower, to bloom, to flourish, to menstruate, to produce (as flower), to create, to give birth to'; Malayalam *pū*, *pūvu* 'flower, blossom, comb of cock, menses', *pūkka* 'to blossom, to bud, to expand, to menstruate'; Kannaḍa *pū* (*pūt-*) 'to flower, to blossom, to bloom', *pūvu* 'flower'; Telugu *pū* 'flower, blossom', *pūvu*, *puvva* 'flower, blossom', *pūcu* 'to flower, to blossom, to bloom'; Kolami *puv*

- ‘flower’; Gadba (Ollari) *pūp-* (*pūt-*) ‘to flower, to blossom’; Koṇḍa *puṃu* ‘flower, blossom; cataract of eye’, *pū-* ‘to flower, to blossom’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:384, no. 4345; Krishnamurti 2003:277 **pū* ‘flower’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **b^hewH-*/**b^howH-*/**b^huH-* (> **b^hū-*) ‘to become, to arise, to come into being, to grow’: Sanskrit *bhāvati* ‘to become, to be, to arise, to come into being, to exist’, *bhūtá-h* ‘become, been, gone, past’, *bhūti-h*, *bhūti-h* ‘well-being, prosperity, wealth, fortune’; Greek φύω ‘to bring forth, to produce, to put forth; to grow, to increase, to spring up, to arise’; Latin (perfect) *fuī* ‘to be, to exist’, *fīō* ‘to be made, to come into existence’; Old Irish *buith* ‘being’; Old English *bēon* ‘to be, to exist, to become, to happen’; Old Frisian (1st sg. pres.) *bim* ‘(I) am’; Old Saxon (1st sg. pres.) *bium*, *biom* ‘(I) am’; Old High German (1st sg. pres.) *bim* ‘(I) am’ (New High German *bin*); Lithuanian *būti* ‘to be, to exist’, *būvis* ‘existence’; Old Church Slavonic *byti* ‘to be’. Rix 1998a:83—85 **b^hueh₁-* ‘to grow, to prosper’; Pokorny 1959:146—150 **bheu-*, **bheuə-* (**bhuā-*, **bhuē-*): **bhōu-*: **bhū-* ‘to grow, to prosper’; Walde 1927—1932.II:140—144 **bheu-*; Mann 1984—1987:76 **bheuō* ‘to be’, 116 **bhū-* (**bhuu-*) ‘to be’; Watkins 1985:8 **bheuə-* (also **bheu-*) and 2000:11—12 **bheuə-* (also **bheu-*) ‘to be, to exist, to grow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:178 **b^hjeu-* ‘to be’, I:198 **b^hjeuH-*, I:206 **b^hjeuH-*/**b^hjuH-* > **b^hū-* and 1995.I:177 **b^heuH-*/**b^huH-* > **b^hū-* ‘to be, to originate’; Mallory—Adams 1997:53 **bheu(h_v)-* ‘to come into being, to be; to grow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:485—487; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1233—1235 **bhū-*, **bhew-ə-*/**bhw-eə-*/**bhu-ə-*; Boisacq 1950:1043—1044 **bheuā-*, **bheuē-*, **bhū-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1052—1054; Beekes 2010.II:1597—1598 **b^heh₂u-*; Hofmann 1966:407—408 **bheuā-*, **bheuē-*, **bhū-*; De Vaan 2008:246—247; Ernout—Meillet 1979:257—258; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:557—559 **bhēu-* (**bheuā-*, **bheuē-*); Orël 2003:44 Proto-Germanic **bewwanan*; Onions 1966:81; Klein 1971:74; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:32; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:68; Smoczyński 2007.1:83; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:46—58 **b^hueh₂-*.
- D. (?) Proto-Uralic **puwe* ‘tree, wood’: Finnish *puu* ‘tree, wood, firewood’; Estonian *puu* ‘tree, wood, firewood’; Cheremis / Mari *pu* ‘wood, firewood’; Votyak / Udmurt *-pu* ‘tree, wood’; Zyrian / Komi *pu* ‘tree, wood’; Vogul / Mansi *-pā* ‘tree’; Hungarian *fa* ‘tree, wood’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *pææ*, *peæ*, (accusative plural) *pii* ‘wood, stick, cane, forest’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *faa* ‘tree’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *fæe*, *pæe*, *pæe* ‘tree’; Selkup Samoyed *puu*, *poo* ‘tree, wood, firewood, stick’; Kamassian *pā* ‘tree, wood, firewood, forest’; Koibal *pa* ‘tree’, *pā* ‘forest’; Motor *ha*, *häh* ‘tree’; Taigi *hā* ‘forest’; Karagas *hy* ‘tree’. Rédei 1986—1988:410—411 **puwe*; Décsy 1990:106 **punga* ‘tree, wood’; Collinder 1955:53 and 1977:71; Sammallahti 1988:539 Proto-Uralic **pu/o/äxi/i* ‘tree’, Proto-Finno-Ugrian **puxi*; Janhunen 1977b:117; Zhivlov 2023:160

**pawi* ‘tree’. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *pibil* (< **piw-*) ‘coniferous needles’, *pibil-pubuški* ‘larch tree bud’. Nikolaeva 2006:353.

- E. Proto-Altaic **biyu-* ‘to be, to sit’: Proto-Tungus **bi-* ‘to be’ > Evenki *bi-* ‘to be’; Lamut / Even *bi-* ‘to be’; Negidal *bī-* ‘to be’; Manchu *bi-* ‘to be, to exist’; Ulch *bi-* ‘to be’; Orok *bi-* ‘to be’; Nanay / Gold *bi-* ‘to be’; Oroch *bī-* ‘to be’; Udihe *bi-* ‘to be’; Solon *bi-* ‘to be’. Proto-Mongolian **büyi-* ‘to be’ > Classical Mongolian *bü-* (*bö-*) ‘to be’; Khalkha *biy-* ‘to be’; Buriat *bī-* ‘to be’; Kalmyk *bī-* ‘to be’; Ordos *bī-* ‘to be’; Moghol *be-*, *bi-* ‘to be’; Dagur *bie-* ‘to be’. Poppe 1960:99, 111, 112, and 125; Street 1974:10 **bü-* ‘to be’; Starostin 1991:280, no. 129, **bui-*; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:342 **biju* ‘to be, to sit’.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 1.42 tree; 9.91 be; 9.92 become; 12.31 high. Hakola 2000:151, no. 666; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:184—185, no. 19, **buHi* ‘to grow up, to arise’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:203—205, no. 9; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 181, **buHi* ‘to grow, 2008, to become’.

22.3. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *p^h (> PROTO-AFRASIAN *p)

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
p ^h -	p-	p-	p-	p ^h -	p-	p ^h -	p-
-p ^h -	-p-	-pp-/-v-	-p-	-p ^h -	-p-	-p ^h -	-p(p)-

90. Proto-Nostratic root *p^hač^h- (~ *p^həč^h-):

(vb.) *p^hač^h- ‘to split or break open, to split or break apart’;

(n.) *p^hač^h-a ‘crack, split, opening, break’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *pac- ‘to destroy, to break’: Proto-Semitic *pac-ac- ‘to destroy, to break’ > Akkadian *pasāsu* ‘to wipe out, to destroy’; Hebrew *pāsas* [פָּסַס] ‘to end, to cease, to disappear, to vanish’; Aramaic *pāsas* ‘to dissolve, to pluck apart’. Klein 1987:517; Murtonen 1989:342. Proto-Semitic *pac-ak’- ‘to part, to open wide’ > Hebrew *pāsak* [פָּסַק] ‘to divide, to split’, *pesek* [פֶּסֶק] ‘detached piece, remainder’; Aramaic *pāsak* ‘to cut, to split, to sever’; Akkadian *pasāku* ‘to cut’ (?). Klein 1987:517; Murtonen 1989:343; Jastrow 1971:1199—1201. East Chadic *pac- ‘to break’ > Tumak *paž-* ‘to break’. (?) Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *pas- or *pats- ‘daybreak, dawn’ > Burunge *pisaru* ‘daylight’; Alagwa *pisema* ‘dawn’; K’wadza *pasiko* ‘sky’. Ehret 1980:339. Assuming semantic development from ‘to come out, to break forth’ as in Lithuanian *rytas* ‘morning’, from the same root found in Latvian *rietu* ‘to break forth’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:412, no. 1416, *pac- ‘to break, to destroy’.
- B. Kartvelian: Mingrelian *pač-* (< *peč-) ‘to open’. Illič-Svityč 1965:360 Proto-Kartvelian *pec₁-.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *päče- ‘to split or break open, to split or break apart’ > Lapp / Saami (Southern) *piätseke-* ‘to go apart (of the boards of a boat)’; Ostyak / Xanty *pečäyäl-* ‘to tear or rip off, to come off (button)’; Vogul / Mansi *pišt-, peešt-, peešat-* ‘to let loose’; Hungarian *fesl-* ‘to open (of a bud), to rip up (of a seam)’. Collinder 1955:106; Sammallahti 1988:546 Proto-Finno-Ugrian *pecä- ‘to rip up’; Rédei 1986—1988: 358—359 *päče-.
- D. Proto-Altaiic *p^hač^hV- ‘to open, to split up’: Proto-Tungus *pač- ‘crack, split, interval’ > Evenki *hačiq* ‘crack, split, interval’. Proto-Mongolian *(h)ača ‘bifurcation’ > Middle Mongolian *āčiba* ‘bifurcation’; Written Mongolian *ačan* ‘bifurcation’; Khalkha *ac* ‘bifurcation’; Buriat *asa* ‘bifurcation’; Kalmyk *acə* ‘bifurcation’; Ordos *ača* ‘bifurcation’. Proto-Turkic *ač- ‘to open’ > Old Turkic *ač-* ‘to open’; Turkish *aç-* ‘to open, to begin, to reveal’; Azerbaijani *ač-* ‘to open’; Turkmenian *ač-* ‘to open’; Karaim *ač-* ‘to open’; Uzbek *oč-* ‘to open’; Tatar *ač-* ‘to open’; Bashkir *as-*

‘to open’; Kirghiz *ač-* ‘to open’; Kazakh *aš-* ‘to open’; Noghay *aš-* ‘to open’; Chuvash *uš-* ‘to open’; Yakut *as-* ‘to open’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1116 **pʰačʰV* ‘to open, to split up’; Poppe 1960:63 and 94; Street 1974:7 **ača-* ‘to fork; to open out, to come together’.

Buck 1949:12.24 open (vb.); 14.43 dawn; 14.44 morning. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:256, no. 65; Ilić-Svityč 1965:360 **pǎče-* ‘to open’ (?) (‘расширять[ся]’?); Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1663, **pačV* ‘to open’.

91. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰačʰ-* (~ **pʰəčʰ-*):

(vb.) **pʰačʰ-* ‘to cover up’;

(n.) **pʰačʰ-a* ‘skin, hide, covering’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *pašānu* ‘to cover up, to veil’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *paccāi* ‘skin, hide; covering (as of the body of a *yār*)’; Tuḷu *pāca* ‘skin of the leg’; Brahui *pacx* ‘natural outer sheath or covering, bark’, *pacīrok*, *pacīronk* ‘outer layer or crust’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:343, no. 3833.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **pečʰw-* ‘skin, hide, covering’: Georgian *becʰv-i* (dissimilated from **pecʰw-*) ‘skin, hide, fur, hair, fiber’; Mingrelian *pačʰv-/pičʰu-* ‘skin, hide, hair, fiber’, *do-pačʰv-a* ‘to bat an eyelash’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:357 **peçw-*; Fähnrich 2007:64 **becw-*.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin, hide.

92. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰaħ-* (~ **pʰəħ-*):

(vb.) **pʰaħ-* ‘to eat’;

(n.) **pʰaħ-a* ‘food, nourishment’

A. Proto-Afrasian **paħ-* ‘to take into the mouth, to eat’: Semitic: Arabic *fahasa* ‘to take out of the hand with the tongue or lips’. Egyptian (Demotic) *phs* ‘to bite’ (also *pzh* ‘to bite’); Coptic *pōhs* [ⲡⲟⲨⲤ] ‘to bite’. Vycichl 1983:167; Černý 1976:132. Proto-Southern Cushitic **paħ-* or **peħ-* ‘to eat’ > Kʷadza *pis-* ‘to serve up portions of food’; Maʿa *-pá* ‘to eat’. Ehret 1980:144. Ehret 1995:92, no. 42, **paħ-* or **peħ-* ‘to take into the mouth’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **pʰeh₂-* [**pʰaħh-*]/**pʰoh₂-* > **pʰā-/pʰō-* ‘to feed’: Latin *pāscō* ‘to feed’, *pābulum* ‘food, nourishment’, *pānis* ‘bread’; Gothic *fōdjan* ‘to feed, to nourish’, **fōdeins* ‘food, nourishment’; Old Icelandic *fæða* ‘to feed’, *fóðr* ‘fodder’; Old English *fēdan* ‘to feed’, *fōda* ‘food’, *fōdor*, *fōdder* ‘food, fodder, food for cattle’; Old Frisian *fēda* ‘to feed’; Old Saxon *fōdian* ‘to feed’; Old High German *fuottan* ‘to feed’, *fuoter* ‘food, nourishment’ (New High German *Futter*). Rix 1998a:415 **peh₂-* ‘to take care of, to watch over, to feed’; Pokorny 1959:787 **pā-*, **pə-* ‘to feed’;

Walde 1927—1932.II:72—73 *pā-; Mann 1984—1987:897 *pǎ- ‘to feed, to guard’, 900 *pǎiō ‘to feed, to guard’, 906 *pǎskō ‘to feed, to tend, to protect’, 907 *pǎt- (*pǎt-) ‘to protect, to foster, to feed’; Watkins 1985:46 *pā- (contracted from *paǎ-) and 2000:61 *pā- ‘to protect, to feed’ (oldest form *peǎ₂-, colored to *paǎ₂-, contracted to *pā-); Mallory—Adams 1997:198 *peh₂- ‘to guard, to protect, to cause to graze’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:486; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:260; De Vaan 2008:448—449; Kroonen 2013:150 Proto-Germanic *fōdjan- ‘to feed, to rear’ and 150 *fōdra- ‘fodder’; Orël 2003:109 Proto-Germanic *fōdjanan, 109 *fōdōn; Feist 1939:157 *pǎ-; Lehmann 1986:119—120; De Vries 1977:136 and 149; Onions 1966:349 and 368; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:227; Kluge—Seebold 1989:238.

Buck 1949:5.11 eat; 5.12 food. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:246—247, no. 52.

93. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *p^hak^h-a ‘scab, dried mucus’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *pakku* ‘scab of a sore, dried mucus of the nose’; Kannaḍa *hakku* ‘crusted or dried mucus or rheum, scab’, *hakkale* ‘an incrustation’; Telugu *pakku* ‘scab’; Gadba (Salur) *pakku* ‘dried portion of any bodily secretion, scab’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:341, no. 3811.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *p^hakl- ‘scab, pockmark’: Georgian *pakl-i* ‘scab’; Laz *pukur-i*, *pukir-i*, *purk-i*, *purk’-i* ‘pockmark’; Svan *pakär* ‘abscess, boil, pus’. Fähnrich 2007:429 *p^hakl-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:351—352 *p^hakl-.

94. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *p^hal-a (metathesized variant *lap^h-a in Uralic, Altaic, and part of Afrasian) ‘spleen’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *pal- ~ *lap- (metathesis from *pal-) ‘spleen’: East Cushitic: Afar *aleefu* ‘spleen’ (prefix *ʔa-, secondary *-e-). Proto-Highland East Cushitic *hifella ‘spleen’ (prefix *hi-, secondary *-e-) > Hadiyya *hilleffa* ‘spleen’; Kambata *efeella* ‘spleen’; Sidamo *efelegg’o* ‘spleen’. Hudson 1989:140. West Chadic *lap- ‘spleen’ > Sura *llap* ‘spleen’; Angas *lap* ‘spleen’; Kulere *ma-laf* ‘liver’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:358, no. 1651, *lap- ‘spleen’.
- B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *pallè* ‘spleen’; Telugu *balla* ‘enlargement of the spleen’; Parji *bella* ‘spleen’; Kuwi *balla*, *bella*, *bela* ‘spleen’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3995.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *(s)p^hel-, *(s)p^hl̥- ‘spleen’ (plus various extensions: *(s)p^hel-g^h-, *(s)p^hel-g^h-en-, *(s)p^hel-g^h-eA, *(s)p^hl̥-eH-g^h-, *(s)p^hl̥-n-g^h-, etc.): Sanskrit *pīṭhán-* ‘spleen’; Bengali *pīlīhā*, *pīlā* ‘spleen’; Hindi *pīlha*, *pīlā* ‘spleen’; Punjabi *lipp^h* ‘enlarged spleen’; Avestan *spərəzan-* ‘spleen’; Armenian *p^haycatn* ‘spleen’; Greek σπλήν ‘spleen’, (pl.) σπλάγγνα ‘the

inward parts'; Latin *liēn* 'spleen'; Old Irish *selg* 'spleen'; Breton *felc'h* 'spleen'; Old Church Slavic *slēzena* 'spleen'; Russian *selezenka* [селезѐнка] 'spleen'. Pokorny 1959:987 **sp(h)elǵh(en, -ā)*, **splengh-*, **splēǵh-* 'spleen'; Walde 1927—1932.II:680 **sp(h)elǵh(en, -ā)*, **splengh-*, **splēǵh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1253 **spelēǵhnos, -ā* (**speləǵhnos, -ā*; **splīǵhēn-*) 'spleen'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:815 **sp[h]elǵ[h]-* and 1995.I:715 **sp^helǵh-* 'spleen'; Mallory—Adams 1997:538 **spelǵh-* 'spleen'; Watkins 1985:63 **spelgh-* and 2000:82 **spelgh-* 'spleen, milt'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:385—386 **sphl-ǵh-*, **sphl-i-ǵh-*, **sphl-i-ə-ǵh-*, **sphl-ŋ-ǵh-*; Burrow 1973:134, fn. 1; Boisacq 1950:899; Frisk 1970—1973.II:769—770; Hofmann 1966:329—330 **sp(h)elǵh(en)*, **splengh-*, **splēǵh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1039—1040; Beekes 2010.II:1384—1385 **spl(ē)g^h-n-*; De Vaan 2008:340; Ernout—Meillet 1979:357—358; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:799.

- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **läppz* 'spleen, milt' (assuming metathesis from **pälz* as in Punjabi *lipp^h* 'enlarged spleen' and Hadiyya *hilleffa* 'spleen', cited above) > Hungarian *lép* 'spleen, milt'; Cheremis / Mari *lepə, lep* 'spleen'; Votyak / Udmurt *lup* 'spleen'; Zyrian / Komi *lop* 'spleen'. Collinder 1955:95, 1960:412 **leppz* (or **deppz*), and 1977:111; Rédei 1986—1988:242 **läppz* (**äppz*) or **leppz* (**deppz*); Sammallahti 1988:543 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **däpd/ppä* 'milt', Proto-Finno-Permian **däpdä*, Proto-Ugric **däppä*.
- E. Proto- Altaic **liap^hV* 'spleen' (assuming metathesis from **p^hialV*): Proto-Mongolian **niyalta* 'spleen (of animals)' > Written Mongolian *naɣalta, niyalta* 'spleen'; Khalkha *nält* 'spleen'; Buriat *nälta* 'spleen'; Ordos *nälta* 'spleen'. Tungus: Oroch *lipče* 'spleen'. Turkic: Tuva *čavana* (< **yapal*) 'spleen'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:875 **liap^hV* 'spleen'.

Bomhard 1996a:232—233, no. 651; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1311, **l[æ]pA* 'spleen' and, no. 1727, **pAl[V]gæ* – **pAl[V]gæ* 'spleen'; Hakola 2000:132, no. 574.

95. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hal-* (~ **p^həl-*):

(vb.) **p^hal-* 'to split, to cleave';

(n.) **p^hal-a* 'split, crack'

Derivative:

(n.) **p^hal-a* 'stone'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **pal-* 'to split, to cleave': [Proto-Semitic **pal-ag-* 'to split, to cleave, to divide' > Hebrew *pālay* [פָּלַי] 'to split, to cleave, to divide', *peley* [פֶּלַי] 'canal, channel'; Arabic *falaḡa* 'to split, to cleave'; Phoenician *plg* 'to divide'; Ugaritic *plg* 'canal, stream'; Akkadian *palgu* 'canal'; Ḥarsūsi *felēg* 'water-course'; Mehri *fālēg* 'stream, water-course'; Šheri / Jibbāli *fālōg* 'to split open, to make a hole in (tin, barrel, rock)', *fēlēg*

‘oasis’ (Eastern dialect = ‘stream’); Geez / Ethiopic *falaga* [ፈለገ] ‘to flow, to cause to flow in torrents, to dig out, to hollow out, to divide, to split, to hew, to prepare, to arrange’, *falag* [ፈለግ] ‘river, brook, valley’, *fəlug* [ፍሉግ] ‘hollow, hollowed, dug out, divided, prepared, ready, arranged’; Tigre *fäläg* ‘ravine’; Tigrinya *fäläg* ‘riverbed’; Amharic *fäläg* ‘stream’ (Geez loan). Klein 1987:508; Leslau 1987:159; Murtonen 1989:340. Proto-Semitic **pal-ay-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Arabic *faliya* ‘to be cut off’; Aramaic *pälā* ‘to split, to cut open’; Geez / Ethiopic *falaya* [ፈለየ] ‘to separate, to divide, to distinguish’; Tigrinya *fäläyā* ‘to separate’; Tigre *fäla* ‘to separate’. Leslau 1987:161. Proto-Semitic **pal-añ-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Hebrew *pälāḥ* [פָּלַח] ‘to cleave’; Arabic *falaha* ‘to split, to cleave, to plow, to till’. Klein 1987:509; Murtonen 1989:340. Proto-Semitic **pal-am-* ‘to split, to divide’ > Arabic (Daḡina) *falam* ‘to notch, to indent’; Geez / Ethiopic *falama* [ፈለመ] ‘to split, to divide, to strike the first blow (in combat), to be the first to do something’; Tigre *fälma* ‘to break to pieces’; Tigrinya *fällämä* ‘to begin’; Amharic *fällämä* ‘to strike the first blow, to initiate an action’. Leslau 1987:159. Proto-Semitic **pal-ak-* ‘to split, to cleave, to break forth’ > Akkadian *palāku* ‘to kill’; Arabic *falaka* ‘to split, to cleave; to burst, to break (dawn)’; Sabaeen *flk* ‘system of irrigation by dispersion of water by means of inflow cuts’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fälök* ‘to split, to crack’; Tigrinya *fälkäkä* ‘to split up, to crack up’; Tigre *fälək* ‘division’; Harari *fäläka* ‘to hit the head with a stone or stick so that blood comes out or the head swells’; Amharic *fäläkkäkä* ‘to split, to break loose’; Gurage (Wolane) *fäläkäkä* ‘to card wool by splitting’. Leslau 1963:62 and 1979:232. Proto-Semitic **pal-at-* ‘to separate’ > Hebrew *pälāṭ* [פָּלַט] ‘to escape’; Phoenician *plt* ‘to escape’; Geez / Ethiopic *falata* [ፈለተ] ‘to separate’; Harari *fälätä* ‘to split wood with an ax’; Argobba *fällätä* ‘to split’; Amharic *fällätä* ‘to split’; Gurage *fälätä* ‘to split wood with an ax’. Klein 1987:509; Leslau 1963:63, 1979:232, and 1987:161; Murtonen 1989:340—341. Proto-Semitic **pal-as^v-* ‘to break open or through’ > Hebrew *pälāš* [פָּלַשׁ] ‘to break open or through’; Akkadian *palāšu* ‘to dig a hole’. Klein 1987:512. Proto-Semitic **pal-al-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Arabic *falla* ‘to dent, to notch, to blunt; to break; to flee, to run away’; Hebrew *pälal* [פָּלַל] ‘to arbitrate, to judge’; Akkadian *palālu* ‘to have rights, to secure someone’s rights’; Sabaeen *fll* ‘to cut channels’; Mehri *fäl* ‘to make off, to get away’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fell* ‘to make off, to get away, to run away’; Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *falfala* [ፈለፈለ] ‘to break out, to burst, to gush’; Tigre *fäläla* ‘to sprout forth, to break through’; Tigrinya *fälfälä* ‘to break, to make a hole’; Amharic *fäläffälä* ‘to shell (peas, beans), to gush out’; Harari *filäfäla* ‘to detach a piece from the main bunch (bananas, corn), to shell, to pick up grains one by one from the stock’; Gurage *fäläfälä* ‘to shell, to hatch out, to make a hole by scratching’. Klein 1987:511; Leslau 1987:158—159. Proto-Semitic **pal-aš-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Arabic *fala^a* ‘to split, to cleave, to rend, to tear asunder’, *fala^c*,

fil^o ‘crack, split, crevice, fissure, cleft, rift’.] Berber: Tuareg *əfli*, *əfləh* ‘to be split; to split, to crack’, *səfli*, *zəfləh* ‘to cause to split’; Siwa *əfli* ‘to be split’; Mzab *fəl* ‘to pierce; to be pierced’; Kabyle *flu* ‘to pierce’. Proto-East Cushitic **fald₁-* ‘(vb.) to split (wood); (n.) log’ > Yaaku *pilc*- ‘small sticks of firewood’; Galla / Oromo *falat*-*a* ‘log’, *falat*- ‘to cut wood’; Somali *falliid* ‘a chip of wood, splinter’; Saho *-fliḍ*- ‘to split’. Sasse 1979:26 and 31. West Chadic **pal-* ‘to cut off’ > Hausa *fallè* ‘to hit someone hard’. Central Chadic **pal-* ‘to cut’ > Zime *fal-* ‘to cut’. Central Chadic **pal-* ‘to break (stone)’ > Mafa *pal-* ‘to break (stone)’. East Chadic **pal-* ‘to carve, to cut, to peel’ > Tumak *pāl-* ‘to carve, to cut, to peel’; Sokoro *fal-* ‘to carve, to cut, to peel’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:416, no. 1937, **pal-* ‘to break’, and no. 1938, **pal-* ‘to cut, to divide’. Note: The Semitic forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may belong with Proto-Afrasian **fil-* ‘to split, to cleave’ instead (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:191, no. 845, **fvl-* ‘to divide, to pierce’).

- B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *palknā* ‘to cut lengthwise, to split, to crack (the earth, a wall), to chap (the hands, etc.)’; Malto *palke* ‘to cut up (as fruit or vegetables)’; Parji *palva* ‘to split a piece of wood’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3991. Tamil *pāl* ‘part, portion, share, dividing’; Malayalam *pāl* ‘part’; Kota *pa-lm* ‘portion, division’; Toda *po-lm* ‘share’; Kannaḍa *pāl* ‘division, part, portion, share’; Koḍagu *pa-li ma-d-* ‘to divide, to distribute’; Tuḷu *pāḷu* ‘share, portion, part, division’; Telugu *pālu* ‘share, portion, part, share, lot, fraction’; Parji *pēla* ‘portion’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:364, no. 4097.
- C. [Proto-Kartvelian **plet-/plit-* ‘to pull, tear, or rip apart’: Georgian *plet-*, *plit-* ‘to pull, tear, or rip apart’; Laz *plat-* ‘to get worn out; to tear to pieces’; Svan *pet-*, *pt-* ‘to pluck (wool)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:358 **plet-/plit-*; Fähnrich 2007:437 **plet-/plit-*; Klimov 1998:202 **plet-* : **plit-* : **plt-* ‘to wear out’.] Note: The Kartvelian material may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic **phily-* (~ **phely-*) ‘(vb.) to split, to cleave; (n.) split, crack’.
- D. [Proto-Indo-European **(s)phel-/*(s)phol-/*(s)ph₁-*, **(s)phl-* (plus various extensions) ‘to split, to cleave’: Sanskrit *phālati* ‘to split, to cleave’, *sphātati* (< **sphalt-*) ‘to burst, to expand’; Kashmiri *phalun* ‘to be split’, *phālawun* ‘to split, to cleave’; Marathi *phāḷṇē* ‘to tear’; Old Icelandic *flá* ‘to flay’, *flaska* ‘to split’, *flakna* ‘to flake off, to split’; Old English *flēan* ‘to flay’; Dutch *vlaen* ‘to flay’; Old High German *spaltan* ‘to split, to cleave’ (New High German *spalten*); Lithuanian *plyšti* ‘to split, to break, to burst’. Rix 1998a:525 **(s)pelH-* ‘to split (off), to cleave’, 525 **(s)pelt-* ‘to split’; Pokorny 1959:834 **plē-*, **plə-* ‘to split off’, 835 **plēk-*, **plāk-*, **plēik-*, **plīk-* ‘to tear off’, 985—987 **(s)p(h)el-* ‘to split off’, 937 **(s)p(h)elg-* ‘to split’; Walde 1927—1932.II:93 **plēi-*, **plai-*, **plī-*, II:98—99 **plēk-*, **plāk-*, **plēik-*, **plīk-*, II:677—679 **(s)p(h)el-*, II:680 **sp(h)elg-*; Mann 1984—1987:949 **pleiḱs-* (**pleisk-*), 1270 **sphālt-* ‘to

bang, to burst'; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 *plek̂- 'to break, to tear off'; Watkins 1985:52 *plēk- (*pleik-) 'to tear', 63 *spel- 'to split, to tear off' and 2000:68 *plē-(i)k- (also *pleik-) 'to tear' (oldest form *ple_{2i}-(i)k̂-), 2000:82 *spel- 'to split, to break off'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:393; Orël 2003:361; De Vries 1977:127, 128, and 129; Onions 1966:361; Klein 1971:285; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:718—719; Kluge—Seebold 1989:682; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:625.] Note: The Indo-European material may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic *p^hil̥- (~ *p^hel̥-) '(vb.) to split, to cleave; (n.) split, crack'.

- E. Proto-Uralic *pälä 'side, half': (?) Finnish *pieli* in *suupieli* 'corner of the mouth' (*suu* = 'mouth'), *pieltä*- 'to tilt, to stand unevenly (for example, a pot), to stand unsteadily, to tip to the side, to give way', *pielos*, *pielus* 'edge, margin, border'; Lapp / Saami *bælle/bæle*- 'side, half (especially of a thing divided lengthwise); one of a pair, of two things which belong together, the fellow of something, one like something'; Mordvin *pel*' 'side', *pele* 'half'; Cheremis / Mari *pel* 'side', *pelə* 'half'; Votyak / Udmurt *pal* 'side; half'; Zyrian / Komi *pöl* 'side; half'; Vogul / Mansi *pääl*, *poäl* 'side; half'; Ostyak / Xanty *pelək*, (Southern) *pelək* (derivative) 'side; half'; Hungarian *fél/fele*- 'half; one side (of two)'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *peele* 'half'; Selkup Samoyed *pele* 'half', *pelek(a)* 'half (longitudinal); side; part'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *fealea* 'half'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *fēde*, (Baiha) *ferie* 'half'; Kamassian *pjeel* 'half, side'. Collinder 1955:48—49 and 1977:67; Rédei 1986—1988:362—363 *pälä; Décsy 1990:105 *pälä 'half'; Sammallahti 1988:540 Proto-Uralic *pälä 'half'; Janhunen 1977b:120; Zhivlov 2023:166 Proto-Uralic *pälä 'side, half'.
- F. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *pəl- 'to scrape skin': Alyutor *pl-ineŋ* 'flint scraper for treating skins with'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *tpli-s* 'to scrape (tr.)', (Western) *pleskas* 'to scrape', *plez* 'to prepare skin'. Fortescue 2005:221. For the semantic development, cf. Old Icelandic *flá* 'to flay', Old English *flēan* 'to flay', and Dutch *vlaen* 'to flay', cited above.

Buck 1949:9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 13.24 half. Brunner 1969:22, no. 38; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:230—231, no. 35; Möller 1911:196—197; Hakola 2000:130—131, no. 568; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1703, *PälqA 'half, part', no. 1717, *Pä[ll]V̄kV 'to split lengthwise, to divide', no. 1718, *pal[V]tV 'to split; axe', and, no. 1720, *PVLhE[ʒ]V and/or *PVLhE[ç|ç]V 'to split, to separate'.

96. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *p^hal-a 'stone':

Derivative of:

(vb.) *p^hal- 'to split, to cleave' (in the sense 'to chip or break stone[s]');

(n.) *p^hal-a 'split, crack'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **pal-* ‘stone’: Semitic: Hebrew *peleh* [פֶּלֶחַ] ‘millstone’; Akkadian *pīlu*, *pūlu* ‘limestone cutting-block’. Klein 1987:509. Chadic: Lamang *palak* ‘stone’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **phels-/p^hols-/p^hls-* ‘stone’: Greek *πέλλα* (< **πελσῶ*) ‘stone’; Sanskrit *pāṣāṇá-h*, *pāṣyā* (< **parṣ-*) ‘stone’; Pāli *pāsāṇa-* ‘stone, rock’; Pashto *parṣa* ‘stone’; Old Irish *ail* ‘rock’; Old Icelandic *ffjall* ‘mountain, fell’, *fell* ‘fell, hill, mountain’; Old Saxon *felis*, *fels* ‘stone’; Old High German *felis*, *felisa* ‘stone’ (New High German *Fels*). Pokorny 1959:807 **peli-s-*, **pel-s-* ‘rock’; Walde 1927—1932.II:66—67 **pel(e)s-*; Mann 1984—1987:1649 **pel-*, **pelis-*; Watkins 1985:49 **pelis-* (also **pels-*) and 2000:64 **pel(i)s-* ‘rock, cliff’; Mallory—Adams 1997:548 (?) **pel(i)s* ‘stone, rock’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:266; Boisacq 1950:763 **pels-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:499 **pels-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:877 **pels-*; Beekes 2010.II:1168 Proto-Greek **πελσῶ*; Kroonen 2013:134 Proto-Germanic **fel(e)sa-* ‘mountain’; Orël 2003:98 Proto-Germanic **felzan* ~ **fel(e)zaz*; De Vries 1977:123 **felza-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:192; Kluge—Seebold 1989:209.
- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **palayvən* ‘circle of hearth stones’ (?) > Chukchi *palakwən* ‘stones used for surrounding the dead body exposed in the open’; Kerek (Kamen) *palayvun*, (Paren) *palawkun* ‘flat stones by the hearth’. Fortescue 2005:208.

Buck 1949:1.44 stone; rock. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:232, no. 36; Brunner 1969:24, no. 52.

97. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hal-* (~ **p^həl-*):
 (vb.) **p^hal-* ‘to spread, to extend’;
 (n.) **p^hal-a* ‘that which is wide, flat, level, broad, open: expanse, open space or surface’; (adj.) ‘wide, flat, level, broad, open’
 Derivative:
 (n.) **p^hal-a* ‘flat of the hand, palm’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **pal-* ‘flat, level, broad’: Proto-Semitic **pal-/p^{il-}* ‘flat, level, broad’ > Hebrew *pālas* [פָּלַס] ‘to be even, level’, *peles* [פֶּלֶס] ‘balance, scale’; Phoenician *pls* ‘level’; Arabic *faltāha* ‘to make broad; to broaden, to flatten’, *fiṭāh* ‘broad, flattened, flat’; Akkadian *palkū* ‘wide’, *napalkū*, *nepelkū* ‘(vb.) to become wide, wide open, extended, wide apart; (adj.) wide, spacious’. Klein 1987:511. Berber: Tamazight *fliy* ‘wide’. Chadic: Hausa *fālale* ‘large flat rock’.
- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *həlu* ‘thinned’; Telugu *paluca* ‘thin, not thick (applied to a solid or a liquid), rare, not dense, not close, sparse; light, slight, contemptible’, *palucana* ‘thinness’; Koṇḍa *palsa* ‘thin (of liquid)’, *palsan* ‘thinly, sparsely’; Kuṛux *pelpelē* ‘very thin, transparent’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3989.

- C. Proto-Indo-European *p^hel-/ *p^hol-/ *p^hl-; *p^hel^hh-, *p^hle^hh- [**p^hlah^h-*] > *p^hlā-, *p^hl^hh- ‘level, flat, wide, broad’: Hittite *pal-ḫi-iš* ‘broad’; Sanskrit *prthú-h* ‘wide, broad’, *práthati* ‘to spread, to extend’; Greek *πλατύς* ‘wide, broad, flat, level’; Latin *plānus* ‘even, level, flat’; Lithuanian *plónas* ‘thin’, *plóstas* ‘expanse, space’; Welsh *llydan* ‘wide, broad’; Old Icelandic *flatr* ‘flat, level’, *flet* ‘the raised flooring along the side-walls of a hall’; Old English *flett* ‘floor; dwelling, house, hall’; Old High German *flaz* ‘flat, level’. Pokorny 1959:805—807 *pelə-, *plā- ‘broad, flat’; Walde 1927—1932.II:61—63 *pelā-; Mann 1984—1987:946 *plānos, -is ‘(adj.) flat; (n.) surface, plane’, 947 *platējō ‘to smooth, to flatten, to level’, 947 *plātos, -is, -jos, -jā ‘flatness, flat object, extent, spread’, 947 *plātros, -ā, -is, 948 *platus ‘broad’, 966 *pl^hthanos, -is ‘(adj.) broad; (n.) breadth, expanse’, 966 *pl^hthus ‘(adj.) wide; (n.) breadth, the wide, expanse, earth’; Watkins 1985:48—49 *pelə- ‘(adj.) flat; (vb.) to spread’, 51 *plāk- (also *plak-) ‘to be flat’, 51—52 *plat- ‘to spread’ and 2000:64 *pelə- ‘to spread’ (oldest form *pel₂-, with variant [metathesized] form *ple₂-, colored to *pla₂-, contracted to *plā-), 67 *plāk- ‘to be flat’, 68 *plat- (also *pletə-) ‘to spread’; Burrow 1973:72 *pl-et-H-; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:781 *p^hl^h(e)l-H-/-t^h- and 1995.I:218 *p^hl^h-t^h-H-eu-, *p^hl^h-t^h-H-u- ‘wide’ and I:683—684 *p^hel-H-/-t^h- ‘wide, flat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:83 *p^hl^hth₂ú- ‘broad, wide’, 205—206 *pel_{hak}- ‘to spread out flat’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:333 and 362—363; Boisacq 1950:792 *plet(h)- : *plāt- : *plēt- : *plōt-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:553—554 *pletə-, *pl^htə-; Hofmann 1966:274 *plāt- (*plēt-); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:912 *plet₂-, *pl^ht₂-; Beekes 2010.II:1205 *pleth₂-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:512—513; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:318; De Vaan 2008:470; Orël 2003:105 Proto-Germanic *flataz; Kroonen 2013:144—145 Proto-Germanic *flata- ‘flat’ and 145 *flatja- ‘floor’; De Vries 1977:129 and 130—131; Onions 1966:360 Common Germanic *flataz; Klein 1971:284; Kloekhorst 2008b:620—621; Puhvel 1984— .8:64—68 *pel-A₁-, *pl-é-A₁; Sturtevant 1951:42, §65; Smoczyński 2007.1:476; Derksen 2015:367 *pleh₂-no-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:628—629; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:562—564 *pleh₂- and 564—566 *pleth₂-.
- D. Proto-Altaic *p^hāla ‘field, level ground’: Proto-Tungus *pāla-n ‘meadow, open ground; floor’ > Evenki *hālinr̥* ‘meadow, open ground’; Manchu *fala(n)* ‘floor, threshing floor’; Negidal *palan* ‘floor’; Ulch *pala(n)* ‘floor’; Oroch *pālla(n)* ‘floor’; Nanay / Gold *palā* ‘floor’. Proto-Turkic *ala-n, *ala-ŋ ‘level ground, plain’ > Karakhanide Turkic *alaŋ* ‘level ground, plain’; Turkmenian *alaŋ*, *āla* ‘level ground, plain’; Turkish *alan* ‘clearing (in a forest), open space, square (in a town)’; Karaim *alaŋ* ‘level ground, plain’; Tatar *alan* ‘level ground, plain’; Noghay *alaŋ* ‘level ground, plain’; Kazakh *alaŋ* ‘level ground, plain’; Tuva *alāq*, *alandi* ‘level ground, plain’; Chuvash *olb̥χ* ‘level ground, plain’; Yakut *alās*, *alī* ‘level ground, plain’;

Dolgan *alīn*, *alī* ‘level ground, plain’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1120—1121 **pāla* ‘field, level ground’.

- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **pəlyər(ra)-* ‘flat’: Chukchi *nə-pəlyətrə-qən* ‘flat’, *pəlyətra-t-* ‘to flatten, to bend down close to the ground’, *rə-pəlyətra-w-* ‘to smooth out, to flatten’; Koryak *pəlvɾəj-at-* ‘to flatten oneself, to huddle up in a ball’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *pslajs-laX-* ‘flat’. Fortescue 2005:222.
- F. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **pal(η)* ‘floor’: Amur *p^hal* ‘floor’; East Sakhalin *p^halη* ‘floor’. Note: According to Fortescue (2016:132), these may be loans from Russian *pol* [пол] ‘floor, ground’.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 12.61 wide, broad; 12.65 thin (in dimension); 12.71 flat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:243—244, no. 48; Brunner 1969:23, no. 43; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1708, **[p]ōlχ|q|Γa* ‘broad and flat’.

98. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **p^hal-a* ‘flat of the hand, palm’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **p^hal-* ‘to spread, to extend’;
(n.) **p^hal-a* ‘that which is wide, flat, level, broad, open: expanse, open space or surface’; (adj.) ‘wide, flat, level, broad, open’
- A. Proto-Indo-European **p^hl̥h^h-meA* [**p^hl̥h^h-maA*] ‘palm of the hand’: Greek *παλάμη* ‘the palm of the hand, the hand’; Latin *palma* ‘the palm of the hand’; Old Irish *lám* ‘hand, arm’; Old English *folm*, *folme* ‘palm of the hand, hand’; Old Saxon *folm* ‘palm’; Old High German *folma* ‘palm’. Pokorny 1959:806 (**p_elāmā* [**p_{l̥}mā*]); Walde 1927—1932.II:62 (**p_elāmā* [**p_{l̥}mā*]); Mann 1984—1987:965 **p_{l̥}mā* ‘palm of the hand’; Watkins 1985:49 (**p_{l̥}2-mā*); Mallory—Adams 1997:255 **pólh_am̄* ‘palm of the hand’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:852; Beekes 2010.II:1145 **plh₂-(e)m-*; Hofmann 1966:250 **p_elāmā*; Boisacq 1950:741 **p_{l̥}mā*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:466; De Vaan 2008:441; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:240—241 **p_elāmā*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:476—477; Kroonen 2013:159 Proto-Germanic **fulmō-* ‘palm of the hand’; Orël 2003:118 Proto-Germanic **fulmō*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:562 **plh₂-mo/ah₂-*.
- B. Proto-Altaic **p^hāl^vηa* (~ *-e*) (< **p^hāli-ηa* ?) ‘palm (of the hand)’: Proto-Tungus **palηa* ‘palm (of the hand)’ > Manchu *falanḡū* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Evenki *hanηa* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Lamut / Even *hanη^v* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Ulch *paña* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Orok *χαηηa*, *χαηa* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Nanay / Gold *paηηa* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Negidal *χαήηa* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Oroch *χαηa*, *χαηηa* ‘palm (of the hand)’. Proto-Mongolian **haliga(n)* ‘palm (of the hand)’ > Middle Mongolian *χalaqan* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Written Mongolian *alaya(n)* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Khalkha *alga* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Buriat *ālga(n)* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Ordos *alaga* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Dagur *χaləg* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Kalmyk *ālχən*

‘palm (of the hand)’; Moghol *olaqei* ‘palm (of the hand)’. Poppe 1960:95; Street 1974:22 **pala* ‘palm of the hand’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1121—1122 **p^hālja* (~ -e) ‘palm (of hand)’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:244, no. 49; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:93—95, no. 369, **p^haliHma* ‘palm’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1728, **pā[ĭ]Hiŋa* ‘palm of hand’.

99. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hal-* (~ **p^həl-*):

(vb.) **p^hal-* ‘to fill’;

(n.) **p^hal-a* ‘fullness’; (adj.) ‘much, many’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *pala* ‘many, several, diverse’, *palar* ‘many or several persons, assembly, society’, *pal* ‘many’; Malayalam *pala* ‘many, several, various’; Kannaḍa *pala*, *palavu* ‘much, many, several, various’, *palar*, *palambar*, *palavar* ‘several persons’; Telugu *palu* ‘many, several, various, different’; Malto *palware* ‘to be multiplied, to be bred’, *palwatre* ‘to breed, to rear’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3987; Krishnamurti 2003:266 **pal-V-* ‘many’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **p^hel₂-/p^hol₂-/p^hl₂-*, **p^hle₂-/p^hlo₂-* (> **p^hlē-/p^hlō-*) ‘to fill’: Sanskrit *pī-par-ti* ‘to fill, to nourish, to sate’, *pṛ-nā-ti* ‘to fill’, *purú-h* ‘much, many, abundant’, *pūrṇá-h* ‘full, filled’, *prāṇa-h* ‘filled, full’; Avestan *pouru-* ‘much, many’; Old Persian *paru-* ‘much, many’; Greek πίμπλημι ‘to fill full of’, πλέος ‘full’, πλήθω ‘to be or become full of’, πολύς ‘much, many’; Latin *plēnus* ‘full’, *plūs* ‘more’, *pleō* ‘to fill, to fulfill’; Old Irish (*h*)il ‘many’, *lin(a)id* ‘to fill’, *lán* ‘full’; Welsh *llawn* ‘full’; Cornish *luen*, *leun*, *len* ‘full’; Breton *leun* ‘full’; Gothic *filu* ‘great, very much’, *fulls* ‘full’, *fulljan* ‘to fill, to fulfill’, *fullō* ‘fullness’; Old Icelandic *fylla* ‘to fill’, *fullr* ‘full’; Old English *full* ‘filled, full’, *fulla* ‘fullness’, *fyllan* ‘to fill, to fill up; to replenish, to satisfy’, *fela*, *feolu* ‘much, many’; Old Frisian *fullia* ‘to fill’, *foll*, *full* ‘full’, *felo*, *fel(e)* ‘much, many’; Old Saxon *fullian* ‘to fill’, *ful* ‘full’, *filu*, *filo* ‘much, many’; Dutch *vullen* ‘to fill’, *vol* ‘full’, *veel* ‘much, many’; Old High German *fullen* ‘to fill’ (New High German *füllen*), *foll* ‘full’ (New High German *voll*), *filu*, *filo* ‘much, many’ (New High German *viel*); Lithuanian *pilnas* ‘full’; Old Church Slavic *plъnъ* ‘full’; Armenian *li* ‘full’. Rix 1998a:434—435 **pleh₁-* ‘to fill, to be full’; Pokorny 1959:798—801 **pel-*, **pel₂-*, **plē-* ‘to fill’; Walde 1927—1932.II:63—65 **pel-*, **pel(ē)-*, **peleu-*: **pélu*, **pelú-*; Mann 1984—1987:918 **pelu* ‘much, many’, 918 **peluō* ‘to fill’, 949 **plēdh-* (**plēdhō*; **plēdhu-*) ‘fullness, flood, swarm, glut; crowd; to fill, to swarm’, 949—950 **plej-*, **plēj-* ‘full, fulsome; flow, flood’, 950 **plējō* ‘to overflow, to abound, to fill’, 950 **plējos*, -ə ‘full, overflowing, spreading, rampant; fullness, flood’, 953 **plēnō* (**plē-nu-mi*) ‘to fill’, 953 **plēnos* ‘full’, 954 **plētos*, -is ‘spreading, spread, flooding, full’, 964 **pl-* ‘to fill’.

965 **p̥lnējō* (**p̥lneu-*) ‘to fill, to be full’, 965 **p̥l̥nos* ‘full’, 966 **p̥l̥tos* ‘filled, full’, 966 **p̥lus* (**p̥l̥u-*) ‘full’, 972–973 **pol-* ‘much, many; abundance’, 974 **poluos* (**polus*, **polu*) ‘full, big; much, many, abundant; spate’; Watkins 1985:48 **pel̥-* and 2000:64 **pel̥-* ‘to fill’ (oldest form **pel̥₂-*, with variant [metathesized] form **ple̥₂-*, contracted to **plē-*; zero-grade form **p̥l̥₂-*; suffixed form **p(e)l̥₂-u-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:234 **p̥[h̥]elH-*, **p̥[h̥]leH-* and 1995.I:204, I:209 **p̥^hel-H-*, **p̥^hl-eH-*, **p̥^hl-H-* ‘full’; Mallory—Adams 1997:201 **pelh₁-* ‘to fill’ and 214 **p̥^hl̥nós* ‘full’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:282—284 **plē-*, **pel(ə)-*, **p̥l̥(ə)*, II:311, and II:324 **p̥l̥ə-nó-*; Boisacq 1950:783—784 **pelē-* and 802 **p̥ll̥u-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:537—538 and II:577—578 **p̥ll̥ú-*; Hofmann 1966:269—270 **pel(ē)-* and 279; Beekes 2010.II:1191—1192 **pleh₁-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:901—902 **ple̥₂-* and II:927 **p̥ll̥u-*, **pel̥₂-* / **plē-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:515—516 **plē-*, **pl̥-* and 517—518 **pl̥-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:322 **p(e)l̥-*, II:322—323, and II:327—328; De Vaan 2008:472—473; Orël 2003:118 Proto-Germanic **fullaz*, 118 **fullin*, 118 **fulljanan*, 118 **fullnōjanan*, 118 **fullōjanan*, 118 **fullōn*; Kroonen 2013:159 Proto-Germanic **fulla-* ‘full’; Feist 1939:152—153 **p̥élu-* and 172; Lehmann 1986:116 and 131; De Vries 1977:146 and 148; Onions 1966:356 and 380; Klein 1971:281 and 298 **pelē-*, **plē-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:105, 132, and 133; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:223, 821, and 824—825 **pel-* : **plē-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:236, 765, and 768; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:591; Smoczyński 2007.1:459.

- C. Proto-Uralic **palyz* ‘much’: Finnish *paljo* ‘much’; Estonian *palju* ‘much’; Cheremis / Mari *pülä* ‘rather much, considerable amount’; (?) Vogul / Mansi *poäl’* ‘dense, tight’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *fod’e-me-* ‘to thicken, to become thick’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *pal’*?, *paju* ‘dense, tight, thick’, *pal’* ‘disheveled (for example, the hair)’, *paaji-* ‘to swell up, to fester’. Rédei 1986—1988:350—351 **paljz*; Collinder 1955:46, 1960:408 **paljz*, 1965:31, and 1977:64; Décsy 1990:105 **palja* ‘thick’. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *pel-* ‘to overtake’, *pelie-* ‘to be enough’, *peld’ii-* ‘to bring to an end’. Nilolaeva 2006:346.
- D. (?) Proto-Altaic **p̥h̥üle* (~ *-i*) ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’: Proto-Tungus **pule-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’ > Manchu *fulu* ‘surplus, excess, left over, extra’; Evenki *hele-*, *hule-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’; Lamut / Even *hul-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’; Ulch *pule-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’; Oroch *pule-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’; Nanay / Gold *pule-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’; Oroch *χule-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’; Udihe *χule-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’; Solon *ule-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’. Proto-Mongolian **hüle-* ‘(vb.) to be left over, to remain; (n.) surplus’ > Classical Mongolian *üle-* ‘to be superfluous’, *üle* ‘enough, sufficiently’; Khalkha *üle-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’, *ilū* ‘more than’, *ülde-* ‘to remain, to be left over’; Buriat *üle-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’, *ülū* ‘more than’, *ülde-* ‘to

remain, to be left over'; Kalmyk *ülü, ilü* 'more than', *ülde-* 'to remain, to be left over'; Ordos *üli-, üle-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus'; Dagur *χulu-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus', *χulü* 'more than'; Monguor *fulē-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus', *fulü* 'more than'. Poppe 1960:12, 111, and 126; Collinder 1955:145—146 and 1977:155; Street 1974:24 **püle-* 'to be enough, to be in excess'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1181—1182 **p'üle* (~-i) 'to be left; surplus'.

- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan derivational affix **pəl-* 'completely' (?): Chukchi *p(ə)l-* (with comitative case) 'reserve-', (with negative *e-...-ke*) '(not) completely'; Alyutor *p(ə)li-* 'completely, intensely'; Koryak *p(ə)l-* 'well, intensely'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *°p-laX-* 'big', *pəlse-kas* 'to swell, to increase'. Fortescue 2005:420.

Buck 1949:13.15 much, many; 13.16 more; 13.162 most; 13.21 full. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:247—248, no. 54; Hakola 2000:131, no. 571; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1710, **palyū* 'much, superfluous'.

100. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **p^hal-a* 'settlement, settled place':

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *palli* 'hamlet, herdsman's village, hermitage, temple (especially of Buddhists and Jains), palace, workshop, sleeping place, school room'; Malayalam *palli* 'hut, small settlement of jungle tribes, public building, place of worship for Buddhists or foreigners, mosque, royal couch'; Kannada *palli, halli* 'settlement, abode, hamlet, village', *palliru* 'to rest, to inhabit'; Telugu *palli* 'hut', *palliya, palle* 'small village'. Krishnamurti 2003:8 **pall-i* 'hamlet'; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:358, no. 4018.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **p^hlH-* 'fortified settlement': Sanskrit *pūr* (gen. sg. *puráh*) 'rampart, wall, stronghold, fortress, castle, city, town'; Greek πόλις (Homeric πτόλις) 'city, citadel'; Lithuanian *pilis* 'castle'; Latvian *pils* 'castle'. Pokorny 1959:799 **pel-* 'citadel, fortified high place'; Walde 1927—1932.II:51 (**pel-*), **pelə-*; Mann 1984—1987:1008 **pul-* (**pulos*, **puls*) 'stronghold, gateway'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:744 **p^hel-* and 1995.I:648 **p^hel-* 'fortress, fortified city'; Watkins 1985:49 **pelə-* and 2000:64 **pelə-* 'citadel, fortified high place'; Mallory—Adams 1997:210 **pelh_x-* 'fort, fortified place'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:327; Boisacq 1950:802; Hofmann 1966:279; Beekes 2010.II:1219—1220 **pelH-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:926—927; Frisk 1970—1973.II:576—577; Prellwitz 1905:378—379; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:590—591; Smoczyński 2007.1:458.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **palyz* 'village, dwelling place' > (?) Finnish *palva-* in some place-names; (?) Karelian *palvi* 'dwelling-place, habitation'; Hungarian *falu/falva-* 'village, hamlet'; Ostyak / Xanty *pugəl* (< **-ly-*), *pugət* 'village'; Vogul / Mansi *pōdwl* 'village'. Collinder 1955:77

and 1977:94; Joki 1973:359—360; Rédei 1986—1988:351 **palʒs*; Sammallahiti 1988:548 **pālwa* ‘village; idol’.

- D. (?) Proto-Altaic **pjālagV* ‘fortress, group of houses’: Proto-Tungus **palVga* ‘a group of houses’ > Manchu *falga* ‘clan, tribe; all the people living on one street, quarter of a town’. Proto-Mongolian **balaga-sun* ‘city, fortress’ > Written Mongolian *balyasu(n)* ‘city, town’; Khalkha *balgas* ‘city, town; ruins of the site of an ancient town’; Buriat *balgāha(n)*, *balgān* ‘hovel’; Kalmyk *balʒasŋ* ‘city, fortress’; Ordos *balgasu*, *balgus* ‘city, fortress’; Monguor *ba(r)gāsə*, *wargāsə* ‘city fortress’; Dagur *balga*, *balag* ‘house, dwelling place’. Proto-Turkic **bialik* ‘city, fortress’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *balīq* ‘city, fortress’; Karakhanide Turkic *balīq* ‘city, fortress’; Sary-Uighur *balīq*, *paluq* ‘city, fortress’; Chuvash *püler* ‘city, fortress’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1092 **pjālagV* ‘fortress, group of houses’. At least some (possibly all) of these forms may be loanwords (from Uralic ?) (cf. Sinor 1981).

Buck 1949:19.15 city, town. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:89—93, no. 368, **p'alga* ‘fortified settlement’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:249, no. 55; Hakola 2000:131, no. 572; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1700, **palV[g]V* ‘settlement, home, wall’.

101. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **p^hal-a* ‘thumb, big toe’:

- A. (?) Proto-Kartvelian **polo-* ‘hoof’: Georgian *polo-*, *pol-* ‘large hoof’ (Gurian *polo-* ‘big foot, ugly foot’ [this may be a loan from Laz]); Mingrelian *polo-* ‘hoof, foot’, *na-pol-e-* ‘hoof tracks’; Laz (*m*)*polo-*, *mpulo-* ‘calf of leg, lower part of leg’. Svan *pol* ‘hoof’ is a Georgian loan. Klimov 1998:203 **polo-* ‘hoof’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:358—359 **pol-*; Fähnrich 2007:438 **pol-*. According to Klimov, the Kartvelian forms may be loans from Proto-Indo-European **pōlo-* ‘big toe, thumb’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **p^hol-*, **p^hōl-* ‘thumb, big toe’: Latin *pollex* ‘thumb, big toe’; Late Church Slavic *palъць* ‘thumb’; Polish (dial.) *palic* ‘finger’. Pokorny 1959:840—841 **polo-*, **pōlo-* ‘swollen, thick’; Walde 1927—1932.II:102 **pōlo-*; Watkins 1985:52 **pol-* ‘finger’; Mallory—Adams 1997:255 **pólik(o)s* ‘finger, thumb’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:519; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:332—333; De Vaan 2008:478 **por-lik^h-s*.
- C. Proto-Uralic **pälkä* ‘thumb’: Lapp / Saami *bæl'ge* ‘thumb’; Mordvin (Erza) *pel'ka* ‘thumb’, (Moksha) *pel'ke* ‘thumb’; Votyak / Udmurt *pōly* ‘thumb’; Zyrian / Komi *pel*, *pev*, *pej* ‘thumb; top, pinnacle, protruding, curved, arched part, end, point’; Vogul / Mansi *pääji* ‘thumb’, (Northern) *pal'e* ‘thumb’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *piiketee*, *piikicea* ‘thumb, finger’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *feaja* ‘thumb’; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *fii't'u* ‘thumb’, (Baiha) *fii'd'u* ‘thumb’; (?) Kamassian *piidi* ‘thumb’. Collinder 1955:5 and 1977:27; Rédei 1986—

1988:363 **pälkä* ‘thumb’; Décsy 1990:105 **pälkä*/**päkä* ‘thumb’; Sammallahti 1988:353 Proto-Finno-Permian **pelkä* ‘thumb’; Janhunen 1977b:123.

Buck 1949:4.342 thumb. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1726, **pälχ|yV* ‘thumb, big toe; (?) finger’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:249—250, no. 56.

102. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hal-* (~ **p^həl-*):

(vb.) **p^hal-* ‘to cover, to hide, to conceal’;

(n.) **p^hal-a* ‘covering’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **pal-* ‘to hide, to bury’: Georgian *sa-pl-av-i* ‘grave’, *pal-*, *pl-* ‘to bury, to stick in’ (in Old Georgian, ‘to hide, to bury’); Mingrelian *pul-* ‘to hide, to bury’; Laz *m-pul-* ‘to hide, to bury’. Klimov 1964:187 **pal-* and 1998:197 **pal-* ‘to hide, to bury’; Schmidt 1962:136; Fähnrich 1994:235 and 2007:423 **pal-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:347—348 **pal-*; Jahukyan 1967:74.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **p^hel-/p^hol-/p^hl-* ‘to cover, to hide, to conceal’: Sanskrit *paṭa-h* (*-*lt-* > -*t-*) ‘woven cloth, garment, blanket’, *paṭāla-m* ‘cover, veil’; Latin *palla* ‘a long wide upper garment of Roman women, held together by brooches; robe, mantle’, *pallium* ‘a covering, cover’, *pallula* ‘little cloak or mantle’; Gothic *filhan* ‘to conceal, to bury’; Old Icelandic *fela* ‘to hide, to conceal’, *fylgsni* ‘hiding-place’; Old English *be-fēolan* ‘to put away (under the earth), to bury’; Old Frisian *bi-fella* ‘to conceal, to commit’; Old Saxon *bi-felhan* ‘to commit, to entrust, to bury’; Old High German *felahan*, *bi-fel(a)han* ‘to transmit, to entrust, to bury’ (New High German *befehlen*); Old Prussian *pelkis* ‘cloak’. Rix 1998a:424 **pelk-* ‘to wrap, to enclose, to hide, to conceal’; Pokorny 1959:803—804 **pel-*, **pelə-*, **plē-* ‘to hide’; Walde 1927—1932.II:58—59 **pel-* ‘skin, hide’; Mann 1984—1987:917—918 **pelt-* ‘wrap, cloak, cover, screen’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:189 and 190; Orël 2003:97 Proto-Germanic **felxanan*; Kroonen 2013:135 Proto-Germanic **felhan-* ‘to hide’; Feist 1939:151—152 **pel-ē-*; Lehmann 1986:115; De Vries 1977:116 **pel-* and 148; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:60 **pelk-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:68 **pel-*; De Vaan 2008:440 “no etymology”.

Sumerian *pāla*, *pāla* ‘clothes, clothing (of a god or king)’.

Buck 1949:6.12 clothing, clothes; 12.26 cover (vb.); 12.27 hide, conceal. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:252, no. 59.

103. Proto-Nostratic root **p^halv-* (~ **p^həlv-*):

(vb.) **p^halv-* ‘to burn, to be warm; to smart, to be painful’;

(n.) **p^halv-a* ‘burn, burning sensation, pain’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **o-pʃ-* ‘sweat, perspiration’: Georgian *opli* ‘sweat’; Mingrelian *upu, up-i* ‘sweat’; Laz *upi* ‘sweat’; Svan *wop, wep* (< **wöp-* < **opi*) ‘sweat’. Klimov 1964:151 **opʃ-* and 1998:146 **opl-* ‘sweat’; Schmidt 1962:129; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:270 **opl-*; Fähnrich 1994:222 and 2007:326—327 **opl-*; Jahukyan 1967:74. Semantic development from ‘heat; hot’ to ‘sweat, perspiration’ as in Old Church Slavic *potъ* (< **poktъ*) ‘sweat, perspiration’, from the same root found in *pekъ* ‘heat’, *peštъ* ‘oven’, **pekъ, *pešti* ‘to bake, to burn’, etc. (cf. Pokorny 1959:798; Derksen 2008:415 **pok^w-to-*).
- B. Proto-Indo-European **phel-/p^hol-*, **p^hl-oH-* > **p^hl-ō-* ‘to burn, to be warm; to smart, to be painful’: Old Icelandic *flóna* ‘to become warm’, *flóa* ‘to heat, to warm’, *flór* ‘warm’, *flær* ‘warmth, heat’; Norwegian *flø* ‘tepid, lukewarm’; Old Church Slavic *poljъ, polěti* ‘to burn’, *plamy* ‘flame’; Tocharian A *pälk-*, B *pälk-*, **pelk-* ‘to burn; to cause pain, to trouble, to distress’. Rix 1998a:422—423 (?) **pel-* ‘to blaze’; Pokorny 1959:805 (**pel-*), **pol-*, **plē-*, **plō-* ‘to burn, to be warm’; Walde 1927—1932.II:59—60 (**pel-*), **pol-*, **plē-*, **plō-*; Mann 1984—1987:903 **pal-*, **paljō* (?); De Vries 1977:133 and 135; Torp 1919:127; Adams 1999:378; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:357. Note: both Adams and Van Windekens derive the Tocharian forms from Proto-Indo-European *bhelǵ-* ‘to shine’. This seems far less likely than the derivation proposed here.
- C. Proto-Uralic **palʷa-* ‘to burn; to be cold, to be freezing; to smart’: Proto-Finnic **pala-* ‘to burn’ > Lapp / Saami *buolle-/buole-* ‘to burn (intr.), to smart (of skin)’, *buolaš/buollášâ-* ‘frost; frosty, with rather severe frost’, *boal’de-* ‘to burn (tr.), to smart (e.g., wound)’, *ból’tu-* ‘to become swollen or red through being frozen (of face or hands)’, Lule (also) ‘to get frost-bitten (of a part of the body)’; Finnish *pala-* ‘to burn (intr.)’, *palele-* ‘to be cold, to be freezing, to feel chilly’, *peleltu-* ‘to freeze (intr.), to be frost-bitten, to be blighted by frost’, *polttu-* ‘to burn (tr.), to scorch, to singe, to scald’; Mordvin *palo-* ‘to burn (intr.); to be cold, to be freezing (of parts of the body)’, *pulta-* ‘to burn (tr.)’; Vogul / Mansi *pool’-* ‘to freeze’; Ostyak / Xanty *pěj*, (Southern) *pěj* ‘thick, ice-crust’, (Southern) *pějät-* ‘to get cold, to catch cold’; Hungarian *fagy* ‘frost, freezing; chill’, *fagy-* ‘to freeze, to become frozen, to coagulate’. Collinder 1955:106 and 1977:120; Rédei 1986—1988:352 **pal’a*; Zhivlov 2023:159 Proto-Finnic **pala-* ‘to burn’.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 4.55 sweat (sb.); 15.85 hot, warm; 15.86 cold. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:254—255, no. 63; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1725, **pał[ʃH[ä]* ‘to burn (intr.); to be heated on fire’; Hakola 2000:131, no. 569.

104. Proto-Nostratic root **p^haŋ-* (~ **p^həŋ-*):
 (vb.) **p^haŋ-* ‘to take in hand, to take hold of, to handle’;
 (n.) **p^haŋ-a* ‘hand, handle’

Extended form (Indo-European and Uralic [but not Yukaghir]):

(vb.) *p^haŋ-V-k^{wh}- ‘to take in hand, to take hold of, to handle’;

(n.) *p^haŋ-k^{wh}-a ‘hand, handle’

- A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *fanno* ‘handle’. Hudson 1989:239.
- B. Dravidian: Kui *pānba* (*pāt-*), *pānpa* (*pānt-*) ‘(vb.) to obtain, to get, to receive, to find; (n.) obtaining, getting, finding, wealth’; Kuwi *pa?*- (*pat-*; past participle *pañbi*) ‘to find, to get’, *pa?*- (*pāt-*; infinitive *pāḍeli*; negative *prā-*; imperative 2nd sg. *prāmu*) ‘to obtain’, *pā?nai* ‘to get, to have’, *pānpu* ‘the receipt’, *pān-/pna?*- ‘to receive, to get’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:362, no. 4072.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *p^henk^{wh}e ‘five’: Sanskrit *pāñca* ‘five’; Avestan *panča* ‘five’; Armenian *hing* ‘five’; Greek *πέντε* ‘five’; Albanian *pesë* ‘five’; Latin *quīnque* ‘five’; Umbrian **pompe* ‘five’, *pump-* in *pumpeṛias* ‘groups of five’; Oscan **pompe* ‘five’, *púmp-* in *púmperiais* ‘*groups of five’ (name of a festival); Old Irish *cóic* ‘five’; Gaulish *pempe-* ‘five’; Old Welsh *pimp* ‘five’; Cornish *pymp* ‘five’; Breton *pemp* ‘five’; Gothic *fimf* ‘five’; Old Icelandic *fimm* ‘five’; Faroese *fimm* ‘five’; Danish *fem* ‘five’; Norwegian *fem* ‘five’; Swedish *fem* ‘five’; Old English *fif* ‘five’; Old Frisian *fif* ‘five’; Old Saxon *fif* ‘five’; Dutch *vijf* ‘five’; Old High German *fimf*, *finf* ‘five’ (New High German *fünf*); Lithuanian *penki* ‘five’; Old Church Slavic *petъ* ‘five’; Russian *pjatʹ* [пять] ‘five’; Tocharian A *pāñ*, B *pis* (< **pāñs*) ‘five’. Pokorny 1959:808 **penk^{ue}* ‘five’; Walde 1927—1932.II:25—26 **penq^{ue}*; Mann 1984—1987:919 **penque* ‘five’; Watkins 1985:49 **penk^{ue}* (assimilated form **pempe* > Germanic **fimf*) and 2000:64—65 **penk^{we}* ‘five’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:845, II:847, II:849 **p^[h]enk^[h]e* and 1995.I:743, I:745, I:746, I:747 **p^henk^he* ‘five; total of fingers’; Mallory—Adams 1997:401 **pénk^{we}* ‘five’ and 2006:308 **pénk^{we}* ‘five’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:187; Boisacq 1950:767—768 **pénq^{ue}*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:882 **penk^{we}*; Hofmann 1966:260 **pénq^{ue}*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:506—507 **pénq^{ue}*; Beekes 2010.II:1172—1173 **penk^{we}*; De Vaan 2008:509; Ernout—Meillet 1979:558; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:407—408 **penq^{ue}*; Orël 1998:326 and 2003:98 Proto-Germanic **fēnfē*; Kroonen 2013:140 Proto-Germanic **fimfe-* ‘five’; Lehmann 1986:117 **pénk^{we}*; Feist 1939:154 **pénk^{ue}*; De Vries 1977:120; Torp 1919:100; Onions 1966:358 Common Germanic **fimfi*; Klein 1971:283 **penq^{we}*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:113 **penk^{we}*; Kluge-Mitzka 1967:224 Proto-Germanic **fēmf(e)*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:236 **penq^{ue}*; Adams 1999:388 **pénk^{we}*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:360—361 **penq^{ue}*; Blažek 1999b:219—233 **pénk^{we}*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:470; Smoczyński 2007.1:450; Derksen 2008:400 **penk^{we}*. Note: Horowitz (1992) derives the Proto-Indo-European word for the number ‘five’ from an unattested verb stem **penk^{w-}* ‘to take in hand, to handle’ — this

proposal is endorsed by Blažek (1999b:228—229). Proto-Indo-European **p^hŋk^{wh}-st^hi-* ‘fist’: Proto-Germanic **funχstiz* > West Germanic **fūxsti-* > **fūsti-* > Old English *fīst* ‘fist’; Old Frisian *fest* ‘fist’; Middle Low German *fūst* ‘fist’; Middle Dutch *veest* ‘fist’ (Dutch *vuist*); Old High German *fūst* ‘fist’ (New High German *Faust*). Serbian Church Slavic *peštъ* ‘fist’. Mann 1984—1987:968 **p^hŋkstis* [**p^hŋqstis* ?] ‘fist’; Mallory—Adams 1997:255 **p^hŋ(k^w)stⁱ-* ‘fist’; Derksen 2008:399 **p^hŋk^w-s-ti*; Orël 2003:118—119 Proto-Germanic **funxwstiz*; Kroonen 2013:160 Proto-Germanic **funhsti-* ‘fist’; Klein 1971:283; Onions 1966:358 **fūsti-* < **fūχstiz* < **funχstiz* ‘fist’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:107; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:187; Kluge—Seebold 1989:205 **p^hŋk-sti-*; Wodtke—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:566—568 **p^hŋk^(u)stⁱ-*. Proto-Indo-European **p^hen^kwh-ró-* ‘finger’: Proto-Germanic **fiŋgraz* ‘finger’ > Gothic *figgrs* ‘finger’; Old Icelandic *fiŋgr* ‘finger’; Faroese *fiŋgur* ‘finger’; Swedish *finger* ‘finger’; Norwegian *finger* ‘finger’; Danish *finger* ‘finger’; Old English *finger* ‘finger’; Old Frisian *finger* ‘finger’; Old Saxon *fiŋgar* ‘finger’; Dutch *vinger* ‘finger’; Old High German *fiŋgar* ‘finger’ (New High German *Finger*). Orël 2003:99 Proto-Germanic **fiŋgraz*; Kroonen 2013:141 Proto-Germanic **fiŋgra-* ‘finger’; Feist 1939:150; Lehmann 1986:114; De Vries 1977:120 **penk^u-res*; Torp 1919:105 Indo-European **penqró-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:114—115; Onions 1966:357 Common Germanic **fiŋgraz*; Klein 1971:282; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:198; Kluge—Seebold 1989:215 **fengra-*.

- D. Proto-Uralic **paŋka* ‘handle, shaft, grip’: (?) Finnish *panka* ‘pail handle; distaff; halter for reindeer’ (the meaning ‘halter for reindeer’ is borrowed from Lapp / Saami), *panki*, *pankki* ‘pail, bucket’; (?) Estonian *pang* ‘pail, bucket’ (dial. ‘handle, grip’); (?) Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *bagge*, -gg- ‘halter for reindeer, horse, or cow’, (Lule) *paggee* ‘halter’; (?) Mordvin (Erza) *paŋgo* ‘female head-dress’, (Moksha) *paŋga* ‘head-dress worn by Mordvin women’; (?) Vogul / Mansi (Lower Konda) *pōχkālaj* ‘rein(s)’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *paŋk* ‘handle of an axe’; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hatanga) *foggo*, (Baiha) *poggo* ‘handle of a hatchet or a hammer’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *fōnka* ‘handle of a hatchet or a hammer’; (?) Selkup Samoyed (Middle Tas) *paq* ‘handle’, (Upper Ket) *paanka* ‘handle of a knife’; (?) Kamassian *pāŋa*, *pāŋŋa*, *paŋa* ‘handle’. Rédei 1986—1988:354—355; Fortescue 1998:156 Proto-Uralic **paŋka*, Proto-Samoyed **pāŋkə* ‘shaft, handle’; Décsy 1990:105 **panga* ‘handle, grip’; Janhunen 1977b:113. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *pe:dice* (< **pentičə*) ‘finger’. Nikolaeva 2006:350.
- E. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian *(*lə*)*pāŋrə-* ‘to give out, to hand out’ > Chukchi *pāŋrə-* ‘to give, to provide, to hand out’, *ya-lpāŋrə-lən* ‘provided with’; Kerek *pāŋəi-* ‘to give, to provide (guest)’; Koryak *pāŋjə-* ‘to provide, to hand out’; Ayutor (*l*)*pāŋrə-* ‘to give out’. Fortescue 2005:224. For the semantic development from ‘to take in hand, to take hold of, to handle’ to ‘to give out, to hand out’, cf. Buck 1949:11.21 give.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 11.16 get, obtain; 11.21 give. Fortescue 1998:156 *paŋkiy- ‘to grasp’.

105. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *p^haŋ-a ‘front part, head, forehead, face’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *pan-, *pin- ‘front part, forehead, face’: Proto-Semitic *pan- ‘front part, face’ > Akkadian *pānu* ‘front part; (pl.) face, countenance’, *pānū* ‘earlier, prior’, *pānātu* ‘front’; Hebrew **pāneh* [פָּנֶה], (pl.) *pānīm* [פָּנִים] ‘face, front part’; Phoenician (pl.) **pnm* ‘face, front part’, *lpn* ‘before’; Ugaritic (pl.) *pnm* ‘face’, *lpn* ‘before’; Mehri *fōnəh* ‘earlier, before’, *fənfənw-* ‘in front of, before’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fēne* ‘face, front part’, *fēné* ‘earlier, firstly, in front of’; Harsūsi *fēn* ‘before, in front of; earlier, ago’; Soqotri *fāne* (*fēne*) ‘face, surface’. Klein 1987:513—514; Murtonen 1989:341—342. Cushitic: Proto-Agaw **fin-* ‘forehead, face’ > Awngi / Awiya *fen*, *feni* ‘forehead, face’. (?) Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **pand-* (-*d-* suffix ?) ‘prominence, protuberance, projecting surface or point’ > Iraqw *panda* ‘abnormal backward extension of skull’; Burunge *panda* ‘forehead, face; in front’; Alagwa *panda* ‘forehead, face; in front’; Asa *pandek* ‘knife’ (“[s]emantic derivation: via an intermediate specification of the root to apply to a particular kind of projection, the blade or point of a weapon”). Ehret 1980:339. East Chadic **pVn-* ‘temple’ > Kera *pən-ay* ‘temple’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:417, no. 1943, **pan-/pin-* ‘face’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:188—190, no. 215) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **pan-* ‘face’, Proto-Afrasian **pVn-* ‘face, nose’. Militarëv—Kogan note: “Derived from ‘face’ are also MSA: Mhr. *fənfənw-* (redupl.) ‘earlier, in front of, before’, *fōnəh* ‘earlier’ [JM 96] and Hrs. *fēn* ‘before, in front of’, *fēnōhen* ‘forward, earlier’ [JH 33].”

- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *paṇe*, *haṇe*, *aṇe*, *haṇi* ‘forehead’; Tuḷu *haṇè*, *aṇè* ‘forehead’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:348, no. 3896.
- C. Proto-Uralic **pāŋe* ‘head; point, tip; end; beginning’: Finnish *pää* ‘head; point, tip; end; beginning’; Estonian *pea*, *pää* ‘head; point, tip; end; beginning’; (?) Lapp / Saami *bagŋe/baŋe-* ‘the thickest part of the reindeer antler, closest to the head’; Mordvin *pe/pej-* ‘the end’; Votyak / Udmurt *puŋ*, *pun*, *pum* ‘end, edge, point’; Zyrian / Komi *pon*, *pom* ‘end; beginning, point’; Vogul / Mansi *pōŋ*, *pāŋk* ‘head, beginning’; Hungarian *fő*, *fej* ‘head; source, origin, beginning’, *befejez-* ‘to conclude, to finish, to bring to an end’ (*be-* means ‘in’, *-z-* is a suffix); (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *pa-* ‘to begin’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *fej* ‘end, extremity, tip’. Collinder 1955:47 and 1977:65—66; Rédei 1986—1988:365—366 **pāŋe* ‘head’; Décsy 1990:105 **pāngä* ‘head’; Sammallahti 1988:548 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pāŋi* ‘head’.

Buck 1949:4.20 head; 4.204 face; 4.205 forehead. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1750, **[p]äŋV* ‘forehead’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘face, head’); Hakola 2000:127, no. 550; Fortescue 1998:156.

106. Proto-Nostratic root **p^har-* (~ **p^hər-*):

(vb.) **p^har-* ‘to be fond of, to care for, to feel affection for; to be pleased, happy, satisfied, or delighted with’;

(n.) **p^har-a* ‘love, affection; delight, joy’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **p[a]r-* ‘(vb.) to be fond of, to care for, to feel affection for; to be pleased, happy, satisfied, or delighted with; (n.) love, affection; delight, joy’: Proto-Semitic **par-aḥ-* ‘to be glad, happy, delighted; to rejoice’ > Arabic *fariḥa* ‘to be glad, happy, delighted; to rejoice; to be gay, merry, cheerful’, *farāḥ* ‘joy, gladness, glee, gaiety, hilarity, mirth, exhilaration, merriment, joy’, *farḥa* ‘joy’, *fariḥ*, *fāriḥ* ‘merry, gay, cheerful, joyful, glad, delighted, happy’; Mehri *fīrəḥ* ‘to be happy’, *fərhāt* ‘happiness’, *fōrəḥ* ‘to make happy’; Ḥarsūsi *fēreḥ* ‘to rejoice, to be happy’, *ferhet* ‘happiness’, *fēreḥ* ‘to make happy’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fērəḥ* ‘to be happy, pleased’, *effrāḥ* ‘to make happy’, *farḥ*, *fərhāt* ‘happiness’. Zammit 2002:318. Berber: Tuareg *ifrar* ‘to be good, to be abundant, to be of good quality’, *səfrər* ‘to make good, to make abundant, to make of good quality’, *təfərə* ‘character of that which is good, good quality, abundance’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pari* ‘to be affectionate’, *pari* ‘love, affection’, *parivu* ‘affection, love, devotion, piety, delight, pleasure’; Malayalam *parivu* ‘love’; Kannaḍa *paraḷiga* ‘paramour’; Telugu *perima* ‘love, affection’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:353, no. 3984.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **p^hreyH-*/**p^hroyH-*/**p^hriH-* (> **p^hrī-*) ‘to be fond of, to care for, to feel affection for; to be pleased, happy, satisfied, or delighted with’: Sanskrit *prīṇāti* ‘to please, to gladden, to delight, to gratify, to cheer, to comfort, to soothe, to propitiate; to be pleased or satisfied with, to delight in, to enjoy’, *prīyate* ‘to be pleased’, *priyá-ḥ* ‘beloved, dear’, *premán-* ‘affection, kindness, fondness, love’, *préyas-* ‘dearer, more agreeable; a lover, a dear friend’, *prīti-ḥ* ‘pleasure, joy, gladness, satisfaction’; Avestan *fīrnāiti* ‘to love, to praise’, *firyō* ‘dear’; Welsh *rhydd* ‘free’; Gothic *freis* ‘free’, *frijei*, *frei-hals* ‘freedom’, *frijōn* ‘love’, *freidjan* ‘to take care of’, *frijōnds* ‘friend’, *friaþwa* ‘showing love’; Old Icelandic *frjá* ‘to love’, *frjáls* ‘love’, *fríða* ‘to adorn’, *fríðr* ‘beautiful, handsome, fine’, *frændi* ‘kinsman’, *fríða* ‘to pacify’, *fríðr* ‘peace’, *fríðill* ‘lover’; Old English *frēo* ‘free; noble; joyful’, *frēond* ‘friend; relative; lover’, *frēod* ‘affection, friendship, good-will, peace’, *frēogan*, *frīgan* ‘to free, to love’, *frēo* ‘lady, woman’, *friodu* ‘peace’; Old Frisian *friūnd* ‘friend’, *frī* ‘free’; Old Saxon *friund* ‘friend’, *frī* ‘free’; Dutch *vriend* ‘friend’; Old High German *wīten* ‘to cherish’, *frī* ‘free’ (New High German *frei*), *friunt* ‘friend’ (New High German *Freund*), *fridu* ‘peace’ (New High German

Friede), *frīhals* ‘free man’; Old Church Slavic *prějō*, *prijati* ‘to be favorable’, *prijatelb* ‘friend’, *prijaznъ* ‘love’; Latvian *priēks* ‘joy’. Rix 1998a:441 **prejH-* ‘to delight in’; Pokorny 1959:844 **prāi-*, **prāi-*, **prī-* (**pri-*) ‘to like’; Walde 1927—1932:II:86—87 **prēi-*, **prāi-*, **prī-* (**pri-*); Mann 1984—1987:988 **prija-* (**priiā-*, **priiā-*) ‘dear’, 988—989 **priiājō* ‘to like, to love, to favor’, 989 **priiāt-* (**priiāt-*, **prii-*) ‘beloved, dear’, 989 **priios*; Watkins 1985:53 **prī-* (contracted from **prii-*) and 2000:69 **prī-* ‘to love’ (oldest form **prii-*, contracted to **prī-* [before consonants] and **priy-* [before vowels]); Mallory—Adams 1997:358 **prih_xeh_a-* ‘love’, **prih_x-neh_a-*, **prih_xós* ‘of one’s own’ > ‘dear’ and 642 **prih_x-* ‘to be pleasing, to be one’s own’, **prih_xéha* ‘wife’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980:II:378—380 and II:380; Orël 2003:113 Proto-Germanic **frijadwō*, 114 **frijaz*, 114 **frijōjanan*, 114—115 **frijōndz*; Kroonen 2013:155 Proto-Germanic **fri(j)a-* ‘free’, 155 **fri(j)ōn-* ‘to love’, 155 **fri(j)ōnd-* ‘friend’, and 156 **friþu-* ‘friendship, peace’; Lehmann 1986:127, 127—128, 128, and 128—129; Feist 1939:167, 167—168, and 168; De Vries 1977:142, 142—143, 143, and 145; Onions 1966:375—376 and 377; Klein 1971:295 and 296; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:130 and 131; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:216, 218, and 219; Kluge—Seebold 1989:230—231 and 232; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:568—573 **prejH-*.

Buck 1949:16.27 love (sb.; vb.); 16.71 good (adj.). Blažek 1992c:245, no. 2; Bomhard 1996a:217—218, no. 622; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1785, **paR[a]Xi* (= **pa’[a]Xi* ?) ‘happy, dear’.

107. Proto-Nostratic root **p^har-* (~ **p^har-*):

- (vb.) **p^har-* ‘to separate, to divide, to break (apart)’;
 (n.) **p^har-a* ‘part, portion, share’

A. Proto-Afrasian **par-* ‘to separate, to divide, to break (apart)’: Proto-Semitic **par-ad-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Hebrew *pāraḏ* [פָּרַד] ‘to separate, to divide’, *pēraḏ* [פֶּרַד] ‘to separate, to disintegrate, to loosen, to decompose’; Aramaic *pāraḏ* ‘to separate, to scatter’; Mandaic *prḏ* ‘to break through, to tear apart’; Arabic *farada* ‘to set aside, to separate, to segregate’; Sabaeen *frd* ‘sole, unique’; Geez / Ethiopic *farada* [ፈረደ] ‘to separate, to judge’, *fārud* [ፍሩድ] ‘separated’, *fārd* [ፍርድ] ‘judgment’; Tigre *fārda* ‘to judge’; Tigrinya *fārādä* ‘to judge’; Amharic *fārrādä* ‘to judge, to dispense justice, to render judgment, to pronounce sentence’, *fārd* ‘judgment, sentence, justice, trial, verdict’; Gurage *fārādä* ‘to judge, to pass judgment’; Harari *fārāda* ‘to judge’. Zammit 2002:318; Murtonen 1989:346; Klein 1987:523; Leslau 1963:63—64, 1979:241, and 1987:165. Proto-Semitic **par-ak-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Hebrew *pāraḳ* [פָּרַק] ‘to break, to break in pieces; to break off; to deliver, to set free’, *pereḳ* [פֶּרַק] ‘violence, murder’; Arabic *faraḳa* ‘to separate, to part, to split, to divide, to

sever'; Ugaritic *prk* 'to break, to open'; Akkadian *parāku* 'to separate, to detach, to remove'; Mandaic *prk* 'to sever, to detach, to free, to deliver, to save'; Sabaeen *frk* 'to leave, to escape'; Mehri *ferōk* 'to distribute, to divide'; Šheri / Jibbāli *fītrāk* 'to become separated'; Ḥarsūsi *fāterek* 'to be or become separated'; Geez / Ethiopic *faraka* [ፈፈቀ] 'to save, to redeem, to divide, to separate, to create'; Tigre *fārka* 'to pierce, to perforate'; Tigrinya *fārrākā* 'to split, to divide'; Amharic *fārrākā* 'to separate, to divide'; Gurage *fārākā* 'to split, to tear off a branch'. Zammit 2002:320; Murtonen 1989:349; Klein 1987:532; Leslau 1987:166. Proto-Semitic **par-at-* 'to divide into parts' > Hebrew *pāraṭ* [פָּרַט] 'to change (money); to give details, to itemize; to divide into parts'; Syriac *pəraṭ* 'to rend, to tear away, to burst open'; Akkadian *parātu* 'to separate, to remove, to break off'; Arabic *farāṭa* 'to separate, to part'; Šheri / Jibbāli *fērōṭ* '(car, bus) to go off without one'; Ḥarsūsi *ferōṭ* 'to depart without one (caravan, car)'; Mehri *fārōṭ* 'to slip out of one's hands; (car, bus, etc.) to go off without one'; [Tigrinya *fārṭa*^o *bälä*, (with metathesis) *fāṭra*^o *bälä* 'to be torn, to burst'; Harari *fārāṭa* 'to burst (a wound from which liquid or pus comes out)'; Amharic *fārrāṭā* 'to burst, to smash'; Argobba *fārrāṭa* 'to burst, to smash'; Gurage *fārāṭā* 'to burst, to burst and make the sound of bursting, to explode']. Klein 1987:527; Leslau 1979:245; Murtonen 1989:347—348. Proto-Semitic **par-ax-* 'to break out' > Hebrew *pārah* [פָּרַח] 'to break out (of leprosy and like eruptions), to break open (a boil)'; Šheri / Jibbāli *fērax* '(egg) to split open'; Mehri *fārōx* '(girl) to throw the legs wide apart in playing (which is punished by a slap)'. Murtonen 1989:347. Proto-Semitic **par-ar-* 'to break; to destroy' > Akkadian *parāru* 'to break, to destroy, to annihilate'; Hebrew *pārar* [פָּרַר] 'to break; to destroy; to put an end to, to frustrate', *pārar* 'to crush, to crumble, to break into crumbs'; Aramaic *pərar* 'to crush, to crumble'; Geez / Ethiopic *farra* [ፈፈረ] 'to shell, to husk'; Tigrinya *fārrārā* 'to dissolve'; Amharic *fār(r)* 'furrow'. Klein 1987:533; Leslau 1987:166; Murtonen 1989:346. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **par-par-* 'to crumble, to break' > Arabic *farfara* 'to cut, to break, to tear to pieces'; Aramaic *parper* 'to break'; Geez / Ethiopic *farfara* [ፈፈረፈረ] 'to crumble bread', *fərfār* [ፈፈርፋር] 'crumbs'; Tigre *fārfārä* 'to be reduced to powder'; Tigrinya *fārfārä* 'to cut wood or a stone into small pieces, to break into small pieces', *fərfar* 'small pieces of wood'; Amharic *fārāffārä* 'to crumble'; Harari *fīrāffārä* 'to crumble into small pieces'; Gurage *fārāffārä* 'to crumble bread', *fərfar* 'bread crumbs'; Argobba *fārāffari* 'crumbs'. Leslau 1963:64, 1979:241, and 1987:165. Proto-Semitic **par-ac-* 'to break through' > Hebrew *pāraṣ* [פָּרַצ] 'to break through, to break or burst out', *pəreṣ* [פָּרַץ] 'breach (in a wall)'; Aramaic *pəraṣ* 'to break through'; Mandaic *prṣ* 'to break through'; Akkadian *parāṣu* 'to break through'; Ugaritic *prṣ* 'to open'; Arabic *farāṣa* 'to cut'; Geez / Ethiopic *farāṣa* [ፈፈረፈረ] 'to break open, to cut open, to split'; [Tigrinya *fārṭa*^o *bälä*, (with metathesis) *fāṭra*^o *bälä* 'to be torn, to burst'; Harari *fārāṭa* 'to burst

(a wound from which liquid or pus comes out)'; Amharic *färrätä* 'to burst, to smash'; Argobba *färräta* 'to burst, to smash'; Gurage *färätä* 'to burst, to burst and make the sound of bursting, to explode'. Klein 1987:532; Leslau 1987:167; Murtonen 1989:349. Proto-Semitic **par-am-* 'to cut, to split' > Hebrew *pāram* [פָּרַם] 'to tear, to rend'; Syriac *pəram* 'to cut, to split, to chop'; Arabic *farama* 'to cut into small pieces (meat, tobacco), to mince, to chop, to hash (meat)'. Klein 1987:529; Murtonen 1989:348. Arabic *faraza* 'to set apart, to separate, to detach, to isolate'. Proto-Semitic **par-at-* 'to split' > Aramaic *pəraθ* 'to split up'; Mandaic *pṛt* 'to split up'. Proto-Semitic **par-as-* 'to separate, to divide' > Hebrew *pāras* [פָּרַס] 'to break in two, to divide'; Aramaic *pəras* 'to divide, to break up'; Akkadian *parāsu* 'to separate, to divide'; Arabic *farasa* 'to kill, to tear (prey)'; Geez / Ethiopic *farasa* [ፈረሰ] 'to be demolished, to be destroyed'; Tigre *färsa* 'to be ruined'; Tigrinya *färäsä* 'to be ruined'; Argobba (*a*)*färräsä* 'to demolish'; Amharic *färräsä* 'to be demolished'; Gurage (Gogot) *färräsä* 'to be demolished', (Endegeñ) *afäräsä* 'to demolish, to destroy'. Klein 1987:530; Leslau 1987:167; Murtonen 1989:348. Arabic *farā* 'to split lengthwise, to cut lengthwise; to mince, to chop'. Arabic *farāga* 'to open, to part, to separate, to cleave, to split, to breach'. Zammit 2002:318. Egyptian *pṛt*, *pṛd* 'to separate', *pṛḥ* 'to divide, to separate', *pṛš* 'to break open'; Coptic *pōrg* [ⲡⲟⲢⲮ] 'to divide, to separate'. Hannig 1995:287; Vycichl 1983:164; Černý 1976:129. Berber: Tawlemmet *fardat* 'to be cut into small pieces', *səffərdət* 'to cut into small pieces'; Tamazight *afərdu* 'wooden mortar', *tafərdut* 'small mortar, a piece of wood used to plug a hole', *sfurdu* 'to crush, to pound', *tisfərdut* 'pestle'; Zenaga *affurdi* 'large wooden mortar'. [Proto-Southern Cushitic **paraḥ-* 'to pull apart' > Iraqw *parhami* 'piece'; Asa *parames-* 'to split up (firewood)'; Ma'a *-pará'a* 'to disperse', *-parāti* 'to scatter (something)'; Dahalo *poroh* 'to pull apart'. Ehret 1980:143. Note: Some of the Southern Cushitic forms may belong with **p^har-* (~ **p^hər-*) '(vb.) to spread, to scatter; (n.) breadth, width, extension, space; (adj.) broad, extended, spread out, scattered'.] West Chadic **par-* 'to smash, to break to pieces' > Angas *par-p-* 'to smash'; Tangale *puure-* 'to break to pieces'. Central Chadic: Mofu *pərc̣-* 'to cut'. Ehret 1995:95, no. 50, **par-/pir-* 'to separate', **pur-* 'to take apart'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:418, no. 1951, **par-* 'to break, to thresh', 420, no. 1957, **parVm-* 'to cut, to split', 420, no. 1958, **parok-* 'to tear, to rip', 420, no. 1959, **paruḥ-* 'to cut, to break through'.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pari* (-*v-*, -*nt-*) 'to separate, to be sundered, to break off, to be destroyed, to cut asunder, to destroy', *pari* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) 'to cut asunder', *paruṅku* (*paruṅki-*) 'to pluck (as fruit), to tear off'; Tuḷu *paripuni* 'to tear, to rend'; Kolami *part-* (*paratt-*) 'to cut up'; Parji *parṅg-* 'to be split', *parkip-* (*parkit-*) 'to split, to plow for the first time', *parka* 'piece, portion, split piece of wood'; Kuwi *par-* 'to dig a ditch'; Malto *parge* 'to split, to cleave, to rend'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:353, no. 3962.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **pric*- ‘to tear, to rend, to break or burst apart’: Georgian *p(x)ric*-/*p(x)rec*- ‘to tear, to rend’, *prec*-*il*- ‘torn’; Mingrelian *buric*- ‘to tear, to rend’; Laz *bric*-/*bruc*- ‘to break, to burst, to tear’, *brac*-*el*- ‘torn’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:62 **breç*-/**brec*-; Fähnrich 2007:77—78 **breç*-/**brec*-; Klimov 1964:190 **priç*- and 1998:204 **preç*- : **priç*- ‘to tear, to rend’, 1998:204 **preç*-*il*- ‘torn’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **pher*-/**phor*-/**ph₂*- ‘to separate, to divide’: Sanskrit *pūrtá*-*m* ‘gift, reward’; Greek *περάω* ‘to carry beyond the seas for the purpose of selling, to sell abroad’, *πέρνημι* ‘to export for sale, to sell (as slaves)’, *πορεῖν* ‘to furnish, to present, to offer’; Latin *pār* ‘equal’, *pars* ‘part, portion, share’, *portiō* ‘part, section, division’; Old Irish *rann* ‘part’; Lithuanian *perkù*, *peĩkti* ‘to buy’. Rix 1998a:427 **perh₂*- ‘to sell’; Pokorny 1959:817 **per*-, **perə*- ‘to sell, to divide’; Walde 1927—1932.II:40—41 **per*-; Mann 1984—1987:924 **perk*- ‘to split, to breach’; Rix 2001:474 **perh₂*- ‘to sell’; Watkins 1985:50 **per*- ‘to traffic in, to sell’ (< ‘to hand over, to distribute’) and 2000:66 **perə*- ‘to grant, to allot’; Mallory—Adams 1997:185 **per*- ‘to exchange, to barter’ and 441 (?) **p₁(h₃)tis* ‘what is distributed’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:324; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:888 and II:928; Frisk 1970—1973.II:516—517 and II:579—580; Hofmann 1966:265 **per*- ‘to sell’; Boisacq 1950:757—758, 774, and 804; Beekes 2010.II:1178—1179 **perh₂*- and II:1222 **perh₃*-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:481, 485, and 524; De Vaan 2008:444; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:250—251 and II:257—258.
- E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **päre* ‘small piece, bit, fragment’ > Finnish *päre* ‘shingle, splint’ (> Lapp / Saami *bærå/bærågâ*- ‘splinter, chip, thin flat piece of wood used for lighting purposes’); (?) Votyak / Udmurt *pyry*, *pyr* ‘crumb, fragment’; Zyrian / Komi *pyryg*, *pyrig* ‘crumb, fragment’; Vogul / Mansi *-poår* ‘piece, bit’; Ostyak / Xanty *pår* ‘small piece, bit; shingle (for making fire)’. Collinder 1955:106—107 and 1977:121; Rédei 1986—1988:366 **päre*.
- F. Altaic: Manchu *farsi* ‘piece, strip’, *farsila*- ‘to cut or make in pieces’.
- G. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pər*- ‘to pull, tear, pluck, or rip out’ > Chukchi *pər*- ‘to pull out by root, to rip out’; Koryak *pəj*- ‘to pluck, to harvest, to peel, to take away; to take off (clothing)’; Alyutor *pr*- ‘to pluck, to take off’. Fortescue 2005:225.
- H. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **prarq*- ‘to snap’: Amur *p^hrarq-č* ‘to snap’; East Sakhalin *p^hrarq-t* ‘to snap’. Fortescue 2016:136.

Buck 1949:12.33 separate (vb.); 12.232 divide; 13.23 part (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:232—233, no. 37; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1775, **päri[?]/E* (or **päryE* ?) ‘to tear, to split’, no. 1791, **PVRiçV* ‘to break through, to tear’, and, no. 1792, **Pärga* ‘to split, to crack’.

108. Proto-Nostratic root *p^har- (~ *p^har-):
 (vb.) *p^har- ‘to spread, to scatter’;
 (n.) *p^har-a ‘breadth, width, extension, space’; (adj.) ‘broad, extended, spread out, scattered’
- A. Proto-Afrasian *par- ‘to spread, to scatter’: Proto-Semitic *par-aṭ- ‘to spread, to scatter’ > Hebrew *pāras* [פָּרַס] ‘to spread, to expand, to spread out’, *pēras* [פָּרַץ] ‘to stretch, to spread, to scatter’; Aramaic *pāras* ‘to spread out, to extend’; Arabic *faraša* ‘to spread, to spread out’; Ḥarsūsi *ferōs* ‘to spread’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fērōs* ‘to spread’; Mehri *fārōs* ‘to spread’. Klein 1987:533; Murtonen 1989:350; Zammit 2002:319. Arabic *farada* ‘to spread, to spread out, to extend, to stretch’. Egyptian *prš* ‘to stretch out’; Coptic *pōrš* [ⲡⲟⲣⲩⲨ] ‘to spread, to stretch, to extend’. Vycichl 1983:164; Černý 1976:128. Berber: Tuareg *āfrəd* ‘to sweep, to be swept’, *sāfrəd* ‘to make sweep’, *tasāfrəṭ* ‘broom’; Ghadames *āfrəd* ‘to split in two (a fruit)’; Mزاب *āfrəd* ‘to sweep, to be swept’; Kabyle *āfrəd* ‘to sweep, to clean’. [Proto-Southern Cushitic *paraḥ- ‘to pull apart’ > Iraqw *parḥami* ‘piece’; Asa *parames-* ‘to split up (firewood)’; Ma’a *-pará’a* ‘to disperse’, *-parāti* ‘to scatter (something)’; Dahalo *poroh* ‘to pull apart’. Ehret 1980:143. Note: At least some of the Southern Cushitic forms may belong with *p^har- (~ *p^har-) ‘(vb.) to separate, to divide, to break (apart); (n.) part, portion, share’.]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *para* ‘to spread, to be diffused, to be flattened, to be broad’; Malayalam *parakka* ‘to spread, to be diffused, to be extended, to become large’; Kota *pard-* (*pardy-*) ‘to spread over large space’; Kannada *paraḍa* ‘to spread, to extend, to be diffused’; Telugu *parapu*, *parapu* ‘broad, extended, expanded’, *paravu* ‘to spread’; Parji *parp-* (*part-*) ‘to spread’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:351—352, no. 3949; Krishnamurti 2003:277 and 279 *par-a ‘to spread’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *p^her-/*p^hor-/*p^hr̥- ‘to spray, to sprinkle, to scatter’ (extended forms: *p^her-s-/*p^hor-s-/*p^hr̥-s-, *p^hr̥-ew-/*p^hr̥-ow-/*p^hr̥-u-, *p^hr̥-eE- [> *p^hr̥-ē-]): Sanskrit *pruṣṇóti* ‘to sprinkle, to wet, to shower’, *pr̥ṣat-* ‘spotted, speckled, piebald, variegated; sprinkling; a drop of water’, *párṣati* ‘to sprinkle’; Greek *πρίθω* ‘to blow up, to swell out by blowing’, *πίμπρημι* ‘to blow up, to distend’ (also ‘to burn, to burn up’); Old Icelandic *fors* ‘waterfall’, *frýsa* ‘to snort, to whinny (of a horse)’, *frusa* ‘to spray, to sprinkle’, *frauð*, *froða* ‘froth’ (> English *froth*), *freyða* ‘to froth’; Old English *āfrēoþan* ‘to froth’; Old Church Slavic *para* ‘steam’; Slovenian *prhati* ‘to strew; to drizzle’; Hittite (reduplicated) (3rd sg. pres.) *pa-ap-pár-aš-zi* ‘to sprinkle, to pour’; Tocharian B *pārs-* ‘to sprinkle’, *pārsāntse* ‘resplendent, speckled’. Rix 1998a:441—441 *preh₁- ‘to blow up’, 445 *preus- ‘to spray’; Pokorny 1959:809—810 *per-, *perə-, *prē-, *preu- ‘to spray’, 823 *pers- ‘to spray, to sprinkle’; Walde 1927—1932.II:27—28 *per-, (A) *per(ē)-, (B) *pr-eu- and II:50 *pers-; Mann 1984—1987:986

preus-* ‘to sprinkle, to spray, to wash’, 997 **prūs-* (phrūs-*) ‘to snort, to spray’; Mallory—Adams 1997:72 **per-* ‘to blow (on a fire)’, **preus-* and 540 **pers-* ‘to sprinkle’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:230, II:336—337 and II:380—381 **prus-*; Boisacq 1950:784—785 **pere-*, **perē-* ‘to spurt out, to gush forth (fire, fluid)’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:538—539; Hofmann 1966:270; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:902—903; Orël 2003:120 Proto-Germanic **fursaz*; Kroonen 2013:161—162 Proto-Germanic **fursa-* ‘gush’ (?); De Vries 1977:139, 140, 142, and 145; Adams 1999:375 **pers-* ‘to sprinkle’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:365 **pers-*; Sturtevant 1951:65, §87. Proto-Indo-European **ph^herkh-*/**ph^hrokh-*/**ph^hrk^h-* ‘spotted, speckled’: Sanskrit *pīśni-h* ‘spotted’; Greek *περκνός* ‘dark-colored’; Old Irish *erc* ‘speckled’; Old High German *faro* ‘colored’, *far(a)wa* ‘color’ (New High German *Farbe*). Pokorny 1959:820—821 **perk-*, **prek-* ‘speckled’; Walde 1927—1932.II:45—46 **perk-*, **prek-*; Mann 1984—1987:924 **perkos*, *-ā* ‘spot, dot’; 924 **perks-* ‘to scatter, to sprinkle’, 999—1000 **prks-* ‘speckle, spot; to sprinkle, to spray’, 1000 **prk-* ‘spot, speckle; to spray’; Watkins 1985:50 **perk-* and 2000:66 **perk-* ‘speckled’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:594 **p^her^hk^h[-]* and 1995.I:454 (fn. 52), I:509 **ph^herk^h-* ‘spotted’; Mallory—Adams 1997:537 **perk-* ‘speckled’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:515—516 **perk-*, **por^hk-*, **pr^hk-*; Boisacq 1950:773—774 **perk-*, **prek-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:887; Hofmann 1966:265 **perk-*, **prek-*; Beekes 2010.II:1178 **perk-*; Kroonen 2013:130 Proto-Germanic **farwa-* ‘colorful’ (< **por^hk-uo-*); Orël 2003:93 Proto-Germanic **farxwaz*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:184; Kluge—Seebold 1989:202—203 (German *Farbe* < Proto-Indo-European **q^uor-wo-* ‘form, shape, color’); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:336 and 1986—2001.II:164. Proto-Indo-European *(*s*)*ph^her-*/*(*s*)*ph^hor-*/*(*s*)*ph^hy-* ‘to spread, to scatter, to strew’: Latin *spargō* ‘to scatter, to strew’; Armenian *ph^harat* ‘dispersed, scattered’; Greek *σπείρω* ‘to scatter seed, to sow’; Old High German *spreitan* ‘to spread’; (?) Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *iš-pa-a-ri*, *iš-pár-ri-ya-az-zi*, *iš-pár-ri-iz-zi* ‘to spread, to trample’. Rix 1998a:533—534 **spher^hg-* ‘to hiss, to sizzle, to crackle’ (given as possible source of Latin *spargō*); Walde 1927—1932.II:670—672 **sp(h)er-*, 672—675 **sp(h)er(e)-g-*, **sp(h)erē-g-*; Pokorny 1959:993—995 *(*s*)*p(h)er-*, **sprei-*, **spreu-* ‘to scatter, to strew, to sow’, 996—998 *(*s*)*p(h)ereg-*, *(*s*)*p(h)eræg-*, *(*s*)*p(h)rēg-* ‘to strew’; Mann 1984—1987:1252 **spargos* (**spharg-*) ‘point, prick, dot’, 1255 **sperjō* (**spær-*) ‘to scatter, to sow’, 1267 **sprjō* ‘to blow, to scatter’, 1270—1271 **sperō*, *-jō*; Watkins 1985:63—64 **sper-* and 2000:83 **sper-* ‘to strew’; Mallory—Adams 1997:500 **sper-* ‘to strew, to sow’; Beekes 2010.II:1379—1380 **sper-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1035—1036 **sper-*; Hofmann 1966:327 **sp(h)er-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:762—763 **sp(h)er-*; Boisacq 1950:894—895 **sp(h)er-*, **sp(h)erē-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:638; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:566—567 **sper-*; De Vaan 2008:578; Sturtevant 1951:63, §85; Kroonen 2013:469 Proto-Germanic **spraidjan-* ~ **spraitjan-* ‘to

spread, to disperse'; Orël 2003:366 Proto-Germanic **spraidjanan*, 367 **sprīđanan*.

D. Altaic: Manchu *fara-* 'to spread freshly harvested grain out to dry'.

Sumerian *pār* 'to spread or stretch out'.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 9.34 spread out, strew; 10.38 blow (vb. intr.). Brunner 1969:23, no. 40, and 25, no. 62; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:241—242, no. 46; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1777, **pAri[ʃ]V* 'to strew, to spread, to extend'.

109. Proto-Nostratic root **p^har-* (~ **p^hər-*):

(vb.) **p^har-* 'to press forward, to precede, to hasten in advance, to overtake, to surpass, to outstrip';

(n.) **p^har-a* 'leader, master, lord, hero'; (adj.) 'chief, foremost, first'

A. Proto-Afrasian **p[a]r-* 'to precede, to surpass, to outstrip, to overtake': Proto-Semitic **par-aʕ-* 'to surpass, to outstrip, to excel' > Hebrew *peraʕ* [פֶּרָא] 'leader, prince'; Ugaritic *pr^o* 'chief'; Arabic *faraʕa* 'to surpass, to outstrip, to excel'; Sabaean *fr^o* 'summit'; Šheri / Jibbāli *fēraʕ* 'to win', *fēraʕ* 'brave', *fēr^oún* 'strong and muscular, brave; winner'; Ḥarsūsi *fēra* 'brave'; Mehri *fōra* 'to win (usually children) in a game where palms are turned up and down', *frā* 'to go up, to ascend', *farʔ* 'brave'. Murtonen 1989:348. Arabic *farāṭa* 'to precede, to hasten in advance, to overtake'. Egyptian *pri* 'to go up, to ascend; to advance against', *pry* 'champion, hero'. Erman—Grapow 1921:54 and 1926—1963.1:520—521; Faulkner 1962:90—91 and 91; Hannig 1995:283—284 and 285; Gardiner 1957:565.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *pa-ar-qa* 'formerly, in former times'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **p^her-/p^hor-/p^hr-* base of prepositions and preverbs with a wide range of meanings such as 'in front of, forward, before, first, chief, forth, foremost, beyond': Sanskrit *pāraḥ* 'far, distant', *purāḥ* 'in front, forward, before', *purati* 'to precede, to go before', *prá* 'before, in front', *práti* 'towards, near to, against', *pratarám* 'further', *prathamá-h* 'foremost, first'; Greek *πέρᾱν*, *πέριην* 'across, beyond, on the other side', *παρά*, *παράι* 'beside', *πάρος* 'before', *πρό* 'before', *πρότερος* 'before, in front of, forward', *πρωτος* 'first, foremost', *πρόμος* 'chief, foremost, first', *πρόκα* 'forthwith', *πρός*, *πρωτί* 'from'; Latin *per* 'through, along, over', *prae* 'before, in front', *prior* 'former, first', *prīmus* 'first, foremost', *prō* 'before, in front of'; Umbrian *pernaiaf* 'from in front', *perne* 'before'; Gothic *faur* 'for, before', *fauja* 'master, lord', *fairra* 'far', *faura* 'before, for, on account of, from', *fram* 'from, by, since, on account of', *framis* 'further, onward', *frumists* 'first, foremost, best, chief', *fruma* 'the former, prior, first', *frums* 'beginning'; Old Icelandic *for-* 'before', *ffarri* 'far off', *fram* 'forward', *fyrr* 'before, sooner', *fyrstr* 'first'; Old English *feorr* 'far', *feorran* 'from afar', *for*, *fore* 'before', *forma* 'first', *fram* 'from', *frum*

‘first’, *fyrst*, *fyrest* ‘first’, *fyrmost* ‘first’; Old Frisian *for* ‘before’, *fara*, *fore* ‘before’, *ferest* ‘first’, *forma* ‘first’, *vorsta*, *fersta* ‘prince’; Old Saxon *for*, *fur* ‘before’, *for(a)*, *far* ‘before’, *forma* ‘first’, *furi* ‘before’, *furist* ‘first, foremost’, *furisto* ‘prince’; Old High German *furi* ‘before, for’ (New High German *für*), *fora* ‘before’ (New High German *vor*), *furist* ‘first’, *fir(i)-* ‘opposite’ (New High German *ver-*); Lithuanian *priē* ‘at, near, by’, *prō* ‘through, past, by’, *priēš* ‘against’; Hittite *pa-ra-a* ‘forth’, *pi-ra-an* ‘before, forth’; Luwian *pár-ra-an* ‘before, in front’, *pa-ri-ya-an* ‘beyond; exceedingly, especially’; Lycian *przze/i-* ‘front, foremost’, *pri* ‘forth; in front’. Pokorny 1959:810—816 **per-* ‘passing beyond’; Walde 1927—1932.II:29—38 **per-*; Mann 1984—1987:922 **perəm-* (**peramos*, -ā) ‘away, across, farthest’, 926 **perŋ-* (**perŋt-*) ‘beyond, away, far’, 976 **por-* (**poro-*), 989—990 **pro*, **pro-* (**prō*, **p̄ro*, **p̄rō-*) ‘forward, forth, away, for’, 992 **prōi-* ‘ahead, before, earlier, soon’ (variant **prōjām*), 992 **prok-* ‘forth, forward; later, late; advance’, 993 **prom-*, **p̄rom-*, **prōm-* (**promi-*) ‘forth, forward, on, forthcoming, first, beyond’, 996 **prō-ter-* (comparative of **prō-*), 996 **pro-tən-* (**pro-ten-*, **pro-tn-*), 996 **pro-təmo-*, 996—997 **proti* (**proti*, **protiō*) ‘forward, toward, against’, 997 **prōu-* ‘forward, forth, forthright, straight’ (variant **proū-*), 998 **p̄i-*, **p̄i-* (**p̄ar-*), 998—999 **p̄ri* (**p̄ari*, **p̄rai*, **p̄ri*) ‘before, at, to’, 999 **p̄ri-tero-* (**p̄ri-tero-*), 1004 **p̄iūos* ‘first, foremost’; Watkins 1985:49—50 **per* and 2000:65—66 **per* base of prepositions and preverbs with the basic meanings of ‘forward, through’ and a wide range of extended senses such as ‘in front of, before, early, first, chief, toward, against, near, at, around’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:199 **p[h]̄ros*, I:200 **p[h]̄rH-*, II:843 **p[h]̄(e)rH-*, **p[h]̄rei-uo-*, **p[h]̄r-is-mo-*, **p[h]̄r-is-t[h]̄o-*, **p[h]̄rH-mo-*, **p[h]̄rH-uo-* and 1995.I:172 **p̄ros* ‘earlier’, I:173 **p̄rH-*, I:741 **p̄erH-* (**p̄rH-*) ‘front, forward’, **p̄rei-wo-* ‘only, single’, **p̄r-is-mo-* ‘first’, **p̄r-is-t̄h̄o-* ‘first’, **p̄rH-mo-* ‘first’, **p̄rH-wo-* ‘first’; Mallory—Adams 1997:60—61 **p̄rh̄éh̄₁* ‘in front of; before (of time)’, **p̄rh̄éi* ‘in front of; before (of time)’, **pro* ‘forward, ahead, away’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:214—215, II:309—310, II:350—353 **prō*, II:358 **pro-tero-*, II:358—360 **proti*/**preti*, and II:363—364 **pro-* : **p̄r-*; Boisacq 1950:746 **p̄i*, **p̄rai*, **p̄rai*, 748 **p̄ros*, **per-*, **p̄r-*, 770—771 **per-*, 814 **pro*, **prō*, 814 **pro-qo-*, 815 **pro-mo-*, 816, 816—817 **proti*, 819—820 **p̄i-to-*s; Frisk 1970—1973.II:472—473, II:476 **p̄rós*, II:596—597 **pro*, II:599, II:600, II:600—601, II:603, and II:609—610; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:856—857, II:939, II:940, II:941, II:942, and II:945—946; Beekes 2010.II:1151 **prh̄₂₋*, II:1154 **prh̄₂₋*, II:1175 **per*, II:1176 **per-*, II:1233—1234 **prei*, II:1235 **pro*, II:1237 **pro-k-*, II:1237—1238 **promo-*, II:1238 **proti*, II:1239 **pro-ti-o-*, II:1240 **pro-tero-*; Hofmann 1966:253 **p̄i-*, 253 **p̄eros*, 284 **prō*, 284 **pro-qo-*, 284—285 **pro-mo-s*, 285 **pro-tero-*, 285 **pro-ti*, **preti*, and 286; Ernout—Meillet 1979:497 **peri*, **per*, 529—530, 535, 536—537 **pro*, **prō*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:283—

286 *peri, *per, II:351, II:362—363, and II:364—365; De Vaan 2008:459—560, 485—486, 488—489, and 489—490; Orël 2003:111 Proto-Germanic *frama, 111*framaz, 116* frumaz ~ *frumōn, 119 *fur(a), 119 *furai, 119 *furxaz, 120 *furistaz; Kroonen 2013:156 Proto-Germanic *frōi- ‘early’, 157 *fruman- ‘former, first’, 161 *furi ‘in front of, for’; Feist 1939:137 *per, *peri, 141, 145 *perǎ, 160, 164, and 169—170 *pramo-; Lehmann 1986:104, 110 *pr-, 110—111 *perā, 121 *pro, 124 *pro-mo-, and 129—130 *prmo-; De Vries 1977:123—124, 137, 139—140, 148, and 149; Onions 1966:357, 368, 369, and 378; Klein 1971:283 *prō-, 290 *per-, *pr-, and 297; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:123; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:225, 811, and 825; Kluge—Seebold 1989:237 *per-, 757, and 768—769; Brugmann 1904:472—476 *per- (*pr-, *pr-): (1) *pro, *prō; (2) *preti, *proti; (3) *prai; (4) *prres, *prros; (5) *pr; (6) *peri, *per; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:652—653 and II:657; Smoczyński 2007.1:483 and 1:486. Notes: Some of the forms cited here may be from Proto-Indo-European *p^{her}-/*p^{hor}-/*p^hr- ‘to go or pass; to go or pass over or across; to go forth or out’ instead. Still others may be from Proto-Indo-European *p^{heri} ‘around’, which is listed below under Proto-Nostratic *p^{hir}- (~ *p^{her}-) ‘(vb.) to twist, to turn; (n.) twist, twining, turn; twine, string, rope, cord’. Indo-European loan in Kartvelian: cf. Georgian p^{ir}veli ‘first’ (cf. Blažek 1999b:85 Indo-European *prH₂-wó-).

- D. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *parla- ‘to hurry eagerly towards’ > Sirenik *parlax*- ‘to jump across something’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *parliuq*- ‘to welcome’; North Alaskan Inuit *parla*- ‘to welcome, to greet’; Western Canadian Inuit *parla*- (Netsilik) ‘to fight to be first’, (Caribou) ‘to tremble with eagerness when hunting caribou’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *parla*- ‘to throw things at them to eat, to hurry to eat (to get most)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:251.

Sumerian *para*₅ ‘king, prince’ (Semitic loan ?).

Buck 1949:13.34 first; 14.23 hasten, hurry (vb. intr.); 19.35 prince. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:236—237, no. 41; Möller 1911:201; Blažek 2004:15—18.

110. Proto-Nostratic root *p^{har}- (~ *p^har-):
 (vb.) *p^{har}- ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’;
 (n.) *p^{har}-a ‘flying, flight, fleeing’
 Derivative:
 (n.) *p^{har}-a ‘equid: horse, wild ass, onager, mule, etc.’
 Note also:
 (vb.) *p^{hir}- ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’;
 (n.) *p^{hir}-a ‘flying, flight, fleeing’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *para* (*parapp-*, *parant-*) ‘to fly, to hover, to flutter; to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry; to be greatly agitated; to be scattered, dispersed, to disappear’, (reduplicated) *parapara* ‘to hasten, to hurry’, *paravai* ‘bird, wing, feather, bee’, *pari* ‘to run away, to flow out quickly, to be displaced suddenly, to give way, to fly off, to be discharged’, *parai* ‘flying, wing, feather, bird’; Malayalam *parakka* ‘to fly, to flee’; Kota *parn-* (*parnd-*) ‘to fly, to run fast without stopping’; Kannada *pari*, *paru* ‘flying, running swiftly’; Tuḷu *pāruni* ‘to run, to fly, to escape’; Telugu *paracu* ‘to run away, to flee, to flow; to cause to flee’, *pāru* ‘to run, to flow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:358, no. 4020. Tamil *pari* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to run, to go out, to escape’, *pari* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘(vb.) to run, to proceed; (n.) motion, speed, rapidity, pace of a horse, horse’, *parippu* ‘motion’; Malayalam *pari* ‘horse’; Toda *pari-* (*parc-*) ‘(horse) to gallop; to ride at a gallop’; Kannada *pari*, *hari* ‘(vb.) to run, to flow, to proceed (as work), to go away, to disappear, to be discharged (as debt); (n.) moving, running, flowing, stream’; Tuḷu *pariyuni*, *hariyuni* ‘to run, to flow’; Telugu *parugu*, *paruvu*, *parvu* ‘running, a run’, *pāru* ‘to run, to run away’, *paruviḍu* ‘to run’; Malto *parce*, *parctre* ‘to run away’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:353, no. 3963.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **par-*, **pr-en-* ‘to fly’: Georgian *pr-en-* ‘to fly’, *pr-t-e* ‘wing’, (*m-*)*pr-in-v-el-i* ‘bird’; Mingrelian *purin-* ‘to fly’; Laz *purtin-* ‘to fly’. Fähnrich 1994:235 and 2007:425 **par-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:348 **par-*; Klimov 1964:190 **prin-* and 1998:203 **pr-en-* : **pr-in-* ‘to fly’; Schmidt 1962:136. Proto-Kartvelian **partx-/prtx-* ‘to flutter, to fly’: Georgian *partx-*, *prtx-* ‘to flutter’; Laz *putx-* ‘to fly up, to take flight, to rise’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:349—350 **partx-/prtx-*. Proto-Kartvelian **parpat-* ‘to flit, to flutter’: Georgian *parpat-* ‘to flit, to flutter’; Mingrelian *porpot-* ‘to flit, to flutter’. Klimov 1998:197 **parpaṭ-* ‘to flit, to flutter’; Fähnrich 2007:427 **parpaṭ-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:350 **parpaṭ-* (reduplicated form of **par-* ‘to fly’).
- C. Proto-Indo-European **pher-/phor-/ph₂-* ‘(vb.) to fly, to flee; (n.) feather, wing’: Sanskrit *parṇá-m* ‘wing, feather’; Hittite (3rd sg.) *pár-aš-zi* ‘to flee’; Latin *-perus* in *properus* ‘quick, rapid, hasty’, *properō* ‘to hasten’; Old English *fearn* ‘fern’ (originally ‘feathery leaf’); Old Saxon *farn* ‘fern’; Dutch *varen* ‘fern’; Old High German *farn* ‘fern’ (New High German *Farn*); Russian Church Slavic *perō*, *p̣rati* ‘to fly’, *pero* ‘feather’; Czech *prchnouti* ‘to flee’; Polish *pierzchnąć* ‘to flee’; Serbo-Croatian *prhati* ‘to fly up’; Russian *porxát’* [порхать] ‘to flutter, to fly about’, *peró* [перо] ‘feather, plume’. Pokorny 1959:816—817 **per-*, **perə-* ‘to flee’, 850; Walde 1927—1932.II:39—40 **per-*; Mann 1984—1987:922 **perənt-* (**pernt-*) ‘birdlife, bird(s)’, 926 **peros*, *-om*, *-jom* ‘feather, wing’, 926 **peros* ‘swift, swiftness’, 927 **perperos* ‘flighty, giddy’; Watkins 1985:50 **per-* and 2000:66 **per-* ‘to lead, to pass over’; Mallory—Adams 1997:646 **pornóm* ‘wing, feather’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972:372—

373; Ernout—Meillet 1979:539; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:223—224 **per-* ‘to fly’; Kroonen 2013:129—130 Proto-Germanic **farna-* ‘fern’ (< **ptorH-no-*); Orël 2003:94 Proto-Germanic **farnan*; Onions 1966:351 West Germanic **farno* (< **porno-*); Klein 1971:278; Kluge—Seebold 1989:203; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:184—185 **por-no-*.

- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh (reduplicated) **par(par)-* ‘to flap wings’: Amur (reduplicated) *p^harp^har-dy-* ‘to flap wings’; South Sakhalin (reduplicated) *pərfər-* ‘to flap wings’. Fortescue 2016:132.

Buck 1949:3.64 bird; 4.292 wing; 4.393 feather; 10.37 fly (vb.); 10.51 flee; 14.21 swift, fast, quick. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1758, **parV* ‘to fly, to jump’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:242—243, no. 47.

111. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **p^har-a* ‘running, rapid motion, speed’ > ‘equid: horse, wild ass, onager, mule, etc.’ in Afrasian and Dravidian

Derivative of:

(vb.) **p^har-* ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’;

(n.) **p^har-a* ‘flying, flight, fleeing’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **par-a(r/?w)-* ‘equid: horse, wild ass, onager, mule’ (< ‘swiftness, swift moving’): Proto-Semitic **par-(a)?-* ‘wild ass, onager’ > Hebrew *pere?* [פֶּרֶז] ‘wild ass’; Arabic *fara?* ‘wild ass, onager’; Akkadian *parū* ‘onager, mule’. Klein 1987:522 — Klein notes: “The orig. meaning of these words is prob. ‘runner’.”; Murtonen 1989:346; Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:234—235 Proto-Semitic **par(a)?-* ‘wild ass’. East Cushitic: Somali *faraw* ‘zebra’; Arbore *faraw* ‘horse’. Omotic: Wolaita, Gamu *fara* ‘horse’. Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:234—235, no. 176, Proto-Afrasian **para(r/?w)-* ‘a kind of equid’.

Proto-Afrasian **par-ad-* ‘equid: horse, wild ass, onager, mule’ (< ‘swiftness, swift moving’): Proto-Semitic **pard-* ~ **pird-* ‘a kind of equid: mule’ > Akkadian *perdum* ‘a kind of equid’; Hebrew *pereð* [פֶּרֶד] ‘mule’, (f.) *pirdāh* [פִּרְדָּה] ‘female mule’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *pirdā* ‘mule’; Ugaritic *prd* ‘mule’. Klein 1987:523; Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:235—236, no. 177, Proto-Semitic **pi/ard-* ‘an equid’. Cushitic: Central Cushitic: Bilin *farad* ‘horse’; Qwara, Dembea, Awngi *farzā* ‘horse’. East Cushitic: Somali *fārdó* ‘horse’; Galla / Oromo *fardo* ‘horse’; Gedeo / Darasa *faracco* ‘horse’ (pl. *farado*); Kambata (pl.) *faarsu* ‘horses’; Sidamo *faradó* (pl. *faradda*) ‘horse’. Hudson 1989:81. Omotic: Koyra *farazi* ‘horse’; Yemsa *faza* ‘horse’. Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:235—236, no. 177; Orël—Stolbova 1995:420, no. 1961, **parVd-* ‘equid’.

Proto-Afasiatic **par-aš-* ‘horse’: Proto-Semitic **par-aš-* ‘horse’ > Hebrew *pārāš* [פָּרָשׁ] ‘horse, steed; horseman, rider; knight’; Palmyrene *prš* ‘horseman, cavalry-man’; Nabataean *prš* ‘horseman, cavalry-man’; Judaic Aramaic *pārāš* ‘horseman, knight’; Mandaic *paraša* ‘mounted soldier, horseman, cavalry-man, mounted archer’; Arabic *faras* ‘horse, mare; knight (chess)’, *farāsa* ‘horsemanship’; Sabaeen *fṛs* ‘horse, mare; cavalryman, cavalry’; Geez / Ethiopic *faras* [ፈረስ] ‘horse’; Tigre *fāräs* ‘horse’; Tigrinya *fāräs* ‘horse’; Amharic *fāräs* ‘horse’; Gurage *fāräs* ‘horse’; Harari *fārāz* ‘horse’. Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:242—245, no. 182, Proto-Semitic **paraš-* ~ **paras-* ‘horse’; Klein 1987:533; Murtonen 1989:349. Central Cushitic: Qwara *farsā* ‘horse’. East Cushitic: Saho-Afar *farās* ‘horse’; Somali *fāras-* ‘horses; Hadiyya *farasšo* (pl. *farado*) ‘horse’; Sidamo *farasšo* (pl. *farado*) ‘horse’; Harso *paraso* ‘horse’. Omotic: Shinasha *farša* ‘horse’. Hudson 1989:81.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pari* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to run, to go out, to escape’, (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to run, to proceed’, *pari* ‘motion, speed, rapidity; pace of a horse, a horse’, *parippu* ‘motion’, *pariyal* ‘going fast’; Malayalam *pari* ‘horse’; Toda *pari-* (*parc-*) ‘(horse) to gallop; to ride at a gallop’; Kannada *pari, hari* ‘to run, to flow, to proceed (as work), to go away, to disappear, to be discharged (as a debt)’, *pari, hari* ‘moving, running, flowing, stream’, *parike, pariya* ‘running’, *parivu* ‘running, flowing, current’; Tuḷu *pariyuni, hariyuni* ‘to run, to flow’, *paripuni* ‘to flow (as water)’, *parapu* ‘flowing, running’; Telugu *parugu, paruvu, parvu* ‘running, a run’, *paruviḍu* ‘to run’, *parapu* ‘to cause to flow’, *pāru* ‘to run, to run away, to move the bowels, to purge, to fly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:353, no. 3963.

Buck 1949:3.41 horse. Slightly different etymologies in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1786, **pAr[y]V* ‘to run, to flee’, and no. 1788, **pVRCV* ‘to flee, to run (from, after somebody)’.

112. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **par-a* ‘calf, heifer’:

Note also:

(n.) **phur-a* ‘calf, heifer’

- A. Proto-Afrasiatic **par-* ‘young bull or calf’: Proto-Semitic **par-/pur-* ‘young bull or calf’ > Hebrew *par* [פָּר] ‘young bull or calf’, *pārāh* [הָפָּרָה] ‘heifer, calf’; Ugaritic *pr* ‘bull’; Akkadian *pūru* ‘young bull or calf’. Klein 1987:522; Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:239—242, no. 181, Proto-Semitic **parr-* ‘young of small or large cattle’. Egyptian *pry* ‘ferocious bull’. Faulkner 1962:91; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:526; Hannig 1995:285 and 2006:922; Gardiner 1957:565. Central Chadic **par-* ‘cattle’ > Mbari *far-ay* ‘cattle’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:418, no. 1950, **par-* ‘cattle’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **phor-/ph₂r-* ‘young bull or calf’: Sanskrit *pṛthuka-h* ‘young animal’; Armenian *orth* ‘calf’; Greek πόρις, πόρταξ, πόρτις ‘calf,

heifer, young cow'; Old Icelandic *farri* 'bullock'; Old English *fearr* 'bull'; Old High German *far*, *farro* 'bullock' (New High German *Farre*); Middle High German *verse* 'heifer' (New High German *Färse*). Pokorny 1959:818 **per-* 'to bear, to bring forth'; Walde 1927—1932.II:41—42 **per-*; Mann 1984—1987:979 **porstis* (**prsth-*) 'calf, youngster', 1653 **poris*, **poruis* (?); Watkins 1985:50 **per-* 'the young of an animal'; Mallory—Adams 1997:24 (?) **per-* 'offspring (of an animal)'; Boisacq 1950:804—805 **per-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:580; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:928—929; Hofmann 1966:280 **per-*; Beekes 2010.II:1222 **por-i-*; Orël 2003:94 Proto-Germanic **farzōn*; Kroonen 2013:130 Proto-Germanic **farza(n)-* 'young bull' (< **pors-ó(n)-*); De Vries 1977:113 Germanic **farzan-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:185; Kluge—Seebold 1989:203; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:332—333.

Buck 1949:3.21 bull; 3.24 calf. Möller 1911:202—203; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1783, **p[o]r[w]V* 'female young ruminant'; Blažek 2013:48, no. 28.

113. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **phar-a*, (?) **phur-a* 'house':

- A. Proto-Afrasian **par-* 'house': Egyptian *pr* 'house'; Coptic *-pōr* [-**ⲡⲠⲓ**], *per-* [**ⲡⲉⲣ-**] 'house'. Hannig 1995:278—279; Faulkner 1962:89; Erman—Grapow 1921:53 and 1926—1963.1:511—516; Gardiner 1957:565; Vycichl 1983:162; Černý 1976:127. Berber **far(r)-* 'enclosure' > Ahaggar *a-farra* 'enclosure'; Tawlemmet *a-farra* 'enclosure'. East Chadic **par-* 'hangar' > Migama *para* 'hangar'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:418, no. 1949, **par-* 'house, enclosure'.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **puray* 'house, dwelling' (< **pər-* ?): Tamil *purai* 'house, dwelling, small room', *pirai* 'shed, factory', *puraiyan* 'house, cottage, dwelling made of leaves', *puraiyul* 'house'; Malayalam *pura* 'house (especially thatched house), hut, room'; Kodagu *pore* 'thatched roof'; Tuḷu *porè*, *purè* 'roof, ceiling', *pura* 'house'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:379—380, no. 4294.
- C. Indo-European: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *pi-ir* (< **phēr*) 'house', (dat. sg.) *pár-ni*, *pár-na* (< **ph̥n-*), (dat. pl.) *pár-na-aš*; Luwian (dat.-loc. sg.) *pár-ni* 'house'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *parn-* 'house'; Lycian *pr̥nna-* 'house', *pr̥nawati* 'to build, to construct'; Lydian *bira-* 'house'. Kloekhorst 2008b:666.
- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **prə* '(storage) hut': Amur *prə* '(storage) hut'; South Sakhalin *přə* 'hut' [according to Austerlitz, 'shelter']. Fortescue 2016:137.

Buck 1949:7.12 house. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:253, no. 61.

114. Proto-Nostratic root **p^har-* (~ **p^har-*):(vb.) **p^har-* ‘to go or pass; to go or pass over or across; to go forth or out’;(n.) **p^har-a* ‘going, passage, journey, crossing’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **par-* ‘to go out’: Egyptian *prī* ‘to go, to come out, to go forth; to go up, to ascend’, *prw* (*prīw*) ‘motion, procession, outcome, result’, *prt* ‘(ritual) procession’; Coptic *pire* [πειρε] ‘to come forth’. Hannig 1995:283—284 and 285; Faulkner 1962:90—91; Gardiner 1957:565; Erman—Grapow 1921:54 and 1926—1963.1:518, 1:525, 1:526; Černý 1976:127; Vycichl 1983:162. Cushitic: Beja / Beḡawye *farā?* ‘to go out’. Reinisch 1895:82. Saho-Afar **far-* ‘to go out’ > Saho *far-* ‘to go out’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:419, no. 1955, **par-/pir-* ‘to go out’. Orël—Stolbova also include Hadiyya *fir-* ‘to go out, to exit’ (< Highland East Cushitic **fir-* ‘to go out’). However, Hudson (1989:71 and 409) derives Hadiyya *fir-* from Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ful-* ‘to go out, to exit’.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *pa-ri-* ‘to come, to reach; to go, to start, to set out’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **p^her-/p^hor-/p^hy-* ‘to go or pass; to go or pass over or across; to go forth or out’: Sanskrit *pīparti* ‘to bring over or to, to bring out of, to deliver from, to rescue, to save, to protect, to escort, to further, to promote; to surpass, to excel’, (causative) *pārāyati* ‘to bring over or out’, *pārā-ḥ* ‘bringing across’; Avestan (causative) *-pārayeite* ‘to convey across’; Greek *περάω* ‘to pass across or through, to pass over, to pass, to cross’, *πορίζω* ‘to carry, to bring about, to provide, to furnish, to supply, to procure, to cause’, *πόρος* ‘a means of crossing a river, ford, ferry’; Latin *portō* ‘to bear or carry along, to convey’, *portus* ‘harbor, haven, port’; Gothic **faran* ‘to wander, to travel’, **farjan* ‘to travel’, **at-farjan* ‘to put into port, to land’, **us-farþō* ‘shipwreck’; Old Icelandic *ferja* ‘to ferry over a river or strait’, *far* ‘a means of passage, ship’, *fara* ‘to move, to pass along, to go’, *farmr* ‘freight, cargo, load’, *færa* ‘to bring, to convey’, *för* ‘journey’; Old English *faran* ‘to go, to march, to travel’, *fær* ‘going, passage, journey’, *ferian* ‘to carry, to convey, to lead’, *för* ‘movement, motion, course’, *ford* ‘ford’; Old Frisian *fara* ‘to travel’; Old Saxon *fara* ‘to travel’, *fōrian* ‘to lead, to convey’, *ferian* ‘to lead, to ferry across’; Dutch *varen* ‘to travel’; Old High German *faran* ‘to travel’ (New High German *fahren*), *ferien*, *ferren* ‘to lead, to ferry across’, *fuoren* ‘to lead, to convey’ (New High German *führen*), *fuora* ‘journey, way’ (New High German *Fuhre*), *furt* ‘ford’ (New High German *Furt*). Rix 1998a:425 **per-* ‘to pass over or across, to traverse’; Pokorny 1959:816—817 **per-*, **perə-*; Walde 1927—1932.II:39—40 **per-*; Mann 1984—1987:924 **periō*, 926 **perō* ‘(to pass through)’, 977 **porejō* ‘to convey’, 978 **pormos* ‘going, gait, progress, ferry, freight’, 978 **poros* ‘passage, crossing, track, space, period’, 979 **port-* (**portos*, *-ā*, *-us*, *-is*) ‘way, passage, gate’, 1003—1004 **pīt-* (**pītos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-us*) ‘passage, crossing, way, fort, shallow’; Watkins

1985:50 *per- and 2000:66 *per- ‘to lead, to cross over’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:883 *p^h[^h]orH- and 1995.I:779 *p^horH- ‘passageway’; Mallory—Adams 1997:228—229 *per- ‘to pass through’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:258 and II:284; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:929; Frisk 1970—1973.II:491—492; Boisacq 1950:757—758 *per-; Hofmann 1966:257—258 *per-; Beekes 2010.II:1163—1164 *per-; De Vaan 2008:482—483; Orël 2003:93 Proto-Germanic *faran, 93 *faranan, 93 *fardiz, 93 *farjanan. 93 *farjōn, 94 *farō; Kroonen 2013:128 Proto-Germanic *faran- ‘to go’, 128 fardi- ‘journey’, 129 *farjōn- ‘ferry’, 129 *farma- ‘moving’ (?), and 160 *furdu- ‘ford’; Feist 1939:142—143 *per-; Lehmann 1986:108—109 *per-; De Vries 1977:112, 118, 150, and 151; Onions 1966:345, 352, and 369; Klein 1971:273 *per-, 278, and 290; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:101; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:180 *per-, *por-, 223, and 225—226 *prtú-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:199 *per-, 236, and 237—238 *prtú-.

- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *prə- ‘to come’: Amur p^hrə-dv ‘to come’; North Sakhalin p^hřəj vi-t ‘to come’ (Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *wi- ‘to go’); East Sakhalin p^hřə(j)-d / p^hřəra-d ‘to come’; South Sakhalin p^hřə-nt ‘to come’. Fortescue 2016:137.

Sumerian pàr ‘to go or pass by, to go past’.

Buck 1949:10.47 go; 10.62 bring; 10.63 send; 10.64 lead. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:260, no. 69; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1768, *PVRV ‘to cross, to pass through’.

115. Proto-Nostratic root *p^har^y- (~ *p^hə^y-):

(vb.) *p^har^y- ‘to cover’;

(n.) *p^har^y-a ‘covering’

- A. Proto-Dravidian *par- ‘to cover’: Pengo prak- (-t) ‘to cover’; Maṇḍa prak- ‘to cover, to close the eyes’; Kui planga (plangi-) ‘to be covered’, plapka (< plak-p-; plakt-) ‘to cover with something’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:357, no. 4008.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *par- ‘to cover’: Georgian par- ‘to cover, to hide’; Mingrelian por- ‘to cover’; Svan par-/pr- (li-pr-eni, li-l-pär-i) ‘to cover something’. Klimov 1964:187 *par- and 1998:197 *par- : *pr- ‘to cover’; Schmidt 1962:135; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:348 *par-; Fähnrich 1994:235 and 2007:424—425 *par-.

Buck 1949:12.26 cover (vb.).

116. Proto-Nostratic root **p^har^y-* (~ **p^hər^y-*):(vb.) **p^har^y-* ‘to ripen, to mature, to grow old, (hair) to turn gray’;(n.) **p^har^y-a* ‘ripeness, maturity’; (adj.) ‘ripe, mature, gray’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **par-* ‘white’: Chadic: Hausa *fárii* ‘white’; Guruntum *fari* ‘white’; Margi *pərt^h*, *pərtù* ‘white’; Gisiga-Marua *babaraŋ* ‘white’; Gidar *bábara* ‘white’; Lele *bòré* ‘white’; Kabalay *bùrùwa* ‘white’; Dangla *pórtà* ‘white’; Migama *púrtà* ‘white’; Jegu *pórórán* ‘white’; Birgit *fóróórà* ‘white’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.I:178 **pr*, II:344—345; Newman 1977:34, no. 145. Omotic: Yemsa / Janjero *poro* ‘white’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *paṛu* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to ripen (as fruits, grain), to grow, to mature, to arrive at perfection (as knowledge, piety), to become old, to come to a head (as a boil), to change color by age, to become pale or yellowish (as the body by disease), to become flexible, to become pliant’, *paṛu*, *paṛuppu* ‘ripeness, yellowness (of fruits), leaf turned yellow with age’, *paṛunu* (*paṛuni-*), *paṛunu* (*paṛuni-*) ‘to grow ripe, to become mellow, to mature, to be full or perfect’, *paṛam* ‘ripe fruit’; Malayalam *paṛukka* ‘to grow ripe, to become well-tempered, to suppurate, to decay’, *paṛuppu* ‘ripening of fruit’, *paṛam* ‘ripe fruit, ripe plantains’; Kota *paṛv-* (*paṛd-*) ‘(fruits) to become ripe, (boil, sore) to open’; Tuḷu *paṛnduni* ‘to be ripe, to mature, (hair) to turn gray’, *paṛndu* ‘ripeness, ripe fruit, ripe plantains; ripe, gray’; Telugu *paṇḍu* ‘to ripen, to mature, to yield, to produce, to win (in a game)’; Kolami *paṇḍ-* (*paṇḍt-*) ‘to become ripe’; Gadba (Salur) *paṛṅ-* ‘(hair) to become gray’; Gondí *paṇḍānā*, *paṇḍīnā* ‘to become ripe’, *paṇḍ-* ‘to become ripe, (hair) to become gray’; Konḍa *paṇḍ-* ‘to ripen, (hair) to become gray’, *paṛu* ‘fruit’; Pengo *paṛ* ‘fruit’; Maṇḍa *paṛ* ‘fruit’; Kuwi *paṇḍu* ‘ripe fruit’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:356—357, no. 4004; Krishnamurti 2003:192 **paṛ-V-* ‘to ripen’.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **per-* ‘gray’: Georgian *per-o* ‘gray’; Svan *pār-w* (< **per-w* < **per-o*) ‘gray’. Fähnrich 2007:432—433 **per-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:354 **per-*.

117. Proto-Nostratic root **p^has^y-* (~ **p^həs^y-*):(vb.) **p^has^y-* ‘to breathe out, to blow; to fart’;(n.) **p^has^y-a* ‘a fart’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **p[a]s^y-* ‘to breathe out, to blow; to fart’: Proto-Semitic **pas^y-aw-* ‘to breathe out, to blow; to fart’ > Akkadian *pašū* ‘to breathe out, to expire’; Arabic *fasā* ‘to fart noisily’; Geez / Ethiopic *fasawa* ‘to fart’, *fasaw* [ፈሰወ], *fasəw* [ፈሰወ] ‘a fart’; Tigre *fāša* ‘to fart’; Tigrinya *fāsāwä* ‘to fart’; Amharic *fāssa* ‘to fart’; Gafat *f^wāsa* ‘to fart’; Gurage (Soddo) *foššä* ‘to fart’, *fos* ‘a fart’; Harari *fās* ‘a fart’. Leslau 1963:65, 1979:246, and 1987:168. Ethiopian Semitic loan in Bilin *fäšä-* ‘to fart’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:186, no. 821, reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **fos[i]ʔ-* ‘to

breathe’ on the basis of a comparison of Akkadian *pašū* ‘to breathe out, to expire’ with the following Highland East Cushitic forms: Hadiyya *fooš-eʔ-* ‘to breathe’, *fooša* ‘odor, smell’; Kambata *fooš-eeʔ-* ‘to breathe’, *fosša* ‘odor, smell’, *fooš-eek-fiuucc-* ‘to pant’. However, these forms are to be derived from Proto-Highland East Cushitic **fool-* ‘to breathe’, **foole* ‘breath, odor, smell’ (cf. Hudson 1989:31), and are thus not related to the Semitic forms cited above as proposed by Orël—Stolbova.

- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *hasuku* ‘sharp, disagreeable smell’; Telugu *pasi* ‘smell, scent’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:343, no. 3826.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **p^hes-t’-/p^hos-t’-* ‘to fart’: Latin *pēdō* ‘to fart’, *pōdex* ‘anus’; Greek βδέω ‘to fart’; Old English *fīsting* ‘gentle fart’; Middle High German *vīst*, *vīst* ‘gentle fart’ (New High German *Fist*); Czech *pezd* ‘anus, fart’, *bzdít* ‘to fart’; Serbo-Croatian *bàzdeti* ‘to fart’; Russian *bzdet’* [бздеть] ‘to fart’; Ukrainian *bzdity* ‘to fart’; Polish *bździeć* ‘to fart’; Lithuanian *bezdù*, *bezdėti* ‘to fart’; Latvian *bzdēt* ‘to fart’. Rix 1998a:429 **pesd-* ‘to fart’; Pokorny 1959:829 **pezd-* ‘to fart’; Walde 1927—1932.II:68—69 **pezd-*; Mann 1984—1987:928 **pesdō* ‘to fart’; Watkins 1985:51 **pezd-* and 2000:67 **pezd-* ‘to fart’; Mallory—Adams 1997:194 **pesd-* ‘to fart’; Boisacq 1950:117 **p[e]zd-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:230 **pezd-*, **pzd-* > **bzd-*; Hofmann 1966:34 (Greek βδέω < *βδδέω); Beekes 2010.I:209 **pesd-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:171—172 **pezd-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:493 **pezd-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:273—274 **pezd-*; De Vaan 2008:454—455; Orël 2003:101 Proto-Germanic **festiz*; Onions 1966:358 Germanic **fisti-* (< **fest-* < **pezd-*); Kluge—Mitzka 1967:200 (New High German *Fist* < **peis-*); Kluge—Seebold 1989:216 (Proto-Germanic **fisti-* < **pezdi-*); Shevelov 1964:95; Smoczyński 2007.1:58 **pésd-e-*, **psd-éje-* (> Greek βδέω); Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:42.

Sumerian *peš*, *peš₅*, *peš₆* ‘to breathe, to respire; to breathe a sigh of relief; to blow’.

Buck 1949:4.64 fart, break wind (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:237—238, no. 42; Möller 1911:205.

118. Proto-Nostratic root **p^has^{y-}* (~ **p^has^{y-}*):
 (vb.) **p^has^{y-}* ‘to split, to cleave, to break, to shatter’;
 (n.) **p^has^{y-a}* ‘split, break; part, share, portion’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **pas^{y-}* ‘to split, to cleave, to break, to shatter’: Proto-Semitic **pas^{y-ax-}* ‘to tear, to render asunder, to sever’ > Hebrew *pāšah* [פָּשַׁח] ‘to tear to pieces’; Syriac *pāšah* ‘to tear, to rend asunder, to cut off’; Arabic *faṣaḥa* ‘to dislocate, to disjoint, to sever, to sunder, to tear’. Klein 1987:534. Proto-Semitic **pas^{y-at-}* ‘to tear off, to strip off’ > Hebrew

pāšaṭ [ܡܫܬ] ‘to strip off, to flay’; Syriac *pāšaṭ* ‘to stretch out, to extend, to reach out’; Akkadian *pašātu* ‘to expunge, to obliterate’. Klein 1987:534. (?) Egyptian *pzš* (if dissimilated from **pšš*) ‘to divide, to share; division’, *pzšty* ‘part, division’, *pzšt* ‘sharing out; share, portion’; Coptic *pōš* [ⲡⲟⲩ] ‘to divide’, *paše* [ⲡⲁⲩⲉ] ‘division, half’. Faulkner 1962:94—95; Hannig 1995:294; Gardiner 1957:566; Erman—Grapow 1921:55 and 1926—1963.1:553—554; Vycichl 1983:166; Černý 1976:130 and 131. Berber: Tuareg *əfsi* ‘to break up, to be broken up, to melt (grease, ice), to liquify’; Mzab *əfsi* ‘to melt’, *əfsu* ‘to disentangle, to undo’; Tamazight *əfsəy* ‘to melt, to dissolve’, *fsu* ‘to undo, to stretch out, to disentangle; to be undone’, *əfsay* ‘melting, dissolution’; Kabyle *əfsi* ‘to melt, to be broken up, to fray, to be undone’.

- B. Proto-Dravidian **pā(y)-/pac-* ‘to divide, to separate, to distribute’: Tamil *payal* ‘half, share’; Kannaḍa *pañcu*, *pasu* (*pacc-*) ‘to divide, to separate, to part, to distribute, to share; to be divided, etc.’, *pacci*, *paccu* ‘part, portion’, *pasuge* ‘dividing, separation, division’; Tuḷu *pasalu* ‘the share of the fisherman’; Telugu *pancu* ‘to distribute, to divide’; Kolami *pay-*, *paiy-* ‘to divide’; Naikṛi *payk-* ‘to distribute’; Paṛji *payp-* (*payt-*) ‘to share’; Gadba (Salur) *pay-* ‘to divide into shares’, *payp-* (*payup-*) ‘to distribute’; Pengo *paspa* ‘to divide, to distribute’; Kui *pahpa* (*paht-*) ‘to share, to apportion’, *pahari* ‘part, share, portion’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:350—351, no. 3936; Krishnamurti 2003:149 **pay-V-* ‘to break, to separate’. Tuḷu *pāpaṭē* ‘parting of the hair on a female’s forehead’; Telugu *pāyu* ‘to separate (intr.), to leave, to quit, to be disentangled’, *pācu* ‘to remove’, *pāpu* ‘to separate (tr.), to divide, to part, to remove, to efface’, *pāya* ‘branch, division, clove or division of garlic’, *pāpaṭa* ‘the parting of the hair’; Kolami *pa-p-* (*pa-pt-*) ‘to comb’; Naikṛi *pāp-* ‘to comb’; Gondi *pāyā* ‘parting of the hair’; Konda *pāy-* ‘to leave, to be gone’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:363, no. 4089.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **pešk-* (‘to burst, to break’ >) ‘to dehisce (noisily)’: Georgian *piš-* in (reduplicated) *piš-piš-i* ‘popping noise made when broth or porridge is brought to a boil’, [*pš-*] ‘to husk’; Mingrelian *pašk-*, *pešk-* ‘to dehisce, to burst (noisily)’; Svan *pišg-/pšg-* ‘to explode (noisily)’. Klimov 1964:188—189 **peš-* and 1998:201 **peš-* : **pš-* ‘to dehisce (noisily, with a crack)’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:356—357 **peš-/piš-*; Fähnrich 2007:435 **peš-/piš-*. For the semantics, cf. Gurage *fārātā* ‘to burst, to burst and make the sound of bursting, to explode’ from the same root found in: Hebrew *pāraš* [פָּרַשׁ] ‘to break through, to break, to burst’, *perēš* [פְּרֵשׁ] ‘breach, gap’; Arabic *faraša* ‘to cut, to split, to tear, to injure’; Akkadian *parāšu* ‘to break through’; etc.
- D. Proto-Uralic **pasʷ3-* ‘to break, to shatter; to tear, to split’: Votyak / Udmurt *paś* ‘hole, opening’; Zyrian / Komi *paś* in *paś mun-* ‘to shatter into fragments, to fall and scatter, to fall and shatter’, *paś vart-* ‘to beat into small bits, to crush to pieces’; Selkup Samoyed *paase*, *pas* ‘fissure, tear,

break'; Kamassian *buzoj* 'a crack, crack in the floor, tear', *puzoj* 'cleft, tear'. Collinder 1955:47 and 1977:65; Rédei 1986—1988:357—358 **paśz*; Décsy 1990:105 **pasja* 'hole, opening'; Janhunen 1977b:114. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *pašal'aš-* 'to bend or break an iron or wooden thing', *pašal'a-* 'to get blunt, to get notches (of a wooden or iron thing)'. Nikolaeva 2006:344.

Sumerian *peš₅* 'to break, to smash, to shatter'.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:245—246, no. 51.

119. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **p^has^v-a* 'sperm, semen; male genitals, penis; descendant, offspring':

- A. Proto-Dravidian **pā(y)-/*pac-* 'descendant, offspring': Tamil *payal*, *paiyal*, *paital*, *pacal* 'boy', *paiyan* 'boy, son', *paical* 'small boy, urchin', *pacalai* 'infancy, tenderness', *payalai* 'young one'; Malayalam *paital*, *paśakan* 'child', *paśuññal* 'children'; Kota *payl* 'young grain plant (not paddy), child'; Kannaḍa *pasula*, *pasule* 'child', *pasuletana* 'childhood', *haykaḷu* 'male or female children', *hayda* 'a boy', *peyya* 'calf'; Kōḍagu *pajja* 'Holeya girl'; Tuḷu *pasi* 'boy, child', *paiyya* 'child', *paiyyē*, *paiyery*, *paiyery* 'child, boy; Pariah's child'; Koraga *payali* 'child'; Telugu *paida* 'boy, child', *paidali* 'woman', *peyya*, *pēya* 'calf, female calf, heifer'; Naiki (of Chanda) *paya*, *piya* 'calf'; Parji *peyya* 'calf'; Gadba (Ollari) *pē-pāp* 'young calf', (Salur) *beḍḍa-peyyā* 'young cow' (*beḍḍa* 'female'); Gondi *pedī* 'girl', *pedā* 'girl, child', *pedāl* 'child, children', *pēdal* 'son, boy', *pēkur*, *pēkor*, *pēkal* 'boy'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:351, no. 3939. Semantics as in Old English *fæsl* 'seed, offspring, progeny' (see below).
- B. Proto-Indo-European **p^hes-/*p^hos-* 'penis': Sanskrit *pásas-* 'penis'; Greek *πέος* 'penis', *πόσθη* 'penis'; Latin *pēnis* (< pre-Latin **pes-ni-s*) 'penis'; Old Icelandic *fösull* 'a brood'; Old High German *faselt* 'penis', *fasel* 'seed, offspring, progeny' (Middle High German *vasel*, New High German [dial.] *Fasel* 'barrow [of pigs]; brood, young [of animals]', also in *Faselschwein* 'brood-pig', [older] *Faselsau* 'brood-sow', *Faselhengst* 'stallion', *Faselvieh* 'breeding-cattle'); Old English *fæsl* 'seed, offspring, progeny'. Pokorny 1959:824 **pes-*, **pesos-* 'penis'; Walde 1927—1932.II:68 **pes-*, **pesos-*; Mann 1984—1987:928 **pesalos*, 929 **pesos* 'penis'; Watkins 1985:50 **pes-* and 2000:67 **pes-* (suffixed form **pes-ni-*) 'penis'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:817 **p^h[h]es-os-* and 1995.I:716 **p^hes-os-* 'penis'; Mallory—Adams 1997:507 **pésés-* 'penis'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:241; Hofmann 1966:262 **pesos*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:882 **pesos*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:507 **pésos*; Beekes 2010.II:1173 **pes-os-*; Boisacq 1950:768 **pes-os*; De Vaan 2008:458; Walde—Hofmann 1965—

1972.II:281 **pes-nis*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:496; Orël 2003:94 Proto-Germanic **fas(u)laz*; De Vries 1977:151; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:185—186; Kluge—Seebold 1989:204.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pasʷə* ‘penis’ > Lapp / Saami *buoččâ/buožâ* ‘penis’; Hungarian *fasz* ‘penis’. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:96—97, no. 371, Proto-Uralic **p/a/še*; Collinder 1955:74 and 1977:94; Rédei 1986—1988:345 **pac̣s*; Sammallahti 1988:548 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **p̣ã/o/ooši*.
- D. Altaic: Old Uighur *äs* ‘male genitals’.

Sumerian *peš* ‘sperm, semen’, *peš* ‘descendant, offspring, son’. Semantics as in Old English *fæsl* ‘seed, offspring, progeny’.

Buck 1949:4.492 penis. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:96—97, no. 371, **p/a/se* ‘membrum virile’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:253—254, no. 62.

120. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hath-* (~ **p^həth-*):

(vb.) **p^hath-* ‘to flutter, to quiver, to tremble, to palpitate, to move rapidly’;

(n.) **p^hath-a* ‘haste, hurry’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **pat-* ‘to flutter, to quiver, to tremble, to palpitate, to move rapidly, to fall down’: Proto-Semitic **pat-* (**ha-pat-*, **pat-at-*, **pat-pat-*) ‘to fall down, to collapse, to weaken, to crumble’ > Arabic *ha-fata* ‘to fall down, to collapse; to suffer a breakdown’, *fatta* ‘to weaken, to undermine, to sap, to crumble’, *fatfata* ‘to fritter, to crumble (something, especially bread)’; Mandaic *ptt* ‘to crumble’; Hebrew *pāθaθ* [פָּתַח] ‘to break up, to crumble’; Aramaic *pəθaθ* ‘to crumble’; Harsūsi *fet* ‘to crumble’; Mehri *fət* ‘to crumble’; Geez / Ethiopic *fatta* [ፈተ], *fatata* [ፈተተ], *fattata* [ፈተተተ] ‘to break off a piece, to fracture, to crush, to break the Host during communion, to break and distribute (bread and anything else), to give out, to make a gift, to appoint a portion, to give a share’, *fatfata* [ፈተፈተ] ‘to crumble bread’; Tigre *fātāta* ‘to crumble bread, to break into small pieces’, *fātfāta* ‘to crumble’; Tigrinya *fättätä* ‘to crumble’, *fätfätä* ‘to crumble’; Amharic *fättätä*, *fätäffätä* ‘to crumble’; Gurage *fätäfätä* ‘to crumble’. Klein 1987:538; Leslau 1987:169—170 and 171; Murtonen 1989:351. Egyptian *ptpt* in *ptpt (r) hry* ‘to fall to the ground’ (*hry* = ‘that which is under’), *pth* ‘to cast to the ground’, *ptht* in *ptht nt ʔpdw* ‘flight of birds’ (*ʔpdw* = ‘birds’); Coptic *potpt* [ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲧ] ‘to fall away, to make fall, to drop’. Faulkner 1962:96; Gardiner 1957:566; Vycichl 1983:165; Černý 1976:130; Hannig 1995:298 and 299; Erman—Grapow 1921:56, 57, and 1926—1963.1:563, 1:565—566. Note: Two distinct Proto-Afrasian roots seem to have fallen together in Semitic — **pat-* ‘to flutter, to quiver, to tremble, to palpitate, to move rapidly, to fall down’ > ‘to crumble’ and **pVt-* ‘to break, to split, to cut’ > ‘to crush, to crumble’ (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:433, no. 2030,

- **pVtok-* ‘to split, to cut’, 1995:178, no. 784, **fatVq-* ‘to pierce, to split’, and 1995:180, no. 795, **fet-* ‘to break, to cut’).
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pataru* (*patari-*) ‘to be flurried, to be confused, to be impatient, to be overhasty, to hurry’, *patarram* ‘rashness, hurry’, *pataṭtam* ‘trembling, agitation’, *patai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to throb (as in sympathy), to flutter, to quiver, to be in agony, to shake, to be anxious’; Malayalam *pataruka* ‘to be precipitate, overhasty, confused’, *patarikka* ‘to cause confusion’, *pata* ‘boiling, throbbing, foam, froth’, *patekka* ‘to palpitate, to boil up, to agitate’, *patappu* ‘throbbing’, *patapata* ‘boiling, hot, effervescing’, *patupata* ‘bubbling up’; Kannada *padaru* ‘to be overhasty, to speak unadvisedly, to talk nonsense’, *padap(p)u* ‘eagerness, zeal, pleasurable excitement’; Telugu *padaru*, *paduru*, *padaru*, *padur(u)cu*, *padrucu* ‘to be overhasty or precipitate, to be angry, to move, to be shaken’, *padaṭamu*, *padaṭu* ‘precipitation, hurry’; Malto *padrare*, *padkare* ‘to prattle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:349, no. 3910.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **petk-* ‘to quiver, to tremble, to palpitate, to explode’: Georgian *petk-* ‘to vibrate, to explode’; Mingrelian *partk-al-* (< **patk-*) ‘to tremble, to palpitate’; Laz *pa(r)tk-al-* ‘to break, to palpitate’; Svan *li-ptk-we* ‘to strike, to split’. Fähnrich 1994:235 and 2007:432 **petk-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:353 **petk-*; Klimov 1964:188 **petk-* and 1998:199 **petk-* : **ptk-* ‘to break; to blow up’; Schmidt 1962:135. Proto-Kartvelian **pet-* ‘to be terrified, scared, frightened’ (< ‘to tremble, to shake’): Georgian *pet-i* ‘scaredy-cat’, *da-pet-eb-a* ‘to be terrified, scared, frightened’; Svan *li-pēt-e* ‘to be terrified, scared, frightened; to become enraged, infuriated, angry’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:352—353 **pet-*; Fähnrich 2007:431 **pet-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **p^heth^h-*/**p^hoth^h-* ‘to fly, to rush, to pursue; to fall, to fall down’: Sanskrit *pátati* ‘to fly, to soar, to rush on; to fall down or off; to set in motion, to set out on foot; to rush on, to hasten’, (causative) *patáyati* ‘to fly or move rapidly along, to speed’, (passive) *pātyate* ‘to let fly or cause to fall; to fling, to hurl, to throw; to overthrow, to ruin, to destroy; to knock out (teeth); to set in motion, to set on foot; to rush on, to hasten’, *pátram* ‘wing, feather’, *pátvan-* ‘flying, flight’; Greek πέτομαι ‘to fly; (also of any quick motion) to fly along, to dart, to rush; to be on the wing, to flutter’, πίπτω ‘to fall, to fall down’, πτερόν ‘feather, bird’s wing’; Latin *petō* ‘to make for, to go to, to seek’; Old Irish *én* (< **ethn-* < **pet-no-s*) ‘bird’; Welsh *edn* ‘bird’; Old Breton *etn-* ‘bird’; Old Icelandic *ffjöðr* ‘feather, quill’; Swedish *ffjäder* ‘feather’; Norwegian *ffjor*, *ffjoder* ‘feather’; Danish *ffjær*, *ffjeder* ‘feather’; Old English *feþer* ‘feather’, (pl.) *feþra* ‘wings’; Old Frisian *fethere* ‘feather’; Old Saxon *fethara* ‘feather’; Middle Dutch *vedere* ‘feather’ (Dutch *veer*); Old High German *fedara* ‘feather’ (New High German *Feder*), *fettāh* ‘wing’ (New High German *Fittich*); Hittite *pát-tar* ‘wing’, (3rd pl. pres.) *pít-ti-(ya-)an-zi* ‘to flee, to fly, to hasten’. Rix 1998a:431 **peth₂-* ‘to fly (up)’; Walde 1927—1932.II:19—22

pet-*, **petā-*, **petā-*; Pokorny 1959:825—826 **pet-*, **petā-*, **ptē-*, **ptō-* ‘to tumble down on’; Mann 1984—1987:931 **petō* ‘to dash, to fly, to fall’; Watkins 1985:50—51 **pet-* (petā-*) and 2000:67 **pet-* (also **petā-*) ‘to rush, to fly’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:57 **p[h]et[h]*- and 1995.I:50, I:125 (fn. 68), I:131, I:195, I:455 **phet-* ‘to fly’; Mallory—Adams 1997:208 **pet-* ‘to fly’ and 646 **pet(e)r-*, **pet(e)n-* ‘wing, feather’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:199 and II:203—204; Boisacq 1950:776 **pet-*. 787 **pet-*, and 821—822 **pet(e)-* ‘to fly’, **pet(e)r-*, **p(e)te-r-* ‘wing, feather’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:521—522, II:542—543, and II:612—613; Hofmann 1966:266 **pet-*, 271 **pet-*, and 287 **peter-* (**peten-*); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:892, II:905—906, and II:947—948 **pet-/pt-(2)*; Beekes 2010.II:1181—1182 **pet-*, II:1195—1196 **petH-*, II:1248 **pet-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:503—504 **pet-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:297—298; De Vaan 2008:464—464; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:26, 47, and 82; Kroonen 2013:138—139 Proto-Germanic **feþrō-* ‘feather’; Orël 2003:102 Proto-Germanic **feþrjan*, 102 **feþrō*; De Vries 1977:124—125; Torp 1919:112; Onions 1966:348 **pet-*, **pt-*; Klein 1971:276; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:188 and 200; Kluge—Seebold 1989:206 and 217.

- E. Proto-Eskimo **pattay-* ‘to flap (wings), to flutter; to make a flapping noise, to clap, to slap’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *pataxtur-* ‘to hurry’; Central Alaskan Yupik *patay-*, *pataxtur-* ‘to hurry’; Central Siberian Yupik *patay-* ‘to hit lightly’; Sirenik *patayara(ci)-* ‘to clap, to slap’; Seward Peninsula Inuit (Qawiaaraq) *patakaq-* ‘to hurry’; North Alaskan Inuit *pattak-* ‘to slap, to spank’, *patala-* ‘to get ready in a hurry, to feel one’s way in the dark’; Western Canadian Inuit *pattak-* ‘to applaud, to clap, to caress’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *patta(k)-* ‘to play ball’; Greenlandic Inuit *pattay-* ‘to knock something off someone with the hand’, *pattaat(i)-* ‘to play ball’, *pattattur-* ‘to flap wings’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1995:252 **pattay-* ‘to clap or slap’.

Buck 1949:10.23 fall (vb.); 10.26 shake (vb. tr.); 10.37 fly (vb.); 16.42 anger; 16.43 rage, fury; 16.53 fear, fright. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:240—241, no. 45; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1830, **petV* (or **petV?*) ‘to fly; bird’.

121. Proto-Nostratic root **path-* (~ **phəth-*):

(vb.) **path-* ‘to open; to be wide, open, spacious, spread out; to stretch, to extend, to spread out’;

(n.) **path-a* ‘opening, open space’; (adj.) ‘wide, open, spacious’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **pat-* ‘to open; to be wide, open, spacious, spread out; to stretch, to extend, to spread out’: Proto-Semitic *pat-aḥ-* ‘to open, to untie, to loosen’ > Hebrew *pāṭaḥ* [פָּתַח] ‘to open, to untie, to loosen’; Aramaic *pəṭaḥ* ‘to open’; Arabic *fataḥa* ‘to open’; Akkadian *pitū*, *petū*, *patū* ‘to open’; Phoenician *pṭh* ‘to open’; Ugaritic *pṭh* ‘to open’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fētəḥ*

‘to open’; Harsūsi *fetōh* ‘to open’; Mehri *fəth*, *fōtəh* ‘to open’; Geez / Ethiopic *fatha* [ፈትሐ] ‘to open, to untie, to loosen, to unfasten, to release, to dissolve, to disengage, to make of no effect, to set free, to solve, to absolve, to forgive (sins), to judge’; Tigre *fätha* ‘to loosen, to open, to untie, to release’; Tigrinya *fäthe* ‘to loosen, to open, to untie, to release’; Harari *fätaha* ‘to untie, to set free’; Amharic *fätta* ‘to release, to untie, to unfasten, to divorce’; Argobba *fätta* ‘to undo, to release, to absolve of sin, to divorce’; Gurage *fäta* ‘to untie, to loosen, to divorce’. Klein 1987:536; Leslau 1979:247 and 1987:170; Zammit 2002:315; Murtonen 1989:351—352. Proto-Semitic **pat-ay-* ‘to be wide, spacious, open’ > Hebrew *pāthāh* [פָּתַח] ‘to be wide, spacious, open’; Aramaic *pəθā* ‘to be spacious’; Gurage (Wolane) *fätti* ‘wide, broad’. Gurage (Wolane) *fetätä* ‘to be wide, broad’, *afetätä* ‘to widen’. Klein 1987:536; Leslau 1979:248. Egyptian *pth* ‘to be open’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:565. Central Chadic **pViVH-* ‘to open’ > Mofu *pəth-* ‘to open’. East Chadic **pit-* ‘to open’ > Bidiya *pit-* ‘to open’; Sokoro (reduplicated) *fitifiti* ‘to open’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:425—425, no. 1989, **pitaḥ-* ‘to open’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pātti* ‘small field’; Malayalam *pātti* ‘garden bed’; Kannaḍa *pāti* ‘garden bed’; Tuḷu *pāti* ‘nursery for plants’; Telugu *pādu*, *pādi* ‘garden bed or plot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:362, no. 4078.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **p^heth-/p^hoih-* ‘to be wide, open, spacious, spread out; to stretch, to extend, to spread out’: Avestan *paθana-* ‘wide, broad’; Ossetic *fātän* ‘wide’; Greek *πετάιννυμι* ‘to spread out’, *πέταλος* ‘broad, flat’; Latin *pateō* ‘to be open’, *patulus* ‘standing open, open’; Old Welsh *etem* ‘fathom’; Scots Gaelic *aitheamh* ‘fathom’; Old Icelandic *faðmr* ‘outstretched arms, embrace; fathom’, *faðma* ‘to embrace’; Old English *fæþm* ‘outstretched arms, embrace; cubit, fathom’; Old Frisian *fethem* ‘fathom’; Old Saxon (pl.) *fathmos* ‘outstretched arms, embrace’; Dutch *vadem*, *vaam* ‘fathom’; Old High German *fadam*, *fadum* ‘cubit’ (New High German *Faden*). Rix 1998a:430—431 **peth₂₋* ‘to spread out’; Pokorny 1959:824—825 **pet-*, **pet-*, **petə-* ‘to stretch out’; Walde 1927—1932.II:18 **pet-* (**petə-*); Mann 1984—1987:907 **pat-* ‘space, pace, stretch’, 929 **pet-*, 932 **pət-* (**pəth-*) ‘(vb.) to extend; (n.) extent; (adj.) wide, open’; Watkins 1985:51 **petə-* and 2000:67 **petə-* ‘to spread’; Mallory—Adams 1997:539 **peth_{a-}* ‘to spread out (the arms)’; Boisacq 1950:775—775 **petā-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:891; Frisk 1970—1973.II:520—521; Beekes 2010.II:1181 **peth₂₋*; Hofmann 1966:265—266; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:262; Ernout—Meillet 1979:486—487; De Vaan 2008:449; Kroonen 2013:132 Proto-Germanic **faþma-* ‘fathom’; Orël 2003:95 Proto-Germanic **faþmaz*, 95 **faþmjanan*, 95 **faþmōjanan*; De Vries 1977:109; Onions 1966:347 **pot-*, **pet-*, **pt-*; Klein 1971:275; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:109—110; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:179—180; Kluge—Seebold 1989:198 **petə-*.

- D. Proto-Altaic **p^hat^ha* ‘uncultivated land, field’: Proto-Mongolian **(h)atar* ‘uncultivated land, field’ > Written Mongolian *atar* ‘virgin land, unplowed or fallow land’; Khalkha *atar* ‘virgin land, wilderness’; Buriat *atar* ‘uncultivated land, field’; Mongruor *atər* ‘uncultivated land, field’. Proto-Turkic **Atir^v* ‘watered field, boundary’ > Karakhanide Turkic *atiz* ‘any strip of land between two dikes’; Uighur *etiz* ‘watered field, boundary’; Turkmenian *atiz* ‘watered field, boundary’; Kazakh *atiz* ‘watered field, boundary’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1127 **p^hat^ha* ‘uncultivated land, field’.

Buck 1949:1.24 plain, field; 12.24 open (vb.); 12.61 wide, broad. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:233—234, no. 38; Brunner 1969:77, no. 417; Möller 1911:205; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1835. **pa^hṭV* ‘to be open; open’.

122. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hat^h-* (~ **p^hət^h-*):
 (vb.) **p^hat^h-* ‘to hasten, to move quickly’;
 (n.) **p^hat^h-a* ‘foot’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **p[a]t^h-* ‘(vb.) to hasten, to move quickly; (n.) foot’: Proto-Semitic **pat^h-an-* ‘to be quick, rapid, fast’ > Geez / Ethiopic *faṭana* [ፈጠነ] ‘to be fast, to be swift, to hurry, to be in a hurry, to be prompt, to speed up’; Tigrinya *fātānā* ‘to be rapid’; Harari *fātāna* ‘to be fast, quick, rapid’; Gurage *fātānā* ‘to be fast, quick’; Amharic *fättānā* ‘to be fast, quick’. Leslau 1963:66, 1979:250—251, and 1987:171. Egyptian *pd* ‘foot, knee’, *pd* ‘to run away, to flee, to hasten’; Coptic *pat* [ⲡⲁⲧ] ‘leg, shin, knee, foot’, *pōt* [ⲡⲱⲧ] ‘to run, to flee’. Faulkner 1962:96; Erman—Grapow 1921:57 and 1926—1963.1:566; Gardiner 1957:566; Vycichl 1983:165; Černý 1976:129.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *ba-at*, *pa-at* ‘foot; under’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **p^het^h-*/**p^hot^h-* ‘foot’: Sanskrit *pāt* ‘foot’ (gen. sg. *padāḥ*), *padām* ‘step, footstep, position, site’; Greek πούς ‘foot’ (gen. sg. ποδός), πέδον ‘the ground, earth’; Armenian *otn* ‘foot’, *het* ‘footprint’; Latin *pēs* ‘foot’ (gen. sg. *pedis*); Umbrian *peṛum*, *persom-e* ‘ground’; Gothic *fōtus* ‘foot’; Old Icelandic *fet* ‘place, step’, *fótr* ‘foot’; Swedish *fo* ‘foot’; Norwegian *fo* ‘foot’; Danish *fod* ‘foot’; Old English *fōt* ‘foot’; Old Frisian *fōt* ‘foot’; Old Saxon *fōt*, *fuot* ‘foot’; Dutch *voet* ‘foot’; Old High German *fuoz* ‘foot’ (New High German *Fuß*); Luwian *pa-ta-a-aš* ‘foot’; Hittite *pi-e-da-an* ‘place’; Lycian *pddāt-* ‘place’, *pddēn-* ‘place, precinct’; Lithuanian *pādas* ‘sole of foot’; Tocharian A *pe*, B *paiyye* ‘foot’, A *pāts*, B *patsa* ‘bottom’. Pokorny 1959:790—792 **pēd-*, **pōd-* ‘foot’; Walde 1927—1932.II:23—25 **pēd-*, **pōd-*; Mann 1984—1987:909—911 **ped-*, **pēd-* ‘foot’, 911 **pedios*, *-iə* ‘of a foot; foot, base, firmness, link’; Watkins 1985:47 **ped-* and 2000:62 **ped-* ‘foot’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:38, I:43, I:57, I:146 (fn. 1), I:154, II:786 (fn. 2), **p^hēt^h-*, **p^hōt^h-*

and 1995.I:33, I:38, I:50, I:125 (fn. 68), I:133, I:158, I:688 (fn. 12), *p^hēt-, *p^hōt- ‘foot’; Mallory—Adams 1997:208—209 *pōds ‘foot’ (acc. *pódŋ, gen. *pedós); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:204—205 and II:249; Frisk 1970—1973.II:485—486 *pedo-m and II:587—588 *pēd-, *pōd-; Boisacq 1950:754 and 808—809 *pēd-, *pōd-; Hofmann 1966:256 *pedom and 282 *pod-, *ped-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:867 and II:932—933; Beekes 2010.II:1160—1161 *ped-o-, II:1227—1228 *pod-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:293—295; Ernout—Meillet 1979:500—502 *ped-; De Vaan 2008:462; Orël 2003:110 Proto-Germanic *fōtz ~ *fōtuz; Kroonen 2013:152 Proto-Germanic *fōt- ‘foot’; Feist 1939:159—160 *ped-, *pod-; Lehmann 1986:121; Onions 1966:368 *pod-, *ped-; Klein 1971:289 *pōd-, *pēd-; De Vries 1977:118 and 139; Torp 1919:133; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:226; Kluge—Seebold 1989:238; Adams 1999:362 and 401—402; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:369—370 and I:370 *ped-, *pod-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:521; Smoczyński 2007.1:435; Derksen 2015:342 *pódum; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:526—540 *ped-.

- D. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *petnu-* ‘to crawl, to go on all fours’, *petteŋ* ‘crawling’. Nikolaeva 2006:351.
- E. Proto-Altaic *p^hēta- ‘(vb.) to step, to walk; to hasten, to hurry; (n.) step, pace’: Proto-Tungus *pete- ‘to run quickly, to hurry; to jump’ > Evenki *hetekēn-* ‘to run quickly, to hurry’; Lamut / Even *heteken-* ‘to run quickly, to hurry’; Ulch *peten-* ‘to jump’; Orok *potčo-* ‘to jump’; Nanay / Gold *petēn-* ‘to jump’; Negidal *χeteχen-* ‘to jump’; Oroch *χete-* ‘to jump’; Udihe *χetigen-e-* ‘to jump’. Proto-Mongolian *(h)ada- ‘to hurry’ > Mongolian *adaγa-* ‘to hurry, to speed, to strive’, *adaγam* ‘hurry, speed’; Khalkha *adga-* ‘to hurry’; Kalmyk *adγə-* ‘to hurry’, *adm* ‘hurry, speed’. Proto-Turkic *āt- ‘(vb.) to walk, to step; (n.) step, pace’ > Turkish *adım* ‘step, pace’; Azerbaijani *adım* ‘step, pace’; Turkmenian (dial.) *āt-, āt-, āt-le-* ‘to step’, *ādım* ‘step, pace’; Uzbek *ədim* (dial. *adīm*) ‘step, pace’; Uighur *atli-* ‘to step’; Karaim *adım* ‘step, pace’; Tatar *atla-* ‘to step’, *adım* ‘step, pace’; Bashkir *atla-* ‘to step’, *adım* ‘step, pace’; Kirghiz *atta-* ‘to step’, *adım* ‘step, pace’; Kazakh *atla-* ‘to step’, *adım* ‘step, pace’; Noghay *atla-* ‘to step’, *adım* ‘step, pace’; Chuvash *ot-* ‘to walk’, *odım* ‘step, pace’; Yakut *atillā-* ‘to step’; Dolgan *atillā-* ‘to jump, to hop’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1139 *p^hēta ‘to step, to walk’.

Buck 1949:4.37 foot. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:239, no. 44; Illič-Svityč 1965:368 *pata ‘foot’ (ступня); Dolgorpolsky 2008, no. 1665, *pa[g]dV ‘foot’.

123. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *p^hat'-a ‘chaff, husk, (unripe or blighted) grain’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *patar* ‘chaff, husk, empty ears of grain; worthless person, emptiness, worthlessness’, *patar* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to become useless’, *patati* ‘chaff, blighted grain, husk, futility’; Malayalam *patir* ‘empty corn husk,

chaff', *patirikka* 'rice to be without grain'; Kannada *hadir* 'a very young, quite unripe fruit'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:349, no. 3908.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **pet'w-* 'millet': Georgian *pet'v-i* 'millet'; Mingrelian *pat'-i* 'millet'; Laz *pat'-i* 'millet'; Svan *pät'w*, *pet'w* 'millet', *pet'w-ra* 'millet flour'. Klimov 1964:188 **petw-* and 1998:200 **petw-* 'millet'; Schmidt 1962:135; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:355 **petw-*; Fähnrich 1994:225 and 2007:433—434 **petw-*.

124. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasianic only) **p^hek^{wh}-*:

(vb.) **p^hek^{wh}-* 'to warm, to heat' (> 'to cook, to bake');

(n.) **p^hek^{wh}-a* 'warmth, heat'; (adj.) 'warm, hot' (> 'cooked, baked')

- A. Proto-Indo-European **p^hek^{wh}-* 'to bake, to cook, to roast': Sanskrit *pácati* 'to cook, to bake, to roast', *pakti-ḥ* 'cooking, cooked food', *pakvá-ḥ* 'cooked, baked'; Pāli *pacati* 'to fry, to roast'; Avestan *pačaiti* 'to boil, to burn'; Greek πέσσω (Attic πέττω, later πέπτω) 'to cook, to dress, to bake; to soften, to ripen, to change (by means of heat)' (future πέψω); Latin *coquō* (< **quequō*) 'to cook, to prepare food; to bake, to burn; to ripen'; Welsh *pobi* 'to bake', *poeth* 'hot'; Albanian *pjek* 'to roast, to broil, to cook, to bake'; Lithuanian (with metathesis) *kepù*, *képti* 'to bake, to roast'; Old Church Slavic *pekō*, *pešti* 'to bake, to burn', *peštъ* 'oven'; Tocharian A, B *päk-* (active) 'to make ready for eating: to cook, to boil, to ripen'; Armenian *hac^h* 'bread'. Rix 1998:421—422 **pek^u-* 'to make ripe, to cook, to prepare food'; Pokorny 1959:798 **pek^u-* 'to cook'; Walde 1927—1932.II:17—18 **peq^u-*; Mann 1984—1987:920 **pequ^olos*, *-om*, *-ā*, 920 **pequ^umn-* (**pequ^uno-*) 'baking, firing, cooking, cooked', 920—921 **pequ^ō*, *-iō* 'to bake, to cook, to roast, to ripen', 921 **pequ^ōs* (**poqu^u-*) 'cooking', 921 **pequ^utis* 'baking, cooking, roasting, ripening', 921 **pequ^ōtos* 'cooked, baked, roasted, ripened', 976 **poqu^u-* 'baked, cooked; baked or cooked object'; Mallory—Adams 1997:125 **pek^w-* 'to cook, to bake' and 2006:258 **pek^w-* 'to cook, to bake', 259—260 **pek^w-* 'to cook', **pek^wtis* 'cooking', **pek^wter-* 'cook'; Watkins 1985:48 **pek^w-* and 2000:63 **pek^w-* 'to cook, to ripen'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:146 **p^[h]ek^[h]°*, I:410 fn. 1 **p^[h]ek^[h]°*, II:699 **p^[h]ek^[h]°* and 1995.I:125 **p^hek^h°* 'to cook', I:358 fn. 21 **p^hek^h°*, I:604 **p^hek^h°*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:183, II:184, and II:185—186; Boisacq 1950:769—770 **peq^uō*, **peq^uiō*; Hofmann 1966:262—263 **peq^u-* (Italo-Celtic assimilated to **q^ueq^u-*); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:884 **pek^w-* and 890 **pek^w-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:519—520 **peq^u-iō/e-*, **peq^u-o/e-*; Beekes 2010.II:1180—1181 **pek^w-*; Huld 1984:103—104 **pek^u-*; De Vaan 2008:134; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:270—271 *coquō* (< **quequō* < **peq^uō*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:141—142 **pek^wō* (> **k^wek^wō*); Adams 1999:368 **pek^w-* 'to cook, to ripen' and 2013:393—394 **pek^w-* 'to cook, to ripen'; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:355 **peq^u-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:275—276

- *pek^uō; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:241 *pek^u-; Derksen 2008:393 *pek^w-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:548—552 *pek^u-; Orël 1998:329.
- B. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *pugō* ‘summer’, *puge-* ‘hot’, *pugelbā-* ‘to get warmer’, *pugelādej-* ‘to heat, to warm’, *puged’ā* ‘sweat’, *pugučā* ‘warmth’, (Northern / Tundra) *pugelwe-* ‘to get warmer’, *puguler-* ‘to heat, to warm’, *pugej-* ‘hot’, *pugud’e* ‘heat, warmth’, *puguo-* ‘warm’, *pugukie-* ‘to get warmer’. Nikolaeva 2006:366.
- C. Proto-Altaic *p^hek^hV- (~ *p-) ‘hot, warm’: Proto-Tungus *peku- ‘hot’ > Evenki *heku* ‘hot’; Lamut / Even *hök* ‘hot’; Negidal *χeku-di* ‘hot’; Manchu *fiyakiya-* ‘to be hot from the sun’, *fiyakiyan* ‘burning hot; the sun’s heat’, *fiyaku-* ‘to heat, to dry by a fire, to dry in the sun; to bake’; Ulch *pukeuli* ‘hot’, *pêkki-* ‘to bake’; Orok *χekkuli*, *χekusi* ‘hot’ (loanword from Oroch); Nanay / Gold *peku* ‘hot’, *piqi-* ‘to warm, to heat’; Oroch *χeku*, *χekusi* ‘hot’; Udihe *χekuhi* ‘hot’, *piki-le-* ‘to bake’ (loanword from Ulch); Solon *eχūgdi* ‘hot’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1084 *pek^hV- (~ *p^h) ‘warm, hot’.

Buck 1949:5.21 cook; 5.22 boil; 5.23 roast, fry; 5.24 bake; 15.85 hot, warm. Greenberg 2000:41, no. 76; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1679, *pākō ‘to heat (on fire), to be hot’ (→ ‘to cook, to bake; to dry’); Illič-Svityč 1965:337—338 *pā[k]λ [‘горячий’] ‘hot, warm’. The Kartvelian forms cited by Dolgopolsky are not included here — the original meaning appears to have been ‘to blow (air, wind, breeze), to dry in the air’ (cf. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:362 *puk-; Fähnrich 2007:443—444 *puk-: Georgian *puk’-v-a* ‘to let the air out’; Svan [Lower Bal] *li-pk’w-e* ‘to dry [something] in the air’, *puk’wi* ‘dry’). The Afrasian forms cited by Dolgopolsky and the Eskimo-Aleut and Chukchi-Kamchatkan forms cited by Greenberg are not included here due to problems with both the semantics and the phonology. Finally, the Uralic forms cited by Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky appear to be loanwords from North Germanic (cf. de Vries 1977:23; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:31—32: Old Icelandic *baka* ‘to bake; to warm and rub the body and limbs’, *bakstr* ‘baking; baked bread, especially communion bread; poultice, fermentation; warming, rubbing [of the body]’; Swedish *baka* ‘to bake’; Danish *bage* ‘to bake’ → Saami / Lapp [Lule] *pahkka* ‘hot; heat’, [Southern] *baakke* ‘hot; heat’, [Norwegian] *bak’kâ* ‘heat’, *bak’ka* ‘hot’).

125. Proto-Nostratic root *p^hel-:

- (vb.) *p^hel- ‘to tremble, to shake; to be frightened, fearful, afraid’;
 (n.) *p^hel-a ‘fright, fear’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *pal-ax- ‘to fear, to be afraid; to respect, to venerate, to serve, to worship’ > Old Akkadian *palāḫum* ‘to fear, to be afraid; to respect, to venerate, to serve, to worship’, *palḫum* ‘feared, awe-inspiring’; Amorite *plḫ* ‘to fear’ (basic stem, Qal *yaplah*, etc.); Imperial Aramaic *plḫ* ‘to serve, to worship’, *plḫ ʔlh?* ‘servant of God’; Syriac *pəlah*

- ‘to serve (especially, to serve God), to worship’. Murtonen 1989:340. Semantic development as in Greek σέβομαι ‘to feel awe of’, sometimes ‘to fear’, commonly ‘to revere, to worship’; note also Hittite (1st sg. pres.) *na-ah-mi* ‘to fear, to respect, to revere’, *na-ah-ša-ra-az* ‘fear, reverence’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **p^hel-/*p^hl̥-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **p^hol-*) ‘to tremble, to shake; to be frightened, fearful, afraid’: Greek πάλλω ‘to sway, to shake; (passive) to swing or dash oneself; to quiver, to leap (especially in fear)’, πελεμίζω ‘to shake, to make quiver or tremble’; Gothic *us-filma* ‘frightened, astonished’, *us-filmei* ‘astonishment’; Old Icelandic *fæla* ‘to frighten, to scare’, *fæling* ‘frightening’, *felmtr* ‘sudden fear, fright’, *felmsfullr* ‘alarmed, frightened’; Old English *eal-felo* ‘baleful, dire’; Middle High German *vālant* ‘devil’ (New High German [poet.] *Voland* ‘evil friend’, [dial.] *Valand* ‘devil, evil friend’); Old Church Slavic *plaxъ* ‘dread, fear, fright’, *plašiti* ‘to scare, to frighten’. Pokorny 1959:801 (**pel-*); Walde 1927—1932.II:52—53 **pel-* ‘to tremble, to shake’; Mann 1984—1987:916; Boisacq 1950:744 and 762; Frisk 1970—1973.II:469 and II:497—498; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:854 and II:875—876; Beekes 2010.II:1148 **pelh₁-*, II:1167; Hofmann 1966:251 **pel-* and 260 **pelem-*; Feist 1939:530 **pelem-*; Lehmann 1986:381 **pel-*; De Vries 1977:110, 117, and 149; Orël 2003:97 Proto-Germanic **felmaz*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:823; Kluge—Seebold 1989:768.
- C. Proto-Uralic **pele-* ‘to fear, to be afraid’: Finnish *pelko* ‘fright, fear’; Lapp / Saami *bállâ-/bâlâ-* ‘to be afraid’; Mordvin *pele-* ‘to be afraid’; Votyak / Udmurt *pul-* ‘to be afraid’; Zyrian / Komi *pol-* ‘to be afraid’; Vogul / Mansi *pil-, pəl-* ‘to be afraid’; Ostyak / Xanty *pəl-*, (Southern) *pət-* ‘to be afraid’; Hungarian *fél-* ‘to fear, to be afraid’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *piil’u-, piir’u-* ‘to be afraid’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *filiti-* ‘to be afraid’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *fie-* ‘to be afraid’. Collinder 1955:47 and 1977:66; Rédei 1986—1988:370 **pele-*; Décsy 1990:105 **pelä* ‘to fear, to be afraid’; Sammallahti 1988:539 Proto-Uralic **peli-* ‘fear’; Janhunen 1977b:124—125.
- Buck 1949:16.53 fear, fright; 22.16 worship (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:255, no. 64; Hakola 2000:136, no. 592; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:98—99, no. 337, **pelHi* ‘to tremble, to be afraid’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1704, **pelqê* ‘to tremble, to fear’.
126. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hid-* (~ **p^hed-*):
 (vb.) **p^hid-* ‘to seize, to hold, to clutch, to capture, to cling to’;
 (n.) **p^hid-a* ‘hold, grasp’
- A. Dravidian: Tamil *piṭi* ‘to catch, to grasp, to seize, to clutch, to capture, to cling to, to contain, to carry, to keep back, to understand, to make a handful; to cling (intr.), to adhere, to be pleasing, to be suitable’, *piṭippu*

‘grasping, holding, seizure, catching, sticking, money amassed, handle’; Malayalam *piṭi* ‘grasp, hold, closed hand, handful, handle, hilt, memory’, *piṭikka* ‘to seize, to catch, to hold (as a vessel), to stick to, to understand, to take effect’; Kota *piṛc-* ‘to clench (hand)’; Kannaḍa *piḍi* ‘to seize, to catch, to grasp, to hold’; Koḍagu *puḍi* (*puḍip-*, *puḍic-*) ‘to catch, to hold’; Telugu *piḍikili* ‘fist, hold, grasp, handful’; Parji *pidk-* ‘to embrace’; Gondi *pīḍānā* ‘to snatch, to catch’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:367—368, no. 4148; Krishnamurti 2003:115 **piṭ-i* ‘(vb.) to grasp; (n.) handle’.

- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pitä-* ‘to seize, to hold, to grasp, to cling to’ > Finnish *pitä-* ‘to keep, to hold, to retain, to maintain’; Mordvin (Erza) *ped'a-*, (Moksha) *pedə-* ‘to attach oneself, to adhere, to start, to begin in an obstinate way’; Cheremis / Mari *pidä-*, *pida-* ‘to tie, to knit’; Hungarian *füz-* ‘to stitch, to sew, to thread; to attach, to bind, to tie’, *füzér* ‘string, garland’. Collinder 1955:108 and 1977:122; Sammallahti 1988:547 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pitä-* ‘to keep, to hold’; Rédei 1986—1988:386 **pitä-*.

Buck 1949:11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:250—251, no. 57; Hakola 2000:142—143, no. 623.

127. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **p^hilv-a* ‘child, infant, youth, young of animals’:

Note: A related verb stem **p^hilv-* ‘to wean’ may cautiously be reconstructed here, as hinted at by Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:230, no. 174:

Probably related to the PS verbal root **plw/y* ‘to separate, to wean’ for which v. LGz. 161. In Militarev’s view, the Afras. data below speak against this derivation, whereas in Kogan’s view, the Afras. evidence is so scarce and semantically remote that it can hardly influence one’s decision in the present question.

- A. Proto-Afrasian **pil-* ‘young of animals, yearling’: Proto-Semitic **pil-w/y-* ‘yearling foal, young of domestic animals’ > Arabic *filw*, *falūw*, *fulūw* ‘colt, foal’; Soqotri *fólhi* ‘a yearling calf, young of large animals’; Tigre *fəlit* ‘a yearling calf’, *fəluy* ‘a weaned calf’. Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:230, no. 174, Proto-Semitic **pVlw/y-* ‘yearling foal, small of domestic animals’. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *filáy* ‘she-camel just foaled’ (this may be a loanword), *to-filáy-it-kantu* ‘she-camel under two months in foal’. (?) East Cushitic: Hadiyya *fillak-icco* (pl. *filla?a*) ‘goat’; Kambata *fell-eccu* (pl. *felle?u*) ‘goat’. Hudson 1989:277 and 316; Blažek 2003b:246. Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:230, no. 174, Proto-Afrasian **pVl(l)Vw/y-*, **pVw/yal-* ‘(young of) large or small cattle’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *piḷ* ‘tender beauty of a child’, *piḷlai* ‘child, son, youth, daughter, young of many animals’; Malayalam *piḷla* ‘child, infant, young of animals; small fruit’; Kannaḍa *piḷle*, *piḷla*, *pilla* ‘child, young of any

animal, that which is small or petty'; Tuḷu *pillè* 'child, baby'; Telugu *pilla* 'child, baby, young of any animal, girl; small, little, young', *pilaka*, *piluka* 'a young one, young shoot', *pilladi* 'girl, lass, young woman'; Kolami *pilla* 'baby, daughter, woman', *pilla pedda* 'females and males'; Naiki *pilla* 'girl, daughter'; Gondi *pilla*, *pila*, *pilal* 'young of animal', *pīla* 'girl, young one of animals', *pīla*, *pilla* 'child', *pilā* 'child, young of an animal'; Konda *pila* 'child, a small one'; Pengo *pilka* 'young shoot of tree'; Kuṛux *pellō* 'female child, female not arrived at puberty, bride or young woman (before she has had children), maidservant', *pell* 'maidservant'; Malto *peḷi* 'woman', *peḷo* 'female (of plants)'; Brahui *pillōta* 'poor child, small child, orphan; miserable'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:372, no. 4198.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **p^hlH-* 'filly, foal, colt' (Germanic only): Proto-Germanic **fulan-* 'foal' > Gothic *fula* 'foal, colt'; Old Icelandic *foli* 'foal', *fyl* 'foal, filly'; Norwegian *fole* 'foal'; Danish *føl* 'foal'; Swedish *fåle* 'colt, foal'; Old English *folā* 'foal, colt'; Old Frisian *folā* 'foal'; Old Saxon *folo* 'foal'; Dutch *veulen* 'foal, colt'; Old High German *folo* 'foal, filly, colt' (New High German *Fohlen*). Kroonen 2013:158 Proto-Germanic **fulan-*; Orël 2003:118 Proto-Germanic **fulōn*; Feist 1939:170—171; Lehmann 1986:130; De Vries 1977:137 and 147; Torp 1919:129; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.I:250; Onions 1966:356 and 366 Common Germanic **folon*; Klein 1971:288; Kluge-Mitzka 1967:211; Kluge—Seebold 1989:225; Walshe 1951:59. Note: The alleged Greek, Latin, Albanian, Welsh, and Armenian cognates widely discussed in the literature probably do not belong here (cf. Mann 1984—1987:973 **pōl-* 'foal, filly, mare' — "Lat. pullus, OE fola, OHG folo, id. unrelated") (traditional reconstructions [cf. Pokorny 1959:842—843; Walde 1927—1932.II:75—76; Watkins 1985:47 and 2000:62]; etc.): Greek πῶλος 'young horse, foal, filly; (poetic) young person' < **poH-lo-* (cf. Beekes 2020.II:1266 reconstructs **pōlH-*, **plH-* 'foal'; Martirosyan 2009:631—632); Latin *pullus* 'foal, chick, young of animal' < **put-s-lo-* (cf. De Vaan 2018:503); Albanian *pelë* 'mare' < Proto-Albanian **pōulā* (cf. Orël 1998:314; note also Kroonen 2013:158 [Albanian *pelë* < **pōlH-neh₂-*]; Huld 1983:102 — Huld notes: "...the long o-grade is unique to Greek, Albanian, Armenian and Celtic [MW *ebawl* < **Eekuo-poolos*].") — Albanian *pelë* 'mare' has also been compared with the verb *pjell* 'to bear, to give birth' (cf. Huld 1983:102 and 104); Middle Welsh *ebawl* 'foal, colt' (Modern Welsh *ebol* 'foal, colt', *eboles* 'filly'): *eb-* < **ekyo-s* 'horse', *awl* < **pōlHo-* 'colt' (cf. Kroonen 2013:158); Armenian *ul* 'kid, young of deer or gazelle' < **poH-lo-* — Martirosyan (2009:631—632) reconstructs Proto-Indo-European (nom.) **pōlH-s*, (gen.) **plH-ós*, while Beekes (2010.II:1266) rejects relationship between the Greek and Armenian forms.

Buck 1949:3.45 foal, colt.

128. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hin^v-* (~ **p^hen^v-*):
 (vb.) **p^hin^v-* ‘to watch (over), to protect, to nourish, to nurture’;
 (n.) **p^hin^v-a* ‘protection, care; feeding, nourishing, nourishment’
- A. Dravidian: Tamil *pēnu* (*pēni-*) ‘to treat tenderly, to cherish, to foster, to protect, to regard, to esteem, to honor, to treat courteously, to worship, to care for’, *pēn* ‘protection’, *pēnam* ‘tenderness, regard, care, nurture’, *piṇai* ‘protecting with loving care’; Malayalam *pēnuka* ‘to foster, to take care of’, *pēnam* ‘caution’, *peṇṇuka* ‘to take care of, to use, to take to oneself’; Telugu *pen(u)cu* ‘to nourish, to nurture, to foster, to support, to rear, to fatten, to increase, to extend’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:392, no. 4436.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **p^hen-* ‘food, protection’: Latin *penus* ‘food supplies, provisions’; Lithuanian *pėnas* ‘food’, *penù*, *penėti* ‘to feed, to fatten’; Gothic *fenea* ‘barley-groats, porridge’; Farsi *panāh* ‘refuge, protection’. Rix 1998a:424 **pen-* ‘to feed’; Pokorny 1959:807 **pen-* ‘to feed’; Walde 1927—1932.II:25 **pen-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:199 **pen-* ‘to feed, to fatten’; Mann 1984—1987:919 **penos* ‘food, protection’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:496—497; De Vaan 2008:458—459; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:283; Feist 1939:147—148; Lehmann 1986:112; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:569; Smoczyński 2007.1:449—450.
- C. Proto-Uralic **pun^va-* ‘to watch (over), to protect, to preserve, to keep’: Lapp / Saami (Kola) *binnje-/binje-* ‘to hoard, to keep, to protect, to preserve, to watch (over), to hold, to value’, *binnjej* ‘herdsman’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Baiha) *foñiye-*, (Hatanga) *foneje-* ‘to watch (over), to pasture’, *foñidde*, *fonedde* ‘herdsman’. Collinder 1955:6 and 1977:27; Décsy 1990:106 **punja* ‘to herd (reindeer)’; Rédei 1986—1988:413—414 **pxńz-*; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:106—111, no. 373, Proto-Uralic **pīña* (< **pēña* ?). (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *peñi-* ‘to put; to leave, to abandon’, *poño-* ‘to remain’, (Northern / Tundra) *poñi-* ‘to put; to leave, to abandon’, *poñinube* ‘place where clothes and other things are left’, *poñaa-* ‘to remain’. Nikolaeva 2006:359.
- Buck 1949:5.12 food. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:106—111, no. 373, */*p^heHña* ‘to shepherd, to graze, to defend, to take care of’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1746, **pEX|Qña* ‘to keep, to protect’; Koskinen 1980:72, no. 256; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:251—252, no. 58.
129. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hir-* (~ **p^her-*):
 (vb.) **p^hir-* ‘to bring forth, to bear fruit’;
 (n.) **p^hir-a* ‘birth, issue, offspring, descendant, fruit’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **pir-* ‘to bring forth, to bear fruit’: Proto-Semitic **par-ay-* ‘to bring forth, to bear fruit’ > Hebrew *pārāh* [פָּרָה], *pārā* [פָּרָא] ‘to bring forth, to bear fruit’, *pārī* [פָּרִי] ‘fruit’; Aramaic *pārā* ‘to bear fruit, to be

- fruitful'; Phoenician *pry* 'to bear fruit'; Ugaritic *pr* 'fruit'; Sabaeen *fry* 'to cultivate'; Šheri / Jibbāli *efrē?* 'to become ripe, to ripen'; Geez / Ethiopic *farya* [ፈርዮ], *faraya* [ፈረዮ] 'to bear fruit, to produce fruit, to yield fruit, to be fruitful, to engender', *fārē* [ፋራ] 'fruit'; Tigrinya *fārāyā* 'to bear fruit'; Tigre *fāra* 'to bear fruit'; Amharic (*a*)*fārra* 'to bear fruit'; Gurage (*a*)*fārra* 'to bear fruit', *fre* 'fruit'. Klein 1987:522, 523, and 527—528; Leslau 1979:240 and 1987:167; Murtonen 1989:347. Proto-Semitic **par-ax-* 'to sprout' > Hebrew *pārah* [פָּרַח] 'to bud, to sprout'; Aramaic *pārah* 'to blossom, to sprout'; Akkadian *parāḫū* 'to sprout', *pirḫū* 'sprout', *pirʷu* 'issue, offspring, descendant'; Arabic *farraḥa* 'to have young ones (bird), to hatch; to germinate, to sprout', *farḥ* 'young bird; shoot, sprout (of a plant or a tree)'; Šheri / Jibbāli *fērāg* '(flower) to open up', *fērġ* 'fully-grown, fast grown'; Harsūsi *fātereġ* 'to ripen, to bloom'; Mehri *fārōg* '(bird) to hatch (eggs)', *fātrāg* 'to bloom'; Geez / Ethiopic *farḥa* [ፈርጎ] 'to sprout, to germinate'. Murtonen 1989:347; Leslau 1987:166; Klein 1987:527. Egyptian *pṛt* 'fruit, seed, offspring, posterity', *pṛi* 'to be born, to arise from', *pṛḥ* 'flower, bloom, blossom'. Faulkner 1962:90 and 91; Erman—Grapow 1921:54; Hannig 1995:286 and 287. Berber: Guanche *a-faro* 'corn'. Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *firi* 'fruit'; Xamir *fir* 'fruit'; Bilin *fir* 'fruit'; Saho *fire* 'flowers, fruit'. Appleyard 2006:73; Reinisch 1887:125. Orël—Stolbova 1995:424, no. 1983, **pir-* 'fruit, corn', 425, no. 1984, **pirah-* 'sprout, flower' (derived from **pir-* 'fruit, corn'). Ehret 1995:106, no. 85, **fir-* 'to flower, to bear fruit'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *peru* (*peruv-*, *perr-*) 'to get, to obtain, to beget, to generate, to bear', *pīra* 'to be born, to be produced', *pīravi* 'birth'; Malayalam *peruka* 'to bear, to bring forth, to obtain, to get', *pēru* 'birth'; Kota *perv-* (*perd-*) 'to be born', *perp* 'birth'; Kannaḍa *per-* (*pett-*) 'to get, to obtain, to beget, to bear'; Koḍagu *per-* (*peruv-*, *pett-*) 'to bear (child)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:391, no. 4422.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **pher-/ph₂-* 'to bear, to bring forth': Latin *pariō* 'to bear, to bring forth'; Lithuanian *periu*, *perėti* 'to hatch'; (?) Gothic *fraiw* 'seed'; (?) Old Icelandic *fræ*, *frjó* 'seed', *frjóa* 'to fertilize, to multiply, to be fertile', *frjór* 'fertile', *frjó-ligr*, *frjó-samr* 'fruitful'; Swedish *frö* 'seed, grain'; Danish *frø* 'seed, grain'. Rix 1998a:427—428 **perh₃-* 'to get, to obtain'; Pokorny 1959:818 **per-* 'to bear, to bring forth'; Walde 1927—1932.II:41—42 **per-*; Mann 1984—1987:926 **perō*, *-iō* 'to breed'; Watkins 1985:50 **perə-* and 2000:66 **perə-* 'to produce, to procure'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:483—484; De Vaan 2008:445—446; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:255—256 **per-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:573; Smoczyński 2007.1:451; Kroonen 2013:152 Proto-Germanic **fraiwa-* 'seed' ("[a] word with a debated etymology") — Kroonen also compares Old Icelandic *Freyr* 'fertility deity' (< **frauja-*) and *frygð* 'blossoming, excellence' (< **fruwwipō-*); Orël 2003:111 Proto-Germanic **fraiwjaz*;

Feist 1939:163; Lehmann 1986:123; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:201; De Vries 1977:145.

- D. Proto-Altaic *p^hūri ‘seed, offspring’: Proto-Tungus *pur- ‘young (boy, child); children; family; breed’ > Manchu *fursun* ‘shoots, sprouts (especially of grain)’, Evenki *hur-kēn* ‘young (boy, child)’, *hurū* ‘family’, *huril* ‘children’; Lamut / Even *hur-ken* ‘young (boy, child)’, *hurɔl* ‘children, sons’; Ulch *purul* ‘children’; Negidal *χuyil* ‘children’; Orok *puriye* ‘young (boy, child)’, *puril* ‘children’; Nanay / Gold *puri* ‘family’, *puril* ‘children’; Oroch *χī* ‘children’; Solon *ukkēχē*, *urkēχē* ‘young (boy, child)’, *uril* ‘children’. Proto-Mongolian *hüre ‘seed; child, descendant’ > Written Mongolian *üre* ‘seed, grain, fruit; offspring, descendants; result, product’; Khalkha *ūr* ‘seed, child, descendant’; Buriat *ūri* ‘seed, child, descendant’; Kalmyk *ūrṅ* ‘child, descendant’; Ordos *ūr*, *üre* ‘child, descendant’; Dagur *χur* ‘child, descendant’; Monguor *furē* ‘fruit’. Poppe 1955:55. Proto-Turkic *urug (~ or-) ‘seed, kin, kind; child’ > Old Turkic *uruγ* ‘seed, kin, kind’; Karakhanide Turkic *uruγ* ‘seed, kin, kind’; Turkmenian *urug* ‘kin, kind’; Uzbek *uruγ* ‘seed’; Uighur *uruq* ‘seed’; Tatar *orliq* ‘seed’; Bashkir *orloq* ‘seed’; Kirghiz *uruq* ‘kin, kind’; Kazakh *ūrīq* ‘seed’; Noghay *urliq* ‘seed’; Tuva *uruγ* ‘child, girl’; Chuvash *vr̥vr̥w* ‘seed’; Yakut *urū* ‘relatives’; Dolgan *urū* ‘relatives’. Poppe 1960:111; Street 1974:24 *püre ‘seed, fruit; result, offspring’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1187 *p^hūri ‘seed’.

Buck 1949:4.72 bear (of mother); 5.71 fruit. Bomhard—Kerns 1984:234—235, no. 39; Brunner 1969:22, no. 31; Möller 1911:203; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1761, *p[e]rV ~ *pūHrV (both from *pū?[e]rV ?) ‘fruit’, no. 1766, *pōr[i] (or *pōHar[i] ?) ‘child, offspring’, and, no. 1773, *Par[?]V ‘to bring forth, to give birth (of animals), to breed; young of animals’.

130. Proto-Nostratic root *p^hir- (~ *p^her-):

(vb.) *p^hir- ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’;

(n.) *p^hir-a ‘flying, flight, fleeing’

Note also:

(vb.) *p^har- ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’;

(n.) *p^har-a ‘flying, flight, fleeing’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *pir- ‘(vb.) to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee; (n.) flying, flight, fleeing’: Proto-Semitic *par- (*na-par-, *par-ar-, *par-ax-, *par-ad-, *par-ah-, *par-par-) ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’ > Akkadian *naprušu* ‘to fly, to take flight, to flee’; Arabic *farra* ‘to flee, to run away, to desert’, *nafara* ‘to flee, to run

away', *farḥ* 'young bird', (reduplicated) *farfara* 'to move, (birds) to shake wings', *furfur* 'small bird'; Hebrew *pārah* [פָּרַח] 'to fly'; Aramaic *pārah* 'to fly', *parḥā* 'young bird'; Syriac *pāraō* 'to flee'; Ugaritic **pr* 'to flee' (imptv. *pr* 'flee!'), *npr* 'fowl'; Sabaeen *frh* 'to flee'; Ḥarsūsi *fer* 'to fly, to jump, to spring', *ferfāyr* 'feather', *ferōd* 'to run off in panic, to stampede, to flee'; Šheri / Jibbāli *ferr* 'to fly, to flee, to jump up quickly', *fērōd* 'to stampede, to panic', *ferfōr* 'hasty', *ənfərfēr* 'to have a fit, to have epilepsy, to panic'; Mehri *fār* 'to fly, to jump up', *fārōd* 'to stampede, to panic, to make off, to run away', *fārfīr* 'hasty person'; Geez / Ethiopic *farḥ* [ፈርዝ] 'chick, young bird', *?anfarfara* [አንፈርፈር] 'to thrash about, to flail about, to move convulsively'; Tigre *fərfərät* 'a bird'; Tigrinya *fārārä* 'to fly, to fly away', *?anfärfärä* 'to writhe, to flop about'; Amharic *tänfäräffärä* 'to flop around, to writhe, to thrash about', *fərfərt* 'partridge'. Klein 1987:527; Leslau 1987:165 and 166; Militarëv 2010:70 Proto-Semitic **prḥ*; Zammit 2002:318. Egyptian *pry* 'to soar, to rise'. Hannig 1995:283—284; Faulkner 1962:90—91 *prī* (2) 'to go up, to ascend'; Gardiner 1957:565; Erman—Grapow 1921:54 and 1926—1963.1:520—521. Berber: Kabyle *ffərfər* 'to flap the wings, to fly away; to fly; to go quickly', *ifərr* 'wing; leaves, foliage'; Tamazight *afrəw* 'to fly', *afər* 'wing'; Senglal *fūrri* 'to fly'; Ahaggar *fəra-t* 'to fly'. Proto-Southern Cushitic **pur-* or **pir-* 'to fly' > Ma'a *pūru* 'to fly', *-pūrupūru* 'to hop'. Ehret 1980:321. Beja / Beḍawye *fīr-* 'to fly'. Reinisch 1895:81. West Chadic **pir-* 'to soar' > Hausa *fīra* 'to soar'; Angas *fīir* 'to stretch the wings'. Central Chadic **pVr-* 'bird's flight' > Mafa *parr*, *perr* 'bird's flight'. Newman 1977:26 Proto-Chadic **pəra* 'to fly, to jump'. Ehret 1995:96, no. 51, **pir-* 'to fly'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:424, no. 1981, **pir-* 'to fly, to soar', and 422, no. 1971, **per-* 'bird'; Takács 2011a:116—117.

- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **pirz* 'nimble, quick, swift' > Finnish *pireä* 'quick, swift, lively', *pirakka* 'lively'; Estonian *pirakas* 'lively, vigorous'; Lapp / Saami *bārok* 'nimble, quick, swift, light of foot'; Zyrian / Komi *peryd*, *peryt* 'quick, swift, speedy'. Rédei 1986—1988:732 **pirz*.

Buck 1949:3.64 bird; 4.292 wing; 4.393 feather; 10.37 fly (vb.); 10.51 flee; 14.21 swift, fast, quick. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:242—243, no. 47.

131. Proto-Nostratic root **phir-* (~ **pher-*):

(vb.) **phir-* 'to twist, to turn';

(n.) **phir-a* 'twist, twining, turn; twine, string, rope, cord'

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *pīri* 'twist, strand, wisp', *pūri* 'to be twisted, to curl, to turn', *pūri* 'cord, twine, rope, strand, twist (as of straw), curl, spiral, conch'; Malayalam *pīri* 'a twist, twining', *pīriyuka* 'to be twisted, warped', *pīrikka* 'to twist', *pūri* 'twisting, string'; Kannaḍa *pūri* 'twisting, twist, twine, string'; Tulu *pīri* 'twist, spiral thread (as of a screw)', *pīripuni* 'to

twist (as a rope)', *piripāvuni* 'to turn, to twist'; Telugu *piri, puri* 'twist, strand, twisting', *pirigonu* 'to be twisted, to twist'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:370, no. 4177.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **p^heri* 'around': Sanskrit *pári* 'around'; Avestan *pairi* 'around'; Old Persian *pariy* 'around, about'; Greek *περί* 'around'. Pokorny 1959:810 **per*, **peri*; Walde 1927—1932.II:29—32 **per*, **peri*; Mann 1984—1987:922—923 **peri* (**per*, **per-*) 'through, over, around'; Watkins 1985:49—50 **per* and 2000:65 **per-* base of prepositions and preverbs with the basic meaning 'forward, through' and a wide range of extended senses such as 'in front of, before, early, first, chief, toward, against, near, at, around'; Mallory—Adams 1997:581 **per-* 'over, through, about'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:216—217 **peri*, **per-*; Boisacq 1950:772—773 **peri* (**per*); Hofmann 1966:;264 **peri* (**per*); Frisk 1970—1973.II:512—513 **péri*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:886; Beekes 2010.II:1176 **per-*. For possible additional cognates, cf. Proto-Indo-European **p^her-/p^hor-/p^hy-* base of prepositions and preverbs with a wide range of meanings such as 'in front of, forward, before, first, chief, forth, foremost, beyond', which is listed above under Proto-Nostratic **p^har-* (~ **p^har-*) '(vb.) to press forward, to precede, to hasten in advance, to overtake, to surpass, to outstrip; (adj.) chief, foremost, first'.
- C. Proto-Uralic **pire* 'round; any round object; around, round about': Finnish *piiri* 'circumference, periphery; extent; compass, circle; department, district'; Lapp / Saami *birrá* 'round, all around; close (densely) round; round about, around; concerning, about'; Mordvin (Erza) *pire*, (Moksha) *pere* 'fenced place'; Selkup Samoyed *pör, pür* 'ring; round; wheel, circle', *pöruŋ, pürüŋ* 'round, round about'; Kamassian *pjeeri* 'about, around, round about'. Collinder 1955:49, 1960:408 **pir*₃, and 1977:67; Rédei 1986—1988:384 **pire*; Décsy 1990:106 **pirä* 'circle'.
- D. Proto-Altaic **p^herkV-* 'to tie round, to surround': Proto-Tungus **perke-* 'to bind, to tie round' > Evenki *herke-* 'to bind, to tie round'; Lamut / Even *herkь-* 'to wrap, to envelop'; Negidal *χeyke-* 'to bind, to tie round'; Orok *pitu-* 'man's girdle'; Solon *ekke-* 'to bind, to tie round'. Proto-Mongolian **hergi-* 'to go round' > Written Mongolian *erge-*, *ergi-* 'to turn, to move around, to revolve'; Dagur *ergi-* 'to turn, to rotate'; Ordos *erge-* 'to turn, to rotate'; Khalkha *ergi-* 'to turn, to rotate'; Buriat *erye-* 'to turn, to rotate'; Monguor *χərgi-* 'to turn, to rotate'; Kalmyk *ergi-* 'to turn, to move around'; Moghol *irga-* 'to spin a spindle'. Poppe 1955:46 and 153, 1960:104; Street 1974:23 **perki-* 'to turn, to revolve, to go around'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1137 **p'erkV* 'to tie round, to surround'.
- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **pirk-* 'to turn': Amur *p^hirk-č* 'to turn'; North Sakhalin *p^hiřk-t* 'to turn'; East Sakhalin (reduplicated) *p^hiřpir-d* 'to turn, to spin'; South Sakhalin (reduplicated) *peřkařpeřkař-nt* 'to turn, to spin'. Fortescue 2016: 134—135.

- F. Proto-Eskimo **pirðar-* ‘to braid or weave’: Naukan Siberian Yupik *püXə-* ‘to braid, to weave’; Central Siberian Yupik *püXə-* ‘to braid’; Sirenik *pircəR-* ‘to braid, to weave’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *pirlaq-* ‘to braid’; North Alaskan Inuit *pilyraq-* ‘to braid’; West Canadian Inuit *pilraq-* ‘to braid’; East Canadian Inuit *pirrai-* ‘to plait’; Greenlandic Inuit *pirłar-* ‘to twist’, *pirłaa-* ‘to braid hair’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:263. Proto-Eskimo **pirðarar* ‘braid or woven thing’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *püXaq* ‘woven mat’; Central Alaskan Yupik *püXaq* ‘two-ply cordage, string or interlaced fish’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *püXaq* ‘braided hair’; [Sirenik *piržasaq* ‘braided hair’]; Seward Peninsula Inuit *pirłaaq* ‘something braided (sinew, yarn, hair)’; Western Canadian Inuit *pilraqtat* ‘braids’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pirraaq* ‘plait of hair, whale ligament, thread’; Greenlandic Inuit *pirłaaq* ‘twisted sinew thread’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1995:263—264.

Sumerian *pir* ‘to wrinkle, to crumple; to be rolled up, contracted’. For the semantics, cf. Old English *wrincl* ‘a wrinkle’, *wrinclian* ‘to wrinkle’, diminutives formed from *wrencan* ‘to twist, to turn’ (cf. Klein 1971:832; Onions 1966:1015; Watkins 1985:76—77).

Buck 1949:10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.); 12.81 round; 12.82 circle. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:257, no. 66; Hakola 2000:139—140, no. 609; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1771, **pi/h|X|Q|RE* ‘around’ (the alleged Egyptian and Coptic cognates included by Dolgopolsky do not belong here and must be removed; furthermore, there is no evidence from the daughter languages to suggest that an initial **p-* is to be reconstructed at the Proto-Nostratic level).

132. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hir-* (~ **p^her-*):

(vb.) **p^hir-* ‘to tremble, to shake; to be afraid, to fear’;
 (n.) **p^hir-a* ‘trembling, fear’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **par-ah-* ‘to be afraid, to fear’ > Geez / Ethiopic *farha* [ፈርሀ], *farḥa* [ፈርሐ] ‘to be afraid, to fear, to revere’, *fərhat* [ፋርሐት] ‘fear, fright, terror, dread, awe, reverence’; Tigre *fārha* ‘to fear, to be afraid’; Tigrinya *fārhe* ‘to fear, to be afraid’; Amharic *fārra* ‘to fear, to be afraid’, *fəračča* ‘fear’; Harari *fāra* ‘to fear, to be afraid’; Gurage *färe* ‘to fear, to be afraid’, *fārī* ‘fear’. Leslau 1987:165—166. Proto-Semitic **par-ak-* ‘to be terrified, afraid, frightened’ > Arabic *farīka* ‘to be terrified, to be dismayed, to be afraid’; Ḥarsūsi *ferōk* ‘to fear, to be afraid’, *fāyrek* ‘to be afraid, to fear’, *frōk* ‘to frighten’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fērək* ‘to be afraid, frightened’, *efūrək* ‘to frighten’, *efrək* ‘to frighten’, *šəfrək* ‘to be frightened’, *fərket* ‘fear’, *fərkin* ‘fearful’; Mehri *fīrək* ‘to be afraid, timorous’, *frōk* ‘to frighten’. Zammit 2002:320. Note: Orël—Stolbova (1995:188, no. 833)

reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **furVh-* ‘to fear’ on the basis of a comparison of the Ethiopian Semitic forms cited above and Lowland East Cushitic **fuur-* ‘to fear’, represented in, for example, Konso *fuur-* ‘to fear’ and Gidole *huur-* ‘to fear’. They assume that **fuur-* comes from earlier **fuHVR-*. They then claim that **fuHVR-* is to be derived from a still earlier **furVH-* through metathesis. This explanation is highly speculative and cannot be supported on the basis of the evidence they cite.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pirar* ‘to tremble’, *pirarcci*, *pirarvu* ‘shivering, trembling’, *pirakkam* ‘awe, fear’, *pirappu* ‘fear, alarm’; Kannada *piriki* ‘coward’; Telugu *piriki* ‘coward; timid, cowardly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:372, no. 4200(a).
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **pertx-* ‘to shake’: Georgian *pertx-* ‘to shake, to shake out, to beat out’; Mingrelian *partx-* ‘to clean, to scrub, to clean oneself’; Laz *patx-* ‘to shake, to shake out, to beat out’. Klimov 1964:188 **pertx-* and 1998:200 **pertx-* ‘to shake’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:354—355 **pertx-*; Fähnrich 2007:433 **pertx-*. Proto-Kartvelian **prtx-* ‘to tremble, to quiver’: Georgian *prtx-* ‘to rouse oneself, to take care’, *prtx-il-* ‘careful’; Mingrelian (*p*)*ntx-* ‘to rouse oneself, to take care’; Laz *putx-* ‘to flutter about, to fly’; Svan *pə(r)tx-ən-*, *bərdγ-ən-* ‘to tremble, to quiver’. Klimov 1964:190 **prtx-* and 1998:204 **prtx-* ‘to tremble, to rouse oneself’; Fähnrich 1994:235; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:359 **prtx-*; Fähnrich 2007:440—441 **prtx-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **p^herkh-/p^hrk^h-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **p^hork^h-*) ‘to be afraid, to fear’: Gothic *faurhtei* ‘fear’, *faurhts* ‘fearful, afraid’, *faurhtjan* ‘to be afraid’; Old English *fyrhto* (Northumbrian *fryhto*) ‘fear, fright’, (*ge*)*fyrht* ‘afraid’, *fyrhtan* ‘to frighten’, *forht* ‘fearful, afraid’, *forhtian* ‘to be afraid, to fear’; Old Frisian *fruchte* ‘fear’, *fruchtia* ‘to fear’; Old Saxon *foroht*, *foraht* ‘fear’, *forahtian* ‘to fear’; Old High German *furhten* ‘to fear’ (New High German *fürchten*), *forhta* ‘fear’ (New High German *Furcht*); Tocharian A *pärsk-*, *prask-*, B *pärsk-*, *präsk-* ‘to be afraid, to fear’, A *praski*, B *prosko*, *proskiye* or *proskye* ‘fear’. Rix 1998a:443 **preK-* ‘to be afraid’; Pokorny 1959:820 **perg-* ‘fear’; Walde 1927—1932.II:48—49 **perg-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:198 **perk-* ‘to fear’; Orël 2003:120 Proto-Germanic **furxtaz*, 120 **furxtün*, 120 **furxtjanan*; Kroonen 2013:161 Proto-Germanic **furhta-* ‘fearful’, **furhtjan-* ‘to fear’, **furhtō-* ‘fright’; Feist 1939:146—147; Lehmann 1986:111; Onions 1966:377; Klein 1971:296 **prk-* ‘(vb.) to fear; (n.) fright’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:225; Kluge—Seebold 1989:237 **perk-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:366 **prq-* and I:388; Adams 1999:375—376 **p(e)rK-* and 422.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **p^hjūri-* ‘to be afraid, to be angry’: Proto-Tungus **purkē-* ‘to be bored, to be angry’ > Manchu *fuče-* ‘to get angry, mad, enraged’; Evenki *hurkē-* ‘to be bored’; Lamut / Even *hörken-* ‘to be bored’. Proto-Mongolian **hurin* ‘anger’ > Written Mongolian *urin* ‘ardent passion,

anger, dislike'; Khalkha *urin* 'anger'; Buriat *uri gari bološohon* 'to be in bad spirits'; Kalmyk *urŋ* 'anger'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1162 **pǰuri* 'to be afraid, to be angry'. Different etymology in Poppe 1960:80, 83, 87, and 111 and Street 1974:24 (**pürk-* 'to be afraid').

Buck 1949:16.53 fear, fright. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:258—260, no. 68; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1793, **pürVKV* (or **pirVKV*) 'to be startled, to be scared, to fear'.

133. Proto-Nostratic root **phit*'y- (~ **phet*'y-):

(vb.) **phit*'y- 'to give birth to';

(n.) **phit*'y-a 'genitals (male or female); birth, origin'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **pit*'y- '(vb.) to give birth to; (n.) genitals (male or female)': Semitic: Arabic *faza*, *fazan* 'womb'. Central Chadic **pičur-in-* 'testicles' > Fali Jilvu *fčerin* 'testicles'; Fali Mubi *fučuru* 'testicles'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:70, no. 279, **bičur-/pičur-* 'pudenda' (according to Orël—Stolbova, the original Central Chadic stem seems to have been **pičur-*). The Semitic material cited by Orël—Stolbova is too divergent phonetically and semantically to be related to the Chadic forms. On the other hand, though not without problems of its own, the following may belong here: Egyptian *pzdd* 'testicles (of the god Seth)'.
 B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *picci* 'the testicles of an animal'; Telugu *picca* 'testicle'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:367, no. 4140.
 C. Proto-Indo-European **phit*'- '(vb.) to give birth to; (n.) birth; vulva, womb': Gothic *fitan* 'to be in labor, to give birth to'; Danish (Jutland) *fitte* 'vulva'; Old Irish *idu*, (gen. sg.) *idan*, (nom. pl.) *idain* 'birth pains, pains'. Feist 1939:155—156; Lehmann 1986:118.
 D. Proto-Altaic **phioži* (~ *p-*, *-ju-*) 'root, origin': Proto-Tungus **pužuri* 'root, beginning' > Manchu *fužuri* 'foundation, basis, origin'. Proto-Mongolian **hižayur* 'root, origin' > Written Mongolian *užuyur*, *ižayur* 'root, origin'; Khalkha *yožōr* 'root'; Dagur *ožōr* 'root, origin'; Monguor *sžūr* 'root, origin'; Ordos *ižūr* 'root, origin'; Buriat (Alar) *uzūr* 'root, origin'; Kalmyk *yožūr* 'root, origin'. Poppe 1955:42 and 119. Poppe 1960:12, 64, 121, and 139; Street 1974:24 **puža-gūr(i)* 'origin'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1098 **piōži* (~ *p'*, *-ju-*) 'root'.

Buck 1949:4.47 womb; 4.49 testicle. Bomhard 1996a:226—227, no. 640.

134. Proto-Nostratic root **phu?*- (~ **pho?*-):

(vb.) **phu?*- 'to swell, to fatten';

(n.) **phu?*-a 'swelling, fullness, fat(ness)'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *pu^l- ‘to swell, to fatten’: Proto-Semitic *pa^l-am- ‘to be or become full, to be fat’ > Hebrew *pīmāh* [פִּמְאָה] ‘superabundance, fat’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Arabic *fa^lama* ‘to quench one’s thirst with water; to be full’, *fa^lima* ‘to be fat’; Akkadian *piāmu* ‘robust’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔaf^lama* [አፋአመ] ‘to put a morsel of food in another’s mouth, to give bread to a beggar’; Gafat (*tä*)*famä* ‘to take a mouthful’; Amharic *fämma* (< *fm^l) ‘to eat’. Klein 1987:505; Leslau 1987:154. Proto-Southern Cushitic *pu^l- ‘clump of hair’ > Iraqw *pu^lumpu^lay* ‘clump of hair’; Ma’a *kipupú* ‘vulva’. Ehret 1980:146. Proto-Southern Cushitic *pu^lus- ‘to swell, to rise’ > K’wadza *pu^lus-* ‘to swell, to rise’; Ma’a *-pu^lú* ‘to rise (of the sun)’. Ehret 1980:146. According to Ehret, “[*pu^lus- ‘to swell, to rise’] appears to be a verb derivative of the noun stem in [*pu^l- ‘clump of hair’]; a pre-Southern Cushitic root with the meaning ‘clump, lump, mound, swelling’ would thus seem to underlie both [*pu^l- ‘clump of hair’] and [*pu^lus- ‘to swell, to rise’].”
- B. Proto-Indo-European *p^ho^l(i/y)- ‘to swell, to fatten’: Sanskrit *páyate* ‘to swell, to fatten, to overflow, to abound’, *pívan-* ‘swelling, full, fat’, *páyas-* ‘milk’; Greek πῖον ‘fat, rich’, πῖα ‘fat; any fatty substance, cream’; Old Icelandic *feitr* (< Proto-Germanic *fai^lta^z) ‘fat’, *feita* ‘to fatten’, *feiti* ‘fatness’; Norwegian *feit* ‘fat’; Swedish *fet* ‘fat’; Danish *fed* ‘fat’; Old English *fætt* ‘fat’; Old Frisian *fatt, fett* ‘fat’; Old Saxon *feit* ‘fat’; Dutch *vet* ‘fat’; New High German *feist* ‘fat, stout’, *fett* ‘fatty, greasy’; Lithuanian *pienas* ‘milk’. Rix 1998a:419 *pe^liH- ‘to swell up’; Pokorny 1959:793—794 *pe^li(ə)-, *p^li̯- ‘to be fat’; Walde 1927—1932.II:73—75 *poi-, *p^li̯-; Watkins 1985:47 *pei^lə-, *pei- and 2000:62 *pei^lə- ‘to be fat, to swell’ (extended *o*-grade form *poid-); Mallory—Adams 1997:194 *pi^hsl^u ‘fat(ness)’; Benveniste 1935:168; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:212 *poi- and II:297—298; Frisk 1970—1973.II:532; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:898—899; Boisacq 1950:781—782 *pōi-, *p^li̯-; Hofmann 1966:268—269 *poi-, *p^li̯-; Beekes 2010.II:1188 *piH-uer-; Kroonen 2013:132 Proto-Germanic *fai^lta- ‘fat’; Orël 2003:90 Proto-Germanic *fai^lta^z; De Vries 1977:115—116; Torp 1919:99; Onions 1966:346—347 *poid-; Klein 1971:274—275 *poi-, *p^li̯- (extended form *poid-, *p^li̯d-); Kluge—Mitzka 1967:191 and 194—195; Kluge—Seebold 1989:208 *pei^lə- and 211; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:585; Smoczyński 2007.1:455. Proto-Indo-European *p^ho^l(i/y)- ‘to drink, to swallow’: Sanskrit *pāti, páyate, pibati* (< *p^hi^l-p^hl^l-e^hi) ‘to drink, to swallow’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *pa-a-ši* ‘to swallow’; Greek πίνω (Lesbian, Aeolian πίνω) ‘to drink’; Albanian *pije-a* ‘drink, beverage’, *pi* ‘to drink’; Latin *bibō, pōtō* ‘to drink’; Old Irish *ibid* ‘to drink’; Old Prussian *poieiti* ‘to drink’; Old Church Slavonic *pijō, piti* ‘to drink’. Rix 1998a:417—418 *pe^hl^l(i)- ‘to drink’; Pokorny 1959:839—840 *pō(i)-, *p^li̯- ‘to drink’; Walde 1927—1932.II:71—72 *pō(i)-, *p^li̯-; Mann 1984—1987:934 *pibō ‘to drink’, 935 *pīō ‘to drink’, 935 *pīō-, *pī̯-, 938 *pīnō ‘to drink, to absorb’, 935 *pojos (*poijos), -es- ‘drinking, drink’;

Mallory—Adams 1997:175—176 **peh₃(i)-* ~ **pih₃-* ‘to swallow’ > ‘to drink’; Watkins 1985:52 **pō(i)-* (contracted from **po₂(i)-*) and 2000:68 **pō(i)-* ‘to drink’ (oldest form **pe₂(i)-*, colored to **po₂(i)-*, contracted to **pō(i)-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:402, I:426 **p^[h]oH-*, II:702, II:703 **p^[h]oH(i)-* and 1995.I:180 **ph^oH-s-*, I:352 and I:373 **ph^oH-*, I:607 **ph^oH(i)-*, I:608 **ph^oH(i)-*, I:856 **ph^eʔ-*, **phⁱ-ph^ʔ-e-t^hi* > **phⁱ-p^ʔ-e-t^hi* > Sanskrit *pi-b-a-ti*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:252 and II:286—287 **pō(i)-*, **pe₂-* (= **pō-*), **pi-p₂-e-ti*; Boisacq 1950:785—786 **pōi-* : **pō(i)-*, **pī-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:540—542 **pī-*, **pōi-*; Hofmann 1966:270—271 **pō(i)-*, **pī-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:904—905 **pōi-*, **pī-*; Beekes 2010.II:1194—1195 **peh₃-*, **ph₃-i-*; De Vaan 2008:71—72 and 485; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:103—104 **pō(i)-*, **pī-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:70 and 529; Huld 1984:103 **piQ₁-*; Orël 1998:324—325; Kloekhorst 2008b:649.

Buck 1949:5.13 drink (vb.); 5.86 milk (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:235—236, no. 40.

135. Proto-Nostratic root **phul-* (~ **phol-*) stem indicating downward motion:
 (vb.) **phul-* ‘to fall, to fall down, to collapse, to ruin, etc.’;
 (n.) **phul-a* ‘fall, collapse, ruin’; (adj.) ‘fallen, ruined, weakened; low, base, vile, mean’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **p[u]l-* verbal stem indicating any kind of downward motion: ‘to fall, to fall down, to collapse, to set (sun), etc.’: Proto-Semitic **na-pal-* ‘to fall, to fall down’ > Hebrew *nāḫal* [נָחַל] ‘to fall, to lie’, *mappālāh* ‘decaying ruins, heap of rubble’, *mappelēθ* ‘fall, collapse’; Aramaic *nəḫal* ‘to fall, to fall down’; Akkadian *napālu* ‘to fall’ (West Semitic loan), *napalsuḫu* ‘to fall to the ground, to fall upon something, to throw oneself to the ground, to let oneself fall to the ground’; Ugaritic *npl* ‘to fall’; Arabic *nafl* ‘supererogation, what is optional, prayer of free will’, *naffala* ‘to do more than is required by duty or obligation, to supererogate (specifically, prayers, charity, or the like)’, *naḫal* ‘booty, loot, spoil’; Sabaeen *nfl* ‘to fall upon an enemy, to make an attack’; Mehri *hanfūl* ‘to throw stones down; (goats, etc.) to have stones fall onto them’; Šheri / Jibbāli *enḫel* ‘to throw stones down’. Klein 1987:422; Murtonen 1989:286. Hebrew *pālal* [פָּלַל] ‘to pray’ (originally ‘to prostrate oneself in prayer’). Klein 1987:511; Murtonen 1989:339. Proto-Semitic **ʔa-pal-* ‘to set (sun), to grow dark’ > Arabic *ʔafala* ‘to go down, to set (stars)’, *ʔufūl* ‘setting (of stars)’, Hebrew **ʔāḫal* [אָחַל] ‘to grow dark’, *ʔōḫel* [אָחַל] ‘darkness’, *ʔāḫēl* [אָחַל] ‘dark, obscure, gloomy’, *ʔāḫēlāh* [אָחַל] ‘darkness’; Aramaic *ʔəḫal* ‘to grow dark, to darken’; Akkadian *aphu* ‘late’. Klein 1987:47; Murtonen 1989:98; Zammit 2002:75. West Chadic **pal-* ‘to fall’ > Sura

pal ‘to fall’; Chip *pal* ‘to fall’; Dera *yupele* ‘to fall’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:416, no. 1936, **pal-* ‘to fall’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pul* ‘meanness, baseness’, *pulai* ‘baseness, defilement, vice, lie, adultery, outcast’, *pulaiyan* ‘a low-caste person’, (f.) *pulaicci*, *pulaitti*, *pulaimi* ‘baseness’, *puṇmai* ‘meanness, vileness, uncleanness’, *pallan* ‘vile, base person’, *polliyār* ‘low, base persons’, *pollā* ‘bad, vicious, evil, severe, intense’, *pollāṅku*, *pollāpu* ‘evil, vice, defect, deficiency, ruin’, *pollātu* ‘vice, evil’, *pollāmai* ‘evil, fault’, *pollāṅ* ‘a wicked man’, *polam* ‘badness, evil’; Malayalam *pula* ‘taint, pollution, defilement (especially by birth or death)’, *pulayan* ‘an outcast’, *pulacci* ‘a low-caste woman’, *pollā* ‘to be bad, evil’, *pollāta* ‘bad’, *pollāppu* ‘mischief’; Kannaḍa *pol*, *polla* ‘meanness, badness, noxiousness’, *pole* ‘menstrual flow, impurity from childbirth; defilement, meanness, sin’, *poleya* ‘a low-caste man’, (f.) *polati*, *polasu* ‘impurity’; Koḍagu *pole* ‘pollution caused by menstruation’, birth, or death’, *poleyē* ‘a low-caste man’, (f.) *polati* ‘a low-caste woman’; Tuḷu *polè* ‘pollution, defilement’, *polasy* ‘dirty, unclean’, *pile* ‘impurity from birth or menstruation, humility’; Telugu *pulu* ‘blemish or flaw (as in precious stone)’; Kuwi *pōla?a ki-* ‘to do wrong’; Brahui *poling* ‘stain, a stain on one’s character’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964: 402, no. 4547; Krishnamurti 2003:11 **pul-V-* ‘pollution’.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **polwx-* ‘to fall down, to fall apart; to be ruined, debilitated, weakened’: Old Georgian *mo-polxw-eb-a* ‘to fall down, to fall apart; to be ruined, debilitated, weakened’, *mo-polxw-eb-ul-i* ‘ruined, debilitated, weakened’; Mingrelian *porxv-i* ‘antiquated, obsolete, out-of-date’, *porx-u* ‘bed-ridden, weak, feeble, decrepit, infirm’; Svan *porx-ä-j*, *porx-ä* ‘shuffling, lagging, straining (of gait)’. Fähnrich 2007:438 **polwx-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **p^hol-* ‘to fall, to fall down’: Armenian *p^hlanim* ‘to fall in’; Old Icelandic *falla* ‘to fall’, *fall* ‘fall, death, ruin, decay, destruction’, *fella* ‘to fell, to make to fall, to kill, to slay’; Old English *feallan* ‘to fall, to fall down, to fail, to decay, to die; to prostrate oneself’, *feall*, *fiell* ‘fall, ruin, destruction, death’, *fiellan* ‘to make to fall, to fell, to pull down, to destroy, to kill; to humble’; Faroese *falla* ‘to fall’; Danish *falde* ‘to fall’; Norwegian *falla* ‘to fall’; Swedish *fall* ‘fall, descent’, *falla* ‘to fall, to descend’; Old Frisian *falla* ‘to fall’, *fella* ‘to fell’, *fal* ‘fall’; Old Saxon *fallan* ‘to fall’, *fellian* ‘to fell’; Dutch *vallen* ‘to fall’, *vellen* ‘to fell’; Old High German *fallan* ‘to fall’ (New High German *fallen*), *fellan* ‘to fell’ (New High German *fällen*); Lithuanian *púolu*, *pùlti* ‘to fall (up)on, to attack, to assault, to fall’; Latvian *puolu*, *pult* ‘to fall’. Pokorny 1959:851 **phōl-* ‘to fall’; Walde 1927—1932.II:103 **phōl-*; Watkins 1985:51 **p(h)ol-* and 2000:69 **pōl-* ‘to fall’; Mallory—Adams 1997:191 **phōl-* ‘to fall’; Orël 2003:91 Proto-Germanic **fallanan*; Kroonen 2013:125—126 Proto-Germanic **fallan-* ‘to fall’; De Vries 1977:110 and 117; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:146; Torp 1919:93; Skeat 1898:203 and 205; Kluge—Lutz 1898:71; Onions 1966:343 and 350; Klein 1971:272 **phol-* and 277;

Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:99 and 100; Kluge—Seebold 1989:200; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:182 **phōl-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:666; Endzelins 1971:44, §26.

- E. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh (reduplicated) **pul(pul)-* ‘to crawl’: Amur (reduplicated) *fəvə-dʷ / fulvul-dʷ* ‘to crawl’; East Sakhalin (reduplicated) *fulful-d / fulvul-t* ‘to crawl’; South Sakhalin (reduplicated) *fulful-* ‘to crawl’. Fortescue 2016:137. Assuming semantic development as in the following Dravidian forms: Tuḷu *dōguni* ‘to crawl on hands and knees’; Kui *tronga (trongi-)* (vb.) ‘to roll, (child) to crawl’; (n.) ‘rolling; crawling’; etc. vs. Kuwi *torg-* ‘to fall’, *torginai* ‘to fall down’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:308, no. 3514.

(?) Sumerian *pu-la* ‘(to be) insignificant, unimportant, mean, low, inferior’.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.63 shade; 4.82 weak; 10.23 fall (vb.); 12.32 low; 14.17 late (adv.); 16.72 bad. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:247, no. 53; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:97—106, no. 372, **p/ä/jlʌ* ‘to fall’.

136. Proto-Nostratic root **phulv-* (~ **pholv-*):

(vb.) **phulv-* ‘to swell’;

(n.) **phulv-a* ‘a swelling (on the skin): blister, abscess, pimple, etc.’

Derivative:

(n.) **phulv-a* ‘that which is fat, swollen, etc.’ (> ‘tallow, grease, fat, oil, blubber, etc.’ in the daughter languages)

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *poḷḷu (poḷḷi-)* ‘to blister, to swell’, *poḷḷal* ‘blister, swelling’; Malayalam *poḷḷu* ‘bubble’, *poḷḷuka* ‘to rise in bubbles or blisters’, *poḷḷal* ‘pustule, blistering’, *poḷḷikka* ‘to blister’, *poḷḷa* ‘blister, bubble’, *poḷḷukuka* ‘to blister’, *poḷḷukam* ‘blister, watery eruption’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:404, no. 4563.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated) **pupul-* (< **pul-pul-*) ‘pimple’: Georgian *pupul-i* ‘dried up pimple’; Laz *pupu(r)-*, *pupul-* ‘pimple’; Mingrelian *pupul-* ‘abscess, pimple’. Klimov 1964:193 **pupul-* and 1998:207 **pupul-* ‘abscess’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:362 **pul-*; Fähnrich 2007:444 **pul-*.

137. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **phulv-a* ‘that which is fat, swollen, etc.’ (> ‘tallow, grease, fat, oil, blubber, etc.’ in the daughter languages)

Derivative of:

(vb.) **phulv-* ‘to swell’;

(n.) **phulv-a* ‘a swelling (on the skin): blister, abscess, pimple, etc.’

- A. Uralic: Proto-Ugric **p[u]lvʷʷ* ‘tallow, grease, fat’ > Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *pol't'* ‘fat’, (Krasnoyarsk, Nizyam) *put'* ‘fat, tallow’; Hungarian *faggyú*

‘tallow, suet’, *faggyaz*, *faggyúz* ‘(to smear with) tallow, grease’, *faggyús* ‘tallowy, greasy’. Rédei 1986—1988:881 Proto-Ugric **pʰl'éz* ‘tallow, grease, fat’.

- B. Proto-Eskimo **puya* ‘rancid residue of oil or grease’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Alaska Peninsula) *puya-* ‘to be permeated by stench (or stain)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *puya-*, *puyaləXtə-* ‘to be rancid (oil or grease)’ (Norton Sound Unaliq: ‘to be dirty’); Naukan Siberian Yupik *puya* ‘fat condensed on side of barrel’; Central Siberian Yupik *puya* ‘rancid residue of oil from blubber’; Sirenik *púya* ‘rancid residue of oil from blubber’, *puyapayŋuX* ‘smelling of rancid oil’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *puya* ‘dirt, grime; blubber dried on surface’; North Alaskan Inuit *puya* ‘dirt, sticky oil, blubber used to waterproof a skin boat’; Western Canadian Inuit *puyaq* ‘old oil or grease’, *puyaq-* ‘to get dirty’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *puyaq* ‘residue of oil, rancid oil, earwax’; Greenlandic Inuit *puya(k)* ‘dried rancid blubber oil (with which *umiaq* is greased)’, *puya-* ‘to be rancid, to have a layer of rancid blubber on it’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:271.

138. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **p^hur-a* ‘calf, heifer’:

Note also:

(n.) **p^har-a* ‘calf, heifer’

- A. Dravidian: Kota *po-ry* ‘young bullock’; Kannaḍa *hōri* ‘bull calf, bullock’; Koḍagu *po-ri* ‘male buffalo’; Tuḷu *bōri* ‘bull, ox’. (?) Tamil *pori* ‘calf or buffalo’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:406, no. 4593.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **pur-* ‘cow’: Georgian *pur-i* ‘cow, female buffalo’; Mingrelian *puṣ-i* ‘cow’; Laz *puṣ-i* ‘cow’; Svan *pur*, *pür*, *pir-w* ‘cow’. Klimov 1964:192 **pur-* and 1998:206 **pur-* ‘cow’; Fähnrich 1994:225 and 2007:445 **pur-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:363 **pur-*; Schmidt 1962:136.

Buck 1949:3.21 bull; 3.24 calf. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:244—245, no. 50; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1783, **p̥[o]r[w]V* ‘female young ruminant’.

139. Proto-Nostratic root **p^huš-* (~ **p^hoš-*):

(vb.) **p^huš-* ‘to breathe out, to sigh; to blow, to puff (up), to inflate’;

(n.) **p^huš-a* ‘puff, breath, snort; bulge’

- A. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *bus*, *busu*, *bussu*, *bos* ‘a sound to imitate the puffing or hissing of a serpent, of a pair of bellows, of the snorting of cattle, etc.’; Koḍagu *bus ku-ṭ-* ‘to hiss’; Tuḷu *busu*, *busubusu*, *bussu* ‘gasping, panting, hissing’; Telugu *busa* ‘hiss of a serpent, hissing, snorting, snoring, a deep breath, a sigh’, *busabusá* ‘noise of the boiling of water’, *busabusá-āḍu* ‘to hiss’, *bussu* ‘hiss of a snake’; Kolami *puskarileng* ‘to hiss’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:376, no. 4246.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **p^hus-* ‘to puff, to blow; to blow up, to inflate; to swell, to grow’: Sanskrit *púṣyati* ‘to thrive, to flourish, to prosper; to nourish, to be nourished’, *púṣpa-m* ‘flower, blossom’, *púṣya-h* ‘vigor’, *puṣṭi-h*, *púṣṭi-h* ‘fatness, prosperity’, *póṣa-h* ‘growth, prosperity’; Pāli *pupphati* ‘to bloom, to flower’, *pupphita-* ‘blooming, flowering’, *puppha-* ‘flower, menses’, *puṭṭha-* ‘nourished’; Latin *pustula* ‘blister, pimple’; Old Church Slavic **puxati* ‘to blow’; Russian *pyxtét’* [пыхтеть] ‘to puff, to pant’; Czech *pýcha* ‘pride’; Latvian *pūst* ‘to blow’. Rix 1998a:433 **peus-* ‘to bloom’; Pokorny 1959:846—848 **pū-*, **peu-*, **pou-*, **phu-* ‘to blow up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:79—81 **pū-*, **peu-*, **pou-*, **phu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1012 **pūškō* (**phūškō*) ‘to puff, to swell, to blow, to blow up, to well up, to erupt, to froth forth’, 1012 **pūškos*, *-ā* (**phūšk-*) ‘puff, froth, fizz, swell, bulge, bubble, bladder’, 1012 **pūšlos* (**phūšlo-*), *-is*, *-ā*, *-jə* ‘puff, blow, fizz, gush, vacuum, air-space, bladder’, 1012—1013 **pūšō* (**phūšō*), *-jə* ‘to fizz, to froth, to puff, to blow, to swell’; Watkins 1985:53 **pū-* (also **phū-*) and 2000:69 **pū-* (also **phū-*) ‘to blow, to swell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:72 **p(h)eu-* ‘to blow through an aperture so as to make a noise’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:316—318 **p(h)us-* ‘to blow, to swell, to inflate’; De Vaan 2008:501—502; Ernout—Meillet 1979:547; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:392 **pu-*, **phū-*.
- C. Proto-Uralic **puš3-* ‘to blow’: (?) Finnish *puhu-* ‘to speak’ (dial. ‘to blow’), *puhalta-* ‘to blow’, *puhallas* ‘blowing’; Estonian *puhu-* ‘to breathe, to blow, to speak, to swell’; Lapp / Saami *bossu-/boso-* ‘to blow (also of the wind), to blow up (inflate), to blow on, to breathe heavily’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *pušky-* ‘to blow (of the wind); to blow up (the fire)’; Vogul / Mansi *pot-* ‘to sprinkle’, *putas-* ‘to spit’; Ostyak / Xanty *pōl-*, (Southern) *pāt-* ‘to spit’; Selkup Samoyed *puttu* ‘saliva’, *putona-* ‘to spit; to spout water; to pour out’. Collinder 1955:51 and 1977:69; Rédei 1986—1988:409—410 **puš3-* ‘to blow’.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **p^hiūsi-* ‘to spray (from the mouth); to spout or pour forth’: Proto-Tungus **pisu-*, **pusu-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’ > Manchu *fusu-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’; Evenki *husu-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’; Lamut / Even *hus-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’; Ulch *pisuri-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’; Orok *pisitči-*, *possoli-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’; Nanay / Gold *pisi-*, *fisi-*, *fuksu-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’. Proto-Mongolian **hösür-* ‘to sprinkle, to pour’ > Written Mongolian *ösür* ‘to rush forward, to sprinkle, to splash’; Khalkha *üsre-* ‘to sprinkle’; Kalmyk *ösr-* ‘to sprinkle’; Dagur *χesurə-* ‘to sprinkle’; Monguor *fuzuru-*, *fuzuru-* ‘to pour’. Proto-Turkic **üskür-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’ > Turkish *öksür-* ‘to cough, to be at the last gasp’; Gagauz *üsur-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’; Azerbaijani *öskür-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’; Turkmenian *üsgür-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’; Karaim *öksür-*, *öksir-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’; Chuvash *üzər-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’. Poppe 1960:11, 65,

and 133; Street 1974:24 **püsü-* ‘to squirt out, to pour’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1163—1164 **p’ÿsi* ‘to sprinkle’.

Buck 1949:4.51 breathe; breath. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1815, **PušV* ‘to blow’; Illič-Svityč 1965:339 **puša* ‘to blow’ (‘дуть’).

22.4. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *p^h (> PROTO-AFRASIAN *f)

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
p ^h -	f-	p-	p-	p ^h -	p-	p ^h -	p-
-p ^h -	-f-	-pp-/-v-	-p-	-p ^h -	-p-	-p ^h -	-p(p)-

140. Proto-Nostratic root *p^haḥ- (~ *p^həḥ-):

(vb.) *p^haḥ- ‘to warm, to heat, to burn’;

(n.) *p^haḥ-a ‘fire, flame, spark’

Extended form:

(vb.) *p^haḥ-V-w- ‘to warm, to heat, to burn’;

(n.) *p^haḥ-w-a ‘fire, flame, spark’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *[a]ḥ- ‘(vb.) to warm, to heat, to burn; (n.) fire, embers’: Proto-Semitic *paḥ-am- ‘glowing coal(s), embers’ > Hebrew *peḥām* [פֶּחָם] ‘coal, charcoal for embers’; Syriac *paḥmā* ‘coal, charcoal’; Ugaritic *ḫm* ‘live coal(s)’; Arabic *faḥm* ‘charcoal, coal’; Sabaean *ḫm* ‘incense altars’; Akkadian *pēntu* (for *pēm̄tu*) ‘glowing coal’; Geez / Ethiopic *fəḫm* [ፍጥም] ‘coals, carbon, live coals, embers’; Tigre *fāḫam* ‘charcoal’; Tigrinya *fəḫmi* ‘charcoal’; Argobba *fəḫam* ‘charcoal’; Amharic *fəm* ‘charcoal’; Gurage *fem* ‘coal’; Harari *fēhama* ‘to be red hot’. Murtonen 1989:338; Klein 1987:502; Leslau 1987:157. Egyptian *wḫ* ‘to burn’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:306. Central Chadic *ʔa-ff[wa]- ‘fire’ > Logone *fo* ‘fire’; Musgu *afu* ‘fire’; Gidar *afa* ‘fire’; Mbara *fee* ‘fire’. According to Orël—Stolbova (1995:186, no. 819), “irregular vowels in individual [Chadic] languages may continue *-yaHu-/*-waHu-”. They also consider the *w-* in Egyptian *wḫ* to stand for a rounded vowel — in my opinion, the *w-* is a prefix. Orël—Stolbova 1995:186, no. 819, *foḥ- ‘(vb.) to burn; (n.) fire’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pū* ‘spark (as of fire)’; Kui *pūvala* ‘spark’; Kuwi *pūya* ‘embers’, *puva* ‘spark’, *puyā* ‘burning coal’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:384, no. 4347.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian *px- ‘warm (weather)’: Georgian *px-* in *za-px-ul-i* ‘summer’; Laz *px-* in *ma-px-a* ‘clear weather, cleared up (sky)’; Svan *px-* in *lu-px-w* ‘summer’, *mē-px-e*, *mā-px-e* ‘cleared up (sky)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:366—367 *px-; Klimov 1964:194 *px- and 1998:209 *px- ‘to be clear (of weather)’; Fähnrich 2007:450 *px-.
- D. Proto-Indo-European *p^héh^h-ur- [*p^háḥ^h-ur-], *p^həḥ^h-wór- ‘fire’: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *pa-aḥ-ḫu-ur*, *pa-aḥ-ḫu-wa-ar*, *pa-aḥ-ḫur* ‘fire’, (gen. sg.) *pa-aḥ-ḫu-e-na-aš*; Luwian (nom. sg.) *pa-a-ḫu-u-ur* ‘fire’; Greek πῦρ ‘fire’; Umbrian *pir* ‘fire’; Gothic *fōn* ‘fire’, (gen. sg.) *funins*; Old Icelandic *fúr* ‘fire’, *funi* ‘flame’; Old Danish *fyr* ‘fire’; Old English *fȳr* ‘fire’; Old Frisian

fiur, *fiur* ‘fire’; Old Saxon *fiur* ‘fire’; Dutch *vuur* ‘fire’; Old High German *fiur*, *fuir* ‘fire’ (New High German *Feuer*); Tocharian A *por*, B *puwar* ‘fire’; Old Czech *půř* ‘glowing ashes, embers’; Armenian *hur* ‘fire’; (?) Old Prussian *panno* ‘fire’. Pokorny 1959:828 **peuōr*, **pūr* ‘fire’, (gen. sg.) **pu-n-és*, (loc. sg.) **puuēni*; Walde 1927—1932.II:14—15 **peuōr*, (gen. sg.) **pu-n-és*, (loc. sg.) **puuēni*; Mann 1984—1987:1016 **puuər* (**puʷur*, **pūr*) ‘fire’; Watkins 1985:53 **pūr-* (contracted from **puər-*, zero-grade form of **paərʷr*) and 2000:61 **paərʷr* ‘fire’ (oldest form **peər₂ʷr*, colored to **paər₂ʷr*, with zero-grade **paər₂ur*, metathesized to **puər₂r*, contracted to **pūr*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:210, I:274, II:699 **p[h]H̄Hur* and 1995.I:181, I:238—239, I:605 **p^hH̄Hur* ‘fire’; Mallory—Adams 1997:202 **péh₂ur* ‘fire’; Benveniste 1935:169 **péər₂-w-r* > **péər₂ur*; Beekes 2010.II:1260—1261 **peh₂-ur*, **ph₂-uen-s*; Boisacq 1950:828—829; Hofmann 1966:291 **péuōr*, **punés*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:956—957; Frisk 1970—1973.II:627—629 **p(e)uōr* : **pūr-* : **puuēn-* : **pūn-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:612—613 **péh₂-ur*, **ph₂-uen-s*; Sturtevant 1951:40, §62d, Indo-Hittite **péxwr*; Puhvel 1984—.8:18—26 **péA₁wr*, (“collective” pl.) **p(e)A₁wōr*, (gen. sg.) **p(e)A₁wéns*; Orël 2003:121 Proto-Germanic **fuwer* ~ **fūr*; Kroonen 2013:151 Proto-Germanic **fōr-* ~ **fun-* ‘fire’ (< **péh₂-ur*; gen. sg. **ph₂-un-ós*); De Vries 1977:147 and 149; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:205; Feist 1939:158—159 **pāu-er* ‘fire’, (gen.) **pū-nós*; Lehmann 1986:120 **pex-w-* ‘fire’; Onions 1966:357 West Germanic **fuir*; Klein 1971:282 **pewōr-*, **pūwer-*; Skeat 1898:209; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:115 **peh₂-ur*, **p(e)h₂-uen-s*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:195 **peuōr*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:212 **pehw̄r*, **phwnos*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:382—383 **peuōr*; Adams 1999:392—393 **peh₂w̄r*, **peh₂wōr*, **ph₂ur-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:540—545 **péh₂ur* (?), **p(e)h₂uōr*, **ph₂ur/n-*, **p(e)h₂uer/n-*; Miklosich 1886:269. Note: Old Prussian loanword in Finnish *panu* ‘fire(-god)’.

- E. Proto-Uralic **pājwä* ‘heat, sun’: Lapp / Saami *bivvâ/bivâ-* ‘to keep warm (not feel cold)’, *bivvâl* ‘warm (mild)”; Zyrian / Komi *pym* ‘hot, boiling; sweaty’; Ostyak / Xanty *pəm* ‘warmth, warm weather, hot, (hot) steam (in a Russian bath); (visible) breath’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *pyyʷ* ‘warm, dry wind (especially in the summer)”; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *feabeme-* ‘to warm oneself’; Selkup Samoyed *pöö* ‘warm, hot; heat’; Kamassian *pide-* ‘to warm’. Décsy 1990:105 **pävä* ‘warm’; Collinder 1955:6, 1960:405 **pävэ*, and 1977:27; Rédei 1986—1988:366—367 **päwe*; Sammallahti 1988:540 **pājwä* ‘sun, warmth’; Janhunen 1977b:120 **pejwä*; Zhivlov 2023:166 Proto-Uralic **pājwä* ‘heat, sun’.

Buck 1949:1.81 fire. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:238—239, no. 43; Illič-Svityč 1965:352 **pīγwā* ‘fire’ (‘огонь’); Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1671, **pä[γ]üwA* ‘fire’ (→ ‘heat’ → ‘daylight, day’).

141. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **p^hal-a* ‘skin, hide’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **fal-*, **ful-* ‘skin, hide’: Proto-Southern Cushitic **fal-* or **faal-* ‘skin, hide; rash’ > Burunge *fala* ‘hide’; Asa *fulo* ‘hide’; Ma’a *-fwáli* ‘to scratch, to itch’, *ufwá* ‘rash’. Ehret 1980:150. East Chadic **pulVI-* ‘shell’ > Tumak *puləl* ‘shell’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:188, no. 831, **ful-* ‘hide, husk’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **p^hel-* ‘skin, hide’: Greek πέλαμα ‘sole (of foot, of shoe)’, πέλλο-ράφος ‘sewing skins together’ (ράπτω ‘to sew together’); Latin *pellis* ‘skin, hide’; Gothic **filleins* ‘made of leather’, *faura-filli* ‘foreskin’; Old Icelandic *ffall*, *fell* ‘skin, hide’; Swedish *ffäll* ‘skin, hide’; Old English *fell* ‘skin, hide, fur’, *fellen* ‘made of skins’, *filmen*, *fylmen* ‘film, thin skin, foreskin’; Old Frisian *fel* ‘skin, hide’, *filmene* ‘membrane on the eye, foreskin’; Old Saxon *fel* ‘skin’; Old High German *fel* ‘skin’ (New High German *Fell*), *fillin* ‘made of skins’; Lithuanian *plėvė* ‘membrane’; Russian *pleva* [плева] ‘membrane, film, coat’. Pokorny 1959:803—804 **pelə-*, **plē-* ‘skin, hide’; Walde 1927—1932.II:58—59 **pel-*; Mann 1984—1987:916—917 **peln-* ‘skin, membrane, film’; Watkins 1985:48 **pel-* and 2000:63 **pel-* ‘skin, hide’ (suffixated form **pelno-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:227—228 **p^[h]el-H-* ~ **p^[h]l-eH-* (root **p^[h]el-*) and 1995.I:197 **p^hel-H-* ~ **p^hl-eH-* (root **p^hel-*) ‘skin’; Mallory—Adams 1997:268—269 **péln-* ‘animal skin, hide’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:499—500; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:877; Hofmann 1966:260; Boisacq 1950:763 **pel-*; Beekes 2010.II:1168 **pel -*; De Vaan 2008:455; Ernout—Meillet 1979:493—494; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:275—276 **pel-*; Orël 2003:97 Proto-Germanic **fellan*, 97 **fellinaz*, 97 **felmaz*; Kroonen 2013:135 Proto-Germanic **fella-* ‘membrane, skin, hide’; Feist 1939:152 **pel-*; Lehmann 1986:115—116 **pel-*; De Vries 1977:123; Onions 1966:349 **pello-* : **pelno-* and 356; Klein 1971:277 **pel-* and 281; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:103; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:192 **pello-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:209; Derksen 2015:366; Smoczyński 2007.1:474; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:620.
- C. (?) Altaic: Proto-Turkic **el-tiri* ‘skin of kid or lamb’ > Turkish (dial.) *elteri* ‘skin of kid or lamb’; Turkmenian (dial.) *elter*, *elteri* ‘skin of kid or lamb’; Uighur *älterä* ‘skin of kid or lamb’; Tatar *iltir* ‘skin of kid or lamb’; Kazakh *eltiri* ‘skin of kid or lamb’; Noghay *eltiri* ‘skin of kid or lamb’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1153—1154 **p^ʕiole* ‘blanket, skin (as covering)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also include putative Tungus, Mongolian, and Japanese cognates with meanings like ‘(vb.) to dress, to soften, to tan (leather); (n.) blanket, sleeping bag, cloak’. These have not been included here since the semantics appear to be too divergent to support the Altaic etymology as written.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin, hide. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:252—253, no. 60.

142. Proto-Nostratic root *p^hid- (~ *p^hed-):

(vb.) *p^hid- ‘to tear, to pluck, to pull; to tear off, to pluck off, to pull off; to tear out, to pluck out, to pull out’;

(n.) *p^hid-a ‘the act of pulling, tearing, plucking’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *fed- ‘to tear, to pluck, to pull; to tear off, to pluck off, to pull off; to tear out, to pluck out, to pull out’: Egyptian *fdi* ‘to pluck (flowers), to pull up (plants), to uproot, to pull out (hair), to remove’, *fdq* ‘to sever, to divide, to part’. Hannig 1995:308 and 309; Faulkner 1962:99; Gardiner 1957:567; Erman—Grapow 1921:58. North Cushitic: Beja / Bedawye *fedig* (< *fedik-) ‘to split, to separate’. Reinisch 1895:76—77. Highland East Cushitic *fed- ‘to tear (cloth)’ > Burji *feedi-* ‘to tear (cloth)’. Hudson 1989:149. Orël—Stolbova 1995:179, no. 790, *fed- ‘to tear’, no. 791, *fedik- ‘to split’. Different etymology in Ehret 1995:100, no. 69, *fad- ‘to draw out, to pull out’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *piṭunku* (*piṭunki-*) ‘to pull out or off, to pluck up, to extort, to break through an obstruction, to vex, to give trouble’, *piṭunkal* ‘pulling out, extortion, annoyance’; Malayalam *piṭuṅṅuka* ‘to pull out, to extort, to vex’, *piṭaruka* ‘to be plucked up’, *piṭartuka* ‘to root up, to open a boil’; Toda *pīry-* (*pīrs-*) ‘(boil) opens’, *pīrc-* (*pīrc-*) ‘to open (a boil)’; Telugu *puḍuku* ‘to pluck off, to nip off, to squeeze, to press’; Kannada *pidaga*, *pidagu*, *pidugu* ‘trouble, affliction, disease’; Kui *prunga-* (*prungi-*) ‘to be snapped, broken off, plucked’, *prupka-* (< *pruk-p-; *prukt-*) ‘to snap, to break off, to pluck’, *brunga* (*brungi-*) ‘to be plucked out’, *brupka* (< *bruk-p-; *brukt-*) ‘to pluck, to pluck out, to pull out’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:368, no. 4152.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.).

143. Proto-Nostratic root *p^hily- (~ *p^hely-):

(vb.) *p^hily- ‘to split, to cleave’;

(n.) *p^hily-a ‘split, crack’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *fil- ‘to split, to cleave’: [Proto-Semitic *pal-ag- ‘to split, to cleave, to divide’ > Hebrew *pālay* [פָּלַי] ‘to split, to cleave, to divide’, *peley* [פֶּלַי] ‘canal, channel’; Arabic *falaḡa* ‘to split, to cleave’; Phoenician *plg* ‘to divide’; Ugaritic *plg* ‘canal, stream’; Akkadian *palgu* ‘canal’; Ḥarsūsi *felēg* ‘water-course’; Mehri *fəlēg* ‘stream, water-course’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fəlōg* ‘to split open, to make a hole in (tin, barrel, rock)’, *fəlēg* ‘oasis’ (Eastern dialect = ‘stream’); Geez / Ethiopic *falaga* [ፈለገ] ‘to flow, to cause to flow in torrents, to dig out, to hollow out, to divide, to split, to hew, to prepare, to arrange’, *falag* [ፈለገ] ‘river, brook, valley’, *fəlug* [ፍለግ] ‘hollow, hollowed, dug out, divided, prepared, ready, arranged’; Tigre *fäläg* ‘ravine’; Tigrinya *fäläg* ‘riverbed’; Amharic *fäläg* ‘stream’

(Geez loan). Klein 1987:508; Leslau 1987:159; Murtonen 1989:340. Proto-Semitic **pal-ay-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Arabic *faliya* ‘to be cut off’; Aramaic *pālā* ‘to split, to cut open’; Geez / Ethiopic *falaya* [ፈለየ] ‘to separate, to divide, to distinguish’; Tigrinya *fäläyā* ‘to separate’; Tigre *fāla* ‘to separate’. Leslau 1987:161. Proto-Semitic **pal-ah-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Hebrew *pālah* [פָּלַח] ‘to cleave’; Arabic *falaḥa* ‘to split, to cleave, to plow, to till’. Klein 1987:509; Murtonen 1989:340. Proto-Semitic **pal-am-* ‘to split, to divide’ > Arabic (Daḡīna) *falam* ‘to notch, to indent’; Geez / Ethiopic *falama* [ፈለመ] ‘to split, to divide, to strike the first blow (in combat), to be the first to do something’; Tigre *fālma* ‘to break to pieces’; Tigrinya *fällämä* ‘to begin’; Amharic *fällämä* ‘to strike the first blow, to initiate an action’. Leslau 1987:159. Proto-Semitic **pal-ak-* ‘to split, to cleave, to break forth’ > Akkadian *palāku* ‘to kill’; Arabic *falaḥa* ‘to split, to cleave; to burst, to break (dawn)’; Sabaeen *flk* ‘system of irrigation by dispersion of water by means of inflow cuts’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fālāk* ‘to split, to crack’; Tigrinya *fālākākā* ‘to split up, to crack up’; Tigre *fālāk* ‘division’; Harari *fālāka* ‘to hit the head with a stone or stick so that blood comes out or the head swells’; Amharic *fālākākākā* ‘to split, to break loose’; Gurage (Wolane) *fālākākā* ‘to card wool by splitting’. Leslau 1963:62 and 1979:232. Proto-Semitic **pal-at-* ‘to separate’ > Hebrew *pālat* [פָּלַט] ‘to escape’; Phoenician *plṭ* ‘to escape’; Geez / Ethiopic *falata* [ፈለተ] ‘to separate’; Harari *fälāta* ‘to split wood with an ax’; Argobba *fällāta* ‘to split’; Amharic *fällāta* ‘to split’; Gurage *fälāta* ‘to split wood with an ax’. Klein 1987:509; Leslau 1963:63, 1979:232, and 1987:161; Murtonen 1989:340—341. Proto-Semitic **pal-as^v-* ‘to break open or through’ > Hebrew *pālaš* [פָּלַשׁ] ‘to break open or through’; Akkadian *palāšu* ‘to dig a hole’. Klein 1987:512. Proto-Semitic **pal-al-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Arabic *falla* ‘to dent, to notch, to blunt; to break; to flee, to run away’; Hebrew *pālal* [פָּלַל] ‘to arbitrate, to judge’; Akkadian *palālu* ‘to have rights, to secure someone’s rights’; Sabaeen *fll* ‘to cut channels’; Mehri *fāl* ‘to make off, to get away’; Šheri / Jibbāli *fell* ‘to make off, to get away, to run away’; Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *falfala* [ፈለፈለ] ‘to break out, to burst, to gush’; Tigre *fälāla* ‘to sprout forth, to break through’; Tigrinya *fälfälä* ‘to break, to make a hole’; Amharic *fäläffälä* ‘to shell (peas, beans), to gush out’; Harari *filäfäla* ‘to detach a piece from the main bunch (bananas, corn), to shell, to pick up grains one by one from the stock’; Gurage *fäläffälä* ‘to shell, to hatch out, to make a hole by scratching’. Klein 1987:511; Leslau 1987:158—159. Proto-Semitic **pal-aṣ-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Arabic *fala^a* ‘to split, to cleave, to rend, to tear asunder’, *faṣ^a*, *fil^a* ‘crack, split, crevice, fissure, cleft, rift.’] Berber: Tuareg *əfli*, *əfləh* ‘to be split; to split, to crack’, *səfli*, *zəfləh* ‘to cause to split’; Siwa *əfli* ‘to be split’; Mzab *fəl* ‘to pierce; to be pierced’; Kabyle *flu* ‘to pierce’. Highland East Cushitic **fil-d-* ‘to separate, to comb’ > Gedeo / Darasa *fil-*, *fi’l-* ‘to comb’, *fila* ‘comb’; Sidamo *fil-* ‘to choose the best ensete fibers’. Hudson

- 1989:43. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ful- ‘to bore a hole’ > Iraqw ful- ‘to bore a hole’. Ehret 1980:322. Ehret 1995:105, no. 81, *fil- ‘to cut a hole or cavity in’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:191, no. 845, *fvl- ‘to divide, to pierce’. Note: The Semitic forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may belong either here or with Proto-Afrasian *pal- ‘to split, to cleave’ (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:416, no. 1938, *pal- ‘to cut, to divide’).
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *pil* (*pilv-*, *piṅt-*; *pilp-*, *piṅt-*) ‘to burst open, to be rent or cut, to be broken to pieces, to disagree; to cleave asunder, to divide, to crush’, *pila* ‘to be split, cleaved, rent, cracked, disunited; to split, to cleave, to rend, to tear apart, to part asunder, to pierce’; Malayalam *piḷaruka* ‘to burst asunder, to split, to cleave’, *piḷarkka*, *piḷakka* ‘to split, to cleave, to rend’, *peḷikka* ‘to burst, to split, to disembowel (fish)’; Tuḷu *pulevu* ‘a crack’; Kui *plinga* (*plingi-*) ‘to be split, burst, cracked’; Parji *pil-* ‘to crack’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:371—372, no. 4194.
- C. [Proto-Kartvelian *plet-/*plit- ‘to pull, tear, or rip apart’: Georgian *plet-*, *plit-* ‘to pull, tear, or rip apart’; Laz *plat-* ‘to get worn out; to tear to pieces’; Svan *pet-*, *pt-* ‘to pluck (wool)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:358 *plet-/*plit-; Fähnrich 2007:437 *plet-/*plit-; Klimov 1998:202 *plet- : *plit- : *plt- ‘to wear out’.] Note: The Kartvelian material may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic *p^hal- (~ *p^hal-) ‘(vb.) to split, to cleave; (n.) split, crack’.
- D. [Proto-Indo-European *(s)p^hel-/*(s)p^hol-/*(s)p^hl̥-, *(s)p^hl- (plus various extensions) ‘to split, to cleave’: Sanskrit *phálati* ‘to split, to cleave’, *sphátati* (< *sphalt-) ‘to burst, to expand’; Kashmiri *phalun* ‘to be split’, *phālawun* ‘to split, to cleave’; Marathi *phāḷṇē* ‘to tear’; Old Icelandic *flá* ‘to flay’, *flaska* ‘to split’, *flakna* ‘to flake off, to split’; Old English *flēan* ‘to flay’; Dutch *vlaen* ‘to flay’; Old High German *spaltan* ‘to split, to cleave’ (New High German *spalten*); Lithuanian *plyšti* ‘to split, to break, to burst’. Rix 1998a:525 *(s)pelH- ‘to split (off), to cleave’, 525 *(s)pelt- ‘to split’; Pokorny 1959:834 *plē-, *plə- ‘to split off’, 835 *plēk-, *plək-, *plēik-, *plīk- ‘to tear off’, 985—987 *(s)p(h)el- ‘to split off’, 937 *(s)p(h)elg- ‘to split’; Walde 1927—1932.II:93 *plēi-, *pləi-, *plī-, II:98—99 *plēk-, *plək-, *plēik-, *plīk-, II:677—679 *(s)p(h)el-, II:680 *sp(h)elg-; Mann 1984—1987:949 *pleik̥s- (*pleisk̥-), 1270 *sphālt- ‘to bang, to burst’; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 *plek̥- ‘to break, to tear off’; Watkins 1985:52 *plēk- (*pleik-) ‘to tear’, 63 *spel- ‘to split, to tear off’ and 2000:68 *plē-(i)k- (also *pleik-) ‘to tear’ (oldest form *ple₂i-(i)k-), 2000:82 *spel- ‘to split, to break off’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:393; Orël 2003:361; De Vries 1977:127, 128, and 129; Onions 1966:361; Klein 1971:285; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:718—719; Kluge—Seebold 1989:682; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:625.] Note: The Indo-European material may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic *p^hal- (~ *p^hal-) ‘(vb.) to split, to cleave; (n.) split, crack’.

- E. Proto-Uralic **pilʷ3-* ‘to split, to cleave’: Votyak / Udmurt *pil’-* ‘to cut asunder, to split, to divide’; Zyrian / Komi *pel’-* ‘(a) part’, *pel’-* ‘to come off, to get loose, to crack off, to be split off’, *pel’em* ‘splinter, small piece of wood, small board’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *filimia*, *fil’imiʷa* ‘little bit, fragment’. Collinder 1955:49, 1960:408 **pilʷ3-*, and 1977:67; Rédei 1986—1988:389 **poδʷ3*. But, note Dolgopolsky’s comment (2008, no. 1711): “hardly from FU **poδʷ3* [= **požV*] ... because of its vowel”. Dolgopolsky reconstructs Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pelʷ* ‘to split, to divide, to crush’. It is Collinder’s reconstruction that is followed here.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **pilay-* ‘to butcher’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *pilay-* ‘to butcher’; Central Alaskan Yupik *pilay-* ‘to slit, to cut into, to butcher’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *pilay-* ‘to cut, to perform surgery’; Central Siberian Yupik *pilay-* ‘to slit up, to butcher’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *pilak-* ‘to butcher’; North Alaskan Inuit *pilʷak-* ‘to butcher’; Western Canadian Inuit *pilak-* ‘to butcher’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pilak-* ‘to butcher’; Greenlandic Inuit *pilay-* ‘to butcher’. Cf. Aleut (Atkan) *hilyi-* ‘to dig (for roots, etc.), to dig out (fox — its den)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:262. Proto-Eskimo **pilaytur-* ‘to cut up’: Central Alaskan Yupik *pilaxtur-* ‘to undergo or perform surgery’; Central Siberian Yupik *pilaxtur-* ‘to cut repeatedly, to saw’; [Seward Peninsula Inuit *pilaaqtuq-* ‘to cut up (meat)’]; North Alaskan Inuit *pilʷaktuq-* ‘to perform surgery on’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pilattu(q)-* ‘to cut up, to operate on’; Greenlandic Inuit *pilattur-* ‘to cut or saw up, to operate on’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:262. Proto-Inuit **pilaun* ‘knife for butchering’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *pilaun* ‘large knife used for butchering’; North Alaskan Inuit *pilʷaun* ‘knife for butchering’; Western Canadian Inuit *pilaun* ‘knife for butchering’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pilauti* ‘hunting knife, lancet’; Greenlandic Inuit (East Greenlandic) *pilaalaq* ‘knife’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:262.

Buck 1949:9.27 split (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:230—231, no. 35; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1711, **pel[i]yV* ‘to split, to separate’; Brunner 1969:22, no. 38; Möller 1911:196—197; Hakola 2000:140, no. 612; Fortescue 1998:156.

144. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hin-* (~ **p^hen-*):

(vb.) **p^hin-* ‘to break’;

(n.) **p^hin-a* ‘break’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **fin-* ‘to break’: Semitic: Arabic *fanaḥa* ‘to bruise a bone without breaking it; to subdue, to overcome, to humiliate’. Berber: Kabyle *sfunnəḥ* ‘to beat’. West Chadic **fin-H-* ‘to break’ > Kulere *fiŋy-* ‘to break’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:182, no. 804, **finaḥ-* ‘to break’.

- B. Dravidian: Parji *pin-* ‘to be broken’, *pinip-* (*pinit-*) ‘to break (tr.)’; Gadba (Ollari and Salur) *pun-* ‘to be broken’, (Ollari) *punup-* (*punut-*), (Salur) *punk-* (*punt-*) ‘to break (tr.)’; Gondi *pinkānā* ‘to break up (of stiff things like hard bread or sweets), to chew’; Brahui *pinning* ‘to be broken’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:373, no. 4206.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.).

145. Proto-Nostratic root *p^hir- (~ *p^her-):

- (vb.) *p^hir- ‘to ask, to request, to entreat, to beseech, to pray’;
 (n.) *p^hir-a ‘request, entreaty, prayer’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic *fir- ‘to pray, to ask for (something)’ > Iraqw *firim-* ‘to pray, to ask for (something)’; Burunge *firim-* ‘to pray, to ask for (something)’; Alagwa *firim-* ‘to pray, to ask for (something)’; Ma’a *-fi* ‘to perform (a ceremony)’. Ehret 1980:151.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *p^her^hk^h-/*p^hork^h-/*p^hrk^h-, *p^hrek^h-/*p^hrok^h-/*p^hrk^h- ‘to ask, to request’: Sanskrit *pr̥cchāti* ‘to ask, to question, to interrogate, to inquire about’, *praśná-h* ‘question, inquiry, query’; Avestan *parəsaīti* ‘to ask, to question’, *frašna-* ‘question’; Armenian *harčanem* ‘to ask’, *harç* ‘question’; Latin *poscō* (< *porc-scō) ‘to ask, to request’, *prex* ‘request, entreaty’, *precor*, *-ārī* ‘to beg, to entreat, to request, to pray, to invoke’; Umbrian *persklum* ‘prayer’; Middle Welsh (3rd sg.) *arch-af* ‘to ask’, *arch* ‘request’; Gothic *fraihnan* ‘to question’; Old Icelandic *fregna* ‘to ask’, *frétt* ‘inquiry’; Swedish (dial.) *frega* ‘to ask’; Old English *gefǣrgan* ‘to learn by asking’, *fricgan* ‘to ask, to inquire, to question’, *frignan* ‘to ask, to inquire’, *freht*, *friht* ‘divination’; Old Frisian *frēgia* ‘to ask’, *frēge* ‘question’; Old Saxon *frāgōn* ‘to ask’; Old High German *frāgēn*, *frāhēn* ‘to ask’ (New High German *fragen*), *frāga* ‘question’ (New High German *Frage*), *forsca* ‘inquiry’; Lithuanian *peršù*, *prašýti* ‘to ask, to beg’; Old Church Slavic *prošiti* ‘to ask’; Tocharian A *prak-*, *pärk-*, B *prek-*, *pärk-* ‘to ask’. Rix 1998a:442—443 *prek^h- ‘to ask’; Pokorny 1959:821—822 *perk^h-, *prek^h-, *p^hrk^h-, *p^hrk^h-skō ‘to ask, to request’; Walde 1927—1932.II:44 *perek^h- (*perk^h-, *prek^h-, *p^hrk^h-); Mann 1984—1987:924 *perk^hskō, 985 *prek^h- ‘to ask, to petition’, 992—993 *prokō, -iō; *prok^h- (vb.) to beg, to ask; (n.) question’, 1001 *p^hrk^h-, *p^hrk^hsmn- ‘question’, 1001 *p^hrk^hskō ‘to ask, to beg, to beseech’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:176, I:237, I:241 *p^h[^h]er^hk^h[^h]-, *p^h[^h]rek^h[^h]- and 1995.I:152, I:206, I:208, I:209 *p^her^hk^h-, *p^hrek^h- ‘to ask’; Watkins 1985:53 *prek^h- and 2000:69 *prek^h- ‘to ask, to entreat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:33 *perk^h- ‘to ask, to ask for’; De Vaan 2008:483; Ernout—Meillet 1979:525—526 and 534; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:346—347; Adams 1999:371—372 *prek^h-; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:386; Orël 2003:112—113 Proto-Germanic *freznanan ~ *fresnanan; Kroonen 2013:153 Proto-Germanic *frēgō- ‘question’, 154 *frehnan- ‘to announce;

rumor’, and 162 **furskō*- ‘inquiry’; Lehmann 1986:122—123 **per-ĥ-*, **pre-ĥ-*; Feist 1939:161—162 **perek-*; De Vries 1977:140—141 and 142; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:214 **preĥ-*, **prĥ-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:229; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:329; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:647; Smoczyński 2007.1:464—465 **preĥ-/prĥ-*.

- C. Proto-Altaic **phīru-* ‘to pray, to bless’: Proto-Tungus **pirugē-* ‘to pray’ > Manchu *fīru-* ‘to curse, to implore, to pray’; Evenki *hirugē-* ‘to pray’; Lamut / Even *hirge-* ‘to pray’; Negidal *χīγē-* ‘to pray’; Solon *irugē-* ‘to pray’. Proto-Mongolian **hirūγe-* ‘(vb.) to pray, to bless; (n.) blessing, benediction’ > Written Mongolian *irüge-* ‘to bless, to pray’, *irügel* ‘blessing, benediction’; Middle Mongolian *hirü’er* ‘blessing, benediction’; Khalkha *yörō-* ‘to bless’; Kalmyk *yörēl* ‘blessing, benediction’; Ordos *örō-* ‘to bless’, *öröl* ‘blessing, benediction’; Buriat (Alar) *yürō-* ‘to bless’, *ürör* ‘blessing, benediction’. Poppe 1955:97—98. Poppe 1960:12, 60, 116, 127; Street 1974:23 **pirü-* ‘to pray, to ask’, **pirü-ge-* ‘to bless, to wish well’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:111—125, no. 373, Proto-Altaic **p’ir/u-*; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1144—1145 **p’īru* ‘to pray, to bless’.

Buck 1949:18.31 ask (question, inquire); 18.35 ask, request; 22.17 pray; 22.23 bless. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:111—125, no. 373, **p’irkʷa* ‘to ask, to request’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1765, **piRo-(Kæ)* ‘to ask’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:258, no. 67.

146. Proto-Nostratic root **phuth-* (~ **photh-*):

(vb.) **phuth-* ‘to vomit’;

(n.) **phuth-a* ‘vomit’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **fut-* ‘to vomit’: West Chadic **fut-* ‘to vomit’ > Sura *fuut* ‘to vomit’; Angas *fut* ‘to vomit’; Ankwe *fuut* ‘to vomit’; Mupun *fuut* ‘to vomit’. Cushitic: Werizoid **fat-* (< **fut-*) ‘to vomit’ > Gawwada (reduplicated) *fač-fat-* ‘to vomit’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:189, no. 837, **fut-* ‘to vomit’.
- B. Dravidian: Kurux *put^urnā* (*puttras*) ‘to vomit’; Malto *putre* ‘to vomit’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:378, no. 4276.

Buck 1949:4.57 vomit (vb.).

147. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **phuth-a* ‘hole, opening’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **fut-* ‘hole, opening, vulva’: Proto-Semitic **put-* ‘vulva’ > Hebrew *pōθ* ‘vulva’ [פֹּת] (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). Klein 1987:535—536. Lowland East Cushitic **fut-* ‘vulva, anus’ > Somali *futo* ‘vulva’; Galla / Oromo *futee* ‘anus’. West Chadic **fut-* ‘vulva’ > Angas *fut* ‘vulva’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:189, no. 836, **fut-* ‘hole, vulva’.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **p^hut^h*- ‘vulva’: Indo-Aryan **p(h)utta-* ‘vulva’ > Prakrit *puttara-* ‘vulva’; Kashmiri *pūt^u* ‘part of the body behind the pudenda’; Kumaunī *putī* ‘vulva’, *phutī*, *phuddī* ‘vulva of a small girl’; Nepali *puti* ‘vulva’, *putu* ‘vulva of a young woman’. Proto-Germanic **fuðiz* ‘vagina’ > Old Icelandic *fuð-* ‘vagina’; Norwegian *fud* ‘vagina, anus, backside’; Swedish *fod* ‘backside’; Middle High German *vut* (*vude-* in compounds) ‘vulva’, *vüdel* ‘girl’. Pokorny 1959:848—849 **pū-*, **peuə-* ‘to stink, to smell bad’; Walde 1927—1932.II:82 **pū-*, **pū-*; Mann 1984—1987:1013 **putā*, *-iə* ‘vulva; little girl; chick; youngster’; Rietz 1867.I:158; Turner 1966—1969.I:471; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:303—304. Kroonen 2013:162 Proto-Germanic **fubi-* ‘vagina’ (“no further etymology”). Different etymology in Orël 2003:116 (Proto-Germanic **fuðiz*) and De Vries 1977:145—146; Torp 1919:138 (Germanic **fubi-*, **fudi-*).
- C. Proto-Eskimo **putu* ‘hole’: Central Alaskan Yupik *putu* ‘leather piece on skin boot with hole for bootlace’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *putu* ‘loop; hole, incision’; Central Siberian Yupik *putu* ‘hole made at edge of skin for running rope for stretching and drying’; Sirenik *puta* ‘hole’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *putu* ‘hole through something’; North Alaskan Inuit *putu* ‘hole through something’; Western Canadian Inuit *putu* ‘hole through something’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *putu* ‘hole through something’; Greenlandic Inuit *putu* ‘hole through something’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:269—270. Proto-Inuit **putžuq* ‘hole worn in something’ > North Alaskan Inuit *pužžuq* ‘hole worn in boot sole’, (Nunamiut) *putžuq* ‘to be worn out, to have holes’; Greenlandic Inuit *puššuq* ‘hole worn (e.g., in boot sole)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:270.

Buck 1949:12.85 hole.

148. Proto-Nostratic root **p^huw-* (~ **p^how-*):
 (vb.) **p^huw-* ‘to puff, to blow, to exhale; to puff up, to inflate’;
 (n.) **p^huw-a* ‘a puff, the act of blowing, breath’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **fuw-* (> **fīw-* in Chadic) ‘(vb.) to puff, to blow, to exhale; to puff up, to inflate; (n.) a puff, the act of blowing, breath’: Proto-Semitic **paw-ah-* ‘to exhale, to blow’ > Hebrew *pūah* [פּוֹחַ] ‘to breathe, to blow’, (hif.) *hē-fīah* ‘to blow, to break wind’, *pūhā?* ‘breath, wind’; Aramaic *pūah* ‘to breathe, to blow’; Arabic *fāḥa* ‘to diffuse an aroma, to exhale a pleasant odor’, *fawḥa* ‘fragrant emanation, breath of fragrance’, *fawwāḥ* ‘exhaling, diffusing (fragrance)’. Arabic *fāḥa* ‘to spread an odor, to emit a scent; to blow (wind); to break wind’. Klein 1987:496; Murtonen 1989:336—337. Proto-Southern Cushitic **fook’-* ‘to catch one’s breath’ > Asa *fu[?]it-* ‘to catch one’s breath’; Ma’a *-fufu* ‘to catch one’s breath’; Dahalo *fook’-* ‘to catch one’s breath’. Ehret 1980:151. West Chadic **ffi/w[a]ḥ-* ‘to blow’ > Boklos *fu[?]* ‘to blow’; Sha *fyah* ‘to blow’; Dafo-Butura *fu[?]* ‘to blow’.

- Central Chadic **fiyaH-* ‘to smell’ > Mandara *ʔifiyaʔa* ‘to smell’. East Chadic **pVwaH-* > **pwaH-* ‘to blow’ > Tumak *po* ‘to blow’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:184, no. 813, **fiwaḥ-* ‘to smell, to blow’ and 184—185, no. 814, **fiwaq-* ‘to blow’.
- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *pūcci* ‘a fart’; Toda *pi-x iḍ-* (*iḍ-*) ‘to fart silently’; Kannada *pūsu* ‘to fart’; Tuḷu *pūpuni* ‘to fart’, *pūki* ‘a fart’; Koraga *pūmpu* ‘to fart’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:385, no. 4354.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **pu-* ‘to swell, to puff up, to inflate’: Georgian *puv-* ‘to rise (dough)’; Mingrelian *pu-* ‘to boil, to seethe’; Laz *pu-* ‘to boil, to seethe’; Svan *pw-*: *lipwe* ‘to boil’, *lipūli* ‘to blow at somebody or something’, *pūl* ‘whiff (puff)’. Fähnrich 1994:236 and 2007:443 **pu-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:361 **pu-*; Klimov 1964:192 **pu-* and 1998:206 **pu-* ‘to inflate, to rise’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **phū-* ‘to puff, to puff up, to blow’: Sanskrit *phūṭ-karoti* ‘to puff, to blow’, *phupphusa-h* ‘the lungs’, *phulla-h* ‘expanded, blown (of flowers); puffed up (cheeks)’, *phullāti* ‘to expand, to open (as a flower)’; Oriya *phulibā* ‘to swell, to expand’; Pashto *pū*, *pūk* ‘a puff, a blast, the act of blowing’; Greek *φῦσα* ‘bellows’, *φῦσάω* ‘to blow, to puff’; Armenian *phukh* ‘breath, puff’; Lithuanian *pučiù*, *pūsti* ‘to blow, to puff’. Rix 1998a:433 (?) **peūt-* ‘to blow up, to inflate’; Walde 1927—1932.II: 79—81 **pū-*, **peu-*, **pou-*, **phu-*; Pokorny 1959:846—848 **pū-*, **peu-*, **pou-*, **phu-* ‘to blow up’; Mann 1984—1987:1012 **pūskō* (**phūskō*) ‘to puff, to swell, to blow, to blow up, to well up, to erupt, to froth forth’, 1012 **pūskos*, *-ā* (**phūsk-*) ‘puff, froth, fizz, swell, bulge, bubble, bladder’, 1012 **pūslos* (**phūslo-*), *-is*, *-ā*, *-iə* ‘puff, blow, fizz, gush, vacuum, air-space, bladder’, 1012—1013 **pūsō* (**phūsō*), *-iō* ‘to fizz, to froth, to puff, to blow, to swell’, 1013 **pūtiō* (**phūtiō*) ‘to blow, to puff’, 1014 **pūtos* (**phūt-*), *-ios*, *-ā*, *-iə* ‘puff, blow, gust’, 1014 **putlos* (**phutlo-*) ‘fizzy, frothy, puffy, windy, airy, vacuum’, 1015 **putros* (**phutros*) ‘blow, gust, gale, fury’; Watkins 1985:53 **pū-* (also **phū-*) and 2000:69 **pū-* (also **phū-*) ‘to blow, to swell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:72 **p(h)eu-* ‘to blow, to swell’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:398; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1236 **p(h)u-s-*; Beekes 2010.II:1599—1600; Hofmann 1966:407; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1055—1057; Boisacq 1950:1042—1043 **pheu-*, **phū-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:677—67; Derksen 2015:373; Smoczyński 2007.1:4928.
- E. Proto-Uralic **puwa-* ‘to blow’: Hungarian *fúj-*, *fű-/fuv-* ‘to blow’; Mordvin *puva-* ‘to blow’; Cheremis / Mari *pue-* ‘to blow’; Vogul / Mansi *puw-* ‘to blow’; Ostyak / Xanty *pōg-* (Southern *pōw-*) ‘to blow’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *pu-* ‘to blow’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *fūala-*, *fūaru-* (derivative) ‘to blow’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hatanga) *fueŋa-*, (Baiha) *fuasa-* (derivative) ‘to blow’; Selkup Samoyed *puua-*, *puuwa-*, *puuŋa-* ‘to blow’; Kamassian *pū?* ‘to blow’. Collinder 1955:12 and 1977:33; Rédei 1986—1988:411 **puw3-*; Décsy 1990:107 **puva* ‘to blow’; Sammallahti

1988:547 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **puwi-* ‘to blow’; Janhunen 1977b:128—129; Zhivlov 2023:164 **puwa-* ‘to blow’.

- F. Proto-Eskimo: *puvə-* ‘to swell’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *puḡə-* ‘to swell’; Central Alaskan Yupik *puvə-* ‘to swell’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *puvə-* ‘to swell’; Central Siberian Yupik *puuvə-* [*puufqə-* ‘to become swollen in the face’]; Sirenik *puvə-* ‘to swell’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *puit-* ‘to be swollen’, *puvžak-* ‘to have a swelling’; North Alaskan Inuit *puvit-* ‘to be swollen’, *puviq-* ‘to inflate, to be inflated’; Western Canadian Inuit *puvit-* ‘to become swollen’, *puviq-* ‘to inflate’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *puviq-* ‘to be inflated, to swell (from putrefaction)’; Greenlandic Inuit *pui(k)* ‘swelling, tumor’, *puir-* ‘to inflate, to bulge, to swell (sail)’. Cf. Aleut *hum-* ‘to inflate, to swell’, *humta-* ‘to be swollen’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:270. Proto-Inuit **puvak* ‘lung’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *puwak* ‘lung’; North Alaskan Inuit *puvak* ‘lung’; Western Canadian Inuit *puwak* ‘lung’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *puvak* ‘lung’; Greenlandic Inuit *puak* ‘lung’. Cf. Aleut *humyi-X* ‘lung’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:270. Proto-Eskimo **puvlay* or **puvlar* ‘bubble or air in something’: Naukan Siberian Yupik *puvlay* ‘gas’; Seward Peninsula Yupik *puvlak* ‘air in something, bubble’; Western Canadian Inuit *puvlak* ‘bubble’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pullaq* ‘bubble, air pressure’; Greenlandic Inuit *puṭṭay-* ‘to inflate, to be inflated’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:271. Proto-Inuit **puvala-* ‘to be fat’ > North Alaskan Inuit *puvala-* ‘to be fat and round’; Western Canadian Inuit *puvala-* ‘to be fat’; Greenlandic Inuit *puala-* ‘to be fat’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:270. Proto-Inuit **puviraq* ‘ball or balloon-like thing’ > North Alaskan Inuit *puviraq* ‘balloon, swim bladder’; Western Canadian Inuit *puviraq* ‘ball’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *puviraq* ‘small rubber balloon’; Greenlandic Inuit [*puiraašaq*, *puaašaq* ‘water-filled swelling’]. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:270. Proto-Inuit **puvliq-* ‘to swell up’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *puvliq-* ‘to become swollen with air’; North Alaskan Inuit *puvliq-* ‘to swell up’; Western Canadian Inuit *puvliq-* ‘to swell up’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pulli(q)-* ‘to swell up’; Greenlandic Inuit *puṭṭir-* ‘to swell up (after a blow)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:271.

Buck 1949:4.51 breathe; breath; 4.64 break wind, fart (vb.); 10.38 blow (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:229—230, no. 34; Hakola 2000:146, no. 641; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1673, **puḥV* ‘to blow’; Fortescue 1998:157.

22.5. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *p'

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
p'-	p'-	p-	p'-	p'-	p-	p-	p-
-p'-	-p'-	-pp-/-v-	-p'-	-p'-	-p-	-p-	-p-/ -pp-

149. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *p'ap'-a 'old man, old woman':

- A. Proto-Kartvelian *p'ap'- 'grandfather': Georgian *p'ap'-i*, *p'ap'-a* 'grandfather'; Mingrelian *p'ap'-ul-i*, *p'ap'-u* 'great grandfather'; Laz *p'ap'ul-i*, *p'ap'-u* 'grandfather'. Fähnrich 1994:221 and 2007:329 *pāp-; Klimov 1964:152 *pāpal- and 1998:147—148 *pāpa- 'grandfather'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:271 *pāp-.
- B. Proto-Indo-European (f.) *p'ǎp'aA > *p'ǎp'ā 'old woman': (?) Oscan *babu* 'old priestess'; Russian *bába* [баба] '(peasant) woman, old woman'; Czech *bába* 'woman'; Serbo-Croatian *baba* 'old woman, midwife'. Mann 1984—1987:49 *bābā 'old woman'. Note: These forms are phonologically ambiguous.

Buck 1949:2.31ff. words for family relationship, p. 94 *papa, *appa, *baba 'father' or 'old man'; 2.35 father.

150. Proto-Nostratic root *p'ul- (~ *p'ol-):

(vb.) *p'ul- 'to swell';

(n.) *p'ul-a 'swelling, hump, lump, bulge'; (adj.) 'swollen, round, bulbous'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *p'ul- 'to swell', (reduplicated) *p'ul-p'ul- '(vb.) to swell; (adj.) swollen, round': Omotic: Welamo *p'up'ule* 'egg'; Dache *bubule* 'egg'; Dorze *bu:bulé* 'egg'; Oyda *bubule* 'egg'; Male *bu:la* 'egg'; Kachama *p'up'ule* 'egg'; Koyra *bubu:le* 'egg'; Gidicho *bubu:le* 'egg'; Zergula *bubile* 'egg'; Zayse *bubile* 'egg'. Omotic loan in Burji *bulbul-ée* ~ *bubul-ée* 'egg'. Sasse 1982:43. Ehret 1995:116, no. 109, *p'ul- 'shell'. Ehret considers the Omotic forms cited above to be loans from East Cushitic — he reconstructs Proto-East Cushitic *b'ulb'ul- 'shell' (> Yaaku *bolboli* 'egg'; Somali *bulbul* 'thick hair'). Assuming semantic development as in Lithuanian *paūtas* 'egg' from the same root found in Lithuanian *pūsti* 'to blow, to swell up' and Latvian *pūte* 'blister, pustule'.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *p'ul-, *p'ol- 'swollen, round', (reduplicated) *p'ulp'ul-, *p'olp'ol- (dissimilated to *p'ump'ul-, *p'omp'ol-, *p'omp'ul-): Sanskrit *buli-h* 'buttocks, vulva'; Greek βολβός 'a bulb', (reduplicated) βομβυλίς 'bubble'; Latin *bullā* 'a round swelling', *bulbus* 'a bulb; an

onion' (Greek loan); East Frisian *pol* 'plump'; Armenian *bol* 'radish'; Lithuanian *bulis*, *bùlė*, *bulė* 'buttocks'. Pokorny 1959:103 **bol-* 'node, bulb'; Walde 1927—1932.II:111—112 **bol-*, **bul-*; Mann 1984—1987:53 **bombos* 'lump, bulge', 55 **bubul-* 'knot, knob', 56 **bul-* 'bulge, buttocks', 56 **būlō* 'to thrust, to cram, to bulge', 57 **bumbul-* (**buməl-*) 'swelling; bulge, fat bottle or pot'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:439—440; Boisacq 1950:126 **bol-*, **bulbul-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:183—184; Frisk 1970—1973.I:249—250; Hofmann 1966:37; Prellwitz 1905:80; Beekes 2010.I:225; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:122 **bol-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:78; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:63—64; Smoczyński 2007.1:80.

- C. Proto-Altaic **pula-* (~ -o-) 'to swell': Proto-Tungus **pul-* 'hump; swelling, convexity' > Evenki *hulin* 'hump', *hulka* 'swelling, convexity'; Lamut / Even *hulʔn* 'hump'; Orok *pulu* 'swelling, convexity'. Proto-Mongolian **bula-* 'lump, swelling' > Mongolian *bulu* 'bump on the body, the thick end of a marrow bone', *bulduru* 'bump, lump, wen, swelling; hillock, knoll', *bultai-* 'to stick out, to appear, to show slightly'; Khalkha *bulū*, *buldrū* 'swelling, lump'; Buriat *bula*, *bulū* 'swelling, lump'; Kalmyk *bulə* 'swelling, lump'; Dagur *bol* 'swelling, lump'. Mongolian loans in Manchu *bulʒan* 'growth on the skin', *bultaχūn* 'prominent, obvious, bulging', *bultaχūri* 'bulging out (especially the eyes)', *bultari* 'sticking out, swollen'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1108—1109 **pula* (~ -o-) 'to swell'.

Buck 1949:4.48 egg.

151. Proto-Nostratic root **p'ulv-* (~ **p'olv-*):

(vb.) **p'ulv-* 'to blow about; to give off smoke, vapor, steam';

(n.) **p'ulv-a* 'mist, fog, haze; smoke, steam; cloud'

- A. Dravidian: Toda *piłmoz̄m* (z = [dz]) 'mist in valleys or on hills'; Kodagu *pu-ḷi* 'mist on mountains'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:386, 4375.
 B. Kartvelian: Mingrelian *p'ula* 'steam'; Laz *p'ula*, (Atinuri) *p'ulera* 'cloud'.
 C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *puj-* 'to blow'. Nikolaeva 2006:367.
 D. Proto-Eskimo **puyur* 'smoke': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *puyuq* 'smoke'; Central Alaskan Yupik *puyuq* 'smoke', *puyuχtə-* 'to smoke (fish)'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *puyuq* 'smoke'; Central Siberian Yupik *puyuq* 'smoke'; Sirenik *puyəχ* 'soot, smoke'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *puyuq* 'steam'; North Alaskan Inuit *puyuq* 'smoke from chimney', *puyuq-* 'to smoke, to make smoke', *puyuuq-* 'to smoke (fire or chimney)'; Western Canadian Inuit *puyuq* 'smoke', *puyuq-* 'to give off smoke'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *puyuq-* 'to give off steam', *puyuq* 'water vapor, tobacco smoke, puffball (mushroom)'; Greenlandic Inuit *puyuq* 'smoke, steam, mist', *puyuur-*, *puyuur-* 'to give off smoke or steam; to be infected by a dead person', (North Greenlandic / Polar Eskimo) *puyuq-* 'to smoke (pipe)'. Aleut *huyuχ*

‘smoke, steam’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:272. Proto-Yupik **puyuqə-* ‘to be smoked or sooty’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *puyuqə-* ‘to smoke (fish)’, Central Alaskan Yupik *puyuqə-* ‘to be smoked (food); to be full of smoke (clothes)’, Central Siberian Yupik *puyuqə-*, *puyuxqə-* ‘to become sooty’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:272. Proto-Inuit **puyuraq* or **puyurak* ‘frost smoke (snowy mist)’ > North Alaskan Inuit *puyuala-*, *putcuala-* ‘to make steam or smoke’, Western Canadian Inuit *puyuaryuk* ‘kind of weather when powder snow in the air is like smoke’, Eastern Canadian Inuit *puyuraq-* ‘to be a light mist’, (Itivimmiut) *puyuraq*, *puyuqqiq* ‘light mist’, Greenlandic Inuit *puyurak* ‘frost smoke’, *puyuray-* ‘to be mist from the sea, to be frost smoke’, *puyuralak*, *puyualak* ‘dust’, *puyu(r)ala-* ‘to be dusty’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:272.

- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **pujæ-* ‘smoke or steam’ (?): Chukchi [*pujʔepuj*] ‘soot’, Koryak *puje-* ‘to bake; to cook bear meat in a pit over heated stones’, *pujepuj* ‘meat cooked in a pit over heated stones’, Kamchadal / Itelmen (Western) *pojaz* ‘to steam’, *pojakaz* ‘to take a steam bath’, *pojatez* ‘to give off steam’, (Eastern) *kimpxejc* ‘to smoke’. Fortescue 2005:218.

Buck 1949:1.73 cloud; 1.74 mist (fog, haze). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:179—180, no. 13, **bilwi* ‘cloud’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 198, **biLuʔé* (= **biʔuʔé* ?) ‘cloud’. The Uralic forms cited by Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky are too divergent phonologically and should not be included here; the same objection applies to the Turkic forms they cite, which Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:382) derive from Proto-Altai **būlu* [~ -a, -o] ‘cloud’.

152. Proto-Nostratic root **p’ut’-* (~ **p’ot’-*):

(vb.) **p’ut’-* ‘to cut, tear, break, or pull off or apart’;

(n.) **p’ut’-a* ‘cut-off, pulled-off, torn-off, or broken-off piece or part’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **bat’-* ‘to cut, tear, break, or pull off or apart’ (with numerous extensions): Arabic *baṭara* ‘to split, to cleave, to cut open (tumors)’. D. Cohen 1970— :61. Arabic *baṭṭa* ‘to cut open’. D. Cohen 1970— :59—60. Geez / Ethiopic *boṭala* [ጠለ] ‘to cut’; Amharic *bäṭṭälä* ‘to be torn, to be uprooted’. D. Cohen 1970— :60; Leslau 1987:113. Arabic *baṭaša* ‘to attack with violence, to bear down on, to fall upon someone; to knock out; to hit, to strike; to land with a thud (on)’, Aramaic *bəṭaš* ‘to stamp’, Syriac *buṭšəṭā* ‘striking with the heels’, Geez / Ethiopic *baṭasa* [ጠለ] ‘to break, to detach, to cut off’, Tigrinya *bäṭṭäsä* ‘to break by pulling’, Amharic *bäṭṭäsä* ‘to break a string or the like, to detach (a button), to snip (thread)’, *bəṭṭäš* ‘cut-off piece, strip of paper, clipping, scrap (of cloth)’, Harari *bäṭäsa* ‘to break by pulling’, Gafat *biṭṭäsä* ‘to break by pulling’, Argobba *beṭṭäsa* ‘to break by pulling’, Gurage (Zway) *bäṭäsä* ‘to break off by pulling, to tear a string by pulling’. D. Cohen

1970— :61; Leslau 1963:48, 1979:166, and 1987:114. Amharic *bättäkä* ‘to cut apart’, *boččäkä* ‘to tear’, *bočaččäkä* ‘to tear to shreds’. D. Cohen 1970— :60—61. Geez / Ethiopic *baṭṭa* [ቤጥሐ] ‘to make an incision, to make gashes, to scarify, to scratch open, to cut with a scalpel’, *bəṭṭat* [ቤጥሐት] ‘incision, a cutting up’; Amharic *bättä* ‘to make an incision, to scarify’. D. Cohen 1970— :59; Leslau 1987:113.

- B. Dravidian: Kolami *put-* (*putt-*) ‘to cut in pieces, to pluck (flower), to break (rope)’; Naikri *put-* ‘to cut, to pluck’; Naiki (of Chanda) *put-* ‘to be cut, to break (intr.)’, *putuk-* ‘to cut to pieces’; Kurux *pud^ugnā* (*pudgas*) ‘to pluck out (hair, etc.), to strip (fowl) by plucking’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:378, no. 4277.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **p’ut-wŋ-* ‘to pluck (poultry)’: Georgian *p’ut’(n)-* ‘to pluck (poultry)’; Mingrelian *p’ut’on-* ‘to pluck (poultry)’. Klimov 1964: 154 **puṭwŋ-* and 1998:152 **puṭ-wŋ-* ‘to pluck (poultry)’; Fähnrich 2007: 335 **puṭ-*.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *putinmu-* ‘to divide in two’, *putil* ‘piece (of fish); half; middle’. Nikolaeva 2006:372.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.).

22.6. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *d

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
d-	d-	t-	d-	d ^h -	t-	d-	t-
-d-	-d-	-t(t)-	-d-	-d ^h -	-t-	-d-	-ð-

153. Proto-Nostratic relational marker **da-* (~ **də-*) ‘along with, together with, in addition to’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **da*, **di* ‘along with, together with, in addition to’: Berber: Kabyle *d*, *yid*, *id-* ‘with, together with, and’; Tamazight (Ayt Ndhir) *ḍ* ‘with, and’; Tuareg *d*, *əd* ‘and, with together with’; Nefusa *əd*, *did* ‘and, with’; Ghadames *əd*, *did* ‘and, with’; Zenaga *əd*, *id*, *d* ‘and with’; Mzab *əd*, *did* ‘and, with’.. Central Cushitic: Bilin comitative case suffix *-dī* ‘together with’; Quara *-dī* ‘together with’. Reinisch 1887:93; Appleyard 2006:23—24. Highland East Cushitic: Burji *-ddi* locative suffix (with absolute case) in, for example, *miná-ddi* ‘in the house’. Sasse 1982:54. Proto-Chadic **də-* ‘with, and’ > Hausa *dà* ‘with; and; by, by means of; regarding, with respect to, in relation to; at, in during; than’; Kulere *tu*; Bade *də*; Tera *ndə*; Gidar *di*; Mokulu *ti*; Kanakuru *də*. Newman 1977:34. Note: Diakonoff (1988:61) reconstructs comitative-dative case endings *-*dV*, *-*Vd* for Proto-Afrasian on the basis of evidence from Cushitic (Agaw) and Berber-Libyan.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **da* ‘and’: Georgian *da* ‘and’; Mingrelian *do*, *ndo* ‘and’; Laz *do* ‘and’. Klimov 1964:68—69 **da* and 1998:35—36 **da* ‘and’; Schmidt 1962:103; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:97—98 **da*; Fähnrich 2007:120—121 **da*.
- C. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite, Neo-Elamite *da* (also *-da* in *-be-da*, *e-da*, *ku-da*, etc.) ‘also, too, as well, likewise; so, therefore, hence, consequently, accordingly; thereby, thereupon’. Note also: Middle Elamite, Neo-Elamite *tak* ‘also’ (< *da-* ‘also’ + *a-ak* ‘and’).
- D. Proto-Indo-European *-*d^he*, *-*d^hi* suffixed particle: Sanskrit *sa-há* (Vedic *sa-dha*) ‘with’, *i-há* ‘here’ (Prakrit *i-dha*), *kú-ha* ‘where?’, *á-dhi* ‘above, over, from, in’; Avestan *ida* ‘here’, *kudā* ‘where?’; Greek locative particle *-θι*, in, for example, *οἴκο-θι* ‘at home’, *πό-θι* ‘where?’; Old Church Slavic *кѣ-де* ‘where?’, *сѣ-де* ‘here’. Burrow 1973:281; Brugmann 1904:454—455 *-*dhe* and *-*dhi*; Fortson 2010:119 *-*dhi* and *-*dhe*.
- E. Proto-Altaic dative-locative particle **da*: Tungus: Manchu dative-locative suffix *-de*. The locative suffix is *-du* in other Tungus languages. Common Mongolian dative-locative suffix *-*da* > Mongolian *-da*; Dagur *-da*; Khalkha *-dv*; Buriat *-da*; Kalmyk *-dv*; Moghol *-du*; Ordos *-du*; Monguor *-du*. Poppe 1955:195—199. Regarding the *-du* variant, Greenberg

(2000:156) notes: “It seems probable that the vowel here has been influenced by the dative-allative *ru...*” Common Turkic (except Yakut) locative suffix *-da/-dä* > Old Turkic locative-ablative suffix *-da*; Chagatay locative suffix *-DA*; Turkish locative suffix *-DA*; Azerbaijani locative suffix *-da*; Turkmenian locative suffix *-da*; Tatar locative suffix *-DA*; Bashkir locative suffix *-DA*; Kazakh locative suffix *-DA*; Noghay locative suffix *-DA*; Kirghiz locative suffix *-DA*; Uzbek locative suffix *-Dâ*; Uighur locative suffix *-DA*. Turkish *da, de* (also *ta, te*) ‘and, also, but’. Menges 1968b:110.

- F. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan instrumental case marker **-tæ* and the suffix **-tæ* in the comitative 1 case marker **kæ- -tæ* ‘together with’ (both class 1). Fortescue 2005:426. Perhaps also Proto-Chukotian **to* ‘and’ > Koryak *to* ‘and’; Alyutor *tu* (Palana *to*) ‘and’. Fortescue 2005:288.

Sumerian *da* ‘with, together with, along with, besides’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:212—214, no. 59, **da* locative particle, I:214—215, no. 60, **daHa* intensifying and conjoining particle; Bomhard 1996a:135—136; Greenberg 2000:155—157; Dogolopolsky 2008, no. 508, **d[E]H₁a* ‘with, together with’ and no. 579, **d[oy]a* (> **da*) ‘place’.

154. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **da-* ‘mother, sister’; (reduplicated) (n.) **da-da-* ‘mother, sister’ (nursery words):

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dad(a)-* ‘mother’: West Chadic **dad-* ‘mother, sister’ > Ngizim *dâadâ* term of reference or address used with one’s mother, term of reference or address used with an older sister or person with whom one is close and is of approximately the age of an older sister. Central Chadic **dad-* ‘mother’ > Gisiga *dada* ‘mother’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:141, no. 612, **dad-* ‘mother’.
- B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *dadde* ‘a sow’; Parji *daḍḍa* ‘female of animals and birds’; Gondi *daḍḍa* ‘female of animals’; Malto *ḍadi* ‘the female of quadrupeds’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:264, no. 3044.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **ded(a)-* ‘mother’: Old Georgian *deday* ‘mother’; Mingrelian *dida* ‘mother’; Laz *dida* ‘old woman, grandmother’; Svan *dede* ‘mother, mommy’, *dädw* ‘female’ (Svan *di* and *dija* ‘mother, mommy’ are loans from Mingrelian). Klimov 1964:71—72 **deda-* (Klimov compares Indo-European **dhē-dh[ē]* stem used to designate various relatives, cf. Gk. τῆθῆ ‘grandmother’, τῆθίς ‘aunt’) and 1998:38 **deda-* ‘mother’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:105—106 **ded-*; Fähnrich 1994:220 and 2007:128—129 **ded-*. Proto-Kartvelian **da-* ‘sister’: Georgian *da* ‘sister’; Mingrelian *da* ‘sister’; Laz *da* ‘sister’; Svan *dä-j* ‘sister’. Klimov 1964:69 **da-* and 1998:36 **da-* ‘sister’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:97 **da-*; Schmidt 1962:103; Fähnrich 2007:119—120 **da-*. Proto-Kartvelian **da-*

did- ‘elder sister’: Georgian *mdad-*, *mdade-* ‘virgin, maiden’; Laz *dad-* ‘aunt, stepmother’. Klimov 1964:69—70 **da-did-* and 1998:36 **da-did-* ‘elder sister’.

Buck 1949:2.36 mother.

155. Proto-Nostratic root **dab-* (~ **dəb-*):

(vb.) **dab-* ‘to make fast, to join together, to fit together, to fasten (together)’;

(n.) **dab-a* ‘joining, fitting, fastening’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dab-* ‘to stick together, to join together’: Proto-Semitic **dab-ak-* ‘to stick together, to join together, to adhere’ > Hebrew *dāḇaḵ* [דָּבַח] ‘to adhere, to cling to’, *dəḇeḵ* [דִּבְּחָ] ‘joining, soldering’; Aramaic *dəḇaḵ* ‘to stick together, to join’; Arabic *dabiḵa* ‘to stick, to adhere’. Klein 1987:113; Murtonen 1989:143; D. Cohen 1970— :211—212. Proto-Semitic **dab-al-* ‘to stick together, to unite’ > Arabic *dabala* ‘to bring together, to gather, to unite’; Geez / Ethiopic *dabala* [ደበለ] ‘to bring together, to gather, to make braids, to plait’; Harari *dābāla* ‘to add, to put together, to include’; Tigre *dābbāla* ‘to stick together’; Amharic *dābbālā* ‘to double, to unite, to add’; Gurage *dābālā* ‘to add, to join, to unite’. D. Cohen 1970— :209—210; Leslau 1963:52—53, 1979:195—196, and 1987:120. Cushitic: Proto-Sam **dab-* ‘to plait’ > Rendille *dab-i* ‘to plait’; Boni *tob/toba* ‘to plait’. Heine 1978:55. Proto-Southern Cushitic **daba* ‘hand’ > Iraqw *dawa* ‘hand, arm’; Burunge *daba* ‘hand, arm’; Alagwa *daba* ‘hand, arm’; Dahalo *dāḇa* ‘hand’, *dāwatte* (< **dāḇa-watte*) ‘five’. Ehret 1980:162.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **dhabh-* ‘to fit together’: Armenian *darbin* (< **dhabh^hrino-*) ‘smith’; Latin *faber* ‘skillful’; Gothic *ga-daban* ‘to be fitting, to happen’; Old Icelandic *dafna* ‘to thrive’; Old English *gedæftan*, *dæftan* ‘to make smooth; to put in order, to arrange’, *gedæfte* ‘gentle, meek’, *gedafnian* ‘to be fitting or becoming’, *gedafen* ‘(adj.) suitable, fitting; (n.) due, right, what is fitting’, *gedēfe* ‘fitting, seemly; gentle, meek’; Dutch *deftig* ‘proper, noble’; Lithuanian *dabinti* ‘to adorn, to decorate’; Old Church Slavic *dobrŭ* ‘good’, *doba* ‘opportunity’. Pokorny 1959:233—234 **dhabh-* ‘to fix, to suit’; Walde 1927—1932.I:824—825 **dhabh-*; Mann 1984—1987:175 **dhabh-* ‘fitting; fit, able; joint’; Watkins 1985:12—13 **dhabh-* and 2000:17 **dhabh-* ‘to fit together’; Mallory—Adams 1997:139 **dhabhros* ‘craftsman’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:208; De Vaan 2008:197; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:436—437; Orël 2003:66 Proto-Germanic **dābanan*, 66 **dābnōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:86 Proto-Germanic **daban-* ‘to fit’; Feist 1939:176 **dhabh-*; Lehmann 1986:138—139 **dhabh-* ‘fitting, applicable’; De Vries 1977:71; Onions 1966:241 and 252; Klein 1971:188 and 198 **dhabh-* ‘to become, to be suitable’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:79; Derksen 2015:110 **dhabh-*.

Sumerian *dab* ‘to grasp, to seize, to take; to pack; to bind, to fasten (together); to hold’, *dab₅* ‘to catch, to seize, to capture; to take; to grasp; to pack; to bind; to hold tightly’. Semantic development as in Gothic *fahan* ‘to capture, to seize’, Old Icelandic *fá* ‘to grasp with the hands, to get hold of’, Old English *fēgan* ‘to join, to unite’, all from the same stem found, for example, in Greek πῆγνυμι ‘to make fast, to join, to fasten together’ (cf. Lehmann 1986:102).

Buck 1949:9.42 artisan, craftsman; 9.943 fitting, suitable; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Brunner 1969:75, no. 407; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:262—264, no. 71.

156. Proto-Nostratic root **dag-* (~ **dag-*):

(vb.) *dag-* ‘to put, to place, to put in place; to be put in place, to be stable, to be firmly established’;

(n.) **dag-a* ‘place’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **d[a]g-* ‘(vb.) to put, to place, to put in place; to be put in place, to be stable, to be firmly established; (n.) place’: Semitic: Arabic *dağana* ‘to remain, to stay, to abide; to get used to, to become accustomed to, to become habituated; to become tame, domesticated’. Tigre *dägge* ‘village, somewhat large settlement’. Egyptian *dg* ‘to plant, to stick; to build, to construct, to install’. Coptic *tōōēe* [Ἦῶῆῆ] ‘to join, to attach, to plant; to be fixed, joined’. Hannig 1995:989; Erman—Grapow 1921:217 and 1926—1963.5:499; Černý 1976:207; Vycichl 1983:227. Berber: Ahaggar *ədəh* (pl. *idəggən*) ‘place’; Zenaga *əžgən* ‘to put’. East Cushitic: Proto-Boni **deg-* ‘to settle down’.
- B. (?) Proto-Dravidian **tānk-* ~ **takk-* ‘to be put in place, to be stable, to be firmly established; to stay, to abide, to remain’: Tamil *taṅku* (*taṅki-*) ‘(vb.) to stay, to abide, to remain, to be stable, to be firmly established, to be retained in the mind, to exist, to halt, to wait, to delay; to be obstructed, reserved, or kept back; (n.) staying, stopping’, *taṅkal* ‘stopping, halting, resting, delay, halting, place, persistence, stability’, *takku* (*takki-*) ‘to come, to stay; to become permanent, lasting (as a possession or acquisition); to be retained’, *takkam* ‘stability’; Malayalam *taṅṅuka* ‘to stop, to come into possession, to be there, to be arrested in the midst of progress’, *taṅṅal* ‘rest, shelter’, *taṅṅika* ‘to delay, to stop’, *takkuka* ‘to be obtained’, *taṅcuka* ‘to stop, to remain’, *taṅcam* ‘being at rest, posture’; Kota *taṅg-* (*taṅgy-*) ‘to spend time in a place away from home’; Toda *tok-* (*toky-*) ‘to last long (money, situation), (child) to live long’; Kannada *taṅgu* ‘(vb.) to stop, to stay, to tarry, to sojourn, to lodge; (n.) stoppage, halt, a day’s journey’, *dakka* ‘(vb.) to accrue to, to be obtained, to fall to one’s share, to come into and remain in one’s possession, to remain, to be preserved; (n.) acquirement, attainment, possession, property’; Tuḷu *dakkati* ‘possession, control, appropriation, digest’, *dakkāvōṇuni* ‘to retain or digest anything’.

eaten, to misappropriate successfully, to take charge', *daksāvuni* 'to bring into another's possession', *daksuni* 'to be retained or digested (as food, medicine, etc.), to be misappropriated successfully'; Telugu *takku* 'to remain, to be left, to be excepted or omitted', *takkina* 'remaining, other', *dakku*, *ḍakku* 'to remain, to be left as a balance or residue, to be saved or spared'; Kolami *tak-* (*takt-*) 'to live (in a place), to remain, to stay (for example, silent)'; Naikri *tak-* 'to stay, to remain'; Gondi *taggānā* 'to wear well (of clothes), to remain in one's service (of servants)', *tagg-* 'to stay, to last'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:260—261, no. 3014.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **deg/*dg-* 'to stand': Georgian *deg-/dg-* 'to stand', *dg-om-a* 'to put, to place, to set; to stand', *a-dg-il* 'place'; Mingrelian *dg-* 'to stand'; Laz *dg-* 'to stand'. Klimov 1964:70; **dg-* and 1998:38 **deg-* : **dg-* 'to stand' (Klimov includes Svan *g-* 'to stand'); Schmidt 1962:104—105; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:104—105 **deg/*dg-*; Fähnrich 1994: 231 and 2007:127—128 **deg/*dg-*. Proto-Kartvelian **dgam-/*dgm-* 'to put, to place, to set; to stand': Georgian *dgam-/dgm-* 'to put, to place, to set'; Mingrelian *dgam-*, *dgam-* 'to put, to place, to set'; Laz *dgin-* 'to put, to place, to set'. Klimov 1964:71 **dgam-/*dgm-* and 1998:37 **dg-am-* : **dg-m-* 'to put, to stand' (Klimov includes Svan *gem-* : *gm-* 'to put'); Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:104—105 **deg-/*dg-*. Proto-Kartvelian **dg-en-* 'to put, to place, to set': Georgian *dgen-/dgin-* 'to put, to place, to set'; Mingrelian *dgin-* 'to put, to place, to set'; Laz *dgin-* 'to put, to place, to set'. Klimov 1964:71 **dg-in-* and 1998:37 **dg-en-* : **dg-in-* 'to put'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:104—105 **deg-/*dg-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **d^heg^h-om-*, **d^hg^h-om-* 'earth, land, ground; human being': Sanskrit (**d^hg^yh-om-* > **d^zham-* > **d^zham-* > **t^sam-* >) *kṣam-* 'earth, ground'; Greek *χθών* (< **d^hg^h-ōm-* through metathesis of the initial consonant group) 'earth, ground; a particular land or country', *χαμαί* 'on the ground'; Albanian *dhe* 'earth, land'; Latin *humus* 'earth, ground, soil', *homō* 'human being, man'; Gothic *guma* 'man'; Old Icelandic *gumi* 'man' (poetic), *brúð-gumi* 'bridegroom'; Swedish *brudgum* 'bridegroom'; Old English *guma* 'man, hero', *brȳd-guma* 'bridegroom'; Old Frisian *goma* 'man', *breid-goma* 'bridegroom'; Old Saxon *gumo*, *gomo* 'human being, man', *brūdi-gomo* 'bridegroom', Dutch *bruidegom* 'bridegroom'; Old High German *gomo* 'human being, man', *gomman*, *gom(m)en*, *gamman*, *goum(m)an* 'man', *brūti-gomo* 'bridegroom' (New High German *Bräutigam*); Old Irish *dú* 'place', *duine* 'person'; Old Church Slavic *zemlja* 'earth'; Old Lithuanian *žmuō* 'human being, person'; Tocharian A *tkam*, B *kem* 'earth, ground'; Hittite *te-(e-)kán* 'earth, ground', *da-ga-(a-)an* 'to the ground'; Luwian *ti-ya-am-mi-iš* 'earth'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *takami-* 'earth, land'. The unextended stem **d^hog^h-* may be preserved in Hittite (dat.-loc.) *ta-ki-ya* as in *ta-ki-ya ... ta-ki-ya* 'in this place ... in that place', literally, 'this one here ... that one there' (not, then, connected with *da-* 'two' as suggested by Kronasser 1966.I:210). Pokorny 1959:414—416

gh̥dem-*, **gh̥dom-* ‘earth, ground’; Walde 1927—1932.I:662—664 **gh̥dem-*, **gh̥dom-*; Mann 1984—1987:414 **ghem-* (gh̥am-*, **gh̥m-*) ‘ground, earth; on the ground, on (to, in) the ground, down’; Watkins 1984:14 **dhgh̥m-* ‘earth’, *(*dh*)*gh̥m-on-* ‘earthling’ and 2000:20 **dhghem-* ‘earth’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:475 **d^heġ^hom-*, II:877, and 1995.I:396, I:720 **d^h(e)ġ^hom-* ‘earth; human, person’; Burrow 1973:82 **dheġhom-*, **dhġhom-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:174 **dhéġhōm* ‘earth’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:288—289; Sturtevant 1951:59, §81, and 62, §84, Indo-Hittite **d^heg-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1071 and II:1098—1099 **dheġhōm-*; Boisacq 1950:1049—1050 and 1060 **gdh̥m-*; Hofmann 1966:412 Greek *γαμαί* < **gh_emai*, **gdh̥m-*, **gdh̥m-*, **gdhm-* and 419 **dheghóm-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1245 **gh^om-* and II:1258—1259 **dheghom-*, *(*dh*)*ghom-*; Beekes 2010.II:1612—1613 **d^hġhem-* and II:1632—1633 **d^hġhem-* : **d^heġ^h-m-*, **d^hġ^hom-*; De Vaan 2008:287—288 and 292; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:654—655 and I:664—665 **gh̥dem-*, **ghem-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:297—298 and 302; Smoczyński 2007.1:790—791; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1320; Kroonen 2013:195 Proto-Germanic **guman-* ‘man’ (< **d^hġ^hm-on-*); Orël 1998:80—81 and 2003:146 Proto-Germanic **zumōn*; Lehmann 1986:163 **dh(e)ġh-em-*; Feist 1939:225—226 **ghdhem-* or **dh(e)ġhom-*; De Vries 1977:194; Onions 1966:117; Klein 1971:94—95 and 324; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:97—98 **gh(ə)mon*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:103—104; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:506—507 **dheġhōm-*, **dhġhōm-*; Adams 1999:192 **d^h(e)ġ^hom-* ‘earth, ground’; Kloekhorst 2008b:858—862 **d^heġ^h-m-*; Derksen 2008:542 **d^hġ^h-em-* and 2015:521—522 **d^hġ^h-m-on-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:86—99 **d^heġ^h-om-*, **d^hġ^h-ém-*, **d^hġ^h-m-’-*, **ġ^h-m̥m-*. Semantic development from ‘place, site’ > ‘earth, land, ground’ as in Hungarian *táj*, cited below. According to Klimov (1991:332), the following Kartvelian forms represent early borrowings from Indo-European: Proto-Kartvelian **diγwam* ~ **diγom* ‘black earth’ > Georgian (dial.) *dil(l)γvam* ‘black earth’, (toponym) *Diγom* a region inside Tbilisi, occupying the so-called “Diγomian Field”, Svan *diγwam* ‘black earth’. See also Fähnrich 2007:134 **diγwam-*.

- E. Uralic: Proto-Ugrian **taγz* (**takz*) ‘place, site’ > (?) Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *tāγj*, (Upper Demyanka) *tāχə*, (Obdorsk) *tāχα* ‘place, site’; (?) Hungarian *táj* ‘region, tract, country, land’. Rédei 1986—1988:892 **taγz* (**takz*).

Sumerian *dag* ‘residence, dwelling place’.

Buck 1949:1.21 earth, land; 7.11 dwell; 9.44 build; 12.11 place (sb.); 12.12 put (place, set, lay); 12.15 stand (vb., intr.); 12.16 remain, stay, wait. Bomhard 1996a:209—210, no. 608; Blažek 1992b:131—132, no. 5.

157. Proto-Nostratic root **dag-* (~ **dæg-*):(vb.) **dag-* ‘to glitter, to shine, to burn’;(n.) **dag-a* ‘day’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **dag-dag-* ‘early morning’ > Geez / Ethiopic *dagdaga* [ደገደገ] ‘to be early in the morning, to get up early in the morning’, *dagadag* [ደገደገ], *dagdag* [ደገደገ], *dagdäg* [ደገዳገ], *dagdig* [ደገዲገ] ‘early morning’; Amharic *dägäddägä* ‘to get up early in the morning, to hasten off’ (Geez loan). D. Cohen 1970— :218; Leslau 1987: 125.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *taka-tak-enäl*, *taka-takav-enäl* onomatopoeic expression of dazzling, glowing, glittering; Kota *dag dag in- (id-)* ‘(flame) to burn brightly’, *dagdagn* ‘with a good light’; Kannada *daggane* ‘with a blaze’; Tuḷu *dagadaga*, *dagabaga* ‘brightly’, *dagga*, *daggane* ‘(to blaze) suddenly’; Telugu *dagadaga* ‘glitter’, *dagadagam-anu* ‘to glitter, to shine’; Kurux *agnā* ‘to light, to set fire to (tr.)’, *dagrnā* ‘to catch fire, to be burned’; Malto *dagdagre* ‘to glitter, to shine’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:259, no. 2998.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **deg-* ‘day’: Georgian *dy-e* ‘day’, *dy-e-n-del-i* ‘today’; Mingrelian *dy-a* ‘day’; Laz *dy-a* ‘day’; Svan *la-dey* ‘day’, *an-dy-a-n-er-i* ‘today’. Schmidt 1962:105—106 **day-* or **dey-*; Klimov 1964:75—76 **dye-* and 1998:43—44 **dye-* ‘day’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:108 **dey-*; Fähnrich 2007:131—132 **dey-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **dhogh-o-* ‘day’: Proto-Germanic **daǵaz* ‘day’ > Gothic *dags* ‘day’; Old Icelandic *dagr* ‘day’; Swedish *dag* ‘day’; Norwegian *dag* ‘day’; Danish *dag* ‘day’; Old English *dæg* ‘day’; Old Frisian *dei* ‘day’; Old Saxon *dag* ‘day’; Old High German *tag*, *tac* ‘day’ (New High German *Tag*). Feist 1939:113—114 **dhegh-* or **dhegh^u-*; Lehmann 1986:86—87 **dhegh^w-* ‘to burn’; Kroonen 2013:86—87 Proto-Germanic **daga-* ‘day’ (< **dhogh-o-*); Orël 2003:66 Proto-Germanic **daǵaz*; Onions 1966:246 **dhegh-* ‘to burn’; Klein 1971:192 **dhegh^w-*, **dhog^w-* ‘to burn’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:71—72; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:766 **dhegh^u-*, **dhōgh^u-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:718 **dhegh^u-* ‘to burn’; De Vries 1962:71—72 **dhegh-* or **dhegh^u-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:97—98; Torp 1919:54. Puhvel (1987:315—318) has convincingly argued that the Proto-Indo-European word for ‘yesterday’, which he reconstructs as **dhǵhyes-* (> Sanskrit *hyás* ‘yesterday’; Greek *χθές* ‘yesterday’), belongs here as well (see also Beekes 2010.II:1632). Puhvel reconstructs Proto-Indo-European **dhōgho-* as the source of the Germanic words for ‘day’.

Sumerian *dadag* ‘clear, shining, bright, radiant, brilliant, luminous’, *dág* ‘shining, bright, clear’.

Buck 1949:14.41 day. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:221, no. 70, **diga* ‘bright, light’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:270—271, no. 82.

158. Proto-Nostratic root **dal-* (~ **dəl-*):

(vb.) **dal-* ‘to cut, to prick, to pierce, to gash, to notch, to gouge, to wound’;

(n.) **dal-a* ‘gash, notch, strike, split’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **dalaaf-* ‘to gash, to notch’ > Burunge *delaʕ-* ‘to gash, to notch’; K’wadza *dalaʔ-* ‘to shoot (with an arrow)’. Ehret 1980:345.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tallu* (*talli-*) ‘to beat, to crush’; Malayalam *tallu* ‘a blow, stroke, beating’, *talluka* ‘to strike, to beat’; Telugu *talgu* ‘to strike’; Gondi *talg-* ‘to strike, to hit the mark’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:270, no. 3105.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **dʰel-bʰ-/dʰol-bʰ-/dʰl̥-bʰ-* ‘to dig, to hollow out’: Old English *delfan* ‘to dig, to burrow’, *gedelf* ‘digging, trench’; Old Frisian *delva* ‘to dig’; Old Saxon (*bi*)*delban* ‘to dig’; Dutch *delven* ‘to dig’; Middle High German (*bi*)*telben* ‘to dig’; Slovenian *dléto* (< **delbt-*) ‘chisel’; Russian *dolbatʹ* [долбать], *dolbitʹ* [долбить] ‘to chisel, to hollow out’. Rix 1998a:124 **dʰelbʰ-* ‘to dig, to hollow out’; Pokorny 1959:246 **dʰelbʰ-* ‘to dig’; Walde 1927—1932.I:866—867 **dʰelbʰ-*; Mann 1984—1987:181 **dʰelbʰō* ‘to dig, to gouge’, 192 **dʰl̥bʰ-* ‘hollow’, 196 **dʰolbʰ-* ‘to dig’; Watkins 1985:13 **dʰelbʰ-* and 2000:18 **dʰelbʰ-* ‘to dig, to excavate’; Mallory—Adams 1997:159 **dʰelbʰ-* ‘to dig’; Orël 2003:70 Proto-Germanic **delbanan*, 70 **delbaz* ~ **delban*; Kroonen 2013:92 Proto-Germanic **delban-* ‘to dig, to delve’; Onions 1966:254; Klein 1971:200. Proto-Indo-European **dʰel-gh-/dʰol-gh-/dʰl̥-gh-* ‘to gash, to wound’: Old Icelandic *dolg* ‘enmity’; Old English *dolg* ‘wound, scar’; Old Frisian *dolg* ‘wound’; Low German *daljen*, *dalgen* ‘to slay’; Middle Dutch *dolk* ‘wound’; Old High German *tolc*, *tolg*, *dolg* ‘wound’. Walde 1927—1932.I:866 **dʰelgh-*; Pokorny 1959:247 **dʰelgh-*, **dʰelg-* (?) ‘to hit’; Mann 1984—1987:192 **dʰl̥ghō* (? **dʰl̥gūh-*) ‘to stab, to wound, to burn, to smart’; Orël 2003:67 Proto-Germanic **dalzōjanan*, 78 **dulzan*; De Vries 1977:78—79. Proto-Indo-European **dʰel-k-/dʰol-k-/dʰl̥-k-* ‘(vb.) to prick, to pierce; (n.) sharp object’: Old Icelandic *dálkr* ‘pin, dagger’; Old English *dalc* ‘brooch, bracelet’; New High German *Dolch* ‘dagger’; Old Irish *delg* ‘thorn, spike, pin, brooch’; Lithuanian *dal̃gis* ‘scythe’, *dilgùs* ‘spiky, stinging’, *dilgė* ‘nettle’. But not Latin *falx* ‘sickle, scythe’. Pokorny 1959:247 **dʰelg-* ‘to stab; needle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:865—866 **dʰelg-*; Mann 1984—1987:182 **dʰelg-*, **dʰolg-*, **dʰl̥g-* ‘spiky; spike, pin, brooch’, 196 **dʰolgos*, *-jos*, *-jə* ‘brooch, spit, dagger’; Mallory—Adams 1997:424 **dʰelg-* ‘to sting, to pierce’ and 428 (?) **dʰelg-* ‘pin’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:137 **dʰelg-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:149; De Vries 1977:72; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:74—75; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:81; Smoczyński 2007.1:91.

- D. Proto-Altaic **dēlp^{hi}-* ‘to split, to burst’: Proto-Tungus **delpe-* ‘to split’ > Evenki *delpe-rge-*, *delpe-m-* ‘to split’; Lamut / Even *depčerge-* ‘to split’; Solon *delpe-* ‘to split’. Proto-Mongolian **delbe-* ‘to split or crack open, to burst, to break’ > Mongolian *delbere-* ‘to burst or crack asunder, to go to pieces, to split, to break; to explode’, *delberkei* ‘split, cracked; crack, cleft, crevice, fissure, hole’; Khalkha *delbere-* ‘to burst, to break through’; Buriat *delber-*, *delbel-* ‘to burst, to break through’; Kalmyk *delwł-* ‘to burst, to break through’; Ordos *delbel-* ‘to burst, to break through’. Poppe 1960:44; Street 1974:11 **delpe* ‘asunder, to pieces’ in **delpe-le-* ‘to split, to burst’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:471 **dēlpⁱ-* ‘to burst, to break’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also include Proto-Turkic **del-* ‘to make holes’ and Proto-Japanese **timpə-* ‘to become worn down, out’.
- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **tala-* ‘to beat’: Chukchi *tala-* ‘to beat (frozen meat), to pulverize (bones)’, *tala-jwə-* ‘to hit, to beat’; Kerek *ta(a)la-* ‘to pound, to beat’; Koryak *tala-* ‘to hit, to pound (with a hammer)’, *talanaŋ* ‘hammer’; Alyutor *tala-* ‘to beat, to strike’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *tala-s* ‘to beat, to strike, to crush, to forge (metal)’, *k-tala-ʔan* ‘blacksmith’, (Sedanka) *tala-* ‘to beat’, (Western) *ilez-* ‘to pulverize’, *talaan* ‘forged, shoed (horse)’, *talal(k)nan* ‘hammer’. Fortescue 2005:276.

Sumerian *dāla* ‘thorn, needle’.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 8.22 dig; 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:268—269, no. 79; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 527, **dæLbV* ‘to gouge, to dig, to cut through’.

159. Proto-Nostratic root **dal-* (~ **dəl-*):
- (vb.) **dal-* ‘to stir up, to disturb, to roil (water), to agitate; to be disturbed, confused, agitated, troubled’;
 - (n.) **dal-a* ‘disturbance, agitation’
- Note also:
- (vb.) **dul-* ‘to disturb, to perplex, to bewilder, to confuse, to ruffle, to upset, to baffle, to stir up trouble, to agitate; to be disturbed, perplexed, bewildered, confused, ruffled, upset, baffled, troubled, agitated’ (> ‘to drive someone crazy, mad, insane; to be crazy, mad, insane; to be dumb, stupid’);
 - (n.) **dul-a* ‘confusion, disturbance, trouble, agitation, perplexity’ (> ‘madness, craziness, insanity; stupidity’)
- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **dal-ax-* ‘to stir up, to disturb, to roil (water), to agitate’ > Akkadian *dalāhu* ‘to stir up, to roil (water), to blur (eyes); to disturb; to become muddied, roiled, blurred; to be or become troubled, confused, embarrassed’, *dilihtu* ‘disturbed condition, confusion, distress’, *dalhu* ‘disturbed, blurred, muddy, cloudy, confused’; Hebrew *dālah* [דָּלַח] ‘to trouble, to make turbid’; Syriac *dəlah* ‘to trouble, to disturb’; Harari

däläḥa ‘to sin, to err, to go astray, to miss the way’; Gurage (Masqan, Gogot) *dälla*, (Wolane, Zway) *däla* ‘to make a mistake, to be mistaken, to err, to lose the way, to miss the way’. D. Cohen 1970— :264; Murtonen 1989:150; Klein 1987:125; Leslau 1963:56 and 1979:205.

- B. Dravidian: Kannada *tallaṇa*, *tallaṇa* ‘agitation, amazement, alarm, fear, grief’, *tallaṇisu* ‘to be or become agitated from fear or amazement, to be troubled, alarmed, anxious’, *tallaṇka* ‘embarrassment, fear, etc.’; Tuḷu *tallaṇa* ‘wavering, vexed’; Telugu *tallaḍamu* ‘agitation, commotion, anxiety, turmoil’, *tallaḍincu*, *tallaḍillu*, *tallaḍakuḍucu*, *tallaḍa-paḍu* ‘to be agitated or in a state of turmoil, commotion or anxiety’, *tallaḍapāṭu* ‘agitation, turmoil, commotion’, *tallaḍa-peṭṭu* ‘to throw into a state of turmoil, agitation, or anxiety’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:70, no. 3104.
- C. Proto-Eskimo **tala(t)-* (‘to be confused, disturbed, disoriented’ >) ‘to be drunk, tipsy; to act crazy’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *tala-*, *talatə-* ‘to be drunk, to act crazy’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *talat-* ‘to be asphyxiated (by gas vapors or when eating something intoxicating)’; Northwest Greenlandic *talakkat-* ‘to be careless, untidy’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:327.

Buck 1949:16.33 anxiety; 17.23 insane, mad, crazy. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I: 216—217, no. 62, **dalq/u/* ‘wave’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 526, **dalqa|U* ‘wave’.

160. Proto-Nostratic root **dalʷ-* (~ **dəʷ-*):

(vb.) **dalʷ-* ‘to oppress, to harass, to weaken, to tire’;

(n.) **dalʷ-a* ‘tiredness, weakness, exhaustion, weariness’; (adj.) ‘oppressed, tired, weary, weak, exhausted’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dal-* ‘to oppress, to harass, to weaken, to tire’: Proto-Semitic **dal-al-* ‘to oppress, to weaken’, **dall-* ‘weak, small, inferior’ > Akkadian *dallu* ‘small, inferior’, *dullulu* ‘to oppress’, *dullulu* ‘wronged, oppressed’; Hebrew *dal* [דַּל] ‘low, weak, poor, thin’, **dālal* [דַּלַּל] ‘to be or become small’; Phoenician *dl* ‘poor’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *dālal* ‘to be poor’; Ugaritic *dl* ‘poor’; Soqotri *delel* ‘to humiliate’. D. Cohen 1970— :265—266; Klein 1987:125—126; Murtonen 1989:149; Tombaek 1978:72. Proto-Semitic **dal-ap-* ‘to be exhausted, weary, sleepless’ > Akkadian *dalāpu* ‘to be or stay awake, to be sleepless, to work ceaselessly, to continue (work) into the night, to drag on, to linger on; to keep someone awake, to harass’, *dalpu* ‘awake, alert; weary-eyed from watching; harassed’, *dilip̄tu* ‘sleeplessness, trouble’, *dullupu* ‘to keep (someone) awake, to harass’, *dulpu* ‘sleeplessness (as a disease)’; Ugaritic *dlp* ‘to be exhausted’. D. Cohen 1970— :267—268. Lowland East Cushitic **dal-* ‘to be tired’ > Somali *daal-* ‘to be tired’. Omotic **dall-* ‘to become meager’ >

Kefa *dalli-* ‘to become meager’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:147, no. 637, **dal-* ‘to be weak, to be tired’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *taḷar* ‘to droop, to faint; to grow weary, enfeebled, infirm, or decrepit; to grow slack, to become relaxed (as a tie or grasp), to become flabby from age, to suffer, to lose one’s vitality’, *taḷar* ‘slackening’, *taḷarcci*, *taḷartti* ‘slackness, looseness, flexibility, weakness, infirmity, faintness, languor, depression, laziness, remissness’, *taḷarvu* ‘growing slack, relaxing, faintness, weakness, depression, sorrow’, *taḷarttu* (*taḷartti-*) ‘to loosen (tr.)’; *taḷataḷa* ‘to become loose (as a cloth worn upon the person)’; Malayalam *taḷaruka* ‘to relax, to slacken, to be allayed, to grow faint, to grow weary’, *taḷarcca* ‘slackness, weariness, faintness’, *taḷarkka*, *taḷarttuka* ‘to moderate, to abate’; Kota *taḷa-r-* (*taḷa-ry-*) ‘to take rest’; Koḍagu *taḷe-* (*taḷev-*, *taḷand-*) ‘to become weak’, *taḷat-* (*taḷati-*) ‘to make weak, to exhaust’; Tuḷu *taḷabaḷa*, *taḷamaḷa* ‘exhaustion, weariness’, *daḷabaḷa*, *daḷaṅkè* ‘loose’; Malto *taḷqro* ‘tender, delicate, weak’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:272, no. 3127.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.91 tired, weary.

161. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **daq^h-a* ‘male of certain animals: billy-goat, ram’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *takar* ‘sheep, ram, goat, male of certain animals (*yāli*, elephant, shark)’; Malayalam *takaran* ‘huge, powerful (as a man, bear, etc.)’; Kannaḍa *tagar*, *ṭagaru*, *ṭagara*, *ṭegarū* ‘ram’; Tuḷu *tagaru*, *ṭagarū* ‘ram’; Telugu *tagaramu*, *tagaru* ‘ram’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:259, no. 3000; Krishnamurti 2003:12 **tak-ar* ‘ram’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **daq-* ‘goat’ (> **dq-* in Georgian, Mingrelian, and Laz through syncope; final *-a* in these languages is suffixal): Mingrelian *tx-a* ‘goat’ (initial *d* > *t* through regressive voicing assimilation); Laz *tx-a* ‘goat’; Georgian *tx-a* ‘goat’; Svan *daqəl* ‘goat’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:102 **daq-*; Klimov 1964:77 **dqa-* and 1998:80 **tqa-* ‘she-goat’; Schmidt 1962:116; Fähnrich 2007:125 **daq-*.

Buck 1949:3.25 sheep; 3.26 ram; 3.36 goat. Bomhard 1996a:227—228, no. 643.

162. Proto-Nostratic root **dar-* (~ **dər-*):

(vb.) **dar-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn; to twist, wrap, or join together’;

(n.) **dar-a* ‘bend, turn, curve; that which bends, turns, winds, or twists: winding course or way’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, crooked; wrapped, twisted, turned, or joined together’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dar-* ‘to wrap, to wind, to twist; to walk’: Proto-Semitic **dar-ag-* ‘to go, to walk, to move, to proceed; to wrap, to wind, to twist’ >

Arabic *daraġa* (*durūġ*) ‘to go, to walk, to move, to proceed, to advance (slowly), to approach gradually, to follow a course; to go away, to leave, to depart; to be past, bygone, over; to have passed away, to be extinct; to circulate, to be in circulation, to have currency; to grow up (child)’, *daraġa* (*darġ*) ‘to roll up, to roll together; to wrap, to wind, to twist’; Hebrew *maḏrēyāh* [מַדְרֵיחַ] ‘step (cut in rocks), mountain path’; Akkadian *daraggu* ‘path’; Šheri / Jibbāli *dārōg* ‘to become used to walking for the first time’, *edūrg* ‘to wrap in white cloth, to enshroud’, *edrég* ‘to lead’, *dérgét* ‘step, coil of rope, layer’; Ḥarsūsi *dārōg* ‘(small animal) to begin to walk’, *dərgēt* ‘step; layer; coil of rope’; Tigre *dārgägä* ‘to make roll down, to roll away’. Ethiopian Semitic **dar-ag-* ‘to twist, wrap, or join together’ > Geez / Ethiopic *darga* [ደርገ] ‘to be joined together, to be united’, *darraga* [ደረገ] ‘to join, to unite’; Tigre *dārga* ‘to mix’; Tigrinya *dārägä* ‘to join, to unite’; Amharic *dārrägä* ‘to become one, to be united, to be combined’. Murtonen 1989:153; D. Cohen 1970— :308—309; Leslau 1987:141—142. Proto-Semitic **dar-ab-* ‘to bend, to fold’ > Tigre *dārräba* ‘to fold’; Tigrinya *dārräbä* ‘to fold’; Amharic *dārräbä* ‘to fold’; Gurage *dāräbä* ‘to double’. D. Cohen 1970— :307; Leslau 1979:218. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **dar-dar-* ‘to turn, to rotate’ > Mehri *adárdär* ‘to go around someone or something’. Berber: Tuareg *adəriḥ* ‘footprint on the ground’; Tawlemmet *adəriḥ* ‘footprint’; Tamazight *ddirəz* ‘to retreat, to go back, to go away’, *sddirəz* ‘to make retreat’, *addirəz* ‘withdrawal, retreat’; Ghadames *ədrəz* ‘to stomp the feet, to dance’, *dərrəz* ‘men’s dance’, *ləmdraz* ‘footprints on the ground’; Kabyle *adriz* ‘track, trail’. Central Cushitic: Awngi / Awiya *dərdər-* ‘to turn, to rotate’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:151, no. 656, **dar-* ‘to run’, 151, no. 657, **dar-* ‘road’, 174, no. 764, **dVr-dVr-* ‘to turn, to rotate’; Ehret 1995:134, no. 151, **dir-* ‘to step’.

- B. Dravidian: Telugu *tari* ‘churning’, *tarikāḍu* ‘one who churns’, *tar(u)cu*, *tracu* ‘to churn’; Parji *terip-* (*terit-*) ‘to churn’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269, no. 3095. Tamil *taru* (*taruv-*, *tarv-*) ‘to wear tightly (as a cloth), to fasten’; Malayalam *taruka* ‘to be tucked in before and behind’, *tarayuka* ‘to be fixed’, *tāru* ‘wearing clothes tucked in’; Kannaḍa *tari* ‘state of being joined, of being put in or down, fixed, or settled’, *taru* (*tatt-*) ‘to join, to approach, to engage in’; Tuḷu *tarapuni*, *tarpuni* ‘to rivet, to fasten firmly; to be riveted, fixed’; Telugu *tarupu* ‘to join together, to amass (wealth)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:273, no. 3142.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **der-/*dr-* ‘to bend’: **dr-ek’-* ‘to bend (tr.)’, **der-k’-* ‘to bend, to stoop (intr.)’: Georgian *drek’-/drik’-* ‘to bend’, *drk’u* ‘crooked, bent’; Mingrelian *dirak’-/dirik’-/dirk’-* ‘to bend’; Laz *drak’-/drik’-/druk’-* ‘to bend’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:107 **der-/*dr-*; Gamkrelidze 1967:711—712; Klimov 1964:74—75 **dreḱ-/*driḱ-/*derḱ-* and 1998:39—40 **der-* : **dr-* ‘to bend, to curve’, 1998:42 **dr-ek’-/*dr-iḱ-/*dr-ḱ-* ‘to bend, to curve, to stoop’; Schmidt 1962:105; Gamkrelidze—Mačavariani

1982:89—92; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:261—262 and 1995.I:227—228 **der-k*’-, **dr-ek*’-; Fähnrich 2007:130—131 **der*-/**dr*-.

- D. Proto-Indo-European **dher-gh*-/**dhor-gh*-/**dh_ṛ-gh*-, **dhr-egh*-/**dhr-ogh*-/**dh_ṛ-gh*- ‘to turn’: Greek τρέχω ‘to run, to move quickly’, τροχός ‘wheel’, τροχίος ‘round’, πρόχος ‘a running course’; Armenian *darnam* (< **darjnam*) ‘to turn, to return’, *durn* ‘a potter’s wheel’; Albanian *dredh* ‘to twist, to turn’; Old Irish *droch* ‘wheel’, *dreas* ‘turn, course’. Rix 1998a:127 **dherǵh*- ‘to turn’; Pokorny 1959:258 **dhereǵh*- ‘to turn’, 273 **dhregh*- ‘to run’; Walde 1927—1932.I:863 **dherǵh*-, **dhreǵh*-, I:874—875 **dhregh*-; Mann 1984—1987:203 **dhreǵhō* ‘to turn’, 206 **dhroǵhos*-, -ā ‘turn, going, wheel’, 212 **dh_ṛǵh*- ‘turn’; Watkins 1985:15 **dhregh*- ‘to run’; Mallory—Adams 1997:491 **dhregh*- ‘to run’; Orël 1998:73; Beekes 2010.II:1506—1507 **dh_ṛregh*-; Hofmann 1966:373 **dhregh*-; Boisacq 1950:983—984 **dhreǵh*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1135—1136 **dhregh*-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:927—929.

Sumerian *dāra* ‘a band’, *dāra*, *dāru* ‘belt, girdle’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.45 walk (vb.); 10.46 run; 12.22 join, unite. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:272—273, no. 84; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 570, **doRkæ* (~ **doRgæ* ?) ‘to bend, to turn, to wrap’.

163. Proto-Nostratic root **dar*- (~ **dər*-):

(vb.) **dar*- ‘to pound, to break; to harm, to injure, to torment’;

(n.) **dar-a* ‘harm, injury’; (adj.) ‘harmful, malevolent’ (> ‘bad’ in Kartvelian and, within Indo-European, in Celtic)

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dar*- ‘to pound, to break; to harm, to injure, to torment’: Proto-Semitic **dar-as*-, **dar-aš*- ‘to pound, to break; to harm, to injure, to torment’ > Arabic *darasa* ‘to wipe out, to blot out, to obliterate, to efface, to extinguish; to thresh (grain)’, *dāris* ‘effaced, obliterated; old, dilapidated, crumbling’, *dars* ‘effacement, obliteration, extinction’; Akkadian *darāsu*, *darāšu* ‘to trample upon, to throw over or back, to press hard, to treat harshly’, *durrusu* ‘to treat oppressively’; Gurage *dārräsä* ‘to break off the edge, to destroy’; Tigre *dārasäsa* ‘to crush’. D. Cohen 1970— :316 *drs/š*; Leslau 1979:221. Egyptian *dr* ‘to subdue (enemies); to expel, to drive out (people); to remove; to repress (a wrongdoer); to destroy (a place)’. Hannig 1995:983; Faulkner 1962:314—315; Gardiner 1957:602; Erman—Grapow 1921:215 and 1926—1963.5:473—474. Berber: Tuareg *adər* ‘to squeeze something strongly to force it from the bottom to the top, to be pressed’; Ghadames *adər* ‘to squeeze, to clench, to compress’; Mزاب *adər* ‘to press, to squeeze, to weigh on’; Tamazight *adər* ‘to press on, to lower, to cover, to be pressed, to bury, to drive or thrust

into the earth', *adar* 'burial, driving or thrusting in'; Kabyle *adər* 'to descend', *ssidər* 'to lower, to make descend'; Zenaga *adər*, *dər* 'to fall down, to descend, to attack', *cidər* 'to make fall down, to make descend'. Highland East Cushitic **dar-* 'to break, to tear off' > Burji *dar-* 'to break (tr.)', *dar-d-* 'to break (intr.)'; Gedeo / Darasa *dar-* 'to tear off'; Hadiyya *dareer-* 'to tear off'; Sidamo *dar-* 'to tear off'. Hudson 1989:31 and 149; Sasse 1982:53.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tarukku* (*tarukki-*) 'to pound, to break, to pierce, to injure, to torment'; Malayalam *tarakkuka* 'to remove the husk from rice'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269, no. 3099; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **tar-V-* 'to churn'.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **dar-* 'bad, unfit': Georgian *dar-e-j*, *m-dar-e* 'bad, unfit', *u-dar-es-i* 'worse'; Svan *x-o-dr-a* 'worse', *x-o-dr-ām-d* 'worse', *dar-āl-a* 'bad, unfit', *ma-dr-ēn-e* 'worse'. Klimov 1998:37 **dar-* : **dr-* 'to be unfit, bad'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:101 **dar-*; Fähnrich 2007:124 **dar-*. Semantic development as in Old Icelandic *váendr* 'bad, wicked' < *vá* '(vb.) to harm, to hurt, to blame; (n.) woe, calamity, danger' or Welsh *gwaeth* 'worse', *gwaethaf* 'worst'; Breton *gwaz* 'worse'; Cornish *gwêth* 'worse', which are derived from the same stem found in Old Icelandic. Note also Old Irish *droch-*, *drog-* 'bad' from Proto-Indo-European **dhr-ew-g^h-* 'to hurt, to harm', cited below.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **dhr-ew-g^h-* 'to hurt, to harm': Sanskrit *drúh-*, *dhrúk* 'injuring, hurting', *drúhyati* 'to hurt, to seek to harm, to be hostile to; to bear malice or hatred', *droha-h* 'injury, mischief, harm, perfidy, treachery, wrong, offense'; Oriya *dhokā* 'injury, doubt, fear'; Hindi *dho* 'malice, injury', *dhok(h)ā* 'deceit, fear'; Gujarati *droh* 'malice'; Sindhi *drohu* 'deceit'; Old Saxon *driogan* 'to deceive'; Old Frisian (*bi*)*driaga* 'to deceive'; Old High German *triugan* 'to deceive' (New High German *trügen*), *bitriogan* 'to deceive, to defraud' (New High German *betrügen*); New High German *Trug* 'deception, fraud; deceit'; Old Irish *droch-*, *drog-* 'bad'; Welsh *drwg* 'bad'; Breton *drouk*, *droug* 'bad'; Cornish *drog* 'bad'. Rix 1998a:137—138 **dhreugh-* 'to deceive'; Pokorny 1959:276 **dhreugh-* 'to deceive'; Walde 1927—1932.I:860 **dhereugh-*; Mann 1984—1987:207 **dhroughos* 'bad, evil, wizened; evil person or thing', 209 **dhrugh-* 'evil'; Morris Jones 1913:246; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:79—80 and 146; Kroonen 2013:102 Proto-Germanic **dreugan-* 'to mislead'; Orël 2003:75—76 Proto-Germanic **dreuzanan*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:794 **dhreugh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:743. Proto-Indo-European **dhr-u-b^h-* 'to break, to shatter': Greek θρῦπτω 'to break in pieces, to break small'. Rix 1998a:137 **dhreub^h-* 'to break (in pieces), to smash, to shatter'; Pokorny 1959:274—275 **dhreu-* 'to crumble'; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:443—444 **dhru-b^h-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:688—689 **dhrubh-iō-*; Hofmann 1966:118 **dhreubh-*; Boisacq 1950:354 **dhrubh-*; Beekes 2010.I:560 **dhrubh-ie/o-*. Proto-Indo-European **dhr-ew-s-* 'to break, to shatter': Greek θραύω 'to

break in pieces, to shatter'. Boisacq 1950:350—351; Hofmann 1966:117 **dhreus-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:680—681 **dhreūs-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:439; Beekes 2010.I:553. Note: The unextended stem **dher-* 'to pound, to break; to harm, to injure' is not attested.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.); 16.72 bad.

164. Proto-Nostratic root **dar-* (~ **dər-*):

(vb.) **dar-* 'to be or become dark';

(n.) **dar-a* 'dark spot, darkness'; (adj.) 'dark, black'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dar-* 'dark, black': Semitic: Arabic *darina* 'to be dirty, filthy', *darān* 'dirt, filth'. D. Cohen 1970— :315. Proto-East Cushitic **darʕ-* 'soot, ashes' > Burji *daar-aa* 'ashes' (this may be a loan from Galla / Oromo); Galla / Oromo *daar-aa* 'ashes'; Konso *tar-a* 'ashes'; Mashile *tarʔ-a* 'ashes'; Gidole *tard-at* 'ashes'; Dullay *tarʕ-o* 'ashes'. Sasse 1979:16 and 1982:51. For the semantics, cf. Gadba (Salur) *sirriy* 'soot, ashes' from the same stem found in Gadba (Ollari) *siriŋg* 'black', *siriŋaʔ* 'black, rusty', (Salur) *siriŋgaʔi* 'black', *siriŋ* 'charcoal, cinders', all of which are related to, for example, Kolami *cirum* 'very dark', *sindi* 'soot', Parji *ciruŋ* 'charcoal', etc. (for details, cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:222, no. 2552); note also Sirenik *tara* 'soot', cited below.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **dher-/dhor-/dhy-* '(adj.) dark, dirty; (n.) dirt, filth': Latin *fracēs* 'dregs of oil'; Macedonian *δαρδαίειν* 'to soil, to defile'; Middle Irish *derg* 'red'; Old Icelandic *dregg* 'dregs, lees', *drit* 'dirt, excrement (of birds)', *dríta* 'to ease oneself'; Old English *drōsne* 'dregs, dirt', *deorc* 'dark', *dærste* 'dregs, lees', *drit* 'mud, dirt, dung'; Middle Dutch *drēte* 'dirt' (Dutch *dreet*); Old High German *tarchannen* 'to hide something (in a dark place)', *trousana* 'lees, dregs'; Middle High German *vertirken*, *vertirken* 'to darken'; Lithuanian *dérgti* 'to become dirty', *deĩkti* 'to make dirty', *dargūs* 'dirty, filthy', *dargà* 'dirt, filth'. Pokorny 1959:251—252 **dher-*, **dherə-* 'dirt', 256 **dher-*, **dhrei-d-* 'dirt'; Walde 1927—1932.I:854—856 **dher-*, **dherā-*, I:861—862 **dher-*, **dh(e)rei-d-*; Mann 1984—1987:185 **dhergos* (**dhorg-*) 'dark, discolored; grim, glum', 199 **dhorg-* 'murk, foulness; foul; to defile', 201 **dhrabhos*, *-ā*, *-om*, *-esə* 'dross, filth', 201 **dhrābhos*, *-ios*, *-iə* 'dross, filth', 202 **dhrāġh-* 'scourings, waste, grounds', 205 **dhrīd-* 'dirt, excrement'; Mallory—Adams 1997:170 **dhregh-* 'dregs'; Watkins 1985:13—14 **dher-* and 2000:18 **dher-* 'to make muddy; darkness'; De Vaan 2008:238; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:538—539; Ernout—Meillet 1979:251 **dhregh-*; Orël 2003:76 Proto-Germanic **drītanan*; Kroonen 2013:103—104 Proto-Germanic **drita-* 'shit, dirt'; De Vries 1977:82 and 84; Onions 1966:244 and 271; Klein 1971:216, 229, and 230; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:103; Smoczyński 2007.1:102.

- C. Proto-Eskimo **tarəR(-)* ‘(vb.) to be dark; (n.) darkness’: Central Alaskan Yupik (Nunivak) *taaləx* ‘darkness’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *tažur* ‘darkness’, *tažur-* ‘to get dark’; Sirenik *tara* ‘soot’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *taaqa* ‘darkness’, *tarrumi* ‘in the dark’, *taaqsi-* ‘to get dark’, *tarraqa* ‘shadow’; North Alaskan Inuit *taaqa* ‘darkness; to be dark; (Nunamiut) to be black’, *taaqsi-* ‘to get dark’; Western Canadian Inuit *taaqa* ‘darkness; to be dark’, *taaqsi-* ‘to get dark’, *tarraqa* ‘shadow’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *taaqa* ‘darkness; to be dark, to make a shadow, to darken, to hide’, *taarsi-* ‘to be nightfall’, *tarraqa* ‘shadow’; Greenlandic Inuit *taaqa* ‘darkness’, *taar-* ‘to be dark’, *taarsi-* ‘to get dark’, *taršaq*, *taršak* ‘dark spot’, *taršaq-* ‘to lie in half-darkness, to have a dark shadow above it’. Cf. Atkan Aleut *taXt-* ‘to get dark’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:333. Proto-Eskimo **tarəRnəR* ‘darkness or dark thing’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *tannəq* ‘darkness’, *tannəR-* ‘to be dark’; Central Alaskan Yupik *tanyəq* ‘darkness’, *taŋəR-* ‘to be dark’; Naukan Siberian Inuit *tanyəq* ‘black thing’, *taŋnəraq* ‘shadow’; Central Siberian Yupik *taŋnəq* ‘darkness, dark thing’, *taŋnəR-* ‘to be black’; North Alaskan Inuit *taarniq* ‘darkness’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *taarniq* ‘darkness’; Greenlandic Inuit *taarniq* ‘darkness’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:333.

Sumerian *dar*, *dar-a*, *dar-dar* ‘colored; color’, *dar₄* ‘dark, obscure’, *dara₄* ‘dark, dark red’.

Buck 1949:15.88 dirty, soiled. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:266—267, no. 76.

165. Proto-Nostratic root **dar^y-* (~ **dər^y-*):
 (vb.) **dar^y-* ‘to swell, to enlarge’;
 (n.) **dar^y-a* ‘swelling, inflammation, blister, blotch, blemish; outgrowth, tumor’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **dar-* ‘(vb.) to swell, to enlarge; (n.) tumor, outgrowth’: Proto-Semitic **dar-an-* ‘(vb.) to swell, to enlarge; (n.) tumor, outgrowth’ > Arabic *daran* ‘tubercle; tuberculosis’, *darana* ‘tubercle; small tumor, tumor, outgrowth, excrescence, tubercle, nodule’, *daranī* ‘tubercular, tuberculosis’, *darina* ‘to suffer from tuberculosis’; Tigre *dārān* ‘cutaneous eruptions like blisters’. D. Cohen 1970— :315. Berber: Tuareg *tadrəmt* ‘psoriasis’; Tawlemmet *daram* ‘to have small cracks or scars appear on the skin (a pregnant woman or an obese person)’; Kabyle *ədrəm* ‘to deteriorate, to be old or wrinkled, to be chapped or cracked (skin)’, *sədrəm* ‘to make deteriorate, to grow old, to wrinkle’; Zenaga *ədrəm* ‘to spurt out, to gush forth’, *tədrmi* ‘resurgence’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **darš-* ‘to swell’ > Gedeo / Darasa *darš-* ‘to swell’; Hadiyya *dasš-* (< **darš-*) ‘to swell’; Kambata *darš-* ‘to swell’; Sidamo *darš-* ‘to swell (from a sting)’. Hudson 1989:147. Note: Ehret 1995:135, no. 150, reconstructs Proto-

Afrasian **dar-* ‘to enlarge, to increase’ on the basis of different forms than those cited above.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *taṛumpu* (*taṛumpi-*) ‘to be scarred, bruised, marked; to become practiced, addicted’, *taṛumpu* ‘scar, cicatrice, bruise, weal, mark, impression, dent made in the skin, injury, blemish, stigma, defect in character’; Malayalam *taṛampu* ‘scar, callous spot (as from a writing style), wart’, *taṛampikka* ‘to grow callous’; Kota *taḷm* (oblique *taḷt-*) ‘swelling raised by a blow, weal’; Kui *dali* ‘an inflamed patch of skin, blotch’; Malto *ṭaḍa* ‘scar, spot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:271, no. 3118.

166. Proto-Nostratic root (?) **daw-* (~ **dəw-*):

(vb.) **daw-* ‘to sound, to resound, to make a noise’;

(n.) **daw-a* ‘sound, noise’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dVw-* ‘to sound, to resound, to make a noise’: Proto-Semitic **daw-al-* ‘to ring a bell’ > Geez / Ethiopic *dawwala* [ደወለ] ‘to ring a bell’, *dawal* [ደወል] ‘bell’; Tigre *däwwäla* ‘to ring a bell’, *däwäl* ‘bell’; Tigrinya *däwwälä* ‘to ring a bell’; Harari *däwäl* ‘bell’; Gurage *däwwälä* ‘to ring a bell’, *däwäl* ‘church bell’; Amharic *däwäl* ‘bell’. Leslau 1979:224 and 1987:145; D. Cohen 1970— :235—236. Proto-Semitic **daw-an-* ‘to ring a bell’ > Tigre *däwwäna* ‘to ring a bell’; Gurage *donä* ‘bell attached to the neck of a small child or cow’. Leslau 1979:211. Proto-Semitic **daw-ay-* ‘to sound, to resound’ > Arabic *dawā* ‘to sound, to drone, to echo, to resound’, *dawīy* ‘sound, noise, drone, roar, echo, thunder’; Arabic (Daḡina) *dawā* ‘to make a dull noise’. D. Cohen 1970— :234. Egyptian *dīwt* (?), *dw-t* (?) ‘shriek, cry’, *dwj-wt* ‘outcry, roar’, *dwī*, *dwy* ‘to call, to cry out’, *ḏwy*, *ḏwī* ‘to call (someone)’. Erman—Grapow 1921:212, 219 and 1926—1963.5:428, 5:550—551; Faulkner 1962:309 and 321; Gardiner 1957:602 and 603; Hannig 1995:970, 972, and 1001. Berber: Tamazight *dəwnən* ‘to talk to oneself, to speak in a monologue’; Tuareg *səddwənnət* ‘to converse with someone, to have a quiet conversation’, *ədəwənnə* ‘conversation’; Kabyle *dəwnən*, *sdəwnən* ‘to talk to oneself, to be delirious’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **dhwen-/dhwon-/*dhun-* ‘to sound, to resound, to make a noise’: Sanskrit *dhvānati* ‘to sound, to resound, to make a noise, to echo, to reverberate’, *dhūni-ḥ* ‘roaring, boisterous’; Old Icelandic *duna* ‘to boom, to roar’, *dynja* ‘to boom, to resound’, *dynr* ‘din, noise, clattering of hoofs’; Old English *dyne* ‘noise, loud sound’, *dynian* ‘to resound’; Old Saxon *dunian* ‘to make a loud noise’, *done* ‘loud noise’; Old High German *tuni* ‘loud noise’; Middle High German *tünen* ‘to roar, to rumble’; Lithuanian *dundėti* ‘to rumble, to roar, to thunder’. Rix 1998a:139 **dh̥yen-* ‘to sound’; Pokorny 1959:277 **dh̥yen-*, **dhun-* ‘to sound, to drone’; Walde 1927—1932.1:869 **dh̥yen-*, **dhun-*; Mann 1984—1987:221 **dhundhur-* (**dhundhro-*) ‘rumble, roar, hum, din’, 222 **dh̥nō*, *-jō* ‘to rush, to roar, to resound’, 226 **dh̥yen-*, **dh̥yon-* ‘to resound’; Watkins 1985:15 **dhwen-*

and 2000:20 **dhwen-* ‘to make a noise’; Mallory—Adams 1997:533—534 **dhuen-* ‘to sound’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:106—107 and II:118; Orël 2003:79 Proto-Germanic **đuniz*, 79 **đunjanan*; De Vries 1977:87 and 90; Onions 1966:269 **dhun-*; Klein 1971:214; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:110—111.

- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian (reduplicated) **tawtawat-* ‘to bark’ > Chukchi *tawtawat-* ‘to bark’, *tawtaw* ‘barking’; Koryak *tawtawat-* ‘to bark’, *tawtaw* ‘barking’ (for *tawtaw* ?); Alyutor *totawat-* (Palana *tawtawat-*) ‘to bark’, *toto* ‘barking’. Fortescue 2005:277. Note: Fortescue considers Kamchadal / Itelmen (Sedanka) *tawto-kes* ‘to bark’ to be a possible loan from Chukotian.

Sumerian *du*₁₂ ‘to play (an instrument), to sing’.

Buck 1949:18.12 sing. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:265—266, no. 75.

167. Proto-Nostratic root **daw-* (~ **dəw-*):

(vb.) **daw-* ‘to put, to place, to set; to set up, to establish; to do, to make’;

(n.) **daw-a* ‘work, labor; deed, act’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **dew-/dw-* ‘to lay, to put, to place, to set, to lie’: Georgian *dev-/dv-/d-* (1st sg. aorist *v-dev*, 3rd sg. aorist *dv-a*) ‘to lay, to put, to place, to set, to lie’; Mingrelian *d(v)-* ‘to lay, to put, to place, to set, to lie’; Laz *d(v)-* ‘to lay, to put, to place, to set, to lie’; Svan *d-* (inf. *li-d-i*) ‘to put something, to put on something from below; to shut the door; to throw somebody down while wrestling’. Klimov 1964:72—73 **d(w)-* and 1998:39 **dew-* : **dw-* ‘to lie, to lay’; Schmidt 1962:104; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:260 and II:877 **dew-/dw-* and 1995.I:226, I:774, and I:801 **dew-/dw-* ‘to lie; to lay, to put’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:106—107 **dew-/dw-*; Fähnrich 2007:130 **dew-/dw-*.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **d^hew-/d^how-/d^hu(w)-* ‘to put, to place’: Proto-Anatolian **duwa-* ‘to put, to place’ > Luwian (3rd sg. pret.) *du-ú-wa-at-ta* ‘to put, to place’, (3rd pl. pret.) *du-ú-wa-an-da*, (2nd sg. impvtv.) *tu-u-wa-a*; Hieroglyphic Luwian *tuwa-* ‘to put, to place’; Lycian (3rd sg. pres.) *tuweti* ‘to put, to place’, (3rd pl. pres.) *tuwēti*, (3rd sg. pret.) *tuwete*. Melchert 1994a:194, 231, 241, 252, 262, 279 — Melchert reconstructs Proto-Anatolian **duwV-* ‘to put, to place’; Kloekhorst 2008b:809.
- C. (?) Uralic: Finno-Volgaic **tewe* ‘work, deed’ > Finnish *työ* ‘work, labor; deed, act’; Estonian *töö* ‘work’; Mordvin (Erza) *t’ev*, *t’äv*, (Moksha) *t’ev* ‘work, thing’. Rédei 1986—1988:796 **tewe* ‘work’.

Sumerian *dù* ‘to do, to make; to build; to set up, to establish’.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make; 9.12 work, labor, toil (sb.); 9.13 work, labor, toil (vb. intr.); 12.12 put (place, set, lay); 12.24 lie.

168. Proto-Nostratic root **daw-* (~ **dəw-*):

(vb.) **daw-* ‘to become deathly sick, to be ill; to die’;

(n.) **daw-a* ‘(deadly) disease, sickness; death’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **daw-* ‘(vb.) to become sick, ill; to die; (n.) disease, sickness, death’: Proto-Semitic **daw-ay-* ‘to be ill, sick’ > Arabic *dawīya* ‘to be ill’, *dawā* ‘to treat (a patient, a disease), to be cured’, *dawan* ‘sickness, illness, disease, malady’; Hebrew *dāweh* [דָּוֵה] ‘sick’, *dəway* [דְּוַי] ‘illness’; Mandaic *dwa* ‘to be wretched, miserable; to mourn’; Ugaritic *dw* ‘sick’, *mdw* ‘illness’; Harsūsi *adēw* ‘to give medicine to someone’; Šheri / Jibbāli *edōi* ‘to give someone medicine’; Mehri *adōwi* ‘to give medicine to’; Geez / Ethiopic *dawaya* [ደወየ], *dawya* [ደወየ] ‘to be sick, ill, diseased; to fall sick; to suffer, to be sorrowful’, *dawāyi* ‘sick, ill’; Tigrinya *dāwāyā* ‘to become sick’; Amharic *dāwe* ‘disease, sickness’; Gurage *dāwi* ‘medicine, remedy’ (Arabic loan). D. Cohen 1970—:231 **dwʔy*; Klein 1987:117; Leslau 1987:145; Murtonen 1989:145—146. Egyptian *dwʔy-t* ‘death, destruction’, *dwʔ-t* ‘netherworld’, *dwʔ-tyw* ‘dwellers in the netherworld’. Faulkner 1962:310; Erman—Grapow 1921:212; Hannig 1995:971—972. Central Chadic **daʔVw-* ‘illness’ > Higi Nkafa *dəwa* ‘illness’; Kapiski *dawa* ‘illness’; Higi Futu *dawa* ‘illness’. East Chadic **dVw-* ‘weak’ > Kera *dewe* ‘weak’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:153, no. 666, **dawaʔ-/dawaʔ-* ‘to be ill’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:280—281, no. 10) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (vb.) **dwyʔ* ‘to be ill, sick’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **dʰew-/dʰow-/dʰu-* ‘to pass away, to die’: Gothic *daups* ‘dead’, *daupus* ‘death’; Old Icelandic *deyja* ‘to die’, *dauði* ‘death’, *dauðr* ‘dead’; Swedish *död* ‘death’, *dö* ‘to die’; Danish *død* ‘death’, *dø* ‘to die’; Norwegian *daud* ‘death’, *døya* ‘to die’; Old English *dēap* ‘death’; Old Frisian *dāth* ‘death’; Old Saxon *dōian* ‘to die’, *dōth* ‘death’; Dutch *dood* ‘death’; Old High German *touwan* ‘to die’ (Middle High German *touwen*), *tōten*, *tōden* ‘to kill’ (New High German *töten*), *tōd* ‘death’ (New High German *Tod*); Latin *fūnus* ‘funeral, burial, corpse, death’; Old Irish *dīth* ‘end, death’. Rix 1998a:128—129 **dʰey-* ‘to run; to hasten, to hurry (up)’; Pokorny 1959:260—261 **dʰeu-*, **dʰy-ēi-* ‘to pass away’; Walde 1927—1932.I:835 **dʰeu-*; Mann 1984—1987:201 **dhōy̥iō*, **dhəu-* ‘to strangle, to die’; Watkins 1985:14 **dʰeu-* ‘to become exhausted, to die’ and 2000:19 **dʰeu-* (also **dʰeuə-*) ‘to die’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:475 **dʰʰjeu-* and 1995.I:396 and I:415 **dʰeu-* ‘to disappear, to die’; Mallory—Adams 1997:150 **dʰeu-* ‘to die’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:262; Walde—Hofmann

1965—1972.I:568 *dheu- ‘to pass away, to die’; De Vaan 2008:251; Orël 2003:70 Proto-Germanic **ḍaupaz* ~ **ḍaupus*, 70 **ḍawjanan*, 72 **ḍewanan*; Kroonen 2013:90 Proto-Germanic **daujan-* ‘to die’ and 91 **daupu-* ‘death’; Feist 1939:118; Lehmann 1986:89—90 **dhew-* ‘to die’; De Vries 1977:74—75 and 76; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:126—127; Torp 1919:58; Onions 1966:247 and 266; Klein 1971:193 and 212; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:67—68; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:780 **dheu-*, **dhou-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:731.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.84 sick, sickness. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:273, no. 85; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 578, **dVw[V]yV* ‘to be ill/weak, to die’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:224—225, no. 76, **ḍλwλ*.

169. Proto-Nostratic root **day-* (~ **dəy-*):

- (vb.) **day-* ‘to throw, to cast, to put, to place’;
(n.) **day-a* ‘act, deed’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dVy-* (**day-* ?) ‘to throw, to cast, to put, to place’: Proto-Semitic **day-* (**wa-day-*, **na-day-*) ‘to cast, to throw, to put, to place’ > Hebrew *yāḏāh* [יָדָה] ‘to throw, to cast’; Akkadian *nadū* (Old Akkadian *nadāʾum*) ‘to cast (down), to lay (down), to throw; (stative) to lie, to be situated’; Geez / Ethiopic *wadaya* [ወደየ] ‘to put, to put in, to add, to put on (adornments), to put under, to place, to set, to throw, to cast’; Tigre *wāda* ‘to put, to make’; Tigrinya *wādäyā* ‘to put’. D. Cohen 1970— :499—501; Klein 1987:254; Leslau 1987:605; Militarev 2010:72. Egyptian *wḏi*, *wḏy* ‘to lay, to put, to place, to set, to thrust, to throw, to push, to shoot’, *ndi* ‘to overthrow, to put down’. Hannig 1995:226—227 and 446; Faulkner 1962:72; Erman—Grapow 1921:42—43 and 1926—1963.1:384—387; Gardiner 1957:563. Central Chadic: Logone *de-he* ‘to put’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:155, no. 673, **day-* ‘to put’; Takács 2011a:77 and 78.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Elamite *da-* ‘to put, to place, to deposit’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European (**dhēyC-* >) **dhēC-*, (**dhēyV-* >) **dhēyV-* ‘to set, to lay, to put, to place’: Sanskrit (reduplicated) *dā-dhā-ti* ‘to put, to place, to set, to lay (in or on); to appoint, to establish, to constitute’; Avestan *dadāiti* ‘to give, to put, to create, to place’; Old Persian *dā-* ‘to put, to make, to create’ (imperfect *a-dadā*); Greek (reduplicated) τί-θη-μι ‘to set, to put, to place’; Latin *faciō* ‘to make, to do’ (perfect *fēcī* ‘did’); Oscan *fakiiad* (= Latin *faciat*) ‘to do, to make, to perform’; Umbrian *façia* ‘to do, to perform, to sacrifice, to offer, to place’; Gothic *-dēþs* ‘deed’ in: *gadēþs* ‘deed’, *missadēþs* ‘misdeed, transgression’, *wailadēþs* ‘well-doing’; Old Icelandic *dáð* ‘deed’; Swedish *dåd* ‘deed’; Norwegian *daad* ‘deed’; Danish *daad* ‘deed’; Old English *dōn* ‘to do, to act, to make’, *dæd* ‘action, deed’; Old Frisian *dua(n)* ‘to do’, *dēd(e)* ‘act, deed’; Old Saxon *dōn* ‘to do’, *dād* ‘act, deed’; Dutch *daad* ‘act, deed’, *doen* ‘to do’; Old High German

tuo(a)n ‘to do’ (New High German *tun*), *tāt* ‘act, deed’ (New High German *Tat*); Lithuanian *dėti* ‘to lay, to put, to place’; Old Church Slavic *děti* ‘to put, to place’; Russian *det’* [ДЕТЬ] ‘to put, to do’; Ukrainian *dity* ‘to put’; Slovenian *děti* ‘to put’; Polish *dzieje się* ‘to occur’; Upper Sorbian *džec* ‘to put’; Lower Sorbian (1st sg.) *žejū* ‘to do’; Tocharian A *tā-*, *tās-*, *tās-*, *tas-*, *cas-*, B *tās-*, *tās-*, *tes-*, *tätt-* ‘to put, to place, to set’; Hittite (1st sg. pres.) *te-(iḫ-)ḫi*, *ti-iḫ-ḫi* ‘to put, to place’, (2nd sg. pres.) *da-it-ti*, *ta-it-ti*, (3rd sg. pres.) *da-a-i*, (1st pl. pres.) *ti-i-ya-u-e-ni*, (2nd pl. pres.) *da-a-it-te-ni*, *ta-a-it-te-ni*, (3rd pl. pres.) *ti-i-ya-an-zi*, (1st sg. pret.) *te-iḫ-ḫu-un*, (2nd sg. pret.) *da-(a-i)š*, *da-iš-ta*, (3rd sg. pret.) *da-(a-i)š*, (1st pl. pret.) *da-i-u-en*, *da-i-ú-en*, *ti-ya-u-en*, (3rd pl. pret.) *da-a-ir*, *da-(a-i)-(e)ir*; Luwian (3rd pl. pres.) *ti-ya-an-ti* ‘to put, to place’ (cf. Kronasser 1966:539 and 589—590); Lycian (3rd sg.) *tadi* ‘to put’. Rix 1998a:117—119 **d^heh₁-* ‘to set, to put, to place’; Pokorny 1959:235—239 **dhē-* ‘to set, to put, to place’; Walde 1927—1932.I:826—829 **dhē-*; Mann 1984—1987:178 **dhedhō*, *-iō* ‘to put, to set’, 180 **dhēiō*, **dhēmi* ‘to put, to lay’, 182 **dhēmi* ‘to set’, 187 **dhētis*, *-os*, *-om*, *-us* ‘setting, placing; deed, fact, fixture’, 189 **dhatos* ‘placed’, 190 **dhīdhēmi* ‘to set, to put’; Watkins 1985:13 **dhē-* (contracted from **dhe₂-*) and 2000:17 **dhē-* ‘to set, to put’ (contracted from **dhe₂-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:159 **d^[h]eH₁-*, I:203 **d^[h]eH- > *d^[h]ē-*, I:208, I:210, I:224 **d^[h]eH-/*d^[h]H-* and 1995.I:137 **d^heH₁-* ‘to put, to place’, I:175 **d^heH- > *dhē-*, I:179, I:180, I:186, I:193 **d^heH-/*d^hH-*, I:702, and I:710; Mallory—Adams 1997:472 **dheh₁-* ‘to put, to place’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:14—15; Boisacq 1950:969—970 **dhē-*, **dhā-*, **dhō-*; Hofmann 1966:365—366 **dhē-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:116—117 **dhe₂-*, **dh₂-*; Beekes 2010.II:1482—1483 **d^heh₁-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:897—898; De Vaan 2008:198—199; Ernout—Meillet 1979:209—213 **dhē-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:440—444 **dhē-*; Orël 2003:72 Proto-Germanic **dēdiz*, 73 **dōnan*; Kroonen 2013:92 Proto-Germanic **dēdi-* ‘deed, action’ and 98 **dōn-* ‘to do’; Feist 1939:178, 362, and 543; Lehmann 1986:136; De Vries 1977:71; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:95; Torp 1919:58; Onions 1966:250 and 279—280 **dhō-*, **dhē-*, **dhā-*; Klein 1971:196 **dhē-* and 223 **dhō-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:68—69 and 81; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:771 and 796—797 **dhē-*, **dhō-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:722 and 744—745; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:494—495 **dhē-*; Adams 1999:283—286 **d^heh₁-* ‘to put, to place’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:91—92; Smoczyński 2007.1:104—106; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:99—117 **d^heh₁-* and 117—118 **d^heh₁k-*. Note that *-i/y-* appears throughout the paradigm in Hittite (cf. J. Friedrich 1960.I:101—102; Sturtevant 1951:135—136, §238a; Hoffner—Melchert 2008:223—224; Kloekhorst 2008b:806—809; Held—Schmalstieg—Gertz 1988:42—43, §§4.200—4.202).

- D. Etruscan *te-* ‘to put, to place’ (preterite *tece*).

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **tæjkə-* ‘to make or do’: Chukchi *tejkə-* ‘to make, to do, to build’; Kerek *tajkə-* ‘to make, to do, to build’; Koryak *tejkə-* ‘to make, to do, to act’; Alyutor *tekə-* ‘to make, to do’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *skə-s* ‘to make, to do, to build’. Fortescue 2005:278.

Buck 1949:12.12 put (place, set, lay). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:224, no. 75, **dʌʃʌ* ‘to lay’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 497, **diʃé* (~ **dVHU*) ‘to put, to place’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:261—262, no. 70.

170. Proto-Nostratic root **day-* (~ **dəy-*):

(vb.) **day-* ‘to look at, to consider, to examine’;

(n.) **day-a* ‘judgment, examination, consideration’

A. Proto-Afrasian **day-*, **dey-* ‘to look at, to consider, to examine’: Proto-Semitic **day-an-* ‘to judge’ > Hebrew *dīn* [דִּין] ‘to judge’; Akkadian *dānu* ‘to judge, to render judgment’, *dīnu* ‘decision, verdict, judgment, punishment’, *dayyānu* ‘a judge’; Arabic *dāna* ‘to condemn, to pass judgment’, *dīn* ‘judgment, sentence’ (Aramaic loan); Qataban *dyn* ‘judgment, punishment’; Syriac *dīnā* ‘judgment’; Ugaritic *dyn* ‘to judge’; Geez / Ethiopic *dayyana* [ደየን] ‘to judge, to sentence, to punish, to condemn, to convict, to damn’, *dayn* [ደየን] ‘judgment, damnation, condemnation, doom’, *dayyāni* [ደየን] ‘judge’; Tigrinya *däyyänä* ‘to condemn’, (with metathesis) *danäyä* ‘to pass judgment’, *dayna*, *dañña* ‘judge’; Tigre *dayna*, *danya* ‘mediator’, (*tə*)*dana* ‘to accept a verdict’; Amharic *dañña* ‘to arbitrate, to judge’, *dañña* ‘a judge’; Harari *dañña* ‘a judge’; Gurage *dañña* ‘to judge’. D. Cohen 1970—:253—255; Klein 1987:122; Leslau 1979:216 and 1987:146; Murtonen 1989:147—148. Proto-East Cushitic **dey-/doy-* ‘to look at’ > Somali *day-* ‘to examine’; Boni *day-* ‘to try, to test’; Arbore *doy-* ‘to see’; Elmolo *dəy-* ‘to regard’; Galla / Oromo *doy-aa* ‘observation’, *dooy-aa* ‘spy’; Konso *tooy-* ‘to see’; Hadiyya *do-* ‘to lurk, to spy’; Harso *tay-* ‘to find’; Yaaku *tey-* ‘to find, to get’. Sasse 1979:16; Hudson 1989:141. Proto-Southern Cushitic **daa-* ‘to look at’ > K’wadza *da’am-* ‘to watch, to gaze’; Ma’a *-dā’a* ‘to look for’; Dahalo *daawat-* ‘to look after’. Ehret 1980:162.

B. Proto-Indo-European **dʰey-A-/dʰoy-A-/dʰi-A-* (> **dʰī-*), **dʰyeA-* [**dʰyaA-*] (> **dʰyā-*) ‘to look at, to fix one’s eyes on’: Sanskrit *dīdheti* ‘to perceive, to think, to reflect, to wish’, *dhyāyati* ‘to think, to contemplate’, *dhyāna-h* ‘meditation, contemplation’; Pāli *jhāna-* ‘meditative absorption’; Avestan *dā(y)-* ‘to see’, *daēman-* ‘eye’; Greek σῆμα (Doric σῆμα) ‘sign, mark, token’. Rix 1998a:123 **dʰeḱH-* ‘to contemplate, to fix one’s eyes on’; Pokorny 1959:243 **dʰeḱə-*, **dʰīā-*, **dʰī-* ‘to see, to look’; Walde 1927—1932.I:831—832 **dʰeḱā-*, **dʰī-*; Mann 1984—1987:190 **dʰī-* (**dʰīs-*) ‘thought, knowledge, reason’, **dʰīā-*, **dʰīām-* ‘sign, mark, note’; Watkins 1985:13 **dʰeiə-* (variant form **dʰyā-* [< **dʰyaə-*]) and 2000:18

dheiə-* ‘to see, to look’ (variant [metathesized] form **dhye*₂-, colored to **dhya*₂-, contracted to **dhyā-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:45 and II:115 **dhejā-*; Hofmann 1966:310—311 **dhāi-* (dhaijā-*), **dhĩ-*; Boisacq 1950:861 Greek σῆμα < **dhjā-mj*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:998; Frisk 1970—1973.II:695—696; Beekes 2010.II:1323 **dhiéh₂-mn-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:120 **dhejH-*.

Buck 1949:15.52 look (vb.), look at; 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 21.16 judge (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:264—265, no. 74; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 507, **dif[h]a* ‘to look at’.

171. Proto-Nostratic root **day-* (~ **dəy-*):

(vb.) **day-* ‘to take, to bring, to convey’;

(n.) **day-a* ‘leader, guide’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **d[a]y-* ‘to convey, to bring, to lead’: Proto-Semitic **day-* (**ha-day-*, **ʕa-day-*) ‘to convey, to bring, to lead’ > Arabic *ʔadā* ‘to convey, to take, to bring, to lead, to steer, to channel’, *hadā* ‘to lead (someone) on the right way, to guide (someone on a course)’; Akkadian *adū* ‘leader’; Hebrew *hādāh* [הָדָה] ‘to stretch out the hand’; Syriac *ʔadi* ‘to carry’, *haddī* ‘to lead, to direct’; Palmyrene *hdy* ‘guide’; Sabaean *hdy* ‘to lead, to guide’. D. Cohen 1970—:8—9 and 374—375; Klein 1987:140.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **ta-*, **tā-*, **tay-* ‘to bring’: Tamil *taru* (*tār-*; imptv. *tā*; past *tant-*) ‘to give to 1st or 2nd person’, *taruvi* ‘to cause to bring’; Malayalam *taruka*, *tarika* (*tār-*; *tā*; *tann-*) ‘to give to 1st or 2nd person’, *taruvikka* ‘to cause to give’; Kannaḍa *tar*, *tār* (*tā*; *tand-*) ‘to lead or conduct near, to bring; to give’; Telugu *teccu* (*tē*, *tēr-*) ‘to bring, to get, to cause to produce, to create’; Koṇḍa *ta-* ‘to bring’; Pengo *ta-* (*tat-*) ‘to bring’; Maṇḍa *ta-* ‘to bring’; Kui *tapa* (*tat-*) ‘to bring; bringing’; Kuwi *ta?*- (*tat-*) ‘to bring’; Brahui *tinig* (*tir-*) ‘to give’, *hatining*, *hatiring*, *hataring*, *hating* ‘to bring, to give birth to, to think of doing something, to attempt, to intend’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269, no. 3098; Zvelebil 1970:58 **ta-*, **tā-*, **tay-* ‘to bring’ (?); Krishnamurti 2003:384—385 **taH-*/**taH-r-* ‘to give to 1st or 2nd person’. Kuṛux *tainā* (*taḷyyas*), *tēynā* (*tēyyas*) ‘to send, to carry newly married girl out of village’; Malto *teye* ‘to send’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:299, no. 3418.
- C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *te:-* ‘to give, to show’. Nikolaeva 2006:427.

Sumerian *dé*, *de₆*, *di* ‘to bring’.

Buck 1949:10.62 bring; 10.64 lead (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:275, no. 88.

172. Proto-Nostratic root **did-* (~ **ded-*):(vb.) **did-* ‘to swell, to rise’;(n.) **did-a* ‘prominence, protuberance’; (adj.) ‘swollen, raised’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *tittu* ‘rising ground, bank, elevation, hillock, sandbank, wall separating elephant stables’, *titti* ‘raised ground’, *tittai* ‘rising ground, bank, elevation, raised floor’, *titar*, *tital* ‘rising ground, bank, elevation, island, rubbish heap, prominence, protuberance’, *titaru* ‘mound’; Malayalam *titta* ‘raised ground, hillock, shoal, raised seat (as in a veranda)’, *tittu* ‘mound, shoal’, *tiṇṇu* ‘earthen wall, bank, shoal’; Kota *tīt* ‘hill’; Toda *tīt* ‘mountain’; Kannaḍa *titta* ‘mass, quantity, number’, *tittu*, *titte* ‘rising ground, hillock’, *diḍḍa*, *diḍḍu* ‘eminence, elevation, hillock’, *dīṇṇu* ‘rising ground, hillock’; Tuḷu *diḍḍu* ‘elevated ground, mound’; Telugu *titta* ‘heap, mound’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:279, no. 3221.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **did-* (‘swollen’ >) ‘big, large, great’: Georgian *did-i* ‘big, large’, *did-ad-i* ‘grandiose’, *did-r-o-a* ‘high tide’; Mingrelian *did-i* ‘big, large’; Laz *did-i* ‘big, large’, *did-o* ‘very’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:109 **did-*; Klimov 1964:73 **did-* and 1998:40 **did-* ‘big, large’ Fähnrich 2007:132 **did-*.
- C. (?) Indo-European: Lithuanian *didis*, *didelis* ‘big, large, great’, *didókas* ‘quite large’, *didýbė* ‘haughtiness’, *didžiaĩ*, *didžiai* ‘very (much)’; Latvian *dīzs* ‘big, large, great’. Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:93; Smoczyński 2007.1:108 **d(e)ih₂-d^he-*.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 12.55 large, big (great). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:219, no. 66, **didā* ‘big’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 501, **didV* ‘large, big’.

173. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dig-a* ‘fish’:

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **dag-* ‘fish’ > Hebrew *dāy* [דַּי] ‘fish’, *dāyāh* [דַּיָּה] ‘fish’, *dawwāy* [דַּוּוּי] ‘fisherman’; Ugaritic *dg* ‘fish’, *dgy* ‘fisherman’. Klein 1987:114; D. Cohen 1970— :216; Murtonen 1989:144; Militarëv 2010: 69.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **d^hg^huH-* (> **d^hg^hū-*) ‘fish’: Greek *ἰχθῦς* ‘fish’; Armenian *ju-kn* ‘fish’; Lithuanian *žuvis* ‘fish’; Latvian *zuvs* ‘fish’. Pokorny 1959:416—417 **ǵhōū-* (or **ǵhīū-* ?) ‘fish’; Walde 1927—1932.I:664 **ǵhōū-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:536 **d^[h]ǵ^[h]ū-* and 1995.I:453 and I:765 **d^hǵ^hū-* ‘fish’; Watkins 1985:14 **dhghū-* and 2000:20 **dhghū-* ‘fish’; Mallory—Adams 1997:205 **dhghuh_x-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:745—746; Boisacq 1950:387; Beekes 2010.I:606—607 **dǵ^huH*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:474; Hofmann 1966:127; Prellwitz 1905:201; Smoczyński 2007.1:793—794; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1323; Derksen 2015:523.
- C. Proto-Altaic **diagi* (~ *-iō-*) ‘fish’: Proto-Mongolian **žiga-* ‘fish’ > Written Mongolian *žiyasu(n)* ‘fish’; Dagur *žayās* ‘fish’; Khalkha *zagas* ‘fish’;

Monguor *žagasə* ‘fish’; Buriat *zagaha(n)* ‘fish’; Ordos *žagasu* ‘fish’; Kalmyk *zayʁsɳ* ‘fish’. Poppe 1955:34 and 117. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:477 **djagi* (~ *-jo-*) ‘fish’.

Buck 1949:3.65 fish. Dolgopolsky 1998:61—62, no. 74, **doTgiHU* ‘fish’ and 2008, no. 575, **doTgiʔu* ‘fish’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:219, no. 67, **diga* ‘fish’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:269, no. 80; Blažek 2013:40, no. 1 (Proto-Afrasian **dag-/dug-*).

174. Proto-Nostratic root **dig-* (~ **deg-*):

(vb.) **dig-* ‘to be confused, puzzled, perplexed’;

(n.) **dig-a* ‘confusion, perplexity’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *dgm* ‘to be unconscious; to be confused; to be speechless’. Hannig 1995:989; Faulkner 1962:317; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:500.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tikai* ‘to be taken aback, confused, perplexed, bewildered, astonished, amazed’, *tikai, tikaippu* ‘amazement’; Toda *tix-* (*tixθ-*) ‘to take to heels, to bolt away’, *tixf-* (*tixt-*) ‘to make (buffaloes) stand in a swamp (that is, confused and unable to run away) before they are caught and killed at a funeral’ (only used in narratives); Kannada *tikkalu* ‘state of being confused or deranged in mind’; Telugu *tikamaka* ‘intricacy, confusion, perplexity’, *tikamaka-goma, tikamakal-āḍu* ‘to be puzzled, perplexed, confused’, *tikka-goma* ‘to become mad’, *tikka* ‘madness, craziness; mad, crazy’, *tikkaṭamakkāṭa* ‘confusion, perplexity’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:278, no. 3207.

C. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated) **didg-* (< **di-dig-*) ‘to speak in a confused manner, to murmur’: Georgian *didy-* ‘to speak in a confused manner, to murmur’; Mingrelian *dʒirdy-* ‘to speak in a confused manner, to murmur’; Svan *ddy-* (*li-ddy-ən-e*) ‘to mumble, to murmur, to mutter’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:110 **didy-*; Klimov 1998:40 **didy-in-* ‘to mumble, to mutter’; Fähnrich 2007:132—133 **didy-*.

(?) Sumerian *dig* ‘to converse, to speak’.

175. Proto-Nostratic root **dily-* (~ **delv-*):

(vb.) **dily-* ‘to shine, to be or become bright’;

(n.) **dily-a* ‘daylight, morning’

A. Afrasian: Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **del-* ‘daylight’ > Iraqw *delo* ‘day (as opposed to night)’; K’wadza *deles-* ‘yellow’ (plural ?); Asa *diliʔi* ‘red’. Ehret 1980:346.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *teḷi* ‘to become clear, limpid (as water by settling of sediment), serene (as the mind); to be bright (as the countenance), to

become white; to disappear (as famine, epidemic); to become obvious, evident; to consider, to investigate, to understand’, *telir* ‘to shine, to sparkle’; Malayalam *teḷi* ‘cleanness, brightness’, *teḷivu* ‘clearness, brightness, perspicuity, proof’, *teḷiyuka* ‘to become clear, to brighten up, to please, to be decided (a matter)’; Kannaḍa *tīḷi*, *taḷi* ‘to become clear, pellucid, pure, bright; to brighten up; to be exhilarated or pleased; to be calmed; to cease (as sleep, a swoon); to come to light; to be or become plain or known; to know, to perceive, to learn’; Telugu *teḷi* ‘white, pure’. Krishnamurti 2003:14 **teḷ-V-* ‘to become clear’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:300—301, no. 3433.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **dila* ‘morning’: Georgian *dila* ‘morning’; Svan *zinār* ‘morning’. Schmidt 1962:105.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **d^hel-* ‘to be shining, bright’: Old Icelandic *Dellingr* name of the father of the sun; Old English *deall* ‘proud (of), exulting (in), resplendent (with)’; Middle High German *ge-telle* ‘pretty’; Middle Irish *dellrad* ‘brilliance, radiance’. Pokorny 1959:246 **d^hel-* ‘to light’; Walde 1927—1932.I:865 **d^hel-*; De Vries 1977:72 and 75.

Sumerian *dil-bad* ‘(vb.) to shine, to be radiant, to gleam; (adj.) shining, bright’.

Buck 1949:14.44 morning. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:219—220, no. 68, **dila* ‘sunlight’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:273—274, no. 86; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 521, **dfi]la* (= **dfi]la* ?) ‘sunshine, daylight, bright’.

176. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dim-a* ‘raised or elevated place’; (adj.) ‘raised, elevated’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dim-* ‘(adj.) raised, elevated; (n.) raised or elevated place’: Proto-Semitic **dim-t-* ‘raised or elevated place’ > Akkadian *dimtu* (also *dintu*, *dindu*) ‘tower, siege tower, fortified area, district’ (though *dimtu* was used primarily to refer to towers of all kinds, it could also be used to denote any fortified area); Ugaritic *dmt* ‘district, borough’. D. Cohen 1970— :269—270. (Akkadian loan in Sumerian *dim* ‘tower, district’.) Egyptian *dmy* ‘town, quarter, abode, vicinity, quay’; Coptic (Sahidic) *time* [†**Ṭ**Ṣ, **Ṭ**ṢṢ] ‘village’. Hannig 1995:979; Faulkner 1962:318; Erman—Grapow 1921:214 and 1926—1963.5:455—456; Gardiner 1957:602; Vycichl 1983:215; Černý 1976:187. Orël—Stolbova 1995:162—163, no. 709, **dim-* ‘dwelling, place’.
- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *dimmi* ‘an eminence, elevated spot’, *temar* ‘rising ground, hillock’, *dimba* ‘bank of a river’; Telugu *dimma* ‘any elevation or eminence, mound’; Parji *demma* ‘elevated ground’; Kuwi *damaka* ‘flat ground on top of a mountain’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:281, no. 3239.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **d^hmb^h-* ‘burial mound, kurgan’: Greek *ταφή* ‘burial, burial-place’, *τάφος* ‘funeral, burial, the act of burying; burial mound, tomb’, *τάφος* ‘ditch, trench’, *θάπτω* ‘to honor with funeral rites, to bury,

to inter'; Armenian *damban*, *dambaran* 'grave, tomb'; Romanian *dîmb*, *dâmb* 'hillock, hill, raised ground' (< Dacian). Pokorny 1959:248—249 (**dhembh-*), **dhmbh-* 'to bury'; Mann 1984—1987:193 **dhmbh-* 'tomb'; Mallory—Adams 1997:243 **dhmbhos* 'grave'; Boisacq 1950:334 and 946; Beekes 2010.I:534 and II:1456; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:423; Hofmann 1966:111; Frisk 1970—1973.I:653—654; Meillet 1936:142.

Buck 1949:4.78 bury (the dead); 19.15 city, town.

177. Proto-Nostratic root **diq^h-* (~ **deq^h-*):

(vb.) **diq^h-* 'to crush, to pound or tamp (earth), to mold or knead (clay)';

(n.) **diq^h-a* 'earth, clay, mud'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dik-* 'to beat, to crush, to pound or tamp (earth), to mold or knead (clay)': Proto-Semitic **dak-ak-* 'to mix, to crush, to flatten' > Arabic *dakka* 'to make flat, level, or even; to smooth, to level, to ram, to stamp, to tamp (earth, the ground, a road); to press down, to beat down, to weigh down; to demolish, to devastate, to destroy, to ruin; to mix, to mingle; to be crushed, to be leveled', *dakk* 'level ground; devastation, destruction, ruin'; Hebrew **dāḫaḫ* [דָּחַח] 'to crush, to bruise, to oppress, to depress'; Ugaritic *dk* 'to pound, to mix'; Akkadian *dakāku* 'to crush'; Šheri / Jibbāli *dekk* 'to bump (against); to bang a hole in; to pounce'; Mehri *dək* 'to pounce, to jump upon, to knock'; Ḥarsūsi *dek* 'to spring upon someone or something'. D. Cohen 1970— :257; Klein 1987:124; Zammit 2002:176. Proto-Semitic **dak-al-* 'to knead clay; to tread, to tread down' > Arabic *dakala* 'to knead clay; to tread, to tread down', *dakala-t* 'thin clay or loam'. D. Cohen 1970— :258. Proto-Semitic **dak-aʔ-* 'to crush' > Hebrew *dāḫāʔ* [דָּחָא] 'to crush, to be crushed', *dakkāʔ* [דַּכָּא] 'dust (as pulverized)'. D. Cohen 1970— :256; Murtonen 1989:148; Klein 1987:124. Hebrew **dāḫāh* [דָּחָח] 'to crush, to be crushed'. D. Cohen 1970— :257; Klein 1987:124. Proto-Semitic **da/wa/k-* 'to pound, to crush' > Arabic *dāka* 'to grind, to pound'; Hebrew *dūḫ* [דֹּחַ] 'to pound, to beat (in a mortar)'; Akkadian *dāku* 'to beat (off or down), to break, to kill'. D. Cohen 1970— :234; Klein 1987:117; Murtonen 1989:146. Proto-Chadic **dək-* 'to beat, to pound' > Karekare *duku* 'to beat'; Ngizim *təkú* 'to kill; to put out a fire; to kick (cow, donkey); to rain, to beat down, to splash down (liquids)'; Guduf *dəgə* 'to beat, to pound (in a mortar)'. North Omotic: Bench / Gimira *dekn* 'to hit'. Ehret 1995:128, no. 132, **dik-* 'to pound'. Different etymology in Orël—Stolbova 1995:146, no. 633, **dak-* / **duk-* 'to beat, to pound'.
- B. Dravidian: Konḍa *tig-* 'to press down hard, to lay pressure on'; Pengo *tig-* (*tikt-*) 'to push'; Maṇḍa *tig-* 'to push'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:278, no. 3205.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **diq-* ‘earth, clay, mud’: Old Georgian *tiq-a* (< **diq-a* through regressive voicing assimilation) ‘earth, clay, mud’ (Modern Georgian *tix-a*); Mingrelian *dix-a*, *dex-a* ‘soil, ground, earth’; Laz *dix-a* ‘earth’. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:877 **diqa-* and 1995.I:774 **diqa-* ‘clay’; Klimov 1964:94—95 **tiqa* and 1998:72 **tiqa* ‘soil, clay’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:111—112 **diq-*; Fähnrich 2007:135 **diq-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **dʰiqʰ-* > (with progressive voicing assimilation) > **dʰiǵʰ-* (secondary full-grade forms: **dʰeyǵʰ-*, **dʰoyǵʰ-*) ‘(vb.) to pound, to mold (clay), to knead (dough); (n.) clay’: Sanskrit *déhmi* ‘to smear, to anoint, to plaster’, *dehí* ‘mound, bank, surrounding wall’; Avestan *daēza-* ‘wall (originally made of clay or mud bricks)’; Greek *τείχος* ‘a wall, especially a wall around a city’, *τοῖχος* ‘the wall of a house or court’; Latin (with nasal infix) *fiŋgō* ‘to shape, to fashion, to form, to mold’, *figūra* ‘form, shape, figure, size’, *figulus* ‘a worker in clay, a potter’; Oscan *feihüss* ‘walls’; Gothic *digan* ‘to knead, to form out of clay’, *daigs* ‘dough’; Old Icelandic *deig* ‘dough’, *deigja* ‘to make soft, to weaken’, *deigr* ‘soft (of metal)’, *digr* ‘big, stout, thick’, *digna* ‘to become moist, to lose temper (of steel), to lose heart’; Swedish *deg* ‘dough’; Norwegian *deig* ‘dough’; Danish *deig* ‘dough’; Old English *dāg* ‘dough’; Old Frisian *deeg* ‘dough’; Middle Low German *dēch* ‘dough’ (Dutch *deeg*); Old High German *teic* ‘dough’ (New High German *Teig*); Lithuanian *dýžti* ‘to beat soundly’; Old Church Slavic *zīždō*, *zbdati* ‘to build’, *zbdъ* ‘wall’; Ukrainian *d’izá* ‘baker’s trough’; Armenian *dizanem* ‘to collect, to put together’; Tocharian A *tsek-*, B *tsik-* ‘to fashion, to shape, to build’. Rix 1998a:121—122 **dʰeiǵʰ-* ‘to shape, to mold, to knead’; Pokorny 1959:244—245 **dʰeiǵʰ-* ‘to knead clay’; Walde 1927—1932.I:833—834 **dʰeiǵʰ-*; Mann 1984—1987:180 **dʰeiǵʰ-* ‘(vb.) to shape, to earth up; (n.) form, wall’, 191 **dʰiǵʰ-*, 195 **dʰoiǵʰos-*, *-is*, *-iǵ* ‘shape, mold; shaper’; Watkins 1985:13 **dʰeiǵʰ-* and 2000:18 **dʰeiǵʰ-* ‘to form, to build’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:412, II:702, II:884 **dʰ[ʰ]jeiǵʰ[ʰ]-* ‘clay’, 1995.I:360, I:612, I:780 **dʰeiǵʰ-* ‘(vb.) to mix clay, to mold; (n.) clay structure, clay wall; clay, material for pottery making’; Mallory—Adams 1997:649 **dʰeiǵʰ-* ‘to work clay, to smear; to build up’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:62 and II:65; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1098—1099; Boisacq 1950:940—950 **dʰeiǵʰ-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:865—866; Hofmann 1966:356; Beekes 2010.II:1458—1459 **dʰeiǵʰ-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:235—236 **dʰeiǵʰ-*; De Vaan 2008:221—222; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:501—502 **dʰeiǵʰ-*; Orël 2003:66—67 Proto-Germanic **daigaz*, 72 **dīgraz*, 72 **dīrganan*; Kroonen 2013:87 Proto-Germanic **daiga-* ‘dough’; Feist 1939:114 and 118; Lehmann 1986:87 and 90; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:100—101; De Vries 1977:74—75 and 76; Torp 1919:60; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:775—776; Kluge—Seebold 1989:725 **dʰeiǵʰ-*; Onions 1966:286 **dʰeiǵʰ-*, **dʰoiǵʰ-*, **dʰiǵʰ-* ‘to smear, to knead, to form of clay’; Klein 1971:227 **dʰeiǵʰ-*, **dʰoiǵʰ-*, **dʰiǵʰ-*;

Adams 1999:738—739; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:530—531 **dhiġh-*, **dheiġh-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:98; Smoczyński 2007.1:117; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:118—119 **dhēiġh-*.

Sumerian *dih* ‘(vb.) to press, to push; (n.) (stone) slab for molding clay, stone’.

Buck 1949:1.214 mud; 5.54 knead; 5.56 grind; 7.27 wall; 9.73 clay. Bomhard 1996a:209—211, no. 608; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 551, **dEqV* ‘earth’. Fähnrich (1994:254) compares Sumerian *dih* ‘(stone) slab for molding clay, stone’ with the Kartvelian forms cited above.

178. Proto-Nostratic root **diy-* (~ **dey-*):

(vb.) **diy-* ‘to suck, to suckle’;

(n.) **diy-a* ‘breast, teat, nipple’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **dayd-* (> **dadd-* in Hebrew and Aramaic) ‘teat, women’s breast’ > Arabic (Ḥaḍramut) *dayd* ‘(married woman’s) breast; (cow’s) udder’; Hebrew *daḏ* [דָּד] ‘breast, teat, nipple’; Aramaic *daḏ* ‘teat’; Ugaritic *ḏd* ‘breast’; Gurage (Eža, Muher) *dadda*, (Chaha, Ennemor, Gyeto) *data*, (Endegeñ) *dattä* ‘chest’. D. Cohen 1970— :222 and 252; Klein 1987:115; Murtonen 1989:145. Semantic development as in Greek *θηλή* ‘teat, nipple’, cited below. Perhaps also Arabic *dāda* ‘governess, dry nurse, nurse’, if from **dayd-* rather than from Proto-Afrasian **dad-* ‘mother’ as proposed by Orël—Stolbova 1995:141. Diakonoff 1992:84 **dj-dj-* (> *dayd-*, *dadd-*) ‘teat, woman’s breast’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.II:45, no. 47) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **dadd-*, **dayd-* ‘breast, teat’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates. The alleged Akkadian cognate cited by Militarëv—Kogan (namely, *dadānu*, *diadānu*, *daddānu* ‘neck muscles’) is a poor match semantically. Del Olmo Lette—Sanmartín (2003:285) list the Ugaritic form as *ḏd* ‘breast, bosom’. Finally, Militarëv—Kogan convincingly note regarding the Gurage forms they cite: “According to Leslau, from Oromo *dādda*, but rather vice versa in view of the comparative data.”

- B. Proto-Indo-European **dhē(i/y)-*/**dhō(i/y)-* ‘to suck, to suckle’: Sanskrit *dháyati* ‘to suck, to drink’, (causative) *dhāpáyate* ‘to give suck, to nourish’, *dhāyas-* ‘nourishing, refreshing’, *dhenú-ḥ* ‘milk’, *dhātrí* ‘nurse’, *dhāyú-ḥ* ‘voracious’, Ossetic *däin*, *däyun* ‘to suck’; Greek *θησθαι* ‘to suckle’, *θηλάζω* ‘to suckle’, *θηλή* ‘teat, nipple’, *θηλυς* ‘female’, (Hesychius) *θήνιον* ‘milk’; Armenian *diem* ‘to suck’; Albanian *djathë* ‘cheese’; Latin *fēlō* (also *fellō*) ‘to suckle, to suck’, *fēmina* ‘a female, a woman’, *filia* ‘daughter’, *filius* ‘son’; Old Irish *denaid* ‘to suck’, *dith* ‘sucked’; Gothic *daddjan* ‘to suckle’; Old Swedish *dæggia* ‘to suckle’; Old High German *tāen* ‘to suckle’; Low German (Westphalian) *daiern* ‘to raise

on milk'; Old English *dēon* 'to suck', *delu* 'nipple (of breast)', *diend* 'suckling'; Old Prussian *dadān* 'milk'; Latvian *dēju*, *dēt* 'to suck', *dēls* 'son'; Old Church Slavic *dojō*, *dojiti* 'to suckle; to milk', *děť* 'child', *děva*, *děvica* 'maiden, young girl'; Serbo-Croatian *dōjiti* 'to suckle', *dojka* 'breast'; Hittite (reduplicated) **titiya-* 'to suckle', participle (nom. sg.) *ti-ta-an-za* 'sucking', *teta(n)-*, *tita(n)-* 'breast, teat'; Luwian (dat.-loc. sg.) *ti-i-ta-ni* 'breast, teat', (nom. sg.) *ti-ta-i-(im-)me-iš* epithet of 'mother' (< 'nurturing'); Lycian *tideimi-* 'child, son' (< 'nurtured'). Rix 1998a:120 **d^heh₁(i)-* 'to suck (mother's milk)'; Pokorny 1959:241—242 **dhē(i)-* 'to suck, to suckle'; Walde 1927—1932.I:829—831 **dhēi-*; Mann 1984—1987:178 **dhedh-* 'nurse', 178 **dhēdh-* (hypocorism of a relative), 178 **dhedhlō* 'to suck', 180 **dhējō* 'to suckle, to milk; to suck at the breast', 181—182 **dhēlis*, *-jios*, *-jə* 'sucking; suckling; teat', 187 **dhētis*, *-jə* 'suckling; suckling animal', 191 *dhin jō* 'to suckle, to nourish; to suck', 195—196 **dhoin-*, *-us* 'milch; milking cow', 196 **dhojō* (**dhojō*) 'to suckle, to milk; to suck'; Watkins 1985:13 **dhē(i)-* (contracted from **dhe₂(i)-*) and 2000:18 **dhē(i)-* 'to suck' (contracted from **dhe₂(i)-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:556 **dheh₁(i)-* 'to suck'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:570 **d^hjeH(i)-* and 1995.I:487 **d^heH(i)-* 'to suckle, to nurse, to give milk'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:93, II:99, and II:114; Boisacq 1950:344 and 345 **dhē(i)-*; Hofmann 1966:115 **dhēi-*, **dhē-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:670, I:671, and I:673—674; Beekes 2010.I:546 **d^heh₁-*, I:546—547, and I:548 **d^heh₁-i-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:475—476 **dhē-*, **dhə-*, **dhēi-*, I:476—477 **dhē(i)-*, and I:496—497 **dhē-*; De Vaan 2008:210; Ernout—Meillet 1979:224 and 234; Huld 1984:52—53; Orël 1998:67 and 2003:72 Proto-Germanic **dējanan*, 72 **dōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:87 Proto-Germanic **dajjan-* 'to suckle'; Feist 1939:112—113; Lehmann 1986:86 **dhē(y)-*. Some of the Indo-European forms cited above may ultimately go back to Proto-Nostratic (n.) **da-* 'mother, sister', (reduplicated) (n.) **da-da-* 'mother, sister' (nursery words).

Buck 1949:4.41 breast (of a woman); 5.16 suck (vb.). Bomhard 1996a:205.

179. Proto-Nostratic root **dow-*, **doy-*:

(vb.) **dow-*, **doy-* 'to slacken, to slow down; to grow weary, weak, faint';

(n.) **dow-a*, **doy-a* 'slackness, slowness, laxity, weariness, fatigue'; (adj.) 'slow, slack, lax, weary'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **daw/y-ax-* 'to be or become weak, dizzy, faint' > Arabic *dāḥa* 'to conquer, to subjugate; to resign oneself, to humble oneself; to be or become dizzy, to have a feeling of dizziness; to fall ill, to be sick, to feel nausea', *dawḥa* 'vertigo, dizziness; coma; nausea'; Mehri *dayōx* 'to be or become dizzy', *dōyax* 'dizzy'; Ḥarsūsi *deyōx* 'to faint, to be dizzy, to be drunk'; Tigre *doḥa* 'to drop from exhaustion'. D. Cohen

1970— :233—234 *dw/yh. Proto-Semitic **daw/y-ak*- ‘to relax’ > Arabic *dāka* ‘to make rickety, to relax’. D. Cohen 1970— :238 *dw/yq. Proto-Semitic **daw/y-am*- ‘to take a long time; to be quiet, calm’ > Arabic *dāma* ‘to last, to continue, to go on, to endure, to remain; to persevere, to persist; to stagnate’, *dawm* ‘continuance, permanence, duration, ever-lasting’; Sabaeen *dwm* ‘lasting, permanent’; Šheri / Jibbāli *dēm* ‘to have lasted a long time; (rain) to come from everywhere’, *médīm* ‘always’; Mehri *adyēm* ‘to stay on in the one place’, *dōyām* ‘permanently living in the same place’; Ḥarsūsi *adīm* ‘to stay a long time in one place’; Akkadian *dāmu* ‘to be giddy, to stagger, to fumble’; Hebrew *dūmāh* [דומה] ‘silence’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *dūm* ‘to speak in a low voice, to be suspicious’. D. Cohen 1970— :236—237 *dw/ym; Klein 1989:118.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *toy* ‘to languish, to pine, to grow weak, to be weary, to be fatigued, to fail in energy, to droop, to faint, to flag, to become slack; to be loose, supple, yielding; to bend through weakness or lack of support’, *toyyal* ‘fainting, languishing, despondency, affliction’, *toyvu* ‘laxity, looseness (as of a rope), faintness’, *tuyaṅku* (*tuyaṅki*-) ‘(vb.) to slacken, to relax; (n.) fatigue, loss of strength or courage, misconception, confusion, sorrow, distraction’, *tuyakkam* ‘fatigue, loss of strength or courage’, *tuyavu* ‘mental distraction, perturbation’, *tuyar* ‘(vb.) to grieve, to sorrow, to lament; (n.) affliction, grief, sorrow’, *tuyaraṭi* ‘fatigue, fainting, drooping, grief’, *tuyaram* ‘sorrow, grief, calamity, trouble, pity’; Malayalam *tuyar*, *tuyaram* ‘calamity, grief, pity’, *tuyaruka* ‘to grieve’, *tuyarkka* ‘to afflict’; Telugu *dosāgu*, *dosavu* ‘calamity’; Brahui *tusing*, *tusēnging* ‘to faint, to become unconscious’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:308, no. 3513.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **dowr*- ‘slow, calm, serene, leisurely flowing’: Georgian *m-dovr-e*, *m-dovr-i*, *m-dor-e* ‘slow, calm, serene, leisurely flowing’; Svan *dwer-i* (< **dwer*- < **dwewr*- < **dōwr*- < **dowr*-) ‘slow, calm, serene, leisurely flowing’. Fähnrich 2007:236 **dowr*-.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **d^how-ks-*/**d^hu-ks-* ‘to be weary’: Sanskrit *dhukṣate* (only attested with *sam-*: *saṁdhukṣate*) ‘to be weary’ (also ‘to kindle; to live’); Bengali *dhokhā*, *dhōkā* ‘to pant, to be weary’; Middle High German *tuschen* ‘to be quiet’. Mann 1984—1987:217 **dhuksos* ‘blow, breath, sigh, groan’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:106; Turner 1966.I:390, no. 6821.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 14.22 slow (adj.).

180. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dub-a* ‘back, hind part’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dub*- ‘back, hind part’: Proto-Semitic **dub-ur*- ‘back, hind part’ > Arabic *dubr*, *dubur* ‘rump, backside, buttocks, posterior; rear part, rear, hind part; back; last part, end, tail’, (denominative) *dabara* ‘to turn one’s back’; Ḥarsūsi *adēber* ‘to turn away (from)’; Mehri *adōbər* ‘to turn the back’; Neo-Aramaic (Mandaic) *dibra* ‘back, tail’; Hebrew (inf.) *dabber*

[דָּבַר] ‘to turn the back, to turn away’, *dəβār* [דָּבַר] ‘hinder or western part of the Temple, sanctuary, the Holy of Holies’; Geez / Ethiopic *tadabara* [ተደበረ] ‘to lie on one’s back’; Tigrinya (*tä*)*däbärä* ‘to be inclined’; Tigre (*tə*)*däbära* ‘to be placed on the side (in order to be killed)’; (?) Amharic *žəbär* ‘backbone’. D. Cohen 1970— :212; Murtonen 1989:143—144; Klein 1987:113—114; Leslau 1987:121. Proto-East Cushitic **dab-/dib-/dub-* (also **dibb-/dubb-*) ‘back, tail’ > Somali *dib* ‘short tail of goat, etc.’, *dab-o* ‘tail’; Bayso *deb-e* ‘tail’; Rendille *dub* ‘tail’; Boni *tib* ‘tail’; Elmolo *dup* ‘bushy end of animal’s tail’; Dasenech *dum* ‘bushy end of animal’s tail’; Galla / Oromo *dub-a* and *duub-a* (depending on the dialect) ‘behind’; Gawwada *tup-* ‘behind, after’; Alaba *dubb-o* ‘tail’; Konso *tup-a* ‘behind’, *tup-p-aa* ‘upper back’; Harso *tup-* ‘behind, after’; Gollango *tup-* ‘behind, after’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **dubb-* ‘tail; after, behind’ > Burji *dubbá-kka* ‘younger brother’, literally, ‘he who is behind’; Gedeo / Darasa *duba* ‘tail of sheep’; Hadiyya *dubb-o* ‘behind’. Hudson 1989:237; Sasse 1979:16 and 1982:57. Central Chadic: Matakan *dəba* ‘back’; Mofu *dúbá* ‘back’; Gisiga *duba* ‘back’; Gidar *debokó* ‘back’; Musgoy *dúwəŋ* ‘back’; Musgu *dəba* ‘back’. Jungrauthmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:6—7. Orël—Stolbova 1995: 167, no. 731, **dub-* ‘back, tail’; Ehret 1995:125, no. 119, **dab-/dib-* ‘back; to come or be behind’ and 134, no. 146, **dup-* ‘lower back’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:44—45, no. 46) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **dVb(V)r-* ‘back, hind part’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates but note: “As an anatomic term has a scarce attestation.”

- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **tupp3* ‘back, backbone’ > (?) Cheremis / Mari *tup* ‘back’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *tībīr*, (Kazan) *tābār* ‘back, backbone’; (?) Hungarian (dial.) *top* ‘the thick part of a pig’s leg or ham’, (dial.) *tomp* ‘the outer skin of cattle’, *tompor* ‘buttock, haunch’ (the *-m-* is secondary). Rédei 1986—1988:538.
- C. Altaic: Manchu-Tungus: Evenki *duwukī* ‘pelvis, pelvic bone, lower back, rump (of a horse or a reindeer)’; Udihe *deuxi* ‘pelvis, pelvic bone’; Written Manchu *du* ‘thigh, thighbone, femur’.

Buck 1949:4.18 tail; 4.19 back. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 499, **dub[?]V* ‘back, hinder part, tail’.

181. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dud-a* ‘tip, point’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *tuṭi* ‘lip’; Malayalam *coṭi* ‘lip’; Kota *tuc* ‘lip’; Kannada *tuṭi*, *toḍi* ‘lip’; Tuḷu *duḍi* ‘lip, snout of an animal’; Koraga *tonḍi* ‘lip’; Gondi *toṭi* ‘lip’, *toḍḍi* ‘mouth, face’; Kui *tōḍa* ‘lip’; Malto *toro* ‘mouth’, *toto* ‘beak’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:288, no. 3296. Semantic development from ‘tip, point’ to ‘beak, snout’ to ‘mouth’ to ‘lip’ as in

Czech *ret* ‘lip’ in view of Russian *rot* [pot] ‘mouth’, Serbo-Croatian *rt* ‘promontory’, and Old Church Slavic *рътъ* ‘peak’. Malayalam *tottu* ‘nipple’; Kannaḍa *toṭṭu* ‘nipple, point’; Tuḷu *toṭṭu* ‘nipple of a breast’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:307, no. 3488. Semantic development as in Svan *dudūl* ‘breast, nipple’. Note also Proto-Dravidian **tut-* ‘tip, point, end’ (assuming progressive assimilation from earlier **tut-*, which is partially preserved in the reduplicated form **tuṭṭa-tut-* found in Kannaḍa and Telugu): Tamil *tuti* ‘point, sharp edge’; Kannaḍa *tudi* ‘end, point, top, tip, extremity’, (reduplicated) *tuṭṭatudi*, *tuttatudi* ‘the very point or end’; Tuḷu *tudi* ‘point, end, extremity, top’; Telugu *tuda* ‘end, extremity, tip’, *tudi* ‘termination, end’, (reduplicated) *tuṭṭatuda* ‘the very end or extremity’; Malto *tota* ‘point, pointed’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:290, no. 3314.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **dud-* ‘tip point’: Georgian *dud-* ‘tip, point; comb, crest (of a bird)’ (Zan loan); Mingrelian *dud-i* ‘head’; Laz *dud-i* ‘crown, top of head; top, summit, peak; tip, point’; Svan *dudūl* ‘breast, nipple’. Klimov 1964:75 **dud-* and 1998:42—43 **dud-* ‘tip’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:113 **dud-*; Fähnrich 2007:137 **dud-*.

(?) Sumerian *du-du-ru* ‘high (mountain)’.

Buck 1949:4.24 mouth; 4.25 lip. Bomhard 1996a:227, no. 642.

182. Proto-Nostratic root **dul-* (~ **dol-*):

- (vb.) **dul-* ‘to burn, to be bright, to warm, to heat up’;
 (n.) **dul-a* ‘heat, warmth, fire’

- A. Proto-Dravidian (**tuly-* >) **tuḷ-* ‘to shine, to sparkle, to glitter, to be bright’: Tamil *tuḷaṅku* (*tuḷaṅki-*) ‘to shine; to be bright, luminous; to radiate’, *tuḷumpu* (*tuḷumpi-*) ‘to sparkle, to glitter, to shine’; Malayalam *tuḷaṅṅuka* ‘to glitter’; Kannaḍa *toḷagu* ‘to shine, to be full of splendor’; Telugu *tulakincu* ‘to shine, to rejoice’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:293, no. 3360.
- B. Proto-Uralic **tuli* ‘fire’: Finnish *tuli* ‘fire’; Lapp / Saami *dollâ/dolâ-* ‘fire’; Mordvin *tol* ‘fire’; Cheremis / Mari *tōl, tul* ‘fire’; Votyak / Udmurt *tyl* ‘fire’; Zyrian / Komi *tyl-kōrt* ‘iron for striking fire’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *tuu* ‘fire’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *tuj* ‘fire’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tuu* ‘fire’; Selkup Samoyed *tüü* ‘fire’; Motor *tuj* ‘fire’. Collinder 1955:63 and 1977:80; Rédei 1986—1988:535 **tule*; Décsy 1990:109 **tula* ‘fire’; Sammallahti 1988:540 **tuli* ‘fire’; Janhunen 1977b:166 **tuj*; Zhivlov 2023:165 Proto-Uralic **tuli* ‘fire’, Proto-Finnic **tule-*.
- C. Proto-Altaic **dīūlu* ‘warm’: Proto-Tungus **dūl-* ‘to warm’ > Evenki *dūl-* ‘to warm, to heat up’; Lamut / Even *dūl-* ‘to warm’. Proto-Mongolian **dulayan* ‘warm’ > Written Mongolian *dulayan* ‘warm’; Khalkha *dulān* ‘warm’; Buriat *dulān* ‘warm’; Ordos *dulān* ‘warm’; Dagur *dulān* ‘warm’;

Kalmyk *dulān* ‘warm’. Poppe 1955:31. Proto-Turkic **yili-g* ‘warm’ > Old Turkic *yiliy* ‘warm’; Turkish *ılık* ‘tepid, lukewarm’; Gagauz *ili* ‘warm’; Azerbaijani *ilig* ‘warmish’; Uzbek *iliq* ‘warm’; Turkmenian *yili* ‘warm’; Uighur *ilman* ‘warm’; Karaim *yili* ‘warm’; Tatar *žili* ‘warm’; Bashkir *yili* ‘warm’; Kirghiz *žiluu* ‘warm’; Kazakh *žili* ‘warm’; Noghay *yili* ‘warm’; Tuva *čiliy* ‘warm’; Yakut *silās* ‘warm’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:480—481 **djuilu* ‘warm’; Poppe 1960:23 and 75; Street 1974:12 **dul-* ‘to warm’.

- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **dlə* ‘sky’: Amur *tlə* ‘sky’; North Sakhalin *tlə* ‘sky’; East Sakhalin *tlə* ‘sky’ (also *klə*); South Sakhalin *tlə/klə* ‘sky’. Fortescue 2016:43.

Buck 1949:1.51 sky, heavens; 1.81 fire; 1.85 burn (vb.); 15.85 hot, warm. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:274—275, no. 87; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:221—222, no. 71, **duli*; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2273, **tul/|V* ‘to be bright/light’.

183. Proto-Nostratic root **dul-* (~ **dol-*):

- (vb.) **dul-* ‘to disturb, to perplex, to bewilder, to confuse, to ruffle, to upset, to baffle, to stir up trouble, to agitate; to be disturbed, perplexed, bewildered, confused, ruffled, upset, baffled, troubled, agitated’ (> ‘to drive someone crazy, mad, insane; to be crazy, mad, insane; to be dumb, stupid’);
 (n.) **dul-a* ‘confusion, disturbance, trouble, agitation, perplexity’ (> ‘madness, craziness, insanity; stupidity’)

Note also:

- (vb.) **dal-* ‘to stir up, to disturb, to roil (water), to agitate; to be disturbed, confused, agitated, troubled’;
 (n.) **dal-a* ‘disturbance, agitation’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *daliha* ‘to rob someone of his senses, to drive someone crazy (love); to go out of one’s mind, to go crazy (with love); to be stunned, perplexed’, *mudallah* ‘madly in love’; Ḥarsūsi *déleh* ‘foolish, silly’. D. Cohen 1970— :262. Arabic *daliya* ‘to be stunned, perplexed, bewildered’; Arabic (Eastern) (?) *dālī* ‘crazy’; Arabic (Maghrebi) *būdālī* ‘insane, stupid; to relapse to second childhood’. D. Cohen 1970— :264. Arabic *dali*^o ‘stupid, insipid, flat (of taste)’. D. Cohen 1970— :267.
 B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *tollai* ‘trouble, perplexity, difficulty, work’; Malayalam *tolla* ‘trouble, vexation, danger’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 309, no. 3521.
 C. Proto-Indo-European **dhul-* ‘(vb.) to be disturbed, confused, perplexed, troubled; (adj.) mad, raving, crazy, insane’ (secondary full-grade forms: **dhwel-/ *dhwol-*): Gothic *dwals* ‘foolish’; Old Icelandic *dulinn*, *dularfullr*, *dulsamr* ‘self-conceited’, *dulnaðr*, *dulremmi* ‘conceit, self-conceit’; Old English *dol* ‘(adj.) foolish, presumptuous; dim-witted, stupid; (n.) folly, conceit’, *dwelian* ‘to lead astray, to lead into error, to lead into wrong-

doing; to deceive, to prevent, to thwart, to afflict', *dwellan* 'to lead astray, to deceive', *dwolung* 'insanity', *dwolma* 'chaos, confusion', *gedwolen* 'perverse, wrong', *gedwol* 'heretical', *dwolian* 'to stray, to err', *gedwield*, *dwild* 'error, heresy'; Old Saxon *dol* 'mad, raving, crazy', *farwolan* 'confused'; Old High German *tol* 'mad, furious' (New High German *toll* 'mad, raving, crazy, insane'), *gitwelan* 'to be perplexed', *twalm* 'confusion'. As noted by Kluge—Seebold (1989:731), this particular range of meanings seems only to occur in the Germanic languages, and further cognates are uncertain. Consequently, the suggestion that **d^hwel-* is an extended form of the Proto-Indo-European root **d^hew-* 'to rise in a cloud (dust, vapor, smoke, etc.)' needs to be seriously re-evaluated and even abandoned in light of the cognates adduced here from other Nostratic languages. Pokorny 1959:265—266 **dh(e)uel-* 'to whirl about; to be disturbed'; Walde 1927—1932.I:842—843 **dh(e)uel-*; Mann 1984—1987:218 **dhulos* (**dhuł-*) 'dull, dim, numbstruck' — "A variant: a true z-gde of type **dhuēl-*, **dhuol-* occurs in OE *dwol* 'heretical'", 229 (**dhuol-*) "O-gde forms only in Gmc."; Watkins 1985:14 **dhwel-* and 2000:19 **dhwel-*; Orël 2003:81 Proto-Germanic **đwalaz*, 81 **đwaljanan*, 81 **đwalō(n)*, 81 **đwalanan*, 81 **đwulaz*; Feist 1939:130 **dhuēl-* 'confused, perplexed, bewildered; to be disturbed, ruffled, upset, troubled'; Lehmann 1986:98; Kroonen 2013:108 Proto-Germanic **dula-* 'foolish, crazy', 110—111 **dwaljan-* 'to delay, to hinder', and 112 **dweLAN-* 'to err'; Klein 1971:231 **dhwel-* 'muddy, gloomy, dim, dull'; Barnhart 1995:225 Proto-Germanic **dulaz*; Onions 1966:293; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:780—781 **dh(e)uel-* 'disturbed, ruffled, upset, troubled'; Kluge—Seebold 1989:731 Proto-Germanic **dweL-a-* 'to be disturbed, ruffled, upset, troubled'.

- D. Uralic: Ob-Ugric: Ostyak / Xanty (Vah, Vasyugan, Tremyugan) *tul'*, (Yugan) *tul*, (Demyanka) *tül*, (Nizyam) *tül* 'mad'.
- E. Proto-Altaic **düli* 'mad, crazy': Proto-Tungus **dulbu-* 'stupid, dumb; deaf' > Evenki *dulbu-n* 'stupid, dumb'; Lamut / Even *dulbur* 'stupid, dumb'; Manchu *dulba* 'careless, inexperienced, foolish (because of lack of experience)'; Nanay / Gold *dulbi* 'deaf'; Orok *dul-dul* 'stupid, dumb'. Proto-Mongolian **dülei* 'deaf' > Written Mongolian *dülei* 'deaf; dull, lusterless, not transparent, clouded', *dülei balai* 'dunce, blockhead, numbskull'; Khalkha *düliy* 'dull, dim'; Buriat *düliy* 'deaf'; Kalmyk *dülē* 'deaf'; Ordos *düli* 'deaf'; Dagur *dulī* 'deaf'; Dongxiang *dulei* 'deaf'; Shira-Yughur *delī-* 'deaf'; Monguor *dulī* 'deaf'. Proto-Turkic **yül-* 'to be mad, crazy' > Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *d'ül-* 'to be mad, crazy'; Chuvash *šilə* 'anger'; Yakut *sül-* 'to be sexually excited'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:485 **düli* 'mad, crazy'.

Buck 1949:4.95 deaf; 4.96 dumb; 16.43 rage, fury; 17.22 foolish, stupid; 17.23 insane, mad, crazy. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 525, **dü|UhV* 'to be mad, to be

stupid' (Dolgopolsky does not include the Dravidian and Indo-European cognates).

184. Proto-Nostratic root **dul^y-* (~ **dol^y-*):

(vb.) **dul^y-* 'to dangle, to hang, to swing back and forth';

(n.) **dul^y-a* 'hanging, swinging; shaking, agitation, disturbance'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dul-* 'to dangle, to hang': Proto-Semitic **dal-aw-* 'to hang, to suspend; to be hanging, suspended' > Hebrew *dālāh* [דָּלָה] 'to draw (water)'; Akkadian *dalū* 'to draw water from a well'; Arabic *dalā* 'to let hang, to dangle, to hang, to suspend'; Sabaean *dlw* 'weight'; Ḥarsūsi *adē(ye)l* 'to pull up by a rope'; *dōlew* 'well-bucket'; Šheri / Jibbāli *délé* 'to pull up by a rope'; Mehri *dālō* 'to pull up by a rope'; Geez / Ethiopic *dalawa*, *dallawa* [ደለወ] 'to weigh'; Tigrinya *dälāwä* 'to weigh'; Amharic *dälla* 'to be measured out, to be weighed'. D. Cohen 1970— :262—263; Klein 1987:125; Leslau 1987:132; Murtonen 1989:149. Proto-Semitic **dal-aḱ-* 'to shake, to tremble; to be shaken' > Geez / Ethiopic *dalaka* [ደለቀ] 'to be agitated, to be shaken, to be turbulent, to move quickly', *?adlaklaka* [አደለቀለቀ] 'to shake (intr.), to be shaken, to quake, to tremble, to cause to quake, to cause to tremble', *dələklək* [ደለቀለቀ] 'shaking, violent agitation, rattling, trembling, quaking, tumult, uproar, commotion, tempest, earthquake'; Tigre *däläkläka* 'to shake, to tremble', *dələklək* 'earthquake'; Tigrinya *dələklək* 'earthquake'; Amharic (*a-*)*dläkälläkä* 'to shake'; Harari *dillik āša* 'to hit violently and produce a sound'. D. Cohen 1970— :268—269; Leslau 1987:131. Proto-Semitic **dal-al-* 'to hang down, to dangle' > Hebrew *dālal* [דָּלַל] 'to hang down, to dangle'; Geez / Ethiopic *dalala*, *dallala* [ደለለ] 'to comb the hair, to braid the hair, to trim the hair neatly'. Klein 1987:126; Leslau 1987:131; Murtonen 1989:149. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **dal-dal-* 'to set into a swinging motion, to dangle' > Arabic *daldala* 'to set into a swinging motion, to dangle', *tadaldala* 'to hang loosely, to dangle'; Mehri *əndəldöl* 'to hang swinging'; Šheri / Jibbāli *əndəldél* '(clothes, tail) to drag, to sweep the ground'. D. Cohen 1970— :261—262. Ehret 1995:130, no. 137, **dul-* 'to raise, to pull above'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tuḷaṅku* (*tuḷaṅki-*) 'to move, to sway from side to side (as an elephant), to shake, to be perturbed, to be uprooted, to droop', *tuḷakku* (*tuḷakki-*) 'to move, to shake, to bow, to nod', *tuḷakkam* 'shaking, waving, motion, agitation of mind, fear, dread, diminishing, dwindling', *tuḷaṅku* (*tuḷaṅki-*) 'to hang, to swing, to be agitated, to be disturbed', *tuḷuṅku* (*tuḷuṅki-*) 'to shake, to toss'; Malayalam *tuḷaṅṅuka* 'to move tremulously', *tuḷakkam* 'shaking'; Kannaḍa *tuḷaku*, *tuḷiku*, *tuḷuku*, *tuḷuṅku* 'to be agitated, to shake'; Telugu *dulupu* 'to shake so as to remove dust, etc.; to shake off, to get rid of'; Kui *tlānga* (*tlāngi-*) 'to be rocked to and fro, to pitch, to

sway, to be tossed violently backwards and forwards and up and down'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:293, no. 3359.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **dʰol-/dʰl-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **dʰel-*) 'to swing, to dangle': Armenian *dolam* 'to tremble, to shake, to quiver'; Swedish (dial.) *dilla* 'to swing, to dangle'; Low German *dallen* 'to dangle'. Pokorny 1959:246 **dʰel-* 'to tremble'; Walde 1927—1932.I:865 **dʰel-*.

185. Proto-Nostratic root **dum-* (~ **dom-*):

(vb.) **dum-* 'to cut (off), to sever';

(n.) **dum-a* 'cut, severance; piece cut off, bit, fragment'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dum-* 'to split, to pierce': Proto-Semitic **dam-ay-* 'to destroy' > Hebrew *dāmāh* [דָּמָה] 'to cut off, to destroy'; Akkadian *damtu* 'destruction'. D. Cohen 1970— :272. Egyptian *dm* 'to be sharp, to sharpen, to pierce', *dmt* 'knife', *dmʃ* 'to cut off (heads)'. Hannig 1995:978; Faulkner 1962:312 and 313; Erman—Grapow 1921:214 and 1926—1963.5:448, 5:449; Gardiner 1957:602. Berber: Riff *əddəm* 'to split'. Perhaps also: Tamazight *dəmməc* 'to give someone a slap in the face'; Nefusa *dummict* 'fist, strike, blow'; Mzab *tdummict*, *əddumict* 'strike, blow'. Lowland East Cushitic **dum-* 'to be destroyed' > Somali *dum-* 'to be destroyed'. Berber: Riff *əddəm* 'to split'. West Chadic **dum-* 'to plunge a weapon (into a person)' > Hausa *duma* 'to strike someone with something'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:169, no. 740, **dum-* 'to destroy', 170, no. 743, **dum-* 'to split, to pierce'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tumi* (-*v-*, -*nt-*) 'to be cut off, severed; to perish, to be crushed', *tumi* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) 'to cut off, to saw, to keep off, to obstruct', *tumi* 'cut, severance'; Telugu *tumuru* 'a small piece or bit', *tuttumuru* 'small bits or fragments, powder, dust'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:290, no. 3325.

Buck 1949:11.27 destroy.

186. Proto-Nostratic root **dum-* (~ **dom-*):

(vb.) **dum-* 'to be silent';

(n.) **dum-a* 'silence'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **dam-am-* 'to be quiet, silent, still' > Hebrew *dāmam* [דָּמַם] 'to be or grow dumb, silent, still'; Ugaritic *dm* 'to be still, quiet'; Mandaic *dndm* (< **dmdm*) 'to be deprived of speech or movement by emotion, to be stupefied', *dmm* 'to come to a stop'; Geez / Ethiopic *tadamma* [ተደሙ], *tadamama* [ተደሙሙ] 'to be silent, to stop, to be immobile, to be stupefied, to be astonished, to be amazed, to marvel, to wonder, to be dumbfounded, to be confused', *dəmām* [ደማም] 'satisfaction, astonishment, marvel, wonder, silence'; Gurage (Endegeñ) *dəmm barä* 'to be quiet, to be silent'. D. Cohen 1970— :274; Leslau 1979:207 and

1987:134; Klein 1987:127; Murtonen 1989:151. According to Leslau (1987:134), the original meaning was ‘to be silent’ > ‘to be deprived of speech’ > ‘to be stupefied, to marvel’. Proto-Semitic **da/wa/m-* ‘to be silent’ > Hebrew *dūmām* [דומם] ‘stillness, silence’. Klein 1987:118; D. Cohen 1970— :236—237. Proto-Semitic **dam-ay-* ‘to be silent’ > Hebrew *dāmī* [דָּמִי] ‘silence, quiet, rest’. D. Cohen 1970— :272; Klein 1987:127.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **dum-* ‘to keep silent about, to hold one’s tongue’: Georgian *dum-* ‘to keep silent about, to hold one’s tongue’, *dum-il-i* ‘silence’; Svan *dwm-*, *dwim-* ‘to hide, to conceal, to keep secret’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:114 **dum-*; Klimov 1998:43 **dum-* ‘to be(come) silent’; Fähnrich 2007:139 **dum-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **dh̥mbh-* (‘to be silent’ > ‘to be deprived of speech’ >) ‘to be dumb, mute’: Gothic *dumbs* ‘dumb’; Old Icelandic *dumbr* ‘dumb, mute’; Danish *dum* ‘dull, stupid’; Swedish *dum* ‘dull, stupid’; Old English *dumb* ‘dumb, silent’; Old Frisian *dumb* ‘dumb, stupid’; Old Saxon *dumb* ‘simple’; Dutch *dom* ‘stupid, dull, foolish’; Old High German *tumb*, *tump* ‘mute, dumb, unintelligible’ (New High German *dumm*). Mann 1984—1987:193 **dh̥mbh-* ‘stupefied; stupor’; Kroonen 2013:108 Proto-Germanic **dumba-* ‘dumb’; Orël 2003:79 Proto-Germanic **dumbaz*; Feist 1939:129; Lehmann 1986:97—98; De Vries 1977:87; Onions 1966:293; Hoad 1986:137; Klein 1971:231; Skeat 1898:182; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:147 **dhumbhos*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:159.

Buck 1949:12.19 quiet (adj.); 12.27 hide, conceal; 17.36 secret (adj.); 18.23 be silent. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 537, **dūmV* ‘to be motionless, to be silent, to be quiet’.

187. Proto-Nostratic root **dum-* (~ **dom-*):

(vb.) **dum-* ‘to cover over, to obscure; to cloud over; to become dark, to make dark, to darken’;

(n.) **dum-a* ‘darkness, cloud, fog’; (adj.) ‘dark, cloudy’

Derivative:

(n.) (**dum-k^w-a* >) **dun-k^w-a* ‘darkness, cloud’; (adj.) ‘dark, cloudy’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dum-* (vb.) to become dark, to make dark, to darken; to cloud over; (adj.) dark, cloudy; (n.) darkness, cloud, fog’: Proto-Semitic **dam-an-* ‘to cloud over, to become dark’ > Geez / Ethiopic *damma* [ደመ] ‘to cloud over, to obscure, to become cloudy’, *dammun* ‘cloudy’; Tigre *dāmāna* ‘cloud’; Tigrinya *dämmāna* ‘cloud’; Gurage *dämmāna* ‘cloud’; Argobba *dammāna* ‘cloud’; Gafat *dämmänä* ‘cloud’; Amharic *dammāna*, *dämmāna* ‘cloud’; Harari *dāna* ‘cloud’. Leslau 1963:57, 1979:209, and 1987:134—135; D. Cohen 1970— :274—275. Proto-Semitic **dam-am-* ‘to close, to cover’ > Arabic *damma* ‘to stop up (a hole), to

level'; Geez / Ethiopic *dammama* [ደመመ] 'to close, to cover, to fill up, to heap up, to level'; Tigre *damāma* 'to close the udder'; Gurage *dāmāddāmā* 'to block the mouth of someone, to finish thatching a house'. D. Cohen 1970— :274; Leslau 1987:134. Proto-East Cushitic **dum-* 'to become dark' > Koyra *duuma* 'cloud'; Galla / Oromo *dum-eesa* 'cloud, fog'; Somali *dum-* 'cloud, fog'. Sasse 1982:58. Chadic: Ngizim *dāmán* 'rainy season'. Ehret 1995:133, no. 143, **dumn-* 'cloud'. Ehret also reconstructs a Proto-Cushitic variant **damn-*. However, the Cushitic forms with *a*, such as Awngi / Awiya *dammānā* 'cloud' and Kemant *dāmāna* 'cloud', for example, may be loans from Ethiopian Semitic. Orël—Stolbova 1995:149, no. 645, reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **dam-* 'cloud'.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **dh̥m̥-* (secondary full-grade forms: **dh̥em-/dh̥om-*) '(vb.) to become dark, to make dark, to darken; (adj.) dark, cloudy; (n.) darkness, cloud': Old Icelandic *dimmr* 'dim, dark', *dimma* 'to make dark, to darken'; Old Swedish *dimber* 'dim, dark'; Norwegian *dimm* 'dark'; Danish *dim* 'dark'; Old English *dimm* 'dark'; Old Frisian *dimm* 'dark'; Old High German *timber* 'dark, gloomy' (New High German [dial.] *timmer*), (*be*)*timberēn* 'to become dark', *petimberen* 'to darken', *timberī* 'darkness'; Old Irish *dem* 'black, dark'. Pokorny 1959:247—248 **dhem-*, **dhemā-* 'to fly about like dust'; Walde 1927—1932.I:851—852 **dhem-*, **dhemā-*; Mann 1984—1987:182 **dhēmāros* 'gloomy, grim', 182—183 **dhemjō* (**dhembh-*) 'to darken', 183 **dhēmnos* (**dh̥m̥no-*) 'obscure, dim, strange, sinister'; Orël 2003:70 Proto-Germanic **demmaz*, 70 **demmojanan*; Kroonen 2013:96 Proto-Germanic **dimma-* 'dark'; De Vries 1977:77; Torp 1919:63; Onions 1966:268; Klein 1967:213. In the standard Indo-European etymological dictionaries, what were originally two separate stems are usually mistakenly lumped together: (1) **dhem-* 'to blow' and (2) **dh̥em-* '(vb.) to become dark, to make dark, to darken; (adj.) dark, cloudy; (n.) darkness, cloud'.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.73 cloud; 15.63 dark (in color). Bomhard—Kerns 1984:267, no. 77; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 539, **d[ú]hmV* ~ **d[ú]mhV* '(to be) dark'.

188. Proto-Nostratic (n.) (**dum-k'w-a* >) **dun-k'w-a* 'darkness, cloud'; (adj.) 'dark, cloudy':
 Derivative of:
 (vb.) **dum-* 'to cover over, to obscure; to cloud over; to become dark, to make dark, to darken';
 (n.) **dum-a* 'darkness, cloud, fog'; (adj.) 'dark, cloudy'
- A. Proto-Indo-European **dh̥nk'w-* (secondary full-grade forms: **dh̥enk'w-/dh̥onk'w-*) '(vb.) to cover over, to obscure, to be or become dark; (adj.) dark': Hittite *da-an-ku-i-iš* 'black, dark', (3rd sg. pres.) *da-an-ku-e-eš-zi* 'to

become dark, to become black’, (3rd pl. pret.) *da-an-ku-ni-eš-kir* ‘to make dark, to make black’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *da-ak-ku-ú-i-iš* ‘dark’; Welsh *dew* (< **dhenk*^w*o-s*) ‘fog, gloom, dusk’; Old Icelandic *dökkva* ‘to make dark, to darken’, *dökk* ‘dark’; Old Frisian *diunk* (< Proto-Germanic **denkwa-z*) ‘dark’; Old Saxon *dunkar* ‘dark’; Old High German *tunchar*, *dunkal*, *tunchal*, *tunkal* ‘dark’ (New High German *dunkel*); Latvian *danga* (< **dʰonk*^w*eA*) ‘morass, mire’; Lithuanian *dengiù*, *deñgti* ‘to cover’, *dingsiù*, *dingsėti* ‘to be hidden’, *dangà* ‘cover, roof, garment’, *dangùs* ‘sky’. Pokorny 1959:248 **dheng*^u*o-*, **dheng*^u*ī-* ‘foggy, misty’; Walde 1927—1932.I:851; Mann 1984—1987:184 **dheng*^u*hō*, *-jō* ‘to cover, to protect’, 193—194 **dhng*^u*hos* ‘dark, hidden; hiding place, cover’, **dhng*^u*hō* ‘to hide’, 198 **dhong*^u*hos*, *-ā*, *-us* ‘covering, cover, arch’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:200 **d[h]ŋk*⁻ and 1995.I:173 **dʰŋ-k*⁻ ‘dark’; Mallory—Adams 1997:147 **dh(o)ngu-* ‘dark’; Puhvel 1974:294; Benveniste 1962:70 **dhng*^{w-}; Orël 2003:68 Proto-Germanic **dankwaz* ~ **denkwaz*; Kroonen 2013:96 Proto-Germanic **dinkwa-* ‘dark’; De Vries 1977:92; Kluge—Seebold 1989:160 Proto-Germanic **denkw-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:147—148 **dhengwos*; Bomhard 1984:115; Kloekhorst 2008b:829; Smoczyński 2007.1:100—101; Derksen 2015:114, 115, 121—122 **dʰengh-*, and 130—131; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:88—89.

- B. Proto-Eskimo **tujū-* ‘to be dark blue (as ripe berry)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Alaska Peninsula) *tujū(tə)-* ‘to become tanned (by sun)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *tujū-* ‘to be black’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *tujūq-* ‘to be bluish, dark’; North Alaskan Inuit *tujū-* ‘to be blue in the face’, *tujūq-* ‘to be blue (also of bruise)’; Western Canadian Inuit *tujū-* ‘to be blue, dark (of cloud)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *tujūq-* ‘to be blue, dark’, *tujūniq* ‘black cloud, blue-black ice’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:352. Proto-Eskimo **tujvar-* or **tujvay-* ‘to store away or bury’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *tujmaXtə-* ‘to get closer to finishing’; Central Alaskan Yupik *tujmaxtə-* ‘to bury (the dead)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *tumvaXtə-* ‘to bury, to acquire’; Central Siberian Yupik *tujmaxtə-* ‘to store away for later use, to murder’; Sirenik *tujmaxtə-* ‘to store away for later use’; North Alaskan Inuit *tujvaq-* ‘to put away’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:352—353.

Sumerian *dungu* ‘cloud’.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.73 cloud; 15.63 dark (in color). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:267—268, no. 78.

189. Proto-Nostratic root **dun-* (~ **don-*):
 (vb.) **dun-* ‘to run, to flow (out), to leak’;
 (n.) **dun-a* ‘flow, spill, leak’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **dun-* ‘to leak (for example, bag, roof)’, **dun-am-* ‘to leak (for example, water)’ > Geddo / Darasa *dun-* ‘to leak (for example, bag, roof)’, *dun-em-* ‘to leak (for example, water)’; Hadiyya *dun-* ‘to leak (for example, bag, roof), to sprinkle (water), to pour’, *dun-am-* ‘to leak (for example, water)’; Kambata *dun-* ‘to leak (for example, bag, roof)’, *dun-am-* ‘(of liquid) to leak’; Sidamo *du'n-am-* ‘to leak (for example, water)’. Hudson 1989:89.
- B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *tundnā* ‘to be poured out, to spill, to pour into’, *tundrnā* ‘to be poured out, spilt’; Malto *tunde* ‘to spill, to shed, to throw out (as water)’, *tundgre* ‘to be spilt, to be shed’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:290, no. 3321.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **dn-* ‘to run, to flow; to melt’: Georgian *da-dn-ob-a* ‘to melt’; Mingrelian (**dn-* >) *din-*, *dən-* ‘to disappear; to lose, to get lost’; Laz (**dn-* >) *ndin-*, *ndun-*, *dun-* ‘to lose, to get lost; to disappear’; Svan (**li-dn-e* >) *lī-n-e* ‘to melt’. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:878 and 1995.I:774 **den-/din-* ‘to flow’, **dḡ-* ‘to melt’; Klimov 1964:74 **dn-* and 1998:41—42 **dn-* ‘to melt, to thaw’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995: 112—113 **dn-*; Schmidt 1962:105; Fähnrich 2007:135—136 **dn-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **d^hḡ-* (secondary full-grade forms: **d^hen-/d^hon-*) ‘to run, to flow’: Sanskrit *dhānvati* ‘to run, to flow’, *dhanáyati* ‘to set in motion, to run’; Old Persian *dan-* ‘to flow’; Tocharian A *tsän-* ‘to flow’, B *tseñe* ‘river, stream, current’; (?) Latin *fōns*, *-tis* ‘spring, fountain’. Rix 1998a:125—126 **d^henh₂-* ‘to be set in motion, to run off or away’; Pokorny 1959:249 **dhen-* ‘to run, to flow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:852 **dhen-*; Mann 1984—1987:184 **dhenyō* ‘to flow’; Watkins 1985:13 **dhen-* and 2000:18 **dhen-* ‘to run, to flow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:671, II:878 **d^hjen-* and 1995.I:578, I:774 **d^hen-* ‘to run, to flow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:491 **dhen-* ‘to run, to flow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:90 **dhen-* and II:91—92; De Vaan 2008:230—231; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:525; Ernout—Meillet 1979:244—245; Adams 1999:741 **d^hen-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:527 **dhen-*.

Buck 1949:10.32 flow (vb.); 10.46 run (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:271—272, no. 83. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 543, **duñV* (or **dūñV*) ‘to stream, to flow’.

190. Proto-Nostratic root **dun^v-* (~ **don^v-*):

(vb.) **dun^v-* ‘to cut off, to cleave, to split’;

(n.) **dun^v-a* ‘part, share; piece cut off, bit, fragment’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **d[u]n-* ‘to cut, to cut off, to cleave’: Semitic: Tigre *dänna* ‘to cut off’. D. Cohen 1970— :283—284. Egyptian *dn* ‘to cut, to cut off, to cleave, to split, to wound’, *dndn* ‘to attack, to do violence’, *dni* ‘to cut, to divide, to distribute’, *dnd* ‘to slaughter, to kill’, *dnn* ‘to cut, to split’, *dnnw* ‘share, part, division’. Faulkner 1962:313 and 314; Hannig 1995:981

and 983; Erman—Grapow 1921:214, 215 and 1926—1963.5:463, 5:466, 5:472; Gardiner 1957:602. Orël—Stolbova 1995:173, no. 762, **dVn-* ‘to cut off’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tunī* ‘to be sundered, cut, severed; to be removed; to be torn; to become clear; to resolve; to determine, to ascertain, to conclude; to commence; to cut, to sever, to chop off’; Malayalam *tunī* ‘piece’; Kannada *tunaka, tunaku, tunuku, tuḷaku* ‘fragment, piece, bit’; Telugu *tuniya* ‘piece, bit, fragment’, *tuniyu, tunūgu* ‘to be cut or broken to pieces’, *tun(u)mu* ‘to cut’; Naikri *tunke* ‘half portion (of bread)’; Gondi *tunkī* ‘a piece’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:289, no. 3305. Tamil *tunṭam* ‘piece, fragment, bit’, *tunṭi* ‘to cut, to sever, to tear up, to divide, to separate’, *tunṭu* ‘piece, bit, fragment, slice, section, division’; Malayalam *tunṭam* ‘piece, bit, slice’, *tunṭikka* ‘to cut to pieces, to cut off (as the throat)’; Kota *tunḍ* ‘piece’; Kannada *tunḍisu* ‘to cut or break into pieces, to make piecemeal’, *tunḍu* ‘fragment, piece, bit’; Koḍagu *tunḍ-* (*tunḍi-*) ‘to break’; Tuḷu *tunḍu* ‘piece, slice’; Telugu *tunḍa, tunḍamu* ‘piece, fragment’, *tunḍincu* ‘to cut, to sever’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:289, no. 3310.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **dʰn̥-* (secondary full-grade forms: **dʰen-/dʰon-*) ‘to cut, to cut off, to cleave’: Old Icelandic *dengja* ‘to hammer, to whet a scythe’, *dyntr, dyttr* ‘stroke, blow, dint’; Old English *dynt* ‘stroke, blow, bruise’, *dengan* ‘to beat, to strike’; Albanian (Gheg) *dhend, dhên* ‘to lop off, to cut down’. Pokorny 1959:249—250 **dhen-* ‘to hit, to thrust’; Walde 1927—1932.I:853—854 **dhen-* ‘to hit, to thrust’; Mann 1984—1987:184 **dhenguhō* ‘to bang, to beat, to force, to thrust’ (variant **dhengh-*); Orël 2003:79 Proto-Germanic **ḍuntiz*; De Vries 1977:75 and 90; Onions 1966:269; Klein 1971:214.

Sumerian *dun* ‘to dig (with a hoe)’.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:263—264, no. 73; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 542, **dōnV* ‘to cut’.

191. Proto-Nostratic root **dur-* (~ **dor-*):

(vb.) **dur-* ‘to bore, to drill, to make a hole’;

(n.) **dur-a* ‘hole, opening’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *tura* ‘to tunnel, to bore’, *turappu* ‘tunnel’, *turappaṇam* ‘auger, drill, tool for boring holes’; *turuvu (turuvi-)* ‘(vb.) to bore, to drill, to perforate, to scrape out (as the pulp of a coconut); (n.) hole, scraping, scooping’, *turuval* ‘scrapings (as of coconut pulp), boring, drilling’; Malayalam *turakka* ‘to bury, to undermine’, *turappaṇam* ‘carpenter’s drill, gimlet’, *turavu* ‘burrowing, mine, hole’, *tura* ‘hole, burrow’; Kannada *turi, turuvu* ‘(vb.) to hollow, to bore, to drill, to make a hole, to grate, to scrape (as fruits), to scrape out (as a kernel out of its shell); (n.) grating, scraping

out'; Tuḷu *turipini*, *turipuni*, *turupuni* 'to bore, to perforate, to string (as beads)', *turiyuni*, *turuvuni* 'to be bored, perforated, strung'; Telugu *turumu* 'to scrape with a toothed instrument (as the kernel of a coconut)'; Parji *туру* 'soil dug out in a heap by rats'; Koṇḍa *truk-* '(pig) to root up earth with snout'; Kui *trupka* (< **truk-p-*; *trukt-*) 'to bore, to pierce', *truspa* (*trust-*) 'to be pierced, holed', *trunga* (*trungi-*) 'to become a hole, to be pierced'; Kuṛux *tūrnā* 'to pierce through, to perforate'; Malto *túre* 'to scratch out'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:291—292, no. 3339. Kannāḍa *toralu*, *torāle* 'hole', *toṛe*, *ḍoṛe* 'hollow, hole'; Telugu *tora*, *torāṭa*, *torra* 'hole, cavity (in a tree)'; Gondi *dora* 'hole (in a tree)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:310, no. 3533.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **duro* 'hole, hollow': Georgian *duro* 'loop-hole'; Mingrelian *duru* 'hollow, depression, hole, pit'.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **dhur-* '(vb.) to pierce, to penetrate; (n.) any pointed object: spike, prong, dagger, fork, pole, etc.': Sanskrit *dhúr* 'yoke, pole or shaft of a carriage, peg, pin,' *dhúra-h* 'yoke, pole, peg of the axle'; Greek τῦρρη 'a (two-pronged) fork'; Armenian *durk* 'dagger', *dur* 'tool, gimlet'; Lithuanian *dūrklas* 'spit, dagger, bayonet', *dūris* 'prick, stitch', *duriù*, *dūrti* 'to thrust, to stab'; Russian *dýrá* [дыра] 'hole'. Mann 1984—1987:223 **dhurkos*, *-ā* 'stab; spike, prong', 223 **dhurō*, *-jō* 'to pierce, to penetrate', 223 **dhūros*, *-ā* 'piercing, pierce; stab, hole'; Mallory—Adams 1997:424 **dhuer-* 'to pierce'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:111 **dhur-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:136—137; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:113.

Buck 1949:12.85 hole. Blažek 1992a:115, no. 7, and 1992b:130; Bomhard 1996a:214, no. 615; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 556, **durV* (or **dūrV*) 'hole, hollow'.

192. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dur-a* 'goat, sheep, ram' (perhaps originally 'horned animal'):

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dur-* 'goat, sheep, ram': Omotic: Wolaita (Beke) *dūrsa*, *dorsa* 'sheep'; Oyda *duro*, *dorsa* 'sheep'; Basketo *doori* 'sheep'; Doko *dori* 'sheep'; Zayse *doroo* 'sheep'; Koyra *doroo* 'sheep'; She *dor*, *doy* 'ram'. Chadic: Hina *duru(p)* 'a calf'; Mafa *dṛoḱ* 'ram'; Pa'a *tóri* 'goat'; Guruntum *dòoro* 'goat'. Jungraitmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:166—167. Militarëv—Nikolaev (2020:206) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian *(*?a-*)*dury-* 'a kind of bovid' on the basis of the following evidence: Semitic *(*?a-*)*dury-* > Akkadian *dudrū* 'sorte de mouton' ('a kind of sheep') (redupl.); Arabic *diry-ān-at-* 'espèce de taureau pourvu d'une bosse' ('a kind of humped bull'); Tigre (pl.) *?addari-t* 'dwarf-antelope' [*Neotragini sp.*]. (?) Egyptian (OK) *idr* 'Herde (von Vieh und Geflügel)' ('herd [of cattle and poultry]'). South Berber **-dVray-* 'oryx' [*Oryx sp.*] > Ahaggar, Ayt, East Tawllemet *e-dəri* (pl. *i-dāra-n*). Chadic *(*?an-*)*dVry-* '*Damaliscus sp.*

etc.; small cattle’: West Chadic **(ʔan-)dur-* > Hausa *dari* ‘hartebeest’ [*Damaliscus lunatus*]; Guruntum *dor-o*, *door-o* ‘goat’; Bokokos *ʔan-dūr*; Sha *n-dur* ‘ram’; etc. Central Chadic **ʔu-dVr-* > Musgu *u-deri*. East Chadic **dar-* > Dangla *dar-o* ‘gazelle sp.’ Cushitic **(ʔa-)dury-* ‘*Tragelaphus sp.*, etc.’: East Cushitic: Saho-Afar **wadar-* (met.) > Afar *wadār* ‘Ziegen, Kleinvieh’ (‘goats, small cattle’). Lowland East Cushitic **ʔa-dVry-* > Somali *a-deri-o* ‘male kudu antelope’ [*Tragelaphus sp.*]. Southern Cushitic **(da)dury-* > Burunge *dor-o* ‘zebra’ [*Hippotigrus sp.*]; Dahalo *dādīiri* ‘lesser kudu’ [*Tragelaphus imberbis*]. Omotic **dury-* ‘sheep’: North Omotic **dur-* > Koyra, Zayse *dor-ō*; Basketo, Doko *dori*; Oida *dur-o* ‘sheep’; Gimira (She) *dor* ‘ram’. South Omotic **dayr-* (met.) > Ari *der-ti* ‘sheep’; Dime *der* ‘goat’.

B. Kartvelian: Georgian *dur-aq*- ‘yearly capricorn’.

(?) Sumerian *dūr* ‘young animal’.

Buck 1949:3.25 sheep; 3.26 ram; 3.36 goat. Blažek 1992a:115, no. 6; Bomhard 1996a:214, no. 614; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 572, **dū[r̥]V[g|qV]* ‘lamb, kid (of wild ram, etc.)’.

193. Proto-Nostratic root **duw-* (~ **dow-*):

(vb.) **duw-* ‘to blow about, to fly about, to scatter; to be blown, strewn, or scattered about’;

(n.) **duw-a* ‘anything blown, sprinkled, scattered, or strewn about: smoke, steam, vapor; rain, shower, drizzle, raindrops; dust’; (adj.) ‘blown about, sprinkled, scattered, strewn’

A. Proto-Dravidian **tūC-*, **tūV-* ‘to blow about, to fly about, to scatter; to be blown, strewn, or scattered about’: Tamil *tūvu* (*tūvi-*) ‘to sprinkle, to strew, to scatter, to spread out as grain for fowls, to show forth (as arrows), to put loosely in a measure (as flour while measuring), to strew or offer flowers in worship, to rain’, *tūval* ‘sprinkling, spilling, drizzling, little drops of water, raindrops, rain, drizzle’, *tūvāṇam* ‘drizzle, rain driven in or scattered about in fine drops by the wind, place where cascade falls’; Malayalam *tūkuka* ‘to strew, to spill, to shower’, *tūvuka* ‘to be spilled, to scatter (tr.)’, *tūvānam* ‘rain driven by the wind’, *tūkkuka* ‘to spill, to scatter’; Toda *tu-f-* (*tu-fy-*) ‘to spread (grain in sun to dry, husks for buffalo to eat)’; Tuḷu *dūsuni* ‘to sprinkle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:297, no. 3394. Tamil *tūru* (*tūri-*) ‘to drizzle’, *tūral*, *tūr̥ral* ‘drizzling’, *tuvar̥ru* (*tuvarri-*) ‘to scatter drops, to sprinkle’, *tuvaral* ‘raining, drizzling, sprinkling’, *tuval* (*tuvalv-*, *tuvar̥r-*) ‘to drip (as water), to sprinkle, to drizzle’, *tuvalal* ‘water particle, drop, spray, drizzle’, *tivalai* ‘small drop, spray, rain drop, rain’, (?) *tumi* ‘(vb.) to drizzle, to sprinkle; (n.) raindrops, light drizzling rain, drop of water, spray’, *tumitam* ‘raindrops’; Malayalam *tūr̥ral* drizzling, rain’;

Kannada *tūru* ‘(vb.) to fall in fine particles, to drizzle, to cause to drizzle or drop; (n.) falling in fine particles, drizzling’, *tūralu* ‘to drizzle’, *tuntur*, *tunturi* ‘drizzling, spray, a drop’, *tūparu* ‘to drizzle’; Koraga *durmbu* ‘to drizzle’; Telugu *tūru* ‘to drizzle’, *tūra*, *tuvvara* ‘raindrop, drizzling rain’, *tuppara* ‘a particle or drop of water, a particle of spray (especially spittle accidentally ejected from the mouth in speaking)’, *tumpiḷḷu* ‘thin or drizzling rain, drizzle, spray, rain driven by wind’; Koṇḍa *tūl-* (*tūR-*) ‘(water, etc.) to be splashed, to scatter away in particles’; Kuwi *tūth’nai* ‘to speckle, to intersperse, to powder’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:297—298, no. 3398; Krishnamurti 2003:13 **tuw-t-* ‘to drizzle’. Tamil *tūrru* (*tūrrī-*) ‘(vb.) to scatter, to winnow, to throw up (as dust in the air); (n.) winnowing’; Malayalam *tūrruka* ‘to winnow, (wind) to scatter’; Kannada *tūru* ‘to winnow, to drive chaff from grain by means of the wind’; Tuḷu *tūru* ‘husks of grain’, *tūr(u)pettu*, *tūran-ettu*, *tūru-paṭṭu* ‘to winnow’, *tūrpīḍi* ‘winnowing’; Kolami *tūrpēt-* (*tūrpēt-*) ‘to winnow’; Gondi *tūrānā* ‘to fly away in the wind (as dust, clothes)’, *turehtānā* ‘to winnow’; Pengo *tūt-* ‘to winnow with wind’; Maṇḍa *tūt-* ‘to sprinkle (for example, salt on food)’; Kuwi *tūt-* ‘to sprinkle (for example, salt on food)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:298, no. 3402.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **d^hew-/*d^how-/*d^hu-*, **d^hewH-/*d^howH-/*d^huH-* (> **d^hū-*), **d^hweE-/*d^hwoE-/*d^huE-* (> **d^hwē-/*d^hwō-/*d^hū-*), **d^hwes-/*d^hwos-/*d^hus-* ‘to blow about, to fly about; to be blown, strewn, or scattered about’, **d^huH-mo-s* (> **d^hū-mo-s*) ‘smoke, vapor, mist’: Sanskrit *dhūka-h* ‘wind’, *dhūmā-h* ‘smoke, vapor, mist’, *dhvasirā-h* ‘sprinkled, spattered, covered’, *dhūli-h*, *dhūlī* ‘dust, powder, pollen’, *dhūnōti* ‘to shake, to agitate’, *dhvāmsati* ‘to fall to pieces or to dust’, *dhvasmān-* ‘polluting, darkening’, *dhūpa-h* ‘incense’; Greek θύω ‘to rush, to dart along’, τύφω ‘to raise a smoke, to smoke, to smolder’, θύω ‘to rush on or along, to storm, to rage’, θύος ‘incense’, θῦμός ‘soul, breath, life’; Latin *fūmus* ‘smoke, steam, vapor’, *bēstia* ‘animal without reason (as opposed to man), beast’; Gothic *dauns* ‘smell, fragrance’, *dius* ‘wild animal’; Old Icelandic *dýja* ‘to shake’, *dýr* ‘animal, beast’, *dust* ‘dust’, *daunn* ‘bad smell’; Old English *dūst* ‘dust’, *dēor* ‘(wild) animal, deer, reindeer’, **dēan* ‘steam, vapor’; Old Frisian *diar*, *dier* ‘wild animal’, *dūst* ‘dust’; Old Saxon *dior* ‘wild animal’, *dōmian* ‘to give off steam’; Middle Dutch *doom* ‘steam, vapor’; Old High German *toum* ‘steam, vapor’, *tior* ‘wild animal’ (New High German *Tier*), *tunist* ‘wind, breeze’ (New High German *Dunst*); Old Irish *dumacha* ‘fog’, *dásacht* ‘fury’; Lithuanian *dūmai* ‘smoke’, *dūsauju*, *dūsauti* ‘to sigh’, *dujā* ‘drizzle, dust; (pl.) gas’, *dvasià* ‘breath, spirit’; Old Prussian *dumis* ‘smoke’; Old Church Slavic *дымъ* ‘smoke’, *duxъ* ‘breath, spirit, soul’; *dušō*, *duxati* ‘to breathe’; Tocharian A *twe*, B *tweye* ‘dust, vapor’; Hittite *tūh-ḫu-iš* ‘smoke, vapor’. Rix 1998a:130 **d^heyH-* ‘to fly about hither and thither’, 140—141 **d^hyes-* ‘to breathe’; Pokorny 1959:261—267 **dheu-*, **dheuə-* (**dhyē-*) ‘to fly about (like

dust)', 268—271 **dhues-*, **dhüēs-*, **dheus-*, **dhūs-* 'to fly about (like dust)'; Walde 1927—1932.I:835—843 **dheu-*, **dheuā^x-* (**dheūē-*), I:843—847 **dhues-*, **dhüēs-*, **dheus-*, **dhūs-*; Mann 1984—1987:178 **dhaunos* (**dhausno-* ?) 'wild animal, woodland animal', 188 (**dheus-*), 188 **dheusros* (**dhousros*) 'inspired, dashing; dash, fury', 200 **dhoksejō* 'to breathe, to blow', 188 **dhoksos*, -*ā*, 188 **dhoun-* 'to blow, to stink', 188 **dhousos*, -*ios*, -*ijō* 'spirit, breath, creature', 201 **dhousro-*, **dhousrjō* (?) 'to rouse, to incite, to excite', 215 **dhūbhos* 'smoky, dim, dark, gray, black, obscure; darkness', 216—217 **dhūjō* 'to shake, to stir, to dash, to rouse', 217 **dhūjō* 'to vaporize, to smoke', 217 **dhūjos* 'vapor, dust, smoke, fragrance', 217 **dhūkō*, -*jō* 'to bluster, to blow, to puff', 217 **dhūkos*, -*ā* 'blowing, puffing, bluster', 217 **dhuksos* 'blow, breath, sigh, groan', 218—219 **dhūlos*, -*is* 'smoky, steamy; smoke, vapor, dust', 219 **dhūmājō*, -*ejō* (-*jō*) 'to smoke, to steam, to breathe, to blow', 221 **dhūmākā* 'smoke, billow, cloud, puff', 220 **dhūmālos* (**dhūmlos*, **dhūmros*) 'smoky, gray, dun', 220 **dhumō* 'to breathe, to smoke', 220 **dhūmos* 'smoke, vapor, fog, spirit, breath', 220 **dhumsos*, -*om*, -*ā* (**dhusmos*) 'swell, vapor, enthusiasm, animus', 220 **dhumtos* 'blown-up, vaporized', 221—222 **dhunmn-*, **dhunno-* 'smoke-colored, murky, dun, dim', 222 **dhūnos*, -*ā*, -*ijō* 'swelling, bulge, puff', 224 **dhūs-* 'to whirr, to buzz; whirring object, spindle', 224 **dhusālos* (**dhuslos*), -*is*, -*ijō* 'blow; breath; vapor, smell', 224 **dhusāros* 'wild; rage; demon', 224 (**dhūsālos*, **dhūsāros*), 224—225 **dhuskos* 'dark', 225 **dhusmos* 'vapor, breath; anger', 225 **dhūsō*, -*jō* 'to blow, to breathe, to steam, to smoke', 225 **dhūsos*, -*ā*, -*ijō* 'roaring, raging; fury, demon', 225—226 **dhūsos*, -*ā*, -*ijō* 'breathing; breath, fragrance', 227 **dhüēsimos* (**dhüesmos*) 'breathing; breath, gasp', 227 **dhüēsō*, -*jō* 'to blow, to breathe, to expire, to evaporate, to turn to spirit', 227—228 **dhüēsos*, -*is*, -*jom*, -*jos*, -*ijō* 'breath, vapor, spirit; inspired, mad', 230 **dhūos-* 'drooping, ailing; spirit, exhalation, expiry'; Watkins 1985:14 **dheu-*, **dheuə-* and 2000:19 **dheu-* (also **dheuə-*) 'to rise in a cloud (as dust, vapor, or smoke)'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:206 **d^hjeuH-*, **d^hjuH-* > **d^hjū-*, I:237, I:241, **d^hjeu-s-*, **d^hjū-es-* and 1995.I:177 **d^heuH-*, **d^huH-* > **d^hū-* 'to blow; to exhale, to breathe; to gasp', I:206, I:210 **d^heu-s-*, **d^hw-es-* 'animal, soul'; Gray 1939:253—255; Mallory—Adams 1997:82 **dhüēsmi* 'to breathe, to be full of (wild) spirits', 388 **dheu(h_x)-* 'to be in (com)motion, to rise (as dust or smoke)', 529 **dhuh₂mós* 'smoke', and 538 (?) **dhües-* 'spirit'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:107—108, II:108, II:109, II:110, and II:117—118 **dheu-*; Boisacq 1950:356—357 **dhū-* (**dheuā^x-*) 'to be in rapid motion, to fly about (like smoke or dust)', **dhū-mó-s* 'smoke', **dhū-li-s*, **dhü-ijō*, **dheu-*, **dheues-*, 360 **dhus-*, and 995 **dhubh-*, perhaps from **dhū-* 'to be in rapid motion'; Hofmann 1966:119 **dhū-mós*, **dheu-* 'to fly about (like dust)', 120 **dhus-*, and 380; Frisk 1970—1973.I:693—694 **dhū-mo-s*, I:697—699, and II:950—951; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:446, I:448—449,

and II:1147—1148; Ernout—Meillet 1979:69 and 260 **dhūmo-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:102 **dheŷēs-* and I:561—562 **dheu-*, **dheŷē-*; Beekes 2010.II:564 **dh^huH-mo-*, II:565 **dh^heuH-*, II:567; De Vaan 2008:71 Latin *bēstia* “uncertain etymology” and 249; Orël 2003:69 Proto-Germanic **ḍauniz*, 71—72 **ḍeuzan*; Kroonen 2013:90 Proto-Germanic **ḍauma-* ‘vapor’ and 111 **du(w)ēn-* ‘to be misty (?), windy (?)’; Feist 1939:116—119 **dheŷ-* and 121—122 **dheŷes-*; Lehmann 1986:88—89 **dhew-*, **dhew?*- ‘to fly about, to whirl’ and 92—93 **dhews-*, **dhew-*, **dhwes-*; De Vries 1977:74 **dheu-*, 88, 89 **dheu-*, and 90 **dheŷes-*; Onions 1966:250 **dheusóm* and 295 **dhwŷs-*, **dhwens-*; Klein 1971:196 **dheus-*, **dhous-*, **dhwos-*, **dhewēs-*, **dhwēs-* ‘to breathe’, which are enlargements of **dheu-* ‘to fly about like dust, to smoke’ and 233 **dhewēs-*, **dhwens-*, **dhūs-* ‘to fly about like dust’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:148 **dhwens-* and 778 **dheŷes-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:160—161 **dhwen-s-*, **dhwes-* and 729 **dheus-*; Adams 1999:323 **dh^heu(h_x)-* ‘to rise in the air (like dust)’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:519 **dheu-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:895; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:110; Smoczyński 2007.1:132; Derksen 2008:132 and 2015:145 **dh^huH-mó-*.

- C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tibo* (< **tywo*) ‘rain’, *tibo-* ‘to rain’, *tiba-* ‘to start raining’, (Northern / Tundra) *tiwe* ‘rain’, *tiwerej-* ‘to start raining’. Nikolaeva 2006:440.
- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **duj-* ‘dust; dusty’: Amur *tui-dv* ‘(to be) dusty’; North Sakhalin *tuju-d* ‘dusty’; East Sakhalin *tujud* / *tujuř* ‘dust’, *tuja-d* ‘to be dusty’. Fortescue 2016:46.

Buck 1949:1.83 smoke (sb.); 3.11 animal; 4.51 breathe; breath; 10.26 shake (vb. tr.); 10.38 blow (vb. intr.); 16.11 soul, spirit; 16.43 rage, fury.

22.7. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *tʰ

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
tʰ-	t-	t-	t-	tʰ-	t-	tʰ-	t-
-tʰ-	-t-	-t(t)-	-t-	-tʰ-	-t(t)-	-tʰ-	-t(t)-

194. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative stems:

- Proximate: *tʰa- (~ *tʰə-) ‘this’;
 Intermediate: *tʰi- (~ *tʰe-) ‘that’;
 Distant: *tʰu- (~ *tʰo-) ‘that yonder’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ta- demonstrative stem: Proto-Semitic *tā-/ *tā̃- demonstrative stem > Arabic (m.) *tī*, (f.) *tā* ‘this’; Tigre (m.) *tū*, (f.) *tā* ‘this’. Egyptian (fem. sg. demonstrative and definite article) *tʰ* ‘this, the’, (fem. sg. demonstrative adj.) *tm* ‘this’; Coptic *t-* [τ-], *te-* [τe-] fem. sg. definite article, *tai* [ται] (fem. sg. of demonstrative pronoun) ‘this’. Hannig 1995:912 and 934; Faulkner 1962:292 and 299; Gardiner 1957:598 and 600; Erman—Grapow 1921:200, 206, and 1926—1963.5:211—212, 5:309; Vycichl 1983:208; Černý 1976:176 and 177. Berber: Tuareg demonstrative stem (f. sg.) *ta* ‘this’, (pl. *ti*); Ghadames (f. sg.) *tu* ‘this’ (pl. *ti*); Mzab (f. sg.) *ta* ‘this’, (pl. *ti*); Tamazight (f. sg.) *ta*, *ti* ‘this’, (pl. *ti*); Kabyle (f. sg.) *ta* ‘this’, (pl. *ti*). Also used as 3rd person verbal suffix: Tuareg (m. sg.) *-t*, (f. sg.) *-tət*, (m. pl.) *-tən*, (f. pl.) *-tənət*; Ghadames (m. sg.) *-ət*, *-ətt*, *-itt*, (f. sg.) *-tət*, *-əttət*, *-ittət*, (m. pl.) *-tən*, *-əttən*, *-ittən*, (f. pl.) *-tənət*, *-əttənət*, *-ittənət*. Beja / Bedawye (f. article) (sg.) *tū* (acc. sg. *tō*), (pl.) *tā* (acc. pl. *tē*). Reinisch 1895:220. Proto-East Cushitic *ta, (subj.) *tu/*ti fem. demonstrative pronoun stem > Burji (dem. f.) *ta*, (subj.) *ci* ‘this’; Somali (dem. f.) *ta*, (subj.) *tu*; Rendille *ti* fem. gender marker and connector; Galla / Oromo *ta-*, (subj.) *tu-*; Sidamo *-ta*, (subj.) *-ti* fem. article; Kambata (f. acc. sg. demon. det.) *ta* ‘this’; Hadiyya (f. acc. sg. demon. det.) *ta* ‘this’. Hudson 1989:151; Sasse 1982:175. Proto-Southern Cushitic (fem. bound demonstrative stem) *ta ‘this, that’ > Iraqw *ti* ‘this’; Burunge *ti* ‘this’, *taʔa* (f.) ‘that’; Kʷadza *-(i)to*, *-(e)to* fem. gender marker; Asa *-(i)t(o)*, *-(e)t(o)* fem. gender marker; Maʼa *-eta* suffix on fem. nouns; Dahalo *tá-* in *táʔini* (f.) ‘they’. Ehret 1980:289. Chadic: Hausa *taa* ‘she, her’. North Bauchi Chadic (Bu / Zaranda) *tí*: (3rd sg. indep. pron.) ‘he’ (cf. Caron 2008:108).
- B. Proto-Dravidian reflexive pronoun: (sg.) *tān ‘self, oneself’, (pl.) *tām ‘they, themselves’: Tamil *tān* (obl. *tan-*; before vowels *tann-*) ‘oneself’, *tānē* ‘himself, only, just’; Malayalam *tān* (obl. *tān-*) ‘self, oneself’; Kota *ta-n* (obl. *tan-/ta-*) ‘oneself’; Toda *to-n* (obl. *tan-*) ‘oneself’; Kannaḍa *tān* (obl. *tan-*) ‘he, she, it (in the reciprocal or reflexive sense)’; Koḍagu *ta-ni*

(obl. *tan-*) ‘oneself’; Telugu *tān* (obl. *tan-*) ‘one’s self, he or himself, she or herself’; Parji *tān* (obl. *tan-*) ‘self, oneself’; Gadba (Ollari) *tān* (obl. *tan-*) ‘self’ oneself’; Kuṛux *tān-* (obl. *taṅg-*) reflexive pronoun of the third person: ‘himself’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:278, no. 3196. Tamil *tām* (obl. *tam-*; before vowels *tamm-*) ‘they, themselves; you’; Malayalam *tām* (obl. *tam-*, *tamm-*) ‘they, themselves; you’; Kota *ta-m* (obl. *tam-*) ‘themselves’; Toda *tam* (obl. *tam-*) ‘themselves’; Koḍagu *taṅga* (obl. *taṅga-*) ‘themselves’; Kannaḍa *tām* (obl. *tam-*), *tāvu* (obl. *tav-*) ‘they, themselves; you’; Telugu *tāmu* (obl. *tam-*, *tamm-*), *tamaru*, *tāru* ‘they, themselves; you’; Naikṛi *tām* ‘they, themselves’; Gadba (Ollari) *tām* (obl. *tam-*) ‘they, themselves’; Parji *tām* (obl. *tam-*) ‘they, themselves’; Kuṛux *tām-* (obl. *tam-*) ‘they, themselves’; Malto *tām*, *tāmi* (obl. *tam-*) ‘they, themselves’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:275, no. 3162; Krishnamurti 2003:252—253 reflexive pronoun: (sg.) **tān*, (pl.) **tām*.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **tho-* demonstrative pronoun stem: Sanskrit *tād* ‘this, that’; Greek τό ‘this, that’; Latin (dem. pronoun or adj.) *is-te*, *is-ta*, *is-tud* ‘that of yours, that beside you’; Gothic *þata* ‘that’; Old Icelandic (n.) *þat* ‘that, it’; Norwegian *det* ‘that’; Swedish (m. and f.) *den*, (n.) *det* ‘the’; Danish *den*, *det* ‘that’; Old English *þæt* ‘that’; Old Frisian *thet* ‘that’; Old Saxon *that* ‘that’; Old High German (demonstrative pronoun) *dēr*, *diu*, *daz* ‘that’ (also used as a definite article and relative pronoun) (New High German *der*, *die*, *das* [definite article] ‘the’, [demonstrative pronoun] ‘that’, [relative pronoun] ‘who’); Lithuanian *tās* ‘this, that’; Tocharian A *tām* ‘this’, B *te* ‘this one, it’; Hittite *ta* sentence connective; Hieroglyphic Luwian *tas* ‘this’. Walde 1927—1932.I:742—743 **to-*, **tā-*; Pokorny 1959:1086—1087 **to-*, **tā-*, **tjo-* demonstrative pronoun stem; Mann 1984—1987:1406 **tod* neut. sg. of type **tos*, 1416 **tos*, **tā*, **tod* demonstrative pronoun; Watkins 1985:71 **to-* and 2000:92—93 **to-* demonstrative pronoun; Mallory—Adams 1997:457 (neuter) **tód* ‘that (one)’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:384 **t[h]o-* and 1995.I:188, I:336 **tho-* demonstrative pronoun; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:465; Frisk 1970—1973.II:907 **to-*, **tā-*; Boisacq 1950:974 **to-*, **tā-*; Hofmann 1966:368—389 **to-*, **tā-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1123; Beekes 2010.II:1491 **to-*, **teh₂-*; De Vaan 2008:310—311; Ernout—Meillet 1979:324; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:721—722 **to-*, **tā-*; Orël 2003:417—418 Proto-Germanic **þat*; Kroonen 2013:530 Proto-Germanic **þa-* ‘that, those’ (< **to-*); Feist 1939:490—491 **tod*; Lehmann 1986:356 (discourse particle) **to-*; De Vries 1977:606; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:101; Torp 1919:60—61; Onions 1966:914; Klein 1971:758; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:392—393; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:122; Kluge—Seebold 1989:135—136; Adams 1999:303 **tod*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:421—422 **to-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1064—1065; Smoczyński 2007.1:661; Derksen 2015:459 Balto-Slavic **tos*.

- D. Proto-Uralic (demonstrative pronoun stem) **ta/*tä* ‘this’: Finnish *tämä/tä-* ‘this’; (?) Estonian *tema, temä* ‘he, she, it’; Lapp / Saami *dat/da-* ‘this’, *deikē* (< **dekki*) ‘hither’; Mordvin (Erza) *te*, (Moksha) *tɛ* ‘this’, (Erza) *tesē*, (Moksha) *t’asa* ‘here’, (Erza) *tite, teke*, (Moksha) *tite, t’aka* ‘(just) this’; Cheremis / Mari (West) *ti*, (East) *tə, tō* ‘this’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *ta* ‘this’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *ta* ‘this’; Vogul / Mansi *te, ti, tə* ‘this’, *tet, tit, tət* ‘here’; Ostyak / Xanty *temi, tə-* ‘this’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *təm?* ‘this’, (pl.) *teew?* ‘these’; Selkup Samoyed *tam, tau, tap* ‘this’, *teda?* ‘now’, *tii, teŋa, teka* ‘hither’; Kamassian *teeji* ‘hither’. Collinder 1955:62 and 1977:79; Rédei 1986—1988:505 **ta*; Janhunen 1977b:144—145 **tā(-)*, 150 **tā-*, 160—161 **ti(-)*, and 167 **tü(-)*; Décsy 1990:108 **ta/*tä* ‘that, this’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *taŋ* ‘that’, *ta:* ‘there, thence’, *ta:t* ‘so; then, thus’, *ten-di* ‘here it is; here’, *tenda* ‘there’, *tiŋ* ‘this’, *ti:* ‘here’, *tine* ‘recently, lately; earlier’, (Northern / Tundra) *taŋ* ‘that’, *tadaa* ‘there’, *ten* ‘this’, *teŋi* ‘here’, *tiŋ-, tieŋ* ‘this’. Nikolaeva 2006:424, 428, and 429—430.
- Proto-Uralic (demonstrative pronoun stem) **to-* ‘that’: Finnish *tuo* ‘that, yonder’; Lapp / Saami *duot-/duo-* ‘that (one) over there, that ... over there, that’; Mordvin *tona, to-* ‘that’; Cheremis / Mari (East) *tu* ‘that’; Votyak / Udmurt *tu* ‘that’; Zyrian / Komi *ty* ‘that’; Vogul / Mansi *ton, to-* ‘that’; Ostyak / Xanty *tōmi, tomi, tōm, tō-* ‘that’; Hungarian *tova* ‘away’, *túl* ‘beyond, on the further side; exceedingly, too’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *taaky* ‘that, yonder’, *taaj* ‘there’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tohonoo* ‘that (one) there’; Selkup Samoyed *to* ‘this’. Collinder 1955:64, 1965:146, and 1977:81; Joki 1973:330—331; Rédei 1986—1988:526—528 **to*; Décsy 1990:109 **to* ‘those’. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *tuŋ* ‘this’, *tuŋun, tuŋut* ‘this’. Nikolaeva 2006:437.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **t^ha* (**t^he*) ‘that’: Proto-Tungus **ta-* ‘that’ > Manchu *tere* ‘that’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *terə* ‘that’; Evenki *tar, tari* ‘that’; Lamut / Even *tar* ‘that’; Negidal *tay* ‘that’; Orok *tari* ‘that’; Nanay / Gold *taya* ‘that’; Udihe *tāwu, tī* ‘that’; Oroch *tī, tei* ‘that’; Solon *tayā, tari* ‘that’. Common Mongolian (sg.) **te, *te-r-e* ‘that’ > Written Mongolian (sg.) *tere* ‘that’, (pl.) *tede* ‘those’; Dagur (sg.) *tere* ‘that’, (pl.) *tede* ‘those’; Moghol (sg.) *tē* ‘that’; Ordos (sg.) *tere* ‘that’, (pl.) *tede* ‘those’; Khalkha (sg.) *ter* ‘that’; Monguor (sg.) *te* ‘that’; Buriat (sg.) *tere* ‘that’, (pl.) *tede* ‘those’; Kalmyk (sg.) *terə* ‘that’. Poppe 1955:225, 226, 227, and 228. Proto-Turkic **ti(kü)-* ‘that’ > Gagauz *te bu* ‘this here’, *te o* ‘that there’; Tatar *tēgē* ‘that’; Bashkir *tege* ‘that’; Kirghiz *tigi* ‘that’; Kazakh (dial.) *tigi* ‘that’; Tuva *dō* ‘that’; Yakut *i-ti* ‘that’ (pl. *itiler* ‘those’); Dolgan *i-ti* ‘this’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1389 **t’a* (**t’e*) ‘that’.
- F. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **ta-* ‘where’: Amur *řa-r / řa-n* ‘where’; East Sakhalin *taŋx* ‘where’; South Sakhalin *řak- / tak-* ‘where’. Fortescue 2016: 144. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **tant* ‘which’: Amur *řad^v* ‘which (of them)’; East Sakhalin *t^had* ‘which’; (?) South Sakhalin *tan / tand* ‘that’. Fortescue 2016:146. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **taŋz* or **taŋr* ‘how much’: Amur *řaŋs*

‘how much’, *řaŋslu* / *řaŋzlu* ‘some’ (West Sakhalin Amur *řaŋzlu* / *thañzlu* ‘some’); North Sakhalin *řaŋspaklu* ‘some’; East Sakhalin *thañs* ‘how much’, *thañzlu* / *thagzlu* / *thañřak* ‘some’. Fortescue 2016:146. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **tunt* ‘what’: North Sakhalin *ru-t* / *řu-d* ‘what’; East Sakhalin *ru-(n)t* ‘what’; South Sakhalin *ru-nt* / *lu-nt* ‘what’. Fortescue 2016:152. Assuming semantic development as in Old High German (demonstrative pronoun) *dēr*, *diu*, *daz* ‘that’ (also used as a definite article and relative pronoun) (New High German *der*, *die*, *das* [definite article] ‘the’, [demonstrative pronoun] ‘that’, [relative pronoun] ‘who’), cited above.

G. Etruscan *ita*, *eta*, *ta* (*tal*, *tl*, *tei*) ‘this’; *θar* ‘there’; *θui* ‘here, now’.

Greenberg 2000:94—99; Möller 1911:242; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:287—289, no. 103; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2310, **tā* demonstrative pronoun of non-active (animate) objects (without distance opposition [proximate ↔ intermediate ↔ distal]); Fortescue 1998:158.

195. Proto-Nostratic root **thah-* (~ **thəh-*):

(vb.) **thah-* ‘to reduce, to diminish, to wear away, to lessen; to waste away, to grow thin’;

(n.) **thah-a* ‘wear, decay, dissipation, maceration’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *thš* ‘to grind (grain)’. Hannig 1995:938; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:323.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tēy* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to wear away by friction, to be rubbed, to wane (as the moon), to waste away (as oil in a lamp), to be emaciated, to grow thin, to become weakened, to pass away (time), to be effaced, to be erased, to be obliterated, to be destroyed, to die’, *tēy* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to rub, to rub away, to waste by rubbing, to reduce, to destroy, to pare, to shave, to rub in (ointment)’, *tēyyu* ‘wearing away, lessening, abrasion, diminution, emaciation, decay, decline’; Malayalam *tēyuka* ‘to be rubbed off, to be worn out, to waste’, *tēkkuka* (*tēcc-*) ‘to rub, to smear, to clean, to polish, to sharpen’; Kota *te-y-* (*te-c-*) ‘to become worn down, lean; to rub, to wear down (tr.)’, *te-v-* ‘leanness’; Kannada *tē*, *tēy(u)* ‘to grind, to triturate or macerate in water on a slab, to waste by use, to wear away (as a metal vessel), to be chafed or galled (as the foot)’; Koḍagu *te-y-* (*te-yuv-*, *te-ñj-*) ‘to wear off (intr.)’; Tuḷu *tēpuni* ‘to rub, to polish’, *tēpu* ‘rubbing, whetting, polishing (as a precious stone)’, *tēduni* ‘to grind, to macerate’; Telugu *tēgaḍa* ‘worn out, wasted’, *tēyu* ‘to be worn, wasted; (n.) wear by use, handling, or rubbing’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:303, no. 3458. Tamil *tēmpu* (*tēmpi-*) ‘to fade, to wither, to droop, to be tired, to faint, to grow thin, to be emaciated, to be in trouble, to suffer, to perish’, *tēmpal* ‘fading, being faded, reduced or diminished state, difficulty, faded flower’;

Malayalam *tēmpuka* ‘to waste, to grow thin’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:303, no. 3457.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **du-tx-* ‘thin’ (according to Schmidt [1962:116], **du-* is a prefix): Georgian *txeli* (< **txeli* < **du-tx-eli*) ‘thin, diluted’; Mingrelian *txitxu* (assimilated from **ti-txu* < **tu-txu* < **du-txu*) ‘thin, diluted’; Laz *tutxu* ‘thin, diluted’; Svan *dətxel* (< **dtx-el-*) ‘thin; rare, scarce’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:108—109 **dtx-*; Klimov 1964:93—94 **ttxel-* and 1998:70 **ttx-* ‘to be thin’, 1998:71 **ttx-el-* ‘thin, sparse’; Schmidt 1962:116; Fähnrich 2007:138—139 **dutx-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **t^he^hh-* [**t^ha^hh-*] > **t^hā-* (**t^hā-y-*, **t^hā-w-*) ‘to melt, to dissolve’: Greek τήκω (Doric τᾰκῶ) ‘to melt, to melt down, to dissipate; (metaph.) to cause to waste or pine away’; Latin *tābēs* ‘wasting away, decay, melting’, *tābum* ‘corrupt moisture, matter’, *tābeō* ‘to waste away, to be consumed’, *tābescō* ‘to melt, to waste away, to be consumed’; Armenian *t^hanam* ‘to moisten’; Welsh *tawdd* ‘melting, molten’; Old Icelandic *þána* ‘to thaw’, *þá* ‘thawed ground’, *þeyja* ‘to thaw; (metaph.) to cease’, *þeyr* ‘thaw’, *þíða* ‘to melt, to thaw’, *þíðr* ‘not ice-bound, thawed’, *þípinn* ‘thawed, free from ice’, *þiðna* ‘to thaw, to melt away’; Norwegian *tøya* ‘to thaw’, *tøyr* ‘thaw’, *tidna*, *tina* ‘to thaw out’; Swedish *töa* ‘to thaw’, *tö* ‘thaw’, *tina* ‘to thaw out’; Danish *tø* ‘to thaw’, *tø* ‘thaw’, *tine* ‘to thaw out’; Old English *þān* ‘moist, irrigated’, *þānan* ‘to moisten’, *þānian*, *þānian* ‘to be or become moist’, *þāesma* ‘leaven, yeast’, *þāwian* ‘to thaw’, *þawenian* ‘to moisten’, *þīnan* ‘to become moist’, *þwīnan* ‘to dwindle’, *þwānan* ‘to moisten, to soften’; Middle Low German *dōien*, *douwen* ‘to thaw’; Dutch *doeien* ‘to thaw’, *doei* ‘thaw’; Old High German *douwen*, *dōan*, *dewen* ‘to thaw’ (New High German *tauen*); Old Church Slavic *tajō*, *tajati* ‘to thaw, to melt’; Russian *tályj* [талый] ‘thawed, melted’. Rix 1998a:560 **teh₂-* ‘to thaw, to melt’; Pokorny 1959:1053—1054 **tā-*, **tə-*; **tāi-*, **təi-*, **tī-*; [**tāu-*], **təu-*, **tū-* ‘to melt’; Walde 1927—1932.I:701—703 **tā-*, **tə-*; **tāi-*, **təi-*, **tī-*; [**tāu-*], **təu-*, **tu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1365 **tābh-* (?) ‘rot, corruption, stench’, 1366 **tājō* ‘to thaw, to melt, to liquefy’, 1367 **tāl-* ‘to ooze, to flow’, **tāləyos* ‘seepage, pus, matter’, 1369 **tāt-* ‘molten; melting, liquescence’, 1370 **tāūjō* ‘to melt, to dissolve’; Watkins 1985:69 **tā-* (extended form **tāw-* in Germanic) and 2000:89 **tā-* ‘to melt, to dissolve’ (oldest form **te₂-*, colored to **ta₂-*, contracted to **tā-*) (extended form **tāw-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:378 **teha-* ‘to melt’; Hofmann 1966:363—364 **tā-*, **tāi-* (**təi-*, **tī-*; cf. also **tāu-* in Old High German *douwen*); Boisacq 1950:965—966 **tā(i)-*, **təi-*, **tī-* beside **tā(u)-*, **təu-*, **tū-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:891; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1113 **te₂-*/**tə₂-*; Beekes 2010.II:1477 **teh₂-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:639—640 **tā-* : **tāi-*, **təi-*, **tī-* : **tāu-*, **təu-*, **tū-*; De Vaan 2008:603—604 **teh₂-b^h-eh₁-* ‘to be melting’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:672 **tā-*; Orël 2003:418 Proto-Germanic **þawanōjanan*, 418 **þawiz*, 418 **þawjanan*, 432 **þwīnanan*; Kroonen 2013:556 Proto-

Germanic **pwīnan-* ‘to abate, to disappear’; De Vries 1977:605, 609—610, and 610; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:365 and II:399—400; Torp 1919:831; Onions 1966:914; Klein 1971:758 **tā-*, **tu-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:773 **tā-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:723 **tā-*; Derksen 2008:489 **teh₂-*.

Buck 1949:12.65 thin (in dimension); 12.66 thin (in density). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:295—297, no. 111. Different (false) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2408, **tVqa* ‘to melt, to decay, to get spoiled’.

196. Proto-Nostratic root **thakh-* (~ **thəkh-*):

(vb.) **thakh-* ‘to twist, to bend; to fasten, twist, bend, join, or hook together; to be twisted, bent’;

(n.) **thakh-a* ‘hook, peg’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **tak-al-* ‘to fix, to fasten; to drive in, to plant’ > Geez / Ethiopic *takala* [ጥሐላ] ‘to fix, to fasten, to implant, to drive in, to set up, to establish, to pitch (a tent), to drive a stake into the ground’, *təklət* [ጥሐላጥ] ‘planting, fastening, pitching a tent’, *matkal* [መጥሐላ], *matkəl* [መጥሐላ] ‘peg, stake, nail, hook, pin, post’; Tigre *tākla* ‘to plant, to pitch (a tent)’; Tigrinya *täkälä* ‘to plant’; Amharic *täkkälä* ‘to plant’, *čäkkälä* ‘to drive a peg into the ground’; Gurage *täkkälä* ‘to plant, to found’, *čäkkälä* ‘to drive a peg into the ground’, *čəkal* ‘peg’; Argobba *tekkäla* ‘to plant’, *čəkal* ‘peg’; Gafat *täkkälä* ‘to plant, to set up, to establish’; Harari *čəxäla* ‘to build’, *čuxul* ‘built, style of building’, *čəxäl* ‘peg’. Leslau 1956:241, 1963:49—50, 1979:172 and 594, and 1987:573. North Bauchi Chadic (Bu: / Zaranda) *tákäl* (n.) ‘plait’ (cf. Caron 2008:107).
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *takai* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to stop, to resist, to check, to deter, to obstruct, to forbid by oath, to seize, to take hold of, to overpower, to subdue, to shut in, to enclose, to include, to bind, to fasten, to yoke’, *takai* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to check, to resist, to stop, to deter, to bind, to fasten’, *takai* ‘binding, fastening, garland, obstruction, check, hindrance, coat of mail’, *takaippu* ‘surrounding wall, fortress, palatial building, section of house, apartment, battle array of an army’; Kannada *taga*, *tagave*, *tagahu*, *tage* ‘delay, obstacle, hindrance, impediment’, *tage* ‘to stop, to arrest, to obstruct, to impede, to stun’, *tagar* ‘to be stopped or impeded, to impede’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:260, no. 3006.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **thekh(s)-*/**thokh(s)-* ‘to form, to fashion, to make, to create, either by using a sharp tool or by bending, weaving, joining, braiding, or plaiting together’: Sanskrit *tákṣati* ‘to form by cutting, to plane, to chisel, to chop, to fashion, to make, to create’, *tákṣan-* ‘a wood-cutter, carpenter’; Pāli *tacchati* ‘to build’, *tacchēti* ‘to do woodwork, to chip’, *tacchanī-* ‘hatchet’, *tacchaka-* ‘carpenter’; Prakrit *takkhaī*, *tacchāi* ‘to cut, to scrape, to peel’; Avestan *tašaiti* ‘to produce, (carpenter) to make’, *taša-* ‘axe’; Ossetic *taxun* ‘to weave’; Latin *texō* ‘to weave, to

build'; Greek τέκτων (< *τέκτων) 'carpenter', τέχνη (< *τέκωνā) 'art, craft'; Armenian *t^hek^hem* 'to bend, to shape'; Old Irish *tál* (< *tōks-lo-) 'axe'; Old Icelandic *þexla* 'adze'; Old High German *dehsa*, *dehsala* 'axe, poleaxe' (New High German *Dechsel*); Lithuanian *tašaiū*, *tašyti* 'to hew'; Old Church Slavic *tešq*, *tesati* 'to hew'; Russian Church Slavic *tesla* 'carpenter's tool, adze'; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ták-ki-(e)-eš-zi* 'to join, to build'. Rix 1998a:562—563 *tek- 'to weave, to plait'; Pokorny 1959:1058 *tek- 'to weave, to plait', 1058—1059 *tekp- 'to plait'; Walde 1927—1932.I:716 *teq-, I:717 *tekp-; Mann 1984—1987:1374 *tekslos, -ā, -is (*teksəl-) 'shape; carving; shaper, adze', 1374 *teksmn-, *teksmō(n), (*teksm-) 'shaped object', 1374 *teksō, -iō (*toks-) 'to shape, to carve, to form, to model, to make', 1374 *teksos, -ā 'shaped material, carving; carver, shaper, carpenter', 1374—1375 *teksstos, -ā, -om 'shaped; shaped object, carving'; *teksstis 'act of shaping', 1409 *toksejō 'to work, to shape, to cultivate', 1409 *toksos 'gear, tackle, tool, tools, model', 1409 *toksilā (*tokslā, *toksul-) 'shaping, shape, carving, composition', 1409 *tokstos 'shaped, carved; carving, shape, model'; Watkins 1985:69 *teks- and 2000:89—90 *teks- 'to weave, to fabricate, especially with an ax'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:705—706 *t^h[^h]ek^h[^h]s- and 1995.I:611, I:734, I:780 *t^hek^hs- 'to manufacture, to prepare, to produce; to weave, to braid; to work (something) (primarily wood with a sharp tool or adze); to mold, to model (in clay)'; Mallory—Adams 1997:37—38 (?) *teksō/eha-, *teksleha- 'ax, adze', *teks- 'to fabricate', 139 *teks-(t)or/n- 'one who fabricates', 443 *tekssteha- 'plate, bowl'; Burrow 1973:83 *teks-tōn (> Greek τέκτων); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:468; Boisacq 1950:950—951 *tekp-; Hofmann 1966:357 *tekp-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:867—868 and II:889—890; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1100 *teks- and II:1112; Beekes 2010.II:1460 *te-tk-n- and II:1476 *tek-, *te-tk-; De Vaan 2008:619; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:678—679; Ernout—Meillet 1979:690; Orël 2003:419 Proto-Germanic *þexsanān, 419 *þexs(a)lōn; De Vries 1977:609; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:124; Kluge—Seebold 1989:130 *teks-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1065 *tek^s-; Smoczyński 2007.1:661 *tetk-; Derksen 2008:491 *tetk- and 2015:459 *tetk-; Kloekhorst 2008b:813—814. Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic roots have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (1) *t^hikh- (~ *t^hek^h-) 'to form, to fashion, to make, to create' and (2) *t^hakh- (~ *t^hak^h-) '(vb.) to twist, to bend; to fasten, twist, bend, join, or hook together; to be twisted, bent; (n.) hook, peg'.

- D. Proto-Uralic *takka- 'to fasten, hook, or stick together; to be or become stuck': Finnish *takkala* 'adhesive state of the snow, so that it "cakes" and sticks to the skis or the runners', *takero* 'sticky, thick mass', *takalta-*, *takelta-*, *takerta-* 'to stick to something (of snow)', *takistele-* 'to cling, to hang on, to catch at something; to fasten a quarrel on to somebody', *takeltu-*, *takertu-*, *takistu-* 'to get stuck, to stick, to fasten'; Lapp / Saami *dakkstállá-* 'to stick to something' (Finnish loan); Zyrian / Komi *takal-* 'to

sink down, to stick, to get stuck'; Vogul / Mansi *tah-* 'to get stuck'; Ostyak / Xanty *tāhərt-* 'to hook, to hitch, to button; to hang, to hang up; to stick (fast), to get stuck'; Selkup Samoyed *tokuat-, t'okuat-* 'to get stuck'. Collinder 1955:61 and 1977:78; Rédei 1986—1988:507 **takka-* and 507—508 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **takk3(-r3-)*; Décsy 1990:109 **taka* 'to hang, to stick to, to get stuck'.

- E. Eskimo: Proto-Yupik **taquq* 'braid' > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *taquṭquq* 'cheek'; Central Alaskan Yupik *taquq* 'braid'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *taqu* 'braid'; Sirenik *taquXta* 'braid'; Central Siberian Yupik *taquq* 'side of face', *taquXtə-* 'to braid hair'. Fortescue—Jacobsen—Kaplan 1994:332.

Buck 1949:6.33 weave; 9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.44 build; 9.75 plait; 12.75 hook. Hakola 1997:85, no. 331, and 2000:184, no. 822.

197. Proto-Nostratic root **thak'-* (~ **thək'-*):

(vb.) **thak'-* 'to touch, to push, to strike';

(n.) **thak'-a* 'touch, stroke'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-East Cushitic **-tak'-/*-tuk'-* 'to touch, to push, to strike' > Rendille *tax-* 'to push'; Dasenech *taʔ-* 'to push'; Galla / Oromo *tuk'-* 'to touch'; Burji *tayk'-* 'to break (of a rope, string, or thread)'; Sidamo (causative) *taʔ-is-* 'to break'; Afar *-ootok-* 'to strike'. Sasse 1979:48 and 1982:177, 181. Appleyard (2006:84) also compares the following: Bilin *tāʕamb-* 'to hit, to strike'; Xamir *taz-/taz-* 'to hit, to strike'; Kemant *tay-* 'to hit, to strike'; Awngi / Awiya *tas-* 'to hit, to strike'. Reinisch 1887:346.
- B. Dravidian: Kannada *tagalu, tagilu, tagulu* 'to come into contact with, to touch, to hit, to have sexual intercourse with'; Tuḷu *tagaruni* 'to draw near'; Telugu *tagulu, tavulu* 'to touch, to come into contact with; to strike against; to follow; to pursue; to be entangled, ensnared, or caught'; Konḍa *tagli* 'to touch, to hit'; Malto *take* 'to touch, to hurt'; Kuṛux *taknā* 'to rub or graze in passing, to give a very slight knock'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:259—260, no. 3004.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **thak'-* 'to touch, to strike, to push, to stroke': Latin *tangō* 'to touch, to strike, to push, to hit' (Old Latin *tagō* 'to touch'); Greek *τεταγών* 'having seized'; Old English *þaccian* 'to pat, to stroke'. Rix 1998a:560 **teh₂g-* 'to touch'; Pokorny 1959:1054—1055 **tag-* 'to touch, to seize'; Walde 1927—1932.I:703—704 **tag-*; Mann 1984—1987:1365 **iāgō, -ejō, -jō* 'to touch, to caress'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:424 and 1995.I:371; Watkins 1985:69 **tag-* and 2000:89 **tag-* 'to touch, to handle'; Mallory—Adams 1997:595 **tag-* 'to touch'; Boisacq 1950:961; Frisk 1970—1973.II:884; Hofmann 1966:361 **tag-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1109; Beekes 2010.II:1472 **teh₂g-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:647—648; Ernout—Meillet 1979:676 **tēg-, *təg-*; De Vaan 2008:606—607.

Sumerian *tag* ‘to touch’.

Buck 1949:15.71 touch (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:283—284, no. 100. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2335, **taka|æ* (or **toka* ?) ‘to touch’.

198. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t^hal-a* ‘head, top, end’:

- A. Afrasian: Central Chadic: Musgoy *tálq* ‘head’; Daba *tala* / *tàlâŋ* ‘head’; Kola *tálâŋ* ‘head’. Jungraithamy—Ibrizimow 1994.II:182—183.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *talai* ‘head, top, end, tip, hair’, *talaimai* ‘leadership, pre-eminence’, *talaivaŋ* ‘chief, headman, lord’; Malayalam *tala* ‘head, top, point, extremity’; Kota *tal* ‘head, top, above, superior’, *talp* ‘end’; Toda *tal* ‘head, end, edge’; Kannada *tale*, *tala* ‘head, being uppermost or principal’; Kodagu *tale* ‘end’; Telugu *tala* ‘head, hair of the head, top, end, front, place, side, quarter’; Kolami *tal* ‘head’; Naikri *tal* ‘head’; Parji *tel* ‘head’; Gadba (Ollari) *tal* ‘head’; Konḍa *tala* ‘head’; Kui *tlau* ‘head, hair of head’; Malto *tali* ‘hair of head’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269—270, no. 3103; Krishnamurti 2003:121 **tal-ay* ‘head, hair, top’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **t^hlH-* ‘head, top, end; headman, chief’: Old Irish *taul* (stem **talū-*) ‘forehead; boss’, *taulach*, *taulaig* ‘hill’; Welsh *tal* (< **talos*) ‘forefront, front, end’; Old Breton *tal* ‘forehead’; Gaulish *-talos* in the personal name *Cassi-talos* and *Argio-talus*. Mann 1984—1987:1394 **təl-* ‘height, peak, point’; Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel 1987:146 **t^hH-o-*; Thurneysen 1946: 52; Matasović 2009:367 Proto-Celtic **talū-* ‘front, forehead’; Falileyev 2000:144 Proto-Indo-European **tel(u)-*.

Buck 1949:4.20 head; 4.205 forehead; 12.35 end. Burrow 1946:72; Caldwell 1913:620; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:294, no. 109; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2357, **tolġA(-kV)* or **tAlġV(-kV)* ‘head, top, upper part, end, tip’.

199. Proto-Nostratic root **t^halv-* (~ **t^həlv-*):

(vb.) **t^halv-* (primary meaning) ‘to stretch, to spread, to extend’, (secondary meaning) ‘to endure, to suffer, to bear’;

(n.) **t^halv-a* ‘stretch, spread, thinness, breadth; pain, suffering, endurance’; (adj.) ‘stretched, spread out, extended’ (> ‘broad, wide, thin, flat, etc.’)

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *tālu* (*tāli-*) ‘to bear, to suffer, to tolerate, to be worth, to be possible, to be practicable’; Kannada *tāl*, *tālu* (*tāld-*) ‘to hold, to take, to obtain, to get, to assume, to receive, to have or possess, to undergo, to experience, to suffer patiently or quietly, to be patient, to endure, to wait, to last, to continue unimpaired, to wear well, to bear with’, *tāle* ‘to hold, to bear, to carry; to put on (clothes)’; Tuḷu *tāluṇi* ‘to bear, to endure, to suffer, to forbear, to have patience’, *tālmè* ‘patience, forbearance, endurance’;

Telugu *tālu* ‘to bear, to suffer, to endure, to be patient, to refrain, to pause, to wait, to last, to wear, to be durable’, *tālimi, tāḷimi, tāḷika* ‘patience, endurance’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:277, no. 3188. (?) Kannada *teḷ, teḷu* ‘thinness, fineness, delicateness, smallness’, *teḷḷage, teḷḷane, teḷḷanna, teḷḷāna, teḷḷāne* ‘thin, delicate; thinly; thinness, diluted state’, *teḷupu, teḷpu, teḷuvu* ‘thinness, delicateness, fineness; diluted, watery state’, *teḷḷitu, teḷḷittu* ‘that is thin’, *teḷḷida* ‘thin or delicate man’; Koḍagu *teḷḷane* ‘thin (of a person or thing)’; Tuḷu *teḷpu* ‘thinness; thin, lean; few, a little’, *tellena* ‘thinnish’, *tellavu, tellāvu* ‘thin flat cake’, *teḷuṅṅuni, teḷuṅṅuni, teḷuṅṅuni* ‘to contact, to shrivel, to wither, to grow thin’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:301, no. 3434.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **^hel-/^hol-/^hl-* ‘to stretch, to extend; to bear, to endure, to suffer’: Greek τλῆναι ‘to suffer, to endure, to bear’; Latin *tolerō* ‘to bear, to tolerate, to endure, to sustain’, *lātus* (< **tlā-*) ‘broad, wide’; Middle Irish *tláith* ‘tender, weak’; Welsh *tlawd* ‘poor’; Gothic *þulan* ‘to tolerate, to suffer, to endure’; Old Icelandic *þola* ‘to bear, to endure, to suffer’; Old English *þolian* ‘to endure, to suffer’, *geþyld* ‘patience’, *geþyld(i)gian, geþyldian* ‘to bear (patiently), to endure’; Old Frisian *tholia* ‘to endure, to bear, to suffer’, *thelda* ‘to endure, to bear, to suffer’; Old Saxon *tholōn, tholian* ‘to endure, to bear, to suffer’; Old High German *dolēn, t(h)olēn, tholōn* ‘to endure, to bear, to suffer’, *thulten, dulten* ‘to endure, to bear, to suffer’ (New High German *dulden*). Rix 1998a:565—566 **telh₂-* ‘to lift, to raise, to be picked up’; Pokorny 1959:1060—1061 **tel-*, **telā-*, **tlē(i)-*, **tlā-* ‘to lift up, to weigh, to balance’; Walde 1927—1932.I:738—740 **tel-*; Mann 1984—1987:1375 **tel-* (**telō*, *-iō*) ‘to stretch, to extend, to expand’, 1401 **tlātos* (**tltos*, *-is*) ‘suffered, borne; suffering’, 1401 **tlf-* (**tlfō*; **tālō*, *-iō*) ‘to lift, to raise, to bear, to suffer’, 1402 **tlnō*, 1402 **tltos*, *-is*, *-ios* ‘extended, stretched; extent, tract, roadway, passage’; Watkins 1985:69 **telā-* and 2000:90 **telā-* ‘to lift, to support, to weigh’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:176 **t^hel-*, **t^hl-* and 1995.I:152 **^hel-*, **^hl-* ‘to bear, to carry’; Mallory—Adams 1997:352 **telh₂-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Boisacq 1950:938—939 **telā-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1088—1090 **tel₂-*; Beekes 2010.II:1445—1556 **telh₂-*, II:1445, and II:1446—1447 **telh₂-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:848—849; Hofmann 1966:350—351 **tel-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:693 and 694 **telā-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:688—689; De Vaan 2008:329—300 and 621—622 **telh₂-*; Orël 2003:428 Proto-Germanic **pulēnan*; De Vries 1977:615; Feist 1939:504—505 **telā-*; Lehmann 1986:367; Onions 1966:918 **tol-*, **tel-*, **tl-*; Klein 1971:762 **tel-*, **tol-*, **tl-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:402—403; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:146 **tel-*, **tl-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:159. Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have been confused in Proto-Indo-European: (A) Proto-Nostratic **^halv-* (~ **^həlv-*) (primary meaning) ‘to stretch, to spread, to extend’, then (secondarily) ‘to endure, to

- suffer, to bear’ and (B) Proto-Nostratic *tʰul- (~ *tʰol-) ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise; to pile up, to stack (in a heap); (n.) hill, mound; stack, heap’.
- C. Proto-Altaic *tʰālV ‘any flat, level, or open surface or space’: Proto-Mongolian *tala-, *tal-b- ‘plain, steppe, open space’ > Mongolian *tal-a* ‘plain, level space, steppe’, *talarqay* ‘flat, level (of terrain)’, *talbiyu(n)* ‘broad, wide, vast; gentle, calm’; Khalkha *tal* ‘steppe, open place’, *talbiu(n)* ‘quiet, peaceful’, *talbay* ‘square’; Buriat *tala* ‘steppe, open place’, *talān* ‘meadow, small lake’, *talmay* ‘meadow, square’; Kalmyk *talə* ‘steppe, open place’; Ordos *tala* ‘steppe, open place’; Dagur *tal* ‘steppe, open place’; Monguor *talā* ‘steppe, open place’. Proto-Tungus *tālgi- ‘flat surface, open space’ > Manchu *talgan* ‘the surface of a flat, round, or square object’, *talgari* ‘the surface of a table’; Nanay / Gold *talgia* ‘far from the shore, open sea’. Turkish *taşı-* ‘to carry, to transport, to bear’, *taşın-* ‘to be carried’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1396—1397 *tālV (or *tālV) ‘open place, open sea’ (the Turkish form cited above is not in Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak).
- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *təl(v)- ‘far’: Amur *tʰə-dv / tʰəlf* ‘far’; North Sakhalin *tʰəlf* ‘far’; East Sakhalin *tʰəla-d / tʰəlf* ‘far’; South Sakhalin *tu-nt / təlf* ‘far’. Fortescue 2016:154.

Sumerian *tál* ‘to be or make wide, broad; to spread wide’.

Buck 1949:10.22 raise, lift; 12.44 far (adv.); 12.61 wide, broad’ 12.65 thin (in dimension); 12.71 flat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:282—283, no. 98; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2360, *tālV ‘flat’ and, no. 2370, *tāl[h]a ‘to lift up, to carry’.

200. Proto-Nostratic root *tʰalV- (~ *tʰəlv-):
 (vb.) *tʰalV- ‘to press, to thrust, to force, to push’;
 (n.) *tʰalV-a ‘pressure, thrust, force, push’
- A. Dravidian: Tamil *tallu* (*talli-*) ‘to push, to force forward, to shove away, to expel, to reject, to dismiss, to be removed, to be lost, to fall’; Malayalam *talluka* ‘to push, to thrust, to reject, to cast off’, *tallal* ‘pushing, rejection’, *tallu* ‘thrust, push’; Kota *tal-* (*tayl-*) ‘to push’; Toda *tol-* (*toiy-*) ‘to push’; Kannaḍa *tallu* ‘to push, to shove away, to thrust, to drive, to throw, to reject, to dismiss, to heave’; Tuḷu *talluni*, *talluni* ‘to push in, to press through’; Telugu *talāgu*, *talgu*, *talūgu* ‘to be lost or removed’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:272—273, no. 3135.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *tel- ‘to press’: Georgian *tel-* ‘to press, to tread down, to crush’; Mingrelian *tal-* ‘to press, to tread down, to crush’; Svan *tel-/tl-* ‘to press, to touch’. Fähnrich 2007:191—192 *tel-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:159 *tel-; Klimov 1984:92 *tel- and 1998:68 *tel- : *tl- ‘to trample, to tighten’.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **thel-kh-/thol-kh-/thj-kh-* ‘to push, to thrust, to knock, to strike’: Welsh *talch* ‘fragment, flake’; Old Irish *tolc, tulc* ‘blow, strike’; Old Church Slavonic *tlъkъ, tlěšti* ‘to knock’; Russian *tolkat’* [толкать] ‘to push, to shove’, *tolkač* [толкач] ‘stamp; pusher’; Czech *tlak* ‘pressure’. Rix 1998a:566 **telk-* ‘to strike’; Pokorny 1959:1062 **telek-* ‘to push’; Walde 1927—1932.I:741 **teleg-*; Mann 1984—1987:1376 **telk-* ‘to flatten, to compress, to batten down’, 1402 **tlk-* ‘to strike, to force, to crash’, 1410 **tolk-* ‘pressure, thrust, force’; Mallory—Adams 1997:471 **telk-* ‘to push, to thrust’.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **talva-* ‘to trample, to tread (on, upon), to tread down’ > (?) Finnish *tallaa-* ‘to trample, to tread (on, upon), to tread down’; (?) Estonian *talla-* ‘to tread, to press’; Zyrian / Komi *tal’-* ‘to trample down, to stamp, to crush’. Rédei 1986—1988:791 **tal’a-*.

Buck 1949:9.342 *press* (vb.); 10.67 *push, shove* (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:293—294, no. 108; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2272, **tAlV* ‘to tread, to pound’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘to thresh’).

201. Proto-Nostratic root **than^y-* (~ **thən^y-*):

- (vb.) **than^y-* ‘to extend, to spread, to stretch; to endure, to be long-lasting’;
 (n.) **than^y-a* ‘extension, width, length, breadth’; (adj.) ‘stretched, extended, wide, broad, long-lasting’
 Derivative:
 (vb.) **than^y-* ‘to grow weary, exhausted, tired, old’;
 (n.) **than^y-a* ‘exhaustion, weariness, fatigue, old age’; (adj.) ‘tired, weary, exhausted, old’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **tan-* ‘(vb.) to extend, spread, or stretch out; to endure, to be long-lasting; (n.) duration; extension’: Proto-Semitic **wa-tan-* ‘to endure; to be continuous, perpetual, steadfast, long-lasting’ > Hebrew *ʔēθān* [תָּנִן, תָּנִן] ‘strong, firm, steadfast, stable; ever-flowing’, *wāθin* [תָּנִן] ‘(water) flowing in a stream; steadfast, permanent’; Arabic *watana* ‘to endure, (water) to flow continuously; to stay long in a place’, *watun* ‘duration, continuous flow’; Sabaeen *mhtn* ‘perpetually flowing water’. Klein 1987:26 and 267; Murtonen 1989:225; D. Cohen 1970—:652. Geez / Ethiopic *tēn* [ተን], *tīn* [ተን], *tən* [ተን], *tēnā* [ተና] ‘extension, length, width, thickness’. Leslau 1987:576. Egyptian *tni* ‘*stretching beyond, *surpassing; great and strong (king), large and solidly-built (wall)’. Hannig 1995:934; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:310—311.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *taṇi* ‘to abound, to be profuse, to increase in size, to grow fat’; Kannaḍa *tani* ‘(vb.) to thrive, to develop, to become full-grown; (n.) state of having thrived, full, strong, fully developed, complete, matured, abounding in agreeable qualities, rich’; Telugu *tanaru, tanarāru, tanar(u)cu* ‘to increase, to rise, to shine, to be well, to be good or

excellent', *tanar(u)pu* 'increase, progress, advancement, height, width, breadth', *taniyu* 'to thrive, to flourish'; Malto *tanyare* 'to become rich'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:265, no. 3047.

- C. Proto-Indo-European *t^hen-/t^hon-/t^hη- 'to extend, to spread, to stretch': Sanskrit *tanóti* 'to extend, to spread, to stretch; to be protracted, to continue, to endure; to put forth; (passive) to be put forth or extended, to increase', *tatá-h* 'extended, stretched, spread, diffused, expanded'; Greek *τανύω* 'to stretch, to stretch out', *τείνω* 'to stretch, to spread, to extend, to stretch out, to reach'; Latin *tendō* 'to stretch, to stretch out, to extend, to spread', *teneō* 'to hold'; Old Icelandic *þenja* 'to stretch, to extend'; Gothic *uf-þanjan* 'to stretch out, to strive for'; Old English *þennan*, *þenian* 'to stretch out, to extend; to prostrate'; Old Saxon *thennian* 'to stretch, to extend'; Old High German *denen*, *dennen* 'to stretch' (New High German *dehnen*); Lithuanian *tinstu*, *tinti* 'to swell'. Rix 1998a:569—570 *ten- 'to stretch'; Pokorny 1959:1065—1066 *ten- 'to stretch'; Walde 1927—1932.I:722—724 *ten-; Mann 1984—1987:1379 *ten- 'to stretch, to spread', 1381 *tenō, -jō 'to stretch, to pull, to extend'; Watkins 1985:70 *ten- and 2000:90 *ten- 'to stretch'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:38 *t^h[en]- and 1995.I:33, I:684 *t^hen-; Mallory—Adams 1997:187 *ten- 'to stretch', *t^hη-tó-s 'stretched'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:475; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1091—1093 *ten-; Boisacq 1950:941 *ten- and 947—948 *ten-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:853 and II:863—865; Beekes 2010.II:1450 *tenh₂- and II:1457—1458 *ten(h₂)-; Hofmann 1966:352 and 355—356 *ten-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:662—664 *ten- and II:664—665; Ernout—Meillet 1979:682—683 *ten- and 683—684; De Vaan 2008:612; Orël 2003:416 Proto-Germanic *þanjanan; Kroonen 2013:533 Proto-Germanic *þanjan- 'to stretch, to extend'; Lehmann 1986:374 *ten-; Feist 1939:513—514 *ten-; De Vries 1977:609 *ten-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:125 *ten-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:131 *ten-; Wodtko—Irlinger—Schneider 2008:690—694 *ten-. Proto-Indo-European *t^hən-ú-s 'stretched, thin': Sanskrit *tanú-h* 'thin, small, slender'; Greek *τανυ-* 'stretched, thin' (only in compounds); Latin *tenuis* 'thin, fine, slight, slender'; Old Icelandic *þunnr* 'thin'; Old English *þynne* 'thin'; Old Frisian *thenne* 'thin'; Old Saxon *thunni* 'thin'; Old High German *dunni* 'thin' (New High German *dünn*). Pokorny 1959:1069 *tenu-s, *tenu-s 'thin'; Walde 1927—1932.I:724 *tenu-s; Mann 1984—1987:1405 *t^hηuis (*t^hənūis, -os, -jos; *t^hənus) 'stretched, taut, thin'; Watkins 1984:70 *ten- 'to stretch': *t^hη-u-, *ten-u- 'thin'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:782 *t^h[en]- and 1995.I:684 *t^hen- 'thin'; Mallory—Adams 1997:574 *t^hénus (gen. *t^hηnous) 'thin, long'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:474—475; Boisacq 1950:941; Frisk 1970—1973.II:852—853 *t^hηnú-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1091—1093; Hofmann 1966:352 *t^hénús; Beekes 2010.II:1448 *tnh₂-eu-; De Vaan 2008:613—614 *tnh₂-(e)u-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:684—685; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:666 *ten-; Kroonen 2013:551—552 Proto-

Germanic **punnu-* ‘thin’; Orël 2003:429 Proto-Germanic **punnjanan*, 429 **punnuz*; De Vries 1977:627; Onions 1966:917 **ten-*, **ton-*, **tŋ-*; Klein 1971:761 **ten-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:148 **tenú-s*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:160 **tenu-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:694—698 **tenh₂-*. Proto-Indo-European **then-k^h-* ‘to stretch, to extend’: Gothic *þeihs* ‘time’; Old English *þingan* ‘to flourish, to prosper’. Pokorny 1959:1067 **tenk-* ‘to pull’; Walde 1927—1932.I:724—725 **tenq-*; Watkins 1985:70 **tenk-* and 2000:90 **tenk-* ‘to stretch’; Orël 2003:420 Proto-Germanic **þenzaz* ~ **þenzaz*; Kroonen 2013:542 Proto-Germanic **þinhan-* ‘to thrive, to prosper’ (< **ténk-e-*); Lehmann 1986:360 **ten-*, **tenk-*; Feist 1939:494—495 **tengho-*. Proto-Indo-European **then-p^h-* > (through assimilation) **them-p^h-* ‘to stretch’: Latin *tempus* ‘period of time’; Old Icelandic *þömb* ‘gut; bow-string’; Lithuanian *tempiù*, *tempti* ‘to stretch’. Rix 1998a:569 **temp-* ‘to stretch’; Pokorny 1959:1064—1065 **temp-* ‘to stretch’; Walde 1927—1932.I:721—722 **temp-*; Mann 1984—1987:1378 **tempō*, *-iō* ‘to stretch, to pull’; Watkins 1985:69—70 **temp-* and 2000:90 **temp-* ‘to stretch’ (extension of **ten-*, assimilated from **tenp-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:187 **temp-* (< **tenp-*) ‘to stretch’; De Vaan 2008:611; Ernout—Meillet 1979:681—682; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:660—661; De Vries 1977:631; Smoczyński 2007.1:669; Derksen 2015:463; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1079—1080.

- D. Proto- Altaic **thāno-* ‘to stretch, to pull’: Proto-Tungus **tān-* ‘to stretch, to pull’ > Evenki *tān-* ‘to stretch, to pull’; Lamut / Even *tān-* ‘to stretch, to pull’; Manchu *taŋgiqū* ‘a bamboo device placed in a relaxed bow to preserve its shape’, *taŋgila-* ‘to fire a crossbow’, *taŋgilakū* ‘crossbow’, *taŋgimeliyan* ‘bent backwards, arched, bow-shaped’; Oroch *tōn-* ‘to stretch, to pull’; Nanay / Gold *toan-* ‘to stretch, to pull’; Ulch *tuān-* ‘to stretch, to pull’; Oroch *tāna-* ‘to stretch, to pull’; Udihe *tana-* ‘to stretch, to pull’; Solon *tan-* ‘to stretch, to pull’. Proto-Mongolian **teneyi-* ‘to stretch (oneself), to be stretched’ > Written Mongolian *teneyi-*, *teniyi-* ‘to unbend, to become straight, to stretch, to extend’; Khalkha *tenī-* ‘to stretch (oneself), to be stretched’; Buriat *tenī-* ‘to stretch (oneself), to be stretched’; Kalmyk *tenī-* ‘to stretch (oneself), to be stretched’; Ordos *tenere-*, *tenī-* ‘to stretch (oneself), to be stretched’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1400 **tāno* ‘to stretch, to pull’.
- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **tanut-* ‘to swell’ > Chukchi *tanut-* ‘to swell’, *tānot-γəjyən* ‘swelling’; Kerek *tanut-* ‘to swell’; Alyutor *tanut-* ‘to swell’. Fortescue 2005:299.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 12.65 thin (in dimension); 12.53 grow (= increase in size). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2380, **tañV* (= **tañū* ??) ‘to draw, to stretch, to extend’, no. 2384, **tañXū* ~ **tañXu* (or **tañXü* ?) ‘thin, short’, and, no. 2390, **taŋga|o* ‘to draw, to stretch’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:290—292, no. 10.

202. Proto-Nostratic root *tʰanʷ- (~ *tʰənʷ-):
 (vb.) *tʰanʷ- ‘to grow weary, exhausted, tired, old’;
 (n.) *tʰanʷ-a ‘exhaustion, weariness, fatigue, old age’; (adj.) ‘tired, weary, exhausted, old’
 Derivative of:
 (vb.) *tʰanʷ- ‘to extend, to spread, to stretch; to endure, to be long-lasting’;
 (n.) *tʰanʷ-a ‘extension, width, length, breadth’; (adj.) ‘stretched, extended, wide, broad, long-lasting’
- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *tmi* ‘(vb.) to grow old; (n.) old age; (adj.) old, decrepit’, *tmi* ‘old man, elder’. Hannig 1995:934; Faulkner 1962:299; Erman—Grapow 1921:206 and 1926—1963.5:310; Gardiner 1957:600.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *tent- ‘to grow tired, weary, exhausted’: Georgian *tent-* in *mo-tent-v-a* ‘to grow tired, weary, exhausted’; Mingrelian *tant-*, *tart-* in *mo-tant-u-a*, *mo-tart-u-a* ‘to grow tired, weary, exhausted’. Fähnrich 2007:193 *tent-.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *tʰən-ú-s ‘stretched, thin; tired, weak, feeble’: Latin *tenuis* ‘thin, fine, slight, slender; (of persons, physically) weak, feeble’; Old English *þynne* ‘thin; weak, poor’, *þynnes* ‘thinness; weakness’; etc. See above for full etymology and references.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tañej-* ‘to fall down’. Nikolaeva 2006:426.
 Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.91 tired, weary; 14.15 old.
203. Proto-Nostratic root *tʰapʰ- (~ *tʰəpʰ-):
 (vb.) *tʰapʰ- ‘to strike, to knock, to hit, to beat, to pound; to trample’;
 (n.) *tʰapʰ-a ‘stroke, slap, blow, hit’
 Note also:
 (vb.) *tʰapʰ- ‘to strike, to beat, to pound’;
 (n.) *tʰapʰ-a ‘stroke, blow’
- A. Dravidian: Tamil *tappu* (*tappi-*) ‘to strike, to beat, to kill’, *tappai* ‘a blow’; Kannaḍa *dabbe*, *debbe*, *ḍabbe*, *ḍebbe* ‘a blow, stroke’; Telugu *dabbaḍincu* ‘to slap’, *debba* ‘blow, stroke, attack’; Parji *tapp-* ‘to strike, to kill’, *tapor* ‘slap’; Gadba (Salur) *debba* ‘cut, blow’ (< Telugu); Gondi *tapri* ‘a slap’; Konda *tap-* ‘to strike, to hit’; Kuwi *tapūr vecali* ‘to slap’. Note: Parji *tapor*, Gondi *tapri*, and Kuwi *tapūr* are Indo-Aryan loans. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:267, no. 3075.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *tʰapʰ- ‘to press, to tread, to trample’: Sanskrit *sam-tāpati* ‘to oppress, to torment, to torture’, *sām-tapyate* ‘to be oppressed, afflicted’; Pāli *tapo* ‘torment, punishment, penance’, *tapana* ‘torment, torture’; Greek *ταπεινός* ‘lowly, humble’ (literally, ‘downtrodden’); Old Icelandic *þefja* ‘to stamp’, *þóf* ‘crowding, thronging, pressing’ East Frisian *dafen* ‘to hit, to pound’; Old High German *bi-debben* ‘to suppress’;

Russian *tópat'* [топать], *tópnut'* [топнуть] 'to stamp, to stamp one's foot'. Pokorny 1959:1056 **tap-* 'to press down, to trample'; Walde 1927—1932.I:705 **tap-*; Mann 1984—1987:1368—1369 **tap-* 'to press, to tread, to trample'; Boisacq 1950:941 **tap-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:854; Beekes 2010.II:1450; Hofmann 1966:352 **tap-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1093; Orël 2003:415 Proto-Germanic **þafjanan*; De Vries 1977:606—607.

- C. Proto-Uralic **tappa-* 'to hit, to beat, to strike': Finnish *tappa-* 'to slay, to kill, to put to death'; Estonian *tapa-* 'to slay, to kill'; Mordvin (Moksha) *tapa-* 'to strike, to beat'; Zyrian / Komi *tap-tap* in *tap-tap kar* 'to beat a few times' (*kar* = 'to do, to make'); Hungarian *toppant-* 'to stamp (one's foot on the ground)', *tapos-* 'to tread (on or down), to trample (on)', *tapsol-* 'to clap (hands), to applaud'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *tapar-* 'to trample under foot'; Selkup Samoyed *tapir-* 'to kick (with the foot)', *tappol-* 'to kick'. Rédei 1986—1988:509—510 **tappa-* 'to trample under foot, to strike, to kill'; Décsy 1990:109 **tapa* 'to hit, to beat'.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat). Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2327a, **tab[V]qa* 'to hit, to strike' ([in descendant languages] → 'to kill').

204. Proto-Nostratic root **thar-* (~ **thər-*):

(vb.) **thar-* 'to draw, to drag, to pull';

(n.) **thar-a* 'drag, pull; something dragged or pulled along'

Possible derivative:

(vb.) **thar-* 'to spread, to spread out or about, to expand, to extend; to stretch, to stretch out; to scatter, to strew';

(n.) **thar-a* 'stretch, spread, expanse'; (adj.) 'stretched, tight, taut; spread, scattered, dispersed'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **tar-* 'to draw, to drag, to pull': Proto-Semitic **tar-ar-*, (reduplicated) **tar-tar-* 'to draw, to drag, to pull' > Šheri / Jibbāli *terr* 'to drag, to lead away', (reduplicated) *ettértér* 'to lead roughly, to drag (a child) by the hand'; Soqotri *ter* 'to push gently', (reduplicated) *tártər* 'to throw'; Ḥarsūsi *ter* 'to lead, to drag away'; Mehri *ter* 'to drag, to lead away'. Central Chadic **tyar-* (< **tari-*) 'to draw' > Buduma *teri* 'to draw'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:499, no. 2373, **tar-* 'to pull, to draw'.
- B. Dravidian: Kota (reduplicated) *dardarn* 'noise of dragging something along the ground'; Kannaḍa (reduplicated) *dara dara, jara jara* 'noise of dragging anything on the ground'; Tuḷu (reduplicated) *daradara* 'noise of dragging'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269, no. 3093.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **tar-/*tr-* 'to drag': Georgian *trev-/tri(v)-/ter-/tr-* 'to drag'; Mingrelian (*n*)*tir-* 'to drag'; Laz *tor-, tur-, tir-* 'to drag'; Svan *tr-* (inf. *li-tr-in-e*) 'to drag something'. Klimov 1964:95 **tr-* and 1998:68—69 **ter-* : **tr-* 'to drag, to pull'; Jahukyan 1967:75; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:156 **tar-/*tr-*; Fähnrich 2007:188—189 **tar-/*tr-*.

- D. Proto-Indo-European **tʰr-eA-gʰ-/tʰr-oA-gʰ-* (> **tʰrāgʰ-/tʰrōgʰ-*) ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’: Latin *trahō* ‘to draw, to drag, to pull along’, *tractō* ‘to draw vigorously, to drag, to tug, to haul’; Old Irish *traig* ‘foot’; Old Cornish *truit* ‘foot’; Breton *troad* ‘foot’; Welsh *troed* (< **troget-*) ‘foot’; Gothic *pragian* ‘to run’; Old Icelandic *þræll* (< Proto-Germanic **praǰilaz*) ‘slave, servant’ (< ‘runner’); Old English *brēgan* ‘to run’, *brāg* ‘(period of) time’; Old High German *drigil* ‘servant’. Pokorny 1959:1089 **trāgh-*, **trōgh-*, and **trēgh-* ‘to pull’; Walde 1927—1932.I:752—753 **trāgh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1419—1420 **trāghō*, *-jō* ‘to run’, 1443—1444 **tʰrgh-* (**trāgh-*) ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’; Watkins 1985:71 **tragh-* and 2000:93 **tragh-* ‘to draw, to drag, to move’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:698—699; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:697 and II:698—699 **trāgh-*; De Vaan 2008:626—627; Orël 2003:424 Proto-Germanic **praǰjanan*, 424 **praǰō*, 424 **praxilaz* ~ **praǰilaz*; Kroonen 2013:544 Proto-Germanic **pragian-* ‘to run’; Lehmann 1986:364 (according to Lehmann, the etymology of the Germanic forms is uncertain, but they may be from **trāgh-* ‘to run, to move’); Feist 1939:500—501; De Vries 1977:625 **tragh-*, **treg-*; Onions 1966:919; Klein 1971:763; Skeat 1898:638—639; Kluge—Lutz 1898:211. Proto-Indo-European **tʰr-ekʰ-/tʰr-kʰ-* ‘to pull’: Middle Irish *tricc* ‘nimble, quick’; Old Church Slavic *trъkъ* ‘course, flight’; Bulgarian *trъkalo* ‘wheel, circle’. Pokorny 1959:1092 **trek-* ‘to pull’; Walde 1927—1932.I:755 **treq-*; Mann 1984—1987:1444—1445 **tʰrk-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:699 **trēq-*.

Buck 1949:9.33 draw, pull; 10.46 run (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:297—298, no. 112; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2413, **taRV*, **taRV-HVgV*, **taRV-ṭV* ‘to drag, to pull’.

205. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰar-* (~ **tʰar-*):
 (vb.) **tʰar-* ‘to spread, to spread out or about, to expand, to extend; to stretch, to stretch out; to scatter, to strew’;
 (n.) **tʰar-a* ‘stretch, spread, expanse’; (adj.) ‘stretched, tight, taut; spread, scattered, dispersed’
 Perhaps derived from:
 (vb.) **tʰar-* ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’, in the sense ‘to stretch by pulling’;
 (n.) **tʰar-a* ‘drag, pull; something dragged or pulled along’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **tar-* ‘to spread, to spread out, to expand, to extend; to stretch, to stretch out’: Proto-Semitic **wa-tar-* ‘to stretch, to extend’ > Arabic *watara* ‘to string, to provide with a string (a bow); to stretch, to strain, to draw tight, to tighten, to pull taut’, *watar* ‘string (of a bow, of a musical instrument); sinew, tendon’, *mutawattir* ‘stretched, strained, taut, tense, rigid, firm, tight’; Hebrew *yeθer* [תַּתֵּר] ‘cord’; Syriac *yaθrā* ‘string of a bow’; Geez / Ethiopic *watara*, *wattara* [ወተረ] ‘to bend, to stretch tight, to

tighten (strings), to straighten up’, *?awtara* [አወተረ] ‘to spread out, to stretch out’, *watr* [ወተር] ‘cord, string (of a musical instrument), web (of a spider)’; Tigre *wättära* ‘to stretch a bow, to stretch by pulling, to pull tight’; Tigrinya *wättärä* ‘to stretch (a string, hide), to make taut, to distend, to strain at (chains)’, *wätär* ‘bow string’; Gurage *wätärä* ‘to stretch by pulling, to stretch hide, to distend hide’, *wätär* ‘nerve, sinew, tendon, gut’; Harari *wätär* ‘nerve, gut, sinew’. D. Cohen 1970— :653—655; Klein 1987:267; Murtonen 1989:225; Leslau 1987:622. According to Murtonen, “[t]he basic sense appears to be expansibility.” Murtonen also compares Egyptian *itrw* ‘river’. East Chadic **tar-* ‘to be stretched’ > Tobanga *taaree* ‘to be stretched’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:499, no. 2373, **tar-* ‘to pull, to draw’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tārru* (*tārri-*) ‘to sift, to winnow’, *tari* ‘to sift by a winnowing fan’; Telugu *tāl(u)cu* ‘to sift or separate larger particles from flour in a winnowing basket’; (?) Brahui *dranzing*, *drāzing* ‘to throw in the air, to winnow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:277, no. 3195. Semantics as in Semitic: Akkadian *zarū* ‘to sow seed; to scatter (small objects), to sprinkle (dry matter), to winnow’; Hebrew *zārāh* [זָרָה] ‘to scatter, to winnow’; Arabic *ḍarā* ‘to disperse, to scatter; to carry off, to blow away; to winnow’; Ugaritic *dry* ‘to winnow, to scatter’; Amharic (*a*)*zārrä* ‘to scatter’; etc.; and, within Dravidian itself, Tamil *tūrru* (*tūrri-*) ‘to scatter, to winnow, to throw upward (as dust in the air)’; Malayalam *tūrruka* ‘to winnow, (wind) to scatter’; etc.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **sther-* ‘to spread, to spread out or about, to scatter, to strew’: Sanskrit *strñāti*, *strñóti* ‘to spread, to spread out or about, to strew, to scatter; to lay over, to cover’, *stīrná-ḥ* ‘spread, strewn, scattered’, *stīrtá-ḥ* ‘bestrewn, covered’; Avestan *stərənāti* ‘to stretch, to spread, to extend’; Greek *σπορέννυμι*, *στόρνυμι* ‘to spread, to strew’; Albanian *shtrij* ‘to spread out’; Latin *sternō* ‘to stretch out, to spread out’, *struō* ‘to pile up, to put together’, *struēs* ‘a heap’; Old Breton *strovis* ‘I have spread out’; Gothic *straujan* ‘to spread out’; Old Icelandic *strá* ‘to strew, to cover with straw’, *strá* ‘straw’; Old English *strēowian*, *strēwian* ‘to strew, to scatter’, *strēaw* ‘straw’; Old Frisian *strēwa* ‘to strew’, *strē* ‘straw’; Old Saxon *strōian* ‘to strew’, *strō* ‘straw’; Dutch *strooien* ‘to strew’, *stroo* ‘straw’; Old High German *streuwen*, *strouwen* ‘to strew’ (New High German *streuen*), *strō* ‘straw’ (New High German *Stroh*); Old Church Slavic *pro-střiti*, *pro-strěti* ‘to stretch’. Rix 1998a:543 **ster-* ‘to stretch or spread out’; Pokorny 1959:1029—1031 **ster-*, **sterə-*: **strē-*, **steru-*, **streu-* ‘to spread out, to strew, to scatter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:638—640 **ster-* (also **sterē-*); Mann 1984—1987:1286 **stern-* ‘spread, extended; spread, layout’, 1286—1287 **sterō* (**sternō*), (pp.) **střtós*, ‘to strew, to extend, to spread, to scatter’, 1293—1294 **storos*, 1295 **strāijō* ‘to extend, to expand, to lay out, to spread, to scatter’, 1297 **strēlos* ‘litter, spread’, 1298—1299 **strāyō*, **strāy-*, **strōy-*, **struy-*, 1301 (**strōt-*), 1303—1304

- *stj̥tos, -ā ‘spread, strewn, scattered’, 1301 *strōu-, 1307 *stj̥- ‘to strew’; Watkins 1985:66 *ster- (also *sterə-) and 2000:86 *sterə- (also *ster-) ‘to spread’; Mallory—Adams 1997:539 *ster- ‘to spread out’; Boisacq 1950:916 *sterā̃(u)-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:802—803 *streu- (> Gothic *straujan*, etc.); Beekes 2010.II:1409—1410 *sterh₂-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1059—1060 *strə-; Hofmann 1966:339 *ster-, *streu- (> Latin *struō*, etc.); Ernout—Meillet 1979:657—658; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:607—608 *streu-, *strou- (> Old Church Slavic *struna* ‘string’, etc.); De Vaan 2008:586 and 592—593; Huld 1984:115—116; Orël 1998:442 and 2003:381 Proto-Germanic *strawjanan; Kroonen 2013:583 Proto-Germanic *straujan- ‘to strew’; Feist 1939:456 *strāu-; Lehmann 1986:327 *ster-, *sterə-, *strew- ‘to spread out, to scatter’; De Vries 1977:552 *ster-; Skeat 1898:602; Klein 1971:721 *ster-, *stor-, *stj̥-; Onions 1966:874 and 875 *ster-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:380; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:757 *streu- and 758; Kluge—Seebold 1989:708 and 709; Walshe 1951:221; Derksen 2008:421 *pro-sterh₃- and 469 *sterh₃-.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *tara- ‘to spread or stretch out, to separate, to open’ > Cheremis / Mari (Yaransk) *tara*, (Birsk, Uržum) *tora* ‘wide, far; remote, distant, far off’, (Birsk) *tore-* ‘to remove, to separate, to scatter’; Hungarian *tár-* ‘to open, to open up (wide)’. Rédei 1986—1988:510 Proto-Finno-Ugrian *tara ‘(vb.) to open; (adj.) open’. Proto-Ugric *tar₃- ‘to spread, to stretch (out), to extend’ > Ostyak / Xanty *tir* ‘fixed width’, *tärimt-* ‘to spread or stretch (out)’; Hungarian *tér* ‘space, room’ (Old Hungarian and dial. ‘wide, roomy’), *terít-* ‘to spread, to stretch out, to extend’, *terül-* ‘to spread or stretch (out)’. Rédei 1986—1988:894 Proto-Ugric *tar₃ ‘room’.
- E. Proto-Altaic *tʰarV- ‘to spread, to scatter, to disperse’: Proto-Mongolian *tara-, *tarka- ‘to spread, to scatter, to disperse’ > Mongolian *tara-* ‘to disperse, to scatter; to be separated, to part’, (causative) *taraya-* ‘to disperse (as a crowd), to dismiss; to scatter, to spread, to spread around’, *tarayuu* ‘scattered, dispersed; sparse(ly)’, *taragai* ‘scattered, dispersed, spread, disseminated’, *tarqa-* ‘to scatter, to spread, to be dispersed’; Khalkha *tara-* ‘to disperse, to scatter’; Buriat *tara-* ‘to disperse, to scatter’; Kalmyk *tarā-* ‘to disperse, to scatter’; Ordos *tarā-* ‘to disperse, to scatter’; Dagur *tare-*, *tarā-* ‘to disperse, to scatter’. Poppe 1960:138; Street 1974:27 Proto-Altaic *tara- ‘to disperse, to scatter’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:1392) reconstruct Proto-Altaic *tʰajri ‘to scatter, to disperse’.
- F. Proto-Eskimo *tarpar- ‘to open out or flare’: Central Siberian Yupik *taXpar-* ‘to open, to enlarge’; North Alaskan Inuit *taqpaq-* ‘open, wide’; Greenlandic Inuit *tarpar-* ‘to widen into a funnel shape’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:334.

Sumerian *tar* ‘to disperse, to scatter’, *tar* ‘to loosen, to untie, to open’.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 9.34 spread out, strew; 12.24 open (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:298—300, no. 113; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2443, **tarʕXV* ‘to throw, to disperse, to scatter’.

206. Proto-Nostratic root **thar-* (~ **thəɾ-*):

(vb.) **thar-* ‘to tear, to break, to split, to pierce’;

(n.) **thar-a* ‘cut, tear, split, incision; wound, injury; spear’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **tar-* ‘to tear, to break, to split’: Proto-Semitic **tar-ar-* ‘to tear, to break, to split’ > Arabic *tarra* ‘to be cut off, to be cut out’; Tigrinya *tārār bälä* ‘to be split’, (reduplicated) *tärtärä* ‘to break to small pieces’; Tigre (reduplicated) *tärtära* ‘to split, to tear up’; Gurage *tärrärä* ‘to tear a piece of cloth or paper, to cut in small pieces, to separate’; Amharic (reduplicated) *tärättärä* ‘to tear to pieces’; Harari (reduplicated) *(a)trätära* ‘to shake the grain on the *afuftu-* plate to separate it from sand or to separate the finely-ground flour from the unground’; Post-Biblical Hebrew (reduplicated) *tirtēr* [תִּרְתֵּר] ‘to scatter, to cast loose (earth)’ (Aramaic loan); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *tartar* ‘to crumble, to cast loose’. Klein 1987:719; Leslau 1979:602 and 603. Amharic *täräkkäkä* ‘to split’; Gurage *tärräxä* ‘to break off a piece, to make incisions, to tear off a leaf of the *äsät*’. Leslau 1979:602. Lowland East Cushitic **tarar-* ‘to cut, to scratch’ > Galla / Oromo *tarara* ‘to cut, to scratch’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **taar-* ‘to spear, to pierce with a weapon’ > K’wadza *talangayo* ‘bleeding arrow’; Ma’a *ito, itoró* ‘spear’; Dahalo *taar-* ‘to spear, to pierce with a weapon’. Ehret 1980:169. West Chadic **tar-/tur-* ‘to tear, to break’ > Galambu *tar-* ‘to tear’; Kulere *tur-* ‘to break’; Dafo-Butura *tar-* ‘to break’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:499, no. 2372, **tar-* ‘to tear, to cut’ and 499, no. 2376, **tarVc-* ‘to break, to tear’ (derived from **tar-* ‘to tear, to cut’); Ehret 1995:143, no. 177, **taar-* ‘to cut into’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tarukku (tarukki-)* ‘to pound, to break, to pierce, to injure, to torment’; Malayalam *tarukkuka* ‘to deprive rice of its husk’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269, no. 3099.
- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **tærræŋ-* ‘to break into pieces’ > Chukchi *teræŋ-* ‘to break into pieces’ (following Bogoraz, Fortescue writes *tærræŋ-*); Koryak *tacran(ə)-* ‘to cut fish into pieces’; Alyutor *tarʔaŋ-* ‘to break or cut to pieces’. Fortescue 2005:282.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.). Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2289, **terV* ‘to tear, to burst’.

207. Proto-Nostratic root **thar-* (~ **thəɾ-*):

(vb.) **thar-* ‘to rub, to wear down’;

(n.) **thar-a* ‘wear’; (adj.) ‘worn out, rubbed, abraded’

Possible Derivatives:

- (vb.) *tʰar- ‘to wither, to wane, to dry up’;
 (n.) *tʰar-a ‘dryness’; (adj.) ‘withered, dry, dried up, arid’
 (vb.) *tʰar- ‘to scratch, to scrape, to plane’;
 (n.) *tʰar-a ‘scratching, scraping, raking; rake, comb’

- A. Dravidian: Malayalam *taṛayuka* ‘to be worn out, rubbed (as a rope), ground (as a knife); to be habituated, practiced’, *taṛekka* ‘to rub down, to grind (as sandal)’; Kannaḍa *taḷe* ‘to be worn out, rubbed; to rub (tr.)’; Tuḷu *taṛepuni* ‘to grind, to try, to rub, to assay (metal)’, *taṛeyuni*, *taṛevuni* ‘to be rubbed off, to abrade, to wear away, to become thin, to become wasted’, *taṛely* ‘worn out’, *taḷepuṇa* ‘to rub’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:270, no. 3114. Kota *tarv-* (*tard-*) ‘to become abraded by moving over rough surface or by having something rubbed over it’; Kannaḍa *tari* ‘to be chafed, abraded, or grazed’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:273, no. 3141.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *tʰer-/tʰor-/tʰr̥- ‘to rub, to wear down’: Greek τείρω ‘to rub hard, to wear away, to wear out, to distress’, τέρην ‘rubbed, smooth’, τρῦω ‘to rub down, to wear out’, τρῦχω ‘to wear out, to waste, to consume’; Sabinian *terenum ‘soft’; Latin *terō* ‘to rub, to wear away’, *tergeō*, *tergō* ‘to wipe, to scour, to dry off, to clean’; Old Church Slavic *tr̥q*, *tr̥ti* ‘to rub, to wear down’; Lithuanian *trinù*, *trinti* ‘to rub’. Rix 1998a:575 *terh₂- ‘to bore, to rub’; Pokorny 1959:1071—1074 *ter-, *terā- ‘to rub, to bore’; Walde 1927—1932.I:728—732 *ter-; Mann 1984—1987:1384 *ter- (*terō, -jō) ‘to rub, to wear’, 1385 *terġ- ‘to wipe, to dry, to clean; pure’, 1428 *trīn- ‘to wear, to rub’, 1438 *trūjō ‘to rub, to wear, to bore, to weary, to worry’, 1442 *trūjō, 1448 *tr̥tos ‘rubbed, crushed, milled’; Watkins 1985:70 *ter- and 2000:91 *terā- ‘to rub, to turn’ (oldest form *ter₂r-, with variant [metathesized] *tre₂r-, contracted to *trē-; various extended forms: *trī- [< *tri₂-], *trō-, *trau-, *trīb-, *trōġ-, *trag-, *trup-, *trūġ-); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:231 *tʰer-, II:706—707 and 1995.I:200, I:612, I:780 *tʰer- ‘to rub, to polish, to abrade; to drill, to bore a hole’, I:152 *tʰer-H-; Mallory—Adams 1997:400 *ter(i)- ‘to rub, to turn’; Boisacq 1950:948—949 *ter-, *tere-, *terē-, *terā-, 956, and 988; Frisk 1970—1973.II:865, II:879, and II:938; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1098 *ter-, II:1106—1107, II:1141 *ter-₂r-u-; Hofmann 1966:356 *ter-, 359 *ter-, 376 *treu-ġh-, also *treu-q- (in Lithuanian *trūkstu*, *trūkti* ‘to break, to split, to burst’, *trūkis* ‘rupture, hernia’), and 376 *tere-; Beekes 2010.II:1458 *ter(H)-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:685—686 and 686—687; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:670 and II:672—673 *téri-; De Vaan 2008:616 *terh₁-/trh₁-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1124—1125 *ter-; Smoczyński 2007.1:689; Derksen 2015:471 *terh₁-.

Sumerian *tar* ‘to be distressed, troubled’.

Buck 1949:9.31 rub. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:279—280, no. 95; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2428, **tar[V]yi* ‘to rub’.

208. Proto-Nostratic root **thar-* (~ **thər-*):

(vb.) **thar-* ‘to wither, to wane, to dry up’;

(n.) **thar-a* ‘dryness’; (adj.) ‘withered, dry, dried up, arid’

Perhaps derived from:

(vb.) **thar-* ‘to rub, to wear down’;

(n.) **thar-a* ‘wear’; (adj.) ‘worn out, rubbed, abraded’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **tar-aʒ-* ‘to be hard, dry, arid; to wither, to die’ > Arabic *taraza* ‘to be hard, dry, arid; to wither, to die; to be hungry’, *tarz* ‘hunger, colic’.
- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *tārūka* ‘to become thin, to droop’; Kannaḍa *tār*, *tāru* ‘to become dry, to dry up, to wither, to wane, to become emaciated’, *tārīga* ‘a dry, sapless man’, *taragu* ‘that which is dried or to be dried; dry, fallen, or dead leaves, a cake fried in oil and dried’, *tarāle* ‘state of being dry, useless, vain’, *taraḷu*, *tarḷu*, *taḷḷu*, *taral* ‘a ripe fruit that has become dry, especially a coconut’; Kota *targ ar-* (*aṭ-*) ‘to become lean’; Toda *to-x-* (*to-xy-*) ‘to become lean, slender’; Tuḷu *tarṇṇuni*, *taruṇṇu* ‘to shrivel’, *targodē* ‘leanness’; Koraga *darla* ‘dried leaves’; Telugu *tāru*, *tāru* ‘to fall away in flesh, to become lean, to diminish, to be reduced’, *trāḍuvaḍu* ‘to become lean’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:277, no. 3192.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **thers-/thors-/thys-* ‘to dry up, to wither; to become thirsty’: Sanskrit *tṛṣyati* ‘to be dry, to be thirsty’, *tṛṣā*, *tṛṣṇā* ‘thirst’; Avestan *taršu-* ‘dried up, parched, arid’; Greek τέρσομαι ‘to be or become dry’; Armenian *tharāmim*, *tharšamim* ‘to wither’; Latin *torreō* ‘to burn, parch, or dry up with heat or thirst’, *torridus* ‘parched, burnt, dry’, *torror* ‘a drying up, parching, scorching’, *terra* (< **tersā*) ‘earth, ground’ (< ‘dry land’); Oscan *terún*, *teerún* ‘earth’; Old Irish *tur* ‘dry, dried out’; Gothic *þauršjan* ‘to be thirsty’, **þaurstei* ‘thirst’, *þaurusus* ‘dried up, withered’, *gaþairsan* ‘to wither’; Old Icelandic *þyrstr* ‘thirsty’, *þorsti* ‘thirst’, *þerra* ‘to dry, to make dry’; Danish *tørst* ‘thirst’; Swedish *törst* ‘thirst, drought’; Old English *þyrstan* ‘to be thirsty, to thirst for’, *þyrstig*, *þurstig* ‘thirsty’, *þurst* ‘thirst’, *þyrre* ‘dry, withered’, *ā-þierran* ‘to wipe dry’, *þærran* ‘to dry’; Old Saxon *thurri* ‘dry, arid’, *thurstian* ‘to be thirsty’, *thurst* ‘thirst’; Old High German *durri*, *thurri* ‘dry, arid’ (New High German *dürr*), *durst* ‘thirst’ (New High German *Durst*), *derren* ‘to parch’. Rix 1998a:579—580 **ters-* ‘to dry up, to wither; to become thirsty’; Pokorny 1959:1078—1079 **ters-* ‘to dry up, to wither; to become thirsty’; Walde 1927—1932.I:737—738 **ters-*; Mann 1984—1987:1387 **ters-* (**tersō*) ‘to rub, to dry’, 1416 **tors-* ‘dry; thirsty; parched; dryness, drought, kiln’, 1447 **tys-* ‘dry; parched; dryness, drought’, 1448 **tystos* ‘dry, parched; dryness, drought’; Watkins 1985:70—71 **ters-* and 2000:91—92 **ters-* ‘to dry’;

Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:44, I:217, I:419 *tʰ[ʰ]ers- and 1995.I:39, I:187, I:367 *tʰer-s- ‘to dry out’; Mallory—Adams 1997:170 *ters- ‘dry’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:525; Boisacq 1950:959 *ters-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:882; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1108 *ters-; Hofmann 1966:360 *ters-; Beekes 2010.II:1470—1471 *ters-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:696—697; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:694; De Vaan 2008:624—625 *tors-eje-; Kroonen 2013:539 Proto-Germanic *þersan- ‘to be dry’, 553 *þurstu- ‘thirst’, 553 *þurzēn- ‘to be dry’, 554 *þurzjan- ‘to be thirsty’, and 554 *þurzu- ‘dry’; Orël 2003:421—422 Proto-Germanic *þersanan, 430 *þursjanan ~ *þurzjanan, 430 *þurstīn, 430 *þurstuz ~ *þurstuiz, 430 *þurstjanan, 430 *þurznōjanan, 430 *þurzuz; Feist 1939:206 *ters- and 493; Lehmann 1986:151 *ters- ‘thirst’ and 358 *ters-+ye/o-, -e/o-; De Vries 1977:609, 618, and 630; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:403; Onions 1966:917 *tʰs-, *tors-; Klein 1971:762 *tʰs-; Skeat 1898:637; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:149 *tʰs-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:162; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:701—704 *ters-.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 5.15 thirst (sb.); 15.75 soft. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:283, no. 99; Möller 1911:253; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2438, *tʰ[u]RʒʒV ‘dry, arid, hard’.

209. Proto-Nostratic root *tʰar- (~ *tʰar-):

(vb.) *tʰar- ‘to scratch, to scrape, to plane’;

(n.) *tʰar-a ‘scratching, scraping, raking; rake, comb’

Perhaps derived from:

(vb.) *tʰar- ‘to rub, to wear down’;

(n.) *tʰar-a ‘wear’; (adj.) ‘worn out, rubbed, abraded’

A. Dravidian: Gondi *tarcānā*, *tarc-* ‘to scrape’, *tarsk-* ‘to scrape, to plane’, *task-*, *tarsk-/tarisk-* ‘to level, to scrape’; Konda *taḥ-* (that is, *tar-*) ‘to scrape’; Pengo *treh-* (*trest-*) ‘to scrape, to plane, to cut with an adze’; Maṇḍa *teh-* ‘to shave’; Kui *tahpa* (*taht-*) ‘to smooth off, to level down, to chip, to scrape’; Kui *tah-* (*tast-*) ‘to scrape, to plane’, *tah'nai* ‘to engrave’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:273—274, no. 3146.

B. Proto-Altaic *tʰjora- ‘to cultivate (soil), to till (land)’: Proto-Mongolian *tari- ‘to sow, to plant’, *tariya-n ‘crops’ > Mongolian *tari-* ‘to sow, to plant, to plow’, *tariyala-* ‘to cultivate the soil’, *tariyalaŋ* ‘arable land, plow land; field; plantation; agriculture’, *tariy-a(n)* ‘sowing, planting, plowing’, *tarmu-* ‘to rake (as hay)’, *tariya(n)* ‘wheat, crop; field, farm’; Khalkha *taria* ‘crops’; Buriat *tarā(n)* ‘crops’; Kalmyk *tarān* ‘crops’; Ordos *tarā* ‘crops’; Dagur *tarē* ‘crops’; Monguor *tarā* ‘crops’. Proto-Turkic *tari- ‘to cultivate (ground)’, *tarya- ‘to comb, to cultivate (land)’ > Turkish *tarım* ‘agriculture’, *tarak* ‘comb, rake, harrow, weaver’s reed, crest (of a bird)’, *tara-* ‘to comb, to rake, to harrow; to dredge; to search minutely’, *taraz*

‘combing, fibers combed out’; Uighur (dial.) *teri-* ‘to cultivate (ground)’; Sary-Uighur *tari-* ‘to cultivate (ground)’; Tuva *tari-* ‘to cultivate (ground)’. Poppe 1960:62; Street 1974:27 Proto-Altaic **tari-* ‘to till (land); to sow, to harvest’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1438 **t̥jora* ‘to cultivate (earth)’.

Buck 1949:8.15 cultivate, till; 8.21 plow (vb.; sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:300, no. 114.

210. Proto-Nostratic root **thar-* (~ **thər-*):

(vb.) **thar-* ‘to drink’;

(n.) **thar-a* ‘a drink; the act of drinking’; (adj.) ‘drunk, tipsy, intoxicated’

A. Dravidian: Telugu *trāgu*, *trāvu* ‘to drink, to swallow, to eat, to smoke’, *trāguḍu*, *trāvūḍu* ‘drinking’; Parji *tar-* ‘to swallow’; Gadba (Ollari) *tārg-* ‘to swallow’, (?) (Salur) *sark-* ‘to drink (as ox in tank)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:275, no. 3174.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ter-/tr-* ‘to drink (wine)’: Georgian *tr-/tver-* (metathesis from **ter-w-*): *tvr-oba* ‘to drink; to become drunk, intoxicated, inebriated’, *simtrvale-* ‘intoxication’, *mtrval-* ‘drunk, tipsy, intoxicated’; Svan *li-tr-e* ‘to drink something, to smoke something’, *tərāj* ‘drunkard’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:162 **twer-*; Schmidt 1962:114; Klimov 1964:95—96 **tr-* and 1998:69 **ter-* : **tr-* ‘to drink (wine)’; Fähnrich 2007:195 **twer-*.

Buck 1949:4.98 drunk; 5.13 drink (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:300, no. 115; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2294, **tarH₂V* ‘to drink’.

211. Proto-Nostratic root **thar-* (~ **thər-*):

(vb.) **thar-* ‘to tremble, to shake’;

(n.) **thar-a* ‘trembling, shaking (from fear, fright)’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tar-* ‘to tremble, to shake’: Semitic: Akkadian **tarāru* (pres. *itarrur*) ‘to shake’; Arabic (reduplicated) *tartara* ‘to shake, to be shaken, to tremble’. Egyptian (Demotic) *tryʃ* ‘to fear, to tremble’; Coptic *trre* [ṯṯṯṯ] ‘to become afraid, to tremble’, *strtr* (< **satirtir*) ‘trembling’. Vycichl 1983:199 and 221; Černý 1976:195. Proto-Southern Cushitic **tarar-* ‘to tremble, to shake’ > Ma’a *-taráʔa* ‘to shake (something)’; Dahalo *tarar-* ‘to tremble, to shake’. Ehret 1980:169. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya (reduplicated) *tartar-* ‘to stagger, to stumble’; Kambata (reduplicated) *tartar-* ‘to stagger, to stumble’. Hudson 1989:142. Ehret 1995:143, no. 176, **tar-* ‘to shake’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **t̥t-* ‘to tremble’: Georgian *trt-* ‘to tremble’; Mingrelian *tirt-ol-* ‘to tremble’; Laz *tirt-in-* ‘to tremble’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse

1995:165 *trt-; Klimov 1964:96 *trt- ‘to tremble’ and 1998:74 *trt- ‘to tremble’; Fähnrich 2007:199 *trt-.

- C. Proto-Indo-European *tʰer-s-, *tʰr-es- ‘to tremble, to shake’: Sanskrit *trásati* ‘to tremble, to quiver’; Avestan *tərəs-* ‘to be afraid’; Greek τρέω ‘to tremble, to quiver’; Latin *terreō* ‘to frighten, to terrify’, *terror* ‘fright, fear, terror, alarm, dread’. Rix 1998a:591—592 *tres- ‘to shake, to tremble’; Pokorny 1959:1095 *tres-, *ters- ‘to quiver’; Walde 1927—1932.I:760 *tres-, *ters-; Mann 1984—1987:1387—1388 *ters- (*tersō) ‘to tremble’, 1425 *tresō ‘to rush, to sway, to tremble, to shake’; Watkins 1985:72 *tres- and 2000:93 *tres- ‘to tremble’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:237 *tʰ[ʰ]ers-, *tʰ[ʰ]res- and 1995.I:207 *tʰers-, *tʰres- ‘to tremble’; Mallory—Adams 1997:509 *tres- ‘to tremble, to shake with fear’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:531—532; Beekes 2010.II:1507—1508 *tres-; Boisacq 1950:984 *teres- (*tres-, *ters-); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1131—1132 *tr-es-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:929—930; Hofmann 1966:373—374 *tresō; De Vaan 2008:617; Ernout—Meillet 1979:688; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:674—675 *teres- (*ters-, *tres-). Proto-Indo-European *tʰr-em-/ *tʰr-om-/ *tʰr-ŋ- ‘to tremble, to shake’: Greek τρέμω ‘to tremble, to quiver’, τρόμος ‘a trembling, quaking, quivering (especially with fear)’; Latin *tremō* ‘to tremble, to quake’; Tocharian A *träm-* ‘to be furious’, B *tremi* ‘anger’; Old Church Slavic *tręsq, tręsti* ‘to shake’. Rix 1998a:589—590 *trem- ‘to tremble or shake (from fear)’; Pokorny 1959:1092—1093 *trem-, *trem-s- ‘to tremble, to quiver, to shake’; Walde 1927—1932.I:758 *trem-; Mann 1984—1987:1423 *trem- (*tremō) ‘to scare; to be scared, to tremble’; Watkins 1985:72 *trem- and 2000:93 *trem- ‘to tremble’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:217 *tʰ[ʰ]rem- and 1995.I:187 *tʰrem- ‘to shake’; Mallory—Adams 1997:509 *trem- ‘to shake, to tremble (in fear)’, *ter- ‘to shake, to tremble’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:922—923; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1131—1132 *tr-em-; Beekes 2010.II:1502—1503 *trem-; Boisacq 1950:982 *t(e)rem-; Hofmann 1966:372—373 *tre-m-; De Vaan 2008:628; Ernout—Meillet 1979:700 *trem-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:701 *t(e)rem-; Adams 1999:319 *trem- ‘to tremble’.

Buck 1949:10.26 shake (vb. tr.); 16.53 fear, fright. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 280—281, no. 97.

212. Proto-Nostratic root *tʰaw- (~ *tʰəw-):

(vb.) *tʰaw- ‘to swell’;

(n.) *tʰaw-a ‘swelling, protuberance, bulge, lump, hump’; (adj.) ‘swollen, full, fat’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *taw- ‘to swell’: Semitic: Arabic *tāḥa* (*twh*) ‘to be broad’. Egyptian *twʒ-w* ‘pustules, swellings’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:251; Hannig 1995:920.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tava* ‘much, intensely’; Kannaḍa *tave* ‘abundantly, greatly, wholly, completely, exceedingly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:270, no. 3106.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **tew-/ *tiw-* ‘to arise, to come into being, to come forth; to bring forth, to give rise to’: Georgian *tev-a* ‘to be wide-awake, alert’, *m-ti-eb-i* ‘star’, *m-tov-ar-e* ‘moon’, *gan-ti-ad-i* ‘sunrise’; Svan *an-taw-e* ‘to bring forth, to give rise to’, *tw-e-tn-e*, *tw-e-twn-e* ‘white’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:158 **tew-*; Fähnrich 2007:190—191 **tew-/ *tiw-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **th_{ew}-/ *th_{ow}-/ *th_u-*, **th_{ew}H-/ *th_{ow}H-/ *th_uH-* (> **th_ū-*) ‘to swell; to be swollen, fat’: Sanskrit *tavas-* ‘strong’; Latin *tumēō* ‘to swell, to be swollen, to be puffed up’, *tūber* ‘swelling, protuberance’; Russian Church Slavic *tyju*, *tyti* ‘to become fat’; Lithuanian *tumėti* ‘to become thick’, *taukai* ‘(animal) fat’. Rix 1998a:581—582 **teu_h₂-* ‘to swell’; Pokorny 1959:1080—1085 **tēu-*, **təu-*, **teuə-*, **tūō-*, **tū-* ‘to swell’; Walde 1927—1932.I:706—713 **tēu-*, **təu-*, **tū-*; Mann 1984—1987:1389—1390 **teugos* ‘fat, thick’, 1390 **teuk-* (**touk-*, **tuk-*) ‘fat; fat part, buttock’, 1456 **tumalos* (**tumulos*) ‘swell, surge, lump, hump, hillock’, 1456 **tumō*, *-ējō* ‘to swell’, 1456—1457 **tumos*, *-ā*, *-ō(n)*, *-jə* ‘swell, lump, mass, myriad, crowd’; Mallory—Adams 1997:560—561 **teuh_a-* ‘to swell (with power), to grow fat’; Watkins 1985:71 **teuə-* (also **teu-*) and 2000:92 **teuə-* (also **teu-*) ‘to swell’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:490; Ernout—Meillet 1979:705 **tūbh-* (?) and 706—707; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:712—713 **tūbh-* and II:715—716 **tēu-* (**teuā**); De Vaan 2008:632 and 633. This stem (**th_uH-s-* > **th_ū-s-*) is also found in the Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic words for ‘thousand’: Proto-Germanic **þūs-χundi-* ‘thousand’ > Gothic *þūsundi* ‘thousand’; Old Icelandic *þúsund* ‘thousand’ (also *þús-hundrað*); Faroese *túsund* ‘thousand’; Norwegian *tusund* ‘thousand’; Swedish *tusen* ‘thousand’; Danish *tusen* ‘thousand’; Old English *þūsend* ‘thousand’; Old Frisian *thūsend* ‘thousand’; Old Saxon *thūsind*, *thūsundig* ‘thousand’; Dutch *duizend* ‘thousand’ Old High German *thūsunt*, *dūsunt* ‘thousand’ (New High German *tausend*). Baltic: Lithuanian *tūkstantis* ‘thousand’; Latvian *tūkstuōt(i)s* ‘thousand’; Old Prussian (acc. pl.) *tūsimtōns* ‘thousand’. Slavic: Old Church Slavic *tysoŭti*, *tyseŭti* ‘thousand’; Russian *tyśjača* [тысяча] ‘thousand’; Ukrainian *tyśjača* [тисяча] ‘thousand’ (older *tyśjača* [тысяча]; dial. *tyśjaca* [тысяца], *tyśuča* [тысуча]); Belorussian *tyśjača* [тысяча] ‘thousand’; Polish *tyśiac* ‘thousand’; Upper Sorbian *tyśac* ‘thousand’; Czech *tisíc* ‘thousand’; Bulgarian *tisešča* [тисеца] ‘thousand’; Slovenian *tisóča* ‘thousand’; Serbo-Croatian (dial.) *tīśuča* ‘thousand’. Orël 2003:431 Proto-Germanic **þūs-(x)undī-*; Kroonen 2013:554 Proto-Germanic **þūshundī-* ‘thousand’; Feist 1939:505—506; Lehmann 1986:367—369; De Vries 1977:628; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:391; Torp 1919:819; Onions 1966:919; Klein 1971:763; Skeat 1898:638; Kluge—Lutz 1898:210—211; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:774; Kluge—Seebold 1989:724; Derksen 2008:503 **tuH-s-ont-*,

*tuH-s-ent-; Shevelov 1964:181; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1135—1136
 *teyə-, *tū-; Smoczyński 2007.1:693—694 *tuk-, *teyk-. For discussion,
 cf. Blažek 1999b:315—316; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:746; Mallory—
 Adams 1997:405 and 560; Szemerényi 1996:221.

- E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *täwðe ‘full’ > Finnish *täysi/täyte-* ‘full’; Lapp / Saami (Kola) *diwdas* ‘full’; Cheremis / Mari *tić, cic* ‘full’; Votyak / Udmurt *dol-dol* ‘full’; Zyrian / Komi *dōla* ‘entirely’; Vogul / Mansi *təwl*, (Northern) *taagl* ‘full’; Ostyak / Xanty *tel*, (Southern) *tet* ‘full’; Hungarian *tel-* ‘to be filled, to become full’. Collinder 1955:119 and 1977:132; Rédei 1986—1988:518 *täwðe (*tälkə); Sammallahti 1988:550—551 *täwdä- ‘to fill’, *täwi- ‘full’.
- F. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *təw- ‘to swell’: Amur *tʰə-dv* ‘to swell’ (West Sakhalin Amur also *tʰəw-dv*); North Sakhalin *tʰə-t* ‘to swell’; East Sakhalin *tʰə-d / tʰə(j)v-d* ‘to swell’; South Sakhalin *tu-nt* ‘to swell’. Fortescue 2016: 154.

Sumerian *tuh* ‘to be stretched out’, *tuh* ‘more than’, *tuh* ‘to produce abundantly, in profusion’.

Buck 1949:12.63 thick (in dimension). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:289, no. 104.

213. Proto-Nostratic *tʰekʰ-:

(vb.) *tʰekʰ- ‘to take (away), to grasp, to seize, to remove’;

(n.) *tʰekʰ-a ‘the act of taking, grasping, seizing, removing’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *tek- ‘to take’: Egyptian *tk, tkk, tktk* ‘to seize, to grasp; to violate (frontier), to attack’. Hannig 1995:940 and 941; Faulkner 1962:302; Erman—Grapow 1921:207 and 1926—1963.5:331, 5:336; Gardiner 1957:601. West Chadic *tyak- ‘to take’ > Sha *tək* ‘to take’; Dafo-Butura *tyek* ‘to take’. Central Chadic *tyak- ‘to take’ > Musgu *taka, tega* ‘to take’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:501, no. 2388, *tek- ‘to take’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tekku (tekki-)* ‘to receive, to take’; Kannada *tege, tegu, tegi* ‘to pull, to draw towards oneself, to take, to take away, to remove; to be taken away, removed; to become less, to diminish, to disappear’, *tege* ‘taking’; Tulu *teguni* ‘to take’; Telugu *tigyu, tigucu* ‘to pull, to draw, to drag, to attract, to take’; Kuṛux *tīgabaʔānā* ‘to take’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:299, no. 3407.

Buck 1949:11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2246, *t[e]Kæ ‘to take, to carry’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘to get, to possess’).

214. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasianic only) **tʰepʰ-*:(vb.) **tʰepʰ-* ‘to warm, to burn’;(n.) **tʰepʰ-a* ‘heat, warmth’

Note also:

(vb.) **tʰab-* ‘to be or become warm; to make warm, to heat up; to cook’;(n.) **tʰab-a* ‘heat, warmth’; (adj.) ‘hot, warm; cooked, baked’

- A. Proto-Indo-European **tʰepʰ-* ‘to warm, to burn; to be warm’ (secondary *o*-grade form: **tʰopʰ-*): Sanskrit *tápati* ‘to be hot; to make hot or warm, to heat’, *tápas-* ‘heat, warmth’, *tápant-* ‘hot’; Avestan *tāpaiti* ‘to burn, to glow, to warm’, *tafnō* ‘heat’, *tafnah-* ‘heat, fever’; Sogdian *tph* ‘fever’; Latin *tepeō* ‘to be lukewarm, to be tepid’, *tepidus* ‘lukewarm, tepid’, *tepor* ‘moderate heat’; Old Irish *té* ‘hot’, *tess* ‘heat’, *tene* ‘fire’; Welsh *twym* ‘hot’; (?) Old English *of-beſian* ‘to dry up’; Old Church Slavonic *topľь* ‘warm’; Russian *tepló* [тепло] ‘heat’, *teplyj* [теплый] ‘warm’, *topít* [ТОПИТЬ] ‘to heat’, *topít’sya* [ТОПИТЬСЯ] ‘to burn’, *tópka* [топка] ‘heating’; Hittite *tapašša-* ‘heat, fever’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *ta-pa-aš-ša-aš* ‘fever’. Rix 1998a:572—573 **tep-* ‘to be warm, to be hot’; Pokorny 1959:1069—1070 **tep-* ‘to be warm’; Walde 1927—1932.I:718—719 **tep-*; Mann 1984—1987:1382—1383 **tep-* ‘to be warm’, **tepos*, *-es-* ‘heat’, 1383 **tepənt-* (**tepənt-*) ‘(being) hot, (being) warm’, 1383 **tepn-*, 1383 **tepskō* ‘to grow warm, to be warm’, 1383 **tepst-* ‘heat, warmth’, 1384 **tept-* ‘hot; heat’, 1413 **toptis*, *-os-* (**topənt-*) ‘hot; heat’; Watkins 1985:70 **tep-* and 2000:90 **tep-* ‘to be hot’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:153, II:683, II:879 **t[h]ep[h]-* and 1995.I:132, I:589—590, I:776 **tʰepʰ-* ‘(vb.) to warm; (n.) heat, warmth’; Mallory—Adams 1997:263—264 **tep-* ‘hot’; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:698—700 **tep-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:477; Ernout—Meillet 1979:685 **tep-*; De Vaan 2008:614 **t(e)p-eh₁-*, **tep-os-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:667—668.
- B. Proto-Altaiic **tʰepʰV-* ‘to warm, to burn’: Proto-Tungus **tepe-* ‘to catch fire, to burn’ > Manchu *tefe-* ‘to burn up’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *tiavə-* ‘to catch fire, to burn’; Nanay / Gold *tepe-* ‘to catch fire, to burn’. Proto-Turkic **tepi-* ‘to dry, to become dry; to suffer from heat’ > Azerbaijani *tāpi-* ‘to dry, to become dry’; Turkmenian *tebi-* ‘to dry, to become dry’; Chuvash *tip-* ‘to dry, to become dry; to suffer from heat’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1421 **tʰepʰV* ‘to warm, to burn’.

Buck 1949:15.84 dry; 15.85 hot, warm. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2398, **tʰæ[p]V* ‘to warm, to be warm’.

215. Proto-Nostratic second person pronoun stem: **tʰi-* (~ **tʰe-*) ‘you’; (oblique form) **tʰa-* (~ **tʰə-*):

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ti/*ta* ‘you’: Proto-Semitic (prefix forms) **ti-/*ta-*, (suffix forms) **-tī/*-tā* ‘you’ > Arabic (m.) *ʔan-ta*, (f.) *ʔan-ti* ‘you’, perfect 2nd sg. endings (m.) *-ta*, (f.) *-ti*, imperfect 2nd sg./du./pl. prefix *ta-*; Akkadian (m.) *an-tā*, (f.) *an-tī* ‘you’, permansive 2nd sg. endings (m.) *-āt(a)*, (f.) *-āti*, prefix conjugation 2nd sg./pl. prefix *ta-*; Hebrew (m.) *ʔat-tāh* [תַּתָּה] (f.) *ʔat-t(i)* [תַּתִּי] ‘you’, perfect 2nd sg. endings (m.) *-tā*, (f.) *-t(i)*, imperfect 2nd sg./pl. prefix *ti-*; Ugaritic *āt* ‘you’ (m. **ʔatta*, f. **ʔatti*), perfect 2nd sg. ending *-t* (m. **-ta*, f. **-ti*), imperfect 2nd sg./du./pl. prefix *t-*; Šheri / Jibbāli *tēn* ‘you’; Geez / Ethiopic (m.) *ʔan-ta* [አንተ], (f.) *ʔan-tī* [አንተ] ‘you’, prefix conjugation 2nd sg./pl. prefix *tə-* [ት-]. Central Cushitic: Bilin (sg.) *ʔen-tī*, *ʔin-tī* ‘you’, (pl.) *ʔen-tin*, *ʔin-tin*. Reinisch 1887:43; Appleyard 2006:150—151. Proto-East Cushitic (2nd sg. subj.) **ʔat-i/u* ‘you’ > Gedeo / Darasa *at-i* ‘you’; Hadiyya *at-i* ‘you’; Kambata *at-i* ‘you’; Sidamo *at-e/i* ‘you’; Burji *áši* ‘you’; Saho-Afar *at-u* ‘you’; Somali *ad-i-* ‘you’; Rendille *at-i* ‘you’; Galla / Oromo *at-i* ‘you’; Bayso *at-i* ‘you’; Konso *at-ti* ‘you’; Gidole *at-te* ‘you’. Sasse 1982:29; Hudson 1989:172. Proto-East Cushitic (2nd pl. subj.) **ʔatin-* ‘you’ > Saho-Afar *atin* ‘you’; Burji *ašinu* ‘you’; Somali *idin-* ‘you’; Rendille *atin-* ‘you’; Dasenech *itti(ni)* ‘you’; Kambata *aʔn-aʔooti* ‘you’; Tsamay *atun-i* ‘you’. Sasse 1982:29. Proto-Highland East Cushitic (2nd sg. voc. fem.) **tee* ‘you’ > Gedeo / Darasa (f.) *tee* ‘you’; Hadiyya (f.) *ta* ‘you’; Kambata (f.) *te* ‘you’; Sidamo (f.) *tee* ‘you’. Hudson 1989:172. Proto-Southern Cushitic (pl.) **ʔata-* ‘you’, (sg.) **ʔaata-* ‘you’ > Iraqw *aten* ‘you’; Dahalo (pl.) *ʔàtta* ‘you’, (sg.) *ʔááta* ‘you’. Ehret 1980:282—283. Ehret (1995:363, no. 727) reconstructs a Proto-Afrasian independent 2nd sg. pronoun **ʔant-/*ʔint-* ‘you’.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Elamite (2nd sg. verb ending) *-t*, (2nd pl. verb ending) *-ht* (*h+t*; in Royal Achaemenid Elamite, this becomes *-t* due to loss of *h*), allocutive (that is, person addressed or “second person”) gender suffix *-t*. Dravidian: Parji *-t* appositional marker of 2nd sg. in pronominalized nouns and verb suffix of 2nd sg.
- C. Proto-Indo-European (nom. sg.) **t^hū* ‘you’, (acc. sg.) **t^hwēł/*t^hē*, **t^hwēm/ *t^hēm*, (gen. sg.) **t^heue*, **t^hewo*, (enclitic) **t^h(w)ey/*t^h(w)oy*: Sanskrit (nom. sg.) *tvám* ‘you’, (acc. sg.) *tvám*, *tvā*, (instr. sg.) *tváyā*, (dat. sg.) *túbhyam*, *te*, (abl. sg.) *tvát*, (gen. sg.) *táva*, *te*, (loc. sg.) *tváyī*; Avestan (nom. sg.) *tūm*, *tū* ‘you’; Greek (Doric) (nom. sg.) *τό* ‘you’, (gen. sg.) *τέος*, (dat. sg.) *τοί*, *τοι*, (acc. sg.) *τέ*; Armenian (nom. sg.) *du* ‘you’; Albanian (nom. sg.) *ti* ‘you’, (dat. sg.) *ty*, *të*, (acc. sg.) *ty*, *të*, (abl. sg.) *teje*; Latin (nom. sg.) *tū* ‘you’, (gen. sg.) *tui*, (dat. sg.) *tibi*, (acc. sg.) *tē*, (abl. sg.) *tē* (Old Latin *tēd*); Old Irish (nom. sg.) *tú* ‘you’, (gen. sg.) *taí*; Gothic (nom. sg.) *þu* ‘you’, (gen. sg.) *þeina*, (dat. sg.) *þus*, (acc. sg.) *þuk*; Lithuanian (nom. sg.) *tù* ‘you’, (acc. sg.) *tavè*, (gen. sg.) *tavęs*, (loc. sg.) *tavyjè*, (dat. sg.) *táv*, (instr. sg.) *tavimi*; Old Church Slavic (nom. sg.) *ty* ‘you’, (acc. sg.) *tę*, *tebe*, (gen. sg.) *tebe*, (loc. sg.) *tebě*, (dat. sg.) *tebě*, *ti*, (instr. sg.) *tobojo*; Palaic (nom. sg.) *ti-i* ‘you’, (dat.-acc. sg.) *tu-ú*; Hittite (nom. sg.) *zi-ik*, *zi-*

ga ‘you’, (acc.-dat. sg.) *tu-uk*, *tu-ga*, (gen. sg.) *tu-(e-)el*, (abl. sg.) *tu-e-da-az*, *tu-e-ta-za*; (encl. poss. nom. sg.) *-ti-iš*, (encl. poss. acc. sg.) *-ti-in*, (encl. poss. neut. sg.) *-te-it*, (encl. poss. gen. sg.) *-ta-aš*, (encl. poss. dat. sg.) *-ti*, (encl. poss. instr. sg.) *-te-it*; (encl. oblique sg.) *-ta* (*-du* before *-za*); Luwian (nom. sg.) *ti-i* ‘you’. Note: the Proto-Indo-European reconstructions given above represent later, post-Anatolian forms (Sturtevant 1951:102—103, §169, reconstructs Indo-Hittite [2nd sg. nom.] **tē* ‘you’, [2nd sg. oblique] **twē*, **tw*). Pokorný 1959:1097—1098 **tū* ‘you’; Walde 1927—1932.I:745 **tū* ‘you’; Mann 1984—1987:1370 **tē* ‘thee’, 1371 **tebhe*, **tebhei* ‘to thee’, 1393 **teye*, **teyi*, **tey* ‘thee, to thee’, 1393—1394 **teyos* ‘thy, thine’, 1407 **toi* ‘to thee’, 1449 **tu*, **tū* ‘thou’, 1465 **tue* ‘thee’; Watkins 1985:72 **tu-* and 2000:93 **tu-* second person sg. pronoun: ‘you, thou’ (lengthened-grade form **tū*, [acc. sg.] **te*, **tege*); Mallory—Adams 1997:455 **tūh_x* ‘thou’; Brugmann 1904:410—413 (nom. sg.) **tū*; Meillet 1964:333—335; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:225 **t^[h]ue-/t^[h]u* and 1995.I:194 **t^hwe-/t^hu*; Szemerényi 1990:224—234 and 1996:216; Beekes 1995:209; Orël 1998:455—456 and 2003:428 Proto-Germanic **þū*; Kroonen 2013:541 Proto-Germanic **þīna* ‘your’ and 549 **þū* ‘you’. Proto-Indo-European (2nd pl. verb ending) **-the*: Sanskrit (2nd pl. primary verb ending) *-tha*, (2nd pl. secondary verb ending) *-ta*; Greek *-τε*; Latin (imptv.) *-te*; Old Irish *-the*, *-de*; Gothic *-þ*; Lithuanian *-te*; Old Church Slavic *-te*. Brugmann 1904:591—592 **-te*; Fortson 2004:84 **-te(-)*; Szemerényi 1996:233—235 (primary) **-te(s)*, (secondary) **-te*; Clackson 2007:124—125 and 127; Meier-Brügger 2003:178 **-te*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:293 **-t^[h]e* and 1995.I:264 **-the*.

- D. Proto-Uralic (sg.) **ti-nä* ‘you’: Finnish *sinä/sinu-* ‘you’; Lapp / Saami *don/dú-* ‘you’; Mordvin *ton* ‘you’; Cheremis / Mari *tə́n* ‘you’; Votyak / Udmurt *ton* ‘you’; Zyrian / Komi *te* (acc. *tenō*) ‘you’; Hungarian *tē* ‘you’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *tannaŋ* ‘you’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tod’i* ‘you’; Selkup Samoyed *taŋ*, *tat* ‘you’; Kamassian *tan* ‘you’. Collinder 1955:57 and 1977:74; Décsy 1990:109 **te*; Zhivlov 2023:154—158; Rédei 1986—1988:539 **tš*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tət* ‘you’, (Northern / Tundra) *tet* ‘you’. Nikolaeva 2006:429—430. Proto-Uralic (pl.) **te* ‘you’: Finnish *te* ‘you’; Lapp / Saami *dí* ‘you’; Mordvin (Erza) *tiń*, *tiń* ‘you’; Cheremis / Mari *tā*, *te* ‘you’; Votyak / Udmurt *ti* ‘you’; Zyrian / Komi *ti* ‘you’; Hungarian *ti* ‘you’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *teenŋ* ‘you’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tod’i?* ‘you’; Selkup Samoyed *tee*, *tii* ‘you’; Kamassian *šī?* ‘you’. Collinder 1955:62 and 1977:79; Rédei 1986—1988:539—540 **tš*; Décsy 1990:109 **te* ‘you’; Janhunen 1977b:156 **te(-)*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tit* ‘you’, (Northern / Tundra) *tit* ‘you’. Nikolaeva 2006:431.
- E. Proto-Altaiic (nom. sg.) **thi* ‘thou, you’: Proto-Mongolian (nom. sg.) (**thi* > **ʋi* >) *či* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) **ta* ‘you’ > Written Mongolian (nom. sg.) *či* ‘you’ (gen. *činu*), (nom. pl.) *ta*; Dagur (nom. sg.) *šī* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *tā*;

Monguor (nom. sg.) *či* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *ta*; Ordos (nom. sg.) *či* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *ta*; Khalkha (nom. sg.) *či* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *ta*; Buriat (nom. sg.) *ši* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *tā*; Moghol (nom. sg.) *či* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *to*; Kalmyk (nom. sg.) *či* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *ta*. Poppe 1955:35, 104, 112, 213, and 218; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1424 *tʰi ‘thou’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: “Mongolian has alone preserved the Nostratic 2nd p[erson personal pronoun] stem *tʰi; other Altaic languages have retained only the other stem *si (*sja), with the oblique stem *nV.”

- F. Etruscan: In Etruscan, there is a pronoun *θi* of unknown meaning. However, in view of the fact that the verbal imperative endings for the 2nd person are *-ti*, *-θ*, *-θi* (cf. Bonfante—Bonfante 1983:86), *θi* may be a form of the pronoun of the 2nd person singular.
- G. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **tur(i)* ‘you’: Chukchi *turi* ‘you’, *tury-in* ‘your’; Kerek (pl.) *təjəkku* ‘you’, (dual) *təj* ‘you’, *təjəj* ‘your’; Koryak (pl.) *tuju* ‘you’, (dual) *tuji* ‘you’, *tucy-in* ‘your’; Alyutor (pl.) *turuwwi* ‘you’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *tuzaʔn* ‘you’, *tizvin* ‘your’. Mudrak 1989b:107 **tur-*, **turx-* ‘you’; Fortescue 2005:291. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *-*δ* in **kəδ* ‘you’: Chukchi *γət* (Southern *γəto*) ‘you’; Kerek *hənjə* ‘you’; Koryak *γəcci* ‘you’; Alyutor *γətta*, *γəttə* (Palana *γətte*) ‘you’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *kəz(z)a* (Sedanka *kza*) ‘you’. Fortescue 2005:142—143.
- H. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh (**tʰi* > **tʰi* >) **či* (sg.) ‘you’: Amur *čhi* ‘you’; North Sakhalin *čhi* ‘you’; East Sakhalin *čhi* ‘you’; South Sakhalin *či* ‘you’. Fortescue 2016:32. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **čin(γun)* (pl.) ‘you’: North Sakhalin *čhiŋ* (pl.) ‘you’; Amur *čhəŋ* (pl.) ‘you’; East Sakhalin *čhin(γun)* (pl.) ‘you’; South Sakhalin *čin* (pl.) ‘you’. Fortescue 2016:33.
- I. Eskimo: West Greenlandic (2nd sg. absolute possessive suffix) *-(i)t*.

Sumerian *za-e* ‘you’, (2nd sg. possessive suffix) *-zu* ‘your’.

Greenberg 2000:71—74; Dolgopolsky 1984:87—89 Proto-Nostratic **t(ü)* and 2008, no. 2312, **t[ü]* (> **ti*) ‘thou’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:285—287, no. 102; Möller 1911:242.

216. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰikh-* (~ **tʰekh-*):

(vb.) **tʰikh-* ‘to form, to fashion, to make, to create’;

(n.) **tʰikh-a* ‘tool used to form, fashion, make, or create something: axe, adze, chisel, etc.; the act of forming, fashioning, making, or creating something: action, deed, etc.’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **tik-* ‘small tool or implement: a stick, a pick’: Georgian *tk-* in *na-tk-is-el-a-i* ‘a small stick, a toothpick’; Svan *šdik*, *štik* ‘tooth’. Fähnrich 2007:196—197 **tik-*.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **tʰekh(s)-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **tʰokh(s)-*) ‘to form, to fashion, to make, to create, either by using a sharp tool or by

bending, weaving, joining, braiding, or plaiting together’: Sanskrit *tákṣati* ‘to form by cutting, to plane, to chisel, to chop, to fashion, to make, to create’, *tákṣan-* ‘a wood-cutter, carpenter’; Pāli *tacchati* ‘to build’, *tacchēti* ‘to do woodwork, to chip’, *tacchanī-* ‘hatchet’, *tacchaka-* ‘carpenter’; Prakrit *takkhai*, *tacchāi* ‘to cut, to scrape, to peel’; Kalasha *tēcīn* ‘a chip’; Avestan *tašaiti* ‘to produce, (carpenter) to make’, *taša-* ‘axe’; Ossetic *taxun* ‘to weave’; Latin *texō* ‘to weave, to build’; Greek τέκτων (< *τέκστων) ‘carpenter’, τέχνη (< *τέκωνā) ‘art, craft’; Armenian *thekhem* ‘to bend, to shape’; Old Irish *tál* (< *tōks-lo-) ‘axe’; Old Icelandic *þexla* ‘adze’; Old High German *dehsa*, *dehsala* ‘axe, poleaxe’ (New High German *Dechsel*); Lithuanian *tašai*, *tašyti* ‘to hew’; Old Church Slavic *tešo*, *tesati* ‘to hew’; Russian Church Slavic *tesla* ‘carpenter’s tool, adze’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ták-ki-(e)-eš-zi* ‘to join, to build’. Rix 1998a:562—563 *tek- ‘to weave, to plait’; Pokorny 1959:1058 *tek- ‘to weave, to plait’, 1058—1059 *tekp- ‘to plait’; Walde 1927—1932.I:716 *teq-, I:717 *tekp-; Mann 1984—1987:1374 *tekslos, -ā, -is (*teksal-) ‘shape; carving; shaper, adze’, 1374 *teksmn-, *teksmō(n), (*teksm-) ‘shaped object’, 1374 *teksō, -iō (*toks-) ‘to shape, to carve, to form, to model, to make’, 1374 *teksos, -ā ‘shaped material, carving; carver, shaper, carpenter’, 1374—1375 *teksos, -ā, -om ‘shaped; shaped object, carving’; *teksstis ‘act of shaping’, 1409 *toksejō ‘to work, to shape, to cultivate’, 1409 *toksos ‘gear, tackle, tool, tools, model’, 1409 *toksilā (*tokslā, *toksul-) ‘shaping, shape, carving, composition’, 1409 *tokstos ‘shaped, carved; carving, shape, model’; Watkins 1985:69 *teks- and 2000:89—90 *teks- ‘to weave, to fabricate, especially with an ax’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:705—706 *t[h]ek[h]s- and 1995.I:611, I:734, I:780 *thekhs- ‘to manufacture, to prepare, to produce; to weave, to braid; to work (something) (primarily wood with a sharp tool or adze); to mold, to model (in clay)’; Mallory—Adams 1997:37—38 (?) *teksō/eh_a-, *teksleh_a- ‘ax, adze’, *teks- ‘to fabricate’, 139 *teks-(t)or/n- ‘one who fabricates’, 443 *tekssteh_a- ‘plate, bowl’; Burrow 1973:83 *teks-tōn (> Greek τέκτων); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:468; Boisacq 1950:950—951 *tekp-; Hofmann 1966:357 *tekp-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:867—868 and II:889—890; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1100 *teks- and II:1112; Beekes 2010.II:1460 *te-tk-n- and II:1476 *tek-, *te-tk-; De Vaan 2008:619; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:678—679; Ernout—Meillet 1979:690; Orël 2003:419 Proto-Germanic *þexsanān, 419 *þexs(a)lōn; De Vries 1977:609; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:124; Kluge—Seebold 1989:130 *teks-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1065 *teks-; Smoczyński 2007.1:661 *tetk-; Derksen 2008:491 *tetk- and 2015:459 *tetk-; Kloekhorst 2008b:813—814. Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic roots have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (1) *thikh- (~ *thekh-) ‘to form, to fashion, to make, to create’ and (2) *thakh- (~ *thakh-) ‘(vb.) to twist, to bend; to fasten, twist, bend, join, or hook together; to be twisted, bent; (n.) hook, peg’.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *teke-* ‘to do, to make’ > Finnish *teke-* ‘to do, to make’, *teko* ‘deed, act’; Lapp / Saami *dákkâ-/dâgâ-* ‘to do, to make’; Mordvin (Erza) *teje-*, (Moksha) *tijə-* ‘to do, to make’; Hungarian *tëv-* ‘to do, to make’, *tevés* ‘doing, making, action’, *tett* ‘action, act, deed’. Sammallahti 1988:550 **teki-* ‘to do’; Collinder 1955:119, 1960:414 **teke-*, 1965:146, and 1977:132; Rédei 1986—1988:519 **teke-* ‘to do, to make’; Joki 1973:327—328.

Buck 1949:6.33 weave; 9.11 do, make; 9.44 build; 9.75 plait; 9.81 carve; 9.84 chisel. Koskinen 1980:52, no. 178.

217. Proto-Nostratic root **thik*’- (~ **thek*’-):

(vb.) **thik*’- ‘to press or squeeze together’;

(n.) **thik*’-*a* ‘pressure, solidity, hardness, massiveness, firmness’; (adj.) ‘compact, thick, massive, solid, firm’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **tiik*’- ‘to press’ > Alagwa *tiŋq-* ‘to squeeze out’. Ehret 1980:325, no. 52.
- B. Dravidian: Konda *tig-* (*-it-*) ‘to press down hard, to lay pressure on’; Pengo *tig-* (*tikt-*) ‘to push’; Manda *tig-* ‘to push’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:278, no. 3205.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **thek*’-*u-* ‘firm, solid, thick’: Old Irish *tiug* ‘thick’; Welsh *tew* ‘thick, fat’; Old Icelandic *þjokkr*, *þykkir* ‘thick, dense’; Swedish *tjock* ‘thick’; Danish *tyk* ‘thick’; Norwegian *tjukk* ‘thick’; Old English *þicce* ‘solid, thick, dense, viscous’, *þicnes* ‘denseness, viscosity, thickness, solidity, hardness, depth’, *þicol*, *þiccul* ‘fat, corpulent’; Old Frisian *thikke* ‘thick’; Old Saxon *thikki* ‘thick’; Dutch *dik* ‘thick’; Middle High German *dic* (*dicke*) ‘thick, close together’ (New High German *dick*). Pokorny 1959:1057 **tegu-* ‘fat, thick’; Walde 1927—1932.I:718 **tegu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1397 **tig-* (**tigus*) ‘thick’; Watkins 1985:69 **tegu-* and 2000:89 **tegu-* ‘thick’; Mallory—Adams 1997:574 **tegu-* ‘thick, fat’; Orël 2003:419 Proto-Germanic **þekwipō*, 419 **þekwōjanan*, 419 **þekwuz*; Kroonen 2013:537 Proto-Germanic **þeku-* ‘fat’; Torp 1919:791; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:395—396; De Vries 1977:614 **tegu-*; Klein 1971:761 **tegu-*; Onions 1966:916 Common Germanic **þeku-*, **þekwia-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:131 **tegu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:142 **tegu-*.
- D. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *toγo-* ‘dense, thick; low (of voice); deep (of sleep)’, *togod’e-* ‘to make thick’, (Northern / Kolyma) *toγore-* ‘to thicken (of reindeer milk)’, *toγuo-* ‘dense, thick; low (of voice); deep (of sleep)’, *toγumu-* ‘to grow thick’, *toγuruol* ‘clot’. Nikolaeva 2006:432—433.
- E. Proto-Altaic **thiku-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’: Proto-Tungus **tiki-* ‘to fit, to be placed into’ > Manchu *čiki-* ‘to insert or attach snugly, to fit exactly’; Ulch *tiki-* ‘to fit, to be placed into’; Oroch *tiki-* ‘to fit, to be placed into’;

Nanay / Gold *čiqi-* ‘to fit, to be placed into’; Udihe *tiχi-* ‘to fit, to be placed into’. Proto-Mongolian **čiki-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’ > Mongolian *čiki-* ‘to jam, to stuff, to press, to push, to shove’, *čikiče-* ‘to be crowded or cramped, to be confined to a small place, to fit in with difficulty’, *čikilče-* ‘to crowd, to throng, to push each other, to be cramped’, *čikildü-* ‘to push each other, to crowd, to be cramped’; Khalkha *čiχe-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Buriat *šeχe-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Kalmyk *čikə-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Ordos *žike-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Moghol *čikänä* ‘packed full’; Dagur *čike-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Monguor *čigi-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’. Proto-Turkic **tiki-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’ > Old Turkic *tīq-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Turkish *tk-* ‘to thrust, squeeze, or cram into’, *uka* ‘crammed full’, *tuks-* ‘to be crammed or squeezed together’, *tuın-* ‘to stuff oneself, to eat in haste, to gulp down one’s food’, *tuınık* ‘stopped up, choked’, *tukız* ‘fleshy, hard’, *tuınaz* ‘plumpish, stout’; Gagauz *tīqa-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Azerbaijani *tīχ-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Turkmenian *dīq-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Uzbek *tiq-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Uighur *tiq-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Karaim *tīq-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Tatar *tīq-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Bashkir *tīq-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Kirghiz *tīq-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Kazakh *tīq-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Noghay *tīq-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Tuva *tīyi-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Chuvash *čīχ-* ‘to stuff into, to press into’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1425—1426 **tʲi[kʲ]u* ‘to stuff into, to press into’; Poppe 1960:16 and 134; Street 1974:27 **tiki-* ‘to jam in; to overeat’.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.); 12.63 thick (in dimension); 12.64 thick (in density). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:290, no. 105.

218. Proto-Nostratic root **thir-* (~ **ther-*):

(vb.) **thir-* ‘to have enough or more than enough, to have all needs fulfilled, to be satisfied, to have plenty’;

(n.) **thir-a* ‘abundance, fullness’; (adj.) ‘enough, abundant, full’

Extended form:

(vb.) **thir-V-ph-* ‘to have enough, to have all needs fulfilled, to be satisfied, to have plenty’;

(n.) **thir-ph-a* ‘abundance, excess, surplus, plenty’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *tariʿa* ‘to be or become full (vessel); to fill (something, especially a vessel)’, *taraʿ*, *tariʿ* ‘full’.

B. Proto-Uralic **tirä-* ‘to fill, to become full, to become satisfied’: Finnish *tyrty-* ‘to be surfeited, to be more than satisfied’; Votyak / Udmurt *tyr* ‘full; fullness; abundant, enough, much’, *tyr-* ‘to fill, to become full, to become satisfied, to be surfeited, to be fed up with something’; Zyrian / Komi *tyr* ‘full’, *tyrl-* ‘to become full’; Ostyak / Xanty *təram-* ‘to suffice, to

come to an end, to become full (of the moon), to become satisfied, to accomplish, to get through with'; Selkup Samoyed *tiir* 'full, filled', *tiira-*, *tirra-* 'to fill'. Collinder 1955:64 and 1977:81; Rédei 1986—1988:524—525 **tire* (**türe*) 'full'; Décsy 1990:109 **tirä* 'full'.

- C. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **təRæt-* 'to be satisfied': Kerek *təret-ev-* 'to be sick (of food)', *tərat-γəjŋən* 'overabundance, overeating', *t(ə)ret-* 'to be full, to be sick of eating'; Alyutor *trat-* 'to be full, to be sick of eating'. Fortescue 1995:302.

Buck 1949:13.21 full. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:278, no. 93.

219. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰir-* (~ **tʰer-*):

Extended form:

(vb.) **tʰir-V-ph-* 'to have enough, to have all needs fulfilled, to be satisfied, to have plenty';

(n.) **tʰir-ph-a* 'abundance, excess, surplus, plenty'

Derivative of:

(vb.) **tʰir-* 'to have enough or more than enough, to have all needs fulfilled, to be satisfied, to have plenty';

(n.) **tʰir-a* 'abundance, fullness'; (adj.) 'enough, abundant, full'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **tar-ap-* 'to have all needs fulfilled, to have abundance' > Arabic *tarifa* 'to live in abundance, opulence, luxury', *taraf* 'opulence, luxury, affluence'; Sabaeen *trf* 'to remain'; Soqotri *terof* 'to be in good health'; Geez / Ethiopic *tarfa* [ተርፈ], *tarafa* [ተረፈ] 'to be left, to be left over, to be abandoned, to remain, to survive, to be spared, to be in plenty, to abound, to be in excess, to be superfluous, to be excellent, to be distinguished', *taraf* [ተርፍ], *tarf* [ተርፍ] 'remainder, remnant, abundance, surplus; abundant, superfluous, uttermost', *təraf* [ተራፍ] 'remainder, residue, overflow, abundance'; Tigrinya *täräfä* 'to remain, to be profitable'; Tigre *tärfa* 'to be left over, to remain'; Harari *täräfa* 'to be in excess'; Amharic *tärräfa* 'to be left over, to remain, to be in excess, to be superfluous', *tərf* 'profit, gain, excess'; Argobba *tärräfa* 'to be left over, to remain'; Gurage *täräfä* 'to remain, to be left over, to be saved, to be profitable, to heal, to recover from illness, to be delivered of child', *tərf* 'advantage, profit, excess'. Leslau 1979:601 and 1987:579.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **tʰerpʰ-/tʰorpʰ-/tʰr̥pʰ-*, **tʰrepʰ-/tʰropʰ-/tʰr̥pʰ-* 'to have enough, to be satisfied': Sanskrit *tṛpyati* 'to satisfy oneself, to become satiated or satisfied, to be pleased with; to enjoy, to satisfy, to please'; Greek τέρω 'to satisfy, to delight, to please, to be delighted, to have enough of'; (?) Gothic *þrafstjan* 'to console, to comfort'; Lithuanian *tarpstù*, *tarpti* 'to thrive, to grow luxuriantly'. Rix 1998a:578 **terp-* 'to be satisfied'; Pokorny 1959:1077—1078 **terp-*, **trep-* 'to satisfy oneself, to enjoy'; Walde 1923—1932.I:736—737 **terp-* 'to satisfy oneself, to enjoy';

Mann 1984—1987:1387 *terp- (*t̥p-) ‘to rejoice’, 1415 *torp- ‘thriving, fit, good’, 1446 *t̥p- (*t̥pō, -iō) ‘to endure, to experience, to need, to want, to enjoy’; Watkins 1985:70 *terp- ‘to satisfy oneself’ and 2000:91 *terp- ‘to take pleasure’; Mallory—Adams 1997:500 *terp- ‘to take (to oneself), to satisfy oneself, to enjoy’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:524; Beekes 2010.II:1470 *terp-; Boisacq 1950:958—959 *terep-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1107—1108; Frisk 1970—1973.II:881—882; Hofmann 1966:360 *terp-; Feist 1939:500 Proto-Germanic *braf-sti- or *braf-st-a- (< *tróp-st(h)o-); Lehmann 1986:364; Smoczyński 2007.1:660; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1062—1063; Derksen 2015:459 *torp-.

Buck 1949:11.42 wealth, riches; 11.51 rich; 11.73 profit; 12.18 enough (adj. or adv.); 13.21 full. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:278—279, no. 94; Möller 1911:253.

220. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *thor^v-a ‘dust, soil, earth’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *t[o]r- ‘(vb.) to be or become dusty; (n.) dust, soil, earth’: Proto-Semitic *tar-ab- ‘to be or become dusty, to be covered with dust; to cover with dust or earth’, *turb- ‘dust; earth, dirt; ground; soil’ > Akkadian *turbu²tu* ‘earth, sand’; Arabic *tariba* ‘to be or become dusty, to be covered with dust; to cover with dust or earth’, *turba* ‘dust; earth, dirt; ground; soil’, *turāb* ‘dust, powdery earth, remains, ashes’, *turib* ‘dusty, dust-covered’; Ḥarsūsi *terōb* ‘to do the ritual ablutions with sand; to wash the hands with sand before milking a camel, to wash with sand’; Mehri *tārūb* ‘to make ritual ablutions with sand’. Zammit 2002:106—107. Arabic loans in Geez / Ethiopic *turāb* [ጥራብ] ‘remains of burnt incense’; Amharic *turab* ‘dust, ashes of burnt incense’. Leslau 1987:579. Egyptian *t* (< *tr) ‘earth, land, ground’; Coptic *to* [ጥዕ] ‘land, earth’. Hannig 1995:912—913; Erman—Grapow 1921:201—202 and 1926—1963.5:212—216; Faulkner 1962:292; Gardiner 1957:599; Vycichl 1983:209—210; Černý 1976:179. Proto-Southern Cushitic *teri- ‘dust’ (vocalic assimilation ?) > Iraqw *teri* ‘dust’; Ma’a *itéri* ‘dust’. Ehret 1980:170. (?) North Omotic *tor- ‘earth’ > Bench / Gimira *tor’* ‘down’. West Chadic *turVb- ‘sandy soil’ > Hausa *tūrbaayaa* ‘fine, sandy soil’ (secondary implosive). Orël—Stolbova 1995:509, no. 2426, *turVb- ‘earth, sand’; Ehret 1995:144, no. 178, *ter-/*tor- ‘earth’.
- B. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *toroñe-* ‘black, dark; gloomy’, *toričeñ-* ‘black’, *toroje* ‘birthmark, patch of a black skin used for an ornament’, *torote-*, *torete-* ‘to blacken’, *tororej-* ‘to blacken’, *tore* ‘blackness, black spot’. Nikolaeva 2006:436.
- C. Proto-Altaic *thōr^ve ‘soil, dust’: Proto-Tungus *turV ‘earth’ > Evenki (dial.) *tur* ‘earth’; Lamut / Even *tōr* ‘earth’; Negidal *tūy* ‘earth’; Nanay / Gold *tur-qa* ‘lump of earth’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.II:217—218. Proto-Mongolian *tor- ‘soot, lampblack; flying dust’ > Written Mongolian *tortuy*

‘soot, lampblack’, *tortuyla-* ‘to blacken with smoke, to be covered with soot’, *toru* ‘flying dust; spray (water); black and blue spot’; Khalkha *tortog* ‘soot, lampblack’; Buriat *tortog* ‘soot, lampblack’; Kalmyk *tortəg* ‘soot, lampblack’. Proto-Turkic **tor*^y ‘dust’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *toz* ‘dust’; Karakhanide Turkic *toz* ‘dust’; Turkish *toz* ‘dust, powder’, *toza-* ‘to raise dust’; Gagauz *tōz* ‘dust’; Azerbaijani *toz* ‘dust’; Turkmenian *tōz*, *tozan* ‘dust’, *toza-* ‘to become dusty’; Uzbek *tozən* ‘dust’; Uighur *toz* ‘dust’; Karaim *toz* ‘dust’; Tatar *tuzan* ‘dust’; Bashkir *tuḍan* ‘dust’; Kirghiz *toz* ‘dust’; Kazakh *toz* ‘dust’; Noghay *tozan* ‘dust’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *toziñ* ‘dust’. Tenishev—Dybo 2001—2006.I:99—100 **to:ř* > **to:z* ‘dust’; Clauson 1972:570—571. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1465 **t’ō’r’e* ‘soil, dust’.

Buck 1949:1.21 earth, land; 1.213 dust.

221. Proto-Nostratic root **t^how-*:

(vb.) **t^how-* ‘to snow’;

(n.) **t^how-a* ‘snow-storm; snow, (hoar)frost’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **tow-* ‘snow’: Georgian *tov-* ‘to snow’, *tov-li* ‘snow’; Mingrelian *tu-al-a* ‘to snow’, *ti-r-i* ‘snow’; Laz *o-mt-u* ‘to snow’, *mtu-r-i*, *mtvi-r-i* ‘snow’; Svan *li-šduw-e* ‘to snow’, *šduw-a* ‘snow-fall’. Klimov 1964:175—176 *(*s₁*)*to-*, *(*s₁*)*towl-* and 1998:73 **to(w)-* ‘to snow’, **tow-l-* ‘snow’; Schmidt 1962:115; Fähnrich 2007:197—198 **tow-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:163—164 **tow-*.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **t^how-gh-/t^hu-gh-* ‘(hoar)frost, snow’: Sanskrit *túhinam* ‘cold, (hoar)frost, snow; dew, mist’; Avestan *taožyō* ‘hoarfrost’. Mann 1984—1987:1417 **tough-* (**toughino-*, **tughino-*) (?) ‘a hard substance, crystal, glass’, 1451—1452 **tughinos*, **tughnos* ‘stiff, tight, compact’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:518; Ulhenbeck 1898—1899.I.114.
- C. Proto-Eskimo **tuvar* ‘(lumpy) shore ice’: Central Alaskan Yupik (Nuni-vak) *tuvaX* ‘(stranded) ice-cake one or more years old’, *tuva-* ‘to cake up, to become lumpy’, *tuvlak* ‘lump of caked matter (for example, snow)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *tuvak* ‘shore ice, mooring place’; Central Siberian Yupik *tuvaq* ‘large stretch of shore ice’; Sirenik *tuvaX* ‘shore ice’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *tuvaq* ‘shore ice’; North Alaskan Inuit *tuvaq** ‘shore ice’; Western Canadian Inuit *tuvaq* ‘thick, old land-locked ice’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *tuvaq* ‘ice of frozen sea or lake’; Greenlandic Inuit *tuvaq* ‘lump of old ice frozen ice into new ice’, (East Greenlandic) *tuvaq* ‘(sea) ice, landfast ice’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:356—357.

Sumerian *tu₁₅* ‘wind, breeze’, *tu₁₅-a* ‘a strong gale’, *tu₁₅/im-hul* ‘a powerful thunder-storm’, *tu₁₅-hul* ‘a bad storm’, *tu₁₅-mer* ‘north wind; storm wind’.

Buck 1949:1.76 snow (vb.); 15.86 cold.

222. Proto-Nostratic root **thukh-* (~ **thokh-*):

(vb.) **thukh-* ‘to burn, to blaze’;

(n.) **thukh-a* ‘ash(es), soot’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **tuk-* ‘(vb.) to burn, to blaze; (n.) ash(es)’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *takk^wasa* [ጥኩሰ] ‘to ignite, to set on fire, to burn’ (probably from Amharic), *tark^wasa* [ጥርኩሰ] ‘to burn, to set on fire’ (according to Leslau [1987:580], this is from *takk^wasa* with augmented *r*); Tigre *tākṣa* ‘to cauterize’; Tigrinya *täkk^wäsä* ‘to burn, to brand cattle’; Amharic *täkk^wäsä* ‘to burn, to cauterize, to brand (animals)’, *täkkus* ‘warm (roast), fresh (eggs, meat, news)’, *atäkk^wäsä(w)* ‘to have fever, to run a fever’, *täkkusat* ‘fever, temperature (fever)’; Gurage *täkäsä* ‘to light a fire, to set fire, to light, to kindle, to burn (tr.)’, *täkkus* ‘warm, fresh’, *täkkusat* ‘fever’, (reduplicated) *täkäkäsä* ‘to burn the surface (of wood or grass)’. Leslau 1979:594, 595 and 1987:573. Egyptian *tk* ‘to burn, to kindle’, *tkʾ* ‘torch, candle, flame; to illumine’, *tkʾw* ‘rite of torch burning’; Coptic *tōk* [ጥጠጠ], *tōč* [ጥጠጠ] ‘to kindle (fire), to bake’, *tik* [ጥጠ] ‘spark’, *intōk* [ጠጥጠጠ] ‘oven, furnace’. Faulkner 1962:301—302; Erman—Grapow 1921:207 and 1926—1963.5:331—332, 332—333; Hannig 1995:940; Gardiner 1957:600; Černý 1976:184; Vycichl 1983:212. Chadic: Hausa *tòòkáá* ‘ashes’; Kulere *madūk* ‘ashes’; Tangale *duka* ‘ashes’; Nzangi *təđáqę* ‘ashes’; Mokulu *ʔoddágé* ‘ashes’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.I:2 *t(w)k* and II:4—5. Orël—Stolbova 1995:507, no. 2417, **tukaʔ-* ‘to burn; ash’. Ehret 1995:140, no. 170, reconstructs Proto-Afrasian **tik^w-/*tak^w-* ‘to light’ primarily on the basis of Cushitic evidence. However, according to Leslau (1987:573), the Cushitic forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tukaḷ* ‘dust, particle of dust, pollen; fault, moral defect’; Telugu *dūgara* ‘dust, dirt, soot’; Kolami *tu-k* ‘dust; earth, clay’; Naikri *tūk* ‘earth, clay’; Parji *tūk* ‘earth, clay, soil’; Gadba (Ollari) *tūkur* ‘earth, clay’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:287, no. 3283. Semantic development from ‘ash(es), soot’ to ‘dust’. Both form and meaning have been influenced by Sanskrit *dhūli-h* ‘dust, powder, pollen’. Burrow—Emeneau (1984:287, no. 3283) also list a number of direct loans from Sanskrit.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated **tu-tuk-* >) **tutk-* ‘to burn, to scald’: Georgian *tutk-* ‘to burn, to scald, to scald oneself’, *tutk-i* ‘hot ashes’; Mingrelian *tkutk-* ‘to burn, to scald, to scald oneself’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:165 **tutk-*; Klimov 1998:74 **tutk-* ‘to scald, to scald oneself’; Fähnrich 2007:199—200 **tutk-*.

Buck 1949:1.213 dust; 1.82 flame (sb.); 1.84 ashes; 1.85 burn (vb.); 1.86 light (vb.), kindle; 5.24 bake; 5.25 oven.

223. Proto-Nostratic root *t^hul- (~ *t^hol-):(vb.) *t^hul- ‘to lift, to raise; to pile up, to stack (in a heap)’;(n.) *t^hul-a ‘hill, mound; stack, heap’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *tul- ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise; to pile up, to stack (in a heap); (n.) hill, mound; stack, heap’: Proto-Semitic *tal- (*tal-al-, *tal-aw/y-, *tal-aʕ-) ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise; (n.) hill, mound’ > Hebrew *tālāʕ* [תָּלַעַ], *tālāh* [תָּלַחַ] ‘to hang’, *tēl* [תֵּל] ‘mound’, *tālūl* [תָּלַלַל] ‘exalted, lofty’; Aramaic *tillā* ‘mound’; Arabic *tall* ‘hill, elevation’, *talaʕa* ‘to rise, to spread’, *talīʕ* ‘long, outstretched, extended; high, tall’; Akkadian *tillu* ‘ruin’, *talālu* ‘to suspend’; Šheri / Jibbāli *etlél* ‘to go up on to a hill’, *tellét* ‘hill’. Geez / Ethiopic *tallāʕ* [ተለዕ], *tallāʕ* [ተለእ] ‘breast’; Akkadian *tulū* ‘breast’. Klein 1987:703; Leslau 1987:574. Egyptian *tn* ‘to raise, to elevate’; Coptic *tal* [ⲧⲗⲗ] ‘hill’ (this may be a Semitic loan). Vycichl 1983:213; Černý 1976:185. Proto-East Cushitic *tuul- ‘to pile up, to stack’ > Somali *tuul-* ‘to pile up’, *tuulo* ‘hunch’; Burji *tuul-* ‘to pile up, to stack (grain)’, *tuulá* ‘pile, stack (grain)’; Gedeo / Darasa *tuul-* ‘to pile up, to stack (grain)’, *tuula*, *tuulo* ‘pile, stack (grain)’; Sidamo *tuul-* ‘to pile up, to stack’, *tullo* ‘hill’; Bayso *tuul-e-* ‘to pile up’; Galla / Oromo *tuul-* ‘to pile up’, *tulhuu* ‘hill, hunch’; Konso *tuul-* ‘to pile up’. Sasse 1982:179—180; Hudson 1989:79, 113, and 396. Omotic: Mocha *tuullo* ‘heap’; Yemsa / Janjero *tuul-* ‘to heap up’. East Chadic *tul- ‘to hang’ > Ndam *tula* ‘to hang’; Lele *tuul* ‘to hang’. Diakonoff 1992:13 *tVl (> *tvl, *tlw) ‘hill, heap’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:508, no. 2420, *tul- ‘to hang’ and, no. 2429, *tül- ‘hill, heap’; Ehret 1995:142, no. 172, *tuul- ‘to rise; to form a heap, mound’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:247, no. 276) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) *tVlāʕ- ‘breast, nipple’. They note: “Scarcely but reliably attested; vocalism difficult to recover”. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates. However, they explicitly note that the above forms have been compared with Proto-Semitic *tall-/*till- ‘hill, elevation’. Indeed, this is the very comparison I have made above.

- B. Proto-Indo-European *t^hul-/ *t^hl₂- (secondary full-grade forms: *t^hel-/ *t^hol-) ‘to lift, to raise’: Sanskrit *tulā* ‘balance, scale’, *tulayati* ‘to lift up, to raise, to weigh’; Kashmiri *tulun* ‘to lift’, *tul* ‘weight, balance’; Bengali *tulā* ‘to raise, to weigh’, *tul* ‘scales’; Greek *τάλαντον* ‘balance, scale’, (?) *τύλη* ‘any callous lump’, (?) *τύλος* ‘a knob or knot’; Latin *tollō* ‘to lift up, to raise, to elevate; to take up, to take away, to remove, to bear or carry away’ (Old Latin *tulō* ‘to bear, to carry’); Middle Irish *tlenaim* ‘to take away, to remove, to carry off, to steal’, *tulach* ‘hill’; Tocharian A *täl-* ‘to lift, to raise’, B *täl-* ‘to lift, to raise; to acquire’, *talle* ‘load, burden’. Rix 1998a:565—566 *telh₂- ‘to lift, to raise, to be picked up’; Pokorny 1959:1060—1061 *tel-, *telə-, *tlē(i)-, *tlā- ‘to lift up, to weigh, to

balance'; Walde 1927—1932.I:738—740 **tel-*; Mallory—Adams 1997: 352 **telh₂-* 'to lift, to raise'; Mann 1984—1987:1375 **tel-* (**telō*, *-jō*) 'to stretch, to extend, to expand', 1401 **tlātos* (**tłtos*, *-is*) 'suffered, borne; suffering', 1401 **tł-* (**tłō*; **təlō*, *-jō*) 'to lift, to raise, to bear, to suffer', 1402 **tłnō*, 1402 **tłtos*, *-is*, *-jos* 'extended, stretched; extent, tract, roadway, passage', 1454 **tūl-* 'to lift, to take, to remove', 1454—1455 **tūl-* (**tūlos*, *-ā*, *-is*) 'lump, mass'; Watkins 1985:69 **telə-* and 2000:90 **telə-* 'to lift, to support, to weigh'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:176 **t[h]el-*, **t[h]l-* and 1995.I:152 **thel-*, **thl-* 'to bear, to carry'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:516; Frisk 1970—1973.II:848—849; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1088—1090 **tel₂-*; Boisacq 1950:938—939 **telā-*; Hofmann 1966:350—351 **tel-*; Beekes 2010.II:1445 **telh₂-* and II:1517; Ernout—Meillet 1979:693 and 694 **telə-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:688—689; De Vaan 2008:621—622 Proto-Italic **tolna/o-*. Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have been confused in Proto-Indo-European: (A) Proto-Nostratic **thaly-* (~ **thəly-*) (primary meaning) 'to stretch, to spread, to extend', then (secondarily) 'to endure, to suffer, to bear' and (B) Proto-Nostratic **thul-* (~ **thol-*) '(vb.) to lift, to raise; to pile up, to stack (in a heap); (n.) hill, mound; stack, heap'.

- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **tulræt-* 'to steal': Chukchi *tul[?]et-* 'to steal'; Kerek *tu(u)kraat-* 'to steal'; Koryak *tul[?]at-* 'to steal'. Fortescue 2005:288. Semantic development as in Middle Irish *tlenaim* 'to take away, to remove, to carry off, to steal', cited above.

Buck 1949:10.22 raise, lift; 11.56 steal; 11.57 thief. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 282—283, no. 98; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2268a, **tul[?]l[?]* 'tip, sprout, something protruding, summit'.

224. Proto-Nostratic root **thum-* (~ **thom-*):

- (vb.) **thum-* 'to cover over, to hide; to become dark';
 (n.) **thum-a* 'darkness'; (adj.) 'dark'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **tums-* '(vb.) to cover over, to hide; to become dark; (adj.) dark; (n.) darkness': Egyptian *tms* 'to hide, to cover over, to bury'; Coptic *tōms* [ⲧⲟⲙⲥ] 'to bury'. Hannig 1995:933; Vycichl 1983:215; Černý 1976:188. Proto-Highland East Cushitic (**tums-* >) **tuns-* 'to become dark', (**tumso* >) **tunso* 'darkness' > Hadiyya *tuns-* 'to become dark', *tunso* 'darkness'; Kambata *tuns-* 'to become dark', *tunsu-ta* 'darkness'; Sidamo *tuns-* 'to become dark', *tunso* 'darkness'. Hudson 1989:47. Central Cushitic: Xamir *təma* 'darkness'; Kemant *təm-* 'to become dark', *təma* 'darkness'. Appleyard 2006:52.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **thum-/thm-* (secondary full-grade forms: **them-/thom-*) 'dark; darkness': Sanskrit *tāmas-* 'darkness, gloom', *tāmisrā* 'a dark night'; Avestan *təmah-* 'darkness'; Latin *tenebrae* (< Pre-Latin

**temes-rā* ‘darkness’; Old Irish *temel* ‘darkness’; Old High German *dinstar* ‘dark’; Old Saxon *thimm* ‘dark’; Low German *dumper* ‘gloomy’; Lithuanian *tamsà* ‘darkness’, *tamsùs* ‘dark’, *témsta*, *témti* ‘to grow dark’; Latvian *tumsa* ‘darkness’; Old Church Slavic *тъма* ‘darkness’. Rix 1998a:567 **temH-* ‘to be dark’; Pokorny 1959:1063—1064 **tem(ə)-*, **temes-* ‘dark’; Walde 1927—1932.I:720—721 **tem(ə)-*; Mann 1984—1987:1377 **tem-* ‘dark’, 1377 **teməsros*, *-ā*, *-om*; **temos*, *-es-* ‘darkness’, 1378 **temos*, *-es-* ‘darkness’; **teminos*, *-ā* ‘darkness; dark’, 1457 **tums-* ‘dark’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:478 and I:479; Watkins 1985:69 **temə-* and 2000:90 **temə-* ‘dark’; Mallory—Adams 1997:147 **tómh_ses-* ‘dark’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:683; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:664; De Vaan 2008:612; Orël 2003:420 Proto-Germanic **bemstraz*, 420 **bemzaz*; Kroonen 2013:537 Proto-Germanic **bemestra-* ‘dark, dusky’ (< **temh₁-es-ro-*) and 537—538 **bemra-* ‘darkness’ (< **témh₁-ro-*); Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1055—1056 and I:1080; Smoczyński 2007.1:669—670.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 4.78 bury (the dead); 12.26 cover (vb.); 12.27 hide, conceal. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:284—285, no. 101; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2376, **tum[V]qV* ‘dark’.

225. Proto-Nostratic root **t^hup^h-*:

(vb.) **t^hup^h-* ‘to spit’;

(n.) **t^hup^h-a* ‘spittle, saliva’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **tuf-* ‘to spit’: Proto-Semitic **tap-* (**tap-ap-*, **tap-al-*, **tap-aʔ-*, **tap-aʕ-*) ‘to spit’ > Hebrew *tōφeθ* [תֹּפֶת] ‘spitting’; Aramaic *təφaφ*, *təφē* ‘to spit’, *tūφ* ‘spittle’; Arabic *taffa* ‘to spit’; Harsūsi *tefōl* ‘to spit’, *tefēl* ‘spittle, saliva’; Šeri / Jibbāli *tfəl* ‘to spit’; Geez / Ethiopic *taʔa* [ተፍአ], *taʔa* [ተፍዐ] ‘to spit, to spit out’, *təffā* [ተፋእ] ‘spittle’, *taʔat* [ተፍአት] ‘spittle, saliva’; Tigre *täʔa* ‘to spit’; Tigrinya *täʔe*, *tuff bälä* ‘to spit’; Amharic *täffa*, *əttəf balä* ‘to spit’; Gafat *täffa* ‘to spit’; Harari *tuf bāya* ‘to spit’; Argobba *əntəf ala* ‘to spit’; Gurage *täfa* ‘to spit’. Leslau 1963:148, 1979:592, and 1987:570—571. Egyptian *tf* ‘to spit, to spit out’, *tf* ‘spittle, saliva’. Erman—Grapow 1921:205 and 1926—1963.5:297; Hannig 1995:931. Egyptian also has *tp* ‘to spit, to vomit’. Hannig 1995:923. Proto-East Cushitic **tuf-* ‘to spit’ > Saho-Afar *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Somali *tuf* ‘to spit’; Boni *tuf* ‘to spit’; Arbore *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Galla / Oromo *tufe* ‘to spit’; Konso *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Sidamo *tufi* ‘to spit, to vomit’; Burji *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Gedeo / Darasa *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Hadiyya *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Kambata *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Gawwada *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Gollango *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Dullay *tuf-*, *cuf-* ‘to spit’. Sasse 1979:10 and 1982:179; Hudson 1989:140; Heine 1978:74. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *tūf-* ‘to spit’. Reinisch 1895:223. Central Cushitic: Bilin *ṭif-*, *ṭiff y-/ṭif y-* ‘to spit’; Xamir *təf y-* ‘to spit’; Awngi / Awiya *ətəf y-* ‘to spit’. Reinisch 1887:347; Appleyard 2006:128. Proto-

Chadic **tuf-* ‘to spit’ > Hausa *tóófàà* ‘to spit’; Fyer *tùf* ‘to spit’; Karekare *təf-* ‘to spit’; Dafo-Butura *túf* ‘to spit’; Bole *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Bachama *túfə* ‘to spit’; Glavda *taf-* ‘to spit’; Daba *tíf* ‘to spit’; Masa *túfnā* ‘to spit’; Kotoko-Logone *tufu* ‘to spit’; Mubi *tuffa, tàffá* ‘to spit’. Newman 1977:32, no. 121, **təfə*/**tufə* ‘to spit’; Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:302—303. Orël—Stolbova 1995:506, no. 2413, **tuf-* ‘to spit’; Ehret 1995:139, no. 162, **tuf-* ‘to spit’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:328—329, no. 72) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (vb.) **tpp* ‘to spit’ and (2000.I:329, no. 73) Proto-Semitic (vb.) **tpl* ‘to spit’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tuppu* (*tuppi-*) ‘(vb.) to spit; (n.) spittle’, *tuppal* ‘saliva, spittle’; Malayalam *tuppuka* ‘to spit’, *tuppu, tuppal* ‘spittle’; Toda *túf in- (iḍ-)* ‘to spit’; Kannaḍa *tū* imitative sound of spitting and puffing away with the breath, *tūntiri* ‘to spit’, *tūpu* ‘to spit, to blow, to puff away’; Koḍagu *tupp-* (*tuppi-*) ‘to spit’; Telugu *tupukku, tuppu* the sound made in spitting suddenly, *tuppuna* with the sound *tuppu, tūpoḍucu* ‘to spit’; Gondi *tuhkul* ‘spit, saliva; expectoration’; Kuṛux *tuppnā* ‘to spit’, *tuppaxō* ‘saliva, spittle’; Malto *tupe* ‘to spit’, *tupgle, tulgpe* ‘spittle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:290, no. 3323.
- C. Proto- Altaic **thūp^{hi}-* ‘(vb.) to spit; (n.) spittle, saliva’: Proto-Tungus **tupi-* ‘(vb.) to spit; (n.) spittle, saliva’ > Manchu *čife-le-* ‘to spit’, *čifengu* ‘spit, saliva’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *čivələ-* ‘to spit’; Ulch *tīpu(n)* ‘spittle, saliva’; Orok *tupin* ‘spittle, saliva’; Nanay / Gold *topin-* ‘spittle, saliva’; Oroch *tupin-* ‘spittle, saliva’. Proto-Turkic **tūpkūr-* ‘to spit’ > Turkish *tükür-* ‘to spit’, *tükürük, tükruk* ‘spittle, saliva’; Azerbaijani *tüpür-* ‘to spit’; Turkmenian *tüykür-* ‘to spit’; Uzbek *tupur-, tup-la-* ‘to spit’; Uighur *tükür-, tükär-* ‘to spit’; Tatar *töker-* ‘to spit’; Bashkir *tökör-* ‘to spit’; Kirghiz *tükür-* ‘to spit’; Kazakh *tükir-* ‘to spit’; Noghay *tükir-* ‘to spit’; Tuva *dükpür-* ‘to spit’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1477—1478 **tūp^ç* ‘(vb.) to spit; (n.) spittle’.

Buck 1949:4.56 spit (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2399, **tūpV* ‘to spit, to drip’.

226. Proto-Nostratic root **thur-* (~ **thor-*):

- (vb.) **thur-* ‘to cram, to push in, to stuff, to thrust in, to press in’;
 (n.) **thur-a* ‘pressure, force, thrust’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *turu* (*turuv-, tur-*) ‘to be thick, crowded, full; to be closed’, *turu* (*-pp-, -tt-*) ‘to cram (as food into the mouth), to stuff, to press or crowd into a bag or a box’, *turumpu* (*turumpi-*), *turumu* (*turumi-*) ‘to be close, crowded’; Malayalam *turuka* ‘to be thronged, stuffed; to cram, to push in’, *turuttuka* ‘to force in, to cram, to stuff’; Kannaḍa *turuku, turaku* ‘to force or crowd things into; to cram, to stuff; to cause to enter’; Tuḷu

turkalyuni ‘to be distended (as an overloaded stomach)’; Telugu *turugu*, *turugu* ‘to insert, to stick in (as flowers), to cram in, to gag by thrusting a cloth in the mouth’, *turumu*, *turumu* ‘to cram or stick, to thrust in, to deck the head with flowers’; Konḍa *turbi-* ‘to insert, to thrust in’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:294—295, no. 3367.

- B. Proto-Indo-European *tʰr- (*tʰr-ew-dʰ-/ *tʰr-ow-dʰ-/ *tʰr-u-dʰ-; *tʰr-en-kʰ-, etc.), *tʰr- ‘to cram, to push in, to stuff, to thrust in, to press in’: Latin *trūdō* ‘to push, to press, to thrust’; Gothic *þreihan* ‘to press upon, to throng, to crowd’, *us-þriutan* ‘to threaten, to trouble’; Old Icelandic *þrúga* ‘to press’, *þryngva* ‘to press, to thrust’, *þröng* ‘throng, crowd’, *þrýsta* ‘to thrust, to press’, *þröngva* ‘to press on one’, *þraut* ‘hard struggle, great exertion, labor, hard task’; Old English *þringan* ‘to press, to crowd’, *þrang* ‘crowd’, *þrēat* ‘crowd, troop; violence, ill-treatment, punishment, threat’, *þrēotan* ‘to weary’, *þrīetan* ‘to weary, to urge, to force’, *þrūtian* ‘to swell with pride or anger; to threaten’; Old Frisian *þringa* ‘to press’; Old Saxon *þringan* ‘to press’; Dutch *verdrieten* ‘to vex’, *drang* ‘crowd’, *dringen* ‘to push’; Old High German *ar-driozan*, *bi-driozan* ‘to oppress, to trouble’, *dringan* ‘to press, to throng’ (New High German *dringen*); Middle High German *dranc* ‘pressure; crowd’ (New High German *Drang*), *verdriezen* ‘to vex, to annoy, to displease’ (New High German *verdrießen*), *drōz* ‘displeasure, dismay, annoyance’ (New High German *-druß* in *Verdruß*); Old Church Slavonic *trudъ* ‘effort’, *truždō*, *truditi* ‘to trouble, to toil’; Czech *trk* ‘thrust’; Lithuanian *trėškiu*, *trėkšti* ‘to squeeze, to press’; Avestan *θraxta-* ‘crowded together’. Rix 1998a:590 *trank- ‘to thrust’, 592—593 *treud- ‘to push, to thrust’; Pokorny 1959:1093 *trenk- ‘to thrust, to press together’, 1095—1096 *tr-eu-d- ‘to squash’; Walde 1927—1932.I:755 *treud-, I:758—759 *trenq-; Mann 1984—1987:1422 *treik- ‘to force, to crush’, 1423 *trenkō, -jō ‘to force, to browbeat, to bully’, 1423 *trėkstō, -jō (*trėkskō, -jō) ‘to squeeze, to crush, to press, to oppress’, 1424—1425 *tresk- ‘to press, to tread, to trample, to urge, to egg on’, 1426 *treudō, -jō ‘to force, to press’, 1428—1429 *trīp- (*trīpō, -jō; *trīpos) ‘to tread, to press, to push, to force, to beat’, 1430—1431 *troikō, -jō ‘to oppress, to squeeze, to strain’, 1432—1433 *tropejō ‘to press, to urge, to force, to constrain’, 1435 *troud- ‘toil, labor; pressure, force, thrust’, 1436—1437 *trūd- (*trūdō) ‘to thrust, to force, to compress, to break out’, 1437 *trug- ‘to press; pressure’, 1439 *truks- ‘to press, to squeeze’, 1441 *trūs- ‘hardship, toil’, 1444 *tʰk- ‘to thrust, to poke, to pierce’; Watkins 1985:72 *treud- and 2000:93 *treud- ‘to squeeze’; Mallory—Adams 1997:451 *treud- ‘to thrust, to press’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:704; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:710 *tr-eu-d-; De Vaan 2008:630 *treud-(e/o-) ‘to push, to thrust’; Feist 1939:501—502 *trenkō and 535—536; Lehmann 1986:365 *trenk- ‘to push, to press on’ and 383—384 *tr-ew-d- ‘to thrust, to press’; Orël 2003:424 Proto-Germanic *þranǵwjanan, 424 *þranǵwō ~ *þranǵwan, 426 *þrenǵwanan ~ *þrenxwanan, 426 *þreutanan, 427

**prūžanan*; Kroonen 2013:544 Proto-Germanic **brangwjan-* ‘to press’; De Vries 1977:620, 624, and 625; Onions 1966:919 and 920; Klein 1971:763 **treud-* and 764; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:143 and 812; Kluge—Seebold 1989:153, 155, and 758 **trend-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1116; Smoczyński 2007.1:684.

- C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *turie-* ‘to offend, to persecute’. Nikolaeva 2006:439.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.); 13.19 multitude, crowd.
Bomhard—Kerns 1994:294—295, no. 110.

22.8. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *t'

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
t'-	t'-	t-	t'-	t'-	t-	t-	t-
-t'-	-t'-	-t(t)-	-t'-	-t'-	-t-	-t-	-t-

227. Proto-Nostratic root *t'ab- (~ *t'əb-):

(vb.) *t'ab- 'to be or become warm; to make warm, to heat up; to cook';

(n.) *t'ab-a 'heat, warmth'; (adj.) 'hot, warm; cooked, baked'

Note also:

(vb.) *t^hep^h- 'to warm, to burn';

(n.) *t^hep^h-a 'heat, warmth'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *t'ab- 'to be or become warm; to make warm, to heat up': Proto-Semitic *t'ab-ax- 'to cook, to bake' > Arabic *ṭabaḥa* 'to cook; to be or get cooked'; Hebrew *ṭabbāḥ* [ṭḇḇ] 'a cook'; Syriac *ṭəḇaḥ* 'to be parched, broiled; to roast, to bake, to scorch'; Phoenician *ṭḇḥ* 'to cook'; Ugaritic *ṭḇḥ* 'to cook'; Epigraphic South Arabian *ṭḇḥ* 'meat (that which is cooked)'; Mehri (rare) *ṭáwbəx* 'to cook'; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ṭəḇxún* 'baked', *ṭəx* 'to wrap *bəḏəḥ* (edible corms) in cow pats and bake'; Ḥarsūsi *ṭəḇōx* 'to cook, to boil'. Klein 1987:239; Murtonen 1989:202—203. In Semitic, this stem has fallen together with *t'ab-ax- 'to slay, to kill, to slaughter, to sacrifice'. Proto-Semitic *t'ab-as- 'to roast, to fry, to broil' > Geez / Ethiopic *ṭabasa* [ṭḇḇ], *ṭabsa* [ṭḇḇ] 'to roast, to parch, to broil'; Tigrinya *ṭābāsā* 'to fry'; Tigre *ṭābsa* 'to roast'; Amharic *ṭābbāsā* 'to fry, to roast (meat, corn), to toast, to scorch, to broil, to bake (clay), to fire (clay)'; Gurage *ṭābāsā* 'to fry, to roast'. Leslau 1979:611 and 1987:586.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *t'eb-/*t'b- 'to warm, to heat; to warm oneself': Georgian *tb-* 'to warm, to heat; to warm oneself' (Old Georgian *t'ep-/t'p-* < *t'eb-/*t'b-); Svan *li-t'b-ide* 'to heat somebody or something; to be heated, to heat up', *t'ebid*, *t'ebedi*, *t'ebdi* 'warm'; Mingrelian *t'ib-*, *t'ub-*, *t'əb-* 'to warm, to heat; to warm oneself'; Laz *t'ub-*, *t'ib-* 'to warm, to heat; to warm oneself'. According to Klimov (1998:192), the Svan forms may have been borrowed from Ossetic. Schmidt 1962:112—113 *t'ep-; Klimov 1964:179 (*ṭab-/*ṭb- and 1998:186 *t'ep-/*t'p- (Klimov suggests that the Kartvelian forms may have been borrowed from Indo-European); Fähnrich 2007:396—397 *t'ep-/*t'p-; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:879 *t'ep-/*t'p- and 1995.I:226 *t'ep-/*t'p- 'to get warm'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:326—327 *t'ep-/*t'p-. Proto-Kartvelian *t'b-il- 'warm': Georgian *t'bil-* (Old Georgian *t'pil-* < *t'epil- < *t'ebil-) 'warm'; Mingrelian *t'ibu-*, *t'əbu-* 'warm'; Laz *t'ibu-*, *t'ubu-* 'warm'. Klimov 1964:180 *t'bid- and 1998:192 *t'p-il-. Comparison with Afrasian supports the older Proto-Kartvelian

reconstruction **t'eb-/*t'b-* ‘to warm, to heat; to warm oneself’ (as in Klimov 1964:179) as opposed to **t'ep-/*t'p-*.

(?) Sumerian *tab* ‘to burn, to blaze; fever’.

Buck 1949:5.21 cook (vb.); 5.22 boil; 5.23 roast, fry; 5.24 bake; 15.85 hot, warm. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:314—315, no. 134. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2398, **tæ[p]V* ‘to warm, to be warm’.

228. Proto-Nostratic root **t'ad-* (**t'əd-*):

(vb.) **t'ad-* ‘to hinder, to stop, to obstruct’;

(n.) **t'ad-a* ‘hindrance, obstacle, impediment, obstruction’

A. (?) Afrasian: Egyptian *ḏdh* ‘to shut up, to lock up, to imprison’, *ḏdhw* ‘prison, jail’. Hannig 1995:1019; Faulkner 1962:326; Erman—Grapow 1921:223 and 1926—1963.5:635; Gardiner 1957:604.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *taṭu* ‘(vb.) to hinder, to stop, to obstruct, to forbid, to prohibit, to resist, to dam, to block up, to partition off, to curb, to check, to restrain, to control, to ward off, to avert; (n.) hindering, checking, resisting’, *taṭuppu* ‘hindering, obstructing, resisting, restraint’, *taṭakku* (*taṭakki-*) ‘(vb.) to be obstructed, impeded, detained; to obstruct, to hinder, to detain; (n.) obstacle, hindrance, impediment, obstruction’, *taṭaṅku* (*taṭaṅki-*) ‘to be obstructed’, *taṭavu* ‘prison’, *taṭukkal* ‘stumbling block, impediment’, *taṭukku* (*taṭukki-*) ‘(vb.) to obstruct, to impede; (n.) impediment’, *taṭai* ‘(vb.) to hinder, to stop; (n.) resisting, obstructing, hindrance, obstacle, impediment, objection, coat of mail, guard, watch, door, gate, bund, embankment’, *taṭṭu* (*taṭṭi-*) ‘(vb.) to obstruct, to hinder, to ward off, to oppose, to frustrate; (n.) warding off, averting, impediment, frustration’; Malayalam *taṭa* ‘resistance, warding off (as with a shield); what impedes, resists, stays, or stops; prop’, *taṭa-kūṭuka* ‘to hinder’, *taṭaṅṅal* ‘hindrance, stoppage’, *taṭaccal* ‘impeding, stop, stumbling’, *taṭayuka* ‘to be obstructed, to stop between, to stop’, *taṭavu* ‘what resists, wards off; a prison’, *taṭassu* ‘obstruction, hindrance’, *taṭukkuka* ‘to stop, to hinder’, *taṭekka* ‘to stop’, *taṭṭuka* ‘to ward off, to beat off, to oppose’; Kota *tarv-* (*tart-*) ‘to obstruct, to stop’, *tar*, *tarv* ‘obstruction’; Toda *tarf-* (*tart-*) ‘to delay, to prevent, to screen’, *tar* ‘prevention, screen’, *taḍgīl* ‘hindrance, obstruction, delay’; Kannada *taḍa* ‘impeding, check, impediment, obstacle, delay’, *taḍata* ‘act of restraining, state of being stopped (as water), wearing well (cloth)’, *taḍapa* ‘delay, slowness’, *taḍapu* ‘hindrance, impediment’, *taḍavu* ‘(vb.) to stop; (n.) delay’, *taḍasu* ‘to stay, to wait; to stop, to hinder, to impede, to cause to halt or stop’, *taḍahu* ‘stop, cessation’, *taḍissu* ‘to stop, to detain, to hinder, to keep off’, *taḍe* ‘(vb.) to delay, to wait, to stop, to detain, to restrain, to check, to keep down, to endure, to bear patiently, to last, to wear well (cloth, etc.); (n.) check, impediment, obstacle,

restraint'; Koḍagu *taḍe-* (*taḍev-*, *taḍand-*) 'to be obstructed (by person or thing)', *taḍi-* (*taḍip-*, *taḍit-*) 'to stop, to obstruct, to endure', *taḍu* 'lateness, delay'; Tuḷu *taḍavu* 'delay, hindrance, impediment', *taḍè* 'hindrance, obstacle, a charm for serpents', *taḍepāvuni* 'to hinder, to impede, to obstruct', *taḍepini*, *taḍepuni* 'to hold off, to hinder, to keep back, to prevent, to stop, to oppose', *taḍeppu* 'stoppage, resistance, anything put up to stop a passage', *taḍeyuni*, *taḍevuni* 'to halt, to stop, to tarry, to bear, to endure', *taḍevu* 'a halt, stopping, tarrying, impediment, hindrance', *taḍevonuni* 'to bear, to suffer, to be patient', *dadè* 'an obstacle, hindrance', *taḍṭaṅku* 'an obstacle, hindrance'; Telugu *taḍayu* 'to delay', *taḍa* 'hindrance, prevention', *taḍavu* 'delay, loss of time', *taḍāyincu* 'to hinder, to prevent'; Gondi *taḍṭi* 'bund, dam'; Kuṛux *taḍṇā* 'to prevent, to hinder, to impede'; Brahui *taḍ* 'power to resist'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:262—263, no. 3031.

- C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tatti*: 'dam used with a fish trap'. Nikolaeva 2006:427.
- D. Proto-Altaic **tāde-* '(vb.) to obstruct; (n.) trap': Proto-Tungus **dad-* 'ferret trap' > Manchu *dadari* 'a trap for weasels and marmots'. Proto-Mongolian **čidör* 'hobbles, shackles' > Mongolian *čidür* 'hobbles for horses, shackles for the feet', *čidürle-* 'to hobble a horse, to shackle the feet, to handicap or hinder'; Khalkha *čödör* 'hobbles, shackles'; Buriat *šüder* 'hobbles, shackles'; Kalmyk *čödr* 'hobbles, shackles'; Ordos *čödör* 'hobbles, shackles'; Dagur *šider* 'hobbles, shackles'; Monguor *čudor* 'hobbles, shackles'. Proto-Turkic **dīd-* 'to hinder, to obstruct' > Old Turkic *tīd-* 'to hinder, to obstruct'; Karakhanide Turkic *tīḍ-* 'to hinder, to obstruct'; Turkmenian *dīy-*, *dī-γi* 'to stop'; Uzbek *tīy-* 'to hinder, to obstruct'; Karaim *tīy-* 'to hinder, to obstruct'; Tatar *tīy-* 'to hinder, to obstruct'; Bashkir *tīy-* 'to hinder, to obstruct'; Kirghiz *tīy-* 'to hinder, to obstruct'; Kazakh *tīy-* 'to hinder, to obstruct'; Noghay *tīy-* 'to hinder, to obstruct'; Chuvash *čar-* 'to hinder, to obstruct'; Yakut *tīt-* 'to touch'; Dolgan *tīt-* 'to touch'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1346—1347 **tāde* 'to obstruct; trap'.

Buck 1949:19.59 hinder, prevent.

229. Proto-Nostratic root **t'aḥ-* (~ **t'əḥ-*):

(vb.) **t'aḥ-* 'to break, to split; to crush, to grind, to pound';

(n.) **t'aḥ-a* 'break, split, division; anything ground or pulverized'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t'aḥ-* 'to break, to split; to crush, to grind, to pound': Proto-Semitic **t'aḥ-an-* 'to grind, to mill, to crush' > Hebrew *ṭāḥan* [ṭṭḥ] 'to grind, to mill, to crush'; Aramaic *ṭāḥan* 'to mill, to grind'; Ugaritic *ṭḥn* 'to grind'; Akkadian *ṭēnu* 'to grind, to mill'; Arabic *ṭāḥana* 'to grind, to mill, to pulverize (something, especially grain); to crush, to ruin, to destroy', *ṭiḥn* 'flour, meal'; Sabaeen *ṭḥn* 'flour, meal'; Šheri / Jibbāli *ṭāḥan*

‘to grind, to mill’; Harsüsi *teḥān* ‘to grind, to mill’; Soqotri *tāhan* ‘to grind, to mill’; Mehri *ṭəḥān* ‘to grind, to mill’, *məṭḥənēt* ‘grindstone, quern’; Geez / Ethiopic *taḥana* [ጠሐነ], *ṭəḥna* [ጥሕነ] ‘to grind flour, to grind fine’, *ṭāhn* [ጣሕን] ‘grindstone, fine flour’; Tigrinya *tāhanä* ‘to grind’; Tigre *tāhana* ‘to grind’, *māṭḥān* ‘mill, lower millstone’; Harari *tāhana* ‘to to be finely ground (flour), to be clever’. Klein 1987:242; Leslau 1987:590; Murtonen 1989:205. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **t’ah-t’ah-* ‘to break, to shatter, to smash’ > Arabic *ṭaḥṭaḥa* ‘to break, to shatter, to smash (something)’. Proto-Semitic **t’ah-am-* ‘to split’ > Geez / Ethiopic *taḥama* [ጠሐመ] ‘to split in half, to thin out plants’. Leslau 1987:590. Proto-Southern Cushitic **daḥ-* ‘to knock’ > Iraqw *daḥ-* ‘to knock over, to knock down’; Alagwa *daḥit-* ‘to faint’; Dahalo *daḥ-* ‘to pound’, *daḥaniṭe* ‘pestle’. Ehret 1980:189. West Chadic **t’ahAn-* ‘to press down, to forge’ > Angas *ten* ‘to press down’; Tangale *toni* ‘to forge’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:515, no. 2455, **taḥan-* ‘to grind, to forge’.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **t’ex-* ‘to break’: Georgian *t’ex-* ‘to break’, *t’exa-* ‘breaking’, *t’exil-* ‘broken’; Mingrelian *t’ax-* ‘to break’, *t’axa-* ‘breaking, ache’, *t’axil-* ‘broken’; Laz *t’ax* ‘to break’, *t’axa-* ‘breaking’, *mo-t’axer-* ‘broken’; Svan *la-t’x-i* ‘chisel’. Schmidt 1962:134; Klimov 1964:180—181 **t’ex-* and 1998:187 **t’ex-* : **t’x-* ‘to break’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:327—328 **t’ex-*; Fähnrich 2007:397—398 **t’ex-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **t’ehh-* [**t’ahh-*] > **t’ā-* ‘to cleave, to split, to divide’; (extended form) **t’ehh-y/i-* [**t’ahh-y/i-*]: Sanskrit *dāti*, *dyāti* ‘to cut, to divide, to reap, to mow’, *dáyati* ‘to divide, to destroy, to divide asunder’; Greek δαίζω ‘to cleave asunder, to cleave, to slay, to smite, to rend, to tear, to divide’; Old Icelandic *tíð* ‘time’, *tími* ‘time, proper time; good luck, prosperity’; Faroese *tíð* ‘time’, *tími* ‘hour’; Norwegian *tíd* ‘time’, *time* ‘time, proper time’; Swedish *tíd* ‘time, season’, *timme* ‘hour’; Danish *tíd* ‘time’, *time* ‘time, proper time’; Old English *tīd* ‘time, date, period’, *tīma* ‘time, date’; Old Saxon *tīd* ‘time’; Dutch *tijd* ‘time’; Old High German *zīt* ‘time’ (New High German *Zeit*). Rix 1998a:87 **deh₂-* ‘to divide’; Pokorny 1959:174—179 **dā-* : **də-*; **dāi-*, **dai-*, **dī-* ‘to divide’; Walde 1927—1932.I:763—767 **dā(i)-*, **dī-*, **də-*; Mann 1984—1987:131 **dajō* (**dajō*) ‘to divide’; Watkins 1985:10 **dā-* ‘to divide’ (contracted from **da₂-*; variant form **dai-* from extended root **da₂i-*) and 2000:14 **dā-* ‘to divide’ (oldest form **de₂i-*, colored to **da₂-*, contracted to **dā-*; variant form **dai-*, contracted from **de₂i-*, colored to **da₂i-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:160—161 **deh_a(i)-* ‘to cut up, to divide’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:10—21 and II:31; Boisacq 1950:162 **dā(i)-*, **dai(i)-*, **dī-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:340; Beekes 2010.I:297 and I:297—298 **deh₂-*, **deh₂i-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:247—248; Hofmann 1966:50 **dā(i)-*, **dī-*, **də-*; Orël 2003:407 Proto-Germanic **tīdiz*, 408 **tīmōn*; Kroonen 2013:516 Proto-Germanic **tīdi-* ‘time’ and 517 **tīman-* ‘time’; De Vries 1977:587 and 588—589; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:360 and II:364; Torp 1919:782;

Skeat 1898:642 and 644; Onions 1966:923 **dī-*, **dāi-* and 924; Klein 1971:765—766 and 767; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:878 **dī-* : **dā(i)-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:808 **dāi-*.

- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **ta-* ‘to chop’: Amur *řa-dʷ* ‘to chop (wood)’; East Sakhalin *tʰa-d* ‘to chop’. Fortescue 2016:144.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 12.23 separate (vb.); 12.232 divide. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:312, no. 130.

230. Proto-Nostratic root **t'akh-* (~ **t'əkh-*):

(vb.) **t'akh-* ‘to be fit, appropriate, suitable, proper’;

(n.) **t'akh-a* ‘fitness, appropriateness, suitability, propriety’; (adj.) ‘fit, appropriate, suitable, proper’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *taku* (*takuv-*, *takk-/takunt-*) ‘to be fit, appropriate, suitable, proper, worthy, adequate, proportionate, excellent; to begin; to get ready; to be obtained; to be deserved; to resemble’; Kannada *tagu* (*takk-*) ‘to be fit or proper, to suit’; Tuḷu *takka* ‘fit, suitable, proper, deserving, worthy’; Malayalam *taku* ‘to be fit, to suit’; Telugu *tagu* ‘to be proper, becoming, fit, suitable, decent, worthy, competent’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:260, no. 3005.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **t'ekʰ(s)-*/**t'okʰ(s)-* ‘to do what is fit, appropriate, suitable, proper’: Sanskrit *daśasyāti* ‘to serve, to oblige, to honor, to worship,’ *daśā* ‘condition, circumstance, fate,’ *dākṣati* ‘to act to the satisfaction of; to be able or strong,’ *dākṣa-h* ‘able, fit, adroit, clever, dexterous, industrious, intelligent’; Latin *decus* ‘distinction, honor, glory, grace,’ *decet* ‘it is fitting, proper, seemly’; Old Irish *dech*, *deg* ‘best’; Greek δεκτός ‘acceptable’; Old High German *gi-zehōn* ‘to arrange’. Rix 1998a:93—95 **deḱ-* ‘to take, to take up’; Pokorny 1959:189—191 **deḱ-* ‘to take’; Walde 1927—1932.I:782—785 **deḱ-*; Mann 1984—1987:136—137 **deḱar-* (**deḱos*) ‘accepted, decency, acceptable’, 137 **deḱō*, *-iō* ‘to find, to get, to deem, to judge’, 137—138 **deḱos* ‘fit, fitting, fitness’, 138 **deḱsos*, *-ios* ‘fit, fitting, right, proper’; Watkins 1985:10—11 **dek-* and 2000:15 **dek-* ‘to take, to accept’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:110 **t'ek[h]-*/**t'ek[h]-s-* and 1995.I:95 **t'ekʰ-*/**t'ekʰ-s-* ‘to serve, to worship’; Mallory—Adams 1997:271 **deḱes-* ‘to honor’; Beekes 2010.I:320—321 **deḱ-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:267—269; Frisk 1970—1973.I:373—374 **deḱ-*, **doḱ-*; Hofmann 1966:54 **deḱ-*; Boisacq 1950:172—173; De Vaan 2008:164; Ernout—Meillet 1979:166—167; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:330—331 **deḱ-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:10 and II:27.

Buck 1949:9.943 fitting, suitable; 16.73 right (adj., in a moral sense, vs. wrong). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:312—313, no. 131; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2255, **tAKæ* ‘to suit, to be appropriate, to fit’.

231. Proto-Nostratic root **t'al-* (~ **t'al-*):(vb.) **t'al-* 'to lick';(n.) **t'al-a* 'licking'

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **t'lek'-/*t'lik'-* 'to lick, to lick oneself': Georgian *t'lek'-/t'lik'-* 'to lick, to lick oneself'; Mingrelian *t'irk'-* (< **t'rik'-* < **t'lik'-*) 'to lick, to lick oneself'. Klimov 1998:190 **t'lek-* : **t'rk-* 'to lick, to lick oneself'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:333 **t'lek-/*t'lik-*; Fähnrich 2007:406 **t'lek-/*t'lik-*.
- B. Proto-Altaic **tālV-* 'to lick': Proto-Tungus **dala-* 'to lap, to swill; to feed (animals)' > Evenki *dala-* 'to lap, to swill'; Lamut / Even *dal-* 'to lap, to swill'; Negidal *dala-* 'to lap, to swill'; Ulch *dala-n-* 'to feed (animals)'; Nanay / Gold *dalo-* 'to feed (animals)'; Oroch *dalau-* 'to feed animals'; Udihe *dala-* 'to lap, to swill'. Proto-Mongolian **dol[u]γa-* 'to lick' > Mongolian *doliya-*, *doluγa-* 'to lick'; Khalkha *dolō-* 'to lick'; Buriat *dólō-* 'to lick'; Kalmyk *dolā-* 'to lick'; Ordos *dolō-* 'to lick'; Moghol *dōl-* 'to lick'; Dagur *dolō-* 'to lick'; Monguor *dōli-* 'to lick'. Proto-Turkic **dāla-* 'to bite' > Turkish *dala-* 'to bite'; Azerbaijani *dala-* 'to bite'; Turkmenian *dāla-* 'to bite'; Tatar *tala-* 'to bite'; Chuvash *tula-* 'to bite'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1352 **tālV* 'to lick'.

Buck 1949:4.59 lick (vb.).

232. Proto-Nostratic root **t'al-* (~ **t'al-*):(vb.) **t'al-* 'to plunge, sink, dive, dip, or fall into; to immerse';(n.) **t'al-a* 'immersion; depth'

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *ṭalāka* [ṢΛΦ] 'to be deep, to be soaked, to be drenched'; Amharic *ṭälläkä* 'to dip, to sink (sun), to be deep', *äṭälläkä* 'to drench'; Tigrinya *ṭäläkä* 'to immerse', *ṭəlki* 'depth', *ṭälkäyā* 'to be drenched'; Harari *ṭäläka* 'to dip, to plunge (tr.)'; Gurage *ṭäläkä* 'to dip into a dish, to sink, to drown, to set (sun)'. Leslau 1963:154, 1979:618, and 1987:592.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **t'el-* 'to fall into the mud': Georgian *t'l-ek'v-a* 'to fall into the mud'; Mingrelian *t'al-ik'-u-a* 'to be covered with mud'. Fähnrich 2007:394 **t'el-*.
- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (reduplicated) **tæltæł* 'merganser' [a diving bird]: Alyutor *taltal*, (Palana) *teltel* 'merganser'; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Eastern) *tiltil* 'merganser', (Southern) *tidel* 'greater merganser' [note also (Eastern) *tilkozik* 'to take a bath', *tiltezik* 'bath']. Fortescue 2005:280.

Buck 1949:1.214 mud; 9.36 wash; 10.33 sink (vb.).

233. Proto-Nostratic root *t'al- (~ *t'al-):
 (vb.) *t'al- 'to stretch out, to extend';
 (n.) *t'al-a 'length; height'; (adj.) 'long, tall; high'
- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *t'a/wa/l- 'to stretch out, to extend' > Hebrew *tūl* [טוּל] 'to hurl, to cast'; Arabic *tāla* 'to be or become long; to last long; to lengthen, to grow longer, to extend, to be protracted, to become drawn out; to surpass, to excel', *tūl* 'length; size, height, tallness'; Sabaean *twl* 'to extend, to lengthen'; Ḥarsūsi *aṭwáyil* 'to lengthen, to prolong'; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ṭol* 'length'; Mehri *aṭwīl* 'to prolong someone's life', *ṭōl* 'length', *ṭawáyil* 'long'. Klein 1987:241; Murtonen 1989:294; Militarëv 2008a:206 and 2011:85; Zammit 2002:274. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *t'al-t'al- 'to throw' > Hebrew *ṭiltēl* [טִלְטֵל] 'to throw, to fling, to hurl', *ṭaltēlāh* [טִלְטֵלָה] 'throwing (to) a great distance'; Arabic *ṭaltala* 'to move'. Proto-Semitic *na-t'al- 'to lift' > Hebrew *nāṭal* [נָטַל] 'to lift, to bear'; Biblical Aramaic *nəṭal* 'to take, to lift up, to raise, to carry (away)'. Murtonen 1989:280; Klein 1987:413.
- B. Proto-Indo-European (*t'el-/t'ol-/t'l'- 'to stretch, to extend, to lengthen':) (extended forms) *t'l'-E-g^{ho}- 'long', *t'l'-e-Egh- > *t'lēgh- '(vb.) to stretch, to extend, to lengthen; (n.) length': Sanskrit *dīrghá-h* 'long, tall, deep' (comp. *drāghīyān* 'longer'), *drāghmán-*, *drāghimán-* 'length', *drāghate* 'to lengthen, to stretch' (causative *drāghayati* 'to lengthen, to extend, to stretch'); Greek *δολιχός* 'long', *ἐνδελεχής* 'continuous, perpetual'; Gothic *tulgus* 'firm, steady'; Old English (adv. comp.) *tulge*, *tylg*, (superl.) *tylgest* 'strongly, firmly, well'; Old Saxon (adv.) *tulgo* 'very'; Old Church Slavic *dlъgъ* 'long', *dlъžq*, *dlъžiti* 'to extend'; Hittite (nom. pl.) *da-lu-ga-e-eš* 'long', *da-lu-ga-aš-ti* 'length', (3rd sg. pres.) *ta-lu-kiš-zi*, *ta-lu-ki-iš-zi* 'to become long'. Walde 1927—1932.I:812—813 *del-; *delēgh-; *delāghó- (*dīghó-); *(d)longho-s; Pokorny 1959:196—198 *del-; *delēgh-; *dīghó-; *(d)longho-s 'long'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:230 *t'el-, *t'l'-H-g^h] and 1995.I:177, I:180, I:199 *t'el- 'long', *t'elHg^h-, *t'l'-H-g^h-; Mann 1984—1987:150 *dīghis, -iḡ 'length, distance', 151 *dīghos (*dālaghos with variants) 'long, lasting, durable', 153 *dolīgh-; Watkins 1985:11 *del- and 2000:15 *del- 'long'; Mallory—Adams 1997:357 *dīh₁ghós 'long', *dlonghos 'long'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:47; Boisacq 1950:194—195 *delāgh-; Beekes 2010.I:345—346 *d(o)lh₁ghó-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:291—292; Frisk 1970—1973.I:406—407; Hofmann 1966:62 *delēgh-; Orël 2003:411 Proto-Germanic *tulzuz; Kroonen 2013:525 Proto-Germanic *tulgu- 'firm'; Lehmann 2008:349 *dīgh-, *delēgh-; Feist 1939:482—483 *dīghu-, *delēgh-; Derksen 2008:133 *dlh₁ghó-; Kloekhorst 2008b:819—821 *dólugh^h-i-

Sumerian *dalla* 'to widen, to stretch, to extend, to enlarge'.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 10.25 throw (vb.); 12.57 long. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2268, **tæLġE(-ga)* ‘to be long’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:306—307, no. 123.

234. Proto-Nostratic root **t'alʷ-* (~ **t'əʷ-*):

(vb.) **t'alʷ-* ‘to drip, to fall in drops, to sprinkle, to wet, to moisten’;

(n.) **t'alʷ-a* ‘dew, (rain) drop, drizzle’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t'al-* (vb.) ‘to drip, to fall in drops, to sprinkle, to wet, to moisten’, (n.) **t'al-* ‘dew, drop’: Proto-Semitic **t'al-al-* (vb.) ‘to bedew, to wet, to moisten’, (n.) **t'all-* ‘dew, drop’ > Hebrew *tal* [תַּל] ‘dew’; Ugaritic *tl* ‘dew’; Arabic *ṭalla* ‘to bedew’, *ṭall* ‘dew’; Ḥarsūsi *ṭel* ‘dew’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ṭel* ‘dew’; Mehri *ṭal* ‘dew’; Geez / Ethiopic *tall* [ጠል] ‘dew, moisture, humidity’, *ṭalla* [ጠል], *ṭalala* [ጠለለ] ‘to be moist, wet, humid; to be covered with dew; to be soft, fertile, verdant, fat’; Tigrinya *tälälä* ‘to be fresh, verdant’, *tälli* ‘dew’; Tigre *ṭälla* ‘to be wet’, *tälläl* ‘moisture’, *täll* ‘dew’; Amharic *täll* ‘dew’. Klein 1987:244 and 245; Leslau 1987:591; Murtonen 1989:206; Zammit 2002:271—272. Geez / Ethiopic *ṭalaya* [ጠለየ] ‘to be soft, tender, humid, fresh’. Leslau 1987:592. Central Chadic **t'Vl-* ‘drop’ > Buduma *tolo* ‘drop’. West Chadic **t'al-* ‘to flow’ > Bokkos *tal-* ‘to flow’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:515, no. 2459, **ṭal-* ‘dew, drop’ and 516, no. 2460, **ṭal-/ṭul-* ‘to flow, to pour’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *teḷi* (vb.) ‘to strew, to scatter, to sprinkle, to sow (as seed), to cast up in sifting; (n.) sowing (as of seeds in a field)’, *teḷippu* ‘winnowing, sprinkling, scattering, sowing’, *teḷlu* (*teḷli-*) ‘to winnow, to waft (as the sea), to cast upon the floor’, *taḷi* (vb.) ‘to drip (as rain); to sprinkle (tr.); (n.) drop of water, raindrop, first shower of rain’; Malayalam *teḷḷuka* ‘to sift or winnow by casting up gently in a fan’, *teḷḷi* ‘sifted powder’, *teḷḷal* ‘winnowing’, *taḷi* ‘sprinkling water’, *taḷikka* ‘to sprinkle’; Kota *teḷ* (*teyḷ-*) ‘to winnow (flour) gently’, *teyḷ-/teḷc-* (*teḷc-*) ‘to sprinkle (tr.)’; Kannada *taḷi* (vb.) ‘to spread by scattering, to strew, to sprinkle; to be scattered about; (n.) scattering, sprinkling’, *taḷisu* ‘to sprinkle, to cause to sprinkle’, *teḷṇu* ‘to winnow corn’; Koḍagu *taḷi-* (*taḷip-*, *taḷic-*) ‘to sprinkle (liquid)’; Tuḷu *talipu* ‘sprinkling’, *talipuni*, *taḷipu* ‘to sprinkle’, *telluni* ‘to winnow, to sift’; Koraga *talpi* ‘to sprinkle’; Gondi *tehc-*, *tahcānā*, *tahcītānā* ‘to winnow’; Kuṛux *tehnā* ‘to winnow flour so as to separate it from stones or unground grain’; Malto *téle* ‘to sift’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:301, no. 3435. Note: Two separate stems may be involved here.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **t'el-/t'ol-* ‘to drip, to fall in drops, to sprinkle, to wet, to moisten’: Middle Irish *delt* ‘dew’; Armenian *teḷ* ‘heavy rain’; Swedish *talg* ‘tallow’; Danish *talg* ‘tallow’; Middle English *talḡ*, *talḡen*, *talug* ‘tallow’; Middle Low German *talg*, *talch* ‘tallow’; Dutch *talk* ‘tallow’; New High German *Talg* ‘tallow, grease, suet’. Pokorny 1959:196 **del-* ‘to dribble’; Watkins 1985:11 **del-* ‘to drip’; Mallory—Adams

1997:207 **del-* ‘to flow’; Orël 2003:400 Proto-Germanic **talǵō* ~ **talǵan*; Kroonen 2013:508 Proto-Germanic **talga/ō-* ‘tallow’; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:351; Onions 1966:901; Klein 1971:743; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:768; Kluge—Seebold 1989:719.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:302—303, no. 118. Different (false) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2366, **tUÍV* (= **tüíV* ?) ‘to drip; drops of water, dew’.

235. Proto-Nostratic root **t'am-*:

(vb.) **t'am-* ‘to make or construct (something) in a skillful manner’ (> ‘to build’);

(n.) **t'am-a* ‘the act of making or constructing (something) in a skillful manner’ (> ‘craft, skill’); ‘that which is made or constructed in a skillful manner’ (> ‘building, structure’); ‘one who makes or constructs (something) in a skillful manner’ (> ‘craftsman, carpenter’)

A. Dravidian: Tamil *tamukkam* ‘place where elephants are sent together to battle; summer house; royal pavilion, as the Nāyak building at Madura’; Malayalam *tamukkam* ‘place where elephants fight’; Kannada *tamaṅga*, *tavaga*, *tavaṅga* ‘platform, stage’; Telugu *tamagamu* ‘platform; tabernacle or summer house, having no walls but a roof on pillars’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:268, no. 3081.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t'em-/t'om-/t'ṃ-* (vb.) ‘to build, to construct’, (n.) **t'om-o-s*, **t'om-u-s* ‘house, building, structure’: Sanskrit *dāma-ḥ* ‘house, home’; Avestan *dāman-* ‘dwelling’; Greek *δέμω* ‘to build, to construct’, *δόμος* ‘house; house of a god, temple; abode (of animals)’, *δέμνιον* ‘bedspread, mattress’, *δέμας* ‘body, stature, form’, *δῶ* ‘house’, *δῶμα* ‘house, home, temple’, *δεσπότης* ‘master (of the house), lord’; Armenian *tamal* ‘roof, house-top; building’, *tun* ‘house; family, tribe’; Latin *domus* ‘house, home; building, townhouse; dwelling-place of a bird or animal’; Old Irish *dám* ‘tribe, family, kindred, relationship; church, house’, *damna* ‘the stuff or matter from which anything is produced’; Old Welsh *daum*, *dauu* ‘son-in-law, member of a retinue, guest’; Gothic *gatiman* ‘to suit’, **timrjan* ‘to build (up), to strengthen, to benefit, to edify’, **ga-timrjō* ‘building’, *timrja* ‘carpenter’, **ga-timrjan* ‘to build up’, **ana-timrjan* ‘to build upon’, **timreins*, **ga-timreins* ‘edification’; Old Icelandic *timbr* ‘timber, wood felled for building’, *timbra* ‘to build with timber’, *timbran* ‘building’; Faroese *timbur* ‘timber’; Norwegian *timber* ‘(standing) timber, (cut) logs, (trimmed) lumber’; Swedish *timmer* ‘timber’, *timra* ‘to build with timber’, *timmerman* ‘carpenter’; Danish *tømmer* ‘timber’; Old English *timber* ‘timber, building material; act of building; building, structure’, *timbran*, *timbrian* ‘to build, to construct, to erect’, *timbre* ‘building, structure’; Old Frisian *-imbria* ‘to build’, *timber* ‘building’; Old Saxon *giteman* ‘to befit, to suit; to be fitting, suitable, proper’, *timbar*

‘construction material’, *timbrian* ‘to build’, *timbrio* ‘carpenter’; Middle Dutch *timmer*, *timber*, *temmer* ‘building’; Old High German *zeman* ‘to befit, to suit; to be fitting, suitable, proper’, *zimbar* ‘dwellings, room’ (New High German *Zimmer* ‘room, chamber’); Old Church Slavic *domъ* ‘house’, *doma* ‘at home’; Russian *dom* [ДОМ] ‘house, home’, *dóma* [дома] ‘at home’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *tama-* ‘to build’. Pokorny 1959:198—199 **dem-*, **demə-* ‘to build’, **domo-s*, **domu-s* ‘house’; Walde 1927—1932.I:786—788 **dem-*, **demā-*; **dēm-*, **dōm-*, **dm-*, **dṃ-*; **domo-s*, **domu-s*; Mann 1984—1987:140 **demō* ‘to fit, to form, to build’, 154 **domos*, *-ūs* ‘building, house’, 154 **dōmn-* ‘dwelling’; Watkins 1985:11 **demə-*, **dem-* ‘house, household’, **dom-o-*, **dom-u-* ‘house’, **dem(ə)-* ‘to build’ and 2000:16 **dem-* ‘house, household’ (suffixed *o*-grade form **dom-o-*, **dom-u-* ‘house’); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:645—646 **t’om-* ‘house, building’, (fn. 7) **t’em-* ‘to build, to erect’; Mallory—Adams 1997:87 **dem(h_a)-* ‘to build (up)’ and 281 **dōm* (gen. **déms*) ‘house; **dōm(h_a)os* ‘house’; Rix 2001:115—116 **demh₂₋* ‘to fit or join (together), to build’; Frisk 1970—1973.I:364 and I:408—409; Boisacq 1950:176 and 195—196 **dēm-*, **dōm-*, **dm-*, **dṃ-*; **domo-*, **domu-*; **demā-* ‘to build’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:261—262 and I:292—293 **domo-*; Hofmann 1966:55 **dem-* and 62 **domos* (**domos*); Beekes 2010.I:314—315, I:319 **dems-pot-*, I:343, I:346—347 **dōm*, **domo-*, I:362 **dōm*, and I:362—363 **dem-*; Martirosyan 2008:599—600 and 618 **dom-o-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:182—183 **domu-*, **domo-*; **dem-*; De Vaan 2008:178—179 **dom-o-*, **dom-u-*; **dōm*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:369—370 **dēm-*, **dōm-*, **dm-*, **dṃ-*; Matasović 2009:88—89 **demh₂₋*; Falileyev 2000:40 Brittonic **dāmo-* < Proto-Indo-European **domos* ‘house(hold)’; Orël 2003:404 Proto-Germanic **temanan* and 404 Proto-Germanic **temran*; Kroonen 2013:517 Proto-Germanic **timbra-* ‘timber, lumber’ (< Proto-Indo-European **dem(H)-ro-*); Feist 1939:478 **dem-ro-*, **dem-*; Lehmann 1989:150—151 and 345—346 **dem-*, **demH-* ‘to join, to construct’; De Vries 1977:588; Torp 1919:785; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.II:1217 Proto-Germanic **temra-* (< Proto-Indo-European **demro-*); Onions 1966:924 **demron*; **dēm-*, **dōm-*, **dṃ-*; Klein 1971:767 **dem-*, **demā-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:409 **demH-ro-* and 410; Walshe 1951:258; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:884 Proto-Germanic **timbra-* (< **temra-* < Proto-Indo-European **dem-ro-*); Kluge—Seebold 1989:813 Proto-Germanic **temra-*; Derksen 2008:112 and 113 **dom-u-*; Benveniste 1935:65—68.

- C. Etruscan *tmia* ‘place, sacred building, temple (?)’. Bonfante—Bonfante 2002:219.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **təminjə* ‘to be skilled’ > Chukchi *teminjə-lʔən* ‘master craftsman’, *nə-teminjə-qin* ‘skilled’, *teminjə-inej* ‘tool’, *tamenjə-ran* ‘workshop’; Kerek *taminʼnʼ-aa-* ‘to be skilled’, *taminʼnʼ-i-lran-* ‘skilled person’; Koryak *tamenjə-jav-enaj* ‘tool’, *tamenjə-*

jan ‘workshop’; Alutor (Palana) *teminŋ-et-* ‘to be skilled, to fix a sled’, *teminŋ-inaŋ* ‘tool’. Fortescue 2005:280.

Buck 1949:7.12 house; 9.41 craft, trade; 9.42 artisan, craftsman; 9.422 tool; 9.43 carpenter; 9.44 build.

236. Proto-Nostratic root *t'an- (~ *t'an-):

(vb.) *t'an- ‘to fill, to stuff, to pack or load tightly together’;

(n.) *t'an-a ‘closeness, thickness, density; load, burden’; (adj.) ‘tightly packed or pressed together; close, thick, dense’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *dns* ‘to be loaded heavily’, *dns* ‘weight, load, burden; heavy’, *dnsw* ‘weights’. Hannig 1995:982; Faulkner 1962:314; Gardiner 1957:602; Erman—Grapow 1921:215 and 1926—1963.5:468—469.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *t'en- ‘to fill, to stuff, to pack (tight) with’: Georgian *t'en-* ‘to fill, to stuff, to pack (tight) with’; Mingrelian *t'in-* ‘to fill, to stuff, to pack (tight) with’. Klimov 1964:183 *t'en- and 1998:186 *t'en- ‘to fill, to stuff, to pack (tight) with’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:325—326 *t'en-; Fähnrich 2007:394—395 *t'en-. Common Kartvelian (reduplication of the simple verbal stem *t'en-) *t'it'in- ‘to stuff, to fill tight’: Mingrelian *t'it'in-* ‘to fill, to stuff (tight)’; Svan *t'ət'an-*, *t't'an-* ‘to fill to the brim’. Klimov 1998:188 *t'it'in-.

C. Proto-Indo-European *t'ns-u- ‘closely packed or pressed together; thick, dense’: Greek *δασύς* ‘thick with hair, hairy, shaggy, rough’; Latin *dēnsus* ‘thick, dense, close, compact, set close together’, *dēnsēō* ‘to make thick, to press together, to thicken’; (?) Hittite *daššuš* ‘massive, mighty’ (according to Melchert 1994a:163, Proto-Anatolian *-VnsV- > Hittite -VssV-). Pokorny 1959:202—203 *dens- ‘thick’; Walde 1927—1932.I:793—794 *dens-; Mann 1984—1987:151—152 *dñs-, *dñt- ‘close, thick’; Watkins 1985:11 *dens- and 2000:16 *dens- ‘dense, thick’; Mallory—Adams 1997:574 (?) *dēnsus, *dñsós ‘thick’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:175 *t'ens-, (zero-grade) *t'ns- and 1995.I:150 *t'ens- ‘dense, solid’, (zero-grade) *t'ns-, I:173 *t'ns-u-; Hofmann 1966:52 *dñsús; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:253 *dñs-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:351 *dens-os, *dñs-os, *densuos, *dñt-tos (?); Boisacq 1950:167 *den-: *den-t-, *den-s-; Beekes 2010.I:305; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:341—342 *dñsús, *dens-os, *dñs-os; Ernout—Meillet 1979:169—170; De Vaan 2008:167 *d(ē)ns-o- ‘thick’. Note: This etymology is rejected by Kloekhorst (2008b:853—855) — Kloekhorst compares Hittite *daššu-*, *daššau-* (adj.) ‘strong, powerful, heavy; well-fed; difficult, important’ with Sanskrit *dāmsas-* ‘miraculous power’, *dāms-* ‘to have miraculous power’ and Greek *διδάσκω* ‘to learn’ instead.

Buck 1949:12.63 thick (in dimension); 12.64 thick (in density). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:308, no. 126.

237. Proto-Nostratic root **t'an-* (~ **t'an-*):

(vb.) **t'an-* 'to tie, to bind, to plait, to weave';

(n.) **t'an-a* 'anything woven or plaited'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t'an-* 'to tie, to bind, to plait, to weave': Proto-Semitic **t'an-aʔ-* 'to plait, to weave' > Akkadian *tenū* 'to weave'; Hebrew *ṭeneʔ* [טֶנֶׁ] 'wicker basket'. Murtonen 1989:207 (Murtonen considers Hebrew *ṭeneʔ* to be original and not a loan); Klein 1987:246 (Klein considers Hebrew *ṭeneʔ* to be an Egyptian loan). Egyptian *dnit* 'basket'. Hannig 1995:982; Faulkner 1962:314; Erman—Grapow 1921:215 (borrowed from Hebrew) and 1926—1963.5:467. West Chadic **t'aʔan-* (metathesis from **t'anaʔ-*) 'to sew', **t'yan-H-* 'rope' > Sura *taan-* 'to sew', *teŋ* 'rope'; Mupun *taan-* 'to sew', *teŋ* 'rope'; Angas *ten-* 'to sew', *tang* 'rope'; Montol *tan-* 'to sew', *teng* 'rope'; Ankwe *tan-* 'to sew', *tieng* 'rope'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:516, no. 2461, **tanaʔ-* 'to weave, to sew'.
- B. Proto-Altaiic **tanŋu-* '(vb.) to bind; (n.) rope': Proto-Tungus **daŋ-* 'tight, bound tight, stuffed tightly' > Evenki *daŋama* 'tight, bound tight, stuffed tightly'; Manchu *dan* 'trap, snare (for wild fowl, wolves, and foxes)'. Proto-Turkic **daŋ-* 'to bind together' > Karakhanide Turkic *taŋ-* 'to bind together'; Turkmenian *daŋ-* 'to bind together'; Kirghiz *taŋ-* 'to bind together'; Kazakh *taŋ-* 'to bind together'; Sary-Uighur *taŋ-* 'to bind together'; Tuva *doŋ-na-* 'to bind together'; Yakut *taŋ-* 'to bind together'; Dolgan *taŋ-* 'to put on'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1354 **tanŋu* 'to bind; rope'.
- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **təni-* 'to sew': Chukchi *təni-*, *rəni-* 'to sew, to sew up, to darn'; Kerek *-nni-* 'to sew' as in *Xattu-nni-* 'to sew skin of boat'; Koryak *təni-* 'to sew'; Alyutor *təni-* 'to sew'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ceʔnŋete-s*, *ceʔnŋete-ʔ-kas* 'to sew'. Fortescue 2005:299.

Buck 1949:6.35 sew; 9.19 rope, cord; 9.75 plait (vb.); 9.76 basket.

238. Proto-Nostratic root **t'apʰ-* (~ **t'apʰ-*):

(vb.) **t'apʰ-* 'to strike, to beat, to pound';

(n.) **t'apʰ-a* 'stroke, blow'

Note also:

(vb.) **tʰapʰ-* 'to strike, to knock, to hit, to beat, to pound; to trample';

(n.) **tʰapʰ-a* 'stroke, slap, blow, hit'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t'ap-* 'to strike, to hit': Proto-Semitic **t'ap-aħ-* 'to strike (with the hand), to hit' > Hebrew *ṭāpāḥ* [טָפַח] 'to extend, to spread out' (perhaps by striking); Post-Biblical Hebrew *ṭāpāḥ* [טָפַח] 'to strike (with

the hand), to knock, to clap'; Aramaic *təḡaḡ* 'to hit, to strike'; Arabic *ṭalfaha* (with augmented *l*) 'to make thin (by spreading, hitting)'; Geez / Ethiopic *ṭafha* [ጠፋሐ] 'to clap (the hands), to make flat by patting with the hand, to make bricks'; Tigre *ṭāfha*, *ṭālfāha* (with augmented *l*) 'to be even, to be flat (from being patted by the hand)'; Tigrinya *ṭāfhe*, *ṭālfəhe* (with augmented *l*) 'to flatten'; Amharic (reduplicated) *ṭāfātāfā* 'to make flat, to slap repeatedly'; Gurage (reduplicated) *ṭāfātāfā* 'to flatten, to flatten dough', *ṭāfāffa* 'flat', *ṭifātāfā* 'to clap hands'. Murtonen 1989:208; Klein 1987:247; Leslau 1979:614, 615 and 1987:588.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **t'epʰ-/*t'opʰ-* 'to pound, to trample': Greek δέφω 'to soften by working with the hand', δέψω 'to work or knead a thing until it is soft' (> Latin *depsō* 'to knead'); Armenian *topʰem* 'to trample, to beat'; Polish *deptać* 'to trample down'; Serbo-Croatian *děpiti* 'to hit'. Pokorny 1959:203 **deph-* 'to stamp, to thrust'; Walde 1927—1932.I:786 **deph-*; Mann 1984—1987:140—141 **dēpsō*, *-iō* 'to pound, to trample', 155 **dops-* 'to trample, to tramp'; Watkins 1985:11—12 **deph-* and 2000:16 **deph-* 'to stamp'; Mallory—Adams 1997:550 (?) **deph_x-* 'to strike'; Boisacq 1950:180; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:267; Frisk 1970—1973.I:372—373; Hofmann 1966:56; Beekes 2010.I:320.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **tāpʰV-* 'to strike, to press': Proto-Tungus **dap-* 'to flatten, to press' > Evenki *dapča-* 'to flatten, to press'; Oroch *dapāw-* 'to flatten, to press'. Proto-Mongolian **dabta-* 'to forge, to hammer' > Middle Mongolian *dabta-* 'to forge, to hammer', *dabši-* 'to knock, to hit'; Written Mongolian *dabta-* 'to knock, to hit'; Khalkha *davta-* 'to forge, to hammer'; Buriat *dabta-* 'to forge, to hammer'; Kalmyk *dawt-* 'to forge, to hammer'; Ordos *dabta-* 'to forge, to hammer'; Dagur *dabete-* 'to forge, to hammer'; Shira-Yughur *dapta-* 'to forge, to hammer'. Proto-Turkic **dāp-* 'to trample' > Karakhanide Turkic *tabri-* 'to jump about (of a camel)'; Turkmenian *dābala-* 'to trample (of a camel)', *dābira-* 'to ride, to stamp'; Tatar (dial.) *tapa-* 'to trample'; Bashkir *tapa-* 'to trample'; Kazakh *tapa-* 'to trample'; Yakut *tabiŷ-* 'to hit with front hooves (of a horse)'; Dolgan *tabiŷ-* 'to scratch with a hoof'. Poppe 1960:104; Street 1974:27 **tepē-* 'to strike with the feet, to paw at', **tepē-k-*; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1355—1356 **tāpʰV* 'to stamp, to press'.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat).

239. Proto-Nostratic root **t'aq'-* (~ **t'əq'-*):

(vb.) **t'aq'-* 'to cover, to protect';

(n.) **t'aq'-a* 'covering'

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **t'q'aw-* 'skin, hide': Georgian *t'q'avi* 'skin, hide'; Mingrelian *t'q'ebi* 'skin, hide'; Laz *t'k'ebi* 'skin, hide'. Klimov 1964:183—184 **tqaw-* and 1998:192 **tqaw-* 'hide'; Schmidt 1962:134;

Fähnrich 2007:410 **tqaw-*. Proto-Kartvelian *ma-t'q'ʃ-* 'wool': Georgian *mat'q'li* 'wool'; Mingrelian *mont'q'ori* 'wool'; Laz *mont'k'ori* 'wool'; Svan *mät'q'* 'wool, yarn'. Klimov 1964:129 **matqʃl-* and 1998:117 **matqʃl-* 'wool (of sheep), fleece'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:231—232 **matqʃl-*; Fähnrich 2007:281 **matqʃl-*; Schmidt 1962:123. The relationship of **t'q'aw-* 'skin, hide' to *ma-t'q'ʃ-* 'wool' was first proposed by Deeters (cf. Klimov 1998:117). Semantic development as in Old Icelandic *staka* 'skin, hide', cited below.

- B. Proto-Indo-European *(s)t'ek'/*(s)t'ok'- > (with regressive deglottalization) *(s)thek'/*(s)thok'- 'to cover': Sanskrit *sthaḡati* 'to cover, to veil, to make invisible, to cause to disappear', *sthaḡita-h* 'covered, concealed, hidden'; Greek στέγω 'to cover, to conceal, to shelter, to protect', στέγος, τέγος 'a roof, any covered part of a house', στέγη, τέγη 'a roof'; Latin *tegō* 'to cover; to bury, to cover with earth; to hide, to conceal; to cover so as to protect, to shield', *tēctum* 'a covering, a roof', *tegulum* 'a covering, a roof', *teges* 'a mat, rug, covering', *toga* 'a covering, especially the white woolen upper garment worn by Romans in time of peace when they appeared in public'; Old Irish *tech* 'house', *étach* 'garment', *tugid* 'to roof over, to cover', *tugatóir* (poet.) 'thatcher'; Old Welsh *tig* 'house'; Old Icelandic *þak* 'bed cover; roof, thatch', *þekja* 'to thatch, to cover', *þekja* 'thatch, roof', *staka* 'skin, hide'; Norwegian *tekja* 'to cover', *tekkja*, *tak* 'roof'; Swedish *täcke* 'to cover', *tak* 'roof'; Danish *tække* 'to cover', *tag* 'roof'; Old English *þeccan* 'to cover', *þecan* 'roof, cover', *þæc* 'roof, thatch', *þaca* 'roof'; Old Frisian *thekka* 'to cover', *thek* 'roof'; Old Saxon *thekkian* 'to cover'; Middle Low German *dack* 'roof'; Dutch *dak* 'roof', *dekken* 'to cover'; Old High German *decchen* 'to cover' (New High German *decken*), *decchi* 'covering, roof' (New High German *Decke*), *dah* 'roof' (New High German *Dach*); Lithuanian *stogas* 'roof'; Old Prussian *steege* 'barn', *stogis* 'roof'; Old Church Slavic *o-stegъ* 'garment'. Rix 1998a:535 *(s)teg- 'to cover'; Pokorny 1959:1013—1014 *(s)teg- 'to cover'; Walde 1927—1932.II:620—621 *(s)teg-; Mann 1984—1987:1315 *stheg- (*steg-) 'to cover, to hide', 1323 *sthogōs, -ā, -is 'enclosure, cover', 1371 *tēgō, -jō 'to cover, to roof-over, to shelter', 1371 *tegos, -es- (*teget-, *tegt-, *teḡus) 'cover, lid, roof, house', 1406—1407 *tog-, 1407 *togos, -ā, -jā 'cover, covering, roof, thatch'; Mallory—Adams 1997:134 *(s)teg- 'to cover'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:55 *(s)t^[h]eK'- and 1995.I:49 *(s)theK'- 'to cover'; Watkins 1985:65 *(s)teg- and 2000:85 *(s)teg- 'to cover'; Frisk 1970—1973.II:780—781; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1046; Boisacq 1950:905 *st(h)ēg-; Beekes 2010.II:1393 *(s)teg-; Hofmann 1966:333 *(s)teg-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:678—679; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:654—655 *steg-; De Vaan 2008:608 *(s)teg-e/o- 'to cover'; Orël 2003:415 Proto-Germanic *þakan, 415 *þakjanan, 415 *þakjō(n); Kroonen 2013:531—532 Proto-Germanic *þaka- 'roof', *þakjan-, *þakinō-; De Vries 1977:542, 605, and 607; Falk—Torp 1903—

1906.II:349 *(s)togo-; Torp 1919:768; Klein 1971:758 *(s)teg-; Onions 1966:914 *tog-, *teg-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:119 *teg- and 124; Kluge—Seebold 1989:125 *teg-, *steg- and 130; Derksen 2015:429 *stog-o-, *(s)teg-; Smoczyński 2007.1:605; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:911; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:634—636 *(s)teg-.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin; hide; 6.22 wool; 7.12 house; 12.26 cover (vb.); 12.27 hide, conceal. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:315—316, no. 135. Different (doubtful) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2411, *to[ʔü]qa 'hide, skin'.

240. Proto-Nostratic root *t'ar- (~ *t'ar-):

(vb.) *t'ar- 'to tear, to rend, to cut, to sever';

(n.) *t'ar-a 'rip, tear, cut, slice'

Extended form:

(vb.) *t'ar-V-ph- 'to tear, to rend, to pluck';

(n.) *t'ar-ph-a 'tearing, rending, plucking'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *t'Vr- 'to take away': Proto-Semitic *ʔa-t'ar- 'to take away' (*ʔa- is a prefix) > Akkadian *etēru* 'to take something away (from somebody), to take out; (passive) to be taken away'. D. Cohen 1970— : 16. Egyptian *dr* 'to subdue (enemies), to expel, to drive out (people, illness), to remove (need, evil), to repress (wrongdoer, wrongdoing), to destroy (places)'. Faulkner 1962:314—315; Hannig 1995:983; Erman—Grapow 1921:215 and 1926—1963.5:473—474; Gardiner 1957:602. Orël—Stolbova 1995:520, no. 2486, *t'Vr- 'to take away'. For the semantics, cf. Gothic *dis-tairan* 'to tear down, to remove' and *ga-tarnjan* 'to rob, to take away', cited below.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tari* (-pp-, -tt-) 'to lop, to chop off, to cut off', *tari* (-v-, -nt-) 'to be cut off, broken', *tari* 'a cutting off, wooden post, stake, weaver's loom, a kind of axe', *tariikai* 'a kind of axe, chisel'; Malayalam *tariikka* 'to cut down', *tari* 'pot, hedge-stake, stick, cutting, weaver's loom'; Kota *tayr-* (*tarc-*) 'to cut (using an implement with one hand); to cut a path through jungle'; Kannada *tari*, *tare* 'to strip off, to cut off, to cut', *tari* 'cutting, slaughter; stake, post, sharp knife or sword'; Kodagu *tari-* (*tarip-*, *taric-*) 'to chop to small bits', *tarip* 'cutting'; Tuḷu *taripuni* 'to lop off, to clear (jungle)'; Telugu *tarugu*, *targu*, *taruvu*, *tarvu* 'to slice, to chop'; Kolami *targ-* (*tarakt-*) 'to cut, to cut off'; Naikṛi *targ-* 'to cut'; Kurux *tārnā* (*tāryas*) 'to fell (tree), to lop off (bough)'; Malto *tāre* 'to cut down, to fell', *tare* 'to break (as a stick), to injure'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:273, no. 3140.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *t'er-/*t'or-/*t'ṛ- 'to tear, to rend, to flay': Sanskrit *dṛṇāti* 'to tear, to rend, to split open'; Greek *δέρω* 'to skin, to flay'; Armenian *teṛem* 'to flay'; Welsh *darn* 'fragment'; Gothic *dis-tairan* 'to tear down, to remove', *dis-taurnan* 'to tear apart', *af-taurnan* 'to tear off',

ga-taurnan ‘to vanish’ *ga-tarnjan* ‘to rob, to take away’; Old English *teran* ‘to tear’, *taru* ‘tear, rent’; Old Frisian *tera* ‘to tear’; Old Saxon *terian* ‘to tear’; Dutch *teren* ‘to tear’; Old High German *zeran*, *firzeran* ‘to tear’ (New High German *zehren*, *verzehren* ‘to destroy, to consume’), *zerren* ‘to pull, to drag, to haul’ (New High German *zerren*), (*in*)*trennen* ‘to separate, to divide, to part, to sever’ (New High German *trennen*); Lithuanian *diriù*, *derù*, *dirti* ‘to flay’; Old Church Slavonic *derŏ*, *dbrŏ*, *dbrati* ‘to tear, to flay’. Rix 1998a:102—103 **der-* ‘to tear, to rend’; Pokorny 1959:206—211 **der-*, **derǝ-*, **drē-* ‘to skin’; Walde 1927—1932.I:797—803 **der-*, **derē-*; Mann 1984—1987:141—142 **derō*, *-jō* ‘to flay, to tear, to wear, to waste’, 142 **dēros*, *-ā*, *-is* ‘rending; rip, tear, rupture’, 156 **doros*, *-ā* ‘rip, rag, torn piece’, 157 **doruos* ‘tearing, dragging’, 164 **djō*, *-jō* (**dār-*) ‘to skin, to tan, to tear’; Watkins 1985:12 **der-* and 2000:16 **der-* ‘to split, to peel, to flay’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:707 **t’er-* and 1995.I:192, I:201, I:202, I:612, I:780 **t’er-* ‘to remove bark, to skin’; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 **der-* ‘to tear off, to flay’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:59; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:365—366; Boisacq 1950:178 **der-*; Hofmann 1966:55—56; Beekes 2010.I:318—319 **der-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:368—370; Kroonen 2013:513 Proto-Germanic **teran-* ‘to tear’ (< **dér(H)-e-*); Orël 2003:405 Proto-Germanic **teranan*, 413 **turnōjanan*; Lehmann 1986:91—92 **der-* and 150 **der-*; Feist 1939:120 and 203—204; Skeat 1898:628; Onions 1966:906 **der-*; Klein 1971:748 **dere-*, **der-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:788 **der-*, 877 **der(ē)-*, 880, and 888—889 **der-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:738 **der-*, 807, 810 **der-*, and 816; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:96—97; Smoczyński 2007.1:115—116; Derksen 2008:99 **der(H)-* and 2015:132—133 **d(er)-*.

- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **tærræŋ-* ‘to cut or break into pieces’ > Chukchi *tærræŋ-* ‘to break to pieces’; Koryak *tacran(ə)-* ‘to cut fish into pieces’; Alyutor *tar’æŋ-* ‘to break or cut to pieces’. Fortescue 2005:282.

Sumerian *dar* ‘to split’.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 9.29 flay, skin. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:301—302, no. 116. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2289, **terV* ‘to tear, to burst’.

241. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ar-* (~ **t’ər-*):

Extended form:

(vb.) **t’ar-V-ph-* ‘to tear, to rend, to pluck’;

(n.) **t’ar-ph-a* ‘tearing, rending, plucking’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **t’ar-* ‘to tear, to rend, to cut, to sever’;

(n.) **t’ar-a* ‘rip, tear, cut, slice’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **t'ar-ap-* 'to tear, to rend, to pluck' > Hebrew *tāraφ* [תָּרַף] 'to tear, to rend, to pluck', (hif.) *hatrīφ* [הִתְרַף] 'to let someone enjoy (food)', *tēreφ* [תֵּרַף] 'prey, food, nourishment'; Aramaic *tāraφ* 'to tear, to seize'; Arabic *tarafa* 'to graze on the borders of a pasture-ground (separate from the others)', *taraf* 'utmost part, outermost point, extremity, end, tip, point, edge, fringe, limit, border; side; region, area, section; a part of, a bit of, some'. Klein 1987:251; Murtonen 1989:209; Zammit 2002:268. Coptic *tōrp* [ⲧⲟⲣⲡ] 'to seize, to rob, to carry off' (Semitic loan). Vycichl 1983:220; Černý 1976:194.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **t'reph-/t'rop^h-* 'to tear, to rend, to pluck': Greek *δρέπω* 'to pluck, to cull'; Albanian *drapër* 'sickle' (< Greek *δρέπανον* 'scythe'); Old Icelandic *trefill* 'tatter, rag', *trefr*, *tröf* 'fringes'; Russian (dial.) *drápat'*, *drapát'* [драпать] 'to scratch, to scrape'. Rix 1998a:111 **drep-* 'to tear or pull off'; Pokorny 1959:211 **drep-*, **drop-*; Walde 1927—1932.I:801—802 **dre-p-*; Mann 1984—1987:160 **dropō*, *-iō* 'to pluck, to tear'; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 **drep-* 'to scratch, to tear'; Boisacq 1950:200 **drep-*; Beekes 2010.I:353 **drep-*; Hofmann 1966:64 **dre-p-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:297—298 **dr-ep-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:417; Prellwitz 1905:121; Orël 2003:408 Proto-Germanic **trabō*; Kroonen 2013:520 Proto-Germanic **trabō-* 'fringe' (< **drop-éh₂-*); De Vries 1977:597 **der-*; Derksen 2008:115.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 12.35 end; 12.352 point; 12.353 edge; 12.36 side; 13.23 part (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:302, no. 117.

242. Proto-Nostratic root **t'aw-* (~ **t'əw-*):

(vb.) **t'aw-* 'to go, to leave, to go away; to let go';

(n.) **t'aw-a* 'distance, remoteness'; (adj.) 'far away, remote, at a distance'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t'aw-* 'to go, to go away': Semitic: Arabic *tāʔa* (< **t'aw-aʔ-*) 'to come and go; to go far away'. West Chadic **t'aʔ-* 'to go' > Warji *ta-n* 'to go'; Siri *ta* 'to go'; Jimbin *da* 'to go'. Central Chadic **t'uw-* 'to go' > Banana *tuwwa* 'to go'. East Chadic **tawi-* 'to go, to walk' > Tumah *tīw* 'to go, to walk'; Sokoro *teui* 'to go, to walk'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:511—512, no. 2440, **taʔ-/taw-* 'to go, to come'.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **t'ew-* 'to leave, to let go': Georgian *t'ev-* 'to leave, to let go'; Mingrelian *t'al-* 'to leave, to let go'; Laz *t'al-* 'to leave'. Klimov 1964:180 **tew-* and 1998:185 **tew-* 'to leave, to let go'.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **t'ew(A)-/t'ow(A)-/t'u(A)-* '(vb.) to go, to leave, to go away; (adv.) far off, far away, distant': Sanskrit *dāvati* 'to go', *dāváyati* 'to make distant, to remove', *dūtá-ḥ* 'messenger, envoy', *dūrá-ḥ* 'distant, far, remote, long (way)', *dāvīyas-* 'farther, very distant', *daviṣṭhá-ḥ* 'remotest, very far away'; Avestan *dūrāt* 'far'; Old Persian *dūrai* 'afar, far away, far and wide', (adv.) *dūradaša* 'from afar', *duvaišta-* 'very long,

very far'; Greek (adv.) δῆν (< *δῖᾱν) 'long, for a long time, (of place) far'; Middle High German *zouwen* 'to hasten, to proceed, to succeed' (New High German *zauen*); Middle Low German *touwen* 'to hasten, to proceed'; Hittite *tu-u-wa* 'to a distance, afar', (neut. pl.) *tu-u-wa-la* 'far off, distant'; Old Church Slavic *davě, давѣнь* 'ancient, long-standing'. Pokorny 1959:219—220 **deu-*, **deuə-*, **duā-*, **dū-* 'to move forward'; Walde 1927—1932.I:778—780 **deu(ā)-*; Mann 1984—1987:133 **dāy-*, **dāyūn-*, **dū-* 'long ago; long-standing', 144 **deuəros* 'lasting, firm', 144 **deu-* 'long, lasting', 144—145 **dēyō* 'to last', 158 **douō* (?), **douyō* 'to go', 169 **dūros* 'far, long-lasting, long', 170 **duāros* 'long-lasting'; Watkins 1985:12 **deuə-* (also **dwa₂-*) and 2000:17 **deuə-* 'long (in duration)' (oldest form **deu₂-*, with variant [metathesized] form **dwe₂-*, colored to **dwa₂-*, contracted to **dwā-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:349 **deuh₄-* 'to leave, to go away'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:230 **t'eu-*, **t'ū-aH-* and 1995.I:200 **t'ew-*, **t'w-aH-* 'to remain'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:25, II:26, and II:56—57 **deu(ā)-*; Beekes 2010.I:326 **dueh₂-m*; Boisacq 1950:183; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:274—275 **dwā-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:381—382; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:875; Kluge—Seebold 1989:806; Derksen 2008:97; Kloekhorst 2008b:904—905 **dueh₂-m*.

Sumerian *du* 'to go, to leave, to depart, to go away', *du-ri* 'long time', *du₈* 'to let go, to let loose, to release, to set free', *duh* 'to release, to set free, to loosen, to untie, to release, to open'.

Buck 1949:12.18 leave; 12.44 far (adv.); 12.57 long. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:319—320, no. 139. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2448, **tāwhV* 'to abandon, to leave, to get lost'.

243. Proto-Nostratic root **t'aw-* (~ **t'əw-*):

(vb.) **t'aw-* 'to hit, to strike';

(n.) **t'aw-a* 'stroke, blow, injury, harm, damage'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t'aw-* 'to hit, to strike': Proto-East Cushitic **daw-* 'to hit, to strike' > Elmolo *dā-* 'to hit, to strike'; Galla / Oromo *da(w)-* 'to hit, to strike'; Konso *daw-* 'to hit, to strike'; Burji *daw-* 'to hit, to strike'; Dasenech *dō-* 'to hit, to strike'; Gidole *daw-* 'to hit, to strike'; Arbore (perf.) *dā-y-iy* 'to hit, to strike'. Sasse 1979:43.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **t'wr-* 'to break, shatter, or smash to pieces, to destroy': Georgian *m-t'vr-ev-a, da-m-t'vr-ev-a* 'to break, shatter, or smash to pieces, to destroy'; Svan *li-t'wr-am-aw-i* 'to break, shatter, smash, or split to pieces'. Fähnrich 2007:399 **t'wr-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **t'ew-/t'ow-/t'u-* 'to hit, to strike': Welsh *dwrn* 'fist'; Old Irish *dorn* 'fist', *durni* 'to strike with fists'; Breton *dourn* 'hand'; Latvian *dūre, dūris* 'fist', *duŗu, dūru, duŗt* 'to sting, to thrust'; Old

Icelandic *tjón* ‘damage, loss’, *týna* ‘to lose, to destroy, to put to death’, (reflexive) *týnast* ‘to perish’, *týning* ‘destruction’; Old English *tēona* ‘injury, suffering, injustice, wrong, insult, contumely, quarrel’, *tēonian* ‘to irritate’, *tīenan* ‘to annoy, to irritate’; Old Frisian *tiōna*, *tiūna* ‘to damage’; Old Saxon *tiono* ‘evil, harm, injury, wrong, hostility, enmity’, *gitiunian* ‘to do wrong’. Pokorny 1959:203 **d̥uer-* : **dur-* or **duōr-* : **du̯er-* : **dur-*; Walde 1927—1932.I:794—795 **d̥uer-* : **dur-* or **duōr-* : **du̯er-* : **dur-*; Watkins 1985:12 **deu-* ‘to harm, to hurt’; Orël 2003:405 Proto-Germanic **teunō(n)*, 405—406 **teunjanan*; Kroonen 2013:515 Proto-Germanic **teuna-* ‘damage’, **teuna/ōn*, **teunjan-*; De Vries 1977:592 and 603; Onions 1966:907; Klein 1971:749; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:410.

Sumerian *du*₇ ‘to butt, to gore’.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:311—312, no. 129.

244. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n) **t'ay-a* ‘(elder) male in-law, (elder) male relative’:

A. Proto-Indo-European **t'ay-wer-/t'ay-w̥r-* ‘brother-in-law on husband’s side’: Sanskrit *devár-* ‘brother-in-law’; Greek δᾱήρ (< *δαιῖήρ) ‘husband’s brother, brother-in-law’; Armenian *taigr* ‘brother-in-law’; Latin *lēvir* (for **laever*, with *l* for *d*) ‘brother-in-law’; Old English *tācor* ‘husband’s brother, brother-in-law’; Old Frisian *tāker* ‘husband’s brother’; Old High German *zeihhur* ‘brother-in-law’; Lithuanian *dieveris* ‘brother-in-law’; Latvian *diēveris* ‘brother-in-law’; Russian Church Slavic *děverb* ‘brother-in-law’. Pokorny 1959:179 **dāiūēr-* ‘husband’s brother, brother-in-law’; Walde 1927—1932.I:767 **daiuer-*; Mann 1984—1987:130—131 **daiguēr-* (**daiūēr-*, **daiūr-*) ‘brother-in-law on husband’s side’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:760 **t'aiūēr-* and 1995.I:662 **t'aiwēr-* ‘husband’s brother’; Watkins 1985:10 **daiwer-* and 2000:14 **daiwer-* ‘husband’s brother’; Mallory—Adams 1997:84 **daihaūēr-* ‘husband’s brother’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:64; Boisacq 1950:160 **daiuéer-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:338—339; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:245—246; Lejeune 1972:247, §265, Greek δᾱήρ (< *δαιῖήρ); Hofmann 1966:50 Greek δᾱήρ (< *δαιῖήρ); Beekes 1969:135 **daiuer-* and 2010.I:296 **deh₂i-uer-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:352—353; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:787—788 **dāiūēr-*; De Vaan 2008:336 Proto-Italic **daiwēr-*; Orël 2003:399 Proto-Germanic **taikuraz*; Kroonen 2013:506 Proto-Germanic **taikwer-* ‘brother-in-law’; Derksen 2008:105 **deh₂i-uer-* and 2015:128 **deh₂i-uer-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:111 **deh₂iuer-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:94; Lehmann 1952:50—51, §5.4e, */deXywer/; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:58—60 **daiuéer-*.

- B. Proto-Altaic **tāyV* ‘elder male in-law, elder male relative’: Proto-Tungus **dā-* ‘(elder) in-law, elder brother of father, grandfather’ > Manchu *dančan* ‘in-law’; Evenki *dā* ‘elder in-law’; Lamut / Even *dā* ‘elder in-law’; Negidal *dāŋta* ‘in-law’; Nanay / Gold *dā-mīn* ‘elder brother of father, grandfather’. Proto-Turkic **dāy-* ‘uncle’ > Old Turkic *taγay* ‘maternal uncle’; Karakhanide Turkic *taγay* ‘maternal uncle’; Turkish *dayı* ‘maternal uncle’; Azerbaijani *dayi* ‘uncle’; Turkmenian *dāyi* ‘uncle’; Uzbek *tāya* ‘uncle’; Uighur *taya* ‘uncle’; Kirghiz *tay, taya* ‘uncle’; Sary-Uighur *tayiy* ‘uncle’; Kazakh (dial.) *taya* ‘uncle’; Tuva *dāy* ‘uncle’; Yakut *tāy* ‘uncle’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1350 **tājV* ‘elder in-law, elder relative’.

Buck 1949:2.51 uncle; 2.65 brother-in-law (husband’s brother, Proto-Indo-European **daiwer-*). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2307, **ta[q|g]ayū* ‘relative-in-law (person of the opposite exogamous moiety)’.

245. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ay-* (~ **t’əy-*) or **t’iy-* (~ **t’ey-*):
- (vb.) **t’ay-* or **t’iy-* ‘to shine, to gleam, to be bright, to glitter, to glow; to burn brightly’;
- (n.) **t’ay-a* or **t’iy-a* ‘light, brightness, heat’
- A. Dravidian: Tamil *tī, tīy* ‘to be burnt, charred, blighted’; Malayalam *tī* ‘fire’; Kota *ti-y-* (*ti-c-*) ‘to be singed, roasted’; Toda *ti-y-* (*ti-s-*) ‘to be singed’, *ti-y-* (*ti-c-*) ‘to singe, to roast’; Kannaḍa *tī* ‘to burn, to scorch, to singe, to parch’; Telugu *tīṅḍrincu, tīḍirincu* ‘to shine’, *tīṅḍra* ‘light, brightness, heat’; Brahui *tīn* ‘scorching, scorching heat’, *tīrūnk* ‘spark’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:285, no. 3266.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **t’ey-/t’oy-/t’i-* ‘to shine, to be bright’: Sanskrit *dīdeti* ‘to shine, to be bright; to shine forth, to excel, to please, to be admired’, *devá-h* ‘(n.) a deity, god; (adj.) heavenly, divine’, *dyótate* ‘to shine, to be bright or brilliant’, *dyáuḥ* ‘heaven, sky, day’, *divá-h* ‘heaven, sky, day’, *divyá-h* ‘divine, heavenly, celestial; supernatural, wonderful, magical; charming, beautiful, agreeable’, *dīpyáte* ‘to blaze, to flare, to shine, to be luminous or illustrious; to glow, to burn’, *dīptá-h* ‘blazing, flaming, hot, shining, bright, brilliant, splendid’, *dína-h* ‘day’; Greek *ἄϊος* ‘heavenly; noble, excellent; divine, marvelous’, *Ζεὺς* ‘Zeus, the sky-god’; Armenian *tīw* ‘day’; Latin *diēs* ‘day’, *deus* ‘god’; Old Irish *die* ‘day’; Old Icelandic *teitr* ‘glad, cheerful, merry’, *tívor* (pl. *tívar*) ‘god’; Old English *Tīw* name of a deity identified with Mars; Lithuanian *dienà* ‘day’, *diēvas* ‘god’, *dailūs* ‘refined, elegant, graceful’; Old Church Slavic *дѣнь* ‘day’; Hittite (dat.-loc. sg.) *šiwatti* ‘day’, (gen. sg.) *ši-(i)-ú-na-aš* ‘god’; Luwian (acc. pl.) *ti-wa-ri-ya* ‘sun’, (nom. sg.) *Ti-wa-az* name of the sun-god (= Sumerian ⁴UTU, Akkadian *ŠAMŠU*, Hittite *Ištanu-*); Hieroglyphic Luwian *SOL-wa/i-za-sa* (**Tiwats* or **Tiwazas*) name of the sun-god; Palaic (nom. sg.) *Ti-ya-az(-)* name of the sun-god. Rix 1998a:91—92 **dejh₂-* ‘to shine

- brightly'; Pokorny 1959:183—187 **dei-*, **dejə-*, **dī-*, **dīā-* 'to shine brightly'; Walde 1927—1932.I:772—774 **dei-*, **dejā-*, **dejə-*, **dī-*, **dīā-*; Mann 1984—1987:136 **deiūos*, *-jos* 'divine, inspired', 136 **dejō* (**dīdēmi*) 'to appear', 148 **dītis* 'brightness, daytime', 148 **diū-*; **diūos*, *-om* (**dīu-*) 'sky, day', 149 **dīūjō* 'to shine, to light up', 149 **dīūjos* 'heavenly, divine, wonderful, strange', 149 **dīēū-* 'to shine, to burn', 150 **dīēūs* (obl. **dīu-*) 'god, sky'; Watkins 1985:10 **deiw-* 'to shine' and 2000:22 **dyeu-* 'to shine' (and in many derivatives, 'sky, heaven, god'), zero-grade **dyu-* (before consonants) and **diw-* (before vowels), (noun) **deiwos* 'god' (formed by *e*-insertion in zero-grade **diw-* and suffixation of [accented] *-o-*); variant form **dyē-* (< earlier **dye₂-*); variant form **dejə-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:227, I:243, II:791 **t'eī-*; I:36, I:226, I:242 **t'eīu-*; I:242, II:791 **t'eīu-o-*; I:272 **t'eīu-om*; I:271, I:272, II:799 **t'eīu-os*; I:243 **t'i-*; I:242, II:791 **t'i-u-*; I:223 **t'i-u-es*; I:250 **t'īūjos*; I:36, I:223, I:243, II:475, II:481, II:684, II:791 **t'īēu-*; II:475, II:476, II:792, II:798 **t'īēu-/t'īu-*; I:46 **t'īēūs*; and 1995.I:196, I:211, I:212, I:693 **t'eī-* 'to give off light, to shine'; I:32, I:196, I:210, I:211 **t'eī-w-* 'god'; I:210, I:692 **t'eīw-o-*; I:237 **t'eīw-om*; I:236, I:237, I:700 **t'eīw-os*; I:211, I:396 **t'i-w-*; I:32, I:192, I:196, I:210, I:211, I:212, I:396, I:401, I:590, I:692, I:693, I:699 **t'y-eu-*; I:192 **t'i-w-es*; I:218 **t'iwyos* 'divine'; I:41 **t'yēus*; I:693 **t'iu-* 'day'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:42 **dīues-*, II:43, II:45, and II:70—71 (nom. sg.) **dīeus*, (acc. sg.) **dīeum* (> **dīēm*); Boisacq 1950:189—190 **dīu-*, **deiūos* and 308 **dīēūs*; Hofmann 1966:60 **dīu-*, **deiūos* and 102 **dīēūs*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:396—397 **diu(i) jo-* and I:610—611 **d(i)jēūs*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:285—286 **dei-* and I:399 **dy-ēu-*; Beekes 2010.I:338 **dieu-* and I:498—499 **dieu-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:170—171 **deiwo-*, **dyeu-* and 174—175 **dei-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:345—346 **dēiūos* and I:349—351 **d(i)jēūs*; De Vaan 2008:167—168 and 170; Mallory—Adams 1997:149 **deino-* ~ **dino-* 'day', 149 **dīe(u)-* 'day', 230 **deiūós* 'god', 513 **dei-* 'to shine, to be bright (primarily of the sky)'; Orël 2003:408 Proto-Germanic **tīwaz*; Kroonen 2013:519 Proto-Germanic **tīwa-* 'Tyr' (< **dei-uo-*); De Vries 1977:586 and 590; Derksen 2008:134—135 **d(e)i-n-* and 2015:127 **d(e)in-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:109—110 and 1:110—111; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:93 **dī-*, **dei-* and I:93—94 **dīēu-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:763—764 **dīēu-* and 766—767 **dieu-ot-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:69—81 **dej-*.
- C. Etruscan *tin* 'day', *tiu*, *tiv-*, *tiur* 'moon, month'; Rhaetic *tiu-ti* 'to the moon'.

Sumerian *dé* 'to smelt', *dé*, *dè*, *dè-dal* 'ashes', *dè*, *di₅* 'glowing embers', *dè-dal-la* 'torch', *di₅* 'to flare up, to light up; to be radiant, shining; to sparkle, to shine'.

Buck 1949:1.51 sky, heavens; 1.52 sun; 1.53 moon; 1.84 ashes; 1.85 burn (vb.); 14.41 day; 14.71 month; 15.56 shine; 16.71 good (adj.); 16.81 beautiful (also pretty). Caldwell 1913:620. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:303—304, no. 119. Different (unlikely) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2241, **ti?u* ‘to shine, to be bright, to be seen’.

246. Proto-Nostratic root **t'eʔ-*:

(vb.) **t'eʔ-* ‘to say, to speak’;

(n.) **t'eʔ-a* ‘sound, speech’

A. Proto-Indo-European **t'eʔ-* (> **t'ē-*) ‘to say, to speak’: Old Church Slavic *dějo, děti* ‘to say’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *te-iz-zi, te-e-iz-zi* ‘to speak’. Mann 1984—1987:140 **dē-mi* (**dējō*) ‘to say, to speak’; Sturtevant 1951:120, §220a, **deyty*; Tischler 1977— .III/9:291; Melchert 1994a:103 Proto-Anatolian **dē-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:857—858 **dhéh₁-ti*; Derksen 2008:104 **dhéh₁-*.

B. Proto- Altaic **tē-* ‘to say, to sound’: Proto-Turkic **dē-* ‘to say’ > Old Turkic *te-* ‘to say’; Turkish *de-* ‘to say, to tell’; Gagauz *de-* ‘to say’; Azerbaijani *de-* ‘to say’; Turkmenian *dī-* ‘to say’; Uzbek *de-* ‘to say’; Uighur *dä-* ‘to say’; Tatar *di-* ‘to say’; Bashkir *ti-* ‘to say’; Kirghiz *te-* ‘to say’; Kazakh *de-* ‘to say’; Noghay *de-* ‘to say’; Sary-Uighur *di-* ‘to say’; Tuva *de-* ‘to say’; Chuvash *te-* ‘to say’; Yakut *die-* ‘to say’; Dolgan *die-* ‘to say’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1358 **tē* ‘to say, to sound’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also compare Proto-Tungus **de(b)-* ‘(n.) song, tune; (vb.) to shamanize’ and Proto-Mongolian **dawu-* ‘sound, voice, song’.

Sumerian *dé* ‘to call, to cry out’, *di* ‘to say, to speak, to call’.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say.

247. Proto-Nostratic root **t'el-*:

(vb.) **t'el-* ‘to ask for, to request, to beg, to beseech’;

(n.) **t'el-a* ‘request, wish, desire’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **t'al-ab-* ‘to ask for, to request, to beg, to beseech’ > Arabic *ṭalaba* ‘to look, to search (for someone, for something); to request, to apply (for); to seek, to try to obtain; to ask, to beg; to want, to wish; to request, to entreat, to beseech’, *ṭalab* ‘what is sought, request, desire, demand’, *ṭaliba, ṭilba* ‘desire, wish, request, demand; application’, *ṭalba* ‘litany, prayer’, *maṭlab* ‘quest, search, pursuit; demand, call (for); request, wish; claim; problem, issue’; Ḥarsūsi *ṭelōb* ‘to ask, to beg, to request’, *ṭelēb* ‘request’, *meṭlāyb* ‘aim, desire’; Mehri *ṭalūb* ‘to request’, *ṭalēb* ‘request’, *məṭlāwb* ‘aim, desire’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ṭalōb* ‘to request, to

demand, to ask for; to take revenge for', *téléb* 'request', *mútlub* 'aim, desire'. Zammit 2002:271.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *telucu* 'to praise, to worship, to request, to pray'; Gondi *talehkānā*, *talakhkānā* 'to beg, to ask for something (especially a bride)', *talk-* 'to ask', *talp-* 'to ask, to beg'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:300, no. 3427.

Buck 1949:18.35 ask; request; 22.17 pray.

248. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t'id-a* 'elevated ground, hill, mountain':

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *tīttu* 'rising ground, bank, elevation, hillock, sandbank, wall separating elephant stables', *tītti* 'raised ground', *tīttai* 'rising ground, bank, elevation, raised floor', *tītar*, *tītal* 'rising ground, bank, elevation, island, rubbish heap, prominence, protuberance', *tītaru* 'mound'; Malayalam *tītta* 'raised ground, hillock, shoal, raised seat (as in a veranda)', *tīttu* 'mound, shoal', *tīttu* 'earthen wall, bank, shoal'; Kota *tīt* 'hill'; Toda *tī* 'mountain'; Kannaḍa *tīttu*, *tītte* 'rising ground, hillock', *diḍḍa*, *diḍḍu* 'eminence, elevation, hillock'; Tuḷu *diḍḍu* 'mound, elevated ground', *tītte* 'the foundation platform of a house'; Telugu *tītta* 'heap, mound'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:279, no. 3221.
- B. Proto-Altaic **tīdu* 'elevated ground, hill, mountain (ridge)': Proto-Tungus **dīdū* (~ *ž-*) 'mountain ridge' > Manchu *židun* 'the back side of a mountain'; Evenki *žīdi* (dial. *didi*) 'mountain ridge'; Lamut / Even (Okhotka) *gidan* 'mountain ridge' (= /*didan*/ ?); Ulch *žīdu* 'mountain ridge'; Orok *žīdu(n)* 'mountain ridge'; Oroch *žīdi* 'mountain ridge'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1369—1370 **tīdu* 'elevation'.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill.

249. Proto-Nostratic root **t'il-* (~ **t'el-*):

(vb.) **t'il-* 'to say, to tell; to recount, to list, to enumerate';

(n.) **t'il-a* 'talk, speech, discourse, tale'

Derivative:

(n.) **t'il-a* 'tongue, language'

- A. Proto-Indo-European **t'el-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **t'ol-*) '(vb.) to say, to tell, to recount; to list, to enumerate; (n.) talk, speech, language; list, enumeration': Common Germanic **taljan* 'to say, to tell, to recount', **talō* 'talk, speech, tale, number' > Old Icelandic *telja* 'to tell, to say, to set forth; to count, to number', *tal* 'talk, conversation; speech, language; tale, list, series', *tala* 'speech, discourse; tale; number', *tala* 'to talk, to speak; to record, to tell'; Old English *talian* 'to enumerate, to consider, to account', *talū* 'series, statement, discussion, story, tale', *tellan* 'to count, to reckon,

to calculate; to consider, to account', *tæl* 'number'; Old Frisian *talia* 'to reckon, to count'; Old Saxon *tellian* 'to count, to tell', *talōn* 'to reckon, to count', *tala* 'number, speech'; Dutch *tellen* 'to reckon, to count', *taal* 'speech', *tal* 'number'; Old High German *zellen* 'to count, to reckon to relate, to tell' (New High German *zählen*), *zalōn* 'to count' (New High German *zahlen*), *zala* 'number' (New High German *Zahl*). Orël 2003:400 Proto-Germanic **talan*, 400 **taljanan*, 400 **talōjanan*, 401 **talō(n)*; Kroonen 2013:508 Proto-Germanic **talō(n)*- 'speech, recount'; De Vries 1977:580, 581, and 586; Skeat 1898:629; Onions 1966:900 and 908; Klein 1971:742 and 750; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:872; Kluge—Seebold 1989:804.

- B. Proto-Eskimo **tali-* 'to tell someone to do something': Seward Peninsula Inuit *tili-* 'to tell someone to do something, to send (someone) on an errand'; North Alaskan Inuit *tili-* 'to tell someone to do something'; Western Canadian Inuit *tili-* 'to tell someone to do something'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *tili-* 'to tell someone to do something'; Greenlandic *tili-* 'to tell someone to do something'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:339.

(?) Sumerian *dilib* 'calculation, computation', *dili-i*, *dili-tur* '(mathematics) the writing down of a number'.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2353, **tēLV* 'to shout, to call'.

250. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t'il-a* 'tongue, language':

Derivative of:

(vb.) **t'il-* 'to say, to tell; to recount, to list, to enumerate';

(n.) **t'il-a* 'talk, speech, discourse, tale'

- A. (?) Dravidian: Kui *tlēpka* (< *tlēk-p-*, *tlēkt-*) 'to put out the tongue, to thrust forth from a cavity'; Kuwi *tekh-* in: *vendōri tekhmū* 'put out your tongue!'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:300, no. 3430.
- B. Proto-Indo-European (**t'ḡ^huA-*/**t'ḡ^hweA-* >) **t'ḡ^hū-*/**t'ḡ^hwā-* 'tongue' (with widely different reflexes in the daughter languages due to taboo): Gothic *tuggō* 'tongue'; Old Icelandic *tunga* 'tongue'; Swedish *tunga* 'tongue'; Danish *tunge* 'tongue'; Old English *tunge* 'tongue'; Old Frisian *tunge* 'tongue'; Old Saxon *tunga* 'tongue'; Dutch *tong* 'tongue'; Old High German *zunga* 'tongue' (New High German *Zunge*); Latin *lingua* 'tongue' (Old Latin *dingua*); Old Irish *teng(a)e* 'tongue' (a shorter form, *teng*, is found only in verse); Sanskrit *jihvā* 'tongue'; Avestan *hizū-*, *hizvā-* 'tongue'; Armenian *lezu* 'tongue'; Lithuanian *liežūvis* 'tongue'; Old Church Slavic *jězykъ* 'tongue'; Russian *jazyk* [язык] 'tongue, language'; Ukrainian *jazyk* 'tongue'; Polish *język* 'tongue'; Lower Sorbian *jězyk* 'tongue'; Czech *jazyk* 'tongue'; Slovenian *jězik* 'tongue'; Serbo-Croatian *jězik* 'tongue'; Macedonian *jazik* 'tongue'; Bulgarian *ezik* 'tongue'.

Pokorny 1959:223 **d̥ḡhū*, **d̥ḡhūā* ‘tongue’; Walde 1927—1932.I:792 **d̥ḡhū*, **d̥ḡhūā*; Mann 1984—1987:151 **d̥ḡḡhūā* ‘tongue’; Watkins 1985:15 **d̥ḡhū* and 2000:21 **d̥ḡhū* ‘tongue’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984:II:814 **t̥ḡḡ^hjuH-* and 1995:714 **t̥ḡḡ^huH-* ‘tongue’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:436—437; Mallory—Adams 1997:594 **d̥ḡḡhuh_a* ‘tongue’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:360; De Vaan 2008:343; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:806—807 **d̥ḡḡhūā*; Kroonen 2013:526—527 Proto-Germanic **tungōn-* ‘tongue’; Orël 2003:412 Proto-Germanic **tunḡōn*; Lehmann 1986:349; Feist 1939:482 **d̥ḡḡh-*u*-ā*; De Vries 1977:600; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:389—390; Onions 1966:930; Klein 1971:771; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:892 **d̥ḡḡh_u-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:818; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:414—415; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:369—370; Smoczyński 2001.1:353—354; Derksen 2008:159; Winter 1982. According to Pisani, Greek (Ionic) γλῶσσα (also γλάσσα), (Attic) γλῶττα ‘tongue’ belongs here as well. Pisani assumes development from **δλωχ^hα* (**δλχ^hα*) < **d̥l̥(ə)ḡhūā*. However, this proposal is rejected by Lehmann (1986:349) (see also Beekes 1969:246 and 2010.I:278).

- C. Proto-Altaic **tilV* ‘tongue, voice’: Proto-Tungus **dilga-n* ‘voice’ > Manchu *žilgan* ‘sound, noise, voice’, *žilga-* ‘to sound, to shout, to sing (of birds)’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *žilhan* ‘voice’; Evenki *dilgan* ‘voice’; Lamut / Even *dilg^hn* ‘voice’; Negidal *dilga-n* ‘voice’; Nanay / Gold *žilgā* ‘voice’; Ulch *dilža(n)* ‘voice’; Oroch *žilda(n)* ‘voice’; Oroch *digga(n)* ‘voice’; Solon *dilgā* ‘voice’; Udihe *digana-* ‘to speak’. Proto-Turkic **dil-*, **dil-* ‘tongue, language’ > Old Turkic *til* ‘tongue, language’; Karakhanide Turkic *til* ‘tongue, language’; Turkish *dil* ‘tongue, language’, *dilli* ‘having a tongue’; Gagauz *dil* ‘tongue, language’; Azerbaijani *dil* ‘tongue, language’; Turkmenian *dil* ‘tongue, language’; Uzbek *til* ‘tongue, language’; Karaim *til*, *til* ‘tongue, language’; Uighur *til* ‘tongue, language’; Tatar *tel* ‘tongue, language’; Bashkir *tel* ‘tongue, language’; Kirghiz *til* ‘tongue, language’; Kazakh *til* ‘tongue, language’; Noghay *til* ‘tongue, language’; Tuva *dil* ‘tongue, language’; Yakut *til* ‘tongue, language’; Dolgan *til* ‘tongue, language’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1370—1371 **tilV* ‘tongue, voice’.
- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (reduplicated) **jilə(jil)* (if from **tilə(til)*) ‘tongue’: Chukchi *jiliil*, *jiləjil* ‘tongue, blade of oar, language’, *jeləcyən* ‘tongue’, *jilə-lʔən* ‘translator’; Kerek *jiləil* (Kamen *ciliil*) ‘tongue’; Koryak *jjijil* ‘tongue’, *jiləjil* ‘speech, language’, *jilə-lrən* ‘translator’, *jilə-lrət-* ‘to translate’; Alyutor *jiiləjil* (Palana *jelilyən*) ‘tongue’, *jiilə-lʔat-* ‘translate’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ʔcel* ‘tongue’. Fortescue 2005:115; Mudrak 1989b:99 **jilvə-jilvə* ‘tongue’.

Buck 1949:4.26 tongue; 18.11 voice (sb.); 18.24 language. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2354, **[t̥]ilV(-ko)* (← **t-* ?) ‘tongue, organs of speech’.

251. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t'or^w-a* ‘tree, the parts of a tree’ (> ‘leaf, branch, bark, etc.’):

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t'[o]r-* ‘tree’, preserved in various tree names or names of parts of trees (‘leaves, branches, etc.’): Semitic: Akkadian *ṭarpa^u* (*ṭarpi^u*) ‘a variety of tamarisk’; Arabic *ṭarfā^ʔ* ‘tamarisk tree’. Hebrew *ṭārāḫ* [תָּרַח] ‘leaf’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Aramaic *ṭarpā*, *ṭaraḫ* ‘leaf’; Syriac *ṭerpā* ‘leaf, branch’; Samaritan Aramaic *ṭrp* ‘leaf, part of a tree, branch’. Klein 1987:252. Egyptian *dʒb* ‘fig tree’ (< **drb*). West Chadic: Hausa *doorawaa* ‘locust-bean tree’. East Chadic: Bidiya *tirip* ‘a kind of tree’ (assimilation of vowels). Orël—Stolbova 1995:516, no. 2464, **ṭarip-* ‘tree’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **t'er-w/u-/*t'or-w/u-*, **t'r-ew-/*t'r-ow-/*t'r-u-* ‘tree, wood’: Greek δόρυ ‘tree, beam’, δρῦς ‘oak’; Sanskrit *dāru* ‘a piece of wood, wood, timber’, *drú-h* ‘wood or any wooden implement’; Avestan *drvaēna-* ‘wooden’, *dāuru-* ‘wood(en object), log’; Albanian *dru* ‘tree, bark, wood’; Welsh *derwen* ‘oak’; Gothic *triu* ‘tree, wood’; Old Icelandic *tré* ‘tree’, *tjara* ‘tar’; Old English *trēow* ‘tree, wood’, *tierwe*, *teoru* ‘tar, resin’; Old Frisian *trē* ‘tree’; Old Saxon *triu*, *treo* ‘tree, beam’; New High German *Teer* ‘tar’; Lithuanian *dervà* ‘resinous wood’, *dārva* ‘tar’; Old Church Slavic *drěvo* ‘tree’; Russian *derevo* [дерево] ‘tree, wood’; Serbo-Croatian *drìjevo* ‘tree, wood’; Czech *dřevo* ‘tree, wood’; Hittite *ta-ru* ‘wood’. Pokorny 1959:214—217 **deru-*, **dōru-*, **dr(e)u-*, **dreuə-*, **drū-* ‘tree’; Walde 1927—1932.I:804—806 **dereu(o)-*; Mann 1984—1987:142 **deruos*, *-ā*, *-iə* (**dreu-*) ‘tree, wood, timber, pitch-pine; pitch, tar, resin; hard, firm, solid, wooden’, 156 **dōru* ‘timber, pole, spike, spear’, 157 **doruos*, *-ā*, *-iə* ‘wood (timber); resin’, 161 **dru-* (radical) ‘timber, wood’, 161 **drūjō* (**drujō*, **-jō*; **drūn-*) ‘to harden, to strengthen’, 161 **drukos* ‘hard, firm, wooden’, 162 **drus-*, **drusos* ‘firm, solid’, 162 **drujos*, *-om*, *-is* ‘wooden, hard; wood’, 162 **drūtos* ‘wooden, of oak, of hardwood; solid, firm, strong’, 165 **druis*, *-iə* ‘wood, trees, hardwood’, 165—166 **drujos*, *-om*; **drus-*, **dru-* ‘wood, timber, tree’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:192 and I:193 **t'er-w-*, **t'or-w-*, **t'r-eu-*, **t'r-u-* ‘oak (wood), tree’; Mallory—Adams 1997:598 **dōru* ‘wood, tree’; Watkins 1985:12 **deru* (also **dreu-*) and 2000:16—17 **deru* (also **dreu-*) ‘to be firm, solid, steadfast’ (suffixed variant form **drew-o-*; variant form **drou-*; suffixed zero-grade form **dru-mo-*; variant form **derw-*; suffixed variant form **drū-ro-*; lengthened zero-grade form **drū-*; *o*-grade form **doru-*; reduplicated form **der-drew-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:36; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:294 **dor-w-*, **dr-ew-*; Beekes 2010.I:349 **doru*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:411—412; Hofmann 1966:63 **dōru*; Boisacq 1950:197—198 **doru*; Kroonen 2013:514 Proto-Germanic **terwa/ōn-* ‘tar’ and 522—523 Proto-Germanic **trewa-* ‘tree’; Orël 1998:76 and 2003:405 Proto-Germanic **terwōn* ~ **terwan*, 409—410 **trewan*; Lehmann 1986:347—

348 **deru-*, **drewo-*, **dr(e)w-(H-)*; Feist 1939:480—481 **der-ey-o-*; De Vries 1977:591 **dreu-* and 597; Klein 1971:745 **derew(o)-*, **drew(o)-* and 779 **derow(o)-*, **drew(o)-*; Onions 1966:904 and 939 **deru-*, **doru-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:775 **deru-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:725 **deru-*; Huld 1984:56 **dru-n-*; Derksen 2008:99 **deru-o-* and 2015:123—124 **deru-o-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:90—91; Smoczyński 2007.1:103; Benveniste 1969.I:104—111 and 1973:85—91; P. Friedrich 1970:140—149 **dorw-* ‘tree’ or ‘oak’; Osthoff 1901.I:98—180. Note: Indo-European loans (borrowed either from Baltic or from Germanic) in Uralic (Balto-Finnic): Finnish *terva* ‘tar’; Estonian *tõrv* ‘tar’; Livonian *tera* ‘tar’. Campbell 1990:173 and 1994:26. Also (Finno-Permian or Finno-Volgaic): Finnish *terho* ‘acorn’; Vote *туру, торо* ‘acorn’; Estonian *tõru, торо* ‘acorn’; Livonian *tē'rmâz* ‘acorn’. Campbell 1990:170 and 1994:25.

- C. Proto-Altaic **tōr'u* ‘birch bark, vessel made of birch bark’: Proto-Tungus **duri* ‘cradle made of birch bark’ > Evenki *dör* ‘cradle made of birch bark’; Negidal *duj* ‘cradle made of birch bark’; Manchu *duri* ‘a swinging cradle’; Nanay / Gold *duri* ‘cradle made of birch bark’; Ulch *duri* ‘cradle made of birch bark’; Oroch *duji* ‘cradle made of birch bark’; Udihe *düi* ‘cradle made of birch bark’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:217. Proto-Mongolian **duru-sun* ‘bark (specifically the bark of the birch tree)’ > Written Mongolian *duru-sun* ‘shell, bark (specifically, the bark of the birch tree)’; Khalkha *durs* ‘shell, bark (specifically, the bark of the birch tree)’; Buriat *durhan* ‘bark’; Kalmyk *dursn* ‘bark’; Ordos *durusu* ‘bark, skin, peel’. Proto-Turkic **Tōr'u* ‘birch bark; birch cover (for a bow); vessel made of birch bark’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *tōz* ‘birch bark’; Turkish (Osmanli) *toz* ‘a material used to wrap bows’; Uighur *tozda* ‘on birch bark’; Uzbek *tos* ‘birch bark’; Tatar *tuz* ‘birch bark’; Bashkir *tuō* ‘birch bark’; Kazakh *toz* ‘birch bark’; Oyrot *tos* ‘birch bark’; Tuva *tos* ‘birch bark’; Yakut *tuos* ‘birch bark’. Clauson 1972:571; Tenishev—Dybo 2001—2006.I:103. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1380 **tō'ru*. Semantic development as in Albanian *dru* ‘tree, bark, wood’, cited above.

Buck 1949:1.42 tree.

252. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasian only) **t'ox^w-*:

(vb.) **t'ox^w-* ‘to give, to bring’;

(n.) **t'ox^w-a* ‘giving, gift, present’

- A. Proto-Indo-European (**t'ox^w-C-* >) **t'ō-*, **t'ox^w-V-* (> **t'ōw-*) ‘to give’: Sanskrit (reduplicated) *dā-dā-ti* (inf. *dāvāne*) ‘to give, to bestow, to grant, to yield, to impart, to present, to offer to, to place, to put, to apply (in medicine), to permit, to allow’; Greek (reduplicated) *δί-δω-μι* ‘to give, to grant, to offer’, (Cyprian inf.) *δοῖεναι* ‘to give’; Latin *dō* ‘to give’ (subj. *duim, duīs, duit*); Lithuanian *duoti* ‘to give’ (*daviaũ* ‘I gave’), *dovanà*

‘present, gift’; Old Church Slavic *dati* ‘to give’. Rix 1998a:89—90 **deh*₃- ‘to give’, 90—91 **deh*₃*u*- ‘to give’; Pokorny 1959:223—226 **dō*- : **dā*-, **dō*-*u*- : **dāu*- : **du*- ‘to give’; Walde 1927—1932.I:814—816 **dō*-; Mann 1984—1987:144 **deu*- theme of verb ‘to give’, 146 **dīdōmi* (theme: **dō*-) ‘to give’, 152 **dō*- (**dōdmi*, *dīdōmi*) ‘to give’, 158 **dōu*- (theme of **dō*- ‘to give’), **dōuit*-; Watkins 1985:15 **dō*- (contracted from **do*₂-) and 2000:21 **dō*- ‘to give’ (oldest form **de*₂₃-, colored to **do*₂₃-, contracted to **dō*-), zero-grade form **dā*-; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:203 **t’oH*- > **t’ō*- and 1995.I:44, I:175, I:179, I:189, I:655, I:656, I:658, I:660, I:781, I:835 **t’oH*- to give; to take; to take a wife’, I:147 **t’oH*^o- > **t’oHw*-; Mallory—Adams 1997:224 **deh*₃- ‘to give’; Schmalstieg 1980:150—157; Derksen 2008:96; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:13—14; Boisacq 1950:186 **dō*-, **dā*-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:388—389; Hofmann 1966:59 **dō*-, **dā*-; Beekes 2010.I:331—332 **deh*₃-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:279—281 **de*₂₃-; De Vaan 2008:174—175; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:360—363 **dō*-, **dā*-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:178—180; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:111—112 **dō*-; Smoczyński 2007.1:134—135 **deh*₃-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:60—69 **deh*₃-; Illič-Svityč 1965:338 **deH*^u. Note: Sturtevant (1951:52, §76) compares Hittite (3rd sg.) *da-a-i* ‘takes’ here and reconstructs Indo-Hittite **deh*- (cf. also Sturtevant 1942:43, §41c) — Kloekhorst (2008b:803—805), on the other hand, reconstructs Proto-Indo-European **dóh*₃-*ei*.

- B. Proto-Uralic **toxi*- ‘to give, to bring’: Finnish *tuo*- ‘to bring’; Estonian *too*- ‘to bring’; Lapp / Saami (Southern) *duokē*- ‘to sell’; Mordvin (Erza) *tuje*-, *tuva*- ‘to bring’; Vogul / Mansi *tuu*- ‘to bring’; Ostyak / Xanty *tu*- ‘to bring’ (Southern pret. *təwə*-, *təwə*-); Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *taa*- ‘to give, to bring’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *taa*- ‘to bring’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *te-d’a*- ‘to give, to bring’; Selkup Samoyed *ta-da*- ‘to bring’; Kamassian *de*^o-, *dep*- ‘to give, to bring’. Collinder 1955:64, 1960:408 **toγō*-, 1965:32, and 1977:81; Rédei 1986—1988:529—530 **toγe*-; Décsy 1990:109 **tonga* ‘to bring, to get, to receive’; Joki 1973:331 **tōke*-; Sammallahti 1988:550 **toxi*-; Janhunen 1977b:145 **tā*-; Illič-Svityč 1965:338 **tōγe*-; Zhivlov 2023:163 Proto-Uralic **toxi*- ‘to bring’.

Sumerian *du* ‘to bring’.

Buck 1949:11.21 give. Illič-Svityč 1965:338 **to/H/λ* ‘to give’ (‘давать’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:305—306, no. 121; Collinder 1965:32; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2251, **toH[ü]* ~ **ta|æH[ü]* (= **to[Γ][ü]* ~ **ta|æ[Γ][ü]* ?) ‘to bring, to fetch, to give’; Fortescue 1998:158.

253. Proto-Nostratic root **t’u*^o*ʔw*- (~ **t’o*^o*ʔw*-):
 (vb.) **t’u*^o*ʔw*- ‘to separate, divide, or split into two parts; to cut in half’;
 (n.) **t’u*^o*ʔw*-*a* ‘separation or division into two; two halves’

Note: Used as the base for the numeral 'two' in Indo-European and Altaic.

- A. Proto-Indo-European (*t'u^{2w}-o-, *t'u^{2w}-i- >) *t'(u)wo-, *t'(u)wi- 'two': Sanskrit (m.) *dváu*, *dvā* (Vedic also *duváu*, *duvā*), (f./n.) *dvé* (Vedic also *duvé*), *dvi-* (in composition) 'two', *dviká-h* 'consisting of two', *dviḥ* 'twice'; Avestan (m.) *dva*, (f./n.) *baē* 'two', *biš* 'twice'; Greek δύο 'two' (uninflected δύο), δίς 'twice, doubly'; Latin *duo*, (f.) *duae* 'two', *bīnī* 'twofold, twice', *bis* 'twice'; Umbrian (m. nom.) *dur* 'two'; Old Irish *dáu*, *dóu*, *dó* 'two', *dé-* (in composition) 'two-, double'; Old Welsh *dou* 'two'; Old Breton *dou*, *dau* 'two'; Cornish *dow*, *dew* 'two'; Albanian (Gheg) (m.) *dy*, (f.) *dÿ* 'two'; Gothic (m.) *twai*, (f.) *twōs*, (n.) *twa* 'two'; Old Icelandic (m.) *tveir*, (f.) *tvær*, (n.) *tvau* 'two', *tvennr*, *tvinnr* 'consisting of two different things or kinds, twofold, in pairs', *tví-* (in compounds) 'twice, double', *tvisvar*, *tysvar* 'twice'; Faroese *tveir* 'two', *tvinnur* 'twofold'; Norwegian *to* 'two', *tvinn*, *tvenne* 'twofold'; Old Swedish (m.) *tu*, (f) *twār* 'two', *twiswar*, *tyswar* 'twice' (Modern Swedish *två* 'two', *tvänne* 'twofold'); Old Danish *tva*, *tve* 'two', *tysver*, *tysser*, *tøsser* 'twice' (Modern Danish *to* 'two', *tvende* 'twofold'); Old English (m.) *twēgen*, (f./n.) *twā*, (n.) *tū* 'two', *twi-* (prefix) 'two', *twinn* 'double', *twiwa* 'twice'; Old Frisian (m.) *twēne*, *tvēne*, (f./n.) *tva* 'two', *twi-* (prefix) 'twice, double', *twia* (adv.) 'twice, double'; Old Saxon (m.) *twēne*, (f.) *twā*, *twō*, (n.) *twē* 'two'; Dutch *twee* 'two'; Old High German (m.) *zwēne*, (f.) *zwā*, *zwō*, (n.) *zwei* 'two' (New High German *zwei*), *zwi-* (prefix) 'twice, double'; Lithuanian (m.) *dù*, (f.) *dvi* 'two'; Latvian (m./f.) *divi* 'two'; Old Prussian (m./f.) *dwai* 'two'; Old Church Slavic (m.) *dvъ*, (f./n.) *dvě* 'two'; Russian (m./n.) *dva* [два]. (f.) *dve* [две] 'two'; Czech (m.) *dva*, (f./n.) *dvě* 'two'; Polish (m./n.) *dwa*, (f.) *dwie* 'two'; Bulgarian *dva* 'two'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *tuwa-* 'two'; Lycian *kbi-*, (Milyan) *tbi-* 'two'. Pokorny 1959:228—232 (m.) **du̯ō(u)* 'two' (**du̯ōu*), (f.) **du̯ai*; **du̯ei-*, **du̯oi-*, **du̯i-*; Walde 1927—1932.I:817—821 **du̯ōu*; Mann 1984—1987:171 **du̯eios* (**du̯eijos*) 'twofold, paired; two, pair', 171 **du̯ai* (fem. form of **du̯ōu*), 171 **du̯i-* (prefix) 'two-, bi-', 172 **du̯idh-* 'divided, in two', 172 **du̯iḱ-* 'in two, twofold, halved', 172 **du̯iḱsos*, *-ios* 'double, twin, divided', 173 **du̯inos*, *-is* 'double, twin', 172 **du̯is* 'twofold, twice', 173 **du̯isijos* 'double', 173 **du̯isṃ* 'in two, through the middle', 174 **du̯ist-* 'twofold, divided, in two', 174 **du̯itos*, *-ios* (*-iios*) 'second', 174 **du̯ō*, 174 **du̯oidh-* 'double, half, two-way', 174 **du̯oijō* 'to divide, to pair, to double', 174 **du̯oil-* 'division, pair, double', 174 **du̯oin-* 'two, in twos, doubly', 174 **du̯oijos* (**du̯oijos*) 'double; couple, pair', 174—175 **du̯ōu*, **du̯u̯ōu*, **du̯ō*, (f./n.) **du̯ai*, **du̯u̯ai* 'two'; Watkins 1985:15—16 **dwo-* (variant form **duwo-*) and 2000:21—22 **dwo-* (variant form **duwo-*) 'two'; Mallory—Adams 1997:399—400 **du̯éh₃(u)* ~ **du̯u̯éh₃(u)* (dual) 'two', **du̯i-ijos*, **du̯i-tos* 'belonging to two, second', **du̯oi* ~ **d(u)u̯oijos* 'two, group of two', **du̯i-* 'bi-' (prefix)', **du̯is* 'twice', **du̯oijos* 'double(d), twofold', **du̯(e)i-plos*

‘double, twofold’ and 2006:308—310 **dwéh₃(u)* ‘two’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:844—845 **t’yo-* (earlier **t’o-*), II:845 **t’uis*, II:849 and 1995.I:742—743 **t’wo-* (earlier **t’o-*), **t’w-i-* ‘two’, I:743 **t’wis* ‘twice’, I:746; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:82, II:84, II:85, II:85—86, and II:86; Boisacq 1950:190 **d(u)uis* and 205—206 **d(u)uō(u)*; Hofmann 1966:60 **duis* and 65 **d(u)uō(u)*, **dui-*, **duoi-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:398—399 **dui-s* and I:424—425 **duuō*, **duuōu*, **duō(u)*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:287 and I:301—301 **duwō-*, **dwō*; De Vaan 2008:183; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:106 **duī-no-* or **duēi-no-*, **duējino-*, I:107 **dui-*, and I:381—383 **d(u)uō*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:71 and 181—188 **duwō*; Orël 2003:414 Proto-Germanic **twiz*, 414—415 **twō(u)*; Kroonen 2013:529 Proto-Germanic **twa-* ‘two’ and 530 **twis* ‘twice’; Feist 1939:484—485 **duōu*, **duō*; Lehmann 1986:350—351 **dwō(u)*, (f.) **dwai*; De Vries 1977:601, 601—602 **duis-no-*, and 602; Torp 1919:824; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:367 and II:392; Onions 1966:952 **d(u)wo(u)*; Hoad 1986:511; Skeat 1898:671—672; Klein 1971:790 **duwō*, **duwōu-*, **dwō(u)-*; Barnhart 1995:841; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:415—416 **duoh₁* and 417; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:894 **d(u)uōu*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:820 **dwōu*; Huld 1984:56—57; Orël 1998:79; Derksen 2008:130 **duo-h₁*; Brugmann 1904:364 **d(u)uō(u)*; Beekes 1995:212 (m.) **duo-h₁*, (f./n.) **duo-ih₁* and 2010.I:359 **duyo*, **duy-eh₃*; Szemerényi 1996:222 (m.) **duwō*/**dwō*, (f.) **duwoi*/**dwoi*; Fortson 2010:146 **d(u)uoh₁*; Blažek 1999b:161—184 **duwō*, earliest form **du*; Clackson 2007:198 **duó-*. Note: There is some evidence that this term may have been a borrowing from Northwest Caucasian (see Chapter 19, §19.10. Numerals, for details).

- B. Proto-Altaic **tju(wi)* ‘two’: Proto-Tungus **žu-* ‘two’ > Evenki *žūr* ‘two’; Lamut / Even *žōr* ‘two’; Manchu *žuwe* ‘two’, *žuru* ‘pair’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *žū* ‘two’; Jurchen *žuwe* ‘two’; Ulch *žuel(i)* ‘two’; Orok *dū* ‘two’; Nanay / Gold *žū*, *žuer* ‘two’; Oroch *žū* ‘two’; Udihe *žū* ‘two’; Solon *žūr* ‘two’. Proto-Mongolian **žiw-* ~ **žui-* ‘two’ > Middle Mongolian *žirin* ‘two’; Written Mongolian *žiren* ‘two’; Khalkha *žirin* ‘two’; Dagur *žūr(ū)* ‘pair’; Monguor *žuru* ‘two’. Poppe 1955:243—244 **ži* ‘two’. Proto-Turkic **TV-bVr-* ‘second’ > Old Turkic (Old Bulgar) *tvirem* ‘second’; Chuvash *tebər*, *tebərew* ‘two’. Poppe 1960:28; Street 1974:14 **ji-* (and ? **jū-*) ‘two’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1374—1375 **tjubu* ‘two’; Blažek 1999b:177 Proto-Altaic **tōwi* ~ **tūwi* ‘two’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2243, Proto-Altaic **tūwu* ‘two’. Note: The Proto-Altaic reconstruction given here is based upon Blažek’s modified Proto-Altaic reconstruction.
- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian (derivational affix) **-təvæ-* ‘to remove’ > Chukchi *-t(u)we-* ‘to remove (clothes)’; Kerek *-twa-* ‘to remove’ (*namjətXa-twa-* ‘to unstick’ from *namjətXa-u-* ‘to glue, to stick’); Koryak *-t(ə)ve-* ‘to remove (clothes)’; Alyutor *-tva-* ‘to remove’. Fortescue 2005:424.

Sumerian *du₈* ‘to split apart; to break off, to tear or pull off; to destroy, to demolish, to ruin, to pull down’, *du₈du₈* ‘to pull off or apart’.

Buck 1949:12.23 separate (vb.); 12.232 divide. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2243, **tü?/o* ‘two’ Blažek 1999b:178—179 Proto-Nostratic **tu* or **tuwi*.

254. Proto-Nostratic root **t'uk'*- (~ **t'ok'*-):

(vb.) **t'uk'*- ‘to knock, to beat, to strike, to pound, to trample’;

(n.) **t'uk'-a* ‘knock, thump, blow, stroke’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t'uk'*-, **t'ok'*- ‘to knock, to beat, to strike, to pound’:
 Proto-Semitic **t'ak'*- (**t'ak'-ak'*-, [reduplicated] **tak'-tak'*-, **t'ak'-aw'*-, etc.) ‘to knock, to beat, to strike, to pound’ > Arabic *taḳḳa* ‘(to make a striking, hitting, or flapping sound’ >) ‘to crack, to pop; to clack, to smack, to flap; to burst, to explode’, *taḳṭaḳa* ‘to crack, to snap, to rattle, to clatter, to clang, to pop, to crash, to crackle, to rustle, to make the ground resound with the hoof, to crack the fingers or joints’, *taḳṭūka* ‘crash, bang; clap, thud, crack, pop’; Ḥarsūsi *teḳ* ‘to knock, to grind’, *meṭéḳ* ‘pestle’; Šheri / Jibbāli *teḳḳ* ‘to knock, to bang, to pound, to smash (rocks), to rip (clothes)’, *mūtṭəḳ* ‘pestle’, *teḳa*^o ‘to push’; Mehri *təḳ* ‘to knock, to pound, to smash, to rip (clothes)’, *məṭəḳ* ‘pestle’; Soqotri *təḳ* ‘to tire’; Geez / Ethiopic *taḳʔa* [ṁḫḵ] ‘to be intrepid, harsh, ruthless’, *taḳawa* [ṁḫḵ] ‘to beat, to pound’; Tigrinya *täḳʔe* ‘to oppress’, *täḳṭäḳä* ‘to crush, to pound, to cram, to press’; Amharic *taḳḳa* ‘to strike, to attack’; Gurage *təḳätäḳä* ‘to squeeze things together, to stuff in, to level the floor of the house by pressing down the ground’. According to Leslau (1987:595), the following belong here as well: Geez / Ethiopic *taḳʔa* [ṁḫḵ], *taḳʔa* [ṁḫḵ] ‘to sound, to blow a trumpet, to ring a bell’, *maṭḳəʔ* [ṁḫḵḵ] ‘trumpet, horn, church bell, gong’; Tigre *taḳʔa* ‘to play an instrument’, *mätḳəʔ* ‘bell, stone used in striking a bell’; Tigrinya *täḳʔe* ‘to strike a bell’; Amharic *täḳḳa* ‘to strike a bell’, *mätḳ* ‘small stone used in striking a bell’. Leslau 1979:629 and 1987:595, 596. Egyptian *dqw* ‘flour, powder’, *dq* ‘to pound, to crush’, *dqr* ‘to press (?), to exclude (?)’. Hannig 1995:988; Erman—Grapow 1921:216 and 1926—1963.5:494—495; Gardiner 1957:603; Faulkner 1962:316. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **dook'*- ‘to burst (intr.)’ > Hadiyya *t'ook'*- ‘to burst (intr.)’; Kambata *t'ook'*- ‘to burst (intr.)’; Sidamo *dook-* ‘to burst, to break (intr.)’, *t'ook-* ‘to burst (intr.)’. Hudson 1989:31 and 34. Proto-Southern Cushitic **duk'*- ‘to be broken to pieces’ > Iraqw *dukteno* ‘kindling’ (semantics: kindling is wood broken into small pieces); Dahalo *dük'*- ‘to be destroyed’, *dük'uḍ-* ‘to destroy’. Ehret 1980:192. (?) Central Chadic: Guduf *dəgə* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’; Dghwede *dḡà* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’; Ngweshe *dḡəḡə* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’; Gisiga *dugo-* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’. Jungrraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:268—269.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tukai* ‘to tread down, to trample on, to bruise or destroy by treading, to pound in a mortar, to mash, to vex’; Kannada *tōku* ‘to beat, to strike’; Tuḷu *tōku* ‘collision’; Maṇḍa *tug-* (*tukt-*) ‘to trample’; Pengo *tog-* (*tokt-*) ‘to tread on, to step on’; Kui *tōga* (*tōgi-*) ‘to kick’; Kuṛux *tōknā* ‘to stamp violently with one foot or with both feet (as in *jatra* dance)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:311, no. 3539. Kannada *dūku* ‘to push’; Kuṛux *tukknā* ‘to give a push to, to shove’; Malto *tuke* ‘to push, to remove’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:287, no. 3286.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **t’k’ač-* ‘to hit, to strike’: Georgian *t’k’ac-* ‘to strike, to hit, to crack, to split’; Laz *t’(k’)oč-* ‘to throw, to hurl’. Klimov 1964:182 **t’k’ac₁₋*. Proto-Kartvelian **t’k’eč-/t’k’ič-* ‘to beat, to hit, to strike’: Georgian *t’k’ec-/t’k’ic-* ‘to beat’; Mingrelian *t’k’ač-* ‘to hit, to strike’; Svan *t’k’eč-/t’k’ič-* ‘to hit, to strike (with a stick)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:331 **t’k’ec₁₋/t’k’ic₁₋*; Fähnrich 2007:403—404 **t’k’ec₁₋/t’k’ic₁₋*; Klimov 1964:182 **t’k’ec₁₋* and 1998:189 **t’k’ec₁₋/t’k’ic₁₋* ‘to strike’; Schmidt 1962:134. Proto-Kartvelian **t’k’eb-/t’k’b-* ‘press, to squeeze’: Georgian *t’k’eb-/t’k’b-* ‘to press’; Laz *(n)t’k’ab-* ‘to press, to squeeze’; Svan *t’k’eb-/t’k’b-* ‘to press’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:329—330 **t’k’eb-*; Fähnrich 2007:402 **t’k’eb-*; Klimov 1964:182 **t’k’eb-* and 1998:188 **t’k’eb-/t’k’b-* ‘to press, to press oneself’. Proto-Kartvelian **t’k’ep-* ‘to press, to trample’: Georgian *t’k’ep-* ‘to trample’; Laz *(n)t’k’ap-* ‘to trample’. Klimov 1998:189 **t’k’ep-* ‘to press, to trample’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:329—330 **t’k’eb-* (**t’k’ep-* < **t’k’eb-* through assimilation); Fähnrich 2007:402 **t’k’eb-* (**t’k’ep-* < **t’k’eb-* through assimilation).
- D. Proto-Indo-European **t’ok’-* > (with regressive deglottalization) **tʰok’-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **tʰek’-*) ‘to knock, to beat, to strike’: Proto-Germanic **pek-/pāk-* ‘to knock, to beat, to strike’ > Old Icelandic *þjaka* ‘to thwack, to thump, to smite’, *þjakaðr* ‘worn, fainting, exhausted’, *þjökka* ‘to thwack, to thump, to beat, to chastise’, *þykkir* (< **þjökk-* < **pekk-*) ‘a thwack, thump, blow, a hurt’; Old English *þaccian* ‘to clap, to pat, to stroke, to touch gently, to smack, to beat’; Middle English *þakken* ‘to pat, to stroke’. Mann 1984—1987:1371 **teg-* ‘weary; to fail, to droop, to waste away’; Onions 1966:921; Klein 1971:765; Skeat 1898:641—642. Different etymology in De Vries 1977:630.
- E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **tuk3-* (**tuγ3-*) ‘to break, to crush’ > Cheremis / Mari *tuγe-* ‘to break, to crush’; Votyak / Udmurt *tijal-* ‘to break, to break off’. Rédei 1986—1988:800 **tuk3-* (**tuγ3-*). Semantic development as in Greek κλάω ‘to break, to break off’ < Proto-Indo-European **kʰel-* ‘to strike, to wound, to injure’ (cf. Latin *calamitās* ‘loss, misfortune, damage, calamity’, *clādēs* ‘disaster, injury’; Lithuanian *kalù*, *kálti* ‘to forge, to strike’; Old Church Slavic *kolq*, *klati* ‘to prick, to hew’). Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tuknə* ‘nail’, *tuknəš-* ‘to knock in’, *tuktujə* ‘blacksmith’s tools’. Nikolaeva 2006:438.

- F. (?) Altaic: Mongolian *tuyila-* ‘to strike with the feet, to rear, to buck (of a horse)’; Khalkha *tuil-* ‘to strike with the feet, to rear, to buck (of a horse)’. Turkic: Sagai (dialect of Khakas) *tuyula-* ‘to strike with the feet, to rear, to buck (of a horse)’. Poppe 1960:61; Street 1974:28 **tugi-la-* ‘to strike with the feet, to rear, to buck (of a horse)’.

Sumerian *dug₄-ga* ‘to strike, to beat, to hit, to smite, to kill’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.26 break (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:316—318, no. 136; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2349, **t[ü]Ka* ‘to thrust, to stab, to push’.

255. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **t'ul^v-a* ‘wedge, peg’:

- A. Proto-Indo-European **t'ul-* ‘pin, wedge, peg’: (?) Greek -δυλος in κόνδυλος ‘knuckle’, σφόνδυλος ‘(sg.) a vertebra; (pl.) the backbone, spine, or neck’, κορδύλη ‘club, cudgel’; Old Irish *dul* ‘pin, wedge’, *dula* ‘peg’; Middle High German *zol* ‘log’ (New High German *Zoll*); Low German *tolle* ‘top-knot’; Frisian *tulle* ‘peg (in the game of tipcat)’; Lithuanian *dūlas* ‘rowlock’. Pokorny 1959:194—196 **del-* ‘to split, to cleave’; Walde 1927—1932.I:809—812 **del-*; Mann 1984—1987:167 **dulos, -ā, -ō(n)* ‘knob, plug, peg, thole-pin, rowlock’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:887—888 **del-* ‘to split, to cleave’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:816.
- B. Proto-Uralic **tolwa* ‘wedge’: Mordvin (Erza) *tulo* ‘cork, plug; wedge’, (Moksha) *tula* ‘wedge’; Zyrian / Komi *tul* ‘peg, plug, wedge’. Sammallahti 1988:554 **tola* ‘wedge’; Zhivlov 2023:162 Proto-Uralic **tolwa* ‘wedge’; Rédei 1986—1988:797—798 **tola*.
- C. Proto-Altaic **tjūlvu* ‘wedge, peg’: Proto-Tungus **žul-* ‘wedge’ > Evenki *žulamartin* ‘wedge’; Lamut / Even *žul̄mptin* ‘wedge’; Ulch *žilemeče* ‘wedge’; Udihe *žolomopti* ‘wedge’. Proto-Turkic **dīlv-* ‘tooth’ > Old Turkic *dīs* ‘tooth’; Turkish *diş* ‘tooth, cog’; Gagauz *diş* ‘tooth’; Azerbaijani *dış* ‘tooth’; Turkmenian *dış* ‘tooth’; Uzbek *tış* ‘tooth’; Uighur *tış, čiš* ‘tooth’; Karaim *tış* ‘tooth’; Tatar *teş* ‘tooth’; Bashkir *teş* ‘tooth’; Kirghiz *tış* ‘tooth’; Kazakh *tis* ‘tooth’; Noghay *tis* ‘tooth’; Tuva *dış* ‘tooth’; Yakut *tīs* ‘tooth’; Dolgan *tīs* ‘tooth’. Perhaps also Mongolian *duldui* ‘stick, staff, pilgrim’s staff’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1375 **tjūlu* ‘wedge, peg’.

Buck 1949:4.27 tooth.

256. Proto-Nostratic root **t'um-* (~ **t'om-*):

(vb.) **t'um-* ‘to quiet, to calm, to pacify, to tame’;

(n.) **t'um-a* ‘quietness, calmness, peace, tranquility’; (adj.) ‘quiet, calm, tame, peaceful’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ṭammaṇa* ‘to quiet, to calm, to appease, to pacify, to allay, to assuage, to soothe’, *ṭamm* ‘quiet, tranquil’, *ṭamʿana*, *ṭaʿmana* ‘to calm, to quiet, to pacify, to appease, to assuage, to soothe’. Zammit 2002:273.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **tʰom-H-/*tʰm̥-H-* ‘to tame, to subdue’: Sanskrit *dāmyati* ‘to tame, to subdue, to conquer’, *damáyati*, *damāyāti* ‘to subdue, to overpower’; Prakrit *dāmiya-* ‘tamed’; Greek δαμάζω ‘to overpower, to tame, to subdue, to conquer’, δμησας ‘taming, breaking in (horses)’; Latin *domō* ‘to tame, to subdue, to overcome, to conquer’; Middle Irish *damnaim* ‘to subdue’; Gothic *ga-tamjan* ‘to tame’; Old Icelandic *temja* ‘to tame, to break in’, *tamr* ‘tame’, *tamning* ‘taming, breaking in’; Old English *temian* ‘to tame, to subdue’, *tama* ‘tameness’, *tam* ‘tame’; Old Frisian *temja* ‘to tame’, *tam* ‘tame’; Dutch *tam* ‘tame’, *temmen* ‘to tame’; Old High German *zemma* ‘to tame’ (New High German *zähmen*), *zam* ‘tame’ (New High German *zahn*); Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *da-ma-aš-zi* ‘to press, to oppress’. Rix 1998a:99—100 **demh₂-* ‘to tame, to domesticate, to subdue, to control’; Pokorny 1959:199—200 (**demə-*) **domə-* : **domə-* ‘to tame, to subdue’; Walde 1927—1932.I:788—790 (**demā-*) **domā-*, **dəmə-*; Mann 1984—1987:153—154 **domāiō* (**dəmāiō*, **dm̥āiō*), *-eiō* ‘to tame, to domesticate’; Watkins 1985:11 **demə-* and 2000:16 **demə-* ‘to constrain, to force, especially to break in (horses)’ (oldest form **dem₂-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:205 **tʰemH-/*tʰm̥H-* > **tʰm̥-* and 1995.I:177 **tʰemH-/*tʰm̥H-* > **tʰm̥-* ‘to tame’; Mallory—Adams 1997:565 **demh_x-* ‘to subdue, especially to break a horse’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:19 and II:35; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:250—251; Boisacq 1950:165—166; Frisk 1970—1973.I:346; Hofmann 1966:51 **domā-*, **dəmə-*; Beekes 2010.I:301 **demh₂-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:181—182; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:367—368; De Vaan 2008:178; Orël 2003:401 Proto-Germanic **tamaz*, 401 **tamjanan*; Kroonen 2013:508 Proto-Germanic **tamjan-* ‘to tame’; De Vries 1977:581 and 586; Feist 1939:203 **dom-ā-*; Lehmann 1986:149—150; Skeat 1898:623; Onions 1966:901; Klein 1971:744; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:872; Kluge—Seebold 1989:804; Sturtevant 1951:61, §83; Kloekhorst 2008b:822—824 **dméh₂-s-ti*.
- C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *tumnerii-* ‘to be reserved about; to tell in secret’. Nikolaeva 2006:439.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **tjūm(k)u* ‘silent, calm’: Proto-Tungus **duŋk-* ‘(adj.) dark, sullen; quiet, peaceful; (vb.) to bow the head; to knit the brows; to bow the head and slumber; to become silent, calm’ > Manchu *duŋki* ‘tired, exhausted, weak (in judgment)’; Evenki *duŋkin-* ‘to bow the head’; Lamut / Even *duŋkun-* ‘to bow the head, to knit the brows’; Ulch *duŋgu* ‘quiet, peaceful’; Orok *duŋgalj-* ‘to bow the head and slumber’; Nanay / Gold *duŋgiri-* ‘to become silent, calm’, *duŋgu* ‘quite, peaceful’. Proto-Mongolian **dūiŋ-* ‘to become dull, murky (of sky), sullen, melancholic’ > Mongolian *dūŋsüi-* ‘to be silent, to maintain one’s silence; to be morose,

sulky, pensive, melancholic; to look askance', *düñsüger* 'moroseness, melancholy, sorrow', *düñsüilče-* 'to be silent, pensive, or melancholic'; Khalkha *düñsī-* 'to become dull, murky (of sky), sullen, melancholic'; Buriat *düñyē-* 'to become dull, murky (of sky), sullen, melancholic'; Kalmyk *düñgē-*, *düñgī-* 'to be silent', *düñsī-* 'to become dull, murky (of sky), sullen, melancholic'; Ordos *düñ* 'obscure'. Proto-Turkic **dīm-* 'to be silent' > Turkmenian *dīm-* 'to be silent'; Bashkir *dīm-* 'to be silent'; Kirghiz *tīm*, *tīm* 'silently'; Kazakh *tīm* 'silently'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1375—1376 **tūm(k)u* 'silent, calm'.

- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **təmyə-* 'still' > Chukchi *təmy-ew-* 'to grow still (wind or storm)', *təmyətəm* 'calm, still (weather)'; Kerek *təmy-au-* 'to grow calm (weather)', *nə-təmy-at-Xi* 'quiet', *təmək* 'quiet (outside)'; Koryak *təmy-et-* 'to grow still'; Alyutor *təmyətəm* 'calm, still (weather)'. Kamchadal / Itelmen (Eastern) *tyməzin* 'to calm, to pacify'. Fortescue 2005:297.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:307—308, no. 125. Slightly different etymology in Dolgoposky 2008, no. 2379, **t[i]m[Vn]V* 'to be quiet, to be calm'.

257. Proto-Nostratic root **t'uq'w-* (~ **t'oq'w-*):

(vb.) **t'uq'w-* 'to be dark, cloudy, dusty, dirty, sooty, smoky';

(n.) **t'uq'w-a* 'darkness, (dark) cloud, dust, dirt, soot, smoke'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t'o(o)k'w-* '(vb.) to be dark, cloudy, dusty, sooty, smoky; (n.) fog, cloud, darkness, soot, smoke': Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *tākā* [ጣቃ] 'darkness, obscurity, gloominess, fog'; Tigre *takyat* 'fog, cloud, darkness'; Tigrinya *taka* 'fog, cloud, darkness'; Amharic *taka* 'fog, cloud, darkness'. Geez / Ethiopic *takara* [ጠቀረ] 'to be black, dusty, sooty', *takar* [ጠቀር] 'soot'; Tigrinya *tākkārā* 'to be black'; Amharic *tākk'w'ärä* 'to be black, to turn black, to tan (in the sun), to grow dark', *təkkur* 'black, dark (skin)'; Gurage *tāk'w'ärä* 'to be black', *tākär* 'soot on the roof'; Harari *tikär* 'soot'. Leslau 1979:628 and 1987:595, 596. Egyptian *dqr* 'incense'. Hannig 1995:988; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:496. Proto-Southern Cushitic **deek'w-* 'to be dark' > Dahalo *deek'w'ááni* 'shadow'; Ma'a *kiduyú*, *kidugú* 'darkness'. Ehret 1980:190. According to Ehret, "[t]he back vowel of the Oromo reflex suggests that we have here another instance of pre-Southern Cushitic **o(o)* becoming proto-Southern Cushitic **e(e)* after a retroflex consonant — a rule note[d] in Chapter 2, section I, and if the environment proposed for the rule is correct, then an original verb must be reconstructed to account for the vowel shift."
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *tukaḷ* 'dust, particle of dust, pollen; fault, moral defect'; Telugu *dūgara* 'dust, dirt, soot'; Kolami *tu-k* 'dust, earth, clay'; Naikri *tūk* 'earth, clay'; Parji *tūk*, *tūkuḍ* 'earth, clay, soil'; Gadba (Ollari) *tūkuḍ* 'earth, clay'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:287, no. 3283.

- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **taqi-* '(vb.) to smoke; (n.) smoke': Koryak *taqəŋ-* 'having the taste of strong tobacco'; Alyutor *tqi-* 'to smoke', *tqitəq-* 'smoke'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *t'it'im* 'smoke', *t'e-kas-*, *t'i-* 'to smoke' (this may be a borrowing from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:300—301.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.73 cloud; 1.83 smoke (sb.).

22.9. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *dʲ

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
dʲ-	dʲ-	c-	ʒg-	dʰ-	tʲ-	ʒ-	c-
-dʲ-	-dʲ-	-c(c)-/ -y-	-ʒg-	-dʰ-	-tʲ-	-ʒ-/ -d-	-c-

258. Proto-Nostratic root **dʲab-* (~ **dʲəb-*):

(vb.) **dʲab-* ‘to beat, to hit, to strike, to harm, to injure’;

(n.) **dʲab-a* ‘stroke, blow, harm, injury; slaughter, killing’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dʲab-* ‘to beat, to hit, to strike, to harm, to injure’: Proto-Semitic **dʲab-aḥ-* ‘to kill, to slaughter’ > Hebrew *zāḇaḥ* [זָבַח] ‘to slaughter’; Phoenician *zbh* ‘to slaughter, to sacrifice’; Ugaritic *dbh* ‘to sacrifice’, *dbḥ(m)* ‘sacrifice(s)’; Arabic *dabaḥa* ‘to kill, to slaughter’; Akkadian *zibū* ‘offering’, *zebū* ‘to slaughter, to sacrifice’; Proto-Sinaitic *ḏbh* ‘to sacrifice, to kill, to murder’; Sabaean *ḏbh* ‘to sacrifice, to kill, to murder’; Geez / Ethiopic *zabḥa* [ዘበሐ] ‘to slaughter, to sacrifice, to offer sacrifices’; Tigre *zābḥa* ‘to skin an animal’. D. Cohen 1970— :326—327; Murtonen 1989:161; Klein 1987:193; Leslau 1987:631; Zammit 2002: 181—182. Egyptian (reduplicated) *ḏbdḏ* ‘to destroy, to demolish’. Hannig 1995:1005. Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *dabaah-* ‘to slaughter’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:549—550, no. 2646, **žabaḥ*/**žibiḥ* ‘to make sacrifice’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cavaṭṭu* (*cavaṭṭi-*) ‘to destroy, to ruin (as a town), to kill, to beat, to tread upon, to trample’; Malayalam *caviṭṭuka* ‘to kick, to tread’, *caviṭṭika* ‘to cause to tread on’, *caviṭṭu*, *cavaṭi* ‘a kick’; Kodagu *cavṭ-* (*cavṭi-*) ‘to step on’, *cavṭi-* ‘footprint’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:210, no. 2387.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **dʰebʰ-*/**dʰobʰ-* ‘to beat, to hit, to strike, to harm, to injure’: Sanskrit *dabhnóti* ‘to hurt, to injure, to deceive, to abandon’; Pāli *dubbhati* ‘to hurt, to deceive’; Prakrit *dūbhai* ‘to be unhappy’; Gujarati *dubhvū*, *dubhāvṽ* ‘to tease, to vex’; Avestan *dab-* ‘to deceive’; Lithuanian *dobiū*, *dóbtī* ‘to beat, to hit, to kill’. Rix 1998a:114—115 **dʰebʰ-* ‘to diminish’; Walde 1927—1932.I:850—851 **dhebh-*; Pokorny 1959:240 **dhebh-* ‘to injure’; Mallory—Adams 1997:258 **dhebh-* ‘to harm’; Mann 1984—1987:129 **dabh-* ‘to harm, to hurt, to damage’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:17—18; Turner 1966—1969.I:353; Derksen 2015:124 (etymology unclear); Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:99; Smoczyński 2007.1:117; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:85—86 **dʰebʰ-*.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **vapp3-* ‘to hit, to cut’ > Mordvin (Erza) *čapo-* ‘to cut (framework), to make a notch’, *čapo* ‘notch’; Votyak / Udmurt

čupy- ‘to notch, to cut’; Zyrian / Komi *čup-* ‘to make a notch, to make a frame house’, *čupōd* ‘notch’; (?) Hungarian *csap-* ‘to strike, to hit’; Vogul / Mansi *sopam* ‘a kind of timbered chest, a small temporary storehouse’, *šopη, sáπη* ‘chest or shed on a tomb (to protect the coffin)’; Ostyak / Xanty (N.) *šōpam* ‘framework in the forest (to keep berries or game), timbered superstructure on a tomb’. Collinder 1977:91; Rédei 1986—1988:29 **čappz-*; Sammallahti 1988:543 (?) **čáppi-* ‘to hit, to cut’.

- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **δəpæ(ηæ)* ‘hammer’: Chukchi *rəpeηə* ‘hammer’; Kerek *ipaaip* ‘hammer’; Koryak *jəpeηa* ‘hammer’; Alyutor *təpaηa* ‘pestle for crushing *tolkuša*’, *kəlivə-təpaηa* ‘stone hammer’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *spe* ‘stone pestle’. Fortescue 2005:72.

Buck 1949:11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.); 16.68 deceit. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:321, no. 140.

259. Proto-Nostratic root **dyak^{wh}-* (~ **dyək^{wh}-*):

(vb.) **dyak^{wh}-* ‘to blaze, to be bright’;

(n.) **dyak^{wh}-a* ‘(burning) embers, fire, flame’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **dyak^w-* ‘to blaze, to be bright’: Proto-Semitic **dyak-aw/y-* ‘to blaze, to be bright’ > Arabic *ḍakā* ‘to blaze, to flare up’, *ḍukāʔ* ‘the sun’, *ʔadkā* ‘to light up, to stroke the fire’; Liḥyanite *ḍakaw* ‘flame’. D. Cohen 1970— :332.
- B. Dravidian: Telugu *jaggu* ‘shining, brilliancy’; Parji *jagjaga* ‘clean (of clothes), bright’; Gondi *cakk-* ‘to dazzle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:202, no. 2280.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **dyak^{wh}-*/**dyək^{wh}-* > (with depalatalization) **dhak^{wh}-*/**dhək^{wh}-* > (with progressive voicing assimilation) **dheg^{wh}-*/**dhog^{wh}-* ‘to blaze, to burn’: Sanskrit *dāhati* ‘to burn, to consume by fire, to scorch, to roast’; Pāli *dahati* ‘to burn, to roast’, *dahana-* ‘fire; burning’; Hindi *dahnā* ‘to burn, to be burnt, to blaze’; Sindhi *daho, dao* ‘strong light of fire, sun’; Avestan *dažaiti* ‘to burn’; Latin *favilla* ‘glowing ashes’ (with long *i* [cf. Ernout—Meillet 1979:221]), *febris* ‘fever’, *foveō* ‘to warm, to keep warm’; Middle Irish *daig* ‘fire’; Old Prussian *dagis* ‘summer’; Lithuanian *degù, dėgti* ‘to burn’; Old Church Slavic *žego, žešti* ‘to burn, to ignite’; Greek τέφρα, (Ionic) τέφρη ‘(burning) ashes’, τέφρος ‘ash-colored’; Tocharian A *tsäk-, tsak-* ‘to burn’, *tsāk-* ‘to give light, to shine’, B *tsäk-* ‘to burn up, to consume by fire’; Albanian *djeg* ‘to burn’. Rix 1998a:115—116 **dheg^{uh}-* ‘to consume by fire, to burn’; Pokorny 1959:240—241 **dheg^{uh}-* ‘to burn’; Walde 1927—1932.I:849—850 **dheg^{uh}-*; Watkins 1985:13 **dheg^{wh}-* and 2000:18 **dheg^{wh}-* ‘to burn, to warm’, suffixed basic form **dheg^{wh}-rā-* (> Greek τέφρη); Mann 1984—1987:179 **dheguhō* (**dhoguh-*) ‘to burn; fire’; Mallory—Adams 1997:87 **dheg^{wh}-* ‘to burn’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:154 **d^[h]eg^[h]°*/**d^[h]og^[h]°* and 1995.I:133 **d^heg^h°*/**d^hog^h°* ‘to

burn'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:29; Turner 1966—1969.I:357; Hofmann 1966:363 **dheg^uh-*; Beekes 2010.II:1475—1476 **d^heg^{wh}-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:888—889 **dheg^uh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1112 **dheg^{wh}-*; Boisacq 1950:963—964 **dheg^uh-*; De Vaan 2008:206—207 **d^houH-Í-* 'smoke/smoking'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:221, 222 **dheg^{wh}ri-s*, and 250—251 **d^hg^{wh}-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:466—467 **dheg^uh-* and I:471—472 **dheg^uhri-s*; Adams 1999:733; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:526 **dhegh^u-*; Orël 1998:68 **dheg^{wh}-* (> Proto-Albanian **dega*); Huld 1984:53—54 **dheg^{wh}-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:85—86; Smoczyński 2007.1:97—98 **d^heg^uh-*; Derksen 2008.554—555 **d^heg^{wh}-* (> **geg-* in Slavic) and 2015:119 **d^heg^{wh}-e/o-*.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 15.87 clean. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:322, no. 142.

260. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dʷan-a* 'sound; hearing; organ of hearing, ear':

Comment: A Proto-Nostratic verb stem seems to be implied here: **dʷan-* 'to listen, to hear', though this is nowhere attested. The verb forms found in the Semitic daughter languages are all denominative.

- A. Proto-Afrasian (n.) *(*ʔi/u-*)*dʷan-* 'ear': Proto-Semitic (n.) **ʔu-dʷn-* 'ear' > Ugaritic *ʔdn* 'ear'; Akkadian *uznu(m)* 'ear (of human or animal); wisdom, understanding'; Hebrew *ʔōzen* [ʔʕzn] 'ear', (denominative) *ʔāzan* [ʔʕzn] 'to listen, to hear'; Aramaic *ʔudnā* 'ear'; Syriac *ʔednā* 'ear'; Mandaic *ʔudna* 'ear; side, corner'; Arabic *ʔudn*, *ʔudun* 'ear; handle (of a cup)', *ʔadina* 'to listen; to allow, to permit; to hear, to learn, to be informed'; Sabaeen *ʔdn* 'ear'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔəzn* [ʕnʔ] 'ear', *māʔəzən* [mʕʕnʔ] 'angle, corner, border (of garment)'; Tigre *ʔəzən* 'ear'; Tigrinya *ʔəzni* 'ear'; Gafat *əznā* 'ear'; Harari *uzun* 'ear'; Argobba *izin* 'ear'; Gurage *əzən* 'ear'. South Arabian proto-form (n.) **ʔi-dʷān-* 'ear' > Šheri / Jibbāli *ʔidēn* 'ear', *ʔódən* 'to call to prayer'; Ḥarsūsi *he-ydēn* 'ear', *ʔádden* 'to call to prayer'; Mehri *ḥə-ydēn* 'ear', *awōdēn* 'to call to prayer'; Soqotri *ʔidihən* 'ear'. D. Cohen 1970— :10 — Cohen notes: "Ugaritic (WUS 8) is very doubtful; 'idn may be a variant of 'udn (TO)"; Klein 1987:16; Leslau 1987:52; Murtonen 1989:86 — Murtonen notes that related forms are found in Chadic (Birgit /'uduŋgi/, Jegu /-ge/ 'ear') and Egyptian (/ydn/ 'ear' ["as a writing sign only"]); Zammit 2002:71; Militarëv—Kogan 2000.I:6, no. 4, Proto-Semitic **ʔudn-* ~ **ʔuʒn-* 'ear' — they note: "A variant stem **ʔi-dān-* may be reconstructed on the MSA evidence since the long -ā- seems rather reliable." They do not list any non-Semitic cognates. Egyptian *idn* 'ear' (writing sign only). Erman—Grapow 1921:21 and 1926—1971.1:154; Hodge 1981:404. East Chadic: Jegu *ʔuduŋe* 'ear'; Birgit *uduŋi* 'ear'. Orël—Solbova 1995: 32—33, no. 126, **ʔudun-/ʔuʒun-* 'ear', Proto-Semitic **ʔudn-* 'ear' — they note: "An unexpected **d* ~ **ʒ* variation in

the root.” Comments: The vowel of the prefix is ambiguous — most of the Semitic and Chadic forms point to *ʔu-, while the South Arabian and Egyptian forms point to *ʔi-. Moreover, I have reconstructed the stem vowel of the Semitic and Afrasian proto-forms as *-a- on the basis of the South Arabian evidence. Finally, I consider */dʲ/ (traditional */d/) to be original.

- B. Proto-Yukaghir *čanč’- ‘sound’: Southern / Kolyma čad’il ‘echo’; Northern / Tundra čad’uu ‘sound’. Nikolaeva 2006:123, no. 211.

Buck 1949:4.22 ear; 15.41 hear; 15.42 listen; 15.43 ‘hearing’ (sb.); 15.44 sound (sb.).

261. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *dʲan-w-a ‘a kind of tree or bush’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *dʲan-w- ‘a kind of tree’: Egyptian *ḏnw* ‘plant, a kind of bush’. Hannig 1995:1007; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:575. Cushitic: Kambata *dana* ‘a kind of tree’; Gallinya *dāna* ‘a kind of tree’.
- B. Dravidian: Kannada *jāni-giḍa* ‘a small tree’ (= *Grewia abutilifolia*), *jāna* (= *G. asiatica*), *taḍa-jāna* (= *G. orbiculata*); Telugu *jāna* ‘a kind of tree’, *jāna* (= *G. orbiculata*), *nalla-jāna*, *pedda-jāna* (= *G. asiatica*). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:214, no. 2451.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *dʲanw/u- ‘a kind of tree’: Hittite (ntr.) *tanau* ‘fir(tree)’; Sanskrit *dhānu-ḥ*, *dhānvan-* ‘bow’; Old Saxon *danna*, *dennia* ‘fir’; Old High German *tanna* ‘fir-tree, oak’ (New High German *Tanne*). Pokorny 1959:234 **dhanu-* or **dhonu-* ‘a kind of tree’; Walde 1927—1932.I:825 **dhanu-* or **dhonu-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:202 **dhonu-* ‘fir’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:90—91; Kloekhorst 2008b:827 **dʰn-ōu* (?); Orël 2003:68 Proto-Germanic **ḍannōn*; Walshe 1951:224; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:769; Kluge—Seebold 1989:721; P. Friedrich 1970:150—151 Proto-Germanic **danwō*.

Buck 1949:8.65 fir; 20.24 bow. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:321—322, no. 141.

262. Proto-Nostratic root *dʲar- (~ *dʲar-):

- (vb.) *dʲar- ‘to hold firmly’;
(n.) *dʲar-a ‘firm grip; hand, arm’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *dʲar- ‘(vb.) to hold firmly; (n.) hand, arm’: Proto-Semitic **dʲirāṣ-* ‘arm’ > Arabic *ḍirāṣ* ‘arm, forearm’; Hebrew *ʔezrōā* [עֲזְרוֹא], *zərōā* [צְרוֹא] ‘arm, shoulder’; Aramaic *dərāṣā* ‘arm’; Ugaritic *ḍr* ‘upper arm’; Mandaic *dra* ‘arm’; Akkadian *zuruḥ* ‘arm’, *duraʔu* ‘arm, foreleg’ (West Semitic loans); Soqotri *derā* ‘forearm’; Ḥarsūsi *ḍerā* ‘forearm’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḍéra* ‘forearm’; Mehri *ḍar* ‘forearm’; Geez / Ethiopic *mazrāṣ* [መገረ-ዕት] ‘arm, shoulder (of an animal), sleeve (of a garment),

strength'; Tigrinya *māzraʕt* 'arm, forearm'; Tigre *zāraʕ*, *māzarəʕt* 'arm, forearm'. Leslau 1987:379; Murtonen 1989:171; Klein 1987:16 and 203; D. Cohen 1970— :341; Zammit 2002:182. Egyptian *ḏr-t* 'hand'; Coptic *tōre* [ⲧⲟⲣⲉ] '(hand); handle; spade, pick, oar'. Hannig 1995:1009; Faulkner 1962:323; Gardiner 1957:604; Erman—Grapow 1921:221 and 1926—1963.5:580—585; Vycichl 1983: 219—220; Černý 1976:193. West Chadic: Mupun *žár* 'to take, to pick up'. Takács 2011a:161.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:62—63, no. 65) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **ḏVrāš-* ~ **žVrāš-* 'arm'. They note: "The reconstruction of **-i-* of the first syllable suggested in [Fron. Studi 48] is evidently based on Arb. only and may be questioned ..." Also: "[Fron. Studi 48] **ḏirāš-* 'arm' ..." They do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **žger-* 'to make firm, strong, unshakable' > 'to convince, to persuade': Georgian *žer-* in *da-žer-eb-a* 'to convince, to persuade', *m-žer-a* 'I believe, I am convinced', *žer-i* 'arrangement, order; conviction, belief'; Svan *a-žgir* 'he taught, made understand', *a-žgir-i* 'he teaches, advises, makes understand'. Fähnrich 2007:714 **žer-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **dher-/dhor-/dh̥r-* 'to hold firmly in the hand, to support': Sanskrit *dharati* (caus. *dhārāyati*) 'to hold, to bear, to preserve, to keep', *dharūna-h* 'bearing, holding, supporting', *dh̥ti-h* 'firmness, resolution', *dhartrā-m* 'support, prop', *d̥hyati* 'to be strong'; Avestan *dar-* 'to hold, to keep', *darz-* 'to hold, to fasten', *dərəzra-* 'firm, strong', *drva-* 'firm, sound'; Old Persian *dar-* 'to hold'; Latin *firmitas* 'firm, strong, stout'; Lithuanian *diržti*, *diržti* 'to grow hard, to become firm', *diržūs* 'solid, firm'; Old Church Slavic *drъžjo*, *drъžati* 'to hold, to possess'; Russian *deržat'* [держатъ] 'to hold, to keep'. Rix 1998a:126 **dher-* 'to fasten, to fix'; Pokorny 1959:252—255 **dher-*, **dherə-* 'to hold'; Walde 1927—1932.I:856—860 **dher-*; Mann 1984—1987:184 **dher-* 'hard, fast, firm', 185 **dhermos*, *-ā*, *-jə* (**dhermn-*, **dherom-*) 'firm, fixed; fixture, pact, order', 198 **dhōrejō* 'to hold, to keep', 311—312 **dh̥g̥h-* 'to hold'; Watkins 1985:14 **dher-* and 2000:18 **dher-* 'to hold firmly, to support'; Mallory—Adams 1997:270 **dher-* 'to be immobile; to support, to hold up' (Latin *firmitas* < **dher-mo-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:61—62, II:93, II:94, II:100, II:111—112, and II:112; De Vaan 2008:223 **dher-mo-* 'holding'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:505—506 **dher(ē)-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:237; Derksen 2008:137—138 **dher-* and 2015:133; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:97; Smoczyński 2007.1:116—117.

Buck 1949:4.31 arm; 4.33 hand; 4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 11.15 hold; 17.15 believe. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:322—323, no. 143.

263. Proto-Nostratic root **dʷaw-* (~ **dʷəw-*):(vb.) **dʷaw-* ‘to run, to flow’;(n.) **dʷaw-a* ‘stream, current, flow’; (adj.) ‘running, flowing’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **ǰgw-*, **ǰgw-am-/*ǰgw-m-* ‘to defecate’: Georgian *ǰv-*, *ǰvam-/ǰm-* ‘to defecate’; Mingrelian (*n*)*ǰg(v)-*, *nǰgum-* ‘to defecate’; Laz *ǰg(v)-*, *zg(v)-*, *ǰgum-* ‘to defecate’; Svan *sgēr-* ‘to defecate’, *la-sg-ar* ‘lavatory, toilet’. Schmidt 1962:160; Klimov 1964:268 **ǰw-*, 268—269 **ǰw-am-/*ǰw-m-* and 1998:343 **ǰw-*, **ǰw-am-/*ǰw-m-* ‘to defecate’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:572—573 **ǰw-*; Fähnrich 2007:715 **ǰw-*. For the semantics, cf. Malayalam *olippu* ‘flowing, looseness of bowels’ from the same stem found in *oliyuka* ‘to flow’, *olikka* ‘to flow, to run (as water, blood from wounds)’, etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:96, no. 999).
- B. Proto-Indo-European **dʰew-/*dʰow-* ‘to run, to flow’: Sanskrit *dhavate* ‘to run, to flow’, *dhāvati* ‘to run, to flow, to stream’, *dhauti-h* ‘spring, well, rivulet’; Greek *θέω* ‘to run’, *θοός* ‘quick, swift’; Old Icelandic *dögg* ‘dew’; Faroese *døgg* ‘dew’; Norwegian *dogg* ‘dew’; Swedish *dagg*, *dugg* ‘dew’; Danish *dug* ‘dew’; Old English *dēaw* ‘dew’; Old Frisian *dāw* ‘dew’; Old Saxon *dau* ‘dew’; Dutch *dauw* ‘dew’; Old High German *tou* ‘dew’ (New High German *Tau*). Rix 1998a:128—129 **dʰey-* ‘to run, to flow; to hasten, to hurry’; Pokorny 1959:259—260 **dʰeu-* ‘to run, to flow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:834 **dʰeu-*; Mann 1984—1987:188 **dʰey-* ‘to flow’, 188 **dʰeyǰnt-* (**dʰeyǰnt-*) ‘flowing, flow’, 201 **dʰouyos* (**dʰouyo-*) ‘running, flowing; run, flow, course’; Watkins 1985:14 **dʰeu-* and 2000:19 **dʰeu-* ‘to flow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:491 **dʰeu-* ‘to run’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:95 and II:101—102; Boisacq 1950:342—343 **dʰeyā-*; Hofmann 1966:114 **dʰeu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:668—669; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:433; Beekes 2010.I:544—545 **dʰeu-*; Kroonen 2013:91 Proto-Germanic **dawwa/ō-* ‘dew’; Orël 2003:70 Proto-Germanic **dawwēnan*, 70 **dawwō* ~ **dawwan*; De Vries 1977:92—93 Proto-Germanic **dauuō*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:118; Torp 1919:64; Onions 1966:263 **dhawos*; Klein 1971:208; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:68—69; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:772 Proto-Germanic **dawwa-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:723 Proto-Germanic **dauwa-*. Note: The Germanic cognates contain so-called “lengthened *w*”. This phenomenon is commonly referred to in the literature by the German term “Verschärfung”. For details about the Germanic “Verschärfung”, cf. Austin 1946; Jasanoff 1978a; Lehmann 1952:36—46 and 1965:213—215; Lindeman 1964. Lehmann (1965:215) reaches the following conclusion concerning the origin of “lengthened *-w-*”: “PGmc. *-w-* was lengthened after short vowels when reflex of a laryngeal followed *-w-*”.

Buck 1949:4.66 void excrement; excrement, dung; 10.32 flow (vb.); 10.46 run (vb.). Brunner 1969:86, no. 469; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:324—325, no. 145

264. Proto-Nostratic indefinite pronoun stem *dʷi- (~ *dʷe-) ‘this one, that one’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *dʷi- ‘this one, that one’: Proto-Semitic *dʷā, *dʷī ‘this one, that one’ > Arabic (m.) *dā*, (f.) *dī* ‘this one, this’; Hebrew (m.) *zeh* [זֶה], (f.) *zōh* [זֹה], (poetical) *zū* [זֹּ] ‘this’; Biblical Aramaic *dā* ‘this’; Sabaeen *d* ‘(he) who, (that) which’; Mehri *d(ə)*- ‘who, which, what’; Šheri / Jibbāli *d*- ‘one who, whoever’; Ḥarsūsi *d(e)*- ‘who, which, that’; Geez / Ethiopic *za-* [ዘ-] ‘who, that, which’ (*ziʔa-* [ዘ.አ-] with possessive suffix pronouns), (m. sg.) *zə-* [ዘ-], (f. sg.) *zā-* [ዘ-] ‘this’ (adj. and pronoun); Tigrinya *zə* ‘he who, that’, *ʔəzu* ‘this’; Gurage *za* ‘that, that one, that one here’, *zə* ‘this’; Harari *zi* ‘he, who, that’, *-zo* ‘the’. D. Cohen 1970— :324; Klein 1987:194; Leslau 1979:701 and 1987:629—630; Zammit 2002:181. Perhaps also New Egyptian (adv.) *dy* ‘here, over here; there, over there’ (if from **dʷy*); Coptic *tai* [ⲧⲁⲓ] ‘here, in this place’, *tē* [ⲧⲏ] ‘there, in that place’. Hannig 1995:970; Faulkner 1962:309; Erman—Grapow 1921:211 and 1926—1963.5:420; Vycichl 1983:208 and 212; Černý 1976:177 and 178. Ehret 1995:260, no. 470, **ji* or **dzi* ‘one, someone, somebody’ (indefinite pronoun).
- B. Proto-Uralic **ʋe*/**ʋi* ‘this one, that one’: Finnish *se/si-* ‘this, that, it’; Mordvin *še* ‘this, that one’; Cheremis / Mari *sede* ‘this one, that one’; Ostyak / Xanty (N.) *śī, śīt* ‘this, that one’, (S.) *tʲi* ‘this one’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *sete* ‘he’, *seti* ‘both of them’, *setej* ‘they’; Kamassian *šōō* ‘that one here’. Collinder 1955:56 and 1977:73; Rédei 1986—1988:33—34 **će* ~ **ci*; Décsy 1990:109 **tje* ‘that’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:325, no. 146.

265. Proto-Nostratic root *dʷiʔ- (~ *dʷeʔ-):

- (vb.) **dʷiʔ-* ‘to reach, to arrive at, to come to; to surpass, to exceed’;
 (n.) **dʷiʔ-a* ‘arrival, attainment, ripening’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *dʷi* ‘to cross over, to ferry across water’, *dʷ-t* ‘ship’. Hannig 1995:992; Faulkner 1962:318; Gardiner 1957:603; Erman—Grapow 1921:218 and 1926—1963.5:512—513. West Chadic: Angas *jī* ‘to come’; Sura *ji* ‘to come’. Foulkes 1915:201; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:82. Takács 2011a:126 and 161 **ǰ-ʔ* ‘to go’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **ǰg-* ‘to exceed, to overcome, to be better than’: Georgian [ǰ-] ‘to exceed, to overcome, to be better than’; Mingrelian [(*r*)ǰg-] ‘to exceed, to overcome, to be better than’; Laz [(*r*)ǰg-] ‘to exceed, to overcome, to be better than’. As noted by Klimov (1998:342), the unbound form of the stem is not attested. In Old Georgian, the stem is extended by *-ob-*: *u-m-ǰ-ob-es-* ‘better’. In Laz, it is extended by *-in-*: Laz *o-rǰg-in-u* ‘good’, *u-ǰg-in* ‘better’. Mingrelian *ǰg-ir-/ǰg-ər-* ‘good’, *rǰg-in-/rǰg-in-ap-/ǰg-un-* ‘to be better’. Klimov 1964:268 **ǰ-* and 1998:342 **ǰ-* ‘to exceed,

to overcome'; Fähnrich 2007:712—713 *ž-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:571 *ž-.

- C. Proto-Altaic *ži- (~ *žja-) 'to reach, to arrive at, to come to; to strive': Proto-Tungus *ži- (~ *di-) 'to come' > Manchu ži- 'to come', (imperfect participle) židere 'coming, future, next'; Ulch diwu 'to come'; Nanay / Gold ži- 'to come'. Proto-Mongolian *žid-kü- 'to strive' > Mongolian židkü- 'to endeavor, to strive, to exert oneself; to pull', židküül 'endeavor, effort, zeal, fervor, ardor', židküümži 'endeavor, effort, assiduity, application'; Khalkha žütge- 'to strive'; Kalmyk zütə- 'to strive'; Ordos žüdxü- 'to strive'. Proto-Turkic *yēt- 'to reach' > Old Turkic yet- 'to reach'; Karakhanide Turkic yet- 'to reach'; Turkish yet- 'to suffice, to reach, to attain', yet-iş- 'to reach, to attain, to suffice; to attain maturity, to grow up; to be brought up; to be ready or on hand in time', yet-er 'sufficient, enough!', yet-iş-kin 'arrived at full growth, ripe, perfected', yet-iş-mis 'arrived, reached maturity, grown up'; Gagauz yet- 'to reach'; Azerbaijani yet-iş- 'to reach'; Turkmenian yet- 'to reach'; Uzbek yet- 'to reach'; Uighur yät- 'to reach'; Tatar žit- 'to reach'; Bashkir yet- 'to reach'; Kirghiz žet- 'to reach'; Kazakh žet- 'to reach'; Noghay yet- 'to reach'; Chuvash šit- 'to reach'; Yakut sit- 'to reach'; Dolgan hit- 'to reach'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1536 *ži (~ *žja) 'to come'.

Sumerian (reduplicated) di-di 'to come, to arrive, to approach'. S. Parpola 2016:64, no. 446, dé-, di- 'to come, to arrive; to give birth, to carry a child, to beget'.

Buck 1949:10.48 come; 10.54 overtake; 10.55 arrive (intr.) and arrive at, reach (tr.).

266. Proto-Nostratic root *dʷipʰ- (~ *dʷepʰ-):

- (vb.) *dʷipʰ- 'to stink, to give off a strong odor';
(n.) *dʷipʰ-a 'pungent smell, stench'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *dʷ[i]p- '(vb.) to stink, to give off a strong odor; (n.) pungent smell, stench': Proto-Semitic *dʷap-ar- '(vb.) to stink, to give off a strong odor; (n.) pungent smell, stench' > Arabic *dafar* 'pungent smell, stench', *dafira* 'to smell strongly or badly'; Sabaeen *dfr*? 'ill-smelling plants'; Ḥarsūsi *defir* 'plant used to prepare medicine for stomach-ache and headache'; Syriac *zəḫar* 'to smell bad'. D. Cohen 1970— :339.
- B. Dravidian: Kannada *cippa-kasuvu* 'the fragrant grass *Andropogon schoenanthus*'; Telugu *cippa-kasavu*, *cippa-gaḍḍi* 'the fragrant grass *Andropogon schoenanthus*'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:221, no. 2533.
- C. Proto-Altaic *žipʰo 'strong odor, pungent smell': Proto-Mongolian *žiyar 'strong perfume, musk' > Written Mongolian *žiyar*, *žayar* 'strong perfume, musk'; Khalkha *žār* 'strong perfume, musk'; Buriat *zār* 'strong perfume,

musk'; Kalmyk *zār* 'strong perfume, musk'; Ordos *žār* 'strong perfume, musk'; Shira-Yughur *žārə* 'strong perfume, musk'; Dagur *žār* 'strong perfume, musk'. Mongolian loans in: Manchu *žarin* 'musk'; Solon *žār* 'musk'. Proto-Turkic **yīpar* 'smell, perfume, musk' > Old Turkic *yīpar* 'smell, perfume, musk'; Karakhanide Turkic *yīpar* 'smell, perfume, musk'; Turkish (dial.) *yīpar* 'smell, perfume, musk'; Tatar *yīfar*, *žufar* 'smell, perfume, musk'; Bashkir *yofar* 'smell, perfume, musk'; Kirghiz *žīpar* 'smell, perfume, musk'; Kazakh *župar* 'smell, perfume, musk'; Yakut *sībar* 'smell, perfume, musk'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1537 *žip'o* 'perfume, fumes'; Poppe 1960:47, 80, and 123; Street 1974:14 **jīpar* 'musk'.

Buck 1949:15.21—15.24 smell; 15.26 bad smelling, stinking.

22.10. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *tʰ

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
tʰ-	tʰ-	c-	čk-	tʰ-	tʰ-	čʰ-	c-
-tʰ-	-tʰ-	-c(c)-/ -y-	-čk-	-tʰ-	-tʰ-	-čʰ-	-c(c)-

267. Proto-Nostratic deictic stem *tʰa- ‘that over there, that yonder (not very far)’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *tʰa- ‘that over there, that yonder (not very far)’: Proto-Semitic *tʰa-m- ‘that over there, that yonder (not very far)’ > Arabic *tamma* ‘there, yonder’, *tumma* ‘then, thereupon; furthermore, moreover; and again, and once more’, *tammata* ‘there, there is’; Sabaeen *tmm* ‘there’; Hebrew *šām* [שָׁם] ‘there, thither’; Imperial Aramaic *tmh* ‘there’; Biblical Aramaic *tammā* ‘there’; Phoenician *šm* ‘there’; Ugaritic *tm* ‘there’. Klein 1987:664; Zammit 2002:112—113. Chadic: Hausa *cān* (adv.) ‘yonder, over there (distant but visible)’; *cān* (demonstrative pronoun — becomes *cān* if preceded by a word with final high tone) ‘that, those’.
- B. Proto-Altaic *čʰa- ‘that over there, that yonder (not very far)’: Proto-Tungus *čā- ‘that, further (not very far)’ > Manchu *ča-* ‘over there (not very far)’: *čala* ‘over there, on the other side; previously, before’, *čargi* ‘there, over there, that side, beyond; formerly’, *časi* ‘in that direction, thither, there’; Evenki *čā-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Lamut / Even *čā-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Negidal *čā-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Ulch *ča-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Orok *čō-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Nanay / Gold *ča-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Oroch *čā-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Udihe *ča-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Solon *sā-* ‘that, further (not very far)’. Proto-Mongolian *ča- ‘that, beyond’ > Mongolian *ča-* in: *čadu*, *čayadu* ‘situated on the other or opposite side; beyond’, *čayaduki* ‘lying opposite, situated on the other side; situated beyond’, *čayayur* ‘along or on the other side; farther, beyond’, *čayan-a*, *čiyān-a* ‘farther, beyond, behind, yonder’, *čayanaḡan* ‘a little further or beyond’; Khalkha *cāna* ‘that, beyond’; Buriat *sā-* ‘that, beyond’; Kalmyk *cā-* ‘that, beyond’; Ordos *čāna* ‘that, beyond’; Dagur *čā-š* ‘that, beyond’, *čāši* ‘thither’; Monguor *čagšə*, *tagšə* ‘that, beyond’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:406 *č’a ‘that, beyond (not very far)’; Poppe 1960:26 and 139; Street 1974:10 *čagā ‘there, further away’.
- C. Proto-Eskimo demonstrative stem *cam- ‘down below, down-slope (not visible)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *camna*; Central Alaskan Yupik *camna*; Naukan Siberian Yupik *samna*; Central Siberian Yupik *saamna*; Sirenik *samna*; Seward Peninsula Inuit *samna*; North Alaskan Inuit *samna*; Western Canadian Inuit *hamna*; Eastern Canadian Inuit *sanna*; Greenlandic

Inuit *sanna*. Note: all of the preceding forms are cited in the absolutive singular. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:458.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 374, *ča demonstrative pronoun stem of distant deixis.

268. Proto-Nostratic root *tʰal- (~*tʰəl-):

(vb.) *tʰal- ‘to strike with a sharp instrument’;

(n.) *tʰal-a ‘strike, blow; sharp instrument’

Derivative:

(n.) *tʰal-m-a ‘breach, opening, gap; crack, fissure, rift; hole’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *tʰal- ‘to strike with a sharp instrument’: *tʰal-al- ‘to destroy’ > Arabic *talla* ‘to tear down, to destroy, to overthrow, to subvert’, *talal* ‘destruction’, (reduplicated) *tultul* ‘destruction’; Sabaeen *lll* ‘to plunder, to take as booty’; Hebrew *šālal* [לָשַׁל] ‘to spoil, to plunder’, *šālāl* [לָשַׁל] ‘prey, spoil, plunder, booty’; Akkadian *šālālu* ‘to take people into captivity, to take (goods, animals, gods, etc.) as booty; to plunder, to despoil, to loot (cities, regions, etc.)’, *šallu* ‘snatched away, deported, plundered’, *šālilu* ‘plunderer, looter’. Murtonen 1989:423; Klein 1987: 662. Proto-Semitic *tʰal-aš- ‘to break a person’s head’ > Arabic *talaʿa* ‘to break a person’s head’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *alai* ‘to beat, to slap’; Gondi *hal-*, *halāsnā* ‘to beat’, *halsnā* ‘to beat’, *halhi-halha ā-* ‘to exchange blows’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2374. Tuḷu *selè* ‘chink, crack, flaw (as in a stone)’; Telugu *selagu*, *selayu*, *selāgu*, *celagu*, *celavu* ‘to cut’, *sela* ‘hole’; Kurux *calxnā* ‘to open, to uncover’, *calxrnā* (intr.) ‘to open’; Brahui *caling*, *calēnging* ‘to become cracked, split’; Malto *calge* ‘to break or split open’, *calgro* ‘torn asunder’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2377.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian *čkalk- ‘sharp instrument’ > ‘fishing device’: Georgian *čalk-i* ‘fishing device’; Mingrelian *čolk-i* (< *čkol- through dissimilation) ‘fishing device’. Fähnrich 2007:538 *čalk-.
- D. Proto-Altaic *čhalu ‘(vb.) to cut, to cut off, to cut down; (n.) sharp instrument’: Proto-Tungus *čal- ‘(vb.) to cut off; to cut into, to engrave; (n.) arrow head’ > Evenki *čalī* ‘arrow head’; Negidal *čōlī-* ‘to cut off’; Manchu *čoli-* ‘to engrave, to carve’; Ulch *čālu-* ‘to cut off; to cut into, to engrave’, *čaylī*, *čajlqa* ‘bed in cross-bow’; Nanay / Gold *čālī-* ‘to cut off; to cut into, to engrave’; Oroch *čali* ‘bed in cross-bow’. Proto-Mongolian *čali ‘sharp; crowbar’ > Written Mongolian *čali* ‘sharp’, *čalir*, *čaril* ‘iron bar for demolishing rocks, breaking ice, etc.; crowbar, wrecking bar’; Khalkha *čalir*, *čaril* ‘iron bar, crowbar’; Buriat *salī-* ‘to be sharp’; Kalmyk *calā*, *cālā* ‘sharp’, *calr*, *cāl* ‘crowbar’; Ordos *čalir* ‘crowbar’. Proto-Turkic *čal- ‘to whet, to sharpen; to cut, to pierce; to hit, to knock (down)’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *čal-* ‘to hit, to knock (down)’; Karakhanide Turkic *čal-* ‘to hit, to knock (down)’; Turkish *çal-* ‘to give a blow to, to

knock (on a door), to strike (the hour), to ring (a bell), to play (a musical instrument), *çalim* ‘strike, blow, swagger’, *çalğı* ‘musical instrument’; Gagauz *çalim* ‘blade’; Azerbaijani *çal-* ‘to hit, to knock (down); to sting, to pierce; to sweep’, *çalı* ‘a kind of broom’; Turkmenian *çal-* ‘to whet, to sharpen; to sweep; to sting, to pierce’, *çalgi* ‘scythe, whetstone’; Uzbek *çal-* ‘to hit, to knock (down)’, *çalı urçq* ‘scythe’; Uighur *çal-* ‘to hit, to knock (down)’, *çalğa* ‘scythe’; Karaim *cal-* ‘to hit, to knock (down); to mow’, *calqı, calı* ‘scythe’; Tatar *çal-* ‘to hit, to knock (down)’, *çalı* ‘scythe’; Bashkir *salı-* ‘to slaughter’; Kirghiz *çal-* ‘to hit, to knock (down); to slaughter’, *çalı* ‘scythe’; *çalын* ‘mowing, hay time’; Kazakh *şal-* ‘to trip’, *şaly* ‘scythe’, *şалын* ‘mowing, hay time’; Noghay *şal-* ‘to hit, to knock (down); to slaughter; to mow’, *şaly* ‘scythe’; Sary-Uighur *çal(i)-* ‘to chop’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *çalı* ‘scythe’; Tuva *şalı-* ‘to whet, to sharpen’; Chuvash *şol-* ‘to mow’, *şолăк* ‘a kind of broom’; Yakut *sälin-* ‘to fall abruptly’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:413—414 **ç’alu* ‘to sharpen, to cut’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak speculate that two separate roots may have to be reconstructed here for Proto-Turkic: (1) **čāl-* ‘to knock down’ and (2) **čal-* ‘to whet, to sharpen’.

- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **đalqə-* ‘to get worn down or notched’ > Chukchi *rəlqə-* ‘to get worn down (teeth)’; Alyutor *təlq* ‘notch, indentation’. Fortescue 2005:69.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.22 cut; 9.26 break (vb. trans.); 9.27 split (vb. trans.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 387, **čalV* ‘to beat, to knock down, to fell’.

269. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔʰal-* (~ **ʔʰəl-*):

Extended form:

(n.) **ʔʰal-m-a* ‘breach, opening, gap; crack, fissure, rift; hole’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **ʔʰal-* ‘to strike with a sharp instrument’;

(n.) **ʔʰal-a* ‘strike, blow; sharp instrument’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʔʰal-am-* ‘to blunt, to make jagged, to break the edge of; to make a breach, gap, or opening (in a wall)’ > Arabic *talama* ‘to blunt, to make jagged, to break the edge of; to make a breach, gap, or opening (in a wall); to defile, to sully’, *talm* ‘nick, notch; breach, opening, gap; crack, fissure, rift’, *tālim* ‘dull, blunt’, *mutatallim* ‘blunted, blunt; cracking (voice)’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *calame, calime, calume, calme, cilume* ‘an orifice, a bore, small pit, hole dug in the dried bed of a river or a dried-up tank, spring of water or a fountain head’; Tuḷu *cilimbi, cilimè, cilmè* ‘a small tank’; Telugu *celama* ‘hole or pit dug for water in the dry bed of a river or rivulet, etc.’; Kuwi *salma* ‘well’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2367.

Buck 1949:12.85 hole. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 391a, *čAlVmV ‘orifice, pit’, or ‘breach’.

270. Proto-Nostratic root *tʰar- (~*tʰər-):

(vb.) *tʰar- ‘to advance to or toward an end or a goal; to attain or achieve an end or a goal, to reach, to come to, to arrive at’;

(n.) *tʰar-a ‘advance, arrival, goal, attainment, end, aim; approach’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *tʰar- ‘to advance to or toward, to reach, to come to, to arrive at’: Proto-Semitic *ʔa-tʰar- ‘(vb.) to advance to or toward, to reach, to come to, to arrive at; (n.) trace, vestige’ > Hebrew ʔāšar [אָשַׁר] ‘to go straight on, to advance, to go on, to lead’; Ugaritic ʔtr ‘to march’, ʔtr ‘place’, ʔtryt ‘future, destiny’; Arabic ʔatr ‘track, trace, vestige; sign, mark; impression, effect, action, influence’, ʔitr ‘trace’; Sabaeen ʔr ‘after’; Akkadian ašaru, ašru ‘place, site, location, emplacement’ (semantic development as in Sanskrit āśā ‘space, region, quarter of heaven’ [cf. Avestan asah- ‘place, space’] < aś-nó-ti ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to get, to obtain; to master, to become master of’); Geez / Ethiopic ʔasar [አሰር], ʔašar [አሠር] ‘path, trace, track, sole of foot, footprint, sign, mark’; Amharic asār ‘footprint’; Tigre ʔasar ‘trace’; Tigrinya ʔasār ‘trace’. Klein 1987:59; D. Cohen 1970— :37; Murtonen 1989:103; Zammit 2002:68. Diakonoff 1992:82 *ʔačr ‘place’. Berber: Tuareg əsrəd ‘to trace, to mark, to draw a line; to be traced’, təsərrit ‘line, stripe; gutter’; Ghadames əsrəd ‘to draw a line’, təsarət ‘furrow’; Mزاب ssərtətt ‘to align, to arrange; to be aligned’, tīsərdt ‘line, trace’; Wargla əsrəd ‘to align; to be aligned’, tinsərdt ‘ruler, straightedge’; Kabyle asrid ‘stripe’.
- B. Proto-Dravidian *cār- ‘to reach, to approach, to go or come near to’: Tamil cār ‘to reach, to approach, to depend upon, to take shelter in, to be near to, to be associated or connected with, to unite, to be related to, to resemble, to lean on, to recline against’, cārvu ‘place, residence, pial, refuge, basis, help, support, means, attachment, vicinity, partiality’, cārvu ‘place, side, help, support, refuge, shelter, attachment, birth, bias, partiality, friendship, approximation, nearness’, cārntōr ‘relatives, friends’, cārttu (cārtti-) ‘to cause to lean, to support, to join, to unite, to connect’, cārcci ‘leaning, uniting, connection, approach, support’, cārppu ‘sloping roof’, cāral ‘drawing near, side, slope of a mountain’, cāri ‘side, wing, row, series’; Malayalam cāruka ‘to lean against, to rely upon, to be attached to, to be shut, to place against, to put on’, cāra ‘bending sideways, nigh, close’, cāral ‘leaning against, inclination, side, declivity of a hill, support’, cārikka ‘to lay against in order to support, to shut the door’, cārnavar ‘kinsman’, cārcca ‘relation by blood’, cārttu ‘joining, assemblage’, cārttuka ‘to join (as wood), to put on (a dress), to adorn, to throw on’, cārttikka ‘to adorn (as an image with flowers)’; Kota ca-ry ‘near’; Kannaḍa sār ‘to come or go near to, to approach, to be or become near, to join, to

associate oneself to, to come to hand, to be obtained, to come about, to come or go, to be applied or used', *sāraṇ* 'nearness, proximity', *sārke* 'approach, nearness, proximity', *sārcu* 'to make oneself come or go near or near to, to go near, to approach; to make go or come near or near to, to apply, to put to, to put on, to put in'; Telugu *tāru* 'to move about, to wander, to stroll; to approach, to go near', *tār(u)cu* 'to bring together, to join, to procure (as procurer)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:215, no. 2460; Krishnamurti 2003:527 **cār*-/**cēr*- 'to go reach'.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **th_{er}(h_h)-*/**th_{or}(h_h)-*/**th_y(h_h)-*, **th_{re}h_h-* [**th_{ra}h_h-*]/ **th_{ro}h_h-* > **th_{rā}-*/**th_{rō}-* 'to advance to or toward an end or a goal, to pass across or over, to pass through; to achieve an end or a goal, to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to overcome, to overtake; to master, to become master of, to control': Sanskrit *tārati* 'to pass across or over, to cross over (a river); to get through, to attain an end or aim; to surpass, to overcome, to subdue, to escape; to acquire, to gain; to contend, to compete; to carry through or over', (causative) *tārayati* 'to carry or lead over or across, to cause to arrive at', *tūrvati* 'to overpower, to excel', *trāyāte* 'to protect, to defend', *tirāḥ* 'through, across, beyond, over'; Latin *intrō* 'to go into, to enter', *trāns* 'over, across'; Hittite (3 sg. pres.) *tar-aḥ-zi* 'to be powerful, to be able, to control, to conquer'. Rix 1998a:575—577 **terh₂-* 'to pass through, to cross over, to traverse'; Pokorny 1959:1074—1075 **ter-*, **terə-*, **t_y-*, **trā-*, **teru-* 'to cross over'; Walde 1927—1932.I:732—734 **ter-*; Mann 1984—1987:1386—1387 **terp-* (**terpō*) 'to put through, to pass through; penetrating, passage, penetration', 1414 **tor-*, 1420 **trājō* 'to go through, to pass, to persist, to last', 1420—1421 **trāt-* 'to cross, to pass', 1442—1443 **t_y-* (**t_y-*, **tər-*, **trə-*) 'through, across'; Watkins 1985:70 **terə-* and 2000:91 **terə-* 'to cross over, to pass through, to overcome' (oldest form **ter₂-*, with variant [metathesized] form **tre₂-*, colored to **tra₂-*, contracted to **trā-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:205 **t_herH-*/**t_hyH-* and 1995.I:176 **th_{er}H-*/**th_yH-* 'to cross, to penetrate; to defeat, to conquer, to overcome'; Mallory—Adams 1997:229 **terh₂-* 'to bring across, to overcome'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:480, I:503, and I:520; Ernout—Meillet 1979:699—700 **ter-*, **terə-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:700 **ter-*; De Vaan 2008:627; Kloekhorst 2008b:835—839 **terh₂-u-ti*, **trh₂-u-enti*.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ḍərat-* 'to extend' > Chukchi *rə-rərat-at-* 'to spread out (tr.)', *rəratetə wa-lʔən* 'flat, extensive'; Kerek *in-nijaat-* 'to spread'; Koryak *jəjat-* 'to spread out'; Alyutor *trat-* 'to spread out'. Fortescue 2005:74.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 10.54 overtake; 10.55 arrive (intr.) and arrive at, reach (tr.); 10.56 approach (vb.); 12.11 place (sb.); 12.43 near (adv.); 20.41 victory. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:328—329, no. 149.

271. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *tʰarʷ-a ‘bull, bullock, ox’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *tʰar- ‘bull, bullock, ox’: Proto-Semitic *tʰa/w/r- ‘bull, ox, bullock’ > Akkadian *šūru* ‘bull’; Ugaritic *ṭr* ‘bull’; Hebrew *šōr* [רֶשֶׁת] ‘ox, bull’; Palmyrene *twr* ‘bull, ox’; Syriac *tawrā* ‘bull, ox’; Mandaic *taura* ‘bull, ox’; Arabic *tawr* ‘bull, steer, ox’; Sabaeen *twr*, *ṭr* ‘bull; bull-statuettes’; Mehri *tawr* ‘bull’; Harsūsi *tawer* ‘bull’; Geez / Ethiopic *sor* [ሶር], *śor* [ሶር] ‘ox, bull’; Tigre *sor* ‘ox’. Klein 1987:647; Murtonen 1989:416; Militarev—Kogan 2005.II:307—310, no. 241, Proto-Semitic **tawr*- ~ **čawr*- ‘bull, ox’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:112, no. 477, **čawVr*-/**čur*- ‘bull’. (?) Egyptian *tjy* (if from **ṭr*) ‘bull-calf’. Faulkner 1962:303; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:345; Hannig 1995:943—944. Notes: (1) The possible non-Semitic cognates discussed by Militarev—Kogan (2005.II:307—310, no. 241) are too semantically remote (‘rhinoceros, antelope, kudu, elephant, etc.’) to be given serious consideration. (2) In my opinion, the Semitic proto-form contains a */w/ “triconsonantizer” (on which, see Militarev 2005), as also suggested by Orël—Stolbova (but with a different Egyptian cognate) — “Eg may represent the original form of the HS root while Sem reflects a secondary extension in *-w-.”
- B. Proto-Dravidian **car*- ‘bull, bullock, ox’: Gadba *sarit* ‘bullock’; Koṇḍa (Pūlgurā dial.) *sara* ‘bull’; Kui *sraṅnu* in *sraṅnu kōḍi* ‘bullock’ (*kōḍi* ‘cow, ox’). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:211, no. 2402.
- C. Altaic: Mongolian: Kalmyk *tsar* ‘ox’; Khalkha *šar* ‘ox’; Buriat *sar* ‘ox’. Turkic: Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *čar* ‘ox, work-ox’. Räsänen 1969:100; Sanžeev—Orlovskaya—Ševernina 2015—2018.I:134 and III:141; Radloff 1893—1911.III:1859; Ramstedt 1935:422.

Comment: Proto-Indo-European **thawro-s* ‘aurochs, bull’ (traditional **tauro-s*, **təuro-s*, or similar [cf. Pokorny 1959:1083; Walde 1927—1932. I:711; Mallory—Adams 1997:135; Mann 1984—1987:1369—1370]) is not related to any of the above forms. It is best seen as a loan from Semitic.

Buck 1949:3.21 bull; 3.22 ox; 3.24 calf. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 409, **č[a]w[ú][ry]V* ‘bull, calf’.

272. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *tʰin-a ‘the other or opposite side’; (adj.) ‘different, other’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **vin*- ‘two’: Proto-Semitic **vin-ay* ‘two’ > Akkadian (dual) *šinā*, *šenā* ‘two’; Arabic *ʔiṭnāni* ‘two’; Sabaeen *ṭny* ‘two’; Qatabanic *ṭnw* ‘two’; Ugaritic *ṭny* ‘two’; Hebrew *šənayim* [שְׁנַיִם] ‘two’; Phoenician *šnm*, *ʔšnm* ‘two’, *šny* ‘second’; Punic *šnm* ‘two’; Imperial Aramaic *tnyn* ‘second’; Aramaic *trēn* ‘two’; Syriac *tərēn* (< **tənēn*) ‘two’; Neo-Aramaic (Mandaic) *tre(n)* ‘two’; Harsūsi *ṭerō* ‘two’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ṭroh* ‘two’;

Mehri *tərō*, *troh* ‘two’; Soqotri *trə* ‘two’. Brockelmann 1908.I:484—485; Lipiński 1997:284—285, §35.4; Moscati 1964:116, §§14.1—14.2; Bauer—Leander 1918—1922:622 (gen.-acc.) **bináj*; Gray 1934:68—70, §259, **binaj*; Klein 1987:670; Tomback 1978:327; Zammit 2002:113. (?) Egyptian *snw* (f. *snty*) ‘two’, *snnw* ‘second’; Coptic *snaw* [CNAΥ] (f. *snte* [CNTϵ]) ‘two’. Hannig 1995:713—714; Faulkner 1962:230; Erman—Grapow 1921:162 and 1926—1963.4:148—150; Gardiner 1957:590; Černý 1976:156; Vycichl 1983:192—193. Note: The Egyptian and Coptic forms may be borrowings from Semitic. The expected Egyptian form would be **tn-*, which may be preserved in *tni* ‘to distinguish, to make a distinction between, to give preference to (another), to be different from’, *tn* ‘difference’, *tnw* ‘distinction’. Hannig 1995:956; Faulkner 1962:305; Gardiner 1957:601; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:374—375 and 5:376. Berber: Tuareg *assīn* (f. *sənāt*) ‘two’; Siwa *sən* (f. *snət*) ‘two’; Nefusa (f. *snət*) *sən* ‘two’; Ghadames *sin* (f. *sənət*) ‘two’; Wargla *sən* (f. *sənt*) ‘two’; Mzab *sən* (f. *sənt*) ‘two’; Tamazight *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Riff *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Kabyle *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Chaouia *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Zenaga *cinan* (f. *ciwat*) ‘two’. Ehret 1995:273, no. 503, **tsan-* or **can-* ‘two’ and 274, no. 505, **tsir(n)-* or **cir(n)-* ‘two’ (“vowel reconstruction uncertain; PAA *u, *ee, or *oo are also possible here; contrary to earlier views, this is surely a distinct root from #503”); Diakonoff 1988:67 **čVn-* ‘two’ (Semitic **čīn-* > **tjn-*).

- B. Kartvelian: Svan (Upper Bal) *išgen* (< **i-čken*) ‘other, different’.
- C. Altaic: Proto-Mongolian **čina* (noun/adjective, adverb, and postposition) ‘the other or opposite side; beyond, further, on the other side’ > Written Mongolian *činadu* (noun/adjective, adverb, and postposition) ‘the other or opposite (side); adversary, opponent; in that direction, beyond, behind, on the other side’, *činaduda* (adv.) ‘on the other side, beyond; in the future’, *čīnaysi* (adv.) ‘away from; farther, beyond; from a certain time on, in the future’; Ordos *č’ās* ‘on the other side’; Monguor *čīagsə* ‘on the other side, further’.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 396, **čīnV* ‘other’.

273. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰhiqʷ-* (~ **tʰheqʷ-*):

- (vb.) **tʰhiqʷ-* ‘to swell’;
 (n.) **tʰhiqʷ-a* ‘swelling, growth’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **čkiqʷ-* ‘goiter’: Georgian *čiqʷ-* ‘goiter’; Mingrelian *čiqʷ-*, *čiqʷvaqʷ-* ‘goiter’; Svan *qʷwiqʷ-*, *qʷuqʷ-*, *qʷwič-* ‘goiter’. Klimov 1964:220 **čiqʷ-* and 1998:257 **čiqʷ-* ‘goiter’. Different etymology in Fähnrich 2007:523 [**čūqʷ-*].
- B. Proto-Uralic **tʰiklā* ‘swelling, outgrowth (on the skin), pustule’: Finnish *syylä* ‘wart’ (dial. *syplä*); Lapp / Saami *čiw’hle* ‘blotch’; Mordvin *čil’ge*,

sil'gä ‘wart, blotch’; Cheremis / Mari *šəgəl'* ‘wart’; Hungarian *süly* ‘fester, ulceration, tumor, outgrowth (in the form of a fig), scurvy’; Selkup Samoyed *seela* ‘wart’. Collinder 1955:117 and 1977:130; Rédei 1986—1988:36—37 **čiklä* (**čüklä*), **čikl'ä* (**čükl'ä*); Décsy 1990:108 **tjiklä* ‘wart’; Aikio 2020:152 **čVklä* ‘wart’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:329, no. 150.

274. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **tʰom-a* ‘wild bovine’:

- A. Dravidian: Pengo *homa* ‘bison’; Manḍa *hama* ‘bison’; Kui *soma* ‘a wild buffalo’ (= ‘bison’); Kuwi *homma* ‘bison’, *hōma* ‘sambar’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:247, no. 2849.
 B. Kartvelian: Georgian (Imeruli) *čoma* ‘cattle’.

Buck 1949:3.20 cattle. Dolgopolsky 1998:43, no. 40, **čoma* ‘aurochs, wild bovine’ and 2008, no. 394, **čoma* ‘wild bovine’.

275. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰum-* (~ **tʰom-*):

- (vb.) **tʰum-* ‘to strike, to beat, to pound, to knock; to tire out, to weary; to be or become weak or weary, to fade, to waste away’;
 (n.) **tʰum-a* ‘fatigue, weariness, dullness, stupor’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **tʰum-* ‘to strike, to beat, to pound, to knock; to tire out, to weary; to be or become weak or weary, to fade, to waste away’: Proto-Semitic **tʰam-am-* ‘to lay waste; to waste away; to be devastated, stunned, stupefied, dazed’ > Arabic *tamma* (inf. *ʔintimām*) ‘to fall from all sides upon, to melt and blend, to waste away, to grow old and weak’; Hebrew *šāmam* [שָׁמַם] ‘to be desolated, deserted, waste, solitary, depopulated; to be stupefied, stunned, astonished, appalled, alarmed, shocked’; Biblical Aramaic *šəmam* ‘to be dazed’; Geez / Ethiopic *samama* [ሰመመ] ‘to be silly’; Tigrinya *sämäm bälä* ‘to have the eyes closed (which indicates daze or stupor)’; Amharic *sämmämä* ‘to be in a daze or stupor, to be half-awake’. Murtonen 1989:427; Klein 1987:666; Leslau 1987:502. Proto-Semitic **wa-tʰam-* ‘to lay waste, to devastate; to be devastated, desolate, wasted’ > Arabic *waṭama* ‘to break, to pound, to grind, to crush’, *waṭima* ‘to produce little grass or food’; Sabaeen *wṭm* ‘open country’; Hebrew *yāšam* [יָשַׁם] ‘to be desolate’, *yəšīmōn* [יְשִׁימוֹן] ‘waste, wilderness, desolation, wasteland’; Old Aramaic (abs. sg.) *yšmn* ‘desert’. Murtonen 1989:223; Klein 1987:266. Arabic *tamila* ‘to be or become drunk’, *tamal* ‘drunkenness’. Egyptian *tmsw* ‘injury, harm’. Faulkner 1962:305; Hannig 1995:954; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.I:370; Gardiner 1957:601. Proto-East Cushitic **tum-* ‘to strike, to forge’ > Burji *tum-áanoo* ‘to churn, to

- thresh, to hit'; Galla / Oromo *tum-* 'to forge'; Somali *tum-* 'hammer', *tumaal* 'blacksmith'. Sasse 1979:10, 24 and 1982:179.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cōmpu* (*cōmpi-*) 'to be idle, indolent, slothful, lethargic, apathetic, dull; to droop, to fade (as persons, plants); to be spoiled, marred', *cōmāru* (*cōmāri-*) 'to be lazy, to shirk'; Telugu *soma* 'swoon, fainting, faintness, torpidity', *sōma* 'fatigue'; Kannaḍa *jompu*, *jōmpu* 'inebriation, stupor, suspension of sensibility, paralysis', *jompisu*, *jōmpisu* 'to get intoxicated, bewildered, stupefied'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:249, no. 2882.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **čkum-* 'to calm down': Georgian *čum-* 'to calm down; to fall silent, quiet'; Svan *čkwim* 'quiet, calm'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:438 **čum-*; Fähnrich 2007:544 **čum-*; Klimov 1998:258 **čum-* 'to calm down'.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **tʰm-* (secondary full-grade forms: **tʰem-/tʰom-*) 'to strike, to hit, to beat, to stun, to stupefy; to be stunned, stupefied, faint, exhausted, dizzy': Sanskrit *tāmyati* 'to gasp for breath; to be faint, stunned, exhausted'; Prakrit *tammai* 'to be tired', *tamta-* 'distressed, weary'; Kumaunī *taūro* (< **tamara-*) 'giddiness, dizziness'; Kashmiri *tam* 'fatigue, asthma'; Marathi *tāv*, *tav*, *tavā* (< *tāmas-*) 'giddiness'; Latin *tēmulentus* 'drunken, intoxicated, tipsy', *tēmētum* 'any intoxicating drink'; New High German *dämlich* 'dull, silly, stupid' (Bavarian *damisch*, older *dämisch*), *Dämel*, *Däm(e)lack* 'blockhead, fathead, asshole', *Dämelei* '(tom)foolery'; Russian Church Slavic *tomiti* 'to torture, to torment, to harass, to tire'; Russian *tomít'* [ТОМИТЬ] 'to tire, to wear out; to torment, to torture', *tómnost'* [ТОМНОСТЬ] 'languor'. Rix 1998a:567 **temH-* 'to tire, to exhaust, to weary, to weaken, to wear down; to become faint, weak, exhausted'; Pokorny 1959:1063 **tem-* 'stunned'; Walde 1927—1932.I:720 **tem-*; Mann 1984—1987:1368 **tām-* 'to quieten, to expire; silence, expiry', 1377 **tem-* (**tēm-*) 'to tire, to harass, to exhaust'; Mallory—Adams 1997:549 **temh_x-* 'to be struck, to be exhausted'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:495; Ernout—Meillet 1979:679—680; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:657; De Vaan 2008:609 **tēmH-* 'intoxication'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:120; Kluge—Seebold 1989:126.

Sumerian *šum* 'to slaughter'.

Buck 1949:4.76 kill; 4.91 tired, weary; 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Brunner 1969:91, no. 499; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:326—327, no. 147. For the semantic developments in the various Nostratic daughter languages, cf. Greek κοπιάω 'to be tired, to grow weary' < κόπος 'toil, trouble, weariness, suffering', originally 'striking, beating' < κόπτω 'to strike, to beat, to smite, to slaughter, to cut off, to chop off, to hammer, to forge, to pound, to knock; (metaphorical) to tire out, to weary'.

22.11. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *t'y

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
t'y-	t'y-	c-	č'k'-	t'-	tʲ-	č-	c-
-t'y-	-t'y-	-c(c)-/ -y-	-č'k'-	-t'-	-tʲtʲ-	-č-	-c-

276. Proto-Nostratic root *t'yad- (~ *t'yəd-):

(vb.) *t'yad- 'to strike, to beat, to pound, to hammer';

(n.) *t'yad-a 'hammer'

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *caṭai* 'to flatten (as the head or point of a nail by repeated blows), to clinch, to rivet', *cāṭu* (*cāṭi-*) 'to beat, to trample, to gore, to kill, to destroy', *cāṭṭu* (*cāṭṭi-*) 'to beat, to strike', *cāṭṭam* 'beating'; Kannada *jaḍi* 'to beat, to pound, to crush, to beat into (as mud in a hole), to force in, to ram (as a cartridge), to drive in (as a nail)', (causative *jaḍisu*), *jaḍata*, *jaḍita* 'beating, ramming, forcing in (as a cartridge), driving in (as a nail)'; Tuḷu *jaḍipini*, *jaḍipuni*, *jaḍiyuni* 'to ram, to stuff, to load (as firearms)', *caḍāyisuni* 'to beat, to strike, to flog', *caḍi* 'whip, stripe'; Telugu *saḍincu* 'to pound, to beat', *saḍimpu* 'pounding, beating', *saḍimpulu* 'rice beaten and cleaned', *jaḍiyu* 'to beat, to hit'; Parji *caḍp-* (*caḍt-*) 'to strike, to beat, to hammer'; Kui *jaṛsa* 'a whip, scourge'; Malto *jaṛe* 'to shake down, to beat down (as fruits)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:203, no. 2300.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *č'k'ed- 'to hammer in, to nail': Georgian *č'ed-* 'to hammer in, to nail, to shoe', *č'de-* 'notch'; Mingrelian *č'k'ad-*, *č'k'and-* 'to nail, to shoe'; Laz *č'(k)ad-* 'to nail, to shoe'; Svan *šk'ād-*, *šk'id-* 'to forge, to hammer something', *mə-šk'id* 'smith'. Klimov 1964:254—255 *čed- and 1998:320 *čed- 'to hammer in, to nail'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:537—538 *čed-; Fähnrich 2007:666—667 *čed-; Schmidt 1962:157. Proto-Kartvelian *č'k'ed-il- 'wrought, forged': Georgian *č'edil-* 'wrought, forged'; Mingrelian *č'k'adir-* 'wrought, forged'; Laz *č'k'ader-* 'wrought, forged'. Klimov 1998:320 *čed-il-. Proto-Kartvelian *m-č'k'ed-el- 'smith, blacksmith': Georgian *mč'edel-* 'smith, blacksmith'; Mingrelian *č'k'adu-* 'smith, blacksmith'. Klimov 1998:133 *m-čed-el- 'smith, blacksmith'.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (beat, hit); 9.49 hammer (sb.); 9.60 smith; 9.61 forge (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:335—336, no. 158.

277. Proto-Nostratic root *t'yak^h- (~ *t'yəkh-):

(vb.) *t'yak^h- 'to cut into small pieces, to chop, to chip';

(n.) *t'yak^h-a 'chip, small piece'

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *cakkai* ‘chips, small wooden peg’; Kota *cek* ‘chip’; Kannada *cakke, cekke, sakke, sekke* ‘chip’; Tuḷu *cakke, cekkè, cekki* ‘chip, split, splinter’; Telugu *cekku* ‘to pare, to cut the side or rind of, to sharpen (pencil), to engrave, to carve’, *cekka* ‘piece, chip, slice’, *cakku-cēyu* ‘to chop, to cut to pieces, to mince’; Kolami *sek-* (*sekt-*) ‘to make pointed (piece of wood)’; Naikri *šekk-* ‘to chip, to scrape’; Naiki (of Chanda) *sek-* ‘to plow’; Parji *cekk-* ‘to chip, to scrape, to plane’, *cekka* ‘piece, slice, chip of wood’; Gondi *cekkānā* ‘to cut’, *cekka* ‘piece’; Konḍa *sek* ‘to plane, to fashion things out of wood’; Kuwi *sekali* ‘to scrape (with a hoe)’, *seka* ‘piece’; Kuṛux *aktā, aktī* ‘a slice’, *akta?ānā* ‘to cut in slices’, *ceglā* ‘chip, splinter’; Malto *caka* ‘a slice’, *cagje* ‘to chop up (as meat)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:239, no. 2748.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **t’akh-* ‘to cut or tear into shreds’: Gothic *tahjan* ‘to tear apart’; Old Icelandic *tág* ‘stringy root, fiber’; Norwegian (dial.) *tæja* ‘to fray (of a garment)’; Middle Low German *tagge* ‘edge, prong’; Middle High German *zāch, zāhe* ‘wick’ (New High German *Zacke, Zacken* ‘[sharp] point, peak, jag; spike, prong, tine [of a fork]; tooth [of a saw or comb]; notch, indentation’). Probably also Sanskrit *dásā* ‘fringe of a garment, wick’. Pokorny 1959:191 **dek-* (: **dok-*, **dēk-*) ‘to rip to pieces’; Walde 1927—1932.I:785 **dēk-*, **dāk-*; **dek-* (: **dok-*, **dēk-*); Mann 1984—1987:131 **dāk-* ‘to tear, to bite, to gnaw’, 131 **dāknos, -ā* (**dāk-*) ‘grip, bite; clamp, tongs’; Watkins 1985:11 **dek-* and 2000:15 **dek-* referring to such things as ‘fringe, lock of hair, horsetail’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:27; Orël 2003:398 Proto-Germanic **taǰǰaz*; Kroonen 2013:504 Proto-Germanic **tagla-* ‘hair’; Feist 1939:470—471 **dek-*; Lehmann 1986:338; De Vries 1977:580; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:349; Torp 1919:829; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:871; Kluge—Seebold 1989:804 (origin unclear).
- C. Eskimo-Aleut: Proto-Yupik-Sirenik **caki(tə)-* ‘to chop or cut into’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *cakitə-* ‘to hew, to carve’; Central Alaskan Yupik *caki-* ‘to cut out a small piece, to plane (wood)’, *cakitə-* ‘to chop, to cut into accidentally’, *caki(y)un* ‘chopping device’; Sirenik *saki(tə)-* ‘to chop, to dig with front paws (animal)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:65.

Buck 1949:28 tear (vb. tr.); 12.56 small, little; 12.62 narrow. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:336—337, no. 159; Bomhard 1996a:159—160, no. 159.

278. Proto-Nostratic root **t’yäl-* (~ **t’yəl-*) and/or **t’yil-* (~ **t’yel-*):

(vb.) **t’yäl-* and/or **t’yil-* ‘to overshadow, to cover over, to make dark’;

(n.) **t’yäl-a* and/or **t’yil-a* ‘shade, shadow; covering; darkness’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t’yäl-* ~ **t’yil-* ‘(vb.) to overshadow, to cover over, to make dark; (n.) shade, shadow; covering; darkness’: Proto-Semitic **t’yäl-* *al-* ‘to overshadow, to cover over’, **t’yill-* ‘shade, shadow’ > Hebrew *šālal*

[ḥḥ] ‘to be or grow dark’, *ṣēl* [ḥḥ] ‘shade, shadow’; Aramaic *ṭalal* ‘to overshadow’; Akkadian *ṣullulu* ‘to provide shade, to roof’, *ṣillu* ‘shade, shadow’; Arabic *zalla* ‘to shade, to overshadow, to screen, to shelter, to protect’, *zill* ‘shadow, shade; shelter, protection’, *zulla* ‘awning, marquee, canopy, sheltering hut or tent, shelter’; Ugaritic *ṭll* ‘shade’; Sabaeen *zll* ‘to roof over’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḍell* ‘to give shade’; Mehri *aḍlēl* ‘to make shade (by erecting a sunshade)’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṣallala*, *ṣalāla* [ṣḥḥ] ‘to shade, to make shade, to overshadow, to be shady, to darken, to conceal, to cover, to screen from view, to blind (an eye), to deafen, to protect’, *maṣallat* [ṣḥḥḥ] ‘sunshade, shady place, tent, booth, tabernacle’; Tigre (*ʔa*)*ṣlāla* ‘to give shade’, *ṣalal* ‘shadow, darkness’; Tigrinya *ʔaṣlālā* ‘to shelter oneself’, *ṣalal* ‘shade, shadow’; Amharic *ṭällälä* ‘to shade, to curtain off’, *ṭala* ‘shade, shadow’; Gafat *čälāya* ‘shade, shadow’; Argobba *ṭala* ‘shade, shadow’; Gurage (*aṭ*)*ṭillälä* ‘to curtain off’; Harari *čāya* ‘shade, shadow, luxury’ (Galla / Oromo loan). Murtonen 1989:359; Klein 1987:548; Leslau 1963:52, 1979:618, and 1987:555; Zammit 2002:276—277. Proto-Semitic *tʷal-am- ‘to be or become dark’ > Arabic *zalima* ‘to be or grow dark’, *zulma*, *zalām* ‘darkness, duskiness, gloom, murkiness’, *muḏlim* ‘dark, dusky, gloomy, tenebrous, murky’; Akkadian *ṣalāmu* ‘to become dark, to turn black’; Harsūsi *mēḍlem* ‘dark’; Šheri / Jibbāli *eḍlīm* ‘to become dark’; Mehri *həḍlāwm* ‘to go dark’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṣalma* [ṣḥḥ], *ṣalama* [ṣḥḥḥ] ‘to grow dark, to be darkened, to be black, to be enveloped in mist, to grow blind (eyes), to be obscured (face)’, *ṣalmata* [ṣḥḥḥḥ] ‘to be dark, to grow dark’ (denominative form *ṣalmat* [ṣḥḥḥḥ] ‘darkness, darkening, eclipse’); Tigre *ṣalma* ‘to be dark’, *čälma* ‘to be dark-colored’; Tigrinya *ṣällämä* ‘to be dark’; Amharic *čällämä* ‘to be dark’; Gurage *čällämä* ‘to be dark’, (Muher, Soddo) *čälläma* ‘darkness’, (Selti) *čilma* ‘darkness’; Gafat *ṣillämä* ‘to be dark’; Harari *čēläma* ‘to be dark’, *čilma* ‘darkness; dark’. Leslau 1963:51, 1979:180, and 1987:556; Zammit 2002:277. Cushitic: Bilin *čaläl-* ‘to give shade’, *čalälä* ‘shade’, *čaläm-* ‘to be dark’, *čalämä*, *čilmä* ‘darkness’; Galla / Oromo *č’āya* (with palatalization of the l) ‘shade, shadow’. (According to Leslau 1987:555 and 556, the preceding Cushitic forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic.) Appleyard 2006:52; Reinisch 1887:171. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *c’aal-*: *c’aal-šiiš-* ‘to throw a shadow’, *c’aale* ‘shade, shadow’. Hudson 1989:356. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *dūluma* ‘darkness’. Reinisch 1895:66. North Bauchi Chadic **dīm* ‘darkness’ > Siryanci *dən-dələmi* ‘darkness’; Miyanci *dən-dələm* ‘darkness’; Jimbinanci *dan-dilam* ‘darkness’. Skinner 1977:17. Central Chadic **čilVm-* ‘dark, black’ > Buduma *čilim* ‘dark’; Gulfey *selem* ‘black’. Omotic: Aari *č’elmi* ‘black’. Diakonoff 1992:19 **čVl* ‘dark’, 86 **čäll-* ‘shade, shadow’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:117—118, no. 503, **čal-/čil-* ‘shadow’ and 119, no. 511, **čilam-* ‘to be dark’; Ehret 1995:293, no. 555, **c’il-* ‘to darken, to become dark colored’, and 293, no. 556, **c’ilm-/c’alm-* ‘black’.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **t'el-/t'ol-* ‘to cover over, to stretch over’: Old Icelandic *tjald* ‘tent’, *tjalda* ‘to pitch a tent’; Swedish *tjäll* ‘tent’; Norwegian *tjeld* ‘tent’; Old English *be-telden* ‘to cover’, *(ge)teld* ‘tent’, *teldian* ‘to spread (tent)’, *teldsele*, *tyldsyle* ‘tent’, *teldsticca* ‘tent-peg’, *teldwyrhta* ‘tent maker’; Middle Low German *telt* ‘tent’; Old High German *zelt* ‘tent, vault, canopy’ (New High German *Zelt*). Pokorny 1959:194—196 **del-*, (**dol-*), **delə-* ‘to split’; Walde 1927—1932.I:809—812 **del-*; Mann 1984—1987:139—140 **delt-* ‘to flatten, to stretch’; Watkins 2000:15—16 **delə-* ‘to split, to carve, to cut’; Orël 2003:404 Proto-Germanic **teldan*; Kroonen 2013:512—513 Proto-Germanic **telda-* ‘drape, tent’, **teldan-* ‘to cover’; De Vries 1977:591; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:357; Torp 1919:790; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:879; Kluge—Seebold 1989:808—809. Semantic development as in Arabic *zulla* ‘awning, marquee, canopy, sheltering hut or tent, shelter’, cited above. Old High German *zelto* ‘a small, flat cake’ (New High German [dial.] *Zelte[n]*). Kluge—Mitzka 1967:879 Proto-Germanic **teld-* ‘to stretch over, to spread out over’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:809 Proto-Germanic **teld-a-*.
- C. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **čalu* ‘mist, fog’: Amur *čhəlu* ‘mist, fog’; North Sakhalin *čhəlu* ‘mist, fog’; East Sakhalin *čhəlu* ‘mist, fog’; South Sakhalin *čalu* ‘mist, fog’. Fortescue 2016:29. Assuming semantic development as in Geez / Ethiopic *šalma* [ጸለሙ], *šalama* [ጸለሙ] ‘to grow dark, to be darkened, to be black, to be enveloped in mist, to grow blind (eyes), to be obscured (face)’, cited above.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.63 shade; 7.14 tent. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:332—333, no. 153; Möller 1911:41—42.

279. Proto-Nostratic root **t'yam-* (~ **t'yəm-*):

(vb.) **t'yam-* ‘to be sour, bitter’;

(n.) **t'yam-a* ‘that which is sour, bitter, rotten, or spoiled’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t'yam-* ‘to be sour, bitter’: North Omotic: Wolaitta / Wellamo *č'am-* ‘bitter’; Kefa / Kaffa *č'ämm-* ‘to be bitter’; Mocha *č'ammo* ‘bitter’; Anfillo / Southern Mao *s'āmo* ‘bile’.
- B. Dravidian: Naiki (of Chanda) *sam-* ‘to be rotten’; Parji *cam-* ‘to go bad, to become rotten’, *camip-* (*camit-*) ‘to make to go rotten’; Gadba (Ollari) *sam-* ‘to become rotten’, (Salur) *cammi cen-* ‘to rot (as fruit)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:206, no. 2341. Note: Burrow—Emeneau also list forms such as Tamil *avi* ‘to ferment (as decayed fruit, vegetable matter, manure heaps)’, *avical* ‘that which is decayed’; Malayalam *aviyuka* ‘to rot, to spoil (as fruits laid on a heap)’; Kannaḍa *avi* ‘to rot, to be spoiled or damaged’; Telugu *aviyu* ‘to rot’; etc. Dolgopolsky (2008, no. 423) does not include these forms. Kuṛux *canxnā* ‘to turn stale (of cooked things, meat or

vegetables), to turn moldy (bread)'; Malto *cange* 'to be or become rotten (of cooked food)', *cangro* 'rotten'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:212, no. 2424.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian *č'k'max- 'sour' (> *m-č'k'max- > Georgian-Zan *mč'k'axe-): Georgian *mč'ax-e* 'very sour'; Laz *mč'ox-a* 'sour'. Klimov 1998:133 *mčaxe- 'sour'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:254 *mčax-; Fähnrich 2007:305—306 *mčax-. Note: In Zan, -č'k'- > -č'- when followed by a velar consonant in the word — in this case, -x-.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:209—210, no. 54, *čämλ 'bitter'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 423, *čäm[V]χV 'sour, bitter'. Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky include Uralic (Finno-Ugrian) forms in this etymology as well. However, the initial affricate of the reconstructed Proto-Finno-Ugrian form (*čemz 'sour; to become sour' [cf. Rédei 1986—1988:56—57]) is not what would be expected (*č-) on the basis of the forms from the other Nostratic daughter languages cited above. The vowel of the initial syllable (*e) is also problematic. Consequently, the Uralic forms are not included here. A better comparison would be with Proto-Kartvelian *žm- 'salt', *žm-ar- 'vinegar', with both the Uralic and Kartvelian forms going back to Proto-Nostratic *žem- 'sour, bitter, pungent, sharp'.

280. Proto-Nostratic root *tʷar- (~ *tʷər-):

(vb.) *tʷar- 'to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached';

(n.) *tʷar-a 'firmness, solidity, strength'; (adj.) 'firm, solid, strong, steadfast'

Derivative:

(vb.) *tʷar- 'to be rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard';

(n.) *tʷar-a 'that which is rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard'; (adj.) 'rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *tʷar- 'to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached': Proto-Semitic *tʷar-ab- 'to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached' > Arabic *zariba* 'to stick, to adhere', *zurriba* 'to become hard, strong; to be firm, solid'. Proto-Semitic *tʷar- 'to be strong, firm, powerful' > Gurage (Selṭi) *ṭirāññe* 'to be strong, powerful, vigorous, firm, resistant, courageous, brave', (Chaha) *ṭārānā* 'strong, powerful, vigorous'; Amharic *ṭāṭṭārā* 'to be strong'; Gafat *šāwwārā* 'to be strong, rigid'; Argobba *ṭeṭṭārā* 'to be strong'. Leslau 1979:631—632. Egyptian *dri* 'hard, firm'; Coptic *gro* [xpo], *čro* [cpo] 'to become strong, firm, victorious', *gōōre* [xowpe] 'strength; to be strong'. Hannig 1995:1012; Faulkner 1962:323; Erman—Grapow 1921:221; Vycichl 1983:330; Černý 1976:319.

- B. Proto-Indo-European *tʷer-w/u-; *tʷr-ew-/ *tʷr-u-, *tʷr-ew-H-/ *tʷr-u-H- (> *tʷr-ū-) 'to be firm, solid, strong, steadfast': Gothic *triggws* 'true', *trauan* 'to trust'; Old Icelandic *tryggr* 'trustworthy, faithful', *trú* 'faith, belief', *trúa* 'to believe; to believe in, to trust'; Old English *trēow* 'truth', *trīewan*

‘to trust in’, (ge)trīewe ‘faithful, trustworthy, honest’, trūwian ‘to trust in (person)’, trymman, trym(m)ian ‘to make strong, to build strongly’, trymp ‘firmness, support’, trum ‘firm, substantial, strong, healthy’; Old Frisian triūwe, triōwe ‘faithfulness’, triūwi, triowe ‘faithful, trustworthy’; Old Saxon treuwa ‘faithfulness’, triuwi ‘faithful, trustworthy’; Old High German triuwa ‘faithfulness’ (New High German Treue), gi-triuwi ‘faithful, trustworthy’ (New High German treu), (ga)trūēn, (ga)trūwēn ‘to trust’ (New High German trauen); Old Irish derb ‘certain’; Lithuanian drūtas, driūtas ‘strong, firm’; Old Prussian druwis ‘belief’. Feist 1939:479—480 *dreu- and 480 *dreu-uo-; Lehmann 1986:346—347 *derw-, *drewH- and 347; Orël 2003:410 Proto-Germanic *trewwaz, 410 *trewwipō, 410 *trewwjanan, 410 *trewwō, 410 *trewwōn; Kroonen 2013:523 Proto-Germanic *trewwu- ‘loyal, trustworthy’ and 523 *trūēn- ‘to trust’; De Vries 1977:599; Onions 1966:946; Klein 1971:786 *dru- ‘strong, faithful’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:414; Kluge—Seebold 1989: 737 and 739; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:786—787 and 789 *dreu-uo-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:107; Smoczyński 2007:128 *druH-tó-, *dreuH-

Buck 1949:15.74 hard; 16.65 faithful. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:330—331, no. 151; Möller 1911:48.

281. Proto-Nostratic root *tʷar- (~ *tʷar-):

(vb.) *tʷar- ‘to be rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard’;

(n.) *tʷar-a ‘that which is rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard’; (adj.) ‘rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard’

Derivative of:

(vb.) *tʷar- ‘to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached’;

(n.) *tʷar-a ‘firmness, solidity, strength’; (adj.) ‘firm, solid, strong, steadfast’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *caracara* ‘to be rough (of surface)’, *caral*, *caral*, *caral*ai ‘gravel, laterite’, *caracarappu* ‘roughness (of surface or edge)’, *caruccarai* ‘roughness, ruggedness’, *curacura* ‘to be rough, to have a rough surface’, *curacurappu* ‘roughness (as of woolen cloth)’; Malayalam *caral*, *carakkallu* ‘gravel’; Kannada *caralu* ‘small rounded pebbles’; Tuḷu *caratè* ‘what is coarse, leavings or stalks’, *jari* ‘grit, granule, sand’; Kui *srogu* ‘a rough surface, coarse sand or pebbles; rough, coarse, uneven’, *jrogu* ‘rough, gravely’, *srāmbu* ‘gravel’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:207, no. 2354.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *tʷr-s- ‘rough, coarse’: Sanskrit *dṛṣád-* ‘rock, large stone, mill-stone’; Czech *drsný* ‘rough, harsh’; Polish *działstwo* ‘gravel’; Slovenian *drstev* ‘gravel, sand’. Mann 1984—1987:164—165 *dṛs- ‘hard, harsh; hardness, harshness’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:61.
- C. Proto-Uralic *ʋara ‘hard, rigid, stiff’: Lapp *čāres* ‘coarse (of wool), stiff (of bread)’; Votyak / Udmurt *čuryt* ‘hard, rigid, stiff’; Zyrian / Komi *čoryd*,

čoryt ‘hard, strong’; Selkup Samoyed (Northern) *šaral*, *šarajek* ‘hard, tough’. Collinder 1955:7 and 1977:29; Rédei 1986—1988:30 **čar3*; Décsy 1990:109 [**tjara*] ‘hard, stable’; Aikio 2020:103—104 **čara-* ‘dry; to harden’.

Buck 1949:1.44 stone, rock; 15.74 hard; 15.76 rough. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:331—332, no. 152. Different etymology in Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:205, no. 47, **čarA* ‘hardened crust’.

282. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t'yar-a* ‘poplar tree, wood of the poplar’:

Perhaps derived from:

(vb.) **t'yar-* ‘to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached’;

(n.) **t'yar-a* ‘firmness, solidity, strength’; (adj.) ‘firm, solid, strong, steadfast’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t'yar-* ‘poplar tree, wood of the poplar’: Proto-Semitic **t'yarb-* ‘poplar tree, wood of the poplar’ > Akkadian *šarbatu*, *šerbatu*, *šerbetu* ‘Euphrates poplar, poplar wood’, *šarbu* ‘Euphrates poplar (only in divine names)’, (adj.) *šarbū* ‘pertaining to the poplar’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḏarb* ‘wood, piece of wood’; Harsūsi *ḏarb* ‘wood, piece of wood, peg’; Mehri *ḏarb* ‘small piece of wood’. (?) Egyptian *ḏrd* ‘leaf (of tree)’. Faulkner 1962:324; Hannig 1995:1013; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:603—604; Gardiner 1957:604.
- B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *cār* ‘a tree of the reed kind, which grows to a height of seven or eight feet (its wood is very hard and serves to make penholders and arrow-shafts); arrow-shaft, arrow’; Malto *cāru* ‘arrow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:216, no. 2469.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **čāri-kV* ‘a kind of foliage tree’: Proto-Tungus **žari-ka* ‘hawthorn’ > Ulch *žaraqta* ‘hawthorn’; Nanay / Gold *žariqta* ‘hawthorn’; Oroch *žarakta* ‘hawthorn’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:246. Proto-Mongolian **čirgay* ‘dense, tall (forest)’ > Mongolian *čiryai* ‘dense, tall, virgin (of forest)’; Khalkha *čargay* ‘dense, tall (forest)’; Buriat *šerengi* ‘thin growth, pinery’; Kalmyk *čiryā* ‘dense (branches); a kind of tree or bush’. Proto-Turkic **derek* ‘poplar; tree’ > Karakhanide Turkic *terek* ‘poplar’; Turkish (dial.) *tirek* ‘tree’; Turkmenian *derek* ‘poplar’; Uzbek *terak* ‘poplar’; Uighur *deräk* ‘poplar’; Karaim *terak* ‘tree’; Tatar *tirek* ‘poplar’; Bashkir *tiräk* ‘poplar’; Kirghiz *terek* ‘poplar’; Kazakh *terek* ‘poplar; tree’; Noghay *terek* ‘poplar’; Tuva *terek* ‘poplar’; Chuvash *tirek* ‘poplar’; Yakut *tireχ* ‘poplar’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:393 **čārikV* ‘a kind of foliage tree’.

Buck 1949:1.42 tree.

283. Proto-Nostratic root **tʷar-* (~ **tʷər-*):(vb.) **tʷar-* ‘to cut, to split’;(n.) **tʷar-a* ‘cut, split, rip, tear; damage’; (adj.) ‘cut, split, ripped, torn’

- A. Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **car-* ‘to tear, to rend, to split’: Middle Elamite *sa-ri-* ‘to destroy, to demolish’; Royal Achaemenid Elamite *sa-ri-* ‘to destroy’. McAlpin 1981:99; Hinz—Koch 1987.II:1065. Proto-Dravidian **car-* ‘to tear, to rend, to split’: Parji *car-* ‘to be torn’, *carip-* (*carit-*) ‘to tear’; Gondi *sarrānā* ‘to be split (as wood), to be torn’, *sarrahtānā* ‘to tear’; Kurux *carrnā* ‘to tear, to rend, to dilacerate with the teeth, to plow for the first time in the year’; Malto *care* ‘to cut (as with teeth or scissors)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:212, no. 2416.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **č’k’er-/č’k’r-* ‘to cut, to chop, to fell’: Georgian *č’er-/č’r-* ‘to cut, to chop, to fell’; Mingrelian *č’k’ər-, č’k’ir-* ‘to cut; to reap, to mow’; Laz *č’k’i(r)-, č’k’or-* ‘to cut’; Svan [r-] in *lā-r-e* ‘meadowland, meadow’. Schmidt 1962:158; Klimov 1964:255—256 **čr-* and 1998:321 **čer-*: **čr-* ‘to cut, to chop, to fell’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:536—537 **čar-/čr-*; Fähnrich 2007:665—666 **čar-/čr-*. Proto-Kartvelian **č’k’r-il-* ‘cut, chopped’: Georgian *č’ril-* ‘cut, slit, break’ (Old Georgian *moč’ril-* ‘cut off’); Mingrelian *č’k’iril-* ‘cut’; Laz *č’k’ire(r)-* ‘cut’. Klimov 1998:322 **čr-il-* ‘cut, chopped’. Proto-Kartvelian **mo-č’k’r-il-* ‘cut off’: Georgian *moč’ril-* ‘cut off’; Mingrelian *moč’k’iril-* ‘cut off’. Klimov 1998:124 **mo-čr-il-* ‘cut off’.
- C. Proto-Uralic **vārki-* ‘to split open, to rend’ > Finnish *särke-* ‘to break, to smash, to shatter’; Hungarian *sért-* ‘to injure, to damage, to harm, to hurt’; (?) Chereemis / Mari (Western) *šārɣe*, (Eastern) *šerɣe* ‘to open, to disperse, to scatter’. Rédei 1986—1988:32—33 **čärke-*; Aikio 2020:118 **čärki-* ‘to chop’; Zhivlov 2023:166 Proto-Uralic **čärki-* ‘to chop’.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ðara-* ‘to cut up’ > Chukchi *rəra-* ‘to cut up or through’, *rəramaw-* ‘to cut up meat or tobacco’; Kerek *icca-* ‘to cut up meat, carcass’; Koryak *cəca-* (medial *-cca-*) ‘to cut up’; Alyutor *tra-* ‘to cut up’. Fortescue 2005:73—74.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:209, no. 53, **čarɰ-*; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:334, no. 156; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 431, **č[a]rV* ‘to cut’.

284. Proto-Nostratic root **tʷar-* (~ **tʷər-*) (onomatopoeic):(vb.) **tʷar-* ‘to make a noise’;(n.) **tʷar-a* ‘(rustling or rumbling) noise’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *cara-car-enal* onomatopoeic expression of rustling (as of dry leaves) or of gliding along, moving without impediment, *caracara* ‘to rustle (as dry leaves)’, *caracarappu* ‘rustling’; Malayalam *sara* ‘a rustling

- sound'; Kota *car cur in-* 'to make noise (as a snake's motion)', *cor cor in-* (*id-*), *cork cork in-* (*id-*) 'to make noise in walking over leaves'; Kannada *sara sara* 'the sound of rustling (produced by snakes, birds, etc. in leaves, bushes, etc.)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:207—208, no. 2355.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *čʷkʷr- 'to squeak, to chirp': Georgian *čʷr-ial-* 'to squeak'; Mingrelian [*čʷkʷir-*] 'to chirp, to squeak'; Laz *čʷkʷir-al-* 'to squeak'; Svan *čʷkʷar-mən-* 'to chirp'. Klimov 1964:256 *čʷr- and 1998:322 *čʷr- 'to chirp'; Fähnrich 2007:670—671 *čʷr-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:540 *čʷr-. Proto-Kartvelian *čʷkʷčʷkʷin- 'to chirp, to squeak': Georgian *čʷrčʷin-* 'to chirp'; Mingrelian *čʷkʷirčʷkʷin-*, *čʷkʷarčʷkʷən-* 'to chirp, to squeak'. Klimov 1964:256 *čʷčʷin- and 1998:323 *čʷčʷin- 'to chirp, to squeak'.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *tʷer-/tʷor-/tʷr- 'to make a noise; to hum, to buzz, to rattle': Greek (Hesychius) δάρδα· 'bee'; Old Irish *dordaid* 'to hum, to buzz'; Welsh *dwrdd* 'rumble, stir'; Lithuanian *dardėti* 'to rattle, to clatter'; Slovak *drdlat'* 'to mutter, to hum, to buzz'; Slovenian *drdráti* 'to rattle'. Walde 1927—1932.I:795 (**der-*); Mann 1984—1987:163 **dʷd-* 'to shake, to rattle', 168 **durdurō-*, *-iō* (**durdər-*) 'to hum, to drone, to mutter, to grunt, to rumble'; Pokorny 1959:203—204 (**der-*), (reduplicated) **derder-*, **dʷdʷr-*; **dor-d-*, **dʷd-d-* 'to grumble'; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:252; Beekes 2010.I:303; Frisk 1970—1973.I:349; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:83; Smoczyński 2007.1:93. (?) Proto-Indo-European (**tʷer-/tʷor-/tʷr-* 'to chirp' >) **tʷraskʷo-s* 'a song-bird': Breton *drask* 'thrush'; Old Church Slavic *drozgъ* 'finch'. Mann 1984—1987:159 **drasgos* 'a song-bird'.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:337, no. 160.

285. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *tʷaw-a 'bad thing, evil, wickedness'; (adj.) 'bad, evil':

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *d̲w* 'bad, evil', *d̲w-t* 'bad thing, evil, wickedness', *d̲wy* 'evil'; Coptic *ḡowt* [ⲬⲟⲟϮ] 'base, lowly, rejected'. Hannig 1995:1000; Faulkner 1962:320; Gardiner 1957:603; Erman—Grapow 1921:219 and 1926—1963.5:545—549; Crum 1939:794; Vycichl 1983:333; Černý 1976:322.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *tʷews-/tʷows-/tʷus- 'bad, evil; (prefix) ill-, un-, mis-': Sanskrit *doṣa-h* 'crime, fault, vice, want', *dúṣyati* 'to become bad, defiled; to be wrong', (prefix) *duṣ-*, *dur-*; Avestan (prefix) *duš-*, *duž-*; Greek (prefix) *δυσ-*; Gothic (prefix) *tuz-*; Old Icelandic (prefix) *tor-*; Old English (prefix) *tor-*; Old High German (prefix) *zur-*; Old Irish (prefix) *du-*, *do-*; Armenian (prefix) *t-*; Old Church Slavic (prefix) *dъž-* in *dъž-dъ* 'rain'. Walde 1927—1932.I:816 **dus-*; Pokorny 1959:227 **dus-* 'evil, bad'; Mann 1984—1987:144 **deus-* 'evil', 144 **deusən-*, **deusn-* 'evil, harm', 169 **dus-*, **dusi-* (prefix) 'ill-, mis-, hard-, un-', 170 **dusnos*, *-ā* 'evil, sad; evil, sadness, hate'; Watkins 1985:15 **dus-* and 2000:21 **dus-*

‘bad, evil; mis- (used as prefix)’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:780 **t’us-* and 1995.I:683 **t’us-* ‘bad’; Mallory—Adams 1997:43 **dus-* ‘bad’ (as prefix); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:55—56 and II:67—68; Frisk 1970—1973.I:425 **dus-*; Hofmann 1966:65; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:302 **dus-*; Boisacq 1950:204—205 **dus-*; Beekes 2010.I:359—360 **dus-*; Feist 1939:484; Lehmann 1986:349—350; De Vries 1977:595.

Buck 1949:16.72 bad. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:333, no. 154.

286. Proto-Nostratic root **t’yij-* (~ **t’yey-*):

(vb.) **t’yij-* ‘to think, to consider’;

(n.) **t’yij-a* ‘thought, consideration, idea’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t’yij-* ‘to think’: Proto-Semitic **t’an-an-* ‘to think’ > Arabic *zanna* ‘to think, to believe, to assume, to deem, to consider’, *zann* ‘opinion, idea, belief’; Ḥarsūsi *den* ‘to think, to imagine’; Mehri *hədnáwn* ‘to imagine; to have doubts, to be suspicious of’, *dán* ‘thought’; Šheri / Jibbāli *dinn* ‘to have an idea, to think’. Zammit 2002:277—278. Central Cushitic: Proto-North Agaw **zij-* ‘(vb.) to tell, to relate; (n.) story, tale, conversation’ > Xamir *ǧiṅa* ‘gossip, news, story’, *ǧij-* ‘to tell, to relate’; Quara *ǧəṅa* ‘story, tale’; Bilin *ǧiṅā* ‘conversation’, (denominative) *ǧiṅ-ist-* ‘to talk, to converse’. Appleyard 2006:76 and 132; Reinisch 1887:182.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **t’en-s-/t’ē-s-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **t’on-s-*) ‘great mental power, wise decision’: Sanskrit *dāmsas-* ‘a surprising or wonderful deed, marvelous power or skill’; Avestan *dahišta-* ‘very wise’, *dah-* ‘to be mighty, to be wise’, *dahah-* ‘mastery’; Greek δαΐ-φρων ‘wise of mind, prudent’, (Homeric) δήνεα (< **ḍánσ-*) ‘counsels, plans’. Pokorny 1959:201—202 **dens-* ‘great mental power’; Walde 1927—1932.I:793 **dens-*; Watkins 1985:11 **dens-* and 2000:16 **dens-* ‘to use mental force’ (reduplicated and suffixed zero-grade form **di-dṛs-sko-*); Mann 1984—1987:132 **dānos, -es-* (?) ‘art, craft’; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 **dens-* ‘to teach, to inculcate a skill’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:9; Boisacq 1950:163 and 183 **dens-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:342 and I:382 **dénsos, *dṛs-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:248 and I:275 **densos, *dṛs-*; Hofmann 1966:50 and 58 **dens-, *dṛs-*; Beekes 2010.I:298 **dens-*.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **čijV-* ‘to listen, to consider’: Proto-Tungus **žij-* ‘(vb.) to understand; (adj.) attentive, conscious’ > Evenki *žiktew-* (< **žij-ktew-*) ‘to understand’; Ulch *dinile* ‘attentive, conscious’; Nanay / Gold *žijire, žiksi-* ‘to understand’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:207 and I:256. Proto-Mongolian **čij-la-* ‘to listen’ > Written Mongolian *čijna-, čijla-* ‘to listen, to eavesdrop’; Khalkha *čagna-* ‘to listen’; Buriat *šagna-* ‘to listen’; Kalmyk *čijna-* ‘to listen’; Ordos *čijna-* ‘to listen’; Dagur *čincilə-* ‘to listen’; Monguor *činla-, čijla-* ‘to listen’. Proto-Turkic **dij-la-, *dij-le-* ‘to listen; to hear; to consider, to meditate’, **dij* ‘reason, mind, cleverness’ > Old

Turkic *tijla-* ‘to listen’, *tij* ‘reason, mind, cleverness’; Turkish *dinle-* ‘to listen to, to hear, to pay attention to, to obey’; Azerbaijani *dinlä-* ‘to listen’; Turkmenian *diyle-* ‘to listen’, *diy* ‘reason, mind, cleverness’; Uighur *tijla-* ‘to hear’; Karaim *dinle-*, *tijla-* ‘to hear’; Tatar *tijma-* ‘to listen’; Bashkir *tijla-* ‘to listen’; Kirghiz *tijša-* ‘to listen’; Kazakh *tijda-* ‘to listen’; Noghay *tijla-* ‘to listen’; Sary-Uighur *tinna-* ‘to hear’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *tijda-* ‘to listen’; Tuva *dijna-* ‘to listen’; Chuvash *čɨnla-* ‘to consider, to meditate’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:396—397 *čijV ‘to listen, to consider’.

Buck 1949:17.13 think (= reflect, etc.); 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 18.21 speak, talk. Möller 1911:43—44; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:333—334, no. 155.

287. Proto-Nostratic root *tʷipʰ- (~ *tʷepʰ-):

(vb.) *tʷipʰ- ‘to pinch, to nip’;

(n.) *tʷipʰ-a ‘fingernail, claw’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *tʷif-ar- ‘fingernail, claw’: Proto-Semitic *tʷipr-, *tʷupr- ‘fingernail, toenail, claw’ > Hebrew *šippōren* [שִׁפּוֹרֵן] ‘fingernail’; Syriac *teṓrā* ‘fingernail’; Mandaic *tuṓra* ‘claw, nail’; Akkadian *šupru* ‘fingernail, toenail; claw, hoof’; Arabic *zufur*, *zuf̄r*, *zif̄r* ‘nail, fingernail; toenail; claw, talon’; Harsūsi *deṓr* ‘fingernail, toenail’; Šeri / Jibbāli *dif̄er* ‘fingernail, toenail’; Mehri *dif̄er* ‘fingernail, toenail, claw’; Soqotri *táyf̄ar*, *táfh̄ar* ‘fingernail, toenail’; Geez / Ethiopic *šəfr* [ጸፍር] ‘fingernail, claw’; Tigre *šəf̄ar* ‘fingernail’; Tigrinya *šəfri* ‘fingernail’; Gafat *šəfrä* ‘fingernail’; Amharic *təf̄ar* ‘fingernail’; Gurage *təf̄ar* ‘fingernail’; Argobba *čəff̄ar* ‘fingernail’; Harari *tif̄ir* ‘fingernail, claw’. Murtonen 1989:366; Militarëv 2010:57 Proto-Semitic *tʷip(V)r-; Klein 1987:555; Leslau 1963:152, 1979:614, and 1987:549; Zammīt 2002:276. Central Cushitic: Bilin *čif̄fer* ‘fingernail, claw’; Quara *ğarf̄ā* ‘fingernail’; Xamir *šef̄ir*, *sefir* ‘fingernail’ (these may be loans from Ethiopian Semitic). Proto-Southern Cushitic *tʷafar- (assimilated from *tʷifar- ?) > (with metathesis) *tʷaraf- ‘nail, claw’ > Burunge *carafu* ‘nail, claw’; Alagwa *carafu* ‘nail, claw’. Ehret 1980:329. Orël—Stolbova 1995:120, no. 513, *čupar- ‘fingernail’; M. Cohen 1947:160, no. 351. Note: The Highland East Cushitic and Omotic forms cited by Orël—Stolbova may be loanwords. Perhaps also Egyptian *df* ‘to separate, to sever’ (assuming derivation from *tʷif- ‘to pinch, to nip’). Hannig 1995:1006 and 2006:2837. Militarëv 2010:57—58 Proto-Afrasian *čipar- ~ *čarap- ‘fingernail’ (“not quite reliable”); Takács 2011a:31 Proto-Afrasian *čVrVf-/ *čVfVr- ‘fingernail’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:255—256, no. 285) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) *tʷip(V)r ~ *čip(V)r- ‘nail’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates. They note: “Note -u- of the first syllable in Akk., part of

Arm. and part of Arb. forms, which can possibly be explained as an independent development in individual languages under the influence of *-p-*.”

- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **vipp3 ~ *vepp3* ‘(vb.) to pinch, to nip; (n.) fingertip’ > (?) Cheremis / Mari (Birsik) *čəwəštala-* ‘to pinch, to nip; to finger, to feel, to touch, to handle’, (Kozmodemyansk) *cəwešte-*, (Uržum) *čəwəšte-* ‘to pinch, to nip’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *čepil’t-* ‘to pinch, to nip; to press together with the nails’, (Glazov) *čepil’ti-* ‘to press, to nip’; (?) Zyrian / Komi (Permyansk) *čepe-l-* ‘fingertip’, *čepe-l’t-* ‘to pinch, to nip’, (Udora) *čeper* ‘pinch, nip’, *čepert-* ‘to pinch, to nip’, (East Permyansk) *čep-l’al-* ‘to pinch, to nip; to pick, to pluck’; (?) Hungarian *csíp* ‘to pinch, to nip; to sting; to bite’, *csípés* ‘pinch(ing), nip(ping), bite’, *csipked* ‘to pinch, to pick, to nip’. Rédei 1986—1988:49 **čəpp3* ‘(vb.) to pinch, to nip; (n.) fingertip’. According to Rédei, Finnish *hyppy*, *hippi* ‘fingertip; finger’, *hypistä-* ‘to finger’, Lapp / Saami (Kola) *ciehp* ‘finger, toe’ do not belong here (Finnish *h*, Lapp *c* < **č*, not **v* [traditional *č*]).

Buck 1949:4.39 nail. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 427, **čUḗV(RV)* ‘fingernail, claw’. The Altaic (Tungus) forms cited by Dolgopolsky do not belong here (Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak [2003:1338] derive them from Proto-Altaic **šjop’ca* ‘claw; to claw’).

288. Proto-Nostratic root **tʷor-*:

(vb.) **tʷor-* ‘to run, to flow’;

(n.) **tʷor-a* ‘running, flowing’; (adj.) ‘speedy, swift’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *zarā* ‘to flow, to run, to have diarrhea’.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **cor-* (< **cory-*) ‘to run, to flee’: Gondī *soṛitānā* ‘to run away’, *soṛī-* ‘to go away, to run away’; Pengo *hon-* ‘to run, to flee’; Manda *hun-* ‘to run, to flee’; Kuwi *hoṇ-* (*hoṭ-*) ‘to run, to flee’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:248, no. 2861.
- C. Proto-Indo-European (**tʷor-/tʷr-*, **tʷr-*) **tʷreA-* [**tʷraA-*] > **tʷrā-*; **tʷrem-/tʷrom-/tʷrṃ-*; **tʷrew-/tʷrow-/tʷru-* ‘to run, to flow’: Sanskrit *drāti* ‘to run, to hasten’, *drāmati* ‘to run about, to roam, to wander’, *drāvati* ‘to run, to hasten’, *dravā-h* ‘running, flowing’, *dravantī* ‘river’, *druṭa-h* ‘speedy, swift’; Greek *δροσμός* ‘flight, running away’, (aor.) *ἔδραμον* ‘to run, to move quickly’, *δρόμος* ‘course, running, race’; Gothic *trudan* ‘to tread, to step’; Old Icelandic *troða* ‘to tread’; Old English *tredan*, ‘to tread, to step on, to trample’, *treddian* ‘to tread, to walk’, *trod* (f. *trodu*) ‘track, trace’; Old Frisian *treda* ‘to tread’; Old Saxon *tredan* ‘to tread’; Dutch *treden* ‘to tread’; Old High German *tretan* ‘to tread’ (New High German *treten*), *trottōn* ‘to run’ (New High German *trotten*). Rix 1998a:110 **dreh₂-*, 110—111 **drem-*, 112 **dreu-*; Pokorny 1959:204—206 (**der-*), **drā-*, **dreb-*, **drem-*, **dreu-* ‘to run’; Walde 1927—1932.I:795—797

(**der-*), **drā-*, **dreb-*, **drem-*, **dreu-*; Mann 1984—1987:158 **drājō* (**drāmi*, **dīdrā-*) ‘to run’, 159 **dreṃāros* ‘flowing, fluid’, 160 **dromos* ‘course, way’; Mallory—Adams 1997:491 **dreh_a-* ‘to run’ and 491 **drem-* ‘to run’; Watkins 1985:12 **der-* and 2000:16 **der-* assumed base of roots meaning ‘to run, to walk, to step’ (extended form **dreb-*; extended zero-grade form **drā-*; root form **drem-* in suffixed *o*-grade form **drom-o-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:72 **dre-m-*, II:73, II:76, and II:78; Frisk 1970—1973.I:122—123, I:414—415 **drem-*, **drā-*, and I:419; Boisacq 1950:69 and 198; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:278—279 **der-*, **dr-e₂-*, **dr-ew-*, **dr-em-* and I:296; Hofmann 1966:21 **drā-*, **drem-*; Beekes 2010.I:351 and I:354—355 **drem-*; Orël 2003:409 Proto-Germanic **tredanan*, 410 **trudān*, 410 **trudānan*; Kroonen 2013:521 Proto-Germanic **tredan-* ~ **trudan-* ‘to tread, to trample’; Feist 1939:481 **drey-*; Lehmann 1986:348 **drew-*, **drem-*, **dreH-*, **dreb-*, based on **der-*; De Vries 1977:598; Onions 1966:939; Klein 1971:779; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:789 and 792—793; Kluge—Seebold 1989:739 and 742. For a listing and discussion of other possible cognates in Germanic, cf. Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:413—414, though some of the forms cited here may be borrowed from or influenced by a non-Indo-European substratum.

- D. Proto-Uralic **ʋor3-* ‘to run, to flow’: (?) Finnish *soro* ‘falling drops’, *sorotta-* ‘to drip, to trickle, to fall in drops’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vasyugan) *tʻorəγ-* ‘to run, to flow’; Hungarian *csorog-*, *csurog-* ‘to run, to flow’; Selkup Samoyed *sõrmba-* ‘to drop, to flow’. Rédei 1986—1988:40 **ćor3-*; Décsy 1990:109 [**tjora*] ‘to run, to drip’.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **čjor-ka* (~ *-u-*) ‘swift stream, current’: Proto-Tungus **žurku* ‘rapid, swift stream; fairway’ > Evenki *žurqu* ‘rapid, swift stream’; Negidal *žoyku* ‘fairway’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:277. Proto-Mongolian **dargil* ‘rapid current’ > Mongolian *dargil* ‘rapids of a river, rapid current, torrent; swift stream; shoal in a river’, *dargira-* ‘to rush with noise, to roar (as water); to run quickly, to flow rapidly; to make noise’, *dargi-* ‘to roar or rush noisily (of water)’, *dargiya* ‘roaring (as water); noise; gaiety’; Khalkha *dargil* ‘rapid current’; Kalmyk *därgl* ‘rapid current’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:404—405 **čurka* (~ *-jo-*) ‘swift stream, current’.

Buck 1949:10.32 flow (vb.); 10.46 run (vb.). Möller 1911:45—46; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:335, no. 157.

22.12. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *sʷ

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
sʷ-	sʷ-	c-	šk-	s-	sʷ-	s-	sʷ-
-sʷ-	-sʷ-	-c(c)-/ -y-	-šk-	-s-	-sʷ-	-s-	-sʷ-

289. Proto-Nostratic root *sʷam- (~ *sʷəm-):

(vb.) *sʷam- ‘to be hot, sunny’;

(n.) *sʷam-a ‘summer’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *sʷam- ‘to be hot, sunny’: Proto-Semitic *sʷamsʷ- ‘sun’ > Hebrew *šemeš* [שֶׁמֶשׁ] ‘sun’; Aramaic *šimšā* ‘sun’; Phoenician *šmš* ‘sun’; Akkadian *šamšu* ‘sun’; Arabic *šams* (< *sams) ‘sun’; Sabaeen *šms* ‘sun’. Murtonen 1989:429; Klein 1987:668; Zammit 2002:243—244. Egyptian *šmm* ‘to be hot’, *šmmt* ‘heat, fever’, *šmw* ‘summer’; Coptic *šōm* [ϣⲟⲙ] ‘summer’. Hannig 1995:821 and 822; Faulkner 1962:267; Erman—Grapow 1921:182 and 1926—1963.4:468, 4:469; Gardiner 1957:594; Vycichl 1983:263—264; Černý 1976:243.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *sem-/som-/*sṃ- ‘summer’: Sanskrit *sāmā* ‘season, year, summer’; Armenian *am* ‘year’; Old Irish *sam*, *samrad* ‘summer’; Welsh *ham*, *haf* ‘summer’; Old Icelandic *sumar* ‘summer’; Norwegian *sumar* ‘summer’; Faroese *summar* ‘summer’; Swedish *sommar* ‘summer’; Danish *sommer* ‘summer’; Old English *sumor* ‘summer’; Old Frisian *sumur* ‘summer’; Old Saxon *sumar* ‘summer’; Middle Dutch *somer* ‘summer’ (Dutch *zomer*); Old High German *sumar* ‘summer’ (New High German *Sommer*); Tocharian A *šme* ‘summer’, B *šmāye* (adj.) ‘pertaining to summer’. Pokorny 1959:905 *sem- ‘summer’; Walde 1927—1932.II: 492—493 *sem-; Mann 1984—1987:1231 *sṃer-, *sṃər- (?) ‘summer’; Mallory—Adams 1997:504 *sem- ‘summer’; Watkins 1985:57 *sem- (also *semə-) and 2000:75 *sem- (also *semə-) ‘summer’; Orël 2003:386 Proto-Germanic *sumeraz, 386 *sumerinǵaz ~ *sumerunǵaz, 386 *sumerōjanan; Kroonen 2013:491—492 Proto-Germanic *sumara- ‘summer’; De Vries 1977:560—561; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:255—256; Torp 1919:744; Onions 1966:885; Klein 1971:730 *sem-, *sam-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:381—382; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:715 *sem-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:679; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:437—438; Adams 1999:668 *sem-.

Buck 1949:1.52 sun; 14.76 summer. Brunner 1969:106, no. 580; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:342, no. 166.

290. Proto-Nostratic root *sʲaw- (~*sʲəw-):
 (vb.) *sʲaw- ‘to be dry, arid, withered’;
 (n.) *sʲaw-a ‘dryness, dry place’; (adj.) ‘dry, arid, withered’
- A. Proto-Afrasian *sʲ[a]w- ‘to be or become dry’: Egyptian *šwi* ‘to be dry, arid, hot’, *šwt* ‘dryness’, *šwyt* ‘dry place’; Coptic *šowe* [ϣⲟⲟϥ] ‘to dry up, to be or become dry, desiccated, or stale’, *šow* [ϣⲟⲟϥ] ‘dry’. Hannig 1995:809; Faulkner 1962:263; Erman—Grapow 1921:179 and 1926—1963.4:429, 4:430; Gardiner 1957:594; Vycichl 1983:274; Černý 1976:258. West Chadic *syaH(a)- ‘to become dry’ > Bolewa *saa* ‘to become dry’; Karekare *saa* ‘to become dry’; Dera *sēe* ‘to become dry’; Ngamo *sa* ‘to become dry’. Central Chadic *sʲway- ‘to become dry’ > Zime Batua *soia* ‘to become dry’. East Chadic *sʲw- ‘to dry up’ > Mobu *səwe* ‘to dry up’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:469 *sʲew-/*sʲew- ‘to be dry’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *škw-er-/*škw-r- ‘to get dry, to become dry’: Georgian *šr-oba* ‘to get dry, to become dry’; Mingrelian *skər-*, *skir-* ‘to get dry, to become dry’; Laz *skir-*, *skur-* ‘to go out, to die out, to become dim’. Klimov 1964:216 *šwer-/*šwr- and 1998:250—251 *šwer-/*šwr- ‘to get dry, to become dry’; Schmidt 1962:144—145 *škwer-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:428 *šwer-/*šwr-; Fähnrich 2007:530 *šwer-/*šwr-.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *saw-s-/*su-s- ‘dry’: Sanskrit *śoṣa-h* ‘drying up’; Greek (Homeric) *αῖος* ‘dry, withered’; Old Icelandic *seyra* ‘starvation, famine’; Norwegian *søyra* ‘to make dry’; Old English *sēar* ‘dry, withered’, *sēarian* ‘to wither, to pine away’; Middle Low German *sōr* ‘dry, withered’; Dutch *zoor* ‘dry, withered’; Old High German *sōrēn* ‘to become dry’; Lithuanian *sausas* ‘dry, arid’; Old Church Slavic *suxъ* ‘dry’. Pokorny 1959:880—881 *saus-, *sus- ‘dry’; Walde 1927—1932.II:447—448 *saus-, *sus-; Mann 1984—1987:1114 *sausos ‘dry, withered, mature’; *sausjō ‘to dry, to wither, to mature’; *sausjə ‘dryness, dry land, dry object’, 1337 *sus- ‘dry’, 1338 *susō, -jō ‘to dry, to wither, to be dry’; Watkins 1985:56 *saus- and 2000:73 *saus- ‘dry’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:158 and II:598 *saus-/*sus- and 1995.I:512 *saus-/*sus- ‘dry’; Mallory—Adams 1997:170 *h₂sus- ~ *h₂sousos ‘dry’; Boisacq 1950:102 *sauso-s; Frisk 1970—1973.I:188—189 *sausos; Hofmann 1966:28—29 *sausos; Chantraine 1969—1980.I:141—142; Beekes 2010.I:171 *h₂s-us-; Orël 2003:320 Proto-Germanic *sauzaz. 320 *sauzjanan ~ *sauzōjanan; Kroonen 2013:428 Proto-Germanic *sauza- ‘dry’; De Vries 1977:471; Torp 1919:767; Klein 1971:687 *saus-, *sus-; Onions 1966:811 *sousós; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:362—363; Smoczyński 2007.1:537; Derksen 2008:473—474 *h₂sous-o-, Balto-Slavic *sousos, and 2015:390 *h₂sous-o-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:766 *sausos; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:345—348 *h₂seus-.

Buck 1949:15.84 dry. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:343—344, no. 168. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2128, **sa[w]ûsV* ‘to get dry, to harden’.

291. Proto-Nostratic root **sʷaw-* (~ **sʷəw-*) or **sʷew-*:

- (vb.) **sʷaw-* or **sʷew-* ‘to give birth, to bring forth, to be born’;
 (n.) **sʷaw-a* or **sʷew-a* ‘son, child’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *cēy* ‘son, child; juvenility, youth’; Malayalam *cēvala* ‘child at the breast’; Tuḷu *jēvu* ‘child, lad, youth’, *jōvu* ‘child, lad, youth, baby, female child’, *jōkulu* ‘children’; Parji *cēpal* ‘boy, lad’; Gadba (Ollari) *sēpal* ‘boy, lad’, (Salur) *sāpal* ‘boy’; (?) Kuṛux *jōxas* ‘lad, youth, servant’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:244, no. 2813.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **škw-*/**škw-* ‘to give birth, to beget’: Georgian *šv-a* ‘to give birth, to beget’, *šv-ili* ‘child, son’, [*mšo-*] ‘child’ in *p’ir-mšo-* ‘first-born, elder’; Mingrelian *sk(v)-* ‘to lay eggs (of birds)’, *skī*, *skua* ‘son’; Laz *skv-* ‘to lay eggs (of birds)’, *sk-iri*, *sk’-iri* (*sk’- < sk-*) ‘son’; Svan [*sg-*] ‘to be born’, *əmsge* ‘son’. Schmidt 1962:143; Klimov 1964:214—215 **šw-*, 217 **šw-il-* and 1998:128 **m-šw-e-* ‘child’, 248 **šew-/sw-* ‘to give birth, to beget’, 251 **šw-il-* ‘born’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:423 **šew-/sw-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:597, fn. 2, **šew-*, **šw-*, II:878 **šw-* and 1995.I:511, fn. 75, **šew-*, **šw-*, I:775 **šw-* ‘to give birth, to be born’; Fähnrich 2007:525—526 **šew-/sw-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **sew(H)-/sow(H)-/su(H)-* ‘to give birth’: Sanskrit *sūte*, *sūyate* ‘to beget, to procreate, to bring forth, to bear, to produce, to yield’, *suta-h* ‘son, child’, *sūtī-h* ‘birth, production’, *sūnū-h* ‘son, child, offspring’; Avestan *humu-š* ‘son’; Greek *υῖός*, *υῖός* ‘son’; Old Irish *suth* ‘offspring’; Gothic *sunus* ‘son’; Old Icelandic *sunr*, *sonr* ‘son’; Swedish *son* ‘son’; Danish *son* ‘son’ (with *ø* from the pl.); Old English *sunu* ‘son’; Old Frisian *sunu* ‘son’; Old Saxon *sunu* ‘son’; Dutch *zoon* ‘son’; Old High German *sunu* ‘son’ (New High German *Sohn*); Lithuanian *sūnūs* ‘son’; Old Church Slavic *synъ* ‘son’; Russian *сын* [сын] ‘son’; Czech *syn* ‘son’; Tocharian A *se*, B *soy* ‘son’. Rix 1998a:487 (?) **seuH-* ‘to bear, to give birth’; Pokorny 1959:913—914 **seu-*, (**seuə-*), **sū-* ‘to bear, to give birth’; Walde 1927—1932.II:469—470 **seu-*, **sū-*; Mann 1984—1987:1331 **su-*, 1335 **sūnus* ‘son’, 1339 **sut-* ‘offspring’; Watkins 1985:58 **seuə-* and 2000:76 **seuə-* ‘to give birth’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:597, fn. 2, **seu-/su-*, II:878 and 1995.I:511, fn. 75, **seu-/su-* ‘to give birth’, I:775; Mallory—Adams 1997:533 **suh_xnūs* ‘son’ (also **suh_xiūs*), **seuh_x-* ‘to bear, to beget’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:481, III:492, and III:494; Beekes 2010.II:1528 **suH-i(e)u-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:959—961 **su-ju-*, **sūnus*, **su-tu-s*; Hofmann 1966:382—383 **su(u)-iūs*, **sū-nūs*, **su-tus*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1153—1154 **sū-*; Boisacq 1950:999—1000 **su-ju-*, **sū-nu-s*; Adams 1999:703—704

**suh_xyu-*, **suh_xnu-* ‘son’, **seuh_x-* ‘to give birth’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:424—425 **sūju-s*, **sūn-eus*; Kroonen 2013:492—493 Proto-Germanic **sunu-* ‘son’; Orël 2003:388 Proto-Germanic **sunuz*; Lehmann 1986:330—331 **sūnu-*, **sewH-*, **sū-* ‘to give birth to’; Feist 1939:460—461; De Vries 1977:530 **su-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:344 **sūnú-*; Onions 1966:845 Common Germanic **sunuz*; Klein 1971:698 **seu-*, **su-* ‘to bear, to bring forth; birth’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:383; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:713—714 **sūnús*, **seu-*, **sū-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:677—678 **sunu-*, **seuə-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:941—942; Smoczyński 2007.1:614—615 **seuH-*; Derksen 2008:483 **suH-n-ú-* and 2015:435 **suH-n-ú-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:617—618 **seuH-* and 686—690 **suH-*, **suH-nu-*, **suH-ju-*.

Buck 1949:2.41 son; 4.71 beget (of father). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:344—345, no. 169; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2179, **š[e]whV* ‘to give birth, to be born’.

292. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **sʷaw-a* ‘wild boar’:

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian: Middle Egyptian *šʷ, šʷy* ‘pig, wild boar’, *šʷyt* ‘sow’; Demotic *iš* ‘pig, sow’; Coptic (Sahidic, Bohairic) *ešō* [ⲉⲩⲱ] ‘sow’, (Bohairic) *ešaw* [ⲉⲩⲱⲗ] ‘sow’, (Sahidic) *še* [ⲩⲉ], (Akhmimic) *ša-* [ⲩⲗⲏ-] ‘pig’ (male). Hannig 1995:801; Faulkner 1962:260; Gardiner 1957:594; Erman—Grapow 1921:178 and 1926—1963.4:401, 4:405; Černý 1976:40; Vycichl 1983:49 and 254.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **e-škw-* ‘wild boar, pig’: Old Georgian *ešw-i* ‘wild boar’ (Modern Georgian *ešv-* ‘tusk’); Mingrelian *o-sk-u* (< **o-askv-u* [**askv-* = ‘pig’]) ‘pigsty’. Klimov 1964:81 **ešw-* and 1998:48 **ešw-* ‘wild boar, pig’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:126 **ešw-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:877 **e-šw-* and 1995.I:774 **e-šw-* ‘boar, pig’ (according to Gamkrelidze—Ivanov, the Kartvelian forms are borrowings from Indo-European); Schmidt 1962:108; Fähnrich 2007:152 **ešw-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European (**sewH-*)**suH-* ‘(wild or domesticated) pig, sow’: Greek *ῥός, ῥός* (also *σῶς, σῶς*) ‘wild swine, whether boar (hog) or sow’; Avestan *hū* (gen. sg. for **huwō*) ‘pig’; Sanskrit *sū-* in *sūkará-h* ‘boar, hog, pig, swine’; Latin *sūs* ‘sow, swine, pig, hog’, (m.) *suculus*, (f.) *sucula* ‘piglet’, *suillus* ‘of swine’; Umbrian (acc. sg.) *sim* ‘sow, pig’; Old Irish *socc* in *socc sáil* ‘porpoise’; Old Welsh *hucc* ‘pig, sow’ (Welsh *hwch*); Cornish *hoch* ‘pig, sow’; Breton *houc’h, hoc’h* ‘pig, sow’; Albanian *thi* ‘pig, piglet’; Old Icelandic *sýr* ‘sow’; Faroese *súgv* ‘sow’; Norwegian *sū* ‘sow’; Danish *so* ‘sow’; Swedish *so* ‘sow’ Old English *sū, sugu* ‘sow’; Old Saxon *suga* ‘sow’; Middle Low German *soge* ‘sow’; Dutch *zeug* ‘sow’; Old High German *sū* ‘sow’ (New High German *Sau*); Latvian *suvēns, sivēns* ‘young pig, piglet’; Tocharian B *suwo* ‘pig, hog’, *swāmññe* ‘pertaining to a pig’ (cf. *swāñana misa mitāmpa wirot* ‘pork flesh with

honey [is] forbidden'). Benveniste 1969.I:27—36 and 1973:23—31 **sū-*; Pokorny 1959:1038—1039 **sū-s*, **suu-ós* 'pig, sow'; Walde 1927—1932.II:512—513 **sū-* (**sū-s*, **suu-ós*); Mann 1984—1987:1337—1338 **sūs* 'pig, sow'; Watkins 1985:67 **sū-* and 2000:87 **sū-* (contracted from earlier **su₂-*) 'pig' (suffixed form **su₂-īno-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:593—594 **sū-* 'pig', II:597, fn. 2, II:877, and 1995.I:508 **sū-* 'pig', I:511—512, fn. 75, I:774; Mallory—Adams 1997:425 **sūs* (possibly better reconstructed as **súh_s*) 'pig (wild or domesticated)' and 2006:139 **sūs* 'pig'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:490; Boisacq 1950:1006—1007 **sū-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:973—974 **sū-s*; Hofmann 1966:386—387 **sūs*, (gen. sg.) **suuós*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1161 **sū-s*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:635—637 **sū-s*; Beekes 2010.II:1537 **suH-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:670; De Vaan 2008:603; Huld 1983:119; Meyer 1891:90; Van Windekens 1971—1982.I:446 **sū-*; Adams 1999:698 **sū-*; Orël 1998:477 and 2003:389 Proto-Germanic **sūz*; Kroonen 2013:490 Proto-Germanic **sū-* ~ **suw-* 'sow'; De Vries 1977:574 **sū-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:252—253; Klein 1971:700 **sū-*; Onions 1966:849 **sū-*; Barnhart 1995:741; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:636 **sū(w)-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:619 **sū-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:490; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:683—686 **suH-*. Proto-Indo-European **sw-iH-no-s* (> **swīnos*) 'of, belonging to, or pertaining to a pig': Latin *suīnus* 'of, belonging to, or pertaining to swine'; Gothic *swein* 'pig'; Old Icelandic *svín* 'swine, pig'; Faroese *svín* 'swine, pig'; Norwegian *svin* 'swine, pig'; Danish *svin* 'swine, pig'; Swedish *svin* 'swine, pig'; Old English *swīn* 'swine, pig'; Old Frisian *swīn* 'swine, pig'; Old Saxon *swīn* 'swine, pig'; Middle Dutch *swijn* 'swine, pig' (Dutch *zwijn*); Old High German *swīn* 'swine, pig' (New High German *Schwein*); Latvian *svīns* 'dirty'; Old Church Slavic *svinъ* 'pertaining to a pig', *svinija* 'swine, pig'; Russian (adj.) *svinój* [свиной] 'pig-', *svin'já* [свинья] 'pig, swine, hog; sow; boar'; Czech *svině* 'pig, swine'. Mann 1984—1987:1339 **suuīnos*, *-ā* (**suīn-*) 'pertaining to a pig'; Orël 2003:397 Proto-Germanic **swīnan*; Kroonen 2013:502 Proto-Germanic **swīna-* 'pig'; Lehmann 1986:334 **sū-s*; Feist 1939:465 **sū-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:333; De Vries 1977:570; Torp 1919:756—757; Barnhart 1995:786; Skeat 1898:617; Onions 1966:894 Common Germanic **swīnaz*; Klein 1971:735; Kluge—Lutz 1898:205; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:387—388; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:691 **s(u)wīno-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:660; Walshe 1951:205; Preobrazhensky 1951:259—260 **sū-*; Derksen 2008:477 **suH-iHn-o-*.

- D. Altaic: Tungus: Udihe *sū* 'one-year-old boar'. Nikolaeva—Tolskaya 2001: 920.

Buck 1949:3.31 swine; 3.32 boar; 3.33 barrow; 3.34 sow; 3.35 pig. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 89, **[ʔV]š[ü]H₂V* 'wild boar'; Blažek 2013:44, no. 17.

293. Proto-Nostratic root *sʷaxʷ- (~ *sʷəxʷ-):

(vb.) *sʷaxʷ- ‘to be or become hot, warm; to heat up, to make hot, to warm, to burn’;

(n.) *sʷaxʷ-a ‘warmth, heat; sun’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *sʷaxʷ-an- ‘to be or become warm; to heat up, to warm’ > Akkadian *šaḫānu* ‘to become warm; to warm, to heat; to warm oneself (in the sun’s heat)’, **šaḫnu* (f. *šaḫuntu*) ‘warm’, *šuḫnu* ‘heat’; Arabic *saḫana*, *saḫina*, *saḫuna* ‘to be or become warm; to warm (up); to be feverish; to make hot, to heat, to warm (something)’, *saḫn* ‘hot, warm’, *saḫāna*, *saḫūna* ‘heat, warmth’, *sāḫin* ‘hot, warm’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šxan* ‘to warm oneself at the fire’, *šxanūn* ‘warm’; Hebrew **šḥn* * $[\text{ʃ}\text{ħ}\text{ʃ}]$ ‘to be hot’; Post-Biblical Hebrew *šāḫēn* $[\text{ʃ}\text{ħ}\text{ʃ}]$ ‘hot, warm’; Aramaic *šəḫēn* ‘to become hot’, *šāḫēn* ‘warm, hot’; Ugaritic *šḥn* ‘feverish’; Geez / Ethiopic *səḫna* $[\text{ሰክኑ}]$, *saḫana* $[\text{ሰክኑ}]$, *saḫana* $[\text{ሰክኑ}]$ ‘to warm oneself, to become warm’, *səḫin* ‘incense, frankincense’; Tigrinya *səḫanā* ‘to be hot’; Tigre *səḫana* ‘to be hot’; Amharic *səḫin* ‘incense’ (Geez loanword). Murtonen 1989:417; Klein 1987:650; Leslau 1989:495. Orël—Stolbova 1995:459, no. 2172, **saḫan-* ‘to burn, to be warm’.
- B. (?) Proto-Dravidian **cūt-/cut-V-* (if from *sʷəxʷd-) ‘to be hot, to burn’: Tamil *cuṭu* (*cuṭuv-*, *cuṭṭ-*) ‘to be hot, to burn; to warm (tr.), to heat, to burn up, to roast, to toast, to bake, to fry, to cook in steam, to burn (as bricks in a kiln), to cauterize, to brand’, *cuṭu* ‘burning, heating, scalding’, *cuṭar* ‘light, brilliance, luster, sun, sunshine, moon, planet, fire, burning lamp, flame, spark’, *cuṭal* ‘drops of burning oil falling from a lamp, charred end of a burning stick’, *cuṭalai*, *cuṭu-kāṭu* ‘burning-ground’, *cūṭu* (*cūṭi-*) ‘to brand (as cattle); to cauterize’, *cūṭu* ‘that which is heated, burnt, roasted; heat, warmth; feverishness, fomentation; hot temper, anger, brand’, *cūṭṭu* ‘that which is burnt or cooked, a kind of *ola* torch’; Malayalam *cuṭuka* ‘to burn (intr.), to be hot, to feel hot; to burn (tr.), to make hot, to toast, to roast, to bake, to boil’, *cuṭuvikka* ‘to get one to burn’, *cuṭar* ‘fire, brightness’, *cuṭala* ‘the burning place in the southern corner of the compound; burning or burying place’, *cūṭu* ‘heat, burning’, *cūṭṭu* ‘torch’, *cūṭṭa* ‘the top of a coconut branch used as a torch’; Kota *tur-* (*tuṭ-*) ‘to roast, to bake (pots), to burn (corpses)’, *cuṛ ga-r* ‘funeral burning-place’, *cu-r* (oblique *cu-ṭ-*) ‘heat, a burn, spark thrown off by hammered iron’; Toda *tur-* (*tuṭ-*) ‘to burn (tr.)’; Kannaḍa *suḍu* (*suṭṭ-*) ‘to burn (tr.), to roast, to bake, to fire (a gun); to be consumed with fire, to burn (intr.), to feel hot, to be roasted’, *suḍu* ‘burning, etc.’, *suḍuka* ‘who has burned’, *suḍuvike*, *suḍuha* ‘burning’, *suḍu-gāḍu* ‘cemetery’, *sūḍu* ‘cauterization, burning’, *sūṭe* ‘a torch of wisps, etc.’, *soḍa* ‘burning’, *soḍar*, *soḍaru*, *soḍalu* ‘lamp’, *sunṭage*, *sunṭige* ‘roast meat; the act of burning or roasting; that which is chiefly taken for roasting on a spit, the heart’; Koḍagu *cud-* (*cuḍuv-*, *cuṭṭ-*) ‘to burn (tr.)’, *cuḍi gaḷa* ‘cremation place’, *tu-ḍi* ‘torch of dry reeds or

small splints of wood'; Tuḷu *suḍupini*, *suḍpini*, *tuḍupini* 'to burn, to be hot, to be sultry; to burn (tr.), to bake, to toast, to roast', *suḍalè* 'burning a dead body', *suḍu*, *sūḍu* 'the act of burning', *suḍugāḍu* 'cemetery', *suḍsuḍu* 'a burning sensation in the throat', *suḍaru*, *tuḍaru*, *tuḍāru* 'lamp', *cūḍu* 'heat, warmth, zeal; hot, warm', *cūṭè*, *tūṭè* 'torch made of palm leaves, etc.', *soḍaru* 'the smell of burning'; Koraga *sūḍi* 'torch made of coconut leaves'; Telugu *cūḍu* 'to burn, to brand with a hot iron or the like', *cūḍu* 'burning, branding, a brand', *suḍiyu* 'to burn (intr.)'; Kolami *suḍ-* (*suṭṭ-*) 'to cook'; Naikṛi *suṭ-* 'to roast'; Naiki (of Chanda) *suṛ-/suḍḍ-* (*suṭṭ-*) 'to fry'; Gondi *surrānā* 'to cook bread', *sūr* 'torch'; Konda *suṛ-* (*suRt-*) 'to roast, to burn (incense)'; Pengo *huz-* (*hust-*), *huzba-* 'to roast'; Kui *subga* (*sugd-*) '(vb.) to roast; (n.) roasting'; Kuwi *hūḍ-* (*-it-*) 'to burn; to shoot with a gun', *hūḍali* 'to burn'; Kuṛux *kuṛnā* (*kuṭṭas*) 'to grow warm, to become hot, to be heated; to cook (tr.) on live embers, to bake on an open fire'; Malto *kure* (*kuṭ-*) 'to burn, to roast, to sear', *kuṛnare* 'to be hot or warm', *kuṛni* 'warm, hot'. Krishnamurti 2003:148 **cūṭ-*/**cuṭ-*V- 'to be hot, to burn'; Burrow—Emeneau 1964:229—230, no. 2654.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **seh^hw-* [**sa^hh^{w-}*] (unattested root) 'to be or become hot, warm; to heat up, to make hot, to warm, to burn'; only found with the suffixes *-(*e*)l-, *-(*e*)n-: **seh^hw-(e)l-* (> **sāwel-*), **sh^hw-ōl-* (> **swōl-*), (**sə^hh^{w-l-}* >) **su^hh^{w-l-}* (> **sūl-*); **sh^hw-en-* (> **swen-*), **sə^hh^{w-n-}* > **su^hh^{w-n-}* (> **sūn-*), etc. 'the sun': Greek ἥλιος (Doric ἄλιος, ἄέλιος; Epic Greek ἠέλιος; Aeolian and Arcadian ἄέλιος; Cretan ἀβέλιος [that is, ἀφέλιος]) (< **σᾰφέλιος*) 'the sun'; Latin *sōl* (< **swōl-* < **sh^hw-ōl-*) 'the sun'; Old Irish *súil* 'eye'; Welsh *haul* 'the sun'; Gothic *sauil* (< Proto-Germanic **sōwilō*) 'the sun', *sugil* 'the sun', *sunno* 'the sun' (< Proto-Germanic **sun-ōn*, with *-nn-* from the gen. sg. **sunnez* < **s(w)ŋ-* < **sh^hw-ŋ-*); Old Icelandic *sól* 'the sun', *sunna* 'the sun'; Faroese *sól* 'the sun', *sunna* 'the sun'; Norwegian *sol* 'the sun'; Old Danish *sol* 'the sun'; Old Swedish *sol* 'the sun', *sunna* 'the sun'; Old English *sōl* 'the sun', *sigel*, *segl*, *sægl*, *sygil* 'the sun', *sunne* 'the sun'; Old Frisian *sunne* 'the sun'; Old Saxon *sunna* 'the sun'; Dutch *zon* 'the sun'; Old High German *sunna* 'the sun' (New High German *Sonne*); Avestan *hvarə* 'the sun', (gen. sg.) *x^vōng* (< **swen-s*); Sanskrit *svàr-* (*súvar-*) 'the sun', (gen. sg. *súrah*), *súrya-h* 'the sun'; Lithuanian *sáulė* 'the sun', *svilinti* 'to singe'; Latvian *saūle* 'the sun'. Pokorny 1959:881—882 **sāuel-*, **sāuol-*, **suuél-*, **suēl-*, **sūl-* 'the sun'; Walde 1927—1932.II:446—447 **sāuel-*, **suuél-*, **suēl-*, **sūl-*; **suēn-*, **sun-*; Mann 1984—1987:1114 **sāul-*, **sāuel-* 'the sun' (Indo-Iranian variant: **sūl-*); Watkins 1985:56 **sāwel-*, also **s(u)wel-*, **su(ə)el-*, **su(ə)en-*, **sun-* and 2000:72 **sa₂wel-* (oldest form **se₂wel-*) 'the sun' ('[t]he element **-el-* was originally suffixal, and alternated with **-en-*, yielding the variant zero-grades **s(u)wen-* and [reduced] **sun-*"); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:117 **suēl-*/**sāuel-*, I:196 **sāuel-* ~ **suēn-*, I:210 fn. 1 **sāuel-*, II:684 **s(a)uHel-/n-* and 1995.I:100 **swel-*/**sāwel-*

‘sun’, I:161 fn. 30 *swel-/swen-, I:168 *sāwel-/swen-, I:181 fn. 47 *sāwel-, I:590 *s(a)wHel-/n-; Mallory—Adams 1997:556 *séh_aul (gen. *sh_au-én-s) ‘sun’ and 2006:128 *séh_aul; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:496 *su₂l-, *su₂el-, *se₂uel- and III:566—567; Boisacq 1950:321 *sāuel-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:631—632 *sāuel-, *sūl-; Hofmann 1966:107 *sāuel-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:410—411 *sāwel-, *sūl-; Beekes 1969:62 *seh₂uel- and 2010.I:516 *seh₂u-el-; Sihler 1995:84 *suH₂el-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:553—554 *sāuel-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:632 *sāwel-, *sāwol-, *swōl-; De Vaan 2008:570; Kroonen 2013:463—464 Proto-Germanic *sōel- ~ *sunnōn- ‘sun’ (< *séh₂u-l/n-); Orël 2003:361 Proto-Germanic *sōwelan ~ *sowelō, 387 *sunnōn; Feist 1939:412 *sāuel- and 460 *suen-; Lehmann 1986:297 *sexwel- → *sāwel- ‘sun’ and 330 *sāwel-, *swen-; De Vries 1977:529 *sāuel : *sunés and 561—562; Torp 1919:681 Germanic *sówulō, *sówila-; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:253—254; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:382—383 *sh₂-uen-, *seh₂-ul; Onions 1966:885 “IE *su- with *n*-formative, beside *sāu- with *l*-formative...”; Klein 1971:730; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:716; Kluge—Seebold 1989:679; Walshe 1951:211; Derksen 2015:390 *seh₂-l, *sh₂-u-en-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:954; Smoczyński 2007.1:536—537 *seh₂-uel-, *seh₂-ul-; Hamp 1965a:132—133 *seA^wel-, *s^oA^wl-; Fortson 2010:123 *séh₂-ul (or *sh₂-uōl in the case of Latin *sōl*), Vedic Sanskrit *sūrya-h* ‘sun’ (< *suh₂-l-); Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:606—611 *séh₂uel-, *sh₂(u)uen- (?), *sh₂un-, *suh₂l-; Benveniste 1935:11—12 *sāwel-, *(u)wel- : *(u)wen-.

Buck 1949:1.52 sun.

294. Proto-Nostratic root *sʷenʷ-:

(vb.) *sʷenʷ- ‘to change, to deteriorate, to grow old’;

(n.) *sʷenʷ-a ‘old age; old person’; (adj.) ‘aged, old’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *sʷ[e]n- ‘to change, to deteriorate, to grow old’: Proto-Semitic *sʷan-an- ‘to grow old, to reach old age’ > Akkadian *šanānu* ‘to have reached, attained’, *šinnatu* ‘attainment, achievement, equality’; Arabic *sanna* ‘to grow old, to age, to be advanced in years’, *ʔasann* ‘older, farther advanced in years’, *musinn* ‘old, aged’; Šheri / Jibbāli *esnín* ‘to become old’, *sən* ‘age’; Mehri *šasnōn* ‘to think someone is old’, *sənáyən* ‘person a year older than oneself’.
- B. Dravidian: Gondi *sēnāl* ‘old man, senior’, *sēnō* ‘old woman’, (m.) *senāl*, (f., nt.) *seno* ‘aged’, *senāl* ‘old man’, *seno* ‘old woman’; Kui *senḍa* ‘first-born, eldest’, *senḍenju* ‘founder of a race, early settler’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:243, no. 2808.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *sen-/sṇ- ‘old’: Sanskrit *sána-h* ‘old, ancient’; Avestan *hanō* ‘old’; Old Persian *hanatā-* ‘old age, lapse of time’; Latin *senex* ‘old, aged’; Old Irish *sen* ‘old’; Welsh *hên* ‘old’, *hyned* ‘so old’, *hŷn*,

hynach ‘older’; Cornish *hēn* ‘old’; Breton *hen* ‘old’; Gothic *sineigs* ‘old’; Lithuanian *sēnas* ‘old’, *sēnis* ‘old man’; Armenian *hin* ‘old’. Pokorny 1959:907—908 **sen(o)-* ‘old’; Walde 1927—1932.II:494 **sen(o)-*; Mann 1984—1987:1127 **senāit-* ‘age’, 1127 **senējō* (**sen[e]sḱō*) ‘to grow old’, 1128 **senos* ‘old’; **senis*, *-jos* ‘elderly; old man’; Watkins 1985:57 **sen-* and 2000:75 **sen-* ‘old’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:783, fn. 1, **sen-* and 1995.I:685, fn. 4, **sen-* ‘old’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:613 **sen-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:513—514 **sénos*; De Vaan 2008:553—554; Mallory—Adams 1997:409 **sénos* ‘old’; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:613—615 **sen-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:426; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:3 and 183; Morris Jones 1913:134, 247—248, and 261—262; Thurneysen 1946:118; Kroonen 2013:433 Proto-Germanic **senīga-* ‘senior’; Orël 2003:324 Proto-Germanic **senīgaz*; Feist 1939:422—423 **séno-*; Lehmann 1986:304—305 **seno-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:775; Smoczyński 2007.1:543.

Buck 1949:14.15 old. Brunner 1969:105, no. 577; Möller 1911:226—227; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:342—343, no. 167; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2075, **s[e]nV* ‘long time, year, old’.

295. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasianic only) (n.) **svil-a* ‘fat, lard’:

- A. Proto-Indo-European **sel-ph-/sḷ-ph-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **solp^h-*) ‘fat, butter’: Sanskrit *sarpis-* ‘clarified butter, ghee’, *sīprá-h* ‘slippery, oily’; Greek ἔλπος ‘butter’, (?) ὄληη, ὄλις ‘a leathern oil-flask’; Gothic *salbōn* ‘to anoint’, *salbōns* ‘ointment’; Old English *salf*, *sealf(e)* ‘salve, ointment’, *sealfian* ‘to salve, to anoint’; Old Frisian *salvia* ‘to anoint’; Old Saxon *salba* ‘salve, ointment’, *salbōn* ‘to anoint’; Dutch *zalf* ‘salve, ointment’; Old High German *salba* ‘salve, ointment’ (New High German *Salbe*), *salbōn* ‘to anoint’ (New High German *salben*); Tocharian A *ṣālyp*, B *ṣalype*, *ṣalywe* ‘ointment, grease’; Albanian *gjalpë* ‘oil, butter’ (< **sólpo-*). Pokorny 1959:901 **selp-* ‘fat, butter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:508 **selp-*; Mann 1984—1987:1125 **selpis*; **selpos*, *-es-* ‘grease, butter; smeared, greasy’; Watkins 1985:57 **selp-* and 2000:75 **selp-* ‘fat, butter’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:703—704 **selp^h-* and 1995.I:609 **selp^h-* ‘oil, butter’; Mallory—Adams 1997:194 **sélpes-* (or **sélp_x(e)s-* ?) ‘oil, fat, grease’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:446; Boisacq 1950:246 **selp-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:503 **selp-*; Hofmann 1966:80 **selp-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:342—343 **selp-*; Beekes 2010.I:415—416 (pre-Greek, on the basis of the φ found in Cyprian ἔλπος); Orël 1998:129 and 2003:315 Proto-Germanic **salbō*, 315 **salbōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:424 Proto-Germanic **salbō-* ‘ointment’; Feist 1939:407—408; Lehmann 1986:293; Onions 1966:785; Klein 1971:653 **selp-* ‘fat, oil’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:621 **selp-*, **solp-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:615; Walshe 1951:186;

Adams 1999:652—653 **sélpos*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:450—451 **selep-*, **selp-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:612—613 **selp-*; Huld 1983:148.

- B. Proto-Uralic **svilä* ‘fat, lard’: Finnish *silava* ‘fat, lard (especially of pork)’; Vogul / Mansi *šilt* ‘fat, lard (of bear)’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *sela* ‘melted fat (of fish)’; Selkup Samoyed (adj.) *siile* ‘fat’; Kamassian *sil* ‘fat, lard’. Collinder 1955:56 and 1977:74; Rédei 1986—1988:478—479 **šilä*; Décsy 1990:108 **sjilä* ‘fat, bacon’; Janhunen 1977b:140 **selä* ~ **silä*.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:338, no. 161; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2194a, **siĪV* (and **siĪV?*) ‘fat’.

296. Proto-Nostratic root **svilʷ-* (~ **svelʷ-*):

(vb.) **svilʷ-* ‘to take (away), to seize, to snatch’;

(n.) **svilʷ-a* ‘removal, robbery, plunder’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **svil-* ‘to take, to seize, to plunder’: Proto-Semitic **sval-al-* ‘to take, to seize, to plunder’ > Hebrew *šālal* [שָׁלַל] ‘to spoil, to plunder’; Akkadian *šalālu* ‘to spoil, to plunder, to carry away’; Arabic *salla* ‘to draw or pull out slowly, to draw a sword’; Mehri *səl* ‘(wolf) to drag away (its prey)’, *slūl* ‘to let (a wolf) take an animal from you’, *sáttəl* ‘to steal away unobserved’; Šheri / Jibbāli *sell* ‘(wolf) to drag away its prey’. Murtonen 1989:423; Klein 1987:662; Zammit 2002:226. Proto-Semitic **sval-ab-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to take away’ > Arabic *salaba* ‘to take away, to steal, to rob, to plunder’; Šheri / Jibbāli *səlōb* ‘to take (someone’s gun) by force’; Ḥarsūsi *selōb* ‘to disarm’; Mehri *səlūb* ‘to disarm someone’; Geez / Ethiopic *salaba* [ሰለበ] ‘to take off, to strip off, to take away, to remove, to deprive, to take spoils, to plunder, to despoil’; Tigrinya *säläbä* ‘to rob someone of his clothes’; Tigre *saläba* ‘to rob, to snatch away’; Amharic *sälläbä* ‘to cheat, to rob by magical means’; Gurage (Soddo) *sälabi* ‘cheater’. Leslau 1987:498—499. Proto-Semitic **sval-ap-* ‘to draw out, to pull out’ > Hebrew *šālaq* [שָׁלַק] ‘to draw out’; Aramaic *šəlaq* ‘to draw a sword, to pull off (shoes)’; Akkadian *šalāpu* ‘to draw (a sword, a dagger) from a sheath, to tear out, to pull out, to extricate, to rescue’. Murtonen 1989:426; Klein 1987:663; Zammit 2002:225. Coptic *sōlp* [ϣⲟⲗⲡ] ‘to break off, to cut off’, *slolep* [ϣⲟⲗⲡⲉⲡ], *sleplōp* [ϣⲟⲗⲡⲟⲡ] ‘to tear apart’ (Semitic loans). Vycichl 1983:188; Černý 1976:151. Proto-Southern Cushitic **sil-* ‘to strip bare, to make empty’ > K’wadza *sil-* ‘to pluck (a bird)’; Ma’a *-silo* ‘bare, naked, empty’. Ehret 1980:180. Ehret 1995:158, no. 217, **sil-* ‘to pull off, to draw off’.
- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *sele* ‘(vb.) to draw, to pull, to pull off, to rob, to pull about; (n.) pulling, pulling off, robbing, force of a stream’; Tuḷu *selè* ‘force’; Telugu *celuku* ‘to pull out (as the eyes)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:242, no. 2791.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **sel-/s_l-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **sol-*) ‘to take, to seize’: Greek ἐλεῖν ‘to take, to seize’; Gothic *saljan* ‘to offer sacrifice’; Old Icelandic *selja* ‘to give up, to sell’, *sal* ‘payment, installment’; Old English *sellan*, *syllan* ‘to give, to furnish, to supply, to lend’, *selen*, *sylen* ‘gift, grant’, *salu* ‘sale’; Old Frisian *sella* ‘to give up, to hand over, to deliver’; Old Saxon *sellian* ‘to hand over, to deliver’; Old High German *sellen* ‘to hand over, to deliver’, *sala* ‘transmission’; Old Irish *sellaim* ‘to take’, *selb* ‘possession’. Rix 1998a:479–480 **selh₁-* ‘to take’; Pokorny 1959:899 **sel-* ‘to take, to seize’; Walde 1927–1932.II:504–505 **sel-*; Mann 1984–1987:1125 **seluā*, **seluos* ‘landed property, possession’; Watkins 1985:57 **sel-* and 2000:75 **sel-* ‘to take, to grasp’; Mallory–Adams 1997:564 **sel-* ‘to seize, to take possession of’; Chantraine 1968–1980.I:335 **swel-/sel-*; Boisacq 1950:240–241 **sel-* ‘to take’; Hofmann 1966:78; Frisk 1970–1973.I:487–488; Beekes 2010.I:405 **selh₁-*; Orël 2003:316 Proto-Germanic **saljanan*, 316 **salō(n)*; Kroonen 2013:424–425 Proto-Germanic **saljan-* ‘to offer, to sell’ (< **selh₁-* ‘to take’); Feist 1939:408–409 **sel-*; Lehmann 1986:294 **sel-* ‘to take’; De Vries 1977:469 **sel-*; Onions 1966:783 and 808; Klein 1971:651 and 670 **sel-* ‘to take’.

Sumerian *šilig* ‘to hold tight, to grasp’.

Buck 1949:11.59 rob, robber; 11.82 sell. Brunner 1969:105, no. 576; Bomhard–Kerns 1994:341, no. 164; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2159, **šélV* (or **šélV*) ‘to take off, to destroy, to pull off’ and, no. 2194, **šil[ú]* (or **šil[ú]* ?) ‘to take, to take away/off/up’.

297. Proto-Nostratic root **s^vir-* (~ **s^ver-*):

(vb.) **s^vir-* ‘to twist, turn, tie, or bind together’;

(n.) **s^vir-a* ‘band, cord, any cord-like object: sinew, tendon, nerve, vein’

Perhaps related to:

(n.) **s^vir-a* ‘root (of tree or plant)’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **s^v[i]r-* ‘(vb.) to twist, turn, tie, or bind together; (n.) band, cord, any cord-like object: sinew, tendon, nerve, vein’: Proto-Semitic **s^var-ar-* ‘to fasten firmly’, **s^vurr-* (< **s^vərr-*) ‘band, cord, any cord-like object: sinew, tendon, nerve, vein, umbilical cord’ > Akkadian *šaršarratu* ‘chain, fetter’; Hebrew *šōr* [רֶשֶׁר] ‘umbilical cord’, *šārīr* [רֶשֶׁרֶשֶׁר] ‘sinew, muscle’, *šaršarāh* [רֶשֶׁרֶשֶׁר] ‘chain’; Aramaic *šərar* ‘to chain, to knot’, *šūrā* ‘umbilical cord’; Arabic *surr* ‘umbilical cord’, *surra*, *surar* ‘navel, umbilicus’, *surur*, *sirar* ‘umbilical cord’; Mehri *šīrē* ‘navel’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *šīrō* ‘navel’; Ḥarsūsi *šerā* ‘navel’; Soqotri *šira* ‘navel’; Geez / Ethiopic *šərw* [ሥርወ], *šūr* [ሥር], *šər* [ሥር] ‘sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle’ (also ‘basis, root, origin, stock, tribe’); Amharic *sər* ‘vein, artery, nerve, tendon’

(also ‘root, bottom; under, beneath, at the foot of’). Klein 1987:680 and 684; Murtonen 1989:437; Leslau 1987:535—536. Ehret 1995:164, no. 231, *saraar-/siraar- ‘muscle, sinew’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:484, no. 2298, *sur- ‘rope’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cēr* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to become united, incorporated, joined together; to become mixed, blended; to have connection with, to be in close friendship or union; to fit, to suit; to be collected, aggregated; to join, to associate with, to be in contact with, to belong to’, *cēr* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to join, to attach, to admix; to admit to one’s society, to add, to insert, to gather, to assemble’, *cērkkai* ‘collecting, gathering, combining, mixing; compound; fellowship, company, union’, *cērtti* ‘combining, union, fellowship, suitability, fitness, resemblance, equality’, *cērvai* ‘fellowship, association, union, mixture, compound, collection, assemblage’; Malayalam *cēruka* ‘to approach, to come close, to join, to belong to, to fit, to suit’, *cērikka* ‘to have collected’, *cērumānam* ‘assemblage (as for a riot), party’, *cērkkā* ‘to make to arrive or join, to collect (as men)’, *cērcca* ‘adherence, union, harmony, fitness’, *cērppikka* ‘to have assembled or collected’, *cērppu* ‘joining, mortising, assemblage’, *cērvva* ‘mixture’; Kota *ce-r-* (*ce-d-*) ‘to arrive, to join, to gather’; Kannada *sēr* (*sērd-*) ‘to become or be close or near, to go to, to approach, to reach, to come, to belong to, to enter, to be included, to be connected with, to join, to side with, to assemble, to be collected; to agree, to concur, to suit, to be agreeable’, *sērike* ‘meeting, union’, *sērisu* ‘to join, to put together, to put to, to attach, to cause to reach, to put into, to make enter, to insert, to fix, to assemble’, *sēruvike* ‘joining’, *sēruve*, *sērve* ‘collection, assemblage, mass, herd (of cattle)’; Kodagu *se-r-* (*se-ri-*) ‘to join’; Tuḷu *śēruni* ‘to arrive, to reach, to be added or joined to, to be included in, to enter (as a member of a sect), to be in harmony, to agree together; to be relished, to be liked; to agree with; to adhere to, to be attached’, *śērāvuni* ‘to join, to combine, to mix, to include’, *śērigè*, *śērvè* ‘union, inclusion’; Telugu *cēru* ‘to join, to unite or combine with; to approach, to draw near or close to, to reach, to arrive at; to enter or join (as a class); to form a part or portion of; to be attached to, to be connected or related to; to assemble; to be received, to come to hand; to be included or added, to belong, to appertain’, *cērika* ‘union, junction, contiguity, nearness, proximity, familiarity, access’, *cēr(u)cu* ‘to put, place, or bring together; to join, to unite, to combine, to mix, to add, to include, to enclose, to admit, to enroll, to add or sum up; to reach, to cause to reach or be delivered’; Gadba (Salur) *sēr-* ‘to arrange, to reach’; (?) Kui *serna aḍa* ‘to cleave to’, *serna* ‘clingingly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:244, no. 2814.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *ser-/sʷ- (secondary *o*-grade form: *sor-) ‘(vb.) to twist, turn, tie, or string together; (n.) band, cord, string, thread; sinew, tendon, vein, nerve’: Sanskrit *sarat* ‘thread’, *sarā-h* ‘cord, string’, *sirā* ‘nerve, vein, artery, tendon’; Prakrit *sarā* ‘string, garland, necklace’, *sirā* ‘vein, sinew’; Oriya *sari*, *sarā* ‘string (of garlands, etc.)’, *sira* ‘vein,

artery’, *sirāla* ‘having conspicuous veins’; Greek εἶρω ‘to fasten together in rows, to string’, ἔρμα ‘band, noose; serpent’s coils’, in plural (ἔρματα) ‘earrings’; Latin *serō* ‘to join together, to put in a row, to connect’, *seriēs* ‘a row, succession, chain, series’, *sera* ‘a movable bar or bolt for fastening doors’; Gothic *sarwa* ‘weapons, armor’; Old Icelandic *sørvi* ‘necklace; armor’; Old English *searo* ‘device, contrivance; skill, work of skill, machine; armor, arms; cunning, treachery’, *sierwan* ‘to devise; to lie in wait for, to plot, to conspire’; Old Frisian *sera* ‘to arm, to arrange’; Old High German *saro* ‘weapons, armor’; Old Lithuanian *sėris* ‘thread, cobbler’s thread’; Tocharian A *sar-* ‘vein’. Rix 1998a:484 **ser-* ‘to string together, to arrange in a row; to tie or bind together’; Pokorny 1959:911 **ser-* ‘to line up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:499—500 **ser-*; Mann 1984—1987:1131 **sermn-* (**sermō(n)*) ‘chain, row, series’, 1131 **serō*, *-iō* ‘to join, to range, to arrange’; Watkins 1985:58 **ser-* and 2000:76 **ser-* ‘to line up’; Mallory—Adams 1997:354 **ser-* ‘to line up’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:469; Boisacq 1950:229; Beekes 2010.I:392—393 **ser-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:469; Hofmann 1966:74 **ser-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:325 **ser-*; De Vaan 2008:557; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:522—523; Ernout—Meillet 1979:618—619; Kroonen 2013:427 Proto-Germanic **sarwa-* ‘armor, equipment’; Orël 2003:319 Proto-Germanic **sarwan*; Feist 1939:411; Lehmann 1986:296 **ser-* ‘to arrange’; De Vries 1977:577; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:414 **sor-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:442 and III:469.

- D. Proto-Altaic **sira-* (~ *-u*, *-o*) ‘to quilt, to sew together’: Proto-Tungus **sira-* ‘to sew together, to piece down’ > Manchu *sira-* ‘to connect, to tie together’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *šira-* ‘to connect, to tie together, to join’; Evenki *sira-* ‘to sew together, to piece down’; Lamut / Even *hīr̥q-* ‘to sew together, to piece down’; Negidal *siya-* ‘to sew together, to piece down’; Ulch *siya-* ‘to sew together, to join’; Nanay / Gold *siya-* ‘to sew together, to join’; Oroch *siya-* ‘to sew together, to join’; Udihe *seä-* ‘to sew together, to join’. Proto-Mongolian **siri-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’ > Written Mongolian *siri-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Khalkha *šire-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Ordos *šire-*, *širi-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Buriat *šere-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Kalmyk *šir-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Dagur *širi-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Shira-Yughur *širə-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Monguor *širə-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’. Proto-Turkic **siri-* ‘to sew tightly’ > Karakhanide Turkic *siri-* ‘to sew tightly’; Turkish *sırma* ‘lace, embroidery’, (dial.) *sırı-* ‘to sew tightly’; Azerbaijani *siri-* ‘to sew tightly’; Turkmenian *sira-* ‘to sew tightly’; Uighur (dial.) *siri-* ‘to sew tightly’; Tatar *sir-* ‘to sew tightly’; Bashkir *hīr-* ‘to sew tightly’; Kazakh *siri-* ‘to sew tightly’; Noghay *siri-* ‘to sew tightly’; Tuva *siri-* ‘to sew tightly’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1259 **sira* (~ *-u*, *-o*) ‘to quilt, to sew together’. Proto-Altaic **sjörme* ‘sinew’: Proto-Tungus **sumu* ‘sinew’ > Manchu *sube* ‘tendon, nerve, muscle’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *suvu* ‘tendon’; Evenki *sumu* ‘sinew’ (note also *sura* ‘vein’); Lamut / Even *hum*

‘sinew’; Negidal *sumu* ‘sinew’; Ulch *sumul* ‘sinew’; Orok *sumu* ~ *χumu* ‘sinew’; Nanay / Gold *sumul* ‘sinew’; Oroch *sumu(l)* ‘sinew’; Udihe *sumul(i)* ‘sinew’; Solon *sumul* ‘sinew’. Proto-Mongolian **sirmö-*, **sirbö-* ‘sinew, nerve, tendon’ > Written Mongolian *širbüsü(n)*, *širmüsü(n)* ‘nerve, sinew, tendon; fiber, filament’; Khalkha *šörmös(ön)*, *šürbüs*, *šörvös(ön)* ‘sinew’; Buriat *šürbehe(n)*, *šürmehe(n)* ‘nerve, sinew, tendon’; Kalmyk *šürwsn*, *šir(w)ūsñ* ‘nerve, sinew, tendon’; Ordos *šörwös*, *šörwösü* ‘sinew’; Dagur *širbes*, *širbus* ‘sinew’; Monguor *šbužə*, *šulužə*, *šurbusə* ‘sinew’. Poppe 1960:30 and 117; Street 1974:25 **sir* ‘sinew, tendon’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1283—1284 **šjörme* ‘sinew’.

Sumerian *šer* ‘to tie, to bind’, *šér(-šér)* ‘to tie, to bind’, *šèr-šèr* ‘chain’, *šir-šir* ‘band, chain’, *šèr-šèr-apin* ‘chain’.

Buck 1949:9.19 rope, cord. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:345, no. 170; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2106, **säR[u]* (= **säRo* ?) ‘sinew, fiber’.

298. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **sʷir-a* ‘root (of tree or plant)’:

Perhaps related to:

(vb.) **sʷir-* ‘to twist, turn, tie, or bind together’;

(n.) **sʷir-a* ‘band, cord, any cord-like object: sinew, tendon, nerve, vein’

A. Proto-Afrasian **sʷir-* ‘root’: Proto-Semitic **sʷirsʷ-/sʷursʷ-* (< **sʷərsʷ-*) ‘root’ > Akkadian *šuršu* ‘root’; Hebrew *šōreš* [שֹׁרֶשׁ] ‘root (of plant)’; Syriac *šeršā* ‘root’; Phoenician *šrš* ‘root’; Ugaritic *šrš* ‘root’; Arabic *širš* (< **sirs*) ‘root’. Murtonen 1989:439; Klein 1987:684. Proto-Semitic **sʷirr-/sʷurr-* (< **sʷərr-*) ‘root’ > Arabic *sirr* ‘root, origin, source’; Geez / Ethiopic *šərw* [ሥርወ], *šūr* [ሥር], *šər* [ሥር] ‘basis, root, origin, stock, tribe’ (also ‘sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle’); Tigrinya *sər*, *sur* ‘root’; Tigre *sər* ‘root’; Amharic *sər* ‘root, bottom; under, beneath, at the foot of’ (also ‘vein, artery, nerve, tendon’); Gafat *sər* ‘root’; Harari *sər* ‘root, bottom; near’; Gurage *sər* ‘root, bottom of a thing’. Leslau 1963:142, 1979:558, and 1987:535—536. Central Cushitic: Awngi / Awiya *sár* ‘root’; Kemant *sər* ‘root’; Quara *sər* ‘root’; Bilin *zir* ‘root’. Appleyard 2006:116—117; Reinisch 1887:309. Ehret 1995:164, no. 230, **sar-/sir-* ‘root’.

B. Dravidian: Gonda *sīr*, *šīr*, *sīr*, *hīr*, *hīr*, *īr* ‘root’; Pengo *cīra* ‘root’; Kui *sīru* ‘root’; Kuwi *hīrū*, *hīru* ‘root’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:228, no. 2626.

Buck 1949:8.54 root.

299. Proto-Nostratic root **sʷol-*:

(vb.) **sʷol-* ‘to be safe, well, sound’;

(n.) **sʷol-a* ‘safety; health, welfare’; (adj.) ‘safe, well, sound’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **sʷ[o]l-* ‘to be safe, well, sound’: Proto-Semitic **sʷal-am-* ‘to be safe, well, sound’ > Hebrew *šālēm* [שָׁלֵם] ‘to be complete, sound’, *šālōm* [שָׁלוֹם] ‘peace’; Syriac *šalēm* ‘to be complete, to be safe’; Phoenician *šlm* ‘to be complete’; Ugaritic *šlm* ‘(vb.) to be complete; (n.) peace’; Arabic *salima* ‘to be safe and sound, unharmed, unimpaired, intact, safe, secure’, *salām* ‘soundness, unimpairedness, intactness, well-being; peace, peacefulness; safety, security’, *salim* ‘peace’, *salīm* ‘safe, secure; free (from); unimpaired, undamaged, unhurt, sound, intact, complete, perfect, whole, integral, faultless, flawless; well; safe and sound; healthy; sane’, *sālim* ‘safe, secure; free (from); unimpaired, unblemished, faultless, flawless, undamaged, unhurt, safe and sound, safe; sound, healthy; whole, perfect, complete, integral’; Akkadian *šalāmu* ‘to be well’, *šulmu* ‘health, welfare’; Sabaean *slm* ‘peace, soundness, health’; Ḥarsūsi *sēlem* ‘to be safe’, *selōm*, *selām* ‘peace’, *selōmet* ‘peace, safety’; Šheri / Jibbāli *sēlm* ‘to be safe’, *sélum* ‘peace, safety’; Mehri *sīlām* ‘to be safe, saved’, *sālōm* ‘peace’, *sēlom*, *sōlām* ‘safe’; Geez / Ethiopic *salām* [ሰላም] ‘peace, salutation, safety’; Tigrinya *sālam* ‘peace’; Tigre *sālma* ‘to greet’; Amharic *sālam* ‘peace, tranquility’, *sällāma* ‘to pacify’. Arabic loan in Gurage (Soddo) *sālam* ‘peace’. Murtonen 1989:425—426; Klein 1987:662—663; Leslau 1979:643 and 1987:499—500; Zammit 2002:227. Egyptian *snb* (< **šnb* /šlm/) ‘to be sound, healthy’. Hannig 1995:717—718; Erman—Grapow 1921:164 and 1926—1963.4:158—159; Faulkner 1962:231.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **cōl-* (‘whole, healthy, sound’ >) ‘excellent, beautiful, fine’: Pengo *hōl-* ‘to be beautiful, fine, good, excellent’; Maṇḍa *hūlpā-* ‘to be fine, beautiful’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:250, no. 2890.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **sol-* ‘whole, sound, well, safe’: Sanskrit *sārva-ḥ* ‘all, whole, entire; altogether, wholly, completely’, *sarvātāti* ‘totality; completeness, perfect happiness or prosperity; soundness’; Pāli *sabba-* ‘all’; Avestan *haurva-* ‘whole, entire’; Old Persian *haruva-* ‘all’; Greek ὅλος ‘whole, entire, complete’; Armenian *olj* (< **solyo-*) ‘whole, healthy’; Latin *salvus* ‘safe, unhurt, well, sound’, *salus* ‘health, soundness’; Tocharian A *salu* ‘completely, entirely’, B *solme* ‘completely, altogether’. Pokorny 1959:979—980 **solo-*, **sol(e)uo-* ‘well-kept, whole’; Walde 1927—1932.II:510—511 **sōlo-*, **sol(e)uo-*; Mann 1984—1987:1220 **sṷjos* ‘complete, total, full, whole’, 1243—1244 **soljos*, *-jos* ‘whole, all, entire, sound, hale’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:812, fn. 1, **sol-(y-)* and 1995.I:711, fn. 1, **sol-(w-)* ‘health’; Watkins 1985:62—63 **sol-* (also **solā-*) and 2000:81—82 **sol-* (also **solā-*) ‘whole’; Mallory—Adams 1997:262 **sóljos* ‘whole’; Beekes 2010.II:1072 **sol(H)-uo-*; Boisacq 1950:699 **sol-uo-s*; Hofmann 1966:230—231 **sol-uos*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:381 **sóljos*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:794—795 **sol-wos*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:591—592; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:471 and II:472—473 **səl-uo-*, **solo-s*; De Vaan 2008:537 **sIH-u-* ‘whole’;

Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:446—447; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:412
*sol-; Adams 1999:705 and 2013:771 *solwo-.

Buck 1949:4.83 well; health; 11.26 safe; 16.81 beautiful (also pretty). Brunner
1969:105, no. 574; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:338—339, no. 162; Dolgopolsky
2008, no. 2046, *sālū ‘intact’ (→ ‘entire’), ‘in good condition, healthy’.

300. Proto-Nostratic root *sʷor-:

(vb.) *sʷor- ‘to surge, gush, flow, spring, or spread forth’;

(n.) *sʷor-a ‘surge, gush, flow’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *sʷ[o]r- ‘to surge, gush, flow, spring, or spread forth’:
Proto-Semitic *sʷar-ac- ‘to surge, gush, flow, spring, or spread forth’ >
Hebrew *šāraš* [ʃʷʃ] ‘to swarm, to team’, *šeres* [ʃʷʃ] ‘creeping things,
reptiles’; Syriac *šəraš* ‘to creep, to crawl’; Geez / Ethiopic *šaraša* [ʃʷʃ],
šarša [ʃʷʃ], *šaraða* [ʃʷʃ] ‘to germinate, to blossom, to shoot forth, to
sprout, to burgeon, to bud, to proceed, to arise’; Tigrinya *sārāsā* ‘to
sprout’; Amharic *sārrätä* ‘to suffuse’. Murtonen 1989:438; Klein
1987:683; Leslau 1987:535. Proto-Semitic *sʷar-ab- ‘to flow (forth)’ >
Arabic *sariba* ‘to flow, to run out, to leak; to creep’, *sirb* ‘herd, flock,
bevy, covey, swarm’; Akkadian *šarbu*, *šurbu* ‘shower (of rain)’; Geez /
Ethiopic *saraba* [ʃʷʃ] ‘to flood’, *ʔasrāb* [ʃʷʃ] (pl.) ‘torrents, showers’;
Tigrinya *sārābā* ‘to begin to rain’; Amharic *asrab* ‘cataract, flood’ (Geez
loan). Leslau 1987:511; Zammit 2002:218—219. Proto-Semitic *sʷar-aš-
‘to move quickly, to surge forth’ > Arabic *saruʿa* ‘to be quick, fast,
prompt, rapid; to urge (on); to speed up, to accelerate, to expedite; to
hasten, to hurry, to rush, to dash’; Ugaritic *šrʿ* ‘surging’; Akkadian *šerū* ‘to
well up’. Zammit 2002:219—220. Egyptian *šrr* ‘fluid, liquid’, *šrš* ‘(of
horses) to be quick, swift’. Faulkner 1962:270; Hannig 1995:833. Berber:
Tuareg *əsri* ‘to run, to let a horse gallop’, *səsri* ‘to make run’; Wargla
amsari ‘horse race, horse riding’; Tamazight *srirrəy* ‘to move quickly, to
be fast and efficient’, *asrirrəy* ‘the act of moving quickly, a quick and
happy ending’; Kabyle *isrir* ‘to be clear (sky), to be free (local)’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cōr* ‘to trickle down (as tears, blood, or milk), to fall, to
drop, to be dropped, to exude, to ooze out’, *cōrvu* ‘falling, pouring’, *cōri*
‘blood, rain, shower’, *cori* ‘to pour forth, to effuse’, *cura* ‘to spring forth,
to stream out, to gush, to flow, to swell morbidly with secretion, to
increase by steady accumulation of wealth, to pour forth continuously, to
give abundantly’, *curappu* ‘welling out, flowing out, gushing out, spring,
fountain, swelling’; Kota *jo-r-* (*jo-ry-*) ‘(tears and snot) to run in streams’;
Malayalam *cōruka* ‘to flow, to ooze, to trickle, to leak’, *cōrkka* ‘to drop
through, to melt wax’, *coriyuka* ‘to pour down, to flow, to shower; to pour
out (tr.)’; Kannada *sōr* ‘(vb.) to drop, to drip, to trickle, to ooze, to flow (as
coconut water, water-drops, juice of fruit, etc.); (n.) leaking, dropping,

etc.’, *jōru* ‘(vb.) to trickle, to drip, to drop, to leak; (n.) trickling, flowing’, *suri* ‘to flow, to drop, to pour (as tears, blood, rain, etc.)’, *surisu* ‘to cause to flow, to cause to pour’, *suriyuvike* ‘flowing’, *juri* ‘to ooze away, to flow or ooze out plentifully’; Tuḷu *sōruni*, *tōruni* ‘to leak, to ooze, to run’; Telugu *torāgu*, *torūgu*, *torāgu* ‘to flow, to gush, to run, to burst out, to fall’; Gadba (Ollari) *sōrp-* (*sort-*) ‘to pour’, (Salur) *cōr-* ‘to pour (of water)’; Brahui *curing* ‘to flow, to gush’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:249—250, no. 2883.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **sor-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **ser-*) ‘to move quickly, to run, to flow’: Sanskrit *sáratī* ‘to run, to flow, to move’; Greek ὄρμη ‘onset, rush’; Middle Irish *sirid* (< **sēr-*) ‘to wander through’. Pokorny 1959:909—910 **ser-* ‘to stream’; Walde 1927—1932.II:497—498 **ser-*; Mann 1984—1987:1131 **sēr-* ‘fluid’, 1131 **seros*, *-om* (?) ‘fluid’; Mallory—Adams 1997:207 **ser-* ‘to flow’; Watkins 1985:48 **ser-* and 2000:76 **ser-* ‘to flow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:227 **ser-* and 1995.I:197 **ser-* ‘to flow, to move’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:419—420 **sór-mo-*, **sor-mā-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:831 (Chantraine rejects the comparison of Greek ὄρμη with Sanskrit *sáratī*); Boisacq 1950:713 **ser-*; Beekes 2010.II:1104—1105 **sor-meh₂-*; Hofmann 1966:238 **ser-*. Proto-Indo-European **ser-ph₁-*/**sor-ph₁-*/**sṛ-ph₁-* ‘to creep, to crawl’: Sanskrit *sárpātī* ‘to creep, to crawl’; Greek ἔρπω ‘to creep, to crawl’; Latin *serpō* ‘to creep, to crawl’, *serpēs* ‘snake, serpent’; Albanian *gjarpër* ‘snake’. Rix 1998a:485 **serp-* ‘to creep, to crawl’; Pokorny 1959:912 **serp-* ‘to creep, to crawl’; Walde 1927—1932.II:502 **serp-*; Mann 1984—1987:1132 **serp-* ‘creeper, creeping, reptile’; Mallory—Adams 1997:141 **serp-* ‘to crawl’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:223 **serp[h]-* : **sṛp[h]-* and 1995.I:193 **serph₁-* : **sṛph₁-* ‘to crawl; snake’; Watkins 1985:58 **serp-* and 2000:76 **serp-* ‘to crawl, to creep’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:445—446; Boisacq 1950:283; Hofmann 1966:94; Beekes 2010.I:463—464 **serp-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:565—566; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:374—375 **ser-*; De Vaan 2008:558; Ernout—Meillet 1979:619; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:524 **ser-p-*; Huld 1983:67—68. Proto-Indo-European **sr-ew-*/**sr-ow-*/**sr-u-* ‘to flow’: Greek ῥέω ‘to flow’; Sanskrit *srávati* ‘to flow’; Old Irish *srúaim* ‘flood, current’; Old Icelandic *straumr* ‘stream, current’; Danish *strøm* ‘stream’; Swedish *ström* ‘stream’; Norwegian *strøm* ‘stream’; Old English *strēam* ‘flowing, current; running water, river’; Old Frisian *strām* ‘stream’; Old Saxon *strōm* ‘stream’; Dutch *stroom* ‘stream’; Old High German *stroum* ‘stream, current’ (New High German *Strom*); Lithuanian *sraviù*, *sravėti* ‘to flow’; Thracian river name Στρομόν. Rix 1998a:535 **sreū-* ‘to flow’; Pokorny 1959:1003 **sreu-* ‘to flow’; Walde 1927—1932.II:702—703 **sreu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1276 **sreum-* ‘flowing; flow, stream; to pour’, 1276 **sreut-* ‘flow’, 1276—1277 **sreūō*, *-jō* ‘to run, to flow’; **sreuos*, *-ā*, *-jā* ‘stream, flow, current’, 1278 **sroum-* ‘current, stream, flow’, 1278 **sroughos*, *-ā* ‘flowing, flow’, 1278

**srou̯tos*, 1278 **srou̯os*, -ā, -jə ‘flowing; flow, stream’, 1279 **srud-* ‘flow’, 1279 **srū̯mos*, -ā ‘stream, flow’, 1279—1280 **srūtlos*, -is ‘stream, outpour’, 1280 **srutos*, -is ‘flowing; flow, fluid’, 1280 **srū̯ō*, -jō; Watkins 1985:64 **sreu-* and 2000:83—84 **sreu-* ‘to flow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:207 **sreu-* ‘to flow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:554—555; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:227 **sr-ey-* and 1995.I:196 **sr-ey-* ‘to flow, to move’; Boisacq 1950:839 **s(e)reu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:970—971 **srew-*; Hofmann 1966:297 **sreu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:650—652 **sré̯u-eti*, **sre̯u-m̄*, **srou̯-mon-*, **srou̯-mo-*; Beekes 2010.II:1281—1282 **sreu-*; Kroonen 2013:483 Proto-Germanic **strauma-* ‘stream’ and 485 **strudu-* ‘river’; Orël 1998:130 and 2003:380—381 Proto-Germanic **straumaz*; De Vries 1977:552; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:311; Torp 1919:724; Klein 1971:721 **sreu-*; Onions 1966:874 **srou-*, **sreu-*, **srū-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:379; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:758 **sreu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:709 **sreu-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:888—889 **sreu-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:593—594; Derksen 2015:424—425 **srou-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:630—634 **sre̯u-*.

- D. Proto-Altaic **sjori-* ‘to flow, to be soaked’: Proto-Tungus **sora-* ‘to be soaked, wet; to rinse, to wash’ > Manchu *sura-* ‘to rinse (rice), to wash (rice)’, *suraha* ‘water in which rice has been rinsed (used as pig feed)’, *suran* ‘water in which rice has been rinsed’; Negidal *soy-* ‘to be soaked, wet’; Nanay / Gold *soro-* ‘to be soaked, wet’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1283 **sjori* ‘to flow, to be soaked’. Proto-Altaic **sjūr̄vi-* ‘to flow, to drip’: Proto-Tungus **sir-* ‘(vb.) to squeeze, to press out; to milk; (n.) spring, well’ > Manchu *šeri* ‘spring, source’, *siri-* ‘to wring, to squeeze out (a liquid); to milk’; Evenki *sir-* ‘to squeeze, to press out; to milk’; Lamut / Even *h̄ir-* ‘to milk’; Negidal *siy-* ‘to milk’; Ulch *sīri-* ‘to squeeze, to press out; to milk’; Orok *sīri-* ‘to squeeze, to press out; to milk’; Nanay / Gold *sīri-* ‘to squeeze, to press out’; Oroch *sī-* ‘to milk’; Udihe *sie* ‘bay with spring water’, *sī-* ‘to squeeze, to press out; to milk’. Proto-Mongolian **sūr-* ‘to rain in small drops, to sprinkle’ > Written Mongolian *sūr̄či-* ‘to spray, to strew, to sprinkle’, *sūr̄čig* ‘sprinkling, strewing; sacrifice (made by sprinkling or strewing)’; Khalkha *šūr̄ši-*, *sūr̄ši-*, *sūr̄či-* ‘to rain in small drops, to sprinkle’; Kalmyk *sūr̄či-* ‘to rain in small drops, to sprinkle’; (?) Dagur *surē* ‘to pour (water)’. Proto-Turkic **sūr̄v-* ‘to strain, to filter; to swim, to float; to walk in water’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Turkish *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’, *süzül-* ‘to be strained or filtered’, *süzgeş* ‘filter, strainer’; Gagauz *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Azerbaijani *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter; to swim, to float’; Turkmenian *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Uzbek *suz-* ‘to swim, to float’; Uighur *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Tatar *söz-* ‘to strain, to filter; (dial. also) to swim, to float’; Kirghiz *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter; to swim, to float’; Kazakh *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Noghay *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Tuva *süs-* ‘to walk in water’; Chuvash *sər-* ‘to strain, to filter; to catch fish by a drag-net’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:

1298—1299 **sǰūrī* ‘to flow, to drip’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: “A Western isogloss. The root may in fact be the same as **sǰōri* (reflected in the Eastern area) q.v., but modified under the influence of a synonymous **sǰūrū* q.v.”

Sumerian *šur* ‘to pour out, to flow, to bubble or boil up, to gush out; to arise from, to spring forth; to spread or stretch out, to rain’.

Buck 1949:10.32 flow (vb.); 10.41 creep, crawl. Brunner 1969:104, no. 567; Möller 1911:229—230, 230, and 232; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:339—341, no. 163. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2169, **ša[ri]XV* ‘to stream, to flow’.

301. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **s^vub-a* ‘end, edge; top, front part’:

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **škub(l)-* ‘forehead; front part’: Georgian *šubl-* ‘forehead’; (?) Mingrelian *skibu-*, *skəbu-* ‘millstone’; (?) Laz *mskibu-*, *pskibu-* ‘mill’; Svan [*sgob-*, *sgweb-*, *sgeb-*] (< **šgub-* < **škub-*) in: *sgobin*, *sgwebin*, *sgebin* ‘in front of, forward’. Klimov 1964:218 **šubl-* and 1998:253 **šubl-* ‘forehead; front part’ (Klimov notes that the Zan cognates have undergone a semantic shift); Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:431 **šub-* (Fähnrich—Sardshweladse do not include the Zan forms); Schmidt 1962:146; Fähnrich 2007:534 **šub-*.
- B. Proto-Altaic **sǰūbu* ‘end’: Proto-Tungus **sube-* ‘end, edge; top’ > Lamut / Even *hūre* ‘end, edge; top’; Manchu *subexə* ‘the end of a branch, the end of a hair from the beard’; Evenki *suwerē* ‘end, edge; top’; Negidal *suweyē* ‘top’; Ulch *suwe* ‘top’; Orok *suwe* ‘top’; Nanay / Gold *suwe*, *sue* ‘top’; Oroch *su-ŋe* ‘end, edge; top’; Udihe *sue* ‘top’; Solon *sugur* ‘end, edge; top’. Proto-Mongolian **seyül* ‘tail, end’ > Written Mongolian *segül* ‘tail, end’; Khalkha *sūl* ‘tail, end’; Buriat *hūl* ‘tail, end’; Kalmyk *sūl* ‘tail, end’; Ordos *sūl* ‘tail, end’; Moghol *söül* ‘tail, end’; Dagur *seuli*, *seul* ‘tail, end’; Shira-Yughur *sūl* ‘tail, end’; Monguor *sūr* ‘tail, end’. Proto-Turkic **sīb-ri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’ > Old Turkic *süvri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Karakhanide Turkic *süvri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Turkish *sivri* ‘sharp-pointed’; Gagauz *sivri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Azerbaijani *sivri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Turkmenian *süyri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Karaim *sivri*, *süvrü* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Kirghiz *süyrü* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Kazakh *süyir* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Tuva *sūr* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Chuvash *šə^wvə^wr* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Yakut *üörbe* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1286—1287 **sǰūbu* ‘end’.

Buck 1949:4.205 forehead; 12.33 top; 12.35 end; 12.353 edge.

302. Proto-Nostratic root *sʷur- (~ *sʷor-):

- (vb.) *sʷur- ‘to frighten; to be or become frightened, to fear’;
 (n.) *sʷur-a ‘fear’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *cūr* ‘to frighten, to be cruel’, *cūr* ‘fear, suffering, affliction, sorrow, disease, cruelty, malignant deity, celestial maidens’, *cūrppu* ‘a cruel, ferocious deed’; Malayalam *cūr* ‘fiend, affliction, disgust’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:237, no. 2725.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *škur- ‘to be in an awkward situation; to fear’: Georgian *šur-* ‘to envy’, *šur-i* ‘envy, jealousy’; Mingrelian *škur-* ‘to fear’; Laz *škur-*, *šk’ur-* ‘to fear’, *ma-škur-in-u* ‘I got frightened’; Svan *šgur-* ‘to be ashamed’. Schmidt 1962:144; Klimov 1998:253 *šur- ‘to be in an awkward situation; to fear’ and 253—254 *šur- ‘shame, envy’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:432 *šur-; Fähnrich 2007:535—536 *šur-.

Buck 1949:16.45 shame (sb.); 16.53 fear, fright.

303. Proto-Nostratic root *sʷuw- (~ *sʷow-):

- (vb.) *sʷuw- ‘to be proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate, good, well, fine, beautiful’;
 (n.) *sʷuw-a ‘propriety, suitability, appropriateness’; (adj.) ‘proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate’

Semantics as in Geez / Ethiopic *šannaya* [ሠላዮ] ‘to be beautiful, to be good, to seem good, to be well, to be fine, to be excellent, to be fitting, to be appropriate’ and its derivatives (cf. Leslau 1987:531—532).

- A. Proto-Afrasian *sʷ[u]w- ‘to be proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate, good, worthy, equal, equivalent’: Proto-Semitic *sʷaw-ay- ‘to be equal, even’ > Arabic *sawīya* ‘to be equivalent, to be equal (to something); to even, level, flatten, straighten (something); to smooth (something); to equalize, to make equal (something to something else); to put (something) on the same level (with something); to put two persons on an equal footing, to treat two persons as equal, to reconcile two persons; to make regular, to make good (something); to regulate, to arrange, to make up, to smooth over, to settle, to put in order (a dispute, controversy, etc.)’, *siwan*, *suwan* ‘equality, sameness’, *sawāʔ* ‘equal; equality, sameness’, *sawīy* ‘straight, right, correct, proper; unimpaired, intact, sound; even, regular, well-proportioned, shapely, harmonious’, *mustawin* ‘straight, upright, erect; even, smooth, regular; well done (cooking); ripe, mature’; Hebrew *šāwāh* [שׂוּה] ‘to be like, equal, equivalent’, *šāwēh* [שׂוּה] ‘level, plain’, *šāweh* [שׂוּה] ‘equal, fitting, appropriate’; Syriac *šawā* ‘to be even, like, equal’; Harsūsi *sewō* ‘to be equal to’, *sewē* ‘together; even’; Mehri *sōwi* ‘to level’; Šheri / Jibbāli *essōi* ‘to act, justly’, *siéʔ* ‘equal’; Soqotri *seʔ* ‘to balance, to

offset', *suwa* 'good, convenient, suitable'. Murtonen 1989:414; Klein 1987:644; Zammit 2002:232. Egyptian *šw* 'worth, value', *ir šw* 'to be profitable', *šw* 'suitable, useful, worthy', *šw-mr* 'worthy of love'; Coptic *šaw* [ϣⲗ] '(n.) use, value; (adj.) useful, suitable, fitting, virtuous', *m(p)ša* [ⲙ(ⲡ)ϣⲗ] '(vb.) to be worthy, deserving (of); (n.) worth, deserts, fate', *atmpša* [ⲁⲧⲙⲡϣⲗ] 'worthless, undeserving', *r šaw* [ⲣ ϣⲗ] 'to be useful, suitable (for); to become prosperous, virtuous', *mntšaw* [ⲙⲛⲧϣⲗ] 'usefulness; propriety, modesty', *šumerit* [ϣⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ] 'lovable', (prefix) *šu-* [ϣⲟⲩ-] 'worthy of, fit for'. Hannig 1995:801; Erman—Grapow 1921:178 and 1926—1963.4:404; Faulkner 1962:261; Vycichl 1983:255 and 274; Černý 1976:87 and 257. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *šō* 'good, beautiful'. Reinisch 1895:208.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **škw-* 'to benefit someone; to be proper, fit, suitable, becoming; to decorate, to beautify': Georgian *šv-* 'to benefit someone, to be proper'; Svan *sgw-*, *sgu-*: *li-sgw-e* 'to benefit someone', (archaic) *li-sgw-eži* 'to be kind enough to', *ma-sgw-a* 'suitable, corresponding'; Mingrelian *sku-* 'to decorate', *skv-a* 'beautiful'; Laz *msku-* 'to impress by one's beauty, to be proud', *sku-al-i* 'beautiful'. Klimov 1964:217—218 **šu-* and 1998:248 **šw-* 'to benefit somebody, to be proper'; Fähnrich 2007:526—527 **šw-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:424—425 **šw-*. Proto-Kartvelian **škw-en-/*škw-n-* (**škw-* plus **-en-* extension) 'to decorate; to be proper, to benefit': Georgian *šven-* 'to decorate; to be proper, to benefit', *šno-* 'charm, fascination'; Mingrelian [*skvam-*] in *skvam-*, *sk'vam-* 'beautiful, proper' (see below), (action noun) *skv-am-eb-a-* 'to be suitable, proper, fit, seemly, becoming; to beautify, to decorate'; Laz *skvan-* in *domoskvanu* 'he decorated me'; Svan [*sgwen-*] in *mu-sgw-en* 'beautiful' (see below). Klimov 1998:250 **šw-en-/*šw-n-* 'to decorate; to be proper, to benefit'. Proto-Kartvelian **m-škw-en-* '(adj.) beautiful, wonderful, proper; (n.) beauty': Old Georgian *mšuen-ier-* 'standing in beauty'; Georgian *m-šwen-* 'beautiful, wonderful', *m-šven-ier-i* 'beautiful'; Laz *mskva-*, *mskvalina-*, *pskva-* 'beautiful'; Mingrelian *skvam-*, *sk'vam-* 'beautiful, proper'; Svan *mu-sgw-en* 'beautiful', *sgwän* 'beauty, charm'. Klimov 1998:128—129 **m-šwen-* 'beautiful; beauty'; Schmidt 1962:142 **skwen-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European (prefix) **su-* 'well, good': Sanskrit *sú* (also *sú* in the Rigveda) 'good, excellent, right, virtuous, beautiful, easy, well, rightly, much, greatly, very, any, easily, quickly, willingly' in *su-kára-h* 'easy to be done, easy to be managed, easily achieving', *su-kára-m* 'doing good, charity, benevolence', *su-kṛt-* 'doing good, benevolent, virtuous, pious; fortunate, well-fated, wise; making good sacrifices or offerings; skillful', *su-kṛt-á-h* 'a good or righteous deed, a meritorious act, virtue, moral merit; a benefit, bounty, friendly assistance, favor; good fortune, auspiciousness; reward, recompense', *su-divá-h* 'a bright or fine day', *su-mánas-* 'well disposed', etc.; Avestan *hu-* 'well, good' in *hu-mata-* 'well thought', *hu-manah-* 'in a good mood', etc.; Old Persian *u-* (*uv-* before vowels) 'well,

good' in *u-xšnav-* 'well satisfied', *u-cāra-* 'well done, successful', *u-barta-* 'well-borne, lifted, esteemed', *u-raθa-* 'having good chariots', etc.; Greek *ύ-* in *ύ-γής* 'sound, healthy', *ύ-γεία* 'soundness, health', etc.; Gaulish *su-* in *Su-carius*, *Su-ratus*, etc.; Old Irish *su-*, *so-* 'good' in *so-chor* 'good contract', *su-airibthide* 'habitable', *so-lus* 'bright', etc.; Welsh *hy-* in *hy-gar* 'well-beloved, lovable', *hy-dyn* 'tractable', *hy-fryd* 'pleasant', etc.; Cornish *hy-*; Breton *he-*; Old Icelandic *sú-* in *sú-svort* 'nightingale' (this word is obsolete in Icelandic); Lithuanian *sū-* in *sū-drūs* 'luxuriant', etc.; Old Church Slavic *sv-* in *sv-dravъ* 'healthy', etc. Pokorny 1959:1037—1038 **su-*, **sū-* 'well, good'; Walde 1927—1932.II:512 **su-*; Mann 1984—1987:1331 **su-* 'well-'; Watkins 1985:67 **su-* 'well, good'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:780 **su-* and 1995.I:683 **su-* 'good'; Mallory—Adams 1997:235 **su-* 'good' and 2006:337 *(*h*₁)**su-*; Boisacq 1950:997 Greek *ύ-γής* < **su-gʷijēs*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:954—955 **su-* 'well, good'; Hofmann 1966:381 **su-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1150—1151 **su-*; Beekes 2010.I:484—485 **h*₁(*e*)**su-*, **h*₁**su-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:478—480; Smoczyński 2007.1:613; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:937 **sū-*; Derksen 2008:478—479 and 2015:434 **h*₁**su-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:239—243 **h*₁*es-u-*.

- D. Proto-Altaic **sū* 'well, very, extremely': Proto-Tungus **sō* 'very, verily, significantly' > Evenki *sō* 'very, verily, significantly'; Lamut / Even *hō* 'very, verily, significantly'; Negidal *sō* 'very, verily, significantly'; Oroch *so* word added after addressing someone. Proto-Mongolian **su* 'hail, blessing; distinction, genius' > Middle Mongolian *su* 'hail, blessing', *su-tu* 'blessed, happy'; Written Mongolian *su* 'hail, blessing', *sū* (noun and adj.) 'distinction, superiority, genius, ingenuity; ingenious'; Khalkha *sū* 'genius'; Kalmyk *sū* 'distinction, genius'; Ordos *sudu* 'distinction genius'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1310—1311 **sū* 'well, very, extremely'.

Buck 1949:9.943 fitting, suitable; 16.71 good (adj.); 16.81 beautiful (also pretty). Illič-Svityč 1965:371 **šuwλ* ['хороший'] 'good'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2177, **šüwA* – **šuwE* 'fit, good'.

22.13. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *ʒ

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
ʒ-	ʒ-	c-	ʒ-	d ^h -	č-	č̣-	c-
-ʒ-	-ʒ-	-c(c)-	-ʒ-	-d ^h -	-č-	-č̣-/ -d-	-c-

304. Proto-Nostratic root *ʒag- (~ *ʒəg-):

(vb.) *ʒag- ‘to push, to shove, to drive’;

(n.) *ʒag-a ‘push, shove, force’

Related to:

(vb.) *ʒag- ‘to stuff, press, or squeeze tight’;

(n.) *ʒag-a ‘plug’; (adj.) ‘pressing, squeezing, cramming’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʒag- ‘to push, to shove’: [Proto-Semitic *ʒag-ag- ‘to throw, to hurl; to push, to shove; to drive’ > Arabic *zağğā* ‘to throw, to hurl; to push, to shove, to urge, to drive; to press, to squeeze, to force, to cram’; Gurage (reduplicated) (*a*)*zgäzägä* ‘to throw in a spiral motion’; Amharic (reduplicated) (*am*)*zägäzzägä*, (*an*)*zägäzzägä* ‘to throw in a spiral motion’. Leslau 1979:705. Proto-Semitic *ʒag-aw- ‘to drive, to urge on; to press, to squeeze’ > Arabic *zağā* ‘to drive, to urge on; to press, to squeeze, to force, to cram; to push, to shove’. Zammit 2002:206. Proto-Semitic *ʒag-ar- ‘to drive’ > Arabic *zağara* ‘to drive back, to drive away; to hold back, to retain, to prevent; to scold, to rebuke, to upbraid’, *zağr* ‘forcible prevention, suppression (of customs, abuses, crimes); rebuke, reprimand’. Zammit 2002:206.]
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *ʒger- ‘to push, to shove’: Georgian *ʒger-* ‘to push, to shove’; Svan *ʒger-*, *ʒgr-* ‘to push, to shove’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:474 *ʒger-; Fähnrich 2007:590 *ʒger-.

Sumerian *zag* ‘to drive away, to expel’.

Buck 1949:10.65 drive (vb. tr.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.).

305. Proto-Nostratic root *ʒag- (~ *ʒəg-):

(vb.) *ʒag- ‘to stuff, press, or squeeze tight’;

(n.) *ʒag-a ‘plug’; (adj.) ‘pressing, squeezing, cramming’

Related to:

(vb.) *ʒag- ‘to push, to shove, to drive’;

(n.) *ʒag-a ‘push, shove, force’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **zag-* ‘to stuff, press, or squeeze tight’: [Proto-Semitic **zag-ag-* ‘to throw, to hurl; to push, to shove; to drive’ > Arabic *zağğā* ‘to throw, to hurl; to push, to shove, to urge, to drive; to press, to squeeze, to force, to cram’; Gurage (reduplicated) (*a*)*zgäzägä* ‘to throw in a spiral motion’; Amharic (reduplicated) (*am*)*zägäzzägä*, (*an*)*zägäzzägä* ‘to throw in a spiral motion’. Leslau 1979:705. Proto-Semitic **zag-aw-* ‘to drive, to urge on; to press, to squeeze’ > Arabic *zağā* ‘to drive, to urge on; to press, to squeeze, to force, to cram; to push, to shove’. Zammit 2002:206. Proto-Semitic **zag-ar-* ‘to drive’ > Arabic *zağara* ‘to drive back, to drive away; to hold back, to retain, to prevent; to scold, to rebuke, to upbraid’, *zağr* ‘forcible prevention, suppression (of customs, abuses, crimes); rebuke, reprimand’. Zammit 2002:206.] Geez / Ethiopic *zagʿa* [ዘግዐ] ‘to close in, to seclude, to plug up’. Leslau 1987:632. Geez / Ethiopic *zagħa* [ዘግሐ], *zagħa* [ዘግሀ] ‘to close, to shut in, to enclose, to include’, *zəghat* [ዘግሐት] ‘closing, shutting in, enclosing’; Tigrinya (*tä*)*zägħe* ‘to lose the voice after singing a lot’, literally, ‘to be closed (voice)’; Amharic *zägga* ‘to shut, to close up, to enclose’. Leslau 1987:633. (?) Egyptian *zg* ‘to bring to a stop (a sailing boat)’. Hannig 1995:775; Faulkner 1962:252. Assuming semantic development from ‘to press, to squeeze, to force’ as in Dravidian: Malayalam *aṭaṇṇuka* ‘to be pressed down, enclosed, contained; to submit, to yield; to be allayed, calmed’; Kota *arg-* (*argy-*) ‘to stop, to be obedient’, *ark-* (*arky-*) ‘to cause to stop’; Kannada *aḍaku* ‘to press, to press into a narrower compass, to pack; to subdue, to control’; etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:7, no. 63). (?) Berber: Tuareg *əzzəğ* ‘to milk, to be milked’, *tažək* ‘the act of milking’; Nefusa *əzzəg* ‘to milk’; Ghadames *əzzəğ* ‘to milk’; Mزاب *əzzəğ* ‘to milk’; Tamazight *zzəg*, *zzəy* ‘to milk’, *tamazzagt* ‘teat, udder’; Wargla *əzzəg* ‘to milk, to be milked’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əzzəg* ‘to milk’; Riff *əzzəg* ‘to milk’; Kabyle *əzzəg* ‘to milk’, *tuzzga* ‘milking’, *tamazzagt* ‘teat, udder’; Chaoia *əzzəg* ‘to milk’; Zenaga *tuzugt* ‘milking’. Assuming semantic development from ‘to press, to squeeze’ as in Dravidian: Kui *pīs-* ‘to press, to squeeze, to milk’; etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:366, no. 4135).
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cakkaḷi* ‘to become oblate, flattened, compressed’; Kannada *cakkaṛi* ‘that has become flat by pressure’; Tuḷu *cakku* ‘flat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:201, no. 2271.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **zgib-* ‘to stuff (tight), to drive in’: Georgian *zgib-* ‘to tense, to strain, to tighten one’s brows’; Mingrelian *zgib-* ‘to stuff (tight), to drive in’; Laz (*n*)*zgip-* ‘to caulk’; Svan *zgub-* : *zgb-* ‘to stuff (tight)’. Klimov 1998:278—279 **zgib-* ‘to stuff (tight), to drive in’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:474 **zgib-*; Fähnrich 2007:590—591 **zgib-*.

Buck 1949:12.25 shut, close (vb.).

306. Proto-Nostratic root *zag- (~ *zəg-):

(vb.) *zag- ‘to whet, to sharpen’;

(n.) *zag-a ‘edge, side’

A. Dravidian: Kuṛux *caknā* ‘to sharpen an edge instrument, to whet’; Malto *cake* ‘to sharpen, to whet’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:202, no. 2277.B. Proto-Kartvelian *zga- ‘edge, brim’: Georgian (with metathesis: *zg-il- >) *gz-il-* ‘edge, brim’; Mingrelian *zga-* ‘bank, shore’; Laz *zga-*, *mzga-* ‘bank, shore; edge’. Svan *zgig* ‘edge’. Klimov 1998:278 *zga- ‘edge, brim’; Fähnrich 2007:589—590 *zg-.Sumerian *zag* ‘border, boundary, side’.

Buck 1949:12.353 edge.

307. Proto-Nostratic root *zak'- (~ *zək'-):

(vb.) *zak'- ‘to make fun of, to deride, to mock; to make sport, to play about, to joke’;

(n.) *zak'-a ‘mockery, ridicule, sport’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *cakkaṭṭam*, *cakkantam* ‘scoff, mockery, sport, censure’; Kannaḍa *cakkanda* ‘sportful, idle talk; happiness, pleasure, contentedness’, *jakkulisu*, *jakkulisu* ‘to amuse, to divert, to rejoice, to play about, to jeer at, to make sport of, to deride’; Tuḷu *cakkanda* ‘plausibility, speciousness’; Telugu *jakkalimpu* ‘jeering, quizzing’; Gondi *cakkā kiyānā* ‘to deride, to make fun of’; Kōṇḍa *sekali* ‘ridicule, satire’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:201, no. 2269.B. Proto-Kartvelian *zek'- ‘simple-minded, silly, dimwitted, dumb; simpleton’: Georgian *zek'-* ‘simple-minded, silly, dimwitted, dumb; simpleton’; Mingrelian *zak'-* ‘simple, ordinary’ (cf. *zak'i k'oč'i* ‘ordinary man’). Klimov 1998:279 *zek'- ‘simple, silly; simpleton’; Fähnrich 2007:592 *zek'-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:476 *zek'-. Semantic development from ‘to play the fool’ as in Swedish *tokig* ‘foolish’, *tok* ‘fool’ and Danish (dial.) *tok(k)et* ‘crazy’, *tokke* ‘to act crazy’, borrowed from Middle Low German *token* ‘to play, to joke’ (cf. also Russian *durít'* [дури́ть] ‘to make a fool of oneself, to act foolishly, to play the fool’, *dúren'* [дурень] ‘fool, simpleton’, *durák* [дурак] ‘jester, fool, ass’).

Buck 1949:16.26 play (vb.); 17.22 foolish, stupid.

308. Proto-Nostratic root *zar- (~ *zər-) or *žar- (~ *žər-):

(vb.) *zar- or *žar- ‘to run, flow, leak, or spill out; to spring forth, to issue (from); to flow or gush forth’;

(n.) *zar-a or *žar-a ‘drizzle, rain, downpour; current, stream, torrent’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **zar-* ‘to run, flow, leak, or spill out; to spring forth, to issue (from); to flow or gush forth’: Proto-Semitic **zar-am-* ‘to gush forth, to burst forth, to spurt’ > Hebrew *zāram* [זָרַם] ‘to pour forth in floods, to flood away’, *zerem* [זֶרֶם] ‘flood of rain, downpour’, *zīrmāh* [זִרְמָה] ‘issue, ejaculation (of semen)’, Aramaic *zarmīθ* ‘downpour’, Ugaritic *zrm* ‘to make rain’ (?); Akkadian *zarāmu* ‘to overwhelm’, Gurage (Gyeto) *zəram* ‘rain’, Geez / Ethiopic (with *n* for *r*) *zanma* [ጸጸም] ‘to rain’, *zanām* [ጸጸም] ‘rain, rainy season’, Tigrinya *zānāmā* ‘to rain’, Tigre *zānma* ‘to rain’, Amharic *zānnāmā* ‘to rain’. Murtonen 1989:170; Klein 1987:204; Leslau 1979:710, 715 and 1987:641. Proto-Semitic **zar-ab-* ‘to gush forth, to flow forth, to rain’ > Arabic *zariba* ‘to flow, to run, to run out, to flow over’, *zīrb* ‘canal’, Gurage (Chaha, Eža) (n.) *zərab* ‘rain’, (Chaha, Zway) (with *n* for *r*) (vb.) *zānābā* ‘to rain’, Argobba *zānnābā* ‘to rain’. Leslau 1979:710. Egyptian *zrmt* ‘flood, torrent’, *zḥb* ‘to flow’. Hannig 1995:658 and 730; Faulkner 1962:209; Erman—Grapow 1921:142 and 1926—1963.3:420, 3:463. Berber: Touat *amazzer* ‘artificial waterfall’, Tamazight *zrir* ‘to be or become liquid, to liquify’, *zizzər* ‘to cascade, to flow along’, *amuzzər* ‘waterfall, torrent’, Kabyle *əzzər* ‘to flow, to drop to the bottom’, *zriri* ‘to flow (tears, fountain)’, *izir* ‘squirt of milk from an udder’, Tashelhiyt / Shilha *amuzzər* ‘waterfall’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:548, no. 2640, **zVrab-* ‘to flow’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cāru* (*cāri-*) ‘to slip off, to slip down (as from a tree), to slant, to incline (as a post), to deviate, to flow, to issue’, *cāral* ‘drizzling rain’, Malayalam *cāruka* ‘to run off or out, to drizzle’, *cāruka* ‘to drizzle’, *cāral*, *cārral*, *maṛa cārral*, *cārru maṛa* ‘drizzling rain’, Kannada *jāru* ‘to slip, to slide, to slip away, to slide away, to steal away, to withdraw, to retire, to shrink, to go off or start swiftly, to run, to drop or ooze out; to flow, (knot) to slip or become loose’, *jārisu* ‘to make to slip, to go away’, *jāra*, *jārike*, *jāruvike* ‘slipping, sliding, slipperiness, flowing, trickling’, Tuḷu *jāruni* ‘to slip, to slide down, to be slippery or smooth, to tumble, to fall down, to be dislocated, to shrink, to hesitate, to backslide, to flee, to flay, to lop off (as branches of a tree)’, *jārupaḍi*, *jārapaḍi* ‘to slide, to glide, to slip, to become loose, to ooze’, *jārucu*, *jārcu* ‘to let slip or drop, to let down, to loosen’, *jāruḍu* ‘slipperiness, sliding, slipping’, Konḍa *zār-* ‘to slip, to slide’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:216—217, no. 2482.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **dher-/dhor-/dhr-* ‘to gush forth, to burst forth, to spurt’: Greek *θορός*, *θορή* ‘semen’, *θοῦρος* (< **θόρ-φος*) ‘rushing, raging’, *θρόσκω* ‘to leap, to spring; to attack, to assault, i.e., to leap upon; to rush, to dart’, Sanskrit *dhārā* ‘flood, gush’, Pāli *dhārā* ‘stream, current’, Middle Irish *dar-* ‘to spring, to leap’. Rix 1998a:127 **dherh₃-* ‘to spring, to leap’, Pokorny 1959:256 (**dher-*) **dhor-* : **dher-* ‘to jump’, Walde 1927—1932.I:861 (**dher-*) **dhor-* : **dher-*; Mann 1984—1987:186 **dhēros* (?) ‘rush, attack’, Mallory—Adams 1997:323 **dher-* ‘to leap, to spring’, Frisk 1970—1973.I:678 and I:689; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:444 **dhre₂-*;

Hofmann 1966:116 **dhereu-* and 349 Greek θοῦρος < **dhū-* (**dheūā^x-*); Boisacq 1950:348—349; Beekes 2010.I:552 **dherh₃-* and I:560—561 **dherh₃-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:100—101.

- D. Proto-Eskimo **carvar* ‘current’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *carvaq* ‘current’; Central Alaskan Yupik *carvaq* ‘current, rapidly flowing stream’, *carvə-*, *carvar-* ‘to flow (of current)’; Sirenik *sarvətətəX* ‘drift’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *sarvaq* ‘current’, *sarvaq-* ‘to flow (of current)’; North Alaskan Inuit *sarvaq* ‘current’, *sarvaq-* ‘to have a strong current, to be carried away by current’; Western Canadian Inuit *sarvaq* ‘current’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *sarvaq* ‘river rapids’; Greenlandic Inuit *sarfaq* ‘current, river rapids’, *sarfar-* ‘to have a current (river)’. Fortescue—Kaplan—Jacobson 1994:71. Proto-Inuit **carat-* ‘to be moist or slippery on surface’ > Eastern Canadian Inuit *sarat-* ‘to be lightly dampened on surface (waterproof object)’; Greenlandic Inuit *sarat-* ‘to glisten (with moisture)’, *sarassi-* ‘to slip out of one’s hand’. Fortescue—Kaplan—Jacobson 1994:71.

Sumerian *zar* ‘to run, flow, leak, or spill out; to spring forth, to issue (from); to flow or gush forth; to bubble over’.

Buck 1949:1.75 rain (sb.); 10.32 flow (vb.); 10.43 jump, leap (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:349—350, no. 176.

309. Proto-Nostratic root **zer-* or **žer-*:

- (vb.) **zer-* or **žer-* ‘to pierce, to jab, to stab, to thrust or shove into’;
 (n.) **zer-a* or **žer-a* ‘spear, javelin, weapon’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **zar-ak-* ‘(vb.) to pierce, to jab, to stab, to thrust or shove into; (n.) spear, javelin’ > Hebrew *zāraḳ* [זָרַק] ‘to throw, to toss’; Arabic *zaraḳa* ‘to hit or pierce with a javelin; to jab or to bore (into something or someone)’, *mizrāk* ‘javelin’; Mehri *zərūk* ‘to throw a dagger or dart at someone, to stab at (with a spear)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *zórók* ‘to throw (a dagger or dart) at, to stab at; (snake) to strike at’; Ḥarsūsi *zerōḳ* ‘to dart at, to sting, to stab’; Geez / Ethiopic *zaraḳa* [ዘረቀ] ‘to pierce with a spear’, *məzrāk* [ዎዘረቀ] ‘javelin’; Tigrinya *zäräkä* ‘to pierce with a spear’, *mäzrak* ‘javelin’; Tigre *märzak* (with metathesis) ‘big staff with iron point’. Perhaps also Amharic *məzraṭ* ‘spear which has a square tip’. Klein 1987:204; Murtonen 1989:171; Leslau 1987:644. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:543, no. 2610, **zariḳ-* / **zaruk-* ‘to throw, to push’ — the Cushitic forms cited by Orël—Stolbova are surely loans.]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ceruku* (*ceruki-*) ‘to insert, to slide into’, *cerumu* (*cerumi-*) ‘to sink, to pierce through’; Malayalam *cerutuka* ‘to shove in, to put in’; Kannada *serku*, *sekku* ‘to shove in, to put in, to insert, to tuck (the end of a garment) into another (part of the garment)’, *sekke* ‘insertion’; Telugu *cekku* ‘to set (as a precious stone), to thrust, to tuck up’, *ceruvu* ‘to insert,

to stick in'; Kurux *xerrnā* (*xirryas*) 'to introduce lengthwise by gradual pushing, to insert, to stick into or behind'; Malto *qere* 'to thrust in, to tuck in'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:241, no. 2778; Krishnamurti 2003:126 **cer-* 'to insert'.

- C. Proto-Indo-European (**d^her-*/**d^hr-* 'to strike, to beat, to knock; to thrust': Old Icelandic *drepa* 'to strike, to beat, to knock; to slay, to kill, to slaughter; to put, to thrust; to tuck up the sleeves or skirts of a garment', *dráp* 'slaughter, killing'; Norwegian *drepe* 'to kill, to put to death, to slay', *dreper* 'killer; (explosive) harpoon', *drap* 'homicide, manslaughter, murder'; Danish *dræbe* 'to kill'; Swedish *dräpa* 'to kill, to slay; to squash, to quash', *dräpande* 'killing, slaughter'; Old English *drepan* 'to strike, to hit with a weapon', *drepe* 'death stroke, blow', *gedrep* 'stroke (of darts)'; Old Saxon *drepan* 'to strike, to hit'; Old High German *treffan* 'to hit, to strike' (New High German *treffen*). Kroonen 2013:101—102 Proto-Germanic **drepan-* 'to hit'; Orël 2003:75 Proto-Germanic **drepan*, 75 **drepanan*; De Vries 1977:81 and 83; Torp 1919:71; Walshe 1951:229; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:788 **dhreb-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:738.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **žere* (~ **žaro*, -*a*) 'armor, weapon(s)': Proto-Mongolian or **žer-* 'weapon' > Written Mongolian *žer* 'weapons, armament'; Khalkha *zer* 'weapon'; Buriat *zer* 'weapon'; Kalmyk *zer* 'weapon'; Ordos *žir* 'weapon'. Proto-Turkic **yarik* 'armor' > Old Turkic *yariq* 'armor'; Karakhanide Turkic *yariq* 'armor'. As noted by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:1534): "Modern languages widely reflect **jarak* 'weapon, armour' (Kirgh[iz] *žaraq*, Uygh[ur] *jaraq*, etc., see ЭСТЯ 4, 139). This seems to be a contamination of the earlier attested **jarag* 'readiness, opportunity' (derived from **jara-* 'to be fit, suitable' q.v. sub **žāra*; see EDT *ibid.*) and **jarik* 'armour'." Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1534—1535 **žere* (~ **žaro*, -*a*) 'armor, weapon'.

Buck 1949:20.21 weapons, arms; 20.26 spear (sb.).

310. Proto-Nostratic root **zil-* (~ **zel-*) or **žil-* (~ **žel-*):
 (vb.) **zil-* or **žil-* 'to flow, to flow forth';
 (n.) **zil-a* or **žil-a* 'drip, drop, raindrop'; (adj.) 'flowing, trickling, dropping, sprinkling'
 Probably identical to:
 (vb.) **zil-* or **žil-* 'to glide, to slide';
 (n.) **zil-a* or **žil-a* 'the act of slipping, sliding, gliding'; (adj.) 'smooth, slippery'
- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʒ[i]l-* 'to flow, to flow forth': Proto-Semitic **zal-ag-* 'to flow' > Post-Biblical Hebrew *zālay* [זָלַי] 'to drip, to flow'; Aramaic *zəlay* 'to drip, to flow'; Geez / Ethiopic *zalaga* [ረገገ] 'to flow, to trickle, to drop'; Tigrinya *zälägg bälä*, *zäläglägg bälä* 'to flow'; Amharic (*tä*)*zlägällägä* 'to

- flow'. Klein 1987:198; Leslau 1987:637. Proto-Semitic **zal-ah-* 'to drip, to sprinkle, to pour' > Hebrew *zalah* [זָלַח] 'to drip, to sprinkle, to spray, to be wet'; Aramaic *zalah* 'to sprinkle, to rain; to pour out'; Geez / Ethiopic *zalha* [ዘለሐ], *zallaha* [ዘለሐ] 'to drain out, to empty all of the liquid from a vessel'. Klein 1987:199; Leslau 1987:637. Proto-Semitic **zal-ap-* 'to drip, to pour, to spill over' > Hebrew *zalaq* [זָלַח] 'to pour, to sprinkle, to spray'; Aramaic *zalaq* 'to drop, to trickle down'; Geez / Ethiopic *zalafa* [ዘለፈ] 'to drip, to spill over'. Klein 1987:199; Leslau 1987:637. Proto-Semitic **zal-aʔ-* 'to flow' > Aramaic *zala* 'to flow, to glide'. Berber: Tuareg *ahəl* 'to run, to flow (water)'; Tawlemmet *azəl* 'to run, to run away', *azzalan* 'course, speed, flight'; Siwa *əzzəl* 'to run, to flow', *zəlli* 'act of running, course'; Nefusa *azzəl* 'to run'; Ghadames *əzzəl* 'to run'; Tamazight *azzəl* 'to run, to flow', *tazzla* 'course, flow'; Wargla *azzəl* 'to run, to flow', *tazla* 'course, haste'; Riff *azzəl*, *azzər* 'to run'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *azzəl* 'to run, to flow', *tizla* 'course'; Kabyle *azzəl* 'to run, to flow', *tazzla* 'the act of coming and going, occupation, course'; Chaouia *azzəl* 'to run', *tazlla* 'course'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cilucilu* 'to rain gently', *cilumpu* (*cilumpi-*) 'to flow out, to gush out', *cilu-nīr* 'raindrop dripping from leaves'; Kota *cilk iṛ-* (*iṛ-*) 'to drizzle'; Kannaḍa *cilkunīru* 'water in fine drops', *jilipu* 'to ooze (as water from a new pot)'; Koraga *cilbi* 'to splash water with the finger'; Telugu *ciluku* 'to sprinkle (tr.), to spurt, to shed; to be spilled', *cilikincu*, *cilukarincu* 'to sprinkle', *cilacila* imitative of flowing, *cilupu* 'a pond'; Kolami *silka* 'a river'; Naikṛi *śilka* 'brook, river'; Parji *cilva* 'brook, rivulet'; Gondī *silka* 'small river'; Kuwi *silk-* 'to splash (intr.)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:223, no. 2569. Telugu *sela*, *selayēru* 'waterfall, cascade', *jela* 'a spring of water'; Kannaḍa *sele* 'spring, fountain-head'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:242, no. 2785.
- C. Proto-Altaic **žiōlu* 'riverbed, stream': Proto-Tungus **žila-* 'a place in a river where water does not freeze because of a fast current' > Manchu *žilan*, *žulan* 'a place in a river where water does not freeze because of a fast current'. Proto-Mongolian **žilga* 'riverbed, ravine' > Written Mongolian *žilya* 'riverbed, ravine'; Khalkha *žalga* 'riverbed, ravine'; Buriat *žalga* 'riverbed, ravine'; Kalmyk *žalyə* 'riverbed, ravine'; Dagur *žalag* 'riverbed, ravine'; Shira-Yughur *žalga* 'riverbed, ravine'. Proto-Turkic **yul* 'stream, brook, fountain' > Old Turkic *yul* 'stream, brook, fountain'; Karakhanide Turkic *yul* 'stream, brook, fountain'; Khakas *čul* 'stream, brook, fountain'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *yul* 'stream, brook, fountain'; Chuvash *śʷl* 'stream, brook, fountain'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1543 **žiōlu* 'riverbed, stream'.

Buck 1949:1.36 river; stream; brook; 10.32 flow (vb.).

311. Proto-Nostratic root **zil-* (~ **zel-*) or **žil-* (~ **žel-*):
 (vb.) **zil-* or **žil-* ‘to glide, to slide’;
 (n.) **zil-a* or **žil-a* ‘the act of slipping, sliding, gliding’; (adj.) ‘smooth, slippery’
 Probably identical to:
 (vb.) **zil-* or **žil-* ‘to flow, to flow forth’;
 (n.) **zil-a* or **žil-a* ‘drip, drop, raindrop’; (adj.) ‘flowing, trickling, dropping, sprinkling’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʒ[i]l-* ‘to glide, to slip, to slide’: Proto-Semitic **zal-* (**zal-ag-*, **zal-ak-*, **zal-aḥ-*, **zal-al-*) ‘to glide, to slip, to slide’ > Arabic *zaliḳa* ‘to glide, to slide, to slip, to make slippery’, *zalla* ‘to slip’, *zalaġa* ‘to slip, to slide, to glide’; Ḥarsūsi *zelōk* ‘to slip’; Tigrinya *zālḥaṭ bālā* ‘to totter, to stagger’; Harari (*tä*)*zālḥaṭa* ‘to slip’, *zilḥiç bāya* ‘to slip’; Amharic (*an*)*zālaṭṭāṭā* ‘to make slip’; Gurage (Wolane) (*a*)*zālāṭā* ‘to be slippery’, (Selti) (*a*)*zālāṭā* ‘to slip, to slide’, (Zway) *anzālāṭāṭā* ‘to slip, to slide’. Leslau 1963:166 and 1979:707; Zammit 2002:209. Berber: Mzab *əzləġ* ‘to skid, to slide; to be distorted’, *uzliġ*, *uzlij* ‘cord of twisted thread’; Wargla *aməzlag* ‘twisted, smooth (rope, thread)’; Tuareg *ehleġ* ‘to have on the side, to have on one’s right or on one’s left, to have hanging on the side’, *təhalġə* ‘left side’; Tawlemmet *əzləg* ‘to carry, to have hanging on the side, to carry (clothing) on the side’, *təzalgə* ‘left, left side’, *zallag* ‘to be awkward, clumsy’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *zlag* ‘to twist thread into a rope, to be wound’; Riff *əzrəg* ‘to turn, to roll’; Kabyle *əzləg* ‘to be twisted, distorted, misplaced (object, clothing, shoes)’; Chaouia *əzləg* ‘to be askew, to go wrong, to miss the mark’. Cushitic: Proto-Agaw **zələw-* ‘to go round, to turn’ > Bilin *jələw-* ‘to go round, to turn’; Xamir *jəlw-* ‘to go round, to turn’; Kemant *jəlw-* ‘to go round, to turn’; Awngi / Awiya *zur-* ‘to go round, to turn’. Appleyard 2006:75; Reinisch 1887:180 Bilin *jiluw-*.
- B. Proto-Altaiic **žīūlu-* (~ *-a*) ‘(vb.) to slide; (adj.) smooth, slippery’: Proto-Tungus *žulV-* ‘smooth, naked’ > Evenki *žulā-kin* ‘naked’; Lamut / Even *žulaqqan* ‘naked’; Solon *žulu-brēχ* ‘smooth’, *žulāχī* ‘naked’. Proto-Mongolian **žil-* ‘smooth, level’ > Written Mongolian *žilim*, *žilum* ‘smooth, level’, *žildam* ‘level’; Khalkha *žildem* ‘level’; Buriat *želeger* ‘smooth, level’; Kalmyk *žilm* ‘smooth, level’. Proto-Turkic **yīl-* ‘(vb.) to creep; (n.) snake’ > Old Turkic *yīlan* ‘snake’; Karakhanide Turkic *yīlan* ‘snake’; Turkish *yīlan* ‘snake’; Gagauz *yīlan* ‘snake’; Azerbaijani *ilan* ‘snake’; Turkmenian *yīlān* ‘snake’; Uzbek *žil-* ‘to creep’, *ilən* ‘snake’; Uighur *ilan* ‘snake’; Tatar *yīl-* ‘to creep’, *yīlan* ‘snake’; Bashkir *yīlan* ‘snake’; Kirghiz *žil-* ‘to creep’, *žīlan* ‘snake’; Kazakh *žīlan* ‘snake’; Noghay *yīlan* ‘snake’; Tuva *čil-* ‘to creep’, *čilan* ‘snake’; Chuvash *śəwlen* ‘snake’; Yakut *sīl-* ‘to creep’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1548—1549 **žīūlu* (~ *-a*) ‘to slide; smooth, slippery’
- C. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **cilirak-* ‘to glide’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *siliak-* ‘to glide’; North Alaskan Inuit *silviak-* ‘to swoop down on, to be blown along

with wind, to glide'; Western Canadian Inuit *siliak-* 'to glide downward (of bird)'; Greenlandic *ciliray-* 'to go obliquely, to tack'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:79. Proto-Yupik **cilur-* 'to slide or glide' > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *ɬur-* 'to slide (down)'; Central Alaskan Yupik *cilur-* 'to glide, to skip on water'; Central Siberian Yupik *əstʉur-* 'to go south, to travel with wind'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:80.

Buck 1949:3.85 snake; 10.42 slide, slip (vb.); 15.77 smooth.

312. Proto-Nostratic root **zim-* (~ **zem-*) or **žim-* (~ **žem-*):

(vb.) **zim-* or **žim-* 'to blow, to play (a wind instrument)';

(n.) **zim-a* or **žim-a* 'blowing, playing (a wind instrument)'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **zim-* 'to blow, to play (a wind instrument)': Proto-Semitic **zam-ar-* 'to blow, to play (a wind instrument), to make music' > Hebrew *zāmar* [זָמַר] 'to sing, to praise, to play (a musical instrument)', *zimirāh* [זִמְרָה] 'melody, song'; Aramaic *zamarūrā* 'flute', *zamar* 'music'; Old Akkadian *zamarum* 'to sing'; Arabic *zamara* 'to blow, to play (a wind instrument)'; Geez / Ethiopic *zammara* [ዘመረ] 'to sing, to recite Psalms, to play a musical instrument, to celebrate with song, to praise or glorify in song', *mazmūr* [መዝሙር] 'psalm, hymn, song, psalter, music, chorus'; Tigrinya *zāmārā* 'to sing, to recite Psalms'; Tigre *zāmmāra* 'to sing, to chant'; Amharic *zāmmārā* 'to sing'; Gurage (Soddo) *zimmārā* 'to sing', (Chaha) *azāmārā* 'to sing a war song or an epic song, to bestow praise on someone or oneself'. Murtonen 1989:166—167; Klein 1987:200; Leslau 1979:709 and 1987:639. Egyptian *zb* 'to play the flute', **zb'iw* 'flautist'. Faulkner 1962:220; Hannig 1995:684; Erman—Grapow 1921:144 and Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.3:433. Central Cushitic: Proto-Agaw **zəm-* 'to dance, to sing' > Xamir *gim-* 'to dance, to sing'; Xamta *gim-* 'to sing'; Awngi / Awiya *gəm-* 'to dance, to sing'. Appleyard 2006:51 and 124.
- B. Dravidian: Kannāḍa *semilu* 'to sneeze'; Koraga *cimili* 'to sneeze'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:240, no. 2774. Semantic development as in Old Icelandic *fnýsa* 'to sneeze' from the same stem found in Greek *πνέω* 'to breathe, to blow'.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **d^hem(H)-*/**d^hem(H)-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **d^hom(H)-*) 'to blow (as wind or as to blow any wind instrument)': Sanskrit *dhāmati* 'to blow (as wind or as to blow any wind instrument)'; Prakrit *dhamaṇī* 'bellows'; Ashkun *domó* 'wind'; Parachi *dhamān* 'wind'; Hindi *dhaūknā* 'to blow (with bellows), to breathe on, to pant'; Lithuanian *dumiū*, *dūmti* 'to blow, to smoke'; Old Church Slavic *dъmъ*, *dъti* 'to blow'. Rix 1998a:133—134 **d^hmeH-* 'to blow'; Pokorny 1959:247—248 **dhem-*, **dhemə-* 'to fly about like dust'; Walde 1927—1932.I:851—852 **dhem-*, **dhemā^x-*; Mann 1984—1987:189 **dhəm-* (**dhm-*, **dhm-*) 'to blow, to puff, to swell', 192 **dhm-*, **dhm-*, **dhmə-* (radical element of **dhəm-*,

dhũm-* ‘to blow, to swell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:147 **dhemh_x-* ‘to blow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:92; Smoczyński 2007.1:133 *d^hṃH-C-*, **d^hmeH-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:88; Derksen 2008:114—115 **d^h(o)mH-* and 2015:145 **d^h(o)mH-*.

Buck 1949:4.54 sneeze (vb.); 10.38 blow (vb. intr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 348—349, no. 175.

313. Proto-Nostratic root **zum-* (~ **zom-*) or **žum-* (~ **žom-*):

(vb.) **zum-* or **žum-* ‘to take, to seize’;

(n.) **zum-a* or **žum-a* ‘the act of taking or seizing’; (adj.) ‘taking, seizing’

A. Proto-Afrasian **zum-* ‘to take, to seize’: Semitic: Akkadian *zummū* ‘to lack, to miss, to be deprived of; to cause to miss, to deprive of’. Central Chadic **zum-* ‘to rob’ > Logone *zum* ‘to rob’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:547, no. 2632, **zum-* ‘to rob’.

B. Dravidian: Kolami *sum-* (*sumt-*) ‘to catch, to seize, to buy’; Naikri *sum-* ‘to catch, to seize, to buy; to lay’; Naiki (of Chanda) *sum-* ‘to buy, to catch, to hold’; Parji *cumm-* ‘to seize, to catch hold of’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:232, no. 2679.

Buck 1949:11.58 rob, robber; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of.

314. Proto-Nostratic (reduplicated) (n.) **zuz-a* (< **zu-zu-*) ‘tip, point’ (> ‘nipple, breast’):

Note: There has been a good deal of remodeling in the Nostratic daughter languages, including Afrasian (Semitic). The original form has been best preserved in Kartvelian in Georgian and Mingrelian.

A. (?) Afrasian: Semitic: Hebrew *zīz* [זִיז] ‘nipple, full breast’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible, occurring in Isaiah 66:11); Arabic *zīza* ‘udder (breast, teat)’ (vulgar); Akkadian *zīzu* ‘teat’; Ugaritic *zd*, *ḏd* ‘breast, chest’. Del Olmo Lette—Sanmartín 2003:999; Koehler—Baumgartner 1958:254; Klein 1987:197.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:266, no. 295) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **zīḏ-* ~ **zīḏ-* ‘teat’. However, they note: “Phonetically problematic. Low compatibility of *z* and *ḏ* in Sem. makes their combination in the same root questionable; however, it may account for somewhat unusual developments in Ugr. and Arb.” As further noted by Militarëv—Kogan, the above forms are not related to or derived from Proto-Semitic (n.) **dayd-* (> **dadd-* in Hebrew and Aramaic) ‘teat, women’s breast’ discussed above; also not related to the Semitic proto-

form reconstructed by Militarëv—Kogan (2000. I:250—251, no. 280) as (n.) **ǵVdy-* ~ **ǵVdy-* ‘(woman’s) breast’. Finally, Militarëv—Kogan do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Dravidian: Proto-Dravidian **cu-kkay* ‘spot, dot, point’ (> ‘star’): Tamil *cukkai* ‘star’ (Telugu loan); Kannaḍa *cukke* ‘small mark, dot’; Telugu *cukka* ‘star, spot, dot, drop’; Kolami *sukka* ‘star’; Naiki (of Chanda) *cukkin* ‘star’; Naikṛi *cukka* ‘star’; Parji *cukka* ‘star’; Gadba *cukka* ‘drop of rain’, *sukka* ‘star’; Gondi *sukku* ‘star’; Koṇḍa *suka* ‘star’; Pengo *huka* ‘star’; Maṇḍa *hukerij* ‘star’; Kui *suka* ‘star’; Kuwi *hūka*, *kukka* ‘star’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:229, no. 2646; Krishnamurti 2003:13 **cukk-V* ‘star’.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated) **zuzu-* ‘breast (female)’: Georgian *zuzu-* ‘breast (female)’; Mingrelian *zuzu-* ‘breast (female)’; Laz *buʒ-* ‘breast (female)’ (perhaps a loan from or influenced by Modern Greek βυζί ‘breast’ or Northwest Caucasian (Circassian): Bžedux *bəʒə* ‘woman’s breast’; Kabardian *bəʒ* ‘woman’s breast’). Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:481 **zu-*; Fähnrich 1994:223 and 2007:598 **zu-*; Schmidt 1962:153; Klimov 1964:235 **zuzu-* and 1998:281—282 **zuzu-* ‘breast (female)’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European (reduplicated) **dʰudʰdh-o-* ‘nipple’ (> ‘anything having the size or shape of a nipple: lump, knot, dot, etc.’): Late Latin *dudda* ‘nurse, nanny’ (loan from unknown source); Old High German *tutto*, *tutta* ‘nipple’ (New High German [dial.] *Tüttele*); Middle High German (dim.) *tüttel* ‘nipple’ (New High German *Tüttel* ‘point, dot, jot’); Dutch *dot* ‘lump, small knot’; Old English *dott* ‘speck, head (of a boil)’; East Frisian *dotte*, *dot* ‘lump, clump’. Mann 1984—1987:215 **dhuddhlom* ‘pendant; penis’, 215 **dhuddhos*, *-ā*, *-jos* ‘tiny; tiny tot’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:799; Vercoullie 1898:61; Koolman 1879—1884.I:323—324; Onions 1966:285; Klein 1971:226; Walshe 1951:232. Possibly also the following Greek forms: τυτθός ‘(of children) little, small, young’, (pl.) τυτθά (in Homeric only: τυτθά διατμήξας ‘cut small’), (adv.) τυτθόν ‘a little, a bit’, (Doric) τυννός ‘small, little’. For discussion, cf. Boisacq 1950:993; Hofmann 1966:379; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1147; Frisk 1970—1973.II:949; Beekes 2010.II:1518 and II:1521.

Buck 1949:1,54 star; 4.41 breast (of woman); 12.352 point (sb. = sharp end). Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2767, **ǵūǵV* ~ **ǵūǵA* ‘teat, female breast’.

22.14. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *c^h

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
c ^h -	c-	c-	c-	t ^h -	č-	č ^h -	c-
-c ^h -	-c-	-c(c)-	-c-	-t ^h -	-č-	-č ^h -	-c(c)-

315. Proto-Nostratic root *c^hag- (~ *c^həg-):(vb.) *c^hag- ‘to prick, to pierce’;(n.) *c^hag-a ‘prick, sting, rupture’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *cag- ‘to prick, to pierce’: Proto-Semitic *cag-aš- ‘to pierce’ > Ethiopic / Geez *sag^wʿa* [ሰጉዐ], *sagūʿa* [ሰጉዐ] ‘to perforate, to pierce through’; Tigrinya *säg^wʿe*, *šäg^wʿe* ‘to cut off, to pierce’. Leslau 1987:490. (?) Egyptian *sḏ* ‘(vb.) to break; to break into, to invade; to break open, to rupture; (n.) fracture, rupture’. Erman—Grapow 1921:176 and 1926—1963.4:373—375; Hannig 1995:790; Faulkner 1962:257. West Chadic: Hausa *tsaagàà* ‘to split, to crack, to rip; to make a cut or incisions in something’, *tsaagaa* ‘crack, slit’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:90, no. 373, *cag- ‘to break’.
- B. Dravidian: Kurux *cakkhñā* (*cakkhyaś/cakkos*) ‘to pierce with a prick, to prick, to penetrate into, to puncture, to cause a prickly sensation, to experience a prickly sensation’, (reflexive) *cakkhñā* ‘to get tattooed, etc.’, *cakhtaʿānā* ‘to cause to be pierced, tattooed’; Malto *caqe* ‘to sting, to pierce, to stab’ (also applied to the sowing of certain grains for which hoes are made in the earth), *caqro* ‘worm-eaten roots’, *caqtre* ‘to have the ears pierced’, *caqu* ‘shooting pains in the stomach’; Brahui *jaxxing* ‘to run into, to pierce’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:202, no. 2278.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian *cag- ‘to prick, to pierce’: Laz *cig-* ‘to prick, to pierce’; Svan *cäg* ‘thorn’, *cag-ār* ‘prickly’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:444 *cag-; Fähnrich 2007:553 *cag-.

(?) Sumerian *ság* ‘to smite, to slay, to kill’.316. Proto-Nostratic root *c^haḥ- (~ *c^həḥ-):(vb.) *c^haḥ- ‘to crush, to pound, to grind, to beat, to bruise, to destroy’;(n.) *c^haḥ-a ‘the act of crushing, beating, thrashing, pounding, grinding’;

(adj.) ‘crushing, beating, thrashing, pounding, grinding’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *caḥ- ‘to crush, to pound, to grind, to beat’: Proto-Semitic *caḥ- (extended forms: *caḥ-akʿ-, *caḥ-an-, *caḥ-al-, *caḥ-ag-, *caḥ-ak-, *caḥ-aw/y-, *caḥ-at-) > Hebrew *sāḥāḥ* [סָחַח] (< *caḥ-aw/y-) ‘to scrape’;

Akkadian *sāku* (< **caḥ-ak-*) ‘to pound, to crush’; Arabic *saḥaḳa* ‘to crush, to pound, to bruise, to pulverize; to annihilate, to wipe out, to wear out’, *sāḥiḳ* ‘crushing’, *saḥana* ‘to crush, to pound, to bruise, to grind; to smooth by rubbing’, *saḥala* ‘to scrape off, to shave off, to peel; to smooth, to make smooth, to plane, to file’, *saḥāla* ‘filings, file dust’, *saḥaḡa* ‘to scrape off, to shave off, to rub off; to graze, to abrade, to strip off’, *saḥata* ‘to extirpate, to annihilate, to root out’, *saḥā* ‘to shovel or sweep away, to shave off (hair)’; Sabaean *šht* ‘to destroy’; Ḥarsūsi *seḥāḳ* ‘to crush, to grind fine’, *seḥāl* ‘to grind (a knife), to scratch’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šḥaḳ* ‘to crush, to grind fine’, *šḥal* ‘to scratch, to grind (a knife)’; Mehri *səḥāḳ* ‘to crush, to mill, to grind fine’, *səḥāl* ‘to scratch, to grind (a knife)’; Ethiopic / Geez *saḥala* [ሰሐለ] ‘to sharpen’; Tigrinya *sāḥalä* ‘to sharpen’; Tigre *sāḥla* ‘to sharpen’; Amharic *salä* ‘to sharpen’; Gurage *sala* ‘razor made locally’. The Ethiopian forms may be loans from Arabic (cf. Leslau 1979:542). Murtonen 1989:298; Klein 1987:440; Leslau 1979:542 and 1987:493; Zammit 2002:216. (?) Egyptian *šm* (Old Kingdom *zḥm*) ‘to crush, to pound’. Faulkner 1962:238; Erman—Grapow 1921:167 and 1926—1963.4:215; Hannig 1995:736; Gardiner 1957:591. Berber: Kabyle *cəqq* (< **caḥ-ak-*) ‘to split; to be split, cracked’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:98, no. 408, **cVḥaḳ-* ‘to cut, to break’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cāttu* (*cātti*) ‘to beat, to thrash’, *cāttu* ‘beating, thrashing’; Kota *ca-t-* (*ca-ty-*) ‘to give a blow, to beat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:214, no. 2450.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **cex-* ‘to grind, to crush’: Georgian *cex-* ‘to remove stubble’; Mingrelian *cax-* ‘to grind, to crush’; Svan *li-cēxw-e* ‘to mow’ (Georgian loan). Klimov 1964:228 **c₁exw-* ‘to pound, to crush’ and 1998:264 **cex-* ‘to remove stubble’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:447 **cex-*; Fähnrich 2007:557 **cexw-*; Schmidt 1962:149.
- D. Indo-European: Hittite (1st sg. pres. act.) *za-aḥ-mi* ‘to hit, to beat’; (nom. sg.) *za-aḥ-ḥa-iš* ‘battle, war’; derivatives: (1st sg. pres. act.) *za-aḥ-ḥi-ya-mi* ‘to battle (someone)’, (impf. reduplicated) *za-aḥ-za-aḥ-ḥi-eš-ke/a-* ‘to battle fiercely’; (3rd sg. imp. act.) *za-aḥ-ḥur-ra-id-du* ‘to break, to crush’; (acc. sg.) *za-aḥ-ra-in* ‘knocker’ (?). Friedrich 1961:256—258; Kloekhorst 2008b:1019—1020, 1021—1022, 1023, and 1023—1024. These may be relic forms in which an original initial dental affricate has been preserved in Hittite. Though Kloekhorst compares Greek σῆμα ‘sign, mark’, σῶμα ‘corpse’, and σῖτος ‘grain, food’, there are no sure non-Anatolian cognates. Sanskrit *tāla-ḥ* ‘clapping of hands’, *tāḍa-ḥ* ‘beating, striking; blow, thump, knock’, *tāḍāyati* ‘to beat, to punish’ are suggestive, though not without their own problems. Cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:492—493 and I:498.

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.31 rub. Bomhard 1996a:222—223, no. 633.

317. Proto-Nostratic root *c^hal- (~ *c^həl-):
 (vb.) *c^hal- ‘to cut, to split, to cleave, to break off or apart’;
 (n.) *c^hal-a ‘cut, crack, split; stroke, blow’
 Derivative:
 (n.) *c^hal-a ‘part, piece, chip, fragment’
- A. Proto-Afrasian *cal- ‘to cut, to split, to cleave, to break off or apart’:
 Proto-Semitic *cal-aʕ- ‘to split, to cleave’ > Arabic *salīʿa* ‘to split, to cleave; to break open, to burst’, *salʿ*, *silʿ* ‘crack, fissure, rift’; Hebrew *selāʿ* [שֶׁלַע] ‘cliff, crag’; Aramaic *sīlʿā* ‘rock’; Šheri / Jibbāli *sēlaʿ* ‘to cut out the cheek (of a slaughtered animal)’, *seʿlʿ* ‘cheek’. Murtonen 1989:301; Klein 1987:448. Proto-Semitic *cal-at- ‘to cut, to split, to cleave, to break off or apart’ > Akkadian *salātu* (also spelled *šalātu*) ‘to split off, to split, to cut; to split into many parts, to cut through, to cut up; to be split apart’, *saltu* ‘a cut’, *siltu* ‘shaving, splinter’, *silittu* ‘splitting off, forking off’; Arabic *salata* ‘to extract, to pull out; to chop off (something, especially a part of the body)’; Geez / Ethiopic *sallata* [ሰለተ] ‘to sift, to split’; Tigrinya *sälätä* ‘to remove a plant from its stem, to peel off’; Tigre *səllatat* ‘notches, cuts’, *šälta* ‘to destroy’; Amharic *šällätä* ‘to cut, to shear’. Leslau 1987:500—501.
- B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *selè* ‘crack, flaw (as in a stone)’; Telugu *selagu*, *selayu*, *celagu*, *celavu* ‘to cut’, *sela* ‘hole’; Kurux *calxnā* ‘to open, to uncover’, *calxrnā* ‘to open (intr.)’; Malto *calgo* ‘to split or break open’, *calgro* ‘torn asunder’; Brahui *caling*, *calēnging* ‘to become cracked, split’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2377. Tamil *cāl* ‘furrow in plowing, track of a sower while passing and re-passing in sowing’, *cālai* ‘street, avenue, road’; Malayalam *cāl* ‘furrow, channel, track, line, direction’; Kota *ca-l* ‘furrow’; Toda *so* ‘furrow’; Kannaḍa *sāl* ‘a continuous line, a furrow’; Koḍagu *ca-lli* ‘line, furrow, one complete plowing of a field, people related in any way by descent from a common ancestor’; Tuḷu *sāly* ‘line, row, furrow’; Telugu *cālu* ‘line, row, furrow, groove, track’, *cālupu* ‘line, row, series’; Gondī *āl* ‘furrow’ (loan from Telugu); Konda *sāl* ‘furrow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:216, no. 2471.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian *cel- ‘to cut, to mow’: Georgian *cel-* ‘to mow’; Mingrelian *cel-* ‘to mow’; Laz (*n*)*cal-*, (*m*)*cal-* ‘to cut into pieces’. Schmidt 1962:149; Klimov 1964:223 **cel-* and 1998:263 **cel-* ‘to mow’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:445—446 **cel-*; Fähnrich 2007:554—555 **cel-*. Proto-Kartvelian **cel-* ‘scythe’: Georgian *cel-* ‘scythe’; Mingrelian *cal-* ‘scythe’. Klimov 1964:223 **cel-* and 1998:262—263 **cel-* ‘scythe’. Perhaps also: Proto-Kartvelian **cal-/cel-/cl-* ‘to remove, to take off, to tear off’: Georgian *cal-/cl-* ‘to remove, to take off’; Svan *cel-/cl-* ‘to tear, to be torn into two parts, to split into two parts’, *cil* ‘bark (of tree)’. Fähnrich 2007:554 **cal-/cel-/cil-*; Klimov 1998:263 **cel-* : **cl-* ‘to peel, to strip off’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:444—445 **cal-/cel-/cil-*.

- D. Proto-Altaic **čhalu-* ‘(vb.) to cut; (adj.) sharp’: Proto-Tungus **čal-* ‘(vb.) to cut off; to engrave, to carve; (n.) bed in a crossbow; arrowhead’ > Manchu *čoli-* ‘to engrave, to carve’, *čolikū* ‘an engraving knife’; Evenki *čalī* ‘arrowhead’; Negidal *čōlī-* ‘to cut off’; Ulch *čālu-* ‘to cut off; to engrave, to carve’, *čaylī*, *čaiłqa* ‘bed in a crossbow’; Orok *čayla* ‘bed in a crossbow’; Nanay / Gold *čālī-* ‘to cut off; to engrave, to carve’; Oroch *čali* ‘bed in a crossbow’. Proto-Mongolian **čali* ‘sharp; sharp instrument, crowbar’ > Written Mongolian *čali* ‘sharp’, *čalir*, *čaril* ‘iron bar for demolishing rocks, breaking ice; crowbar, wrecking bar’; Khalkha *calir*, *caril* ‘sharp instrument, crowbar’; Buriat *salī-* ‘to be sharp’; Kalmyk *calā*, *cālā* ‘sharp’, *calr*, *cālr* ‘sharp instrument, crowbar’; Ordos *čalir* ‘sharp instrument, crowbar’. Proto-Turkic **čal-* ‘(vb.) to knock (down), to hit, to agitate; to whet; to slaughter; to mow; to sting, to pierce; to sweep; to chop; to sharpen; (n.) scythe; whetstone; mowing; blade’ > Old Turkic *čal-* ‘to knock (down)’; Karakhanide Turkic *čal-* ‘to knock (down)’; Turkish *çal-* ‘to give a blow to, to knock (on a door), to strike (the hour)’, *çalım* ‘stroke, blow, swagger’, *çalın-* ‘to be struck’; Gagauz *čalim* ‘blade’; Azerbaijani *čal-* ‘to knock (down), to hit; to sting, to pierce; to sweep’, *čalyi* ‘a kind of broom’; Turkmenian *čal-* ‘to sharpen, to whet; to sweep; to sting, to pierce’, *čalgī* ‘scythe; whetstone’; Uzbek *čal-* ‘to knock (down), to hit’, *čalyi uruq* ‘scythe’; Uighur *čal-* ‘to knock (down), to hit’, *čalya* ‘scythe’; Karaim *cal-* ‘to knock (down), to hit, to agitate; to mow’, *calqī*, *calyi* ‘scythe’; Bashkir *salī-* ‘to slaughter’; Tatar *čal-* ‘to knock (down), to hit, to slaughter’, *čalyi* ‘scythe’; Kirghiz *čal-* ‘to knock (down), to hit, to slaughter’, *čalyi* ‘scythe’, *čalyin* ‘mowing’; Noghay *šal-* ‘to knock (down), to hit’, *šalyi* ‘scythe’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *čalyi* ‘scythe’; Kazakh *šal-* ‘to trip’, *šalyi* ‘scythe’, *šalyin* ‘mowing’; Yakut *sālīn-* ‘to fall abruptly’; Tuva *šali-* ‘to sharpen, to whet’; Chuvash *sol-* ‘to mow’, *solǎk* ‘a kind of broom’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:413—414 **čalu* ‘sharp; to cut’.
- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **calra-* ‘to crush or press down on’ > Koryak *calīra-* ‘to crush, to press down on’; Alyutor *salīra-* ‘to crush, to press down on’. Fortescue 2005:43. Assuming semantic development from ‘to cut or break in pieces, to rub to pieces’ > ‘to crush’.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.31 rub; 12.23 separate (vb.).

318. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **čhal-a* ‘part, piece, chip, fragment’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **čhal-* ‘to cut, to split, to cleave, to break off or apart’;

(n.) **čhal-a* ‘cut, crack, split; stroke, blow’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *calli* ‘small pieces of stone or glass, potsherd, small chips (as of stone), rubble, small flat shells used for lime, small copper coin’;

Malayalam *calli* ‘chip, potsherds, copper cash’; Kannaḍa *jalli* ‘broken stone, metal’; Tuḷu *calli* ‘chip, potsherd’, *jalli* ‘broken stones’; Telugu *jalli* ‘road metal, broken stone’; Parji *jalub* ‘small stone chips’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2381.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **cal-* ‘part, piece’: Georgian *cal-* ‘part, one’; Laz *co(r)-* ‘piece’. Klimov 1998:262 **cal-* ‘part, piece’.

Buck 1949:13.23 part (sb.).

319. Proto-Nostratic root **c^huk^h-* (~ **c^hok^h-*):

(vb.) **c^huk^h-* ‘to close, to shut, to cover’;

(n.) **c^huk^h-a* ‘closure, cover, stoppage’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **cuk-* ‘to close, to shut, to cover’: Proto-Semitic **cak-ak-* ‘to close, to shut, to cover’ > Hebrew *sāḫaḫ* [סַחַח] ‘to screen, to cover, to thatch; to plait, to interweave’, *māsāḫ* [מַסַּח] ‘covering, screen’; Aramaic *səḫaḫ* ‘to interlace, to weave, to fence in’; Arabic *sakka* ‘to lock, to bolt (the door)’; Akkadian *sakāku* ‘to plug up, to block’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *sekk* ‘to sew, to close’; Tigrinya *sāk^wʿe*, *sāk^lʿe* ‘string’; Tigre *sāk^lʿa* ‘thread’; Gurage *sākkākā* ‘to drive a peg or a pointed object into the ground or the wall’, *māskāk* ‘peg’; Amharic *sākkākā* ‘to thread through, to drive through’, *sākka* ‘string, thread’; Harari *sākāka* ‘to string, to put in a row’. Murtonen 1989:299; Klein 1987:446; Leslau 1963:139 and 1979:540. Proto-Semitic **cak-ar-* ‘to shut, to close; to plug up, to block’ > Hebrew *sāḫar* [סַחַר] ‘to shut up, to stop up’; Syriac *səḫar* ‘to shut, to obstruct’; Arabic *sakara* ‘to shut, to close, to lock, to bolt’; Akkadian *sekēru* ‘to dam up, to close, to clog (a watercourse, a canal); to block (parts of the body)’, *sikkūru* ‘bolt’. Murtonen 1989:300; Klein 1987:446. (?) Berber: Tuareg *əskəm* ‘to withhold, to hold back (a small quantity of something which one is giving)’, *askum* ‘a stick with a hook used to grab the branches of trees in order to make it easier to cut them off’; Wargla *əskəm* ‘to withhold, to hold back, to stop, to halt’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tasskimt* ‘a stick with a hook, used to break dried branches’. Highland East Cushitic **c^huk-* ~ **cuk-* ‘to close (with a lid)’ > Bambala *cuk-* ‘to close (with a lid)’; Burji *c^huk-*, *c^hukk-* ~ *cuk-* ‘to cover (a pot), to close’, *c^hukká* ‘cover, stopper’. Sasse 1982:49; Hudson 1989:184. Central Chadic **ca-cVkw-* ‘to stop up’ > Mofu *sasəkw* ‘to stop up’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:97, no. 407, **cuk-* ‘to close’; Takács 2011a:21 **c-k/g* ‘to close’.
- B. Proto-Uralic **čukka-* ‘to close, to shut, to cover’: Hungarian *csuk-* ‘to close, to shut, to shut up, to shut in’; Votyak / Udmurt *čoktal-*, *čoktal-* ‘to cover, to stop up, to stuff up (for example, an opening)’, *čoksal-*, *čoksal-* ‘to cover; to stop up, to stuff up (for example, an opening)’, *čoktät-* ‘stopper, cork; lid’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *takalḥa-* ‘to hide (tr.)’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tekaa-* ‘to hide (intr.)’; Selkup Samoyed *čagaža-*,

čakača-, *takata-* ‘to shut up, to lock up, to shut’; Kamassian *tâktō* ‘bolt, lock, contrivance used for shutting; (fish)-weir’, *tâktə-* ‘to close, to shut’. Collinder 1955:7 and 1977:28; Rédei 1986—1988:62 **čukka-*; Décsy 1990:98 [**chuka*] ‘to shut, to block’.

Buck 1949:7.23 lock (sb.); 12.25 shut, close (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 351—352, no. 177.

22.15. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *c'

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
c'-	c'-	c-	c'-	t'-	č-	č-	c-
-c'-	-c'-	-c(c)-	-c'-	-t'-	-č-	-č-	-c-

320. Proto-Nostratic root *c'al- (~ *c'əl-) or *č'al- (~ *č'əl-):

(vb.) *c'al- or *č'al- 'to stretch out, to extend, to exceed; to be wealthy, to prosper, to do well';

(n.) *c'al-a or *č'al-a 'wealth, prosperity, abundance'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *c'al- '(vb.) to stretch out, to extend, to exceed; to be wealthy, to prosper, to do well; (n.) wealth, prosperity': Proto-Semitic *c'al-ah- 'to stretch out, to extend, to exceed; to be wealthy, to prosper, to do well' > Hebrew *šālah* [שָׁלַח] 'to advance, to prosper'; Aramaic *šalah* 'to prosper'; Arabic *šalaha* 'to be in good or perfect condition', *šilh* 'in good condition, perfect', *šalāh* 'soundness, good or healthy condition; beautiful order; peace; good actions, justice'; Sabaean *šlh* 'to make successful, to prosper'; Harsūsi *šayleh* 'to be fat'; Šheri / Jibbāli *šelah* 'to be suitable, fine', *ešlāh* 'to do well'; Mehri *šaylāh* 'to be fat'. Murtonen 1989:360; Klein 1987:548; Zammit 2002:256—257. Proto-Semitic *c'al-at- 'to stretch, to extend' > Arabic *šaltah* 'wide, broad', *šulātīh* 'spacious, roomy, wide'. Egyptian *ḏī* '(arm) to stretch out, to extend'. Hannig 1995:992—993; Faulkner 1962:318; Erman—Grapow 1921:218 and 1926—1963.5:514; Gardiner 1957:603 (*ḏ*). Berber: Tuareg *əzzəl* 'to make right, to rectify one thing, to be made right, to go right, to rectify, to be rectified, to go right, to be right, to extend, to expand', *zənnəzzəl* 'to stretch'; Siwa *əzzəl* 'to extend the hand'; Ghadames *əzzəl* 'to offer, to extend, to be extended'; Mzab *zzəl* 'to offer, to extend, to lengthen'; Tamazight *zzəl* 'to extend, to be extended'; Tachelhiyt / Shilha *əzzəl* 'to stretch, to extend'; Riff *əzzəl*, *əzzər* 'to stretch, to extend'; Kabyle *əzzəl* 'to offer, to extend, to be extended'. Proto-East Cushitic *d₁aal- 'to exceed, to be long(er)' > Saho *del-* 'to be long'; Gidole *c'aal-* 'to be better, wealthier, taller'; Konso *ʃaal-* 'to exceed, to be bigger, to be longer'; Galla / Oromo *c'aal-* 'to exceed'. Sasse 1979:27.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cāl* (*cālv-*, *cānr-*) 'to be abundant, full; to be suitable, fitting; to be great, noble; to be sufficient', *cāl* 'fullness, abundance', *cālpu* 'excellence, nobility'; Malayalam *cāla* 'richly, fully'; Kannaḍa *sāl*, *sālu* 'to be sufficient or enough, to suffice'; Telugu *cālu* 'to be able, capable; to bear, to endure; to be enough, sufficient', *cālu* 'sufficiency', *cāلامي* 'insufficiency, inability', *cālika* 'ability', *cāla* 'abundant; abundantly'; Kolami *sāl* 'to be able'; Gondi *hāl* 'completely'; Konda *sāl* 'to be capable

- of, to be suitable'; Kuwi *hāl* 'to suffice, to be enough to'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:216, no. 2470.
- C. Indo-European: Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *za-lu-ga-nu-zi* 'to postpone, to delay', (verbal noun) *za-lu-ga-nu-mar* 'postponement, delay'; (derivative) (3rd sg. pret. act.) *za-lu-ki-iš-ta* 'to take long'. Friedrich 1961:258—259; Melchert 1994a:67, 110, 172, and 175; Kloekhorst 2008b:1027—1028. These may be relic forms in which an original initial dental affricate has been preserved in Hittite. Though Kloekhorst considers these forms to be derived from Proto-Indo-European **dlugh-* (cf. Hittite [pl.] *da-lu-ga-e-eš* 'long'; Sanskrit *dīrghá-h* 'long'; Greek *δολιχός* 'long'; Old Church Slavic *dlъgъ* 'long'; Russian *dólgij* [долгий] 'long'; etc.), the consensus (Eichner, Laroche, Melchert, etc.) seems to be that two separate stems are involved here: (1) *daluki-* and (2) **zaluki-*.
- D. Proto-Altaic **čālo* 'full, abundant': Proto-Tungus **žalu-* 'to fill, to be filled', **žalu(m)* 'full' > Manchu *žalu-* 'to be full, to be fulfilled, to fulfill', *žalu* 'full; fullness', *žalun* 'fullness', *žalukiya-* 'to fill out, to fill up, to fill a quota', *žalukan* 'somewhat full'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *žalū* 'full'; Evenki *žalum* 'full'; Lamut / Even *žalu-* 'full'; Negidal *žalum* 'full'; Jurchen *žaw-lu-χα* 'full'; Ulch *žalu(n)* 'full'; Orok *dahumžī* 'full'; Nanay / Gold *zalo* 'full'; Oroch *žalu-* 'full'; Solon *žalū* 'full'. Proto-Mongolian **del-* '(vb.) to expand; (adj.) full, abundant; wide, broad' > Mongolian *delge-* 'to spread, to display, to lay out, to unroll, to unwrap; to open, to stretch, to elongate; to propagate', *delger* 'extensive, vast; full, abundant; flourishing', *delgere-* 'to unfold, to grow, to increase, to expand, to spread, to become extensive; to develop, to bloom, to blossom', *delgerel* 'spreading, propagation, development', *deli-* 'to stretch', *delimel* 'stretched, extended', *delbeg* 'large, wide; plentiful(ly), abundant(ly), bountiful(ly)', *delbeger* 'wide, broad, large', *delbei-* 'to be or become wide or broad (usually of objects)', *delegüü* 'large, vast, spacious, wide extensive'; Khalkha *delger* 'full, abundant; wide', *delge-*, *dele-* 'to expand', *delxiy*, *delū* 'wide, broad'; Buriat *delger* 'full, abundant; wide'; Kalmyk *delgr* 'full, abundant; wide', *del-* 'to expand'; Ordos *delger* 'full, abundant; wide'; Dagur *delgere-*, *delgē-* 'to develop'; Monguor *derge-* 'to unwrap, to unfold'. Poppe 1955:157. Proto-Turkic **dōl-* 'full' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *tolu* 'full'; Karakhanide Turkic *tolu* 'full'; Turkish *dolu* 'full'; Gagauz *dolu* 'full'; Azerbaijani *dolu* 'full'; Turkmenian *dōli* 'full'; Tatar *tulī* 'full'; Bashkir *tulī* 'full'; Karaim *tolī* 'full'; Kirghiz *tolo* 'full'; Kazakh *tolī* 'full'; Uzbek *tuła* 'full'; Uighur *tola*, *tolyan* 'full'; Noghay *tolī* 'full'; Tuva *dolu* 'full'; Khakas *tol-* 'to fill'; Chuvash *tol-* 'to fill', *tollī* 'full'; Yakut *tuol-* 'to fill', *toloru* 'full'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *tolo* 'full'; Dolgan *tuol-* 'to fill', *toloru* 'full'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:390—391 **čālo* 'full; to fill'.

Sumerian *zal* 'to become wide'.

Buck 1949:11.42 wealth, riches; 11.51 rich; 12.57 long; 12.58 tall; 12.61 wide, broad.

321. Proto-Nostratic root *c'ar- (~ *c'ər-) stem indicating downward motion:

(vb.) *c'ar- 'to slip or slide down, to fall down, to roll down, to lean or bend down, to throw down';

(n.) *c'ar-a 'the act of slipping, sliding, falling, or rolling down';

(particle) *c'ar- 'down'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *c'ar-aʕ- 'to throw down, to fell, to bring to the ground' > Arabic *šaraʕa* 'to throw down, to fell, to bring to the ground; to be epileptic, to have an epileptic fit', *šarīʕ*, *mašrūʕ* 'thrown to the ground, felled; epileptic; demented, insane, mad, crazy'; Epigraphic South Arabian *šrʕ* 'to throw down, to humiliate'. Zammit 2002:253. According to several scholars, the following are related to the Arabic and Epigraphic South Arabian forms cited here: Hebrew *šāraʕaθ* [שָׂרְעָא] 'leprosy', *šārūʕā* [שָׂרְעָא] 'suffering from a skin eruption, struck with a skin disease'; Aramaic *šarʕaθā* 'leprosy'; Geez / Ethiopic *šərnəʕt* [ጸርንዕት] 'scab, malignant ulcer', *šərnəʕ* [ጸርንዕ] (for **šərnəʕ*) 'eczema, poisonous snake' (probably rather 'ulcer' or 'disease caused by a poisonous snake'); Akkadian *šennītu*, *šennittu*, *širnittu* 'a skin disease'. Murtonen 1989:367; Klein 1987:557; Leslau 1987:564. Berber: Tuareg *əndər* 'to jump quickly from one's seat, to fall suddenly from one's seat; to be or become angry'; Ghadames *əndər* 'to throw, to shoot, to drop'; Nefusa *ənʕar* 'to fall, to drop, to abort'; Wargla *əndər* 'to make fall, to drop, to have a miscarriage, to abort'; Tamazight *ɛər* 'to go down, to slope down, to find', *sɛər* 'to go down, to remove, to lay (eggs)', *taɛuri* 'descent, fall'; Riff *nɛər* 'to throw'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ɛər* 'to fall'; Kabyle *ɛər* 'to fall', *ɛɛər* 'to jump, to ascend and descend suddenly'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cari* (-v-, -nt-) 'to slip away, to slide down, to roll, to tumble, to stumble down, to give way, to yield, to lean, to incline, to be aslant, to slope', *cari* (-pp-, -tt-) 'to cause to slip or roll, to topple, to pour down, to make slant, to incline', *cari* 'declivity, slope of a mountain', *cariṅu* 'sliding, rolling, slipping down, slope, declivity', *carukku* (*carukki*-) 'to slip', *caruvu* (*caruvi*-) 'to slip away, to slide down', *caruvu* 'declivity, steep side of a rock', *caruval* 'sloping, slope'; Malayalam *cariyuka* 'to slide, slip, or roll down; to lean, to bend', *carikka* 'to bend, to make to lean sideways, to lower a vessel, to pour', *carippikka* 'to cause to lean', *cariccal* 'a low shed, a side room', *cariṅu*, *caru* 'inclination, slope, bending', *carkuka* 'to glide, to slide'; Kota *jarv-* (*jard-*) 'to slide and fall, to slide down a slope', *jarv-* (*jart-*) 'to cause to slip and fall'; Kannaḍa *sari* 'to move, to go, to go or move to one side, to move out of place, to slide, to go to the right or left, to slip, to fall down, to run off, to run away, to put on one side', *sari* 'sliding, flight, state of being aside, precipice, deep ravine',

sari ‘steep precipice’, *jari* ‘to slip or fall, to slide, to collapse, to slip away’, *jari* ‘ravine’, *jaragu*, *jarigu*, *jarugu* ‘to slip, to slide, to roll down, to move aside, to elapse (time)’, *saraku*, *saruku* ‘to slip, to slide, to move aside, to give place, to yield’; (?) Kodagu *tari-* (*tariv-*, *tariñj-*) ‘to bend to one side (intr.)’, *tari-* (*tarip-*, *taric-*) ‘to bend to one side (tr.)’; Telugu *jaragu*, *jarugu* ‘to pass, to elapse (time), to occur, to be current or usual, to come to pass, to slide, to glide, to slip, to creep, to crawl, to move on, to be slippery’, *jarapu* ‘to spend or pass (time), to push or move forward’, *jaruguḍu* ‘slipping, sliding’, (?) *s(r)aggu* ‘to decrease, to grow less, to be diminished, to abate, to sink, to go down’, *cari*, *cariya* ‘cliff, precipice, side of a hill or mountain’; Kolami *jarāg-* ‘to slip’; Kuwi *jarginai* ‘to occur’; Malto *jarqe* ‘to be dropped, to fall’, *jarqtre* ‘to drop, to let fall’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:208, no. 2360.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **c’ar-* (preverb of direction) ‘down, away, off’: Georgian *c’a(r)-* (preverb) ‘away, off’; Mingrelian *c’o-* (preverb) ‘down, below’; Laz *c’o-* (preverb) ‘down, below’. Klimov 1964:241—242 **ça-* and 1998:292—293 **çar-* (preverb of direction) ‘down, away, off’; Fähnrich 2007:616—617 **çar-*. Proto-Kartvelian (adverb) **c’are* ‘down, downwards’: Georgian *c’are* ‘down, downwards’; Mingrelian *c’ale* ‘down’; Laz *c’ale* ‘down’. Klimov 1964:242 **ça-re*.
- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *t’arqayaj-* ‘to stumble’, *t’arqal’u* ‘curve (of a road or a river)’, *čarqal’uu* ‘something curved, bent’, *čarqayarej-* ‘to twist (a joint)’. Nikolaeva 2006:126. Assuming semantic development from ‘to stumble, to fall down’.

Buck 1949:10.42 slide, slip (vb.).

322. Proto-Nostratic root **c’ar-* (~ **c’ər-*) or **č’ar-* (~ **č’ər-*):

(vb.) **c’ar-* or **č’ar-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, evident; to reveal, to make known, to make clear, to clarify’;
 (n.) **c’ar-a* or **č’ar-a* ‘visibility, clarity’; (adj.) ‘visible, clear, evident’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **c’ar-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, evident; to make clear, to clarify’: Proto-Semitic **c’ar-* (extended forms: **c’ar-ah-*, **c’ar-aw/y-*) ‘to be or become clear, evident; to make clear, to clarify’ > Arabic *šaraḥa* ‘to make clear, to clarify, to explain’, *šaruḥa* ‘to become clear, evident’, *šarīḥ* ‘clear, distinct, obvious, plain, evident’, *šarā* ‘to look at, to gaze’; Geez / Ethiopic *šarya* [ጸርዮ] ‘to be purified, refined, cleansed, filtered’; Tigrinya *šäräyā* ‘to be pure, clear’; Tigre *šāra* ‘to be clear, pure, healthy’; Amharic *tārra* ‘to be pure, to be clarified, to be clear, to brighten, to clear up (weather)’, *aṭārra* ‘to purify, to make clear, to clean, to elucidate’; Gurage *tārra* ‘to be filtered, purified, clear’. Leslau 1979:629 and 1987:564. Berber: Tawlemmet *əzzəru* ‘iris (pupil of the eye)’; Nefusa *zər* ‘to see’; Siwa *zər* ‘to see’; Wargla *zər* ‘to see, to look at; to know’;

Mzab *zər* 'to see, to imagine'; Tamazight *zər* 'to see, to look at; to know; to pay a visit', *izri* 'eyesight, eyes'; Riff *zər* 'to see, to look at, to examine'; Kabyle *zər* 'to see; to know', *izri* 'eyesight, eyes'; Chaoia *zər* 'to see, to look at; to know, to foresee'; Zenaga *zar* 'to see; to find by accident, to discover'.

- B. Proto-Dravidian **cārr-* 'to reveal, to make known, to make clear, to clarify': Tamil *cārru* (*cārrī-*) 'to publish, to announce, to explain in detail, to speak, to mention, to praise, to beat (as a drum)'; Malayalam *cārruka* 'to speak loud, to call on gods and sing (as astrologers)'; Kota *ca-r-* (*ca-ry-*) 'to tell news in all places'; Kannaḍa *sāru* 'to cry out, to proclaim aloud, to publish'; Tuḷu *sāriyuni* 'to proclaim, to publish, to preach, to warn', *sāriyāvuni* 'to cause to proclaim or publish'; Telugu *cātu* 'to proclaim, to declare, to announce, to publish, to make known to the public', *cāṭimpu* 'proclamation, announcements, publishing by beat of drum', *cāṭuva* 'proclamation'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:217, no. 2486.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **t'er-/t'or-/t'j-* 'to be or become visible, clear, evident': Sanskrit *dārpaṇa-h* 'mirror'; Old High German *zorft* 'clear'; Greek δρᾶω (= ὀρᾶω) 'to see, to look, to observe', δρωπάζω 'to gaze at'. Walde 1927—1932.I:803 **derep-*; Pokorny 1959:212 **der(ep)-* 'to see' (?); Boisacq 1950:203; Frisk 1970—1973.I:422; Beekes 2010.I:357; Hofmann 1966:55—56 **derep-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:300; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:22. Proto-Indo-European **t'erkh-/t'orkh-/t'jkh-* 'to be or become visible, clear, evident; to see clearly': Sanskrit *dars-* 'to see, to behold, to look at, to regard, to consider; to see with the mind, to learn, to understand; to notice, to care for, to look into, to try, to examine', *dṛṣṭá-h* 'seen, visible', *dṛṣṭi-h* 'seeing, sight', *dṛṣya-h* 'conspicuous, visible', *darsá-h* 'sight, glimpse'; Greek δέρκομαι 'to see clearly, to look at, to look on, to perceive', δέρξις 'sense of sight', δράκος 'eye'; Old Irish *derc* 'eye'; Welsh *drych* 'sight, appearance, mirror'; Gothic *ga-tarhjan* 'to denote, to identify, to distinguish'; Old English *torht* 'bright, beautiful, illustrious', *torhtian* 'to make clear, to show'; Old Saxon *toroht* 'bright, clear'; Old High German *zoraht* 'bright, clear', *ougo-zorhtan* 'to reveal'; Albanian *dritë* 'light'. Rix 1998a:105 **derk-* 'to look or glance at, to see, to behold'; Walde 1927—1932.I:806—807 **derk-*; Pokorny 1959:213 **derk-* 'to look'; Mann 1984—1987:141 **derkō*, *-jō* 'to see, to look, to notice', 141 **derkos* (**derks-*) 'seeing, clear; sight, look', 156 **dork-* 'sight', 163 **djĕk-* (radical) 'to see', 164 **djĕksos*, *-ā*, *-jos* 'vision', 164 **djĕktis* 'seeing, sight, brightness'; Watkins 1985:12 **derk-* and 2000:16 **derk-* 'to see'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:217 **t'erk[h]-* and 1995.I:186 **t'erkh-* 'to see'; Mallory—Adams 1997:505 **derk-* 'to glance at'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:23—24, II:58, and II:61; Huld 1983:55 **djĕk-ti-*, **derk-*; Boisacq 1950:178 **derk-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:368; Hofmann 1966:55—56 **derk-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:264—265; Beekes 2010.I:317—318 **derk-*; Kroonen 2013:510 Proto-Germanic **tarhjan-* 'to mark'; Orël 1998:75 and

2003:402 Proto-Germanic **tarxjanan*; Feist 1939:203 **derk-*; Lehmann 1986:150 **derk-*.

Buck 1949:6.96 mirror; 15.51 see; 15.52 look (vb.), look at; 15.53 sight (subj.); 15.54 sight (obj.), look (obj.), appearance; 17.34 clear, plain. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:354—355, no. 180.

323. Proto-Nostratic root **c'aw-* (~ **c'əw-*):

(vb.) **c'aw-* ‘to be or become dry, withered, emaciated, lean’;

(n.) **c'aw-a* ‘that which is withered, dry, lean, blighted’; (adj.) ‘dry, withered, lean, blighted’

Extended form:

(vb.) **c'aw-V-ly-* ‘to be or become dry, withered, emaciated, lean’;

(adj.) **c'aw-ly-a* ‘that which is withered, dry, lean, blighted’; (adj.) ‘dry, withered, lean, blighted’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *cavaḷai* ‘leanness of an infant not fed on mother’s milk, tenderness, immaturity’, *cavaṅku* (*cavaṅki-*) ‘to become lean, emaciated; to shrink, to subside; to become faint, to languish’, *cavu* ‘to become weak, to be emaciated’, *cāvi* ‘withered crop, blighted or empty grain’, *cāvaṭṭai* ‘withered grain, chaff; emaciated person, dried betel leaves’; Malayalam *cavala* ‘empty corn, hollowness, leanness’, *cāvi* ‘empty grain, blighted corn, cankerworm, palmerworm’; Tuḷu *cavuli* ‘old’; Telugu *cavile* ‘leanness, thinness’, *sāvi* ‘blasted stalk of withered corn’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:210, no. 2392.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **c'wel-* ‘dry stem, straw’: Georgian *c'vel-* ‘chaff’; Mingrelian *c'u-* ‘straw, stem’; Laz *c'u-* ‘straw, stem’, *o-c'val-e-* ‘chaff’; Svan *c'wi*, *c'uw* (< **c'wel-*) ‘stalk, stem’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:500—501 **çwel-*; Klimov 1998:294—295 **çwel-* ‘dry stem, straw’; Fähnrich 2007:622—623 **çwel-*.

C. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **če-* ‘to dry’ (Fortescue [2015:31] notes: “there may be entanglement with PN **tey-* ‘to go up [from shore]’ here”): Amur *č^he-d^v* ‘to dry’, *seu-d^v* / *-č^heu-d^v* (tr.) ‘to dry’, *č^he* (attributive) ‘dry’. Fortescue 2015:31. Note: Fortescue also lists South Sakhalin *teyu-* ‘to be dry’, *řeyu-* (tr.) ‘to dry’ as possible cognates.

Buck 1949:15.84 dry.

324. Proto-Nostratic root **c'ilv-* (~ **c'elv-*):

(vb.) **c'ilv-* ‘to strip off, to peel off, to pick, to pluck’;

(n.) **c'ilv-a* ‘peeling, picking, plucking’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *iḷi* ‘to strip off, to pluck’; Malayalam *ciḷikka* ‘(the rind of a fruit) to open from ripeness’; Tuḷu *culkuni* ‘to flay’; Parji *cilḡ-* ‘to peel

off, to flake off (intr.)', *cilkip-* (*cilkit-*) 'to peel off, to scale off (tr.)'; Kui *slinga* (*slingi-*) 'to be plucked, untied, loosened', *slipka* (< **slik-p-*; *slikt-*) 'to loosen, to untie, to pluck off'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:224, no. 2585.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **c'il-* 'to pick (fruit, flowers)': Georgian *c'il-* 'to gather, to pick (fruit, flowers)'; Mingrelian *c'il-* 'to pick (fruit, flowers)'; Laz *c'il-* 'to pick (fruit, flowers)'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:502—503 **çil-*; Fähnrich 2007:625 **çil-*; Klimov 1998:296 **çil-* 'to pick (fruit, flowers)'.

Sumerian *zil* 'to peel off, to strip off'.

325. Proto-Nostratic root **c'irʷ-* (~ **c'erʷ-*):

(vb.) **c'irʷ-* 'to squeak, to chirp, to cheep, to peep';

(n.) **c'irʷ-a* 'a kind of bird'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **c'ir-* 'a kind of bird': Semitic: Tigrinya *čəru* 'a kind of bird'; Gurage (Masqan) *čərri*, (Gogot) *čərriyä* 'a kind of bird'; Amharic *čəre* 'a kind of bird'. These forms may be borrowings from Cushitic. Leslau 1979:187. Egyptian *đrt*, *đryt*, *đrw* 'kite' (Demotic *tr-t* 'bird of prey'); Coptic *tre* [ἧρε] 'kite'. Faulkner 1962:323; Hannig 1995:1011; Erman—Grapow 1921:221 and 1926—1963.5:596 and 5:601; Černý 1976:194; Vycichl 1983:220. Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *čirrii* 'a kind of bird'. Omotic: Ome *čeraa* 'bird'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:105, no. 443, **çir-* 'bird'.

Militarëv—Nikolaev (2021:348—349) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **çiraʕ-* 'a kind of bird' on the basis of the following evidence: Semitic **ʕVʕššūr-* (met.) > Akkadian *iššūr-u* 'bird'; Ugaritic *šʕr* [šʕššūru] 'bird (generic); domesticated fowl, poultry'. Chadic **çVr-*: West Chadic **çury-* > Hausa *çiry-á* 'parakeet'; Polchi *cúr-a* 'hawk'. East Chadic **sar-* and **sarsir-* (redupl.) > Dangla *sársir-ò* 'bird of prey'; Bidiya *sár-a* 'épervier' ('sparrowhawk') [*Accipiter sp.*]. Cushitic **çirr-* and **çiçir-* (redupl.) 'red-billed oxpecker' [*Buphaga erythrorhynchus*]: Central Cushitic **çarrur-* > Bilin *çarrúr-ā* 'Madenhacker' [*Buphaga erythrorhynchus*]. Lowland East Cushitic: Saho-Afar **çarraʕ-* > Saho *çaráʕ*, *çarráʕ* 'Madenhacker' [*Buphaga erythrorhynchus*]. Lowland East Cushitic **çirr-* > Oromo *çi/err-ii* 'a kind of bird that sucks blood from a cow, like a hornbill' [*Buphaga erythrorhynchus*]. Highland East Cushitic **çirr-* > Sidamo *çirr-e* 'red-billed oxpecker' [*Buphaga erythrorhynchus*]. Southern Cushitic **çiraʕ-* > Iraqw, Gorowa *çirʕ-i*; Alagwa *ciraʕ-a*; Burunge *çiraʕ-a*; Asa *širaʔ-a* 'bird' (generic term); Dahalo *çiçir-a* 'tick bird' [*Buphaga erythrorhynchus*], *çuár-e* 'sp. bird (Roller?)'. (?) North Omotic: Wolaita *çer-aa* 'a kind of bird' (very likely a Cushitic loan).

Comments: (1) According to Militarëv—Nikolaev, Egyptian *drt*, *dryt*, *drw* ‘kite’ is not related to the forms they cite “due to lack of *ʕ* whose presence in this root is confirmed by both Sem., Saho and S. Cush. forms.” Here, I agree with Orël—Stolbova as opposed to Militarëv—Nikolaev. (2) On the other hand, I would not include the Semitic forms cited by Militarëv—Nikolaev. (3) The disparity between the vowels of the first syllable in some of the Cushitic forms cited by Militarëv—Nikolaev is troubling. This may indicate that we are dealing with two different stems here. (4) No doubt, borrowing has occurred with some of these forms.

- B. Proto-Dravidian **cīr*- ‘a kind of bird’: Gondi *sīrī*, *hīrī* ‘parrot’; Konda *sīra* ‘parrot’; Pengo *hīra* ‘a kind of bird’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:224, no. 2582.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **c’rip*- ‘to cheep, to peep’: Georgian *c’rip*- ‘to squeak, to peep’; Laz *c’ip*- ‘to cheep, to peep’. Klimov 1998:302 **c’rip*- ‘to cheep, to peep’. Proto-Kartvelian **c’ruc*- ‘to peep, to squeak’: Georgian *c’ruc*- ‘to peep, to squeak’; Mingrelian *c’irc*- ‘to weep, to whimper, to squeal, to peep, to cheep’. Fähnrich 2007:636 **c’ruc*-.
- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *čiremedie* ‘little bird’, *čiremed-uo* ‘bird egg’. Nikolaeva 2006:133.
- E. Altaic: Mongolian *čirala*- ‘to squeak, to scream, to cry; to grunt, to roar’.
- F. Eskimo-Aleut: Proto-Inuit **cīrvaq* ‘guillemot’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *sīrvaq* ‘guillemot’; North Alaskan Inuit *sīrvaq* ‘sea pigeon’; Greenlandic Inuit *sīrfaq* ‘guillemot’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:86.

Buck 1949:3.64 bird.

326. Proto-Nostratic root **c’ur*- (~ **c’or*-):

(vb.) **c’ur*- ‘to twist, to turn, to revolve; to press, tie, or bind together; to wrap up; to surround, to encircle, to enclose’;

(n.) **c’ur-a* ‘that which is tied, twisted, wrapped, or bound together: coil, wrapping, binding, loop, etc.; that which surrounds, encircles, or encloses: enclosure, wall, surroundings, circle’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **c’ur*- ‘to press, tie, or bind together; to wrap up; to surround, to encircle, to enclose’: Proto-Semitic **c’a/wa/r*- ‘to press, tie, or bind together; to wrap’ > Hebrew *šūr* [שׁוּר] ‘to confine, to bind together, to besiege; to wrap’; Aramaic *šūr* ‘to wrap up, to wrap together; to besiege, to beleaguer’. Murtonen 1989:357; Klein 1987:543. Proto-Semitic **c’ar-ar*- ‘to press, tie, or bind together; to enclose, to wrap’ > Arabic *šarra* ‘to lace, to cord, to tie up, to truss up, to bind (something)’, *šurra* ‘bag, purse; bundle, packet, parcel’; Hebrew *šārar* [שָׂרַר] ‘to bind, to tie up; to wrap, to enclose; to be restricted, narrow, scant, cramped’, *šārōr* [שָׂרְוֹר] ‘bundle, package’; Aramaic *šārar* ‘to tie up, to wrap, to enclose’; Mehri *šar* ‘to tie the foreskin tight before circumcision’, *šāttar* ‘to be tied; to have retention

of the urine'; Şheri / Jibbāli *şerr* 'to tie the foreskin tight before circumcision'; Harsūsi *şer* 'to tie the foreskin tight before circumcision'. Murtonen 1989:366; Klein 1987:557. Egyptian *dri* 'enclosing wall' (?), *drit* 'wall' (?), *drw* 'wall' (?), *drww* 'wall' (?). Hannig 1995:1010, 1012, and 1012—1013; Faulkner 1962:323—324; Gardiner 1957:604; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:599. East Chadic **sur-* 'to press, to pack' > Kabale *sər-* 'to press, to pack'; Bidiya *surray-* 'to press, to pack'; Migama *suura-* 'to be heavy; to load'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:107—108, no. 455, **çur-* 'to press together'.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *curru* (*curri-*) '(vb.) to revolve, to circulate, to turn around, to spin, to take a circuitous course, to wind about, to wander about, to be coiled, to lie encircling, to be giddy or dizzy; to encircle, to entwine, to embrace, to surround, to encompass, to wear round, to coil up, to roll up, to whirl; (n.) moving round, revolving, rolling, circumference, circuit, roundabout way, surroundings, neighborhood, coil, roll, toe-ring, surrounding wall', *curru-murru* 'all around, on all sides', *cūru* (*cūri-*) 'to surround, to encompass'; Malayalam *curruka* 'to be about, to go about, to be giddy, to roll around, to put on', *curru* 'what is circular, circumference, a ring', *cura* 'a circle, coil; once around'; Kota *cut-* (*cuty-*) 'to wander, to wrap around, to coil (rope), to twirl (sling), to wrap on (waistcloth)'; Kannaḍa *suttu* '(vb.) to surround, to encompass, to wrap round, to wind, to roll up, to go round, to circumambulate; (n.) that surrounds, enclosure, state of being enclosed, circumference, compass, coil, cheroot, coiled metal ring, a walk around, a turn', *sutta* (adv.) 'round about', *sutta mutta* 'all around, completely around', *suttal* 'round about, state of being round about', *suttuvike* 'turning round, feeling giddy'; Koḍagu *cutt-* (*cutti-*) 'to wind around, to wander about'; Tuḷu *sutta* 'circumference, circuit, round about', *suttuni* 'to wind, to roll, to wrap, to surround'; Telugu *cuṭṭu* '(vb.) to roll as a mat, to pass around, to wrap (as thread, cloth, turban), to wind, to encircle, to encompass, to go round, to circumambulate; (n.) a round, circuit, a going round, ring; (adj.) circuitous, round about; (adv.) all around, on all sides', *cuṭṭa* 'a roll of anything, loop, coil, ring, cheroot'; Kolami *sut-* (*sutt-*) 'to wind (turban)' (Telugu loan); Naikri *sutt-* 'to wind'; Parji *cutt-* 'to wind round'; Gadba (Salur) *cuṭṭ-* 'to roll up'; Konda *sut-* 'to twine (rope)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:236—237, no. 2715. Tamil *curi* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to be spiral (as a conch), to whirl around, to eddy (as water), to curl', *curi* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to wind spirally, to whirl, to curl, to lie in a circle', *curi* 'whirling, spiral, curve, screw, white curl on the forehead of bulls', *curiyal* 'curling, curly hair, lock of hair, woman's hair', *curu!* (*curu!v-*, *curuṅt-*) '(vb.) to become coiled, to roll, to curl (as hair); (n.) rolling, roll, coil, curl, woman's hair curled and tied up in dressing', *curuḷal* 'ringlet, coil', *curuḷai* 'roll', *curuṭṭu* (*curuṭṭi-*) '(vb.) to roll up, to coil, to curl, to fold, to twist; (n.) curling, coiling, anything rolled up, cheroot', *curuṭṭai* 'curly hair, curly-haired boy or girl', *curuṅai* 'anything rolled up', *cūr* 'to

revolve, to whirl around’, *cūrppu* ‘whirling, revolving; bracelet’, *cūral* ‘whirling (as of wind)’; Malayalam *curiyal* ‘a round rattan basket’, *curuṭṭu* ‘a roll, cheroot, a sheaf’, *curuḷ* ‘scroll, roll’, *curuḷuka* ‘to be rolled up, to be curled’, *curuṭṭuka* ‘to roll up (tr.)’; Kota *curṇ-* (*curḍ-*) ‘to lie in coils (snake, rope)’, *curṭ-* (*curṭy-*) ‘to coil, to roll (tr.)’; Kannada *suruḷi*, *suruḷe*, *suraḷi* ‘a coil, rope’, *suruḷu*, *suruṇṭu* ‘to coil, to roll up (intr.)’, *surku*, *sukku* ‘to curl’, *surku*, *sukku*, *suṅku*, *sokku* ‘a curl’; Koḍagu *turiḍ-* (*turiṇḍ-*) ‘to be rolled up’, *turiṭ-* (*turiṭi-*) ‘to roll up (tr.)’, *tore* ‘a string that goes round’, *tore* (*torev-*, *torand-*) ‘to be wound round and round (a string)’, *tora* (*torap-*, *torat-*) ‘to wind round and round (a string)’; Tuḷu *turu* ‘a woman’s hair tied in a knot’, *suraḷi*, *suruḷi* ‘a coil, a roll of anything’; Parji *cird-* ‘to turn’, *cirdip-* (*cirdit-*) ‘to make to turn’, *cirdukuḍ* ‘circuit, roundabout way’, *cirl-* ‘to revolve’, *cirlip-* (*cirlit-*) ‘to make to revolve’; Gadba (Salur) *sirl-* ‘to revolve’, *sirl-* (*silr-*, *silir-*) ‘to rotate’; Gondi *surunḍānā* ‘to go round and round (especially in the Bhawar marriage ceremony)’, *surunḍ-* ‘to roll’; Pengo *hūr-* ‘to wind, to wind round, to roll up’; Kui *sursuri* ‘curly’; Kuṛux *kūrṇā* ‘to put on and tie a *sāri* round one’s waist’; Malto *kurge* ‘to roll up, to wrap up’; Brahui *kūring* ‘to roll up (tr.), to make a clean sweep of’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:232—233, no. 2684; Krishnamurti 2003:126 **cur-V-/cūr-* ‘to curl, to roll up’.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **c’r-ax-* and **c’r-ex-/c’r-ix-* ‘to twist tightly together’: Georgian *c’rex-/c’rix-* ‘to twist tightly together’, *da-c’rax-n-a-* ‘to twist tightly together’ (< **c’r-ax-*); Mingrelian *c’irox-/c’irix-* ‘to twist tightly together’. Klimov 1998:302 **çr-ex-* : **çr-ix-* ‘to twist, to weave; to interlace’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:510 **çr-ex-/çr-ix-*; Fähnrich 2007:635 **çrex-/çrix-*. Perhaps also: Proto-Kartvelian **c’ur-* ‘to filter, to strain, to press out’ > Georgian *c’ur-* ‘to filter, to strain, to press out’; Mingrelian *c’ur-*, *c’ər-* ‘to filter, to strain, to press out’; Laz (*n*)*c’or-*, (*n*)*c’ir-* ‘to press, to squeeze’; Svan *c’wr-*, *c’ur-* ‘to filter, to strain, to press out’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:511 **çur-*; Fähnrich 2007:637 **çur-*; Klimov 1964:246 **çur-* and 1998:303 **çur-* ‘to press, to squeeze out; to flow out’. Proto-Kartvelian **c’r-ed-/c’r-id-/c’r-d-* ‘to filter, to strain’ > Georgian *c’ret’-/c’rit’-/c’rt’-* ‘to filter, to strain’, [*c’ret’il-*] in *dac’ret’il-* ‘filtered, strained’; Mingrelian *c’irad-/c’irid-/c’ird-* ‘to filter, to strain, to be filtered’, *c’iradil-*, *c’əradil-* ‘filtered, strained’; Laz *c’rod-/c’urd-* ‘to filter, to strain’. Klimov 1964:246 ***çred-/çrid-/çerd-* and 1998:301 **çred-/çr-id-/çr-d-* ‘to filter, to strain’ and 302 **çred-il-* ‘filtered, strained’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:509—510 **çred-/çrid-/çrd-*; Fähnrich 2007:634—635 **çred-/çrid-/çrd-*.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); wind, wrap (vb.); roll (vb.).

22.16. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *s

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
s-	s-	c-	s-	s-	s-	s-	
-s-	-s-	-c(c)-	-s-	-s-	-s-	-s-	

327. Proto-Nostratic root *saʔ- (~ *səʔ-):

Extended form:

(vb.) *saʔ-V-y- ‘to sift’;

(n.) *saʔ-y-a ‘sieve’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *sīʾ*, *sīʔ* ‘to sift (flour)’. Hannig 1995:657 and 664; Faulkner 1962:209; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.4:16.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *seʔ(y/i)- (vb.) to sift; (n.) sieve’: Greek ἤθω, ἠθέω ‘to sift, to strain’, ἠθμός ‘a strainer’; Welsh *hidl* ‘sieve’; Old Icelandic *sáld* ‘sieve’, *sælda* ‘to sift’; Faroese *sáld* ‘sieve’; Norwegian *saald* ‘sieve’, *sælda* ‘to sift’; Swedish *sáll* ‘sieve’, (dial.) *sálda*, *sálla* ‘to sift’; Danish *saald*, *sold* ‘sieve’, (dial.) *sælde* ‘to sift’; Lithuanian *sietas* ‘sieve’, *sijóju*, *sijóti* ‘to sift’; Old Church Slavic *sějǫ, *sěti (*sějati) in *pro-sějati* ‘to sift, to winnow’, *sito* ‘sieve’; Russian *síto* [сито] ‘sieve, sifter, bolt, bolter, strainer’; Serbian *sijati* ‘to sift’, *sīto* ‘sieve’. Rix 1998a:469—470 *seh₁(i)- ‘to sift’; Pokorny 1959:889 *sē(i)- ‘to sift’; Walde 1927—1932.II:459 *sē(i)-; Watkins 1985:56 *sē- and 2000:73 *sē- ‘to sift’ (contracted from earlier *seʔ₁-); Mallory—Adams 1997:518 *seh₁(i)- ‘to sift’; Boisacq 1950:315; Beekes 2010.I:511 *seh₁-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:624; Hofmann 1966:105; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:407; Orël 2003:327 Proto-Germanic *sēdla- ‘sieve, riddle’ (< *seh₁- ‘to sift’); De Vries 1977:460 and 575; Torp 1919:570; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:254; Derksen 2008:448 *seh₁i- and 2015:397; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:783 and II:784 *sēi-; Smoczyński 2007.1:549 *sih₁eh₂-, *seh₁i-.
- C. Altaic: Proto-Tungus *sayi-ža (~ -ga) ‘sieve’ > Ulch *sayža* ‘sieve’; Nanay / Gold *sayža* ‘sieve’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1198 *sájgo ‘to filter, to ooze’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also compare Proto-Mongolian *saya- ‘to milk’ and Proto-Turkic *sag- ‘to milk’.

328. Proto-Nostratic root *sadʷ- (~ *sədʷ-):

(vb.) *sadʷ- ‘to hear, to listen, to judge’;

(n.) *sadʷ-a ‘hearing, judgment, condemnation, punishment’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *sdm* ‘to hear, to listen, to obey, to understand, to judge’, *sdmī* ‘judge’; Coptic (Sahidic) *sōtm* [ⲥⲟⲩⲙ], (Bohairic) *sōtem* [ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲙ] ‘to

hear, to listen to, to obey'. Hannig 1995:794; Faulkner 1962:259; Erman—Grapow 1921:177 and 1926—1963.4:384—387; Gardiner 1957:593; Vycichl 1983:199; Černý 1976:165.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **sažg-/sžg-* 'to judge, to try, to punish': Georgian *saž-/sž-* 'to judge, to try, to punish', *ržul-* (< **sžul-*) 'law, trust'; Mingrelian *zož-* (< **sožg-*, with assimilation of initial *s-* to *z-*) 'to wish, to desire'; Svan *sgož-* 'to judge, to try' (Zan loan, with consonants transposed). Klimov 1998:163 **saž-* : **sž-* 'to judge, to try, to punish'.
- C. Proto-Altaic **sažV-* 'to slander, to condemn': Proto-Tungus **sažī-* 'to condemn' > Evenki *sažī-ča-* 'to condemn'; Solon *sāžilā-* 'to condemn'. Proto-Mongolian **sežig* 'doubt' > Written Mongolian *sežig* 'doubt, suspicion, distrust', *sežigle-* 'to doubt, to suspect, to distrust'; Khalkha *sežig* 'doubt'; Buriat *hežeg* 'doubt'; Kalmyk *sežag* 'doubt'; Ordos *sežik* 'doubt'. Proto-Turkic **say-* '(vb.) to slander, to lie; (n.) slander, lie' > Uzbek *sayiy* 'delirium'; Khakas *sayya-* 'to slander, to lie', *sayyaχ* 'slander, lie'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *sayyaq* 'slander, lie'; Chuvash *soy-* 'to slander, to lie', *soy* 'slander, lie'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1221 **sažV* 'to slander, to condemn'.

Buck 1949:15.41 hear; 15.42 listen; 15.43 hearing (sb.); 15.44 sound (sb.); 21.16 judge (vb.); 21.162 decide; 21.17 judgment; 21.32 condemn.

329. Proto-Nostratic root **sag-* (~ **səg-*) or **šag-* (~ **šəg-*):

- (vb.) **sag-* or **šag-* 'to reach, to arrive at, to attain, to achieve, to get, to obtain';
 (n.) **sag-a* or **šag-a* 'acquisition, attainment, victory'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **sag-* 'to get, to obtain': Proto-Semitic **sag-al-* 'to get, to obtain, to possess' > Hebrew *səyullāh* [שׁוּלְלָה] 'possession, property'; Akkadian *sugullāte* 'herds'; Ugaritic *sgl* 'treasure'; Aramaic *siggēl*, *sīyēl* 'to acquire'; Arabic *sağala* 'to possess many goods'. Murtonen 1989:296; Klein 1987:434. Egyptian *sd̥wt* (?) 'precious things, treasure', *sd̥wtwy* (?) 'treasurers', *sd̥w* (?) 'precious'. Faulkner 1962:258.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **segh-/sogh-* 'to get, to obtain': Greek *εἶχω* 'to have, to hold'; Sanskrit *sáhate* 'to overcome, to conquer', *sáhas-* 'strength, power, force, victory'; Avestan *hazah-* 'power, victory'; Gothic *sigis* 'victory'; Old Icelandic *sigr* 'victory', *sigra* 'to vanquish, to overcome'; Old English *sigor*, *sige* 'triumph, victory, success', *sigorian* 'to triumph'; Old Frisian *sī* 'victory'; Old Saxon *sigi-*, only in *sigi-drohtin* 'lord of victory, God'; Dutch *zege* 'victory'; Old High German *sigu*, *sigi* 'victory', *sigirōn* 'to conquer' (New High German *Sieg* 'victory, triumph, conquest', *siegen* 'to be victorious, to triumph, to gain a victory' [*über* 'over'], *Sieger* 'conqueror, victor, winner'); Tocharian A/B *sāk-* 'to remain (behind), to restrain, to hold back'. Rix 1998a:467—468 **segh-* 'to have, to hold; to

overcome, to defeat, to conquer'; Pokorny 1959:888—889 **seġh-* 'to hold fast'; Walde 1927—1932.II:481—482 **seġh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1118 **sēġhis*, 1119 **seġhlos* 'hold, grip', 1119 **seġhmn-* (**seġhano-*, **seġhno-*) 'hold, holder, beam, support, stay, strut', 1119 **seġhō* 'to hold, to seize', 1119 **seġhos*, -*es-* 'hold, grip, might; mighty, firm', 1119 **seġthis*, 1119—1120 **seġhuros* (**soġh-*) 'strong, firm', 1239—1240 **sogh-* (**soghos*, -*ā*, -*ǰə*) 'hold, holder, handle', 1240 **soghuros* (**soġhuros*) 'firm, stable', 1240 **soghlos*, **soghelos* (**soġh-*) 'hold, holder', 1240 **soġh-*; Watkins 1985:56 **segh-* and 2000:74 **segh-* 'to hold'; Mallory—Adams 1997:123—124 **seġh-* 'to hold fast, to conquer'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:155 **seġ[h]-*/**sġ[h]-* and 1995.I:134 **seġh-*/**sġh-* 'to have, to hold; to defeat, to conquer'; Boisacq 1950:302—303 **seġh-*; Hofmann 1966:100—101 **seġhō*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:392—394 **segh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:602—604; Beekes 2010.I:490—491 **seġh-*; Orël 2003:322 Proto-Germanic **seġez* ~ **seġaz*, 322 **seġezōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:430 Proto-Germanic **segiz-* 'victory'; Feist 1939:419 **seġhos-*; Lehmann 1986:302 **seġh-* 'to hold fast, to conquer'; De Vries 1977:474; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:707—708 **seġh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:671; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:450—451 and III:452; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:416 and I:417 **seġh-*; Adams 1999:679—680 and 2013:743—744 **seġh-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:600—604 **seġh-*.

- C. Proto-Uralic **saxi-* 'to reach, to arrive at, to attain, to achieve, to get, to obtain': Finnish *saa-* in *saada* 'to get, to obtain; to receive', *saapua* 'to arrive (at, in), to come (to), to get (there), to approach', *saavuttaa* 'to reach, to achieve, to attain', (causative) *saatta-* 'to accompany, to go with, to escort; to be able (to), to be capable; to get, to induce' (> Lapp / Saami *sat'te-* 'to be able, to bring something upon someone or bring someone or something somewhere; to make, to get to, to do something'); Lapp / Saami (Kola) *sakky-* 'to procure, to get'; Mordvin (Erza) *sa-*, (Moksha) *sajə-* 'to come, to arrive, to become; to overtake, to find, to meet'; (Erza) *saje-*, *sai-*, (Moksha) *sěvə-*, *sävə-*, *šavə-* 'to take, to get'; (Erza) *sato-*, (Moksha) *satō-* 'to suffice; to attain, to come upon; to procure, to bring'; (Erza) *savto-* 'to bring'; Cheremis / Mari *šua-*, *šoa-* 'to get; to attain to, to arrive', *šukte-* 'to complete, to finish'; Votyak / Udmurt (derivative) *sut-* 'to attain to'; Zyrian / Komi *su-* 'to overtake, to reach; to come and take unawares; to occur'; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *tōdwa-* 'to arrive, to reach, to attain'; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *tuu'a-* 'to attain, to reach'; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tae-*, *toe-* 'to attain, to reach'; (?) Selkup Samoyed *tü-*, *tüüa-*, *tüüwa-* 'to come, to arrive'; (?) Kamassian *tu-* 'to arrive somewhere, to reach a destination'. Collinder 1955:54 and 1977:72; Rédei 1986—1988:429—430 **saye-* and 749—750 **saye-hta-* (~ *-tta-*); Décsy 1990:17 **sanga* (**sagha*) 'to arrive, to reach'; Sammallahti 1988:553 Proto-Finno-Permian **sěxi-* 'to come'; Janhunen 1977b:146 **t'š'jwə-* (? ~ **t'š'jwā-*); Zhivlov 2023:160

Proto-Uralic **saxi-* ‘to arrive, to get’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *šegešej-*, *šegišej-* ‘to carry away’. Nikolaeva 2006:400.

Buck 1949:11.11 have; 11.12 own, possess; 11.16 get, obtain; 11.41 property; 11.46 treasure. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:359—360, no. 185; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2021, **sagæ* (= **sage* ?) ‘to obtain, to hold’.

330. Proto-Nostratic root **saḥ-* (~ **səḥ-*) or **šah-* (~ **šəḥ-*):

- (vb.) **saḥ-* or **šah-* ‘to examine, to consider, to try to find out, to try to understand, to think about’;
 (n.) **saḥ-a* or **šah-a* ‘thought, idea, understanding, inquiry, examination, consideration, investigation’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *šḥ* ‘to remember, to call to mind, to think about’, *šḥw* ‘remembrance, memory’, *šḥr* ‘thought, idea, plan, counsel, will, determination’; Coptic *eršiši* [ⲉⲣⲩⲩⲱⲓ] ‘to have power, to have authority’ (< *iri šḥr* ‘to take care of’, literally, ‘to make plans’). Gardiner 1957:591; Hannig 1995:742 and 748—749; Faulkner 1962:240 and 243—244; Erman—Grapow 1921:168, 170, and 1926—1963.4:232—234, 4:258—260; Černý 1976:38; Vycichl 1983:47.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **seh₂-k-* [**sah₂-k-*] (> **sāk-*) ‘to examine, to consider, to try to find out, to try to understand, to think about’: Latin *sāgiō* ‘to perceive quickly, to feel keenly’, *sāgus* ‘prophetic’, *sāga* ‘wise woman, fortune-teller’, *sāgax* ‘keen, acute, intellectually quick’; Greek ἡγέομαι ‘to go before, to lead the way, to guide, to conduct; to suppose, to believe, to hold’; Old Irish *saigid* ‘to seek out, to approach, to attack’; Gothic *sōkjan* ‘to seek, to desire, to long for, to argue with, to dispute’, *sōkjan samana* ‘to reason together, to discuss’, *sōkns* ‘search, inquiry’, *sōkeins* ‘investigation’, *us-sōkjan* ‘to search, to examine, to judge’, *sōkareis* ‘investigator, disputer’; Old Icelandic *sækja* ‘to seek’; Swedish *söka* ‘to seek’; Norwegian *søkja* ‘to seek’; Danish *søge* ‘to seek’; Old English *sēcan* ‘to seek, to try to find, to try to get, to try to find out, to investigate, to inquire’, *sōcn* ‘investigation’; Old Frisian *sēka* ‘to seek’; Old Saxon *sōkian* ‘to seek’; Dutch *zoeken* ‘to seek’; Old High German *suohhan* ‘to seek’ (New High German *suchen*), *suochāri* ‘searcher’. Perhaps also Hittite *šākiya-* ‘to give a sign or omen; to signify, to declare’, *šagaiš* ‘sign, omen’ (cf. Melchert 1994a:69 — Melchert assumes loss of the laryngeal *ǵ₂*, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel). Rix 1998a:470—471 **seh₂-g-* ‘to investigate, to look or inquire into, to track’; Pokorny 1959:876—877 **sāg-* (: **səg-*) ‘to seek out’; Walde 1927—1932.II:449 **sāg-* (: **səg-*); Mann 1984—1987:1107 **sāgiō* ‘to get to know, to inquire, to perceive, to sense’; Watkins 1985:55 **sāg-* and 2000:72 **sāg-* ‘to seek out’ (oldest form **seǵ₂-g-*, colored to **saǵ₂-g-*, contracted to **sāg-*; suffixed form **sāg-yo-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:805 **sāk-* and

1995.I:705—706 **sāk*- ‘to recognize by signs, omens; to ask (the god’s will)’; Mallory—Adams 1997:505—506 **sah_ag*- ‘to perceive acutely, to seek out’; Boisacq 1950:314 **sāg*- : **səg*-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:621—622 **sāgejo/e*-; Hofmann 1966:104 **sāg*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:405—406; Beekes 2010.I:508—509 **seh₂g*-; De Vaan 2008:534—535; Ernout—Meillet 1979:580 **sāg*-, **səg*-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:464—465 **sāg*-, **səg*-; Orël 2003:360 Proto-Germanic **sōkiz*, 360 **sōkjanan*, 360 **sōkniz*; Kroonen 2013:464 Proto-Germanic **sōkjan*- ‘to seek, to find, to demand’ (< **seh₂g-je*-); Feist 1939:442 **sāg*- (or **sāg̃*-); Lehmann 1986:318 **sāg*- ‘to perceive acutely’; De Vries 1977:577; Falk—Trop 1903—1906.II:343; Torp 1919:765; Onions 1966:806 **sāg*-, **səg*-; Klein 1971:668 **sāg*-; Skeat 1898:538; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:762 **sāg*-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:713; Kloekhorst 2008b:697—698 **seh₂g-ōi*-.

- C. Proto-Altaic **sā*- ‘to think, to consider, to count’: Proto-Tungus **sā*- ‘to know’ > Manchu *sa*- ‘to know, to understand’; Evenki *sā*- ‘to learn, to come to know’; Lamut / Even *hā*- ‘to find out’, *hān* ‘knowledge’; Negidal *sā*- ‘to know’; Ulch *sāwū* ‘to know’; Orok *sā*- ‘to know’; Nanay / Gold *sā*- ‘to know’; Oroch *sā*- ‘to know’; Udihe *sā*- ‘to know’; Solon *sā*- ‘to know’. Proto-Mongolian **sā-n-a*- ‘to think’ > Mongolian *sana*- ‘to think, to reflect, to ponder’, *sanay-a(n)* ‘thought, thinking, idea, reflection, attention’, *sanal* ‘thought, reflection, idea, supposition, proposal, intention; opinion, viewpoint’, *sanamži* ‘thought, idea’; Buriat (Alar) *hana*- ‘to think’; Dagur *sana*- ‘to think’; Ordos *sana*- ‘to think’; Monguor *sana*- ‘to think’. Poppe 1955:164. Proto-Turkic **sā(y)*- ‘to count, to consider’, **sā-n* ‘number, count’ > Old Turkic *sa*- ‘to count’, *san* ‘number’; Turkish *sayı* ‘number, reckoning’, *say*- ‘to count, to number, to enumerate; to regard, to count as; to esteem, to respect; to deem, to suppose’, *saygı* ‘respect, esteem; thoughtfulness, consideration’, *sayım* ‘a counting, census’, *sayın* ‘esteemed; excellent’, *san*- ‘to think, to suppose, to deem’, *sani* ‘idea, imagination’; Gagauz *say*- ‘to count, to consider’; Azerbaijani *say*- ‘to count, to consider’; Karaim *say*- ‘to count, to consider’; Turkmenian *sāy*- ‘to count, to consider’, *sān* ‘number’; Kazakh *say*- ‘to count, to consider’; Chuvash *su*-, *sv*- ‘to count, to consider’; Yakut *ā*- ‘to count’. Poppe 1960:29, 97, and 123; Street 1974:25 **sā*- ‘to think, to consider, to count’, **sā-n-a*-. Different etymology in Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1219—1220 (**sāri* ‘to know, to beware, to feel’). Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:1275) follow A. M. Ščerbak (Щербак) in considering the Mongolian forms cited above to be Turkic loans.

Buck 1949:11.31 seek; 13.12 number; 17.13 think (= reflect); 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 17.31 remember. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:365—366, no. 195. Different (false) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2029, **sāhk[a]* ‘to search, to find, to know’.

331. Proto-Nostratic root **sak^h-* (~ **səkh^h-*):
 (vb.) **sak^h-* ‘to cut, to split’;
 (n.) **sak^h-a* ‘any sharp instrument used for cutting: knife, sword, dagger, axe, etc.’
- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *sk* ‘to fell (trees)’, *ski* ‘to perish; to destroy’, *sksk* ‘to fell (trees), to destroy’. Hannig 1995:772, 773, and 775; Faulkner 1962:251 and 252; Erman—Grapow 1921:173 and 1926—1963.4:312—313 and 4:319; Gardiner 1957:592.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **sek^h-*/**sok^h-* ‘to cut’: Latin *secō* ‘to cut’, *secūris* ‘axe, hatchet’, *sectūra* ‘a cutting’; Middle Irish *tescaid* ‘to chop off’, *eiscid* ‘to cut off’; Old Icelandic *sax* ‘a short, one-edged sword’, *sög* ‘saw’, (m.) *sigðr*, (f.) *sigð* ‘sickle’; Norwegian *sag* ‘saw’, *saks* ‘sword’; Swedish *såg* ‘saw’, *sax* ‘sword’; Danish *sav* ‘saw’, *saks* ‘sword’; Old English *seax* ‘knife, short sword, dagger’, *secg* ‘sword’, *sigðe*, *sīðe* ‘scythe’, *sagu* ‘saw’; Old Frisian *sax* ‘knife’; Old Saxon *sahs* ‘knife’; Dutch *zicht* ‘sickle’, *zaag* ‘saw’; Old High German *saga*, *sega* ‘saw’ (New High German *Säge*), *sahs* ‘knife’ (New High German *Sachs* ‘weapon’); Old Lithuanian *ešsekti* (also *ešsekti*) ‘to chisel’; Old Church Slavic *seko*, *sešti* ‘to cut, to chop’, *sekyra* ‘axe’. Rix 1998a:475 **sekH-* ‘to cut, to separate’; Pokorny 1959:895—896 **sēk-* ‘to cut’; Walde 1927—1932.II:474—476 **seq-*; Mann 1984—1987:1123 **sek-*, **-sekā*, *-jə* ‘cutting, mowing’, 1123 **sēkīyos*, *-om* ‘cut, cutting’, 1123 **sekmn-* (**sēkn-*) ‘cutting; offcut’, 1123 **sēkō* (**sēkājō*) ‘to cut’, 1123 **sektos*, *-ā* pp. form of type **sēkō*, 1123—1124 (**sekūrā*, *-is* ‘chopper, cutter, axe’; “[a] hybrid, said to be of Semitic origin”), 1242 **sok-* (**sokjós*, *-jə*, **sokús*) ‘cutting; cutting implement, billhook’; Mallory—Adams 1997:144 **sek-* ‘to cut’; Watkins 1985:56—57 **sek-* and 2000:74 **sek-* ‘to cut’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:607—608 **sek-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:504—505; De Vaan 2008:550—551; Kroonen 2013:420 Proto-Germanic **sagja-* ‘sedge’, 421 **sagō-* ‘saw’, 421 **sahaza-* ‘sedge’, and 421 **sahsa-* ‘knife’; Orël 2003:311 Proto-Germanic **saǵjōn*, 311 **saǵō*, 311 **saǵōjanan*, 312 **saxsan*; De Vries 1977:465—466 **sek-*, 473, and 578; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:140 **sek-* and 141; Torp 1919:564; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:327; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:619 **sek-* : **sok-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:612 and 613 **sek-*; Derksen 2008:446 **sek-*. Note: This root had numerous derivatives in Proto-Indo-European.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **sak^ha-* (~ *z-*) ‘(vb.) to cut, to split; (n.) sharp instrument’: Proto-Tungus **sak-pi* ‘axe’ > Ulch *saqpi* ‘axe’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1203 **sak’a* (~ *z-*) ‘sharp instrument; to cut, to split’.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 9.25 ax; 9.27 split (vb. tr.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2037, **šVKV* ‘to carve, to chisel’.

332. Proto-Nostratic root **sak^w-* (~ **sək^w-*):
 (vb.) **sak^w-* ‘to tie, to bind, to fasten’;
 (n.) **sak^w-a* ‘fastening, loop’
- A. Proto-Kartvelian **sk^w-* ‘to tie (up), to bind (up)’: Georgian [*sk^v-*] in *sk^v-en-/sk^v-n-* ‘to conclude, to enclose, to comprise’, *sk^vul-* ‘knot’; Mingrelian *sk^v-*, *skv-* ‘to tie (up)’, *sk^vvir-* ‘fastened’ (also, figuratively, ‘stingy, greedy’); Laz *sk^v-*, *skv-* ‘to tie (up)’; Svan [*sk^w-*] in *le-sk^w-er* ‘cord, rope’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:302—303 **skw-*; Fähnrich 2007:368—369 **skw-*; Klimov 1964:164 **skw-* and 1998:166 **skw-* ‘to tie (up), to bind (up)’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **sek^w-*/**sok^w-* ‘to attach, to fasten’: Sanskrit *sájati* ‘to cling or stick or adhere to, to be attached to or engaged in or occupied with’, (passive) *sajyáte* ‘to be attached or fastened; to adhere, to cling, to stick’, *saktá-h* ‘clinging or adhering to’; Lithuanian *segù*, *sègti* ‘to fasten, to attach, to fix, to button’. Rix 1998a:468 **seg-* ‘to attach, to fasten’; Pokorny 1959:887—888 **seg-*, (with nasal infix) **seng-* ‘to attach, to fasten’; Walde 1927—1932.II:480—481 **seg-*, (with nasal infix) **seng-*; Mann 1984—1987:1118 **seg-* ‘to attach, to fasten’; Mallory—Adams 1997:64 **seg-* ‘to fasten’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:419; Smoczyński 2007.1:539 **seg-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:770; Derksen 2015:391 **seng-*.
- C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *šoqnə-* ‘to put together’, *šaqal’əš-* ‘to gather, to collect’, *šaqal’ə-* ‘to gather’, (Northern / Tundra) *soqol’e* ‘coils of a lasso’, *soqol’es-* ‘to roll up a lasso’. Nikolaeva 2006:397 — Nikolaeva notes: “This root shows the irregular correspondence K[olyma] *-a-* ~ T[undra] *-o-*, and the variations *-a-* ~ *-o-* are irregular as well, both in T[undra] and in K[olyma].”
- D. Proto-Altaic **sĭōku-* (~ *z-*) ‘(vb.) to loop, to fasten, to tie; (n.) loop, fastening’: Proto-Tungus **siaKu-* ‘loop, hinge’ > Ulch *śaqu(n)*, *sĕχu(n)* ‘loop, hinge’; Nanay / Gold *sjoχor* ‘loop, hinge’. Proto-Mongolian **segel-dereg*/**sagal-darag* ‘loop, fastening’ > Mongolian *sayaldurγ-a* ‘string for attaching objects to the saddle or for fastening a hat under the chin’; Khalkha *segeldreg*, *sagaldraga* ‘string, cord; loop’, *sagaldragalaχ-* ‘to tie a string or cord’, *malagai sagaldraga* ‘cord for tying a hat under the chin’; Buriat *hagaldarga* ‘belt buckle’; Kalmyk *segldr-* ‘to pass through an opening’; Shira-Yughur *saldərga* ‘loop, fastening’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1276 **sĭōku* (~ *z-*) ‘loop, lace’.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 9.19 rope, cord. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2030, **śāk[V]ʔU* ‘to plait, to tie, to bind; wicker’.

333. Proto-Nostratic root **sal-* (~ **səl-*):
 (vb.) **sal-* ‘to go up, to lift up, to raise up’;
 (n.) **sal-a* ‘ascent; height’; (adj.) ‘elevated, high, raised’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **sal-* ‘to go up, to lift up, to raise up’: Proto-Semitic **sal-al-* ‘to go up, to lift up, to raise up’ > Hebrew *sālal* [שָׁלַל] ‘to lift up, to heap up, to lay out (a road); to pile up’, *sōlālāh* [סֹלְלָה] ‘siege-mound’, *sullām* [סֻלָּם] ‘ladder’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Phoenician *slmt* ‘stairs’; (?) Akkadian *simmiltu* ‘ladder, stair; siege ladder’; Arabic *sullam* ‘ladder, (flight of) stairs, staircase’ (Aramaic loan); Tigre *sälla* ‘to climb a slope’; Tigrinya *māsālāl* ‘ladder’; Gurage (Soddo) *māsālāl* ‘ladder’, (Muher) *sällälä* ‘the cheese comes to the top and the whey remains at the bottom’ (< ‘to go up’); Amharic *māsālāl* ‘ladder’. Murtonen 1989:301; Klein 1987:447—448; Leslau 1979:429 and 543. Semitic loan (?) in Hadiyya *salalo* ‘cheese’. Proto-Semitic **sal-ak-* ‘to ascend, to climb up’ > Hebrew *sālak* [סָלַק] ‘to ascend, to climb up’ (Aramaic loan); Aramaic *sālēk* ‘to go up, to ascend’; Arabic *salāka* ‘to ascend, to mount, to climb, to scale’; metathesis in: Soqotri *sīklhel* ‘high’; Harari (*tä*)*sēkälä* ‘to climb’; Amharic (Gondar) *tä-sākälä* ‘to climb’. Murtonen 1989:301; Klein 1987:448; Leslau 1963:141—142.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **sal-* ‘steep, high’: Georgian *sal-* ‘steep, high’; Mingrelian *sol-* ‘steep, high’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:294 **sal-*; Fähnrich 2007:359 **sal-*; Klimov 1998:162 **sal-* ‘steep’.
- C. (?) Proto-Indo-European **sel-/sol-* ‘(vb.) to go up, to lift up, to raise up; (adj.) raised, elevated, high’: Armenian *elanem* (< **sel-* ?) ‘to go up, to climb, to ascend; to go out, to leave, to exit’, *el* ‘ascent, exit’. Mann 1984—1987:1124 **sel-* ‘to jump, to rise’; Hübschmann 1897:441, no. 120. Perhaps also the following (assuming semantic development from ‘raised, elevated, high’ > ‘fully grown, adult’ as in Latin *ad-ultus*): Hittite (nom. sg.) *šal-li-iš* ‘big, great, large, important; adult, fully grown’, (nom.-acc. sg.) *šal-la-a-tar* ‘greatness; kingship, rulership’; Luwian *ša-al-ḫa-a-ti* ‘great, grown’, *ša-al-ḫi-an-ti-in* ‘growth’, *ša-al-ḫi-it-ti-iš* ‘growth’. Note also Tocharian A *šul*, B *šale* ‘mountain, hill’, B *šlyiye* ‘pertaining to a mountain or hill’, *šlīye lenke* ‘mountain valley’. Adams 1999:651—652 **swelo-*, 669 and 2013:714 **swelo-* and 733; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:465 **selu-*, **selo-s*.

Buck 1949:10.22 raise, lift; 12.31 high; 12.53 grow; 12.55 large, big (great).

334. Proto-Nostratic root **sam-* (~ **səm-*):

(vb.) **sam-* ‘to resemble, to be like’;

(n.) **sam-a* ‘form, shape, appearance, likeness’; (adj.) ‘similar, alike, same’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **sam-* ‘to resemble, to be like’: Proto-Semitic **sam-al-* ‘to resemble, to be like’ > Hebrew *semel* [שֵׁמֶל] ‘image, statue’; Phoenician *sml* ‘image, statue’; Geez / Ethiopic (with metathesis) *masala* [መሰለ], *masla* [መሰለ] ‘to be like, to look like, to be likened to, to resemble, to appear, to seem’, *məsl* [መሰለ] ‘likeness, similarity, form, figure, image,

statue, parable, proverb'; Tigrinya *mäsälä* 'to be like'; Tigre *mäsä* 'to be similar, to resemble, to seem'; Amharic *mässälä* 'to be like, to look like, to resemble, to liken, to simulate, to seem, to appear', *mäsäl* 'likeness, image, effigy, figure (picture)'; Gurage *mäsälä* 'to resemble, to be like, to look like, to appear, to seem'; Harari *mäsäla* 'to appear, to be like, to resemble, to seem'. Murtonen 1989:302; Klein 1987:449; Leslau 1987:365—366; Tomback 1978:230. Egyptian *sm* 'form, image', *smi* 'to assimilate, to equalize'. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.4:121; Hannig 1995:705.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **sem-/*som-/*sm-* 'like, same': Sanskrit *samā-ḥ* 'equal, same'; Pāli *sama-* 'equal, like, level'; Avestan *hāma-* 'like'; Old Persian *hama-* 'equal, same'; Greek ὁμός 'same'; Latin *similis* 'like, similar'; Old Irish *-som* 'that one'; Gothic *sama* 'the same one'; Old Icelandic *samr* 'the same'; Old English (adv.) *same* 'similarly, also'; Old High German *samo* 'the same'; Old Church Slavonic *samъ* 'same'. Pokorny 1959:902—905 **sem-* 'one, together'; Walde 1927—1932.II:488—492 **sem-*; Mann 1984—1987:1125 **sem-* 'one', 1126 **semen-*, 1126 **semālis*, *-os* 'as one, like, equal, simple', 1230—1231 **sm-* 'in one, together', 1231 **smijā* 'one', 1231 **smos* 'one, a certain, some', 1231 **sm-pl-* 'onefold, simple', 1231 **sm-tero-* comparative of type **sm-*, 1244 **som-* 'together, in one, by itself, alone; self', 1244—1245 **somālos* 'together, equal, even, like', 1245 **somm-* (**somen-*, **somnd-*) 'together, altogether, all'; Watkins 1985:57 **sem-* and 2000:75 **sem-* 'one; together with'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:199 **smmo-* and 1995.I:172 **smmo-*, I:740—741 **sem-/*som-* 'one'; Mallory—Adams 1997:499 **somós* 'same'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:436—437; Boisacq 1950:702 **somós-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:390; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:799—800 **somo-*; Hofmann 1966:232—233 **somós*; Beekes 2010.II:1079 **som-h₂-o-*; De Vaan 2008:564—565; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:539—540 **sem-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:626—627 **sem-*; Thurneysen 1946:485; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:436—437; Orël 2003:317—318 Proto-Germanic **samōn*; Kroonen 2013:425 Proto-Germanic **sama(n)-* 'the same'; Lehmann 1986:294—295 **somo-* 'same'; Feist 1939:409 **sem-*; De Vries 1977:462; Onions 1966:785 **somós*, base **sem-*, **sōm-*, **sām-*; Klein 1971:653 **sem-*, **sm-* 'one, together'; Hoad 1986:415 **som-*.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **sāmo* 'shape, appearance': Proto-Tungus **sāma* 'sign, mark' > Manchu *samḡa* 'mole or birthmark on the face or body'; Evenki *sāme* 'sign, mark'; Lamut / Even *hām* 'sign, mark'; Orok *sama-lkī* 'sign, mark'; Nanay / Gold *sāmogdā* 'a talisman placed on the breast of the deceased so that the shaman can recognize him when taking his soul to the other world'. Proto-Turkic **som* 'number; honor; shape, silhouette' > Khalay *soma* 'shape, silhouette'; Khakas *som* 'shape, silhouette'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *som* 'shape, silhouette'; Tuva *soma* 'shape, silhouette'; Chuvash *som* 'number; honor'; Yakut *omoon* 'shape, silhouette'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1207 **sāmo* 'shape, appearance'.

Buck 1949:12.51 form, shape; 12.91 equal; 12.92 like, similar. Brunner 1969:106, no. 580; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:358—359, no. 184; A. Dybo 2004:100.

335. Proto-Nostratic root **san-* (~ **sən-*) or **šan-* (~ **šən-*), **sin-* (~ **sen-*) or **šin-* (~ **šen-*), **sun-* (~ **son-*) or **šun-* (~ **šon-*):

(vb.) **san-* or **šan-*, **sin-* or **šin-*, **sun-* or **šun-* ‘to sense, to perceive’;

(n.) **san-a* or **šan-a*, **sin-a* or **šin-a*, **sun-a* or **šun-a* ‘(a) that which senses or perceives: mind, nose; (b) that which is sensed or perceived: perception, sense, feeling’

A. Proto-Afrasian **san-*, **sin-* ‘(vb.) to smell; (n.) nose’: Egyptian *sn* ‘to smell, to kiss, to breathe’, *snsn* ‘to smell, to stink’. Hannig 1995:716; Faulkner 1962:230; Erman—Grapow 1921:163. Proto-East Cushitic **san-/sin-/son-/sun-* ‘nose’ > Rendille *sam* ‘nose’; Somali *san* ‘nose’; Boni *saŋ* ‘nose’; Butji *sún-a* ‘nose’; Arbore *son-o* ‘nose’; Gidole *sin-a* ‘nose’; Konso *siin-a* ~ *soon-a* ‘nose’; Sidamo *san-o* ‘nose’; Kambata *san-e* ‘nose’; Hadiyya *san-e* ‘nose’; Gedeo / Darasa *san-o* ‘nose’. Sasse 1979:5, 24 and 1982:169; Hudson 1989:106. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *sina* ‘nose’. Proto-Chadic **sunə* ‘to smell’ > Hausa *sansànaa* ‘to smell, to sniff’; Warji *səsən-* ‘to smell’; Tumak *hunən* ‘to smell’. Newman 1977:31. Omotic: Ome *siŋan* ‘nose’; Gim *sən* ‘nose’; Nao *sin-us* ‘nose’; Maji *sinu* ‘nose’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:463, no. 2194, **san-/sin-* ‘nose’ and 476, no. 2251, **sin-* ‘to smell’. [Ehret 1995:161, no. 224, **siij^w-* ‘to smell (tr.)’.]

B. Proto-Indo-European **sent^h-/sont^h-/sŋt^h-* ‘to sense, to perceive’: Latin *sentio* ‘to feel, to experience, to perceive’, *sēnsus* ‘sense, feeling, perception’; Old High German *sin* ‘mind, understanding, meaning’ (New High German *Sinn*); Old Frisian *sinna* ‘to think, to ponder’; Dutch *zinnen* ‘to consider, to ponder’, *zin* ‘sense, meaning, sentence; inclination, desire, mind’. Rix 1998a:483 **sent-* ‘to go’ → ‘to perceive’; Pokorny 1959:908 **sent-* ‘to take a direction, to go’; Walde 1927—1932.II:496—497 **sent-*; Mann 1984—1987:1129 **sentō*, *-jō* ‘to track, to trace, to sleuth, to proceed, to follow’; Watkins 1985:58 **sent-* and 2000:75 **sent-* ‘to head for, to go’; Mallory—Adams 1997:418 **sent-* ‘to perceive, to think’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:515—516; Ernout—Meillet 1979:614; De Vaan 2008:554; Orël 2003:325 Proto-Germanic **senþanan*; Kroonen 2013:437 Proto-Germanic **sinnan-* ‘to head for; to long for’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:709; Kluge—Seebold 1989:673; Vercoullie 1898:337. This stem is distinct from Proto-Indo-European **sent^h-/sont^h-/sŋt^h-* ‘to go, to proceed’.

Buck 1949:15.11 perceive by the senses; sense (sb.); 15.21—15.24 smell. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:360—361, no. 187. Different etymologies in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2078, **SoñV* (= **šonV* ?) ‘to hear’ and, no. 2090, **sūŋV* ‘to smell’.

336. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasianic only) (n.) *s[e]n-a or *š[e]n-a (the root vowel is uncertain but is probably *e) ‘sinew, tendon’:

- A. Proto-Indo-European *senHw-, *sneHw- (> *snēw-) ‘sinew, tendon’: Sanskrit *snāvan-* ‘tendon, muscle, sinew’; Armenian *neard* ‘sinew, fiber’; Greek *νεῦρον* ‘sinew, tendon’; Latin *nervus* (metathesis from **newro-s*) ‘sinew, tendon, nerve’; Old Icelandic *sin* ‘sinew, tendon’; Faroese *sin(a)* ‘sinew’; Norwegian *sin(a)* ‘sinew’; Swedish *sena* ‘sinew’; Danish *sene* ‘sinew’; Old English *sin(e)we*, *sionwe*, *seonew-* (oblique form of *sinu-*, *seonu* [< Proto-Germanic **senawō*]) ‘sinew’; Old Frisian *sini*, *sin(e)* ‘sinew’; Old Saxon *sinewa* ‘sinew’; Middle Low German, Middle Dutch *sene* ‘sinew’; Dutch *zeen*, *zenuw* ‘sinew’; Old High German *senawa* ‘sinew’; Middle High German *sene* ‘sinew’ (New High German *Sehne*); Tocharian B *šñor* ‘sinew, tendon’. Note also Hittite *išḫunauwar* ‘sinew, bowstring’ (< **snawar* < Proto-Indo-European **snóHw̥* ‘sinew, tendon’). According to Puhvel (1984— .1/2:403—404), **snawar* was probably “contaminated” by forms of *išḫiya-* ‘to bind’. Walde 1927—1932.II:696 **snēu-(e)r-*; Pokorny 1959:977 **snēu-(e)r-*, *-en-* ‘tendon, sinew’; Mann 1984—1987:1235 **snēuā* (**senuā*, **sēnəuā*, **sneuos*) ‘twist, cord, sinew’, 1235—1236 **snēuəros* (**sneuros*, *-ā*, *-iā*) ‘sinew, nerve, vein’; Watkins 1985:62 *(*s*)*nezu-* ‘tendon, nerve’ and 2000:81 *(*s*)*nēu-* ‘tendon, sinew’ (contracted from earlier **snezu-*, extension of **snezu-* ‘to sew’ [*(*s*)*nē-*]; suffixed form *(*s*)*nēw-ŕ-*, with further suffixes); Mallory—Adams 1997:568 **snēh₁ur* ‘sinew, tendon’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:816 **sneu-r/n-* and 1995.I:716 **sneu-r/n-* ‘tendon, sinew’; Boisacq 1950:665 **senēu-*, **senōu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:303—304; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:747 **snē-wer/n-*; Hofmann 1966:215—216 **snēu-er-*, **snēu-en-*; Beekes 2010.II:1010—1011 **sneh₁-ur/n-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:439; De Vaan 2008:407 **snēh₁-ur* ‘sinew’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:165 **snēueros*; Adams 1999:665 **sneh₁w̥*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:458 **snē-uer/n-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:433—434; Orël 2003:329 Proto-Germanic **sin(a)wō*; Kroonen 2013:433 Proto-Germanic **senuwō-* ‘sinew’; De Vries 1977:476; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:152; Torp 1919:579; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:341—342; Onions 1966:828; Klein 1971:686; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:698; Kluge—Seebold 1989:663—664. Note: Kloekhorst (2008b:395—396) translates Hittite *išḫunauwar* as ‘arm, upper arm’ and rejects the etymology proposed here.
- B. Proto-Uralic **sęni* ‘sinew, tendon’: Finnish *suoni* ‘sinew, tendon, vein’; Estonian *soon* ‘sinew, tendon, vein’; Lapp / Saami *suodnâ/suonâ-* ‘sinew, tendon, artery, vein’; Mordvin *san* ‘sinew, vein’; Cheremis / Mari *šün* ‘sinew’; Votyak / Udmurt *sön* ‘sinew’; Zyrian / Komi *sön* ‘sinew, vein’; Vogul / Mansi *tōñ* ‘sinew, vein’; Hungarian *ín/ina-* ‘sinew’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *taan/tana-* ‘sinew’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *ti[?]/tin-* ‘sinew’; Selkup Samoyed *ten-*, *čän*, *can* ‘sinew’; Kamassian *ten* ‘sinew’.

Collinder 1955:58, 1965:145 **sōdnō*, and 1977:75; Décsy 1990:107 **senä*/**sona* ‘vein, tendon, sinew’; Rédei 1986—1988:441 **sene* (**sōne*); Sammallahti 1988:548 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **siini*; Janhunen 1977b:32—33 **ceṅ-*; Joki 1973:316 Proto-Uralic **sōne* (< Pre-Uralic **sonē*); Zhivlov 2023:162 Proto-Uralic **seni* ‘sinew, vein’, Proto-Finnic **sōne-*.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:361—362, no. 189; Hakola 2000:178, no. 795; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2081, **son[Vq][ü]* (= **soni[q][ü]* ?) ‘sinew, tendon; root’.

337. Proto-Nostratic second person pronoun stem **si-* (~ **se-*) ‘you’:

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **si-* second person singular pronoun stem: ‘you’: Mingrelian *si* ‘you’; Laz *si(-n)* ‘you’; Svan *si* ‘you’. Schmidt 1962:142; Klimov 1964:162—163 **sen-* and 1998:164 **sen* ‘you’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:300 **si-* (variant **si-n-* with secondary *-n-*); Fähnrich 2007:366 **si-*. In Georgian, this stem has been replaced by that of the possessive pronoun: Georgian *šen-* ‘you’ (< **škwe[n]-*).
- B. Proto-Indo-European **-si* (< **-s* plus deictic particle **-i*) second person singular primary verb ending, **-s* second person singular secondary verb ending: Hittite second person singular *mi*-conjugation: *-ši*, preterit second person singular of thematic verbs: *-š*; Sanskrit (primary) *-si*, (secondary) *-s*; Avestan (primary) *-si*, (secondary) *-s*; Greek (primary) *-σι*, (secondary) *-ς*; Latin *-s*; Gothic *-s*; Old Russian *-sb* [-шь]; Lithuanian *-si*. Beekes 1995:232—234; Brugmann 1904:590; Meillet 1964:227—228 and 229; Szemerényi 1996:233—236; Burrow 1973:306—314; Fortson 2010:92—93; Sihler 1995:459—460.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **si* second person singular pronoun: ‘thou, you’: Proto-Tungus **si*, **sū* second person singular pronoun: ‘thou, you’ > Manchu *si* ‘you’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *šī* ‘you’; Evenki *si* ‘you’; Lamut / Even *hī* ‘you’; Negidal *sī* ‘you’; Ulch *si* ‘you’; Orok *si* ‘you’; Nanay / Gold *śi* ‘you’; Oroch *si* ‘you’; Udihe *si* ‘you’; Solon *śi* ‘you’. Second person singular possessive suffixes: Lamut / Even (after vowels) *-s*, (after consonants) *-as*, (after *n*) *-si*; Evenki (after vowels) *-s*, (after consonants) *-is*. Proto-Turkic **se-* second person singular pronoun: ‘thou, you’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *sen* ‘you’; Karakhanide Turkic *sen* ‘you’; Turkish *sen* ‘you’; Gagauz *sän* ‘you’; Azerbaijani *sän* ‘you’; Turkmenian *sen* ‘you’; Tatar *sin* ‘you’; Bashkir *hin* ‘you’; Karaim *šin* ‘you’; Kazakh *sen* ‘you’; Kirghiz *sen* ‘you’; Noghay *sen* ‘you’; Uzbek *sen* ‘you’; Uighur *sän* ‘you’; Tuva *sen* ‘you’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *sen* ‘you’; Sary-Uighur *sen* ‘you’; Chuvash *ezä* ‘you’; Yakut *en* ‘you’. Second person singular possessive suffixes/personal markers: Turkish *-sin*; Kazakh *-sIn*; Kirghiz *-sIn*; Uzbek *-sän*. Fuchs—Lopatin—Menges—Sinor 1968; Johanson—Csató 1998. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1237—1238 **si* ‘thou’.

Greenberg 2000:74—76; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2006a, *ś/ü/ (> **śi) ‘thou’.

338. Proto-Nostratic 3rd person pronoun stem *si- (~ *se-) ‘he, she, it; him, her; they, them’; 3rd person possessive suffix *-si (~ *-se) ‘his, her, its; their’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *si- 3rd person pronoun stem, *-s(i) 3rd person suffix: Egyptian -s, -sy third person singular suffix; dependent pronouns: *sw* ‘he, him, it’, *sy* ‘she, her, it’, *sn* ‘they, them’, *st* old form of the dependent pronoun 3rd singular f., which has been specialized for certain particular uses, mainly in place of the 3rd plural ‘they, them’ or of the neuter ‘it’. Gardiner 1957:45, §43, 46, §44, and 98, §124; Hannig 1995:647, 674, 712, and 777; Faulkner 1962:205, 211, 215, 230, and 252. Berber: Tamazight 3rd person indirect pronouns: (singular after preposition and possessive with kinship) *s*, *as*, (poss. sg.) -*nnəs* or *ns*; (m. pl.) *sən*, -*sən*, *asən*, (f. pl.) *sənt*, -*sənt*, *asənt*, (poss. m. pl.) -*nsən*, (poss. f. pl.) -*nsənt*. Penchoen 1973:26—27. Tuareg (after prepositions) (m. and f. sg.) -*s*, -*əs*, -*ās*, -*is*, (m. pl.) -*sən*, -*əsən*, -*isən*, (f. pl.) -*sənət*, -*əsənət*, -*isənət*; (after kinship terms) (m. and f. sg.) -*s*, -*əs*, -*is*, (m. pl.) -*sən*, -*ssən*, -*əsən*, -*isən*, (f. pl.) -*sənət*, -*isənət*; (after nouns) (m. pl.) -(*n*)*əsən*, (f. pl.) -(*n*)*əsənət*; Kabyle (after prepositions) (m. and f. sg.) -*s*, (m. pl.) -*sən*, (f. pl.) -*sənt*; (after kinship terms) (m. and f. sg.) -*s*, (m. pl.) -(*t*)*sən*, (f. pl.) -(*t*)*sənt*; (after nouns) (m. and f. sg.) -*as*, (m. pl.) -*asən*, (f. pl.) -*asənt*; Ghadames (after prepositions) (m. and f. sg.) -*əs*, (m. pl.) -*sən*, (f. pl.) -*əsənət*; (after kinship terms) (m. and f. sg.) -*is*, (m. pl.) (*it*)*sən*, (f. pl.) (*it*)*əsənət*; (after nouns) (m. and f. sg.) -(*ənn*)*əs*, (m. pl.) -(*ənn*)*asən*, (f. pl.) -(*ənn*)*əsənət*. Chadic: Ngizim demonstratives (previous reference): (deictic predicator) *səná* ‘here/there (it) is, here/there they are (pointing out or offering)’, (pronoun) *sənú* ‘this one, that one; this, that (thing or event being pointed out or in question)’; Hausa *šii* ‘he’, (direct object) *ši* ‘him’. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔu-s-uu* ‘he’ > Burji *is-i* 3rd singular m. personal pronoun abs. (= obj.) ‘him’; Gedeo / Darasa *isi* 3rd singular m. nom. pronoun ‘he’; Kambata *isi* 3rd singular m. nom. pronoun ‘he’; Sidamo *isi* 3rd singular m. nom. pronoun ‘he’. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔi-š-ii* ‘she’ > Burji *iš-ée* 3rd singular f. personal pronoun abs. (= obj.) ‘her’; Gedeo / Darasa *ise* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun ‘she’; Hadiyya *isi* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun ‘she’; Kambata *ise* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun ‘she’; Sidamo *ise* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun ‘she’. Sasse 1982:106 and 107; Hudson 1989:77 and 132. Highland East Cushitic: Kambata -*si* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (m.): ‘his’, -*se* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (f.): ‘her’; Sidamo -*si* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (m.): ‘his’, -*se* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (f.): ‘her’. Hudson 1989:80. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔi-si-* ‘she’ > Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa -*s* in -*os* ‘his, her, its’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *-*si* (bound) ‘her’ > Dahalo *ʔiði* ‘she’, -*ði* ‘her’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔu-su-* ‘he’ > Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa -*s* in -*os* ‘his, her, its’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *-*su* (bound) ‘his’

- > Ma'a -*ʔu* in *ku-ʔu* 'his, her, its'; Dahalo *ʔúðu* 'he', -*ðu* 'his'. Ehret 1980:290 and 295. Omotiic: Gamo *sekki* 'that, those'; 3rd person singular subject markers (affirmative): (m.) -*es*, (f.) -*us*; Zayse bound 3rd person singular subject pronouns: (m.) -*s*, (f.) -*is*; 3rd person singular independent pronouns: (subject m.) *ʔé-s-í*, (subject f.) *ʔí-s-í*, (direct object complement m.) *ʔé-s-a*, (direct object complement f.) *ʔí-s-a*, (postpositional complement m.) *ʔé-s-u(-ro)*, (postpositional complement f.) *ʔí-s-u(-ro)*, (copular complement m.) *ʔé-s-te*, (copular complement f.) *ʔí-s-te*. North Bauchi Chadic (Bu: / Zaranda) *si*: (3rd pl. indep. pron.) 'they' (cf. Caron 2008:107).
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Elamite -*š* (< **-si* ?) 3rd singular personal suffix (Khačikjan 1998:34; Grillo-Susini 1987:33; Reiner 1969:76).
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **-s* verb suffix used to mark the 3rd person singular (subjective conjugation): Georgian -*s*; Mingrelian -*s*; Laz -*s*; Svan -*s*. Klimov 1964:160 **-s*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:292 **-s*; Fähnrich 2007:357—358 **-s*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **-s-* 3rd person singular verb ending: Hittite *hi-* conjugation 3rd singular preterit ending -*š* (cf. J. Friedrich 1960:76—79; Sturtevant 1951:144, §270a); Sanskrit 3rd singular root aorist optative ending -*s* in, for example, *bhū-yá-s* (cf. Burrow 1973:352); Tocharian A 3rd singular verb ending -*š* (< **-se*) in, for example, *pālkās* 'shines' (cf. Adams 1988:56, §4.212). According to Watkins (1962), it was this suffix that gave rise to the sigmatic aorist in Indo-European. (?) Proto-Indo-European **-s-* in (m.) **ʔey-s-os*, (f.) **ʔey-s-eA* [-*aA*] (> -*ā*), **ʔey-s-yos* a compound demonstrative pronoun: 'this': Sanskrit *eṣá-h* (f. *eṣā́*) 'this'; Avestan *aēša-* (f. *aēšā*) 'this'; Oscan *eiseis* 'he'; Umbrian *erec, erek, ere, eřek, erse* 'he, it'. Note: the **-s-* element could be from the Proto-Indo-European demonstrative stem **so-* 'this, that' (< Proto-Nostratic **ša-/šə-* 'this, that') instead. Pokorny 1959:281—283; Walde 1927—1932.I:96—98; Mann 1984—1987:235 **eisjos* (**eiso-*, **eito-*) a compound pronoun; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:129.
- E. Proto-Uralic **-se* 3rd person singular possessive suffix / 3rd person verb suffix (determinative conjugation). Abondolo 1998:29; Hajdú 1972:40 and 43—44.
- F. Proto-Altaiic **sV* (~ **š-*) 'this, that' (3rd person pronoun): Proto-Turkic **-sī* 3rd person possessive suffix > Old Turkic -*sī*; Karakhanide Turkic -*sī*; Turkish -*sī*; Gagauz -*sī*; Azerbaijani -*sī*; Turkmenian -*sī*; Tatar -*sī*; Bashkir -*hī*; Karaim -*sī*; Uzbek -*sī*; Kazakh -*sī*; Kirghiz -*sī*; Uighur -*sī*; Noghay -*sī*; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) -*sī*; Tuva -*zī*; Chuvash -*šə*. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1320—1321 **sV* (~ **š-*) 'this, that' (3rd person pronoun).

Greenberg 2000:99—101; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2006, **sE* 'he/she'. This is an old anaphoric pronoun stem distinct from Proto-Nostratic **ša-/šə-* 'this, that'.

339. Proto-Nostratic root **sig-* (~ **seg-*):
 (vb.) **sig-* ‘to flow forth, to rain’;
 (n.) **sig-a* ‘flowing, raining, storm’
- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **sag-ar-* ‘to flow forth, to rain’ > Hebrew *sayrūr* [סַיְרֹוּר] ‘steady, persistent rain’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Syriac *sayrā* ‘heavy rain’; Arabic *sağara* ‘to cause water to flow, to shed, to fill the sea, to swell’, *sağrat* ‘small cistern for rain-water’. Klein 1987:435; Zammit 2002:215—216.
- B. (?) Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **siks^{ve}* (**süks^{ve}*) ‘autumn’ > Finnish *syksy*, *syyks* (gen. *syyksen*) ‘autumn’; Estonian *sügis* (gen. *sügise*) ‘autumn’; Lapp / Saami *čák’čâl’čâvčâ-* ‘autumn’; Mordvin (Erza) *sokś, śoks, śokś*, (Moksha) *śoks, śokś* ‘autumn’; Cheremis / Mari *šəžə, šizə* ‘autumn’; Votyak / Udmurt *sižyl* ‘autumn’; Vogul / Mansi *tüks* ‘autumn’; Ostyak / Xanty *sögəs* ‘autumn’; Hungarian *ősz* ‘autumn’. Collinder 1955:116, 1960:414 **sükeše*, and 1977:130; Rédei 1986—1988:443 **sikše* (**sükše*); Sammallahti 1988:549 **sükši* ‘autumn’. Semantic development as in Evenki *siyelese(nī)* ‘autumn’, cited below.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **sigi* (~ *z-*; *-e*, *-o*) ‘rain, storm’: Proto-Tungus **sig-* ‘(vb.) to be foggy, misty; (n.) fog, mist’ > Udihe *sig-a* ‘to be foggy, misty’; Manchu *sigan* ‘mist, heavy fog’; Evenki *siglamāt-* ‘to be foggy, misty’, *siyelese(nī)* ‘autumn’. Proto-Mongolian **siyur-* ‘(vb.) to rage (as a storm); (n.) blizzard, snowstorm’ > Mongolian *siyur-* ‘to rage (as a storm)’, *siyurɣa(n)* ‘snowstorm, blizzard, storm with cold rain’, *siyurɣala-* ‘to rage (of a snowstorm)’; Khalkha *šūra-* ‘to rage (of a snowstorm)’, *šūrɣa* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Buriat *šūrɣa* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Kalmyk *šūr-* ‘to rage (of a snowstorm)’, *šūrɣn* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Ordos *šūrgan* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Shira-Yughur *šūrɣa* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Dagur *šörgə* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Monguor *šūrɣa* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1242—1243 **sigi* (~ *z-*; *-e*, *-o*) ‘rain, (snow) storm’.
- Buck 1949:1.75 rain (sb.); 1.76 snow (sb.). Hakola 2000:180, no. 805.
340. Proto-Nostratic root **sih-* (~ **seh-*):
 (vb.) **sih-* ‘to scatter, to strew, to cast or throw, to sprinkle (with water)’;
 (n.) **sih-a* ‘the act of scattering, strewing, casting, or throwing about’; (adj.) ‘scattered, strewn, cast, or thrown about’
- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **sah-aw-* ‘to extend, to spread out; to be scattered, strewn, dispersed, spread out’ > Geez / Ethiopic *sahwa* [ሰሐወ], *sahawa* [ሰሐወ] ‘to be extended, expanded, spread out, dispersed; to run (liquid)’, *səhəw* [ሰሐወ] ‘scattered, dispersed’; Tigre *säha* (*shw*) ‘to be extended’; Tigrinya *sähawä* ‘to be scattered, to be thinly sown’. Leslau 1987:495.

Arabic *sahha* ‘to pour out plenteously; to be poured out, to shed, to flow down’.

- B. (?) Proto-Kartvelian **sx-* ‘to bear fruit, to grow’: Georgian *sx-* ‘to bear fruit, to grow’; Svan [*cx-*]. Klimov 1998:169 **sx-* ‘to bear fruit, to grow’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:306 **sx-*; Fähnrich 2007:373 **sx-*. Proto-Kartvelian **sx-am-/sx-m-* ‘to bear fruit, to grow’: Georgian *sxam-/sxm-* ‘to bear fruit’, *m-sxm-o-j* ‘fruit-bearing’; Svan *cxem-* ‘to grow’. Klimov 1998:169—170 **sx-am-* : **sx-m-* ‘to bear fruit, to grow’. Semantic development from ‘to throw, to scatter’ > ‘to sow (seeds), to make to grow’ > ‘to grow, to bear fruit’ as in Old English *sæd* ‘seed (of plants and animals); fruit, crop; growth; sowing; source; progeny, posterity’, cited below.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **sih_h-* [**seh_h-*] (> **sē-*) ‘to throw, to scatter’ > ‘to sow (seeds), to make to grow’: Latin *sēmen* ‘seed’, *sēmentis* ‘a sowing, planting’, *serō* (< **sisō*) ‘to sow, to plant’; Gothic *saian* ‘to sow’, *-sēps* in *manasēps* ‘mankind’; Old Icelandic *sá* ‘to sow; to throw, to scatter’, *sáð* ‘seed, corn, crop’, *sæði* ‘seed, (in pl.) crops’; Swedish *så* ‘to sow’, *sådd* ‘seed’; Danish *saa* ‘to sow’; Old English *sāwan* ‘to sow, to strew seeds, to plant’, *sæd* ‘seed (of plants and animals); fruit, crop; growth; sowing; source; progeny, posterity’; Old Saxon *sāian* ‘to sow’, *sād* ‘seed’, *sāmo* ‘seed’; Old Frisian *sēd* ‘crop, sowing’; Old High German *sāen*, *sāwen* ‘to sow’ (New High German *sāen*), *sāt* seed’ (New High German *Saat*), *sāmo* ‘seed’ (New High German *Same* ‘seed, grain; sperm, semen; germ, source; offspring, descendants’); Lithuanian *sėjū*, *sėti* ‘to sow’, *sėmens*, *sėmenys* ‘flax seed’, *sėlėna* ‘husk of a seed’; Old Church Slavic *sějō*, *sėti* (also *sějati*) ‘to sow’, *sēmę* ‘seed’; Polish *siać* ‘to sow’; (?) Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *iš-ḫu-u-wa-a-i* ‘to shed, to throw, to scatter, to sow (seeds), to pour’. Rix 1998a:469 **seh₁-* ‘to plant’ → ‘to sow’; Pokorny 1959:889—891 **sē(i)-* : **sai-* : **sī-*; **sē-* : **sə-* and **sei-* : **si-* ‘to throw, to scatter, to let fall, to sow’; Walde 1927—1932.II:459—463 **sēi-*; Mann 1984—1987:1122 **sējō* (**sājō*) ‘to sow’, **sējō* ‘sowing, seed-time’, 1126 **sēm-*, **sēmō(n)* ‘seed’, 1133 **sēt-* (**sētos*) ‘sown, planted; sowing, seed’, 1134 **sētlos*, *-ā*, *-om* ‘sowing, seed; sowing-basket, seedlop, seedlip’; Watkins 1985:56 **sē-* (contracted from **se₂-*) and 2000:73 **sē-* ‘to sow’ (contracted from earlier **se₂-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:505 **seh₁men-* ‘seed’, 534 **seh₁-* ‘to sow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:688—689 **seH(i)-* and 1995.I:594—595 **seH(i)-* ‘to sow’, **sēmen-* ‘seed, semen’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:617—618 **sē-*, **sə-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:522 **sē-*; De Vaan 2008:557 **si-sh₁-e/o-* ‘to sow’; Orël 2003:327 Proto-Germanic **sēanan*, 327 **sēdan*, 327 **sēdiz*, 328 **sēmōn*; Lehmann 1986:290 **sē(y)-* (< **se[?]-*), **sī-*, **sei-*; Feist 1939:403—404 **sē(i)-*; De Vries 1977:459 **sē(i)-*, **sejā-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:137—138; Onions 1966:806 and 849; Klein 1971:668 **sē-* and 700 **sē(i)-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:617 *sei-*, 619 **sē(i)-*, and 622—623 **sēi-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:612, 613 **sē-*, and 616; Kloekhorst

2008b:396—399; Tischler 1977— .2:391—392 and 2:393—394; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:404—409; Smoczyński 2007.1:545 **seh*₁-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:778—779 **sē*-; Derksen 2008:446, 447—448 **seh*₁-, and 2015:393, 395 **seh*₁-.

Buck 1949:5.71 fruit; 8.31 sow; seed; 12.53 grow.

22.17. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *ʒ

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Karvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
ʒ-	ʒ-	c-	ʒ-	d ^h -	č-	ʒ-	c-
-ʒ-	-ʒ-	-c(c)-	-ʒ-	-d ^h -	-č-	-ʒ-/ -d-	-c-

341. Proto-Nostratic root *ʒaʔ- (~ *ʒəʔ-):
 (vb.) *ʒaʔ- ‘to die, to fade, to wither’;
 (n.) *ʒaʔ-a ‘death’
- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʒaʔ- ‘to die, to fade, to wither’: Semitic: Arabic *zaʔama* ‘to die suddenly’. Egyptian *zʔ* ‘to become weak or feeble’, *zʔ-ʕ* ‘weak, feeble man’. Hannig 1995:657; Faulkner 1962:209. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʒaaʔ- ‘to be extinguished’ > Alagwa *tsaʔata* ‘barren (animal, person)’; Dahalo *dzaaʔ-* ‘to die’, *dzaaʔe* ‘death’, *dzaaʔama* ‘corpse’, *dzaaʔaʔa* ‘enemy’. Ehret 1980:197. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʒaʔes- ‘to extinguish’ > Iraqw *tsaʔes-* ‘to extinguish’; Dahalo *dzeʔeð-* ‘to kill’. Ehret 1980:197.
- B. Proto-Dravidian *caH- ~ *ceH- ‘to die’: Tamil *cā* (*cāv-/cākuv-*, *cett-*) ‘to die, to be spoiled or blighted (as crops), to be exhausted’, *cāvu* ‘death, ghost’, *cettal* ‘dying’, *cākkāṭu* ‘death’; Malayalam *cāka* (*catt-*) ‘to die’, *cākku* ‘death, mortality’, *cāvu* ‘death, case of death, mourning feast’, *catta* ‘dead’; Toda *soy-* (*sot-*) ‘to die (of others than Todas)’; Kannaḍa *sāy* (*sattu*) ‘to die’, *sāvu* ‘death, a corpse’; Koḍagu *ca-!* (*ca-v-*, *catt-*) ‘to die’, *ca-vu-* ‘corpse’; Telugu *caccu* (*cā-*, *cāv-*) ‘to die, to fade, to wither, to disappear, to cease’, *caccu* (adj.) ‘dead, listless, insipid’, *cāvu* ‘death’; Tuḷu *saipini*, *taipini* ‘to die, to be starved’, *sāvu*, *tāvu* ‘death, mourning feast’; Parji *cay-* (*cañ-*) ‘to die’; Kui *sāva* (*sāt-*) ‘to die, to be ill, to suffer’; Koṇḍa *sā-* ‘to die, to go out (of fire)’; Kuwi *hā-* ‘to die’, *hāki* ‘death’; Kuṛux *khēʔenā* (*keccas*) ‘to die, to fall out of use (as a law)’; Malto *keye* (*kec-*) ‘to die’, *keype* ‘dead’, *keyu* ‘mortal’; Brahui *kahing* ‘to die, to die down (of fire)’, *kasifing*, *kasfing* ‘to kill’. Krishnamurti 2003:46, 118, 126—127, 156, and 293 *caH- ~ *ceH- ‘to die’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:212—213, no. 2426.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian (*ʒʔ-in- >) *ʒ-in- ‘to sleep, to fall asleep’: Georgian *ʒin-* ‘to sleep, to fall asleep’; Mingrelian *ʒir-* ‘to lie (down); to lean (on)’, *o-nʒir-al-i* ‘bed’; Laz *ʒin-*, *ʒir-* ‘to go to bed; to sleep’, *o-nʒir-e* ‘bed’. Schmidt 1962:152; Klimov 1964:238 *ʒ₁in- and 1998:287 *ʒ₁in- ‘to sleep, to fall asleep’; Fähnrich 2007:607—608 *ʒ₁in-/*ʒ₁il-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:489—490 *ʒ₁in-/*ʒ₁il-. Proto-Kartvelian (*ʒʔ-il- >)

*ž-il- ‘dream, sleep’: Georgian *zil-i* ‘dream, sleep’; Mingrelian [*žir-*] ‘dream, sleep’; Laz (*n*)*žir-*, *nži-* ‘dream, sleep’. Klimov 1964:238 **ž₁il-* and 1998:287 **ž₁il-* ‘dream, sleep’.

- D. Proto-Indo-European **dh₂el-/*dh₂o₂-* > **dh₂ē-/*dh₂ō-* ‘to waste away; to become exhausted, faded, withered, weak, weary’: Latin *famēs* ‘hunger’, *fatīgō* ‘to weary, to tire’; Old Irish *ded-* ‘to dwindle’; Old English *dem* ‘damage, injury, loss, misfortune’; Old Icelandic *dási* ‘sluggard, lazy fellow’, *dasast* ‘to become weary, exhausted’, *dasaðr* ‘weary, exhausted (from cold or bodily exertion)’; Swedish *dasa* ‘to lie idle’. Pokorny 1959:239 **dh₂ē-* ‘to pass away’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:829 **dh₂ē-*; Watkins 1985:13 **dh₂ē-* ‘to vanish’ (contracted from **dhe₂-*); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:451 **dh₂ē-* (: **dh₂ə-*); De Vaan 2008:200 and 204—205; Orël 2003:69 Proto-Germanic **dasōn* ~ **dasaz*; De Vries 1977:74; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:96.

Buck 1949:4.61 sleep (vb., sb.); 4.75 die; dead; death; 4.91 tired, weary; 5.14 hunger (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:347, no. 172.

342. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **žag^w-a* ‘a small tree, a bush or shrub’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **žag^w-* ‘a kind of tree’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *zagbā* [𐩧𐩢𐩨] possibly ‘podocarpus’ (it renders Biblical ‘cedar, cypress’); Tigrinya *zägba* ‘podocarpus’; Amharic *zägba*, *zəgba* ‘podocarpus’; Gurage *zəgba* ‘a kind of tree’. Leslau 1979:704 and 1987:633. New Egyptian *sg* (< **zg* ?) ‘tree’. Hannig 1995:775. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **dzagiba* ‘cedar tree’ > Hadiyya *digiba* ‘cedar tree’; Kambata *zagiba*, *zagisšu* (< **zagib-cu*) ‘cedar tree’; Sidamo *daguba*, *dagucco* (< **dagub-co*) ‘cedar tree’. Hudson 1989:37.
- B. Dravidian: Kannada *cakli* ‘the Manilla tamarind tree’; Tuḷu *cakkulimara* ‘the Manilla tamarind tree’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:201, no. 2273.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **žegw-* ‘blackthorn, sloe’: Georgian (Lečxumi dialect) *žegv-* ‘blackthorn, sloe’; Mingrelian [*žag(v)-*] ‘small shrubby’. Fähnrich 2007:603 **ž₁egw-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:485—486 **ž₁egw-*; Klimov 1998:284 **ž₁egw-* ‘blackthorn, sloe’.

343. Proto-Nostratic root **žah-* (~ **žəh-*):

(vb.) **žah-* ‘to call (out), to cry (out)’;

(n.) **žah-a* ‘call, cry; name’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **žah-* ‘to call (out), to cry (out), to groan’: Proto-Semitic **žah-ar-* ‘to grunt, to groan, to moan’ > Arabic *zahāra* ‘to groan, to moan’, *zahīr* ‘groan, moan’; Šheri / Jibbāli *zahār* ‘(animal) to push out its young squealing; (woman) to push out a child grunting and groaning’; Mehri

zəhār ‘to squeak, to grunt, to squeal’; Ḥarsūsī *zehār* ‘to grunt or squeak while giving birth’. Egyptian *zhzh* ‘to cry out, to shriek’. Hannig 1995:737.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **žax-/žx-* ‘to call, to be called’: Georgian *žax-* ‘to call, to cry, to shout’; Mingrelian *žox-* ‘to be called’; Laz *žox-, jox-* ‘to call’; Svan *žāx-/žx-* (*šx-*) ‘to be named, to be called’. Klimov 1964:236—237 **ž₁ax-* and 1998:283 **ž₁ax-* : **ž₁x-* ‘to call, to be called’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:484—485 **ž₁ax-*; Fähnrich 2007:602—603 **ž₁ax-*. Proto-Kartvelian **žax-e-* ‘name’: Georgian *sax-el-* ‘name’; Mingrelian *žox-o* ‘name’; Laz *žox-o* ‘name’; Svan *žax-e, žāx-e* ‘name’. Klimov 1964:237 **ž₁axe-* and 1998:283—284 **ž₁ax-e-* ‘name’.

Buck 1949:18.41 call (vb. = summon); 18.42 call (vb. = name; b) be called, named).

344. Proto-Nostratic root **žal-* (~ **žəl-*):

(vb.) **žal-* ‘to fasten, to tie’;

(n.) **žal-a* ‘string, strap, cord’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **žal-* ‘string, cord’: Georgian *žal-* ‘string’; Svan (Lower Bal) *žəl-*, (Upper Bal) *žil-* ‘string, cord’. Klimov 1998:282 **ž₁al-* ‘sinew, string’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:482—483 **ž₁al-*; Palmaitis—Gudjedjiani 1985:313. Different etymology in Fähnrich 2007:600 [**ž₁il-*].
- B. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *tude-čalete-* ‘to hang oneself’. Nikolaeva 2006:122. This stem is an exception to vowel harmony.
- C. Proto-Altaic **žālo-* ‘(vb.) to fasten, to tie; (n.) string, strap, cord’: Proto-Tungus **žala-n* ‘joint; shoe straps’ > Manchu *žala(n)* ‘a section (of bamboo, grass), a joint; generation, age; world; subdivision of a banner, ranks; measure word for walls and fences’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *žalən* ‘joint’; Evenki *žalan* ‘joint’, *žalaptun* ‘shoe straps’; Lamut / Even *žalən* ‘joint’, *žalḥpkīr* ‘shoe straps’; Negidal *žalan* ‘joint’, *žalaptin* ‘plummet’; Ulch *žala(n)* ‘joint; generation, world’; Orok *dala(n)* ‘joint; generation, world’; Nanay / Gold *žalā* ‘joint; generation world’; Oroch *žala(n)* ‘joint; generation, world’; Udihe *žala(n)* ‘joint; generation world’. Proto-Mongolian **žalga-* ‘to fasten, to join’ > Written Mongolian *žalγa-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Khalkha *žalga-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Buriat *žalga-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Kalmyk *žalγə-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Ordos *žalga-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Dagur *žalga-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Shira-Yughur *žalgažab-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Monguor *žirga-*, *žalgā-* ‘to fasten, to join’. Proto-Turkic **yalā-* ‘sacred band; flag; tie, strap’ > Turkmenian (dial.) *yalow* ‘flag’; Uzbek *yalow* ‘flag’; Uighur (dial.) *žala* ‘tie, strap’; Tatar (dial.) *yalaw* ‘flag’, *yala* ‘tie, strap’; Kirghiz *yalau* ‘flag’; Kazakh *žalaw* ‘flag’; Sary-Uighur *žala* ‘tie, strap’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *yalaya, d’alaya* ‘tie, strap’; Tuva *čalā* ‘tie, strap’, *čalama* ‘sacred band’; Yakut *salama* ‘sacred band’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1526—1527 **žālo* ‘to fasten, to bind, to hang’.

Sumerian *zal* ‘to bind’.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 9.19 rope, cord.

345. Proto-Nostratic root **žaw-* (~ **žəw-*):

(vb.) **žaw-* ‘to wear out, to be used up, to cease to function’;

(n.) **žaw-a* ‘cessation, end, extinction’; (adj.) ‘worn out, used up, wasted, decrepit, old’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **žaw-* ‘to wear out, to be used up, to cease to function’:
Proto-Semitic **žaw-al-* ‘to wear out, to be used up, to cease to function’ >
Hebrew *zūl* [זול] ‘to waste, to lavish, to squander; to be cheap’, *zūlāh*
[זולה] ‘removal, cessation’; Arabic *zāla* ‘to cease to be in a place, to
remove; to cease, to perish; to cause to cease, to disappear; to destroy; to
abolish’, *zawāl* ‘end, passage, extinction, disappearance, vanishing,
cessation, setting (of the sun); decline, change for the worse, injury, harm’,
ʔizāla ‘removal, elimination’; Sabaeen *zwl* ‘to vanish, to complete’.
Murtonen 1989:163; Klein 1987:196; Zammit 2002:211. Arabic *zawā* ‘to
take away, to remove’. Egyptian *zwn* ‘to perish’, *zwn* ‘affliction’. Hannig
1995:677; Faulkner 1962:217; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.3:428. [Ehret
1995:262, no. 477, **jaw-* or **dzaw-* ‘to wear out, to be used up, to cease to
function’.]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cavalai* ‘leanness of an infant not fed on mother’s milk,
tenderness, immaturity’, *cavu* ‘to become weak, to be emaciated’, *cavañku*
(*cavañki-*) ‘to become lean, emaciated; to shrink, to subside, to faint, to
languish’, *cāvi* ‘withered crop, blighted or empty grain’, *cāvattai* ‘withered
grain, chaff, emaciated person, dried betel leaves’; Malayalam *cavala*
‘empty corn, leanness, hollowness’, *cāvi*, *cāri* ‘empty grain, blighted corn;
cankerworm, palmerworm’, *cāṭa* ‘seedless, empty (as husk)’; Kota *jag-*
(*jagy-*) ‘to become lean’, *jalv-* (*jald-*) (< **javl-*) ‘to become lean and
stringy with old age’; Tuḷu *cavuḷi* ‘old’; Telugu *cavile* ‘leanness, thinness’,
cavile-pōyina ‘lean, thin (as an infant)’, *sāvi* ‘a blasted stalk of withered
corn’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:210, no. 2392.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **žw-el-* ‘decrepit, old (of things)’: Georgian *zveli*
‘decrepit, old (mostly of things)’; Mingrelian *žvesi* ‘old’; Laz *m-žveši*,
n-žveši ‘old’; Svan *žwinel* ‘old’. Fähnrich 2007:606 **žw-*; Schmidt 1962:
152; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:488 **žw-*; Klimov 1964:238 **ž₁wel-*
and 1998:286 **ž₁w-el-* ‘decrepit, old’. Proto-Kartvelian **žw-en-/žw-in-*
‘to become old’: Laz *m-žven-* ‘to become old’; Svan [žwin-] ‘to become
old’. Klimov 1964:238 **ž₁wen-* and 1998:286—287 **ž₁w-en-* : **ž₁w-in-* ‘to
become old’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **d^hw-iH-* (> **d^hw-ī-*) ‘to dwindle, to waste away, to
wane’: Old Icelandic *dvína* ‘to dwindle, to cease, to subside’; Old English
dwīnan ‘to become smaller, to dwindle, to waste away’; Middle Low

German *dwīnan* ‘to waste away’; Dutch *verdwijnen* ‘to waste away, to vanish’. Mann 1984—1987:228 **dhūñō* ‘to wane’; Watkins 1985:14 **dheu-* ‘to become exhausted, to die’ (suffixed zero-grade form **dhwī-no-* in Germanic) and 2000:19 **dheu-* (also **dheuə-*) ‘to die’ (extended zero-grade form **dhuzi-*, metathesized to **dhwi₂-*, contracted to **dhwī-*, whence suffixed form **dhwī-no-*); Orël 2003:81 Proto-Germanic **dwīnanan*; Kroonen 2013:112—113 Proto-Germanic **dwīnan-* ‘to diminish’; De Vries 1977:89; Klein 1971:233 **dhwei-*; Onions 1966:296.

- E. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *čawire-*, *čawure-* ‘to pretend to be poorer than one is’. Nikolaeva 2006:127.
- F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ḍawwaca-* ‘to perish’ > Chukchi *rakwaca-* ‘to perish; to be crippled, maimed’; Kerek *jakwa(a)ca-* ‘to perish; to be crippled’; Koryak *jawwaca-* ‘to be crippled, maimed’; Alyutor *sawwasa-* ‘to perish; to be crippled’. Fortescue 2005:55.

Buck 1949:12.56 small, little; 14.15 old; 14.28 cease; 16.31 pain, suffering. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:346, no. 171.

346. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **žem-a* ‘anything that is sour, bitter, pungent, sharp’; (adj.) ‘sour, bitter, pungent, sharp’:

- A. (?) Afroasiatic: Semitic: Akkadian (reduplicated) *zimzimmu* (*zinzimmu*) ‘a type of onion’, probably ‘red onion’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **žm-* ‘salt’: Georgian [*zm-*] ‘salt’; Mingrelian *žimu-* ‘salt’; Laz (*n*)*žumu-* ‘salt’; Svan *žəm-*, *žim-* ‘salt’. Klimov 1964:239 **ž₁m-* and 1998:289—290 **ž₁m(u)-* ‘salt’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:493—494 **ž₁um-*; Fähnrich 2007:611—612 **ž₁um-*. Proto-Kartvelian **žm-ar-* ‘vinegar’: Georgian *zm-ar-i* ‘vinegar’; Mingrelian [*žimol-*] ‘vinegar’; Laz *žumori* ‘vinegar’; Svan *žimar-* (?) ‘vinegar’. Klimov 1964:240 **ž₁m-ar-* and 1998:289 **ž₁m-ar-* ‘vinegar’; Schmidt 1962:152—153.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **čemз* ‘sour; to become sour’ > Votyak / Udmurt *šōm* ‘taste, leaven’; Zyrian / Komi *šom* ‘leaven, sourness’; Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *čim-*, (North Kazym) *šim-*, (Obdorsk) *šim-* ‘to turn sour (dough), to ferment, to rise, to get spoiled, to rot from humidity (of garment or rope)’. Rédei 1986—1988:56—57 **čemз*; Collinder 1955:118 and 1977:131.

Buck 1949:5.81 salt (sb.); 5.83 vinegar; 15.36 salt (adj.); 15.38 acid, sour. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:347—348, no. 173.

22.18. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *čʰ

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
čʰ-	c-	c-	č-	tʰ-	č-	čʰ-	c-
-čʰ-	-c-	-c(c)-	-č-	-tʰ-	-č-	-čʰ-	-c(c)-

347. Proto-Nostratic root *čʰal- (~ *čʰəl-):

(vb.) *čʰal- ‘to leave, to leave behind, to abandon, to get rid of, to empty; to set free, to release, to let go’;

(n.) *čʰal-a ‘freedom, leisure, emptiness’; (adj.) ‘empty, abandoned, released, freed (from), at leisure’

Semantics as in Sanskrit *ric-* and its derivatives: *ric-* ‘to empty, to evacuate, to leave, to give up, to resign; to release, to set free; to leave behind; to separate, to remove from’, *ricyáte* ‘to be emptied, to be deprived of or freed from’, *riktá-h* ‘emptied, empty, void’.

- A. Proto-Afrasian *cal- ‘to empty, to get rid of’: Proto-Semitic *cal-ay- ‘to empty, to get rid of’ > Hebrew *sālāh* [סָלַח] ‘to make light of, to toss aside, to treat as worthless’; Aramaic *sālā* ‘to throw away, to despise, to reject’; Arabic *salā*, *saliya* ‘to get rid of the memory of, to forget; to comfort, to console, to cheer up; to distract, to divert; to amuse, to entertain; to alleviate, to dispel; to take delight, to take pleasure, to have a good time, to have fun’; Šheri / Jibbāli *essōli* ‘to amuse, to entertain’, *eslé* ‘to amuse’; Mehri *sōli* ‘to amuse, to entertain’; (?) Akkadian *salū* (also *šalū*, *šalāʔu*) ‘to reject, to throw away’ (also ‘to whirl up, to kick up dust, to toss, to sprinkle, to spit blood or spittle; to shoot arrows, to hurl weapons’). Klein 1987:447. (?) Egyptian: Coptic (Sahidic, Bohairic) *sōl* [ⲥⲟⲗ], (Bohairic) *sol-* [ⲥⲟⲗⲉ], (Sahidic) *sēl* [ⲥⲏⲗ] ‘to dissipate, to pervert’. Černý 1976:151 — according to Černý (1976:160—161), *sōl* [ⲥⲟⲗ] is “probably identical with ⲥⲟⲗⲉ”; Crum 1939:330. On the other hand, *sōl* [ⲥⲟⲗ] is not listed in Vycichl 1983.
- B. (?) Dravidian: Kannaḍa *calla*, *cella* ‘great mirth, fun, jest, smiling, laughter’, *callavāḍu* ‘to frolic, to sport, to gambol’, *callāṭa*, *cellāṭa* ‘sport, fun’; Telugu *cellāṭamu* ‘sport, play, toying’, *cellāḍu* ‘to sport, to play, to frolic’, *ceral-āḍu* ‘to sport, to play, to roam about for pleasure’, *ceral-āṭamu* ‘sport, play, roaming for pleasure’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2378. Semantic development as in the Arabic and South Arabian forms cited above.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian *čal-/*čl- ‘to empty’: Georgian *cal-/cl-* ‘to empty; to have spare time’, *cal-ier-i* ‘empty’; Mingrelian *čol-* ‘to empty’; Laz [čol-]. Schmidt 1962:148; Klimov 1964:227 **c₁al-* and 1998:269 **c₁al-* ‘to

empty'; Fährnich—Sardshweladse 1995:457—458 **c₁al-*; Fährnich 2007: 570—571 **c₁al-*.

- D. Proto-Indo-European **thel-/thol-/thl-* 'to leave, to leave behind, to abandon, to get rid of, to empty; to set free, to release, to let go' (extended form in Germanic: **thl-ew-/thl-ow-/thl-u-*, with root in zero-grade and suffix in full-grade): Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ta-la-a-i*, *da-li-ya-zi* 'to leave, to abandon, to let go'; Gothic *þliuhan* 'to flee', **unþa-þliuhan* 'to escape', *þlauhs* 'flight'; Old Icelandic *flyja* (< Proto-Germanic **pleuḡan-*) 'to flee, to take flight', *flugr* 'flight', *flótti* 'flight'; Norwegian *flya* 'to flee'; Old English *flēon* 'to fly from, to flee, to escape', *flyht* 'flying, flight', *flēam* 'flight'; Old Frisian *fliā* 'to flee', *flecht* 'flight'; Old Saxon *fliohan* 'to flee', *fluht* 'flight'; Middle Dutch *vlien*, *vlieden* 'to flee', *vlucht* 'flight'; Old High German *fliohan* 'to flee' (New High German *fliehen* 'to flee, to run away, to escape'), *fluht* 'flight' (New High German *Flucht*). According to Onions (1966:361), the Common Germanic forms are to be reconstructed as follows: **pleuḡan*, **plauḡ*, **pluzum*, **ploḡan-*. Semantic development in Germanic from 'to leave, to leave behind, to depart' to 'to flee, to escape' as in Kashmiri *rinzun* 'to escape, to flee away secretly' (cf. Pāli *riñcati* 'to leave behind'). Kroonen 2013:544 Proto-Germanic **pleuhan* 'to flee'; Orël 2003:107 Proto-Germanic **fleuxanan*; Uhlenbeck 1900:151—152 Proto-Indo-European **tleuk-*, **tluk-*; Balg 1887—1889:474 Germanic root **pluh-* (**plug-* by grammatical change), Pre-Germanic **tluk-*, **tleuk-*; Feist 1939:499—500 Proto-Indo-European **tlk₁ō* (Osthoff), Old Icelandic *flyja* (< Proto-Germanic **pleuhjan* ?), *flōja* (< Proto-Germanic **plauhjan*) (Noreen); Lehmann 1986:363—364; De Vries 1977:134; Torp 1919:126; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:174 **pluh-*; Onions 1966:361; Klein 1971:285; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:120—121 Proto-Germanic **pleuhanaN*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:207 and 209; Kluge—Seebold 1989:221 and 223; Bomhard 2004a:34—35. Different Hittite etymology in Kloekhorst 2008b:816—818. Probably also: Old Irish *-tella*, (analogical) *-talla* (< **telp-nā-*) 'there is room for'; Lithuanian *telpù*, *tĩpti* 'to find or have room enough, to go in', *talpà* 'capacity, holding power', *ištĩpti* 'to make oneself free'; Tocharian B *tālp-* 'to be emptied, purged', *tālpālle* 'purgative'. Rix 2001:623 **telp-* 'to make room'; Pokorny 1959:1062 **telp-* 'to have room', **tolpā* 'space, room'; Walde 1927—1932.I:741—742 **telp-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:534 **telp-* 'to have room' and 2006:287—288 **telp-* 'to have room'; Mann 1984—1987:1377 **telpō* (**tolp-*, **tlp-*) 'to have room', 1402 **tlp-* 'space', and 1410 **tolp-* 'space, area; to find room'; Thurneysen 1946:55 and 95; Smoczyński 2007.I:678 **telp-*, **tlp-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1094; Adams 1999:297 **telp-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:500.

Sumerian *sal* 'to set free, to release, to let loose, to let go; to leave, to abandon'.

Buck 1949:10.51 flee; 12.18 leave; 13.22 empty. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:352, no. 178.

348. Proto-Nostratic root *čʰan- (~ *čʰən-):

(vb.) *čʰan- ‘to bring forth, to produce, to grow, to be born’;

(n.) *čʰan-a ‘that which is brought forth, produced, grown: fruit; bringing forth: birth’

A. Dravidian: Parji *cand-* ‘to grow up’, *candip-* (*candit-*) ‘to make to grow up, to bring up, to rear’; Gadba (Ollari) *sand-* ‘to grow’, *sandup-* (*sandut-*) ‘to make to grow’, (Salur) *sand-* ‘to grow (plants, etc.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:205, no. 2329.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *čʰen-/*čʰn- ‘to grow, to flourish (plants)’: Georgian *cen-* ‘to grow, to flourish (plants)’, Mingrelian *čan-* ‘to grow, to flourish’; Laz *čan-* ‘to grow, to flourish’; Svan *šen-* (< *čʰen-) : *šn-*, *šän-* ‘to bear fruit’, *ma-šen*, *ma-šän* ‘fruit’. Schmidt 1962:149; Klimov 1964:228 **c₁en-* and 1998:271 **c₁en-* : **c₁n-* ‘to grow, to flourish (about plants)’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:461 **c₁en-*; Fähnrich 2007:574—575 **c₁en-*.

C. Proto-Uralic *čʰa(n)čʰ- ‘to be born, to grow’: Mordvin (Erza) *šačo*, *čačo*, (Moksha) *šačə* ‘to be born, to arise, to develop’; Cheremis / Mari *šača-*, *šoča-*, *čoča-* ‘to be born, to grow’; Votyak / Udmurt *čyžy* : *čyžy-vyžy* ‘family, tribe, race, stock’; Zyrian / Komi *čuž-*, *čuž-* ‘to be born, to grow’; Vogul / Mansi *sássä* ‘indigenous’; Ostyak / Xanty *čăčə* ‘indigenous; birth-place, home’, *čăčə-məg* ‘native land, homeland’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *tôñc* ‘sort, kind, family’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *tansa* ‘family’; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *tid'o*, (Baiha) *tizo* ‘family’; Selkup Samoyed *čaž*, *taaže* ‘family’. Collinder 1955:60 and 1977:77; Rédei 1986—1988:52 *čʰáčʰ- ~ *čʰančʰ-.

Buck 1949:5.71 fruit; 12.53 grow; 19.23 tribe, clan, family (in wide sense).

349. Proto-Nostratic root *čʰečʰ-:

(vb.) *čʰečʰ- ‘to press, to squeeze, to crush’;

(n.) *čʰečʰ-a ‘the act of pressing, squeezing, crushing; that which is pressed, squeezed, crushed: crumb(s)’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ssh* ‘to destroy (enemies), to shatter’. Hannig 1995:756; Faulkner 1962:246; Gardiner 1957:592.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *čʰečʰ- ‘to crumble’: Georgian [*cec-*] ‘to crumble’ in: *na-m-cec-* ‘bread crumbs’ (Old Georgian *na-m-cuec-*, with an unclear *-u-*); Mingrelian *čač-* ‘to thresh, to crumble’. Klimov 1964:228 **c₁ec₁-* and 1998:271 **c₁ec₁-* ‘to crumble’ (Klimov notes that, in view of the Old Georgian derivative, a proto-form **c₁uec₁-* is also possible); Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:462—463 **c₁wec₁-* (Fähnrich—Sardshweladse state

that *-w-* has been lost in Mingrelian: **c₁wec₁-* > *čáč-*); Fähnrich 2007:577 **c₁wec₁-*.

- C. Proto-Altaic **č^hec^hi-* ‘to press, to squeeze’: Proto-Tungus **čēē-re-* ‘to press, to embrace’ > Manchu *čēčere-* ‘to press tightly, to embrace tightly’, *čēčerše-* ‘to exert a great amount of effort, to quiver from exertion’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:420 **č^hec^hi* ‘to press, to squeeze’.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.).

350. Proto-Nostratic root **č^hok^h-*:

(vb.) **č^hok^h-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn, to wind’;

(n.) **č^hok^h-a* ‘the act of bending, twisting, turning, winding’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **čok-* ‘to kneel down’: Georgian *čok-* in *da-čok-eb-a* ‘to kneel down’; Svan *čok-/čk-* ‘to kneel down’. Fähnrich 2007:544 **čok-*.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **^hok^h-* ‘to bend, to turn, to twist, to wind’: Old Irish *tochraim* ‘to wind, to thread’, *tochras* ‘coiling’; Lithuanian *tākilas* ‘grindstone, wheel of a lathe’; Russian *tokárnyj* [токарный] ‘turning’, *tókar’* [токарь] ‘turner, lathe operator’. Mann 1984—1987:1408 **tokəl-*, **tokər-* ‘spin, turn; spinner, turner’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1074.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.).

22.19. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *čʰ

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
čʰ-	cʰ-	c-	čʰ-	tʰ-	č-	č-	c-
-čʰ-	-cʰ-	-c(c)-	-čʰ-	-tʰ-	-č-	-č-	-c-

351. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *čʰam-a ‘reed, grass’:

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *dm*^o ‘papyrus (book), papyrus (sheet or roll)’; Coptic *ǧōōme* [Ⲅⲟⲟⲙⲉ] ‘sheet, roll of papyrus, written document, book’. Hannig 1995:1006; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:574; Vycichl 1983:327; Černý 1976:314.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *campu* ‘elephant grass’, *campan-kōrai* ‘elephant grass’, *caṅpu* ‘elephant grass; a species of sedge grass’; Kannada *jambu* ‘a kind of reed or sedge’; Telugu *jambu* ‘a bulrush, sedge’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:207, no. 2347.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian *čʰam- (or *čʰem-) ‘grass’: Georgian [cʰam-] in *ler-cʰam-* ‘rush, reed’, *cʰam-al-* ‘medicine, drug’; Laz (m)čʰam- ‘medicine, drug’; Svan čʰēm ‘hay’. Fähnrich 2007:643—644 *č₁am-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:518—519 *č₁am-; Klimov 1964:249 *č₁em- and 1998:306 *č₁am- // *č₁em- ‘grass’.
- D. Proto-Altaic *čamu ‘brier, thorny plant’: Proto-Tungus *žamu ‘brier, thorny plant’ > Manchu *žamu* ‘wild rose, sweet-brier, dog-brier, dog-rose’, *žamu ilha* ‘an exotic red rose without odor’, *žamuri ilha* ‘hedgerose’, *žamuri orho* ‘gromwell, puccoon’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *žaməṛə* ‘wild-rose, sweet-brier, dog-brier, dog-rose’; Udihe *žamukta* ‘wild-rose, sweet-brier, dog-brier, dog-rose’. Manchu loan in Written Mongolian *žamur* ‘fruit of sweet-brier (eglantine)’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:247—248; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:392 *čamu ‘a kind of tree’. Note: The alleged Mongolian and Japanese cognates proposed by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak are not included here.

Buck 1949:8.51 grass; 8.52 hay. Bomhard 1996a:227, no. 641.

352. Proto-Nostratic root *čʰikʰ- (~ *čʰekʰ-):

- (vb.) *čʰikʰ- ‘to be small’;
 (n.) *čʰikʰ-a ‘small things’; (adj.) ‘small’

- A. Afrasian: North Omotic: Male *cʰikʰo* ‘small’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cikka* ‘in brief, in a nutshell’; Malayalam *cikkinī* ‘young, small (said of girls)’; Iruḷa *cikkeḍu* ‘mosquito’; Kota *cikn* ‘mouse’; Kannada *cikka*, *ciga* ‘little, small, young’, *ciku* ‘smallness, littleness of size’.

(used of grain and pulse)', *cikkatana* 'childhood, youth'; Koḍagu *cikk-adaḱe* 'very young, tender areca-nut'; Tuḷu *cikka* 'little, young, small, short', *cikini* 'tender, young, small', *cikkè* 'a dwarf', *cikkeli* 'a small variety of mouse'; Telugu *cikiciki* 'small, little'; Gondi *cikkāl*, *cikkal* 'muskrat', *cikkāl* 'mouse'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:218, no. 2495.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian *č'ik'- 'tiny, wee; small things': Georgian (Tušian) *c'ik'-u-j* 'smallest; crumb', (Kartlian) *c'ik'-o-mak'-o-* 'small things'; Mingrelian *č'ik'-u* 'small, little'. Klimov 1998:313 *č₁iku- 'tiny, wee; small things'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:527 *č₁ik-; Fähnrich 2007:654 *č₁ik-.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Kamchadal / Itelmen (Eastern) *-cic*, *-cuc* 'small' (note also *-dec* in *kigidec* 'small river'), (Western) *-c(a)X* 'little, small', *-cxicaX* 'very small', (Southern) *-cic* 'small'. Fortescue 2005:390—391.

Buck 1949:12.56 small, little. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 334, *čEkV 'small'. Note: The Altaic material cited by Dolgopolsky does not belong here.

353. Proto-Nostratic root *č'ir- (~ *č'er-):

- (vb.) *č'ir- 'to cut, to cut off, to cut through; to cut into, to scratch, to scrape';
 (n.) *č'ir-a 'that which is cut, cut off, cut into: slice, board, plank, scratch; that which cuts: knife, axe, adze'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *c'ir- 'to cut, to cut off, to cut through, to cut into': Proto-Semitic *c'ar-am- 'to cut, to cut off' > New Hebrew *šāram* [שָׂרַם] 'to grate on the ear; to injure, to split'; Syriac *šəram* 'to crop, to cut off (the ears), to cut grass (for cattle); to pluck, to tear up (plants); to dare'; Arabic *šarama* 'to cut off, to sever, to break, to tear', *šarm*, *šurm*, *šuram* 'separation, breach, rupture', *šarīm* 'cut off'. Murtonen 1989:367; Klein 1987:557; Zammit 2002:254. Proto-Semitic *c'ar-ay- 'to cut, to cut off' > Arabic *šarā* 'to cut, to cut off, to lop'; Syriac *šərā* 'to rend asunder'. Proto-Semitic *c'ar-ab- 'to cut, to hew, to carve' > Arabic *šaraba* 'to cut, to remove'; Soqotri *šerob* 'to cut'; Mehri *məšrāb* 'saw-edged knife used (by women) to cut grass for fodder'; Šheri / Jibbāli *məšrēb* 'grass-cutting knife (used by women in autumn)'; Geez / Ethiopic *šaraba* [ረረብ] 'to hew, to act as a carpenter, to do carpentry', *mašrab* [ሙረብ] 'axe', *šarb* [ረርብ] 'plank'; Tigrinya *šārābā* 'to hew, to carve'; Tigre *šārba* 'to hew, to carve'; Gafat *šārrābā* 'to hew, to carve'; Gurage *tārrābā* 'to slice thin pieces of wood from a surface, to plane wood, to chip stones, to tear off a leaf of the *āsāt*, to remove leaves with a stroke, to hit the edge of a whip'; Amharic *tārrābā* 'to carve, to hew (wood, stones)', *tārb* 'board, plank, lumber, beam (of wood)', *mātrābiya* 'hatchet, axe, adze'; Argobba *tārrāba* 'to carve, to hew'. Leslau 1979:630 and 1987:563. Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *c'ir-* 'to cut'. Highland East Cushitic (perhaps loans from Oromo): Burji *c'ir-* 'to chop, to clear forest, to gnaw'; Sidamo *c'ir-* 'to gnaw, to

- shave'. Hudson 1989:71, 184, and 357; Sasse 1982:49. Orël—Stolbova 1995:105, no. 444, *č̣ir- 'to cut'.
- B. (?) Proto-Dravidian *cē̄r- 'to scratch, to scrape' > '(vb.) to plow; (n.) plow (with draught oxen)': Tamil ē̄r (Jaffna cē̄r) 'plow, plow and team of oxen, yoke of oxen'; Malayalam ē̄r 'a yoke of oxen, plow with draught oxen'; Kota e-r 'pair of bullocks used for plowing'; Toda e-r 'plow'; Kannada ē̄ru, ā̄r 'pair of oxen yoked to a plow'; Telugu ē̄ru 'plow with draught oxen made ready for plowing'; Kolami cē̄r 'plow and team of bullocks'; Parji (pl.) cereyakul 'pair of bullocks'; Gondi sē̄r, hē̄r 'a plow'; Konda sē̄ru 'yoke of oxen'; Pengo hē̄r 'set of plow and bullocks'; Kui sē̄ru 'a yoke of oxen, a pair, two of cattle for plowing'; Kuwi hē̄rū 'plow', hē̄ru 'pair of plowing bullocks'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:244—245, no. 2815; Krishnamurti 2003:6 *cē̄r 'plow'.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian *č̣'er-/ *č̣'r- 'to cut into, to scratch, to carve', hence 'to write': Georgian c'er- 'to write; to depict'; Mingrelian (n)č̣'ar- 'to write'; Laz (n)č̣'ar-, č̣'a(r)- 'to write'; Svan jr- 'to write something'. Schmidt 1962:154; Klimov 1964:249 *č̣₁er- and 1998:309 *č̣₁er- : *č̣₁r- 'to scratch; to depict'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:521—522 *č̣₁er-; Fähnrich 2007:648—649 *č̣₁er-. Semantic development as in Latin scribō 'to engrave with a sharp-pointed instrument, to draw lines', hence 'to write' from the same root found in Latvian scripāt 'to notch, to scratch' and Old English sceran, scieran 'to cut, to shear', scierdan 'to injure, to destroy', scierpan 'to sharpen', scort 'short', etc.
- D. Proto-Altaic *č̣iūrū- (~ -a) 'to scratch': Proto-Tungus *žurū- 'to draw', *žura-n 'a scratch, a line' > Manchu žižu- 'to draw lines, to draw, to write, to cast lots', žižun 'stroke, line, lines of a divination figure', žižuxan, žižugan 'diagram, trigram, or hexagram of the *Book of Changes*'; Evenki žurū- 'to draw'; Negidal žoyan 'a scratch, line'; Ulch žura(n) 'a scratch, line'; Nanay / Gold žorā 'a scratch, line'; Oroch žurara 'striped'; Udihe žūnda- 'to draw'; Solon žurī- 'to draw'. Proto-Turkic *dīr̄ŋa- 'to scratch, to scrape', *dīr̄ŋa-k 'fingernail, claw' > Old Turkic tīr̄ŋaq 'fingernail, claw'; Karakhanide Turkic tīr̄ŋaq 'fingernail, claw'; Turkish turnak 'fingernail, toenail, claw', turnakla- 'to scratch with the nails', turman- 'to cling with the claws or fingertips', turmik 'scratch; rake; harrow; drag-hook', turmukla- 'to scratch, to rake, to harrow', turmala- 'to scratch, to worry, to annoy, to offend'; Gagauz tīr̄naq 'fingernail, claw'; Azerbaijani dīr̄nag 'fingernail, claw'; Turkmenian dīr̄naq 'fingernail, claw'; Uzbek tīr̄nəq 'fingernail, claw'; Uighur tīr̄naq 'fingernail, claw'; Karaim tīr̄naq 'fingernail, claw'; Tatar tīr̄naq 'fingernail, claw'; Bashkir tīr̄naq 'fingernail, claw'; Kirghiz tīr̄naq 'fingernail, claw'; Kazakh tīr̄naq 'fingernail, claw'; Noghay tīr̄naq 'fingernail, claw'; Sary-Uighur dār̄maq 'fingernail, claw'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) tīr̄gaq 'fingernail, claw'; Tuva dīr̄ŋaq 'fingernail, claw'; Chuvash č̣ər̄ne 'fingernail, claw'; Yakut tīj̄ir̄aq

‘fingernail, claw’; Dolgan *tijirak* ‘fingernail, claw’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:402 *čjūru (~ -a) ‘to scratch’.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow (vb.; sb.); 9.81 carve; 18.51 write. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:356—357, no. 183.

22.20. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *š

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
š-	s-	c-	š-	s-	s-	s-	
-š-	-s-	-c(c)-	-š-	-s-	-s-	-s-	

354. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative pronoun stem *ša- (~ *šə-) ‘this, that’:

- A. Afrasian: Chadic: Ngizim demonstrative pronoun *sónú* ‘this one, that one; this, that’; near demonstrative pronoun *sáu* ‘this one’, *sáu ... sáu* ‘this one ... that one’; demonstrative pronoun *síyú* ‘that one’; Hausa *sà* ‘his, him’; independent pronouns: (m. sg.) *šii* ‘he’, (m. pl.) *suu* ‘they’; direct objects: (m. sg.) *ši* ‘him’, (m. pl.) *su* ‘them’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *-š- pronoun stem: Georgian [-s-]; Mingrelian [-š-]; Laz [-š-]; Svan [-š-]. Klimov 1964:173 **s_r*- and 1998:178 **s_r*- pronoun stem; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:310—311 **s_r*-; Fähnrich 2007:378 **s_r*-.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **so-*, (f.) **seA* [**saA*] (> **sā*) demonstrative pronoun stem: ‘this, that’: Sanskrit *sá-h*, (f.) *sā* (also *sī*) demonstrative pronoun; Avestan *ha-* demonstrative pronoun stem; Greek *ὁ*, (f.) *ἡ* demonstrative pronoun and definite article; Old Latin (m. singular) *sum* ‘him’, (f. singular) *sam* ‘her’, (m. plural) *sōs*, (f. plural) *sās* ‘them’; Gothic *sa*, (f.) *sō* (also *sī*) ‘this, that; he, she’; Old Icelandic *sá*, *sú* ‘that’; Old English *sē* ‘that one, he’, (f.) *sēo* ‘she’; Dutch *zij* ‘she’; Old High German (f.) *sī*, *siu* ‘she’ (New High German *sie*); Tocharian A (m.) *sa-*, (f.) *sā-*, B (m.) *se(-)*, (f.) *sā(-)* demonstrative pronoun; Hittite *ša* connective particle, *-še* 3rd person singular enclitic pronoun. Pokorny 1959:978—979 **so(s)*, **sā* ‘the, this’; Walde 1927—1932.II:509 **so*, **sā*; Mann 1984—1987:1137 **sī-* (**sīm*) ‘he, she, it’, 1142—1143 **sīā* (**sīə*) ‘she, it’, 1143—1144 **sīos*, **sīā* ‘he; she; this, it’, 1250 **sos*, (f.) **sā* ‘this; he, she’; Watkins 1985:62 **so-* and 2000:81 **so-* ‘this, that’ (nominative); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:384 **so*, (f.) **sā* and 1995.I:336 **so*, (f.) **sā*; Mallory—Adams 1997:457 (m.) **so*, (f.) **seh_a*, (n.) *tód* ‘that (one)’; Boisacq 1950:681—682 **so-*, ***sā-*; Hofmann 1966:223 **so*, **sā*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:342—343 **so(s)*, **sā*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:770; Beekes 2010.II:1041 **so*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:550 **so-*, **sā-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:630 **so*; Feist 1939:402; Lehmann 1986:289 **so*, **sā*; Orël 2003:310 Proto-Germanic **sa*, 329 **sī*; De Vries 1977:459; Onions 1966:817; Klein 1971:678; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:706; Kluge—Seebold 1989:671; Adams 1999:698 **so*/**seh_a*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:410 **so*, **sā*. (?) Proto-Indo-European *-s- in (m.) **ṛey-s-os*, (f.) **ṛey-s-eA* [-*aA*] (> -*ā*), **ṛey-s-yos* compound demonstrative pronoun: ‘this’: Sanskrit *eṣá-h* (f. *eṣā*) ‘this’; Avestan *aēša-* (f. *aēšā*) ‘this’; Oscan *eiseis* ‘he’; Umbrian *erec*, *erek*,

ere, eřek, erse ‘he, it’. Note: the *-s- element could be from the Proto-Nostratic 3rd person anaphoric stem **si-/*se-* instead. Pokorny 1959:281—283; Walde 1927—1932.I:96—98; Mann 1984—1987:235 **eisijos* (**eiso-*, **eito-*) a compound pronoun; De Vaan 2008:309—310; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:129.

- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **s[ä]* ‘he, she, it’ > Finnish *hän* (< **sän*) ‘he, she’; Lapp / Saami *son* ‘he, she’; Mordvin *son* ‘he, she’; Votyak / Udmurt *so* ‘that, yonder; he, she, it’; Zyrian / Komi *sy* ‘he, she, it’, *sija* ‘he, she, it; that, yonder’; Vogul / Mansi *täu* ‘he, she’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vasyugan) *jõh* ‘he, she’; Hungarian *ő* ‘he, she, it’. Collinder 1955:80—81 and 1977:97; Rédei 1986—1988:453—454 **sš*; Décsy 1990:107 **sä* ‘he, she, it’; Hajdú 1972:40 Proto-Uralic **se*; Abondolo 1998:25 Proto-Uralic **sF* (*F* = front vowel).

Greenberg 2000:99—101; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:364—365, no. 194.

355. Proto-Nostratic root **šar-* (~ **šər-*):

- (vb.) **šar-* ‘to split, to rip apart, to tear asunder’;
(n.) **šar-a* ‘that which splits: knife’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **sar-* ‘to split, to rip apart, to tear asunder’: Berber: Tuareg *surət* ‘to split, to crack, to be split’, *səssurət* ‘to make split’, *tasārit* ‘split, crack, fissure’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ssər* ‘to pierce, to drill, to make a hole in’; Tamazight *tisirit* ‘plot of land to be plowed’. East Cushitic: Hadiyya *seer-e* ‘knife’; Burji *ser-óo* ‘knife’; Dobase *seer-e* ‘knife’; Koyra *soro* ‘knife’ (probably a loan from Burji). Sasse 1982:164 and 168; Hudson 1989:87. Proto-Southern Cushitic **sar-* ‘to cut with repeated knife strokes’ > Burunge *sar-* ‘to scarify’; Dahalo *sar-* ‘to cut’. Ehret 1980:178.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *šá-ra-* ‘to cut, to split’.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **šar-/*šr-* ‘to destroy, to ruin’: Georgian *sar-/sr-* ‘to destroy’; Mingrelian *šər-, šir-* ‘to wear out, to destroy’; Laz *šir-* ‘to wear out’. Schmidt 1962:132; Klimov 1964:177—178 **s₁r-* and 1998:178 **s₁ar-/*s₁r-* ‘to destroy, to ruin’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:311—312 **s₁ar-/*s₁r-*; Fähnrich 2007:378—379 **s₁ar-/*s₁r-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **ser-/*sor-/*sṛ-* ‘to split, to rip apart, to tear asunder’: Hittite (3rd singular pres.) *šar-ra-i* ‘to separate, to divide, to break’. Proto-Indo-European **sor-gh-* ‘to wound, to tear’: Icelandic *sarga* ‘to hack (with a blunt instrument)’; Swedish *sarga* ‘to wound, to graze, to tear’; Old Church Slavonic *sragъ* ‘awful’; Russian *sražát’* [сражать], *srazít’* [сразить] ‘to slay, to strike down, to smite’. Mann 1984—1987:1249 **sorgh-* (?).
- E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **särz-* ‘to break’ > Mordvin (Erza) *seréd’e-* ‘to be sick, to hurt, to be in pain’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *ser-* ‘to break, to smash, to destroy’. Rédei 1986—1988:756 **särz-*.

F. Altaic: Turkic: Chuvash *soran* ‘wound, loss, damage’.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.23 knife; 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 11.27 destroy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:363—364, no. 192.

356. Proto-Nostratic root *šaw- (~ *šəw-):

(vb.) *šaw- ‘to drink, to swallow’;

(n.) *šaw-a ‘drink, juice’

A. Afrasian: Berber: Tamazight *səw* ‘to drink’; Kabyle *səw* ‘to drink’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *šw- ‘to drink’: Georgian *sv-* ‘to drink’; Mingrelian *š(v)-* ‘to drink’; Laz *š(v)-* ‘to drink’; Svan *š(w)-* ‘to drink’. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:223 *šw- ‘to drink’; Klimov 1964:173 **s₁w-* and 1998:179 **s₁w-* ‘to drink’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1998:313 **s₁w-*; Fähnrich 2007:380 **s₁w-*. Proto-Kartvelian *šw-am-/šw-m- ‘to drink’: Georgian *svam-/sm-* ‘to drink’; Mingrelian *šum-* ‘to drink’; Laz *šum-* ‘to drink’. Schmidt 1962:131 *šu-; Klimov 1964:173—174 **s₁w-am-/s₁w-m-* and 1998:179 **s₁w-am-/s₁w-m-* ‘to drink’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **sew(H)-/sow(H)-/su(H)-* ‘to suck, to drink, to swallow’: Latin *sūgō* ‘to suck’, *sūcus* ‘juice, sap’; Old Irish *súgid* ‘to suck’ (Latin loan ?); Old Icelandic *súpa* ‘to sip, to drink’, *súga*, *sjúga* ‘to suck’; Old English *sēaw* ‘juice, liquid’, *sūcan* ‘to suck’, *sūpan* ‘to swallow, to sip, to taste, to drink, to sup’, *sūpe* ‘sup, draft’, *sūgan* ‘to suck, to suck in’, *sōgian* ‘to suckle’; Old Saxon *sou* ‘juice, liquid’, *sūgan* ‘to suck’; Dutch *zuifen* ‘to guzzle, to booze’, *zuigen* ‘to suck’; Old High German *sou* ‘juice, liquid’, *sūfan* ‘to gulp down liquids, to guzzle, to booze’ (New High German *saufen*), *sūgan* ‘to suck’ (New High German *saugen*), *sougen* ‘to suckle’ (New High German *säugen*); Old Church Slavic *сѣсо*, *сѣсати* (< **sup-s-*) ‘to suck’. Rix 1998a:488 **seuk-* ‘to suck’; Pokorny 1959:912—913 **seu-*, **seuə-* : **sū-* ‘juice’; Walde 1927—1932.II:468—469 **seu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1331—1332 **sūb-* (**subō*, **subāiō*) ‘to suck up, to slurp’, 1332—1333 **sūgō*, *-jō* (**sūg-* ?) ‘to suck’, 1333 **sūghō*, 1333 **sūk-* ‘juice, sap, resin, whey, liquor’, 1338 **suslā* ‘fluid, liquid’; Watkins 1985:58 **seuə-* and 2000:76 **seuə-* ‘to take liquid’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:143—144, fn. 1, **seuk[h]-* ~ **seuk-* ‘to suck’ and 1995.I:123—124, fn. 64, **seuk^h-* ~ **seuk-* ‘to suck’; Mallory—Adams 1997:556 **seug/k-* ‘to suck’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:622 **seuq-*, **seug-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:662 and 664; De Vaan 2008:596 and 598; Orël 2003:320 Proto-Germanic **sauǵjanan*, 320 **saupan* ~ **saupaz*, 320 **sawan*, 388 **sūžanan*, 389 **sūpanan*; Kroonen 2013:428 Proto-Germanic **sawwa-* ‘juice’; De Vries 1977:560 and 562; Onions 1966:882 and 886; Klein 1971:728 **seuq-*, **seug-* and 730 **seu-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:627 **seu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:619 **seuə-*. Proto-Indo-European **sw-el-* ‘to

swallow': Avestan *xʷar-* 'to consume, to eat, to drink'; Old Icelandic *svelga* 'to swallow', *sollr* 'swill', *sylgr* 'a drink of something, a draft'; Faroese *svølgja* 'to swallow'; Norwegian *svelgja* 'to swallow'; Swedish *svälja* 'to swallow'; Danish *svelge* 'to swallow'; Old English *swelgan* 'to swallow; to devour, to consume'; Old Saxon *far-swelgan* 'to swallow'; Dutch *zvelgen* 'to gulp, to swallow'; Old High German *far-swelhan*, *fir-swelgan*, *swelahan*, *swelgan* 'to swallow' (New High German *schwelgen* 'to feast'), *swelgo* 'glutton'. Rix 1998a:554 **suel-* 'to swallow'; Pokorny 1959:1045 **suel-(k-)* 'to swallow greedily'; Walde 1927—1932.II:530 **suel-*; Watkins 1985:68 **swel-* and 2000:88 **swel-* 'to eat, to drink'; Orël 2003:390 **swal(ǵ)wōn*, 394 **swelǵanan*; De Vries 1977:529, 567 **suelkō*, and 573; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:329; Torp 1919:753; Klein 1971:734; Onions 1966:891; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:692 **suel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:660.

Buck 1949:5.13 drink (vb.); 5.16 suck (vb.). Palmaitis 1986b:313; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:362—363, no. 190; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2141, **sVwH₂V* 'to drink'.

357. Proto-Nostratic root **šaw-* (~ **šəw-*):

(vb.) **šaw-* 'to sigh, to pant, to gasp, to breathe deeply';

(n.) **šaw-a* 'breath, sigh'

Related to:

(vb.) **šaw-* 'to sleep, to rest';

(n.) **šaw-a* 'sleep, slumber, rest'

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *swḥ* 'wind, air, breath'. Hannig 1995:679; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.4:72; Faulkner 1962:217. Berber: Tuareg *usu* 'to cough', *təsut* 'cough'; Tawlemmet *əšəw* 'to cough', *təsuwt* 'cough'; Tamazight *asu*, *usu* 'to cough', *tasutt*, *tusutt* 'cough'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ttusu* 'to cough strongly', *tusut* 'cough'; Riff *usu* 'to cough', *tusut* 'cough'; Kabyle *usu* 'to cough', *tusut* 'cough'; Chaouia *ussi* 'to cough', *tussit* 'cough'.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **šw-er-/šw-r-* 'to sigh': Georgian *sur-* 'to wish', *survil-* 'wish, desire'; Mingrelian *šur-* 'to smell'; Laz *šur-* 'to smell (at), to smell (of)', *šur-on-* 'fragrant, odorous'; Svan *šwr-*, *šur-* 'to sigh', *li-šur-jēl* 'to sigh', *šwär* 'sigh'. Klimov 1964:174—175 **s₁wer-* 'deep breath, sigh' and 178 **s₁ur-* 'to breathe', 1998:180 **s₁wer-/s₁wr-* 'to sigh'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:313—314 **s₁w-*; Fähnrich 2007:380—381 **s₁w-*. Proto-Kartvelian **šul-* 'soul, spirit': Georgian *sul-* 'soul, breath, smell'; Mingrelian *šur-* 'soul, spirit'; Laz *šur-* 'soul, spirit'. Klimov 1964:178 **s₁ul-* 1998:182 **s₁ul-* 'soul, spirit'; Schmidt 1962:132; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:319—320 **s₁ul-*; Fähnrich 2007:387—387 **s₁ul-*.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **sew-/sow-/su-* ‘to sigh, to pant, to gasp’: (?) Armenian *hev* ‘breath, gasp’, *hevam* ‘to gasp’; Middle High German *siufzen* (earlier *siuftien*; Old High German *sūftōn*, *sūfteōn*) ‘to sigh’ (New High German *seufzen* ‘to sigh’, *Seufzen* ‘a sigh’), *sūft* ‘a sigh’; Lithuanian *siaubiù*, *siaūbti* ‘to fume, to rage’. Mann 1984—1987:1134 **seu-* (**sēu-*) ‘to sigh, to pant, to gasp’, 1134 **seubō*, *-iō* ‘to fume, to pant, to gasp’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:705; Kluge—Seebold 1989:670; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:779.

Buck 1949:4.51 breathe; breath; 16.39 groan (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:366—367, no. 196.

358. Proto-Nostratic root **šaw-* (~ **šəw-*):

(vb.) **šaw-* ‘to sleep, to rest’;

(n.) **šaw-a* ‘sleep, slumber, rest’

Related to:

(vb.) **šaw-* ‘to sigh, to pant, to gasp, to breathe deeply’;

(n.) **šaw-a* ‘breath, sigh’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **šw-en-/šw-n-* ‘to breathe, to sigh; to rest’: Georgian *sven-* ‘to rest’, *sun-* ‘breath, smell’; Mingrelian [*švan-*] ‘to breathe, to sigh’, *švanž-* ‘rest’; Laz *švan-* ‘to breathe, to sigh’, *švaž-* ‘rest, respite’; Svan *šwem-/šwm-* ‘to rest’. Schmidt 1962:132 **šwen-/šwer-*, **šwem-*; Klimov 1964:174 **s₁w-en-* and 1998:179 **s₁wen-/s₁wn-* ‘to breathe, to sigh; to rest’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:313—314 **s₁w-* Fähnrich 2007:380—381 **s₁w-*.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **sw-ep^h-/sw-op^h-/su-p^h-* ‘to sleep’: Sanskrit *svapiti* (Vedic also *svápati*, *svápate*) ‘to sleep, to fall asleep, to lie down, to recline’, (causative) *svāpáyati* ‘to cause to sleep, to lull to rest’, *svápna-h* ‘sleep, sleeping, sleepiness, drowsiness’; Avestan *x^vap-* ‘to sleep, to slumber’, *x^vafna-* ‘sleep’; Greek ὕπνος ‘sleep, slumber’, ὑπνῶω ‘to put to sleep’; Latin *sōpiō* ‘to put to sleep, to lull to sleep’, *sōpor* ‘deep sleep’, *somnus* ‘sleep, slumber’; Old Irish *súan* ‘sleep’; Old Icelandic *sofa* ‘to sleep’, *sofna* ‘to fall asleep’, *svefja* ‘to lull to sleep’, *svefna* ‘sleep’; Old English *swefan* ‘to sleep’, *swefn* ‘sleep, dream’; Old Saxon *sweban* ‘dream’; Old High German *-swebben*, etc., in: *ant-swebben*, *bi-swebben*, *be-sweven*, *in-swebben*, *in-sweppan* ‘to fall asleep’; Lithuanian *sāpnas* ‘dream’; Old Church Slavic *сънь* ‘sleep’; Tocharian A *špām*, B *špäne* ‘sleep’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *šu-up-pa-ri-y[a-zi ?]* ‘to sleep’. Rix 1998a:556—557 **suep-* ‘to fall asleep’; Pokorny 1959:1048—1049 **suep-*, **sup-* ‘to sleep’, **supno-s* ‘sleep’; Walde 1927—1932.II:523—524 **suep-*, **sup-*; Mann 1984—1987:1336 **supnos*, *-om* ‘sleep, drowsiness, dream’, 1347 **suepnos*, *-om* ‘sleep’, 1347 **suepō*, *-iō* ‘to be drowsy, to sleep’; **suopeiō* ‘to lull’, 1362—1363 **suop-* ‘sleep’; **suōpeiō*, *-iō* ‘to put

to sleep'; Watkins 1985:68 **swep-* and 2000:88 **swep-* 'to sleep'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:117, I:217, I:224 **suēp[h]-* and 1995.I:100, I:187, I:194 **swep^h-* 'to sleep'; Mallory—Adams 1997:527 **suēp-* 'to sleep, to dream', **suópnos*, **suépnos*, **supnós* 'sleep, dream'; Boisacq 1950:1004—1005 **sup-no-s*, **suēpno-*, **suopno-*; Hofmann 1966:385—386 **sup-no-s*, **suēpnos*, **suopnos*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1159—1160; Frisk 1970—1973.II:970—971 **sup-no-s*, **suop-no-s*, **suēp-no-s*; Beekes 2010.II:1535 **su(e/o)p-no-*; De Vaan 2008:573—574 and 575; Walde—Hofmann 1966—1972.II:557—558 **suēpnos*, **suopnos* and II:561; Ernout—Meillet 1979:634—635 **swep-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:561 and III:561—562; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:460—461 **sepno-s*; Adams 1999:666 **swepno-*; Orël 2003:392 Proto-Germanic **swēbnaz*, 392—393 **swefanan*, 393 **swēfnōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:497 Proto-Germanic **swēbjan-* 'to cause to sleep' and 497—498 **swēfna-* 'sleep'; De Vries 1977:528 and 566; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:762; Smoczyński 2007.1:534 **suóp-no-*; Derksen 2008:481 **sup-n-o-* and 2015:389 **su(e/o)p-no-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:787—788 **sup-ó*, **sup-tó* and 788—789 **sup-r-je/o-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:675—680 **suēp-*.

Buck 1949:4.61 sleep (vb.; sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:367, no. 197.

359. Proto-Nostratic root **sih-* (~ **seh-*):

- (vb.) **sih-* 'to separate into (equal) parts, to divide';
 (n.) **sih-a* 'part, portion, separation, division, section'

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **šx-w-a-* 'one; other': Georgian *šx-v-a* 'other, another; foreign'; Mingrelian *šx-v-a* 'other, foreign'; Laz *čk-v-a* 'other, one more'; Svan *ešxu* 'one'. Klimov 1964:178—179 **s₁xwa-* and 1998:184 **s₁xwa-* 'one; other'; Schmidt 1962:133; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:322 **s₁xwa-*; Fähnrich 2007:389 **s₁xwa-*.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **sih_h-* [**seh_h-*] > **sē-* 'separately, apart': Latin *sēd*, *sē* (shortened forms *sēd*, *sē*) (preposition) 'without', (prefix) 'apart'; (?) Old Icelandic *sér* 'for oneself, separately, singly'; Middle English *sēr* (adj.) 'several, particular' (Norse loan), *sēre-lēpi* (adj.) 'separate, various', (adv.) *sēr-līche* 'particularly'. Mann 1984—1987:1115; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:506—507 **sue-*, **se-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:609; De Vaan 2008:549—550; De Vries 1977:470 **se*. Proto-Indo-European **sih_h-th-* [**seh_h-th-*] > **sē-th-* 'division, section': Avestan *hāiti-* 'division, section'; Latvian *sēta* 'hedge, section, division, staff'. Mann 1984—1987:1133—1134 **sēt-* 'division, separation'. Proto-Indo-European **sih_h-mi-* [**seh_h-mi-*] > **sē-mi-* 'half': Sanskrit (indeclinable) *sāmi* 'half, incompletely, imperfectly, partially'; Greek (prefix) ἡμι- 'half', (adj. and noun) ἡμισυς 'half'; Latin (prefix) *sēmi-* 'half', *sēmis* 'the half of anything'; Old High

German (prefix) *sāmi-* ‘half’; Old Saxon (prefix) *sām-* ‘half’; Old English (prefix) *sām-* ‘half’. Pokorny 1959:905—906 **sēmi-* ‘half’; Walde 1927—1932.II:493 **sēmi-*; Mann 1984—1987:1126 **sēmi-* ‘half’; Mallory—Adams 1997:253 **sēmis* ‘half’; Watkins 1985:57 **sēmi-* and 2000:75 **sēmi-* ‘half’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:843 **sēm-i-* and 1995.I:741 **sēm-i-* ‘half’; Boisacq 1950:324—325; Hofmann 1966:108; Frisk 1970—1973.I:636; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:413; Beekes 2010.I:519—520 **sēmi-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:512—513 **sēmi-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:612—613 **sēmi-*; De Vaan 2008:553; Orël 2003:328 Proto-Germanic **sēmiz*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:459 **sēmi-*.

Buck 1949:13.24 half. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:367—368, no. 198. For the semantics, cf. (1) Sanskrit *nēma-h* ‘one, several; half; portion; time; limit, boundary’, *nēma-nēma-h* ‘the one, the other’; (2) Kannaḍa *bēre* ‘separate, apart, different, other, else; separately’; (3) Geez / Ethiopic *naḥk* [ገፍቅ] ‘half, middle, semi-’, *manfaḥ* ... *manfaḥ* [መገፈቅ...መገፈቅ] ‘one part ... (and) another part’ < *naḥa* [ገፈቅ] ‘to tear off, to tear away, to rend, to divide, to divide in two, to separate, to cleave asunder, to split’.

360. Proto-Nostratic root **šiw-* (~ **šew-*):

(vb.) **šiw-* ‘to swell’;

(n.) **šiw-a* ‘swelling’; (adj.) ‘swollen, puffed up’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **šiw-* ‘to swell, to swell up’: Georgian *siv-* ‘to swell, to swell up’, *si-m-sivn-e* ‘swelling’; Mingrelian *šin-* (< **šiw-n-*) ‘to swell, to swell up’; Svan *ši(w)-* ‘to swell’, *mə-ši(w)-* ‘swollen’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:316 **s₁iw-*; Klimov 1964:177 **s₁i-* and 1998:180—181 **s₁i(w)-* ‘to swell, to swell up’; Fähnrich 2007:383 **s₁iw-*. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated) **ši(w)-ši(w)n-* ‘to stuff oneself’: Georgian *sisin-* ‘to stuff oneself’; Mingrelian *šišin-* ‘to stuff oneself’. Klimov 1964:177 **s₁is₁in-* and 1998:181 **s₁i(w)-s₁i(w)n-* ‘to stuff oneself’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **sw-el-* ‘to swell’: Proto-Germanic **swellan* ‘to swell’ > Gothic *uf-swalleins* ‘swollen, puffed up’ (< causative **swalljan* ‘to make swell’); Old Icelandic *svella* ‘to swell’; Faroese *svølla* ‘to swell’; Norwegian *svella* ‘to swell’; Swedish *svälla* ‘to swell’; Danish *svelle* ‘to swell’; Old English *swellan* ‘to swell’, *swyle* ‘swelling’; Old Frisian *swella* ‘to swell’; Old Saxon *swellan* ‘to swell’, *swil* ‘swelling’; Dutch *zwellen* ‘to swell’; Old High German *swellan* ‘to swell’ (New High German *schwellen* ‘to swell’), (m.) *swilo*, (n.) *swil* (< **swiliz*) ‘callous swelling, welt’ (New High German *Schwiele*). Orël 2003:394 Proto-Germanic **swellan*, 394 **swellanan*; Kroonen 2013:494 Proto-Germanic **swalljan-* ‘to cause to swell’ and 499 **swellan-* ‘to swell’; Feist 1939:513; Lehmann 1986:373; De Vries 1977:567; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:329—330; Torp 1919:753;

Onions 1966:893; Klein 1971:735; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:692 **suel-* and 693 **suel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:660 and 661 **swel-*.

361. Proto-Nostratic root **šuw-* (~ **šow-*):

(vb.) **šuw-* ‘to be wet, moist; to make wet, to soak’;

(n.) **šuw-a* ‘liquid, moisture’; (adj.) ‘moist, wet, soaked’

Extended form:

(vb.) **šuw-V-l-* ‘to be wet, moist; to make wet, to soak’;

(n.) **šuw-l-a* ‘liquid, moisture’; (adj.) ‘moist, wet, soaked’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **šow-* ‘to be wet, soaked’, **šow-el-* ‘wet, soaked’: Georgian [*sov-*] ‘to be wet, soaked’, *sovel-* ‘wet, soaked’, [*sovl-*] ‘to wet, to make wet’; Mingrelian *šol-* ‘to wet, to make wet’, *šə-* ‘wet, soaked’, *šol-ir-i* ‘wet’; Laz *šuv-* ‘to be wet, soaked’, *šu-* ‘wet, soaked’, *šol-* ‘to wet, to make wet’. Klimov 1964:174 **s₁wel-* and 1998:182 **s₁ow-* ‘to be wet’, **s₁ow-el-* ‘wet, soaked’, **s₁owl-* ‘to wet, to make wet’; Fähnrich 2007:385 **s₁ow-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:318 **s₁ow-*; Schmidt 1962:131—132.

B. Proto-Indo-European **swel-/sul-* ‘(vb.) to wet, to moisten, to flow; (n.) liquid, moisture’: Sanskrit *sūrā* ‘spirituous liquor, wine’; Avestan *hurā* ‘drink’; Ossetic *xwlīdz* ‘wet, wetness, humidity’; Greek ὕλη, ὕλις (ὕλις) ‘mud, slime’, ὑλίζω ‘to filter, to strain’; Old Icelandic *sulla* ‘to swill’; Old English *swillan*, *swilian* ‘to flood with water so as to wash or rinse, to drink in large quantities’, *sol* ‘mud, wet sand’, *syl* ‘wallowing place, miring place’, *sylīan* ‘to make muddy or dirty, to pollute’; Old High German *sol* ‘mud, puddle’ (New High German *Suhle*), *bi-sulen* ‘to wallow in mud, mire’ (New High German *suhlen*, *sühlen*); Lithuanian *sulà* ‘sap’; Old Prussian *sulo* ‘curdled milk’. Pokorny 1959:912—913 **seu-*, **seuə-* : **sū-* ‘juice’; Walde 1927—1932.II:468—469 **seu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1334 **sūl-* (**sūlos*, *-ā*) ‘liquor, issue, sludge’, 1334—1335 **suly-* (**sulyiō*) ‘liquid; (to flow)’; Boisacq 1950:1000—1001 **seu-*, **sū-*; Hofmann 1966:363 **sū-l-*, **seu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:963; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1155; Beekes 2010.II:1529—1530 Greek ὕλη, ὕλις (ὕλις) ‘mud, slime’ < **suol-h₂-* ‘firewood’ and II:1530; Orël 2003:385 Proto-Germanic **sulan*; Klein 1971:735; Onions 1966:893 English *swill*, no known cognates; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:763; Kluge—Seebold 1989:714; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:487; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:940; Smoczyński 2007.1:614; Derksen 2015:434—435 **su-leh₂-*.

Buck 1949:1.214 mud; 15.83 wet, damp. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2140, **[s]/[ü]whâ* ⇐ **[s]E?uwhV* ‘moisture, water, wet, rain’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:363, no. 191.

22.21. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *g

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altai	Proto-Eskimo
g-	g-	k-	g-	g ^h -	k-	g-	k- q-
-g-	-g-	-k-	-g-	-g ^h -	-x-	-g-	-ʃ-

362. Proto-Nostratic root *gaʔ- (~ *gəʔ-):

(vb.) *gaʔ- ‘to go, to leave, to depart; to leave behind, to abandon, to forsake’;

(n.) *gaʔ-a ‘abandonment, lack, want, need, deprivation, loss, deficit’; (adj.) ‘abandoned, forsaken, left behind; wanting, lacking, deprived of’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *gʃw* ‘to be narrow, constricted; to languish; to lack, to be lacking; to deprive’, *gʃw* ‘lack’, *gʃwt* ‘lack, want’, *ngʃw* ‘without’, *ngʃ* ‘to lack, to want, to be short of’. Hannig 1995:439 and 893—894; Gardiner 1957:597; Faulkner 1962:287 and 288; Erman—Grapow 1921:197 and 1926—1963.2:349, 5:151—152.
- B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *kānā* ‘to go, to lead to (as a road), to progress favorably, to go on, to continue, to perish, to pass (of time), to come to an end, to have diarrhea (stomach), to bring oneself to, to be able to’; Malto *kale* ‘to go, to come to’; Brahui *hining* (pres. indef. *kāv, kās, kāe, kān, kāre, kār*; pres.-fut. *kāva, kāsa, kāik, kāna, kāre, kāra*) ‘to go, to depart, to disappear, to be past, to pass beyond, to be no longer fit for, to flow, to have diarrhea (stomach)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:133, no. 1419.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *g^{he}ʔ-/ *g^{ho}ʔ- (> *g^hē-/ *g^hō-), *g^{he}ʔ-y/i-/ *g^{ho}ʔ-y/i- (> *g^hēy-/ *g^hōy-; *g^hei-/ *g^hoi-) ‘to go, to leave, to depart; to abandon, to forsake’: Sanskrit (reduplicated) *já-hā-ti* ‘to leave, to abandon, to desert, to quit, to forsake, to relinquish’, (causative) *hāpayati* ‘to cause to leave or abandon; to omit, to neglect; to fall short of, to be wanting’, *hāni-ḥ* ‘abandonment, relinquishment, decrease, diminution; deprivation; damage, loss, failure, ruin; insufficiency, deficit’; Avestan (reduplicated) *za-zā-mi* ‘to release’; Greek (Homeric) (reduplicated) *κιχάνω*, (Attic) *κιχάνω* ‘to reach, hit, or light upon; to meet with, to find; (Homeric) to overtake, to reach, to arrive at’, *χῆρα* (Ionic *χῆρη*) ‘bereft of husband, widow’, *χῆρος* ‘widowed, bereaved’, *χώρα* ‘the space in which a thing is’, *χωρέω* ‘to make room for another, to give way, to draw back, to retire, to withdraw; to go forward, to move on or along’, *χῶρος* ‘piece of ground, ground, place’, (adv.) *χωρίς* ‘separately, asunder, apart, by oneself or by themselves’, (dat.) *χίται* ‘in lack of’, *χατέω* ‘to crave, to long for, to have need of, to lack’, *χατίζω* ‘to have need of, to crave; to lack, to be without’, *χατίζων* ‘a needy, poor person’; Latin *hērēs* ‘heir’; Gothic *gaidw* ‘lack’; Crimean Gothic *geen* ‘to go’; Swedish *gå* ‘to go’; Danish *gaa* ‘to go’; Old

English *gān* ‘to go, to come, to proceed’, *gād* ‘want, lack’, *gāsne* ‘barren, deprived of, without; wanting, scarce; dead’; Old Frisian *gān*, *gēn* ‘to go’; Old Saxon *-gān* in *ful-gān* ‘to accomplish’; Middle Dutch *gaen* ‘to go’ (Modern Dutch *gaan*); Old High German *gān* ‘to go’ (New High German *gehen*). Rix 1998a:152—153 **g^heh₁-* ‘to leave behind, to abandon’; Pokorny 1959:418—419 **ghē-*, **ghēi-* ‘to be empty, void; to lack’; Walde 1927—1932.I:542—544 **ghē(i)-*; Mann 1984—1987:311 **ghāiō* (**ghāmi*, **ghīghāmi*) ‘to go, to move, to depart’, 331—332 **ghōros* (?) ‘space, extent, stretch’, 417 **ghīghāmi*; Watkins 1985:21 **ghē-* (contracted from **ghe₂-*) (suffixed *o*-grade form: **ghō-ro-* ‘empty space’) and 2000:28 **ghē-* ‘to release, to let go’ (contracted from earlier **ghe₂-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:349 **gheh₁-* ‘to leave’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:426; Boisacq 1950:461—462 **ghē(i)-*, **ghī-*, **ghā-*, 1046, 1058—1059, and 1059 **ghē-*, **ghēi-*, **ghī-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:861—862, II:1077—1078, II:1095—1096, and II:1125—1126; Hofmann 1966:145 **ghē(i)-*, **ghā-*, 417 **ghē(i)-*, and 424 **ghēi-*; Beekes 2010.I:705—706 **g^heh₁-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:536 **ghi-ghē-mi*, II:1249 **ghē-*, **ghā-*, II:1257 **ghē-re/o-*, and II:1281—1282; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:641—642 **ghēi-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:292; De Vaan 2008:282—283 **g^heh₁ro-* ‘derelict’; Orël 2003:125 Proto-Germanic **ḡanḡanan*, 133—134 **ḡēnan*; Kroonen 2013:174 Proto-Germanic **gēn-* ‘to go’ (< **g^heh₁-*); Lehmann 1986:139 **ghēy-* ‘to lack, to be empty’; Feist 1939:185 **ghēi-*; Onions 1966:403 **ghē(i)-*; Klein 1971:316 **ghē-*, **ghēi-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:241 **ghē-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:252; Benveniste 1973:68—69; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:209—210.

- D. Proto- Altaic **ga-* ‘to take, to take off, to take away; to let go, to leave; to put’: Proto-Tungus **ga-* ‘to take’ > Manchu *gai-* ‘to take, to take away, to take off’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *gia-* ‘to take, to take away, to take off’; Evenki *ga-* ‘to take’; Lamut / Even *ga-* ‘to take’; Negidal *ga-* ‘to take’; Ulch *ga-* ‘to take’; Orok *ga-* ‘to take’; Nanay / Gold *ga-* ‘to take’; Oroch *ga-* ‘to take’; Udihe *ga-* ‘to take’. Proto-Turkic **Ko-* (perhaps originally **Ka-* but changed to **Ko-* under the influence of the synonymous stem **Kod-* ‘to put; to leave’) ‘to put; to let go; to leave’ > Turkish *ko-*, *koy-* ‘to put; to let go; to leave; to permit; to suppose’; Karaim *qo-* ‘to put; to leave’; Chuvash *χiv-*, *χu-* ‘to put; to leave’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:525 **ga* ‘to take, to put’.

Buck 1949:2.76 widow; 10.47 go; 12.18 leave. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:396—397, no. 234.

363. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gab-a* ‘front, front part’:
Probably identical to:
(n.) **gab-a* ‘peak, tip, top’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gab-* ‘front, front part’: Proto-Semitic **gab(-ah-)* ‘forehead, front, brow’ > Hebrew *gaβ* [גַב] ‘brow’; Arabic *ġabīn*, *ġabha* ‘forehead’; Mandaic *gbina*, *gbana* ‘brow, eyebrow, eyelash’; Šġeri / Jibbāli *gebhāt* ‘brow’; Ĥarsūsi *yábheh* ‘brow’; Mehri *gebhēt* ‘front’; Tigre *gābbah* ‘broad-fronted’, *gābbāhit* ‘forehead’. D. Cohen 1970— :95; Murtonen 1989:125; Klein 1987:89. East Cushitic: Somali *gabo* ‘breast’. Blažek 2020:48. Proto-Chadic **gab-* ‘front, front part’ (> ‘breast, chest’) > Hausa *gābaa* ‘front part of body (of person or animal)’, (adv.) *gāba* ‘in front, forward, ahead’, *gāban* (prep.) ‘in front of, before’; Kera *gāw* ‘breast’; Tumak *gāu* ‘breast’; Ndam *gāwú* ‘breast’. Jungraitmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:46—47. Orël—Stolbova 1995:194, no. 858, **gab-* ‘front’.

Comments:

1. Militarëv—Kogan reconstruct three Semitic proto-forms here: (1) (n.) **gabb(-at)-* ‘eyebrow, eye-pit, front’ (2000.I:63, no. 66); (2) (n.) **gVbh(-at)-* ‘forehead, front’ (2000.I:65, no. 68); and (3) (n.) **gVb(b)īn-* ‘eyebrow, front’ (2000.I:65—66, no. 69). Concerning Proto-Semitic **gabb(-at)-* ‘eyebrow, eye-pit, front’, they note (2000.I:63, no. 66): “Reliably attested only in Hebr. and Arb.; cf. obviously related roots: **gVb(b)īn-* ‘eyebrow, front’, No. 69 (< **gaby-an-*, with the **-an* suffix ?) and **gVbh(-at)-* ‘forehead, front’, No. 68 (with *-h* serving as a triconsonantizer ?)”. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates. The obvious Afroasian proto-form is **gab-* ‘front, front part’ (so Orël—Stolbova 1995:194, no. 858, **gab-* ‘front’), which serves as the basis for the Semitic proto-forms reconstructed by Militarëv—Kogan.
 2. Blažek (2020:48) lists Beja / Beḍawye *gibab* ‘breast’. He derives Beja / Beḍawye *gabala* ‘front, direction’, *gabalok* ‘in front of you’ from Arabic *kibal* ‘side, direction’, *qabla* ‘before’ (he writes *qibal* and *qabla*, respectively).
- B. Proto-Eskimo **qavlu(ṛ)* ‘eyebrow’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qauȳluq* ‘eyebrow’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qavluq* ‘eyebrow’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qavluq* ‘eyebrow’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qavlu* ‘eyebrow’; North Alaskan Inuit *qavlu* ‘eyebrow’, *qavluna(a)q* ‘brow ridge’; Western Canadian Inuit *qavlu* ‘eyebrow’, *qavlunaq* ‘brow ridge’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qallu* ‘eyebrow’; Greenlandic Inuit *qat̪tu* ‘eyebrow’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:292.

Sumerian *gab*, *gaba* ‘breast’.

Buck 1949:4.205 forehead; 4.206 eyebrow; 4.40 breast (front of chest); 12.33 top; 12.35 end. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:383—384, no. 219.

364. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gab-a* ‘peak, tip, top’:

Probably identical to:

(n.) **gab-a* ‘front, front part’

Note also:

(n.) **gub-a* ‘highest point, summit, top’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gab-* ‘peak, tip, top’: Proto-Southern Cushitic **gab-* ‘above, up, on’ > Iraqw *gawa* ‘above, up, on’; K’wadza *gawato* ‘hill’; Dahalo *gáppo* ‘above, up, on’. Ehret 1980:234. Ehret 1995:179, no. 263, **gab-* ‘top’ (the Semitic forms cited by Ehret are included instead under Proto-Nostratic **gub-a* ‘highest point, summit, top’).
- B. Proto-Indo-European **g^heb^h-* ‘gable, head, pinnacle’: Greek κεφαλή ‘head, front, end, point’ (Macedonian κεβαλή); Gothic *gibla* ‘gable, pinnacle’; Old Icelandic *gafl* ‘gable, gable-side’; Faroese *gavlur* ‘gable’; Norwegian *gavl* ‘gable-side’; Swedish *gavel* ‘transverse wall, partition’; Old Saxon *gibilla* ‘skull, head’; Middle Low German *gevel* ‘gable’; Old High German *gibil* ‘gable’ (New High German *Giebel* ‘gable’), *gebal*, *gibilla* ‘skull, head’; Tocharian A *špāl-* ‘head’, B *špālu*, *špālmēm* ‘superior, excellent’. Pokorny 1959:423 **ghebh-el-* ‘gable, head’; Walde 1927—1932.I:571 **ghebh-el-*; Mann 1984—1987:316—317 **ghebhəlos*, *-ā* ‘peak, tip, top; knob, head, spike’; Watkins 1985:21 **ghebh-el-* and 2000:28 **ghebh-el-* ‘head’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:408 **g^h[j]eb^h[h]-(e)l-* and 1995.I:357 **g^heb^h-(e)l-* ‘head’; Mallory—Adams 1997:260 **ghebhōl* ‘head’; Boisacq 1950:445 **ghebh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:835—836 **ghebh(e)l-*; Hofmann 1966:141 **ghebh-elā*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:522 **ghebh(e)l-*; Beekes 2010.I:682—683 **g^heb^h-l-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:488 **ghebh-ōl*; Adams 1999:642—643 **g^heb^h-(e)l-* ‘head’; De Vries 1977:152 **ghebh-l*; Torp 1919:149 Germanic *gabala-*; Orël 2003:121 Proto-Germanic **ǰablaz* ~ **ǰablō*, 130 **ǰeb(e)lōn*; Kroonen 2013:173 Proto-Germanic **gebla(n)-* ~ **gabra-* ‘top’; Lehmann 1986:155 **ghebh-el-/lo-*; Feist 1939:214; Onions 1966:384 **ghebhālā*; Klein 1971:301 **ghebh^{el}-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:266 **ghebh-* ‘head’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:257 **ghebh-l*.
- C. Eskimo-Aleut: Proto-Inuit **kavžaq*, **kavžəq* ‘crown of head’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *kavžaq* ‘crown of head, peak of a woman’s parka’; North Alaskan Inuit *kavžaq* ‘crown of head’; Western Canadian Inuit *kavžiq* ‘crown of head’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kayyiq* ‘crown of head’; Greenlandic Inuit *kaššiq* ‘crown of head’. Aleut *kamy-iX* (< **kavəy*) ‘head’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:162.

Buck 1949:4.20 head; 4.202 skull; 12.33 top; 12.35 end. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:383—384, no. 219; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 586, **gabV(-|l̥V)* ‘head’ (→ ‘top; skull’).

365. Proto-Nostratic root *gab- (~ *gab-):

(vb.) *gab- ‘to grasp, to seize’;

(n.) *gab-a ‘hand, arm’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *gab- ‘hand, arm’: Egyptian *gbʿ* (f. *gbt*) ‘arm’; Coptic (Sahidic) *čboy* [Ⲅⲃⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ], (Bohairic) *ǧphoy* [Ⲭⲫⲟⲓ] ‘arm (of human being), leg (of animal)’. Faulkner 1962:288; Hannig 1995:898; Erman—Grapow 1921:198 and 1926—1963.5:163; Gardiner 1957:597; Vycichl 1983:338; Černý 1976:325. Cushitic: Saho-Afar *gab- ‘hand’ > Saho *gabaa* ‘hand’; Afar *gaba*, *gabaa* ‘hand’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:194, no. 859, *gabaʔ- ‘hand, arm’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kavar* ‘to seize, to grasp, to catch, to steal, to get control of, to receive, to experience, to desire, to have sexual intercourse with’, *kavarcci* ‘captivation, attraction’, *kavarvu* ‘captivation, attraction, desire’, *kavavu* (*kavavi-*) ‘(vb.) to desire, to embrace, to copulate; (n.) copulation’, *kavarru* (*kavarr-*) ‘to attract’, *kavai* ‘to include, to join with, to embrace’; Malayalam *kavaruka* ‘to plunder, to rob’, *kavarecca* ‘robbery, plunder’; Kannada *kavar* ‘to take away by force, to seize, to strip, to plunder’, *kavarte*, *kavate* ‘taking by force, seizing, plundering’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123—124, no. 1326.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *g^{habh}- ‘to grab, to seize’: Sanskrit *gābhasti-h* ‘hand, arm’; Khotanese *ggoštā* (< *gabasti-) ‘handful’; Old Irish *ga(i)bid* ‘to take, to seize’; Latin *habeō* ‘to have, to hold’; Umbrian *habe* ‘to take, to receive, to have’; Gothic *gabei* ‘riches’; Lithuanian *gābana*, *gabanà* ‘armful’, *góbiu*, *góbti* ‘to wrap, to cover, to seize, to snatch’, *gobùs* ‘greedy’. Rix 1998a:172 *g^{hebh}- ‘to take, to seize; to give’; Pokorny 1959:407—409 *g^{habh}- ‘to take, to seize’; Walde 1927—1932.I:344—345 *g^{habh}-; Mann 1984—1987:309 *g^{habh}- ‘to seize, to hold’, 309—310 *g^{habh}alos, -iə, -iə- (*g^{habh}ul-) ‘hold, holder’, 310 *g^{habh}an- (*g^{habh}in-, *g^{habh}ēn-) ‘hold, holder, container’, 310 *g^{habh}sos, -ā ‘hold, grip, handful’; Watkins 1985:20 *g^{habh}- (also *g^{hebh}-) and 2000:28 *g^{habh}- (also *g^{hebh}-) ‘to give or receive’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:143, I:146 *g^{[h]ab[h]}- and 1995.I:123, I:125, I:251 *g^{habh}- ‘to have, to catch’; Mallory—Adams 1997:564 *g^{habh}- ‘to take, to seize’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:322—323; Ernout—Meillet 1979:287—288; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:630—631 *g^{hab(h)}-; De Vaan 2008:277—278; Orël 2003:121 Proto-Germanic *ǰabiǰaz ~ *ǰabuǰaz, 121 *ǰabīn; Lehmann 1986:134; Feist 1939:175—176; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:126—127. Note: Two separate stems must be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European: (1) *g^{habh}- ‘to grab, to seize’ and (2) *g^{hebh}- ‘to give’, which is preserved only in Germanic.

Buck 1949:4.31 arm; 4.33 hand; 11.11 have; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 11.15 hold.

366. Proto-Nostratic root **gad-* (~ **gəd-*):(vb.) **gad-* ‘to be or become big, great, mighty’;(n.) **gad-a* ‘bigness, greatness, might’; (adj.) ‘big, great, mighty’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gad-* ‘to be or become big, great, mighty’: Proto-Semitic **gad-ad-* ‘to be or become great, honored, rich’ > Arabic *ğadda* ‘to be great, honored, rich’, *ğadd* ‘good luck, good fortune’, *ğiddan* ‘very, much’, *ğadd* ‘riches, wealth, good fortune; greatness, honor; rich’; Sabaean *gdd* ‘(the) great, great ones’. D. Cohen 1970— :99—100; Zammit 2002:118—119. Egyptian *ḏḏ* ‘(to be) fat’; Coptic *gate* [ⲬⲁⲦⲉ] ‘to become ripe, mature; to advance in age’, *gtay* [ⲬⲦⲁⲓ] ‘to ripen’. Hannig 1995:1019; Faulkner 1962:325; Gardiner 1957:604; Erman—Grapow 1921:223 and 1926—1963.5:631; Černý 1976:321; Vycichl 1983:332. Berber: Nefusa *guda* ‘pile, heap’; Tamazight *gudy* ‘to be numerous, to be many’, *sgudy* ‘to produce a lot, to furnish a large quantity’, *agdud* ‘crowd (on a festival day), a gathering’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *gudi* ‘to be in a pile or heap’, *agudi* ‘pile, heap’; Kabyle *agdud* ‘swarm of bees’. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *gada* ‘king, chief’; Sidamo *gada* ‘king, chief’. Hudson 1989:86—87. Proto-Southern Cushitic **a-gad-* ‘man, adult man’ > Burunge *gaduwa* ‘elder’; Alagwa *garmo* ‘elder’; Ma’a *mwagiru* ‘man, adult man’. Ehret 1980:297. Omotic: Dime *gääd* ‘big’. Ehret 1995:180, no. 265, **gad-/gud-* ‘to be big’.
- B. Dravidian: Telugu *gāṭamu* ‘much, great’; Pengo *gāṭi*, *gāṭu* ‘much’; Maṇḍa *gāṭu* ‘much’; Kuwi *gāṭi* ‘much’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:134, no. 1442.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Ugric **kat3-* ‘to become fat’ > Ostyak / Xanty (Vasyugan) *katəm* ‘fat, stout’, (Krasnoyarsk) *χottə-* ‘to become fat’; Vogul / Mansi *koot-* ‘to become fat’; Hungarian *hiz-* ‘to become fat’. Rédei 1986—1988:855 **kat3-*.

Buck 1949:11.42 wealth, riches; 11.51 rich; 12.55 large, big (great); 13.15 much, many; 19.32 king.

367. Proto-Nostratic root **gad-* (~ **gəd-*):(vb.) **gad-* ‘to cut, to split, to strike (with an instrument)’;(n.) **gad-a* ‘that which cuts: (pick)axe, saw; that which is cut, split: cut, split, piece, fragment, bit’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gad-* ‘to cut, to split’: Proto-Semitic **gad-ad-* ‘to cut off’ > Akkadian *gadādu* ‘to chop’; Hebrew *gāḏaḏ* [גָּדַד] ‘to cut, to make incisions in oneself’; Aramaic *gəḏaḏ* ‘to cut’; Mandaic *gdd* ‘to cut off, to put an end to’; Arabic *ğadda* ‘to cut, to cut off’; Geez / Ethiopic *gəddu* [ገዳ] ‘piece of wood cut with an axe or a saw’; Tigre *gädda* (< **gad-ay-*) ‘to tear off’, *gədet* ‘a piece of meat (severed from the bone)’; Amharic *gəd* ‘name of a cut of meat’. D. Cohen 1970— :99—100; Murtonen 1989:127;

- Klein 1987:91; Leslau 1987:180. Proto-Semitic **gad-af-* ‘to cut, to cut off’ > Hebrew *gāḏaʿ* [גָּדַע] ‘to cut down or off, to hew’; Aramaic *gəḏaʿ* ‘to cut off, to amputate’; Arabic *ḡadaʿa* ‘to cut off, to amputate’; Geez / Ethiopic *gʷadʷa* [ገድአ], *gʷadʷa* [ገድዐ] ‘to strike, to smite, to thrust, to knock, to crush, to shake, to touch, to butt, to heave with sobs’; Tigre *gādʷa* ‘to push, to pound’; Tigrinya *gʷädʷe* ‘to crush, to damage’; Amharic *gʷädda* ‘to harm, to damage’; Argobba *gʷädda* ‘to harm, to damage’; Gurage *gʷäda* ‘to injure, to harm, to hurt’. D. Cohen 1970— :102; Murtonen 1989:182; Klein 1987:92; Leslau 1979:260 and 1987:180. Proto-Semitic **gad-am-* ‘to cut off’ > Akkadian *gadāmu* ‘to cut off (hair)’; Hebrew *gāḏam* [גָּדַם] ‘to cut off, to lop off, to amputate’; Aramaic *gəḏam* ‘to cut down’; Mandaic *gdm* ‘to cut’; Arabic *ḡadama* ‘to cut off’; Geez / Ethiopic *gadāmit* [ገዳሚት] ‘scissors’; Tigre *gəddom* ‘pickaxe’; Amharic *gäḡāmo* ‘axe’. D. Cohen 1970— :101; Klein 1987:92; Leslau 1987:182—183. Berber: Kabyle *gəddəḥ* ‘to cut down, to hack’. East Chadic **gad-* ‘to split’ > Tumulak *gaad-* ‘to split’; Ndam *gəda* ‘to split’. Cushitic: Bilin *gad-* ‘to smite, to hit’; Beja / Beḏawye *gaddūm*, *gadūm* ‘axe’; Afar *gadumaa* ‘axe’; Somali *gaduumo* ‘axe’. Reinisch 1895:91. Orël—Stolbova 1995:196, no. 868, **gad-* ‘to cut, to split’, 197, no. 872, **gadum-* ‘cut; axe, hoe’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṭi* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to cut away’, *kaṭi* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to cut into pieces’, *kaṭikai* ‘piece cut off’; Malayalam *kaṭiyuka* ‘to clear bamboos from thorns’; Kannaḍa *kaḍi* ‘to cut, to chop, to fell, to cut off, to dig (as well, ditch)’, *kaḍi*, *kaḍita*, *kaḍa*, *kaḍata*, *kaḍuku* ‘cutting, a cut, portion cut off, chip, bit’, *kaḍiyuvike* ‘cutting’, *kaḍisu*, *kaḍiyisu* ‘to cause to cut’, *kaḍitale* ‘sword’; Tuḷu *kaḍiyuni* ‘to be cut in two’, *kaḍi* ‘small fragment, bit’, *kaḍpuni*, *kaḍupuni* ‘to cut, to fell’, *kaḍḍāṭa* ‘cutting, fighting’, *kaḍṭa*, *gaḍi* ‘a cut, incision’, *kaḍtale* ‘a long-edged sword’; Telugu *kaḍi* ‘a morsel, a mouthful’, *kaḍi-kaḍalu* ‘fragments, bits, pieces’; Kuṛux *xatṭnā* (*xatṭyas*) ‘to divide, to separate into several sets or parts, to portion out’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:106, no. 1125.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ghodh-* ‘to hit, to strike’: Avestan *gaḏō* ‘plague, murderer’, *gaḏa-* ‘club, stick’; Greek (Hesychius) κοθώ ‘harm, damage’; Czech *u-hodit-* ‘to strike’. Mann 1984—1987:327 **ghodh-* ‘to hit, to strike’; Beekes 2010.I:729—730.
- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **katya* ‘adze’: Chukchi *yatya-tko-* ‘to chop with adze’, *yatte* ‘adze’; Koryak *yatte* ‘adze’, *yacya-tku-* ‘to chop with adze’; Kerek *hacci* ‘adze’, *Xali-yatya-ttu-* ‘to chop with adze’; Alyutor *yatya-tku-* ‘to chop with adze’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *kasf* ‘axe’. Fortescue 2005:128.
- E. Proto-Eskimo **kaḍuy-* ‘to strike (with an instrument)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kauy-* ‘to strike with an object’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kauy-* ‘to strike with an object’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *kaaw-* ‘to strike with a hammer’; Central Siberian Yupik *kaaw-* ‘to strike with a hammer’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kauk-* ‘to strike with a hammer’; North Alaskan Inuit *kauk-*

‘hammer’; Western Canadian Inuit *kauk-* ‘hammer’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kauk-* ‘to hit with an object’; Greenlandic Inuit *kaat-* ‘hammer’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:151. Proto-Eskimo **kað(ð)uyun* and **kaðuyutar* ‘hammer’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kau<y>utaq* ‘club’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kauyun* ‘hammer’; Central Siberian Yupik *kaayusiq* ‘hammer’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kažžuun, kažžuutaq* ‘hammer’; North Alaskan Inuit *kautaq* ‘hammer’; Western Canadian Inuit *kautaq* ‘hammer’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kautaq* ‘hammer’; Greenlandic Inuit *kaataq* ‘hammer’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:151.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.22 cut; 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 12.23 separate (vb.).

368. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gad-a* ‘kid, young goat’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gad-* ‘kid, young goat’: Proto-Semitic **gady-* ‘kid, young billy-goat’ > Akkadian *gadū* ‘male kid’; Ugaritic *gdy* ‘kid’; Hebrew *gəḏī* [גְּדִי] ‘kid’; Punic *gdʔ* ‘kid’; Aramaic *gadyā* ‘kid’; Arabic *ḡady* (pl. *ḡidāʔ*) ‘kid, young billy-goat’. D. Cohen 1970— :100—101; Murtonen 1989:127; Klein 1987:91. (?) Chadic: Hausa *gàdāa* ‘duiker’; Ngizim *gádùwà* ‘crested duiker’; Dghwede *gə̀də̀gírè* ‘duiker’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II: 112—113.

Militarëv—Nikolaev (2021:348—349) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **guday-* ‘a kind of larger bovid’ on the basis of the following evidence: Semitic **gaday-* ‘kid’ > Ugaritic *gdy* ‘kid’; Phoenician *gdʔ* ‘goat’; Hebrew *gəḏī* ‘kid (of goat or sheep)’; Ancient Aramaic *gdh* ‘goat’; Syriac *gady-ā*; Mandaic *gadi-a*; Arabic *ḡady-* ‘kid’, *ḡadāy-at-* ‘gazelle; petit de gazelle’ (‘young gazelle’) [*Gazella gazella*]. (?) North Berber **-gVnd-uz* ‘bull, calf’ > Rif *a-yenduz* ‘taureau’ (‘bull’); Snus *a-yenduz*; Shenwa *a-genduz*; Kabyle *a-genduz*; Sened *a-gendus* ‘calf’; etc. Chadic **ga/uday-*: West Chadic **ga/ud-* ‘a kind of larger bovid’ > Hausa *gàd-āa* ‘antelope, duiker’ [*Tragelaphus sp.*]; Kariya *gud-am*; Miya *gud-ən-zāku*; Pa’a *gud-an-cəka* ‘Western kob’ [*Kobus sp.*]; Ngizim *gád-ùwà* ‘duiker’ [*Tragelaphus sp.*]. Central Chadic **gVday-* > Zime-Batna *gódây* ‘buck’. Cushitic **gad-* and **gund-* ‘a kind of larger bovid’: East Cushitic **gad-am-*: Lowland East Cushitic **gad-am-* > Oromo *gad-am-sa* ‘greater kudu’ [*Tragelaphus strepsiceros*]; Dirayta *gad-an-sa, gad-am-sa* ‘antelope’. Highland East Cushitic **gud-* > Sidamo *god-a* ‘deer, gazelle’. Southern Cushitic **gwand-* > Iraqw *gwand-a*; Alagwa *gwand-o* ‘ram’; Burunge *gond-i* ‘old ram’. North Omotic **gayd-* (met.) > Zayse *gaaid-é* ‘cattle’, *gaid-é-endo* ‘buffalo’.

Comments: (1) Some of the forms compared by Militarëv—Nikolaev are too semantically divergent and should, consequently, be removed from this etymology. (2) The sound correspondences, especially the vowels, do not always match. (3) The cumulative evidence from the daughter languages points to *-a- rather than *-u- as the root vowel in the Afrasian proto-form.

- B. Proto-Dravidian *kaṭ-ac- ‘young male animal’: Tamil *kaṭavu*, *kaṭā*, *kaṭāy* ‘male of sheep or goat, he-buffalo’, *kiṭā* ‘buffalo, bull, ram’, *kiṭāy* ‘male of sheep’, *kaṭāri*, *kiṭāri* ‘heifer, young cow that has not calved’, *kaṭamai* ‘female of the goat’; Malayalam *kaṭā*, *kiṭā*, *kaṭāvu* ‘male of cattle, young and vigorous; child, young person’, *kaṭacci* ‘heifer, young cow, calf’, *kiṭāri* ‘a cow-calf, heifer; female buffalo’; Kannaḍa *kaḍasu* ‘young cow or buffalo that has not yet calved’; Koḍagu *kaḍici* ‘young cow or buffalo that has not yet calved’; Tuḷu *gaḍasu* ‘young cow or buffalo that has not yet calved’; Gondi *kārā* ‘young buffalo’; Kuṛux *karā* ‘young male buffalo’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:106, no. 1123; Krishnamurti 2003:12 *kaṭ-ac- ‘young male animal’, 16 *kaṭ-ac- ‘young male animal’, 123 *kaṭ-aca- ‘male of cattle, heifer’, and 160 *kaṭ-ac- ‘male of a domestic animal’.
- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *kətepa ‘mountain sheep’: Chukchi *kətepalyən* ‘mountain sheep’; Kerek *kəciipaṅa* ‘mountain sheep’; Koryak *kətep(a)* ‘mountain sheep’; Alyutor *ktip(a)* ‘mountain sheep’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *qtep* (Western, Sedanka *ktep*) ‘mountain sheep’. Fortescue 2005:153; Mudrak 1989b:100 *kətepa ‘mountain goat’.

Buck 1949:3.36 goat; 3.37 he-goat; 3.38 kid. Dolgopolsky 1998:48—49, no. 49, *gadi (or *gati ?) ‘kid, young goat’.

Note: Proto-Indo-European *gʰayt'o- (traditional reconstruction *ghaido- or *ġhaido- [cf. Pokorny 1959:409]) ‘goat’ does not belong here! It is only attested in Italic and Germanic (cf. Lehmann 1986:140—141; Mallory—Adams 1997:229), and it gives every indication of being a borrowing from a non-Indo-European source (cf. De Vaan 2008:278; Diakonoff 1985:130 and 132; Kroonen 2013:163—164; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:769 and I:862), Dolgopolsky’s (2008, no. 603) objection notwithstanding.

369. Proto-Nostratic root *gal- (~ *gəl-):

(vb.) *gal- ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’;

(n.) *gal-a ‘cut, break, tear, separation’

Derivative:

(vb.) *gal- ‘to dig, scoop, or hollow out’ (> ‘to plow’);

(n.) *gal-a ‘the act of digging, scooping, or hollowing out’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *g[a]l- ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’: Proto-Semitic *gal-al- ‘to to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’ > Geez /

- Ethiopic *galla* [ገለ], *gallala* [ገለለ] ‘to separate, to pick out, to choose, to set aside, to move aside, to winnow’, *gəlāl* [ገለል] ‘matter picked out (gleanings), winnowed or cleared grain’; Tigrinya *gälälä* ‘to move away from a place, to make way’; Amharic *gäläl alä* ‘to make way, to depart’. D. Cohen 1970— :125—129; Leslau 1987:191. Proto-Semitic **gal-ay-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *galaya* [ገለየ] ‘to cut off, to cut away, to pluck off, to break off, to separate, to divide’; Amharic *gällälä* ‘to cut (wood)’; Harari *gäläla* ‘to cut the fingernails, to cut the edges, to remove impurities from the surface’. Leslau 1963:71 and 1987:192—193; D. Cohen 1970— :120—122. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gal-gal-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *galgala* [ገለገለ] ‘to lay bear, to empty, to evacuate, to separate, to pillage, to destroy’; Tigre *gälgälä* ‘to tear off and split’; Tigrinya *g^wäl^wälä* ‘to take out’; Amharic *gäläggälä* ‘to uproot’. Leslau 1987:190; D. Cohen 1970— :118. Berber: Tuareg *ağəlhim* ‘hoe’; Nefusa *agəlzim* ‘axe, hoe’; Ghadames *ağəlzim*, *ağərzim* ‘hatchet’; Tamazight *agəlzim* ‘pick, pickaxe’, *tiğəlzimt* ‘pickaxe, hatchet, hoe’; Riff *agəlzim* ‘pick, pickaxe’; Kabyle *agəlzim* ‘pick, pickaxe’, *tagəlzimt* ‘hatchet’.
- B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *kal^agnā* (*kalgas/kalgyas*), *kal^aknā* (*kalkyas*) ‘to bite so as to disable, to open or unhusk with the teeth’; Malto *kalge* ‘to break off a part with the teeth’, *kalke* ‘to bite off’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1315.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **gal-/gl-* ‘to tear, to pick; to break, to burst’: Georgian *gal-/gl-* ‘to tear, to pick; to break, to burst’; Svan *gl-/gil-* ‘to tear, to break’, *na-gil* ‘piece, bit’. Klimov 1964:63 **gl-* and 1998:26 **gal-/gl-* ‘to tear, to pick; to break, to burst’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:75—76 **gal-*; Fähnrich 2007:94—95 **gal-*. Proto-Kartvelian **gl-ežg-/gl-ižg-/gl-žg-* ‘to tear, to break’: Georgian *glež-/gliž-/g(l)ž-* ‘to tear, to break’; Mingrelian *gurž-on-* ‘to tear, to break’. Fähnrich 2007:108—109 **glaž-/glež-/gliž-/glž-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:86—87 **glež-/gliž-/glž-*; Klimov 1964:63 **gl-* and 1998:30—31 **gl-ež-/gl-iž-/gl-ž-* ‘to tear, to break’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **ghel-/ghol-/ghl-* ‘to cut off’: Gothic *gilpa* ‘sickle’; Old Icelandic *gelda* ‘to castrate’, *geldr* ‘yielding no milk, dry’, *geldingr* ‘wether, eunuch’; Middle English *gelden* ‘to castrate, to geld’, *geldere* ‘gelder’, *geldinge* ‘gelding’ (Norse loans); Welsh *gylm* ‘knife, dagger’. Pokorny 1959:434 **ghel-* ‘to cut’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:629 **ghel-*; Watkins 1985:21 **ghel-* and 2000:29 **ghel-* ‘to cut’; Lehmann 1986:156 **ghel-* ‘to cut’; Orël 2003:124 Proto-Germanic **ǵaldinǵaz*, 124 **ǵaldiz* ~ **ǵaldjaz*, 124 **ǵaldjanan*; Kroonen 2013:164 Proto-Germanic **gald(j)a-* ‘barren, not (yet) pregnant’ and 165—166 **galtan-* ‘(castrated) boar’; Feist 1939:215 **ghel-*; De Vries 1977:162—163 **ghel-*; Onions 1966:392; Klein 1971:306.
- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kəlvə-* ‘to make a notch or mark’: Chukchi *kəlvə-* ‘to make a notch or mark’, *kəlvə tajkəjo* ‘carving’, *kəlvəyəryən*,

kəlwəkəl ‘notch, line, mark’; Koryak *kəlvəyəjjən* ‘notch, mark’, *kəlyəkəl* ‘notch or step, knot on a counting string’; Alyutor *kəlv-* ‘notch, mark’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *kəlvə-nōm* ‘mark (on reindeer)’ (this may be a loan from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:146.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 12.23 separate (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:392—393, no. 229.

370. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **gəl-*):

- (vb.) **gal-* ‘to dig, scoop, or hollow out’ (> ‘to plow’);
 (n.) **gal-a* ‘the act of digging, scooping, or hollowing out’
 Derivative of:
 (vb.) **gal-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’;
 (n.) **gal-a* ‘cut, break, tear, separation’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gal-gal-* ‘to plow repeatedly’ > Gurage *gəläggälä* ‘to plow for the second time’; Amharic *gäläggälä* ‘to repeat, to plow for the second and third time’; Harari *giläggälä* ‘to repeat (referring to plowing)’. D. Cohen 1970— :118; Leslau 1963:71 and 1979:273.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kalappai* ‘plow, plowshare’; Malayalam *kalappa* ‘a plow and what belongs to it’; Telugu *kalapa* ‘materials for a plow, timber for buildings’; Kannada *kalapu* ‘materials for a house, for a plow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1304. Malayalam *kalluka* ‘to dig out, to excavate’; Tamil *kallu* (*kalli-*) ‘to dig out (as a hole), to hollow (as a rat), to excavate, to scoop out (as a nut), to erode’, *kellu* (*kelli-*) ‘to dig’; Kota *kelv-* (*kelt-*) ‘to dig with fingers or paws’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1319.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ghel-/ *ghol-/ *ghl̥-* ‘(vb.) to plow; (n.) a plow’: Sanskrit *halá-h* ‘a plow’; Armenian *jlem* ‘to plow’; Lithuanian *žiuolis* ‘sleeper, tie’. Pokorny 1959:434 **ghel-* ‘to cut’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:629 **ghel-*; Watkins 1985:21 **ghel-* and 2000:29 **ghel-* ‘to cut’; Smoczyński 2007.1:792.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow; 8.22 dig. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:393—394, no. 230.

371. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gal-a* ‘pot, vessel’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gal-* ‘pot, vessel’: Egyptian *gn-t* [**gl-*] ‘vessel, container (for wine)’, *gngn-t* [**gl-gl-*] ‘vessel, container (for milk)’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:173 and 5:177; Hannig 1995:901 and 902. West Chadic **gal-* ‘calabash’ > Warji *galiya* ‘calabash’; Kariya *gali* ‘calabash’; Geji *gale* ‘calabash’; Burma *kal* ‘calabash’; Buli *gal* ‘calabash’. Central Chadic **gal-* ‘pot’ > Banana *gala* ‘pot’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:199, no. 878, **gal-* ‘vessel’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kalam* ‘vessel, plate, utensil, earthenware, ship’; Malayalam *kalam* ‘pot, vessel, ship’; Kota *kalm* (obl. *kalt-*) ‘clay pot in the making’; Kannada *kala* ‘pot, vessel’; Koḍagu *kala* ‘big pot’; Tuḷu *kara* ‘an earthen vessel’; Telugu *kalamu* ‘ship’; (?) Brahui *kaland* ‘broken earthen pot, any old pot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1305.

Sumerian *gal* ‘cup, beaker, goblet; a large pitcher or jug’.

Buck 1949:5.26 pot.

372. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **gəl-*):
- (vb.) **gal-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, obvious, evident; to regard, to look at, to peer at’;
- (n.) **gal-a* ‘visibility, clarity, understanding’; (adj.) ‘clear, plain, evident’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **gal-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, obvious, evident; to regard, to look at, to peer at’: Proto-Semitic **gal-ay-* ‘to be or become shining, bright, clear, clean; to make shining, bright, clear, clean’ > Arabic *ġalā* ‘to clean, to polish; to make clear, to clear up, to clarify, to reveal, to disclose, to unveil; to shine, to be brilliant; to distinguish (oneself); to regard, to look at’, *ġalīy* ‘clear, plain, evident’, *ġalayān* ‘vision, revelation’; Hebrew *gālāh* [גָּלָה] ‘to uncover, to reveal, to disclose’; Phoenician *gly* ‘to uncover’; Aramaic *gālā* ‘to reveal’; Ḥarsūsi *gelō* ‘to clean (a wound)’; Geez / Ethiopic *galaya* [ገለየ] ‘to explain, to interpret, to reveal, to disclose’, *gəlyat* [ገለየት] ‘explanation, interpretation’. D. Cohen 1970— :120; Murtonen 1989:134—135; Leslau 1987:192—193; Klein 1987:99; Zammit 2002:125. Proto-Semitic **gal-ah-* ‘to be visible, clear, obvious, evident’ > Tigrinya *gälhe* ‘to reveal’, *g^wälhi*, *g^wäl* ‘visible’, *guläh* ‘visible’; Gurage *guläh* ‘clear, evident’; Amharic *guläh* ‘evident, visible, obvious, plain (clear)’, *g^wälla* ‘to be clear, to stand out’, *ag^wälla* ‘to make clear, to magnify, to accentuate, to amplify, to emphasize’. D. Cohen 1970— :120; Leslau 1979:273. Egyptian (Demotic) *glp*, *grp* ‘to reveal, to uncover’; Coptic *čōlp* [ϣⲟⲗⲡ] ‘to uncover, to reveal’. Vycichl 1983:339; Černý 1976:328. Proto-Southern Cushitic **gal-* or **gaal-* ‘to look at or look over’ > K’wadza *gal-* ‘to see’; Ma’a *-galí* ‘to try’. Ehret 1980:235. Chadic: Zaar *gali* ‘to see’. Ehret 1995:183, no. 276, **gal-* ‘to show’.
- B. (?) Dravidian: Kannada *gālaka* ‘a good, proper man’; Telugu *gālakūḍu* ‘a clever, ingenious man’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:139, no. 1496. For the semantics, cf. Old English *glēaw* ‘quick-sighted, sagacious, wise, prudent, clever, skillful, skilled in’, Old High German *glau* ‘intelligent’, and Welsh *glew* ‘clever’, cited below.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **gal-* ‘to know, to be acquainted with, to understand’: Georgian *gal-* in *a-gan-gal-a-ob-a* name of a children’s game; Svan (reduplicated) *gan-gal-* (< **gal-gal-*) ‘to know, to be acquainted with, to

understand'. Fährnich—Sardshweladse 1995:76 *gal-; Fährnich 2007:95 *gal-.

- D. Proto-Indo-European *g^hel-/ *g^hol-/ *g^hl̥-: *g^hl-en-d^h- 'to be or become visible, clear, obvious, evident; to regard, to look at, to peer at': Old Irish *glinn* 'pure, clear'; Middle High German *glins* 'glint, shine'; Old Church Slavonic *po-glědъ* 'aspect', *glězdō*, *glědēti* 'to see, to look'; Russian *gljadēt'* [глядеть] 'to look (at), to peer (at), to gaze (upon)'; Serbo-Croatian *glědati* 'to look, to see'; Old Polish *ględać* 'to look at'; Bulgarian *glėdam* 'to look at'; Latvian *glēnst* 'to (barely) perceive'. Rix 1998a:178—179 *g^hlend^h- 'to look or gaze at; to shine'; Mann 1984—1987:323 *g^hlendō, -iō 'to be clear, to be open, to shine', 323 *g^hlendos 'clear, open, bright; clarity, gleam'; Kroonen 2013:181 Proto-Germanic *g^hlantan- 'to shine, to look'; Derksen 2008:264 *g^hlend-. Proto-Indo-European *g^hl-ewH-/ *g^hl-owH-/ *g^hl-uH- 'clear, evident' > Gothic *glaggwaba* 'diligently'; Old Icelandic *glöggr* 'clear, distinct'; Old Swedish *glugga* 'to look, to lurk'; Old English *glēaw* 'quick-sighted, sagacious, wise, prudent, clever, skillful, skilled in'; Old High German *glau* 'intelligent' (New High German [dial.] *glau* 'bright, lively, quick'); Welsh *glew* 'clever'; Cornish *glew* 'bright, sharp'. Mann 1984—1987:324 *g^hleu-, *g^hleu- 'bright, keen, clever'; Orël 2003:136 Proto-Germanic *g^hlawwaz; Kroonen 2013:180 Proto-Germanic *g^hlawwa- 'sharp-sighted'; Feist 1939:216 *g^hlou-; Lehmann 1951:43, §4.42b, and 1986:157; De Vries 1977:177 *g^hleu-. Note: In Indo-European, some of the reflexes of this stem fell together with those of Proto-Nostratic *gil- (~ *gel-) 'to shine, to glisten'.
- E. Proto-Altaiic *gälV 'clear (of sky, weather)': Proto-Tungus *galu- 'clear (of sky, weather)' > Manchu *galga* 'clear (of weather)'; Ulch *galu-galu bi* 'clear (of sky, weather)'; Orok *gāl-* 'clear (of sky, weather)'; Nanay / Gold *galga* 'clear (of sky, weather)'. Proto-Turkic *K(i)ali- '(vb.) to clear up (of sky); (n.) sky' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qaliq* 'sky'; Karakhanide Turkic (*kök*) *qariq* 'sky'; (?) Chuvash *yāl-* 'to shine, to glitter'; Yakut *kiley-χaley* 'shining', *χalīn-* 'to clear up (of sky)', *χallān* 'clear sky, good weather'; Dolgan *kallān* 'sky'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:528 *gälV 'clear (of sky, weather)'.

Buck 1949:15.51 see; 15.52 look, look at; 17.17 know; 17.34 clear, evident. [Bomhard—Kerns 1994:390—392, no. 228.]

373. Proto-Nostratic *gal- (~ *gəl-):

- (vb.) *gal- 'to cry out, to shout, to clamor; to be noisy, boisterous';
 (n.) *gal-a 'clamor, uproar, tumult, disturbance, turmoil, noise'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *gal-ab- 'to cry out, to shout, to clamor; to be noisy, boisterous' > Arabic *ğalaba* 'to shout, to clamor; to be noisy,

- boisterous’, *ǵalab* ‘clamor, uproar, tumult, turmoil’, *ǵalbada-t* ‘neigh’, *ǵalbaḳa-t* ‘clamor, noise, tumult’. D. Cohen 1970— :116—117 and 117.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kalipali*, *kalipili* ‘uproar, disturbance, quarrel, wrangle’; Tuḷu *galibili* ‘disorder, tumult, anarchy’, *galabu* ‘tumult, confusion, noise’; Kannaḍa *galabali*, *galabili*, *galibili* ‘disorder, confusion’, *galabe* ‘hubbub, clamor’; Telugu *galibili*, *galaba* ‘confusion, noise, disturbance’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1310.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **g^hel-/*g^hol-/*g^hl̥-* ‘to cry out, to shout, to clamor; to be noisy, boisterous’: Old Icelandic *gjalla* ‘to scream, to shriek’, *gala* ‘to crow (cock); to cry, to scream; to sing, to chant’, *gal* ‘screaming, howling’; Faroese *gella* ‘to scream, to shriek’; Swedish *gälla* ‘to scream, to shriek’; Danish *gjalde* ‘to scream, to shriek’; Norwegian (dial.) *gjella* ‘to scream, to shriek’; Old English *giellan* ‘to scream, to cry out, to shout, to sound’, *galan* ‘to sing; to scream (of birds)’; Old High German *gellan* ‘to make a shrill sound’ (New High German *gellen*), *galan* ‘to bewitch’, *galm* ‘outcry’; Middle High German *gal* ‘sound, note’. Pokorny 1959:428 **ghel-* ‘to call’; Walde 1927—1932.I:538—539 **gal-* (also **ghel-*), I:628 **ghel-*; Mann 1984—1987:318 **ghelsos* ‘voice, sound, noise’, 330 **gholjō* ‘to weep, to cry’, 330 **gholos* ‘cry, noise’; Kroonen 2013:164 Proto-Germanic **galan-* ‘to shout, to sing, to chant’ and 174 **gellan-* ‘to sound, to yell’; Orël 2003:123—124 Proto-Germanic **ǵalanan*, 131 **ǵellanan*; De Vries 1977:153 and 169—170; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:22; Torp 1919:157; Onions 1966:1019; Klein 1971:837 **ghel-* ‘to cry out, to call, to shout, to sing’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:245 **ghel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:2555.

Buck 1949:18.13 shout, cry out.

374. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **gəl-*):
- (vb.) **gal-* ‘to ache, to be in pain, to be ill, to suffer’;
- (n.) **gal-a* ‘ache, pain, disease, illness’
- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **gal-aw-* ‘to ache, to be in pain, to be ill, to have a fever’ > Harsūsi *gēlew* ‘to have a fever’, *gōlew* ‘fever’; Soqotri *gôle?* ‘fever’; Mehri *gēlāw* ‘to be ill, to have a fever, to have a short illness’, *gōlāw* ‘fever’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ǵīzi/yǵól* ‘to be ill, to have a fever’, *ǵóle?* ‘fever’, *ǵélé?* ‘ill’. D. Cohen 1970— :120—122. Tigre *ǵele* ‘weak, miserable’, *ǵolāli ǵäʔa* ‘to suffer pain (head, body), to have no power’; Amharic *ag^wlalla* ‘to mistreat, to inflict hardship on’. D. Cohen 1970— : 125 and 126.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **glo(w)-* ‘to grieve’: Georgian *glov-* ‘to grieve, to deplore’, *glova-* ‘grief’; Mingrelian *rg(v)-* ‘to grieve, to deplore’. Klimov 1964:63 **glo-* and 1998:31 **glo(w)-* ‘to grieve, to deplore’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:86 **gl-*; Fähnrich 2007:107—108 **gl-*; Schmidt 1962: 101 **gel-*.

- C. Proto-Indo-European (**ghel-/*)**ghol-* ‘(vb.) to ache, to be in pain, to be ill, to suffer; (n.) ache, pain, disease, illness’: Hittite (acc. sg.) *kal-la-ra-an* ‘inauspicious, unpropitious, nefarious, baleful, enormous, monstrous’; Old Irish *galar* ‘disease, illness’; Welsh *galar* ‘grief’; Lithuanian *žalà* ‘hurt, harm, injury’. Pokorny 1959:411 **ghal-*, **ghal-ar-* ‘physical defect, infirmity, affliction, ailment’; Walde 1927—1932.I:540 **ghal-*, **ghal-ar-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1286; Smoczyński 2007.1:771 **ghal-*; Puhvel 1984— .4:20—21; Kloekhorst 2008b:429 **ǵ^(h)olH-ro-* or **ǵ^(h)olH-ro-* (?); Derksen 2015:511 **ǵ^holh₃₋*.

Buck 1949:16.31 pain, suffering; 16.32 grief, sorrow. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 612, **giL[U]* ‘illness, pain, distress’, and no. 615b, **go|lV* ‘to weep’.

375. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gal-a* ‘blemish, fault, scar, sore on the skin’:

- A. Dravidian: Malayalam *kala* ‘mark as of smallpox, scar, mole’; Kannaḍa *kale*, *kali* ‘scar of an old wound, mark of smallpox; stain of mud, oil, etc.’; Koḍagu *kale* ‘scar, white spot on nail’; Tuḷu *kalè* ‘scar, mark, blemish, stain’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1313.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ghal-* ‘blemish, fault, sore on the skin’: Old Icelandic *galli* ‘defect, fault, flaw’; Old Swedish *galli* ‘defect, fault, flaw’; Old English *gealla* ‘a sore on the skin’; Middle Low German *galle* ‘a sore place on the skin’; Middle High German *galle* ‘flaw, defect; boil, blister; swelling, protuberance (on the skin of horses)’ (New High German *Galle*). Pokorny 1959:411 **ghal-*, **ghal-ar-* ‘physical defect, infirmity, affliction, ailment’; Walde 1927—1932.I:540 **ghal-*; Orël 2003:124 Proto-Germanic **ǵallōn*; Kroonen 2013:165 Proto-Germanic **galra-* ‘swelling (?)’; De Vries 1977:154; Onions 1966:386; Klein 1971:302; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:229; Kluge—Seebold 1989:242.

Buck 1949:16.76 fault, guilt.

376. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **ǵal-*):

- (vb.) **gal-* ‘to be strong, powerful; to be able’;
 (n.) **gal-a* ‘strength, power, ability’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ǧulabiz* ‘hard, brave’; Amharic *gulgūt* ‘knee, strength, might, vigor, energy, effort’; Tigre *ǵalb* ‘stronghold, safety; fidelity, firmness, given word’. D. Cohen 1970— :117.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kali* ‘strength, force’, *kaliyan* ‘warrior’; Kannaḍa *kali* ‘man noted for valor and prowess; warrior, hero’, *kalitana* ‘valor, heroism’; Telugu (in inscriptions) *kalitanamu* ‘bravery’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1308.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **g^hal-* '(vb.) to be strong, powerful; to be able; (n.) strength, power, ability': Old Irish *gal* 'fighting, valor'; Middle Welsh *gallu* 'to be able'; Middle Breton *gal* 'might, ability'; Cornish *gallos* 'ability, power'; Lithuanian *galiù*, *galėti* 'to be able (to)', *galià* 'might, power'. Pokorny 1959:351 **gal-* or **ghal-* 'to be able to'; Walde 1927—1932.I:539—540 **gal-* or **ghal-*; Mann 1984—1987:311—312 **ghal-* '(adj.) hard, strong, able; (n.) hardness, strength, ability', 312 **ghalmos* 'fort, keep, lock-up'; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:131; Smoczyński 2007.1:154.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 9.95 can, may (3rd sg.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 868, **ka[h]lV* '(n.) power, force; (vb.) to be able'.

377. Proto-Nostratic root **gam-* (~ **gəm-*):

(vb.) *gam-* 'to bend, to be bent';

(n.) *gam-a* 'a bent or curved object: hook; wrist, ankle; etc.'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gam-* 'to bend, to be bent': Proto-Semitic **gam-at̪-* 'to bend, to be bent' > Geez / Ethiopic *gamaša*, *gammaša* [ገመሻ], *gamaḍa* [ገመፀ] 'to incline, to bend, to be bent, to bow down; to pervert (justice), to be partial (in justice)'; Tigre *gəmčuy* 'crooked, perverted'; Tigrinya *gämäšä* 'to tell a lie'; Amharic *gämmätä* 'to speak ill (of an absent person)'. Leslau 1987:195—196; D. Cohen 1970— :143—144. Akkadian *gamlu* 'bent or curved stick (as projectile), throwing-stick', *gamliš* (adv.) 'like a bent (throwing-)stick, like a *gamlu*'. Perhaps also Ugaritic *gml*, if the meaning is 'sickle'. D. Cohen 1970— :139. Egyptian *gmht* 'a braid or plait of hair, a lock of hair, a tress; temple(s) (of head)'. Hannig 1995:900; Faulkner 1962:289; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:171. Berber: Tuareg *iğəm* 'tent post to which the door is attached (for example, cord attached to the part of the canopy holding the door in place)', *tağma* 'nipple'; Siwa *gum* 'pivot of mill'; Ghadames *uğəm* 'pivot of the millstone of a home mill'; Wargla *asgum* 'axle, pivot, spindle'; Tamazight *agum* 'breechblock, pivot of mill'; Kabyle *agum* 'pivot of mill'.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **g^hem-/g^hom-/g^hḡ-* 'to bend down, to incline': Armenian *gmem* 'to lie down'. Mann 1984—1987:348 **ghumbhō* 'to bend, to incline, to lie down'. Note: The Lithuanian form cited by Mann is phonologically ambiguous. It has been placed under Proto-Nostratic **k'um-* (~ **k'om-*) 'to bend, to curve; to bend the head or body, to bow or stoop down' below. The following probably belong here as well: Lithuanian *gėmbė* 'wooden hook'; Armenian *gam* 'hook, catch, bracket, nail'. Mann 1984—1987:330 **ghombh-* (?) 'claw, hook; harpy, hawk, vulture'. Note: The Old Icelandic forms cited by Mann are loanwords from Middle High German, ultimately from Romance (cf. De Vries 1977:155).
- C. Proto-Eskimo **qaməŋar* 'ankle bone': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Koniag) *qamaŋaq* 'ankle bone'; Central Alaskan Yupik *qamaŋaq* 'ankle bone';

Naukan Siberian Yupik *qamaṅuaq* ‘pelvis’; North Alaskan Inuit *qamṅaq* ‘ankle’; Greenlandic Inuit (North Greenlandic) *qamṅak* ‘ankle or wrist bone’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:282.

Sumerian *gam* ‘to bend, to be bent’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 12.75 hook. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 634, *g[u]m[V]çV ‘to incline, to bow, to bend’.

378. Proto-Nostratic root *gam- (~ *gəm-):

(vb.) *gam- ‘to fill (up)’;

(n.) *gam-a ‘plenty, surplus, abundance’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *gam- ‘(vb.) to fill (up); (adj.) full, abundant, plentiful, much’: Proto-Semitic *gam-am- ‘(vb.) to fill (up); (adj.) full, abundant, plentiful, much’ > Arabic *ḡamma* ‘to gather; to collect (one’s thoughts); to grow luxuriantly’, *ḡamm* ‘(adj.) abundant, plentiful; much, a great deal of; many, numerous; manifold, multiple; (n.) crowd, group of people’, *maḡamm* ‘place where something gathers or flows together’; Maghrebi *ḡamm* ‘to be near, to be abundant, to be full’, *ḡammam* ‘to fill to the brim’; Šheri / Jibbāli *gimm* ‘(water) to gather again after being depleted’; Hebrew *gam* [גַּם] ‘also, moreover’; (?) Punic *gm* ‘majesty’. Klein 1987:102; D. Cohen 1970— :141—142; Tomback 1978:66; Zammit 2002:126. Berber: Kabyle *əgməm* ‘to amass, to accumulate’, *ggəmgəm* ‘to be full to the brim; to be swarming, teeming, or bustling with people; to froth, to seethe, to bubble up’ (these may be Arabic loans). West Chadic *gamu- ‘to fill, to be full’ > Sura *gam* ‘to fill, to be full’; Tal *gām* ‘to fill, to be full’; Angas *gam* ‘to fill, to be full’; Montol *gum* ‘to fill, to be full’; Ankwe *gam* ‘to fill, to be full’; Bolewa *gom* ‘to fill, to be full’; Pero *kem* ‘to fill, to be full’; Ngamo *ḡgama* ‘to fill, to be full’. Jungraiṭhmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II: 156—157. Orël—Stolbova 1995:201, no. 888, *gam- ‘to be full’.
- B. Dravidian: Kui *gāmpa* (*gāmbi-*) ‘(vb.) to exceed, to increase, to surpass, to be much or many; (n.) increase, excess’, *gāme* ‘much, many, excessive, very’, *gāppa* (*gāpt-*) ‘to cause to increase, to make more of, to make larger’, *gāpsi* ‘much, more, excessively’, *gāminanji* ‘eldest (son)’; Kuwi *gaph’nai* ‘to increase’, *wenḍe gāph’nai* ‘to multiply’, *gaphihi hīnai* ‘to overpay’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:135, no. 1457.

Buck 1949:13.15 much; many; 13.19 multitude, crowd; 13.21 full. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 629, *g[A]mV (and *g[A]mçV ?) ‘altogether, full’ and no. 630, *g[e]mV ‘strong, firm’.

379. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gaŋ-a* (with different extensions in the various daughter languages: **gaŋ-sʷ-* and/or **gaŋ-s-*, **gaŋ-tʷ-*, etc. and sporadic loss of *ŋ*) ‘a waterfowl, an aquatic bird: goose, duck, etc.’:
- A. (?) Afrasian: Egyptian (**gaŋ-sʷ-* > **gasʷ-* >) *gš* ‘a migratory bird’. Hannig 1995:908; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:208.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) *kaṅkaṅam* ‘a waterfowl’; Telugu *kaṅkaṅamu* ‘a large bustard with a red head’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:102, no. 1083.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ghans-* ‘goose’: Sanskrit *hamsá-h* ‘goose, gander, swan’; Greek *χῆν* (Doric *χῆν*) (< **χανσ-*) ‘goose’; Latin *ānser* (< **hānser*) ‘goose’; Old Irish *géis* (< **gansī*) ‘swan’; Old Icelandic *gás* ‘goose’; Swedish *gås* ‘goose’; Danish *gaas* ‘goose’; Old English *gōs* ‘goose’; Old Frisian *gōs* ‘goose’; Middle Low German *gōs* ‘goose’; Dutch *gans* ‘goose’; Old High German *gans* ‘goose’ (New High German *Gans*); Lithuanian *žąsis* ‘goose’; Latvian *zūoss* ‘goose’; Russian *gus’* [гусь] ‘goose’; Polish *gęś* ‘goose’; Old Czech *hus* ‘goose’. Pokorny 1959:412 **ghan-s-* ‘goose’; Walde 1927—1932.I:536 **ghans-*; Mann 1984—1987:411 **ghansis* ‘goose’, 314 **ghansis* ‘goose’; Watkins 1985:21 **ghans-* and 2000:28 **ghans-* ‘goose’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:542 **g[ʰ]ans-* and 1995.I:460 **ghans-* ‘swan, goose’; Mallory—Adams 1997:236 **ghan-s* ‘goose’; Boisacq 1950:1058; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1256—1257 **ghāns-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1094—1095 **ghans-*; Hofmann 1966:417 **ghans-*; Beekes 2010.II:1630 **gh₂ens-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:36 **ghans-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:52 **ghans-*; De Vaan 2008:44; Kroonen 2013:168 Proto-Germanic **gans-* ‘goose’; Orël 2003:126 Proto-Germanic **zansz*; De Vries 1977:157; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:210—211; Onions 1966:406 **ghans-*; Klein 1971:318; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:231; Kluge—Seebold 1989:243—244 **ghans-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1292—1293; Smoczyński 2007.1:774 **ghans-*; Derksen 2008:184 and 2015:514 **gh₂ens-*.
- D. Proto-Uralic (**gaŋ-tʷ-* >) **katʷz* ~ (?) **kanʷtʷz* ‘wild duck’: Votyak / Udmurt *kwaši* ‘drake’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *kos* ‘a kind of duck with red legs and a pointed beak’, (Upper Demyanka) *χos* ‘a kind of large wild duck with a pointed beak’, (Kazym) *χos* ‘a large aquatic bird’; Selkup Samoyed *kueče* ‘wild gray duck’. Rédei 1986—1988:111 **kačz* ~ (?) **kańčz*; Décsy 1990:100 **katja* ‘wild duck’.
- E. Proto-Altaiic (**gaŋ-sʷ-* > **gasʷ-* >) **gaso* (~ -i) ‘aquatic bird’: Proto-Tungus **gasa* ‘aquatic bird’ > Manchu *gasxa* ‘large bird’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *gasəhə* ‘large bird’; Negidal *gasa* ‘swan’; Evenki *gasa* ‘crane’; Ulch *gasa* ‘duck’; Orok *gasa* ‘duck’, *gasawaqqu* ‘kite’; Nanay / Gold *gasa* ‘duck’; Oroch *gasa* ‘duck’; Udihe *gahä* ‘bird, duck’. Proto-Mongolian **geske* ‘fish-eagle’ > Written Mongolian *geske* ‘fish-eagle’; Kalmyk *geskə*

‘fish-eagle’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:532 **gaso* (~ -i) ‘crane, aquatic bird’.

- F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kæŋu* ‘a kind of small seagull’ > Chukchi *kaŋolʸən* (pl. *keŋut*) ‘a kind of small seagull’; Koryak *kaŋullʸaq* ‘a kind of small seagull’; Alyutor *kaŋulya* ‘a kind of seabird’. Note also Kamchadal / Itelmen (Western) *kennec* ‘seabird, merganser’. Fortescue 2005:133.
- G. Proto-Eskimo **kaŋur* ‘snow goose’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Alaskan Peninsula) *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’, (Prince William Sound) *kamuk* ‘brant’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’; Central Siberian Yupik *kaŋu* ‘snow goose’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’; North Alaskan Inuit *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’; Western Canadian Inuit *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’; Greenlandic Inuit *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:158.

Buck 1949:3.56 goose; 3.57 duck. Greenberg 2002:83, no. 182.

380. Proto-Nostratic root **gaŋ-* (~ **gəŋ-*):

(vb.) **gaŋ-* ‘to bend: to bend forward; to bend back; to bend to the side’;

(n.) **gaŋ-a* ‘side, corner, flank, edge’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gaŋ-* ‘(vb.) to bend; (n.) side, edge’: Proto-Semitic **gan-ah-* ‘to bend’, **gan-h-*, **gin-h-* ‘side, flank; wing’ > Arabic *ġinħ* ‘side, edge; shore, bank’, *ġanāħ* ‘wing (of a bird, of an airplane, of a building, of an army); side, edge, flank; shoulder, arm, hand’, *ġāniħ* ‘side, flank, wing’, *ġanaħa* ‘to incline, to be inclined; to lean (to or toward); to turn, to go over, to join, to associate oneself (with); to diverge, to depart, to turn away, to break (with)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ġēnaħ* ‘wing’; Soqotri *ganħ* ‘side’; Mehri *agōnāħ* ‘to fly’. D. Cohen 1970— :157; Zammit 2002:127. Proto-Semitic **gan-ab-* ‘to turn away from, to turn aside’, **gan-b-* ‘side’ > Arabic *ġanaba* ‘to keep away, to avert, to ward off (from someone or something), to keep someone out of the way, to spare; to be or walk by someone’s side; to run alongside of, to run parallel to, to skirt, to flank; to avoid (something)’, *ġanb* (prep.) ‘beside, next to, near, at’, *ġanba* ‘side, region, area’, *ġanbī* (adj.) ‘lateral, side’, *ġānib* ‘side; lateral portion; sidepiece; flank; wing; face (geometry); part, portion, partial amount; partial view, section (of a scene, picture, or panorama); quantity, amount; a certain number; a few, some’, *ġannābīya* ‘curb, embankment, levee; side channel, lateral (following a road or railroad tracks); bypass (of a lock or sluice)’; Arabic (Yemenite) *ġanb*, *ġamb* ‘shoulder’; Sabaeen *gnb* ‘to fight on the side of’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ganb* ‘side’; Harsūsi *yanb* ‘side’, *b-ayanb de* ‘beside’; Mehri *ganb* ‘side’, *gātṇab* ‘to take someone aside from others in a group’. D. Cohen 1970— :150—151; Zammit 2002:127. Egyptian *ḏnħ* ‘wing’, (?) *ḏnħ* ‘upper part of hind-leg, ham’. Hannig 1995:1008; Faulkner

1962:322; Erman—Grapow 1921:220 and 1926—1963.5:577—578, 5:578. Berber: Tuareg *ağən* ‘to crouch down, to squat’, *səğən* ‘to make crouch down (camel)’; Tamazight *gən* ‘to lie down, to sleep (by extension, to be confined to bed; to be flattened, bent, inclined); to be in labor’, *sgən* ‘to put to sleep’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *gən* ‘to lie down’; Kabyle *gən* ‘to lie down, to sleep’, *asg^wən* ‘bed’. Central Chadic: Zime *gan* ‘to bend’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:202, no. 891, **gan-* ‘leg’, 202, no. 893, **ganaḥ-* ‘to bend’, and 215—216, no. 954, **gonVḥ-* ‘elbow, shoulder, wing’, 224, no. 994 **gün-* ‘to bend’.

- B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *kaṇ* ‘place, site’; Malayalam *kaṇi* ‘a place’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:110, no. 1161. Assuming semantic development as in New High German *Ort* ‘place, spot, point, site’ < Old High German *ort* ‘point, edge, shore’ (cf. Kluge—Mitzka 1967:525; Kluge—Seebold 1989:520).
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **gan-* ‘side’: Georgian *gan-* ‘side; width, breadth’, *ga(n)-* preverb ‘outside, outwards’; Mingrelian [*gon-*] in *go-* preverb; Laz [*gon-*] in *go-* preverb. Klimov 1964:59 **ga-* and 1998:26 **gan-* ‘side’, **ga(n)-* preverb of direction ‘outside, outwards’ — according to Klimov, this preverb is derived from the noun **gan-* ‘side’; Fähnrich—Sardschweladse 1995:76—77 **gan-* prefix and preverb; Fähnrich 2007:95—96 **gan-*; Schmidt 1962:99.
- D. (?) Proto-Indo-European (**g^hen-*/**g^hn-* ‘to bend or stoop forward; to bend’ (Germanic only): Old Icelandic *gnapa* ‘to stoop or bend forward; to bend the head’, *gneppr* (poet.) ‘bent forward’, *gneypr* ‘bent forward, drooping’, *gnúfa* ‘to droop, to stoop’. De Vries 1977:178, 179, and 180.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **gaṇa-* ‘to bend (back); to be bent (back)’: Proto-Mongolian **gana-* ‘to bend (back); to be bent (back)’ > Written Mongolian *γandayi-* ‘to be(come) bent, curved, or depressed in the middle with upturned ends; to hold one’s chest out’, *γandari-* ‘to bend, to curve, to arch, to twist’, *γandayar* (adj.) ‘sunken; curved backward, arched, crooked; holding one’s chest out’; Khalkha *ganday-* ‘to be backward’, *gandgar* ‘bent backward; with the chest protruding’; Buriat *ganay-*, *ganaylza-* ‘to sit back’; Kalmyk *γandā-* ‘to be bent, curved’; Ordos *ganā-* ‘to be inclined backwards’. Proto-Turkic **Kaṇjir-* ‘to bend’ > Turkish *kanır-* ‘to force back; to bend; to attempt to force open’, *kanurık*, *kanrık* ‘perverse, very obstinate’; Azerbaijani *ganir-* ‘to bend’; Turkmenian *gaṇjir-* ‘to bend’; Uzbek (dial.) *qenir-* ‘to bend’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:540 **gēnṇa* ‘to bend’. Note: The Tungus forms cited by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak are problematic from both a semantic and a phonological point of view. Consequently, they are not included here.
- F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kæṇ(æt)-* ‘to bend’ > Chukchi *keṇet-* ‘to bend, to bow’, *rækeṇew-* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *kaṇat-γəryəṇ* ‘a bend in a river’, *keṇu-neṇ* ‘staff, stick’; Kerek *kaṇa(a)t-* ‘to twist, to wind, to bend, to lean forward’; Koryak *kaṇat-* ‘to bend’, *jə-kaṇ-av-* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *kaṇu-naṇ* ‘hook’, *kaṇat-γəjṇəṇ* ‘bend, elbow’; Alyutor *kaṇat-* (Palana *keṇet-*) ‘to

bend'. Fortescue 2005:132. Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **k'əŋ-* (~ **k'əŋ-*) '(vb.) to bend, twist, turn, or tie together; (n.) wreath, rope, cord, fiber, tie, band, string'.

- G. Proto-Eskimo **kaŋiɾar* 'corner': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kaŋiɾaq* 'bay', (Alaska Peninsula) 'corner post'; Central Alaskan Yupik *kaŋiɾaq* 'corner'; Central Siberian Yupik *kaŋiɾaq* 'corner, cove'; Sirenik *kaŋiɾaX* 'bay'; Seward Peninsula Inuit (Qawiaraq) *kaŋiɾaq* 'corral', *kaŋiɾaluk* 'corner'; North Alaskan Inuit *kaŋiɾaq* 'corral, blind for hunting caribou', *kaŋiɾalluk* 'corner'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:157. Proto-Eskimo **kaŋiɾ-ɬuy* 'bay': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Chugach) *kaŋiquluk* 'bay, cove'; Central Alaskan Yupik *kaŋiXɬuk* 'bay'; North Alaskan Inuit *kaŋiqɬuk* 'bay'; Western Canadian Inuit *kaŋiqɬuk* 'bay, fjord'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kaŋirsuk* 'bay'; Greenlandic Inuit *kaŋiɾɬuk* 'bay', (East Greenlandic) *kaŋirsik* 'fjord'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:158.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 12.11 place (sb.); 12.353 edge; 12.36 side; 12.76 corner. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 641, **gānhV* 'side (of something), width' and no. 642, **gVñ[V]bV* or **gVñ[V]b?V* 'side, edge'.

381. Proto-Nostratic root **gar-* (~ **gər-*):

(vb.) **gar-* 'to seize, to grasp, to take hold of';

(n.) **gar-a* 'hand'

- A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Burji *gaar-* (Sasse) 'to catch (thrown objects or animal)'; (Hudson) 'to hold, to seize', (reduplicated) *gagaar-*, *gagar-* 'to catch hold', *gadd-* (< **gaar-d-* < **gaar-* 'to take') 'to take, to receive, to accept'. Sasse 1982:73; Hudson 1989:148, 192, and 193.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **gher-/ghor-/gh₂-* 'to seize, to grasp, to take hold of', **gher(s)-* 'hand': Sanskrit *hárati* 'to take, to take away, to carry off, to seize, to remove'; Greek *χείρ* 'hand' (according to Boisacq, < **χερσ-*); Armenian *jeṛn* 'hand' (according to Boisacq, < **gher-η*); Albanian *dorë* (according to Boisacq, < **ghērā*) 'hand'; Tocharian A *tsar*, B *šar* 'hand'. Rix 1998a:157 **gher-* 'to take hold of, to seize'; Pokorny 1959:442—443 **gher-* 'to grip, to seize'; Walde 1927—1932.I:603—604 **gher-*; Mann 1984—1987:415 **gherō*, *-jō* 'to take, to hold', 415 **gher-*, **ghēr-* 'to take, to get, to receive; gift', 415—416 **ghers-* (**ghēr-*, **gher-*) 'hand', 423 **gh₂-*, **ghr-* radical element of **ghēr-* 'hand', 424 **gh₂rt-* (**gh₂rtis*, *-os*) 'gripped, collected; grip, seizure, handful'; Watkins 1985:22 **gher-* and 2000:30 **gher-* 'to grasp, to enclose'; Mallory—Adams 1997:564 **gher-* 'to grasp'; Boisacq 1950:1054 **gher-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1082—1083 **ghesr-*; Hofmann 1966:414 **gher-*; Beekes 2010.II:1620—1621 **ghes-r-*; Huld 1983:54; Orël 1998:70 **ghesr-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:521 Tocharian A *tsar*, B *šar* 'hand' < Proto-Indo-European **dher-*; Adams

1999:649—650 **ghesr-*. An alternative theory derives the words for ‘hand’ from Proto-Indo-European **ghesr-* (cf. Mallory—Adams 1997:254).

- C. Proto-Altaic **gara* (~ *-e-*) ‘hand, arm’: Proto-Mongolian **gar* ‘hand, arm’ > Written Mongolian *γar* ‘hand, arm’; Khalkha *gar* ‘hand, arm’; Buriat *gar* ‘hand, arm’; Kalmyk *γar* ‘hand, arm’; Ordos *gar* ‘hand’; Moghol *γar* ‘hand, arm’; Dagur *gari*, *gar* ‘hand, arm’; Shira-Yughur *gar* ‘hand, arm’; Monguor *gar* ‘hand, arm’. Poppe 1955:26. Proto-Turkic **Kar* ‘arm, forearm; cubit’ > Old Turkic *qar* ‘arm’, *qari* ‘forearm’; Karakhanide Turkic *qari* ‘arm’; Turkish [*karu-ža*] ‘arm’; Azerbaijani (dial.) *gari* ‘shin-bone of animal’; Turkmenian *gari* ‘shin-bone of animal, cubit’; Uzbek *qari* ‘arm, cubit’, (dial.) *qara* ‘shin-bone of animal’; Uighur *qeri* ‘cubit’, (dial.) *qaya* ‘shin-bone of animal’; Tatar *qari* ‘arm’, (dial.) *qara* ‘cubit’; Bashkir *qar* ‘shin-bone of animal’; Kirghiz *qar*, *qari* ‘arm’; Kazakh *qar* ‘forearm’, *qari* ‘forearm, shin-bone of animal’; Noghay *qari* ‘cubit’; Tuva *qiri* ‘forearm’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qari* ‘arm’; Chuvash *χor* ‘forearm, cubit’; Yakut *χari*, *χara* ‘forearm, shin-bone of animal’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:530—531 **gara* (~ *-e-*) ‘arm’; Poppe 1960:24, 97, and 154; Street 1974:13 Proto-Altaic **gār(a)* ‘hand, arm’.
- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **garu-* ‘to hold back’ (initial fricativization in the daughter languages): Amur *γaru-dv* (tr.) ‘to detain, to hold back’; East Sakhalin *γaru-(n)d* ‘to hold back’. Fortescue 2016:58.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:385—386, no. 222; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 655, **gArV* ‘hand’.

382. Proto-Nostratic root **gar-* (~ **gər-*):

(vb.) **gar-* ‘to cut, to split’;

(n.) **gar-a* ‘cut, injury; that which cuts: (pick)axe’; (adj.) ‘cut, separated, shortened’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gar-* ‘to cut, to split’: Proto-Semitic **gar-aʒ-* ‘to cut, to split’ > Hebrew *gāraz* [גָּרַז] ‘to cut, to cut off’, *garzen* [גָּרַזְנָה] ‘pick, pickaxe’; Arabic *ġaraza* ‘to cut off, to lop; to annihilate, to kill; to kick; to sting, to injure’; Geez / Ethiopic *garaza* [ገረዘ] ‘to cut’; Tigre *gārza* ‘to divide’; Tigrinya *gārāzā* ‘to partition’, *gārāwā*, *gārāyā* ‘to divide the meat of a slaughtered cow’; Amharic *gārrāzā* ‘to circumcise’, *gārāzzāzā* ‘to cut down a tree’; Gafat *gārrāzā* ‘to cut’; Harari *gērāza* ‘to plait hair’ (from the basic meaning ‘to separate’). D. Cohen 1970— :184—185; Murtonen 1989:140—141; Klein 1987:108; Leslau 1963:75 and 1987:204; Zammit 2002:121. Proto-Semitic **gar-aš-* ‘to cut, to shave’ > Hebrew *gāraʿ* [גָּרַע] ‘to shave, to trim (beard)’; Aramaic *gəraʿ* ‘to shave (the head)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *gəraʿ* ‘to cut, to shave off (all the head hair)’; Mehri *gōra* ‘to shave (the head)’; Soqōṭri *gāraʿ* ‘to shave’. Murtonen 1989:142; D. Cohen 1970— :190; Klein 1987:110. Egyptian *grp* ‘to cut, to carve’,

grb ‘to form, to fashion’. Hannig 1995:903. Berber: Tuareg *ağər* ‘eunuch, castrated animal’; Tamazight *iggər* ‘infertile, sterile’; Zenaga *aggur* ‘to be sterile, to be castrated’; Kabyle *əngər* ‘to die childless, especially without male progeny; to be massacred (family, people)’, *ssəngər* ‘to destroy, to make die’, *aməngur* ‘a childless man’. Cushitic: Saho *garaʿ*- ‘to castrate’; Afar *garaʿ*- ‘to cut off’; Galla / Oromo *garaʿ*- ‘to cut’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:203—204, no. 900, **garaʿ*- ‘to cut’.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **gher-/ghor-/ghr̥-* ‘to cut off, to shorten’: Sanskrit *hrásati* ‘to become short or small, to be diminished or lessened’, *hrasvá-h* ‘short, small’; Middle Irish *gerr* ‘short’, *gerraim* ‘to cut off, to shorten’. Pokorny 1959:443 **gher-* (**gherə-*, **ghrē-*) ‘short, small’; Walde 1927—1932.I:604—605 **gher-* (**gherē-* ?); Mallory—Adams 1997:515 (?) **gher-* ‘less, short’.
- C. Altaic: Manchu *garža-* ‘to split, to break’, *garžasχūn* ‘broken, split’, *garla-* ‘to break, to ruin, to destroy, to take apart’, *garlan* ‘ruin, destruction’, *garmi-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to tear into pieces, to break up’.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut; 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 12.59 short.

383. Proto-Nostratic root **gar-* (~ **gər-*):

(vb.) **gar-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’;

(n.) **gar-a* ‘that which scratches, scrapes: spade, rake’

Derivative:

(n.) **gar-b-a* ‘itch, scab, sore’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gar-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’: Proto-Semitic **gar-ad-* ‘to scratch, to scrape, to peel’ > Hebrew *gāraḏ* [גָּרַד] ‘to scratch, to scrape’; Aramaic *gəraḏ* ‘to scrape off’; Phoenician *m-grd* ‘scraper’; Arabic *ḡarada* ‘to peel, to pare’; Šheri / Jibbāli *góród* ‘to disarm, to strip someone of his uniform, to strip (tree of branches)’; Mehri *gəroḏ* ‘to undress (tr.), to disarm (tr.), to strip someone of everything, to cut (a branch off a tree) for no apparent purpose’; Geez / Ethiopic *garada* [ገረደ] ‘to remove chaff’; Tigrinya *gurdi* ‘chaff’, *gʷärädä* ‘to become chaff’; Tigre *gərd* ‘chaff’; Amharic *gʷärrädä* ‘to separate chaff from grain’, *gərd*, *gʷərdo* ‘chaff’. D. Cohen 1970— :182; Klein 1987:107; Leslau 1987:201; Zammit 2002:120.
- B. Dravidian: Gondi *kār-*, *kār-* ‘to dig’; Konḍa *kār-* ‘to dig, to make a pit, to dig out’; Pengo *kār-* ‘to dig’; Maṇḍa *kār-* ‘to dig’; Kui *kārpa* (*kārt-*) ‘(vb.) to dig up; (n.) the act of digging up’; Kuwi *kār-* ‘to dig’, *kārḥ'nai* ‘to sculpt, to spade’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:137, no. 1467.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **gher-/ghr̥-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’: Greek *χαράσσω* ‘to cut, to engrave, to scratch’, *χάραξ* ‘a pointed stake, especially a vine prop or pole’, *χαρακτός* ‘notched, toothed (like a saw or file)’; Lithuanian *žerūi*, *žerūti* ‘to rake’. Pokorny 1959:441 **gher-* ‘to scratch, to scrape, to cut, to etch’; Walde 1927—1932.I:602 **gher-*; Watkins 1985:22 **gher-*

and 2000:30 *gher- ‘to scratch, to scrape’; Boisacq 1950:1051 *gher-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1073—1075; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1246—1247 *gher-; Hofmann 1966:412—413; Beekes 2010.II:1614—1615. Proto-Indo-European *ghrebh-/ghrobh-/ghrbh- ‘to scratch, to scrape’: Gothic *graban* ‘to dig’, *grōba ‘hole’; Old Icelandic *grafa* ‘to dig, to bury; to carve, to engrave’, *gröf* ‘pit, ditch, grave’, *græfr* ‘fit to be buried’; Swedish *gräva* ‘to dig’; Danish *grave* ‘to dig’; Norwegian *grava* ‘to dig’; Old English *grafan* ‘to dig, to penetrate; to engrave, to carve’, *græft* ‘sculpture, carved object’, *grafere* ‘carver, sculptor’, *græf* ‘cave, grave’, *grafett* ‘trench’; Old Frisian *gref* ‘grave’, *grēva* ‘to dig’; Old Saxon *graf* ‘grave’, *bi-graban* ‘to dig, to bury’; Dutch *graven* ‘to dig’; Old High German *graba* ‘spade’, *grap* ‘grave’ (New High German *Grab*), *graban* ‘to dig, to bury’ (New High German *graben*); Lithuanian *grėbiu*, *grėbti* ‘to rake’, *grėblėlis* ‘rake’; Serbo-Croatian *grěbsi* ‘to scratch’; Russian *grábli* [грабли] ‘rake’. Rix 1998a:179—180 *ghrebh- ‘to dig’; Pokorny 1959:455—456 *ghrebh- ‘to scratch, to dig’; Walde 1927—1932.I:653—654 *ghrebh-; Mann 1984—1987:334 *ghrābhō, -iō ‘to rake’, 334 *ghrābhō, -iō ‘to dig’, 334 *ghrābhos, -ā ‘ditch, hole’, 335—336 *ghrebh-; *ghrebhlo-, -iō-, -iə ‘scraper, rake, oar’, 336 *ghrebhō ‘to dig’; Watkins 1985:23 *ghrebh- and 2000:31 *ghrebh- ‘to dig, to bury, to scratch’; Mallory—Adams 1997:159 *ghrebh- ‘to dig’; Smoczyński 2007.1:196—197; Orël 2003:139 Proto-Germanic *grābanan, 139 *grābilaz, 139 *grābjaz ~ *grābjan, 139 *grābō ~ *grāban; Kroonen 2013:185 Proto-Germanic *graba- ‘grave’ and 185—186 *graban- ‘to dig’; Feist 1939:218—219 *ghrebh-; Lehmann 1986:158—159 *ghrabh-; De Vries 1977:184 *ghrebh-, 192, and 193; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:245—246; Torp 1919:178; Onions 1966:411; Klein 1971:321 *ghrebh-, *ghrobh-; Walshe 1951:85—86 *ghrebh-/ghrobh-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:266 *ghrebh-, *ghrobh-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:273 *ghrebh-. Proto-Indo-European *ghrew-/ghrow-/ghru- ‘to scrape, to graze’: Greek χραύω ‘to scrape, to graze, to wound slightly’, χρώς ‘the surface of the body, the skin’, χροιά (Ionic χροῖή) ‘the surface of the body, the skin; the body itself’ (derivative of χρώς), χρῶμα ‘the surface of the skin’. Pokorny 1959:460—462 *ghrēu- : *ghrəu- : *ghrū- ‘to rub away, to grate’; Walde 1927—1932.I:648—650 *ghrēu- : *ghrəu- (< *gher-); Mann 1984—1987:335 *ghraūō, -iō ‘to scrape, to rasp’, 339 *ghrōiō (*ghrōiūō) ‘to graze, to scrape, to skim’, 342 *ghrōt- ‘to scrape, to graze, to skim’; Boisacq 1950:1068—1069 *ghrəu-, *ghreu-, *ghrōu- and 1071 *gh(e)rēu-; Hofmann 1966:422 *ghrēu-, *ghrəu- and 424 *ghrō(u)- (in ablaut with *ghrəu-); Frisk 1970—1973.II:1115—1116 and II:1120—1121 *ghrēu-, *ghrēi-; Beekes 2010.II:1646—1647 *ghreh₂u-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1272 and II:1279. Proto-Indo-European *ghrem-/ghrom- ‘to scrape’: Lithuanian *grémžiu*, *grémžti* ‘to scrape’. Pokorny 1959:458 *ghrem- ‘to scrape’; Walde 1927—1932.I:655 *ghrem-

Buck 1949:8.22 dig. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:386—387, no. 223.

384. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gar-b-a* ‘itch, scab, sore’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **gar-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’;

(n.) **gar-a* ‘that which scratches, scrapes: spade, rake’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gar-ab-* ‘itch, scab, sore’: Proto-Semitic **gar-ab-* ‘itch, scab’ > Akkadian *garābu* ‘itch, scab, leprosy’; Hebrew *gārāḇ* [גַּרְבַּ] ‘itch, scab’; Syriac *garbā* ‘leprosy, scabies’; Mandaic *girba* ‘leprosy, scurf’; Arabic *ġarab* ‘itch, scabies’; Ḥarsūsi *garb* ‘mange’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *gērāb* ‘to have the mange’; Mehri *gērāb* ‘to have the mange’, *garb* ‘mange’; Soqotri *gerb* ‘scabies’; Tigre *gərbeb* ‘scab’. Murtonen 1989:140; Klein 1987:107; D. Cohen 1970— :178. East Chadic: Somray *gaber* ‘syphilis’ (< **gabyar-* < **gabari-* [metathesis from **garabi-*]). Orël—Stolbova 1995:203, no. 889, **garab-* ‘disease’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:85—86, no. 91) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **gar(a)b-* ‘leprosy, mange, scab’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates. Regarding the alleged East Chadic cognate listed above, they note: “Cf. E. Chad.: Somray *gaber* ‘syphilis’ compared as a metathetic form to Sem. in [OS 203]; an interesting case which is, nevertheless, hardly sufficient for a common Afras. reconstruction.”

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *karappan* ‘eruption in children’, *karappān* ‘eruption, any cutaneous disease, rash, eczema, erysipelas, etc.’; Malayalam *karappan* ‘eruptions, scurf (especially on children’s heads)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118, no. 1272. Kannaḍa *karame* ‘an ulcer’; Tuḷu *karampè* ‘wound’, *karampely* ‘scar of a wound’; Gondi *karem*, *karam*, *kaṛam*, *kaṛēm* ‘boil, wound, sore’; Kui *krēmbu* ‘sore, wound’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118, no. 1273. (?) Malayalam *kāra* ‘a sharp eruption on the skin’; Kannaḍa *gāru* ‘a sharp eruption on the body from internal heat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:137, no. 1469.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:386—387, no. 223.

385. Proto-Nostratic root **gar^{y-}* (~ **gər^{y-}*):

(vb.) **gar^{y-}* ‘to swell, to increase, to grow’;

(n.) **gar^{y-}-a* ‘swelling, increase, growth; great quantity, abundance, excess’

Identical to:

(vb.) **gar^{y-}* ‘to stick out, to stand out, to jut out, to project, to protrude; to be or become erect, rigid, stiff’;

(n.) **gar^{y-}* ‘tip, point, peak’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gar-* ‘(vb.) to swell, to increase, to grow; (n.) swelling, increase, growth; great quantity, abundance, excess’: Berber: Tuareg *ağər* ‘to be bigger than, superior to’; Tamazight *agər* ‘to be older, bigger, superior’, *ssəgru* ‘to multiply, to augment, to increase’, *agar* ‘advantage, superiority’, *ugar* ‘more, more than’, *amyagar* ‘inequality, bad disposition, disequilibrium, difference (height, age, etc.)’; Kabyle *ag^war* ‘to surpass, to exceed’, *ugar* ‘more’. Central Cushitic: Bilin (pl.) *gāri-w* ‘strong; much; numerous’, *gār-* ‘to be strong, powerful, capable’, *gārā-s-* ‘to be able’; Quara *gārš-* ‘to be able’. Appleyard 2006:21 and 97; Reinisch 1887:157.
- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *kaṛale*, *kaṛile* ‘bamboo shoot’; Naiki (of Chanda) *karrka* ‘bamboo’; Patji *karri* ‘bamboo shoot’; Gondi *karka* ‘bamboo sapling’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:125—126, no. 1353. Tamil *kaṛi* ‘much, great, excessive’, *kaṛi* ‘to be great in quantity or quality, to be abundant, to be excessive’, *kaṛivu* ‘excess, abundance, surplus’; Malayalam *kaṛi* ‘to be excessive’, *kaṛiha* ‘exceeding’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:126, no. 1358. Tamil *kaṛumu* (*kaṛumi-*) ‘(vb.) to be full, complete, abundant, copious; to overflow; (n.) denseness (as a tuft of hair)’; Telugu *krammu* ‘to spread, to extend, to overspread, to overflow’, *kraccu* ‘to surround, to overspread’; Kui *garja* (*garji-*) ‘to spread out, to increase, to multiply, to grow thick and outspreading’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:127, no. 1368.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ghreE-/ghroE-* (> **ghrē-/ghrō-*) ‘to grow’: Gothic *gras* ‘grass’; Old Icelandic *gróa* ‘to grow (of vegetation)’, *gróði* ‘growth, increase’, *gróðr* ‘growth, crop’, *gróna* ‘to become green’, *gras* ‘grass, herbage, herb’, *grænn* ‘green’; Faroese *gróa* ‘to grow’; Swedish *gro* ‘to grow’, *gräs* ‘grass’; *grön* ‘green’; Norwegian *gro* ‘to grow’, *grønn* ‘green’; Danish *gro* ‘to grow’, *græs* ‘grass’, *grøn* ‘green’; Old English *grōwan* ‘to grow, to increase, to flourish’, *grōwnes* ‘growth, prosperity’, *græs*, *gærs* ‘grass’, *græd* ‘grass’, *grēne* ‘green’; Old Frisian *grōwa*, *grōia* ‘to grow’, *grēne* ‘green’, *gres*, *gers* ‘grass’; Middle Low German *grōien* ‘to grow’; Old Saxon *grōni* ‘green’; Dutch *groeien* ‘to grow’, *groen* ‘green’; Old High German *gruoan* ‘to grow, to become green’, *graz* ‘shoot, sprig, sprout’, *gras* ‘grass’ (New High German *Gras*), *gruoni* ‘green’ (New High German *grün*); (?) Latin *grāmen* (< **ghra-s-men*) ‘grass, stalk’. Pokorny 1959:454 (**ghrē-*), **ghrō-*, **ghrə-* ‘to grow, to become green’; Walde 1927—1932.I:645—646 (**ghrē-*), **ghrō-*, **ghrə-*; Watkins 1985:23 **ghrē-* and 2000:31 **ghrē-* ‘to grow, to become green’ (contracted from **ghre₂-*); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:616—617 **ghrōs-*, **ghrəs-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:280; De Vaan 2008:269—270; Orël 2003:143 Proto-Germanic **grōanan*, 143 **grōdiz* ~ **grōduz*, 143 **grōniz*, 143—144 **grōnjanan*; Kroonen 2013:187 Proto-Germanic **grasa-* ‘grass’ and 191 **grōan-* ‘to grow’; Feist 1939:220; Lehmann 1986:159—160 **ghrō-*, **ghrə-*; De Vries 1977:185, 190, and 192; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:250, I:254, and I:255—256; Torp 1919:183; Onions 1966:410—411, 413, and 417; Klein 1971:321 **ghrōs-*, 322 **ghrō-*, and 325 **ghrō-* ‘to grow’;

Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:138 and 144; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:268 **ghrō-* and 275; Kluge—Seebold 1989:275 and 280. Perhaps also: West Germanic **grautaz* ‘great, large’ > Old English *grēat* ‘thick, stout, bulky, big’; Old Frisian *grāt* ‘great, big, high’; Old Saxon *grōt* ‘big, great’; Dutch *groot* ‘big, great; tall, grown-up’; Old High German *grōz* ‘large, big, great; tall, high’ (New High German *groß*). Kroonen 2013:197 Proto-Germanic **grauta-* ‘coarse’; Onions 1966:412 **grautaz*; Klein 1987:322; Kluge—Lutz 1898:93; Barnhart 1995:329; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:143; Regnaud 1901:155; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:272—273; Kluge—Seebold 1989:279. Thus, not related to Old Icelandic *grautr* ‘porridge’ (Orël 2003:141 Proto-Germanic **grautaz*).

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 9.95 can, may (3rd sg.); 12.53 grow; 12.55 large, big (great). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:388, no. 225.

386. Proto-Nostratic root **gar^v-* (~ **gər^v-*):

(vb.) **gar^v-* ‘to stick out, to stand out, to jut out, to project, to protrude; to be or become erect, rigid, stiff’;

(n.) **gar^v-* ‘tip, point, peak’

Identical to:

(vb.) **gar^v-* ‘to swell, to increase, to grow’;

(n.) **gar^v-a* ‘swelling, increase, growth; great quantity, abundance, excess’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gar-* ‘to stick out, to stand out, to jut out, to project, to protrude; to be or become erect, rigid, stiff’: Semitic: (?) Akkadian *garānu* (also *karānu*) ‘to store, to pile up in heaps’, *gurunnu* ‘heap, mound’; (?) Geez / Ethiopic *g^war^ʿa* [**Ṭ-C0**] ‘to pile, to heap up stores’ (according to Leslau 1987:200, this is probably reconstructed from Amharic *g^wär^ra*). Cushitic loans (cf. Leslau 1979:288) in: Gurage (Soddo) *gara* ‘mountain’, *gägära* ‘ascent, hill, uphill, upward slope’; Amharic *gara* ‘mountain’. East Cushitic: Burji *gáar-i* ‘eyebrow’ (perhaps a loan from Oromo); Galla / Oromo *gaara* ‘eyebrow’; Gedeo / Darasa *gaara* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’; Boni *gaar-i* ‘eyebrow’ (loan from Oromo); Konso *káar-a* ‘edge’; Sidamo *gaara* ‘forehead, eyelash; brow, hill’. Sasse 1982:73; Hudson 1989:60.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṛal* (*kaṛalv-*, *kaṛanr-*) ‘to produce, to bulge out, to pass through (as an arrow)’, *kaṛalai* ‘wen, tubercle, tumor’; Malayalam *kaṛarruka* ‘to protrude’, *kaṛala* ‘a swelling (chiefly in the groin)’; Kota *kaṛv-* (*kaṛd-*) ‘to be stretched, to protrude through a hole (for example, piles)’, *kaṛt-* (*kaṛty-*) ‘to make to protrude through a hole’; Tuḷu *karalè* ‘a swelling’; (?) Telugu *koḍalu-konu* ‘to swell, to rise, to increase’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:125, no. 1350.
- C. (?) Proto-Kartvelian **gora-* ‘mountain, hill’: Georgian *gora-* ‘mountain, hill’; Mingrelian *gola-*, *gvala-* ‘mountain, hill’; Laz *gola-* ‘summer roaming place’, *golur-* (< **gor-ur-*) ‘mountainous, mountaineer’. Klimov

- 1964:64 *gora- and 1998:31—32 *gora- ‘mount, hill’; Fähnrich 2007:111 *gor-. Perhaps influenced by *gor-/*gr- ‘to roll, to wallow’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European *gher-/*ghor-/*ghr- (extended form *ghr-eE-/*ghr-oE- > *ghrē-/*ghrō-) ‘(vb.) to stick out, to stand out, to jut out, to project, to protrude; to be or become erect, rigid, stiff; (n.) tip, point, peak’: Greek χάρμη ‘tip, point of a lance, spear-head’, χοιράς (< *χορ-ιαδ-) ‘of a hog’, (as a noun) ‘a sunken rock; (pl.) scrofulous swellings in the glands of the neck’, χοιράς πέτραι ‘rocks (rising just above the sea) like a hog’s back’, χοιραδ-ώδης ‘rocky’, χοῖρος (< *χορ-ιο-) ‘a young pig, a porker’; Middle Irish *greinn* ‘beard’; Welsh *garth* ‘hill, promontory’, *grann* ‘eyelid’; Breton *grann* ‘eyebrow’; Gothic *grana (acc. pl. *granos*) ‘pigtail’; Old Icelandic *grön* ‘moustache’; Swedish (dial.) *grån* ‘fir(tree)’; Old English *granu* ‘moustache’; Middle High German *grane* ‘hair (of head), moustache’ (New High German *Granne*), *grans* ‘beak, snout; peak’ (New High German *Grans* ‘bow [of a ship]’), *grāt* ‘(sharp) edge, ridge, crest (of a mountain)’ (New High German *Grat*); Russian *gran’* [грань] ‘border, brink, verge’, *granica* [граница] ‘border’; Polish *grot* ‘arrow-point’. Pokorny 1959:440 *gher-, *ghrē- : *ghrō- : *ghrə- ‘to jut out’; Walde 1927—1932.I:606 *gher-; Mann 1984—1987:335 *ghrānis, -os ‘tip, point, spike, edge’, 341—342 *ghronos ‘point, tip; mark; period; moment’; Boisacq 1950:1051 *gher-, *gh(e)rē-; *ghorjo-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1075 *gher- and II:1107—1108; Hofmann 1966:413 *gher- and 421 *gher-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1247, II:1266, and II:1266—1267 *ghor-yo-; Beekes 2010.II:1615 (?) *gher- and II:1640—1641; Kroonen 2013:190—191 Proto-Germanic *granō- ‘hair of the beard’; Orël 2003:140 Proto-Germanic *žranō; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:267 *gher-, 267—268, and 268 *ghrē-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:275 *gher- and 276 *gher-. Note: there is some disagreement about whether Greek χοιράς, χοῖρος, and their derivatives belong here. Proto-Indo-European *ghers-/*ghors-/*ghrs- ‘to bristle’: Sanskrit *hārṣati*, *hārṣate* ‘to bristle, to become erect or stiff or rigid; to become sexually excited; to be excited or impatient, to rejoice in the prospect of, to be anxious or impatient for’, *hr̥ṣtá-h* ‘bristling, erect, standing on end (said of hairs on the body); rigid, stiff; thrilling with rapture, rejoiced, pleased, glad, merry; surprised, astonished’, *hārṣa-h* ‘bristling, erection (especially of the hair in a thrill of rapture or delight)’; Greek (noun and adj.) χέρσος ‘dry land; dry, firm (of land), hard, barren’; Latin *horreō* ‘to bristle’, *horridus* ‘rough, shaggy, bristly’; Old English *gorst* ‘furze bush’. Rix 1998a:158 *ghers- ‘to stand on end, to bristle up; to be or become rigid, stiff’; Pokorny 1959:445—446 *ghers- ‘to stiffen’; Walde 1927—1932.I:610 *ghers-; Mann 1984—1987:332 *ghors- ‘rough; to scrub’, 332 *ghorstos ‘rough, rugged, coarse’, 346 *ghrs- ‘bristle’; *ghrstos (*ghrsitos) ‘bristly, shaggy; bristle, shag’, 416 *ghersos, -ios ‘rough, waste, barren’; Watkins 1985:22 *ghers- and 2000:30 *ghers- ‘to bristle’; Mallory—Adams 1997:547 *ghers- ‘to stiffen (of hair), to bristle’;

Boisacq 1950:1056—1057 **gher-*, **gheres-*; **gherē-* (**ghrē-*, **ghrō-*, **ghrə-*); Beekes 2010.II:1626—1627 **ghers-o-*; Hofmann 1966:416—416 **ghers-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1089—1090 **ghers-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1255 **gher(s)-*; De Vaan 2008:290; Ernout—Meillet 1979:299—300; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:659 **ghers-*; Orël 2003:147 Proto-Germanic **zurstaz*.

- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian (reduplicated) **kəru(kəru)* (or **kukəru*) ‘wart’ > Chukchi *kokʹolyən* (pl. *kukʹut*) ‘wart, growth on tree’; Koryak *k(ə)rukuv* ‘wart’; Alyutor *krukru* ‘wart’. Fortescue 2005:152.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 4.142 beard; 4.206 eyebrow; 12.352 point; 12.353 edge. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 667, **goRʹV* ‘hill, (small ?) mountain’.

387. Proto-Nostratic root **gasʷ-* (~ **gəsʷ-*):

(vb.) **gasʷ-* ‘to touch, to feel, to handle’;

(n.) **gasʷ-a* ‘hand’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **g[a]sʷ-* ‘to touch, to feel, to handle’: Proto-Semitic **gaš-aš-* ‘to touch, to feel, to handle’ > Hebrew *gāšāš* [שׂשׂ] ‘to feel with the hand’; Aramaic *gəšāš* ‘to feel, to touch’; Arabic *ǧassa* ‘to touch, to feel, to handle’; Geez / Ethiopic *gasasa* [ገሰሰ] ‘to touch, to feel, to handle’; Tigre (*tə*)*gasāsa* ‘to honor by touching, kissing, or prostrating oneself’, *gəssat* ‘touch, touching, handling’; Tigrinya (*tä*)*gasäsä* ‘to go around a church praying (and touching the walls)’; Amharic *gəssase* ‘feeling with the fingers’ (Geez loan). D. Cohen 1970— :197—198; Murtonen 1989:142; Klein 1987:111; Leslau 1987:204; Zammit 2002:123. [Ehret 1995:187, no. 288, **guš-* ‘to feel, to run fingers over’.]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kacanku* (*kacanki-*) ‘to be squeezed, crumpled; to be displeased, hurt (in mind)’, *kacakku* (*kacakki-*) ‘(vb.) to rub, to bruise between the fingers or hands, to squeeze, to crumple; to harass, to annoy; (n.) squeezing, bruising’, *kayaṅku* (*kayaṅki-*) ‘to be squeezed by the hand, to be bruised, to be mashed’, *kayakku* (*kayakki-*) ‘to squeeze in the hand, to bruise, to mash’; Malayalam *kasāṅṅuka* ‘to be squeezed, to be broken’, *kaśakka* ‘to crumple, to squeeze in the hand’, *kayakkuka* ‘to squeeze’; (?) Kurux *khacnā* (*khaccas*) ‘to squeeze soft matter (e.g., grains) into a compact mass by pressing, trampling upon, or working inside with a stick’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:102, no. 1087. Tamil *kai* ‘hand, arm; elephant’s trunk; handle’, *kai* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) ‘to feed with the hand’; Malayalam *kai*, *kayyi* ‘hand, arm; trunk of elephant; handle’, *kayyu* ‘the hand’, *kayyāl* ‘an assistant, helper’; Kota *kay* ‘hand, arm’; Toda *koy* ‘hand, arm’; Kannada *kai*, *kayi*, *kayyi*, *key* ‘hand, forearm; elephant’s trunk; handle’; Koḍagu *kay* ‘hand, arm’; Tuḷu *kai* ‘hand; handle’; Telugu *cēyi*, *ceyi*, *ceyyi* ‘hand, arm; elephant’s trunk’, *kēlu*, *kai* ‘the hand’; Kolami *ki-*, *key*, *kīy*, *kiyu* ‘hand, arm’; Naikri *kī* ‘hand, arm’; Naiki (of Chanda) *kī* ‘hand’; Parji *key* ‘hand’;

Gadba (Ollari) *ki*, (Salur) *kiyyū*, *kiy* ‘hand’; Gondi *kay*, *kai* ‘hand’; Konda *kiyu* ‘hand’; Pengo *key* ‘hand’; Maṇḍa *kiy* ‘hand’; Kui *kaju*, *kagu* ‘hand, arm; elephant’s trunk’, *kaju* ‘hand’; Kuwi *kēyū*, *kēyu*, *keyyu*, *keyu*, *kayyu* ‘hand, arm; handle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:183, no. 2023; Krishnamurti 2003:119 **kay* ‘hand’.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **ghes-*/*ghos-* (**ghes-ǵ-* and **ghes-tʰo-*) ‘hand’: Sanskrit *hásta-ḥ* ‘hand’; Avestan *zasta-* ‘hand’; Old Persian *dasta-* ‘hand’; Latin *praestō* (< **prae-hestōd*) ‘at hand’; Lithuanian *pa-žastis* ‘underarm’; Hittite *ki-eš-šar* ‘hand’. Also, with loss of an earlier initial voiced velar before high front vowel: Cuneiform Luwian (nom. sg.) (*i-*)*iš-ša-ri-iš* ‘hand’; Hieroglyphic Luwian (dat. sg.) *istri* ‘hand’; Lycian *izri-* ‘hand’ (< Proto-Anatolian **gēsar* ‘hand’). The Hieroglyphic Luwian form contains an epenthetic *t*. Pokorny 1959:447 **ghesor-*, **ghesr-* ‘hand’, 447 **ghesto-* ‘hand, arm’; Walde 1927—1932.I:541 **ghasto-*; Mann 1984—1987:411 **ghastos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-iə* ‘hand, arm, handle, grasp’; Watkins 1985:22 **ghesor-* and 2000:30 **ghes-* ‘hand’ (suffixed form **ghes-ōr*; suffixed form **ghesto-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:807 **ǵ[h]es-ǵ-/ǵ[h]es-t[h]o-* and 1995.I:687 **ghes-ǵ-/ghes-tʰo-* ‘hand’; Mallory—Adams 1997:254 **ghés-r-* ‘hand’, **ghós-to-s* ‘hand’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:532; De Vaan 2008:486 Latin *praestō* = ablative singular “of an adj. **praisto-* ‘ready, available’, the analysis of which is uncertain”; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:356; Puhvel 1984— .4:160—165 **ghésōr*; Kloekhorst 2008b:471—472; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1293; Smoczyński 2007.1:444—445 **ghés-to-*; Derksen 2015:347 **ghes-to-*; Wodtko—Irlinger—Schneider 2008:170—172 **ghes-*.

Sumerian *gašam* ‘expert, specialist; craftsman, artisan, workman; artist’, *gašam* ‘work’.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 15.71 touch; 15.72 feel. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:384, no. 220.

388. Proto-Nostratic root **gat-* (~ **gət-*):

(vb.) **gat-* ‘to take (with the hand), to grasp’;

(n.) **gat-a* ‘hand’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gat-*, **get-* ‘to take’: Highland East Cushitic: Burji *gad-* ‘to take’. According to Sasse, the original meaning was probably something like ‘to possess’. Sasse compares Eastern Galla / Oromo *gad dīs-* ‘to set free, to let go’. Sasse 1982:75; Hudson 1989:148 and 192. Proto-Southern Cushitic **geḏ-* ‘to take’ > Alagwa *geger-* ‘to carry’; Iraqw *gagar-* ‘to carry’; K’wadza *gel-* ‘to choose’; Ma’a *-géra* ‘to bring’; Dahalo *gettokum-* ‘to carry’. Ehret 1980:237.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *katuvu* (*katuvi-*) ‘to seize, to grasp, to take more than a proper share’; Kannada *kadubu* ‘to seize or hold firmly’, *kadi* ‘to steal’, *kadaka* ‘a thievish, deceitful man’ (f. *kadiki*); Tuḷu *kadipu*, *kadupu*, *kadpu* ‘stealing, theft’; Telugu *kadumu* ‘to seize’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:112, no. 1200. Proto-Dravidian **ketkā* > **kekkā* > **khekkhā* ‘hand’: Kurux *xekkhā* ‘hand, arm’; Malto *qeqe* ‘hand’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:183, no. 2023; Burrow 1946:87.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **g^{het}-*/**g^{hot}-*, (with nasal infix) **g^{he-n-t}-* ‘to take (with the hand)’: Greek *χαρδάνω* ‘to take in, to hold, to comprise, to contain’; Latin *prehendō* ‘to seize’; Gothic *bigitan* ‘to find’; Old Icelandic *geta* ‘to get’; Old English *begietan* ‘to get, to obtain, to attain’; Old Saxon *bigetān* ‘to seize’; Old High German *pigezzan* ‘to get, to obtain, to receive’; Albanian *gjindem* ~ *gjëndem* ‘to be found’. Rix 1998a:173 **g^{hed}-* ‘to grasp, to seize, to take hold of’; Pokorny 1959:437—438 **ghend-*, **ghed-* ‘to grasp, to seize’; Walde 1927—1932.I:589—590 **ghend-*; Mann 1984—1987:317 **ghed-* ‘to acquire; acquisition’, 319 **ghend-*, 326—327 **ghnd-* ‘to seize, to hold, to get, to retain, to contain’, 327 **ghnd-*; Watkins 1985:22 **ghend-* (also **ghed-*) and 2000:29—30 **ghend-* (also **ghed-*) ‘to seize, to take’; Mallory—Adams 1997:564 **ghe(n)dh-* ‘to seize, to take in (physically or mentally)’; Boisacq 1950:1050 **ghnd-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1245—1246 **ghe(n)d-*; Hofmann 1966:412 **ghnd-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1071—1072 **ghnd-*; Beekes 2010.II:1613 **ghed-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:531 **ghed-* and **ghend-*; De Vaan 2008:487; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:359 **ghe(n)d-*; Orël 2003:133 Proto-Germanic **getanan*; Kroonen 2013:176 Proto-Germanic **getan-* ‘to find (a way), to be able’; Feist 1939:90; Lehmann 1986:69 **ghed-*; De Vries 1977:165 **ghed-*; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.I:208 **ghed-*, **ghend-*; Onions 1966:85 and 396 **ghed-* (**ghod-*); Klein 1971:76 and 311 **ghe(n)d-*.
- D. Proto-Uralic **kāti* ‘hand’: Finnish *käsi/käte-* ‘hand’; Mordvin *ked*, *käd* ‘hand’; Lapp / Saami *giettâ/gieđâ-* ‘hand’; Cheremis / Mari *kit* ‘hand’; Votyak / Udmurt *ki* ‘hand’; Zyrian / Komi *ki* ‘hand’; Vogul / Mansi *käät* ‘hand’; Ostyak / Xanty *köt*, (Southern) *ket* ‘hand, fore paw’; Hungarian *kéz/keze-* ‘hand’. Collinder 1955:87, 1960:411 **käte*, 1965:138 Common Finno-Ugrian **käte*, and 1977:103; Sammallahti 1988:545 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kāti* ‘hand, arm’; Rédei 1986—1988:140 **käte*; Zhivlov 2023:167 Proto-Uralic **kāti* ‘hand’, Proto-Finnic **käte-*.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 11.16 get, obtain. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:227, no. 80, **gäti* ‘hand, arm’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 694, **gätâ* ‘to grasp, to take, to possess’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:388—389, no. 226.

389. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gen-a* ‘jaw, cheek’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gen-* ‘jaw, cheek’: Proto-Semitic **ʔa-gan-*, **wa-gan-* ‘cheek’ > Arabic *ʔa-ġna-t*, *ʔi-ġna-t*, *ʔu-ġna-t* ‘fullest part of the cheek’, *wa-ġnāʔ* ‘having strong cheeks (strong she-camel)’, *wa-ġna-t*, *wi-ġna-t*, *wu-ġna-t*, *wa-ġana-t* ‘cheek’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ōgən* ‘to have prominent cheekbones’, *ēgənt* ‘cheekbone’; Mehri *wəgnēt* ‘cheekbone’; Ḥarsūsi *wəgnēt* ‘cheek’. D. Cohen 1970— :7 and 493—494. Berber: Ayer *əganən* ‘cheek, cheek-bone’. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *genúun* ‘jaw, jawbone, mandible’. Chadic: Sura *gén* ‘cheek’; Dera *gəngá* ‘cheek’; Pa’a *gàncáka* ‘cheek’; Zime-Dari *gin* ‘cheek’; Zime-Batna *gìn* ‘cheek’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:68—69.

Comments:

1. Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:78—79, no. 84) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **gu/in-*. **ʔ/wVgn-* ‘(area including) cheek-bone and eye-socket’ and Proto-Afrasian **gVn-* ‘cheek-bone; chin; parts of face’. They note: “Common Sem. status problematic; the Arb. data, however, are supported by Afras. (below). Syr. and Gur. forms are semantically difficult and may have different origin, while all MSA forms may be Arabisms ...”
 2. Blažek (2020:53) lists Beja / Beḍawye Hdd *gunúun* ‘jaw’ (BG) = *ginuun* ‘jaw, gum of teeth’ (Wd) = *genúun* and *ginúun* ‘gum of teeth’ (RP) = *genúun* ‘jaw, jawbone, mandible’ (Re) = *genúun* ‘jawbone’ (AI) = *o’guun* ‘gum(s)’ (Mu). For abbreviations, cf Blažek (2020: 100).
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cenni*, *cennai* ‘cheek’; Malayalam *cennam* ‘jaw, cheek’; Kota *keyṇ* ‘cheek just in front of the ear’; Kannaḍa *kenne* ‘the upper cheek’; Tuḷu *kenni*, *kennè* ‘cheek’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:181, no. 1989.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **g^henu-* ‘jaw, cheek’: Sanskrit (f.) *hānu-ḥ* (also *hānū*) ‘jaw, cheek’; Avestan *zānu-* ‘jaw’. Pokorny 1959:381—382 **ġenu-* and (**ġenadh-* :) **ġonadh-* ‘jaw, cheek’; Walde 1927—1932.I:587 **ġ(h)enu-s*; Mann 1984—1987:393—394 **ġenus* (**ġenuə*, **ġenəuə*, **ġenə*) ‘jaw, jowl, angle of the face, angle, wedge’; Watkins 1985:19 **genu-* and 2000:26 *genu-* ‘jawbone, chin’ (variant form **g(h)enu-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:183 **k’enu-s*, II:815 **k’enu-* and 1995.I:157 **k’enu-s*, I:715 **k’enu-* ‘jaw, chin’; Mallory—Adams 1997:322 **ġénu-* ‘jaw’ and 2006:174 **ġénu-* ‘jaw’, 176 **ġénu-*. Note: It appears that there were two variants in Proto-Indo-European: (1) **g^henu-* and (2) **k’enu-*. The first is found only in Indo-Iranian, while the second is found in the remaining daughter languages. It is only the first variant (provided it is not an Indo-Iranian innovation) that belongs here.

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw (Proto-Indo-European **ġenu-* ‘jaw, cheek, chin’); 4.208 cheek; 4.209 chin. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 637, **genû* ‘jaw, cheek’.

390. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *g[e]n-d-a ‘virility, strength; a male (human or animal)’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṇṭaṇ* ‘warrior, husband’, *kaṇṭi* ‘buffalo bull’, *kaṇavaṇ* ‘husband’, *keṇṭaṇ* ‘robust, stout man’, *kiṇṭaṇ* ‘fat man, strong person’; Malayalam *kaṇṭan* ‘the male, especially of cat’, *kaṇavan* ‘husband’, *kiṇṭan* ‘big; a stout, bulky fellow’; Kota *gaṇḍ* ‘male’; Kannaḍa *gaṇḍu* ‘strength, manliness, bravery; the male sex, a male, man’, *gaṇḍa* ‘a strong, manly male person, a husband; strength, greatness’, *gaṇḍiga* ‘a valiant man’, *gaṇḍasa*, *gaṇḍasu*, *gaṇḍusa*, *gaṇḍusu* ‘male person’, *gaṇḍike* ‘prowess’, *geṇḍā* ‘husband’, *geṇḍu* ‘male’; Koḍagu *kaṇḍē* ‘male (of dogs and other animals, mostly wild; not of cats)’; Tuḷu *gaṇḍu* ‘male, valiant, stout’, *gaṇḍusu* ‘husband’, *gaṇḍukāvi*, *gaṇḍustana*, *gaṇḍastana* ‘manliness’, *kaṇḍaṇi*, *kaṇḍaṇye* ‘husband’, *gaṇṭē*, *gaṇṭapuccē* ‘male cat’; Telugu *gaṇḍu* ‘bravery, strength, the male of the lower animals’, *gaṇḍūdu*, *gaṇḍādu* ‘a brave, strong man’; Malto *geṇḍa* ‘male’. Krishnamurti 2003:11 **kaṇṭ-a-* ‘male’, 169 **kaṇ-ṭV-* ‘warrior’, and 525 **kaṇṭ-anṭu* ‘husband, warrior’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:111, no 1173. Dravidian loanword in Sanskrit *gaṇḍā-*, *gaṇḍīra-* ‘hero’ (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:318). Perhaps also: Kota *geṇḍ kaṭ-* (*kac-*) ‘dog’s penis becomes stuck in copulation’; Kannaḍa *keṇḍa* ‘penis’; Gondi *geṭānā*, *gēṭ-* ‘to have sexual intercourse’, *gēṭ* ‘sexual intercourse’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:177, no. 1949.
- B. Proto-Altaic **gendV* (~ **k-*) ‘male, self’: Proto-Mongolian **gendü* ‘male of animals’ > Written Mongolian *gendü(n)* ‘small male panther; male of animals in general; male tiger’; Khalkha *gendü* ‘a male tiger or leopard’; Buriat *gende* ‘male sable’; Kalmyk *gendṇ* ‘male of animals’. Proto-Turkic **[g]entü* (*-nd-*) ‘self’ > Old Turkish (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *kentü* ‘self’; Karakhanide Turkic *kendü* ‘self’; Turkish *kendi* ‘self’; Azerbaijani *gendi* ‘self’; Yakut *kini* ‘he’; Dolgon *gini* ‘he’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 541 **gentV* (~ **k-*) ‘male, self’; Poppe 1960:25; Street 1974:13 **gendü(n)* ‘male; self’.

Buck 1949:2.23 male; 3.12 male (of animals); 4.492 penis. Illič-Svityč 1965:362 **gändλ* [‘cameц’] and 1971—1984.I:226—227, no. 79, **gändu* ‘male’ (Proto-Dravidian **kaṇṭ-*; Proto-Altaic **gändü*); Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 643, **gændü* ‘male’. Note: The Afrasian forms cited by Dolgopolsky are problematic from a semantic perspective. Consequently, they are not included here. Semantically, this is a very attractive etymology. However, the lack of agreement between Dravidian and Altaic in the stem vowels is problematic. Both Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky try to get around this problem by positing a stem vowel **æ* (Illič-Svityč writes **ä*) in the Proto-Nostratic form. Rather, I think it more likely that one or the other of the branches has innovated — most likely Dravidian. Particularly telling are forms in Dravidian such as Tamil *keṇṭaṇ* ‘robust, stout man’, *kiṇṭaṇ* ‘fat man, strong person’, etc. If the Dravidian

words for ‘penis’ cited above are, indeed, related, they would provide further evidence that the original stem vowel was **e*.

391. Proto-Nostratic pronominal base of unclear deictic function **gi-* (~ **ge-*):

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **-g-* pronominal base of unclear deictic function in **e-g-*, **i-g-*: Georgian *e-g-e* ‘this, he, she, it’, *i-g-i* ‘he, she, it, that’; Svan [*e-ǰ-*] in the dialectal variants *e-ǰ-i*, *e-ǰ-e*, *e-ǰ-ä* ‘he, she, it, that’. Klimov 1964:57 **-g-* and 1998:24 **-g-* pronominal base of unclear deictic function; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:73 **-g-*; Fähnrich 2007:92 **-g-*.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **-g^h-* pronominal base of unclear deictic function in (nom. sg.) **ǵe-g^h-* ‘I’, (dat. sg.) **me-g^h-* ‘to me’: Sanskrit (nom. sg.) *ahám* ‘I’, (dat. sg.) *máhya(m)* ‘to me’; Avestan (nom. sg.) *azəm* ‘I’; Old Persian (nom. sg.) *adam* ‘I’; Latin (dat. sg.) *mihī* ‘to me’; Umbrian (dat. sg.) *mehe* ‘to me’; (?) Old Church Slavic (nom. sg.) *azъ* ‘I’. Sihler 1994:369—382; Burrow 1973:263—269. Meier-Brügger (2003:226) assumes dissimilation of **me-b^hej* to **me-ǵ^hej* in the dative sg. Preserved as an independent pronominal stem in Latin *hīc*, *haec*, *hōc* ‘this, this one here’. Palmer 1954:255—256; Ernout—Meillet 1979:293; Lindsay 1894:430.
- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Chukchi *-γ-* in *-iyəm* ~ *-eyəm* ‘I’ (shorter forms: *yəm* ~ *yəm*), (sg.) *yət* ‘thou’. Greenberg 2000:78—79; Fortescue 2005: 142—143 and 146—147; Mudrak 1989b:109 **xəm*, **xəmn-* ‘I’.

Greenberg 2000:77—81.

392. Proto-Nostratic root **gib-* (~ **geb-*):

(vb.) **gib-* ‘to bestow upon, to give’;

(n.) **gib-a* ‘gift’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **g[i]b-* ‘to bestow upon, to give’: Proto-Semitic (**gib-* > **g^vib-* > **d^vib-* > **zəb-* [~ secondary *a*-grade form: **zab-*] >) **zab-ad-* ‘to bestow upon, to give’ > Hebrew *zāḇaḏ* [זָבַד] ‘to bestow upon, to endow with’, *zeḇeḏ* [זֶבֶד] ‘endowment, gift’; Aramaic *zəḇaḏ* ‘to bestow upon’; Arabic *zabada* ‘to bestow upon, to give little’; Sabaeen *zbd* ‘gift’. Murtonen 1989:160; Klein 1987:193. Egyptian (**gib-* > **g^vib-* > **d^vib-* >) *ḏb*, *ḏb^v* ‘to supply, to furnish with, to equip, to provide’; Coptic *tōḏbe* [ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲉ] ‘(vb.) to repay, to requite; (n.) requital, repayment’. Hannig 1995:1002; Faulkner 1962:321; Erman—Grapow 1921:219 and 1926—1963.5:555—556; Vycichl 1983:211; Černý 1976:181.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **g^heb^h-* ‘to give’: Proto-Germanic **geþan* ‘to give’ > Gothic *giban* ‘to give’, **fra-gifts* ‘presentation, betrothal’; Runic (1st sg. pres.) *gibu* [𐌺𐌿𐌸] ‘I give’; Old Swedish *giva* ‘to give’; Old Danish *give* ‘to give’; Old Icelandic *gefa* ‘to give’, *gjöf* ‘gift’; Old English *giefan* ‘to give’, *giefu* ‘gift’; Old Frisian *geva* ‘to give’, *geve* ‘gift’; Old Saxon *geþan* ‘to

give', *geba* 'gift'; Dutch *geven* 'to give'; Old High German *geban* 'to give' (New High German *geben*), *geba* 'gift', *gift* 'gift; poison' (New High German *Gift*). Rix 1998a:172 **g^heb^h-* 'to take, to seize, to give'; Pokorny 1959:407—409 **ghabh-* 'to take, to seize'; Walde 1927—1932.I:344 **ghabh-*; Watkins 1985:20 **ghabh-* (also **ghebh-*) and 2000:28 **ghabh-* (also **ghebh-*) 'to give or receive'; Orël 2003:130 Proto-Germanic **ǵebanan*, 130 **ǵebō*, 130 **ǵebōn*, 130 **ǵeftiz*, 130 **ǵeftjanan*; Kroonen 2013:172—173 Proto-Germanic **geban-* 'to give' and 173 **gebō-* 'gift, present'; Feist 1939:214; Lehmann 1986:155 probably from **ghabh-* 'to take, to grasp'; De Vries 1977:160 and 171; Onions 1966:397 Common Germanic **ǵiftiz* and 399 Common Germanic **ǵeban*; Klein 1971:311 and 313 **ghab(h)-* 'to take, to hold, to have; to give'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:227 (New High German *Gabe* 'gift'), 237 **ghabh-*, and 258; Kluge—Seebold 1989:240 (New High German *Gabe* 'gift'), 249, and 267; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:204—205; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:225. Two separate stems must be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European: (1) **g^habh-* 'to grab, to seize' and (2) **g^heb^h-* 'to give', which is preserved only in Germanic.

Buck 1949:11.21 give. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:459, no. 304.

393. Proto-Nostratic root **gid-* (~ **ged-*) or **gid-* (~ **ged-*):

(vb.) **gid-* or **gid-* 'to force, drive, or press together; to join; to unite; to gather (together); to collect';

(n.) **gid-a* or **gid-a* 'force, compulsion; collection, heap; union'; (adj.) 'pressed close together, near, united'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gid-* 'to force, drive, or press together; to join; to unite; to gather (together); to collect': Proto-Semitic **gad-ad-* 'to force, drive, or press together; to join; to unite; to gather (together); to collect' > Hebrew *gāḏaḏ* [גָּדַד] 'to gather in bands or troops', *gəḏūḏ* [גְּדוּד] 'band, troop'; Phoenician (pl.) ?*gddm* 'troops'; Akkadian **gudūdu* 'military detachment' (Hebrew loan); Geez / Ethiopic *gadada* [ገደደ] 'to force, to compel, to be cruel, to be deformed', *gədud* [ግደደ] 'serious, severe, impure, dirty', *bagədud* [በግደደ] 'by force'; Tigre *gədd* 'compulsion, force'; Tigrinya *gädädä* 'to force, to compel', (*bä*)*gəddi* 'compulsory'; Amharic *gäddädä* 'to force, to oblige'; Harari *gädäd* 'stubborn'; Gurage (Soddo) (*ag*)*giddädä* 'to force someone to do something'. D. Cohen 1970— :99—100; Murtonen 1989:127; Klein 1987:91 (different from *gāḏaḏ* 'to cut'); Leslau 1979:262 and 1987:181 (not derived from Semitic **gdd* 'to cut'). Egyptian (**gid-* > **g^vid-* > **d^vid-* >) *ḏdb* 'to gather; to assemble, to come together (people); *to heap or pile up', *ḏdmt* /*ḏidma-t* 'heap, pile'; Coptic (Sahidic) *ḡatme* [ḡATME], (Akhmimic) *ḡetme* [ḡETME] 'heap (of grain)'. Hannig 1995:1019; Erman—Grapow 1921:223 and 1926—1963.5:632 and 5:634; Černý 1976:321; Vycichl 1983:332. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya

gidd-is- ‘to compel, to force; to persuade’; Kambata *gidd-is-* ‘to order’. Hudson 1989:279 and 318.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kiṭṭu* (*kiṭṭi-*) ‘to draw near (in time or place); to be on friendly terms with; to be attained, accomplished; to be clenched (as the teeth in lockjaw); to approach, to attack, to meet, to tie, to bind’, *kiṭṭa* ‘near, close by’, *kiṭṭam* ‘nearness, vicinity’, *kiṭṭi* ‘clamps (used in torture, etc.)’, *kiṭṭinar* ‘relations, friends, associates’, *kiṭai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘(vb.) to be obtained, found; to come into one’s possession; to join, to come together; to approach, to encounter; to oppose; (n.) comparison, likeness, equality’; Malayalam *kiṭa* ‘approach, match, equality’, *kiṭayuka* ‘to knock against, to quarrel, to be found or obtained’, *kiṭaccal* ‘meeting, quarrelling’, *kiṭekka* ‘to be obtained, to engage in’, *kiṭṭuka* ‘to come to hand, to be obtained, to reach’, *kiṭṭam* ‘vicinity, nearness’, *kiṭṭi* ‘torture by pressing the hands between two sticks’; Toda *kiṭ-* (*kiṭy-*) ‘to be caught (in crowd, by buffalo’s horns, by promise that one must keep, etc.)’, *kiṭ-* ‘vicinity’; Kannaḍa *kiṭṭu* ‘to touch, to reach, to come to hand, to be obtained’, *giṭṭisu* ‘to cause oneself to be reached’, *kiṭṭi* ‘torture in which hands, ears, or noses are pressed between two sticks’, *kiṭṭu* ‘touching, approach’; Koḍagu *kiṭṭ-* (*kiṭṭi-*) ‘to be gotten, to come into possession of’; Tuḷu *kiṭṭa* ‘proximity; near’, *giṭṭu* ‘proximate, near’; Koraga *kiṭṭi* ‘to touch’; Telugu *kiṭṭu* ‘to approach, to draw near, to agree, to suit’; Malto *kiṭe* ‘near, nigh’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:141—142, no. 1538.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ghedh-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **ghodh-*) ‘to force, drive, or press together; to join; to unite; to gather (together); to collect’: Sanskrit *gadh-* ‘to cling to, to hang on to’, *gādhya-ḥ* ‘seized or gained as booty’; Gothic *gadiliggs* ‘cousin’; Old Frisian *gadia* ‘to unite’, *gadur* ‘together’; Old English *gadrian*, *gaderian* ‘to gather together, to collect, to store up’, *gaderung* ‘assembly’, *gadere* ‘together’, *gada*, *gegada* ‘companion, associate’, *gaderwist* ‘association, intercourse’, *gadrigendlic* ‘collective’, *gæd* ‘fellowship’, *gædeling* ‘companion, kinsman’, *geador*, *tō-gædere* ‘together’; Middle Dutch *gaderen* ‘to come together, to unite’; Old High German *be-gatōn* ‘to come together, to unite’, *gatiling* ‘relative’; New High German *begatten* ‘to pair, to mate, to copulate’, *Gatte* ‘husband’, *Gattin* ‘wife’, *gatten* ‘to match, to pair, to couple, to unite, to copulate’; Old Church Slavic *godb* ‘time’. Pokorny 1959:423—424 **ghedh-*, **ghodh-* ‘to unite’; Walde 1927—1932.I:531—533 **ghadh-*; Mann 1984—1987:327—328 **ghodh-* ‘to fit, to meet, to join; apt, fitting’; Watkins 1985:21 **ghedh-* and 2000:28 **ghedh-* ‘to unite, to join, to fit’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:146, fn. 2, I:154 **g^[h]ed^[h]-*/**g^[h]od^[h]-* and 1995.I:126, fn. 69, and I:133 **ghedh-*/**ghodh-* ‘to unite’; Mallory—Adams 1997:64 **ghedh-* ‘to join, to fit together’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:320—321; Orël 2003:121—122 Proto-Germanic **zadilinzaz* (also **zadōjanan*); Kroonen 2013:163 Proto-Germanic **gadurōjan-* ‘to gather’; Lehmann 1986:136 **ghadh-* ‘to unite, to fit together’; Feist 1939:178—179 **ghodh-*;

Kluge—Mitzka 1967:235; Kluge—Seebold 1989:246—247; Derksen 2008:172—173.

- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *kit̃ie-* ‘to choke, to suffocate’. Nikolaeva 2006:214.
- E. Altaic: Manchu *gida-* ‘to press, to crush, to roll flat; to stamp (a seal); to force, press, or compel someone to do something; to quell, to crush, to defeat; to raid, to plunder; to suppress, to hold back (laughter)’, *gidabun* ‘suppression, defeat’.

Buck 1949:11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 12.21 collect, gather; 19.48 compel. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:384—385, no. 221.

394. Proto-Nostratic root *gil- (~ *gel-):

(vb.) *gil- ‘to glide, to slip, to slide’;

(n.) *gil-a ‘gliding, sliding’; (adj.) ‘smooth, slippery’

- A. Kartvelian: Georgian *gl-u-* ‘slippery’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ghl-ey-/ *ghl-oy-/ *ghl-i-* ‘to glide, to slip, to slide’: Swedish *glinta* ‘to glide, to slip’; Old English *glīdan* ‘to glide, to slip’, *glidder* ‘slippery’; Old Frisian *glīda* ‘to glide’; Old Saxon *glīdan* ‘to glide’; Dutch *glijden* ‘to glide’; Old High German *glītan* ‘to glide, to slip’ (New High German *gleiten*). Pokorny 1959:433 **ghleidh-* ‘to glide, to slip’; Walde 1927—1932.I:627 **ghleidh-*; Watkins 1985:21 **ghel-* ‘to shine’ and 2000:29 **ghel-* ‘to shine’: “19. Possibly distantly related to this root is Germanic **glīdan* ‘to glide’”; Orël 2003:136 Proto-Germanic **glīdanan*; Kroonen 2013:181 Proto-Germanic **glīdan-* ‘to glide’; Onions 1966:401 West Germanic **glīdan*; Klein 1971:314; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:261; Kluge—Seebold 1989:269.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kilz* (**külz*) ‘smooth, slippery’ > Zyrian / Komi (Sysola) *gylyd* ‘smooth, slippery’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *gylyt* ‘slippery’, (Malmyž) *gylyd* ‘smooth, slippery’; Ostyak / Xanty (Obdorsk) *kuli* ‘smooth’. Rédei 1986—1988:156 **kilz* (**külz*). Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) (*ña:čədə-*)*killəbə-* ‘to fall down and roll; to skim the water (of a stone)’. Nikolaeva 2006:210.

Buck 1949:10.42 slide, slip (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:455, no. 300; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 625, **gU|[[E]hU* ‘to be smooth’.

395. Proto-Nostratic root *gil- (~ *gel-):

(vb.) *gil- ‘to freeze’;

(n.) *gil-a ‘ice’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic **gal-ad-* ‘to freeze’ > Arabic *ǧalida* ‘to freeze, to be frozen’, *ǧalīd* ‘ice’, *ǧalīdī* ‘icy, ice-covered, glacial, ice; snow-covered’,

muḡallad ‘icy, frozen, ice-covered’; Modern Hebrew *gālaḏ* [גַּלַּד] ‘to freeze, to congeal, to jell’, *gālīḏ* [גַּלִּיָּד] ‘ice’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gālīḏā* ‘ice’; Syriac *ʿaglīḏā* ‘cold, frozen’. D. Cohen 1970— :119; Murtonen 1989:134; Klein 1987:99.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **g^helHt⁻/*g^hlHt⁻* ‘ice, hail’: Greek *χάλαζα* ‘hail’; Old Church Slavic *žlédica* ‘freezing rain’; Ukrainian *óželed’* ‘rain mixed with snow; ice-covered branches’; Polish (obsolete) *žlódź* ‘frozen rain; ice-covered ground’; Polabian *zlod* ‘hail’; Slovenian *žléd* ‘ice-covered ground’; Latvian *dzeldēt* ‘to harden (of snow)’; Farsi *žāla* (< **žarda-* < **g^helH₂-d-*) ‘hail, hoarfrost’. Pokorny 1959:435 **ghelad-* ‘ice’; Walde 1927—1932.I:629—630 **ghelad-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:287 **ghel(h₂)d- ~ *gh_l(h₂)-ed- ?* ‘hail’; Watkins 1985:22 **ghelad-* and 2000:29 **ghelad-* ‘hail’; Beekes 2010.II:1608 **gh_lh₂-d-*; Boisacq 1950:1047; Hofmann 1966:410 **ghelad-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1241—1242; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1065—1066 **ghelad-*; Derksen 2008:555 **g^helh₂d-*.
- C. Altaic: Proto-Tungus **gil-* ‘cold’ > Evenki *gildi* ‘cold’; Lamut / Even *gilrḡ* ‘cold’; Negidal *gīlīgdī* ‘cold’; Ulch *gītūli*, *gītīsī* ‘cold’; Oroch *gīčūli* ‘cold’; Nanay / Gold *gīčīsī* ‘cold’; Oroch *gīči-si* ‘cold’; Udihe *gīlihi* ‘cold’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:545 **gīlo* ‘cold’. Note: The putative Turkic cognates meaning ‘winter’ cited by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak have not been included here due to problems with the phonetics.
- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kil(kil)* ‘ice’: Chukchi *yilyil* ‘sea ice, ice floe’; Kerek *hilyil* ‘(sea) ice, ice covered with snow, ice floe’; Koryak *yilyil* ‘ice’; Alyutor *yilyil*, *kityal’* ‘ice’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ketvol* ‘ice’. Fortescue 2005:137.

Buck 1949:1.77 ice; 15.86 cold. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 628, **gī[V#]?V[d]V* ‘ice, frost; to freeze’ (and **gīV* ‘ice, frost’).

396. Proto-Nostratic root **gin-* (~ **gen-*) or **gin-* (~ **gen-*):

(vb.) **gin-* or **gin-* ‘to be young, small, weak’;

(n.) **gin-a* or **gin-a* ‘youth, young one’; (adj.) ‘young, small, weak’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *gnn* ‘to be weak, soft’, *gnnwt* ‘weakness’ (?); Coptic *čnon* [GNON] ‘to become soft, smooth, weak’. Hannig 1995:901; Faulkner 1962:290; Gardiner 1957:598; Erman—Grapow 1921:198 and 1926—1963.5:174—175; Černý 1976:332; Vycichl 1983:342.
- B. Dravidian: Toda *kin* ‘small’; Kannaḍa *kiṅkini beraḷu* ‘little finger’; Koḍagu *kīṅṅē* ‘boy’; Tuḷu *kinni* ‘small, young; the young of an animal, smallness’, *kinyavu* ‘the young of an animal, a little thing’, *kinyappē* ‘mother’s younger sister’, *kinyamme* ‘father’s younger brother’, *kinkana*, *kiṅkaṅa* ‘a little’, *kiṅṅṅṅṅ*, *kinaru*, *kinalu* ‘a little bit’; Koraga *kinnige* ‘younger one’, *kinyo* ‘small’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:147, no. 1603.

Sumerian *gen* ‘small’, *genna* ‘child’, *genna* ‘young, small’, *gina* ‘heir, child, son’, *gina* ‘small, weak’, *ginna* ‘child’. (Sumerian loanword in Akkadian *ginū* ‘infant, child’.)

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 12.56 small, little; 14.14 young. Bomhard 1996a:221—222, no. 630.

397. Proto-Nostratic root **gin-* (~ **gen-*):

(vb.) **gin-* ‘to grind, to pound, to break or crush into pieces’;

(n.) **gin-a* ‘the act of grinding, pounding, crushing’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gin-* ‘to grind, to pound’: Egyptian (**gin-* > **gʷin-* > **dʷin-* >) *dn* ‘to grind’. Hannig 1995:1007; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:575. East Chadic **gin-* ‘to pound’ > Somray *gine* ‘to pound’; Ndam *gəna* ‘to pound’; Tumak *gən* ‘to pound’; Dangla *igina* ‘to pound’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:209, no. 927, **gin-* ‘to grind, to pound’.
- B. Dravidian: Koḍagu *kinn-* (*kinni-*) ‘to tear into strips (rags, plantain, or screwpine leaves)’; Kolami *kini-* (*kinit-*) ‘to break into pieces (intr.)’, *kink-* (*kinikt-*) ‘to break into pieces (tr.)’; (?) Naiki (of Chanda) *kinup-* ‘to break, to crack knuckles’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:147, no. 147.
- C. Proto-Indo-European (**ghen-*)**ghn-* ‘to gnaw, to rub or scrape away, to pulverize, to grate’: Greek *χναύω* ‘to nibble’, *χναῦμα* ‘slice, tidbit’, (Hesychius) *χνίειν* ‘to break or crush into small pieces’; Avestan *aiwi-ynixta-* ‘gnawed, nibbled, eaten’; Old Icelandic *gnaga* ‘to gnaw’, *gniða* ‘to rub, to scrape’, *gnista* ‘to gnash the teeth, to snarl’, *gnastan* ‘a gnashing’, *gnist* ‘a gnashing’, *gnistan* ‘gnashing of the teeth’, *gnúa* ‘to rub’; Swedish *gnaga* ‘to gnaw’, *gnissla* (dial. *gnist*) ‘to grate’, *gnō* ‘to rub’; Old Danish *gnistre* ‘to grate’; Old English *gnagan* ‘to gnaw’, *gnīdan* ‘to rub, to pulverize’, *gnidel* ‘pestle’; Middle English *gnāsten* ‘to gnash the teeth together’, *gnāstinge* ‘gnashing’, *gnacchen* ‘to gnash’; East Frisian *gnīsen*, *knīsen* ‘to gnash the teeth’; Old Saxon *gnagan* ‘to gnaw’; Dutch *knagen* ‘to gnaw’; Old High German *gnagan*, *nagan* ‘to gnaw’ (New High German *nagen*). Pokorny 1959:436—437 **ghen-* ‘to gnaw, to rub or scrape away, to pulverize, to grate’; Walde 1927—1932.I:584—585 **ghen-*; Mann 1984—1987:326 **ghnaghō*, *-iō* ‘to gnash, to gnaw’, 326 **ghnauuō* (**ghnauō*, **ghnūuō*), *-iō* ‘to rub, to scrape’; Watkins 1985:22 **ghen-* and 2000:29 **gh(e)n-* ‘to gnaw’; Boisacq 1950:1064 **ghnəu-* (stem **ghnēu-*), along with **ghn-eu-*, **ghn-ou-* and 1064—1065 **ghnēi-*, **ghnī-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1106 and II:1106—1107; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1265; Hofmann 1966:420 **ghnēu-*, **ghnēi-*; Beekes 2010.II:1639; Kroonen 2013:183 Proto-Germanic **gnagan-* ‘to gnaw’ and 183 **gnīdan-* ‘to rub’; Orël 2003:137—138 Proto-Germanic **ḡnaḡanan*, 138 **ḡnīdanan*; De Vries 1977:177—178 **ghen-*, 179 **ghen-*, and 180 **ghneu-*; Falk—Torp

1903—1906.I:240; Onions 1966:403; Klein 1971:316; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:501; Kluge—Seebold 1989:498.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 5.56 grind; 9.26 break (vb. tr.).

398. Proto-Nostratic root **gir-* (~ **ger-*):

(vb.) **gir-* ‘to gird, to enclose’;

(n.) **gir-a* ‘enclosure, fence, wall’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gir-* ‘to gird, to enclose’: Proto-Semitic (**gir-* > **gʷir-* > **dʷir-* > **zər-* [~ secondary *a*-grade form: **zar-*] >) **zar-* (**ʔa-zar-*, **zar-ar-*) ‘to gird’ > Arabic *zarra* ‘to button up’, *ʔazara* ‘to surround’; Hebrew *zēr* [רֵר] ‘circlet, border’, *zarzīr* [רֵרֵרֵר] ‘girded, girt’, *ʔāzar* [רֵרֵר] ‘to gird, to encompass, to equip’, *ʔezōr* [רֵרֵרֵר] ‘waistcloth’; Ugaritic *mīzrt* ‘wrap, shawl’; Ḥarsūsi *wezār* ‘waistcloth’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *zerr* ‘to tie tightly, to pull (a rope) tight’; Mehri *zər* ‘to fix, to secure’. Murtonen 1989:86 and 169; Klein 1987:16 and 203; D. Cohen 1970— :14. Egyptian (**gir-* > **gʷir-* > **dʷir-* >) *ḏri* ‘to constrain, to enclose, to fortify’, *ḏr* (later variant *ḏrīt*) ‘wall, enclosure’. Hannig 1995:1012—1013; Faulkner 1962:323; Gardiner 1957:604; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:598. Proto-Berber (**gir-* > **gʷir-* > **dʷir-* >) **dər-* > Tawlemmet *adər* ‘to keep, to support, to maintain’, *asədər* ‘a rope used to hold another’; Nefusa *ədri* ‘to close’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *idri* ‘rack’; Kabyle *adar* ‘row, line’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ceri* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) ‘to join together, to tighten, to shut, to close, to block up, to secure, to store up, to pack closely’, *cīrai* ‘to restrain, to imprison, to dam up’; Malayalam *cerukkuka* ‘to dam up, to enclose, to oppose, to prevent’, *cīra* ‘dam, enclosure, limit, tank, reservoir’; Kannada *kīr-* (*kett-*) ‘to confine, to close, to shut, to block up, to make a fence, to cover’; Telugu *ceṛa* ‘prison, imprisonment’, *kīriyu* ‘to be tight’; Koḍagu *kere* ‘tank’; Koṇḍa *ker-* ‘to close, to shut (as a door, box, etc.), to build a wall (as enclosure)’; Kui *ker-* ‘to fence’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:180, no. 1980.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **gher-/*ghy-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **ghor-*) ‘to gird, to enclose’: Sanskrit *grhá-h* ‘house’; Greek *χότρος* ‘enclosed place’; Albanian *gardh* ‘fence’; Latin *hortus* ‘garden’, *cohors* ‘enclosure, yard’; Oscan *hūrz* ‘enclosed place’; Gothic *bi-gairdan* ‘to gird’, *uf-gairdan* ‘to gird up’, *gairda* ‘girdle’, *gards* ‘house, family’; Old Icelandic *garðr* ‘fence, wall’, *gyrða* ‘to gird (with a belt)’, *gyrðill* ‘girdle’, *gerð* ‘gear, harness’, *gerða* ‘to fence in’; Swedish *gjorda* ‘to gird’; Old English *geard* ‘fence, enclosure’, *gyrdan* ‘to gird’, *gyrdel* ‘girdle, belt’; Old Frisian *gerda* ‘to gird’; *gertel* ‘girdle, belt’, *garda* ‘garden’; Old Saxon *gurdian* ‘to gird’, *gard* ‘enclosure’, *gardo* ‘garden’; Dutch *gorden* ‘to gird’, *gordel* ‘girdle’, *gaard* ‘garden’; Old High German *gurtan*, *gurtan* ‘to gird’ (New High German *gürten*), *gurtel* ‘girdle, belt’ (New High German *Gürtel*), *gart*

‘circle’, *garto* ‘garden’ (New High German *Garten*); Lithuanian *gaĩdas* ‘enclosure’; Old Church Slavic *gradъ* ‘city’. Rix 1998a:176 **gherdh-* ‘to enclose, to gird’; Pokorny 1959:442—443 **gher-* ‘to grasp, to seize, to enclose’, 444 **gherdh-* (and **gherdh-*) ‘to embrace, to enclose, to encompass’; Walde 1927—1932.I:603—604 **gher-*; Mann 1984—1987:331 **ghordhos* ‘fortified place, walled enclosure’, 331 **ghoros* ‘enclosure, envelope’, 332 **ghortos, -is, -us* ‘enclosure’, 415 **gherdhō* ‘to clasp, to embrace’; Mallory—Adams 1997:199 **ghórdhos* (**ghórtos* ~ **ghórdhos*) ‘fence, hedge; enclosure, pen, fold’; Watkins 1985:22 **gher-* and 2000:30 **gher-* ‘to grasp, to enclose’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:744 **g[h]erd[h]-* and 1995.I:647 **gherdh-* ‘fence’, **gher-/gher-* ‘to fence in, to surround’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:344; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1113—1114 **ghorto-*; Boisacq 1950:1067—1068 **gher-*; Beekes 2010.II:1644—1645 **ghor-t-*; Hofmann 1966:422 **ghortos, gher-dh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1270—1271 **gher-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:131 and 300 **ghert-, ghortó-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:242—243 **gher-, ghor-tos* and I:660 **ghor-to-, ghor-dho-*; De Vaan 2008:290—291; Kroonen 2013:169 Proto-Germanic **garda-* ‘courtyard’; Orël 1998:110 and 2003:126—127 Proto-Germanic **gardaz*, 127 **gardjan*, 127 **gardōn*, 146—147 **zurdaz*, 147 **zurdilaz*, 147 **zurdjanan*; Feist 1939:99 **gherdh-*, 185—186 **ghert-, gherdh-* (**gherdh-*), and 197—198 **gherdh-*; Lehmann 1986:68 **gherdh-*, 140 **gherdh-*, and 147—148 **gherdh-*; De Vries 1977:156, 164, and 197; Onions 1966:389, 399, and 1018; Klein 1971:304, 312, and 836 **ghor-to-, ghor-dho-, gher-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:233—234 **ghordho-* and 277 **gherdh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:245—246 **ghortó-* and 282 **gherdh-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:136—137; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:135—136; Derksen 2008:178 **ghordh-o-* and 2015:164—165 **ghordh-o-*; Smoczyński 2007.I:157—158.

Sumerian *gir₁₁* ‘to tie on, to tie together, to join together; to harness’.

Buck 1949:6.57 belt, girdle; 7.15 yard, court. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:458, no. 303.

399. Proto-Nostratic root **gir^y-* (~ **ger^y-*):

(vb.) **gir^y-* ‘to be or become old’;

(n.) **gir^y-a* ‘old age, old person’; (adj.) ‘old’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ger-* ‘to be or become old’: Proto-East Cushitic **gerʃ-* ‘to become old’ > Galla / Oromo *jaar-sa* ‘to become old’; Gidole *kerʔ-* ‘to become old’; Sidamo *geed-*, *geedd-* (< **geer-d-*) ‘to grow old (of people)’, (pl.) *geerra* ‘old men, elders’, *geer-co* ‘old man, old woman’; Gedeo / Darasa *geer-co* ‘old man, old woman’, (pl.) *geeʔre* ‘old men’. Hudson 1989:107; Sasse 1979:37. Proto-Chadic **garə* ‘to grow old’ > Kirfi *gaaro*

‘old’; Ngizim *gàrú* ‘to grow old’; Tera *gorə* ‘to grow old’. Newman 1977:27. Takács 2011a:197 **g-r* ‘old’; Ehret 1995:186, no. 284, **gerf-* ‘to become old’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kīram*, *kīraṭu* ‘old age; aged person, animal, or thing (contemptuous)’, *kīramai*, *kīravu* ‘old’, *kīraṇ*, *kīraṇōṇ* ‘old man’, (f.) *kīravi* ‘old woman’, *kīraṇ* ‘old fellow’ (used in contempt), (f.) *kīraṭi* ‘old lady’ (used in contempt); Malayalam *kīraṇ* ‘old man’, (f.) *kīravi*, *kīraṭṭi* ‘old woman’; Kannaḍa *keṛava*, *keṛiva* ‘old man’; Tuḷu *kīru* ‘ancient, old’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:145, no. 1579.
- C. (?) Proto-Indo-European **ghr-eH-* (> **ghr-ē-*) ‘gray-haired, old’: Proto-Germanic **grēwaz* ‘gray, gray-haired’ > Old Icelandic *grár* ‘gray, gray-haired’; Faroese *gráur* ‘gray’; Norwegian *graa* ‘gray’; Danish *graa* ‘gray’; Old Swedish *grā* ‘gray’ (Modern Swedish *grå* ‘gray’); Old English *græg* ‘gray’; Old Frisian *grē* ‘gray’; Dutch *grauw* ‘gray’; Old High German *grāo* ‘gray’ (New High German *grau* ‘gray’). Watkins 2000:30 **gh(e)r-* ‘to shine, to glow; gray’; Orël 2003:142 Proto-Germanic **grēwaz*; Kroonen 2013:189 Proto-Germanic **grēwa-* ‘grey’; De Vries 1977:185 **ghrēj-*, **ghrēu-*; Torp 1919:178; Onions 1966:413 **ghrēghwos*; Klein 1971:322; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:242—243 Germanic stem **grāwa-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:268; Kluge—Seebold 1989:276. Old Frisian *grīs* ‘gray’; Old Saxon *grīs* ‘gray’; Dutch *grijs* ‘gray’; Old High German *grīs* ‘gray’; Middle High German *grīse* ‘old man’ (New High German *Greis*). Kluge—Mitzka 1967:269; Kluge—Seebold 1989:277; Orël 2003:143 Proto-Germanic **grīsaz*; Kroonen 2013:191 Proto-Germanic **grīsa-* ‘grey’.

Buck 1949:14.15 old.

400. Proto-Nostratic root **gir^v-* (~ **ger^v-*) or **gir^v-* (~ **ger^v-*):
 (vb.) **gir^v-* or **gir^v-* ‘to move, to move swiftly, to hasten, to hurry; to run, to flow; to go, to walk’;
 (n.) **gir^v-a* or **gir^v-a* ‘movement, flow, flux, step, course’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **gir-* ‘to move, to move swiftly, to hasten, to hurry; to run, to flow’: Proto-Semitic **gar-ay-* ‘to move, to move swiftly, to hasten, to hurry; to run, to flow’ > Arabic *ġarā* ‘to flow, to stream (water); to run; to hurry, to rush, to hasten; to blow (wind); to take place, to come to pass, to happen, to occur; to be under way, to be in progress, to be going on (work); to befall, to happen; to be in circulation, to circulate, to be current; to wend one’s way, to head (for); to proceed; to follow, to yield, to give way; to entail; to run or be after something, to seek to get something’, *ġary* ‘course’, *ġarrā?* ‘runner, racer’, *ġarayān* ‘flow, flux; course; stream’, *ġārin* ‘flowing, streaming, running; circulating’, *maġran* ‘course, stream, rivulet, gully; torrent or flood of water’; Syriac *gərā* ‘to run, to flow’. D. Cohen 1970— :187; Zammit 2002:121—122. Berber: Riff *uġur* ‘to go, to walk’;

Iznasen *uyur* ‘to go, to walk’. West Chadic **gura*?- ‘to come; to go around’ > Dera *gur*- ‘to come’; Bokkos *gara*?- ‘to go around’. Central Chadic **gwar*- (< **gura*-) ‘to go into; to return; to follow’ > Tera *gari*- ‘to return’; Hildi *gwər*- ‘to go into’; Logone *gər*- ‘to go into’; Banana *gwərə*- ‘to follow’. East Chadic **gVr*- ‘to come’ > Sibine *gər*- ‘to come’. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye ?*agir*-, ?*agar*- ‘to return’. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *geer*- ‘to run’. Hudson 1989:279. Orël—Stolbova 1995:211, no. 934, **gir*-/**gur*- ‘to go, to run’.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **gh₁r-edh-*/**gh₁r-odh-*/**gh₁y-dh-*, **gh₁r-ey-dh-*/**gh₁r-oy-dh-*/**gh₁r-i-dh-* ‘to walk, to step’: Latin *gradior* ‘to step, to walk’, *gradus* ‘a step’; Old Irish *in-grenn*- ‘to pursue’; Gothic *griþs* ‘standing’; Middle High German *grit* ‘step, stride’, *griten* ‘to straddle’; Lithuanian *gridiju*, *gridyti* ‘to wander about’; Old Church Slavic *grędō*, *gręsti* ‘to come, to journey’; Russian (obsolete) *grjadú* [гряду], *grjastí* [грязти] ‘to approach’. Rix 1998a:181 (?) **gh₁reidh-* ‘to walk, to step’; Pokorny 1959:456—457 **ghredh-* ‘to walk, to step’; Walde 1927—1932.I:651—652 **ghredh-*; Watkins 1985:23 **ghredh-* and 2000:32 **ghredh-* ‘to walk, to go’; Mallory—Adams 1997:546 **ghredh-* ‘to step, to go’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:279—280; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:615—616 **gh₁r-dh-*; De Vaan 2008:268—269; Orël 2003:142 Proto-Germanic **gridiz*; Kroonen 2013:189 Proto-Germanic **gridi-* ‘step’; Feist 1939:222 **ghredh-* (?); Lehmann 1986:161 etymology disputed — **ghredh-* has been proposed; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:171; Preobrazhensky 1951:166 Russian *grjastí* [грязти] < Proto-Indo-European **ghredh-*; Derksen 2008:188 **gh₁ri-n-dh-*.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **giär^ʷa-* ‘to walk, to step’: Proto-Tungus **giari-*, **gira-* ‘to walk, to step’ > Manchu *garda-* ‘to rush, to walk fast’, *gardaša-* ‘to walk vigorously, to walk swiftly, to walk in a race’, *gari-* ‘to walk around, to walk away’; Evenki *gira-hta-* ‘to step’; Lamut / Even *gīraŋ-*, *gīrqḗ-* ‘to step’; Negidal *giyān-* ‘to step’; Ulch *gīran-* ‘to step’; Oroch *gīran-* ‘to step’; Nanay / Gold *gīari-* ‘to walk’, *gīran-* ‘to step’; Oroch *gāri-* ‘to walk’, *gia-* ‘to step’; Udihe *geä-li-* ‘to walk’, *geäna-* ‘to step’. Proto-Mongolian **gar-* ‘to go out’ > Written Mongolian *γar-* ‘to go or come out, to emerge, to leave’; Khalkha *gar-* ‘to go out’; Buriat *gara-* ‘to go out’; Kalmyk *γar-* ‘to go out’; Ordos *gar-* ‘to go out’; Moghol *γaru-* ‘to go out’; Dagur *gar-* ‘to go out’; Monguor *gari-* ‘to go out’. Proto-Turkic **gEr^ʷ-* ‘to walk, to walk through’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *kez-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Karakhanide Turkic *kez-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Turkish *gez-* ‘to go about, to travel, to walk about (especially with a view to seeing things or for enjoyment)’, *gezici* ‘traveling, touring, itinerant’, *gezme* ‘patrol; watchman’, *gezi* ‘promenade, excursion’; Gagauz *gez-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Azerbaijani *güz-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Turkmenian *gez-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Uzbek *kez-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Tatar *giz-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Bashkir *gid-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Uighur *güz-/küz-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Karaim *gez-* ‘to walk, to walk

through'; Kirghiz *kez-* 'to walk, to walk through'; Noghay *kez-* 'to walk, to walk through'. Cf. also Yakut *keriy-* (with *-r-*) 'to walk around'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:550—551 **giǎra* 'to walk, to step'.

Sumerian *gir*₇ 'to trot'.

Buck 1949:10.11 move (vb.); 10.32 flow (vb.); 10.45 walk (vb.); 10.46 run (vb.).

401. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gol-a* 'edge, corner, valley':

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gol-* 'edge, corner, valley': Proto-East Cushitic **gol-* 'edge, slope, valley' > Burji *gól-oo* 'slope'; Afar *gol-o* 'valley'; Somali *gol* 'foot of hill'; Tsamay *gole* 'river'; Galla / Oromo *gol-a* 'corner, edge, gorge'; East Oromo *gol-uu* 'valley'; Gawwada *kol-l-e* 'river'; Gollango *kol-l-e* 'river'; Sidamo *gola, gollo* 'corner'. Hudson 1989:194 and 366; Sasse 1982:83.
- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kolli* 'valley, corner'; Kannaḍa *kolli, kolle* 'a bend, corner, gulf, bay'; Koḍagu *kolli* 'small stream with rocky bed'; Tuḷu *kolli* 'a bay'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:192, no. 2137.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ghl-ent'o-s* 'bank (of river), side, shore, valley': Old Irish *glenn* 'valley'; Welsh *glyn* 'valley', *glan* 'side, shore, bank'; Breton *glann* 'bank'.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kolz* 'hollow, hole; crack, fissure, crevice, rift' > Finnish *kolo* 'cavity, hollow, hole; crack, fissure, crevice'; (?) Lapp / Saami (Lule) *gollo/golo-* 'fissure'; Zyrian / Komi *kolas* 'crack, distance, interval (in space and time)'; Vogul / Mansi *kal, hal* 'rift, crack, interspace'; Ostyak / Xanty *kōl* 'rift, crack'. Collinder 1955:90 and 1977:106; Rédei 1986—1988:174—175 **kolz*.

Buck 1949:1.24 valley; 1.36 river, stream, brook; 12.72 hollow; 12.76 corner; 12.85 hole. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:501—502, no. 349; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 620, **gowlu* (or **gowlü* ?) 'deep; valley'.

402. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gub-a* 'highest point, summit, top':

Note also:

(n.) **gab-a* 'peak, tip, top'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gub-* 'highest point, pinnacle': Proto-Semitic **gab-* 'highest point, summit, top, mountain, hill' > Hebrew *gābah* [גָּבַח] 'to be high, exalted', *gəβāl* [גְּבָל] 'mountainous region', *giβ^cāh* [גִּיבְעָה] 'hill, height, elevation'; Ugaritic *gb^c* 'hill', *gbl* 'mountain'; Akkadian *gab^u* 'summit, top, height'; Arabic *ğabal* 'mountain', *ğabalī* 'mountainous, hilly'; Sabaeen *gblt* 'hill country'; Mehri *gebēl* 'mountain'; Šheri / Jibbāli

giél (base *gbl*) ‘mountain’; Amharic *gäbäta* ‘high hill’. Militarëv 2012:74 Proto-Semitic **gVb-Vl-*; D. Cohen 1970— :96 and 97; Klein 1987:89 and 90; Murtonen 1989:126; Zammit 2002:116. Proto-East Cushitic **gub(b)-* ‘mountain’ > Burji *gúbb-a* ‘highland’; Dullay *gúp-o* ‘mountain’; Dasenech *gum* ‘mountain’; Afar *gubb-i* ‘high spot in undulating country’; Galla / Oromo *gubb-aa* ‘up, above’. Sasse 1979:15 and 1982:85; Hudson 1989: 195. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *guβa* ‘plains’. Central Chadic **guba-* (< **gubaH-*) ‘mountain’ > Glavda *γoba* ‘mountain’; Gava *γuba* ‘mountain’; Mesme *gəbəy* ‘mountain’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:223, no. 992, **gübaʕ-* ‘mountain’; Militarëv 2012:74 Proto-Afrasian **ga/ub-*. [Ehret 1995:179, no. 263, **gab-* ‘top’.]

- B. Dravidian: Toda *kofoy* ‘top of a hill, horizon’; Kannaḍa *kobe* ‘top of a coconut tree’, *kobaḷu* ‘top of a roof’; Telugu *koppu* ‘the crest or ridge of a roof’, *kopparamu*, *kopramu* ‘the top, summit, turret’; Tuḷu *kubaḷu* ‘top of the roof’, *kubè* ‘top of a coconut tree’; Koraga *kobali* ‘top of the roof’, *kobe* ‘top of a coconut tree’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:158, no. 1731(b).

(?) Sumerian *gub* ‘to stand, to erect’.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:383—384, no. 219; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 593, **g[U]bʕV(LV)* ‘hill, mountain’.

403. Proto-Nostratic root **gub-* (~ **gob-*):

(vb.) **gub-* ‘to cook, to roast, to burn’;

(n.) **gub-a* ‘the act of cooking; that which is used for cooking: pot, pan; stove, furnace’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gub-* ‘to cook, to roast, to burn’: Semitic: Akkadian *gubbubu* ‘to roast’, *gabbubu* ‘roasted’, **gubibtu* (pl. *gubibāte*) ‘parched barley’. Proto-East Cushitic **gub-* ‘to burn’ > Somali *gub-* ‘to burn’; Rendille *gub-* ‘to burn’; Boni *kub-* ‘to burn’; Galla / Oromo *gub-* ‘to burn’; Konso *kup-* ‘to burn’; Yaaku *kup-* ‘to rot’. Sasse 1979:17. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa (transitive) *gub-* ‘to burn, to burn the mouth (food)’, (intransitive) *gub-at-* ‘to burn’; Burji (transitive) *gub-*, *gub-ad-* ‘to burn’. Hudson 1989:33—34, 195, and 243. The Highland East Cushitic forms may be loanwords from Galla / Oromo. Orël—Stolbova 1995:219, no. 971, **gub-* ‘to burn’. Orël—Stolbova include Dahalo *guβ-* ‘to burn’. However, Ehret (1980:238) derives the Dahalo form from Proto-Southern Cushitic **guf-* ‘to burn (something)’.
- B. (?) Indo-European: Old Lithuanian *gabija*, *gubija* ‘fire’, *Gubija* name of the fire-goddess.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **giūbe* ‘to smoke, to roast’: Proto-Tungus **gūb-* ‘(vb.) to fume, to smoke; (n.) furnace, stove’ > Evenki *gī-* ‘to fume, to smoke’, *gīwun* ‘furnace, stove’; Manchu *gūwa-γīyan* ‘a hole for cooking used by

soldiers in the field; a tripod used for supporting a cooking pot over a hole'. Proto-Turkic **gübeč* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot' > Karakhanide Turkic *küveč* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot'; Turkish *güvec* 'earthenware cooking pot; casserole'; Gagauz *güveč* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot'; Azerbaijani *güväž* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot'; Turkmenian *göweč* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot'; Uzbek (dialectal) *köväs* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *kös* 'skull'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:558 **giübe* 'to smoke, to roast'.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 5.21 cook; 5.23 roast, fry. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 592, **g[uy]bV* 'to heat' (→ 'to cook, to roast, to burn, to dry'). Blažek (1991a:362, no. 8) compares several Kartvelian forms with those given above, and Dolgopolsky includes these as well in his *Nostratic Dictionary*. However, these forms are suspect inasmuch as the root vowel of the reconstructed Kartvelian proto-form (**gab-/gb-* 'to cook, to boil') does not agree with what is found in the putative cognates in other Nostratic languages. Consequently, the Kartvelian material is not included here.

404. Proto-Nostratic root **gud-* (~ **god-*):

(vb.) **gud-* 'to throw, to toss, to shake';

(n.) **gud-a* 'that which is thrown or tossed off or aside: rubbish, refuse, cast-out things'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **g[u]d-* 'to throw, to cast': Proto-Semitic **gad-ap-* 'to throw (away), to cast (away)' > Arabic *ğadafa* 'to cut off, to throw, to move the hands about in walking fast', *ğadaf* 'dregs, dirt'; Geez / Ethiopic *gadafa* [ገደፈ] 'to throw away, to thrust, to reject, to cast away, to discard, to cast down, to cast aside, to retrench, to give up, to abandon, to omit, to repudiate, to despise, to lose, to avoid, to deduct, to forget', *g^wədf* [ገደፍ] 'sweepings, rubbish, refuse'; Tigre *gädfa* 'to throw away', *gədf*, *g^wədəf* 'cast-out things'; Tigrinya *gädäfä* 'to abandon, to throw away', *g^wäduf* 'rubbish'; Amharic *gäddäfa* 'to forget something one has learned, to skip a line'; Gurage *gädäfä* 'to break a fast', *guduf* 'dirt'; Harari *guduf* 'place where rubbish is placed'. D. Cohen 1970— :102; Leslau 1979:262 and 1987:181.
- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kuṭayuka* 'to throw out, to fling away, to shake extremities'; Kannaḍa *koḍapu*, *koḍavu* 'to scatter or throw in different directions with the hand, to shake or toss about'; Koḍagu *koḍa-* (*koḍap-*, *koḍand-*) 'to shake'; Tuḷu *kuḍpuni* 'to shiver (as from ague); to dust, to shake off (as the dust from a cloth)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:152—153, no. 1662.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **gd-* 'to throw, to cast, to fling, to toss': Georgian *a-gd-eb-a* 'to throw, to cast, to fling, to toss', *da-gd-eb-a* 'to throw, to hurl';

Svan *li-gd-ur-i* ‘to seize, to clutch, to grasp, to hold’. Schmidt 1962:100; Fähnrich 2007:98 *gd-.

Buck 1949:10.25 throw (vb.); 10.26 shake (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:394—395, no. 232.

405. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *gul-a (~ *gol-a) ‘enclosed space’:

- A. Afrasian: Proto-East Cushitic *gol- ‘enclosed space: shed, pen, stable’ > Somali *gol-a* ‘enclosed space, pen, stable’; Burji *gola* ‘wall (of house); shed for animals’; Gedeo / Darasa *gola* ‘shed for animals’; Sidamo *golo*, *goló* ‘fence, wall; cattle-pen outside house’. Hudson 1987:194, 242. and 366. Cushitic loans in: Geez / Ethiopic *gol* [ጎል] ‘stable, crib, manger, cave’, *golāmḥəsā* [ጎላምኧሳ] ‘old pen for cattle’; Tigre *gol* ‘stable’; Gurage *gʷāla* ‘pen for mules or horses inside the house’. Leslau 1979:271 and 1987:189, 191.
- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *külä ‘dwelling’ > Finnish *kylä* ‘village’; Estonian *küla* ‘village’; Lapp / Saami (Northern) *gal’li-* ‘to visit, to pay a visit to’; Vogul / Mansi *kül*, *kwäl* ‘house, dwelling’. Collinder 1955:93, 1960:412 *külä, and 1977:109; Rédei 1986—1988:155—156 *kilä (*külä).
- C. Proto-Altaic *gūli ‘dwelling, cottage’: Proto-Tungus *gūle ‘hut, dwelling-place’ > Evenki *gūle* ‘hut, dwelling-place’. Proto-Turkic *gūl ‘house, home, dwelling’ > Turkish *-gil* suffix meaning ‘belonging to the family of’ (dial. ‘home, dwelling-place’); Azerbaijani *-gil* suffix meaning ‘belonging to the family of’; Chuvash *kil*, *kül* ‘dwelling, hut’; Yakut *külä* ‘vestibule, inner porch’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2002:570—571 *gūli ‘dwelling, cottage’.

Buck 1949:7.12 house; 7.13 hut; 19.16 village. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 617, *gūlA ‘dwelling, house’.

406. Proto-Nostratic root *gun- (~ *gon-):

(vb.) *gun- ‘to perceive, to notice’;

(n.) *gun-a ‘notice, memory, mind, perception, remembrance, recollection’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *gnt* ‘memory, remembrance, recollection’. Hannig 1995:901; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:173.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *gon- ‘to think, to remember’: Georgian *gon-* ‘to think, to remember’, *gon-eb-a* ‘reason, mind’; Mingrelian *gon-* ‘to think, to remember’; Laz (*n*)*gon-* ‘to think, to remember’; Svan *gon-/gn-* (*li-gn-ew-i*) ‘to think up, to inspire’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:87—88 *gon-; Fähnrich 2007:109—110 *gon-; Klimov 1964:63—64 *gon- and 1998:31 *gon- ‘to think, to remember’.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kunta-* ‘to perceive’ > Finnish *kuuntele-* ‘to listen’; Karelian *kuntele-*, *kuundele-* ‘to listen’; Veps (Northern) *kund'l'e-* ‘to listen, to obey’; Vogul / Mansi *qont-* ‘to find; to perceive, to see’, *kontaml-* ‘to hear (to perceive, to notice)’, *koontl-* ‘to notice’; Ostyak / Xanty *kunhəl-* (< **kuntəhəl-*), (Tremyugan) *kuntəgp-*, (Southern) *huntt-*, *hunttət-* ‘to hear, to perceive, to notice’; Hungarian *hall-* ‘to hear’. Collinder 1955:28 and 1977:48; Rédei 1986—1988:207—208 **kunta-l3* ‘to listen, to hear’; Sammallahti 1988:544 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kuntå* ‘to perceive; to catch’; Décsy 1990:101 **kunta* ‘to catch, to find; to receive booty’. Finnish *kuuntele-* may have been influenced by *kuule-* ‘to hear’.
- D. Proto-Altaic **gūno-* ‘to think’: Proto-Tungus **gūn-* ‘to say, to think’ > Manchu *gūni-* ‘to think’, *gūnin* ‘intention, thought, opinion, feeling, sense; mind, spirit’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *goni-* ‘to think’; Evenki *gūn-* ‘to say’; Lamut / Even *gōn-* ‘to say’; Negidal *gūn-* ‘to say’; Oroch *gun-* ‘to say’; Nanay / Gold *un(de)-* ‘to say’; Orok *un-* ‘to say’; Udihe *gun-* ‘to say’; Solon *gun-* ‘to say’. Proto-Mongolian **guni-* ‘to be sad, anxious’ > Mongolian *γuni-* ‘to grieve; to be afflicted, sad’, *γuniγ-* ‘grief, sadness, sorrow’, *γuniγalža-* ‘to lament, to be sad, to mourn’, *γuniγla-* ‘to grieve; to be afflicted, sad, depressed, or worried; to mourn’, *γuniγtai* ‘sad, sorrowful, mournful, downcast, cheerless; monotonous, melancholy’, *γunira-* ‘to be or become sad, grieved, sorrowful, distressed, afflicted’, *γuniγara-* ‘to be sad, melancholy, lonely for; to grieve, to be sorrowful’; Khalkha *guni-* ‘to be sad, anxious’; Buriat *guni-* ‘to be sad, anxious’; Kalmyk *γunā-* ‘to be sad, anxious’; Ordos *gunid-* ‘to be sad, anxious’; Dagur *guni-* ‘to be sad, anxious’. Proto-Turkic **Kun-* ‘(vb.) to yearn; to be anxious, sorry; (n.) attention, care, usefulness’ > Middle Turkic *qunuq-* ‘to yearn; to be anxious, sorry’; Uzbek *qunt* ‘attention, care’; Tatar *qon* ‘attention, care’, (dial.) *qonar* ‘usefulness’, *qono* ‘diligent, busy’, *qonoq-* ‘to get used, to become accustomed’; Bashkir (dial.) *qont* ‘attention, care’, *qonar* ‘usefulness’; Kirghiz *qunt* ‘attention, care’, *qunar* ‘usefulness’; Kazakh *qunt* ‘attention, care’; Tuva *qunuq-* ‘to yearn; to be anxious, sorry’. Poppe 1960:24; Street 1974:13 Proto-Altaic **guni-* ‘to think, to grieve’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:571—572 **gūno* ‘to think’.

Buck 1949:15.11 perceive by the senses; sense (sb.); 17.13 think (= reflect); 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 17.31 remember. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 640, **gūn[h]i* ⇨ **gu[h]nī* (or **gūn[?]i* ⇨ **gu[?]nī*) ‘to think’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:387, no. 224.

407. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasian only) **gup^h-* (~ **gop^h-*):
 (vb.) **gup^h-* ‘to extinguish; to be extinguished, to die out, to perish’;
 (n.) **gup^h-a* ‘loss, destruction’

- A. Proto-Indo-European **g^hup^h*- > (with progressive voicing assimilation) **g^hub^h*- (secondary full-grade forms: **g^hewb^h*-/**g^howb^h*-) ‘to be extinguished, destroyed; to perish’: Latvian *gubstu*, *gubt* ‘to subside, to collapse’; Old Church Slavic *gybělь* ‘loss, destruction’, *gybljō*, *gybati* (intr.) ‘to be destroyed’, *gybnō*, *gybnōti* (beside *gynōti*) (intr.) ‘to perish’, *pa-guba* ‘destruction, ruin’, *gubiti* ‘to spoil, to ruin’; Russian *gubitel’* [губитель] ‘undoer, ruiner, destroyer’, *gubit’* [губить] ‘to ruin; to be the undoing (of); to destroy; to spoil’; Czech *hubiti* ‘to spoil’; Serbo-Croatian *gūbiti* ‘to spoil’; Hittite *ku-up-ta-ar* ‘refuse, waste (of a ritual)’. Pokorny 1959:450 **gheub(h)*- ‘to bend, to bow (down)’; Walde 1927—1932.I: 567—568 **gheub(h)*-; Mann 1984—1987:332—333 **ghoubh*- ‘empty, vain, useless; loss, destruction’, 333 **ghoubhijō* (**ghoubhijō*) ‘to be empty, to be vain; to come to naught’; Preobrazhensky 1951:166—167; Derksen 2008:195 **ghoubh-eie-*, 197 **g^hub^h*-, and 200; Puhvel 1984— .4:259 **ghubhty* ‘wasting, waste’ (root **ghewb^h*-). Note: Only in Balto-Slavic and Anatolian.
- B. Proto-Uralic **kupsa*- ‘to extinguish, to be extinguished’: Estonian *kustu-* (dial. *kistu-*) ‘to be or become extinguished, to go out, to die out; to be obliterated, to be wiped out; to fade out’, *kustuta-* ‘to extinguish, to put out’, *kustutus* ‘extinction’; Saami / Lapp (Kola) *gop’sē* ‘to extinguish, to be extinguished’; Votyak / Udmurt *kys-* ‘to be extinguished; to put out, to extinguish’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hapta-* ‘to put out, to extinguish’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kabta-* ‘to extinguish’, *kabtu-* ‘to be extinguished’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *kota-* ‘to extinguish’; Selkup Samoyed (C) *kapta-* ‘to extinguish’; Kamassian *kubder-* ‘to extinguish’. Collinder 1955:29 and 1977:49; Rédei 1986—1988:214—215 **kupsa-*; Décsy 1990:101 **kupsa* ‘to extinguish’; Sammallahti 1988:537 **kupsā* ‘to extinguish’; Janhunen 1977b:54 **kāptā-*.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **giūp^ha* (~ -*u*-) ‘to extinguish’: Proto-Tungus **gūp-* ‘to extinguish; to be extinguished’ > Ulch (intr.) *gūpu-*, *gōkpi-* ‘to be extinguished’, (tr.) *gūptu-* ‘to extinguish’; Nanay / Gold *gūpku-* ‘to be extinguished’, (tr.) *gūpu-* ‘to extinguish’; Orok (intr.) *gūptu-* ‘to be extinguished’, (tr.) *gūpu-* ‘to extinguish’. Proto-Turkic **Kīp-* ‘spark, ashes’ > Tatar *qīpīn* ‘spark’; Kirghiz *qīpīn* ‘spark’; Kazakh *qīpīn* ‘ashes’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qībīn* ‘spark’, *qībīr* ‘ashes’; Yakut *kībian* ‘spark’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:560 **giūp’a* (~ -*u*-) ‘to extinguish’.

Illič-Svityč 1965:335 **ku/p/sa* [‘гаснуть’] ‘(intr.) to burn out; (tr.) to extinguish’, 1971—1984.I:311, no. 185, **KuPśa* ‘to burn out; to extinguish’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 916, **kuPśa* ‘to extinguish, to exhaust’; Greenberg 2002:62—63, no. 134.

408. Proto-Nostratic root *gur- (onomatopoeic):

- (vb.) *gur- ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’;
 (n.) *gur-a ‘rumbling, roaring, gurgling, growling noise or sound’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *gur- ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’: [Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *gar-gar- ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’ > Arabic *ġarġara* ‘to gargle’, *ġarġara* ‘gargling, rumbling noise, rumble, clatter (of a wagon)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *egerġér* ‘to make a gurgling noise’, *əngergér* ‘(stomach) to rumble’; Mehri *agárər* ‘to make a gurgling noise’, *engergör* ‘(stomach) to rumble’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔangʷargʷara* (*gʷargʷar-) [𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩣𐩢𐩨] ‘to murmur, to mutter, to grumble, to complain, to claim, to be vexed, to be angry’; Tigrinya *ʔangʷärgʷärä* ‘to mutter, to mumble’; Amharic *angʷäraggʷärä* ‘to mutter’; Gurage *angəraggärä* ‘to grumble’, (*a*)gʷarra ‘to roar, to bellow, to howl’, *gurgurtä* ‘thunder’, (Masqan) *gurgur barä*, (Wolane) *gurgur balä* ‘to thunder, to murmur’; Harari *gūr bāya* ‘to thunder’, *gurur bāya* ‘to roar (animals), to thunder, to rumble (thunder)’, *gurgurti* ‘rumor’, *gurum gurum bāya* ‘to grumble, to groan’, *gurumti* ‘groan, rumor’. Leslau 1963:74, 75, 1979:288, 293, and 1987:202.] Note: The Semitic forms may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic *GAR- (~ *GƏR-) ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’. Berber: Tuareg *iġurhayən* ‘larynx, throat’; Tawlemmet *agurzay* ‘throat, salivary glands’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *gurzu* ‘to be hoarse’, *agurza* ‘hoarseness’; Chaouia *igərzi* ‘throat’. Chadic: Hausa *gūrnaani* ‘growling (of lions, dogs, etc.)’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kurai* ‘(vb.) to bark, to jubilate, to shout; (n.) noise, roar, shout’, *kuraippu* ‘noise’; Malayalam *kura* ‘disagreeable sound, cough, barking’, *kurekka* ‘cough, bark, hem’; Kota *kurv-* (*kurt-*) ‘to snore’, *kerv-* (*kert-*) ‘to bark’; Toda *kwarf-* (*kwart-*) ‘to snore, to bark’; Kannaḍa *kure* an imitative sound; Koḍagu *kora-* (*korap-*, *korat-*) ‘to bark’; Tuḷu *korapuni*, *korepini*, *korepuni* ‘to bark, to roar’, *korejuni* ‘to make a noise’; Parji *kūr-* ‘to groan’; Malto *kūr-kūr-* ‘to call a dog’; Brahui *xurrukāv* ‘a snore’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:162, no. 1796. Tamil *kurukuruppu*, *kurukuruppai* ‘snoring, stertorous breathing’, *kurattai* ‘snoring, snorting’, *korukkai* ‘snoring’; Malayalam *kurukurukka* ‘(vb.) to breathe with difficulty; (n.) the sound in the throat of a dying person’, *kurukkuka*, *kurūñnuka* ‘to purr, to coo (as a dove)’, *kurkku* ‘a snore’; Kannaḍa *guruguttu* ‘to snore, to purr’, *gurruguttu* ‘to growl, to snarl (as dogs, bears, tigers)’; Koraga *gūru* ‘to cry (wolf)’; Telugu *guraka* ‘snoring’, *gurrumanu* ‘to snore, to growl, to snarl’; Tuḷu *guranè* ‘the snarling of a dog’, *guraguttuni*, *gurkuṭṭuni* ‘to grunt’, *gurukuṭṭuni* ‘to snore, to purr, to coo, to rattle phlegm in the throat, to roar’; Kolami *gurgadil-* (*gurgadilt-*) ‘(dog) to growl, (pig) to grunt’; Parji *gurr-* ‘to hiss, to hoot’; Gondi *gurrānā* ‘to snore, to sleep’; Konda *gōr-* ‘to snore’; Kuṛux *gurrārnā* ‘to roar (as a tiger), to snarl or growl fiercely, to utter angry words or shouts of anger’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:169, no.

1852. Tamil *kūraṅ* ‘a dog’; Tuḷu *kūra* ‘a dog’, *kūri* ‘bitch’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:173, no. 1901. Malayalam (Kanikkar) *kora* ‘asthma’; Kannaḍa *kora*, *gora* ‘sound produced in the throat by hoarseness, the purr of a cat’, *kore* ‘to snore’; Tuḷu *korapelū* ‘snoring’, *korape*, *korapele* ‘one who snores’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:191, no. 2122.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **gurgw-* (**gurgw-in-*, **gurgw-al-*) ‘to thunder’: Georgian *grgvin-* ‘to thunder’, (Xevsurian) *gurgwal-* ‘to thunder’; Mingrelian *gurgin-*, *gvirgvin-* ‘to thunder’; Laz *girgin-*, *gurgul-* ‘to thunder’; Svan *gurgw-n-* ‘to thunder’. Fähnrich 2007:117—118 **gurgw-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:94 **gurgw-*; Klimov 1964:64—65 **gr̥gwin-*, 66 **gurgwal-* and 1998:32 **gr̥gw-in-* ‘to thunder’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **ghur-* ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’: Sanskrit *ghurati* ‘to cry out frighteningly, to frighten with cries’, *ghuraghurāyate* ‘to utter gurgling sounds, to wheeze, to puff, to snort’, *ghurikā* ‘snorting’, *ghurghuraka-ḥ* ‘gurgling or murmuring sound’, *ghurghura-ḥ* ‘growling’, *ghurghurāyate* ‘to whistle’; Prakrit *ghōraī* ‘to snore’, *ghurughurāī*, *ghuraghurāī* ‘to cry out’, *ghuruhai* ‘to growl’, *ghurukhai* ‘to thunder’; Punjabi *ghurghur* ‘snarling’; Sinhalese *guguravanā* ‘to thunder’, *gigiriya* (< **ghurghurita-*) ‘thunder’; Oriya *ghuribā* ‘to gargle’; Armenian *gr̥gām*, *gr̥gam* ‘to croak, to cackle’, *goṛam* ‘to growl’; Old English *gyrran* ‘to grunt, to creak, to clatter’, *gyrretan* ‘to roar (of lions)’; Middle High German *gurren* ‘to growl’ (New High German *gurren* ‘to coo’). Mann 1984—1987:349—350 **ghurgh-*, **ghurghul-*, **ghurghur-* ‘throat; to gurgle’, 350 **ghūr-* (**ghūrō-*, *-iō*) (expressive variant: **ghurr-*) ‘to growl’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:282.

Buck 1949:1.56 thunder; 3.61 dog. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:397—398, no. 235.

409. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **gur-a* ‘gut, cord’:

- A. Proto-Indo-European **ghor-/gh̥r-* ‘gut, cord’: Sanskrit *hira-ḥ* ‘band, strip, fillet’, *hirā* ‘vein, artery’; Greek χορδή ‘gut-string’; Latin *haruspex* ‘a soothsayer who foretold future events from inspection of the entrails of victims’, *hira* ‘the empty gut’; Old Icelandic *görn* ‘gut’, *garn* ‘yarn’; Old English *gearn* ‘yarn’; Middle Dutch *gaern* ‘yarn’ (Dutch *garen*); Old High German *garn* ‘yarn’ (New High German *Garn*); Lithuanian *žarnà* ‘gut, intestine’. Pokorny 1959:443 **gher-* ‘bowel’; Walde 1927—1932.I:604 **gher-*; Mann 1984—1987:344 **gh̥rā*, **gh̥ru-* (**gh̥ru-*) (?), 423 **ghornos-*, *-ā*, *-us* ‘gut, string, cord’; Watkins 1985:22 **gherā-* and 2000:30 **gherā-* ‘gut, entrails’; Mallory—Adams 1997:180 **ghorh₂neh_a-* entrails’; Boisacq 1950:1066; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1111—1112; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1269; Hofmann 1966:421 **gher-*; Beekes 2010.II:1643—1644 **ghorH-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:289—290 and 295; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:635—636 **gher-* and I:649; De Vaan 2008:280; Kroonen 2013:169

Proto-Germanic **garnō-* ‘intestines’; Orël 2003:127 Proto-Germanic **ǵarnan*, 127 **ǵarnō*; De Vries 1977:157 and 199; Onions 1966:1018; Klein 1971:836 **ǵher-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:233 **ǵher-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:245; Smoczyński 2007.1:774; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1291.

- B. Proto-Uralic (?) **kurz* ~ **kurkz* (-*kz* is probably a suffix) ‘gut, cord’: Hungarian *húr* ‘intestine, string’, *hurka* ‘intestine, sausage’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hurku* ‘cord, cord made of reindeer tendons’; (?) Taigi *körü* ‘cord’. Collinder 1955:15 and 1977:36. See also Rédei 1986—1988:161, 216, and 219.

Buck 1949:9.19 rope, cord. Koskinen 1980:30, no. 95; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:394, no. 231. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 655a, **gERV* ‘entrails’.

410. Proto-Nostratic root **gus-* (~ **gos-*):

- (vb.) **gus-* ‘to go outside of or forth from; to make to go outside or forth from, to drive away, to chase away’;
 (n.) **gus-a* ‘outsider, stranger’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **gus-* ‘to drive out, to chase away, to take out’ > Iraqw *gus-* ‘to drive out’; Alagwa *gusim-* ‘to chase away’; Ma’ra *-gu* ‘to take out’; Dahalo *guḍ-* ‘to take out’. Ehret 1980:239. [Ehret 1995:186, no. 286, **gus-* ‘to drive away’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:204, no. 902, **gas-/gus-* ‘to move’.]
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ghos-ti-* (‘outsider’ >) ‘stranger’ > ‘guest’: Latin *hostis* originally ‘stranger’, later ‘enemy, opponent, foe’; Venetic **hosti-* in the personal name *ho.s.tihavo.s.*; Gothic *gasts* ‘stranger’; Runic *-gastir* [-𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺] ‘guest’; Old Icelandic *gestr* ‘guest’; Swedish *gäst* ‘guest’; Danish *gjest* ‘guest’; Norwegian *gjest* ‘guest’; Old English *giest* ‘stranger, guest, enemy’; Old Frisian *jest* ‘guest’; Old Saxon *gast* ‘stranger, guest’; Old High German *gast* ‘enemy, guest’ (New High German *Gast* ‘guest, visitor; customer [at an inn], stranger’); Old Church Slavic *gostь* ‘guest’; Russian *gost’* [гость] ‘visitor, guest’. Pokorny 1959:453 **ghosti-s* ‘stranger, guest’; Walde 1927—1932.I:640—641 **ghosti-s*; Mann 1984—1987:332 **ghostis* ‘stranger, guest’; Watkins 1985:23 **ghos-ti-* and 2000:31 **ghos-ti-* ‘stranger, guest, host’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:168, II:754—755 **g[ʰ]ost[ʰ]i-* and 1995.I:144, I:657 **ghosthi-* ‘host, guest’; Mallory—Adams 1997:249 **ghostis* ‘guest; stranger, enemy’; Benveniste 1973:75—79; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:662—663 **ghostis*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:301; De Vaan 2008:291 **ghosti-*; Derksen 2008:180—181 **ghost-i-*; Orël 2003:127—128 Proto-Germanic **ǵastiz*; Kroonen 2013:170 Proto-Germanic **gasti-* ‘guest’; Feist 1939:202 **ghosti-*; Lehmann 1986:149 **ghosti-* ‘stranger, guest’; De Vries 1977:165; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:228; Torp 1919:158; Onions 1966:418 **ghostis*; Klein 1971:326;

Kluge—Mitzka 1967:234 Common Germanic **gastiz*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:246; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:173 **g^host(h₂)i-*. Semantic development as in Dravidian: Tamil *veliyār* ‘outsiders, strangers’ ~ Telugu *velalu* ‘to go or come out, to start’, *velalucu* ‘to send out’, *velārincu*, *velār(u)cu* ‘to send or drive out, to cast out, to make public’, etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:500—501, no. 5498); or, within Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *falasa* [ፈለሰ] ‘to depart, to emigrate, to go over to, to be transferred, to be removed, to be banished, to go into banishment, to go into exile, to be transformed, to be changed, to secede, to split off, to separate oneself, to withdraw, to sojourn aboard’, *falāsī* [ፈለሱ] ‘an exile, stranger, alien, pilgrim, wanderer’, *falāsāwī* [ፈለሱዊ] ‘stranger’, *falāsīyāwī* [ፈለሱዊዊ] ‘pilgrim, stranger’ (cf. Leslau 1987:160).

Buck 1949:19.55 stranger; 19.56 guest; 19.57 host. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 399—400, no. 237.

411. Proto-Nostratic root **guw-* (~ **gow-*):

(vb.) **guw-* ‘to observe, to notice, to watch, to pay attention to, to heed, to be or become aware of’;

(n.) **guw-a* ‘observation, heed, awareness, attention, notice’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **gu-* ‘to become accustomed to; to train, to teach’: Georgian *gu(v)-* ‘to become accustomed to; to train, to teach’; Mingrelian *g(u)-* in *ge-g-ap-a* ‘to become accustomed to; to train, to teach’; Laz *g-* in *o-g-ap-u* ‘to become accustomed to; to train, to teach’, *gigaper-* ‘habitual, usual’. Klimov 1964:65 **gu-* and 1998:34 **gu-* ‘to get accustomed, to train’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:92—93 **gu-*; Fähnrich 2007:114 **gu-*.

B. Proto-Indo-European **g^how-* ‘to observe, to notice, to watch, to pay attention to, to heed, to be or become aware of’: Latin *faveō* ‘to favor, to be favorable to, to help, to support’; Gothic *gaumjan* ‘to see, to observe’; Old Icelandic *gá* ‘to heed, to observe’, *geyma* ‘to heed, to mind’, *geymdir* ‘heed, attention’, *gaumr* ‘heed, attention’, *guma* ‘to heed, to pay attention to’; Old English *gīeman* ‘to take care of, to take notice of’, *gīeme* ‘care’; North Frisian *gumi* ‘christening, celebration’; Old Saxon *gōmian* ‘to guard’, *gōma* ‘entertainment’; Old High German *goumōn* ‘to foresee, to care for, to entertain guests, to eat’, *gouma* ‘attentiveness, banquet’; Old Church Slavic *govějō*, *gověti* ‘to honor, to worship’; Czech *hověju* ‘to care for, to favor’; Russian *govet’* [говеть] ‘to fast and attend service before confession and communion’. Pokorny 1959:453 **ghou(ē)-* ‘to pay attention to, to be aware of’; Walde 1927—1932.I:635—636 **ghou-*; Mann 1984—1987:333 **ghoueiō* ‘to praise, to worship’, 378—379 **guhauēiō* ‘to favor, to befriend, to watch, to heed, to care for’; Watkins 1985:23 **ghow-ē-* and 2000:31 **ghow-ē-* ‘to honor, to revere, to worship’;

Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:803—804, fn. 3, *g^[h]ou- and 1995.I:704, fn. 6, *g^hou- ‘to pay attention to’; Mallory—Adams 1997:418 *ghou- ‘to perceive, to pay heed to’; De Vaan 2008:206 *b^hh₂u-eh₁- ‘to be favorable to’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:464—465 *ghou(ē)-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:220—221; Orël 2003:128 Proto-Germanic *ǵaumipō, 128 *ǵaumjanan, 128—129 *ǵaum(j)ō(n); Kroonen 2013:171—172 Proto-Germanic *gauma- ‘heed, attention’; Feist 1939:207; Lehmann 1986:151 *ghow- ‘to perceive, to pay heed to’; De Vries 1977:151, 158, and 165—166; Derksen 2008:181.

Buck 1949:17.24 learn; 17.25 teach; 22.16 worship (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:400—401, no. 238.

412. Proto-Nostratic root *guw- (~ *gow-):
 (vb.) *guw- ‘to hunt wild animals’;
 (n.) *guw-a ‘wild animal, wild beast, game’; (adj.) ‘wild, untamed’
 Extended form:
 (vb.) *guw-V-r- ‘to hunt wild animals’;
 (n.) *guw-r-a ‘wild animal, wild beast, game’; (adj.) ‘wild, untamed’

Notes:

1. The unextended stem is preserved in Egyptian.
 2. The Afrasian (Cushitic and Chadic) and Indo-European forms are deverbatives: *guw-V-r-.
- A. Afrasian: Egyptian gw ‘(wild) bull’. Hannig 1995:896; Faulkner 1962:288; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:159. Proto-Afrasian *g[u]war- ‘antelope’: West Chadic *gar- ‘oryx’ > Tsagu gaare ‘oryx’; Mburku gaari ‘oryx’. Central Chadic *gar- ‘antelope’ > Logone garia ‘antelope’. East Chadic *gawar- ‘antelope’ > Tumak gəru ‘antelope’; Kwang gowor-to ‘antelope’. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye gār-uwa ‘a kind of antelope’. Reinisch 1895:102. Southern Cushitic: Rift *gwar- ‘antelope’ > Iraqw gwaraay ‘antelope’. Omotic *gar- ‘antelope’ > Ome gaaraa ‘antelope’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:203, no. 898, *gar-/gawar- ‘antelope’.

Militarëv—Nikolaev (2021:235—236) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian *gawr- ‘a kind of bovid’ on the basis of the following evidence: Semitic *(?a-)gurr- > Akkadian gurr-atu, agurr-atu ‘ewe’. Egyptian ḏr ‘calf’ (if < *gVr). Berber *-gur- ‘small cattle’ > Ghadames a-ḏur ‘bouc’ (‘goat’); Zenaga ə-grərḥ ‘bélier’ (‘ram’). Chadic (a) *(?a-)garw/y- ‘a kind of bovid; animal, game’: West Chadic *(?a-)gary- > Hausa āgārē ‘a big, male red-fronted gazelle’ [*Eudorcas rufifrons*]; Tsagu gāre ‘reedbuck’ [*Redunca redunca*]; Mburku gāri ‘oryx’ [*Oryx leucoryx* ?]; Ngizim a-gare ‘gazelle’. Central Chadic *(?a-n-)gary- > Logone gari-a ‘antelope’; Makeri ingərii

‘antelope’; Buduma *ɲɛ̀ri* ‘gazelle’. East Chadic (a) **gVrw-* and **gVwVr-* (met.) > Tumaq *gəru* ‘antelope’; Kwang *gowor-to* ‘antelope’; Ndam *gàrù* ‘ourebi’ [*Ourebia ourebi*]; (b) **garaw-* ‘herd of cattle’, West Chadic **gar(V)w-* > Hausa *gár-kei* ‘herd, flock’; Bolewa *gaarùw-à* ‘pack ox’; Karekare *gaarùw-à* ‘bull’; Tanagale *káarw-a* ‘cattle’. Central Chadic **garaw/y-* > Bana *gàrə̀w-à* ‘troupeau de boeufs’ (‘herd of cattle’); Gude *górà-nə* ‘herd of cattle’, *mà-górá* ‘shepherd, watchman’; Matakam *ɲ-gwur* ‘ram’. East Chadic **garaw-* > Bidiya *gaaruw-o* ‘animal’; Migama *gáaráw* ‘bête, bétail’ (‘animal, livestock, cattle’); (c) Central Chadic **gwar-* and **gʷargʷar-* (redupl.) ‘ram’ > Ouldem *gʷàr-à*; Mbuko *gʷàrgʷár-á*; Merey *gʷaràgʷàr-a*; Muyang *gʷòròrgʷòr-à*; Mada *gurgʷar-a*. East Chadic **gagar-* (redupl.) ‘small cattle’ > Sok *gaáger-o* ‘Schaf’ (‘sheep’); Mawa *gagar* ‘mouton’ (‘sheep’); Mubi *wegr-I* (met.) ‘chèvre’ ([she-]goat). Cushitic **garaw-* and **gwiraʔ-* (met.) ‘kind of larger bovid’ [*Taurotragus*, *Alcelaphus*, etc.]: North Cushitic **garuw-* > Beja *garuw-a* ‘male antelope, eland’ [*Taurotragus oryx*]. Central Cushitic **gar-* ‘calf’ > Bilin, Qwara, Qemant *gár*; Aungi *gara*. East Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic **gur(r)-* > Sidamo *gur-um ʔiččo* ‘gazelle’, *garr-ančo* ‘Agazen antelope’ [*T. buxtoni*]. Southern Cushitic **gʷaraʔ-* > Iraqw *gʷaraʔ-ai* ‘Hartebeest’ [*Alcelaphus caama*]; Burunge *geraʔ-i* ‘Grant’s gazelle’ [*Nanger granti*]. Omotic: North Omotic **gaHar-* ‘antelope dekula’ [*Tragelaphus decula*] > Wolayta, Dawro *gaar-aa*.

Comment: The Proto-Afrasian form reconstructed by Militarëv—Nikolaev cannot account for the phonological developments required to explain all of the forms they cite. This indicates that several similar, though unrelated, forms may be involved here.

- B. Dravidian: Kolami *kori* ‘antelope’; Parji *kuri* ‘antelope’; Gadba (Ollari) *kuruy* ‘deer’; Gondi *kurs* ‘antelope’; Kui *kruhu*, *krusu* ‘barking deer, jungle sheep’; Kuwi *kluhu*, *kruhu*, *kurhu* ‘antelope’; (?) Malayalam *kūran* ‘hog-deer’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:161, no. 1785; Krishnamurti 2003:12 **kur-V-c-* ‘deer’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **gʰwě̃r-* ‘wild animal, wild beast’: Greek θήρ (Lesbian θήρ, Thessalian θείρ) ‘a wild beast, beast of prey’, θήρα (Ionic θήρη) ‘a hunting of wild beasts, the chase’, θηράω, θηρεύω ‘to hunt’; Latin *fērus* ‘wild, untamed, rough, savage, uncivilized, cruel’, *fērox* ‘wild, unbridled, arrogant’, *fērīnus* ‘relating to a wild beast, wild’; Lithuanian *žvėris* ‘(wild) beast’, *žvėriáuju*, *žvėriáuti* ‘to hunt’; Old Church Slavic *zvěrb* ‘wild animal’; Russian *zverʹ* [зверь] ‘(wild) beast’; Slovak *zver* ‘wild beast’; Serbo-Croatian *zvēr* ‘wild beast’; Slovenian *zvēr* ‘wild beast’. Pokorny 1959:493 **ghu̯ě̃r-* ‘wild animal’; Walde 1927—1932.I:642—643 **ghu̯er-*; Mann 1984—1987:408 **ghu̯hēr-* (**ghu̯hērs*, **ghu̯hēris*) ‘game animal, wild animal’; Watkins 1985:23 **ghwer-* and 2000:32 **ghwer-* ‘wild beast’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:468, II:469, II:471, II:485,

II:491 *ḡ[h]uer- and 1995.I:390, I:405, I:411 *ḡ^hwer- ‘wild animal’; Mallory—Adams 1997:23 *ḡ^huér ‘wild animal’; Boisacq 1950:344 *ḡ^huēr-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:671—672 Greek (pl.) θῆρες < *ḡ^huér-es; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:435—436 *ḡ^hwēr-; Hofmann 1966:115 *ḡ^huēr; Beekes 2010.I:547 *ḡ^hueh₁r-; De Vaan 2008:215 *ḡ^hueh₁(-)/r- ‘wild animal’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:487—488 *ḡ^huēr-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:230; Shevelov 1964:44; Derksen 2008:549—550 *ḡ^hueh₁r- and 2015:524 *ḡ^hueh₁r-; Smoczyński 2007.1:795 *ḡ^hueh₁r-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1327.

- D. Proto-Altaiic *guri ~ *gori (~ -rʷ-, -e) ‘deer, game’: Proto-Tungus *gur-ma-, *gur-na- ‘hare, squirrel, ermine’ > Evenki *gurnun* ‘squirrel’; Lamut / Even *gurnata* ‘ermine’; Manchu *gulmaḡun* ‘hare’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *gulamahun* ‘rabbit, hare’; Nanay / Gold *gormaḡō* ‘hare’, *gorgo* ‘fox’. Mongolian loans in: Manchu *gurgu* ‘wild animal, beast’, *gurguše-* ‘to hunt wild animals’; Solon *gures* ‘wild animal’. Proto-Mongolian *görüye ‘antelope, wild steppe animal, game’ > Mongolian *görügesü(n)* (Middle Mongolian *göreʷe*) ‘wild herbivorous animal, game, beast, antelope’, *görügeči-* ‘hunter, trapper’, *görüge(n)* ‘hunting, chasing; game’, *görügele-* ‘to hunt’; Ordos *görōs* ‘(wild) beast’; Khalkha *görōs(ön)* ‘antelope’; Buriat *gürōhe(n)* ‘antelope, wild animal, game’; Kalmyk *görē*, *görēsṅ* ‘antelope, wild animal, game’; Moghol *gor[ä]sun* ‘wild ass’; Shira-Yughur *görōsən* ‘antelope, wild animal, game’; Dagur *gurēs*, *gurēse* ‘antelope, wild animal, game’; Monguor *korosə* ‘wild animal, ferocious beast’. Poppe 1960:25; Street 1974:13 *göregē ‘wild animal’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 574—575 *guri (~ -o-, -rʷ-, -e) ‘deer, game’.

Buck 1949:3.11 animal (also wild beast); 3.79 hunt (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:237, no. 93, *gUjRä ‘wild (beast)’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:398—399, no. 236; Dolgopolsky 1998:41, no. 36, *gurHa ‘antelope, male antelope’ and 2008, no. 659, *güRV ‘beast’.

22.22. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *k^h

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
k ^h -	k-	k-	k-	k ^h -	k-	k ^h -	k- q-
-k ^h -	-k-	-k(k)-	-k-	-k ^h -	-k(k)-	-k ^h -	-k(k)- -q(q)-

413. Proto-Nostratic 1st person pronoun stem (stative) *k^ha-:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *-k(a)- 1st person pronoun stem: Proto-Semitic *-ku marker of the 1st person sg. in the stative; *-ku in the 1st person sg. independent pronoun *ʔan-āku (also *ʔan-ā and *ʔan-ī), which consists of the stem *ʔan- followed by the suffixal element *-āku, which itself is composed of *-ā plus *-ku (cf. Moscati 1964:103—104). Egyptian -k in *ink* 1st person independent pronoun; also -kw(i), -kī, -k ending of the 1st person sg. of the old perfective (“pseudo-participle”); Coptic 1st person sg. independent pronoun *anok* [אַΝΟΚ]. Hannig 1995:79—80 and 879; Faulkner 1962:24; Erman—Grapow 1921:15 and 1926—1963.1:101, 5:117; Gardiner 1957:53 (§64), 234—236 (§309), 554, and 597; Loprieno 1995:64—66 and 74; Černý 1976:9; Vycichl 1983:12. Berber: -k in, for example: Tuareg *nək*, *nəkkunan* 1st person independent pronoun ‘I, me’; Kabyle *nəkk*, *nəkki*, *nəkkini* 1st person independent pronoun ‘me’; Tamazight *nəkk*, *nəç* 1st person independent pronoun ‘me’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *nki* 1st person independent pronoun ‘me’, 1st person suffixed personal subject pronoun -aγ (< *-ā-kV; cf. Diakonoff 1988:80—81, table and note c); Ghadames *nəc*, *nəccan* 1st person independent pronoun ‘me’; Mzab *nəcc*, *nəcci*, *nəccin* 1st person independent pronoun ‘me’. Note also Ongota *ka/-k* ‘I, me’ (cf. Fleming 2002b:50).
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: David McAlpin (1981:119—120, §542.1) reconstructs a 1st person singular appellative personal ending *-kə for Proto-Elamo-Dravidian, and this undoubtedly belongs here. Note the 1st person personal possessive pronominal enclitic in Brahui: -ka; note also the locutive -k in Elamite in, for example, *u...sunki-k* ‘I am king’ or *huttah halen-k* ‘I made it at great pains’ (*hutta-h*, predicate; *halen-k*, included form, locutive). For Proto-Dravidian, Zvelebil (1990:35—36) reconstructs a 1st person singular non-past personal ending *-N-ku, found, for example, in Old Tamil (archaic non-past) -Ø-ku and in Gondi (future) -k-ā, while the 1st person plural exclusive non-past personal ending was *-N-kum, found, for example, in Old Tamil (archaic non-past) 1st person plural exclusive -Ø-kum and in Gondi (future) 1st person plural exclusive -k-em, 1st person plural inclusive -k-āt. See also Krishnamurti 2003:290 and 301—304.

- C. Indo-European: Greek has a unique formation, the so-called “first perfect”, which would be better named the “κ-perfect”. As noted by Sihler (1995:576): “Its inception must belong to prehistoric G[reek], for it is already established, within limits, in Hom[er] and in the earliest records of other dialects.” Moreover, Sihler notes (1995:576): “In Hom[er] the formation is found in some 20 roots, all ending in long vowel (from the G[reek] standpoint), and in all of them the κ-stem is virtually limited to the SINGULAR stems which actually contain a long vowel... Later the formation, by now more accurately a κ α -perfect, spreads to other stems ending in a long vowel, then to stems ending in any vowel (including denominatives), and finally to stems ending in consonants, and to all persons and numbers.” This is very important, for Sihler here traces the expansion of this stem type within the history of Greek itself. Thus, we are dealing with developments specific to Greek. Buck (1933:289—290) agrees with Sihler. In Latin, we find 1st singular perfect forms *fēcī* ‘I did’ and *iēcī* ‘I threw’ (N.B. *faciō* and *iaciō* are “secondary elaborations based on these” [Sihler 1995:562]). As in Greek, the *-c-* [k] is found in all persons (cf. third singular *fecit*), and, as in Greek, the *-c-* [k] has given rise to secondary formations. The *-k-* forms are also found in Tocharian, as in 1st singular preterit active *tākā-* ‘I was’, and, as in Greek and Latin, the *-k-* is found in all persons and has given rise to secondary formations. Van Windekens (1976.I:495—496) goes so far as to posit Proto-Indo-European **dhēq-*, **dh₁q-*, as does Rix (1998a:120—121). On the basis of the evidence from Greek, Latin, and Tocharian, we may assume that a “suffix” **-k-* is to be reconstructed for late-stage Proto-Indo-European — what I have referred to as “Disintegrating Indo-European”. This “suffix” originally had a very limited distribution — it seems to have appeared only in the perfect (< stative) singular of verbs that ended in a long vowel, when the long vowel originated from earlier short vowel plus laryngeal. All of the other formations found in Greek, Italic, and Tocharian are secondary elaborations. But, we can go back even farther — it is my contention that the *-k-* originally characterized the 1st person exclusively, from which it spread to other persons. Of course, this suggestion is not new. Sturtevant (1942:87—88) suggested that **-k-* developed in the 1st person singular when a root-final laryngeal was followed by the ending **-xe* (that is, **-H₂e* [Kuryłowicz would write **-₂e*]). Though a laryngeal explanation along these lines has not been generally accepted (cf. Messing 1947:202—203), the suggestion that the *-k-* was originally confined to the 1st person singular is still worthy of consideration, especially in view of the evidence from other Nostratic languages.
- D. Uralic: Hungarian 1st person subjective ending *-k*; Selkup Samoyed 1st person subjective ending *-k*. The 1st person ending *-k* may also survive in the Permian languages in the negative verb: Zyrian / Komi *o-g* ‘I am not’,

e-g ‘I was not’; Votyak / Udmurt *u-g* ‘I am not’. Greenberg 2000:67—68; Collinder 1960:309, §996.

- E. Etruscan: First person singular passive preterite ending *-χe*, as in: *mi arathiale zixuxē* ‘I was written for Araθ’, *mi titasi cver menaxē* ‘I was offered as a gift to Tita’ or ‘I was offered as a gift by Tita’ (cf. Bonfante—Bonfante 2002:101). This ending is also found in Raetic: *tina-χe* ‘I have given, I gave’ (cf. Sverdrup 2002:98).

Greenberg 2000:67—70; Dolgopolsky 1984:89—90 **HVKE*.

414. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative pronoun stem:

- Proximate: **k^ha-* (~ **k^hə-*) ‘this’;
 Intermediate: **k^hi-* (~ **k^he-*) ‘that’;
 Distant: **k^hu-* (~ **k^ho-*) ‘that yonder’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ka-*, **ki-*, **ku-* demonstrative pronoun stem: Semitic: Aramaic *-χ* (< **-k*) in *dēχ* ‘that’; Arabic *-k* in *ḍāka*, *ḍālika* ‘that’; Mehri *-k* in *ḍāk* ‘that’; Geez / Ethiopic *-(k)ku* [-**ḥ**] an element expressing distance as in *zəkku* ‘that’; Gurage *ka* ‘that’, (Chaha) *kəm* in *kəməkəm* ‘such and such’, *-x* (< **-k*) in *zax* ‘that’; Amharic *-h* (< **-k*) in *zih* ‘this’. Barth 1913:80—83; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:318 and I:323—324; Leslau 1979:331, 343 and 1987:271, 635. Highland East Cushitic: Burji (m. sg.) *kú* ‘this’, (m./f. sg./pl.) *káaci* ‘that, those’, (m./f. pl.) *cí* ‘these’; Gedeo / Darasa (m. sg./pl.) *kunni* ‘this, these’, (m. sg./pl.) *ikki* ‘that, those’; Hadiyya (m. sg./pl., f. pl.) *ku(k)* ‘this, these’, (m. sg./pl., f. pl.) *o(k)* ‘that, those’; Kambata (m. sg./pl., f. pl.) *ku* ‘this, these’; Sidamo (m. sg.) *kuni* ‘this’, (m. sg., m./f. pl.) *kuuʔu* ‘that, those’, (m. pl.) *kuni*, *kuri* ‘these’. Hudson 1976:255—256 and 1989:150—151, 153; Sasse 1982:111. Cushitic: Galla / Oromo (Wellegga) near demonstratives: (subject) *kun(i)*, (base) *kana* ‘this’. Proto-Southern Cushitic (m.) **ʔuukaa* ‘this’, (m. bound) **kaa* ‘this’ > Iraqw *ka* ‘this’ (neuter ?); Burunge (m.) *ki* ‘this’, (m.) *kaʔa* ‘that’; K’wadza *-(u)ko* masculine gender marker; Ma’a *ka* ‘this’; Asa *-(u)k*, *-ok* masculine gender marker; Dahalo *ʔuukwa* ‘this’. Ehret 1980:296. Omotic: Aari unaffixed 3rd person pronominal stems (m. sg.) *kí*, (f. sg.) *kó*, (m./f. pl.) *ké*. Ehret 1995:194, no. 309, **kaa* ‘this’. Chadic: North Bauchi Chadic (Bu: / Zaranda) *aka* (adv.) ‘there’, *áki* (adv.) ‘here’, *kí*: (adv.) ‘here’ (cf. Caron 2008:98 and 102).
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **-k-* pronoun stem: Georgian [-*k-*]; Mingrelian [-*k-*]; Laz [-*k-*]. In the modern Kartvelian languages, **-k-* is only found in its historical derivatives (cf. Georgian *a-k-a* ‘here’, *i-k-i* ‘there’). Klimov 1964:194 **-k-* and 1998:211 **-k-* pronoun stem; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:368—369 **-k-*; Fähnrich 2007:453—454 **-k-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^he-/k^ho-*, **k^hi-* demonstrative pronoun stem: Hittite (nom. sg.) *ka-a-aš*, (nom.-acc. sg. neuter) *ki-i* ‘this, that’; Palaic *ka-*

‘this (one)’, *ki-i-at* ‘here’; Greek *κε in: ἐ-κεῖνος, (poet.) κεῖνος (Aeolian κῆνος) ‘that person or thing, that person there’, ἐ-κεῖ ‘there, in that place’, ἐ-κεῖθεν, (poet.) κεῖθεν ‘from that place, thence’; Latin *ce-* in *ce-do* ‘give here!’, *-c(e)* in: *hi-c*, *sī-c*, *illī-c*, *illū-c*, *tun-c*, *nun-c*, *ec-ce*; *ci-* in: *cis* ‘on this side’, *citer* ‘on this side’, *citrō* ‘to this side’, *citrā* ‘on this side, nearer’; Old Irish *cé* in *bith cé* ‘this world’; Gothic *hēr* ‘here, hither’, *hi-* pronominal stem preserved in the adverbial phrases *himma daga* ‘on this day, today’, *fram himma* ‘from henceforth’, *und hina dag* ‘to this day’, *und hita*, *und hita nu* ‘till now, hitherto’ and in *hiri* ‘come here!’, *hidrē* ‘hither’; Old Icelandic *hann* ‘he’, *hér* ‘here’, *heðra* ‘here, hither’, *hinn* ‘the other, (emphatically) that’; Old English *hē* ‘he’, *hīe* ‘they’, *hider* ‘hither’, *hēr* ‘here’; Old Frisian *hi*, *he* ‘here’, *hīr* ‘here’; Old Saxon *hi*, *he*, *hie* ‘he’, *hēr*, *hīr* ‘here’; Old High German *hia(r)* ‘here’ (New High German *hier*), *hin(n)a* ‘hence, thither, that way, over there’ (New High German *hin*), *hin(n)ān*, *hin(n)ana* ‘away from here, from hence’ (New High German *hinnen* — only in *aus hinnen*); Lithuanian *šis* ‘this’; Old Church Slavic *sb* ‘this’. Pokorny 1959:609—610 **ko-*, **ke-* ‘this’; Walde 1927—1932.I:452—454 **ko-*, **ke-*; Mann 1984—1987:606 **kei* (**kej*, **kein-*) ‘here, there; hither, thither’, 617 **kid* (**kide*, **kidā*) ‘hither, here’, 619 **kis*, (f.) **kjā*, **kjā*, (n.) **kid* ‘this, he (she), it’, 620 **kit-* ‘this way, hither’, 621 **kjā*, **kjā*, 621 **kjē* ‘here, hither’, 622 **kjēmo*, **kim-* ‘hither’, 622 **kjen-* (**kjon-*, **kin-*) ‘this’; Watkins 1985:32 **ko-* and 2000:43 **ko-* stem of demonstrative pronoun meaning ‘this’; Mallory—Adams 1997:458 **kis* ‘this (one)’; Puhvel 1984— .4:3—12 **ke-*, **ko-*, **ki-*; Beekes 2010.I:397 **ke*, **ki*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:329 **ke-/ki-*; Boisacq 1950:233 **ko-*, **ki-*, **kjo-* and 234; Frisk 1970—1973.I:475—476 **ke*, **ki* and I:476; Hofmann 1966:75—76 **ko-*, **ki-*, **kjo-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:109 **ke* and 123; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:192—193 **ke*, **ko-*; **ki* (adv.), **k(i)jo-* and I:222; De Vaan 2008:102 **ke*, **ki* ‘this, here’; Orël 2003:172 Proto-Germanic **xē,r*, 172 **xī*; Kroonen 2013:225 Proto-Germanic **hi* ‘this, these’ and 225 **hiar* ‘here’; Feist 1939:254 **kēi-r* and 255 **kej-*, **ki-* (**kjo-*); Lehmann 1986:182 **key-* + adv. *-r* and 182—183 **key-* ‘here, this’; De Vries 1977:209 **ke-*, **ko-*, 215, 222—223, and 228; Onions 1966:432, 437, and 442; Klein 1971:337 **ki-* ‘this one’, 343 **ki-* ‘this; here’, and 348; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:307 **ke-* ‘here’ and 309; Kluge—Seebold 1989:309 under *hier*, **kei-* ‘here’; under *hin*, **ki-*; and 310; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:990; Smoczyński 2007.1:639—640 **ki-*; Derksen 2008:484 **ki-* and 2015:450—451 **ki-*.

- D. Proto- Altaic **ko-* (~ **k-*) ‘this’: Proto-Mongolian **kü* deictic particle > Written Mongolian *ene kü* ‘exactly this’, *tere kü* ‘exactly that’; Khalkha *χü*; Ordos *kü*; Dagur *ke*, *kē*. Proto-Turkic **kō* ‘this’ > Salar *ku* ‘this’; Sary-Uighur *gu*, *go* ‘this’; Chuvash *ko*, *кv* ‘this’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:709 **ko* (~ **k-*) ‘this’.
- F. Etruscan (archaic) *ika* ‘this’, (later) *eca*, *ca*.

Sumerian *ki* ‘there, where’.

Greenberg 2000:91—94; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 982, *K[ü] demonstrative pronoun (animate ?); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:403—404, no. 241.

415. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k^hab-a ‘he-goat, male sheep, buck, ram’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *kab- ‘he-goat, male sheep, buck, ram’: Proto-Semitic *kab-at̪- ‘lamb, he-goat, male sheep, buck, ram’ > Hebrew *keḇeš* [כֶּבֶשׁ] ‘lamb’; Syriac *keḇšā* ‘lamb’ (Arabic loan); Akkadian *kabsu* ‘young (male) sheep’; Amorite *kabš(ān)um* ‘lamb’; Arabic *kabš* ‘ram, male sheep’; Ḥarsūsi *kabš* ‘lamb’; Soqotri *kubš* ‘goat’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kabš* ‘lamb’; Mehri *kábš* ‘(male) lamb’. Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:154—155, no. 114, Proto-Semitic *kabš-, *kabĉ- ‘young ram’; Murtonen 1989:227; Klein 1987:270.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *k^habh-ro- > (with progressive voicing assimilation) *k^hap^h-ro- ‘he-goat, buck’: Greek *κάπρος* ‘wild boar’; Latin *caper* ‘he-goat’; Umbrian *kabru* ‘he-goat’; Old Irish *gabor* ‘goat’; Welsh *gafr* ‘he-goat’; Old Icelandic *hafr* ‘he-goat, buck’; Faroese *havur* ‘he-goat, buck’; Old English *hæfer* ‘buck, he-goat’; East Franconian *Haberling* ‘year-old he-goat’; New High German (dial.) *Haber-* in *Habergeiß* ‘bogyman’. Pokorny 1959:529 *kapro- ‘he-goat’; Walde 1927—1932.I:347—348 *kapro-; Watkins 1985:27 *kapro- and 2000:37 *kap-ro- ‘he-goat, buck’; Mann 1984—1987:462 *kapros, -ā ‘goat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:229 *kápros ‘he-goat’; Frisk 1970—1973.I:782—783 *kápros; Boisacq 1950:409 *qapro-s; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:495; Hofmann 1966:132; Beekes 2010.I:639—640 *kapro- (root *kh₂p-); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:157—158 *kapros; De Vaan 2008:89; Ernout—Meillet 1979:94—95; Orël 2003:148 Proto-Germanic *xabraz; Kroonen 2013:198 Proto-Germanic *hafra- ‘billy goat, buck’; De Vries 1977:201. Sanskrit *káprt* ‘penis’ may belong here as well (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:157).

Buck 1949:3.26 ram; 3.37 he-goat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:412, no. 253; Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 843, *kabV ‘sheep, goat’.

416. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k^hab-a ‘foot, hoof’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *kab- ‘(sg.) foot, hoof; (pl.) shoes’: Egyptian *kbwī* ‘sole (of foot)’, *ṭbwt*, *ṭbt* ‘sole (of foot), sandal’. Hannig 1995:880 and 951; Faulkner 1962:304; Gardiner 1957:601; Erman—Grapow 1921:208 and 1926—1963.5:118, 5:361—363. West Chadic *kab- ‘shoes’ > Angas *kaap* ‘shoes’. Proto-East Cushitic *kab-/k^hob- ‘(sg./sglt.) foot, hoof, footprint; (pl./coll.) shoes’ > Burji *kótt-ee* (< *k^hob-te) ‘foot, hoof’; Saho *kab-ela* ‘shoes’; Afar *kab-el* ‘shoes’; Arbore *kob-o* ‘shoes’; Dasenech *kob* ‘shoes’;

Elmolo *kop* ‘shoes’; Sidamo *kotte* ‘shoe’; Somali *kab* ‘shoes’; Rendille *kob* ‘shoes’; Galla / Oromo *kop’-ee* ~ *kob-ee* ‘shoes’, *kottee* (< **kob-tee*) ‘paw, hoof, spoor’; Konso *xop-ta* ‘footprint, sandal’; Gidole (sglt.) *hof-t* ‘footprint’, (pl.) *hop-a* ‘shoe(s)’. Sasse 1979:12 and 1982:119; Hudson 1989:133. East Cushitic (Werizoid) **xop-* ‘shoe, sandal’ > Gawwada *xope* ‘shoe, sandal’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:307, no. 1406, **kab-* ‘shoe, sandal’. According to Orël—Stolbova, the *-o-* in East Cushitic **kob-* is a “secondary *-o-* before a labial”.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **khabh-* > (with progressive voicing assimilation and with laryngeal suffix, as suggested by Mallory—Adams 1997:272 and Watkins 2000:43) **kḥāph-Ho-* ‘hoof’: Sanskrit *śaphá-h* ‘hoof’; Avestan *saḥa* ‘hoof of the horse’; Old Icelandic *hófr* ‘hoof’; Norwegian *hov* ‘hoof’; Swedish *hov* ‘hoof’; Danish *hov* ‘hoof’; Old English *hōf* ‘hoof’; Old Frisian *hōf* ‘hoof’; Old Saxon *hōf* ‘hoof’; Dutch *hoef* ‘hoof’; Old High German *huof* ‘hoof’ (New High German *Huf*). Pokorny 1959:530 **kāpho-* or **kōpho-* ‘hoof’; Walde 1927—1932.I:346 **kāpho-* or **kōpho-*; Mann 1984—1987:531 [**kōp-*]; Watkins 1985:27 **kap(h)o-* (lengthened-grade form **kāp(h)o-* in Germanic **χōfaz*) and 2000:43 **kop-ǵo-* ‘hoof’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:31 **Kop^ho-* and 1995.I:28 **Kop^ho-* ‘hoof’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:297; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:301; Mallory—Adams 1997:272 **koph₂ós* ‘hoof’; Orël 2003:181 Proto-Germanic **xōfaz*; Kroonen 2013:238—239 Proto-Germanic **hōfa-* ‘hoof’; Torp 1919:223; De Vries 1977:247; Onions 1966:447 Common Germanic **χōfaz*; Hoad 1986:220; Klein 1971:362; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:318 **kāpho-* or **kōpho-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:318.

Buck 1949:6.51 shoe. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:412, no. 253; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1108, **Ḳap[ä]* ‘palm of hand, sole of foot; hoof’.

417. Proto-Nostratic root **khad-* (~ **kḥad-*):

(vb.) **khad-* ‘to cover, to wrap, to clothe’;

(n.) **khad-a* ‘covering, shield, protection’

Perhaps identical to:

(vb.) **khad-* ‘to tie, to bind’;

(n.) **khad-a* ‘tie, band, fastening’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kad-* ‘to cover, to wrap’: Proto-Semitic **kad-an-* ‘to cover, to wrap’ > Arabic *kadana* ‘to wrap oneself in clothes, to yoke oxen to the plow’; Akkadian *kidinnu* ‘divine protection’ (< **kadānu* ‘to protect’ < ‘to cover’); Geez / Ethiopic *kadana* [ḥḏḏ] ‘to cover, to wrap, to clothe, to hide, to veil, to close, to protect, to forgive (sins)’; Tigrinya *kādänä* ‘to cover, to clothe’; Tigre *kädna* ‘to cover’; Harari *xädäna* ‘to cover, to thatch’, *mäxdañ* ‘cover of any kind, lid’; Amharic *käddänä* ‘to cover the roof with

straw, to cover a pot'; Gurage *kādānā* 'to thatch a house, to cover with a lid'. Leslau 1963:96, 1979:337, and 1987:275—276.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṭi* 'protection, safeguard, defense', *kaṭikai* 'shield'; Kannaḍa *kaḍitale* 'shield'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:106, no. 1127.
- C. Proto-Eskimo **qaḍəlir-* 'to cover': Central Siberian Yupik *qayəlir-* 'to cover'; Sirenik *qacir-* 'to heave up on (sled), to cover'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qalliq-* 'to cover'; North Alaskan Inuit *qalliq-* 'to cover'; Western Canadian Inuit *qalliqtuq-* 'to heap up (on top)'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qalli(C)-* 'to press down (once)'; Greenlandic *qattir-* 'to cover'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:274.

Buck 1949:10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 12.26 cover (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:424—425, no. 267.

418. Proto-Nostratic root **k^had-* (~ **k^həd-*):

(vb.) **k^had-* 'to tie, to bind';

(n.) **k^had-a* 'tie, band, fastening'

Perhaps identical to:

(vb.) **k^had-* 'to cover, to wrap, to clothe';

(n.) **k^had-a* 'covering, shield, protection'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **kad-kad-* 'to tie, to bind' > Geez / Ethiopic *k^wadk^wada* [ḥ-ḳ-ḥ-ḳ] 'to tie, to bind'; Tigrinya *k^wäkk^wädä* (< *k^wadk^wada*) 'to tie'; Amharic *k^wädäkk^wädä* 'to tie up (a criminal or prisoner)'. Leslau 1987:275.
- B. [Dravidian: Tamil *kaṭṭu* (*kaṭṭi-*) '(vb.) to tie, to fasten, to build, to wear, to put on, to bind by spells, to marry, to shut up, to store, to hug, to compare with, to be equal; (n.) tie, band, fastening, regulations, custom, building, marriage, bundle, packet, dam, causeway', *kaṭṭataṃ* 'building, binding of a book, setting of a jewel', *kaṭṭanam* 'building', *kaṭṭalai* 'code, rule, regulations', *kaṭṭai* 'dam'; Malayalam *kettuka* 'to tie, to build, to clasp, to yoke, to dress, to marry, to make into a bundle, to stop, to restrain, to become entangled, to clot', *kettikka* 'to cause to tie, to make to wear, to give in marriage', *keṭṭu* 'tie, bundle, band, connection (as in marriage), restraint, dam, bank, building', *keṭṭakam* 'house', *kaṭṭu* 'tie, bundle'; Kota *kaṭ-* (*kac-*) 'to tie, to build, to manage (house), to be equal', *kaṭ* 'knot, caste custom, case of which decision has been given', *kaṭarṃ* 'wall of brick or stone', *kaṭan* 'caste custom, individual's habit'; Toda *koṭ-* (*koṭy-*) 'to tie, to build, to kill by witchcraft, to obstruct, to manage (a house)', *koṭ* 'knot, bundle, amulet', *koṭas* 'noose'; Kannaḍa *kaṭṭu* '(vb.) to tie, to bind, to yoke, to build, to shut up, to stop by magic, to bewitch, to amass (wealth), to obstruct, to shut, to dam, to be bound, to be stopped; (n.) building, tying, checking, restraint, band, tie, bundle, something built, regulation, rule, bewitching', *kaṭṭuvike* 'tying, etc.', *kaṭṭuka* 'man who ties', *kaṭṭaḍa*,

kaṭṭana, *kaṭṇa* ‘a building’, *kaṭṭal* ‘state of being bound, tied, surrounded’, *kaṭṭe* ‘structure of earth or stones to sit upon, embankment, dam, causeway’, *gaṭṭu* ‘dam, embankment’, *gaṭṭe* ‘bale, bundle’; Koḍagu *kēṭṭ-* (*kēṭṭi-*) ‘to tie, to build’, *kēṭṭi* ‘knot, bundle’, *kaṭṭe* ‘bund of tank, platform built under tree on village green’, *kaṭṭaḍa* ‘a building’; Tuḷu *kaṭṭuni* ‘to tie, to bind, to build, to amass (wealth)’, *kaṭṭāvuni* ‘to cause to bind or tie, to have a house built’, *kaṭṭu* ‘band, tie, bundle, regulation, bond’, *kaṭṭana*, *kaṭṭalme* ‘building’, *kaṭṭa* ‘a dam’, *kaṭṭale* ‘custom, rule’, *kaṭṭāṇi* ‘necklace’; Telugu *kaṭṭu* ‘(vb.) to tie, to bind, to wear (clothes), to build, to bewitch, to obstruct; (n.) tie, bond, knot, band, wearing of a garment, restraint, rule or regulation’, *kaṭṭincu* ‘to get built, to cause to be bound or tied’, *kaṭṭa* ‘dam, embankment; bundle’, *kaṭṭaḍa*, *kaṭṭaḍi* ‘rule, law, fashion, manner’, *kaṭṭaḍamu* ‘building’, *kaṭṭanamamu* ‘a tie’, *gaṭṭu* ‘dam, embankment’; Kolami *kaṭ-* (*kaṭṭ-*) ‘to tie, to build’, *kaṭṭā* ‘platform’, *kaṭṭa* ‘bund of field’; Naikri *kaṭṭ-* ‘to tie, to build’, *kaṭṭa* ‘bund of field, dam, dike’, *kaṭṭe* ‘necklace’; Naiki (of Chanda) *kaṭ-/kaṭṭ-* ‘to bind, to tie hair, to build, to attach bowstring’; Parji *kaṭṭ-* ‘to tie, to build’, *kaḍk-* ‘to tie, to fasten, to build’, *kaṭṭa* ‘bund of field’; Gadba (Ollari) *kaṭ-* ‘to tie, to build’, (Salur) *kaṭṭ-* ‘to bind’, *gaṭṭu* ‘bank’; Gondi *kaṭṭānā* ‘to be shut (of door), to close or come to grips (of two men fighting)’, *kaṭṭitānā* ‘to adhere, to be attached to’, *kaṭṭā* ‘a dam in the river for catching fish’, *kaṭṭa* ‘bund, embankment’, *kaṭ* ‘bank of a river’; Koṇḍa *kaṭa* ‘bundle (of hay, etc.)’, *gaṭu* ‘bund, bank (of a river, tank, etc.)’, *kaṭis-* ‘to yoke (plow)’; Pengo *kaṭa* ‘bank of a river’; Kui *kāṭ-* ‘to fix, to fasten, to secure’; Kuwi *gaṭṭu* ‘bund of a field’, *kādagattu* ‘bank of a river’, *gaṭu* ‘boundary, beach, shore; end of a table, field, etc.’; Malto *gaṭa* ‘rope, cord’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:108, no. 1147; Krishnamurti 2003:199 **kaṭ-/kaṭṭ-* ‘to tie, to bind’, **kaṭṭ-ay-* ‘a dam’.] These forms may belong under Proto-Nostratic root **k’ad-* (~ **k’əd-*) ‘(vb.) to tie, to fasten; to build, to construct; (n.) tie, band, fastening’ instead.

Sumerian *kād* ‘to fasten, to tie, to bind’, *kaḍ₅* ‘to tie, to fasten’.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:424—425, no. 267.

419. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **kal-a* ‘female in-law’:

Note also:

(n.) **k’el-a* ‘female in-law’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kal-* ‘female in-law’: Proto-Semitic **kall-* ‘daughter-in-law, bride’ > Akkadian *kallatu*, *kallutu* ‘daughter-in-law, wife of son living in his father’s household, bride, sister-in-law’; Hebrew *kallāh* [כַּלָּה] ‘bride, betrothed; daughter-in-law’; Palmyrene *klh* ‘bride’; Jewish Aramaic *kalləθā* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Ugaritic *klt* ‘bride, daughter-in-law (?)’;

Sabaeen *hklln* ‘to give in marriage’; Soqotri *kālan* ‘bridegroom’; Mehri *kālōn* ‘bride, groom’; Höbyōt *kūlūn* ‘bridegroom’, *kulúnt-* ‘bride’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kólūn* ‘bride, bridegroom’; Harsūsi *kelōn* ‘bridegroom’, *kelōnet* ‘bride’. Klein 1987:277. West Chadic **kalya-* ‘woman’ > Zakshi *kyel* ‘woman’; Zem *kal* ‘woman’; Zaar *kəl* ‘woman’; Buu *kəl* ‘woman’; Dokshi *kəli* ‘woman’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:310, no. 1419, **kal-* ‘female in-law’.

- B. Dravidian: Kurux *xallī* ‘father’s younger brother’s wife’; Malto *qali* ‘mother’s sister’, *qalapo* ‘sister’s son’, *qalapi* ‘sister’s daughter’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1318.
- C. Kartvelian: Old Georgian *kal-i* ‘maiden’ (Georgian *kal-i* ‘woman, daughter’).
- D. Proto-Uralic **kälz* (**kälz-wə*) ‘sister-in-law’: Finnish *käly* ‘husband’s sister; wife’s sister; wife of the husband’s brother; wife of the wife’s brother’; Estonian *käli* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; Lapp / Saami *galojædne* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; Mordvin (Moksha) *kel* ‘wife’s sister; wife’s brother’s daughter’; Zyrian / Komi *kel* ‘wife’s sister; wife’s brother’s daughter’; Ostyak / Xanty *kūli* ‘wife’s sister; wife’s brother’s daughter’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *seel* ‘brother-in-law (husbands of two sisters)’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *sealuŋ* ‘brother-in-law’; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *seđi*, (Baiha) *seri* ‘brother-in-law’; (?) Selkup Samoyed *šäl* ‘the husband of the wife’s sister or female cousin; the wife of the wife’s brother or male cousin; the husband of the husband’s sister or female cousin; the wife of the husband’s brother or male cousin’. Collinder 1955:23, 1960:406 **kälü*, and 1977:43; Sammallahti 1988:538 **käläw* ‘in-law’; Rédei 1986—1988:135—136 **kälz* (**kälz-wə*); Décsy 1990:100 **kälä(vä)* ‘sister-in-law’; Janhunen 1977b:67 **kelä*. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *kel’il* ‘the husband of the wife’s sister or female cousin; the wife of the wife’s brother or male cousin; the husband of the husband’s sister or female cousin; the wife of the husband’s brother or male cousin’. Nikolaeva 2006:205.

Buck 1949:2.66 sister-in-law. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:295—296, no. 162, **kälU* ‘female relation’; Koskinen 1980:19, no. 47; Dolgopolsky 1998:85—87 **kälu/ü* ‘a woman of the other exogamous moiety’ (→ ‘female relative-in-law, bride’) and 2008, no. 862, **kälü* ‘a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety’ (→ ‘female relative-in-law, bride’); Bomhard 1999a:65; Tyler 1968:811, no. 152; Hakola 2000:52, no. 186.

420. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hal-* (~ **k^häl-*):

(vb.) **k^hal-* ‘to make a noise, to sound; to call out, to shout’;

(n.) **k^hal-a* ‘noise, sound’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kal-* ‘to make a noise, to sound; to call out, to shout’: Proto-Semitic **kal-ah-* ‘to call, to cry out, to shout’ > Geez / Ethiopic

kalha, *kalləha* [ከለሐ] ‘to cry out, to cry, to shout, to cry aloud, to howl’; Tigre *kālah* ‘little bell’; Tigrinya (*tä*)*kalhe* ‘to argue with one another, to quarrel’; Harari *kālaḥa* ‘to call someone by shouting’. Amharic (*a*)*klalla* ‘to make a thundering noise’, *källälä* ‘to resound’. Leslau 1987:282—283. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *kalá?* (pl. *kálʿa*) ‘bell’; Saho *kalah* ‘to shout’; Awngi / Awiya *käläx-xʷa* ‘to shout’. According to Leslau (1987:283), the Cushitic forms may be loans from Ethiopian Semitic.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) *kalakala* ‘to reiterate a sound, to rustle, to tinkle, to chink, to clink, to rattle’, *kali* ‘to sound, to clamor, to roar’, *kallu* (*kalli-*) ‘to cause to sound (as a drum)’, *kaḷakaḷa* ‘to rattle, to chatter, to gurgle’, *kaḷan* ‘sound, noise’; Malayalam *kaḷakaḷa* ‘confused noise, buzz, din’; Kannaḍa *kalakala* ‘confused noise, the murmuring or buzz of a crowd’, *kaḷakaḷa* ‘noise, clamor, tumult, chattering of birds, the noise of rice when nearly boiled’; Tuḷu *kalakala* ‘a confused noise, hum’, *kalkuni*, *kaḷku*, *kālku* ‘to cry as a demon or one possessed by an evil spirit’; Telugu *kalakala* imitative word representing laughter; Kuwi *kālori a-* ‘to shout’, *kālovi* ‘sound’, *kalōvi* ‘noise’; Naiki (of Chanda) *kalla* ‘noise’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:121—122, no. 1302; Krishnamurti 2003:486 **kala-kala-* ‘to rustle, to tinkle, to rattle’ (onomatopoeic).
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hel-/k^hol-*, **k^hal-* ‘(vb.) to make a noise, to sound; to call out, to shout; (n.) noise, sound’: Greek *καλέω* ‘to call, to summon’, *κέλαδος* ‘noise’; Latin *calō* ‘to call, to summon’, *clāmō* ‘to call, to shout, to cry aloud’; Old Icelandic *hjala* ‘to chatter, to talk’, *hlóa* ‘to bellow, to roar’; Old English *hiellan* ‘to make a noise’, *hlōwan* ‘to low, to make a loud sound’; Old Saxon *hlōwan* ‘to low, to roar’; Old Low Frankish *hluoien* ‘to roar’; Dutch *hloeien* ‘to roar’; Old High German *halōn* ‘to call, to fetch’, *hloujen* ‘to low, to roar’; Middle High German *hellen* ‘to resound’; Lithuanian *kalbà* ‘language’; Latvian *kaḷuōt* ‘to chatter’; Hittite *kalleš-*, *kalliš-* ‘to evoke, to summon’, (reduplicated) *kalgalinai-* ‘to clang, to clash’. Rix 1998a:321—322 **kleh₁-* ‘to call’; Pokorny 1959:548—550 **kel-* ‘to call’; Walde 1927—1932.I:443—446 **kel-*; Mann 1984—1987:464 **kal-* (**kalājō*, **kalejō*) ‘to call, to name, to summon, to invite, to accuse’, 487 **kelō*, *-jō* ‘to roar, to din, to shout’, 507 **klāmō*, *-jō* ‘to shout’, 515 **k₁*- (**kəl-*) radical type: ‘to call, to name, to abuse’; Watkins 1985:28—29 **kelə-* (variant form **klā-* < **kla₂-*) and 2000:39 **kelə-* ‘to shout’ (with variant [metathesized] form **kle₂-*, colored to **kla₂-*, contracted to **klā-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:202 **k[h]l-e(s)-* and 1995.I:174 **k^hl-e(s)-* ‘to call’; Mallory—Adams 1997:90 **kelh₁-* ‘to call out to’; Boisacq 1950:397—398 **qalā-*, **qel(ə)-* and 429; Frisk 1970—1973.I:762—763 and II:813; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:484—485 and I:511 **kel-₂*; Beekes 2010.I:623—624 **klh₁-*; Hofmann 1966:129 and 138; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:141—142 **qel-* and I:227; De Vaan 2008:84—85; Ernout—Meillet 1979:87—88 and 124—125; Kroonen 2013:231 Proto-Germanic **hlōan-* ‘to low, to bellow’; Orël 2003:156

Proto-Germanic **xalōjanan*, 177—178 **xlōanan*; De Vries 1977:230; Onions 1966:538 **klā-*; Klein 1971:431; Kloekhorst 2008b:430—431; Puhvel 1984— .4:22—24 and 4:25—26; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:207—208 **kel(ə)-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:247—248; Derksen 2015:220 **kelh₁-*.

- D. Proto-Eskimo **qaləR-* ‘to make characteristic cry (animal)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qallir-* ‘to yell, to ring, to whistle, to growl’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qalrir-* ‘to cry, to make inarticulate vocal sound’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qalrir-* ‘to cry, to whistle, to shriek’; Central Siberian Yupik *qalrir-* ‘to cry, to whine, to twitter, to make characteristic sound (animal)’; Sirenik *qarləR-* ‘to make a characteristic animal sound’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qarluq-* ‘to yell, to call (animal)’; North Alaskan Inuit *qalruq-* ‘to make characteristic sound (animal)’; Western Canadian Inuit *qalruq-* ‘to bark (dogs)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qarrulaaq-* ‘to yell, to make inarticulate cries’; Greenlandic Inuit *qarłur-* ‘to twitter, to squeak, to squeal’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:279. Proto-Eskimo **qalmar-* ‘to call dogs’: Central Alaskan Yupik *qalmar-* ‘to summon a dog vocally, to try to attract a man by flirting (woman)’; Central Siberian Yupik *qalmar-* ‘to summon a dog vocally’; Western Canadian Inuit *qammaq-* ‘to call, to lure an animal’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qammatuq-* ‘to call (dogs)’; Greenlandic Inuit *qarmar-* ‘to call, to lure (dog)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:279. Proto-Inuit **qaləŋu-* ‘to growl’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *qaliŋuzit-*, *qaliŋužaaq-* ‘to growl’; North Alaskan Inuit *qaliŋu-* ‘to growl’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qaliŋulaaq-*, *qatiŋula(a)q-* ‘to growl’; Greenlandic Inuit *qaliŋuuq-* ‘to growl, to show the teeth (dog)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:279.

Buck 1949:18.13 shout, cry out; 18.24 language; 18.41 call (vb. = summon). Möller 1911:126 and 133; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:406, no. 244; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1049, **ka[L]VhV* ‘to shout, to cry, to weep, to make noise’.

421. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hal-* (~ **k^həl-*):

(vb.) **k^hal-* ‘to guard, to hold (back), to watch’;

(n.) **k^hal-a* ‘protection, care, support; restraint, detention, custody, hold’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kal-* ‘to guard, to hold (back), to watch’: Proto-Semitic **kal-a?* ‘to guard, to watch, to hold back’, (reduplicated) **kal-kal-* ‘to hold back, to withhold, to prevent’ > Hebrew *kālā?* [כָּלַף] ‘to shut up, to restrain, to withhold’; Syriac *kālā* ‘to hold back, to withhold’; Ugaritic *kl?* ‘to close, to shut’ (?); Arabic *kala?a* ‘to guard, to watch, to protect, to preserve’; Mandaic *kla* ‘to hold back, to withhold’; Akkadian *kalū* ‘to detain, to delay, to hold back (a person), to keep in custody, to confine, to prevent, to hinder; to withhold, to refuse goods, to keep, to deny a wish’; Geez / Ethiopic *kal?a* [አለአ] ‘to hinder, to prohibit, to forbid, to prevent, to keep back, to hold back, to deprive, to restrain, to impede, to decline, to

reject, to refuse’, (reduplicated) *kalkala* [ḥḏḥḏ] ‘to hinder, to prevent, to prohibit’; Tigre *kälʿa* ‘to hinder, to prevent’, (reduplicated) *käkkälä* ‘to hinder, to keep back’; Tigrinya *kälʿe* ‘to prevent, to forbid’, (reduplicated) *käkkälä* ‘to hinder, to keep back’; Gurage (Soddo) *källa* ‘to prohibit, to forbid, to refuse, to prevent, to deprive’, (Soddo) (reduplicated) *(tä)klakkälä* ‘to defend, to protect’; Amharic *källa* ‘to hinder, to impede, to prevent’, (reduplicated) *käläkkälä* ‘to prevent, to prohibit, to forbid, to hinder, to impede, to deprive, to bar’; Argobba (reduplicated) *käläkkälä* ‘to hinder, to keep back’. Murtonen 1989:231; Klein 1987:276; Zammit 2002:357; Leslau 1979:341, 342 and 1987:281—282, 283. Cushitic: Saho-Afar *kal, kale* ‘to hold back’.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **k^hel-/k^hol-* ‘to guard, to watch, to hold (back)’: Common Germanic **χaldan-* ‘to guard, to watch, to hold (back)’ > Gothic *haldan* ‘to hold, to take care of, to tend’; Old Icelandic *halda* ‘to hold fast, to keep back, to restrain, to withhold, to keep, to retain, to preserve, to hold’, *hald* ‘hold, fastening; keeping in repair; support, backing; custody’; Old Swedish *halla* ‘to hold’; Old English *healdan* ‘to hold’, *geheald* ‘keeping, custody, protection’; Old Frisian *halda* ‘to hold, to guard’; Old Saxon *haldan* ‘to hold, to guard’; Dutch *houden* ‘to hold’; Old High German *haltan* ‘to hold, to guard’ (New High German *halten*). Pokorny 1959:548 **kel-* ‘to drive’; Walde 1927—1932.I:442—443 **qel-*; Watkins 1985:28 **kel-* and 2000:39 **kel-* ‘to drive, to set in swift motion’; Orël 2003:155 Proto-Germanic **xaldan*, 155 **xaldanan*; Feist 1939:239—240; Lehmann 1986:173—174 **kel-* ‘to drive’; De Vries 1977:204; Onions 1966:444; Klein 1971:349; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:285 **kel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:289; Mallory—Adams 1997:170 **kel-* ‘to drive’.

Sumerian *kal* ‘to hold, to keep, to retain’.

Buck 1949:11.15 hold; 11.25 preserve, keep safe, save. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:409, no. 248.

422. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hal-* (~ **k^həl-*):

- (vb.) **k^hal-* ‘to point out, to make clear, to make known, to disclose, to explain’;
 (n.) **k^hal-a* ‘study, learning; investigation, explanation, clarification’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kal-* ‘to point out, to make clear, to make known, to disclose, to explain’: Proto-Semitic **kal-am-* ‘to point out, to make clear, to make known, to disclose, to explain’ > Akkadian *kullumu* ‘to show, to reveal, to explain, to disclose’; Arabic *kalama* ‘to address, to speak, to talk, to utter, to say’, *kalima* ‘word, speech, utterance, remark’; Geez / Ethiopic *kelamāṭe* [ḥḏḏḏ] ‘language’ (this may be a loan from Arabic); Tigre

kalāmāta ‘to incite to fight by praising speeches’, *kālamat* ‘song’. Leslau 1987:284; Zammit 2002:358.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kal* (*kar̥p-*, *karr-*) ‘to learn, to study, to practice (as arts), to acquire skill in the use of arms’, *kalai* ‘arts and sciences, learning, erudition’, *kalvi* ‘studying, learning, erudition, science, practice, scientific work’; Malayalam *kalkka* (*kar̥r-*) ‘to learn’, *kala* ‘art, science’; Kota *kal* (*kaṭ-*) ‘to learn’, *kalc-* (*kalc-*) ‘to teach’, *kalyv* ‘education’; Toda *kal-* (*kaṭ-*) ‘to learn’, *kalc-* (*kalč-*) ‘to teach’, *kalfy* ‘education’; Kannaḍa *kal* (*kalt-*), *kali* (*kalit-*) ‘to learn’, *kalisu*, *kalusu* ‘to teach’, *kal* ‘learning’, *kalike* ‘learning, skill’, *kalita*, *kalpi* ‘learning, erudition’, *kaliyuvike* ‘learning, act of learning’, *kale* ‘an art’; Tuḷu *kalpuni* ‘to learn, to study’, *kalpāvuni* ‘to teach, to investigate’, *kalpādi* ‘a learned man, sophist; hypocrite’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:120, no. 1297; Krishnamurti 2003:14 **kal-*/**kaṭ-* ‘to learn’.
- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kal̥yero-* ‘to boast, to brag, to show off’: Chukchi *kalerō-* ‘to pretend or appear to be rich’, *kalyotke-* ‘to boast’; Kerek *in-kaaliju-u-* ‘to show’, *kal̥ru-ttu-* ‘to boast’; Koryak *kalejo-* ‘to boast’. Fortescue 2005:127.

Buck 1949:17.24 learn; 17.25 teach; 18.45 boast (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 407, no. 245.

423. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^hal̥v-a* ‘reed, stalk, stem, blade of grass, haulm’:

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: the following plant names in Akkadian may belong here (though some of them may be loanwords): *kalbānu* (*kalbannu*, *kulbānu*) a plant (possibly of foreign origin), *kallammehu* a plant, *kallašūdi* a plant, *kalū* a thorny plant.
- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *kaḷḷa* name of a plant; Tuḷu *kaḷḷè* a kind of grass. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:129, no. 1384.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hol̥H-mo-*/**k^hl̥H-mo-* ‘reed, stalk, stem, haulm’: Greek κάλαμος ‘reed’, καλάμη ‘the stem or stalk of corn’; Latin *culmus* ‘a stalk, haulm’, *calamus* ‘a reed’ (< Greek κάλαμος); Old Icelandic *hálmr* ‘straw, haulm’; Swedish *halm* ‘straw, haulm’; Norwegian *halm* ‘straw, haulm’; Danish *halm* ‘straw, haulm’; Old English *healm* ‘haulm, straw, stem’ (Middle English *halm*); Old Saxon *halm* ‘stalk, stem, straw’; Dutch *halm* ‘stalk, stem, straw’; Old High German *halm*, *halam* ‘stalk, stem, straw’ (New High German *Halm*); Old Prussian *salme* ‘straw’; Latvian *saĩms* ‘(a single) straw’; Old Church Slavic *slama* ‘straw’; Russian *solóma* [солома] ‘straw’. Pokorny 1959:612 **kolamos*, **kolamā* ‘grass, reed’; Walde 1927—1932.I:464 **kolamos*, **kolamā*; Mann 1984—1987:630 **k̥l̥m-* ‘stalk, straw, haulm’, 634 **kolmos*, *-ā* ‘straw, stalk, haulm’; Watkins 1985:32 **koləm-* (suffixes form **koləm-o-*) and 2000:43 **kolə-mo-* ‘grass, reed’ (oldest form **kol̥₂-mo-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:542 **kol̥h₂om*

- ‘stalk, stem, straw’; Boisacq 1950:397 **k̂l̂mo-s-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:760—761 **kol̂mo-*, **kol̂mā-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:483—484 **kol̂mo-*, **kol̂mā-*; Beekes 2010.I:621—622 **kolh₂-m-*, **k̂lh₂-em-*; Hofmann 1966:129 **kol̂a-mos*; De Vaan 2008:150; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:303—304 **kol̂a-mos*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:155; Orël 2003:156 Proto-Germanic **xalmaz*; Kroonen 2013:204—205 Proto-Germanic **halma-* ‘blade of grass’; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:267; Torp 1919:195; De Vries 1977:206; Onions 1966:430 **kolmos*; Klein 1971:181 and 336; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:285 **kol̂amos*, **kol̂mā-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:289 **kol̂mo-*; Derksen 2008:459 **kolh₂-m-* and 2015:548 **kolh₂-m-*.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Volgaic **kalke* ‘(a single) hair; stalk, stem’ > Finnish *kalki* ‘(a single) hair; straw, haulm’; Lapp / Saami *guol'gâ-* ‘hair (but not the hair on the head of human beings); coat, covering of hair’; Mordvin *kalgo* ‘chive, shive (of flax)’. Collinder 1955:149 and 1977:158; Rédei 1986—1988:644 **kalke*.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **kĥalyo* ‘reed, a kind of grass’: Proto-Mongolian **kal-* ‘reed, feather-grass’ > Written Mongolian *qaltalži* ‘reed, feather-grass’; Khalkha *χaltalž* ‘reed, feather-grass’; Buriat *χalaxan* ‘reed, feather-grass’. Proto-Turkic **KAlvak* ‘bulrush, reedmace’ > Karakhanide Turkic *qašaq* ‘bulrush, reedmace’; Kirghiz *qašaq* ‘bulrush, reedmace’, *qašeq* ‘aftergrass’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:758 **k̂ālo* ‘reed, a kind of grass’. Due to problems with the semantics, the Tungus forms listed by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak are not included here.

Buck 1949:8.51 grass. Hakola 2000:50, no. 178.

424. Proto-Nostratic root **kĥaly-* (~ **kĥaly-*):

(vb.) **kĥaly-* ‘to rob, to steal, to hide’;

(n.) **kĥaly-a* ‘theft’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kaḷ* (*katp-*, *kaṭṭ-*) ‘to rob, to steal, to deceive’, *kaḷavāṇi*, *kaḷavāḷi*, *kaḷvan* ‘thief’, *kaḷḷal* ‘stealing’, *kaḷavu* ‘robbery, theft, deceit, hypocrisy, stolen property’; Malayalam *kaḷkukka*, *kakkuka* ‘to steal’; Kota *kaḷv-* (*kaḷd-*) ‘to steal’; Toda *koḷ* (*koḷd-*) ‘to steal’; Kannada *kaḷ* (*kaḷd-*) ‘to steal’, *kaḷḷa*, *kaḷa* ‘thief’; Koḍagu *kaḷ-* (*kapp-*, *kaṭṭ-*) ‘to steal’; Telugu *kalla* ‘falsehood, untruth, lie, fault, deceit’; Malto *qale* (*qaḍ-*) ‘to rob, to steal’, *qalwe* ‘thief’, *qalwi* ‘theft’; Brahui *xalling* ‘to lift (cattle)’, *kalp* ‘deceitful’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:127—128, no. 1372; Krishnamurti 2003:95 **kaḷ-* ‘to steal’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **kĥl-ep̂h-*/**kĥl-op̂h-* ‘to rob, to steal, to hide’: Greek κλέπτω ‘to steal’, κλέπτης ‘thief’; Latin *clepō* ‘to steal, to conceal oneself’, *cleps* ‘thief’; Old Irish *cluain* (< **klopni-*) ‘deception’; Gothic **hlifan* ‘to steal’, *hlifus* ‘thief’; Tocharian B *kälyp-* ‘to steal’; Old Prussian *au-klipts* ‘hidden, concealed’. Rix 1998a:323—324 **klep-* ‘to steal (secretly)’;

Pokorny 1959:604 **klep-* ‘to secrete, to steal’; Walde 1927—1932.I:497 **klep-*; Mann 1984—1987:510 **klep-* ‘to carry off, to hide, to steal’; Watkins 1985:31 **klep-* and 2000:42 **klep-* ‘to steal’; Mallory—Adams 1997:595 **klep-* ‘± to lay a hand on’; Boisacq 1950:468 **qlep-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:870—871; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:541—542; Hofmann 1966:147; Beekes 2010.I:713—714 **klep-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:127; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:232 **klep-*; De Vaan 2008:120; Orël 2003:175 Proto-Germanic **xlefanan*; Kroonen 2013:230 Proto-Germanic **hlefan-* ‘to steal’; Feist 1939:263 **klep-*; Lehmann 1986:187 **klep-*; Adams 1999:175—176 **klep-* ‘± to touch with the fingers, to investigate’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:203.

Buck 1949:11.56 steal; 11.57 thief. Caldwell 1913:591; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:423—424, no. 266.

425. Proto-Nostratic root **k^ham-* (~ **k^həm-*) or **q^ham-* (~ **q^həm-*):

- (vb.) **k^ham-* or **q^ham-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’;
 (n.) **k^ham-a* or **q^ham-a* ‘grip, hold, hand(ful); bond, fetter’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kam-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’: Proto-Semitic **kam-* (**kam-atʔ-*, **kam-aw/y-*) ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’ > Arabic *kamaša* ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’, *kamaša* ‘a handful’; Akkadian *kamū* ‘to capture, to overcome, to ensnare’, *kamū* ‘fetters’, *kamū* ‘captured, captive’, *kāmū* (f. *kāmītu*) ‘ensnaring’, *kamītu* ‘bonds, captivity’, *kimītu*, *kimūtu* ‘captivity’. Berber: Tuareg *əkməm* ‘to hold on tightly to something vertical; to clench, to press, to squeeze (for example, to weigh down, to bother, to annoy, to worry, to cause difficulties or problems)’, *takmant* ‘a muzzle’; Mzab *takmant* ‘a muzzle’; Kabyle *kəm*, *kəmməm* ‘to muzzle, to suffocate, to stop someone from speaking’, *takmant* ‘a muzzle’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kam-* ‘to hold’ > Iraqw *kom-* ‘to have’; Burunge *kom-* ‘to have’; Asa *kom-* ‘to have’; K’wadza *komos-* ‘to grip’; Dahalo *kam-* ‘to hold’. Ehret 1980:241. Chadic: North Bauchi Chadic (Bu: / Zaranda) *kam* ‘to take’ (cf. Caron 2008:102). Ehret 1995:198, no. 321, **kam-* ‘to hold’.
- B. Dravidian: Koraga *kamḍi* ‘to steal’; Telugu *kamucu* ‘to hold, to seize’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:124, no. 1326.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hem-t^h-*/**k^hom-t^h-*/**k^hṃ-t^h-* ‘(vb.) to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch; (n.) hand’: Gothic *handus* ‘hand’, *-hinþan* ‘to seize’ (used only in compounds: *fra-hinþan* ‘to capture, to imprison’, *fra-hunþans* ‘prisoner’), *hunþs* ‘booty’; Old Icelandic *hönd* ‘hand’, *henda* ‘to catch with the hand’; Old Swedish *hinna* ‘to obtain’; Swedish *hand* ‘hand’; Norwegian *hand* ‘hand’; Danish *haand* ‘hand’; Old English *hand* ‘hand’, *ge-hendan* ‘to hold’, *hentan* ‘to try to seize, to attack, to seize’, *hūþ* ‘plunder, booty’, *huntian* ‘to hunt’; Old Frisian *hand*, *hond* ‘hand’; Old

Saxon *hand* ‘hand’; Dutch *hand* ‘hand’; Old High German *hant* ‘hand’ (New High German *Hand*), *-hunda* in *herihunda* ‘spoils of war’. Mann 1984—1987:631 **k̑mt-* (or **k̑mt-*) ‘to hold, to seize’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:850 **k̑[h]̑mt[h]-* and 1995.I:747 **k̑h̑mt^h-* ‘hand (with outstretched fingers)’; Orël 2003:159 Proto-Germanic **xandjanan*, 159 **xandlan* ~ **xandlō*, 159 **xandlōjanan*, 159 **xanduz*, 169 **xenpanan*, 194 **xunpiz* ~ **xunpō*; Kroonen 2013:207—208 Proto-Germanic **handu-* ‘hand’, 227 **hinpan-* ‘to reach for’, and 257 **huntōn-* ‘to chase’; Lehmann 1986:122, 176—177, and 196; Feist 1939:161 **kent-*, **kend-*, 244—245 **kōmt-*, and 277 **kend-*, **kent-*; De Vries 1977:222 and 281; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:262—263; Torp 1919:198; Onions 1966:425—426 and 453 **kend-*; **kent-*, **k̑t-*; Klein 1971:333, 342, and 356; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:287; Kluge—Seebold 1989:290; Vercoullie 1898:103; Szemerényi 1960:69; Markey 1984:261—292.

- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kāme(-ne)* ‘hand; palm, flat of the hand’ > Finnish *kämmen* ‘palm, flat of the hand; paw’; Vote *čämmäl* ‘palm, flat of the hand’; Estonian *kämmal*, *kämmel* ‘palm, flat of the hand’; (?) Lapp / Saami (Kola) *kiem* ‘flat of the hand, hand’; Ostyak / Xanty (Eastern) *kōmən* in *kōmən kāγər* ‘the hollow hands as a measure’. Collinder 1955:87 and 1977:103; Rédei 1986—1988:137 **kāme(-ne)*.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:412—413, no. 254.

426. Proto-Nostratic root **k^ham-* (~ **k^həm-*):

(vb.) **k^ham-* ‘to work, to labor, to toil; to do, to make’;

(n.) **k^ham-a* ‘work, labor, toil’

- A. (?) Afrasian: New Egyptian *kmt* ‘metal tool’. Hannig 1995:884.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **kam-/ *km-* ‘to do’: Georgian *kam-/km-* ‘to do’; Mingrelian *kim-* ‘to do’; Laz *kom-*, *kum-*, *kip-* ‘to do’. Klimov 1964:196 **kam-/ *km-* and 1998:212 **kam-/ *km-* ‘to do’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:370—371 **kam-/ *km-*; Fähnrich 2007:456—457 **kam-/ *km-*; Schmidt 1962:137—138. Proto-Kartvelian **km-en-/ *km-n-* ‘to make’: Georgian *kmna* (< **kmen-* < **kam-en-*) ‘to make’; Mingrelian *kimin-* ‘to make’; Laz (*n*)*kimin-* ‘to knead dough’. Klimov 1964:199 **kmn-* and 1998:218 **km-en-/ *km-n-* ‘to make’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hμηH-* ‘to work, to toil, to labor’: Sanskrit *sāmyati* ‘to toil at, to exert oneself’; Greek *κάμνω* ‘to work, to labor, to toil, to be weary’. Rix 1998a:287—288 **kēmh₂-* ‘to become tired, to tire’; Pokorny 1959:557 **kēm(ə)-* ‘to become tired’; Walde 1927—1932.I:387—388 **kēm(ā)-*; Mann 1984—1987:600 **kam-* ‘to do, to act, to toil, to languish’; Watkins 1985:29 **kēmə-* ‘to be tired, to tire’; Mallory—Adams 1997:588 **kēmha-* ‘to grow tired, to tire oneself with work’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:325—326; Boisacq 1950:403—404 **k̑m̑n-*, **kē mā-*; Frisk 1970—

1973.I:773—774; Hofmann 1966:131 **k̂m-n-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:490 **k^om-ne*₂-, **km-e*₂-, **k^om-*₂-; Beekes 2010.I:632 **k̂emh*₂-.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make; 9.12 work, labor, toil (sb. abstr.); work (sb. concr.); 9.13 work, labor, toil (vb. intr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:416, no. 258.

427. Proto-Nostratic root **k^ham-* (~ **k^həm-*):

(vb.) **k^ham-* ‘to gather together, to collect’; (adv.) ‘together, along with’;

(n.) **k^ham-a* ‘collection, assemblage, gathering’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kam-* ‘to gather together, to collect’: Semitic: Akkadian *kamāsu* (Middle Assyrian *kamāšu*) ‘to gather, to collect, to bring in (barley, persons, animals, documents, or objects)’, *kummusu* ‘to gather in barley, to collect or assemble persons; (in the stative) to be assembled, stationed’, *šukmusu* ‘to collect, to place’, *nakmusu* ‘to be gathered’. Berber: Tuareg *kəmət* ‘to gather up, to collect, to pick up; to be picked up, to be gathered up, to be collected’, *akmu* ‘act of picking up, collecting’; Tamazight *kəmməm* ‘to amass, to pick up and carry in one’s arms’, *tukkimt* ‘armful, load, burden’; Kabyle *kəmməm* ‘to amass’, *takumma* ‘armful’, *ukkim* ‘fist, a punch’; Mzab *tçuma* ‘bundle, large package’.
- B. Kartvelian: Svan *kām-/km-* (inf. *li-km-e*) ‘to join or add something to somebody or something’, *kāma* ‘addition to a share’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hem-/k^hom-/k^hm-* ‘to gather together’: Albanian *qem* ‘to gather’; Latvian *k’ems* ‘bunch’. Mann 1984—1987:487 **kem-* ‘to gather’. Proto-Indo-European **k^hom-* ‘together, along with’: Latin *com-*, *cum* ‘together with’; Oscan *com-*, *kúm* ‘together with’; Umbrian *com* ‘with, along with’; Old Irish *com-* ‘with’; Welsh *cyf-*, *cyn-*, *cy-* ‘with’; Gaulish *com-* ‘with’. Pokorny 1959:612—613 **kom* ‘alongside’; Walde 1927—1932.I:458—460 **kom*; Mann 1984—1987:528 **kom*, **kom-* ‘with, together’; Watkins 1985:32 **kom* and 2000:43 **kom* ‘beside, near, by, with’; Mallory—Adams 1997:646 **ko(m)* ‘with, side by side’; Lindsay 1894:581; De Vaan 2008:128 **kōm* ‘with’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:156; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:251—253; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:78—79; Thurneysen 1946:502—504; Brugmann 1904:478—479 **ko*, **kom*.

Buck 1949:12.21 collect, gather; 12.22 join, unite. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:414—415, no. 256.

428. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^han^v-a* ‘stem, stalk, stick’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kan-* ‘stem, stalk, shoot’: Proto-Semitic **kann-* ‘stem, stalk, shoot’ > Akkadian *kannu* ‘slip (of a plant), stalk, shoot (of a tree)’; Syriac *kannā* ‘stem (of a tree), stalk, root (of a plant)’; Hebrew *kēn* [כֵּן] ‘base, pedestal; office, place’ (< ‘base [root] of a plant’), *kannāh* [כַּנְיָהּ]

- ‘plant, shoot’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible), *kannāh* [כַּנְיָה] ‘base, stand’; Tigre *kanät* ‘rowing-pole’. Murtonen 1989:235; Klein 1987:280. Berber: Tawlemmet *təkənīt* ‘a kind of plant’; Tamazight *takumət* ‘tan (bark of an oak)’. Cushitic: Bilin *kānā* ‘tree’; Kemant *kana* ‘tree’; Awngi / Awiya *kani* ‘tree’. Appleyard 2006:140.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṇṇi* ‘sprout, shoot, tender leaf’; Malayalam *kaṇṇi* ‘shoot of betel vines, palm leaves’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:111, no. 1185. Kota *kaṅk* ‘thin dry sticks used as kindling or in a bunch as a torch’; Kannaḍa *kaṇike*, *kaṇuku* ‘stalk of the great millet when deprived of its ear’, *kaṇḍike* ‘a stalk or stem’; Tuḷu *kaṇaku* ‘fuel, firewood’; Telugu *kaṇika* ‘a stick’; (?) Kuwi *kandi* ‘stick (dried), twig’; Kuṛux *kaṅk* ‘wood, fuel, timber’; Malto *kanku* ‘wood’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:110, no. 1165. Proto-Dravidian **kān-p-* > **kāmp-* ‘stem, stalk, stick’: Tamil *kāmpu* ‘flower-stalk, flowering branch, handle, shaft, haft’; Malayalam *kāmpu* ‘stem, stalk, stick of an umbrella’; Kannaḍa *kāmu*, *kāvu* ‘stalk, culm, stem, handle’; Telugu *kāma* ‘stem, stalk, stick, handle (of an axe, hoe, umbrella, etc.), shaft’; Gadba (Salur) *kāṅ* ‘butt of an axe’; Gondi *kāmē* ‘stalk of a spoon’, *kāme* ‘handle of a ladle’; Kuwi *kamba*, *kāmba* ‘handle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:135, no. 1454.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hent^h-*/**k^hont^h-* ‘prick, point, spike’: Greek κεντέω ‘to prick, to goad, to spur on; to sting; to prick, to stab’, κέντρον ‘any sharp point’, κοντός ‘a pole’; Latin *contus* ‘a pole used for pushing a boat along; a long spear or pike’ (< Greek κοντός); Old Irish *cinteir* ‘spur’; Welsh *cethr* ‘nail, tip’; Breton *kentr* ‘spur’; Cornish *kenter* ‘spike’; Old High German *hantag*, *hantīg* ‘bitter, sharp’ (New High German *hantig*). Rix 1998a:290 **k^hent-* ‘to prick, to pierce’; Pokorny 1959:567 **k^hent-* ‘to prick, to pierce, to stab’; Walde 1927—1932.I:402 **k^hent-*; Mann 1984—1987:609 **k^hent-* ‘prick, point, spike’, 609 **k^hentrom*, *-ā* (**k^hētr-*) ‘point, spike, spur’; Watkins 1985:29 **k^hent-* and 2000:40 **k^hent-* ‘to prick, to jab’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:236 **k^h[j]ent^h[j]-* and 1995.I:205 **k^hent^h-* ‘to stab’; Mallory—Adams 1997:509—510 **k^hent-* ‘sharp’; Boisacq 1950:434; Frisk 1970—1973.I:820—821; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:515; Hofmann 1966:139; Beekes 2010.I:672—673 **k^hent-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:140—141; Kluge—Seebold 1989:293.
- D. (?) Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kanta-* ‘stump’ > Finnish *kanta* ‘base, stump; standpoint’, *kanto* ‘stump’; Livonian *kand* ‘tree-trunk; stump; substructure of a hayrick’; Lapp / Saami *guoddo/gud’du-* ‘stump (of a tree)’; Mordvin *kando* ‘wind-fallen tree’; Vogul / Mansi *kōdōnt* ‘vertical support of a storehouse; foot of a pillar (post) of a storehouse’. Collinder 1955:85 and 1977:102; Rédei 1986—1988:123 **kanta*.
- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **kant* or **qant* ‘stick’: Amur *k^hənd* ‘stick, cane, crutch’; North Sakhalin *k^hət* ‘stick’; East Sakhalin *kad* ‘kind of ski pole’; South Sakhalin *qant* ‘walking stick’. Fortescue 2016:83.

Dolgopolsky 1998:69—70, no. 87, *kaṅV(-bV) ‘stalk, trunk’ (‘log’) and 2008, no. 894, *kaṅ|ṅV(-tV) ‘stalk, trunk of a tree’; Bomhard 1999a:62; Hakola 2000:53, no. 194.

429. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k^han^y-a ~ *k^hin^y-a ~ *k^hun^y-a ‘bee, honey’:

- A. Afrasian: Proto-East Cushitic *kan(n)-, *kin(n)- ‘bee’ > Somali *šinn-i* ‘bee’; Konso *xan-ta* ‘bee’; Gidole *han-t(a)* ‘bee’; Galla / Oromo *kann-i-sa* ‘bee’ (Borana *kinn-ii-sa* ‘bee’ [< *kann-ii-sa]); Gedeo / Darasa *kinn-ii-sa* ‘bee’. Sasse 1979:6 and 24; Hudson 1989:25.
- B. Dravidian: Iruḷa *kunni* ‘bee’; Kota *kuny* ‘bee’; (?) Tuḷu *koṇi*, *koṇḍi* ‘a sting’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:170, no. 1867.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *k^hḡH-k^ho- ‘honey, honey-colored’: Sanskrit *kāñcana-h* ‘golden’, *kāñcaná-m*, *kánaka-m* ‘gold’; Greek κηκός (Doric κῠκός) ‘pale yellow’; Old Icelandic *hunang* ‘honey’; Faroese *hunangur* ‘honey’; Norwegian *huning* ‘honey’; Old Danish *honni(n)g* ‘honey’; Swedish *honung*, *honing* ‘honey’; Old English *hunig* ‘honey’; Old Frisian *hunig* ‘honey’; Old Saxon *honeg*, *huneg* ‘honey’; Middle Dutch *honich*, *honinc* ‘honey’ (Dutch *honig*, *honing*); Old High German *honag*, *honang* ‘honey’ (New High German *Honig*). Pokorny 1959:564—565 *k_enəkó- ‘golden (color)’; Walde 1927—1932.I:400 *qenəqó-; Watkins 1985:29 *k(e)nəko- and 2000:40 *k(e)nəko- ‘yellow, golden’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:195 *qṅqenó-; Mallory—Adams 1997:271 *kḡh_aónks ‘honey-colored, golden’; Boisacq 1950:475—476; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:547; Frisk 1970—1973.I:882—883; Hofmann 1966:149; Beekes 2010.I:722—723 *knh₂kó-; Kroonen 2013:255—256 Proto-Germanic *hunanga- ‘honey’ (< *kḡh₂-onk-o-); Orël 2003:193 Proto-Germanic *xunaḡzan; De Vries 1977:266; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:297 *kənakó-; Torp 1919:228; Klein 1971:352; Onions 1966:446 Common Germanic *χuna(η)gam; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:185—186 *kḡHko-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:315—316; Kluge—Seebold 1989:315—316 *kḡəko-.

Buck 1949:3.82 bee; 5.84 honey. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:411, no. 251; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1086a, *K[U]ṅ[H]V or *k[U]ṅ|ṅV ‘bee’.

430. Proto-Nostratic root *k^haṅ- (~ *k^həṅ-):

(vb.) *k^haṅ- ‘to make a noise, to sound’;

(n.) *k^haṅ-a ‘noise, (ringing or tinkling) sound’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *kny* ‘to call’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:132.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) *kaṅakana* ‘to sound, to rattle, to jingle, to tinkle’; Kannaḍa *kana* an imitative sound, (reduplicated) *kaṅakana* ‘the ringing sound of unbroken earthen or metal vessels, bells, etc., when struck with the knuckles’; Tuḷu *gaṅily* ‘tinkling’, *gaṅaṅṅu* ‘a tinkling sound’;

Telugu (reduplicated) *gaṇagaṇa* ‘the ringing or tinkling of bells’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:110, no. 1162.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^han-* ‘to make a noise, to sound’: Greek *καναγή* ‘sharp sound, the ring or clang of metal’, *κανάσσω* ‘to pour with a gurgling sound’, *καναχέω*, *καναχίζω* ‘to ring, to clash, to clang (of metal)’, *ἦϊ-κανός* ‘cock, rooster’ (< ‘dawn-singer’); Latin *canō* ‘to sing, to sound, to play an instrument’; Umbrian *kanetu* ‘to sing, to play music’; Old Irish *canim* ‘to sing’; Gothic *hana* ‘cock, rooster’; Old Icelandic *hani* ‘cock, rooster’; Swedish *hane* ‘cock, rooster’; Old English *henn* ‘hen’, *henna* ‘fowl’, *hana* ‘cock, rooster’; Old Frisian *henne* ‘hen’, *hona* ‘cock, rooster’; Old Saxon *hano* ‘cock, rooster’, *hōn* ‘fowl, hen’; Dutch *haan* ‘cock, rooster’, *hen* ‘hen’; Middle Low German *henne* ‘hen’; Old High German *henna* ‘hen’ (New High German *Henne*), *hano* ‘cock, rooster’ (New High German *Hahn*), *huon* ‘fowl, hen’ (New High German *Huhn*). Rix 1998a:305—306 **kan-* ‘to sing, to sound’; Pokorny 1959:525—526 **kan-* ‘to sing’; Walde 1927—1932.I:351 **qan-*; Mann 1984—1987:600—601 **k^han-* ‘to sing, to hum, to bark, to echo’; Watkins 1985:27 **kan-* and 2000:36—37 **kan-* ‘to sing’; Mallory—Adams 1997:519 **kan-* ‘to sing’; Boisacq 1950:316 and 405; Hofmann 1966:131; Frisk 1970—1973.I:626 and I:776; Beekes 2010.I:634; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:408 and I:491; De Vaan 2008:87—88; Ernout—Meillet 1979:93—94 **k^one/o-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:154—155; Orël 2003:161 Proto-Germanic **xanōn*; Kroonen 2013:207 Proto-Germanic **hanan-* ‘rooster, singer’; Feist 1939:243—244 **kan-*; Lehmann 1986:176 **kan-* ‘to sing’; De Vries 1977:208; Onions 1966:436; Klein 1971:342; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:282; Kluge—Seebold 1989:287, 305, and 319; Vercoillie 1898:101 and 109.
- D. Proto-Uralic **kaŋɜ-* ‘to call’: Hungarian *hív-/hivo-* ‘to call, to invite’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *haŋa-* ‘to ask, to request, to beg’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *kaŋa-* ‘to ask, to request, to beg’; Selkup Samoyed *kuera-* ‘to ask, to request, to beg’. Collinder 1955:14, 1960:406 **kaŋɜ-*, and 1977:35; Rédei 1986—1988:125—126 **kanɜ-* (**kaŋɜ-*); Décsy 1990:100 **kanga* ‘(to) call’.
- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kaŋ(læ)-* ‘to growl, to snarl’ > Chukchi *kaŋ-ʔejŋe-* ‘to growl, to snarl’; Koryak *kaŋla-* ‘to growl, to snarl’. Note also Kamchadal / Itelmen *keŋai-* ‘to roar’ (this may be a loan from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:150.

Buck 1949:18.12 sing. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:415—416, no. 257; Hakola 2000:53, no. 193; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1076, **KaŋV* ‘to sing, to sound’.

431. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hap^h-*:

- (vb.) **k^hap^h-* ‘to take, seize, or grasp with the hand; to press or squeeze with the hand’;
 (n.) **k^hap^h-a* ‘hand’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kap-* ‘(vb.) to take, to seize; (n.) hand’: Proto-Semitic **kapp-* ‘palm, hand’ > Hebrew *kaṣ* [כַּף] ‘palm’; Phoenician *kpp* ‘palm of the hand’; Imperial Aramaic *kp* ‘hand’; Syriac *kappā* ‘palm of the hand’; Mandaic *kapa* ‘hand, palm of hand, handful’, *kapta* ‘fetter’; Ugaritic *kp* ‘palm, hand’; Akkadian *kappu* ‘hand’; Arabic *kaff* ‘palm of the hand, hand’; Šheri / Jibbāli *keff* ‘to withhold, to keep someone quiet’, *kef* ‘paw, claw, palm of the hand’; Ḥarsūsi *kef* ‘flat of the hand, claw, paw’; Mehri *kəf* ‘to withhold, to keep someone quiet’, *kaf* ‘palm of the hand, paw, claw’. Diakonoff 1992:85 **kapp-* ‘palm of the hand’; Murtonen 1989:236—237; Klein 1987:283; Zammit 2002:356. Egyptian *kp* ‘enemy’s hands separated from his arms, cut off hands’. Erman—Grapow 1921:195 and 1926—1963.5:118; Hannig 1995:880. Orël—Stolbova 1995:312, no. 1428, **kap-* ‘hand’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:134, no. 148) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **kapp-* ‘palm, flat of hand or foot’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *kap-pi* ‘catch, latch, clasp, brooch’. Dravidian: Kuṛux *kappnā* ‘to cover or press gently with the hand, to throw the hand or claws upon in order to catch, to feel with the hand or feet for knowing’, *kappar ērnā* ‘to feel, to touch’; Malto *kape* ‘to touch, to meddle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:114, no. 1225; Krishnamurti 2003:144 **kap-*, **kapp-/kaw-* ‘to cover, to overspread’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hap^h-* ‘to take, to seize’: Latin *capiō* ‘to take, to seize’; Old Irish *cachtaim* ‘to take captive’; Welsh *caeth* ‘slave’; Gothic **haftjan* ‘to hold fast to’; Old Icelandic *haft* ‘bond, chain’ (pl. *höft* ‘fettters’), *haftr* (f. *hafta*) ‘prisoner’, *hapt* ‘bond’, *hepta*, *hefta* ‘to bind, to fetter’; Old English *hæft* ‘bond, fetter; captivity’, *hæftan* ‘to bind; to confine, to imprison, to arrest’, *hæften* ‘custody’, *hæftnian* ‘to take captive’; Old Frisian *heft(e)* ‘captivity’; Old High German *gi-heftan* ‘to fetter’ (New High German *heften*), *haft* ‘captivity’ (New High German *Haft*). Rix 1998a:307—308 **keh₂p-* ‘to grasp, to seize, to grab, to snatch’; Pokorny 1959:527—528 **kap-* ‘to grasp’; Walde 1927—1932.I:342—345 **qap-*; Mann 1984—1987:471 **kapjō*, **kapmi* ‘to take, to seize, to lift’; Watkins 1985:27 **kap-* and 2000:37 **kap-* (suffixed form **kap-yo-*) ‘to grasp’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:146 **k^h[ap^h]-* and 1995.I:125 **k^hap^h-* ‘to have, to catch’; Mallory—Adams 1997:90 **kaptos* ‘captive’, **kap-* ‘to take, to seize’ and 563 **kap-* ‘to seize’; De Vaan 2008:89—90; Ernout—Meillet 1979:95—97; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:159—160 **qap-*; Orël 2003:149 Proto-Germanic **xafjanan*, 149 **xaftan* ~ **xaftaz*, 149 **xaftaz* I, 149 **xaftaz* II, 149 **xaftjan*, 149 **xaftjanan*, 149 **xaftnōjanan* ~ **xaftenōjanan*; Feist 1939:230; Lehmann 1986:167—168 and 168; De Vries 1977:209 and 222; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:280 and 296; Kluge—Seebold 1989:286 and 299.

- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kapp3-* ‘to take, to seize, to grasp’ > Finnish *kaappaus* ‘captive, coup, hijacking’; Mordvin (Erza) *kapode-* ‘to grab quickly’. Proto-Finno-Ugrian **käppä* ‘hand, paw’ > Finnish *käppä* ‘hand, paw’, *käpälä* ‘paw’; Estonian *käpp* (gen. *käpa*) ‘claw, paw, hand’; Mordvin (Erza) *kepe*, (Moksha) *käpä* ‘barefooted’. Rédei 1986—1988:651—652 **käppä*.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **kʰapʰV-* ‘to press, to grasp’: Proto-Tungus **χap-ki-* ‘to strangle, to throttle’ > Evenki *apki-* ‘to strangle, to throttle’; Lamut / Even *apqɔ-* ‘to strangle, to throttle’; Negidal *apqu-* ‘to strangle, to throttle’; Orok *χaqpi-* ‘to strangle, to throttle’. Proto-Mongolian **kab-* ‘to pinch, to squeeze, to grasp, to hold; to join, to press together’ > Mongolian *qabči-* ‘to compress, to press or squeeze together’, *qabčiγda-* ‘to be pressed, squeezed, jammed, pitched’, *qabčiγu* ‘narrow, tight, constricted’, *qabčiγurda-* ‘to compress, to squeeze, to pinch’, *qabčila-* ‘to squeeze, to press, to compress’, *qabčily-a* ‘oppression, pressure, squeezing, jamming’; Khalkha *χavči-*, *χavsr-* ‘to join, to press together’, *χavt-*, *χavtgay* ‘flat’; Buriat *χabša-* ‘to pinch, to squeeze, to grasp, to hold’; Kalmyk *χapčə-*, *χawšə-*, *χawl-* ‘to pinch, to squeeze, to grasp, to hold’; Ordos *gabči-* ‘to pinch, to squeeze, to grasp, to hold’; *gābiāgā* ‘flat’, *gabtā-* ‘to be flat’; Dagur *karči-*, *χawči-* ‘to pinch, to squeeze, to grasp, to hold’, *kabtagē*, *kabetēgay* ‘flat’, *kabtečiē-* ‘to pinch, to squeeze, to grasp, to hold’. Proto-Turkic **Kap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qap-* ‘to grasp, to seize, to capture’; Karakhanide Turkic *qap-* ‘to snatch, to take’; Turkish *kap-* ‘to snatch, to seize, to carry off, to acquire’, *kapıcı* ‘one who seizes’, *kapın* ‘who seizes or grabs’, *kapış* ‘manner of seizing, looting’, *kapış-* ‘to snatch something from one another’; Gagauz *kap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Azerbaijani *gap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Turkmenian *gap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Uzbek *qap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Uighur *qap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Tatar *qap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Bashkir *qap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Kirghiz *qap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Kazakh *qap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Noghay *qap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Chuvash *χip-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’; Yakut *χap-* ‘to snatch, to take; to bite’. Poppe 1960:43—44, 48, 89, 137, and 146; Street 1974:16 **kap-* ‘to grasp, to seize’, **kap-ti-* ‘to squeeze’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:766—767 **kʰapʰV* ‘to press, to grasp’.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **kapət-* and **kapəy-* ‘to be narrow, constricted; to be tight-fitting’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kapxitə-* ‘to be constricted, narrow’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kapxitə-* ‘to be narrow’; Central Siberian Yupik (with metathesis) *kaxpəsqʷaaq*, *kaxpəstaaq* ‘narrow opening’; North Alaskan Inuit *kapit* ‘to be tight-fitting’; Western Canadian Inuit *kapit-* ‘to be tight (garment)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kapit-* ‘to pull outer garment over *atigi*’; Greenlandic Inuit *kapit-* ‘to pull outer garment over inner one’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:139.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 12.62 narrow. Brunner 1969:39; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:313—315, no. 190, **kaba*/**kap'a* ‘to seize’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1107, **ḲapV* ~ **Ḳap̄V* ‘to seize’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:404—405, no. 242; Hakola 2000:55, no. 201.

432. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^hap^h-a* ‘bowl, cup, jar, container; skull’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kap-* ‘bowl, cup, jar, container’: Proto-Semitic **kapr-* ‘bowl, cup, jar, container’ > Akkadian *kapru* ‘a type of sacrifice and a platter for it’; Hebrew *kəḫōr* [כְּחֹר] ‘small bowl (of gold or silver used in the temple)’; Syriac *kāḫūrā* ‘an earthen vessel, crock’; Arabic *kāfira* ‘jar’; Geez / Ethiopic *kafar* [ክፈር] ‘basket, container for measuring, bushel’; Tigrinya *kāfār* ‘big basket’. Klein 1987:283; Leslau 1987:276—277.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k^hap^h-* ‘bowl, cup, jar, container; head’: Sanskrit *kapāla-m* ‘cup, bowl; skull’, *kapūcchala-m* ‘tuft of hair on the back of the head (hanging down like a tail), the fore-part of a sacrificial ladle’; Latin *capis* ‘a one-handed vessel (used in sacrifices)’, *caput* ‘the head’; Old English *hafela*, *heafola* ‘head’, *hafud-* ‘head’. Probably also (with unexplained diphthong in the first syllable): Gothic *haubiþ* ‘head’; Old Icelandic *höfuð* ‘head’; Swedish *huvud* ‘head’; Old English *hēafod* ‘head’; Old Frisian *hāved*, *hād* ‘head’; Old Saxon *hōbid* ‘head’; Dutch *hoofd* ‘head’; Old High German *houbit* ‘head’ (New High German *Haupt*). Pokorny 1959:529—530 **kap-ut*, *-(ē)lo-* ‘head’; Walde 1927—1932.I: 346—347 **qap-ut*, *-(ē)lo-*; Mann 1984—1987:471 **kapitjos* (**kaputjos*) ‘top, head, hill’; Watkins 1985:27 **kaput* and 2000:37 **kaput-* ‘head’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:813, fn. 3, **k^h[ap^h]ut^h[-]*, **k^h[ap^h]-el-* and 1995.I:713, fn. 26, **k^hap^hut^h-*, **k^hap^h-el-* ‘head’; Mallory—Adams 1997:260—261 **káput* ‘head’ and 261 **kapōlo-* ‘head, skull’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:155 and I:156 **kaput-*; De Vaan 2008:90 and 91; Orël 2003:148 Proto-Germanic **xabuđan*, 165 **xauβuđan* ~ **xauβiđan* (secondary variants [taboo?] of **xabuđan*); Kroonen 2013:215 Proto-Germanic **ha(u)beda-* ~ **ha(u)buda-* ‘head’; Feist 1939:248; Lehmann 1986:178—179 **kap-ut-*; De Vries 1977:279; Onions 1966:432; Klein 1971:337; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:293—294; Kluge—Seebold 1989:297 **kapwet-/kaput-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:155—156.
- C. Proto-Altaic **k^hap^ha* ‘vessel, container’: Proto-Tungus **χapsa* ‘container, box, bag’ > Manchu *absa* ‘a birchbark container’; Evenki *awsa* ‘box, bag’; Lamut / Even *awsṯ* ‘bag’; Negidal *awfsak* ‘box’; Nanay / Gold *χapsio* ‘box’; Oroch *χapsaw* ‘bag’. Proto-Mongolian **kayurčag*, **kayirčag* ‘small box, chest’ > Written Mongolian *qayurčay*, *qayirčay* ‘small box, chest’; Khalkha *χūrčag*, *χairčag* ‘small box, chest’; Buriat *χūrčag* ‘coffin’; Kalmyk *χūrčəγ* ‘large box, chest’; Ordos *χārčag* ‘small box, chest’; Monguor *χāžə* ‘small box, chest’. Proto-Turkic **Kapirčak*, **Kapsak* ‘box, coffin; basket’ > Karakhanide Turkic *qapirčaq* ‘box, coffin; basket’;

Turkish [*koburčuk*] (dial. [*kapuržak*]) ‘box, coffin’, (dial.) [*kabzak, kabsak*] ‘basket’; Turkmenian *gapiržaq* ‘box, coffin’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:763 **kʷapʷa* ‘a kind of vessel, box’.

Buck 1949:4.20 head.

433. Proto-Nostratic root **hʷapʷ-* (~ **hʷəpʷ-*):

(vb.) **hʷapʷ-* ‘to buy; to pay back’;

(n.) **hʷapʷ-a* ‘recompense, tribute, pay-back’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kappam* ‘tribute’; Malayalam *kappam* ‘tribute, taxes’; Kannada *kappa, kappu* ‘tribute’; Tuḷu *kappa* ‘tribute, an offering’; Telugu *kappamu* ‘tax, tribute, subsidy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:113, no. 1218; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **kapp-am* ‘a kind of tax, tribute’.

B. (?) Proto-Indo-European **hʷapʷ-* ‘to obtain’: Proto-Germanic **χabēn-* ‘to have’ > Gothic *haban* ‘to have, to hold’; Old Icelandic *hafa* ‘to have, to hold; to keep, to retain; to bring, to carry; to take, to carry off; to get, to gain, to win’; Faroese *hava* ‘to have’; Swedish *hava* ‘to have’; Norwegian *hava* ‘to have’; Danish *have* ‘to have’; Old English *habban* ‘to have, to hold; to take; to possess’; Old Frisian *hebban* ‘to have, to own, to get, to receive, to keep, to maintain’; Old Saxon *hebbian* ‘to have’; Dutch *hebben* ‘to have’; Old High German *habēn* ‘to have’ (New High German *haben*). Orël 2003:147 Proto-Germanic **xabān*, 147 **xabēnan*; Kroonen 2013:197 Proto-Germanic **habēn-* ‘to have’; Feist 1939:229 (etymology uncertain); Lehmann 1986:167 (etymology uncertain); De Vries 1977:201; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:276—277 **khabh-*; Torp 1919:202; Klein 1971:336; Onions 1966:431 Common Germanic **χabēn*, **χabda*, **δαχabδaz*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:157; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:287; Kluge—Seebold 1989:284; Walshe 1951:89 — “The relationship to LAT. *habēre*, which extends to the terminations, can only be fortuitous”. As noted by Lehmann (1986:167): “Since PIE lacked a verb corresponding to ‘have’ indicating possession and auxiliary function, [Gothic] *haban* must have originated in Gmc;...” The Germanic forms cited above have been contaminated by reflexes of Proto-Indo-European **hʷapʷh-* ‘to take, to seize’ (cf. Lehmann 1986:167).

C. Proto-Altaiic **hʷapa-* ‘to buy; to pay back’: Proto-Tungus **χab-* ‘to buy; to complain, to start a lawsuit’ > Manchu *χabša-* ‘to accuse, to bring to court’, *χabšan* ‘accusation, complaint’; Ulch *χapsi-* ‘to complain, to start a lawsuit’; Oroch *χaw-* ‘to buy’, *χapsi-* ‘to complain, to start a lawsuit’; Nanay / Gold *χapsi-* ‘to complain, to start a lawsuit’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:760—761 **kʷapa* ‘to buy, to pay back’.

Buck 1949:11.11 have; 11.65 pay (vb.); 11.69 tax; 11.81 buy.

434. Proto-Nostratic root *k^har- (~ *k^har-):
 (vb.) *k^har- ‘to cut, to cut into, to cut off’;
 (n.) *k^har-a ‘cut, incision’
 Derivative:
 (n.) *k^har-a ‘skin, hide; bark, rind’
- A. Proto-Afrasian *kar- ‘to cut, to cut into, to cut off’: Proto-Semitic *kar-at- ‘to cut off, to cut down’ > Hebrew *kāraθ* [כָּרַח] ‘to cut off, to cut down’; Phoenician *krt* ‘woodcutter’ (?); Akkadian *karātu* ‘to strike, to cut off, to break off’, *kartu* ‘cut up’; Tigrinya *kārātā* ‘to cut’, *kārtātā* ‘to nibble’. Murtonen 1989:240; Klein 1987:288. Proto-Semitic *kar-ad- ‘to cut off’ > Arabic *karada* ‘to cut off, to shear’. Proto-Semitic *kar-ay- ‘to cut into, to make cuts or incisions, to dig’ > Hebrew *kārāh* [כָּרַח] ‘to dig’; Aramaic *kārā* ‘to dig’; Ugaritic *kry* ‘to dig’; Arabic *karā* ‘to dig’, *karw* ‘digging, excavation’; Geez / Ethiopic *karaya* [ከረዩ] ‘to dig (a well, in the ground), to make holes, to dig up, to excavate, to peck (the eyes), to make cuts or incisions’; Tigre *kāra* ‘cut off (by digging)’; Amharic *kārāyyā* ‘to dig, to till the earth’; Gurage *kāre* ‘to dig a hole’; Harari *xara* ‘to dig a hole’. Murtonen 1989:239; Klein 1987:285; Leslau 1963:97, 1979:347, and 1987:294—295. Egyptian *krt* ‘carnage, massacre’, (reduplicated) *krkr* ‘knife’. Hannig 1995:887; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:136. Chadic: Ngizim *kàrmú* ‘to chop, to cut down, to chop off’. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *kar-* ‘to cut down a tree’; Sidamo *kar-* ‘to fell (a tree)’. Hudson 1989:249 and 376. Ehret 1995:200, no. 330, *kur-/ *kar- ‘to cut up’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *k^her-/ *k^hor-/ *k^hr- ‘to cut off, to cut down’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *kar-aš-zi* ‘to cut off’; Sanskrit *kartati*, *krntāti* ‘to cut, to cut off’, *krnāti* ‘to injure, to kill’; Avestan *kərəntaiti* ‘to cut, to flay; to clean, to dress (a slaughtered animal)’; Greek κείρω ‘to cut off, to clip, to hew down’; Old Icelandic *skera* ‘to cut, to shape’; Faroese *skera* ‘to cut’; Norwegian *skjera* ‘to cut’; Swedish *skära* ‘to cut’; Danish *skjære* ‘to cut’; Old English *sceran*, *scieran* ‘to cut, to shear’, *scēarra* ‘shears, scissors’, *sceard* ‘notched, with pieces broken off or out’, *scierdan* ‘to injure, to destroy’; Old Frisian *skera* ‘to cut, to shear’, *skēra* ‘shears, scissors, clippers’; Old Saxon *skerian* ‘to cut, to shear’, *skāra* ‘shears, scissors, clippers’; Dutch *scheren* ‘to cut, to shear’, *schaar* ‘shears, scissors, clippers’; Old High German *skeran* ‘to cut, to shear’ (New High German *scheren*), *scār(a)* ‘scissors, shears, clippers’ (New High German *Schere*); Lithuanian *kerpù*, *kĩrpti* ‘to cut (with scissors)’; Tocharian A *kāršt-*, B *kāršt-* ‘to cut off, to cut down, to terminate; to tear; to destroy utterly’. Rix 1998a:503 *(s)ker- ‘to cut off, to shear, to scrape (off)’; Pokorny 1959:938—947 *(s)ker-, *(s)kerə-, *(s)krē- ‘to cut’; Walde 1927—1932.II:573—587 *sqer-, *qer-; Mann 1984—1987:491 *kerō-, -jō ‘to cut’, 611—612 *k̂erjō ‘to strike, to stab, to cut, to sever’; Watkins 1985:59—60

*sker- (also *ker-) and 2000:77—78 *(s)ker- ‘to cut’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:707 *sk[h]er- and 1995.I:612 *sk^her- ‘to carve, to shear, to cut out’; Mallory—Adams 1997:143 *(s)ker- ‘to cut apart, to cut off’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:257 *ker- and I:260; Frisk 1970—1973.I:810—811; Hofmann 1966:137 *(s)qer-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:510; Boisacq 1950:427—428 *(s)qer-; Beekes 2010.I:665 *(s)ker-; Orël 2003:338—339 Proto-Germanic *skeranan, 340 *skērjan ~ *skērō; Kroonen 2013:443 Proto-Germanic *skēra- ‘pair of scissors’ and 443—444 *skeran- ‘to cut’; De Vries 1977:490 *(s)ker-; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:189 *(s)ker-; Torp 1919:602; Klein 1971:678 *(s)qer-; Onions 1966:818; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:348—349; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:643; Kluge—Seebold 1989:629 and 630 *sker-; Derksen 2015:405 *(s)krH-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:257—258; Adams 1999:168—169 *kers- < *(s)ker- ‘to cut’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:207—208 *(s)qer-.

- C. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *k(ə)r- ‘to gouge out’: Amur *eyra-dy* / -*khra-dy* ‘to hollow out, to gouge a hole in’; East Sakhalin *extra-d* ‘to gouge out’. Fortescue 2016:87.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 9.22 cut (vb.). Brunner 1969:38, no. 159; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:407—408, no. 246; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 939, *käRtV ‘to cut (off), to notch’.

435. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k^har-a ‘skin, hide; bark, rind’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) *k^har- ‘to cut, to cut into, to cut off’;

(n.) *k^har-a ‘cut, incision’

- A. Proto-Indo-European *k^her-/*k^hor-/*k^hɣ- ‘skin, hide; bark, rind’: Sanskrit *cārman-* ‘skin, hide, bark’, *kṛtti-h* ‘skin, hide’; Avestan *čarəman-* ‘skin, hide’; Latin *corium* ‘skin, hide; leather; (of plants) bark, rind’, *cortex* ‘rind, bark, shell’; Old Irish *coirt* ‘skin, bark’; Welsh *cwr* (pl. *cyroedd*) ‘skin’; Old Icelandic *hörund* ‘human flesh, skin, complexion’; Norwegian *hørøld*, *horong* ‘flesh, skin’; Old Swedish *harund* ‘flesh, skin’; Old Danish *harend* ‘flesh, skin’; Old English *heorða* ‘deer- (or goat- ?) skin’, *hyrð* ‘skin, hide’; Swiss German *Herde*, *Härde* ‘sheepskin, goatskin’; Russian *korá* [kopa] ‘crust; rind, bark’. Pokorny 1959:938—947 *(s)ker-, *(s)kerə-, *(s)krē- ‘to cut’; Walde 1927—1932.II:573—587 *sqer-, *qer-; Mann 1984—1987:490 *kermn- ‘cut, cutting; piece, part; skin, flesh’, 533 *korā, *korjom ‘skin, leather’, 536 *koros ‘skin, hide’, 568 *kṛt- ‘cut, strike; cutting; cutter, knife, dagger; cut piece, skin’; Mallory—Adams 1997:522 *kérmen- ‘skin’ < *(s)ker- ‘to cut (off)’; Watkins 1985:59—60 *sker- (also *ker-) and 2000:77—78 *(s)ker- ‘to cut’ (extended roots: *skert-, *kert-); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:17 and I:378; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:274 *qor- and I:279 *(s)qer-t-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:143 *sker-

and 144—145 *kert-; De Vaan 2008:136; Orël 2003:170 West Germanic *xerđōn; Kroonen 2013:213 Proto-Germanic *harunda/ō- ‘flesh’; De Vries 1977:282 *(s)ker-; Torp 1919:239.

- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *kere ‘bark’ > Finnish *keri* ‘bark that grows on a birch after the first bark has been removed’, *kerma* (*kermä*) ‘thin crust, thin or soft shell’; Estonian *kirme(tis)* ‘thin coating, thin crust’; Lapp / Saami *gârrâ/gârâ*- ‘shell, crust; (conifer) bark’; Mordvin *ker’* ‘linden bark’; Cheremis / Mari *kər, kür* ‘(thick) linden bark’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *kur, kyr* ‘piece of bark’; Zyrian / Komi *kor* ‘bark (of floriferous tree)’; Vogul / Mansi *ker, keer* ‘bark, shell (of eggs, etc.)’; Ostyak / Xanty *kär* ‘bark, shell’; Hungarian *kérég* ‘crust, bark’. Collinder 1955:87 and 1977:104; Rédei 1986—1988:148—149 *kere ‘bark’; Sammallahti 1988:543 *keri/ä ‘bark’; Décsy 1990:100 *kerä ‘bark; to flay, to strip off the skin of’.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin, hide. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:408—409, no. 247.

436. Proto-Nostratic root *k^har- (~ *k^hər-):

(vb.) *k^har- ‘to twist, turn, spin, or wind around’;

(n.) *k^har-a ‘ring, circle, curve’; (adj.) ‘round, curved, twisted’

Possible derivative:

(n.) *k^har-a ‘edge, side, bank’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *kar- ‘to twist, turn, or wind around’: Proto-Semitic *kar-ar- ‘to twist, turn, or wind around’ > Arabic *karra* ‘to turn around and attack; to return, to come back’, *karr* ‘rope of bast or fibers of palm leaves’, *kura* ‘globe, sphere, ball’; Sabaean *krr* ‘to return to a campaign’; Hebrew *kārār [כָּרַר] (participle *məḥarkēr* [מְחַרְכֵּר]) ‘to dance’; Tigrinya *kārārä* ‘to be twisted; to be round’; Harari *kārära* ‘to become tight (thread that is twisted by passing it through the palms)’; Amharic *kārrärä* ‘to become tight, twisted’, *kər* ‘thread’; Argobba *kər* ‘thread’; Gurage (*a*)*kārrärä* ‘to twist threads’, *kərr* ‘thread’. Klein 1987:288; Zammit 2002:352; Leslau 1963:94 and 1979:350. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *kar-kar- ‘to twist, turn, wind, or roll around’ > Arabic *karkara* ‘to turn the millstone’; Sabaean *krkr* ‘a load or measure’; Hebrew *kikkār* [כִּכָּר] (< *kirkār) ‘round loaf of bread; a round weight, a talent’; Aramaic *kakkārā* ‘ball’, *kəraḥ* ‘to go round, to encircle’; Akkadian *kakkaru* (< *karkaru) ‘metal disk (weighing one talent); round loaf of bread’; Geez / Ethiopic *?ank^wark^wara* [አንክሮረ] ‘to roll, to roll around, to roll along, to roll off, to revolve, to overturn’; Tigrinya *?ank^wärk^wärä* ‘to roll’; Tigre *kärkärä* ‘to roll’; Amharic (*tän*)*k^wäräkk^wärä* ‘to roll’, *mänk^wärak^wər* ‘wheel’; Gurage (Endegeñ) (*tä*)*k^wräkk^wärä* ‘to be lumpy (flour)’. Klein 1987:276; Murtonen 1989:238; Leslau 1979:349 and 1987:292. Berber: Tuareg *kurət* ‘to wrap around several times (as a turban around the head)’, *takārut* ‘turban’, *asəkkāru* ‘a piece of material which can be wrapped several times’.

around the head'; Tamazight *kur* 'to be wrapped up, to be wound into a ball', *sskur* 'to roll, to roll into a ball', *takurt*, *tacurt* 'ball, a spool of thread or yarn, balloon', *akur* 'paunch, gizzard'; Kabyle *kʷər* 'to be wrapped, to be wound into a ball', *akur* 'a large ball', *takurt* 'ball, a spool of thread or yarn'. Cushitic: Saho (reduplicated) *karkar* 'to be round'. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kar-* 'to turn around' > K'wadza *kangal-* 'to turn around'; Ma'a *kikarara* 'ring'. Ehret 1980:242. Omotic: Bench / Gimira *kar-* 'to be round', *kart-* 'to turn (intr.)'. Ehret 1995:200, no. 328, **kar-* 'to turn round, to go round'. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:323, no. 1481, **kor-* '(to be) round'.]

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *karāṅku* (*karāṅki-*) '(vb.) to whirl; (n.) whirling, gyration, kite', *karakku* (*karakki-*) 'to spin (as yarn)'; Malayalam *karāṅṅuka* 'to turn around, to whirl'; Kannada *gara*, *garagara* 'whirlingly, around and around', (?) *korj*, *korē* 'to whirl'; Tuḷu *garu*, *gara*, *garagara*, *garranē* 'a whirling noise'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:129, no. 1387.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰer-/kʰor-/kʰy-* and **(s)kʰer-/*(s)kʰor-/*(s)kʰy-* 'to twist, turn, or wind around': Sanskrit *kartana-m* 'the act of spinning cotton or thread', *kr̥ṇātti* 'to twist, to spin'; Avestan *skarəna-* 'round'; Greek *κάρταλλος* 'basket with a pointed bottom', *κορῶνός* 'crooked, curved'; Latin *crātis* 'wicker basket, hurdle-work', *corbis* 'wicker basket', *curvus* 'bent, bowed, arched, curved'; Welsh *crwn* 'round'; Gothic *haurds* '(woven) door'; Old Icelandic *hurð* 'door'; Old English *hyrd* 'door', *hyrdel* 'hurdle'; Old Saxon *hurth* 'door'; Old High German *hurd* 'wattle, hurdle' (New High German *Hürde*); Lithuanian *kraipai*, *kraipyti* 'to turn about', *kreivas* 'crooked, curved, wry', *krypstù*, *krỹpti* 'to bow, to bend'; Russian *koróbit'* [коробить] 'to warp', *krivít'* [кривить] 'to bend, to distort', *krivój* [кривой] 'curved, crooked', *kružít'* [кружить] 'to turn, to whirl, to spin', *krutít'* [крутить] 'to twist, to twirl, to roll up', *krug* [круг] 'circle', *krugóm* [кругом] 'round'; Slovenian *krétati* 'to turn'. Rix 1998a:317 **kert-* 'to twist, to turn, to rotate, to spin' and 504 **(s)kerb-* 'to be bent; to twist, to wrinkle, to crumple'; Pokorny 1959:584—585 **kert-*, **kerət-*, **krāt-* 'to twist or turn together' and 935—938 **(s)ker-* 'to turn, to bend'; Walde 1927—1932.I:421—422 **qer-*, **qerāt-* and II:568—573 **(s)qer-*; Mann 1984—1987:533 **kor-* 'bend, curve; bent, curved', 533 **korb-* (**korbis*, *-os*, *-ā*; **kreb-*, **kjb-* ?) 'wicker, basket', 533 **korb-* 'ridge, furrow', 535 **korōn-*, **korən-* 'edge, rim, border', 534 **korbiō* (?) 'to bend, to twist, to deprave, to distort, to shrink', 538 **korūbhō*, *-iō* 'to bend, to turn, to depart', 546 **kreiūos* 'bent', 547 **krembō* (**kromb-*) 'to twist, to bend, to turn, to fold', 548 **kreng-* 'ring, circle, belt, girth', 548 **krentos* 'turned, bent; turn, bend', 551 **krib-* 'wicker, basketry', 552 **krik-* 'twist, cramp, varicosity', 555 **krīūos* 'twisted, with crumpled horn', 555 (**kr̥nguo-*), 555 **kroip-* 'turn, bend', 555—556 **kroiūos* 'bent, crooked, lame; bent object', 556 **krok-* 'loop, curl, crook, hook', 557 **krongeiō* (**krongiō*) 'to turn, to twist', 557 **krongos*, *-ā*, *-is* 'twist, bend, curl, turn', 557—558 **krontos* 'turned, bent; turn, bend, edge', 560 **krumbos* 'bent, crooked;

bend, crook, crutch, haunch, joint’, 560 **krombilos*, -ā ‘bend, crease, fold, curve, crook’, 560 **krumos* ‘bent, lame’, 561 **krunk-* ‘bend, fold’, 568 **kṛt-* ‘plait, wicker, bentwork, frame, rack, truss’, 569 **kṛtālos*, -ios (**kṛtilo-*) ‘wicker, bentwork’, 1179 **skreblos*, **skrebāros* ‘twist, twine’, 1180 **skrebhō* ‘to go, to turn’; Watkins 1985:30 **kert-* ‘to turn, to entwine’, 60 **sker-* (also **ker-*) ‘to turn, to bend’ and 2000:41 **kert-* ‘to turn, to entwine’ (zero-grade form **kṛt-*), 78 *(*s*)*ker-* ‘to turn, to bend’; Mallory—Adams 1997:571 **kert-* ‘to plait, to twine’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:257; Boisacq 1950:416—417 **qerāt-*, **qert-* and 499—500 **qere-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:794 and I:927—928; Hofmann 1966:134 **qert-*, **qerāt-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:501 and I:570; Beekes 2010.I:650 and I:758—759; De Vaan 2008:135, 141, and 158; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:272—273 *(*s*)*qerebh-*, I:285—286 **qerāt-*, **qert-*, and I:317—318 *(*s*)*qer-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:142, 147—148 **kṛt-*, **kṛāt-*, and 161; Orël 2003:194 Proto-Germanic **xurdiz* ~ **xurpiz*; Kroonen 2013:258 Proto-Germanic **hurdi-* ‘wickerwork door’; De Vries 1977:267—268 **kert-*; Lehmann 1986:179—180 **kert-*; Feist 1939:250 **kert-*; Onions 1966:453 **kṛt-*; Klein 1971:356—357 **qerāt-*, **qert-*; Hoad 1986:223; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:322 **kert-*, **kerāt-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:321; Derksen 2008:251 **krong^h-o-*, 251—252, 252 **kront-*, and 2015:256—257 **krei-uo-*.

- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kerä-* ‘(vb.) to turn, twist, or wind around; (adj.) round’ > Finnish *kierä*, *kiero* ‘twisted, wound, rolled up’, *kiertä-* ‘to turn, to twist, to wind (tr.); to circle, to go around, to rotate (intr.)’, *kiero* ‘not straight, twisted, wry; crooked, distorted’, *kierros* ‘round, circuit, turn’, *kierto* ‘circulation, round; cycle’, *kierre* ‘thread, worm’; (?) Mordvin *kiṛne-* ‘to bend (tr.)’; Hungarian *kerek* ‘round, circular’, *kerék* ‘wheel’, *kering-* ‘to revolve’; Ostyak / Xanty *körək* ‘round’, *köræg-* ‘to turn (intr.), to revolve’. Collinder 1955:88 and 1977:105; Rédei 1986—1988:147—148 **kerä*. Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kere* ‘any round thing or object’ > Finnish *keri* ‘circumference, (round) frame’; Hungarian *köré* ‘round, around’; Votyak / Udmurt *kury* ‘copper ring’. Collinder 1955:88 and 1977:104; Rédei 1986—1988:148 **kere*.

Buck 1949:10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.); 12.74 crooked; 12.81 round; 12.82 circle. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:420—421, no. 263; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:321—323, no. 197, **ḱāra* ‘to tie (tightly)’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 917, **karV* ‘to twist, to turn around, to return’.

437. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^har-a* ‘edge, side, bank’:
 Perhaps a derivative of:
 (vb.) **k^har-* ‘to twist, turn, spin, or wind around’;
 (n.) **k^har-a* ‘ring, circle, curve’; (adj.) ‘round, curved, twisted’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *karir* [ከረር], *k^warir* [ከረር], *korār* [ከረር], *karer* [ከረር], *kerār* [ከረር] ‘(round) hill, ravine, rock’. Leslau 1987:294.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *karai* ‘shore, bank, ridge of a field, border of a cloth’; Malayalam *kara* ‘shore, riverside, land (opposite to sea), colored border of a cloth’, *karal* ‘border, margin, edge’; Kannaḍa *kare* ‘bank, shore, boundary, border of a cloth’; Koḍagu *kare* ‘bank’; Tuḷu *karè* ‘seashore, bank of a river, border, colored border of a cloth’; Telugu *kara* ‘shore, bank’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:120, no. 1293.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^her-/*k^hor-/*k^hy-* ‘edge, shore, bank’: Avestan *karana-* ‘end, border, shore’; Farsi *karān* ‘shore, side’; Lithuanian *krāštas* ‘edge, verge, border, brim, bank’, *krañtas* ‘bank, seashore’; Latvian *krasts* ‘shore, bank (of a river)’, *krants* ‘cliff’; Russian *krutój* [крутой] ‘steep’, *krúča* [круча] ‘steep slope’. Pokorny 1959:584—585 **kert-*, **kerət-*, **krāt-* ‘to twist or turn together’; Walde 1927—1932.I:421—422 **qer-*, **qerāt-*; Mann 1984—1987:535 **korōn-*, **korən-* ‘edge, rim, border’, 557—558 **krontos* ‘turned, bent; turn, bend, edge’; Watkins 1985:30 **kert-* ‘to turn, to entwine’ and 2000:41 **kert-* ‘to turn, to entwine’ (zero-grade form **k^hrt-*); Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:288 and I:289; Smoczyński 2007.1:307 and 1:308.
- D. Uralic: Selkup Samoyed *kery* ‘edge, brim’. Rédei 1986—1988:148.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **k^hāre* ‘edge’: Proto-Tungus **χāri-* ‘border, hem’ > Ulch *χāriča* ‘border, hem’; Nanay / Gold *χāri-*, *χāriča* ‘border, hem’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:767—768 **k^hāre* ‘edge’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also include Proto-Mongolian **kira* ‘edge, ridge’ and Proto-Turkic **Kir* ‘isolated mountain; mountain top, mountain ridge; steppe, desert, level ground; edge’. However, the Mongolian and Turkic forms are separated from the Tungus forms in this book and are included instead under Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^hir-a* ‘uppermost part (of anything): horn, head, skull, crown of head; tip, top, summit, peak’.

Sumerian *kar* ‘embankment, quay-wall, wall along a canal or moat, mooring-place, harbor’.

Buck 1949:1.27 shore. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:340—341, no. 216, **Ḳara* ‘cliff, steep elevation’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1161, **ḲarXV* ‘bank, edge’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:422, no. 264.

438. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^har-a* ‘hardness, strength, firmness, fortitude’; (adj.) ‘hard, strong, firm’:
Identical to:
(n.) **k^har-a* ‘roughness, coarseness’; (adj.) ‘rough, coarse’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kar-* ‘hard, dry’: Proto-Semitic **kar-ar-* ‘to be or become hard, dry’ > Geez / Ethiopic *karra* [hɛ], *karara* [hɛɛ] ‘to be dry, to dry up (spring)’, Tigrinya *kārārā* ‘to be hard, dry’, Amharic *kārrārā* ‘to become hard, to dry out’, Harari *kārāra* ‘to become stiff’. Leslau 1963:94 and 1987:293—294. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **karaḥ-* ‘hard, dry’ > Burunge *karaḥadi* ‘hard, dry’, K’wadza *kalahayi* ‘dry, withered, hard’. Ehret 1980:366.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *karumai* ‘strength, greatness’, Malayalam *karu*, *karu* ‘stout, hard’, *karuma* ‘hardness, strength of a man’, *karuman* ‘one who is strong and able’, *karuttu* ‘strength, vigor, power, fortitude, courage’; Kannaḍa *kara*, *karu* ‘greatness, abundance, power’; Telugu *karamu* ‘much, great, very’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:119, no. 1287. [(?) Tamil *kār* ‘(vb.) to become hard, mature; to be firm or strong in mind; to be implacable; (n.) hardness, solidity or close grain (as of timber), core, strength of mind’, *kārppu* ‘close grain (as of the heart of timber), essence’, *kāri* ‘great strength, toughness, hardness’, *kāruntu* ‘heart or core of a tree’; Malayalam *kaṛampu* ‘pulp of fruit, pith, essence’; Kannaḍa *kāṛime*, *kāḷime* ‘obstinacy, haughtiness’; (?) Parji *kār-* ‘to expand hood (serpent)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138, no. 1491.]
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^har-* ‘hard, strong, firm’: Sanskrit *karkaṭa-h* ‘crab’, *karkara-h* ‘hard, firm’; Greek *καρκίνος* ‘crab’, *κάρτος*, *κράτος* ‘strength, might’, *κατερός* ‘strong, stout, staunch, sturdy’, *κρατός* ‘strong, mighty’; Latin *cancer* (< **carcro-*) ‘crab’; Gothic *hardus* ‘hard, stern’; Old Icelandic *harðr* ‘hard, stern, severe’, *herða* ‘to make hard’; Norwegian *hard* ‘hard, strong’; Swedish *hård* ‘hard, strong’; Danish *haard* ‘hard, strong’; Old English *heard* ‘hard, strong, stern, severe, brave, stubborn’, *heardian* ‘to harden’, *heardnes* ‘hardness’, (adv.) *hearde* ‘hardly, firmly, very severely, strictly, vehemently; exceedingly, greatly; painfully, grievously’; Old Frisian *herd* ‘hard’, *herda* ‘to harden’; Old Saxon *hard* ‘hard’, *herdian* ‘to harden’; Old High German *hart* ‘hard’ (New High German *hart*), *harten* ‘to harden’ (New High German *härten*). Pokorny 1959:531—532 **kar-*, (reduplicated) **karkar-* ‘hard’; Walde 1927—1932.I:354—355 **qar-*, (reduplicated) **qarqar-*; Mann 1984—1987:475 **kark-* (?) ‘crab’, 475—476 **karkəros* ‘rough, tough, harsh, coarse’, 478 **kartus* ‘hard, harsh, bitter’, 544 **kratos*, *-is*, *-us* ‘strong; strength, power, force’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:533 (reduplicated) **k^hark^har-* and 1995.I:451 **k^hark^har-* ‘rough, hard’; Watkins 1985:27 **kar-* and 2000:37 **kar-* ‘hard’; Mallory—Adams 1997:512 **karkr(o)-* ‘crab’, **kar-* ‘hard’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:169 and I:170; Boisacq 1950:414 **qar-* and 510—511 **qar-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:789—790 and II:8—10 **qartú-* or **qortú-* beside **qrtú-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:498—499 and I:578—579; Hofmann 1966:133 and 158 **gre-t-*, **qrt-* (root **qar-*); Beekes 2010.I:646 and I:772—773 **kret-s-*, **krt-u-*, **krt-ero-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:91; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:151 **qar-*; De Vaan 2008:86—

87; Orël 2003:161 Proto-Germanic **xardīn*, 162 **xardjanan*, 162 **xarduz*; Kroonen 2013:211 Proto-Germanic **hardu-* ‘hard, severe’; Lehmann 1986:177 **kar-*; Feist 1939:246—247 **kar-*; De Vries 1977:210—211; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:265 **kortú-*; Torp 1919:199; Klein 1971:334 **qar-*; Onions 1966:427 Common Germanic **χarðuz*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:290 **kar-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:294.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 15.74 hard; 15.84 dry. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:425—426, no. 268; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1943, **qaH₂fV* ‘hard, firm’.

439. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **khar-a* ‘roughness, coarseness’; (adj.) ‘rough, coarse’:
 Identical to:
 (n.) **khar-a* ‘hardness, strength, firmness, fortitude’; (adj.) ‘hard, strong, firm’
 Derivative:
 (n.) **khar-a* ‘bitterness, pungency, harshness’; (adj.) ‘bitter, pungent, harsh, sharp, caustic, hot (of taste), acrid’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **kar-* ‘rough, coarse’: Proto-Semitic **kar-ad-* ‘rough, coarse’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kardada* [ከርደደ] ‘to be rough, coarse’, *kərdud* [ከርደደ] ‘rough, coarse’; Amharic *käräddädä* ‘to be rough’. Leslau 1987: 290.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *karatu* ‘roughness, unevenness, churlish temper’, *karattu* ‘rugged, uneven, unpolished’; Malayalam *karatu* ‘what is rough or uneven’, *karu* ‘rough’, *karuppu* ‘roughness’, *karukarukka* ‘to be harsh, sharp, rough, irritating’; Kannada *karaḍu* ‘that which is rough, uneven, unpolished, hard, or waste, useless, or wicked’; Tuḷu *karaḍu*, *karaḍu* ‘rough, coarse, worn out’, *kargōḷa* ‘hardness, hard-heartedness; hard, hard-hearted’, *garu* ‘rough’; Telugu *kara* ‘sharp’, *karusu* ‘rough, harsh, harsh words’, *karaku*, *karuku* ‘harshness, roughness, sharpness; rough, harsh, sharp’, *gari* ‘hardness, stiffness, sharpness’, *karaṭi* ‘stubborn, brutish, villainous’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:117, no. 1265.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **khar-* ‘rough, hard, harsh’: Sanskrit *karkaśa-h* ‘rough, hard’; Pāli *kakkasa-* ‘rough, harsh’; Prakrit *kakkasa-* ‘rough, hard’; Lithuanian *kratūs* ‘rough, uneven’. Pokorny 1959:531—532 **kar-*, (reduplicated) **karkar-* ‘hard’; Walde 1927—1932.I:354—355 **qar-*, (reduplicated) **qarqar-*; Mann 1984—1987:475—476 **karkəros* ‘rough, tough, harsh, coarse’, 478 **kartus* ‘hard, harsh, bitter’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:170.

Buck 1949:15.76 rough. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:426, no. 269.

440. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **khar-a* ‘bitterness, pungency, harshness’; (adj.) ‘bitter, pungent, harsh, sharp, caustic, hot (of taste), acrid’:

Derivative of:

(n.) *k^har-a ‘roughness, coarseness’; (adj.) ‘rough, coarse’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kār* ‘to be pungent, acrid, hot to the taste, very saltish or brackish’, *kāram* ‘pungency; caustic; alkali’, *kārppu* ‘pungency, saltiness’, *kari* ‘to be saltish to the taste, to smart (as the eyes from oil or soap or chili), to feel an irritating sensation in the throat due to acidity of the stomach; to nag, to worry’, *karippu* ‘pungency, worrying, nagging’, *karil* ‘pungency’, (reduplicated) *karakara* ‘to feel irritation (as from sand or grit in the eye), to feel irritation in the throat, to be hoarse’, *karakarappu* ‘irritation in the throat, hoarseness’, *karakar-enal* ‘being irritated in the throat’; Malayalam *kāram* ‘caustic; different salts; pungency (as of pepper)’, (reduplicated) *karukarukka* ‘to be harsh, sharp, rough, irritating (for example, of grating sensation in the eyes)’; Kota *ka-rm-* ‘hot taste (of peppers, chilies, etc.), burning sensation if pepper is put in the eye’; Toda *ko-rm* ‘curry’, *kary-* (*karc-*) ‘to tickle (nose)’; Kannaḍa *kāra* ‘pungency’, *karlu* ‘salt land’; Koḍagu *ka-ra* ‘hot (as the taste of curry)’; Tuḷu *kāra* ‘tasting or smelling hot; hot, pungent’, *kāruppu* ‘a strong or black sort of salt’; Telugu *kāru* ‘saltiness; salt, brackish’, *kāramu* ‘pungency; pungent, acrid, caustic’; Kolami *karot* ‘salty’; Koṇḍa *karya* ‘saltiness’; Pengo *kariya* ‘saltiness’; Maṇḍa *kariya* ‘salty’; Brahui *xarēn* ‘bitter’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:137, no. 1466. Tamil *kār* ‘to be pungent, acrid’, *kārppu* ‘pungency’, *kāṭṭu* ‘pungency, acidity’ (Telugu loan); Kannaḍa *kāṭa*, *gāṭa*, *gāṭu* ‘strong stifling smell (as of tobacco, chilies, etc.)’; Tuḷu *gāṭu*, *gāṭi* ‘hot, pungent’; Telugu *gāṭu* ‘pungency, acidity’; Kolami *gāṭam* ‘hot, pungent’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138—139, no. 1491.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *k^har-/*k^hr- ‘sharp, pungent’: Sanskrit *kaṭu-ḥ* (< *k^hrt-ú-) ‘sharp, pungent’; Lithuanian *kartūs* ‘bitter’. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:143; Walde 1927—1932.II:578; Mann 1984—1987:478 **kartus* ‘hard, harsh, bitter’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:225; Smoczyński 2007.1:260.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **karwa* ‘bitter, sharp, pungent’ > Finnish *karvas* ‘acrid, pungent, bitter’, *karvaus* ‘bitterness, acidity’, *karvastele-* ‘to smart’; Lapp / Saami (Lule) *kaarvees* ‘bitter’ (Finnish loan); Votyak / Udmurt *kurj̄t* ‘sharp, pungent; bitter’; Zyrian / Komi (Sysola) *kurid*, (Permyak) *kurj̄t* ‘bitter’; Ostyak / Xanty *korəγ-* ‘to burn, to smart’, *korwaŋ* ‘burning’. Rédei 1986—1988:128—129 **karwa*.

Buck 1949:15.37 bitter; 15.38 acid, sour. Hakola 2000:58, no. 218.

441. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k^har-a ‘blackness, darkness’; (adj.) ‘black, dark’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kar-* ‘black, dirty’: Egyptian (Demotic) *krky* ‘filth’; Coptic *čorǵ(e)* [Ⲫⲟⲣⲭ(ⲉ)], *ǵerǵi* [Ⲭⲉⲣⲭⲓ] ‘dirt, filth’, *r-čorǵ* [ⲣ-Ⲫⲟⲣⲭ] ‘to become

filthy'. Vycichl 1983:347; Černý 1976:336. Omotic: Yemsa / Janjero *kara* 'black'.

- B. Proto-Dravidian **kār-*, **kār-*, **kār-* 'black, dark': Tamil *karu* 'to grow black, to darken, to become dirty, to become impure, to mature', (reduplicated) *karukaru* 'to become very black', *karuppu* 'blackness, darkness, spot, taint, moral defect', *kāru* (*kāri-*) 'to be blackened', *karai* 'spot, stain, rust, blemish, fault, blackness, darkness'; Malayalam *karukka* 'to grow black', *kara* 'blackness, spot, stain, rust', *karu* 'black', *kāru* 'darkness, black cloud'; Kota *karp* 'blackness, a demon'; Toda *kar* 'dirt, spot, rust', *karf-* (*kart-*) 'to become black, dark'; Kannaḍa *karāṅgu* 'to turn black', *kare*, *karī* 'the color black, blackness, stain, blot', *karraṅge*, *karrane* 'blackly, blackness'; Koḍagu *kara-* (*karap-*, *karat-*) 'to become black', *karapī* 'blackness', *karatē* 'black', *kare* 'stain'; Telugu *kara* 'blackness, a stain, blot; black', *karī* 'black'; Koṇḍa *karī* 'blackness', *kar(i)ni* 'black'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:130, no. 1395. Tamil *kār* 'blackness, blemish, defect', *kāṛakam* 'blackness'; Kannaḍa *kār*, *kāḍu* 'blackness; black', *karṅgu*, *kargu* 'black'; Tuḷu *kāri*, *kāḷi* 'blackish'; Maṇḍa *karīndi* 'black'; Kuwi *kār-* 'to become black', *kāria* 'black'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:139, no. 1494. Tamil *karu* 'black', *karukkal* 'darkness, twilight, cloudiness, sunburnt paddy crop', *karukku* (*karukki-*) 'to darken by heat, to burn, to scorch, to toast, to fry', *karuku* (*karuki-*) 'to be scorched, blackened by fire or sun, to become dark in the evening', *karumai* 'blackness'; Malayalam *kari*, *karu* 'black; charcoal, coal', *karikkal*, *karukkal* 'twilight, dusk, frying', *karima*, *karuma* 'blackness', *karimpu* 'dark color, gray'; Kota *kar* 'black'; Kannaḍa *karidu* 'black', *kargu* 'to turn black', *kare* 'blackness'; Tuḷu *kari* 'soot, charcoal', *kariya* 'black'; Koraga *kardi* 'black'; Telugu *kaggu* 'to fade, to turn black (through heat, smoking)'; Naiki (of Chanda) *karan*, *karen*, *kareyan* 'black'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118, no. 1278(a). Tamil *kār* 'blackness, darkness, cloud, rainy season', *kār* 'to darken, to grow black', *kāri* 'blackness; crow, black bull'; Kannaḍa *kār* 'blackness, rainy season'; Tuḷu *kāry*, *kāri* 'black, dark'; Gondī *kārial*, *kāryal*, *karial*, *kaṛial*, *kareyal*, *kari*, *karkāl* 'black'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118—119, no. 1278(c); Krishnamurti 2003:391 **kār-/ *kar-V-* 'dark, black, dark clouds'.
- C. Proto-Indo-European (**k^har-s-*)**k^hγ-s-* 'black, dark': Sanskrit *kr̥ṣṇá-ḥ* 'black, dark, dark blue', *kr̥ṣṇaka-ḥ* 'blackish'; Old Prussian *kirsnan* 'black'; Old Church Slavic *čr̥нь* 'black'; Russian *čěrnyj* [чёрный] 'black'; Slovak *čierny* 'black'; Slovenian *črni* 'black'. Probably also Tocharian B *krōre* 'dark, dark colored'; Proto-Germanic **χrōtaz* 'soot' > Old High German *ruoz* 'soot' (New High German *Ruß*); Old Saxon *hrōt* 'soot'; Middle Dutch *roet* 'grease, soot'. Pokorny 1959:583 **kers-* 'dirty color'; Walde 1927—1932.I:428—429 **qers-*; Mann 1984—1987:1029 **quērsnos* (**quṛsno-*) 'dark, black', 1052 **quṛsnos* (**quṛ'snos*, **quṛksnos*) 'black, dark'; Watkins 1985:30 **kers-* and 2000:41 **kers-* 'dark, dirty';

Mallory—Adams 1997:69—70 *k^wʁsnós ‘black’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:264; Kroonen 2013:239; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:616.

- D. Proto-Altaic *k^haru (~ k-) ‘black’: Proto-Mongolian *kara ‘black’ > Written Mongolian *qara* ‘black, dark, obscure’; Dagur *χara*, *χar* ‘black’; Monguor *χara* ‘black’; Ordos *χara* ‘black’; Buriat *χara* ‘black’; Khalkha *χar* ‘black’; Kalmyk *χarь* ‘black’; Moghol *qarō* ‘black’. Poppe 1955:131. Mongolian loans in: Manchu *qara* ‘black (of animals)’; Evenki *karā* ‘black’. Proto-Turkic *Kara ‘black’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qara* ‘black’; Turkish *kara* ‘black’; Gagauz *qara* ‘black’; Azerbaijani *gara* ‘black’; Turkmenian *gara* ‘black’; Uzbek *qorə* ‘black’; Uighur *qara* ‘black’; Karaim *qara* ‘black’; Tatar *qara* ‘black’; Bashkir *qara* ‘black’; Kirghiz *qara* ‘black’; Kazakh *qara* ‘black’; Noghay *qara* ‘black’; Tuva *qara* ‘black’; Chuvash *χora* ‘black’; Yakut *χara* ‘black’; Dolgan *kara* ‘black’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:651—652 *karu (~ k-) ‘black’. Initial consonant uncertain; hence, either here or with Proto-Nostratic *k’ar- ‘dark, dark-colored; dirty, soiled’.

Buck 1949:15.65 black; 15.88 dirty, soiled. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:337—338, no. 213, *Ḳar/ä/ ‘black, dark colored’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:429—430, no. 274; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1155, *ḲarhA ‘black’.

442. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k^har-a ‘heart, core, essence’:

- A. Dravidian: Malayalam *karal*, *karuḷ* ‘lungs and heart, liver, bowels; heart, mind’, *kariḷ* ‘heart’; Kota *karl* ‘heart, mind, desire’; Kannaḍa *karuḷ*, *karalu*, *karlu*, *kaḷlu* ‘an entrail, the bowels; love’; Koḍagu *kari* ‘intestines’; Tuḷu *karaly*, *karly* ‘the bowels, the liver’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118, no. 1274; Krishnamurti 2003:14 *kar-VI ‘intestines, bowels’. [(?) Tamil *kār* ‘(vb.) to become hard, mature; to be firm or strong in mind; to be implacable; (n.) hardness, solidity or close grain (as of timber), core, strength of mind’, *kāṟppu* ‘close grain (as of the heart of timber), essence’, *kāṟi* ‘great strength, toughness, hardness’, *kāṟuntu* ‘heart or core of a tree’; Malayalam *kaṟampu* ‘pulp of fruit, pith, essence’; Kannaḍa *kāṟime*, *kāḷime* ‘obstinacy, haughtiness’; (?) Parji *kār-* ‘to expand hood (serpent)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138, no. 1491.]
- B. Proto-Indo-European *k^hert’-/*k^hʁt’- ‘heart’: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *ki-ir* ‘heart’, (gen. sg. *kar-ti-ya-aš*); Palaic (dat.-loc. sg.) *ka-a-ar-ti* ‘heart’; Greek καρδιά (poet. κήρ) ‘heart’; Armenian *sirt* ‘heart’; Latin *cor* ‘heart’ (gen. sg. *cordis*); Old Irish *críde* ‘heart’; Welsh *craidd* ‘center, heart’; Cornish *créz* ‘middle’; Gothic *hairtō* ‘heart’; Old Icelandic *hjarta* ‘heart’; Norwegian *hjarta* ‘heart’; Swedish *hjärta* ‘heart’; Danish *hjerter* ‘heart’; Old English *heorte* ‘heart’; Old Frisian *herte* ‘heart’; Old Saxon *herta* ‘heart’; Dutch *hart* ‘heart’; Old High German *herza* ‘heart’ (New High German *Herz*); Lithuanian *širdis* ‘heart’, *šerdis* ‘core, pith, heart’; Latvian

siřds ‘heart’; Old Church Slavic *srědbce* ‘heart’, *srěda* ‘center, middle, midst’; Russian *sěrdce* [сердце] ‘heart’; Slovak *srdce* ‘heart’. The following (but with a different initial consonant: **ghert-/*ghyt-* ‘heart’) may belong here as well: Sanskrit *hṛdaya-* ‘heart; mind, soul; breast, chest, stomach, interior’; Avestan *zərəd-* ‘heart’; Baluchi *zirdē* ‘heart’. Pokorny 1959:579—580 (**k̂ered-*): **k̂erd-*, **k̂ērd-*, **k̂rd-*, **k̂red-* ‘heart’; Walde 1927—1932.I:423—424 (**k̂ered-*): **k̂ērd-*, **k̂rd-*, **k̂red-*; Mann 1984—1987:610 **k̂erd-* (**k̂erdis-*, *-ā-*, *-iə*) ‘heart, core, center’, 637—638 **k̂rd-* ‘core, center, heart’; Watkins 1985:30 **kerd-* and 2000:41 **kerd-* ‘heart’; Lehmann 1986:171; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:173, I:186, I:273, II:801, II:812, II:878 **k̂[h]er-t-* and 1995.I:148, I:160, I:238, I:702, I:712, I:775 **k̂her(-t)-* ‘heart’, I:148, I:160, I:171 **k̂hy-t-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:262—263 **k̂ērd* ‘heart’; Puhvel 1984— .4:189—191 **k̂ērd(i)* : **k̂rd(-y)-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:469—471; Boisacq 1950:412—413 **k̂ērd-*, **k̂rd-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:787—788 **k̂ērd*; Hofmann 1966:133 **k̂ērd-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:497—498 **k̂ērd*; Beekes 2010.I:644 **k̂er(d)-*; Derksen 2008:485 **k̂rd-* and 2015:448—449 **k̂ērd-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:986—987; Smoczyński 2007.1:638—639 **k̂ērd-Ø*; De Vaan 2008:134—135; Ernout—Meillet 1979:142; Kroonen 2013:222 Proto-Germanic **hertōn-* ‘heart’; Orël 2003:170 Proto-Germanic **xertōn*; Feist 1939:234—235; Lehmann 1986:171 **k̂erd-*; De Vries 1977:232 **k̂erd-* (beside **ghrd-* in Indo-Iranian); Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:293—294; Torp 1919:216; Onions 1966:433 **k̂ērd-*, **k̂rd-*; Klein 1971:338; Hoad 1986:212; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:306 **k̂ērd-* (**k̂rd-*); Kluge—Seebold 1989:307 **k̂erd-*; Vercoullie 1898:105 **k̂erd*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:417—423 **k̂ēr*, **k̂rd-*.

Buck 1949:4.44 heart.

443. Proto-Nostratic root **k̂has-* (~ **k̂həs-*):
 (vb.) **k̂has-* ‘to cut or break off, to divide, to separate’;
 (n.) **k̂has-a* ‘cut, separation, division, break; cutting, clipping, fragment, piece, bit’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **k[a]s-* ‘to cut or break off, to divide, to separate’: Proto-Semitic **kas-am-* ‘to cut’ > Hebrew *kāsam* [קָסַם] ‘to shear, to clip’; Ugaritic *ksm* ‘portion’ (?); Akkadian *kasāmu* ‘to cut in pieces’. Murtonen 1989:236; Klein 1987:282. Proto-Semitic **kas-aḥ-* ‘to cut off, to cut away, to remove’ > Hebrew *kāsaḥ* [קָסַח] ‘to cut off, to cut away’; Aramaic *kasaḥa* ‘to cut off, to cut into pieces’; Syriac *kasaḥ* ‘to prune’; Arabic *kasaḥa* ‘to sweep, to clean’. Murtonen 1989:236; Klein 1987:281. Proto-Semitic **kas-as-* ‘to cut into pieces, to cut up, to divide’ > Hebrew *kāsas* [קָסַס] ‘to compute’ (< ‘to cut up, to divide’) also ‘to grind, to chew, to gnaw’; Aramaic *kāsas* ‘to break into small pieces, to chew, to munch’; Akkadian

kasāsu ‘to cut up, to chew up’, *kissatu* ‘fodder’; Arabic *kassa* ‘to grind or pound to powder, to pulverize’, (reduplicated) *kaskasa* ‘to pound, to grind, to pulverize’; Amharic (reduplicated) *kāsākkāsā* ‘to break up (the clods of earth)’; Gurage (reduplicated) *kāsākāsā* ‘to break a stone or clod of earth, to prick the gum with a needle and a colored substance, to hit a burning piece of wood on the ground in order to extinguish it, to throw to the ground and break into pieces’. Klein 1987:282; Leslau 1979:353. Proto-Semitic **kas-ab-* ‘to cut’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kasaba* [ከሰበ] ‘to circumcise’; Tigre *kāšba* ‘to circumcise’; Tigrinya (with augmented *n*) *kānšābā*, *kānsābā* ‘to circumcise’; Gurage (*a*)*kāssābā* ‘to pound the shell of grain’. Leslau 1979:352—353 and 1987:295. Proto-Semitic **kas-ay-* ‘to cut, to separate, to divide’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kwasaya* [ከ-ሰየ] ‘to separate, to divide, to invalidate, to abrogate, to rescind, to repel, to abolish, to destroy, to dissolve, to decompose, to belittle, to disprove, to refute’; Tigrinya *kwasäyā* ‘to break to pieces’. Leslau 1987:296—297. Proto-Semitic **kas-ap-* ‘to cut, to trim, to break’ > Akkadian *kasāpu* ‘to chip, to break off a piece, to trim; to be cut, to be broken’; Arabic *kasafa* ‘to cut up’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ksəf* ‘to make something smaller’, *ekósf* ‘to humiliate’. Zammit 2002:354. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:324, no. 1485, **kos-* ‘to pierce, to cut’.]

- B. Dravidian: Kurux *kaccnā* ‘to divide (soft material) by force, to break by pulling, to pull to pieces, to break off, to bite off; to finish, to do thoroughly, definitely, or finally’, *kacrnā* ‘to be pulled off, to break short’; Malto *qace* ‘to break (as a cord), to cure an illness by exorcism, to end, to finish’, *qacre* ‘to be broken, to be done, to be over’, *qacro* ‘broken, torn cloth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:103, no. 1100.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hes-*, **k^has-* ‘to cut’: Sanskrit *śāsati* ‘to cut down, to kill, to slaughter’; Greek κεάζω ‘to split, to cleave’; Latin *castrō* ‘to castrate’; Middle Irish *cess* ‘spear’; Old Church Slavic *kosa* ‘scythe’; Russian *kosá* [koca] ‘scythe’; Czech *kosa* ‘scythe’; Polish *kosa* ‘scythe’; Serbo-Croatian *kòsa* ‘scythe’; Bulgarian *kosá* ‘scythe’. Rix 1998a:293 **kes-* ‘to cut (off)’; Watkins 1985:30 **kes-* (variant **kas-*) and 2000:41 **kes-* (variant **kas-*) ‘to cut’; Pokorny 1959:586 **kes-* ‘to cut’; Walde 1927—1932.I:448—449 **kes-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:336 (?) **kos-trom* ~ **kos-dhrom* ‘cutting instrument, knife’, **kes-* ‘to cut’; Mann 1984—1987:494 **kesō*, *-jō* ‘to cut, to chop’, 614 **kes-* ‘to cut, to stab’; Hofmann 1966:137 **kes-*; Boisacq 1950:424—425; Frisk 1970—1973.I:806 **kes-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:507—508 **kes-*; Beekes 2010.I:661—662 **kes-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:104; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:179—180; De Vaan 2008:97; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:319; Derksen 2008:238 **kos-*.
- D. Proto-Altaic **k^hāsi-* ‘(vb.) to cut; (n.) piece’: Proto-Tungus *(*χ*)*asu-* ‘to chop, to cut off; to bite’ > Manchu *asiḡiya-* ‘to trim off, to pare off, to prune’; Evenki *asu-* ‘to bite’. Proto-Mongolian **kasu-* ‘to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish’ > Written Mongolian *qasu-* ‘to diminish, to decrease, to

abbreviate; to take away from, to cut down, to curtail; to shorten; to exclude, to eliminate; to subtract, to deduct; to delete’, *qasuydal* ‘deduction, diminution, decrease’, *qasulta* ‘reduction, diminution, decrease; deduction, exclusion’, *qasuly-a* ‘deduction, subtraction’; Khalkha *χas-* ‘to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish’; Buriat *χaha-* ‘to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish’; Kalmyk *χas-* ‘to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish’; Ordos *gasu-* ‘to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish’. Proto-Turkic **kes-* ‘to cut’ > Old Turkic (Yenisei) *kes-* ‘to cut’; Karakhanide Turkic *kes-* ‘to cut’; Turkish *kes-* ‘to cut, to cut off; to interrupt, to intercept; to cut down, to diminish; to determine, to decide, to agree upon; to cut the throat of, to kill; to castrate’, *kesim* ‘the act of cutting, slaughter; cut, shape, form; make, fashion’, *kesinti* ‘clipping, cutting; chip; deduction (from a sum)’, *keskin* ‘sharp, keen; pungent, severe; decided; peremptory; edge (of a cutting instrument)’, *kesme* ‘cut, that can be cut; decided, definite; shears’; Azerbaijani *käs-* ‘to cut’; Turkmenian *kes-* ‘to cut’; Uzbek *kes-* ‘to cut’; Uighur *kes-* ‘to cut’; Tatar *kis-* ‘to cut’; Bashkir *kiθ-* ‘to cut’; Kirghiz *kes-* ‘to cut’; Kazakh *kes-* ‘to cut’; Chuvash *kas-* ‘to cut’; Yakut *kehē-* ‘to cut’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:769—770 **kʷasi* ‘to cut; piece’.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.). Brunner 1969:36, no. 142; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:405—406, no. 243.

444. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰath-* (~ **kʰəθ-*):

(vb.) **kʰath-* ‘to plait, to weave, to twist’;

(n.) **kʰath-a* ‘that which is plaited, woven, twisted: mat, net, knot’

Derivative:

(n.) **kʰath-a* ‘rag, cloth’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kat-* ‘to plait, to weave, to twist’: Proto-Semitic **kat-ap-* ‘to tie, to bind’ > Arabic *katafa* ‘to fetter, to shackle, to tie up’; Soqotri *kátot* ‘to tie (to the top of the back)’; Geez / Ethiopic *katafa* [ከተፈ] ‘to bind firmly, to tie up’, *kətuḥ* [ከተፍ] ‘bound firmly, tied up’; Amharic *kutfat-ä əd* ‘hands bound behind the back’; metathesis in: Hebrew *kāpaθ* [כָּפַח] ‘to tie, to bind’, *kepeθ* [כֶּפֶת] ‘knot, tie’; Mandaic *kpt* ‘to tie, to bind’; Aramaic *kəpaθ* ‘to tie, to bind’; Syriac *kəpaθ* ‘to tie into a knot’. Klein 1987:285; Murtonen 1989:237; Leslau 1987:297.
- B. Dravidian: Gondi *kattī*, *ketti* ‘mat’, (?) *kaṭṭī* ‘palmleaf mat’; Konḍa *kati* ‘wall’; Kuwi *katti* ‘mat-wall’, *kati* ‘wall’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:113, no. 1205.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **ket-/kt-* ‘to twist, to turn’: Mingrelian *rt-* ‘to turn, to turn into’; Laz *kt-* ‘to twist, to turn’; Svan *kešd-* : *kšd-* ‘to turn’. Klimov 1998:214 **ket-* : **kt-* ‘to turn’; Fähnrich 2007:459 **ket-/kt-*.

- D. Proto-Indo-European *k^hat^h- ‘to plait, to weave, to twist’: Latin *catēna* ‘chain, fetter’, *cassēs* ‘a hunter’s net, snare, trap’; (?) Old Icelandic *hadda* ‘pot hook, pot handle’; Old English *heaðor* ‘restraint, confinement’, *heaðorian* ‘to shut in, to restrain, to control’; Old Church Slavic *котѣць* ‘pen, coop’. Pokorny 1959:534 *kat- ‘to plait’; Walde 1927—1932.I:338 *qat-; Mann 1984—1987:478—479 *kat- (*kāt-) ‘to hold, to keep; hold, holder, handle, pen, keep’; De Vaan 2008:97 and 98; Ernout—Meillet 1979:103 and 105; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:177—178 *qat-; De Vries 1977:200.

Buck 1949:6.33 weave; 9.75 plait (vb.). Dolgopolsky 1998:30—31, no. 22, *kadV ‘to wicker, to wattle’ (‘wall, building’) and 2008, no. 1006, *kadV ‘wickerwork, wattle’; Bomhard 1999a:55.

445. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k^hat^h-a ‘rag, cloth’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) *k^hat^h- ‘to plait, to weave, to twist’;

(n.) *k^hat^h-a ‘that which is plaited, woven, twisted: mat, net, knot’

- A. Dravidian: Tuḷu *kadale* ‘(n.) a rag; (adj.) ragged, tattered’; Gondi *gatla*, *getli*, *getla*, *gette*, *gete*, *gende* ‘cloth’; Maṇḍa *kediya*, *kidiya* ‘cloth’; Pengo *kadiya*, *kediya* ‘waistcloth, cloth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:112, no. 1190.
- B. Indo-European: Proto-Germanic *χaprō ‘patch, rag’ > Old High German *hadara* ‘patch, rag’ (New High German *Hader*). Middle High German *hader*, also *hadel*, ‘rag, tatter’; Old Saxon *hadilīn* ‘rag, tatter’. Kluge—Mitzka 1967:280; Kluge—Seebold 1989:285.

Buck 1949:6.21 cloth.

446. Proto-Nostratic root *k^hat^h-:

(vb.) *k^hat^h- ‘to fall down, to set down, to drop down’;

(n.) *k^hat^h-a ‘lower part, lower place, lower thing’; (adj.) ‘lower, inferior’;

(particle) *k^hat^h- ‘down’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *katātu* ‘to be low or short; to suffer physical collapse; to descend to the horizon’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *k^hat^h- ‘down, below, under, beneath; along, downwards’: Hittite *kat-ta*, *ka-at-ta*, *kat-ta-an* (adverb and preverb) ‘down, below, under; along; down the line, subsequently’, (postposition with dat.-loc. or gen.) ‘beneath, below, under, down (along), alongside, by, (along) with, on the side of’, (with abl.) ‘(from) beneath; down from’, *kat-ta-an-da* ‘downwards, along’, (adj.) *kat-te-ra*, *kat-te-ir-ra* ‘lower, inferior; nether, infernal; along, close(r)’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *kata* ‘down, under’, *katanta* ‘below’; Lydian (preverb) *kat-*, *kat-*; Greek κατά, κάτω ‘down,

along, according to, against', (Homeric) *κάταντα* 'downhill'; Tocharian B *kätk-* 'to lower, to set (down)', *kätkare* '(adj.) deep, far (of height); (adv.) deep, far'. Pokorny 1959:612—613 **kom*; Walde 1927—1932.I:458—459 *kom*; Mann 1984—1987:516 **kmt-* (**kmtm*, **kmtō*, **kmti*) 'together, combined, total'; Watkins 1985:27 **kat-* 'something thrown down; offspring' and 2000:37 **kat-* 'down'; Mallory—Adams 1997:169 **kat-h_ae* 'down' and 2006:290, 292 **kat-h_ae* 'down'; Puhvel 1984— .4:125—130 and 4:131—133; Kloekhorst 2008b:463—464 and 465; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:504—505; Frisk 1970—1973.I:800; Boisacq 1950:420—421; Hofmann 1966:135 **kmta*; Beekes 2010.I:656 **kmt-*; Adams 1999:159 — according to Adams, Tocharian B *kätk-* 'to lower, to set (down)' is based upon a Proto-Indo-European verb stem **kat-ske/o-*, built on the preposition **kat-a* 'down(ward)'. Note: In view of the Tocharian cognate proposed by Adams, the traditional comparison of the Anatolian and Greek forms cited above with Old Irish (preposition) *cét-* 'with', Old Welsh *cant* 'with', and Latin *cum* 'with' is to be abandoned (so also Puhvel 1984— .4:130).

- C. Proto-Eskimo **katay-* 'to fall or drop': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *katay-* 'to dump or pour out, to fall'; Central Alaskan Yupik *katay-* 'to fall out or off, to drop'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *katə-*, *kataXtur-* 'to pour out, to drop, to fall out'; Central Siberian Yupik *katay-* 'to dump, to empty'; Sirenik *katəy-* 'to drop, to pour out'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *katak-* 'to fall, to drop'; North Alaskan Inuit *katak-* 'to fall, to drop'; Western Canadian Inuit *katak-* 'to fall, to drop'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *katak-* 'to fall, to drop, to go downwards'; Greenlandic Inuit *katay-* 'to drop, to fall, to shed hair (animal), to be loosened'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:160.

Buck 1949:10.23 fall (vb.). Greenberg 2002:53, no. 107.

447. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hath-*:

- (vb.) **k^hath-* 'to make a harsh, shrill screech or sound: to cackle, to caw, to screech, to cry, to yelp';
 (n.) **k^hath-a* 'cackling, cawing, screeching, crying, yelping'; (adj.) 'harsh, shrill, sharp, piercing (of sounds)'

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *katkūt* 'chicken, chick'.
 B. Dravidian: Tamil *kattu* (*katti-*) '(vb.) to caw, to screech, to chatter, to yelp, to growl, to bray, to bleat, to croak, to cry, to scream, to babble, to roar; (n.) crying, brawling, chattering'; Kannada *kattu* 'to cry, to croak, to caw, to bray, etc.'. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:113, no. 1206.
 C. Proto-Kartvelian **kat-* 'hen': Georgian *kat-am-i* 'hen'; Laz *kot-um-e* 'hen'; Mingrelian *kot-om-i* 'hen'; Svan *kat-al* 'hen'. Klimov 1964:195—196 **katam-* and 1998:211—212 **katam-* 'hen'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:369—370 **kat-*; Fähnrich 2007:455 **kat-*; Schmidt 1962:137.

- D. Proto-Indo-European *k^hat^h-o-s ‘harsh, shrill, sharp, piercing (of sounds)’: Latin *catus* ‘sharp to the hearing, clear-sounding, shrill’, transferred to intellectual objects in a good and bad sense: (a) good sense: ‘clear-sighted, intelligent, sagacious, wise’; (b) bad sense: ‘sly, crafty, cunning, artful’. Of dialectal origin (Sabine). Thus, not related to Latin *cōs* ‘any hard stone, flintstone’. Same semantic development in Middle Irish *cath* ‘wise; a sage’. Pokorny 1959:541—542; Walde 1927—1932.I:454—455; Mann 1984—1987:479 *katos ‘shrewd’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:183—184; Ernout—Meillet 1979:106; Lindsay 1894:541; De Vaan 2008:99. Note: Mann stands alone in reconstructing a separate Proto-Indo-European form, preserved only in Latin and Middle Irish.

Buck 1949:3.51 hen, chicken (generic); 3.54 hen. Note: The words for ‘hen, chicken’ (Semitic and Kartvelian) may be Wanderwörter.

448. Proto-Nostratic root *k^haw- (~ *k^həw-):
- (vb.) *k^haw- ‘to swell, to expand, to inflate, to grow, to increase’;
 (n.) *k^haw-a ‘accumulation, inflation, expansion, growth; heap, pile; height’
- A. Proto-Afrasian *k[a]w- ‘to swell, to expand, to inflate, to grow, to increase’: Proto-Semitic *kaw- (*kaw-am-, *kaw-ad-, *kaw-ar-, *kaw-as-) ‘to swell, to expand, to inflate, to grow, to increase’ > Arabic *kawwama* ‘to heap, to stack up, to pile up, to accumulate’, *kawm* ‘heap, pile, hill’, *kūm* ‘heap, dung-hill, dung-pit’, *kāda* ‘to heap up, to pile up’, *kawda* ‘heap, pile’, *kāra* ‘to heap up’, *kawr* ‘plenty’, *kūs* ‘heaped-up sand-hill’; Geez / Ethiopic *kawama* [ḥaww] ‘to burst’; Tigre *kom* ‘heap’. Leslau 1987:299.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kō* ‘mountain’; Telugu *kōdu*, *kōduvāḍu* ‘a Khond, a man of a certain hill tribe’, *kōya* name of a certain tribe of mountaineers; Kui *kui* ‘above, aloft, over, atop, upon’, *kuiki* ‘to the place above’, *kuiti* ‘from the place above’; Kuwi *kui* ‘up, above, west’. Krishnamurti 2003:7 and 11 *kō/*kō-n-tu ‘king, god’ (also ‘mountain’); Burrow—Emeneau 1984:196, no. 2178.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *k^hew-/*k^how-/*k^hu- ‘to swell, to expand, to inflate, to grow, to increase’: Gothic *hūhjan* ‘to heap up, to store up’, *hiuhma* ‘heap, multitude’, *hauhs* ‘high’, *hauhei* ‘height’; Old Icelandic *hár* ‘high’, *haugr* ‘grave-mound’; Faroese *háur* ‘high’; Norwegian *høi* ‘high’; Swedish *hög* ‘high’; Danish *høg* ‘high’; Old English *hēah* ‘high’, *hīehþo*, *hīehð(u)* ‘height; above’; Old Frisian *hāch* ‘high’; Old Saxon *hōh* ‘high’; Dutch *hoog* ‘high’; Old High German *houc* ‘hill’, *hōh* ‘high’ (New High German *hoch*); Lithuanian *kaũkas* ‘swelling, boil’, *kaukarà* ‘hill’, *káugė* ‘large stack of hay’; Tocharian (adv.) A *koc*, B *kauc* ‘high, up, above’. Pokorny 1959:588—592 *keu-, *keuə- ‘to bend’; Walde 1927—1932.I:370—376 *qeu-; Mann 1984—1987:282 *kūkijō ‘to swell, to inflate’; Watkins 1985:30—31 *keu- base of various loosely related derivatives with

assumed basic meaning ‘to bend’, whence ‘a round or hollow object’ and 2000:41 **keuə-* ‘to swell; vault, hole’; Mallory—Adams 1997:62 **keu-k-* ‘curve’; Orël 2003:165 Proto-Germanic **xauǵaz* ~ **xauǵan*, 166 **xauxaz*, 166 **xauxipō*, 166 **xauxīn*, 166 **xauxjanan*; Kroonen 2013:215 Proto-Germanic **hauha-* ‘high’; Lehmann 1986:179 **kew-* ‘to bend’, **kew-k-* ‘bend, curve’ and 185 **kew-H-* ‘to bend’; Feist 1939:249 **keuk-* and 258—259; De Vries 1977:210 **keu-* ‘to bend’, **keu-* ‘to swell’; Torp 1919:238; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:321; Onions 1966:440 **koukos*; Klein 1971:347 **geu-q-*, enlargement of **geu-* ‘to bend’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:146—147; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:312 **koukó-s* ‘hill’, **keu-* ‘to bend’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:312; Adams 1999:209; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:228 **gou-d-* parallel to **gou-q-* found in Gothic *hauhs* ‘high’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:229, I:229—230, and I:230; Smoczyński 2007.1:265.

- D. Yukaghir *kuwémoj* ‘to grow’, *-kúwoj* ‘big’. Nikolaeva 2005:230.
 E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kæwæ* ‘hill or bump’ (?) > Chukchi *ke(w)eqej* ‘unevenness, hill’, *keere-cʼən* ‘unevenness’, *kewekej* ‘hill’, *ye-kewe-lin* ‘hilly’; Kerek *kawaŋa* ‘rough (place ?)’, *a-kaawa-kəlran* ‘smooth’; Koryak *kavet*, *kavat* ‘hills, bumps’; Alyutor (Palana) *kewetteŋən* ‘edge of mountain seen from sea side’. Fortescue 2005:135.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 12.31 high. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:410—411, no. 250.

449. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **khay-a* ‘solitude, loneliness, separateness’; (adj.) ‘alone’:
 Extended form (Afrasian and Indo-European):
 (n.) **khay-w-a* ‘solitude, loneliness, separateness’; (adj.) ‘alone’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **kayw-* ‘alone’: Proto-East Cushitic **kaww-* (< **kayw-*) ‘alone’ > Somali *kaw* ‘one’; Konso *xaww-aa* ‘alone, separate, different’; Gidole *haww* ‘alone’; Rendille *kow* ‘one’. Sasse 1979:44.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaimmai* ‘widowhood, widow, lovelorn condition’, *kaintalai*, *kayinī*, *kainī* ‘widow’, *kai-kkilai* ‘unreciprocated love’; Tuḷu *kai-ponjavu* ‘a single woman’ (*ponjavu*, *ponjevu* ‘a female in general, a grown-up woman’); Parji *kētal*, (NE.) *kēṭal* ‘widow’, *kētub* ‘widower’, *kētub cind* ‘orphan’; Gadba (Ollari) *kēṭal* ‘widow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:183, no. 2028.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **khay-* (extended form **khay-wo-*) ‘alone’: Latin *caelebs* ‘unmarried, single’; Sanskrit *kévala-h* ‘exclusively one’s own, alone’; Old Church Slavic *čě-glŭ* ‘alone’; Latvian *kails* ‘barren, childless’. Pokorny 1959:519 **kai-*, **kai-uo-*, **kai-uelo-* ‘alone’; Walde 1927—1932.I:326 **qai-*; Mann 1984—1987:459 **kai-* ‘alone, separate, only’, 460 **kailos* ‘single, alone, deprived’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:267 **kaiwelo-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:12 **kai-uelos* ‘alone’; De Vaan 2008:80; Walde—

Hofmann 1965—1972.I:130 **qaiyelo-*, **qai-yo-*, **qai-lo-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:83.

Buck 1949:13.33 alone, only. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:411—412, no. 252; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1950, **qaywE(-LV)* ‘exclusively one’s own’ (→ ‘alone’, ‘entire’).

450. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hay-* (~ **k^həy-*):

(vb.) **k^hay-* ‘to put, to place, to set, to lay; to be placed, to lie’;

(n.) **k^hay-a* ‘resting place, abode, dwelling; cot, bed’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **kaay-* ‘to put, to set, to lay’ > Ma’a *-ke* ‘to put, to set, to lay’; Dahalo *kaaj-* ‘to put, to set, to lay’. Ehret 1980:243.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cē* ‘to dwell, to lie, to remain, to sleep’, *cēppu* (*cēppi-*) ‘to abide, to remain’, *cēkkai* ‘cot, bed, roost, dwelling place, nest’; Kannaḍa *kē* (*kēd-*) ‘to lie down, to repose, to copulate with’, *kēvu*, *kendu* ‘copulation’; Tuḷu *kedonuni* ‘to lie down, to rest’, *kēḷy* ‘abode of a pariah’; Kolami *ke-p-* (*ke-pt-*) ‘to make (child) to sleep’; Malto *kide* ‘to lay down’; Kuṛux *kīdnā*, *kīd’ānā* ‘to allow or invite one to lie down to rest or sleep, to put to bed (child), to lay in the grave’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:181, no. 1990.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hey-/k^hoy-/k^hi-* ‘to lie, to be placed’: Sanskrit *śēte* ‘to lie, to lie down, to recline, to rest, to repose’, (causative) *śāyayati* ‘to cause to lie down, to lay down, to put, to throw, to fix on or in’; Avestan *saēte* ‘to lie down, to recline’; Greek κείται ‘to lie, to be placed’, κοίτη, κοῖτος ‘the marriage-bed’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. mid.) *ki-it-ta(-ri)* ‘to lie, to be placed’; Palaic (3rd sg. pres. mid.) *ki-i-ta-ar* ‘to lie’. Rix 1998a:284 **kei-* ‘to lie, to rest, to repose’; Pokorny 1959:539—540 **kei-* ‘to lie, to camp’; Walde 1927—1932.I:358—360 **kei-*; Mann 1984—1987:606 **kei-* (**keij-*, **kī-*) ‘to lie, to fall’; Watkins 1985:27—28 **kei-* and 2000:38 **kei-* ‘to lie; bed, couch; beloved, dear’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:295 **k^hej-* and 1995.I:256 **k^hei-* ‘to lie’; Mallory—Adams 1997:352 **kei-* ‘to lie’; Boisacq 1950:426 **kei-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:809—810; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:509—510; Hofmann 1966:37 **kei-*; Beekes 2010.I:663—664 **kei-*; Puhvel 1984— .4:169—173 **key-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:473—475 **kei-to*, **keinto*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:303—304.
- D. (?) Proto-Uralic **kuyi-* ‘to lie’ > Cheremis / Mari *ki(j)e-* ‘to lie’; Votyak / Udmurt *kylly-* (< **kyjly-*) ‘to lie, to be lazy’; Zyrian / Komi *kujly-* ‘to lie’; Vogul / Mansi *kuj-* ‘to lie, to sleep’; Ostyak / Xanty (North Obdorsk) *hoj-* ‘to lie’. Collinder 1955:89 and 1977:105; Rédei 1986—1988:197 **kuyz-*; Zhivlov 2023:164 **kujji-* ‘to lie’.

Buck 1949:12.12 put (place, set, lay); 12.14 lie. Koskinen 1980:22, no. 64; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:416—417, no. 259.

451. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hay-* (~ **k^həy-*):

(vb.) **k^hay-* ‘to be or become warm or hot; to make warm, to heat’;

(n.) **k^hay-a* ‘heat’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kāy* ‘to grow hot, to burn, to be warm (as body), to wither, to parch, to be dried up, to begin to heal (sore, wound, boil), to shine, to be indignant, to be angry, to be prejudiced, to hate’; Malayalam *kāyuka* ‘to be hot, heated, feverish; to shine; to grow dry; to warm oneself’; Kota *ka-y-* (*ka-c-*) ‘to become hot, to warm oneself, to bask in the sun’; Kannaḍa *kāy* (*kāyd-*, *kād-*) ‘to grow hot, to grow red-hot, to burn with passion, to be angry’; Koḍagu *ka-y-* (*ka-yuv-*, *ka-ñj-*) ‘to be hot, to boil, to bask in the sun’; Tuḷu *kāyuni* ‘to be hot, to burn, to be feverish, to be angry’; Telugu *kāka* ‘warmth, heat, anger’; Naiki (of Chanda) *kāy-* ‘to be hot’; Gadba (Ollari) *kāyp-* (*kāyt-*) ‘to boil’, *kāykir* ‘fever’; Kuwi *kaiyali* ‘to become hot’, *kaiyi* ‘hot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:135—136, no. 1458; Krishnamurti 2003:130 *kāy* ‘to grow hot’, and 181 **kā-y-/kā-*.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k^hay-* ‘(vb.) to heat; (n.) heat’: Gothic *hais* ‘torch’, *heitō* ‘fever’; Old Icelandic *heita* ‘to heat’, *heitr* ‘hot, burning’, *hiti* ‘heat, warmth’; Swedish *het* ‘hot’, *hetta* ‘heat’; Old English *hāt* ‘hot’, *hætan* ‘to heat’, *hæte* ‘heat, inflammation’, *hæto* ‘heat’; Old Frisian *hēt* ‘hot’, *hete* ‘heat’; Old Saxon *hēt* ‘hot’, *hittia* ‘heat’; Dutch *heet* ‘hot’, *hitte* ‘heat’; Old High German *heiz* ‘hot’ (New High German *heiß*), *hizz(e)a* ‘heat’ (New High German *Hitze*), *heizen* ‘to heat’ (New High German *heizen*); Lithuanian *kaistù*, *kaitaũ*, *kaisti* ‘to become heated, to get warm’. Pokorny 1959:519 **kāi-*, **kī-* ‘heat’; Walde 1927—1932.I:326—327 **qāi-*, **qī-*; Mann 1984—1987:460 **kaist-* ‘to burn, to purge, to purify, to refine’, 461 **kait-*; Watkins 1985:26 **kai-* and 2000:36 **kai-* ‘heat’ (extended form **kaid-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:264 **keh₁i-* ‘hot’; Feist 1939:235—236 **kāi-* and 253 **kī-*; Lehmann 1986:171 **kāy-* and 181 **kāy-*, **kī-*; Orël 2003:153 Proto-Germanic **xaitaz*, 153 **xaitjanan*; Kroonen 2013:202 Proto-Germanic **haita-* ‘hot’; De Vries 1977:220 **kai-*, **kī-* and 229; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:168—169; Onions 1966:433 and 449; Klein 1971:338 and 354 **qāi-* ‘heat’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:301 **kāi-*, **kī-*, 302, and 311; Kluge—Seebold 1989:302 **kai-* and 312; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:204; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:204; Smoczyński 2007.1:244—245.
- C. Proto-Uralic **keye-* ‘to cook, to boil’: Finnish *keittä-* ‘to cook, to boil’; Estonian *kee-* ‘to boil (intr.)’, *keeta-* ‘to boil (tr.)’; Lapp / Saami (Kola) *gypp’te-* ‘to boil’; Cheremis / Mari *küä-*, *küja-* ‘to boil (intr.), to ripen (intr.)’, *kükte-*, *küjükte-* ‘to boil (tr.), to ripen (tr.)’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *kuu-* ‘to ripen (of berries)’. Collinder 1955:23 and 1977:44; Rédei

1986—1988:143—144 Proto-Finno-Ugrian *keje-; Décsy 1990:100 *kejä ‘to cook; well done, ripe’.

Buck 1949:5.21 cook (vb.); 5.22 boil; 5.23 roast, fry; 5.24 bake; 15.85 hot, warm. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:419—420, no. 262; Hakola 2000:63, no. 242.

452. Proto-Nostratic root *k^hay-:

(vb.) *k^hay- ‘to scoop out’;

(n.) *k^hay-a ‘spoon, ladle’

Extended form:

(vb.) *k^hay-V-w- ‘to dig’;

(n.) *k^hay-w-a ‘cave, pit, hollow’

A. Dravidian: Malayalam *kayyil* ‘ladle, spoon’; Betta Kuruba *kīlī* ‘ladle’; Tuḷu *kaiḷu* ‘ladle, spoon’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:117, no. 1257.

B. Proto-Indo-European *k^hay-wṛ-th, *k^hay-wṛ-th ‘cave, hollow’: Sanskrit *kévaṭa-h* ‘cave, hollow’; Greek *καιάδας* ‘pit or underground cavern’, *καιετός* ‘fissure produced by an earthquake’. Pokorny 1959:521 *kaiūr-t, *kaiūr-t; Walde 1927—1932.I:327 *kaiūr-t ‘cleft, hollow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:96 (?) *káiūr(t) ‘cave, fissure’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:267 *kaiwṛ-t, *kaiwṛ-t; Boisacq 1950:390 *qaiūr-t; Hofmann 1966:128; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:479 *kai-wṛ/ṛ-t; Beekes 2010.I:615; Frisk 1970—1973.I:753 *qaiūr-t; Benveniste 1935:111 *kai-wṛ-t, alongside *kai-wṛ-t in Greek (Hesychius) (pl.) *καίατα· ὀρύγματα*. Note: According to Joki (1973:130), the Indo-European forms are loans from Uralic.

C. Proto-Uralic *kayz ‘spoon, ladle, shovel’: (?) Livonian *koggi, kããi* ‘spoon, ladle’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *kuj* ‘shovel, winnowing-shovel’; Zyrian / Komi *koj-* ‘to shovel (snow)’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *huu* ‘spoon, ladle’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kui* ‘spoon, ladle’; (?) Selkup Samoyed *kujak* ‘spoon, ladle’; (?) Kamassian *kaigu* ‘spoon, ladle’. Rédei 1986—1988:117—118 *kajz (*kojz); Décsy 1990:99 [*kaja] ‘spoon’; Janhunen 1977b:76 *kuj. Proto-Uralic *kaywa- ‘to dig’ > Finnish *kaivos* ‘mine, pit’, *kaiva-* ‘to dig, to delve, to burrow, to dig out’; Estonian *kaeva-* ‘to dig’; Cheremis / Mari *koe-* ‘to dig, to shovel’. Joki 1973:130; Rédei 1986—1988:117—118 and 170—171 *kojwa-; Décsy 1990:100 Proto-Uralic [*kojva] ‘to dig, to burrow, to scoop’; Zhivlov 2023:158 *kajwa- ‘to dig’.

Buck 1949:5.37 spoon; 8.22 dig; 12.72 hollow. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:333—334, no. 209, *Kajwa ‘to dig’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:427—428, no. 271; Hakola 2000:48, no. 168; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 969, *koyV ~ *kayV ‘to draw; scoop, spoon’ and, no. 1241, *Kaj[i]wa ‘to dig’.

453. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰil-* (~ **kʰel-*):(vb.) **kʰil-* ‘to make a sound or a noise; to say, to speak, to talk’;(n.) **kʰil-a* ‘sound, noise; tongue, speech, language’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kiḷa* ‘to express clearly, to make special mention of, to state specifically’, *kiḷattu* (*kiḷatti-*) ‘to express clearly’, *kiḷappu* ‘speech, utterance’, *kiḷavu* ‘word, speech, language’; Kannada *kiḷiṛ*, *kiḷiṛ* ‘to sound, to neigh’, *keḷar* ‘to cry out, to roar’; Gondi *kel-*, *kell-* ‘to tell’; Konḍa *kēṛ-* ‘(cock) to crow’; Pengo *kṛe-* ‘(cock) to crow’; Kui *klāpa* (*klāt-*) ‘(vb.) to crow, to coo, to lament; (n.) call of a male bird, to lament’, *kelpa* (*kelpi-*) ‘(vb.) to invoke, to petition a deity, to repeat incantations; (n.) incantation, invocation’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:182, no. 2017(b). Tamil *cilai* ‘(vb.) to sound, to resound, to roar, to twang; to rage, to be angry; (n.) sound, roar, bellow, twang’, *cil* ‘sound, noise’, *cilampu* (*cilampi-*) ‘(vb.) to sound, to make a tinkling noise, to echo; (n.) sound, noise, resonance; tinkling anklets’, (reduplicated) *cilucilu* ‘to sound (as in frying), to talk without restraint, to make a hissing noise’, *cilumpu* (*cilumpi-*) ‘to sound’, *cilanke* ‘tiny bell’; Malayalam *cila*, *cilappu*, *cileppu* ‘ringing sound’, *cilekka* ‘to rattle, to tinkle, to chatter, to chirp, to bark’, *cilampu* ‘foot-trinket filled with pebbles for tinkling, worn by dancers’, *cilampuka* ‘to tinkle, to be out of tune’; Kota *kilc-* (*kilc-*) ‘to utter a shrill cry of joy’, *jelk* ‘anklet with bells’; Toda *kilk-* (*kilky-*) ‘to neigh’; Kannada *kele* ‘to cry or shout with energy or for joy, to vociferate (abusively)’, *keleta* ‘abusive vociferation’, *cili* an imitative sound, *sele* ‘sound, noise, echo’; Tuḷu *kilevuni*, *kilēvuni* ‘to whistle, to resound’, *kelepuni*, *kilepuni* ‘to crow’; Koraga *kelappu* ‘to cry’; Telugu *celāgu* ‘to sound’, *kelayu* ‘to rage’, *kilārinu*, *kilārucu* ‘to make a noise, to shout’; Gondi *kiliyānā* ‘to shout’, *kiliyānā* ‘to weep loudly, to cry out, to scream’, *killitānā* ‘to chirp, to cry out’, *kilitānā* ‘to roar (as a tiger)’, *kil-/kill-* ‘to weep, (owl) to hoot, (animals) to cry’, *kil(i)-* ‘to scream, (child) to cry’, *kilānā* ‘to weep’; Kui *klāpa* (*klāt-*) ‘(vb.) to crow, to coo, to lament; (n.) call of a male bird, lament’, *klīri klīri ṛīva* ‘to shriek with fear’, *klīsi klīsi ṛīva* ‘to shout with vehemence’; Kuwi *kileri-kāli* ‘to shout, to yell’, *kileḍi kīnai* ‘to shout’, *klīrinai*, *klīri innai* ‘to yell’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:144, no. 1574; Krishnamurti 2003:109 and 129 **kil-* ‘sound, noise’.
- B. Proto-Uralic **keli* ‘tongue, speech, language’: Finnish *kieli* ‘tongue, speech, language’; Lapp / Saami *kiella* ‘language’ (Fennic loan); Mordvin *kel’* ‘tongue, speech, language’; Votyak / Udmurt *kyl* ‘tongue, language, speech, word’; Zyrian / Komi *kyl* ‘tongue, language, speech, word’; Vogul / Mansi *kelä* ‘word, report’; Ostyak / Xanty *köl* ‘word, speech, news’. Collinder 1955:25, 1960:406 Proto-Uralic **kele*, 1965:139, and 1977:45; Décsy 1990:100 **kelä* ‘tongue, language’; Rédei 1986—1988:144—145 **kele* (**kēle*); Sammallahti 1988:538 **käxli* ‘tongue’; Zhivlov 2023:166 Proto-Uralic **käli* ‘tongue’, Proto-Finnic **kēle-*, Proto-Lapp / Saami **kiele-*, Proto-Komi **kiļj-*, Proto-Udmurt **kiļ-*.

- C. Proto-Altaic **k^hiǎli* ‘tongue’: Proto-Tungus **χiljü* ‘tongue’ > Manchu *ilejgu* ‘tongue’; Evenki *inni* ‘tongue’; Lamut / Even *ienjɔ* ‘tongue’; Negidal *inji* ‘tongue’; Ulch *siŋu* ‘tongue’; Orok *sinu* ‘tongue’; Nanay / Gold *širmu*, *siǰmu* ‘tongue’; Oroch *iji* ‘tongue’; Udihe *iji* ‘tongue’; Solon *iji* ‘tongue’. Proto-Mongolian **kele-* ‘(vb.) to say; (n.) tongue, language’ > Mongolian *kele-* ‘to utter words, to express in words; to say, to speak, to tell, to narrate’, *kelelče-* ‘to speak, to talk, to converse, to discuss together’, *kelen* ‘tongue, language, dialect, speech’, *kelele-* ‘to speak’; Khalkha *χele-* ‘to say’, *χel* ‘tongue, language’; Buriat *χele-* ‘to say’, *χele(n)* ‘tongue, language’; Kalmyk *kelə-* ‘to say’, *kelŋ* ‘tongue, language’; Ordos *kele-* ‘to say’, *kele* ‘tongue, language’; Moghol *kelä-* ‘to say’, *kelän* ‘tongue, language’; Dagur *χele-* ‘to say’, *χeli*, *χel* ‘tongue, language’; Monguor *kile-* ‘to say’, *kile* ‘tongue, language’. Poppe 1955:142. Proto-Turkic **kele-* ‘(vb.) to speak; (n.) talk, conversation’ > Old Turkic *kele-čü* ‘talk, conversation’; Turkish (dial.) [*keleži*] ‘talk, conversation’; Chuvash *kala-* ‘to say’; Kirghiz *keleč-söz* ‘talk, conversation’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:796—797 **k^hiǎli* ‘tongue’.
- D. (?) Proto-Eskimo **qiluy-* ‘to bark’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qiluy-* ‘to bark’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qiluy-* ‘to bark’; Central Siberian Yupik *qiluy-* ‘to bark’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qiluk-* ‘to bark’; North Alaskan Inuit *qilvuk-* ‘to bark’; Western Canadian Inuit *qiluk-* ‘to bark’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qiluk-* ‘to bark’; Greenlandic Inuit *qiluy-* ‘to bark’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:305.

Buck 1949:4.26 tongue; 18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say; 18.24 language; 18.26 word. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:346—347, no. 221, **Kä/lH/ä* ‘language, speech’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:407, no. 245; Hakola 2000:67—68, no. 267.

454. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hily-* (~ **k^hely-*):

(vb.) **k^hily-* ‘to rise, to ascend, to lift up’;

(n.) **k^hily-a* ‘hill, height’; (adj.) ‘raised, high’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kil-* ‘to lift, to raise, to ascend’: Egyptian (**kil-* > **kvil-* > **vil-* >) *inī*, *iny* ‘to lift up, to raise’. Hannig 1995:956; Faulkner 1962:305; Erman—Grapow 1921:209 and 1926—1963.5:374—375. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *kiil-* (< **kilo-* ?) ‘to weigh’. Hudson 1989:165 and 249.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kiḷar* ‘to rise, to ascend, to emerge, to shoot up, to increase, to shine, to be conspicuous, to be exalted, to be aroused’, *kiḷarttu* (*kiḷartti-*) ‘to raise up, to fill’; Malayalam *kiḷaruka* ‘to rise, to grow high, to burst’, *kiḷarttuka* ‘to raise, to make high’, *kiḷukka* ‘to grow up, to sprout’; Kannaḍa *keḷar* ‘to gape, to open, to expand, to extend, to blossom, to appear, to rise’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:145, no. 1583.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hel-/k^hl-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **k^hol-*) ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise, to elevate; (n.) hill’: Greek κολωνός ‘hill’; Latin *celsus* ‘raised up, high, lofty’, *collis* ‘hill’, *columen* ‘that which is raised on high; a height, summit, ridge’, *-cellō* in: *antecellō* ‘to be outstanding, to excel’, *excellō* ‘to stand out, to excel, to be distinguished, to be eminent’, *praecellō* ‘to surpass, to excel’; Old English *hyll* ‘hill’; Frisian *hel* ‘hill’; Low German *hul* ‘hill’; Old Saxon *holm* ‘hill’; Middle Dutch *hille*, *hil*, *hul* ‘hill’; Lithuanian *keliù*, *kélti* ‘to lift, to raise’, *kálnas* ‘hill, mound’. Rix 1998a:312 **kelH-* ‘to rise up, to tower up’; Pokorny 1959:544 **kel-*, **kelā-* ‘to tower up, to lift’; Walde 1927—1932.I:433—434 **qel-*; Mann 1984—1987:486 **kelō*, *-jō* ‘to lift, to bear, to bring’, 485 **kelesā* ‘heights’, 527 **kolnos*, *-is*, *-us* ‘hill’; Watkins 1984:28 **kel-* and 2000:39 **kel-* ‘to be prominent; hill’; Mallory—Adams 1997:270 **kolh_x-ōn* ~ **k^lh_x-n-ós* ‘hill’ and 352 **kel(h₁)-* ‘to lift, to raise up’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:669 **k^hel-* and 1995.I:577 **k^hel-* ‘mountain; heights, high place’; Beekes 2010.I:741—742 **kolH-n-*; Hofmann 1966:153 **qol-ō(u)n-*, **qol-nis*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:906—907 **qol-(e)n-*, **q^l-n-*; Boisacq 1950:487—488 **qele-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:559; Ernout—Meillet 1979:111 **keldō*, 132 **kolān-*, and 134; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:197—198 **qel(e)-*, I:245 **q^l-nis*, **qolen-*, **qol-ō(u)n-*, and I:249—250 **qel-*; De Vaan 2008:105, 124, and 127; Orël 2003:191 Proto-Germanic **xulmaz*, 191—192 **xulniz*; Onions 1966:441 **k^l-*, **kel-*, **kol-*; Klein 1971:347 **qel-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:237—238; Derksen 2015:221 **kolH-n-* and 236 **kelH-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:249 and 1:274 **kelH-*.
- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *kilej-* ‘to fly or leap up high’. Nikolaeva 2006:210.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 10.22 raise, lift. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:460—461, no. 305.

455. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^hir-a* ‘uppermost part (of anything): horn, head, skull, crown of head; tip, top, summit, peak’:
- A. Proto-Afrasian **k^hi/r-* ‘uppermost part (of anything): horn, head, skull, crown of head’: Egyptian *krty* (f. dual) ‘horns (on the crown of Amun)’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:134; Hannig 1995:885. Berber: Tuareg *takərkort* ‘skull, cranium’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *takərkurt* ‘cock’s comb’. Cushitic: Bilin (reduplicated) *kirkirtā* ‘skull, crown of head’. Reinisch 1887:226. Chadic: Margi *k^hár/kár* ‘head’; Nzangi *kirre/kre/kre* ‘head’; Sukur *k^hur/kxər* ‘head’. Jungtraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:182—183.
- B. Dravidian: Parji *kipra* ‘a snail’s shell’; Pengo *kipri* ‘shell (of snail, etc.)’, skull’; Maṇḍa *kirpi* ‘shell’; Kuwi *kirpā*, *girpa* ‘skull’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:143, no. 1555. Metathesis in Parji and Pengo.

- C. Proto-Indo-European *k^her-/*k^hʰ- (secondary *o*-grade form: *k^hor-), *k^herH-/*k^hʰH- ‘uppermost part (of anything): horn, head, skull, crown of head; tip, top, summit, peak; horned animal’: Sanskrit *śiras-* (< *k^hʰHes-) ‘head, skull’, *śṅga-m* ‘the horn of an animal; the tusk of an elephant; the top or summit of a mountain, peak; the highest part of a building, pinnacle, turret; any peak or projection or lofty object, elevation, point, end, extremity’, *śīrśá-h* ‘the head, skull; the upper part, tip, top (of anything)’, *śīrśán-* (< *k^hʰHsen-) ‘the head’; Avestan *sarah-* ‘head’, *srū-, srvā-* ‘horn’; Greek κέρας ‘the horn of an animal’, κάρᾱ (Ionic κάρη) ‘the head; the head or top of anything’, κεράός (< *κεραῶός) ‘horned’, κρᾱνίον ‘the upper part of the head, the skull’, κόρυμβος ‘the uppermost point, head, end’, κορυφή ‘the head, top, highest point; the crown or top of the head; the top or peak of a mountain’; Armenian *sar* ‘top, summit, peak’; Latin *cornū* ‘a horn’, *cerebrum* ‘the brain’, *cervus* ‘deer’; Gothic *haur̥n* ‘horn’; Old Icelandic *horn* ‘horn’, *hjarsi* ‘the crown of the head’, *hjarni* ‘brain’, *hjörtr* ‘hart, stag’; Norwegian *horn* ‘horn’, *hjerne* ‘brain’; Swedish *horn* ‘horn’, *hjärna* ‘brain’; Danish *horn* ‘horn’, *hjerne* ‘brain’; Old English *horn* ‘horn’, *heor(o)t* ‘stag’; Old Frisian *horn* ‘horn’, *hert* ‘hart, stag’; Old Saxon *horn* ‘horn’, *hirot* ‘hart, stag’; Dutch *hert* ‘hart, stag’, *hoorn* ‘horn’; Old High German *horn* ‘horn’ (New High German *Horn*), *hirni* ‘brain’ (New High German *Hirn*), *hir(u)z* ‘stag, hart’ (New High German *Hirsch*); Hittite (nom.-acc. sg./pl.) *ka-ra-a-wa-ar* ‘horn(s), antler(s)’. Pokorny 1959:574—577 *k^her-, *k^herā- : *k^hrā-, *k^herei-, *k^hereu- ‘uppermost part of the body: head, horn’; Walde 1927—1932.I:403—408 *k^her-; Mann 1984—1987:609—610 *k^her- (*e*-grade of type *k^hʰ-, *k^her-) ‘head’, 611 *k^herəd- (*k^herd-) ‘horned animal’, 611 *k^herəsj- ‘head, crown of head, brain’, 611 *k^herəjos ‘horned; horn, horned beast’, 612 *k^hern- ‘bone, horn’, 612 *k^heryt- ‘horn, horned animal’, 613 *k^hēros, -om, -ā, 614 (*k^herjos ‘horned beast’), 616 *k^her- ‘head, top, peak’, 638 *k^hʰn-, *k^hʰn- radical element of (1) ‘head’, (2) ‘horn, horny substance’, 638 *k^hʰnət-, *k^hʰn- , *k^hʰnitjo- (1) ‘head, headed’, (2) ‘horn, horned’, 638—639 *k^hʰn-gom (?) ‘horn, horniness, horny growth’, 639 *k^hʰnjom (*k^hʰnjo-), *k^hʰnjos ‘head, skull, horn, tip’, 639 *k^hʰnom (*k^hʰnu) ‘horn, tip, corner’, 639 *k^hʰros, -es- ‘head, tip, top’, 640 *k^hʰjos, -is ‘horn’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:876 *k^h[ʰ]er-, *k^h[ʰ]ʰn- and 1995.I:149 and I:773 *k^her- ‘head, horn’, *k^herH- ‘head’, *k^hʰn- ‘horn’, I:97 *k^herw- ‘horned animal’; Watkins 1985:29 *ker- and 2000:40 *ker- ‘horn, head’; Mallory—Adams 1997:260 *k^hʰrēh₂ ‘head’; (sg.) *k^hór₂sj₂, (collective) *k^hér₂or ‘head’; 272—273 *k^hʰnom ‘horn’, *k^hér₂(s) ‘horn’, *k^hér₂sj₂ ‘horn’, *k^heru ‘horn’; Lehmann 1986:180; Burrow 1973:87 *k^hʰHsen- : *k^hʰHes-; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:341 and III:369—370; Boisacq 1950:410—411, 437 *k^herəjó-s, 438—439 *k^her-əs-, 498, 499, and 508; Frisk 1970—1973.I:784—785 *k^hʰro- (> Armenian *sar*), I:825—826 *k^herəu-o-, I:826—827, I:924—925, I:927—927, and II:6—7; Hofmann 1966:133, 140 *k^herejos, 140 *k^her-əs-, 155, 156 *k^horu-bho-, and 158;

Beekes 2010.I:641 **krh₂-(e)s-n-*. I:676 **kerh₂*, I:676—677 **kerh₂-s-*, I:756, and I:770 **kerh₂-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:495—496, I:496 **kre₂-*, **kr₂-*, I:517, I:517—518 **ker-₂-s-*, I:569, I:569—570, and I:577; De Vaan 2008:136—137; Ernout—Meillet 1979:114—115, 117, and 143 **k₁w-n-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:203—204 **ker-*, **kerā-*, **ker-s-*, **ker-n-*, etc., I:208 **ker-*, I:276 **ker(-n-* etc.); Puhvel 1984— .4:77—79 **ker-(H₁-)* ‘head, horn, summit’; Kloekhorst 2008b: 446—447 **kr-ó-ur*, **kr-ó-un-*; Orël 2003:170 Proto-Germanic **xersnōn* ~ **xersnan*, 171 **xerutuz* ~ **xerutaz*, 195 **xurnan*; Kroonen 2013:221 Proto-Germanic **hersan-* ~ **herzan-* ‘brain’ and 259 **hurna-* ‘horn’; Feist 1939:251 **k₁mo-* (> Gothic *haurn*), **ker-*; Lehmann 1986:180 **ker-* ‘tip, head, horn’; De Vries 1977:231—232 **ker-*, 232, 234, and 249 **kor-* (gen. **kernés*); Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:299—300; Torp 1919:221 Germanic **hurna-*; Onions 1966:429 and 448; Klein 1971:335 **ker-* ‘the uppermost part of the body, head, horn, top, summit’ and 353 **ker-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:310 and 317; Kluge—Seebold 1989:311 and 316.

- D. Altaic: Proto-Mongolian **kira* ‘edge, ridge’ > Written Mongolian *kira* ‘summit or ridge of a mountain, small mountain chain; foothills; slope; a strip (usually of horn) attached to the front and rear edges of a saddle’; Khalkha *ᠵar* ‘edge, ridge’; Buriat *ᠵara* ‘crest’; Kalmyk *kirə* ‘mountain pasture’; Ordos *kirā* ‘edge, ridge’; Dagur *ᠵargag*, *kira* ‘mound’. The following Tungus forms are Mongolian loans: Evenki *kira* ‘side’; Nanay / Gold *kerá* ‘edge, border, riverbank’. Proto-Turkic **Kīr* ‘isolated mountain; mountain top, ridge; steppe, desert, level ground; edge’ > Karakhanide Turkic *qīr* ‘isolated mountain; rising ground’; Turkish *kır* ‘country (as opposed to town or city), uncultivated land, wilderness’; Gagauz *qīr* ‘steppe, desert, level ground’; Turkmenian *gīr* ‘steppe, desert, level ground’; Uzbek *qīr* ‘mountain top, ridge’; Uighur *qīr* ‘steppe, desert, level ground; edge’; Tatar *qīr* ‘steppe, desert, level ground; edge’; Bashkir *qīr* ‘steppe, desert, level ground; edge’; Kirghiz *qīr* ‘mountain top, ridge; steppe, desert, level ground’; Kazakh *qīr* ‘mountain top, ridge; edge’; Noghay *qīr* ‘steppe, desert, level ground’; Chuvash *ᠵir* ‘steppe, desert, level ground’; Yakut *kīrtas* ‘mountain top, ridge’, *kīrdal* ‘hill’. The Turkic forms have been contaminated by derivatives of Proto-Altaic **gīru* ‘shore, road’. Poppe 1960:114; Street 1974:17 **kīr* ‘mountain(side), edge’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:767—768 **k‘āre* ‘edge’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also include Proto-Tungus **ᠵāri-* ‘border, hem’. However, the Tungus forms are separated from the Mongolian and Turkic forms in this book and are included instead under Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^har-a* ‘edge, side, bank’.
- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kəratkən* ‘top’: Chukchi *kəratkən* ‘top of tree, end of hair, source of river’, *kəṛə-kwən*, *kəcə-kwən* ‘head scarf’; Kerek *kīitn* ‘top’; Koryak *kəjatkən* ‘tip, top of tree, bud’, *kəjæckən* ‘end’;

Kamchadal / Itelmen *ktxiŋ* ‘(human) head’, *ktxelxen* ‘crown of head’. Fortescue 2005:152.

- F. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **krə* ‘cliff, promontory’: Amur *k^hrə* / *krə* ‘cliff, rocky promontory’; South Sakhalin *k^hrə* ‘cliff, promontory’. Fortescue 2016:88.

(?) Sumerian *kur* ‘mountain’.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 4.17 horn; 4.20 head; 4.202 skull; 4.203 brain. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1157, **ḲirHV* (= **q[i]rʕV* ?) ‘top, summit, crown (of head)’.

456. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hir-* (~ **k^her-*):

(vb.) **k^hir-* ‘to freeze, to be cold’;

(n.) **k^hir-a* ‘frost, cold’

- A. Dravidian: Parji (reduplicated) *girgira* ‘cold’; Gadba *girgira* ‘cold’; Gondi *kiriŋ-*, *kiriŋg-*, *kiqāng-* ‘to be cold’, *kiriŋ-* ‘to become cool’; Kurux *kīrnā* ‘to be cold, to feel cool’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:144, no. 1568.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **kirsl-* ‘to snow’: Georgian *kirsl-* ‘to snow in tiny flakes’; Svan (Upper Bal) *kəs-e* ‘snow raised by wind’. Fähnrich 2007:467 **kirsl-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hr-ew-*/**k^hr-ow-*/**k^hr-u-* ‘(vb.) to freeze, to form a crust; (n.) crust; coating of ice, frost’: Greek κρύος (< *κρύσος or *κρύφος) ‘icy cold, chill, frost’, κρυερός ‘icy, chilling’, κρυμός ‘icy cold, frost’, κρύεις ‘chilling; icy cold’, κρύσταλλος ‘clear ice, ice’; Latin *crusta* ‘crust, rind, shell, bark of any substance; coating of ice’; Old Icelandic *hrjósa* ‘to shake, to shudder’, *hrúðr* ‘crust, scab on a sore’; Old English *hrūse* ‘earth, ground’; Old High German (*h*)*roso* ‘ice, crust’; Latvian *kruvesis*, *kruesis* ‘rough frozen dung in the road’; Tocharian A (acc. sg.) *krośšäm*, B *krośce* (adj.) ‘cold’. Pokorny 1959:622; Walde 1927—1932.I:479; Watkins 1985:33 **kreus-* and 2000:44 **kreus-* ‘to begin to freeze, to form a crust’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:682 and 1995.I:589; Mallory—Adams 1997:117—118 **k^wrustēn* ‘(freezing) cold’; Boisacq 1950:522; Frisk 1970—1973.II:28—29 **gru-s-*, **gruy-es-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:588—589 **grus-*, **greus-*; Hofmann 1966:162; Beekes 2010.I:786 **kreus-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:153; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:295—296 **gru-s-*, **greu-*; De Vaan 2008:147; Orël 2003:189 Proto-Germanic **xrusōn*, 190 **xrūþaz* ~ **xrūþōn*; Kroonen 2013:251 Proto-Germanic **hrusōn-* ‘crust’; De Vries 1977:258 and 261 **kreu-*; Adams 1999:218—219 **k^wrus-* and 2013:236; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:236.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kerte* (**kirte*) ‘ice, hoarfrost’ > Finnish *kirsi/kirte-* ‘frost on the ground’, *kerte* ‘thin snow-crust’; Estonian *kirs* ‘ice layer, ice deep down in moist places’; Livonian *kiirt* ‘thin ice, which does not bear’; (?) Cheremis / Mari *kərt* ‘ice-crust on the snow’; (?) Ostyak /

Xanty (Tremyugan) *kærtəh*, (Southern) *kærtəm* ‘thin crust (on the snow)’. Collinder 1955:89 and 1977:105; Rédei 1986—1988:150 **kerte* (**kirte*). Dolgopolsky (1998:23) also cites Ostyak / Xanty (Eastern) *kir*, (Northern) *ker* ‘snow-crust’.

- E. Proto-Altaic **k^hirma* (~ -u, -o) ‘snow, hoarfrost’: Proto-Tungus **χima-ŋsa* (< **χirma-*) ‘snow’ > Manchu *nimaŋgi* ‘snow’, *nimaŋgi labsan* ‘snowflake’, *nimaŋgi ilχa* ‘snowflake, snow crystal’, *nimara-* ‘to snow’; Evenki *imana* ‘snow’; Lamut / Even *im^hnr^h* ‘snow’; Negidal *imana* ‘snow’; Ulch *šimana*, *šimata* ‘snow’; Orok *šimana*, *šimata* ‘snow’; Nanay / Gold *šimana*, *šimata* ‘snow’; Oroch *imasa* ‘snow’; Udihe *imaha* ‘snow’; Solon *imanda* ‘snow’. Proto-Mongolian **kirmag* ‘first snow, new-fallen snow’ > Written Mongolian *kirmaγ* ‘fine or fluffy snow; first snow, new-fallen snow’; Khalkha *χarmag* ‘first snow’; Buriat *χarmag*, *χirmag* ‘first snow’; Kalmyk *kirm^hg* ‘first snow’; Ordos *kirmag* ‘light snow that barely covers the ground’; Dagur *kiarəmsən* ‘first snow’. Written Mongolian *qirayu* ‘hoarfrost’ and similar forms in other Mongolian languages are Turkic loans. Proto-Turkic **Kir-* ‘hoarfrost, thin snow’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qirayu* ‘hoarfrost’; Karakhanide Turkic *qirayu* ‘hoarfrost’; Turkish *kırağı* ‘hoarfrost’; Gagauz *qrā* ‘hoarfrost’; Azerbaijani *gürow* ‘hoarfrost’; Turkmenian *güraw* ‘hoarfrost’, *gürpaq* ‘thin snow’; Uzbek *qiraw* ‘hoarfrost’; Uighur *qiya*, *qira*, *qiro* ‘hoarfrost’; Karaim *qüraw*, *qoruw* ‘hoarfrost’; Tatar *qüraw* ‘hoarfrost’, *qürpaq* ‘thin snow’; Bashkir *qüraw* ‘hoarfrost’, *qürpaq* ‘thin snow’; Kirghiz *qirō* ‘hoarfrost’; Kazakh *qüraw* ‘hoarfrost’, *qürpaq* ‘thin snow’; Noghay *qüraw* ‘hoarfrost’, *qürpaq* ‘thin snow’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *quru* ‘hoarfrost’; Tuva *χirā* ‘hoarfrost’; Chuvash *χərbəχ* ‘thin snow’; Yakut *kiriä* ‘hoarfrost’, *kürpaχ*, *kürpay* ‘thin snow’; Dolgan *kiriä* ‘hoarfrost’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:793 **k^hirma* (~ -u, -o) ‘snow, hoarfrost’.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **qiru* (or **qiqu*) ‘to freeze’ (the second form could be contaminated with **qikə-* ‘to crunch snow underfoot’): Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qəχcu-* ‘to get frostbitten’, *qəχcunəq* ‘frostbite’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qəχcua-* ‘to get frostbitten’; Sirenik *qirər-* ‘to shiver, to freeze’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qirit-* ‘to freeze’, (Imaq) *qərətəq* ‘thin ice’; North Alaskan Inuit *qiqi-* ‘to be frozen’, *qiqit-* ‘to freeze’; Western Canadian Inuit *qiqi* ‘the cold’, *qiqit-* ‘to freeze’, (Caribou ?) *qiqi-* ‘to be frozen’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qiqi-* ‘to be frozen’; Greenlandic Inuit *qiri-* ‘to be frozen stiff’, *qirit-* ‘to freeze’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:308. Proto-Inuit **qirətəq-* (or **qiqətəq-*) ‘to get frostbitten’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *qiritiq-* ‘to get frostbitten’; North Alaskan Inuit *qiqitiq-* ‘to get frostbitten’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qiqitiq-* ‘to have frostbitten feet, chilblains’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:308. Proto-Inuit **qirətrər-* (or **qiqətrər-*) ‘to form hard crust (snow)’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Inuit *χətχar-* ‘to get hard crust (snow)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qətχar-* ‘to form hard ice crust’; Central Siberian Yupik *aχqətχaq* ‘frozen crust on

snow, frozen ground in spring’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:308. Proto-Eskimo **qiru-* ‘to freeze to death’: Central Alaskan Yupik *qəXu-* ‘to freeze to death’; Central Siberian Yupik *Xuu-* ‘to freeze (to death)’; Sirenik *qirə-* ‘to freeze to death’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qiu-* ‘to freeze to death’; North Alaskan Inuit *qi<ɣ>u-* ‘to freeze to death’, *qiuŋu-* ‘to shiver from illness’, *qiruvial* ‘refrozen slush’; Western Canadian Inuit *qiu-* ‘to freeze to death’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qiu-* ‘to freeze to death’; Greenlandic Inuit *qiu-* ‘to freeze to death’, *qiuŋuyuur-* ‘to be freezing cold’, *qirut-* ‘to get frostbite, frost sores’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:309. Proto-Yupik **qirutə-* ‘to feel cold’ > Central Alaskan Yupik *qəXutə-* ‘to feel cold’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *Xutə-* ‘to shiver from cold, to freeze’; Central Siberian Yupik *Xuutə-* ‘to feel cold’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:309. Proto-Eskimo **qiruya-* ‘to feel cold’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Kodiak) *quyaXtə-* ‘to be cold (person)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qəXuyanaXqə-* ‘to be cold (weather)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *Xuyanaq* ‘chill’; North Alaskan Inuit *qiiya-* ‘to feel cold’, *qiiyanaq-* ‘to be cold (weather)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Iglulik) *qiiya-* ‘to feel cold’; Greenlandic Inuit *qii-* ‘to freeze (of person)’, *qiiinar-* ‘to be cold (weather)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:309.

Buck 1949:1.77 ice; 15.86 cold. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:353—354, no. 230, **Ḳira* ‘hoarfrost’; Dolgopolsky 1998:23—24, no. 10, **ḳir[u]qa* ‘ice, hoarfrost; to freeze’ and 2008, no. 1158, **ḳir[U]qa* ‘ice, hoarfrost; to freeze’; Bomhard 1999a:54; Hakola 2000:70—71, no. 282.

457. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^hiw-a* ‘stone’:

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **kwa-* ‘stone’: Georgian *kva-* ‘stone’; Mingrelian *kua-* ‘stone’; Laz (*n*)*kva-*, *mkva-* ‘stone’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:375—376 **kwa-*; Fähnrich 2007:463 **kwa-*; Klimov 1964:197 **kwa-* and 1998:215—216 **kwa-* ‘stone’.
- B. Proto-Uralic **kiwi* ‘stone’ > Finnish *kivi* ‘stone’; Estonian *kivi* ‘stone’; Mordvin (Erza) *kev* ‘stone’; Cheremis / Mari *kü, küj* ‘stone’; Votyak / Udmurt *kö, kō* ‘millstone’; Zyrian / Komi *iz-ki* ‘millstone’; Vogul / Mansi *küü, käw* ‘stone’; Ostyak / Xanty *köh/kög-*, (Obdorsk) *kew* ‘stone’; Hungarian *kő/köve-* ‘stone’. Rédei 1986—1988:163—164 **kiwe*; Collinder 1955:89 and 1977:106; Sammallahti 1988:543 **kiwi* ‘stone’; Zhivlov 2023:169 Proto-Uralic **kiwi* ‘stone’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:298, no. 166, **kiwi* ‘stone’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:409—410, no. 349; Hakola 2000:72, no. 288; Dolgopolsky 1998:67, no. 83, **kiw[V]hE* ‘stone’ and 2008, no. 968, **kiw[V]h[ê]* ‘stone’.

458. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰolʷ-*:

(vb.) **kʰolʷ-* ‘to tie, bind, fasten, fit, combine, or join two things together; to couple, to pair’;

(n.) **kʰolʷ-a* ‘any combination of two things: couple, pair’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kalʷ-*, **kilʷ-* ‘two, both’ > Ugaritic *klāt* ‘both’, *klāt ydh* ‘both his hands’; Hebrew *kilʷayim* [כִּלְאַיִם] ‘of two kinds, both, junction of two’; Akkadian *kilallān*, (f.) *kilattān* ‘both’; Arabic *kilā*, (f.) *kiltā* ‘both of’; Sabaean *klʷ* ‘two, both’; Mehri *kālō(h)*, (f.) *kālāyt* ‘both’, (followed by dual personal suffix, thus) *kālōhi* ‘both of them’; Harsūsi *kelō*, (f.) *kelāyt* ‘both’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kólló(h)* ‘both of’; Geez / Ethiopic *kalləʷa* [ክለአ], *kalləʷa* [ክለዐ] (denominative) ‘to make two, to make another; to change, to alter’, *kəlləʷe* [ክለኤ] ‘two, both, double, twofold’, (f.) *kəlləʷettu* [ክለኤቱ] ‘two (with m. and f. nouns), both, double’, *kāləʷ* [ክለአ], (f.) *kāləʷt* [ክለአት] ‘other, another, anyone else, second, successor, companion, friend, neighbor’; Tigrinya *kəlätte* ‘two’; Tigre *kəllot* ‘two’; Harari *koʷot*, *kōt* ‘two, both; pair’; Gafat *ələttä* ‘two’; Argobba *ket* ‘two’; Amharic *hulätt* ‘two’, *hulätte* ‘twice’, *hulättum* ‘both’; Gurage (Gogot) *kʷett*, *hʷett*, (Soddo) *kitt*, (Ennemor, Muher) *xʷett*, (Chaha, Gyeto, Masqan) *xʷet*, (Wolane, Zway) *hojt* ‘two’. Murtonen 1989:232; Leslau 1963:90, 1979:356, and 1987:282; Klein 1987:276; Zammit 2002:358.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **koʷ-/kəŋʷ-* (< **koʷ-nt-*) ‘to take, to seize, to receive, to hold; to hook, to clasp, to fasten, to buckle’: Tamil *koʷ* (*koʷv-*, *kəŋʷ-*) ‘to seize, to receive, to buy, to acquire, to marry, to abduct, to contain; to learn, to think, to regard, to esteem’, *koʷkai* ‘accepting, taking; opinion, doctrine’, *koʷvōŋ* ‘buyer, student’, *koʷlunar* ‘buyers, learners’, *koʷlai* ‘robbery, plunder’, *koʷuttu* (*koʷutti-*) ‘(vb.) to cause to hold, apply, explain, teach; (n.) clasp of a jewel, joint of the body’, *koʷuvu* (*koʷuvi-*) ‘to cause to hold, to clasp, to buckle up, to hook up’, *koʷuvi*, *koʷukki* ‘hook, clasp’, *koʷai* ‘hold (as a string in a bow); determination’, *kəŋʷal* ‘receiving, taking’, *kəŋʷi* ‘getting possession of, theft, plunder; corner pin of a door on which it swings, clamp, cleat of a doorlock, the pin that holds the share to the plow’, *kōʷ* ‘taking, receiving, accepting, holding; opinion, tenet, decision’, *kōʷi* ‘receiver’; Malayalam *koʷka* (*kəŋʷ-*) ‘to hold, to contain, to receive, to acquire, to marry; aux. with reflexive meaning’, *koʷlikka* ‘to make to hold or receive’, *koʷuttuka* ‘to make to hold, to hook, to clasp, to fasten a rope to a load’, *koʷuttu* ‘that which holds: hook, link, stitch’, *koʷla*, *kəŋʷi* ‘plunder’, *kōʷ* ‘holding, taking, purchase’; Kota *koʷ-/kəŋ-* (*koʷ-*) ‘to marry (wife), to buy (cattle), to begin (funeral)’, *koʷ* ‘robbery, state of being robbed’, *koʷ gal* ‘thief’; Toda *kwiʷ-* (*kwiʷ-*) ‘to carry (corpse), to wear (bell); aux. with continuative-durative meaning’, *kwiʷ-* (only in negative) ‘not to want, not to heed’, *kwiʷy* ‘loot’ (in songs); Kannada *koʷ*, *koʷu*, *koʷlu* (*koŋʷ-*) ‘to seize, to take away, to take, to accept, to obtain, to buy, to undertake; aux. with reflexive meaning’, *koʷ*, *koʷuha*, *koʷluvike* ‘seizing, preying, taking’, *koʷi*

‘holding, seizure’, *koḷisu, kollisu* ‘to cause to seize, etc.’, *kolle* ‘pillage, plunder’, *koḷike, kolike, kulike* ‘a clasp, hook’, *koṇḍi* ‘hook projecting from a wall, semicircular link of a padlock’, *kōḷ* ‘seizure, pillage, plunder’; Kodagu *koll-* (*kovv-*, *koṇḍ-*) ‘to take’, *koḷit-* (*koḷiti-*) ‘to fasten (rope on horn, loop on shoulder)’, *koṇḍa-* (*koṇḍap-*, *ko-nd-*) ‘to bring’; Tuḷu *koṇuni* (*koṇḍ-*) ‘to take, to hold, to keep; aux. with reflexive meaning’, *kolikè* ‘a clasp, hook and eye’, *kolavè, kolāyi, koltaḷè, koltulè* ‘a clasp’, *koṇḍi* ‘hook, staple that holds the latch of a door, clasp of a bracelet’; Telugu *konu* (*kont-*) ‘to buy, to take, to hold, to take up, to rob, to care for (advice); to consider, to suppose; aux. with reflexive meaning’, (inscr.) *kon* ‘to take’, *koṇḍi* ‘a hook, catch’, *koliki, kolki* ‘hook or clasp of a necklace’, *kolla* ‘plunder, pillage’, *kollari* ‘bandit, plunderer’, *kolupu* ‘to cause to do, to prompt, to set on; to be agreeable, (ideas) suggest themselves, to be inclined’, *koluvu* ‘an assembly; service, employment’; Kolami *kor-/ko-* (*kott-*) ‘to bring’, *kos-* (*kost-*) ‘to carry away, to take’, *kosi-* (*kosit-*) ‘to take and give (to someone)’; Naikri *koy-* (*kor-*) ‘to bring’, *kos-* ‘to take’; Naiki (of Chanda) *kor-/ko-* (*kott-*) ‘to bring’; Parji *koṇṭub* ‘a hook’; Koṇḍa *kor-* (*kon-*, *koṭ-*) ‘to purchase’, (dial.) *kol-* (*koṭ-*) ‘to take’; Pengo *kor-* ‘to buy’; Maṇḍa *krag-* (*krakt-*) ‘to buy’; Kui *koḍa-* (*koḍi-*) ‘(vb.) to buy, to take away, to take off, to pull off, to pull up, to pluck; (n.) buying, taking, plucking’; Kuwi *kōḍali, koḍḍinai* ‘to take, to buy’, *koḍ-* ‘to buy, to bring; reflexive auxiliary. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:194, no. 2151; Krishnamurti 2003:9 and 95 *koḷ-/*koṇṭ- (< *koḷ-nt-) ‘to receive, to seize, to buy’. Semantic development as in Gothic *fāhan* ‘to capture, to seize’ < Proto-Indo-European *p^hǎk^h- ‘to join, to fit, to fasten’ (cf. Pokorny 1959:787—788 *pǎk̑- and *pǎǵ̑-).

- C. Proto-Altaic *k^hōlvba ‘(vb.) to tie, bind, or join together; to couple, to combine; (n.) couple, pair’: Proto-Tungus *χulbū- ‘to bind, to arrange’ > Evenki *ulbu-* ‘to bind, to arrange’; Lamut / Even *ulbᵛ-* ‘to bind, to arrange’; Negidal *ulbul-* ‘to move in tandem’; Oroch *ulbumži* ‘in tandem’; Nanay / Gold *χuelbi-* ‘to bind together, to wrap’; Oroch *ubbuna-* ‘to bind, to arrange’. Proto-Mongolian *kolbu- ‘to tie, bind, or join together; to couple, to combine, to unite; to connect, to link to; to incorporate’ > Middle Mongolian *qulba-* ‘to couple, to bind together’; Written Mongolian *qolbu-* ‘to unite, to combine, to connect, to incorporate; to link to, to join in marriage’, *qolbuḡa(n)* ‘tie, link, combination, contact, connection; union, junction; federation, association; alliterative words or phrases; double, pair’, *qolbuḡda-* ‘to be united, connected, tied; to have relation to; to depend on; to be mixed up in another’s affairs; to be involved in an affair’, *qolbuḡdal* ‘connection, relation’; Khalka *χolbo-* ‘to join, to tie, to bind; to unite, to connect, to link to; to combine; to incorporate; to alliterate’; Buriat *χolbo-* ‘to couple, to bind together’; Kalmyk *χolwə-* ‘to couple, to bind together’; Dagur *χolbo-*, *χolbu-*; *holebe-* ‘to couple, to bind together’; Ordos *χolbo-* ‘to couple, to bind together’; Shira-Yughur *χolbo-* ‘to couple,

to bind together'; Monguor *χulō-* 'to couple, to bind together'. Proto-Turkic **Kolʷ-* '(vb.) to join, to unite; (n.) couple, pair, one of a couple' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Karakhanide Turkic *qoš* 'couple, pair, one of a couple', *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Turkish *koş-* 'to harness', *koş* 'pair of horses', *koşum* 'act of harnessing, harness'; Gagauz *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Azerbaijani *goş-* 'to join, to unite'; Turkmenian *goş* 'a pair of oxen or horses for plowing', *goşa* 'pair, two; double'; Uzbek *qoš* 'couple, pair, twin', *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Uighur *qoš* 'couple, pair, one of a couple', *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Karaim *qoš* 'pair', *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Tatar *quş* 'couple, pair, one of a couple', *quş-* 'to join, to unite'; Bashkir *qiwış* 'double', *quş-* 'to join, to unite'; Kazakh *qos* 'couple, pair, one of a couple', *qos-* 'to join, to unite'; Noghay *qos* 'pair', *qos-* 'to join, to unite'; Sary-Uighur *qos* 'couple, pair, one of a couple'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Tuva *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Chuvash *χoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Yakut *χos* 'double, again', *χohuy-* 'to join, to unite'; Dolgan *kohān* 'poem'. Poppe 1960:138; Street 1974:17 **kolʷi-* 'to add, to mix (in)'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:836 **kʷlba* '(n.) couple; (vb.) to couple, to combine'.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 12.22 join, unite. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 879, **kolʷ* 'pair, one of a pair'.

459. Proto-Nostratic roots **khon-k'-*, **khok'-*:

(vb.) **khon-V-k'-*, **khok'-* 'to be bent, curved, crooked';

(n.) **khon-k'-a*, **khok'-a* 'hook, clasp'; (adj.) 'bent, curved, crooked'

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kokki* 'hook, clasp (as of a necklace or earring)'; Malayalam *kokka* 'clasp, hook, crook (as for plucking fruits), neck-clasp'; Kannada *kokki*, *kokke* 'crookedness, perverseness, a crook, bend, hook', *koṅki* 'a hook, fish-hook, angle', *koṅku* 'to be bent; to get crooked, curved, distorted, deformed, or curled; to become perverse, untrue'; Koḍagu *kokke* 'crook, hook, anything bent', *kokk-* (*kokki-*) 'to be bent'; Telugu *kokki*, *koṅki* 'a hook'; Kuwi *koṅkaṭā* 'crooked, bent'; Tuḷu *kokkè* 'a hook, clasp', *koṅkè*, *kuṅkè* 'a hook, crookedness'; Malto *qonqe* 'to indent, to notch, to bend the knees slightly in dancing'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:184, no. 2032.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **khonk'-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **khenk'-*) 'hook': Farsi *čang* 'claw, fist'; Middle Irish *ail-cheng* 'rack for hanging up arms'; Old Icelandic *hanki* 'hasp or clasp', *hönk* (gen. *hankar*, pl. *henkr*) 'hank, coil, loop, ring', *sterkar henkr* 'strong clasps'; Old High German *hank* 'handle'; Lithuanian *kėngė* 'hook, clasp, latch'. Pokorny 1959:537—538 **keg-*, **keng-* 'to dangle'; Walde 1927—1932.I:382—383 **keg-*, **keng-*; Mann 1984—1987:488 **keng-* 'to seize, to grip, to hold; hold, hook, grapple, hobble'; Mallory—Adams 1997:272 **ko(n)gos* 'hook'; De Vries

1977:208—209 and 281; Orël 2003:161 Proto-Germanic **xankō*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:239.

- C. Proto-Altaic **k^hōki* ‘hinge, hook’: Proto-Tungus **kūkta* ‘rowlock’ > Evenki *kūkta* ‘rowlock’; Lamut / Even *kukte* ‘rowlock’. Proto-Mongolian **kōgene* ‘a string with a loop for binding animals’ > Written Mongolian *kōgene*, *kōgüne* ‘rope with ends attached to a stake driven in the ground to which lambs and kids are tied’; Khalkha *χōgnō* ‘rope for tying lambs or kids’; Ordos *kōgönō* ‘a string with a loop for binding animals’. Proto-Turkic **kök*, **köken* ‘hinge, nail, peg, clasp; tether’ > Karakhanide Turkic *kök* ‘belt for fixing the saddle’, *kögen* ‘rope for tethering calves, foals during milking’; Turkish *kök* ‘tuning-key of a stringed instrument’, (dial.) *köken* ‘tether’; Turkmenian *köken* ‘tether’; Middle Turkic *kök* ‘nail’; Uzbek *kukan* ‘tether’; Tatar *kügen* ‘hinge, nail, peg, clasp’; Bashkir *kügen* ‘hinge, nail, peg, clasp’; Kirghiz *kögön* ‘tether’; Kazakh *kögen* ‘tether’; Chuvash *кӳган* ‘loop’, (*алӳк*) *кӳкӳ* ‘prop of a door hinge’; Yakut *kögön* ‘tether’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:833—834 **k^hōki* ‘hinge, hook’.

Buck 1949:12.75 hook. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:418—419, no. 261.

460. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hul-* (~ **k^hol-*):

(vb.) **k^hul-* ‘to hear, to listen’;

(n.) **k^hul-a* ‘renown, fame; ear’

Possible derivative:

(vb.) **k^hul-* ‘to tell’;

(n.) **k^hul-a* ‘story, tale’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kul-* ‘to hear’: Chadic: Sura *kəliɣ* ‘to hear’; Tal *k^wəl* ‘to hear’; Yiwon *kəl* ‘to hear’; Geruma *kúláa* ‘to hear’; Kirfi *kwáli-wò* ‘to hear’; Bata *klɔ* ‘to hear’; Bachama *kúlò* ‘to hear’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:184—185.
- B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *kēl* (*kētp-*, *kētt-*) ‘to hear, to listen, to learn, to ask, to inquire, to question, to investigate, to require, to request, to be informed of, to obey, to be heard’, *kēlvi*, *kētpu* ‘hearing, question, learning, sound, word, rumor, ear’; Malayalam *kēlkkā* ‘to hear, to perceive, to listen, to obey, to ask’, *kēlvi*, *kēli* ‘hearing, obeying, report’; Kota *ke-l-* (*ke-t-*) ‘to hear, (noise) is heard’; Kannaḍa *kēl* (*kēld-*), *kēlu* (*kēli-*) ‘to hear, to listen to, to heed, to ask, to beg, to demand’, *kēlike*, *kēluvike*, *kēlvike*, *kēluha* ‘hearing, hearsay, asking’; Koḍagu *kē-l-* (*kēp-*, *ke-t-*) ‘to hear, to ask’, *kē-li* ‘fame, renown (in songs)’; Tuḷu *kēṇuni* ‘to hear, to be attentive to, to obey, to ask, to inquire, to request’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:182, no. 2017; Krishnamurti 2003:15 and 95 **kēl-* ‘to ask, to hear’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hl-ew-*/**k^hl-ow-*/**k^hl-u-* ‘to hear’, **k^hl-ew-os* ‘fame, glory, renown’: Sanskrit *śrṇóti* (< **k^hl-new-*) ‘to hear’, *śrutá-h* ‘heard’, *śrávas-* ‘praise, fame, glory’; Avestan *surunaoitī* ‘to hear’; Armenian *lsem*

‘to hear, to listen’, *lu* ‘heard, news, fame’; Greek κλύω ‘to hear’, κλέω ‘to make famous, to celebrate’, κλέος (< *κλέφος) ‘report, fame, glory’, κλυτός ‘heard’; Latin *cluō*, *clueō* ‘to be called, to be famous’; Old Irish *clú* ‘fame, renown’, *clúas*, ‘ear’, *cloth* ‘fame’; Gothic *hliuma* ‘hearing’, **hliuþ* ‘silence’ (only in dat. sg. *in hliuþa* ‘in silence’); Old Icelandic *hljóð* ‘silence, hearing; sound’, *hljóða* ‘to sound’, *hljóðan* ‘sound, tune’, *hljóðr* ‘silent’, *hlómr* ‘sound, tune’, *hlust* ‘ear’, *hlusta* ‘to listen’, *hler*, *hlør* ‘listening’, *hlyða* ‘to listen’; Old English *hlūd* ‘loud, noisy’, *hlēodor* ‘noise, sound’, *hlosnian* ‘to listen for; to listen in suspense, to be astonished’, *hlystan* ‘to hear, to listen’, *hlyst* ‘sense of hearing; listening, attention’, *hlysnan* ‘to listen’, *hlysnere* ‘hearer’; Old Frisian *hlūd* ‘loud’; Old Saxon *hlust* ‘hearing’, *hlūd* ‘loud’; Dutch *luisteren* ‘to listen’, *luid* ‘loud’; Old High German *hlosēn* ‘to listen’ (New High German [dial.] *losen* ‘to listen, to overhear, to eavesdrop’, [standard] *lauschen*), *hlūt* ‘loud’ (New High German *laut*), *hliumunt* ‘fame, reputation’ (New High German *Leumund*); Lithuanian *klausai*, *klausyti* ‘to listen’; Latvian *klāusīt* ‘to listen’; Old Prussian *klausiton* ‘to hear’; Old Church Slavonic *slovō*, *shuti* ‘to be renowned’, *slovo* ‘word’; Russian *slúшат’* [слушать] ‘to listen’, *slóvo* [слово] ‘word’; Slovenian *slúšati* ‘to listen’; Tocharian A *klyos-*, B *klyaus-* ‘to listen, to hear’, A *klyw-*, B *kälywe* ‘reputation, renown’, A *klots*, B *klautso* ‘ear’, A *klāw-*, B *klāw-* ‘to be called, to be named’, B *klāwi* ‘fame’. Rix 1998a:297—298 **kley-* ‘to hear’; Walde 1927—1932.I:494—495 **kley-*; Pokorny 1959:605—607 **kley-*, **kleya-* : **klu-* (root **kel-*) ‘to hear’; Mann 1984—1987:624 **kleumn-*, **kleumnt-* ‘hearing, report, reputation’, 624 **kleus-* ‘to hear’, 624 **kleutos* (**kleutro-*) ‘heard, famous’ (variants **klēyatos*, **klutos*), 625 **klēyō*, *-iō* ‘noise abroad; to be heard, to be known’, 625 **kleyos*, *-es* ‘noise, sound, word, rumor, fame’, 627—628 **klousos*, *-ios* ‘hearing; obedient; obedience’, 628 **klout-* (**kleut-*) ‘hearing’, 628 **klōyā*, *-ios*, *-iā* ‘fame, rumor, glory’, 628—629 **klus-* (**klusō*, *-iō*, *-ēiō*; **klūsō*; **klusn-*) ‘to hear, to be heard’, 629 **klūsos*, *-us* ‘hearing; report, rumor’, 629 **klustis* ‘hearing; listening, ear’, 629 **klūtos* ‘heard, famous; report, rumor, noise’; Watkins 1985:31 **kley-* and 2000:42 **kley-* ‘to hear’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:834 **k[h]leyo-* and 1995.I:33 **K^hley-* ‘to hear’, I:96 **k^hley-s-*/**k^hley-s-* ‘to listen’, I:732—733 **k^hlewo-* ‘glory’; Mallory—Adams 1997:192 **kléyes-* ‘fame’, 262 **kley-* ‘to hear’, **kleus-* ‘to hear’; Boisacq 1950:467 **kleyos*, **kleyes-* and 468—469 **kley-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:869—870 and I:877—878; Hofmann 1966:147 **kleyos* and 147—148 **kley-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:541; Beekes 2010.I:719 **kley-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:237—239 **kley-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:129 **kley-*; De Vaan 2008:122—123; Orël 2003:176 Proto-Germanic **xleumōn* ~ **xleumaz*, 176 **xleumundaz*, 176 **xleuþan*, 176 **xleuþran*, 176 **xlewaz*, 176 **xlewedaz*, 178 **xlūdaz*, 178 **xlūdjanan*; Kroonen 2013:230 **hleuþa-* ‘listening’ and 231—232 **hlūda-* ‘loud’; Feist 1939:264 **kley-*; Lehmann 1986:188

- **k̂lew-* ‘to hear’; De Vries 1977:238 **k̂lew-*, **k̂leu-* and 241; Klein 1971:425 **k̂lew-*, **k̂leu-s-* and 430 **kl̂ũ-to-s-*; Onions 1966:531 **klus-*, **klu-* and 538 **k̂lew-*, **k̂lu-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:427, 427—428 **k̂lew-*, 438, and 447; Kluge—Seebold 1989:431 **k̂lew-*, 440 **k̂lewos*, and 448 **k̂lew-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:372—374 and III:389—390; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:221—222, I:223, and I:224; Adams 1999:222, 230, and 232—233; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:265—266; Smoczyński 2007.1:293—294; Derksen 2008:453 **kl̂ēu-*, 454 **k̂leu-os-*, 454—455, 455 **kl̂ous-o-*, and 2015:249 **kl̂ous-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008: 425—432 **k̂lew-* and 432—434 **k̂lews-*.
- D. (?) Proto-Uralic **kuli-* (or **kuw|li-*) ‘to hear’ > Finnish *kuule-* ‘to hear’; Lapp / Saami *gullâ-/gulâ-* ‘to hear’; Mordvin *kule-* ‘to hear’; Cheremis / Mari *kola-* ‘to hear’; Votyak / Udmurt *kyl-* ‘to hear’; Zyrian / Komi *kyl-* ‘to hear’; Vogul / Mansi *hool-* ‘to hear’; Ostyak / Xanty *kol-* ‘to hear’. Collinder 1955:93 and 1977:109; Rédei 1986—1988:197—198 **kule-*; Décsy 1990:101 Proto-Uralic **kula* ‘to hear’; Sammallahti 1988:544 **kuuli-* ‘to hear’; Zhivlov 2023:164—165 Proto-Uralic **kuw|li-* ‘to hear’, Proto-Finnic **kūlē-*. Note: Zhivlov considers this verb to be a derivative of an unattested root **kuwi-*.
- E. Proto-Altaic **k^hūylu-* (~ *-o-*) ‘(vb.) to hear; (n.) ear’: Proto-Tungus **χūl-* ‘to sound, to resound’ > Evenki *ūl-ta-* ‘to sound, to resound’; Lamut / Even *ūl-dɔ-* ‘to sound, to resound’; Negidal *ol-bun-* ‘to sound, to resound’; Ulch *χol-d̄i-* ‘to sound, to resound’; Orok *χul-bun-* ‘to sound, to resound’; Nanay / Gold *χōl-ž̄i-* ‘to sound, to resound’. Proto-Mongolian **kulki* ‘earwax; middle ear’ > Written Mongolian *qulki* ‘earwax; middle ear’; Ordos *χulugu(n)* ‘earwax’; Khalkha *χulyxi*, *χulga* ‘earwax; middle ear’; Buriat *χulχa*, *χulyxi* ‘earwax’; Kalmyk *χulχə*, *χulχə* ‘earwax’; Dagur *χolgi* ‘earwax; middle ear’; Monguor *χongo* ‘earwax; middle ear’. Poppe 1955:156. Proto-Turkic **Kul-kak* ‘ear’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qulqaq* ‘ear’; Turkish *kulak* ‘ear’; Gagauz *qulaq* ‘ear’; Azerbaijani *gulağ* ‘ear’; Turkmenian *gulaq* ‘ear’; Uzbek *qulɔq* ‘ear’; Uighur *qulaq* ‘ear’; Karaim *qulaχ* ‘ear’; Tatar *qolaq* ‘ear’; Bashkir *qolaq* ‘ear’; Kirghiz *qulaq* ‘ear’; Kazakh *qulaq* ‘ear’; Tuva *qulaq* ‘ear’; Noghay *qulaq* ‘ear’; Chuvash *χɔ^wlyɔ* ‘ear’; Yakut *kulgāk* ‘ear’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qulaq* ‘ear’. Poppe 1960:18, 75, and 86; Street 1974:19 **kulk-* ‘ear, earwax’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:847 **k^hūjlu* (~ *-o-*) ‘ear; to hear’.
- F. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kakvel* ‘ear wax’ > Chukchi *kakwel* ‘ear wax, external ear’; Koryak *kakvel* ‘ear wax’. Fortescue 2005:126.

Buck 1949:4.22 ear; 15.41 hear; 18.26 word. Caldwell 1913:593 and 618; Koskinen 1980:17, no. 41; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:417—418, no. 260; Hakola 2000:86—87, no. 359; Fortescue 1998:154.

461. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hul-* (~ **k^hol-*):

- (vb.) **k^hul-* ‘to tell’;
 (n.) **k^hul-a* ‘story, tale’
 Perhaps a derivative of:
 (vb.) **k^hul-* ‘to hear, to listen’;
 (n.) **k^hul-a* ‘renown, fame; ear’

Assuming semantic development as in Greek κλέω ‘to tell of, to make famous, to celebrate’; or Pāli (causative) *sāvēti* (also *suṇāpēti*) ‘to cause to hear, to tell, to declare, to announce’ (*suṇāti* ‘to hear’); or Romany (Palestinian) *snaúár* ‘to inform’ — all ultimately from Proto-Indo-European **k^hl-ew-/k^hl-ow-/k^hl-u-* ‘to hear’.

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **kul-* ‘to tell’ > Gedeo / Darasa *kul-* ‘to tell’; Hadiyya *kur-* ‘to tell’; Kambata *kul-* ‘to tell’; Sidamo *kul-* ‘to tell’. Hudson 1989:149—150.
 B. Proto-Eskimo **qulirar-* ‘to tell about’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qulirar-* ‘to tell about’; Central Alaskan Yupik *quliraaq* ‘story, legend’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *quliramsuk* ‘story, account’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *quliaq-* ‘to tell about’; North Alaskan Inuit *quliaq-* ‘to tell about’, *quliaqtuaq* ‘story, life experience’; Western Canadian Inuit *quliaq-* ‘story, especially a true one’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say.

462. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hum-*:

- (vb.) **k^hum-* ‘to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate’;
 (n.) **k^hum-a* ‘large amount, accumulation, heap; crowd, multitude’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kum-* ‘to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate’: Proto-Semitic **kam-ar-* ‘to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate’ > Akkadian *kamāru* ‘to pile up’; Ugaritic *kmr* ‘pile’; Geez / Ethiopic *kamara* [ḥᵐᵐᵐ] ‘to heap, to accumulate’; Tigrinya *k^wämmärä* ‘to pile up’; Tigre *kämmära* ‘to pile up’; Amharic *kämmärä* ‘to pile up, to accumulate’; Gafat *kimmärä* ‘to pile up, to accumulate’; Argobba *kemmära* ‘to pile up, to accumulate’; Gurage *kämärä* ‘to pile up, to heap up’. Leslau 1979:343 and 1987:286. Egyptian *km* ‘to total up, to amount to, to complete’, *kmt* ‘completion, final account’, *kmyt* ‘conclusion’. Hannig 1995:883; Gardiner 1957:597; Faulkner 1962:286; Erman—Grapow 1921:195 and 1926—1963.5:128—130. Proto-East Cushitic **kum-* ‘thousand’ > Burji *kúm-a* ‘thousand’; Somali *kun* (pl. *kum-an*) ‘thousand’; Sidamo *kum-e* ‘thousand’; Gedeo / Darasa *kum-a* ‘thousand’; Galla / Oromo *kum-a* ‘thousand’; Konso *kum-a* ‘thousand’; Hadiyya *kum-a* ‘thousand’; Kambata *kumi-ta* ‘thousand’. Sasse 1979:12, 25 and 1982:120; Hudson 1989:153—154. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kum-*

‘to expand, to spread’ > Iraqw *kumit-* ‘to continue, to progress’; Dahalo *kum-* ‘to puff out the cheeks (as with water)’. Ehret 1980:246. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kuma* ‘thousand’ > Iraqw *kuma* ‘thousand’. Ehret 1980:246. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kumura-* ‘many’ > K’wadza *kolombayo* (< **kombolayo*) ‘hundred’; Ma’a *-kumúre* ‘many’. Ehret 1980:246. (Ehret suggests that **kum-* ‘to expand, to spread’, may ultimately be the source of **kuma* ‘thousand’ and **kumura* ‘many’ — “but if so this derivation lies far back in Cushitic history”.) North Omotic **kum-* ‘to increase in volume’ > Ometo *kum-* ‘to fill’; Koyra *kum-* ‘to fill’. Ehret 1995:198, no. 322, **kum-* ‘to add together’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kumi* (-*v-*, -*nt-*) ‘to be heaped up, to accumulate, to crowd’, *kumi* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) ‘to heap up, to accumulate, to gather’, *kumiyal* ‘pile’, *kumpu* ‘crowd, collection, group’, *kumpal* ‘crowd, collection, group, heap, clump, cluster’, *kumpam*, *kumpi* ‘heap’; Kannaḍa *gumi*, *gummi*, *gummu*, *gumme*, *gumpu* ‘heap, crowd, multitude’; Tuḷu (reduplicated) *gumugumu* ‘noise of a multitude’, *gumpu* ‘flock, crowd, multitude, heap’; Telugu *gumi* ‘crowd, multitude’, *gumpu* ‘crowd, multitude, group’; Malayalam *kumi* ‘heap (as of rice), stack, pile’, *kumiyuka* ‘to be heaped together’, *kumikka*, *kumekka* ‘to heap up’, *kūmpal* ‘a heap’, *kūmpikka* ‘to heap’; Kolami *gum* ‘assembly’; Parji *kum-* ‘to heap on to’; Kuwi *kumbra* ‘clump of trees’, *gumomi*, *gombu* ‘heap’; Konda *kumba* ‘a small heap conical in shape’, *kuma* ‘a heap’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:158—159, no. 1741.

Buck 1949:13.15 much; many; 13.19 multitude, crowd. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:413—414, no. 255.

463. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^hum-a* ‘man, male; penis’:

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *kumurr* ‘having a large penis’, *kumurra-t*, *kamara-t* ‘penis’.
- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kumpi* ‘penis’; Tuḷu *kumbi* ‘penis’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:159, no. 1749.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **kmar-* ‘husband’: Georgian *kmar-* ‘husband’; Laz *komož-*, *komonž-*, *kimož-* ‘husband’; Mingrelian *komonž-*, *komož-* (< **kmož-* < **kmor-*) ‘husband’. Klimov 1964:198 **kmar-* and 1998:218 **kmar-* ‘husband’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:379 **kmar-*; Fähnrich 1994:221 and 2007:468—469 **kmar-*.

Buck 1949:2.1 man (human being); 2.21 man (vs. woman); 2.31 husband; 4.492 penis. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 888, **kümâ* (or **küHmâ*) ‘man, person’.

464. Proto-Nostratic root **k^hum-* (~ **k^hom-*):

- (vb.) **k^hum-* ‘to char, to blacken; to burn, to smolder; to be or become hot’;
 (n.) **k^hum-a* ‘(hot or smoldering) ashes, embers, charcoal; heat, warmth’;
 (adj.) ‘warm, hot; glowing, smoldering; black’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **kum-* ‘to be black’: Egyptian *km*, *kmm* ‘to be or become black’, *km* ‘black’, *kmmt*, *kmimūt* ‘darkness’, *Kmt* ‘the Black Land, Egypt’; Coptic *kmom* [ΚΜΟΜ] ‘to become black’, *kame* [ΚΑΜΕ] ‘black’, *kime* [ΚΗΜΕ] ‘the Black Land, Egypt’, *kmime* [ΚΗΗΜΕ] ‘darkness’. Hannig 1995:882—883; Faulkner 1962:286; Erman—Grapow 1921:196 and 1926—1963.5:122—124, 5:126—127, 5:128, 5:130; Gardiner 1957:597; Černý 1976:58; Vycichl 1983:81. East Cushitic: Werizoid: Gawwada *kumma* ‘black’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:326, no. 1496, **kum-* ‘to be black’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kumpu* (*kumpi-*) ‘to become charred (as food when boiled with insufficient water)’, *kumpal* ‘smell of charred rice’, *kumpi* ‘hot ashes’, *kumai* ‘to be hot, sultry’; Malayalam *kumpal* ‘inward heat’, *kummu* expression descriptive of heat, *kummal* ‘sultriness, mistiness’, *kumuruka*, *kumiruka* ‘to be hot, close’, *kumural* ‘oppressive heat’; Kannada *kome* ‘to begin to burn (as fire or anger)’; Tuḷu *gumulu* ‘fire burning in embers’, *gumuluni* ‘to be hot, to feel hot (as in a fit of fever)’; Telugu *kummu* ‘smoldering ashes’, *kumulu* ‘to smolder, to burn slowly underneath without flame; to be consumed inwardly, to grieve, to pine’; Gondi *kum* ‘smoke’, *kumpōḍ* ‘smoke’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:159—160, no. 1752. Dravidian loan in Prakrit *kumulī-* ‘fireplace’.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Volgaic **kūma* ‘(adj.) hot, glowing; (n.) fever’ > Finnish *kuuma* ‘hot’, *kuume* ‘fever, temperature’, *kuumoitta-* ‘to make hot or warm’, *kuumuus* ‘heat, warmth’; Estonian *kuum* ‘(adj.) hot; (n.) heat’, *kuumus* ‘heat’, *kuuma-* ‘to be hot, to radiate heat, to glow with heat’, *kuumuta-* ‘to heat, to make hot, to subject to the action of heat’, *kuumene-* ‘to become heated, to become hotter’; Mordvin (Erza) *kumoka* ‘fever’, (Erza) *kumuḡa* ‘sick with fever’. Note: Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *gumes-/gubmas-* ‘redhot (of hot iron), roasting hot (of the heat of the sun)’, *gumbo-* ‘to become roasting hot (weather)’ are loans from Finnish. Rédei 1986—1988:675—676 **kūma* ‘(adj.) hot, glowing; (n.) fever’.
- D. Proto-Altaic **k^hume* (~ *-ju-*) ‘black; charcoal’: Proto-Turkic **kōmūr* ‘charcoal’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *kōmūr* ‘charcoal’; Karakhanide Turkic *kōmūr* ‘charcoal’; Turkish *kōmūr* ‘charcoal’; Gagauz *kōmūr* ‘charcoal’; Azerbaijani *kōmūr* ‘charcoal’; Turkmenian *kōmūr* ‘charcoal’; Uzbek *kūmir* ‘charcoal’; Tatar *kūmer* ‘charcoal’; Bashkir *kūmer* ‘charcoal’; Uighur *kōmū(r)* ‘charcoal’; Kirghiz *kōmūr* ‘charcoal’; Kazakh *kōmār* ‘charcoal’; Noghay *kōmār* ‘charcoal’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *kōmūr* ‘charcoal’; Tuva *χōmūr* ‘charcoal’; Chuvash *кӱмӱрӱк* ‘charcoal’; Yakut *kōmōr* ‘charcoal’; Dolgan *kōmōr* ‘charcoal’. Perhaps also Manchu *χūmara-*

‘to have a dirty face, to be soiled’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2005:852
 *k^hume (~ -ju-) ‘black; coal’.

Sumerian *kúm(-ma)* ‘hot’, *kúm* ‘(vb.) to heat; (adj.) hot, boiling hot; (n.) heat; fever’.

Buck 1949:1.83 smoke (sb.); 1.84 ashes; 1.85 burn (vb.); 16.65 black; 15.85 hot, warm. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1966a, **ḲUmV* ‘black, dark’.

465. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^hur-a* ‘blood’:

- A. (?) Afrasian: Egyptian *tr* ‘blood; red color (designation for blood)’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:386; Hannig 1995:959.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuruti* ‘blood, red color’; Malayalam *kuruti* ‘blood’; Kannaḍa *kurudi* ‘colored red water’; Tuḷu *kurdi*, *kurudi* ‘red liquid prepared by mixing turmeric and lime, used for auspicious purposes’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:162, no. 1788.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hur-ew-H-/k^hur-ow-H-/k^hur-u-H-* (> **k^hur-ū-*) ‘blood, gore’: Sanskrit *kravís-* ‘flesh’, *krūrā-h* ‘wounded, raw, blood’; Greek κρέας (< *κρέας) ‘flesh, meat’; Latin *cruor* ‘the blood that flows from a wound, gore’, *cruentus* ‘bloody’, *crūdus* ‘bleeding, uncooked, raw’; Old Irish *crú* ‘blood’; Old Icelandic *hrár* ‘raw’; Faroese *ráur* ‘raw’; Norwegian *raa* ‘raw’; Swedish *rå* ‘raw’; Danish *raa* ‘raw’; Old English *hrēaw* ‘uncooked, raw’; Old Saxon *hrāo* ‘raw’; Dutch *rauw* ‘raw’; Old High German (*h*)*rao* ‘raw’ (New High German *roh*); Lithuanian *kraĩjas* ‘blood’, *krūvinas* ‘bloody’; Old Church Slavic *krъvъ* ‘blood’; Russian *krov’* [кровь] ‘blood’. Pokorny 1959:621—622 **kreu-*, **kreuə-*, **krū-* ‘thick (clotting) blood’; Walde 1927—1932.I:478—480 **qreu-*, **qreuə-*; Mann 1984—1987:551 **kreuōs* (**krəuōs*, **kruuōs*) ‘raw flesh, gore, blood’, 551 **kreuūt-*, 559 **krouu-*, 562—563 **kruuūt-* ‘bloody’, 563 **kruuōs* ‘blood’; Watkins 1985:32 **kreuə-* and 2000:44 **kreuə-* ‘raw flesh’ (oldest form **kreuə₂-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:698 **k^hreuH-/k^hruH-* and 1995.I:604 **k^hreuH-/k^hruH-* ‘raw meat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:71 (nom.-acc.) **kréuha* ‘blood (outside the body), gore’ (gen. **kruhaós*), **kréuha-s*, **kréuha-ijo-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:444—448 **kreuh₂-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:11—12 **qreuās-*; Boisacq 1950:512—513 **qreuās-*; Beekes 2010.I:774 **kreuh₂-*; Hofmann 1966:159 **qreuās-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:580 **qrewās-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:277 and 280; De Vaan 2008:146—147; Ernout—Meillet 1979:152; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:294—295 **qreu-os*; Kroonen 2013:244 **hrawa-* ‘raw’; Orël 2003:185 Proto-Germanic **xrawaz*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:84—85 Germanic stem **hrāwa-*; Torp 1919:518—519; De Vries 1977:251 **kreu-*; Onions 1966:742 **krowos*; Klein 1971:619 **qrewə-*, **qreu-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:605 **krouo-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:604;

Smoczyński 2007.1:308—309; Derksen 2008:253 **kruh*₂₋, 254 **kruh*_{2-s}, **kreuh*₂₋, and 2015:255 **kruh*_{2-s}, **kreuh*₂₋, 262 **kruh*₂₋; Fraenkel 1962—1965.1:290.

Sumerian *gu-ru-un*, *guru*_{11-un}, *kurin* ‘blood’.

Buck 1949:4.15 blood. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:422—423, no. 265; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.1:360—361, no. 237, (?) **Ḳura* ‘blood’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1163, **Ḳur*[*Xú*] ‘blood’.

466. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **kuwan-a* or **kuun-a* originally a generic term meaning ‘young (especially of animals)’; later specialized as ‘young dog, puppy’ (as in Kannada and Kolami within Dravidian [see below]) and then simply ‘dog’:

Note: This term may be an early borrowing.

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kuwan-* ~ **kun-* ‘dog’: East Chadic (**kuwán-* > **kwán-* > **kanya-* ‘dog’ > Dangla *kanya* ‘dog’; Jegu *kany-* ‘dog’. Omotic (**kuwán-* > **kwán-* >) **kan-* ‘dog’ > Ome *kana*, *kanaa* ‘dog’; Mao *kano* ‘dog’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:311, no. 1425, **kan-* ‘dog’. Berber **kun-* ‘dog’ > Guanche *cuna* ‘dog’. Omotic **kunan-* ‘dog’ > Kefa *kunano* ‘dog’; Mocha *kunano* ‘dog’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:327, no. 1498, **kun-* ‘dog’. West Chadic (**kuwan-* > **kuwen-* >) **kuHen-* ‘dog’ > Mogogodo *kwehen* ‘dog’; Fyer *kweej* ‘dog’. Omotic (**kuwan-* > **kuwen-* > **kuHen-* >) **keHen-* ‘dog’ > Dime *keenu* ‘dog’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:329, no. 1511, **küHen-* ‘dog’. Omotic: Yemsa / Janjero *kana* ‘dog’; Bench / Gimira *kyan* ‘dog’.

Militarëv—Nikolaev (2021:234 and 240) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **k^wihan-* ‘dog’ [*Canis familiaris*] on the basis of the following evidence: Proto-Chadic **k^wiHan-* ‘dog’: West Chadic **k^wiHan-* > Fyer *k^wéej*. East Chadic **kany-* ~ **kayan-* > West Dangla *kàny-à*; East Dangla *kāny-à*; Migama *kānny-à*; Mabire *kany*; Jegu *kány*; Birgit *káyàñ*. Proto-East Cushitic **k^wihan-* ‘dog’ > Yaaku *kwehen* ‘dog’. Proto-Omotic **k^wiHan-* ‘dog’: Proto-North Omotic **ku/iHan-* > Wolaita, Gamu, Dawro, Zala, Malo, Dache, Koyra, Zayse, Bench / Gimira *kyan*; Yemsa, Bworo *kan-a*; Kafa, Mocha *kun-ano*; Dizi / Sheko *kean-u*; Mao / Hozo *kan-a*, etc.; Proto-South Omotic **kan-* ‘dog’ > Dime *ken-ε*; Galila *kan-i*.

Comments: (1) The reconstruction of a Proto-Afrasian initial voiceless labiovelar **k^w/* by Militarëv—Nikolaev appears to be based primarily (though not exclusively) on the Chadic evidence, and that evidence is contradictory. (2) Though I reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **kuwan-* ~ **kun-* ‘dog’, **kuHan-* ~ **kun-* ‘dog’ is also possible.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuñci* ‘anything small; young bird, chicken’, *kuñcu* ‘young of birds and various animals’; Malayalam *kuññu*, *kuñcu* ‘young, small, infant’, *kuññan* ‘boy; also endearingly of girls’, *kuññi* = *kuññu*, *kuññan*; Kota *kunj* ‘children as given by god, men as children of god’, *kun* ‘small’; Kannaḍa *kunni* ‘young of an animal, especially a young dog’, *gunna* ‘smallness’, *kuññi* ‘a young one’; Koḍagu *kuññi* ‘child’; Tuḷu *kundu* ‘young of pariahs’, *kuññi*, *kunni* ‘small’; Telugu *gunna* ‘young of an animal’, *kunna*, *kūna* ‘infant, young of an animal’, *kunnāḍu* ‘boy, lad’, *kunnulu* (pl.) ‘sucklings, children’; Kolami *ku-na* ‘puppy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:150, no. 1646.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *k^h(u)wōn-/*k^hun- ‘dog’: Sanskrit *śván-* (nom. sg. *śvā*, *śuvā* gen. sg. *śunah*) ‘dog’; Avestan *span-* ‘dog’; Greek κῶων (gen. sg. κωός) ‘dog’; Armenian *šun* ‘dog’ (oblique *šan-*); Latin *canis* ‘dog’; Old Irish *cú* (gen. sg. *con*) ‘dog’; Welsh *ci* ‘dog’; Cornish *cȳ* ‘dog’; Breton *kī* ‘dog’; Gothic *hunds* ‘dog’; Old Icelandic *hundr* ‘dog’; Norwegian *hund* ‘dog’; Swedish *hund* ‘dog’; Danish *hund* ‘dog’; Old English *hund* ‘dog’; Old Frisian *hund* ‘dog’; Old Saxon *hund* ‘dog’; Dutch *hond* ‘dog’; Old High German *hunt* ‘dog’ (New High German *Hund*); Lithuanian *šuō* (gen. sg. *šūns*) ‘dog’; Tocharian A *ku* (oblique *kon*) ‘dog’; Hittite *kuwan-* ‘dog’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *zú-wa/i-n(i)-* ‘dog’ (this may be a loan from Indo-Aryan [cf. Kronasser 1956:229, §208]). Pokorny 1959:632—633 *k_uon-, *k_{un-} ‘dog’; Walde 1927—1932.I:465—466 *k_uon-; Mann 1984—1987:653—654 *k_uō (*k_uōn), obl. *k_{un-}; variant *k_{unis} ‘dog’; Watkins 1985:34 *kwon- and 2000:46 *kwon- ‘dog’; Mallory—Adams 1997:168 *k(u)uōn- (gen. *k_uóns) ‘dog’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:184 *k^h[h]uon-s > *k^h[h]uōn-Ø and 1995.I:158 *k^hwon-s > *k^hwōn-Ø ‘dog’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:403; Beekes 2010.I:811 *kuon-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:604; Boisacq 1950:540—542 *kuon-, *kuon-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:58—59 *k_uō(n), *k_{un-ós} (-és); Hofmann 1966:167—168 *kuon-, *kuon-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:92; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:152—153 *k_uōn; De Vaan 2008:87; Kroonen 2013:256 Proto-Germanic *hunda- ‘dog’; Orël 2003:193 Proto-Germanic *xundaz; Feist 1939:276—277 Pre-Germanic base-form *k(u)uŋ-tó-; Lehmann 1986:195 *kwon-, *kun-; De Vries 1977:267; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:307—308; Torp 1919:228; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:184; Onions 1966:449 Common Germanic *χundaz < *kwŋtós; Klein 1971:354 *kwon-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:320—321 *kuon-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:320; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:402—403; Kloekhorst 2008b:505—506; Puhvel 1984— .4:305 *k(u)wōn(s); Melchert 1994a:234 and 252 Proto-Anatolian *kwon- ‘dog’; Adams 1999:179 *k_uwōn; Smoczyński 2007.1:652—653 *k_uōn; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1033—1035; Derksen 2015:455 *kuōn- (gen. *k_{un-ós}; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:238—239 *kuon-, *kun-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:436—440 *k(u)uón-, *kun-, *kuŋ-.

- D. Uralic: Finno-Ugrian: Mordvin *kŷjon* ‘wolf’; Cheremis / Mari *kejin* ‘wolf’; Zyrian / Komi *kōjin, kōin* ‘wolf’; Votyak / Udmurt *kion, kijon, kyjon* ‘wolf’. Notes: (1) Illič-Svityč (1971—1984.I:361—362, no. 238) also cites Lapp / Saami *gâidne* ‘wolf’. (2) Napolskikh’s [Напольских] (2001:370—371) suggestion that the Uralic forms were borrowed from Tocharian is highly improbable, though borrowing from an unknown source cannot be ruled out. (3) Finally, it may be noted that several Finno-Ugrian languages have borrowed from Indo-European at different times and places: Estonian *hunt* ‘wolf’ (cf. Swedish *hund* ‘dog’); North Lapp / Saami *šūwon* ‘good (alert) dog’ (< Pre-Baltic **šūon(i)-* [cf. Lithuanian *šuo* ‘dog’]).

Buck 1949:3.61 dog. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:361—362, no. 238, **KūjnA* ‘wolf, dog’; Bomhard 1996a:233, no. 652; Blažek 1989b:208—209 and 2013: 43, no. 13 — Blažek reconstructs Proto-Afrasian **kun-/*kuwan-*.

22.23. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *k'

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
k'-	k'-	k-	k'-	k'-	k-	k-	k- q-
-k'-	-k'-	-k(k)-	-k'-	-k'-	-k-	-k-	-k- -q-

467. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ab-* (~ **k'əb-*):

(vb.) **k'ab-* 'to seize, to take hold of; to seize with the teeth, to bite';

(n.) **k'ab-a* 'seizure, grasp, grip, hold; bite'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ab-* 'to seize, to take hold of': Proto-Semitic **k'ab-atʔ-* 'to seize, to take, to grab, to grasp, to take hold of' > Arabic *kaḅaḅa* 'to seize, to take, to grab, to grasp, to grip, to clutch, to take hold of, to take possession, to hold; to apprehend, to arrest; to receive, to collect', *kaḅaḅ* 'seizing, gripping, grasping, seizure, holding; taking possession, appropriation; apprehension, arrest'; Sabaean *kḅḅ* 'seizers' (branch of the military forces); Hebrew *kāḅaṣ* [כָּבַשׁ] 'to gather, to collect'; Syriac *kəḅaṣ* 'to harvest'. Klein 1987:561; Zammit 2002:332. Proto-Semitic **k'ab-aš-* 'to rob' > Hebrew *kāḅaʕ* [כָּבַעַ] 'to rob'; Aramaic *kəḅaʕ* 'to rob, to defraud'. Murtonen 1989:369; Klein 1987:561. Proto-East Cushitic **k'ab-* 'to seize, to take hold of' > Saho *kab-* 'to take for oneself'; Somali *qab-* 'to catch, to seize, to hold'; Rendille *xab-* 'to catch, to seize, to hold'; Dasenech *ǧa(b)-* 'to catch, to seize, to hold'; Arbore *kab-* 'to hold, to take'; Galla / Oromo *k'ab-* 'to possess, to take hold of'; Konso *qap-* 'to possess, to take hold of'; Gidole *k'ap-* 'to possess, to take hold of'; Dullay *qap-* 'to possess, to take hold of'; Burji *k'af-* 'to have'. Sasse 1979:14, 48 and 1982:122—123; Hudson 1989:77. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k'ab-* 'to restrain' > Burunge *qab-* 'to keep quiet'. Ehret 1980:331. Ehret 1995:233, no. 409, **k'ab-* 'to take hold of'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kappu* (*kappi-*) 'to gorge, to cram into the mouth', *kavvu* (*kavvi-*), *kauvu* (*kauvi-*) '(vb.) to seize with the mouth, to grasp with eagerness; (n.) bite, seizing by the mouth (as dog), eating'; Malayalam *kauvuka* 'to seize with the mouth, to bite', *kappuka*, *kammuka* 'to snap at, to eat as a dog or a madman'; Koḍagu *kabb-* (*kabbi-*) 'to seize with wide-open mouth (of dogs, tigers, etc.)'; Tuḷu *kappuni* 'to eat greedily'; Telugu *kavvu* 'to seize by the mouth'; Pengo *kap-* 'to bite'; Maṇḍa *kap-* 'to bite'; Kui *kappa* (*kapt-*) 'to swallow liquid hastily, to gulp, to drink'; Kuṛux *xappnā* 'to swallow, to drink', *habkaʔānā* 'to bite', *habkā* 'a bite'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:114, no. 1222.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'b-en-*, **k'b-in-* 'to bite': Georgian *k'b-en-/k'b-in-* 'to bite', *k'benil-* 'a bite'; Mingrelian *k'ib-ir-* 'to bite' (reshaped after *k'ibir-* 'tooth'); Laz *k'ib-in-* 'to bite'. Klimov 1964:106—107 **kḅ-in-* and 1998:87

**k̥b-* ‘to bite’, **k̥b-en-* : **k̥b-in-* ‘to bite’; Schmidt 1962:118; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:186—187 **k̥b-*; Fähnrich 2007:225 **k̥b-*. Proto-Kartvelian **k’b-il-* ‘tooth’: Georgian *k’b-il-* ‘tooth’ (dialect forms: Ajarian *k’ibil-* and Tushian *k’mil-*); Mingrelian *k’ib-ir-*, *k’əb-ir-* ‘tooth’; Laz *k’ibi(r)-*, *k’ibr-*, *k’irb-*, *č’ibr-* ‘tooth’. Klimov 1964:107 **k̥b-il-* and 1998:87 **k̥b-il-* ‘tooth’.

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw; 4.24 mouth; 4.58 bite (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I: 313—315, no. 190, **k̥aba/*k̥ap’a* ‘to seize’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 987, **k̥äb?ä* ‘to bite’ (→ ‘to eat’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:443—444, no. 288.

468. Proto-Nostratic root **k’acʰ-* (~ **k’əcʰ-*):

- (vb.) **k’acʰ-* ‘to labor, to strain; to become fatigued, exhausted, wearied (from straining, laboring)’;
 (n.) **k’acʰ-a* ‘trouble, difficulty, pain, strain’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *qsn* ‘troubled, difficult, painful’, *qsn* ‘pain’, *qsnt* ‘trouble, misfortune’; (?) Coptic *čons* [𓆎𓅓𓏏] (assuming metathesis from **čosn*) ‘might, violence’. Hannig 1995:866; Faulkner 1962:281; Erman—Grapow 1921:192 and 1926—1963.5:69—71; Gardiner 1957:596; Vycichl 1983:342; Černý 1976:332. Note: The Coptic form may be derived from Egyptian *gns* ‘violence, injustice’ instead.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kāci* ‘difficulty, straits’ (Telugu loan); Kannaḍa *kāsi*, *ghāsi* ‘trouble, fatigue, pain’; Tuḷu *gāsi* ‘trouble, fatigue, pain’; Telugu *gāsi* ‘trouble, fatigue, pain’, *gāsincu* ‘to harass, to vex, to fatigue, to exhaust’, *gāsil(l)u* ‘to labor, to be wearied, to be harassed’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:133, no. 1430.
- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kæcæt-* ‘to strain (dog on leash)’: Chukchi *kecet-* ‘to strain (dog on leash)’; (?) Alyutor *kasat-* ‘to get covered in mud or scabs’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *kse-kas* ‘to strain, to pull away (dog from chain)’. Fortescue 2005:129.

Buck 1949:9.97 difficult; 16.31 pain, suffering.

469. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ačʰ-* (~ **k’əčʰ-*):

- (vb.) **k’ačʰ-* ‘to put, join, fasten, wrap, fold, or tie together’;
 (n.) **k’ačʰ-a* ‘tie, band, knot, fastening, wrapping’

- A. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *kaccu* ‘to join’; Tuḷu *kaccuni* ‘to be joined fast’, *kaccāvuni* ‘to join fast’, *gajipuni* ‘to fasten, to strengthen’; Gondi *kah-* ‘to tie, to fasten up, to secure’, *kācānā* ‘to be tied tight (e.g., clothes)’; Pengo *gac-* ‘to tie, to bind’; Maṇḍa *geh-*, *gehpa-* ‘to bind’; Kui *gaspa* (*gast-*) ‘(vb.) to tie a knot, to hang, to suspend; (n.) hanging, suspension, suicide by hanging’, *gah-* (*gast-*) ‘to tie’; Kuwi *gah-* ‘to bind’, *gahpo* ‘fastening,

tying'; Kuṛux *xājnā* 'to tether, to bind the feet'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:103, no. 1099.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'eč-* 'to put together': Georgian *k'ec-* 'to put together'; Mingrelian *k'ič-*, *k'əč-* 'to put together, to fold; to roll', *k'ičua-*, *k'ičil-* 'folded, wrapped'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:191—192 **kec₁₋*; Fähnrich 2007:231 **kec₁₋*; Klimov 1964:108 **kec₁₋* and 1998:90 **kec₁₋* 'to put together'.
- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kədtæł* 'braid, plait': Chukchi *kəttəl* 'braid, plait', *kəttəl-et-* 'to braid, to plait'; Kerek *kəci-kkun* 'braid, plait'; Koryak *kijtalat* 'braid, plait'; Alyutor *kəttalat* 'braid'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *t'k'loṃ* (pl. *t'k'loṃn*) 'braid' (with metathesis ?), *ktqaziin*, *qtklatknan* 'to braid', (Western) *tkodi* 'string', (Eastern) *xalelcac*, *xlelkat*, *kotelxc* 'to weave', (Southern) *troaduru* 'topknot'. Fortescue 2005:143.

Buck 1949:9.15 fold (vb. tr.); 9.16 bind (vb. tr.).

470. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ad-* (~ **k'əd-*):

- (vb.) **k'ad-* 'to tie, to fasten; to build, to construct';
 (n.) **k'ad-a* 'tie, band, fastening'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'[a]d-* 'to build, to construct': Egyptian *qd* 'to build, to fashion (pots)', *qd* 'to use the potter's wheel', *qd* 'builder, potter', *iqdw* 'potter, mason, creator'; Coptic *kōt* [κωτ] 'to build, to form', *ekōt* [εκωτ] 'builder, mason, potter', *se-kōt* [σε-κωτ] 'potter's workshop'. Hannig 1995:108 and 867; Faulkner 1962:32, 281, and 282; Gardiner 1957:596; Erman—Grapow 1921:19, 192 and 1926—1963.5:72—75; Vycichl 1983:89—90; Černý 1976:64 and 65.
- B. [Dravidian: Tamil *kaṭṭu* (*kaṭṭi-*) '(vb.) to tie, to fasten, to build, to wear, to put on, to bind by spells, to marry, to shut up, to store, to hug, to compare with, to be equal; (n.) tie, band, fastening, regulations, custom, building, marriage, bundle, packet, dam, causeway', *kaṭṭaṭam* 'building, binding of a book, setting of a jewel', *kaṭṭaṇam* 'building', *kaṭṭalai* 'code, rule, regulations', *kaṭṭai* 'dam'; Malayalam *keṭṭuka* 'to tie, to build, to clasp, to yoke, to dress, to marry, to make into a bundle, to stop, to restrain, to become entangled, to clot', *keṭṭikka* 'to cause to tie, to make to wear, to give in marriage', *keṭṭu* 'tie, bundle, band, connection (as of marriage), restraint, dam, bank, building', *keṭṭakam* 'house', *kaṭṭu* 'tie, bundle'; Kota *kaṭ-* (*kac-*) 'to tie, to build, to manage (house), to be equal', *kaṭ* 'knot, caste custom, case of which a decision has been given', *kaṭarm* (obl. *kaṭart-*) 'wall of brick or stone', *kaṭaṇ* 'caste custom, individual's habit'; Toda *koṭ-* (*koṭy-*) 'to tie, to build, to kill by witchcraft, to obstruct, to hug, to manage (a house)', *koṭ* 'knot, bundle, amulet', *koṭaṣ* 'noose' (in song unit: *mīṛ xoṭaṣ* '[to tie] a noose on the neck'); Kannada *kaṭṭu* '(vb.) to bind, to tie, to yoke, to build, to shut up, to stop by magic, to bewitch, to amass (wealth),

to obstruct, to shut, to dam, to be bound, to be stopped; (n.) binding, tying, checking, restraint, band, tie, bundle, something built, regulation, rule, bewitching', *kaṭṭuvike* 'tying, etc.', *kaṭṭuka* 'man who ties', *kaṭṭaḍa*, *kaṭṭana*, *kaṭṭa* 'a building', *kaṭṭal* 'state of being bound, tied; building', *kaṭṭe* 'structure of earth or stones to sit upon, embankment, dam, causeway', *gaṭṭu* 'dam, embankment', *gaṭṭe* 'bale, bundle'; Koḍagu *kēṭṭ-* (*kēṭṭi-*) 'to tie, to build', *kēṭṭi* 'knot, bundle', *kaṭṭe* 'bund of tank, platform built under a tree on village green', *kaṭṭaḍa* 'a building'; Tuḷu *kaṭṭuni* 'to tie, to bind, to build, to amass (wealth)', *kaṭṭāvuni* 'to cause to bind or tie, to have a house built', *kaṭṭu* 'band, tie, bundle, regulation, bond', *kaṭṭana*, *kaṭṭalme* 'building', *kaṭṭa* 'a dam', *kaṭṭale* 'custom, rule', *kaṭṭāṇi* 'necklace'; Telugu *kaṭṭu* '(vb.) to tie, to bind, to wear (clothes), to build, to bewitch, to obstruct; (n.) tie, bond, knot, band, wearing of a garment, restraint, rule or regulation', *kaṭṭincu* 'to get built, to cause to be bound or tied', *kaṭṭa* 'dam, embankment', *kaṭṭaḍa*, *kaṭṭaḍi* 'rule, law, fashion, manner', *kaṭṭaḍamu* 'building', *kaṭṭanamu* 'a tie', *gaṭṭu* 'dam, embankment'; Kolami *kaṭ-* (*kaṭṭ-*) 'to tie, to build', *kaṭṭā* 'platform', *kaṭṭa* 'bund of field'; Naikṛi *kaṭṭ-* 'to tie, to build', *kaṭṭa* 'bund of field, dam, dike', *kaṭṭe* 'necklace'; Naiki (of Chanda) *kaṭ-/kaṭṭ-* 'to bind, to tie hair, to build, to attach bowstring'; Parji *kaṭṭ-* 'to tie, to build', *kaḍk-* 'to tie, to fasten, to bind', *kaṭṭa* 'bund of field'; Gadba (Ollari) *kaṭ-* 'to tie, to build', (Salur) *kaṭṭ-* 'to bind', *gaṭṭu* 'bank'; Gondi *kaṭṭānā* 'to be shut (of door), to close or come to grips (of two men fighting); to shut, to close (door)', *kaṭṭitānā* 'to adhere or be attached to', *kaṭṭā* 'a dam in the river for catching fish', *kaṭṭa* 'bund, embankment', *kaṭ* 'bank of a river'; Koṇḍa *kaṭa* 'bundle (of hay, etc.)', *gaṭu* 'bund, bank (of river, tank, etc.)', *kaṭis-* 'to yoke (plow)'; Pengo *kaṭa* 'bank of a river'; Kui *kāṭ-* 'to fix, to fasten, to secure'; Kuwi *gaṭṭu* 'bund of a field', *gaṭu* 'boundary, beach, shore; end of a table, field, etc.'; Malto *gaṭa* 'rope, cord'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:108, no. 1147; Krishnamurti 2003:199 **kaṭ-/kaṭṭ-* 'to tie, to bind', **kaṭṭ-ay* 'a dam'.] These forms may belong under Proto-Nostratic **kʰad-* (~ **kʰəd-*) '(vb.) to tie, to bind; (n.) tie, band, fastening' instead.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'ed-/k'd-* 'to build, to construct': Georgian [*k'ed-*] 'to build, to construct'; Mingrelian *k'id-* 'to partition off'; Laz *k'id-*, *k'od-* 'to build, to construct', *mk'idale-* 'constructor'. Klimov 1964:107 **ked-* and 1998:87—88 **ked-*: **kḍ-* 'to build, to construct'; Fähnrich 2007:217—218 **kad-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:181—182 **kad-*. Proto-Kartvelian **k'ed-el-* 'wall': Georgian *k'edel-* 'wall'; Mingrelian *k'ida(la)-*, *k'ədala-* 'wall'; Laz *k'ida-*, *k'oda-* 'wall'. Klimov 1964:107—108 **kedel-* and 1998:88 **k(e)d-el-* 'wall'.
- D. Proto-Altaic **kadu* 'a kind of harness (bridle)': Proto-Tungus **kada-la*, **kada-ra* 'bridle' > Manchu *ḡadala* 'horse's bridle'; Nanay / Gold *qadara*, *ḡadara* 'bridle'; Solon *ḡadal*, *kadala* 'bridle'. Proto-Mongolian **kada-* 'bridle' > Written Mongolian *qaḡayar* 'bridle'; Khalkha *ḡaḡār* 'bridle';

Buriat *χazār* ‘bridle’; Kalmyk *χazār* ‘bridle’; Ordos *χažār* ‘bridle’; Moghol *qadār* ‘bridle’; Dagur *χadāl* ‘bridle’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:629
**kadu* ‘a kind of harness (bridle)’.

Buck 1949:7.27 wall; 9.44 build. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:316—317, no. 192, **kadλ* ‘to weave, to plait (with twigs)’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:496—497, no. 344; Dolgopolsky 1998:30—31, no. 22, **kadV* ‘to wicker, to wattle’ (‘wall, building’) and 2008, no. 1006, **kadV* ‘wickerwork, wattle’.

471. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ak’*- (onomatopoeic):

(vb.) **k’ak’*- ‘to cackle, to chatter’;

(n.) **k’ak’-a* ‘crackling sound’

Derivative:

(n.) **k’ak’-a* (onomatopoeic bird name) ‘partridge’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k’ak’*- ‘to cackle, to make a noise’: Proto-Semitic **k’a/wa/k’-*, **k’ak’-aw-* ‘to cackle, to make a noise’ > Arabic *kāka* ‘to cackle, to cluck’; Syriac *kaḥkī* ‘to strike or sound a bell’; Geez / Ethiopic *koḥha* [ቆከሐ] ‘to cackle, to neigh’, ?*askoḥawa* [አስቆከወ] ‘to howl, to lament, to wail, to sing a dirge’; Tigrinya *kākāwā* ‘to cackle’. Leslau 1987:439.
- B. Dravidian: Kui *kapka* (< **kak-p-*, *kakt-*) ‘to laugh, to laugh at, to ridicule’; Kuwi *kak-* ‘to laugh’, *kakpinai* ‘to joke’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:102, no. 1080.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k’ak’a-n-* ‘to cackle’: Georgian *k’ak’an-* ‘to cackle’; Laz *k’ark’al-* ‘to cackle’; Mingrelian *k’ark’al-* ‘to cackle’; Svan *k’ark’ac-* ‘to cackle’. Klimov 1964:105—106 **kaḥa-n-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **k’ak’*- ‘to cackle, to chatter’: Armenian *kakačem* ‘to cackle’, *kakazem* ‘to stammer, to jabber, to lisp’; Middle High German *kachezen* ‘to guffaw’; Dutch *kakelen* ‘to cackle’; Old English *ceahhetan* ‘to laugh loudly’; Lithuanian *gagù*, *gagėti* ‘to cackle’; Russian *gogotát* [гоготать] ‘to cackle’, *gógot* [гогот] ‘cackle, loud laughter’. Pokorny 1959:407 **gha gha* ‘to chatter’; Walde 1927—1932.I:526 **gha gha*; Mann 1984—1987:261 **gagədiō* (**gəgədiō*) ‘to chatter’, 261—262 **gagətiō* (**gəgətiō*), 262—263 **gagō*, *-iō* ‘to cackle, to chatter’; Mallory—Adams 1997:345 **gag-* ‘to cackle’; Onions 1966:133; Klein 1971:103; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:127—128.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:445—446, no. 291.

472. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’ak’-a* (onomatopoeic bird name) ‘partridge’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **k’ak’*- ‘to cackle, to chatter’;

(n.) **k’ak’-a* ‘crackling sound’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ak'*- 'partridge': Proto-Semitic **k'a/wa/k'*- 'partridge' > Syriac *kūḳānā* 'partridge'; Geez / Ethiopic *koḳāh* [ቆቃህ], *koḳəh* [ቆቃህ], *koḳāh* [ቆቃህ], *koḳəh* [ቆቃህ] 'francolin'; Tigrinya *koḳah* 'partridge'; Tigre *koḳah* 'partridge'; Amharic *koḳ* 'partridge'; Gurage *koḳ* 'partridge'. Leslau 1979:492 and 1987:438. (?) Akkadian *kaḳānu*, *kaḳū*, *kaḳkullu* 'a bird'. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:335, no. 1539, **kaḳ-*/**kuḳ-* 'cuckoo, hen'.]
- B. Dravidian: Kolami *kakkare* 'partridge'; Parji *kākrāl* 'partridge'; Gondi *kakrānj* 'partridge'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:101, no. 1078.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'ak'ab-* 'partridge': Georgian *k'ak'ab-* 'partridge'; Mingrelian *k'ok'obe-* 'partridge'. Schmidt 1962:117; Klimov 1964:105 **kaḳab-* and 1998:85 **kaḳab-* 'partridge'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:183 **kaḳab-*; Fähnrich 2007:219 **kaḳab-*.
- D. Altaic: Proto-Turkic **käkälük* 'partridge' > Turkish *keklik* 'red-legged partridge'. Décsy 1998:89.
- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kakac(o)* 'a kind of bird': Chukchi *kakac(o)* 'a kind of bird'; Alyutor *kakas* (Palana *notakakac*, *kakacon*) 'a kind of bird', (Palana) *kakac* 'magpie' (?); Kamchadal / Itelmen *kakac* 'a kind of bird', (Sedanka) *qaqac* 'a kind of jay'. Fortescue 2005:126.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:446, no. 292. Loanwords in Indo-European: Hittite *kakkapa-* onomatopoeic bird name; Greek *κακκάβη* 'partridge' (cf. Akkadian *kakkabānu* name of a bird).

473. Proto-Nostratic root **k'al-* (~ **k'əl-*):

(vb.) **k'al-* 'to feed, to nourish';

(n.) **k'al-a* 'nourishment, sustenance, nutriment'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'[a]l-* 'to feed, nourish': Proto-Semitic **k'al-ab-* 'to feed, to nourish' > Geez / Ethiopic *ḳalaba* [ቀለበ] 'to nourish' (Amharic loan); Tigrinya *ḳälläbä* 'to feed'; Amharic *ḳälläbä* 'to feed (oxen), to provide support, to nourish', *ḳälläb* 'food, supplies, rations, stipend'; Argobba *ḳälläbä* 'to feed'; Gurage *ḳälläbä* 'to support by providing food, *to feed', *ḳälläb* 'feeding, subsistence'. Leslau 1979:475 and 1987:427. Ethiopian Semitic loans in Cushitic: Qabenna *k'allabbo* 'to feed'; Galla / Oromo *k'alabo* 'rations'.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k'al-* 'to (breast-)feed, to nourish, to satisfy', **k'(a)lak^hr^h-* 'nourishment, milk': (?) Sanskrit *jālāṣa-h* 'appeasing, healing'; Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *kal(l)aktar*, *galaktar* 'soothing substance, balm, nutriment', *kala(n)k-*, *gala(n)k-* 'to soothe, to satiate, to satisfy'; Greek *γάλα* 'milk', (gen. sg. *γάλακτος*); Latin *lac* 'milk'; Middle Irish *lacht* 'milk' (Latin loan); Welsh *llaeth* 'milk' (Latin loan). Pokorny 1959:400—401 **glag-* or **glak-* 'milk'; Walde 1927—1932.I:659 **glag-* or **glak-*; Mann 1984—1987:387—388 **ḡalakt-* (**ḡəlakt-*, **ḡələ*) 'milk'; Watkins 1985:41 **g(a)lag-*, **g(a)lakt-* 'milk' and 2000:54 (under **melg-*

‘to rub off’ also ‘to milk’) *g(a)lag-, *g(a)lakt- ‘milk’; Mallory—Adams 1997:381—382 *ġ(l)ákt- (gen. *ġlaktós) ‘milk’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:148, II:568 and 1995.I:127, I:485; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:423; Puhvel 1984— .4:18—20; Hofmann 1966:41; Boisacq 1950:139; Frisk 1970—1983.I:283—284 *glakt-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:206—207; Beekes 2010.I:256 *glkt(-); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:741—742; Ernout—Meillet 1979:335; De Vaan 2008:320. Note: Different etymology in Kloekhorst 2008b:428—429.

Buck 1949:5.86 milk (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:438—439, no. 283.

474. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k'al-a ‘stone, rock’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kal* (*kaḷ-*, *kaṇ-*) ‘stone, pebble, boulder, precious stone, milestone’; Malayalam *kal*, *kallu* ‘stone, rock, precious stone’, *kalla* ‘glass beads’, *kallan* ‘mason; hard-hearted’; Kolami *kal* ‘stone, milestone’; Toda *kal* ‘milestone, bead’, *kalir* ‘round river stone’; Kannaḍa *kal*, *kalu*, *kallu* ‘stone; hard, stiff state of mind’; Koḍagu *kalli* ‘stone’; Tuḷu *kallu* ‘stone’; Telugu *kallu* ‘stone’; Naikṛi *khalbada* ‘stone slab for pounding’; Parji *kel* ‘stone’; Gondī *kal*, *kall(i)*, *kalu* ‘stone’; Koṇḍa *kalu* ‘stone’; Pengo *kal* ‘stone’; Brahui *xal* ‘stone, boulder’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:121, no. 1298; Krishnamurti 2003:92, 118, 179, and 196 *kal- ‘stone’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *k'ǵde- ‘rock, cliff’: Georgian *k'ǵde* ‘rock, cliff’; Mingrelian *k'irde*, *k'ərde*, *k'irda*, *k'ərda* ‘rock, cliff’; (?) Svan *k'oḷ-* (< *k'óde < *k'ǵdǵ) ‘rock, cliff’. Klimov 1964:113 *k'ǵde- and 1998:97 *k'ǵde- ‘rock’; Fähnrich 2007:248 *k'ǵde-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:204—205 *k'ǵde-.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *k'(e)l- ‘rock, stone’: Old Icelandic *klé* ‘one of the stones used to keep the warp straight in the old upright loom’, *klettr* ‘rock, crag’, *kleif* ‘ridge, cliff’, *klif* ‘cliff’, *klettr* ‘rock, cliff’; Old English *clif* ‘cliff, rock, promontory, steep slope’, *clūd* ‘rock, hill’; Old Saxon *klif* ‘cliff’; Dutch *klip* ‘cliff’; Low German *klint* ‘rock, cliff’; Old High German *klep* ‘cliff, crag, rock’ (New High German *Klippe* [< Middle Dutch *klippe*]); Polish *glaz* ‘stone’ (according to Shevelov 1964:148, < *gloġno-). Pokorny 1959:357—363 *gel- ‘to form into a ball’; Walde 1927—1932.I:612—621 *gel-; Mann 1984—1987:279 *glōġh- ‘spike, tip, crag’; Watkins 1985:18—19 *gel- ‘to form into a ball’; Orël 2003:216 Proto-Germanic *klifan; Kroonen 2013:292 Proto-Germanic *kliba- ‘cliff’; De Vries 1977:315 and 316 *gel-d-; Klein 1971:142; Onions 1966:182 Proto-Germanic *klibam, *klibn-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:378; Kluge—Seebold 1989:377 and 378.
- D. (?) Uralic: Finnish *kallio* ‘rock’, *rantakallio* ‘cliff’; Estonian *kalju* ‘rock, boulder’, *rannakalju* ‘cliff, crag’, *kaljune* ‘rocky’; Lapp / Saami *kallo* ‘rock’. These forms are usually considered to be loans from Germanic (cf.

Gothic *hallus* ‘rock’; Old Icelandic *hallr* ‘big stone’, *hella* ‘flat stone, slab of rock’; Old English *heall* ‘rock’) (cf. Feist 1939:241; Lehmann 1986:174—175; Joki 1973:21).

- E. Proto-Eskimo **qalur* ‘rock’: Naukan Siberian Yupik *qa(a)luq* ‘stone’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qaluq* ‘round rock or pebble on shore’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:280.
- F. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **kəl(vavr)* ‘pestle’ (cf. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **bav-* ‘to pound’ for the second part): Amur *kʰəl(vəvc)* ‘pestle’; East Sakhalin *kʰəl(vavr)* ‘pestle’. Fortescue 2016:90.

Buck 1949:1.44 stone; rock. Hakola 2000:50—51, no. 179; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1044, **kəlʕV* ‘rock, hill, stone’.

475. Proto-Nostratic root **k'al-* (~ **k'əl-*):

- (vb.) **k'al-* ‘to take away, to remove, to deprive of; to decrease, to diminish, to reduce; to be or become reduced or diminished’;
- (n.) **k'al-a* ‘littleness, small quantity, scarcity; few things; lack, want, poverty, deficiency, insufficiency’; (adj.) ‘little, scanty, sparse, meager, insufficient, lacking, short of, wanting, needy’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'al-* ‘to take away, to remove, to deprive of; to decrease, to diminish, to reduce; to be or become reduced or diminished’: Proto-Semitic **k'al-al-* ‘to take away, to remove, to deprive of; to decrease, to diminish; to be or become little, small, few, meager’ > Arabic *qalla* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be or become little, small, few (in number or quantity), trifling, insignificant, inconsiderable, scant, scanty, sparse, spare, meager; to be second, to be inferior; to pick up, to lift, to raise, to carry (off), to remove’, *kill*, *kull* ‘small number or quantity, little; scarcity, rarity’, *qilla* (pl. *qilal*) ‘littleness, small quantity, scarcity; few things; lack, want, poverty, deficiency, insufficiency’; Hebrew *qālal* [קָלַל] ‘to be small, insignificant, of little account’; Akkadian *qalālu* ‘to be or become light (in weight), few, little, small’, *qallu* ‘light; of low standing, of little value; small, few, young’, *qallalu* ‘small, little; of inferior quality’, *qullulu* ‘to make an inferior-quality product, to reduce, to diminish’, *qalmu* ‘small’; Sabaean *qll* ‘a little, a small quantity’; Ḥarsūsi *kel* ‘to be little, insufficient’; Šheri / Jibbāli *qell* ‘to become little’; Mehri *qətlōl* ‘to be little’, *qəl* ‘sparseness’; Soqōtri *kel* ‘to be small’; Geez / Ethiopic *qalla* [ቀለ], *qalala* [ቀለለ] ‘to be light (in weight), easy, slight, swift, rapid’, *ʔaqalala* [አቀለለ] ‘to lighten, to diminish a burden’, *qalil* [ቀለል] (f. *qallāl* [ቀለል]) ‘light (in weight), easy, swift, rapid, small, minor, of small value’; Harari *qālāla* ‘to be thin (object)’; Gurage *qālālā* ‘to be light (in weight)’, *qāl* ‘small, little, a bit, a little bit’; Gafat *qälliyä* ‘light’. Murtonen 1989:376; Klein 1987:580; Zammit 2002:344; Leslau 1963:124, 1979:476—477, and 1987:428. Berber: Tuareg *qələlət* ‘to be scrawny (person or animal)’, *aqələlə* ‘a

scrawny person or animal', *tayələlat* 'a stalk of sorghum, corn, and similar plants'; Ghadames *yalal* 'stalk of grain'; Tamazight *iγəll* 'culm, stems remaining after the harvest, long straw'; Kabyle *iylil* 'to be covered with culm', *iγləl* 'culm'; Mzab *iγəlləl* 'long straw' (archaic); Riff *iγəll* 'culm'. Proto-East Cushitic **k'all-* or **k'alʔ-* 'to be thin' > Burji *k'all-*, *k'alʔ-* 'to be thin, narrow', (vb. mid.) *k'alʔ-add-* 'to become thin'; Konso *qallaʔ-* 'thin'; Galla / Oromo *k'all-aa* 'subtle, thin, meager'; Gidole *k'allaʔ-* 'narrow'. Sasse 1979:22, 48 and 1982:124. West Chadic **k'al-* 'small' > Dera *kalla* 'small'. East Chadic **kal-* 'small' > Kabalay *kaale* 'small'. Diakonoff 1992:24 **kal-* 'petty, light'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:336, no. 1542, **kal-/*kil-* 'to be small'.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'el-/k'l-* 'to lack, to be short of': Georgian *k'el-/k'l-* (Xevsurian *k'al-/k'l-*) 'to lack, to be short of'; Mingrelian *k'al-* 'to come away empty-handed', *go-k'al-ip-er-i* 'empty-handed'; Svan *k'l-* 'to lack'. Schmidt 1962:119; Klimov 1998:85 **kal-/*kl-* 'to lack, to be short of' and 89 **kel-/*kl-* 'to lack, to be short of'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:189 **kel-/*kl-*; Fähnrich 2007:228 **kel-/*kl-*. Proto-Kartvelian (Georgian-Zan) **m-k'l-e-* 'missing, deprived': Georgian *mok'le-* (Xevsurian *mk'le-*) 'short'; Mingrelian [*k'ule-*] 'deprived'; Laz *mk'ule-* 'short'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:241—242 **mkle-*; Fähnrich 2007:292—293 **mkle-*; Klimov 1998:123 **m-kl-e-* 'missing, deprived'; Schmidt 1962:124—125.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kelke-* 'to be necessary; must, ought to' > Lapp / Saami *gâl'gâ-/gâlgâ-* 'shall, must, have to; (especially in prohibitions) ought, must be, be needed, ought to do'; Mordvin *kel'ge-* 'shall, must, ought to'; Cheremis / Mari (3rd sg.) *keleş, küleş* 'it is necessary, (I, you, etc.) must'; Votyak / Udmurt *kul-* 'to be necessary'; Zyrian / Komi *kol-* 'to be necessary; must, ought to'; Hungarian *kell(e)-* 'to be needed, to be wanting', *këll* '(I, you, etc.) must', *kellék* '(pre)requisite, requirement, (pl.) necessities'. Collinder 1955:87 and 1977:103; Rédei 1986—1988:145 **kelke-*; Sammallahti 1988:543 **kelki-* 'must'.

Buck 1949:9.93 need, necessity; 9.94 ought, must (3rd sg.); 12.56 small, little; 12.62 narrow; 12.65 thin (in dimension); 12.66 thin (in density). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:323, no. 198, **kel* 'to be insufficient'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:452, no. 297; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1027, **kelV* (or **kelV*) 'to lack, to be insufficient' and, no. 1057, **ka[V]* '(to be) few, (to be) too small/thin/light'.

476. Proto-Nostratic root **k'al-* (~ **k'əl-*):

- (vb.) **k'al-* 'to burn, to warm, to cook, to roast';
 (n.) **k'al-a* 'cooking, roasting, baking; glowing embers'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'[a]l-* 'to burn, to roast': Proto-Semitic **k'al-ay/w-* 'to burn, to roast' > Akkadian *kalū* (Assyrian *kalāʔu*) 'to burn'; Hebrew *kālāh*

- [𐤊𐤋𐤒] ‘to roast, to parch’; Aramaic *ḳəḷā* ‘to burn’; Mandaic *ḳla* ‘to burn, to roast’; Arabic *ḳalā* ‘to fry, to bake, to roast’; Soqotri *ḳale?* ‘to roast (grain)’; Šḩeri / Jibbāli *ḳélé* ‘to fry’; Mehri *ḳəḷō* ‘to cook, to fry’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳalawa* [𐌒𐌐𐌗] ‘to roast, to parch’; Tigrinya *ḳäläwä* ‘to roast’; Tigre *ḳāla* ‘to roast’; Amharic *ḳ^wälla* ‘to parch grain, to roast’; Gafat *ḳollä* ‘to roast’; Harari *ḳala* ‘to roast’; Argobba *ḳ^wälla* ‘to roast’; Gurage *ḳollä* ‘to roast grain or coffee, to parch grain or coffee’. Murtonen 1989:376; Klein 1987:578; Leslau 1963:123, 1979:475, and 1987:431; Militäreŵ 2010:56 Proto-Semitic **ḳlw*. Central Chadic **ḳwalu-* ‘hotness’ > Bachama *ḳwul-* ‘hotness’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:344, no. 1584, **ḳol-* ‘to be hot, to burn’; Ehret 1995:236, no. 419, **ḳ’al-* ‘to burn (tr.)’.
- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kāḷuka* ‘to burn, to flame’, *kāḷal* ‘high flame, love-fever’; Telugu *kālu* ‘to burn; to be burnt, scalded, scorched, baked’, *kāḷupu* ‘burning, setting on fire, roasting, baking’, *kāḷcu* ‘to burn (tr.), to set fire to, to scald, to singe, to scorch, to char, to bake’; Parji *kāl-* ‘to smart’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:139, no. 1500; Krishnamurti 2003:181 **kā-l* ‘(vb.) to burn; (n.) flame’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k’el(H)-/*k’ol(H)-/*k’l̥(H)-* ‘to burn, to scorch, to char’: Common Germanic **kulan* ‘coal, charcoal’ > Old Icelandic *kol* ‘coals, charcoal’, *kola* ‘a small flat open lamp’; Swedish (dial.) *kola* ‘to burn slowly’; Old English *col* ‘(live) coal, piece of charcoal’; Old Frisian *kole* ‘coal’; Middle Low German *kol(e)* ‘coal’; Dutch *kool* ‘coal’; Old High German *kol, kolo* ‘coal’ (New High German *Kohle*); Alemannic *chollen* ‘to glimmer, to glow, to smolder’. Orël 2003:223 Proto-Germanic **kulan*; Kroonen 2013:309 Proto-Germanic **kula-* ‘coal, charcoal’; De Vries 1977:324; Onions 1966:185; Klein 1971:144; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:388; Kluge—Seebold 1989:388. Not, according to Walde (1927—1932.I:563), related to Sanskrit *jvālati* ‘to burn brightly, to blaze, to glow, to shine’, *jvāratī* ‘to be feverish’, which are assumed to be from a Proto-Indo-European **g^huer-* (see also Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:450, who notes that the outside connections of *jvāratī* are uncertain). Problematic, from a phonological standpoint, is the comparison with Old Irish *gúal* ‘coal’, which is usually taken to be from **goulo-* or **geulo-*, and Welsh *glo* ‘coal’, which, according to Morris Jones (1913:108), stands for **gwloe* < Brit. **gylāuís* < **guel(ā)*-. However, these may be brought in as well if the Old Irish form is derived from a reduplicated **go-gl-o-* (< **k’o-k’l-o-*) or the like, with the Welsh representing unreduplicated **gl-o-* (< **k’l-o-*).
- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qaal’e-* ‘to get burnt’, *qaal’es-* ‘to fry’, *qaal’idere* ‘coal’, *qaal’e* ‘partly burnt place’. Nikolaeva 2006:375.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 15.85 hot, warm. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:332—333, no. 208, **Ḳajla* ‘hot; to burn’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:453—454, no. 299.

477. Proto-Nostratic root *k'al- (~ *k'əl-):

(vb.) *k'al- 'to move, to tremble, to shake, to agitate, to stir, to mix';

(n.) *k'al-a 'agitation, trembling, perturbation, distress, confusion, uneasiness, disturbance'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *k'[a]l- 'to move, to tremble, to shake, to agitate, to stir, to mix': Proto-Semitic *k'al-ak- 'to totter, to be unsteady; to be uneasy, disquieted, apprehensive, anxious, agitated, upset, disturbed, perturbed, troubled; to be restless, sleepless' > Arabic *kaḷiḷa* 'to totter, to be unsteady; to be uneasy, disquieted, apprehensive, anxious, agitated, upset, disturbed, perturbed, troubled; to be restless, sleepless'. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *k'al-k'al- 'to move, to tremble, to shake, to agitate' > Arabic *kaḷkaḷa* 'to move, to shake, to convulse'; Hebrew *kiḷḷēl* [כִּלְכֵּל] 'to shake'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔanḳalkala* [አንቀለቀለ] 'to move, to shake, to swing, to quake, to agitate, to make tremble, to vacillate, to totter, to stagger', *k^walk^wala* [ቀለቀለ] 'to brandish, to agitate, to shake, to vibrate, to throw (a spear)'; Tigre *ʔanḳalkāla* 'to shake'; Tigrinya *ʔanḳalkālā* 'to tremble, to be agitated, to shake, to vibrate'; Amharic *tänḳäläḳḳälä* 'to be restless, to roam about'; Gurage (*a*)*kläḳälä*, *anḳäläḳälä* 'to move, to shake, to swing'. Klein 1987:581; Leslau 1979:478 and 1987:430. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *k'al-k'al- 'to stir, to mix up, to confuse' > Syriac *kaḷkel* 'to throw into confusion'; Geez / Ethiopic *kaḷkaḷa* [ቀለቀለ] 'to mix up, to confuse, to blend together, to destroy, to abolish'; Amharic *ḳäläḳḳälä* 'to mix, to stir'; Argobba *ḳäläḳḳäla* 'to mix, to stir'; Harari (*tä*)*kläḳäla* 'to be mixed together, to be intermingled'; Gurage *ḳäläḳḳäla* 'to mix, to intermingle, to stir food, to knead dough'. Leslau 1963:124, 1979:478, and 1987:430. Berber: Tuareg *əyli* 'to spin'; Wargla *əlli* 'to surround, to encircle', *əyli* 'to embrace'; Kabyle *əyli* 'to fall down, to collapse, to knock down'; Tamazight *əyləy* 'to disappear, to be no longer visible, to set (sun), to drown', *aḡəlluy* 'disappearance, setting of the sun'; Mزاب *əlli* 'to fall down, to collapse'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:352, no. 1524, *k'Vl- 'to spin'.
- B. Dravidian: [Tamil *kaḷaṅku* (*kaḷaṅki*-) 'to be stirred up, agitated, ruffled (as water), confused, abashed', *kaḷakku* (*kaḷakki*-) 'to confuse', *kaḷakkam*, *kaḷakku* 'being agitated (as surface of water), discomposure, distress, perplexity', *kaḷāvu* (*kaḷāvi*-) 'to be perturbed, confused, displeased, angry', *kaḷaṅkaḷ* 'turbidity, muddiness, muddy water, perturbation', *kaḷi* 'perturbation, discomposure, uneasiness, war, dissension, strife'; Malayalam *kaḷaṅṅuka* 'to be mixed, agitated, turbid (as water), embarrassed', *kaḷakkuka* 'to mix, to confound', *kaḷakku* 'muddy water', *kaḷacuka* 'to be disturbed'; Kota *kaḷg-* (*kaḷgy-*) 'to be mixed, confused (in relationship)', *kaḷk-* (*kaḷky-*) 'to mix'; Toda *kaḷx-* (*kaḷxy-*) 'to be stirred up (water so that it becomes muddy)', *kaḷk-* (*kaḷky-*) 'to stir up (water so that it becomes muddy)'; Kannaḍa *kaḷaku*, *kaḷaṅku* 'to agitate, to shake, to perturb, to make turbid, to stir up, to disturb', *kaḷakisu* 'to perturb, to stir',

kalaḍu ‘to be shaken or perturbed; to become turbid, muddy, unclean’; Koḍagu *kaḷaṅg-* (*kaḷaṅgi-*) ‘to be stirred up’, *kalak-* (*kalaki-*) ‘to stir up, to churn’; Tuḷu *kaḷaṅkuni*, *kaḷaṅkuni* ‘to be turbid’, *gaḷjuni* ‘to confuse, to disturb’; Telugu *kalāgu* ‘to be in agitation, confusion, or trouble; to be turbid (as any liquid)’, *kalācu* ‘to stir, to agitate, to disturb, to trouble, to make turbid’; Kui *glaḥpa* (*glaht-*) ‘to mix by stirring, to stir, to confuse, to perplex, to confound, to cause to be confused’; Gondi *kallih-* ‘to shake (bottle, etc.)’; Kuṛux *xalaxnā* ‘to disturb, to make muddy (as water)’; Malto *qalge* ‘to disturb (as water)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1303; Krishnamurti 2003:172—173 **kal-a-nku* ‘to be stirred’, **kal-a-nkku* ‘to stir’. Tamil *kala* ‘to mix, to unite in friendship, to form friendly or matrimonial alliance with, to copulate’, *kalacu* (*kalaci-*) ‘to mingle’, *kalampakam* ‘mixture, combination’, *kalavu* (*kalavi-*) ‘to mix’, *kalaval* ‘mixing, combining’, *kalāvu* (*kalāvi-*) ‘to mix, to join together, to unite’; Malayalam *kalaruka* ‘to be mixed, united; to mix, to mingle (especially what is dry)’, *kalaval* ‘mixing, intermingling’, *kalarcca* ‘mixture’; Kota *kalv-* (*kald-*) ‘to knead, to mix (solid in water)’; Kannaḍa *kali*, *kale* ‘to join (intr.), to be mixed, to come together, to meet’, *kalaka*, *kalka* ‘mixture’, *kalasu* ‘to mix, to mingle’; Tuḷu *kalaḍuni* ‘to be mixed, kneaded’, *kalaḍāvuni* ‘to mix, to knead’, *kalapuni* ‘to mingle, to knead’; Telugu *kalayu*, *kaliyu* ‘to join, to unite, to meet, to mix, to mingle, to copulate’, *kalapu* ‘to mix, to join, to unite, to bring together, to reconcile’, *kalavuḍu* ‘to mix, to mingle’; Kolami *kalay-* (*kalayt-*) ‘to be mixed (liquids)’, *kalp-* (*kalapt-*) ‘to mix’; Naikṛi *kalay-* ‘to mix (intr.)’, *kalap-* ‘to mix (tr.)’; Koṇḍa *kali-* ‘to meet, to come together, to be mingled’, *kalp-* ‘to mix’; Kuwi *kalhali*, *kalhinai* ‘to be mixed, to mingle’, *kal-* ‘to mix together’, *kalp-* ‘to mix’, *kalh-* ‘to copulate’; Kuṛux *khalnā* ‘to dilute, to mix with water or other liquid’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:121, no. 1299. Tamil *kalavaram* ‘confusion of mind, perturbation’, *kalavari* ‘to be confused, perturbed’; Kannaḍa *kaḷakaḷa*, *kaḷavaḷike* ‘agitation of mind, distress, confusion’, *kaḷavaḷisu* ‘to be agitated, to grieve, to be perplexed’; Koḍagu *kaḷavaḷa* ‘confusion’; Tuḷu *kaḷavaḷa* ‘anxiety, alarm, sorrow’; Telugu *kalavaramu* ‘confusion, state of being puzzled or perplexed, anxiety’, *kaḷavaḷincu* ‘to be perplexed, anxious’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1306. Tamil *kalipali*, *kalipili* ‘uproar, disturbance, quarrel, wrangle’; Kannaḍa *galabe* ‘hubbub, clamor’, *galabali*, *galabili*, *galibili* ‘disorder, confusion’; Telugu *galibili*, *galaba* ‘noise, confusion, disturbance’; Tuḷu *galibili* ‘disorder, tumult, anarchy’, *galabu* ‘tumult, confusion, noise’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1310.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **gal-* (~ **gəl-*) ‘(vb.) to stir up, to agitate, to disturb; to be stirred up, agitated, disturbed; (n.) agitation, disturbance, perturbation; quarrel, fight, battle’.

- C. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **klu-* ‘(to be) afraid’: Amur *iylu-dʷ* / *-kʰlu-dʷ* ‘to be afraid of’; North Sakhalin *kʰlu-t* ‘to be afraid’; East Sakhalin *ixlu(j)-d* ‘to be afraid’; South Sakhalin *klu-* ‘to be afraid’. Fortescue 2016:87.

Buck 1949:5.17 mix; 10.26 shake (vb. tr.); 16.53 fear, fright. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:450—452, no. 296.

478. Proto-Nostratic root **k'al-* (~ **k'əl-*):

(vb.) **k'al-* ‘to come into being, to be born’;

(n.) **k'al-a* ‘existence, presence, appearance, birth’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'al-* ‘to give birth, to beget’: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **k'al-* ‘to give birth, to beget’ > Burji *k'al-* ‘to give birth, to beget’, *k'al-a* ‘son, male child, young of animals’, *k'ala-go-* ‘to be pregnant’, *k'al-am-o* ‘birth’; Hadiyya *k'ar-* (< **k'al-*) ‘to give birth, to beget’; Kambata *k'al-* ‘to give birth, to beget (of animals)’, *k'alan-ca* ‘generation’; Sidamo *k'al-* ‘(of animals) to give birth, to beget’, *k'al-am-* ‘to breed, to multiply, to be pregnant (woman)’. Hudson 1989:70; Sasse 1982:123.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kala* ‘to appear, to come into being, to spread (as news)’, *kali* ‘(vb.) to grow luxuriantly, to sprout, to come into being, to appear, to increase; (n.) flourishing, prospering’; Telugu *kalugu* ‘to accrue, to happen, to occur, to be produced or caused, to be born, to be, to exist, to be able’, *kaligincu* ‘to cause, to produce, to effect, to bring about’, *kala* ‘existing, true, actual, possessing, having’, *kalimi* ‘existence, presence; possessions, wealth’; Kolami (neg.) *kal-*, *kalt-* (present-future paradigm, present-future or past in meaning) ‘possibly be, may be’, *kall-*, *kal-* ‘to do’; Konḍa *kalgi-* ‘to accrue (as prosperity), to happen’; Kuwi *kalg-* ‘to get, to become, to accrue’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:121, no. 1300. (?) Pengo *karde* ‘boy, son’ (< **kalde* ?); Maṇḍa *karde* ‘boy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:127, no. 1371.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k'al-* ‘pregnant, young of animals’: Gothic *kalbō* ‘calf’; Old Icelandic *kalfr* ‘calf’; Faroese *kálvur* ‘calf’; Norwegian *kalv* ‘calf’; Swedish *kalv* ‘calf’; Danish *kalv* ‘calf’; Old English *cealf* ‘calf’; Old North Frisian *calf* ‘calf’; Old Saxon *kalf* ‘calf’; Dutch *kalf* ‘calf’; Old High German *chalb* ‘calf’ (New High German *Kalb*), *kilbur* ‘ewe-lamb’; Gallo-Latin *galba* ‘fat paunch, big belly’. Orël 2003:209 Proto-Germanic **kalbaz*, 209 **kalbōn* I; Kroonen 2013:278 Proto-Germanic **kalbiz-* ‘calf’; Lehmann 1986:214 **golbh-ā/os*, **gelbhes-*; Feist 1939:305—306; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:346—347; Torp 1919:256 Germanic **kalbaz*; De Vries 1977:298 **geleb(h)-*; Onions 1966:136 West Germanic **kalbam*; Klein 1971:106; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:341; Kluge—Seebold 1989:348.

- D. Etruscan *clan* (pl. *clenar*) ‘son’, *clante*, *clanti*, *clanθi* ‘adoptive (?) son’; Rhaetic *kalun* ‘son’ (cf. Sverdrup 2002:107). Semantic development as in Burji *k'al-a* ‘son, male child, young of animals’, cited above.

Buck 1949:2.27 child; 2.43 child; 4.71 beget (of father); 4.72 bear (of mother); 4.73 pregnant.

479. Proto-Nostratic root **k'alʷ-* (~ **k'əʷ-*):

(vb.) **k'alʷ-* ‘to separate, to remove, to strip off or away: to pluck, tear, or pull off or out’;

(n.) **k'alʷ-a* ‘separation, removal, stripping off or away, etc.’

Derivative:

(n.) **k'alʷ-a* ‘bald spot’; (adj.) ‘bald, bare’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'al-* ‘to separate, to remove, to strip off or away: to pluck, tear, or pull off or out’: Proto-Semitic **k'al-aʕ-* ‘to separate, to remove, to strip off or away: to pluck, tear, or pull off or out’ > Arabic *ḵalaʕa* ‘to pluck out, to tear out, to pull out, to weed out, to uproot (something); to root out, to exterminate, to extirpate (something); to take off (clothes)’; (?) Hebrew *ḵālaʕ* [כָּלַע] ‘to uproot’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḵalʕa* [ቀለዐ] ‘to uncover, to bare, to open, to remove, to strip, to unveil; to be torn, to tear; to lift (curtain); to undo, to pull aside’; Tigrinya *ḵālʕe* ‘to disclose, to remove’; Tigre *ḵālʕa* ‘to disclose, to manifest, to show, to open’; Amharic *ḵälla* ‘to cut off (ears from the stalk)’ > ‘to open, to disclose’. Leslau 1987:426. Proto-Semitic **ḵal-ap-* ‘to strip, to peel’ > Akkadian *ḵalāpu* ‘to peel’, *ḵallupu* ‘peeled’, *ḵalpu* ‘stripped, peeled’, *ḵilpu* ‘rind, skin’, *ḵulpu* ‘rind, bark’; Arabic *ḵalafa* ‘to bark (a tree), to strip the bark (from a tree); to circumcise’, *ḵilf* ‘bark, rind (of a tree)’, *ḵulfa* ‘foreskin’; Ḥarsūsi *ḵelfēt* ‘bark of certain trees’; Soqotri *ḵālifoḥ* ‘bark’; Mehri *ḵəlōf* ‘to peel (dry sardines)’, *ḵātləf* ‘to be peeled, skinned’, *ḵələfūt* ‘bark of a tree’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḵólōf* ‘to skin, to decorticate; to skin (a dried sardine before eating it)’, *ekólōf* ‘to skin, to decorticate; to make someone remove bark’, *ḵótləf* ‘to be skinned, to have the bark removed’, *ḵalfūn* ‘bare; husked; barkless’; Hebrew *ḵālaq* [כָּלַק] ‘to peel, to shell’; Aramaic *ḵəlaq* ‘to peel, to strip’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḵʷalafa* [ቀለፈ] ‘to peel, to decorticate’; Gurage *ḵəlfī* ‘bark of a tree’. Murtonen 1989:378; Klein 1987:381; Leslau 1979:476 and 1987:427. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:345, no. 1585, **ḵolif-* ‘bark’.]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaḷ* (*kaṭp-*, *kaṭt-*) ‘to weed, to pluck’, *kaḷai* ‘(vb.) to weed, to pull up, to pluck out, to remove, to extirpate, to exterminate; (n.) weeds’, *kaḷaiṅu* ‘weeding, stripping off, extirpation’, *kaḷaiñan* ‘one who weeds’; Malayalam *kaḷa* ‘weed, tares’, *kaḷayuka* ‘to get rid of, to abolish’; Kota *kaḷv-* (*kaḷt-*) ‘to take out or scoop out (with finger, stick, beak), to flick away dirt from liquid or semi-liquid (for example, clay)’, *kaḷ* ‘weeds’; Toda *koḷ* ‘without leaves (of a tree in winter), half dry, half green (when a

tree is being killed by stripping bark'; Kannada *kāle* '(vb.) to pull off, to remove, to destroy; (n.) weed', *kaḷacu* 'to remove, to pull off, to pull out, to let drop', *kaḷubu* 'weeds and grass standing in corn'; Koḍagu *kāle* 'weeds', (?) *kāle* 'to dig', *kaḷep* 'digging'; Tuḷu *kalepini*, *kalepuni* 'to strip off, to remove', *kalevuni* 'to be stripped'; Koraga *kāle*, *kale* 'to remove'; Telugu *kalupu* 'weeds', *kalvaṭam*, *kalsadam*, *kalsuḍu* 'the act of weeding'; Brahui *xalling* 'to uproot, to gather (vegetables, grass for fodder)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:128, no. 1373.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'al-* 'threshing place': Georgian *k'al-o* 'threshing floor, threshing place'; Mingrelian *k'el-i* 'threshing board'. Fähnrich 2007:220 **ka-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **k'l-ew-bh-*/**k'l-ow-bh-*/**k'l-u-bh-* 'to separate, to remove, to strip off or away: to pluck, tear, or pull off or out; to split or tear apart': Latin *glūbō* 'to peel, to take off the rind or bark'; Greek γλύφω 'to cut, to carve out with a knife'; Old Icelandic *klauf* 'the cleft (between the toes); cloven foot', *kljúfa* 'to split, to cleave', *klofi* 'cleft, rift (in a hill); cleft stick', *klofna* 'to be cloven, to split', *klyfja* 'to split, to cleave'; Old English *clēofan* 'to split, to cleave, to separate', *geclýfte* 'cloven'; Old Saxon *klioban* 'to split, to cleave'; Dutch *klieven* 'to split, to cleave'; Old High German *chliuban* 'to split, to cleave' (New High German *klieban*), *klūbōn* 'to pluck, to pull out' (New High German *klauben*). Rix 1998a:169 **gleubh-* 'to cut off, to split, to cleave'; Pokorny 1959:401—402 **gleubh-* 'to cut, to cleave'; Walde 1927—1932.I:661 **gleubh-*; Mann 1984—1987:276 **gleubhō*, **gloubh-* 'to strip, to split off', 282 **glubh-* 'to cut open, to split', 282 **glūbhō*, and 282 **glubhtós*; Watkins 1985:23 **gleubh-* and 2000:32 **gleubh-* 'to tear apart, to cleave'; Mallory—Adams 1997:143 **gleubh-* 'to cut off, to cut out' and 2006:377 **gleubh-* 'to cut off, to cut out'; Boisacq 1950:152 **gleubh-*; Hofmann 1966:46 **gleubh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:229 **gleubh-*, **glubh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:315; Beekes 2010.I:278 **gleubh-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:610—611 **gleubhō*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:277—278; De Vaan 2008:266; Orël 2003:216 Proto-Germanic **kleubanan*; Kroonen 2013:292 Proto-Germanic **kleuban-* 'to cleave, to split'; De Vries 1977:315, 317, and 318; Onions 1966:180 **gleubh-*; Klein 1971:141; Skeat 1898:113; Barnhart 1995:130; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:374 and 377 **glūbh-* : **gleubh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:375 and 377. The following may ultimately belong here as well: Old Icelandic *klippa*, *klyppa* 'to clip, to cut; to shear sheep' (> Middle English *clippen* 'to clip, to shear'), *klýpa* 'to nip, to clip, to pinch'; Faroese *klípa* 'to nip, to clip, to pinch'; Norwegian *klippa* 'to cut, to clip; to shear sheep', *klypa* 'to nip, to clip, to pinch'; Swedish *klippa* 'to cut, to clip; to shear sheep'; Danish *klippe* 'to cut, to clip; to shear sheep'; Low German *klippen* 'to clip, to cut'. De Vries 1977:317 and 318; Torp 1919:286; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:379; Onions 1966:82; Klein 1971:243; Barnhart 1995:132; Skeat 1898:115.

Buck 1949:8.34 thresh; 8.35 threshing-floor; 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 9.33 draw, pull; 12.23 separate (vb.).

480. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **k'alʷ-a* 'bald spot'; (adj.) 'bald, bare':
 Derivative of:
 (vb.) **k'alʷ-* 'to separate, to remove, to strip off or away: to pluck, tear, or pull off or out';
 (n.) **k'alʷ-a* 'separation, removal, stripping off or away, etc.'
- A. Proto-Indo-European **k'al-wo-*, **k'al-Ho-* 'bald, bare, naked': Old High German *kalo*, *chalo* 'bald, bare, naked' (New High German *kahl*); Old English *calu* 'bald, bare', *calwa* 'mange'; Middle Low German *kale* 'bald, bare'; Dutch *kaal* 'bald, bare'; Old Church Slavonic *golъ* 'naked'; Russian *góluj* [голу́й] 'naked, bare', (dial.) *golotá* [голо́та] 'the poor'; Polish *goły* 'naked, bare', (obsolete) *golota* 'nakedness'; Serbo-Croatian *gól* 'bare, naked', *golòta* 'nakedness'. Pokorny 1959:349—350 **gal-* 'bald, bare, naked'; Walde 1927—1932.1537—538 **gal-* (**gol-* ?); Mann 1984—1987:1615 **gal-*, **galʷos* 'blank, bare, clear'; Watkins 1985:18 **gal-* and 2000:25 **gal-* 'bald, naked'; Mallory—Adams 1997:45 **gol(h_x)uos* 'bare, bald'; Derksen 2008:174—175 and 176—177 **golH-o-*; Orël 2003:209 Proto-Germanic **kalwaz*; Kroonen 2013:278 Proto-Germanic **kalwa-* 'bald'; Onions 1967:137; Klein 1971:107; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:339; Kluge—Seebold 1989:346—347. Note: Not related to words for 'head' (Proto-Nostratic [n.] **gʷal-a* 'round object: head, skull').
- B. Proto-Altaiic **kalʷ-* 'bald-headed; white spot, blaze on the forehead of an animal': Proto-Mongolian **kalža-* 'bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal' > Written Mongolian *qalžan*, *qalžin* 'bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal'; Khalkha *χalžan* 'bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal'; Buriat *χalžan* 'bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal'; Ordos *χalžan* 'bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal'; Dagur *χalžin* 'bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal'. Proto-Turkic **Kalʷga* 'white spot, white blaze' > Karakhanide Turkic *qašga* 'white spot, white blaze'; Turkish *kaška* 'white spot, white blaze'; Azerbaijani *gašga* 'white spot, white blaze'; Uzbek *qešqe* 'white spot, white blaze'; Uighur *qašqa* 'white spot, white blaze'; Tatar *qašqa* 'white spot, white blaze'; Bashkir *qašqa* 'white spot, white blaze'; Kirghiz *qašqa*, *qačqa* 'white spot, white blaze'; Kazakh *qasqa* 'white spot, white blaze'; Noghay *qasqa* 'white spot, white blaze'. The following probably belong here as well: Tuva *χaš* 'worked thin leather'; Tofa *χaš* 'naked, napless (skin)'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2005:660—661 **kelžo* 'bald; bald spot'; Poppe 1960:17 and 86; Street 1974:15 **kalʷ* 'blaze on the forehead'.
- Buck 1949:4.93 bald; 4.99 naked, bare. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:464—465, no. 310, **k'alʷ-* 'bald; head'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1061, **Kaľŭ* 'bare, naked'.

481. Proto-Nostratic root *k'an- (~ *k'an-):
- (vb.) *k'an- 'to get, to acquire, to create, to produce, to beget';
- (n.) *k'an-a 'birth, offspring, child, young, produce'; (adj.) 'born, begotten, produced'
- A. Proto-Afrasian *k'an- 'to get, to acquire, to possess, to create, to produce': Proto-Semitic *k'an-aw/y- 'to get, to acquire, to possess, to create, to produce' > Hebrew *kānāh* [כָּנָה] 'to get, to acquire, to create, to produce'; Phoenician *kny* 'to acquire'; Biblical Aramaic *kənā* 'to acquire, to buy'; Ugaritic *kny* 'to create'; Akkadian *kanū* 'to gain, to acquire'; Amorite *kny* 'to create, to acquire' (basic stem, Qal *yaḳnī*); Arabic *kanā* 'to get, to acquire, to create'; Sabaean *kny* 'to possess, to acquire'; Geez / Ethiopic *kanaya* [ቀነየ] 'to acquire, to buy, to subjugate, to dominate, to rule, to subdue, to tame, to train, to make serve, to make toil, to reduce to servitude, to bring into bondage, to force to work, to create'. Murtonen 1989:380; Klein 1987:584; Leslau 1987:437; Zammit 2002:347. Egyptian *qn*, *qni* 'to be strong, to make strong, to have power over, to possess, to overcome'. Hannig 1995:858; Faulkner 1962:279; Gardiner 1957:596; Erman—Grapow 1921:190 and 1926—1963.5:41—43. Berber: Tuareg *əγnu* 'to be created, to be started; to originate (from)'. Diakonoff 1992:23—24 *kḡ (*kny/w) 'begetting, giving birth'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kanru* 'calf, colt, young of various animals, sapling, young tree'; Malayalam *kannu* 'young of cattle (esp. buffalo calf), young plantain trees around the mother plant'; Kannaḍa *kanda* 'young child', *kandu* 'calf, young plantain trees around the mother plant'; Telugu *kandu* 'infant', *kanduvu* 'child', *kanu* 'to bear or bring forth, to beget', *kanubadi* 'produce', *kāncu* 'to bear, to produce, to bring forth', *kānupu* 'bringing forth a child'; Koṇḍa *kās-* 'to bring forth young (of human beings), to bear children'; Kuṛux *xadd* 'child, young animal or plant'; Malto *qade* 'son'; Brahui *xaning* 'to give birth to'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:131—132, no. 1411.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *k'en-/*k'on-/*k'ḡ- 'to beget, to produce, to create, to bring forth': Sanskrit *jānati* 'to beget, to produce, to create; to assign, to procure', *jānas-* 'race'; Avestan *zan-* 'to beget, to bear; to be born', *zana-* 'people'; Greek *γίγνομαι* 'to be born', *γεννάω* 'to beget, to bring forth, to bear', *γένος* 'race, stock, kin', *γέννα* 'descent, birth'; Armenian *cnanim* 'to beget', *cin* 'birth'; Latin *genō*, *gignō* 'to beget, to bear, to bring forth', *genus* 'class, kind; birth, descent, origin', *gēns*, *-tis* 'clan; offspring, descendant; people, tribe, nation'; Old Irish *gainethar* 'to be born', *gein* 'birth'; Welsh *geni* 'to give birth'; Gothic *kuni* 'race, generation'; Old Icelandic *kyn* 'kin, kindred; kind, sort, species; gender', *kind* 'race, kind'; Old English *cynn* 'kind, species, variety; race, progeny; sex, (grammatical) gender', *ge-cynd*, *cynd* 'kind, species; nature, quality, manner; gender; origin, generation; offspring; genitals', *cennan* 'to bear (child), to

produce'; Old Frisian *kinn*, *kenn* 'race, generation; class, kind'; Old Saxon *kunni* 'race, generation; class, kind'; Dutch *kunne* 'race, generation'; Old High German *chunni* 'race, generation', *kind* 'child; (pl.) children, offspring' (New High German *Kind*). Rix 1998a:144—146 **ġenh₁*- 'to produce, to beget, to procreate (offspring)'; Pokorny 1959:373—375 **ġen-*, **ġenə-*, **ġnē-*, **ġnō-* 'to produce'; Walde 1927—1932.I:576—578 **ġen-*, **ġenē-*, **ġenō-*; Mann 1984—1987:390—391 **ġen-* 'to beget, to be born, to happen', 391 **ġenātēr-* (-*tər-*, -*tōr-*) 'parent, kinsman', 391 **ġenātis* (**ġentis*) 'birth, race', 391—392 **ġenatos* (**ġentos*) 'born, produced, begotten', 392 **ġenis*, 392 **ġenitr-* (**ġenitēr*, -*ōr*) 'begetter, parent', 392 **ġenmn-* (**ġenimn-*, **ġenamn-*) 'birth, offspring, product, yield', 392—393 **ġenos*, -*ā*, -*is* 'creature, man, creation', 393 **ġenos*, -*es* 'type, race, kind, tribe', 401 **ġnōtis* 'kinsman, acquaintance', 401—402 **ġn-*, 402 **ġnatos* (**ġntos*) 'born', 402—403 **ġn̄mos*, -*ā* 'generation, mating', 403 **ġn̄tis* 'birth, race', 405 **ġonos*, -*ā* 'child, offspring, birth'; Mallory—Adams 1997:46 **ġenh₁*- 'to beget a child, to be born'; Watkins 1985:19 **genə-* (also **gen-*) and 2000:26 **genə-* (also **gen-*) 'to give birth, to beget'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:748 **k'en-* and 1995.I:652 **k'en-* 'to give birth; kin', I:674 **k'eno-* 'clan', I:151 **k'enH-* 'to give birth'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:415 and I:416; Boisacq 1950:144 and 147—148 **genē-*, **genō-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:296—297 and I:306—308; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:221—224; Hofmann 1966:43 and 44—45 *ġen-*, *ġenē-*; Beekes 2010.I:272—273 **ġenh₂*-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:270—273 **g'enə-*, **g'n-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:592 **ġntis*, **ġenātis* (**ġn̄tis*) and I:597—600 **ġen(ē)-*, **ġenō-*; De Vaan 2008:358 and 260—261; Orël 2003:210 Proto-Germanic **kannjanan* I, 212 **kendiz*, 212—213 **kenþan*, 224 **kundjan*, 224 **kunjan*; Kroonen 2013:279 Proto-Germanic **kanjan-* 'to bring forth', 288 **kindi-* 'kind', 288 **kinþa-* ~ **kinda-* 'child', and 310 **kunda-* 'born'; Feist 1939:516 **ġen-*; Lehmann 1986:222 **ġen-* 'to beget'; De Vries 1977:309 and 340; Onions 1966:505 **gen-*, **gon-*, **gn̄-* and 506; Klein 1971:402 **ġen-*; Skeat 1898:315; Vercoullie 1898:158; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:211; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:369 **ġen-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:370 **ġenə-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:139—153 **ġenh₁*-.

Sumerian *gan* 'to bear, to bring forth, to give birth to'.

Buck 1949:4.71 beget (of father); 4.72 bear (of mother). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:431—432, no. 275; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:335—336, no. 211, **Ḫana* 'to give birth to, to be born'.

482. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k'an-a 'jaw, cheek':

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kannam* 'cheek, ear'; Malayalam *kannam* 'cheek, jaw'; Kannada *kanna* 'the upper cheek'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:132, no. 1413.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *k'en-u- 'jaw, cheek': Sanskrit (with secondary *h*- instead of *j*-) *hānu-h* 'jaw, cheek'; Avestan *zānu-* 'jaw, chin'; Greek γένυς 'jaw, cheek', γνάθος, γναθμός 'jaw'; Armenian *cnaut* 'chin, jaw'; Latin *gena* 'cheek, cheeks and chin', (pl.) *genae* 'jaws'; Old Irish *gin*, *giun* 'mouth'; Welsh *gen* 'cheek, jaw', *genau* 'mouth'; Breton *gén* 'cheek', *genu*, *genaw* 'mouth'; Gothic *kinnus* 'cheek'; Old Icelandic *kinn* 'cheek'; Faroese *kinn* 'cheek'; Norwegian *kinn* 'cheek'; Swedish *kind* 'cheek'; Danish *kind* 'cheek'; Old English *cinn* 'chin'; Old Frisian *kinn* 'jaw, chin'; Old Saxon *kinni* 'jaw, chin'; Dutch *kin* 'jaw, chin'; Old High German *kinni*, *chinne* 'jaw, chin' (New High German *Kinn*); Lithuanian *žándas* 'jaw'; Latvian *zuóds* 'chin, jaw'; Tocharian A (dual) *śanw-e-m* 'jaws'. Pokorny 1959:381—382 **ġenu-* 'jaw, cheek'; Walde 1927—1932.I:587 **ġ(h)enu-s*; Mann 1984—1987:391 **ġendh-* 'wedge, wedge-shape, angle, jaw', 391 **ġenes-* 'chin', 393—394 **ġenus* (**ġenuθ*, **ġenəθ*, **ġenə*) 'jaw, jowl, angle of the face, angle, wedge', 402 **ġηadhos* (**ġandhos*) 'jaw'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:183 **k'enu-s* and 1995.I:157 **k'enu-s* 'jaw, chin'; Watkins 1985:19 **ġenu-* and 2000:26 **ġenu-* 'jawbone, chin'; Mallory—Adams 1997:322 **ġénu-* 'jaw', **ġónhadh-o-s* and **ġnhadh-o-s* 'jaw'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:574—575; Beekes 2010.I:267 **ġenu-* and I:279; Hofmann 1966:43 and 46 **ġenadh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:215—216 and I:230 **gon(ə)-dh-*; Boisacq 1950:144; Frisk 1970—1973.I:298; Ernout—Meillet 1979:269—270; De Vaan 2008:257—258; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:589—590; Kroonen 2013:288 Proto-Germanic **kinnu-* 'cheek'; Orël 2003:212 Proto-Germanic **kennuz*; Feist 1939:312 **ġen-u-*; Lehmann 1986:218—219 **ġen-u-*; De Vries 1977:309 **ġenw-* : **ġenwés*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:362; Torp 1919:267—268; Onions 1966:170 **genw-*; Klein 1971:131; Vercoullie 1898:136; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:369—370 **ġenu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:370 **ġenu-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:470—471 **ġēnu-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:773—774; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1289—1290; Derksen 2015:512 **ġonH-d^{ho}*- (**ġon-do-* ?).

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw; 4.208 cheek; 4.209 chin. Bomhard 1996a:219—220, no. 626.

483. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k'an-a 'thickness, density, fatness, abundance'; (adj.) 'thick, dense, fat, abundant, much':

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *qn-w* 'much, many; very great', *qn*, *qny* 'to be or become fat', *qn*, *qny* 'fat'; Coptic (Sahidic) *knne* [KNNĖ], (Bohairic) *keni*

- [**KENI**] ‘(vb.) to be fat, sweet; (n.) fatness, sweetness’. Hannig 1995:858; Faulkner 1962:279; Erman—Grapow 1921:190 and 1926—1963.5:40, 5:41, 5:46—47; Vycichl 1983:83; Černý 1976:59.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṇa* ‘to be heavy, stout, abundant’, *kaṇam* ‘thickness, heaviness’, *kaṇati* ‘thickness, heaviness, gravity’, *kaṇappu* ‘being stout’, *kaṇai* ‘(vb.) to be crowded, intense; (n.) density, abundance’, *kaṇaivu* ‘closeness, thickness’, *kaṇal* (*kaṇalv-*, *kaṇanr-*) ‘to be close, crowded, densely packed’; Malayalam *kanam* ‘compact, hard’, *kanaka* ‘to become solid, hard, heavy’; Toda *ken* ‘densely (of shade) (in songs)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:130, no. 1404.
- C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qad'iraa* (< **qanč'ir*) ‘enough’, *qad'ir* ‘so, finally; intensifying marker’. Nikolaeva 2006:378.

Buck 1949:12.63 thick (in dimension); 12.64 thick (in density); 13.15 much; many; 13.18 enough (adj. or adv.). Bomhard 1996a:220—221, no. 627.

484. Proto-Nostratic root **k'an-* (~ **k'an-*):

(vb.) **k'an-* ‘to pound, to beat, to strike’;

(n.) **k'an-a* ‘knock, strike, cuff, thump; mallet, club, cudgel, truncheon’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *qn* ‘to beat’, (reduplicated) *qnqn* ‘to beat, to pound up (medicaments), to beat out, to flatten out’, *qnqnyt* ‘mallet’. Hannig 1995:858 and 861; Faulkner 1962:280; Erman—Grapow 1921:191 and 1926—1963.5:44 and 55—56; Gardiner 1957:596.
- B. Proto-Indo-European (**k'en-/k'on-*/**k'n-* ‘to pound, to beat, to strike’: Old Icelandic *knía* ‘to knock, to strike’, *kneyfa* ‘to quaff’, *knoka* ‘to knock, to thump’, *knosa* ‘to bruise, to beat’, *knúska* ‘to knock, to ill-treat’, *knýlla* ‘to beat, to strike’, *knýja* ‘to knock’; Old English *cnocian* ‘to knock (at the door); to pound (in a mortar)’, *cnossian* ‘to dash, to strike’, *cnūwian* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’, *cnyssan* ‘to beat against, to dash against, to toss (storm...ship); to defeat, to crush (in battle), to overcome (temptation); to oppress, to trouble, to afflict’, *cnyllan* ‘to strike, to knock; to toll a bell’; New High German *knuffen* ‘to cuff, to pummel, to thump; to push, to nudge, to shove’, *Knüppel* ‘club, cudgel, truncheon; sculptor’s or carpenter’s mallet’, *Knebel* ‘club, cudgel, stick’, *Knüttel* ‘cudgel, club, big stick’; Polish *gnębić* ‘to oppress’. Watkins 1985:19 **gen-* and 2000:26 **g(e)n-* ‘to compress into a ball’; De Vries 1977:321, 322, and 323; Orël 2003:219 Proto-Germanic **knusjanan* ~ **knusōjanan*, 219 **knuzljanan*, 219 **knūwjanan*; Kroonen 2013:297 Proto-Germanic **knūjan-* ‘to press’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:381, 385, and 385—386; Kluge—Seebold 1989:382, 385, and 386; Onions 1966:508; Klein 1971:404.
- C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kænciq* ‘whip’ > Chukchi *kenciq* ‘whip’; Koryak *kenciq* ‘dog whip’. Fortescue 2005:132. These forms may be loans from Eskimo.

- D. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **kant* (or **qant*) ‘stick’: Amur *khəndy* ‘stick, cane, crutch’; North Sakhalin *khət* ‘stick’; East Sakhalin *kad* ‘kind of ski pole’; South Sakhalin *qant* ‘walking stick’. Fortescue 2016:83.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat).

485. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ay-* (~ **k'əy-*):

(vb.) **k'ay-* ‘to bend, twist, turn, or tie together’;

(n.) **k'ay-a* ‘wreath, rope, cord, fiber, tie, band, string’

Derivative:

(n.) **k'ay-a* ‘knot, knob, joint’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ay-* ‘to bend, twist, turn, or tie together’: Egyptian *qn* ‘to weave’, (pl.) *qnyw* ‘weavers, mat-makers’, *qn* ‘mat’. Hannig 1995:859 and 860; Faulkner 1962:279; Gardiner 1957:596; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:48 and 50. Berber: Tuareg *əqqən* ‘to tie, to attach; to be tied’, *ayən* ‘cord’; Nefusa *əqqən* ‘to tie, to attach’; Ghadames *əqqən* ‘to tie, to attach’; Mzab *əqqən* ‘to tie, to attach’, *uqun* ‘bond, string, strap’; Wargla *əqqən* ‘to tie, to attach; to be tied, attached’, *yan* ‘bond, cord, string, strap’; Kabyle *əqqən* ‘to tie, to attach, to shackle, to close the door’; Tamazight *qqən* ‘to attach, to tie, to bind; to be attached, tied, bound’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əqqən* ‘to tie, to close (the door, the eyes, etc.)’, *asyun* ‘cord’. West Chadic **k'anu-* ‘to tie’ > Tsagu *kun-* ‘to tie’; Boghom *kan* ‘to tie’; Buli *kənnu* ‘to tie’. Central Chadic **kanwa-* ‘to plait’ > Lame *kənwā* ‘to plait’; Mesme *kan* ‘to plait’. East Chadic **kwan-* (< **kanwa-*) ‘to twist, to plait’ > Tumak *koŋ* ‘to twist’; Mokilko *kini* ‘to plait’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:336, no. 1546, **kan-* ‘to plait’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṇṇi* ‘wreath, garland, neck-rope for bullock, rope’, *kaṇṇu* (*kaṇṇi-*) ‘to be attached to, to be fastened to’; Kota *kaṇ* ‘yoke-rope for bullock’; Kannaḍa *kaṇṇi* ‘rope, cord, neck-rope’; (?) Tuḷu *kaṇṇi* ‘fiber’; Telugu *kāne-tāḍu* ‘neck-rope (of calves, oxen)’; Koṇḍa *kāne* ‘a rope used to fasten cattle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:111, no. 1184. Tamil *kaṇṇi* ‘snare, noose, net, knot, tie’; Malayalam *kaṇi* ‘snare, gin’, *kaṇikka* ‘to lay a snare’, *kaṇṇi* ‘link of a chain, mesh of a net’, *keṇi* ‘snare, trap, stratagem’, *keṇikka* ‘to entrap’; Kannaḍa *kaṇi* ‘knot, tie’, *kaṇaya*, *kaṇe* ‘the knot which fastens a garment around the loins’, *keṇi* ‘trick’; Koḍagu *kēṇi* ‘bird-trap (bent sapling and noose with bait); trickiness, cunning’, *kēṇi* (*kēṇiv-*, *kēṇiṇj-*) ‘to get stuck, caught’; (*kēṇip-*, *kēṇic-*) ‘to entangle, to get into trouble’; Tuḷu *keṇi* ‘stratagem’, *kini* ‘wit, cunning’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:111, no. 1183.
- C. Proto-Indo-European (**k'en-/k'on-*)**k'n-* ‘to bend, twist, turn, or tie together’: Greek γνάμπτω ‘to bend’, γναμπτός ‘bent, curved’; Old Icelandic *kneikja* ‘to bend backwards with force’, *knytja* ‘to knit or tie together’, *knýta* ‘to knit, to fasten by a knot, to bind, to tie’; Swedish *kneka*

‘to be bent’; Old English *cnyttan* ‘to tie with a knot’, *cnyttels* ‘string, sinew’; Middle Low German *knutten* ‘to tie’; New High German *knicken* ‘to crease, to bend, to fold, to crack, to break, to split, to snap, to burst’, *knütten* (dial.) ‘to knit’. Pokorny 1959:370—373 **gen-* ‘to compress into a ball’; Walde 1927—1932.I:580—583 **gen-*; Mann 1984—1987:284 **gnabh-* ‘to bend, to twist’, 284 **gnabhelos, -om* (**gnabhilo-*) ‘twist; strainer, tensile instrument’, 284 **gnambhijō* ‘to bend, to strain’; Watkins 1985:19 **gen-* and 2000:26 **g(e)n-* ‘to compress into a ball’; Boisacq 1950:152; Frisk 1970—1973.I:316; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:230; Hofmann 1966:46; Beekes 2010.I:279; Orël 2003:219 Proto-Germanic **knut(t)janan* ~ **knut(t)jōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:297 Proto-Germanic **knikkōn-* ‘to snap, to fold’; De Vries 1977:321 and 323; Onions 1966:508; Klein 1971:404; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:382; Kluge—Seebold 1989:383.

- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kæŋ(æt)-* ‘to bend’ > Chukchi *keŋet-* ‘to bend, to bow’, *rækeŋew-* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *kaŋat-γəryŋən* ‘bend in river’, *keŋu-neŋ* ‘staff, stick’, *keŋi-kupren* ‘drag-net’; Kerek *kaŋa(a)t-* ‘to twist, to wind, to bend, to lean forward’, *kaŋəiləpə-lkan* ‘hunched’, *kaŋəikaŋ* ‘hook for hanging kettle’; Koryak *kaŋat-* ‘to bend’, *jə-kaŋ-av-* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *kaŋu-naŋ* ‘hook’, *kaŋat-γəjŋən* ‘bend, elbow’, (Kamen) *kanyati-nyŋi* ‘drag-net’; Alyutor *kaŋat-* (Palana *keŋet-*) ‘to bend’. Fortescue 2005:132.

Sumerian *gan* ‘band, tie’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.).

486. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’əŋ-a* ‘knot, knob, joint’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **k’əŋ-* ‘to bend, twist, turn, or tie together’;

(n.) **k’əŋ-a* ‘wreath, rope, cord, fiber, tie, band, string’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kaŋ* ‘joint in bamboo or cane’, *kaŋu* ‘joint of bamboo, cane, etc., knuckle, joint of the spine, vertebra’, *kaŋukkai* ‘wrist’, *kaŋukkāl* ‘ankle’; Malayalam *kaŋ, kaŋu, kaŋŋu, kaŋpu* ‘joint in knot or cane’, *kaŋavu* ‘node of bamboo, cane, etc.’, *kaŋakkai, kaŋaŋkai* ‘wrist’, *kaŋakkāl, kaŋaŋkāl* ‘ankle’, *kaŋippu* ‘articulation of limbs’; Kota *kaŋ* ‘joint of bamboo’; Toda *koŋ* ‘joint of bamboo or cane’; Kannada *kaŋ* ‘joint in reeds, sticks, etc.’, *gaŋalu* ‘knuckle of the fingers, joint or knot of any cane’, *gaŋike* ‘knot or joint’; Tuḷu *kāra kaŋŋu* ‘ankle’; Telugu *kanu, kannu* ‘joint in cane or reed’, *kaŋupu, gaŋupu* ‘joint, knot, node (of bamboo, sugarcane, etc.)’; Kolami *gana* ‘knot in tree’; Naikṛi *khan* ‘joint in bamboo’; Gondi *gana, ganakay* ‘wrist’; Kuṛux *xann* ‘place on bamboo or cane where side shoot was cut away’; Brahui *xan* ‘knot in wood’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:110, no. 1160.

- B. Proto-Indo-European (*k'en-/k'on-/*k'n- 'knot, knob': Old Icelandic *knappr* 'knob', *knúi* 'knuckle', *knúta* 'knuckle-bone, joint-bone', *knútr* 'knot', *knytttr* 'knotted, crippled', *knykill* 'small knot', *knöttr* 'ball'; Norwegian *knast* 'knot'; Swedish *knagg* 'knot'; Old English *cnotta* 'knot'; Middle English *cnap* 'knob', *cnag* 'knot, peg', *cnarre* 'knot', *cnarri* 'knotty, gnarled', *cnobbe* 'knob', *cnobbel* 'knob', *cnop* 'knob', *cnoppe* 'knob, bud', *cnorre* 'knot, excrescence', *cnottel* 'little knot', *cnotti* 'knotty', *cnottien* 'knot', *cnurned* 'gnarled, knotty', *cnokil* 'knuckle'; Middle Dutch *knolle* 'clod, ball'; Middle Low German *knobbe* 'knot, knob, bud', *knotte* 'knot, knob', *knökel* 'knuckle'; Middle High German *knolle* 'clod, ball', *knotze* 'knot, knob'; New High German *Knast* 'knot', *Knorren* 'knot, knotty protuberance', *Knopf* 'knot, knob, button', *Knolle* 'clod, lump; knot, knob, protuberance; bulb, tuber', *Knöchel* 'knuckle, ankle (bone)', *Knochen* 'bone', *Knoten* 'knot', *Knubbe* 'knot'. Watkins 1985:19 *gen- and 2000:26 *g(e)n- 'to compress into a ball'; Orël 2003:219 Proto-Germanic *knuttōn, 219 *knūtaz; Kroonen 2013:298—299 Proto-Germanic *knūpan- ~ *knuttan- 'knot'; De Vries 1977:320, 322, and 323; Onions 1966:508 and 509; Klein 1971:404; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:383—384, 384, and 385; Kluge—Seebold 1989:384 and 385.
- C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian *kæŋkæl 'tip of pole for driving reindeer' > Chukchi *keŋkel* 'tip of pole for driving reindeer'; Kerek *kaŋkali* 'tip of pole for driving reindeer'; Koryak *kaŋkal* 'tip of pole for driving reindeer'; Alyutor *kaŋkal(i)* 'tip of pole for driving reindeer'. Fortescue 2005:133.

Buck 1949:4.16 bone; 9.192 knot (sb.).

487. Proto-Nostratic root *k'anʷ- (~ *k'ənʷ-):

(vb.) *k'anʷ- 'to observe, to perceive';

(n.) *k'anʷ-a 'the act of observing, perceiving; that which observes, perceives: eye; perception, observation, recognition, comprehension'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *k'an- 'to observe, to perceive': East Cushitic: Burji (prefix verb) *ak'an-d-*, *ak'an-ʔ-* (v. mid.) 'to learn', *ak'an-s-* (v. caus.) 'to teach'; Somali *-qiin/-qaan-* 'to know'; Yaaku *qeen-* 'to know'. Sasse 1982:25.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṇ* 'eye, aperture, orifice, star of a peacock's tail'; Malayalam *kaṇ*, *kaṇṇu* 'eye, nipple, star in a peacock's tail, bud'; Kota *kaṇ* 'eye'; Toda *koṇ* 'eye, loop in string'; Kannada *kaṇ* 'eye, small hole, orifice'; Koḍagu *kaṇṇi* 'eye, small hole, orifice'; Tuḷu *kaṇṇu* 'eye, nipple, star in peacock's feather, rent, tear'; Telugu *kanu*, *kannu* 'eye, small hole, orifice, mesh of net, eye of a peacock's feather'; Kolami *kan* 'eye, small hole in ground, cave'; Naikri *kan* 'eye, spot in a peacock's tail'; Naiki (of Chanda) *kan* 'eye'; Parji *kan* 'eye'; Gadba (Ollari) *kaṇ* 'eye', (Salur) *kanu* 'eye'; Gondi *kan* 'eye'; Konḍa *kaṇ* 'eye'; Pengo *kaṅga* 'eye'; Maṇḍa *kan*

‘eye’; Kui *kanu* ‘eye’; Kuṛux *xann* ‘eye, eye of a tuber’, *xannērnā* ‘(of newly-born babies or animals) to begin to see, to have the use of one’s eyesight’; Malto *qanu* ‘eye’; Brahui *xan* ‘eye, bud’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:109, no. 1150(a); Krishnamurti 2003:100 **kaṇ* ‘eye’. Tamil *kāṇ* (*kāṇp-*, *kaṇṭ-*) ‘(vb.) to see, to consider, to investigate, to appear, to become visible; (n.) sight, beauty’, *kāṇkai* ‘knowledge’, *kāṇpu* ‘seeing, sight’, *kaṇṇu* (*kaṇṇi-*) ‘to purpose, to think, to consider’; Malayalam *kāṇuka* ‘to see, to observe, to consider, to seem’, *kāṇikka* ‘to show, to point out’; Kota *kaṇ-ka-ṇ-* (*kaḍ-*) ‘to see’; Toda *ko-ṇ-* (*koḍ-*) ‘to see’; Kannaḍa *kāṇ* (*kaṇḍ-*) ‘(vb.) to see, to appear; (n.) seeing, appearing’, *kāṇike*, *kāṇke* ‘sight, vision, present, gift’, *kaṇi* ‘sight, spectacle, ominous sight, divination’; Koḍagu *ka-ṇ-* (*ka-mb-*, *kaṇḍ-*) ‘to see, to seem, to look’; Telugu *kanu* (allomorph *kān-*), *kāncu* ‘to see’; Kolami *kaṇḍt*, *kaṇḍakt* ‘seen, visible’; Parji *kaṇḍp-* (*kaṇḍt-*) ‘to search, to seek’; Naikṛi *kank er-* (< **kaṇḍk-* or the like) ‘to appear’; Kuṛux *xannā* ‘to be pleasant to the eye, to be of good effect, to suit well’; Brahui *xaning* ‘to see’. Krishnamurti 2003:95 and 196 **kāṇ* (< **kaHṇ-*) ‘to see’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:134—135, no. 1443.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **k'en(H)-*/**k'on(H)-*/**k'ṇ(H)-*, **k'n-oH-* (> **k'nō-*) ‘to perceive, to recognize, to understand, to know’: Sanskrit *jānāti* ‘to know, to have knowledge, to become acquainted with, to experience, to recognize, to perceive, to apprehend, to understand, to ascertain, to investigate’, *jñā-tá-h* ‘known, acquainted, apprehended, comprehended, perceived, understood’, *jñā-tí-h* ‘knowledge’; Khowār *noik* (3rd sg. *naūr*) ‘to become visible, to appear’; Avestan *zan-* ‘to know’; Greek γι-γνώσκω ‘to learn, to know, to perceive, to discern, to distinguish; to observe, to form a judgment on (a matter), to judge or think (so and so)’, (aorist) ἔγνων ‘I understand’, γωτός ‘perceived, understood, known’; Armenian (aorist) *can-eay* ‘knew’, *an-can* ‘unknown’; Albanian *njoh* ‘to know’; Latin *nōscō* (old form *gnōscō*) ‘to become acquainted with, to get knowledge of; (in the perfect tenses) to be acquainted with, to know’; Gothic *kannjan* ‘to make known’, *kunnan* ‘to know’, *kunþs* ‘known’; Old Icelandic *kenna* ‘to know, to recognize’, *kunna* ‘to know, to understand’, *kunnr*, *kuðr* ‘known’; Old English *cnāwan* ‘to know, to understand, to recognize’, *cūþ* ‘known’; Old Frisian *kenna*, *kanna* ‘to know, to recognize’, *kunna* ‘to know’, *kūth* ‘known’; Old Saxon *ant-kennian* ‘to recognize’, *kunnan* ‘to know’, *kūth* ‘known’; Old Dutch *kund* ‘known’; Dutch *kennen* ‘to know, to recognize’, *kunnen* ‘to know how to, to be able’; Old High German *kunnan* ‘to know how to, to be able’ (New High German *können*), *bi-chnāan*, *ir-chnāan* ‘to know’, *ar-chennan* ‘to recognize’ (New High German *kennen*), *kund* ‘known’ (New High German *kund*); Lithuanian *žinaũ*, *žinóti* ‘to know’; Old Church Slavic *znajō*, *znati* ‘to know’; Tocharian A *knā-* ‘to know’, A *kñā-* in (pres. act.) *kñasäšt* ‘to be acquainted with’, A *ā-knats*, B *a-knātsa* ‘unknown’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ga-ni-eš-zi* ‘to recognize, to discern, to identify; to

acknowledge'. Rix 1998a:149—150 **ġneh*₃- 'to perceive, to recognize, to know'; Pokorny 1959:376—378 **ġen*-, **ġenə*-, **ġnē*-, **ġnō*- 'to perceive, to recognize, to know'; Walde 1927—1932.I:578—580 (**ġen*-), **ġenē*-, **ġenō*-; Mann 1984—1987:399—400 **ġnō*-*mi* (**ġn̥*-, **ġnōiō*-, **ġnəu*-, **ġnōu*-) 'to know', 400—401 **ġnōskō* (**ġn̥*-) 'to know, to get to know', 401 **ġnōstis* (**ġn̥*-) 'knowledge, recognition, declaration', 401 **ġnōu*- (**ġnōum*-, **ġnōuəi*-) 'to know', 402 **ġn̥āu*- theme of nouns and adjectives of general sense 'knowing', 402 **ġn̥ətos*-, **ġnōtos* 'known', 402 (**ġnəu*-), 402 (**ġn̥*- 'knowledge'), 403 **ġn̥tis*-, **ġn̥tus* 'knowledge', **ġn̥tos* 'known'; Watkins 1985:23—24 **gnō*- (contracted from **gnō₂*-) and 2000:32—33 **gnō*- (oldest form **ġne*₂-, colored to **ġno*₂-, contracted to **ġnō*-) 'to know'; Mallory—Adams 1997:336—337 **ġneh*₃- 'to know, to be(come) acquainted with'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:804—805 **k'en*-/**k'n*-, I:171 **k'n-oH*^o- > **k'n-oHu*-, I:175 **k'enH*-/**k'anH*- > **k'ḡH*- and 1995.I:147 **k'n-oH*^o- > **k'n-oHw*- 'to know', I:151 **k'enH*- 'to know', I:705, I:774, I:776 **k'en*-/**k'n*- 'to know'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:429, I:446, and I:446—447; Boisacq 1950:148—149 **ġenē*-, **ġenō*-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:308—309 **ġnō*-; Hofmann 1966:45 **ġnēiō*-, **ġnō-iō*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:224—225; Beekes 2010.I:273 **ġneh*₃-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:176—177 **ġenē*-, **ġenō*-; **ġnō-tós*-, **ġnō-tos*-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:445—446 **g'enə*-, **g'nē*-, **g'nō*-; De Vaan 2008:413—414; Adams 1999:3 and 333; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:159 **ḡnō-tjā* and I:224—225 **ġnō*-; Orël 1998:305 and 2003:210 Proto-Germanic **kanna*, 210 **kannin*₃ō, 210 **kannjanan*, 218 **knēanan*, 224 **kunnēnan*, 224 **kunþaz*, 224 **kunþjan*, 224 **kunþjanan*; Kroonen 2013:279—280 Proto-Germanic **kannjan*- 'to make known', 295 **knēan*- 'to know', 311—312 **kunnan*- 'to know (how), to be able', and 312 **kunþa*- 'known'; Feist 1939:307 **ġen*-, 316—317 **ġen*-, **ġenē*-, **ġenō*-, and 317; Lehmann 1986:215 **ġen*- 'to know', 222—223, and 223; De Vries 1977:306 and 334; Onions 1966:139—140 **gn*-, **gnē*-, **gnō*-, 503, and 508 **gnē*-, **gnō*-; Klein 1971:109 **genē*-, **genō*- and 404 **genē*-, **genō*-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:364, 392 **ġen*-, and 412 **gḡto*-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:366, 398, and 419 **ġnə-to*-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:207—208; Puhvel 1984—4:42—46 **ġnē*-, **ġnō*-; Kloekhorst 2008b:434—436; Smoczyński 2007.1:768 **ġneh*₃-*C*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1310—1311; Derksen 2008:546 **ġneh*₃- and 2015:519—520 **ġn-ne/n-h*₃- (> **ġnh*₃-*ne/n-h*₃-); Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:154—162 **ġneh*₃-.

Buck 1949:4.21 eye; 15.51 see; 17.17 know. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:296—297, no. 163, **kEN*_A 'to know'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:449—450, no 295; Blažek 1989c:206.

488. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'aph-a* and/or **k'ep^h-a* 'jaw, jawbone':

Note: The Altaic cognates seem to point to Proto-Nostratic **k'ep^h-a*, while the Indo-European cognates can be derived from either **k'aph-a* or **k'ep^h-a*.

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kavuḷ* 'cheek, temple or jaw of elephant'; Malayalam *kaviḷ* 'cheek'; Tuḷu *kaḷu* 'the cheek', *kavunḍrasa*, *kavuḍrasa* 'cancer of the cheek'; Parji *gavla*, (metathesis in) *galva* 'jaw'; (?) Telugu *gauda* 'the cheek'; (?) Kui *kūlu* 'cheek'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:124, no. 1337. Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **q'ab-a* 'jaw'.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **(ni-)k'ap-* 'lower jaw, chin': Georgian *nik'ap-*, *ni-k'ap'* 'chin'; Mingrelian *nək'ə* (< **nuk'u* < **nu-k'up*) 'chin'; Laz *nuk'u* (< **nu-k'up*), *nunk'u* 'chin'; Svan *ki-k'p'a* 'chin', *k'ap'rāj* 'lower jaw, chin'. Schmidt 1962:128 (according to Schmidt, *p* in Svan is due to assimilation with *k*); Klimov 1964:148 **ni-kaḗ-* and 1998:142 **ni-kaḗ-* 'chin'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:184 and 265 **kaḗ-*; Fähnrich 2007:220—221 **kaḗ-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k'ep^h-/*k'op^h-* 'jaw, mouth': Old Icelandic *kjaptr* (older forms: *kjöptr*, *keyptr*) 'mouth, jaw'; Faroese *kjaftur* 'jaw'; Norwegian *kjeft* 'jaw'; Swedish *käft* 'jaw'; Danish *kjæft* 'jaw'; Old English *cēafl* 'jaw'; Low German *keve* 'jaw'; New High German *Kiefer* 'jaw, jawbone'; Avestan *zafarə*, *zafan-* 'mouth (of evil beings)'. Pokorny 1959:382 **ḡep(h)-*, **ḡebh-* 'jaw, mouth; to eat'; Walde 1927—1932.I:570—571 **ḡep(h)-*, **ḡebh-*; Mann 1984—1987:389 **ḡebh-* (**ḡebhl-*, **ḡobh-*) 'jaw'; Watkins 1985:19 **ḡep(h)-*, **ḡebh-* and 2000:26 **ḡep(h)-* (also **ḡebh-*) 'jaw, mouth'; Mallory—Adams 2006:255 **ḡeP-* 'to eat, to masticate'; Orël 2003:212 Proto-Germanic **kebran*; De Vries 1977:311; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:369 Germanic base form **kebut-* ~ **kefut-*; Torp 1919:271—272; Onions 1966:498; Klein 1971:396; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:367 **ḡeph-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:368.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *qappu*: 'Adam's apple, larynx'. Nikolaeva 2006:379.
- E. Proto-Altaic **kēp^ha* 'jaw, face': Proto-Tungus **kepe* 'jaw, gills' > Evenki *kewe* 'jaw'; Lamut / Even *kewē* 'jaw'; Ulch *kepi(n)* 'gills; boards (on boat's front)'; Orok *kepi* 'boards (on boat's front)'; Nanay / Gold *kepi* 'gills; boards (on boat's front)'. Proto-Mongolian **kepe* 'ornament, form, example' > Written Mongolian *kege(n)* 'pattern, design, ornament'; Khalkha *χē* 'ornament, form, example'; Buriat *χē* 'ornament, form, example'; Kalmyk *kē* 'ornament, form, example'. Proto-Turkic **ḡēp* 'form, example, image' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *kep*, *kip* 'form, example, image'; Karakhanide Turkic *keb*, *kib* 'form, example, image'; Turkmenian *gāp* 'form, example, image'; Kirghiz *kep* 'form, example, image'; Noghay *kep* 'form, example, image'; Tuva *χep* 'form, example, image'; Chuvash *kap* 'form, example, image'; Yakut *kiep* 'form, example,

image'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:668 **kēp'a* 'face, shape'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: "...the original meaning is 'face' or 'jaws', with a more abstract meaning 'shape' in the Western area (a very usual semantic development)".

Buck 1949:4.204 face; 4.207 jaw; 4.24 mouth; 4.58 bite (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:444, no. 289; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:313—315, no. 190, **kabal* **kāp'a* 'to seize'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 914, **keḗ[H₂]V* (= **keḗV* ?) 'jaw, chin'.

489. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'ap^h-a* 'nape of the neck, back of the head':

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ap-* 'nape of the neck, back of the head': Proto-Semitic **k'ap-aw/y-* 'nape of the neck, back of the head' > Arabic *kaḥan* 'nape; occiput, back of the head; back; reverse; wrong side (of a fabric)', *kaḥān* 'nape; occiput; back of the head'; Ḥarsūsi *keḥē* 'back'; Šheri / Jibbāli *keḥē* 'back, behind'; Mehri *kaḥē* 'back'. Berber: Tuareg *əḥəf* 'head'; Siwa *axfi* 'head'; Nefusa *iḥf* 'head'; Ghadames *iḥəf* 'head'; Mzab *iḥəf*, *ixəf* 'head'; Wargla *iḥəf*, *ixəf* 'head'; Tamazight *ixf* 'head'; Riff *ixf* 'head'; Kabyle *ixəf* 'head, summit'. East Chadic **kwap-* (< **kapwa-*) 'occiput' > Dangla *kopo* 'occiput'; Migama *kupo* 'occiput'; Jegu *kofo* 'occiput'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:337, no. 1548, **kāp-* 'head, occiput'.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:148—149, no. 164) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **kāpy-* 'occiput, back of the head' and Proto-Afrasian **kāpay-* 'occiput, back of the head'.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'ep-* 'nape of the neck, back of the head': Georgian *k'epa* 'back of the head'; Mingrelian *k'ope*, *k'op'e* 'crown (of the head)'; Svan *k'ak'äp* 'nape of the neck'.
- C. (?) Eskimo-Aleut: Proto-Inuit **kapəlkuq* or **kapəlruk* 'neck part of an animal' (?) > Seward Peninsula Inuit *kavirluk* 'upper chest'; Western Canadian Inuit (Car Baker Lake) *kapilkuq* 'front part of caribou'; Greenlandic Inuit *kapirluk* 'backbone of bird'; North Greenlandic / Polar Eskimo *kapirluk* 'front part of salmon behind gills; part of backbone (e.g., seal's)'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:159.

Buck 1949:4.28 neck. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:319—320, no. 195, **kāp'a* 'nape of neck, head'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:453, no. 298.

490. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ap^h-* (~ **k'əp^h-*):
 (vb.) **k'ap^h-* 'to cover; to shut, to close';
 (n.) **k'ap^h-a* 'covering'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ap-* 'to cover; to shut, to close': Proto-Semitic **k'ap-al-* 'to cover; to shut, to close' > Arabic *kaḥala* 'to shut, to close; to latch, to lock, to shut up', *kuḥl* 'padlock; lock, latch, bolt'; Ḥarsūsi *keḥōl* 'to close, to lock, to shut', *keḥl* 'lock'; Mehri *kaḥūl* 'to close, to lock', *kaḥāl* 'lock'; Šheri / Jibbāli *kaḥāl* 'to close, to lock', *kaḥāl* 'lock'; Geez / Ethiopic *kaḥala*, *kaḥalla* [ጠፈለ] 'to overlay, to cover (with plate), to cover, to gild, to plate'. Leslau 1987:424.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kappu* (*kappi-*) 'to overspread (as a cloud)'; Malayalam *kappuka* 'to cover, to overspread'; Kota *kavc-* (*kavc-*) 'to cover with a garment'; Toda *kofc-* (*kofc-*) 'to cover; to be in great numbers, (crowd) to come in great numbers', *kofy-* (*kofs-*) 'to surround in great numbers or on all sides'; Kannaḍa *kappu* 'to cover; to spread, to extend, to overspread, to surround'; Tuḷu *kabiyuni* 'to besiege, to surround, to overwhelm, to overspread (as clouds)'; Telugu *kappu* '(vb.) to cover, to overspread, to envelope, to conceal; to spread, to extend, to collect or settle in a thick covering (as clouds); (n.) a cover, darkness, blackness', *kappuḍu* 'a cover or covering', *kappiri* 'duskiness, partial darkness', (inscr.) *kapurālu* 'the stone beams covering the sanctum'; Parji *kapp-* 'to cover, to overspread'; Kōṇḍa *kap-* '(clouds) to overcast the sky'; Kuṛux *khapnā* 'to cover exactly, to fit upon hermetically, to stick fast to or together'. Krishnamurti 2003:98 **kap-* ~ **kapp-/kaww-V-* 'to cover, to over-spread' and 144 **kap(p)-* ~ **kaw-V-* 'to cover, to overspread'; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:113—114, no. 1221.
- C. Kartvelian: Georgian *k'epan-i* 'a cover (for covering food)'.
D. Proto-Altaiic **k[ā]p^ha* '(vb.) to cover; to shut, to close; (n.) covering; container, bag, sack': Proto-Tungus **kup-* '(vb.) to cover; (n.) covering' > Evenki *kuptu-*, *kupu-* 'to cover', *kupu* 'cover', *kupō* 'knee covering', *kupe* 'cloth'; Lamut / Even *kupke* 'bag, sack', *kubi* 'knee covering', *quptu* 'hat', *kōbže* 'cloth'; Negidal *kuptin-* 'to cover', *koptin* 'cover'; Manchu *χubtu* 'a long cotton padded gown'; Ulch *kup-* 'to cover'; Orok *quptu-* 'to cover', *qōpomī* 'cloth'; Nanay / Gold *koptō* 'sheath'. Proto-Mongolian **kabt-* 'bag, sack' > Written Mongolian *qabtaγ-a(n)* 'bag, pouch, purse; pocket'; Khalkha *kavtga* 'bag, purse, pouch'; Kalmyk *χaptəχə*, *χaptrγə* 'bag, sack'; Ordos *gabtaga* 'bag, sack'; Dagur *χartag* 'bag, sack'; Monguor *sdarga* 'a little bag, pouch, pocket'. Poppe 1955:52. Proto-Turkic **Kāp-* '(vb.) to surround; (n.) bag, sack' > Karakhanide Turkic *qap* 'bag, sack'; Turkish *kap* 'bag, sack', *kapak* 'cover, lid', *kapalı* 'shut, covered, secluded', *kapa-* 'to shut, to close, to shut up; to cover up', *kapanık* 'shut in, confined (place); cloudy, overcast; dark; unsociable, shy; gloomy', *kapatma* 'shut up, confined'; Gagauz *qap* 'bag, sack'; Azerbaijani *gab* 'bag, sack'; Turkmenian *gāp* 'bag, sack', *gāba-* 'to surround'; Uzbek *qap* 'bag, sack'; Uighur *qap* 'bag, sack', (dial.) *qaba-* 'to surround'; Karaim *qap* 'bag, sack'; Tatar *qap* 'bag, sack'; Bashkir *qap* 'bag, sack'; Kirghiz *qap* 'bag, sack'; Kazakh *qap* 'bag, sack'; Noghay *qap* 'bag, sack'; Sary-Uighur *qap*

'bag, sack'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qap* 'bag, sack'; Tuva *χap* 'bag, sack'; Yakut *χappar* 'bag, sack'. Poppe 1955:17, 43, 89, 97, and 133; Street 1974:16 **kāp* 'container', **kāp-á-* 'to close, to block'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:646—647 **k[ā]p'a* '(vb.) to cover; (n.) sack'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: "Mergers with phonetically close roots ... were possible, which may explain some vocalic and prosodic irregularities."

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 12.25 shut, close (vb.); 12.26 cover (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1106, **[k]aṗa* 'to cover, to close'.

491. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ar-* (~ **k'ər-*):

(vb.) **k'ar-* 'to shout, to screech, to call (out to), to cry (out)';

(n.) **k'ar-a* 'call, cry, invocation, proclamation; roar, lamentation'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ar-* 'to call to': Proto-Semitic **k'ar-a?* 'to call to' > Hebrew *kārā?* [כָּרָא] 'to call, to proclaim'; Phoenician *kr?* 'to call'; Aramaic *kārā* 'to call, to shout, to name, to crow; to read, to recite'; Ugaritic *krá* 'to call, to invite'; Arabic *ḵaraʿa* 'to recite, to read'; Amorite *kr?* 'to call'; Akkadian *ḵarū, ḵerū* 'to call to, to invite'; Sabaeen *kr?* 'to call upon, to summon'. Murtonen 1989:385; Klein 1987:590—591; Zammit 2002:336. Berber: Tuareg *əγər* 'to read', *təγərit* 'a shrill (and prolonged) cry, expressing enthusiasm and ardor, characteristic war-cry of the Tuaregs of Ahaggar'; Nefusa *γər* 'to call out, to read, to cry out, to recite'; Ghadames *ʿər* 'to read', *tayrit* 'cry of joy, jubilation'; Mزاب *γiru* 'time of prayer at dawn'; Wargla *γər* 'to call out, to be called'; Tamazight *γər* 'to read, to study'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *γər* 'to read, to study, to know how to read; to call out, to call to eat', *tiγri* 'study, reading; call, cry'; Kabyle *γər* 'to call, to cry out; to read, to study', *tiγri* 'call, cry'. Cushitic: Bilin *qar?* 'to read, to learn' (Arabic loan?). Reinisch 1887:242. West Chadic: Hausa *kaara* 'to cry out', *kaaraa* 'complaint, grievance'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:338, no. 1555, **kar-* 'to call, to shout'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *karai* (-v-, -nt-) 'to sound, to roar, to weep, to lament, to call, to invite', *karai* (-pp-, -tt-) 'to call, to summon'; Malayalam *karayuka* 'to cry, to lament, to neigh, to caw, to caterwaul', *karaccil* 'weeping, crying, lamentation; cry of certain animals or birds', *karaluka* 'to mumble'; Kota *karv-* (*kard-*) 'to bellow, to caw'; Toda *kar-* (*karθ-*) 'to bellow', *kark* 'bellowing'; Tuḷu *kareyuni, karevuni* 'to crow', *karmbuni* 'to mutter'; Kannada *kare, kari* 'to emit a sound; to sound, to call, to invite', *karaha, kareyuvike* 'calling, etc.'; Telugu *kraṅgu* 'the sound of a bell', *krandu* 'to sound, to ring, to lament'; Naiki (of Chanda) *karug-/karuk-* 'to call, to crow, to invite, to summon', *karup-* 'to cause to summon (a physician)'; Parji *kerip-* (*kerit-*) 'to cackle'; Gondi *karṅg-* 'to call', *karingi* 'calling'; Kui *krāva* 'the tongue of a bell'; Kuṛux *xarxnā* 'to ring, to jingle, to clink,

to give a sound', *xarxaʿānā* 'to make ring, to perform music'; Malto *qarǧre* 'to cry out'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:119—120, no. 1291.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **k'er-/*k'or-/*k'r-* 'to cry out, to call, to screech': Sanskrit *járata* 'to call out to, to address, to invoke; to crackle (fire)'; Crimean Gothic *criten* 'to cry'; Old Icelandic *krutr* 'murmur', *krytja* 'to murmur, to grumble', *krytr* 'noise, murmur'; Old English *ceorran* 'to creak', *ceorian* 'to murmur, to grumble', *ceorcian* 'to complain', *cracian* 'to resound', *crācettan* 'to croak', *crāwian* 'to crow'; Old Saxon **krāian* 'to crow'; Dutch *kraaien* 'to crow', *krijts* 'shriek, cry', *krijzen* 'to shriek, to screech', *krijten* 'to weep, to cry'; Old High German *crāen*, *krāhen*, *chrāen*, *khraen* 'to crow' (New High German *krāhen*); Middle High German *krīzen* 'to cry loudly, to groan' (New High German *kreissen* 'to be in labor'); Old Church Slavonic *grajō*, *grajati* 'to crow, to caw'. Pokorny 1959:383—385 **ger-* 'to call hoarsely'; Walde 1927—1932.I:591—593 **ger-*; Mann 1984—1987:265 **garmō* 'to shout, to screech, to call', 266 **gars-* 'shout, cry, resound, echo', 266 **garsmos*, *-is* (**garsmn-*) 'cry, call', 269—270 **gerō*, *-iō* 'to cry, to shout', 270 **gersō* 'to cry, to screech'; Watkins 1985:20 **gerā-* and 2000:27 **gerā-* 'to cry hoarsely'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:421; Orël 2003:213 Proto-Germanic **kerranan*, 222 **krītanan*, 222 **krutjanan*; Kroonen 2013:285 Proto-Germanic **kerzan-* 'to creak, to cry (of birds)'; Feist 1939:112; Lehmann 2008:85; De Vries 1977:332; Onions 1966:226, 229, and 231; Klein 1971:174—175, 177, and 178; Skeat 1898:141, 143, and 144 **gar-* 'to cry out'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:399 and 403 **ger-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:408 and 412; Vercoullie 1898:151 and 154; Derksen 2008:185—186.

Buck 1949:18.41 call. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:432—433, no. 276.

492. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'ar-a* 'blackness, darkness, obscurity; dark cloud, rainy weather; dirt, grime'; (adj.) 'dark, dark-colored; dirty, soiled':
- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ar-* 'dark, dark-colored; dirty, soiled': Egyptian *qr*, *qri* 'storm, storm cloud', *qrm* 'smoke', *qrmt* 'ashes', *qrmts* (Demotic *qrmts*) 'darkness', *qrṯt* 'dung'; Coptic *kromrm* [κρομμ], *krmr̄m* [κρμρμ] 'to become dark', *krmrōm* [κρμρωμ] 'to be dark' (reduplication of *kōrm* [κωρμ] 'smoke'), (Sahidic) *krmes* [κρμεc], (Bohairic) *kermi* [κερμ] 'ash, soot, dust', *krōm* [κρωμ] 'fire', *krmts* [κρμτc] 'smoke, mist; darkness, obscurity', *kōrm* [κωρμ] 'smoke', *kerēt* [κερητ], *čerēt* [βερητ] 'dirt, dung'. Hannig 1995:862 and 863; Faulkner 1962:280; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:57, 5:58, and 5:60; Gardiner 1957:596; Vycichl 1983:86; Černý 1976:62 and 335. The following Cushitic forms may belong here as well, assuming semantic development as in Kannada *kār* 'blackness, rainy season': Butji *k'āraar-i* 'rainy season'; Hadiyya *k'araat'o* 'autumn, fall, season of small rains'; Kambata *k'araa-tu* 'spring season'. Perhaps also:

Central Cushitic: Bilin *qār* 'night'; Xamir *xar* 'night'; Quara *xērā* 'night'; Kemant *xir/xer* 'night'; Awngi / Awiya *γar* 'night'. Appleyard 2006:105; Reinisch 1887:242. Sasse 1982:124; Hudson 1989:120 and 140. West Chadic **k'ar-* 'cloud' > Bolewa *kəriya* 'cloud'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:337, no. 1550, **kar-* 'cloud'.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **k'r-u-k'o-s, -eA* [-*aA*] (> -*ā*) 'dirt, grime': Greek (Hesychius) γρῦξ: 'dirt in the nails'; Modern English (regional) *crock* 'smut, soot, dirt'; Latvian *gruzis* 'dirt, smut; rubbish'. Mallory—Adams 1997:160 **grúǵs* 'dirt'; Mann 1984—1987:300 **gruǵos, -ā* 'dirt, grime'.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **karu* (~ *k^h-*) 'black': Proto-Mongolian **kara* 'black' > Written Mongolian *qara* 'black, dark, obscure'; Dagur *χara, χar* 'black'; Monguor *χara* 'black'; Ordos *χara* 'black'; Buriat *χara* 'black'; Khalkha *χar* 'black'; Kalmyk *χarᵇ* 'black'; Moghol *qarō* 'black'. Poppe 1955:131. Mongolian loans in: Manchu *qara* 'black (of animals)'; Evenki *karā* 'black'. Proto-Turkic **Kara* 'black' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qara* 'black'; Turkish *kara* 'black'; Gagauz *qara* 'black'; Azerbaijani *gara* 'black'; Turkmenian *gara* 'black'; Uzbek *qorē* 'black'; Uighur *qara* 'black'; Karaim *qara* 'black'; Tatar *qara* 'black'; Bashkir *qara* 'black'; Kirghiz *qara* 'black'; Kazakh *qara* 'black'; Noghay *qara* 'black'; Tuva *qara* 'black'; Chuvash *χora* 'black'; Yakut *χara* 'black'; Dolgan *kara* 'black'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:651—652 **karu* (~ *k^c-*) 'black'. Initial consonant uncertain; hence, either here or with Proto-Nostratic **k^har-a* '(n.) blackness, darkness; (adj.) black, dark'.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.73 cloud; 15.63 dark (in color); 14.42 night; 15.88 dirty, soiled. Bomhard 1996a:205—207, no. 603.

493. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ar-* (~ **k'ər-*):

(vb.) **k'ar-* 'to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind';

(n.) **k'ar-a* 'that which is tied or bound together: bunch, bundle'; (adj.) 'bent, curved, crooked; tied, bound'

Possible derivative:

(n.) **k'ar-a* 'protuberance, lump, hump, breast'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ar-* 'to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind': Proto-Semitic **k'ar-an-* 'to tie or bind two things together' > Geez / Ethiopic *ʔastakwārana* [አስተቋረን] 'to bind in pairs'; Tigrinya *k^wārānā* 'to bind two things together'; Amharic *k^warāññā* 'to fetter, to shackle'; Harari *kurāññā āša* 'to tie together creditor with debtor, to tie two things together'; Gurage (*tä*)*k^wrañä* 'to bind together creditor with debtor'. Leslau 1963:129, 1979:498, and 1987:442. Egyptian *qr̥f* 'to bend, to twist, to curve, to wind', *qr̥ft* 'contractions' (medical term), (pl.) *qr̥fw* 'facial wrinkles'. Hannig 1995:863; Faulkner 1962:280; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:60. Berber: Tuareg *əyrəh* 'to keep, to store away, to put in a

- safe place'; Tamazight *γrəz* 'to tack, to baste, to sew, to stitch up a suture'; Kabyle *əγrəz* 'to set a trap, to gather together'.
- B. Dravidian: Kota *karv-* (*kard-*) 'to become tight (rope)', *karv-* (*kart-*) 'to tighten (knot)'; Toda *kar-* (*karθ-*) 'to become tight', *karf-* (*kart-*) 'to tighten (tr.)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:130, no. 1399. Tamil *karrai* 'collection (as of hair, rays of the sun), bundle (as of straw, grass, paddy seedlings), coconut leaves braided together like ropes as bands for hedging'; Malayalam *karra* 'bundle (as of grass, straw), sheaf of corn'; Kannada *kante* 'bundle (as of grass, straw, etc.)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:130, no. 1400.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'ar-/k'r-* 'to bind, to tie together': Georgian *k'ar-/k'r-* 'to bind, to tie together'; Mingrelian *k'ir-/k'ər-* 'to bind'; Laz *k'or-/k'ir-* 'to bind'; Svan *č'ar-/č'r-* 'to bind'. Schmidt 1962:117; Klimov 1964:106 **kar-* : **kr-* and 1998:86 **kar-* : **kr-* 'to bind'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:185 **kar-/kr-*; Fähnrich 2007:222 **kar-/kr-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **k'er-/k'or-/k'r-* '(vb.) to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind; (adj.) curved, bent, crooked; tied, bound; (n.) that which is tied or bound together: bunch, bundle': Sanskrit *grathna-h* 'bunch, tuft', *granth-*, *grathnāmi*, *grantháyati* 'to fasten, to tie or string together', *grantha-h* 'tying, binding, stringing together, knot', *granthi-h* 'a knot, tie, knot of a cord; bunch or protuberance'; Prakrit *gamthai*, *gamthai* 'to tie, to knot', *gamthi-* 'knot, joint, bundle', *gamthilla-* 'knotted'; Assamese *gāthi-* 'knot, joint, protuberance', *gāthiba-* 'to string together'; Greek *γρῶπός* 'hook-nosed'; Latin *grūmus* 'a little heap, hillock (of earth)'; Old Irish *grinne* 'bundle'; Old Icelandic *krá*, *kró* 'nook, corner', *kring* 'round', *kringja* 'to encircle, to surround', *kringr* 'circle, ring', *krókr* 'hook, barb', *kryppil* 'cripple', *krækja* 'to hook'; Old English *crampiht* 'crumpled, wrinkled', *crumb*, *crump* 'crooked', *crymbing* 'curvature, bend, inclination', *crympan* 'to curl', *cranc-stæf* 'weaving implement, crank', *cryppan* 'to bend, to crook (finger)', *crymban* 'to bend', *cradol* 'cradle'; Old Saxon *krumb* 'crooked, bent, curved, twisted'; Dutch *krom* 'crooked, bent, curved, twisted'; Old High German *kratto* 'basket' (New High German [dial.] *Kratten*, *Kretten*), *krezzo* 'basket' (New High German *Krätze*), *krumb* 'crooked, bent, curved, twisted' (New High German *krumm*); Lithuanian *gárbana*, *garbanà* 'curl, lock, ringlet', *grandis* 'ring, link (of a fence)'. Rix 1998a:170 (?) **grenĝh-* 'to twist, to turn' and 170 (?) **grenth₂-* 'to fasten, to tie or string together'; Pokorny 1959:385—390 **ger-* 'to turn, to wind'; Walde 1927—1932.I:593—598 **ger-*; Mann 1984—1987:293 **grengħ-* 'twist, knot', 293 **grinĝhəlos*, *-ā* 'circle, circuit', 295 **grinĝhō*, *-iō* 'to turn, to circle', 295 **grōĝos*, *-ā*, *-iə* 'twist, bend; rope; wicker; tangle; trap', 296 **groiĝō*, *-iō* 'to turn, to wind, to bend', 297 **gronĝh-* 'to twist, to turn', 298 **gronĝhəlos* 'circle, ring, twist, roller, cylinder', 299—300 **gruĝos*; **grugos*, *-ā*, *-iə* 'bend', 300—301 **grumbhos*, *-ā*, *-iə* 'bend, turn, twist; bent'; Watkins 1985:19—20 **ger-*

and 2000:27 *g(e)r- ‘curved, crooked’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:239; Boisacq 1950:157; Hofmann 1966:48; Beekes 2010.I:289; Frisk 1970—1973.I:329—330; De Vaan 2008:273; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:623 *gr-eu-, *ger-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:283; Orël 2003:221 Proto-Germanic *krempanan, 221 *krenḡaz, 221 *krenḡlōn 222 *kruppilaz; Kroonen 2013:301—302 Proto-Germanic *kranga- ~ *kranka- ‘bent, crooked, weak’, 302 *krangjan- ‘to make bend’, 307 *krup(p)ila- ‘cripple’, and 308 *kruppjan- ‘to bend, to stoop’; De Vries 1977:327—328 *ger-, 330 *ger-, 331, and 332; Klein 1971:173, 176, 177, and 179; Onions 1966:224, 225, 228, 229, 230, and 232; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:401 *greth-, *ger- and 408; Kluge—Seebold 1989:410 and 415; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:352; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:135; Smoczyński 2007.1:157 and 1:194—195.

- E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *kärz- ‘to twist or tie (together), to bind, to thread’ > Mordvin (Moksha) *kärks* ‘garland, string’, *kärksa-* ‘to twist (rope), to wrap up, to roll up’; Cheremis / Mari *kerä-*, *kerä-* ‘to draw or pull through, to thread (a needle)’; Votyak / Udmurt *gerd-* ‘knot, loop’; Zyrian / Komi *gered* ‘knot’; Vogul / Mansi *keer-* ‘to plait, to weave together’. Rédei 1986—1988:139—140 *kärz-.
- F. Proto-Altaiic *kera- (~ -ry-) ‘to bind, to wind around’: Proto-Tungus *kerge- (*kergi-) ‘(vb.) to wind around, to bind (into bunches); (n.) circle, ring, bunch’ > Manchu *χergi-*, *χerči-* ‘to wind (thread)’; Negidal *keygeli* ‘circle, ring’; Ulch *kergi* ‘bunch’, *kergin-* ‘to bind into bunches’; Oroch *keygeli* ‘circle, ring’; Nanay / Gold *kergi* ‘bunch’; Oroch *keže-* ‘to wind’. Proto-Mongolian *kere- ‘to bind, to join, to unite’ > Mongolian *kerü-* ‘to attach, to bind, to weave’ (distinct from *kerü-* ‘to roam, to wander’), *kerüdesüle-* ‘to bind into a ball (of thread, etc.)’, *kerüdesü(n)* ‘ball (of thread, etc.)’; Khalkha *χere-* ‘to bind, to join, to unite’; Buriat *χere-* ‘to bind, to join, to unite’; Kalmyk *ker-* ‘to bind, to join, to unite’; Ordos *kere-*, *kerü-* ‘to bind, to join, to unite’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:669—670 *kera (~ -r-) ‘to wind around, to bind’.

Sumerian *garadin*, *kàradin*, *karadin*₅ ‘bundle, sheaf’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 12.74 crooked. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:321—323, no. 197, **kära* ‘to tie (tightly), to tighten’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:446—448, no. 293; Hakola 2000:65, no 255.

494. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k’ar-a ‘protuberance, lump, hump, breast’:
Possibly derived from (in the sense ‘curved shape, swelling’):
(vb.) *k’ar- ‘to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind’;
(n.) *k’ar-a ‘that which is tied or bound together: bunch, bundle’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, crooked; tied, bound’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *karatu* ‘ankle, knot in wood’; Malayalam *karana* ‘knot of sugar-cane’, *kurattu* ‘knuckle of hand or foot’; Kannada *karane*, *kanne* ‘clot, lump’; Telugu *karudu* ‘lump, mass, clot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:117, no. 1266.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **m-k’erd-* ‘breast, chest’: Georgian *mk’erd-* ‘breast, chest’; Mingrelian *k’idir-*, *k’adər-* (< **k’ird-* < **k’erd-*) ‘breast, chest’; Svan *muč’ōd*, *muč’wed* ‘breast, chest’. Schmidt 1962:124; Klimov 1964:135—136 **mķerd-* and 1998:123 **mķerd-* : **mķrd-* ‘breast, chest’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:241 **mķerd-*; Fähnrich 2007:234 **ķward-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k’er-/*k’or-/*k’γ-* ‘protuberance, lump, hump, breast’: Armenian *kurc* ‘core, stump’, (pl.) *kurck^h* ‘breasts’; Old Icelandic *kryppa* ‘hump, hunch’; Lithuanian *grūbas* ‘hump, lump, hillock’; Old Church Slavic *grudь* (< **grōdb*) ‘breast’; Russian *gorb* [гopб] ‘hump’, *grud’* [гpyдъ] ‘breast, chest, bosom, bust’; Serbo-Croatian (pl.) *grudi* ‘breasts’; Polish *garb* ‘hump, lump’. Mann 1984—1987:288 **gord-* (**gordis*, *-jus*) ‘lump’, 298 **grubalos* ‘lumpy, rough, knotty; lump, hump’, 298 **grubos*, *-jə* ‘lumpy, swollen; lump’, 300 **grūgos*, *-is* ‘lump, stump, core’, 300 **grum-* ‘hump, hunch’, 300 **gumbalos* ‘hump, lump’, 301 **grūmālos*, *-ā* ‘lump, hump, mass’; Kroonen 2013:307 Proto-Germanic **kruppa-* ‘compact object’; Orël 2003:222 Proto-Germanic **kruppaz* I, 222 **krūwilaz* ~ **krawwilaz*; De Vries 1977:332; Derksen 2008:193; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:172—173; Smoczyński 2007.1:157.

Buck 1949:4.40 breast (front of chest); 4.41 breast (of woman).

495. Proto-Nostratic root **k’at^h-* (~ **k’ət^h-*):

(vb.) **k’at^h-* ‘to add, join, bring, come, gather, or mix together’;

(n.) **k’at^h-a* ‘blend, mixture, conglomeration, gathering’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ḳatta* ‘to prepare, to make ready; to gather by degrees; to follow the track’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *katuvu* (*katuvi-*) ‘to be troubled, perturbed’; Kannada *kade* ‘to join, to be contiguous, to meet, to approach, to copulate, to be pressed or squeezed’, *kaduku* ‘to press, to squeeze’, *kadubu* ‘to press, to distress, to trouble’; Telugu *kadiyu* ‘to approach, to meet, to come together’, *kadiyincu* ‘to bring together’; Kolami *gaddī-* ‘to reach’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:112, no. 1201.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k’et-* ‘to add; to mix’: Georgian *k’et-* ‘to make, to create’ (Old Georgian *k’et-* ‘to decorate’), *k’etil-* ‘good, kind’, *uk’etur-* ‘evil’; Mingrelian *k’at-* ‘to add, to gather, to produce’; Laz *k’at-* ‘to add, to gather; to accompany’. Klimov 1964:108 **ķet-* and 1998:88 **ķet-* ‘to add; to mix’; Fähnrich 1994:233; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:188 **ķet-*; Fähnrich 2007:226 **ķet-*.

- D. Proto-Altaic **kath[a]* (~ -t-) ‘to add, join, tie, or mix together’: Proto-Tungus **kata-* ‘(vb.) to tie together; (n.) band’ > Evenki *qataq-* ‘friend’; Negidal *kataya-* ‘to tie together’, *katixa* ‘friend’; Manchu *χata* ‘a thin belt or strip of cloth’; Ulch *qatar-* ‘to tie together’; Orok *qatar-* ‘to tie together’; Nanay / Gold *qatar-* ‘to grasp one’s hair’. Proto-Mongolian **kudku-* ‘to stir, to mix’ > Written Mongolian *qudqu-* ‘to stir, to mix, to mingle, to blend’, *qudqula-* ‘to mix, to mingle, to stir by beating; to trouble, to embarrass, to put in disorder’; Khalkha *χutgaχ-* ‘to stir, to mix, to mingle, to blend; to put in disorder, to confuse; to agitate, to embroil, to stir up trouble; to ladle, to scoop up, or to spoon something’, *χutgalax-* ‘to mix, to mingle, to stir by beating; to trouble, to embarrass, to put in disorder’; Buriat *χudxa-* ‘to stir, to mix’; Kalmyk *χutχə-* ‘to stir, to mix’; Ordos *gudxu-* ‘to stir, to mix’; Dagur *korku-* ‘to stir, to mix’; Dongxiang *quduyu-* ‘to stir, to mix’; Shira-Yughur *qudgə-* ‘to stir, to mix’; Monguor *gusgu-* ‘to stir, to mix’. Proto-Turkic **Kat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Karakhanide Turkic *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Turkish *kat-* ‘to add, to join, to mix, to embroil’; Azerbaijani *gat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Turkmenian *gat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Uighur *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Tatar *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Bashkir *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Kirghiz *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Kazakh *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Noghay *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Chuvash *χодьś* ‘mixture’; Yakut *χat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Dolgan *kat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:654 **kat[a]* (~ -t-) ‘to mix, to join’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: “The Mong[olian] vocalism is not quite clear.”
- E. Proto-Eskimo **katə-* ‘to meet’: Naukan Siberian Yupik *kaasur-* ‘to arrive’, *kaasutə-* ‘to bring’; Central Siberian Yupik *kaatə-* ‘to arrive’, *kaatutə-* ‘to arrive with’; Sirenik *katə-* ‘to approach’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kati-* ‘to bump head’; North Alaskan Inuit *kati-* ‘to bump head(s)’; Western Canadian Inuit *kati-* ‘to bump head against something’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kati-* ‘to join, to come after’; Greenlandic Inuit *kattut(i)-*, (Northwest Greenlandic) *katut(i)-* ‘to join, to attack in a group’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:160. Proto-Eskimo **katəma-* ‘to be gathered’: Naukan Siberian Yupik *katəma-* ‘to gather’, *kasima-* ‘to meet’; Central Siberian Yupik *kasima-* ‘to have arrived’; Sirenik *kasəməjani* ‘approaching’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *katuma-*, (Imaqliq) *katəma-* ‘to hold a meeting’; North Alaskan Inuit *kasima-*, (Point Hope) *katima-* ‘to hold a meeting’; Western Canadian Inuit *katima-* ‘to be gathered, to be piled up’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *katima-* ‘to meet, to remain continually with’; Greenlandic Inuit *katima-* ‘to be gathered in a cluster’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:160. Proto-Inuit **katəqšat* ‘collection’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *katiqšat* ‘collection’; North Alaskan Inuit *katiqšat* ‘pile,

collection'; Western Canadian Inuit *katiXXi-* 'cluster'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *katirsu(q)-* 'to assemble'; Greenlandic Inuit *katiršat-* 'collection, gathering'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:160—161. Proto-Eskimo **katət-* 'to join': Central Alaskan Yupik *kacətə-* 'to arrive from the wilderness' (Norton Sound Unaliq 'to gather'); Naukan Siberian Yupik *katətə-* 'to join, to gather'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *katit-* 'to join, to assemble, to marry'; North Alaskan Inuit *katit-* 'to gather, to get married'; Western Canadian Inuit *katit-* 'to gather'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *katit-* 'to join'; Greenlandic Inuit *katit-* 'to join, to get married'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:161. Proto-Eskimo **katɥur-* and **katur-* 'to assemble': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *katuXtə-* 'to gather', *katunrət* 'flock'; Central Alaskan Yupik (Nunivak, Norton Sound) *katur-* 'to be gathered', (post root) *katuŋqa-* 'to be gathered', *katɥat* 'herd'; Central Siberian Yupik *katɥur-* 'to be gathered, assembled'; North Alaskan Inuit *kanyuq-*, (Nunamiut) *katɥuq-* 'to assemble', *kanyut*, (Nunamiut) *katɥut* 'herd'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:161. Proto-Eskimo **katyay* 'the place where two things come together': Central Alaskan Yupik *kasiy-* 'fork (river)'; Sirenik *kasix* 'the place where two poles meet'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kassaaq* 'fork in river'; North Alaskan Inuit *kayyaaq*, (Malimiut) *katyaaq* 'fork in river'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:161. Proto-Eskimo **katyuyutə-* 'to come together': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kasuutə-* 'to meet each other'; Sirenik *kasəyut(ə)-* 'to hit with something, to knock up against something'; North Alaskan Inuit *kasuuti-* 'to meet'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kasuut(i)-* 'to join'; Greenlandic Inuit *kasuut(i)-* 'to knock into, to clink glasses (toast)'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:161—162.

Buck 1949:2.33 marry; 12.21 collect, gather; 12.22 join, unite; 19.65 meet (vb.). Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1215, **katV* (or **kaʔ[V]tV*) 'to mix, to adjoin, to gather'. The Dravidian forms cited by Dolgopolsky do not belong here.

496. Proto-Nostratic root **k'aw-* (~ **k'əw-*):

- (vb.) **k'aw-* 'to bend, twist, curve, or turn round; to rotate';
 (n.) **k'aw-a* 'any round object'; (adj.) 'bent, curved, round'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'aw-* '(adj.) bent, curved, round; (n.) any round object: a hole': Proto-East Cushitic **k'aw-* or **k'aaw-* 'a hole' > Somali *qaw* 'a hole'; Gidole *k'aaw* 'a hole'; Konso *qaawa* 'a hole'; Galla / Oromo *k'a(w)a* 'a hole'; Burji *k'aw-a* 'a hole'. Sasse 1979:43.
 B. Dravidian: Tamil *kevi* 'deep valley, cave'; Kannaḍa *gavi* 'cave'; Tuḷu *gavi* 'cave, hole, cell'; Telugu *gavi* 'cavern'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:124, no. 1332.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'w-er-*, (reduplicated) **k'wer-k'wer-* 'round object': Georgian *k'ver-* 'flat cake, cookie (round)', *k'verk'ver-a-* 'round pie'; Mingrelian *k'var-* 'small round loaf, cookie (maize)', *k'vark'valia-* 'round'; Laz *k'var-*, *nk'var-* 'cookie (round, for children)', *k'ork'ol-a-* 'curls, sheep droppings'; Svan (Lower Bal) *k'urp'i* 'round', *k'wāši* 'cornbread' (< **k'wāl-*, cf. Gamkrelidze—Mačavariani 1982:37, §1.2.2.3) (Mingrelian loan). Schmidt 1962:119; Klimov 1964:110 **k'wer-*, 110 **k'werk'wer-* and 1998:92 **k'wer-* 'flat cake, cookie (round), 93 **k'wer-k'wer-* 'round object'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:198 **k'wer-*; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:326—327, no. 202, Proto-Kartvelian **k'wer-/k'wal-* 'round'; Fähnrich 2007:239 **k'wer-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **k'ew-/k'ow-/k'u-*, also **k'ewH-/k'owH-/k'uH-* > **k'ū-* '(adj.) bent, curved, round; (n.) any round object': Sanskrit *gulī* 'globe, pill', *gola-h* 'globe, ball, jar in the form of a ball'; Greek γύπη 'vulture's nest; cave, den, hole', γῦρός 'round', γῦρος 'ring, circle', γῦρεύω 'to run around in a circle'; Old Icelandic *kúfóttir* 'convex', *kofi* 'hut, shed', *kúla* 'knob, ball', *kúlu-bakr* 'humpback'; Old English *cýf* 'tub, vat, cask, bushel', *cýfl* 'tub, bucket', *cofa* 'closet, chamber'; Middle High German *kobe* 'stable, pigsty' (New High German *Koben*). Pokorny 1959:393—398 **gēu-*, **gəu-*, **gū-* 'to bend, to curve'; Walde 1927—1932.I:555—562 **geu-*; Mann 1984—1987:309—310 **gu-* 'to bend; bent'; Watkins 1985:20 **gēu-* 'to bend'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:341 and I:349; Boisacq 1950:159 **geu-*; Beekes 2010.I:292 and I:293 **gu(H)-*; Hofmann 1966:49 **geu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:243 and I:243—244 **geu-/gu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:335 and I:335—336 **geu-*; Orël 2003:222 Proto-Germanic **kubōn*, 222 **kubōn*, 226 **kūbaz*, 226 **kūlō(n)*; Kroonen 2013:308 Proto-Germanic **kuban-* 'shed'; De Vries 1977:323—324 and 333; Onions 1966:222; Klein 1971:172 **geu-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:386; Kluge—Seebold 1989:386—387.
- E. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qawarqa* 'pit, container'. Nikolaeva 2006: 381.
- F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kawra-* 'to go round' > Chukchi *kawra-* 'to go round', *kawra-lʔat-* 'to rotate'; Kerek *kauja-* 'to go round'; Koryak *kawja(tko)-* 'to go round', *kawja-jyən* 'whirlwind'; Alyutor *kora-* (Palana *kawra-*) 'to go round', *nə-kora-qin* 'crooked'. Fortescue 2005:129.

Buck 1949:12.82 circle; 12.85 hole. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:436—437, no. 281.

497. Proto-Nostratic root **k'aw-* (~ **k'əw-*):

(vb.) **k'aw-* 'to take, to seize, to grasp, to hold';

(n.) **k'aw-a* 'hand'

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **k'aw-/k'w-* 'to take': Georgian *k'av-* 'to take, to occupy, to hold'; Mingrelian [*k'-*] 'to hold'; Laz [*k'-*] 'to snatch'; Svan

k'äw-/k'w- ‘to take, to catch’, *lə-k'äw* ‘taken, seized’. Fährnich 2007:218
 **kaw-*; Klimov 1998:84 **kaw-* : **kw-* ‘to take’; Fährnich—Sardshweladse
 1995:182 **kaw-*.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **k'ow(H)-/k'u(H)-* (or **k'aw[H]-/k'u[H]-*) ‘(vb.)
 to take, to seize, to grasp, to hold; (n.) hand’: Avestan *gava* ‘hand’; Greek
 ἐγ-γυάω ‘to give or hand over as a pledge’; Lithuanian *gáunu, gáuti* ‘to get,
 to receive’; Latvian *gūnu, gūt* ‘to catch, to seize, to capture’. Pokorny
 1959:403—404 **gouə-* (or **gauə- ?* :) **gū-* ‘hand; to seize’; Walde 1927—
 1932.I:636—637 **gouā-* (or **gauā-* ? :) **gū-*; Beekes 2010.I:369
 **g(w)ou-*; Boisacq 1950:211; Frisk 1970—1973.I:436—437; Smoczyński
 2007.1:163—164 **geuH-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:141—142; Derksen
 2015:166.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of.

498. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **k'el-a* ‘female in-law: husband’s sister,
 sister-in-law; daughter-in-law’:

Note also:

(n.) **k^hal-a* ‘female in-law’

- A. Proto-Indo-European **k'elHowV-*, **k'ḷHōC-* ‘husband’s sister’: Greek
 (Attic) γάλωϝ, (Aeolic) γάλοωϝ ‘husband’s sister or brother’s sister, sister-
 in-law’; Phrygian γέλαρος ‘brother’s wife’ (= ἀδελφοῦ γυνή); Latin *glōs*
 ‘husband’s sister, sister-in-law’ (attested only in glosses); Late Church
 Slavic *zъlъva* ‘husband’s sister’; Russian *zolónka* [золовка] ‘husband’s
 sister’ (Old Russian *zólva* [золва]); Old Czech *zelva* ‘husband’s sister’;
 Polish *żelw, żolwica*, alongside *zehl, zohwica* ‘husband’s sister’; Serbian
zàova ‘husband’s sister’. Pokorny 1959:367—368 **ḡ(ē)lōu-* ‘husband’s
 sister’; Walde 1927—1932.I:631 **ḡ(ē)lōu-*; Mann 1984—1987:396 **ḡəlōu-*
 , **ḡələu-* ‘sister-in-law on husband’s side’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov
 1984.II:760 **k'al(ou-)* and 1995.I:662 **k'al(ou-)* ‘husband’s sister’;
 Benveniste 1969.I:251 and 1973:203; Mallory—Adams 1997:521—522
 **ḡ₁h₃-uos-* ‘husband’s sister’; Frisk 1970—1973.I:286—287; Hofmann
 1966:41; Boisacq 1950:140; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:208; Beekes
 2010.I:258—259 **ḡlH-ōus*; De Vaan 2008:266; Walde—Hofmann 1965—
 1972.I:610 **ḡ(e)lōu-*; **ḡlouōs*, **ḡelouōs*, **ḡeleuōs*; Pre-Proto-Slavic
 **ḡeluuā*, alongside **ḡeluuā*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:277; Preobrazhensky
 1951:255; Derksen 2008:551 **ḡlh₂-u-*.
- B. Proto-Altaiic **kele* (~ *-i*, *-o*) ‘daughter-in-law, bride’: Proto-Tungus **keli*
 ‘in-law; girl, sister’ > Manchu *keli* ‘men who have married sisters;
 brothers-in-law’; Evenki *keli(n)* ‘in-law’, *kiliwli* ‘girl, sister’; Lamut / Even
keli ‘in-law’; Negidal *keli* ‘in-law’, *kelewli* ‘girl, sister’; Ulch *keli(n)* ‘in-
 law’; Orok *keli(n)* ‘in-law’; Nanay / Gold *keli* ‘in-law’; Oroch *keli* ‘in-law’.
 Proto-Turkic **gelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon; coll.)

keliŋ-ün, (Old Uighur) *kelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Karakhanide Turkic *kelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Turkish *gelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Gagauz *gelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Azerbaijani *gälin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Turkmenian *gelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Khalay *kälin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’ (Azerbaijani loan); Uzbek *kelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Uighur *kelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Karaim *kelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Tatar *kilen* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Bashkir *kilen* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Kirghiz *kelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Kazakh *kelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Noghay *kelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Khakas *kelän* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *kelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Tuva *kelin* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Chuvash *kin*, *kilän-* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Yakut (pl.) *kiyūt* ‘brides, daughters-in-law’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:659 **kele* (~ -i, -o) ‘daughter-in-law, bride’.

Buck 1949:2.66 sister-in-law. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:295—296, no. 162, **kälU* ‘female relation’; Koskinen 1980:19, no. 47; Dolgopolsky 1998:85—87, no. 109, **kälu/ü* ‘a woman of the other exogamous moiety’ (‘female relative-in-law’, ‘bride’) and 2008, no. 862, **kälü* ‘a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes’ (in descendant languages → ‘female relative-in-law’, ‘bride’); Bomhard 1999a:65; Hakola 2000:52, no. 186.

499. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'enʷ-a* ‘knot, joint’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *keṇṭai* ‘ankle’; Malayalam *keṇippu* ‘joint, articulation’; Kannada *giṇṇu*, *geṇṇu* ‘knot, joint (as of sugarcane, finger, etc.)’, *gaṇṭu* ‘knot of cord; joint of reed, bamboo, cane; joint or articulation of body’; Koḍagu *giṇṇi* ‘joint in wrist or fingers, knot in sugarcane’; Tuḷu *gaṇṭy*, *gaṇṭu* ‘knot in string, ankle, knot or joint of reed or cane’; Telugu *gaṇṭu*, *gaṇṭa* ‘a knot’; Naikṛi *kaṇḍe* ‘joint in bamboo’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:177, no. 1946.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k'enu-/k'nu-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **k'onu-*) ‘knee, bend of the leg; angle’: Sanskrit *jānu*, *jñu-* ‘knee’; Avestan (acc. sg.) *žnūm* ‘knee’; Armenian *cunr* (< **k'ōnu-r-*) ‘knee’; Greek γόνυ ‘knee’, γωνία ‘a corner, angle’; Latin *genū* ‘knee’; Gothic *kniu* ‘knee’; Old Icelandic *kné* ‘knee’; Faroese *knæ* ‘knee’; Norwegian *kne* ‘knee’; Swedish *knä* ‘knee’; Danish *knæ* ‘knee’; Old English *cnēo* ‘knee’; Old Frisian *kniu*, *knī*, *knē* ‘knee’; Old Saxon *kneo*, *knio* ‘knee’; Dutch *knie* ‘knee’; Old High German *chniu* ‘knee’ (New High German *Knies*); Hittite *gi-e-nu*, *gi-nu* ‘knee’; Tocharian A (dual) *kanweṃ*, B (dual) *kenī(ne)* ‘knees’. Pokorny 1959:380—381 **ḡenu-*, **ḡneu-* ‘knee, angle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:586—587 **ḡeneu-*; Mann 1984—1987:393 **ḡenu* (**ḡōn-*, **ḡən-*) ‘bend of the leg, knee; angle’, 401 **ḡnu* ‘knee’; Watkins 1985:19 **ḡenu-* and 2000:26 **ḡenu-* ‘knee’ (also ‘angle’) (variant form **ḡneu-*; *o*-grade form **ḡonu-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:100, I:173, I:233, II:815 **k'enu-*, **k'onu-*,

- **k̂'n-ey-* and 1995.I:86, I:149, I:202, I:688, fn. 13, **k̂'enu-*, **k̂'onu-*, **k̂'n-ew-* 'knee'; Mallory—Adams 1997:336 **gónu* 'knee'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:429 and I:447; Boisacq 1950:153—154 **geneu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:321 and I:336—337; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:232—233 and I:244; Hofmann 1966:47; Beekes 2010.I:283 **genu*, **gonu* and I:294 Greek γωνία < *γωνF-ία; Ernout—Meillet 1979:273; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:592—593 **gōn-u*; De Vaan 2008:259; Orël 2003:218 Proto-Germanic **knewan*; Kroonen 2013:296 Proto-Germanic **knewa-* 'knee'; Feist 1939:313 Gothic *kniu* < **g̃n-ey-*, base **geney-*; Lehmann 1986:220 **g̃enu-*, **g̃new-* 'knee, angle'; De Vries 1977:320 **g̃enu-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:395 Germanic stem **knewa-*; Torp 1919:295 Germanic **knewa-*; Onions 1966:507 **gneu-*, **geneu-*, **goneu-*; Klein 1971:403—404; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:219—220; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:382; Kluge—Seebold 1989:383 **g̃enu-*; Sturtevant 1951:40, §62d, **g̃énw*; Puhvel 1984— .4:146—151 **g̃onu-* or **g̃(̃)nu-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:467—468; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:187 **g̃onu*; Adams 1999:193 **g̃onu*.
- C. Proto-Altaic **kēnʷa* 'front leg, armpit, angle': Proto-Tungus **kenʷe-*/**kunʷe-* 'shin, stockings' > Evenki *keñete*, *kuñetu* 'stockings'; Lamut / Even *kēneče*, *kōnčēn* 'shin'. Proto-Mongolian **ka(i)* 'front legs' > Written Mongolian *qa* 'the part of a foreleg of an animal between the shoulder and knee'; Khalkha *χaa* 'front legs'; Buriat *χα* 'front legs'; Kalmyk *χā* 'front legs'. Proto-Turkic **Kāynat* 'wing, fin' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qanat* 'wing'; Karakhanide Turkic *qanat* 'wing'; Turkish *kanad* 'wing, fin'; Gagauz *qanat* 'wing'; Azerbaijani *ganad*, (dial.) *gānād* 'wing'; Turkmenian *gānat* 'wing'; Uzbek *qanot* 'wing'; Karaim *qanat* 'wing, fin'; Tatar *qanat* 'wing'; Bashkir *qanat* 'wing'; Kirghiz *qanat* 'wing'; Kazakh *qanat* 'wing'; Noghay *qanat* 'wing'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qanat* 'wing, fin', *qanar* 'fin'; Chuvash *sonat* 'wing, fin'; Yakut *kīnat*, *kījīat* 'wing'; Dolgan *kīnat* 'wing'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:664—665 **kēna* 'front leg, armpit, angle'.
- Buck 1949:4.36 knee; 9.192 knot (sb.).
500. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ep'*:-
- (vb.) **k'ep'*- 'to cut, chop, split, or break into small pieces; to munch, to chew';
- (n.) **k'ep'-a* 'the act of cutting, chopping, splitting, or breaking into small pieces, the act of mincing; chewing (the cud), rumination'
- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *kabaʔa* 'to eat, to fill oneself with drink'.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'ep'*- 'to cut or chop into small pieces, to mince': Georgian *k'ep'*- 'to cut or chop into small pieces, to mince'; Svan *k'əp'*- 'to cut or chop into small pieces, to mince'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:190 **kep-*; Fähnrich 2007:229 **kep-*.

- C. Proto-Altaic **kēpu-* ‘to chew’: Proto-Tungus **keb-* ‘to gnaw, to bite (with front teeth); to pierce through’ > Manchu *keifule-* ‘to pierce, to go through (arrows)’, *keifu* ‘a type of arrow used for shooting tigers, bears, and buck deer’; Evenki *kewde-* ‘to pierce through’; Lamut / Even *kēwri-* ‘to gnaw, to bite (with front teeth)’. Proto-Mongolian **kebi-* ‘to chew’ > Mongolian *kebi-* ‘to chew the cud, to ruminate’, *kebidesü* ‘rumination, cud’, *kebilge* ‘cud, rumination’; Khalkha *χeve-* ‘to chew’; Buriat *χibe-* ‘to chew the cud, to ruminate’; Kalmyk *kew-* ‘to chew’; Ordos *kewe-* ‘to chew’; Monguor *kēyi-* ‘to chew’. Proto-Turkic **gēb-* ‘to chew’ > Turkish *geviş* ‘chewing the cud, ruminating’, *gevele-* ‘to chew’; Karakhanide Turkic *kev-* ‘to chew’; Gagauz *gevše-* ‘to chew’; Azerbaijani *göyüş* ‘cud’; Turkmenian *gāvü-š* ‘cud’; Uzbek *kawša-* ‘to chew’; Uighur *köyši-* ‘to chew’; Karaim *kövse-n-* ‘to chew’; Tatar *küşä-* ‘to chew’; Bashkir *köyöš* ‘cud’; Kirghiz *küy-š-ö-* ‘to chew, to chew the cud, to ruminate’; Kazakh *küyis* ‘cud’; Noghay *küyze-* ‘to chew’; Chuvash *kavle-* ‘to chew’; Yakut *kebi-* ‘to chew’. Poppe 1960:20, 46, and 135; Street 1974:16 **kebi-* ‘to ruminate, to chew the cud’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:667 **kēpu-* ‘to chew’.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 5.11 eat.

501. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasianic only) **k'er-*:

- (vb.) **k'er-* ‘to decay, to wear out, to wither, to waste away, to become old’;
 (n.) **k'er-a* ‘old age, old person’; (adj.) ‘decayed, worn out, withered, wasted, old’

- A. Proto-Indo-European **k'er(H)-*/**k'or(H)-*/**k'ṛ(H)-* ‘to decay, to wear out, to wither, to waste away, to become old’: Sanskrit *járatī* ‘to grow old, to become decrepit, to decay, to wear out, to wither, to be consumed, to break up, to perish’, *jára-ḥ* ‘becoming old, wearing out, wasting’, *jaraṇá-ḥ* ‘old, decayed’, *jīrṇá-ḥ* ‘old, worn out, withered, wasted, decayed’, *jūrṇá-ḥ* ‘decayed, old’, *járat-* ‘old, ancient, infirm, decayed, dry (as herbs), no longer frequented (as temples) or in use’, *jará* ‘old age’; Avestan *zar-* ‘to grow old, to waste away’; Armenian *cer* ‘old’; Greek *γεραιός* ‘old’, *γέρων* ‘(n.) an old man; (adj.) old’, *γῆρας* ‘old age’; Old Icelandic *karl* ‘man, old man’; Old English *carl* ‘man’ (Norse loan), *ceorl* ‘free man of the lowest class; free man; common man; husband; man, hero’; Old Frisian *tzerl*, *tzirl* ‘free man without rank’; Dutch *kerel* ‘free man without rank’; Old High German *karl* ‘man, husband’; New High German *Kerl* ‘fellow, chap, guy’ (< Middle Low German *kerle* ‘free man without rank’); Old Church Slavic *zbrěti* ‘to ripen, to mature’, *zbrěb* ‘ripe’; Slovenian *zoríti* ‘to ripen’; Tocharian B (pl.) *śrāy* ‘older men, mature men, adult men’. Walde 1927—1932.I:599—600 **ġer-*, **ġerē-*; Pokorny 1959:390—391 **ġer-*, **ġerə-*, **ġrē-* ‘to decay, to mature, to grow old’; Rix 1998a:146—147 **ġerh₂-* ‘to decay, to become old’; Mann 1984—1987:394 **ġer-* (**ġerōnt-*, **ġerənt-*,

gernt-* ‘old; old man’, 394 **geralos* (gorl-*) ‘old, mature; old age, old man’, 394 **gergeros* ‘old, mellow’, 394—395 **geruos* ‘old; age’, 405 **gor-* ‘ripe, old, mature’; Watkins 1985:20 **gerə-* and 2000:27 **gerə-* ‘to grow old’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:224 **k’erH-/k’rH-* and 1995.I:151, I:177, I:187, I:194 **k’erH-/k’rH-* ‘old’; Mallory—Adams 1997:152 **gerh_a-* ‘to age, to mature’, 237 **gerh_a-* ‘to ripen, to age’, 248 **gerh_a-* ‘to grow, to age, to mature’, 409 **gerh_a-ont-* ‘old man’, 409—410 **gerh_a-o-s* ‘old man’, **gerh_a-* ‘to age’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:420, I:421, I:422, I:439, and I:443; Frisk 1970—1973.I:301—302; Boisacq 1950:145 **gerē-*; Hofmann 1966:43—44; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:217—218; Beekes 2010.I:268—269 **gerh₂-*; Orël 2003:210 Proto-Germanic **karlaz* ~ **kerlaz*; Kroonen 2013:285 Proto-Germanic **kerla-* ~ **karla-* ‘man, freeman’; Onions 1966:175; Klein 1971:136 **ger(ē)-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:365; Kluge—Seebold 1989:366 **gerə-*; Vercoullie 1898:133; Derksen 2008:548 **gorh₂-eie-* and 552—553 **grh₂-*; Adams 2013:705.

- B. Proto-Altaic **kēru* (~ *kh-*) ‘old, worn out’: Proto-Mongolian **kari-*, **karsi-* ‘to weaken, to become old’ > Written Mongolian *qari-* ‘to weaken, to become old’; Khalkha *χari-*, *χarši-* ‘to weaken, to become old’; Buriat *χaraši-* ‘to weaken, to become old’; Kalmyk *χär-* ‘to weaken, to become old’. Proto-Turkic **Karī-* ‘(adj.) old; (n.) old man or woman; (vb.) to become old’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qari* ‘old’, *qari-* ‘to become old’; Karakhanide Turkic *qari* ‘old’, *qari-* ‘to become old’; Turkish *kart* ‘dry, hard, tough, wizened, old’, *kart-* ‘to become dry, tough, shriveled, old’, *kartlık* ‘dryness, toughness; loss of the freshness of youth’, *kari* ‘woman, wife’; Gagauz *qari* ‘old; old man or woman; woman’; Azerbaijani *gari* ‘old woman’; Turkmenian *garri* ‘old’, *garra-* ‘to become old’; Uzbek *qari* ‘old’, *qari-* ‘to become old’; Uighur *qeri* ‘old; old man or woman’, *qeri-* ‘to become old’; Tatar *qari*, *qart* ‘old’; Bashkir *qari*, *qart* ‘old’; Kirghiz *qari*, *qart* ‘old’, *qari-* ‘to become old’; Kazakh *qari* ~ *qeri*, *qart* ‘old’; Noghay *qart* ‘old’; Tuva *qiri-* ‘to become old’; Yakut *kiri̋y-* ‘to become old’; Dolgan *kiri̋y-* ‘to become old’. Décsy 1998:124 Proto-Turkic **qary* ‘old’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:671—672 **kēru* (~ *k^c-*) ‘old, worn out’.

Buck 1949:14.15 old. Greenberg 2002:124, no. 283.

502. Proto-Nostratic root **k’er-*:

- (vb.) **k’er-* ‘to gather, to collect; to take a handful, to pick, to pluck’;
 (n.) **k’er-a* ‘collection, gathering, handful’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k’[e]r-* ‘to gather, to collect; to take a handful, to pick, to pluck’: Proto-Semitic **k’ar-ad-* ‘to gather, to collect; to take a handful, to pick, to pluck’ > Arabic *ḵarada* ‘to collect, to gather, to hoard up’; Akkadian *ḵarādu* ‘to pluck wool’, *ḵerdu* ‘plucked wool’, *ḵurrudu* ‘with

hair falling out in tufts' (for the etymology, cf. Von Soden 1965—1981.II:901—902). Proto-Semitic **k'ar-am-* 'to glean' > Geez / Ethiopic *ḵarama*, *ḵarrama* [ḵḶḶ] 'to glean, to harvest', *ḵarmāy* [ḵḶḶḶ] 'briar, weeds, oats', *takrām* [ḵḶḶḶ] 'gleanings, crop, harvest'; Tigrinya *ḵārāmā* 'to glean'; Amharic *ḵārrāmā* 'to glean', *ḵārm* 'stubble, gleaning'; Argobba *ḵārrāmā* 'to glean'; Gurage *ḵerrāmā* 'to glean', (Wolane) *ḵārma* 'gleanings'; Tigre *ḵārim* 'plowed field, arable land' (probably 'gleaned' > 'arable'). Leslau 1979:497—498 and 1987:441.

- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *ki-ir-pi* 'hands'; Royal Achaemenid Elamite *kur-pi* 'hands'. Dravidian: Koṇḍa *ker-* 'to take handfuls or small quantities out of a mass (of grain, etc.), to take into a ladle before serving, to collect into a heap and pick up'; Pengo *gre-* 'to scoop up with the hand'; Maṇḍa *gropa-* 'to scoop up'; Kui *grāpa* (*grāt-*), *grēpa* (*grēt-*) 'to scoop up, to shovel into with the hands, to scrape together'; Kuwi *grecali* (*gret-*) 'to gather up, to take a handful'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:178, no. 1959.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'er-b-/k'r-eb-* 'to gather, to collect': Georgian *k'reb-/k'rib-/k'rb-*, *k'erb-* 'to gather'; Mingrelian *k'orob-* 'to gather'; Laz *k'orob-* 'to gather'. Schmidt 1962:120 **ḵereb-*; Klimov 1964:115 **ḵerb-* and 1998:100 **ḵreb-* : **ḵrb-* 'to gather, to get together'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:207—208 **ḵrab-*; Fähnrich 2007:253 **ḵrab-*. Proto-Kartvelian **k'r-ep-/k'r-ip-* 'to gather, to pick (fruit, flowers)': Georgian *k'rep-/k'rip-* 'to gather, to pick (fruit, flowers)'; Mingrelian *k'orop-* 'to gather, to pick (fruit, flowers)'. Schmidt 1962:120; Klimov 1964:115 **ḵrep-* and 1998:100 **ḵrep-* : **ḵrip-* 'to gather, to pick (fruit, flowers)'. Perhaps also Georgian *k'ert-/k'rt-* 'to pluck (out)'. Klimov 1998:90 **ḵert-* : **ḵrt-* 'to pluck (out)'.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **k'er-/k'or-/k'γ-* 'to gather (together), to collect, to take a handful': Greek ἀγείρω (< **ḡ-ger-iō*) 'to come together, to assemble; to gather, to collect', ἀγορά (Ionic ἀγορή) 'an assembly of the people; place of assembly (like the Roman *Forum*)'; Latin *grex* 'flock, herd'; Welsh *gre* 'herd'; Old Icelandic *kremja* 'to squeeze (especially of berries, grapes, etc.)'; Old English *crammian* 'to cram, to stuff'; Latvian *gūrste* 'bundle of flax'; Russian *gorst'* [горсть] 'cupped hand'; Ukrainian (*pry*)*hortáty* 'to clasp'; Polish *garnąć* 'to gather'; Sanskrit *grāma-h* 'heap, crowd, community'. Rix 1998a:246 (?) **h₂ger-* 'to gather, to collect; to come together, to assemble'; Pokorny 1959:382—383 **ger-* 'to collect'; Walde 1927—1932.I:590—591 **ger-*; Mann 1984—1987:302 **grt-* 'to gather, to assemble'; Mallory—Adams 1997:217 **ger-* '(vb.) to gather; (n.) herd, crowd'; Watkins 1985:19 **ger-* and 2000:27 **ger-* 'to gather'; Boisacq 1950:6—7; Frisk 1970—1973.I:8—9 and I:13—14; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:9 and I:12—13; Hofmann 1966:2; Schwyzer 1953.I:433, note 5; Beekes 2010.I:10 **h₂ger-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:353; De Vaan 2008:273; Ernout—Meillet 1979:283 **gre-g-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:622 **gre-g-* < **gere-*; Derksen 2008:199 Balto-Slavic **gursti-*; Orël

2003:220 Proto-Germanic **krammjanan*, 220 **krampjanan*; Kroonen 2013:301 Proto-Germanic **krammōn-* ‘to squeeze’; De Vries 1977:330 **ger-*; Skeat 1898:140; Onions 1966:224; Klein 1971:173 **ger-* ‘to gather together’.

- E. Uralic: Finnish *kerätä-* ‘to collect, to gather together, to gather up; to pick’, *keruu* ‘collection, gathering’, *keräys* ‘collection’, *kertyä-* ‘to accumulate, to pile up’, *kerääntyä-* ‘to collect, to gather; to assemble’; Karelian *kereä-* ‘to gather, to collect’.
- F. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **k(ə)r-* ‘to accompany’: Amur *iγrə-dʷ / -kʰrə-dʷ / -xrə-dʷ* ‘to accompany’; North Sakhalin [*urgut (humnə-dʷ)*] ‘to (live) together with’; East Sakhalin *phʰiγrəgu-* ‘to accompany’; South Sakhalin *ugr / igrʰ* ‘together’ [*uγrə-* ‘two people together’]. Fortescue 2016:87. Assuming semantic development from ‘to gather together’.

Buck 1949:12.21 collect, gather. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:330—331, no. 206, **kʰrʷa* ‘to gather fruit’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:441—442, no. 286; Hakola 2000:65, no. 253.

503. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ir-* (~ **k'er-*) or **k'ur-* (~ **k'or-*):

- (vb.) **k'ir-* or **k'ur-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to incise, to engrave, to notch; to cut off, to sever, to nip off, to clip; to cut in two, to split’;
 (n.) **k'ir-a* or **k'ur-a* ‘cut, slit, notch; chip, piece cut off’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'e(e)r-*, **k'o(o)r-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to incise, to engrave, to notch; to cut off, to sever, to nip off, to clip; to cut in two, to split’: Proto-Semitic **k'ar-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to incise, to engrave, to notch; to cut off, to sever, to nip off, to clip; to cut in two, to split’ > Arabic *qarasha* ‘to pinch, to nip, to bite’, *qaraha* ‘to wound’, *qarada* ‘to cut, to sever, to cut off, to clip, to gnaw, to nibble, to bite’, *qarasha* ‘to gnash, to grind (one’s teeth), to nibble, to crunch, to chew’, *qarama* ‘to gnaw, to nibble’, *qarmaša* ‘to eat, to crunch, to nibble’, *qarata* ‘to cut into small pieces, to chop, to mince’, *qarṭama* ‘to cut off, to clip’, *qarqada* ‘to gnaw, to bite’; Hebrew *qāraš* [קָרַשׁ] ‘to nip, to pinch’, *qārah* [קָרַח] ‘to shave oneself bald, to make bald’, *qardōm* [קַדְמוֹם] ‘adze, axe’, *qereš* [שֶׁרֶשׁ] ‘board, plank’; Akkadian *qarāšu* ‘to nip off, to gnaw’, *qarāšu* ‘to trim, to cut wood, to carve (meat)’; Ugaritic *krš* ‘to bite’; Ḥarsūsi *kerōš* ‘to nip’, *qerōh* ‘to shave, to cut’, *qerōz* ‘to cut up’, *qerōt* ‘to bite’; Šheri / Jibbāli *qerh* ‘to cut off all the hair’, *qerōš* ‘to nip’, *qerōz* ‘to cut, to cut all the hair off something’; Mehri *qáwrəh* ‘to cut, to shave’, *qarūs* ‘to nip’, *qarūt* ‘to chop’, *qarūz* ‘to reive (camels); to cut (hair) with scissors’; Geez / Ethiopic *qarada* [ቀረደ] ‘to lacerate, to tear away, to cut off, to shear, to shave’, *q'wārafa* [ቀረፈ] ‘to cut into little pieces, to tear, to bite from an oversize piece’, *qarrəha* [ቀርሐ], *qarha* [ቀርሐ] ‘to shave, to make bald’, *qarasha* [ቀረሰ] ‘to incise, to scar, to scalp, to engrave, to carve, to cut, to chisel, to shear, to shave’.

ḳartama [ፈርጠመ] ‘to munch, to chew food that is hard’; Tigrinya *ḳwarräfä* ‘to eat, to browse, to eat the *ḳwarf-* root’, *ḳäräšä*, *ḳwäräšä* ‘to cut, to make an incision’, *ḳwärtätä* ‘to pinch, to break off leaves’; Amharic *ḳwarräfä* ‘to bite an oversize piece’, *ḳwärrätä* ‘to cut off’, *ḳwärättätä* ‘to be nibbled, to be indented’, *ḳwärättämä* ‘to munch, to crush’, *ḳwärrämmätä* ‘to nibble, to tear’; Gurage *ḳwärrärä* ‘to become bald’, *ḳärätämä* ‘to crush, to crush a member of the body of a living being’, *ḳäräsä* ‘to break bread, *to break off a piece’, *ḳwärrättämä* ‘to crunch’, *ḳärätätä* ‘to amputate, to cut off’. Murtonen 1989:386 and 388; Klein 1987:592, 592—593, 596, and 597; Leslau 1979:500, 501, 502—503 and 1987:440—441, 441, 444, 445; Zammit 2002:338. Berber: Tuareg *əyrəs* ‘to slit the throat of an animal as part of a ritual’. Proto-East Cushitic **k'er-/k'ur-* or **k'uur-* ‘to cut’ > Galla / Oromo *k'or-* ‘to write’; Somali *qor-i* ‘to carve, to cut, to write’; Rendille *xor/xora* ‘to carve skin’. Sasse 1979:5. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k'eer-* ‘to cut (meat)’ > Iraqw *qer-* ‘to give an animal for slaughter’; Dahalo *k'eer-* ‘to cut (meat ?)’. Ehret 1980:252. Ehret 1995:238, no. 425, **k'eer-/k'oor-* ‘to cut into’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:338, no. 1556, **ḳaraḳ-* ‘to cut’.]

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'r-eč'k'-/k'r-ič'k'-/k'ḡ-č'k'-* ‘to cut, to cut off’: Georgian *k'reč'-/k'rič'-* ‘to cut, to cut off’; Mingrelian *k'irač'-/k'irič'-/k'irč'-* ‘to cut’; Laz *k'rič'-* ‘to cut, to cut off’. Klimov 1998:100 **ḳreč'-/ḳrič'-/ḳrč'-* ‘to cut, to cut off’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:208—209 **ḳreč'-/ḳrič'-*; Fähnrich 2007:254 **ḳreč'-/ḳrič'-*. The expected cluster *-č'k'-* in Mingrelian and Laz has been reduced to *-č'-* through dissimilation with initial *k'-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k'er-/k'or-/k'ḡ-* (extended form: **k'er-bh-/k'or-bh-/k'ḡ-bh-*) ‘to cut, to carve, to notch’: Greek γράφω ‘to write’; Old Icelandic *krota* ‘to engrave’, *kurfr* ‘chip, cut-off piece’; Old English *ceorfan* ‘to cut’, *cyrf* ‘cutting’; Old Frisian *kerva* ‘to cut’; Dutch *kerven* ‘to cut’; Middle High German *kerban* ‘to cut, to notch’ (New High German *kerben*). Rix 1998a:165 **gerbh-* ‘to scratch, to incise, to notch’; Pokorny 1959:392 **gerebh-* ‘to slit’; Walde 1927—1932.I:606—607 **gerbh-*; Mann 1984—1987:269 **gerbh-* ‘to cut; fate’, 289—290 **grabhō* ‘to scratch, to scrape’; Watkins 1985:20 **gerbh-* and 2000:27 **gerbh-* ‘to scratch’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:624 *(*s*)*k'reb[h]-* and 1995.I:536 *(*s*)*k'rebh-* ‘to scratch, to scrape, to draw’ (also **k'ḡbh-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:143 *(*s*)*grebh-* ‘to scratch, to cut’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:235—236 **gerbh-*; Boisacq 1950:155 **gerph-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:324—326 **gerbh-*; Hofmann 1966:47; Beekes 2010.I:285—286 **gerbh-*; Orël 2003:213 Proto-Germanic **kerbanan*; Kroonen 2013:285 Proto-Germanic **kerban-* ‘to carve’; De Vries 1977:331—332 **ger-* and 335 **ger-*; Onions 1966:149 West Germanic **kerfan*; Klein 1971:116 **gerbh-* ‘to scratch’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:364 **gerbh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:366.

- D. Proto-Altaic **kīro-* ‘to cut, to mince’: Proto-Tungus **kīre-* ‘to mince; to be broken off, to break off; to gnaw’ > Evenki *kirge-* ‘to gnaw’; Lamut / Even *qīrGᵇ-* ‘to gnaw’; Ulch *kirki-čū-* ‘to gnaw’, *kiri* ‘front tooth’; Orok *keren-* ‘to mince’, *kirī-* ‘to grin, to show one’s teeth’; Nanay / Gold *qīarqīali-*, *kerkieli-* ‘to gnaw’, *kermē-* ‘to be broken off, to break off’. Proto-Mongolian **kiru-* ‘to mince, to cut into small pieces’ > Written Mongolian *kīra-*, *kīru-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to mince’, *kirbe-* ‘to shorten gradually; to trim or clip evenly; to level up’; Khalkha *ḡar-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to mince’; Buriat *kirma-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to mince’; Kalmyk *kur-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to mince’, *kirwə-* ‘to cut off’; Dagur *kereči-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to mince’. Proto-Turkic **Kīr-* ‘(vb.) to break, to demolish; to scrape, to shave; (adj.) small’ > Karakhanide Turkic *qīr-* ‘to break, to demolish; to scrape; to tear out’; Turkish *kır-* ‘to break, to split; to kill, to destroy’, *kıran* ‘breaking, destructive’, *krık* ‘broken, cracked; break, fracture, fragment’; Gagauz *qīr-* ‘to break, to demolish’; Azerbaijani *gīr-* ‘to break, to demolish’; Turkmenian *gīr-* ‘to break, to demolish; to scrape, to shave’; Uzbek *qīr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Uighur *qī(r)-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Tatar *qīr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Bashkir *qīr-* ‘to break, to demolish; to scrape, to shave’; Kirghiz *qīr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Kazakh *qīr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Noghay *qīr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qīr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Tuva *qīr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Chuvash *ḡar-* ‘to break, to demolish’; Yakut *kīrīy-* ‘to shear, to cut’, *kīra* ‘small’; Dolgan *kīrīy-* ‘to shear, to cut’, *kīra* ‘small’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:679—680 **kīro* ‘to cut, to mince’.
- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **k(ə)r-* ‘to gouge out’: Amur *eḡra-dy / -kḡra-dy* ‘to hollow out, to gouge a hole in’; East Sakhalin *extra-d* ‘to gouge out’. Fortescue 2016:87.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 9.22 cut (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:437—438, no. 282.

504. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **k’om-a* ‘hand, fist’:

Perhaps related to:

(vb.) **k’um-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to press together’;

(n.) **k’um-a* ‘heap, mass, lump, clump; pressure, compression’

- A. Proto-Uralic **kom₃(r₃)* ‘handfull, cupped hand’: (?) Finnish *kahmalo*, *kamahlo* ‘double handfull’; (?) Estonian *kamal* ‘cupped hands, the hollow of the two hands joined; double handfull’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *goabmer* ‘the two curved open hands put together to receive or catch something’; Mordvin (Erza) *komoro* ‘handfull’, (Moksha) *komor* ‘hollow of the hand’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *kamīr* ‘handfull’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *hammara* ‘hand’. Collinder 1955:22 and 1977:42; Rédei 1986—1988:175 **kom₃(r₃)*; Décsy 1990:100 **komara* ‘handfull, cupped hand’.

- B. Proto-Altaic **kompo* ‘fist, wrist’: Proto-Tungus **komba-* ‘hand, wrist, spoke-bone’ > Negidal *komboxī* ‘hand, wrist, spoke-bone’; Orok *qomū* ‘wrist, hand, spoke-bone’; Nanay / Gold *qombjo* ‘hand, wrist, spoke-bone’; Udihe *komugu* ‘hand, wrist, spoke-bone’. Proto-Turkic **Kop-* ‘fist, wrist’ > Kirghiz *qobuq* ‘arthritis of the metacarpus’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qoboq* ‘wrist’; Tuva *qowades* ‘fist’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2005:718 **kompo* ‘fist, wrist’. The putative Mongolian cognates cited by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak are not included here.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 631, **goḷmV* → **gomḷV* ‘hand, fist’.

505. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'or-a* or **k'ar-a* ‘crane’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kokku* (< **kor-kku* < **korV-nk-/-nkk-*) ‘common crane’, *kuruku* ‘heron, stork, crane, bird, gallinaceous fowl’; Malayalam *kokku*, *kokkan*, *kocca*, *kuriyan* ‘paddy bird, heron’, *kuru* ‘heron’; Kannaḍa *kokku*, *kokkare* ‘crane’, *kukku* ‘heron, crane’; Telugu *koṅga*, *kokkera*, *kokkarāyi* ‘crane’; Kolami *koṅga* ‘crane’; Tuḷu *korṅgu* ‘crane, stork’; Parji *kokkal* ‘crane’; Gondi *koruku* ‘crane’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:191, no. 2125; Krishnamurti 2003:13 and 16 **korV-nk-/-nkk-* ‘a stark, crane’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k'er-/*k'or-/*k'r-* ‘crane’: Greek γέρανος ‘crane’; Latin *grūs* ‘crane’; Armenian *kṛunk* ‘crane’; Gaulish *-garanos* in *tri-garanos* ‘three cranes’; Welsh *garan* ‘crane’; Old English *cran* ‘crane’, *cranoc*, *cornuc* ‘crane’; Old Saxon *krano* ‘crane’; Middle Low German *krān*, *krōn* ‘crane’, *kranek* ‘crane’; Dutch *kraan* ‘crane’; Old High German *kran* ‘crane’ (New High German *Kran*), *kranuh*, *kranih* ‘crane’ (New High German *Kranich*); Lithuanian *gėrvė* ‘crane’; Latvian *dzērve* ‘crane’; Old Prussian *gerwe* ‘crane’; Old Church Slavic *žeravъ* ‘crane’. Pokorny 1959:383—385 (especially 383—384) **ger-* (onomatopoeic) ‘to cry hoarsely’; Walde 1927—1932.I:591—593 (especially I:592) **ger-*; Mann 1984—1987:269 **geranos* ‘crane’, 269 **geraṁis*, **geruṁjā*; Watkins 1985:20 **gerā-* and 2000:27 **gerā-* (oldest form **gerā₂-*) ‘to cry hoarsely’; Mallory—Adams 1997:140—141 **ger-* ‘crane’; Boisacq 1950:144 **ger-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:299; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:216; Hofmann 1966:43 **ger-*; **geren-*, **g(e)rōu-*; Beekes 2010.I:267 **gerh₂-en-/-eu-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:284 **gerā-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:624; De Vaan 2008:274—275; Kroonen 2013:301 Proto-Germanic **krana/ōn-* ‘crane’; Orël 2003:220 Proto-Germanic **kranōn*; Onions 1966:225 **ger-*; Klein 1971:173 **ger-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:400 **ger-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:409; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:137—138; Smoczyński 2007.1:174 **gerh₂-u-*, **gerh₂-no-*, **grh₂-u-s*; Derksen 2008:558.
- C. Proto-Uralic **kork₃* (~ **karke*) ‘crane’: Finnish *kurki/kurje-* ‘crane’; Estonian *kurg* ‘crane’; Lapp / Saami *guor'gá* ‘crane’; Mordvin *kargo*

‘crane’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *harü* ‘crane’; Selkup Samoyed *kara* ‘crane’; Kamassian *kuro* ‘crane’. Collinder 1955:29, 1960:407 **korkõ*, and 1977:48; Rédei 1986—1988:128 **karke*; Janhunen 1977b:54 **kârâ-*; Décsy 1990:100 **karka* ‘crane’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *kurčəŋ* ‘Siberian white crane’. Nikolaeva 2006:228.

Illič-Svityč 1965:341 and 1971—1984.I:292—293, no. 159, **karA*/**kura* ‘crane’ (the putative Semitic cognates cited by Illič-Svityč are loans from Sumerian [cf. von Soden 1965—1981.I:510—511 and Leslau 1987:291]); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:445, no. 290; Hakola 2000:84, no. 346, **kurkz*; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 921, **kurV* ~ **karV* ‘crane’.

506. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’os-a* ‘bone’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k’os-* (~ **k’as-*) ‘bone’: (?) Semitic: Arabic *kašš* (< **k’ass-*?) ‘sternum, breastbone’. Egyptian *qs* ‘bone’; Coptic *kas* [ⲕⲁⲤ] ‘bone’. Erman—Grapow 1921:192 and 1926—1963.5:68—69; Hannig 1995:865; Faulkner 1962:281; Gardiner 1957:596; Vycichl 1983:87—88; Černý 1976:63. Berber: Tuareg *əγəs* ‘bone’; Tamazight *iγəs* ‘bone’; Kabyle *iγəss* ‘bone’; Nefusa *γəss* ‘bone’; Ghadames *γəss* ‘bone’; Mzab *iγəs* ‘bone’; Wargla *iγəs* ‘bone’; Riff *iγəs* ‘bone’; Zenaga *isi* ‘bone’. West Chadic **(k’a-)k’as-* ‘bone’ > Hausa *kāšii* ‘bone’; Tal *γəs* ‘bone’; Yiwom *γas*, *γəs* ‘bone’; Fyer *kʷēēs* ‘bone’; Dafo-Butura *kyās* ‘bone’; Bokkos *kyas* ‘bone’; Geruma *ókaši* ‘bone’; Warji *kàšii* ‘bone’; Tsagu *kékésən* ‘bone’; Kariya *káásù* ‘bone’; Miya *kúsi* ‘bone’; Siri *kessi*, *kʷəsī*, *kàsi* ‘bone’; Mburku *kákásà* ‘bone’; Jimbin *kàkási* ‘bone’. East Chadic **kas-* ‘bone’ > Kwang *kīsigī* ‘bone’; Kera *káskəŋ* ‘bone’; Dangla *kāso*, *káasi*, *kààsò* ‘bone’. Jungrathmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:36—37. Lowland East Cushitic **k’as-* ‘bone, leg’ > Geleba *k’as* ‘bone, leg’. Omotic: Nao *k’us* ‘bone’; Dime *k’üs* ‘bone’; Dizi *us* ‘bone’; Sheko *ʔus* ‘bone’. Fleming 1976a:317. Orël—Stolbova 1995:338—339, no. 1557, **kas-* ‘bone’; Ehret 1995:240, no. 428, **k’os-* ‘bone’; Takács 2011a:191 **kas-* ‘bone’.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **kōcc-* ‘bone’: Kurux *xōcol* ‘bone’; Malto *qoclu* ‘bone’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:197, no. 1288.
- C. (?) Proto-Indo-European **kʰos-th-* (< **k’os-th-*?) ‘rib, bone’: Latin *costa* ‘rib’; Old Church Slavic *kostь* ‘bone’; Russian *kost’* [кость] ‘bone’; Polish *kość* ‘bone’; Czech *kost* ‘bone’; Bulgarian *kost* ‘bone’; Serbo-Croatian *kōst* ‘rib’; Macedonian *koska* ‘bone’. Pokorny 1959:616 **kost-* ‘bone’; Walde 1927—1932.I:464 **qost-*; Mann 1984—1987:539 **kosthjos* (**kost-*) (?) ‘wood, stem, base, leg, bone’; Watkins 1985:32 **kost-* and 2000:44 **kost-* ‘bone’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:146; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:281; De Vaan 2008:140 — De Vaan rejects the comparison of Latin *costa* with Old Church Slavic *kostь*; Derksen 2008:239 Pre-Slavic **kosti-*.

Buck 1949:4.16 bone. Blažek 2002:178, no. 41; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:344, no. 219, **ḲaSa* ‘bone’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 999, **k[o]čV* (or **k[o]čV* ?) ‘bone’. Note: the putative Mordvin cognates cited by Illič-Svityč do not belong here — they go back to Proto-Finno-Permian **kaskə* ‘sacral region, lumbar region, small of the back’ (cf. Rédei 1986—1988:648).

507. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ud-* (~ **k'od-*):

(vb.) **k'ud-* ‘to strike’;

(n.) **k'ud-a* ‘stroke, blow, knock, cuff, thump’

- A. Dravidian: [Tamil *kuṭṭu* (*kuṭṭi-*) ‘to cuff, to strike with the knuckles on the head or temple’; Malayalam *kuṭṭuka* ‘to pound, to cuff’; Kota *kuṭ-* (*kuc-*) ‘to pound’; Toda *kuṭ-* (*kuty-*) ‘to knock, to pound’; Kannaḍa *kuṭṭu* ‘(vb.) to beat, to strike, to pound, to bruise; (n.) a blow, a pulverized substance’, *kuṭṭuvike*, *kuṭṭuha* ‘beating’; Koḍagu *kuṭṭ-* (*kuṭṭi-*) ‘to pound’; Tuḷu *kuṭṭuni* ‘to thump, to give a blow, to strike with the fist, to pound, to bruise’; Kolami *kuḍk-* (*kuḍukt-*) ‘to pound grain’, *kuḍkeng* ‘to knock on the door’; Naikṛi *kuṛk-* ‘to pound, to knock’; Parji *kuṭip-* (*kuṭit-*) ‘to punch, to knock (door)’; Koṇḍa *guṭ-* ‘to knock with the fist’; Kui *guṭ-* ‘fist’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:153, no. 1671. Tamil *koṭṭu* (*koṭṭi-*) ‘(vb.) to beat (as a drum, tambourine), to hammer, to beat (as a brazier), to clap, to strike with the palms, to pound (as paddy); (n.) beat, stroke, drumbeat, time-measure’, *koṭṭān*, *koṭṭan* ‘mallet’, *koṭu* ‘to thrash, to abuse roundly’, *koṭai* ‘blows, round abuse’; Malayalam *koṭṭuka* ‘to beat so as to produce a sound (a drum, metals, bells), to clap hands’, *koṭṭu* ‘beating a drum, clapping hands, buffēt, knocking of knees against each other’, *koṭṭi* ‘mallet’, *koṭukka* ‘to flog’; Kota *koṭk-* (*koṭky-*) ‘to strike (with small hammer), to knock on (door), to strike tipcat in hole in ground’; Toda *kwīṭk-* (*kwīṭky-*) ‘to tap (on door, something with stick)’, *kwīṭ fiḷ* ‘woodpecker’; Kannaḍa *koḍati*, *koḍanti* ‘a wooden hammer’, *koṭṭaṇa* ‘beating the husk from paddy’, *koṭṭuha* ‘beating’, *kuḍu* ‘to beat’; Koḍagu *koṭṭ-* (*koṭṭi-*) ‘to tap, to beat (drum)’; Tuḷu *koḍapuni* ‘to forge, to hammer’; Telugu *koṭṭu* ‘(vb.) to beat, to strike, to knock; to strike (as a clock); (n.) a blow, stroke’; Parji *koṭṭ-* ‘to strike with an axe’; Gadba (Ollari) *koṭ-* ‘to strike with an axe’; Gondi *koṭ-* ‘to cut with an axe’, *koṭela* ‘mallet’; Pengo *koṭ-* ‘to thresh with flail’; Kuwi *koṭoli* ‘mallet’; Kuṛux *xoṭṭnā* (*xoṭṭyas*) ‘to break, to smash, to pierce, to break open’; Malto *qoṭe* ‘to break, to knock, to strike’, *qoṭure* ‘to knock against’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:187, no. 2063.] Either here or with **k'wad-* (~ **k'wəd-*) ‘(vb.) to strike, to beat, to smash, to pound; (n.) knock, stroke, thrust’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'od-* ‘to hew, to hollow’: Georgian *k'od-* ‘to castrate, to hew, to hollow’; Mingrelian [*k'od-*] ‘to hew, to hollow’; Laz [*k'od-*] ‘to hew, to hollow’. Klimov 1964:113 **ḵod-* and 1998:97 **ḵod-* ‘to hew, to hollow’; Fähnrich 2007:249 **ḵod-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:205—

206 **ƙod-*; Schmidt 1962:119. Proto-Kartvelian **k'od-al-* 'woodpecker': Georgian *k'odal-* 'woodpecker'; Mingrelian *k'ədə*, *k'idu-* 'woodpecker'; Laz *k'id-*, (*m*)*k'ud* 'woodpecker'. Klimov 1964:113 **ƙodal-* and 1998:98 **ƙodal-*.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat). Bomhard 1996a:228—230, no. 646.

508. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'ud-a* (~ **k'od-a*) 'vessel, pot':

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'od-* 'vessel, pot': Egyptian *qd* 'vessel, pot'. Hannig 1995:867; Faulkner 1962:281; Erman—Grapow 1921:192. Lowland East Cushitic **k'od-* 'receptacle' > Galla / Oromo *k'odaa* 'receptacle'. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *k'oодо* 'a kind of calabash'. West Chadic **kwad-* (< **k'wad-*) 'calabash' > Kirfi *kòdò* (Orël—Stolbova 1995:343, no. 1579, write *kwaдо*) 'calabash'; Geruma *koddo* 'calabash'; Gera *kwada* 'calabash'; Siri *k'áti* 'calabash'. East Chadic **kwad-* (< **k'wad-*) 'pot' > Dangla *kòda* 'pot'. Central Chadic (with prefix **nV-*) **nV-k'wad-* 'bottle' > Logone *η-kooda* 'bottle'. Jungrathmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.I:25 **k'wd/*kwd* 'calabash', II:56—57. Orël—Stolbova 1995:343, no. 1579, **ƙod-* 'vessel'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṭam* 'waterpot, hub of a wheel', *kuṭaṅkar* 'waterpot', *kuṭantam* 'pot', *kuṭukkai* 'coconut or hard shell used as a vessel, pitcher', *kuṭikai* 'ascetic's pitcher', *kuṭuvai* 'vessel with a small narrow mouth, pitcher of an ascetic'; Malayalam *kuṭam* 'waterpot', *kuṭukka* 'shells (as of gourds) used as vessels, small cooking vessel with a narrow mouth', *kuṭuka*, *kuṭuva* 'small vessel'; Kota *koṛm* 'waterpot with a small mouth'; Toda *kuṛky* 'small pot'; Kannaḍa *koḍa* 'earthen pitcher or pot', *kuḍike* 'small earthen, metal, or wooden vessel', *guḍāṇa*, *guḍuvana* 'large water-vessel (used also for storing grain); earthen pot used for churning'; Koḍagu *kuḍike* 'pot in which food (especially rice) is cooked'; Tuḷu *kuḍki*, *kuḍkè*, *guḍke* 'small earthen vessel'; Telugu *kuḍaka*, *kuḍuka* 'cup, bowl, scoop, any cup-like thing', *guḍaka* 'a coconut or other similar shell', *guḍaka*, *kuḍaka* 'shell of a fruit prepared to serve as a snuff-box, etc., a small metal box', *kuḍalu* 'small earthen vessels'; Kuwi *ḍōka*, *ḍoka*, *dōkka* 'pot' (Telugu *kuḍaka* > **kḍōka* > *ḍōka*). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:151, no. 1651. Malayalam *kuṭṭakam*, *kuṭṭukam* 'cauldron, large vessel with a narrow mouth (especially for treasure)'; Koḍagu *kuṭṭuva* 'big copper pot for heating water'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:153, no. 1668.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'od-* 'vessel carved from a single piece of wood': Georgian *k'od-* 'vessel used for dry measures'; Mingrelian *k'od-* 'vessel carved from a single piece of wood'; Laz *k'od-* 'vessel used for dry measures'. Fähnrich 2007:249 **ƙod-*; Klimov 1964:113 **ƙod-* and 1998:98 **ƙod-* 'vessel made of one piece of wood, tub'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:206 **ƙod-*.

Buck 1949:5.26 pot. Bomhard 1996a:230—231, no. 647.

509. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'ug-n-a* (~ **k'og-n-a*) 'gnat, mosquito':

- A. Dravidian: Kannada *guṅgāḍa*, *guṅgāḍi*, *guṅgāṇi* 'mosquito', *guṅguru* 'eye-fly; mosquito, gnat'; Tuḷu *gugguru* 'small insect infecting grain'; Kui *gungu* 'a large wood-boring insect'; Kuwi *gongara viha* 'a kind of mosquito'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:149, no. 1634(a). Assuming metathesis from **gugnu-* (originally **kuknu-*).
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'ogo-* 'gnat, mosquito': Georgian *k'oγo-*, *k'oγona-* 'gnat, mosquito'; Mingrelian *k'oγo(na)-*, *k'oγunia-* 'gnat, mosquito'. Laz *k'o(r)γon-* 'gnat, mosquito' and Svan *k'oγon-*, *k'uγun-*, *k'əγən-* 'gnat, mosquito' are Georgian loanwords. Klimov 1964:114 **koγon-* and 1998:99 **koγo-* 'gnat'.

Bomhard 1996a:231, no. 648.

510. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ul-* (~ **k'ol-*):

(vb.) **k'ul-* 'to lift, to raise, to pick up; to rise, to ascend; to make high, to elevate';

(n.) **k'ul-a* 'highest point'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ul-* '(vb.) to lift, to raise, to make high; (n.) highest point': Semitic: Arabic *qalla* 'to pick up, to lift, to raise; to carry', *qallās* 'rising', *qulla* 'highest point, tip, summit; apex; vertex'. Berber: Tashelhiyt / Shilha (Semlal) *əyli* 'to climb, to rise'; Tamazight *yuliy* 'to rise, to ascend'. Central Chadic **kul-* 'to lift' > Higi Nkafa *kulu* 'to lift'; Kapiski *kəl-te* 'to lift'; Higi Futu *kəli-* 'to lift'; Fali Kiria *kəltu?* 'to lift'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:349, no. 1604, **kul-* 'to lift'.
- B. Kartvelian: Svan (Upper Bal) *k'əltxi* 'high', *nak'lətxi* 'height'.
- C. Proto-Indo-European (**k'el-/k'ol-*)**k'l-* 'to lift, to raise, to pick up; to climb' (found only in derivatives, such as: **k'lembh-/k'lombh-/k'lṃbh-* 'to climb'); Proto-West Germanic **klimban-* 'to climb' > Old English *climman*, *climban* 'to climb' (3rd sg. pret. *clamb*; past participle *clumben*); Middle Dutch *klimmen* 'to climb'; Middle High German *klimben*, *klimmen* 'to climb' (New High German *klimmen*). Pokorny 1959:360 **glembh-*; Walde 1929—1932.I:616—617 **glembh-*; Mann 1984—1987:276 **glembhō*; Watkins 1985:18 **gel-* 'to form into a ball'; Orël 2003:215—216 Proto-Germanic **klembanan*; Kroonen 2013:293 Proto-Germanic **klimman-* ~ **klimb/pan-* 'to clamp; to climb'; Onions 1966:182 West Germanic **klimban*, nasalized variant of **kliβan* 'to stick fast, to adhere, to cleave to'; Klein 1971:142; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:377; Kluge—Seebold 1989:377; Walshe 1951:122. Old Icelandic *klífa* 'to climb'; Faroese *klíva* 'to climb'; Norwegian *kliva* 'to climb'; Swedish *kliva* 'to climb'; Danish

klyve ‘to climb’. De Vries 1977:316—317; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:384; Torp 1919:286. Note: Not related to Proto-Indo-European **k’el-* ‘to form into a ball’ as often assumed. The forms found in the daughter languages meaning ‘to hold onto, to grasp; to cling to, to adhere; etc.’ are further derivatives of Proto-Indo-European (**k’el-/k’ol-/k’l-* ‘to lift, to raise, to pick up; to climb’ (cf. Orël 2003:216 Proto-Germanic **klibēnan* ~ **klibōjanan*, 216 **klibrōjanan*, 216 **klibanan*).

- D. Proto-Eskimo **qulvar-* ‘to rise or raise’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qulwar-* ‘to rise’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qulvar-* ‘to elevate’, *qulvani* ‘high up’; Central Siberian Yupik *qulvar-* ‘to raise, to go up’, (Chaplinski) *qulvaq* ‘top’; Sirenik *qulvanir-* ‘to raise, to rise, to go up’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *quvlaq-* ‘to ascend, to rise’; North Alaskan Inuit *qulvaq-*, *qužvaq-* ‘to move up into room further from door; to roll sleeves up’, *qulvasik-* ‘to be high up’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *quvva(q)-* ‘to raise’, *quvvasik-* ‘to be situated higher up’; Greenlandic Inuit *qullar-* ‘to raise (for example, on line), to be hung up’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315. Proto-Eskimo **qulə-* ‘area above’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qulə-* ‘area above’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qulə-* ‘area above’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qulə-* ‘area above’; Central Siberian Yupik *qula* ‘upper part, gunwale’; Sirenik *qulə-* ‘area above’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *quli-* ‘area above’; North Alaskan Inuit *quli-* ‘area above’; Western Canadian Inuit *quli-* ‘area above’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *quli-* ‘area above’; Greenlandic Inuit *quli-* ‘area above’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:314. Proto-Eskimo **qulḍiy-* ‘to be high up’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Koniag) *qussiy-*, (Chugach) *qussəy-* ‘to be high up’; Central Alaskan Yupik *quyiy-*, (Nunivak) *qusiy-* ‘to be high up’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qussik-* ‘to be high up’; North Alaskan Inuit *qutcik-* ‘to be high up’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *qutsik-* ‘to be high up’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Labrador) *qutsik-* ‘to be above’; Greenlandic Inuit *qutsiy-* ‘to be high up’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:314. Proto-Eskimo **qulir* ‘upper part’: Central Alaskan Yupik *quliq* ‘upper side rail of sled’, (Hooper Bay-Chevak) *quliit* ‘back’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qulik* ‘spine, back’; Central Siberian Yupik [*qulirnəq** ‘upper part’]; Sirenik *quliXpiyaX* ‘high place’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *quliq* ‘gunwale, upper sled rail’; North Alaskan Inuit (Nunamiut) *quliit* ‘back (of man, animal, or fish)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *quliiq* ‘back’; Greenlandic Inuit (Southwest Greenlandic) *qulit* ‘knee pieces of trousers’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315. Proto-Inuit **quliruaq* ‘shelf’ (?) > North Alaskan Inuit (Point Hope) *quliruaq* ‘first level of ice cellar’; Western Canadian Inuit (Caribou Eskimo Point) *quliruaq* ‘shelf’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *quliruaq* ‘shelf’; Greenlandic Inuit *quliruaq* ‘gunwale’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315. Proto-Eskimo **qullir* ‘upper-most one’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qulliq** ‘upper part’; Central Alaskan Yupik *quliiq** ‘topmost one, attic’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qulliq* ‘highest’; North Alaskan Inuit *qulliq** ‘uppermost, lamp’ [the uppermost oil lamp in the

traditional house]; Western Canadian Inuit *qulliq* ‘lamp’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qulliq* ‘lamp’; Greenlandic Inuit *qulliq** ‘uppermost, lamp’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315. Proto-Yupik **qulqin* ‘raised platform or shelf’ > Central Alaskan Yupik *qulqin* ‘shelf’; Central Siberian Yupik *quulqin* ‘loft in a semi-subterranean house’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315.

- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kəlyəkəl* ‘rung, step (of ladder)’ > Kerek *kəlləyəkəl* ‘step (of ladder)’; Koryak *kəlyəkəl* ‘step; ledge of mountain’; Alyutor *kəlyəkəl* ‘steps, notch, groove’ (according to Fortescue, there has been some entanglement with **kəlvə-* ‘notch or mark’ here). Fortescue 2005:145.

Buck 1949:10.22 raise, lift; 11.13 take; 12.31 high; 12.33 top; 12.35 end; 12.352 point. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1046, **kəl[h]i* ‘high; to be high’.

511. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ulʷ-* (~ **k’olʷ-*):

(vb.) **k’ulʷ-* ‘to be or become cold; to freeze’;

(n.) **k’ulʷ-a* ‘cold, coldness, chill, frost’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kuḷirecci*, *kuḷirtti*, *kuḷutti* ‘coldness, cold, act of cooling or refreshing, numbness’, *kuḷir* ‘(vb.) to feel cool; to be cool, refreshing; to get numbed; (n.) coldness, chilliness, ague, shivering’, *kuḷirppu*, *kuḷirmai*, *kuḷumai* ‘coolness, kindness’, *kuḷir* ‘a fan’, (reduplicated) *kuḷḷa-kkuḷir-* ‘to be intensely cool and refreshing’; Malayalam *kuḷir*, *kuḷur* ‘coldness; cool, refreshing’, *kuḷiruka* ‘to be chilly, refreshed’, *kuḷirma* ‘freshness’, *kuḷirppu*, *kuḷuppam* ‘chilliness’, *kuḷirppikka* ‘to chill, to quiet, to refresh, to comfort’, (reduplicated) *kuḷukulu* ‘intense cold’; Kota *kuḷak in-*, (reduplicated) *kuḷkuḷ in-* ‘(hands, feet, body) to feel cool, (mind) to feel calm and peaceful’; Kannaḍa *kuḷir* ‘(vb.) to be cool or cold; (n.) coldness, coolness, cold, snow, frost’; Koḍagu *kuḷi-* (*kuḷip-*, *kuḷit-*) ‘to feel cold’, *kuḷiri ka-la* ‘cold season’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:166, no. 1834.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k’ol-/*k’l-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k’el-*) ‘(vb.) to be or become cold; to freeze; (n.) cold, coldness, chill, frost’: Latin *gelidus* ‘cold, icy-cold, frosty’, *gelō* ‘to cause to freeze, to congeal; to be frozen, to freeze’, *gelū* ‘frost, icy cold’; Gothic *kalds* ‘cold’; Old Icelandic *kala* ‘to freeze’, *kalda* ‘to become cold’, *kaldr* ‘cold’, *klaki* ‘hard-frozen ground’, *kuḷ* ‘breeze’, *kólna* ‘to become cold’, *kylr* ‘gust of cold air’, *kæla* ‘to cool’; Faroese *kaldur* ‘cold’; Norwegian *kald* ‘cold’; Swedish *kall* ‘cold’; Danish *kold* ‘cold’; Old English *calan* ‘to be cold’, *ceald* ‘cold’, *cēlan* ‘to cool’, *ciele* ‘cold’, *cielian* ‘to be cold, chilly’, *cōl* ‘cool’, *cōlian* ‘to become cold’; Old Frisian *kald* ‘cold’; Old Saxon *kald* ‘cold’, *kōlōn* ‘to become cold’; Dutch *koud* ‘cold’, *koel* ‘cool’; Old High German *kalt* ‘cold’ (New High German *kalt*), *kuoli* ‘cool’ (New High German *kühl*). Pokorny 1959:365—

366 **gel(ə)*- ‘cold; to freeze’; Walde 1927—1932.I:622 **gel*-; Mann 1984—1987:268 **gel*- ‘to freeze; frost; frozen’, 268 **geldos*, -*jos* ‘cold, frost’, 287 **golātis* (**golt-*) ‘chill, cold, frost’; Watkins 1985:19 **gel*- and 2000:25—26 **gel*- ‘cold; to freeze’; Mallory—Adams 1997:113 **gel*- ‘(adj.) cold; (vb.) to freeze’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:268; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:585—586 **gel*-; De Vaan 2008:256; Orël 2003:208—209 Proto-Germanic **kalanan*, 219 **kōlaz* ~ **kōliz*, 219 **kōljanan*, 223 *kuļjaz*; Kroonen 2013:277 Proto-Germanic **kalan-* ‘to be cold’, 278 **kalda-* ‘cold’, 299 **kōlu-* ‘cool’, and 309 **kula-* ‘cool wind’; Feist 1939:306; Lehmann 1986:214 **gel*-; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:398—399; Torp 1919:255; De Vries 1977:297—298 **gel*-, 298, 313 **gel*-, 325, 333, 340, and 342; Onions 1966:169, 190 **gol-*, **gel*-, and 213; Klein 1971:131, 147 **gel*-, and 165 **gel*- ‘(adj.) cold; (vb.) to freeze’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:206; Kluge—Mitzka 1976:343 and 411; Kluge—Seebold 1989:349 and 417.

- C. Proto-Uralic **kūlmä* ‘(adj.) cold, chilly; (n.) frost; (vb.) to become cold, to freeze’ > Finnish *kylmä* ‘cold, chilly’, *kylmyys* ‘coldness’, *kylmetä* ‘to become colder, to become cold’; Estonian *külm* ‘cold, chilly; coldness, frost’, *külmus* ‘coldness’, *külmutama* ‘to freeze, to be freezing, to feel (or be) cold’; Lapp / Saami (N.) *gálmás-/gál’bm-*, (attr.) *gál’bmâ* ‘frozen’, *gál’bme-/gálm-* ‘to freeze, to form (intr.) a layer of ice on, to freeze over’; Mordvin (Moksha) *kel’mä*, (Erza) *kel’me* ‘cold; coldness, frost’; Chereemis / Mari *kəlmə* ‘frozen’. Sammallahti 1988:552 **kūlmä* ‘cold’; Rédei 1986—1988:663 **kilmä* (**kūlmä*); Zhivlov 2023:170 Proto-Uralic **kūlmä* ‘cold; to freeze’, Proto-Finnic **kūlmä*.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **kol’i-* (~ *kh-*; -*i-*, -*e-*) ‘to freeze’: Proto-Mongolian **köl-de-* ‘to freeze’ > Mongolian *köl-de-*, *köl-dü-* ‘to freeze, to congeal’, *köldüge-* ‘to freeze, to congeal’, *köldül* ‘freezing, congealing’, *köldügü* ‘frozen, congealed, frosted’, *köldümel* ‘frozen’, *köl-mü-* ‘to freeze over’; Khalkha *χöldö-* ‘to freeze’; Buriat *χülde-* ‘to freeze’; Kalmyk *köld-* ‘to freeze’; Ordos *köldö-* ‘to freeze’; Dagur *kułde-* ‘to freeze’. Proto-Turkic **Kölv-* ‘to freeze’ > Tatar *küşek-* ‘to freeze, to become stiff with cold’; Bashkir *küşek-* ‘to freeze’; Kazakh *köšü-* ‘to freeze’; Tuva *köžü-* ‘to freeze’; Yakut *köhüy-* ‘to freeze’. Menges 1968b:96. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:716—717 **kol’i* (~ *k’-*, -*i-*, -*e-*) ‘to freeze’.

Buck 1949:15.86 cold. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:304—305, no. 176, **kül’l* ‘to freeze; cold’; Koskinen 1989:20, no. 51; Caldwell 1913:593; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:442—443, no. 287; Hakola 2000:370.

512. Proto-Nostratic root **k’um-* (~ **k’om-*):
 (vb.) **k’um-* ‘to sigh, to weep, to lament, to moan, to groan’;
 (n.) **k’um-a* ‘sigh, mourning, lamentation, moan, groan, roar, grumble’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'um-* 'to sigh, to weep, to lament, to moan, to groan': Proto-Semitic **k'am-aḥ-* 'to be in despair' > Ḥarsūsi *ektōmeḥ* 'to be in despair'; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ekmāḥ* 'to disappoint, to be disappointed'; Mehri *akōmeḥ* 'to disappoint, to foil, to frustrate', *əktōmeḥ* 'to be unlucky, to be in despair; (wolf, attacker) to be foiled'. Egyptian *qm* 'to mourn', *qmd* 'to mourn'. Hannig 1995:856—857 and 857; Faulkner 1962:278 and 279; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:37 and 40. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k'um-* or **k'uum-* or **k'im-* or **k'iim-* 'to grumble' > Ma'a -*xumuka* 'to grumble'; Iraqw *qununu*^o 'to grumble'; Alagwa (reduplicated) *qunqumis-* 'to grumble'. Ehret 1980:254. Ehret 1995:236, no. 420, **k'um-* or **k'uum-* 'to grumble, to sigh, to make sounds of complaint'.
- B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *kumuru* (*kumuri-*) 'to resound, to trumpet, to bellow, to crash (as thunder), to have confused uproar', *kumural* 'roaring, resounding', *kumiru* (*kumiri-*) 'to resound, to roar'; Malayalam *kumuruka* 'to make thundering sound'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:159, no. 1744.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'um-in-* 'to moan, to grumble': Georgian *k'min-* 'to moan, to grumble'; Mingrelian *k'umin-* 'to moan, to grumble'. Klimov 1998:104 **kumin-* 'to moan, to grumble'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:212 **kum-*; Fähnrich 2007:257—258 **kum-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **k'om-/*k'm-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k'em-*) 'to sigh, to weep, to lament, to moan, to groan': Latin *gemō* 'to sigh, to groan, to lament, to moan, to bemoan; to roar (of animals); to creak, to groan (of inanimate objects)'; Armenian *cmrim* 'to grieve', *cmam* 'to sigh'; Irish *geamh* 'prattle', *geamhaire* 'prattler'. Mann 1984—1987:390 **ġemō* 'to roar, to groan'; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 (?) **ġem-* 'to weep, to lament, to moan'. Note: Different etymology in De Vaan 2008:257.
- E. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kumŋə(kum)* 'voice, sound' (?) > Kerek *kumŋəil-* 'to sing'; Koryak *kumŋəkum* 'voice, sound', *kumŋ-at-* 'to cry, to shout'; Alyutor *kumŋəkum* 'voice, sound', *kumŋ-at-* 'to cry, to shout'. Fortescue 2005:141.

Buck 1949:16.37 cry, weep; 16.39 groan (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:434—435, no. 279.

513. Proto-Nostratic root **k'um-* (~ **k'om-*):

(vb.) **k'um-* 'to seize, to grasp, to press together';

(n.) **k'um-a* 'heap, mass, lump, clump; pressure, compression'

Perhaps related to:

(n.) **k'om-a* 'hand, fist'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'[u]m-* 'to press together; to seize, to grasp': Proto-Semitic **k'am-at-* 'to press together; to seize, to grasp' > Hebrew *kāmaṭ* [כָּמַט] 'to seize, to press together'; Aramaic *kəmaṭ* 'to seize, to compress'; Arabic *kaṃaṭa* 'to swaddle, to bind together, to fetter, to shackle; to dress

(a wound)', *kimt* 'rope, fetter', *kimāt* 'swaddle, diaper'; Akkadian *kamādu* 'to seize, to press together'. Klein 1987:582; Murtonen 1989:378—379. Proto-Semitic **k'am-ac*- 'to seize, to grasp' > Hebrew *kāmaš* [כָּמַשׁ] 'to enclose with the hand, to grasp, to take a handful, to close, to shut'; Post-Biblical Hebrew *kaššūš* [כָּשְׁשׁוּשׁ] 'a pinch, a very small quantity'; Ugaritic *kmš* 'heap, pile'. Murtonen 1989:379; Klein 1987:583. Proto-Semitic **k'am-aš*- 'to seize, to grasp' > Arabic *kaṣa* 'to scrape together and pick up with the fingertips, to gather'. Berber: Tamazight *əṣmas* 'to cover, to wrap, to hide by covering', *aṣamus* 'the act of covering, cover, veil, lid, roof'; Kabyle *γmuməs* 'to be wrapped up in one's burnoose, to be entirely covered'; Tawlemmet *əṣmas* 'to wrap, to cover'.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'um-* 'to press together': Georgian *k'um-* 'to press together, to close (lips, mouth)'; Svan *k'um-* 'mute'. Klimov 1998:104 **kum-* 'to press (on lips, fist)'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:212 **kum-*; Fähnrich 2007:258 **kum-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k'om-/k'm-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k'em-*) 'to press together; to seize, to grasp': Greek γέμω 'to be full', (Homeric) γέντο (< *γέμτο) 'he grasped' (this form only is attested); Armenian *čmlem* 'to press together'; Latvian *gūmstu* 'to seize, to grasp'; Old Church Slavic *žbmō, žeti* 'to press'; Russian Church Slavic *gomola, gomula* 'lump, clump, heap'; Czech *hmota* (< **g̃mota*) 'mass'; Slovenian *gomóla* 'barren ground, wasteland', *gomólja* 'lump'. Rix 1998a:165 **gem-* 'to squeeze, to press together; to grasp, to seize'; Walde 1927—1932.I:572—574 **gem-*; Pokorny 1959:368—369 **gem-* 'to grasp'; Mann 1984—1987:269 **gemō* 'to squeeze'; Mallory—Adams 1997:450 **gem-* 'to press, to squeeze together, to squeeze'; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:215 **gem-*; Hofmann 1966:43; Boisacq 1950:143 and 144 **gem-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:296 and I:297—298; Beekes 2010.I:265 (?) **gem-*.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kəmyət-* 'to bunch up' (?) > Chukchi *kəmyət-* 'to bunch up, to screw up one's face', *kəmyət-cir-* 'to writhe in pain'; Koryak *kəmyət-* 'to screw up, to wrinkle'; Alyutor *kəmyət-* 'to squeeze, to compress'. Note also Kamchadal / Itelmen *kimmat-kas* 'to pinch'. Fortescue 2005:147.

Sumerian *gum* 'to take hold of'.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.); 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 13.19 multitude, crowd; 13.21 full. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:434, no. 278.

514. Proto-Nostratic root **k'um-* (~ **k'om-*):

(vb.) **k'um-* 'to bend, to curve; to bend the head or body, to bow or stoop down';

(n.) **k'um-a* 'bend, curve; the act of bending, bowing, stooping'

Identical to:

(n.) **k'um-a* 'a bent or curved object: hollow, cavity; knob, lump, hump; etc.'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **k'am-ac'*- 'to bend' > Geez / Ethiopic *ḳammāṭa* [𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣] 'to hold tightly, to clasp sheaves, to bend' (from Amharic), *ḳamṭarā* [𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣], *ḳamṭarā* [𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣], *ḳamṭorā* [𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣] 'clasp, fastener, box, chest'; Amharic *täḳämmätä* 'to sit, to sit down, to seat oneself, to settle'; Akkadian *kamāṣu* 'to bend the knee, to kneel, to squat down', *kamṣu* 'squatting, crouching', *kimṣu* 'shin, lower leg'. Leslau 1987:433. Berber: Tuareg *taḳmārt* 'elbow'; Nefusa *taḳmart* 'elbow'; Ghadames *taḳmārt* 'corner, angle'; Tamazight *tiḳmārt* 'elbow'; Tachelhiyt / Shilha *tiḳmārt* 'elbow'; Riff *taḳammārt* 'elbow, angle, corner'; Kabyle *tiḳmārt* 'elbow'; Chaouia *tiḳammārt* 'elbow, angle, corner'. North Omotiic: Bench / Gimira *k'um* 'knee'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kump-iṭu* (*iṭuv-*, *iṭṭ-*) '(vb.) to join hands in worship, to perform obeisance with the hands joined and raised, to beg, to entreat; (n.) worship'; Malayalam *kump-iṭuka*, *kumm-iṭuka* 'to bow down, to prostrate oneself, to worship'; Kota *kub-iṭ-* (*iṭ-*) 'to bow down, to pray', *kumiṭe-* 'salutation used by Kota to Badaga or Kurumba'; Toda *kub-iṭ-* (*iṭ-*) 'to salute (not used of religious salutation)'; Kannada *kumbu* 'bending, bowing down, obeisance', *kumbiḍu* 'to bow down, to perform obeisance'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:159, no. 1750.
- C. Proto-Uralic **kuma* 'to bow, to stoop, to bend down': Finnish *kumossa* (inessive) 'prone, in a falling or lying position, upside down', *kumara* 'hunched, stooped, bent', *kumarta-* 'to bow, to make a bow', *kumartu-* 'to stoop down, to bend down; to bend, to stoop'; Estonian *kummardama* 'to bow, to worship, to adore; to bow down, to incline', *kummarduma* 'to bow (down), to stoop, to bend down', *kummardus* 'obeisance, bow', *kummargil* 'stooping, in a stooping position'; Lapp / Saami (attributive) *gomo*, (partitive) *gobmot* 'turned with the rounded, convex side up; turned upside down; which lies with the bottom up; very steep (of a hillside); who lies on his stomach, face downward'; Mordvin *koma-* 'to lean down, to bend down', *komafto-* 'to overturn, to upset'; Cheremis / Mari *kōmōk*, *kumōk* 'upside down', *kōmōkte-*, *kumōkte-* 'to overturn, to upset', *kōmala-*, *kumala-* 'to bow, to bend over, to greet; to pray'; Votyak / Udmurt *kymal-* 'to upset, to overturn, to knock down'; Zyrian / Komi *kym-* 'to upset (for example, a cup, a boat), to turn upside down', *kymal-* 'to upset (for example, several cups)'; Vogul / Mansi *qamowt-* 'to throw about, to overturn', *kam-*, *kami*, (Northern) *homi* 'on one's stomach, face downward'; Ostyak / Xanty *komtah*, (Southern) *hōmta* 'with the face to the ground; prone, upside down; stooping'; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kamagu* 'a felled (lying) tree'; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hawa-*, (Forest) *kama-* 'to fall over, to fall down', *hawaha* 'fallen (for example, of a tree)', *hawada-* 'to overturn, to knock over'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *kaʔaḍa*, (Baiha) *kaʔara* 'to fell, to overturn'; (?) Selkup Samoyed *qamd*

‘face downward’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hobo-nugode-* ‘to throw to the ground, to lay down’ (*nugo-* = ‘to fall’), *hobotaj* ‘that lower (one)’ (*taj* = ‘that’). Collinder 1955:27—28 and 1977:47; Rédei 1986—1988:201—202 **kuma* ‘to bow’; Sammallahti 1988:537 **kumå* ‘to face down’; Décsy 1990:101 **kuma* ‘to bow’; Janhunen 1977b:52 **kāmā-*.

- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan *(*tə*)*kəm-* ‘to be hunched up or rolled up’ (?): Chukchi *kəm-*, *tkəm-* ‘to sit hunched up’, *kəmkəm* ‘clump, ball, kind of sausage’; Alyutor *kəmkəm-at-* ‘to lie rolled up in a ball’, *kəmkəm* ‘lump ball’; Koryak (*t*)*təmā-tva-* ‘to lie rolled up in a ball’; Kamchadal / Itelmen ^o*kmesem* ‘ring’, ^o*kmevic* ‘hoop’. Fortescue 2005:147.
- E. Eskimo-Aleut: Proto-Inuit **qumaq-* ‘to be hunched over’ > North Alaskan Inuit *qumaq-* ‘to bend forwards, to crouch’; Western Canadian Inuit *qumaŋa-* ‘to be hunchbacked’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qumaq-* ‘to pull one’s head down between one’s shoulders, to bend down’, *qumaŋa-* ‘to be hunched over’; Greenlandic Inuit *qumar-* ‘to become shorter when pushed together (for example, a person with his head pulled down)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:316.

Sumerian *gúm* ‘to pray; to greet, to salute; to bless; to consecrate’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. (tr.). Illič-Svityč 1965:352 (?) [‘опрокинуть(ся)’]; Hakola 2000:80, no. 330.

515. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’um-a* ‘a bent or curved object: hollow, cavity; knob, lump, hump; etc.’:

Identical to:

(vb.) **k’um-* ‘to bend, to curve; to bend the head or body, to bow or stoop down’;

(n.) **k’um-a* ‘bend, curve; the act of bending, bowing, stooping’

- A. Proto-Indo-European **k’um-* ‘a bent or curved object: hollow, cavity (> basin, bowl, trough; valley); knob, lump, hump; etc.’: Armenian *kumb* ‘knob, hump’; Albanian *gumë* ‘shelf (ledge) of rock, reef, submerged reef’; Old Icelandic *kumpi*, *kumpri* ‘lump’, *kumbl*, *kuml* ‘sepulchral monument, cairn’; Norwegian *kuml* ‘lump, clod’; Old English *cumb* ‘valley’ (if not from Celtic), *cuml*, *cumul*, *cumbl* ‘swelling (of wound)’; Middle High German *kumpf* ‘blunt’; New High German *Kumme* ‘basin, bowl’, (dial.) *Kumpen*, *Kumpf* ‘deep basin, bowl; feeding trough’; Lithuanian *guñbas* ‘bump; lump, knob, growth; (medical) tumor’, *gūmulas* ‘lump’; Latvian *gums* ‘lump’. Rix 1998a:165 **gem-* ‘to grasp, to squeeze, to press together’; Pokorny 1959:368—369 **gem-* ‘to grasp, to squeeze, to press together’; Walde 1927—1932.I:563 **gu-m-bh-*; Mann 1984—1987:305 **gumb-* (**gumbh-*) ‘swelling, lump; lumpy, swollen’; **gumbstos* ‘swollen’, 305 **gum-* (**gumos*, -ā) ‘lump, mass’, 305—306 **gumbulos*, **gumbalos*

(**gumbh-*, **gum-*) ‘swelling’, 306 **gumbhos*, 306 **gumbhros* (**gumuros*) ‘mass’; Martirosyan 2008:333—334 **gumbh-*; Kroonen 2013:310 Proto-Germanic **kumb/pan-* ‘basin, bowl’; De Vries 1977:333—334 and 334; Torp 1919:335—336; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:412 Germanic **kump-*, **kumb-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:419 Pre-Germanic **kumpa-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:210—211; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:176.

- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **k[u]m3* ‘hollow’ > (?) Finnish *komi*, *komo* ‘hollow’, *komero* ‘cupboard; wardrobe, closet’; (?) Lapp / Saami *goabmâ* ‘overhanging arched edge (of earth, rock, snow, etc.)’; (?) Cheremis / Mari *kom* in *palkom* ‘sky, the vault of heaven’, *koman* ‘with vaulted surface’; (?) Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *kōmər* ‘hollow space under ice’, (Vasyugan) *kōm* in *riřkom* ‘space under an overturned boat’, *kōməl* ‘concavity’, (Upper Demyanka) *χōm* ‘hollow space (for example, under an overturned boat)’; (?) Hungarian *homorú* ‘concave, hollow’. Rédei 1986—1988:227 **kxm3* ‘hollow’.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **kumi* (~ -o-) ‘hollow, cavity, inner angle’: Proto-Tungus **kum-* ‘edge; hollow, cavity; precipice’ > Evenki *kumdika* ‘edge’, *kumŋa* ‘hollow, cavity’; Lamut / Even *kumtutti* ‘precipice’; Manchu *kumdu* ‘empty, hollow’. Proto-Mongolian **kömüg* ‘edge, overhang (of a mountain), shelter’ > Written Mongolian *kömüg*, *kömügei* ‘shed; roof, especially roof over a patio; eaves; shelter; awning, canopy; overhang of a mountain’; Buriat *χūmeg* ‘canyon, ravine, hollow’; Kalmyk *kömæg* ‘edge, overhang (of a mountain), shelter’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2005: 737—738 **kumi* (~ -o-) ‘hollow, cavity, inner angle’.

Buck 1949:12.72 hollow (= concave). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 886, **komV* ‘something hollow’.

516. Proto-Nostratic root **k'un-* (~ **k'on-*):

(vb.) **k'un-* ‘to bend; to bend or fold together; to tie or bind together’;

(n.) **k'un-a* ‘that which is bent, folded, crooked, curved, hooked: bend, fold, curve, curvature, angle, wrinkle’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'[u]n-* ‘to bend’: Semitic: Arabic *ḳaniya* ‘to be hooked, aquiline (nose)’, *ʔaḳnā* ‘bend, curved, crooked, hooked’. Egyptian *qnb* ‘to bend, to bow, to incline (oneself); to subjugate’, *qnb* ‘corner, angle’, *qni* ‘sheaf, bundle’; Coptic *knaaw* [ⲕⲚⲁⲁⲮ] (< *qniw*) ‘sheaf’. Hannig 1995:860; Faulkner 1962:279 and 280; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:53; Vycichl 1983:83; Černý 1976:60.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kūṇ* ‘bend, curve, hump on the back, humpback, snail’, *kūṇu* (*kūṇi-*) ‘to curve, to become crooked, to bend down, to become hunchbacked’, *kūṇal* ‘bend, curve, hump’, *kūṇan* ‘humpback’, *kūṇi* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to bend (as a bow), to bow, to stoop’; (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to bend (tr.), to stoop’, *kūṇi* ‘curvature, bow (weapon)’; Malayalam *kūnuka* ‘to stoop, to be

crookbacked’, *kuni* ‘semicircle, curve’, *kuniyuka* ‘to bow, to stoop, to bend’, *kunikka* ‘to make a curve, to cause to stop stooping’; Kannaḍa *kūn* (*kūnt-*), *kūnu* ‘to bend, to stoop, to crouch, to contract oneself, to shrivel up’; Koḍagu *kūn* ‘hunchback’; Tuḷu *gūnu* ‘a hump’; Telugu *gūnu* ‘a hump, a crooked back’; Gondi *gun-* ‘to bend’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:175, no. 1927.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'on-* ‘to tie together’: Georgian *k'on-* ‘to tie together’, *k'on-a* ‘bundle, bunch’; Svan *č'wēn-* ‘to tie together’ (action nouns: *li-č'wēn-i* ‘to tie together’, *lə-č'ōn-e* ‘to be wrapped’, *li-č'ōn-i* ‘to wrap up’). Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:206 **kon-*; Klimov 1964:114 **kon-* and 1998:98 **kon-* ‘to tie together’; Fähnrich 2007:250 **kon-*.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **kunu-* (~ *kh-*) ‘to fold, to twist’ > Proto-Mongolian **kuni-* ‘to fold, to plait’ > Written Mongolian *quni-* ‘to fold, to lay in folds, to draw into folds by a string’, *quniya-* ‘to make plaits or folds’, *qunira-* ‘to wrinkle, to fold, to contract’, *quniyar* ‘plait, fold, wrinkle’; Khalkha *χuni-* ‘to fold, to plait’; Buriat *χuni-* ‘to fold, to plait’; Monguor *χunāzə* ‘fold, wrinkle, furrow’. Proto-Turkic **Kun-da-* ‘(vb.) to swaddle; (n.) swaddling clothes’ > Turkish *kundak* ‘bundle of rags, swaddling clothes’; Gagauz *qundaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Azerbaijani *gundag* ‘swaddling clothes’; Uzbek *qundəq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Turkmenian *gunda-* ‘to swaddle’, *gundaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Uighur *qondaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Karaim *qindaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Tatar (dial.) *qontiq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Kirghiz *qundaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qūndaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Kazakh *qundaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Noghay *qundaq* ‘swaddling clothes’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:740 **kunu* (~ *kʰ-*) ‘to fold, to twist’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.15 fold (vb. tr.); 9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 12.74 crooked. Bomhard 1996a:234—235, replacement for no. 311.

517. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'uŋ-a* ‘buttocks, rump, anus’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kunṭi* ‘buttocks, rump; bottom (as of a vessel), end of a fruit or nut opposite to the stalk’; Malayalam *kunṭi* ‘posterior, anus; bottom (of a vessel)’; Kannaḍa *kunḍe* ‘buttocks, anus; bottom (of a vessel)’; Telugu *kunṭe* ‘anus’; Gadba *kunḍ* ‘anus’; Kuwi *kūna* ‘buttock’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:155, no. 1693a.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k'un-k'o-s* ‘rump, buttocks’: Czech *huzo* ‘rump, buttocks’; Slovenian *góza* ‘rump, buttocks’; Old Polish *gqz* ‘protuberance, hump’ (Modern Polish *guz* ‘lump’, *guza* ‘posterior’); Russian *guz* [гуз] ‘rump, buttocks’, *gúzka* [гузка] ‘rump (of a bird)’, *gúzno* [гузно] (vulgar) ‘ass, bum’. Mann 1984—1987:306 **gungos*, *-ā* ‘lump, swelling’ and 307 **gunḡos*, *-ā* (variant of **gungos*, *-ā* [1]) ‘knot, bunch, lump’; Derksen

2008:184; Preobrazhensky 1951:168 (ръзъ). Perhaps also Old Icelandic *kunta* ‘vulva’; Swedish (dial.) *kunta* ‘vulva’; Danish (dial.) *kunte* ‘vulva’; Middle Low German *kunte* ‘vulva’. De Vries 1977:334; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:424.

- C. Proto-Altaic **kuj^hV* (~ -o-) ‘rump, anus’: Proto-Tungus **kujdu-* ‘rump; cunnus, pudendum muliebre’ > Evenki *kunjukī*, *kujduki* ‘rump’; Lamut / Even *qoñña* ‘pudendum muliebre’. Proto-Mongolian **koñdu-*, **koñži-* ‘rump, buttocks; anus; posterior’ > Written Mongolian *qondulai* ‘rump, hip’, *qoñžusu* ‘junction of two thighs, crotch’; Khalkha *χondloi* ‘rump, buttocks’; Buriat *χondoloy* ‘buttocks, rump’, *χonzōhon* ‘anus, posterior’; Kalmyk *χondasñ* ‘the joint between the legs’; Ordos *χondolō* ‘rump, buttocks’; Monguor *gonžosə*, *gwəñžasə* ‘rear end’. Proto-Turkic **Koñ* ‘thick part of the thigh, muscles; backside, buttocks’ > Karakhanide Turkic *qoñ* ‘thick part of the thigh, muscles’; Uighur *qoñ* ‘backside, buttocks’; Kazakh *qoñ* ‘thick part of the thigh, muscles; backside, buttocks’; Sary-Uighur *qoñir*, *qoñqir* ‘backside, buttocks’; Tuva *qoñ* ‘animal body’; Yakut *kuj* ‘thick part of the thigh, muscles’. Poppe 1955:58 and 1960:18, 71, and 85; Street 1974:17 **koñ* ‘fat at the thighs; rump’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:742—743 **kuj^tV* (~ -o-) ‘rump, anus’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:428—429, no. 272.

518. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’ut’-a* ‘shortness, smallness’; (adj.) ‘short, small’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k’ut’-* ‘short, small’: Proto-Semitic **k’at’-an-* ‘small, thin’ > Hebrew *kāṭōn* [כָּטֹן] ‘small, insignificant’, *kāṭān* [כָּטָן] ‘little, small’; Syriac *kəṭan* ‘to grow thin’; Mandaic *koṭāna* ‘small’; Arabic *kaṭṭīn* ‘servant, slave’; Sabaeen *kṭn* ‘small’; Mehri *kāyṭan* ‘to become thin’; Šehri / Jibbāli *kəṭan* ‘to become thin’; Ḥarsūsi *kāyṭen* ‘to become thin’, *keṭīn* ‘thin’; Geez / Ethiopic *kaṭana* [ቀጠነ] ‘to be thin, fine, lean, subtle, emaciated’, *kaṭṭin* [ቀጠኑ] ‘fine, thin, subtle, delicate, transcendent’; Tigrinya *kāṭānā* ‘to be thin’; Tigre *kāṭna* ‘to be thin’; Amharic *kāṭṭānā* ‘to be thin’; Argobba *kāṭṭānā* ‘to be thin’; Gurage *kāṭānā* ‘to be thin, slender, slim, lean, meager, skinny’. Murtonen 1989:374; Klein 1987:575; Leslau 1979:508 and 1987:453. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *k’uut’a* ‘short’. Hudson 1989:133. Central Chadic **kut’un-* ‘short, small’ > Tera *kutun* ‘short, small’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:351, no. 1615, **kuṭun-* ‘to be small’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṭṭam* ‘smallness, young of a monkey’, *kuṭṭan* ‘laddie, lassie (as a term of endearment)’, *kuṭṭi* ‘young of a dog, pig, tiger, etc.; little girl; smallness’, *kuṭṭai* ‘shortness, dwarfishness’; Malayalam *kuṭṭan* ‘boy, lamb, calf’, *kuṭṭi* ‘young of any animal, child (chiefly girl); pupil of eye’, *kuṭu* ‘small, narrow’; Kota *kuṭ* ‘short, small’; Kannaḍa *giḍḍu*, *guḍḍu* ‘shortness, smallness’, *giḍḍa* ‘dwarf’, *guḍḍa* ‘dwarf, a boy; smallness, shortness’; Koḍagu *kuṭṭi* ‘child of any caste except Coorgs, young of

animals (except dog, cat, pig)'; Tuḷu *giḍḍa* 'small, short'; Telugu *giḍḍa*, *giḍḍaka* 'short, dwarfish', *guḍḍa* 'child'; Kui *gūṭa* 'short, dwarfish', *gūṭi* 'stumpy, short, shortened'; Kuṛux *guḍrū*, *guṛrū* 'dwarfish (of persons and animals only)'; Brahui *ghuḍḍū*, *guḍḍū* 'small, urchin'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:153, no 1670.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'ut'*- 'little, small' > 'boy; (boy's) penis': Georgian *k'ut'a*- 'boy', *k'ut'u*- '(boy's) penis'; Mingrelian *k'ut'u*- '(boy's) penis'; Laz *k'ut'u*- '(boy's) penis'; Svan *k'ot'ōl* (adj.) 'little', (adv.) 'a little', *k'oč'ōl* (adv.) 'a little'. Klimov 1964:118 **kuṭu*- and 1998:105 **kuṭu*- 'boy, penis (pueri)'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:214 **kuṭ*-; Fähnrich 2007: 260 **kuṭ*-.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **kjūta* (~ -*th*-) 'insufficiency, debt': Proto-Tungus **kōta* 'debt; miserly, greedy' > Evenki *kōta* 'debt'; Lamut / Even *qōt* 'debt'; Ulch *qota* 'miserly, greedy'; Orok *quta* 'miserly, greedy'; Nanay / Gold *qota* 'miserly, greedy'. Proto-Turkic **Kit*- 'not enough, insufficient' > Turkish *kit* 'little, few, scarce, deficient', *kitlaş*- 'to become scarce', *kitlik* 'scarcity, dearth, famine', *kitpiyos* 'common, poor, trifling, insignificant'; Azerbaijani *gīt* 'not enough, insufficient'; Uighur *qitiyir* 'miserly'; Karaim *qit* 'not enough, insufficient'; Turkmenian *gīt* 'not enough, insufficient'; Bashkir (dial.) *qitliq* 'hunger'; Kirghiz *qidiq* 'dwarf', *qitiy*- 'secretive', *qitiray*- 'lean and small'; Kazakh *qitiqtan*- 'to be offended'; Noghay *qit* 'not enough, insufficient'; Chuvash *χədəχ* 'compulsion'; Tuva *qidiγ* 'oppressed'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:708—709 **kjūta* (~ -*t*-) 'insufficiency, debt'.

Sumerian *gud₄da*, *gud₈da* 'short'.

Buck 1949:12.56 small, little; 12.59 short. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:329—330, no. 205, **kUṭA* 'small'; Bomhard 1996a:231—232, no. 649; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1227, **kUṭV* 'small'.

22.24. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *g^w

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
g ^w -	g ^w -	k-	gw/u-	g ^{wh} -	k-	g-	k- q-
-g ^w -	-g ^w -	-k-	-gw/u-	-g ^{wh} -	-x-	-g-	-ɣ-

519. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *g^wal-a ‘snake’:

- A. Proto-Kartvelian *g^wel- ‘snake’: Georgian *gvel-i* ‘snake’; Mingrelian *gver-* ‘snake’; Laz *mgver-* ‘snake’. Klimov 1964:61—62 *g^wel- and 1998:29 *g^wel- ‘snake’; Schmidt 1962:101; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:83 *g^wel-; Fähnrich 2007:105 *g^wel-.
- B. Proto-Uralic *kulʒ ‘(intestinal) worm’: Votyak / Udmurt *kōl* ‘intestinal worm’; Zyrian / Komi *kol* ‘intestinal worm’; Ostyak / Xanty *kuł* ‘tapeworm’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *haly* ‘(long) worm’, *sæwəŋseŋ kaly* ‘tapeworm’; Selkup Samoyed *kāā* ‘intestinal worm, especially tapeworm’. Rédei 1986—1988:227 *kʷlʒ ‘intestinal worm’; Décsy 1990:101 *kula ‘a kind of intestinal worm’; Collinder 1955:25, 1960:407 *kulʒ, and 1977:45. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *kelid'e* ‘worm’. Nikolaeva 2006:205.
- C. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *gəlaŋa ‘snake’: Amur *kəlaŋa* ‘snake’; North Sakhalin *kəlaŋa* ‘snake’; East Sakhalin *kəlaŋa* ‘snake’. Fortescue 2016:64.

Buck 1949:3.83 worm; 3.85 snake. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:389—390, no. 227.

520. Proto-Nostratic root *g^wan- (~ *g^wən-):

- (vb.) *g^wan- ‘to hit, to strike, to slay, to kill, to wound, to harm, to injure’;
 (n.) *g^wan-a ‘strike, harm, injury’

- A. Proto-Afrasian (?) *g^wan- ‘(vb.) to hit, to strike, to slay, to kill, to wound, to harm, to injure; (n.) strike, harm, injury’: Proto-Semitic *gan-ay- ‘to harm, to injure’ > Akkadian *genū* ‘to butt, to gore’; Arabic *ġanā* ‘to commit a crime, to harm, to inflict’, *ġanāya* ‘perpetration of a crime, felony’; Modern Hebrew (pi.) *ginnāh* [גִּנָּה] ‘to denounce, to deprecate; to condemn, to censure, to take to task, to put to shame, to disgrace, to defame; to be denounced, deprecated, disgraced’; Syriac *gannī* ‘to blame, to reproach’; Mandaic *ganī* ‘to denounce, to condemn, to blame; to abuse, to insult’. D. Cohen 1970— :147—150; Murtonen 1989:138; Klein 1987:104. Egyptian *gns* ‘violence, injustice’; Coptic *ĉons* [ϢONC] ‘violence, injustice; strength, might, force’, *ġinĉons* [XINĜONC] ‘to use violence, to act violently; to hurt, to harm, to injure’. Hannig 1995:902; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:177; Vycichl 1983:342; Černý 1976:332.

Proto-Highland East Cushitic **gan-* ‘to hit’, **gan-am-* ‘to fight’ > Gedeo / Darasa *gan-* ‘to hit, to whip’, *gan-em-* ‘to fight’, (reduplicated) *gan-gan-* ‘to knock, to pound in a mortar’; Hadiyya *gan-* ‘to hit, to thresh by driving ox’, *gan-am-* ‘to fight’; Sidamo *gan-* ‘to hit’, *gan-am-* ‘to hit, to fight’, (reduplicated) *gan-gan-* ‘to knock’; Kambata *ganno* ‘harm’. Hudson 1989:63, 80, and 116.

- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kaṇṭi* ‘gap in a hedge or fence, breach in a wall, mountain pass’; Kannaḍa *kaṇḍi*, *kiṇḍi*, *gaṇḍi* ‘chink, hole, opening’; Koḍagu *kaṇḍi* ‘narrow passage (for example, mountain pass, hole in a fence)’; Tuḷu *kaṇḍi*, *khaṇḍi*, *gaṇḍi* ‘hole, opening, window’, *kaṇḍeriyuni* ‘to make a cut’; Telugu *gaṇḍi*, *gaṇḍika* ‘hole, orifice, breach, gap, lane’, *gaṇṭu* ‘(vb.) to cut, to wound; (n.) cut, wound, notch’, *gaṇṭi* ‘wound’, *gaṇḍrincu* ‘to cut, to divide’, *gaṇḍrikalu* ‘pieces, fragments’; Kuwi *gundra* ‘piece’, *gandranga rath’nai* ‘to cut in pieces’, *gaṇḍra* ‘piece’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:111, no. 1176.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **g^when-/g^whon-/g^wh₂n-* ‘(vb.) to hit, to strike, to slay, to kill, to wound, to harm, to injure; (n.) strike, blow, wound’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ku-en-zi* ‘to strike, to kill’; Sanskrit *hānti* ‘to smite, to slay, to hurt, to kill, to wound’; Avestan *ǰainti* ‘to beat, to kill’; Greek θείνω ‘to strike, to wound’, φόνοϛ ‘murder, homicide, slaughter’; Armenian *ganem* ‘to strike’; Latin *dēfendō* ‘to repel, to repulse, to ward off, to drive away; to defend, to protect’, *offendō* ‘to strike, to knock, to dash against’, *offensō* ‘to strike, to dash against’; Old Irish *gonim* ‘to wound, to slay’, *guin* ‘a wound’; Old Icelandic *gunnr* ‘war, battle’; Old English *gūp* ‘war, battle’; Old Saxon *gūdea* ‘battle, war’; Old High German *gund-* ‘battle, war’; Lithuanian *genù*, *giñti* ‘to drive’, *geniù*, *genėti* ‘to lop, to prune, to trim’. Rix 1998a:194—196 **g^uhen-* ‘to beat, to strike, to hit’; Pokorny 1959:491—493 **g^uhen-(ə)-* ‘to hit’; Walde 1927—1932.I:679—681 **g^uhen-*; Mann 1984—1987:379—380 **g^uhen-* ‘to drive, to beat, to kill’, 380 **g^uhentūā*, 381 **g^uh₂n-*, 381—382 **g^uh₂ntis*, *-jos*, *-jə* ‘blow, wound, slaughter’, 382 **g^uh₂ntos* ‘struck, wounded, killed, driven’, 382 **g^uhondh-* ‘to strike’, 382—383 **g^uhonos*, *-ā*, *-is* ‘blow, chase, slaughter’; Watkins 1985:25 **g^when-* and 2000:35 **g^when-* ‘to strike, to kill’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:740 **g^[h]en-* and 1995.I:87, I:107, I:644, I:780 **g^hen-* ‘to kill, to destroy, to pursue (enemy)’, I:779 **g^h(e)n-* ‘to break, to strike; battle’; Mallory—Adams 1997:548 **g^when-* ‘to strike’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:425—426 **gh^wen-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:657—658 **g^uhen-iō* and II:1035—1036 **g^uhónos*; Boisacq 1950:336 **g^uhen-* and 1033 **g^uhono-s*; Hofmann 1966:112 **g^uhen-* and 402 **g^uhonos*; Beekes 2010.I:536—537 **g^when-* and II:1586 **g^when-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:224—225 **gh^wen-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:332—333 **g^uhen-*; De Vaan 2008:210—211; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:575—577; Puhvel 1984— .4:206—212 **gh^wen-* ‘to smite, to slay, to pursue’; Kloekhorst 2008b:485—486; Orël 2003:146 Proto-Germanic **zunþz*; Kroonen 2013:196 Proto-Germanic

**gunþi-* ~ **gunþjō-* ‘fight’; De Vries 1977:195 **g^uhen-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:152—153; Smoczyński 2007.1:180—181 **g^uhen-/g^uh₂-*; Derksen 2015:170—171 **g^{wh}en-* and 177 **g^{wh}h₂-*; García Ramón 1998 **g^{wh}en-*.

- D. Proto-Altaic **guna-* ‘to rob, to attack, to torture’: Proto-Tungus **gun-* ‘to punish, to avenge’ > Evenki *gunča-* ‘to punish, to avenge’. Proto-Mongolian **gani-* ‘(vb.) to strive, to endeavor; (adj.) berserk, frenzied’ > Mongolian *gani-* ‘to make efforts, to endeavor, to strive’, *gani* ‘frenzied, mad’, *ganira-* ‘to be mad, to be intoxicated; to be lonely or depressed’, *ganiral* ‘madness; mental obscuration’, *ganiraltu* ‘mad’; Khalkha *gañ* ‘berserk, frenzied’, *gani-* ‘to strive, to endeavor’; Buriat *gani(g)* ‘berserk, frenzied’; Kalmyk *gāñr-* ‘to become mad’; Dagur *gāni* ‘berserk, frenzied’. Proto-Turkic **Kun-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qun-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’; Karakhanide Turkic *qun-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’; Turkmenian (dial.) *gumuš-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’; Kirghiz *qun-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’; Tuva *χunā-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to attack’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:571 **guna* ‘to rob, to attack, to torture’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:467—468, no. 312; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 638, **g[o]ʔiñV* ‘to beat, to strike’.

521. Proto-Nostratic root **g^wan-* (~ **g^wən-*):

(vb.) **g^wan-* ‘to swell, to abound’;

(n.) **g^wan-a* ‘swelling, abundance, large quantity, prosperity’

- A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **g^wan-* ‘to swell, to abound’: Proto-Semitic **gan-an-* ‘to swell, to abound’ > Arabic *ğanna* ‘to abound (in plants and herbs)’, *ğanma-t* ‘plenty, abundance; the whole’; Geez / Ethiopic *ganna* [ገን] ‘to be important, to be proud’; Gurage (Wolane) *genä* ‘large’ in *genä kuṭäl* ‘large leaf of the *äsät* in which dough is placed’, *gännänä* in *səm-äw yägännänä* ‘famous’, literally, ‘a man whose name (*səm*) is exceeding’; Tigre *gänna* ‘to exceed the measure’; Tigrinya *gänänä* ‘to be numerous, to be strong’; Amharic *gännänä* ‘to be abundant, to be large in quantity, to augment, to increase, to grow (of fame), to be famous’. D. Cohen 1970— :147—150; Leslau 1979:281, 284 and 1987:198; Militarëv 2008a:197 and 2010:75. (?) Geez / Ethiopic *g^wanak^wa*, *g^wannak^wa* [ገንከ] ‘to heap up, to accumulate, to make a large amount’; Tigrinya *g^wänäk^wä* ‘to make a pile of mown hay or grain’. Leslau 1987:198. Egyptian *gn* ‘to be big, great, mighty’. Hannig 1995:901; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:173. East Cushitic: Somali *gen* ‘age’; Konso *kaan-* ‘to be left to grow big’; Dullay *kaan-* ‘to grow’, *kaan-a* ‘big’; Burji *gann-an-ee* ‘big, great, mighty’, *gaan-* ‘to be or become big’, (causative) *gaan-is-* ‘to make big, to enlarge’. Sasse 1982:73 and 78.

- B. Dravidian: Kui *gunda* (*gundi-*) ‘(vb.) to sprout, to bud, to shoot forth into bud or ear; (n.) a sprouting, budding’; (?) Kuwi *kunda* ‘a very small plot of ground (for example, for seed-bed)’; Kuṛux *kundnā* ‘to germinate, to bud, to shoot out’, *kundrnā* ‘to be born’, *kundrkā* ‘birth’, *kundrta’ānā* ‘to generate, to beget, to produce’; Malto *kunde* ‘to be born, to be created’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:157, no. 1729.
- C. Kartvelian: Svan *gun* ‘very; plenty of’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **g^{wh}en-/*g^{wh}on-/*g^{wh}η-* ‘to swell, to abound; to fill, to stuff, to cram’: Sanskrit *ā-hanā́-h* ‘swelling, distended’, *ghaná-h* ‘solid, compact, hard, firm, dense; full of (in compounds), densely filled with (in compounds)’; Greek εὐθηνέω (Attic εὐθενέω) ‘to thrive, to prosper, to flourish, to abound’; Armenian *yogn* (< **i-* + **o-g^{wh}on-* or **o-g^{wh}no-*) ‘much’; Lithuanian *ganà* ‘enough’. Perhaps also in Germanic: Proto-Germanic **gundaz* (< **g^{wh}η-to-*) ‘abscess’ > Gothic *gund* ‘gangrene’; Norwegian (dial.) *gund* ‘scurf’; Old English *gund* ‘matter, pus’; Old High German *gunt* ‘pus’. Pokorny 1959:491 **g^uhen-* ‘to swell’; Walde 1927—1932.I:679 **g^uhen-*; Watkins 1985:25 **g^when-* ‘to swell, to abound’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:84 and I:357; Boisacq 1950:294 **g^uhen-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:586—587 **g^uhen-*; Hofmann 1966:98 **g^uhen-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:384 **g^when-*; Beekes 2010.I:478—479; Orël 2003:146 Proto-Germanic **gundan* ~ **gundaz*; Kroonen 2013:195—196 Proto-Germanic **gunda-* ‘pus; decaying skin’ (?); Feist 1939:226; Lehmann 1986:163; Torp 1919:190; Jacques 2017; Smoczyński 2007.1:155—156 **g^uhen-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:132—133; Derksen 2015:163 **g^won-*.

Buck 1949:12.53 grow (= increase in size); 12.55 large, big (great); 13.18 enough. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 637a, **g[oʔa]nV* ‘much, big’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:468, no. 313.

522. Proto-Nostratic root **g^war-* (~ **g^wər-*):
 (vb.) **g^war-* ‘to turn, to twist, to wind, to wrap, to roll’;
 (n.) **g^war-a* ‘any round or circular object’; (adj.) ‘rolling, round, bent, twisted, turned’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **g^war-* ‘to roll, to revolve’: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gar-gar-* ‘to roll, to revolve’ > Ugaritic *t-grgr* ‘to bustle about, to make haste’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔangargara* [ḫḡḡḡḡ] ‘to wallow, to revolve, to roll, to roll oneself, to make roll about, to spin, to drive around, to flop around, to wriggle’, *nagargār* [ḡḡḡḡ] ‘rolling, spinning, epilepsy, palsy, possession by an evil spirit, evil spirit’; Amharic *nägärgar* ‘epilepsy’; Tigre *ʔangärgära* ‘to roll, to wallow’; Tigrinya *ʔangärgärä* ‘to roll, to wallow’. D. Cohen 1970— :181; Leslau 1987:202. Proto-Semitic **gar-ar-* ‘to turn, to roll’ > Akkadian *garāru* ‘to turn or roll over (intr.); to roll’, *garru* ‘round’. D. Cohen 1970— :191—192. Berber: Kabyle *grirəb* ‘to

roll'. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *g^war- 'to turn (intr.)' > Iraqw (reduplicated) gwangwara?- 'to roll (downhill)'; K'wadza golat- 'to bend (intr.)'. Ehret 1980:372. Cushitic: Somali girāngir 'wheel'; Saho gur- 'to roll', gargar- 'to roll'; Bilin gargar- 'to move, to stir; to sway back and forth', ?engirgir 'epilepsy'. Reinisch 1887:161. North Omotic: Bench / Gimira gart- 'to roll (intr.)', gars- 'to roll (tr.)'. Chadic: Hausa gaṛaa 'to roll a circular object along the ground', gaṛe 'any circular object used by children to roll along the ground'. Ehret 1995:192, no. 302, g^war- 'to turn (intr.)'; Diakonoff 1992:25 *g^wVr, *gVr 'rolling, round, bent'; Militarëv 2012:90—91 Proto-Afrasian *gVr(gVr)-.

- B. (?) Proto-Kartvelian *gor-/*gr- 'to roll, to rotate': Georgian gor- 'to roll, to rotate, to turn'; Mingrelian gorgol- 'to roll'; Laz ngor-, gr- 'to roll, to wallow', ngorebul- 'wallowing'; Svan gwr-, gur- 'to roll, to rotate', gur-na 'round stone'. Schmidt 1962:102; Klimov 1964:64 *gor-/*gr- and 1998:31 *gor-/*gr- 'to roll, to wallow'; Fähnrich 2007:110—111 *gor-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:88—89 *gor-. Proto-Kartvelian *grex-/*grix- 'to roll, to twist', *grex-il- 'twisted, rolled': Georgian grex-/grix- 'to roll, to twist', grexil- 'twisted, rolled'; Mingrelian girax-/grix- 'to roll, to twist', giraxil-, giroxil- 'twisted, rolled'; Laz ngrix- 'to roll, to twist'. Fähnrich 2007: 111—112 *grax-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:89—90 *grax-; Klimov 1998:32 *gr-ex-/*gr-ix- 'to roll, to twist' and 32—33 *grex-il- 'twisted, rolled'. Proto-Kartvelian *grgw- 'ring; round': Georgian rgol-i 'ring' (Old Georgian grgol-i), m-rgv-al-i 'round'; Mingrelian rgv- in mo-rgv-i 'part of a wheel, coil; round'; Svan girg-od 'ring on a wicket', girgweld 'link (in a chain)'. Klimov 1998:32 *grgw- 'round artifact, ring'; Fähnrich 2007:117 *gurgw-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:90 *grgw-.
- C. Proto-Uralic *kure- 'to twist, to turn, to plait, to tie (together), to twine together, to braid': Finnish kuro- 'to fold, to plait, to crease, to pull together, to tie shut; to baste (sew), to patch up, to stitch together'; Lapp / Saami gorrâ-/gorâ- 'to tie together without actually making a knot, to tie shut, to fasten'; (?) Zyrian / Komi kôr- 'to plait, to gather'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets hura- 'to tie up'; Selkup Samoyed kura- 'to plait, to twist together'; Kamassian kür- 'to plait, to braid, to twist'. Collinder 1955:29 and 1977:49; Rédei 1986—1988:215—216 *kure-; Décsy 1990:101 *kura 'to bind'. Proto-Uralic *kur3 'basket': Votyak / Udmurt kür 'basket made of the inner bark of the linden'; Cheremis / Mari (Eastern) kurukš 'basket made of bark'; Vogul / Mansi kuri, huri 'sack, bag, pouch'; Ostyak / Xanty kyræg, (North Kazym) hyr 'sack'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets hoor 'keg, receptacle, bucket', täekuseä koor 'bucket made of birch bark'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan kur 'vat, tub', koare 'box'; Selkup Samoyed koromže 'basket made of birch bark'. Collinder 1955:28 and 1977:49; Rédei 1986—1988:219 *kur3 (*kor3); Décsy 1990:101 *kura 'basket, barrel made of bark'; Janhunen 1977b:74 *kor. Note: The Uralic forms are phonologically

ambiguous — they may either belong here or with Proto-Nostratic **k^{wh}ir-* (~ **k^{wh}er-*) ‘to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten’.

- D. (?) Proto-Altaic **gūr^vi-* ‘to tie, to bind, to plait, to twine’: Proto-Tungus **gurē-* ‘(vb.) to unfasten; to tie (a band); (n.) string, cord’ > Manchu *gūran* ‘cord for tying a bundle’; Evenki *gurē-* ‘to unfasten’, *gurewu-* ‘to tie (a band)’, *guren* ‘string, cord’; Lamut / Even *gurelge-* ‘to unfasten’, *gur^hn* ‘string, cord’; Ulch *gure-li-* ‘to unfasten’; Oroch *gure-li-* ‘to unfasten’; Nanay / Gold *gure-li-* ‘to unfasten’, *gori* ‘string, cord’; Oroch *guže* ‘string, cord’; Udihe *gue-* ‘to tie (a band)’. Proto-Mongolian **görü-*, **gürü-* ‘to plait, to spin’ > Mongolian *gürü-* ‘to braid, to twine, to weave’, *gürüge* ‘wickerwork’, *gürümel* ‘braided, woven, plaited’; Khalkha *görü-* ‘to plait, to spin’; Buriat *güre-* ‘to plait, to spin’; Kalmyk *gür-* ‘to plait, to spin’; Ordos *gürü-* ‘to plait, to spin’; Monguor *guru-*, *gurə-* ‘to plait, to spin’. Proto-Turkic **gür^v-* ‘(vb.) to lace, to bind; (n.) part of a loom’ > Turkmenian *göze-* ‘to lace, to bind’; Kirghiz *küzük-* ‘part of a loom’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai, Northern dialect) *küzüg* ‘part of a loom’; Chuvash *kəwrəw* ‘part of a loom’. Poppe 1960:25, 107, and 126; Street 1974:13 **göre-* ‘to weave, to twist’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:575 **gūri* ‘to unfasten, to (un)tie’.

Sumerian *gur* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *gur* ‘to wind up, to roll up, to turn, to twist’, *gur* ‘basket’, *gūr* ‘ring, circle’, *gūr* ‘to bend, to bow (intr.)’, *gur₄* ‘to wriggle, to writhe’, *gurum* ‘to bend, to bow (intr.); to bend (tr.)’.

Buck 1949:10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap; 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:401—402, no. 239.

523. Proto-Nostratic root **g^wir-* (~ **g^wer-*):

(vb.) **g^wir-* ‘to be or become hot, to warm’;

(n.) **g^wir-a* ‘heat, fire’

- A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **g^wir-* ‘(vb.) to be or become hot, to warm; (n.) fire’: Proto-Semitic **gar-ar-* ‘(vb.) to be or become hot, to warm; (n.) fire’ > Akkadian *girru* ‘fire’, (adv.) *girrāniš* ‘like fire’; Amharic *gärrärä* ‘to be scorching (sun)’; Gurage (Chaha) *g’irg’ir* **balä*, (Endegeñ) *gərgər barä* ‘to blaze, to flicker, to burn in a bright and wavy way, *to burn easily (dry wood)’. D. Cohen 1970— :191—192; Leslau 1979:310. Egyptian (**gir-* > **g^vir-* > **d^vir-* >) *ḏj* ‘fire-drill’, *ḏj* (Demotic *ḏj*) ‘to heat, to cook, to burn’, *ḏj* ‘scorched meat’; Coptic *ḡuf* [xoyɥɥ] ‘to burn, to scorch’, (reduplicated) *ḡofḡf* [xoyɥɥ] ‘to burn, to cook’. Hannig 1995:992 and 993—994; Faulkner 1962:318 and 319; Erman—Grapow 1921:218 and 1926—1963.5:511, 5:522; Gardiner 1957:603; Vycichl 1983:333; Černý 1976:322. Saho-Afar **gir-* ‘fire’ > Saho *gira* ‘fire’; Afar *gira* ‘fire’. Highland East Cushitic **gir-* ‘fire’ > Burji *jiir-a* ‘fire’, *jiiranta arraaba*

- ‘flame’; Sidamo *giir-a* ‘fire’, *giir-* ‘to burn (tr.)’, *girr-am-* ‘to burn (intr.)’; Hadiyya *giir-a* ‘fire’, *giir-* ‘to burn (tr.)’, *girr-am-* ‘to burn (intr.)’; Kambata *giira(ta)* ‘fire’, *giir k’as-aancu* ‘torch’; Gedeo / Darasa *giir-a* ‘fire’. Sasse 1982:110; Hudson 1989:64. Proto-Chadic (reduplicated) **gir-gir-* ‘hot’ > Maha *girgir* ‘hot’; Dera *gərgət* (< **gərgər*) ‘hot’; Tera *gərgər* ‘hot’; Bura *gərgər* ‘hot’. Hausa *guura* ‘to set fire’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:210, no. 930, **gir-* ‘fire’ and 210, no. 931, **gir-* ‘to be hot’.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *ku-ra-* ‘to singe, to scorch; to grill, to roast’, *ku-ra-am-ma* ‘in the kiln’, *ku-ra-na* ‘with the kiln’. Dravidian: Parji *kerj-* ‘to warm oneself by the fire’, *kercip-* (*kercit-*) ‘to warm somebody else’; Konḡa *rēs-* (with loss of initial *k*) ‘to warm by the fire’; Kui *grehpa* (*greht-*) ‘(vb.) to warm, to warm by the fire, to broil, to foment; (n.) act of warming by the fire, fomentation’; Kuwi *kērnjali* ‘to warm oneself in the sun’, *krenj-* (*-it-*) ‘to warm oneself’, *kreh-* (*krest-*) ‘to warm another’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:179, no. 1967.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **g^wher-/g^wh₂r-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **g^whor-*) ‘(vb.) to burn, to be hot; (n.) heat, fire’: Sanskrit *gharmá-h* ‘heat, warmth, sunshine’, *jigharti* ‘to shine, to burn’, *ghṛṇá-h* ‘heat, ardor, sunshine’, *háras-* ‘flame, fire’; Hindi *ghām* ‘heat, sunshine, sweat’; Avestan *garəma-* ‘heat’; Greek θέρμη ‘heat, feverish heat’, θερμός ‘hot, warm’, θέρος ‘summer, summertime’, θέρω ‘to heat, to make hot’; Armenian *ǰerm* ‘warm, hot’; Albanian *zjarm, zjarr* ‘fire’; Latin *formus* ‘warm’, *fornāx* ‘furnace, oven’, *furnus* ‘oven, bake-house’; Old Irish *gorim* ‘to make warm’; Old Prussian *gorme* ‘heat’, *goro* ‘fire-place’; Old Church Slavic *gorēti* ‘to burn’; Russian *gorēt’* [гореть] ‘to burn’, *gret’* [греть] ‘to give out warmth, to warm (up), to heat (up)’, *žar* [жар] ‘heat’; Serbo-Croatian *gòreti* ‘to burn’. Rix 1998a:196—197 **g^uher-* ‘to heat, to make hot’; Pokorny 1959:493—495 **g^uher-* ‘hot, warm’; Walde 1927—1932.I:687—689 **g^uher-*; Mann 1984—1987:380—381 **g^uhermos* (**g^uherm₂ṃ*, **g^uherm₂ǰ*) ‘warm, hot; heat’, 381 **g^uheros* ‘hot; heat’, 383 **g^uhoreǰō* ‘to warm, to heat’, 383 **g^uhormos* ‘hot, warm’, 383 **g^uhoros, -is* ‘heat, warmth; hot place, burn’, 383 **g^uhrēǰō* ‘to heat, to warm; to get hot’, 386 **g^uh₂r₂nos* ‘ashpit, firepit, clay oven, earthen pot, crucible’; Watkins 1985:25 **g^wher-* and 2000:35 **g^wher-* ‘to heat, to warm’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:91, I:176, II:708 **g^[h]er-*, II:683 **g^[h]er-mo-* and 1995.I:79, I:151, I:613 **g^her-* ‘heat, warmth’, I:590 **g^her-mo-* ‘hot’; Mallory—Adams 1997:263 **g^whermós* ‘warm’, **g^whrensós* ‘warm’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:357—358 and I:360; Boisacq 1950:341 **g^uher-*, **g^uhormo-*, **g^uheres-*; Hofmann 1966:113—114 **g^uher-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:664—665 **g^uhermo-*, **g^uhormo-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:431—432 **gh^wer-*; Beekes 2010.I:541—542 **g^wher-mo-*; Orël 1998:524—525; De Vaan 2008:235; Ernout—Meillet 1979:248; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:532—534 **g^uher-*, **g^uhermo-*; Derksen 2008:178—179 **g^whor-* and 534; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:196—199 **g^uher-*.

D. Altaic: Manchu *guru-* ‘to redden, to become inflamed’.

Buck 1949:1.81 fire; 1.85 burn (vb.); 15.85 hot, warm. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:468—469, no. 314; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:239, no. 95, **gUrλ* ‘hot coals’.

22.25. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *k^{wh}

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
k ^{wh} -	k ^w -	k-	kw/u-	k ^{wh} -	k-	k ^h -	k- q-
-k ^{wh} -	-k ^w -	-k(k)-	-kw/u-	-k ^{wh} -	-k(k)-	-k ^h -	-k(k)- -q(q)-

524. Proto-Nostratic post-positional intensifying and conjoining particle *k^{wha}- (~ *k^{whə}-):

- A. Elamo-Dravidian: Elamite coordinating conjunction: Neo-Elamite *ku-da*, Royal Achaemenid Elamite *ku-ud-da*, *ku-ut-te* ‘and’, assuming that it is a compound form composed of the elements *ku- ‘and’ plus *da* ‘also’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *k^{wē} intensifying and affirming particle: Middle Georgian *kue*, Georgian Dialects: (Xevsuruli, Rač’uli) *-kve*, (Imeruli) *-ke*; Mingrelian *ko*; Laz *ko*. Klimov 1964:198 *k^{wē}- and 1998:216 *k^{wē} affirmative particle; Fähnrich 2007:464 *k^{wē}-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:376—377 *k^{wē}-. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse also include Svan *ču* (< *č^{wē}).
- C. Proto-Indo-European *k^{whē} intensifying and conjoining particle: ‘moreover, and, also, etc.’: Sanskrit *ca* ‘and, both, also, moreover, as well as’, *ca...ca* ‘though...yet’; Pāli *ca* ‘and, then, now’; Avestan *-čā* ‘and’, *-čā...-čā* ‘both...and’; Old Persian *-čā* ‘and’, *-čā...-čā* ‘both...and’; Hittite *-k(k)u* enclitic particle: ‘now, even, and’, *-k(k)u...-k(k)u* ‘(both...) and; if...if; whether...or’, (?) *kuišku* ‘someone’ (if not a scribal error for *kuiški*); Palaic *-ku* ‘and’; Luwian *-ku(-wa)* ‘also, furthermore’ (cf. Melchert 1993b:105); (?) Lydian *-k* ‘and, also’; Greek *τε* ‘and’, *τε...τε* ‘both...and’, *καί τε* ‘and also’; Latin *-que* enclitic conjoining particle: ‘and’, *-que...-que* ‘both...and, and so’; *-que, -c* enclitic intensifying particle in *quis-que* ‘each, every, everyone, everybody, everything’, *ne-que, ne-c* ‘not, and not’, etc.; Oscan *ni-p, ne-p* ‘and not’; Umbrian *nei-p, ni-p* ‘and not’; Old Irish *-ch* enclitic particle in *na-ch* ‘any’; Gothic *-h* enclitic particle in *-uh* ‘and’, *ni-h* ‘not’, *hva-h* ‘each, every’, etc. Pokorny 1959:635—636 *k^{ue} (enclitic) ‘and, somehow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:507—508 *q^{ue}; Mann 1984—1987:1021 *q^{ue} (*quə, *qu-) ‘and’ (enclitic); ‘if, or’; Watkins 1985:33 *k^{wē} and 2000:44 *k^{wē} ‘and’ (enclitic); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:353—354, I:365, I:366 *-k[h]^oe and 1995.I:188 *-k^ho^e ‘and’ (coordinating pronominal particle); Mallory—Adams 1997:20 *k^{wē} ‘and’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:365; Puhvel 1984— .4:173—174 *k^{wē} and 4:203—205 *k^{wē}; Beekes 2010.II:1457 *k^{wē}; Boisacq 1950:946—947 *q^{ue}; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1098 *k^{wē}; Hofmann 1966:355 *q^{ue}; De

Vaan 2008:506 **-k^we* ‘and, -ever’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:862—863 **q^ue*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:555 **k^we*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:401—402 **q^ue*; Feist 1939:514 **k^ue*; Lehmann 1986:374 **k^we*; Brugmann 1904:621—622, no. 853, **q^ue*; Kloekhorst 2008b:483—484.

- D. Proto-Uralic **-ka/*-k^a* intensifying and conjoining particle: Finnish *-ka/-k^a* in: *ei-k^a* ‘and...not, nor’ (*ei...eik^a* ‘neither...nor’), *jo-ka* (indefinite pronoun) ‘who?’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *juo-kke ~ juo-kk^e* ‘each, every’; Vogul / Mansi *ää-k, ää-ki* (in combination with a finite verb in the indicative mood) ‘not’. Proto-Yukaghir **k* predicative. Nikolaeva 2006:81.
- E. Altaic: Evenki *-ka/-k^a/-k^o* intensifying particle.
- F. Etruscan *-c* ‘and’.
- G. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **qu(n)* emphatic particle: Chukchi *qun* ‘well’ (also emphatic enclitic); Kerek *qun* ‘well’, *q[?]un, q[?]in* strengthening or questioning particle; Koryak *qun* (emphatic particle) ‘and’; Alyutor *qun, qon* ‘well, all right, and so’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *qu* ‘hallo!, halloo!’, *qunix* ‘after all’. Fortescue 2005:339—340.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:325—326, no. 201, **k/o/* post-positional intensifying and conjoining particle; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:480—481, no. 326.

525. Proto-Nostratic root **k^whal-* (~ **k^whəl-*):

(vb.) **k^whal-* ‘to go, to walk, to move about’;

(n.) **k^whal-a* ‘walking, walk, wandering, roaming’

Probably identical to:

(vb.) **k^whal-* ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’;

(n.) **k^whal-a* ‘circle, circuit’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k^wal-* ‘to go, to walk, to move about’: Berber: Tuareg *əkəl* ‘to go, to spend the hours in the middle of the day at, to spend the day at home’, *sikəl* ‘to travel, to go on foot (animal)’; Siwa *ukel-* ‘to go, to walk’, *tikli* ‘step, footstep’; Wargla *kəl* ‘to spend the middle of the day’, *sikəl* ‘to go on foot, to walk along’, *tikli* ‘walk, gait, going’; Mزاب *çəl* ‘to spend the middle of the day, to spend the day’; Tamazight *kəl, cəl* ‘to spend the day, to spend the day doing something; to take place, to happen’, *akəl, acəl* ‘to step on, to stamp (one’s foot), to trample’; Kabyle *tikliwin* ‘walking, pace; conduct; walk’. Cushitic: Saho-Afar **kalah-* ‘to travel’ > Saho *kalaah-, kalaah-* ‘to travel’. Central Chadic **kal-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’ > Mbara *kal-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’; Mafa *kəl-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’; Gisiga *kal-* ‘to run, to go (quickly)’. East Chadic **kVl-* ‘to enter’ > Kera *kele-* ‘to enter’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:310, no. 1418, **kal-* ‘go’ and 310, no. 1420, **kalah-* ‘go’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kulavu (kulavi-)* ‘to walk, to move about’; Toda *kwal- (kwad-)* ‘to go round and round (millet in a mortar pit, buffaloes in a pen),

- to frisk about, to run about wasting time'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:163, no. 1803.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}el-/k^{wh}ol-/k^{wh}l-* 'to go, to walk, to move about': Sanskrit *cáрати, calati* 'to move one's self, to go, to walk, to move, to stir, to roam about, to wander'; Avestan *carāiti* 'to go, to move'; Greek *πολέω* 'to go about, to range over', *πολεύω* 'to turn about, to go about'. Rix 1998a:345—347 **k^uelh₁-* 'to twist, to turn, to turn round'; Pokorny 1959:639—640 **k^uel-*, **k^uelə-* 'to turn'; Walde 1927—1932.I:514—516 **q^uel-*; Mann 1984—1987:1024 **q^uelō* 'to turn, to move, to go'; Watkins 1985:33 **k^wel-* and 2000:45 **k^wel-* (also **k^welə-*) 'to revolve, to move around, to sojourn, to dwell'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:220 **k^[h]°el-* and 1995.I:190, I:225, I:622 **k^h°el-* 'to rotate, to move'; Mallory—Adams 1997:606—607 **k^wel-* 'to turn'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:376; Hofmann 1966:260—261 **q^uelō*; Beekes 2010.II:1168—1169 **k^wlh₁-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:877—878 **k^welō*; Boisacq 1950:764 **q^uel-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:500—501 **q^uelō*, **q^uolejō*.
- D. Proto-Uralic **kulki-* 'to ramble about, to move about, to roam or wander about': Finnish *kulke-/kulje-* 'to go, to walk, to travel, to stroll, to ramble'; Estonian *kulg* 'course, process, run, motion, going', *kulgema-* 'to proceed, to take one's course, to run, to pass'; Lapp / Saami *gol'gâ-* 'to float (with the current), to run; to shower down; to leak very much; to ramble, to roam, to wander about'; Mordvin *kolge-* 'to drip, to run; to leak, to be leaky'; Ostyak / Xanty *kogəl-* 'to walk, to stride'; Zyrian / Komi *kylal-* 'to float, to drift (on water); to flood; to swim; to travel or drift downstream', *kylt-* 'to drift or swim with the current'; Hungarian *halad-* 'to depart, to proceed, to move forward'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *huuly-* 'to swim; to move by ship; to travel downstream'. Rédei 1986—1988:198 **kulke-*; Décsy 1990:101 **kulka* 'to go, to progress'; Sammallahti 1988:544 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kulki-* 'to run'; Collinder 1955:26—27 and 1977:46; Zhivlov 2023:164 Proto-Uralic **kulki-* 'to move', Proto-Finnic **kulke-* 'to go, to move, to travel'.
- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *(*ðə*)*kəlæ-* 'to follow or chase': Chukchi *kəle-* 'to follow, to chase, to catch, to copy', *ye-rkəle-lin* 'followed', *kəle-l'etə-tku-*, *keel'e-tku-* 'to chase', *kəla-jo-lqəl* 'pattern (to follow)'; Kerek *kəla-lra(a)t-* 'to chase', *klaa-ju-lXəl* 'pattern'; Koryak *kəle-* 'to follow', *kələkret-* 'to chase'; Alyutor (*t*)*kəla-*, *kəla-l'at-* 'to follow'; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Western) *kalkaz* 'to follow'. Fortescue 2005:144.

Buck 1949:10.45 walk; 10.52 follow; 10.53 pursue. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 471—473, no. 317.

526. Proto-Nostratic root **k^{wh}al-* (~ **k^{wh}əl-*):
 (vb.) **k^{wh}al-* 'to revolve, to go around, to roll';
 (n.) **k^{wh}al-a* 'circle, circuit'

Probably identical to:

(vb.) **k^whal-* ‘to go, to walk, to move about’;

(n.) **k^whal-a* ‘walking, walk, wandering, roaming’

Derivative:

(n.) **k^whal-a* ‘that which turns, rolls, revolves, or goes round and round’ (> ‘wheel’ in the daughter languages)

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k^wal-* ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’: Proto-Semitic **kal-al-* ‘to revolve, to go around, to surround’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kallala* [ḥḏḏ] ‘to surround, to surround for protection, to cover over, to protect, to encompass, to encircle, to fence in, to crown’; Tigre *källa* ‘to go around’, *kälkäla* ‘to encircle’, *kälal* ‘circuit’; Tigrinya *k^wällälä* ‘to go around’; Amharic *källälä* ‘to surround, to crown, to guard, to protect’. Note: the words for ‘crown’ associated with this root are considered to be of Aramaic origin. Leslau 1987:283. Proto-Semitic **kal-al-* ‘to roll’ > Geez / Ethiopic **kolala*, **k^walala*, ?*ankolala* [ḫḏḏ], ?*ank^walala* [ḫḏḏ-ḏḏ] ‘to roll (intr.), to roll down (tears), fall (fruit, tears), to be or become giddy, to be tossed about, to turn (one’s head)’, ?*akolala* [ḫḏḏ] ‘to be dizzy’; Tigre ?*ankoläla* ‘to turn’; Tigrinya *kolälä*, *k^wälälä* ‘to go around’, ?*änkäliliw* ‘round’; Amharic (*tän*)*k^wällälä* ‘to roll, to make turn’, (*an*)*k^wällälä*, *k^wälälä alä* ‘to roll, to make turn’; Harari *kulul bāya* ‘to roll’; Gurage (*at*)*kuläle* ‘to roll (tr.)’. Leslau 1963:82, 1979:342, and 1987:283—284; Militarëv 2012:91 Proto-Semitic **k^wVIVl-*. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *k^waläl* ‘round; ball’; Galla / Oromo *konkoladä-* ‘to roll, to roll downhill’; Hadiyya *kulill-*, *kullul-* ‘to turn (around)’; Saho *kulel* ‘circle’; Bilin *kaläl-* ‘to surround’. According to Leslau (1987:283), the Saho and Bilin forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:322, no. 1474, **kol-* ‘to return, to go around’.] Militarëv 2012:91 Proto-Afrasian **k^wVl-*.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kulavu* (*kulavi-*) ‘(vb.) to bend, to curve; (n.) bend, curve’; Kuḗux *xolkhnā*, *xol^oxnā* ‘to cause to bend the head’, *xolkhrnā*, *xolxrnā* ‘to bend the head, to stoop’; Kui *klōnga* (*klōngi-*) ‘to be contracted, drawn in, bent up’, *klōpka* (< **klōk-p-*; *klōkt-*) ‘to contract, to draw up, to depress’; Malto *qolgru* ‘below, beneath, underneath’, *kolge* ‘to curve, to bend’, *kolgro* ‘bent, curved’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:192, no. 2136.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^whel-/k^whol-/k^wh₁-* ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’: Greek πέλω, πέλωμαι ‘to be’ (originally ‘to be in motion’), πόλος ‘pivot, hinge, axis’, πολέω ‘to revolve’, πολεῖν ‘to turn up the earth with a plow’; Latin *colō* ‘to cultivate, to till, to tend; to dwell (in a place), to inhabit’; Albanian *sjell* ‘to turn’; Tocharian B *klutk-* ‘to turn’, *klautk-* ‘to turn, to become’. Rix 1998a:345—347 **k^uelh₁-* ‘to twist, to turn, to turn round’; Pokorny 1959:639—640 **k^uel-*, **k^uelə-* ‘to turn’; Walde 1927—1932.I:514—516 **q^uel-*; Mann 1984—1987:1023 **q^uēl-*, 1923 **q^uel-ēnom* ‘turning, bend, knee’, 1023 **q^uelətrom* (**q^ueləstr-*) ‘turn, change, exchange, requital’, 1023—1024 **q^uelmn-* ‘turn, roll; roller, cylinder’,

1024 **q_uel̥yt-* (**q_uel̥nd-*) ‘entourage, family circle; turning, environment’, 1024 **q_uelō* ‘to turn, to move, to go’, 1024 **q_uelos*, -*es-* ‘turn, turning’, 1024—1025 **q_uelpō* ‘to bend, to curve’, 1036 **q_ulēm̥n-*, **q_ulēn-*, 1036—1037 **q_ul-* (**q_ulos*, -*ā*; **q_uln-*), 1037 **q_ul̥pos*, -*ā* ‘bend, turn, twist’, 1041 **q_uolejō* ‘to turn’, 1042 **q_uolesi-*, 1042 **q_uolesno-* ‘turning-point’, 1042 **q_uoleu-*, **q_uoley-*, 1042 **q_uolis* ‘turning’, 1042 **q_uolm̥n-* ‘turned; turning; turn, bend, twist; pole, post, trunk, column’, 1042—1043 **q_uolos*, -*es-* ‘turning, turn, wheel, axis, center, community’, 1043 **q_uolpos* ‘hollow, bend, vault, arch’, 1043 **q_uolt-* (**q_uelt-*, **q_uolət-*) ‘turn, bend, curve’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:220 **k^[h]el-* and 1995.I:190, I:225, I:622 **k^hel-* ‘to rotate, to move’; Mallory—Adams 1997:606—607 **k^wel-* ‘to turn’; Watkins 1985:33 **k^wel-* and 2000:45 **k^wel-* (also **k^welə-*) ‘to revolve, to move around, to sojourn, to dwell’; Boisacq 1950:764 **q^uel-*; Beekes 2010.II:1168—1169 **k^wlh₁-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:500—501 **q^uelō*, **q^uolejō*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:877—878 **k^welō*; Hofmann 1966:260—261 **q^uelō*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:245—247 **q^uel-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:132—133; De Vaan 2008:125; Orël 1998:397; Adams 1999:225—226; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:267.

- D. Proto-Altaic **k^hulo-* ‘to roll, to turn’: Proto-Tungus **χul-*, **χol-* ‘(vb.) to dance; to climb down, to climb out; to walk around, to turn around; (n.) bend (in a river)’ > Evenki *olo-nmū-* ‘to dance’, *uli-sin* ‘bend (in a river)’; Lamut / Even *ul̥ina* ‘bend (in a river)’; Ulch *χōl̥i-* ‘to walk around, to turn around’, *χolon-o-* ‘to climb down, to climb out (from a vehicle or boat)’; Negidal *ol̥i-sin-* ‘to walk around, to turn around’; Orok *χulon-* ‘to climb down, to climb out (from a vehicle or boat)’, *χōl̥i-* ‘to walk around, to turn around’; Nanay / Gold *χulun-* ‘to climb down, to climb out (from a vehicle or boat)’, *χōl̥i-* ‘to walk around, to turn around’; Oroch *χolon-o-* ‘to climb down, to climb out (from a vehicle or boat)’ (Orok loan), *uli-* ‘to walk around, to walk about’; Udihe *χoli-* ‘to walk around, to turn around’ (Nanay loan). Proto-Mongolian **kol-ki-* ‘to be restless, to go round and round’ > Written Mongolian *qolkida-* ‘to move loosely, to move to and fro’; Khalkha *χol̥xi-* ‘to be restless, to go round and round’, *χol̥xi* ‘loose, loosened’; Buriat *χol̥xi* ‘shaky, wobbly’; Kalmyk *χol̥gəḍə-* ‘to be restless, to go round and round’; Ordos *gol̥xido-* ‘to be restless, to go round and round’. Proto-Turkic **Kol-* ‘(vb.) to roll (down), to fall; (adj.) round’ > Uzbek *qulä-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Uighur *qula-*, *γula-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Bashkir *qola-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Kirghiz *qula-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Kazakh *qula-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qula-* ‘to roll (down), to fall’; Salar *gulilüχ* ‘round’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:850 **k^çulo* ‘to roll, to turn’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around; 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:471—473, no. 317.

527. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^{wh}al-a* ‘that which turns, rolls, revolves, or goes round and round’ (> ‘wheel’ in the daughter languages):

Derivative of:

(vb.) **k^{wh}al-* ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’;

(n.) **k^{wh}al-a* ‘circle, circuit’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Tigre *ʔankəlolo*, *ʕankəlolo* ‘hoop, wheel’. Littmann—Höfner 1962:473.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kāl* ‘wheel, cart’; Kannada *gāli* ‘wheel’; Tuḷu *gāli* ‘wheel’; Telugu *kalu* ‘a carriage wheel’, *gānu*, *gālu* ‘wheel’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138, no. 1483.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}elo-*, **k^{wh}olo-*, (reduplicated) **k^{wh}e-k^{wh}lo-*, **k^{wh}o-k^{wh}lo-* ‘wheel’: Sanskrit *cakrā-ḥ* ‘wheel’; Pāli *cakka-* ‘wheel’; Hindi *cāk* ‘any kind of wheel, millstone’; Avestan *caxra-* ‘wheel’; Greek κύκλος ‘a ring, circle; round; a wheel’, (adv.) κύκλω ‘in a circle or ring, round about’; Latin *colus* ‘spinning wheel’; Old Icelandic *hvel* ‘wheel’, *hjól*, *hvél* ‘wheel’; Faroese *hjól* ‘wheel’; Norwegian *hjul* ‘wheel’; Swedish *hjul* ‘wheel’; Danish *hjul* ‘wheel’; Old English *hwēol* ‘wheel’; Middle Low German *wēl* ‘wheel’; Dutch *wiel* ‘wheel’; Tocharian A *kukäl*, B *kokale* ‘cart, wagon, chariot’; Old Church Slavic *kolo* ‘wheel’; Russian *kolesó* [колесо] ‘wheel’; Czech *kolo* ‘wheel’; Serbo-Croatian *kōlo* ‘wheel, circle’. Pokorny 1959:640 **k^uek^ulo-*, **k^uok^ulo-* (?) ‘wheel’; Walde 1927—1932.I: 514—516 **q^uelo-s*, **q^uolo-s*, **q^ue-q^ulo-s* ‘wheel’; Mann 1957:40 **q^uelos* and 1984—1987:1027 **q^ueq^uolos* (**q^ueq^ualos*, **q^uq^uulos*, *-ā*, *-om*) ‘turning, wheel, rim’; Watkins 1985:33 **k^w(e)-k^wl-o-* ‘circle’ and 2000:45 **k^w(e)-k^wl-o-* ‘wheel, circle’; Mallory—Adams 1997:640 **k^wek^wlóm* ‘wheel’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:220, II:718 **k^[h]°ek^[h]°lo-* and 1995.I:190, I:622 **k^h°ek^h°lo-* ‘circle, wheel, wheeled carriage/cart’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:597 **k^we-k^wl-o-*, **k^welo-m*; Boisacq 1950:531 **q^ueq^ulo-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:44—45 **q^ue-q^ulo-*, **q^uo-q^ulo-*, **q^uélo-m*; Hofmann 1966:164—165 **q^ue-q^ulos*, **q^uel-*; Beekes 2010.I:798—799 **k^we-k^wl-o-*; De Vaan 2008:125 and 127; Ernout—Meillet 1979:134—135; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:250 **q^uolos*, **q^uelos*; Orël 2003:199—200 Proto-Germanic **xweʒwlan* ~ **xwexwlan*; Kroonen 2013:264—265 Proto-Germanic **hwehla-* ~ **hweula-* ‘wheel’; De Vries 1977:232—233 and 270 **k^uel-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:294—295; Torp 1919:217; Klein 1971:825 **q^we-q^wlos*; Onions 1966:1001 **q^weq^wlo-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:366; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:239—240 **q^ueq^ulo-*; Adams 1999:200 **k^wek^wló-*; Derksen 2008:229—230.

Buck 1949:10.76 wheel.

528. Proto-Nostratic root *k^{wh}al- (~ *k^{wh}əl-):

(vb.) *k^{wh}al- ‘to end, to come to an end; to bring to an end, to complete, to finish’;

(n.) *k^{wh}al-a ‘end, finish, completion, fulfillment’

- A. Proto-Afrasian (?) *k^wal- ‘to end, to bring to an end, to complete, to finish’, (?) *k^wal- ~ *k^wul- ‘all, whole, entire’: Proto-Semitic *kal- (*kal-al-, *kal-ay-) ‘to end, to bring to an end; to complete, to finish’, *kull- ‘all, whole, entire’ > Akkadian *kalu*, *kulu* ‘whole, entirety, all’, *kullatu* ‘all, totality’, *kalū* ‘to finish, to bring to an end, to stop’, *kalama* ‘all, everything’, *kališ* ‘everywhere, anywhere’; Hebrew *kālāh* [כָּלָה] ‘to come to an end; to be complete, at an end, finished, accomplished’, *kālal* [כָּלַל] ‘to complete, to perfect’, *kōl* [כֹּל] ‘(n.) the whole, totality; (adj.); all whole’; Phoenician *kly* ‘to end, to be complete’, *kl* ‘all’; Aramaic *kullā* ‘totality, the whole, all’; Ugaritic *kl* ‘every, all’, **kly*: (reciprocal/passive) *nkly* ‘to be spent’, (factitive active) *ykly*, *tkly*, *tkl* ‘to finish with, to annihilate’, *klkl* ‘everything’, *kll* ‘whole’; Mandaic *kul* ‘all’; Arabic *kull* ‘whole, entire, all’; Sabaean *kll* ‘to bring to completion’, *kll* ‘all, every, all of, the whole (of)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kell* ‘to be fed up, bored’, *kə(h)l*, *kəl-*, *kal-* ‘all’; Ḥarsūsi *kal*, *kāl*, *kall* ‘all’; Soqotri *kal*, *kol* ‘all’; Mehri *kāl*, *kali-* ‘all’; Geez / Ethiopic *k^wəll-* [ገሉ-] ‘all, whole, every’, *k^wəllō* [ገሉዕ] ‘altogether, completely’, *k^wəllu* [ገሉሉ] ‘everything, everybody, anything, all’; Tigrinya *k^wəll-u* ‘all’; Tigre *kəl* ‘all’; Gurage *kull-əm* ‘all, whole, every, everything’; Amharic *hullu* ‘all, every, everybody’; Harari *kullu* ‘all’; Gafat *əl-əm* ‘all’. Murtonen 1989:231; Klein 1987:276, 277, and 278; Leslau 1963:92, 1979:341—342, and 1987:281; Militarëv 2010:46 Proto-Semitic **k^wall-u*, Proto-Afrasian **k^wal-* ‘all, each, much’; Zammit 2002: 358. (?) Egyptian *tnw*, *trw* (**tlw*) ‘each, every’ (distinct from *tnw* ‘number; counting, numbering’ [cf. Vycichl 1983:175]). Hannig 1995:956; Erman—Grapow 1921:209 and 1926—1963.5:377—379; Faulkner 1962:305; Gardiner 1957:601. (?) Berber: Kabyle *akk^w* ‘all’; Tamazight *akk^w* ‘all’; Ghadames *ikk*, *akk* ‘each’; Wargla *akk* ‘everything, entirety’; Nefusa *ak* ‘each’; Mzab *acc* ‘each, all’; Tuareg *ak* ‘each’; Chaouia *akk* ‘each’. South Omotic: Dime *kull* ‘all’. Ehret 1995:197, no. 317, **kal-/kul-* ‘all’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}el-/k^{wh}ol-/k^{wh}l-* ‘to bring to an end’: Greek τέλος (< **k^{wh}elo-s*) ‘the fulfillment or completion of anything, that is, its consummation, issue, result, end; the end (of life), death’, τέλειος ‘having reached its end, finished, complete; (of animals) full-grown, (of persons) absolute, complete, accomplished, perfect’, τελέω ‘to complete, to fulfill, to accomplish’, τελέως ‘at last’, τελήεις ‘perfect, complete’, τελευταῖος ‘last’, τελευτάω ‘to complete, to finish, to accomplish’, τελευτή ‘finishing, completion, accomplishment; a termination, end; the end, extremity (of anything)’; Luwian *ku(wa)lana-* ‘course, (life)time’, (1st sg. pres. act.) *ku-la-ni-wi* ‘to bring to an end’. Pokorny 1959:640 **k^uel-* ‘swarm, crowd’;

Walde 1927—1932.I:517 **q^uel-*; Chantraine (1968—1980.II:1101—1103), Beekes (2010.II:1463—1464), and Lejeune (1972:29, fn. 36-1) argue against deriving the Greek forms from **k^whel-*, but cf. Boisacq 1950:952, Hofmann 1966:358, Rix 1992:88 (Greek τέλος < **k^uel^hos*), and Frisk 1970—1973.II:871—873 (Greek τέλος < **q^uel-*); Puhvel 1984— .4:237—238 Luwian *ku(wa)lana-* < **k^wélono-*.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kul³-* ‘to come to an end, to be worn (away), to pass (by)’ > Finnish *kulu-a* ‘to be worn, to wear (away), to pass, to go by, to elapse, to be used up’, *kulu-ttaa* ‘to consume, to use, to spend’, *kulutua* ‘after, later’, *kulunut* ‘worn, shabby’, *kulutus* ‘consumption, use’; Estonian *kuluma* ‘to be spent, expended; to wear out; to be worn out’, *kulu* ‘cost, expenditure’, *kulunud* ‘worn out’; Lapp / Saami *gollâ-/golâ-* ‘to go, to pass, to pass by (of time), to decrease, to become exhausted through being used, to get used up’; Zyrian / Komi *gylal-* ‘to fall off or out or disperse (intr.) little by little (of leaves, hair, etc.)’; Vogul / Mansi *hol-* ‘to be worn, to disappear, to pass away’; Ostyak / Xanty *kõl-* ‘to come to an end, to pass away’. Collinder 1955:92 and 1977:108; Rédei 1986—1988:199—200 **kul³-*; Sammallahti 1988:544 **kuli-* ‘to wear’.

Buck 1949:13.13 whole; 14.26 end (sb., temporal); 14.27 finish (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:470—471, no. 315; Hakola 2000:80, no. 329.

529. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (adv.) (?) **k^whal-* ‘far off, far away, distant’:

- A. Proto-Indo-European **k^whel-* ‘far off, far away, distant’: Sanskrit *caramá-h* ‘outermost, last, ultimate, final’, *cirá-h* ‘long, lasting a long time’; Greek τῆλε, τηλοῦ ‘far off, far away’; Welsh *pell* ‘far’, *pell-af* ‘farthest’. Pokorny 1959:640 **k^uel-* ‘far’; Walde 1927—1932.I:517 **q^uel-*; Mann 1984—1987:1023 **quēle-* ‘far’; Watkins 1985:33 **k^wel-* and 2000:45 **k^wel-* ‘far’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:377 and I:390 **q^uel-* ‘far’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:851 and II:1113—1114 **k^wel-*; Boisacq 1950:740 and 966 **q^uēl-*; Hofmann 1966:250 and 364; Frisk 1970—1973.II:465 **q^uel-* and II:891—892 **q^uēl-*; Beekes 2010.II:1477—1478 **k^wel-*; Falileyev 2000:128—129 **k^uel-s-o-*, **k^uel-*.
- B. Proto-Altaic **k^hiolo* (~ *k-*; *-ly-*, *-ju-*) ‘far off, distant’: Proto-Mongolian **kolo* ‘far off, distant’ > Written Mongolian *qola* ‘far, distant, remote’; Dagur *χolo*, *χol* ‘far’; Khalkha *χol* ‘far, distant’; Buriat *χolo* ‘far, distant’; Kalmyk *χolə* ‘far off, far away, distant’; Ordos *χolo* ‘far’; Monguor *χulo* ‘far’; Moghol *qolō* ‘far’. Poppe 1955:29, 53, 88, and 131. Poppe 1960:18 and 98; Street 1974:17 **kola* ‘far, distant’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:695—696 **kⁱolo* (~ *k^c-*; *-l̥-*, *-ju-*) ‘long, far’.

Buck 1949:12.44 far (adv.). Koskinen 1980:19, no. 15; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:471, no. 316.

530. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k^{wh}al-a ‘a large fish’:

Note: The Indo-European evidence requires the reconstruction of a Proto-Nostratic initial labiovelar */k^{wh}-/.

- A. Proto-Afrasian *k^wal-, *k^(w)ul- ‘a large fish’: Semitic: Mehri *kell* ‘whale’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kāl* ‘whale’. Lowland East Cushitic **kullum*- ‘fish’ > Somali *kalluun* ‘fish’; Bayso *kunnum-i* ‘fish’ (assimilation). Bender 2020:38, no. 45. Saho-Afar **kullum*- ‘fish’ > Afar *kullum*, *kulluum* ‘fish’. West Chadic **kulum*- ‘fish’ > Hausa *kulmaa* ‘fish’. Skinner 1996:151. Orël—Stolbova 1995:326, no. 1494, **kulum*- ‘fish’.

Militarëv—Nikolaev (2021:256) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **kal*- and **kalul*- (redupl.) ‘kind of large fish’ on the basis of the following evidence: Semitic **kalul*- (redupl.) > Akkadian *kulīl*-, *kullul*- ‘a fabulous creature, part man and part fish’; Mehri *kell*; Jibbāli *kāl* ‘whale’. Chadic **kVl*-: West Chadic **kul-m*- > Hausa *kulm-a/e/i* ‘the name of a large fish’. Central Chadic **kalik*- (redupl.) > Bura *kalik-o*, *kalikil-a* ‘a kind of fish’. East Cushitic **kallu-m* ‘fish’: Saho-Afar **kullu-m* > Afar *kullu(u)m*. Lowland East Cushitic **kallu-m*- > Somali *kalluum* (pl. *kalluum-o*); Bayso *kunnum-i* (assim.).

Comment: Akkadian *kulīlu*, *kullullu* ‘a fabulous creature, part man and part fish’ is a Sumerian loanword (cf. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, vol. 8, K, pp. 526—527).

- B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *kalkorè* ‘a kind of fish’; Kuṛux *xalxō* ‘a kind of fish’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1314.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}alo*- ‘large fish’: Avestan *kara*- ‘a mythological fish’; (?) Latin *squalus* ‘a kind of fish’; Old Icelandic *hvalr* ‘whale’; Faroese *hvalur* ‘whale’; Swedish *val* ‘whale’; Danish *hval* ‘whale’; Old English *hwæl* ‘whale’; Old Saxon *hwal* ‘whale’; Dutch *walvis* ‘whale’; Old High German (*h*)*wal*, *walfisc* (rare) ‘whale’ (New High German *Wal*, *Walfisch*); Old Prussian *kalis* ‘shad’. Pokorny 1959:635 **k^ualos* and 958 **(s)k^ualos* ‘a rather large kind of fish’; Walde 1927—1932.II:541 **(s)q^ualos*; Mann 1984—1987:1018 **q^ualos*, *-is* ‘sea-monster’; Watkins 1985:61 **(s)k^walo*- and 2000:79 **(s)k^walo*- ‘big fish’; Mallory—Adams 1997:510 **(s)k^wálos* ‘sheatfish’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:645; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:581—582; De Vaan 2008:584; Orël 2003:197 Proto-Germanic **xwalaz* (partly **xwaliz*); Kroonen 2013:262 Proto-Germanic **hwali*- ‘whale’; De Vries 1977:268—269; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:311; Vercoullie 1898:318; Onions 1966:1000—1001 Common Germanic **χwalis*; Klein 1971:825; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:834; Kluge—Seebold 1989:774.

- D. Proto-Uralic **kala* ‘fish’: Finnish *kala* ‘fish’; Lapp / Saami *guolle/guole-* ‘fish’; Mordvin *kal* ‘fish’; Cheremis / Mari *kol* ‘fish’; Vogul / Mansi *kul, huul* ‘fish’; Ostyak / Xanty *kul* ‘fish’; Hungarian *hal* ‘fish’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *haale* ‘fish’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kole* ‘fish’; Selkup Samoyed *qəəly* ‘fish’; Kamassian *kola* ‘fish’. Joki 1973:266 **kala*; Collinder 1955:21, 1965:138, and 1977:42; Rédei 1986—1988:119 **kala*; Décsy 1990:99 **kala* ‘fish’; Sammallahti 1988:538 **kâlâ* ‘fish’; Janhunen 1977b:59 **kâlâ*; Zhivlov 2023:159 **kala* ‘fish’. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qal-dawe* ‘(tree) bark, fish scales’. Nikolaeva 2006:375.
- E. Proto-Altaic **k^hula* ‘a kind of big fish’: Proto-Tungus **χol-sa* ‘fish; boiled fish’ > Evenki *ollo* ‘fish’; Lamut / Even *olr̥* ‘fish’; Negidal *olo* ‘fish’; Ulch *χolto(n)* ‘boiled fish’; Orok *χolto* ‘boiled fish’; Nanay / Gold *χolto* ‘boiled fish’; Oroch *okto* ‘boiled fish’; Udihe *oloho* ‘boiled fish’. Proto-Mongolian **kalimu* ‘whale’ > Written Mongolian *qalimu* ‘whale’; Khalkha *χalim* ‘whale’; Buriat *χalim* ‘whale’; Kalmyk *χalim* ‘whale’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:848 **k^hula* ‘a kind of big fish’.
- F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kalal(e)* ‘humpback salmon’ > Chukchi *kalal* ‘humpback salmon’; Kerek *ka(a)lal* ‘humpback salmon’; Koryak *kalal(e)* ‘humpback salmon’. Note also Kamchadal / Itelmen *kajhuzic* ‘a kind of salmon’. Fortescue 2005:126—127.

Buck 1949:3.65 fish. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:288—289, no. 155, **kala* ‘fish’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:483—484, no. 330; Hakola 2000:49, no. 172.

531. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^whal-a* ‘dog’

Extended form:

(n.) **k^whal-p’-a* ‘dog’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k^wal-* ‘wolf, dog’: Proto-Semitic **kal-b-* ‘dog’ > Akkadian *kalbu* ‘dog’; Ugaritic *klb* ‘dog’, (f.) *klbt* ‘bitch’; Phoenician *klb* ‘dog’; Hebrew *keleḇ* [כֶּלֶב] ‘dog’; Aramaic *kalbā* ‘dog’; Mandaic *kalba* ‘dog’; Arabic *kalb* ‘dog’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kəb* (dim. *kéléb*) ‘wolf, dog’; Soqotri *kalb* ‘dog’; Ḥarsūsi *kawb* ‘wolf, dog’; Mehri *kawb* ‘wolf, dog’; Geez / Ethiopic *kalb* [ክልብ] ‘dog’; Tigre *kälb* ‘dog’; Tigrinya *kalbi* ‘dog’. Note: Proto-Semitic **-b-* < **-p’-*. Klein 1987:276; Murtonen 1989:232; Leslau 1987:282; Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:156—158, no. 115, Proto-Semitic **kalb-* ‘dog’ (not in Militarëv—Nikolaev 2021) — according to Militarëv—Kogan, the **-b-* in the Semitic proto-form is a suffix. They reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **k^wl-* ‘wolf, dog’. Proto-Cushitic **ta-k^wl-* ‘wolf’ > North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *ták^wla* ‘wolf’. Central Cushitic: Bilin *täg^wla, təγ^wla* ‘wolf’; Qwara *tax^wəla* ‘wolf’; Kemant *takwila* ‘wolf’. East Cushitic: Saho *takla, taxla* ‘wolf’. Berber: Ayer *ä-külen* ‘wolf’. Blažek 2003b:273.

- B. Proto-Indo-European *k^wh^help'- 'whelp, puppy' (Germanic only): Proto-Germanic *χwelpaz 'whelp, puppy' > Old Icelandic *hvelpr* 'whelp, puppy'; Faroese *hvølpur* 'puppy'; Norwegian *kvelp*, *valp* 'puppy'; Swedish *valp* 'whelp, cub, puppy, pup'; Danish *hvalp* 'puppy'; Old English *hwelp* 'whelp, cub'; Old Saxon *hwelp* 'whelp, puppy'; Dutch *welp* 'whelp, cub'; Old High German *welf*, *welpf* 'whelp, puppy' (New High German *Welf*, *Welp*). Orël 2003:200 *χwelpaz — "The Germanic form appears to reflect a consonantly shifted *k^welb-"; De Vries 1977:271; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.I:437; Torp 1919:345 Germanic *hwelpa-; Onions 1966:1001 — "a CGerm. word (exc. in Gothic) of which no cogns. are know"; Klein 1971:826; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:850—851; Kluge—Seebold 1989:786.
- C. (?) Proto-Yukaghir *kulempəj 'black polar fox' [*Felis arcticus*]: Tundra (Northern) Yukaghir *kulebej*, *kulubej* 'black polar fox'. Nikolaeva 2006:226.

Buck 1949:3.61 dog; 3.612 puppy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:474, no. 319 (not in subsequent iterations. However, in view of the new evidence from Afrasian pointing to an initial labiovelar /*k^w-/ in the Afrasian proto-form /*k^wal-/, I have reinstated this etymology.)

532. Proto-Nostratic root *k^wh^har- (~ *k^wh^har-):

(vb.) *k^wh^har- 'to cut';

(n.) *k^wh^har-a 'piece cut off; knife'

Derivatives:

(vb.) *k^wh^har- 'to cut a groove, to hollow out, to dig';

(n.) *k^wh^har-a 'cut, hole, hollow, digging, excavation, pit, groove, trench'

(vb.) *k^wh^har- 'to cut short, to reduce, to decrease, to diminish, to lessen';

(n.) *k^wh^har-a 'shortness'; (adj.) 'short'

- A. Proto-Afrasian (?) *k^war- ~ *k^wur- 'to cut': East Chadic *kur- 'knife' > Somray *kura* 'knife'. West Chadic: Ngizim *kàrmú* 'to chop, to cut down, to chop off'. Proto-Southern Cushitic *kur- 'to mince' > K'wadza *kulunso* 'mortar'; Dahalo *kur-* 'to mince'. Ehret 1980:247. Ehret 1995:200, no. 330, *kur-/*kar- 'to cut up'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:328, no. 1503, *kur- 'knife'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kurai* '(vb.) to cut, to reap; (n.) piece, section', *kuruv-*, *kurr-* 'to pluck'; Malayalam *kurekka* 'to cut off'; Kodagu *korv-* (*kort-*) 'to make a fallen branch into a club'; Toda *kwarf-* (*kwart-*) 'to cut'; Kannaḍa *kore*, *kori* 'to cut, to break through, to bore, to pierce', *kori* 'a large branch cut off from a thorn-bush', *kore* 'cutting, cut-off piece', *koreyuvike* 'cutting, etc.', *koreta*, *korata* 'act of cutting, etc.; the piercing of cold', *korcu*, *koccu* 'to cut away, to cut up, to cut to pieces'; Tuḷu *kudupuni* 'to cut, to reap', *kudè* 'a piece of wood', *kujimbu*, *kujumbu* 'a chip, fragment'; Telugu *kōra* 'a cut-off portion'; Kui *krāpa* (*krāt-*) '(vb.) to cut, to saw; (n.) the act of sawing'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:169—170, no.

1859. Tamil *kūru* ‘section, division, part, share’; Telugu *kōru* ‘a share, the king’s or government’s portion’; Malayalam *kūru*, *kūr* ‘part, share, division of time, party, partnership’, *kūrrān* ‘partner’; Kota *ku-r* (obl. *ku-t*) ‘share’; Toda *ku-ɽ* ‘share, share inherited from father’; Kannaḍa *kōru* ‘part, portion, share in cultivation’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:174—175, no. 1924.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^wher-/*k^whor-/*k^why-* ‘to cut’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ku-e-ir-zi* ‘to cut, to cut up, to cut off’, (3rd pl. pres. act.) *ku-ra-an-zi*, (instr. sg.) *ku-ru-uz-zi-it* ‘cutter’, (1st sg. pret. act.) *ku-e-ir-šu-un* ‘to cut (off)’, (acc. sg.) *ku-ra-an-na-an* ‘section, area’, (nom. sg.) *ku-e-ra-aš*, *ku-ra-aš* ‘field, parcel, territory, (land) area, precinct, subdivision’; Luwian (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ku-wa-ar-ti* ‘to cut’ (?), *kursawar* ‘cut (off)’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *kura/i-* ‘to cut’; Welsh *pryd* (< **k^why-^hu-*) ‘time’; Oscan *-pert* in *petiro-pert* ‘four times’; Sanskrit *-kṛt* ‘...time(s)’ in *sa-kṛt* ‘once’. Rix 1998a:350—351 **k^wer-* ‘to cut, to carve’; Mann 1984—1987:1027 **quer-* ‘to cut, to detach, to strip, to scrape’; Mallory—Adams 1997:144 **k^wer-* ‘to cut’; Bomhard 1984:114; Kronasser 1956:65, §81; Puhvel 1984— .4:212—218; Kloekhorst 2008b:486—487 **k^wer-/*k^wr-*. Note: Forms meaning ‘to do, to make’ are often included here, but a more plausible derivation is from Proto-Nostratic **k^whir-* (~ **k^wher-*) ‘to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten’ (see below).
- D. Proto-Uralic **kur3* ‘knife’: Finnish *kuras/kurakse-* ‘club, saber, broadsword, knife’; Vote *kuras* ‘knife’; Estonian *kuurask* ‘knife’; Lapp / Saami (Southern) *korr* ‘small knife, common knife’; Forest Yurak Samoyed / Forest Nenets *kar* ‘knife, dagger’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *kooru* ‘knife’; Motor *kuro* ‘knife’. Collinder 1955:29 and 1977:48; Rédei 1986—1988:218—219 **kur3*; Décsy 1990:101 **kura* ‘knife’; Sammallahti 1988:537 **kurâ* ‘knife’; Janhunen 1977b:54 **kârâ*.

Sumerian *kur₅* ‘to cut, to cut off, to cut through, to separate, to divide’.

Buck 1949:15.78 sharp. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:481—482, no. 328; Hakola 2000:83, no. 344.

533. Proto-Nostratic root **k^whar-* (~ **k^whər-*):

(vb.) **k^whar-* ‘to cut a groove, to hollow out, to dig’;

(n.) **k^whar-a* ‘cut, hole, hollow, digging, excavation, pit, groove, trench’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **k^whar-* ‘to cut’;

(n.) **k^whar-a* ‘piece cut off; knife’

- A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **k^war-* ~ **k^wur-* ‘to cut a groove, to hollow out, to dig’: Proto-Semitic **kar-aw/y-* ‘to dig’ > Hebrew *kārāh* [כָּרַח] ‘to dig (a well)’; Aramaic *kārā* ‘to dig’; Punic *kr?* ‘to dig’; Ugaritic *kry* ‘to dig’; Mandaic *kra* ‘to dig’; Arabic *karā* ‘to dig, to dig out earth, to dig a canal’; Gees /

Ethiopic *karaya* [ከረዮ] ‘to dig (a well, in the ground), to make cuts or incisions, to make holes, to excavate’, *makrit* [መከረት] ‘shovel, spade’, *makrəy* [መከርይ] ‘instrument for digging, pickaxe, spade’, *kəryat* [ከርዮት] ‘digging, excavation, hole, pit’; Tigre *kāra* ‘to cut off (by digging)’; Gurage (Selti) *kāre* ‘to dig a hole’; Harari *xara* ‘to dig a hole’, *māxra* ‘pick’; Amharic *kāräyyä* ‘to dig, to till the earth’. Murtonen 1989:239; Klein 1987:285; Leslau 1963:97, 1979:347, and 1987:294—295; Jean—Hoftijzer 1965:127. Egyptian *ḫr* name of the Earth-god; Coptic *črē* [Ⲫⲣⲏ] ‘to dig’ (Černý considers this to be a loan from Semitic). Hannig 1995:16; Faulkner 1962:6; Gardiner 1957:550; Erman—Grapow 1921:4 and 1926—1963.1:22; Vycichl 1983:346; Černý 1976:335. Berber: Ghadames *krəz*, *crəz* ‘to sow, to cultivate, to till’; Nefusa *əkrəz* ‘to plow, to be plowed’, *tagursa* ‘plowshare’; Chaouia *tigərsiwin* ‘plowshare’; Kabyle *əkrəz* ‘to plow’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kur-* or **kuur-* ‘to cultivate’ > Iraqw *kurumo* ‘hoe’; Alagwa *kurumo* ‘hoe’; Asa *kurim-* ‘to cultivate’; Ma’a *-kúru* ‘to cultivate’, *ukurumé* ‘cultivation’, *mkurumé* ‘cultivator, farmer’. Ehret 1980:247. Ehret 1995:200, no. 329, **kur-* ‘to dig out’.

- B. (?) Dravidian: Kannāḍa *gūru* ‘to turn or uproot the earth with horns or tusks’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:174, no. 1922.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}er-*/**k^{wh}or-*/**k^{wh}r-* ‘(vb.) to draw or make furrows, to plow; (n.) furrow’: Sanskrit *kārṣati*, *kṛṣāti* ‘to draw, to drag, to pull, to drag or tear away; to draw or make furrows, to plow’, *karṣū-ḥ* ‘furrow, trench’, *kṛṣi-ḥ* ‘plowing, cultivation of the soil, agriculture’; Avestan *karša-* ‘furrow’, *karšū-* ‘field’; Czech *čára* ‘line’, *čarati* ‘to draw a line’; Old Sorbian *čara* ‘furrow, line’. Walde 1927—1932.I:429 **qers-* ‘(vb.) to draw, to drag; (n.) furrow’; Mann 1984—1987:492 (**quers-*, **quors-* ‘to cut’); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:176, I:177, and I:263.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kurə-* (or **kara-*) ‘to dig, to plow’ > Mordvin *kara-* ‘to dig, to plow, to make an opening, to hollow out, to excavate’; Cheremis / Mari *kare-*, *kore-* ‘to flute, to channel (grooves); to furrow, to trace furrows’, *karem*, *korem* ‘hollow ravine, small stream’; Votyak / Udmurt *kyrem* ‘ditch, drain, conduit’; Zyrian / Komi *kyr-* ‘to dig up, to break up, to dig all around, to draw a ditch’, *kyrôm* ‘new riverbed dug out by water, point of a bank where water has broken through’. Collinder 1955:85 and 1977:102; Rédei 1986—1988:221—222 **kurə-* (or **kara-*). Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kurnʷa* ‘groove, furrow’ > Finnish *kuurna*, *kurna* ‘groove, furrow, trough, gutter’; Karelian *kuurna* ‘groove, furrow, trough, gutter’; Estonian *kurn* ‘strainer, sieve’; Cheremis / Mari *korno* ‘furrow, way, path’; Hungarian (dial.) *horny*, *horony* ‘furrow’, *hornyol-* ‘to cut a groove, to notch’. Collinder 1955:93 and 1977:109; Rédei 1986—1988:216 **kurnʷa*.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow; 8.212 furrow; 8.22 dig; 9.33 draw, pull; 12.84 line.
 Bomhard—Kerns 1994:476—477, no. 322; Hakola 2000:87, no. 362.

534. Proto-Nostratic root **k^{wh}ar-* (~ **k^{wh}ər-*):
 (vb.) **k^{wh}ar-* ‘to cut short, to reduce, to decrease, to diminish, to lessen’;
 (n.) **k^{wh}ar-a* ‘shortness’; (adj.) ‘short’
 Derivative of:
 (vb.) **k^{wh}ar-* ‘to cut’;
 (n.) **k^{wh}ar-a* ‘piece cut off; knife’
- A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **k^war-* ~ **k^wur-* ‘to cut short, to shorten’: Semitic: Akkadian *karū* ‘to become short (said of time); to be short, shrunken (said of parts of the body); to be short (said of breath, temper)’, *kurrū* ‘to make shorter, to cut short, to cause hardship, to reduce in size or number’, *šukrū* ‘to cut short’, *kurrū* ‘short’, *kurū*, (f.) *kurītu* ‘short (in time or size); short person’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kérós* ‘to take up, to shorten (clothes)’, *kórtas* ‘(clothes) to be taken up, to be shortened’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kurū* ‘short, dwarfish, defective’, *kurū* ‘to become short, to contract; to shrink’, *kurumai* ‘shortness, dwarfishness, defectiveness’, *kuruku* (*kuruki-*) ‘to grow short, stumpy, dwarfish; to shrink, to be reduced, to decrease’, *kurukkam* ‘shortness, abbreviation’, *kurukkal* ‘reduction, contraction’, *kurukku* (*kurukki-*) ‘to shorten, to reduce, to abbreviate’, *kurai* ‘lack, deficiency’, *kurai* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to diminish, to dwindle, to be reduced, to prove insufficient, to be defective, to droop in affliction, to languish from worries, to lose courage, to suffer defeat’, *kurai* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to lessen, to shorten’; Malayalam *kurū* ‘short, little, brief’, *kurukkuka* ‘to shorten, to diminish, to boil down, to contract, to pull in’, *kuruppam* ‘shortness’, *kurayuka* ‘to dwindle, to sink in price; to be deficient, short, little’, *kuraccal* ‘want, scarcity’, *kuravu* ‘deficiency, disgrace’, *kurukka* ‘to diminish, to lower, to disgrace’, *kurāl* ‘shortness’, *kuralan* ‘dwarf’; Kota *kurg-* (*kurgy-*) ‘to become small, diminished’, *kurk-* (*kurky-*) ‘to make small, to diminish’, *korv-* (*kord-*) ‘to be reduced in size or number, (voice) to become hoarse’; Toda *kurx-* (*kurxy-*) ‘to be short’, *kurk-* (*kurky-*) ‘to shorten’, *kwar-* (*kwarθ-*) ‘to be reduced in size or esteem’, *kwar* ‘defective in physique, character, status’; Kannaḍa *kurū* ‘smallness’, *korē* ‘smallness, shortness, deficiency, defect, remainder’, *korē* ‘to grow little or less or short; to diminish’; Koḍagu *korate* ‘diminishing’, *koru*, *koravu* ‘defect, deficiency’; Tuḷu *kuru* ‘little, small’, *kora* ‘brief, short’, *korati*, *koratē* ‘defect, want, need’; Telugu *kurucca*, *kurū-* ‘short, dwarfish, small’, *kuradā* ‘deficiency’, *kora* ‘defect, want’, *korāta* ‘deficiency, want, incompleteness’, *krūyū* ‘to grow lean, to diminish, to droop, to sink’; Gondi *kurrā* ‘short of stature’; Konḍa *kurī* ‘short, shortness’; (?) Kui *krōpka-* (< **krōkp-*; *krōkt-*) ‘to lower, to reduce’, *krōpka* ‘reduction’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:168—169, no. 1851; Krishnamurti 2003:192 Proto-South Dravidian **kuray* ‘to be reduced in size’.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **k^horu-* ‘(vb.) to diminish, to lessen; (adj.) short’: Proto-Tungus **χurumü-* ‘short’ > Evenki *urumkūn* ‘short’; Lamut / Even

urumkun ‘short’; Negidal *uyumkūn* ‘short’; Ulch *χurmi* ‘short’; Orok *χurdumi* ‘short’; Nanay / Gold *χurm’i* ‘short’; Oroch *ūmi* ‘short’; Solon *urūṅkū* ‘short’. Proto-Mongolian **koru-* ‘to diminish’ > Mongolian *qoru-* ‘to diminish, to decrease, to become depleted, to wane, to lessen, to die’, *qoruṅa-* ‘to diminish, to lessen, to decrease, to retrench, to abridge, to destroy, to annihilate, to assassinate’, *qoruṅdal* ‘decrease, reduction, diminution, loss’, *qorul* ‘decreasing, diminution, loss, harm’, *qorulta* ‘decrease, waning, diminution, lessening, depletion’, *qorumṅi* ‘diminution, loss, detriment’; Khalkha *χoro-* ‘to diminish’; Buriat *χoro-* ‘to diminish’; Kalmyk *χor-* ‘to diminish’; Ordos *χoro-* ‘to diminish’. Proto-Turkic **Kor(a)-* ‘(vb.) to diminish, to decrease; (n.) harm, loss’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qor* ‘harm, loss’, *qora-* ‘to diminish, to decrease’; Karakhanide Turkic *qora-* ‘to diminish, to decrease’, *qor* ‘harm, loss’; Kirghiz *qoro-* ‘to diminish, to decrease’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qoro-* ‘to diminish, to decrease’, *qor* ‘harm, loss’; Tuva *χor* ‘harm, loss’; Chuvash *χor* ‘insult, offense, grief’; Yakut *qoron-* ‘to diminish, to decrease’, *qor* ‘harm, loss’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:843—844 **k’oru* ‘short; to diminish, to grow less’.

Buck 1949:12.59 short. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:367—368, no. 244, **Kura* ‘short’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:482—483, no. 329; Hakola 2000:83, no. 344.

535. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^{wh}ar-a* ‘vessel, pot’:

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *karpu*, *karpātu* ‘pot, vase, jug’; Ugaritic *krpn* ‘cup, goblet’.
- B. Dravidian: Gondi *karvi* ‘narrow-mouthed earthen vessel for oil or liquor’; Kodagu *karava* ‘clay pot with narrow neck’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118, no. 1273(a). Telugu *gurigi* ‘a very small earthen pot’; Gondi *kurvi* ‘earthen cooking pot’, *kurvī* ‘earthen jar’, *kurvī* ‘pitcher (black, for cooking)’; Kui *kui* ‘pot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:162, no. 1797; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **kur-Vwi* ‘small pot’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}er-/k^{wh}or-* ‘vessel, pot’: Sanskrit *carú-h* ‘vessel, pot’; Old Icelandic *hverr* ‘kettle, cauldron’; Old English *hwer* ‘pot, bowl, kettle, cauldron’; Old High German (*h*)*wer* ‘cauldron’; Old Irish *co(i)re* ‘cauldron’; Middle Welsh *peir* ‘cauldron’. Pokorny 1959:642 **k^uer-* ‘dish’; Walde 1927—1932.I:518 **q^uer-*; Mann 1984—1987:1028 **q^uernā*, *-is* (**q^uerān-*) ‘pot, shell, skull’, 1028 **q^ueros*, *-is*, *-us* ‘pot, pan, vessel, cauldron’; Watkins 1985:34 **k^wer-* ‘something shaped like a dish or shell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:443 **k^werus* ‘large cooking pot, cauldron’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:377; Orël 2003:200 Proto-Germanic **xweraz*; Kroonen 2013:265 Proto-Germanic **hwera-* ‘kettle’; De Vries 1977:272.

- D. Proto-Altaic **k^hure* ‘basket, vessel’: Proto-Tungus **χurid-* ‘a vessel for berries’ > Evenki *uridĭk* ‘a vessel for berries’; Nanay / Gold *χordaxĭ* ‘a vessel for berries’. Proto-Turkic **Kūri-* ‘a measure of capacity; a kind of basket for vegetables’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *kūri* ‘a measure of capacity, a peck (2½ bushels)’; Karakhanide Turkic *kūrin* ‘a kind of basket for vegetables’; Uighur *küre* ‘a measure of capacity’; Sary-Uighur *k^hor* ‘a measure of capacity’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:854 **k^hure* ‘basket’.

Buck 1949:5.26 pot; 5.27 kettle; 5.34 pitcher, jug; 5.35 cup. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:481, no. 327.

536. Proto-Nostratic root **k^{wh}ar-* (~ **k^{wh}ar-*):

(vb.) **k^{wh}ar-* ‘to procure’;

(n.) **k^{wh}ar-a* ‘payment, procurement’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kar-ay-* ‘to rent, to buy’ > Hebrew *kārāh* [כָּרָה] ‘to buy’; Arabic *kariya* ‘to rent, to lease, to let, to let out, to farm out, to hire out’, *kirā?* ‘rent, hire, hiring; lease; rental; wages, pay’; Sabaeen *kry* ‘rent’; Ḥarsūsi *kerē* ‘fare’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ekóri* ‘to rent, to lease’, *kéré?* ‘rent’; Mehri *kōri* ‘to take fare from someone’, *škēri* ‘to hire, to rent (a house, camel)’, *kīrē?* ‘rent, hire’. Klein 1987:285. Berber: Tuareg *əkrəz* ‘to acquire, to have’; Tawlemmet *əkrəz* ‘to acquire’, *akruz* ‘acquisition’. Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *karra* ‘property, wealth’. Hudson 1989:249.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}rey(H)-*/**k^{wh}roy(H)-*/**k^{wh}ri(H)-* (> **k^{wh}rī-*) ‘to buy, to purchase’: Greek *πρίαμαι* ‘to buy, to rent’; Sanskrit *krīṇāti* ‘to buy, to purchase’, *kṛayá-ḥ* ‘purchase, purchase-price’, *kṛeya-ḥ* ‘purchasable’; Old Irish *crenaid* ‘to buy’; Old Welsh *prynaf* ‘to buy’; Old Russian *krenuti* [кренути] ‘to buy’; Tocharian A *kuryar* ‘commerce’, Tocharian B *kāry-* ‘to buy’, *kāryorttau* ‘trader, merchant’, *karyor* ‘buying, business, negotiation’. Rix 1998a:354—355 **k^ureih₂-* ‘to barter, to exchange’; Pokorny 1959:648 **k^urei-* ‘to buy’; Walde 1927—1932.I:523—524 **q^urei-*; Mann 1984—1987:1050 **qurīnō-*, *-jō* (variant **qurijā-*) ‘to buy’; Mallory—Adams 1997:185 **k^wrei(h_a)-* ‘to pay’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:277 and I:279; Hofmann 1966:283 **q^uriā-* : **q^urī-*; Boisacq 1950:813 **q^uri-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:594—595; Beekes 2010.II:1233 **k^wreih₂-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:938; Adams 1999:165 **k^wreih_a-* ‘to buy’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:209—210 **q^uriijā-* and I:246 **q^urei-*, **q^uriijā₁-*; Falileyev 2000:133 **k^urei-*.
- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **(ǝ)kur-* ‘to buy’ > Chukchi *kur-* ‘to buy’; Kerek *kuj-* ‘to buy, to pay’; Koryak *kuj-* ‘to buy, to pay for’; Alyutor *ina-tkur-γərrəŋ* ‘price’. Fortescue 2005:142.

Buck 1949:11.81 buy. Möller 1911:141—142; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:475—476, no. 321.

537. Proto-Nostratic root *k^{wh}at^h- (~ *k^{wh}ət^h-):

(vb.) *k^{wh}at^h- ‘to move rapidly, to shake’;

(n.) *k^{wh}at^h-a ‘rapid movement, shaking’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *tkkt* ‘to shake, to quiver’. Hannig 1995:890; Faulkner 1962:287; Erman—Grapow 1921:197 and 1926—1963.5:146. (?) Proto-Southern Cushitic *k^waat- ‘to make with the hands’ > Iraqw *kwatit-* ‘to touch’; Ma’a *-kwa* ‘to build’. Ehret 1980:265.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuti* ‘(vb.) to jump, to leap, to bound, to frolic, to escape from, to splash (as water), to spurt out; (n.) jump, leap’, *kutippu* ‘leaping’; Malayalam *kuti* ‘leap, gallop’, *kutikka* ‘to jump, to skip, to boil, to bubble up’, *kutukkuka* ‘to take a spring in order to leap’; Kannada *gudi* ‘to jump, to stamp, to make a noise with the feet’, *kuduku* ‘(vb.) to trot; (n.) trotting’, *gudiku* ‘to jump’; Tulu *guttu* ‘a leap, jump; a stride’; Telugu *kudupu* ‘(vb.) to shake (tr.), to agitate, to jolt; (n.) shaking, jolting’, *kudulu* ‘to be shaken, to jolt; to shake while walking, to flutter in agony’, *kudilincu* ‘to shake (tr.)’, *kudilika* ‘shaking, agitation, jolting’; Konda *gudlis-* ‘to shake violently’; Kurux *kuddnā* ‘to move about’, *kudāba’ānā* ‘to make run’, *kudākudī* ‘in hot haste’, *kudur-kudur* ‘at a trot’. Krishnamurti 2003:12 **kut-i* ‘to jump’; Burrow—Emeneau 1964:156, no. 1705.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **kwet-* ‘to move, to shake, to swing’: Mingrelian *kvat-* ‘to swing, to sway, to shake’; Svan *kwt-* ‘to shake, to move something’. Fähnrich 2007:464—465 **kwet-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}at^h-* ‘to move, to shake’: Latin *quatīō* ‘to shake; to agitate, to move, to touch, to affect, to excite’; Middle Irish *caithim* ‘to throw, to hurl, to fling, to cast’; Old Czech *kot* ‘throw, dash, rush’. Rix 1998a:510—511 *(s)*k^weh₁t-* ‘to shake thoroughly, to shake up’; Pokorny 1959:632 **k^wēt-* : **k^wət-* : **k^wūt-* ‘to shake, to sift’; Walde 1927—1932.I:511 **q^wēt-*, **q^wət-*; Mann 1984—1987:1020—1021 **quatjō* ‘to move, to shake, to rattle, to impel, to throw, to roll’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:399—400 **sq^wət-* (according to Persson); Ernout—Meillet 1979:552—553; De Vaan 2008:504—505.

Buck 1949:10.25 throw (vb.); 10.26 shake (vb. tr.); 10.43 jump, leap (vb.); 15.71 touch (vb.); 15.72 feel (vb.), feel of; 15.73 touch (sb. — act or sense of touch).

538. Proto-Nostratic (particle) *k^{wh}ay- ‘when, as, though, also’:

Possibly derived from:

Relative pronoun stem *k^{wh}i-; interrogative pronoun stem *k^{wh}a-

- A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **k^way-* ‘when, as, though, also’: Proto-Semitic **kay-* ‘in order that, for, when, so that’ > Akkadian *kī* ‘according to, concerning’; Hebrew *kī* [כִּי] ‘that, for, when’; Syriac *kay* ‘therefore’; Ugaritic *k, ky* ‘for, because, when, if, that’; Arabic *kay* ‘in order that, so that’; Sabaeen *ky* ‘when’. Klein 1987:275; Zammit 2002:361. Egyptian non-enclitic particle *k3* ‘so, then’. Hannig 1995:871; Erman—Grapow 1921:194 and 1926—1963.5:84—85; Faulkner 1962:283; Gardiner 1957:597.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k^whay-* ‘when, as, though, also’: Lithuanian *kaĩ* ‘when, as’; Old Prussian *kai* ‘how; as; so that’; Latvian (dial.) *kaĩ* ‘so’; Old Church Slavic *cě* ‘as, as also’. Pokorny 1959:519 **kai* ‘and’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:327 **qai* (?); Mann 1984—1987:1039 **quoi* (**quoi-*) ‘when, where; that; any-’; Endzelins 1971:262, §431d. Greek *καί, καὶ* ‘and; also, even’ does not belong here (cf. Palmaitis 1986b:309).
- C. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **-qaj* or **-gaj* (conditional) ‘if’: Amur *-qa / -ra* (also *-tara*) (conditional) ‘if’; East Sakhalin *-qaj* (conditional) ‘if’; South Sakhalin *-χai* (conditional) ‘if’. Fortescue 2016:174 (table of affixes).

Brunner 1969:38, no. 157; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:479—480, no. 325.

539. Proto-Nostratic root **k^whey-*:

(vb.) **k^whey-* ‘to repay in kind, to return an equal measure’;

(n.) **k^whey-a* ‘payment, repayment’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kay-al-* ‘to measure out, to repay in kind, to return an equal measure’ > Syriac *kayl* ‘a measure’; Arabic *kāla* ‘to measure, to weigh; to measure out, to mete out, to allot, to apportion; to return like for like, to repay in kind’, *mikyāl* ‘measure; dry measure for grain’; Sabaeen *kyl* ‘measurement’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kél* ‘to give a measure of something’; Ḥarsūsi *keyōl* ‘to give a measure, to give (someone) his deserts’; Geez / Ethiopic *maklit* [መክለት] ‘talent (of silver)’; Tigre *käyyälä* ‘to measure’ (Arabic loan); Amharic *mäklit* ‘talent (of silver)’ (Geez loan). Leslau 1987:339.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k^whey-/k^whay-/k^whi-* ‘(vb.) to repay in kind, to return like for like; (n.) payment, repayment’: Sanskrit *cáyate* ‘to revenge, to punish’, *citi-h* ‘retaliation’; Avestan *čikayač* ‘to atone for’, *kaēnā* ‘punishment, revenge’; Greek *τίω* ‘to requite, to atone for, to repay; to pay a price, to pay a penalty’, *τίω* ‘to pay honor to (a person), to honor’, *ποινή* ‘retribution, penalty’; Middle Irish *cin* ‘fault, liability’; Lithuanian *káina* ‘cost, price’; Old Church Slavic *cěna* ‘reward’. Rix 1998a:339—340 **k^uej-* ‘to pay a penalty, to punish, to avenge’; Pokorny 1959:636—637 **k^uei-(t-)* ‘to pay attention to, to regard with respect, to punish, to avenge’; Walde 1927—1932.I:508—509 **q^uei-*; Mann 1984—1987:1022 **quējō* (**quij-*) ‘to punish’, 1034 **quīm-* ‘tax, payment’, 1040 **quoinos, -ā* ‘equivalent, estimate, worth, cost, payment, price, prize’; Watkins 1985:33

- *k^{wei}- and 2000:44—45 *k^{wei}- ‘to pay, to atone, to compensate’, (suffixed *o*-grade) *k^{woi}-nā-; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:809 *k^[h]°e/oṽ-(nā-) and 1995.I:710, fn. 18, *k^h°ei- ‘to punish, to compensate, to pay a price, to avenge’ and I:709, I:710 *k^h°e/oṽ-(nā-) ‘payment, compensation, vengeance’; Mallory—Adams 1997:123 *k^{woin}eh_a- ‘compensation’, *k^{wei}- ‘to fine, to punish’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:376 and II:387; Boisacq 1950:801 *q^{uoin}ā ‘vengeance, punishment’, *q^{uei}-, 971—972, and 973—974 *q^{uei}- ‘to repay; to punish, to avenge’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:573—574 *q^{uoin}ā, II:902—903, and II:906—907 *q^{uei}-, *q^{uṽ}-; Beekes 2010.II:1486—1487 *k^{wei}-; Hofmann 1966:279 *q^{uoin}ā, *q^{uei}-, 367, and 368 *q^{uei}-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:925 *k^{wei}-, II:1120—1121, and II:1123; Smoczyński 2007.1:243 *k^{uoi}-neh₂-, *k^{uej}-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:203; Derksen 2008:75 *k^{woi}-neh₂ and 2015:217—218 *k^{woi}-neh₂.
- C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *kej*- ‘to give’, *keči*- ‘to bring’, (Northern / Tundra) *kii*- ‘to give’, *keči*- ‘to bring’. Nikolaeva 2006:203.

Buck 1949:21.37 penalty, punishment. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:473—474, no. 318.

540. Proto-Nostratic root *k^{wh}ey-:

(vb.) *k^{wh}ey- ‘to do, to make, to create; to form, to fashion’;

(n.) *k^{wh}ey-a ‘act, deed, creation’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *kayyafa* ‘to form, to shape, to fashion, to mold, to fit, to adjust, to adapt’.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **key*- ‘to do, to make’: Tamil *cey* ‘to do, to make, to create, to cause’; Kota *gey*- (*gec*-), *key*- (*kec*-) ‘to do, to make’; Malayalam *ceyka* ‘to do, to act’; Kannada *key*, *kai*, *gey* ‘to perform, to do, to make, to work’; Toda *kīy*- (*kīs*-) ‘to do, to make’; Koḍagu *key*- (*keyyuv*-, *kejj*-) ‘to work’; Telugu *cēyu* ‘to do, to perform, to make, to create’; Gadba *key*- (*ked*-, *ken*-) ‘to do’; Konḍa *ki*- ‘to do, to make’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:178, no. 1957; Krishnamurti 2003:128 **key*- ‘to do, to make, to create’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *k^{wh}ey-/ *k^{wh}i- (secondary *o*-grade form: *k^{wh}oy-) ‘to do, to make, to create; to form, to fashion’: Sanskrit *cinóti*, *cáyati* ‘to arrange in order, to heap up, to construct, to gather, to collect’; Punjabi *cinṅā* ‘to pile up, to lay (bricks), to gather (clothes), to arrange’, *cuṅṅā* ‘to build up in layers, to plait’; Gujarati *cinṽū*, *cuṅṽū* ‘to fold into long strips’, *caṅṽū* ‘to build, to make, to erect’; Marathi *cuṅṅē* ‘to pile up orderly, to fold, to plait’; Greek ποιέω ‘to make, to produce; to create, to bring into existence; to make ready, to prepare, to do’; Old Church Slavic *činiti* ‘to arrange, to construct’, *činь* ‘row, order, rank, rule’; Czech *činiti* ‘to do, to make, to carry out, to act’; Russian *činit’* [чинить] ‘to make; to administer, to execute; to commit, to perpetrate; to mend, to repair’, *čin* [чин] ‘rank,

dignity, grade'. Rix 1998a:338—339 **k^uej-* 'to gather, to collect, to arrange'; Pokorny 1959:637—638 **k^uei-* 'to pile up, to build, to make'; Walde 1927—1932.I:509—510 **q^uei-*; Mann 1984—1987:1040 **q^uoi^uejō* 'to shape, to stylize'; Watkins 1985:33 **k^wei-* and 2000:45 **k^wei-* 'to pile up, to build, to make'; Mallory—Adams 1997:87 **k^wei-* 'to pile up, to build'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:388; Beekes 2010.II:1216 **k^wi-eu-*, **k^wei-u-*; Boisacq 1950:799—800 **q^uoi-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:570—572 **q^uei-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:922—923 **k^wei-*; Hofmann 1966:278 **q^uei-*; Derksen 2008:89 **k^wei-n-*, **k^wei-no-*.

- D. Proto- Altaic **k^hi-* (~ *k-*) 'to do, to make': Proto-Mongolian **ki-* 'to do, to make' > Written Mongolian *ki-* 'to do, to act, to perform'; Khalkha *χiy-* 'to do, to make'; Buriat *χe-* 'to do, to make'; Kalmyk *ke-* 'to do, to make'; Ordos *kī-* 'to do, to make'; Moghol *ki-* 'to do, to make'; Dagur *χī-*, *kī-* 'to do, to make'; Monguor *gi-*, *gə-* 'to do, to make'. Poppe 1955:36, 74, and 142. Proto-Turkic **Kil-* 'to do, to make' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Karakhanide Turkic *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Turkish *kil-* 'to do, to perform'; Azerbaijani *gil-* 'to do, to make'; Turkmenian *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Uzbek *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Uighur *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Karaim *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Tatar *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Bashkir *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Kirghiz *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Kazakh *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Noghay *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Tuva *qil-* 'to do, to make'; Yakut *kin-* 'to do, to make'; Dolgan *gīn-* 'to do, to make'. Poppe 1960:19 and 114; Street 1974:17 **kī-* 'to do, to make'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:675—676 **ki* (~ **kⁱ*) 'to do, to make'.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1949, **qoyV* 'to heap up, to build, to make'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:474—475, no. 320.

541. Proto-Nostratic relative pronoun stem **k^{wh}i-* (~ **k^{wh}e-*); interrogative pronoun stem **k^{wh}a-* (~ **k^{wh}ə-*):
- A. Proto-Afrasian **k^wa-* interrogative stem: This stem is not widespread in Afrasian. It is preserved in relic forms in several Semitic languages: Proto-Semitic **ka-m* 'how much?, how many?' > Arabic *kam* 'how much?, how many?'; Ḥarsūsi *kem* 'how much?, how many?'; Mehri *kəm* 'how much?'; Soqotri *kəm* 'how much?'. Zammit 2002:358—359. It also occurs in Cushitic: Rendille interrogative suffix *-koh* 'which?'; Arbore *kaakó* 'how much?, how many?'; Galla / Oromo interrogative pronoun *kam(i)* 'which?' (cf. Ali—Zaborski 1990:139; Praetorius 1893:96—97). Finally, it occurs in the Kefoid branch of Omotic (cf. *kon(n)e*, *koonni*, *ko* 'who?') and in the Dizoid branch as well (cf. *yiki* 'who?'). Bender 2000:209 and 226.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}e-*/**k^{wh}o-*, **k^{wh}i-* stem of interrogative and relative pronouns: Sanskrit *ká-h*, *ká* 'who?', *káti* 'how many?', *kím* 'what?', *kútra* 'where?', *cid* 'even, also'; Avestan interrogative-indefinite

pronoun stem *ka-* ‘who’, *čaiti* ‘how many?’; Old Persian interrogative-indefinite pronoun stem *ka-* ‘who’; Latin *quis* ‘who?’, *quid* ‘what?’, *quod* ‘that, wherefore, why’, *quot* ‘how many?’, *quisquis* ‘whoever, whichever, whatever’; Greek τίς ‘who?’, τί ‘what?’, ποῦ ‘where?’, πόσος ‘of what quantity?, how much?, how many?’; Armenian *k^hani* ‘how many?’; Old Irish *cía* ‘who?’; Welsh *prwy* ‘who?’; Cornish *pyw* ‘who?’; Breton *piou* ‘who?’; Gothic *hvas* ‘who?’, *hwō* ‘what?’, *hvan* ‘when?’, *hvar* ‘where?’, *hvarjis* ‘which?’, *hvaþ* ‘whereto?’; Old Icelandic *hverr* ‘who?, which?, what?’, *hvé* ‘how?’, *hvat* ‘what?’; Old Swedish *ho* ‘who?’; Old Danish *hwa* ‘who?’; Old English *hwā* ‘who?’, *hwæt* ‘what?’; Old Frisian *hwā* ‘who?’; Old Saxon *hwē*, *hwie* ‘who?’; Old High German (*h*)*wer* ‘who?’ (New High German *wer*), (*h*)*waz* ‘what?’ (New High German *was*); Lithuanian *kàs* ‘who?, what?’, *kuĩ* ‘where?, whither?’; Old Church Slavic *kъto* ‘who?’; Hittite interrogative pronoun (nom. sg.) *ku-iš* ‘who?’ (acc. *ku-in*), (neuter) *ku-it* ‘what?’, *ku-(u-)wa-at* ‘why?’, *ku-wa-(at-)tin* ‘where?, whither?’, *ku-wa-(a-)pí* ‘where?, whither?, when?’; Palaic interrogative and relative pronoun *kuiš*; Luwian *ku-(i-)iš* ‘who?’, interrogative adverb *ku-wa-(a-)ti(-in)* ‘how?’, relative adverb *ku-wa-at-ti* ‘where, whence’; Lycian interrogative and relative stem *ti*; Lydian relative pronoun *qis*; Tocharian A interrogative stem (nom.) *kus* (acc. *kuc*) ‘who?, which?, what?’, relative stem (nom.) *kusne* (acc. *kucne*) ‘who, which’, B interrogative and relative stem (nom.) *kuse* ‘who(?)’, ‘whoever, no matter who; the one who, those who’, (acc.) *kuce* ‘whom?, what?, which?; whom, what, which’, also used as a conjunction: ‘because; (so) that’. Pokorny 1959:644–648 *k^{uo-}, *k^{ue-} interrogative and relative particle; Walde 1927–1932.I:519–523 *q^{uo-}, *q^{ue-}; Mann 1984–1987:1017 *quā ‘by what, by which, how’, 1019 *quam, *quan, 1019 *quam-de, -dō, 1021 *qu-dhē, -dho, -dhə, -dh ‘where, whither, whence’, 1021–1022 *quēi (*quēi) ‘how, why’, 1030–1031 *quə ‘what’, 1031 *qui, (enclitic) *-qui ‘any, not-, -soever’, 1031–1032 *quid ‘what, something’, 1032 *quijā (*quijā, *quī, *qui) ‘how, why; as if, or, since, as though’, 1035–1036 *quis ‘who, which’, 1036 *quisquis, 1037–1038 *quo, *quō ‘in what, by what, where’, 1038 *quod ‘what, that’, 1039 *quodō ‘when’, 1039 *quodquid ‘whatever, anything’, 1039 *quo-dhen (*-dhən-, *-dhə) ‘by, in what; to, from, what, where’, 1039 *quo-dhi, *qu-dhi ‘where, there’, 1039 *quoi (*quoi-) ‘when, where; that; any-’, 1040–1041 *quojos (*quojos) ‘of whom, whose’, 1043–1044 *quom, 1045 *quō-que (*-quə), 1048 *quos ‘who’, 1048 *quosis, *quosjos; Watkins 1985:34 *k^{wo-}, also *k^{wi-} and 2000:46 *k^{wo-}, also *k^{wi-} stem of relative and interrogative pronouns; Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1984.I:117 *k^[h]is and 1995.I:100 *k^his ‘who’; Mallory–Adams 1997:456–457 *k^wós ‘who’, *k^wóm ‘whom’, *k^wód ‘what’, *k^wíd ‘what, what one’, *k^wóteros ‘which (of two)’, *k^wóm ‘when’, *k^wodéha ‘when’, *k^wór ‘where’, *k^wu- ~ *k^wú ‘where’, *k^wóti ~ *k^wéti ‘how much, how many’, *k^wehali ‘of what sort, of what size’, (?)

**k^weh_ak-* ‘of what sort’, **k^woih_xos* ‘pertaining to whom/what’; Brugmann 1904:402 **q^uo-*, **q^ui-*, **q^uu-*; Szemerényi 1996:208—211 **k^wi-*, **k^we-/k^wo-*; Watkins 1998:67 **k^wis*, **k^wid*, **k^wo(s)*, **k^wod*; Beekes 1995:203—207 **k^we-/k^wi-*, (adj.) **k^wo-* and 2010.II:1215 **k^wo-*, II:1487 **k^wi-*; Meillet 1964:328 **k^we-*, **k^wo-*, **k^wei-*; Fortson 2004:130 **k^wo-*; Meier—Brügger 2003:227—228 **k^wi-*, **k^wo-*; Adrados 1975.II:823—824 **k^ui-*, **k^uo-*; Schmitt-Brandt 1998:223—228 **k^ui-*, **k^ue/o-*; **k^uis*, **k^uid*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:148 **q^woti*, **q^weti*, I:192, I:209—210 **q^wi-*, I:228, and I:387 **q^wi-s*; Puhvel 1984— .4:218—232; Boisacq 1950:806—807 **q^uoti* and 972 **q^ui-s*, **q^ui-d*; **q^ui-m*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:585 **q^uóti* and II:903—904 **q^ui-s*, **q^ui-d*; **q^ue-so*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:921—922 **k^wo-*, **k^wi-* and II:1121; Hofmann 1966:281 **q^uoti* and 367 **q^uis*, **q^uid*; **q^uim*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:556 **k^wo-*, 559—560 **k^wo-*, **k^wi-*, and 561 **k^woty_o-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:404—405, II:410 **q^ui-*, **q^uo-*, II:411—412, and II:412—413 **q^uoti*; De Vaan 2008:507—508 and 510—511; Orël 2003:198 Proto-Germanic **xwan(n)ai*, 198 **xwar* ~ **xwēr*, 199 **xwat*, 199 **xwape*, 199 **xwaz* ~ **xwez*, 201 **xwē*, 201 **xwī*; Kroonen 2013:261 Proto-Germanic **hwa-* ‘who?, what?’ and 264 **hwapera-* ‘who of two?’; Feist 1939:281—282, 282 **k^uo-*, **k^uej-*, 282—283, 283, and 284; Lehmann 1986:198 **k^wo-* and 198—199 **k^wo-*, **k^wi-*; De Vries 1977:269, 270, and 271; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:312, I:313. I:314, I:314—315; Klein 1971:825 and 827 **q^wo-*, **q^we-*; Onions 1966:1001 **q^wod* and 1004 **q^wos*, **q^wes*; **q^wi-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:853; Kluge—Seebold 1989:778 **quod* and 787 **qui-/quo-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:246 **q^uu-*; Adams 1999:181—182 and 187—188 **k^wusó*; Burrow 1973:273—274; Buck 1933:226—228 **q^wo-*, **q^wi-*, **q^wu-* (in adverbs); Rix 1992:186—188 **k^ui-/k^uéj-*; **k^ué-/k^uó-*; **k^uú-* (in adverbs); Sihler 1995:397—401 **k^wi-/k^we-*; Lindsay 1894:443—452 **q^uo-* (with **q^ui-*, **q^uu-*); Palmer 1954:257—258 and 1980:286—287 **q^wis/q^wid*; Mendeloff 1969:62—81; Prokosch 1939:278—279; Streitberg 1963:267; Krause 1968:199—200 **q^ue-* : **q^uo-*, **q^uā-*; **q^uo-s*, **q^ui-s*, **q^uo-d*; Hirt 1931—1934.II:76—78 **k^we-*, **k^wo-*, **k^wi-* and II:80; Wright—Wright 1925:248—249 **q^wos*, **q^wod*, **q^wis*; Endzelins 1971:195—200; Stang 1966:236—237 **k^wo-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:262 and 1:326; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:199; Derksen 2008:264 **k^wo-* and 2015:230 **k^wo-*; Meillet 1965a:442—445 **k^wo-*, **k^wi-*; Sturtevant 1933:202—203 and 1951:115; Kronasser 1956:148; Kimball 1999:266; Luraghi 1997:26; J. Friedrich 1960.I:68—69; Kloekhorst 2008b:488—491; Held—Schmalstieg—Gertz 1988:33; Carruba 1970:60; Laroche 1959:55; Meriggi 1980:325—327.

Note: Derivatives of this stem are abundantly represented in the Indo-European daughter languages — only a small sampling is given here. For more information, the references cited above should be consulted.

- C. Proto-Uralic **ki-* ~ **ke-* relative pronoun stem: Finnish *ken/kene/ke-* ‘who’; Estonian *kes* ‘who’; Lapp / Saami *gi/gæ-* ‘who, which, what’;

Mordvin *ki* ‘who, somebody’; Cheremis / Mari *ke, kō, kū* ‘who’; Votyak / Udmurt *kin* ‘who’; Zyrian / Komi *kin* ‘who’; Hungarian *ki* ‘who, who?’; Kamassian *giʔiʔ* ‘which (of two)’, *giʔgeʔ* ‘what sort of’, *giʔin, kijen, gin* ‘where’, *gildi* ‘how much, how many’. Collinder 1955:24, 1965:138—139, and 1977:44; Joki 1973:268; Rédei 1986—1988:140—141 **ke* (**ki*); Décsy 1990:100 **ke* ‘who’. Proto-Uralic **ku-* ~ **ko-* interrogative pronoun stem: Finnish *kuka/ku-* ‘who?’, *kussa* ‘where?’, *koska* ‘when?’; Lapp / Saami *gutti* ‘who?’, *gost* ‘where?, from where?’, *gok'tē* ‘how?’; Mordvin *kodamo* ‘which?, what kind of?’, *kona* ‘which?’, *koso* ‘where?’, *koda* ‘how?’; Cheremis / Mari *kudō* ‘who?, which?’, *kuštō* ‘where?’, *kuze* ‘how?’; Votyak / Udmurt *kudiz* ‘which?’, *ku* ‘when?’; Zyrian / Komi *kod* ‘which?’, *ko* ‘when?’; Vogul / Mansi *hoo, kon* ‘who?’, *hoot* ‘where?’, *kun* ‘when?’; Ostyak / Xanty *koji* ‘who?’, *kōti* ‘what?’; Hungarian *hol* ‘where?’, *hova* ‘whither?’, *hogy* ‘how?’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hu* ‘who?’, *huñayy* ‘which?’, *huna, huñana* ‘where?’, *hañaʔ* ‘whither?’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kua, kunie* ‘which?’, *kuninu* ‘where?’, *kuniʔaay* ‘how?’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *huju* ‘one of two, either’, *kuu* ‘whither?’, *kune, kunne* ‘when?’, *kunnoʔ* ‘how?’; Selkup Samoyed *kutte, kudō* ‘who?’, *kun* ‘where?, from where?’, *ku* ‘whither?’, *kutar* ‘how?’; Kamassian *kojət* ‘what kind of?’, *kammōn* ‘when?’, *kōdaʔ* ‘how?’. Collinder 1955:26, 1965:139, and 1977:46; Rédei 1986—1988:191—192 **ku-* (**ko-*); Décsy 1990:100 **ko* ‘who?’; Janhunen 1977b:75 **ku-*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *kin* ‘who’, *kil'l'ə* ‘whose’, *qadi* ‘which?’, *qanin* ‘when?’, *qondet* ‘from where?, whence?’, *qanjide* ‘where to?, whither?’, *qadungə* ‘where?’, *qam-* ‘how much?, how many?’, *qamlo:-* ‘how much?, how many?’, *qaml'id'ə* ‘how many times?’, *qo-* ‘where’, *qodo, qode* ‘how’, *qod-a:-* (interrogative verb) ‘to do what?’, *qodime:-* ‘what kind of’, *qododə* ‘somehow, in every possible way’, *qodit* ‘why’; (Northern / Tundra) *kin* ‘who’, *kinid'eŋ* ‘to nobody’, *kinolelk* ‘nobody, somebody’, *qadun* ‘which?’, *qanin* ‘when?’, *qadunđet* ‘where?’, *qawde* ‘what kind of?, how?’, *qadaa* ‘where?’, *qabun* ‘how much?, how many?’, *qamla-* ‘how much, how many?’, *qamlid'e* ‘how many times?’, *quode-* ‘how’, *quodede* ‘somehow, in every possible way’, *qodiet* ‘why’. Nikolaeva 2006:211—212, 373, 376, and 382.

- D. Proto-Altaic **k^ha(y)* interrogative pronoun: ‘who?, what?’: Proto-Tungus **χia* (**χai*) ‘who?, what?’ > Manchu *ai, ya* ‘who?, what?, which?’; Evenki *ē* ‘who?’, *ēkūn* ‘what?’; Lamut / Even *āq* ‘what?’; Negidal *ēχun, ēkun* ‘who?, what?’, *ēwa* ‘what?’; Ulch *χay* ‘what?’; Orok *χai* ‘what?’; Nanay / Gold *χai* ‘what?’; Solon *ī* ‘what?’. Proto-Mongolian **ken, *ka-* ‘who?, which?’ > Written Mongolian *ken* ‘who?, which?’; Khalkha *χen* ‘who?, which?’; Buriat *χen* ‘who?, which?’; Kalmyk *ken* ‘who?, which?’; Ordos *ken* ‘who?, which?’; Moghol *ken* ‘who?, which?’; Dagur *ken, χen* ‘who?, which?’, *χā-, hā-* ‘where?’; Monguor *ken* ‘who?, which?’. Poppe 1955:45 and 229. Proto-Turkic **kem-, *ka-* ‘who?, which?’ > Old Turkic (Old

Uighur) *kem* ‘who?’, *qayu*, *qanu* ‘which?’; Karakhanide Turkic *kem*, *kim* ‘who?’, *qayu* ‘which?’; Turkish *kim* ‘who?’; Gagauz *kim* ‘who?’; Azerbaijani *kim* ‘who?’; Turkmenian *kim* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Uzbek *kim* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Uighur *kim* (dial. *kem*) ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Karaim *kim* ‘who?’; Tatar *kem* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Bashkir *kem* ‘who?’, (dial.) *qay* ‘which?’; Kirghiz *kim* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Kazakh *kim* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Noghay *kim* ‘who?’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *kem* ‘who?’, *qay* ‘which?’; Tuva *qim* ‘who?’, *qayı* ‘which?’; Chuvash *kam* ‘who?’; Yakut *kim* ‘who?’, *χaya* ‘which?’; Dolgan *kim* ‘who?’, *kaya* ‘which?’. Menges 1968b:134—135. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:754 **k’a(j)* interrogative pronoun: ‘who’.

- E. Proto-Eskimo **ki(na)* ‘who’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kinaq* ‘who’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kina* ‘who’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *kina* ‘who’; Central Siberian Yupik *kina* ‘who’; Sirenik *kin* ‘who’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kina* ‘who’; North Alaskan Inuit *kin’a* ‘who’; Western Canadian Inuit *kina* ‘who’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kina* ‘who’; Greenlandic Inuit *kina* ‘who’. Aleut *kiin* ‘who’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:173—174. Proto-Eskimo **kitu* ‘who’ or ‘which’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kitu-* ‘who’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kitu-* ‘who’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *kitu-* ‘who’; Central Siberian Yupik *kitu-* ‘who’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kitu* ‘which’; North Alaskan Inuit *kisu* ‘which’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kituuna* ‘who is that’; Greenlandic Inuit (North Greenlandic / Polar Eskimo) *kihu* ‘what’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:174. Proto-Inuit **qanuq* ‘how’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *qanuq* ‘how’; North Alaskan Inuit *qanuq* ‘how’; Western Canadian Inuit *qanuq* ‘how’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qanuq* ‘how’; Greenlandic Inuit *qanuq* ‘how’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:284. Proto-Eskimo **qana* ‘when (in past)’: Sirenik *qanən* ‘when (in past?)’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qana* ‘when (in past)’; North Alaskan Inuit *qana* ‘when (in past)’; Western Canadian Inuit *qana* ‘when (in past)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qana* ‘when’; Greenlandic Inuit *qana* ‘when (in past)’. Aleut *qana-* ‘which, where’, *qanayaam* ‘when’, *qanaay* ‘how many’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:284. Proto-Eskimo **qaku* ‘when (in future)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qaku* ‘when (in future)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qaku* ‘when (in future)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qaku* ‘when’; Central Siberian Yupik *qakun* ‘when (in future)’; Sirenik *qaku* ‘when’; Seward Peninsula Yupik *qayu(n)*, *qayurun* ‘when (in future)’; North Alaskan Inuit *qakuyu* ‘when (in future)’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *qaku(yu)* ‘when (in future)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qaku* ‘when (at last, after lengthy waiting)’; Greenlandic Inuit *qaquyu* ‘when (in future)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:278. Proto-Yupik-Sirenik **qayu(q)* ‘how’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qayu* ‘how’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qayumi* ‘indeed, as expected’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qay* ‘I wonder, is that so?’, *qaywa* ‘really?, is that so?’; Central Siberian Yupik *qayuq* ‘how’; Sirenik *qaynun* ‘really?’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:293.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:355—356, no. 232, **Ko* ‘who’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 981, **Ko* ‘who’; Koskinen 1980:22; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:478—479, no. 324; Möller 1911:125; Hakola 2000:64, no. 251; Fortescue 1998:153 and 154.

542. Proto-Nostratic root **k^{wh}ir-* (~ **k^{wh}er-*):

(vb.) **k^{wh}ir-* ‘to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten’;

(n.) **k^{wh}ir-a* ‘twist, tie, bundle, rope; the act of twisting or twining together: work, craft, act, action’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k^wir-* ‘to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten’: Proto-Semitic **kar-as-* ‘to tie, to fasten’ > Akkadian *karāsu* ‘to tie, to fasten’, *kurussu* (*kursū*) ‘strap (of leather or metal)’. Proto-Semitic **kar-ab-* ‘to twist or twine together’ > Arabic *karaba* ‘to tighten one’s bonds, to twist a rope’; Ḥarsūsi *kerōb* ‘to screw, to screw up’; Mehri *kārūb* ‘to screw, to screw a rifle butt tight through the muzzle’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kórōb* ‘to screw, to screw a rifle butt tight (through the muzzle)’; Geez / Ethiopic *karabo* [hɬɒ] ‘woven basket, pouch’; Tigrinya *karibbo* ‘small skin used as a bag’; Amharic *kārābo* ‘basket’. Leslau 1987:290. Proto-Semitic **kar-ak-* ‘to twist or twine together, to tie together, to bind, to fasten’ > Hebrew *kāraḥ* [כרַח] ‘to encircle, to twine around, to embrace, to wrap’, *kereḥ* [כרַח] ‘twining; scroll, volume; bundle’; Aramaic *kəraḥ* ‘to enwrap, to surround’, *kərīḫā* ‘bundle; scroll’; Akkadian *karāku* ‘to intertwine; to obstruct, to dam; to immerse, to soak; to do promptly (?)’; Geez / Ethiopic *k^wark^wada* [h-ɬh-ɬ] ‘to embrace, to take in one’s arms’; Amharic *k^wärkk^wädä* ‘to tie up, to shackle’. Klein 1987:287; Leslau 1987:291; Murtonen 1989:239. Egyptian *k³-t* ‘work, construction; craft, profession’, *k³wty* ‘workman, laborer, artisan, craftsman, *weaver’. Hannig 1995:874—875 and 875; Gardiner 1957:597; Faulkner 1962:283; Erman—Grapow 1921:193 and 1926—1963.5:98—101, 5:102. Berber: Tuareg *kurət* ‘to wind or wrap several times (as a turban around the head)’, *takārut* ‘turban’; Ghadames *akraru* ‘stick used to stir sauces’; Wargla *sskur* ‘to wind into a ball, to wrap’, *akur* ‘large ball, ball of wool’, *takurt* ‘ball’; Mزاب *sseçur* ‘to wind into a ball’, *açur* ‘ball’, *taçrart* ‘skein’; Tamazight *kur* ‘to be wrapped, to be wound into a ball’, *tikurin* ‘ball, spool of thread’; Riff *skur* ‘to wind into a ball’, *takurt* ‘ball (of thread, wool)’; Kabyle *k^wər* ‘to be wound into a ball’, *akur* ‘large ball’; Zenaga *kurer* ‘to be round, circular; to walk in a circle’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k^wirih-*, **k^wirih-* ‘to turn (intr.)’ > Ma’a *-kiri’i* ‘to come back’, *-kiri’i* ‘to turn (something); to give back; to ask’; Iraqw *kwirihis-* ‘to twist (something)’. Ehret 1980:266. Ehret 1995:207, no. 346, **k^wir-* ‘to turn’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k^{wh}er-*/**k^{wh}y-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **k^{wh}or-*) ‘to do, to make, to build’: Sanskrit *karóti*, *kṛṇóti* ‘to do, to make, to perform, to cause, to accomplish, to effect, to prepare, to undertake; to execute, to carry out; to manufacture, to work at, to elaborate, to build; to form or

construct one thing out of another; to employ, to use, to make use of', *kṛtá-ḥ* 'done, made, accomplished, performed, prepared, made ready; obtained, gained, acquired, placed at hand', *kará-ḥ* 'doing, making', *kárman-* 'act, action, performance, business', *kṛtyá* 'act, action, deed, performance, achievement; enchantment, magic'; Avestan *kərənaoiti* 'to do, to make'; Old Persian *kar-* 'to do, to make, to build'; Lithuanian *kuriù*, *kùrti* 'to make, to create, to build'. Rix 1998a:350—351 **k^uer-* 'to cut, to carve'; Pokorny 1959:641—642 **k^uer-* 'to make, to form'; Walde 1927—1932.I:517—518 **q^uer-*; Mann 1984—1987:1027 **q^uer-* 'to do, to make, to perform, to act', 1046 **q^uoros* 'doer, maker', 1051 **q^urō*, *-iō*, 1051 **q^uros* 'set, putting, act, fact', 1052 **q^urt-* 'made, making, formation, form; maker, wright'; Watkins 1985:34 **k^wer-* and 2000:45 **k^wer-* 'to make'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:176, I:178, II:706 **k^[h]er-* and 1995.I:151, I:153, I:611 **k^her-* 'to do, to make; to connect; to make by hand'; Mallory—Adams 1997:362 **k^wer-* 'to do, to make, to build'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:166, I:169 **q^wer-eu-*, **q^wrr-u-*, I:176, I:258, and I:259; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:319; Smoczyński 2007.1:327—328 **k^uer-*.

- C. Proto-Uralic **kure-* 'to twist, to turn, to plait, to tie (together), to twine together, to braid': Finnish *kuro-* 'to fold, to plait, to crease, to pull together, to tie shut; to baste (sew), to patch up, to stitch together'; Lapp / Saami *gorrâ-/gorâ-* 'to tie together without actually making a knot, to tie shut, to fasten'; (?) Zyrian / Komi *kôr-* 'to plait, to gather'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hura-* 'to tie up'; Selkup Samoyed *kura-* 'to plait, to twist together'; Kamassian *kür-* 'to plait, to braid, to twist'. Collinder 1955:29 and 1977:49; Rédei 1986—1988:215—216 **kure-*; Décsy 1990:101 **kura* 'to bind'; Janhunen 1977b:55 **kârâ* ~ **kârâ*. Proto-Uralic **kur3* 'basket': Votyak / Udmurt *kür* 'basket made of the inner bark of the linden'; Cheremis / Mari (Eastern) *kurukš* 'basket made of bark'; Vogul / Mansi *kuri*, *huri* 'sack, bag, pouch'; Ostyak / Xanty *kyræg*, (North Kazym) *hyr* 'sack'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hoor* 'keg, receptacle, bucket', *täekuseä koor* 'bucket made of birch bark'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kur* 'vat, tub', *koare* 'box'; Selkup Samoyed *koromže* 'basket made of birch bark'. Collinder 1955:28 and 1977:49; Rédei 1986—1988:219 **kur3* (**kor3*); Décsy 1990:101 **kura* 'basket, barrel made of bark'. Note: The Uralic forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may either belong here or with Proto-Nostratic **g^war-* (~ **g^wər-*) 'to turn, to twist, to wind, to wrap, to roll'. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *kur-* 'to clutch'. Nikolaeva 2006:228.

Sumerian *kur₄* 'to tie, to bind'.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make; 9.15 fold (vb. tr.); 9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 9.44 build. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:359—360, no. 236, **Ḫur₄* 'to plait, to tie, to bind'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:484—485, no. 331.

543. Proto-Nostratic (n.) (?) *k^{wh}ur-a ‘body, belly’:

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *k^{art}l-, *k^{irt}l- ‘body, belly’ > Akkadian *karšu* ‘body, belly, womb, stomach’; Hebrew *kārēš* [כָּרֶשׁ] ‘belly’; Aramaic *karsā* ‘belly’; Ugaritic *krs* ‘belly’ (?); Mandaic *karsa* ‘belly’; Arabic *kariš*, *kirš* ‘stomach, paunch, belly’; Ḥarsūsi *kēreš* ‘stomach’; Šeri / Jibbāli (dim.) *kérsūt* ‘belly’; Mehri *kīrās* ‘belly, (dim.) tummy’; Soqotri *šéres* ‘stomach’; Geez / Ethiopic *karš* [ካርሥ] ‘belly, stomach, womb, abdomen, interior’; Tigrinya *kārsi* ‘belly’; Tigre *kārəs*, *kāršāt* ‘belly, stomach, interior’; Amharic *kārs* ‘belly’; Gurage (Soddo) *kārs* ‘abdomen, belly, stomach’; Harari *kārsi* ‘abdomen, belly’; Argobba *kārs* ‘belly’; Gafat *ərsä* (*k > h > Ø*) ‘belly’. Murtonen 1989:239–240; Klein 1987:288; Leslau 1963:94, 1979:351, and 1987:294; Militarëv 2010:49 Proto-Semitic *kar(i)š-.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:136—137, no. 151) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) *karis- ~ *karič- ‘belly, stomach’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Proto-Indo-European *k^{wh}rep^h-/*k^{wh}rp^h- ‘body, belly’: Sanskrit (instr. sg.) *kṛpā* ‘shape, beautiful appearance’; Avestan *kəhrp-* ‘body, corpse’; Latin *corpus* ‘body’; Old Irish *crí* ‘body, shape, frame’; Old English *hrif* ‘womb, stomach’, also *-(h)rif* in *mid(h)rif* ‘diaphragm, entrails’; Old Frisian *href*, *hrif* ‘stomach’, also *-ref* in *midref* ‘diaphragm’; Old High German *href* ‘belly, womb, abdomen’. Pokorny 1959:620 *krep-, *kṛp- (or *k^uerp- ?) ‘body, abdomen, belly, shape’; Walde 1927—1932.I:486—487 *qrep-, *qṛp- (or *q^uerp- ?); Mann 1984—1987:1051—1052 *qurp- ‘turn, shape, form, body’; Watkins 1985:34 *k^wrep- and 2000:46 *k^wrep- ‘body, form, appearance’; Mallory—Adams 1997:76 *kréps ‘body’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:260; Ernout—Meillet 1979:144 *kṛp-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:277—278 *q^urep-, *q^uṛp-; De Vaan 2008:137—138; Orël 2003:185 Proto-Germanic *xrefaz; Kroonen 2013:244 Proto-Germanic *hrefiz- ‘stomach’; Onions 1966:575; Klein 1971:168 *q^wrep-, *q^wṛp- and 464.
- C. Proto-Uralic *kurz ‘body, form, figure’: Lapp / Saami *gorod* ‘body, especially the carcass of a slaughtered animal’; Vogul / Mansi *qwar* ‘form, figure’; Ostyak / Xanty *kör* ‘form, figure’. Collinder 1955:13 and 1977:34; Rédei 1986—1988:216—217 *kurz; Décsy 1990:101 *kural/*kerä ‘body’.

Buck 1949:4.11 body; 4.46 belly, stomach. Möller 1911:138—139; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:477—478, no. 323.

544. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k^{wh}ur-a ‘worm, grub, maggot, insect’:

- A. Dravidian: Malayalam *kūra*, *kūrān* ‘insect, moth, cockroach’; Kannaḍa *kūre* ‘a kind of cloth-louse’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:175, no. 1926.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **k^wh₂r-mi-* ‘worm’: Sanskrit *kṛmi-h* ‘worm, insect’; Sindhi *kīḍ* ‘worm, maggot, snail’, *kīāri* ‘worms, moths’, *kīāro* ‘maggoty’; Sinhalese *kimiyā* ‘worm, insect’; Farsi *kirm* ‘worm’; Albanian *krimb* ‘worm’; Old Irish *cruim* ‘worm’; Welsh *pryf* ‘worm’; Old Prussian *girmis* (for **kirmis*) ‘maggot’; Old Lithuanian *kirmis* ‘worm, grub’ (= Modern Lithuanian *kirmėlė* ‘worm’). Proto-Indo-European **k^wh₂r-wi-* ‘worm’: Old Church Slavic *čръвь* ‘worm’; Czech *červ* ‘worm’; Polish *czerv* ‘grub, maggot’; Macedonian *crv* ‘worm’; Bulgarian *červej* ‘worm’; Russian *червь* [чѣрвь] ‘worm’. Pokorny 1959:649 **k^urmi-* ‘worm, maggot’; Walde 1927—1932.I:523 **q^urmi-*; Mann 1984—1987:1051 **q^ur₁mis* ‘worm, grub’, 1053 **q^ur₁uis* ‘worm’; Watkins 1985:34 **k^wr₁mi-* ‘mite, worm’ and 2000:46 **k^wr₁mi-* ‘worm’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:533 **k[h]q₁mi-* and 1995.I:451 **k^hq₁mi-* ‘worm’; Mallory—Adams 1997:649 **k^wr₁mis* ‘worm, insect’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:261—262; Orël 1998:197; Huld 1984:82 **k^wr₁mi-*; Shevelov 1964:475 and 478; Derksen 2008:93—94; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:257; Smoczyński 2007.1:288—289 **k^urmi-*.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **kh₂ōro* ‘worm, gadfly’: Proto-Tungus **χirga-* ‘gadfly’ > Manchu *iža* ‘gadfly’; Evenki *irgakta* ‘gadfly’; Lamut / Even *irg₁t* ‘gadfly’; Negidal *iygakta* ‘gadfly’; Ulch *sižaqta* ‘gadfly’; Orok *sižiqta* ‘gadfly’; Nanay / Gold *siğaqta* ‘gadfly’; Udihe *iga* ‘gadfly’. Proto-Mongolian **koro-kai* ‘worm, insect’ > Written Mongolian *qoruqai* ‘insects and worms in general’; Khalkha *χorχoy* ‘worm, insect’; Buriat *χorχoy* ‘worm, insect’; Kalmyk *χorχā* ‘worm, insect’; Ordos *χoroχō* ‘worm, insect’; Dagur *χorgō* ‘worm, insect’; Monguor *χorgwī*, *χorgui*, *χurgoi* ‘worm, insect’. Proto-Turkic **Kürt* ‘worm’ > Old Turkish (Old Uighur) *qurt* ‘worm’; Karakhanide Turkish *qurt* ‘worm’; Turkish *kurt* ‘worm, maggot’; Gagauz *qurt* ‘worm’; Azerbaijani *gurd* ‘worm’; Turkmenian *gürt* ‘worm’; Uzbek *qurt* ‘worm’; Uighur *qurut* ‘worm’; Karaim *qurt* ‘worm’; Tatar *qort* ‘worm’; Kirghiz *qurt* ‘worm’; Kazakh *qurt* ‘worm’; Tuva *qu’rt* ‘worm’; Chuvash *χort* ‘worm’; Yakut *kuržaya* ‘small parasites’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:807—808 **k₁ōro* ‘worm, gad-fly’.

Buck 1949:3.84 worm. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:358, no. 234, **Kora* ‘to gnaw; worm’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:485—486, no. 332.

22.26. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *k'w

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
k'w-	k'w-	k-	k'w/u-	k'w-	k-	k-	k- q-
-k'w-	-k'w-	-k(k)-	-k'w/u-	-k'w-	-k-	-k-	-k- -q-

545. Proto-Nostratic root *k'wad- (~ *k'wad-):

(vb.) *k'wad- 'to strike, to beat, to smash, to pound';

(n.) *k'wad-a 'knock, stroke, thrust'

Note also:

(vb.) *k'wed- 'to destroy, to damage, to ruin; to decay, to rot, to spoil';

(n.) *k'wed-a 'death, destruction, damage, ruin, decay'

- A. Dravidian: [Tamil *kuṭṭu* (*kuṭṭi-*) 'to cuff, to strike with the knuckles on the head or temple'; Malayalam *kuṭṭuka* 'to pound, to cuff'; Kota *kuṭ-* (*kuc-*) 'to pound'; Toda *kuṭ-* (*kuty-*) 'to knock, to pound'; Kannada *kuṭṭu* '(vb.) to beat, to strike, to pound, to bruise; (n.) a blow, a pulverized substance', *kuṭṭuvike*, *kuṭṭuha* 'beating'; Kodagu *kuṭṭ-* (*kuṭṭi-*) 'to pound'; Tuḷu *kuṭṭuni* 'to thump, to give a blow, to strike with the fist, to pound, to bruise'; Kolami *kuḍk-* (*kuḍukt-*) 'to pound grain', *kuḍkeng* 'to knock on the door'; Naikri *kuṛk-* 'to pound, to knock'; Parji *kuṭip-* (*kuṭit-*) 'to punch, to knock (door)'; Konḍa *guṭ-* 'to knock with the fist'; Kui *guṭ-* 'fist'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:153, no. 1671. Tamil *koṭṭu* (*koṭṭi-*) '(vb.) to beat (as a drum, tambourine), to hammer, to beat (as a brazier), to clap, to strike with the palms, to pound (as paddy); (n.) beat, stroke, drumbeat, time-measure', *koṭṭān*, *koṭṭaṇ* 'mallet', *koṭu* 'to thrash, to abuse roundly', *koṭai* 'blows, round abuse'; Malayalam *koṭṭuka* 'to beat so as to produce a sound (a drum, metals, bells), to clap hands', *koṭṭu* 'beating a drum, clapping hands, buffet, knocking of knees against each other', *koṭṭi* 'mallet', *koṭukka* 'to flog'; Kota *koṭk-* (*koṭky-*) 'to strike (with small hammer), to knock on (door), to strike tipcat in hole in ground'; Toda *kwīṭk-* (*kwīṭky-*) 'to tap (on door, something with stick)', *kwīṭ fiṭ* 'woodpecker'; Kannada *koḍati*, *koḍanti* 'a wooden hammer', *koṭṭaṇa* 'beating the husk from paddy', *koṭṭuha* 'beating', *kuḍu* 'to beat'; Kodagu *koṭṭ-* (*koṭṭi-*) 'to tap, to beat (drum)'; Tuḷu *koḍapuni* 'to forge, to hammer'; Telugu *koṭṭu* '(vb.) to beat, to strike, to knock; to strike (as a clock); (n.) a blow, stroke'; Parji *koṭṭ-* 'to strike with an axe'; Gadba (Ollari) *koṭ-* 'to strike with an axe'; Gondi *koṭ-* 'to cut with an axe', *koṭela* 'mallet'; Pengo *koṭ-* 'to thresh with flail'; Kuwi *koṭoli* 'mallet'; Kurux *xoṭṭnā* (*xoṭṭyas*) 'to break, to smash, to pierce, to break open'; Malto *qoṭe* 'to break, to knock, to strike', *qoṭure* 'to knock

against'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:187, no. 2063.] Either here or with **k'ud-* (~ **k'od-*) '(vb.) to strike; (n.) stroke, blow, knock, cuff, thump'.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **k'wedh-/k'wodh-* 'to strike, to beat, to smash': Middle High German *quetzen*, *quetschen* 'to bruise, to mash, to crush' (New High German *quetschen*); Middle Low German *quetsen*, *quessen*, *quetten* 'to crush, to squeeze'; Dutch *kwetsen* 'to injure, to wound'; Swedish *kvadda* 'to smash to pieces'. Pokorny 1959:466—467 **g^uedh-* 'to thrust, to injure'; Walde 1927—1932.I:672—673 **g^uedh-*; Mann 1984—1987:351 **g^uādhs-* 'to squeeze; tight, close'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:574—575 **g^uedh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:575; Rietz 1867.I:368; Vercoullie 1898:160; Schiller—Lübben 1875—1881:3:404 and 3:406.
- C. Proto-Eskimo **kaḍuy-* 'to strike (with an instrument)': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kauy-* 'to strike with an object'; Central Alaskan Yupik *kauy-* 'to strike with an object'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *kaaw-* 'to strike with a hammer'; Central Siberian Yupik *kaaw-* 'to strike with a hammer'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kauk-* 'to strike with a hammer'; North Alaskan Inuit *kažuk-* 'to hit on the head', *kauk-* 'hammer'; Western Canadian Inuit *kauk-* 'hammer'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kauk-* 'to hit with an object'; Greenlandic Inuit *kaat-* 'hammer'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:151. Proto-Eskimo **kaḍ(ḍ)uyun* and **kaḍuyutar* 'hammer': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kau<y>utaq* 'club'; Central Alaskan Yupik *kauyun* 'hammer'; Central Siberian Yupik *kaayusiq* 'hammer'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kažžuun*, *kažžuutaq* 'hammer'; North Alaskan Inuit *kautaq* 'hammer', *kažžuutaq* 'stone hammer'; Western Canadian Inuit *kautaq* 'hammer'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kautaq* 'hammer'; Greenlandic Inuit *kaataq* 'hammer'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:151. Proto-Inuit **kauyaq-* 'to pound' > Seward Peninsula Inuit *kauya(q)-* 'to knock at the door'; Western Canadian Inuit *kauyaq-* 'to beat blubber, etc.'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kauyaq-* 'to beat frozen blubber or peat for runners'; Greenlandic Inuit *kauyar-* 'to beat frozen blubber'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:151.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.49 hammer (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:495—496, no. 342.

546. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'wad-a* 'hind part, end, tail':

- A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Burji *k'ud-ee* (adv.) 'in back of, behind' (< 'hind-part, back, end'). Sasse 1982:128; Hudson 1989:208.
- B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *kūti* 'pudendum muliebre'; Malayalam *kūti* 'posteriors, membrum muliebre'; Toda *ku-ṭy* 'anus, region of the buttocks in general'; Tuḷu *kūdi* 'anus, posteriors, membrum muliebre'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:172, no. 1888.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian *k'wad- 'tail': Georgian *k'ud-* 'tail, end'; Mingrelian *k'ud-el-* 'tail'; Laz *k'ud-el-* 'tail'; Svan *ha-k'wäd, hä-k'ed, a-kwed, a-kwaṭ* 'tail'. Klimov 1964:117 **kud-* and 1998:103 **kud-* (**kwed-*) 'tail'; Schmidt 1962:120 **kod-*; Fähnrich 1994:222 and 2007:232 **kwad-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:192 **kwad-*.

Sumerian *gu-di, gu-du, gú-du, gudu₅* 'hind-quarters, backside, buttock'.

Buck 1949:4.18 tail. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:327—328, no. 203, **kudi* 'tail'; Bomhard 1996a:232, no. 650.

547. Proto-Nostratic root *k'wāḥ- (~ *k'wāḥ-):

(vb.) *k'wāḥ- 'to hit, to strike, to beat, to pound; to push or press in';

(n.) *k'wāḥ-a 'club, cudgel'; (adj.) 'hit, beaten, pounded, pushed or pressed together, crammed, filled'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *k'wāḥ- 'to hit, to strike, to beat, to pound; to push or press in': Proto-Semitic *k'aḥ- (*k'aḥ-am-, *k'aḥ-at-, *k'aḥ-ap-, *k'aḥ-aṣ-) 'to hit, to strike, to beat, to pound; to push or press in' > Arabic *kaḥama* 'to push, to drag (someone into something), to involve; to introduce forcibly, to cram (something into); to plunge, to rush, to hurtle (into something); to jump, leap, or dive into something', *kaḥaṭa* 'to beat violently', *kaḥafa* 'to beat on the skull, to break one's skull, to wound at the head', *kaḥaza* 'to cudgel', *kaḥzala* 'to throw down and cudgel', *kaḥzana* 'to cudgel one so as to make him drop down'; Šheri / Jibbāli *kaḥām* 'to jump'. Zammit 2002: 333—334. Egyptian *qhqh_w* 'metal workers', *qhqh* 'to hew stones, to beat metal, to drive'; Coptic *kahkh* [kʌʔkʌ] 'to hew out, to smooth'. Hannig 1995:865; Faulkner 1962:281; Erman—Grapow 1921:192 and 1926—1963.5:67; Vycichl 1983:92; Černý 1976:68. Proto-Southern Cushitic *k'wāāḥ- or *k'ooḥ- 'to throw down and club' > Iraqw *kwaḥ-* 'to throw'; Burunge *kwaḥ-* 'to throw'; Alagwa *kwaḥ-* 'to throw'; Dahalo *k'ook'oh-* 'to club'. Ehret 1980:269 *k'wāāḥ- or *k'ooḥ- 'to wield, to swing'. Ehret 1995:244, no. 441, *k'wah- 'to pound'.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *k'wex- 'to push in, to fill in': Georgian *k'vex-* 'to push in, to fill in'; Mingrelian *k'vax-* 'to push in, to fill in'. Klimov 1998:94 **kwex-* 'to push, to fill in'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:201 **kwex-*; Fähnrich 2007:242 **kwex-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *k'wēḥh-dh- [*k'wāḥh-dh-] (> *k'wād_h-) 'to push or press in, to dive or plunge into': Sanskrit *gāhate* 'to dive into, to bathe in, to plunge into; to penetrate, to enter deeply into', *gādha-h* 'pressed together, close, fast, strong, thick, firm'; Prakrit *gāhadi* 'to dive into, to seek'; Sindhi *gāhanu* 'to tread out grain'; Punjabi *gāhnā* 'to tread out, to tread under foot, to travel about'; Hindi *gāhnā* 'to tread out, to caulk'; Serbo-Croatian *gāziti* 'to wade, to tread', *gaz* 'ford'. Mann 1984—

1987:351 **gūādh-* ‘deep; depth; to plunge, to immerse’, 351 **gūādhs-* ‘to squeeze; tight, close’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:333 and I:334—335.

Buck 1949:10.65 drive (vb. tr.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.).

548. Proto-Nostratic root **kʷal-* (~ **kʷəl-*):

(vb.) **kʷal-* ‘to go; to go away from, to go after or behind’;

(n.) **kʷal-a* ‘track, way’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **kʷaal-* ‘to come from’ > Iraqw *qwal-* ‘to come along’; Kʷadza *kʷwalas-* ‘to send (person)’; Maʿa *kwa* ‘from’. Ehret 1980:268.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **kʷal-* ‘track, trace’: Old Georgian *kʷalad* ‘then, again’, *kʷalta* ‘after, following’; Georgian *kʷal-* ‘track, trace’, *kʷal-da-kʷal* ‘right behind’; Mingrelian [*kʷul-*] in *u-kʷul-i* ‘after, then’; Laz [*kʷul-*] in *o-kʷul-e* ‘after’, (postposition) *-kʷule* ‘after’. Klimov 1998:90—91 **kʷwal-* ‘track, footprint’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:193 **kʷwal-*; Fähnrich 2007:232 **kʷwal-*.
- C. Indo-European: Tocharian A *kälk-*, *kalk-* used to form the non-present tenses of *i-* ‘to go’, B *kälak-* ‘to follow’. Assuming development from Proto-Indo-European **kʷel-/kʷol-/kʷl-* ‘to go, to follow’, attested only in Tocharian (cf. Adams 1999:147 and 2013:155—156). Van Windekens (1976—1982.I:625—626), on the other hand, assumes that the Tocharian forms are loans from Uralic. However, this proposal is rejected by Adams.

Buck 1949:10.49 go away, depart; 10.52 follow; 10.63 send.

549. Proto-Nostratic root **kʷalv-* (~ **kʷəlv-*):

(vb.) **kʷalv-* ‘to gush forth, to overflow; to flow, to leak, to ooze, to drip, to trickle’;

(n.) **kʷalv-a* ‘gush, flow, drip, trickle; river, stream, spring’

- A. Dravidian: Kolami *ku-l-* (*ku-ṭ-*) ‘(water) to run from a punctured vessel or tap’, *ku-lp-* (*ku-lupt-*) ‘to puncture (vessel) so that water runs out’; Naikri *kūḷ-* ‘to leak’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:174, no. 1919. Perhaps also: Tamil *kuḷi* ‘(vb.) to bathe, to wash one’s body up to the neck, to take purificatory bath after menstruation, to dive for pearls; (n.) bath, ablution, diving’, *kuḷippu*, *kuḷiyal* ‘washing, bathing’; Malayalam *kuḷi* ‘bathing, ablution’, *kuḷikka* ‘to wash, to bathe, to plunge into water’; Koḍagu *kuḷi* (*kuḷip-*, *kuḷic-*) ‘to take bath’, *kuḷipēki* ‘menstruation’ (literally, ‘need to bathe’), *kuḷi mane* ‘menstrual hut’, *kuḷip* ‘bathing’, *kuḷiyame* ‘pregnancy’ (literally, ‘need not to bathe’); Tuḷu *kuḷuṅkuni* ‘to wet, to moisten’, *koḷambè* ‘bath’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:166, no. 1832. For the semantics, cf. Greek βαλανείον ‘bath, bathing-room’, cited below.

- B. Proto-Indo-European *k'wel(H)-/*k'wol(H)-/*k'w_l(H)- 'to gush forth, to overflow; to flow, to leak, to ooze, to drip, to trickle': Sanskrit *gálati* 'to drip, to drop, to ooze, to trickle, to distill', *gāla-h* 'flowing, liquefying', *galana-h* 'dropping, flowing'; Greek βλύω, βλύζω (future βλύσω) 'to bubble up, to gush forth', βλύσις 'a bubbling up', (?) βαλανείον 'bath, bathing-room'; Old Danish *kval* 'steam, vapor, mist, haze'; Old English *collen-* in *collen-fer(h)þ* 'proud, elated, bold' (< **cwellan* 'to swell') and *collen-ferhtan* 'to embolden', *cwylla* 'well, spring'; Old Saxon *quella* 'well, spring'; Old High German *quellan* 'to gush (forth), to well (up); to issue, to flow, to spring (from)' (New High German *quellen*), *quella* 'spring, source, fountain, well' (New High German *Quelle*). Rix 1998a:185 **g^uelH-* 'to gush (forth), to well (up)'; Pokorny 1959:471—472 **g^uel-*, **g^uelə-*, **g^ulē-* 'to drip, to drop, to trickle; to gush (forth), to well (up); to issue, to flow, to spring (from)'; Walde 1927—1932.I:690—692 **g^uel-*, **g^uelē(i)-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:207 **g^wel(s)-* 'to well up, to flow' and 2006:393, 394 **g^wel(s)-* 'to well up, to flow'; Boisacq 1950:113 **g^uelē-* and 124; Hofmann 1966:31 and 36; Beekes 2010.I:195 and I:222—223 — Beekes rejects the comparison of Greek βλύω, βλύζω 'to bubble up, to gush forth' with Sanskrit *gálati* 'to drip, to drop, to ooze, to trickle, to distill' and Old High German *quellan* 'to gush (forth), to well (up); to issue, to flow, to spring (from)'; Frisk 1970—1973.I:212 and I:246; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:159—160 and I:182; Orël 2003:227 Proto-Germanic **kwellanan*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:574 **g^uel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:575; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:329.
- C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kujul* 'narrow river' (?) > Chukchi *kuul(kuul)* 'small, deep river'; Koryak *kujul* 'small bay, creek'. Fortescue 2005:140.

Sumerian *gul* 'to flow, to stream'.

Buck 1949:1.36 river; stream; brook; 9.36 wash; 10.32 flow (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:513—514, no. 362; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 877a, **ku^lV* 'to flow, to gush, to leak'.

550. Proto-Nostratic root **k'wam-* (~ **k'wəm-*):

- (vb.) **k'wam-* 'to burn slowly, to smolder; to be hot, to be red-hot, to be glowing; to smoke';
 (n.) **k'wam-a* 'embers, ashes; heat; smoke'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *ka^mū* 'to burn, to consume by fire'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kumpu* (*kumpi-*) 'to become charred (as food when boiled with insufficient fire)', *kumai* 'to be hot, sultry'; Malayalam *kumpal* 'inward heat', *kummu* expression descriptive of heat, *kumu^ruka*, *kumi^ruka* 'to be hot, close', *kumu^ral* 'oppressive heat'; Kannada *kome* 'to begin to

burn (as fire or anger); Tuḷu *gumulu* ‘fire burning in embers’, *gumuluni* ‘to be hot, to feel hot (as in a fit or fever)’; Telugu *kummu* ‘smoldering ashes’, *kumulu* ‘to smolder, to burn slowly underneath without a flame, to be consumed inwardly, to grieve, to pine’; Gondi *kum* ‘smoke’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:159—160, no. 1752.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **kʷam-/kʷm-* ‘to smoke’: Georgian *kʷm-* ‘to smoke’ (Old Georgian *kʷum-* ‘to smoke’, *kʷumeva-* ‘to burn [incense]’, *sakʷumevel-* ‘fragrance, perfume’); Mingrelian *kʷum-* ‘to smoke’, *kʷum-a* ‘smoke’, *o-kʷumap-u* ‘censer’; Laz (*m*)*kʷom-* ‘to smoke’, *kʷom-a* ‘smoke’; Svan *kʷām-* ‘to smoke’. Klimov 1964:108—109 **kʷam-/kʷm-* and 1998:91 **kʷam-/kʷm-* ‘to smoke’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:193—194 **kʷam-*; Fähnrich 2007:233—234 **kʷam-*; Schmidt 1962:119. Proto-Kartvelian **kʷam-l-* ‘smoke’: Georgian *kʷaml-* ‘smoke’; Svan *kʷām* ‘smoke, smut’. Klimov 1964:108 **kʷaml-* and 1998:91 **kʷam-l-* ‘smoke’.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Volgaic **kūma* ‘hot, red-hot; fever’ > Finnish *kuuma* ‘hot’, *kuume* ‘fever’, *kuumoitta-* ‘to make hot, to heat’, *kuumuus* ‘heat’; Estonian *kuum* ‘hot, red-hot’, *kuuma-* ‘to be red-hot, to glow’, *kuumata-* ‘to make red-hot’; Mordvin (Erza) *kumoka* ‘fever’. Rédei 1986—1988:675—676 **kūma*.

Buck 1949:1.83 smoke (sb.); 1.85 burn (vb.). Bomhard 1996:213—214, no. 613; Hakola 2000:87, no. 360.

551. Proto-Nostratic root **kʷan-* (~ **kʷən-*):

(vb.) **kʷan-* ‘to suckle, to nurse; to suck’;

(n.) **kʷan-a* ‘udder, bosom, breast’

Derivative:

(n.) **kʷan-a* ‘woman, wife’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kʷan-* ‘(vb.) to suckle, to nurse; to suck; (n.) udder, bosom, breast’: Proto-Semitic **kʷan-aw/y-* ‘to suckle, to nurse; to rear, to bring up’ > Mehri *ḵənū* ‘to rear, to look after; to suckle’; Soqotri *ḵáne* ‘to suckle, to bring up’, *ḵánhoh* ‘baby animal’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḵéni* ‘to rear, to look after, to bring up; to suckle’, *məḵəni* ‘baby’; Ḥarsūsi *ḵenō* ‘to bring up, to rear’, *məḵnáyw* ‘baby boy’. (?) Egyptian *qni* ‘(vb.) to embrace; (n.) bosom, embrace’, *qniw* ‘embrace, bosom’, *qnqn* ‘to eat, to feed’; Demotic *qn* ‘breast’; Coptic *kun(t)-* [ϰΟΥΝ(ϫ)-] ‘bosom, breast’, also sometimes ‘genitals’. Hannig 1995:859 and 862; Faulkner 1962:280; Erman—Grapow 1921:190 and 1926—1963.5:50—51, 5:56; Gardiner 1957:596; Vycichl 1983:82; Černý 1976:59. East Cushitic: Kambata *kʷan-* ‘to suck (tr.), to nurse (intr.)’, *kʷan-s-* ‘to nurse (tr.)’; Sidamo *kʷan-* ‘to suck (tr.), to nurse (intr.)’, *kʷan-s-* ‘to nurse (tr.)’. Proto-East Cushitic **kʷand₁-* ‘udder’ > Burji *kʷán[?]-i*, *kʷánd-i* ‘clitoris’; Somali *qanj-id* ‘lymphatic gland’; Dasenech *fan-* ‘udder’; Konso *qand-itta* ‘udder; swollen or abnormally big “gland”’;

Hadiyya *gan-ce* ‘udder’; Gollango *gan-te* ‘udder’. Sasse 1982:124; Hudson 1989:106 and 146.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:148, no. 163) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **kaṇṭīr-* ‘clitoris’ on the basis of the following: Arabic (Daḡina) *kaṇṭār* ‘clitoris’; Tigrinya *kaṇṭar*, *kāṇṭirāt* ‘clitoris, female genital organ’; Amharic *kaṇṭar* ‘clitoris’; Harari *kaṇṭar* ‘male organ’; Gurage *kaṇṭar* ‘clitoris, female genital organ’; Soqotri *kaṇṭhir* ‘vulva’. They remark: “Note Arb. *kaṇṭ-* ‘verge chez un petit garçon’ [‘boy’s penis’] [BK 2 822] probably pointing to an original form without the *-r* element; note also a meaning shift in Harari.” These forms may ultimately go back to Proto-Semitic (unextended forms) (vb.) **k’an-* ‘to suckle, to nurse; to rear, to bring up’, (n.) **k’an-* ‘breast, bosom’; (extended form) (n.) **k’an-t-* ‘female genital organ’ — obvious semantic shifts in Arabic *kaṇṭ-* ‘boy’s penis’ and Harari *kaṇṭar* ‘male organ’. Militarëv—Kogan do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *koṅkai* ‘woman’s breast, protuberance of a tree’; Malayalam *koṅka* ‘woman’s breast’, *koṅkacci*, *koṅkicci* ‘woman with full breasts’; Kui *kanguṛi* ‘nipple, teat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:184, no. 2038.

Buck 1949:4.41 breast (of woman); 4.42 udder; 5.16 suck. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:498—499, no. 347.

552. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **k^wan-a* ‘woman, wife’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **k^wan-* ‘to suckle, to nurse; to suck’;

(n.) **k^wan-a* ‘udder, bosom, breast’

Semantic development as in Latin *fēmina* ‘female, woman’ from the same root as in *fēlō* ‘to suck’, hence, ‘one who gives suck’.

- A. Proto-Indo-European **k^wen-* ‘woman, wife, female’: Sanskrit *gnā* ‘wife’, *jāni-ḥ* ‘woman, wife’, *jāni-ḥ* ‘wife’; Avestan *gəṇā*, *γnā* ‘woman, wife’, *jaini-* ‘wife’; Armenian *kin* ‘woman, wife’; Greek γυνή (Doric γυνά, Boeotian βανᾶ) ‘woman, wife’, γύννις ‘a womanish man’; Albanian *zonjë* ‘wife, lady, mistress (of a house), house-keeper’; Old Irish *ben* ‘woman’; Gothic *qinō* ‘woman, female’, *qineins* (adj.) ‘female’, *qēns* ‘wife’; Old Icelandic *kona* ‘woman, wife’, *kvæn*, *kván* ‘wife’; Faroese *kona* ‘woman, wife’; Norwegian *kona* ‘woman, wife’, (dial.) *kvaan* ‘wife’; Swedish *kona* ‘woman, wife’; Danish *kone* ‘woman, wife’; Old English *cwene* ‘woman, female, serf; prostitute’, *cwēn* ‘queen, wife’; Old Saxon *cwena* ‘wife, woman’, *quān* ‘queen, wife’; Old High German *quena* ‘woman, wife’; Old Prussian *genno* ‘woman’; Old Church Slavic *žena* ‘woman, wife’; Russian

žená [жена] ‘wife’; Tocharian A *śām*, B *śana* ‘wife’; Hittite **ku(w)an(a)-* ‘woman’; Luwian (dat.-loc. sg.) *wa-a-ni* ‘woman’; Lydian *kāna-* ‘wife’. Pokorny 1959:473—474 **g^uēnā* ‘woman, wife’; Walde 1927—1932.I:681—682 **g^uenā*; Mann 1984—1987:355—356 **g^uenā*, **g^uənā*, **g^unā* ‘woman’, 356 **g^uen-*, 356 **g^uendhi^uā* (**g^uendhi^u-*) ‘woman, goddess’, 356 **g^uēnis*; Watkins 1985:25 **g^wen-* and 2000:34 **g^wen-* ‘woman’ (suffixed form **g^wen-ā-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:92, II:758 **k[’]en-* and 1995.I:80 **k[’]en-* ‘woman; wife’, I:660—661; Mallory—Adams 1997:648 **g^wēnh_a* ‘woman’ and 2006:204 **g^wēnh_a* ‘woman’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:351, I:416, and I:429; Boisacq 1950:158 **g^uenā*; Beekes 2010.I:291—292 **g^wen-h₂*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:242—243 **g^wen-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:333—335 **g^uen-*; Hofmann 1966:49 **g^uenā*; Orël 2003:228 Proto-Germanic **kwenīnan*, 228 **kwenōn*; Kroonen 2013:316—317 Proto-Germanic **kwēni-* ‘wife’; Feist 1939:386 **g^uenā-*, **g^ueni-* and 388 **g^uenā*; Lehmann 1986:275—276 **g^wēnā* ‘woman, wife’ and 277; De Vries 1977:325, 336, and 339; Torp 1919:307; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:401; Onions 1966:731 **g^wen-*, **g^wn-*; Klein 1971:609 **g^wenā-*, **g^wūnā* ‘woman’; Kloekhorst 2008b:501—505; Puhvel 1984— .4:306—308 **g^won-s* or **g^wen-s*; Adams 1999:621 **g^wen_a-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:476—477 **g^uenā*; Derksen 2008:558 **g^wen-eh₂* and 2015:558 **g^wen-eh₂*; Huld 1983:136; Wodtko—Irlinger—Schneider 2008:177—185 **g^uén-*, **g^uon-*, **g^u(e)n(a)h₂-*.

- B. Proto-Altaic **kune* (~ **g-*) ‘one of several wives’: Proto-Turkic **gūni* ‘(n.) co-wife; envy, jealousy; jealous, envious person; (vb.) to be jealous, envious’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *kūni* ‘envy, jealousy’; Karakhanide Turkic *kūni* ‘co-wife’; Turkish *gönü* ‘co-wife; envy, jealousy’; Azerbaijani *gūni* ‘co-wife’; Turkmenian *gūni* ‘co-wife’; Uzbek *kundaš* ‘co-wife’, *kunči* ‘jealous, envious person’; Uighur *kündäš* ‘co-wife’, *kün-lü-* ‘to be jealous, envious’, *kün-či* ‘jealous, envious person’; Tatar *köndäš* ‘co-wife’, *kön-če* ‘jealous, envious person’, (dial.) *kene* ‘envy, jealousy’; Bashkir *köndäš* ‘co-wife’, *kön-lä-* ‘to be jealous, envious’, *könsö* ‘jealous, envious person’; Karaim *kündeš* ‘co-wife’, *kün-le-*, *künü-le-*, *könü-le-* ‘to be jealous, envious’; Kirghiz *künü*, *kündöš* ‘co-wife’, *künü-lö-* ‘to be jealous (of women)’; Kazakh *kündes* ‘co-wife’, *kün-de-* ‘to be jealous, envious’; Noghay *kündes* ‘co-wife’, *kün-le-* ‘to be jealous, envious’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *künü* ‘envy, jealousy’; Tuva *χün-ne-* ‘to be jealous, envious’; Yakut *künü* ‘envy, jealousy’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:739—740 **kune* (~ **g-*) ‘one of several wives’.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.32 wife; 4.41 breast (of woman); 4.42 udder. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:498—499, no. 347; Illič-Svityč 1965:340 **k/u/n_a* [‘женщина’] ‘woman’ and 1971—1984.I:306—308, no. 178 **kūni* ‘woman’; Dolgoropsky 2008, no. 896, **koñi* (or **kuñi*) ‘woman, wife’; Greenberg 2002:187, no. 431.

553. Proto-Nostratic root *k'war- (~ *k'wər-):

- (vb.) *k'war- 'to be cold';
 (n.) *k'war-a 'cold, coldness'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *k'war- (~ *k'wər-) 'to be cold': Proto-Semitic *k'ar-ar- 'to be cold' > Hebrew *kārar* [כָּרַר] 'to be cold', *kar* [כָּר] 'cool', *kōr* [כֹּר] 'cold', *kerer* [כִּרְרָה] 'cold'; Aramaic *kərar* 'to be cold', *kārīrā* 'cold'; Syriac *karīr* 'cold'; Arabic *karra* 'to be cold, chilly, cool', *kurr* 'cold, coldness, chilliness, coldness', *kirra* 'cold, coldness, chilliness, coldness'; Mandaic *karir(a)* 'cold'; Geez / Ethiopic *kwarra* [ቁረ], *kwarara* [ቁረረ] 'to be cold, cool; to cool down (anger), to subside (fire)', *k'wərr* [ቁረረ] 'cold, coldness', *k'warir* [ቁረር] 'cold, cool', *korar* [ቁረር] 'ice'; Tigre *kārra* 'to become cool'; Tigrinya *k'wərrärä* 'to become cool' (Geez loan), *k'wərri*, *kurri* 'cold'; Amharic *k'wərrärä* 'to be cold', *k'wərr* 'cold'; Gurage *korra* 'morning frost'. Murtonen 1989:384; Klein 1987:597; Leslau 1979:495 and 1987:443—444; Militarëv 2010:59 Proto-Semitic *k'wrr; Zammit 2002:337. Proto-Semitic *k'ar-ax- '(vb.) to freeze; (n.) frost, ice' > Akkadian *karḫu* 'ice', *karāḫu* 'to become iced up'; Hebrew *kerah* [כֶּרֶחַ] 'frost, ice'; Syriac *karhā* 'frost, ice'. Murtonen 1989:386—387; Klein 1987:593. Arabic *karisa* 'to be severe, fierce, biting, grim (the cold); to freeze, to make torpid; to (be)numb; to nip (someone, something; of cold)', *kāris* 'severe, fierce, biting, grim (of the cold), very cold, bitterly cold, freezing, frozen'. Militarëv 2010:59 Proto-Semitic *krš. West Chadic *k'arar- 'cold (of water, weather)' > Hausa *kararaa* 'cold (of water, weather)'. Highland East Cushitic *k'or(r)- 'cold' > Sidamo *k'orra* 'frost'. Hudson 1989:381. Lowland East Cushitic *k'or(r)- 'intense cold' > Galla / Oromo *k'orro* 'intense cold'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:338, no. 1554, *kar- '(to be) cold', 346, no. 1591, *kor- (n.) 'cold' (derived from *kar- 'to be cold'), and 353, no. 1627, *k'VrVs- 'to freeze'.
- B. Dravidian: Kannada *koṛe*, *koṛi* 'to pierce (as cold)', *koṛeta*, *koṛata* 'the piercing of cold'; Kota *korv-* (*kord-*) 'to be cold', *kor*, *korv* 'coldness'; Gondi *kharrā* 'frost', *karīng*, *koring* 'cold'; Toda *kwar-* (*kwarθ-*) 'to feel cold', *kwar* 'cold', *kwar-* (*kwarθ-*) 'to be cold (in songs)'; Kolami *korale* 'cold'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:195, no. 2168; Krishnamurti 2003:110 *koṭ-ay 'to pierce'.
- C. Kartvelian: Georgian (Lečxumian) *k'rux-wa* 'cold'; Svan *k'warem* 'ice', *k'warmob* 'frost, freezing', *lik'wremi* 'to freeze'.

Buck 1949:1.77 ice; 15.86 cold. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:492—493, no. 340.

554. Proto-Nostratic root *k'war- (~ *k'wər-):

- (vb.) *k'war- 'to rest, to stay, to remain';
 (n.) *k'war-a 'stillness, quietude, repose, rest, resting place'; (adj.) 'still, quiet, at rest'

- A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **k'war-* 'to stay, to remain, to rest, to settle down': Proto-Semitic **k'ar-ar-* 'to stay, to remain, to rest, to settle down' > Moabite *kr* 'town'; Ugaritic *kr* 'dweller (?), dwelling (?)'; Arabic *qarra* 'to settle down, to establish oneself, to become settled or sedentary, to take up one's residence, to rest, to abide, to dwell, to reside, to remain, to stay, to linger', *maqarr* 'abode, dwelling, habitation; residence; storage place; seat, center; site, place; station; position (at sea)', *qarār* 'fixedness, firmness, solidity; sedentariness, settledness, stationariness, sedentation; steadiness, constancy, continuance, permanency, stability; repose, rest, stillness, quietude; duration; abode, dwelling, habitation; residence, resting place'; Sabaeen *kr* 'settlement'. Zammit 2002:337. Proto-Semitic **k'ar-ay-* '(vb.) to stay, to remain, to settle down; (n.) town, village, settled area' > Arabic *qarya* 'village, hamlet, small town, rural community'; Hebrew *qiryāh* [קִירְיָה] 'town, city'; Palmyrene *qry* 'settled area'; Tigrinya *qaräyā* 'to remain'; Amharic *qärrä* 'to be left, to remain, to be missing, to be absent; to stay away, to absent oneself'; Gurage (Muher) *qärrä*, (Gogot) *qerrä*, (Soddo) *qirrä* 'to be absent, to stay away, to remain behind, to disappear, to vanish, to be lost'. Murtonen 1989:385; Klein 1987:593—594; Leslau 1979:494. Berber: Tuareg *ayräm* 'town, village', *tayräm* 'a small village, small castle'; Mzab *ayräm* 'city, town, village, town surrounded by ramparts'; Nefusa *ayräm* 'town'; Zenaga *irmi* 'village, settlement'; Tamazight *iyräm* 'village, fortified village, granary', *tiyräm* 'fortified house'. Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *k'arar-* 'to settle (out)'; Kambata *k'arar-* 'to settle (out)'. Hudson 1989:288 and 328.
- B. (?) Dravidian: Kannada *kūr* 'to sit down', *kūrisu* 'to cause to sit'; Telugu *kūr(u)cuṇḍu* 'to sit, to be seated'; Pengo *kuc-* 'to sit'; Maṇḍa *kuh-* 'to sit'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:173, no. 1900.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k'wer-/k'wor-/k'wǵ-* 'gentle, mild, calm, at rest, still': Gothic *qairrus* 'friendly, gentle', *qairrei* 'gentleness'; Old Icelandic *kvirr*, *kyrr* 'still, quiet, at rest', *kyrra* (f.) 'calmness, calm', *kyrra* 'to calm, to still; to become calm'; Faroese *kyrrur* 'still, quiet', *kyrra* 'to calm, to domesticate, to tame'; Norwegian *kyrr*, *kjørr*, *kvar*, *kver* 'still, quiet', *kjørra* 'to domesticate, to tame'; Swedish *kvar* 'still, quiet'; Danish *kvær* 'still, quiet'; Middle Low German *querre* 'tame'; Middle High German *kürre* 'tame, docile, gentle, mild' (New High German *kirre*). Mann 1984—1987:357 **guersos* (**guors-*, **guys-*) 'sweet, soft, pleasant'; Orël 2003:229 Proto-Germanic **kwerruz*; Kroonen 2013:318 Proto-Germanic **kwerru-* 'quiet, still'; Feist 1939:386; Lehmann 1986:275; De Vries 1977:341; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:434 Germanic base **kwerru-*; Torp 1919:279; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:371 **guersu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:371 Proto-Germanic *kwerru-* 'quiet, tame'.
- Buck 1949:12.16 remain, stay, wait; 12.19 quiet (adj.). Möller 1911:97; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:489—490, no. 337.

555. Proto-Nostratic root *k'war- (~ *k'wər-):

(vb.) *k'war- 'to crush, to grind';

(n.) *k'war-a 'grinding pestle, grinding stone; stone, rock'

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṛavi* 'grinding pestle'; Malayalam *kuṛavi* 'small rolling stone to grind with'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:164, no. 1819. Tamil *kuruv* (*kuruv-*, *kurv-*) 'to pound in a mortar, to husk', *kurru* (*kurri-*) 'to pound, to strike, to hit, to crush'; Kota *kur-* (*kuṭ-*) 'to pound (clay in preparation for making pots)'; Gadba *kurk-* (*kuruk-*) 'to beat like a carpet'; Gondi *kurkal* 'stone pestle'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:167, no. 1850a.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *k'werčx- 'to break up, to split, to crush, to smash': Georgian *k'vercx-* 'to pile up'; Mingrelian [*k'vačx-*] 'to break to pieces'; Laz *k'ančx-* (< *k'vančx- < *k'varčx-) 'to smash, to crumble'. Klimov 1964:111 **kwerč₁x-* and 1998:93—94 **kwerč₁x-* 'to break up, to split, to crush, to smash'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:199 **kwerč₁x-*; Fähnrich 2007:240 **kwerč₁x-*. Proto-Kartvelian **na-k'werčx-al-* 'fragment, splinter': Georgian *nak'vercxal-* 'spark'; Mingrelian *nak'vačxir-* 'charred log'; Laz *nok'ančxule-* 'charred log'. Klimov 1964:145 **na-kwerč₁x-al-* and 1998:137 **na-kwerč₁x-al-* 'fragment, splinter'.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k'werAn-*/**k'wṛAn-*, **k'wreAn-* [**k'wraAn-*] (> **k'wṛān-*), **k'wreAwṇ-* [**k'wraAwṇ-*] (> **k'wṛāwṇ-*) 'mill, millstone': Sanskrit *grāvan-* 'stone for pressing out the Soma'; Armenian *erkan* (metathesized from *(*e*)*kran*) 'millstone'; Old Irish *bráu*, *bró* 'mill'; Old Welsh *breuan* 'mill'; Cornish *brou* 'mill'; Breton *breo* 'mill'; Gothic (*asilu-*)*qairnus* '(donkey-)mill'; Old Icelandic *kvern* 'millstone, handmill'; Faroese *kvørn* 'millstone, handmill'; Norwegian *kvern* 'millstone, handmill'; Swedish *kvarn* 'millstone, handmill'; Danish *kvern* 'millstone, handmill'; Old English *cweorn* '(hand)mill'; Old Frisian *quern* 'handmill'; Old Saxon *quern* 'handmill'; Dutch *kweern* 'handmill'; Old High German *quirn*, *quirna* 'handmill'; Old Church Slavic *žr̃novъ* 'millstone', *žr̃ny* 'mill'; Lithuanian *gìrna* 'millstone'; Latvian *dziřnavas* 'mill'; Tocharian B *kärweñe* 'stone, rock', *kärweñäšše* 'stony'. Pokorny 1959:476—477 **g^uer-*, **g^uerə-*, **g^uerəu-*, **g^uerī-* 'heavy'; Walde 1927—1932.I:684—686 **g^uer-* 'heavy'; Mann 1984—1987:375 **g^uṛ-nəu-* (analytical form of) **g^uṛnūs-*, *-ā*; **g^uṛṇānā*; **g^uernus-*, *-ā*; **g^uernəmos*, etc., 370 **g^uṛāṇ-*, **g^uṛāṇ-* 'heavy stone, millstone'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:228 **k'°er-H-*, **k'°r-eH-*, II:693 **k'°rāṇ-* and 1995.I:198 **k'°er-H-*, **k'°r-eH-* 'grindstone', I:599 **k'°rāu-* 'millstone, mill'; Mallory—Adams 1997:474 **g^werh_a-u-on-* ~ **g^werh_a-n-u-s* 'quern'; Watkins 1985:25 **g^werə-* 'heavy' (suffixed full-grade form **g^werə-nā* 'millstone') and 2000:34 **g^werə-* (oldest form **g^wer₂-*) 'heavy' (suffixed full-grade form **g^werə-nā* 'millstone'); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:353; Orël 2003:228 Proto-Germanic **kwernuz* ~ **kwernō*; Kroonen 2013:318 Proto-Germanic **kwernu-* 'mill; millstone'; Lehmann 1986:44—45 **g^wṛnu-*, **g^wernā-*; Feist 1939:59

**g^uymu-*, **g^uernā*; De Vries 1977:337 **g^uer-a-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:431; Torp 1919:347; Onions 1966:731; Klein 1971:609; Skeat 1898:484; Adams 1999:166 **g^wrh_xwon-en-*, **g^wreh_xwen-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:209 **g^uer₁uon-*; Derksen 2008:566; Fraenkel 1962—1965. I:153—154; Smoczyński 2007.1:183 **g^urh₂-nuH-*.

Sumerian *gur(-gur)* ‘to rub off, to abrade, to rub down, to grind’, *guru₅* ‘to rub, to grate, to grind’.

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 5.57 mill. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:497—498, no. 345.

556. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^war-b-a* ‘the inside, the middle, interior, inward part’:

A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **k^warb-* ‘the inside, the middle, interior, inward part’: Proto-Semitic **k^wirb-* (< **k^warb-*) ‘midst, inward part’ > Hebrew *ḵereḇ* [כֶּרֶב] ‘inward part, midst’; Ugaritic *ḵrb* ‘midst, female genitalia’; Akkadian *ḵerbu* ‘intestines, insides’; Moabite *b-ḵrb* ‘inside’. Murtonen 1989:386; Klein 1987:591. Egyptian *qḥb* (< **qrb*) ‘intestines, interior of the body, middle of anything’. Faulkner 1962:275; Erman—Grapow 1921:188 and 1926—1963.5:9; Hannig 1995:849 and 2006:2507—2508; Gardiner 1957:596.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:149—150, no. 165) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **k^wirb-* ‘inner part, middle of the body’. Militarëv—Kogan consider the meanings ‘inside, (in the) middle’ in Akkadian to be secondarily derived. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *karu* ‘fetus, embryo, egg, germ, young of animal’, *karuppai* ‘womb’, *karuvam* ‘fetus, embryo’; Malayalam *karu* ‘embryo, yolk’; Kota *karv* ‘fetus of animal, larva of bees, pregnant (of animals)’; Telugu *karuvu* ‘fetus’, *kari* ‘uterus of animals’; Parji *kerba* ‘egg’; Gadba (Ollari) *karbe* ‘egg’; Gondi *garba* ‘egg’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:119, no. 1279.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k^werbh-/k^worbh-/k^wrbh-*, **k^wrebh-* ‘the inside, the middle, interior, inward part’: Sanskrit *gárbha-h* ‘womb, the inside, middle, interior’; Avestan *garəwō* ‘womb’, *gərəbuš* ‘the young of an animal’; Greek βρέφος ‘the babe in the womb, fetus’; Old Church Slavic *žrěbe*, *žrěbьcь* ‘foal’. Mallory—Adams 1997:615 **g^werbhen-*, **g^wrebhos*; Mann 1984—1987:370 **g^urebhnos*, *-es-* (**g^urebhm̥n̥, -ōn*) ‘fetus, infant, animal’; Hofmann 1966:39; Frisk 1970—1973.I:266 **g^urebh-*, **g^uerbh-*; Boisacq 1950:133 **g^urebh-os*; Beekes 2010.I:238 **g^werbh-/g^wrebh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:195 **g^wer-bh-/g^wr-ebh-*; Prellwitz 1905:84. Mayrhofer (1956—1980.I:329), on the other hand, compares Sanskrit *gárbha-h* with Greek δελφός ‘womb’, as does Frisk (1970—1973.I:363),

while Chantraine (1968—1980.I:195) notes that Sanskrit *gárbha-h* can go with either Greek βρέφος or δελφύς.

Buck 1949:4.47 womb; 12.37 middle. Möller 1911:101; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:489, no. 336.

557. Proto-Nostratic root *k'warʷ- (~ *k'wəʷ-):

(vb.) *k'warʷ- 'to thunder, to rumble';

(n.) *k'warʷ-a 'rain, storm, stormy weather, thunderstorm'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *k'war- 'rain, storm': Highland East Cushitic: Burji *k'áaraar-i* 'rainy season'. Sasse 1982:124—125; Hudson 1989:207. Egyptian *qri* 'storm, storm-cloud; thunder'. Hannig 1995:862; Faulkner 1962:280; Gardiner 1957:596; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:58.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṛaṛu* (*kaṛaṛi-*) 'to thunder'; Kolami *karadil-* (*karadilt-*) 'lightning strikes' (subject *abar* 'sky'); Naiki (of Chanda) *tj karalil-* 'lightning strikes' (*tj* 'lightning' < Indo-Aryan). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:126, no. 1354.
- C. (?) Proto-Kartvelian *k'urcx- 'hail': Georgian *k'urcxal-* 'tears'; Mingrelian *k'ircx-*, *k'ərcx-* 'hail'; Laz *k'icx-* 'hail'; Svan *k'icx* 'fragment, scrap'. Klimov 1998:104—105 **kurcx-* 'hail'.
- D. (?) Proto-Indo-European *k'wer-/*k'wor-/*k'wɹ- 'to thunder, to rumble, to roar': Sanskrit *gárjati* 'to thunder, to rumble, to roar', *garjana-h* 'thundering, rumbling, roaring', *garjā-* 'roaring, thunder'; Prakrit *gajjai* 'to thunder, to roar', *gajjana-* 'thunder', *gajji-* 'thunder'; Hindi *gājnā* 'to thunder, to roar; to revel, to be pleased', *gājan* 'thundering', *gāj* 'thunderbolt, wrath'; Avestan *gram-* 'to rage, to be angry'; Greek βρέμω 'to roar (of a wave); to clash, to ring; to shout, to rave', βρόμος 'any loud noise: the crackling of a fire, the roaring of a storm; rage, fury', βροντάω 'to thunder', βροντή (< *βρομ-τᾱ) 'thunder', βρόντημα 'thunderclap'; Irish *breim* (pl. *breamanna*) 'rumbling of bowels'; Welsh *bref* 'bleat'; Old High German *queran* 'to moan, to sigh' (New High German *quarren*); Old Church Slavic *grъmѣti* 'to thunder', *gromъ* 'thunder'; Russian *gremét'* [греметь] 'to thunder', *gremúčij* [гремячий] 'thundering, roaring', *grom* [гром] 'thunder'. Mann 1984—1987:371 **guremō*, **gurēm-* 'to roar, to rumble'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:327 onomatopoeic; Boisacq 1950:132 **mrem-* or **grem-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:264—265; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:194 etymology uncertain; Hofmann 1966:39 **bhrem-*; Beekes 2010.I:237 onomatopoeic; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:572—573 **ger-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:574; Preobrazhensky 1951:157; Derksen 2008:195. Note: All of these forms present multiple difficulties, and, consequently, different etymologies have been proposed in the literature. No one explanation can be considered definitive. Hence, some, none, or all of these forms may belong here.

- E. Proto-Altaic **kūrʷe* (~ -i) ‘autumn; rain, storm’: Proto-Tungus **kure-* ‘storm, whirlwind’ > Evenki *kur-ge-kūn* ‘storm, whirlwind’; Lamut / Even *qurǵi*, *kur* ‘storm, whirlwind’; Ulch *kūre(n)* ‘storm, whirlwind’; Nanay / Gold *kūre* ‘storm, whirlwind’. Proto-Mongolian **kura* ‘rain’ > Written Mongolian *qura* ‘rain’; Khalkha *χur* ‘rain, precipitation’; Buriat *χura* ‘rain’; Kalmyk *χur* ‘rain’; Ordos *χura* ‘rain’; Dagur *χuar* ‘rain’; Dongxiang *gura* ‘rain’; Shira-Yughur *χura* ‘rain’; Monguor *χurā* ‘rain’. Proto-Turkic **gūrʷ-* ‘autumn’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *küz* ‘autumn’; Karakhanide Turkic *küz* ‘autumn’; Turkish *güz* ‘autumn’; Gagauz *güz* ‘autumn’; Azerbaijani *güz-äm* ‘autumn wool’; Turkmenian *güz* ‘autumn’; Uzbek *kuz* ‘autumn’; Uighur *küz* ‘autumn’; Karaim *küz* ‘autumn’; Tatar *köz* ‘autumn’; Bashkir *köd* ‘autumn’; Kirghiz *küz* ‘autumn’; Kazakh *küz* ‘autumn’; Noghay *küz* ‘autumn’; Sary-Uighur *kuz* ‘autumn’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *küs* ‘autumn’; Tuva *küs* ‘autumn’; Chuvash *kəʷr* ‘autumn’; Yakut *kühün* ‘autumn’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:747—748 **kūrʷe* (~ -i) ‘autumn; rain, storm’.

Buck 1949:1.56 thunder; 1.75 rain (sb.). Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 948, **kuhrʷ* (or **kühʷ*?) ‘rain clouds, rainy weather, rainy season’.

558. Proto-Nostratic root **kʷas-* (~ **kʷas-*):
 (vb.) **kʷas-* ‘to strike fire, to put out (fire)’;
 (n.) **kʷas-a* ‘spark, fire’
- A. (?) Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **kʷas-kʷas-* ‘to stroke or stir up (a fire)’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kʷasqʷasa* [ቁስቁስ] ‘to stir a fire’; Tigre *käskäsä* ‘to stir up, to shake’; Tigrinya *käskäsä*, *kʷasqʷäsä* ‘to stir a fire’; Amharic *käsäkkäsä* ‘to awaken, to wake up, to awake, to arouse, to stimulate (interest), to activate, to stir up, to excite, to inspire, to provoke (incite), to bring about’; Gurage *käsäkkäsä* ‘to rouse, to wake up’. Leslau 1979:504 and 1987:446.
- B. Dravidian: Konḍa *kas-* ‘to be lit (as fire), to burn’, *kasis-* ‘to light (lamp, fire)’; Pengo *kacay ki-* ‘to light (lamp)’; Kuwi *hiccu kahinomi* ‘we kindle fire’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:102—103, no. 1090.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **kʷes-* ‘to strike fire’: Georgian *kʷes-* ‘to strike fire’, *kʷes-* ‘steel’, *na-kʷes-* ‘spark’; Mingrelian *kʷas-* ‘to strike fire’. Klimov 1998:94 **kʷes₁-* : **kʷs₁-* ‘to strike fire’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:199 **kʷes-*; Fähnrich 2007:240 *kʷes-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **kʷes-/kʷos-* ‘to extinguish, to put out (originally, of fire)’: Sanskrit *jāsate* ‘to be exhausted, starved; to exhaust, to weaken, to cause to expire; to hurt, to strike’; Greek σβέννυμι (fut. σβέσω) ‘to quench, to put out; to be quenched, to go out (of fire); to become extinct, to die (metaphorically, of men)’, σβεστήριος ‘serving to quench (fire)’; Lithuanian *gėsti*, *gėsti* ‘to go out, to die out, to become dim (of light)’.

(causative) *gesaũ*, *gesy̆ti* ‘to extinguish’; Latvian *dziestu* ‘to go out, to be extinguished, to expire’; Old Church Slavic **gašq*, **gasiti* in *u-gasiti* ‘to extinguish, to go out’; (?) Tocharian A *käs-*, B *käs-* ‘to come to extinction, to be extinguished, to go out’. Pokorny 1959:479—480 **g^ues-*, **zg^ues-* ‘to extinguish’; Walde 1927—1932.I:693—694 **g^ues-*; Mann 1984—1987:358 **g^uesō*, *-jō* ‘to extinguish, to be extinguished’; Watkins 1985:25 **g^wes-* ‘to extinguish’ and 2000:78 *(*s*)*g^wes-* ‘to be extinguished’ (suffixed [causative] form **sg^wes-nu-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:188 **g^wes-* ‘to extinguish’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:425; Frisk 1970—1973.II:685—686 **zg^ues-*; Boisacq 1950:856 *(*z*)*g^uēs-*, *(*z*)*g^uōs-*; Hofmann 1966:307—308; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:991—992 **g^wes-*; Beekes 2010.II:1314—1315 *(*s*)*g^wes-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:149; Smoczyński 2007.1:175; Derksen 2008:161 *(*s*)*g^wes-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:210 *(*z*)*g^ues-*; Adams 1999:177 *(*z*)*g^wes-* ‘extinguish’.

559. Proto-Nostratic root **k'was-* (~ **k'wəs-*) (onomatopoeic):

(vb.) **k'was-* ‘to sigh, to moan, to groan; to whisper, to murmur, to mumble’;

(n.) **k'was-a* ‘sigh, moan, groan, whisper, murmur, mumble’

- A. Proto-Afrasian (?) **k'was-* ‘to sigh, to moan, to groan; to whisper, to murmur, to mumble’: Semitic: Gurage *kesätä* ‘to groan, to moan, to sigh’; Amharic (*ak*)*kassätä* ‘to sigh, to moan’. Leslau 1979:505. Egyptian (reduplicated) *qsqs* ‘to whisper’; Coptic *kaskes* [ⲕⲁⲕⲕⲉⲥ] ‘to whisper’. Vycichl 1983:88—89; Černý 1976:64 (Černý considers the Egyptian and Coptic forms to be loans from Semitic).
- B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) *kucukucu* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to whisper’, *kucukucuppu* ‘whispering’, *kacu-kuc-enal* onomatopoeic expression signifying whispering; Malayalam *kuśukuśukka*, *kucukucukka* ‘to whisper’, *kuśalikka* ‘to whisper, to mumble’, *kaśukuśu* imitative sound of whispering; Kota *guc guc in-* (*id-*) ‘to whisper’, *gucgucn* ‘in a whisper, secretly’; Kannada *kucu*, *kusa*, *kusu*, *guja*, *guju*, *gusa*, *gusu*, *kisu*, *gisu* a sound imitating whispering (frequently reduplicated); Tuŋu *guji*, *guju*, *gujji*, *guju*, *gusu*, *kusukusu* ‘whispering’; Telugu *gusagusa* ‘whisper; in a whisper or a low voice’; Gondi *kuskusa varḱ-* ‘to whisper’, *kusai* ‘silently’, *kusāy* ‘in a low voice, secretly’; Kuṛux *kusmusa?anā* ‘to whisper’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:150, no. 1638.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wes-/k'ws-* ‘to moan’: Georgian *k'(r)us-* ‘to moan’; Laz *k'us-* ‘to moan’; Mingrelian *k'us-* ‘to moan’; Svan *k'wec-* (< **k'wes-*) ‘to moan’. Klimov 1964:117—118 **kus-* and 1998:94 **kwes-/kws-* ‘to moan’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:200 **kwes-/k^wus-*; Fähnrich 2007: 240—241 **kwes-/k^wus-*.
- D. Indo-European: Old Icelandic *kvis* ‘rumor, tattle’, *kvisa* ‘to gossip, to whisper’; Norwegian *kviskre* ‘to whisper’; Swedish (dial.) *kvisa* ‘to whisper’; Low German *quesen* ‘to grumble’; New High German (dial.)

queisen ‘to sigh, to moan, to groan’. Orël 2003:230 Proto-Germanic
**kwisōjanan*; De Vries 1977:338—339; Torp 1919:351.

Buck 1949:16.39 groan.

560. Proto-Nostratic root **kʷatʷ-* (~ **kʷətʷ-*):

(vb.) **kʷatʷ-* ‘to burn, to smolder, to smoke’;

(n.) **kʷatʷ-a* ‘burning, heat, smoke’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **kʷatʷ-* (vb.) to burn, to smolder, to smoke; (n.) smoke’: Proto-Semitic **kʷatʷ-ar-* ‘to burn, to smolder, to smoke’, **kʷutʷr-* (< **kʷətʷ-*) ‘smoke, incense’ > Hebrew *kītōr* [כִּיטֹר] ‘thick smoke’, *kaṭōreṯ* [כַּטֹּרֶת] ‘smoke, odor (of burning), incense’, *mukṭār* [מִקְטָר] ‘sacrificed by burning incense’; Phoenician *kīrt* ‘incense’; Ugaritic *kīr* ‘smoke, incense’; Akkadian (with progressive deglottalization [Geers’ Law]) *kuṭru* ‘smoke’, *kaṭāru* ‘to rise, to billow, to roll in (said of smoke, fog)’, *kuṭturu* ‘to cause something to smoke, to make an incense offering, to cense, to fumigate, to fume incense’, *kaṭāru* ‘incense’; Arabic *kuṭr*, *kuṭur* ‘agalloch, aloeswood’, *miḳṭar* ‘censer’; Sabaean *kīr* ‘to burn incense’; Geez / Ethiopic *kaṭara*, *kaṭtara* [ቀተረ] ‘to fumigate, to give off an odor’, *kaṭtāre* [ቀተረ], *kaṭtār* [ቀተር] ‘incense, fumigation, odiferous substance’; Tigre *kaṭare* ‘fragrance, spice’; Amharic *kaṭṭārā* ‘to burn incense in church’. Murtonen 1989:375; Klein 1987:576; Leslau 1987:452; Militarev 2010:47. Diakonoff 1992:81 **kʷəṭr-* ‘smoke’. Proto-Semitic **kʷatʷ-am-* ‘to burn, to smolder, to smoke’, **kʷitʷ-am-* ‘ash(es)’ > Hebrew *kaṭam* [כַּטָּם] (denominative) ‘to cover with ashes or powder’, *kaṭam* [כַּטָּם] ‘ashes, powder’, *kaṭūm* [כַּטֹּם] ‘covered with ashes’ (the Hebrew forms are borrowed from Aramaic); Aramaic *kaṭam* ‘to cover with ashes or powder’, *kaṭmā* ‘ashes’; Syriac *kaṭmā* ‘ashes’. Related to Arabic *kaṭām* (< **kʷatʷām-*) ‘dust’. Klein 1987:574 and 575; Biberstein-Kazimirski 1875.3:856; Militarev 2010:47 Proto-Semitic (Aramaic-Arabic) **kaṭam-*. (?) Berber (root **γd*, if for **γd*): Tuareg *əqqəd* ‘to burn, to be burnt, to be dried out’, *suγəd* ‘to make burn’, *taqqit* ‘burn’; Mزاب *əqqəd* ‘to be about to make fire’, *iγəd* ‘ash(es)’; Tamazight *qqəd* ‘to be about to make fire, to cauterize, to be warm, to be red-hot’, *nγəd* ‘to crush, to reduce to powder; to be crushed, to be reduced to powder’, *anyud* ‘crushing, pulverization’, *iγəd* ‘ash(es)’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *qəd* ‘to cauterize, to be about to make fire’, *aγad* ‘cauterization’, *nγəd* ‘to pulverize; to be pulverized’, *iγəd* ‘ash(es)’; Riff *əqda* ‘to burn’, *iγəd* ‘ash(es)’; Kabyle *əqqəd* ‘to be about to make fire, to cauterize, to apply a hot compress, to fire pottery; to be cauterized, to be fired (pottery)’, *uyud* ‘hole for firing pottery’, *nγəd* ‘to crush, to reduce to powder; to be crushed’, *iγəd* ‘ash(es)’; Chaouia *qqəd* ‘to be about to apply fire, to cauterize’, *iγəd* ‘ash(es)’, *nγəd* ‘to be crushed or ground, to be powdery’; Zenaga *γəd* ‘to be warm, burning’, *taṣsuγəd* ‘droppings, manure, dung’.

Cushitic: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *k'at'abaaré*, *k'at'awaré* 'fire-wood'. Hudson 1989:379.

- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kattuka* 'to kindle, to burn', *kattal* 'burning, heat, appetite', *kattikka* 'to set on fire, to burn'; Kota *kat-* (*katy-*) 'to burn (intr.), to light (lamp)', *katc-* (*katc-*) 'to set fire to'; Toda *kot-* (*koty-*) 'to burn with flame, to glitter, to flash, to light (lamp)'; Kannaḍa *kattu* 'to begin to burn with flame, to cause to burn with intensity, to inflame, to kindle', *kattisu* 'to inflame, to kindle'; Koḍagu *katt-* (*katti-*) 'to burn with a blaze (intr.)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:113, no. 1207.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k'wət'/*k'wat'-* > (with regressive deglottalization) *k^whet'/*k^whot'-* '(vb.) to burn, to smoke, to smolder; (n.) smoke': Sanskrit *kādru-ḥ* 'reddish brown'; Old Church Slavic *kaditi* 'to burn incense'; Russian *čad* [чад] 'fumes, smoke', *kadilo* [кадило] 'censer'. Pokorny 1959:537 **ked-* 'to smoke'; Walde 1927—1932.I:384—385 **qed-*; Mann 1984—1987:1628 **kēd-/*kōd-* or **quēd-/*quōd-* (?); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:155 **k[h]et'/*k[h]ot'-* and 1995.I:133 **k^het'/*k^hot'-* 'smoke'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:150; Derksen 2008:218—219.

Buck 1949:1.83 smoke (sb.); 1.85 burn (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:488—489, no. 335.

561. Proto-Nostratic root **k'wat'-* (~ **k'wət'-*):

(vb.) **k'wat'-* 'to cut';

(n.) **k'wat'-a* 'knife, cutting instrument'; (adj.) 'sharp'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k'wat'-* 'to cut': Proto-Semitic **k'at'-at'-* 'to cut, to carve' > Arabic *kaṭṭa* 'to carve, to cut, to trim, to chip, to pare; to mend the point (of a pen), to nib, to sharpen (a pen)'; Sabaeen *kaṭṭ* 'to cut, to hew out'; Šheri / Jibbāli *kaṭṭ* 'to cut'; Mehri *kaṭṭaṭ* 'to be cut off'; Geez / Ethiopic *kwaṭaṭa* [ቁጠጠ] 'to cut (grass)'; Harari *kaṭaṭu* 'splinters of wood'; Amharic *kaṭṭāṭā*, *kaṭṭāṭā* 'to cut, to shear'. Leslau 1987:455. Proto-Semitic **k'at'-ab-* 'to cut' > Arabic *kaṭaba* 'to cut'; Hebrew *kaṭeṭ* [כַּטַּט] 'destruction'; Aramaic *kaṭaṭ* 'to chop, to cleave'; Ḥarsūsi *kaṭṭebōt* 'doll (carved from wood or bone)'; Šheri / Jibbāli *kaṭbēt* '(carved, wooden) doll'; Mehri *kaṭabbūt* 'doll; formerly, a doll carved from wood'; Geez / Ethiopic *kaṭaba* [ቁጠጠ] 'to make a mark in order that woven cloth be symmetrical, to trim, to shorten'; Amharic *kaṭṭābā* 'to trim, to shorten, to make a mark in order that woven cloth be symmetrical'. Klein 1987:574; Leslau 1987:453. Proto-Semitic **k'at'-aṭ-* 'to cut' > Arabic *kaṭaṭa* 'to cut, to cut off, to chop off; to amputate; to cut through, to cut in two, to divide; to tear apart, to disrupt, to sunder, to disjoin, to separate; to fell; to break off, to sever; to break off one's friendship; to snub; to cut short, to interrupt'; Modern Hebrew *kaṭaṭ* [כַּטַּט] 'to cut, to fell, to lop off'; Aramaic *kaṭaṭ* 'to cut off, to shorten'; Šheri / Jibbāli *kaṭaṭ* 'to cut'; Mehri *kaṭaṭa* 'to cut, to cut off, to

saw off; to breach (a contract); to refuse to give', *kātta* 'to be cut, to be discontinued; (rain) to stop; to stop (visiting someone); to be cut off in the desert without food or drink', *kātāt* 'piece'; Tigre *kāt'a* 'to cut off'; Tigrinya *kāt'i* 'a cut'; Amharic *kātta* 'to cut off'; Gurage *kātta* 'to make incisions'. Murtonen 1989:374; Klein 1987:575; Leslau 1979:506; Zammit 2002:342. Proto-Semitic **k'at'-ap-* 'to cut, to pick, to pluck' > Akkadian *katāpu* 'to pluck out'; Hebrew **kātaφ* [קָטַף] 'to pluck off (twigs, etc.), to pluck out'; Aramaic *kātaφ* 'to pluck, to tear off'; Arabic *kaṭafa* 'to pick (flowers, fruit); to gather, to harvest (fruit); to pluck off, to pull off, to tear off (something, e.g., leaves)'; Mehri *kātáwφ* 'to earmark, to take a snip out of an animal's ear as an identification mark'; Ḥarsūsi *kaṭf* 'snip taken out of a goat's ear as a marker'; Šheri / Jibbāli *kātáφ* '(animal) to eat only the best pasture; to fell, to lop, to chop off; to take a snip out of an ear'; Geez / Ethiopic *kaṭafa* [ቀጠፈ] 'to pick, to cut (flowers, leaves), to pluck, to snap'; Tigrinya (with augmented *n*) *kāntāfä* 'to pluck off'; Amharic *kāntāfä* 'to pick flowers'. Murtonen 1989:375; Zammit 2002:342; Klein 1987:575—576; Leslau 1987:453. Arabic *kaṭama* 'to cut off, to break off', *kaṭma* 'piece, bite, morsel', *kaṭala* 'to cut off'. Egyptian *qdf* 'to gather flowers' (this may be a Semitic loan); Coptic *kōtf* [ⲕⲟⲩⲧⲉ] 'to gather (grain, fruit, wood, etc.)'. Hannig 1995:869; Faulkner 1962:282; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:81; Vycichl 1983:90; Černý 1976:66. Proto-East Cushitic **k'ad₁-* 'to cut' > Dullay *qatt'* 'to cut, to hoe up, to fold'; Yaaku *qat'* 'to cut'; Saho-Afar *aqd-* 'to cut the hair'. Sasse 1979:31 and 48. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k'wat-* 'to shape, to mold, to fashion' > Alagwa *qwatsit-* 'to shape, to mold, to fashion'; Ma'a *vukasila* 'iron'. Ehret 1980:267. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:339, no. 1558, **kaṭ-/*kuṭ-* 'to cut'; Ehret 1995:240, no. 431, **k'at-* 'to cut'.]

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *katti* 'knife, cutting instrument, razor, sword, sickle'; Malayalam *katti* 'knife'; Kota *kaṭy* 'billhook, knife', *kati-r* 'to cut'; Kannaḍa *katti* 'knife, razor, sword'; Koḍagu *katti* 'knife'; Tuḷu *katti*, *katte* 'knife'; Telugu *katti* 'knife, razor, sword'. Krishnamurti 2003:9 **katti* 'knife'; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:112—113, no. 1204. Kolami *katk-* (*katakt-*) 'to strike down (man), to break down (tree)'; Naiki (of Chanda) *katuk-/katk-* 'to cut with an axe'; Parji *katt-* 'to cut down (tree), to slaughter, to sacrifice'; Gondi *kad-* 'to cut (hair)'; Konḍa *kat-* 'to cut down (tree) with an axe, to fell', *katki-* 'to cut down (trees)'; Pengo *kat-*, *katka-* 'to cut (with an axe)'; Maṇḍa *kat-* 'to cut (with axe)'; Kui *kata* (*kati-*) 'to cut down, to fell, to cut, to hew'; Kuwi *katt-*, *kuttali* (i.e., *kattali*) 'to cut (with axe, etc.)', *kat-* 'to cut (trees, bushes, etc.)', *katk-* 'to chop to pieces'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:113, no. 1208.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wet-* > (with progressive deglottalization) **k'wet-/k'wt-* 'to chop, to cut off': Georgian *k'vet-/k'vt-* 'to chop, to cut off'; Mingrelian *k'vat-* 'to chop, to cut off'; Laz *k'vat-* 'to chop, to cut off'; Svan *k'wt-* 'to cut into small pieces'. Klimov 1964:111 **kwe(s₁)d-* and

1998:92 **kwet*-/**kwt*- ‘to chop, to cut off’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:196—197 **kwet*-; Fähnrich 2007:238 **kwet*-; Schmidt 1962:75 and 119. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wet-il*- ‘chopped off, cut off’: Georgian *k'vetil*- ‘chopped off, cut off’; Mingrelian *k'vatil*- ‘chopped off, cut off’. Klimov 1998:92 **kwet-il*- ‘chopped off, cut off’. Proto-Kartvelian **na-k'wet*- ‘piece, cut, section; lump’: Georgian *nak'vet*- ‘piece; lump’; Mingrelian *nok'vet*- ‘piece; lump’. Klimov 1998:137 **na-kwet*- ‘piece, cut, section; lump’.

- D. Proto-Indo-European **k'wət*-/**k'wat*- > (with regressive deglottalization) **k'whet*-/**k'whot*- ‘to whet, to sharpen’: Gothic *ga-hvatjan* ‘to sharpen, to incite, to entice’, *hassaba* ‘sharply’; Old Icelandic *hvass* ‘sharp, keen’, *hvetja* ‘to whet, to sharpen’; Faroese *hvassur* ‘sharp’, *hvøtja* ‘to whet, to sharpen’; Norwegian *kvass* ‘sharp’, *kvetja* ‘to whet, to sharpen’; Swedish *vass* ‘sharp’, *vättja* (dial. *hvättia*) ‘to whet, to sharpen’; Danish (dial.) *hvæde* ‘to whet, to sharpen’; Old English *hwæss* ‘sharp, prickly’, *hwæt* ‘quick, active, brave, bold’, *hwettan* ‘to whet, to sharpen, to incite’; Middle Dutch *wetten* ‘to sharpen’; Old High German (*h*)*waz* ‘sharp, rough, severe’, *wezzan* ‘to sharpen’ (New High German *wetzen*); Latin *triquetrus* (< **tri-quedros*) ‘triangular’. Pokorny 1959:636 **kʷēd*-, **kʷōd*- ‘to stab, to bore’; Walde 1927—1932.I:513 **qʷēd*-, **qʷōd*-, **qʷəd*- or **qʷēd*-, **qʷōd*-; Mann 1984—1987:1017 **quads*- ‘sharp; sharpness, sharpener’; Watkins 1985:33 **kʷed*- and 2000:44 **kʷed*- ‘to sharpen’; Mallory—Adams 1997:510 **kʷed*- ‘to whet, to sharpen’; Orël 2003:199 Proto-Germanic **xwatjanan*; Kroonen 2013:264 Proto-Germanic **hwassa*- ‘sharp’, 264 **hwata*- ‘quick’, and 266 **hwētan*- ‘to stab, to pierce’; Feist 1939:184—185 **kʷēd*-; Lehmann 1986:139 **kʷō/ūd*- ‘to prick, to whet; to incite’; De Vries 1977:269 and 272; Torp 1919:342; Klein 1971:826 **qʷedo*-; **qʷēd*-, **qʷōd*-, **qʷəd*-; Onions 1966:1002 Common Germanic **χwatjan* ‘to sharpen’, **χwattaz* ‘sharp’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:856; Kluge—Seebold 1989:789; De Vaan 2008:630; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:706 **qʷēd*- : **qʷōd*- : **qʷəd*- (: **qʷēd*-); Ernout—Meillet 1979:703.

Buck 1949:15.78 sharp. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:493—495, no. 341.

562. Proto-Nostratic root **k'wed*-:

(vb.) **k'wed*- ‘to destroy, to damage, to ruin; to decay, to rot, to spoil’;

(n.) **k'wed-a* ‘death, destruction, damage, ruin, decay’

Note also:

(vb.) **k'wad*- ‘to strike, to beat, to smash, to pound’;

(n.) **k'wad-a* ‘knock, stroke, thrust’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *keṭu* (*keṭuv*-, *keṭt*-) ‘to perish, to be destroyed, to decay, to rot, to become damaged, to become spoiled, to fall on evil days, to degenerate, to be reduced, to run away defeated’, *keṭu* (-*pp*-, -*tt*-) ‘(vb.) to

destroy, to squander, to extinguish, to spoil, to corrupt, to defeat, to lose; (n.) peril, poverty', *keṭṭa* 'bad, spoiled, ruined', *keṭṭavan* 'a bad, immoral person', *keṭṭatal* 'ruin, damage, danger, degeneracy', *keṭṭuti* 'ruin, loss, damage, thing lost, danger, affliction, evil', *keṭṭumpu* 'ruin, evil', *kēṭu* 'ruin, loss, damage, adversity, death, evil'; Malayalam *keṭu* 'ruin', *keṭuka* 'to be extinguished, ruined, spoiled, damaged', *keṭuti* 'ruin, danger, weakness, misery', *keṭumpu* 'depravity, rottenness', *keṭumpikka* 'to be spoiled by drying up', *keṭṭa* 'lost, bad', *keṭṭukka* 'to quench, to do away with, to damage, to ruin', *kēṭu* 'destruction, loss, damage, hurt'; Kota *keṭ-* (*keṭ-*) 'to die, to be ruined, to be lost', *keṭc-* (*keṭc-*) 'to ruin, to destroy, to lose', *ke-ṭ-* (obl. *ke-ṭ-*) 'ruin, harm, danger, loss, funeral, corpse'; Toda *kōṛ-* (*kōṭ-*) 'to be spoiled, to become bad in conduct, to be extinguished, to die (others than Todas)', *kōṛc-* (*kōṛc-*) 'to kill by witchcraft, to extinguish, to make go the wrong way and lose property', *kōḍḍil* 'misfortune, evil', *kōḍc-* (*kōḍc-*) 'to destroy', *kō-ḍ* (obl. *kō-ṭ-*) 'dead person (corpse at first funeral, relics at second funeral), funeral', *kō-ṛ o-x-* 'to die (used of Todas)'; Kannada *keḍu*, *kiḍu* (*keṭṭ-*) 'to be destroyed, ruined, spoiled; to become bad, vicious; to be extinguished, to cease (as sorrow, etc.)', *keḍisu*, *kiḍisu* 'to destroy, to ruin, to spoil, to extinguish', *keṭṭa* 'ruined, spoiled, foul, bad', *keṭṭe* 'evil, misfortune, ruin', *keḍaku*, *keḍuku* 'corruption, ruin, evil', *keṭṭatana* 'bad, wicked, lewd disposition or conduct', *keḍuvike* 'being destroyed, etc.', *keḍuha* 'ruin, disappearance', *kiḍi*, *kiḍuka* 'one who ruins or destroys', *kēḍu* 'ruin, destruction, evil, loss'; Koḍagu *kē-ḍi* 'ruin, rottenness', *kēḍ-* (*kēṭṭ-*) 'to be spoiled, ruined, extinguished', *kēḍit-* (*kēḍiti-*) 'to spoil, to ruin, to extinguish'; Tuḷu *keḍaguni* 'to ruin, to spoil', *keḍuku*, *keḍa*, *keḍaku* 'damage, loss', *keṭṭa* 'bad, vile', *kēḍu*, *kēḍu* 'mischief, evil, danger, disaster, loss, perdition'; Telugu *ceḍu* 'to be spoiled, destroyed; to become bad, useless; to be a loser or sustain a loss', *ceḍḍa*, *ceḍu* 'bad, wicked, wrong, spoiled, damage', *ceṭṭa* 'evil, harm; wicked', *cēṭu* 'ruin, misfortune, destruction', *keḍayu* 'to die', *keḍayika* 'death', *keḍapu* 'to kill', *giṭṭu* 'to die, to perish'; Kolami *kiṭ-* (*kiṭṭ-*) 'to be extinguished', *kiṭip-* 'to extinguish'; Naiki (of Chanda) *kiṛ-* (*kiṭṭ-*) 'to go out (fire)', *kiṭup-/kiṭp-* 'to put out (fire)'; Parji *ciṭ-* 'to go out (fire)', *ciṭip-* 'to put out (fire)'; Gadba (Ollari) *siṭ-* 'to go out (fire)', *siṭp-* (*siṭṭ-*) 'to make (fire) go out', *ciṭṭ-* 'to be put out (fire)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:176—177, no. 1942; Krishnamurti 2003:128 and 199 **keṭ-u* (vb.) 'to perish, to decay', **kēṭu* (n.) 'damage', **keṭ-al* (n.) 'evil', **keṭu-ti* (n.) 'ruin', **keṭ-ṭa* (n.) 'evil'.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'wed-/k'wd-* '(vb.) to die, to lose; (n.) death, loss': Georgian *k'ved-/k'vd-* 'to die', (verbal noun) *xi-k'vd-il-* 'death', (part.) *mom-k'vd-ar-* 'dead', (adj.) *m-k'vd-ar-* 'dead'; Svan *k'wäd* (< **k'wed-*) 'loss (caused by death)'. Schmidt 1962:119; Klimov 1998:91—92 **k'wed-/k'wd-* 'to lose (caused by death)'; Fähnrich 1994:233 and 2007:237—238 **k'wed-/k'wd-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:196 **k'wed-/k'wd-*.

- C. Proto-Indo-European *k'wēdh-/*k'wōdh- 'rotten, bad, repulsive': Old English *cwēad* 'dung, dirt, filth'; Middle English *cwēd* 'bad'; Old Frisian *kwād* 'dung'; Dutch *kwaad* 'bad, repulsive', *kwetteren* 'to rot, to go bad (of fruit)'; Middle High German *quāt, quōt, kāt, kōt* 'bad; dung' (New High German *Kot*). Mann 1984—1987:353 *gūēdhos, -ā 'bad; badness'; Orël 2003:229 Proto-Germanic *kwēdaz; Vercoullie 1898:158; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:397 *gūōu-, *gūū-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:407 *gewə-, *gwē-, *gūə-, *gouə-.
- D. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *kedr- 'to rub on, to grate': Amur *xedr-dʷ* 'to rub on, to grate'; East Sakhalin *xērker-d* 'to rub on, to grate'; South Sakhalin *xerr-* 'to rub on, to grate'. Fortescue 2016:84.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.76 kill.

563. Proto-Nostratic root *k'wiy- (~ *k'wey-):

(vb.) *k'wiy- 'to be putrid, purulent';

(n.) *k'wiy-a 'pus'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *k'ay-añ- 'to fester, to be purulent' > Arabic *kāha* 'to fester, to be purulent', *ḳayh* (pl. *ḳuyūh*) 'pus, mucous matter'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cī* 'pus, mucous matter'; Malayalam *cī* 'putrid matter, secretion of the eyelids'; Kannada *kī* 'to become pus, to become putrid'; Kodagu *ki-y-* (*ki-yuv-*, *ki-ñj-*) 'to become rotten'; Telugu *cīku* 'to rot', *cīmu* 'pus'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:147, no. 1606.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *k'wey-/*k'wi- 'to be putrid, purulent': Greek δεισα 'slime, filth'; Old Icelandic *kveisa* 'boil, whitlow'; Middle Low German *quēse* 'blood blister'; Old Church Slavic *židьkь* 'succosus'. Pokorny 1959:569 *g^ueid(h)- 'mud'; Walde 1927—1932.I:671 *g^ueid(h)-; Boisacq 1950:1105 *g^ueidh-ja or *g^ueidh-sā; Hofmann 1966:54 Greek δεισα perhaps from *g^uendh-ja; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:259; Frisk 1970—1973.I:359; Beekes 2010.I:311 etymology unknown; Orël 2003:227 Proto-Germanic *kwaisōn; De Vries 1977:337; Derksen 2008:562 — Derksen rejects comparison of Old Church Slavic *židьkь* 'succosus' with Greek δεισα 'slime, filth'.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:488, no. 334.

564. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k'wow-a 'bullock, ox, cow':

- A. Dravidian: Telugu *kōḍiya*, *kōḍe* 'young bull'; Kolami *kōḍi* 'cow', *kōre* 'young bullock'; Pengo *kōḍi* 'cow'; Maṇḍa *kūḍi* 'cow'; Kui *kōḍi* 'cow, ox'; Kuwi *kōḍi*, *kōḍi* 'cow'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:197, no. 2199.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *k'wōw- 'bullock, ox, cow': Sanskrit *gāuḥ* 'bull, cow'; Avestan *gāuš* 'cow'; Greek (Attic) βούς 'bullock, ox, bull, cow';

Armenian *kov* ‘cow’; Latin *bōs* ‘ox, bullock, cow’; Umbrian (acc. sg.) *bum* ‘ox’; Old Irish *bó* ‘cow’; Old Icelandic *kýr* ‘cow’; Faroese *kúgv* ‘cow’; Norwegian *ku*, *kýr* ‘cow’; Swedish *ko* ‘cow’; Danish *ko* ‘cow’; Old English *cū* ‘cow’; Old Frisian *kū* ‘cow’; Old Saxon *kō* ‘cow’; Dutch *koe* ‘cow’; Old High German *chuo* ‘cow’ (New High German *Kuh*); Latvian *gūovs* ‘cow’; Tocharian A *ko* ‘cow’, B *ke_u* ‘cow’, B *kewiye* ‘(adj.) pertaining to a cow or cows; (n.) butter’. Pokorny 1959:482—483 **g^uou-* ‘bullock, ox, cow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:696—697 **g^uou-*; Mann 1984—1987:368 **g^uōū-ēdā* (-*ēdis*, -*ādā*, -*dā*) ‘ox, cattle, beef, cattle-fodder’, 368—369 **g^uōūəlos* (**g^uəūəl-*) ‘head of cattle; bull, ox, buffalo’, 369 **g^uōūios* ‘bovine’, 369 **g^uōūinos*, -*ā* ‘of oxen; ox; beef; cow dung’, 369 **g^uōūis* ‘head of cattle, ox, cow’, 370 **g^uōūtos*, -*ā*, -*om*, -*ios*, -*iə* (**g^uət-*, **g^uīt-*), 370 **g^uōūtros*, -*om* (**g^uutro-*); Watkins 1985:26 **g^wou-* and 2000:35 **g^wou-* ‘ox, bull, cow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:134—135 **g^wōus* ‘cow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1985.I:191, II:565, II:566, II:574, II:575, II:579, II:868, II:869, II:876 **k^oou-* and 1995.I:164, I:482, I:484, I:491, I:495, I:765, I:766, I:773 **k^oou-* ‘cow, bull’; Boisacq 1950:129—130 **g^uōū-*, **g^uou-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:260—261 **g^uōū-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:190—191 **g^wōu-s*; Beekes 2010.I:232—233 **g^weh₂-u-*; Hofmann 1966:38 **g^wōus*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:74 **g^wōus*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:112; De Vaan 2008:74—75; Poultney 1959:299 **g^wōu-*; Kroonen 2013:299 Proto-Germanic **kō-* ~ **kū-* ‘cow’; Orël 2003:219—220 Proto-Germanic **kōwz* ~ **kūz*; De Vries 1977:340—341; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:396; Torp 1919:333; Onions 1966:223 **g^wōus*; Klein 1971:172; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:410 **g^uōu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:417 Proto-Germanic **k(w)ōu-*; Walshe 1951:131; Adams 1999:189 **g^wou-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:226—227 **g^uou-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:177—185 **g^uōū-*.

Sumerian *gu₄* ‘ox, bull, cow’, *gud* ‘bull, bullock, cow’.

Buck 1949:3.20 cattle; 3.21 bull; 3.22 ox; 3.23 cow. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:498, no. 346.

565. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **k^woy-a* ‘outer covering: skin, hide, leather; bark (of a tree), shell, crust’:
- A. Proto-Indo-European **k^woyH-/k^wiH-* > **k^wī-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k^weyH-*) ‘skin, hide, leather’: Sanskrit *jī-na-m* ‘leather bag’, *jī-la-h* ‘a leather bag’; Middle Irish *bīan* ‘skin, hide’. Pokorny 1959:469 **g^uēi-* (or **g^uejā-*): **g^uī-* ‘skin, hide’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:666 **g^uēi-* (or **g^uejā^x-*): **g^uī-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:437 and I:439.
 - B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **koya* ‘outer covering: skin, hide, leather; bark (of a tree), shell, crust’ > Finnish *koja* ‘bark (of a tree)’; Karelian *koja*

‘bark (of a tree)’; Ostyak / Xanty *kōj* ‘leather from the forehead of reindeers, cows, or bears from which the soles of shoes are made’; Hungarian *héj/héja-*, *haj* ‘bark, shell, crust’. Collinder 1955:90 and 1977:106; Rédei 1986—1988:166 **koja*.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin; hide. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:299—300, no. 169, **kojHa* (?) ‘skin, leather, bark’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:499—500, no. 348.

566. Proto-Nostratic root **k^wur^{y-}*- (~ **k^wor^{y-}*-):

(vb.) **k^wur^{y-}*- ‘to be heavy, weighty, solid, bulky’;

(n.) **k^wur^{y-}a* ‘heaviness, weight, solidity, thickness’; (adj.) ‘heavy, weighty, solid, bulky’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **k^wur-* ‘to be heavy, weighty’: Proto-Semitic **w/ya-k^war-* ‘to be heavy, weighty, precious’ > Arabic *waḳara* ‘to load, to burden, to overload; to oppress, to weigh heavily upon’, *wiḳr* ‘heavy load, burden’; Akkadian *akāru* ‘to become scarce, expensive, precious, valuable’, *šukuru* ‘to make rare; to value; to hold in esteem, to give honor (to gods)’; Amorite *ykr* ‘to be dear, valuable’; Hebrew *yāḳar* [יָקָר] ‘to be precious, prized, costly’, *yāḳār* [יָקָר] ‘precious, rare, splendid, weighty’; Aramaic *yəḳar* ‘to be heavy, precious’; Ugaritic *ykr* ‘precious, dear’. Murtonen 1989:220; Klein 1987:263—264; Zammit 2002:439. Egyptian *iqr* ‘trustworthy; well-to-do; excellent, superior’. Gardiner 1957:555; Hannig 1995:107; Erman—Grapow 1921:19 and 1926—1963.1:137; Faulkner 1962:131—132. East Cushitic: Burji *k’urk’-aa* ‘heavy’, *k’urk’-eed-* ‘to become heavy, to conceive, to become pregnant’, *k’urk’-éed-aa* ‘heavy’, *k’urk’-e* ‘weight’. Sasse 1982:129.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *koṟu* ‘(adj.) fat, flourishing, prosperous; (n.) fat; (vb.) to prosper, to flourish, to be rich or fertile (as soil), to grow fat, to be plump, to be of thick consistency (as sandal paste), to be saucy, to be insolent’, *koṟumai* ‘plumpness, luxuriance, thickness, fertility’, *koṟuppu* ‘richness, fat, grease, plumpness, thickness in consistency, sauciness, impudence’; Malayalam *koṟukka* ‘to grow thick, solid, stiff by boiling; to grow fat, stout, arrogant’, *koṟuppu* ‘solidity (as of broth or curry), fatness, stoutness, pride’, *koṟu* ‘fat, thick, solid’; Kannada *korvu*, *korbu*, *kobbu* ‘(vb.) to grow fat, thick, stout; to increase, to grow; to be rank in growth; to become proud, presumptuous, arrogant; (n.) fat, fatness, rankness, pride, arrogance’; Tuḷu *kommè* ‘corpulence, fatness; corpulent, fat’; Telugu *k(r)ovvu* ‘(vb.) to become fat, to fatten, to become fat; (n.) fat, grease, lust, pride, arrogance’, *krovinna* ‘fat, plump, headstrong, ungovernable’; Parji *koṟ-*, *koṟv-* ‘to be fat’, *koṟukuḍ* ‘fatness, fat’; Kolami *koru* ‘fat’; Naikṛi *koru* ‘fat’; Konda *korvu* ‘fat of animals’; Pengo *kṛō-* ‘to be fat’, *koṟva* ‘fat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:193, no. 2146.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^wor(H)-*/**k^wr(H)-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k^wer(H)-*) ‘heavy, weighty’: Sanskrit *gurú-h* ‘heavy, weighty; valuable, highly prized; venerable, respectable’, (comp.) *gárīyas* ‘heavier’, *garimán-* ‘heaviness, weight’; Kashmiri *gor^u*, (f.) *gūr^ū* ‘dense, solid’; Avestan *gouru-* in *gouru-zaoθra-* ‘viscous libation’; Greek βαρὺς ‘heavy, burdensome, weighty, grievous’; Latin *gravis* ‘heavy, weighty, ponderous, burdensome; important, eminent, venerable, great’; Gothic *kaurus* ‘heavy’; Old Irish *bair* ‘heavy’; Welsh *bryw* ‘strong, strength’; Tocharian A *krāmārts*, B *kramartse* ‘heavy’, B *krāmār* ‘weight, heaviness’. Pokorny 1959:476—477 **g^uer-*, **g^uerə-*, **g^uerəu-*, **g^uerī-* ‘heavy’; Walde 1927—1932.I:684—686 **g^uer-*; Mann 1984—1987:370—371 **gurējō*, **gūrējō* ‘to be heavy’, 371 **gurāst-* (?) ‘heavy; weight, heavy substance’, 371 **gurīu-* ‘heavy; weight’, 372 **gurūtos* ‘heavy, big’, 375 **gūr^{ndis}* ‘heavy, bulky’, 375 **gūrō* (**gūrūō*, **gūrējō*) ‘to load, to weigh down, to burden’, 376 **gūr^{undh-}*, 376 **gūr^{us}*, **gūr^{us}* ‘solid, heavy’; Watkins 1985:25 **g^werə-* and 2000:34 **g^werə-* ‘heavy’ (oldest form **g^wer₂-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:264 **g^wreh_x-u-*, **g^wr_x-u-* ‘heavy’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:199 **k^or_ru-* and 1995.I:172 **k^or_ru-* ‘heavy’; Boisacq 1950:115 **g^ur_u-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:221—222; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:165—166; Hofmann 1966:33 **g^ure_u-*; Beekes 2010.I:202—203 **g^wrh₂-u-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:620—621 **g^uer(ə)-*, **g^u(e)rā(u)-* ‘heavy’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:282—283 **g^wrəw-*; De Vaan 2008:272; Orël 2003:225 Proto-Germanic **kuruz*; Kroonen 2013:312 Proto-Germanic **kuru-* ‘heavy’; Lehmann 1986:217; Feist 1939:310 **g^uarū-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:233—234 **g^uerə₁-*; Adams 1999:214—215. Proto-Indo-European **k^wrondh-* ‘hard to bear, harsh, severe, difficult’: Latvian *grūts* ‘difficult’; Old Church Slavic *grōst-okъ* ‘hard to bear, grievous, painful, harsh, severe’. Mann 1984—1987:371 **gurondh-* (?) ‘severe, outrageous’.

Sumerian *gur* ‘hefty’, *gur₄*, *gur₁₃*, *gur₁₄* ‘thick; to be or make thick’; *gur* ‘difficult, hard, severe, tough, burdensome, arduous’.

Buck 1949:9.97 difficult; 11.87 price; 11.88 dear (= costly, expensive); 12.63 thick (in dimension); 15.81 heavy. Möller 1911:98—99; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:491—492, no. 339; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 922, **ku|orV* ‘thick, fat’.

22.27. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *G

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
g-	g- (?)	k-	g-	g ^h -	k-	g-	k- q-
-g-	-g- (?)	-k-	-g-	-g ^h -	-x-	-g-	-ɣ-

567. Proto-Nostratic root *gad- (~ *gəd-):

(vb.) *gad- ‘to make a loud sound or loud noise’;

(n.) *gad-a ‘loud noise, clap of thunder, loud clatter, loud rumble’

Reduplicated (Semitic and Dravidian):

(vb.) *gad-gad- ‘to make a loud sound or loud noise’;

(n.) *gad-gad-a ‘loud noise, clap of thunder, loud clatter, loud rumble’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *gad- ‘to make a loud sound or loud noise’: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *gad-gad- ‘to make a loud sound or loud noise’ > Geez / Ethiopic *g^wadg^wada* [ገግግግ] ‘to knock (at the door), to clap hands rhythmically, to strike, to accompany a dance with hand clapping’, *ʔang^wadg^wada* [አገገግግ] ‘to thunder’, *nag^wadg^wād* [ገገግግ] ‘thunder, clap of thunder, striking, noise’; Gurage *näg^wädg^wad* ‘thunder’; Amharic *täng^wädägg^wädä* ‘to thunder’, *näg^wädg^wad* ‘thunder’; Tigrinya *g^wädg^wəd bälä* ‘to thunder’, *näg^wädg^wad* ‘thunder’. D. Cohen 1970— :99; Leslau 1979:453 and 1987:182.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) *kaṭakaṭav-eṇal*, *kaṭakaṭ-eṇal* (onomatopoeic) ‘clattering, rattling, rumbling, sounding rapidly’, *kaṭakaṭa* ‘to rattle (as a pin in a jewel)’, *kaṭakaṭappu* ‘clatter, rattling, rumbling’; Kota *gaṛum guṛum in-* ‘to thunder; imitative of noise of rock rolling down a hillside’; Kannaḍa *kaṭakuṭa* ‘noise in the stomach arising from drinking much water’, *gaḍagaḍa enu-* ‘to rumble or rattle (as thunder, carts, etc.)’, *gaḍāvane* ‘loud sound, noise’; Telugu *kaṭakaṭa* ‘a rattling sound’, *gaḍagaḍa* ‘trembling, quaking, or quivering’; Kuṛux *xarxar-xarxar* ‘the sound of articles loosely packed and rattling against one another (the creaking of a cart, etc.)’, *xarxar-xarxar^arnā* ‘to rattle loosely together’, *xarbar^arnā* ‘to rattle’; Malto *qarqarre* ‘to purl, to murmur’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:102—103, no. 1110(a). Tamil *kaṭapaṭāv-eṇal* ‘hullabaloo, bustling, sounding confusedly’; Kannaḍa *gaḍa*, *gaḍi* a term expressing disorder, *gaḍabaḍa*, *gaḍabaḍi*, *gaḍabiḍi*, *gaḍibiḍi* ‘confusion, puzzle, tumult, vexation’; Tuḷu *gaḍabaḍi*, *gaḍibiḍi* ‘bustle, confusion, disorder, tumult, disturbance’; Telugu *gaḍabaḍa*, *gaḍabiḍa* ‘noise, bustle, tumult, confusion, disorder’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:105, no. 1112.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian: *gad-/*gd- ‘to speak (loudly)’: Georgian [*γad-*] ‘to speak, to appeal’: *γad-eb-u-* ‘to appeal, to shout’, *m-γd-el-* ‘priest,

clergyman'; Laz *γod-* 'to do; to report'; Svan *γd-* 'to confer'. Klimov 1998:220 **γad-/γd-* 'to do; to speak (loudly)'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:383 **γad-/γd-*; Fähnrich 2007:475—476 **γad-/γd-*.

Buck 1949:1.56 thunder; 15.44 sound (sb.); 15.45 loud.

568. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **gəl-*):

(vb.) **gal-* 'to come, to go';

(n.) **gal-a* 'the act of coming or going; trip, voyage'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gal-* 'to come, to go; to come in, to enter; to go out, to go away, to leave, to depart': Proto-Semitic **ga-/wa-/l-* 'to roam, to rove, to wander about' > Arabic *ǧāla* 'to roam, to rove, to wander about; to move freely, to be at home, to occupy oneself, to be circulated, to make the rounds; to pass (through the mind)', *ǧawla* 'circuit, round, patrol; excursion, outing; tour; trip, voyage', *taǧwāl* 'migration, wandering, roving, traveling; nomadic life, nomadism'; Sabaean *gyl* 'course, period'; Šheri / Jibbāli *egtel* '(usually animals) to gather; to wander, to tour around'; Hebrew *gīl* [גִּיל] 'circle, age' (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). D. Cohen 1970— :108; Murtonen 1989:133; Klein 1987:98. Proto-Semitic **gal-aw-* 'to go out or away from' > Hebrew *gālāh* [גָּלָה] 'to go away, to disappear, to go into exile'; Aramaic *gālā* 'to go into exile, to go away, to disappear'; Ugaritic *gly* 'to leave, to depart'; Arabic *ǧālā* 'to move away, to go away (from a place), to leave (a place); to depart, to leave, to quit, to evacuate (a place)'. Perhaps also Geez / Ethiopic (passive) *tagalgala* [ተገለገለ] 'to be taken into captivity, to go into exile'. Leslau 1987:190; Murtonen 1989:134—135; D. Cohen 1970— :120—122. Berber: Tuareg *əgəl* 'to leave, to go, to walk; (by extension) to be lost (animal, thing); to go past', *tagəllawt* 'departure'; Tawlemmet *aglu* 'to leave, to go past, to continue on one's way', *saglu* 'to make go, to send away'; Kabyle *əglu* 'to go'; Tamazight *gulu* 'to arrive, to await, to reach'; Ghadames *təǧǧəli* 'a short while ago, a month ago'. Proto-East Cushitic **gal-* 'to enter, to come home' > Burji *gal-* 'to enter'; Somali *gal-* ~ *gel-* 'to enter'; Rendille *gel-* 'to enter'; Boni *kal-* 'to enter'; Dasenech *gal-* 'to enter'; Bayso *gal-* 'to enter'; Galla / Oromo *gal-* 'to enter'; Konso *kal-* 'to enter'; Gidole *kal-* 'to enter'; Gedeo / Darasa *gal-* 'to pass the night, to spend the night'; Kambata *gal-* 'to pass the night, to spend the night'; Sidamo *gal-* 'to pass the night, to spend the night'. Sasse 1979:17 and 1982:76; Hudson 1989:110. Proto-Southern Cushitic **gaal-* 'to go home' > Ma'a *-gale* 'to go home'; Dahalo *gaalij-* 'to go home'. Ehret 1980:235. Omotic: Ometo *gal-* 'to enter'; Anfilla *gal-* 'to enter'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:199, no. 879, **gal-* 'to go, to enter'.
- B. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qalyatej-* 'to let escape, to let go', *qalyudu-* 'to escape, to run away'. Nikolaeva 2006:375.

- C. (?) Proto-Altaic **gěle* (if from **gale*) ‘to come, to go’: Proto-Tungus **gel-* ‘to get hardly on one’s way’ > Evenki *gel-* ‘to get hardly on one’s way’; Orok *gilin-* ‘to get hardly on one’s way’. Proto-Mongolian **gel-* ‘to walk slowly’ > Written Mongolian *geldüri-* ‘to walk slowly, to saunter’; Khalkha *geldre-* ‘to walk slowly, to saunter’; Kalmyk *geldr-* ‘to walk slowly’; Dagur *geldure-* ‘to walk slowly’. Proto-Turkic **gel-* ‘to come’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *kel-* ‘to come’; Karakhanide Turkic *kel-* ‘to come’; Turkish *gel-* ‘to come’; Gagauz *gel-* ‘to come’; Azerbaijani *gäl-* ‘to come’; Turkmenian *gel-* ‘to come’; Uzbek *kel-* ‘to come’; Uighur *käl-/kil-* ‘to come’; Karaim *kel-* ‘to come’; Tatar *kil-* ‘to come’; Bashkir *kil-* ‘to come’; Kirghiz *kel-* ‘to come’; Kazakh *kel-* ‘to come’; Noghay *kel-* ‘to come’; Sary-Uighur *kel-* ‘to come’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *kel-* ‘to come’; Tuva *kel-* ‘to come’; Yakut *kel-* ‘to come’; Dolgan *kel-* ‘to come’; Chuvash *kil-* ‘to come’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2005:538 **gěle* ‘to come, to go’.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **yal-* ‘to go past’ > Chukchi *yal-* ‘to go past, to overtake’, *yal-jan* ‘way past’, *yal-ce(tko)cet-* ‘to compete at a race (with reindeer or dogs)’; Kerek *ha(a)la-* ‘to go past, to overtake’; Koryak *yal-*, *yal-cet-* ‘to go past, to overtake’, *yal-nə* ‘way past’; Alyutor *yal-* ‘to go past’. Fortescue 2005:82.

Buck 1949:10.47 go; 10.48 come; 10.49 go away, depart; 10.54 overtake; 10.57 enter. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 616, **gûlE* ‘to go (away), to start (going away), to set out’.

569. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **gəl-*):

(vb.) **gal-* ‘to flow’;

(n.) **gal-a* ‘ravine, gully, watercourse, river’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gal-* ‘river, lake’: Berber: Tuareg *ağəlmam* ‘any body of water occurring naturally (lake, basin, pool, puddle)’; Nefusa *agəlmam* ‘depression in the earth filled with water from rain; pond, lake’; Tamazight *agəlmam* ‘pond, lake, large pool’; Kabyle *aggwəlmam* ‘lake, pond, pool’, *agwəlmim* ‘depression in the earth, hole filled with water’. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *galaana* ‘river’ (according to Hudson 1989:124, this is a loan from Oromo). Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *galaana* ‘sea’. Hudson 1989:124 and 241. Central Chadic **galan-H-* ‘swampy river branch’ > Mbara *goloŋay* ‘swampy river branch’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:200, no. 884, **gal-an-* ‘river, lake’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kāl*, *kāl-vāy*, *vāy-kkāl* ‘irrigation channel’; Malayalam *kāl-vā(y)* ‘river mouth; irrigation channel’, *vāy-kkāl* ‘small or narrow canal’; Kannaḍa *kāl*, *kālive*, *kāluve*, *kālve*, *kāvale* ‘watercourse, channel, brook’; Tuḷu *kālivē* ‘channel for irrigation, canal’; Telugu *kālava*, *kāluva* ‘canal, channel, gutter, drain, sewer’; Gondi *kālva* ‘irrigation channel’ (Telugu loan). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138, no. 1480; Krishnamurti

2003:13 **kāl* ‘canal’. Tamil *kāl* (*kālv-*, *kānr-*) ‘to flow (as saliva from the mouth, blood from a vein, tears from eyes), leap forth (as a waterfall)’, *kali* ‘to trickle, to flow gently’; Malayalam *kāluka* ‘to trickle, to ooze, to drain, to leak’, *kālca* ‘oozing out’, *kālikka* ‘to ooze through’; Gondi *kālum* ‘sweat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138, no. 1478. Tamil *kaliṅku*, *kaliṅcu*, *kaluṅku* ‘sluice or water-weirs for surplus water’, *kaliṅkilu* ‘sluice-weirs’; Malayalam *kaluṅku* ‘culvert’; Telugu *kalūju* ‘sluice, flood-gate’, *kaḷiṅga* ‘sluice’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1309; Krishnamurti 2003:13 **kal-Vnk-* ‘covered drain, sluice’.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **gelo-* ‘ravine, gully, stream, river’: Georgian *γelo-*, *γele* ‘ravine, gully’, *γelovan-* ‘covered with ravines’; Mingrelian *γal(u)-* ‘stream, rivulet’; Laz *γal-* ‘rivulet, river’. Schmidt 1962:138; Klimov 1964:202 **γele-* and 1998:222—223 **γelo-* ‘ravine, gully’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:387—388 **γel-*; Fähnrich 1994:228 and 2007:481—482 **γel-*.
- D. (?) Indo-European: Old Irish *glaiss* ‘brook, rivulet’.

Buck 1949:1.36 river, stream, brook; 10.32 flow (vb.).

570. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **gəl-*):

- (vb.) **gal-* ‘to stir up, to agitate, to disturb; to be stirred up, agitated, disturbed’;
 (n.) **gal-a* ‘agitation, disturbance, perturbation; quarrel, fight, battle’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gal-* ‘to stir up, to agitate, to disturb; to be stirred up, agitated, disturbed’: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gal-gal-* ‘to stir up, to mix’ > Arabic *ḡalḡala* ‘to shake, to move; to mix; to frighten, to confuse’ (also ‘to reverberate, to resound, to ring out, to rattle’). D. Cohen 1970— : 118. (?) Proto-Semitic **gal-as-* ‘to quarrel’ > Šheri / Jibbāli *ḡólōs* ‘to quarrel, to nag, to be quarrelsome, to tell off’; Mehri *ḡālōs* ‘to quarrel, to nag at someone, to be quarrelsome, to be disagreeable with someone’; Ḥarsūsi *ḡáteles* ‘to quarrel with one another’. D. Cohen 1970— :131. Akkadian *galātu* (*galādu*) ‘to twitch, to quiver, to have a premature emission, to be or become restless or nervous, to be or become frightened, to fear’, (adv.) *galtiš* ‘violently’, *galtu* ‘angry, terrifying’, *gilittu* ‘fright, terror’. D. Cohen 1970— :118—119.
- B. Dravidian: [Tamil *kalāṅku* (*kalāṅki-*) ‘to be stirred up, agitated, ruffled (as water), confused, abashed’, *kalakkam*, *kalakku* ‘being agitated (as surface of water), discomposure, distress, perplexity’, *kalakku* (*kalakki-*) ‘to confuse, to nonplus’, *kalāṅkal* ‘turbidity, muddiness, muddy water, perturbation’, *kalāvu* (*kalāvi-*) ‘to be perturbed, confused, displeased, angry’, *kalāy* ‘to get angry, to quarrel’, *kalāpam* ‘disturbance, uproar, raid’, *kalām* ‘war, battle, rivalry, rage’, *kali* ‘perturbation, discomposure, uneasiness, war, dissension, strife’, *kaluṛ* ‘(vb.) to become turbid (as

water), to be disturbed in mind, to weep; (n.) weeping, muddiness', *kalurcci*, *kalurvu* 'sorrow, weeping', *kaluri* 'disturbed water, puddle, flood, tears, confusion', *kalir* '(vb.) to weep, to be troubled (in mind); (n.) muddy water'; Malayalam *kalannuka* 'to be mixed, agitated, embarrassed, turbid (as water)', *kalannal* 'turbidity', *kalakkuka* 'to mix (tr.), to confound', *kalakkam* 'turbidity, confusion, quarrel', *kalacuka* 'to be disturbed', *kalaśal*, *kalāpam* 'confusion, quarrel', *kalakku* 'muddy water', *kalampuka* 'to get confused, to quarrel, to anoint the body with perfumes', *kalampal*, *kalampu* 'uproar, quarrel'; Kota *kalk* 'muddy (of water)', *kalg-* (*kalgy-*) 'to be mixed, confused (in relationship)', *kalk-* (*kalky-*) 'to mix'; Toda *kalx-* (*kalxy-*) 'to be stirred up (water so that it becomes muddy)', *kalk-* (*kalky-*) 'to stir up (water so that it becomes muddy)'; Kannaḍa *kalaku*, *kalaṅku* 'to agitate, to shake, to perturb, to make turbid, to stir up, to disturb', *kalakisu* 'to perturb, to stir', *kalaku* 'turbidity', *kalaḍu* 'to become turbid, muddy, unclean; to be shaken or perturbed', *kalumbu* '(vb.) to perturbate, to make turbid; (n.) turbidity, contamination, defilement', *kaluhe* 'turbidity, impurity'; Koḍagu *kalang-* (*kalangi-*) 'to be stirred up', *kalak-* (*kalaki-*) 'to stir up, to churn', *kalak* 'stirring up'; Tuḷu *kalaṅku*, *kaḷaṅku* 'turbidity, muddiness', *kalaṅkuni*, *kaḷaṅkuni* 'to be turbid', *kalaṅkāvuni* 'to render turbid', *kalambuni* 'to quarrel, to fight'; Telugu *kalāgu* 'to be in agitation, confusion, or trouble; to be turbid (as any liquid)', *kalācu* 'to stir, to agitate, to disturb, to trouble, to make turbid', *kalāka*, *kalākuva* 'confusion, trouble, turbidity', *kalāta* 'agitation, disturbance, quarrel, dissent, strife, turbidity', *kalaguṇḍu* 'confusion, disorder, commotion, tumult', *kallih-* 'to shake (bottle, etc.)'; Kui *glahpa* (*glaht-*) '(vb.) to mix by stirring, to stir, to confuse, to perplex, to confound, to cause to be confused; (n.) the act of stirring, confusing'; Kuṛux *xalaxnā* 'to disturb, to make muddy (as water)', *xalxnā* 'to be wet and muddy'; Malto *qalge* 'to disturb (as water)', *qalgro* 'disturbed or muddy'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1303; Krishnamurti 2003:123, fn. 5 (no. 2), **kal-ac-* 'to quarrel'. Tamil *kalavaram* 'confusion of mind, perturbation', *kalavari* 'to be confused, perturbed'; Kannaḍa *kaḷakaḷa*, *kaḷavaḷike* 'agitation of the mind, distress, confusion', *kaḷavaḷisu* 'to be agitated, to grieve, to be perplexed'; Koḍagu *kaḷavaḷa* 'confusion'; Tuḷu *kaḷavaḷa* 'anxiety, alarm, sorrow'; Telugu *kalavaramu* 'confusion, state of being puzzled or perplexed, anxiety', *kalavara-paḍu/pōvu* 'to be confused', *kaḷavaḷamu* 'anxiety, confusion, perplexity', *kaḷavaḷincu* 'to be perplexed, anxious'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1306. Tamil *kalipali*, *kalipili* 'uproar, disturbance, quarrel, wrangle'; Kannaḍa *galabali*, *galabili*, *galibili* 'disorder, confusion', *galabe* 'hubbub, clamor'; Tuḷu *galibili* 'disorder, tumult, anarchy', *galabu* 'noise, tumult, confusion'; Telugu *galibili*, *galaba* 'confusion, noise, disturbance'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1310.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **k'al-* (~ **k'əl-*) (vb.) 'to move, to tremble, to shake, to agitate, to

stir, to mix; (n.) agitation, trembling, perturbation, distress, confusion, uneasiness, disturbance’.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **gel-* ‘to be nervous, frightened’: Old Georgian *γelva-* ‘wave’; Georgian *γel-* ‘to be nervous’; Mingrelian *γal-* ‘to get frightened’. Klimov 1998:222 **γel-* ‘to be nervous, frightened’; Fähnrich 2007:481 **γel-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:387 **γel-*.
- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qaaluu-* (< **qa:lə-*) ‘terrible, frightful; strong’, *qallid'e* ‘wolf; something terrible’. Nikolaeva 2006:375—376.
- E. Proto-Altaic **gāli-* ‘(vb.) to hate; (adj.) wild’: Proto-Tungus **galu-* ‘to hate’ > Lamut / Even *galut-* ‘to hate’; Ulch *galu-* ‘to hate’; Oroch *galu-* ‘to hate’; Nanay / Gold *galo-* ‘to hate’; Oroch *galu-* ‘to hate’; Udihe *galu-* ‘to hate’. Proto-Mongolian **galžayu* ‘wild, rabid’ > Mongolian *γalžayu*, *γalžiyu* ‘rabid, insane; possessed by a demon; frenzied, enraged; violent, tempestuous’, *γalžayura-* ‘to be(come) rabid, enraged; to fly into a rage; to be(come) insane’, (causative) *γalžayurayul-* ‘to madden, to enrage; to cause one to lose his reason’, *γalžayural* ‘madness, insanity’; Khalkha *galzū* ‘wild, rabid’; Buriat *galzū* ‘wild, rabid’; Kalmyk *γalzū* ‘wild, rabid’; Ordos *galzū* ‘wild, rabid’; Dagur *galzō* ‘wild, rabid’; Monguor *garžū*, *galzū* ‘wild, rabid’. Proto-Turkic **K(i)al* ‘wild, rough’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qal* ‘wild, rough’; Karakhanide Turkic *qal* ‘wild, rough’; Turkmenian *galdav* ‘wild, rough’; Khakas *χal* ‘wild, rough’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qal* ‘wild, rough’; Tuva *χal-mal* ‘wild, rough’; Yakut *χal* ‘wild, rough’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:628 **gāli* ‘to hate; wild’.
- F. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **γəlo-* ‘to be sad’ > Chukchi *γəlo-* ‘to be sad, bored’, *γəlo-lʔən* ‘sad’, *γəlo-n* ‘sorrow’; Kerek *həlu-lran* ‘sad’; Alyutor (Palana) *γloγəl* ‘sorrow, boredom’. Fortescue 2005:89. Semantic development as in New High German *trüb(e)* ‘sad’, originally ‘troubled, turbid’ — note *Trubel* ‘confusion, turmoil, turbulence; bustle, hubbub, hurly-burly; milling throng’.

Buck 1949:5.17 mix; 16.33 anxiety; 16.36 sad; 16.53 fear, fright.

571. Proto-Nostratic root **gam-* (~ **gəm-*):

(vb.) **gam-* ‘to gather together, to bring together, to put together, to join together, to come together, to do together’;

(n.) **gam-a* ‘gathering, collection, crowd, multitude, throng’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gam-* ‘to gather together, to bring together, to put together, to join together, to come together’: Proto-Semitic **gam-aʕ-* ‘to gather together, to bring together’ > Arabic *ğamaʕa* ‘to gather (something); to collect (for example, money); to unite, to combine, to bring together (parts into a whole); to put together, to join (things); to set, to compose (type); to compile (a book); to summarize, to sum up (something); to rally, to round up (people); to pile up, to amass, to accumulate (something); to assemble

(several persons); to add (numbers), to add up (a column); to make plural, to pluralize (a word); to convoke, to convene, to call (a meeting); to unite, to link, to bring together (several things of persons); to combine; to contain, to hold, to comprise (something), *ǵam* ‘gathering; collection; combination; connection, coupling, joining; accumulation; addition; union, merger, aggregation, integration; holding together; gathering (of people), crowd, throng; gang, troop; plural (in grammar)’, *ʔaǵma* ‘entire, whole, all’; Sabaeen *gm* ‘to assemble, to bring together’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *gǝ* ‘to gather’, *egǝ* ‘to collect’, *gǝtma* ‘to gather’, (collective) *gǝʔat* ‘company, band of robbers’; Mehri *gūma* ‘to gather (tr.)’, *gátma*, *gátama*, *-maʔ*, *gátmam/lyəgtámam* ‘to gather (intr.)’; Ḥarsūsi *egtōma*, *egtemáʔ*, *gátma* ‘to collect, to gather’. D. Cohen 1970— :143; Zammit 2002:125. Arabic *ǵumla* (pl. *ǵumal*) ‘totality, sum, whole; group, troop, body; crowd’. D. Cohen 1970— :139; Zammit 2002:126. Arabic *ǵamhara* ‘to gather, to collect; to assemble’, *ǵamhara* ‘multitude, crowd, throng; the great mass, the populace’, *taǵamhara* ‘to gather, to flock together (crowd)’, *ǵumhūr* ‘multitude; crowd, throng; general public, public’, *taǵamhur* ‘gathering (of people), crowd’. D. Cohen 1970— :137. Arabic *ǵamara* ‘to gather, to unite; to tie together (the back of the hair); to unite for a purpose’, *ǵamār* ‘crowd, people’. D. Cohen 1970— :144. Berber: Tawlemmet *əgmər* ‘to hunt, to go hunting, to collect’, *tagmər* ‘hunting’, *ənəgmər* ‘hunter, collector’; Ghadames *əgmər* ‘to pick fruit, dates’, *aǵəmmər* ‘ancient festival celebrating the first picking of dates’; Tamazight *gmər* ‘to hunt, to steal, to steal game’, *tagəmriwt* ‘prey, game’, *tanəgmər* ‘hunting, stealing game’; Kabyle *əgmər* ‘to gather, to gather cardoon’, *tagmər* ‘picking, gathering’; Riff *əgmər*, *əymar* ‘to hunt, to fish’, *taǵəmrawt*, *tayəmrawt* ‘hunting, fishing’. West Chadic: Hausa *gàmu* ‘to meet’, *gàmo* ‘meeting, encounter’; Montol *kwam* ‘to meet together’; Angas *gwom* ‘to meet together’; Bole *gom* ‘to meet together’; Karekare *gam* ‘to meet together’; Tangale *komb-* ‘to meet together’; Bade *gam-* ‘to meet together’. Orël— Stolbova 1995:213, no. 952, **gomaʕ-* ‘to gather, to meet’; Ehret 1995:184, no. 280, **gim-* ‘to come upon, to meet with’.

- B. Dravidian: Kota *kabałm* ‘communal work in one man’s garden’; Kannaḍa *kambaḷa* ‘daily hire or wages’; Koḍagu *kambaḷa* ‘feast given in field at transplantation time; picnic’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:115, no. 1238.
- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **yæmyæ-* ‘every, any’ > Chukchi *yemye-* ‘every, any’; Koryak *yemye-* ‘every, any’; Alyutor *yamyā-* ‘every, any’. Fortescue 2005:407. Semantics as in Arabic *ʔaǵma* ‘entire, whole, all’, cited above.

Buck 1949:12.21 collect, gather’ 13.19 multitude, crowd. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 629, **g[A]mV* (and **g[A]mʕV* ?) ‘altogether, full’ and 613, no. 630, **g[e]mV* ‘strong, firm’.

572. Proto-Nostratic root **gar-* (~ **ǵar-*):
- (vb.) **gar-* ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’;
- (n.) **gar-a* ‘groan, howl, murmur, roar, cry’
- Reduplicated (Semitic and Kartvelian):
- (vb.) **gar-gar-* ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’;
- (n.) **gar-gar-a* ‘groan, howl, murmur, roar, cry’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **gar-* ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’:
 [Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gar-gar-* ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’ > Arabic *ǧarǧara* ‘to grunt, to grumble’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔangʷargʷara* [አገግርግረ] ‘to murmur, to mutter, to grumble, to complain, to claim, to be vexed, to be angry’; Tigrinya *ʔangʷärgʷärä* ‘to mutter, to mumble’; Amharic *angʷäraggʷärä* ‘to mutter’; Gurage *angəraggärä* ‘to grumble’, (*a*)*gʷarra* ‘to bellow, to howl, to roar’, *gur balä* ‘to thunder’, *gurgur balä* ‘to murmur’; Harari *girgir bāya* ‘to be noisy, to be unsettled (country)’, *gurur bāya* ‘to roar (animal), to rumble (thunder), to thunder’, *gurum gurum bāya* ‘to grumble, to groan’, *gurgurti* ‘rumor’. D. Cohen 1970— :175—177; Leslau 1963:75, 1979:288, 293, and 1987:202.] Note: The Semitic forms may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic **gur-* ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **gar-/ʎr-* ‘to cry (out), to howl’: Georgian *m-ʎer-* ‘to sing’; Mingrelian *ʎor-, ʎvar-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Laz *mʎor-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Svan *ʎar-/ʎr-* ‘to sing’. Schmidt 1962:125; Klimov 1964:201 **ʎar-/ʎr-* and 1998:221 **ʎar-/ʎr-* ‘to cry, to sing’; Fähnrich 2007:479 **ʎar-/ʎr-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:385—386 **ʎar-/ʎr-*. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated) **gargar-* ‘to cry (out), to howl’: Georgian *ʎayad-* ‘to cry, to howl’; Mingrelian *ʎaryal-* ‘to chat’; Laz *ʎa(r)ʎal-* ‘to speak’. Klimov 1964:201 **ʎaryar-* and 1998:221—222 **ʎaryar-* ‘to talk a lot’. Proto-Kartvelian **gr-en-/ʎr-in-* ‘to snarl (refers to dogs and other animals)’: Georgian *ʎren-/ʎrin-* ‘to snarl’; Mingrelian *ʎirin-/ʎərin-* ‘to snarl’; Laz *ʎi(r)in-* ‘to snarl’. Klimov 1964:206 **ʎrin-* and 1998:233 **ʎr-en-/ʎr-in-* ‘to snarl (refers to dogs and other animals)’: Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:397 **ʎren-/ʎrin-*; Fähnrich 2007:494 **ʎren-/ʎrin-*. Proto-Kartvelian **gr-ut-* ‘to grunt’: Georgian *ʎrut’-un-* ‘to grunt’; Mingrelian *ʎvint’-* ‘to grunt’; Laz *ʎrut’-, xrut’-* ‘to grunt’; Svan *ʎurt’-, žʎurt’-* ‘to grunt’. Klimov 1964:207 **ʎrut-* and 1998:234 **ʎru(n)t-* ‘to grunt’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:399 **ʎrut-*; Fähnrich 2007:496 **ʎrut-*
- C. Proto-Indo-European **gher-/ghor-/ghy-* ‘to growl, to wail, to weep, to cry (out)’: Latin *hirriō* ‘to growl’; Armenian *ger* ‘to wail’; Gothic *grētan* ‘to weep, to lament’, *grēts* ‘weeping’; Old Icelandic *gráta* ‘to weep, to bewail’, *grátr* ‘weeping’; Faroese *gráta* ‘to weep’, *grátur* ‘weeping’; Norwegian *graata* ‘to weep’, *graat* ‘weeping’; Swedish *gråta* ‘to weep’, *gråt* ‘weeping’; Danish *græde* ‘to weep’, *graad* ‘weeping’; Old English *grætan* ‘to weep’, *grædan* ‘to cry out, to call out’; Old Saxon *grātan* ‘to

weep'; Middle High German *grazen* 'to cry out, to rage, to storm'. Rix 1998a:180 (?) **gh^hreh₁d-* 'to weep'; Pokorny 1959:439 **gher-* onomatopoeic; Walde 1927—1932.I:605 **gher-*; Mann 1984—1987:319 **gher-*, **ghor-* 'to cry', 423 **ghrēdō* 'to roar, to din, to resound, to shout'; Watkins 1985:22 **gher-* and 2000:30 **gher-* 'to call out'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:651—652 **ghers-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:296 Latin *hirriō* 'expressive verb'; Orël 2003:142 Proto-Germanic **grētanan*; Kroonen 2013:187—188 Proto-Germanic **grētan-* 'to wail'; Lehmann 1986:160—161 Gothic *grētan* possibly from **gher-* with *-d-* extension; Feist 1939:221; De Vries 1977:185; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:243; Torp 1919:179; Onions 1966:413 Common Germanic **grāetan*; Klein 1971:322 **ghrēd-*.

- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **γəræp-* 'to sing': Chukchi *y(ə)rep-* 'to sing'; Alyutor *yræp-* 'to sing'. Fortescue 2005:90.
- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **garju-* (or **garju-*) 'to cry, to yelp': Amur *qarju-d* 'to cry, to yelp (dog)'; East Sakhalin *qarju-d* 'to cry, to yelp'; South Sakhalin *qarju-* 'to make a noise'. Fortescue 2016:66.

Buck 1949:18.12 sing; 18.13 shout, cry out. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:502, no. 350.

573. Proto-Nostratic root **gar-* (~ **gər-*):

(vb.) **gar-* 'to crush, to grate, to grind; to melt, to dissolve';

(n.) **gar-a* 'the act of crushing, grating, grinding'; (adj.) 'crushed, grated, ground, dissolved, melted, softened'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gar-* 'to crush, to grate, to grind': Proto-Semitic **gar-at̪-* 'to crush, to grate, to grind' > Arabic *ğaraša* 'to crush, to grate, to grind', *ğariš* 'crushed, bruised, coarsely ground; crushed grain, grits'; Hebrew *geres̄* [גְרֵס] 'groats, grits'; Amharic (*a*)*g^wärräsä* 'to make coarse-ground flour'. Murtonen 1989:142; D. Cohen 1970— :192—193; Klein 1987:110. Proto-Semitic **gurn-* 'threshing floor' > Hebrew *gōren* [גֹרֵן] 'threshing floor'; Ugaritic *grn* 'threshing floor'; Arabic *ğurn* '(stone) basin, mortar; threshing floor, barn'; Sabaeen *grn* 'threshing floor'; Geez / Ethiopic *g^wərn* [ጉርጉ], *gorn* [ጎርጎ], *gurn* [ጉርጎ], *g^wərnā* [ጉርጎ] 'threshing floor'. Murtonen 1989:141—142; D. Cohen 1970— :188—189; Klein 1987:109. Hebrew *gāras* [גָרַס] 'to crush, to pound, to ground, to mill; to make grits'; Aramaic *gəras* 'to crush, to make groats'. Murtonen 1989:142; Klein 1987:109.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *karai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to dissolve in water, to be reduced from solid to liquid form, to wear away (as soil by the action of water), to become emaciated, to become gradually attenuated', *karai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to dissolve in water (tr.), to melt, to liquefy, to extirpate'; Malayalam *karakkuka* 'to melt, to dissolve'; Kota *karg-* (*kargy-*) 'to dissolve, to melt (intr.)', *kark-* (*karky-*) 'to dissolve, to melt (tr.)'; Kannada *karagu*, *karaṅgu*, *kargu* 'to be dissolved, to melt away, to decrease in bulk, to

become softened to pity or love, to pine away’, *karagisu*, *karigisu*, *kargisu* ‘to cause to be dissolved, to melt’, *karaḍu* ‘to melt’; Koḍagu *kar-* (*kari-*) ‘to be digested’, *karak-* (*karak-*) ‘to digest, to dissolve’; Tuḷu *karaguni* ‘to melt (intr.), to dissolve, to liquefy; to become thin, affected, softened; to melt with pity’, *karavuni* ‘to be dissolved, melted, digested’, *karapuni* ‘to digest’; Telugu *karāgu* ‘to melt (tr., intr.), to dissolve, to liquefy’, *karāgingu*, *karācu* ‘to melt (tr.), to dissolve, to liquefy’; Gadba *kariy-ēr-* ‘to be melted’; Koṇḍa *kariy-* ‘to melt, to be dissolved’; Kuwi *karangali* ‘to be dissolved, to be melted’, *kariy-* ‘to melt (tr.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:120, no. 1292. For the semantics, cf. Old English *meltan* ‘to melt, to dissolve’ < Proto-Indo-European **mel-* ‘to crush, to grind’ (cf. Gothic *malan* ‘to grind’, *ga-malwjan* ‘to grind up, to crush’; Latin *molō* ‘to grind in a mill’; Hittite [3rd sg. pres.] *ma-al-la-i* ‘to crush, to grind’ [cf. Pokorny 1959:716—719]). Kuṛux *xarbnā* ‘to give an extra pounding to rice for cleaning it from grains unhusked or spoiled’; Malto *qarwe* ‘to clean rice by pounding’, *qarwre* ‘to be bruised or hurt by falling’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:120, no. 1295. Tamil *kari* ‘(vb.) to chew, to eat by biting or nibbling; (n.) chewing, eating by biting’, *karumpu* (*karumpi-*) ‘to eat bit by bit’, *karuvu* (*karuvi-*) ‘to nibble (as a rat)’; Malayalam *karumpuka* ‘to eat (as cows with the lower teeth)’, *karampuka* ‘to nibble, to gnaw’; Telugu *karacu* ‘to bite, to gnaw’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:129, no. 1390.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **GERG-/*GʷG-* ‘to grind (coarsely), to gnaw’: Georgian *γery-* ‘to grind (coarsely), to gnaw’; Mingrelian *γary-* ‘to grind (grain)’; Laz [*γary-*] ‘to grind (grain)’. Klimov 1964:202 **γery-* ‘to grind (grain)’ and 1998:223 **γery-* : **γʷy-* ‘to grind (coarsely), to gnaw’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:388—389 **γery-*; Fähnrich 2007:482—483 **γery-*; Jahukyan 1967:61 **γery-*. Proto-Kartvelian **GERG-il-* ‘coarse-ground flour’: Georgian *γeryil-* ‘coarse-ground flour’ (Old Georgian *γeryil-* ‘ground grains’); Mingrelian *γaryil-* ‘coarse-ground flour’; Laz *γaryil-* ‘coarse-ground flour’. Klimov 1964:202 **γeryil-* and 1998:223—224 **γery-il-* ‘coarse-ground flour’. Proto-Kartvelian **GʷG-wʷ-* ‘to gnaw, to nibble’: Georgian *γryn-* ‘to gnaw, to nibble’; Mingrelian *γiryon-* ‘to gnaw, to nibble’; Laz *γiryol-* ‘to gnaw, to nibble’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:399 **γry-*; Fähnrich 2007:497 **γry-*; Klimov 1964:207 **γry-wʷ-* and 1998:235 **γry-wn-* ‘to gnaw’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **gʰr-en-t’-/*gʰr-on-t’-* ‘to grind’: Greek *χόνδρος* (< **χρόνδ-ρο-ς*) ‘grain’, (in pl.) ‘groats of wheat or spelt: gruel made therefrom’; Latin *frendō* ‘to crush, to bruise, to grind’. Rix 1998a:182 **gʰrend-* ‘to grind’; Pokorny 1959:459 **ghren-d-* ‘to rub over sharply’; Walde 1927—1932.I:656—657 **ghren-d-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1110—1111; Boisacq 1950:1066 **gher-*: **gher-en-d-*, **gher-en-dh-*; Hofmann 1966:421 **ghrend(h)-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1268—1269; Beekes 2010.II:1643 (unexplained); De Vaan 2008:241 **gʷhr-end(h)-e/o-* (< **gʷhrend-* ?); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:545—546 **ghren-d(h)-*;

Ernout—Meillet 1979:253 Lithuanian *grėndu* < **g^whrēndh-*; Sihler 1995:163—164, §163a. Proto-Indo-European **g^{hr}-en-dh-/g^{hr}-on-dh-* ‘to grind’: Old English *grindan* ‘to grind’; Lithuanian *grėndu*, *grėsti* ‘to rub’, *grándau*, *grándyti* ‘to scrape’. Walde 1927—1932.I:656—657 **ghrendh-*; Pokorny 1959:459 **ghren-dh-* ‘to rub over sharply’; Mann 1984—1987:384 **guhrendhō*, *-iō* ‘to crush, to grind, to tread down, to gnash (the teeth)’ (variant **ghrendh-*); Watkins 1985:23 **ghrendh-* and 2000:32 **ghrendh-* ‘to grind’; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 **ghrendh-* ‘to grind’; Orël 2003:141 Proto-Germanic **grendanan*; Kroonen 2013:190 Proto-Germanic **grindan-* ‘to grind’; Onions 1966:414 **ghrendh-*; Klein 1971:323 **ghren-d(h)-*; Derksen 2015:186 **g^whrend-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:167; Smoczyński 2007.1:197.

- E. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *keriləš-* (< **kerilə-*) ‘to bite, to chew’, *kerilə* ‘flour made of fish bones cooked with fish fat’, *keril’o-* ‘soft, tender’, (Northern / Tundra) *kerile-* ‘crushed’, *keriles-* ‘to make crumbs of, to break into pieces’, *kerile-* ‘to break (intr.)’. Nikolaeva 2006:208 — Nikolaeva notes: “The element *-lə* may be a derivational suffix.”

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 8.34 thresh. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:502—504, no. 351.

574. Proto-Nostratic root **gar-* (~ **gər-*):

(vb.) **gar-* ‘to dig, to dig up, to dig out’;

(n.) **gar-a* ‘that which is used to dig: spade; that which is dug (out): furrow, ditch, gutter, canal’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *garha* [ገርሀ] ‘to plow’, *garāht* [ገረ-ህት], *garh* [ገርህ] ‘field, arable land, farm, estate’; Tigre *gārhat* ‘field’; Tigrinya *gərat* ‘field’. Leslau 1987:202; D. Cohen 1970— :184.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *karuvi* ‘instrument, tool’; Malayalam *kari*, *karivi*, *karuvi*, *karu* ‘tool, plow, weapon’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:119, no. 1290. Tamil *kāru* ‘plowshare’; Gondi *nāngel kareng* ‘plow’s point’, *kara* ‘plow’; Kuwi *karu* ‘plowshare’, *kārru* ‘plow’; Kannada *kāru* ‘plowshare’; Telugu *karru*, *kāru* ‘plowshare’. Krishnamurti 2003:9 **kāt-* ‘plowshare’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:139, no. 1505. Gondi *kār-* (also *kār-*, *kāt-*, *kāc-*) ‘to dig’; Konda *kār-* ‘to dig, to make a pit, to dig out (weeds, etc.)’; Pengo *kār-* ‘to dig’; Maṇḍa *kār-* ‘to dig’; Kui *kārpa* (*kārt-*) ‘(vb.) to dig up; (n.) the act of digging up’; Kuwi *kār-*, *kārhalī*, *karh’nai* ‘to dig’, *kārhnai* ‘to sculpt, to spade’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:137, no. 1467. Konda *karṇa* ‘canal’; Kuwi *karna* ‘irrigation channel’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:130, no. 1398.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **gare-* ‘gutter, furrow’: Georgian *γar-* ‘gutter, furrow’; Mingrelian *γore-* ‘gutter of mill; wooden dam’. Klimov 1998:221 **γare-* ‘gutter, furrow’; Fähnrich 2007:478 **γar-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:385 **γar-*. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse also include Svan *γär* ‘ravine,

valley; wooden open duct for mountain spring-water’, but Klimov rejects this comparison.

- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *qartəd'a*:- ‘to dig (intr.)’, *qartə*- ‘to shovel up, to sweep off’. Nikolaeva 2006:380.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow; 8.212 furrow; 8.22 dig.

575. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gar^v-a* ‘stick, staff, rod, pole, stalk, stem’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṛai* ‘pole used for propelling boats, elephant-goad, stem of sugarcane, shaft of a bamboo, bamboo bottle, spiny bamboo’, *kaṛi* ‘rod, staff, stick, handle of tool, peg to keep a yoke in place, lath’, *kaṛāy* ‘acrobat’s pole, spiny bamboo’, *kaṛāyar* ‘pole dancers, tumblers’, *kāṛ* ‘post, pillar, oar, iron rod, elephant goad, bolt, handle, rafter, firewood’; Malayalam *kaṛa* ‘bamboo, pole for carrying burdens’, *kaṛi* ‘staff of hoe, pin of yoke’; Kannaḍa *gaṛ*, *gaṛa*, *gaṛu*, *gaṛuvu*, *gaṛe*, *gaḍe*, *gaḍi* ‘bamboo rod or stake, bamboo, pole, staff, bamboo pole on which Kollaṭigas or Dombas tumble, churning stick’; Tuḷu *kari* ‘bar with which a door is fastened, pole fastened to a load by which it is carried on the shoulders’, *karè*, *garè* ‘the pole to which a bucket is attached in a country water-lift’, *garu*, *karu*, *gaḷu* ‘rafter’; Telugu *gaḍa* ‘pole, staff, rod, stick, stalk, mast’; Parji *kaṛcid* ‘wood for fuel’, *kaṛpa* ‘thin stick, twig, bean stick’; Gadba (Ollari) *kaṛsid* ‘wood for fuel’, *kaṛmeṭ* ‘stick’; Konḍa *gaṛa* ‘pole, long stick’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:127, no. 1370.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **ger-* ‘stem, stalk’: Georgian *γer-* ‘stem’; Svan *γēr* ‘stem’. Klimov 1998:223 **γer-* ‘stem, stalk’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:388 *γer-*; Fähnrich 2007:482 **γer-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ghrendh^o-s* ‘bar, pole, shaft’: Old Icelandic *grind* ‘a gate made of spars or bars, a fence; pen, fold; haven, dock; store houses’, *grind-hlið* ‘barred gate’; Swedish *grind* ‘lattice gate’; Old English *grindel* ‘bar, bolt; (pl.) grating, hurdle’; Old Saxon *grindil*, *grendil* ‘bolt, fence, hurdle’; Middle Dutch *grendel*, *grindel* ‘supporting post, bolt’; Old High German *grintil* ‘bolt, pole, post’; Lithuanian *grindis* ‘floorboard’; Old Church Slavic *gręda* ‘beam’; Russian *grjadá* [гряда] ‘layer, stratum (of sand); bed (of flowers), border, platband (of vegetables)’; Serbo-Croatian *gréda* ‘beam’; Polish *grzęda* ‘garden, (plant) bed; roost, perch’. Pokorny 1959:459—460 **ghrendh-* ‘beam’; Walde 1927—1932.I:657 **ghrendh-*; Mann 1984—1987:337 **ghrendhos, -is* ‘bar, pole, shaft’; Orël 2003:141 Proto-Germanic **grendiz*; Kroonen 2013:190 Proto-Germanic **grindi-* ‘fence’; De Vries 1977:189; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:170—171; Derksen 2008:187—188 **ghrndh-* and 2015:189 **ghrndh-*.

576. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gar*^y-*a* ‘wildfowl, wild goose’:

Reduplicated:

(n.) **gar*^y-*gar*^y-*a* ‘wildfowl, wild goose’

- A. (?) Afrasian: Egyptian (pl.) *gry* (**grgy*) ‘a kind of bird’, (New Egyptian) *grpt* (*gry*-*n*-*pt*) ‘pigeon, dove’; Coptic *čre* [ⲪⲠⲎ] ‘birds’. Hannig 1995:902 and 903; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:181; Vycichl 1983:346; Černý 1976:335.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **gargad*- ‘(wild) goose’: Georgian *γeryed*- ‘goose’ (Old Georgian *γeryed*-, *γryed*-, *γeryet*-); Mingrelian *γoryonž*- ‘goose’; Laz *γoryož*- ‘goose’; Svan *γaryād* ‘goose’ (Lower Bal *γaryad*). Schmidt 1962:139; Klimov 1964:201 **γaryad*- and 1998:221 **γaryad*- ‘goose’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:400 **γryad*-; Fähnrich 2007:497—498 **γryad*-.
- C. Proto-Altaic **gār*^y*V* ‘wild goose’: Proto-Tungus **gār(u)a* ‘owl, swan’ > Evenki *gāre* ‘owl, swan’; Lamut / Even *gār* ‘a big mythical bird’; Negidal *gaja* ‘owl’; Manchu *garu* ‘swan’; Jurchen *gawr-un* ‘swan’; Ulch *goara(n)* ‘owl’; Udihe *gā* ‘owl’; Oroch *garua* ‘owl’. Proto-Turkic **Kar*^y- ‘goose’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qaz* ‘goose’; Karakhanide Turkic *qaz* ‘goose’; Turkish *kaz* ‘goose’; Gagauz *qāz* ‘goose’; Azerbaijani *gaz* ‘goose’; Turkmenian *gāz* ‘goose’; Uighur *γaz* ‘goose’; Tatar *qaz* ‘goose’; Bashkir *qad* ‘goose’; Kirghiz *qaz* ‘goose’; Kazakh *qaz* ‘goose’; Kumyk *qaz* ‘goose’; Noghay *qaz* ‘goose’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qas* ‘goose’; Tuva *qas* ‘goose’; Chuvash *xor* ‘goose’; Yakut *xās* ‘goose’; Dolgan *kās* ‘goose’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:532 **gār*^y*V* ‘wild goose’.
- D. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **yal̥ya* (if for **γarya*) ‘duck’: Chukchi *yatle* ‘duck, bird’, but *yal̥ya*- in *yal̥ya-mkən* ‘flock of ducks’; Kerek *halli* (stem *hal̥ya*-) ‘duck, bird’; Alyutor *yalli* (*yal̥ya*-), (Palana) *yal̥y* ‘duck’, *tənop-yalli* ‘polar owl’, (Karaga) *kukylli* ‘duck’; Koryak *yalle* ‘duck or other aquatic bird’, *yal̥ya-mkən* ‘flock of ducks’, *tənop-yalle* ‘polar owl’; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Western) *galgalx* ‘duck. Fortescue 2005:82.

Buck 1949:3.56 goose; 3.57 duck.

577. Proto-Nostratic root **gat*^y- (~ **gət*^y-):(vb.) **gat*^y- ‘to bite’;(n.) **gat*^y-*a* ‘bite’; (adj.) ‘biting, sharp, bitter’

Derivative:

(n.) **gat*^y-*a* ‘jaw, chin’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gat*^y- ‘to bite’: Semitic: Akkadian *gašāšu* ‘to gnash the teeth, to bare the teeth, to rage’. Though the phonetics are problematic, the following may ultimately belong here as well: Tigre *gāhaṭa* ‘to nibble’; Tigrinya *gahašä* ‘to nibble’, *gāhaṭä* ‘to eat a lot, to carry away’; Gurage

gaṭä ‘to nibble, to gnaw, *to pluck out grass’; Amharic *gaṭä* ‘to nibble’; Gafat *gaṣä* ‘to nibble’; Argobba *gähaṭä* ‘to nibble’; Harari *gēhaṭa* ‘to nibble the meat from the bone or the flesh of the fruit from the stone’. Leslau 1963:70 and 1979:301. We may reconstruct a Proto-Ethiopian Semitic **gaḥ-aṣ-* ‘to nibble’ (< ? Proto-Semitic **gat*’*y-ah-* through metathesis). Note also Aramaic *gūṣ* ‘to gnaw (of mice)’, with *w* infix.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaccu* (*kacci-*) ‘to bite, to gnaw, to nibble (nursery)’; Toda *koc-* (*koč-*) ‘to bite’; Kannaḍa *kaccu*, *karcu* ‘to bite, to sting, to smart, to ache (as stomach)’, *kaccike* ‘biting’; Tuḷu *kaccuni* ‘to bite’; Kolami *kacc-* ‘to bite’; Parji *kacc-* ‘to bite, to sting’; Gadba (Ollari) *kas-* ‘to bite’, (Salur) *kacc-* ‘to sting’; Gondi *kask-* ‘to bite’, *kaccānā* ‘to gnash the teeth’, *kac-*, *kas-* ‘to bite’; Kui *kasa* (*kasi-*) ‘to bite, to sting’; Kuwi *kacc-* ‘to bite’; Malto *qaswe* ‘to eat greedily, to nip off with the teeth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:103, no. 1097. Tamil *kaya* ‘to be bitter; to abhor, to loathe, to detest’, *kai* ‘to be bitter, astringent, unpleasant; to dislike, to be angry with, to hate’, *kayappu*, *kacappu*, *kaccal* ‘bitterness’, *kaippu* ‘bitterness, dislike, aversion’, *kayar*, *kacar* ‘astringency, astringent matter’, *kaca* ‘to taste bitter; to be embittered, disgusted’, *kacaṭṭai* ‘astringency (as of an unripe fruit)’; Malayalam *kaikka*, *kaśakka* ‘to be bitter; to be disliked’, *kaippu* ‘bitterness, grudge, disrelish, disagreeable, sourish’, *kappu* ‘bitterness, grudge, disrelish, disagreeable, sourish; bile’, *kaśakaśa* imitative sound of sour astringent tastes’; Kota *kac-* (*kac-*) ‘to be bitter’, *kac va-y* ‘mouth when it has a bitter taste from beer, etc.’; Kannaḍa *kay*, *kamyi*, *kayi*, *kayyi*, *kaypu*, *kaype* ‘bitterness’, *kasar* ‘to scratch the throat, to be astringent’, *kasa*, *kasaku*, *kasaru*, *kasi*, *kasu*, *kasuru* ‘astringency, unripeness’, *kayku* ‘to be bitter’, *kaykaṭe*, *kayke* ‘bitter’; Toda *koy-* (*koc-*) ‘to be bitter’; Koḍagu *kay-* (*kayp-*, *kayc-*) ‘to be bitter’, *kaype* ‘gall-bladder’; Tuḷu *kaipē*, *kayipe*, *kaipelū* ‘(n.) bitterness; (adj.) bitter, envious’, *kasa* ‘brackish’, *kaskāyi* ‘half-ripe’; Koraga *kāy*, *kayye* ‘bitter’; Telugu *kasu* ‘raw, unripe’, *kasuru* ‘unripe fruit’; Naiki (of Chanda) *kayek* ‘unripe’; Parji *kēp-* (*kēt-*) ‘to be sour or bitter’, *kay-gaṭṭa* ‘bile’; Gondi *kay-*, *kaiyānā* ‘to be bitter’, *kaitāl* ‘bitter’, *kaiṭṭānā*, *kaittānā* ‘to taste bitter (as quinine)’, *keyke* ‘bitter’, *kayle* ‘bitter’, *kaymul* ‘bitter’, *kaitā*, *kahita*, *kelā* ‘bitter’, *kayār* ‘raw, unripe’; Gadba (Salur) *kēmbur*, *keymbur* ‘bitter’; Pengo *ke-* ‘to be bitter’; Maṇḍa *kembel* ‘bitter’; Kui *kappeli* ‘bitter’, *kasi* ‘a young, undeveloped pumpkin’; Kuwi *kassa* ‘sour’, *kombelli* ‘bitter’; Malto *qase* ‘to become bitterish, insipid, or vapid’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:116, no. 1249; Krishnamurti 2003:119 and 154 **kac-* (> **kay-*) ‘(vb.) to be bitter; (n.) bitterness’.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **geč’k-* ‘to chew’: Georgian *yeč’-* ‘to chew’; Mingrelian *yač’-* ‘to chew, to cut’; Laz *γvanč’-* ‘to chew’; (?) Svan *γarč’-* ‘to chew’. As noted by Klimov (1998:224), the cluster *-č’k-*, expected in Mingrelian and Laz, is simplified to *-č’-* after initial *γ-*. The Laz cognate underwent additional changes. The Svan cognate appears to be a Mingrelian loan. Klimov 1964:202—203 **yeč’-* and 1998:224 **yeč’-* ‘to chew’; Fähnrich—

Sardshweladse 1995:389 **yeč*-; Fähnrich 2007:483—484 **yeč*-. Proto-Kartvelian **geč*'*k*'-*wŋ*- 'to gnaw': Georgian *yeč*'*n*- 'to gnaw'; Mingrelian *xič*'*on*-, *xič*'*or*- (*x*- < **γ*-) 'to gnaw'. Klimov 1964:204 **γičwŋ*- and 1998:230 **γič-wn*- 'to gnaw'.

- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **katʷkʷ* 'bitter, sour, rotten' > Cheremis / Mari (Birsk) *kaske* 'foul, stale, rotten, sour and moldy (of drinks)', *kaška*- 'to be moldy, stale; to spoil; to become sour'; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *kužal* 'bitter'. Rédei 1986—1988:640—641 **kačkʷ*.
- E. Proto-Eskimo **qacali*- 'to sting, to smart': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qat*ʼ- 'to sting, to smart (of body part)'; Central Alaskan Yupik *qacəti*-, *qat*ʼi- 'to sting, to whine'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qazili*- 'to sting, to smart'; North Alaskan Inuit *qasilvi*- 'to beg, to entreat, to supplicate, to smart'; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *qasilinaq*- 'to be bitter'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qasili*- 'to have a prickling sensation in the limbs'; Greenlandic *qasilit*- 'to be bitter, to be sharp tasting, to sting (of wound)'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:273. Assuming semantic development as in Kannada *kaccu*, *karcu* 'to bite, to sting, to smart, to ache (as stomach)'.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 15.37 bitter. Bomhard 1996a:228, no. 644.

578. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gat*'*y*-*a* 'jaw, chin':

Derivative of:

(vb.) **gat*'*y*- 'to bite';

(n.) **gat*'*y*-*a* 'bite'; (adj.) 'biting, sharp, bitter'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gat*'*y*- 'jaw, chin': Berber **gac*'- 'cheek' > Ahaggar *ayaž* 'cheek'. Proto-East Cushitic **gad*ʼ- 'chin, jaw' > Sidamo *gacc'o* 'chin, jaw'; Burji *gac-óo* 'molar, jaw'; Somali *gaḍ* 'chin'. Sasse 1982:75 **gad*'- 'jaw'; Hudson 1989:85. Omotic **gat*'- 'chin' > Mocha *gat'-ano* 'chin'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:196, no. 866, **gač*'- 'cheek, chin'.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **gač*'*k*'- 'jaw': Georgian *γanč*'- 'jaw'; Svan *γč*'*k*'- '(n.) jaw; (vb.) to chatter', *mə-γč*'*k*'-*e* 'chatter-box'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:386 **γαč*-; Fähnrich 2007:480 **γαč*-; Klimov 1998:222 **γαč*- 'jaw'.

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw; 4.208 cheek; 4.209 chin.

579. Proto-Nostratic root **ger*-:

(vb.) **ger*- 'to stretch out the hand, to raise one's hand';

(n.) **ger*-*a* 'the act of stretching out or raising one's hand'

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **ger*-/**gir*- 'to stretch out; to raise one's hand': Georgian *γer*- : *γir*- 'to stretch out; to raise one's hand against somebody'; Laz *γir*- 'to stretch out; to raise one's hand'. Klimov 1998:223 **γer*- : **γir*- 'to

stretch; to raise one's hand'; Fährnich—Sardshweladse 1995:388 **γer-*/**γir-*; Fährnich 2007:482 **γer-*/**γir-*.

- B. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **γər-* 'to throw a lasso at reindeer' > Chukchi *γər-* 'to throw a lasso at, to catch (reindeer) with a lasso'; Alyutor *γər-* 'to catch with a lasso'. Fortescue 2005:90.

580. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasian only) **gil-* (~ **gel-*):

(vb.) **gil-* 'to shine, to glisten';

(n.) **gil-a* 'brilliance, shine'; (adj.) 'shining, glistening, gleaming, brilliant'

- A. Proto-Indo-European **ghel-/ghl-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **ghol-*) 'to shine, to glisten': Sanskrit *hári-h* 'tawny, yellow', *hiranya-h* 'gold'; Avestan *zaranya-* 'gold'; Greek *χλωρός* 'greenish-yellow'; Latin *helvus* 'light bay'; Old Irish *glé* 'clear', *glass* 'blue, green'; Gothic *gulþ* 'gold', *glitmunjan* 'to shine, to glitter'; Old Icelandic *glóa* 'to shine, to glitter', *glóð* 'red-hot embers', *gláðr* 'glad, cheerful', *gljá* 'to glisten, to shine', *glý* 'joy, glee', *gull* 'gold', *glit* 'glitter', *glotta* 'to grin', *glæa* 'to glow, to glisten', *gulr* 'yellow'; Old English *glōwan* 'to glow', *gold* 'gold', *glæd* 'bright, shining, brilliant, cheerful', *glæm* 'brilliant light', *geolo* 'yellow', *glīw* 'mirth, jest, glee', *glisian* 'to glitter', *glōm* 'twilight'; Old Frisian *gled* 'glow'; Old Saxon *glōian* 'to glow', *gelo*, *geln* 'yellow', *glad-* in *gladmōd* 'glad', *glīmo* 'brightness', *gold* 'gold'; Dutch *geel* 'yellow', *gloeien* 'to glow', *glad* 'slippery'; Old High German *gluoen* 'to glow' (New High German *glühen*), *glenzen* 'to shine' (New High German *glänzen*), *glanz* 'bright' (New High German *Glanz* 'brightness, brilliance, radiance, luster, gleam, shine, gloss'), *gelo* 'yellow' (New High German *gelb*), *glat*, *clat* 'shiny, smooth, slippery' (New High German *glatt* 'smooth, slippery'); Lithuanian *žālas* 'red', *žālias* 'green', *žilas* 'gray', *žlėjà* 'twilight'; Old Church Slavonic *zelenъ* 'green', *zlato* 'gold'. Rix 1998a:178—179 **ghlendh-* 'to look at, to gaze at; to shine'; Pokorny 1959:429—434 **ghel-* (and **ghel-* ?) 'to shine; yellow, green, gray, blue'; Walde 1927—1932.I:624—627 **ghel-*; Mann 1984—1987:317—318 **ghel-* 'yellow, green, fallow', 318 **gheleyos*, **gheluyos* 'yellowish green', 318 **gheltos* 'yellow', 322 **ghladh-* 'smooth, bright, glad', 322 **ghlādh-* (**ghlādhro-*) 'smooth, bright, luster; white-flowering tree', 322 **ghlagh-* 'smooth, bright; white-flowering tree', 322 **ghlastos*, *-om* 'brilliant, brilliance', 322 **ghlaiuyos* 'bright', 322—323 **ghlauros* (**ghlāur-*) 'bright', 323 **ghlauos*, **ghlauuyos* 'bright; brilliance', 323 **ghleist-* 'bright; brilliance, shine', 323 **ghlējos* 'bright, shine', 324 **ghlidos*, *-ā*, *-om* 'bright; brilliance', 324 **ghlījō* 'to be warm', 324 **ghlōdhos*, *-jə*, *-ā*, *-us* 'smooth, bright; smoothness, brilliance', 324 **ghloyəros* (**ghlour-*, **ghloyo-*, **ghlōy-*) 'yellow, gold', 325 **ghlūrjō* 'to loom, to shine, to look', 325 **ghlūs-* 'bright; brilliance', 325 **ghlustis* 'brightness, shine, purity', 325—326 **ghlt-*, 326 **ghlyuos*, *-ā*, *-us* 'yellow', 413 **ghel-* (**ghelos*, *-es-*; **ghelis*) 'green; greenery, vegetable; gold,

golden', 413 **ghelen-*, 413 **gheliō* 'to be green, to sprout', 413—414 **ghelk-* (**gholk-*), 414 **ghelmen-* (**ghelimen-*) 'yellowness; greenery', 414 **gheluos* (**gheleuos*, **ghelsuos*), 414 **gheltos* (**gholt-*, **ghlt-*) 'yellow, gold', 420 **ghlk-* (?) 'a colored substance', 420 **ghluos*, **ghlus*, 422 **ghol-* (**gholos*, *-es-*) 'green; greenery, green stuff', 422 **gholtos*, *-ios*, *-jə* (**ghlt-*) 'yellow, green'; Watkins 1985:21 **ghel-* and 2000:29 **ghel-* 'to shine'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:714 **g[h]el-* and 1995.I:618 **ghel-* 'yellow'; Mallory—Adams 1997:529 **ghleh₃dh-* 'smooth' < 'shiny', **ghel-* 'to shine' and 654 **ghel-* ~ **ghel-* 'yellow'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:581 and III:598—599; Beekes 2010.II:1638—1639 **ghelh₃-*; Boisacq 1950:1063—1064 **ghlō-*, **ghlē-*, **ghlā-*; **ghelē-*, **ghel(e)-*; Hofmann 1966:420 **ghel-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1104—1106 **ghel-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1263—1264 **ghel-* and II:1264—1265 **ghel-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:291 **ghelswo-*; De Vaan 2008:282; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:639 **gheluos*, **ghelsuos*; Orël 2003:131—132 Proto-Germanic **zelwaz*, 137 **glōanan*, 137 **glōdiz*, 137 **glōdjanan*, 137 **glōōjanan*, 137 **glōraz*, 137 **glōrōjanan*, 145—146 **gulpan*, 146 **gulpīnaz*, 146 **gulpanan*; Kroonen 2013:174 Proto-Germanic **gelwa-*, **gulu-* 'yellow', 182 **glōan-* 'to glow', and 182 **glōdi-* 'glow'; Feist 1939:216—217 **ghleid-* and 224—225 **ghel-*; Lehmann 1986:157 **ghley-* and 162—163 **ghel-*; De Vries 1977:173, 174, 175, 194, and 196; Onions 1966:399, 400, 402 **ghlō-*, **ghlē-*, 405 **ghel-*, and 1019 **ghelwo-*; Klein 1971:313, 314, 315 **ghlōu-*, 317 **ghel-*, **ghel-*, and 837 **ghel-*, **ghel-*, **ghlē-*, **ghlō-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:140; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:244 **ghel-*, 259, 260, and 263 **ghlōu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:254 **ghel-*, 268, and 270—271; Derksen 2008:541, 547, and 2015:511—512 **ghelh₃-i-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:771, 1:772—773, 1:784—785, and 1:789; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1286, II:1287, II:1308, and II:1317. In Indo-European, some of the reflexes of this stem fell together with those of Proto-Nostratic **gal-* (~ **gəl-*) 'to be or become visible, clear, obvious, evident; to regard, to look at, to peer at'.

- B. Uralic: Finnish *kiiltää* 'to shine, to glisten, to glimmer, to gleam', *kiilto* 'luster, gloss, polish', *kiilua* 'glimmer, glow, glint', *kiiltävä* 'glossy, bright'; Estonian *kiilas* 'glossy, glazed'.
- C. Proto-Altaic **gile-* (~ *-i*, *-o*) 'to shine, to glitter': Proto-Tungus **gil-ta-* '(vb.) to shine; (adj.) white' > Manchu *gilmarža-* 'to shine, to glow, to flash' (< Mongolian *gilbalža-* 'to flash, to shine, to beam, to glitter'), *giltarila-* 'to shine, to glitter', *giltari* 'shining, glittering', *gilmahün* 'shining, glittering', *giltahün* 'glittering, shining, clean', *giltarša-* 'to shine brightly, to gleam'; Evenki *gilta-li* 'white'; Lamut / Even *giltāl-* 'to shine'; Ulch *gilte-* 'to shine'; Nanay / Gold *gilte-* 'to shine'; Solon *giltarī* 'white'. Proto-Mongolian **gil(b)a-* 'to glitter, to shine' > Mongolian *gilai-*, *gilui-* 'to shine, to be(come) shiny, to glitter', *gilayan*, *giluyan* 'bright, shiny', *gilayar* 'bright, shiny', *gilalža-* 'to twinkle, to sparkle; to scintillate, to

glitter, to gleam, to shine; to be glossy or shiny; to be dazzled; to be radiant, beaming', *gilaski-* 'to flash, to sparkle, to shine', *gilba-* 'to flash, to beam, to glitter', *gilbaday* 'dazzling, blinding', *gilbay-a* 'radiance, refulgence, sheen, reflection, glare; summer lightning', *gilbai-* 'to glitter, to glimmer, to dazzle', *gilbalža-* 'to flash, to shine, to beam, to glitter', *gilbegen* 'light, flash', *gilbel-* 'to shine, to emit light, to sparkle', *gilbelgen* 'brightness, glare, glow, flash of lightning', *gilbelže-* 'to shine, to glitter, to glare; to flash (in the distance)', *gilbigine-* 'to shine, to sparkle, to emit light; to dazzle', *gilgemel* 'clear, luminous, limpid, transparent', *giltayan-a* 'brilliance, shine', (adv.) *gilab* 'with a flash, glare, or sparkle', *giltayana-* 'to glitter, to shine, to beam', *giltagir* 'brilliant, shining', *gilte* 'splendor, luster, shine, glare, brilliance', *giluy* 'shiny, smooth; bald; barkless; dry (of trees)', *gilügelže-* 'to shine, to glare, to glisten', *gilügen* 'shimmering, bright'; Ordos *gilba-* 'to glitter'; Khalkha *gala-*, *galba-* 'to shine, to glitter', *gilbegne-* 'to shine, to glitter'; Buriat *yalay-* 'to shine, to glitter'; Kalmyk *gilēn*, *giləg*, *gilgr* 'light; glittering', *gil-*, *gilwə-* 'to glitter'; Dagur *gialbagalži-*, *gialbegelži-* 'to glitter, to shine'. Poppe 1955:149. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:544—545 **gile* (~ *-i*, *-o*) 'to shine, to glitter'.

- D. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **γili-* 'to look for' > Chukchi *γici-* 'to look for' (as a suffix *-yili-* 'to look for, to hunt for'); Koryak *γili-* 'to look for'; Alyutor (only in compounds) *-yili-* 'to look, to hunt for'. Fortescue 2005:84.

Buck 1949:11.31 seek; 15.52 look (vb.), look at; 15.56 shine; 15.68 green; 15.69 yellow. Koskinen 1980:28, no. 85; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:229—230, no. 84, **gi/ħu* 'smooth and shiny'; Hakola 2000:68—69, no. 272; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:390—392, no. 228; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 624, **gīl[h]o* 'to shine, to glitter, to sparkle'.

581. Proto-Nostratic root **git'*- (~ **get'*-):

- (vb.) **git'*- 'to tickle';
(n.) **git'-a* 'armpit'

- A. Dravidian: Tuḷu *kidukily*, *kid(y)kelu*, *kidkuly* 'armpit, tickling', *k. āpini* 'to be tickled', *k. māḍuni* 'to tickle'; Maṇḍa *kiti ki-* 'to tickle'; Kui *kitki lomberi*, *kīti kola* 'armpit', *kīti* 'tickling', *kīti āva* 'to be tickled', *kīti giva* 'to tickle', *kitkorodi* 'armpit'; Kuwi *gidori kīali* 'to tickle', *gidori kīnai* 'to titillate'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:143, no. 1551(a).
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **git'in-* 'to tickle': Georgian *γit'in-* 'to tickle'; Mingrelian *xicin-* 'to tickle'; Laz *xit'in-* 'to tickle'. Klimov 1964:204 **γiṭin-* and 1998:229—230 **γiṭin-* 'to tickle'.

Bomhard 1996a:228, no. 645.

582. Proto-Nostratic root **gub-* (~ **gob-*):(vb.) **gub-* ‘to bend, to twist’;(n.) **gub-a* ‘that which is twisted, bent, curved: hunch, wattle’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **gub-* ‘to bend, to twist’: Proto-Semitic **gab-ab-* ‘to bend, to twist; to be bent’ > Post-biblical Hebrew *gaβ* [גַב] ‘back, hunch’; Syriac *gəβīβā* ‘hunch-backed’; Mandaic *gab* ‘to bend, to curve’; Geez / Ethiopic *gabbaba* [ገበበ] ‘to be bent’; Tigrinya (reduplicated) *gʷägʷäbä* (< **gʷab-gʷab-*) ‘to be crooked, twisted’; Tigre *gäbb bela* ‘to incline’; Amharic *gʷäbbäbä*, *gʷäbäbb alä* ‘to be bent’. D. Cohen 1970— :94–95; Murtonen 1989:125; Klein 1987:88; Leslau 1987:177. Proto-Semitic **gab-as-* ‘crook-backed’ > Tigre *gäbs* ‘crook-backed’. D. Cohen 1979— :97. Proto-Semitic **gab-an-* ‘to be crooked, bent’ > Hebrew *gibbēn* [גִּבְעָן] ‘crook-backed, hump-backed’; Gurage (Muher) *gʷəbən*, (Chaha, Eža, Ennemor) *gʷəbər* ‘hunchbacked’. D. Cohen 1970— :96; Leslau 1979:257 and 258. Egyptian *gb* ‘to bend, to stoop’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:162. Saho-Afar **gub-* ‘to be bent’ > Afar *guub-* ‘to be bent’. Central Chadic **gwab-* ‘to bend’ > Gisiga *gob-* ‘to bend’; Mofu *gəb-* ‘to bend’. East Chadic **gwab-* ‘to bend’ > Kera *gobe* ‘to bend’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:212, no. 938, **gob-* ‘to bend’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **gob-* ‘to braid, to plait’: Georgian *γob-* ‘to fence in, to enclose, to block, to obstruct’; Mingrelian *γob-* ‘to braid, to plait, to fence in, to enclose’; Laz *γob-* ‘to braid, to plait’. Klimov 1964:205 **γob-* and 1998:225 **γweb-* ‘to weave; wattle’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:393 **γob-*; Fähnrich 2007:490 **γob-*. Proto-Kartvelian **gob-e-* ‘wattle-fence’: Georgian *γobe-* ‘wattle-fence’; Laz *γobe(r)-* ‘wattle-fence’; Mingrelian *γober-* ‘wattle-fence’; Svan *γweb* ‘bee-hive’. Klimov 1964:205 **γobe-* and 1998:231 **γob-e-* ‘wattle-fence’.
- C. Proto-Eskimo **quvə-* ‘to stoop (for example, in humiliation)’: Naukan Siberian Yupik *quvə-* ‘to be angry’; Central Siberian Yupik *quuvə-* ‘to decrease in size; to feel sad, insecure, or insignificant’; Sirenik *quv(ə)-* ‘to be sad, to loose heart’; North Alaskan Inuit *qufsuk-* ‘to kneel’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:321.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.75 plait (vb.); 12.74 crooked. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:504, no. 352.

22.28. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *q^h

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
q ^h -	q- (?)	k-	q-	k ^h -	k-	k ^h -	k- q-
-q ^h -	-q- (?)	-k(k)-	-q-	-k ^h -	-k(k)-	-k ^h -	-k(k)- -q(q)-

583. Proto-Nostratic root *q^had- (~ *q^həd-):

(vb.) *q^had- ‘to move, to put in motion, to be in motion’;

(n.) *q^had-a ‘way, path, direction, passage; movement, motion; hard work, diligence’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *kad-ad- ‘to urge, to drive; to work hard’ > Arabic *kadda* ‘to work hard, to exert oneself, to toil, to labor, to slave; to fatigue, to wear out, to overwork, to exhaust, to weary, to tire; to chase away, to drive away; to urge, to drive, to rush’, *kadd* ‘trouble, pains, labor, toil, hard work’, *kadūd* ‘industrious, hard-working, diligent’, *makdūd* ‘worn out, exhausted, overworked’; Mehri *kəd* ‘to carry something, to work hard’; Šheri / Jibbāli *kedd* ‘to struggle, to work hard, to carry’. Proto-Semitic *kad-aḥ- ‘to exert oneself, to toil, to labor, to work hard’ > Arabic *kadaḥa* ‘to exert oneself, to work hard, to toil, to labor, to slave (in or with something)’, *kadh* ‘exertion, toil, labor, drudgery’; Sabaeen *mkdh* ‘depot, dockyard’. Zammit 2002:351—352.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṭa* ‘to pass through, to traverse, to cross, to exceed, to excel, to win, to overcome, to transgress; to go, to proceed, to pass (as time, water, clouds, etc.)’, *kaṭattu* (*kaṭatti-*) ‘(vb.) to cause to go, to drive, to transport, to pass (as time); (n.) boat’, *kaṭappu* ‘passing over, wicket or narrow passage in a wall or hedge’, *kaṭavāṇ* ‘channel cut through ridge of paddy-field to let surplus water run off’, *kaṭavu* (*kaṭavi-*) ‘(vb.) to cause to go, to drive, to ride, to dispatch, to discharge (as a missile); (n.) way, path, direction’, *kaṭavai* ‘leap, jump, passing over, way; fault, defect’, *kaṭāvu* (*kaṭāvi-*) ‘to discharge (as missiles), to ride, to drive, to drive in (as a nail, peg, wedge), to urge’, *kaṭācu* (*kaṭāci-*) ‘to drive (as a nail), to throw’, *kaṭai* ‘end, limit, boundary; lowness, lowest, worst; entrance, gate’, *kaṭai* ‘end, extremity, the last’, *kaṭu*, *keṭu* ‘fixed time, period, term’; Malayalam *kaṭakka* ‘to pass over, to enter, to pass out, to transgress, to surpass’, *kaṭattuka* ‘to make to pass, to insert, to introduce’, *kaṭattu* ‘transporting, conveying’, *kaṭa* ‘what is ultimate; way’, *kaṭappu* ‘passage, transgression’, *kaṭāvuka* ‘to drive (as a carriage), to drive in (as a nail)’, *kaṭāsi* ‘termination, end’, *kaṭampa*, *kaṭāyi* ‘stile, gate, bar’, *gaḍu*, *keṭu* ‘term, installment’; Kota *karv-* (*kard-*) ‘to cross (river), to come out or leave (house), to pass (years), to rise (sun or moon)’, *kart-* (*kayt-/karṭy-*) ‘to

make to cross, to send off, *karv* ‘cattle-path through bushes, ford’, *kar*, *karç* ‘extreme end’; Toda *kaḍ-* (*kaḍθ-*) ‘to leave, to pass, to cross’, *kart-* (*karty-*) ‘to send, to take across’, *kaḍ* ‘a stride’, *kaḍč* ‘end (of thing, event)’; Kannada *kaḍe* ‘(vb.) to pass over, to transgress, to pass, to elapse, to get through; (n.) end, termination, limit; position of being last, low, or inferior; worse than; side, direction, last, at last’, *kaḍa* ‘end, corner’, *kaḍa* ‘ferry, ford’, *kaḍakal* ‘wicket or narrow passage in walls or hedges’, *kaḍāyisu* ‘to drive in (as a nail)’, *kaḍame*, *kaḍime* ‘deficiency, inferiority, remainder’, *gaḍaba*, *gaḍavu*, *gaḍi*, *gaḍu*, *gaḍuba*, *gaḍuvu* ‘limit, limited time, period, installment’; Koḍagu *kaḍa-* (*kaḍap-*, *kaḍand-*) ‘to cross’, *kaḍat-* (*kaḍati-*) ‘to take across’, *kaḍe* ‘end (of row, event, etc.)’, *kaḍeki* ‘at last’; Tuḷu *kaḍapuni* ‘to cross, to ford, to pass, to elapse, to surpass’, *kaḍapāvuni* ‘to cause to pass, to help one to ford a river’, *kaḍapuḍuni* ‘to dispatch, to forward, to send away’, *kaḍapa* ‘distance’, *kaḍapu* ‘a ferry’, *kaḍapely* ‘that which can be crossed over’, *kaḍame* ‘deficiency, defect, remnant; less, deficient, remaining’, *kaḍe* ‘verge, margin, end, extremity, place; last, final, low, mean’, *gaḍu* ‘a term, fixed time or place’; Telugu *kaḍacu*, *gaḍacu*, *gaḍucu* ‘to pass, to elapse; to pass over, to cross, to transgress, to exceed’, *kaḍapu*, *gaḍupu* ‘to pass, to cause to pass or elapse, to put off, to defer, to drive, to push’, *kaḍa* ‘end, extremity, place, direction vicinity’, *kaḍagoṭṭu* ‘to die’, *kaḍacanu* ‘to die, to be destroyed or lost, to be completed; to cross, to cross over’, *kaḍategu* ‘to end, to come to a close’, *kaṭṭakaḍa* ‘(n.) the very end, the very last place or point; (adj.) the very last, farthest, hindmost’, *kaḍapa*, *gaḍapa* ‘threshold’, *kaḍapaṭa* ‘at last’, *kaḍapaṭi* ‘last, final’, *kaḍapala* ‘the end’, *kaḍama* ‘remainder; remaining’, *gaḍuvu* ‘term, period, or limit of time, appointed time within which an action is to be performed’; Parji *kaḍa* ‘end, side’, *kaḍp-* (*kaḍt-*) ‘to cross’, *kaḍ-* (*kaṭt-*) ‘to throw (normally used as an auxiliary verb)’; Gadba (Ollari) *karp-* (*kart-*) ‘to cross’; Koṇḍa *garvi-* ‘to go beyond the boundary of a village, to fail a promise, to disregard (elder’s words)’; Maṇḍa *krā-* ‘to cross’; Kui *grāsa* (*grāsi-*) ‘to pass something over or through, to pass a thing through the outstretched legs’, *grāpa* (*grāt-*) ‘(vb.) to cross, to cross over, to ford, to pass by; (n.) the act of crossing, fording, or passing by’; Kuwi *kaṭu* ‘time (suitable period)’; Kurux *kaṭṭnā* ‘to cross, to pass over or above, to overtake and go beyond, to out-distance, to surpass, to go to excess’, *kaṭaʔānā*, *kaṭṭaʔānā* ‘to take across, to pass over, to skip over’; Malto *kaṭe* ‘to exceed, to pass, to cross’, *kaṭtre* ‘to pass, to spend time, to help across’, *kaṭp* ‘exceedingly, very much’; (?) Brahui *xarring* ‘to proceed on foot, to make one’s way’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:104, no. 1109; Krishnamurti 2003:407 Proto-South Dravidian **kaṭ-ay* ‘end, place’.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **qad-/qed-/qd-* ‘to move, to make a movement; to bring; to go’: Georgian *xad-/xd-* ‘to take, to take out; to happen, to occur’; Mingrelian *rt-* ‘to go’; Laz *xt-*, *xṭ-* ‘to go’; Svan *qad-* (*qed-*, *qid-*)/*qd-* ‘to come; to bring; to take out, to draw out’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse

1995:557—558 **qad-/qed-/qd-*; Fähnrich 2007:696—697 **qad-/qed-/qd-*; Klimov 1964:263 **qad-/qd-* and 1998:335 **qed- : qid- : qd-* ‘to move, to make a movement; to bring; to go’.

- D. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *(*l*)*qət-* ‘to go away’: Chukchi (*l*)*qət-* ‘to go off (to someone or something)’; Kerek *qət-* ‘to go off’, *il-ləqt-aat-* ‘to lose’; Koryak (*l*)*qət-* ‘to go away’; Alyutor (*l*)*qət-* ‘to go away’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *eł-kas, ił-kas* ‘to go (away)’, (Western) *elkaz* ‘to go’, (Western) *eletkaz* ‘to run away’, (Eastern) *tylkezil* ‘I am going (to)’. Fortescue 2005:247.

Buck 1949:10.11 move; 10.47 go; 10.65 drive (vb. tr.).

584. Proto-Nostratic root **q^hal-* (~ **q^həl-*):

(vb.) **q^hal-* ‘to strike, to split, to cut, to wound, to injure’;

(n.) **q^hal-a* ‘stroke, blow, wound, cut, slash, damage, injury’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kal-am-* ‘to strike, to wound, to injure’ > Hebrew *kālam* [כָּלַם] ‘to put to shame, to humiliate’; Aramaic *kālam* ‘to put to shame’; Akkadian *kalmakru* ‘battle-axe’; Arabic *kalama* ‘to wound’, *kalm* ‘wound, cut, slash’; Epigraphic South Arabian *klm* ‘to injure’. Murtonen 1989:233; Klein 1987:278.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **qal-/ql-* ‘to beat, to drive in’: Georgian *xal-/xl-* ‘to beat; to push’; Svan *qal-/ql-* ‘to drive in; to fill with’. Klimov 1998:333 **qal- : ql-* ‘to drive in; to push’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:558 **qal-*; Fähnrich 2007:697 **qal-*. Possibly also: Proto-Kartvelian **qlečk-/qličk-/qlčk-* ‘to tear off, to be torn off’: Mingrelian *xarck-* (*xorck-*)/*xirck-* ‘to tear off, to burst’; Laz *x(r)ock-*, *xroc’k’-*, *xrosk’-*, *xreck-* ‘to burst; to die (of animals)’; Georgian *xleč-/xlič-* ‘to tear off, to be torn off’, (Moxevian) *na-qleč-* ‘scrap, fragment’. Klimov 1964:266 **qleč-* and 1998:339 **qleč-/qlič-/qlč-* ‘to tear off, to be torn off’; Jahukyan 1967:70 Georgian-Zan **qleč-* ‘to tear off, to burst’; Fähnrich 2007:707 **qleč-*. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse (1995:553) reconstruct Proto-Kartvelian **xleč-/xlič-*, which seems improbable in view of Moxevian *na-qleč-* ‘scrap, fragment’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hel-/k^hol-*, **k^hal-* ‘to strike, to wound, to injure’: Greek *κλᾶ-* in *ἀνα-κλάω* ‘to bend back, to break off’; Latin *calamitās* ‘loss, misfortune, damage, calamity’, *clādēs* ‘disaster, injury’, *-cellō* in *percellō* ‘to beat down, to strike down, to overturn, to shatter; to overthrow, to ruin; to strike, to push’; Old Irish *coll* ‘loss, want’; Middle Irish *ceallach* ‘war’; Welsh *coll* ‘destruction, loss’; Old Icelandic *hildr* ‘battle’; Old English *hild* ‘war, battle’; Old Saxon *hild*, *hildi* ‘battle’; Old High German *hiltia*, *hilta* ‘battle’; Lithuanian *kalù*, *kálti* ‘to forge, to strike’; Old Church Slavic *kolō*, *klati* ‘to prick, to hew’. Rix 1998a:313 **kelh₂-* ‘to beat, to strike, to hit’; Pokorny 1959:545—547 **kel-*, **kelə-*, **klā-* ‘to hit, to hew’; Walde 1927—1932.I:436—440 **qel-*, **qelā-*; Mann 1984—1987:464 **kal-* ‘to

thrust', 464 **kal-* 'to strike', 526 **kol-*; Watkins 1985:28 **kel-* and 2000:38 **kel-* 'to strike, to cut'; Mallory—Adams 1997:549 **kelh₁-* 'to strike'; Beekes 2010.I:710—711; Boisacq 1950:464 and 465; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:538—539 **qolə-*; Hofmann 1966:146 **qelā-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:864, I:864—865, and I:866—867; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:135—136 **qel(ā)-*, **qol(ā)-* and I:225—226; Ernout—Meillet 1979:85—86, 111, and 124; De Vaan 2008:82; Orël 2003:168 Proto-Germanic **xeldiz* ~ **xeldjō*; De Vries 1977:226—227; Derksen 2008:230 **kolH-* and 2015:222 **kolH-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:250; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:211—212.

- D. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **qalɣ* 'scabbard': Amur *q^hal* 'scabbard'; North Sakhalin *q^hal* 'scabbard'; East Sakhalin *q^haly* 'scabbard'; South Sakhalin *qal* 'scabbard'. Fortescue 2016:139. For the semantic development, cf. English *scabbard* 'sheath for a dagger or sword' < Proto-Indo-European *(s)*k^her-* 'to cut' (cf. Watkins 1985:59 and 2000:77—78; Klein 1971:658; Weekley 1921:1285; Barnhart [ed.] 1995:687).

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.22 cut (vb.); 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.); 11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:506—507, no. 354.

585. Proto-Nostratic root **q^ham-* (~ **q^həm-*):

- (vb.) **q^ham-* 'to cover, to conceal';
 (n.) **q^ham-a* 'covering'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **qam-* 'to cover, to hide, to conceal': Proto-Semitic **kam-am-* 'to cover, to hide, to conceal' > Arabic *kamma* 'to cover, to cover up, to conceal, to hide, to cloak'; Mehri *kmūm* 'to cover (a camel's teats) with cloth so that it's young cannot drink and milk is kept for human beings', *kīmēm* 'under shield, teat shield', *kəmmēt* 'small women's head-cloth under the top cloth'; Ḥarsūsi *kəmmeh* 'skull cap'. Proto-Semitic **kam-an-* 'to cover, to hide' > Hebrew *miḥmān* [מִחְמָן] 'treasure, hidden store, cache, hoard'; New Hebrew (pi.) *kimmēn* [כִּמְנֵן] 'to hide', *kəmənāh* [כְּמַנְהָ] 'ambush, trap; hiding-place'; Aramaic *kəman* 'to lie in ambush'; Arabic *kamana* 'to hide, to conceal; to be hidden, concealed, latent; to ambush, to waylay', *makman* 'place where something is hidden; ambush, hiding place', *kamīn* 'hidden, lying in ambush; ambush, secret attack' (according to Klein [1987:279], this is a loan from Syriac), *kāmin* 'hidden, concealed, latent; secret'; Mehri *məkəmmēt* 'hidden beyond the rise of a slope'; Šheri / Jibbāli *kūn* (base *kmn*) 'to hide', *məkmūn* 'ambush', *ekmīn* 'to lay an ambush for'. Klein 1987:279. Proto-Semitic **kam-as-* 'to hide' > Amorite *kms* 'to hide'; Hebrew *kāmas* [כָּמַס] 'to hide, to conceal, to lay up, to store away'; Aramaic *kəməs* 'store-room, cellar'. Murtonen 1989:233; Klein 1987:279. Proto-Semitic **kam-ar-* 'to cover, to hide' > Akkadian *kamāru*,

- kamarru* ‘a trap with a snare’; Arabic *kamara* ‘to cover, to veil, to conceal’; Hebrew *kimrūr* [כִּמְרוֹר] ‘darkness, gloom’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); New Hebrew *kāmar* [כָּמַר] ‘to hide, to bury (for example, fruit in the ground)’; Aramaic *kamar* ‘to hide; to keep warm’. Murtonen 1989:233; Klein 1987:279. New Egyptian *kmmnt* ‘material (for a shawl, scarf)’. Hannig 1995:884; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:131. Berber: Mزاب *taçmist* ‘a lightweight robe with sleeves’; Tuareg *takamist* ‘a wide tunic with wide sleeves’; Wargla *takmist* ‘a lightweight robe, a long tunic’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **qamł-* ‘skin (of the legs) of sheep, goat’: Georgian *xaml-* ‘a kind of shoe’; Old Georgian *qaml-i* ‘footwear’, *u-qam-ur-i*, *u-qaml-o* ‘barefoot’, *ma-qaml-e* ‘shoemaker’; Svan *qamur*, *qemər* ‘skin (of the legs) of sheep, goat, calf’. Klimov (1998:333) notes that, until recently, sheepskin was used to make sandals in Svanetia. Klimov 1964:263 **qamł-* and 1998:333 **qaml-* ‘skin (of legs) of sheep, goat’; Jahukyan 1967:77; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:560 **qaml-*; Fähnrich 2007:699 **qaml-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^hem-/*k^hom-* ‘to cover, to conceal’: Sanskrit *śāmulyà-ḥ* (Vedic *śāmūla-ḥ*) ‘thick woolen shirt’, *śamī-* ‘pod, legume’; Latin *camisia* ‘linen shirt or night-gown’ (Gaulish loan ?); Gothic *-hamōn* in: *ana-hamōn*, *ga-hamōn* ‘to get dressed’, *af-hamōn* ‘to get undressed’, *ufar-hamōn* ‘to put on’; Old Icelandic *hamr* ‘skin, slough; shape, form’, *hams* ‘snake’s slough, husk’; Old English *ham* ‘undergarment’, *hemeþ* ‘shirt’, *hemming* ‘shoe of undressed leather’, *-hama* ‘covering’ (only in compounds); Old Frisian *hemethe* ‘shirt’; Dutch *hemd* ‘shirt’; Old High German *hemidi* ‘shirt’ (New High German *Hemd*), *-hamo* ‘covering’ (only in compounds). Pokorny 1959:556—557 **k^hem-* ‘to cover, to conceal’; Walde 1927—1932.I:386—387 **k^hem-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:134 **k^hem-* ‘to cover’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:147—148 **k^hem-*, **k^ham-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:90; Orël 2003:158 Proto-Germanic **xamaz*, 158 **xam(m)inǵaz*; Feist 1939:6; Lehmann 1986:4—5 **k^hem-* ‘to cover’; De Vries 1977:208 **k^hem-*; Vercoullie 1898:109; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:303 **k^hamitja-*, **k^hem-* ‘to cover’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:304; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:325.
- D. Proto-Uralic **kama* ‘peel, skin, rind, crust’ (< ‘covering’): Finnish *kamara* ‘surface, crust, the hard surface of something’, *sianlihan kamara* ‘the skin or rind of pork’, *pääkamara* ‘scalp’; Cheremis / Mari *kom* ‘rind, crust’; Votyak / Udmurt *kōm* ‘rind, crust’; Hungarian *hám* ‘peel, cuticle’, *hámlás* ‘peeling’, *hámlík* ‘peel, scale’, *hámoz* ‘peel, skin, pare (fruit)’, *hámréteg* ‘epidermis, cuticle’, *hámsejt* ‘epidermic cell’; Vogul / Mansi *kamtul* ‘rind, crust’; Selkup Samoyed *qââm* ‘fish-scale’; Kamassian *kâm* ‘fish-scale, money’. Proto-Finno-Permian **kamti* ‘lid, cover’ > Finnish *kansi* ~ *kante-* ‘lid, cap, cover’; Estonian *kaas* ‘lid, cover’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *goaw’de*, *-wd-* ‘opening under something; projecting roof, roof on posts, without walls’, (Kola) *goam’dalás* ‘lid, cover’; Mordvin (Erza, Moksha) *kunda* ‘lid, cover’; Cheremis / Mari *komdâš* ‘cover’. Collinder 1955:22,

158, and 1977:42; Rédei 1986—1988:121—122 **kama* and 671 **komta* ‘lid’; Sammallahti 1988:552 **komta* ‘lid’; Décsy 1990:100 **kama* ‘peel, skin’; Zhivlov 2023:160 **kamti* ‘lid’.

- E. Eskimo: Proto-Yupik-Siberian Eskimo **qəmtəq* ‘roof, ceiling’ (< ‘covering’) > (?) Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qəmtitə-* ‘to become filled to the brim, to become very high (tide)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qəmtəq* ‘roof, ceiling’; Central Siberian Yupik *qəmtəq* ‘attic, upper floor’; Sirenik *qəmtə* ‘ceiling, upper floor, attic’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:297. Siberian Eskimo loan in Chukchi *qəmtən* ‘ceiling’ (cf. Fortescue 2005: 245—246).

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 4.12 skin; hide; 6.44 shirt; 6.51 shoe; 7.28 roof; 12.26 cover (vb.); 12.27 hide, conceal; 15.63 dark (in color); 15.65 black. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:505—506, no. 353.

586. Proto-Nostratic root **q^har^{y-}*- (~ **q^hər^{y-}*-):

(vb.) **q^har^{y-}*- ‘to make a rasping sound, to be hoarse; to creak, to croak’;

(n.) **q^har^{y-}-a* ‘neck, throat’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṟuttu* ‘neck, throat’; Malayalam *kaṟuttu* ‘neck (of man, animal, plant, vessel, etc.)’; Kota *karṭl* ‘neck’; Kannaḍa *kattu* ‘neck, throat’; Tuḷu *kaṇṭely* ‘neck, throat’; Gadba (Ollari) *gaḍli* ‘neck’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:127, no. 1366.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **qarqa-* ‘pharynx, throat’: Georgian *xaxa-* (dialectal variant *xarxa-*) ‘pharynx, throat’; Mingrelian *xorxot’a-* ‘throat, gullet’; Svan *qarq, qerq* ‘throat’. Klimov 1964:264 **qarqa-* and 1998:334 **qarqa-* ‘pharynx, mouth’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:561 **qarq-*; Fähnrich 2007:700 **qarq-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^her-/k^hor-/k^hḥ-* ‘to make a rasping sound, to be hoarse; to creak, to croak’: Greek κρόζω ‘to cry like a crow, to caw; (of a wagon) to creak, to groan’; Latin *crōciō* ‘to caw like a crow’; Old English *hrace, hracu* ‘throat’, *hræcan* ‘to clear the throat, to spit’; Middle Low German *rake* ‘throat’; Dutch *raak* ‘back part of the palate’; Old High German *rahho* (**hrahho*) ‘jaws, mouth (of beast); throat, cavity of mouth’ (New High German *Rachen*), *rāhhisōn* ‘to clear one’s throat’; Lithuanian *krokūi, krōkti / kriokiū, kriōkti* ‘to grunt’, (dial.) *krokóti* ‘to groan, to wheeze’; Russian Church Slavic *krakati* ‘to croak’. Pokorny 1959:567—571 **ker-*, **kor-*, **kr-* ‘to make a rasping sound, to be hoarse, to caw, to croak, etc.’; Walde 1927—1932.I:413—418 **ker-*, **kor-*, **kr-*; Mann 1984—1987:541 **krāgō, -jō* ‘to caw, to croak’ and 542 **krākō, -jō* ‘to caw, to croak’; Watkins 1985:29—30 **ker-* and 2000:40 **ker-* echoic root, base of various derivatives indicating loud noises of birds; Beekes 2010.I:788 **kroh₂k-*; Boisacq 1950:511—512; Frisk 1970—1973.II:31; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:589; Hofmann 1966:157; De Vaan 2008:145—

- 146; Ernout—Meillet 1979:151; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:293; Orël 2003:187 Proto-Germanic **xrēkjanan*, 187 **xrēkōn*; Onions 1966:743 Common Germanic **χraik-*; Klein 1971:633; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:576 **ker-*, **kor-*, **kr-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:577; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:299; Smoczyński 2007.1:316; Derksen 2008:245 and 2015:260.
- D. Eskimo: Proto-Yupik-Siberian Eskimo **qarya* ‘deep voice’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qəXsatu-* ‘to have a deep voice’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qəXsiγ-* ‘to have a deep voice’; Central Siberian Yupik *qarya-* ‘to boast, to brag’, *qari* ‘deep voice’; Sirenik *qarya* ‘voice’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:289.
- E. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **qərxə(qərxə)t-* ‘crunching sound’ > Chukchi *qʹeqat-*, *qeqʹet-*, *qet-* ‘crunch, creak (for example, snow underfoot)’; Kerek *qaʹaqa(a)t-* ‘crunch’; Koryak *reqepəcyəcyet-* ‘crunch’. Fortescue 2005:246—247.

Buck 1949:4.29 throat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:507, no. 355.

587. Proto-Nostratic root **q^hath-* (~ **q^həth-*):
- (vb.) **q^hath-* ‘to beat, to strike, to fight’;
- (n.) **q^hath-a* ‘anger, fury, wrath, spite; fight, battle, quarrel; killing, slaughter’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **qat-* ‘to beat, to strike’: Proto-Semitic **kat-at-* ‘to beat, to strike’ > Arabic (Daḡina) *katt* ‘to demolish, to cut down’; Hebrew *kāθaθ* [כָּתַת] ‘to crush, to pound’; Aramaic *kəθaθ* ‘to crush, to pound’; Ugaritic *kt* ‘beaten (copper)’; Akkadian *katātu* ‘to be low or short; to suffer physical collapse; (in astrology) to descend to the horizon’; Geez / Ethiopic *katta* [ክተ] ‘to cut in little pieces, to beat’; Tigre (reduplicated) *kātkāta* ‘to hurt, to beat’; Tigrinya (reduplicated) *kātkātā* ‘to cut’; Amharic (reduplicated) *kātākkātā* ‘to cut in little pieces, to chop up (wood)’; Gurage (reduplicated) *kətākātā* ‘to break into pieces’, *kätta* ‘to break bread in half; to make an incision in the eye’. Klein 1987:290; Leslau 1979:356, 357 and 1987:298. Proto-Semitic **kat-as^y-* ‘to beat, to strike’ > Hebrew *kāθaš* [כָּתַשׁ] ‘to crush, to pound’; Aramaic *kəθaš* ‘to beat, to crush, to pound’; Syriac *kəθaš* ‘to beat; to quarrel, to contend’. Murtonen 1989:242; Klein 1987:290. Egyptian (reduplicated) *ktkt* ‘to beat, to strike’; Coptic (reduplicated) *čotčēt* [Ⲫⲟⲧⲉⲧ] ‘to cut, to break, to destroy’. Hannig 1995:890; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:146; Vycichl 1983:348.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *katavu* (*katavi-*) ‘to be angry with, to be displeased with, to quarrel with’, *katam* ‘anger’, *katav* ‘to be angry with, to be displeased with, to be furious’, *katavvu* ‘fury, heat, vehemence’, *kati* ‘to be angry with’; Malayalam *katam* ‘wrath’, *kataykkuka* ‘to get angry’, *katarppu* ‘getting angry’; Kannaḍa *kati*, *khati*, *kāti*, *khāti* ‘anger, wrath’; Kolami *ka-ti* ‘anger, hate’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:112, no. 1186. Tamil *kātu* (*kāti-*) ‘to kill, to murder, to cut, to divide’, *kātu* ‘murder’, *kātal* ‘killing,

fighting, cutting, breaking’; Kannaḍa *kādu* ‘to wage war, to fight, to contend with’, *kāduha* ‘fighting’; Tuḷu *kāduni* ‘to quarrel, to fight, to wrestle’, *kādaḍuni* ‘to fight’, *kādāṭa* ‘a fight, war, battle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:135, no. 1447.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **khath-* ‘to fight’: Sanskrit *śātru-ḥ* ‘enemy, foe, rival’; Prakrit *sattu-* ‘enemy, foe’; Old Irish *cath* ‘battle’; Welsh *cad* ‘war’; Old Icelandic (in compounds) *höð-* ‘war, slaughter’; Old English (in compounds) *headu-* ‘war, battle’; Old High German (in compounds) *hadu-* ‘fight, battle’; Middle High German *hader* ‘quarrel, strife’ (New High German *Hader*); Old Church Slavic *kotora* ‘battle’; Hittite *kattu-* ‘enmity, strife’. Pokorny 1959:534 **kat-* ‘to fight, to struggle’, **katu-*, **kat(e)ro-* ‘fight, struggle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:339 **kat-*; Mann 1984—1987:603 **kaṭiō* ‘to strike, to beat’, 603 **katros, -us* (?) ‘striking, forceful’, 603 **katūs, -ū, -ā* ‘battle, fight’, 637 **kot-* (**kotejō*, **kotos*) ‘spite, anger; to spite, to bother, to rage’; Watkins 1985:27 **kat-* and 2000:37 **kat-* ‘to fight’; Mallory—Adams 1997:201 **katu-* ‘fight’; Puhvel 1984— .4:138—140 **katu-* ‘strife’; Kloekhorst 2008b:466 **kh₂et-(e)u-* (?); Orël 2003:165 Proto-Germanic **xapuz*; Kroonen 2013:214 Proto-Germanic **haparō-* ‘fight’ and 214—215 **hapu-* ‘battle’; De Vries 1977:278—279; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:279—280; Kluge—Seebold 1989:285; Walshe 1951:89 **katu-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:294; Derksen 2008:240: “PIE origin doubtful. The North European evidence points to **kat-*.” According to Boisacq (1950:502), Beekes (2010.I:761), Chantraine (1968—1980.I:572), and Hofmann (1966:156), Greek κότεῶ ‘to bear a grudge against, to be angry’, κότος ‘grudge, rancor, wrath’ may belong here as well. However, Frisk (1970—1973.I:931—932) questions this comparison.
- D. Yukaghir *qatik-* ‘to wrestle’. Nikolaeva 2006:381.
- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **qætvə-* ‘to stab (to death)’ > Chukchi *qetvə-* ‘to stab (an animal) to death’; Koryak (Kamen) *qatvə-* ‘to stab’; Alyutor *qatv(ə)-* ‘to stab, to wound’. Fortescue 2005:233.

Buck 1949:16.42 anger; 20.11 fight (vb.); 20.12 battle (sb.); 20.13 war. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:429, no. 273; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1224, **k[a]tV* (or **ka?itV*?) ‘to kill, to wage a war’.

588. Proto-Nostratic root **q^hoc^h-*:

- (vb.) **q^hoc^h-* ‘to take off, to take away, to remove’ (> ‘to remove by wiping, sweeping, rubbing, peeling, pulling or tearing off, etc.’);
- (n.) **q^hoc^h-a* ‘the act of removing; that which has been removed’ (> ‘rubbish, refuse, sweepings, etc.’)

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kac-ar-*, **kac-t-ar-* ‘to sweep, to wipe off, to wipe away’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kwasara* [ከሰረ], *kastara* [ከሰተረ] ‘to sweep, to cleanse, to wipe away, to get rid of debris, to dust, to purify, to

prune (trees), to correct', *mək^wəstār* [𐩣𐩨𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣] 'rubbish heap, sweepings, refuse; broom, twigs (serving as a broom); snuffers for a candle', *k^wəstār* [𐩨𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣] 'sweepings'; Tigrinya *k^wəstārä* 'to sweep, to wipe off, to filter'; Tigre *k^wəstāra* 'to sweep away'; Amharic *k^wəsättärä* 'to wipe off, to sweep away'; Gurage *kostarra* 'filtered'. Leslau 1979:354 and 1987:296.

- B. Dravidian: Kannada *kojaṅṅi* 'refuse (as of fruits)'; Tuḷu *kujāṅṅi*, *kojaṅṅi* 'the refuse of vegetables from which the juice has been pressed out'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:184, no. 2039.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **qoc-* 'to remove by wiping, sweeping, rubbing, peeling, etc.': Old Georgian *c'ar-qoca-* 'to clean', *ma-qoca-* 'to wipe up, to root out', *da-qoca-* 'to destroy'; Georgian *xoc-* 'to wipe up, to rub, to sweep'; Laz *xos-* 'to peel (fruit)'. Klimov 1998:340 **qoc-*; Fähnrich 2007:708 **qoc-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:567 **qoc-*.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **qocyə-* 'to tear' > Koryak *qocyə-*, *qocyi-* 'to tear, to tear to pieces'; Alyutor *qucyə-* 'to tear'. Fortescue 2005:237.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. trans.); 9.31 rub; 9.37 sweep.

22.29. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *q'

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
q'-	q' (?)	k-	q'-	k'-	k-	k-	k- q-
-q'-	-q' (?)	-k(k)-	-q'-	-k'-	-k-	-k-	-k- -q-

589. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *q'ab-a 'jaw':

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kavul* 'cheek, temple or jaw of elephant'; Malayalam *kavil* 'cheek'; Tuḷu *kaḷu* 'the cheek', *kavuṇḍrasa*, *kavuḍrasa* 'cancer of the cheek'; Parji *gavla*, (metathesis in) *galva* 'jaw'; (?) Telugu *gauda* 'the cheek'; (?) Kui *kūlu* 'cheek'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:124, no. 1337. Either here or with Proto-Nostratic *k'aph^h-a 'jaw, jawbone'.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *q'ab- 'jaw': Georgian *q'b-a* 'jaw', *ni-q'b-er-i* 'chin, jaw'; Svan *q'ab*, *hā-q'b-a* 'cheek'. Palmaitis—Gudjedjiani 1985:269 and 315; Klimov 1964:209 *q̇ba- and 1998:238 *q̇ba- 'jaw'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:404 *q̇ab-; Fähnrich 2007:503 *q̇ab-.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *k'ebh^h-/*k'obh^h- '(vb.) to munch, to chew; (n.) jaw': Old Irish *gop* (Modern Irish *gob*) 'beak, mouth'; New High German *Kebe* 'fish-gill'; Lithuanian *žėbiù*, *žėbti* 'to munch'; Czech *žábra* 'fish-gill'. Pokorny 1959:382 *ġep(h)-, *ġebh- 'jaw, mouth; to eat'; Walde 1927—1932.I:570—571 *ġep(h)-, *ġebh-; Mann 1984—1987:389 *ġebh- (*ġebhl-, *ġobh-) 'jaw'; Watkins 1985:19 *ġep(h)-, *ġebh- and 2000:26 *ġep(h)-, *ġebh- 'jaw, mouth'; Mallory—Adams 1997:175 *ġeP- 'to eat, to masticate'; Orël 2003:212 Proto-Germanic *kebran; Kroonen 2013:283 *ġebh^h-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1294—1295; Smoczyński 2007.1:775 *ġebh^h-. Note: Not related to *k'em-bh^h-/*k'om-bh^h-/*k'ṃ-bh^h- 'to chew (up), to bite, to cut to pieces, to crush', *k'om-bh^h-s 'tooth, spike, nail' (see below, no 578).

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw. Bomhard 1996a:219, no. 624; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1903, *q̇AbV 'jaw'.

590. Proto-Nostratic root *q'al- (~ *qəl-) or *q'el-:

(vb.) *q'al- or *q'el- 'to glitter, to sparkle, to shine, to be or become bright; to make bright';

(n.) *q'al-a or *q'el-a 'any bright, shining object: star'

- A. Afrasian: Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *k'al- 'to shine, to make bright' > Alagwa *qal-* 'to polish'; Asa *ʔalalaya* 'star'. Ehret 1980:368, no. 6.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *k'el- 'to shine, to be bright; to make bright' (extended form *k'leHy-): Greek ἀγλα[F]ός (< *ἄγα-γλαFός ?) 'splendid,

shining, beautiful, bright’, ἀγλαΐα ‘splendor, beauty, adornment’, γλήνεα ‘bright things, trinkets, stars’, γλαυκός ‘gleaming, silvery’, γελάω ‘to laugh (at)’, γελᾶνόνω ‘to brighten, to cheer’, γελᾶνής ‘cheerful’, γέλως ‘laughter’; Armenian *calr* ‘laughter’; Old English *clæne* ‘clear, open (field); pure, clean’, *clænsian* ‘to clean, to cleanse, to clear (land of weeds), to purge (stomach), to purify (heart), to chasten (with affliction)’; Old Frisian *klēne* ‘small’; Old Saxon *klēni*, *cleini* ‘dainty, graceful’; Middle Dutch *clēne* ‘small, thin, clean’ (Modern Dutch *klein*); Old High German *kleini*, *cleini*, *chleine* ‘clear, delicate, small’ (New High German *klein* ‘small’). Perhaps Hittite (abl. sg.) *kal-ma-ra-az* ‘ray (of the sun)’, (acc. sg.) ^{GIŠ}*kal-mi-in* ‘piece of firewood’, (nom. sg.) ^{GIŠ}*kal-mi-ša-na-aš*, *kal-mi-eš-na-aš*, *kal-mi-iš-na-aš* ‘brand, piece of firewood, (fire)bolt’. Pokorny 1959:366—367 **ġel-*, **ġelə-*, **ġlē-* ‘to shine, to be bright; to be happy, to smile, to laugh’; Walde 1927—1932.I:622—624 **ġel-*, **ġelē-*, (also **gelēi-* :) **g(e)lāi-*; Mann 1984—1987:390 **ġel-* ‘laugh; laughter’; Watkins 1985:18 **gel-* (extended form **glei-* in Germanic **klai-ni-* ‘bright, pure’) and 2000:25 **gel-* (extended form **glei-*) ‘bright’; Mallory—Adams 1997:83 (?) **ġlain-* ‘bright’; Boisacq 1950:8, 143 **ġlāi-*, 150; Frisk 1970—1973.I:12, I:294—295, I:310—311, and I:311—312 **ġlāi-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:11—12, I:214, I:225—226; Hofmann 1966:2, 42—43 **ġel-*, **ġlāi-*, 45 **ġel-*; Beekes 2010.I:13, I:264—265 **gelh₂-*, I:274—275; Orël 2003:214—215 Proto-Germanic **klainiz*; Kroonen 2013:290 Proto-Germanic **klainja-* ‘fine’; Onions 1966:180 West Germanic **klainaz*; Klein 1971:141; Barnhart 1995:130; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:217—218; Walshe 1951:122; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:376 **ġel-*, **g(e)lāi-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:376; Puhvel 1984— .4:26—28; Kloekhorst 2008b:431; Martirosyan 2008:286—287 (nom. sg.) **ġélh₂-ōs* (cf. Greek γέλως). Note: this etymology is disputed by some scholars, either in whole or in part.

- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **qelperat-* ‘to glitter’ > Chukchi *qelperat-*, *qelpera-* ‘to glitter, to sparkle’; Kerek *qilpijat-* ‘to glitter, to sparkle’; [Alyutor *itqil̄-γərr(at)-* ‘to glitter, to sparkle’]. Fortescue 2005:234.

Buck 1949:15.56 shine; 15.57 bright; 15.87 clean.

591. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **q’aly-a* ‘sexual organs, genitals, private parts (male or female)’:

- A. (?) Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *qallū*, *gallū* ‘sexual organ’ (this is usually considered to be a loan from Sumerian [cf. Von Soden 1965—1981:894]); Geez / Ethiopic *kʷəlh* [ቀዳሽ] ‘testicle’; Amharic *kʷəla* ‘testicle’. Leslau 1987:428.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **q’al-* ‘penis’: Georgian *q’l-e* (< **q’al-e* or **q’ol-e*) ‘penis’; Mingrelian *ʔol-e* (< **q’ol-a-i*) ‘penis’; Laz *q’ol-e*, *k’ol-e* ‘penis’;

- Svan [*q'l-*] in *q'law* 'child (male)'. Klimov 1964:212 **qle-* and 1998:243—244 **qle-* 'penis'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:406 **qal-*; Fähnrich 2007:505 **qal-*; Schmidt 1962:141 **qal-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k'el-tʰ-/k'j-tʰ-* 'vulva, womb': Sanskrit *jartú-h*, *jarta-h* 'vulva', *jathára-m* (< **jalthara-m*) 'belly, stomach, womb'; Gothic *kilpei* 'womb', *inkilþō* 'pregnant'; Old English *cild* 'child'. Possibly also Old Swedish *kulder*, *kolder* (Modern Swedish *kull*) 'child of the same marriage'; Old Danish *köll* (Modern Danish *kuld*) 'child of the same marriage'; Norwegian (dial.) *kold* 'child of the same marriage'. Mann 1984—1987:1623 **gelt-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:414 and I:423; Orël 2003:212 Proto-Germanic **kelþaz*; Kroonen 2013:309—310 Proto-Germanic **kulda-* 'litter (of progeny)' (Gothic *kilpei* < **kelþin-* and Old English *cild* < **keldiz-*); Feist 1939:311 **gel-*; Lehmann 1986:218 **gel-* '(adj.) rounded; (vb.) to form a ball shape'; Onions 1966:169; Klein 1971:131; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:421—422.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **kal'kkz* 'egg, testicle' > Finnish *kalkku* 'testicle'; Zyrian / Komi (Sysola, Permyak) *kol'k*, (East Permyak) *kul'k* 'egg, testicle'. Rédei 1986—1988:644—645 **kal'kkz*.
- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **qəlqæ* 'penis': Chukchi *əlqe* 'penis'; Kerek *XalXa* 'penis'; Koryak *ɤəlqə* 'penis'; Alyutor *ɤəlqa* 'penis'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *qəłX*, *kəłX* (Western, Southern *kalka*, Eastern *kallaka*) 'penis'. Fortescue 2005:245.

Sumerian *gal₄*, *gal₄la* 'vulva', *gal₄-la-tur* 'vagina', *gal₄la* 'sexual organs, genitals'.

Buck 1949:4.47 womb; 4.48 egg; 4.49 testicle; 4.492 (penis). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1918a, **qU|JE* 'penis, (?) vulva'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:509, no. 358.

592. Proto-Nostratic root **q'am-* (~ **q'əm-*):

- (vb.) **q'am-* 'to crush, to grind; to chew, to bite, to eat';
 (n.) **q'am-a* 'bite; tooth'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **q'am-* '(vb.) to crush, to grind; to chew, to bite, to eat; (n.) flour': Proto-Semitic **k'am-aḥ-* '(vb.) to crush, to grind; to chew, to bite, to eat; (n.) flour' > Arabic (Daḡina) *ḳamah* 'to eat'; Arabic *ḳamḥ* 'wheat'; Hebrew *ḳamah* [קמח] 'flour, meal'; Ugaritic *ḳmḥ* 'flour'; Akkadian *ḳemū*, *ḳamū* 'to grind, to crush', *ḳēmu* 'flour, meal' (Old Akkadian *ḳam^uum*); Geez / Ethiopic *ḳamḥa* [ቀምሐ] 'to eat grain or other fodder, to graze'; Gurage (Chaha) *ḳāmā* 'flour', (Wolane) *ḳāmā* 'to put flour into the mouth, *to take a mouthful, to chew the narcotic plant'; Harari *ḳāmaḥa* 'to take a mouthful'; Gafat *ḳumina* 'flour'; metathesis in: Tigrinya *ḳ^wāḥamā* 'to swallow, to devour'; Tigre *ḳāḥma* 'to take a mouthful (of flour or

tobacco); Argobba *kāhama* ‘to eat, to devour’; Amharic *kamä* ‘to swallow without chewing’. Murtonen 1989:378; Klein 1987:582; Leslau 1963:125, 1979:479, and 1987:431. Semitic loans in Egyptian *qmhw* ‘bread made of fine flour’, *qmhy-t* ‘fine wheaten flour’. Hannig 1995:857; Faulkner 1962:279; Erman—Grapow 1921:190 and 1926—1963.5:40. Berber: Tuareg *tamyəst* ‘molar tooth’; Siwa *taɣmast* ‘molar’; Nefusa *tiyməst* ‘molar’; Ghadames *tiymas* ‘molar’; Mzab *tiyməst* ‘tooth’; Wargla *tiyməst* ‘tooth (other than molar)’; Tamazight *tuyməst* ‘tooth (in general), toothache’; Riff *tiyməst* ‘tooth (in general), molar’; Kabyle *tuyməst* ‘tooth (in general)’; Chaouia *tiyməst* ‘tooth’. Proto-East Cushitic **k’om-* ‘to chew, to bite, to eat’ (< former prefix verb **-k’(o)m-*) > Saho *-qom-*; Somali *qoom-* ‘to wound’, *qoon* ‘wound’; Dasenech (imptv.) *kom* ‘eat!’; Galla / Oromo *k’am-* ‘to chew *č’at*’; Konso *qom-* ‘to chew’; Gollango *qan-* ‘to chew’. Sasse 1979:25 and 1982:121—122. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **k’ama* ‘flour’ > Burji *k’amay* ‘flour of all kinds of cereals’; Hadiyya *k’ama* ‘flour’; Kambata *k’ama* ‘flour’. Hudson 1989:65; Sasse 1982:124. Diakonoff 1992:85 **qmḥ-* ‘flour’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:336, no. 1545, **kamVḥ-* ‘flour’.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **k’em-bh-/k’om-bh-/k’ṛṇ-bh-* ‘to chew (up), to bite, to cut to pieces, to crush’, **k’om-bh^o-s* ‘tooth, spike, nail’: Sanskrit *jāmbhate*, *jābhate* ‘to chew up, to crush, to destroy’, *jāmbha-h* ‘tooth’; Greek γόμφος ‘bolt, pin’, γομφίος ‘a grinder-tooth’; Albanian *dhëmb* ‘tooth’; Old Icelandic *kambr* ‘comb’; Swedish *kam* ‘comb’; Old English *camb* ‘comb’, *cemban* ‘to comb’; Old Saxon *kamb* ‘comb’; Dutch *kam* ‘comb’; Old High German *kamb*, *champ* ‘comb’ (New High German *Kamm*); Lithuanian *žambas* ‘pointed object’; Latvian *zūobs* ‘tooth’; Old Church Slavic *zobъ* ‘tooth’; Polish *zab* ‘tooth’; Russian *zub* [зуб] ‘tooth’; Tocharian A *kam*, B *keme* ‘tooth’. Rix 1998a:143—144 **ḡembh-* ‘to show the teeth, to snap, to chew, to bite’, **ḡombh^o-* ‘tooth’; Pokorny 1959:369 **ḡembh-*, **ḡṛmbh-* ‘to bite’, **ḡombh^o-s* ‘tooth’; Walde 1927—1932.I:575—576 **ḡembh-*, **ḡṛmbh-* ‘to bite’, **ḡombh^o-s* ‘tooth’; Mann 1984—1987:404 **ḡombhō* ‘to show the teeth, to chew, to bite, to stab, to snap’, 404 **ḡombhos* ‘spike, nail, tooth’; Watkins 1985:18 **ḡembh-* and 2000:26 **ḡembh-* ‘tooth, nail’; Mallory—Adams 1997:594 **ḡómbhos* ‘tooth’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:879 **k’emb[h]-*, **k’ṛmb[h]-*, **k’omb[h]o-* and 1995.I:775 **k’ṛmbh-*, **k’ombh^o-* ‘tooth’, **k’embh-* ‘to tear apart, to break to pieces, to bite’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:232; Boisacq 1950:153 **ḡombh^o-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:319—320; Hofmann 1966:47 **ḡombhos*; Beekes 2010.I:282 **ḡembh-* ‘to bite’, **ḡombh^o-* ‘cutting tooth’; Orël 1998:82 and 2003:209 Proto-Germanic **kam̂baz*, 209 **kam̂janan*; Kroonen 2013:279 Proto-Germanic **kamba-* ‘comb’ (< **ḡombh^o-*), 279 **kambjan-* ‘to comb’, and 287 **kimbōn-* ‘crest, ridge’; De Vries 1977:299 **ḡembh-* ‘to bite’, **ḡombhos* ‘tooth’; Onions 1966:193 **ḡombhos*; Klein 1971:150 **ḡembh-* ‘to bite, to cut to pieces’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:344

gombho-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:350 **gombho-*; Adams 1999:194 **gombho-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:186 **gombho-*; Huld 1984:58; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:419; Derksen 2008:549 **gomb^h-o-* and 2015:512 **gomb^h-o-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1288—1289; Smoczyński 2007.1:773 **gomb^h-o-*. Note: Not related to **k'eb^h-*/k'ob^h-* '(vb.) to munch, to chew; (n.) jaw' (see above, no 575).

- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **qametva-* (or **qamatva-*) 'to eat' > Chukchi *qametva-* 'to eat (intr.)', *qemet-* 'to feed (at time of offering to star or fire, etc.)', *qemi-plətku-* 'to finish eating'; Koryak *qametva-* 'to give food (to a guest), to treat'; Alyutor *qamitva-* 'to eat, to give food to'. Fortescue 2005:228.

Buck 1949:4.27 tooth; 4.58 bite; 6.91 comb. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:435—436, no. 280.

593. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **q'an-a* 'field, land, (open) country':

- A. (?) Afrasian: Egyptian *qn* used as a designation for plants in a field, *qnt* 'plant', *qnni* 'plant'. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:47; Hannig 1995:858 and 861.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **q'an-* 'cornfield, plowed field': Georgian *q'an-a* 'cornfield, plowed field', *q'anobir-* 'plowed field', *kue-q'ana-* 'land, country'; Mingrelian *ʔvan-a*, *ʔon-a* 'cornfield, plowed field'; Laz *q'on-a*, *ʔon-a*, *jon-a* 'cornfield, plowed field'. Klimov 1964:208 **qana-* and 1968:237 **qana-* 'cornfield, plowed field'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:408 **qan-*; Fähnrich 2007:507 **qan-*.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **kentä* 'field, meadow, pasture' > Finnish *kenttä* 'field'; Karelian *kenttä* 'meadow'; Lapp / Saami *gied'de* '(natural) meadow'; Votyak / Udmurt *gid*, *gid'* 'stall, barnyard'; Zyrian / Komi *gid* 'stall, stall for sheep, pigpen'. Rédei 1986—1988:658—659 **kentä*.

Sumerian *gán* 'field', *gán* 'planting, cultivation', *gána* 'field, land, country, area, region', *gán-zi*, *gán-zi-da* 'cultivation, tillage', *gán-zi^{sar}* 'a plant'.

Buck 1949:1.23 plain, field; 8.12 field (for cultivation). Bomhard 1996a:219, no. 625; Hakola 2003:43, no. 128.

594. Proto-Nostratic root **q'ar^y-* (~ **q'ər^y-*):

(vb.) **q'ar^y-* 'to rot, to stink';

(n.) **q'ar^y-a* 'rotten, stinking, putrid thing'; (adj.) 'rotten, stinking, putrid'

- A. Dravidian: Gondī *kaṛītānā* 'to be rotten, to rot, to decay', *kaṛi-* 'to be rotten, to go rotten', *kaṛīstānā* 'to rot, to ret (hemp)'; Koṇḍa *kaṛk-* 'to go

bad, to become rotten'; Pengo *kraŋ(g)-* (*kraŋt-*) 'to go bad, to become rotten (egg)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:126, no. 1360.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **q'ar-/q'r-* 'to rot, to stink': Georgian *q'ar-/q'r-* 'to stink, to reek', *m-q'r-al-i* 'stinking'; Mingrelian [*ʔor-*] in *ʔor-ad-*, *ʔor-id-*, *ʔor-d-* 'to rot (tr., intr.), to stink', *ʔor-ad-il-i* 'rotten'. Klimov 1964:209 **qar-* and 1998:237 **qar-* : **qr-* 'to stink'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:409 **qar-/qr-*; Fähnrich 2007:508 **qar-/qr-*.

Buck 1949:15.26 bad smelling, stinking.

595. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **q'aw-a* 'head, forehead, brow':

- A. Proto-Afrasian **q'aw-* 'forehead, brow': Proto-Southern Cushitic **k'awa* 'brow ridge' > Gorowa *qaway* 'eyelid'; Dahalo *k'awaṭi* 'middle of forehead'; Ma'a *nkumbiti* 'eyebrow'. Ehret 1980:252.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **q'ua-* 'forehead; handle (of an axe)': Georgian *q'ua* 'handle of an axe, crust (of bread)'; Mingrelian *ʔva* 'forehead'; Laz *k'va*, *q'va* 'forehead', (Xopa dialect) *q'ua-* 'handle of a hoe'; Svan *q'ua*, *q'uwa* 'handle of an axe' (this may be a loan from Georgian). Schmidt 1962:141; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:419 **qua-*; Fähnrich 2007:520 **qua-*; Klimov 1964:213 **qua-* and 1998:245 **qua-* 'handle of an axe'. According to Klimov, "[i]n general the meaning 'handle' is considered to be original".
- C. (?) Proto-Indo-European (**k'ew-lo-s/*)**k'u-lo-s* 'head, top, summit, peak': Proto-Germanic **kullaz* 'head, top, summit, peak' > Old Icelandic *kollr* 'top, summit; head, pate; a shaven crown'; Norwegian *koll* 'summit, peak'; Swedish (dial.) *koll* 'summit, peak'; Old Danish *kol*, *kuld* 'summit, peak'; Middle Low German *kol*, *kolle* 'head, uppermost part of a plant'. Pokorny 1959:397 [**geu-lo-s*]; Orël 2003:223 Proto-Germanic **kullaz*; De Vries 1977:325; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:399 **gʷno-*; Torp 1919:306.

Sumerian *gú* 'head, forehead'.

Buck 1949:3.205 forehead; 4.206 eyebrow. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:508—509, no. 357.

596. Proto-Nostratic root **q'el-*:

- (vb.) **q'el-* 'to swallow';
(n.) **q'el-a* 'neck, throat'

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **q'el-* 'neck, throat': Georgian *q'el-* 'neck of a vessel, throat'; Mingrelian *ʔal-* 'neck, neck of a vessel', *o-ʔal-eš-* 'collar'; Laz *q'al-*, *ʔal-*, *al-* 'neck, neck of a vessel'; Svan [*q'l-*] in *mə-q'l-a*, *mə-q'l-i* 'neck, throat'. Klimov 1964:209 **qel-* and 1998:238 **qel-* 'neck'; Schmidt

1962:140; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:410 **qel-*; Fähnrich 2007:510 **qel-*.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **k'el-/k'l'-* '(n.) neck, throat; (vb.) to swallow': Old Irish *gelim* 'to feed, to graze'; Latin *gula* 'throat, gullet', *gluttiō*, *glūtiō* 'to swallow, to gulp down'; Old English *ceole* 'throat, gorge'; Dutch *keel* 'throat'; Old High German *kela* 'throat, gullet' (New High German *Kehle*); Armenian *ekowl* 'devoured'; Old Church Slavonic *gl̋tati* 'to swallow'; Russian *glotát'* [глотать] 'to swallow'; Czech *hltati* 'to swallow, to devour'; Polish (dial.) *glutać* 'to drink noisely'; Slovenian *gotiati* 'to swallow, to devour, to belch'; Serbo-Croatian *gùtati* 'to devour'. Rix 1998a:171 **guel-* 'to swallow, to devour, to gulp down'; Pokorny 1959:365 **gel-* 'to swallow'; Walde 1927—1932.I:621 **gel-*; Mann 1984—1987:287 **golos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-jə* 'neck, throat, gullet'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:284—285 **gel-* (and **g^wel-*); De Vaan 2008:275 **gul-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:625—626 **gel-* and **g^wel-*; Orël 2003:212 Proto-Germanic **keluz* ~ **kelōn*; Kroonen 2013:284 Proto-Germanic **kelōn-* 'throat'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:361 Proto-Germanic **kelōn-*, **kelu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:364 West Germanic **kelōn-*; Derksen 2008:168. Note: Sanskrit *gala-h* 'throat, neck' does not belong here (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:330).

Buck 1949:4.28 neck; 4.29 throat; 5.11 eat; 5.12 drink (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:508, no. 356; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1910, **qalV* 'neck' (Dolgopolsky includes possible Afrasian [Cushitic] cognates but incorrectly compares Proto-Kartvelian **q'el-* 'neck, throat' with Proto-Indo-European **kol-so-* 'neck' [cf. Pokorny 1959:639 **kuol-so-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:392 **kólsos*]).

597. Proto-Nostratic root **q'in-* (~ **q'en-*):

(vb.) **q'in-* 'to freeze, to be or become cold';

(n.) **q'in-a* 'cold, frost'

- A. Dravidian: Kolami *kinani*, *kinām* 'cold'; Gondi *kinan*, *kīnd* 'cold', *kinnān* 'wet, cool', *kinnīta* 'cold'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:147, no. 1601.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **q'in-* 'to freeze': Georgian *q'in-* 'to freeze', *q'in-el-* 'ice'; Mingrelian *ʔin-* 'to freeze'; Laz *q'in-* 'to freeze', *q'in-* 'cold, frost'. Klimov 1964:212 **qin-* and 1998:243 **qin-* 'to cool, to freeze'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:416—417 **qin-*; Fähnrich 2007:517—518 **qin-*.

Buck 1949:15.86 cold. Bomhard 1996a:221, no. 629.

22.30. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *G^w

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
G ^w -	G ^w - (?)	k-	gw/u-	g ^{wh} -	k-	g-	k- q-
-G ^w -	-G ^w - (?)	-k-	-gw/u-	-g ^{wh} -	-x-	-g-	-ɣ-

598. Proto-Nostratic root *G^wal- (~ *G^wəl-):

(vb.) *G^wal- ‘to curve, to bend, to roll; to be round’;

(n.) *G^wal-a ‘round object: circle, globe, sphere, ball, etc.’

Derivative:

(n.) *G^wal-a ‘head, skull’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *G^wal- ‘to curve, to bend; to roll; to be round’: Proto-Semitic *gal-al- ‘to roll’ > Akkadian *galālu* ‘to roll’, *gallu* ‘rolling’; Hebrew *gālal* [גָּלַל] ‘to roll, to roll away (especially large stones)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gallēl* ‘to roll, to turn over (and over)’; Aramaic *gəlal* ‘to roll, to roll away’; Arabic *ḡulla* ‘(cannon) ball; bomb’. D. Cohen 1970— :125—129; Murtonen 1989:134; Klein 1987:101. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) *gal-gal- ‘round object: wheel, sphere, globe, circle’ > Hebrew *galgal* [גָּלְגָּל] ‘wheel, whirl, whirlwind’, *gilgāl* [גִּלְגָּל] ‘wheel’; Imperial Aramaic *glgl* ‘wheel’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gilglā* ‘wheel’, *galgal* ‘belt’, *galgēl* ‘to roll, to turn’; Syriac *gīglā* ‘wheel’; Phoenician *glgl* ‘wrapper’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔangallaga* [አንገላገላ] (‘to roll together’ >) ‘to assemble (intr.), to come together, to keep company, to band together, to gather in crowds’; Tigre *gālgāla* ‘to gather’. D. Cohen 1970— :118; Klein 1987:99; Tomback 1978:65; Leslau 1987:190. Proto-Semitic *gal-am- ‘to wrap up, to roll up’ > Hebrew **gālam* [גָּלַם] ‘to wrap up, to fold, to fold together’; Mandaic **glm* ‘to roll up, to wrap up’. D. Cohen 1970— :129; Klein 1987:101. Proto-Semitic *gal-a3- ‘to wrap up, to twist together, to tie round’ > Arabic *ḡalaza* ‘to fold and wrap up; to twist firmly together; to tie round with the sinew of a camel’s neck; to extend, to stretch’, *ḡalz* ‘sinew of a camel’s neck for tying’. D. Cohen 1970— :122. Proto-Semitic *gal-al- ‘heap, pile, or circle of stones’ > Akkadian *galālu* ‘pebble’; Hebrew *gal* [גָּל] ‘heap or pile of stones’, *gālilōθ* [גִּלְלִית] ‘circles of stones’, *gilgāl* [גִּלְגָּל] ‘(sacred) circle (of stones)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gəlalā* ‘stone’; Syriac *gālā* ‘mound’; Palmyrene *gllʔ* ‘stone pillar, stele’. D. Cohen 1970— :126; Murtonen 1989:134; Klein 1987:99. Egyptian *d̥d̥w* (‘round object’ >) ‘pot’; Coptic *ḡō* [xw] ‘cup’. Hannig 1995:997; Faulkner 1962:320; Erman—Grapow 1921:219 and 1926—1963.5:532; Gardiner 1957:603 Vycichl 1983:324; Černý 1976:311. Berber: Tuareg *gəlləṭ* ‘to be round’. Central Chadic: Logone *ḡolō*

- ‘round’ (prefix **nV-*). Orël—Stolbova 1995:214, no. 948, **gol-* ‘to be round, to go round’, 221, no. 980, **gulul-* ‘ball’; Ehret 1995:191, no. 301, **g^wil-* ‘to bend, to turn (intr.)’; Militarëv 2012:91 Proto-Afrasian **g^wVIV-*.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kulukkai* ‘circular earthen bin for storing grain’; Malayalam *kulukka* ‘receptacle of rice, made of bamboo mats or twigs’; Konḍa *kolki* ‘a big basket for storing grain, kept on a terrace below the roof’; Kuwi *kolki* ‘receptacle for storing paddy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:163, no. 1805.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **gwel-/gwl-* ‘to curve, to bend’: Georgian [*γul-/γvl-*] ‘to curve, to bend’; Mingrelian [*γul-*] ‘to curve, to bend’; Laz [*γul-*] ‘to curve, to bend’; Svan [*γul-*] ‘to curve, to bend’. Klimov 1998:226 **γwel-* : **γwl-* ‘to curve; to bend’ — according to Klimov, this “verb stem may be extracted from numerous derivatives”; Fähnrich—Sardschweladse 1995:403—404 **γun-/γul-*; Fähnrich 2007:500 **γul-*. Proto-Kartvelian **gwl-* ‘bent, curved’: Georgian *γul-* (Old Georgian *mγul-*) ‘kind of sickle’; Mingrelian *γula-* ‘bent, crooked’; Laz *γul(a)-* ‘crooked, squint’, *tolι-γula-* ‘squint-eyed’. Klimov notes that it is unclear whether Svan *γulaj* ‘knee’ belongs here. Klimov 1998:227 **γwl-* ‘bent, curved’. Proto-Kartvelian **gwl-az-* ‘to twist, to twine, to bend’: Georgian *γvlaz-* ‘to twist, to twine, to bend’; Mingrelian *γuloz-* ‘to twist, to twine, to bend’. Klimov 1998:228 **γwl-az-* ‘to get crooked; to bend’. Proto-Kartvelian **gwl-arž-* ‘to twist, to twine, to bend’: Georgian *gularč’-n-* ‘to twist, to twine, to bend’ (Old Georgian past participle *γularč’-n-il-* ~ *gularžn-il-* ‘crooked, bent’); Svan *γuržan-* ‘to twist, to twine, to bend’. Klimov 1998:228 **γwl-arž₁-* ‘to get crooked; to bend’. Proto-Kartvelian **gwl-arč’-* ‘to twist, to roll’: Georgian *γvlarč’-n-* ‘to twist, to roll’; Mingrelian *γuloc’k’-* ‘to twist, to roll’. Klimov 1998:228 **γwl-arč’-* ‘to twist, to roll’. Proto-Kartvelian **gwl-ek’-/gwl-ik’-* ‘to twist, to twine, to curve, to bend’: Georgian [*γvlek’-*] ‘to twist, to twine, to curve, to bend’, *xvlik’-* (< **γwlik’-*) ‘lizard’; Mingrelian [*γlik’-*] ‘to twist, to twine, to curve, to bend’; Laz [*γvelik’-*, *γlik’-*] ‘to twist, to twine, to curve, to bend. Klimov 1998:228 **γwl-ek’-/γwl-ik’-* ‘to get crooked, to get curved’. Proto-Kartvelian **gwl-erč’-* ‘earthworm’: Georgian *γvle(r)č’-* ‘spiral rod’ (dialectal also *γvlenč’-*); Mingrelian *γve(r)č’k’-*, *γve(n)č’k’-* ‘earthworm’; Svan *γwäsq’* ‘earthworm’. Klimov 1998:229 **γwl-erč’-* ‘earthworm’ — according to Klimov, “[t]he Georgian lexeme underwent a semantic shift”.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **g^whal-k^h-* ‘(vb.) to curve, to bend, to twist, to turn; (n.) curved object: sickle’: Latin *falx* ‘a sickle, bill-hook, pruning-hook; a sickle-shaped implement of war, used for tearing down stockades’, *flectō* ‘to bend; to alter the shape of, to bow, to twist, to curve; to change, to alter, to influence; to turn round in a circle’; (?) Greek φάληκς ‘rib (of a ship)’. Mann 1984—1987:378 **gyhalk-* (?) ‘sickle; sickle-shaped claw’; Boisacq 1950:1012; Beekes 2010.II:1549; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1174—1175; Frisk 1970—1973.II:986—987; De Vaan 2008:200 borrowing?; Ernout—

Meillet 1979:214 and 239—240; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:449—450 and I:514—515.

- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **yælmə-* ‘(to be) crooked or winding’ > Chukchi *yelmə-*, *welmə-* ‘to be crooked, to twist (road)’; Kerek *walmə-* ‘to bend’; Koryak *yalməy* ‘crooked’, *yelīmə-tku-* ‘to twist (road)’; Alyutor *yalmə-* ‘crooked’. Fortescue 2005:83.

Buck 1949:8.33 sickle; scythe; 10.76 wheel; 12.74 crooked; 12.81 round (adj.); 12.82 circle; 12.83 sphere.

599. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **G^wal-a* ‘head, skull’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **G^wal-* ‘to curve, to bend, to roll; to be round’;

(n.) **G^wal-a* ‘round object: circle, globe, sphere, ball, etc.’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **G^wal-* ‘head, skull’, (reduplicated) **G^wal-G^wal-*: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gul-gul-* ‘skull’ > Akkadian *gulgullu*, *gulgullatu* ‘skull; container shaped like a human skull’; Biblical Hebrew *gulgōlēθ* [גֻּלְגֻלֵּת] ‘skull, head, poll (person)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gōgaltā*, *gūlgūltā* ‘skull’. D. Cohen 1970— :118; Murtonen 1989:134; Klein 1987:99. Egyptian *ḏḏ* [**daʕdaʕ*] (< **gal-gal*) ‘head’; Coptic *ḡōḡ* [ⲬⲟⲬ] ‘head’. Faulkner 1962:319; Erman—Grapow 1921:218 and 1926—1963.5:530—531; Gardiner 1957:603; Hannig 1995:997 and 2006:2824; Vycichl 1983:334 — according to Vycichl, Egyptian *ḏḏ* ‘head’ may ultimately be related to *ḏḏw* ‘pot’ (see above); Černý 1976:310—311. East Chadic: Kwang *gólò*, *góló* ‘head’. Central Chadic: Muktele *gəl* ‘head’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:183. Takács 2011a:42.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:74—75, no. 79) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **ga/ulga/ul-at-* ‘skull’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **g^whal-* ‘head’: Armenian *glux* ‘head’; Lithuanian *galvà* ‘head’ (gen. sg. *galvōs*); Latvian *galva* (gen. sg. *galvas*) ‘head’; Old Prussian *gallū* (gen. sg. *galwas*) ‘head’; Old Church Slavic *glava* ‘head’; Serbo-Croatian *gláva* ‘head’; Russian *golová* [голова] ‘head’; Czech *hlava* ‘head’; Polish *głowa* ‘head’. Pokorny 1959:349—350 **gal-* ‘bald, naked’; Walde 1927—1932.I:537—538 **gal-*; Mann 1984—1987:1615 **galuā* ‘head’; Mallory—Adams 1997:45 **g(h)olh_{xu}-éh_a-* ‘bald-plate’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:131—132; Smoczyński 2007.1:154—155; Derksen 2008: 176 **golH-u-eh₂* and 2015:162—163 **golH-ueh₂-*; Preobrazhensky 1951:139—140 Indo-European root **ghōl-* (with suffix **-uā* [cf. Brugmann—Delbrück 1897—1916.II/1:208]). Note: Not related to words for ‘bald, bare, naked’ (Proto-Nostratic **k’alv-* [- **k’əlv-*] ‘[adj.] bald, bare; [n.] bald spot’).

Buck 1949:4.20 head; 4.202 skull. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:237—238, no. 94, * gU^{L} ‘round, sphere’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 613, * goLu (or * goyVLu ?) ‘skull’ (→ in descendant languages: ‘sphere, ball’).

22.31. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *q'w

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
q'w-	q'w- (?)	k-	q'w/u-	k'w-	k-	k-	k- q-
-q'w-	-q'w- (?)	-k(k)-	-q'w/u-	-k'w-	-k-	-k-	-k- -q-

600. Proto-Nostratic root *q'wad- (~ *q'wəd-):

(vb.) *q'wad- 'to abide, to dwell; to relax, to rest, to be or become calm';

(n.) *q'wad-a 'dwelling, abode, house'

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṭi* 'house, abode, home, family, lineage, town, tenants', *kuṭikai* 'hut made of leaves, temple', *kuṭical* 'hut', *kuṭicai*, *kuṭiṇai* 'small hut, cottage', *kuṭimai* 'family, lineage, allegiance (as of subjects to their sovereign), servitude', *kuṭiy-āl* 'tenant', *kuṭiyilār* 'tenants', *kuṭil* 'hut, shed, abode', *kuṭaṅkar* 'hut, cottage'; Malayalam *kuṭi* 'house, hut, family, wife, tribe', *kuṭima* 'the body of landholders, tenantry', *kuṭiyan* 'slaves', *kuṭiyān* 'inhabitant, subject, tenant', *kuṭiṇṇil* 'hut, thatch', *kuṭil* 'hut, outhouse near palace for menials'; Kannada *guḍi* 'house, temple', *guḍil*, *guḍalu*, *guḍisalu*, *guḍasalu*, *guḍasala* 'hut with a thatched roof'; Koḍagu *kuḍi* 'family of servants living in one hut'; Tuḷu *guḍi* 'small pagoda or shrine', *guḍisalu*, *guḍisilyu*, *guḍsilyu*, *guḍicilyu* 'hut, shed'; Telugu *koṭika* 'hamlet', *guḍi* 'temple', *guḍise* 'hut, cottage, hovel'; Kolami *guḍi* 'temple'; Parji *guḍi* 'temple, village, resthouse'; Gadba (Ollari) *guḍi* 'temple'; Kui *guḍi* 'central room of house, living room'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:151—152, no. 1655. (Note: According to Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:222, Sanskrit *kuṭi-h* 'cottage, hut' and several similar forms are Dravidian loans.)
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *q'wed- 'house': Georgian [q'ude-] 'house' in: *q'ud-r-o* 'calm, quiet, tranquil', *sa-q'ud-el-* 'cloister, refuge', *kva-q'ude-* 'stone house', *da-q'ud-eb-a* 'to become calm, quiet, tranquil'; Mingrelian *ʔude-* 'house'; Svan *qwed-i* 'calm, quiet, tranquil'. Fähnrich 2007:513 *qwed-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:412 *qwed-; Klimov 1998:245—246 *qud-e 'house'.
- C. (?) Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *kota 'tent, hut, house' > Finnish *kota* 'Lapp hut', *koti*, *koto* 'home'; Estonian *koda* 'house', *kodu* 'home'; Lapp / Saami *goatte/goaḍe-* 'tent, hut'; Mordvin *kudo*, *kud* 'house'; Cheremis / Mari *kudo* 'house'; Votyak / Udmurt *kwa*, *kwala* 'summer hut'; Ostyak / Xanty *kat* 'house'; Hungarian *ház* 'house, residence, abode, home'. Collinder 1955:130—131 and 1977:142; Rédei 1986—1988:190 *kota; Joki 1973:272—273 *kota; Sammallahti 1988:543 *kotâ 'house, hut'. These forms may be Indo-Iranian loans.

Sumerian *gùd* ‘home; family; nest’.

Buck 1949:7.12 house; 7.13 hut. Hakola 2000:78, no. 318, **kot3* ‘teepee’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1907, **qûd[i]* ‘house, hut’.

601. Proto-Nostratic root **q^wal-* (~ **q^wəl-*):

(vb.) **q^wal-* ‘to call (out), to cry (out), to shout’;

(n.) **q^wal-a* ‘call, cry, outcry, sound, noise, hubbub, uproar’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **q^wal-* ‘to call (out), to cry (out), to shout’: Proto-Semitic **k^wa/wa/-* ‘to speak, to call, to cry’ > Hebrew *kōl* [כֹּל] ‘sound, voice’; Aramaic *kāl* ‘voice, echo, news’; Syriac *kālā* ‘to call, to cry out, to shout’; Phoenician *kl* ‘voice’; Ugaritic *kl* ‘voice’; Mandaic *kala* ‘voice’; Akkadian *kālu* ‘to speak, to call, to cry’, *kūlu* ‘speech’; Amorite *kwl* ‘to speak’; Arabic *kāla* ‘to speak, to say, to tell’, *kawl* ‘word, speech’; Sabaeen *kwl* ‘speaker’; Mehri *kawl* ‘speech’; Geez / Ethiopic *kāl* [ቃል] ‘voice, word, saying, speech, statement, discourse, command, order, sound, noise, expression, maxim, thing’; Tigrinya *kal* ‘word’; Tigre *kal* ‘word’; Amharic *kal* ‘word’; Gurage *kal* ‘voice, thing’. Murtonen 1989:372; Zammit 2002:348; Klein 1987:565; Leslau 1979:474 and 1987:426. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k^wwalaʔ-*, **k^wwalaaʔ-* ‘to shout’ > Iraqw *kwalaʔ-/qwalaʔ-* ‘to be joyful, to be glad’, *qwalaʔ* ‘joy’; Ma’a *-kalá/-xalá* ‘to bark’, *-kaláʔe* ‘to shout’; K’wadza *k^wʔaliko* ‘voice’. Ehret 1980:268. East Chadic **kawal-* ‘to cry, to shout; to speak, to call’ > Kabalay *ye-kuwəla* ‘to cry, to shout’; Dangla *kole* ‘to speak, to call’; Lele *ya-kolo* ‘to cry, to shout’; Jegu *kol* ‘to speak, to call’; Birgit *kole* ‘to speak, to call’; Bidiya *kol* ‘to speak, to call’. Diakonoff 1992:24 **k^wəl* (> **k^wul*) ‘call, voice’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:335, no. 1541, **kal-/kawal-* ‘speak’; Ehret 1995:245, no. 442, **q^wal-* ‘to call’.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *ku-la-a* ‘prayer, plea’, *ku-ul-la-* ‘to call out’, *ku-ul* ‘prayer, invocation’; Neo-Elamite *ku-la* ‘cry, plea’. Dravidian: Tamil *kulai* ‘to bark (as a dog), to talk incoherently’, *kulaippu* ‘barking, snarling’, *kulavai* ‘chorus of shrill sounds’; Malayalam *kulākulā* imitative of barking. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:163, no. 1811. Kannada *gullu* ‘loud noise, hubbub’; Telugu *gollu* ‘noise, hubbub, uproar’, *kolakola* ‘noise, tumult’, *golagola* ‘a confused noise’, *gōla* ‘loud noise or outcry’, *gulgu* ‘to grumble’; Tuḷu *gullu* ‘a great noise, shout, uproar’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:163, no. 1813.
- C. Indo-European: Greek βλήχῆ (Doric βλᾶχᾶ) (< **k^wl-ā-* < **k^wl-eA-* [**k^wl-aA-*]) ‘a bleating, the wailing of children’; Old High German *klaga* ‘cries of pain; complaint, lament, lamentation, grievance’ (New High German *Klage*). Boisacq 1950:123 βλ- < **g^wl-*; Beekes 2010.I:221; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:373; Kluge—Seebold 1989:373; Brugmann 1904:176 βλ- < **g^wl-*.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *qolil* ‘sound, noise, tinkling’, *qoliñi-* ‘to make a noise’, *qoli-čö:n* ‘noiselessly’. Nikolaeva 2006:384.

- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **quli-* ‘to cry or shout’: Chukchi *quli-*, *qolento-* ‘to shout’, (reduplicated) *quliqul* ‘voice, cry’, *e-quli-ke* ‘silently’; Kerek *quli-lkaat-* ‘to shout’, *quliiXul* ‘song’; Koryak *qolejav-* ‘to sing’, (reduplicated) *quliqul* ‘song’; Alyutor (reduplicated) *quliqul* ‘song’, *qulijava-* ‘to sing’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *quli(qul)* ‘song’, *qolento-* ‘to sing’ (these may be loans from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:241; Mudrak 1989b:105 **quli-* ‘voice, cry’.

Buck 1949:18.13 (18.14) shout, cry out; 18.21 speak, talk; 18.41 call (vb. = summon). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:487, no. 333; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1913, **qU[?][?][V]* ‘to speak, to call’.

602. Proto-Nostratic root **q^wal-* (~ **q^wəl-*):
 (vb.) **q^wal-* ‘to strike, to hit, to cut, to hurt, to wound, to slay, to kill’;
 (n.) **q^wal-a* ‘killing, murder, manslaughter, destruction, death’
 Probably identical to:
 (vb.) **q^wal-* ‘to throw, to hurl’;
 (n.) **q^wal-a* ‘sling, club; throwing, hurling’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **q^wal-* ‘to strike, to hit, to cut, to kill, to slaughter’: (?) Proto-Semitic **k^ʾa/ta/l-* ‘to kill, to slay’ > Akkadian *kaṭālu* ‘to kill, to slaughter’; Arabic *kaṭala* ‘to kill, to slay, to murder, to assassinate’, *kaṭl* ‘killing, murder, manslaughter, homicide, assassination’; Hebrew *kaṭal* [כָּטַל] (< **kaṭ-al-*, with *t* < *t* through assimilation to the preceding emphatic) ‘to slay, to kill’, *keṭel* [כֶּטֶל] ‘murder, slaughter’; Syriac *kaṭal* ‘to kill’ (Ancient Aramaic *kaṭl*); Sabaean *kaṭl* ‘to kill’; Geez / Ethiopic *kaṭala* [ቀተለ] ‘to kill, to put to death, to slay, to murder, to execute, to slaughter, to attack, to engage in battle, to combat, to fight, to wage war’; Tigrinya *kaṭälä* ‘to kill’; Tigre *kaṭla* ‘to kill’; Gurage *kaṭälä* ‘to kill’. Murtonen 1989:374; Klein 1987:575; Militarëv 2011:78 Proto-Semitic **kaṭl*; Leslau 1979:508 and 1987:451—452; Zammit 2002:333. Proto-Semitic **k^ʾal-aṣ-* ‘to strike, to hit, to hew off, to cut off’ > Arabic *kaṭala* ‘to hit, to beat’; Geez / Ethiopic *kaṭallaza* [ቀለለ] ‘to amputate, to hew off, to cut off, to prune’, *kaṭälz* [ቀለገ] ‘pruning’, *maṭwäz* [መቀለገ], *maṭlaz* [መቀለገ] ‘axe’, *maṭlaza* [መቀለገ] ‘to hew, to carve’; Amharic *kaṭälläzä* ‘to prune, to cut off thorns’. Leslau 1987:431. Proto-Semitic **k^ʾal-am-* ‘to cut, to divide’ > Arabic *kaṭama* ‘to cut, to clip, to pare (nails, etc.), to prune, to trim, to lop (trees, etc.)’, *kaṭāma* ‘clippings, cuttings, parings, shavings, nail cuttings’; Geez / Ethiopic *maṭkala* [መቀለ] ‘to divide’, *maṭlamt* [መቀለምት] ‘knife’; Tigrinya *maṭkälä* ‘to divide’; Amharic *maṭklämt* ‘knife’; Tigre *maṭkälmt* ‘knife’; Gurage *maṭwänt* ‘a kind of knife’. Leslau 1979:415 and 1987:354. Egyptian (Demotic) *qḥ* ‘to knock, to strike’; Coptic *kōlh* [ⲕⲟⲗⲏ], *kolh* [ⲕⲟⲗⲏ] ‘to knock, to strike’, *klhe* [ⲕⲗⲏⲉ] ‘knock’. Vycichl 1983:80; Černý 1976:57. Proto-East Cushitic **k^ʾal-* ‘to slaughter’ > Galla / Oromo *k^ʾal-* ‘to

- slaughter'; Somali *qal-* 'to slaughter'; Hadiyya *alaleess-* 'to slaughter'. Sasse 1979:49.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **kol-* 'to strike, to hit, to cut, to hurt, to wound, to slay, to kill': Dravidian: Tamil *kol* (*kolv-*, *konr-*) 'to kill, to murder, to destroy, to ruin, to fell, to reap, to afflict, to tease', *kolai* 'killing, murder, vexation, teasing'; Malayalam *kolluka* 'to kill, to murder', *kollika* 'to make to kill', *kolli* 'killing', *kula* 'killing, murder'; Kota *kol* 'act of killing'; Toda *kwaly* 'murder'; Kannaḍa *kol*, *kollu*, *kolu* (*kond-*) 'to kill, to murder', *kole* 'killing, murder, slaughter', *kolluvike* 'killing'; Koḍagu *koll-* (*kolluv-*, *kond-*) 'to kill'; Tuḷu *kolè* 'murder'; Telugu *kollu* 'to kill', *kola* 'sin; murder, holocaust, enmity'; Brahui *xalling* 'to strike, to kill, to fire (a gun), to throw (stone)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:192, no. 2132; Krishnamurti 2003:118 **kol-* 'to kill'. Tamil *koḷ* (*kolv-*, *konṭ-*) 'to strike, to hurt', *kōḷ* 'killing, murder'; Malayalam *koḷka* (*konṭ-*) 'to hit, to take effect, to come in contact', *koḷḷikka* 'to hit', *kōḷ* 'hitting, wound, damage'; Kota *koḷ-/kon-* (*kod-*) 'to pain, to trouble'; Toda *kwil-* (*kwid-*) 'to quarrel'; Tuḷu *konpini* 'to hit', *kolpuni*, *kolpuni* 'to come into collision'; Telugu *konu* 'to be pierced (as by an arrow)'; Kolami *go-l-* (*godḍ-*) 'to beat, to shoot with a bow'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:194, no. 2152.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **q^wwal-* 'to slay, to kill': Georgian *k'al-/k'l-* (< **k^wwal-* < **q^wwal-*) 'to kill'; Mingrelian *ʔvil-* 'to kill'; Laz *q'vil-*, *ʔvil-*, *ʔil-* 'to kill'. Schmidt 1962:70, 71, and 119.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **k^wel-/k^wol-/k^w]* 'to strike, to hit, to cut, to hurt, to wound, to slay, to kill': Old Icelandic *kvelja* 'to torment, to torture', *kvöl* 'torment, torture'; Faroese *kvøl* 'torment, torture'; Norwegian *kvelja* 'to torment, to torture'; Swedish *kvälja* 'to torment, to torture', *kval* 'torment, torture'; Danish *kvæle* 'to torment, to torture', *kval* 'torment, torture'; Old English *cwelan* 'to die', *cwellan* 'to kill', *cwealm* 'killing, murder; death, mortality; pestilence, plague; pain, torment', *cwiæld* 'destruction, death', *cwielman* 'to kill, to torment, to oppress', *cwalu* 'killing, violent death, destruction'; Old Saxon *quāla* 'torture, torment, agony, pain', *quelan* 'to die', *quellian* 'to torture, to kill'; Middle Dutch *quelen* 'to be ill, to suffer'; Dutch *kwellen* 'to vex, to tease, to torment'; *kwaal* 'complaint, disease'; Old High German *quellan* 'to kill' (New High German *quälen* 'to torture, to torment'), *quelan* 'to die', *quāla* 'torture, torment, agony, pain' (New High German *Qual*); Welsh *ballu* 'to die'; Lithuanian *gelūi*, *gėlti* 'to sting, to ache', *gėlà* 'torture'; Old Prussian *gallan* 'death'; Armenian *kelem* 'to torture'. Rix 1998a:185 **g^welH-* 'to torment, to torture, to stab'; Pokorny 1959:470—471 **g^wel-* 'to stab'; Walde 1927—1932.I:689—690 **g^wel-*; Mann 1984—1987:354 **g^wel-* 'pain, sorrow', 355 **g^wēlejō* 'to hurt, to harm', 363 **g^wūljō* (**g^wəl-*) 'to strike, to cast, to hurt, to beat down', 366 **g^woljō* 'to fell, to lay low'; Watkins 1985:24 **g^wel-* and 2000:34 **g^welə-* (also **g^wel-*) 'to pierce'; Mallory—Adams 1997:324—345 **g^wel-* 'to sting, to pierce' and 549 **g^wel-* 'to strike, to stab'; Orël 2003:227 Proto-

Germanic **kwaljanan*, 227 **kwelanan*; Kroonen 2013:315 Proto-Germanic **kwaljan-* ‘to make suffer; pain’, 315 **kwalō-* ‘torment’, 316 **kwelan-* ‘to suffer’, and 316 **kwelō-* ‘agony’; De Vries 1977:337 and 339; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:428 and I:434; Torp 1919:345; Onions 1966:505, 729, and 731; Klein 1971:402, 608, and 609; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:572 **g^uel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:573; Derksen 2015:167—168 and 170 **g^welH-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:168 **g^uelH-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:145—146.

- E. Proto-Uralic **kola-* ‘to die’: Finnish *kuole-* ‘to die’; Estonian *koole-* ‘to die’; Mordvin *kulo-* ‘to die’; Cheremis / Mari *kole-* ‘to die’; Votyak / Udmurt *kul-* ‘to die’; Zyrian / Komi *kul-* ‘to die’; Vogul / Mansi *hool-* ‘to die’; Ostyak / Xanty *kāl-* ‘to die’; Hungarian *hal-/hol-* ‘to die’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *haa-* ‘to die’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ku-* ‘to die’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *kaa-* ‘to die’; Selkup Samoyed *qu-* ‘to die’; Kamassian *kū-* ‘to die’. Collinder 1955:28, 1965:139—140, and 1977:48; Rédei 1986—1988:173 **kola-*; Décsy 1990:100 **kola* ‘to die’. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qoolew-*, *quolew-* ‘to kill’. Nikolaeva 2006:384.

Sumerian *gul* ‘to destroy’.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.76 kill. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:510—512, no. 359; Illič-Svityč 1965:370 **qo(H)l₁*; Caldwell 1913:618; Hakola 2000:82, no. 339, and 2003:52, no. 161; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1911, **qola* ‘to kill’.

603. Proto-Nostratic root **q^wal-* (~ **q^wəl-*):

(vb.) **q^wal-* ‘to throw, to hurl’;

(n.) **q^wal-a* ‘sling, club; throwing, hurling’

Probably identical to:

(vb.) **q^wal-* ‘to strike, to hit, to cut, to hurt, to wound, to slay, to kill’;

(n.) **q^wal-a* ‘killing, murder, manslaughter, destruction, death’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **q^wal-* ‘to throw, to hurl’: Proto-Semitic **k^ʾal-aṣ-* ‘to throw, to hurl’ > Hebrew *kāla^ʿ* [כָּלָא] ‘to sling, to hurl forth’, *kela^ʿ* [כֶּלָא] ‘sling’; Syriac *ḵəṭlā^ʿ* ‘sling’; Ugaritic *ḵl^ʿ* ‘sling’; Arabic *miklā^ʿ* ‘slingshot, sling, catapult’; Geez / Ethiopic *kal^ʿa* [ቀለዐ] ‘to throw from a sling, to hit a ball’, *maḵlā^ʿ* [መቀለዐ] ‘sling, club’; Tigrinya *ḵäl^ʿe* ‘to hit a ball with a stick’; Amharic *ḵälla* ‘to decapitate’. Murtonen 1989:377—378; Klein 1987:581; Leslau 1987:426; Zammit 2002:344.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **q^wil-* ‘shoulder bone, shoulder blade; arm’: Georgian *q^ʷil-iv-i* ‘shoulder blade’; Mingrelian *ʷvil-e* ‘bone, arm’; Laz *q^ʷil-i*, *ʷil-i* ‘bone’. Klimov 1964:211—212 **q^wil-iv-* and 1998:242 **q^wil-iv-*; Schmidt 1962:141; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:415 **q^wil-*; Fähnrich 2007:516 **q^wil-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **k^wel-/k^wol-/k^wl-* ‘to throw, to hurl’: Greek βάλλω (Arcadian -δέλλω) ‘to throw’, βλήμα ‘a throw, cast (of dice)’, βολή

‘a throw, the stroke or wound of a missile’, βόλος ‘a throw with a casting-net, a cast (of a net)’, βολίς ‘a javelin; a cast of the dice, a die’; Welsh *blif* ‘catapult’. Rix 1998a:185—186 **g^uelh₁-* ‘to throw, to hurl’; Pokorny 1959:471—472 **g^uel-*, **g^uelə-*, **g^ulē-* ‘to throw, to hurl’; Walde 1927—1932.I:690—692 **g^uel-*, **g^uelē(i)-*; Mann 1984—1987:355 **g^uelō*, *-iō* ‘to hurl, to fling’, 363 **g^uliō* (**g^uəl-*) ‘to strike, to cast, to hurl, to beat down’; Watkins 1985:25 **g^welə-* and 2000:34 **g^welə-* ‘to throw, to reach’; Mallory—Adams 1997:591—582 **g^welh₁-* ‘to throw’; Boisacq 1950:114 Greek βάλλω < **g^uliō* (root **g^uel-*, stem **g^uelē-*); Hofmann 1966:32 **g^ueliō*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:215—217; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:161—163 **g^welə₁-*, **g^wleə₁-*; Beekes 2010.I:197—198 **g^welh₁-*.

Buck 1949:10.25 throw (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:512, no. 360.

604. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **q^war-a* ‘edge, point, tip, peak’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **q^war-* ‘highest point, top, peak, summit, hill, mountain, horn’: Proto-Semitic **k’arn-* ‘horn, summit, peak’ > Akkadian *ḫarnu* ‘horn’; Ugaritic *ḫrn* ‘horn’; Hebrew *ḫeren* [ḫḫḫ] ‘horn; corner, point, peak’; Phoenician *ḫrn* ‘horn’; Aramaic *ḫarnā* ‘horn’; Palmyrene *ḫrn* ‘horn, corner’; Arabic *ḫarn* ‘horn, top, summit, peak (of a mountain)’, *ḫurna* ‘salient angle, nook, corner’; Harsūsi *ḫōn/ḫerōn* ‘horn, hill, top’, *ḫernēt* ‘corner’; Mehri *ḫōn/ḫarūn* ‘horn, peak, spur; tall narrow-based hill; hilt of a dagger; pod (of beans)’, *ḫarnēt* ‘corner’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḫun/ḫerūn* ‘horn, hilt of a dagger, pod, peak’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḫarn* [ḫCḫ] ‘horn, trumpet, tip, point’; Tigre *ḫār*, *ḫärn* ‘horn’; Tigrinya *ḫärni* ‘horn’; Harari *ḫär* ‘horn’; Gurage *ḫär* ‘horn’; Amharic *känd* (< **k’arn-*) ‘horn’; Argobba *känd* ‘horn’. Murtonen 1989:387; Klein 1987:595; Diakonoff 1992:85 Proto-Semitic **q^rn-* ‘horn’; Militarëv 2008:200 and 2011:77 Proto-Semitic **ḫar-n-*; Leslau 1963:128, 1979:494, and 1987:442; Zammit 2002:338. Geez / Ethiopic *ḫardu* [ḫCḫ] ‘hill’. Leslau 1987:440. Egyptian *qḥ* (> **q^rr*) ‘hill, high ground, high place’, *qḥqḥ* ‘hill, high place’, *qḥy-t* ‘high ground, arable land’, *qḥ-t* ‘high land, height’, *qḥy-t* ‘high ground, arable land’, *qḥ*, *qḥy* ‘to be high, exalted’, *qḥi* ‘tall, high, exalted’, *qḥw* ‘height’; Coptic (Sahidic), *koie* [koie], *koeie* [koieie], (Bohairic) *koi* [koi] (< **q^y* < **qḥy*) ‘field’, *kro* [kro] (Demotic *qr* ‘shore’, *qrr* ‘embankment’) ‘shore (of sea, river), limit or margin (of land), hill, dale’. Hannig 1995:847, 847—848, 848 and 2006:2503—2505, 2505, 2505—2506, 2506; Faulkner 1962:275; Erman—Grapow 1921:188 and 1926—1963.5:1—3, 5:5, 5:6; Gardiner 1957:596; Černý 1976:51 and 61; Vycichl 1983:73 and 85. Proto-East Cushitic **k’ar-* ‘point, peak, top’ > Galla / Oromo *k’arree* ‘peak’; Somali *qar* ‘hill higher than *kur*’; Gedeo / Darasa *k’ar-* ‘to sharpen’, *k’ara* ‘sharp (of knife)’, (reduplicated) *k’ark’arā* ‘edge, blade’; Burji *c’ar-i* ‘point, top, peak, pointedness’ (loan, probably from Oromo); Hadiyya *k’ar-ess-* ‘to whet’,

k'areʔalla ‘edge, blade’, *k'ar-eeš-aanco* ‘whetstone, rasp, file’; Sidamo *k'ara* ‘point, edge, blade’. Sasse 1979:48 and 1982:46; Hudson 1989:55, 114, and 131—132. Omotic: Gongga **k'ar-* ‘horn’ (Mocha *qáro* ‘horn’); Aari *k'ari* ‘tusk’, *k'armi* ‘sharp’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:337, no. 1549, **kār-* ‘horn’; Ehret 1995:238, no. 424, **k'ar-* ‘horn; point, peak’; Militarëv 2011:77 Proto-Afrasian **kār(-n)-*.]

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:151—152, no. 168) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **karn-* ‘horn’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates. They note: “Possibly < **kār-n-*, cf. Tgr. *kār* with no traces of the lost **-n* and similar forms in S.-E., Eth., Gur. and especially in Arg.”

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṛam* ‘Kurava tribe’, *kuṛiñci* ‘hilly tract’, *kuṛicci* ‘village in the hilly tract, village’, *kuṛavāṇar* ‘the Kurava tribe of the mountain’; Malayalam *kuṛavan* ‘wandering tribe of basket-makers, snake-catchers, and gypsies’, *kuṛumpan* ‘shepherd, caste of mountaineers in Wayanāḍu’, *kuṛicci* ‘hill country’, *kuṛicciyan* ‘a hill tribe’; Toda *kurb* ‘man of Kurumba tribe living in the Nilgiri jungles’, *kuṛumba* ‘a caste of mountaineers’; Telugu *koṛava* name of a tribe of mountaineers. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:166—167, no. 1844.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **q'ur-* ‘edge’: Georgian *q'ur-e* ‘(dead-)end, edge’, *q'urimal-* ‘cheek’; Mingrelian *ʔur-e* ‘edge, border, side’. Schmidt 1962:141; Klimov 1964:213—214 **qur-* and 1998:246 **qur-* ‘ear’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **k'wer-/*k'wor-/*k'wɹ-* ‘hill, mountain, peak’: Greek *δεῖράς* (Cretan *δηράς*) (probably < **deṛF-αδ-*) ‘the ridge of a chain of hills’; Sanskrit *giri-h* ‘mountain, hill, rock’; Avestan *gairi-* ‘mountain’; Albanian *gur* ‘rock’; Lithuanian *girė*, *girià* ‘forest’; Old Church Slavic *gora* ‘mountain’; Russian *gorá* [ropa] ‘mountain’; Serbo-Croatian *gòra* ‘mountain’; Hittite (acc. sg.) *gur-ta-an* ‘citadel’, *Kuriwanda* the name of a mountain in southwestern Anatolia. Pokorny 1959:477 **g^uer-*, **g^uor-* ‘mountain’; Walde 1927—1932.I:682 **g^uer-* (**g^uorā*, **g^uri-*); Watkins 1985:25 **g^werə-* and 2000:34 **g^werə-* ‘mountain’ (oldest form: **g^werə₃-*); Mann 1984—1987:374 **g^uris*, *-os*, *-us*, *-iə* ‘wooded hilltop, hill, wood’; Mallory—Adams 1997:270 **g^worh_x-*, **g^wɹh_x-* ‘mountain; mountain forest’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:335; Boisacq 1950:171 **g^uerjo-*; Beekes 2010.I:310—311; Frisk 1970—1973.I:358 *δεῖράς* < **deṛsás*, related to Sanskrit *dr̥śád-* ‘rock, large stone, mill-stone’ (but not according to Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:61, who notes that the form *dhr̥śát*, with initial voiced aspirate, is found in the Rig Veda); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:258; Hofmann 1966:54 **g^uerjo-*; Kimball 1999:250 **g^wrtó-* : **g^wer-* : **g^wɹ-* ‘mountain, height’; Kloekhorst 2008b:495; Puhvel 1984— .4:275—276 Hittite *gurta-* < **gher-dh-* ‘to enclose’; Bomhard 1976:220; Orël 1998:127; Derksen 2008:177—178 **g^wrH-* and 2015:178 **g^wrH-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:153; Smoczyński 2007.1:182—183 **g^urH-i-*.

- E. (?) Altaic: Mongolian *qorya* ‘fort, fortress; shelter, enclosure’; Old Turkic *quryan* ‘castle, fortress’. Poppe 1960:88; Street 1974:88 **kurgan* ‘a fortification’.

(?) Sumerian *gur₅-ru*, *gur₅-uš* ‘forest’ (represented by the sign for a hair-covered head). For the semantics, note Lithuanian *gìrė*, *girià* ‘forest’, cited above. Note also Old Icelandic *skógr* ‘woods, forest’ from the same stem found in *skaga* ‘to jut out, to project’, *skagi* ‘a low cape or ness’, *skegg* ‘beard’ (cf. De Vries 1977:480, 487, and 497).

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 1.41 woods, forest; 4.17 horn; 12.35 end; 12.353 edge; 12.36 side; 12.76 corner. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:514—516, no. 363. Note: Though similar in form and meaning, there is absolutely no justification whatsoever for the often-repeated comparison of the Afrasian forms cited above with Latin *cornū* ‘horn’, Gothic *haur̥n* ‘horn’, and related forms within Indo-European (as in, for example, Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1130, Proto-Nostratic **kæRV* (or **kERV*) ‘horn’) — Proto-Afrasian **k* [= **k*'] does not correspond to Proto-Indo-European **k* [= **k^h*].

605. Proto-Nostratic root **q^war-* (~ **q^wər-*) or **q^wur-* (~ **q^wor-*):

(vb.) **q^war-* or **q^wur-* ‘to call out, to cry out’;

(n.) **q^war-a* or **q^wur-a* ‘call, cry, shout’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ḵaraḵa* ‘to praise, to commend, to laud, to extol, to acclaim’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kūru* (*kūri-*) ‘to speak, to assert, to cry out the price, to cry aloud, to proclaim’, *kūrram* ‘word’, *kūrru* ‘proclamation, utterance, word’; Malayalam *kūruka* ‘to speak, to proclaim’, *kūrru* ‘call, cry of men, noise’, *kūrram* ‘cry (as for help)’; Kannaḍa *gūr̥nisu*, *gūr̥misu* ‘to murmur or roar (as water of a river or the sea), to sound (as a trumpet), to roar or bellow, to cry aloud’; Telugu *ghūr̥ṇillu* ‘to sound, to resound’ (*gh-* is from Sanskrit *ghūr̥ṇ-* ‘to move to and fro’ [> Telugu *ghūr̥ṇillu* ‘to whirl, to turn around’]); Tuḷu *gūr̥uni* ‘to hoot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:174, no. 1921.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **q^wur-* ‘to howl (of wolves, dogs)’: Georgian *q^wur-* in *q^wurq^wul-* (< **q^wur-q^wur-*) ‘howling (of wolves, dogs)’; Mingrelian *ʔur-* ‘to howl (of wolves, dogs)’; Laz (*q^wur-*, *q^wu(r)-* ‘to cry, to be angry’. Schmidt 1962:141; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:420 **q^wur-*; Fähnrich 2007:521 **q^wur-*; Klimov 1964:211 **q^wwir-* ‘to cry (out), to shout’ (Georgian *q^wvir-* ‘to cry out, to shout’) and 1998:246 **q^wur-* ‘to howl (of wolves, dogs)’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **k^wer-/k^wor-/k^wṛ-* ‘to make a sound, to call, to call out, to praise’: Sanskrit *gr̥ṇāti* ‘to call, to call out, to invoke, to praise, to extol’, *gr̥* ‘words, speech, voice, language, invocation, praise, verse’, *gurāte* ‘to salute’, *gūr̥ti-h* ‘approval, praise’; Latin *grātus* ‘pleasing, welcome, agreeable’, *grātēs* ‘thanks, gratitude’; Old High German *queran*

‘to sigh’ (New High German *quarren*); Lithuanian *giriù, girti* ‘to praise, to commend’. Rix 1998a:188—189 **g^uerH-* ‘to extol, to praise, to honor’; Pokorny 1959:478 **g^uer(ə)-* ‘to raise one’s voice’; Walde 1927—1932.I:686—687 **g^uer(ā^x)-*; Mann 1984—1987:373 **g^ur-* ‘appellation, song, praise; to revere, to sacrifice, to worship’, 374—375 **g^urjō* ‘to sing, to praise’, 375 **g^urksjō* (**g^urkskō, *g^urskō*) ‘to call, to cry, to appeal’, 376 **g^ur̄tos* ‘revered, favored, important’, **g^ur̄tis* ‘reverence, favor, importance’; Watkins 1985:25 **g^werə-* ‘to praise (aloud)’ and 2000:34 **g^werə-* (oldest form: **g^wer₂-*; suffixed zero-grade form: **g^wr₂-to-*) ‘to favor’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:205 **k[’]erH-/k[’]rH-* > **k[’]r̄-* and 1995.I:177 **k[’]erH-/k[’]r̄H-* > **k[’]r̄-* ‘to raise the voice’; Mallory—Adams 1997:449 **g^werh_x-* ‘to praise’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:336, I:340, I:342, and I:343; De Vaan 2008:271—272 **g^wrH-to-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:619—620 **g^uer(ā^x)-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:281—282; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:573; Kluge—Seebold 1989:574; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:154; Smoczyński 2007.1:183—184 **g^urH-é-*; Derksen 2015:178—179 **g^wrH-*. Proto-Indo-European **k^werdh-/k^wordh-/k^wrdh-* ‘to call out, to cry out’: Avestan (adj.) *gərəδō* ‘howling’; Armenian *kardam* ‘to call, to read out’. Pokorny 1959:478 **g^uer(ə)-* ‘to raise one’s voice’; Walde 1927—1932.I:686—687 **g^uer(ā^x)-*; Mann 1984—1987:373 **g^urdh-*; Watkins 1985:25 **g^werə-* ‘to praise (aloud)’ and 2000:34 **g^werə-* (oldest form: **g^wer₂-*) ‘to favor’.

Buck 1949:15.44 sound (sb.); 16.79 praise (sb.); 18.13 shout, cry out. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:516—517, no. 364; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1938, **qur[h]V* ‘to bark, to howl (of canines)’, ‘to cry, to shout’.

606. Proto-Nostratic root **q^war^y-* (~ **q^wə^y-*) or **q^wur^y-* (~ **q^wor^y-*):
 (vb.) **q^war^y-* or **q^wur^y-* ‘to hear’;
 (n.) **q^war^y-a* or **q^wur^y-a* ‘ear’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṛai* ‘earring, ear’; Malayalam *kuṛa* ‘earring, ear’; Kannada *kḍaṅgè* ‘earring’, *kuḍka, kuḍki* ‘female’s ear ornament’; Kolami *kuḍka* ‘earring in the upper ear’; Gondi *kuṛka* ‘earring’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:165, no. 1823.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **q[’]ur-* ‘ear’, **q[’]ur-u-* ‘deaf, dumb’: Georgian *q[’]ur-* ‘ear’, *q[’]ru-* ‘deaf’, *q[’]ruoba-* ‘silence’; Mingrelian *ᵛuḗ-* ‘ear’, *ᵛuru-* ‘dumb’; Laz *q[’]uḗ-* (-ḗ- < -r- [cf. Schmidt 1962:77]), *ᵛuḗ-, juḗ-, uḗ-* ‘ear’, *ᵛuḗ-* ‘to hear’, *q[’]uḗ-a* ‘deaf’. Klimov 1964:213—214 **q[’]ur-* and 1998:246 **q[’]ur-* ‘ear’, 247 **q[’]ur-u-* ‘deaf, dumb’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:420 **q[’]ur-*; Fähnrich 2007:522 **q[’]ur-*; Schmidt 1962:141; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:898 Georgian-Zan **q[’]ur-i* and 1995.I:793 Georgian-Zan **q[’]ur-i* ‘ear’. Proto-Kartvelian **q[’]ur-c-* ‘ear of the needle’: Georgian *q[’]unc-* ‘ear of the needle; cutting’ (attested in Old Georgian in the secondary form *k[’]urc-*,

showing the change $q' > k'$); Mingrelian *q'urc*- 'ear of the needle'. Klimov 1998:247 **qur-ç*- 'ear of the needle'; derivative of **q'ur*- 'ear' extended by the unproductive diminutive suffix *-*c*'-.

- C. (?) Indo-European: Lithuanian *girdžiù*, *girdėti* 'to hear', *girdà* 'hearing'; Latvian *dzirdu*, *dzirdēt* 'to hear'. Pokorny 1959:476 **g^uer(ə)*- 'to raise one's voice'; Walde 1927—1932.I:686—687 **g^uer(ā^v)*-; Mann 1984—1987:373 **gurdh-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:153; Smoczyński 2007.1:182.

Buck 1949:4.22 ear; 15.41 hear; 15.43 hearing (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:516—517, no. 364; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1939, **qUR[w]V* (= **qUr[w]V*?) 'ear'.

607. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasianic only) **q^wat^{vh}*- (~ **q^wə^{vh}*-):

(vb.) **q^wat^{vh}*- 'to say, to speak, to call';

(n.) **q^wat^{vh}-a* 'call, invocation, invitation, summons'

- A. Proto-Indo-European **k^wet^h-*/**k^wot^h*- 'to say, to speak, to call': Armenian *kočem* (< **k^wot^h-ye-*) 'to call, to name'; Gothic *qīban* 'to say, to tell, to name, to speak'; Old Icelandic *kveða* 'to say, to utter', *kveðja* 'to call on, to summon', *kviðr* 'verdict; inquest; saying, word'; Faroese *kvøða* 'to say, to speak'; Norwegian *kveda* 'to say, to speak'; Swedish *kväda* 'to say, to speak'; Danish *kvæda* 'to say, to speak'; Old English *cweþan* 'to say, to speak', *cwide* 'speech, saying, utterance, word, sentence, phrase, proverb, argument, proposal, discourse, homily'; Old Frisian *quetha* 'to speak'; Old Saxon *quedan* 'to speak'; Old High German *quedan* 'to speak'. Rix 1998a:190 **g^uet-* 'to say, to speak, to talk'; Pokorny 1959:480—481 **g^uet-* 'to talk'; Walde 1927—1932.I:672 **g^uet-*; Mann 1984—1987:357—358 **g^uetō*, -*jō* 'to proclaim, to pronounce, to ban', 367 **g^uot-* 'call, ban'; Watkins 1985:25 **g^wet-* and 2000:34 **g^wet-* 'to say, to speak'; Mallory—Adams 1997:535 (?) **g^wet-* 'to say'; Orël 2003:226 Proto-Germanic **kwadjanan*, 227 **kwediz*, 229 **kwepanan*; Kroonen 2013:314 Proto-Germanic **kwadjan-* 'to greet', 315 **kwedu-* 'utterance', and 319 **kwepan-* 'to say'; Feist 1939:389—390 (Armenian *kočem* < **g^uot-i-*); Lehmann 1986:277—278 **g^wet-* 'to speak'; De Vries 1977:336; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:433; Torp 1919:343; Klein 1971:612; Onions 1966:734 Common Germanic **kwepan*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:312.
- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **ku^v3-* 'to call, to summon' > Finnish *kutsu-* 'to call; to summon, to invite'; Lapp / Saami *goč'čo-* 'to call, to order, to bid, to ask'; Ostyak / Xanty (Southern) *hut'*-, (Nizyam) *hūs'*- 'to call, to entice, to seduce, to incite; to tease, to provoke'. Collinder 1955:93, 1960:412 **kuć3-*, and 1977:109; Rédei 1986—1988:192 **kuć3-*.
- C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **qəððidəx-* 'to pester, to annoy, to bother, to bore' > Chukchi *qətcire-*, *qətrire-* 'to bore, to bother', *qətcera-γəryən* 'nuisance'; Kerek *qəccija-* 'to bore, to annoy'. Fortescue 2005:242.

Assuming semantic development as in Ostyak / Xanty (Southern) *hut'*-, (Nizyam) *hűś*- 'to call, to entice, to seduce, to incite; to tease, to provoke', cited above.

Buck 1949:18.22 say; 18.41 call (vb. = summon). Koskinen 1980:23, no. 67; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:496, no. 343; Hakola 2000:86, no. 356.

608. Proto-Nostratic root **q'wur-* (~ **q'wor-*):

(vb.) **q'wur-* 'to swallow';

(n.) **q'wur-a* 'neck, throat'

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Šheri / Jibbāli *ķerd* 'throat'; Harsūsi *ķard* 'throat'; Mehri *ķard* 'voice, throat'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *kural* 'throat, windpipe'; Malayalam *kural* 'throat'; Kannaḍa *koral* 'neck, throat'; Tuḷu *kurelu* 'the nape of the neck'; Koḍagu *kora* 'gullet, windpipe'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:161, no. 1774. Malayalam *kōruka* 'to eat greedily'; Kannaḍa *koḷḷu* 'to drink'; Telugu *krōlu* 'to drink, to eat'; Kuwi *gronj-* 'to drink, to guzzle'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:199, no. 2233.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian (**q'worq'-* >) **q'orq'-* 'throat, gullet': Georgian *q'orq'*- 'throat, gullet'; Mingrelian *q'orq'-el-*, *q'urq'-el-* 'throat, gullet'; (?) Svan *q'arq'inž* 'larynx'. Schmidt 1962:140; Klimov 1964:213 **qorq-* and 1998:244 **qorq-* 'throat, gullet'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:418—419 **qorq-*; Fähnrich 2007:520 **qorq-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **k'wor-/k'wr-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k'wer-*) 'to swallow; (n.) neck, throat': Sanskrit *girāti*, *grñāti* 'to swallow, to eat', *grīvā* 'neck, nape', *garā-h* 'drink, poison', *gala-h* 'throat, neck'; Prakrit *gīvā* 'neck', *girai* 'to swallow, to eat'; Greek βιβρώσκω 'to eat', βopá 'food, meat', βopός 'devouring, gluttonous'; Latin *vorō* 'to eat greedily, to swallow up'; Old Irish *bráge*, *brágae* 'throat, neck'; Modern Welsh *breuant* 'windpipe'; Old Icelandic (pl.) *kverkr* 'throat', *kyrkja* 'to strangle, to choke'; Dutch *kraag* 'neck'; Middle High German *krage* 'neck' (New High German *Kragen* 'collar'); Lithuanian *geriù*, *gérti* 'to drink', *girtas* 'drunk, tipsy'; Czech *žeru*, *žráti* 'to devour'; Russian Church Slavonic *gr̃lo* 'throat'. Rix 1998a:189 **g^uer₃-* 'to swallow'; Pokorny 1959:474—476 **g^uer-*, **g^uerə-* 'to swallow'; Walde 1927—1932.I:682—684 **g^uer-*; Mann 1984—1987:356—357 **g^uer-* (**g^uor-*) 'food, drink, gulp, swallow, gullet, glutton', 357 **g^uēros* 'consuming; consumer', 367 **g^uoros*, *-ā* 'swallowing; throat; food, herb, poison; glutton', 371 **g^uroghos*, *-ō(n)* (**g^uroĝh-*) 'neck, craw', 371 **g^uros* 'eater, eating', 371—372 **g^urosmn-* 'eaten; eating', 372 **g^urūĝos*, *-ā* 'neck, throat; pitcher with narrow neck, pot', 372—373 **g^ur-* 'devouring; gulp; throat', 373 **g^ur₁dhlom*; **g^ur₂dhlom*, *-ā*, *-jos*, *-jə* 'crop, throat, gorging animal', 374 **g^urĝət-* (**g^urĝət-*) 'neck, throat, gullet', 375 **g^urō* 'to gulp down, to

devour', 375—376 **gūr̥quis* 'neck, throat', 376 **gūr̥qutos*, -ā (?) 'gulp, throat'; Mallory—Adams 1997:175 **g^wer(h₃)*- 'to swallow' and 391—392 **g^wrih_xu-eh_a*- 'neck'; Watkins 1985:25 **g^werə*- and 2000:34 **g^werə*- 'to swallow' (oldest form: **g^werə₃*-); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:231, II:702 **k^oer*- and 1995.I:201, I:607 **k^oer*- 'to swallow'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:335; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:175 **g^wer*- and I:264 **g^wer*-; Frisk 1970—1973.I235—236, I:251, and I:367—368 **g^uer-uā*; Hofmann 1966:37 **g^uorā* and 55 **g^uer-uā*; Boisacq 1950:126—127 **g^uer*- and 177—178 **g^uer-uā*; Beekes 2010.I:213—214 **g^werh₂*-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:753 **g^werə*-, **g^wrē*-/**g^wrō*-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:836; De Vaan 2008:690—691; Orël 2003:228 Proto-Germanic **kwerkjanan*, 228 **kwerkō*; Kroonen 2013:317 Proto-Germanic **kwerkō*- 'throat'; De Vries 1977:337 and 341; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:398—399 **g^uer*-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:408 **g^uerə*-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:148—149; Derksen 2008:198 **g^wrh₃-tlóm*, 559 **g^werh₃*-, and 2015:172 **g^werh₃*-; Smoczyński 2007.1:172—173 **g^uerh₃-C*.

- E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **k[ü]rk₃* 'neck, throat' > Finnish *kurkku* 'throat'; Mordvin (Erza) *kirga*, *ki'rga*, *korga* 'neck'. Collinder 1955:89 (according to Collinder, Finnish *kurkku* is either a Scandinavian loan-word or is influenced by Scandinavian), 1960:411 **kürk₃*, and 1977:105, 109; Rédei 1986—1988:161.
- F. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **qor*- 'neck': Amur *q^hos* 'neck', *q^hozvərs* 'collar', *q^hostavs* 'scarf'; North Sakhalin *q^hos* 'neck'; East Sakhalin *q^hos* 'neck', *q^hostavř* 'scarf'; South Sakhalin *qorř* 'neck', *qozvř* 'dog collar'. Fortescue 2016:142.

Buck 1949:4.28 neck; 4.29 throat; 5.11 eat; 5.13 drink (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:512—513, no. 361; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:235—236, no. 91, **gura* 'to swallow'.

22.32. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *tʰ

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
tʰ-	tʰ-	c-	x-	kʰ-	sy-	š-	ʈ-
-tʰ-	-tʰ-	-k-	-x-	-kʰ-	-δ- (?)		-ʈ-

609. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *tʰah-a ‘(young) sheep or goat’:

A. Proto-Afrasian *tʰah- ‘(young) sheep or goat’: Proto-Semitic *tʰa(h)- ‘(young) sheep’ > Arabic *šāʾ* (coll.; n. un. *šāh*; pl. *šiwāh*, *šiyāh*) ‘sheep, ewe’; Hebrew *šeh* [שֶׁה] ‘(young) sheep, lamb’; Phoenician *š* ‘sheep’; Ugaritic *š*, *šh* ‘sheep’; Akkadian *šuʾu* ‘ram’. Klein 1987:642; Murtonen 1989:412—413; Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:280—282, no. 217, Proto-Semitic *šaw-, *šaw- ‘sheep’. Proto-Sam *lah- ‘ewe’ > Rendille *lah* ‘ewe’; Somali *lah* ‘ewe’. Heine 1978:67. Proto-Southern Cushitic *tʰah- ‘goat’ (?) > Ma’a *hlane* ‘he-goat’. Ehret 1980:328. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:121—122, no. 517, *šaʔ- ‘meat’ and 489, no. 2323, *šaf- ‘cow, bull’; Ehret 1995:428, no. 888, *toʔ- ‘cattle’.]

Comment: Militarëv—Nikolaev (2020:212) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian *šaʔ- and *šaf- ‘a kind of large bovid’. However, the data they cite to support their reconstruction differs somewhat from that given here. The cumulative evidence from the Afrasian daughter languages seems to point to similar stems at the Proto-Afrasian level but with different laryngeals: *tʰaʔ-, *tʰah-, *tʰaf- ‘(young) sheep or goat’ (Militarëv—Nikolaev would write *šaʔ-, *šah-, *šaf-, respectively).

B. Proto-Indo-European *kʰahh-kʰ- > *kʰākʰ- ‘(young) goat, kid’: Old English *hēcen* (< Proto-Germanic *χōkjan) ‘kid’; Middle Low German *hōken* ‘kid’; Middle Dutch *hoekijn* ‘kid’; Old Church Slavic *koza* ‘goat’; Russian *kozá* [коза] ‘goat, she-goat, nanny-goat’; Albanian *kedh* ‘kid’. Pokorny 1959:517—518 *kaǵo-, *koǵo-, -ā- ‘goat’; Mann 1984—1987:459 *kǵǵ- ‘goat, kid, goatskin’; Walde 1927—1932.I:336—337 *qaǵo-, *qoǵo-, -ā-; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:585, II:589 *q[ʰ]okʰ- and 1995.I:500—501, I:504, I:765 *qʰokʰ- ‘goat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:511 (?) *(s)kēgos ‘sheep, goat’; Orël 1998:174—175; Kroonen 2013:239 Proto-Germanic *hōkīna- ‘kid, young goat’; Derksen 2008:242.

Buck 1949:3.25 sheep; 3.26 ram; 3.29 lamb; 3.36 goat; 3.38 kid. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:379, no. 213.

610. Proto-Nostratic root *tʰak^{wh}- (~ *tʰək^{wh}-):
 (vb.) *tʰak^{wh}- ‘to prick, to pierce, to stab’;
 (n.) *tʰak^{wh}-a ‘stab, thrust, jab; thorn, spike, prong, barb’
- A. Proto-Afrasian *tʰak^w- ‘to prick, to pierce, to stab’: Proto-Semitic *tʰak-ak- ‘to pierce, to prick, to stab’ > Arabic *šakka* ‘to pierce, to transfix; to prick, to stab’, *šakka* ‘stab, thrust, jab’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šekk* ‘to skewer meat’, *miškót* ‘spit, and the meat skewered on it’; Mehri *məškik* ‘wooden spit, skewer’; Ḥarsūsi *meškēk* ‘bar, skewer, (wooden) spit’; Hebrew *šēx* [שֵׁחַ] (pl. *sikkīm* [סִקִּיִּם]) ‘thorn’, *šukkāh* [שֻׁקָּה] ‘barb, spear’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Aramaic *sikkā* ‘thorn’. Murtonen 1989:421—422; Klein 1987:655 and 656; Leslau 1987:529. Proto-Semitic *tʰa/wa/k- ‘thorn’ > Arabic *šawk* ‘thorn(s)’, *šawkī* ‘thorny, spiky, prickly’; Aramaic *šawkā* ‘thorn’; Geez / Ethiopic *šok* [ሥዕ] ‘thorn, thorn bush, spine (of hedgehog), sting’; Tigre *šokāt* ‘thorn’; Tigrinya *ʔəšok* ‘thorn’; Gafat *əsih^wä* ‘thorn’; Amharic *əšoh* ‘thorn’; Argobba *əšoh* ‘thorn’; Harari *usux* ‘thorn’; Gurage *sox* ‘thorn’. Leslau 1963:33, 1979:541, and 1987:529; Zammit 2002:246. Berber: Tuareg *əskər* ‘nail (person or animal), hoof’, *tāskərt* ‘blade, tip; stinger (of scorpion, wasp, bee); garlic’; Nefusa *accar* ‘nail’; Ghadames *acker* ‘nail’; Tamazight *iskər* ‘nail, claw, talon, tip’, *abaccər* ‘paw, hoof’; Wargla *accar* ‘nail, talon, hoof’; Mzab *accar* ‘nail’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *iskər* ‘nail’, *baskar* ‘claw’, *tiskərt* ‘garlic’; Riff *iccər* ‘nail, claw’; Kabyle *iccər* ‘nail, claw, point’; Chaouia *iccər* ‘nail, talon’; Zenaga *askər* ‘nail, claw’, *təskərt* ‘anything with a sharp claw’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *tʰaak^w- ‘to stab, to pierce’ > Iraqw *hlaqw-* ‘to shoot (arrow)’, *hlakat-* ‘to hunt’; Burunge *hlakw-* ‘to shoot (arrow)’, *hlagad-* ‘to hunt’; Alagwa *hlakat-* ‘to hunt’; Asa *hlakat-* ‘to hunt’; K’wadza *hlakataʔiko* ‘hunter’; Ma’a *-hla* ‘to stab, to pierce’, *mhlaʔé* ‘thorn’. Ehret 1980:209. Ehret 1995:422, no. 874, *tʰaak^w- ‘to pierce’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:132, no. 569, *čuk- ‘to cut, to pierce’ and 132, no. 570, *čuk- ‘sharp weapon’.]
- B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *cakkhnā* (*cakkhyas/cakkos*) ‘to pierce with a prick, to prick, to penetrate into, to puncture, to cause a prickly sensation’, (reflexive) *cakhrnā* ‘to get tattooed’, *cakkhtaʔānā* ‘to cause to be pierced, tattooed’; Malto *caqe* ‘to sting, to pierce, to stab’ (also applied to the sowing of certain grains for which holes are made in the earth), *caqro* ‘worm-eaten roots’, *caqtre* ‘to have the ears pierced’, *caqu* ‘shooting pains in the stomach’; Brahui *jaxxing* ‘to run into, to pierce’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:202, no. 2278. Perhaps also: Kuṛux *caknā* ‘to sharpen an edge instrument, to whet’; Malto *cake* ‘to sharpen, to whet’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:202, no. 2277.
- C. Proto-Indo-European (?) *k^hak^{wh}- ‘spike, prong’: Sanskrit *śakulā-ḥ* ‘a kind of spur-like projection (behind the hoof of an ox or cow)’; Albanian *thekë* ‘fringe, tip’; Lithuanian *šākė* ‘fork, pitchfork’; Latvian *sakas* ‘pitchfork’.

Mann 1984—1987:599 **kakis*, *-iə* (**kakus*, *-os*, *-ā*; **kakinā*) ‘spike, prong’. Note too Mann 1984—1987:599 **kaktis*, *-os*, *-ā* ‘sharp; sharpness, point, spike’. Perhaps also Proto-Indo-European **k^hāk^hH-* (better ? **k^hāk^{wh}H-*) ‘branch, bough’ > Sanskrit *śākhā* ‘branch’; Farsi *šāḡ* ‘branch’; Armenian *caḡ* ‘twig’; Gothic *hōha* ‘plow’ (? assimilated from **hōhva*); Old High German *huohhili* ‘wooden hooked plow made from a curved branch’; Lithuanian *šakà* ‘branch, twig’; Latvian *saka* ‘ramification of a tree’; Old Church Slavic *soxa* ‘pole, (wooden) plow’; Russian *soxá* [coxa] ‘wooden plow’. Pokorny 1959:523 **kāk-* ‘branch, bough, twig, pole’, nasalized **kank-*; **kākhā* ‘branch, plow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:335 **kāk-* (or **kōk-* ?), nasalized **kank-* (or **konk-*) : **kṛk-*; Mann 1984—1987:599 **kāksā* ‘limb, bough, stump, stake’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:97, II:690 **k^[h]āk^[h]-* and 1995.I:84, I:596 **k^hāk^h-* ‘branch, pole, stake, wooden plow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:80 **kóh₁kōh₂* ‘(forked) branch’; Orël 1998:473 and 2003:182 Proto-Germanic **xōxōn*; Kroonen 2013:239 Proto-Germanic **hōhan-* ‘plow’; Feist 1939:266—267; Lehmann 1986:189 **kāk-*, **kank-* ‘branch, peg’; Derksen 2008:458; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:957—958; Smoczyński 2007.1:621—622. Note: according to Carlton (1991:95), Old Church Slavic *soxa* ‘pole, (wooden) plow’ may be a borrowing from Iranian.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow; 8.55 branch.

611. Proto-Nostratic root **t^hhal-* (~ **t^hhəl-*):

(vb.) **t^hhal-* ‘to cut, split, or break open’;

(n.) **t^hhal-a* ‘slit, crack’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t^hal-* ‘to cut, split, or break open’: Proto-Semitic **t^hal-ak-* ‘to cut, split, or break open’ > Akkadian *šalāku* ‘to cut open, to split’; Arabic *šalaka* ‘to split lengthwise’. Proto-Semitic **t^hal-ax-* ‘to cut, split, or break open’ > Arabic *šalaḡa* ‘to cut to pieces with a sword’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:125, no. 536, **ĉalah-* ‘to break’ and 126, no. 538, **ĉalāk-* ‘to cut, to slaughter’.
- B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *selē* ‘chink, crack, flaw (as in a stone)’; Telugu *selagu*, *selayu*, *selāgu*, *celavu* ‘to cut’, *sela* ‘hole’; Kuṛux *calxnā* ‘to open, to uncover’, *calxrnā* ‘to open (intr.)’; Malto *calge* ‘to split or break open’, *calgro* ‘torn asunder’; Brahui *caling*, *calēnging* ‘to become cracked, split’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2377.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **s^vale-* ‘to cut, to split’ > Finnish *säle* ‘splint, lath’, *säli-* ‘to split, to slit’; (?) Lapp / Saami *ĉalle-* ‘to scratch; to cut; to write’; Vogul / Mansi *sil-* ‘to slit, to cut’; Ostyak / Xanty *sil-* ‘to slit, to rip, to split’; Hungarian *szel-* ‘to slice, to cut, to carve; to cleave’, *szelet* ‘slice, piece, cut’. Collinder 1977:126; Rédei 1986—1988:459—460 **sale-*; Sammallahti 1988:459 **sälä-* ‘to cut’.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.).

612. Proto-Nostratic root *tʰhar- (~ *tʰhər-):

(vb.) *tʰhar- ‘to cause harm, to injure, to cause strife’;

(n.) *tʰhar-a ‘injury, harm, strife’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *tʰar- ‘(vb.) to cause harm, to injure, to cause strife; (n.) injury, harm, strife’: Proto-Semitic *tʰar-ar- ‘(vb.) to cause harm, to injure, to cause strife; (n.) evil, harm, injury, damage’ > Arabic *šarra* ‘to be vicious, bad, evil, wicked, malicious’, *šarr* ‘evil, harm, injury, damage’; Šheri / Jibbāli *éšrér* ‘to turn a sword in the air to make it flash; to choke (on food, drink)’, *šehr* ‘evil’; Harsūsi *ešterōr* ‘to choke (on something)’, *šer* ‘ill health’; Mehri *šrūr* ‘to choke (on something)’, *šar* ‘ill health, evil’; Ugaritic *šrr* ‘evil’. Zammit 2002:237. Proto-Semitic *tʰar-ay- ‘to cause harm, to cause strife’ > Hebrew *šārāh* [שָׂרָה] ‘to contend, to strive’; Arabic *šarā* ‘to do evil’, *šariya* ‘to grow angry’; Geez / Ethiopic *šeraya* [ሻረየ] ‘to form a conspiracy, to plot’; Tigre *šira* ‘a plot’; Tigrinya *sera*, *šāra* ‘a plot’; Amharic *sēra* ‘a plot’; Gurage (Endegeñ) *sera* ‘a plot’, *(a)serä* ‘to conspire’, (Soddo) *sāra* ‘to do mischievous things’. Leslau 1979:558 and 1987:536; Murtonen 1989:437; Klein 1987:681.
- B. Dravidian: Kannāḍa *seragu* ‘calamity, evil, mischief, sin, crime’; Telugu *seragu* ‘calamity, misfortune’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:241, no. 2777.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *kʰor-mo- ‘injury, harm, suffering’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *kar-ma-la-aš-ša-i* ‘to suffer harm, to be incapacitated’; Old Icelandic *harmr* ‘sorrow, grief’, *harma* ‘to bewail’; Old English *hearm* ‘injury, affliction, evil, loss, grief, insult’, *hearmian* ‘to injure’; Old Frisian *herm* ‘grief, sorrow, harm’; Old Saxon *harm* ‘grief, sorrow, harm’; Old High German *har(a)m* ‘grief, sorrow, harm’ (New High German *Harm* ‘grief, sorrow, affliction; injury, wrong’), *harmēn*, *hermēn* ‘to harm or injure’ (New High German *härmen* ‘to grieve’); Old Church Slavic *sramъ* ‘shame, injury’; Russian *sram* [спам] ‘shame’. Pokorny 1959:615 *kʰormo- ‘torment, pain’; Walde 1927—1932.I:463 *kʰormo-; Mann 1984—1987:636 *kʰormos ‘harm, shame’; Watkins 1985:32 *kormo- and 2000:43 *kormo- ‘pain’; Mallory—Adams 1997:413—414 (?) *(p)kʰormos ‘± grief, shame’; Puhvel 1984— .4:90—91; Kronasser 1966.I:555; De Vries 1977:212; Orël 2003:163 Proto-Germanic *xarmaz, 163 *xarmipō, 163 *xarmōjanan; Kroonen 2013:212 Proto-Germanic *harma- ‘harm, sorrow’; Onions 1966:428 Common Germanic *χarmaz; Skeat 1898:255; Klein 1971:334; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:290 *kʰormo-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:294 *pʰkor-mo-; Walshe 1951:92.
- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *čaraluu-* ‘to choke’. Nikolaeva 2006:126.

Buck 1949:11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.); 16.19 misfortune; 16.31 pain, suffering; 16.32 grief, sorrow; 16.42 anger; 16.72 bad; 19.62 strife, quarrel. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:373—374, no. 206.

613. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰhar-* (~ **tʰhər-*):

(vb.) **tʰhar-* ‘to cut, to cut into’;

(n.) **tʰhar-a* ‘cut, slit, slice, slash; that which cuts: saw, knife, axe’

Extended form:

(vb.) **tʰhar-V-t’-* ‘to make incisions, to cut into’;

(n.) **tʰhar-t’-a* ‘scratch, incision’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tʰar-* ‘to cut, to slice’: Proto-Semitic **tʰar-ah-* ‘to slice, to cut up’ > Arabic *šaraḥa* ‘to cut in slices, to slice, to cut up’; Ḥarsūsi *šereḥ* ‘to disjoint, to separate the parts of a carcass’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šerah* ‘to cut up (meat, etc.)’; Mehri *šōrəḥ* ‘to dismember a carcass’. Proto-Semitic **tʰar-ay-* ‘to skin’ > Šheri / Jibbāli *šéré* ‘to skin (a cow, a camel) with a knife’; Mehri *šərū* ‘to skin (a cow, a camel)’. Arabic *šarama* ‘to split, to slit, to slash’, *šarmaṭa* ‘to shred, to tear to shreds’. Šheri / Jibbāli *šérōs* ‘to cut a slit in the ear, to tear skin off’. Proto-Semitic **wa-tʰar-* ‘to saw’ > Arabic *wašara* ‘to saw, to saw apart’; Hebrew *maššōr* [מַשְׁשׁוֹר] ‘saw’; Geez / Ethiopic *wašara*, *waššara* [ወሠረ] ‘to saw, to cut with a saw, to split with a saw’, *mošar* [ሞሠር], *mošart* [ሞሠርት] ‘saw’; Tigre *šāršāra* ‘to saw’, *māsar* ‘axe’; Tigrinya *šāršārä* ‘to saw’, *məssar* ‘axe’; Amharic *šāraššārä* ‘to saw’, *məssar* ‘axe’; Gurage *məsər* ‘horn-handle knife, knife for cutting and eating raw meat’. Leslau 1979:430 and 1987:621. West Chadic **tʰar-* ‘to cut (trees)’ > Hausa *saaraa* ‘to cut (trees)’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:126, no. 541, **ĉar-* ‘to cut, to saw’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **xarx-* ‘saw’: Georgian *xerx-* ‘saw’; Mingrelian *xorx-* ‘saw’; Laz *xorx-* ‘to saw’. Klimov 1964:257 **xarx-* ‘to saw’, 258 **xarx-* ‘saw’ and 1998:326 **xarx-* ‘saw’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:545—546 **xarx-*; Fähnrich 2007:678 **xarx-*; Schmidt 1962:158.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 9.48 saw. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:376—377, no. 209.

614. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰhar-* (~ **tʰhər-*):

Extended form:

(vb.) **tʰhar-V-t’-* ‘to make incisions, to cut into’;

(n.) **tʰhar-t’-a* ‘scratch, incision’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **tʰhar-* ‘to cut, to cut into’;

(n.) **tʰhar-a* ‘cut, slit, slice, slash; that which cuts: saw, knife, axe’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tʰarat’-* ‘to cut into, to make incisions’: Proto-Semitic **tʰarat’-* ‘to cut into, to make incisions’ > Hebrew *šāraṭ* [שָׂרַט] ‘to incise,

to scratch’, *šeret* [𐎱𐎲𐎶] ‘incision’; Akkadian *šarātu* ‘to slit up, to slice’; Arabic *šaraṭa* ‘to tear, to make incisions (in), to scratch, to slit open, to rip open’, *šarṭ* ‘incision (in the skin), cut, rip, slash, slit; provision, condition’; Gurage *särrätä* ‘to make decorative incisions on a pot, to brand cattle’. Murtonen 1989:438; Klein 1987:682; Leslau 1979:562; Zammit 2002:237.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **kʰert-* ‘(vb.) to cut into, to make incisions, to carve; (n.) craft, trade; craftsman, artisan’: Greek κέρδος ‘profit, advantage, gain’; Old Irish *cerd* ‘art, handicraft’ (Modern Irish *ceárd*, *céird* ‘trade, profession’); Welsh *cerdd* ‘song’ (Middle Welsh ‘craft, song’); Latin *cerdō* ‘workman, artisan’ (Greek loan). Pokorny 1959:579 **kerd-* ‘skilled manually’; Walde 1927—1932.I:423 **kerd-*; Mann 1984—1987:489 **kerdos*, *-ā* ‘deed, activity, business, craft’; Watkins 1985:30 **kerd-* and 2000:41 **kerd-* ‘craft’; Mallory—Adams 1997:143 **kerd-* ‘to cut into, to carve’ (enlargement of *(*s*)*ker-*); Boisacq 1950:440 **kērd-* or **qerd-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:829; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:519; Hofmann 1966:140—141; Beekes 2010.I:678 **kērd-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:203 **kerd-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:114. For the semantic development, cf. Old Church Slavic *remъstvo* ‘art, craft’, Russian *remesló* [ремесло] ‘trade, handicraft’, Lithuanian *remėsas* ‘joiner’, Latvian *remesis* ‘craftsman, carpenter’, Old Prussian *romestud* ‘axe’, all from the same stem found in Lithuanian *ramtyti* ‘to cut, to carve’, Latvian *ramstīt* ‘to hew, to saw’ (Preobrazhensky 1951.II:197).

Buck 1949:9.41 craft, trade; 9.42 artisan, craftsman. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 377, no. 210.

615. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰhay-* (~ **tʰhəy-*):

- (vb.) **tʰhay-* ‘to grow old, to turn gray (hair)’;
(n.) **tʰhay-a* ‘old age, gray hair’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **tʰay-* ‘to grow old, to turn gray (hair)’: Proto-Semitic **tʰay-ab-* ‘to grow old, to turn gray (hair)’ > Akkadian *šēbu* ‘old man’; Hebrew *šēḇ* [שֶׁבַע] ‘old age’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible), *šēḇāh* [שֶׁבַעִי] ‘gray hair, old age’; Ugaritic *šbt* ‘gray hair’; Mandaic *sab*, *sib* ‘to be gray’, *saba*, *siba* ‘old man, gray beard’; Arabic *šāba* ‘to turn white or gray (hair)’, *šayb* ‘gray hair, old age’; Ḥarsūsi *šayb* ‘white hair’; Šheri / Jibbāli *eššēb* ‘to have white hair’, *šub* ‘white hair’; Mehri *šyīb* ‘to go white (in the hair of the head)’, *šayb* ‘white hair’; Geez / Ethiopic *šeba* [ሄባ] ‘to have gray hair’; Tigrinya *säyyäbä*, *šäyyäbä* ‘to have gray hair’; Tigre *šäyyäba* ‘gray hair’; Gurage *šəbat* ‘gray hair’, *šäbbätä* ‘to have gray hair’; Harari *šibät* ‘gray hair’; Amharic *šäbbätä* ‘to have gray hair’; Argobba *šəbäd* ‘gray hair’. Murtonen 1989:419; Klein 1987:653—654; Leslau 1963:144, 1979:572, and 1987:539; Diakonoff 1992:85 **čjb-* ‘gray hairs; old age, old man; elder’; Zammit 2002:247. Proto-Semitic **tʰay-ax-* ‘to

grow old, to age' > Arabic *šāḥa* 'to age, to be or grow old', *šayḥ* 'an elderly, venerable gentleman; old man (above 50), elder; chief, chieftain, sheik, patriarch, head of a family or tribe', *šuyūḥiyya-t* 'old age', *šuyayḥ* 'little old man'; Mehri *šōx* 'big, old, oldest, senior'; Ḥarsūsi *šōx* 'big'. Zammit 2002:247.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:321—322, no. 66) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (vg.) **šyb-* ~ **čyb* 'to have grey hair'. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates. They note: "Also **šayb(-at)-* / **šīb(-at)-* 'grey hair'; widely spread nominal forms may be regarded as primary ones and verbal forms as derived (cf. presumably denominal verbal forms in S.-E., Eth. and Gur. with *-t* incorporated into the consonant root)." "Note the derived meanings 'to be old', 'old', 'old age' attested throughout Sem."

- B. Proto-Indo-European **k^hey-/k^hoy-/k^hi-* 'gray-haired, old': Sanskrit *śi-ti-ḥ* 'white'; Old Icelandic *hárr* 'hoary, old'; Old Danish *hår* 'hoary, old, gray'; Old English *hār* 'gray, hoary, old'; Old Frisian *hēr* 'old, venerable'; Old Saxon *hēr* 'distinguished, noble, glorious, excellent'; Old High German *hēr* 'distinguished, noble, glorious, excellent' (New High German *hehr* 'noble, exalted, august, sublime', *Herr* 'lord, sir, Mr. '); Old Church Slavonic *sěrbъ* 'gray'; Russian *séryj* [серый] 'gray'. Pokorny 1959:540—541 **kei-* 'gray, dark, brown'; Walde 1927—1932.I:360—361 **kei-*; Mann 1984—1987:598 **kaisros, -jos* 'gray, hoary'; Mallory—Adams 1997:69 **keir-* 'dull or brownish black'; Watkins 1985:28 **kei-* (suffixed *o*-grade form **koi-ro-* in Germanic **χairaz* 'gray-haired') and 2000:38 **kei-* referring to various adjectives of color; Kroonen 2013:201 Proto-Germanic **haira-* 'hoary, grey-haired'; Orël 2003:153 Proto-Germanic *xairaz*; De Vries 1977:212 **kei-*; Klein 1971:349 **koiro-*, **keiro-*; Onions 1966:442—443 Common Germanic **χairaz*; Skeat 1898:267; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:297; Kluge—Seebold 1989:299; Derksen 2008:447.

Buck 1949:14.15 old. Möller 1911:112—113; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:370—371, no. 201.

616. Proto-Nostratic root **t^hher-*:

(vb.) **t^hher-* 'to burn, to roast';

(n.) **t^hher-a* 'ash(es), charcoal, burnt wood; firewood'; (adj.) 'burned, heated, roasted, charred, parched'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t^h[e]r-* 'to burn, to roast': Proto-Semitic **t^har-ap-* 'to burn' > Hebrew *šāraḥ* [שָׂרַח] 'to burn'; Ugaritic *šrp* 'to burn'; Akkadian *šarāpu* 'to burn'; Mehri *šarūf* 'to build up sticks for a fire'; Šheri / Jibbāli *šerōf* 'to build a fire to heat milk-heating stones'; Ḥarsūsi *šerōf* 'to roast meat with hot stones'. Murtonen 1989:438; Klein 1987:683. Proto-Semitic **t^har-ab-* 'to burn, to parch' > Hebrew *šārāḇ* [שָׂרַב] 'burning heat, parched'

- ground' (this may be a loan from Aramaic); Aramaic *šəraβ* 'to be parched', *šəraβ* 'heat, drought'. Murtonen 1989:437; Klein 1987:680; Militarëv 2010:56 Proto-Semitic *šrp. Egyptian *srf* (< *šrf) '(vb.) to warm; (n.) warmth'. Hannig 1995:729; Faulkner 1962:236; Erman—Grapow 1921:166 and 1926—1963.4:195—196; Gardiner 1957:591.
- B. (?) Dravidian: Telugu *ceraku* in *vanťaceraku* 'firewood for cooking' (*vanťa* = 'cooking, anything cooked'; *vanťu* 'to cook, to dress, to boil, to prepare'); Gondi *herk* 'a bundle of firewood'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 242, no. 2794.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian *xr-ak'- 'to char, to become charred': Georgian *xrak'*- 'to become charred, to overroast'; Mingrelian *xirok'*- 'to roast (by turning over an open flame)'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:555 *xraķ-; Klimov 1964:261 *xraķ- and 1998:331 *xr-aķ- 'to char, to become charred; to bend, to warp (in flames)'; Fähnrich 2007:691—692 *xraķ-/xreķ-/xriķ-. Proto-Kartvelian *xr-ek'-/*xr-ik'- 'to roast, to fry, to char': Georgian *xrek'*- /*xriķ'*- 'to roast, to fry, to char'; Mingrelian *xirak'*-/*xirik'*- 'to roast (by turning over an open fire)'; Laz *xrak'*- 'to roast, to fry'. Klimov 1964:261 *xreķ-/xriķ- and 1998:331 *xr-ek- : *xr-ik- 'to char, to become charred; to warp (in flames)'.
 D. Proto-Indo-European *k^her-/*k^hyr- (secondary *o*-grade form: *k^hor-) 'to burn, to roast': Latin *carbō* 'burning or burnt wood', *cremō* 'to burn, to consume by fire'; Welsh *crasu* 'to bake'; Gothic **hauri* 'coal'; Old Icelandic *hyrr* 'fire'; Swedish (dial.) *hyr* 'glowing ashes'; Old English *heorð* 'hearth', *hierstan* 'to fry, to roast, to scorch'; Old Frisian *herth*, *hirth*, *hird* 'hearth'; Old Saxon *herth* 'hearth'; Dutch *haard* 'hearth'; Old High German *herd* 'hearth' (New High German *Herd*), *herstan* 'to roast'; Lithuanian *kārštas* 'hot'. Rix 1998a:329 (?) *kremH- 'to burn'; Pokorny 1959:571—572 *ker(ə)- 'to burn'; Walde 1927—1932.I:418—419 *ker-; Mann 1984—1987:478 *karst- (*krast-) 'hot, parched, roasted'; Watkins 1985:30 *ker- and 2000:41 *ker- 'heat, fire'; Mallory—Adams 1997:88 (?) *ker- ~ *kerh_s- 'to burn, to roast'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:99 *ker- and 148—149; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:165—166 *ker- and I:287 *ker-; De Vaan 2008:91—92 and 142; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:223; Orël 2003:170 Proto-Germanic *xerþaz; Kroonen 2013:222 Proto-Germanic *herþa- 'hearth'; Feist 1939:250—251 *ker-; Lehmann 1986:*kerH- 'to burn, to glow'; De Vries 1977:275—276; Skeat 1898:259; Klein 1971:338 *ker-; Onions 1966:433 West Germanic *xerþa; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:175 Proto-Germanic *herþa-; Vercoullie 1898:101; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:304—305; Kluge—Seebold 1989:305—306.
- E. (?) Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *s^varʒ- 'to dry up; to become dry, parched, or arid' > Hungarian *szárad-* 'to dry up, to become dry', *száraz* 'dry, arid'; Cheremis / Mari *səraķ* 'dry, parched'; Votyak / Udmurt *čyrs*, *čirs*, *čōrōs* 'sour, bitter'; Zyrian / Komi *čir-* 'to become sour, bitter, rancid', *čirōm* 'sun-dried (of flesh, fish), rancid (of fat)'; Vogul / Mansi *šurr-*, *sur-* 'to

become dry or parched'; Ostyak / Xanty *sar-* 'to become dry'. Collinder 1955:117 and 1960:414 **šar3-*; Rédei 1986—1988:466 **šar3-*; Sammallahti 1988:549 **šorâ-* 'to wither, to dry'.

- F. Proto-Altaic **šero-* 'to roast, to broil': Proto-Tungus **čere-* (~ *š-*) 'to bake (close to fire)' > Evenki *čere-* 'to bake (close to fire)'. Proto-Mongolian **sira-* 'to roast, to broil' > Written Mongolian *sira-* 'to roast, to broil, to fry; to scorch, to burn (the sun)'; Khalkha *šara-* 'to roast, to broil'; Buriat *šara-* 'to roast, to broil'; Kalmyk *šar-* 'to roast, to broil'; Ordos *šara-* 'to roast, to broil'; Monguor *širā-* 'to roast, to broil'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1326—1327 **šero* 'to bake, to boil'.

Buck 1949:5.21 cook (vb.); 5.22 boil; 5.23 roast, fry; 5.24 bake; 7.31 fireplace (hearth); 15.84 dry. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:374—375, no. 207. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2215, */*š*/ERV 'to roast'.

617. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰhiʃ-* (~ **tʰheʃ-*):

Extended form:

(vb.) **tʰhiʃ-V-r-* 'to comb';

(n) **tʰhiʃ-r-a* 'hair':

Note: The original meaning of the stem **tʰhiʃ-* (~ **tʰheʃ-*) may have been 'to scratch, to scrape' (> 'to comb' > 'hair'); this stem may be preserved in Cushitic: Proto-Cushitic **taʃf-/tiʃf-* or **laʃf-/liʃf-* 'to claw, to scratch' (cf. Ehret 1995:429, no. 891). For derivation of the word for 'hair' from a stem with the meaning 'to scratch, to scrape', cf. Old Church Slavic *kosa* 'hair', Serbo-Croatian *kōsa* 'hair, wool', etc., *o*-grade of the root found in Common Slavic **česati* 'to scratch, to comb' > Russian *česát'* [чесать] 'to scratch, to comb' (cf. Derksen 2008:86 and 238).

- A. Proto-Afrasian **tʰiʃ(a)r-* 'hair': Proto-Semitic **tʰaʃr-/tʰiʃr-* 'hair; hairy' > Hebrew *šē'ār* [שֹׂאֵר] 'hair'; Syriac *sa'ra* 'hair'; Mandaic *sara* 'hair'; Arabic *ša'r* 'hair; bristles; fur, pelt', *ša'ranī* 'hairy'; Akkadian *šārtu* 'hairy skin'; Ugaritic *š'rt* 'hair'; Ḥarsūsi *šōr* 'hair, wool'; Mehri *šēr* 'straw'; Šheri / Jibbāli *šá'ar* 'dry grass, straw'; Soqotri *šá'ar* 'straw'; Geez / Ethiopic *šə'ərt* [ሥዕርት] 'hair of body or head', *mas'ərt* [መሥዕርት] 'comb, wooden headrest'. Murtonen 1989:433; Militarëv 2008a:199 and 2011:73 Proto-Semitic **šaʃar(-t)-*; Diakonoff 1992:18 **čaʃar-* 'hair'; Klein 1987:673; Leslau 1987:525; Zammit 2002:239—240. Note: Egyptian (Demotic) *s'rt* 'wool', Coptic *sort* [COPRT] 'wool' are Semitic loans (cf. Černý 1976:162; Vycichl 1983:197). West Chadic (**tʰiʃar-* >) **tʰaHar-* 'hair' > Hausa *šaari* 'hair on the chest of a ram'; Bokkos *syah-* 'hair'. Omotic (**tʰiʃar-* >) **šaHar-* 'hair' > Maji *saaru* 'hair'. Assimilation of vowels in West Chadic and Omotic. Militarëv 2008a:199 Proto-Semitic **šaʃr(-at)-* 2011:73 Proto-Afrasian **čVʃar-*; Orël—Stolbova 1995:123—124, no.

538, **cašar-* ‘hair’. [Ehret 1995:429, no. 889, **ɬ-r-* or **ɬ-rʔ-* ‘hair’: Proto-Semitic **ʕr-*.]

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:231—232, no. 260) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **šašr(-at)-* ~ **cašr(-at)-* ‘hair (of body and head)’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *īr*, *īrppi* ‘nit’; Malayalam *īr* ‘nit’, *īruka* ‘to comb hair’; Kota *ci-r* ‘nit’; Toda *ti-r* ‘nit’; Kannaḍa *īr*, *īpi*, *sīr* ‘nit’, *īr* ‘to comb out nits’, *īr-anige*, *sīr-anige* ‘to comb for nits or lice’; Koḍagu *ci-rī* ‘nit’; Tuḷu *tīry*, *cīry*, *sīry* ‘nit’, *tiruvaṇa* ‘to nit-pick’; Telugu *īru*, *īpi* ‘nit’, *īr(u)cu* ‘to comb out nits’, *īr(u)pena* ‘comb for removing nits’; Kolami *si-r* ‘nit’; Naikri *šīr* ‘nit’; Naiki (of Chanda) *sīrku* (pl.) ‘nits’; Gadba *īrs-* (*īris-*) ‘to comb’; Gondi *sīr*, *hīr*, *hīr*, *īr* ‘nit’, *sīr* ‘louse’, *cirnī* ‘comb for removing nits’, *īrs-* ‘to comb out nits’; Pengo *hīr* ‘nit’; Maṇḍa *hīr* ‘nit’; Kui *sīreni*, *sīreṛi* ‘comb’; Kuwi *hīru* ‘nit’; Kurux *cīr* ‘nit’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 228, no. 2625. For the semantics, cf. Old English *hnitu* ‘nit’; Dutch *neet* ‘nit’; Old High German (*h*)*niz* ‘nit’ (New High German *Niß*, *Nisse*) < Proto-Indo-European **khnit-* ‘louse, nit’, ultimately from **khen-* ‘to scratch’. Greek κović ‘eggs of lice, nits’ is from the same root (cf. κνίζω ‘to scratch, to scrape; to chop, to grate’). Note also Old Icelandic *gnit* ‘nit’ from the same stem found in *gniða* ‘to rub, to scrape’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **kh₁š₁r-* [**k₁h₁eš₁r-*] (> **kh₂ēr-*) ‘hair’: Old Icelandic *hár* ‘hair’; Faroese *hár* ‘hair’; Norwegian *haar* ‘hair’; Swedish *hår* ‘hair’; Danish *haar* ‘hair’; Old English *hāer*, *hēr* ‘hair’; Old Frisian *hēr* ‘hair’; Old Saxon *hār* ‘hair’; Dutch *haar* ‘hair’; Old High German *hār* ‘hair’ (New High German *Haar*). Perhaps also Old Irish *cír* ‘comb, rake’. Pokorny 1959:583 **ker(s)-* ‘to bristle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:427 **ker(s)-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:252 **ker(es)-* ‘(rough) hair, bristle’ (Germanic forms < **k₁ēro-*); Orël 2003:172 Proto-Germanic **xēran*, 172 **xērjōn*; Kroonen 2013:220 Proto-Germanic **hēra-* ‘hair’; De Vries 1977:210; Torp 1919:204; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:264—265; Klein 1971:331; Onions 1966:423 Common Germanic **χ₂ēram*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:165; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:278; Kluge—Seebold 1989:284 **ker-*, **k₁r-*.

Buck 1949:4.14 hair. Möller 1911:120 (Proto-Indo-European **k₁ēr-*); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:372, no. 204. Different (improbable) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2220, **šäyoy[i]RV* ‘hair’.

618. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰhil-* (~ **tʰhel-*) or (?) **tʰhid₅-* (~ **tʰhed₅-*):
 (vb.) **tʰhil-* or (?) **tʰhid₅-* ‘to see’;
 (n.) **tʰhil-a* or (?) **tʰhid₅-a* ‘eye’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **lell-* ‘to appear, to be seen’ > Gedeo / Darasa *lell-* ‘to appear, to be seen’, *lell-iš-* ‘to show, to uncover, to

reveal'; Kambata *lall-* 'to appear, to be seen'; Sidamo *leell-* 'to appear, to be seen', *leell-iš-* 'to show'. Hudson 1989:21.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **xel-/xil-* 'to open the eyes, to see': Georgian *xil-* 'to see' (also *xed-* 'to see'), *xel-/xil-* 'to open the eyes'; Mingrelian *xil-* 'to open the eyes'. Schmidt 1962:36, 79, and 158. According to Schmidt (1962:79), the *l ~ d* alternation in Georgian may point to an earlier lateral. If this suggestion is indeed correct, the Kartvelian data may provide evidence for a third (voiced) lateralized affricate in Proto-Nostratic, which means that the Proto-Nostratic form may have been **tʰhidʒ-* (~ **tʰhedʒ-*) instead.
- C. Proto-Uralic **svilmä* 'eye': Finnish *silmä* 'eye'; Estonian *silm* 'eye'; Lapp / Saami *čäl'bme/čälme-* 'eye'; Mordvin *sel'me* 'eye'; Cheremis / Mari (Western) *sinzä*, (Eastern) *šinža* (derivative) 'eye'; Votyak / Udmurt *šin/sinm-*, *šim-* 'eye'; Zyrian / Komi *šin* 'eye'; Vogul / Mansi *šäm*, *säm* 'eye'; Ostyak / Xanty *sem* 'eye'; Hungarian *szém* 'eye'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *sōw*, *saew*, *haem* 'eye'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *šajme*, *šejme* 'eye'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *sej* 'eye'; Selkup Samoyed *sajī* 'eye'; Kamassian *sajma*, *sima* 'eye'. Collinder 1955:57, 1960:408 **šil'mä*, and 1977:74; Rédei 1986—1988:479 **šilmä*; Décsy 1990:108 **sjilmä* 'eye'; Sammallahti 1988:540 **šilmä* 'eye'; Janhunen 1977b:132 **sšjmä*; Zhivlov 2023:169 Proto-Uralic **ćilmä* 'eye', Proto-Finnic **silmä*.

Buck 1949:4.21 eye; 15.51 see. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:377—378, no. 211; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2200, **silV(-ma)* 'eye; to look, to examine'.

619. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰhir-* (~ **tʰher-*):

(vb.) **tʰhir-* 'to be highly esteemed, eminent, illustrious, glorious';

(n.) **tʰhir-a* 'high rank, chief, chieftain, ruler'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **tʰ[i]r-* '(vb.) to be highly esteemed, eminent, illustrious; (n.) high rank, chief, chieftain, ruler': Proto-Semitic **tʰarr-* 'chieftain, ruler' > Hebrew *šar* [ʃ] 'chieftain, chief, ruler, official, captain, prince'; Akkadian *šarru* 'king'; Ugaritic *šr* 'prince, ruler'; Phoenician *šr* 'prince'. Murtonen 1989:437; Klein 1987:680; Diakonoff 1992:86 **čarr-* 'chief'. Proto-Semitic **tʰar-ap-* 'to be highborn, noble' > Arabic *šarufa* 'to be highborn, noble', *šaraf* 'high rank, nobility'; Šheri / Jibbāli *eššórf* 'to honor (guests), to give generous hospitality'; Mehri *sōrəf* 'to honor, to respect'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cira* 'to be eminent, illustrious; to surpass; to be abundant; to be auspicious; to be graceful; to rejoice', *cirantōr* 'the great, the illustrious, gods, relatives, ascetics', *cirappu* 'pre-eminence, pomp, abundance, wealth, happiness, esteem', *ciravu* 'meritorious deed'; Malayalam *cirakka* (*cirannu*) 'to be glorious'; Kannada *serapu* 'hospitality, honor, festival'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:225, no. 2589.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰreyH-/kʰriH-* (> **kʰrī-*) ‘(adj.) better, superior, glorious, illustrious; (n.) high rank’: Sanskrit *śréyas-* ‘more splendid or beautiful, more excellent or distinguished, superior, preferable, better’, *śrī-* ‘high rank, power, might, majesty, royal dignity; light, luster, radiance, splendor, glory, beauty, grace, loveliness’; Avestan *srayah-* ‘fairer, more beautiful’, *srī-* ‘beauty, fairness’, *srīra-* ‘fair, beautiful’; Greek κρείων, κρέων ‘ruler, lord, master’. Pokorny 1959:618 **kʰrei-* ‘to shine forth’; Walde 1927—1932.I:478 **kʰrei-*; Mann 1984—1987:637 **kʰreijo-* (**kʰrējo-*) ‘superior’; Boisacq 1950:513; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:580; Frisk 1970—1973.II:12; Hofmann 1966:159 **kʰrei-*; Beekes 2010.I:774 **kʰreiH-*.
- D. (?) Proto-Eskimo postbase **tʰəR* ‘one that is more or most’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *tʰəq* (possessed *tʰa*, etc.) ‘one that is more — (than possessor)’, *tʰə* (tr.) ‘have — be more than (subject)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *tʰəq* (possessed *tʰa*, etc.) ‘one that is more or most —’; Central Siberian Yupik *tʰəXpiyaq* ‘most’; North Alaskan Inuit *tʰXaaq* ‘one that is more, most —’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *tʰruq* ‘the most —’ (on adjectival verb bases); Eastern Canadian Inuit *laaq* ‘one that is the most —’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:409.

Buck 1949:19.32 king. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:369—370, no. 200.

620. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰhuŋ-* (~ **tʰhoŋ-*):

Extended form:

(vb.) **tʰhuŋ-V-kʰ-* ‘to hook up, to hang up, to suspend (tr.); to dangle, to hang (intr.)’;

(n.) **tʰhuŋ-kʰ-a* ‘peg, hook’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *šankala* (< **tʰank-al-*) ‘to hook up’, *šankal* ‘peg, hook’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *cuñku* ‘end of cloth left hanging out in dressing, pleat or fold of garment’; Kannaḍa *cuṅgu*, *juṅgu* ‘end of a turban sticking out, a small part torn and hanging to the thing, a dangling tatter’; Telugu *cuṅgulu* ‘the end(s) of a garment’, *cuṅgu* ‘a skirt, the end of a cloth’; Kolami *june* ‘cloth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:229, no. 2648.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰonkʰ-* ‘(vb.) to hook up, to hang up; (n.) peg, hook’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ga-an-ki* ‘to hang’; Sanskrit *śānkū-h* ‘peg, nail, spike’, *śānkate* ‘to waiver, to hesitate’; Latin *cūnctor* ‘to delay, to linger, to hesitate’; Gothic *hāhan* ‘to hang, to keep in suspense’; Old Icelandic *hanga* ‘to hang, to be suspended’, *hengja* ‘to hang up, to suspend’; Faroese *hanga* ‘to hang’; Norwegian *hanga* ‘to hang’, *hengja* ‘to hang up’; Swedish *hānga* ‘to hang’; Danish *hænge* ‘to hang’; Old English *hangian* ‘to hang’, *hengan(n)* ‘death or punishment by hanging, hanging, torture; gallows, cross, rack; prison, confinement’; Old Frisian *hangia* ‘to hang’; Old Saxon *hangōn* ‘to hang’; Dutch *hangen* ‘to hang’; Old High

German *hangēn* ‘to hang’ (New High German *hangen, hängen*). Rix 1998a:290 **kenk-* ‘to hang, to suspend’; Pokorny 1959:537—538 **kenk-* ‘to dangle’, 566 **kenk-*, **konk-* ‘to dangle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:382—383 **kenk-*; Mann 1984—1987:469 **kank-* (**kankjō*) ‘to raise, to hang’, 470 **kankəl-* ‘hook, hanger’, 601 **kankos, -is* ‘spike, limb, branch, peg’; Watkins 1985:32 **konk-* and 2000:43 **konk-* ‘to hang’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:927 **k[h]ank[h]*- and 1995.I:821 **k^hank^h-* ‘stake, peg’; Mallory—Adams 1997:255 **konk-* ‘to hang’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:157; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:307 **kenq-*, **konq-*; De Vaan 2008:153; Puhvel 1984—4:48—51 **kenke(y)-*, **kṛk-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:437—438; Orël 2003:160 Proto-Germanic **xanġjanan*, 160 **xanxanan* ~ **xanġanan*, 160 **xanxēnan* ~ **xanġēnan*; Kroonen 2013:208 Proto-Germanic **hangjan-* ~ **hankjan-* ‘to (make) hang’ and 208 **hanhan-* ‘to hand’; Feist 1939:230—231 **kank-*; Lehmann 1986:168 **kenk-*; De Vries 1977:208 and 222; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:319 **ke(n)k-*; Torp 1919:198; Onions 1966:426 Common Germanic **chanġan*; Klein 1971:333 **kenq-*, **konq-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:288; Kluge—Seebold 1989:292 **konk-*.

- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *čuynel'e-* ‘to fall down a little (of trousers)’. Nikolaeva 2006:145.

Buck 1949:12.75 hook. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:371—372, no. 203.

621. Proto-Nostratic root **t^hhut-* (~ **t^hhot'-*):

(vb.) **t^hhut-* ‘to cut, to split’;

(n.) **t^hhut'-a* ‘cut, split’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **t^h[u]t-* ‘to cut, to split’: Proto-Semitic **t^hat'-ar-* ‘to cut, to split’ > Arabic *šaṭara* ‘to halve, to divide into equal parts, to bisect, to cut through, to cut off, to sever’, *šaṭr* ‘partition, division, separation, halving, bisecting’; Mehri *šaṭráyr* ‘rag, strip of cloth’; Soqotri *šeṭar* ‘to tear’; Ḥarsūsi *šeṭeráyr* ‘bundle of rags or cloth’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šaṭrér* ‘rag, strip of cloth’; Gurage (Chaha) *šaṭārā* ‘to split wood into half or into big pieces, to plow a field for the first time’, (Endegeñ) (*a*)*šaṭṭārā* ‘to split wood into small pieces’, (Muher) *šaṭṭārā* ‘to cut, to split’; Tigre *sātra* ‘to split, to crack’; Harari *sētāra* ‘to split along the grain into splinters’, *sātra* ‘crack, split’, *sāčīr* ‘splinter’. Leslau 1963:137, 144 and 1979:588; Zammit 2002:238—239. Proto-Semitic **t^hat'-ak'-* ‘to cut, to split’ > Akkadian *šaṭāku* ‘to cut, to separate’; Geez / Ethiopic *šaṭaqa* [ሠጠቀ] ‘to cut, to split, to tear asunder, to break through, to open a way’; Tigre *šaṭṭāka* ‘to split’; Gurage *sāṭṭākā* ‘to split wood in half, to plow a field for the first time’. Leslau 1979:567 and 1987:537—538. Proto-Semitic **t^hat'-at'-* ‘to cut, to split, to tear’ > Arabic (Daḡina) *šaṭṭa* ‘to cut, to split, to tear’; Geez / Ethiopic *šaṭaṭa* [ሠጠጠ] ‘to tear (apart), to rend, to rip up’; Tigre *sāṭṭa* ‘to rend’, *šaṭṭa* ‘to tear’; Tigrinya *šaṭātā, sāṭātā* ‘to break’; Amharic *sāṭṭātā* ‘to

tear noisily or quickly'. Leslau 1987:538. Arabic *šaṭaba* 'to cut in slices or strips; to make an incision, a longitudinal cut, a slit, a slash', *šaṭb* 'cut, slash, incision, scratch'. Geez / Ethiopic *šaṭaya* [ሠጠየ] 'to tear, to lacerate, to rend, to be terror-stricken, to be dismayed'. Leslau 1987:538. Berber: Tuareg *tasəṭta* 'branch cut from a thorny tree'; Tamazight *asəṭta* 'branch, limb'; Tachelhiyt / Shilha *tasəṭtat* 'branch'; Riff *tasəṭta* 'branch'; Kabyle *tasəṭta* 'branch, limb'; Chaouia *ciḍuw* 'branch, limb'; Zenaga *cəd* 'to split (wood)', *əccad* 'stick', *tacodda* 'branch, cut tree'.

- B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *cutti*, *cuttiyal* 'small hammer'; Malayalam *cutti*, *cuttika*, *tutti* 'hammer'; Kannaḍa *suttige* 'hammer'; Tuḷu *sutti*, *suttigè*, *suttiyè*, *suttè*, *suttiyè* 'hammer'; Telugu *sutte* 'hammer'; Gondi *sutte* 'hammer'; Kuwi *suthi* 'hammer'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:231, no. 2668. Cf. Marathi *sutkī* 'an instrument of stone-splitters'.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **xot'r-* 'to cut, to clip': Georgian *xot'r-* 'to cut (close to the skin)'; Mingrelian *xot'or-*, *xut'or-*, *xuč'or-* 'to cut, to clip'; Laz *xot'or-*, *xut'or-*, *xoč'or-* 'to cut, to clip'. Klimov 1964:261 **xotr-* and 1998:330 **xotr-* 'to clip, to shear'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:554 **xotr-*; Fähnrich 2007:690—691 **xotr-*.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:378, no. 212.

22.33. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *tʃ'

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
tʃ'-	tʃ'-	t-	k'-	k'-	ɖy-		
-tʃ'-	-tʃ'-	-t(t)-	-k'-	-k'-	-ɖy-		

622. Proto-Nostratic root *tʃ'ar- (~ *tʃ'ər-):

(vb.) *tʃ'ar- 'to bite, to gnaw';

(n.) *tʃ'ar-a 'bite'

Extended form (in Semitic and Indo-European):

(vb.) *tʃ'ar-V-s- 'to bite, to gnaw';

(n.) *tʃ'ar-s-a 'tooth; morsel bitten, food, nourishment'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *tʃ'aras- 'to bite', *tʃ'irs- 'molar tooth' > Arabic *qarasa* 'to bite firmly or fiercely', *qirs* 'molar tooth'; Sabaeen *qrs* 'molar tooth'; Šheri / Jibbāli *māzrēs* 'molar tooth'; Geez / Ethiopic *qars* [ዕርሰ] 'molar tooth', *ṭars* [ጥርሰ] 'molar tooth'; Tigrinya *ṭarsi* 'tooth'; Amharic *ṭars* 'tooth', *ṭarräsä* 'to break the teeth'; Harari *ṭirsi* 'molar tooth'; Gurage (Wolane) *ṭäräsä* 'to break off a piece, *to chip the rim of a utensil'. Leslau 1963:156, 1979: 633, and 1987:153.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:246—247, no. 275) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) *širs- ~ *çirs- 'molar tooth'. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates. According to Militarëv—Kogan, the Ethiopic forms with initial *t- listed above may be from a root variant *ṭirs-.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian *k'rč'- 'to gnash or grind one's teeth': Georgian *k'rč'*- in *k'rč'-en-a* 'to gnash or grind one's teeth'; Laz *k'irč'*- in *o-k'irč'-ol-u* 'to crunch with the teeth, to munch'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:211 *krč-; Fähnrich 2007:256 *krč-.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *k'ras- 'to bite, to gnaw, to eat': Sanskrit *grāsate*, *grāsati* 'to swallow, to consume, to eat, to devour', *grāsa-h* 'food, nourishment, morsel bitten'; Greek γράω 'to gnaw, to eat'; (?) Latin *grāmen* (if not from *ghra-s-men) 'grass'. Rix 1998a:170—171 *gres- 'to eat, to devour'; Pokorny 1959:404 *gras- : *grōs- 'to eat'; Walde 1927—1932.I:657—658 *grēs- : *grōs- : *grās-; Mann 1984—1987:291—292 *grasō 'to devour, to consume'; Watkins 1985:24 *gras- and 2000:33 *gras- 'to devour'; Mallory—Adams 1997:175 *gras- 'to eat, to graze'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:352 *gréseti, (older paradigm) *gr-és-mi : *gr-s-més; Boisacq 1950:155 *ger-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:326 *grs-ō; Chantaine 1968—1980.I:237 *grs- or *gres- (?); Hofmann 1966:47—48 *grasō;

Beekes 2010.I:286 **gres-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:280; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:616—617; De Vaan 2008:269—270.

Buck 1949:4.27 tooth; 4.58 bite; 5.11 eat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:381, no. 216.

623. Proto-Nostratic root **tʃ'il-* (~ **tʃ'el-*):

(vb.) **tʃ'il-* 'to be bent, curved, round';

(n.) **tʃ'il-a* 'bent, curved, round thing or object'; (adj.) 'bent, curved, round'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **tʃ'il-aʃ-* 'to be bent, curved, round', **tʃ'il-(a)ʃ-* 'rib': Proto-Semitic **tʃ'alaʃ-* 'to be bent, curved, round', **tʃ'ilʃ-* 'rib' > Akkadian *šēlu* 'rib, side'; Hebrew *šēlāʕ* [שֵׁלָא] 'rib'; Ugaritic *šlʕt* 'ribs'; Arabic *ḍaliʕa* 'to be crooked, bent, curved; to curve; to bend', *ḍilʕ* 'rib'; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḏalʕ* 'rib'; Mehri *ḏālaʕ* 'rib'; Soqotri *ḏalʕ* 'rib'. Murtonen 1989:361; Klein 1987:549. Proto-East Cushitic **dʒin(a)ʃ-* (< **dʒil(a)ʃ-*) 'rib' > Burji *dīn-āa* 'rib, ribs, side of body'; Somali *dīnaʕ* 'side'; Gidole *dīnaʕ-itt* 'rib'; Galla / Oromo *c'ina-a* 'rib, side of body'; Gedeo / Darasa *c'inaacca* 'ribs, side'. Sasse 1982:64; Hudson 1989:123.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **k'el-/*kl-* 'bent, curved, round': Sanskrit *gūlī* 'globe, pill', *glāu-h* 'round lump'; Greek γίγγλυμος 'a hinge joint', γλουτός 'rump, buttocks'; Latin *globus* 'a round ball, globe, sphere', *glomus* 'ball of yarn', *glēba* 'a lump or clod of earth', *glomerō* 'to form into a sphere'; Old English *clīwen* 'ball of thread, clew; anything in the shape of a ball', *clympe* 'lump of metal, metal'; Low German *klump* 'clump, lump'; Dutch *klomp* 'lump, mass', *kluwen* 'clew, ball'; Old High German *klumpe* 'lump, mass' (New High German *Klumpen*), *kliuwa*, *chliwa* 'clew, ball' (initial cluster dissimilated from *kl-* to *kn-* in New High German *Knäuel*); Slovenian *glúta* 'boil, tumor, lump, swelling'. Pokorny 1959:357—364 **gel-* 'to form into a ball'; Walde 1927—1932.I:612—621 **gel-*; Mann 1984—1987:275 **glayos* 'ball, lump', 276 **glembō*, *-iō* 'to compress', 279 **glīu-* (**glāu-*) 'ball, clump', 279 **globos*, *-ā* 'lump, mass', 280 **glombos*, *-jos* 'mass, lump, clump', 281 **glomos*, **glom-* 'compact; mass', 281 **gloud-* 'compact; ball, lump, huddle', 282—283 **glūd-* 'bundle, bunch, clot; to ball up, to huddle, to bunch', 283 **glund-* (**glundh-*) 'lump'; Watkins 1985:18 **gel-* 'to form into a ball'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:341 and I:354—355; Boisacq 1950:147 and 151 **gleu-*, based upon **gel-* 'to form into a ball'; Frisk 1970—1973.I:306 and I:313—314; Beekes 2010.I:272 and I:277 (pre-Greek); Hofmann 1966:44 and 46 **gl-eu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:221 Greek γίγγλυμος, without etymology, and I:228 **glout-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:276 and 277; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:606—607 **gelebh-* (lengthened-grade **glēbh-*), I:608—609 **g(e)leb(h)-*, and I:609 **gel-* 'to form into a ball'; De Vaan 2008:264 and 265; Orël 2003:216 Proto-Germanic **klewōn* (related to **klaujanan*); Kroonen 2013:292 Proto-Germanic **klewan-* 'lump, ball'

(< *gleuh₂-on-); Onions 1966:181 and 184; Klein 1971:142 *gleu- and 144; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:380 and 381; Kluge—Seebold 1989:380 and 382; Walshe 1951:123 *gle(m)b-/*glo(m)b-.

- C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *čilgə* ‘bough’, (Northern / Tundra) *čilge* ‘bough, willow branches used as bedding’, *čilge-raal* ‘dried branch used as fuel’. Nikolaeva 2006:131.

Buck 1949:12.81 round; 12.82 circle; 12.83 sphere. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 381—382, no. 217.

624. Proto-Nostratic root *tʃ'im- (~ *tʃ'em-):

(vb.) *tʃ'im- ‘to join, bind, press, or unite together’;

(n.) *tʃ'im-a ‘bond, tie, union, connection’; (adj.) ‘joined, bound, pressed, or united together; tied, harnessed, glued, etc.’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *tʃ'[i]m- ‘to join, bind, or unite together’: Proto-Semitic *tʃ'am-ad- ‘to join together, to yoke, to harness’ > Akkadian *šamādu* ‘to yoke, to harness’; Hebrew *šāmaḏ* [שָׁמַד] ‘to press together; to join, to couple’, *šemeḏ* [שֵׁמֶד] ‘couple, pair’; Aramaic *šamaḏ* ‘to bind together, to yoke’; Mandaic *šmd* ‘to bind, to join, to couple’; Ugaritic *šmd* ‘to harness’; Arabic *ḍamada* ‘to dress a wound, to twist a bandage around the head’; Sabaeen *ḍmd* ‘to yoke, to unite’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḍamada* [ጸመደ], *šamada* [ጸመደ] ‘to yoke, to harness, to bind together, to join, to link, to subjugate’; Tigre *šāmda* ‘to yoke’; Tigrinya *šāmādä* ‘to yoke’; Gurage *tāmādä* ‘to join, to unite, to put together, to bring together’; Amharic *tāmmādä* ‘to yoke oxen’; Argobba *tāmmāda* ‘to yoke oxen’. Murtonen 1989:361—362; Klein 1987:550; Leslau 1979:621 and 1987:149—150. Proto-Semitic *tʃ'am-am- ‘to join together’ > Arabic *ḍamma* ‘to bring together, to join, to draw together, to contract; to gather, to collect, to reap, to harvest; to unite; to embrace; to combine, to close, to compress; to grasp, to grip, to grab, to seize’; Hebrew *šāmam* [שָׁמַם] ‘to be pressed together, restrained; (hif.) to restrain, to tie up’, *šammāh* [שָׁמַח] ‘woman’s veil’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šimm* ‘to enlist; to be reunited’; Mehri *šəm* ‘to join up, to enlist’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḍamama* [ጸመመ] ‘to bind, to tie around, to patch up, to restrain (appetite)’; Amharic *čämäččämä* ‘to bind’, *tāmätṭämä* ‘to wrap (a scarf around the head or neck), to wind (a bandage, turban, etc.), to tie a package with a string, to coil up (tr.)’; Tigre *šamma* ‘to squeeze together’. Murtonen 1989:361; Klein 1987:550; Leslau 1987:150; Zammit 2002:265. Egyptian *dmm* ‘to unite with’, *dmḥ* ‘to bind together’, *dmi* ‘to join, to bring together’, *dmd* ‘to assemble, to bring together, to unite’; Coptic *tōōme* [ⲧⲟⲟⲙⲉ] ‘to join’. Gardiner 1957:602; Hannig 1995:978, 979, and 979—980; Faulkner 1962:312 and 313; Erman—Grapow 1921:214 and 1926—1963.5:451, 5:453—455, 5:457—459; Vycichl 1983:215; Černý 1976:187. Berber: Tuareg *əzmi* ‘to sew, to be sewn’, *ažamay* ‘the act of sewing, being

sewn, sewing’; Siwa *əzmi* ‘to sew’, *əzəm̄ma* ‘rattan’; Ghadames *əzmək* ‘to sew’; Tamazight *azmu* ‘rattan’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tasmi* ‘small needle’, *azzmay* ‘rattan’; Zenaga *azməy* ‘to sew’, *azməy* ‘sewing’.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **k'em-/k'ḡm-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **k'om-*) ‘(vb.) to join together, to unite (in marriage); to wed, to marry; (n.) the one who is married, son-in-law’: Sanskrit *jāmi-h* ‘related (brother or sister)’, *jāmātar-* ‘son-in-law (daughter’s husband)’; Avestan *zāmātar-* ‘son-in-law’; Farsi *dāmād* ‘son-in-law’; Greek *γαμέω* ‘to marry’, *γάμος* ‘wedding’, *γαμβρός* ‘son-in-law’; Latin *gener* (for **gemer*) ‘son-in-law’; Lithuanian *žentas* ‘son-in-law’; Old Church Slavic *zētъ* ‘son-in-law’; Albanian *dhëndhër*, *dhëndhri*, *dhëndhurë* ‘son-in-law, bridegroom’. Pokorny 1959:369—370 **gem(e)-* ‘to marry’; Walde 1927—1932.I:574—575 **gem(e)-*; Mann 1984—1987:396 **gemros*; Mallory—Adams 1997:369 **gemh_x-* ‘to marry (from the male point of view)’ and 533 **gomh_x-ter-* ‘son-in-law’, **gḡm_x-ro-s*, **gḡm-ro-s* ‘son-in-law’, **gemh_x- to-s* ‘son-in-law’; Watkins 1985:19 **gemə-* and 2000:26 **gemə-* ‘to marry’ (oldest form: **gemə_r-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:430; Boisacq 1950:140 and 140—141; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:208—209 and I:209; Frisk 1970—1973.I:287 and I:287—288; Beekes 2010.I:259 **g(e)m-*; Hofmann 1966:54; Huld 1984:58—59 **gamH-* ‘to marry’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:590—591 **gem(e)-* ‘to marry’; De Vaan 2008:258 **g(e)m-ro-* ‘son-in-law’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:270; Wodkto—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:136—139 **gemH-*; Orël 1998:82; Smoczyński 2007.1:779 **gh₃-C*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1301; Derksen 2008:543—544 **genh₃-ti-* and 2015:516—517 **gnh₃-ti-* (?).
- C. Proto-Uralic **δ'ümä* ‘glue’: Finnish *tymä* ‘glue’; Lapp / Saami *dåbme/dåme-* ‘glue’; Cheremis / Mari *lümö* ‘glue’; Votyak / Udmurt *l'em* ‘glue’; Zyrian / Komi *l'em* ‘glue’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *jiibe*, *jiimeä* ‘glue’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *jimi* ‘glue’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *jii* ‘glue’; Selkup Samoyed *t'üme*, *t'eu* ‘glue’; Kamassian *nəme* ‘glue’. Sammallahti 1988:537 **d'ümä* ‘glue’; Rédei 1986—1988:66 **δ'imä* (**δ'ümä*); Collinder 1955:64, 1960:409 **δ'ümä*, and 1977:81; Décsy 1990:98 **dhjimä* ‘lime’; Zhivlov 2023:170 Proto-Uralic **δ'ümä* ‘glue’, Proto-Finnic **tümä*.

Sumerian *dim* ‘band, binding; rope, cord; knot’, *dim-ma* ‘to tie together, to fasten, to bind’, *dim-má* ‘band, rope, cord’.

Buck 1949:2.33 marry; 2.63 son-in-law; 10.78 yoke. Möller 1911:73—74; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:380—381, no. 215.

625. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰ'ukʰ-* (~ **tʰ'okʰ-*):
 (vb.) **tʰ'ukʰ-* ‘to push, to shove, to thrust (in), to press (in)’;
 (n.) **tʰ'ukʰ-a* ‘push, shove, thrust’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ḍakka* ‘to press, to press upon’, *ḍakaza* ‘to press violently with the hand’, (reduplicated) *ḍakḍaka* ‘to press; to walk apace’.
- B. Dravidian: Kannāḍa *dūku* ‘to push’; Kuṛux *tukknā* ‘to give a push to, to shove’; Malto *tuke* ‘to push, to remove’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:287, no. 3286.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **δʷukk3-* (**δʷokk3-*) ‘to put (in), to stick (in), to thrust (in)’ > (?) Finnish *tokkaa-* ‘to put in, to stick’; Cheremis / Mari *loye-* ‘to butt, to ram’; Votyak / Udmurt *l'ekal-* ‘to but, to ram, to stick’; Zyrian / Komi *l'ukal-*, *l'ukaav-*, *lukaal-* ‘to butt, to ram’. Rédei 1986—1988:66 **δʷkk3-*.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.); 12.12 put (place, set, lay). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:382, no. 218.

22.34. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *ʔ

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
ʔ-	ʔ-	Ø-	Ø-	ʔ-	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
-ʔ-	-ʔ-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-ʔ-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-Ø-

626. Proto-Nostratic 1st singular personal pronoun stem *ʔa- (~ *ʔə-), *ʔi- (~ *ʔe-)
‘I, me’:

No doubt originally the same as the deictic particles *ʔa-, *ʔi- listed below.

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔa- 1st singular personal pronoun prefix: Proto-Semitic *ʔa- 1st singular personal pronoun prefix > Classical Arabic ʔa-; Šheri / Jibbāli e-, ə-, Ø-; Mehri ə-; Akkadian a-; Hebrew ʔe-/ʔā- [-~~ʔ~~/-~~ʔ~~]; Aramaic ʔi-; Ugaritic ā-/ī-; Geez / Ethiopic ʔə- [ʔ-]; Amharic ə-. O’Leary 1923:244; Lipiński 1997:376—377. Proto-Berber *ʔa-nak- > *Ønak- > Tuareg *nək* ‘I, me’; Ghadames *nəc, nəccan* ‘me’; Mzab *nəc, nəcci, nəccin* ‘me’; Kabyle *nəkk, nəkki, nəkkini* ‘me’; Tamazight *nəkk, nəç* ‘me’. Proto-Cushitic *ʔ(a)- 1st singular personal pronoun prefix > Beja / Beḏawye ʔa-; Proto-Sam *Ø-. Heine 1978:34—36. Diakonoff 1988:80—82. According to Militarëv (2011:77), this prefix is also found in Proto-Afrasian *ʔa-na(-k/tV) ‘I’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔe- in: *ʔe+k’-, *ʔe+gʰ-, *ʔe+kʰ- 1st singular personal pronoun stem: ‘I’: Greek ἐγώ, ἐγών ‘I’ (Laconian ἐγώνη ‘I’; Boeotian ἰών ‘I’); Latin *egō* ‘I’; Faliscan *eko, eqo* ‘I’; Venetic *.e.go* ‘I’; Gothic *ik* ‘I’; Runic *eka* [M̥KF] ‘I’; Old Icelandic *ek* ‘I’; Faroese *eg* ‘I’; Swedish *jag* ‘I’; Danish *jeg* ‘I’; Old English *ic* ‘I’; Old Frisian *ik* ‘I’; Old Saxon *ik* ‘I’; Dutch *ik* ‘I’; Old High German *ih, ihha* ‘I’ (New High German *ich*); Armenian *es* ‘I’; Old Prussian *es, as* ‘I’; Lithuanian *ąš* ‘I’ (Old Lithuanian *eš*); Latvian *es* ‘I’; Old Church Slavonic *azъ*, (rare) *jazъ* ‘I’; Czech *ja* ‘I’; Polish *ja* ‘I’; Serbo-Croatian *jā* ‘I’; Russian *ja* [j] ‘I’; Sanskrit *ahám* ‘I’; Avestan *azəm* ‘I’; Old Persian *adam* ‘I’. Pokorny 1959:291 *eġ-, *eġ(h)om, *eġō ‘I’; Walde 1927—1932.I:115—116 *eġ(h)om; Mann 1984—1987:233 *eġō, *eġōne ‘I’, 236 *ek ‘I’, 238 *ekhō ‘I’; Watkins 1985:16 *eg- and 2000:22 *eg- nominative form of the first person singular personal pronoun; Mallory—Adams 1997:454 *h₁eġ ‘I’ (emphatic *h₁eġóm); Fortson 2004:127 *eġoh₂, *eġh₂-om; Brugmann 1904:407 *eġh-, *eġ-; Szemerényi 1996:213 *eġō, *eg(h)om; Meillet 1964:333; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:68 *eġhom, *eġom, *eġō(m), *eġ, *eġo(m) (?); Boisacq 1950:214—215 *eġ-, *eġh-, *eġ(h)óm; Hofmann 1966:68 *eġ(h)om; Frisk 1970—1973.I:441 *eġō, *eġom; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:311; Beekes 2010.I:373 *h₁eġ-+e/oH, -h₁-om; Ernout—Meillet 1979:192—193 *eġō; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I 395—396 *eġ(h)om, *eġom, *eġ, *eġ(h), *eġō; De Vaan 2008:287; Orël 2003:83 Proto-Germanic *eka (< *eġō), (acc. sg.) *meke; Kroonen 2013:116 Proto-Germanic *ek(a) ‘I’; Feist

1939:291—292 **eġ(h)om*, **eġō*, **eġ*; Lehmann 1986:204—205 **eġ-ō*, **eġom*, **eġh-(om)*; De Vries 1977:98—99 **eġ*, **eġh*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:336; Onions 1966:457; Klein 1971:363; Walshe 1951:107; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:323—324 **eġom*, **eġhom*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:324 **eġ*, **eġom*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:191; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:18; Derksen 2008:31 **h₁eġ-H-om* and 2015:63 **h₁eġ-H-om*.

- C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Chukchi *i-* ~ *e-* in (predicative forms): *-iyəm* ~ *-eyəm* ‘I’ (the shorter form *yəm* is used as an independent personal pronoun ‘I’), *-iyət* ~ *-eyət* ‘you’ (the shorter form *yət* is used as an independent personal pronoun ‘you’). Greenberg 2000:78—80. Fortescue (2005:146—147) reconstructs Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kəm* ‘I’ and (2005:142—143) **kəð* ‘you’.

Sumerian *a-a_A* ‘I’.

Note: The Chukchi forms indicate that we are dealing with what was originally a deictic particle here inasmuch as the same patterning is found in both the first and second person predicative pronoun stems. Moreover, it is the proximate deictic form **ʔi-* (~ **ʔe-*) that is represented in Chukchi-Kamchatkan as opposed to the distant form **ʔa-* (~ **ʔə-*) found in Afrasian (the Indo-European forms are phonologically ambiguous). This seems to indicate that independent developments were involved in each branch, using the same basic elements.

Möller 1911:64; Dolgopolsky 1984:89—90 and 94; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:567, no. 433; Greenberg 2000:77—81.

627. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative stems (originally deictic particles):

Proximate: **ʔi-* (~ **ʔe-*) ‘this’;
 Intermediate: **ʔu-* (~ **ʔo-*) ‘that’;
 Distant: **ʔa-* (~ **ʔə-*) ‘that yonder, that over there’

Note: These stems regularly combined with other deictic particles: **ʔa/i/u+na-*, **ʔa/i/u+ša-*, **ʔa/i/u+ma-*, **ʔa/i/u+t^ha-*, **ʔa/i/u+k^ha-*, **ʔa/i/u+ya-*, etc.

- A. Afrasian: For Proto-Southern Cushitic, Ehret (1980:50) reconstructs the following suffixes: (a) **-i* nearness marker, (b) **-a* farness marker, (c) **-o* marker of reference (indefinite distance):

- a) Proto-Southern Cushitic **-i* nearness marker > Iraqw *-i* in *wi/ri/ti* ‘this’ (m./f.); Burunge *-i* in *ki/ti* ‘this’ (m./f.), *-i-* in *tiʔi* ‘here’; Alagwa *-i* in *wi/ti* ‘this’ (m./f.); Ma’a *i-* in *ilaʔi* ‘this direction’, *iʔi* ‘here’.
 b) Proto-Southern Cushitic **-a* farness marker > Iraqw *-a* in *qa* ‘that’, *da* ‘that aforementioned’; Burunge *-a* in *kaʔa/taʔa* ‘that’ (m./f.), *taʔi* ‘there’; Ma’a *-a* in *twaʔi* ‘there’.

- c) Proto-Southern Cushitic *-o marker of reference (indefinite distance) > Iraqw -o in *wolro/to* ‘this being talked about’ (m./f./n.); Alagwa -o in *qo* ‘that’; K’wadza -o in -*uko* masculine gender marker, -*eto*, -*ito* feminine gender marker.

North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *ʔün* ‘this’. Reinisch 1895:20—21.

Proto-Agaw base *ʔə+n- ‘this’ > Bilin *ʔəna* ‘this’; Xamir *ən/ənin/ənyän*, (f.) *ənčän* ‘this’; Kemant *ən/əndän* ‘this’; Awngi / Awiya *ən* ‘this’. Appleyard 2006:136; Reinisch 1887:32—33 (*en, in*).

- B. Proto-Dravidian (a) **ǎ* distant demonstrative stem (Burrow—Emeneau 1984:1—3, no. 1; Krishnamurti 2003:253—258 and 390 **aH* ‘that’), (b) **ĩ* proximate demonstrative stem (Burrow—Emeneau 1984:38—40, no. 410; Krishnamurti 2003:253—258 and 390 **iH* ‘this’), and (c) **ũ* intermediate demonstrative stem (Burrow—Emeneau 1984:54—55, no. 557; Krishnamurti 2003:253—258 and 391 **uH* ‘yonder, not too distant’). Krishnamurti derives these stems from deictic bases and notes that they carry gender and number and are inflected for case. Finally, he notes that time (‘now, then, when’) and place (‘here, there, where’) adverbs are also derived from these deictic bases. Similar usage is found in other Nostratic languages. Examples (this is but a small sampling):
- a) Proto-Dravidian **ǎ* distant demonstrative stem: Tamil *a* demonstrative base expressing the remoter person or thing; prefixed to nouns to express remoteness; Malayalam *a*, *ā* ‘that, yonder’; Kota *a-* distant from the speaker in space or time; Toda *a-* distant from speaker in space or time; Kannaḍa *a-* remote demonstrative base; Kui *a-* ‘that over there’; Kuwi (adj.) *ā* ‘that most remote’; Kuṛux *a-* ‘that most remote’.
- b) Proto-Dravidian **ĩ* proximate demonstrative stem: Tamil *i* demonstrative base expressing the nearer or proximate person or thing; prefixed to nouns to express nearness; Malayalam *i*, *ī* ‘this’; Kota *i-* demonstrative base expressing nearness to the speaker; Maṇḍa *ī* ‘this’; Toda *i-* demonstrative base expressing nearness to the speaker; Kannaḍa *i-* proximate demonstrative base.
- c) Proto-Dravidian **ũ* intermediate demonstrative stem: Tamil *u* demonstrative base expressing a person, place, or thing occupying an intermediate position, neither far nor near, and meaning yonder or occupying a position near the person or persons spoken to; demonstrative particle before nouns expressing intermediate position or position near the person or persons spoken to; Kannaḍa *u-* base indicating intermediate place, quantity, or time; Kuwi *ũ* (adj.) ‘that’ (intermediate).

- C. a) Proto-Kartvelian **a-* proximate demonstrative stem: Georgian *a-*; Mingrelian *a-*; Laz *(h)a-*; Svan *a-*. Klimov 1964:41 **a-* and 1998:1 **a-* pronominal stem, proximal. Proto-Kartvelian **a-ma-* ‘that, this’: Georgian *a-ma-*, *a-m-* ‘that, this’; Mingrelian *a-mu-* ‘that, this’; Laz *(h)a-mu-* ‘that, this’; Svan *a-m(a)-* ‘this’, *a-me* ‘here’. Klimov 1964:44 **a-ma-* 1998:2 **a-ma-* ‘that, this’. Proto-Kartvelian **a-ša-* deictic stem: Georgian *a-se* ‘so’; Mingrelian [*a-š-*]; Laz [*a-š-*]; Svan *a-š* ‘so’. Klimov 1964:46 **a-s₁-* and 1998:4 **a-s₁-* deictic stem. Proto-Kartvelian **a-k-* ‘here’: Georgian *a-k* ‘here’; Mingrelian *ak*, *tak*, *atak-* ‘here’; Laz *a-k*, *a-ko* ‘here’. Klimov 1964:46 **a-k-* and 1998:4 **a-k-* ‘here’.
- b) Proto-Kartvelian **e-* demonstrative stem: Georgian *e-*; Mingrelian *e-*; Laz *(h)e-*; Svan *e-*. At the present time, it usually occurs as a bound demonstrative element (cf. Georgian *e-s* ‘so’, *-e-g* ‘this; he, she, it’; [dial.] *e-ma-*; etc.; Mingrelian *e-na-*; *e-ši* ‘so’; Laz *he-a-*; *he-s*; *e-še* ‘so, there’; Svan [*e-ž-*] in *e-ži*, *e-že*, *e-žä* ‘he, she, it; that’; *e-š* ‘so’); however, note Laz *he* in *he bigate...* ‘with that stick...’. Klimov 1964:77 **e-*, 78 **e-g-*, 80 **e-s₁-*, and 80 **e-k-* ‘there’; 1998:45 **e-* pronominal element, 45 **e-g-* pronominal stem, and 47 **e-s₁-* pronominal stem.
- c) Proto-Kartvelian **i-* distant demonstrative stem: Georgian *i-*; Mingrelian *i-*; Laz *(h)i-*; Svan *i-*. Klimov 1964:99 **i-* and 1998:80 **i-* deictic stem (denoting remote objects in contrast to **a-*). Proto-Kartvelian **i-ma-* distant demonstrative stem: Georgian *i-ma-*; Mingrelian *i-mu-*; Laz *(h)i-mu-*; Svan [*i-m-*]. Klimov 1964:101—102 **i-ma-* and 1998:81 **i-ma-* a pronominal stem of demonstrative semantics (in contrast to **a-ma-*, it denotes remote objects). Proto-Kartvelian **i-š-* deictic element: Georgian *i-s-* ‘that; he’; Mingrelian [*i-š-*] in *iš-o*, *viš-o* ‘there’; Laz [(*h*)*i-š-*] in (*h*)*iš-o* ‘this way, over there’. Klimov 1964:102—103 **i-s₁-* and 1998:82 **i-s₁-* deictic element. Proto-Kartvelian **i-k-* ‘there, over there’: Georgian *i-k(a)* ‘there, over there’; Mingrelian *i-k* ‘there, over there’; Laz (*h*)*i-k* ‘there, over there’. Klimov 1964:104 **i-k-* and 1998:83 **i-k-* ‘there, over there’.

Note: The Nostratic pattern **ʔa-* (distant) ~ **ʔi-* (proximate) was changed to **a-* (proximate) ~ **i-* (distant) in Kartvelian.

- D. Proto-Indo-European demonstrative stem **ʔe-/*ʔo-*, **ʔey-/*ʔoy-/*ʔi-* (< **ʔe-/*ʔo-+-y/i-*): Sanskrit *ayám* ‘this’ (gen. sg. m./n. *a-syá*, *á-sya*; f. *a-syáḥ* [cf. Burrow 1973:276—278]), *idám* ‘this’, (f.) *iyám* ‘she, this’, *á-taḥ* ‘from this, hence’ (< **e-to-s* [cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:26]), (n.) *e-tát* ‘this, this here’, *ihá* ‘here’ (Pāṇi *idha* ‘here, in this place, in this connection, now’), *e-ṣá* (f. *e-ṣā*) ‘this’; Old Persian *a-* ‘this’, *aīta-* ‘this’, *īma-* ‘this’, *īyam* ‘this’, *idā* ‘here’; Avestan *a-* ‘this’, *aētaṭ* ‘this’, *īma-* ‘this’, *īdā* ‘here’;

Hittite enclitic demonstrative particle (nom. sg.) *-aš*, (acc. sg.) *-an*, (n. sg.) *-at* ‘he, she, it’; (dat. sg.) *e-di*, *i-di*, *e-da-ni* ‘to or for him, her, it’; Latin *is*, *ea*, *id* ‘he, she, it; this or that person or thing’; Oscan *eiso-* ‘this’; Umbrian (dat. sg.) *esmei* ‘to this, to it’; Old Irish *é* ‘he, they’, *ed* ‘it’; Gothic anaphoric pronoun *is* ‘he’, *ita* ‘it’; Old Icelandic relative particle *es* (later *er*) ‘who, which, what’; Old Saxon *et*, *it* ‘it’; Old High German *er*, *ir* ‘he’, *ez*, *iz* ‘it’ (New High German *er* ‘he’, *es* ‘it’); Lithuanian *jis* (< **is*) ‘he’. Pokorny 1959:281—286 **e-*, **ei-*, **i-*, (f.) **i-* demonstrative particle; Walde 1927—1932.I:96—102 **e-*, **i-*, (f.) **i-*, **ā-*; Mann 1984—1987:235—236 **eīā* (**jā*) ‘she, it’, 236 **eīo*, **eījo* (**eījos*) ‘his, her(s)’, 427 **id* ‘it, that’, 433 **is* (**jā*, **jā* f.) ‘this, he (she)’, 437 **jā* ‘she, it’; De Vaan 2008:309—310; Watkins 1985:26 **i-* and 2000:35—36 **i-* pronominal stem; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:291 **is*, **it*, I:385—387 and 1995.I:253 (m./f.) **is*, (n.) **it* ‘this’; Mallory—Adams 1997:458; Tischler 1977— .1:1—2 and 1:118—119; Kloekhorst 2008b:162—164 and 220—221; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:3—6 and 1/2:6—7; Orël 2003:203 Proto-Germanic **iz*, (neuter) **it*; Kroonen 2013:268 Proto-Germanic **i-* ‘he/she, that one’; Feist 1939:296; Lehmann 1986:207—208; De Vries 1977:105; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:169—170; Kluge—Seebold 1989:183; Smoczyński 2007.1:234 **Hjō-*; Szemerényi 1996:206—207; Brugmann 1904:401—402; Meillet 1964:326—327. Proto-Indo-European **-i* deictic particle meaning ‘here and now’ added to verbs to form so-called “primary” endings (cf. Burrow 1973:314; Fortson 2004:85; Kerns—Schwartz 1972:4). Proto-Indo-European adverbial particle **ǵē-/ǵō-* ‘near, by, together with’: Sanskrit *ā* ‘hither, near to, towards’; Greek prefixes *é-* and *ò-*; Old High German prefix *ā-*; Old Church Slavic prefix *ja-*.

- E. Proto-Uralic **e-* demonstrative particle: Finnish *e-* in *että* ‘that’; Estonian *et* ‘that’, *iga* ‘every’; Mordvin *e-* in *esē* (inessive) ‘these’, *estē* (relative) ‘from there’, *est’a* ‘so’, *est’amo* ‘such’, *ete* (*e+te*) ‘this’, *ese* (*e+se*) ‘that, that one’, *embe* ‘if, when, after’; Zyrian / Komi *e-* in *esy* ‘this, that’; Hungarian *ez* ‘this’, *itt* ‘here’, *innen* ‘from here’, *ide* ‘hither’, *igy* ‘so’, *ilyen* ‘such’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *eke*, *eko* ‘this, this here’, *eo?* ‘hither’, *inoo* ‘that there’; Kamassian *iidā* ‘that there’. Greenberg 2000:89; Collinder 1955:9 and 1977:31; Rédei 1986—1988:67—68 **e*; Décsy 1990:98 **e* ‘this’. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *a-n* ‘that’, contrasting with *ten* ‘this’; (Southern / Kolyma) *a-da*, *a-da*: ‘there’, *a:n* ‘here it is’, *e-dij* (< **en+tij*) ‘this’, *ej-tij* ‘this’. Nikolaeva 2006:104, 152, and 159.
- F. a) Proto-Altaic **a-* deictic stem: Proto-Mongolian **a-nu-* 3rd person plural possessive pronoun > Written Mongolian *anu* originally the genitive form of the obsolete pronoun **a-*; in Modern Mongolian, it has almost completely lost its pronominal meaning and is used postpositionally to indicate that what precedes it is the syntactical subject of a sentence — it is now used interchangeably with *inu*. Note

Poppe (1955:219): “The pronoun of the third person plural was **a* in Common Mongolian. The stem of the oblique cases was **an*. Only the genitive is preserved in Written Mongolian, but in Middle Mongolian (in the *Secret History* and *Hua-i i-yü*) the genitive *anu*, the dative-locative *andur*, and the accusative *ani* occur. None of these forms occur in spoken Mongolian.”

- b) Proto-Altaic **e-* deictic stem: ‘this, that’: Proto-Tungus **e-* ‘this’ > Evenki *er, eri* ‘this’; Lamut / Even *er* ‘this’; Negidal *ey* ‘this’; Manchu *ere* ‘this’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *erə* ‘this’; Jurchen *e(r)se* ‘this’; Ulch *ey* ‘this’; Orok *eri* ‘this’; Nanay / Gold *ei* ‘this’; Oroch *ei* ‘this’; Udihe *eyi* ‘this’; Solon *er* ‘this’. Proto-Mongolian **e-ne-* ‘this’ > Written Mongolian *ene* ‘this’; Khalkha *ene* ‘this’; Buriat *ene* ‘this’; Kalmyk *enə* ‘this’; Ordos *ene* ‘this’; Moghol *enä* ‘this’; Dagur *ene* ‘this’; Dongxiang *ene* ‘this’; Shira-Yughur *ene* ‘this’; Monguor *ne* ‘this’. Proto-Turkic **an-* ‘that (oblique cases); here’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) (loc.) *aŋ-ta*, (dat.) *aŋ-ar* ‘that’; Karakhanide Turkic (loc.) *an-da*, (dat.) *aŋ-a* ‘that’; Turkmenian *ana* ‘here’; Karaim (loc.) *an-da*, (dat.) *an-ar* ‘that’; Tatar (loc.) *an-da*, (dat.) *aŋ-a, an-ar* ‘that’; Bashkir (loc.) *an-da, an-ta*, (dat.) *aŋ-a* ‘that’; Kirghiz (loc.) *an-ta*, (dat.) *a-(γ)a* ‘that’; Sary-Uighur (nom.) *a* ‘that’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) (loc.) *an-da*, (dat.) *o-(γ)o* ‘that’; Tuva (loc.) *in-da*, (dat.) *a(ŋ)-a* ‘that’; Chuvash (loc.) *on-da*, (dat.) *ɔʷn-a* ‘that’; Yakut *ana-rā* ‘that’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:487 **e* ‘that’ (deictic root).
- c) Proto-Altaic **i-* deictic stem: Proto-Tungus **i-* 3rd person deictic stem > Manchu *i* ‘he, she’, *ineku* ‘the same; this (day, month, year)’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ī* ‘he, she’; Jurchen *in* 3rd person deictic stem; Solon *ini* ‘his’. Proto-Mongolian **i-nu-* 3rd person singular possessive pronoun > Written Mongolian *inu* originally the genitive form of the extinct pronoun **i* ‘he, she, it’; in Modern Mongolian, it has almost completely lost its pronominal meanings and is used postpositionally to indicate that what precedes it is the syntactic subject of a sentence — it is now used interchangeably with *anu*. Note Poppe (1955:214): “The pronoun of the third person of the singular was **i* in Common Mongolian. The stem of the genitive was **in-* and in all the remaining oblique cases the stem was **ima-*. This pronoun has disappeared.”; Khalkha *ń* possessive pronoun; Buriat *ń* possessive pronoun; Kalmyk *ń* possessive pronoun; Moghol *ini ~ ni ~ ne ~ i* possessive pronoun; Dagur *īn* ‘he; this, that’. Proto-Turkic **i-na-* ‘that’ > Turkmenian *ina-ru* ‘that’; Tuva *inda* ‘there’, *indiy* ‘such’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:577 **i* a deictic root.
- d) Proto-Altaic **o-* deictic stem: ‘this, that’: Proto-Tungus **u-* ‘this; that’ > Manchu *u-ba* ‘this; here, this place’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *evā* ‘this’; Udihe *u-ti* ‘that’. Proto-Mongolian **o-n-* ‘other, different’ > Written Mongolian *ondu* ‘another, other; different(ly); apart, separate’, *ončuyui* ‘peculiar, unusual; specific; separate; special; particular,

different; remote, isolated; strange'; Khalkha *ondō* 'other, different'; Buriat *ondō* 'other, different'; Ordos *ondōn* 'other, different'; Dagur *enčū* 'other'; Shira-Yughur *ondōn* 'other, different'. Proto-Turkic **o(-l)-* 'that' > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *o-l* 'that'; Turkish *o* 'that'; Gagauz *o* 'that'; Azerbaijani *o* 'that'; Karakhanide Turkic *o-l* 'that'; Turkmenian *ol* 'that'; Uzbek *u* 'that'; Uighur *u* 'that'; Karaim *o* 'that'; Tatar *u-l* 'that'; Bashkir *u, o-šo* 'that'; Kirghiz *o-šo* 'that'; Kazakh *o-l* 'that'; Noghay *o-l* 'that'; Sary-Uighur *o-l, o* 'that'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *o-l* 'that'; Tuva *ol* 'that'; Chuvash *vᵇᵇ-l* 'that'; Dolgan *ol* 'that'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1040 **o* 'this, that' (deictic particle).

- G. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **a-* distant demonstrative: 'that yonder, that over there': East Sakhalin *ahu-d / ehu-d* 'that distant from the speaker but visible'; Amur *a-d* 'that over there', *a-in* 'there'; South Sakhalin *a-x / ahus* 'over there'. Gruzdeva 1998:26; Greenberg 2000:91; Fortescue 2016:7. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **i-* in **ivŋ* 'he' or 'she': Amur *if* 'he, she'; North Sakhalin *i* 'he, she'; East Sakhalin *jaŋ* 'he, she'; South Sakhalin *jaŋ* 'he, she'. Fortescue 2016:81. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh (deictic) **e-* in **ey-* distant demonstrative: 'that over there': Amur *aēhə-d* distant demonstrative: 'that over there'; East Sakhalin *ey-* intermediate demonstrative: 'that over there', *aiy-* distant demonstrative: 'that over there', *aix-nt* distant demonstrative: 'that far away'; South Sakhalin (*a*)*eyn* distant demonstrative: 'that (far away)'. Fortescue 2016:55 and 175 (table of affixes).
- H. Etruscan *i-* in: *i-ca* 'this', *i-n, i-nc* 'it', *i-ta* 'this'.

Sumerian *e* 'hither, here'.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:576—577, no. 444; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:257—258, no. 121, **ʔa* demonstrative pronoun indicating distant object: 'that' and I:270—272, no. 134, **ʔi/(?)ʔe* demonstrative pronoun indicating near object: 'this'; Greenberg 2000:81—87, §8. Third Person I ~ E, and 87—91, §9. Demonstrative A ~ E; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 751, **ha* deictic pronominal particle ('ille', distal deixis), no. 753, **h[e]* 'this', no. 754, **[h]i* 'iste' (or 'hic'), and no. 755, **[h]u* 'iste', demonstrative particle (intermediate deixis ?).

628. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔab-a* 'strength, power'; (adj.) 'strong, mighty':

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʔab-ar-* 'strong, mighty' > Akkadian *abāru* 'strength'; Hebrew *ʔābīr* [אֲבִיר] 'the strong one', *ʔabbīr* [אֲבִיר] 'strong, mighty, valiant'; Ugaritic *ibr* 'bull'; Ya'udic *ʔbrw* 'force, power'; Gurage (Chaha) *abər* 'young person or animal in his prime'. D. Cohen 1970— :5; Murtonen 1989:81; Klein 1987:3; Leslau 1979:9.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔabh-ro-* 'strong, powerful, mighty': Gothic *abrs* 'strong, violent, great, mighty'; Old Icelandic *afar-* 'very, exceedingly', *afir*

‘strong’; Old Irish *abar-* ‘very’ (Middle Irish *abor-*); Welsh *afr-* ‘very’. Pokorny 1959:2 **abhro-* ‘strong’; Walde 1927—1932.I:177—178 **ōbh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1 **abhros* ‘powerful, gigantic’; Orël 2003:1—2 Proto-Germanic **abraz*; Kroonen 2013:1—2 **h₃ep-ró-*; Lehmann 1986:1—2; Feist 1939:1—2; De Vries 1977:2 and 2—3; Vendryès 1959— :A6—7.

- C. Proto- Altaic **abga* ‘strength, power’: (Manchu-)Tungus: Manchu *abgari* ‘idle, without occupation; retired official’; Lamut / Even *abgar*, *abgor* ‘healthy’; Evenki *awgara* (< **abga-ra*) ‘healthy’. Mongolian: Written Mongolian *auγ-a* ‘strength, power; mighty, powerful’, *auγatai* ‘strong, powerful’; Khalkha *ūgā* ‘strength, power’; Kalmyk *ūgv* ‘strength, power’. Poppe 1960:44, 89, and 95; Street 1974:7 **abga* ‘strength, power’. Not in Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:573—574, no. 441; Brunner 1969:27, no. 72.

629. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔab(b)a* ~ **ʔap^h(p^h)a* ‘father, forefather’ (nursery word):

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔab-* ‘father, forefather, ancestor’: Proto-Semitic **ʔab-* ‘father, forefather, ancestor’ > Akkadian *abu* ‘father; (in pl.) forefathers, ancestors’; Amorite *ʔabum* ‘father’; Eblaite *a-bù* ‘father’, *a-bu* ‘elder’; Hebrew *ʔāβ* [אָב] ‘father’; Phoenician *ʔb* ‘father’; Punic *ʔb* ‘father’; Nabatean *ʔb* ‘father’; Ugaritic *ʔb* ‘father’; Aramaic *ʔabbā* ‘my father’; Liḥyānite *ʔb* ‘father’; Arabic *ʔab* ‘father, ancestor, forefather’; Sabaeen *ʔb* ‘father, forefather’; Mehri *ḥáyb* ‘father’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʔiy* ‘father’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔab* [አብ] ‘father, forefather, ancestor’; Tigrinya *ʔab* ‘father’; Tigre *ʔab* ‘father’; Amharic *abbat* ‘father’, *ab* ‘elder, forefather’; Argobba *aw* ‘father’; Harari *āw* ‘father’; Gurage *ab* ‘father’; Gafat *ab^wā* ‘father’. D. Cohen 1970— :1; Diakonoff 1992:85 **ʔab(b-)* (?) ‘father’; Murtonen 1989:80; Klein 1987:1; Leslau 1963:37, 1979:4—5, and 1987:2; Zammit 2002:67—68. Egyptian *ʔbt* ‘family; relatives (on the father’s side of the family)’. Hannig 1995:6; Faulkner 1962:2; Erman—Grapow 1921:1 and 1926—1963.1:7; Gardiner 1957:549. Berber: Tuareg *aba* ‘father’; Siwa *aba* ‘father’; Tamazight *ibba* ‘father’; Mzab *aba* ‘papa’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ibba* ‘father’; Chaouia *ibba* ‘father’. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔa(a)bb-* ‘father’ > Saho-Afar *abb-a* ‘father’; Somali *aabb-e* ‘father’; Rendille *ab-a* ‘father’; Bayso *abb-o* ‘father’; Galla / Oromo *abb-aa* ‘father’; Hadiyya *aabb-a* ‘father’; Burji *aabb-óo* ‘father, father’s brother, mother’s sister’s husband’, *abi* ‘maternal uncle’; Konso *aapp-a* ‘father’; Sidamo *aabb-o* ‘father’, *abbo* ‘maternal uncle’; Gedeo / Darasa *aabbo* ‘maternal uncle’. Hudson 1989:62; Sasse 1979:15 and 1982:21. Central Cushitic: Bilin (voc.) *ʔabbá* ‘O father!’; Kemant *aba* ‘father’. Appleyard 2006:64—65; Reinisch 1887:5. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔaba* or **aba* ‘father’ (term of address) > Asa *aba* ‘father’; Ma’a *aba* ‘father’. Central Chadic: Buduma *aba* ‘father’. Ehret 1980:281. Orël—Stolbova 1995:1, no. 2, **ʔab-* ‘father’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *appan*, *appu* ‘father’; Malayalam *appan* ‘father’; Kannada *appa* ‘father’, *apa* ‘father’; Koḍagu *appē* ‘father’; Tuḷu *appa*, *appē* affix of respect added to proper names of men; Telugu *appa* ‘father’; Gondi *āpōrāl* ‘father’; Konḍa *aposi* ‘father’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 15—16, no. 156; Krishnamurti 2003:10 **app-a-* ‘father’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔabh-* ‘father, forefather, man’: Gothic *aba* ‘man, husband’; Old Icelandic *aʒi* ‘grandfather, man’; Old English personal names *Aba*, *Abba*, *Afa*; Old High German personal name *Abo*. Orël 2003:1 Proto-Germanic **abōn*; Kroonen 2013:1 Proto-Germanic **aban-* ‘man, husband’; Lehmann 1986:1; Feist 1939:1; De Vries 1962:2. Note: Greek ἄββᾶ ‘father’ is borrowed from Aramaic ʔ*abbā* ‘my father’. Proto-Indo-European **ʔap^hp^ha* ‘father’: Greek ἄππα, ἄπφα ‘father’; Tocharian A *āp*, B *āppo* ‘father’; Prakrit *appa-* ‘father’; Gujarati *āp* ‘father’ (used by shepherds); Marathi *āpā* term of respect for an elder or of endearment for a son or junior; Assamese *āp* term of address by lower classes for a father, grandfather, or old man, *āpaṭi* ‘father’. Note: The Indo-Aryan forms cited above may be loans from Dravidian. Pokorny 1959:52 **appa* ‘father’ (nursery word); Walde 1927—1932.I:47 **apa*; Turner 1966—1969.I:23; Boisacq 1950:72; Frisk 1970—1973.I:126 and I:127; Beekes 2010.I:119 (onomatopoeic); Hofmann 1966:21; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:99 and I:100; Adams 1999:44; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:166.
- D. Proto-Uralic **eppi* ‘father-in-law’: Finnish *appi* ‘father-in-law’; Lapp / Saami *vuop’pā* ‘father-in-law’; Cheremis / Mari *owō* ‘father-in-law’; Hungarian *ip(a)-* ‘father-in-law’; Vogul / Mansi *up* ‘father-in-law’; Ostyak / Xanty *op* ‘father-in-law’. Collinder 1955:72, 1960:410 **appō*, and 1977:89; Rédei 1986—1988:14 **appe*; Aikio 2020:55—56 **eppi* ‘father-in-law’; Sammallahti 1988:536 **ippi* ‘father-in-law’; Zhivlov 2023:161 **eppi* ‘father-in-law’.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **aba* ~ **ap^ha* ‘father’: Common Mongolian **ab(u)* ‘father’ > Written Mongolian *abu* ‘father’; Monguor *āba*, *āwa* ‘father’; Khalkha *av* ‘father’; Buriat *aba* ‘father’; Kalmyk *āwə* ‘father’. Poppe 1955:74. Derivative: **aba-ka* ‘paternal uncle’ (< **aba* ‘father’) > Written Mongolian *abay-a* ‘paternal uncle’; Khalkha *avga* ‘paternal uncle’; Buriat *abgay* ‘paternal uncle’; Kalmyk *awγə* ‘paternal uncle’; Ordos *awaga*, *acā* ‘paternal uncle’; Monguor *āga* ‘paternal uncle’. Mongolian loans in: Chagatay *abaqa* ‘paternal uncle’; Yakut *abaya* ‘paternal uncle’; Evenki *awaga* ‘paternal uncle’. Poppe 1960:56; Street 1974:7 **aba-ka* ‘paternal uncle’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:310) reconstruct Proto-Altaiic **ap’a* ‘father’. However, such a reconstruction cannot account for the *-b-* found in the Mongolian forms cited above, which point, instead, to Proto-Altaiic **aba* ‘father’. It is better to assume two separate forms at the Proto-Altaiic level: **aba* ~ **ap^ha* ‘father’, the first of which was the ancestor of the Mongolian words for ‘father’, the second of which was the ancestor of the (Manchu-)Tungus and Turkic words. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak cite the following forms from (Manchu-)Tungus and Turkic: Proto-Tungus

- **apa* ‘grandfather, uncle (elder brother of father, mother)’ > Negidal *apa* ‘grandfather, uncle (elder brother of father, mother)’; Nanay / Gold (reduplicated) (Naikhinsk) *papa*, (Bikin) *fafa* ‘grandfather, uncle (elder brother of father, mother)’. Proto-Turkic **apa* (**appa*) ‘father’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *apa* ‘ancestors’; Karakhanide Turkic *apa* ‘father, bear; ancestor’; Turkish *aba* ‘father’; Azerbaijani (dial.) *aba* ‘father’; Turkmenian (dial.) *aba* ‘father’; Tatar (dial.) *aba* ‘father’; Bashkir (dial.) *apa* ‘father’; Kirghiz *aba* ‘father’; Sary-Uighur *awa* ‘father’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *aba* ‘father, bear’; Tuva *ava* ‘father’; Chuvash *oba* ‘bear’.
- F. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **æpæ* ‘grandfather’ (?) or ‘any older male relative’ (?): Chukchi *apajjən*, (Southern) *epe*, *epapə* ‘grandpa’ (children’s word); Kerek *apappij* ‘grandfather’, *appa* ‘daddy’, *appakku* ‘parents’; Koryak *apappo* ‘uncle’, *appa* ‘daddy’ (children’s word); Alyutor *apapa* ‘daddy’; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Southern) *apac* ‘father’. Fortescue 2005: 36—37.
- G. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **apak* ‘uncle’: Amur *apak* ‘uncle’; North Sakhalin *apák* ‘relative’. Fortescue 2016:14—15.
- H. Proto-Eskimo **ap(p)a* ‘grandfather’: Central Alaskan Yupik *apa(q)*, *appa* ‘grandfather’; Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *apa*, *apaaq* ‘grandfather’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *apa*, *apaya* ‘grandfather’; Central Siberian Yupik *apa* ‘grandfather’; Sirenik *apa* ‘grandfather’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *ava* ‘grandfather’; Western Canadian Inuit *aappak* ‘father’; North Alaskan Inuit *aapa* ‘father’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:36.
- I. Etruscan *apa* ‘father, husband’, *apana* ‘related to the father, paternal’.

Sumerian *a-ba*, *ab*, *ab-ba* ‘father’.

Buck 1949:2.31ff. words for family relationship. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:572—573, no. 440; Dolgopolsky 1998:93—94, no. 118, **ʔaba* ~ **ʔapa* ‘daddy, father’ (nursery word) and 2008, no. 5, **ʔaba* ~ **ʔapa* ‘daddy, father’; Caldwell 1913:606 and 613; Hakola 2000:22—23, no. 38; Fortescue 1998:152.

630. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔad-* (~ **ʔəd-*):
- (vb.) **ʔad-* ‘to be strong, mighty, powerful, exalted’;
- (n.) **ʔad-a* ‘lord, master’; (adj.) ‘strong, mighty, powerful, exalted’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔad-* ‘(vb.) to be strong, mighty, powerful, exalted; (n.) lord, master’: Proto-Semitic **ʔad-ān-* ‘lord, master’ > Hebrew *ʔādōn* [ʔādōn] ‘lord, master’; Phoenician *ʔdn* ‘lord, master’; Ugaritic *ād* ‘lord, father’. D. Cohen 1970— :9; Klein 1987:8; Tomback 1978:5—6. Proto-Semitic **ʔad-īr-* ‘strong, mighty, powerful, exalted’ > Phoenician *ʔdr* ‘to be powerful’; Hebrew *ʔaddīr* [ʔaddīr] ‘great, mighty, powerful, majestic’, *ʔēder* [ʔēder] ‘splendor, magnificence’, **ʔādar* [ʔādar] ‘to be glorious, mighty, exalted’; Ugaritic *ādr* ‘mighty’. Klein 1987:8; Murtonen 1989:83; D. Cohen 1970— :10; Tomback 1978:6. Berber: Tamazight *addur* ‘good

reputation, honor, glory, fame'; Zenaga *təydart* 'fatness, wealth'. Central Cushitic: Bilin *ʔadārā* 'master, lord'; Xamir *adāra*, *iederā* 'god'; Kemant *adāra* 'master, lord; god'; Quara *adarte* 'master, lord'. Appleyard 2006: 97—98. Lowland East Cushitic **ʔader-* 'uncle' > Galla / Oromo *adeeraa* 'uncle'; Somali *adeer* 'uncle'. Appleyard 2006:97—98. Southern Cushitic: Rift **daʔar-* (< **ʔadar-* through metathesis) 'chief' > Gorowa *daari* 'chief'. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *adila* 'chief, (clan) leader, king'. Hudson 1989:268. Orël—Stolbova 1995:6, no. 19, **ʔader-* 'master, lord'.

- B. Proto-Altaic **ədV* (with **ě-* for expected **ǎ-*) 'lord, master, husband': Proto-Tungus **edi-* 'husband' > Evenki *edī* 'husband'; Lamut / Even *edi* 'husband'; Negidal *edī* 'husband'; Ulch *edi(n)* 'husband'; Orok *edi* 'husband'; Nanay / Gold *eži* 'husband'; Oroch *edi* 'husband'. Proto-Mongolian **ežen* 'lord, master' > Written Mongolian *ežen* 'lord, master, ruler, owner'; Khalkha *ezen* 'lord, master, ruler, owner, proprietor'; Buriat *ezen* 'lord, master'; Kalmyk *ežn* 'lord, master'; Ordos *ežin* 'lord, master'; Moghol *ežän* 'lord, master'; Dongxiang *ežen* 'lord, master'; Dagur *ežin* 'master, ruler'. Poppe 1955:47, 57, 115, and 169. Proto-Turkic **Edi* 'lord, host' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *edi* 'master, proprietor'; Karakhanide Turkic *iđi* 'lord, host'; Turkish *iye*, *is*, *is* 'lord, host'; Azerbaijani *iyä* 'lord, host'; Turkmenian *eye* 'lord, host'; Uzbek (dial.) *äyä* 'lord, host'; Karaim *iye*, *ye* 'lord, host'; Tatar *iyä* 'lord, host'; Bashkir *iyä* 'lord, host'; Kirghiz *ē* 'lord, host'; Kazakh *īye* 'lord, host'; Noghay *iye* 'lord, host'; Sary-Uighur *ise* 'lord, host'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ē* 'lord, host'; Tuva *ē* 'lord, host'; Yakut *ičči* 'lord, host'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 493—494 **ədV* 'host, husband'.

Sumerian *ad* 'father'.

Buck 1949:19.36 noble (sb.), nobleman; 19.41 master. Dolgopolsky 1998:91, no. 115, **ʔediNV* 'pater familias' (or 'owner') and 2008, no. 14, **ʔediNV* 'pater familias'.

631. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔadv-a* 'thorn'; (adj.) 'pointed, sharp, prickly':

- A. Dravidian: Kuṛux *acc* 'thorn'; Malto *acu* 'thorn', *ac-acro* 'prickly'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:6, no. 45.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔedh-/*ʔodh-* 'pointed, sharp, prickly': Old Prussian *addle* 'fir(-tree), spruce'; Lithuanian *ēglė* (< **edlē*) 'fir(-tree), spruce', *adyti* 'to darn', *ādata* 'needle'; Old Church Slavic *jela* (< **edlā*) 'fir(-tree), spruce'; Polish *jodla* 'spruce'; Old Czech *jedla* 'spruce'; Russian *jel'* [ель] (< **edli-*) 'fir(-tree) spruce'; Latin *ebulus* (< **edh-los*) 'the dwarf elder'. Pokorny 1959:289—290 **edh-* 'tip, point'; Mann 1984—1987:232 **edhlā*, *-jə* (?) 'firtree'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:633 **ed[h]-*, **ed[h]lo-* and 1995.I:545 **edh-* 'to darn, to use a needle', **edhlo-* 'spruce; sharp, prickly'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:388—389 **edh-* 'tip, point'; Ernout—

Meillet 1979:190; De Vaan 2008:185; Smoczyński 2007.1:3 and 1:141—142 **h₁ed^h-lo-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:118; Derksen 2008:139 **h₁ed^h-l-i*.

Sumerian ^Ĝ*á*d ‘thorny bushes or undergrowth’, *ád* ‘a briar, bramble’.

Buck 1949:12.351 point. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:569—570, no. 436.

632. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔaḥ-a* ‘cow’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔaḥ-* ‘cow’: Semitic: Ethiopic / Geez *ʔaḥā* [አሐ], *ʔaḥā* [አሕ] ‘cattle, cows’; Tigre *ʔaḥa* ‘cattle’; Tigrinya *ʔaḥa* ‘cattle’. D. Cohen 1970— :15; Leslau 1987:12. Egyptian *iḥ* ‘bull’, (f.) *iḥt* ‘cow’; Coptic *ehe* [ⲉⲒⲉ] ‘ox, cow’. Hannig 1995:96; Erman—Grapow 1921:17 and 1926—1963.1:119—120; Faulkner 1962:28; Gardiner 1957:554; Černý 1976:41; Vycichl 1983:50. M. Cohen 1947:78, no. 11.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ā*, *ān* ‘female of ox, sambur, and buffalo’, *āyan* ‘herdsman’, (f.) *āytti*, *āyam* ‘a herd of cows’, *ā-ppi* ‘cow dung’; Malayalam *ā*, *ān* ‘cow’, *āyan* ‘cowherd’; Kota *a-v* ‘cow’; Kannaḍa *ā*, *āvu* ‘cow’; Koḍagu (pl.) *atta* ‘cattle’; Telugu *āvu* ‘cow’; Kuṛux *ōy* ‘cow’; Malto *ōyu* ‘cow, ox’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:31—32, no. 334; Krishnamurti 2003:12, 92, and 278 **ā(m/n)-* ‘cow’.

Buck 1949:3.20 cattle; 3.21 bull; 3.22 ox; 3.23 cow. Bomhard 1996a:222, no. 632.

633. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔax-* (~ **ʔəx-*):

(vb.) **ʔax-* ‘to be young, youthful, tender, fresh’;

(n.) **ʔax-a* ‘a youth, young man, younger brother’; (adj.) ‘young, tender’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔax-* ‘(adj.) young, tender; (n.) youth, young man, younger brother’: Proto-Semitic **ʔax-* ‘brother, companion, friend’ > Ugaritic *āḥ* ‘brother’; Eblaite *a-ḥu-um* ‘brother’; Akkadian *aḥu* ‘brother, colleague, associate’; Phoenician *ʔḥ* ‘brother’; Hebrew *ʔāḥ* [אָח] ‘brother, kinsman’; Syriac *ʔaḥā* ‘brother, friend, companion, associate’; Arabic *ʔaḥ*, *ʔaḥū* ‘brother, companion, friend’; Sabaeen *ʔḥ*, *ʔḥw* ‘brother’; Mehri *ḡā* ‘brother’; Soqotri *ʔāḥi* ‘brother’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʔaḡá* ‘brother’; Ḥarsūsi *ḡā(h)* ‘brother’; Ethiopic / Geez *ʔəḥəw* [አካው], *ʔəḥ^w* [አካ], *ʔəḥ* [አካ] ‘brother, blood relation, kinsman’; Tigre *ḥu* ‘brother’; Tigrinya *ḥaw* ‘brother’; Argobba *āḥ* ‘brother’; Harari *əḥ* ‘younger brother’. D. Cohen 1970— :15; Klein 1987:16; Murtonen 1989:86—87; Zammit 2002:70. West Chadic **ʔah(ya)-* ‘uncle, brother’ > Kulere *aḥy-* ‘uncle’; Warji *yahə-* ‘brother’ (according to Orël—Stolbova [1995:7], Warji initial *ya-* is due to the influence of the second syllable); Hausa *wáà/yàà/yáá* ‘elder brother’. Central Chadic **ʔaγ-* ‘son’ > Musgu *aḥī* ‘son’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:7, no. 23, **ʔaḥ-* ‘brother’.

- B. Kartvelian: Georgian *ax-al-i* ‘young, new, fresh’; Svan *m-ax-e* ‘new’, *m-ax-änd* ‘anew, again’, *m-ax-eywäz* ‘a brave man, a youth’. Palmaitis—Gudjedjiani 1985:215; Schmidt 1962:94. Not related to Proto-Kartvelian **xal-/xl-* ‘to be near’ as hesitatingly suggested by Schmidt (1962:94), Klimov (1964:260 and 1998:328), Fähnrich—Sardshweladse (1995:544—545), and Fähnrich (2007:676—677).

Buck 1949:2.44 brother; 14.13 new; 14.14 young. Bomhard 1996a:223—224, no. 634.

634. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔak^h-* (~ **ʔəkh-*):

(vb.) **ʔak^h-* ‘to eat’;

(n.) **ʔak^h-a* ‘food, meal; fodder, feed, morsel’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔak-* ‘to eat’: Proto-Semitic **ʔak-al-* ‘to eat’ > Akkadian *akālu* ‘to eat’; Hebrew *ʔāḫal* [אָחַל] ‘to eat’; Aramaic *ʔāḫal* ‘to eat’; Arabic *ʔakala* ‘to eat, to consume’, *ʔakl* ‘food; meal, repast; fodder, feed’; Eblaite *a-kà-lum* ‘(vb.) to eat; (n.) food’; Ugaritic *ʔkl* ‘to eat, to consume’; Sabaeen *ʔkl* ‘meal or grain, cereal crops’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔakl* [አክል] ‘food, bread, corn, grain, fodder, bait, produce of the field’; Tigre *ʔəkəl* ‘corn’; Tigrinya *ʔekli* ‘cereals’; Amharic *əhəl* ‘grain, cereal, crops, food’; Argobba *əhəl* ‘grain, cereal, crops, food’; Harari *əxi* ‘cereal, sorghum’; Gurage (Soddo) *əkəl* ‘cereal, barley’. D. Cohen 1970— :18; Murtonen 1989:90; Klein 1971:27; Leslau 1963:23, 1979:33, and 1987:15; Militarëv 2010:23 Proto-Semitic **ʔkl*; Zammit 2002:75—76. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:37, no. 148, **ʔVkul-* ‘to eat’.]
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔak^h-* ‘to eat’: Sanskrit *asnāti* ‘to eat’, *asúṣa-ḥ*, *ásna-ḥ* ‘voracious’; Old Icelandic *agn* ‘bait’, *æja* ‘to rest and bait’; (?) Greek ἄκολος ‘a bit, morsel’ (this may be a Phrygian term — cf. βεκος ακκαλος τι in a Phrygian inscription). Pokorny 1959:18 **ak-* ‘to eat’; Walde 1927—1932.I:112—113 **ak-*; Mann 1984—1987:236 **ekno-*, **ekən-* ‘to eat, to swallow, to drink’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:60 Proto-Indo-European **ek(u- ?)* or **ak-* if Sanskrit *asnāti* is related to Greek ἄκολος; Boisacq 1950:36; Frisk 1970—1973.I:55; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:48; Hofmann 1966:10; Beekes 2010.I:53; De Vries 1977:3 **ek-* ‘to eat’ and 681; Orël 2003:4 Proto-Germanic **agnan*, 5 **axjanan*; Kroonen 2013:3 Proto-Germanic **agana-* ‘bait’.

Buck 1949:5.11 eat. Brunner 1969:36, no. 139; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:559, no. 420.

635. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔak^h-* (~ **ʔəkh-*):

(vb.) **ʔak^h-* ‘to be evil, wicked, bad; to hurt, to harm’;

(n.) **ʔak^h-a* ‘evil, wickedness, harm’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʔak-ay-* ‘(vb.) to be evil, wicked, bad; to hurt, to harm; (n.) evil, wickedness, harm’ > Geez / Ethiopic *ʔakaya* [አክዮ], *ʔakya* [አክዮ] ‘to be bad, evil, wicked’, *ʔaʔakaya* [አአክዮ] ‘to make bad, to make evil, to do harm, to treat badly, to afflict, to deprave, to pervert, to corrupt’, *taʔakaya* [ተአክዮ] ‘to be bad, to be hurtful’, *ʔakkuy* [አክ-ይ] (f. *ʔakkīt* [አክ.ት]) ‘bad, wicked, villainous, evil, noxious, vile’; Tigre *ʔaka* ‘to be bad, evil; to deteriorate’; Tigrinya *ʔakäyä* ‘to be bad, evil’. Semitic loans in: Bilin *ʔekáy* ‘evil’; Beja / Beḍawye *ʔaka* ‘harm, mischief’. Reinisch 1895:12. D. Cohen 1970— :18; Leslau 1987:17.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *akaṭu* ‘wickedness’; Kannaḍa *agaḍu* ‘viciousness, savageness, meanness’; Telugu *agaḍu* ‘blame, exposure, fault’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:3, no. 4.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔak^h-* ‘evil, pain, trouble, misfortune’: Sanskrit *ākam* ‘unhappiness, pain, trouble’; Avestan *akō* ‘bad’; Farsi *āk-* ‘insult, misfortune’. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:14. Pokorny (1959:23) reconstructs Proto-Indo-European **ak^u-* ‘to harm, to hurt, to injure, to damage, to wrong’ (?) on the basis of a comparison of the Indo-Iranian forms cited above plus several alleged Greek cognates (such as, for example, ἀπάτη ‘trick, fraud, deceit’). However, according to Frisk (1970—1973.I:118) and Chantraine (1968—1980.I:95), the Greek forms cited by Pokorny have no known cognates in other Indo-European daughter languages and should, therefore, be removed from the comparison.
- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **aki-* ‘bad’: Amur *aki-dʷ* ‘bad’; North Sakhalin *aki-s* ‘bad’; East Sakhalin *aki-d* ‘bad’; South Sakhalin *aki-nd* ‘bad’. Fortescue 2016:166.

Buck 1949:11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.); 16.31 pain, suffering; 16.72 bad.
Bomhard—Kerns 1994:578—579, no. 447.

636. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔak^h-* (~ **ʔak^h-*):
(vb.) **ʔak^h-* ‘to dig’;
(n.) **ʔak^h-a* ‘that which is dug: digging, ditch, trench, hole; that which is used to dig: carving tool, chisel, cutter, gouge’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔak-* ‘to dig’ (> ‘to plow, to till’): Proto-Semitic **ʔak-ar-* ‘to till’, **ʔikkar-* ‘farmer’ > Arabic *ʔakara* ‘to plow, to till, to cultivate the land’, *ʔakkār* ‘plowman’; Akkadian *ikkaru* ‘plowman, farm worker, farmer’; Hebrew *ʔikkār* [קָרַר] ‘plowman, farm worker’; Aramaic *ʔikkārā* ‘plowman, farm worker’; Mandaic *ʔkr* ‘to plow, to till, to cultivate’. D. Cohen 1970— :19; Klein 1987:27 (Klein considers Hebrew *ʔikkār* [קָרַר] to be a loan from Akkadian). Egyptian *ʔkr* name of the earth-god. Hannig 1995:16; Faulkner 1962:6; Erman—Grapow 1921:4 and 1926—1963.1:22; Gardiner 1957:550. Orël—Stolbova 1995:8, no. 26, **ʔakür-* ‘to till’ and 20, no. 70, **ʔekar-* ‘farmer’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *akar* ‘(vb.) to excavate, to dig out, to pluck out (as eye), to uproot; (n.) moat, tank, reservoir’, *akari* ‘moat’; Malayalam *akaruka*, *akiruka* ‘to dig out, to excavate’, *akir*, *akari* ‘moat, ditch, trench’, *akil*, *akil* ‘moat, earth wall’; Kannada *agar* (*agard-*), *agur* (*agurd-*) ‘to dig’, *agar* ‘what has been dug’, *agarte* ‘digging, pit, ditch’, *agarata*, *agarate* ‘digging, ditch, moat’, *agalte* ‘ditch, moat’, *agi*, *age* ‘to dig, to burrow, to make a hole in the ground’; Tuḷu *agary*, *agalū* ‘ditch, trench, moat’, *agate* ‘overturning the soil by spade’; Telugu *agaḍḍa* ‘ditch, moat, trench’; Kolami *agul-* (*agult-*) ‘to dig’; Naiki (of Chanda) *agul-/agl-* ‘to dig’, *agulmur* ‘digging’; Gadba *adg-*, *arg-* ‘to dig’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 11.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *ʔokʰ- ‘(vb.) to dig; (n.) furrow’: Hittite (acc. sg.) *ak-ka-a-la-an*, *ag-ga-la-an* ‘furrow’. Perhaps also Greek ὄγμος ‘furrow’, if from *ōk-μo-ç. Benveniste 1962:107—108; Puhvel 1984—.1/2:23; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:773; Frisk 1970—1973.II:347—348; Mallory—Adams 1997:434—435 **h_{1/4}okéteh_a* ‘rake, harrow’, **h_{1/4}ek-* ‘to rake, to harrow’. Older etymologies in Boisacq 1950:684, Hofmann 1966:224, and Beekes 2010.II:1045.
- D. Proto-Altaiic *ʔakʰu- ‘to dig, to delve’: Proto-Tungus **aχiri-* ‘to sweep, to rake up snow’ > Ulch *aχiri-* ‘to sweep, to rake up snow’; Oroch *aχiri-* ‘to sweep, to rake up snow’; Nanay / Gold *aχiri-* ‘to sweep, to rake up snow’. Proto-Mongolian **uku-* ‘(vb.) to dig, to delve; (n.) adze, notch (on animal’s ear), axe’ > Mongolian *uqu-* ‘to dig, to excavate’, *uqumi* ‘carving tool, chisel, cutter, gouge’, *uqumal* ‘dug out, excavated, hollowed out, scooped out’, *uqudasu(n)* ‘an excavated hole’, *uqumida-* ‘to cut with a chisel’; Khalkha *uxu-* ‘to dig, to delve’, *uxmi* ‘adze, notch (on animal’s ear)’; Buriat *uxami* ‘adze’; Kalmyk *uxə-* ‘to dig, to delve’; Ordos *uxa-* ‘to dig, to delve’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:282—283 *ʔakʰu ‘to dig, to delve’.

Buck 1949:8.15 cultivate, till; 8.21 plow (vb.; sb.); 8.22 dig.

637. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔakʰkʰa ‘older female relative’ (nursery word):

Note also:

(n.) *ʔakʰkʰa ‘older male relative’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔakk- ‘grandmother’: Proto-East Cushitic *ʔaakk- ‘mother’s mother, grandmother’ > Galla / Oromo *akk-oo* ‘grandmother’; Hadiyya *aakk-o* ‘mother’s mother’; Burji *aakk-óo* ‘grandmother’; Bayso *akk-o* ‘grandmother’; Konso *aakk-a* ‘grandmother’. Sasse 1982:21. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **akako* ‘grandfather, grandmother’ > Gedeo / Darasa *akkaʔo* ‘grandfather, grandmother’; Sidamo *ahaaha* ‘grandmother’, *ahaaho* ‘grandfather’. Hudson 1989:72.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *akkā*, *akkai*, *akkan*, *akkātai*, *akkacci*, *akkaicci*, *akkāl* ‘elder sister’; Malayalam *akka* ‘elder sister, wife of an elder brother, elderly maternal or paternal cousin’; Kota *akn* ‘elder sister or female

parallel cousin'; Kannada *akka* 'elder sister'; Koḍagu *akkē* 'elder sister or female parallel cousin'; Tuḷu *akka*, *akkè* 'elder sister'; Telugu *akka* 'elder sister'; Kolami *akkābāi* 'elder sister'; Gondi *akkā*, *akkal(i)* 'elder sister'. Krishnamurti 2003:10 **akka-* 'elder sister'; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 23.

- C. Proto-Indo-European (f.) (**ǵakʰkʰeA* [**ǵakʰkʰaA*] >) **ǵakʰkʰā* 'female relative, mother': Sanskrit *akkā* 'a mother (used contemptuously)'; Prakrit *akkā* 'sister, baud'; Marathi *akā* 'respectful term for elder sister or any elderly woman'; Greek Ἄκκω 'the (wet-)nurse of Demeter (*mater Cereris*)'; Latin *Acca* in *Acca Lārentia* 'the wife of the shepherd Faustulus, who nursed and brought up the twins Romulus and Remus; mother of the twelve *Arvales Fratres*'. Pokorny 1959:23 **akkā* 'mother'; Walde 1927—1932.I:34 **akkā*; Mallory—Adams 1997:386 **h_aekkeh_{a-}* 'mother'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:15; Turner 1966—1969.I:1; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:48; Frisk 1970—1973.I:53; Hofmann 1966:10; Boisacq 1950:35—36; Beekes 2010.I:52 (nursery word); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:5; Ernout—Meillet 1979:4. Note: The Indo-Aryan terms cited above are sometimes taken to be loans from Dravidian.
- D. Uralic: Finnish *akka* 'old woman'; Lapp / Saami *akku* 'grandmother'; Cheremis / Mari *aka* 'older sister'.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **ǵkʰa* (~ -o) (with **ǵ-* for expected **ǵ-*) 'elder sister': Proto-Tungus **eKe*, **keKe* 'woman, wife; elder sister' > Evenki *ekīn* 'woman, wife'; Lamut / Even *ekən* 'elder sister'; Negidal *eχe* 'woman, wife', *eχīn* 'elder sister'; Manchu *χeχe* 'woman, female'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *χeχə* 'woman, female'; Jurchen *χeχe-e* 'woman, wife'; Ulch *ēqte* 'woman, wife'; Orok *ekte* 'woman, wife'; Nanay / Gold *ekte* 'woman, wife'; Oroch *eki* 'elder sister'; Udihe *eχi(n)* 'woman, wife; elder sister'; Solon *χeχe* 'woman, wife'. Proto-Mongolian **eke* 'mother', **egeče* 'elder sister' > Written Mongolian *eke* 'mother', *egeče* 'elder sister'; Khalkha *eχ* 'mother', *egč* 'elder sister'; Buriat *eχe* 'mother', *egeše* 'elder sister'; Kalmyk *ekə* 'mother', *egəčə*, *ekčə* 'elder sister'; Ordos *eke* 'mother', *egeči* 'elder sister'; Dagur *eg* 'mother', *egči*, *ekē* 'elder sister'; Dongxiang *egečə* 'elder sister'; Shira-Yughur *he* 'mother', *əyeči* 'elder sister'; Monguor *kaži*, *āži* 'elder sister'. Poppe 1955:146. Proto-Turkic **eke* 'elder sister' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *eke* 'elder sister'; Karakhanide Turkic *eke* 'elder sister', *ege-t* 'female servant of bride'; Turkmenian *ekeži* 'elder sister'; Chuvash *akka* 'elder sister'. Poppe 1960:55, 103, and 128; Street 1974:12 **eke* 'some older female relative'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:499—500 **ǵkʰa* (~ -o) 'elder sister'. As noted by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:500), some of these forms may be borrowings.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **a(a)kar* 'older female relative' (expressive gemination of initial vowel): Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aakaaq* 'older sister'; Central Alaskan Yupik *aakaaq* 'mother'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *aakaaq* 'older sister'; Central Siberian Yupik *aakaaq* 'older sister or female'; Sirenik *aakaX* 'older sister'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aaka* 'mother'; North Alaskan

Inuit *aaka* ‘mother’, *aaxxaa* ‘eldest sister’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *aakaq*, *aakaaraaluk* ‘older sister’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:10.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.24 female; 2.31ff. words for family relationship; 2.36 mother. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:557—558, no. 417; Hakola 2000:18, no. 19; Caldwell 1913:567 and 611—612.

638. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔak^hka ‘older male relative’ (nursery word):

Note also:

(n.) *ʔak^hka ‘older female relative’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔak- ‘older male relative’: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **akako* ‘grandfather, grandmother’ > Gedeo / Darasa *akkaʔo* ‘grandfather, grandmother’; Sidamo *ahahe* ‘grandmother’, *ahaaho* ‘grandfather’. Hudson 1989:72. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *ʔako ‘old man’ > Iraqw *ako* ‘old man’; Asa *ʔagok* ‘mother’s brother’. Ehret 1980:377. Omotic: Bench / Gimira *akas* ‘grandfather’. Takács 2011a:146.
- B. Dravidian: Parji *akka* ‘mother’s father’; Gondi *akkō* ‘mother’s father (said by granddaughter)’, *akko* ‘great grandfather’, *akko* ‘daughter’s son or daughter, grandson’s wife’, *ukko* (that is, *akko*) ‘maternal grandfather’; Pengo *ako* ‘maternal grandfather’; Kui *ake* ‘grandfather, ancestor’, *akenja* ‘grandfather’; Kuwi *akku* ‘grandfather’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 24.
- C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *akaa* ‘elder brother’, *akaadie* ‘the eldest among brothers’. Nikolaeva 2006:99.
- D. Proto-Altaiic *āk^ha ‘older male relative’: Proto-Tungus **akā*, **kakā* ‘man; elder brother’ > Evenki *akā* ‘akin; elder brother’; Lamut / Even *aqqa*, *aqʷn* ‘elder brother’; Negidal *aga*, *aʒa* ‘elder brother’; Manchu *ʒaʒa* ‘male, man’, *aʒun* ‘elder brother’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *hahə* ‘man’; Ulch *aga* ‘elder brother’; Jurchen *ʒaʒa-ay* ‘man’, *aʒun* (*aʒun-un*) ‘elder brother’; Orok *aga*, *aqqa* ‘elder brother’; Nanay / Gold *ā* ‘elder brother’; Oroch *aka*, *akin* ‘elder brother’; Udihe *aga* ‘elder brother’; Solon *aʒā*, *aʒin* ‘elder brother’. Proto-Mongolian **aka* ‘elder brother’ > Written Mongolian *aqqa* ‘elder brother; senior, older, elder’; Khalkha *aʒ*, *aʒay* term of respectful address: ‘aunt’; Buriat *aʒa* ‘elder brother’; Kalmyk *aʒə* ‘elder brother’; Ordos *aʒa* ‘elder brother’; Dagur *akā*, *aga* ‘elder brother’; Dongxiang *aʒa* ‘elder brother’; Shira-Yughur *ava* (or *aga*) ‘elder brother’; Monguor *aga* ‘elder brother’. Poppe 1955:88. Proto-Turkic *(i)āk^ha ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *aqqa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’; Turkish *ağa* term of respectful address: ‘lord, master, gentleman’; Azerbaijani *aʒa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’, also used as a term of respectful address; Turkmenian *agā* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’; Uzbek *ʔaʒa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather’; Uighur *aʒa* ‘elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father;

grandfather'; Karaim *aqā* term of respectful address, *āya* 'elder', also used as a term of respectful address; Tatar *āya* 'elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather', also used as a term of respectful address; Bashkir *āyay* 'elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather', also used as a term of respectful address; Kirghiz *āya* 'elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather'; Kazakh *āya* 'elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather; elder'; Noghay *āya* 'elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather', also used as a term of respectful address; Sary-Uighur *aqā* 'elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather', also used as a term of respectful address; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *aqā* 'elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather', also used as a term of respectful address; Tuva *aqī* 'elder male relative: elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather'; Yakut *āya* 'father'; Dolgan *āga* 'father'. Poppe 1960:55, 94, 124, and 146; Street 1974:7 **aka* 'some older male relative'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:281—282 **āk'a* 'elder brother'.

- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **akan* or **aki* 'older brother': Amur *əkən* / *əkədʷ* 'older brother'; East Sakhalin *aki* / *aka(n)d* 'older brother'; North Sakhalin *əkəkən* / *əkʰən* 'older brother'; South Sakhalin *akan* 'older brother'. Fortescue 2016:10 — Fortescue notes: "any older male or female blood relative acc[ording to] Sht[ernberg], who indicates Tungusic equivalents."

Buck 1949:2.35 father; 2.46 grandfather; 2.51 uncle. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 21, **ʔaKa* 'elder relative, grandfather'; Fortescue 1998:152.

639. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔak^{wh}-* (~ **ʔək^{wh}-*):

- (vb.) **ʔak^{wh}-* 'to be hot, to burn; to warm oneself';
 (n.) **ʔak^{wh}-a* 'heat, fire'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔak^w-* '(vb.) to be hot, to burn; (n.) fire': Semitic: Arabic *ʔakka* 'to be very hot; to push back; to press; to be oppressed, contracted with anxiety', *ʔakka-t* 'suffocating heat; plight; tumult; hatred, envy; death'; Syriac *ʔakkəθā* 'wrath, anger'. D. Cohen 1970— :18. East Cushitic: Arbore *ʔoog-* 'to burn'. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔak^w-* or **ʔaak^w-* 'to be bright, to be brightly colored' > K'wadza *kamisayo* 'chameleon'; Ma'a *ʔá-* 'to be white', *ʔáku* 'white', *ʔakúye* 'clean'. Ehret 1980:287, no. 43. West Chadic: Tsagu *áàkwé* 'fire'; Kariya *àkú* 'fire'; Miya *ákú* 'fire'; Jimbin *akwá* 'fire'; Diri *áukòwà*, *akúwá* 'fire'; Ngizim *áká* 'fire'; Bade *ákà* 'fire'. East Chadic: Sokoro *óko*, *òkó* 'fire'; Dangla *ako* 'fire'; Migama *ókkò* 'fire'; Jegu *ʔóók* 'fire'; Birgit *ʔàkù* 'fire'. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:138—139; Newman 1977:26, no. 48, **akul*/**ak^wa* 'fire'. Ehret 1995:361, no. 717, **ʔaak^w-* '(vb.) to burn (of fire); (n.) fire' and 520, no. 717.

- B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *axrnā* ‘to warm oneself (by the fire, in the sun)’; Malto *awge* ‘to expose to the heat of the sun or fire’, *awgre* ‘to bask in the sun, to warm oneself at a fire’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 18.
- C. Proto-Eskimo **əkə-* ‘to burn’: Central Alaskan Yupik *əkə-* ‘to burn’, *əka* ‘fire, conflagration’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *iyi-* ‘to burn’; North Alaskan Inuit *iki* ‘to burn’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *iki-* ‘to be burnt’; Greenlandic *iki-* ‘to be lit, to smoke (lamp)’. Aleut *hiy-* ‘to burn’ (with secondary *h-*), *ikla-X* ‘firewood’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Inuit **əkət-* ‘to ignite’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *iyit-* ‘to ignite’; North Alaskan Inuit *ikit-* ‘to ignite, to be ignited’; Western Canadian Inuit *ikit-* ‘to ignite’; Greenlandic *ikit-* ‘to ignite’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Eskimo **əknəbəγ-* ‘to catch or strike fire’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kənəḡə-* ‘to build a fire’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kənḡə-* ‘to start to burn’; Western Canadian Inuit *ijnak-* ‘to catch fire’, *ijnait* ‘flintstones’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *inna(k)-* ‘to strike fire’, *innaq* ‘flintstone’; Greenlandic *innay-* ‘to strike fire, to catch fire’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Eskimo **ək(ə)nəṛ* ‘fire’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kənəq* ‘fire’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kənəq** ‘fire’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *əkḡəq* ‘fire, star’; Central Siberian Yupik *kənəq** ‘fire’; Sirenik *əkḡəX* ‘fire’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *ikniq* ‘fire’; North Alaskan Inuit *iyniq** ‘fire’; Western Canadian Inuit *iyniq* ‘fire’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *inniq* ‘fire struck with stone, spark from lighter’; Greenlandic *inniq** ‘fire’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Inuit **əkuala-* ‘to burn brightly’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *iyuaṭak-* ‘to burst into flames’; North Alaskan Inuit *ikuala-* ‘to blaze, to burn brightly’, *ikuallak-* ‘to burst into flames’; Western Canadian Inuit *ikuallak-* ‘to burst into flames’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *ikuala-* ‘to be smoking (lamp that has burnt too much)’; Greenlandic *ikuala-* ‘to burn’, *ikuatṭay-* ‘to flare up’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Eskimo **əkuma-* ‘to be burning’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kumaq* ‘light (for example, lamp)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kuma-* ‘to be lit’, *kumaXtə-* ‘to ignite’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *əkuma-* ‘to burn’, *əkumaXtə-* ‘to ignite’; Central Siberian Yupik *kumar-* ‘to burn, to ignite’, (Chaplinski) *kumaq* ‘fire, conflagration’; Sirenik *kuməḡə-* ‘to burn’, *kuməṛ-* ‘to blaze up’, *kuməX-* ‘flame, glow’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *iyuma-* ‘to be burning’; North Alaskan Inuit *ikuma-* ‘to be burning’; Western Canadian Inuit *ikuma-* ‘to be burning’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *ikuma-* ‘to be burning’; Greenlandic *ikuma-* ‘to be burning’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101. Proto-Yupik **kənir-* ‘to cook’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kənir-* ‘to cook’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kənir-* ‘to cook’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:101.
- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) **əkəka* ‘hot’: Alyutor *n-əkəka-qin* ‘hot’, *əkəka-sʔən* ‘hottest’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *xka-laX* ‘hot’, *xkakkəm* ‘heat (in summer)’, *akika* ‘(it is) hot!’, (Eastern) *kekalu* ‘hot’, *kekak* ‘heat’, (Southern) *kika* ‘not’. Fortescue 2005:339.

Buck 1949:1.81 fire; 1.85 burn (vb.); 15.85 hot, warm.

640. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔal- (~ *ʔəl-):

(vb.) *ʔal- ‘to purify, to cleanse’ (> ‘to sift, to clean grain’ in the daughter languages);

(n.) *ʔal-a ‘the act of washing, cleaning; that which is washed, cleaned’

Semantics as in Sanskrit *punāti* ‘to make clean, clear, pure, or bright; to cleanse, to purify, to purge, to clarify; (with *sáktum*) to cleanse from chaff, to winnow; to sift, to discriminate, to discern’, (passive) *pūyáte* ‘to be cleaned, washed, or purified’; related to Old High German *fowen* ‘to sift, to clean grain’ and Latin *pūrus* ‘clean, pure’ (cf. Pokorny 1959:827; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:237—238; Ernout—Meillet 1979:546—547).

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔaal- ‘to purify, to cleanse; to sift, to clean grain’: Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *aa’l-* ‘to wash oneself’. Hudson 1989:306. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʔaal- ‘to sift (grain from chaff), to clean; (figuratively) to separate out useless from useful’, *ʔaala ‘clean, pure’ > Alagwa *ila* ‘grain of corn’; Iraqw *al-* ‘to reject’, *ilmo* ‘individual grain (of maize)’; K’wadza *ana* (< *alVmV) ‘maize’, *ela* ‘good’; Asa *ʔila* ‘good, ripe’, *ʔelala* ‘suitable’; Dahalo *ʔeel-* ‘to sift (grain from chaff)’, *ʔeelaawuð-* ‘to rinse’. Ehret 1980:284—285.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *alampu* (*alampi-*) ‘to wash, to rinse’, *alacu* (*alaci-*) ‘to rinse’, *alaicu* (*alaici-*) ‘to wash, to rinse’, *alaittal* ‘to wash clothes by moving them about in water’; Malayalam *alakkuka* ‘to wash clothes by beating’, *alakku* ‘washing’, *alampuka* ‘to shake clothes in water’; Toda *asp-* (*aspy-*) ‘to clean’; Kannada *alambu*, *alumbu*, *alabu*, *alubu* ‘to rinse, to wash’, *ale* ‘to wash’, *alasu* ‘to shake or agitate water (as a cloth, vegetables, etc., for cleansing)’; Telugu *alamu* ‘to wash’; Tuḷu *alambuni* ‘to wash’, *alumbuni*, *lumbuni* ‘to plunge, to wash, to rinse’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:24, no. 246.
- C. Proto-Altaiic *āłgi ‘net, sieve’: Proto-Tungus *alga ‘net’ > Evenki *alga* ‘net’; Manchu *algan* ‘a net for catching quail’; Ulch *arga* ‘net’; Nanay / Gold *alga* ‘net’; Oroch *agga* ‘net’; Solon *alga* ‘net’. Proto-Turkic *ēłge- ‘(vb.) to sift; (n.) sieve’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *elge-* ‘to sift’; Karakhanide Turkic *elge-* ‘to sift’, *ele-* ‘to sift’, *elek* ‘sieve’; Turkish *ele-* ‘to sift’, *elek* ‘sieve’, *elme* ‘sifted’; Gagauz *iele-* ‘to sift’, *ielek* ‘sieve’; Azerbaijani *älä-* ‘to sift’, *äläk* ‘sieve’; Turkmenian *ele-* ‘to sift’, *elek* ‘sieve’; Uzbek *ela-* ‘to sift’, *elak* ‘sieve’; Uighur *ägli-* ‘to sift’, *älgäk* ‘sieve’; Karaim *ele-*, *öle-* ‘to sift’, *elek*, *ölek* ‘sieve’; Tatar *ile-* ‘to sift’, *ilek* ‘sieve’; Bashkir *ile-* ‘to sift’, *ilek* ‘sieve’; Kirghiz *ele-*, *elge-* ‘to sift’, *elek*, *elgek* ‘sieve’; Noghay *ele-* ‘to sift’, *elek* ‘sieve’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *elge-* ‘to sift’, *elgek* ‘sieve’; Tuva *egle-/elge-* ‘to sift’; Chuvash *alla-* ‘to sift’, *alla* ‘sieve’. Turkic loans in Mongolian *elkeg* ‘sieve, sifter, strainer,

bolter’, *elkegde-* ‘to sift, to bolt, etc.’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 287—288 **əlgi* ‘net, sieve’.

Buck 1949:9.36 wash; 15.87 clean. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:583—584, no. 453.

641. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔal-* (~ **ʔəl-*) (perhaps also **ʔel-*, **ʔul-*):
 (vb.) **ʔal-* ‘to be not so-and-so or such-and-such’;
 (n.) **ʔal-a* ‘nothing’

Originally a negative verb stem meaning ‘to be not so-and-so or such-and-such’ — later used in some branches as a negative particle.

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʔal-/ʔul-* (< **ʔəl-*) element of negation > Akkadian *ūl* ‘not’; Ugaritic *āl* ‘not’; Hebrew *ʔal* [ʔʕ] (negative particle) ‘certainly not’, (as prefix) ‘not, non-, un-’, (n.) ‘nothing’ (Job 24:25); Phoenician *ʔl* element of negation; Arabic *lā* (negative particle) ‘not’, (with apoc. expressing negative impv.) ‘no!’; Sabaeen *ʔl* (negative particle) ‘not, no one’; Ḥarsūsi *ʔel* ‘not’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ʔəl* ‘not’; Mehri *ʔəl* ‘not’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔal-* [ḫʌ-] element of negation in *ʔalbə-* [ḫʌ-ḫ-], *ʔalbo* [ḫʌḫ]; Tigre *ʔalä-* in *ʔalä-bu* ‘there is not’; Amharic *al-* used to express a negative verb in the perfect. D. Cohen 1970— :19, no. 3, prohibitive particle; Klein 1987:28; Leslau 1987:17 and 18; Zammit 2002:363. Berber: Kabyle *ala* ‘no’. Central Cushitic: negative element *-lā* in: Bilin *ʔillā* ‘no’; Awngi / Awiya *əlla* ‘no’. Appleyard 2006:105; Reinisch 1887:26, 32, and 250. Militarëv 2012:80 Proto-Afrasian **ʔa/ul-*.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **al-* ‘to be not so-and-so’: Tamil *al-* ‘to be not so-and-so’; Malayalam *alla* ‘is not that, is not thus’; Kolami *ala-* ‘to be not so-and-so’; Kannaḍa *alla* ‘to be not so-and-so, to be not fit or proper’; Koḍagu *alla* ‘to be not so-and-so’; Malto *-l-* negative morpheme; Brahui *all-* base of past negative tenses of *anning* ‘to be’, *ala*, *alavā* ‘certainly not, not a bit of it’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:22, no. 234; Krishnamurti 2003:354—356 Proto-South Dravidian **al-* ‘to be not’.
- C. Indo-European: Hittite *li-e* element used with the present indicative to express a negative command. The Hittite form is isolated within Indo-European. Many scholars take it to be from Proto-Indo-European **ne* (cf. Puhvel 1984— :5:74—77), but see Kloekhorst 2008b:523.
- D. Proto-Uralic **elä* imperative of the negative auxiliary verb (cf. Collinder 1977:26). Marcantonio (2002:239) describes the patterning in Finnish as follows: “A negative verbal form is used in Finnish also in the Imperative, as shown by the pair *lue* ‘read’ vs *älä lue* ‘do=not read’ (2nd Person Singular). The negative form *älä* is often compared with the equivalentl Yukaghir *el* ~ *ele*. Equivalentl negative verbs and related isomorphic constructions are found in the majority of the Tungusic languages (*e-* ~ *ä-*), in Mongolian (*e-se*) (UEW 68; SSA 100) and in Dravidian.” Rédei (1986—1988:68—70) treats the negative verb **e-* and the imperative **elä*

together, as do many others, including Collinder and Tailleur. As noted by Greenberg (2000:214), these two forms are so closely intertwined, often through suppletion, that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other. In the closely-related Yukaghir, all verbs except *le-* ‘to be; to live, to become’ form the negative by means of a prefix *el-* (cf. Greenberg 2000:214—215). Clearly, we are dealing with two separate forms here. The first is the Proto-Nostratic negative particle **ʔe* ‘no, not’, and the second is the negative verb *ʔal-* (~ **ʔəl-*) ‘to be not so-and-so’. The latter is to be distinguished from the Uralic verb **elä-* ‘to live, to be’ (cf. Rédei 1986—1988:73; Collinder 1955:10 and 1977:31). Greenberg’s (2000:215) analysis of the situation is as follows: “As we have just seen, the Yukaghir verb ‘to be’ is *l’e*, a form that has cognates in other Eurasiatic languages. The theory tentatively suggested to account for this and other intricate facts is that there was a Eurasiatic negative verb **e(i)* that, when combined with the positive verb ‘to be’ *le*, formed a negative existential verb **e-le* that in some instances lost either its initial or final vowel.” Contrary to Greenberg, the Proto-Nostratic verb under discussion here must be reconstructed as **ʔil-* (~ **ʔel-*) ‘to live, to be alive; to be, to exist’ (cf. Illič-Svityč 1965:341 *жить*¹ ‘to live’: **elʌ*), not **le*. To complicate matters further, there may have also been a separate Proto-Nostratic negative particle **li* (~ **le*) ‘no, not’ as well as a separate verb stem **liʔ-* (~ **leʔ-*) ‘to become’. The relationship among these forms is extremely complex and not yet fully understood.

- E. Proto-Altaiic **ule* (~ *-i*) negative particle: Proto-Mongolian **ülü-* negative element preceding verbs > Written Mongolian *ülü*; Khalkha *ül*; Buriat *üle*; Kalmyk *üle*; Ordos *üle*, *ülü*; Moghol *la*, *lü*, *le*; Dagur *ul*, *ule*; Dongxiang *ulie*; Shira-Yughur *lə*; Monguor *li*, *lǐ*. Poppe 1955:287, 288, 289, 290, and 291; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1493 **ule* (~ *-i*) negative particle.
- F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: According to Greenberg (2000:216): “In the Koryak group reflexes of **ele* form sentence negations or are equivalent to English ‘no!’, a natural use for a negative existential. Examples are Palana Koryak *elle* and Kerek *ala* ‘not.’ Kerek has lost its vowel harmony system through merger so that *a* is the expected reflex of **e*. Aliutor has gone through similar phonetic changes and has *al*, *alla* ‘no, not’. In addition, for prohibitives, Kerek uses the imperative of a negative auxiliary verb *illa*, which follows the negative infinitive...” Fortescue (2005:31) reconstructs Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **æl(læ)* ‘not’: Chukchi *etlə* ‘not’; Kerek *ala* ‘not’; Koryak [*elvelkin* ‘not’]; Alyutor *alla* ‘not’ (Palana *el(le)* ‘not’); Kamchadal / Itelmen *il-* in: *il-puvakax* ‘don’t threaten!’, *il-masys* ‘don’t hinder!’.
- G. Gilyak / Nivkh: Greenberg (2000:215) compares the Gilyak / Nivkh verb stem *ali-* ‘to be unable’, “which may be considered to represent the full form of the negative existential **ele*.” Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **ali-* ‘to not manage’: Amur *jali-dʷ* ‘to not manage to complete’; East Sakhalin *jali-d* ‘to not manage, to miss (goal)’; South Sakhalin *jari-nd* ‘unable’. Fortescue 2016:11.

Sumerian: *li* negative particle: ‘not, un-’.

Caldwell 1913:607 and 614; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:263—264, no. 128, *ʔäla particle of categorical negation; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:580—581, no. 449; Greenberg 2000:214—217, §58. Negative E/ELE; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 22, *ʔäla particle of negation and categorical prohibition.

642. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔam- (~ *ʔam-):

(vb.) *ʔam- ‘to seize, to grasp, to take, to touch, to hold (closely or tightly)’;
 (n.) *ʔam-a ‘grasp, hold, hand(ful)’; (adj.) ‘seized, grasped, touched, held, obtained’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔam- ‘to seize, to touch, to hold’: Egyptian *ʔm*, *ʔmm* ‘to seize, to grasp’. Hannig 1995:9; Faulkner 1962:3; Erman—Grapow 1921:2 and 1926—1963.1:10; Gardiner 1957:550. Berber: Ghadames *uməz* ‘to take a handful’, *tamməst* ‘a handful of ...’; Tamazight *aməz* ‘to take, to seize, to grasp’, *tummizt* ‘fist; punch’; Mزاب *timmizt* ‘handful’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *aməz* ‘to take, to seize, to grasp’; Riff *aməz* ‘to take, to seize’; Kabyle *tummaz* ‘fist; punch; handful’; Chaoia *tummišt* ‘handful’. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *ʔamit-*, *ʔamid-* ‘to seize’. Reinisch 1895:19. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *amad-* ‘to hold, to seize, to start, to begin, to touch’; Sidamo *amad-* ‘to hold, to seize, to touch’. Hudson 1989:80. Central Chadic *ʔam-/*ʔim- ‘to catch, to seize’ > Tera *ōom-* (< **Hwa-ʔam-*) ‘to catch, to seize’; Musgu *ima-*, *ime-* ‘to catch, to seize’. East Chadic *ʔam- ‘to catch’ > Lele *ōm-* ‘to catch’; Kabalay *am-* ‘to catch’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:10, no. 35, *ʔam- ‘to catch, to seize’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *amar* ‘to get close to, to resemble, to be suitable, to wish, to desire, to do, to perform’, *amai* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to crowd together, to be close; to be attached, connected, joined; to suffice, to prepare (oneself); to be suitable, appropriate; to be complete, to prepare; (-pp-, -tt-) to effect, to accomplish, to create, to appoint, to institute, to bring together, to prepare, to get ready’, *amai* ‘fitness, beauty’, *amaiti* ‘being attached, joined; nature of a thing, abundance, occasion, opportunity, deed, action’, *amaippu* ‘structure, constitution, destiny, fate’, *amaivu* ‘being acceptable, suitable, fitting’; Kannaḍa *amar* (*amard-*) ‘to be closely united, to gather in a mass, to be connected with, to be produced, to arise, to appear, to be fit or agreeable, to be nice or becoming, to be known or famous, to fit, to agree with, to seize firmly, to embrace’, *amarike*, *amarke* ‘fitness, agreeing with (as a ring with the size of the finger), state of being closely joined’, *amarisu*, *amarcu* ‘to cause a person to join or stick by, to prepare, to do in a fit manner, to make ready’; Tuḷu *amarige* ‘heap’, *amariyuni*, *amaryuni* ‘to cleave to’, *amaruni* ‘to seize, to touch, to hold’, *amāruni* ‘to suit, to fit, to embrace, to hold, to twine (a plant)’; Telugu *amayū* ‘to be useful or serviceable’, *amaraṅgā*, *amara(n)* ‘properly, fitly, duly, agreeably’, *amaru* ‘to suit; to be fit, suitable, or agreeable; to be prepared or ready’, *amarincu*,

amar(u)cu ‘to prepare, to make ready, to adjust, to arrange, to provide’; Kuwi *ambrinai* ‘to suit’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:16, no. 162.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **ǵem-/*ǵm-* ‘to take, to obtain’: Latin *emō* ‘to purchase, to buy’; Umbrian (past. ptc.) *emps* ‘taken’; Old Irish *-em-* in *ar-fó-em-at* ‘they take’; Lithuanian *imù, im̃ti* ‘to take, to accept, to receive, to get’; Old Church Slavic *imō, jęti* ‘to take’. Pokorny 1959:310—311 **em-*, **em-* ‘to take’; Walde 1927—1932.I:124—125 **em-*; Rix 1998a:209—210 **h₁em-* ‘to take’; Mann 1984—1987:240 **emō* (**imō, *mō*) ‘to take, to get’; Watkins 1985:17 **em-* and 2000:23 **em-* ‘to take, to distribute’; Mallory—Adams 1997:564 **h₁em-* ‘to take, to distribute’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:754 **em-* and 1995.I:187, I:194, I:657 **em-* ‘to take, to have’; De Vaan 2008:188—189; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:400—402 **em-* ‘to take’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:195—196; Derksen 2008:158 **h₁m-* and 2015:200—201 **h₁m-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:220—221 **h₁em-/*h₁m-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:184—185.

Buck 1949:11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 11.81 buy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:563, no. 426; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 38, **ǵemV* ‘to seize, to hold’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:270, no. 133, **ǵemA* ‘to seize, to take’.

643. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ǵam-a* ‘time, moment, point of time’; (particle) ‘now’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ǵam-* ‘time, moment, point of time; now’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *ǵama* [ḫam] ‘at the time of, when’, *ǵamehā* [ḫamē] ‘at that time, then, next’; Amharic *ama* ‘when’ (Geez loan); Gurage *-ām(m)^wä* suffix expressing time, as in (Chaha) *yärbat-ām^wä* ‘time of the evening meal’ (from *yärbat* ‘evening meal, dinner’), (Chaha) *zäft-ām^wä*, (Eža, Muher) *zäft-ämm^wä* ‘time around midnight’ (from *zäft* ‘calm’). Leslau 1979:41 and 1987:21. Proto-East Cushitic **ǵamm(-an)-* ‘time, now’ > Galla / Oromo *amm-a* ‘now’; Somali *amm-in-ka, imm-in-ka, imm-i-ka* ‘now’; Hadiyya *amm-an-i* ‘time, when’; Gidole *amm-an-n-e* ‘now’; Konso *amm-a* ‘now’. Sasse 1979:25. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ǵami* ‘when?’ > Iraqw *-ami* in *hami* ‘now’; K’wadza *-ami-* in *hamiso* ‘then’; Ma’a *ami* ‘when?’. Ehret 1980:281.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *a-am, am* ‘now’. Paper 1955:107.
- C. Indo-European: Proto-Celtic **am-o-*; **amstero-*, *-ā* ‘time, moment’ > Old Irish *amm* (also written *ám*) ‘time, moment, point of time’, (acc.) *i n-am*, (dat.) *i n-aim* ‘when’, *i n-ám sin* ‘at this moment’, *aimser* ‘time, moment, epoch’; Welsh *amser* ‘timely’, *amserach* ‘more timely’; Cornish *amser* (Middle Cornish *anser*) ‘timely’; Breton (Middle Breton *amser*) *amzer* ‘timely’. Mann 1984—1987:19 **ambhmn-* (**ambhmn-*, **mbhmn-*) ‘circuit, period’; Vendryès 1959— :A35 and A67; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:21; Matasović 2009:33 Proto-Celtic **amo-* ‘time’.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *amunde* (< **am-un-* ?) ‘here; soon after’. Nikolaeva 2006:103.

- E. Proto-Altaic **āmV* ‘on time, timely, now’: Proto-Tungus **am-* ‘quick, quickly; to be on time, to catch up; to reach’ > Evenki *ama*, *ama-kān* ‘quick, quickly’, *amin-*, *ami-ltān-* ‘to be on time, to catch up’; Lamut / Even *āmṛṅq* ‘quick, quickly’, *āmṛltṅn-* ‘to be on time, to catch up’; Manchu *am-bu-* ‘to overtake and catch’, *am-ča-* ‘to pursue, to chase, to catch up to; to hurry, to rush’, *am-čana-* ‘to go to pursue, to rush (over)’, *am-čata-* ‘to strive to overtake’, *am-čangga* ‘pertaining to pursuit’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *aməčə-* ‘to pursue, to chase, to catch up to’; Nanay / Gold *am-qa-čī-* ‘to reach, to touch’; Solon *amarī* ‘quick, quickly’. Proto-Mongolian *(*h*)*am-* ‘sudden, quick; to be on time’ > Written Mongolian *am-ži-* ‘to do something in the required time, to be on time; to be successful, to make progress’, *ama-γai* ‘sudden, quick’; Khalkha *am-ži-* ‘to be on time’; Buriat *am-ža-* ‘to be on time’; Kalmyk *am-γā* ‘sudden, quick’; Ordos *am-ži-* ‘to be on time’. Proto-Turkic *(*i*)*am-* ‘now; recent’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *am-dī* ‘now’; Sary-Uighur *am-γo*, *am-dö-ko* ‘recent’; Khakas *am* ‘now’, *am-dī-γī*, *am-γī* ‘recent’; Tuva *am* ‘now’, *am-γī*, *am-dī* (< *am-dī-γī*) ‘the same’; Yakut *anī* (< **am-dī*) ‘now’; Dolgan *anī* ‘now’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:298 **āmV* ‘quick, timely’.

Buck 1949:14.11 time. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:578, no. 446.

644. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔam(m)a* ‘mother’ (nursery word):

Note also:

(n.) **ʔema* ‘older female relative; mother; (older) woman’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔam(m)a* ‘mother’: Proto-Semitic **ʔumm-* (< **ʔamm-*) ‘mother’ > Akkadian *ummu* ‘mother’; Amorite *ʔummu*, (very rare) *ʔimmum* ‘mother’; Ugaritic *um* ‘mother’; Eblaite *u-mu-mu* ‘mother’; Phoenician *ʔm* ‘mother’; Hebrew *ʔēm* [אֵם] ‘mother’; Aramaic *ʔēm*, *ʔimmā* ‘mother’; Syriac *ʔemmā* ‘mother’; Arabic *ʔumm* ‘mother’; Sabaeen *ʔmm* ‘mother’; Mehri (indef.) *hām*, (constr.) *ʔēm* ‘mother’; Ḥarsūsi *hām* ‘mother’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ʔēm(é)* ‘mother’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔamm* [አም] ‘mother’; Tigre *ʔam* ‘mother’; Argobba *əm* ‘mother’; Gafat *əm^{wit}* ‘mother’; Gurage *əmm* ‘female, mother’; Amharic *əmmo*, *əmmamma*, *əmməyye* ‘mother!’. D. Cohen 1970— :22—23; Klein 1987:33; Murtonen 1989:92—93; Leslau 1979:42 and 1987:22; Diakonoff 1992:86 **ʔamm-* ‘mother’; Zammit 2002:79. Berber: Tuareg *ma* ‘mother’; Nefusa *əmmi* ‘mother’; Wargla *mamma* ‘mother, mommy’; Mzab *mamma* ‘mother, mommy’; Ghadames *ma* ‘mother’, *imma* ‘mommy’; Tamazight *imma*, *mma*, *ma* ‘mother, mommy’; Kabyle *yamma* ‘mother, mommy’, *tayəmmat* ‘mother’; Chaouia *imma*, *yamma* ‘mother, mommy’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ama* ‘mother’ > Gedeo / Darasa *ama* ‘mother’; Burji *am-á* ~ *aam-á* ‘adult woman, wife, mother’; Hadiyya *ama* ‘mother’; Kambata *ama-ta* ‘mother’; Sidamo *ama* ‘mother’. Sasse 1982:25—26; Hudson 1989:102. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔaama-* ‘female, female relative’ (term

- of address ?) > Burunge *ama* ‘sister, female cousin’; Iraqw *ameni* ‘woman’, *ama* ‘grandmother’; K’wadza *ama* ‘mother’; Asa *ʔamama* ‘grandmother’, *ʔamaʔeto* ‘older girl’. Ehret 1980:282. West Chadic **ʔam-* ‘woman’ > Ngizim *ámâ* ‘woman, wife’; Warji *ámá*, *ámái*, *ʔám-áy* ‘woman’; Tsagu *óóméy* ‘woman’; Kariya *âm* ‘woman’; Miya *ám* ‘woman’; Jimbin *ámá* ‘woman’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:346—347. Orël—Stolbova 1995:10, no. 34, **ʔam-* ‘woman’.
- B. Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **amma* ‘mother’: Middle Elamite *am-ma* ‘mother’. McAlpin 1981:141. Dravidian: Tamil *ammā* ‘mother’; Malayalam *amma* ‘mother’; Kannaḍa *amma*, *ama* ‘mother’; Telugu *amma*, *ama* ‘mother, matron’; Tuḷu *amma* ‘mother, lady’; Kolami *amma* ‘mother’; Konda *ama* ‘grandmother’; Brahui *ammā* ‘mother, grandmother’. Krishnamurti 2003:10 **amm-a* ‘mother’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:18, no. 183.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔam(m)a* ‘mother’: Greek ἀμμάς, ἀμμία, ἀμμιά ‘mother’; Late Latin *amma* ‘mom’, *amita* ‘father’s sister’; Oscan (gen. sg.) *Ammaí* the name of a Samnite goddess; Old Icelandic *amma* ‘grandmother’; Old Swedish *amma* ‘mother, nurse’; Old High German *amma* ‘mother, nurse’ (New High German *Amme*); Albanian *amë* ‘mother, aunt’; Tocharian B *ammakki* ‘mother’. Pokorny 1959:36 **am(m)a*, **amī* ‘mommy’; Walde 1927—1932.I:53 **am(m)a*; Mann 1984—1987:18 **amā* ‘mother, nurse’; Watkins 1985:2 **amma* various nursery words and 2000:3 **am-* various nursery words; Mallory—Adams 1997:386 **h₄em-* (or **am-*) ‘mother’; Beekes 2010.I:88 (nursery word); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:76; De Vaan 2008:38—39; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:39; Ernout—Meillet 1979:28; Orël 1998:4 and 2003:17 Proto-Germanic **ammōn*; De Vries 1977:8; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:18; Kluge—Seebold 1989:25; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:621; Adams 1999:20.
- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **əmək* ‘mother’: Amur *əmək* ‘mother’; North Sakhalin *əmk* ‘mother’; East Sakhalin *əmk* ‘mother’; South Sakhalin *əmk* ‘mother’. Fortescue 2016:166.
- E. (?) Proto-Eskimo **ama(C)ur* ‘great grandparent’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *amuuq* ‘great grandparent’; Central Alaskan Yupik *amauq*, (Nunivaq) *amauXʔuyaX* ‘great grandparent’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *amau* ‘great grandparent, great grandchild’; North Alaskan Inuit *amau*, *amauʔuk* ‘great grandparent’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *amauʔuk* ‘great grandparent’, (Netsilik) *amauq* ‘great grandmother’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *amauraq* ‘great grandmother’; Greenlandic Inuit *amauq* ‘great grandparent’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:22. Note also Western Canadian Inuit (Netsilik, Copper) *amaama* ‘mother’.

Sumerian *ama* ‘mother’.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.24 female; 2.31ff. words for family relationship; 2.36 mother. Dolgopolsky 1998:91—92, no. 116, **ʔemA* ‘mother’ and 2008,

no. 37, *ʔemA ‘mother’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:571—572, no. 439; Caldwell 1913:606 and 613—614.

645. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔan- (~ *ʔən-):

(vb.) *ʔan- ‘to load up and go, to send off’;

(n.) *ʔan-a ‘load, burden’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian (obsolete) (f.) *inwt* ‘freight, cargo’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:92; Hannig 1995:75.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *anuppu* (*anuppi-*) ‘to send, to accompany one a little way out of respect’; Malayalam *anuppuka* ‘to send’; Kannada *ampaka* ‘sending, dispatching, entertainment given to friends at their departure’; Telugu *anucu*, *ancu*, *anupu*, *ampu* ‘to send’; Gadba *anisp-* (*anist-*) ‘to load on a cart’; Kurux *ambnā* ‘to let go, to set free, to send away, to give up, to pardon, to leave a place’; Malto *ambe* ‘to leave off, to forsake’; Brahui *hamping* ‘to load up, to load up and go, to start, to depart, to be wiped out’, *hampifing* ‘to make to load, to make to start off, to help to load’, *hamp* ‘start, starting’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:31, no. 329.

C. Proto-Indo-European *ʔen-os-/*ʔon-os- ‘load, burden’: Sanskrit *ánas-* ‘cart, wagon’; Latin *onus* ‘load, burden, freight’. Pokorny 1959:321—322 *enos- or *onos- ‘burden’; Walde 1927—1932.I:132—133 *enos- or *onos-; Mann 1984—1987:879 *onos, -es- ‘burden, load; impost, duty; obligation; bearer, carrier, carriage’; Watkins 1985:17 *en-es- and 2000:23 *en-es- ‘burden’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:33; Mallory—Adams 1997:87 *h₁ónh_xes- ‘burden’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:462 *enos > *onos; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:210 *onos; De Vaan 2008:428.

Buck 1949:10.63 send; 10.75 carriage, wagon, cart. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 561, no. 423.

646. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔan^v- (~ *ʔən^v-):

(vb.) *ʔan^v- ‘to be quiet, still, at peace, at rest’;

(n.) *ʔan^v-a ‘tranquility, peace, rest’; (adj.) ‘quiet, still, peaceful, restful’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔan- ‘to be quiet, still, peaceful, at rest’: (?) Proto-Semitic *ʔa/wa/n-, *ʔa/ya/n- ‘to be at rest’ > Arabic *ʔāna* ‘to be at rest’, *ʔawn* ‘calmness, serenity, gentleness’; Ṭamūdic *ʔn* ‘calmness, serenity’; Geez / Ethiopic *taʔayyana* [ጥላየን] ‘to live well and comfortably, to be pampered’. D. Cohen 1970— :12—13; Leslau 1987:50. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʔand- ‘to be quiet, to be still’ > Asa *ʔand-* ‘to tame’; Ma’a *-ʔandú* ‘to be quiet, to be still’. Ehret (1980:284) reconstructs *ʔand- (or *ʕand-) ‘to tame’ and notes the following concerning the Ma’a form: “Stem plus extension, probably -Vw- consecutive, added before C# → Ø.”

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *aṅantar* ‘sleep, drowsiness, stupor, loss of consciousness, inebriety, confusion of mind’, *aṅantal* ‘sleep, drowsiness, stupor’; Malayalam *anantal* ‘light sleep’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:30, no. 326.
- C. Proto-Altaic **ān^ve(-č^hV)* ‘to be quiet, peaceful, at rest’: Proto-Tungus **ān^vi-* ‘(vb.) to enjoy; (n.) feast’ > Evenki *āñi-* ‘to enjoy’; Nanay / Gold *añā* ‘feast’. Proto-Mongolian **eye*, **eŋ-ke* (< **ān^ve-kV*) ‘peace, quiet’ > Written Mongolian *eye* ‘peace, accord; harmony, concord; amity, friendship’; Khalkha *eye*, *eŋχ* ‘peace, quiet’; Buriat *eye*, *eŋxe* ‘peace, quiet’; Kalmyk *eyə*, *eŋkə* ‘peace, quiet’; Ordos *eye*, *eŋxe* ‘peace, quiet’. Proto-Turkic **Enč-* ‘tranquil, at peace’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *enč* ‘tranquil, at peace’, *enčsire-* ‘to be uneasy’; Karakhanide Turkic *enč* ‘tranquil, at peace’, *enčrü-n-* ‘to live in peace’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *enčü* ‘tranquil, at peace’, *enčik-* ‘to be accustomed’, *enčik* ‘habit’, *enči-le-* ‘to soothe’; Tatar (dial.) *inčü* ‘peace’; Sary-Uighur *inžek-tiγ* ‘quiet’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:302—303 **āñe(-č^v)* ‘to be quiet, to sit’.

Buck 1949:4.61 sleep (vb.; sb.); 12.19 quiet (adj.).

647. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔan^v-* (~ **ʔən^v-*):

(vb.) **ʔan^v-* ‘to draw near to, to approach, to come (close to)’;

(n.) **ʔan^v-a* ‘nearness, proximity’

Derivative:

(particle) **ʔan^v-* ‘to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔan-* ‘to draw near to, to approach, to come (close to), to reach, to arrive’: Proto-Semitic **ʔan-aw/y-* ‘to draw near to, to approach, to come (at the right time)’ > Arabic *ʔanā* ‘to come to maturity, to be nearly ripe; to draw near, to come (esp. time), to approach’, *ʔanan* ‘(span of) time’; Hebrew *ʔānāh* [אָנָה] ‘to be opportune, to meet, to encounter opportunity; to bring about, to cause’, *tōʔānāh* [תּוֹאֲנָה] ‘opportunity’, *taʔānāh* [תּוֹאֲנָה] ‘occasion; time of copulation, mating time (of animals)’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). Perhaps also Akkadian *īnu*, *ēnu*, *inum*, *ēnum* ‘when’, *īnu* ‘at the time of’ (Von Soden 1965—1981.I:382—383 lists *inu*, *enu*). D. Cohen 1970— :25; Murtonen 1989:95; Klein 1987:38 and 688; Zammit 2002:71—82. Egyptian *ini*, *iny* ‘to bring, to fetch; to carry off, to bring away; to bring about (an event); to remove (something bad), to overcome (trouble); to reach, to attain (a place)’; Coptic *ine* [ⲈⲎⲈ] ‘to bring, to bear’. Hannig 1995:74; Faulkner 1962:22; Gardiner 1957:554; Erman—Grapow 1921:14 and 1926—1963.1:90—91; Vycichl 1983:64; Černý 1976:47. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *aan-* ‘to follow’. Hudson 1989:348.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *aṅai* ‘to approach, to come near, to touch, to come into contact with, to copulate with’, *aṅmai*, *aṅumai*, *aṅimai* ‘nearness, proximity’, *aṅāvu* (*aṅāvi-*) ‘to approach’, *aṅi* ‘(vb.) to join with (tr.); (adv.) near’, *aṅuku* (*aṅuki-*) ‘to approach’, *aṅṅimai* ‘nearness’, *aṅṅaṅi* ‘in close

proximity'; Malayalam *aṇayuka* 'to approach, to arrive', *aṇavu* 'arrival, closeness', *aṇekka* 'to bring into contact, to embrace, to hug', *aṇukuka* 'to approach', *aṇaccal* 'embracing, drawing near', *aṇṭa* 'nearness, proximity', *aṇṭuka*, *aṇṇuka*, *aṇṇuka* 'to approach'; Kota *and-* (*andy-*) 'to be in the same place with, to approach, to be in or move into place, to seize prey'; Kannaḍa *aṇe*, *aṇi* 'to come near, to come into contact, to touch, to embrace', *aṇe* 'approach', *aṇi* 'joining, fitness, order', *aṇḍisu* 'to go near, to approach, to resort to, to come or go to for protection', *aṇḍe* 'nearness, approach, side of anything'; Tuḷu *aṇepuni* 'to come into contact, to press'; Telugu *aṇṭu* '(vb.) to touch; (n.) touch, uncleanness, defilement by touch, impurity, pollution'; Kurux *ārsnā* 'to reach, to arrive at, to come, to overtake, to hear about', *āṛsta'ānā* 'to make reach, to deliver, to touch (with the help of some instrument), to overtake', *āṛstārnā* 'to be brought up in a certain place'; Malto *aṇrse* 'to arrive', *aṇrstre* 'to cause to arrive, to convey'; Brahui *haninging* 'to copulate (of human beings)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:13, no. 120.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **ǵen-o-s* ('span of time' >) 'year': Greek **ἔνος* 'year' in: *ἐνι-αυτός* 'one year old; yearly, annual, year by year; for a year, lasting a year', *ἦνις* (acc. pl. *ἦνις*) (lengthened-grade) 'a year old, yearling', *δί-ενος* 'two years old', *τρί-ενος* 'three years old', etc. Perhaps also *-n-* (zero-grade) in: Lithuanian *pér-n-ai* 'last year'; Latvian *pēr-n-s* 'in previous years'; Gothic **fair-n-s* 'in the previous year'; Middle High German (adv.) *ver-n-e* 'in the previous year'; Old Icelandic *for-n* 'old, ancient'; Old English *fyr-n* '(adj.) former, ancient; (adv.) formerly, of old, long ago, once upon a time'. Semantic development as in Arabic *ʿanan* '(span of) time', cited above. Pokorny 1959:314 **en-* 'year'; Watkins 1985:17 **en-* 'year'; Mann 1984—1987:925 **pernoi* (**pern-*) 'last year, of yore', **pernos* 'last year's, ancient'; Mallory—Adams 1997:654 **h₁en-* 'year'; Hofmann 1966:83 and 108; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:348—349 **eno-* and I:414; Beekes 2010.I:426; Frisk 1970—1973.I:518 and I:638; Orël 2003:100—101 Proto-Germanic **fernaz* (< **per-* 'previous' plus zero-grade of **eno-* 'year'), 101 **fernjaz*; Feist 1939:140—141 **eno-*; Lehmann 1986:106—107 **eno-*; De Vries 1977:138; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:576; Smoczyński 2007.1:451—452; Derksen 2015:352.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **ān^vu* ('span of time' >) 'moon; (moon cycle), year': Proto-Tungus **an^vηa* 'year' > Evenki *an^vanī* 'year'; Lamut / Even *an^vηn* 'year'; Negidal *a^vηanī* 'year'; Manchu *aniya* 'year', *aniyadari* 'every year', *aniyaṅga* 'pertaining to a certain year in the twelve year cycle', *aniyalame* 'for an entire year, a whole year'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ani* 'year'; Jurchen *ania* 'year'; Ulch *a^vηa(n)* 'year'; Orok *ana^vī* 'year'; Nanay / Gold *ay^vηa^va*, *ay^vηanī* 'year'; Oroch *an^vηa^vī* 'year'; Udihe *a^vηa(n)* 'year'; Solon *a^vīē*, *a^vηa* 'year'. (?) Proto-Mongolian **oy(n)* 'anniversary, year' > Middle Mongolian *oin* 'time'; Written Mongolian *oi* 'full year, anniversary, birthday'; Khalkha *oy* 'anniversary'; Buriat *oy* 'anniversary'; Kalmyk *ō* 'year'; Ordos *o^vηn* 'anniversary, year'. Proto-Turkic **ān^v(k)* 'moon, month'

> Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *ay* ‘moon, month’; Karakhanide Turkic *ay* ‘moon, month’; Turkish *ay* ‘moon, month; crescent’; Gagauz *ay* ‘moon, month’; Azerbaijani *ay* ‘moon, month’; Turkmenian *āy* ‘moon, month’; Uzbek *oy* ‘moon, month’; Uighur *ay* ‘moon, month’; Karaim *ay* ‘moon, month’; Tatar *ay* ‘moon, month’; Bashkir *ay* ‘moon, month’; Kirghiz *ay* ‘moon, month’; Kazakh *ay* ‘moon, month’; Noghay *ay* ‘moon, month’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ay* ‘moon, month’; Tuva *ay* ‘moon, month’; Chuvash *oyӑӑ* ‘moon, month’; Yakut *йү* ‘moon, month’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:303 **ānu* ‘moon; (moon cycle), year’. Semantic development as in Arabic *ʿanan* ‘(span of) time’, cited above.

- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **an^v(i)* ‘year’: Amur *an^v* ‘year’; North Sakhalin *an^v* ‘year’; East Sakhalin *an^v* ‘year’, *naci an^v* ‘last year’; South Sakhalin *an^v(i)* ‘year’, *nattə* ‘last year’. Fortescue 2016:14.

Buck 1949:10.61 carry (bear); 10.62 bring; 14.73 year. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:561—562, no. 424.

648. Proto-Nostratic (particle) **ʔan^v-* ‘to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **ʔan^v-* ‘to draw near to, to approach, to come (close to)’;

(n.) **ʔan^v-a* ‘nearness, proximity’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔan-* ‘to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on’: Semitic: Akkadian *ana* ‘to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on’. Von Soden 1965—1981.I:47—48; D. Cohen 1970— :24. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *aaná* ‘on (top of)’, *aana* ‘over, above’. Hudson 1989:348.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔan-* ‘to, towards, over, for, against, upon, on’: Sanskrit *ānu* ‘with, after, along, alongside, lengthwise, near to, under, subordinate to’; Avestan *ana* ‘along, on’, *anu* ‘toward, along’; Old Persian *anuv* (that is, *anu*) ‘along, according to’; Greek *ἄνα*, *ἀνά* (with dative) ‘on, upon’, (with accusative) ‘up, from bottom to top, up along’, (in compositions) ‘up to, upwards, up’; Latin *an-* ‘on, to’ as in (inf.) *an-hēlāre* ‘to draw a heavy breath, to puff, to pant’; Gothic *ana* ‘in, on, upon, at, over, to, into, against’; Old Icelandic *á* ‘on, upon, in’; Old English *an*, *an-*, *on*, *on-* ‘in, on, into, on to, among’; Old Frisian *an*, *ana* ‘at, on, over’; Old Saxon *an*, *ana* ‘at, on, over’; Old High German *an*, *ana* ‘at, on, over’ (New High German *an*); Lithuanian (prep. with gen.) *nuõ* ‘from, away from; since’. Pokorny 1959:39—40 **an*, **anu*, **anō*, **nō* ‘over there, along’; Walde 1927—1932.I:58—59 **an*, **anō*, **nō*; Mann 1984—1987:21 **ana* (**anə*) ‘on, upon’, 27 **anō* (**anō*) ‘upon, above’, 257 **an-*, **anə*, 258 **anō*, **anōi* ‘upon; above, downward’; Watkins 1985:2 **an* and 2000:3 **an* ‘on’ (extended form **ana*); Mallory—Adams 1997:612 **h_aen-h_ae* ‘up (onto), upwards, along’, **h_aen-u* ‘up (onto), upwards, along’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:34; Boisacq 1950:59 **anō*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:100—101; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:82; Beekes 2010.I:97 **h₂en-*; Hofmann 1966:17;

Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:43—44 **ana*, **anō*, **anē*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:30; Orël 2003:17 Proto-Germanic **ana(i)*; Kroonen 2013:26 Proto-Germanic **ana* ‘on(to), to, by’; Feist 1939:41; Lehmann 1986:30 **an*, **anu*; De Vries 1977:1; Onions 1966:627; Klein 1971:513 **anō*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:20 **ana*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:27 **ana*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:21 Proto-Frisian **ana*; Smoczyński 2007.1:430; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:511; Derksen 2015:338.

Sumerian *en* ‘as far as, (up) to, with, together with, in addition to, besides, including’, *en(-na)*, *en-šà* ‘as far as, (up) to’, *en-na* ‘to, towards, near, in addition to, besides, moreover’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:562—563, no. 425.

649. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔanʷa* ‘mother, aunt’ (nursery word):

Note also:

(n.) **ʔenʷa* ‘mother, elder sister’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *aññai* ‘mother’, *annai*, *tannai* ‘mother, elder sister’, *emm-antai* ‘our mother’, *tamm-antai* ‘mother’; Malayalam *anna* ‘mother’; Parji *añña* ‘father’s sister’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:7, no. 58. Dravidian loans in Indo-Aryan: cf. Prakrit *aññī-* ‘father’s sister’.
- B. [Proto-Indo-European **ʔan(n)o-s*, **ʔan(n)i-s*, **ʔan(n)a* ‘mother’: Hittite (nom. sg.) *an-na-aš* ‘mother’; Palaic (nom. sg.) *an-na-aš* ‘mother’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *an-ni-iš*, *a-an-ni-iš* ‘mother’; Lycian (nom. sg.) *ēni* ‘mother’; Lydian (nom. sg.) *ēnaš* ‘mother’; Latin *anna* ‘foster-mother’; (?) Greek (Hesychius) *ἀννίς* ‘grandmother’. Pokorny 1959:36—37 (nursery word) **an-* ‘old woman, ancestor’; Walde 1927—1932.I:55—56 **an-*; Tischler 1977— .1:24—25; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:55—57; Kloekhorst 2008b:174; Sturtevant 1933:87, §73; 132, §129; 178—179, §293; Mallory—Adams 1997:385—386 **h₄en-* (or **an-*) ‘(old) woman, mother’; Hoffmann 1966:19; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:91; Frisk 1970—1973.I:112; Beekes 2010.I:107 **h₂en-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:50.] Note: The Indo-European forms belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic **ʔan(ŋ)a* ‘woman, female, female relative’.
- C. Proto-Uralic **anʷi* ‘sister-in-law’: Hungarian *ány* ‘the wife of an elder brother or another older relative’, (?) *anya* ‘mother’; Lapp / Saami (Kola) *vyðnnje/vyðnje-* ‘the wife of an elder brother’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *ðña* ‘sister-in-law’; Vogul / Mansi *ááñyʷ/ááñgə-* ‘the wife of an older relative’; Ostyak / Xanty *áñəgə* ‘the wife of an elder brother or uncle; stepmother; aunt’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *nejea* ‘the mother’s sister’; Selkup Samoyed *ooña* ‘aunt’. Collinder 1955:3, 1960:405 **aña*, and 1977:25; Rédei 1986—1988:10—11 **aña*; Décsy 1990:98 **anja* ‘mother, aunt’; Aikio 2020:18—19 **añi* ‘sister-in-law’; Sammallahti 1988:542 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **añá* ‘sister-in-law’; Janhunen 1977b:100 **ne*.

- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **anʷar* ‘female’: Amur *anʷχ* ‘female’; North Sakhalin *anʷrej* ‘wife’; East Sakhalin *anʷaχ* ‘female’; South Sakhalin *anʷχ₂* ‘female’. Fortescue 2016:14.
- E. Proto-Eskimo **a(a)na* ‘grandmother, mother’ (expressive gemination of the initial vowel): Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aana* ‘mother’; Central Alaskan Yupik *aana* ‘mother’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *aana* ‘mother’; Central Siberian Yupik *naa* ‘mother’; Sirenik *nana* ‘mother’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aana* ‘grandmother’; North Alaskan Inuit *aana* ‘grandmother’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *aana* ‘grandmother’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aana* ‘paternal grandmother, paternal great aunt’; Greenlandic Inuit *aanak*, *anaaq* ‘grandmother’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:25. Aleut *ana-X* ‘mother’. Proto-Eskimo **ana(a)na* (probably a reduplication of **a(a)na*) ‘older female relative’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *anaana(k)*, *anaanaq* ‘maternal aunt’; Central Alaskan Yupik *anaana* ‘maternal aunt, stepmother’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *anaana* ‘maternal aunt’; Central Siberian Yupik *anaana* ‘maternal aunt’; Sirenik *anána* ‘maternal aunt’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *anaanak* ‘grandmother’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *anaana* ‘mother’; Greenlandic Inuit *anaana* ‘mother’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:26.

Caldwell 1913:613; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:584, no. 454; Hakola 2000:21, no. 30; Fortescue 1998:152.

650. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔaŋ-* (~ **ʔəŋ-*):

(vb.) **ʔaŋ-* ‘to divide, to separate’;

(n.) **ʔaŋ-a* ‘separation, difference’; (adj.) ‘separate, different’

- A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *annann ih-* ‘to be different’, *annanna* ‘different’, *annann-is-* ‘to differentiate, to separate (grain)’; Kambata *annann-* ‘to be different’, *annanna ass-* ‘to differentiate, to separate (grain)’, *annannooma-ta* ‘different’. Hudson 1989:49, 269, and 307. Cushitic (Kambata) loans in Gurage (Endegeñ) *äññä*, *ʔäññä*, *äññäʔar*, (Ennemor) *eña*, *eñaʔar* ‘other, another, different, various’. Leslau 1979:79.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔan-* ‘separate, different’ in: **ʔan-yo-s* ‘other, different’, **ʔan-thero-s* ‘different’: Sanskrit *anyá-h* ‘other, different’, *ántara-h* ‘different’; Avestan *anyō* ‘another, else’; Old Persian *aniya-* ‘the one or the other (of two), other (of any number), the rest of’; Gothic *anþar* ‘other, second’, (adv.) *anþar-leikō* ‘otherwise’, **anþar-leiks* (only *anþar-leikei* is attested) ‘diversity’; Old Icelandic *annarr* ‘one of the two, the one (of two); second; the next following; some other; other, different’; Faroese *annar* ‘other’; Swedish *annan* ‘other’; Danish *anden* ‘other’; Old English *ōþer* ‘one of two; second; other’, *ōþer-līce* ‘otherwise’; Old Frisian *ōther* ‘other; second’; Old Saxon *ōðar* ‘other; second’, *ōðar-līk* ‘otherwise’; Dutch *ander* ‘other’; Old High German *andar* ‘other; second’ (New High German *ander* ‘other; next, following, second’); Lithuanian *añtras* ‘other,

second'; Latvian *ùotrs* 'other, second'; Old Prussian *anters*, *antars* 'other, second'. Pokorny 1959:37—38 **an-* demonstrative particle: 'other(side), there', **anjos* 'other', **anteros* 'other'; Walde 1927—1932.I:56 **an* and I:67; Mann 1984—1987:25 **anjos* 'yon, that; other', 27 **anteros* 'second, other'; Watkins 1985:2 **an* demonstrative particle; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:35 and I:37; Mallory—Adams 1997:411 **h₁ónteros* 'other'; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:12; Smoczyński 2007.1:18 **h₂én-tero-*; Kroonen 2013:30 Proto-Germanic **anþara-* 'the other (of two), the second'; Orël 2003:21 Proto-Germanic **anþeraz*; Feist 1939:53; Lehmann 1986:39—40 **anter-o-*, **an-yo-*; De Vries 1977:10; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:20 **ántero-*; Onions 1966:635 Common Germanic **anþeraz*; Klein 1971:522; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:300; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:21 **antero-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:29 **antero-*.

- C. Proto-Altaic **aŋV* 'separate, different': Proto-Tungus **aŋa-* 'foreigner, orphan' > Evenki *aŋnakī* 'foreigner', *aŋažakān* 'orphan'; Lamut / Even *aŋəžə* 'orphan'; Negidal *aŋnaχī* 'foreigner', *aŋažaxān* 'orphan'; Manchu *anaqu* (*žuy*) 'orphan'; Ulch *aŋaža*, *aŋahi* 'orphan'; Orok *aŋada* 'orphan'; Nanay / Gold *aŋžini* 'foreigner', *aŋgažā* 'orphan'; Oroch *aŋnaihi* 'foreigner', *aŋaža* 'orphan'; Udihe *aŋnaχi* 'foreigner', *aŋaža* 'orphan'; Solon *aŋaži* 'orphan'. Proto-Mongolian **aŋgi-* 'apart, separately; class, group' > Written Mongolian *aŋgida* (adv. and adj.) 'separately; especially; apart from; except; different, another', *aŋgi* 'class, group; part, section', *aŋgila-* 'to divide, to separate, to segregate, to discriminate; to classify, to subdivide'; Khalkha *aŋgid* 'apart, separately', *aŋgi* 'class, group'; Buriat *aŋgil-* 'to be separated', *aŋgi-* 'class, group'; Kalmyk *aŋgi-* 'class, group'; Ordos *aŋgi* 'piece, part'; Dagur *aŋg(i)* 'class, group'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:307 **aŋV* 'separate, different'.

Buck 1949:2.85 orphan. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 807, **HaŋV* 'other'.

651. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔaŋ(ŋ)a* '(older) female relative' (nursery word):

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔaŋ-* 'father's sister' > Ma'a *engá* 'father's sister'; Dahalo *ʔanno* 'father's sister'. Ehret 1980:288.
- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *aŋṇu* 'a woman'; Telugu *annu* 'a woman'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:14, no. 132.
- C. [Proto-Indo-European **ʔan(n)o-s*, **ʔan(n)i-s*, **ʔan(n)a* 'mother': Hittite (nom. sg.) *an-na-aš* 'mother'; Palaic (nom. sg.) *an-na-aš* 'mother'; Luwian (nom. sg.) *an-ni-iš*, *a-an-ni-iš* 'mother'; Lycian (nom. sg.) *ēni* 'mother'; Lydian (nom. sg.) *ēnaš* 'mother'; Latin *anna* 'foster-mother'; (?) Greek (Hesychius) *ávνίς* 'grandmother'. Pokorny 1959:36—37 (nursery word) **an-* 'old woman, ancestor'; Walde 1927—1932.I:55—56 **an-*; Tischler 1977— .1:24—25; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:55—57; Kloekhorst 2008b:174; Sturtevant 1933:87, §73; 132, §129; 178—179, §293; Mallory—Adams 1997:385—386 **h₄en-* (or **an-*) '(old) woman, mother'; Chantraine

1968—1980.I:91; Frisk 1970—1973.I:112; Hoffmann 1966:19; Beekes 2010.I:107 **h₂en-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:50.] Note: The Indo-European forms belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic **ʔan^va* ‘mother, aunt’.

Buck 1949:2.52 aunt.

652. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔaŋ(ŋ)a* ‘(older) male relative’ (nursery word):

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **anna* ‘father’ > Burji *an(n)-áa* ‘father, husband, owner’, *anna* (pl. *annaani*) ‘father, husband, owner (of)’; Gedeo / Darasa *anna* ‘father, uncle, paternal owner (of)’; Hadiyya *anna* (pl. *annoʔo*) ‘father’; Kambata *anna* ‘father’; Sidamo *anna* ‘father, owner (of)’. Sasse 1982:26; Hudson 1989:62. Central Cushitic: Kemant *an* ‘grandfather’; Quara *an* ‘grandfather’; Bilin *ʔan* (pl. *ʔánen*) ‘grandfather’. Appleyard 2006:77; Reinisch 1887:32.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *aŋŋaŋ*, *aŋŋācci* ‘elder brother’, *aŋŋār* ‘elder brother’, *aŋŋāttai* ‘elder brother (sometimes in contempt)’, *aŋŋārvi* ‘elder brother or cousin’, *aŋŋā* ‘elder brother, father’, *aŋŋi* ‘elder brother’s wife’; Toda *oŋ*, *oŋoŋ* ‘elder brother or male parallel cousin’; Malayalam *aŋŋan*, *aŋŋācci* ‘elder brother’; Kota *aŋ* ‘elder brother or male parallel cousin’; Kannaḍa *aŋŋa*, *aŋa* ‘elder brother; respectful mode of addressing boys’, *aŋŋi* ‘affectionate mode of addressing females’; Koḍagu *aŋŋē* ‘elder brother or male parallel cousin’; Tuḷu *aŋŋe* ‘elder brother, maternal uncle, an elderly man’; Telugu *anna* ‘elder brother; termination of names of men’; Kolami *annāk* ‘elder brother’; Gondī *tannāl* ‘elder brother’; Koṇḍa *ana* ‘father’s father’, *annasi* ‘elder brother (with reference to 3rd person)’. Krishnamurti 2003:10 **aŋŋa-* ‘elder brother’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:14, no. 131.
- C. Proto-Eskimo **aŋayuy* ‘elder sibling of the same sex’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aŋa<y>uk* ‘partner, buddy’; Central Alaskan Yupik (Bristol Bay) *aŋayuk* ‘partner’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aŋayuk* ‘older brother; (Qawiaaraq) elder sibling of the same sex’; North Alaskan Inuit (Nunamiut) *aŋayuk* ‘elder sibling of the same sex’; Western Canadian Inuit *aŋayuk* ‘(Copper) elder sibling of the same sex; (Siglit) older brother of boy’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aŋayuk* ‘elder sibling of the same sex’; Greenlandic Inuit *aŋayu(q)*, (East Greenlandic) *aŋiiq* ‘elder sibling of the same sex’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:32.

Buck 1949:2.31 ff. words for family relationship.

653. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔap^h-* (~ **ʔap^h-*):

- (vb.) **ʔap^h-* ‘to be more, over, above, extra, superior; to surpass’;
 (n.) **ʔap^h-a* ‘that which is more, over, above, extra, superior’; (adj.) ‘many, more, extra, additional, numerous, teeming, superior’
 (particle) **ʔap^h-* ‘also, moreover, besides’

Note: The *CVC*-patterning shows that this stem could not originally have been a particle, though this is how it is preserved in Semitic and the other Nostratic daughter languages. Though the original meaning is uncertain, we may speculate that it may have been something like '(vb.) to be more, over, above, extra, superior; to surpass; (n.) that which is more, over, above, extra, superior; (adj.) many, more, extra, additional, numerous, teeming, superior'.

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *ʔapa 'also, and also' > Ugaritic *āp* 'also'; Hebrew *ʔaφ* [פֶּאֶף] 'also, and also, and even'; Syriac *ʔāφ* 'also'; Phoenician *ʔp* 'also, even'; Palmyrene *ʔp* 'also, even'; Arabic *fa* 'then, and then, and so thus, thence'; Sabaeen *f-* 'and, so'. Klein 1987:45; Tomback 1978:27; Zammit 2002:314. The original meaning may be preserved in Akkadian (adj. f. pl.) *apātu* (*abātu*, *epātu*) (Old Babylonian *a/epiātum*) 'numerous, teeming (as epithet of human beings)'. Berber: Tuareg *uf* 'to be better, to be superior', *suf* 'to prefer', *tūfūt* 'superiority in goodness'; Ghadames *sif* 'to prefer, to choose'; Mzab *if* 'to surpass, to exceed, to be better'; Wargla *if* 'to surpass, to be better than', *tifət* 'superiority, preeminence'; Tamazight *af*, *if* 'to surpass, to be better than'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *af* 'to surpass, to be better'; Riff *af* 'to surpass, to be better'; Kabyle *if* 'to surpass, to be better than'; Chaouia *af* 'to be better (than)'; Zenaga *uft* 'to be better'.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔep^{hi}/*ʔop^{hi} (zero-grade form: *p^{hi}) 'and, also, and also, besides, moreover': Sanskrit *āpi* 'and, also, moreover, besides, upon'; Avestan *aipi* 'also, too'; Old Persian *apiy* 'thereto, very'; Armenian *ew* 'and, also'; Greek ἔπι, ἐπί 'upon, besides'. Pokorny 1959:323—324 *epi, *opi, *pi 'near to'; Walde 1927—1932.I:122—123 *epi, *opi, *pi; Mann 1984—1987:246—247 *epi (*pi) 'on, by, at, near', 880 *op-, *opi 'back, off, out, round, at'; Watkins 1985:17 *epi (also *opi) and 2000:23 *epi (also *opi) 'near, at, against' (zero-grade form *pi); Mallory—Adams 1997:391 *h₁epi ~ *h₁opi 'near, on'; Boisacq 1950:264—265 *epi, *opi; Hofmann 1966:87 *epi, *opi; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:358; Frisk 1970—1973.I:535 *épi; Beekes 2010.I:440 *h₁epi; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:39.
- C. Altaic: Proto-Turkic *Ap ~ *Ep emphatic strengthening particle > Turkish *ap* emphatic strengthening particle, *apaçık* 'wide open; very evident or clear'; Azerbaijani *apžig* 'however'; Karakhanide Turkic *ap*, *ep* emphatic strengthening particle; Kirghiz *apey* an emphatic interjection. [Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:514.]
- D. (?) Etruscan *epl*, *pi*, *pul* 'in, to, up to, until'.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:568—569, no. 435.

654. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔar- (~ *ʔar-):
 (vb.) *ʔar- 'to cut (off, apart), to sever, to separate, to part asunder';
 (n.) *ʔar-a 'half, side, part'; (adj.) 'severed, separated, parted, disjoined'

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *ari* ‘to cut off, to nip off’, *arakka* (*arakki-*) ‘to clip off, to prune, to cut, to sever’; Malayalam *ariyuka* ‘to reap corn, to cut grass, to cut very small, to hack to pieces’, *arakkuka* ‘to cut, to chip off, to sever’, *araññuka* ‘to cut or chop off (the branches of trees or plants)’; Toda *ark-* (*arky-*) ‘to chip, to cut square (end of plank or post)’; Kannaḍa *ari* (*arid-*) ‘to cut or lop off’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:20, no. 212. Tamil *arai* ‘half’; Malayalam *ara* ‘half’; Kota *ar* ‘half’; Toda *ar* ‘half’; Kannaḍa *ara* ‘half, a little’, *arebar* ‘a few’; Telugu *ara* ‘half, a moiety, incomplete, not full’, *ara* ‘half, a moiety’; Tuḷu *are* ‘half’; Naiki (of Chanda) *ar* ‘half’ in *ar sōla* ‘a measure’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:21—22, no. 229. Tamil *aru* (*aruv-*, *arv-*/[mod.] *arunt-*) ‘to be severed, to break (as a rope), to cease, to become extinct, to perish, to be decided, to be settled’, *aru* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to break off, to cut, to part asunder, to sever, to cleave, to exterminate, to determine, to resolve’; Malayalam *aruka* ‘to be severed, to be cut off, to cease’, *arukka* ‘to sever, to cut off, to decide’; Kota *arv-* (*art-*) ‘to cut (meat) into small pieces for broth’; Toda *arf-* (*art-*) ‘to cut, to reap’; Kannaḍa *aru* ‘to be severed or disjoined, to be cut asunder, to cease’, *arake* ‘fragment, piece’; Koḍagu *ara-* (*arap-*, *arat-*) ‘to cut’; Telugu *aru* ‘to be destroyed, to decrease’; Kolami *ark-* (*arakt-*) ‘to harvest grain by cutting’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:29—30, no. 315.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ǵer-dh-/*ǵor-dh-/*ǵr-dh-* ‘to split, to divide, to separate’: Avestan *arəδō* ‘side’; Sanskrit *īdhak* (also *rdhák*) ‘separately, aside, apart’, *ārdha-h* ‘side, part’, *ardhá-h* ‘half’; Lithuanian *ardaũ*, *ardýti* ‘to rip up, to rip open, to pull down, to dismantle, to disassemble, to take to pieces, to disjoint; to destroy, to demolish, to break’, *iriù*, *irti* ‘to rip apart; to disintegrate’. Pokorny 1959:333 **er-dh-*; Walde 1927—1932.I:143 **er-dh-*; Mann 1984—1987:887 **ordhos* ‘side, part, half’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:51 and I:124; Smoczyński 2007.1:22 and 1:223—224.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 12.23 separate (vb.); 13.24 half. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:581—582, no. 451; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 67, **ǵerV* ‘to divide; one share, one, single’.

655. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ǵar-a* ‘male, man, husband’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ǵar-* ‘husband’: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **aroǵo* ‘husband’ > Sidamo *aroo*, *aró* ‘husband’; Gedeo / Darasa *aroʔo* ‘husband’; Hadiyya *aroʔo* ‘husband’. Hudson 1989:82. Central Cushitic: Awngi / Awiya (with prefix *η-*) *η-árá* ‘husband’. Appleyard 2006:86. Omotic: Anfilla *aroo* ‘husband’ (according to Orël—Stolbova, this may be a loan from Sidamo). Orël—Stolbova 1995:14, no. 49, **ǵar-* ‘husband’.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *ir-šá-na*, *ir-šá-an-na* ‘big, large, great’, *ir-šá-ra* ‘leader, chief’; Middle Elamite *ri-ša-ar*, *ri-ša-ar-ra*, *ri-šá-ri* ‘the big one, great person’, Neo-Elamite *ri-šá-ra* ‘the big one, great person’. The *ir-* ~ *ri-* variation may indicate a syllabic *r* [r̥].

- C. Proto-Indo-European *ʔer-s-/*ʔr-s- ‘male, man’: Greek (Homeric) ἄρσῆν, (Attic) ἄρρην, (Ionic, Aeolian, Lesbian, Cretan, etc.) ἔρρην, Laconian ἄρρης ‘male; masculine, strong’; Sanskrit *r̥ṣa-bhá-h* ‘bull’; Avestan *aršan-* ‘man; manly’; Old Persian *aršan-*, *arša-* ‘male, hero, bull’; Armenian *ar̄n* ‘male sheep’. Pokorny 1959:336 *ers-, *rs-, *rsen ‘manly, virile’; Walde 1927—1932.I:149—150; Mann 1984—1987:36 *arsjēn (*arsjān, *rsjēn, *rsjān) ‘male, manly’; Mallory—Adams 1997:363 *rsēn ‘male (as opposed to female)’; Benveniste 1969.I:21—25 and 1973:19—22; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:125; Buck 1955:45; Kent 1953:171; Boisacq 1950:83; Frisk 1970—1973.I:152—153; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:116; Hofmann 1966:25; Beekes 2010.I:141 *uers-n-; Godel 1975:98, §5.144.
- D. (?) Uralic: Proto-Ugric *ar₃ (*arwa) ‘relative on the mother’s side; mother’s younger brother’ > Old Hungarian *ara* ‘brother’ (Modern Hungarian ‘fiancée’); Ostyak / Xanty (Kazym) *wōrti* ‘mother’s younger brother; younger brother’s sons’, (Obdorsk) *orti* ‘mother’s brother’; Vogul / Mansi (Middle Lozva) *oār*, (Northern) *ār* ‘relative on the mother’s side’. Rédei 1986—1988:832—833 *ar₃ (*arwa).
- E. Proto-Altaiic *āri (~ *ēra) ‘male, man, husband’: Proto-Mongolian *ere ‘man, male’ > Written Mongolian *ere* ‘man, male, husband; manly, daring, bold, brave’; Khalkha *er* ‘man’; Buriat *ere* ‘man’; Kalmyk *erə* ‘man’; Ordos *ere* ‘man’; Moghol *errä* ‘man’; Dagur *er*, *ergun*, *ere* ‘man’; Monguor *rē* ‘non-castrated male of certain animals; masculine’. Proto-Turkic *ēr ‘man’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *er* ‘man’; Turkish *er* ‘man, male, husband’; Karakhanide Turkic *er* ‘man’; Azerbaijani *ār* ‘husband’; Turkmenian *ār* ‘man’; Uighur *ār* ‘man’; Karaim *er* ‘man’; Tatar *ir* ‘man’; Bashkir *ir* ‘man’; Sary-Uighur *jer* ‘man’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *er* ‘man’; Tuva *er* ‘man’; Chuvash *ar* ‘man’; Yakut *er* ‘man’; Dolgan *er* ‘man’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:312 *āri (~ *ēra) ‘man’.
- F. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *ar ‘male’: Amur *ar* ‘male’; North Sakhalin *ār̄a* ‘male’; East Sakhalin *ar̄a* ‘male’; South Sakhalin *aṝ₂* ‘male’. Fortescue 2016:15. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *arməč ‘man’: East Sakhalin *azmuc* ‘man’; South Sakhalin *azmc* ‘man’. Fortescue 2016:16.

Buck 1949:2.23 male; 2.31 husband.

656. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔar-a ‘associated or related person or thing; associate, companion, friend; kinsman, relative’; (adj.) ‘associated, related’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔar- ‘(n.) associated or related person or thing; associate, companion, friend; kinsman; (adj.) associated, related’: Semitic: Ugaritic *ār̄y* ‘kinsman’. D. Cohen 1970— :33. Egyptian *iry*, *iri* ‘one who belongs to someone or something, one who is in charge, keeper; friend, associate, companion’; Coptic (Bohairic) *ēr* [HP] ‘friend’. Hannig 1995:82; Faulkner 1962:25; Erman—Grapow 1921:15 and 1926—1963.1:105; Gardiner 1957:61, §79, *iry* ‘related to, connected with’, from the preposition *r* (*ir*)

‘to’, and 554; Vycichl 1983:53—54; Černý 1976:42. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔar-* ‘kind, associated or related thing’ > Iraqw *ado* ‘way, manner’; Asa *ʔarato* ‘twins’; Ma’a *mʔáro* ‘neighbor; kind, associated or related thing’. Ehret 1980:286.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔer-/ʔor-/ʔr-* ‘associated, related’: Sanskrit *arí-h* ‘devoted, trustworthy, loyal’, *aryamá* ‘companion, host; the god of hospitality’; Avestan *airyaman-* ‘friend, guest’; Hittite (nom. sg.) *araš* ‘member of one’s own social group, peer, comrade, partner, fellow, friend’. Puhvel 1984— .1/2:116—121 **áro-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:213 **h₄erós* ~ **h₄erios* ‘member of one’s own (ethnic) group, peer, freeman’; Kloekhorst 2008b:198—199.

Buck 1949:19.51 friend; 19.53 companion. Dolgopolsky 1998:95, no. 120, **ʔarV-* ‘member of the clan’ and 2008, no. 66, **ʔaRV* ‘member of one’s clan/family’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:565, no. 429.

657. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔar-* (~ **ʔar-*) (used as the base for the designation of various horned animals):

(n.) **ʔar-a* ‘ram, goat, mountain-goat, chamois, ibex, gazelle, etc.’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔar-* used as the base for the designation of various horned animals: Proto-Semitic **ʔar-w/y-* originally used as the designation of various horned animals: ‘chamois, gazelle, mountain goat’; later used as the designation for any wild animal > Akkadian *arwū* (also *armū*) ‘gazelle’, *erū*, *arū* ‘eagle’; Amorite *ʔarwiyum* ‘gazelle’; Hebrew *ʔārī* [אֲרִי], *ʔaryēh* [אֲרֵי] ‘lion’; Syriac *ʔaryā* ‘lion’; Arabic *ʔarwā* ‘chamois’, *ʔurwiyya* ‘mountain goat’; Sabaeen *ʔry* ‘mountain goats’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔarwe* [አርዌ] ‘animal, wild animal, beast, wild beast, reptile’; Tigrinya *ʔarawit*, *ʔarā* ‘wild animal’; Tigre *ʔarwē* ‘serpent, snake’, *ʔarwät* ‘female elephant’; Harari *ūri* ‘wild animal, beast’. D. Cohen 1970— :32; Murtonen 1989:100—101; Klein 1987:55; Leslau 1963:31 and 1987:40. Berber: Guanche *ara* ‘she-goat’. Lowland East Cushitic **ʔar-* ‘sheep’ > Boni *eriya* ‘sheep’; Rendille *ari* ‘sheep’. Highland East Cushitic (pl.) **ʔaray-* ‘sheep’ > Bambala *araay* ‘sheep’. Proto-Rift **ʔar-* ‘goat’ > Iraqw *ari* ‘goat’; Alagwa (pl.) *ara* ‘goats’; Burunge (pl.) *ara* ‘goats’; K’wadza *ali-to* ‘goat’. Ehret 1980:297 **aari* ‘goat’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:15, no. 50, **ʔar-* ‘ram, goat’; Militarëv 2009:101; Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:26—28, no. 18, Proto-Afrasian **ʔarwVj-* ‘(wild) goat, ram; kind of antelope’.

Comments: Militarëv—Nikolaev (2020:200—201) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **ʔar(a)w/y-* ‘a kind of larger bovid’ on the basis of the following evidence: Semitic **ʔi/arw-/ʔawr-* ‘calf, bull’ > Akkadian (Old Akkadian on) *arwū*, *armū*, etc. ‘gazelle’ [*Gazella* sp.]; Syriac *ʔarw-ān-ā* ‘vitulus, vitula’ (‘bull-calf, she-calf’); Gurage **ʔar-* ‘cows’ > Eza, Gyeto *aray*; etc. (?) Egyptian *ir.t* ‘calf’; Demotic *iry.t* ‘milking-cow’ (if < **ʔVr-* not **ʔVL-*).

Chadic *ʔarw- ‘a kind of bovid’ [*Tragelaphus?*]: Central Chadic *ʔarw- > Baldui *érèw-è* ‘antelope sp.’ East Chadic *ʔar- > Migama *ʔār-ó* ‘duiker’ [*Tragelaphus sp.*]. Cushitic *ʔaraw- ‘male of large ungulates’: North Cushitic *-rayVw- (*ʔ > Ø in Beja) > Beja *o-reo* ‘bull, steer’ (*o-* is a masc. article). East Chushitic *ʔawar- (met.): Saho-Afar: Saho *awr*; Afar *awur* ‘bull’. Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *awr* ‘he-camel’; Rendille *or* ‘he-camel, bull’; Boni *oor* ‘male, elephant [*L. africana*]; Oromo *oor-oo* ‘burden camel; Bayso *aar*; Arbore *ʔaar*; Dasenech *ar* ‘bull’. Highland East Cushitic *ʔaray- > Burji *array*, *aʔráy* ‘bull’, *aʔre* ‘calf’; Yaaku *erer* ‘antelope sp.’ Southern Cushitic *ʔarw- > Ma’a *áro* ‘large herbivore’; Dahalo *ʔáároole* (with *-l* root extension?) ‘eland’ [*Taurotragus sp.*].

Militarëv—Nikolaev (2020:201) also reconstruct Proto-Afrasian *ʔar(a)w/y- ‘a kind of lesser bovid’ on the basis of the following evidence: Semitic *ʔarwiy- ‘ibex’ [*Capra ibex*] > Sabaeen *ʔrwy-n* (pl.) ‘(female) mountain goat, ibex (?)’ [*Capra ibex*]; Arabic *ʔurw-iy-at-* ‘chèvre de montagne’ (‘mountain goat’) [*Capra ibex*]; Modern South Arabian: Mehri *ʔar-īt* ‘goat’, *hā-raw-n*; Jibbāli *ʔarú* ‘she-goat’, *ʔerú-n* ‘goats’; Harsūsi *he-werū-n* (met.); Soqotri *ʔére-hon* ‘moutons, chèvres’ (‘sheep, goats’). Berber-Canary: Tenerife *ara* ‘goat’. Chadic *ʔawr- (met.) ‘small cattle’: West Chadic *(ʔa)war- > Hausa *ara-ara* (*-w-* lost in a reduplicated form?) ‘type of long-legged ram, goat, sheep’; Montol, Ankwe, Gerka *ur*; Kerkere *wàr* ‘he-goat’. East Chadic *ʔawr- > Lele *ōr-ē* ‘goats’. Cushitic *ʔaray- ‘a kind of lesser bovid’: East Cushitic *ʔaray-: Saho-Afar *ʔVray- > Afar *eráy-taa* ‘goat’. Lowland East Cushitic *ʔar- > Somali *ari*, *eri* ‘pecore e capre’ (‘sheep and goats’); Bayso *arer* ‘antelope sp.’ Highland East Cushitic *ʔaray- > Burji *aráy* ‘sheep’; Yaaku *erer* ‘antelope sp.’ Southern Cushitic *ʔary- > Iraqw *ari* ‘goat’ (pl. *ar-a*); Alagwa, Burunge (pl.) *ar-a* ‘goats’; K’wadza *ali-to* (*-l* < **-r-*) ‘goat’.

Even though Militarëv—Nikolaev reconstruct two separate Proto-Afrasian stems here, I prefer to reconstruct only a single stem.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **arčkw-* ‘chamois’: Mingrelian *erckem-*, *erskem-* ‘ibex’; Georgian *arčv-* ‘chamois’. Note: Svan *jersk’än* ‘chamois’ is a loan from Mingrelian. Schmidt 1962:93 **arckw-*; Klimov 1964:45 **arčw-* and 1998:3—4 **arčw-* ‘chamois’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:36 **arčw-*; Fähnrich 2007:38—39 **arčw-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔer-/ʔor-/ʔr-* used as the base for the designation of various horned animals: ‘ram, goat’: Greek *ἔριφος* ‘young goat, kid’; Armenian *or-oj* ‘lamb’; Latin *ariēs* ‘ram’; Umbrian *erietu* ‘ram’; Old Irish *heirp* ‘she-goat’; Old Prussian *eristian* ‘lamb’; Lithuanian *ėras* ‘lamb’. Pokorny 1959:326 **er-*, **eri-* ‘he-goat’; Walde 1927—1932.I:135—136 **er-*; Watkins 1985:17 **er-* base of designation of various domestic horned animals; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:584 **er(i)-* and 1995.I:500 **er(i)-* ‘lamb, ram’; Mallory—Adams 1997:511 **h₁er-* ‘lamb, kid’; Chantraine

1968—1980.I:372; Boisacq 1950:281; Frisk 1970—1973.I:560; Hofmann 1966:93 **eri-bhos*, **er-bhos*, **ri-*; Beekes 2010.I:460; De Vaan 2008:54; Ernout—Meillet 1979:46; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:67 **eri-bho-*, **er-bh-*; **ero-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:121; Smoczyński 2007.1:233—234 *jéras*; Derksen 2015:154 **Hieh₁-r-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008: 233—235 **h₁er-*, **h₁er-i-*.

Buck 1949:3.25 sheep; 3.26 ram; 3.36 goat; 3.37 he-goat; 3.38 kid. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:570—571, no. 437; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 75, **ʔerq[i]* ‘ruminant’.

658. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔas-* (~ **ʔas-*):

(vb.) **ʔas-* ‘to gather, to collect’;

(n.) **ʔas-a* ‘the act of gathering, collecting’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔas-* ‘to gather, to collect’: Proto-Semitic **ʔas-ap-* ‘to gather, to collect’ > Hebrew *ʔasaq* [ʔʕʕ] ‘to gather, to collect, to remove; to harvest’, *ʔasīq* [ʔʕʕ] ‘harvest’; Aramaic *ʔasaq* ‘to gather, to harvest’; Phoenician *ʔsp* ‘to be gathered in’; Ugaritic *ʔsp* ‘to gather’; Akkadian *esēpu* ‘to gather up, to collect’ (Assyrian *esāpu*); Eblaite *á-si-pù* ‘harvest’. D. Cohen 1970— :27; Murtonen 1989:97; Klein 1971:44. East Chadic **ʔVsup-* ‘to harvest’ > Tumak *sub-* ‘to harvest’. Orël—Stolbova 2000:37, no. 146, **ʔVcup-* ‘to gather, to harvest’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔes-/ʔos-* ‘harvest-time’: Gothic *asans* ‘summer (time of harvest)’; Old Icelandic *önn* ‘working season, especially the hay-making season’; Old High German *aran* ‘harvest’ (New High German *Ernte* ‘harvest, crops’); Old Prussian *assanis* ‘autumn’; Old Church Slavic *jesenʹ* ‘autumn’; Russian *ósenʹ* [осень] ‘autumn’; Ukrainian *ósinʹ* ‘autumn’; Belorussian *vósenʹ* ‘autumn’; Slovak *jeseň* ‘autumn’; Bulgarian *ésen* ‘autumn’. Pokorny 1959:343 **es-en-*, **os-en-* ‘summer, harvest’; Walde 1927—1932.I:161—162 **es-en-*, **os-en-*; Mann 1984—1987:38 **asjō(n)* (**asin-*, **asən-*) ‘harvest-time, autumn’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:691 *(*e*)*s-en-* and 1995.I:596—597 *(*e*)*s-en-* ‘harvest time, summer’; Watkins 1985:17 **esen-* and 2000:24 **es-en-* ‘harvest, fall’ (Germanic **aznō* ‘harvest, work’); Mallory—Adams 1997:504 **h₁es-en-* ~ **h₁os-en-* ~ *h₁os-ŕ* ‘autumn’; Orël 2003:31 Proto-Germanic **az(a)niz* ~ **asaniz*; Kroonen 2013:46 Proto-Germanic **azani-* ‘harvest’; Lehmann 1986:44 **e/os-+-en/r* ‘harvest time, summer’; Feist 1939:58—59; De Vries 1977:687—688 **es-en-*, **os-en-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:173; Kluge—Seebold 1989:186 **osōr/-n-*; Derksen 2008:144 Balto-Slavic **es-eni-* and 2015:555—556 **h₁es-en-i-*.

Buck 1949:8.41 crop, harvest. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:559—560, no. 421.

659. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔasʷ- (~ *ʔasʷ-):
 (vb.) *ʔasʷ- ‘to put, to place, to set; to sit, to be seated’;
 (n.) *ʔasʷ-a ‘place, seat’; (adj.) ‘put, placed, set, established’
- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔasʷ- ‘to put, to place, to set; to sit, to be seated’: Proto-Semitic *ʔasʷ-asʷ- ‘to set up, to establish’ > Old Akkadian *uššum* ‘foundation’; Hebrew *ʔāšāš [ʔʕʕʕ] ‘to strengthen, to fortify, to found, to establish’; Post-Biblical Hebrew *məʔuššāš* [ʔʕʕʕ] ‘strong’; Biblical Aramaic (pl. det.) *ʔuššayyā* ‘foundations’; Arabic *ʔassa* ‘to found, to establish, to set up, to lay the foundation’, *ʔuss* ‘foundation, basis’; Sabaeen *ʔss* ‘base (of a statue or stele)’; Tigre *ʔassārā* ‘to set in order’. D. Cohen 1970— :35—36; Klein 1987:59—60. Egyptian *is-t*, *s-t* ‘seat, throne, place’, *t-is* ‘to sit, to seat oneself’, *t-iš* ‘to set, to insert, to inlay’, *isb-t* ‘throne, seat’, (obsolete in Middle Egyptian) *isd* ‘to sit’. Hannig 1995:102, 105, and 918; Faulkner 1962:30 and 206; Rössler 1981:715; Erman—Grapow 1921:19, 150 and 1926—1963.1:132, 4:1—6 *š-t*, 5:242. East Cushitic: Burji *iss-* ‘to do, to act, to make’; Sidamo *ass-* ‘to do, to make’; Kambata *ass-*, *es-* ‘to so, to make’; Hadiyya *iss-* ‘to do, to make’; Gedeo / Darasa (*h*)*ass-* ‘to do’; Saho *is-* ~ *iš-* ‘to do, to make’; Boni *as-* ‘to prepare, to make’. Sasse 1982:107; Hudson 1989:51 and 405 Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ass-* ‘to do’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔēs-/*ʔōs- ‘to put, to place, to set; to sit, to be seated’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *e-eš-zi*, *a-aš-zi* ‘to set, to sit, to beset, to do’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *i-sà-nu-wa/i-* ‘to seat, to cause to sit’, *i-sà-tara/i-tá-* ‘throne’; Greek ἵσται ‘to sit, to be seated’; Sanskrit *āste* ‘to sit, to sit down’; Avestan *āste* ‘to sit’. Rix 1998a:206 **h₁eh₁s-* ‘to sit’; Pokorny 1959:342—343 **ēs-* ‘to sit’; Walde 1927—1932.II:486 **ēs-*; Mann 1984—1987:249 **ēs-* (variant of root: **es-*); Watkins 2000:24 **ēs-* ‘to sit’ (oldest form **ʔ₁ēs-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:928 **es-* and 1995.I:821 **es-* ‘to sit, to be seated’; Mallory—Adams 1997:522 **h₁ēs-* ‘to sit’; Laroche 1960:13, no. 19/II, 153, no. 298, and 153—154, no. 299; Hawkins—Morpurgo-Davies—Neumann 1974:187—188; Werner 1991:35 and 88; Winter 1965b:202 **Ees-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:84; Boisacq 1950:322 **ēs-*; Beekes 2010.I:518 **h₁eh₁s-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:411—412; Hofmann 1966:107; Frisk 1970—1973.I:633—634; Kloekhorst 2008b: 252—255 (reduplicated) **h₁e-h₁s-*; Tischler 1977— .1:110—111; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:291—300.
- C. Proto-Uralic **asʷe-* ‘to place, to put, to set’: Finnish *asu-* ‘to reside, to live, to dwell’, *asetta-* ‘to place, to put, to set’, *ase-* ‘to place oneself’, *asema* ‘position, place, station’; Estonian *asu-* ‘to be, to be found, to lie, to dwell’, *asu* ‘place (for rest)’, *asukoht* ‘dwelling-place, residence, abode, habitation, haunt; location, whereabouts; site, seat’, *asula* ‘settlement, populated area, village’, *asukas* ‘inhabitant, denizen’, *asuta-* ‘to set up, to found, to institute, to establish, to constitute’, *asunda-* ‘to settle, to colonize’, *asumaa* ‘colony’, *ase* ‘place, spot, site’, *aseta-* ‘to place, to put, to set, to

lay; to arrange'; Mordvin *ezem* 'place, position; bench fastened to the wall in a Mordvin room'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ηōōso-*, *ηāeso-* 'to stop and put up one's tent', *ηyysy* 'tent, settlement'. Collinder 1955:4 and 1977:26; Décsy 1990:97 **asja* '(to) place'; Rédei 1986—1988:18—19 **aše-*; Aikio 2020:48—49 **eći-* 'to set', **eći-w-* 'camp'; Zhivlov 2023:161 Proto-Uralic **eći-* 'to settle down', Proto-Finnic **aše-* 'to set up'; Joki 1973:252—253.

Sumerian *aš-te* 'seat, stool, throne', *aš-ti* 'seat, throne', *eš-de*, *eš-ki* 'throne'.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make; 12.11 place (sb.); 12.12 put (place, set, lay); 12.13 sit. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:268—270, no. 132, **ʔesA* 'to settle a place, to be at a place'; Hakola 2000:25, no. 47; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:567—568, no. 434; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 84, **ʔ[ä]s[o]* 'to stay, to be' (Illič-Svityč ← 'to settle') and no. 85, **ʔisV* (or **ʔiʔsV* ?) 'to sit', 'seat (the part of the body that bears the weight in sitting)' (→ 'foundation, basis').

660. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔath^hta* 'older male relative, father' (nursery word):

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *it* 'father', (f.) *it-t* 'nurse'; Coptic *yōt* [ⲉⲓⲟⲩ] 'father'. Hannig 1995:110; Faulkner 1962:32; Gardiner 1957:555; Erman—Grapow 1921:20 and 1926—1963.1:141; Vycichl 1983:67—68; Černý 1976:49.
- B. Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **atta* 'father': Middle Elamite *at-ta* 'father'; Royal Achaemenid Elamite *at-ta* 'father'. McAlpin 1981:141. Dravidian: Tamil *attan* 'father, elder, person of rank or eminence', (f.) *attai*, *attaicār* 'father's sister, mother-in-law', *attān* 'elder sister's husband; father's sister's son, maternal uncle's son when elder, wife's brother when elder'; Malayalam *attan* 'father', *atta* (f.) 'mother, mother's sister'; Kannaḍa (f.) *atte*, *atti* 'mother-in-law, aunt'; Tuḷu (f.) *attē* 'mother-in-law'; Gadba (Ollari) (f.) *āta*, (Salur) (f.) *atta* 'father's sister'; Gondī (f.) *ātī* 'father's sister'; Telugu (f.) *atta* 'mother-in-law'; Naikṛi (f.) *atiak* 'father's sister'; Kuwi (f.) *atta* 'aunt', (f.) *atu* 'grandmother'; Kui (f.) *ata*, *atali* 'grandmother'. Krishnamurti 2003:10 **atta-* 'maternal/paternal aunt'; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:15, no. 142.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔath^hta* 'father, daddy': Hittite (nom. sg.) *at-ta-aš* 'father'; Greek *ἄττα* 'daddy'; Latin *atta* 'father'; Gothic *atta* 'father'; Old Frisian *aththa* 'father'; Old High German *atto* 'father' (Middle High German *atte*, *ätte* 'father'); Albanian *atë* 'father'; Old Church Slavic *отѣць* 'father'; Russian *otéc* [отѣц] 'father'; Sanskrit (f.) *attā* 'mother' (**atta-* 'father' is unattested, but note the following: Assamese *ātā* form of address to a respectable older man; Gujarati *ātāji* 'grandfather'; Sinhalese *ātā* 'grandfather'; Sindhi *ado* 'brother'; Lahndī *addā* 'father'). Pokorny 1959:71 **ātos*, **atta* 'daddy'; Walde 1927—1932.I:44 **atta*; Mann 1984—1987:39 **atā* (**attā*, *-os*, *-jos*) 'daddy'; Watkins 1985:4 **atto-* and 2000:6 **atto-* 'father' (nursery word); Mallory—Adams 1997:195 **at-* (or **h_aet-* ~ **h₁at-*) 'father'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:27—28; Chantraine

- 1968—1980.I:135; Boisacq 1950:98; Frisk 1970—1973.I:182; Hofmann 1966:27; Beekes 2010.I:165 *atta; Ernout—Meillet 1979:54; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:77; De Vaan 2008:60; Huld 1984:39; Orël 1998:11 and 2003:27 Proto-Germanic *attōn; Kroonen 2013:39 Proto-Germanic *attan- ‘father’; Feist 1939:62; Lehmann 1986:46; Derksen 2008:383; Kloekhorst 2008b:225—226; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:224—226.
- D. Proto-Altaic *ēthe (with *ě- for expected *ǎ-) ‘elder male relative’: Proto-Tungus *(χ)eti- ‘old man; father-in-law’ > Evenki *eti-rkēn* ‘old man’, *etkī* ‘father-in-law’; Lamut / Even *eti-kēn* ‘old man’, *etki* ‘father-in-law’; Negidal *eti-χen* ‘old man’, *etkī* ‘father-in-law’; Solon *etikkē* ‘old man’. Proto-Mongolian *ečige (< *etike) ‘father’ > Written Mongolian *ečige* ‘father’; Khalkha *eceg* ‘father’; Buriat *esege* ‘father’; Kalmyk *ecəgə* ‘father’; Ordos *ečige* ‘father’; Dagur *ečig*, *ecihe* ‘father’. Poppe 1955:57. Proto-Turkic *Ata/*Ete ‘father, uncle, ancestor’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ata* ‘father’; Karakhanide Turkic *ata*, *ataqī* ‘father’; Turkish *ata* ‘father, ancestor’; Azerbaijani *ata* ‘father’; Turkmenian *ata* ‘father’s father’; Uzbek *ota* ‘father’; Uighur *ata* ‘father, ancestor’; Karaim *ata* ‘ancestor’; Tatar *ata*, *eti* ‘father’, *etkey* ‘uncle’; Bashkir *ata* ‘father, male’; Kirghiz *ata* ‘father, ancestor’; Kazakh *ata* ‘father’; Noghay *ata* ‘father, male’; Sary-Uighur *ata* ‘father’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ada* ‘father, ancestor’. Poppe 1960:51, 56, and 103; Street 1974:12 *etiké(y) ‘some older male relative’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:523—524 *ēt’e ‘elder relative’.
- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian *atləy(ən) ‘father’ > Chukchi *atləyən* ‘father’, *atləyə-lqəl* ‘stepfather’; Alyutor *əlləyən* ‘father’, *əlləyuwwi* ‘parents’; Kerek *itna* ‘father’, *itnuu-lXəl* ‘stepfather’. Fortescue 2005:148.
- F. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *ətək ‘father’; Amur *ətək* ‘father, paternal uncle’; North Sakhalin *ətək* ‘father’; East Sakhalin *ətək* ‘father’; South Sakhalin *ətək* ‘father’. Fortescue 2016:167. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *atak or *ətək ‘grandfather’ or ‘father-in-law’: Amur *atak* ‘grandfather’, *atk* ‘father-in-law’; North Sakhalin *atak* ‘grandfather’; East Sakhalin *atk* / *ackičx* ‘grandfather’; South Sakhalin *at(ə)k* ‘grandfather’. Fortescue 2016:17.
- G. Etruscan *ateri* ‘parents, ancestors’, (f.) *ati* ‘mother’, (f.) *ati nacna* ‘grandmother’.

Buck 1949:2.35 father. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:565—566, no. 430; Caldwell 1913:612—613.

661. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔatʷa ‘older relative (male or female)’ (nursery word):

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *accan* ‘father’; Malayalam *accan* ‘father, lord’, *acca*, *acci* ‘mother’; Kota *aj ayn* ‘very old man’, *aj av* ‘very old woman’; Kannada *acci* ‘mother’, *ajja* ‘grandfather’, *ajji* ‘grandmother’; Kodagu *ajjē* ‘grandfather’, *mutt-ajjē* ‘great-grandfather’; Tuḷu *ajje* ‘grandfather’, *ajji* ‘grandmother’; Naikri *ājak-jaran* ‘grandfather’; Maṇḍa *aji* ‘father’s

- mother'; Kurux *ajjos* (voc. *ajjō*) 'paternal grandfather', *ajjī* 'grandmother'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:6, no. 50.
- B. Proto-Uralic **äwvā* 'father': Lapp / Saami *ač'če* 'father'; Vogul / Mansi *ääci* 'grandfather'; Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *at'i*, (Literary) *asi* 'father'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ηaace?* 'father', (Forest) *aače* 'father'. Collinder 1955:2 and 1977:24; Rédei 1986—1988:22 **äcä*; Décsy 1990:98 **ätjä* 'father'; Aikio 2020:30—33 (?) **äccä* / **eć(ć)ä* / **ić(ć)ä* / **ajcä* 'father'. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *eče*: 'father'. Nikolaeva 2006:150.
- C. Proto-Altaic **äčV* 'older relative (male or female)': Proto-Tungus **asī* 'elder brother's wife; woman; wife' > Evenki *asī* 'woman'; Lamut / Even *asī* 'woman'; Negidal *asī* 'woman'; Manchu *aša* 'elder brother's wife'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ašə, asə* 'wife'; Ulch *asī* 'wife'; Orok *asī* 'woman'; Nanay / Gold *aša* 'woman'; Oroch *asa* 'woman'; Udihe *ahanta* 'woman'; Solon *ašē, ašī* 'woman'. Mongolian: Dagur *ačā* 'father'. Proto-Turkic **äčay/*ēčey* 'older relative (male or female)' > Old Turkic (Orkhon) *eči* 'elder brother, uncle', (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *ečü* 'ancestor'; Karakhanide Turkic *eči* 'old man or woman', *ečü* 'Father! (to the god)'; Turkish (dial.) [*ažu, eže*] 'old man, elder man'; Uzbek *čča, ača* 'mother, grandmother'; Uighur *ača* 'aunt, sister of father'; Tatar (dial.) *aža, aži, eži* 'mother', (dial.) *ažiy, ezi* 'old man, elder man, father'; Bashkir *äsä* 'mother'; Kirghiz *ačay* 'mother', *aža* 'old man, elder man'; Sary-Uighur *ači* 'sister (of woman)', *ača* 'husband, father'; Tuva *ača* 'father'; Chuvash *aža* 'father'; Yakut *ehe* 'grandfather'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:271—272 **äčV* 'elder relative, ancestor'.
- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **ačik* 'grandmother' or 'mother-in-law': Amur *ačik* 'grandmother', *ačk* 'mother-in-law', *ačx* 'aunt (father's sister)'; North Sakhalin *ačik* 'grandmother'; East Sakhalin *ačim* 'grandmother', *ačik* 'mother-in-law'; South Sakhalin *ačik* 'mam'. Fortescue 2016:7.
- E. Proto-Eskimo **accay* 'paternal aunt': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aca(k), acaaq* 'paternal aunt'; Central Alaskan Yupik *acak* 'paternal aunt'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *asak, asik* 'paternal aunt'; Central Siberian Yupik *asak* 'paternal aunt'; Sirenik *asəx* 'paternal aunt'; North Alaskan Inuit *atcak* 'paternal aunt'; Western Canadian Inuit (Netsilik) *atsak*, (Copper) *attak* 'paternal aunt'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *atsa, atsak* 'paternal aunt'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *assak* 'paternal aunt'; Greenlandic Inuit *atsak* 'paternal aunt'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:2. Proto-Eskimo **acurar* 'aunt by marriage': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Kodiak) *acu<R>aq* 'aunt by marriage'; North Alaskan Inuit *asuraq* 'paternal aunt-in-law'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *azuraq* 'aunt by marriage'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:4.

Buck 1949:2.46 grandfather; 2.47 grandmother; 2.51 uncle; 2.52 aunt.

662. Proto-Nostratic coordinating conjunction **ʔaw-*, **ʔwa-* (~ **ʔwə-*) 'or':

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *ʔaw- ‘or’ > Arabic ʔaw ‘or’; Hebrew ʔō [ʔ̄] ‘or’; Syriac ʔaw ‘or’; Ugaritic ʔ ‘or’; Akkadian ū ‘or’; Sabaean ʔw ‘or’; Ḥarsūsi ʔaw ‘or’; Mehri ʔaw ‘or’; Geez / Ethiopic ʔaw [ḫw̄] ‘or’; Tigre ʔaw ‘or’; Tigrinya wäy ‘or’; Harari aw ‘or’; Gurage we ‘or’; Amharic wäy ‘or’; Gafat wäy ‘or’. D. Cohen 1970— :11; Murtonen 1989:84—85; Klein 1987:9; Leslau 1963:37, 1979:639, and 1987:47; Zammit 2002:83. East Cushitic: Saho oo ‘or’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔwe ‘or’ > Greek ἦ-(F)έ ‘or’; Sanskrit -vā ‘or’; Latin -ve ‘or’. Pokorny 1959:75 *μῆ-, *μo- ‘or’; Walde 1927—1932.I:188—189; Mann 1984—1987:1496 *μe (*μῆ, *μῶ, *u) enclitic: ‘and, but, or, also, so’; Mallory—Adams 1997:410 *μῆ ‘or’; De Vaan 2008:656; Ernout—Meillet 1979:716; Boisacq 1950:313; Frisk 1970—1973.I:619; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:404; Hofmann 1966:104; Beekes 2010.I:507 *h₁ῆ-ue; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:180.
- C. Uralic: Finnish vai ‘or’; Estonian vōi ‘or’.

Möller 1911:258; Brunner 1969:152, no. 862; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:602—603, no. 476.

663. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔay- (~ *ʔay-) (interrogative verb stem):

(vb.) *ʔay- ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’

Derivative:

Interrogative-relative pronoun stem *ʔay-, *ʔya- ‘(relative) who, which, what; (interrogative) who?, which?, what?’

- A. Proto-Dravidian *iya- originally an interrogative verb stem meaning ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’, later ‘to do, to effect, to cause, to induce, to cause to act; to be possible, to be proper’: Tamil *iyal* ‘to be possible, to befall, to be associated with; to accept, to agree to, to approach, to resemble’, *iyalpu* ‘nature, proper behavior, goodness, propriety’, *iyalvu* ‘nature, means of attaining’, *iyarru* ‘to do, to effect, to cause to act; to control the movements of, to create, to compose’, *iyarri*, *iyarral* ‘effort’, *iyarkai* ‘nature, custom’, *iyai* ‘to join, to connect, to adapt’, *iyaipu* ‘union, harmony, appropriateness’, *iyaivu* ‘union, joining together’; Malayalam *iyaluka* ‘to agree, to go fairly, to be proper’, *iyal* ‘what is proper; nature, condition; strength, power’, *iyarruka* ‘to cause, to induce’, *iyappu* ‘joint, joining together’, *iyaykkuka* ‘to join’, *iyayuka* ‘to be agreeable, to harmonize’; Tulu *iyaruni*, *iyavuni* ‘to be sufficient’; Telugu *īya-konu*, *īyya-konu* ‘to consent’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:45, no. 471.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔ(e)yo- (originally an interrogative verb stem meaning ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’, later simply ‘to make, to do, to perform’): Proto-Anatolian *iya- ~ *aya- ~ *ya-/*yē- (< *HyeH-) ‘to do, to make, to perform, etc.’ > Hittite (3rd sg. pres. active) *i-ya-(az-)zi*, *i-e-iz-zi* ‘to do, to make, to treat, to beget, to perform (duty, ritual), to celebrate (deity, feast)’; Luwian (3rd sg. pres. passive) *a-a-ya-ri* ‘to make’;

Hieroglyphic Luwian *a(i)a-* ‘to make’; Lycian (3rd sg. pres.) *ati* (< **ayati*) ‘to make’; Lydian *i-* ‘to make’. The stem is also found in Tocharian A/B *yām-* ‘to do, to make, to commit, to effect’. Mallory—Adams 1997:362 **ieh₁-* ‘to do, to make; to act vigorously’; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:335—347 **eye-*, **eyo-*; Tischler 1977— .2:338—343; Kloekhorst 2008b:381—382; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:586; Adams 1999:490—492 **yeh₁-*.

- C. Altaic: Common Mongolian **yaya-*, **yeyi-* (< **yayi-*), **yeki-* interrogative verb stem (derived form — the root is **yā-*): ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’ > Mongolian *yaki-*, *yeki-*, *yeyi-*, *yayaki-* ‘how to act?, what to do?, how to proceed?’; Dagur *yā-* ‘to do what?’; Ordos *yā-*, *yā^kχi-* ‘to do what?’; Khalkha *yā-* ‘to do what?’; *ī-* (< **yī-* < **yeyi-*) ‘to act in what manner?’; Monguor *yā-* ‘to do what?’; Buriat *yā-* ‘to do what?’; Kalmyk *yā-* ~ **yayv-* ‘to do what?’. Poppe 1955:230—231; Street 1974:29 **yā-* ‘to do what?; who, what’.
- D. Gilyak / Nivkh: Amur *ja-d^v* ‘to do what?’. Fortescue 2016:81. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **aj-* ‘to do’ (originally an interrogative verb stem meaning ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’, later simply ‘to do, to make, to build’): Amur *ai-d^v* / *jai-d^v* ‘to do’; East Sakhalin *aj-d* / *jaj-d* ‘to build, to make, to do’; South Sakhalin *jai-nt* ‘to do’. Fortescue 2016:9.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:595—596, no. 468.

664. Proto-Nostratic interrogative-relative pronoun stem **ʔay-*, **ʔya-* ‘(relative) who, which, what; (interrogative) who?, which?, what?’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **ʔay-* ‘to do what?, to act in what manner?’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔay(y)-* interrogative-relative pronoun stem: ‘who, which, what; here; who?, which?, what?; where?’: Proto-Semitic **ʔay(y)-* interrogative stem: ‘who?, which?, what?; where?’ > Hebrew *ʔē* [ʔ] ‘where?’; Aramaic *ʔē* ‘what?, where?, how?’; *ʔēχā* ‘where now?’; Syriac *ʔaynā* ‘what?’, *ʔaykā* ‘where?’; Ugaritic *īy* ‘where?’; Akkadian *ayyu* ‘who?, what?’; Arabic *ʔayy* ‘which?, what?’; Epigraphic South Arabian *ʔy* ‘whatsoever’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔayy* [አይ] ‘which?, what?, what kind?, what sort of?’; Tigre *ʔayi* ‘which?’; Tigrinya *ʔayyān*, *ʔayyā-nay* ‘which?’, also in: *nabāy* ‘whither?’ (from *nab ʔay*) and *kāmāy* ‘how!’ (from *kāmā ʔay*); Harari *āy* ‘which?’, *āyde* ‘where?’, *āyku(t)* ‘how?’; Gurage (Chaha) *e* ‘where?’. D. Cohen 1970— :16—17; Moscati 1964:114—115; Zammit 2002:86; Klein 1987:20; Leslau 1963:38, 1979:1, and 1987:49. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔay(y)-* > Saho *ay* ‘who?’; Boni *ay* ‘who?’; Somali *ayy-o* ‘who?’; Burji *áyye* ‘who?’; Hadiyya *ay*, *ayy-e* ‘who?’. Sasse 1979:46 and 1982:30; Hudson 1989:167. This stem also occurs in Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔayi* ‘here’, (combining form) **yi* ‘here’ > K’wadza *ayiyē* ‘here’; Ma’a *iʔi* ‘here’; Dahalo **ji-* in *jiko* ‘who?’. Ehret 1980:288. Bender (2000:209)

- reconstructs an interrogative stem **ay* ‘who?, what?, why?’ for Proto-Omotc. Diakonoff 1988:83, §4.4.4.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **yā-* interrogative stem: ‘who?, which?, what?’: Kannada *yā-*, *ā-*, *ē-*, *e-* interrogative base; Malayalam *yāvan/ēvan*, *yāval/ēval*, *yāvar/ēvar/yār/ār* ‘who?’, *yā/yātu/ētu/ēn* ‘what?’; Tamil *yā*, *yāvai* ‘what or which things?’, *ēvan* ‘who?’, *ēṇ* ‘why?, what?, how?’. Krishnamurti 2003:256—258 **yaH-/yāH-* interrogative stem; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:465—467, no. 5151.
- C. Kartvelian: Svan (Upper Bal) (interrogative) *jār* ‘who?’, (relative) *jerwāj* ‘who’, (indefinite) *jer* ‘somebody, something’, *jerē* ‘someone, somebody’, *jerwāle* ‘anybody’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **ʔyo-* relative pronoun stem: Greek ὅς, ἧ, ὅ ‘which’; Phrygian ιος ‘which; this’; Sanskrit *yá-h* ‘which’. Greenberg 2000:225—227; Pokorny 1959:283 **io-* ‘who, which’; Walde 1927—1932.I:98 **io-*; Mann 1984—1987:452 **ios*, **iā* relative pronoun; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:387 **ios/*io-t[h]* and 1995.I:235, I:339 **yos/*yo-th* relative pronoun; Mallory—Adams 1997:457 **iós/*iéha/*iód* ‘who, what, that’; Boisacq 1950:721 **io-s*, **iā*, **io-d*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:434 **ios*, **iā*, **iód*; Hofmann 1966:241 **ios*, **iā*, **iód*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:831 **yo-*; Beekes 2010.II:1117 **h₁i-o-*. According to Szemerényi (1996:210), among others, **yo-* is to be derived from the anaphoric stem **i-*. However, Greenberg has successfully refuted this view.
- E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian relative and indefinite pronoun **yo-* ‘who, which’: Finnish *jo-* in *joka* ‘who, which’, *joku* ‘someone, anyone’, *jos* ‘when’; Lapp / Saami *juokkē* ‘each, every’; Mordvin *ju-* in *juza toza* ‘to and fro, back and forth’; Cheremis / Mari (Western) *juž*, (Eastern) *južō* ‘someone, anyone’. Greenberg 2000:227; Joki 1973:264; Rédei 1986—1988:637 **jo*.
- F. Proto-Altaic **yā-* interrogative stem: ‘who?, which?, what?’: Manchu-Tungus: Manchu *ya* ‘which?, what?’, *yaba* ‘where?’, *yade* ‘where?, whither?, to whom?’; Evenki *ēma* (< **yāma*) ‘what kind?’, *ēdu* (< **yādu*) ‘why?, for what?’. Mongolian: Written Mongolian *yaγun* ‘what?’, *yambar* ‘which?, what kind?’; Dagur *yō* ‘what?’; Moghol *yan* ‘what?, which?’, *yem* ~ *yema* ‘what?’; Ordos *yū* ‘what?’; Buriat *yūŋ* ‘which?’. Greenberg 2000:227; Poppe 1955:126, 226, 229, 230 and 1960:32, 33; Street 1974:29 **yā-* ‘to do what?; who, what’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:754) derive the Manchu-Tungus forms cited above from Proto-Altaic **k’a(j)* ‘who?’ (interrogative pronoun), while they (2003:2034) derive the Mongolian forms from Proto-Altaic **ŋ[iV]* ‘what?, who?’ (interrogative pronoun). In view of the data from other Nostratic languages, it seems more likely that a Proto-Altaic interrogative stem **yā-* needs to be reconstructed here to account for the Tungus and Mongolian forms. Proto-Altaic **k^ha(y)*, then, was the source of Proto-Tungus **χai* but not Proto-Tungus **yā-*. This agrees with the traditional etymology as opposed to what Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak propose.

- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **ja(nəŋ)* ‘how’: Amur *janut / janur* ‘how’ (West Sakhalin Amur *janġur* ‘how’, *janko* ‘where’); North Sakhalin *janagut* ‘how’; East Sakhalin *jan’ř / janř* ‘how’, *janəg* ‘why’. Fortescue 2016:81.

Greenberg 2000:225—229, §61. Interrogative J; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I: 277—278, no. 142, **ja* interrogative and relative stem: ‘which, who’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:594—595, no. 467; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 101, **ǰäyV* (= **ǰäya* ?) ‘which’ and, no. 2616, **ya* ‘which?’.

665. Proto-Nostratic root **ǰay-* (~ **ǰay-*):

(vb.) **ǰay-* ‘to go, to proceed’;

(n.) **ǰay-a* ‘journey’

Note also:

(vb.) **ǰiy-* ‘to come, to go’;

(n.) **ǰiy-a* ‘approach, arrival; path, way’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ǰay-* ‘to come, to run’: (?) Semitic: Arabic *taʿayya* ‘to remain a long time’. D. Cohen 1970— :17 (Arabic *ʿayyaya*). Berber: Tuareg *ayu-* ‘to come’; Kabyle (interjection) *ayya* ‘come!’. East Chadic **ǰaw-/ǰay-* ‘to go; to gallop’ > Ndam *ao* ‘to go’; Sibine *ʿaya* ‘to gallop’. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *eʿ-* ‘to enter; to set (of sun)’. Hudson 1989:361. Omotic: Ometo *ai-* ‘to come’; Bench / Gimira (inf.) *yo* ‘to come’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:18—19, no. 65, **ǰay-* ‘to come, to run’.
- B. [Proto-Indo-European **ǰey-/ǰoy-/ǰi-* ‘to go’: Greek (1st sg. pres.) εἶμι ‘I go’, (1st pl. pres.) ἴμεν ‘we go’; Sanskrit (1st sg. pres.) *émi* ‘I go’, (3rd sg. pres.) *éti* ‘goes’, (1st pl. pres.) *imáh* ‘we go’, (3rd pl. pres.) *yánti* ‘they go’; Avestan (3rd sg. pres.) *aēiti* ‘goes’; Old Persian (3rd sg. pres.) *aitiy* ‘goes’; Paelignian (imptv.) *eite* ‘go!’; Latin (1st sg. pres.) *eō* ‘I go’; Old Lithuanian (1st sg. pres.) *eīmi* ‘I go’, (3rd sg. pres.) *eīti* ‘goes’; Old Prussian (3rd sg. pres.) *ēit* ‘goes’, *per-ēit* ‘comes’; Old Church Slavic *idō, iti* ‘to go’; Luwian (3rd sg. pres.) *i-ti* ‘goes’; Hittite (imptv.) *i-it* ‘go!’; Tocharian A (1st pl.) *ymäs* ‘we go’, B (1st sg.) *yam, yam* ‘I go’. Rix 1998a:207—208 **h₁ej-* ‘to go’; Pokorny 1959:293—297 **ei-* ‘to go’; Walde 1927—1932.I:102—105 **ei-*; Mann 1984—1987:234 **eimi* (**eīō*) ‘to go’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:180 **ej/i-* and 1995.I:155, I:194 **ei-/i-* ‘to go’, I:296 **ei-mi* ‘I go’, **ei-si* ‘you go’, **ei-ti* ‘he, she goes’; Watkins 1985:16 **ei-* and 2000:22 **ei-* ‘to go’ (oldest form **₂ei-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:227—228 **h₁ei-* ‘to go’; Boisacq 1950:225—226 **ei-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:462—463; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:321—322; Hofmann 1966:73 **ei-*; Beekes 2010.I:388 **h₁ei-*; De Vaan 2008:191—192; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:406—409 **ei-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:197—199 **ei-*, **i-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:128; Derksen 2008:216 **h₁ei-* and 2015:151—152 **h₁ei-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:144—145; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:119. Proto-Indo-European **ǰy-eh-* [**ǰy-ah-*] (> **ǰyā-*) ‘to go, to proceed’: Sanskrit (3rd sg. pres.) *yāti* ‘goes, proceeds, moves, walks,

sets out, marches, advances, travels, journeys'; Avestan (3rd sg. pres.) *yāiti* 'goes, rides'; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *i-ya-at-ta(-ri)* 'goes' (so Sturtevant 1951:34, §61, Indo-Hittite *ʔ*yehty*; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:330—335, however, derives the Hittite form from **iya-* < **eyo-* and compares it with Vedic *áyate* 'to go'); Lithuanian *jóju, jóti* 'to ride on horseback'; Tocharian A *yā-* 'to go, to move'. Rix 1998a:275 **ieh₂-* 'to proceed, to move along, to go, to travel, to ride'; Pokorny 1959:294 **iā-* 'to go'; Walde 1927—1932.I:104 **iā-*; Mann 1984—1987:439 **iāiō*, **iāmi* 'to go, to ride'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:724 **iāH-* and 1995.I:627 **yāH-* 'to ride (in a vehicle)'; Derksen 2015:212—213 **ieh₂-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:228 **ieha-* 'to go, to travel'; Kloekhorst 2008b:380; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:220—230 **h₁ej-*.] Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (A) **ʔay-* (~ **ʔay-*) 'to go, to proceed' and (B) **ʔiy-* (~ **ʔey-*) 'to come, to go'.

- C. Proto-Uralic **aya-* 'to drive, to ride; to go, to travel; to chase away, to chase off, to drive away; to pursue': Finnish *aja-* 'to drive, to ride; to go, to travel; to run; to transport, to carry; to chase away, to chase off, to drive away', *ajaja* 'driver, rider'; Estonian *aja-* 'to drive, to impel'; Lapp / Saami *vuoggje-/vuoje-* 'to drive (tr. and intr.)'; Votyak / Udmurt *ujy-, uj-, iij-* 'to drive, to pursue'; Zyrian / Komi *voj-* 'to bolt, to run away; to move away, to carry away swiftly', *vojl-* 'to run away', *vojledly-* 'to drive, to chase'; Vogul / Mansi *oj-* 'to flee, to run away', *ojt-* 'to let run', *wujt-* 'to chase, to pursue'. Rédei 1986—1988:4—5 **aja-*; Collinder 1955:129 and 1977:140; Sammallahti 1988:542 **ājā-* 'to drive'; Aikio 2020:7—8 **aja-* 'to drive / to chase'. The above forms are usually taken to be loans from Indo-Iranian (cf. Joki 1973:247—248). Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *ejuu-* 'to attack', (Southern / Kolyma) *je:j-* 'to get somewhere, to fall; to attack', *ejtā-* 'to take away, to take off'. Nikolaeva 2006:152.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **āya-* 'to go, to walk': Proto-Tungus **āy-* '(vb.) to run quickly, to step (on sand, snow); (adj.) swift' > Lamut / Even *ayij* 'swift'; Manchu *aya-* 'to run quickly'; Orok *aya-munžj* 'swift'; Nanay / Gold *āi-* 'to step (on sand, snow)'. Proto-Mongolian **aya-* 'journey, travel' > Written Mongolian *ayan*, *ayan* 'travel, journey, expedition'; Khalkha *ayan* 'journey, travel'; Buriat *ayan* 'journey, travel'; Kalmyk *ayan* 'journey, travel'; Ordos *ayan* 'journey, travel'; Dagur *ayan* 'journey, travel'. Proto-Turkic **Ay-* 'to go, to go round, to walk in circles' > Turkish *ayla(-n)-* 'to revolve, to rotate, to go round'; Gagauz *ayla-, aylan-* 'to revolve, to rotate, to go round', (*h*)*ayda-* 'to drive'; Azerbaijani (dial.) *aylan-* 'to revolve, to rotate, to go round'; Turkmenian *ayla-* 'to lead, to lead round'; Uzbek *aylan-* 'to revolve, to rotate, to go round; to tarry'; Uighur *aylan-* 'to revolve, to rotate, to go round; to tarry'; Karaim *aylan-* 'to revolve, to rotate, to go round'; Tatar *aylān-* 'to revolve, to rotate, to go round'; Kirghiz *aylan-* 'to revolve, to rotate, to go round', *ayda-* 'to drive'; Kazakh *ayda-* 'to drive', *aynal-* 'to revolve, to rotate, to go round'; Noghay *aylan-* 'to revolve, to rotate, to go round; to tarry'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ayla-*

‘to revolve, to rotate, to go round’, *ayda-* ‘to drive’; Yakut *aygī-s-in-* ‘to tarry; to go, to visit frequently’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:277—278 **āja* ‘to go, to walk’.

- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ajtat-* ‘to drive (herd)’ > Chukchi *aytat-* ‘to drive animals from place to place’, *ayta-* ‘to drive into a compound, to screen, to surround’, *aytatwan* ‘compound’; Kerek *ajtaat-* ‘to chase, to drive’; Koryak *ajtat-* ‘to drive a herd of animals’; Alyutor (Palana) *ajtat-* ‘to drive a herd of animals’. Fortescue 2005:18.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **ayu-* ‘to go ahead or further’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Alaskan Peninsula, Kenai Peninsula) *ayu-* ‘to progress, to get bigger, to spread’; Central Alaskan Yupik *ayu-* ‘to progress, to go further, to spread’; Central Siberian Yupik *ayu-* ‘to progress, to keep going’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *ayur-* ‘to hold out, to hold on’; Sirenik *ayə-* ‘to go far off’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *ayu-* ‘to get a head’s start, to progress, to die’; North Alaskan Yupik *ayu-* ‘to go ahead, to have a head’s start, to die’, *ayuuq-* ‘to go far, to progress’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *ayuuḷy-* ‘to go far (rock, bullet)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *ayu-* ‘to run away, to break loose, to run off inland (angry person)’; Greenlandic Inuit *ayuuṭ(i)* ‘to kick towards a goal (football)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:59—60.

Buck 1949:10.45 walk (vb.); 10.47 go; 10.48 come; 10.53 pursue; 10.65 drive (vb. tr.); 10.66 ride (vb.). Hakola 2000:17—18, no. 16; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 102, **ʔ[e]yV* ‘to come, to arrive’; Fortescue 1998:152.

666. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔay-a* ‘brain’:

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ʔis* ‘brain (of men and animals)’ (medical term). Hannig 1995:2; Faulkner 1962:1; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:2. Berber: Mzab *ayətti*, *tayətti* ‘attention given to an act or deed’; Tuareg *taytə* (pl. *tityttəwīn*) ‘intelligence, mind’; Riff (Iznasen) *taytti* ‘evil eye’.
- B. Proto-Uralic **ayji* ‘brain’: [Finnish *aivo(t)* ‘brain(s); cerebrum’; Estonian *aju* ‘brain’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *vuoiṅāš-* ~ *vuoiṅāšak* (pl.) ‘brain(s)’, (Lule) *vuoiṅam* ~ *vuoiṅam* ‘brain’;] (?) Mordvin (Moksha) *uj* ‘marrow, brain’; (?) Hungarian *agy* ‘brain; cerebrum’. Collinder 1955:71 and 1977:87; Rédei 1986—1988:5 **ajje* ‘brain’; Sammallahti 1988:542 **ājji* ‘brain’; Aikio 2020:9—10 **ajji* ‘brain’.
- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) **ajwa* ‘brain’: Chukchi *ajo* ‘brain’; Kerek *aju* ‘brain’; Koryak *awi* ‘brain’ (adj. *awja-kin*); Alyutor *ēwa* ‘brain’; Kamchadal / Itelmen [*ajuvaj*, *aʔjva* ‘brain’] (this may be a loan from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:19.

Buck 1949:4.203 brain. Greenberg 2002:30, no. 48, **ayu* ‘brain’. Different (false) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2600a, **Xayno* (= **ħ|χayno*) (a variant reconstruction instead of **ʔayno*) ‘marrow, brain, soft fat of animals’ (→ ‘to smear, to anoint’).

667. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔay(y)a ‘mother, female relative’ (nursery word):

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔay(y)- ‘mother’: Berber: Kabyle *ya* ‘woman, female’ (in composition: *ya-n-əgma* in *tiyanəgmatin* ‘sister-in-law, brother’s wife’), *yaya* ‘(my) grandmother, older member of the family’. Proto-East Cushitic *ʔaayy- ‘mother’ > Boni *aay-o?* ‘mother’; Somali *aay-o* ‘stepmother’; Rendille *ay-o* ‘mother’; Bayso *ay-o* ‘mother’; Galla / Oromo *aayy-oo* ‘mother’; Konso *aayy-o* ‘mother’; Burji *aayy-ée* ‘mother, mother’s sister’; Hadiyya *a(a)yy-a* ‘sister’. Sasse 1979:44 and 1982:22; Hudson 1989:102, 176, and 269.
- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *ācci* ‘mother, grandmother’, *tāyi* ‘mother’; Tamil *āy*, *āyi*, *yāy*, *ñāy* ‘mother’, *āycci*, *ācci* ‘mother, grandmother’; Kannada *āyi*, *tāy*, *tāyi*, *tāye* ‘mother’; Kolami *ay* ‘mother’; Naikṛi *ayma* ‘woman’, *ayka* ‘husband’s elder sister’; Konda *aya* ‘mother’; Pengo *aya*, *iya* ‘mother’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:34, no. 364; Krishnamurti 2003:10 **āy* ‘mother’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *ʔay-th- ‘mother’: Gothic *aīpei* ‘mother’; Old Icelandic *eiða* ‘mother’; Middle High German *eide* ‘mother’. Kroonen 2013:15 Proto-Germanic **aipin-* ~ **aipōn-* ‘mother’; Orël 2003:10 Proto-Germanic **aipīn* (cf. also **aipōn*); Feist 1939:28; Lehmann 1986:20; De Vries 1977:95. Germanic loans in Balto-Finnic: Finnish *äiti* ‘mother’; Estonian *eit* ‘(peasant) woman, old woman’.
- D. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **ayak* ‘maternal aunt’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *ayak* ‘maternal aunt’; North Alaskan Inuit (Point Hope) *ayak*, *ayauluk* ‘paternal aunt’, *ayaayak* ‘older sister’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *aya* ‘maternal aunt’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (North Baffin-Iglulik) *aya(k)*, (Tarramiut) *ayakuluk* ‘maternal aunt’; Greenlandic Inuit *aya(k)*, (North Greenlandic / Polar Eskimo) *ayaaXXuk* ‘maternal aunt’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:59.

Buck 1949:2.36 mother. Dolgopolsky 1998:92—93, no. 117, *ʔ[ä]yV (or *h[ä]yV ?) ‘mother’ and 2008, no. 100, *ʔ[a]yV ‘mother’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:577—578, no. 445.

668. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔay(y)a ‘father, male relative’ (nursery word):

- A. Afroasiatic: Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʔaayi ‘elder brother’ > Iraqw *aykos* ‘his father’s wife’ (-*kos* ‘his’); K’wadza *ayi-* in *ayibala?o* ‘cross-cousin’; Dahalo *ʔááji* ‘elder brother’. Ehret 1980:288.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ayyan*, *aiyan* ‘father, sage, priest, teacher, Brahman, superior person, master, king’, *ayyā* ‘father, respectable man’, *aiyar* ‘men worthy of respect, sages, Brahmans, etc.’, *tam-aiyan* ‘elder brother or parallel male cousin’, *num-aiyan* ‘your elder brother’, *ai* ‘lord, master, husband, king, guru, priest, teacher, father’; Malayalam *ayyan* ‘father, lord’, *tam-ayan* ‘elder brother’; Kota *ayn* ‘father, father’s brother or parallel male cousin, mother’s sister’s husband’; Kannada *ayya*, *aya*

‘father, grandfather, master, lord, teacher’; Koḍagu *ayyē* ‘father’s brother or parallel male cousin, mother’s sister’s husband’, *tamm-ayya-n* ‘younger brother’ (voc.); Tuḷu *ayye* ‘priest, minister, teacher, master’, *tamm-aiya* an affectionate form of addressing a younger brother; Telugu *ayya*, *aya* ‘father’; Kolami *ayyā* ‘mother’s father’, *ayyāk* ‘god’; Gondī *ēyāl* ‘father’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:19, no. 196; Krishnamurti 2003:10 **ayy-a* ‘father’.

- C. Proto-Uralic (?) **äyyä* ‘father, old man’: Finnish *äijä* ‘father, old man’; Estonian *äi* ‘father-in-law’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *ag’gja/aggja-* ‘grandfather, old man, fellow’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *ajj*, (Kazan) *ajḁ*, (Glazov) *aj*, *ajj* ‘father, male’; Zyrian / Komi (Permyak) *aj* ‘father’. Rédei 1986—1988:609 **äje*; Aikio 2020:33 (?) **äjjä* ‘old man’

Buck 1949:2.35 father. Hakola 2000:16, no. 7.

669. Proto-Nostratic negative particle **ʔe* ‘no, not’:

Note the discussion above under **ʔal-* (~ **ʔəl-*) (perhaps also **ʔel-*, **ʔul-*) (originally a negative verb stem — later used in some branches as a negative particle) ‘to be not so-and-so or such-and-such’.

- A. Proto-Uralic **e-* negative particle: ‘no, not’. For details, see the discussion above (no. 622) under Proto-Uralic **elä* imperative of the negative auxiliary verb (cf. Rédei 1986—1988:68—70 **e* ~ **ä* ~ **a* negative particle; Collinder 1955:10 and 1977:26).
- B. Proto-Altaiic **e* negative particle: Proto-Tungus **e-* ‘not’ > Evenki *e-* ‘not’; Lamut / Even *e-* ‘not’; Negidal *e-* ‘not’; Jurchen *ey-χe*, *esi(n)-in* ‘not’; Ulch *e-* ‘not’; Orok *e-* ‘not’; Nanay / Gold *e-* ‘not’; Oroch *e-* ‘not’; Udihe *e-* ‘not’; Solon *e-* ‘not’. Proto-Mongolian *e-se* ‘not’ > Written Mongolian *ese* ‘not’; Khalkha *es* ‘not’; Buriat *ehe* ‘not’; Kalmyk *es* ‘not’; Ordos *ese* ‘not’; Moghol *sa*, *se* ‘not’; Dagur *es* ‘not’; Monguor *sə*, *sī* ‘not’. Poppe 1955:287, 290, and 291 — Poppe points out that “[t]he negative *ese* is the stem of the verb *ese-* ‘not to be’ = Tungus *esi-*.” Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:488 **e* ‘not’.
- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Chukchi negative prefix *e-* ~ *a-*; Koryak negative prefix *e-* (or its expected phonetic outcomes). Greenberg 2000:216.
- D. Etruscan *ei* ‘not’.

Sumerian *e* ‘no’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:264—265, no. 129, **ʔe* negative particle; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 3, **ʔe* (~ ? **ʔä*) ‘not’.

670. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔeb-:

(vb.) *ʔeb- ‘to become weak, exhausted, wasted, debilitated, wiped out; to yield, to succumb; to go mad, to become insane, to lose one’s mind; to lose one’s way’;

(n.) *ʔeb-a ‘weakness, exhaustion; madness, silliness, foolishness’; (adj.) ‘weakened, exhausted, debilitated, wiped out; mad, foolish, silly, half-witted’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔeb- ‘to become weak, exhausted, wasted, debilitated, wiped out; to yield, to succumb; to go mad, to become insane, to lose one’s mind; to lose one’s way’: Proto-Semitic *ʔab-ad- ‘to become weak, exhausted, wasted, debilitated, wiped out; to yield, to succumb; to go mad, to become insane, to lose one’s mind; to lose one’s way’ > Arabic *ʔabada* ‘to roam in a state of wildness, to run wild, to be shy’, *ʔābid* ‘wild, untamed’; Hebrew *ʔāḇaḏ* [אָבַד] ‘to perish, to vanish, to be lost, to go astray’; Aramaic *ʔāḇaḏ* ‘to be lost’; Moabite *ʔbd* ‘to perish’; Ugaritic *ʔbd* ‘perished’; Akkadian *abātu* ‘to destroy, to lay waste, to ruin’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔabda* [አብደ], *ʔabda* [ዐብደ] ‘to be insane, to become enraged, to rage, to be mad, to be out of one’s mind, to become a fool, to be foolish’, *ʔəbud* [አቡድ] ‘foolish, stupid, mad, insane, enraged, furious’; Tigre *ʔabbäda* ‘to deceive’, *ʔəbd* ‘fool-hardy’; Tigrinya *ʔabbädä* ‘to entice with promises’, *ʔabädä* ‘to go mad, to become insane’; Amharic *abbädä* ‘to go insane, to go mad’. D. Cohen 1970— :2; Murtonen 1989:79; Klein 1971:1; Leslau 1987:2—3. Berber: Tuareg *əbdəh* ‘to be exhausted (after running or marching)’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ebelo* ‘so-and-so’ > Burji *ebelo* ‘so-and-so’; Gedeo / Darasa *ebelo* ‘so-and-so’; Hadiyya (m.) *ebaro*, (f.) *ebare* ‘so-and-so’; Kambata (m.) *ebalo*, (f.) *ebale* ‘so-and-so’; Sidamo *ebelo*, *eweló* ‘so-and-so’. Hudson 1989:138. Semantic development as in Burji *dóof-aa* ~ *dóof-a* ‘so-and-so’ vs. Galla / Oromo *doofaa* ‘fool’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:23—24, no. 87, *ʔibad- ‘to lose, to be lost’.]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ēppirāci*, *ēppiyān* ‘simpleton, fool’; Kannaḍa *ēbrāsi*, *ebaḍa* ‘a foolish, silly man’ (f. *ebaḍi*); Tuḷu *ebuḷante* ‘half-witted, silly’; Telugu *ebberāsi*, *ebbrāsi* ‘a slovenly person’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:79, no. 803. Semantic development as in Geez / Ethiopic *ʔabda* [አብደ], *ʔabda* [ዐብደ] ‘to be insane, to become enraged, to rage, to be mad, to be out of one’s mind, to become a fool, to be foolish’, cited above. Perhaps also: Kurux *ebsnā* ‘to lose, to forfeit, to wander from and not be able to find, to cease to perceive (as from distance or darkness)’, *ebsrnā* ‘to be lost, estranged, strayed; to disappear from sight’; Malto *ewje* ‘to be lost, to go astray’, *ewtre* ‘to lose’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:82, no. 847.
- C. Uralic: Finnish *epatto*, *epatti*, *epero* ‘silly, stupid, feeble-minded’.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **ebi-* ‘to become weak, exhausted, wasted, debilitated, wiped out; to yield, to succumb’: Proto-Tungus **ebe-* (vb.) to yield, to succumb; (adj.) weak; foolish, obstinate; lax, tarrying’ > Manchu *ebe-ri* ‘weak, deficient, inadequate, inferior’, *ebi-lun* ‘a delicate, sickly child’, *eberχuken*

‘rather weak’, *eberχun* ‘weak’, *eberiken* ‘somewhat deficient’, *eberinge* ‘not up to par, inferior’, *ebere-* ‘to diminish, to decline, to decrease, to subside’; Evenki *ewe-žeken* ‘hardly, scarcely, barely’; Ulch *ebe-le* ‘foolish, obstinate’; Orok *ebe-le* ‘lax, tarrying’; Nanay / Gold *ebe-ri-* ‘to yield, to succumb’; Oroch *ebe-le* ‘weak’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:490 **ebi* ‘to be weak, to wither’.

Buck 1949:17.22 foolish, stupid; 17.23 insane, mad, crazy. Hakola 2000:28, no. 61; Bomhard 1996a:215, no. 617.

671. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔekʰ-*:

(vb.) **ʔekʰ-* ‘to move quickly, to rage; to be furious, raging, violent, spirited, fiery, wild’;

(n.) **ʔekʰ-a* ‘rapid or violent movement, fury, rage’

A. (?) Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *akkannu* (*akkānu* [*akk-ān-*]) ‘wild donkey; a breed of horses’ (Nuzi only).

B. (?) Dravidian: Kannada *ekkala* ‘wild hog’; Telugu *ēkalamu*, *ēkalīḍu* ‘wild hog’; Gondi *akrā*, *akrāl* ‘wild pig’, *ikundāl* ‘boar’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:76, no. 771. Note: Assuming specialization from a generic ‘raging, wild’ applied to any animal to one applied specifically to pigs, hogs, boars.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔekʰu-*, **ʔekʰw-o-s* ‘horse’ (literally, ‘the spirited, violent, fiery, or wild one’): Hieroglyphic Luwian *á-sù-wa-* ‘horse’; Hittite **ekku-* ‘horse’; Lycian *esbe-* ‘horse’; Sanskrit *ásva-ḥ* ‘horse’; Avestan *aspa-* ‘horse’; Old Persian *asa-*, (Median) *aspa-* ‘horse’; Mycenaean *i-ḡo* (*hiqqʷo-*) ‘horse’; Greek ἵππος ‘horse’; Latin *equus* ‘horse’; Venetic (acc. sg.) *ekvon* ‘horse’; Old Irish *ech* ‘horse’; Gothic **aihva-* ‘horse’ in **aihvatundi* ‘bramble, prickly bush’ (literally, ‘horse-thorn’); Old Icelandic *jór* (< **eχwar* < **eχwaz*) ‘stallion, steed’; Old English *eoh* ‘horse’; Old Saxon *ehu-* ‘horse’ in *ehu-skalk* ‘horse-servant’; Lithuanian *ašvā* (Old Lithuanian *ešva*) ‘mare’; Tocharian A *yuk*, B *yakwe* ‘horse’, B *yäkwaške* ‘little horse’. Pokorny 1959:301—302 **ekʷo-s* ‘horse’; Walde 1927—1932.I:113 **ekʷo-s*; Mann 1984—1987:237—238 **ekʷos*, *-ā* ‘horse; mare’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:183, I:271, I:272, II:544—545, II:554 (fn. 2), II:561 (fn. 1), II:564 (and fn. 1) **ekʰ/hjʷo-s* and 1995.I:87, I:88, I:214 (fn. 13), I:478—479, I:482 (and fn. 26), I:765, I:767, I:809 **ekʰwo-* ‘horse’; Watkins 1985:16 **ekwo-* and 2000:23 **ekwo-* ‘horse’; Mallory—Adams 1997:273—274 **h₁ekʷos* ‘horse’ and 2006:50, 69, 89, 135, 139, 154, 449 **h₁ékʷos* ‘horse’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:62; Kloekhorst 2008b:237—239 **h₁ekʷo-*, **h₁ekʷos*; Boisacq 1950:380—381 **ekʷo-s*; Hofmann 1966:125—126 **ekʷos*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:733—735 **ekʷos*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:467—468 **ekwo-*; Beekes 2010.I:597—598 **h₁ekʷo-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:412—413 **ekʷos*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:199—200; De Vaan 2008:192—193; Orël 2003:83 Proto-Germanic **exwaz*; Kroonen 2013:115—116 Proto-Germanic **ehwa-*

‘horse’; Feist 1939:21 **ék̥uos*; Lehmann 1986:15 **ék̥wos*; De Vries 1977:293; Adams 1999:482; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:611 **ék̥uo-s*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:20; Smoczyński 2007.1:28; Derksen 2015:65 **h₁ek̥uos*; Anthony 2007:196—197; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008: 230—233 **h₁ék̥uo-*; Niskanen 2023. Note: Ultimately, not related to Proto-Indo-European **HoHk^hu-* (> **ōk^hu-*) ‘swift, quick, fast’ (cf. Pokorny 1959: 775 **ōk̥ú-s* ‘swift, quick, fast’).

- D. Proto-Altaic **ek^ha-* ‘to move quickly, to rage’: Proto-Tungus **ekte-* ‘to make rapid movements’ > Manchu *ekte-* ‘to stamp the front hoof on the ground, to paw the ground’; Udihe *ektine-* ‘to faint’. Proto-Mongolian *(*h*)*agsa-* ‘to move quickly, to rage; to be furious, raging, violent, spirited, fiery, wild’ > Written Mongolian *aγsur-* ‘to storm, to fly into a rage, to be violent or furious; to be fiery’, *aγsum* ‘(n.) fury, rage, madness; (adj.) furious, fiery, violent, tempestuous, spirited’, *aγsum mori* ‘fiery or spirited horse’, *aγsumna-* ‘to rage, to storm, to behave violently; to bluster, to be boisterous; to debauch’; Khalkha *agsam* ‘(n.) fury, rage; (adj.) furious, raging; fiery, spirited’, *agsamnaχ-* ‘to rage (of a drunken person); to be furious; to dash ahead (of a horse)’, *agsan* ‘furious, raging (of a drunken person)’, *agsan mori* ‘fiery, mettlesome horse’, *agsčijχ* ‘to be fiery all the time (of a horse); to continually rage’; Buriat *agšan* ‘frolicsome, prankish’, *agsam* ‘furious, raging’; Kalmyk *agsra-* ‘to chafe, to behave nervously (of a horse); to rough-house’, *agsag* ‘wild’; Ordos *agsur-* ‘to fling fiercely’, *agsum* ‘wild, raging’. Proto-Turkic **agsa-* ‘(vb.) to hobble, to limp; (adj.) lame’ > Karakhanide Turkic *axsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’, *aqsaq*, *aγsaγ* ‘lame’, *aγsunj*, *axsum* ‘rampage, rage, raging’; Turkish *aksa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’, *aksak* ‘lame, limping’; Azerbaijani *axsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’, *aqsim* ‘rampage, rage, raging’; Turkmenian *agsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Uzbek *aqsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Tatar *aqsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Bashkir *aqha-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Kirghiz *aqsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’, *aqsim* ‘rampage, rage, raging’; Kazakh *aqsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Karachay-Balkar *aqsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Kara-Kalpak *aqsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Kumyk *aqsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Noghay *aqsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Sary-Uighur *axsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Khakas *axsa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Tuva *asqa-* ‘to hobble, to limp’; Yakut *axsim* ‘lame’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 499 **ek’a* ‘to paw, to hit with hooves’ — according to Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak, the Turkic forms cited here may be loans from Mongolian.

Buck 1949:3.32 boar; 3.41 horse; 16.43 rage, fury. Bomhard 2009.

672. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔek’-:

- (vb.) *ʔek’- ‘to diminish, to decrease, to reduce; to be insufficient, lacking, wanting; to be small, weak, lowly, ignoble, common, ordinary, plain, simple’;
 (n.) *ʔek’-*a* ‘diminishment, reduction, decrease, loss; deficiency, want, need, lack’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ʒq* ‘to perish, to come to grief’, *ʒqw* ‘ruin, misfortune, loss’, *ʒqyt* ‘loss’; Coptic *akō* [ⲁⲕⲰ] ‘thing destroyed, destruction’. Hannig 1995:3; Faulkner 1962:6; Erman—Grapow 1921:4 and 1926—1963.1:21; Gardiner 1957:550; Černý 1976:3; Vycichl 1983:6. Berber: Ghadames *əqqu* ‘to be finished, used up, lost’; Kabyle *aqū* ‘to be rare, to miss, to dissappear’, *tuqqit* ‘misfortune, disappearance, annihilation’.
- B. Dravidian: Kannada *eggu*, *heggū* ‘shame, feeling of disgrace, blame, harm’, *eggūḷi* ‘a bashful person, a rustic or low person’, *egga* ‘a rude, rustic, stupid, or low man’, *eggūḷitana* ‘shame, bashfulness’; Telugu *eggu* ‘harm, evil, mischief, shame, disgrace, blame’, *eggincu* ‘to disregard, to slight, to wrong, to injure’, *eggāḍu* ‘to find fault with, to blame, to reproach, to revile, to abuse’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:76—77, no. 776.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ǵek-* ‘to lack, to need, to want’: Latin *egeō* ‘to want, to be in need, to be destitute’, *egēnus* ‘needy, destitute’; Old Icelandic *ekla* ‘lack, want, need’; Old High German *ekorōdo* ‘merely’, *ekrōdi*, *eccherōde* ‘small, weak’. Pokorny 1959:290 **eg-* ‘lack, want, need’; Walde 1927—1932.I:114—115 **eg-*; Mann 1984—1987:1613 **eg-*, **ēg-* ‘shortcoming’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:192; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:394—395; De Vaan 2008:186—187; De Vries 1977:99.
- D. Proto-Altaic **ěka* (~ -o) ‘bad, weak’: Proto-Tungus **eke-* ‘(vb.) to decrease; (adj.) bad, low; weak; evil’ > Manchu *ekiye-* ‘to diminish, to be deficient, to be too little, to be lacking; to be vacant, unoccupied’, *ekiyexun* ‘to be little, lacking; empty, unoccupied’, *ekiyen* ‘lacking, decrease, vacancy’, *eɣe* ‘inauspicious, bad, evil’; Sibo *eki-* ‘to diminish, to decrease’, *eɣə* ‘bad, evil’; Jurchen *eɣebe* ‘bad, low’; Ulch *ekeči(n)* ‘weak’; Orok *eke* ‘weak’; Nanay / Gold *ekeči* ‘weak’, *eɣele* ‘bad, low’. Proto-Mongolian **egel* ‘lowly, ignoble, common, ordinary’ > Written Mongolian *egel* ‘lowly, ignoble, common; ordinary, plain; simple’; Khalkha *egil* ‘simple, common, ordinary, plain’; Buriat *egēley* ‘lowly, uneducated, simple’; Kalmyk *egl* ‘lowly, uneducated, simple’; Ordos *egel*, *egn* ‘lowly, uneducated, simple’. Proto-Turkic **ek-* ‘(vb.) to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient; (adj.) common, ordinary, low-class, uneducated’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *egsü-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’, *egil* ‘common, ordinary, low-class, uneducated’; Karakhanide Turkic *egsü-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’; Turkish *eksik* ‘deficient; lacking, absent; defective, incomplete’, *eksil-* ‘to grow less, to decrease; to be absent’, *eksilt-* ‘to diminish, to reduce’; Azerbaijani *äskik* ‘common, ordinary, low-class, uneducated’; Gagauz *yisil-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’; Turkmenian *egis-*, *egsil-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’, *egsik* ‘common, ordinary, low-class, uneducated’; Uighur (dial.) *ögsü-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’; Karaim *eksil-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’, *eksik* ‘common, ordinary, low-class, uneducated’; Kirghiz *öksü-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’, *öksük* ‘common, ordinary, low class, uneducated’; Chuvash *iksəl-* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be insufficient’, *jəksək* ‘common,

ordinary, low-class, uneducated'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:498
 **ěka* (~ -o) 'bad, weak'.

Buck 1949:9.93 need, necessity; 11.33 lose; 11.74 loss; 16.19 misfortune;
 16.45 shame (sb.); 16.72 bad. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 760, **h|X[ä]kä* 'to need,
 to lack'.

673. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔel-:

(vb.) *ʔel- 'to shine, to radiate, to glitter, to glisten';

(n.) *ʔel-a 'luster, splendor, light'

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔel- 'to shine, to radiate, to glitter, to glisten': Semitic:
 Arabic *ʔalla* 'to shine, to glitter', *ʔalaka* 'to shine, to radiate, to flash, to
 glitter, to glisten'. D. Cohen 1970— :21 and 21—22. Highland East
 Cushitic: Hadiyya *ellin-co* 'sun'. Hudson 1989:277.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *el* 'luster, splendor, light, sun, daytime', *elli*, *ellai* 'sun,
 daytime', *ilaku* (*ilaki-*), *ilaṅku* (*ilaṅki-*) 'to shine, to glisten, to glitter';
 Malayalam *ilakuka* 'to shine, to twinkle', *ilaṅkuka* 'to shine', *el* 'luster,
 splendor, light', *ella* 'light'; Telugu *elamu* 'to be shiny, splendid'.
 Burrow—Emeneau 1984:81, no. 829.

Buck 1949:1.56 light (sb.); 15.56 shine. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:581, no. 450.

674. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasianic only) (n.) *ʔema 'older female relative; mother;
 (older) woman' (nursery word):

Note also:

(n.) *ʔam(m)a 'mother'

A. Proto-Uralic **emä* / **ämä* 'mother': Finnish *emä* 'mother'; Estonian *ema*
 'mother'; Hungarian *eme* 'female of an animal'; Selkup Samoyed *əmy*
 'mother'; Motor *imam* 'mother'; Taigi *emme*, *imam* 'mother'; Yurak
 Samoyed / Nenets *emej* (in vocative also *emee*) 'mother'. Collinder
 1955:10 and 1977:31—32; Sammallahti 1988:536 **emä* 'mother'; Décsy
 1990:98 **emä* 'mother'; Rédei 1986—1988:74 **emä*; Janhunen 1977b:23
 **emä*; Aikio 2020:44—45 **emä* / **ämä* 'mother'. Yukaghir (Southern /
 Kolyma) *emej* 'mother'. Nikolaeva 2006:158.

B. Proto-Altaiic **ěme* 'woman, female': Proto-Tungus **emV* 'mother-in-law;
 female; female deer, elk' > Evenki *emugde*, *umigde* 'female deer, elk';
 Lamut / Even *ömiri* 'female deer, elk'; Negidal *umigde* 'female deer, elk';
 Manchu *eme* 'mother', *emile* 'the female of birds', *emeke* 'husband's
 mother, mother-in-law', *emxe* 'wife's mother, mother-in-law' (in some
 early texts, *emxe* may also refer to a husband's mother); Spoken Manchu
 (Sibo) *eməχə* 'mother-in-law'; Nanay / Gold *emxe* 'mother-in-law'. Proto-
 Mongolian **eme* 'woman, wife' > Written Mongolian *eme* 'woman, wife,
 female', *emegen* 'old woman, grandmother'; Khalkha *em* 'woman', *emgen*

‘wife’; Buriat *eme* ‘woman’; Kalmyk *emə* ‘woman’; Ordos *eme* ‘woman’, *emegen* ‘old woman’; Dagur *eme* ‘woman, wife’, *emgun*, *emeg* ‘woman, wife’; Dongxiang *eme* ‘woman’; Monguor *mugen* ‘old woman’. Poppe 1955:153. Proto-Turkic **eme* ‘female; old woman’ > Turkish (dial.) *eme* ‘old woman’; Azerbaijani (dial.) *ämä* ‘old woman’; Kirghiz *eme* ‘old woman’; Chuvash *ama* ‘female’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:504 **ěme* ‘woman, female’.

- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) **əmmæ* ‘mother’ (hypocoristic): Chukchi *əmmə*, *əmmemə* ‘mother, mommy’; Kerek [*amməŋ* ‘mother’]; Koryak *əmmə* ‘mother’; Alyutor *əmama* ‘mother’. Fortescue 2005:342.
- D. Eskimo: Proto-Yupik **əma* ‘grandmother’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *əma*, *əmaaq* ‘grandmother’; Central Alaskan Yupik *maurluq*, *mauxłuyaq*, (Upper Kuskokwim) *əmacuŋaq* ‘grandmother’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *əmaXpak* ‘great grandmother’, *əma* ‘grandmother’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:109.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.24 female; 2.31ff. words for family relationship; 2.36 mother. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:571—572, no. 439; Fortescue 1998:152; Hakola 2000:27, no. 57; Dolgopolsky 1998:91—92, no. 116, **ʔemA* ‘mother’ and 2008, no. 37, **ʔemA* ‘mother’.

675. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔenʷa* ‘mother, elder sister’ (nursery word):

Note also:

(n.) **ʔanʷa* ‘mother, aunt’

- A. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **enä* ‘mother’: (?) Vote *enne* ‘mother’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *æd'nel-dn-*, (Lule) *iednē ~ ädnē* ‘mother’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *in*, *iñ* in: (Sarapul) *kjłčín*, (Kazan) *kälčín* ‘customary epithet of Inmar; angel (in Christian literature)’; Zyrian / Komi (Upper Sysola) *eñ* ‘female’. Rédei 1986—1988:624—625 **enä*; Aikio 2020:53—54 **əna-* / **ana-*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *eñie* ‘mother’, (Northern / Tundra) *eñie*, *eñe* ‘mother’. Nikolaeva 2006:161.
- B. Proto-Altaiic **ənʷa* ‘mother, elder sister’: Proto-Tungus **enʷi-* ‘mother, female’ > Evenki *eñin* ‘mother, female’; Lamut / Even *eñin* ‘mother, female’; Negidal *eñin* ‘mother, female’; Manchu *eñen* ‘mother, female’ (Norman 1978:76 writes *eniye* ‘mother’); Jurchen *enin* ‘mother’; Ulch *eñ-* ‘mother, female’; Orok *enin* ‘mother, female’; Nanay / Gold *eñin* ‘mother, female’; Oroch *ene*, *eñi* ‘mother, female’; Udihe *eñi(n)* ‘mother, female’; Solon *enē*, *eñi* ‘mother, female’. Proto-Turkic **ana* ~ **eñe* ‘mother’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ana* ~ *ene* ‘mother’; Karakhanide Turkic *ana* ~ *ene* ‘mother’; Turkish *ana* ‘mother’; Gagauz *ana* ‘mother’; Azerbaijani *ana* ‘mother’; Turkmenian *ene* ‘mother’; Uighur *ana* ‘mother’; Karaim *ana* ‘mother’; Tatar *ana* ‘mother’; Bashkir *inä* ‘mother’; Kirghiz *ene* ‘mother’; Kazakh *ene*, *ana* ‘mother’; Sary-Uighur *ana* ‘mother’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ene* ‘mother’; Tuva *iñe* ‘mother’; Chuvash *añne* ‘mother’; Yakut *iñe*

‘mother’; Dolgan *iñe* ‘mother’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:510 **ǰña* ‘mother, elder sister’.

Sumerian *en* ‘lady, mistress’.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.24 female; 2.31ff. words for family relationship; 2.36 mother.

676. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔeŋ-:

(vb.) *ʔeŋ- ‘to burn, to heat up’;

(n.) *ʔeŋ-a ‘fire, heat; (heat of the) sun, sunshine, sunlight’

Extended form (in Indo-European and Uralic [Finno-Ugrian]):

(vb.) *ʔeŋ-V-k’- ‘to burn, to heat up’;

(n.) *ʔeŋ-k’-a ‘fire, heat; (heat of the) sun, sunshine, sunlight’

- A. Proto-Dravidian **en-t-* ‘sun’: Tamil *enru* ‘sun’, *enr ūr* ‘sunshine, sun, summer’; Telegu *eṇḍa* ‘sunshine, sun, heat of sun’, *eṇḍu* ‘to be heated by exposure to the sun, to dry up, to evaporate’; Naiki (of Chanda) *edde* ‘sunshine’; Parji *nendi* ‘heat of the sun’; Gonda *eddi*, *ed*, *yaddi* ‘hot, sunlight’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:84, no. 869; Krishnamurti 2003:278 and 524 **en-t-* ‘sun’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔ*h₂k’-ni-s* ‘fire’: Sanskrit *agni-h* ‘fire, sacrificial fire’; Latin *ignis* ‘fire, flame; brightness, splendor, brilliancy, luster, gleam, radiance, glow; the fire of the sun or other heavenly bodies; the fire of lightning or thunderbolts, lightning, a lightning flash; etc.’, *igniō* ‘to ignite, to set on fire’; Old Church Slavic *ognь* ‘fire’; Russian *ogón’* [огонь] ‘fire, light; flame, blaze, bonfire’; Czech *oheň* ‘fire’; Polish *ogień* ‘fire’; Bulgarian *ogǎn* ‘fire’; Serbo-Croatian *òganj* ‘fire’; Lithuanian *ugnis* (< **ungnis*) ‘fire’; Latvian *uguns* ‘fire’. Pokorny 1959:293 **egnis* : **ognis* ‘fire’; Walde 1927—1932.I:323 **ḡgni-s* (better **egni-s* ?); Mann 1984—1987:427—428 **ǰgni-* ‘fire’ (*ǰ-* = an indeterminate vowel, possibly a “schwa secundum”); Watkins 1985:16 **egni-* (also **ogni-*) ‘and 2000:22 **egni-* (also **ogni-*) ‘fire’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.1:605, fn. 16, **ḡk’ni-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:202 **h₂ng^wnis* ‘fire’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:18 **ḡg-ni-s*; Ernout—Meillet 2001:307—308 **egnis* or **ḡgnis*; De Vaan 2008:297 **h₁ng^w-ni-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:676 **egnis* (or **ḡgnis*); Lindsay 1894:229 **ḡgni-*; Derksen 2008:364 **h₁ng^w-ni-* and 2015:478 **h₁ng^w-ni-*; Smoczyński. 2007:701 **h₁ng^(u)-ni-*, Balto-Slavic proto-form **ung-ni-*; Machek 1997:410.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **eŋ-*, **eŋkə-* ‘fire; (intr.) to burn’: (?) Cheremis / Mari (Kozmodemjansk) *əŋgä-* ‘(intr.) to singe, to be charred’, (Uržum; Birsik) *eŋa-* ‘(intr.) to singe, to be charred’, *eŋ* ‘fire’; Zyrian / Komi *jñ* ‘flame’, *jñal-* ‘to flame, to flare up, to become inflamed’, *jñed-* ‘to kindle, to set on fire, to ignite’; Ostyak / Xanty *jäŋləl-* ‘to roast’; Hungarian *ég-* ‘(intr.) to burn’. Collinder 1960:410 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **eŋa-* (or **iŋa-*)

and 1977:93; Rédei 1986—1988.I:26 **āḡz-* ‘fire; to burn’; Aikio 2020:39 (citing Pystynen) **eḡ-* ~ **īḡ-* ‘to smolder, to burn, to get scorched’. Note: I have followed Aikio, Collinder, and Illič-Svityč in the reconstruction of the Proto-Finno-Ugrian initial vowel.

Buck 1949:1.52 sun; 1.81 fire. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:245—246, no. 106, **Henka* ‘to burn’; Dolgopolsky 2008:779, no. 814, **HāḡkU* ‘fire’.

677. Proto-Nostratic root **ḡep^h-*:

- (vb.) **ḡep^h-* ‘to burn, to be hot; to cook, to boil, to bake’;
 (n.) **ḡep^h-a* ‘the act of cooking, baking; oven’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ḡ[e]ff-* ‘to burn, to be hot; to bake’: Proto-Semitic *ḡap-ay-* ‘to bake’ > Hebrew *āḡāh* [אָגַח] ‘to bake’; Aramaic *ḡāḡā* ‘to bake’; Ugaritic *āp(y)* ‘to bake’; Mandaic *apa* ‘to bake’; Akkadian *epū* ‘to bake’; Arabic (Daḡina) *haḡā* (*hfy*) ‘to bake’, *mīfan* ‘oven’; Sabaeen *ḡfy* ‘baked goods’; Soqotri *mofe* ‘furnace’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḡafaya* [አፈየ] ‘to bake’. Murtonen 1989:98; Klein 1987:45; D. Cohen 1970— :28; Leslau 1987:10. Egyptian *ḡfyt* ‘flames, fire’, *ḡfr* ‘to burn, to be hot’, *ḡfry* ‘to boil’. Hannig 1995:8; Faulkner 1962:3; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:9.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ḡep^h-* ‘to cook’: Greek *ἔψω* ‘to cook by boiling’, *ἔφθός* (< **epstos*) ‘boiled, cooked’; Armenian *ep^hem* ‘to cook by boiling’. Pokorny 1959:325 **ep^h-* ‘to cook’; Walde 1927—1932.I:124 **eps-* or **ep^h-*; Mann 1984—1987:1614 **epsō* (**iebhso*); Boisacq 1950:304; Frisk 1970—1973.I:604—605; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:394; Hofmann 1966:101; Beekes 2010.I:492 (pre-Greek).
- C. Proto-Altaiic **ep^ho* ‘bread, food’: Proto-Tungus **epe* ‘baked bread, cake’ > Evenki *ewedi* ‘baked bread, cake’; Manchu *efen* ‘bread, pastry, cake, any sort of breadlike product made from flour’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *efən* ‘Manchu bread’; Ulch *epe(n)* ‘baked bread, cake’; Nanay / Gold *epē* ‘baked bread, cake’; Solon *ouo* ~ *uḡon* ~ *ewen* ‘baked bread, cake’. Proto-Mongolian **ayag*/**hayag* ‘bran’ > Written Mongolian *ayay* ‘bran’; Khalkha *āga* ‘bran’; Buriat *āgaha(n)*, *āha(n)* ‘oatmeal’; Ordos *āg* ‘bran’; Dagur *āhe* ‘bran’. Proto-Turkic **Epey* ‘baked bread’ > Tatar *ipi* ‘baked bread’; Bashkir *āpāy* ‘baked bread’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:514 **ep’o* ‘bread, food’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note that the following Turkic forms may belong here as well, but they have been contaminated with reflexes of **et-mek* ‘bread’: Azerbaijani *āppāk* ‘bread’ (< **āpmāk* < **epmek*); Turkmenian (dial.) *epmek* ‘bread’; Khakas *ipek* ‘bread’; etc.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **apat-* ‘to boil or cook’ > Chukchi *apat-* ‘to boil or cook (tr.)’, *apaḡe* ‘soup’, *apa-w-* ‘to drink tea or soup’, *t-apa-ḡ-* ‘to boil soup’; Kerek *ānnā-paat-* ‘to cook fish’; Koryak *apat-* ‘to boil, to cook’, *apaḡa* ‘soup’, *apa-v-* ‘to drink soup’; Alyutor *apat-* ‘to boil, to cook’, (Palana) *apa’ap* ‘soup’. Fortescue 2005:347; Mudrak 1989b:92 **ḡapaḡ-* ‘to cook’.

Buck 1949:5.21 cook (vb.); 5.22 boil; 5.23 roast; 5.24 bake. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:571, no. 438; Dolgopolsky 1998:56, no. 64, *ʔäPHi ‘to bake, to prepare food on hot stones’ and 2008, no. 62, *ʔäP[h]i ‘to bake, to cook food on hot stones’.

678. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔer-a ‘earth, ground’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʔ[e]r-tʃ- ‘earth, ground’: Proto-Semitic *ʔar-tʃ- ‘earth, land’ > Hebrew ʔeres [ʔ.ʔ.ʔ] ‘earth, land, country, ground’; Aramaic ʔarʕā ‘land, earth, ground, field’; Phoenician ʔrʃ ‘earth’; Ugaritic ʔrʃ ‘earth’; Akkadian erʃetu ‘earth, soil, ground, dry land; land, territory, district; the earth; the nether world’; Arabic ʔarḍ ‘earth, ground, land’; Sabaeen ʔrḍ ‘earth’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli ʔerʒ ‘land, earth’. D. Cohen 1970— :33—34; Klein 1987:57; Murtonen 1989:102; Zammit 2002:72; Takács 2011a:32 Proto-Semitic *ʔarʃ- (*ʔarḍ-); Militarëv 2010:64 Proto-Semitic *ʔarʃ-. West Chadic *HVritʃ- ‘earth’ > Pa’a (ə)rʃa / ritʃá (Orël—Stolbova write riʃa) ‘earth’; Tsagu hiiʔtlé (Orël—Stolbova write hīʃe) ‘earth’; Siri rəʔtlù / ʔritli (Orël—Stolbova write rəʃu) ‘earth’; Mburku riʔtlú (Orël—Stolbova write riʃi) ‘earth’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:116—117. (?) East Chadic *ʔiratʃ- ‘valley’ > Bidiya ʔiraadya ‘valley’. Diakonoff 1992:21 *ʔrĉ ‘earth’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:15—16, no. 54, *ʔariĉ- ‘earth’; Militarëv 2010:64 Proto-Afrasian *ʔariĉ-; Takács 2011a:32 *rVĉ- ‘earth’.
- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa ere ‘black soil’; Telugu rē-gaḍa, rē-gaḍi ‘clay’ (gaḍḍa ‘clod’). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:80, no. 820.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *ʔer- ‘earth, ground’: Greek ʔpā ‘earth’ (Homeric ʔpāĉe ‘to the earth, to the ground’); Gothic airþa ‘earth’; Old Icelandic jörð ‘earth, ground’; Faroese jørð ‘earth’; Swedish jord ‘earth’; Norwegian jord ‘earth’; Danish jord ‘earth’; Old English eorþ ‘earth, ground; the world’; Old Frisian irthe, erthe ‘earth’; Old Saxon erða ‘earth’; Middle Dutch erde, aerde ‘earth’ (Dutch aarde); Old High German erda ‘earth, ground, soil; the world’ (New High German Erde), ero ‘earth’; Welsh erw ‘field’; Old Breton ero ‘furrow’; Old Cornish erw, ereu ‘furrow’. Pokorny 1959:332 *er- ‘earth’; Walde 1927—1932.I:142 *er-; Mann 1984—1987:1614 *ertos, -ā, -is, 1614 *eryos, -ə ‘land, earth, field’; Watkins 1985:17 *er- and 2000:23—24 *er- ‘earth, ground’ (extended form *ert-); Mallory—Adams 1997:174 *h₁er- ‘earth’; Boisacq 1950:270; Hofmann 1966:90; Beekes 2010.I:449 *h₁er-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:363; Frisk 1970—1973.I:546—547; Orël 2003:86 Proto-Germanic *erþō; Kroonen 2013:118 Proto-Germanic *erþō- ‘earth’; Feist 1939:25—26; Lehmann 1986:18 Proto-Germanic *erþō, *erō; De Vries 1977:295 Proto-Germanic *erþō, *erō; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:338—339 Proto-Germanic *erþō from the root *er-; Torp 1919:251; Onions 1966:298 Common Germanic *erþō < *er-; Klein 1971:235 *er-; Weekley 1921:491; Skeat 1898:184; Kluge—Lutz 1898:67; Vercoullie 1898:4; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:194—

195; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:171 *er-, *ert-, *ery-; Kluge—Seebold 1989: 184 Proto-Germanic *erþō; Walshe 1951:48.

Buck 1949:1.21 earth, land. Brunner 1969:19, no. 2; Möller 1911:68—69 and 72; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:558—559, no. 419; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 65, *ʔarV ‘earth, land, place’.

679. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔeth-:

(vb.) *ʔeth- ‘to oppose’;

(n.) *ʔeth-a ‘that which is opposite’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *itn* ‘to be in opposition; to oppose, to be against’, *itnw* ‘opponent, enemy’, *itnw* ‘difficulties’. Faulkner 1962:33; Erman—Grapow 1921:20 and 1926—1963.1:145; Hannig 1995:112; Gardiner 1957:555.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *etir* ‘that which is opposite, over against, in front, before; obstacle, that which is contrary, adverse, hostile’, *etir* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to happen, to befall, to come to pass in the future, to precede; to be opposed, to be at variance; to oppose, to confront, to meet’, *etir* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to meet face to face, to encounter; to oppose, to withstand; to prevent, to hinder’, *etir* (adv.) ‘in front’, *etiri* ‘enemy’, *etirntōr* ‘adversaries, combatants’, *etirvu* ‘meeting, confronting, happening’, *etirmai* ‘happening in the future’; Malayalam *etir* ‘opposite, adverse’, *etirkka* ‘to attack, to face, to resist’, *etirppu* ‘opposition, what crosses one’s way, bad omen’; Kota *edyr* ‘enemy’; Toda *ōthir* ‘openly, (to lie) on one’s back’; Kannada *idir*, *idaru*, *iduru*, *edaru*, *edir*, *edur* ‘that which is opposite, the front; in front; that which is hostile, opposition’, *idircu*, *idirisu*, *edarisu*, *edirisu*, *edurisu* ‘to face (generally in a hostile manner), to oppose, to withstand, to come into hostile contact’, *edarāyisu*, *edirāyisu*, *edurāyisu* ‘to oppose, to contradict’; Koḍagu *edike* ‘in front’; Tuḷu *edyru*, *eduru* ‘the front, that which is opposite; presence’; Telugu *eduru* ‘the front, the point directly opposite; opposite, front’, *eduru* ‘to oppose, to resist, to act against’, *eduṭa* (adv.) ‘in front’, *ediri* ‘opponent, foe’, *edirincu*, *edurucu* ‘to oppose, to resist, to act against, to face, to encounter’; Koṇḍa *edru* ‘opposite, in front’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:78, no. 795.
- C. Proto-Indo-European adverb *ʔethi (‘from the opposite side’ >) ‘over, beyond, further’: Sanskrit *āti* ‘over, beyond’; Avestan *aiti* ‘over, beyond’; Old Persian *atīy* ‘beyond, across, past’; Greek *ἔτι* ‘yet, as yet, still; further, moreover, besides; hereafter’; Phrygian *ετι-* ‘again’; Latin *et* ‘and’; Gaulish *eti* ‘also, further’; Middle Breton *eta* ‘so’; Gothic *ip* ‘but’; Old Icelandic *eða*, *eðr* ‘still, yet’; Old English *eðða* ‘and, or’; Old High German *ith-* prefix indicating repetition, addition; Old Prussian *et-* ‘besides’. Pokorny 1959:344 *eti ‘over, beyond, further’; Walde 1927—1932.I:43—44 *eti; Mann 1984—1987:354 *eti, *eta, *et ‘and, but, yet’; Watkins 1985:17 *eti ‘above, beyond’ and 2000:24 *eti ‘above, beyond’; Mallory—Adams 1997:156 *h₁eti ‘beyond’, 215 *h₁eti ‘and, in addition’, and 2006:422

**h₁eti* ‘and, in addition’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:27; Boisacq 1950:292 **e-ti*; Hofmann 1966:97 **e-ti*; Beekes 2010.I:476 **h₁eti*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:582 **éti*; Matasović 2009:119; Feist 1939:297; Lehmann 1986:208 **eti* ‘in addition, and’; De Vries 1977:98. Note: Proto-Indo-European **ʔethi* may also be the source of the thematic ablative singular case ending **-ō/ē-t^h* < **-o/e-+ʔ(e)t^h(i)* ‘from (the opposite side)’ (the **-i* is preserved in Luwian and Lycian): Sanskrit *-āt* [-*ād*]; Oscan *-ud*, *-úd*; Old Latin *-ē/ōd*; Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian *-ati*; Lycian *-adi*, *-edi*; Lydian *-ad*. Cf. Brugmann 1904:382 **-ēd*, **-ōd*; Burrow 1973:233; Fortson 2010:127—128 **-o-(h₂)ad/t*; Lundquist—Yates 2018:2087 **-oh₁ad*; Meillet 1964:322; Sihler 1995:250—251; Szemerényi 1996:183—184; Weiss 2009:202 **-o-h₂Vd* > **-ōd*, **-e-h₂Vd* > **-ād*.

Buck 1949:19.52 enemy.

680. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔib-* (~ **ʔeb-*):

(vb.) **ʔib-* ‘to well up, to overflow, to spill over; to pour out or over’;

(n.) **ʔib-a* ‘spill, overflow, flood, deluge’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔ[i]b-* ‘to well up, to overflow, to spill over; to pour out or over’: Proto-Semitic ***ʔab-ab-* ‘flood, deluge, inundation’ > Akkadian *abūbu* ‘the Deluge as a cosmic event; the Deluge personified as a monster with definite features; devastating flood’, (adv.) *abūbāniš* (*abūbiš*) ‘like the flood’; Arabic *ʔubāb* ‘great mass of water, billow, wave’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔababi* [አበቢ] ‘flow, wave’; Mandaic *tababia* ‘storm, hurricane’. D. Cohen 1970— :1—2; Leslau 1987:2. Egyptian *ibḥ* ‘stream’, *ibḥ* ‘to sprinkle water’, *ibḥ* ‘a priest who pours libations’. Hannig 1995:42; Faulkner 1962:16; Gardiner 1957:553; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:64.
- B. Proto-Uralic **ipt₃* ‘(n.) higher water-level; (vb.) to rise, to swell (water)’: Zyrian / Komi *it*: (Sysola, Vyčegda) *it-va* (*va* = ‘water’) ‘higher water-level, high water’; Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *āpət-* ‘to bubble, to boil (kettle, soup)’, (Demyanka, Obdorsk) *epət-* ‘to rise, to swell (water), to overflow the banks (river), to boil over (boiling kettle)’. Rédei 1986—1988:83 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **ipt₃* (**üpt₃*) ‘(n.) higher water-level; (vb.) to rise, to swell (water)’, Aikio 2020:62 (?) **iptV* ‘flood’.

Sumerian (*i*)*br(a)* ‘to overflow, to flood, to inundate’.

Buck 1949:1.36 river, stream, brook; 5.22 boil (vb. intr.); 9.35 pour; 10.31 boil (vb. tr.). Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 7, **ʔ[a]bHV* ‘water, watercourse’.

681. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔil-* (~ **ʔel-*):

(vb.) **ʔil-* ‘to live, to be alive; to be, to exist’;

(n.) **ʔil-a* ‘dwelling, habitation, house’; (adj.) ‘living, alive, existing’

- A. Afrasian: Berber: Tuareg *əll* ‘to be, to exist’; Siwa *ili* ‘to be’; Nefusa *ili* ‘to be’; Ghadames *ili* ‘to be’; Wargla *ili* ‘to be’; Mzab *ili* ‘to be’; Tamazight *ili* ‘to be, to exist’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ili* ‘to be’; Riff *ili, iri* ‘to be’; Kabyle *ili* ‘to be, to exist’; Chaouia *ili* ‘to be, to exist’; Zenaga *ille* ‘to be’, *al* ‘place’. Central Chadic **ɣal-* ‘to be’ > Mofu *ala-* ‘to be’; Logone *āli-, li-* ‘to be’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:8 **ɣal-/*ɣil-* ‘to be’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *il* ‘house, home, place; wife’, *illam* ‘house, home’, *illavaḷ, illāl* ‘wife, mistress of the house’, *illāḷaṅ, illāḷi* ‘householder’; Malayalam *il* ‘house, place’, *illam* ‘house of Nambudiri’; Koḍagu *illavēn* ‘man who is a relative’; Tuḷu *illu* ‘house, dwelling, family’; Telugu *illu* ‘house, dwelling, habitation’, *illaṭamu, illaṅṭramu* ‘living in the house of one’s wife’s father’; Kolami *ella* ‘house’, *iltāmā* ‘younger sister’s husband’, *iltam* ‘boy who serves for a wife in her father’s house’; Naikṛi *ella* ‘house’; Gondī *il* ‘house’; Konḍa *ilu* ‘house’; Pengo *il* ‘house’; Maṅḍa *il* ‘house’; Kui *iḍu* ‘house, dwelling, shed, hut’; Kuwi *illū, illu, il* ‘house’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:48, no. 494; Krishnamurti 2003:8 and 180 **il* ‘house’.
- C. Proto-Uralic **elä-* ‘to live’: Finnish *elä-* ‘to live; to be alive’, *elämä* ‘life, lifetime’, *elo* ‘life’; Estonian *ela-* ‘to be alive; to live, to dwell, to reside’, *elamu* ‘dwelling, habitation, house’; Lapp / Saami *ælle-/æle-* ‘to live’; Cheremis / Mari *əle-, ile-* ‘to live’; Votyak / Udmurt *uly-* ‘to live’; Zyrian / Komi *ol-* ‘to live’; Hungarian *él-* ‘to live’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *jiile-* ‘to live’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *nīle-* ‘to live’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *iḍi-, (Baiha) jire-* ‘to live’; Selkup Samoyed *ela-, ila-* ‘to live’; Kamassian *d’ili* ‘alive’. Rédei 1986—1988:73 **elä-*; Décsy 1990:98; Collinder 1955:10 and 1977:31; Janhunen 1977b:27 **ilä-*; Sammallahti 1988:536 **elä-* ‘to live’; Aikio 2020:43—44 **elä-* ‘to live / to go, to visit’.

Buck 1949:4.74 live (= be alive); living; alive; life; 7.11 dwell; 7.12 house; 7.122 home; 7.13 hut; 9.91 be. Illič-Svityč 1965:341 **elA* ‘to live’ (‘жить’¹) and 1971—1984.I:267—268, no. 131, **ɣelA* ‘to live’; Hakola 2000:26—27, no. 56; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 23, **ɣelV* ‘clan, tribe’ (→ ‘all’, pronoun of plurality), no. 26, **ɣil[A]* ‘to stand, to stay; place to stay’, and, no. 2579, **χelV* ‘to live, to dwell’; Fortescue 1998:152.

682. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ɣil-a* (~ **ɣel-a*) ‘deer’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *iralai* (< **ilar-* through metathesis) ‘stag, a kind of deer’; Kannaḍa *eraḷe, erale* ‘antelope, deer’; Tuḷu *eraḷe* ‘antelope, deer’; Telugu (inscr.) *iri* ‘stag’, *irri* (< **ilri*) ‘antelope’, *lēṭi, lēḍi* (< **ilati*) ‘antelope’; Malto *ilaru* ‘the mouse deer’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:46, no. 476.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ɣel-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **ɣol-*) ‘deer (and similar animals)’: Greek *ἐλαφος* (< **el-ḡ-*) ‘deer’, *ἐλλός* (< **elḡnós*) ‘a young deer, fawn’; Armenian *eln* ‘hind, doe’; Old Irish *elit* ‘doe’; Welsh *elain* ‘fawn’; Old Icelandic *elgr* ‘elk’; Dutch *eland* ‘elk’; Old English *eolh*

‘elk’; Old High German *elaho* ‘elk’ (New High German *Elch*); Lithuanian *ėlnis* ‘deer’; Old Church Slavic *jelenь* ‘deer’; Russian *olén’* [олень] ‘deer’, *los’* [лось] (< **olsь*) ‘elk’; Ukrainian *ólen’* ‘deer’; Macedonian *elen* ‘deer’; Czech *jelen* ‘deer’, *los* ‘elk’; Tocharian A *yäl*, B *yal* ‘gazelle’. Pokorny 1959:303—304 **el-en-*, **el-ŋ-* (**elānī*) ‘deer’; Walde 1927—1932.I:154—155 **el-* ‘deer and similar animals’; Mann 1984—1987:16 **alkis*, **alākis* ‘a horned animal’, 238 **elānis* (**elnis*, -*os*; **ālānis*) ‘deer’; Watkins 1985:16—17 **el-* 2000:23 **el-* ‘red, brown’ (forming animal and tree names); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:517—518 **el-*, **ol-*: *(*e*)*l-ĥ[h]*-, **el-en-*, **el-ŋ-* and 1995.I:437 **el-*, **ol-*: *(*e*)*l-ĥh-*, **el-en-*, **el-ŋ-* ‘deer’; Mallory—Adams 1997:154—155 **h₁elh₁ēn* (British English) red deer’; Boisacq 1950:238 **elŋ-bho-s* and 245 **el-en-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:483—484 **elen-* (?); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:333 **elŋ-bho-s*; Hofmann 1966:77 **el-ŋ-bhos*; Beekes 2010.I:402—403 **h₁ekuo-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:591 **el-en-*; Adams 1999:485—486 **h₁el-en-*; Derksen 2008:140 **h₁el-h₁en-i* and 2015:153 **h₁ol-Hn-iH-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:120; Orël 2003:14 Proto-Germanic **algiz* ~ **elxaz* ~ **elxōn* (continuing Proto-Indo-European **olkis* ~ **elkis*); Kroonen 2013:116 Proto-Germanic **elha(n)-* ‘elk’; De Vries 1977:100 **el-*; Onions 1966:304 **oln-*, **eln-* and 306 **elk-*; Klein 1971:240 **eln-* and 242 **elk-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:162 **elk-*, **olk-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:173—174 **el-*; Vercoullie 1898:70.

- C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ile*, *ilbe* (< **ilwə*) ‘domestic reindeer’, (Northern / Tundra) *ilwiiče* ‘pastor’, *ilwii-* ‘to graze’, *iled-ičibe* ‘milk’, *iled’e* ‘having reindeer’, *ilen-nouriče* ‘herdsman’. Nikolaeva 2006:171 and 173.
- D. Proto-Altaic **ēlV(-k^hV)* ‘deer’: Proto-Tungus *(*χ*)*elkēn* ‘deer’ > Evenki *elkēn* ‘wild deer’; Lamut / Even *iēlken*, *elken* ‘domesticated deer’. Proto-Mongolian **ili* ‘a young deer, fawn’ > Written Mongolian *ili*, *eli* ‘a young deer, fawn’; Khalkha *il* ‘a young deer, fawn’; Kalmyk *ilə* ‘a young deer, fawn’. Proto-Turkic **elik* ‘roebuck; wild goat’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *elik* ‘roebuck; wild goat’; Karakhanide Turkic *elik* ‘roebuck; wild goat’; Turkish (dial.) *elik* ‘roebuck; wild goat’; Bashkir *ilek* ‘roebuck; wild goat’; Kirghiz *elik* ‘roebuck; wild goat’; Kazakh *elik* ‘roebuck; wild goat’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *elik* ‘roebuck; wild goat’; Tuva *elik* ‘roebuck; wild goat’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:501 **ēlV(-k^hV)* ‘deer’.

Buck 1949:3.75 deer. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:272—273, no. 135, **ʔili* ‘deer’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:582—583, no. 452; Dolgopolsky 1998:41—42, no. 37, **ʔEl/ʔi* ‘deer’ and 2008, no. 25, **ʔēlV* ‘deer’.

683. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔil-* (~ **ʔel-*):
 (vb.) **ʔil-* ‘to see, to know’;
 (n.) **ʔil-a* ‘eye’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔil-* ‘(vb.) to see, to know; (n.) eye’: Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔila-* ‘eye’ > Iraqw *ila* ‘eye’; Burunge *ila* ‘eye’; Alagwa *ila* ‘eye’; K’wadza *ilito* ‘eye’; Asa *ʔilat* ‘eye’; Ma’a *iʔilá* ‘eye’; Dahalo *ʔila* ‘eye’. Ehret 1980:291. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔiley-* ‘to know’ > Ma’a *-ile* ‘to know’, *-ʔiliye* ‘to acquaint’; Dahalo *ʔelej-* ‘to know’. According to Ehret (1980:292), this stem is a derivative of **ʔila-* ‘eye’, converted to a verb by the addition of the consequentive extension *-*Vɣ-*. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔilima-* ‘tears’ > Asa *ʔelelema* ‘tears’; Ma’a *iʔilima* ‘tears’; Dahalo *ʔilima* ‘tears’. Ehret 1980:291—292. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔil-* ‘eye’: Burji *il-a*, *ill-áa* ‘eye’; Geddo / Darasa *ille* ‘eye’; Hadiyya *ille* ‘eye’, *il-šura* ‘eyelash’; Kambata *illi* (pl. *illi-ta*) ‘eye’, *ille šura* ‘eyelash’; Sidamo *ille* (pl. *ill-ubba*) ‘eye’; Somali *il* ‘eye’; Rendille *il* ‘eye’; Bayso *il-i* ‘eye’; Boni *il* ‘eye’; Dasenech *ʔil* ‘eye’; Elmolo *il* ‘eye’; Galla / Oromo (Wollega) *ijj-a* (< **il-i-ta*) ‘eye’; Borana *il-a* ‘eye’; Konso *il-ta* ‘eye’; Yaaku *il* ‘eye’; Gidole *il-t* ‘eye’. Sasse 1979:22 and 1982:104; Heine 1978:65; Hudson 1989:60. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔilaal-* ‘to see, to look at’ (derivative of **ʔil-* ‘eye’) > Burji *ilaal-* ‘to see, to look at’; Saho *ilaal-* ‘to wait for’; Somali *ilaal-* ‘to guard’; Galla / Oromo *ilaal-* ‘to watch’; Konso *ilaal-* ‘to follow with the eyes’. Sasse 1979:5, 22 and 1982:105. Proto-Agaw **ʔal* ‘eye’ > Bilin *ʕil* (pl. *ʕilil*) ‘eye’; Xamir *əl* ‘eye’; Kemant *yəl* ‘eye’; Awngi / Awiya *šll* ‘eye’. Reinisch 1887:63; Appleyard 2006:62. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawyi *lili*, *lile* ‘eye’. Reinisch 1895:158. Ehret 1995:360, no. 720, **ʔil-/ʔal-* ‘to see’, **ʔil-* ‘eye’; Takács 2011a:146 **ʔil* ‘eye’.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *el*, *el-ti* ‘eye(s)’; Royal Achaemenid Elamite *el-te* ‘his eye’; Neo-Elamite *el-ti-pi* ‘eyes’. Proto-Dravidian **ēl-* ‘mind, reason, knowledge’: Kui *ēlu*, *elki* ‘mind, reason, thought, wisdom, understanding, remembrance’, *ēlu giva* ‘to think, to remember’; Kuwi *ēḍu* ‘wisdom’; Brahui *hēl* ‘knowledge, wisdom’, *hēl kanning* ‘to learn’, *hēl tining* ‘to teach’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:87, no. 912; Krishnamurti 2003: 14 **ēl-* ‘mind, reason, knowledge’.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **ila* ‘evident, visible’: Proto-Tungus **ile* ‘figure, shape; body; example; exterior’ > Evenki *ille* ‘body’; Lamut / Even *ilr̥* ‘body’, *ilr̥n* ‘figure, shape’, *ilun* ‘example’; Ulch *il̥ta(n)* ‘exterior’; Nanay / Gold *il̥ta* ‘exterior’. Proto-Mongolian **ile* ‘known, evident, obvious’ > Written Mongolian *ile* ‘clear, manifest, obvious; perceptible, visible, distinct’, *iled-* ‘to be evident, clear, open’; Khalkha *il* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Buriat *eli* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Kalmyk *ilə* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Ordos *ile*, *ele* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Moghol *ilä* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Dagur *il*, *ilēt*, *ile* ‘known, evident, obvious’; Shira-Yughur *hele* ‘known, evident, obvious’. Proto-Turkic **iler-* ‘to be dimly visible’ > Karakhanide Turkic *iler-* ‘to be dimly visible’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *eles* ‘silhouette, ghost’, *eleste-* ‘to be dimly visible’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:581—582 **ila* ‘evident, visible’.
- D. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **lə-* in: Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ləlæ-* ‘eye’: Chukchi *ləlalyən* (pl. *ləlet*) ‘eye’; Koryak *ləlalyən* (pl. *ləlat*) ‘eye’;

Kerek *laŋa* ‘eye’; Alyutor *ləlalyən* ‘eye’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *lōŋ* ‘eye’. Fortescue 2005:163. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ləlaðyən* ‘eyelashes’: Chukchi *ləlaryən* ‘eyelash’; Koryak *ləliacyo* ‘eyelash’; Kerek [*lajəyəjə-Xal* ‘eyelash’]; Alyutor *ləlatyən*, (Palana) *lilacyo* ‘eyelashes’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *latceʔn* ‘eyelashes’. Fortescue 2005:163. Proto-Chukotian **lələp-* ‘to look’: Chukchi *ləlep-* ‘to look, to open eyes’; Kerek *liəppə-ttu-* ‘to look’; Koryak *ləliap-* ‘to look’; Alyutor *ləlilap-*, (Palana) *lillep-* ‘to look’. Fortescue 2005:163—164. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) **ləru-* ‘to see’: Chukchi *lʔu-* ‘to see, to find’; Kerek *lʔuu-* ‘to see, to find’; Koryak *ləru-* ‘to see, to find’; Alyutor *lʔu-*, *laʔu-*, (Palana) *laʔu-* ‘to see, to find’; (?) Kamchadal / Itelmen *laXʔ-kas* ‘to look’. Fortescue 2005:167—168. Proto-Chukotian **lərulqəl* ‘face’: Chukchi *lʔulqəl* ‘face’; Kerek *lʔulrəl* ‘face’; Koryak *lərulqəl* ‘face’; Alyutor *ləʔulqəl* ‘face’. Fortescue 2005:168.

Sumerian *il* ‘to look at’.

Buck 1949:4.21 eye; 15.51 see; 17.17 know; 17.34 clear, plain (to the mind). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 27, **ʔilV* ‘eye’.

684. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔin-a* (~ **ʔen-a*) ‘place, location’ (> ‘in, within, into’ in the daughter languages):

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔin-* ‘in, within, into’: Proto-Semitic **ʔin-* ‘in, on, from, by’ > Akkadian *ina* (*in*) ‘in, on, from, through’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔən-ta* [ጸገተ] ‘through, by way of, by, at, into, to, in the direction of, because’; Tigre *ʔət* ‘on, in, by, with, because of’, *ʔəttā* ‘there’. Leslau 1987:32—33; D. Cohen 1970— :24. Egyptian *in* ‘in, to, for, because, by’. Gardiner 1957:553; Hannig 1995:73; Faulkner 1962:22; Erman—Grapow 1921:13 and 1926—1963.1:89. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **-ni* ‘with’ > Burji *-na* ‘with’; Gedeo / Darasa *-nni* ‘with’, *-ni* ‘on (top of)’, *-ni* ‘from, in’; Hadiyya *-n* ‘in’, *-nni* ‘in’, *-ns* ‘from’; Kambata *-n* ‘with’; Sidamo *-nni* ‘with’. Hudson 1989:83 and 169.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔen-* ‘in, into, among, on’: Greek *ἐν*, *ἐνι*, *ἐνί* ‘in, on, among, into, and besides’; Latin *in* (Old Latin *en*) ‘in, on, among, into, on to, towards, against’; Oscan *en* ‘in’; Umbrian *-en* (*-e*, *-em*) ‘in’; Old Irish *ini-*, *en-*, *in-* ‘in, into’; Gothic *in* ‘in, into, among, by’, *inn* ‘into’; Old Icelandic *i* ‘in, within, among’, *inn* ‘in, into’; Old English *in* ‘in, on, among, into, during’, *inn* ‘in’; Old Frisian *in* ‘in’; Old Saxon *in* ‘in’; Old High German *in* ‘in’ (New High German *in*); Old Prussian *en* ‘inside, within’. Pokorny 1959:311—314 **en*, **eni* ‘inside, within’; Walde 1927—1932.I:125—127 **en-*; Mann 1984—1987:241 **en*, **eni* ‘in’; Watkins 1985:17 **en* and 2000:23 **en* ‘in’; Mallory—Adams 1997:290 **h₁en(i)* ‘in, into’; Boisacq 1950:249 **en* (**eni*); Frisk 1970—1973.I:508—509 **en*, **eni*; Hofmann 1966:81 **en*, **eni*, **en_i*, **η*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:344—345 **en-*; Beekes 2010.I:419 **h₁en(i)*; Ernout—Meillet

1979:312—314 **en*, **ŋ*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:687—688 **en*, **ŋ*; **eni*; De Vaan 2008:300; Buck 1928:209, §301.2; Orël 2003:84 Proto-Germanic **end*(ē), 84 **eni*; Kroonen 2013:269 Proto-Germanic **in(i)* ‘in’; Feist 1939:292; Lehmann 1986:205 **en*, *(*e*)*ni*, **entós* and 206; De Vries 1977:282 and 286; Onions 1966:466 **en*, **ŋ*; Klein 1971:371 **en*, **ŋ*, **eni*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:192—193; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:326; Kluge—Seebold 1989:328—329 **eni*.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *[*i*]*n*ɜ ‘place’ > Votyak / Udmurt *in*, *iń* ‘place, spot’; Zyrian / Komi (Sysola) *-in* in: *kos-in* ‘dry place, dry land’, (Letka) *in* ‘place, spot’; (?) Hungarian (dialectal) *eny*, *enyh* ‘shelter; covered or sheltered place where men and animals take cover from wind, rain, snow, or heat’. Rédei 1986—1988:592—593 **ŋn*ɜ.
- D. Proto-Eskimo **ənə* ‘place’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *əna* ‘(Chugach) house; (Koniag) room space’ [base *ənə*]; Central Alaskan Yupik <*ə*>*na*, (Hooper Bay-Chevak) *əna*, (Nunivak) *əna* ‘house, place’ [base *ənə*]; Naukan Siberian Yupik *ənə* ‘place’; Central Siberian Yupik *na* ‘home, place’ [base *nə*]; Sirenik *ənə* ‘place, dwelling’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *ini*, (Little Diomed) *ənə* ‘house’; North Alaskan Inuit *ini* ‘place, room’, *inī* ‘village’; Western Canadian Inuit *ini* ‘place, sledge track’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *ini* ‘place, sledge track’; Greenlandic *ini* ‘place, nest, lair, sledge track’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:111.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:566—567, no. 432; Dolgopolsky 2002:48—49 **ʔin/ina/ä* ‘place’ (> ‘in’ in daughter languages) and 2008, no. 45, **ʔin[A]* ‘place’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘in’); Fortescue 1998:144.

685. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔina* or **ʔiŋa* ‘younger relative (male or female)’ (nursery word):

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔin(a)* or **ʔiŋ(a)* ‘younger relative (male or female)’: Proto-East Cushitic **ʔinam-/ʔinm-* (m.) ‘son, boy’, (f.) ‘daughter, girl’ > Somali *inan* (pl. *inamm-o*) ‘boy, son’, *inán* (pl. *inam-o*) ‘girl, daughter’; Rendille *inam* ‘boy’, *inám* ‘girl, daughter’; Konso *inn-a* ‘son, boy’, *inan-ta* ‘girl, daughter’; Gidole *imm(-a)* ‘boy, son’, *inan-t(a)* ‘girl, daughter’; Harso *inan-ko* ‘son-in-law’. Sasse 1979:24. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔiŋan-* or **ʔiŋaan-* ‘child’ > Burunge *nana* ‘sibling, cousin’; Iraqw *nina* ‘small, little’; Alagwa *nina* ‘small, little’; K’wadza *-nanana* ‘little’; Ma’a *inínta* ‘sister’, *iŋa* ‘brother’. Ehret 1980:292. (?) Egyptian *inpw* ‘royal child: crown-prince, princess’. Gardiner 1957:554; Faulkner 1962:23; Hannig 1995:77; Erman—Grapow 1921:14 and 1926—1963.1:96.
- B. Proto-Altaiic **ina* ‘younger relative (male or female)’: Proto-Tungus **inan* ‘younger relative (male or female)’ > Evenki *inan* ‘husband’s younger brother’; Lamut / Even *inɔn* ‘(younger) brother-in-law or sister-in-law’; Negidal *ina* ‘sister’s children’; Manchu *ina* ‘sister’s son, nephew’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *inā* ‘sister’s son, nephew; son of father’s or mother’s sister,

cousin'; Orok *ina* 'son-in-law'; Nanay / Gold *inã* 'husband's younger sister'. Proto-Turkic **ini* 'younger brother' > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *ini* 'younger brother'; Karakhanide Turkic *ini* 'younger brother'; Turkish *ini* 'younger brother'; Azerbaijani (dial.) *ini* 'younger brother'; Turkmenian *ini* 'younger brother'; Tatar *inĩ* 'younger brother'; Bashkir *inĩ* 'younger brother'; Uzbek *ini* 'younger brother'; Uighur *ini* 'younger brother'; Kirghiz *ini* 'younger brother'; Kazakh *inĩ* 'younger brother'; Noghay *ini* 'younger brother'; Sary-Uighur *ini*, *inĩ* 'younger brother'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ini*, *in* 'younger brother'; Yakut *ini*, *inĩ* 'younger brother'; Dolgan *ini-bĩ* 'younger brother'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:587—588 **ina* 'younger sibling'.

- C. (?) Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **inrutaq* 'grandchild' > North Alaskan Inuit *inʷrutaq* 'grandchild'; Western Canadian Inuit (Copper) *inrutaq*, (Siglit) *inrutaaluk*, (Netsilik) *inʷutaq* 'grandchild'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *irʷutaq* 'grandchild'; Greenlandic Inuit *irnutaq*, *irʷutaq* 'grandchild'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:134.

Buck 1949:2.25 boy; 2.26 girl; 2.27 child; 2.41 son; 2.42 daughter; 2.44 brother; 2.45 sister.

686. Proto-Nostratic root *ʔirʷ- (~ *ʔerʷ-):

(vb.) *ʔirʷ- 'to draw, to drag, to pull';

(n.) *ʔirʷ-a 'the act of) drawing, dragging, pulling; trace, furrow'

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *iru* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) 'to draw, to pull, to drag along the ground, to attract (as a magnet), to wheedle, to draw out, to stretch out, to draw into (as a whirlpool), to engulf, to absorb; to have convulsions', *iruppu*, *iruval*, *iruvai* 'drawing, pulling'; Malayalam *irukka* 'to draw, to take off clothes', *irukka* 'to drag, to pull', *irappu* 'propelling force of a current'; Kannaḍa *ir*, *ir̥*, *ere* '(vb.) to pull, to drag, to attract, to take away by force; (n.) pulling, dragging, attracting, taking away by force'; Konda *iris-* (-*t-*) 'to pull, to drag'; Gondi *irk-* 'to drag'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:49, no. 504(a).
- B. Proto-Altaic **irʷu* 'trace, furrow': Proto-Tungus **iru-n* 'furrow' > Manchu *irun* 'rows between furrows in a field'; Nanay / Gold *irū* 'furrow'. Proto-Tungus **ir-* 'to draw, to drag, to haul, to pull, to tow, etc.' (< 'to leave a trace') > Evenki *ir-* 'to draw, to drag'. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:323—324 ИР- II волочить. Proto-Turkic **irʷ* / **irʷ* 'trace, furrow' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *iz* 'trace'; Karakhanide Turkic *iz* 'trace'; Turkish *iz* 'track, trace; footprint'; Gagauz *jiz* 'trace'; Azerbaijani *iz* 'trace'; Turkmenian *iz* 'trace'; Uzbek *iz* 'trace'; Uighur *iz* 'trace'; Karaim *iz*, *iz* 'trace'; Tatar *iz* 'trace', *izan* 'furrow'; Bashkir *iḍ* 'trace', *iḍan* 'furrow'; Kirghiz *iz* 'trace'; Kazakh *iz* 'trace'; Noghay *iz* 'trace', *izan* 'furrow'; Oyrot *is* 'trace'; Tuva *is* 'trace'; Chuvash *jər* 'trace', *jьran* 'furrow'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 592—593 **irʷu*.

Buck 1949:9.212 furrow. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:245—246, no. 112, **Hir'a* ‘to drag, to pull’; Dolgopolsky 2008:156—157, no. 72a, **ʔi[ʔy]r[a]* ‘to drag, to pull, to push’.

687. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔit'*- (~ **ʔet'*-):

(vb.) **ʔit'*- ‘to chew, to bite, to eat, to consume’;

(n.) **ʔit'-a* ‘the act of eating; that which is eaten: food, nourishment’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔit'*-, **ʔet'*- ‘to eat, to bite into’: Proto-Semitic **ʔat'-am-* ‘to bite into’ > Arabic *ʔaṭama* ‘to bite into’; Ugaritic *ūṭm* ‘bite, mouthful, morsel’. D. Cohen 1970— :16. (?) Egyptian *idbw* ‘of the mouth’ (medical term). Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:153. Berber: Tawlemmet *əttəd* ‘to suck’, *sudəd* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’; Nefusa *taḍḍa* ‘leech’; Mزاب *əttəd* ‘to suck’, *ssəttəd* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’; Wargla *əttəd* ‘to suck’; Tamazight *əttəd* ‘to suck’, *ssuttəd* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’, *tiditt* ‘leech’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əttəd* ‘to suck’; Riff *əttəd* ‘to suck’, *uḍud* ‘nursing, breast-feeding’; Kabyle *əttəd* ‘to suck’, *tuttḍa* ‘sucking’; Chaouia *əttəd* ‘to suck, to be sucked’, *timsudḍət* ‘wet-nurse’; Zenaga *ḍud* ‘to suck’, *suddud* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to breast-feed’, *əḍəd* ‘to bite’. (?) Chadic: Fyer *et-* ‘to eat’; Tangale *edi-* ‘to eat’. Jungrraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:120—121. (?) East Cushitic: Burji *it-* ‘to eat’; Gedeo / Darasa *it-* ‘to eat’; Hadiyya *it-* ‘to eat’; Kambata *it-* ‘to eat’; Sidamo *it-* ‘to eat’; Galla / Oromo *it-o* ‘food’. Sasse 1982:108; Hudson 1989:55 Proto-Highland East Cushitic **it-*. Orël—Stolbova 1995:23, no. 83, **ʔet-* ‘to eat’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔet'*- (secondary *o*-grade form: **ʔot'*-) ‘to eat’ (original meaning ‘to bite’): Sanskrit *ádmi* ‘to eat, to consume, to devour’; Greek ἔδω, ἔδομαι ‘to eat, to devour; (of worms) to gnaw’; Armenian *utem* ‘to eat’; Latin *edō* ‘to eat’; Gothic *itan* ‘to eat’; Old Icelandic *eta* ‘to eat’; Norwegian *eta* ‘to eat’; Swedish *äta* ‘to eat’; Old English *etan* ‘to eat’; Old Frisian *eta*, *īta* ‘to eat’; Old Saxon *etan* ‘to eat’; Dutch *eten* ‘to eat’; Old High German *ezzan* ‘to eat’ (New High German *essen*); Lithuanian *ėdu*, *ėsti* ‘to eat’, *ėda* ‘food’; Latvian *ēst* ‘to eat’; Old Prussian *īst* ‘to eat’; Old Church Slavic *jasti* ‘to eat’; Russian *jest'* [естъ] ‘to eat’; Polish *jeść* ‘to eat’; Czech *jísti* ‘to eat’; Hittite (1st sg. pres.) *e-it-mi* ‘I eat’; Palaic (3rd pl. pres.) *a-ta-a-an-ti* ‘they eat’; Luwian (inf.) *a-du-na* ‘to eat’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *at-* ‘to eat’. Rix 1998a:205—206 **h₁ed-* (‘to bite’ →) ‘to eat’; Pokorny 1959:287—289 **ed-* ‘to eat’; Walde 1927—1932.I:118—121 **ed-*; Mann 1984—1987:230 **ēd-* (**ēdā*, *-om*, *-jə*, *-jom*, *-is*) ‘food, bait’, 230 **ēdalis*, *-os*, *-om* ‘edible; food’, 230—231 **ēdmi* (**ēdō*) ‘to eat’, 231 **ēdmn-*, **ēdn-* ‘food; tooth, set of teeth’, 231 **edō(n)* ‘devourer, consumer’, 231 **ednt-*, **edont-* (**odont-*) ‘eating-; tooth’, 231 **edonts* (**edont*, **edon*) (act. ptc.) ‘eating’, 231 **ēdō(n)* (**ēdon-*, **ēdjos*) ‘eater’, 231 **ēdrā*, *-is* ‘food’, 231 **ēds-*, **ēdsmn-* ‘eating, food’, 231—232 **edsk-* (**odsk-*) ‘foodstuff, food-crop’, 232 **ēdsō*, *-jō*, 232 **ēdtis* (**ēstis*) ‘eating, food’, 862 **ōd-* ‘to eat’; Watkins 1985:16 **ed-* and 2000:22 **ed-* ‘to eat’

(original meaning 'to bite'); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:41 **et*'-/**ot*'- and 1995.I:37 **et*'-/**ot*'- 'to eat', I:218 **et*'-*mi* 'I eat', **et*'-*men* 'food'; Mallory—Adams 1997:175 **h₁édmi* 'to eat'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:28; Boisacq 1950:216 **éd*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:312—313 **éd*-*mi*, **ed*-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:444—445 **éd*-*mi*; Hofmann 1966:69 **ed*-; Beekes 2010.I:375 **h₁ed*-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:392—393 **éd*-*mi*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:191—192 **ed*-; De Vaan 2008:185—186; Orël 2003:27 Proto-Germanic **atjanan*, 86 **etanan*, 86 **etulaz*; Kroonen 2013:39 Proto-Germanic **atjan*- 'to make eat' and 119 **etan*- 'to eat'; Lehmann 1986:208 **ed*- ← **ʔed*-; Feist 1939:296—297; De Vries 1977:106 **ed*-*mi*; Torp 1919:91; Onions 1966:298 **ed*-; Klein 1971:235 **ed*-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:175—176 **ed*-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:190 **ed*-; Smoczyński 2007.1:148—149; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:124—125; Derksen 2008:154 **h₁ed*-*mi* and 2015:157—158 **h₁ed*-*mi*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:208—220 **h₁ed*-; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:315—320; Kloekhorst 2008b:261—263.

- C. Proto-Altaic **ite* (~ **eti*) 'to eat': Proto-Mongolian **ide*- 'to eat' > Mongolian *ide*- 'to eat, to feed on, to gnaw, to eat up, to devour, to consume', *idegde*- 'to be eaten', *idegen* 'food, nourishment, provisions', *idegül*- 'to give food to, to feed (tr.)', *idelče*- 'to eat (something) together with others', *ideši* 'food, meals'; Khalkha *ide*- 'to eat'; Buriat *ede*- 'to eat'; Kalmyk *idə*- 'to eat'; Ordos *ide*- 'to eat'; Moghol *idä*- 'to eat'; Dagur *ide*- 'to eat'; Dongxiang *ežie*- 'to eat'; Monguor *ide*- 'to eat'; Shira-Yughur *ede*- 'to eat'. Poppe 1955:107. Proto-Turkic **et-mek* 'bread' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ötmek* 'bread'; Karakhanide Turkic *etmek* 'bread'; Turkish *etmek*, *ekmek* 'bread, food', *ekmekçi* 'baker'; Karaim *ekmek*, *etmek*, *ötmek* 'bread'; Gagauz *iekmek* 'bread'; Azerbaijani *äppäk* 'bread' (< **äpmäk* < **epmek*); Turkmenian (dial.) *ekmek*, *epmek* 'bread'; Tatar *ikmäk* 'bread'; Bashkir *ikmäk* 'bread'; Noghay *öipek* 'bread'; Khakas *ipek* 'bread'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ötpök* 'bread'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:594 **ite* (~ **eti*) 'to eat'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:514) note that some of the above Turkic forms may be from Proto-Turkic **ep-mek* 'bread' instead.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 5.11 eat. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:273—274, no. 136, **ʔitä* 'to eat'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:558, no. 418; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 91, **ʔitê* 'to eat'.

688. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔiy*- (~ **ʔey*-):
 (vb.) **ʔiy*- 'to come, to go';
 (n.) **ʔiy*-*a* 'approach, arrival; path, way'
 Note also:
 (vb.) **ʔay*- 'to go, to proceed';
 (n.) **ʔay*-*a* 'journey'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔiy-* ‘to come, to go’: Egyptian *ü, iy* ‘to come’ (also *iw* ‘to come’); Coptic *i* [ei] ‘to come, to go’. Hannig 1995:27—28; Faulkner 1962:10 and 11; Erman—Grapow 1921:6 and 1926—1963.1:37; Gardiner 1957:551; Vycichl 1983:59—60; Černý 1976:44. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *yiʔ-*, *ʔiʔ-* ‘to arrive at, to come’. Reinisch 1895:241. Lowland East Cushitic: Arbore *ʔiʔit-* ‘to go’. Proto-Chadic (imptv.) **ya* ‘come!’ > Hausa *yaa-ka* ‘come!’; Ngizim *yé-n* ‘come!’; Sukur *yo* ‘come!’. Ngizim *yi* ‘go, went’ (form of ‘go’ used in the subjunctive aspect). Newman 1977:24; Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:82—83 and II:162—163; Schuh 1981:177. Orël—Stolbova 1995:31, no. 118, **ʔiw-/ʔiy-* ‘to come’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *iyanku* (*iyanki-*) ‘(vb.) to move, to stir, to go, to proceed, to walk about; (n.) movement, act of going’, *iyakku* (*iyakki-*) ‘(vb.) to cause to go, to train or break in (as a bull or horse); (n.) motion, going, marching’, *iyakkam* ‘motion, moving about, way’, *iyal* (*iyalv-*, *iyanr-*, *iyali-*) ‘(vb.) to go on foot, to dance; (n.) pace, gait’, *iyavu* ‘way, leading, proceeding’, *iyavai* ‘way, path’; Malayalam *iyannuka* ‘to move steadily’, *iyakkuka* ‘to cause to move’, *iyakkam* ‘motion, movement’; Kota *iγ-* (*i-c-*), *i-c-* (*i-c-*) ‘to drive (cattle)’; Kannaḍa *esagu* ‘to drive’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:45, no. 469. Tamil *eytu* (*eyti-*) ‘to approach, to reach, to obtain, to be suitable’; Malayalam *eytuka* ‘to get, to obtain’, *ettuka* ‘to stretch as far as, to reach, to arrive’; Toda *ič-* (*ič-*) ‘to reach, to be sufficient’; Kannaḍa *aydu*, *eydu* ‘to approach, to reach, to go to, to join, to obtain, to be suitable’; Koḍagu *ett-* (*etti-*) ‘to arrive’; Tuḷu *ettāvuni*, *ettāduni* ‘to reach, to deliver’, *etty*, *ekku* ‘to reach’; Telugu *ey(i)du*, *ēdu* ‘to attain, to go to, to join, to obtain; to suit, to be proper’; Parji *ēd-*, *ēy-* ‘to arrive’; Koṇḍa *ī-* ‘to arrive’; Kuwi *ejali* ‘to arrive, to reach, to overtake’; Brahui *hining* ‘to go, to depart, to disappear, to be past, to pass beyond, to be no longer fit for, to flow, (stomach) to have diarrhea’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:79, no. 809.
- C. [Proto-Indo-European **ʔey-/ʔoy-/ʔi-* ‘to go’: Greek (1st sg. pres.) εἶμι ‘I go’, (1st pl. pres.) ἴμεν ‘we go’; Sanskrit (1st sg. pres.) émi ‘I go’, (3rd sg. pres.) éti ‘goes’, (1st pl. pres.) imáḥ ‘we go’, (3rd pl. pres.) yánti ‘they go’; Avestan (3rd sg. pres.) aēiti ‘goes’; Old Persian (3rd sg. pres.) aitiy ‘goes’; Paelignian (imptv.) eite ‘go!’; Latin (1st sg. pres.) eō ‘I go’; Old Lithuanian (1st sg. pres.) eīmi ‘I go’, (3rd sg. pres.) eīti ‘goes’; Old Prussian (3rd sg. pres.) ēit ‘goes’, *per-ēit* ‘comes’; Old Church Slavic *idō*, *iti* ‘to go’; Luwian (3rd sg. pres.) *i-ti* ‘goes’; Hittite (imptv.) *i-it* ‘go!’; Tocharian A (1st pl.) *ymäs* ‘we go’, B (1st sg.) *yam*, *yam* ‘I go’. Rix 1998a:207—208 **h₁ej-* ‘to go’; Pokorny 1959:293—297 **ei-* ‘to go’; Walde 1927—1932.I:102—105 **ei-*; Mann 1984—1987:234 **eimi* (**eīō*) ‘to go’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:180 **ej/i-* and 1995.I:155, I:194 **ei-/i-* ‘to go’, I:296 **ei-mi* ‘I go’, **ei-si* ‘you go’, **ei-ti* ‘he, she goes’; Watkins 1985:16 **ei-* and 2000:22 **ei-* ‘to go’ (oldest form **₂ei-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:227—228 **h₁ei-* ‘to go’; Boisacq 1950:225—226 **ei-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:462—463; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:321—322; Hofmann 1966:73 **ei-*; Beekes 2010.I:388 **h₁ei-*; De Vaan 2008:191—

192; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:406—409 **ei-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:197—199 **ei-*, **i-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:128; Derksen 2008:216 **h₁ei-* and 2015:151—152 **h₁ei-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:144—145; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:119. Proto-Indo-European **ʔy-eh-* [**ʔy-ah-*] (> **ʔyā-*) ‘to go, to proceed’: Sanskrit (3rd sg. pres.) *yāti* ‘goes, proceeds, moves, walks, sets out, marches, advances, travels, journeys’; Avestan (3rd sg. pres.) *yāiti* ‘goes, rides’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *i-ya-at-ta(-ri)* ‘goes’ (so Sturtevant 1951:34, §61, Indo-Hittite **ʔyehty*; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:330—335, however, derives the Hittite form from **iya-* < **eyo-* and compares it with Vedic *áyate* ‘to go’); Lithuanian *jóju, jótí* ‘to ride on horseback’; Tocharian A *yā-* ‘to go, to move’. Rix 1998a:275 **i₂eh₂-* ‘to proceed, to move along, to go, to travel, to ride’; Pokorny 1959:294 **iā-* ‘to go’; Walde 1927—1932.I:104 **iā-*; Mann 1984—1987:439 **iāiō*, **iāmi* ‘to go, to ride’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:724 **iāH-* and 1995.I:627 **yāH-* ‘to ride (in a vehicle)’; Derksen 2015:212—213 **ieh₂-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:228 **i₂eh_a-* ‘to go, to travel’; Kloekhorst 2008b:380; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:220—230 **h₁ei-*.] Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (A) **ʔay-* (~ **ʔay-*) ‘to go, to proceed’ and (B) **ʔiy-* (~ **ʔey-*) ‘to come, to go’.

- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **jæt-* ‘to come’ > Chukchi *jet-* ‘to come, to arrive (by boat or sledge)’; Kerek *jat-*, *jattə-* ‘to come, to arrive’; Koryak *jet-* ‘to come, 2008’; Alyutor *jat-* (Palana *jet-*, *tet-*) ‘to come, to arrive’. Fortescue 2005:112.

Sumerian *è* ‘to go out, to come out, to leave; to bring out’, *è* ‘to get away from, to escape, to flee, to run away’, *e₁₁* ‘to ride, to travel’.

Buck 1949:10.47 go; 10.48 come. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:265—267, no. 130, **ʔej₁* ‘to arrive, to come’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:574—575, no. 442; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 102, **ʔ[e]yV* ‘to come, to arrive’; Möller 1911:65.

689. Proto-Nostratic 1st person personal pronoun stem **ʔiya*: (a) ‘by me’; (b) agent marker of the 1st singular of verbs; (c) postnominal possessive pronoun: ‘my’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔiya* first person suffixed personal pronoun stem: Proto-Semitic *-(*i*)*ya* first person singular suffixed personal pronoun > Old Babylonian *-ī*, *-ya*; Ugaritic *-y*; Hebrew *-ī*; Aramaic *-ī*; Classical Arabic *-ī*, *-ya*; Mehri *-i*, *-yā*; Geez / Ethiopic *-ya* [-ʔ]; Tigre *-ye*; Tigrinya *-āy*. Moscati 1964:106, §13.14; O’Leary 1921:149—150; Lipiński 1997:306—307, 308; Gray 1934:63—64; W. Wright 1890:95—98. Egyptian *-i* 1st singular suffix: ‘I, me, my’. Hannig 1995:21; Faulkner 1962:7; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:25; Gardiner 1957:39 and 550. Berber: Kabyle *-i*, *-iyi*, *-yi* ‘me, to me’, *-i* ‘me’ as in: *fəll-i* ‘for me’, *yid-i* ‘with me’, *əʔʔ-i* ‘towards me’, *gar-i d-rəbbi* ‘between me and God’, *wəhd-i* ‘me alone’, *zdat-i* ‘in front of me’, etc.; Tuareg *-i*, *-iyi* ‘me, to me’; Tamazight (1st sg. direct

object pronoun, placed either before or after verbs according to the syntactic conditions) *i*, *yi* ‘me’. Proto-East Cushitic **ya*/**yi* ‘me, my’ > Saho *yi* ‘me’; Afar (poss.) *yi* ‘my’; Burji (1st sg. abs. [obj.]) *ee* ‘me’, *ii-ya* ‘my’; Arbore *ye-* ‘me’; Dasenech *ye-* ‘me’; Elmolo *ye-* ‘me’; Kambata *e(e)s* ‘me’; Hadiyya *e(e)s* ‘me’; Sidamo *-e* ‘me’; Dullay *ye* ‘me’; Yaaku *i(i)* ‘me’. Sasse 1982:67 and 104; Hudson 1989:97; Heine 1978:53. Proto-Agaw (oblique) **yə-* ‘me, my’ > Bilin *yi-* ‘me, my’; Xamir *yə-* ‘me, my’; Kemant *yə-* ‘me, my’; Awngi / Awiya *əy-/yi-* ‘me, my’. Appleyard 2006:87; Reinisch 1887:365. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔe*/**ʔi* ‘my’ > Iraqw *e* ‘my’; Burunge *ayi* ‘my’; Alagwa *i* ‘my’; K’wadza *-ʔe* ‘my’; Dahalo *ʔi* ‘my’. Ehret 1980:289. Ehret 1995:478, no. 1011, **i* or **yi* ‘me, my’ (bound 1st sg. pronoun); Diakonoff 1988:76—77.

- B. Elamo-Dravidian: McAlpin (1981:112—114, §531.0) reconstructs a Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **i* ‘I’. In Elamite, this became *u* ‘I’. McAlpin assumes that the following developments took place in Dravidian: **i-ən* > **iən* [**yən*] > (with vowel lengthening in accordance with Zvelebil’s Law) **yān* ‘I’ > Tamil *yān* ‘I’; Kota *a-n* ‘I’; Toda *o-n* ‘I’; Kannaḍa *ān* ‘I’; Tuḷu *yānu*, *yēnu* ‘I’; Telugu *ēnu* ‘I’; Kolami *a-n* ‘I’; Naikṛi *ān* ‘I’; Parji *ān* ‘I’; Gadba *ān* ‘I’; Gondī *anā*, (emph.) *annā* ‘I’; Pengo *ān/āney* ‘I’; Manda *ān* ‘I’; Kui *ānu* ‘I’; Kuṛux *ēn* ‘I’; Malto *én* ‘I’; Brahui *ī* ‘I’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:468, no. 5160; Caldwell 1913:359—373; Zvelebil 1990:24—26 (1st sg. nom.) **yān* ‘I’, (obl.) **yan-*, (1st pl. excl. nom.) **yām* ‘we’, (obl.) **yam-*; Bloch 1954:30—31; Steever 1998a:21 (1st sg. nom.) **yān*, (obl.) **yan-/*(y)en-*; Krishnamurti 2003:245 **yān*/**yan-* ‘I’.

Dolgopolsky 1984:85—87 **HoyV* (a) ‘by me’, (b) agent marker of the 1st sg. of verbs, (c) postnominal possessive pronoun (‘my’) and 2008, no. 822, **H₂oyV* (= **hoyV* ?) ‘by me, my’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:597—598, no. 470.

690. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔom-a* ‘rounded prominence at the end of a bone forming a ball and socket joint with the hollow part of another bone, condyle (of the lower jaw, the shoulder, the elbow, the hip, etc.)’:

Note: Semantic shifts took place in Semitic, Indo-European, and, in part, Altaic; the original meaning was preserved in Egyptian and Turkic.

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔ[o]m-* ‘rounded prominence at the end of a bone forming a ball and socket joint with the hollow part of another bone, condyle (of the lower jaw, the shoulder, the elbow, the hip, etc.)’: Proto-Semitic **ʔamm-at-* ‘forearm, cubit’ > Akkadian *ammatu* ‘forearm, cubit’; Ugaritic *āmt* ‘elbow’; Hebrew *ʔammāh* [אמה] ‘ell, cubit’; Ancient Aramaic *ʔmh* ‘cubit’; Aramaic *ʔammā* ‘cubit’; Syriac *ʔamməθā* ‘cubit’; Mandaic *ama* ‘ell, forearm’; Sabaeen *ʔmt* ‘cubit’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔəmat* [አመት] ‘cubit, forearm’; Tigre *ʔammāt* ‘cubit, forearm’; Tigrinya *ʔəmmāt* ‘cubit, forearm’; Amharic *amāt* ‘cubit, forearm’ (Geez loan). Murtonen 1989:93;

D. Cohen 1970— :22; Klein 1987:34; Leslau 1987:26. Egyptian *ʒmʕt* ‘rounded prominence at the end of a bone forming a ball and socket joint with the hollow part of another bone, condyle (of the lower jaw, the shoulder, the elbow)’ (medical term). Hannig 1995:9; Faulkner 1962:3 *ʒmʕt* ‘ramus of jaw; fork of bone’; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:10.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:8, no. 6) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) *ʔamm-at- ‘elbow, forearm’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Proto-Indo-European *ʔom-es-, *ʔom-so- ‘shoulder’: (?) Hittite *anašša-* (< *ams-) name of a body-part, perhaps ‘rear of shoulders, upper back’ or ‘hip’; Sanskrit *āmsa-h* ‘shoulder’; Greek ἄμος (< *omsos) ‘shoulder’; Latin *umerus* ‘shoulder’ (< *omesos); Umbrian *onse* ‘shoulder’; Gothic *ams* ‘shoulder’; Old Icelandic *áss* ‘mountain ridge’ (< Proto-Germanic *amsaz ‘shoulder’); Tocharian B *āntse* ‘shoulder’. Pokorny 1959:778 *om(e)so-s ‘shoulder’; Walde 1927—1932.I:178 *om(e)so-s; Mann 1984—1987:875—876 *omsos (*omes-) ‘shoulder’; Mallory—Adams 1997:515—516 *h_{1/4}ómsos ‘shoulder’; Watkins 1985:45 *omeso- (also *omso-) ‘shoulder’ and 2000:60 *om(e)so- ‘shoulder’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:14 *omsos; Boisacq 1950:1081—1082 *omso-; Hofmann 1966:430 *ōmsos; Beekes 2010.II:1679—1680 *h₃ems-o-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1148 *ōmsos, *ōmsos; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1301 *ōmso-, *oměso-; *ōmso-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:815 *omesos, *ōmsos; De Vaan 2008:640; Ernout—Meillet 1979:746; Orël 2003:17 Proto-Germanic *amsaz; Kroonen 2013:25 Proto-Germanic *amsa- ‘shoulder’; Lehmann 1986:30 *omsos; Feist 1939:40—41; De Vries 1977:16; Adams 1999:43—44 *h_{1/4}om(e)so- or *h_{1/4}ōm(e)so-; Melchert 1994a:186 *ómsos-; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:63—64 *omso- (this is rejected by Kloekhorst 2008b:178).
- C. Proto-Altaiic *om-ur^yV ‘shoulder, collar bone’: Proto-Mongolian *omur- ‘collar bone, clavicle’ > Written Mongolian *omuruγu(n)*, *omuruu* ‘sternum, clavicle, breast’; Khalkha *omrū* ‘collar bone, clavicle’; Buriat *omórū(n)* ‘breast bone, sternum’; Kalmyk *omrūn* ‘collar bone, clavicle’; Ordos *omorū*, *umurū* ‘collar bone, clavicle’; Monguor *muršdag* ‘Adam’s apple’. Proto-Turkic *om-ur^y ‘shoulder’ > Turkish *omuz* ‘shoulder’; Turkmenian *omuz* ‘shoulder’; Uzbek *omiz* ‘shoulder’; Karaim *omuz* ‘shoulder’; Kumyk *omuz* ‘shoulder’; Chuvash *ʙʷmʙʷr* ‘shoulder’. Poppe 1960:68 and 129; Street 1974 *omur² ‘shoulder, clavicle’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1052 *omur¹V ‘shoulder, collar bone’. Proto-Altaiic *ōmu ‘bone head, head of hip bone’ (original meaning preserved in Turkic) > ‘upper part of hip, backside, behind’: Proto-Tungus (*ōmu-kV >) *omga ‘upper part of hip, behind’ > Ulch *ombo/onbo* ‘upper part of the hip, behind’; Orok *omgo* ‘upper part of the hip, behind’; Nanay / Gold *onbo* ‘upper part of the hip, behind’; Oroch *ombo* ‘upper part of the hip, behind’. Proto-Mongolian *omu- ‘buttocks’ > ‘large intestines; North, backside’ > Written Mongolian *umusu* ‘large intestines’, *umara* ‘North, backside’; Khalkha *ums* ‘large

intestines’, *umar* ‘North, backside’; Buriat *omho(n)* ‘large intestines’, *umara* ‘North, backside’; Kalmyk *umsn*, *omsn* ‘large intestines’. Proto-Turkic **omV* ‘bone head, head of hip bone; hip bone, thigh bone; clavicle’ > Turkish *omurga* ‘backbone, keel’, *omaca*, *umaça*, *uma* ‘bone head’; Azerbaijani *omba* ‘head of hip bone’; Turkmenian *omača* ‘hip bone, thigh bone’; Khakas (dial.) *omiχ* ‘knee-cap’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 1052 **ōmu* ‘hip; back part, buttocks’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: “The meaning ‘buttocks’ in Mong[olian] gave rise to two widely separated semantic reflexes: a) > ‘large intestine’; b) > ‘back’ > ‘North’.”

Buck 1949:4.30 shoulder.

691. Proto-Nostratic root **ɣor-*:

(vb.) **ɣor-* ‘to move rapidly, quickly, hastily; to set in motion’;

(n.) **ɣor-a* ‘any rapid motion: running, flowing, pouring, etc.’; (adj.) ‘rapid, quick, hasty’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ɣor-* ‘(vb.) to hasten, to hurry; (n.) road, way’: Proto-Semitic **ɣar-ax-* ‘to go, to journey, to hurry’, **ɣurx-* ‘road, way’ > Hebrew *ʔārah* [אָרַח] ‘to go, to wander, to journey’, *ʔōrah* [אֹרַח] ‘way, path, route’; Palmyrene *ʔrh* ‘road’; Aramaic *ʔōrhā* ‘road, path, way’; Akkadian *arāhu* ‘to hasten, to hurry’, *urhu* ‘road, path’; Sabaean *ʔrh* ‘road’. D. Cohen 1970— :32—33; Murtonen 1989:101; Klein 1987:54. Highland East Cushitic **ɣor-* ‘(vb.) to go; (n.) road’ > Kambata *orokk-* ‘to go’; Gedeo / Darasa *ora* ‘road’. Hudson 1989:124, 258, and 335. Southern Cushitic: Rift **ɣuruw-* ‘path, way’ > Gorowa *uruwa* ‘path, way’. East Chadic **ɣwar-* ‘road’ > Bidiya *ʔoora* ‘road’. West Chadic **ɣwara-* (< **ɣwaraH-*) ‘road’ > Sura *ar* ‘road’; Kulere *ʔaraw* ‘road’; Angas *ar* ‘road’; Ankwe *war* ‘road’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:31—32, no. 122, **ɣorah-* ‘road, way’.
- B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *oruku* (*oruki-*) ‘to flow, to leak, to trickle down’, *orukal* ‘leaking, dripping; leak’, *orukku* (*orukki-*) (vb.) to cause to drop, drip; (n.) leaking, dripping, flowing’, *orukkal* ‘pouring (as into the mouth)’; Malayalam *urukkuka* ‘to pour, to inundate, to set afloat’, *orukku* ‘current, stream’, *orukkam* ‘running, flowing’, *oriyuka* ‘to run off (as water)’, *orivu* ‘watercourse’, *orikka* ‘to pour’, *orippu* ‘discharge’, *ōruka* ‘to flow’; Kota *ok-* (*oky-*) ‘to ooze, to pour out (liquid, e.g., blood)’; (?) Toda *warf-* (*wart-*) ‘to flow’; Kannāḍa *or̥ku* ‘(vb.) to flow; (n.) torrent or strong current of a stream’; Koḍagu *okk-* (*okki-*) ‘to flow, to float away, to be carried away (by stream)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:97, no. 1010. Tamil *or̥unkai* ‘lane, alley’; Kannāḍa *or̥ṅku* ‘narrow path between two walls in a garden’ (Tuḷu loan); Tuḷu *or̥ṅku*, *or̥ṅky* ‘lane, footpath’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:97, no. 1014. Note: Contamination of Proto-Nostratic **ɣor-* ‘to move rapidly, quickly, hastily; to set in motion’ by **ɣor^v-* ‘to rise (up)’ in Dravidian (?).

- C. [Proto-Indo-European *ʔor-/ʔr- ‘to move, to set in motion; to arise, to rise; to raise’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ri* ‘to arrive, to come’, (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ra-(a-i)* ‘to (a)rise, to lift, to raise; to (a)rouse’, (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ar-aš-ki-iz-zi* ‘to be arriving’, (3rd sg. pres.) *ar-nu-(uz-)zi* ‘to move along, to make go; to stir, to raise; to transport, to deport, to remove; to bring, to transmit, to deliver, to produce; to further, to promote’, (3rd sg. pres.) *(a-)ar-aš-zi* ‘to flow’; Sanskrit *árṣati* ‘to flow’, *árṇa-ḥ* ‘undulating, surging; wave’, *rcchāti* ‘to go, to move, to send’, *ṛṇóti* ‘to go, to move, to arise’; Avestan *ar-* ‘to go, to move, to come’, *aurva-*, *aurvant-* ‘rapid, quick’, *ərənaoiti* ‘to set in motion’; Old Persian *ar-* ‘to move, to go or come toward’, *aruvā* ‘action’, *aruva-* ‘rapid, quick’; Greek ὀρνύμι ‘to urge on, to incite, to move, to stir oneself, to make to arise’; Latin *orior* ‘to rise, to arise’. Rix 1998a:266—267 **h₃er-* ‘to set in (rapid) motion’; Pokorny 1959:326—332 **er-*, **or-*, **r-* ‘to set in motion; to incite, to stir up, to arouse; to arise’; Walde 1927—1932.I:136—142 **er-*; Mann 1984—1987:249 **ersō* ‘to go, to glide, to wander, to creep, to dawdle’, 884 **or-* ‘to start, to start up, to rise’, 889 **orneu-*, **or-nū-mi* ‘to move, to rouse; to dash, to fly’, 891 **orsō*, *-iō* ‘to go, to proceed, to flow, to slide, to glide, to creep’; Watkins 1985:17 **er-* and 2000:23 **er-* ‘to move, to set in motion’ (oldest form **ʔ₁er-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:218 **rneu-*, **ornu-*, I:295 **or-* and 1995.I:187, I:194 **er-/*r-*, **or-* ‘to rise, to get up; to come into motion; to attain’, I:172 **rneu-*, **ornu-* ‘to move’; Mallory—Adams 1977:506 **h₁er-* ‘to set in motion’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:51, I:53, I:119 **er-*, and I:122; Boisacq 1950:714—716 **er-*, **ere-*; **erei-*, **ereu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:823—824 **er-*, **r-*; Hofmann 1966:238—239 **er-*; **ereu-*, **erei-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:422—424 **er-*; Beekes 2010.II:1107 **h₃er-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:222—223 **er-* (**ere-*, **erē-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:468; De Vaan 2008:434—435; Kloekhorst 2008b:196—197; Puhvel 1984—1/2:108—111 **er-*, 1/2:123—127, 1/2:162—167, and 1/2:170—172 **H₂ér-s-*, **H₂r-és-*.] Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (A) *ʔor- ‘to move rapidly, quickly, hastily; to set in motion’ and (B) *ʔorʷ- ‘to rise (up)’.
- D. Proto-Uralic **orko* originally ‘riverbed, ravine, gully’, then, by extension, ‘any low-lying place or spot’: Finnish *orko* ‘a low-lying brook in a meadow; a humid valley; any low-lying place or spot’; Estonian *org* ‘valley; a ravine or gully in a forest’; Lapp / Saami *årgo* ‘a sandy stretch of land where trees have been planted’; (?) Cheremis / Mari *or* [орь] ‘ditch’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *er*, (Kazan) *ór* ‘riverbed, ditch’. Rédei 1986—1988:721 **ork₃*; Aikio 2020:79 **orko* ‘valley / riverbed’
- E. Proto-Altaiic **oru-si-* ‘(vb.) to flow; (n.) river’: Proto-Mongolian **urus-* ‘to flow’ > Mongolian *urus-* ‘to flow, to run, to stream’, *urusqa-* ‘to cause to flow; to shed, to pour’, *urusqal* ‘stream, flow; current of water or air; running, flowing’; Khalkha *ursa-* ‘to flow’; Buriat *urda-* ‘to flow’; Kalmyk *ursə-* ‘to flow’; Ordos *urus-* ‘to flow’; Dagur *orsu-*, *orese-*, *orso-* ‘to flow’; Dongxiang *usuru-*, *urusu-* ‘to flow’; Shira-Yughur *urus-*, *urusu-*, *usuru-* ‘to

flow'; Monguor *urosə-* 'to flow'. Proto-Turkic **ōrs*, **ōrsen* '(vb.) to flow; (n.) river, riverbed' > Karakhanide Turkic *ōzen* 'river, riverbed'; Azerbaijani *ōz-* 'to flow'; Turkmenian *ōzen* 'river, riverbed'; Chuvash *vazan* 'river, riverbed'; Yakut *ōriūs* 'river, riverbed'. Note also: Yakut *ūreχ* 'river'; Dolgan *ūrek* 'river', which suggest that **-si* may originally have been a suffix. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1063 **orusi* '(n.) river; (vb.) to flow'. Poppe (1960:102) compares Mongolian *urus-* 'to flow, to run, to stream' with Lamut / Even *ūru-* 'to flow out', Evenki *ūrīgdān* 'current, stream, flow' (Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak write *urigden* 'back-water'), and Koibal *ur-* 'to flow'.

Buck 1949:1.36 river; stream; brook; 10.11 move (vb.); 10.21 rise (vb.); 10.32 flow (vb.); 10.47 go; 10.48 come. Möller 1911:69—70; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:707—708, no. 593.

692. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔorʔ-*:

(vb.) **ʔorʔ-* 'to rise (up)';

(n.) **ʔorʔ-a* 'rising movement or motion'

Extended form:

(vb.) **ʔorʔ-V-g-* 'to climb on, to mount, to copulate (with)';

(n.) **ʔorʔ-g-a* 'mounting, copulation'

- A. [Proto-Indo-European **ʔor-/ʔr-* 'to move, to set in motion; to arise, to rise; to raise': Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ri* 'to arrive, to come', (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ra-(a)-i* 'to (a)rise, to lift, to raise; to (a)rouse', (3rd sg. pres.) *a-ar-aš-ki-iz-zi* 'to be arriving', (3rd sg. pres.) *ar-nu-(uz)-zi* 'to move along, to make go; to stir, to raise; to transport, to deport, to remove; to bring, to transmit, to deliver, to produce; to further, to promote', (3rd sg. pres.) *(a-)ar-aš-zi* 'to flow'; Sanskrit *árṣati* 'to flow', *árṇa-ḥ* 'undulating, surging; wave', *rcchāti* 'to go, to move, to send', *ṛṇóti* 'to go, to move, to arise'; Avestan *ar-* 'to go, to move, to come', *aurva-*, *aurvant-* 'rapid, quick', *əṛənaoiti* 'to set in motion'; Old Persian *ar-* 'to move, to go or come toward', *aruvā* 'action', *aruva-* 'rapid, quick'; Greek *ὀρνύμι* 'to urge on, to incite, to move, to stir oneself, to make to arise'; Latin *orior* 'to rise, to arise'. Rix 1998a:266—267 **h₃er-* 'to set in (rapid) motion'; Pokorny 1959:326—332 **er-*, **or-*, **r-* 'to set in motion; to incite, to stir up, to arouse; to arise'; Walde 1927—1932.I:136—142 **er-*; Mann 1984—1987:249 **ersō* 'to go, to glide, to wander, to creep, to dawdle', 884 **or-* 'to start, to start up, to rise', 889 **orneu-*, **or-nū-mi* 'to move, to rouse; to dash, to fly', 891 **orsō*, *-jō* 'to go, to proceed, to flow, to slide, to glide, to creep'; Watkins 1985:17 **er-* and 2000:23 **er-* 'to move, to set in motion' (oldest form **₂er-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:218 **r₁neu-*, **ornu-*, I:295 **or-* and 1995.I:187, I:194 **er-/r₁-*, **or-* 'to rise, to get up; to come into motion; to attain', I:172 **r₁neu-*, **ornu-* 'to move'; Mallory—Adams 1977:506 **h₁er-* 'to set in motion'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:51, I:53, I:119 **er-*, and I:122;

Boisacq 1950:714—716 **er-*, **ere-*; **erei-*, **ereu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:823—824 **er-*, **r-*; Hofmann 1966:238—239 **er-*; **ereu-*, **erei-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:422—424 **er-*; Beekes 2010.II:1107 **h₃er-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:222—223 **er-* (**ere-*, **erē-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:468; De Vaan 2008:434—435; Kloekhorst 2008b:196—197; Puhvel 1984—1/2:108—111 **er-*, 1/2:123—127, 1/2:162—167, and 1/2:170—172 **H₂ér-s-*, **H₂r-és-*.] Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (A) **ʔor-* ‘to move rapidly, quickly, hastily; to set in motion’ and (B) **ʔor^y-* ‘to rise (up)’.

- B. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *orpo-* ‘hung up’, *arpušaj-*, *orpušaj-* ‘to rise, to get up, to drive upwards’, *arpaj-* ‘to go up’. Nikolaeva 2006:337—338.
- C. Proto-Altaic **ōr^yi-* ‘to rise up’: Proto-Mongolian **ergü-* (**örgü-*) ‘to lift, to raise’ > Written Mongolian *ergü-*, *örgü-* ‘to raise, to lift up’; Khalkha *örgö-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Buriat *ürge-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Kalmyk *örgə-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Ordos *ürgü-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Dagur *erewē-*, *ergue-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Dongxiang *ugu-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Monguor *urgu-* ‘to lift, to raise’. Poppe 1955:48. Proto-Turkic **ūr^y-* (**ōr^y-*) ‘on top, high above’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *ūze/ōze* ‘on top, high above’; Turkish *üzere*, *üzre* ‘on, upon’, *üzeri* ‘upper or outer surface of a thing; space above a thing; on, over, about’; Azerbaijani *üzəri* ‘on top, high above’; Sary-Uighur *ūze*, *ūzi* ‘on top, high above’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *üzeri* ‘on top, high above’; Chuvash *vir* (< **ōr^y-*) ‘on top, high above’; Yakut *ūhe*, *üöhe* ‘on top, high above’; Dolgan *ūhe*, *üöhe* ‘on top, high above’. A common Turkic derivative is **ūr^y-t* (with secondary vowel shortening) ‘upper part’ > Old Turkic *üst* ‘upper part’; Turkmenian *üst* ‘upper part’; Tatar *ös* ‘upper part’; Khalay *ist* ‘upper part’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1065 **ōri* ‘to rise up’.

Buck 1941:10.21 rise (vb.).

693. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔor^y-*:

Extended form:

(vb.) **ʔor^y-V-g-* ‘to climb on, to mount, to copulate (with)’;

(n.) **ʔor^y-g-a* ‘mounting, copulation’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **ʔor^y-* ‘to rise (up)’;

(n.) **ʔor^y-a* ‘rising movement or motion’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-East-Cushitic **ʔorg-* (‘mounter’ >) ‘male animal’ > Somali *orgi* ‘billy-goat’; Rendille *ogor* ‘gazelle’; Galla / Oromo *org-ee* ‘baby she-camel’; Harso *ork-akko* ‘billy-goat’; Gidole *ork-eta* ‘billy-goat’, *ork-eet* ‘non-castrated male goat’; Yaaku *org-ei* ‘male giraffe’. Sasse 1979:23.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔorg^h-*/**ʔrg^h-* ‘to climb on, to mount, to copulate (with)’, **ʔorg^{hi}-s* ‘testicle’: Avestan *arəzi* ‘scrotum’; Greek ὄρχις ‘testicle’;

Armenian *orjikh* ‘testicles’, *orj* ‘male’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *a-ar-ki* ‘to mount, to copulate (with)’, (nom. pl.) *ar-ki-i-e-eš* ‘testicles’; Old Irish *uirge* ‘testicle’; Old Icelandic *argr* ‘unmanly, effeminate, cowardly; passive homosexual’, *ergi* ‘lust, lewdness’; Old English *earg* ‘cowardly; bad, depraved’; Old Frisian *erch* (also *erg*, *arch*) ‘angry, evil; wrong, bad, disgraceful; severe (wounds)’, *erg* ‘mean, cowardly’; Old Saxon *arug* ‘mean, cowardly’; Old High German *arg*, *arag* ‘mean, cowardly’; Lithuanian *aržūs* ‘lusty’, *ežilas* (dial. *ažilas*) ‘stallion’; Albanian *herdhë* ‘testicle’. Pokorny 1959:782 **orghi-*, **rghi-* ‘testicle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:182—183 **orghi-*, **rghi-* (**erghi-*); Mann 1984—1987:888 **orghis* ‘testicle’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:817 **orǵ[h]-i-* and 1995.I:716 **orǵh-i-* ‘testicle’; Watkins 1985:17 **ergh-* and 2000:24 **ergh-* ‘to mount’ (oldest form **₂erǵh-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:507 **h₄órghis* ‘testicle’ and 508 **h₄órǵhei-* ~ **h₄rǵhór* ‘to mount, to cover’; Arbeitman 1980a:71—88; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:142—143 **erǵh-*, **orǵh-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:203—204; Smoczyński 2007.1:24—25 **h₁orǵhi-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:123—124; Derksen 2015:62 **h₁orǵh-* and 157; Frisk 1970—1973.II:433—434; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:830—831; Hofmann 1966:241 **orǵhi-* (**rǵhi-*); Beekes 2010.II:1116 **h₃(e/o)rǵh-i-*; Boisacq 1950:721; Hamp 1965a:129; Huld 1984:73—74; Orël 1998:145 and 2003:23 Proto-Germanic **arǵaz*, 23 **arǵīn*, 23 **arǵjanan*; Kroonen 2013:34 Proto-Germanic **arga-* ‘unmanly’; De Vries 1977:13 and 104; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:90—91.

Buck 1949:4.49 testicle. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:564—565, no. 428.

694. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔot-*:

- (vb.) **ʔot-* ‘to move to or toward; to move away from; to move out of the way, to step aside’;
 (n.) **ʔot-a* ‘movement to or toward; movement away from; step, track’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔoot-* ‘to come in, to enter’ > K’wadza *tsaw-* ‘to come from’ (stem plus *-aw-* consequentive, with normal deletion of #*ʔV-*); Dahalo *ʔoot-* ‘to come in, to enter’. Ehret 1980:293.
 B. Dravidian: Tamil *ottu* (*otti-*), *orru* (*orri-*) ‘to make room for’, *orri-ppō-* ‘to go away from’, *orri-vai-* ‘to place out of the way, to adjourn’; Malayalam *orruka* ‘to step aside, to retire, to cringe’; Kota *ot-* (*oty-*) ‘to precede on the way, to go fast’; Kannaḍa *ottu* ‘to give way, to leave space, to step aside’; Telugu *ottu*, *ottilu*, *ottigillu* ‘to step aside, to make way, to move out of the way’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:93, no. 973(a). Tamil *otuṅku* (*otuṅki-*) ‘to get out of the way, to step aside (as a mark of respect, before a superior), to retreat, to be defeated, to seek refuge; to be finished, settled, adjusted, completed’, *otukku* (*otukki-*) ‘(vb.) to put on one side (as the hair), to cause to get out of the way (as cattle in the road), to push into a corner, to separate (as persons in a quarrel), to gather on one side or tuck up (as one’s clothes while crossing a river), to place out of reach, to expel (as from a

caste), to dispatch (as a business), to settle; (n.) that which is apart, refuge, screen', *otukkam* 'privacy, retiring, hiding-place'; Malayalam *otuññuka* 'to give way, to step aside, to yield; to be adjusted', *otukkuka* 'to subdue, to settle', *otukkam* 'subjection, being settled and compressed', *otukku* 'shelter'; Toda *wiθx-* (*wiθxy-*) '(horns of fighting buffaloes) 'to slip apart'; Telugu *odūgu* 'to move or step aside, to make room, to sidle, to shrink from, to sneak, to slink'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:93, no. 973(b).

- C. Proto-Altaic **ōti-* (~ *-tʰ-*) 'to move to or toward; to move away from; to move out of the way, to step aside': Proto-Tungus *(*χ*)*utur-* 'to reel, to turn around' > Evenki *utur-* 'to reel, to turn around'. Proto-Mongolian **oči-* 'to walk, to move, to go' > Written Mongolian *oči-* 'to go to a place'; Khalkha *oči-* 'to walk, to move, to go'; Buriat *ošo-* 'to walk, to move, to go'; Dagur *vāžire-* 'to come in', *vāžī* 'track'; Dongxiang *eči-* 'to walk, to move, to go'; Monguor *śži-* 'to walk, to move, to go'. Poppe 1955:113. Note also the following (without palatalization): Middle Mongolian *ot-*, *udu-* 'to be on one's way'; Written Mongolian *od(u)-* 'to go to, to proceed to'; Kalmyk *od-* 'to be on one's way'. Poppe 1955:110. Proto-Turkic **ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through' > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Karakhanide Turkic *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Azerbaijani *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Turkmenian *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Uzbek *ot-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Uighur *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Karaim *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Tatar *ūt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Bashkir *ūt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Kirghiz *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Kazakh *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Noghay *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Sary-Uighur *yūt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Tuva *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Chuvash *vit-* 'to pass by, to pass through'; Yakut *ōt-* 'to pass by, to pass through'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1066—1067 **ōti* (~ *-tʰ-*) 'to move, to change place'.

Buck 1949:10.11 move; 10.45 walk (vb.); 10.47 go; 10.57 enter.

695. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔow-*:

Extended form:

(vb.) **ʔow-V-ħ-* 'to hatch eggs';

(n.) **ʔow-ħ-a* 'egg'

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ʔāḥ* [ح] (root *ʔwh*) 'eggwhite, albumen'. D. Cohen 1970— :12 'WH; Wehr 1966:34.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔowħh-yo-m* 'egg': Latin *ōvum* 'egg' (> Spanish *huevo* 'egg'; Catalan *ou* 'egg'; Portuguese *ovo* 'egg'; Italian *uovo* 'egg'; French *œuf* 'egg'; Romanian *ou* 'egg'); Young Avestan *aēm* 'egg'; Greek (Attic) *ὀión*, (Aeolian) *ῶιον*, (Doric) *ῶεων* 'egg'; Middle Cornish *uy* 'egg'; Old Welsh *ui* 'egg' (Modern Welsh *wy*); Crimean Gothic *ada* (Gothic [nom. pl.] **addja* [unattested]) 'egg'; Old Icelandic *egg* 'egg'; Faroese *egg*

- ‘egg’; Norwegian *egg* ‘egg’; Swedish *ägg* ‘egg’; Danish *eg* ‘egg’; Old English *æg* ‘egg’ (Middle English *ēi*, *ēy* ‘egg’; Modern English *egg* is a Scandinavian loan); Old Saxon *ei* ‘egg’; Dutch *ei* ‘egg’; Old High German *ei* ‘egg’ (pl. *eigir*) (New High German *Ei*); Old Church Slavic *ajъce* ‘egg’; Russian *jajcó* [яйцо] ‘egg’. Pokorny 1959:783—784 **ō(u)ǵi-om* ‘egg’; Walde 1927—1932.I:21—22 **ōw(e)ǵi-om* (derived from **auēi-* ‘bird’); Watkins 1985:4 **ōwyo-*, **əyo-* ‘egg’ (possibly derived from **awi-* ‘bird’) (Germanic **ajja(m)* in Old English *æg* ‘egg’) and 2000:6 **ōwyo-*, **ōyyo-* (suffix lengthened *o*-grade form **₂ōw-yo-*) ‘egg’ (possibly derived from **awi-* ‘bird’); Mallory—Adams 1997:176 **hₐō(u)iom* ‘egg’ (quite possibly a vrddhied derivative of the word for ‘bird’, **hₐeuei-*) and 2003:143 **hₐō(u)iom* ‘egg’; Mann 1984—1987:897—898 **ōuǵiom* (**ōuom*, **ō uǵio-*) ‘egg’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1150; Boisacq 1950:1082—1083 **ōuǵio-m*; Hofmann 1966:430 **ōuǵi-om*; Beekes 2010.II:1681 **h₂ōui-o-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1303; De Vaan 2008:438 **h₂ōuǵiom*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:230 **ōu(i)om*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:472; Orël 2003:11 Proto-Germanic **ajjaz*; Kroonen 2013:17 Proto-Germanic **ajja-* ‘egg’ (< **h₂ōu-ǵó-*); Feist 1939:2 Proto-Germanic **ajjam*, **ajjaz*; Lehmann 1982:2 **ō(w)i-om* < **oH(w)i-om*; Krause 1968:110 Proto-Germanic **ajjan*; Torp 1919:84; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:131; De Vries 1977:94—95 Proto-Germanic **ajjam*; Klein 1971:239; Onions 1966:303 Common Germanic **ajjaz*; Barnhart 1995:233; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:153—154 Common Germanic **ajjaz*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:167; Derksen 2008:27 **h₂ōui-om*.
- C. Proto-Eskimo **əva-* ‘to sit on eggs’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *waa-* ‘to sit on eggs (bird)’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *iwa-*, (Qawwaraq) *ua-*, *waa-* ‘to sit on eggs, to care for young or baby’; North Alaskan Inuit *iva-* ‘to bear a litter, to whelp, to sit on eggs, to feed or care for young’, *ivaaq* ‘young of animal’; Western Canadian Inuit *iva-* ‘to hatch’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *iva-* ‘to hatch’; Greenlandic Inuit *iva-* ‘to hatch eggs (bird), to lie up close to, to lie with litter of puppies (bitch)’, *ivaaq* ‘egg bird sits on’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:119.

(?) Sumerian *us* ‘to break or burst open’.

Buck 1949:4.48 *egg*. Dolgopolsky 1998:60, no. 72, **ʔ[a|o]h|χi* or **ʔuh|χi* ‘egg’ (or ‘white of egg’) and 2008, no. 98, **ʔuXi* ‘egg’; Bomhard 1999a:60 **ʔaw-h-* ‘egg’ (or ‘white of egg’). Dolgopolsky has proposed a very attractive etymology. However, it must be noted that Arabic *ʔāh* ‘eggwhite, albumen’ is isolated within Semitic. Moreover, even though the Proto-Indo-European form is traditionally reconstructed as **ōuǵiom* ‘egg’ (cf. Pokorny 1959:783—784; Mann 1984—1987:897—898), no single reconstruction can account for all of the forms found in the Indo-European daughter languages (cf. Walde 1927—1932.I:21—22 for discussion; see also Buck 1949:4.48; Kilday 2017; Schindler 1969; Zair 2011). Accordingly, there are difficulties with this etymology. If this is a valid etymology, it would imply that the Proto-Indo-European form is to be

reconstructed as **ʔ₂ouʔ₂iom* ‘egg’, with short vowel in the first syllable and a laryngeal (**ʔ₂* [= **h̥h̥*]) between **u* and **i* (the long vowel found in the first syllable of the forms attested in several of the Indo-European daughter languages would then be due to compensatory lengthening following the loss of this laryngeal). There may have been a non-apophonic **o* (original, or inherited, **o*) in the first syllable, in which case the Proto-Nostratic form would have been **ʔow-h̥-*. Reconstructing a medial laryngeal (**ʔ₂* [= **h̥h̥*]) would also account for the Germanic developments (cf. Jasanoff 1978a:85; Lehmann 1952:44, §4.44d; Lindeman 1964:112—114, §10.2). **ʔowh̥h̥-yo-m* (traditional **ʔ₂ouʔ₂iom*) ‘egg’ cannot, as is often assumed, be a derivative of the common Proto-Indo-European word for ‘bird’, which requires an initial *a*-coloring laryngeal (preserved in Armenian [cf. Winter 1965a:102 and 107]): **h̥h̥éw-i-s* [**h̥h̥áw-i-s*], **h̥h̥w-éy-s* (cf. Pokorny 1959:86 **auēi-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:66 **hauei-* [nom. **haéuis*, gen. **haúeis*] > Armenian *hav* ‘bird, hen, chicken’ (cf. Hübschmann 1897:465); Latin *avis* ‘a bird’ (De Vaan 2008:65—66 **h₂ey-i-*); Umbrian (acc.) *avif* ‘bird’; Sanskrit (nom. sg.) *vī-h̥*, (Rigveda) *vé-h̥* ‘a bird’ (Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:265—266 **ʔ₂éui-s*, **ʔ₂úei-s*); etc.

696. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔoy-*:

(vb.) **ʔoy-* ‘to be by oneself, to be alone’;

(n.) **ʔoy-a* ‘solitude, aloneness’; (adj.) ‘single, alone; one’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔVɣ-* ‘single, alone; one’: Proto-Semitic **ʔay-am-* ‘(to be) single, alone’ > Arabic *ʔāma* (root /*ʔym*/) ‘to be without a husband or a wife (single, divorced, widowed); to lose one’s wife, to become a widower; to lose one’s husband, to become a widow’, *ʔayma* ‘widowhood’, *ʔayyim* (pl. *ʔayāmā*) ‘unmarried man or woman; widow, widower’. D. Cohen 1970—:17 **ʔym*; Steingass 1884:99—100; Wehr 1976:37; Zammit 2002:85; Biberstein-Kazimirski 1875.1:95—96. The following Berber forms may belong here as well, assuming development from Pre-Proto-Berber **ʔ-y-w* > **y-y-w* > Proto-Berber (m.) **yīw-ān*, (f.) **yīw-āt* (Prasse 1974:404) or (m.) **iyyaw-an*, (f.) **iyyaw-at* (Militarëv 1988:101—107), participle meaning ‘being alone, sole, unique’ (> ‘one’): Tuareg *yən* (f. *yət*) ‘one; a certain one, someone’; Siwa *əǧən*, *igən* (f. *əǧət*, *igət*) ‘one’; Nefusa *uǧun* (f. *uǧət*) ‘one’; Ghadames *yun* (f. *yut*) ‘one’; Wargla *iggən* (f. *iggət*) ‘one’; Mzab *iggən* (f. *iggət*) ‘one’; Tamazight *yiwən*, *yun* (f. *yīwt*, *yut*) ‘one’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *yan* (f. *yat*) ‘one’; Riff *ig̃*, *ig̃ən* (f. *ict*), *iwən* (f. *iwət*) ‘one’; Kabyle *yiwən* (f. *yīwet*) ‘one’; Chaoia *iji* (f. *ijt*) ‘one’; Zenaga *yun* ‘one’. Haddadou 2006—2007:224.

B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔoy-* ‘single, alone; one’ (with non-apophonic *-o-*) (extended forms: **ʔoy-no-*, **ʔoy-wo-*, **ʔoy-kʰo-*): (A) **ʔoy-no-*: Latin *ūnus* ‘one’ [Old Latin *oinos*]; Umbrian *unu* ‘one’; Old Irish *óen*, *óin* ‘one’; Welsh *un* ‘one’; Gothic *ains* ‘one’; Old Icelandic *einn* ‘one’; Faroese *ein* ‘one’; Danish *en* ‘one’; Norwegian *ein* ‘one’; Old Swedish *en* ‘one’; Old English *ān* ‘one; alone, sole, lonely; singular, unique’; Old Frisian *ān*, *ēn*

‘one’; Old Saxon *ēn* ‘one’; Dutch *een* ‘one’; Old High German *ein* ‘one’ (New High German *ein*); Albanian *një* ‘one’; Lithuanian *vienas* (with unexplained initial *v-*) ‘one; alone’; Latvian *viēns* ‘one’; Old Prussian *ains* ‘one’; Old Church Slavonic *инъ* ‘some(one), other’; Russian Church Slavonic *инokyj* ‘only, sole, solitary’; Russian *иной* [иной] ‘different, other’ — it is also found in Greek οἷνη, οἷνός ‘roll of one (in dice)’. (B) **ḡoy-wo-*: Avestan *aēva-* ‘one’; Old Persian *aiva-* ‘one’ — it is also found in Greek οἶος ‘alone, lone, lonely’ (Cyprian οἶφος). (C) **ḡoy-kʰo-*: Sanskrit *éka-h* ‘one’; Mitanni (“Proto-Indic”) *aika-* ‘one’. Pokorny 1959:286 **oi-nos* ‘one’; Walde 1927—1932.I:101 **oi-nos*; Mann 1984—1987:866 **oinos*, *-ā* ‘one; unit’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995:741 **oi-* ‘one’ (extended forms: **oi-no-*, **oi-kʰo-*, **oi-wo-*); Watkins 1985:45 **oi-no-* and 2000:59 **oi-no-* ‘one, unique’; Mallory—Adams (eds.) 1997:398—399 **oi-no-s* ~ **oi-uo-s* ~ **oi-ko-s* (or **h₁oi-no-s* ~ **h₁oi-uo-s* ~ **h₁oi-ko-s*) and 2006:61 **h₁oi-no-s* ‘one’; Boisacq 1950:691 and 692; Frisk 1970—1973.II:364 **oino-s* and II:367 **oiuo-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:784 and II:786; Hofmann 1966:228; Beekes 2010.II:1058 **Hoi-no-*; De Vaan 2008:642 **Hoi-no-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:821—823; Ernout—Meillet 1979:748—749; Lindsay 1894:409; Sihler 1995:405 **oy-*: **oy-no-*, **oy-wo-*, and possibly **oy-ko-*; Matasović 2009:304—305; Kroonen 2013:11 Proto-Germanic **aina-* < Proto-Indo-European **Hoi-Hn-o-*; Orël 1998:304—305 and 2003:9 Proto-Germanic **ainaz*; Feist 1939:24 **oi-no-*; Lehmann 1986:17 **oy-no-* ‘sole, alone; one’; De Vries 1977:97; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:137, 1909:3, and 1910—1911.I:190—192; Torp 1919:86; Onions 1966:627 Common Germanic **ainaz*; Klein 1971:513 **oi-nos*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:169 Proto-Germanic **aina-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:157—158; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1239—1240; Smoczyński 2007.1:747—748 Proto-Baltic **ai-na-* < Proto-Indo-European **H₁oi-no-*; Derksen 2008:212 and 212—213 **HiH-no-*; Burrow 1973:248; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:126 **oi-(ko-)*; Szemerényi 1996:222. Notes: (1) According to Kloekhorst (2008:181—182) and Puhvel (1984— .1/2:73), Hittite *a-an-ki* ‘once’ is related to the above forms. Kloekhorst derives it from Proto-Indo-European **Hojonki*. (2) Latin *aequus* ‘level, equal’, on the other hand, does not belong here (cf. De Vaan 2008:27).

- C. Uralic: Proto-Samoyed **oj-* ~ **āj-* ‘one’ > Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ño’ai* ‘one’ (gen. *ñoaday*), *ño’alá* ‘single, alone’, *ño’alei*, *ño’adu* ‘once’; Motor *öjläk* (?) ‘one’ (only in independent use). Castrén 1854:193 and 1855:45; Helimski 1997:145, 326 (no. 798) (Motor) and 1998a:500, table 16.9, (Nganasan) *(ɲu?)ai?* ~ *(ɲu?)aj* ‘one’, numerical adverb *(ɲu?)ədu?* ‘once’. Note: Not related to Proto-Samoyed **op* ‘one’ (cf. Blažek 1999b: 90).

- D. Altaic: Tungus: Oroch *ojoke* ‘some, one’.

Buck 1949:13.33 alone, only (adj., adv.); Blažek 1999b.

697. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʔul-a ‘the bottom or lowest part of anything; the sole of the foot; soil, earth, ground, land’:

Semantics as in Latin *solum* ‘the bottom or lowest part of anything; the sole of the foot; soil, earth, ground, land’ (cf. Buck 1949:1.212).

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ulla* ‘earth, land’ > Hadiyya *uulla*, *u(u)lla* ‘country, land’; Kambata *ulla(-ta)* ‘earth’, *ulla-ta* ‘land’; Sidamo *ulla* ‘earth, land’. Hudson 1989:44, 55, and 88.
- B. Proto-Altaic **ūla* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’: Proto-Tungus **olā-či* ‘short boots’ > Evenki *olōt*, *olōčik* ‘short boots’; Lamut / Even *olāčiq* ‘short boots’; Negidal *olot* ‘short boots’; Ulch *olžuma* ‘short boots’; Orok *ollōčī* ‘short boots’; Oroch *olōčī* ‘short boots’; Solon *alóci*, *olóci* ‘short boots’. Proto-Mongolian **ula* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’ > Written Mongolian *ula* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’; Khalkha *ul* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’; Buriat *ula* ‘sole of foot or footwear; foundation, basis’; Kalmyk *ul* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’; Moghol *ulō* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’; Dagur *uale* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’; Bonan / Baoan *la* ‘sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation’. Proto-Turkic **ul* ‘foundation; sole (of foot)’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ultañ* ‘sole (of foot)’; Karakhanide Turkic *ul* ‘foundation’, *uldañ* ‘sole (of foot)’; Turkish *oltan*, (dial.) *oltan* ‘sole (of foot)’; Turkmenian *oltan* ‘sole (of foot)’; Uzbek *ultan* ‘sole (of foot)’; Uighur *ultañ* ‘sole (of foot)’, (dial.) *ūl*, *ul* ‘basis, foundation’; Tatar *ūltan* ‘sole (of foot)’; Bashkir *ūltan* ‘sole (of foot)’; Kazakh *ūltan* ‘sole (of foot)’; Noghay *ultan* ‘sole (of foot)’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ultañ*, *ultan*, *iltam* ‘sole (of foot)’; Tuva *ulduj* ‘sole (of foot)’; Yakut *ulluj* ‘sole (of foot)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 1492—1493 **ūla* ‘sole, footwear’.

Sumerian *ùl* ‘field(s), cultivated land’, *ùlul* ‘field; steppe, open land’, *ulul* ‘field’.

Buck 1949:1.212 earth = ground, soil; 1.23 plain, field; 12.34 bottom. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 30, *ʔulV ‘soil, foundation, earth’.

698. Proto-Nostratic deictic stem indicating distance farthest away from the speaker *ʔul- (~ *ʔol-) ‘that over there, that yonder’:

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *ʔilla, *ʔillay, *ʔul(l)a demonstrative pronoun stem > Hebrew *ʔēl* [ʔl], *ʔēlleh* [ʔlʔl] ‘these’; Imperial Aramaic *ʔlh*, *ʔln*, *ʔlw* ‘these’; Phoenician *ʔl* ‘these’; Akkadian *ullū* ‘those’; Arabic *ʔulā* ‘these’; Sabaean *ʔl* ‘these’; Soqotri *elhe* ‘those’; Geez / Ethiopic (m.) *ʔallu* [ʔl], (f.) *ʔallā* [ʔl] ‘these’; Tigre (m.) *ʔall-om* ‘these’; Amharic *allih*

‘these’. D. Cohen 1970— :18—20; Klein 1987:28; Leslau 1987:17—18; Lipiński 1997:315—323.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʔol-* demonstrative pronoun stem: Latin (later variants of *ollus*, etc.) *ille, illa, illud* ‘that’, *ōlim* ‘at that time’, *ole, olle, ollus, olus, olla* ‘that’, *ultrā* (< **oltrād*) ‘beyond, on the far side, farther’; Umbrian *ulo, ulu* ‘there, at that place’; Old Church Slavic *lani* (< **ol-nei*) ‘last year’. Pokorny 1959:24—26 **al-*, **ol-* demonstrative stem; Walde 1927—1932.I:84—86 **al-*, **ol-*; Mann 1984—1987:872—873 **olnī* ‘then, formerly’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:309, 460, and 461; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:679—680 and II:206—207; Sihler 1995:393—394, §377.4 **ol-* ‘that, yonder’; De Vaan 2008:298; Lindsay 1894:430 and 436—437; Buck 1933:225—226. Note: The initial *i-* found in the later Latin forms *ille, illa, illud* is usually explained as due to the influence of *is* ‘that’.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 28, **[ʔ]olīV* ‘that (visible)’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:566, no. 431.

699. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔum-* (~ **ʔom-*):

(vb.) **ʔum-* ‘to bear, to give birth’;

(n.) **ʔum-a* ‘offspring, descendant’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔum-* ‘(vb.) to bear, to give birth; (n.) clan, kinsmen’: Proto-Semitic **ʔumm-* ‘people, clan’ > Hebrew *ʔummāh* [ʔʊmˤɑːh] ‘clan, tribe, nation, people’; Aramaic *ʔummā* ‘people, nation’; Ugaritic *ʔumt* ‘sibling, kinsman’; Arabic *ʔumma* ‘nation, people, generation’; Akkadian *ummātu* ‘people, army’; Tigre *ʔammāt* ‘nation, tribe, people’. Klein 1987:34; D. Cohen 1970— :23. (?) Berber: Tuareg *iman* ‘soul, person’; Nefusa *iman* ‘person’; Wargla *iman* ‘soul, person’; Mzab *iman* ‘soul, life-force, self’; Riff *iman* ‘soul, life, person’; Chaouia *iman* ‘person, being’. Also used in the formation of reflexive pronouns: Nefusa *iman-ənnəs* ‘himself’; Mzab *imən-əs* ‘himself’; Tuareg *iman-in* ‘myself’; Riff *iman-əs* ‘himself’; Kabyle *iman-iw* ‘myself’, *iman-ik* ‘yourself’; Chaouia *iman-əs* ‘oneself, himself, herself’. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **ʔim-i-* (assimilated from **ʔum-i-*) ‘people’ > Iraqw *imi* ‘people’; Burunge *im-et* ‘people’; Alagwa *imi* ‘crowd’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔumuʔ-* ‘to give birth’ > Burunge *murungu* ‘navel’; Alagwa *mugungu* ‘navel’; Dahalo *ʔumuš-* ‘to give birth’, *ʔumušikuḍ-* ‘to be born’. Ehret 1980:295. Orël—Stolbova 1995:34, no. 131, **ʔum-* ‘people’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *umpal* ‘descendant’; Toda *ub-* in song-units: *en mox uba*, *en mary uba* ‘Oh my child!’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:61, no. 639.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **umu-* ‘to bear, to give birth’: Proto-Tungus **omu-/umu-* ‘(vb.) to lay eggs; (n.) offspring, descendant, grandchild’ > Evenki *umū-* ‘to lay eggs’, *omolgī* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Lamut / Even *omolgo* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Negidal *omolgī* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Manchu *omolo* ‘grandson’; Spoken Manchu

(Sibo) *omələ* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Jurchen *omo-lo* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Oroch *omolā* ‘daughter-in-law’; Udihe *omolo* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’; Solon *omolī* ‘offspring, descendant, grandchild’. Proto-Mongolian **(h)umay* ‘womb’ > Written Mongolian *umay* ‘womb’; Khalkha *umay* ‘womb’; Buriat *umay* ‘womb’; Kalmyk *omā* ‘female ancestor’; Ordos *omā* ‘womb’. Poppe 1955:32. Note: the Mongolian forms cited above may be loans from Turkic. Proto-Turkic **umay* ‘placenta, afterbirth; goddess of birth’ > Old Turkish (Old Uighur) *umay* ‘placenta, afterbirth’; Karakhanide Turkic *umay* ‘placenta, afterbirth; goddess of birth’; Turkish *umacı* ‘ogre, bogy man’; Kirghiz *umay* ‘goddess of birth’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1498 **umu* ‘to bear, to give birth’. The following probably belong here as well: Proto-Altaic **umu-tki* ‘egg’: Proto-Tungus **umū-hta* ‘egg’ > Evenki *umūhta* ‘egg’; Lamut / Even *umtə* ‘egg’; Negidal *omūhta* ‘egg’; Manchu *umḡan, umḡan* ‘egg’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *uməhan* ‘egg’; Ulch *omūhta* ‘egg’; Nanay / Gold *omaqta* ‘egg’; Oroch *umukta* ‘egg’; Udihe *umukta* ‘egg’; Solon *umatta* ‘egg’. Proto-Mongolian **ömdege, *emdüge* ‘egg’ > Middle Mongolian *öndege(n), ömdege(n), öndüge, ömdüge* ‘egg’; Khalkha *öndög* ‘egg’; Buriat *ündege(n)* ‘egg’; Kalmyk *öndəgə* ‘egg’; Ordos *öndögö* ‘egg’; Moghol *ündäγön* ‘egg’; Dagur *enduge* ‘egg’; Dongxiang *endegi* ‘egg’; Monguor *ndige* ‘egg’. Poppe 1955:75. Proto-Turkic **yumurtka* ‘egg’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *yumurtʔa, yumurʔa* ‘egg’; Karakhanide Turkic *yumurtʔa* ‘egg’; Turkish *yumurta* ‘egg’; Gagauz *yimirta* ‘egg’; Azerbaijani *yumurta* ‘egg’; Turkmenian *yumurtga* ‘egg’; Uzbek (dial.) *yumurtqa* ‘egg’; Karaim *yimirta, imirtxa* ‘egg’; Tatar *yomirtqa* ‘egg’; Bashkir *yomortqa* ‘egg’; Kirghiz *žumurtqa* ‘egg’; Kazakh *žumirtqa* ‘egg’; Noghay *yumirtqa* ‘egg’; Sary-Uighur *yomut* ‘egg’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *d'imirtqa* ‘egg’; Tuva *čuurʔa* ‘egg’; Chuvash *śʔwʔmarda* ‘egg’; Yakut *simīt* ‘egg’. Initial **y-* is most likely due to the influence of Proto-Altaic **nāmo* ‘testicle’ (and/or **žiōmu* ‘round’). Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1499 **umu-tki* ‘egg’.

Buck 1949:4.47 womb; 4.48 egg; 4.72 bear (of mother).

700. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔup^h-* (onomatopoeic):

(vb.) **ʔup^h-* ‘to blow’;

(n.) **ʔup^h-a* ‘puff of air, breath’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔuf-* ‘to blow’: Proto-East Cushitic **ʔuf(u)f-* ‘to blow’ > Burji *ufu(u)f-* ‘to blow (on fire)’; Gedeo / Darasa *ufuuf-eem-* ‘to blow (on fire)’; Hadiyya *ufaʔ-* ‘to blow (on fire)’; Sidamo *uffu ass-* ‘to blow (on fire)’, *ufuuf-* ‘to blow (on fire)’; Saho *ufu-* ‘to breathe’; Afar *uff-uy* ‘breath’; Bayso *ufuuf-* ‘to blow’; Dasenech *ʔuf-* ‘to blow’; Elmolo *uuf-* ‘to blow’; Galla / Oromo *uff-i jed-* ‘to blow’; Konso *uff-* ‘to inflate’; Gidole *uff-* ‘to blow’; Gawwada *uʔuf-* ‘to blow’; Gollango *uff-* ‘to blow’; Dobase *uff-* ‘to blow’; Dullay *uff-* ‘to blow, to inflate’. Sasse 1979:19 and

1982:183—184; Hudson 1989:29 Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ufuuf*- ‘to blow (on fire)’. Central Cushitic: Bilin *ʔuf y-* ‘to blow’; Xamir *əf y-* ‘to blow’; Kemant *əf y-* ‘to blow’. Appleyard 2006:34—35. Note: Reinisch 1887:117 lists Bilin *fūf y-* ‘to blow’. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *fūf-* ‘to blow’. Reinisch 1895:77. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔuuf-* ‘to blow’ > Iraqw *ufuf-* ‘to blow’; Asa *ʔuf-* ‘to blow’; Ma’a -*ʔúfu* ‘to blow (with the mouth)’, -*ʔúfuka* ‘to give off smoke’; Dahalo *ʔuuf-ljuuf-* ‘to blow’, *júúfume* ‘wind’. Ehret 1980:294.

- B. Dravidian: Toda *ūf in- (iḍ-)* ‘to blow, to blow away (e.g., ashes)’; Kannaḍa *uph, uphi* ‘sound emitted when strongly blowing with the mouth to remove impurities’; Brahui *huf* ‘puff of wind, blast, windy talk’, *huf kanning* ‘to blow upon’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:61, no. 633.

Buck 1949:10.38 blow (vb. intr.).

701. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔut-* (~ **ʔot-*):

(vb.) **ʔut-* ‘to stretch, to lengthen’;

(n.) **ʔut-a* ‘wide-open space, outdoor area, exterior; length, distance’; (adj.) ‘wide, broad, long’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʔut-* ‘wide, broad, long’: Semitic: Arabic *ʔaṭaṭ-* ‘long, tall’. D. Cohen 1970— :16. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʔuḍ-* (or **ud-* or **ʔuud-* or **uud-*) ‘wide, broad’ > Iraqw *ur* ‘big, large’, *uraw-* ‘to grow up’, *ures-* ‘to rear’; K’wadza *ulungayo* ‘wide, broad’; Ma’a *uda* ‘far’. Ehret 1980:295.
- B. Dravidian: Iruḷa *uddya* ‘long’; Kota *udm* ‘length’; Kannaḍa *udda, uddi, uddu* ‘height, length, depth’; Koḍagu *udda* ‘length, height’, *uddatē* ‘long’; Tuḷu *udda* ‘length, distance’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:60, no. 621. Malayalam *utakuka* ‘to prosper, to thrive’; Kannaḍa *odagu, odugu, odavu* ‘to become endowed with power, to prosper, to thrive, to increase’; Tuḷu *odaguni* ‘to prosper’; Telugu *odavu* ‘to flourish’, *odalu* ‘to increase, to flourish’, *odugu, oduvu* (vb.) to increase, to thrive; (n.) abundance’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:59, no. 605.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ʔūt-* ‘out, out of, outside, away from’: Sanskrit (prefix) *ud-* ‘up, upwards; upon, on; over, above; out, out of, away from, apart’, *úttara-h* ‘upper, higher, superior’, *uttamá-h* ‘uppermost, highest’; Old Persian *ud* ‘up’; Gothic (adv.) *ūt* ‘out’, (adv.) *ūta* ‘outside’, (adv.) *ūtana* ‘from outside, up to’; Old Icelandic *út* ‘out, towards the outer side’, *úti* ‘out, out of doors’; Swedish *ut* ‘out’; Danish *ud* ‘out’; Old English *ūt* ‘out’, *ūte* ‘outside, in the open air’, *ūterra* ‘outer, exterior’, *ūtan* ‘outside, from outside’, *ȳtan* ‘to drive out, to banish’; Old Frisian *ūt* ‘out’; Old Saxon *ūt* ‘out’; Dutch *uit* ‘out’; Old High German *ūz* ‘out’ (New High German *aus*), *ūzan(a)* (adv.) ‘outside’; Latin *ūs-* in *ūsque* ‘at every point, through and through, from...to, all the way, continuously’. Pokorny 1959:1103—1104 **ūd-* ‘up, out’; Walde 1927—1932.I:189—190 **ūd-*

Mann 1984—1987:1473—1474 **ūd*, **ūd-* ‘out, off, away, up’, 1475 **ūds̄kos* ‘high’, and 1475 **ūd-ter-* (**ūter-*) ‘extreme, outer, upper, further’; Watkins 1985:72 **ud-* (also **ūd-*) and 2000:94 **ud-* (also **ūd-*) ‘up, out’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:243 **ut[h]-*, **ut’-* and 1995.I:212 **uth-*, **ut’-* ‘up, out’; Mallory—Adams 1997:612 **ūd* ‘upward, out (from under)’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:101 and I:102; Lindsay 1894:595 **ud* ‘out, up out’; De Vaan 2008:646; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:844; Ernout—Meillet 1979:756; Orël 2003:437 Proto-Germanic **ūt*, 437 **ūtai*, 437 **ūtanē*, 437 **ūtaraz*, 437 **ūtjanan*; Kroonen 2013:562 **ūt* ‘out’ and 563 **uz* ‘out (of)’; Feist 1939:537; Lehmann 1986:384 **ūd-* ‘upward’; De Vries 1977:636 **ud-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:406—408 **ūd*; Onions 1966:636; Klein 1971:523 **ud* ‘up, out, away’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:39 **ūd*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:49 **ud-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:425. Note: The original meaning was ‘wide-open space, outdoor area, exterior’.

Buck 1949:12.57 long; 12.61 wide, broad.

22.35. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *h

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
h-	h-	Ø-	Ø-	h-	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
-h-	-h-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-h-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-Ø-

702. Proto-Nostratic root **hag-* (~ **hæg-*):

(vb.) **hag-* ‘to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame, to be ablaze, to shine brightly’;

(n.) **hag-a* ‘midday heat, heat of sun, sunlight’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hag-* ‘to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame, to be ablaze, to shine brightly’: Proto-Semitic **hag-ag-* ‘to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame, to be ablaze’ > Arabic *hağğā* ‘to burn, to be on fire, to be aflame; to flame, to blaze, to be ablaze; to set ablaze, to stir up, to stroke (the fire)’; Akkadian *agāgu* ‘to be angry, to flare up with anger’; Hebrew **hāγīy* [חַיִּי] ‘heat, fervor of mind’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ehgég* ‘to make a big blaze, to flash’; Tigrinya *hagägä* ‘to give off a strong odor, to smell strong, to smoke (fire)’. D. Cohen 1970— :6 and 364; Von Soden 1965—1981.I:14; Murtonen 1989:155. Proto-Semitic **hag(ī)r-* ‘hottest time of day, midday, noon’ > Arabic *hağara* (inf. *tahğīr*) ‘to travel in the heat of midday’, *hağr* ‘hottest time of day’, *hağīra* ‘midday heat, midday, noon’, *hağīr* ‘midday heat’, *hāğīra* ‘midday heat, midday, noon’, *hāğīrī* ‘midday’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hógər* ‘midday’; Mehri (*hēgər*), *həgərūt* ‘to be hot at midday’, *hgōr* ‘to go out in the midday heat’. D. Cohen 1970— :369—370. (?) Geez / Ethiopic *hagwaza* [ሀግወዘ] ‘to produce light, to make produce light’ (if not a misprint for *hanwaza* [ሀንወዘ]). Leslau 1987:216. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **agana* ‘month, moon’ > Hadiyya *agana* ‘moon’; Kambata *agana* ‘moon’; Sidamo *agana*, *aganá* ‘month, moon’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **agan-co* ‘month, moon’ > Burji *agun-co*, *agun-cóo* ‘month, moon’; Gedeo / Darasa *agen-jo* ‘month, moon’; Hadiyya *agan-co* ‘month’; Kambata *agan-cu* ‘moon’; Sidamo (pl.) *aganna* ‘months’. Hudson 1989:101, 177, 230, 269, 306, and 349; Sasse 1982:24 — according to Sasse, the Highland East Cushitic forms are of Omotic origin: North Omotic *agen-* ‘moon’ (cf. Fleming 1974a:90). Proto-Southern Cushitic **hag-* ‘full moon’ (that is, ‘that which is shining or bright’) > Iraqw *homo* ‘full moon’; Dahalo *háge* ‘moon’. Ehret 1980:306.
- B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *axrnā* ‘to warm oneself (by the fire, in the sun)’; Malto *awge* ‘to expose to the heat of the sun or fire’, *awgre* ‘to bask in the sun, to warm oneself at a fire’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 18.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **hegh-* [**hag^h-*] ‘day’: Sanskrit *ahi-h* ‘the sun’, *áhar*, *áhas-* (gen. sg. *áhnah*) ‘a day’, (Vedic) (nom. pl.) *áhā* ‘a day’; Avestan (gen. pl.) *asnəm* (base *azan-*) ‘a day’. Semantic development from ‘heat of sun, sunlight’ to ‘daylight, daytime, day’. Pokorny 1959:7 **ǎgher-*, **ǎghen-*, **ǎghes-* (or **ǎgher-*, etc.) ‘day’; Walde 1927—1932.I:849—850 **ǎghr-*, **ǎghn-*, **ǎghes-* (or **ǎghr-*, etc.); Mann 1984—1987:863 **ogh-* (?) (variant **ogh-*) ‘day, spirit’; Mallory—Adams 1997:149 **h_aéghr* ‘day’; Watkins 1985:1 **agh-* and 2000:1 **agh-* ‘a day’ (considered as a span of time); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:68.
- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **əkəka* ‘hot’: Alyutor *n-əkakə-qin* ‘hot’, *əkəka-sʔən* ‘hottest’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *xka-laX* ‘hot’, *xkakkəm* ‘heat (in summer)’. Fortescue 2005:339.

Buck 1949:1.53 moon; 14.41 day. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:588—589, no. 461.

703. Proto-Nostratic root **hakh-* (~ **həkh-*):

- (vb.) **hakh-* ‘to be sluggish, slow; to do or approach something gradually, slowly, step by step’; (adv.) ‘slowly, gradually’;
 (n.) **hakh-a* ‘slowness, gradualness, sluggishness’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **hak-ay-* ‘to be lazy, idle, inactive’ > Geez / Ethiopic *hakaya* [ሁከየ], *hakaya* [ሐከየ] ‘to be lazy, sluggish; to be slack, inactive; to be weary; to languish; to be indolent’, *hakkāy* ‘sluggard, indolent, inert, idle, languishing, lazy, slothful, negligent’, *haket* ‘weariness, idleness, slothfulness, laziness, apathy, inertia, negligence’; Tigre *hakka* ‘to be weary, indolent’; Tigrinya *hakäyä* ‘to be weary, indolent’; Amharic *haket* ‘indolence’ (Geez loan). Metathesis in: Arabic *kahiya* ‘to be weak, cowardly’; Hebrew *kāhāh* [כָּהָה] ‘to be or grow dim, faint’; Aramaic *kəhā* ‘to grow dim, to be sad’. Murtonen 1989:228; Klein 1987:271; Leslau 1987:216—217.
- B. Proto-Altaiic **ǎk^he* ‘to advance gradually, slowly’: Proto-Mongolian **aki-*, **akuy-* ‘(vb.) to advance gradually; (n.) work, earnings, mode of life’ > Written Mongolian *aki-* ‘to advance, to progress, to move forward, to increase’, *akiča* ‘advancement, progress, success’; Khalkha *axi-* ‘to advance, to approach step by step; to advance in years; to promote’, *axui* ‘being, existence, life’; Buriat *axi-* ‘to advance slowly’; Kalmyk *axū* ‘work, earnings, mode of life’; Ordos *ax^wi* ‘work, earnings, mode of life’. Proto-Turkic *(i)*akuru-* (< **ǎk^he-ru-*) ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *aquru* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Karakhanide Turkic *aqru*, *aqrun* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Tatar *ekren*, *ekerten*, (dial.) *ekert* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Bashkir *aqrīn* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Kirghiz *aqīrīn* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Kazakh *aqīrīn* ‘slowly, quietly, gradually’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *aqqīrīn*, *aqqīr-aqqīr* ‘slowly, quietly,

gradually’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:282 **āk’e* ‘to advance gradually, slowly’.

- C. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **əkəkə* ‘at last’: Amur *əkəkə* ‘barely’: East Sakhalin *əkəkə* ‘at last’; South Sakhalin *əkəkəko* ‘at last’. Fortescue 2016:166.

Buck 1949:14.22 slow (adj.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 759, **hakV* ‘slow, inactive’.

704. Proto-Nostratic root **hak’*- (~ **hək’*-):

- (vb.) **hak’*- ‘to press, squeeze, pack, or cram together; to confine, to oppress’;
(n.) **hak’-a* ‘oppression, affliction, pain’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hak’*- ‘to press, to squeeze hard, to cause pain’: Semitic: Arabic *haḵaḡa* ‘to be weak, to be weakened by an illness or by hunger’. D. Cohen 1970— :446. Egyptian *hq* ‘to oppress, to inflict pain, to diminish’ (medical term), *hq* ‘head ailment’, *hqs* ‘to defraud, to steal’. Hannig 1995:498; Faulkner 1962:160; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:503.
- B. [Dravidian: Kannada *agacu*, *agucu*, *agusu* ‘to press firmly, to confine, to hold firmly’, *agacāṭ(a)lu*, *agacāṭ(a)le*, *agacāṭu* ‘affliction, trouble’; Telugu *agacāṭlu* ‘troubles, difficulties, affliction’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:3, no. 2.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **hag-* (~ **həg-*) ‘(to be) pressed or weighed down; (to be) oppressed; (to be) disheartened, vexed, distressed, afflicted, troubled’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **hek’-os-* [**hak’-os-*] ‘pain, affliction, injury’: Sanskrit *āgas-* ‘transgression, sin, offense, injury, fault’; Greek *ἄγος* ‘curse, guilt, pollution’; Old English *acan* ‘to ache’, *ece* ‘ache, pain’. Pokorny 1959:8 **agos-* ‘fault, blemish’; Walde 1927—1932.I:38 **agos-*; Mann 1984—1987:2 **āgos-*, *-es-* ‘evil; bitterness, harshness, turmoil’; Watkins 1985:1 **ag-es-* and 2000:2 **ag-es-* ‘fault, guilt’ (perhaps < ‘to cause mental pain’); Uhlenbeck 1898—1899.1:30; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:70; Boisacq 1950:9; Frisk 1970—1973.I:14; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:13 (Chantraine rejects the comparison of Greek *ἄγος* with Sanskrit *āgas-*); Beekes 2010.I:14—15 *(*H*)*ieh₂ǵ-*; Hofmann 1966:2; Prellwitz 1905:5; Orël 2003:11 Proto-Germanic **akanan*; Kroonen 2013:18 Proto-Germanic **akan-* ‘to ache’; Onions 1966:8—9 Old English *ece* < **akis*; Klein 1971:7 — English *ache* is “of uncertain origin”; Skeat 1898:6.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **akta-* ‘to press, cram, or pack together; to confine, to trap’ > Finnish *ahta-* ‘to stuff, to cram, to pack; to set or put (traps, snares)’, *ahta- riiehtä* ‘to fill the kiln, to put corn into the kiln for drying’, *ahtauma* ‘constriction, contraction’, *ahtautu-* ‘to pack, to cram, to crowd’, *ahtojää* ‘pack-ice’; Estonian *ahta-*, *ahti-* ‘to stuff, to cram, to pack’, *ahta- reht* ‘to put corn into the kiln’, *ahtake(ne)* ‘narrow, straight, slender, slim’; Lapp / Saami *vuoktinje* ‘frame for drying nets’; Mordvin (Moksha) *afto-* ‘to set (nets or traps)’, *aftuma* ‘fishing-net, trap, snare’,

(Erza) *avtuma* ‘fishing-net’; (?) Cheremis / Mari *opte-* ‘to put, to load (e.g., flour in a bin, hay or wood on a load); to build (a nest, of a bird); to pour out (water); to set (nets, traps)’, *optōš, oktōš* ‘snare (for catching birds or hares), net (for catching wild animals, e.g., foxes)’; Zyrian / Komi *okty-* ‘to set a trap’, *oktym, oktyn* ‘ledger-tackle’; Ostyak / Xanty *ygət-* ‘to hang (up); to spread (the seine or the nets, on poles to dry)’. Collinder 1955:71 and 1977:88; Rédei 1986—1988:5—6 *akta-.

- E. Proto-Eskimo *aka(a) and *akəka ‘ouch!’ (exclamation of pain): Central Alaskan Yupik *akəka(taki), akkatak*, (Nelson Island, Hooper Bay-Chevak) *akaa* ‘ouch!’; Sirenik *aka-kaa* expression of surprise; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aʔaa* cry of pain; Greenlandic Inuit *ayaa* ‘ouch!’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:10.

Buck 1949:11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.); 16.31 pain, suffering. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:587, no. 459.

705. Proto-Nostratic root *hal- (~*həl-):

- (vb.) *hal- ‘to light up, to beam forth, to shine, to brighten up, to radiate’;
 (n.) *hal-a ‘clearness, brightness, radiance, purity’; (adj.) ‘clear, pure, bright, shining, radiant’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *hal- ‘to light up, to beam forth, to shine, to brighten up, to radiate’: Proto-Semitic *hal-al- ‘to light up, to shine, to brighten up, to radiate’ > Akkadian *elēlu* ‘to purify, to make clean’, *ellu* ‘clean, pure, bright, shining’, *elliš* ‘in a pure fashion, brilliantly’, *ellūtu* ‘purity’; Eblaite *ul-lum* ‘festival’; Ugaritic *hll* ‘new moon’ (?); Hebrew *hālāl* [חָלַל] ‘to shine’, *hālēl* [חָלַלְךָ] (appellative) ‘shining one’ (epithet of the king of Babylon); Arabic *halla* ‘to appear, to come up, to show (new moon); to shout with joy, to rejoice, to exult, to jubilate; to shine, to gleam, to glow, to be radiant; to beam with joy’, *tahallala* ‘it shone, gleamed’, *hilāl* ‘new moon’; Geez / Ethiopic *hālāl* [ሀለለ] ‘new moon’ (Arabic loan), (denominative) *halala* [ሀለለ] ‘to shine, to be bright’; Amharic *həlāl* ‘full moon’. D. Cohen 1970— :414—417; Leslau 1987:217; Klein 1987:152; Murtonen 1989:157; Zammit 2002:420. Berber: Tuareg *tallit* ‘(lunar) month, new moon’; Ghadames *lal* ‘to be born’; Nefusa *lal* ‘to be born’; Wargla *llal* ‘to come to light, to be born’, *tlallit* ‘birth, coming to light’; Mzab *llal* ‘to be born’, *tlallit* ‘birth’; Tamazight *lal* ‘to be born, to appear’, *talalit* ‘birth’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *lal* ‘to be born’, *talalit* ‘birth’; Riff *lal, rar* ‘to be born’, *talalit, tararit* ‘birth’; Kabyle *lal* ‘to be born, to lay (eggs), to break (dawn)’, *talalit* ‘birth’; Chaouia *lal* ‘to be born, to break (day)’, *talalit* ‘birth’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:262, no. 1176, *hilāl- ‘new moon’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *alari* ‘beauty’; Kannaḍa *alampu, lampu* ‘beauty, ornament, pleasure, magnificence’; Telugu *alarāru* ‘to shine, to glitter; to

suit well, to be proper, to be fit; to rejoice, to be pleased', *alarincu* 'to please, to gratify'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:24, no. 248.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **hel-b^{ho}-s* [**hal-b^{ho}-s*] 'white; cloud, whiteness': Hittite (nom. sg.) *al-pa-aš* '(rain-)cloud'; Greek ἄλφος 'whiteness, white leprosy'; Latin *albus* 'white'; Umbrian *alfu* 'white'; Old Icelandic *elptr* 'swan' (named for its white color); Old English *iefetu* 'swan'; Old High German *albiz* 'swan'; Old Church Slavic *lebedь* (< Proto-Slavic **olb-edь*) 'swan'; Czech *labud* 'swan'; Polish *labędź* 'swan'; Russian *lébed'* [лебедь] 'swan'. Pokorny 1959:30—31 **albho-* 'white'; Walde 1927—1932.I:92—94 **albho-*; Mann 1984—1987:14 **albhos* 'white'; Watkins 1985:2 **albho-* and 2000:3 **albho-* 'white'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:783 **alb^[h]o-* and 1995.I:685 **alb^{ho}-* 'white, white-colored'; Mallory—Adams 1997:641 **h₄elbhós* 'white'; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:37—38; Kloekhorst 2008b:169; Boisacq 1950:48; Frisk 1970—1973.I:81—82; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:67; Beekes 2010.I:77—78 **h₂elb^{ho}-*; Hofmann 1966:14 **albhos*; De Vaan 2008:32; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:26—27; Ernout—Meillet 1979:20; Orël 2003:13 Proto-Germanic **albatiz* ~ **albetiz*; Kroonen 2013:20 Proto-Germanic **albut-* 'swan'; De Vries 1977:101 **albh-*; R. Woodhouse 2012:226—227; Derksen 2008:365—366 **h₂elb^h-ond-i-*.

Sumerian *al-è* 'to light up, to shine, to brighten up, to radiate, to beam forth'.

Buck 1949:1.53 moon; 15.64 white; 16.22 joy; 16.81 beautiful. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:586, no. 457.

706. Proto-Nostratic root **hal-* (~ **həl-*):

- (adv.) **hal-* 'else, otherwise';
(n.) **hal-a* 'other side'; (adj.) 'other'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hal-* 'else, otherwise': Proto-Southern Cushitic **hal-* 'else, otherwise' > Iraqw *halahali* 'sixth finger'; Ma'a *háli* 'other'; Dahalo *halló* 'and, with'. Ehret 1980:306. (?) Egyptian *hnw* 'associates, family'. Hannig 1995:494; Faulkner 1962:159; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:494; Gardiner 1957:579. Ehret 1995:381, no. 776, **hal-/hil-* 'other'.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **hel-yo-* [**hal-yo-*] 'else, otherwise; other': Greek ἄλλος 'another, one besides', ἄλλά 'otherwise, but'; Armenian *ayl* 'other'; Latin *alius* 'other, another'; Oscan *allo* 'other, another; the other' (= Latin *alia, cetera*); Old Irish *aile* 'other'; Welsh *ail* 'second' (Middle Welsh *eil*); Cornish *yll, eyll* 'the one'; Breton *eil* 'the one'; Gothic *aljīs* 'other', *alja* 'but'; Old Icelandic *ella, ellar, elligar* 'else, otherwise'; Faroese *ella* 'else, otherwise'; Swedish *eller* 'else, otherwise'; Old Danish *ællær, ællæ, ællæs* 'else, otherwise'; Norwegian *elles(t)* 'else, otherwise'; Old English *elles* 'otherwise, in another manner; if it were otherwise, else'; Old Frisian *elles*,

- ellis* ‘otherwise’; Middle Dutch *els* ‘otherwise’; Old High German *alles*, *elles* ‘otherwise’ (New High German *als* ‘as, than’); Tocharian A *ālak*, B *alyek*, *allek* ‘other’, A *yn-ālek* ‘elsewhere, somewhere else’. Pokorny 1959:25—26 **aljos* ‘another’; Walde 1927—1932.I:85—86 **aljos*; Mann 1984—1987:15 **aljə* ‘but, yet’, 15 **aljo-aljo-* ‘each other, one another’, 15—16 **aljos* ‘other’, 16 **aljote* (**aljotə*, **aljot*) ‘elsewhere’, 17 **alter-* ‘other’; Watkins 1985:2 **alyo-* and 2000:3 **alyo-* ‘other of more than two’; Mallory—Adams 1997:411 **h_aéljos* ‘other’; Hofmann 1966:13; Boisacq 1950:46 **al-jos*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:76—77 **aljo-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:63—64; Beekes 2010.I:72—73 **h₂el-io-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:30—31 **aljos*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:21—22; De Vaan 2008:34; Orël 2003:15 Proto-Germanic **aljaz*; Kroonen 2013:23 Proto-Germanic **alja-* ‘someone else’; Feist 1939:37 and 39 **aljos*; Lehmann 1986:27 and 28—29 **alyos*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:135 Germanic **alja-*; De Vries 1977:100; Torp 1919:88; Klein 1971:242—243 **alj-os*; Onions 1966:307 Common Germanic **aljaz*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:16; Kluge—Seebold 1989:22; Adams 1999:28—29 **h_aelno-*, **h_aelyo-* ‘other’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:160—161 **alj-* : **aljo-*.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Ugrian **älz* (**äl(3)-m3*) ‘other (side)’ > Ostyak / Xanty (Yugan) *äləm* ‘other’; Vogul / Mansi (Lower Konda) *ääləmpöölt*, (Sosva) *aaləmpaalt* ‘behind, on the other side (of the water)’; Hungarian (dial.) *el*, *eliü*, *elv* ‘region or district on the other side’, (dial.) *elvé*, *elvett* ‘on the other side, beyond, yonder’, (dial.) *elvöl* ‘from the other side’. Rédei 1986—1988:836 **älz* (**äl(3)-m3*).
- D. Altaic: Written Mongolian *alus* ‘on the other side; far away’; Khalkha *als* ‘far, remote, distant’; Buriat *alas* ‘on the other side; far away’; Kalmyk *als* ‘on the other side; far away’; Ordos *alus* ‘on the other side; far away’.
- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **əlvæ-* ‘other, different’: Chukchi *alwa-ŋ*, *alwaytə* ‘otherwise, in another way’; Kerek *alwa-ŋ* ‘otherwise’, *alwalkan*, *alwaki*, *am-alwa-ŋ* ‘other, different’; Koryak *alva-ŋ* ‘otherwise, not right’; Alyutor *alva-ŋ* ‘otherwise, not right’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *łva-łʔan* ‘other, different’. Fortescue 2005:32—33.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **alək* ‘other (of a pair)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *atəq* ‘(its) other, companion, placenta’; Central Alaskan Yupik *alləXpak* ‘placenta’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *alraXpak* ‘placenta’; Central Siberian Yupik *aləq* ‘other of a pair, companion, afterbirth’, *aalraq* ‘other of a cooperating pair of boats, hunting partner, another family in the same clan’; Sirenik *aləX* ‘companion’, *alrəX* ‘partner, other of a pair’, *alrəra* ‘second’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *arłaaq* ‘placenta, afterbirth’; North Alaskan Inuit *alra(i)* ‘other one of a pair’, *alraaq* ‘afterbirth’; Western Canadian Inuit *alraq* ‘reticulum of caribou used as bag for carrying blood’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Labrador) *axxaak* ‘placenta’; Greenlandic Inuit *arła(ə)k-* ‘one of them’, *arłaaq* ‘afterbirth’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:17.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:590, no. 464. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 770a, *[h]al[V?]E ‘on the other side’.

707. Proto-Nostratic root **hal-* (~ **həl-*) (?):

(vb.) **hal-* ‘to begin, to start’;

(n.) **hal-a* ‘beginning, start; the front of anything’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic (n.) **al-b-a* ‘the front of anything: front, face, forehead’: Gedeo / Darasa *alba* ‘face’; Sidamo *alba* ‘forehead, front, face’, *alba(a)* ‘face, front’, *albaar-ni* ‘(in) front (of)’. Hudson 1989: 230 and 349. Note: The alleged Akkadian cognate proposed by Dolgopolsky (2008:2393—2395, no. 2577) (prep.) *ellāmu-* (*illāmu-*) ‘in front of, before’ does not belong here. It is from *ina* + *lāmu-* (cf. Black—George—Postgate 2000:70 and 176 *lāma* [also *lām*], *lāmi/u-* ‘before [in time], in front of’).
- B. (?) Proto-Indo-European **Hl-ey-kh-o-/*Hl-oy-kh-o-/*Hl-i-kh-o-* ‘front part’ > ‘face, cheek’ (**H = *h* [?]): Old Irish *lecco* ‘jaw, cheek’ (Modern Irish *leaca* ‘cheek’); Old Church Slavic *lice* ‘face, person’; Russian *licó* [лицо] ‘face, figure, countenance; character, person; face, front (of a building, coin, etc.); right side’; Czech *lice* ‘face’; Polish *lice* ‘cheek; (pl.) face’; Serbo-Croatian *lice* ‘face, appearance’; Bulgarian *licé* ‘face, person, appearance’; Old Prussian *laygnan* (= *laik-nan*) ‘cheek’. Derksen 2008:278 Balto-Slavic **lik-/*loik-* (?), Proto-Indo-European **l(o)ik-o-* — Derksen notes: “Since the third palatalization is generally considered not to have operated after **ei*, one may advance the hypothesis that the root originally had zero grade ...”; Machek 1997:331; Trubačev 1974— .15 (1988):75—78; Mann 1984—1987:672 **leikos, -om, -jom* ‘turn, feature, face’.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **alka-* (n.) ‘(front or back) end; beginning’; (vb.) ‘to begin, to start’ > Finnish *alka-* ‘to start, to begin, to commence, to open’, *alkaen* ‘from, starting from’, *alku* ‘commencement, beginning, start’; Estonian *alga-* ‘to commence, to start, to begin’, *algatus* ‘initiation’, *algus* ‘beginning, commencement, outset’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *al’ge- lg-* ‘to begin to, to set to work on’, *al’go- lg-* ‘beginning, origin’; (Lule) *al’kē-* ‘to begin’, *al’kō* ‘beginning’; Ostyak / Xanty *aləŋ* ‘beginning; end’; Vogul / Mansi (Tavda) *awə-l* ‘beginning; end’. Collinder 1977:88; Rédei 1986—1988.I:6—7 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **alka-* ‘(n.) (front or back) end; beginning; (vb.) to begin, to start’.
- D. Proto- Altaic **āla* (~ *-ē-*) ‘front side’: Proto-Turkic **āl* ‘front, forehead; in front of’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *alin* ‘forehead’; Karakhanide Turkic *alin* ‘forehead’; Turkish *alin* ‘forehead, brow, face, front’; Gagauz *anni* ‘forehead’; Azerbaijani *alin* ‘forehead’; Turkmenian *ālin* ‘front, forehead’; Uzbek *al-d-i* ‘front’; Uighur *ajl, aldi* ‘front’, *al-din* ‘in front of’, *al-ya* ‘towards the front of’; Karaim *al-d-i, alin* ‘front’; Tatar *al, al-d-i, alin* ‘front’; Bashkir *al, aldi* ‘front’; Kirghiz *al, al-d-i* ‘front’; Kazakh *al-da* ‘in

front of', *al-d-i* 'front'; Noghay *al-d-i* 'front'; Khakas *alni* 'front'; Oyrot *aldi*, *alin* 'front'; Tuva *alin* 'face'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:284 **āla* (~ -*ē*-) 'front side'.

Buck 1949:4.204 face; 4.205 forehead; 14.25 to begin; beginning. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:244, no. 104, **Hal* 'forward edge'; Dolgopolsky 2008:2393—2395, no. 2577, **[χ]alV* (or **h*-, **ǰ*-) ('forehead' →) 'front, edge'.

708. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ham-a* 'blackness; black object'; (adj.) 'black':

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **ham-* 'black' > Iraqw *hanta* 'shadow, spirit'; Burunge *hante* 'darkness'; Asa *huma* 'red'; Ma'a *-háme* 'to be black'; Dahalo *himmate* 'black'. Ehret 1980:304.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **hem-s-* [**ham-s-*], **hm-es-* 'blackbird' (named due to its color): Latin *merula* 'blackbird'; Welsh *mwyalch* 'blackbird'; Breton *moualch* 'blackbird'; Old English *ōsle* 'blackbird' (Modern English *ousel*, *ouzel*); Old High German *amusla*, *amsala* 'blackbird' (New High German *Amsel*). Pokorny 1959:35—36 **ames-* or **omes-* (: **mes-* : **ams-* : **oms-*) 'blackbird'; Walde 1927—1932.I:53—54 **ames-* or **omes-*; Mann 1984—1987:20 **ameslā* (**aməslā*) 'blackbird, ouzel'; Watkins 1985:2 **ames-* and 2000:3 **ams-* 'black; blackbird'; Mallory—Adams 1997:70 **h_eemes-l-* 'blackbird'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:77—78 **ames-* or **omes-*: **mes-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:400; De Vaan 2008:375—376 possible "loanword from a non-IE substratum language"; Onions 1966:571 and 636; Klein 1971:458 and 523; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:19—20 **ames-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:26 **mes-*, **ames-*. Perhaps also: Sanskrit *ásita-h* (f. *ásiknī* < **ásit-nī*) 'black, dark' and Greek ἄσος 'slime, mud' (if from Proto-Indo-European **hms-* 'black'). Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:64; Hofmann 1966:25; Boisacq 1950:87; Frisk 1970—1973.I:162; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:123; Beekes 2010.I:148—149 (etymology uncertain); Kroonen 2013:25—26 Proto-Germanic **amslōn-* 'blackbird'; Orël 2003:17 Proto-Germanic **amslōn*.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:589, no. 462.

709. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ham-a* 'water':

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ham-* 'water': Proto-Semitic **ham-aw/y-* 'to flow, to pour forth, to overflow' > Arabic *hamā* 'to flow, to pour forth, to overflow, to run, to shed tears', *hamūm* 'abounding in water'. D. Cohen 1970— :422—423. Proto-Semitic **ham-af-* 'to shed tears, to cry, to flow' > Arabic *hama^a* 'to shed tears, to cry, to flow, to drop', *hamū^a* 'flowing'. D. Cohen 1970— :425. Proto-Semitic **ham-ar-* 'to pour out' > Arabic *hamara* 'to pour out, to shed (water, tears); to be poured out, to be shed; to pour down

- (rain), to flow (tears)', *hamra* 'shower of rain', *munhamir* 'poured out'; Sabaeen *hmr* 'ejaculation of semen'; Hebrew *mahāmōrāh* [מַחְמוֹרָה] 'watery pit' (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); (?) Ugaritic *mhmrt* 'gullet'. D. Cohen 1970—:426; Klein 1987:322; Zammit 2002:421. Proto-Chadic **ham-* 'water' > Sura *àm* 'water'; Tal *hàm* 'water'; Yiwom *ɣàm* 'water'; Fyer *ham* 'water'; Dafo-Butura *ham* 'water'; Bokkos *ham* 'water'; Kulere ?*aàm*, *àmṃ* 'water'; Tangale *am* 'water'; Karekare ?*am*, *amu* 'water'; Geruma *amma* 'water'; Kirfi *amma*, *ammá* 'water'; Bole *aməi*, *ammá* 'water'; Pa'a *ambi*, *ámbi* 'water'; Yedina *āmái*, *áámái* 'water'; Bade *amun* 'water'; Kotoko-Logone *am*, *àm*, ?*àm* 'water'; Migama *ammì* 'water'; Birgit ?*àmì* 'water'; Mubi *àámé*, ?*ám*, ?*àm* 'water'. Newman 1977:34, no. 142, **am* 'water'; Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:340—341. Orël—Stolbova 1995:258, no. 1156, **ham-* 'water'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *am*, *ām* 'water', *amm-enal* onomatopoeic expression of filling or overflowing (as of water); Kuṛux *emná* 'to take a bath (all over the body), to be covered all over (with sweat, blood)', *emta?ānā* 'to help one to bathe, to bathe (a child, corpse)', *amm* 'water, urine, dropsy'; Malto *amu* 'water', *am-amre* 'to water (as the mouth)', *amsro* 'waterish', *amye* 'to bathe (oneself)', *amte* 'to bathe (another)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:18, no. 187.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **hem-bh-* [**ham-bh-*]/**hom-bh-*/**hṃ-bh-*, possibly also **hem-p-* [**ham-p-*]/**hom-p-*/**hṃ-p-* 'water, rain, rain-cloud': Sanskrit *ámbu* 'water', *ámbhas-* 'water', *abhrám* 'rain-cloud'; Pāli *ambu* 'water', *abbha-* 'dark cloud'; Avestan *awrəm* 'cloud'; Greek ὄμβρος 'a rain-storm, a thunder-storm; heavy rain; water; a shower'; Armenian *amb*, *amp* 'cloud, rain-cloud'; Latin *imber* 'a shower, a rain-storm; a rain-cloud; water'. I assume here that **hem-bh-* [**ham-bh-*]/**hom-bh-*/**hṃ-bh-* 'water, rain, rain-cloud' was distinct from **neb-* 'sky, cloud' and that **nembh-* was a contamination of what were originally two separate stems. Pokorny 1959:315—316 (**enebh-*): **neb-*, **embh-*, **ṃbh-* (contaminated form **nembh-*); **emb-*, **omb-* (from **embh-*, **ombh-*) 'wet, water'; Walde 1927—1932.I:131—132 (**enebh-*): **neb-*, **embh-*, **ṃbh-* (contaminated form **nembh-*); **emb-*, (**omb-*) from **embh-*; Mann 1984—1987:824 **ṃbhros*, *-is* 'cloud, vapor, drizzle', 874 **ombos*, *-us* (**ombəros*, **ombro-*) 'water, rain, rain-cloud'; Mallory—Adams 1997:477 **ṃbh(ro/ri)-* 'rain'; Watkins 1985:46 **ombh-ro-* (zero-grade form **ṃbh-ro-*) and 2000:60 **ombh-ro-* 'rain' (zero-grade form **ṃbh-ro-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:43 and I:45; Boisacq 1950:106 **ṃbh-*, **embh-*, **ombh-* and 700; Hofmann 1966:231 **omb(h)-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:796—797 **enbh->* **embh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:384—385 **ómbhro-s*, **ṃbhró-*, **embhro-*; Beekes 2010.II:1075; De Vaan 2008:299; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:680—681 **ṃbh-*, **emb(h)-*, **omb(h)-*; **ṃbhrós*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:310: "The *b* of *imber* can be derived from either **bh* or **b*."

- D. Proto-Altaic **āmu* ‘lake, river’: Proto-Tungus **āmu-* ‘lake, river’ > Evenki *āmut* ‘lake’; Lamut / Even *amar*, *āmār* ‘river’; Negidal *amūt* ‘lake’; Manchu *omo* ‘lake, pond’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *omə* ‘lake’; Jurchen *omo* ‘lake’; Nanay / Gold *amoă* ‘lake’; Oroch *amu* ‘lake’; Udihe *amuli* the name of a river; Solon *amužji* ‘lake’, *amur* ‘river’. Proto-Mongolian **ama-n* ‘valley’ > Middle Mongolian *ama-sar* ‘mountain fold’; Written Mongolian *ama(n)* ‘narrow mountain valley’; Khalkha *am(an)* ‘narrow mountain valley’; Kalmyk *amṅ* ‘valley’; Ordos *ama(n)* ‘valley’. Note: **ama-n* ‘valley’ should be distinguished from **ama-n* ‘mouth’ (on which see below). Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:297 **āmu* ‘river, valley’.

Buck 1949:1.24 valley; 1.31 water; 1.32 sea; 1.33 lake; 1.36 river; stream; brook; 1.73 cloud; 1.75 rain.

710. Proto-Nostratic root **ham-* (~ **həm-*):

- (vb.) **ham-* ‘to take into the mouth, to eat’;
(n.) **ham-a* ‘mouth’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ham-* ‘to take into the mouth, to eat’: Semitic: Arabic *nahima* (< **na-ham-*) ‘to have a ravenous appetite, to be insatiable; to be greedy, covetous’, *naham* ‘ravenous hunger, insatiable greed, gluttony’, *nahim* ‘voracious, insatiable, glutton’. Berber: Tuareg *ami* ‘mouth, orifice, entrance, opening’; Nefusa *imi* ‘mouth, entrance, opening’; Ghadames *ami* ‘mouth, entrance, opening’; Wargla *imi* ‘mouth, orifice, opening’; Mزاب *imi* ‘mouth, orifice, opening’; Tamazight *imi* ‘mouth, opening, entrance, threshold’, *timmitt* ‘small mouth’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *imi* ‘mouth, entrance, threshold’; Riff *imi* ‘mouth, orifice’; Kabyle *imi* ‘mouth, orifice, entrance, threshold’; Chaouia *imi* ‘mouth, orifice’. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *ham-* ‘to toss a piece of food in the mouth’. West Chadic **ham-* ‘to eat’ > Pa’a *ʔm̄ma*, *ma*, *ṁmā* ‘to eat’. East Chadic **ham-* ‘to eat’ > Kera *hàmè* ‘to eat’; Somray *ʔám-* ‘to eat’. Central Chadic **ham-* ‘to eat, to chew’ > Buduma *ham* ‘to eat’; Daba *həmu* ‘to eat’; Musgoy *ham* ‘to chew’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:120—121. Ehret 1995:383, no. 781, **hom-* ‘to take into the mouth’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:258, no. 1157, **ham-* ‘to eat’.
- B. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *amli-* ‘to swallow’, *amlədaj-*, *emlədej-* ‘to swallow; to embrace’, *amlibe* ‘digestive tract’. Nikolaeva 2006:103.
- C. Proto-Altaic **āmo-* ‘(vb.) to taste; (n.) mouth, taste’ (**amo-t^ha*, **amo-sa*): Proto-Tungus **amṅa* ‘mouth’, **amta-* ‘to taste’ > Evenki *amṅa* ‘mouth’, *amta-* ‘to taste’; Lamut / Even *amṅb* ‘mouth’, *amtṅ-* ‘to taste’; Negidal *amṅa* ‘mouth’, *amta-* ‘to taste’; Manchu *aṅga* ‘mouth; opening, hole’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *aṅə* ‘mouth’; Jurchen *am-ṅa* ‘mouth’; Ulch *aṅma* ‘mouth’; Orok *amṅa* ~ *aṅma* ‘mouth’; Nanay / Gold *amga* ‘mouth’; Oroch *amma* ‘mouth’; Udihe *aṅma* ‘mouth’; Solon *amma*, *angai* ‘mouth’. Proto-Mongolian **ama-* ‘mouth’, **amsa-* ‘to taste’, **amta* ‘taste’ > Written

Mongolian *ama(n)* ‘mouth’, *amsa-* ‘to taste’, *amta(n)* ‘taste, flavor’; Khalkha *am* ‘mouth’, *amsa-* ‘to taste’, *amt(an)* ‘taste’; Buriat *aman* ‘mouth’, *amha-* ‘to taste’, *amta(n)* ‘taste’; Kalmyk *amṅ* ‘mouth’, *amsa-* ‘to taste’, *amṅ* ‘taste’; Ordos *ama* ‘mouth’, *amsa-* ‘to taste’, *amta* ‘taste’; Moghol *aman*, *amun* ‘mouth’, *amsa-* ‘to taste’, *amta* ‘taste’; Dagur *ama* ‘mouth’, *anta-* ‘to taste’, *anta* ‘taste’; Dongxiang *amaṅ* ‘mouth’, *amusa-* ‘to taste’, *anda-tu* ‘tasty’; Monguor *ama* ‘mouth’, *amusa-* ‘to taste’, *amata*, *amta* ‘taste’. Poppe 1955:53. Proto-Turkic **um-*, **um-sa-* (‘to taste, to have taste for’ >) (vb.) ‘to hope for, to envy; (n.) an object of hope, desire; hope’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *umuy* ‘an object of hope, desire; hope’; Karakhanide Turkic *um-* ‘to hope for’, *umdu* ‘an object of hope, desire; hope’, *umdu-či* ‘beggar’; Turkish *um-* ‘to hope, to expect’, *umsan-* ‘to hope for’, *umma* ‘hope, expectation’; Gagauz *um-* ‘to hope for’; Azerbaijani *um-* ‘to hope for’, *umsun-* ‘to be disappointed’, *umažag* ‘an object of hope, desire; hope’; Turkmenian *imtil-* ‘to wait for food’; Uzbek *um-* (dial.) ‘to hope for’, *umsun-* ‘to experience a flow of milk in one’s beast and a desire to feed a baby’; Karaim *um-*, *umsun-* ‘to hope for’; Tatar *omti-l-* ‘to hope for’; Kirghiz *umu-*, *umsun-* ‘to hope for’, *umtul-* ‘to strive’; Kazakh *umti-* ‘to dart, to lunge’; Noghay *imti-* ‘to dart, to lunge’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *umzan-* ‘to go in a direction’, *umza-* ‘to make somebody to go in a direction’; Chuvash *ṽ^wmza-* ‘to envy’; Yakut *umsu-gu-y-* ‘to be keen on, to be addicted’, *umnahit* ‘beggar’. Poppe 1960:40, 68, 94, 121, and 140; Street 1974:7 **ama* ‘mouth, opening’, **ama-gay*; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:296—297 **āmo* ‘mouth; taste’ (**amo-t’a*, **amo-sa*).

- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **amy* ‘mouth’: Amur *əṅg* ‘mouth, beak’; North Sakhalin *əmx* ‘mouth’; East Sakhalin *amx* ‘mouth’; South Sakhalin *amək* ‘mouth’. Fortescue 2016:12.

Buck 1949:4.24 mouth; 5.11 eat; 15.31—15.34 taste (vb.; sb.); 16.62 desire (vb.).

711. Proto-Nostratic root **haŋ-* (~ **həŋ-*):

- (vb.) **haŋ-* ‘to split apart, to open (tr.); to gape, to open the mouth, to yawn’;
 (n.) **haŋ-a* ‘opening: yawn, gape, mouth; hole; crack, crevice’

- A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *an-* ‘to split (wood)’. Hudson 1989:269.
 B. Dravidian: Tamil *aṅkā* ‘(vb.) to open the mouth; (n.) opening the mouth’, *aṅkāppu* ‘opening the mouth, thirsting’; Tuḷu *aṅāvuni* ‘to yawn, to gape, to open the mouth’, *aṅuni* ‘to open the mouth, to be seized with a fit of yawning’; Kolami *aṅgasi* ‘a yawn’; Naikṛi *aṅgāsi* ‘a yawn’; Parji *aṅalp-* (*aṅalt-*) ‘to gape, to open the mouth wide’; Gondi *aṅil-/aṅl-* ‘to open the mouth’, *aṅgal-* ‘gaping, yawning’, *aṅglānā* ‘to yawn’; Maṅḍa *aṅlā-* ‘to open the mouth’; *aṅalanga* ‘with mouth agape, with foolish appearance;

foolishly, crazily'; Kuwi *angalacali* 'to gape'; Kuṛux *aṅḡlnā*, *aṅḡlaʔānā* 'to gape, to open the mouth wide, to be open'; Malto *aṅḡle* 'to gape', *aṅḡlo* 'open-mouthed'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:5, no. 34. Tamil *aṅal* 'neck, side of the upper jaw, chin, throat, windpipe, beard, dewlap', *aṅar*, *aṅari* 'side of the upper jaw', *aṅār* 'neck'; Malayalam *aṅa* 'jaw, hinder part of the jaw', *aṅal* 'jaw, hinder part of the mouth', *aṅṅāti* 'cheekbone', *aṅṅi* 'inside of the cheek, joint of jaws'; Kota *aṅḡ* 'lower cheek'; Kannaḍa *aṅal* 'under part of the mouth, mouth'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:12, no. 114.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **hen-thro-* [**han-thro-*] ('hole, opening' >) 'cave, cavern': Greek ἄντρον 'cave, cavern, grotto'; Latin *antrum* 'cave' (loan from Greek); Armenian *ayr* 'hollow, cave'. Pokorny 1959:50 **antro-m* 'hollow, cave'; Mann 1984—1987:28 **antro-* 'interior, hollow'; Boisacq 1950:64—65; Frisk 1970—1973.I:115; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:93; Hofmann 1966:19; Beekes 2010.I:110 (substrate word); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:49—50; Ernout—Meillet 1979:37.
- D. Proto-Uralic **aṅa-* 'to open' > Finnish *avaa-* 'to open, to unwrap, to unlock, to unfasten, to untie, to undo, to unbutton, to unstrap, to uncork', *avo-* 'open, bare', *avara* 'wide, vast, extensive, broad, spacious', *avoim-* 'open, vacant', *avanto* 'ice-hole'; Estonian *ava-* 'to open'; Mordvin (Erza) *aṅksima*, *avsim*, (Moksha) *ańćama* 'ice-hole' (regular deverbative noun from **aṅksi-*, etc., which may be a frequentative of **aṅ-* 'to open'); Vogul / Mansi *ḍōṅq̄w-* 'to take off (a garment)'; Ostyak / Xanty (Kazym) *ḍṅk-* 'to untie (a knot, etc.)', *ḍṅkəs-*, (Southern) *oṅhəs-*, *āṅkəs-* 'to take off (a garment, shoes, etc.)'; Hungarian *old-* 'to loosen, to open'. Collinder 1955:72—73 and 1977:89; Rédei 1986—1988:11 **aṅa-*; Aikio 2020:20—22 **aṅa-* 'to open, to take off'; Zhivlov 2023:122 Proto-Uralic **aṅa-* 'to open'. Proto-Uralic **aṅi* 'mouth, opening': Lapp / Saami *vuog̃ās-* / *vuog̃āsâ-* 'halter or band on the muzzle of a dog, to prevent it from biting a reindeer; the muzzle of a calf, to prevent it from sucking the cow' (derivative of **vuog̃â*, possibly 'mouth'); Mordvin *ovks* (pl. *oṅk̃st'*, *ojkst*) 'bit on a bridle' (derivative of **ov*, **oṅ*, **oj*, possibly 'mouth'); (?) Cheremis / Mari *āṅ*, *aṅ* 'mouth, opening, gap (in a doorway, in a sack); rent in a garment'; Votyak / Udmurt *ym* 'mouth; opening, outlet, estuary'; Zyrian / Komi *vōm*, *vom* 'mouth; opening, outlet; mouth (of a river)', *kōrt-vōm* 'bit on a bridle' (*kōrt* 'iron'); Ostyak / Xanty *oṅ* 'opening, mouth (of a bottle, vessel, etc.); entrance, bay; mouth, entry of a river'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *næxʔ*, (Forest) *næxṅ* 'mouth'; Yurak Samoyed / Nganasan *ṅaṅ* 'mouth'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hatanga) *eeʔ*, (Baiha) *naʔ/nan-* 'mouth'; Selkup Samoyed *āṅ*, *aṅṅ*, *aak* 'mouth', *aṅṅaj*, *aakal'* 'bridle'; Kamassian *aṅ* 'mouth'; Koibal *an* 'mouth'. Collinder 1955:68—69 and 1977:85; Rédei 1986—1988:11—12 **aṅe-*; Décsy 1990:97 **aṅa* 'opening'; Janhunen 1977b:20 **āṅ*; Sammallahti 1988:542 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **āṅi* 'mouth'; Aikio 2020:22—23 **aṅi* / **aṅa* 'opening, mouth'; Zhivlov 2023:122 Proto-Uralic **aṅi* 'opening, mouth'. Yukaghir (Northern

/ Tundra *aŋa* ‘mouth’, (Southern / Kolyma) *aŋa* ‘mouth’, *aŋil* ‘opening, mouth (of a river)’. Nikolaeva 2006:106.

- E. Proto-Altaic **aŋa* ‘hole, crack, gape’: Proto-Tungus **aŋa-* ‘(vb.) to dig; to open; (n.) crack, hole’ > Evenki *aŋa-* ‘to dig’, *aŋa-/āŋā-* ‘to open’, *aŋa* ‘crack, hole’; Lamut / Even *aŋ-* ‘to dig’, *āŋa-* ‘to open’; Negidal *aŋa-* ‘to dig; to open’, *aŋa* ‘crack, hole’; Ulch *aŋgala* ‘crack, hole’; Orok *āŋga-* ‘to dig’. Proto-Mongolian **aŋ-*, **aŋga-* ‘(vb.) to open one’s mouth, to gape; (n.) crack, hole, gape’ > Written Mongolian *aŋγ-a* ‘bifurcation, branch’, *aŋ* ‘crack, chink, cleft, fissure, crevice; ravine’, *aŋγai-* ‘to open up, to be wide open’, *aŋγailγ-a* ‘opening, gap; hiatus’, *aŋγalža-* ‘to gape, to open and shut the mouth repeatedly’, *aŋγarqai* ‘crevice, cranny, fissure, gaping’, *aŋγar* ‘crevice, cranny, fissure, cleft’, *aŋta-* ‘to split, to crack, to cleave’; Khalkha *aŋ* ‘crack, hole, gape’, *aŋgai-* ‘to open one’s mouth, to gape’; Buriat *aŋg(an)* ‘crack, hole, gape’; Kalmyk *aŋ*, *aŋgə* ‘crack, hole, gape’; Ordos *aŋ* ‘crack, hole, gape’; Dagur *xangai-* ‘to open one’s mouth, to gape’; Dongxiang *aŋgəi-* ‘to open one’s mouth, to gape’; Shira-Yughur *aŋγī-* ‘to open one’s mouth, to gape’; Monguor *ŋgai-* ‘to open one’s mouth, to gape’. Proto-Turkic **aŋ-* ‘(vb.) to be wide open, to have one’s mouth opened, to gape; to be perplexed, astonished; to look at with surprise; to be faint, drowsy; (adj.) wide open, obtuse, stupid, astonished; (n.) fool, simpleton’ > Karakhanide Turkic *aŋil*, *ačūq* ‘wide open’; Turkish (dial.) *anuk*, *aniz* ‘fool, simpleton’; Turkmenian *aŋal-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished’, *aŋqar-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished; to have one’s mouth opened’; Uzbek *aŋray-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished; to have one’s mouth opened’; Tatar *aŋγī-miŋge bul-* ‘wide open’, (dial.) *aŋγil* ‘obtuse, stupid’; Kirghiz *aŋqay-*, *aŋγar-* ‘to be wide open; to look at with surprise’, *aŋqō* ‘fool, simpleton’, *aŋjir-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished’, *aŋjiray-* ‘to gape’; Kazakh *aŋtar-*, *aŋjir-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished’, *aŋqaw* ‘fool, simpleton’; Noghay *aŋqī-tiŋke* ‘daffy’, *aŋra* ‘fool, simpleton’, *aŋšay-* ‘to have one’s mouth opened’; Tuva *aŋyada-* ‘to be perplexed, astonished’; Yakut *aŋar-* ‘to be drowsy, faint’. Poppe 1960:72; Street 1974:8 **aŋ* ‘crack, cleft’, **aŋ-a-* ‘to open’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:304 **aŋa* ‘hole, crack, gape’.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **aŋva-* ‘to be open’: Central Siberian Yupik *aŋvanəq* ‘hollow beneath shoulder blade’; Sirenik *aŋvanəX* ‘hollow beneath shoulder blade’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aŋma-* ‘to be open, to be free of ice (lake)’, *aŋmaq* ‘hole’; North Alaskan Inuit *aŋma-*, (Malimiut) *aŋma-* ‘to be open’; Western Canadian Inuit *aŋma-* ‘to be open’; Greenlandic Inuit *amma-* ‘to be open’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:36. Proto-Eskimo **aŋvar-* ‘to open’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *ampar-* ‘to open’; Central Alaskan Yupik *aŋpar-*, (Nunivak) *aŋvar-* ‘to open’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aŋmaq-* ‘to open’; North Alaskan Inuit *aŋmaq-*, (Malimiut) *aŋmaq-* ‘to (become or make) open’; Western Canadian Inuit *aŋmaq-* ‘to open’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *amma(q)-* ‘to open, to be open’; Greenlandic

Inuit *ammar-* ‘to (become or make) open’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:36.

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw; 4.24 mouth; 4.52 yawn, gape; 12.24 open (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:244—245, no. 105, **Hanga* ‘to gape’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:590—592, no. 465; Hakola 2000:26, no. 52.

712. Proto-Nostratic root **hap^h-* (~ **həp^h-*):

(vb.) **hap^h-* ‘to turn, to turn away, to turn back’;

(n.) **hap^h-a* ‘the act of turning away, turning back, overturning’; (adj.) ‘turned away from, turned back, overturned’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **hap-ak-* ‘to turn, to turn away, to turn back, to overturn’ > Hebrew *hāḫaḫ* [חָחָח] ‘to turn, to turn away, to turn back, to overturn’; Aramaic *həḫaḫ* ‘to turn, to change, to move, to return’; Ugaritic *hpk* ‘to overturn’; Phoenician *hpk* ‘to overturn’; Palmyrene *hpk* ‘to overturn’; Akkadian *abāku* ‘to turn upside down, to upset, to overturn’. D. Cohen 1970— :28 and 440; Murtonen 1989:158; Klein 1987:161.

B. Proto-Indo-European **hep^ho* [**hap^ho*] ‘(turned) away, back’: Sanskrit *āpa* ‘away, forth, back’; Old Persian (prefix) *apa-* ‘away’; Greek *ἄπο*, *ἀπό* ‘off, away, back’; Latin *ab* ‘away from’; Gothic *af* ‘of, from, by, away from’; Old Icelandic *af* ‘off, from’; Old English *of* ‘from, away from’; Old Frisian *af*, *of* ‘off, from, away from’; Old Saxon *af* ‘off, from, away from’; Dutch *af* ‘off, down’; Old High German *ab*, *aba* ‘off, from, away from’ (New High German *ab*); Hittite *a-ap-pa* ‘afterwards, back, again’; Luwian *a-ap-pa* ‘back, again, after’; Lycian *epñ* ‘back, after, further’. Pokorny 1959:53—55 **apo* ‘off, away’; Walde 1927—1932.I:47—50 **apo*; Mann 1984—1987:30 **apo* (**apō*, **apə*, **po*) ‘away; from, after’; Watkins 1985:3 **apo* (also **ap-*) and 2000:5 **apo* (also **ap-*) ‘off, away’; Mallory—Adams 1997:42 **h₄épo* ‘back, behind’, **h₄ep-ér-* ‘back, behind’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:37; Hofmann 1966:20—21; Boisacq 1950:69; Beekes 2010.I:117 **h₂epo*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:122; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:97—98; Ernout—Meillet 1979:1—2; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:1—2 **ap*, **apo*; De Vaan 2008:19—20 **h₂ep-*; Orël 2003:1 Proto-Germanic **abā*; Kroonen 2013:1 Proto-Germanic **aba* ‘(away) from, off’; Feist 1939:3 **apo*; Lehmann 1986:2 **apo-*; De Vries 1977:2; Klein 1971:510; Onions 1966:624 **ap*, **apo* (Common Germanic adv. and prep. **ab(a)*); Kluge—Mitzka 1967:1 **apo*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:2 **apo*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:292—293; Sturtevant 1942:45, §42b, Indo-Hittite *:*ápo* and 1951:53, §76, **hép-*; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:91—94; Kloekhorst 2008b:192—195.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:585—586, no. 456.

713. Proto-Nostratic root **haw-* (~ **həw-*):(vb.) **haw-* ‘to long for, to desire’;(n.) **haw-a* ‘desire’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **haw-* ‘(vb.) to long for, to desire; (n.) desire’: Proto-Semitic **haw-ay-* ‘(vb.) to long for, to desire; (n.) desire’ > Hebrew *hawwāh* [חַוְוָה] ‘desire’; Arabic *hawīya* ‘to love, to desire’, *hawan* ‘love, affection, desire, longing’; Mehri *šəhwū* ‘to like’; Šheri / Jibbāli *šhəbé* ‘to appreciate something (beautiful), to think something is fine; to like something overmuch’. D. Cohen 1970— :386; Klein 1987:142. Cushitic: Somali *hawo* ‘desire, passion’; Galla / Oromo *haw-* ‘to covet’, (adj.) *hawa* ‘covetous, envious’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:259, no. 1162, **haw-* ‘to want’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *āvu* (*āvi-*) ‘to desire’, *avāvu* (*avāvi-*) ‘to desire, to crave for, to covet’, *avā* ‘desire for a thing, covetousness’; Malayalam *āvikka* ‘to desire’, *āval* ‘desire’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:36, no. 394.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **hew-* [**haw-*] ‘to long for, to desire’: Sanskrit *āvati* ‘to be pleased, to strive for’, *áva-h* ‘favor, protection, gratification’; Avestan *avaiti* ‘to protect, to help’, *avah-* ‘protection’; Latin *aveō* ‘to long for, to desire’, *avidus* ‘passionately desiring, longing for’; Welsh *ewyllys* ‘will’, *awydd* ‘desire’ (Latin loan). Rix 1998a:244 **h₂eu-* ‘to enjoy’; Pokorny 1959:77—78 **au-*, **auē-*, **auēi-* ‘to like’; Walde 1927—1932.I:19 **au-*, **auē-*, **auēi-*; Mann 1984—1987:45—46 **auē-īō* ‘to like, to favor, to want’, 47 **auis* ‘desire’; Mallory—Adams 1997:197 **h_aeu-* ‘to favor’ and 317 **h₄eu-* ‘to enjoy’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:57 and I:58; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:81—82; Ernout—Meillet 1979:56; De Vaan 2008:65.

Buck 1949:16.62 desire (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:241—242, no. 100, **hawλ* ‘to desire passionately’; Caldwell 1913:588 and 607; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:587, no. 458; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 790, **hawV* ‘to desire, to love’.

714. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **hay-a* ‘a kind of cereal or grain’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hay-* ‘a kind of cereal or grain’: Egyptian *ihy* ‘cereal’. Hannig 1995:95; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:118. West Chadic **hay-* ‘grain’ > Angas *he* ‘corn’; Fyer *hay* ‘a kind of millet’; Bokkos *hay* ‘a kind of millet’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:260—261, no. 1167, **hay-* ‘cereal’.
- B. Dravidian: Parji *ayk* ‘a kind of grain called in Halbi *kang*’; Gadba (Salur) *aykil* ‘a kind of grain called in Telugu *korralu*’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:19, no. 195.
- C. Indo-European: Proto-West Germanic **ayt-* ‘a type of cereal or grain’ > Old English *āte*, *āte* ‘(wild) oats’ (Middle English *āte* ‘[cultivated] oats’); West Frisian *oat* ‘oats’; Flemish *ate*, *ote* ‘oats’; Zeelandic *ôôte* ‘oats’. Note also: Old Saxon *er(iw)it* ‘pea’; Old High German *araweiz*, *arawiz* ‘pea’,

literally, ‘pea grain’ (New High German *Erbse*) (< **arw(a)-(a)itō*). Orël 2003:10 Proto-Germanic **aitōn*; Onions 1966:619 (“peculiar to English and of uncertain origin”); Hoad 1986:318; Klein 1971:505 (“of uncertain origin”); Liberman 2008:170—174; Weekley 1921:998—999; E. Müller 1879.II:156; Vercoulie 1898:211; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:170; Kluge—Seebold 1989:184. Skeat (1898:398) compares Old English *āte*, *æte* ‘oats’ with Old Icelandic *eitill* ‘a nodule in stone’; Norwegian *eitel* ‘a gland, knot, nodule in stone’; Russian *jadró* [ядро] ‘a kernel in fruit, bullet, ball, shot’; Greek οἶδος ‘a swelling’. Kroonen (2013:37) reconstructs Proto-Germanic **arwīt-* ‘pea’ and considers it to be of non-Indo-European origin.

Buck 1949:8.42 grain; 8.46 oats.

715. Proto-Nostratic exclamation of surprise, astonishment, grief, or misfortune
**hay*:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hay* exclamation of surprise, astonishment, grief, or misfortune: Proto-Semitic **haw/y* exclamation of surprise, astonishment, grief, or misfortune > Hebrew *hōy* [חַי] exclamation of dissatisfaction and pain (used in lamentations): ‘ah!, alas!, ha!’, *hī* exclamation of grief: ‘woe!’, Syriac *hāwāy* ‘ah!’, Akkadian *aya* in *uʿa aya* ‘alas!’, Arabic (interjection) *hayyā* ‘up!, come on!, let’s go!, now then!’, *yā hayya* ‘oh!’. D. Cohen 1970— :386; Klein 1971:142. Egyptian (interjection) *hy* ‘oh!, hail!’, Coptic *hayo* [ⲭⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ], *ayo* [ⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ] ‘hey!, hail!’. Hannig 1995:489; Faulkner 1962:157; Erman—Grapow 1921:200 and 1926—1932.2:482; Gardiner 1957:579; Vycichl 1983:290; Černý 1976:270. Berber: Kabyle *uy!* exclamation of pain. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *aai* ‘alas!’. Hudson 1989:230.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *aiya* exclamation of wonder, pity, concern; Malayalam *ayyō*, *ayyayyō* interjection of pain, grief; Kota *aya-* exclamation of surprise or grief; Kannada *ayyō*, *ayyayyō*, *ayyayyē* interjection of grief, annoyance; Tuḷu *ayyō*, *ayyayyō* interjection of grief, annoyance, pain; Telugu *ayyo*, *ayyō*, *ayyayō*, *ayyayyō*, *ayayō* interjection denoting sorrow, lamentation, pity, pain. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:19, no. 196(b).
- C. Proto-Indo-European **hay-* exclamation of surprise, astonishment, grief, or misfortune: Hittite *a(y)i-* ‘pain’; Sanskrit *ai* particle of addressing, summoning, remembering; Avestan *āi* particle of summoning; Greek *āī*, *āī* exclamation of astonishment, *aiāī* exclamation of grief; Lithuanian *ai*, *ai* ‘oh!’. Pokorny 1959:10 **ai* interjection; Walde 1927—1932.I:1 **ai*; Mann 1984—1987:5 **ai* ‘oh!’, Puhvel 1984— .1/2:13—14; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:130; Beekes 2010.I:30: “Elementary formation, found in many languages”; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:28—29.
- D. Uralic: Finnish *ai* ‘oh!, oh dear!’, Hungarian *ajaj* ‘oh dear!’.

- E. Altaic: Classical Mongolian *ai*, *aia* (*aya*) interjection expressing pity, sympathy, worry, or fear: ‘oh!, ah!’; Manchu *ai* ‘hey!’, *aya* interjection of praise or surprise.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:589—590, no. 463; Hakola 2000:15—16, no. 6.

716. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **hay-a* ‘metal, ore’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *ayil* ‘iron’; Malayalam *ayir*, *ayiram* ‘any ore’; Kannada *aduru* ‘native metal’; Tuġu *ajirda karba* ‘very hard iron’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:18, no. 192.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **hey-os-/*hey-es-* [**hay-os-/*hay-es-*] ‘metal, ore’ (> ‘copper, bronze’): Sanskrit *áyas-* ‘iron, metal; Avestan *ayah-* ‘iron, metal’; Latin *aes* ‘copper, bronze, brass; copper or bronze as a metal of currency, copper or bronze money, a copper or bronze coin’, *aēneus*, *aēnus* ‘made of bronze (or any alloy of copper); derived from or connected with bronze, of bronze; bronze-colored’; Gothic *aiz* ‘money, metal coin’; Old Icelandic *eir* ‘brass’; Old Swedish *ēr* ‘copper’ (Modern Swedish *erg* ‘verdigris, copper rust’); Old Danish *eer* ‘copper’; Norwegian *eir*, *irr* ‘copper rust’; Old English *ār*, *ǣr* ‘ore; brass, copper’, *ǣren* ‘made of brass’; Old Saxon *ēr* ‘ore’; Dutch *oer* ‘bog-ore’, *erts* ‘ore’; Old High German *ēr* ‘ore, copper’, *ērīn* ‘of brass, of bronze’ (New High German *Erz* ‘ore; [poet.] brass, bronze’, *ehern* ‘of brass, of bronze’). Pokorny 1959:15—16 **ajos-* ‘metal’; Walde 1927—1932.I:4 **ajos-*; Mann 1984—1987:8 **ajos*, *-es-* ‘metal, bronze, ore’; Gamkrelize—Ivanov 1995.I:380 **Haye/os-* ‘copper’ and I:614 **Haye/os-*; Watkins 1985:4 **ayes-* ‘a metal, copper or bronze’ and 2000:6 **ayes-* ‘a metal, copper or bronze’; Mallory—Adams 1997:379 **h_{aej}-es-* ‘metal’ > ‘copper’ > ‘bronze’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:46 and 1986—2001.I:104 **ajes-* (~ **h₂ejes-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:12—13 **ay(o)s*; De Vaan 2008:27—28 **h₂ei-os*, **h₂ei-es-* ‘bronze’ **h₂eies-no-* (adj.) ‘of metal’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:19—20 **ajos*; Orël 2003:11 Proto-Germanic **aizan*; Kroonen 2013:16—17 Proto-Germanic **aiza-*, **aizīna-*; Feist 1939:31; Lehmann 1980:22 **ayos-*; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.I:467; Torp 1919:87; De Vries 1977:97; Onions 1960:632; Klein 1971:1093 **ayos-*; Vercoulie 1898:73 and 205; Walshe 1951:43 and 49; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:152—153 **ajos* and 174; Kluge—Seebold 1989:166 **ajos* and 188 (New High German *Erz* ‘ore’ = loanword from Sumerian *urud*).

Note: Similar forms are found in Northwest Caucasian: Common Abkhaz **ajxá*: South Abkhaz *ajxá* ‘iron; axe; bit (of a horse)’; Abaza/Tapanta *ajxá* ‘iron; metal’; Ashkharywa *ájxa* ‘iron’. Note also: South Abkhaz *ajg^oš^o* ‘small axe’; Abaza/Tapanta *g^oaš^o* ‘small axe’, *k^oaya* ‘small axe’;

Bzyp *ajk*'^o*áγ(a)* 'small axe'; Abzhywa *ajk*'^o*áγa* 'small axe'. These may have been borrowed from Indo-European.

Buck 1949:9.66 copper, bronze; 9.67 iron.

717. Proto-Nostratic root **her-* and/or **hor-*:

(vb.) **her-* and/or **hor-* 'to escape, to flee, to run away';

(n.) **her-a* and/or **hor-a* 'escape, flight'; (adj.) 'escaped, liberated, freed'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **her-*, **hor-* 'to escape, to flee, to run away': Proto-Semitic **har-ab-* 'to escape, to flee, to run away' > Akkadian *arbu* 'fugitive, runaway'; Arabic *haraba* 'to flee, to escape, to desert, to run away, to elope; to help to escape, to force to flee, to put to flight; to liberate, to free (a prisoner); to smuggle', *harab* 'flight, escape, getaway; desertion; elopement', *hurūb* 'flight', *harbān* 'fugitive, runaway, on the run; a runaway, a fugitive, a refugee', *hārib* 'fugitive, runaway, on the run; a runaway, a fugitive, a refugee; deserter'; Sabaeen *hrb* 'to flee'; Ḥarsūsi *herōb* 'to put to flight, to smuggle'; Šheri / Jibbāli *ohūrb* 'to smuggle, to run away (from prison)'; Mehri *hōrəb* 'to smuggle, to put to flight'; Tigre *harbä* 'to flee'. D. Cohen 1970— :447; Zammit 2002:417. Ehret 1995: 385, no. 789, **her-/hor-* 'to go rapidly on foot'; Ehret also posits Proto-Cushitic **horr-/herr-* 'to go on foot' (Proto-East Cushitic 'to run away'), but he does not give examples.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **her-* [**har-*]/**hor-*/**h₂r-* '(vb.) to liberate, to set free; (adj.) free': Hittite *a-ra-a-u-(wa-)aš* 'free', (1st sg. pres.) *a-ra-wa-aḥ-ḥi* 'to set free'; Lycian *arawa* 'free', *arawā* 'exempt from tax', Ἐρεῦας /**erewa-* 'free(city)'. Tischler 1977— :53—55; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:119—121. Puhvel's rejection notwithstanding, the most convincing Indo-European cognate remains Lithuanian *árvas* 'free' (cf. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I: 397—398 **arw-* and I:781 **arwo-* 'free agriculturalist'). Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:16.
- C. Proto-Eskimo **arullar-* 'to leave': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *arulaXtə-* 'to run away'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *arulaXquq* 'gathered greens'; Central Siberian Yupik *arulaqə-* 'to leave', *arulaXqur-* 'to go and gather greens'; Sirenik *arəlar-* 'to leave', *arəlarət(ə)-* 'to take away'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aulari-* 'to leave'; North Alaskan Inuit *aullaq-* 'to leave'; Western Canadian Inuit *aullaq-* 'to leave'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aulla(q)-* 'to leave'; Greenlandic Inuit *aattar-* 'to leave'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:45.

Buck 1949:10.51 flee; 11.34 release; 19.44 free (adj.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:585, no. 455.

22.36. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *ħ

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
ħ-	ħ-	Ø-	x-	ħh-	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
-ħ-	-ħ-	-Ø-	-x-	-ħh-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-Ø-

718. Proto-Nostratic root *ħac'- (~ *ħac'-):

(vb.) *ħac'- 'to pick, to pluck';

(n.) *ħac'-a 'the act of picking, plucking'; (adj.) 'picked, plucked'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ħac'- 'to pick, to pluck': Proto-Semitic *ħac'-ad- 'to harvest, to reap' > Akkadian *ešēdu* 'to harvest'; Imperial Aramaic *ħšd* 'to harvest'; Biblical Aramaic *ħəšāḏ* 'to cut, to mow', *ħəšāḏā* 'crop, harvest-time'; Arabic *ħašada* 'to harvest, to reap, to mow', *ħašīd* 'crop, harvest, yield', *ħašad* 'mown grain'. Murtonen 1989:193; Klein 1987:228. (?) Egyptian *ħd-t* 'a kind of plant'. Hannig 1995:575; Erman—Grapow 1926—1923.3:211. Proto-East Cushitic *ħad,- 'to reap' > Burji *hat*'- 'to reap'; Galla / Oromo *hatt*'-aw- 'to sweep'; Dobase *hat*'- 'to hoe, to clean'; Kambata *hat*'iid- 'to reap, to cut crops', *hat*'iidi-je(e)ccut 'harvest-time'. Sasse 1982:93; Hudson 1989:46.
- B. Dravidian: Kota *ec*- (*ec*-) 'to pick (berries, fruit)'; Konḡa *es*- 'to play on *toyla* or any stringed instrument'; Pengo *ec*- 'to pluck'; Maḡa *eh*- 'to pluck'; Kui *espa*- (*est*-) 'to pluck'; Kuwi *eh*- (*est*-) 'to pluck (fruit)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:77, no. 779.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *ħhet'- [*ħhat'-] 'crop, grain': Latin *ador* 'a species of grain, spelt'; Gothic *atisk* 'grain, grain-field'; Old English *edisc* 'enclosure, park; pasture'; Dutch *esch* 'cultivated fields of a village'; Old High German *ezzisc* 'seed' (New High German *Esch*); Armenian *hat* 'grain'; (?) Tocharian A *āti*, B *atiyo* 'grass'. Semantic development from 'to pick, to pluck' > 'to gather the crop, to harvest' > 'crop, grain' as in Arabic *ħašīd* 'crop, harvest, yield' and *ħašad* 'mown grain', cited above. Pokorny 1959:3 *ades-, *ados- 'type of grain'; Walde 1927—1932.I:45 *ados-; Mann 1984—1987:2 *adhōr-, *adhər- 'a coarse grain' (?); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:655 *Hat'- and 1995.I:564 *Hat'- 'grain'; Mallory—Adams 1997:237 *h₂ed- 'grain, barley'; Orël 2003:26—27 Proto-Germanic *atiskaz; Kroonen 2013:39 Proto-Germanic *atiska- 'grainfield'; Feist 1939:61; Lehmann 1986:46; Ernout—Meillet 1979:9; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:14; De Vaan 2008:25; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:174 *ados-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:188; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:624 considers the Tocharian forms to be loans from Turkic; Adams

1999:9, on the other hand, favors derivation from **āt-u-* and compares Old Irish *áith* (< **āt-i-*) ‘sharp, energetic’.

(?) Sumerian *ha-za* ‘to seize, to grasp’.

Buck 1949:8.32 mow, reap; 8.41 crop, harvest; 8.42 grain. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:355—356, no. 181.

719. Proto-Nostratic root **hag-* (~ **həg-*):

(vb.) **hag-* ‘to be pressed or weighed down; to be oppressed; to be vexed, distressed, disheartened, afflicted, troubled’;

(n.) **hag-a* ‘trouble, affliction, oppression, distress, grief, sadness’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hag-* ‘to be pressed or weighed down; to be oppressed; to be disheartened, vexed, distressed, afflicted, troubled’: Proto-Semitic (**hag-an-* > **hagy-an-* > **had^y-an-* >) **haz-an-* ‘to grieve, to be sad’ > Arabic *ḥazana* ‘to make sad, to sadden, to grieve’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥezōn* ‘to be sad’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḥázín* ‘sad’; Mehri *ḥzūn* ‘to be very sad’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥazana* [ሐዘን], *ḥazna* [ሐዘን] (also *ḥazana* [ሐዘን]) ‘to be sad, to be sorrowful, to be grieved, to be in mourning, to have compassion, to be sorry for, to sympathize’, *ḥazan* [ሐዘን] ‘sadness, grief, sorrow, mourning, affliction, melancholy, care’; Tigrinya *ḥazānā* ‘to be sad’; Tigre *ḥazna* ‘to be sad’; Harari *ḥuzni* ‘sadness’; Argobba *hazzāna* ‘to be sad’; Amharic *azzānā* ‘to be sad’; Gurage *azānā* ‘to be sad, sorrowful’, *azān* ‘grief, sorrow’. Leslau 1963:89, 1979:121, and 1987:253—254; Zammit 2002: 139—140. Egyptian (**hag-an-* > **hagy-an-* > **had^y-an-* >) *ḥḏn*, *ḥḏnw* ‘to be oppressed, disheartened, vexed, angry’, *shḏn* (causative) ‘to vex’. Hannig 1995:575 and 740; Faulkner 1962:239; Erman—Grapow 1921:120 and 1926—1923.3:214; Gardiner 1957:583.
- B. [Dravidian: Kannāḍa *agacu*, *agucu* ‘to press firmly, to confine, to hold firmly’, *agacāṭ(a)lu*, *agacāṭ(a)le*, *agacāṭu* ‘affliction, trouble’; Telugu *agacāṭlu* ‘troubles, difficulties, affliction’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:3, no. 2.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **hak’-* (~ **hək’-*) ‘(vb.) to press, squeeze, pack, or cram together; to confine, to oppress; (n.) oppression, affliction, pain’. Kannāḍa *agi* ‘to tremble, to fear’, *agurvu*, *agurbu* ‘amazement, terror; a terrible form’, *agurvisu* ‘to be terrifying or formidable, to terrify’; Tuḷu *aguruni* ‘to totter, to stagger’; Telugu *agurvu* ‘fear, terror’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 12.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **h^heg^h-* [**h^hag^h-*] ‘(vb.) to be weighed down, oppressed, fearful; (n.) pain, sorrow, grief, fear’: Greek ἄχος ‘pain, sorrow, grief, distress’, ἄχομαι ‘to be vexed, annoyed, distressed’, ἀκαχεῖν ‘to grieve, to vex, to annoy, to distress’, ἄχνημαι ‘to trouble oneself, to grieve for, to lament’; Old Irish *ad-ágor* ‘fear’; Gothic *agis* ‘fright, fear, terror’; Old English *ege* ‘fear’, *egesa* ‘fear, terror’, *egesian* ‘to terrify’; Old High

German *egis-līh* ‘terrible’. Pokorny 1959:7—8 **agh-* ‘to be depressed’; Walde 1927—1932.I:40 **agh-*; Mann 1984—1987:2 **agh-* ‘dread, terror’, 2 **aghālos*, **aghulos* ‘evil, sorrow’, 3 **aghō*, *-iō* ‘to groan, to fear, to sorrow’, 3 **aghos*, *-es-* ‘evil, harm, grief, gain, horror’; Watkins 1985:1 **agh-* and 2000:1 **agh-* ‘to be afraid, to be depressed’; Mallory—Adams 1997:413 **h_aéghleh_a* ‘affliction’; Frisk 1970—1973.I:200—201 and I:202—203; Boisacq 1950:108; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:150 and I:151; Hofmann 1966:30; Beekes 2010.I:184—185 **h₂egh-*; Orël 2003:3 Proto-Germanic **ažez*; Kroonen 2013:4 Proto-Germanic **agiz-* ‘fear’; Lehmann 1986:10 **agh-* ‘to suffer in spirit’; Feist 1939:14 **agh-*.

Buck 1949:16.31 pain, suffering; 16.32 grief, sorrow; 16.36 sad; 16.53 fear, fright. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:457, no. 302. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1856, **qag[?]a* ‘to fear’.

720. Proto-Nostratic root **hag-* (~ **hæg-*):

(vb.) **hag-* ‘to cover over, to hide, to conceal, to obscure, to overshadow’;
(n.) **hag-a* ‘mist, darkness, cloudy weather’; (adj.) ‘misty, dark, cloudy’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hag-* (vb.) to cover over, to hide, to conceal, to obscure, to overshadow; (adj.) misty, dark, cloudy; (n.) mist, darkness, cloudy weather’: Proto-Semitic **hag-ab-* ‘to cover, to hide, to obscure’ > Arabic *hağaba* ‘to veil, to cover, to shelter, to seclude, to hide, to conceal, to obscure, to overshadow’; Hebrew *hāyāb* [חַיָּב] ‘locust’ (originally ‘locusts covering the sky’); Šheri / Jibbāli *hógób* ‘to outline the shape of a projected structure’, *hótgəb* ‘to wrap and tie cloth around one’s knees and sit cross-legged’; Mehri *həgūb* ‘to outline the shape of a structure (house, pen, etc.) in stones and branches’. Murtonen 1989:174; Klein 1987:207; Zammit 2002:133. Proto-East Cushitic **hagay-* ‘rainy season’ > Kambata *haguu(ha)* ‘dry season’; Burji *hagáy-ee* ‘rainy season’; Saho *hagay* ‘rainy season’; Afar *haagay-* ‘summer’; Galla / Oromo *hag-ay-y-a* ‘wet season’; Somali *hagaa* ‘dry season’; Gidole *haakay-t* ‘rainy season’; Hadiyya *hageyye* ‘rainy season’; Gollango *hakay-te* ‘rainy season’. (Cushitic loans in Ethiopian Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *hagāy* [ሐጋይ], *hagāy* [ሐጋይ] ‘summer, dry season [January—March]’, [denominative] *hagaya* [ሐገዩ] ‘to spend the summer, to become summer’, *hagayāwi* [ሐገዮዊ] ‘pertaining to summer’; Tigre *hagay* ‘dry season’; Amharic *hagay*, *agay* ‘dry season’ [cf. Leslau 1987:228].) Sasse 1982:89; Hudson 1989:120. (?) Proto-East Cushitic **hagoog-* ‘to cover over’ > Galla / Oromo *hagoog-ad/t-* ‘to cover’; Saho *agoog-* ‘to be covered with cloths, to be draped in garments’; Somali *hagog* ‘cloth draped over the head’; Rendille *ogog-* ‘to cover’. Sasse (1979:39) reconstructs Proto-East Cushitic **hagoog-*; however, considering the more specialized meaning of the Saho and Somali forms, they may be loans, perhaps from Galla / Oromo.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₂heg^h-lu-* [**h₂hag^h-lu-*] ‘mist, darkness, cloudy weather’: Greek ἀγλῶς ‘mist, gloom, darkness’; Armenian *aljalj*, *aljamuljk^h* ‘darkness, obscurity’; Old Prussian *aglo* (*u*-stem) ‘rain’. Pokorny 1959:8 **aghl(u)-* ‘dark cloud’; Walde 1927—1932.I:41 **aġhl(u)-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:477 **h_aeghlu-* (*-ġh-* ?) ‘rain’; Boisacq 1950:108; Frisk 1970—1973.I:201—202; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:151; Hofmann 1966:30; Beekes 2010.I:184 **h₂eg^hlu-*; Derksen 2015:555 **h₂eg^hlu-*.
- C. Proto-Altaic **aga* ‘rain, cloudy sky’: Proto-Tungus **aga* ‘rain’ > Manchu *aga* ‘rain’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ahā* ‘rain’; Jurchen *ah-ga* ‘rain’. Proto-Mongolian **agayar* (< **aya-yar*) ‘cloudy sky’ > ‘air, atmosphere’ > Written Mongolian *ayar* ‘air, atmosphere, weather’; Khalkha *ayr*, *ayār* ‘air, atmosphere’; Ordos *agāri* ‘celestial space, the appearance of the sky’; Moghol *sur* ‘cloud’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:273—274 **aga* ‘rain; air’.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:534—535, no. 388.

721. Proto-Nostratic root **hak^h-* (~ **hək^h-*):

(vb.) **hak^h-* ‘to be mentally sharp, keen’;

(n.) **hak^h-a* ‘wisdom, sound judgment, understanding’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **hak-am-* ‘to be mentally sharp, keen; to judge’ > Arabic *hakama* ‘to pass judgment, to express an opinion, to judge; to decide, to give a decision, to pass a verdict, to pass sentence; to sentence, to impose, to inflict (a penalty) on someone; to pronounce a verdict or judgment, to deliver judgment, to rule (in someone’s favor); to adjudicate, to adjudge, to award; to have judicial power, to have jurisdiction, to have authority, to govern, to rule, to dominate, to command, to order; to bridle, to check, to curb’, *hakīm* ‘wise, judicious; wise man, sage; philosopher; physician, doctor’; Hebrew *hāḫam* [חָכַם] ‘to be wise’, *hāḫām* [חָכָם] ‘wise, skillful, shrewd, crafty, cunning’, *hāḫmāh* [חָכְמָה] ‘wisdom, prudence’; Aramaic *hakkīm* ‘wise man’; Ugaritic *hkm* ‘wise’; Akkadian *hakāmu* ‘to know, to understand’ (initial *h-* may be due to West Semitic [Aramaic] influence); Ḥarsūsi *hekōm* ‘to rule, to conquer’; Soqotri *hkem* ‘to judge’; Mehri *həkūm* ‘to aim (a gun) at; to condemn, to rule; to be old’; Geez / Ethiopic *hakama* [ሐክሙ] ‘to treat medically, to be wise’, *hakim* [ሐክም] ‘physician, philosopher, wise man’; Tigre *hakim* ‘physician’; Amharic *hakim* ‘physician’; Harari *hakāma* ‘to judge, to rule; to recite the daily lesson of the Koran to the teacher or the father’, *hukmi* ‘judgment, law’, *hakīm* ‘physician’. The Ethiopian Semitic terms are loans from Arabic. Murtonen 1989:181; Klein 1971:216; Leslau 1963:81 and 1987:228—229; Militarev 2011:70 Proto-Semitic **hkm*; Zammit 2002:146.
- B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *axnā* (*axcas*, *akkhas*) ‘to know, to realize, to experience, to mistake for’, *axkā*, *akhkā* ‘knowledge, experience’; Malto *áge* (*aqqa*) ‘to

know, to understand’, *ágre* ‘to get accustomed to’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 17.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₂ek^h-* [**h₂ak^h-*] ‘to be mentally sharp, keen’: Hittite (nom. sg.) *ha-at-ta-an-za* (< **h₂akt-ant-*) ‘intelligent, clever, wise’, *hattah₂h-* ‘to make clever, to instruct’, (nom. sg.) *ha-at-ta-a-tar* ‘intelligence, (wise) counsel, wisdom’; Gothic *aha* ‘mind, understanding’, *ahjan* ‘to think’, *ahma* ‘spirit’, **ahmateins* ‘inspiration’, **ahmeins* ‘spiritual’; Old Icelandic *ætla* (< Proto-Germanic **axtilōn*) ‘to think, to mean, to suppose’, *ætlan* ‘thought, meaning, opinion’; Old English *eaht* ‘council, deliberation, consideration’, *eahtian* ‘to watch over, to hold council, to deliberate, to consider’; Old Frisian *achte* ‘consideration’, *achtia* ‘to consider’; Old High German *ah₂* ‘consideration’ (New High German *Acht*), *ahtōn* ‘to consider’ (New High German *achten*). Puhvel 1984— .3:260—263 **H₁ek-(t-)*; Kloekhorst 2008b:333; Feist 1939:15; Lehmann 1986:11; De Vries 1977:682; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:6 **ok-* ‘to think about, to consider’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:8—9 perhaps from **ak-* ‘pointed, sharp’. Note: Some of the Indo-European forms cited under Proto-Nostratic **hok^h-* ‘sharp point’ may belong here instead.

Buck 1949:21.16 judge (vb.).

722. Proto-Nostratic root **hak’-* (~ **hək’-*):

(vb.) **hak’-* ‘to spread, to widen, to extend’;

(n.) **hak’-a* ‘expanse, wide-open space, earth, field’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hak’-* ‘field’: Proto-Semitic **hak’-l-* ‘field’ > Arabic *ḥakl* ‘field’; Aramaic *ḥəkal* ‘field’; Syriac *ḥaklā* ‘field’; Akkadian *eḫlu* ‘field’; Sabaeen *ḥkl* ‘cultivated land, country, field’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥakl* [ሐቅል] ‘field, plain, desert, wilderness, countryside, district’; Amharic *ḥakl* ‘field’ (loan from Geez). Leslau 1987:239—240. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:271, no. 1222, **hak₂VI-* ‘earth, field’.]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *akal* (*akalv-*, *akar₂r-*) ‘to spread, to widen, to extend; to depart, to go away’, *akalam* ‘width, extent, expanse, greatness, earth, sky’, *akali* ‘to broaden out, to enlarge (intr.)’, *akaluḷ* ‘width, expanse, greatness, earth, town, village, country’, *akalvu* ‘extent, expanse’, *akar₂ci* ‘breadth, separation, ascetic life’, *akar₂ru* (*akar₂ri-*) ‘to widen (tr.), to broaden, to extend; to remove, to expel, to banish’, *akar₂al* ‘extension’, *akavu* (*akavi-*) ‘to become long, to lengthen out’; Malayalam *akaluka* ‘to become extended, distant; to part, to retire’, *akalca* ‘separation, distance’, *akar₂r₂uka* ‘to extend (tr.), to open; to remove; to put away’, *akattuka* ‘to distend’, *akalam* ‘breadth, distance’, *akala*, *akalē* ‘far off, aside’; Kota *agalm* ‘width’; Kannaḍa *agal-* (*agald-*) ‘to be spacious, extensive; to separate from, to go away’, *agala* ‘space, width, extension’, *agalike* ‘separation from’, *agalcu* ‘to spread out; to remove’, *agundale* ‘extensiveness,

greatness', *agunti* 'greatness, vastness'; Tuḷu *agapuni* 'to depart; to separate (tr.), to extend', *agapāvuni* 'to send away, to cause to depart', *agela* 'breadth', *agely* 'to go apart, to widen'; Telugu *agalu* 'to leave, to depart, to be gone (of strength in war, liveliness, etc.)'; (?) Malto *agare* 'to spread, to increase, to become public', *agatre* 'to spread, to distribute'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:3, no. 8.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₂hek'-ro-* [**h₂hak'-ro-*] 'field, plain': Sanskrit *ájra-h* 'field, plain'; Greek *ἀγρός* 'field'; Armenian *art* 'field'; Latin *ager* 'field'; Umbrian *agre* 'field, country'; Gothic *akrs* 'field'; Old Icelandic *akr* 'field, corn-field'; Faroese *akur* 'field'; Norwegian *aaker* 'field'; Swedish *åker* 'field'; Danish *ager* 'field'; Old English *æcer* '(cultivated) field, acre'; Old Frisian *ekker* 'field'; Old Saxon *akkar* 'field'; Dutch *akker* 'field'; Old High German *ackar*, *achar* 'field' (New High German *Acker*). Pokorny 1959:6 **aġ-ro-s* 'field'; Walde 1927—1932.I:37 **aġ-ro-s*; Mann 1984—1987:4 **aġros* 'plain, field', 4 **aġrijos* 'wild, field-', 4 **aġrīnos* 'field-, fruit, crop'; Watkins 1985:1 **agro-* and 2000:1 **agro-* 'field' (oldest form **₂aġro-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:694 **Hak'ro-* and 1995.I:600 **Hak'ro-* 'unworked field for grazing'; Mallory—Adams 1997:200 **h_aeġros* 'field, pasture'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:23; Boisacq 1950:10 **aġro-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:16 **aġros*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:15; Hofmann 1966:3 **aġ-ro-s*; Beekes 2010.I:16 **h₂eġ-ro-*; De Vaan 2008:29 **h₂eġ-ro-* 'uncultivated field, pasture'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:14—15 **agro-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:22 **aġ-ro-s*; Orël 2003:12 Proto-Germanic **akraz*; Kroonen 2013:18 Proto-Germanic **akra-* 'field'; Feist 1939:33 **aġros*; Lehmann 1986:24 **aġros* 'pasture'; De Vries 1977:4; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:11—12; Torp 1919:11; Klein 1971:8 **aġ-ro-s*; Onions 1966:9—10 **agros*; Vercoullie 1898:8; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:85; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:6—7 **aġro-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:9 **aġros*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:267—277 **h₂eġ-*: **h₂aġ-ro-*.

Buck 1949:1.23 plain, field; 8.12 field (for cultivation). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:539—540, no. 396.

723. Proto-Nostratic root **hak'-* (~ **hək'-*):

(vb.) **hak'-* 'to direct, to guide, to command';

(n.) **hak'-a* 'direction, guidance, command, decree; leader, chief, chieftain, ruler, headman'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hak'-* 'to direct, to guide, to command': Proto-Semitic **hak'-ak'-* 'to direct, to guide, to command, to decree; to establish what is correct, proper, true, legitimate' > Arabic *hakka* 'to be true, to turn out to be true, to be confirmed; to be right, correct; to be necessary, obligatory, requisite, imperative; to be adequate, suitable, fitting, appropriate; to be due; to make something come true, to realize (something, e.g., hope), to

carry out, to carry into effect, to fulfill, to put into action, to consummate, to effect, to actualize, to implement; to produce, to bring on, to yield; to determine, to ascertain, to find out, to pinpoint, to identify; to prove something to be true, to verify, to establish, to substantiate; to confirm, to assert, to aver, to avouch, to affirm (something); to be exact, painstaking, meticulous, careful', *ḥakḥ* 'truth, correctness, rightness', *ḥakḥkānī* 'correct, right, proper, sound, valid, legitimate, legal'; Hebrew *ḥāḥak* [חָחַק] 'to decree, to ordain laws; to cut into, to engrave, to inscribe'; Aramaic *ḥəḥak* 'to inscribe; to decree'; Syriac *ḥukḥā* 'rule'; Phoenician *ḥkk* 'to engrave; to prescribe, to order'; Nabatean *ḥkk* 'to engrave; to prescribe, to order'; Sabaeen *ḥkk* 'contract'; Ḥarsūsi *ḥek* 'right, truth'; Šheri / Jibbālī *ḥak* 'right'; Mehri *ḥak* 'right', *ḥək* 'to adjust, to level, to file smooth'; Soqotri *ḥak* 'judgment'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥakaka* [ሐቀቀ] 'to level off, to fasten, to fix, to make exact by increasing what is little or by diminishing what is much'; Tigre *ḥakḥ* 'right'; Tigrinya *ḥakḥi* 'truth'. Murtonen 1989:194; Klein 1987:230; Leslau 1987:240. Egyptian *ḥq*, *ḥqʿ* 'to rule, to govern, to guide, to direct, to reign', *ḥqʿ* 'ruler, chieftain' (f. *ḥqʿt*), *ḥqʿ-ḥwt* 'village headman'. Hannig 1995:563—564; Faulkner 1962:178; Erman—Grapow 1921:117 and 1926—1963.3:170—173; Gardiner 1957:583.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **ḥhek*'- [**ḥhak*'-] 'to direct, to guide, to command' (> 'to drive'): Greek ἄγω 'to lead, to conduct, to guide, to direct, to command, to rule, to instruct', ἄγος 'leader, chief'; Sanskrit *ājati* 'to drive, to propel, to throw, to cast', *ajā-h* 'driver, mover, instigator, leader'; Avestan *azaiti* 'to drive'; Latin *agō* 'to drive'; Old Irish *agid* 'to drive, to lead' (cf. Lewis—Pedersen 1937:334—337, §491; Thurneysen 1946:461); Old Welsh *agit* 'to go'; Old Icelandic *aka* 'to drive (a vehicle or an animal drawing a vehicle); to carry or convey (in a vehicle), to cart'; Armenian *acem* 'to bring, to lead'; Tocharian A *āk-* 'to lead, to drive, to guide'. Rix 1998a:227—228 **h₂eǵ-* 'to drive'; Pokorny 1959:4—6 **aǵ-* 'to drive'; Walde 1927—1932.I:35—37 **aǵ-*; Mann 1984—1987:4 **aǵō* 'to drive, to lead, to go, to do, to act', 4 **aǵos* 'drive, lead; driver, leader'; Watkins 1985:1 **ag-* and 2000:1 **ag-* 'to drive, to draw, to move' (oldest form **₂aǵ-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:170 **h_aeǵ-* 'to drive'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:23; Boisacq 1950:11 **áǵō*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:18; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:17—18 **₂eg-*; Hofmann 1966:3 **aǵō*; Beekes 2010.I:18—19 **h₂eǵ-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:15—18 **ag-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:23—24 **aǵ-*; De Vaan 2008:30—31; Orël 2003:11 Proto-Germanic **akanan*, 11 **akaz*; Kroonen 2013:18 Proto-Germanic **akan-* 'to drive'; De Vries 1977:3 **aǵ-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:158; Adams 1999:36—37 **h_aeǵ-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:267—277 **h₂eǵ-*.

Buck 1949:10.64 lead (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:540, no. 397.

724. Proto-Nostratic root **hal-* (~ **həl-*):
- (vb.) **hal-* ‘to lay waste, to destroy, to kill, to slaughter’;
- (n.) **hal-a* ‘destruction, violence, killing, slaughter’
- Note also:
- (vb.) **xal-* ‘to wear down, to wear out, to weaken; to be worn out, worn down, weakened’;
- (n.) **xal-a* ‘weakness, exhaustion, fatigue, weariness’; (adj.) ‘weak, worn out, tired, exhausted, weary’
- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **hal-* ‘to cut off’ > Dahalo *haliite* ‘knife’. Ehret 1980:334. East Cushitic: Somali *halaalee-* ‘to circumcise’.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *hal-pu* ‘to kill, to strike down’; Royal Achaemenid Elamite *hal-pi* ‘to die, to slay’, *hal-be-ra* ‘butcher (of cattle)’, *hal-ba* ‘dead’. Dravidian: Naikṛi *aḷaṇ-* ‘to kill’; Kolami *alḡ-* (*alaṅkt-*) ‘to kill’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:1291, no. 309.
- C. Indo-European: Hittite (3rd sg. pres. mid.) *hal-la-an-ni-ya-at-ta-ri* ‘to lay waste, to ruin, to savage, to ravage’, (nom. sg.) *hal-lu-wa-iš* ‘violence, brawl, altercation, quarrel’, (3rd pl. pres. act.) *hal-lu-u-wa-an-zi* ‘to resort to violence, to brawl, to quarrel; (tr.) to savage, to fight’; Luwian (dat.-loc. sg.) *hal-wa-ti-ya* ‘quarrel’ (?). Puhvel 1984— .3:13—14 **A₂^wel-A₁^w-* and 3:49—51 3rd sg. pres. act. **A₂^wl-n-é-A₁^w-ti*; Kloekhorst 2008b:271—272.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **ālv-* ‘to destroy, to kill’: Proto-Tungus **āli-* ‘to crumble (of earth, snow); to kill an animal (after a long hunt)’ > Negidal *āli-w-* ‘to crumble (of earth, snow)’; Udihe *ali-* ‘to kill an animal (after a long hunt)’, *alip-* ‘to become spoiled (of meat)’. Proto-Mongolian **ala-* ‘to kill’ > Written Mongolian *ala-* ‘to kill, to murder, to butcher’, *alayači* ‘killer, executioner, butcher’, *alaldu-* ‘to kill each other, to fight each other’, *alalduyan* ‘slaughter, bloody battle’, *alasi* ‘slaughter (of animals)’, *alaxuvar* (adv.) ‘fatally, mortally’; Khalkha *ala-* ‘to kill’; Buriat *ala-* ‘to kill’; Kalmyk *al-* ‘to kill’; Ordos *ala-* ‘to kill’; Moghol *olā-*, *āla-* ‘to kill’; Dagur *ala-* ‘to kill’; Dongxiang *ala-* ‘to kill’; Shira-Yughur *ala-* ‘to kill’; Monguor *ala-* ‘to kill’. Proto-Turkic **Alk-* ‘to finish; to destroy; (refl.) to perish, to come to an end, to be exhausted’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *alq-* ‘to finish, to destroy’, (refl.) *alq-in-* ‘to perish, to be exhausted, to come to an end’; Karakhanide Turkic *alq-* ‘to finish, to destroy’, (refl.) *alq-in-* ‘to perish, to be exhausted, to come to an end’, *alq-iš-* ‘to destroy each other’; Turkish (dial.) *alk-* ‘to finish; to destroy; (refl.) to perish, to come to an end, to be exhausted’, (Old Osmanli) *alk-iš-* ‘to destroy (many)’; Kirghiz *alq-in-* ‘to weaken; to rage’; Kazakh *alq-in-* ‘to get short of breath, to chafe’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:290—291 **ālv-* ‘to destroy, to kill’.
- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ælvə-* ‘to flense’: Alyutor *alv(ə)-* ‘to flense’; Chukchi *elwə-* ‘to flense (carcass)’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *əlfʰe-s* ‘to flense’ (with *-æt-* ?). Fortescue 2005:33.

Sumerian *ha-lam* ‘ruin, destruction’, *ha-lam* ‘to destroy, to ruin, to devastate’.

Buck 1949:4.76 kill; 11.27 destroy.

725. Proto-Nostratic root **hal-* (~ **həl-*):

(vb.) **hal-* ‘to wash, to rinse, to clean’;

(n.) **hal-a* ‘the act of washing, cleaning’; (adj.) ‘washed, clean(ed)’

A. Proto-Afrasian **hal-* ‘to wash, to rinse, to clean’: Proto-Semitic **hal-al-* ‘to wash, to rinse, to clean’ > Akkadian *ellu* ‘clean, pure; holy, sacred’; Imperial Aramaic *hll* ‘to wash, to rinse’; Syriac *həlal* ‘to wash away, to cleanse, to purify’. East Cushitic: Somali *hal-* ‘to wash’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:272, no. 1226, **hal-* ‘to wash’. (?) Proto-Southern Cushitic **hel-* ‘to clean’ > Asa *hilus-* ‘to strain, to filter’. Ehret 1980:335. Semitic loans in: Hittite (abl. sg.) *ha-la-la-za* ‘clean’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *ha-la-li-iš* ‘clean’ (cf. Puhvel 1984— .3:13; Laroche 1959:38).

B. Dravidian: Tamil *alampu* (*alampi-*) ‘to wash, to rinse’, *alacu* (*alaci-*) ‘to rinse’, *alaicu* (*alaici-*) ‘to wash, to rinse’, *alaittal* ‘to wash clothes by moving them about in water’; Malayalam *alakkuka* ‘to wash clothes by beating’, *alakku* ‘washing’, *alampuka* ‘to shake clothes in water’; Kannada *alambu*, *alumbu*, *alabu*, *alubu* ‘to rinse, to wash’, *ale* ‘to wash’, *alasu* ‘to shake or agitate in water (as a cloth, vegetables, etc., for cleansing)’; Tuḷu *alambuni* ‘to wash’, *alumbuni*, *lumbuni* ‘to plunge, to wash, to rinse’; Telugu *alamu* ‘to smear, to wash’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:24, no. 246.

Sumerian ^{HA-AL}*hal* ‘purity, pureness; cleanness, cleanliness’.

Buck 1949:9.36 wash. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2578, **χalV* ‘(to be/become) clean’.

726. Proto-Nostratic root **hal-* (~ **həl-*):

(vb.) **hal-* ‘to lower’;

(n.) **hal-a* ‘that which is beneath or under; lower part, underpart’; (adj.) ‘lower’

A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Burji *hal-* ‘to fall (down), to set (of sun)’; Sidamo *halalla*, *halaalla* ‘lowland’, *halaalla* ‘lowland, desert’, *halalla* ‘plain’, *halliyyá* ‘deep’, *halaʔl-* ‘to be wide’, *halaʔl-iš-* ‘to widen’, *halaʔlado* ‘wide’. Hudson 1989:196 and 369; Sasse 1982:90.

B. Proto-Uralic **ēla* ‘lower, under; below, underneath; that which is beneath or under, lower space, underpart’: Finnish *ala* ‘area, territory, space’, *alla* (< **alna*) ‘being under’, *ala-*, *ali-* ‘sub-, lower’, *alta* ‘from beneath (an object)’, *alas*, *ales* ‘down’; Lapp / Saami *-vuolle* ‘that which lies beneath’, *vuollě-* ‘lower, under-, sub-’, *vuollen* ‘underneath’, *vuol'dě* ‘under; from

beneath'; Mordvin *alo* 'under, underneath', *aldo* 'up from underneath, under'; Cheremis / Mari *ül-*, *ülə* 'that which is beneath, sub-', *ülhə* 'underneath, (being) under'; Votyak / Udmurt *ul* 'underpart, lower space, that which is beneath', *ulyñ* 'under, underneath', *ullañ* '(going) underneath'; Zyrian / Komi *-ul* 'space under something', *ulyñ* '(being) under', *ul-* 'sub-, lower', *ulyś* 'from a low place', *ullañ* 'down, downwards', *ulö* '(going) under'; Vogul / Mansi *jol-* 'sub-; lower part', *jolan* '(being) under', *joləl* 'from the underside'; Ostyak / Xanty *yl*, (Southern) *it* 'lower, sub-; lower part'; Hungarian *al*, *alj* 'that which is beneath, underpart', *al-* 'sub-', *alatt* '(being) under', *alól*, *alúl*, *alul* 'from beneath, beneath'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *nyl* 'floor, ground, base', *nylna* 'below, underneath', *nyld* 'from below'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ñilea-* 'that which is below', *ñileanu* '(being) under', *ñileada* 'from below', *ñilinu* 'below, underneath', *ñilida* 'from below'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *iðo*, (Baiha) *iro* 'ground', *iðone* '(being) under', *iðoro* 'from below'; Selkup Samoyed *yl* 'ground, base', *ylgan*, *ylogan* 'from below', *yllä* 'downwards'; Kamassian *ilgän* 'below', *ilde* 'downwards'. Collinder 1955:2—3, 1960:405 **ala*, 1965:136, and 1977:24—25; Rédei 1986—1988:6 **ala*; Décsy 1990:97 **ala* 'below, beneath'; Sammallahti 1988:536 **ilä* 'under'; Aikio 2020:52—53 **ēla-* 'place under or below'; Janhunen 1977b:24 **ilš*; Zhivlov 2023:160 **ēla* 'under, below' (spatial noun). Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *a:l-*, *a:n-*, *a:-* 'below, under', *alyudo-* 'lowest, youngest', *alyu-* 'below, down', *albo:ži-* 'steep', *albə-* 'foot of a mountain'; (Northern / Tundra) *al-* 'below, under', *-albe*, *-alba* 'bottom', *alunban-* 'low', *alyuučii-* 'to go down, to abate'. Nikolaeva 2006:99—100.

- C. Proto-Altaic **ale* 'below, lower': Proto-Turkic **äl-* 'lower side, below; being below, lower' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *altin* 'being below, lower'; Karakhanide Turkic *altin* 'being below, lower', *alt* 'lower side, below'; Turkish *alt* 'lower or underpart (of a thing); underside, bottom'; Gagauz *alt* 'lower side, below'; Azerbaijani *alt* 'lower side, below'; Karaim *alt* 'lower side, below'; Tatar (dial.) *alt* 'lower side, below'; Kirghiz *ald(i)* 'lower side, below'; Sary-Uighur *altii* 'lower side, below'; Khakas *altii* 'lower side, below'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ald*, *altii* 'lower side, below', *altiiyi* 'being below, lower'; Tuva *a'ldi* 'lower side, below'; Chuvash *old(ь)* 'gusset'; Yakut *alin* 'lower side, below'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:285—286 **ale* 'below, lower'.

(?) Sumerian *halib* 'underworld'.

Buck 1949:10.23 fall (vb.); 12.32 low. Greenberg 2002:175—176, no. 406, **ala* 'under'; Hakola 2000:19, no. 21.

727. Proto-Nostratic root **haly-* (~ **həly-*):
 (vb.) **haly-* ‘to grow, to be strong’;
 (n.) **haly-a* ‘health, strength, power’; (adj.) ‘healthy, strong, powerful; grown, great, large’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **hal-* ‘to grow, to be strong’: Proto-Semitic **hal-am-* ‘to grow, to be strong’ > Arabic *halama* ‘to attain puberty’; Hebrew *hālam* [חָלַם] ‘to be healthy, strong’; Syriac *həlīm* ‘healthy, firm’. Klein 1987:219; Murtonen 1989:183. Proto-Semitic **hal-ak-* ‘to grow (up)’ > Geez / Ethiopic *halka* [ሐልቀ] ‘to grow, to grow up, to increase’. Leslau 1987:230.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *al* ‘strength, firmness’; Kannada *aḷa, aḷavi, aḷavu, alavu* ‘power, strength, force, ability, possibility, practicability’; Telugu *alavi* ‘power, ability, possibility, practicability’, *alavu* ‘power, ability, strength, exertion’, *lāvu* ‘(n.) strength, power, ability, bigness, fatness, corpulence, robustness; (adj.) big, large, stout, corpulent, robust’; Kolami *la-v* ‘fat’; Parji *lāv* ‘strength’; Gondi *lāv* ‘strength, force’; Konda *alvi* ‘energy, stamina’, *āl* ‘energy, stamina, endurance’, *lāvu* ‘much’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:27—28, no. 291.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₂hel-* [**h₂hal-*] ‘to grow, to be strong’: Latin *alō* ‘to nourish, to support’, *altus* ‘grown, great, high’, *alēscō* ‘to grow up’; Old Irish *alim* ‘to rear’; Gothic *alan* ‘to grow’, *alds* ‘age, life’, *alpeis* ‘old’, **aldōmō* ‘old age’; Old Icelandic *ala* ‘to bear, to give birth to, to beget, to bring up, to rear’, *aldr* ‘age, lifetime’, *öld* ‘time, age’; Old English *alan* ‘to nourish, to produce’, *eald* ‘old’, *ealdor* ‘life, vitals; eternity’, *eal(d)dōm* ‘old age’, *ield(o)* ‘period, age (of the world); time of life, age; old age’; Old Frisian *ald* ‘old’; Old Saxon *ald* ‘old’, *eldī* ‘age’; Dutch *oud* ‘old’; Old High German *alt* ‘old’ (New High German *alt*), *altī, eltī* ‘age’ (New High German *das Alte* ‘the old [state of affairs]’); Greek ἄλθομαι ‘to become whole and sound’, ἄν-αλ-τος ‘insatiable’, ἀλθαίνω ‘to heal’, ἀλδαίνω ‘to make to grow’. Rix 1998a:233—234 **h₂el-* ‘to nourish, to rear’; Pokorny 1959:26—27 **al-* ‘to grow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:86—87 **al-*; Mann 1984—1987:14 **aldh-* (?), 16 **alō*, **aljō* ‘to rear, to breed, to grow’, 17 **altos, -ijos* ‘high; height, fortress, sacred grove’; Watkins 1985:2 **al-* and 2000:3 **al-* ‘to grow, to nourish’ (suffixed [participial] form **al-to-* ‘grown’); Mallory—Adams 1997:258 **hael-* ‘to grow’; Boisacq 1950:41 and 60; Frisk 1970—1973.I:65, I:72, and I:102; Hofmann 1966:11 **al-d-*, **al-dh-*; **al-* and 18; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:55, I:60, and I:84 **al-*; Beekes 2010.I:66—67 **h₂el-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:23—24; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:31—32; De Vaan 2008:35; Orël 2003:12 Proto-Germanic **alanan*, 13 **aldaz*, 13—14 **aldiz*, 14 **aldīn*, 14 **aldjanan*; Kroonen 2013:19 Proto-Germanic **alan-* ‘to grow up, to rear’, 20 **alda-* ‘(grown) old’, 20 **aldi-* ‘age’, and 21 **aldra-* ‘age, life(span)’; Lehmann 1986:25 **al-* ‘to grow, to nourish’, 26 **al-+ti-*, and 29—30 **al-+to-*; Feist 1939:34, 35, and 40 **altós*, **altijos*; De Vries 1977:4—5, 5, and 686

**altjo-*, **alti-*, **alto-*; Onions 1966:625—626; Klein 1971:511 **al-* ‘to grow, to nourish’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:14; Hoad 1986:322; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:16—17; Kluge—Seebold 1989:22 **al-*.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 4.83 well; health; 12.53 grow (= increase in size); 14.15 old. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:529—530, no. 380.

728. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **halv-a* ‘hole, hollow, cavity’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *alai* ‘anthill, hole in the ground, hollow in a tree, cave’; Malayalam *ala* ‘hole (in trees, in the ground)’, *allāppu* ‘hole, hollow’; Beṭṭa Kuruba *ale* ‘hole’; Kota *al* ‘cave’; Toda *oḷb* ‘animal’s den, cave’; Telugu *lāga* ‘hole, burrow’; Kuṛux *alap* ‘hollow place underground, cavern’, *lātā* ‘hole, cavity, den’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:29, no. 308.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hel-wo-* [**h₂hal-wo-*] ‘hollow, cavity’: Latin *alvus* ‘belly, womb’, *alveus* ‘a hollow, cavity’; Hittite (gen. sg.) *hal-lu-wa-aš* ‘hollow, pit’, (gen. sg.) *hal-lu-u-wa-aš* ‘hollow, deep’, (denominative verb, 3rd sg. pret. act.) *hal-lu-wa-nu-ut* ‘to put down (deep), to lower, to let deteriorate’. Pokorny 1959:88—89 **u-lo-s* (**ēu-l-*) ‘pipe, tube; a hollow, elongated cavity’; Walde 1927—1932.I:25—26 **aulo-s* (: **ēul-*); Mann 1984—1987:18 **aluos*, *-ios*, *-iə* ‘hollow, channel, cavity’; Watkins 1985:4 **aulo-* and 2000:6 **aulo-* ‘hole, cavity’ (variant [metathesized] form **alwo-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:96 **h₂eluos* ~ **h₂eulos* ‘elongated cavity, hollow’; Puhvel 1984— .3:47—49; Ernout—Meillet 1979:36; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:34—35 **aul-*, **auel-*; De Vaan 2008:25 **h₂eulo-* ‘tube, belly’. Not related to: Greek ἀλλός ‘any tube or pipe; flute’, ἀλλών ‘a hollow way, defile, glen; a canal, aqueduct, trench; a channel, strait’; Lithuanian *aūlas* ‘top (of a boot)’, *aulys* ‘beehive’; Bulgarian *ulej* ‘beehive’; Norwegian (dial.) *aul*, *aule* ‘pipe’. In view of Hittite (nom. sg.) *a-ú-li-iš* ‘tube-shaped organ in the neck, throat (?)’, windpipe (?), without initial *a*-coloring laryngeal, the Greek, Slavic, Baltic, and Germanic forms, together with the Hittite, must be derived from Proto-Indo-European **hewlo-s* [**hawlos*] (traditional **h₂eulo-s*) ‘pipe, tube’ and, by extension, ‘any tube-shaped object’. Mann 1984—1987:42 **aulos*, *-ios* ‘hollow, channel’; Frisk 1970—1973.I:186—187; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:140—141; Boisacq 1950:101; Hofmann 1966:28; Kloekhorst 2008b:229—230; Orël 2003:29 Proto-Germanic **aulaz*; Kroonen 2013:42 Proto-Germanic **aula-* ~ **eula(n)-* ‘stalk (of angelica)’; Torp 1919:9; Shevelov 1964:241; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:25—26; Smoczyński 2007.1:34 **h₂eul-*; Derksen 2015:20 **h₂eul-*.

Buck 1949:12.75 hollow (= cavity); 12.85 hole.

729. Proto-Nostratic root **ham-* (~ **həm-*):
- (vb.) **ham-* ‘to be sharp, sour, bitter, acrid’;
- (n.) **ham-a* ‘any sharp-tasting, sour, bitter, or acrid foodstuff’; (adj.) ‘sharp, sour, bitter, acrid’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **ham-* ‘to be sharp, sour, acid’: Proto-Semitic **ham-atʃ-* ‘to be sharp, sour, acid’ > Biblical Hebrew *hāmēš* [ʔḥmēš] ‘that which is sour, leavened’, *hāmaš* [ʔḥmāš] ‘to be sour, leavened’; Aramaic *həmaš* ‘to be sour, salty’; Ugaritic *hms* ‘vinegar’; Akkadian *emšu* ‘sour’; Arabic *hamuḍa* ‘to be or become sour’; Ḥarsūsi *hāmed* ‘sour’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hamz* ‘yogurt (sour milk) borrowed to start the butter-making process’; Mehri *həmūz* ‘to make butter, to shake milk for butter’, *hamz* ‘yogurt’; Amharic *homtaṭṭa* ‘sour’. Murtonen 1989:186—187; Klein 1987:222. Egyptian *hmʒ-t* ‘salt’; Coptic *hmu* [ϣᲙᲟϥ] ‘salt’. Hannig 1995:532 (*hmʒyt*); Faulkner 1962:170; Gardiner 1957:581; Erman—Grapow 1921:110 and 1923—1926.3:93—94; Vycichl 1983:299; Černý 1976:283. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *hami-* ‘to be sharp, acid’. Reinisch 1895:118. West Chadic **ham-* ‘salt’ > Fyer *?ama* ‘salt’. Central Chadic **χwam-* > **χam-* ‘salt’ > Musgu *həm-* ‘salt’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:273, no. 1231, **ham-* ‘salt’; Ehret 1995:370, no. 748, **ham-* ‘to spoil’ (Semitic, Egyptian innovation: ‘to spoil’ > ‘to sour’).
- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₂hem-* [**h₂ham-*]/**h₂hom-* ‘sharp, sour, bitter, acrid’: Sanskrit *amlá-h*, *ambla-h* ‘sour, acid’; Pāli *ambila-* ‘sour’; Maithili *āmil* ‘acidity, conserve of dried mango chips’; Marathi *āb*, *āb* ‘an acid obtained by spreading in the evening a cloth over flowering plants of *Cicer arietinum*’, *ābhē* ‘to become sour’; Hindi *ambat* ‘sour’; Bengali *āmbal* ‘sour, acid, acidity’; Old Icelandic *apr* (< **appr* < **ampar*) ‘hard, sharp; sad, despirited’; Swedish *amper* ‘bitter, sharp, astringent, pungent, acrid, acrimonious’; Middle Dutch *amper* ‘sour, bitter, harsh’. Perhaps also: Sanskrit *āmá-h* ‘raw, uncooked’; Greek *ὠμός* ‘raw’; Armenian *hum* ‘raw’; Latin *amārus* ‘bitter’. Pokorny 1959:777—778 **om-* ‘raw, coarse, bitter’; Walde 1927—1932.I:179 **omo-*, **ōmo-* ‘raw (bitter, sharp)’; Mann 1984—1987:18 **am-* ‘bitter’, 257 **amos* ‘raw’, 257 **amros* (**aməros*, **ambros*, **mros*) ‘sour, bitter’, 875 **ōmos* (**amos*, **ōmos*) ‘raw, crude, unripe, uncooked’; Watkins 1985:46 **om-* and 2000:60 **om-* ‘raw; sharp-tasting’ (suffix form **om-ro-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:478 **h₂omós* ~ **h₂ōmós* ‘raw, uncooked’; Boisacq 1950:1082; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1301—1302 **ōmó-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1149 **ōmós*; Beekes 2010.II:1680 **HeHmo-*; Hofmann 1966:430 **ōmo-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:45, I:46, and I:77; Winter 1965a:102; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:35 **am-ro-*; De Vaan 2008:37 **h₂h₃m-ro-* (?), Sanskrit *āmá-h* ‘raw, uncooked’, Greek *ὠμός* ‘raw’ < **h₂eh₃mo-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:25; Orël 2003:17 Proto-Germanic **ampraz*; Kroonen 2008:25 Proto-Germanic **ampra-* (< **Hom-ro-*); De Vries 1977:11; Vercoulie 1898:11; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:202—204 **Hem-* (?).

- C. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **(c)əmjə-* ‘bitter’: Chukchi *nə-cəmjə-qen*, *cəmjə-lʔən* ‘bitter, unpleasant to taste’; Kerek *n-əmijə-Xi* ‘bitter’; Koryak *n-əmjə-qen* ‘bitter, salty’; Alyutor *n-əmjə-qin* ‘bitter, salty’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *əmc’-laX* ‘bitter’. Fortescue 2005:341; Mudrak 1989b:92 **ʔəmjə-* ‘bitter’.

Buck 1949:15.36 salt; 15.37 bitter; 15.38 acid, sour. Möller 1911:8—9; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:532—533, no. 385. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2587, **XomV* ‘raw, sour, inedible’.

730. Proto-Nostratic root **ham-* (~ **həm-*):

(vb.) **ham-* ‘to become still, quiet, tranquil; to rest, to settle down, to remain, to abide’;

(n.) **ham-a* ‘abode, resting place; stillness, tranquility’; (adj.) ‘seated, settled’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *hmzi* ‘to sit, to sit down; to dwell’, *hmzt* ‘seat’ (in the sense of ‘rank’ or ‘position’), *hmz m* ‘to dwell in, to occupy a place’, *hmzw* ‘sloth’. Hannig 1995:533—534; Erman—Grapow 1921:110 and 1926—1963.3:96—98; Faulkner 1962:170; Gardiner 1957:581.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *amar* ‘to abide, to remain, to become tranquil, to rest, to be deposited (as a sediment), to become close and hard (as sand by rain), to be engaged (as a house), to become established (as in a work)’, *amarttu* (*amartti-*) ‘to make quiet, to restrain, to engage (as a house, servant), to establish (as one in life)’, *amarvu* ‘abode’, *amarikkai* ‘quietness, tranquility’, *amai* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to become still, quiet; to subside, to be satisfied, to acquiesce; to be settled; to be fixed up; to abide, to remain’, *amai* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to cause to be still, to be patient, to control’, *amaiti* ‘calmness, humility’, *amaivan* ‘a sage’, *amaivu* ‘rest’; Malayalam *amaruka* ‘to subside, to settle, to be seated, to rest on; to be allayed, calmed, quiet’, *amaral* ‘abating of wind or fire, peace’, *amarcca* ‘calmness, self-government’, *ameyuka* ‘to be subject, to agree’, *amekka* ‘to subject, to join, to rule’; Tuḷu *amaruni* ‘to become quiet, calm; to settle’, *amapuni* ‘to quiet’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:16, no. 161.
- C. Proto-Uralic **am3-* ‘to sit’: Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *aməs* ‘to sit’, (Demyanka) *oməs-* ‘to sit; to be, to stand’, (Obdorsk) *aməs-* ‘to sit, to be seated, to place’; (?) Vogul / Mansi (Tavda) *oon-* ‘to sit’, *ont-* ‘to be seated’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ḡamćo-* ‘to sit’, *ḡamtaa-* ‘to be seated’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *addu-* ‘to sit’, (Baiha) *aḡi-*, *addo-* ‘to sit’, *adde-* ‘to be seated’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ḡomtṭu-* ‘to sit’, *ḡomtṭuʔa-* ‘to be seated’; Selkup Samoyed (Taz) *aamta-* ‘to sit’, (Ket) *aamda-* ‘to sit’, *omte-* ‘to be seated’, (Tym) *amte-* ‘to sit’; Kamassian *amna-* ‘to sit’, *amnoo-* ‘to be seated; to live, to dwell’. Rédei 1986—1988:8—9 **am3-*; Décsy 1990:97 **ama-* ‘to sit’; Janhunen 1977b:17—18 **āmtā-*; Aikio 2020:15 **amV-* ‘to sit’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma)

amdet- ‘to lay down’, *amdə-* ‘to die’, *amdiǰə* ‘bedding’, *amdi-* ‘to spread under, to lay under; to prepare’. Nikolaeva 2006:102.

- D. Proto-Altaic **āmV-* ‘to be quiet, to sleep’: Proto-Tungus **ām-* ‘to sleep; to be sleepy’ > Evenki *āme-* ‘to be sleepy’; Lamut / Even *āmol-* ‘to be sleepy’; Negidal *āma-* ‘to be sleepy’; Manchu *amga-/amǰa-* ‘to sleep’, *amgana-* ‘to go to sleep’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *aməhə-* ‘to sleep’; Ulch *amasī-* ‘to be sleepy’; Orok *āma-* ‘to be sleepy’; Nanay / Gold *āmalo-*, *āmasī-* ‘to be sleepy’; Oroch *āma-si-* ‘to be sleepy’; Udihe *amahi-* ‘to be sleepy’. Proto-Mongolian **amu-*, **ami-* ‘(vb.) to rest; to be or become quiet; (n.) peace, rest’ > Written Mongolian *amura-*, *amara-* ‘to rest, to relax; to feel contentment or joy, to be relieved’, *amu-* ‘to rest, to relax’, *amur* ‘peace, quiet, calm, rest; leisure, pleasure; good health, well-being; easy, not difficult; peacefully, quietly’, *amuyūlaŋ* ‘peace, quietude, well-being, happiness; quiet, calm, peaceful, peaceable’, *amurayul-* ‘to let rest, to calm, to give comfort, to console’, *amuralta* ‘rest, repose, relaxation; vacation’, *amurli-* ‘to be or become quiet, calm, gentle, or blissful; to rest’, *amurǰan* ‘calm(ly), peaceful(ly), easy (easily), simple (simply)’, *amurǰi-* ‘to calm, to quiet down; to rest, to relax; to stop worrying’, *amuski-* ‘to take a rest’; Khalkha *amar-*, *amgal* (< **amu-gal*) ‘peace, rest; easy’, *amra-* ‘to rest’; Buriat *amar* ‘peace, rest’, *amar-* ‘to rest’, *amgalan(g)* ‘peaceful’; Kalmyk *amr*, *amγūlaŋ* ‘peace, rest’, *amr-* ‘to rest’, Ordos *am*, *amur*, *amūlaŋ*, *amuyūlaŋ* ‘peace, rest’, *amara-* ‘to rest’; Dagur *amar(a)-* ‘to rest; to be or become quiet’, *amal*, *amūl* ‘peace, rest’; Shira-Yughur *amura-* ‘to rest’, *amar* ‘peace, rest’; Monguor *χamurā-*, *χamburā-* ‘to rest, to relax’. Poppe 1955:54, 198, and 279. Proto-Turkic **ām-* (vb.) to love, to desire, to rejoice; to be quiet; (adj.) beloved; gentle, quiet’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *amul*, *amīl* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amraq* ‘beloved’, *amīr-*, *amran-* ‘to love, to desire, to rejoice’, *amrīl-* ‘to be quiet’; Karakhanide Turkic *amul* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amraq* ‘beloved’, *amīrt-* ‘to calm’, *amrīl-* ‘to be quiet’; Turkish (dial.) *imīl*, *umul* ‘gentle, quiet’; Uighur *amraq* ‘beloved’; Kirghiz *amīz* ‘honor’; Sary-Uighur *amīr* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amīra-* ‘to be quiet’; Khakas *amīr* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amīra-* ‘to be quiet’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *amīr* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amīra-* ‘to be quiet’; Tuva *amīr* ‘gentle, quiet’, *amīra-* ‘to be quiet’, *amīraq* ‘politeness’; Chuvash *ɔ^wmɔ^wr* ‘quiet and gray (weather)’; Yakut *amarax*, *amīrax* ‘compassionate’; Dolgan *amarak* ‘compassionate’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:298—299 **āmV* ‘to be quiet, to sleep’.
- E. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **əmtənəv-* ‘to sleep well’ > Chukchi *emtənew-* ‘to have a good sleep’; Koryak *emtənev-* ‘to have a good sleep’. Fortescue 2005:34.

Buck 1949:4.61 sleep (vb.; sb.); 12.13 sit; 12.19 quiet (adj.).

731. Proto-Nostratic root *han- (~ *hən-):

(vb.) *han- ‘to show favor; to be gracious, affectionate, tender’;

(n.) *han-a ‘affection, tenderness, favor, graciousness’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *han- ‘to show favor; to be gracious, affectionate, tender’: Proto-Semitic *han-an- ‘to show favor; to be gracious, affectionate, tender’ > Hebrew *hānan* [חָנַן] ‘to show favor, to be gracious’, *hēn* [חֵן] ‘favor, grace, charm’; Aramaic *hənan* ‘to be gracious’; Phoenician *hnn* ‘to show favor’; Ugaritic *hnn* ‘to be gracious, to show favor’; Akkadian *enēnu* ‘to seek grace’; Eblaite *en-na* ‘to be gracious’, *en-ut* ‘grace’; Arabic *hanna* ‘to feel tenderness, affection, sympathy; to pity; to feel compassion (for)’, *hanna* ‘sympathy, pity, compassion, commiseration’, *hanān* ‘sympathy, love, affection, tenderness; commiseration, compassion, pity’. Klein 1987:223 and 224—225; Murtonen 1989:199; Zammit 2002:150.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *ha-ne/i-* ‘to love’. Dravidian: Tamil *anpu* ‘love, attachment, friendship, benevolence, devotion, piety’, *anpan* ‘friend, husband, lover, devotee’, (?) *aṇi* ‘love’, *āṇam* ‘friendship, love, affection’, *āṇu* ‘attachment, affection’; Malayalam *anpu*, *ampu* ‘love, affection, trust, devotion’, *anpan* ‘lover, friend, husband’, *anpuka* ‘to be fond of, connected with’; Kannaḍa *anpu*, *anpita* ‘relationship, friendship’, *ammu* ‘(vb.) to be willing, to wish, to desire; (n.) desire’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:31, no. 330.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **hhen-s-* [/**hhan-s-*]/**hḥs-* ‘to be gracious, to show favor’: (?) Greek ἀπ-ηνής ‘harsh, rough, hard, unfriendly (of persons)’, προσ-ηνής ‘gentle, kind, soft’; Gothic *anst* ‘joy, thanks, favor, grace’, *ansteigs* ‘gracious’; Old Icelandic *ást* ‘affection, love’, *unna* (< **unn-* < **unz-* < **hḥs-*) ‘to love; not to (be)grudge, to grant, to allow, to bestow’; Old English *ēst* (< **ans-ti-*) ‘favor, grace, bravery’, *unnan* ‘to grant; not to (be)grudge, to wish (a person to have something)’, *unna*, *unne* ‘favor, approval, permission, consent’; Old Frisian *enst* ‘favor’; Old Saxon *anst* ‘favor’; Old High German *anst* ‘joy, gratitude, favor’, *unnan*, *g(i)unnan* ‘not to (be)grudge, to allow, to grant, to permit’ (New High German *gönnen*), *gunt* ‘favor’, *abunst* ‘envy’; Middle High German *ensten* ‘to be kind’. Pokorny 1959:47 **ans-* ‘well-inclined’; Walde 1927—1932.I:68 **ans-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:198 (?) **h₄ens-* ‘to be gracious to, to show favor’; Boisacq 1950:69; Frisk 1970—1973.I:121; Hofmann 1966:20; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:97; Beekes 2010.I:116 and II:1239; Kroonen 2013:30 Proto-Germanic **ansti-* ‘love, favor’; Orël 2003:21 Proto-Germanic **anstiz*, 21 **anstjanan*, 435 **unnanan*; **unnum* (< **unz-nu-m*); Feist 1939:53; Lehmann 1986:39; De Vries 1977:16 and 635; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:265 and 277; Kluge—Seebold 1989:272 and 282.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *anurə-* ‘to love, to like’. Nikolaeva 2006: 111.

Buck 1949:16.27 love (sb.; vb.); 16.35 pity (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:533, no. 386. Different (false) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2594, **χinV* ‘to be happy/glad, to love’.

732. Proto-Nostratic root **han-* (~ **hən-*):

(vb.) **han-* ‘to bend, to curve, to twist’;

(n.) **han-a* ‘bend, curve, twist’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **han-* ‘to bend, to curve, to twist’: Proto-Semitic **han-aw/y-* ‘to bend, to curve, to twist; to bend down’ > Hebrew *hānāh* [חָנָה] ‘to decline, to bend down’; Aramaic *hənā* ‘to bend, to incline toward, to aim at, to reach’; Arabic *hanā* ‘to bend, to curve, to twist, to turn; to lean, to incline’; Ḥarsūsi *henō* ‘to bend’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hāni* ‘to bend, to twist’; Mehri *hənū* ‘to bend’. Klein 1987:223—224. Proto-Semitic **han-ak-* ‘to bend, to curve, to twist; to lean, to incline’ > Akkadian *unḫu* (Old Akkadian *anḫum* ?) ‘ring’; Geez / Ethiopic *hanḫaḫa* [አንቀቀ] ‘to be inclined, to slip, to slide, to be prone (to any feelings), to be in anxiety, to be fearful, to fear, to be pampered, to be capricious, to desire something that is beyond one’s capacity’, *hanḫāḫe* [አንቀቁ] ‘inclination, being prone to, being pampered, being capricious; anxiety, fear’; Tigrinya *hanḫäkä* ‘to be spoiled, pampered’; Tigre *hanḫaḫa* ‘to live in luxury’. Leslau 1987:237. Proto-Semitic **han-aš-* ‘to bend, to twist’ > Akkadian *enēšu* ‘to become weak, impoverished, shaky, dilapidated’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hónús* ‘to bend, to twist’, *hénās* ‘to be bent, twisted’. Egyptian *hnk* ‘to tie up’ (formerly read *hnzk*), *hnkt* ‘braided lock of hair’ (formerly read *hnzkt*), *hnkyt* ‘she who has braided hair’ (formerly read *hnzkyt*). Hannig 1995:542; Faulkner 1962:173; Erman—Grapow 1921:111 and 1926—1963.3:116; Gardiner 1957:581. Berber: Tuareg *ahənnaka* ‘a type of cage made of flexible rods covered with veils and placed on a woman’s saddle in order to protect her from the sun’; Wargla *ahənka* ‘frame of a tent or pavilion’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hen-k^h-* [**h₁han-k^h-*]/**h₁hon-k^h-* ‘to bend, to curve’: Sanskrit *āñcati* ‘to bend, to curve’, *āñka-h* ‘curve, bend’; Pāli *añka-* ‘hook, mark, brand, hip’; Greek ἀγκών ‘the bend of the arm, elbow’, ἄγκος ‘a bend’, hence ‘a mountain glen, a dell, valley’, ἀγκύλη ‘a loop or noose in a cord; the thong of a javelin (by which it was hurled); a bow-string’, ἀγκύλος ‘crooked, curved’, ὄγκος ‘a barb’; Latin *ancus* ‘a person with a crook elbow’, *uncus* ‘a hook’. Rix 1998a:239 **h₂enk-* ‘to bend’; Pokorny 1959:45—47 **ank-* ‘to bend’; Walde 1927—1932.I:60—62 **ank-*; Mann 1984—1987:25 **ankətos*; **anktos*, *-ā* ‘bend, bent’, 25 **ankō*, *-iō* ‘to bend, to cramp’, 25—26 **ankos*, *-ā*, *-ōn* ‘bend, cramp; strait; constraint, end, death’, 26 **ankulos* (**ankəlos*, **anklos*) ‘bent, bend, hook’; Watkins 1985:3 **ank-* (also **ang-*) and 2000:4 **ank-* (also **ang-*) ‘to bend’ (oldest forms **ǵ₂enk-*, **ǵ₂eng-*, colored to **ǵ₂ank-*, **ǵ₂ang-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:61—62 **h₂enk-* ~ **h₂eng-* ‘to bend an object so that it stays bent’;

Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:19 and I:24; Boisacq 1950:7 **aŋq-*, **oŋq-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:10—12 **āŋq-eti*; Hofmann 1966:2 **ank-*, **onk-*; **ang-*; Beekes 2010.I:12—13 **h₂enk-* and II:1045 **h₂onk-o-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:10—11 **ank-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:46 and II:816; Ernout—Meillet 1979:32 and 746; De Vaan 2008:41 **h₂(e)nk-o-* and 640 **h₂onk-o-*. Proto-Indo-European **h₂hen-k-* [**h₂han-k-*] ‘to bend, to curve’: Sanskrit *āṅga-m* ‘limb’, (f.) *aṅgūri-h*, *aṅgūli-h*, *aṅgulī* ‘finger, toe’; Pāli *aṅga-* ‘limb’, (f.) *aṅgulī-* ‘finger’; Latin *angulus* ‘corner, angle’; Old English *anclēow* ‘ankle’; Old High German *anchal*, *enchil* ‘ankle’ (New High German *Enkel*). Pokorny 1959:45—47 **ang-* ‘to bend’; Walde 1927—1932.I:60—62 **ang-*; Mann 1984—1987:22—23 **ang-* ‘tapering; wedge, angle, cleft’; Watkins 1985:3 **ank-* (also **ang-*) and 2000:4 **ank-* (also **ang-*) ‘to bend’ (oldest forms **ǵ₂enk-*, **ǵ₂eng-*, colored to **ǵ₂ank-*, **ǵ₂ang-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:21 and I:22; Mallory—Adams 1997:61—62 **h₂enk-* ~ **h₂eng-* ‘to bend an object so that it stays bent’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:48—49 **ang-*; **aŋq-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:33; De Vaan 2008:42—43; Kroonen 2013:29 Proto-Germanic **ankula-* ‘ankle’; Orël 2003:20 Proto-Germanic **ankalaz* ~ **ank(u)lōn*; Onions 1966:38 **aŋk-*, **aŋg-*; Skeat 1898:24; Klein 1971:37; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:166; Kluge—Seebold 1989:179.

Buck 1949:4.34 finger; 9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 16.33 anxiety. Möller 1911:12; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:538—539, no. 395; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2599, **χ|q[a]ŋ[V]KV* (or **χ|q[a]ŋKV* ?) ‘to bend’.

733. Proto-Nostratic root **han-* (~ **hən-*):

Extended form:

(vb.) **han-V-g-* ‘to tie tightly, to constrict, to make narrow; to choke, to strangle’;

(n.) **han-g-a* ‘throat’; (adj.) ‘narrow, constricted’

- A. Proto-Afrasian (vb.) **hanVg-* ‘to tie tightly, to constrict, to make narrow’, (n.) **hang-* ‘throat, larynx’: Proto-Semitic **hang-ar-* ‘throat, larynx’ > Arabic *haṅğara* ‘larynx, throat’, *haṅğara* ‘to slaughter (by cutting the throat)’, *ḥuṅğūr* ‘throat, gullet’; Šheri / Jibbāli *haṅğórót* ‘hollow under the Adam’s apple’; Tigrinya *tāhaṅğātā* ‘to tie round the neck and shoulders’; Harari *haṅğūr* ‘throat, food’ (this may be a loan from Arabic), *haṅğūrām* ‘voracious, big eater’; Gurage (Selti) *angōro*, (Wolane) *angoro*, (Zway) *angāro* ‘throat’, *angorram* ‘big eater, voracious’; Amharic *angūt* ‘neck’. Appleyard 1977:11; Leslau 1963:84 and 1979:62; Zammit 2002:149—150; Militarev 2012:77 Proto-Semitic **hVng(-ar)-*. Egyptian *hngg* ‘throat, gullet’. Hannig 1995:543; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.3:121. Berber: Tuareg *aŋγ* ‘palate’; Ghadames *iŋəγ* ‘palate’; Tamazight *aŋəγ* ‘palate’; Riff

anəγ ‘palate’; Kabyle *anəγ*, *inəγ* ‘palate’ [Orël—Stolbova 1995:273, no. 1234, **hankar-* ‘throat’; M. Cohen 1947:102, nos. 120 and 121.]

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *aṇaṅku* (*aṇaṅki-*) ‘(vb.) to suffer, to be distressed, to be slain; to afflict; (n.) pain, affliction, killing’, *aṇuṅku* (*aṇuṅki-*) ‘to suffer pain, to be in distress, to fade, to droop’, *aṇukku* (*aṇukki-*) ‘to distress, to cause to suffer pain’, *aṇukkam* ‘suffering, distress, pain, weakness’; Kannada *aṇaku* ‘to press into a narrower compass, to subdue, to control’, *aṇacu* ‘to depress, to humble’, *aṇaka* ‘closeness, compactness, firmness, state of being in good repair’, *aṇagu* ‘to hide, to disappear, to be humbled, to couch’, *aṇakuve* ‘humbleness, modesty’, *aṇuṅku* ‘to depress, to humble, to abate, to ruin, to destroy’, *aṇuṅgu* ‘to be depressed’; Tuḷu *aṇaka* ‘narrowness, closeness; narrow, small’; Telugu *aṇāgu* ‘to yield, to submit, to be humbled’, *aṇācu* ‘to suppress, to humble, to subject’, *aṇākuva* ‘humility, modesty, submissiveness’; Gondi *ancānā* ‘to press’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:12, no. 112. Kannada *aṅgaḷa*, *aṅgaḷu*, *aṅguḷa*, *aṅguḷi*, *aṅguḷe* ‘palate’; Telugu *aṅgīli* ‘palate’; Naiki (of Chanda) *aṅgul*, *aṅgur(u)* ‘tongue’; Malto *naqlu* ‘uvula’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:5, no. 33.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₂hengh-* [**h₂hangh-*] ‘(vb.) to tie tightly, to constrict; to choke, to strangle; (adj.) narrow, constricted’: Sanskrit *aṁhú-h* ‘narrow’; Greek ἄγγω ‘to compress, to press tight; to strangle’; Latin *angō* ‘to press tightly; to strangle, to throttle; to hurt, to distress’, *angor* ‘mental distress, anguish, trouble’; Gothic *aggwus* ‘narrow’; Old Icelandic *öng* ‘narrow’; Old English *enge* ‘narrow; causing anxiety, painful, severe’; Old Saxon *engi* ‘narrow’; Dutch *eng* ‘narrow’; Old High German *angi*, *engi* ‘narrow’ (New High German *eng* ‘narrow, cramped, tight, confined’); Old Church Slavonic *ozb-kb* ‘narrow’; Lithuanian *añkštas* ‘narrow, cramped, tight’. Reduplication in Hittite *ham(m)a(n)k-*, *ham(m)enk-*, *hami(n)k-* ‘to tie’ (as in Tamil *aṇaṅku*, cited above) (< **h₂ham-angh-* < **h₂han-angh-* through dissimilation). Perhaps also Greek ἄμφοιν ‘neck, throat’ (if from **āγγF-ήν*). Rix 1998a:236 **h₂emǵh-* ‘to tie up’ → ‘to constrict’; Pokorny 1959:42—43 **anǵh-* ‘(adj.) narrow; (vb.) to tie up, to constrict’; Walde 1927—1932. I:62—63 **anǵh-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:781 **Hanǵ[h]-u-* and 1995.I:683 **Hanǵh-u-* ‘narrow’; Watkins 1985:2 **angh-* and 2000:4 **angh-* ‘tight, painfully restricted, painful’; Mann 1984—1987:23 **anghō*, *-jō* ‘to press, to squeeze, to strain, to confine’, 24 **anǵh-*, 24 **anǵhit-* ‘constraint’, 24 **anǵhō*, *-jō* ‘to cramp, to straighten, to force’, 24 **anǵuh₂stos*, *-is* ‘narrow, constrained; anxious; strain, anguish’, 24—25 **anǵuh₂nā* ‘strait, stricture’, 25 **anǵuh₂is*, **anǵhus* ‘narrow, thin, close, tight’, 25 **anǵuhō* ‘to narrow, to squeeze’; Mallory—Adams 1997:391 **h_aenǵhus* ‘narrow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:14; Boisacq 1950:10—11 **añǵh-*; Hofmann 1966:3 **anǵh-* and 17; Frisk 1970—1973.I:17—18 and I:98 (according to Schulze, Greek ἄμφοιν < **āγγF-ήν*); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:16—17 and I:80; Beekes 2010.I:18 **h₂emǵh-*; Kloekhorst 2008b: 278—279 **h₂emǵh-*; Puhvel 1984— .3:64—68 **A₁em-ǵh-*; Tischler

1977— .1:142—143; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:47 **anġh-*; De Vaan 2008:42 **h₂emġ^h-e/o-* ‘to tie, to tighten’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:33; Orël 2003:19 Proto-Germanic **anġuz* ~ **anġwjaz*, 20 **anġwjanan*; Kroonen 2013:28 Proto-Germanic **angwu-* ‘narrow’ (< **h₂emġ^h-u-*); Feist 1939:13—14 **aŋġh-*; Lehmann 1986:9—10 **anġh-*; De Vries 1977:687; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:165—166; Kluge—Seebold 1989:178 **anġh-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:16 **h₂emġ^h-ú-*; Derksen 2008:338 **h₂emġ^h-u-* and 2015:56 **h₂emġ^h-u-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:11; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:301—303 **h₂emġ^h-*.

- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **anġe* ‘painfully constricted’ > (?) Estonian *angu-* ‘to curdle, to coagulate, to become stiff’; (?) Finnish *ankea* ‘dismal, dreary, cheerless’; Hungarian *aggódás* ‘anxiety, agonizing fear’, *aggód-* ‘to be anxious, to worry, to feel uneasy’, *aggodalom* ‘anxiety, concern, anguish, fear, uneasiness, misgiving, worry’. Rédei 1986—1988:12 **anġe* (according to Rédei, the Balto-Finnic forms may be loans from Germanic).

Buck 1949:4.29 throat; 12.62 narrow. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:528—529, no. 379; Hakola 2000:21, no. 31; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2591, **ġam[V]ġé* ‘tight, narrow; to constrain’ and, no. 2601, **XunġV* ‘throat’.

734. Proto-Nostratic root **h₂an-* (~ **h₂an-*):

- (vb.) **h₂an-* ‘to dive into water (bird)’;
(n.) **h₂an-a* ‘an aquatic bird’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *hn* ‘bird’, *hnt* ‘pelican’, *hnti* ‘kingfisher’. Hannig 1995:536 and 537; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.3:104 and 105.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₂henH-t₂i-s* [**h₂hanH-t₂i-s*]/[**h₂h₂enH-t₂i-s*] ‘duck’: Sanskrit *āti-h* (f. *ātī*) ‘an aquatic bird’; Pāli *āta-* ‘a particular kind of bird’; Oriya *āri* ‘a web-footed bird’; Gawar-Bati *ārī* ‘*Turdus ginginianus*’, *ārelī* ‘duck’; Waigali *ārī* ‘duck’; Greek (Ionic) *νησσα*, (Attic) *νηττα* (< **vātiα*) ‘a duck’; Latin *anas* ‘a duck’; Old Icelandic *önd* ‘duck’; Swedish *and* ‘duck’; Old English *æned*, *ened* ‘drake, duck’; Old Saxon *anad* ‘duck’; Dutch *eend* ‘duck’; Old High German *enit*, *anut* ‘duck’ (New High German *Ente*); Lithuanian *ántis* ‘duck’; Old Prussian *antis* ‘duck’; Old Russian *uty* (< **ot₂y*) (gen. *ut₂ve*) ‘duck’ (Modern Russian *útka* [утка]). Pokorny 1959:41—42 **anət-* ‘duck’; Walde 1927—1932.I:60 **anəti-*, **ənəti-*; Mann 1984—1987:22 **anətis* ‘duck’; Watkins 2000:4 **anət-* ‘duck’ (oldest form **ə₂enə₂t-* colored to **ə₂anə₂t-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:171 **h₂an₂ti-*, **h₂en₂ti-* ‘duck’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:72—73 **h₂an₂-a*; Boisacq 1950:670; Frisk 1970—1973.II:317—318; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:752—753 **h₂an₂t-*; Hofmann 1966:218 **nātīa*; Beekes 1969:197 **h₂an₂ti-* and 2010.I:1018—1019 **h₂en₂t-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:44; Ernout—Meillet 1979:31 **anət-*; Lindsay 1894:274 Greek *νησσα* (< **vāt-yα*); De Vaan 2008:41; Kroonen 2013:26 Proto-

Germanic **anad-* ‘duck’; Orël 2003:21 Proto-Germanic **anudiz* ~ **anidiz*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:167; Kluge—Seebold 1989:179—180 **anət-*; De Vries 1977:687 Proto-Norse **anudi-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:11—12; Smoczyński 2007.1:17—18; Derksen 2008:387 **h₂enh₂-t-* and 2015:57 **h₂enh₂-t-*.

- C. Proto-Altaic **āṇatV* ‘a kind of duck’: Proto-Tungus **andi* ‘scoter, a kind of duck’ > Evenki *anni*, *andi*, *ende* ‘scoter, a kind of duck’; Negidal *ani* ‘scoter, a kind of duck’; Nanay / Gold *āni*, *āṅgi* ‘diver’. Proto-Mongolian **aṅgir* ‘scoter’ > Written Mongolian *aṅgir* ‘a kind of yellow duck’; Khalkha *aṅgir* ‘scoter’; Buriat *aṅgir* ‘scoter’; Kalmyk *āṅgr* ‘scoter’; (?) Ordos *aṅgir* ‘yellow’. Proto-Turkic **Āṅ(k)ūt* ‘wild duck’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *aṅit* ‘wild duck’; Karakhanide Turkic *aṅit* ‘wild duck’; Turkish *aṅit*, *aṅut* ‘the Ruddy Shelduck’; Azerbaijani *aṅut-bogaz* ‘long-necked duck’; Turkmenian *aṅk* ‘red duck’; Uzbek *aṅirt* ‘red duck’; Karaim *aṅit*, *ankit* ‘ostrich, vulture, dragon’; Sary-Uighur *aṅit* ‘wild duck’; Khakas *āt* ‘wild duck’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:304—305 **āṇatV* ‘a kind of duck’.
- D. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **haṅ* ‘(hazel) grouse’: Amur *haṅ* ‘hazel grouse’; South Sakhalin *haṅ* ‘(hazel) grouse’. Fortescue 2016:70.
- E. Proto-Eskimo **aṅtur-* (or **aṅlur-*) ‘to dive into water’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *aṅtur-* ‘to dive into water (especially bird)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *aṅtur-* ‘to dive, to be submerged, to be baptized’; Central Siberian Yupik *aṅtur-* ‘to dive, to submerge’; Sirenik *aṅtər-* ‘to dive’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aṅluq-* ‘to dive into water (bird)’; North Alaskan Inuit *aṅluq-* ‘to dive into water’; Western Canadian Inuit *aṅluq-* ‘to dive into water’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *allu(q)-* ‘to dive into water (bird)’; Greenlandic Inuit *aṅtur-* ‘to dive into water (bird)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:33.

Buck 1949:3.57 duck. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 809, **Hañ[g]V(tV)* (or **Haṅ[g]V(tV)*?) ‘duck’; Greenberg 2002:83, no. 182.

735. Proto-Nostratic root **hap^h-* (~ **həp^h-*):

(vb.) **hap^h-* ‘to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)’;

(n.) **hap^h-a* ‘that which has been gathered or collected: plenty, fullness, abundance, wealth, possessions, property; embrace, armful, handful’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hap-* ‘to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)’: Proto-Semitic **hap-at-* ‘to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)’ > Hebrew *ḥāpaś* [חָפַס] ‘to search, to search out, to search for’; Aramaic *ḥəpaś* ‘to dig; to seek’; Ugaritic *ḥpšt* ‘straw picker’; Arabic *ḥafaśa* ‘to gather, to grasp, to assemble’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥefōś* ‘to collect’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḥfōś* ‘to collect (a lot of things)’; Mehri *ḥəfūs* ‘to collect (a lot of things)’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥafaśa* [ሐፈሠ] ‘to rake up, to sweep up, to scatter as chaff, to carry away (especially an amount held in two hands), to take a

handful'; Tigrinya *ħafäsä*, *ħafäšä* 'to scoop up'; Tigre *ħafsa* 'to scrape corn together'; Harari *ħafäsa* 'to take something with one or two hands or with an instrument, to draw water from a container with a small cup'; Argobba *ħaffäsa* 'to take a large quantity of grain with one or two hands'; Amharic *affäsä* 'to take a fistful of grain with two hands, to scoop up dry grainy material with the hand'; Gurage *afäsä* 'to scoop up a large quantity of grain or flour or earth with both hands'. Klein 1987:228; Leslau 1963:80, 1979:22, and 1987:227; Murtonen 1989:192. Proto-Semitic **ħap-an-* 'to take a handful' > Hebrew *ħōḇen* [חֹבֵן] 'hollow of the hand, handful'; Aramaic *ħūḇnā* 'hollow of the hand, handful'; Akkadian *upnu* 'handful'; Arabic *ħafana* 'to scoop up with both hands; to give little', *ħafna* 'handful'; Šheri / Jibbāli *ħfun* 'to scoop (rice, etc.) in the cupped hands'; Mehri *ħafūn* 'to scoop up (rice, etc.) in the cupped hands'; Geez / Ethiopic *ħafana* [ሐፈኑ] 'to take earth or grain with two hands cupped together'; Tigre *ħafən* 'both hands full', *ħaffäna* 'to take with both hands'; Tigrinya *ħafni* 'handful'; Amharic *əffəññ* 'handful'. Murtonen 1989:191; Klein 1987:227; Leslau 1987:227. Arabic *ħafaša* 'to collect, to gather'. Arabic *ħafala* 'to gather, to assemble, to congregate; to flow copiously; to be replete, to teem', *ħāfil* 'full, filled, replete, abundant, copious', *ħufūl* 'plenty, fullness, abundance, wealth'. Note: Two separate stems have fallen together in Arabic: (A) Proto-Semitic **ħap-al-* 'to run, to flow' and (B) Proto-Semitic **ħap-al-* 'to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)'. Egyptian *ħpt* 'to embrace', *ħpt* 'armful'; Coptic *ħpot* [ⲬⲡⲟⲤ] 'fathom'. Hannig 1995:525; Faulkner 1962:168; Gardiner 1957:581; Erman—Grapow 1921:107 and 1926—1963.3:71—72; Černý 1976:290; Vycichl 1983:307. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ħap-* 'to clasp, to hold with the arms' > Iraqw (**ħapa* 'arm' >) *ħampa* 'wing'; Dahalo *ħap-* 'to snatch'. Ehret 1980:299. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:274, no. 1238, **ħapat-* 'arm, wing'.] Ehret 1995:374, no. 754, **ħap-* 'to take hold of'.

- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *appu*, *arpu* 'to embrace', *appu*, *alpu*, *alke*, *appuge* 'an embrace', *appay(i)su* 'to embrace, to seize eagerly'; Tuḷu *appiyuni* 'to embrace, to clasp', *appukai*, *appai* 'folding the arms on the breast'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:16, no. 158.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ħhep^h-* [**ħhap^h-*]/**ħhop^h-* 'to gather, to collect; to gather wealth': Avestan *afnah-vant-* 'rich in possessions'; Sanskrit *āpnas-* 'possession, property'; Latin *Ops* 'the goddess of abundance', *opulens* (< **open-ont-*) 'rich, wealthy', *opēs* 'resources, means, wealth'; Hittite *ħappin-*, *ħappinant-* 'rich'; Luwian *ħappinatt-* 'wealth'. Pokorny 1959:780 **op-* 'to work'; Walde 1927—1932.I:175—176 **op-*; Watkins 1985:46 **op-* and 2000:60 **op-* 'to work, to produce in abundance' (oldest form **₂ep-*, colored to **₂op-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:637 **h₂ó/ép(e)n-* 'goods, wealth'; Mann 1984—1987:880—881 **op-* 'yield, produce', 882 **oplos* (**opulos*) 'power, force, abundance', 882 **opnos*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:746 **Hop^h-r/n-* and 1995.I:649—650 **Hop^h-r/n-* 'goods,

wealth, possessions; trade'; Puhvel 1984— .3:124—125 **H₁op-en-o-(nt-)* and 3:125—127; Kloekhorst 2008b:296—297 **h₃ep-en-o-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:40; Ernout—Meillet 1979:463—464; De Vaan 2008:431 **h₃e/op-(i-)* 'ability, force'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:215—216. Note: Greek ἄφενος 'wealth' is most likely a borrowing, though the source is uncertain (cf. Frisk 1970—1973.I:195; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:146).

- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *apte-* 'to collect, to gather', *aptiiče* 'gatherer'. Nikolaeva 2006:111.

Buck 1949:4.31 arm; 12.21 collect, gather. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:535—536, no. 391.

736. Proto-Nostratic root **hap^h-* (~ **həp^h-*):

(vb.) **hap^h-* 'to move quickly, to run, to flow';

(n.) **hap^h-a* '(flowing or running) water, river, stream, current'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hap-* 'to move quickly, to run, to flow': Semitic: Arabic *hafada* 'to be active and nimble in one's work; to speed; to urge to haste, to hasten', *hafad* 'a pace of the horse'. Arabic *hafala* 'to gather, to assemble, to congregate; to flow copiously; to be replete, to teem', *hāfil* 'full, filled, replete, abundant, copious', *hufūl* 'plenty, fullness, abundance, wealth'. Note: Two separate stems have fallen together in Arabic: (A) Proto-Semitic **hap-al-* 'to move quickly, to run, to flow' and (B) Proto-Semitic **hap-al-* 'to take, gather, or collect (with the hands or arms)'. Egyptian *hp* 'to hasten, to hurry, to run', *hpt* 'running', *hpwty* 'runner'; (?) (Old Kingdom) *hp* 'Nile' (Middle Kingdom *h'py*). Hannig 1995:524; Faulkner 1962:168; Erman—Grapow 1921:107 and 1926—1963.3:68.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hep^h-* [**h₁hap^h-*] 'water, stream': Hittite (dat. sg.) *ha-pa-a* 'stream', (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ha-pa-a-iz-zi* 'to make wet, to moisten' (?); Palaic (nom. sg.) *ha-a-ap-na-aš* 'river, stream'; Luwian (nom. sg.) *ha-a-pi-iš* 'river', **hapā(i)-* 'to irrigate, to water', (acc. sg.) *ha-pa-a-ti-in* 'irrigated land', (acc. pl.) *ha-a-pi-in-ni-in-za* 'little river'; Sanskrit *āpas-* 'water'; Avestan *āfš* 'stream, current'; Old Irish *ab*, *abann* 'river'; Latin *amnis* (< **ab-ni-s*) 'river, stream'; Old Prussian *ape* 'river, stream'; Tocharian B *āp* 'water, river, stream'. Pokorny 1959:51—52 **āp-* 'water'; Walde 1927—1932.I:46—47 **āp-*; Mann 1984—1987:1 **abhmn-*, **abhnis* 'river, water'; Watkins 1985:3 **ap-* and 2000:4 **ap-* 'water' (oldest form **₂ep-*, colored to **₂ap-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:158 **H₂ap^h-* and 1995.I:136 **H₂ap^h-* 'water, river, (mountain) stream', I:186, I:193, I:238, I:578, I:579, I:760, I:763, I:814; Mallory—Adams 1997:486 **h₂eb(h)-* 'river'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:74—75 **āp-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:294—295; Puhvel 1984— .3:114—115 **A₁ebh-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:28—29; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:40 **āp-*; De Vaan 2008:39; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:166 **āp-*; Adams 1997:44 **H₂ēp-*

~ **H*₂*ep*-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:306—307 **h*₂*ep*-. Note: There may have been two variants of this stem in Proto-Indo-European: (A) **h**hep*^h- [**h**hap*^h-] and (B) **h**heb*^h- [**h**hab*^h-].

C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *apaj*- ‘to float’. Nikolaeva 2006:111.

Buck 1949:1.36 river, stream, brook; 10.32 flow (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1995:536—537, no. 392; Greenberg 2002:179, no. 413, **ape* ‘water’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1876, **qapV* ‘to stream, to flow’.

737. Proto-Nostratic root **har*- (~ **hər*-):

(vb.) **har*- ‘to prepare, to make ready, to put together’;

(n.) **har-a* ‘way, manner, method’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *hr* ‘to prepare, to make ready’. Hannig 1995:555; Faulkner 1962:176; Erman—Grapow 1921:114 and 1926—1963.3:146—147; Gardiner 1957:582.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *aṛam* ‘moral or religious duty, virtue, dharma’, *aṛavaṇ* ‘one who is virtuous, god, Buddha, ascetic, etc.’, *aṛavi* ‘virtue, that which is holy, female ascetic’, *aṛaviya* ‘virtuous’, *aṛaviyāṇ* ‘virtuous man’, *aṛaṇ* ‘sacrificer’; Malayalam *aṛam* ‘law, dharma’; Kannaḍa *aṛa*, *aṛu* ‘virtue, charity, alms, law, dharma’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:29, no. 311. Tamil *āṛu* ‘way, road, path, means, manner, method’; Malayalam *āṛu* ‘way, manner’; Kota *-a-r* in: *o-yṇ-a-r* ‘path’, *a-l-a-r* ‘way, distance’; Toda *o-ṛ* ‘way, entrance into thicket’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:37—38, no. 405.

C. Proto-Indo-European **h**her*- [**h**har*-]/**h**hr*- ‘to prepare, to make ready, to put together’: Avestan *arānte* ‘to arrange, to settle, to establish, to fix’; Sanskrit *ṛtá-h* ‘right, true’, *ṛtú-h* ‘fixed time, order, rule’, *ṛtí-h* ‘way, manner’, *arpáyati* ‘to put into, to fix’, *arámati-h* ‘readiness, proper thinking’, *áram* ‘readily, enough’; Armenian *aṛnem* ‘to make’; Greek ἀραρίσκω ‘to join together, to fashion, to fix, to fit together, to construct, to prepare, to contrive, to fit, to equip, to make fitting or pleasing’; Latin *ars*, *-tis* ‘way, method, skill, profession, art, occupation’; Tocharian A *ārwar* ‘ready, prepared’. Rix 1998a:240—241 **h*₂*er*- ‘to be joined or fit together’; Pokorny 1959:55—61 **ar*- ‘to fix, to suit’; Walde 1927—1932.I:69—76 **ar*-; Mann 1984—1987:31 **ar*- ‘to join, to fit’, 32 **ār*- ‘to join, to tie’, 36 **artos*, *-ios*, *-us* ‘joined; adjoining; join’, 1106 **rtos*, *-os*, *-us* ‘right, proper; rightness, fitness’; Watkins 1985:3 **ar*- (also **arə*-) and 2000:5 **ar*- ‘to fit together’ (oldest form **ar*₂-); Mallory—Adams 1997:362 **h*₄*er*- ‘to prepare, to make ready, to put together’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:48 **ar*-, I:51 **ar*-, I:122 **ar*-, and I:123 **ar*-; Hofmann 1966:22 **ar*-; Beekes 2010.I:123 **h*₂*er*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:101—102; Boisacq 1950:73; Frisk 1970—1973.I:128—129; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:70 **ar*-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:48—49; De Vaan 2008:55 **h*₂*r-ti*-; Adams 1999:53

- **h_aer-* ‘to fit together’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:169 **ar-* ‘to fit together’.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ara(ń)ńə-* ‘light; easy, handy; frisky, dashing, adroit’, *ara* ‘adroitness’, *arajrəŋo:-* ‘energetic, laborious’, (Northern / Tundra) *arińńe-* ‘light; easy, handy; frisky, dashing, adroit’. Nikolaeva 2006:112.
- E. Proto-Altaic **ārV-* ‘(vb.) to do, to make; (n.) way, method’: Proto-Tungus **ar-* ‘(vb.) to make, to work, to construct; to come to one’s senses; to cause fear (of an evil ghost), to appear to one’s imagination; (n.) shape, form; evil spirit’ > Evenki *arit-* ‘to cause fear (of an evil ghost), to appear to one’s imagination’, *arū-* ‘to come to one’s senses’, *arinka* ‘evil spirit’; Lamut / Even *ari-*, *ar-* ‘to cause fear (of an evil ghost), to appear to one’s imagination’, *ar-* ‘to come to one’s senses’, *ariŋqɤ* ‘evil spirit’; Negidal *ayī* ‘evil spirit’; Manchu *ara-* ‘to do, to make’, *arbun* ‘form, shape, image’, *ari* ‘evil spirit’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *arəvən*, *arəvun* ‘appearance, form’; Nanay / Gold *ari* ‘evil spirit’. Proto-Mongolian **arga* ‘way, method’ > Written Mongolian *arya* ‘means, method; way out, possibility’; Khalkha *arga* ‘way, method’; Buriat *arga* ‘way, method’; Kalmyk *argə* ‘way, method’; Ordos *arga* ‘way, method’; Dagur *arga* ‘way, method’; Shira-Yughur *arag* ‘way, method’; Monguor *arga* ‘way, method’. Poppe 1955:58. Proto-Turkic **ar-* ‘to make magic, to cast spells; to deceive’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur, Orkhon) *ar-* ‘to deceive’, *arviš* ‘magic’; Karakhanide Turkic *ar-*, *arva-* ‘to make magic, to cast spells’; Turkish (dial.) *arpay* ‘magic’; Turkmenian (dial.) *arvaχ* ‘evil spirit’; Uzbek *avra-* ‘to make magic, to cast spells; to deceive’; Uighur *a(r)ba-* ‘to make magic, to cast spells’; Tatar *arbi-* ‘to make magic, to cast spells’; Bashkir *arba-* ‘to make magic, to cast spells’; Kirghiz *arba-* ‘to make magic, to cast spells’; Kazakh *arba-* ‘to make magic, to cast spells’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *arba-n-* ‘to scold’; Yakut *arbā-* ‘to make magic, to cast spells’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:313—314 **ārV* ‘witchcraft, craft’.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **arənqiy-* ‘to fix or arrange’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *arənqiy-* (Kodiak also *anqiy-*) ‘to be opportune, handy’; Central Alaskan Yupik *arənqiy-* ‘to be or make satisfactory’; Central Siberian Yupik *arənqiyənəq* ‘right hand’; Sirenik *arənəqat-* ‘to force to do, to insist that someone do something’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aaqik-* ‘to store away’; North Alaskan Inuit *aatqik-* ‘to straighten or make the bed’; Western Canadian Inuit (Caribou) *aatqik-* ‘to repair’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aaqqi(k)-* ‘to cure, to manage, to repair’, *aaqqisur-* ‘to arrange, to put in order’; Greenlandic Inuit *aaqqiy-* ‘to fix, to make or get better’, *aaqqišsur-* ‘to arrange, to set right’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:42.

Sumerian *har* ‘to build, to construct, to create, to produce’.

Buck 1949:9.943 fitting, suitable; 12.22 join, unite; 14.29 ready; 16.73 right (adj., in a moral sense, vs. wrong). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:531—532, no. 383.

738. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **har-a* ‘arm, hand’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **har-* ‘arm, hand’: Central Chadic **xar-* ‘hand, arm’ > Tera *xar* ‘hand, arm’; Ga’anda *heřa* ‘arm’; Hona *hara* ‘arm’; Mofu *hár* ‘arm, hand’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:178—179. Saho—Afar **har-* ‘arm’ > Saho *har-* ‘arm’. Cushitic: Beja / Beɣawye *hár-ka, hér-ka* ‘arm’. Reinisch 1895:126. Lowland East Cushitic **hark-* ‘arm’ > Galla / Oromo *harka* ‘arm, hand’; Konso *harga* ‘arm’. Werizoid: Warazi *harko* ‘arm’; Gawwada *harko* ‘arm’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:275, no. 1242, **har-* ‘arm’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *arañ-kai* ‘palm of the hand’; Telugu *ara-cēyi* ‘palm of the hand’, *ara-kālu* ‘sole of the foot’; Kolami *ārankei, ārunkei* ‘palm of the hand’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:29, no. 310.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₂erH-mo-* [**h₂harH-mo-*]/**h₂erH-mo-* ‘shoulder, arm’: Sanskrit *irmá-h* ‘arm’; Avestan *arəmō* ‘arm’; Ossetic *ärm* ‘hollow of the hand’; Latin *armus* ‘the shoulder where it is fitted to the shoulder-blade’; Gothic *arms* ‘arm’; Old Icelandic *armr* ‘arm’; Old English *earm* ‘arm’; Old Frisian *erm* ‘arm’; Old Saxon *arm* ‘arm’; Old High German *aram, arm* ‘arm’ (New High German *Arm*); Old Prussian *irmo* ‘arm’; Old Church Slavic *ramo, ramę* ‘shoulder’; Polish *ramię* ‘shoulder, arm’. Pokorny 1959:58 **arə-mo-*, **er-mo-* ‘arm’; Walde 1927—1932.I:73 **ar(ə)men-*; Mann 1984—1987:260 **armos* (**īmos, -us*) ‘arm, shoulder, extension, branch’; Watkins 1985:3 **ar(ə)-mo-* under **ar-* ‘to fit together’ and 2000:5 **ar-mo-* under **ar-* ‘to fit together’ (oldest form **ar-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:26 **h_aérh_xmos* or **h_aerh_xmós* ‘arm, forequarter’, probably from **h_aer(h_x)-* ‘to fit, to attach’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:785, fn. 1, **arH-mo-/erH-mo-* and 1995.I:687, fn. 9, **arH-mo-/erH-mo-* ‘arm, shoulder (blade)’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:96; Ernout—Meillet 1979:47—48; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:69; De Vaan 2008:55; Orël 2003:24 Proto-Germanic **armaz* I; Kroonen 2013:35 Proto-Germanic **arma-* ‘arm’; Feist 1938:58; Lehmann 1986:43; De Vries 1977:14; Onions 1966:50; Klein 1971:50; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:92; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:30; Kluge—Seebold 1989:40 **arə-mo-*, **erə-mo-*; Derksen 2008:375 **h₂erH-mo-*, **h₂erH-men-*.
- D. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *arimə* ‘sole’, *ariməl* ‘bottom’, *arul* ‘bottom’, (Northern / Tundra) *arime* ‘sole, paw, foot’. Nikolaeva 2006:112.

Buck 1949:4.30 shoulder; 4.31 arm.

739. Proto-Nostratic root **har-* (~ **hər-*):(vb.) **har-* ‘to be superior, to be higher in status or rank, to be above or over’;(n.) **har-a* ‘nobleman, master, chief, superior’; (adj.) ‘free-born, noble’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **har-* ‘(vb.) to be superior, to be higher in status or rank, to be above or over; (adj.) free-born, noble; (n.) nobleman, master, chief, superior’: Proto-Semitic **har-ar-* ‘to be free-born, to be or become free, to set free’, **har(r)-/*hur(r)-* ‘noble, free-born’ > Hebrew *hōr* [חֹר] ‘noble’; Arabic *hurr* ‘noble, free-born; free, independent’, *harra* ‘to liberate, to free, to set free, to release, to emancipate’, *hurriya* ‘freedom, liberty, independence, unrestraint, license’; Aramaic *hərar* ‘to be or become free’; Ugaritic *hrr* ‘free’; Sabaeen *hrr* ‘freemen, free-born men’; Geez / Ethiopic *harāwi* [ሐራዊ] ‘free-born, nobleman’, *harāwənnā* [ሐራወና] ‘freedom’, *harənnat* [ሐርነት] ‘freedom’; Tigrinya *hara* ‘free’, *harənnät* ‘freedom’; Tigre *hara* ‘free; freedom’; Amharic *hurr* ‘free’; Gurage *hurru bälä* ‘to become free, to set free’. Klein 1987:211; Zammit 2002:137; Leslau 1979: 328 and 1987:240—241. Egyptian *hry* ‘chief, master, overseer, superior’, *hr* ‘on, upon, over’, *hrw* ‘upper part, top’; Coptic *hi-* [ሀ] (< **haʒyaw* < **haryaw*) ‘on, in, at’, *hray* [ሀላ] ‘upper part’. Erman—Grapow 1921:113 and 1926—1963.3:131—132, 3:133—136, 3:142—143; Hannig 1995:546, 547, and 548; Faulkner 1962:174; Gardiner 1957:582; Černý 1976:271—272 and 291—292; Vycichl 1983:285—286 and 308.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₂her-yo-* [**h₂har-yo-*] ‘a superior, a person higher in status or rank’: Sanskrit *ārya-h* ‘a respectable or honorable person, a highly-esteemed person; master, owner’, *ārya-h* ‘master, lord’; Pāli *ariya-* ‘noble, distinguished, of high birth’; Old Persian *ariya-* (perhaps *āriya-*) ‘Aryan’ (Farsi *ērān* ‘Iran’); Avestan *airya-* ‘noble’; Runic (m. nom. pl. superl.) *-arjoster* [ᚱᚱᚲᚲᚱᚱᚱᚱ] ‘noblest’ (Tune Stone, Østfold, Norway; 400 CE); Old Irish *aire* ‘nobleman, man of rank’. Pokorny 1959:67 **arjō-* ‘lord, host’; Walde 1927—1932.I:80 **arjō-*; Mann 1984—1987:34 **arjōs* ‘man, hero; manly’; Watkins 1985:3 **aryo-* ‘lord, ruler’ and 2000:5 **aryo-* self-designation of the Indo-Iranians; Mallory—Adams 1997:213 **h₂erós* ~ **h₂erjōs* ‘member of one’s own (ethnic) group, peer, freeman; (Indo-Iranian) Aryan’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:52 and I:79; Orël 2003:23 Proto-Germanic **arjaz*; Krause 1971:53 *arjōstēr*; Antonsen 1975:44—45 Proto-Germanic **/ar-jōst-a-ez/* (m. nom. pl. superl. of **/ar-ja-z/*).
- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ærəm(æ)* ‘leader’: Chukchi *erəm(e)* ‘leader’; Kerek *ajm* ‘leader’; Koryak *ajəm(a)* ‘leader’; Alyutor *arm(a)* ‘leader’; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Eastern) *armagnan*, *erm* ‘officer’, *erm klec* ‘king, emperor’, *ermein* ‘Russian’, (Southern) *arm* ‘master’. Fortescue 2005:38.

Buck 1949:19.36 noble, nobleman; 19.41 master. Möller 1911:16; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:533—534, no. 387.

740. Proto-Nostratic root **har-* (~ **hər-*):
- (vb.) **har-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’ (> ‘to plow’ in the daughter languages);
- (n.) **har-a* ‘scraping, scratching’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **har-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’ (> ‘to plow’): Proto-Semitic **har-atʷ-* ‘to plow’ > Hebrew *hāraš* [חָרַשׁ] ‘to cut in, to engrave, to plow’; Aramaic *həraθ* ‘to plow’; Phoenician *hrš* ‘to plow’; Ugaritic *hrt* ‘to plow’; Akkadian *erēšu* ‘to plow, to till’; Arabic *harata* ‘to plow, to till’; Sabaeen *hrt* ‘plowed lands’; Šheri / Jibbāli *háróṭ* ‘to grow plants with fertilizer’; Geez / Ethiopic *harasa* [ሐረሰ] ‘to plow, to cultivate land’, *māhras* [ማሕረሰ] ‘a plow, a plowshare’; Tigrinya *haräsä* ‘to plow’, *mahräša* ‘a plow’; Tigre *harsa* ‘to plow’, *mahräša* ‘a plow’; Harari *haräsa* ‘to plow’; Amharic *arräsä* ‘to plow, to till, to cultivate’, *maräša* ‘a plow’; Gafat *arräsä* ‘to plow’; Gurage *aräsä* ‘to plow, to cultivate’, *maräša* ‘a plow’; Argobba *harräsa* ‘to plow’. Murtonen 1989:198—199; Klein 1987:234; Leslau 1963:87, 1979:91, and 1987:243; Zammit 2002:136—137. Proto-East Cushitic **ha(a)r-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’ > Afar *haar-is-* ‘to clean out the contents of viscera’; Hadiyya *haar-* ‘to scratch’; Burji *harʔ-* ‘to plow, to cultivate’; Konso *har-* ‘to scoop soil from a hole’; Gidole *haar-awwa* ‘razor, blade for shaving’. Sasse 1982:92; Hudson 1989:196 and 280. Proto-Southern Cushitic **her-* ‘to shave’ > Asa *hera* ‘razor’; Ma’a *-ha* ‘to shave’, *-haré* ‘to sharpen’, *iharime* ‘whetstone’. Ehret 1980:301. [Ehret 1995:375, no. 757, **her-* ‘to scrape off’.] Takács 2011a:173 **h-r* (perhaps **har-*) ‘to scratch, to scrape’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *araka* ‘a plow with bullocks’; Malto *are* ‘a plow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:19, no. 198.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₁her(H)-* [**h₁har(H)-*] ‘to plow’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *har-aš-zi* ‘to plow’; Greek ἄρῶω ‘to plow’; Latin *arō* ‘to plow’; Old Irish *airim* ‘to plow’; Gothic *arjan* ‘to plow’; Old Icelandic *erja* ‘to plow’; Old English *erian* ‘to plow’, *ierþ* ‘plowing’; Old High German *erran* ‘to plow’; Lithuanian *ariù*, *árti* ‘to plow, to till’; Old Church Slavic *ralu* ‘a plow’, *orjō*, *orati* ‘to plow’; Tocharian A *āre* ‘a plow’. Rix 1998a:243 **h₂erh₂-* ‘to plow or break up (land)’; Pokorny 1959:62—63 **ar(ə)-* ‘to plow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:78—79 **arā-*; Mann 1984—1987:35 **arō*, *-iō* (**arā-*) ‘to plow’; Watkins 1985:3 **arə-* and 2000:5 **arə-* ‘to plow’ (oldest form **ar₂er₂-*, colored to **ar₂ar₂-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:434 **h_aérh₃ie/o-* ‘to plow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:687—688 **Har-* and 1995.I:593—594 **Har-* ‘to work land, to plow’; Sturtevant 1942:40—41, §37f; Puhvel 1984— .3:184—185 (Puhvel considers Hittite *har(a)š-* to be a loan from Akkadian or West Semitic); Tischler 1977— .1:182—183; Kloekhorst 2008b:312—314; Frisk 1970—1973.I:147—148; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:112—113; Hofmann 1966:24; Beekes 2010.I:136—137 **h₂erh₃-*; Boisacq 1950:80; De Vaan 2008:55 **h₂erh₃-ie/o-* ‘to plough’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:69; Ernout—Meillet 1979:48 **arə-*; Orël

2003:23 Proto-Germanic **arjanan*; Kroonen 2013:28 Proto-Germanic **arjan-* ‘to plow’; Feist 1939:56—57 **arə-*; Lehmann 1986:42 **ar(ə)-*; De Vries 1977:104; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:167; Adams 1999:49 **h₂erh₃₋*; Smoczyński 2007.1:23—24 **h₂erh₃₋*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:17; Derksen 2008:372—373 **h₂erh₃₋*, 373—374, and 2015:60, 61 **h₂erh_{3-je-}*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:322—328 **h₂erh₃₋*.

Sumerian *har(-har)* ‘to scratch, to scrape’.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow (vb., sb.). Möller 1911:15—16; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:543, no. 400; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2605, **XaRčV* (= **χaRčV* ?) ‘to rub/scratch’ (**XaRčV* = **χ|ħaRčV*).

741. Proto-Nostratic **har^v-*: (1) particle introducing an alternative: ‘or’, (2) conjoining particle: ‘with, and’, (3) inferential particle: ‘then, therefore’:

Note: The *CVC-* patterning shows that this stem could not originally have been a particle, though this is how it is preserved in the daughter languages. The original meaning is unknown.

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ħr* ‘upon, in, at, from, on account of, concerning, through, and, having on it; because’. Hannig 1995:546; Erman—Grapow 1921:113 and 1926—1963.3:131—132; Faulkner 1962:174; Gardiner 1957:582. Berber: Tuareg *ar* ‘so far, until now, if not’; Wargla *ar* ‘until, until then’; Tamazight *ar*, *al*, *all* ‘until, until then, when’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ar* ‘until, until then’; Riff *ar*, *al* ‘until then’; Kabyle *ar* ‘until, save, except’; Chaouia *ar* ‘until’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ħher-* [**ħhar-*]/**ħħr-* ‘then, therefore; and’: Greek *ἄρα* (Epic Greek *ῥα* [enclitic] and, before a consonant, ῥ) inferential particle: (Epic usage) ‘then, straightway, at once’, (Attic usage) ‘then, therefore’ (much like *οὐν*, only less strongly); Lithuanian *ar̃* ‘whether, if’, *iṛ̃* ‘and, and then, and so’; Latvian *ir* ‘and, and also’. Pokorny 1959:62 **ar*, **r̥* ‘now, therefore’; Walde 1927—1932.I:77 **ar*, **r̥*; Mann 1984—1987:31 **ar* (**are*, **arə*) ‘indeed, so, surely’, 1105 **r̥* ‘and, also, indeed; Mallory—Adams 1997:583 **ar-* ‘and, thus’; Boisacq 1950:72 **r̥* (> Greek *ῥα*; Lithuanian *iṛ̃*), **or* (> Lithuanian *ar̃*); Frisk 1970—1973.I:127 **r̥*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:100; Hofmann 1966:21; Beekes 2010.I:121 **h₂(e)r*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:15; Derksen 2015:59 **h₂er-* and 202—203; Smoczyński 2007.1:21.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **ar^vV* ‘or’: Proto-Turkic **ar^vu* ‘or’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *azu* ‘or’; Karakhanide Turkic *azu* ‘or’; Tuva *azi* ‘or’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:316 **ar^vV* ‘or’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:535, no. 389.

742. Proto-Nostratic root **has-* (~ **həs-*):
- (vb.) **has-* ‘to burn, to be hot’;
 (n.) **has-a* ‘cinder, ember, ashes; heat’
- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *haṣḥasa* ‘to place meat on the coals’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:275, no. 1244, **has-* ‘to roast’.]
- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₂hes-* [**h₂has-*] ‘to burn, to be hot’: Sanskrit *āsa-h* (< **h₂hēs-* [**h₂hās-*]) ‘ashes, dust’; (?) Greek ἄζω ‘to be dry’; Latin *āra* ‘altar’; Umbrian (dat. sg.) *ase* ‘altar’; Gothic *azgō* ‘cinder, ashes’; Old Icelandic *aska* ‘ashes’; Swedish *aska* ‘ashes’; Danish *aske* ‘ashes’; Old English *asce*, *æsce* ‘ashes’; Dutch *asch* ‘ashes’; Old High German *asca* ‘ashes’ (New High German *Asche*); Czech *ozd* ‘parched malt’, *ozditi* ‘to dry malt’; Tocharian B *ās-* ‘to become dry, to dry out, to dry up, to parch’, *asāre* ‘dry’; Hittite (acc. sg.) *ha-aš-ša-an* (< **h₂hes-* [**h₂has-*]) ‘hearth’, (nom. sg.) *ha-a-aš* ‘ashes (in pl.); soda ash, potash, soap’. Pokorny 1959:68—69 **ās-* ‘to burn, to glow’; Watkins 1985:3—4 **as-* and 2000:5 **as-* ‘to burn, to glow’ (oldest form **₂es-* colored to **₂as-*); Mann 1984—1987:37 **as-* ‘burnt, brown’, 37—38 **asdō*, *-iō* ‘to parch, to burn, to inflame’, 38 **asgō(n)*, *-iō(n)*, *-iə* ‘ash, dust’, 38 **āsos*, *-ā* ‘hearth, sacrificial altar’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:158 **H₂as-* and 1995.I:136 **H₂as-* ‘(ritual) hearth, altar’; Mallory—Adams 1997:32 **h₂éh_xōs* ‘ash’ (< ‘±burnings’) (also **h₂h_xs-ko-* and **h₂h_xs-g(h)-*) from **h₂éh_x-* ‘to burn’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:83 **ās-*; Boisacq 1950:16 (Greek ἄζω < **azd-*, extended form of **ās-*); Frisk 1970—1973.I:25—26 (Greek ἄζω ‘to be dry’ < **ās-*); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:25 (Greek ἄζω < **₂ed-*); Beekes 2010.I:26—27 **h₂ed-*; Hofmann 1966:4 **azd-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:61 **ās-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:42; De Vaan 2008:49 **h₂eh₁s-h₂-*; Orël 2003:26 Proto-Germanic **askōn*; Kroonen 2013:38 Proto-Germanic **askōn-* ‘ashes’; Feist 1939:72; Lehmann 1986:54 **ās-*; De Vries 1977:15 **as-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:26; Onions 1966:54; Klein 1971:53 **ās-* ‘to burn, to glow’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:33; Kluge—Seebold 1989:43; Adams 1999:33 and 57—58; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:169 **ās-*; Puhvel 1984— .3:210—212 and 3:221—224; Kloekhorst 2008b:322—323 **h₂eh₁s-eh₂-*; Lindeman 1997:57 **H₂eHs-* (lengthened-grade **H₂ēs-* [phonetically **H₂ās-*] is also possible). Note: Puhvel, among others, compares Greek ἄζω ‘to be dry’ (< **āδ-₁ω*) with Hittite *hat-* ‘to dry up, to become parched’ instead.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **ās₃-* ‘to heat, to ignite’ > Votyak / Udmurt *esty-* ‘to heat’; Zyrian / Komi *ōzjv-* ‘to catch fire’, *ōzty-* ‘to ignite, to fire, to light’; Ostyak / Xanty *ōl-*, (Southern) *ət-* ‘to heat, to ignite’. Collinder 1955:83 and 1977:100; Rédei 1986—1988:27 **ās₃-*.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **ase-* (~ **p^h-*) ‘(vb.) to catch fire; (adj.) hot’: Proto-Mongolian **(h)asa-* ‘to catch fire’ > Written Mongolian *asa-* ‘to burn, to catch fire, to ignite’; Khalkha *asa-* ‘to catch fire’; Buriat *aha-* ‘to catch

fire'; Kalmyk *as-* 'to catch fire'. Proto-Turkic **isig/*isig* 'hot, warm' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *isig* 'hot'; Karakhanide Turkic *isig* 'hot'; Turkish *sıcak* 'hot; heat'; Azerbaijani *isti* 'warm'; Turkmenian *ıssi* 'hot'; Uighur *issiq* 'hot'; Karaim *issi* 'hot, warm', *isi-t-* 'to warm'; Tatar *esse* 'hot'; Kirghiz *isiq-* 'hot', *isi* 'heat, hot wind'; Kazakh *ıssi* 'hot'; Noghay *issi* 'hot'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *izü* 'hot'; Tuva *iziy* 'hot'; Chuvash *ıwǰıw* 'warm'; Yakut *iit̄, ičiges* (< **isi-geč*) 'warm'. Derived from **isi-/ *isi-* 'to be hot'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:316—317 **ase-* (~ **p-*) 'to catch fire; hot'.

Buck 1949:1.84 ashes; 7.31 fireplace (hearth). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:530, no. 381; Greenberg 2002:32, no. 53, **as* 'burn'.

743. Proto-Nostratic root **hasʷ-* (~ **həsʷ-*) (used as the base to designate various tree names):

(n.) **hasʷ-a* 'a tree and its fruit'

- A. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *āccā* 'the sal tree' (*Shorea robusta*); Kannaḍa *āsu, āca, ārse* 'the sal tree'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:32, no. 343.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₂hes-* [**h₂has-*]/**h₂h₂ōs-* originally 'a tree and its fruit' (as in Hittite), but later specialized in the post-Anatolian Indo-European daughter languages: Hittite *haššik(ka)-* 'a tree and its fruit' (?); Greek *ὄξυη* (< **ōsk[ε]σ-* ?) 'a kind of beech-tree'; Armenian *haçi* 'ash-tree'; Albanian *ah* (< **oskā*) 'beech-tree', *ashe* 'holly'; Ligurian *᾽Οσκίλα* 'ash forest'; Latin *ornus* (< **os-en-os*) 'mountain-ash'; Old Irish (*h*)*uinn-ius* 'ash-tree'; Welsh *onn-en* 'ash-tree'; Breton *ounn-enn* 'ash-tree'; Old Icelandic *askr* 'ash-tree', *eski* 'ashen box'; Swedish *ask* 'ash-tree'; Old English *æsc* 'ash-tree'; North Frisian *esk* 'ash-tree'; Dutch *esch* 'ash-tree'; Old High German *ask* 'ash-tree' (New High German *Esche*); Old Prussian *woasis* 'ash-tree'; Lithuanian *úosis* (< **ōs-*) 'ash-tree'; Russian *jásen'* [ясень] 'ash-tree'. Pokorny 1959:782 **ōs-*, **ōs-i-s*, **ōs-en-*, **os-k-* 'ash-tree'; Walde 1927—1932.I:184—185 **ōsi-s*, **ōsen-*, **os-k-*; Mann 1984—1987:893—894 **ōsis* (**ōsnos*, **ōsen-*) 'ash-tree; rowan', 894 **oskos*, *-us* 'a tree, ash or beech'; Watkins 1985:46 **os-* and 2000:61 **os-* 'ash-tree'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:625 **Hos-*, II:942 and 1995.I:537, I:539, I:764 **Hos-* 'ash(tree)'; Mallory—Adams 1997:32 **h₃es(k)-* (**h₂os(k)-*) 'ash'; P. Friedrich 1970:92—98 **os-* 'ash-tree'; Boisacq 1950:706 **ōs-i-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:806 **ōs-*, **ōsi-*, **ōsen-*; Hofmann 1966:234—235; Frisk 1970—1973.II:400; Beekes 2010.II:1088; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:223 **ōsen-os*, **ōsin-os*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:469 **ōs-*; De Vaan 2008:435; Orël 1998:2—3 and 2003:26 Proto-Germanic **askaz*, 26 **askjan*; Kroonen 2013:38 Proto-Germanic **aska-* 'ash'; De Vries 1977:15; Onions 1966:54 **ōs-*, Common Germanic **askiz*; Klein 1971:53 **ōsis*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:188 **osk-*, **ōs-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:174—

175 *osk-; *ōsis; Smoczyński 2007.1:705; Derksen 2015:481 *Heh₃-s-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1167. Note: Neither Puhvel (1984— .3:232) nor Kloekhorst (2008b:325) give an etymology for Hittite *ḫaššik(ka)*-, but cf. Tischler (1977— :200—201).

- C. Uralic: Mordvin (Erza) *ukso*, (Moksha) *uks* ‘ash, elm’; Cheremis / Mari *oško* ‘poplar’. Collinder 1955:138—139 and 1977:149; Joki 1973:333. These may be loans from Indo-European.

Sumerian *hašhur* ‘apple, apple-tree’, *hašhur-ar-man-nu*, *hašhur-kur-ra* ‘apricot, apricot-tree’, *hašhur-a-ab-ba* ‘a kind of apple-tree’, *hašhur-babbar* ‘a tree and its fruit’, *hašhur-niš-DA* ‘pear’, *hašhur-kur-ra* ‘quince’, *hašhur-kur-ra* ‘pear-tree’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:255, no. 117, *Hosa ‘poplar’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:555, no. 415.

744. Proto-Nostratic root **hat*’- (~ **hət*’-):

(vb.) **hat*’- ‘to shake, to tremble; to be shaken, startled, frightened, terrified, afraid’;

(n.) **hat*’-*a* ‘trembling, shaking’

Note also:

(vb.) **hut*’- ‘to shake, to shiver, to tremble’;

(n.) **hut*’-*a* ‘trembling, shaking’; (adj.) ‘shaking, shivering, trembling’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ḥaṭā* (inf. *ḥaṭw*) ‘to shake’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *atir* (-*v*-, -*nt*-) ‘to shake, to quake, to tremble (as by an earthquake, the fall of a tree, the rolling of chariots), to be startled, to be alarmed, to resound (as thunder), to reverberate, to sound (as a drum), to roar (as beasts)’, *atir* (-*pp*-, -*tt*-) ‘to alarm by shouting, to intimidate, to rebuke, to thunder, to roar (as the sea)’, *atircci* ‘quaking, shaking, trembling, loud noise or report, roaring’, *atirppu* ‘trembling, echo’, *atirvu* ‘shaking, trembling, tremolo’; Malayalam *atiruka* ‘to fear, to tremble’; Kannaḍa *adir*, *adaru*, *aduru*, *adru* ‘(vb.) to tremble, to shake, to shiver, to fear; (n.) trembling, tremor’, *adirpu* ‘trembling, fear’, *adalu* ‘to tremble, to shake, to shiver, to fear’, *adarisu*, *adalisu* ‘to make tremble, to shake’; Tuḷu *aḍuruni*, *adaruni*, *aduruni* ‘to tremble, to quake’, *aḍurāvuni* ‘to shake, to agitate’, *aḍurāṭa* ‘shaking, trembling’, *aḍurupaduru* ‘shaking and trembling’, *adarpuni* ‘to cause to tremble, to admonish, to rebuke’, *addalipuni* ‘to rebuke, to frighten’; Telugu *adaru* ‘(vb.) to tremble, to shake, to quake, to shiver; (n.) trembling, shaking, tremor’, *adalu* ‘to start, to be alarmed or afraid’, *adalincu*, *adalucu*, *adalupu*, *adalpu* ‘to frighten, to rebuke, to reproach’, *adalupu*, *adalpu* ‘frightening, rebuke’, *adiri-paḍu* ‘to start, to be alarmed’, *adiri-pāṭu* ‘(n.) a start, alarm; (adv.) suddenly,

unexpectedly'; Gadba (Salur) *adrap-* 'to shake (tr.)'; Malto *adyare* 'to be agitated'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:14, no. 137.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₃het-* [**h₃hat-*] '(vb.) to terrify, to frighten; (adj.) terrible, horrible, hateful': Hittite (nom. sg.) *ha-tu-ga-aš* 'terrible, baleful, fearsome, awesome', (nom.-acc. sg.) *ha-tu-ga-tar* 'terror, awesomeness', (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ha-tu-ki-iš-zi* 'to become terrible', (3rd pl. pres. act.) (?) *ha-tu-ga-nu-wa-an-[zi]* 'to terrify'; Greek ὀδύσσομαι 'to be wroth against, to be angry with, to hate', Ὀδυσσεύς 'Ulysses, Odysseus' (< 'Fearsome'); Latin *ōdī* 'to hate', *ōdium* 'hatred, grudge, ill will, animosity, enmity, aversion', *odiōsus* 'hateful, odious, vexatious, offensive, unpleasant, disagreeable, annoying, troublesome'; Armenian *ateam* 'to hate', *ateli* 'hated, hostile'; Crimean Gothic *atochta* 'bad'; Old Icelandic *atall* 'fierce'; Old English *atol* 'terrible, dire, loathsome, horrid'; Breton *æz* 'horror', *æzi* 'to be terrified'. Rix 1998a:263 **h₃ed-* 'to hate'; Pokorny 1959:773 **od-* 'to hate'; Walde 1927—1932.I:174—175 **od-*; Mann 1984—1987:861—862 **ōd-* 'hate, fear, arousal', 862 **odjom* 'hatred, boredom'; Watkins 1985:45 **od-* and 2000:59 **od-* 'to hate'; Mallory—Adams 1997:259 **h₃ed-* 'to hate'; Puhvel 1984— .3:274—277 **Hodug-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:336—337; Boisacq 1950:685—686; Hofmann 1966:225 **od-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:351; Beekes 2010.II:1048—1049 (pre-Greek); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:775 **od-*; De Vaan 2008:425; Ernout—Meillet 1979:458—459; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:202—203 **od-*; Orël 2003:27 Proto-Germanic **atuǵaz*, 27 **atulaz*; Feist 1939:61; Lehmann 1986:46; De Vries 1977:17.

Buck 1949:16.41 hate (sb.); 16.53 fear, fright.

745. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **haw-a* 'a relative on the mother's side':

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *avvai* 'mother, old woman, woman ascetic'; Kota *av* 'mother, mother's sister or female parallel cousin'; Kannaḍa *avve*, *avva* 'mother (used as a title of respect and love), grandmother, any elderly woman', *abbe* 'mother'; Koḍagu *avvë* 'mother, mother's sister or female parallel cousin'; Tuḷu *abbè* 'an elderly woman, matron'; Telugu *avva* 'mother, grandmother, an old woman'; Gondi *avva*, *avā* 'mother'; Konḍa *ave* 'mother'; Maṇḍa *ava* 'elder brother's wife'; Kui *ava* 'elder brother's wife'; Kuwi *ava* 'elder brother's wife', *awa* 'sister-in-law'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:25—26, no. 273; Krishnamurti 2003:10 **aww-a* 'mother, grandmother'.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₃ewh₃ho-s* [**h₃hawh₃ho-s*] 'maternal grandfather; maternal uncle': Hittite (nom. sg.) *hu-uh₃-ha-aš* 'grandfather', *huh₃hant-* '(great-)grand-father'; Luwian (instr. sg.) *hu-u₃-ha-ti* 'grandfather'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *huha-* 'grandfather', *huhati-* '(great-)grandfather'; Lycian *χuga-* 'grandfather' in *χugaha se-χñnaha* 'grandfather's and

grandmother's'; Armenian *hav* 'grandfather'; Latin *avus* 'grandfather', *avia* (Late Latin *ava*) 'grandmother', *avunculus* 'maternal uncle'; Old Irish *áue* 'grandson'; Welsh *ewythr* 'uncle'; Gothic **awō* (only in dat. sg. *awōn*) 'grandmother'; Old Icelandic *ái* 'great-grandfather', *afi* 'grandfather'; Old English *ēam* 'maternal uncle'; Old Frisian *ēm* 'maternal uncle'; Dutch *oom* 'uncle'; Old High German *ōheim* (< Proto-Germanic **awun-χaimaz*) 'uncle (mother's brother)' (New High German *Oheim*, *Ohm*); Old Prussian *awis* 'maternal uncle'; Lithuanian *avýnas* 'maternal uncle'; Old Church Slavonic *ujb* 'mother's brother', *ujka* 'mother's sister'; Tocharian B *āwe* 'grandfather'. Pokorny 1959:89 **ayo-s* 'maternal grandfather'; Walde 1927—1932.I:20—21 **ayo-s*; Mann 1984—1987:48 **ayos*, *-ā*, *-ios*, *-jə* 'kinsman'; Mallory—Adams 1997:237—238 **h₂eu_h₂os* 'grandfather; mother's father'; Watkins 1985:4 **awo-* and 2000:6 **awo-* 'an adult male relative other than one's father'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:766 **HauHo-* and 1995.I:668 **HauHo-* 'grandfather, father's father'; Puhvel 1984— .3:355—358 **A₁ewA₁os*; Sturtevant 1951:6—7, §12, Indo-Hittite **xauxos*, 39, §62b, Indo-Hittite **xewxos* (note also fn. 29), 47, §74; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:86—87; Kloekhorst 2008b:352—353 **h₂éuh₂-s*, **h₂eu_h₂-m*, **h₂uh₂-ós*; Tischler 1977— :260—262; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:88—89; Ernout—Meillet 1979:61—62; De Vaan 2008:66; Orël 2003:31 Proto-Germanic **awōn*; Kroonen 2013:44—45 Proto-Germanic **awa/ōn-* 'grandparent'; Feist 1939:71 **ayo-*; Lehmann 1986:53 **awen-*, **awyo-*, **awo-*; De Vries 1977:2 and 3; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:520—521; Kluge—Seebold 1989:514; Vercoullie 1898:210 **awos*; Adams 1999:56 **h₂eu_h₂o-* 'grandfather'; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:28; Smoczyński 2007.1:38; Derksen 2008:507—508 **h₂eu_h₂-i-o-* and 2015:74 **h₂eu_h₂-*.

- C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *abo-* (< **awa*) 'elder', *abuča*: 'address to a grandmother', *abu:j* 'elder', (Northern / Tundra) *abučie* 'grandmother, mother-in-law'. Nikolaeva 2006:115.
- D. (?) Eskimo: Proto-Yupik **avaqutaq* 'offspring' > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *awaqutaq* 'son'; Central Alaskan Yupik (Nunivak) *awaqutaX* 'son', (Hooper Bay-Chevak) *avankuq* 'son'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *avaqutaq* 'infant, child'; Central Siberian Yupik *avaqutaq* 'child, offspring'; Sirenik *avaqutaX* 'child, offspring' (probably borrowed from Central Siberian Yupik). Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:55. Proto-Yupik **avaqutaq* < **ava-* plus the postbases **q(q)un* and **q(q)utar* 'something associated with something' [cf. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:422—423]). Proto-Inuit **avvasaaq* 'relative' > Seward Peninsula Inuit *avvazaaq* 'someone with the same name'; North Alaskan Inuit (Point Hope) *avvasaaq* 'close relative or friend'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:56.

Buck 1949:2.46 grandfather; 2.47 grandmother; 2.51 uncle. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:555—556, no. 416; Caldwell 1913:588.

746. Proto-Nostratic root **haw-* (~ **həw-*):
 (vb.) **haw-* ‘to surge up, to overflow, to rain’;
 (n.) **haw-a* ‘torrential rain, torrent, deluge’
 Probably related to:
 (vb.) **haw-* ‘to swell, to increase’;
 (n.) **haw-a* ‘swelling, increase, growth; great number or amount’
- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *hwi* ‘to surge up, to overflow, to rain’, *hwyt* ‘rain’, *hwḥw* ‘flood’; Coptic *hōw* [ϣϠϠϠ], *hu-* [ϣϠϠ] ‘(vb.) to rain; (n.) rain, moisture’, *humpe* [ϣϠϠϠϠϠ] ‘rain’. Hannig 1995:515 and 520; Faulkner 1962:165; Erman—Grapow 1921:105—106 and 1926—1963.3:48, 3:49, and 3:56; Vycichl 1983:318; Černý 1976:304. Orël—Stolbova 1995:287, no. 1303, **hVw-* ‘to rain’.
- B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *barakely* ‘inundation’; Telugu *varada* ‘flood, torrent, inundation, deluge’, *varru* ‘flow, flood’; Parji *vered* ‘flood’; Konda *urda* ‘flood’; Kuwi *varda pīyu* ‘torrential rain’, *vāru* ‘flood’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:481—482, no. 5323.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **hhew-r-* [**hhaw-r-*]/**hhow-r-*/**hhu-r-*, **hhw-er-*/**hhw-or-* ‘(vb.) to sprinkle, to spray, to rain; (n.) rain, moisture’: Sanskrit *vāri* ‘water, rain, fluid’; Avestan *vairi-* ‘lake’, *vār-* ‘to rain’; Tocharian A *wār*, B *war* ‘water’; Latin *ūrīna* ‘urine’; Greek οὔρον ‘urine’, ράινω (< **Hwr̥n-yō*) ‘to sprinkle, to besprinkle’; Old Irish *feraim* ‘to pour’; Old Icelandic *aurr* ‘moist earth, clay, mud’, *ver* ‘sea’, *úr* ‘light rain, drizzle’, *ýra* ‘to drizzle’; Swedish (dial.) *örja* ‘swamp’; Old English *ēar* ‘sea’, *wǣr* ‘spray’. Pokorny 1959:80—81 **auer-* ‘water, rain, river’; Rix 1998a:259 **h₂uerh₁-* ‘to sprinkle, to spray’; Walde 1927—1932.I:268—269 **uer-*; Mann 1984—1987:895—896 **ouros, -om* (**aur-*) ‘water, brine; moisture, mire’; Watkins 1985:44 **wēr-* and 2000:100 **wē-r-* ‘water, liquid, milk’ (contracted from earlier **we₂r₁-*; zero-grade **u₂r₁-*, contracted to **ūr-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:636 **u₂é/óh₂r-* ‘water’; Boisacq 1950:729 **uer-s-*, enlargement of **uer-*, and 833 **ur̥n₁-iō*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:839 and II:965 **wren-*; Frisk 1970—1983.II:447 (Sanskrit *várṣati* < **u₂érseti*) and II:639—640 **uren-*; Beekes 2010.II:1028—1029 **uers-* and II:1272 (pre-Greek); Hofmann 1966:244—245 **uer-s-*, **uer-* and 294 **ur̥n₁iō* (root **uren-*); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:840 **uer-*, **uer-s-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:755; De Vaan 2008:644; Adams 1999:577—578; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:557—558 Pre-Tocharian **uer-*; Orël 2003:29—30 Proto-Germanic **auraz*, 450 **warōn* ~ **waraz*; Kroonen 2013:42 Proto-Germanic **aura-* ‘mud, sand, sediment’; De Vries 1977:20, 635, and 654. Proto-Indo-European **hhw-er-s-*/**hhw-or-s-*/**hhw-r-s-* ‘(vb.) to rain; (n.) rain’: Sanskrit *varṣá-m* ‘rain, raining, a shower’, *várṣati* ‘to rain’; Hittite *warša-* ‘fog, mist’ (the initial laryngeal is assumed to have been lost in Hittite [cf. Melchert 1994a:49]); Greek ἔρση ‘dew’ (Homeric ἔερση, Doric ἔρσᾶ); Old Irish *frass* ‘rain’. Rix 1998a:259—260 **h₂uers-* ‘to rain’;

Pokorny 1959:81 **uer-s-* ‘to rain’; Walde 1927—1932.I:269 **uer-s-*; Mann 1984—1987:1521 **uers-* ‘droplet, sprinkling, shower, dew, rain’, 1521 **uersō* (-*iō*, -*āiō*) ‘to shed, to sprinkle, to pour, to gush, to rain’, 1604 **urs-* ‘pour, downpour’; Watkins 1985:77—78 **wers-* and 2000:100 **wers-* ‘to rain, to drip’; Mallory—Adams 1997:477 **h₁uers-* ‘rain’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:680 **uers-* and 1995.I:587 **wers-* ‘to pour, to spill’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:375 (Sanskrit *várṣati* < **werseti*); Boisacq 1950:284 **uers-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:566—567 (Sanskrit *várṣati* < **uérseti*), **uorseiō*, **uer-os-*, **uer-s-*; Hofmann 1966:94 **uer-s-*; Beekes 2010.I:464—465 **h₁uers-*; Melchert 1994a:49 *warša-* (< **wórso-* < **h₂wórso-*, **h₂wers-* ‘to rain’) and 163; Kloekhorst 2008b:971—972; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:356—357 **h₂uers-*. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hew-on(th)-* [**h₁haw-on(th)-*], **h₁hew-ŋ(th)-* [**h₁haw-ŋ(th)-*] ‘spring, well’ (also used as the base of river names): Sanskrit *avatá-h* ‘well, cistern’, *avāni-h* ‘bed of river, stream’; Latvian *avuōts* ‘spring’; Latin (river names) *Avēns*, *Aventia*. Mallory—Adams 1997:539 (?) **h₁aeu(o)nt-* ‘spring’; Pokorny 1959:78 **auent-*; Mann 1984—1987:48 **auon-*, **auont-*, **auŋt-* theme of river-names; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:57 and I:58.

- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *awre-* ‘to gather (of rainwater on a skin (intr.))’. Nikolaeva 2006:114.

Buck 1949:1.31 water; 1.75 rain (sb.); 4.65 urinate; urine. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:530—531, no. 382.

747. Proto-Nostratic root **haw-* (~ **həw-*):

(vb.) **haw-* ‘to swell, to increase’;

(n.) **haw-a* ‘swelling, increase, growth; great number or amount’

Probably related to:

(vb.) **haw-* ‘to surge up, to overflow, to rain’;

(n.) **haw-a* ‘torrential rain, torrent, deluge’

- A. Proto-Kartvelian **xwaw-* ‘great number, many’: Georgian *xvav-* ‘heap, pile’; Mingrelian *xva-* ‘flock’ (this may be a loan from Georgian); Svan *xwāj*, *xwāj* ‘much, many’. Klimov 1964:258 **xwaw-* and 1998:328 **xwa(w)-* ‘great number, multitude’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:549 **xwaw-*; Fähnrich 2007:682 **xwaw-*.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hew-k-* [**h₁haw-k-*]/**h₁hu-k-*, **h₁hw-ek’(s)-*/**h₁hw-ok’(s)-* ‘to grow, to increase’: Sanskrit *úkṣati* ‘to grow’, *ugrá-h* ‘powerful, mighty, strong’, *vakṣáyati* ‘to grow, to increase, to be strong, powerful’, *ójas-* ‘strength, vigor, energy’; Pāli *ugga-* ‘mighty, huge, strong, fierce, grave’; Avestan *vahšaiti* ‘to grow’, *ugrah-* ‘powerful, mighty’, *aojah-*, *aogah-*, *aogar-* ‘strength; strong’; αὔξω ‘to increase’, Greek αὔξω ‘to increase, to enlarge’; Latin *augeō* ‘to increase, to enlarge, to strengthen’,

augmentum ‘increase, growth’, *augustus* ‘majestic, august, venerable’; Gothic *aukan* ‘to add, to increase’, *wahsjan* ‘to grow, to increase’; Old Icelandic *auka* ‘to augment, to increase’, *vaxa* ‘to increase, to grow, to grow up’; Old English *ēacan*, *ēacian* ‘to increase’, *ēacen* ‘increased, enlarged, endowed, strengthened, strong, mighty, vast, great’, *weaxan* ‘to grow, to flourish, to increase’, *weaxung* ‘increase, increase of prosperity’; Old Frisian *āken* ‘large’, *waxa* ‘to grow’; Old Saxon *ōkian* ‘to increase’, *ōkan* ‘grown, pregnant’; Old High German *ouhhōn* ‘to increase’, *wahsan* ‘to grow, to wax (as of the moon)’ (New High German *wachsen*); Lithuanian *augu*, *augti* ‘to grow, to increase’; Tocharian A *ok-*, B *auk-* ‘to grow, to increase’, B *auki* ‘an increase’, B *auks-* ‘to sprout, to grow up’. Rix 1998a:245 **h₂eug-* ‘to be strong’, **h₂éugos-* ‘strength’, **h₂ug-ró-* ‘strong’ and 257—258 **h₂ueks-* ‘to grow (up), to increase, to become enlarged’; Pokorny 1959:84—85 **aueg-* ‘to increase’; Walde 1927—1932.I:22—24 **aueg-*, **aug-*, **ug-*; Mann 1984—1987:41 **augstos*, **augstos* ‘tall; growth, height’, 41 **augō* (**-ējō*; **aug-*, **aug-s-*, **aueg-*, **aueg-s-*) ‘to increase, to grow’, 41 **augos*, *-om*, *-jos*, *-jō* ‘growth, increase, reinforcement’, 41 **augmn-* ‘growth, height’, 41 **auk-* (?) ‘full-grown, tall’, 42 **auks-* (**auksəmo-*) ‘high; height, growth’, 46 **aueks-* (**aueks-*, **auks-*, **auks-*) ‘to grow; growth’, 1475 **ūg-* ‘to grow’, 1507 **ueks-* ‘to grow, to thrive’, 1507 **uekslis*, *-os* ‘thriving’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:236 **Hauk’-*, **Huek’-* and 1995.I:206 **Hauk’-*, **Hwek’-* ‘to grow’; Watkins 1985:4 *aug-* (variant **(a)weg-* [*< *ǵweg-*]; variant extended forms **wogs-*, **wegs-*) and 2000:6 **aug-* ‘to increase’ (oldest form **ǵ₂eug-*, colored to **ǵ₂aug-*, with variant [metathesized] form **ǵ₂weg-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:248 **h_aeug-* ‘to grow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:98, I:98—99 **au(e)g-*, and I:131; Boisacq 1950:101 **auq-s-*, **aueq-s-*, **aug-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:187—188 **aug-*, **aueg-*, **aueg-s-*, **ueg-s-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:141 theme I **ǵ₂eu-g-* (> αῦξω), theme II **ǵ₂w-eg-* (> ἄ(F)έξω); Beekes 2010.II:170—171 **h₂eug-*, **h₂ueg-s-*; Hofmann 1966:28 **au(e)qs-*, **aug-* (in Latin *augeō*); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:82—83 **aug-*, **aueg-*; **ueg-*; **auek-s-*, **auk-s-*, **ueks-* (**uks-*); De Vaan 2008:61—62 **h₂eug-eje-*, **h₂eug-s-* ‘to grow’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:56—58 **aweg-*, **āug-*, **ug-*; Orël 2003:29 Proto-Germanic **aukanan*, 29 **aukōjanan*, 29 **aukōn*, 439 **waxsanān*, 439 **waxsjanan* I, 439 **waxstiz*, 439 **waxstuz*; Kroonen 2013:42 Proto-Germanic **aukan-* ‘to grow’, 566 **wahs(j)an-* ‘to grow’ and 566 **wahstu-* ‘growth, stature’; Lehmann 1986:50 **aweg-*, **awg-* ‘to increase’ and 387 **aweg-*, **awg-*; **wōg-*; **awk-s-*, **wek-s-*; Feist 1939:67 **aueg-*, **aug-* and 541 **(a)ueg-*, **aug-*; **(a)ueks-*, **auks-*, **uks-*; De Vries 1977:19 **aueg-*, **aug-* and 648; Onions 1966:304 **aug-* and 995 **woks-*, **aweks-*, **auks-*, **uks-*; Klein 1971:240 **aweg-*, **aug-* and 822 **aw(e)ks-*, **auks-*, **weks-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:13 and 433; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:829; Kluge—Seebold 1989:771 **(ə)wek-s-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:329; Adams 1999:130—131

**h_aeug-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:24; Smoczyński 2007.1:32; Derksen 2015:68 **h₂eug-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:328—332 **h₂eug-* and 354—356 **h₂ueks-*.

Buck 1949:12.53 grow (= increase in size); 12.55 large, big (great); 13.15 much, many; 13.16 more. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:542—543, no. 399.

748. Proto-Nostratic root **haw-* (~ **həw-*):

(vb.) **haw-* ‘to weave, to braid, to plait, to twist, to turn’;

(n.) **haw-a* ‘the act of weaving, braiding, plaiting’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **haw-ak-* ‘to weave, to braid, to plait’ > Arabic *hāka* (base *hwk* [حوك]) ‘to weave, to interweave, to knit; to braid, to plait’; Syriac *ha(w)wāḫā* ‘a weaver’. Proto-Semitic **haw-ac-* ‘to sew, to stitch together’ > Arabic *hāša* (base *hwš* [حوص]) ‘to sew, to stitch together’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vēy* ‘to cover (as a building), to roof, to thatch, to put on (as a garland)’, *vēy_{tal}* ‘thatched house’, *vēyvu* ‘covering’; Kota *ve-j-* ‘to thatch’; Tuḷu *bēpini* ‘to thatch the roof of a house’; Kolami *ve-nz-* ‘to thatch’; Telugu *vēyu* ‘to thatch a house’; Naikṛi *vēnj-* ‘to thatch’; Parji *vēñ-* ‘to thatch’; Gadba (Salur) *vēng-* ‘to thatch’; Gondi *wēsānā*, *vēsānā* ‘to thatch’, *vēs-* ‘to cover (roof)’, *vēnc-* ‘to cover (house)’; Konḍa *vī-* ‘to thatch’; Pengo *vig-* (*vikt-*) ‘to thatch’, *vikha* ‘thatch’; Maṇḍa *vēk-* ‘to thatch’; Kui *vega* (*vegi-*) ‘to roof, to thatch’; Kuwi *vīgali* ‘to thatch’, *vīka* ‘thatch’; Malto *bese* ‘to thatch’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:505, no. 5532; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **wēy-* ‘to thatch’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hew-* [**h₁haw-*] ‘to plait, to weave’: Lithuanian *áudžiau*, *áudžiu*, *áusti* ‘to weave’; Sanskrit (inf.) *ótum*, *ótave* ‘to weave’, *ótu-h* ‘woof of a web’. Pokorny 1959:86—87 **au-*, **auē-*; **au-dh-*, **a(u)-ēdh-*, **u-dh-* ‘to plait, to weave’; Walde 1927—1932.I:16—17 **au-*, **(a)uē-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:230 **Ha_u-*, **H_u-aH-* ‘to weave’ and 1995.I:200 **Haw-*, **Hw-aH-* ‘to weave’; Mallory—Adams 1997:572 **h_{2/3}eu-* ‘to weave’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:132. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hw-i₁h₁-* [**h₁hw-e₁h₁-*] (> **Hwē-*) ‘to weave, to braid, to plait’: Sanskrit (inf.) *vātave* ‘to weave, to braid, to plait’, *vāna-m* ‘the act of weaving or sewing’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ú-e-i₁h₁-zi* ‘to turn, to fall’ (an initial laryngeal is lost in Hittite before *w* when another laryngeal follows in the word except when the second laryngeal is part of an inflectional ending [cf. Bomhard 1976:227; Polomé 1965:26]). Rix 1998a:604 **ueh₂-* ‘to turn (round)’; Pokorny 1959:86—87 **au-*, **auē-*; **au-dh-*, **a(u)-ēdh-*, **u-dh-* ‘to plait, to weave’; Mann 1984—1987:1531 **uētōs* ‘woven, enmeshed; weave, mesh’; Walde 1927—1932.I:16—17 **au-*, **(a)uē-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:993—996; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:126; Smoczyński 2007.1:35 **Heu-*. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hw-ey-*/**h₁hw-oy-*/**h₁hw-i-* ‘to weave, to braid, to plait, to twist, to turn’: Sanskrit *váyati* ‘to weave, to braid, to

plait'; Latin *vieō* 'to weave together'; Lithuanian *vejù, výtì* 'to twist'. Rix 1998a:610—611 **ueih₁*- 'to wrap (up)'; Pokorny 1959:1120—1122 **uei-*, **ueiə-*, **uī-* 'to turn'; Walde 1927—1932.I:223—227 **uei-*; Mann 1984—1987:1505 **ueiō*, **uijeiō* 'to twist, to weave, to plait, to braid'; Watkins 1985:74 **wei-* and 2000:96 **wei-* (also **weiə-*) (oldest form **wei₂*-) 'to turn, to twist'; De Vaan 2008:677; Ernout—Meillet 1970:735; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:786—787 **uei(ā^s)-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1267; Smoczyński 2007:764—765. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hw-eb^h*-/**h₁hw-ob^h*-/**h₁hu-b^h*- 'to weave': Old Old Icelandic *vefa* 'to weave'; Swedish *väva* 'to weave'; English *wefan* 'to weave'; Old Frisian *weva* 'to weave'; Middle Dutch *weven* 'to weave'; Old High German *weban* 'to weave' (New High German *weben*); Tocharian A *wāp-*, B *wāp-* 'to weave'; Greek ὄφῆ 'a web', ὄφαινω 'to weave'; Sanskrit *ubhnāti* 'to cover over'. Rix 1998a:599 **uebh-* 'to wrap round, to weave'; Pokorny 1959:1114—1115 **uebh-* 'to weave'; Walde 1927—1932.I:257 **uebh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1496 **uebhō* 'to weave'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:585, II:704 **Hu-eb^h*- and 1995.I:500, I:609 **Hw-eb^h*- 'to weave'; Watkins 1985:73 **webh-* and 2000:95 **webh-* 'to weave'; Mallory—Adams 1997:572 **h_{2/3}uebh-* 'to weave'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:107 **webh-*; Boisacq 1950:1008—1009 **uebh-*, **uobh-*, **ubh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:976—977 **uebh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1163—1164 **webh-*, **ubh-*; Beekes 2010.II:1540 *(*h₁*)*uebh-*; Hofmann 1966:388 **uebh-*; Orël 2003:451 Proto-Germanic **webanan*; Kroonen 2013:576 Proto-Germanic **weban-* 'to weave' (< **h₁ueb^h-e-*); De Vries 1977:649—650 **uebh-*; Klein 1971:823 **webh-*; Onions 1966:996—997 Common Germanic **weban*; **webh-*, **wobh-*, **ubh-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:841—842 **uebh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:779 **webh-*; Adams 1999:586 **webh-* 'to weave'; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:557 **uebh-*. Proto-Indo-European (**h₁hw-ep^h*-/**h₁hw-op^h*-/**h₁hu-p^h*- 'to weave, to braid, to plait, to twist, to turn': Hittite (nom. sg.) *hu-u-pa-ra-aš*, *hu-(u)-up-pa-ra-aš* 'a type of cloth', (3rd sg. pres. act.) *hu-up-pa-(a)-iz-zi* '(tr.) to interlace, to entangle, to ensnare, to commingle, to (make a) blend (of); (intr.) to mingle, to mix'. Puhvel 1984— .3:384—386 the basic root is **A₁ew-* (extended forms: **A₁w-éye-*; **A₁éw-dh-*, **A₁u-dh-*, **A₁w-édh-*; **A₁éw-bh-*, **A₁ubh-*; **A₁éw-p-*, **A₁up-*).

- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *abut-* (< **aw-*) 'nest, hole, den, lair; case, container', *abuš-* 'to put inside', *abudu-* 'to pull', (Northern / Tundra) *awur* 'nest, hole, den, lair; case, container', *awun-saal* 'cradle without leather covering'. Nikolaeva 2006:114.

Buck 1949:6.33 weave; 9.75 plait (vb.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.). Möller 1911:20—21; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:537—538, no. 394.

749. Proto-Nostratic root *hay- (~ *həy-):

(vb.) *hay- ‘to live, to be alive’;

(n.) *hay-a ‘life, age’

Extended form:

(vb.) *hay-V-w- ‘to live, to be alive’;

(n.) *hay-w-a ‘life, age’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *hay- ‘to live’: Proto-Semitic *hay-aw/y- ‘to live’ > Hebrew *hāyāh* [חַיָּה] ‘to live’; Syriac *həyā* ‘to live’; Phoenician *hwy* ‘to live’, *hy* ‘living’, *hym* ‘life’, *hyt* ‘animal’; Ugaritic *hyy* ‘to live’; Arabic *hayya*, *hayiya* ‘to live’, *hayy* ‘living, alive’, *hayāh* ‘life’, *hayawān* ‘animal, beast; (coll.) animals, living creatures’; Sabaeen *hyw*, *hyy* ‘to live’; Harsūsi *heyōt* ‘life’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hyot* ‘life’; Mehri *həyōt* ‘life’; Geez / Ethiopic *haywa* [ሐይወ] ‘to live, to be alive, to come back to life, to revive (intr.), to be well, to be healed, to be cured, to recover, to be restored, to be saved’, *həywāt* [ሐይወት] ‘life, lifetime; healing, good health, salvation, restoration, state, situation’; Tigrinya *hayāwā* ‘to live, to be healthy’, *həywāt* ‘life’; Tigre *haya* ‘to live’, *hayot* ‘life’; Harari *hawa* ‘to recover, to heal’, *huy* ‘alive’ (probably borrowed from Arabic); Amharic *həywāt* ‘life’, *həyaw* ‘living, alive’; Gurage (Endegeñ) *xəywāt* ‘life’. Murtonen 1989:179; Klein 1987:214; Leslau 1963:89, 1979:371, and 1987:252; Zammit 2002:154. Berber: Tuareg *iwi* ‘to be born’, *tīwit* ‘birth’, *aw*, *ag* ‘son of’, *ahaya* ‘grandson, descendant’; Tawlemmet *əhəw* ‘to be born’, *təhut* ‘birth’, *aw* ‘son’, *ahaya* ‘grandson, descendant’; Siwa *it* ‘son of’; Nefusa *aw* ‘son of’; Ghadames *u* ‘son of, descendant of’; Mzab *u*, *gg^w* ‘son of, belonging to’, *iwwa* ‘my brother, brother’; Wargla *u* ‘son’ *aytma* ‘brother’; Tamazight *u* ‘son of’; Kabyle *u* ‘son of’, *ayaw* ‘son of a sister, descendant by a sister, paternal cousin’, *tayyawt*, *taggawt* ‘son of a sister, descendant by a sister, paternal cousin’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *yīwi* ‘my son’, *ayaw* ‘nephew, son of a sister’, *tayawt* ‘son of a sister’; Chaouia *u* ‘son of’, *awma* ‘my brother’.
- Cushitic: Saho-Afar *hay* ‘to live’; Beja / Beḡawye *hāy-* ‘to live’, *hāy* ‘living, alive’. Reinisch 1895:132. Note: According to Leslau (1987:252), these forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **hee-d-* ‘to live’ > Gedeo / Darasa *heʔr-* ‘to live, to be present’; Hadiyya *heeʔ-* ‘to live’, *heeca* ‘life’; Kambata *heʔ-* ‘to live’, *heccata* ‘life’; Sidamo *heeʔr-* ‘to live, to be present’. Hudson 1989:91—92 and 93. Diakonoff 1992:29 **hijw/y* ‘living’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:278, no. 1257, **hayaw-* ‘animal’; Militarëv 2012:83—84 Proto-Afrasian **hayVw-*.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **hheyw-* [**hhayw-*]/**hhojw-*, **hheyu-* [**hhayu-*]/**hhoyu-* ‘(adj.) alive; (n.) life, lifetime’: Sanskrit *āyú-h* ‘alive’; Pāli *āyu-* ‘life’; Greek *αἰών* (< **aiFón*) ‘lifetime, age’; Latin *aevum* ‘lifetime’; Old Irish *aís*, *áes* ‘life, age’; Gothic *aiws* ‘time, lifetime, age’; Old Icelandic *ævi* ‘age, time’; Old English *ǣ*, *ǣw* ‘divine law’; Old High German *ēwa* ‘eternity, law’, *ēwīg* ‘eternal’ (New High German [poet.] *Ewe* ‘era, epoch’,

ewig ‘everlasting, eternal, endless, unending, never-ending, perpetual’), *ēwida* ‘eternity’; Tocharian A *āym-* ‘spirit, life’. Pokorny 1959:17—18 **aiy-*, **aju-* ‘life force’; Walde 1927—1932.I:6—7 **aiy-*, **aju-*; Mann 1984—1987:7 **aiuit-* ‘age’, 7 **aiyom* ‘age, lifetime’; Watkins 1985:1 **aiw-* and 2000:2 **aiw-* (also **ayu-*) ‘vital force, life, long life, eternity’ (oldest forms **₂eiw-*, **₂eyu-*, colored to **₂aiw-*, **₂ayu-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:352 **hₐóius* ‘vital force, life, age of vigor’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:802 **aiy-* and 1995.I:237 **ai-w-om* ‘lifespan’, I:702—703 **āyu-* ‘life force, eternity’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:77; Boisacq 1950:31; Frisk 1970—1973.I:49; Hofmann 1966:9; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:42—43 **ai-w-* (**₂ei-w-*); Beekes 2010.I:46—47 **h₂ei-u-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:21 **āiy-*: **āiyō-*, **āiyi-*, **āiyos-*, **āiyes-*, **āiūs-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:13—14 **āiyu-*; De Vaan 2008:29; Orël 2003:10—11 Proto-Germanic **aiwaz* ~ **aiwiz*, 11 **aiwipō*, 11 **ajukaz*; Kroonen 2013:16 Proto-Germanic **aiwa/ō-* ‘eternity, age’; Feist 1939:30—31 **ai-yō-*; Lehmann 1986:22 **ai-* (< **xéy-*)+-w-; **ay-wo-*, **ay-wen-*, **āy-wes-*; De Vries 1977:682; Kluge—Seebold 1989:193 **əiw-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:177 **aiy-*, **āiy-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:173; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:277—287 **h₂ei-u-*.

- C. Proto-Altaic **ōye* ‘life, age’: Proto-Tungus **uyu-* ‘alive’ > Manchu *wei-χun* ‘alive’, *wei-χunge* ‘living thing’, *wei-χu-* ‘to be alive, to live’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *vei-χun* ‘alive’; Ulch *uyu(n)* ‘alive’; Orok *uyu(n)* ‘alive’; Nanay / Gold *uyū* ‘alive’. Proto-Mongolian **ūye* ‘generation, age’ > Written Mongolian *ūye* ‘time, epoch, period, age; generation’; Khalkha *ūye* ‘generation, age’; Buriat *ūye* ‘generation, age’; Kalmyk *ūy* ‘generation, age’; Ordos *ūye* ‘generation, age’; Dagur *uye* ‘generation, age’; Monguor *uye* ‘generation, age’. Proto-Turkic **ōy* (?) ‘time, age’ > Tuva *ōy* ‘time, age’; Yakut (dial.) *ōyūn* ‘time, age’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 1043—1044 **ōje* ‘life, age’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:242—243, no. 101, reconstructs Proto-Altaic **ōjū*.
- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) **æju-* ‘to come back to life, to revive’: Chukchi *ēju-* ‘to come to, to revive (tr. or intr.)’, *ēju-lʔet-* ‘to be alive’, *ēju-lʔə-lʔən* ‘alive’; Koryak *ēju-* ‘to revive (intr.)’, *j-ēju-v-* ‘to revive (tr.)’; Alyutor *aju-* ‘to revive (intr.)’; Kamchadal / Itelmen [*ezle-kas-* ‘to revive’]. Fortescue 2005:29.

Buck 1949:74 live (= be alive); living, alive; life; 14.12 age. Möller 1911:4; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:242—243, no. 101, **haju* ‘to live; life force’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:593—594, no. 466; Greenberg 2002:109, no. 247, **ayu* ‘to live’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2613, **Xay[ü]* ‘to live’.

750. Proto-Nostratic root *h_{ay}- (~ *h_{əy}-):

Extended form:

(vb.) *h_{ay}-*V-t*- 'to swell, to be fat';(n.) *h_{ay}-*t'-a* 'a swelling, fat'; (adj.) 'fat, swollen'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *h_{ay}-*t'*- 'swollen, fat': Proto-East Cushitic *h_{ayd}- 'fat' > Somali *h_{ayd}* 'fat'; Konso *h_{ayd}-a* 'fat'; Gidole *h_{ayd}-a* 'fat'; Dullay *h_{ayd}-o* 'fat'. Sasse 1979:46. Proto-Southern Cushitic *h_{id}- 'thick' > K'wadza *h_{ilama}* 'mature girl not yet married'; Dahalo *h_{id}aa_{de}* 'heavy', *h_{id}aa_{do}* 'weight'; Ma'a *-h_{iri}* 'hard'. Ehret 1980:301.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *h_{hoyt}- 'to swell': Greek οἰδάω, οἰδέω 'to swell, to become swollen', οἰδημα, οἶδος 'a swelling, tumor'; Armenian *aitnum* 'to swell'; Old High German *eiz* 'abscess, ulcer' (New High German *Eiß*; note also *Eiter* 'pus'); Old Icelandic *eitr* 'poison', *eista* 'testicle'; Old English *āt(t)or* 'poison, venom'; Old Church Slavic *jadъ* 'poison'; Upper Sorbian *jěd* 'poison'; Czech *jed* 'poison'; Russian *jad* [яд] 'poison'. Rix 1998a:230 *h₂eid- 'to swell'; Pokorny 1959:774 *oid- 'to swell'; Walde 1927—1932.I:166—167 *oid-; Mann 1984—1987:864—865 *oidlos (*oidalos) 'swelling, abscess', 865 *oidnu-mi (*oidan-) 'to swell', 865 *oidos, -es- 'swelling, abscess'; Watkins 1985:45 *oid- and 2000:59 *oid- 'to swell' (oldest form *₂eid- colored to *₂oid-); Mallory—Adams 1997:561 *h_aeid- 'to swell'; Hofmann 1966:226 *oid-; Boisacq 1950:688—689 *oid-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:780 *oid- or *aid-, *oido-s or *aido-s; Beekes 2010.II:1053—1054 *h₂oid-eie-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:357—358 *oidi-, *oidos (or *aidos ?); Hübschmann 1897.I:418; Orël 2003:10 Proto-Germanic *aitaz, 10 *aitilaz, 10 *aitran; Kroonen 2013:14 Proto-Germanic *aita- 'ulcer'; De Vries 1977:98 (Old Church Slavic *jadъ* < *oidos); Kluge—Mitzka 1967:161; Kluge—Seebold 1989:172; Derksen 2008:150 Old Church Slavic *jadъ* < *h₁ed-; Shevelov 1964:177 Old Church Slavic *jadъ* < *oid-.
- C. Proto-Eskimo *ayut- 'to extend or enlarge': Central Alaskan Yupik *ayutə*- 'to enlarge'; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Labrador) *ayu(t)*- 'to enlarge'; Greenlandic Inuit *ayut*- 'to extend, to stretch (shoes)'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:60.

Buck 1949:12.63 thick (in dimension). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:535, no. 390.

751. Proto-Nostratic root *h_{az}- (~ *h_{əz}-):(vb.) *h_{az}- 'to cut into, to carve, to notch';(n.) *h_{az}-*a* 'that which is cut: incision, notch, nick; that which cuts: saw, chisel, axe, hatchet'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *h_{az}-*az*- 'to cut into, to carve, to notch' > Arabic *hazza* 'to cut, to make incisions, to carve, to notch', *hazz* 'incision, notch';

the right time, the nick of time’, *ħazza* ‘incision, notch, nick; time; the right time, the nick of time; predicament, plight’, *maħazz* ‘notch, nick’. Murtonen (1989:177) compares Arabic *ħazza* ‘to cut, to make incisions, to carve, to notch’ with Hebrew *ħəzīz* [חֲזִיז] ‘thunderbolt, lightning flash’. [Ehret 1995:376, no. 762, **ħaaz-* ‘to cut into’ — Ehret compares Arabic *ħazza* ‘to cut, to make incisions, to carve, to notch’ with Egyptian *ħsq* ‘to cut off (head); to cut out (heart)’ and *ħsqt* ‘chopper’. However, the Egyptian forms are better compared with Arabic *ħasama* ‘to cut, to sever, to cut off’, Sabaean *ħsm* ‘to cut, to hack to pieces (in battle)’, etc.]

- B. Dravidian: Gondi *accānā* ‘to be cut (of one’s foot on a stump, or one’s hand with a penknife), to cut off (hand, foot, etc.)’, *acc-* ‘to split, to saw’, *askānā* ‘to cut up, to divide meat’, *ask-* ‘to cut meat, to carve’; Malto *asye* ‘to chisel’. (?) Kannada *ħaccu*, *ħeccu* ‘to cut in pieces’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:6, no. 46.

Sumerian *ħa-zi*, *ħa-zi-in*, ^{URUD}*ħa-zi-in* ‘axe, hatchet’.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 9.25 ax; 9.27 split (vb. tr.).

752. Proto-Nostratic root **ħin-* (~ **ħen-*):

Extended form:

- (vb.) **ħin-V-k^h* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to gain; to offer, to present’;
(n.) **ħin-k^h-a* ‘gain, mastery, experience; offering, present’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ħinVk-* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to gain; to offer, to present’: Proto-Semitic **ħanak-* ‘to come to, to arrive at, to become experienced’ > Hebrew *ħānaḥ* [חָנַח] ‘to train, to teach, to educate’; Arabic *ħanaka* ‘to make experienced, worldly-wise, sophisticated’, *ħunk*, *ħink*, *ħunka* ‘worldly experience, sophistication’; Geez / Ethiopic *ħanaka* [አከአ] ‘to understand, to comprehend, to perceive’. Murtonen 1989:189; Klein 1987:224; Leslau 1987:237; Zammit 2002:150. Egyptian *ħnk* ‘to make an offering, to offer, to present, to be burdened’, *ħnk*, *ħnkt* ‘offerings’; Coptic *ħōnk* [ⲪⲜⲚⲔ] ‘to consecrate, to appoint’. Hannig 1995:541—542; Faulkner 1962:173; Gardiner 1957:582; Erman—Grapow 1921:112 and 1926—1963.3:117—118; Vycichl 1983:305; Černý 1976:288. (?) Proto-Southern Cushitic **ħink-* ‘to push away’ > Ma’a *-ħinka* ‘to push’; Dahalo *ħinkīd-* ‘to wipe oneself’. Ehret 1980:302. Ehret 1995:372, no. 751, **ħink-/ħank-* ‘to carry (to or from)’ (Cushitic **ħink-* ‘to remove, to take away’).
- B. Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **Hinc-* (< **Hink-*) ‘to receive’: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *un-sa-* ‘to receive, to exchange’; Neo-Elamite *hu-un-sa-* ‘to allocate, to distribute’. McAlpin 1981:95 (McAlpin reconstructs Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **inc-* and Proto-Kurux-Malto **iñj-r-*). Dravidian: Kurux *iñjrnā* ‘to receive, to accept, to get’; Malto *injure* ‘to receive, to take in hand’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:41, no 431.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hink^h*- [**h₁henk^h*-]/**h₁h₂h₂nk^h*- ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at; to offer, to present’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *hi-in-ik-zi* ‘to present, to deliver, to offer, to allot’; Sanskrit *asnóti* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to get, to obtain; to master, to become master of; to offer’; Latin *nancier* ‘to get, to obtain’, *nanciscor* ‘to get, to gain, to receive, to meet’; Tocharian A *ents-*, B *enk-* ‘to seize, to take’, B *enkalñe* ‘grasping or clinging to existence; assumption, taking to oneself’, B *enkäl* ‘feeling, passion’. Rix 1998a:252—253 **h₂nek-* ‘to reach, to attain, to obtain, to achieve, to gain, to succeed in getting’; Walde 1927—1932.I:128—129 **enek-*, **nek-*, **enk-*, **ñk-* ‘to reach’; Pokorny 1959:316—318 **enek-*, **nek-*, **enk-*, **ñk-* ‘to reach’; Mann 1984—1987:834 **neks-* (**nek-*, **nekst-*) ‘approaching, near’; Watkins 1985:44 **nek-* ‘to reach, to gain’ (variant **enk-*) and 2000:57 **nek-* ‘to reach, to attain’ (oldest form **₂nek-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:35 **h₁enek-* ‘to attain’; Puhvel 1984— .3:289—292 **E₂énk-*, **E₂n-ék-* ‘to reach, to attain’; Kloekhorst 2008b:268—271; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:60 **enek-*, **ñk-* (> Sanskrit *as-*); De Vaan 2008:399—400; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:141—142 **en(e)k-*, **nek-*, **ñk-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:428—429 **nek-*’; Adams 1999:77—78 **h₁nek-* ~ **h₁enk-* (zero-grade **h₁ñk-*) ‘±to reach, to achieve, to take’ (> Proto-Tocharian **enk-*); Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:179—180 **enek-*.

Buck 1949:11.16 get, obtain; 17.24 learn; 17.25 teach. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:549—550, no. 407.

753. Proto-Nostratic root **hiw-* (~ **hew-*), **hiy-* (~ **hey-*):

- (vb.) **hiw-*, **hiy-* ‘to lack, to stand in need, to be in want’;
 (n.) **hiw-a*, **hiy-a* ‘need, want, lack, deficiency’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hiw-*, **hiy-* ‘to lack, to stand in need, to be in want’: Proto-Semitic **haw-ag-* ‘to lack, to stand in need, to be in want’ > Arabic *ʔahwaġa* ‘to have need, to stand in need, to be in want’, *hawġ* ‘need, want, lack, deficiency, destitution’; Ḥarsūsi *hātōg* (base *hwg*) ‘to need’; Šheri / Jibbāli *hótég* (base *hwg*) ‘to need’; Mehri *hātūg* (base *hwg*) ‘to need’. Zammit 2002:151. Egyptian *hwr* ‘to be poor, miserable, weak’, *hwrw* ‘beggar, poor man; destitute’. Hannig 1995:519; Faulkner 1962:166; Erman—Grapow 1921:106 and 1926—1963.3:55—56. East Cushitic: Konso *hiyy-essa* ‘poor’; Galla / Oromo *hiyy-eesa* ‘poor’; Gidole *hiyy-ayt* ‘poor’; Dullay *hiyy-akko* ‘poor’; Burji (m.) *hiyy-áyši*, (f.) *hiyy-áytee* ‘poor’, *hiyyoom-ad-*, *hiyyuum-ad-* ‘to be poor’; Gedeo / Darasa *hiyy-eessa* ‘orphan; poor’, *hiyyette* ‘widow’, *hiyyoom-* ‘to starve’, *hiyyoom-at-* ‘to be poor’, *hiyyo*, *hiyyumma* ‘poverty’; Sidamo *hiyy-eessa* (pl. *hiyy-eeyye*) ‘poor’; Kambata *hiyyessa*, *hiyyeesa* ‘orphan’. Sasse 1982:98 (Sasse notes that most, if not all, of the East Cushitic forms he cites are probably loans from Galla / Oromo); Hudson 1989:108, 115, and 412 Proto-Highland East

Cushitic **hiyy-eessa* ‘orphan; poor (one)’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **heef-* or **heeʔ-* (or **heef-* or **heeʔ-*) ‘weak, feeble, poor, deficient’ > Ma’a *hina* ‘left (hand)”; Asa *-haʔeta* ‘cheap, easy’. Ehret 1980:308.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ey* ‘to grow weary, to fail in strength, to flag (as from want of food); to exert oneself’, *eyppu* ‘weariness, languor, time of adversity’; Malayalam *eccu* ‘exhausted, fatigued’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:79, no. 807.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₁iw-* [**h₁ew-*]/**h₁u-*, **h₁w-eA-* [**h₁w-aA-*] (> **Hw-ā-*), **h₁u-A-* (> **Hū-*) ‘to lack, to stand in need, to be in want’: Sanskrit *ūná-h* ‘wanting, deficient, defective’; Pāli *ūna-* ‘wanting, deficient’; Avestan *ūna-* ‘defective, wanting’, *ū-* ‘to be wanting, deficient’; Armenian *unaim* ‘empty’; Greek εὐνίς ‘reft of, bereaved of’; Latin *vacō* ‘to be empty, void, vacant’, *vānus* ‘empty, void, vacant’, *vāstus* ‘empty, unoccupied, desolate; waste, desert’; Old Irish *fás* ‘empty’; Gothic *wan* ‘want, lack’, *wans* ‘lacking, deficient’, *wanains* ‘lack’; Old Icelandic *vanr* ‘lacking, wanting’, *vana* ‘to diminish’, *vanta* ‘to want, to lack’; Old English *wan* ‘wanting, deficient’, *wana* ‘want, deficiency’, *wanian* ‘to diminish’, *wēste* ‘waste; uninhabited’; Old Frisian *wonia* ‘to diminish’, *wan* ‘lacking’, *wost(e)* ‘waste’; Old Saxon *wanon* ‘to diminish’, *wan* ‘lacking’, *wōsti* ‘waste’; Dutch *wan* ‘shrinkage’; Old High German *wuosti* ‘waste’ (New High German *wüst*; (n.) *Wüste* ‘desert, wilderness, waste’), *wanōn*, *wanēn* ‘to diminish, to wane’, *wan* ‘lacking’. Rix 1998a:604 **ueh₂-* ‘to dwindle away, to waste away’; Pokorny 1959:345—346 **eu-*, **euə-*: **uā-*, **uə-* ‘to lack; empty’; Walde 1927—1932.I:108—109 **eu-*, **euə-*; Mann 1984—1987:355 **eunos*, *-is* (**ūn-*) ‘lacking, barren, empty’, 1487 **uak̄-*, **uak̄uos* (**uak̄ikos*) ‘empty, void; space’, 1491 **uandh-* (also **uanmn-* ?) ‘weak, faint, faint-hearted, uneasy, cramped’, 1490—1491 **uān-* ‘to stay, to dally, to linger, to limp’, 1493 **uār-* ‘limp, weak, meek’, 1485 **uāstos*, *-is* ‘empty; space’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:781 **uāst^[h]o-* and 1995.I:684 **wāst^ho-* ‘empty, devastated’; Watkins 1985:18 **eu-* ‘lacking, empty’ (extended forms **euə-*, **wā-*, **wə-*) and 2000:25 **euə-* ‘to leave, to abandon, to give out’, whence nominal derivatives meaning ‘abandoned, lacking, empty’ (oldest form **₂eu₂-*, with zero-grade form **₂w₂-*, becoming **ū-*; variant [metathesized] full-grade form **₂w₂-*, colored to **₂wa₂-*, contracted to **₂wā-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:179 **h₁eu(h_a)-* ‘empty, wanting’, **uak-* ‘to be empty’, **u(e)h_astos* ‘empty’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:115; Frisk 1970—1973.I:589; Boisacq 1950:296 **euā-*, **euə-*; Hofmann 1966:99 **eu(ā)-*; Beekes 2010.I:481—482; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:386; Ernout—Meillet 1979:710, 713, and 714—715 **wās-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:723, II:731—732 **(e)uān-*, and II:737; De Vaan 2008:649—650; Orël 2003:446 Proto-Germanic **wanan*, 446 **wanaz*, 470 **wōstaz*; Kroonen 2013:572—573 Proto-Germanic **wana-* ‘lacking, missing, void’ and 593 **wōstu-* ‘desert, waste’; Feist 1939:550 **(e)uān-*; Lehmann 1986:394 **ew-H-*, **wā-*, **wə-*

‘empty, lacking’; De Vries 1977:643 and 644; Onions 1966:991 *wǎ- and 994; Klein 1971:820 and 822; Skeat 1898:695; Weekley 1921:1612; Hoad 1986:532—533 and 534; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:870 Pre-Germanic (adj.) *wǎstu-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:801; Walshe 1951:254; Vercoullie 1898: 218.

Buck 1949:5.14 hunger; 9.93 need, necessity; 13.22 empty. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:550—551, no. 409.

754. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasianic only) (n.) *hok^h-a ‘sharp point’:

- A. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hok^h*- (secondary *e*-grade form: **h₁hek^h*- [**h₁hak^h*-]) ‘sharp point’: Sanskrit *ásri-h* ‘corner, angle, edge’, *ásrá-h* ‘corner’; Pāli *assa-* ‘corner, point’; Punjabi (f.) *assī* ‘sharp edge of anything’; Oriya *āsīā* ‘having angles’; Sindhi *āsi-pāsi* ‘on all sides’; Sinhalese *ās*, *āhā* ‘corner, angle’, *asa* ‘side’, *ahak* ‘aside’; Greek *ἄκαινα* ‘a thorn, goad’, *ἄκρος* ‘highest, topmost’, *ἄκῆ* ‘a point’, *ἄκίς* ‘point, barb’, *ἄκμῆ* ‘point, edge’, *ἄκρῖς* ‘a hill-top’, *ἄκτῆ* ‘a headland, foreland, promontory, shore’, *ἄκρον* ‘peak, highest point’, *ὄξυς* ‘sharp, keen, quick, clever’, *ὄκρῖς* ‘jagged point’; Latin *ācer* ‘sharp, cutting’, *acus* ‘needle’, *acuō* ‘to sharpen to a point’, *acūmen* ‘the sharp point of anything, sharpness of understanding’, *acutus* ‘sharpened, pointed’, *aciēs* ‘keenness, edge’; Oscan (abl. sg.) *akrid* ‘sharply, keenly’ (= Latin *acriter*); Old Icelandic *eggja* ‘to provoke, to incite, to egg on’, *egg* ‘edge’; Swedish *egg*, *ägg* ‘edge’; Old English *ecg* ‘edge; weapon, sword’; Old Frisian *egg* ‘edge’; Old Saxon *eggia* ‘edge’; Dutch *egge* ‘corner, edge, angle’; Middle High German *ekka* ‘corner, edge, angle’ (New High German *Ecke*); Old Church Slavonic *ostrъ* ‘sharp’; Lithuanian *ākstinas* ‘thorn, prick’, *akėčios* ‘harrow’; Armenian *aseln* ‘needle’. Pokorny 1959:18—22 **ak-*, **ok-* ‘sharp’; Walde 1927—1932.I:28—33 **ak-*; Mann 1984—1987:8 **akəlos*, **akilos*, **aklos* ‘point, spike, sting’, 9 **akōtos* ‘barb, spike’, 9 **akris*, *-os* ‘sharp, point’, 10 **akus* ‘point’, 10 **akā* ‘keenness, sharpness’, 10 **akējō* ‘to sharpen, to be sharp’, 10 **akəkā*; **akōkā*, *-jə* ‘thorn, spike’, 10 **akənos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-jə* ‘spike, awn’, 10 **akij-* ‘point, tip’, **akilos*; **akəlos*, *-ā*, *-us* ‘point, barb; whetstone’, 10 **akis*, **aki-* ‘point, tip’, 10 **akmā*, *-is*, *-os* ‘point, pimple’, 10 **aknis*, *-os*, *-ā* ‘tip, point, awn’, 11 **akos*, *-es-* ‘barb, tip, point, spot’, 11 **akris*, *-os* ‘keen, swift’, 11 **akōtos* ‘barb, prick’, 11 **akris*, *-os* ‘point, tip, edge; pointed, sharp’, 12 **akšos* ‘keen, sharp, clear; keenness, etc.’, 12 **akstin-*, **akstin-* ‘point, prick, dart, spike, pike, spit’, 12 **aktis* ‘point, prick, shaft’, 12—13 **aktros*; **akstros*, *-ā* ‘sharp; sharpness, point’, 13 **akulos*, *-jios*, *-ā* ‘barb, awl’, 13 **ākus* ‘sharp; point’, 13 **akutos* ‘barb, spike, bristle’, 870 **okris* (?) ‘a pointed implement’, 870 **oks-* ‘sharp, rough, bitter, harsh’, 870—871 **okris* (**okris*) ‘peak, spur, point’, 871 **ōkus*, *-os* ‘sharp, keen, swift’; Watkins 1985:1 **ak-* and 2000:2 **ak-* ‘sharp’ (oldest

form $*_{2_2}ek-$, colored to $*_{2_2}ak-$); Mallory—Adams 1997:509 $*h_2ek-$ ‘sharp, pointed’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:61; Boisacq 1950:32—33 $*ak-$, $*aq-$, $*oq-$ (*o*-grade of $*ak-$), 39 $*ak-$, $*aq-$, and 695 $*oq-$; Frisk 1970—1973.I:49, I:52, I:53—54, I:59, I:59—60 $*ak-$, I:61, and II:374 $*ak-$; Hofmann 1966:9 $*ak-$, 9—10 $*ak-$, 11 $*ak-$, 229 $*oq-$ (*o*-grade of $*ak-$), and 235; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:43—45 $*ak-$ ($*_{2_2}ek-$), II:790, and II:806—807; Beekes 1969:128 $*h_2ek-$ / $*h_2ok-$ and 2010.I:47, I:50—51, I:52 $*h_2ek-$, II:1066 $*h_2ok-ri-$, and II:1089 (Greek ὀξύς ‘sharp, keen, quick, clever’ without correspondences outside Greek); De Vaan 2008:22 and 23; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:7 $*ak-$, $*oq-$ and I:8; Ernout—Meillet 1979:5—6 $*ak-$; Kroonen 2013:4 Proto-Germanic $*agjō-$ ‘edge, blade’; Orël 2003:3—4 Proto-Germanic $*agjō-$; De Vries 1977:94 $*ak-$, $*ok-$; Onions 1966:301 $*ak-$; Klein 1971:238 $*ak-$; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:84; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:151 $*ak-$; Kluge—Seebold 1989:164 $*ak-$ / $*ok-$; Derksen 2008:379 $*h_2ek-ro-$, 380 $*h_2ek-$, and 2015:48; Smoczyński 2007.1:8 $*h_2ék-ti-$; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:5—6; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:287—300 $*h_2ek-$. Note: Some of the Indo-European forms cited here may belong under Proto-Nostratic $*h_2ak^h-$ ($\sim *h_2ak^h-$) ‘to be mentally sharp, keen’ instead.

- B. Uralic: Fennic / Balto-Finnic: Finnish *oka* ‘thorn, prickle, spine’; Estonian *okas* ‘thorn, prickle; needle; awn, beard; spine’. Proto-Finno-Permian $*oksa$ ‘branch, twig’ > Finnish *oksa* ‘branch, twig’; Estonian *oks* ‘branch, twig’; Lapp / Saami *oak’sē* ‘branch, twig’; Cheremis / Mari (Birsk) *uksš*, (Malmyž) *uks* ‘branch, twig’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *usj*, (Kazan) *usā* ‘harrow’. Rédei 1986—1988:716 $*oksa$; Sammallahti 1988:552 $*oksa$ ‘twig’; Aikio 2020:70 $*oksa$ ‘branch’.
- C. Proto-Altaiic $*\delta k^ha$ ‘sharp point, notch’: Proto-Tungus $*ok-$ ‘arrow with a wooden head; fish fin; fishing hook’ > Evenki *oki-hta* ‘fish fin’; Manchu *oki yōro* ‘a large wooden arrowhead’; Orok *ōqo* ‘fishing hook’; Udihe *o’* ‘fish gear’. Proto-Mongolian $*oki$ ‘top, tip, edge’ > Written Mongolian *oki* ‘top, ornament on top of an object; symbol; superior, first’; Khalkha *ox* ‘top, tip, edge’. Proto-Turkic $*ok$ ‘arrow’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *oq* ‘arrow’; Karakhanide Turkic *oq* ‘arrow’; Turkish *ok* ‘arrow’; Gagauz *oq* ‘arrow’; Azerbaijani *ox* ‘arrow’; Turkmenian *oq* ‘arrow’; Uzbek *uq* ‘arrow’; Uighur *oq* ‘arrow’; Karaim *oq* ‘arrow’; Tatar *uq* ‘arrow’; Bashkir *uq* ‘arrow’; Kirghiz *oq* ‘arrow’; Kazakh *oq* ‘arrow’; Noghay *oq* ‘arrow’; Sary-Uighur *oq* ‘arrow’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *oq* ‘arrow’; Tuva *o’q* ‘arrow’; Chuvash *ox* ‘arrow’; Yakut *ox* ‘arrow’. Poppe 1960:55, 98, and 134; Street 1974:21 $*oki$ ‘tip, top, highest; arrow’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1046 $*\delta k^a$ ‘sharp point, notch’.

Buck 1949:8.55 branch; 12.352 point; 12.353 edge; 15.78 sharp. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:540—542, no. 398; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:251—252, no. 113,

**Hoki* ‘point, spike’; Greenberg 2002:18, no 18, **ok* ‘arrow, point’; Hakola 2000:122, no. 527.

755. Proto-Nostratic root **hok*’-:

(vb.) **hok*’- ‘to scrape, to scratch’;

(n.) **hok*’-*a* ‘scraping, scratching’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hok*’- ‘to scratch’: Proto-East Cushitic **hok*’-/**hek*’- ‘to scratch’ > Burji (reduplicated) *hok’ook*’- ‘to scratch oneself’, (causative) *hok’oo-s-k*’- ‘to scratch’, *hok’ór-o* ‘rash’; Saho *hokuk*- ‘to scratch’; Somali *hoq*-, *haqhaq*- ‘to scratch’; Rendille *ox*- ‘to scratch’; Boni *ho?*- ‘to scratch’; Galla / Oromo *hook*’- ‘to scratch’; Gidole *hek*’- ‘to scratch’; Arbore *hek*- ‘to scratch’; Gedeo / Darasa *hok’ook*’- ‘to scratch’. Sasse 1979:48, 50 and 1982:99—100; Hudson 1989:129. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:282, no. 1278, **hok*- ‘to scratch’.]
- B. Dravidian: Malayalam *okkuka* ‘to indent’; Kannaḍa *okki* ‘to scratch (as fowls)’, *okku* ‘to dig’; Koraga *ogi* ‘to cut’; Gondi *uhcānā* ‘to scratch’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:90, no. 926.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **xok*’- ‘to scrape, to scratch’: Georgian *xok*’- ‘to scrape, to scratch’; Mingrelian *xok*’- ‘to shave, to scrape’, *ma-xok*’-*al*- ‘razor’. Klimov 1998:330 **xok*- ‘to scrape’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:553—554 **xok*-; Fähnrich 2007:688 **xok*-.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2573, **χekV* ‘to scratch, to scrape’.

756. Proto-Nostratic root **hon*’-:

(vb.) **hon*’- ‘to swell, to grow, to rise’;

(n.) **hon*’-*a* ‘height, elevation, swelling’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hon*’- ‘to swell, to grow, to rise’: Egyptian (f.) (often dual) *hnwt* ‘horn(s)’, *hnn* ‘phallus’, *hnn*, *hnhn* ‘to swell’, *hnht* ‘swelling, ulcer, sore’ (medical term). Hannig 1995:538, 540, and 541; Faulkner 1962:172; Gardiner 1957:581; Erman—Grapow 1921:111 and 1926—1963.3:109—110, 3:115, 3:116. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *hōntò* ‘crown of the head’. Ehret 1995:302. Ehret 1995:372, no. 752, **hon*’- ‘to stick up, to project, to protrude’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:273, no. 1233, **han*- ‘tumor’, 279, no. 1262, **henin*- ‘penis, testicles’, 281, no. 1271, **hin*- ‘to grow’.]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ōṅku* (*ōṅki*-) ‘to grow, to rise high (as a tree), to ascend (as a flame), to be lofty, to spread, to be exalted, to be dignified, to increase in wealth or renown; to lift up, to raise (as arm, weapon, pestle)’, *ōṅkal* ‘height, rising, mountain, mound’, *ōkku* (*ōkki*-) ‘to raise, to lift up, to cause to rise’, *ōkkam* ‘height, increase, bigness’, *ōccam* ‘eminence’, *ōccal* ‘height, elevation’, *ōccu* (*ōcci*-) ‘to raise in order to strike’, *ōppu* (*ōppi*-) ‘to raise’; Malayalam *ōṅṅuka* ‘to lift up (as hand), to prepare to strike, to aim

at', *ōñnal* 'threat', *ōccuka* 'to raise', *ōppuka* 'to raise, to lift'; Kota *o-k-* (*o-yk-*) 'to raise (hand to strike, corpse on to the fire)'; Kannaḍa *ōga* 'pride'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:99, no. 1033.

- C. Proto-Altaic **ōni-* '(vb.) to grow, to rise; (adj.) high': Proto-Mongolian **ōndü-* '(vb.) to rise; (adj.) high' > Written Mongolian *ōndüyi-* 'to raise one's head, to raise oneself, to rise slightly', *ōndür* '(adj.) high, tall; (n.) height', *ōndürliḡ* '(adj.) high, tall; (n.) elevation', *ōndürži-* 'to go up, to rise', (causative) *ōndüržigül-* 'to raise, to lift up, to enhance', *ōndürid-* 'to be or become too high', *ōndüridke-* 'to make high, to elevate', *ōndürle-* 'to put high, to raise, to elevate'; Khalkha *ōndör* 'high', *ōndiy-* 'to rise'; Buriat *ünder* 'high', *üñdi-* 'to rise'; Kalmyk *ōndr* 'high', *ōndē-* 'to rise'; Ordos *üñdür* 'high', *ōñdi-* 'to rise'; Dagur *χundur*, *hundere* 'high', *undī-* 'to rise'; Shira-Yughur *uḡdur*, *oḡdur* 'high', *oḡdö-* 'to rise'; Monguor *ndur*, *undur* 'high'. Poppe 1955:50 and 56. Proto-Turkic **ōn-* 'to grow, to rise' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ōn-* (*ün-*) 'to grow, to rise'; Karakhanide Turkic *ōn-* (*ün-*) 'to grow, to rise'; Turkmenian *ōn-* 'to grow, to rise'; Khalay *hin-* 'to grow, to rise'; Uzbek *un-* 'to grow, to rise'; Uighur *ün-* 'to grow, to rise'; Kirghiz *ōn-* 'to grow, to rise'; Kazakh *ōn-* 'to grow, to rise'; Sary-Uighur *ün-* 'to grow, to rise'; Tuva *ün-* 'to grow, to rise'; Chuvash *ᵉᵛᵛn-* 'to grow, to rise'; Yakut *ün-* 'to grow, to rise'. Poppe 1960:69 and 126; Street 1976:22 **ōn-* 'to rise, to increase'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1053 **ōni* 'high'.

Buck 1949:10.21 rise (vb.); 10.22 raise, lift; 12.31 high.

757. Proto-Nostratic root **hul-* (~ **hol-*):

(vb.) **hul-* 'to destroy, to lay waste, to cause to perish';

(n.) **hul-a* 'ruin, destruction; end, death'

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *ula* 'to become diminished, to be wasted, to be devoid of, to die, to terminate', *ulakkai* 'end, ruin, death', *ulappu* 'wasting, perishing, defect, death, limit', *ulai* 'to perish, to be ruined, to ruin', *ulaivu* 'ruin, destruction, defeat, trouble, poverty'; Malayalam *ulakkuka* 'to shrink up', *ulayuka* 'to be impoverished, ruined', *ulaccal*, *ulavu* 'ruin'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:66, no. 671.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **hul-* (> **hol-*) 'to smite, to destroy': Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *hu-ul-la-a-i* 'to smite, to destroy', (ptc.) *hu-ul-hu-li-ya-an-te-eš* 'smitten', *hu-ul-la-an-za-iš* 'battle'; Greek ὄλλωμι 'to destroy, to make an end of', ὄλεθρος 'ruin, destruction, death'; Latin *ab-oleō* 'to destroy'. Rix 1998a:264 **h₃elh₁-* 'to perish, to be ruined or destroyed'; Pokorny 1959:777 **ol-(e)-* 'to destroy'; Mann 1984—1987:871—872 **ol-*, **olu-* 'to destroy'; Watkins 1985:46 **ol-* and 2000:60 **olə-* 'to destroy' (oldest form **₂el₂-*, colored to **₂ol₂-*; with variant [metathesized] form **₂le₂-*, contracted to **₂lē-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:158 **h₃elh₁-* 'to rend, to

destroy'; Couvreur 1937:143—144; Tischler 1977— :273—276; Cowgill 1965:146—147 **O_f-ne-O-mi*; Boisacq 1950:696; Hofmann 1966:230; Beekes 1969:131 **h₃elh₁-*, 236, and 2010.II:1069—1070 **h₃elh₁-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:378—379; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:792—793; Ernout—Meillet 1979:3—4; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:4—5; De Vaan 2008: 21. Puhvel (1984— .3:363—368), however, rejects this etymology. See also Kloekhorst 2008b:358—360.

Sumerian *hul* 'to destroy'.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 11.27 destroy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:552—553, no. 412.

758. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **hur-a* (and/or **her-a* ?) 'hawk-like bird: falcon, hawk, eagle, kite':

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *Hr*, *Hrw* 'the god Horus (one of the two brother hawk-gods)'; Coptic *hōr* [ϣϠϠ] 'the god Horus'. Hannig 1995:543—544; Erman—Grapow 1921:112 and 1926—1963.3:122—124; Faulkner 1962: 173; Gardiner 1957:582; Vycichl 1983:307—308; Černý 1976:291.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *eruvai* 'a kind of kite whose head is white and whose body is brown, eagle'; Malayalam *eruva* 'eagle, kite'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:80, no. 818.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hor-/*h₁hr-* 'eagle': Hittite *hara(n)-* (< **h₁hr-n-*) (nom. sg. *ha-a-ra-aš*, gen. sg. *ha-ra-na-aš*) 'eagle', (?) *harrani-* or *hurrani-* name of an ornithomatic bird; Palaic *ha-ra-a-aš* 'eagle'; Greek ὄρνις 'bird'; Armenian *oror* 'kite, gull'; Welsh *eryr* 'eagle'; Gothic *ara* 'eagle'; Old Icelandic (poet.) *ari*, *örn* (< **arnu-*) (gen. sg. *arnar*, acc. *örnu*, pl. *ernir*) 'eagle'; Old English *earn* 'eagle' (Middle English *ern(e)*, *earn*); Old High German *aro*, *arn* 'eagle' (New High German [poetic] *Aar*); Lithuanian *erēlis* (dial. *arēlis*) 'eagle'; Latvian *ērglis* 'eagle'; Old Prussian *arelie* 'eagle'; Old Church Slavic *orьbь* 'eagle'; Russian *orël* [orěɫ] 'eagle'; Czech *orel* 'eagle'; Polish *orzeł* 'eagle'; Upper Sorbian *worjol* 'eagle'; Lower Sorbian *jerjol*, *jerjel* 'eagle'; Bulgarian *orél* 'eagle'; Serbo-Croatian *órao* 'eagle'. Pokorny 1959:325—326 **er-*, **or-* 'eagle'; Walde 1927—1932.I:135 **er-*, **or-* 'eagle'; Mann 1984—1987:889—890 **ornis* (**ornūis* ?) 'petulant, dashing; dasher, flier', 890—891 **oros*, *-ios* (**?oros*) 'eagle, hawk'; Watkins 1985:46 **or-* and 2000:60 **or-* 'large bird' (earliest form **₂₃er-*, colored to **₂₃or-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:173 **H₃or-* 'eagle'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:158 **H₃or-* and 1995.I:136 *H₃or-* 'eagle' (also I:455, I:765 **Her-*, *o*-grade **Hor-*); Sturtevant 1951:31, §58, Indo-Hittite **γorn-*; Puhvel 1984— .3:137—139 Hittite *hāraniš* < **H₁órones* and 3:139; Tischler 1977— :170—171; Kloekhorst 2008b: 301—302; Boisacq 1950:714; Frisk 1970—1973.II:421—422 **or-(elo-)n-*;

Hofmann 1966:238 **er-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:822—823; Beekes 1969:130 and 2010.II:1106 **h₃er-n-*; Orël 2003:25 Proto-Germanic **arōn*; Kroonen 2013:32 Proto-Germanic **aran-* ‘eagle’; Feist 1939:54—55; Lehmann 1986:40; De Vries 1977:13 and 688; Onions 1966:324; Klein 1971:256; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:1; Kluge—Seebold 1989:1; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:122; Derksen 2008:376—377 **h₃er-il-o-* and 2015:155 **h₃er-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:147. Pokorny (1959:325—326) reconstructs Proto-Indo-European **er-* on the basis of Lithuanian *erēlis*, but Cowgill (1965:146, fn. 2) questions the validity of this reconstruction since he takes Lithuanian *erēlis* to be assimilated from the dialectal form *arēlis*. Cowgill points out that the relative antiquity of the Lithuanian dialectal form is confirmed by Old Prussian *arelie*. Finally, he points out that Latvian *ērglis* has undergone even more remodeling.

Sumerian *hu-ri-in* ‘eagle’.

Buck 1949:3.64 bird. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:548, no. 406; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 741, **γerʔV* ‘eagle’; Blažek 2013:41, no. 7.

Comment: Both Dolgopolsky (2008, no. 741) and Blažek (2013:41, no. 7) compare the following Semitic forms here (data taken from Blažek [modified to reflect traditional transcription]):

Proto-Semitic **gar-(an-)* ‘eagle’ > Akkadian *erû* (~ *arû*) ‘eagle’, *urinnu* ‘eagle’; Old Aramaic *ʿr* ‘bearded vulture’; Aramaic *ʿar* ‘a kind of eagle’; Arabic *garan-* ‘a kind of eagle’. See also Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:58—59, no. 40, *ʿarw/y-*, *ʿawr-* ‘bird of prey’ and II:131, no. 90, **γVrVn-* ‘eagle’). Note: Militarëv—Kogan’s (2005.II:59, no. 40) comparison of Arabic *ʔaʿwar* ‘corbeau’ (‘crow’) here seems rather unlikely.

The Semitic forms go far better with the Dravidian forms cited above, while Egyptian *Ḥr*, *Ḥrw* ‘the god Horus (one of the two brother hawk-gods)’; Coptic *hōr* [ϣⲟⲣ] ‘the god Horus’ go better with the Indo-European (and Sumerian) forms. This seems to indicate that two separate stems must be reconstructed for Proto-Nostratic: (1) **hur-a* ‘hawk-like bird: falcon, hawk, eagle, kite’ and (2) **γer-a* ‘eagle’.

759. Proto-Nostratic root **hur-* (~ **hor-*):

- (vb.) **hur-* ‘to pound, to grind, to crush, to waste away or wear down by rubbing’;
- (n.) **hur-a* ‘pestle, mortar’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hur-* ‘to pound, to grind, to crush’: East Cushitic: Burji *hur-* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’; East Galla / East Oromo *hurr-aaw-* ‘to become fine, powdery’. Hudson 1989:200; Sasse 1982:102.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ural* ‘mortar, mould for making vermicelli or the like’; Malayalam *ural* ‘wooden mortar for beating rice’; Koḍagu *ora* ‘mortar of stone or wood’; Tuḷu *oralu, uralu, uralu* ‘a large mortar’; Telugu *rōlu, rōlu* ‘mortar’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:62—63, no. 651. Tamil *urai* (-*v-*, -*nt-*) ‘to be reduced into a powder or paste, to wear away by attrition, to be indented or effaced by rubbing’, *urai* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) ‘to rub into a paste, to wear away by rubbing, to grate, to test on the touchstone, to smear, to polish’, (n.) *urai* ‘rubbing, friction, attrition; fineness of gold or silver as tested on the touchstone’, *urai-kal* ‘touchstone, small stone for rubbing pills into powder’, *uraical* ‘friction’, *uraicu* (*uraici-*) ‘to rub against (intr.)’, to chafe, to wear away by use; to rub hard (tr.), to scour, to waste away by rubbing’, *uraiñcu* (*uraiñci-*) ‘to rub (tr.)’, *uraippu* ‘rubbing, assaying’, *uracu* (*uraici-*) ‘to rub against’, *uriñcu* (*uriñci-*) ‘to rub oneself, to rub against; to wear away by rubbing (tr.), to grind away, to scrape, to smear, to anoint’, *uriñu* (*uriñi-*) ‘to rub (intr.)’, *uriñcal* ‘rubbing, chafing’, *urāy, urāyñcu* (*urāyñci-*) ‘to rub (intr., as an animal against a tree, as two branches together)’, *urōcu, urōñcu* (*urōñci-*) ‘to rub (intr.)’; Malayalam *urasuka* ‘to rub, to come into contact, to contend, to form into a pill’, *urasal* ‘friction, contest’, *ura* ‘rubbing, a stroke’, *ura-kallu, uravu-kallu* ‘touchstone’, *urayuka* ‘to rub, to wear by friction’, *uravu* ‘rubbing, touch’, *urekka* ‘to rub, to grate, to polish, to grind, to assay metal’, *urivyuka* ‘to be chafed’, *uruññuka, urammuka, urummuka, urattuka* ‘to rub against, to graze, to touch’, *urusuka* ‘to wear off, to diminish’; Kota *orv-* (*ort-*) ‘to rub into paste, to rub with a stone in making pot’, *orv-* (*ord-*) ‘to touch or stroke gently’, *orj-* (*orj-*) ‘to rub’, *uj-* (*uj-*) ‘to rub, to file, to sharpen’; Toda *warf-* (*wart-*) ‘to rub into paste, to wipe, to wash’, *ud-* (*udy-*) ‘to smear on body’; Kannaḍa *urdu, uddu, ujjū* ‘to rub, to make fine by rubbing’, *ujjisū* ‘to cause to rub’, *ujju, urdike* ‘rubbing’, *ore* (*orad-*) ‘(vb.) to touch, to rub, to smear, to apply to a touchstone, to examine, to grind, to make thin or fine; (n.) rubbing, etc.’, *orasu, orisu, orsu* ‘(vb.) to touch, to rub gently, to stroke, to rub, to scour, to rub out, to crush, to separate by friction (as grain from the ears), to smear; (n.) friction, rubbing, destroying’, *ore-gal* ‘touchstone’, *rubbu* ‘(vb.) to grind in a mortar; (n.) grinding’, (?) *ruddu* ‘to beat soundly’; Koḍagu *udd-* (*uddi-*) ‘to rub’; Tuḷu *urepuni* ‘to try metals by touchstone’, *uresuni* ‘to try metals by touchstone, to rub, to polish’, *urduni* ‘to rub, to file, to polish’, *ujjuni* ‘to rub’, *ure-kallu, ore-kallu* ‘touchstone’, *orevuni* ‘to rub, to wipe’, *oresuni* ‘to diminish (intr.), to wear off; to rub (tr.), to wipe’, *orabelu* ‘rice once cleaned off its husk only’, *orabēlu* ‘work involving the removal of husk from paddy’, *ocipuni* ‘to wipe off, to rub out, to clean’, *occuni* ‘to wipe off, to rub out, to clean, to whet, to sharpen’; Telugu *ora* ‘rubbing, touch, testing on a touchstone’, *ora-gallu*

‘touchstone’, *orapiḍi* ‘rubbing, friction’, *oracu* ‘to rub, to try by touchstone’, *orayu* ‘to rub, to test by touchstone, to touch; to be slightly bruised’, *orayika* ‘rubbing, friction’, *uriyu* ‘to be rubbed’, *ruddu* ‘to rub, to scour, to clean’, *rudduḍu* ‘rubbing, scouring, cleaning’, *rubbu* ‘to grind in a mortar’, *rubbu-guṇḍu* ‘stone pestle or roller used in grinding things in a mortar’, (?) *ruttu* ‘to strike or beat’, (?) *rōkali* ‘a large wooden pestle’; Kolami *rubgund* ‘stone pestle’ (Telugu loan), *rokāl*, *rōka* ‘pestle’ (Telugu loan); Naikri *rōkal* ‘pestle’ (Telugu loan); Parji *urc-* ‘to skim off (cream), to scrape’; Gadba (Ollari) *urs-* ‘to wipe (sweat)’; Gondi *uriyānā* ‘to powder’, *urisānā* ‘to sprinkle or crumble salt, sugar, sandal powder, etc.’, *rōkal* ‘pestle’ (Telugu loan), *ūc-* ‘to scrape, to plane’, *us-* ‘to pare’, *oochana* ‘a carpenter’s plane’; Koṇḍa *rōs-* ‘to touch slightly, to stroke, to rub against’; Kui *rūga* (*rūgi-*) ‘to be smooth’, *rūsa* (*rūsi-*) ‘(vb.) to crush, to grind; (n.) crushing, grinding’, *rūska* (*rūski-*), *rūseni* ‘to press for grinding sugarcane’; Kuwi *rūbali* ‘to smear’, *rub(b)inai* ‘to smear, to rouge’, *rub-* ‘to rub on (oil, etc.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:64—65, no. 665; Krishnamurti 2003:118 **ur-ay* ‘to rub’. (?) Parji *ud-* ‘to crush (nits, lice)’ (only recorded in the phrase *pēnul udomo*); Koṇḍa *ur-* (*uRt-*) ‘to butt, to gore (buffalo, etc. with horns), to crush (nits)’; Pengo *uz-* (*ust-*) ‘to butt, to gore; to crush (lice)’; Maṇḍa *uy-* ‘(cow) to gore; to crush (lice)’; Kui *ubga* (*ugb-*) ‘to collide, to strike against, to butt’; Kuwi *ur-* ‘to butt, to gore’, *ūrhalī* ‘to butt’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:69, no. 706.

- C. (?) Kartvelian: Georgian *xrc’en-/xrc’n-* ‘to decompose’.
 D. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **hur-ki-* ‘to hollow out’ (verbalizing affix *-*ke-* / *-*ki-*): Amur *hurki-dʷ* ‘to hollow out’, *hurkif* ‘cave, den, ravine’; South Sakhalin *hurki* ‘something hollow, cave’ (also ‘to hollow out’, according to Hattori). Fortescue 2016:78.

Sumerian *hur* ‘to hollow out, to scratch, to scrape, to dig in, to rub, to grate, to grind’.

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 8.22 dig; 9.31 rub; 12.72 hollow (= concave).

760. Proto-Nostratic root **hut-* (~ **hot-*):

(vb.) **hut-* ‘to shake, to shiver, to tremble’;

(n.) **hut-a* ‘trembling, shaking’; (adj.) ‘shaking, shivering, trembling’

Note also:

(vb.) **hat-* ‘to shake, to tremble; to be shaken, startled, frightened, terrified, afraid’;

(n.) **hat-a* ‘trembling, shaking’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **hut-* ‘to shake, to shiver, to tremble’: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **hut-* ‘to shiver, to tremble’ > Hadiyya *hut-e?* ‘to shiver, to tremble’, *hut-is-ša* ‘shivering’; Sidamo *hut-i?r-* ‘to shake, to shiver, to

tremble'; Kambata *hut'* 'to shiver, to tremble', *hut'-is-ša* 'shivering'. Hudson 1989: 133.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *utaru* (*utari-*) 'to shake off, to shake out (as a cloth), to renounce (as the world, friends, etc.); to shake (as one's hands, feet, or body) through cold, fear, or anger', *utai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to tremble with fear, to shiver with cold', *utaippu* 'fright, alarm', *utir* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to be shaken with the wind', *utir* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to shake off'; Malayalam *utaruka* 'to be in a hurry or confusion, to shake off'; Kannada *odaru* '(vb.) to shake, to shake off; (n.) shaking, etc.', *odarisu* 'to cause to shake'; Tuḷu *udēvuni* 'to throw out (the hands to shake, as in sickness)'; Gadba (Ollari) *udurp-* (*udurt-*) 'to shake'; Telugu *udaru*, *uduru*, *udilu* '(vb.) to tremble, to shake, to shiver, to quake; (n.) trembling, shaking'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:59—60, no. 613.

Buck 1949:10.26 shake (vb. tr.).

22.37. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *ɕ

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
ɕ-	ɕ-	∅-	∅-	ɕh-	∅-	∅-	∅-
-ɕ-	-ɕ-	-∅-	-∅-	-ɕh-	-∅-	-∅-	-∅-

761. Proto-Nostratic root *ɕag- (~ *ɕag-):

(vb.) *ɕag- ‘to bud, to sprout, to grow’;

(n.) *ɕag-a ‘outgrowth, bud, sprout, protuberance’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ɕag- ‘(vb.) to bud, to sprout, to grow; (n.) outgrowth, bud, sprout, protuberance’: Proto-Semitic *ɕag-ar- ‘(vb.) to bud, to sprout, to grow; (n.) outgrowth, protuberance, knot, knob’ > Arabic ‘ağara ‘to be stout, big, paunch-bellied; to be knotty; to be still ripe and green; to be hard and strong’, ‘ağar ‘outgrowth, protuberance, excrescence, projection, knot, knob’, ‘ağir, ‘ağur ‘knotty, knobby; thick above the joint; still unripe or green’, ‘ağr ‘green, unripe’, ‘uğra ‘knot, knob, hump, protuberance, excrescence’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *agada ‘stalk (e.g., of maize)’ > Gedeo / Darasa *agada* ‘stalk (e.g., of maize)’; Sidamo *agada*, *agasšo* (< **agad-co*) ‘stalk (e.g., of maize)’; Kambata *agada* ‘stalk (e.g., of maize)’. Also found in Amharic *agäda* ‘stalk (of sugar cane, of maize)’ and Galla / Oromo (*h*)*agadaa* ‘sugar cane’ (loanwords?). Hudson 1989:142. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift *ɕag- ‘a kind of grain’ > Iraqw ‘ayiti’i ‘maize’; K’wadza *agentiko* ‘bulrush millet’ (?). Ehret 1980:376. [Ehret 1995:346, no. 675, *ɕaag- ‘grain’.]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *akai* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to flourish, to sprout’, *akai* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to sprout, to rise; to raise’, *akaippu* ‘rising, elevation’; Malayalam *aka* ‘germ, bud, shoot’, *akekka* ‘to bud’, *ava* ‘bud, especially the fruit-like sprout of *Artocarpus*’, *avekka* ‘to sprout’; Kannaḍa *age* ‘seedling, shoot from the root of a plant or tree, sprout’; Koḍagu *age* ‘paddy, seedling’; Tuḷu *agge* ‘the shoot of a branch’; Kuṛux *akhuā* ‘seed-bud, sprout, shoot’, *akrānā* ‘to germinate, to shoot, to sprout’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 15. Kannaḍa *āku* ‘leaf, young rice not yet transplanted, young sprouts of corn, any filament’; Telugu *āku* ‘leaf, petal; seedlings of paddy for transplantation’; Gadba (Salur) *ākupacan* ‘green’; Gondi (many dialects) *ākī* ‘leaf’; Koṇḍa *āku* ‘leaf’; Pengo *āki* ‘leaf’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:32, no. 335.
- C. Altaic: Mongolian *ayli* ‘excrescence, burl, or canker on a tree’; Manchu *ageli* ‘a swelling found on the larch (*Larix leptolepis*) that is used as a medicine’ (cf. Norman 1978:7; not in Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003).

Buck 1949:8.42 grain.

762. Proto-Nostratic root *ʕak^h- (~ *ʕək^h-):

(vb.) *ʕak^h- ‘to beat, to strike, to break’;

(n.) *ʕak^h-a ‘the act of beating, striking, breaking’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʕak- ‘to beat, to attack’: Proto-Semitic *ʕak-ak- ‘to beat, to attack’ > Arabic *ʕakka* ‘to attack, to conquer, to convict; to beat, to whip, to flog’, *ʕakkār* ‘who attacks repeatedly’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʕaak- or *ʕaak^w- ‘to attack’ > Iraqw *akut-* ‘to leap, to jump’, *ʕaqmit-* ‘to fly’; K’wadza *ak-* ‘to seize’, *akat-* ‘to catch’; Asa *ʔak-* ‘to seize’. Ehret 1980:276. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʕaaku- ‘war’ > K’wadza *ʔagumuk* ‘war’; Ma’a *akú* ‘war’. Derivative of *ʕaak- or *ʕaak^w- ‘to attack’. Ehret 1980:276. Ehret 1995:346, no. 677, *ʕaak- or *ʕaak^w- ‘to attack’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *akai* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to be broken, crumpled; to suffer’, *akai* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to break, to cut in pieces, to beat, to trouble, to oppress’; Gadba (Salur) *ag-* ‘to be torn’, *akp-* ‘to tear’; Telugu *agalu* ‘to break or go to pieces, to burst’, *agalincu*, *agul(u)cu* ‘to break (tr.), to burst’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 16. Tamil *akkakkāy* ‘asunder’; Tuḷu *akkakka*, *akkoḷu* ‘(n.) part; (adv.) asunder’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:4, no. 19.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **äktä-* ‘to cut, to strike’ > Lapp / Saami (Arjeplog) *ak’te-* ‘to kill (animals for food), to flay and cut up’; Zyrian / Komi *okty-* ‘to hew, to fell (a tree)’; Vogul / Mansi *jäkt-* ‘to cut’; Ostyak / Xanty *ögət-* ‘to cut, to cut off’. Collinder 1960:402 and 1977:88; Rédei 1986—1988:23 **äktz-*; Sammallahti 1988:542 **äktä-* ‘to cut’; Aikio 2020: 35 **äktä-* ‘to cut’.

Sumerian *AK* ‘to beat, to strike, to hit’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.26 break (vb. tr.).

763. Proto-Nostratic root *ʕal- (~ *ʕəl-):

(vb.) *ʕal- ‘to be high, tall, elevated, exalted; to rise high; to ascend’;

(n.) *ʕal-a ‘highest point: peak, summit, mountain’;

(particle) *ʕal- ‘on, upon, on top of, over, above, beyond’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʕal- ‘(vb.) to be high, exalted; to rise high; to ascend; (particle) on, upon, on top of, over, above, beyond’: Proto-Semitic *ʕal-aw/y- ‘(vb.) to be high, exalted; to rise high; to ascend; (particle) on, upon, on top of, over, above, beyond’ > Akkadian *elū* ‘to travel uphill or to a higher ground, to go up, to ascend; to rise, to grow, to emerge’, *elū* ‘tall, high, exalted, proud’, *eli* ‘on, above, upon, more than, over, to, towards, against, beyond’, *elēn* ‘above, over’, *elēnu* (adv.) ‘above, upstream’, *el* ‘on, above, beyond’, *eliš* (adv.) ‘up, on high, on top; upward, upstream’;

- Hebrew *ʿālāh* [אָלַח] ‘to go up, to ascend, to climb; to spring up, to grow’, *ʿal* [אָל] ‘height’, *ʿal* [אָל] ‘upon, on, over, above, by, beyond, to, towards’; Aramaic *ʿalē* ‘to go up’; Syriac *lʿal* ‘upward, above’; Ugaritic *ʿly* ‘to go up’, *ʿl* ‘upon’; Arabic *ʿalā* ‘to be high, elevated; to rise high, to exceed; to surpass’, *ʿulūw* ‘height, tallness, elevation, altitude’, *ʿalā* ‘on, upon, on top of, over, above, by, beyond, to, towards’, *ʿalīy* ‘high, tall, elevated’; Sabaeen *ʿly* ‘to be high’, *ʿly* ‘above, upon, toward’; Soqotri *ʿálha* ‘high’; Mehri *ʿālēw* ‘at the top’; Ḥarsūsi *b-áʿla* ‘on, on top of’, *ʿálwa* ‘north, northwards’; Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *ʿalʿala* [ላላላ] ‘to raise, to elevate’, (with the preposition *la* agglutinated to the root *ʿly* [cf. Leslau 1987:304]) *laʿala* [ላላላ], *lʿla* [ላላላ] ‘to be high, superior, elevated’, *ʿalʿala* [አላላላ], *ʿalaʿala* [አላላላ] ‘to lift up, to raise, to elevate, to exalt, to extol’, *lāʿla* [ላላላ] ‘above, against, on, upon, over, about, concerning’ (with suffix pronouns, the form is *lāʿle-* [ላላላ-]); Tigre *ʿalʿala* ‘to raise’, *lāʿal* ‘on, above’; Tigrinya *lāʿalā* ‘to raise’, *lʿli* ‘above’; Gurage *lalä* ‘on, above’; Amharic *lʿul* ‘high, exalted; prince’ (loan from Geez), *lay* ‘on, above’; Gafat *laḡḡä* ‘on, above’; Harari *läʿay*, *lāy* ‘above, on, over, top, upper’. Murtonen 1989:319; Klein 1987:473; Leslau 1963:98, 1979:378, and 1987:60 and 303—304; Bergsträsser 1928:187 and 1983:218—219; Zammit 2002:295. Egyptian *ʿr* ‘to ascend’ (earlier *iʿr*), *ʿrʿr* ‘to rise up, to go up, to ascend’; Coptic *ale* [ⲗⲗⲉ] ‘to go up, to ascend’. Hannig 1995:31 and 148; Faulkner 1962:24; Erman—Grapow 1921:6 *iʿr* (since Middle Kingdom *ʿry*) and 1926—1963.1:41, 1:208; Gardiner 1957:551 *iʿr* (later *ʿr*) ‘to ascend, to mount up, to approach’; Černý 1976:4 and 228 (*ōl* [ⲡⲗ] ‘to hold, to take, to lift up’); Vycichl 1983:6 and 249. Berber: Tamazight *aləy* ‘to climb up, to ascend’, *al* ‘until, up to’; Kabyle *ali* ‘to climb up, to ascend’. Proto-East Cushitic **ʕal-* ‘mountain, highland’ > Dullay *ʕal-e* ‘mountain, highland’; Arbore *el* ‘stone’; Saho *ʕal* ‘mountain’; Somali *ʕal* ‘any lofty, coastal range of mountains’; Rendille *hal* ‘mountain’. Sasse 1979:35 and 36. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ale* ‘over, above’ > Sidamo *ale* ‘top’, *alé* ‘upper, upwards’, *al-icco* ‘highland, top’, *aliidi* ‘over, above’, *aliido* ‘north’; Kambata *ale(e-n)* ‘on (top of)’, *alee-n*, *ali* ‘over, above’, *aluuda* ‘north; over, above’; Gedeo / Darasa *alaalle* ‘north; over, above’. Hudson 1989:109. Diakonoff 1992:30 **ʕal* (> **ʕyl*, **ʕly*) ‘to rise up’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:238, no. 1060, **ʕal-* ‘to rise’, 238—239, no. 1061, **ʕal-* ‘top’, and 247—248, no. 1102, **ʕilay-* ‘to rise’ (derived from no. 1060 **ʕal-* ‘to rise’); Ehret 1995:347, no. 679, **ʕal-* ‘to ascend, to go up’.
- B. Proto-Uralic **älz-* ‘to lift, to raise’: Vogul / Mansi *älm-* ‘to lift up, to raise’; Ostyak / Xanty *äləm-* (imptv. *ilmi*) ‘to lift, to raise, to carry’; Hungarian *emel-* (< **elmel-*) ‘to lift, to raise’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets (?) *jila-* ‘to pick up’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan (?) *jili-*, *jila-* ‘to pick up’; Selkup Samoyed (?) *ila-* ‘to pick up, to nurse’. Collinder 1955:5 and 1977:27; Rédei 1986—1988:24 **älz-*; Décsy 1990:98 **älä-* ‘(to) lift, (to) carry’; Janhunen 1977b:26 **ilä-*.

- C. Altaic: Tungus: Manchu *ala* ‘a hill with a level top’, *alin* ‘mountain’; Nanay / Gold *ala* ‘small mountains’; Jurchen *alin* ‘mountain’. Written Mongolian *ala* ‘flat-topped hill’; Khalkha *al* ‘flat-topped hill’. Turkic: Kirghiz *aliq* ~ *aluq* ‘peak, summit’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:292) include Manchu *alin* ‘mountain’ and Jurchen *alin* ‘mountain’ under Proto-Altaic **ālā* ‘to cross (a mountain)’. However, Dolgopolsky maintains that they belong here instead.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 10.21 rise (vb.); 10.22 raise, lift; 10.61 carry (bear). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:519—520, no. 367; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 126, **ʕAlV* (= **ʕalE* or **ʕālī*) ‘height, top; to climb, to go up’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:274—275, no. 137, **ʕalʼA* ‘to cross a mountain’.

764. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕal-* (~ **ʕəl-*):

- (vb.) **ʕal-* ‘to make a fire, to light a fire, to ignite, to kindle, to burn’;
(n.) **ʕal-a* ‘fire, torch’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʕal-aw/y-* ‘to burn’ > Hebrew *ʕōlāh* [עֹלָה] ‘burnt offering’; Aramaic *ʕālāthā* ‘burnt offering’; Syriac *ʕālāthā* ‘burnt offering, altar’; Palmyrene *ʕltʔ* ‘altar’. Klein 1987:466. Proto-Semitic **ʕal-ak-* ‘to make a fire, to light a fire, to ignite, to kindle’ > Arabic *ʕalaqa* ‘to ignite, to catch fire, to kindle’; Mehri *ʕālōk* ‘to make a fire’, *hālōk* ‘to light, to kindle’; Šheri / Jibbāli *aʕlēk* ‘to light, to kindle’; Ḥarsūsi *ʕālōk* ‘to light, to kindle’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʕh₂el-* [**ʕhal-*] ‘to burn’: Sanskrit *alāta-m* ‘a fire-brand, coal’; Kashmiri *alāv* ‘fire in a pit’; Gujarati *alāvṇ* ‘fire kindled in a ditch around which Moslems dance at Muharram’; Shina (Guresi) *alāū* ‘bonfire’, (Gilgiti) *lāi* ‘unlit torch’; Latin *altar*, *altāre*, *altāria*, *altārium* ‘that which is placed upon an altar proper (*āra*) for burning of the victim; a high altar (more splendid than *āra*)’, *adoleō* ‘to burn a sacrifice’; Swedish *ala* ‘to blaze, to flame, to flare up, to burn’. Rix 1998a:234 **h₂el-* ‘to burn’; Pokorny 1959:28 **al-* ‘to burn’; Walde 1927—1932.I:88 **al-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:87 **hₐel-* ‘to burn’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:55; Ernout—Meillet 1979:9 and 24; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:4—5 and I:32; De Vaan 2008:24—25.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 22.14 altar; 22.15 sacrifice, offering. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:525, no. 376; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:276, no. 140, (?) **ʕalL* ‘to burn (sacrificial offerings)’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 127, **ʕ[a]lV* ‘to burn (especially sacrifices), to use magic means (sacrifices, magic formula, etc.) to produce a particular result’.

765. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕam-* (~ **ʕəm-*):(vb.) **ʕam-* ‘to sink, to dip, to plunge’;(n.) **ʕam-a* ‘deep place, valley’; (adj.) ‘sunken, deep’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕam-* ‘to be or become deep’: Proto-Semitic **ʕam-ak-* ‘to be or become deep’ > Hebrew *ʕāmaḵ* [ʕmḵ] ‘to be deep’, *ʕēmeḵ* [ʕmḵ] ‘vale, valley, lowland; open country’, *ʕāmōḵ* [ʕmḵ], *ʕāmēḵ* [ʕmḵ] ‘deep’; Syriac *ʕamaḵ* ‘to be deep’; Ugaritic *ʕmḵ* ‘valley, plain’; Phoenician *ʕmḵ* ‘plain, valley’; Arabic *ʕamuḵa* ‘to be or become deep, profound; to deepen, to make deep or deeper; to penetrate deeply, to go deeply, to become absorbed’, *ʕamḵ*, *ʕumḵ* ‘depth, profoundness, profundity; bottom’, *ʕamīḵ* ‘deep, profound’; Sabaeen *ʕmḵ* ‘(cultivated) valley’; Mehri *ʕāmḵ* ‘middle’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʕamḵ* ‘middle’; Ḥarsūsi *ʕāmḵ* ‘middle’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʕamaḵa* [ʕmḵ], *ʕamaḵwa* [ʕmḵ] ‘to be deep, to submerge (intr.)’, *ʕamaḵ* [ʕmḵ] ‘depth, deepness’; Tigrinya *ʕamäḵwä* ‘to be deep’; Tigre *ʕamḵa* ‘to be concave, to be hollowed’; Amharic *ammäḵä* ‘to be deep, to make deep’, *mäḵmäḵ* ‘abyss (referring to hell)’. Murtonen 1989:321—322; Tombäck 1978:250—251; Klein 1987:476; Leslau 1987:63; Zammit 2002:295—296. Semitic loan in Late Egyptian *ʕmq* ‘valley floor or bottom, plain’. Hannig 1995:141.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *amiṛ* ‘to be immersed, to be plunged, to sink’, *amiṛttu* (*amiṛtti-*) ‘to cause to sink, to immerse, to engulf, to press down, to cover (as eyelids the eyes)’, *amiṛntu* (*amiṛnti-*) ‘to sink’; Malayalam *amiṛuka* ‘to sink’, *amiṛttuka*, *amuṛttuka* ‘to fix, to set’; Kannada *aguṛ* ‘to sink in water, to be immersed, to dive’, *aguṛcu* ‘to cause to sink in water, to immerse’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:16—17, no. 167.
- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **əm-* ‘deep’: Chukchi *n-əməcqə-qen*, *əməcqə-lʔən* ‘deep’, *əm-at-* ‘to flood, to overflow banks’; Koryak *n-əm-qen* ‘deep (water)’, *am-ka* ‘deep(ly)’, Alyutor *n-əm-qin* ‘deep (water)’, Kamchadal / Itelmen *ʕam-laX* ‘deep’, *ʕamʔam* ‘deep place’, (Western) *amlag* ‘deep’, (Eastern) *amam* ‘deep’, (Southern) *ama* ‘deep’. Fortescue 2005:341.

Buck 1949:12.67 deep.

766. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕam-* (~ **ʕəm-*):(vb.) **ʕam-* ‘to lift, to raise, to make high’;(n.) **ʕam-a* ‘highest point, tip, top’

Extended form (Semitic and Indo-European):

(vb.) **ʕam-V-d-* ‘to lift, to raise, to make high’;(n.) **ʕam-d-a* ‘highest point, tip, top’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕam-* (vb.) to lift, to raise, to make high; to raise up, to stand upright, to support; (n.) point, tip, top’: Proto-Semitic **ʕam-ad-* ‘to raise up, to stand upright, to support’ > Akkadian *emēdu* ‘to lean against, to

reach, to cling to, to come into contact, to stand (near); to place, to lean (something upon or against something), to load, to impose (obligations to pay taxes or fines), *imdu* (*indu*) ‘stanchion, support; tax, impost, obligation to work’; Arabic *ʕamada* ‘to support (by a pillar or a column), to prop up, to buttress, to shore up’, *ʕumda* ‘support, prop, shore; main subject, main issue, basic issue’, *ʕimād* ‘column, support, pillar, tent-pole, pilaster’; Sabaeen (pl.) *ʕʕmd* ‘vine-props’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʕāmūd* ‘beam, pillar’, *aʕmid* ‘to put a pillow under the head’; Harsūsi *ʕamdāt* ‘beam’, *ʕāmīd* ‘pillow, cushion’; Mehri *ʕāmawd* ‘ceiling beam, beam’, *hāmōd* ‘to prop up someone’s head (with a pillow, arm)’; Phoenician *ʕmd* ‘column’; Hebrew *ʕāmaḏ* [ʕḏ] ‘to take one’s stand, to stand’, *ʕammūḏ* [ʕḏ], *ʕammuḏ* [ʕḏ] ‘pillar, column’; Imperial Aramaic *ʕmd* ‘to stand’; Syriac *ʕammūḏā* ‘pillar, column’; Geez / Ethiopic (denominative) *ʕammada* [ʕḏḏ] (also *ʕammada* [ʕḏḏ]) ‘to erect a column, to stand (as a column), to sustain, to prop up (with a column), to strengthen, to form’, *ʕamd* [ʕḏḏ] (also *ʕamd* [ʕḏḏ]) ‘column, pillar, post, mast, balustrade, column of a page’; Tigrinya *ʕamdi* ‘column’; Tigre *ʕamd* ‘column’; Amharic *amd* ‘column’ (Geez loan). Murtonen 1989:321; Klein 1987:474; Leslau 1987:62–63. (?) Egyptian *ʕmm* body part (in the head of animals), perhaps ‘brain’ (semantic development from ‘highest part of the head, top of the head’ as in Old English *brægen* ‘brain’ [cf. Onions 1966:113], related to Greek βρεγχμός ‘top of the head’, βρέγμα ‘the front part of the head’). Faulkner 1962:43; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:186; Hannig 1995:141. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʕaam-* ‘tip, point’ > Iraqw *ʕamay* ‘cist, swollen gland; East Coast fever’, *anta* ‘grave’, *antoni* ‘anthill’; Burunge *anta* ‘anthill’; Alagwa *anta* ‘anthill’; Kʕwadza *ambayiko* ‘tail’; Dahalo *ʕeeme* ‘thorn; needle’. Ehret 1980:274. North Omotic: Bench / Gimira *amu* ‘thorny’; Yemsa / Janjero *àamà* ‘mountain’. Ehret 1995:348, no. 682, **ʕaam-* ‘(vb.) to raise; (n.) tip of anything’.

- B. Proto-Indo-European (**ʕh₂ndʰ-i* >) **ʕh₂ndʰ-i* ‘on top of, over, above; in addition to’: Sanskrit *ádhi* (as a prefix to nouns and verbs) ‘over, over and above, besides’; (as a separable adverb or preposition) ‘over, from above, from, from the presence of, after’, *adhika-h* ‘(adj.) additional, subsequent, later; superior, more numerous; abundant, excellent; (n.) surplus, abundance, redundancy, hyperbole; (indeclinable) exceedingly, too much, more’; Pāli *adhi* (prep. and prefix of place where) ‘on top of, over, above, on; in addition to’, (prep. and prefix of direction denoting a movement towards a definite end or goal) ‘up to, over, toward, to, on’, *adhika-* ‘exceeding, superior, extraordinary’; Armenian *ənd* in the senses: ‘to, over, by, with’. Mann 1984—1987:856 **ḡdh-* (**ḡdhe*, **ḡdhə*, **ḡdhōm*) ‘to, till, toward, near’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.1:31; Burrow 1973:286 — Burrow also cites Avestan *aidī*, *aidi* and Old Persian *adiy*; Hübschmann 1897:447.

Buck 1949:4.203 brain; 9.51 beam; 10.22 raise, lift; 12.33 top. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 135, **ʕ[o]mdE* ‘to stand upright, to rise’.

767. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕam-* (~ **ʕəm-*):

(vb.) **ʕam-* ‘to shoot, to hurl, to throw’;

(n.) **ʕam-a* ‘arrow’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕam-* ‘(vb.) to shoot, to hurl, to throw; (n.) arrow’: Egyptian *ʕmʕt* ‘throw-stick’, *ʕmʕ* ‘to throw the throw-stick’. Hannig 1995:140; Gardiner 1957:557; Faulkner 1962:42; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:186. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *amaatt'o* ‘arrow’. Hudson 1987:21 and 350.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ampu* ‘arrow’, *appu-kkaṭṭu* ‘a sheaf of arrows’; Malayalam *ampu* ‘arrow, porcupine quill’; Kolami *amb*, *am* ‘arrow, flensing knife’; Toda *ob* ‘arrow’; Kannada *ambu* ‘arrow’; Koḍagu *ambi* ‘arrow’; Tuḷu *ambu* ‘arrow’, *ambige* ‘hunter’; Telugu *ambu*, *ambakamu*, *ammu*, *ampa-* (in compounds) ‘arrow’, (pl.) *ampara* ‘arrows’, *ampakāḍu* ‘archer’; Parji *amb* ‘arrow’; Gadba (Ollari) *amb* ‘arrow’; Konḍa *am* ‘arrow’; Pengo *am* ‘arrow’; Maṇḍa *amb* ‘arrow’; Kui *āmba* ‘arrow, arrowhead’, *ambu* ‘arrow’; Kuwi *ambū* ‘arrowhead’, *ambu* ‘arrow; bow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:17, no. 178; Krishnamurti 2003:9 **ampu* ‘arrow’.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **amp3* ‘to shoot, to launch’ > Finnish *ampu-* ‘to shoot, to fire, to launch’, *ammus* ‘charge, projectile, shell, ammunition’; Estonian *amb* ‘cross-bow, arbalest’, *ambu-* ‘to shoot with the (cross-)bow’, *ambur* ‘archer, bowman’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *īb-*, (Kazan) *āb-*, (Glazov) *ībī-* ‘to shoot; to throw, to hurl’. Rédei 1986—1988:606—607 **amp3* ‘to shoot, to launch’ — Rédei also includes Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *ab'bo* ~ *-bb-* ‘to boil over, to boil so fast that part of the contents runs away’; Sammallahti 1988:552 **ampa-* ‘to shoot’; Aikio 2020:13—14 **ampV-* / **empV-* ‘to shoot’.

Buck 1949:10.25 throw (vb.); 20.25 arrow. Hakola 2000:20, no. 29.

768. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕan-* (~ **ʕən-*):

(vb.) **ʕan-* ‘to breathe, to respire, to live’;

(n.) **ʕan-a* ‘life, breath’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ʕnh* ‘(vb.) to live; (n.) life; living person’, *ʕnhy*, *ʕnhw* ‘a living being’, *ʕnhw* ‘life’; Coptic *ōnh* [ⲠⲚⲉ] ‘to live, to be alive’. Hannig 1995:144—146; Faulkner 1962:43—44; Erman—Grapow 1921:26 and 1926—1963.1:193—200; Gardiner 1957:557; Vycichl 1983:250; Černý 1976:228. [Ehret 1995:352, no. 690, **ʕany^w-* ‘to rise, to grow’.]
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʕh₁enE-* [**ʕh₁anE-*] ‘to breathe, to respire, to live’: Greek *ἀνεμος* ‘wind’; Sanskrit *ániti*, *ánati* ‘to breathe, to respire, to live’,

aná-h ‘breath, respiration’, *ánila-h* ‘wind’; Latin *anima* ‘breath, wind; the breath of life, vital principle, soul (physical)’, *animal* ‘a living being, animal’, *animō* ‘to animate, to give life to’, *animōsus* ‘full of breath, wind, life’; Old Irish *ánál* ‘breath’; Gothic *uz-anan* (only in 3rd sg. pret.) ‘to breathe one’s last’; Old Icelandic *anda* ‘to breathe, to live’, *andi* ‘breath, wind, spirit’, *önd* ‘breath’; Norwegian *anda* ‘to breathe’, *ande* ‘breath’; Old English *ōþian* (< **anθō-jan*) ‘to pant’; Old Frisian *omma*, *amma* (< **an-man-*) ‘breath’; Tocharian A *āñcām*, B *āñme* ‘self; inner being, soul’. Rix 1998a:238—239 **h₂enh₁-* ‘to breathe’; Pokorny 1959:38—39 **an(ə)-* ‘to breathe’; Walde 1927—1932.I:56—58 **an-*; Mann 1984—1987:21 **andhos*, *-ā*, *-us* ‘soul, spirit, rancor’, 22 **anāmos*, *-ā* ‘breath, soul, spirit, air’, 22 **anātloom*; **anātrom*, *-ā* ‘breath’, 22 **anātos*, *-jos*, *-is*, *-ōn* ‘breath, soul’, 26—27 **anō*, *-iō* ‘to blow, to breathe’, 27 **anos* ‘breath, soul, fragrance’; Mallory—Adams 1997:82 **h_aénh₁mi* ‘to breathe’, **h_aénh₁mos* ‘breath’, **h_aénh₁-tlo-* ‘breath’ (in Celtic), **h_aénh₁-* ‘to breathe’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:466 **anH-* and 1995.I:388 **anH-* ‘(vb.) to breathe; (n.) breath’; Watkins 1985:2 **anə-* and 2000:4 **anə-* ‘to breathe’ (oldest form **ɣ₂enɣ₁-*, colored to **ɣ₂anɣ₁-*), suffixed form **anə-mo-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:307—311 **h₂enh₁-*; Boisacq 1950:61 **anēi-*; Hofmann 1966:18; Frisk 1970—1973.I:105; Beekes 2010.I:101—102 **h₂enh₁-mo-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:86; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:33 and I:34; Ernout—Meillet 1979:34; De Vaan 2008:43; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:49—50; Kroonen 2013:27 Proto-Germanic **anan-* ‘to breathe’; Orël 2003:17 Proto-Germanic **an(a)mōn*, 17—18 **ananan*, 18 **andōjanan*, 18—19 **andōn*; Feist 1939:538 **ane-*; Lehmann 1986:385 **an(ə)-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:294; De Vries 1977:9 and 687; Torp 1919:5; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:164 **anɣ₁-*; Adams 1999:41—42 **h_aen(h₁)-*.

- C. Proto-Eskimo **anəR-* ‘to breathe (out)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *anəRməq* ‘breath, spirit’; Central Alaskan Yupik *anəRnəq* ‘spirit, soul, breath’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *anəRnəRiR(ar)* ‘to get out of breath’; Central Siberian Yupik *anəXtə-* ‘to breathe, to continue to function normally’, *anəRnəq* ‘breath, the way things are’; Sirenik *anəCəCəXtəX* ‘breath’; North Alaskan Inuit *anirniq* ‘breath’; Western Canadian Inuit *anirniq* ‘breath’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *anirniq* ‘breath, spirit’; Greenlandic Inuit *anirniq* ‘breath’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:28. Proto-Eskimo **anəR-təqə-* ‘to breathe’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *anəXtəqə-* ‘to breathe’; Central Alaskan Yupik *anəXtəqə-* ‘to live, to breathe’; North Alaskan Inuit *aniqtiri-* ‘to breathe’; Sirenik *anəXsaqə(s)-* ‘to breathe’; Western Canadian Inuit *aniqtiri-* ‘to breathe’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *aniqtiri-* ‘to breathe’; Greenlandic Inuit *anirtiri-* ‘to breathe deeply, to groan’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:28. Proto-Eskimo **anəRya(C)ar-* ‘to take a breath’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *anəRyaar-* ‘to sigh’; Northern Siberian Yupik *anrayuriŋatəq* ‘catching one’s breath’; Central Alaskan Yupik

anəryaar- ‘to take a breath, to sigh’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *aniqsaaq-* ‘to breathe’; North Alaskan Inuit *aniqsaaq-* ‘to take a breath’; Western Canadian Inuit *aniqsaaq-* ‘to breathe’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *anirsaatuq-* ‘to breathe’; Greenlandic Inuit *anirsaar-* ‘to breathe’, *anirsaaq* ‘spirit, ghost’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:28. Proto-Inuit **an(ə) rilək-* ‘to gasp for breath’ > Greenlandic Inuit *arḡili(y)-* ‘to gasp for breath’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:28.

Buck 1949:4.51 breathe; breath; 4.74 live (= be alive); living, alive; life. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:261, no. 125, **ʔanqʌ* ‘to breathe’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 138a, **ʕiṛ[V]qV* ‘to live’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:521, no. 369; Fortescue 1998:152.

769. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʕaŋ-a* ‘upper part’; (particle) **ʕaŋ-* ‘up, above’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕaŋ-* ‘(n.) upper part; (particle) up, above’: Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʕaŋ-* ‘up, above’ > Iraqw *aŋ* ‘in the past, long ago’; Burunge *oŋ* (pl. *omeri*) ‘mountain’; K’wadza *onka* (pl. *oma*) ‘mountain’; Ma’a *aná* ‘above’, *aŋilá* ‘above’. Ehret 1980:276. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʕaŋ-* ‘head’ > Ma’a *muʔa*, *angálo* ‘head’; Dahalo *ʕáni* ‘head’. Ehret 1980:276. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *aaná* ‘on (top of)’, *aana* ‘over, above’. Hudson 1989:348. [Ehret 1995:351, no. 689, **ʕaŋ-/ʕiŋ-* ‘tip, peak, top’.]
- B. [Dravidian: Tamil *aŋ* ‘upper part’, *aŋa* ‘to lift the head’, *aŋar* ‘to rise, to move upwards’, *aŋavu* (*aŋavi-*) ‘to go upward, to ascend’, *aŋŋal* ‘greatness, exaltation, superiority, great man, king, god’, *aŋŋā* ‘to look upward, to gape, to hold the head erect’; Malayalam *aŋŋa* ‘upwards, above’, *aŋŋal* ‘high, God, esp. Arhat’, *aŋŋā* ‘looking upwards’; Kannaḍa *aŋŋe*, *aŋŋa*, *aŋa* ‘excellence, purity’; Tuḷu *aŋāvuni*, *aŋŋāvuni* ‘to look up, to lift up the face, to gaze’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:12, no. 110. Tamil *āŋi* ‘excellence, superiority’, *āŋi-ppon* ‘gold of the finest quality’, *āŋi-muttu* ‘pearl of the finest quality’; Kannaḍa *āŋi* ‘excellence, superiority, preciousness’, *āŋi-pon* ‘gold of the finest quality’; Malayalam *āŋikkaram* ‘the choicest of anything’, *āŋi-pponnu* ‘finest gold’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:33, no. 354.]
- C. [(?) Proto-Altaic **āŋo* ‘front, front side’ >) ‘right (side)’: Proto-Tungus **āŋ(gi)-* ‘right’ > Evenki *aŋŋū*, *āŋŋū* ‘right’; Lamut / Even *āŋgɔɣ* ‘right’; Negidal *aŋŋi-dā* ‘right’; Oroch *āŋžā* ‘right’; Udihe *ayaŋaža* ‘right’; Solon *angida* ‘right’. Proto-Mongolian **eŋge-* ‘south; front (of cloth)’ > Written Mongolian *eŋger* ‘flap of a garment, lapel(s); southern slope of a mountain or hill’, *eŋ* ‘width (of material), dimension, extent’, *eŋ* ‘very, most’ (*eŋ terigün* ‘first of all, very first’); Khalkha *enger* ‘south; front (of cloth)’; Buriat *enger* ‘front (of cloth)’; Kalmyk *eŋgə*, *eŋgr* ‘shore’; Ordos *enger* ‘front (of cloth)’; Dagur *enge* ‘front (of cloth)’; Dongxiang *engie* ‘front (of cloth)’; Monguor *ŋge* ‘front (of cloth)’. Proto-Turkic **oŋ* ‘right; good,

lucky; west' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky; west'; Karakhanide Turkic *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Turkish (dial.) *on* 'right; good, lucky'; Turkmenian *oŋ* 'good, lucky'; Uzbek *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Uighur *oŋ* 'right'; Karaim *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Tatar *uŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Bashkir *uŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Kirghiz *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Kazakh *oŋ* 'right'; Noghay *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Sary-Uighur *oŋ* 'right'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Tuva *oŋ* 'right'; Yakut *uŋa* 'right; southern', *uŋuor* 'on the other bank'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:305 ***āŋo* 'right'.]

Sumerian *an* 'high', *an* 'heaven', *an* 'over, above', *an-da* 'more than; over, above, on top of', *an-na* 'to be raised, elevated', *an-na* 'high', *an-na* 'over, above', *an-na* 'in heaven'.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 4.20 head; 12.33 top; 12.41 right; 12.48 south. Note: the Dravidian and Altaic forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may belong with Proto-Nostratic **xaŋ-* (~ **xəŋ-*) '(vb.) to lift, to raise; to rise, to go upward, to ascend; (n.) that which is most prominent, visible, or noticeable; (particle) on top of, over, above' instead.

770. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕap*'- (~ **ʕəp*'-):

(vb.) **ʕap*'- 'to grasp, to seize, to take hold of, to take by force';

(n.) **ʕap*'-*a* 'grasp, hold, seizure'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕap*'- 'to grasp, to seize, to take hold of, to take by force': Proto-Semitic **ʕab-at*'- 'to take hold of, to take by force; to hold tightly, to hold fast' > Akkadian *ebētu* 'to tie, to bind; to tighten, to put someone in straits'; Mandaic *abt* 'to bind, to hold fast'; Epigraphic South Arabian *ʕbt* 'compulsory service, calamity'; Geez / Ethiopic *ʕabbaṭa* [ḳḳḳ], *ʔabaṭa* [ḳḳḳ] 'to exact compulsory service, to compel, to force, to coerce, to take by force, to requisition; to ruin; to push; to place an obstacle'; Tigrinya *ʕabäṭä* 'to hurl oneself upon to tear to pieces'; Amharic *abbäṭä* 'to trouble, to upset, to compel'. Leslau 1987:55. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **abad*-(?) 'to hold, to seize' > Gedeo / Darasa *abid*- 'to hold, to seize'; Hadiyya *amad*- 'to hold, to seize, to start, to begin, to touch'; Sidamo *amad*- 'to hold, to seize, to touch'. Hudson 1989:80.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *ha-pi*- 'to press, to squeeze out'. Dravidian: Tamil *appu* (*appi*-) 'to stick with the hand (as sandal paste), to plaster with a trowel (as mortar), to apply repeatedly (as fomentation), to press against (as in wrestling), to thrust in the mouth', *appali* 'to remove unevenness in the wall by placing pieces of brick or tile with chunam when plastering'; Malayalam *appi*, *appu* 'plaster', *appuka* 'to stick to, to attach to, to press against (as plaster), to press in'; Kota *ap*- (*apy*-) 'to throw (clay) into a crevice to plug it, to beat strongly with the

hand'; Kannada *appige*, *apige*, *appaḍe*, *appuge* 'the act of joining, cementing, soldering, etc.; a patch', *appaḷisu* 'to strike against, to stroke, to flap, to slap', *apparisu* 'a stroke'; Tuḷu *appaḷipuni* 'to strike anything with the open hand, to squash'; Telugu *appaḷincu* 'to slap, to touch, to tap, to strike gently with the open hand, to smear, to apply', *appaḷinta* 'slapping, etc.', *appaḷamu* 'clapping, flapping, striking'. Burrow—Emenau 1984:16, no. 157.

- C. Uralic: Finnish *apaja* 'fishing grounds; catch, haul'; Karelian *apaja*, *abaja* 'fishing grounds; catch, haul'; Estonian *abajas* 'cove, bay, creek, backwater, inlet'.
- D. Proto-Altaic **apV-* 'to take': Proto-Tungus **abgu-* 'to pull out, to take from; (refl.) to appear' > Evenki *abgin-* 'to appear'; Negidal *abgu-* 'to pull out, to take from'; Ulch *acbumbu-* 'to pull out, to take from', *acbuṅ-* 'to appear'; Orok *acbuṅ-* 'to appear'; Nanay / Gold *acbi-mbogo-* 'to pull out, to take from', *acbiaci-* 'to appear'; Oroch *ābu-* 'to pull out, to take from'; Udihe *agbu-* 'to pull out, to take from'. Proto-Mongolian **ab-* 'to take' > Written Mongolian *ab-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of', *abta-* (passive of *ab-*) 'to be taken or seized, to be taken out, to be capable of being taken, to be overtaken, to suffer from, to come under the influence of', *abuldu-* (reciprocal of *ab-*) 'to seize or hold each other, to interlock, to stick together, to be glued together', *abuča* 'taking, receiving, accepting'; Khalkha *av-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'; Buriat *aba-*, *ab-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'; Kalmyk *aw-* 'to take, to grasp, to take hold of'; Ordos *ab-*, *aw-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'; Moghol *afu-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'; Dagur *aw-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'; Monguor *awu-*, *abu-* 'to take, to grasp, to get hold of'. Poppe 1955:25, 100, and 278. Proto-Turkic **abuč-* 'handful' > Karakhanide Turkic *avut*, *avut-ča*, *avuč-ča*, *avuč* 'handful'; Turkish *avuc* 'palm of the hand, handful'; Gagauz *auč* 'handful'; Azerbaijani *ovuč* 'handful'; Turkmenian *ovuč* 'handful'; Uzbek *χowuč* 'handful'; Uighur *oč* 'handful'; Karaim *avuč*, *uvuč*, *uvuc* 'handful'; Tatar *uč* 'handful'; Bashkir *us* 'handful'; Kirghiz *ūč* 'handful'; Kazakh *uwis* 'handful'; Noghay *uwis* 'handful'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ūš* 'handful'; Chuvash *ivš* 'handful'. Poppe 1960:44; Street 1974:7 **ab-* 'to take, to grasp', **ab-uča* 'grasp, handful'; Starostin—Dybo — Mudrak 2003:309—310 **apV* 'to take'.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 9.342 press (vb.); 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:526—527, no. 378; Hakola 2000:22, no. 35, **apa-* 'to take, to carry'.

771. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **sar-a* 'back, rear; hindquarters, behind':

- A. Proto-Afrasian **sar-* 'back, hindquarters': Semitic: Akkadian *erūtu* (*arūtu*) 'back'. Egyptian *ʿrt* 'hinder parts (of men), hindquarters (of animals)'.

Faulkner 1962:45; Hannig 1995:149; Gardiner 1957:558; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:209. West Chadic: Tsagu *áárí* ‘back’. East Chadic: Dangla *ááron* ‘back’; Birgit *ʔára* ‘back’; Mubi *hâr* ‘back’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.2:6—7.

- B. Proto-Altaic **ára* ‘back, behind’: Proto-Tungus **arka-n* ‘back’ > Evenki *arkan* ‘back’; Lamut / Even *arqɔn* ‘back’; Negidal *aykan* ‘back’; Orok *atta(n)* ‘back’; Oroch *akka(n)* ‘back’; Udihe *aka(n)* ‘back’; Solon *arkā* ‘back’. Proto-Mongolian **aru* ‘back, behind’ > Middle Mongolian *aru* ‘back’, *aradan* ‘behind’, *ārudur* ‘to the back’; Written Mongolian *aru* ‘back, rear; north, northern; verso of a sheet or folio’; Khalkha *ar* ‘back, rear; the north facing, shady side of a mountain or a house; north, northern; background, reverse’; Buriat *ara* ‘back’; Kalmyk *arə, ārə, arkə* ‘back’; Ordos *aru* ‘back; east’; Dagur *ar, arkən* ‘back’; Shira-Yughur *ār* ‘back’. Proto-Turkic **arka* ‘back’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *arqa* ‘back’; Karakhanide Turkic *arqa* ‘back’; Turkish *arka* ‘back, back part; reverse side’; Gagauz *arqa* ‘back’; Azerbaijani *arça* ‘back’; Turkmenian *arqa* ‘back’; Uzbek *arqa* ‘back’; Uighur *a(r)qa* ‘back’; Karaim *arqa, arça* ‘back’; Tatar *arqa* ‘back’; Bashkir *arqa* ‘back’; Kirghiz *arqa* ‘back’; Kazakh *arqa* ‘back’; Noghay *arqa* ‘back’; Sary-Uighur *arqa, harqa* ‘back’; Khakas *arça* ‘back’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *arqa* ‘back’; Tuva *a’rya* ‘mountain forest’; Chuvash *orça-lыч* ‘saddle, strips’; Yakut *arçā, arça-s* ‘back’; Dolgan *arga-lā-* ‘to turn one’s back towards somebody’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:311—312 **ára* ‘back, behind’; Poppe 1960:78, 94, and 129; Street 1974:8 **aru* ‘rear, back’.

Buck 1949:4.19 back. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 146, **ʕarH₂|wu ~ *ʕaH₂ru* ‘back, loins’.

772. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕar-* (~ **ʕər-*):

Extended form:

(vb.) **ʕar-V-g-* ‘to climb on, to mount; to rise, to ascend; to lift up, to raise’;

(n.) **ʕar-g-a* ‘climbing, mounting’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʕar-ag-* ‘to climb on, to mount; to rise, to ascend’ > (?) Hebrew *ʕāray* ‘to long for, to yearn for’; Arabic *ʕaraġa* ‘to ascend, to mount, to rise’ (according to Leslau [1987:70], this may be a loan from Geez / Ethiopic); Epigraphic South Arabian *ʕrg* ‘eminent’ (?); Geez / Ethiopic *ʕarga* [ጋርገ] ‘to ascend, to go up, to climb’, *ʔaʕraga* [አዕረገ] ‘to raise, to take up, to lead up to, to offer (sacrifice)’; Tigre *ʕarga* ‘to go up, to ascend’; Tigrinya *ʕarägä* ‘to go up’; Amharic *arrägä* ‘to go up into heaven’; Gurage *arägä* ‘to have sexual intercourse’. Murtonen 1989:329; Klein 1987:484; Leslau 1979:87 and 1987:70; Zammit 2002:284. Cushitic: Bilin *ʔarag-* ‘to go up, to ascend’ (loan from Ethiopian Semitic). Reinisch 1887:49.

- B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *argnā* (*argyas*) ‘to climb, to mount an animal, to rise (as sun, moon, stars), to rise in pitch (as a drum), to get puffed up, (eyes) to be turned up before death’, *argnā* (*argas*) ‘to make climb, to lift, to haul up, to take upon one’s shoulders, to lay a burden on, to begin, to raise, to increase’, *argtaʔānā*, *argaʔānā* ‘to make climb, to lift up’; Malto *arge* ‘to climb’, *argtre* ‘to lift, to raise’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:22, no. 231.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:564—565, no. 428.

773. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕath-* (~ **ʕaṯh-*):

(vb.) **ʕath-* ‘to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)’;

(n.) **ʕath-a* ‘maturity, old age; advance’; (adj.) ‘mature, old; advanced’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕat-* ‘to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)’: Proto-Semitic **ʕat-uk-* ‘to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)’ > Hebrew *ʕāṯēk* [ʔṯṯ] ‘to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)’; Ugaritic *ʕitk* ‘to pass’; Akkadian *etēku* ‘to pass through’; Arabic *ʕatuka* ‘to grow old, to age, to mature; to mellow (wine)’, *ʕatīk* ‘old, ancient, antique, matured, mellowed, aged (wine)’, *ʕitk* ‘age, vintage (wine)’. Murtonen 1989:334; Klein 1987:490. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:255, no. 1143, **ʕVtuk-* ‘to go’.]

- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʕhet-* [**ʕhat-*] ‘to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)’: Sanskrit *átati* ‘to go (constantly), to walk, to run, to wander’, *atná-h* ‘sun’; Latin *annus* (< **at-no-s*) ‘year’; Oscan *akenei* (-*k-* < -*t-*) ‘in the year’; Umbrian (acc. pl.) *acnu* ‘years’; Gothic (dat. pl.) *apnan* ‘year’. Rix 1998a:244 **h₂et(H)-* ‘to go, to wander’; Pokorny 1959:69 **at-* ‘to go; year’; Walde 1927—1932.I:41—42 **at-* ‘to go’; Mann 1984—1987:40 **atnos*, -*om* ‘year, period’; Watkins 1985:4 **at-* and 2000:5 **at-* ‘to go’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:442—443, fn. 1, **at^[h]nos* and 1995.I:370, fn. 26, **athnos*; Mallory—Adams 1997:228 **h_aet-* ‘to go’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:26 and I:28; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:51 **at-nos*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:35; De Vaan 2008:43—44 **h₂et-no-*, **h₂et-nio-* ‘which goes, a year’; Orël 2003:28 Proto-Germanic **apnaz*, 28 **apnjan*; Kroonen 2013:40 Proto-Germanic **apna-* ‘year’; Feist 1939:62—63 (Latin *annus* < **at-nos*); Lehmann 1986:47 **at-* ‘to go’.

Buck 1949:14.73 year. Brunner 1969:63, no. 320; Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 518—519, no. 366.

774. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕen-*:

(vb.) **ʕen-* ‘to see, to notice, to pay attention’;

(n.) **ʕen-a* ‘sight, view, attention’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕen-* ‘to see, to notice, to pay attention’: Proto-Semitic **ʕan-an-* ‘to come into view, to appear’ > Arabic *ʕanna* ‘to present itself to

view, to offer itself (to someone); to take shape, to form, to arise, to spring up (in someone's mind), to suggest itself; to appear (to someone); Sabaeen ʕnn 'to manifest one's self (of a deity)'. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʕeen- or *ʕaan- 'sight, view' > Asa nuʕus- 'to show', nuʕuset- 'to see'; Dahalo ʕeenaað- 'to see from afar'. Ehret 1980:274. [Ehret 1995:349, no. 686, *ʕan- or *ʕaan- 'to come into view, to appear'.]

- B. (?) Uralic: Finnish *enne* 'omen, augury; sign', *ennustaa* 'to predict, to prophesy, to forecast, to foretell', *ennustus* 'prediction; prophesy'; Estonian *enne* 'omen, portent, foretoken, presage, augury', *ennustama* 'to foretell, to predict, to forecast, to prognosticate, to prophesy, to presage, to tell fortunes', *ennustus* 'prediction, forecast, prognosis, prophesy, presage'.
- C. Proto-Altaic *enu- (~ -o) '(vb.) to beware; (n.) attention': Proto-Tungus *(χ)en-te- '(vb.) to beware; (adv.) attentively, slowly' > Evenki *ente-* 'to beware', *ēntukukēn* 'attentively, slowly'; Manchu *entexeme* 'always, eternally'. Proto-Mongolian *(h)an- '(vb.) to pay attention, to beware; (adj.) vigorous, attentive' > Written Mongolian *aŋqar-* 'to give attention to, to look attentively; to be attentive, to pay attention, to observe, to regard', *aŋqarul* 'attention, regard, interest', *anuγu-* 'vigorous, attentive', *ana-* 'to beware, to be cautious, to take precautions'; Khalkha *aŋxa-* 'to pay attention', *anūr* 'attentive, cautious, circumspect', *anūγan* 'hale and hearty (of old people)', *ana-* 'to beware'; Buriat *aŋxar-* 'to pay attention', *anda-*, *anžar-* 'to notice', *andadag* 'very sensitive'; Kalmyk *aŋxər-* 'to pay attention'; Ordos *anug-* 'to aim at'. Proto-Turkic *anu- '(vb.) to get ready; (adj.) ready, certain' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *anu-* 'to get ready', *anug* 'ready, certain'; Karakhanide Turkic *anu-* 'to get ready', *anug* 'ready, certain'; Tatar *aniq* 'ready, certain'; Bashkir *aniq* 'ready, certain'; Turkish (dial.) *anik-* 'to get ready'; Turkmenian *aniq* 'ready, certain'; Uzbek *eniq* 'ready, certain'; Uighur *eniq* 'ready, certain'; Karaim *aniq* 'ready, certain'; Kirghiz *aniq* 'ready, certain'; Kazakh *aniq* 'ready, certain'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:508 *enu (~ -o) '(vb.) to beware; (n.) attention'.
- D. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *enared- 'to look for': Chukchi *enarer-* 'to look for, to search, to conduct a search'; Kerek *inajtat-* 'to look for'; Koryak *enajej-* 'to look for'; Alyutor *inarit-* (Palana *enaret-*) 'to look for (tr.)'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *enxtzo-s*, *inxtu-* 'to look for'. Fortescue 2005:79. Semantic development as in Czech *hledati* 'to search, to look for' from the same stem found in Old Church Slavic *ględati* 'to look at', Serbo-Croatian *ględati* 'to look at', Russian *gljadět'* [глядеть] 'to look (at), to fasten one's eyes upon, to gaze (at)', etc.
- E. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *n(ə)tə- 'to see': Amur *ində-dʷ* / *idə-dʷ* / *-nřə-dʷ* 'to see, to find' (the *i-* is an undergoer prefix); East Sakhalin *idə-d* 'to see'; South Sakhalin *intə-nt* / *-nřə-* 'to see'. Fortescue 2016:112.

Buck 1949:11.31 seek; 12.84 sign (sb.); 15.51 see; 15.52 look (vb.), look at; 15.53 sight (sb.); 15.54 sight (obj.), look (obj.), appearance; 15.55 show (vb.);

22.47 omen. Hakola 2000:27, no. 58, **ennz* ‘sign, omen’ — Hakola compares the Uralic forms cited above with Tamil *eṇṇu* (*eṇṇi-*) ‘to think, to consider, to determine, to esteem, to conjecture, to count, to reckon, to compute, to set a price upon’, etc. However, the original meaning of the Uralic forms was more likely to have been something like ‘to beware of, to notice, to see’ (cf. Buck 1949:12.84 sign [sb.] and 22.47 omen), which would place them here instead of with Proto-Nostratic root **ʕeṇ-* ‘to think, to consider’.

775. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕeṇ-*:

(vb.) **ʕeṇ-* ‘to think, to consider’;

(n.) **ʕeṇ-a* ‘thought, idea, notion, concept, intention, deliberation’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʕan-ay-* ‘to mean, to intend’ > Arabic *ʕanā* ‘to mean, to signify; to concern, to refer to’, *maʕnan* ‘sense, meaning, signification, import; concept, notion, idea, thought’, *ʕināya* ‘concern; care, solicitude, providence; care(fulness), painstaking, meticulousness; heed, notice, regard, attention; interest’; Ḥarsūsi *méʕna* ‘meaning’; Mehri *hānō* ‘to decide, to intend’, *mānē* ‘example; intention, intent, meaning’; Šheri / Jibbāli *aʕni* ‘to mean’, *maʕné* ‘intention, meaning; example’. Murtonen (1989:322—323) also compares the following: Hebrew *ʕānāh* [אָנָה] ‘to answer, to respond’; Aramaic *ʕanā* ‘to answer, to respond’; Ugaritic *ʕny* ‘to respond, to reply’, *mʕn* ‘response, reply’ (cf. Gordon 1965:458, no. 1883); Palmyrene *ʕnh* ‘to answer, to respond’. Klein (1987:476), however, does not compare the Arabic and South Arabian forms with Hebrew *ʕānāh* [אָנָה].
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *eṇṇu* (*eṇṇi-*) ‘to think, to consider, to determine, to esteem, to conjecture, to count, to reckon, to compute, to set a price upon’, *eṇ* ‘thought, intention, deliberation, esteem, calculation, mathematics, number’, *eṇṇam* ‘thought, idea, respect, deliberation, anxiety, mathematics’, *eṇṇar*, *eṇṇalar* ‘mathematicians’, *eṇṇal* ‘intention, counting, deliberation’, *eṇṇikkai* ‘numbering, esteem, reverence’, *ēṇi* ‘number’; Malayalam *eṇ* ‘number, thought’, *eṇṇam* ‘number, counting’, *eṇṇuka* ‘to count, to number, to esteem, to relate’, *eṇṇikka* ‘(vb.) to get counted, to account for; (n.) counting’; Toda *ōṇ-* (*ōṇy-*) ‘to count’, *ōṇm* ‘counting, numbers’; Kannaḍa *eṇike*, *eṇṇike* ‘counting, number, thinking, observation’, *eṇisu*, *eṇasu*, *eṇusu*, *eṇṇisu* ‘to add together, to enumerate, to count, to estimate, to appreciate, to consider, to think, to plan, to compare’, *eṇṇu* ‘to count, to think’; Koḍagu *ēṇṇ-* (*ēṇṇi-*) ‘to say, to tell’; Tuḷu *eṇṇuni* ‘to count, to think, to presume, to expect’, *eṇṇige*, *eṇike*, *eṇe*, *eṇke* ‘calculation, estimation’; Telugu *ennu* ‘to count, to reckon, to think, to believe, to esteem, to care for, to criticize’, *ennika* ‘counting, number, esteem, regard, opinion, hope’, *encu* ‘to count, to reckon, to enumerate, to think, to consider, to believe, to judge, to esteem’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:78, no. 793; Krishnamurti 2003:13 **eṇ-* ‘to count’.

- C. Proto-Altaic **ēŋV-* ‘to think, to understand’: Proto-Tungus *(*χ*)*ēŋē-* ‘to peer at, to investigate’ > Lamut / Even *ēŋēli-*, *ēŋēt-* ‘to peer at, to investigate’. Proto-Mongolian **ayuda-la-* ‘to look into, to investigate’ > Written Mongolian *ayudala-* (*kereg ayudalaχu*) ‘to look into, investigate, or reveal a matter or affair’; Khalkha *ūdlā-* (кэрэг уудлах) ‘to investigate or expose a matter’; Buriat *ūdal-* ‘to look into, to investigate’; Kalmyk *ūdl-* ‘to look into, to investigate’; Ordos *ūdala-* ‘to look into, to investigate’; Moghol *audɔl-* ‘to look into, to investigate’, (Zirni Manuscript) *oudal* ‘investigation’. Proto-Turkic **āŋ* ‘intelligence’, **āŋ-la-* ‘to hear, to understand, to discern’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *aŋla-* ‘to understand’; Karakhanide Turkic *aŋla-* ‘to understand’; Turkish *anla-* ‘to understand’; Azerbaijani *anla-* ‘to understand’; Uighur *aŋla-* ‘to hear’; Tatar *aŋ-γar-* ‘to understand’; Turkmenian *āŋla-* ‘to understand’, *āŋ* ‘intelligence’; Kirghiz *aŋ* ‘intelligence’; Chuvash *ɔʷn* ‘intelligence’; Yakut *aŋlā-* ‘to discern’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:511 **ēŋV* ‘to think, to understand’.

Buck 1949:11.66 account, reckoning; 17.13 think (= reflect); 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 17.16 understand.

776. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕey-*:

- (vb.) **ʕey-* ‘to know, to recognize’;
 (n.) **ʕey-a* ‘sight, recognition’; (adj.) ‘known, seen, recognized’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕeyn-* ‘eye’: Proto-Semitic **ʕayn-* ‘eye’ > Akkadian *īnu* (*ēnu*) ‘eye’; Hebrew *ʕayin* [ʔʕ] ‘eye’ (Post-Biblical Hebrew *ʕēnā?* [ʔʕʔʕ]) [from Aramaic]; Aramaic *ʕenā* ‘eye’; Syriac *ʕaynā* ‘eye’; Mandaic *aina* ‘eye’; Phoenician *ʕyn*, *ʕn* ‘eye’; Nabatean *ʕyn* ‘eye’; Palmyrene *ʕyn* ‘eye’; Mandaic *aina* ‘eye’; Ugaritic *ʕn* ‘eye’; Arabic *ʕayn* ‘eye’; Sabaeen *ʕyn* ‘eye’; Ḥarsūsi *ʔāyn* ‘eye’; Mehri *ʔāyn* ‘eye’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʕihn* ‘eye’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʕayn* [ፀፂ፯] ‘eye’; Tigrinya *ʕayni* ‘eye’; Tigre *ʕin* ‘eye’; Amharic *ayn* ‘eye’; Argobba *ayn* ‘eye’; Gurage (Gyeto) *ayn*, (Chaha, Eža, Muher, Masqan, Gogot) *en*, (Endegeñ) *ēn*, (Soddo, Wolane) *in*, (Selti, Zayse) *in*, (Ennemor) *ēr* ‘eye’; Gafat *inā* ‘eye’; Harari *in* ‘eye’. Murtonen 1989:317—318; Klein 1987:470; Zammit 2002:301; Leslau 1963:27, 1979:117, and 1987:79—80; Militarëv 2010:66, no. 25, Proto-Semitic **ʕayn-* — the Southern Cushitic forms cited by Militarëv are included under Proto-Nostratic **ʕen-* ‘to see, to notice, to pay attention’ instead; Bergsträsser 1983:212—213. Egyptian *ʕn*, *ʕyn-* hieroglyphic determinative sign for ‘eye’. Faulkner 1962:43 (under *ʕn* ‘beautiful’); Hannig 1995:142—143 and 1033 (D8); Erman—Grapow 1921:25 and 1926—1963.1:189. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:243, no. 1084, **ʕayVn-* ‘eye’.]

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:28—29, no. 28) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **ʕayn-* ‘eye’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ey* ‘to know, to understand’, *eyyāmai* ‘ignorance’; Toda *īy-* (*īs-*) ‘to know how to’; Gadba *etap-* (*etat-*) ‘to think’; Konḍa *nes-* ‘to know, to be capable of’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:79, no. 806.
- C. (?) Indo-European: Tocharian A/B *aik-* ‘to know, to recognize’; B *aiśamo* ‘wise’, *aiśamñe* ‘wisdom’, *aiśi* ‘knowing’, *aiśaumye* ‘(n.) wise person, sage; (adj.) wise’. The traditional comparison of the above Tocharian forms with Gothic *aigan* ‘to have’, etc. (cf. Adams 1999:101—102; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:139—140) should accordingly be abandoned. Also to be abandoned is Mann’s (1984—1987:6) suggestion that Tocharian *aik-* may be from a putative Proto-Indo-European **aiǵiō* ‘to show, to tell, to declare’ and related to Gothic *af-aikan* ‘to deny’, Latin *aiō* ‘to affirm, to say, to assert, to state’, etc. Thus, it appears that Tocharian *aik-* is isolated within Indo-European.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ejmə-* ‘to stare (intr.)’, *ejməri-* ‘to stare at (tr.)’. Nikolaeva 2006:154.

Buck 1949:4.21 eye; 15.51 see; 17.16 understand; 17.17 know.

777. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ŷig-a* ‘young of an animal, calf’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ŷig(a)l-* ‘young of an animal, calf’: Proto-Semitic **ŷigl-* ‘young of an animal, calf’ > Hebrew *ʿēyel* [ʿj̄j̄j̄] ‘calf’; Aramaic *ʿeglā* ‘calf’; Phoenician *ʿgl* ‘calf’; Arabic *ʿiǧl* ‘calf’; Ugaritic *ʿgl* ‘calf’; Sabaeen *ʿgl* ‘calf’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʿəgʷl* [ʿḡḡḡ], *ʿəgʷal* [ʿḡḡḡ], *ʿəgʷl* [ʿḡḡḡ] ‘the young of any animal or fowl’; Tigre *ʿəgal* ‘calf’; Tigrinya *gəlgäl* ‘young mule or horse’; Amharic (reduplicated) *gəlgäl* ‘lamb’; Harari *gīgi* ‘young of animals’; Gurage *gəlgəl* ‘the young of an animal’. According to Leslau (1979:273), “[t]he root *glgl* is a reduplicated *gl-gl* going back to *ʿgʷl*, *ʿgl*.” Murtonen 1989:309—310; Leslau 1963:70, 1979:273, and 1987:11; Klein 1987:463; Diakonoff 1992:82, fn 123, **ŷəgʷ-* (Diakonoff rejects the comparison of the above forms with Akkadian *agālu* ‘donkey’); Zammit 2002:282. Egyptian *ʿg-*, *ʿgn-* (placed before several words dealing with cattle); Coptic *ačol* [ʿḡḡḡ] ‘calf’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:236; Černý 1976:19 (questioned); Vycichl 1983:23 (Coptic *ačol* [ʿḡḡḡ] < **ŷaggāl* < **ŷaggāl*). M. Cohen 1947:86, no. 43. Orël—Stolbova 1995:247, no. 1100, **ŷigal-* ‘cow, calf’; Militarëv 2009:101; Militarëv—Kogan 2005. II:43—46, no. 28, Proto-Afrasian **ŷi-gal-* ‘cow, calf’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ŷhigʰ-* [**ŷhegʰ-*] ‘with young (of animals)’: Sanskrit (f.) *ahī* ‘cow’; Avestan *azī* ‘with young (of cows or mares)’; Armenian *ezn* ‘bull’; (?) Middle Irish *ag* ‘ox, cow’, *ál* (< **aglo-*) ‘litter, brood’. Pokorny 1959:7 **aǵh-* ‘pregnant animal’; Walde 1927—1932.I:38; Mann 1984—1987:233 **eǵhis* ‘ox, cow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:68; Vendryès 1959— :A-22 **aǵh-* and A-58; Mallory—Adams 1997:135 **h₁eǵh-* ‘cow’ (Mallory—Adams note: “This word is usually reconstructed as **h_aeǵh-* but

such a reconstruction makes it impossible to include Arm *ezn* ‘cow’. The Indo-Iranian forms are ambiguous as to whether the initial vowel was **h₁e-* or **h_ae-*; only the Celtic seems to require **h_ae-*. However, there is some precedent for an initial **e-* appearing as *a-* in Celtic, cf. OIr *aig* ‘ice’ from **i_ɛgi-*. As the word is attested at the margins of the IE world this strongly suggests PIE status.”).

Buck 1949:3.23 cow; 3.24 calf. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:518, no. 365; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 119, **[ɣ]ogUIV* (or **H₂oqUIV*) ‘offspring, child, young’.

778. Proto-Nostratic root **ɣim-* (~ **ɣem-*):

(vb.) **ɣim-* ‘to suck, to swallow’;

(n.) **ɣim-a* ‘the act of sucking, swallowing; breast, nipple, teat’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ɣim-* ‘to suck, to swallow’: Egyptian *ʿm* ‘to swallow; to absorb’, (causative) *sʿm* ‘to swallow down, to wash down (food)’. Hannig 1995:138; Faulkner 1962:42; Erman—Grapow 1921:25 and 1926—1963.1:183—184; Gardiner 1957:557. West Chadic: Karekare *?impà* ‘to suck’; Bole *?yump-* ‘to suck’, *?yùmpá* (n.) ‘the act of sucking’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:310. West Chadic: Pa’a *?m̄ma* ‘to eat (soft food)’. East Chadic: Somray *?ám* ‘to eat (soft food)’; (?) Migama *?áy mó* ‘to eat (hard food)’; (?) Sokoro *áy m̄* ‘to eat (hard food)’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:119 and II:120—121. North Omotic: Bench / Gimira *m?* ‘(vb.) to eat; (n.) food, meal’; Yemsa / Janjero *me* ‘to eat’, *mu*, *muwu* ‘to eat’.
- B. Proto-Uralic **imi-* ‘to suck’: Finnish *ime-* ‘to suck, to suckle’; Estonian *ime-* ‘to suck’; Zyrian / Komi *nim-* ‘to suck’; Ostyak / Xanty *em-* ‘to suck’; Old Hungarian *em-* ‘to suck’, *emlő* ‘breast, nipple, teat’ (Hungarian *emésztő* ‘digesting, digestive; consuming, wasting’, *emésztés* ‘digestion, digesting’); Yurak Samoyed / Nenets (derivative) (Obdorsk) *nimnie-* ‘to suck’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan (derivative) *nimiri-* ‘to suck’; Selkup Samoyed *nima-* ‘to suck’, *nemarna-*, *newara-* ‘to give the breast’; Kamassian (derivative) *nimeer-* ‘to suckle, to suck’; Taigi *nimu* ‘to suck’. Collinder 1955:15—16 and 1977:37; Décsy 1990:98 **imä* ‘to suck’; Rédei 1986—1988:82—83 **ime-* ‘to suck’; Sammallahti 1988:536 *imi-* ‘to suck’; Janhunen 1977b:110—111 **nim-*; Aikio 2020:59—60 **imi-* ‘to suck’; Zhivlov 2023:169 Proto-Uralic **imi-* ‘to suck’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ib-* ‘to suck’. Nikolaeva 2006:178—179.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **emV* (~ **ami*) ‘to suck’: Proto-Mongolian **em-kü-* ‘to chew, to put into the mouth’ > Written Mongolian *emkü-* ‘to chew, to put into or hold in the mouth’, *emkü* (n.) ‘bite, morsel, mouthful’; Khalkha *ömχö-* ‘to chew, to put into the mouth’; Buriat *ümχe-* ‘to chew’; Ordos *ujku* ‘mouthful’; Dagur *unku-*, *umku-*, *enku-* ‘to chew’; Monguor *ujkwā*

‘mouthful’, *χanġu-* ‘to put into the mouth’. Poppe 1955:48. Proto-Turkic **em-* ‘to suck’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *emig* ‘breast’; Karakhanide Turkic *em-* ‘to suck’, *emig* ‘beast’; Turkish *em-* ‘to suck’, *emme* ‘the act of sucking’, *emzik* ‘nipple, teat’; Azerbaijani *ämžäk* ‘nipple’; Turkmenian *em-* ‘to suck’, *emžek* ‘breast’; Uzbek *emčak* ‘breast’; Uighur *äm-* ‘to suck’, *ämčäk* ‘breast’; Tatar *im-* ‘to suck’, *imček* ‘breast’; Bashkir *imsäk* ‘breast’; Kirghiz *emček* ‘breast’; Noghay *emšek* ‘breast’; Sary-Uighur *emiγ* ‘breast’; Tuva *em-* ‘to suck’, *emig* ‘breast’; Chuvash *əʷm-* ‘to suck’; Yakut *em-* ‘to suck’, *emij* ‘breast’; Dolgan *emij* ‘breast’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:505—506 **emV* (~ **ami*) ‘to suck’.

Buck 1949:4.41 breast (of woman); 4.58 bite (vb.); 5.11 eat; 5.13 drink (vb.); 5.16 suck (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 134, **ġim[ē]* ‘to suck, to swallow’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:248, no. 109, **H/E/mi* ‘to suck, to swallow’; Greenberg 2002:159—160, no. 371; Hakola 2000:39, no. 125.

779. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕorʷ-*:

(vb.) **ʕorʷ-* ‘to turn or twist round’;

(n.) **ʕorʷ-a* ‘turning, twisting; binding, tying; sewing, weaving’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ʕor-* ‘to turn or twist round’: Egyptian *ʕrq* ‘to bind; to put on (clothes), to get dressed’, *ʕrf* ‘(vb.) to envelop, to tie up; (n.) bag, bundle’; Coptic (Bohairic) *ōrf* [ⲱⲣⲑ] ‘to enclose, to restrict, to surround’. Hannig 1995:151; Faulkner 1962:45; Gardiner 1957:558; Erman—Grapow 1921:27, 28 and 1926—1963.1:210—211, 1:211; Vycichl 1983:250; Černý 1976:229. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ʕor-* ‘to bind, to tie’ > Alagwa *ʕor-* ‘to tangle’; Iraqw *ʕoru* ‘cow seized by force’; Asa *ʕeras-* ‘to shut’; Ma’a -*ʕóro* ‘to tie, to tether’; Dahalo *ʕur-* ‘to sew’. Ehret 1980:279.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *oṟukku* (*oṟukki-*) ‘to draw out (as gold thread)’; Kota *oṟk-* (*oṟky-*) ‘to embroider’; Toda *wīrk-* (*wīrky-*) ‘to embroider’; Tuḷu *nūloḍu* ‘a spindle’; Telugu *oḍuku*, *vaḍuku* ‘to spin’; Naiki (of Chanda) *oc-/os-* ‘to sew’; Gondi *vaḍūyānā* ‘to twist a rope’, *vaḍḍānā*, *vaḍītānā* ‘to spin’, *wadītānā* ‘to twist or twirl fiber into a thread’; Kota *vaṛk-* ‘to spin’; Pengo *roc-* ‘to sew; to plait, to weave’; Maṇḍa *ruc-* ‘to plait’; Kui *osa* (*osi-*) ‘(vb.) to sew, to weave; (n.) sewing, weaving’; Kuwi *ohʔnai* ‘to mesh’, *huc-* ‘to weave’; Kuṛux *ōjnā* ‘to spin, to twist’, *ōjijnā* ‘to sew, to stitch together’; Malto *ōje* ‘to twist’, *ōjgre* ‘to be twisted’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:97, no. 1012; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **oṟ-ukk-* ‘to spin’.

Buck 1949:6.31 spin; 6.32 spindle; 6.33 weave; 6.35 sew; 9.75 plait (vb.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.).

780. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *ʕub-a ‘bosom, breast’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʕub- ~ *ʕib- ‘breast’: Semitic: Arabic ʕubb, ʕibb ‘breast pocket’. Berber: Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tibbit* ‘woman’s breast’; Tamazight *bubbu* ‘breast’; Kabyle *bubbu* ‘breast’. Central Chadic: Lamang *úba* ‘breast’; Mandara *úba* ‘breast’; Glavda *úba* ‘breast’; Guduf *úba* ‘breast’; Dghwede *úba* ‘breast’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:46—47. Lowland East Cushitic: Somali ʕib- ‘nipple’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:245, no. 1094, *ʕib-/ʕub- ‘breast, bosom’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *ube-/a- ‘breast, bosom’: Georgian *ube-* ‘bosom’; Mingrelian *uba-*, *luba-*, *laba-* ‘bosom, breasts (of woman)’; Laz *uba-*, *oba-* ‘bosom’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:344 *ube-; Fähnrich 1994:253 and 2007:418 *ube-; Klimov 1964:185 *ube-/a- and 1998:195 *ube//a- ‘breast, lap’.

Sumerian *ubur* ‘woman’s breast’.

Buck 1949:4.40 breast (front of chest); 4.41 breast (of woman). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:275, no. 138, *ʕ/e/bU- ‘breast’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:525, no. 375; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 107, *ʕ[æ]bU ‘female breast, bosom’.

781. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasian only) *ʕuk^{wh}- (~ *ʕok^{wh}-):

(vb.) *ʕuk^{wh}- ‘to perceive, to notice, to observe’ (> ‘to see’);

(n.) *ʕuk^{wh}-a ‘perception, observation; seeing, sight’ (> ‘eye’)

- A. Proto-Indo-European *ʕok^{wh}- ‘(vb.) to see; (n.) eye’: Sanskrit *ákṣi* ‘eye’; Armenian *akn* ‘eye’; Greek (nom. du.) ὄσσε ‘eyes’, ὄσσομαι ‘to see’; Latin *oculus* ‘eye’; Gothic *augō* ‘eye’; Old Icelandic *auga* ‘eye’; Norwegian *auge* ‘eye’, *augne* ‘to catch sight of’; Swedish *öga* ‘eye’; Danish *øie* ‘eye’; Old English *ēage* ‘eye’; Old Frisian *āge* ‘eye’; Old Saxon *ōge* ‘eye’; Dutch *oog* ‘eye’; Old High German *ouga* ‘eye’ (New High German *Auge*); Lithuanian *akis* ‘eye’; Latvian *acs* ‘eye’; Old Prussian *ackis* ‘eyes’; Old Church Slavic *oko* ‘eye’; Russian *oko* [oko] ‘eye’; Tocharian A *ak*, B *ek* ‘eye’. Pokorny 1959:775—777 *ok^u- ‘to see’; *ok^u-, *ok^ui-, *ok^u(e)n- (in oblique cases), *ok^u(e)s-, *ok^u-p- ‘eye’: Walde 1927—1932.I:169—172 *oq^u- ‘to see’; *oq^u-, *oq^ui-, *oq^u(e)n- (in oblique cases), *oq^u(e)s- ‘eye’; Mann 1984—1987:882 *oqu- ‘eye’, 882—883 *oquĩlos (*oquĩlos) ‘eye’, 883 *oquis (*oquĩs) ‘eye’. 883 *oquĩō ‘(n.) eye; (vb.) ‘to peer, to watch, to show’, 883 *oquĩios (*oquĩios) ‘eyed’, *oquĩmn- (*oquĩnom) ‘eye, eyehole’, 884 *oquĩos (*oquĩios, *oquĩio(n)); Watkins 1985:45—46 *ok^w- and 2000:60 *ok^w- ‘to see’ (oldest form *ǰ₃ek^w-, colored to *ǰ₃ok^w-; zero-grade *ǰ₃k^w-); Rix 2001:297—298 *h₃ek^u- ‘to fix one’s eyes upon, to have in view, to catch sight of, to set eyes upon, to behold’; Mallory—Adams 1997:188 *h₃ok^w-

‘eye’ and 505 **h₃ek^w*- ‘to see’; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:370—383 **h₃ek^u*-; Benveniste 1935:48 **ok^w*-; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:16; Frisk 1970—1973.II:436 **oq^u-ī*; Boisacq 1950:722—723 **oq^u*-; Beekes 2010.II:1118 *h₃ek^w*- ‘to see’; Martirosyan 2009:22—23; Ernout—Meillet 2001:458; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:200—202 **oq^u*-, **oq^uelos*; De Vaan 2008:425 **h₃e/ok^w*-, **h₃e/ok^w-(e)lo-*; Kroonen 2013:41 Proto-Germanic **augōn*- < **h₃ok^w*-; Orël 2003:29 Proto-Germanic **auǰōn* < **ok^w*-; Feist 1939:64—65; Lehmann 1986:48 **ok^wi-*; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.II:1417—1419 Proto-Germanic **augōn*; De Vries 1977:19 **ok^u*-; Hellquist 1922:1230—1232 **ok^u-je*; Torp 1919:9—10; Onions 1966:340 Proto-Germanic **auǰon* < **oq^w*-; Klein 1971:270 **oq^w*-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:11 **h₃ek^w*-; Vercoulié 1898:14—15; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:38 **ok^u*-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:49 **oq^u*-; Walshe 1951:12; Derksen 2008:365 **h₃ek^w-o-* and 2015:47 **h₃ek^w-i-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:5; Smoczyński 2007:6—7; Adams 2013:78—79 **h₃e/ok^w*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:141 **oq^u*-.

- B. Proto-Altaic **uk^hu* ‘to understand, to look into’: Proto-Tungus **oksa-* ‘to submerge in thoughts; to change one’s mind; to resent, to be offended’ > Lamut / Even *oysa-* ‘to change one’s mind’; Evenki *okso-* ‘to submerge in thoughts’; Nanay / Gold *oqsa-* ‘to resent, to be offended’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.II:11. Proto-Mongolian **uka-* ‘(vb.) to understand, to think; (n.) mind’ > Written Mongolian *uqa-* ‘to understand, to know, to comprehend, to realize’, *uqayan* ‘intellect, mind, intelligence, reason; consciousness; meaning, substance, essence; way, means’, *uqaburi* ‘understanding, comprehension, consciousness, imagination’; Khalkha *uxa-* ‘to understand, to think’, *uxā* ‘reason’, *uxān* ‘reason, understanding, mind’; Buriat *uxa-* ‘to understand, to think’, *uxā(n)* ‘mind’; Kalmyk *uxə-* ‘to understand, to think’, *uxān* ‘mind’; Ordos *uxā*, *uxān* ‘mind’; Dagur *ogo*, *owo* ‘brain’. Proto-Turkic **uk-* ‘to understand, to hear’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *uq-* ‘to understand’; Karakhanide Turkic *uq-* ‘to understand’; Azerbaijani (dial.) *uyuz* ‘knowing much’; Uzbek *uq-* ‘to understand’; Uighur *uq-* ‘to understand’; Tatar (dial.) *ux-* ‘to hear’; Kirghiz *uq-* ‘to hear’; Kazakh *uyin* ‘to understand’; Oyrot (dial.) *uq-* ‘to hear’; Tuva *uy-* ‘to understand’. Räsänen 1969:511—512. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1490—1491 **úk’u* ‘to understand, to look into’.

Buck 1949:4,21 eye; 15.51 to see; 15.52 to look, to look at; 15.53 sight (subj.); 15.54 sight (obj.), look (obj.), appearance; 17.14 to think’ (= ‘to reflect’); 17.16 to understand. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:255—256, no. 118, **HuKa* ‘eye; to see’; Dolgopolsky 2008:202—205, no. 124, **ġuKa* (or **ġukVʔa* or **ġAwuKa* or **ġAwuKVʔa*) ‘to see; eye’. Note: The alleged Afrasian, Uralic, and Dravidian cognates proposed by Dolgopolsky are not included here due to faulty sound correspondences, though the semantics are acceptable.

782. Proto-Nostratic root *ʕunʷ- (~ *ʕonʷ-):

(vb.) *ʕunʷ- ‘to eat, to drink, to swallow; to feed (on), to suck (milk from a breast)’;

(n.) *ʕunʷ-a ‘food, meal’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *ʕun- ‘to eat, to drink, to swallow; to feed (on), to suck (milk from a breast)’: Semitic: Arabic *ʕanğara* ‘to smack the lips, to put the lips out and curl them’. Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *ʕun-* ‘to eat’; Rendille *hûn-* ‘to drink milk, blood’. Heine 1978:100. Ehret 1995:351, no. 688, *-ʕon- ‘to swallow’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *uṇ* ‘to eat or drink, to suck (as a child), to take food, to swallow without biting, to enjoy, to experience’, *uṇṭaru-* ‘to eat and digest, to experience to the fullest extent’, *uṇṭi* ‘food, boiled rice, food of birds and beasts, experience’, *uṇṇi* ‘one who eats’, *uṇṇīr* ‘drinking water’, *uṇa* ‘food’, *uṇavu*, *uṇā* ‘food, boiled rice, foodstuffs’, *ūṇ* ‘eating, food, experience of joys and sorrows by the soul as the inevitable results of *karma*’, *ūṇaṇ* ‘glutton’, *ūṇi* ‘one who eats’; Malayalam *uṇṇuka* ‘to eat (especially rice), to suck’, *uṇṇi* ‘sucking, infant’, *ūṇ* ‘food, boiled rice, meal’; Kota *uṇ-* (*uḍ-*) ‘to drink, to suck’, *uṅkc-* (*uṅkc-*) ‘to make to drink, to make to feast’; Toda *uṇ-* (*uḍ-*) ‘to drink, (child) to take breast; (rain) to rain’, *u-ṇ* ‘food, feast’; Kannaḍa *uṇ* (*uṇḍ-*), *uṇṇu*, *umbu* ‘to eat what forms a person’s (or in poetry, certain animals’) real meal, or (with regard to children) mother’s milk; to enjoy (as riches), to take (as interest in money)’, *uṇi* ‘person who feeds on’, *uṇike* ‘taking a meal’, *uṇisu* ‘(vb.) to cause to take a meal; (n.) what is fed on, a meal’, *uṇṇi* ‘taking a meal, a meal’, *ummu* ‘boiled rice (a term used when speaking to children)’; Kōḍagu *uṇṇ-* (*umb-*, *uṇḍ-*) ‘to eat a meal’, *umbaḷa-mane* ‘kitchen’; Tuḷu *uṇṇini*, *uṇṇupini* ‘to take one’s meal, to dine, to eat rice (in opposition to a slight repast of fruits, cakes, etc.)’, *uṇaṣu*, *oṇaṣu* ‘a meal, dinner, boiled rice and curry’, *uṅkely* ‘the time of evening, the night meal’, *uṇṇpu* ‘boiled rice, solid food’, *umpu*, *nuppu* (= *uṇṇpu*) ‘cooked rice’; Kolami *un-* (*und-*) ‘to drink’, *unip-* (*unipt-*) ‘to make to drink, not giving with one’s own hand’; Naikri *un-* (*uṇḍ-*) ‘to drink’; Naiki (of Chanda) *un-* (*uṇḍ-*) ‘to drink, to smoke (cigarettes)’; Gadba (Ollari) *un-* (*uṇḍ-*) ‘to eat, to drink’, *uṇḍke* ‘food’, *uṇṇpe* ‘food, boiled rice’; Gondi *uṇḍānā* ‘to drink’, *jawā uṇḍānā* ‘to take food’ (*jawā* ‘porridge, food’); Kōṇḍa *uṇ-* (*uṭ-*) ‘to drink’; Parji *un-* (*uṇḍ-*) ‘to drink’, *uṇṭip-* ‘to cause to drink’; Pengo *uṇ-* (*uṭ-*) ‘to drink’; Kui *uṇba* (*uṭ-*) ‘(vb.) to drink, to partake of food (with *ēja* ‘a meal’), to smoke tobacco; (n.) the act of drinking, smoking’; Kuwi *ūṇdali* ‘to drink’; Maṇḍa *un-* (*uc-*) ‘to drink, to smoke’; Kuṛuḥ *ōṇṇā* (*oṇḍas*) ‘to drink, to eat rice’, *ōṅkā* ‘thirst’, *ōṇṇa?ānā* ‘to give a meal, to make drink’; Malto *óne* (*oṇḍ-*) ‘to drink, to be colored’, *onde* ‘to drink, to color, to dye’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:58—59, no. 600; Krishnamurti 2003:110 **un-* ‘to drink’.

Buck 1949:5.11 eat; 5.12 food; 5.13 drink (vb.); 5.15 thirst (sb.); 5.16 suck (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 719, *[g]ûnV (or *ġûnV) ‘to drink, to eat’.

783. Proto-Nostratic root *ġur- (~ *ġor-):
 (vb.) *ġur- ‘to be firm, hard, strong’;
 (n.) *ġur-a ‘firmness, hardness, strength’; (adj.) ‘firm, hard, strong’
- A. Proto-Afrasian *ġur- ‘to be firm, hard, strong’: Proto-Semitic *ġar-ad- ‘hard, firm, stiff’ > Arabic ʿard, ʿardal ‘hard, firm, stiff’. Proto-Semitic *ġar-at- ‘to be hard’ > Arabic ʿarata ‘to be hard’. Proto-Semitic *ġar-aġ- ‘to be strong, hard’ > Arabic ʿaraza ‘to be strong and hard’, ʿarġab ‘hard, firm’, ʿarġam ‘firm’. Egyptian ʿʒ(i) (< *ʿr) ‘great; greatness’, ʿʒʿ ‘bravery, courage, valor’. Hannig 1995:125 and 129; Faulkner 1962:37 and 38; Gardiner 1957:557; Erman—Grapow 1921:22 and 1926—1963.1:161—164. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ġur- or *ġuur- ‘strength’ > Iraqw ʿuru ‘strength’; Alagwa ʿuru ‘strength’; Ma’a ur ‘strength’. Ehret 1980:279. Ehret 1995:354, no. 697, *ġuur- ‘strength’ and 511 (no. 697); Takács 2011a:143.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ura* ‘to become firm, hard (as the soil); to become thick, coarse (as paper)’, *urappu* ‘hardness (as of rice that is not well boiled), coarseness or roughness (as of cloth or paper), resoluteness, strength’, *uram* ‘strength, hardness, compactness, resolution, heart of a tree, manure (as strengthening the soil)’, *uran* ‘strength of will, support’, *uraṅar* ‘persons of strong will’, *uravu* (*uravi-*) ‘to become vigorous, to get strong’, *uravam* ‘strength, force’, *uravaṅ*, *uraviyaṅ*, *uravōṅ* ‘strong man’, *uravu* ‘strength, firmness, strength of mind, increasing’; Malayalam *urakka* ‘to be strong’, *urattan* ‘strong man’, *uram* ‘strength, firmness’; Kota *orp-* (*orpy-*) ‘to excel’; Kannada *uraṭu*, *uraṭa*, *uruṭa*, *ur(u)ṭu*, *uṭṭu*, *oraṭu*, *orṭu* ‘coarseness (of cloth, thread, hair), thickness, stoutness’, *orpu* ‘strength, firmness, durability, coarseness (of cloth)’, (?) *urku*, *ukku* ‘power, valor’; (?) Telugu *ukku* ‘strength, vigor, courage, spirit’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:62, no. 649. Tamil *urai* ‘to become firm, steadfast, decided (as the mind)’, *uraiṅṅ* ‘firmness, steadfastness’, *uruti* ‘firmness, strength, capacity, assurance’; Malayalam *urayuka* ‘to be firm in’, *urekka* ‘to be firm, fixed, settled’, *urakkē* ‘strongly, firmly, aloud’, *urappu* ‘firmness, stay, support, assurance’, *urappikka* ‘to seize, to hold firmly, to make fast; to resolve, to assure, to convince’, *uruka* ‘to be firm’, *uruti* ‘firmness’; Kota *urv-* (*urd-*) ‘to sink into ground or hole of its own weight’, *urv-* (*urt-*) ‘to press forcibly into hole or ground’; Telugu *orapu* ‘steadiness, firmness, strength’, *uriya* ‘a brave man’; Kuṛux *ordnā* ‘to support’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:71, no. 721.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *ur3 ‘man, male’ > Finnish *uros* ‘male (of animals), adult man, brave man, hero’; (?) Lapp / Saami *vâres*, (Lule) *ores* ‘male animal, a male’, *vârek*, (Lule) *orek* ‘two-year old male reindeer’; (?)

Hungarian *úr* ~ *ura-* ‘lord, husband’. Collinder 1955:121 and 1977:134; Rédei 1986—1988:545—546 **ur3*; Sammallahti 1988:542 **urā* ‘male’. Semantic development as in Telugu *ur̥iya* ‘a brave man’ cited above or Latin *vir* ‘man, male; husband’, Sanskrit *vīrā-h* ‘man, hero’, Gothic *wair* ‘man’, Lithuanian *vyras* ‘man, husband’, etc. (< **wī-ro-* ‘man, male; husband; hero’, from the same root found in Latin *vīs* ‘force, power, strength’).

Buck 1949:2.21 man (vs. woman); 2.23 male (of human beings); 3.12 male (of animals); 4.81 strong; mighty; powerful; 15.74 hard; 15.76 rough; 16.52 brave. Hakola 2000:202, no. 902.

784. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕut-* (~ **ʕot-*):

(vb.) **ʕut-* ‘to smell’;

(n.) **ʕut-a* ‘smell, odor, fragrance’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʕat-ar-* ‘to have a good smell, to be fragrant’ > Arabic *ʕatira* ‘to perfume, to scent’, *ʕatir* ‘sweet-smelling, fragrant’; Syriac *ʕetrā* ‘incense’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʕátór* ‘to have a good smell’, *ʕétr* ‘perfume’; Mehri *ʕātáwr* ‘to have a nice smell, to be perfumed’, *ʕātər* ‘perfume, perfume bottle’; Harsüsi *ʕäter* ‘perfume, perfume bottle’. Proto-Semitic **ʕat-an-* ‘to smell bad, to stink’ > Arabic *ʕatina* ‘to rot, to decay, to putrefy’, *ʕatin* ‘putrid, rotten, stinking’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʕatana* [ጸጠኑ], *ʕatana* [አጠኑ] ‘to burn incense’, *ʕātān* [ጸጠኑ] ‘incense’; Tigrinya *ʕātānā* ‘to fumigate, to perfume, to render fragrant with incense’; Tigre *ʕatna* ‘to fumigate’, *ʕatan* ‘incense’; Amharic *aṭṭānā* ‘to perfume with incense, to fumigate, to smoke’; Harari *aṭāna* ‘to fumigate’, *aṭān* ‘incense’; Gurage (Chaha) *aṭānā* ‘to perfume’, *aṭan* ‘incense’. Leslau 1963:37, 1979:109, and 1987:76.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʕhot-* ‘to smell’: Armenian *hot* ‘smell, odor’, *hotim* ‘to smell’; Greek (Ionic) ὀδμή, (Attic) ὀσμμή, (Doric) ὀδμᾶ (< *ὀδ-σ-μᾶ) ‘smell, scent, odor’, ὄζω ‘to smell’; Latin *odor* ‘smell, odor’; Lithuanian *úodžiu*, *úosti* ‘to smell’; Latvian *uōžu*, *uōst* ‘to smell’. Rix 1998a:263 **h₃ed-* ‘to give off an odor’; Pokorny 1959:772—773 **od-* ‘to smell’; Walde 1927—1932.I:174 **od-*; Mann 1984—1987:862 **ōd-* ‘to smell’, 862—863 **odmā* (**odimā*, **ōdsmā*) ‘smell’; Watkins 1985:45 **od-* and 2000:59 **od-* ‘to smell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:528 **h₃ed-* ‘to smell’ (‘to give off a smell’); Frisk 1970—1973.II:353—355 Greek ὄζω < **ōd-iō*; Boisacq 1950:684—685 **ods-*; Hofmann 1966:224—225 Greek ὄζω < **ōd₁iō*; **ods-*; Beekes 2010.II:1050—1051 **h₃ed-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:777 **od-* (**ǵ₃ed-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:459; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:203 **od-*; De Vaan 2008:425—426; Winter 1965a:102; Smoczyński 2007.1:705 **Ho-Hd-* < **h₃e-h₃d-* < **h₃ed-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1167—1168; Derksen 2015:482 **h₃ed-*.

Buck 1949:15.21—15.24 smell. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:522, no. 371.

785. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʕuw-a* (~ **ʕow-a*) ‘herd of small animals, sheep and goats’:
- A. Afrasian: Egyptian (collective) *ʕwt* ‘sheep and goats, animals, flocks, herds (of small cattle)’. Faulkner 1962:39; Gardiner 1957:557; Hannig 1995:132 and 2006:488—489; Erman—Grapow 1921:23 and 1926—1963.1:170—171.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ʕhowi-s* ‘sheep’: Sanskrit *ávi-ḥ* ‘sheep’; Greek *ῥῆς*, *ῥῆς* ‘sheep’; Latin *ovis* ‘sheep’; Armenian *hov-iw* ‘shepherd’; Old Irish *oi* ‘sheep’; Gothic *awēþi* ‘herd of sheep’; Old English *ēow*, *ēaw*, *ēw* ‘sheep’, *ēowu*, *ēowe* ‘ewe’, *ēowd*, *ēowde* ‘herd of sheep’; Old Frisian *ei* ‘ewe’; Old Saxon *ewwi* ‘ewe’; Dutch *ooi* ‘ewe’; Old High German *ouwi*, *ou* ‘ewe’, *ewit*, *owiti* ‘herd of sheep’; Lithuanian *avis* ‘sheep’; Latvian *avs* ‘sheep’; Old Church Slavonic *ovbca* (< **owi-kā*) ‘sheep’; Hittite (nom. sg. or pl. ?) *ḫa-a-u-e-eš* ‘sheep’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *hawis* ‘sheep’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *ḫa-a-ú-i-iš* ‘sheep’; Lycian *ḫava-* ‘sheep’; Tocharian B *eye* ‘sheep’, *ā(u)w* ‘ewe’, *aiyye* ‘ovine, pertaining to sheep’. Pokorny 1959:784 **óui-s* ‘sheep’; Walde 1927—1932.I:167 **oui-s*; Mann 1984—1987:897 **ouis* ‘sheep’; Watkins 1985:45 **owi-* and 2000:61 **owi-* ‘sheep’ (oldest form **₂owi-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:577—578 **Howi-* and 1995.I:493 **Howi-* ‘sheep’; Mallory—Adams 1997:510 **h₂ouis* ‘sheep’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:59; Orël 2003:31 Proto-Germanic **awidjan*, 31 **awistran*, 31 **awiz*; Kroonen 2013:45 Proto-Germanic **awi-* ‘ewe’, **awidja-* ‘flock of sheep’, **awist(r)a-* ‘sheepfold’; Feist 1939:70 **ouis*; Lehmann 1986:52 **owis*; Onions 1966:332; Klein 1971:263; Puhvel 1984— .3:279—280 **A₂wéwi-* or **H₁ówi-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:337—338; Boisacq 1950:692—693 **oui-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:786; Frisk 1970—1973.II:367—368 **óui-s*; Hofmann 1966:228 **ouis*; Beekes 2010.II:1060—1061 **h₃eui-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:229 **ouis*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:471—472; De Vaan 2008:437—438; Adams 1999:35 **h₂ówis*, 92, and 104; Winter 1965a:102; Smoczyński 2007.1:38—39 **h₂óui-s*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:28; Derksen 2008:384 **h₃eu-i-* and 2015:74 **h₃eu-i-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:335—339 **h₂óu-i-*, **h₂éu-i-*.
- C. Proto-Uralic (?) **owči* / **uwči* ‘sheep’ (< **uwi-či* [**-či* is a hypocoristic suffix]) > Finnish *uuhi*, *uutu* ‘sheep, ewe’; Estonian *uhe* ‘sheep’; Mordvin (Moksha) *uča* ‘sheep’; Cheremis / Mari *užga* (-*ga* is a suffix) ‘fur coat of sheepskin’; Votyak / Udmurt *yž* ‘sheep’; Zyrian / Komi *yž* ‘sheep’; Vogul / Mansi *oš*, *os* ‘sheep’; Ostyak / Xanty *ač* ‘sheep’. Collinder 1955:121 and 1977:134; Rédei 1986—1988:541 **uče*; Sammallahti 1988:552 **uuči* ‘sheep’; Aikio 2020:80—81 (?) **owčV* / **uwčV* ‘sheep’. Note: The vowel **-i-* in the suffix **-či* is reconstructed on the basis of the Finnic forms. Mordvin, on the other hand, points to **-ča*.

- D. Proto-Altaic **uykV* (*-kV* is a suffix) ‘mountain ram, mountain goat’: Proto-Tungus **uyKam* ‘mountain ram; a kind of horned animal’ > Evenki *uyam* ‘mountain ram’; Lamut / Even *uyama* ‘mountain ram’; Negidal *oyamka* ‘a kind of horned animal’; Manchu *weyχen* ‘a kind of horned animal’. Proto-Mongolian **ugalža* ‘male mountain goat’ > Written Mongolian *uγalža* ‘male wild mountain sheep’ (Haltod—Hangin—Kassatkin—Lessing 1960:864 list *uγulža*); Khalkha *ugalž* ‘male mountain sheep’ (cf. Hangin 1986:539 угалз); Ordos *ug^walži* ‘male mountain goat’. Proto-Turkic **ograk* ‘mountain goat’ > Karakhanide Turkic *oγraq* ‘mountain goat’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1486 **ujkV* ‘a kind of horned animal’.

Buck 1949:3.25 sheep. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 749, **Γ[o]wV* ‘wild sheep/goats’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:521—522, no. 370; Blažek 2013:47, no. 25 — Blažek reconstructs Proto-Afrasian **ʕawy-* and mentions possible Cushitic and Chadic cognates.

22.38. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *x

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
x-	x-	Ø-	x-	ħh-	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
-x-	-x-	-Ø-	-x-	-ħh-	-x-	-Ø-	-Ø-

786. Proto-Nostratic root **xal-* (~ **xəl-*):

(vb.) **xal-* ‘to wear down, to wear out, to weaken; to be worn out, worn down, weakened’;

(n.) **xal-a* ‘weakness, exhaustion, fatigue, weariness’; (adj.) ‘weak, worn out, tired, exhausted, weary’

Note also:

(vb.) **ħal-* ‘to lay waste, to destroy, to kill, to slaughter’;

(n.) **ħal-a* ‘destruction, violence, killing, slaughter’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **xal-* ‘to wear down, to wear out, to weaken; to be worn out, worn down, weakened’: Proto-Semitic **xal-ak-* ‘to wear out, to wear down, to make smooth; to be worn down, worn out, ended, finished, terminated, wasted, destroyed’ > Hebrew *ħālāk* [ħālāk] ‘(Qal) to be smooth, slippery; (Hif.) to beat smooth (metal, with a hammer)’, *ħālāk* [ħālāk] ‘smooth, bald’; Ugaritic *ħlk* ‘to perish (?), to destroy’; Arabic *ħalaka* ‘to be old, worn, shabby (garment); to wear out (something), to let (something) become old and shabby’, *ħalak* ‘shabby, worn (garment), threadbare’; Akkadian *ħalāku* ‘to disappear, to vanish, to become missing or lost, to perish; to escape, to flee; to destroy, to ruin’; Geez / Ethiopic *ħalka* [ħalka], *ħalka* [ħalka] ‘to be consumed, to be wasted, to perish, to cease, to come to an end, to be accomplished, to be terminated, to be finished, to be destroyed, to fail, to dwindle away, to be spent, to be decided upon, to be determined’; Tigrinya *ħalākā* ‘to finish, to be finished’; Amharic *allākā* ‘to come to an end, to be finished, to be consumed’; Argobba *allāka* ‘to be finished’; Gurage (Soddo) *allākā*, *allāʔā* ‘to be finished, ended’, *allaki* ‘worn out’. Murtonen 1989:184; Klein 1987:220; Leslau 1979:40 and 1987:261. Proto-Semitic **xal-aw/y-* ‘to be worn out, weak, sick’ > Akkadian *ħalū* ‘to suffer’; Hebrew *ħālāh* [ħālāh] ‘to be weak, sick; to be smooth (to the taste), to be sweet; (Pi.) to soften, to sweeten; to soothe, to assuage; (Hif.) to assuage, to soften; to make sick, to wear out’; Aramaic *ħālā* ‘to be sick’. Murtonen 1989:182; Klein 1987:217. Proto-Semitic **xal-aš-* ‘to be weak’ > Hebrew *ħālaš* [ħālaš] ‘to be weak, prostrate; to weaken, to disable, to prostrate’; Aramaic *ħəlaš* ‘to be weak’. Murtonen 1989:184; Klein 1987:220. Egyptian *ħ* (medical term) ‘to pound, to crush, to pulverize’. Hannig 1995:629. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:272, no. 1229, **ħalak-* ‘to be smooth’ and 291—292, no. 1327, **ħalak-* ‘clothes’ (Proto-

Semitic **hulāk-/hālūk-* ‘old or torn clothes’ < Proto-Semitic **hVIVk-* ‘to be torn’.)]

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ala* ‘to suffer, to be in distress, to suffer privation, to be in want’, *alu* ‘to be weary, to be tired by overwork or care’, *allā* ‘to suffer, to be in distress’, *alam* ‘distress, pain, misery’, *alacu* (*alaci-*) ‘to suffer, to be distressed, to be exhausted, to become weary’; Malayalam *ala* ‘lamentation’, *alañnuka*, *alukka* ‘to be worn out, to grow lean’; Kota *alv-* (*ald-*) ‘to become wearied by walking or searching’; Kannaḍa *ala*, *alapu*, *alupu*, *alavu*, *alavike*, *alasike* ‘fatigue, weariness, trouble’, *alasu* ‘to become weary, to be tired, to be vexed, to be disgusted, to loiter’; Tuḷu *alasuni*, *alajuni* ‘to be fatigued, to be vexed, to suffer gripping pain’, *albe* ‘thin, weak, lean’; Telugu *alayu* ‘to be tired, to be disgusted’; Kolami *alay-* (*alayt-*) ‘to become tired’; Kui *ālāri* ‘fatigue, distress from fatigue, exhaustion’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:22—23, no. 236. Malayalam *aliyuka* ‘to melt, to dissolve (as salt, heart)’, *alikka*, *aliyikka* ‘to melt’; Koḍagu *ali-* (*aliv-*, *aliñj-*) ‘to dissolve (intr.)’, *ali-* (*alip-*, *alic-*) ‘to dissolve (tr.)’; Tuḷu *aliyuni* ‘to dissolve, to decay’, *eliyuni*, *ēhuni* ‘to melt’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:24, no. 250. Tamil *alku* (*alki-*) ‘to shrink, to diminish, to lessen’, *alkal* ‘deficiency, poverty’; Kannaḍa *akkuḍisu* ‘to become small, to wane’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:24, no. 252.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **h₂hel-* [**h₂hal-*] ‘to wear down, to grind’: Sanskrit *ānu-ḥ* (< **al-nu-*) ‘fine, minute’; Pāli *aṇu-* ‘small’; Greek ἀλέω ‘to grind, to bruise, to pound’; Armenian *alam* ‘to grind’. Pokorny 1959:28—29 **al-* ‘to grind’; Walde 1927—1932.I:189 **al-*; Mann 1984—1987:14 **alejō* ‘to grind, to pound, to crush’, 14 **aleur-* (**aleyər-*) ‘millings, flour’; Watkins 1985:2 **al-* and 2000:3 **al-* ‘to grind, to mill’; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 **h₄el-* ‘to grind down’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:26 **al-nu-*; Boisacq 1950:43; Frisk 1970—1973.I:70—71; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:59; Beekes 2010.I:65 **h₂elh₁-*; Hofmann 1966:12. Perhaps also the following: Sanskrit *alasa-ḥ*, *ālasa-ḥ* ‘inactive, lazy, tired’; Lithuanian *alsà* ‘tiredness’; Tocharian B *alāšmo* ‘sick’, *alāsk-* ‘to be sick’. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:55; Couvreur 1950:126; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:620 (Van Windekens considers Tocharian B *alāsk-* to be adapted from Sanskrit *alasa-ḥ*); Adams 1999:25—26; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:184; Smoczyński 2007.1:219—220; Derksen 2015:53.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *al'a:-* ‘to thaw’, *al'o:-* ‘melted’, *al'a:š-* ‘to melt’, *al'o:jə* ‘ice-hole; thawed patch’, *al'ununnu-* ‘to thaw’, (Northern / Tundra) *al'aa-* ‘to thaw’, *al'uo-* ‘melted’, *al'uorii-* ‘to keep melted’. Nikolaeva 2006:100.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **āle* ‘weak, tired, confused’: Proto-Tungus **āli-* ‘to become tired’ > Negidal *ālī-* ‘to become tired’; Ulch *āl(i)-* ‘to become tired’; Orok *ālī-* ‘to become tired’; Nanay / Gold *ālī-* ‘to become tired’. Proto-Mongolian **al-da-*, **al-ži-*, **al-ga-* ‘(vb.) to become tired; to lose, to miss; (adj.) disturbed, absent-minded, lazy’ > Mongolian *alda-* ‘to lose, to let go,

to drop; to lose control of, to be unable to control; to do something by mistake or by accident', *alday-a* 'mistake, error, fault, blunder, omission; defect; loss', *aldaydal* 'defect, deficiency, lack, want', *aldal* 'loss, slip, omission, mistake, error, fault, blunder', *aldara-* 'to come loose, to untie, to come off; to be freed from; to disappear, to vanish; to lose courage or strength or to weaken physically', *aldas* 'mistake, slip, omission, fault', *alyur* 'slow(ly), quiet(ly), calm(ly), leisure(ly), gradual(ly)', *alyasa-* 'to be distracted, confused, absent-minded, inattentive; to be unstable; to be worried; to be concerned; to miss, to skip', *almal* 'careless(ness), absent-minded(ness), inattentive(ness), forgetful(ness)', *alžiya-* 'to be or become tired, exhausted, weary; to be troubled', *alžiyal* 'fatigue, weariness; worry, anxiety, trouble', *alžiyas* 'fatigue, trouble, worry, temptation, allurements, enticement; error'; Khalkha *alda-* 'to lose, to miss', *alžā-* 'to become tired', *algū*, *almal* 'disturbed, absent-minded, lazy'; Buriat *alžā-* 'to become tired', *almay* 'disturbed, absent-minded, lazy'; Kalmyk *aldə-* 'to lose, to miss', *almā* 'disturbed, absent-minded, lazy'; Ordos *alda-* 'to lose, to miss'; Dagur *alšē-* 'to become tired', *aledē-* 'to lose, to miss'; Monguor *χaržā-* 'to become tired', *(a)rda-* 'to lose, to miss'. Proto-Turkic **āl-* 'weak, tired, old, worn out, etc.' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *alaŋ-ad-* 'to become weak'; Karakhanide Turkic *aliγ* 'bad', *aliq* 'to be vile (of a man), to turn septic (of a wound)'; Turkish *alık*, (Osmanli) *alu* 'weak, inferior', (dial.) *alaz*, *aliz* 'weak, inferior', (dial.) *alkın* 'upset'; Gagauz *aliq* 'crazy; fool'; Turkmenian *al-η-a-sa-* 'to hurry'; Uighur *alaq*, *alaŋ* 'crazy'; Karaim *alas* 'weakness'; Tatar *ala-ma* 'bad; old, worn-out'; Bashkir *alama* 'bad; old, worn-out', *al-yawu* 'to go mad'; Kirghiz *alaŋ*, *alaγ-dī* 'absent-minded, inattentive'; Kazakh *alaŋ* 'lazy man'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *alā* (< *alaγ*) 'dumb, foolish', *alu* (< *aliγ*) 'fool', *alaŋ* 'doubt, surprise', *alyas* 'upset', *al-īn-* 'to go mad'; Noghay *ala-η-γa-s-ar* 'absent-minded, inattentive'; Sary-Uighur *alyač* 'lazy man'; Tuva *alāq-* 'to be in doubt', *alaŋ* 'doubt, surprise'; Yakut *alyas* 'error'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:286—287 **āle* 'weak, tired, confused'.

F. Gilyak / Nivkh *al-* 'to be tired'. Note: Not in Fortescue 2016.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.84 sick; sickness; 4.91 tired, weary; 5.56 grind; 16.31 pain, suffering. Greenberg 2002:170, no. 395, **ali* 'tired'; Bomhard—Kerns 1984:545—546, no. 404.

787. Proto-Nostratic root **xal-* (~ **xəl-*):

(vb.) **xal-* 'to divide, to allot, to apportion, to enumerate, to count';

(n.) **xal-a* 'division, allotment, portion, share; measurement, calculation, number'

A. Proto-Afrasian **xal-* 'to divide, to allot, to apportion, to enumerate, to count': Proto-Semitic **xal-ak-* 'to divide, to allot, to apportion, to

enumerate, to count' > Hebrew *ḥālaḳ* [חָלַק] 'to divide, to allot, to share', *ḥēleḳ* [חֶלֶק] 'part, portion, share (of booty, of property)'; Syriac *ḥəlaḳ* 'to allot', *ḥəlkā* 'lot, portion'; Arabic *ḥalaka* 'to measure (out leather before cutting it)'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḥwallakʷa* [ከ-ለቁ] 'to count, to number, to enumerate, to take account, to review, to impute, to consider'; Tigrinya *ḥəlkʷ* 'number, count'; Amharic *əlk*, *əlko* 'number'; Harari *ḥēlāḳa* 'to count, to consider'; Gurage (Wolane) *elākā*, (Selti) *ēlākā*, (Zway) *ilākā* 'to count', (Wolane, Selti) *əlk*, (Zway) *ələk* 'number'. Murtonen 1989:184; Klein 1987:220; Leslau 1963:82—83, 1979:41, and 1987:261.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *alaku* 'number, calculation, cowries (as signs of number in reckoning)'; (?) Koḍagu *alu* 'cowrie'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:23, no. 238. Tamil *aḷa* 'to measure, to limit, to define', *aḷapu*, *aḷappam* 'measurement', *aḷappu* 'measurement, limit, bounds', *aḷavu* 'measure, extent, size, number', *aḷavi* 'limit', *aḷavai* 'measure, bounds, limit', *aḷavan* 'one who measures grain'; Malayalam *aḷakka* 'to measure', *aḷavu* 'measure, capacity, measure of time', *aḷattam* 'measurement', *aḷavan* 'measurer'; Kota *aḷv-* (*aḷd-*) 'to measure', *aḷv* 'limit'; Toda *aḷ-* (*aḷθ-*) 'to measure', *aḷt-* 'measure'; Kannaḍa *aḷe* (*aḷad-*, *aḷed-*) '(vb.) to measure; (n.) measure', *aḷate*, *aḷte* 'measure, extent, measurement', *aḷavu*, *aḷabu* 'measure'; Koḍagu *aḷa-* (*aḷap-*, *aḷand-*) 'to measure', *aḷate* 'act of measuring'; Tuḷu *aḷa* 'measure, capacity', *aḷakè*, *aḷatè* 'measurement', *aḷapuni* 'to measure', *aḷaka* 'large basket for measuring rice'; Telugu *alavi* 'measure, extent', *lāvu* 'dimensions, magnitude'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:28, no. 295.

Sumerian *hal* 'to separate, to divide; to deal out, to distribute', *ha-la* 'portion, share', (reduplicated) *hal(-hal)* 'to apportion, to allot, to deal out, to distribute'.

Buck 1949:12.54 measure (vb.); 13.12 number. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:551—552, no. 411.

788. Proto-Nostratic root **xam-* (~ **xəm-*):

(vb.) **xam-* 'to be wild, fierce, brave, strong, manly';

(n.) **xam-a* 'a male (human or animal)'

Extended form (Dravidian and Indo-European):

(vb.) **xam-V-d-* 'to be wild, fierce, brave, strong, manly';

(n.) **xam-d-a* 'a male (human or animal)' (**xam-d-* > **xan-d-*)

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ḥm* '(to be) wild (of animals)'. Hannig 1995:599; Faulkner 1962:190. (?) Highland East Cushitic: Burji *hamʔ-anée* 'big'. Sasse 1982:91; Hudson 1989:8 and 196.
- B. Dravidian: Parji *enḍka* 'young male pig'; Pengo *andren* 'male, man'; Maḇḇa *andren* 'male, man'; Kui *andra* 'a male animal or bird; male'; Kurux *andra* 'male (said only of animals)', *andḃā* 'fierce, unmanageable'

(of bulls, bullocks, and male buffaloes), haughty, overbearing (of men)'; Malto *andya* 'a bull'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:509, no. 7. Dravidian loanword in Sanskrit *aṅḍīra-h* 'male, man; strong'.

- C. Indo-European: Greek ἄνθρωπος 'man (used both as a generic term and of individuals)', (Mycenaean) *a-to-ro-qa* (ant^hrōk^wos) 'man', ἀνθρώπειος, ἀνθρώπινος, ἀνθρωπικός 'human', ἀνθρωπισμός 'humanity'. Boisacq 1950:63; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:90—91; Hofmann 1966:19; Beekes 2010.I:106 (probably substrate origin); Frisk 1970—1973.I:110—111. Semantic development as in Dravidian, cited above. Notes: (1) Found only in Greek. (2) ἄνθρωπος appears to be a compound < pre-Greek **and^hro-+*(H)ok^w-o-*. The meaning of **(H)ok^w-o-* is not clear. If it is ultimately a derivative of the Proto-Indo-European root **Hok^wh-* 'to see', as some have claimed, the original meaning may have been something like 'having the look, appearance, or characteristics of a man, like a man' (cf. Greek ὄψις 'the look or appearance of a person or thing, his or its aspect', ὄψανον 'appearance').

Buck 1949:2.1 man (human being); 2.23 male; 3.12 male (adj.).

789. Proto-Nostratic root **xan-* (~ **xən-*):

(vb.) **xan-* 'to sprout, to flourish, to bloom';

(n.) **xan-a* 'sprout, bloom, blossom'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **xan-ab-* 'to sprout, to flourish' > Akkadian *hanābu* 'to sprout, to flourish, to grow abundantly', *hanbu*, *hānibu* 'luxuriant', *hunnubu* 'very thriving'. Proto-Semitic **xan-am-* 'to thrive, to be luxuriant' > Akkadian *hanāmu* 'to thrive, to be luxuriant; to bloom', *hannāmu* 'very luxuriant'. Proto-Semitic **xan-at-* 'to ripen, to mature' > Akkadian *hunṭu* 'ripeness, maturity', *hunnūtu* '(state of) ripening'.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₁hen-dh-* [**h₁han-dh-*] 'to sprout, to blossom, to bloom', **h₁hen-dh-os-* [**h₁han-dh-os-*] 'sprout, blossom, bloom, flower': Sanskrit *āndhas-* 'sprout of the soma plant; herb'; Greek ἄνθος 'blossom, flower'. ἀνθέω 'to blossom, to bloom', ἄνθη 'full bloom'; Albanian *ëndem* 'to blossom, to bloom', *ënde* 'flower'. Rix 2001:266 (?) **h₂endh-* 'to sprout, to bloom'; Pokorny 1959:40—41 **andh-*, **anedh-* 'to sprout, to bloom, to blossom', **andhos* 'bloom, blossom, herb'; Walde 1927—1932.I:67—68 **andhos*; Mann 1984—1987:21 **andhos*, *-es-*, **andh₁ə* 'plant, flower'; Watkins 1985:2 **andh-* and 2000:4 **andh-* 'bloom'; Mallory—Adams 1997:207 **h_aéndhes-* ± 'flower'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:36; Boisacq 1950:62—63; Hofmann 1966:19; Frisk 1970—1973.I:108—109; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:89—90; Beekes 2010.I:104—105 **h₂endh-*; Orël 1998:87; Hamp 1965a:141.

Buck 1949:8.53 plant; 8.57 flower.

790. Proto-Nostratic root **xaŋ-* (~ **xəŋ-*):
 (vb.) **xaŋ-* ‘to lift, to raise; to rise, to go upward, to ascend’;
 (n.) **xaŋ-a* ‘that which is most prominent, foremost, visible, or noticeable’;
 (particle) **xaŋ-* ‘on top of, over, above’
 Extended form:
 (n.) **xaŋ-th-a* ‘the most prominent or foremost (person or thing), front, front part’
- A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **han-* ‘over, above, on (top of)’ > Gedeo / Darasa *hana* ‘over, above’; Hadiyya *hana* ‘over, above’, *hane* ‘top’; Sidamo *aana* ‘over, above’, *aaná* ‘on (top of)’. Hudson 1989:109. The following Semitic forms probably belong here as well (see below): Proto-Semitic **xan-at-* ‘(vb.) to stick out, to project, to protrude; (n.) that which is most prominent, foremost, visible, or noticeable’ > Mehri *xəntāy* ‘front part of a camel’; Ḥarsūsi *xenī* ‘one of the fore-teats of a camel’; Šheri / Jibbāli *xanī* ‘front, front part of anything’ (also *šxənī* ‘to come out, away from; to get out’, *xunī* ‘outside’, *xanīn* ‘out, absent’; *axnī* ‘to take out, to take off; to evacuate the bowels; to be full to overflowing; to go out in the spring’). Arabic *ḥunṭūl* ‘long horn or penis’. Arabic *ḥinšir*, *ḥinšar* ‘little finger or toe’.
- B. [Dravidian: Tamil *aŋ* ‘upper part’, *aŋa* ‘to lift the head’, *aŋar* ‘to rise, to move upwards’, *aŋavu* (*aŋavi-*) ‘to go upward, to ascend’, *aŋŋal* ‘greatness, exaltation, superiority, great man, king, god’, *aŋŋā* ‘to look upward, to gape, to hold the head erect’; Malayalam *aŋŋa* ‘upwards, above’, *aŋŋal* ‘high, God, esp. Arhat’, *aŋŋā* ‘looking upwards’; Kannaḍa *aŋŋe*, *aŋŋa*, *aŋa* ‘excellence, purity’; Tuḷu *aŋŋvuni*, *aŋŋāvuni* ‘to look up, to lift up the face, to gaze’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:12, no. 110. Tamil *āŋi* ‘excellence, superiority’, *āŋi-ppon* ‘gold of the finest quality’, *āŋi-muttu* ‘pearl of the finest quality’; Kannaḍa *āŋi* ‘excellence, superiority, preciousness’, *āŋi-pon* ‘gold of the finest quality’; Malayalam *āŋikkaram* ‘the choicest of anything’, *āŋi-pponnu* ‘finest gold’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:33, no. 354.]
- C. [(?) Proto-Altaic **āŋo* (‘front, front side’ >) ‘right (side)’: Proto-Tungus **āŋ(gi)-* ‘right’ > Evenki *aŋŋū*, *āŋŋū* ‘right’; Lamut / Even *āŋgɔɣ* ‘right’; Negidal *aŋŋi-dā* ‘right’; Oroch *āŋžā* ‘right’; Udihe *ayaŋaža* ‘right’; Solon *angida* ‘right’. Proto-Mongolian **eŋge-* ‘south; front (of cloth)’ > Written Mongolian *eŋger* ‘flap of a garment, lapel(s); southern slope of a mountain or hill’, *eŋ* ‘width (of material), dimension, extent’, *eŋ* ‘very, most’ (*eŋ terigün* ‘first of all, very first’); Khalkha *eŋger* ‘south; front (of cloth)’; Buriat *eŋger* ‘front (of cloth)’; Kalmyk *eŋgə*, *eŋgr* ‘shore’; Ordos *eŋger* ‘front (of cloth)’; Dagur *eŋge* ‘front (of cloth)’; Dongxiang *eŋgie* ‘front (of cloth)’; Monguor *ŋge* ‘front (of cloth)’. Proto-Turkic **oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky; west’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky; west’; Karakhanide Turkic *oŋ* ‘right; good, lucky’; Turkish (dial.) *on* ‘right; good,

lucky'; Turkmenian *oŋ* 'good, lucky'; Uzbek *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Uighur *oŋ* 'right'; Karaim *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Tatar *uŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Bashkir *uŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Kirghiz *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Kazakh *oŋ* 'right'; Noghay *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Sary-Uighur *oŋ* 'right'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *oŋ* 'right; good, lucky'; Tuva *oŋ* 'right'; Yakut *uŋa* 'right; southern', *uŋuor* 'on the other bank'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:305 ***āŋo* 'right'.]

- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **an-(ə)k(i)* 'earlier', (converb affix) **-an-ke* 'before', (postposition) **-an-k* 'in front of, before': Amur *ənk* 'earlier, before'; East Sakhalin *anar* 'earlier'; South Sakhalin *anəki* 'earlier'. Fortescue 2016:14 and 176 (table of affixes).

Buck 1949:10.21 rise (vb.); 10.22 raise, lift; 12.31 high; 12.33 top; 12.41 right; 12.48 south. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:553—554, no. 413. Note: the Dravidian and Altaic forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may belong with Proto-Nostratic **ʕaŋ-* (~ **ʕəŋ-*) '(n.) upper part; (particle) up, above' instead.

791. Proto-Nostratic root **xaŋ-* (~ **xəŋ-*):

Extended form:

(n.) **xaŋ-t^h-a* 'the most prominent or foremost (person or thing), front, front part'

Derivative of:

(vb.) **xaŋ-* 'to lift, to raise; to rise, to go upward, to ascend';

(n.) **xaŋ-a* 'that which is most prominent, foremost, visible, or noticeable';

(particle) **xaŋ-* 'on top of, over, above'

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *hnt* 'face, front part', *hnt* 'in front of, among, from', *hnt* 'to ascend, to rise (the Nile)', (adv.) *hntw* 'before, earlier', *hnt*, *hnty* 'nose, face', *hnty* 'who or which is in front of (of place), who is at the head of, foremost, pre-eminent in, principal (of degree), protruding (of shape)'; Coptic *šant* [ϣⲀⲚⲦ] 'nose'. Eрман—Grapow 1921:129—130 and 1926—1963.3:302—306; Gardiner 1957:585; Hannig 1995:607—608; Faulkner 1962:194; Vycichl 1983:254. Note: Dolgopolsky (2002:45—46 and 2008, no. 1875) compares the following South Arabian forms with the Egyptian forms cited here: Mehri *xəntāy* 'front part of a camel'; Ḥarsūsi *xenī* 'one of the fore-teats of a camel'; Šheri / Jibbāli *xanī* 'front, front part of anything' (also *šxənī* 'to come out, away from; to get out', *xunī* 'outside', *xanīun* 'out, absent'; *axnī* 'to take out, to take off; to evacuate the bowels; to be full to overflowing; to go out in the spring'). These cannot be separated from Arabic *hantūl* 'long horn or penis'. The original meaning was probably something like 'that which is most prominent, foremost, visible, or noticeable'. The Proto-Semitic ancestor may be reconstructed **xan-at*'- 'to stick out, to project, to protrude', that is, root **xan-* with *-at*'-extension. That the root is to be reconstructed as **xan-* to which various

extensions have been added in Semitic proper is shown by the related Arabic *ḥinšir*, *ḥinšar* ‘little finger or toe’, itself from earlier **xan-ac*-. Thus, the Semitic forms can be compared, but not directly with Egyptian *ḥnt* ‘face, front part’ as Dolgopolsky has attempted to do.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **h₁henth^h-s* [**h₁hanth^h-s*] ‘front, front part’, **h₁henth^hi* [**h₁hanth^hi*] ‘in front of, before’: Hittite *ḥa-an-za* ‘front, front part’, *ḥa-an-ti* ‘in front of, before’, *ḥa-an-te-iz-zi-iš* ‘first, foremost’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *ḥa-an-te-le-eš* ‘first, foremost’, (acc. sg.) *ḥa-an-da-wa-te-en* ‘leader, chief’; Lycian (3rd sg. pret.) *χṽte-wete* ‘to lead, to direct’, *χṽte-wata-* ‘leader, chief’; Sanskrit *ánti* ‘before’, *ánta-h* ‘end, limit, boundary’, *ántya-h* ‘last (in time, place, or order)’; Pāli *antika-* ‘near’; Sindhi (f.) *andī* ‘edge, edge of a web of cloth as left in weaving’; Kashmiri *and* ‘edge, limit’; Marathi *āt* ‘as far as’, *āṭī* ‘at the end of, after, on’; Greek *ἀντί* ‘opposite’, *ἄντα* ‘over, against, face to face’; Latin *ante* ‘before’; Oscan *ant* ‘till’; Gothic *and* ‘along, throughout, towards’, *andeis* ‘end’; Old Icelandic (prefix) *and-* ‘opposite, against, towards’, *endi*, *endir* ‘end’, *endr* ‘in times past, formerly’, *enda* ‘to end, to bring to an end’; Old English (prefix) *and-*, *ond-* ‘opposite, against, towards’, *ende* ‘end, limit, border’; Old Frisian *enda* ‘end’; Old Saxon (prefix) *and-*, *ant-* ‘opposite, against, towards’, *endi* ‘end’; Dutch *einde* ‘end’; Old High German (prefix) *ant-*, *int-*, *ent-* ‘opposite, against, towards’ (New High German *ant-*, *ent-*), *anti*, *enti* ‘end’ (New High German *Ende*); Lithuanian *añt* (earlier *antà*) ‘on, upon’; Tocharian A *ānt*, B *ānte* ‘surface, forehead’. Pokorny 1959:48—50 **ant-s* ‘front’, **anti* ‘in front of, before’; Walde 1927—1932.I:65—67 **anti*; Mann 1984—1987:27—28 **anti* (**anti*, **anti*, **anti*); **antis*, *-os*, *-ios* ‘towards, against, facing; face, front, side, edge, end’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:158 **H₂ant[h]-*, I:203, II:814 **Hant[h]-*, **Hant[h]jo-* and 1995.I:136 **H₂ant^h-* ‘forehead, front part of face, forehead’, I:175, I:713 **Hant^h-*, **Hant^hyo-*; Watkins 1985:3 **ant-* ‘front, forehead’, inflected form (loc. sg.) **anti* ‘against’ and 2000:4 **ant-* ‘front, forehead’ (oldest form **ant₂-*, colored to **ant₂-*), inflected form (loc. sg.) **anti* ‘against’, with derivatives meaning ‘in front of, before’, also ‘end’; Mallory—Adams 1997:60 **H₂enti* ‘in front’ and 209 **H₂ent-* ‘forehead’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:35 and I:36; Puhvel 1984— .3:89—96 **A₁ent-* and 3:108—112; Boisacq 1950:64 (Latin *ante* < **anti*); Frisk 1970—1973.I:112—113 and I:113—114; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:91—92; Hofmann 1966:19; Sihler 1995:439, §406.1, **H₂enti* ‘in front and facing’; Beekes 2010.I:107—108 **h₂ent-* and I:109 **h₂ent-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:36—37; De Vaan 2008:45; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:53—54 **anti*, **anta*; **antjō-*, **antjo-*; Orël 2003:18 Proto-Germanic **andā*, 18 **andjaz*, 18 **andjōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:27 Proto-Germanic **andja-* ‘end, extreme’; Feist 1939:46 and 49; Lehmann 1986:34 and 36; De Vries 1977:9 and 102; Onions 1966:313 **antjō-*; Klein 1971:247 **anta-*, **anti-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:88; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:25 **anta*, **anti*, 165 **antjō-*, and 166—

167; Kluge—Seebold 1989:178 and 179; Smoczyński 2007.1:17 **h₂ent-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:11; Derksen 2015:57; Adams 1999:43 **H₂ento-*, **H₂ent-* ‘front, forehead’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:163; Sturtevant 1942:40, §37c, Indo-Hittite **xants*, (dat.) **xánti*; Kloekhorst 2008b:287—289 **h₂ent-*. Adams (1999:14 and 2013:15) has shown that Tocharian A *āmpi*, B *antapi* ~ *āntpi* ‘both’ probably belong here as well, being derived from Proto-Indo-European **h₂hent^h-b^ho-* [**h₂han^h-b^ho-*] (Adams writes **h₂ent-b^ho-*). On the basis of the Tocharian forms, which are particularly archaic, Greek ἄμφω ‘both’ and Latin *ambō* ‘both’ must now be derived as follows: **h₂hem-b^ho-* [**h₂ham-b^ho-*] < **h₂hent^h-b^ho-* [**h₂han^h-b^ho-*], with assimilation of original **-nt^h-* to **-m-* before **-b^ho-* (cf. Beekes 2010.I:96 **h₂(e)nt-b^hoh₁*; De Vaan 2008:37—38 **h₂(e)nt-b^hoH*).

- C. Proto-Uralic **aŋta* ‘horn, antler’: Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *āŋət* ‘horn’, (Upper Demyanka) *oŋət*, (Obdorsk) *aŋət*; Vogul / Mansi (Tavda) *εεŋt* (*-ŋt* < **-nt* < **-ŋt*) ‘horn’, (Pelymka) *oŋt* ‘horn’, (Sosva) *aaŋt* ‘horn’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets (Obdorsk) *ŋaamt* ‘horn, antler (of reindeer)’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *eddo* ‘horn’, (Baiha) *naddo*; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ŋamta* ‘horn’; Selkup Samoyed (Narym) *amd*, *aamd* ‘horn, antler’; Kamassian *amno* ‘horn’; Koibal *amna* ‘horn’; Motor *amdu* ‘horn’. Rédei 1986—1988:12—13 **aŋtə* (**oŋtə*); Décsy 1990:97 **angta* ‘horn’; Janhunen 1977b:20 **ämtə*; Aikio 2020:19—20 (?) **aŋta* ‘antler’.
- D. (?) Altaic **a[ŋ]t^ha* ‘hill, slope’ (< ‘front slope’?): Proto-Tungus **antaga* ‘slope of a mountain’ > Evenki *antaya* ‘slope of a mountain’; Lamut / Even *antəγ* ‘slope of a mountain’; Negidal *antaya* ‘slope of a mountain’; Manchu *antu* ‘the south side of a mountain, the sunny side of a mountain’; Nanay / Gold *antažia* ‘slope of a mountain’; Udihe *anta* ‘slope of a mountain’. Turkmenian *aŋŋat* ‘sandhill, mound’ may belong here as well. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:302 **ant’a* ‘hill, slope’.
- E. Etruscan *hanθin* ‘in front of’.

Buck 1949:4.17 horn; 4.204 face; 12.35 end. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:554, no. 414; Dolgopolsky 2002:45—46 **qan/ŋtV* ‘forehead, front’ and 2008, no. 1875, **qaŋtV* ‘forehead, front’; Greenberg 2002:24—25, no. 35, **hant* ‘before’.

792. Proto-Nostratic root **xat-* (~ **xət-*):

- (vb.) **xat-* ‘to cut into, to hollow out, to engrave, to prick, to pierce’;
 (n.) **xat-a* ‘slice, carving, engraving, engraved line, incision’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **xat-* ‘to cut into, to hollow out, to engrave, to prick, to pierce’: Proto-Semitic **xat-at-* ‘to cut into, to hollow out, to engrave, to carve’ > Arabic *haṭṭa* ‘to carve, to engrave, to inscribe, to draw or trace a line, to write’; Akkadian *haṭātu* ‘to make a ditch, to excavate, to dredge a river’, *hiṭṭatu* ‘trench; foundation pit’; Sabaean *hitt* ‘to fix the boundaries of a piece of land’; Ḥarsūsi *xṭāṭ* ‘to make signs on the ground by the road to

guide travelers’, *xatf* ‘letter, line’; Šheri / Jibbāli *xetf* ‘to write, to make signs on the ground to point out a route’; Mehri *xəf* ‘to make signs on the ground to point out (a route)’. Zammit 2002:163. Orël—Stolbova 1995:294, no. 1341, **hat-* ‘to dig’ and 302, no. 1380, **hut-* ‘to dig, to scratch’ (connected with **hat-* ‘to dig’).

- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Achaemenid Elamite *at-tu-* ‘to excavate, to dig’, *at-ti* ‘a kind of tool’, perhaps ‘shovel’ or ‘hoe’.
- C. Kartvelian: Svan *xt’ūr-* ‘to cut into pieces, to slice, to carve’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **hhet’-* [**hhat’-*] ‘to cut into, to hollow out, to engrave, to prick, to pierce’: Armenian *hatanem* ‘to cut’, *hat* ‘piece, cut, slice’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ha-at-zi*, *ha-at-ta-i*, *ha-at-ta-a-i*, *ha-ad-da-i*; *ha-az-zi-zi*, *ha-az-zi-az-zi* ‘to make a hole (in), to pierce, to prick, to stab, to slash, to perforate, to penetrate, to stick (as a means of killing), to hit (a target), to strike (especially a musical instrument), to engrave (a tablet)’, (1st sg. pres.) *ha-at-ta-ra-a-mi* ‘to prick, to incise, to engrave, to inscribe’, (nom.-acc. sg.) *ha-at-tal-la-an* ‘club, mace’, (nom.-acc. sg.) *ha-at-ta-ra-a[n]* ‘prick, awl’, (nom. sg.) *ha-at-tal-ki-iš-na-aš* ‘thorn-bush’, (3rd sg. pres.) *ha-at-ra-a-iz-zi* ‘to write, to send written word (about), to report, to order, to dispatch’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *ha-tu+ra/i-à-s* ‘letter’, (imptv.) *ha-tu+ra/i+à* ‘write!’; Luwian (3rd sg. pret.) *ha-at-ta-ri-it-ta* ‘to prick, to pierce’, (acc. sg.) *ha-at-ta-ra-an* ‘prick’; Lycian *χttadi* ‘to hurt, to damage’, *χdrñna* (?) ‘inscription’ (?); Avestan *ađu* ‘water-course, brook, canal’. Pokorny 1959:4 **ad(u)-*, **ad-ro-* ‘water-course’; Kloekhorst 2008b:330—332, 332, 333—334, and 335—336; Puhvel 1984— .3:248—255, 3:255—256, 3:256—257, 3:263—265, and 3:269—274; Tischler 1977— :226—227. Though the comparison of Armenian *hatanem* with the Anatolian forms is semantically flawless, there are problems with the phonology (cf. Puhvel 1984— .3:254), since double writing of the dental stop in Hittite points to original **-th-*, while the Armenian form points to original **-t’-*. However, double writing of medial stops in Hittite can also indicate the former presence of a laryngeal (see Chapter 5 for details) as in (nom. sg.) *me-ik-ki-iš* ‘large’, which is to be derived from earlier **mek’-* plus the suffix **-Hi-* > **mek’Hi-* > the attested Hittite *me-ik-ki-iš*. Thus, comparison of Armenian *hatanem* with the Anatolian forms having medial double writing can be maintained if we derive the Anatolian forms from earlier **hhet’H-* [**hhat’H-*], which would yield Hittite *hatta-* as the regular outcome (cf. Bomhard 1992d:5—11 and 2000:35—46, especially 44—45). Support for this interpretation may be found in Hittite *hatrai-*, which has consistent single writing. Thus, it is possible to envision a pre-Proto-Anatolian root **hhet’-* [**hhat’-*], which was then extended by two separate suffixes in Proto-Anatolian proper: (A) **hhet’-Ha-* [**hhat’-Ha-*], yielding Hittite *hatta-* upon loss of the medial laryngeal, and (B) **hhet’-ra-* [**hhat’-ra-*], yielding Hittite *hatra-*. Stem (A) was further extended by a suffix *-ra-*, giving the attested agent noun *hattara-* ‘prick, awl’, which, in turn,

served as the basis of the denominative verb *hattarai-*. Other derivatives of stem (A) are *hattatta-* ‘club, mace’ and *hattalkešna-* ‘thorn-bush’. The agent noun **hatra-*, from stem (B) and from which the denominative verb *hatrai-* is derived, is unattested.

- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **atənvə* ‘wound’ > Chukchi *atən* (pl. *atənwət*) ‘wound’, *atənw-at-* ‘to wound’; Kerek *atnuuŋa* ‘wound’, *atnw-aat-* ‘to wound’. Fortescue 2005:24.

Buck 1949:1.36 river; stream; brook; 8.22 dig; 18.51 write. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:547—548, no. 405.

793. Proto-Nostratic root **xol-*:

- (vb.) **xol-* ‘to be separated or apart from, by oneself, alone; to set apart’;
 (n.) **xol-a* ‘solitude, seclusion, loneliness’; (adj.) ‘alone, lonely’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **xol-* ‘to be separated or apart from, to be by oneself, to be alone; to set apart’: Proto-Semitic **xal-aw/y-* ‘to be separated or apart from; to be alone’ > Arabic *ḥalā* ‘to be empty, vacant; to be free, to be alone’, *ḥalā* ‘except, save, with the exception of’, *ḥilw* ‘alone, in a private place, free (from)’, *ḥalawī* ‘lonely, solitary, secluded, isolated, outlying’; Sabaean *ḥlw* ‘except, with the exception of’ (contexts fragmentary); Šheri / Jibbāli *xále* ‘to be empty; to be unmarried, alone with (b-), *xáleʔ* ‘empty place, something empty; loneliness’, *xáleʔ* ‘divorce’, *xalwét* ‘loneliness’; Mehri *xáyli* ‘to be empty, to be alone with (b-) someone’, *xōli* ‘to divorce’, *xəleʔ* ‘desert; hungry; alone; empty (*mən*) of’, *xəleʔ* ‘divorce’; Ḥarsūsi *xéli* ‘to be empty’, *xāl* ‘to divorce’, *xəleʔ* ‘divorce’, *xelā* ‘empty place, desert’, *xéli* ‘undressed’. Zammit 2002:166. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *holl-* ‘to chase, to divorce’. Hudson 1989:283.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **xolo* ‘alone, sole; only, merely, solely’: Georgian *xolo* ‘only, and (conjunction)’, *mxolo* ‘the only’, *xole* ‘alone, only’, *mxolod* ‘only, merely’; Mingrelian *xvale* ‘only, alone’; Laz *xvala* ‘only’. Schmidt 1962:159; Klimov 1964:260—261 **xole-* and 1998:330 **xolo* ‘only’.

Buck 1949:13.33 alone, only (adj.; adv.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:551, no. 410.

22.39. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *x^w

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
x ^w -	x ^w -	v-/Ø-	xw/u-	ḫ ^w -	w-		v-
-x ^w -	-x ^w -	-v-	-xw/u-	-ḫ ^w -	-x-		-v-

794. Proto-Nostratic root *x^wal- (~ *x^wəl-):

(vb.) *x^wal- ‘to pull (off, out), to tear (off, out)’;

(n.) *x^wal-a ‘the act of pulling or tearing (off, out)’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *x^wal- ‘to pull (off or out)’: Proto-Semitic *xal-af- ‘to pull (off or out)’ > Arabic *ḥalaʿa* ‘to take off, to put off, to slip off (a garment); to extract, to pull; to wrench, to dislocate, to luxate (a joint); to depose, to remove, to dismiss, to discharge (someone from an office); to renounce, to forgo, to give up (something), to withdraw (from); to throw off, to cast off’, *ḥalʿ* ‘slipping off, taking off (of clothes); deposition (for example, of a ruler); dislocation, luxation; extraction of teeth’. Zammit 2002:165. Proto-Semitic *xal-ag- ‘to draw or tear out, to remove’ > Arabic *ḥalaḡa* ‘to draw, to attract; to tear out’, *ḥilliḡ* ‘far, remote’; Šheri / Jibbāli *xólḡ* ‘to cause to grieve at the loss or removal of a child’; Mehri *xəlāwg* ‘grieving at the loss or removal of a child’. Proto-Semitic *xal-ac- ‘to rob, to steal, to filch; to lose, to be deprived (of)’ > Arabic *ḥalasa* ‘to steal (something), to pilfer, to filch, to swipe, to purloin (something); to obtain (something) under false pretenses or means; to embezzle, to misappropriate’, *ḥulsatan* ‘by stealth, stealthily, surreptitiously, furtively’, *ʿiḥtilās* ‘embezzlement, misappropriation’; Mehri *xəlūs* ‘to stray, to get lost; to lose, to lose in court; to guess wrong; to miss’; Šheri / Jibbāli *xólās* ‘to miss something; to lose; to guess’, *axtélēs* ‘to lose something precious; to be deprived, bereaved of a child’, *šxélās* ‘to filch; to filch food, etc., when one’s parents are absent’; Harsūsi *xelōs* ‘to miss (a shot)’, *xlōs* ‘to lose, to mislead’. Proto-Semitic *xal-ac’- ‘to pull out or tear out, to remove’ > Hebrew *ḥālaš* [חָלַשׁ] ‘to draw off or out, to withdraw; to pull out, to tear out; to rescue, to deliver’; Aramaic *ḥəlaš* ‘to undress, to take (something) off; to withdraw’; Phoenician *ḥlš* ‘to deliver’; Akkadian *ḥalāšu* ‘to press, to squeeze out; to comb out’, *ḥalšu* ‘obtained by pressing out (said of oil), pressed out (said of sesame seeds), combed (said of flax)’, *ḥilšu* ‘combed wool’; Arabic *ḥalaša* ‘to be or become free, to be freed, to be liberated (from), to be cleared, to get rid (of); to extract (something from)’, *ḥalāš* ‘liberation, deliverance, riddance; rescue, salvation (from), redemption; payment, settlement, liquidation (of a bill)’, *taḥalluš* ‘freedom, libertation, release, extrication, escape (from)’, *ḥulāša* ‘excerpt; extract, essence; quintessence,

substance, gist (of something); abstract, résumé, summary, epitome, synopsis'. Murtonen 1989:184; Klein 1987:220; Zammit 2002:164—165. (?) Egyptian *hnp* (if for **hlp*) 'to snatch, to catch; to steal'. Hannig 1995:603; Faulkner 1962:192; Gardiner 1957:585; Erman—Grapow 1921:128 and 1926—1963.3:290. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **xwal-* 'to dig up' > Alagwa *xwal-* 'to dig up'; K'wadza *soxwal-* 'to till, to cultivate'. Ehret 1980:375. Ehret 1995:230, no. 400, **xwal-*, **xwaal-* 'to extract, to take or draw out'.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vali* 'to draw, to pull, to row; to have contortions or convulsions', *vali*, *valippu* 'pulling, dragging, spasm, convulsion'; Malayalam *vali* 'drawing, pull, tug, spasm', *valikka* 'to draw, to drag, to row; to have spasms', *valippikka* 'to cause to pull', *valippu* 'drawing, pulling, spasm', *valiyuka* 'to be drawn, to extend, to have spasmodic pain'; Kodagu *bali-* (*balip-*, *balic-*) 'to snatch, to pull', *balip-* 'the act of dragging'; Koraga *bali* 'to pull'; Kui *velba-* (*ves-*) '(vb.) to pull, to pull up; (n.) pulling'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:477, no. 5282.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **h^hwel-/h^wol-/h^wl-* 'to draw, to pull, to tear out': Latin *vellō* 'to pluck, to pull, to tear out'; Lithuanian *velkù*, *vilkti* 'to drag, to pull'; Old Church Slavic *vlěko*, *vlěsti* 'to draw, to drag'; Avestan (in compounds) *varək-* 'to draw'; Gothic *wilwan* 'to rob, to plunder', *wilwa* 'robber'. Rix 1998a:620 **uelk-* 'to drag, to draw, to pull'; Pokorny 1959:1144—1145 **uel-* 'to tear', 1145 **uelk-* 'to pull'; Walde 1927—1932.I:304—305 **uel-* and I:305 **uelk-*; Mann 1984—1987:1509 **uel-* 'to snatch, to tug', 1511 **uelk-* 'to pull, to tug, to jerk', 1512 **uelum-* 'pull, tear, jerk; fleece', 1512 **ueluō*, *-iō* 'to snatch, to pluck, to rob', 1572 **uolk-*; Watkins 1985:76 **wel-* and 2000:98 **wel-* 'to tear, to pull'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:492, fn. 1, **uel-* and 1995.I:413, fn. 1, **wel-* 'to lacerate, to tear apart; to wound; to kill'; Mallory—Adams 1997:471 **h₄uelk-* 'to pull'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:744—745 **uel-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:718 **wel-*; De Vaan 2008:659; Orël 2003:454 Proto-Germanic **welwanan*; Feist 1939:564—565 **uel-*; Lehmann 1986:404 **wel-* 'to tear, to rob; to wound'; Smoczyński 2007.1:753—754 **h₂uelk-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1253; Derksen 2008:514 and 2015:504 **u(e)lk^(w)-*.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 9.33 draw, pull; 11.56 steal; 11.57 thief. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:608—609, no. 485; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2480, **[']w[A]l[iy]V* (or **[']wōl[iy]V*?) 'to draw, to pull (out, off)'.

795. Proto-Nostratic root **xwat-* (~ **xwət-*):
 (vb.) **xwat-* 'to scratch, to scrape';
 (n.) **xwat'-a* 'the act of scratching, scraping'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *x^wat'- 'to scratch, to scrape, to sweep': (?) Semitic: Akkadian *haṭāpu* (to process grain in some way); 'to wipe away (tears)'. Proto-East Cushitic *ḥaad- 'to scrape (ground), to sweep' > Burji *haad-* 'to dig'; Somali *ḥaad-* 'to sweep'; Galla / Oromo *haad-* 'to scrape the ground'. Hudson 1989:195; Sasse 1982:87.
- B. Dravidian: Pengo *vat-* '(fowl) to scratch the ground', *vatpa-* '(fowl) to scratch the ground', *vatki ki-* '(fowl) to scratch the ground'; Mandā *vetki ki-* '(fowl) to scratch the ground'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:473, no. 5248.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian *xwet'-/*xwt'- 'to scrape': Georgian *xvet-* 'to scrape; to tear off; to sweep'; Mingrelian *xvat-* 'to scratch; to gnaw, to bite'; Laz *xvat-* 'to gnaw, to bite'; Svan *xwet'-/xwt'-* 'to perish (of a multitude)'. Klimov 1964:259 *xwet- and 1998:328—329 *xwet- : *xwt- 'to scrape'; Fähnrich—Sardschweladse 1995:550—551 *xwet-; Fähnrich 2007:683—684 *xwet-.

Buck 1949:18.51 write.

796. Proto-Nostratic root *x^wat'- (~ *x^wat'-):

(vb.) *x^wat'- 'to chatter, to speak';

(n.) *x^wat'-a 'chatter, talk'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *xat'-ab- 'to speak' > Arabic *ḥaṭaba* 'to deliver a public address, to make a speech; to preach, to deliver a sermon'; *ḥuṭba* 'public address, speech; oration; letter, note, message', *taḥāṭub* 'conversation, talk, discussion, (inter)communication'. Proto-Semitic *xat'-il- 'to talk nonsense, to prattle' > Arabic *ḥaṭila* 'to talk nonsense, to indulge in idle or unseemly talk', *ḥaṭal* 'idle talk, prattle', *ḥaṭil* 'garrulous, chattering, given to silly talk; stupid, foolish'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vataru* (*vatarī-*) 'to chatter, to prate, to be talkative, to lisp, to abuse'; Kannaḍa *odarū* 'to sound, to cry aloud, to shout, to shriek, to howl', *odarukive* 'sounding, crying aloud'; Tuḷu *badaritana* 'defamation'; Telugu *vadaru*, *vaduru* 'to prattle, to prate, to babble, to chatter, to jabber', *vadarūbōtu* 'prattler, babbler'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:473, no. 5244.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *ḥ^wet'- 'to say, to speak': Sanskrit *vāda-h* 'speech, discourse, talk, utterance, statement', *vādati* 'to speak, to say, to utter, to tell, to report, to speak to, to talk with, to address'; Greek (?) ἀείδω (< *ḥ^wet'- < *awe-ud- < *H₂we-H₂ud- [cf. Sihler 1995:55, §61.1.a, and 86, §90; Buck 1933:89; Grammont 1948:137—138 *a-we-wdō]) 'to sing', ἀῦδάω 'to utter sounds, to speak', ἀῦδή (Doric ἀῦδά) 'the human voice, speech', (?) ἀηδών, ἀηδών 'nightingale'; Lithuanian *vadinti*, *vadinti* 'to call, to name'. Rix 1998a:225 *h₂uedH- 'to sound, to speak' (note: Rix [1998a:256—257] derives Greek ἀείδω from *h₂ueid- 'to sing'); Pokorny 1959:76—77 *au- *aued- 'to speak'; Walde 1927—1932.I:251—252

ued-*; Mann 1984—1987:45 **ued-* (əued-*, **aud-*, **aud-*) ‘to sing’, 1496 **ued-* ‘to speak, to utter’, and 1558 **uod-* ‘call, sound’; Watkins 1985:73 **wed-* (possibly oldest root form **əwed-* becoming **awed-*) and 2000:95 **wed-* ‘to speak’ (oldest form **₂wed-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:535 **ued-* ‘to raise one’s voice’; Boisacq 1950:15, 17 **ued-* (or **ued-*), and 99; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:21—22 Greek ἀείδω < **ḗ-Fε-ἰδ-εἰν*, dissimilated from **ḗ-Fε-Fδ-εἰν*, I:26, and I:137—138; Hofmann 1966:4, 5, and 28; Frisk 1970—1973.I:22—23, I:26 *(*a*)*ued-*, and I:184 **ued-*; Wyatt 1972a:51—52 Greek ἀείδω < **weid-* ‘to make known’; Prellwitz 1905:8, 10, and 64; Beekes 1969:56—57 (Beekes rejects derivation of Greek ἀείδω from **ḗ-Fε-Fδ-εἰν*), 89 **h₂uēd-* : **h₂eud-*, and 2010.I:23 **h₂ueid-*, I:27 (ἀηδῶ, ἀηδῶν ‘nightingale’ could be pre-Greek), I:168 **h₂ued-*; L. Meyer 1901—1902.I:23—24; Wharton 1890a:18; Polomé 1965:24 Greek ἀηδῶν < **Aw-e-Awd-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:710 **h₂uedH-* Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:177—178; Derksen 2015:484.

- D. Uralic: Finno-Ugrian: Finnish *vatustaa*, *vatvoa* ‘to dwell on something, to chatter’; Estonian *vada* ‘to chatter, to prattle, to jabber’.
- E. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan **vetyav-* ‘to speak’: Chukchi *wetyaw-* ‘to speak (out)’, *wetyaw* ‘speech, word’, *rə-wetyaw-* ‘to speak (with someone), to decide’; Alyutor *vityav-* ‘to decide’, (Palana) *nə-ta-vetyəŋ-gen* ‘talkative’; Koryak *vetyav-* ‘to reach agreement’, *nə-vetyəŋ-gen* ‘talkative’. Fortescue 2005:316.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk. Hakola 2000:211, no 944.

797. Proto-Nostratic root **xwely-*:

(vb.) **xwely-* ‘to gulp down’;

(n.) **xwely-a* ‘neck, throat’

- A. Dravidian: Malayalam *vēḷa* ‘throat’; Koḍagu *boḷe* ‘neck’; Gondi *warēr*, *verer*, *verer*, *veredi*, *varer*, *verer* ‘neck’, *verer*, *vederu*, *vedāgā* ‘throat’, *warer* ‘neck, throat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:506, no. 5547.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **xwl-ep-*/**xwl-ip-* ‘to gulp (down), to choke’: Georgian *xvrep-*/**xvrip-*, (Gurian) *xvlep-*/**xvlip-* ‘to gulp (down), to choke’; Mingrelian *xvip-* ‘to gulp (down), to choke’; Laz *xlap-*/**xlip-* ‘to gulp (down), to choke’; Svan *xwlip-* ‘to gulp (down), to choke’ (this may be a Zan loan). Klimov 1964:259 **xwlip-* and 1998:329 **xwl-ep-* : **xwl-ip-* ‘to gulp (down), to choke’; Fähnrich—Sardschweladse 1995:552 **xwlep-*/**xwlip-*; Fähnrich 2007:684—685 **xwlep-*/**xwlip-*.

Buck 1949:4.28 neck; 4.29 throat.

798. Proto-Nostratic root *x^wir- (~ *x^wer-):(vb.) *x^wir- ‘to make a loud noise, to make a shrill sound’;(n.) *x^wir-a ‘loud noise’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *x^wir- ‘to rumble, to sound, to snore’: Proto-Semitic **xar-ar-* ‘to roar, to rumble, to snore’ > Arabic *ħarra* ‘to murmur, to bubble, to gurgle, to purl (of running water); to ripple, to trickle; to snore’, *ħarīr* ‘purl, murmur, ripple (of water)’, (reduplicated) *ħarħara* ‘to snore’; Akkadian *ħarāru* ‘to croak, to rumble’. Egyptian *ħr* (defective verb) ‘to say, to speak’, *ħrtw* ‘declaration, statement’, *ħrw* ‘voice, noise’; Coptic *ħrow* [Ⲫⲣⲟⲟϥ] ‘voice, sound’; *ħrubbai* [Ⲫⲣⲟϥⲃⲃⲁⲓ], *ħrmpe* [Ⲫⲣⲙⲡⲉ], *ħrumpe* [Ⲫⲣⲟϥⲙⲡⲉ] ‘thunder’. Hannig 1995:611 and 614; Faulkner 1962:196; Erman—Grapow 1921:131 and 1926—1963.3:317—318, 3:318, and 3:324—325; Gardiner 1957:585; Černý 1976:295; Vycichl 1983:308, 309, and 311. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **xiri-* (< **x^wir-*) ‘to rumble, to roar’ > Iraqw *xuray* ‘to rumble, to roar’. Proto-Rift **xiriʔus-* ‘to rumble’ > Burunge *xuruʔus-* ‘to thunder’; Asa *hoʔorus-* ‘to snore, to growl’. Ehret 1980:370. Ehret 1995:232, no. 405, **x^wir-* ‘to rumble’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vīr-vīr-eṇal* onomatopoeic expression of screaming, shrieking, *vīr-eṇal* onomatopoeic expression of a sharp, shrill cry, *vīr-iṭu* ‘to cry out suddenly, to scream’; Malayalam *vīr-iṭuka* ‘to squeak, to bellow’, *vīr* ‘the roar of elephants, the grunt of pigs’; Kui *vere vere* ‘the squeal of a pig’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:496, no. 5458.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **xwr-en-/xwr-in-* ‘to snore’: Georgian *xvren-/xvrin-* ‘to snore’; Mingrelian *xurxin-, xirxin-* ‘to snore’. Klimov 1964:259—260 **xwr-in-* and 1998:329 **xwr-en-* : **xwr-in-* ‘to snore’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **h¹wer-k^h-* ‘to cry, to squeal’: Old Church Slavic *vrěštō, vrěštati* ‘to cry, to squeal’; Czech *vřískat, vrěštět* ‘to cry, to whimper’; Lithuanian *verkiù, veĩkti* ‘to weep, to cry’, *verkšnà* ‘cry-baby’, *veĩksmas* ‘weeping, crying’. Mann 1984—1987:1519 **uerkiō* (**uerkskō*) ‘to squeal, to cry, to utter, to say’; Smoczyński 2007.1:737; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1226; Derksen 2015:497 **uerk-*.

Buck 1949:15.44 sound (sb.).

22.40. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *γ

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
γ-	γ-	Ø-	γ-	𐀀-	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
-γ-	-γ-	-Ø-	-γ-	-𐀀-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-Ø-

799. Proto-Nostratic root *γam- (~ *γam-):

(vb.) *γam- ‘to be or become dark; to cover, to hide’;

(n.) *γam-a ‘darkness; sunset, evening’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *γam-am- ‘to be or become dark; to cover, to hide’ > Arabic *ḡamma* ‘to cover, to veil, to conceal; to be overcast’, *ḡamām* ‘clouds’; Sabaean *ḡmm* ‘clouds’; Šheri / Jibbāli *aḡmīm* ‘to make a smoke-screen, dust-cloud’, *ḡiūm* ‘heat-mist, fog’; Mehri *aḡmēm* ‘to see only as a blurred image, to see as in a fog’; Hebrew *‘āmam* [אָמַם] ‘to darken, to dim’, (reduplicated) *‘im‘ēm* [אָמַם אָמַם] ‘to dim, to darken, to obscure’; Geez / Ethiopic *‘amama* [ጠጠሙ] ‘to be dark, black, dirty’. Leslau 1987:63; Klein 1987:475 and 476; Zammit 2002:310. Proto-Semitic *γam-ad- ‘to cover, to hide, to conceal; to obscure; to set (sun)’ > Arabic *ḡamada* ‘to cover, to conceal, to veil; to close the eyes; to sheathe’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ḡōd* ‘to be hidden, obscured; to obscure; to set (sun)’, *oḡōd* ‘to go at sunset; to be covered in gloom after the death of the best member of the family’, *ḡumd* ‘sunset’; Mehri *ḡamēd* ‘sunset’; Ḥarsūsi *ḡemōd* ‘to set, to go down in the evening’. Arabic *ḡamā* (*ḡmw*) ‘to cover’, *ḡamūs* ‘deep; dark, obscure; difficult’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:229, no. 1019, *ḡum- ‘to cover, to shut’.]
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *γam- ‘(last) night’: Georgian *γam-e* ‘night, at night’, *sa-γam-o* ‘evening’; Laz *γom-a(n)* ‘yesterday’; Mingrelian *γum-a* ‘last night’; (?) Svan *γam-* in *li-γam-n-e* ‘to wait’. Klimov 1964:200—201 *γamen- and 1998:220 *γame- ‘last night’; Schmidt 1962:138; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:384 *γam-; Fähnrich 2007:476—477 *γam-. Note: Klimov rejects the comparison of the Svan form.
- C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *emu-* ‘dark’, *emidej-* ‘to grow dark’, *embə-* ‘black’, *emid’ə* ‘blackness, birthmark’, *emil* ‘night’, *emike-* ‘to darken’, *am-mal-* (< *em-mal-) ‘to spend the night’. Nikolaeva 2006:157—158.
- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *amecat- ‘to disappear, to hide’: Chukchi *amecat-* ‘to disappear, to hide’; Kerek *amicγan* ‘to disappear, to hide (?)’, *pəlka amejnatək* ‘after sunset’; Alyutor (Palana) *amecat-* ‘to disappear, to hide’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *amelat-kas* ‘to disappear, to hide’ (this may be a loan from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:21.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 12.26 cover (vb.); 12.27 hide, conceal; 14.42 night.

800. Proto-Nostratic root *γil- (~ *γel-):

- (vb.) *γil- ‘to bear, to give birth, to beget (of humans)’;
 (n.) *γil-a ‘child, youth, young person’; (adj.) ‘young, immature’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *γil- ‘(vb.) to give birth, to beget (of humans); (adj.) young, immature; (n.) child, youth, young person’: Proto-Semitic *γil-m- ‘youth, young person; young man, lad, boy’ > Hebrew (m.) *‘elem* [עֶלֶם] ‘young man’, (f.) *‘almāh* [אַלְמָה] ‘young woman, maiden’; Imperial Aramaic *‘lym* ‘servant, slave’; Syriac *‘əlaymā* ‘boy, youth, young man, servant’; Phoenician *‘lm* ‘youth’, *‘lmt* ‘young woman’; Palmyrene *‘lmt* ‘female servant, female slave’; Nabatean *‘lym* ‘servant’; Ugaritic *glm* ‘boy’, *glm̄* ‘girl’; Sabaeen *glm* ‘child, boy, youth’; Arabic *gūlām* (pl. *gūlmat*) ‘boy, youth, lad; slave, servant, waiter’, *gūlāmat* ‘girl, slave-girl’. Murtonen 1989:320; Klein 1987:473; Tomback 1978:246; Zammit 2002:308. Cushitic: Proto-Sam *ilem ‘small boy’ > Somali *ilmo* ‘child, baby’; Boni *ēlej* ‘boy’. Heine 1978:65. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *il- ‘to give birth, to beget (of humans)’ > Gedeo / Darasa *il-* ‘to give birth, to beget’, *ila* ‘generation’, *ildaatt’e* ‘fertile (of woman)’, *ileenša* ‘generation’; Sidamo *il-* ‘to give birth, to beget (of humans)’, *il-ama* ‘relative’, *il-aasinco* ‘fertile (of woman)’, *ilama* ‘generation’; Kambata *il-* ‘to give birth, to beget (of humans)’, *il-amu* ‘relative’, *il-mucco* ‘last born; brother, youngest’. Hudson 1989:246—247, 323—324, and 374.
- B. Proto-Dravidian *iḷa- (< *iḷya-) ‘child, youth, young person’: Tamil *iḷa*, *iḷam*, *iḷai* ‘young, tender’, *iḷai* ‘youth, tender age’, *iḷaimai* ‘youth’, *iḷaicci* ‘younger sister’, *iḷañan* ‘younger brother, lad, young man’, *iḷaitu* ‘that which is young and not fully developed’, *iḷaiyar* ‘youths, young men, servants’, *iḷaiyavar*, *iḷaiṅṅar* ‘young women’, *iḷaiyavan* ‘younger person, lad, youth, younger brother’, *iḷaiyan*, *iḷaiyān*, *iḷaiyōn* ‘younger brother’, *iḷaku* (*iḷaki-*) ‘to sprout afresh, to send forth tender shoots’, *iḷacu* ‘that which is young or tender’, *iḷaval* ‘younger brother, lad, son’, *iḷamai* ‘childhood, youth, tenderness, amorousness, immaturity of knowledge and intellect’, *iḷantai* ‘youth, tender years’; Malayalam *iḷa* ‘tender, young, weak’, *iḷappam* ‘state of being young, juvenility, tenderness’, *iḷama* ‘youth, tender age, junior *rāja*’, *iḷayavan* ‘young, younger’; Kota *eḷ* ‘time of youth; young’; Toda *eḷ* ‘young; tipcat (the small stick hit in the game)’, *eḷk* ‘time of youth’; Kannaḍa *eḷ*, *eḷa*, *eḷe* ‘tenderness, youth, weakness, moderation’, *eḷaku* ‘young age’, *eḷatu*, *eḷadu*, *eḷedu* ‘that is tender, young’, *eḷetana* ‘tenderness, youth’; Koḍagu *ēḷē* ‘youth’; Tuḷu *eḷatṭu* ‘tender, green, not fully grown’, *lattu* ‘young, tender, unripe, green, imperfect’, *ellyāye* ‘a youth, junior, minor’, *lambu* ‘tender’, *lambē* ‘a tender fruit’; Telugu *lēta*, *lē-* ‘young, tender, light, delicate, soft’, *lēka* ‘servant’, *lēga* ‘a sucking or young calf’, *lēma* ‘a woman, tender’, *ela* ‘young, tender, delicate, slight, gentle’, *ela-nāga* ‘damsel’, *eḷa* ‘tender, young’, *nelāta*, *nelātuka* ‘woman’;

Kolami *le-ŋga* ‘calf’; Naiki *lēŋga* ‘calf’, *lēta* ‘young (of infants)’; Parji *iled* ‘young man, youth’, *ile* ‘young woman, girl’; Gadba (Ollari) *ile* ‘bride’, *iled* ‘grown-up girl, woman’, *ilend* ‘bridegroom’; Konḍa *lēŋa* ‘calf’; Kui *lāvenju* ‘grown-up boy, young man, youth’, *lāa* ‘grown-up girl, young woman’, *leti* ‘soft, yielding’; Kuwi *lāa* ‘virgin’; Kuṛux *lidum* ‘soft’; (?) Brahui *ilum* ‘brother’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:50—51, no. 513.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **ilmə* ‘human, human being, man, person’ > Finnish *ilminen* (= *ihminen*) ‘human, human being, man’; Vogul / Mansi (Konda) *ēlēm-kholēs* ‘person’. (Cf. Rédei 1986—1988:81—82, under **ilma* ‘heaven, weather; God’.)
- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **əllæŋju* ‘younger (brother)’: Chukchi *ətlenj* (pl. *ətlenjut*) ‘younger brother’; Kerek *əlla* ‘younger brother (of boy)’; Koryak *əccaŋi*, *əllaŋi* ‘younger (brother)’; Alyutor *əllaŋi* (stem *əllaŋju*-) ‘younger brother’; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Eastern) *ilulin* ‘younger (son or daughter)’, (Western) *il, ul* ‘younger’. Fortescue 2005:340.

Buck 1949:4.71 beget (of father); 14.14 young. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 713, **gīl[U]* ‘boy, young man’.

801. Proto-Nostratic root **γor-*:

(vb.) **γor-* ‘to leave, to go away, to depart; to separate; to abandon’;

(n.) **γor-a* ‘leaving, departure; separation; abandonment’

Extended form:

(vb.) **γor-V-b-* ‘to leave, to go away, to depart; to separate; to abandon’;

(n.) **γor-b-a* ‘leaving, departure; separation; abandonment’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **γar-ab-* ‘to leave, to go away, to depart’ > Arabic *ġaraba* ‘to go away, to depart, to absent (oneself), to withdraw (from), to leave (someone, something); to go to a foreign country; to expel from the homeland, to banish, to exile’, *ġarba-t* ‘removal, departure’, *ġurba-t* ‘absence from one’s homeland; separation from one’s native country, banishment, exile; life, or place, away from home’; Mehri *əġtərōb* ‘to be abroad, away from home’, *ġərbēt* ‘strange place, unknown place’; Šheri / Jibbāli *aġtéréb* ‘to be abroad, away from home’, *ġarbēt* ‘strange, unknown place; abroad’. Perhaps also Punic *ʿrbt* ‘desolation’ (?) in *kl ʿrbt* ‘the voice of desolation’ (interpretation highly uncertain) (cf. Hoftijzer—Jongeling 1995:887).
- B. Dravidian: Gondi *ori-* ‘to move aside’, *vorke* ‘aside’; Tamil *oruvu* (*oruvi-*) ‘to abandon, to renounce, to pass over, to escape, to be excepted’, *oruvu*, *orūu*, *orūutal* ‘leaving, separation, renunciation’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 95, no. 993.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ǵhorb^h-* (with non-apophonic *-o-*) ‘to be or become separated, abandoned, bereft’, **ǵhorb^h-o-s* ‘(n.) orphan, servant; (adj.) bereft, abandoned, deprived (of)’: Sanskrit *ár̥bha-ḥ* ‘little, small; child’;

Armenian *orb* ‘orphan’; Greek ὀρφανός ‘orphan, without parents, fatherless; (metaph.) abandoned, bereft’; Latin *orbis* ‘bereft, deprived by death of a relative or other dear one; bereaved (of); childless; an orphan’; Old Irish *orb* ‘heir’, *orb(b)e*, *orpe* ‘inheritance’; Gothic *arbi* ‘inheritance’, *arbja* ‘heir’ (f. *arbjō* ‘heiress’); Old Icelandic *arfi* ‘heir, heiress’, *arfi* ‘inheritance, patrimony’, *erfa* ‘to inherit’, *erfð* ‘inheritance’; Old Swedish *arve*, *arver* ‘heir’; Danish *arv* ‘heir’; Norwegian *arv* ‘heir’; Old English *ierfa*, *irfa* ‘heir’, *ierfe* ‘inheritance, bequest, property’, *erfe*, *irfe*, *yrfe* ‘inheritance, (inherited) property’, *irfan*, *yrfan* ‘to inherit’; Old Frisian *erfa* ‘heir’, *erve* ‘inheritance, inherited land, landed property’; Old Saxon *erbi* ‘inheritance’; Middle Dutch *erve* ‘heir’; Old High German *arbi*, *erbi* ‘inheritance’, *arbo*, *erbo* ‘heir’ (New High German *Erbe* ‘inheritance; heir’); Old Church Slavic *rabъ* ‘servant, slave’; Russian *rab* [paб] ‘slave, serf, bondsman’ (f. *rabá* [paба] ‘slave, serf, bondmaid’); Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *har-ap-zi* ‘to separate oneself and (re)associate oneself elsewhere’. Pokorny 1959:781—782 **orbho-* ‘weak, abandoned; slave, orphan’; Walde 1927—1932.I:183—184 **orbho-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:411 **h₂/h₃orbhos* ‘orphan, heir’; Mann 1984—1987:884 **orbhākos* ‘young, tender; deprived, blind’, 884 **orbhānikos* ‘young, minor, underage’, 884—885 **orbhāt-*, **orbhit-* ‘deprived, bereft; deprivation, bereavement’, 885 **orbhios* adjectival form of **orbhos*, 885 **orbhmos* (**orbhmos*) ‘bereft, deprived’, 885—886 **orbhos*, *-ios*, *-iā* ‘deprived, bereft; child, orphan’; Watkins 1985:46 **orbh-* ‘to put asunder, to separate’ (suffixed form **orbh-o-* ‘bereft of father’) and 2000:60 **orbh-* ‘to change allegiance, to pass from one status to another’ (oldest form **₂₃erbh-*, colored to **₂₃orbh-*) (suffixed form **orbh-o-* ‘bereft of father’ also ‘deprived of free status’); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:399, I:651 **orbho-* ‘deprived of one’s share, deprived of possessions; orphan; servant, slave’, I:781 **orbho-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:52 and 1986—2001.I:119—120; Beekes 2010.II:1113—1114 **h₃orbh-o-*; Boisacq 1950:719 **orbho-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:431 **orbho-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:829 **orbho-*; Hofmann 1966:240 **orbhos*; Matirosyan 2008:535—536 **Horbh-o-*; Hübschmann 1897:482, no. 335, **orbhos*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:219—220 **orbhos*, **orbhio-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:466—467; De Vaan 2008:433 **h₃orbh-o-*; Derksen 2008:373 **h₃erbh-*; Kroonen 2013:33 Proto-Germanic **arbja-* ‘inheritance’ (< **h₃orbh-jo-*), 33 Proto-Germanic **arbjan-* ‘heir’ (< **h₃orbh-ion-*); Orël 2003:22 Proto-Germanic **arbaz*, 22 Proto-Germanic **arbjaz*; Lehmann 1986:41—42 **orbho-*; Feist 1939:56 **orbhio-*; De Vries 1977:12 and 13; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.I:34; Torp 1919:7; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:93 **h₃erbh-*; Walshe 1951:48; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:170 **orbho-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:183—184 **orbhio-*, **orbho-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:311—312 **h₃erbh-to*; Puhvel 1984— .3:176—183. Note: Indo-European loan in Uralic (Finno-Ugrian): Proto-Finno-

Ugrian **orpa* ‘orphan’ > Finnish *orpo* ‘orphan; orphaned’; Karelian *orboi* ‘orphan’; Saami / Lapp (Northern) *oarbes* ‘without father, without mother, orphan; lonely and deserted’; Ostyak / Xanty *-uri* in *jəŋkuri* ‘orphan’; Mordvin (Erza) *uros*, (Moksha) *urōs* ‘orphan’; Hungarian *árva* ‘orphaned’. Joki 1973:297—298 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **orpa(-s)* ~ **orva(-s)*; Rédei 1986—1988.I:343 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **orpa(sə)* ~ **orwa(sə)* ‘orphan’; Sammallahti 1988:542 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **orpå* ‘orphan’, Proto-Finno-Permian **orpa*; Collinder 1955:134, 1960:413 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **orpo* ‘orphan’, and 1977:145; Aikio 2020:79—80 **orpa* / **orpasi* ‘orphan’ (“A loan from some early reflex PIE **Horb^ho-* ...”).

Buck 1949:2.75 orphan; 11.48 heir.

22.41. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *y

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
y-	y-	y-/Ø-	y-/Ø-	y-	y-		y-
-y-	-y-	-y-		-y-	-y-	-y-	-y-

802. Proto-Nostratic root *yaʔ- (~ *yəʔ-):

(vb.) *yaʔ- ‘to tie, to bind, to gird’;

(n.) *yaʔ-a ‘binding, bond, bandage; belt, girdle’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ibm* ‘to tie, to bind’, *ibdt* ‘net’. Gardiner 1957:551; Hannig 1995:24 and 27; Faulkner 1962:9 and 10; Erman—Grapow 1921:6 and 1926—1963.1:31, 1:36.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *yā* ‘to bind, to tie up, to dam up, to confine, to compose (a poem), to tell, to utter, to be inseparable from’, *yākkai* ‘tie, bond, body’, *yāppu* ‘binding, bond, meter, prosody, affection’, *yāttu* ‘stitch’, *yāttār* ‘close friends’, *ā* ‘to bind’, *āppu* ‘bandage, tie, body’, *āttan* ‘friend’, *āttam* ‘friendship, intimacy’, *ākkai* ‘body, strips of fiber used in thatching’; Malayalam *ākka* ‘a strip of fiber used in thatching’; Kota *e-p* ‘long sticks used as outside layer (that is, binding) of bundle of small twigs for firewood’; Kuṛux *hēʔenā* (*hēc-*) ‘to tie, to imprison, to unite in one body’, *hērnā* ‘to be tied, to be put in bonds, to be united together’, *ēp* ‘string, cord, rope’; Malto *eye* (*éc-*) ‘to tie, to bind’, *épu* ‘fibers of a wild plant of which cord is made’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:465, no. 5149.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *yoʔ-s- (> *yōs-) ‘to gird’: Avestan *yāsta-* ‘girt, girded’, (3rd sg. pres.) *yāñhayeiti* ‘to gird’; Kafiri (Prasun) *yāsē* ‘belt’; Greek ζώννυμι ‘to gird, to gird around the loins’, ζωστός ‘girded’, ζωστήρ ‘girdle’, ζῶμα (< *ζῶσ-μα) ‘that which is girded, a girded frock or doublet’, ζώνη (< *ζῶσ-νῶ) ‘belt, girdle’; Albanian *n-gjesh* ‘to gird’; Lithuanian *júosiu*, *júosti* ‘to gird’, *júostas* ‘girded, girt’, *júosta* ‘belt, waistband’, *juosmuō* ‘waist, loins’, *juosėti* ‘to wear a belt or girdle’; Old Church Slavic *po-jašq*, *po-jasati* ‘to gird’, *po-jasъ* ‘belt’; Czech *pás* ‘belt’; Polish *pas* ‘belt’; Russian *pójas* [пояс] ‘belt’. Perhaps also Sanskrit *rásanā* ‘girdle’ if from *yās-nā, with *y- > *r- under the influence of *raśaná* ‘rope, cord, strap; vein, bridle, girdle’. Rix 1998a:275—276 **ieh*₃s- ‘to gird’; Pokorny 1959:513 **jō[u]s-* : **jūs-* ‘to gird’, **iōs-to-s* ‘girt, girded’, **iōs-men-* ‘girdle, belt’; Walde 1927—1932.I:209 **iōs-*; Mann 1984—1987:452 **iōsjiō* (**iōsmi*, **iōsnu-*) ‘to gird, to gird on, to gird oneself’, 452 **iōsmn-* (**iōsmā*, **iōsmo-*) ‘girth, belt’, 453 **iōst-* ‘girt, girdle’; Watkins 1985:79 **yōs-* and 2000:103 **yōs-* ‘to gird’ (oldest form **yeʔ₃s-*, colored to **yoʔ₃s-*, contracted to **yōs-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:223—224 **ieh*₃s- ‘to

gird'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:57; Boisacq 1950:312 **jō(u)-s-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:617—618 Greek ζωστός < **iōs-tos*; Hofmann 1966:104 **iōs-*; Beekes 2010.I:504—505 **ieh₃s-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:402 **yōs-*; Huld 1983:99; Orël 1998:299; Smoczyński 2007.1:239; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:198; Derksen 2008:409 **ie/oh₃s-o-* and 2015:214—215 **ieh₃s-*; Wodtko—Irlinger—Schneider 2008:391—392 **ieh₃s-*.

- D. Proto-Uralic **yäye* 'belt, band, strap, girdle': Votyak / Udmurt *jä* 'broad girth-strap, band (around a sheaf)'; Zyrian / Komi *ji, jy* 'girth, girdle; band (around a sheaf)'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ni* 'girdle', (Forest) *niina, wijä, niuwija (wijä, wija* 'strap'); Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *nieja* 'strap'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *niojo*, (Baiha) *niejjo* 'strap'; Selkup Samoyed *küü, t'ü, cö* 'strap', *kündi-* 'to put on the girdle'; Kamassian *t'i, žii* 'girdle'. Collinder 1955:17—18, 1960:406 **jäje*, and 1977:38; Rédei 1986—1988:90 **jäje*; Décsy 1990:99 **jäjä* 'belt'; Janhunen 1977b:102 **n'i* (? **n'iä*). Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *jö*: 'belt', *jodo-* 'to tie, to bind', *jodul, jodu:*, *jodi*: 'winding', *jodol* 'bundle, package', *jodutä-* 'to wind, to twist'. Nikolaeva 2006:190 and 192.

Buck 1949:6.57 belt, girdle. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:278—279, no. 143, **jaHU* (or **joHΛ*) 'bandage, girdle'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:598—599, no. 472; Hakola 2000:220, no. 988.

803. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **yam-a* 'water, sea':

- A. Proto-Afrasian **yam-* 'sea': Proto-Semitic **yam(m)-* 'sea' > Akkadian *yāmu* 'sea' (West Semitic loan); Amorite *yammum* 'sea'; Ugaritic *ym* 'sea'; Hebrew *yām* [יָם] 'sea'; Phoenician *ym* 'sea'; Aramaic *yammā* 'sea'; Arabic *yamm* 'open sea'. Murtonen 1989:216; Klein 1987:259. Late Egyptian *ym* 'sea' (Semitic loan); Coptic *yom* [ϣⲟⲙ] 'sea'. Hannig 1995:47; Faulkner 1962:18; Erman—Grapow 1921:12 and 1926—1963.1:78; Gardiner 1957:556; Vycichl 1983:63; Černý 1976:46. Cushitic: Beja / Beɣawye *yam* 'water'. Central Chadic **yami-* 'water' > Tera ?*yim* 'water'; Margi ?*imi* 'water'; Higi Nkafa *jiemi* 'water'; Fali Kiria *jiami* 'water'; Lamang *imi/iimi* 'water'; Matakam (Kaffa) *iyām/yàm* 'water'; Sukur *jiam sətə/yām* 'water'; Gisiga *yam* 'water'; Musgoy *yim* 'water'; Daba *jem/yim* 'water'; Musgum-Pus *yim* 'water'. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:340—341. Ehret 1995:475, no. 1002, **yam-* 'body of water', **yam-* 'to submerge, to go under water'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:536, no. 2575, **yam-* 'water, sea'.
- B. Uralic: Proto-Samoyed **yama* 'sea' > Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *jām?*, (Forest) *jeam* 'river, sea'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *jam* 'sea'. Hajdú 1968:59.
- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **jæməlqə(n)* 'swampy place' > Koryak *jeməlqən* 'swamp, wet tundra'; Alyutor *jaməsqən* 'swamp, wet

tundra'. Fortescue 2005:111. According to Fortescue, **jæməlqə(n)* contains the derivational suffix *-*lq(ən)* '(on) top of'.

Buck 1949:1.31 water; 1.32 sea. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:279—280, no. 144, **jam* (?) 'water'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:598, no. 471; Dolgopolsky 1998:25, no. 13, **yamV* 'water body' ('sea, lake' > 'pond'), 'water' and, 2008, no. 2633, **yämV* 'body of water' ('sea, lake') → 'water'.

804. Proto-Nostratic root **yan-* (~ **yən-*):

(vb.) **yan-* 'to say, to speak';

(n.) **yan-a* 'saying, word, expression'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **yan-* 'to say, to speak': Egyptian *in* 'to say'. Hannig 1995:73; Faulkner 1962:22; Gardiner 1957:554; Erman—Grapow 1921:13 and 1926—1963.1:89. Berber: Tuareg *ənn* 'to say', *tinawt* 'act of speaking, speech, discourse, spoken words, comments made with the intention of causing harm', *tənn* 'act of speaking, speech, discourse'; Ghadames *ən* 'to say'; Wargla *ini* 'to say, to ask, to call, to name'; Mzab *ini* 'to say'; Tamazight *ini* 'to say, to tell, to call'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ini* 'to say, to tell'; Riff *ini* 'to say, to speak'; Kabyle *ini* 'to say, to ask'; Chaouia *ini* 'to say, to ask'. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *yaan-em-* 'to talk, to speak'. Hudson 1989:265. Proto-Afrasian apparently had several stems beginning with **y-* with similar meanings: **yan-* 'to say, to speak' (see above), **yo-* 'to say' (cf. Ehret 1995:471, no. 991), **yah-* 'to respond, to speak out in response' (cf. Ehret 1995:472, no. 996), **ya-* 'to call, to speak' (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:534, no. 2564).
- B. Proto-Dravidian **yan-* 'to say': Tamil *en* (*enp-*, *enr-*) 'to say, to utter, to express', *enkai* 'saying', *enpi* 'to make one establish or prove (as a statement)'; Malayalam *ennuka* 'to sound, to say, to think; to sound thus, to appear thus, to be such' (auxiliary verb); Kota *in-* (*id-*) 'to say (so-and-so)'; Toda *in-* (*id-*) 'to say (so-and-so)'; Kannaḍa *en-* (*end-*), *ennu*, *an-* (*and-*), *annu* 'to say, to speak, to call, to name', *enisu*, *ennisu*, *enasu*, *anasu*, *anisu*, *annisu* 'to cause to say, to cause oneself to say, to cause to be called, to cause oneself to be called, to be called, to be spoken of', *embu*, *imbu* 'a saying, a word', *enuha*, *ennike*, *ennuvike*, *annuvike* 'saying, calling, naming'; Koḍagu **enn-* (*emb-*, *end-*) 'to say (so-and-so)'; Tuḷu *anpini*, *inpini* 'to say, to speak', *endruni* 'to say fully'; Telugu *anu* 'to say, to utter, to speak'; Kolami *en-* (*ent-*), *in-* 'to say (so-and-so), to be said to be (so-and-so)'; Naikri *en-* (*ent-*) 'to say'; Naiki (of Chanda) *en-* (*end-*) 'to say'; Parji *en-* (*end-*, *ett-*) 'to say (so-and-so)'; Gadba (Salur) *in-* 'to say (so-and-so)'; Gondi *indānā* (*inj-*) 'to say, to call', *ind-* (*itt-*), *in-* 'to say'; Koṇḍa *in-* (*ir-*) 'to say'; Pengo *in-* (*ic-*) 'to say'; Maṇḍa *in-* (*ic-*) 'to say'; Kui *inba-* (*is-*) 'to say, to be articulate'; Kuwi *injali*, *innai*, *in-* (*icc-*) 'to say'; Malto *āne* 'to think, to say, or do thus'; Kuṛux *ānnā* 'to say, to tell, to

salute as, to point out, to designate'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:84, no. 868. McAlpin (1971:96) reconstructs Proto-Dravidian **en-* 'to say' and Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **en-* 'to say'. The Elamite (Middle Elamite and Royal Achaemenid Elamite) cognate is *na-* 'to say' (cf. Achaemenid Elamite *na-an-gi* 'I said', *na-an-ri* 'he says; he said', *na-um-be* 'they say; they said', etc.). McAlpin notes: "[p]resumably the P[roto-]E[lamite] form is **ena-*".

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say; 18.26 word. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:599—600, no. 473; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:280—281, no. 146, **jAna* 'to talk'; Dolgopolsy 2008, no. 2635, **yän[h]ʔV* (or **ʔän[h]ʔV* ??) 'to speak, to say'.

805. Proto-Nostratic root **yaw-* (~ **yəw-*):

(vb.) **yaw-* 'to produce young';

(n.) **yaw-a* 'youth, young person, child'; (adj.) 'young'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **yaw-* 'to produce young': Egyptian *íwr* 'to conceive a child, to become pregnant'; Coptic *ḏō* [ḏḳ] 'to conceive a child, to become pregnant', (qualitative) *eet* [eet] 'to be pregnant'. Hannig 1995:36; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.1:56; Gardiner 1957:552; Faulkner 1962:13; Vycichl 1983:248; Černý 1976:227. Proto-Cushitic **yaw-* ~ **yuw-* 'child' > Proto-Rift **ya-* 'child' > Burunge (pl.) *yaʔay* 'children'; Kʼwadza *yoʔo* 'child'. Ehret 1980:384 (according to Ehret, Alagwa *hati* 'child', *haʔay* 'children' are from a different root). Chadic: Ngizim *ʔàwú* 'to bear, to give birth (human, animal, plant)'; Hausa *yááròò* 'boy, child', *ʔáá* 'daughter'; Higi Nkafa *ye* 'to give birth'; Matakam *ya* 'to give birth'; Musgoy *ye* 'to give birth'; Kabalay *yà̀yà̀* 'to give birth'; Somray *ya* 'to give birth'. Schuh 1981:178; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:193 **yw* ~ **wy* 'to give birth' and II:74—75 and II:160—161. Ehret 1995:476, no. 1004, **yaw-* 'to produce young'.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **yew-*/**yow-*/**yu-* '(adj.) young; (n.) youth, young person' in: **yuwen-*, **yuwṅkʰos* 'young'; **yuwṅth-eA*, *-os*, *-is* 'youth, young person'; Sanskrit *yúvan-*, *yūn-* 'young, youthful; young man', *yuvatí-h* 'young woman', *yuvaká-h* 'youthful'; Avestan *yvan-*, *yūn-* 'youth, young man'; Latin *iuvencus* '(adj.) young; (n.) a young man', *iuvenca* 'a young woman, a maiden', *iuventa* 'youth', *iuvenis* '(adj.) young, youthful; (n.) a young man, a young woman, one in the prime of life (between the ages of 20 and 45)', *iuventās* 'youth, the time of youth', *iuventus* 'youth, prime of life'; Umbrian *iuengar* (acc. pl. *iuenga*, *iveka*) 'a young cow, heifer', (dat. pl.) *iouies* 'young men' (acc. pl. *iouie*); Old Irish *oac*, *óac* 'young' (comparative *óa*, superlative *óam*), *óetiu*, *óitiu* 'youth'; Old Cornish *iouenc* 'young'; Breton *iaouank* 'young' (comparative *iaou*); Welsh *ieuanc* 'young' (comparative *iau*); Gothic *juggs* 'young', *junda*

‘youth’; Old Icelandic *ungr* ‘young’; Faroese *ungur* ‘young’; Norwegian *ung* ‘young’ Swedish *ung* ‘young’; Danish *ung* ‘young’; Old English *geong* ‘young, youthful’, *geogob* ‘(period of) youth; young persons, youth; new-born animals’; Old Frisian *jung* ‘young’, *jogethe* ‘youth’; Old Saxon *jung* ‘young’, *juguđ* ‘youth’; Dutch *jong* ‘young’, *jeugd* ‘youth’; Old High German *jung* ‘young’ (New High German *jung*), *jugund* ‘youth, adolescence’ (New High German *Jugend*); Lithuanian *jáunas* ‘young’; Latvian *jaúns* ‘young’; Old Church Slavic *junъ* ‘young’. Pokorny 1959:510—511 **ieu-* ‘young’ (positive **iūyen-* [: **iūn-*], comparative **ieu-ijos*); Walde 1927—1932.I:200—201 **ieu-* (positive **iūyen-* [: **iūn-*], comparative **ieu-ijos*); Mann 1984—1987:447 **ieunos* (**ieunos*, **ieunos*, -is) ‘young’, 447 **ieuntā* (**ieuntā*, **ieunātā*, **iūuntā*) ‘early life, youth’, 448 **ieunkos* (**iounk-*, **iūunk-*) ‘young creature, young person’; Mallory—Adams 1997:655 **h₂ieu-* ‘young’ and 655—656 **h₂iuh_x-η-kós* ‘youth’; Watkins 1985:79 **yeu-* (suffixed zero-grade form **yuwen-*) and 2000:103 **yeu-* ‘vital force, youthful vigor’ (suffixed zero-grade form **yuwen-*); Vendryès 1959— :O-18; Ernout—Meillet 1979:330—331; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:735—736 **iūyen-*; De Vaan 2008:317—318; Orël 2003:207 Proto-Germanic **junzalingaz*, 207—208 **junzaz*, 208 **junzōn*; Kroonen 2013:274—275 Proto-Germanic **junga-* ‘young’ and 276 **ju(w)unpi-* ‘youth’; Feist 1939:303—304 **iūunkós*, **iūunkós* and 304—305 **iūuntā*, **iūuntis*; Lehmann 1986:212 **yeHw-* and 213; De Vries 1977:635 **yūyen-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:414—415; Torp 1919:837; Onions 1966:1021 **juwen-*, **jūn-*; Klein 1971:838 **yuwηkós*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:205—206; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:335 **iūun-kos*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:342 and 343 **ju(w)η-*; Derksen 2008:208 **h₂i-eu-Hn-o-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:230—231; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:190—191; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:23—24; Bartholomae 1904:1305.

Buck 1949:14.14 young.

806. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **yiw-a* (~ **yew-a*) ‘grain’:

- A. Proto-Indo-European **yewo-* ‘grain’: Sanskrit *yáva-h* ‘grain, barley’; Avestan *yava-* ‘grain’; Greek (f. pl.) ζειά ‘grain, spelt’; Lithuanian *jāvas* (pl. *javaĩ*) ‘grain, crop’. Pokorny 1959:512 **ieuo-* ‘grain’; Walde 1927—1932.I:202—203 **ieuo-*; Mann 1984—1987:448—449 **ieuos*, -es (**ieui(ə)-*) ‘a grain (barley, spelt)’; Mallory—Adams 1997:236 **ieuos* ~ **ieúom* ‘grain (particularly barley?)’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:655—656, II:928 **ieuo-* and 1995.I:565, I:821 **yewo-* ‘barley’; Watkins 1985:79 **yewo-* 2000:103 **yewo-* ‘grain’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:9—10; Boisacq 1950:307 **ieu-ia*; Beekes 2010.I:496—497 **ieuh₁-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:397; Hofmann 1966:102 **ieu-ia*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:608—

- 609 **ieuo-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:232; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:192; Derksen 2015:210 **ieuo-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:407—409 **ieyh₁-*.
 B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **yewä* (> Proto-Finno-Votyak **yüwä*) ‘grain’ > Finnish *jyvä* ‘grain’; Mordvin *juv* ‘husk, chaff; oats’; Votyak / Udmurt *ju*, *d’u* ‘grain, crop’. Collinder 1955:130 and 1977:142; Rédei 1986—1988:633—634 **jewä* (> **yüwä*); Joki 1973:265.

Buck 1949:8.42 grain. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:596, no. 469.

807. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **yor-a* ‘set of two, group of two; a pair of ...’ (> ‘two’):

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *iraṇṭu*, (coll.) *reṇṭu* ‘two’, *iraṇṭām*, *iraṇṭāvatu* ‘second’, *iraṇai* ‘couple, pair’, *iraṇṭai* ‘pair, married couple, twins, even numbers’, *iraṇṭaiyar* ‘twins’, *iraṇṭi* ‘(vb.) to double; (n.) double quantity’, *iraṇṭippu* ‘double quantity’, *iraṇṭu* (*iraṇṭi-*) ‘(vb.) to double (intr.), to sound alternatively, to wave alternatively (tr.); (n.) doubleness’, *iru* (before consonants), *īr* (before vowels) (adj.) ‘two’, *iru-patu*, *iru-vatu* ‘twenty’, *iru-nūru* ‘two hundred’, *irumai* ‘twofold state’, *iruvar* ‘two persons’, *ivv-iraṇṭu* ‘two by two’; Malayalam *raṇṭu* ‘two’, *raṇṭ-āka* ‘to be divided, to be doubled’, *raṇṭām* ‘second’, *raṇṭikka* ‘to be divided, to disagree; to double, to multiply’, *iraṇṭa* ‘double, even’, *iraṇṭi* ‘double, twice as much’, *iraṇṭikka* ‘to double, to multiply’, *iru* (before consonants), *īr* (before vowels) (adj.) ‘two’, *iruvar* ‘two persons’, *iru-patu* ‘twenty’, *iru-nūru* ‘two hundred’, *ī-raṇṭu* ‘by twos’; Iruḷa *raṇḍu*, *reṇḍu* ‘two’; Kota *eyḍ* ‘two’, *ir va-d* ‘twenty’, *irrv-a-d* ‘by twenties’, *i nu-r* ‘two hundred’; Toda *e-d* ‘two’, *ī foθ* ‘twenty’, *ī nu-r* ‘two hundred’, *i-r o-r* ‘two years’, *i-ty* ‘double, even (of numbers)’, *im* ‘double’, *īmu* ‘twins’, *ī-štyu* ‘twice’; Kannaḍa *eraḍu*, *erḍu*, *eraṇ* ‘two’, (adj.) *iru*, *ir*, *ic*, *ik* ‘two’, *irpattu*, *ippattu* ‘twenty’, *innūru* ‘two hundred’, *irbar*, *ibbar*, *irvar* ‘two persons’, *irme*, *imme* ‘twice’; Koḍagu *pann-eraṇḍi* ‘twelve’, *iru-vadi* ‘twenty’, *in-nu-ri* ‘two hundred’; Tuḷu *raḍḍu* ‘two things’, *raḍḍanē* ‘second; middling’, *iry*, *īr* (adj.) ‘two, double, both’, *ir-nūdu* ‘two hundred’, *irva* ‘twenty’, *irbaḍi* ‘double’, *irveru* ‘two persons’, *irvoḷu* ‘twice’; Koraga *eyḍi* ‘two’; Telugu *reṇḍu* ‘two things’, *reṇḍava* ‘second, another’, *reṇca* ‘two (in gambling)’, *reṇṭa* ‘two ways or courses’, *reṇṭa* ‘double, twofold’, *reṇṭi* ‘twice as much’, *reṇṭincu* ‘to double’, *reṇṭimpu* ‘doubling, double’, *panneṇḍu* ‘twelve’, *iru-vadi*, (coll.) *iru-vai* ‘twenty’, *in-nūru* ‘two hundred’; Kolami *irve* ‘twenty’; Naikri *iddar* ‘two men’, *iral* ‘two women’; Naiki (of Chanda) *erndi* ‘two things’, *iroṭel*, *iroṭer* ‘two men’, *ira* ‘two women’, *ir nān* ‘two days’, *erndik* ‘two years’, *erndiḍa* ‘twice’; Parji *irḍu* ‘two things’, *irul* ‘two men’, *iral* ‘two women’, (adj.) *ir*, *iroṭ* ‘twice’; Gadba (Ollari) *inḍi* ‘two things’, *irul* ‘two men’, *iral* ‘two women’, (adj.) *ir*, *iḍḍig* ‘two’; Gondi (in most dialects) *raṇḍ* ‘two’; Koṇḍa *ri?-/ri-* ‘two’, (f. and neut.) *rundi* ‘two’, *ri?er* ‘two men’, *riza* ‘twice’; Pengo *ri* ‘two’, *rikar* ‘two men’, *rinḍek* ‘two women’,

(neut.) *rinḍaṅ* ‘two’; Manda *ri* ‘two’; Kui *rī* ‘two’ (adj. preceding noun), *rīaru* ‘two men’, *rīnde*, *rīṇḍi* ‘two women or things’ (adj. following noun), *rīhe* ‘twice’, *riko* ‘on two sides’, (dialect spoken by the Kuṭṭia Kandhs of Northeast Koraput) *ri* (adj.) ‘two’; Kuwi *rī* ‘two’; Kuṛux *irb* ‘two persons’, *irbar*, *irbarim* ‘both’, *ēṛ*, *ēṇḍ* ‘two things’; Malto *iwr* ‘two persons’; Brahui *iraṭ* ‘two (entities)’, (adj.) *irā* ‘two’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:46, no. 474; Krishnamurti 2003:46 **īr/*ir-*, 97 **īr*: **ir-u*, 159—160 **īr/*ir-V-*, 197 **īr/*ir-V-*, and 395 **īr/*ir-V*; Caldwell 1913:327. Note: original initial *y- was lost in the Dravidian daughter languages except in Old Tamil, where it is found before *ā in about thirty words (cf. Krishnamurti 2003:142—143, §4.5.4.2; Zvelebil 1970:159—160). Consequently, we can envision the following phonetic developments in Pre-Proto-Dravidian: *y_{or}- > *yīr- > *īr- (with a vowel change similar to what is found in Mingrelian *žir-*, *žar-* cited below).

- B. Proto-Kartvelian *y_{or}- ‘two’: Georgian *or-*, *vor-* ‘two’; Mingrelian *žir-*, *žar-* ‘two’; Laz *žu(r)-*, *žu(r)-*, *jur-* ‘two’; Svan *jōri*, *jori*, *jerbi* ‘two’. Klimov 1964:149 **jor-* and 1998:144—145 **jor-* ‘two’; Schmidt 1962:129 **jor-i*; Fähnrich 1965, 1994:228, and 2007:323—324 **jor-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:267—268 **jor-*; Blažek 1999b:82.
- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **-jərr(ə)n* ‘set, group of’ (< ‘set of two, group of two; a pair of ...’) > Chukchi *-jərʔən*, *-jərʔ-* ‘set, group of’; Koryak *-jəcrən* ‘set or group of -s’; Alyutor *-jərrən*, (Palana) *-jərʔən* ‘set or group of -s’. Fortescue 2005:411—412.

22.42. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *w

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
w-	w-	v-/Ø-	w-	w-	w-		v-
-w-	-w-	-v-	-w-	-w-	-w-		-v-

808. Proto-Nostratic 1st person personal pronoun stem *wa- (~ *wə-) ‘I, me; we, us’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian *wa- 1st person personal pronoun stem: Egyptian (1st sg. dependent pronoun) *wi* ‘I, me; my’. Hannig 1995:179; Gardiner 1957:45, §43, and 560; Faulkner 1962:56; Erman—Grapow 1921:33 and 1926—1963.1:270—271; Loprieno 1995:64. Chadic: Ngizim (1st pl. inclusive) *wà* ‘we, us; our(s)’. Schuh 1981:170. Omotic: Hamar (general, stem-form) *wo* ‘we’, (independent, *a*-form) *wosi*, *wodi*, (dependent, *no*-form) *won*; (possessive, stem-form) *wono* ‘ours’, (possessive, *a*-form) *wontia*, (possessive, *na*-form) *wonna*, (possessive *no*-form) *wonno*. Bender 2000: 196; Lydall 1976:414—415.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *-we- in: *čk-we-[na] ‘we’, *čk-we-m- ‘my’, *čk-we-n- ‘our’: Georgian *čven* ‘we’ (Old Georgian *čuen*), *čem-* ‘my’, *čven-* ‘our’; Mingrelian *čki*, *čkə* ‘we’, *čkim-* ‘my’, *čkin-*, *čkən-* ‘our’; Laz *čkun*, *čkin*, *šku* ‘we’, *čkim-*, *škim-* ‘my’, *čkun-*, *čkin-*, *škun-*, *škin-* ‘our’; Svan *šgwej* in: (inclusive) *gu-šgwej* ‘our’, (exclusive) *ni-šgwej* ‘our’; *šgwi*, *šgu* in: *mi-šgwi*, *mi-šgu* ‘me’. Jahukyan 1967:96 *č-wen ‘we’; Schmidt 1962:147 *čkun-*, *čkwen-; Klimov 1964:219 *čem- ‘my’, 219—220 *čwen- ‘we’, 220 *čwen- ‘our’ and 1998:255 *č(w)em- ‘my’, 256 *čwen ‘we’, and 256—257 *čwen- ‘our’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:434—435 *čem- and 436—437 *čwen-; Fähnrich 2007:539—540 *čem- and 541—542 *čwen-; Gamkrelidze—Mačavariani 1982:87 (1st pl. inclusive) *čwe-na, (1st sg. possessive) *čwe-m-, (1st pl. possessive) *čwe-n-; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:254 (1st pl. inclusive) *č-we-[na] ‘we’, (1st sg. possessive) *č-we-m- ‘my’, (1st pl. possessive) *č-we-n- ‘our’ and 1995.I:221 (1st pl. inclusive) *č-we-[na] ‘we’, (1st sg. possessive) *č-we-m- ‘my’, (1st pl. possessive) *č-we-n- ‘our’. According to Dolgopolsky (1984:73), *č- was the marker of genitive and possessive in Proto-Kartvelian: *čem- ‘my’ (< *č(e)-+m(i)), *šwen- ‘thy’ (< *č-+swe-n-).
- C. Proto-Indo-European *we-/*wo-, *wey- 1st person dual and plural personal pronoun stem: Hittite *ú-i-e-eš* ‘we’; Sanskrit (dual) *vām* ‘we two’, (pl.) *vayām* ‘we’; Avestan (dual) *vā*, (pl.) *vaēm* ‘we’; Gothic (dual) *wit* ‘we two’, (pl.) *weis* ‘we’; Old Icelandic *vér* ‘we’; Swedish *vi* ‘we’ (Old Swedish *wī(r)*); Danish *vi* ‘we’; Old English *wē* ‘we’; Old Frisian *wi* ‘we’;

Old Saxon *wi, we* ‘we’; Dutch *wij* ‘we’ (Old Dutch *wi, wū, wij*); Old High German *wir* ‘we’ (New High German *wir*); Old Church Slavonic (dual) *vě* ‘we two’; Tocharian (pl.) A *was*, B *wes* ‘we, us’, (dual) B *wene* ‘we two’. Verb endings: Luwian (1st sg.) *-wi*; Hieroglyphic Luwian (1st sg.) *-wi*; Palaic (1st pl.) *-wani*; Hittite (1st pl.) *-weni, -wani, -wen, -wašta, -waštati, -waštat*; Sanskrit (1st dual) *-vas, -va, -vahe, -vahi*; Lithuanian (1st dual) *-va*; Old Church Slavonic (1st dual) *-vě*. Brugmann 1904:407 and 593; Szemerényi 1996:217; Fortson 2004:127 **uei-*; Burrow 1973:266 and 313; Pokorny 1959:1114 (dual) **uē-*, (pl.) **uei-* ‘we’; Walde 1927—1932.I:220 **ue-*; Mann 1984—1987:1505 **uejes* ‘we’, 1527 **uēs* (**uejes*) ‘we’; Watkins 1985:73 **we-* (suffixed variant form **wei-es*) and 2000:95 **we-* ‘we’ (suffixed variant form **wey-es*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:292—293 **uei-*, **ues-*, **ue-* and 1995.I:254 **wei-*, **wes-*, **we-* (Gamkrelidze—Ivanov interpret **wei-*, **wes-*, **we-* as 1st person plural inclusive); Mallory—Adams 1997:454—455 **uei* ‘we’; Kloekhorst 2008b:1004; Orël 2003:460 Proto-Germanic **wēz* ~ **wīz*; Kroonen 2013:590—591 Proto-Germanic **wīz* ‘we’; Feist 1939:560 **uei-es*; Lehmann 1986:400 **wey-*; De Vries 1977:654 **uei-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:441; Klein 1971:822; Onions 1966:995—996 **wei*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:862; Kluge—Seebold 1989:795 **wei-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:446—447; Adams 1999:265—266 **wei-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:547 **uei-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:147.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:602, no. 475; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2555, **wʷyʷ* ‘we’.

809. Proto-Nostratic sentence particle **wa-* (~ **wə-*) ‘and, also, but; like, as’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **wa* sentence particle: ‘and, also, but’: Proto-Semitic **wa* sentence particle: ‘and, also, but’ > Akkadian *u* ‘and’; Hebrew *wə* [ו] ‘and, also, even, and indeed, with, and in addition, but’; Phoenician *-w* ‘and’; Syriac *wə* ‘and, also, for, but, however, since, because, that, in order that, then, or, even, again’; Ugaritic *w* ‘and’; Arabic *wa* ‘and, and also, with’; Sabaeen *w* ‘and, together with, but’; Soqotri *wə-* ‘and’; Ḥarsūsi *w(e)-* ‘and’; Mehri *w-*, *əw*, *wə* ‘and’; Geez / Ethiopic *wa-* [ወ-] ‘and’; Tigre *wä* ‘and’; Harari *-wa* ‘and’; Gurage (Selṭi, Masqan, Zway) *-wa*, (Wolane) *-wä* ‘and’. D. Cohen 1970— :473—480; Klein 1987:189; Leslau 1963:157, 1979:639, and 1987:602; Zammit 2002:425.
- B. Kartvelian: Georgian *-ve* enclitic particle.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **we*, **u* sentence particle: ‘and, also, but; like, as’: Sanskrit *va* ‘like, as’, *vā* ‘as, like, just, even, indeed’, *iva* (*i+va*) ‘like, so, just so, just, exactly, indeed, very’, *u* ‘and, also, further’, *utá* ‘and, also’; Greek ἢ-ὅτε (< *ἦ[F]é+ute) ‘as, like as’, εὔτε ‘when, at the time when, whenever, so often as, since, seeing that’; Latin *ut, utī* ‘how?, as, when,

while, since, where, that, in order that'; Umbrian *ute, ote* 'but'; Gothic enclitic particle *-u*; Tocharian B *wa* 'therefore, nevertheless', *wat* 'or, rather than', *wai* 'and' (conjoins only nouns). Pokorny 1959:73—75 **au-*, **u-* 'that, other'; Walde 1927—1932.I:187—189 **u-* (: **ue-*, **uo-* and **au-*); Mann 1984—1987:1473 **u* a sentence particle: 'and, also', 1482 **ute*, **utə*, **uti*, **ut* a sentence particle, 1496 **ue* (**uē*, **uə*, **u*) enclitic: 'and, but, or, also, so, indeed'; Watkins 1985:4 **au-* and 2000:6 **au-* pronominal base appearing in particles and adverbs; Beekes 2010.I:485 and I:527; Boisacq 1950:299; Hofmann 1966:99; Frisk 1970—1973.I:595 and I:646; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:388—389 and I:418; Feist 1939:508; Lehmann 1986:370 **au-*, **u-*; Adams 1999:575 **wē*, 575—576 **wē+tu*, and 611 **wē* + the particle **e*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:540 **uē*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:180. Note: The sentence particle **we*, **u* should be differentiated from the pronominal base **hew-* [**haw-*].

- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *aj* 'again; also, too', *aji* 'yet, still', (Northern / Tundra) *waaj* 'again; also, too', *waji* 'yet, still', *wajin* 'soon, immediately', *wajide(k)* 'more'. Nikolaeva 2006:450.
- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **wælx(w)* 'at least' > Chukchi *welēw* 'at least'; Koryak *wal'u* 'at least'. Chukotian loan in Kamchadal / Itelmen *welknu* 'at least'. Fortescue 2005:325. Proto-Chukotian **wælxəð* 'even if?' > Chukchi *weler*, *welet* 'although, enough'; Kerek *wal'aj(ram)* 'anyway, even so'; Koryak *walat* 'thanks, fine'; Alyutor *walat* 'even (if)'. Chukotian loan in Kamchadal / Itelmen *welk* 'nonetheless, as if, only'. Fortescue 2005:325—326.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:603, no. 477; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2452, **wa* 'also, same' ([in descendant languages] → 'and').

810. Proto-Nostratic root **waf-* (~ **wəf-*):

- (vb.) **waf-* 'to call, to cry out, to shout';
 (n.) **waf-a* 'cry, howl, clamor, shout, noise'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **waf-* 'to call, to cry out, to shout': Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **waf-waf-* 'to cry out, to shout, to howl' > Arabic *waʿwaʿa* 'to howl, to yelp, to bark, to bay'; Geez / Ethiopic *wawwəʿa* [⓪⓪-⓪], *wawwəʿa* [⓪⓪-ḵ] 'to clamor, to raise a shout, to shout loudly, to cry aloud, to howl, to roar, to wail', *wəwwəʿā* [⓪-⓪-ḳ], *wawwəʿā* [⓪⓪-ḳ] 'clamor, shout, noise, cry, thunder'; Tigre *wāwʿa*, *wāʿa* 'to cry loudly'; Amharic *wa*, *wawa* 'sound of a crow'; Gurage *wawat* 'crow'. Leslau 1987:623; D. Cohen 1970—:572—573. Egyptian *wʿ3* 'to cry out, to conjure, to curse, to blaspheme'; Coptic *wa* [⓪γλ] 'blasphemy'. Hannig 1995:182; Faulkner 1962:57; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:279; Vycichl 1983:229; Černý 1976:208. Proto-East Cushitic **waf-* 'to shout, to call, to invite' > Saho *waʿ-* 'to shout, to call, to invite'; Somali *waʿ-* 'to shout, to call, to invite';

Rendille *wah-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Dasenech *ve?*- ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Elmolo *we?*- ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Galla / Oromo *waa-m-* ‘to shout, to call, to invite’; Dullay *o?*- ‘to shout, to call, to invite’. Sasse 1979:42; Heine 1978:76. Central Cushitic: Bilin *wa?* *y-* ‘to cry, to shout’; Kemant *əw y-* ‘to cry, to shout’; Awngi / Awiya *əwáy n-* ‘to cry, to shout’. Appleyard 2006:50. Proto-Southern Cushitic **waa?*- ‘to curse, to revile’ > Asa *wa?am-* ‘to curse, to revile’; Dahalo *waa?*- ‘to curse, to revile’. Ehret 1980:313. Proto-Chadic **wa-* ‘to call’ > Bachama *wá* ‘to call’; Mubi *waa* ‘to call’; Tumak *wəg* ‘to call’. Newman 1977:23; Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:58—59. Ehret 1995:470, no. 990, **waa?*- ‘to yell’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vānku* (*vānki-*) ‘to call, to abuse, to reproach’; Kannada *bānku* ‘cry of a dog’; Telugu *vāgu* ‘to sound, to ring, to chatter, to babble’; Gondi *vēñ-* ‘to sound (bell)’, *vēnc-* ‘to ring (bell)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:483, no. 5337.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **weǵh-* [**waǵh-*]/**woǵh-* > **wā-*/**wō-* ‘to call, to cry out’: Greek ἤχη (< **Fāχǵ*) ‘sound, noise’; Latin *vāgiō* ‘to cry, to whimper’; Gothic *wōpjan* ‘to call, to cry out’; Old Icelandic *æpa* ‘to cry, to shout; to call, to cry out (to someone)’, *óp* ‘shout, shouting; crying, weeping’; Old English *wēpan* ‘to weep’ (past participle *wōpen*), *wōp* ‘weeping’; Old Frisian *wēpa* ‘to cry aloud’; Old Saxon *wōpian* ‘to bewail’; Old High German *wuoffen*, *wuofan* ‘to bewail’, *wuof* ‘weeping, sobbing’; Old Church Slavic *vabljo*, *vabiti* ‘to call, to entice’. Rix 1998a:606 **ueh₂gh-* ‘to call, to cry out, to shriek’; Pokorny 1959:1109 **uāb-* ‘to call, to cry’, 1110 **uāg-* ‘to call, to shriek’, and 1110 **uāgh-* ‘to shriek’; Walde 1927—1932.I:217 **uab-*, I:214—215 **uag-*, and I:215 **uāgh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1483 **uābjō* ‘to shout, to call’; Watkins 1985 **wāb-* and 2000:94 **wāb-* ‘to cry, to scream’; Mallory—Adams 1997:89 **ueh_ab-* ‘to cry, to scream’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:418; Frisk 1970—1973.I:646—647; Boisacq 1950:331 **(s)uāgh-*; Beekes 2010.I:528 **(s)ueh₂gh-*; Hofmann 1966:110; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:725—726 **uāg(h)-*; **uāg-*, **uāb-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:711; De Vaan 2008:651 (?) **ueh₂₋* ‘to cry’; Orël 2003:470 Proto-Germanic **wōpjanan* I, 470 **wōpjanan* II; Feist 1939:572 **uā-*; Lehmann 1986:409 **wā-*; De Vries 1977:419 and 684; Onions 1966:998 Common Germanic **wōp-*; Klein 1971:823 **wap-*, **wāb-*, **ūp-*, **ūb-*; Derksen 2008:511—512 **ueh₂b-* or **ueh₃b-*.

Buck 1949:18.13 shout, cry out. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2473, **waHIV* ‘to cry, to speak’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:605—606, no. 481.

811. Proto-Nostratic root **wad-* (~ **wəd-*):
 (vb.) **wad-* ‘to take, to lead, to carry, to bring’;
 (n.) **wad-a* ‘the act of taking, leading, carrying, bringing’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **wad-* ‘to take away, to lead, to carry off, to bring’: Proto-Semitic **wad-ay-* ‘to take away, to carry off or away, to lead to, to bring’ > Arabic *wadā* (inf. *tawdiya-t*) ‘to carry one off; to send, to bring, to lead to’; Šheri / Jibbāli *wudi* ‘to take away’; Ḥarsūsi *awēd* ‘to turn away’; Mehri *awōdi* ‘to take away’. D. Cohen 1970— :500. Proto-Southern Cushitic **wad-* ‘to carry’ > K’wadza *walit-* ‘to wear’; Asa *wades-* ‘to lift, to carry’; Dahalo *wad-*, *wadāt-* ‘to carry’. Ehret 1980:311. [Ehret 1995:455, no. 954, **wad-* ‘to move’.]
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **wed-* ‘to go away’: Georgian *ved-*, *vid-* ‘to go away’; Mingrelian *id-* ‘to go away’; Laz *id-* ‘to go away’. Schmidt 1962:108; Klimov 1964:84 **wid-* ‘to start, to leave’ and 1998:51 **wed-* : **wid-* ‘to go, to walk’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:130—131 **wed-*; Fähnrich 2007:158 **wed-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **wed^h-*/**wod^h-* ‘to lead, to bring, to carry’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ú-i-da-(a-)iz-zi*, *ú-wa-da-az-zi* ‘to bring, to carry’; Avestan *vādayeiti* ‘to lead, to draw, to pull, to drag’; Old Irish *fedid* ‘to lead, to bring’; Lithuanian *vedù*, *vèsti* ‘to lead, to guide, to direct, to conduct, to marry’; Old Church Slavonic *vedo*, *vesti* ‘to lead, to take’; Russian *vodit’* [ВОДИТЬ] ‘to lead, to conduct’; Czech *vedu*, *vesti* ‘to lead, to conduct’, *voditi* ‘to lead, to conduct’. Rix 1998a:600 **ued^h-* ‘to lead’; Walde 1927—1932.I:255—256 **uedh-*; Pokorny 1959:1115—1116 **uedh-* ‘to lead’; Mann 1984—1987:1497 **uedh-* ‘to lead, to bring, to carry’, 1559 **uodhos-*, *-ā*; **uodhmn-* ‘lead, front; leader, head’; Mallory—Adams 1997:346 **h₂ued(h_x)-* ‘to lead, to take to wife’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:756 **Hued[h]-* and 1995.I:658 **Hwed^h-* ‘to lead away, to carry off a bride (by force)’; Kloekhorst 2008b:1009—1010; Derksen 2008:517 **ued^h-*, 523 **uod^h-*, and 2015:599 **ued^h-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:743—743; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1231—1232.
- D. Proto-Uralic **wetä-* ‘to take, to guide, to lead, to carry’: Finnish *vetä-* ‘to pull, to draw, to haul, to drag’; Estonian *veda-* ‘to draw, to pull, to tug, to haul’; Mordvin (Erza) *ved’a-*, *viti-* ‘to take, to guide, to lead’; Cheremis / Mari *wüde-*, *wide-* ‘to guide, to lead, to carry’; Hungarian *vezet-* ‘to lead, to guide’, *vezér* ‘leader’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *waada-*, *wada-* ‘to pull, to drag; to train, to raise; to produce, to give birth to; to feed, to nourish; to cultivate’, *waadalpi-*, *wadalpa-* ‘to lead’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *bada-* ‘to feed, to nourish (a child)’; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *bara-*, (Baiha) *bada-* ‘to feed, to nurture, to breed’; (?) Selkup Samoyed *kuōda-* ‘to breed, to nurse, to tend’; (?) Kamassian *bædə-*, *budə-* ‘to feed, to nourish’. Collinder 1955:67, 1965:32, and 1977:84; Joki 1973:344—345; Rédei 1986—1988:569—570 **wetä-*; Sammallahti 1988:551 **wetä-* ‘to pull’; Janhunen 1977b:172 **wätä-*.

Buck 1949:10.61 carry (bear); 10.62 bring; 10.64 lead (vb.); 12.18 leave.
Bomhard—Kerns 1994:601, no. 474; Hakola 2000:214, no. 958; Dolgopolsky
2008, no. 2462, **wedhA* ‘to cause to go’ (‘to drive, to lead’).

812. Proto-Nostratic root **wah-* (~ **wəh-*):

(vb.) **wah-* ‘to strike, to stab, to wound’;

(n.) **wah-a* ‘wound, scar; knife, sword, blade, spear(head)’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **wah-* ‘to strike, to stab, to wound’: Egyptian *whj* ‘to hew or cut stone, to reap (crops), to pluck (flowers, plants)’, *whs* ‘to cut off (hair), to kill (rebels), to quell (tumult)’, *wh^o* ‘to wound, to stab with a knife, to sting (of a scorpion)’, *whi-t*, *wh^o-t* ‘scorpion’; Coptic *wo^oohe* [Ⲡⲟⲟⲟⲉ] (< **wah^oha-t* < **wah^hha-t*) ‘scorpion’. Hannig 1995:209, 210, and 212; Faulkner 1962:66 and 67; Erman—Grapow 1921:39 and 1926—1963.1:346, 1:347, and 1:351; Vycichl 1983:242; Černý 1976:223. Central Chadic: Gisiga *wah-* ‘to break’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **wahar-* ‘large blade’ > Ma’a *kawahá* ‘knife’, *muwahá* ‘sword’; Dahalo *wáraha* (with metathesis of *-h-* and *-r-*) ‘spear, spearhead’. Ehret 1980:312, no. 10, **warah-* ‘large blade’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:524, no. 2509, **wah-* ‘to break’; Ehret 1995:457, no. 960, **wah-* ‘to cut’ (Proto-Cushitic **wahr-* or **warh-* ‘large blade’).
- B. Proto-Indo-European **wehh-* [**wahh-*]/**wohh-* > **wā-*/**wō-* ‘to strike, to wound’: Greek *άάω* (< **áFα-*) ‘to hurt, to damage’, *άτη* (for **άάτη* < **áFάτη*) ‘bane, ruin’, (Homeric) *ώτειλή* (< **óFατελιῶ*) ‘wound, scar’; Lithuanian *voṭis* ‘ulcer’; Latvian *vāts* ‘wound’. Pokorny 1959:1108 **uā-*, **uō-*, **uə-* ‘to strike, to wound’; Walde 1927—1932.I:211 **uā-*, **uō-*, **uə-*; Boisacq 1950:96 and 1084 **auō-*; Hofmann 1966:27 and 431; Frisk 1970—1973.I:2, I:178, and II:1153; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:3 **wā-* and II:1305—1306; Beekes 2010.I:3 **h₂eu_h₂-* and I:162—163; Smoczyński 2007.1:767—768; Derksen 2015:510 (Derksen rejects the comparison of Lithuanian *voṭis* ‘ulcer’ with Greek *άάω* ‘to hurt, to damage’); Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1275.
- C. (?) Altaic: Proto-Tungus **wā-* ‘to kill’ > Evenki *wā-* ‘to kill’; Lamut / Even *wā-* ‘to kill’; Negidal *wā-* ‘to kill’; Manchu *wa-* ‘to kill, to slay’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *vā-* ‘to kill’; Orok *wā-* ‘to kill’; Nanay / Gold *wā-* ‘to kill’; Oroch *wā-* ‘to kill’; Udihe *wā-* ‘to kill’; Solon *wā-* ‘to kill’. Note: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:512—513) derive Proto-Tungus **wā-* ‘to kill’ from Proto-Altaic **ēpo* ‘to hunt, to kill’, assuming that **wā-* = **ebā-*. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak do not reconstruct initial **w-* for Proto-Altaic. The tentative inclusion of the Tungus material here follows Illič-Svityč (1965:330), who reconstructs Proto-Altaic **uā-*.
- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **wa* ‘sword’, **wa-* ‘fight’: Amur *va* ‘sword’, *wa-d^v* ‘fight, battle’; North Sakhalin *wa* ‘sword’, *va-t* ‘fight’; East Sakhalin *wa*

‘sword’, *vax* ‘sword, blade’, *va-d* ‘fight’; South Sakhalin *wa* ‘sword’, *wař* ‘blade’, *wa-* ‘fight’, *vaf-* ‘to hit’. Fortescue 2016:158.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Illič-Svityč 1965:330 **wa/h/λ* ‘to beat’ (‘бить’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:617—618, no. 497; Greenberg 2002:188—189, no. 435.

813. Proto-Nostratic root **wak*’- (~ **wək*’-):

(vb.) **wak*’- ‘to rouse, to stir up, to excite’;

(n.) **wak*’-*a* ‘energy, vigor, strength, power, might’

- A. (?) Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **wak*’-*at*’*y*- (~ **yak*’-*at*’*y*-) ‘to be awake, to awaken, to arouse, to stir up’ > Hebrew *yākaš* [ʔʔ] ‘to be awake’, *yākēš* [ʔʔ] ‘awake’; Ugaritic *ykg* ‘to be alert’; Arabic *yakiža* ‘to be awake, to wake up, to awaken, to arouse, to stir up, to provoke’; Sabaeen *mykz(m)* ‘sleeplessness, insomnia’; Mehri *awōkəḏ* ‘to awaken’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ōkuḏ* ‘to wake’; Ḥarsūsi *awkəwḏ* ‘to wake, to awaken’. Murtonen 1989:220; D. Cohen 1970— :604—605 **w/yqṭ*; Klein 1987:263.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **wek*’-/**wok*’- ‘to rouse, to stir up, to excite, to awaken’: Sanskrit *vājāyati* ‘to incite’, *vāja-ḥ* ‘strength, vigor, energy; contest, conflict, battle’, *vāja-ḥ* ‘(Indra’s) weapon, thunderbolt’; Avestan *vazrō* ‘cudgel’, *vāzišta-* ‘greatly endowed with strength’; Latin *vegeō* ‘to stir up, to quicken, to excite’, *vigilō* ‘to be awake, to keep awake, to watch’, *vegetus* ‘lively, vigorous, fresh’, *vigil* ‘wakeful, watchful, alert’; Gothic *wakan* ‘to wake, to be awake’, *pairh-wakan* ‘to stay awake, to keep watch’, *us-wakjan* ‘to wake up’, *wahtwō* ‘watch’, *wōkains* ‘watch’; Old Icelandic *vaka* ‘to be awake, to keep awake’, *vakna* ‘to awake, to wake up’, *vakr* ‘watchful, alert, wakeful’, *vekja* ‘to awaken, to arouse from sleep’, *vökull* ‘wakeful, vigilant’; Swedish *vaka* ‘to be awake’, *väcka* ‘to awaken’; Danish *vakker* ‘vigorous, fine, brave’; Old English *wacan* ‘to awaken, to arise’, *wacian* ‘to be awake or active, to keep awake, to keep watch’, *wacor*, *wæccer* ‘watchful, vigilant’, *wacol* ‘awake, watchful, vigilant’, *wæcce* ‘keeping awake, vigil; watch’, *wæcen*, *wacon* ‘keeping awake, watching (over), guarding’; Old Frisian *wakia* ‘to be awake’; Old Saxon *wakōn* ‘to be awake’, *wahta* ‘watch, guard’; Dutch *waken* ‘to be awake’, *wakker* ‘awake’; Old High German *wahhēn*, *wahhōn* ‘to be awake’ (New High German *wachen*), *wecchen* ‘to cause to wake up’ (New High German *wecken*), *wachal* ‘awake’, *wahta* ‘watch, guard’ (New High German *Wacht*). Rix 1998a:601—602 **ueḡ-* ‘to become awake, lively, powerful, strong’; Pokorny 1959:1117—1118 **ueḡ-* ‘to be lively, to be strong’, **uoḡ-ro-s* ‘powerful, strong’; Walde 1927—1932.I:246—247 **ueḡ-*; Mann 1984—1987:1499 **ueḡer-* (**ueḡər-*) ‘to rouse; lively’, 1499 **ueḡō-*, *-eijō* ‘to rouse, to make move, to move’, 1560 **uoḡeros* (**uoḡər-*, **uoḡr-*) ‘alert, lusty, mighty’, 1560 **uoḡejō* ‘to rouse, to stir’, 1560 **uoḡtos* ‘watch,

watchful'; Watkins 1985:74 **weg-* and 2000:95 **weg-* 'to be strong, lively'; Mallory—Adams 1997:550 **ueġ-* 'strong'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:741 and II:788; Ernout—Meillet 1979:716—717; De Vaan 2008:657—658; Orël 2003:441—442 Proto-Germanic **wakēnan*, 442 **wakjanan*, 442 **waknēnan* ~ **waknōjanan*, 442 **wakōn* 442 **wakraz*, 442 **wakrōjanan*, 442 **wakulaz*; Kroonen 2013:568 Proto-Germanic **wakan-* 'to awaken', 568 **wakjan-* 'to awaken', and 568 **wakra-* 'alert, awake'; Feist 1939:547—548; Lehmann 1986:392; De Vries 1977:639, 639—640, 652, and 673; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:421; Klein 1971:819 and 822; Onions 1966:989 and 994; Vercoullie 1898:317; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:427—428; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:828 and 842; Kluge—Seebold 1989:771 and 780; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:126 and III:182.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **wāke* 'strength, power' > Finnish *väki* 'people, folk, men; force', *väkevä* 'strong, powerful', *väkevyy* 'strength, power, intensity'; Estonian *vägi* (gen. sg. *väe*) 'power, strength, might; army'; Lapp / Saami *viikkâ* (adv. of degree) 'fairly, rather', (adj.) 'rather large, rather important, strong', (Kola) *vikk* 'power; army' (perhaps influenced by Finnish); Mordvin *vij* 'power; crowd'; Cheremis / Mari *wi*, *wij* 'power'; Votyak / Udmurt *kat'-vi* 'power, force, might'; Vogul / Mansi *wöä*, *waag* 'power'; Ostyak / Xanty *wög* 'power'. Collinder 1955:124—125 and 1977:136; Rédei 1986—1988:563 **wāke*; Décsy 1990:110 **vākä* 'power'; Sammallahti 1988:551 **wāki* 'power'.

Buck 1949:4.63 wake; 4.81 strong, mighty, powerful. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 621—622, no. 499; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2464, **wākʕē* (= **wākʕē* ?) 'strong, vigorous; strength'; Illič-Svityč 1965:364 **wākā* 'strong' ('сильный').

814. Proto-Nostratic root **wal-* (~ **wəl-*):

(vb.) **wal-* 'to be or become strong';

(n.) **wal-a* 'strength, power'

- A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *walk'á* 'strength, power', *walk'a-beelo* 'lacking strength, tired, weak'. Hudson 1989:400.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *val* 'strong, hard, forceful, skilful', *vallamai*, *vallam*, *vallai* 'strength', *vali* '(vb.) to be strong, hard; to compel; (n.) strength, power', *valiya* 'strong, big', *valuppu* 'firmness, strength', *valu* '(vb.) to be strong or hard; (n.) strength, skill, ability'; Malayalam *val*, *valu*, *valiya* 'strong, powerful, great', *valluka* 'to be able, strong'; Kannada *bal* 'to grow strong or firm', *bali* 'to increase; to grow; to grow strong, stout; to become tight, firm, hard; to increase (tr.); to make strong, firm', *bal(u)*, *bolu* 'strength, firmness, bigness, greatness, abundance, excess', *balisu* 'to make strong'; Tuḷu *bala* 'strength', Koḍagu *bala* 'strength, power', *ballyē* 'great'; Telugu *vali* 'big, large', *valamu* 'largeness, stoutness', *baliyu* 'to grow fat, to increase', *baluvu* 'strength, intensity; heavy, great, excessive,

- big, strong, severe'; Gadba *valan* 'thick, stout'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:476—477, no. 5276; Krishnamurti 2003:394 **wal* 'strong'.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **wal-* 'to be strong': Latin *valeō* 'to be strong'; Old Irish *faln-*, *foln-* (in deponent forms) 'to rule', *flaith* (< **wlati-*) 'lordship'; Welsh *gwledig* 'prince', *gwlad* 'country'; Gothic *waldan* 'to rule, to govern'; Old Icelandic *valda* 'to wield, to rule over', *vald* 'power, authority'; Swedish *våla* 'to cause, to be the cause of'; Old English *geweald* 'power', *wealdan* 'to have control over, to wield (weapon); to govern; to possess; to cause', *gewealden* 'under control, subjected', *wealdend* 'ruler, king, controller', *gewieldan* 'to overpower, to subdue, to domesticate', *wielde* 'strong, victorious'; Old Frisian *walda* 'to have power over, to rule over', *wald* 'power, control'; Old Saxon *waldan* 'to rule, to have control over, to govern', *giwald* 'power, control'; Old High German *waltan* 'to rule, to govern' (New High German *walten*), *giwalt* 'power, control' (New High German *Gewalt*); Lithuanian *valdaũ*, *valdýti* 'to govern', *valdōnas* 'ruler, lord, master'; Old Church Slavic *vladoŭ*, *vlasti* 'to rule', *vlastь* 'power'; Tocharian A *wäl*, B *walo* 'king', A/B *wlāw-* 'to control', B *wawlāwar*, *wlāwalñe* 'control'. Rix 1998a:617—618 **uelH-* 'to be strong, to have control or power over'; Pokorny 1959:1111—1112 **ual-*, **ual-d(h)-* 'to be strong'; Walde 1927—1932.I:219 **ual-*; Mann 1984—1987:1488 **ual-* 'good, strong, able', 1488 **ualdh-*, 1509—1510 **uel-* 'big, great; greater, stronger; to be big, to be strong, to be able; greatly, strongly, very', 1552 **uldh-* 'to grow strong, to thrive', 1570—1571 **uoldh-* 'to rule, to control, to possess'; Watkins 1985:73—74 **wal-* and 2000:95 **wal-* 'to be strong'; Mallory—Adams 1997:490 **ual-* 'to be strong, to rule'; De Vaan 2008:651—652; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:727—728; Ernout—Meillet 1979:711—712 **w^olē-*; Orël 2003:443 Proto-Germanic **waldan*, 443 **waldanan*, 443 **waldaz*, 443 **waldigaz* ~ **waldūgaz*, 443 **waldiz*, 443 **waldjan*, 443 **waldōn*; Kroonen 2013:569 Proto-Germanic **waldan-* 'to rule over, to have authority over'; Feist 1939:548 **ual-*; Lehmann 1986:392 **wal-*, **wal-dh-*; De Vries 1977:640; Onions 1966:1006 **wal-*; Klein 1971:827—828 **wal-dh-*, extended form of **wal-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:428; Kluge—Mitzka 1977:835—836 **ual-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:776; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:554 **uel-* and I:576—577 **uelā-*; Adams 1999:581—582 and 617 **wl-eh_a-w-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1188—1189; Smoczyński 2007.1:730—731; Derksen 2008:524, 526, and 2015:485—486 **uolh₁-dh-*.
- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *wola-* 'to force'. Nikolaeva 2006:457.
- Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 19.31 rule (vb.), govern. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:610—611, no. 487; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:109—110, no. 350, **wol<a>* 'big'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2469, **walV* 'to be strong, to be able'.

815. Proto-Nostratic root *wal- (~ *wəl-):

(vb.) *wal- ‘to pull (out)’;

(n.) *wal-a ‘pulling, dragging’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *vali* ‘to draw, to pull, to row’, *vali*, *valippu* ‘pulling, dragging, spasm, convulsion’; Malayalam *vali* ‘drawing, pull, tug, spasm’, *valikka* ‘to draw, to drag, to row, to have spasms’, *valippikka* ‘to cause to pull’, *valippu* ‘drawing, pulling, spasm’, *valiyuka* ‘to be drawn, to extend, to have spasmodic pain’; Koḍagu *bali-* ‘to snatch, to pull’; Koraga *bali-* ‘to pull’; Kui *velba* (*ves-*) ‘(vb.) to pull, to pull up; (n.) pulling’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:477, no. 5282.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *wel-/wol-/wl- ‘to draw, to pull, to tear out’: Latin *vellō* ‘to pluck, to pull, to tear out’; Lithuanian *velkù*, *vilkti* ‘to drag, to pull’; Old Church Slavic *vlěkō*, *vlěšti* ‘to draw, to drag’; Avestan (in compounds) *varək-* ‘to draw’; (?) Gothic *wilwan* ‘to plunder’, *wilwa* ‘robber’. Rix 1998a:620 *uelk- ‘to drag, to draw, to pull’; Pokorny 1959:1144—1145 *uel- ‘to tear’, 1145 *uelk- ‘to pull’; Walde 1927—1932.I:304—305 *uel- and I:305 *uelk-; Mann 1984—1987:1509 *uel- ‘to snatch, to tug’, 1511 *uelk- ‘to pull, to tug, to jerk’, 1512 *uelymn- ‘pull, tear, jerk; fleece’, 1512 *ueluō, -iō ‘to snatch, to pluck, to rob’, 1572 *uolk-; Watkins 1985:76 *wel- and 2000:98 *wel- ‘to tear, to pull’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:492, fn. 1, *uel- and 1995.I:413, fn. 1, *wel- ‘to lacerate, to tear apart; to wound; to kill’; Mallory—Adams 1997:471 *h₄uelk- ‘to pull’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:718 *wel-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:744—745 *uel-; De Vaan 2008:659; Orël 2003:454 Proto-Germanic *welwanan; Feist 1939:564—565 *uel-; Lehmann 1986:404 *wel- ‘to tear, to rob; to wound’; Derksen 2008:514; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1253; Smoczyński 2007.1:753—754.
- C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *walitid'aa-* ‘stubborn’, *walaa-* ‘to carry along, to be keen on (tr.)’. Nikolaeva 2006:451.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 9.33 draw, pull. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2480, *[']w[A]l[iy]V (or *[']wól[iy]V ?) ‘to draw, to pull (out, off)’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:608—609, no. 485.

816. Proto-Nostratic root *wal- (~ *wəl-):

(vb.) *wal- ‘to cry out, to call out, to shout’;

(n.) *wal-a ‘sound, noise, cry, wail, lamentation, howl, hubbub’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *wal- ‘to cry out, to call out, to lament’: Proto-Semitic *wal- (*wal-al-, *wal-wal-) ‘to lament, to wail’ > Arabic *walwala* ‘to cry “woe”, to lament, to wail, to howl, to break into loud wails’, *walwala* (pl. *walāwil*) ‘wailing, wails’; Hebrew *yelel* [לַלְלֵ] (base *yll* [לַלְלֵ]) ‘to wail, to howl, to lament’ [< *wll]) ‘wailing, howling, lamenting’; Imperial Aramaic

- **yll* ‘to wail, to lament’. D. Cohen 1970— :542—544; Klein 1987:259; Murtonen 1989:215. Berber: Tuareg *awal* ‘speech, language; birdsong, croaking of frogs, hissing of snakes’, *siwəl* ‘to speak’, *əmassəwəll* ‘talkative, chatty, wordy’; Siwa *siwəl* ‘to speak’; Nefusa *awal* ‘speech’, *siwəl* ‘to speak, to call’; Ghadames *awal* ‘speech, language’; Mzab *awal* ‘speech, word’; Wargla *awal* ‘speech, word’; Tamazight *awal* ‘speech, word, expression, language, gossip, story’; Riff *awal* ‘speech, word, discourse, conversation’, *siwəl*, *siwər* ‘to speak’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *awal* ‘speech’, *sawəl* ‘to speak’; Kabyle *awal* ‘speech, word; proverb’, *siwəl* ‘to call; to say; to resonate, to resound’, *sawwal* ‘to make an echo’; Chaouia *awal* ‘word, speech’, *awəl* ‘to speak, to talk’, *ssiwəl* ‘to interpret, to call’; Zenaga *awəǧ* ‘speech, word, language’, *siwəǧ* ‘to speak’. West Chadic **wal*-/**wil*- ‘cry, sob’ > Angas *wāl* ‘cry, sob’; Chip *wil* ‘cry, sob’. East Chadic **wal*- ‘funeral song’ > Sokoro *olu* ‘funeral song’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:526, no. 2519, **wal*- ‘lamentation, weep’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vali* ‘(vb.) to say, to tell, to narrate; (n.) sound’; Koraga *valli* ‘to bark’; Gondi *vallih*- ‘to call, to invite’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:477, no. 5283. Tamil *vaḷavaḷappu* ‘talkativeness, wordiness, vain talk, babbling’, *vaḷavaḷa* ‘to be talkative, wordy; to babble’; Malayalam *vaḷavaḷā* ‘the sound of babbling’; Tuḷu *baḷakè* ‘boasting’; Telugu *vaḷāvaḷi* ‘noise, fuss, hubbub’, *vaḷāvaḷikāḍu* ‘a noisy or fussy man, babbler’; Gondi *vaṛk*- ‘to say, to speak’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:480, no. 5310.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **wal*- ‘to shout’: (?) Greek ἀλαζών ‘(n.) vagabond, false pretender, imposter, quack; (adj.) swaggering, boastful, braggart’ (according to Chantraine 1968—1980.I:53, Frisk 1970—1973.I:62, Beekes 2010.I:60, and Hofmann 1966:11, ἀλαζών is derived from the Thracian tribal name Ἀλαζώνες), ἀλαζονικός ‘boastful, braggart’, ἀλαζονεύομαι ‘to make false pretensions’; Czech *volat* ‘to shout’; Old Icelandic *völva* (also spelled *völfa*) ‘prophetess, sibyl, wise woman, witch’. Mann 1984—1987:1488 **wal*- ‘to shout’; De Vries 1977:674.
- D. Uralic: Finno-Volgaic: Finnish *vala* ‘oath, vow’, *valitta*- ‘to complain, to moan, to groan, to bewail’, *valitus* ‘complaint’; Lapp / Saami *vaalloot*- ‘to complain’; Mordvin (Erza, Moksha) *val* ‘word’. Rédei 1986—1988:812 Finno-Volgaic **wala* ‘word’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *almə* ‘shaman’, *almo*- ‘to be a shaman’, *almad’e* ‘practicing witchcraft’, *aldu*- ‘to conjure’, *aldud’a*- ‘to conjure, to practice magic; to swear’, *alyəɖaj*- ‘to say invocations (tr.)’, (Northern / Tundra) *wolme* ‘shaman’, *wolmonaa*- ‘to practice shamanism’. Nikolaeva 2006:451.
- E. (?) Proto-Altaic **ūlo*- ‘to cry, to howl’: Proto-Mongolian **uli*- ‘to cry, to howl (of dogs, wolves, etc.)’ > Written Mongolian *uli*- ‘to howl (of dogs, wolves, etc.)’; Khalkha *uli*- ‘to cry, to howl’; Buriat *uli*- ‘to cry, to howl’; Kalmyk *ul*-, *ulə*- ‘to cry, to howl’; Ordos *uli*- ‘to cry, to howl’; Shira-Yughur *olo*- ‘to cry, to howl’. Proto-Turkic **ūli*- ‘to cry, to howl’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *uli*- ‘to cry, to howl’; Karakhanide Turkic *uli*- ‘to cry,

to howl'; Turkish *ulu-* 'to howl', *uluma* 'the howling of dogs'; Gagauz *ulu-* 'to cry, to howl'; Azerbaijani *ula-* 'to cry, to howl'; Turkmenian *ūli-* 'to cry, to howl'; Uighur *ulu-* 'to cry, to howl'; Karaim *ulu-* 'to cry, to howl'; Tatar *ula-* 'to cry, to howl'; Bashkir *ūlū-* 'to cry, to howl'; Kirghiz *ulu-* 'to cry, to howl'; Kazakh *ūli-* 'to cry, to howl'; Noghay *ūli-* 'to cry, to howl'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ulu-* 'to cry, to howl'; Tuva *ulu-* 'to cry, to howl'; Chuvash *ɚ^wlaχ-* 'to neigh'; Yakut *uluy-* 'to cry, to howl'; Dolgan *uluy-* 'to cry, to howl'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1493—1494 **ūlo* 'to cry, to howl'.

Buck 1949:18.13 shout, cry out; 18.21 speak, talk; 18.41 call (vb. = summon).
Bomhard—Kerns 1994:611, no. 488; Hakola 2000:207, no. 928.

817. Proto-Nostratic root **wal-* (~ **wəl-*):

- (vb.) **wal-* 'to go, to go away, to depart';
(n.) **wal-a* 'departure, flight, escape'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **wal-* 'to go, to go away, to depart': (?) Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *walaga* [⚭⚭] 'to sneak away from a task, to slip away'; Amharic *wällägä*, *wällägä* 'to sneak away from a task'. D. Cohen 1970— :545; Leslau 1987:613. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **waal-* 'to come' > Gedeo / Darasa *waal-* 'to leave (something), to divorce'; Hadiyya (imptv. pl.) *waalle* 'come!'; Kambata *waal-* 'to come'. Hudson 1989:43.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *valacai*, *valacal* 'emigration, flight from home; crowd'; Kannada *valase*, *valise*, *olase* 'flight, removal from home for fear of a hostile army, emigration'; Telugu *valasa* 'emigration, migration, flight or removal from one's country to another'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:477, no. 5278.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **wal-/wl-* 'to go': Georgian *val-/vl-* 'to go'; Mingrelian *ul-* (< **vul-*), *ur-* 'to go'; Laz *ul-* 'to go'. Schmidt 1962:108; Klimov 1964:84—85 **wl-* and 1998:49 **wal-/wl-* 'to go'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:126—127 **wal-*; Fähnrich 2007:154 **wal-*. Proto-Kartvelian **wl-a-* 'to walk': Georgian *svla-* 'to walk'; Mingrelian *ula-* 'to walk'; Laz *ulva-*, *ülva-* 'to walk'. Klimov 1998:54 **wl-a-* 'to walk'. Proto-Kartvelian **wlt'-* 'to run away, to escape': Georgian *vlt'-* (3rd sg. *i-vlt'-i-s*) 'to run away, to escape', *si-vlt'-o-la* 'running away, escape'; Mingrelian *rt'-*, *nt'-* 'to run away, to escape'; Laz *rt'-*, *mt'-* 'to run away, to escape'; Svan *li-t'w* 'to run away, to escape' (*t'w-* < **wlt'-* with loss of *-l-* and metathesis of *wt'-* to *t'w-*). Note: The Mingrelian and Laz forms have lost the initial *w-* and have replaced the resulting *lt'-* with more common clusters. Klimov 1964:85 **wlt'-* and 1998:54 **wlt'-* 'to run away, to escape'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:136 **wlt'-*; Fähnrich 2007:164—165 **wlt'-*.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **walka-* 'to go, to go away, to depart' > Finnish *valka(ma)* 'landing-place, harbor, small haven' (earlier 'departure')

?); Lapp / Saami *vuol'ge-* ‘to go, to start, to depart; to go, to leave (home)’; Mordvin *valgo-* ‘to descend, to go down (of stars); to come down and sit (of birds)’; Cheremis / Mari *wale-, wole-* ‘to descend; to lower (in price); to go down (of the sun)’; Vogul / Mansi *jol-wagl-* ‘to descend’ (*jol-* ‘down’); Ostyak / Xanty *vygəl-,* (Southern) *wagət-* ‘to descend, to sink, to come down’; Hungarian *vál-* ‘to part, to split off (intr.); to divorce; to become; to redound to’. Collinder 1955:122 and 1977:135; Rédei 1986—1988:554 **walka-* ‘to descend, to go down’; Sammallahti 1988:551 **wilkâ-* ‘to descend’.

Buck 1949:10.47 go; 10.48 come; 10.49 go away, depart. Hakola 2000:204—205, no. 915.

818. Proto-Nostratic root **wal-* (~ **wəl-*):

(vb.) **wal-* ‘to flow, to wet, to moisten’;

(n.) **wal-a* ‘flow, trickle; wetness, moisture, dampness’; (adj.) ‘wet, damp’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *waliḥa-t* ‘well-watered, rich in vegetation’. D. Cohen 1970— :550. (?) Highland East Cushitic: Burji *wáall-a* ‘cloud, fog’. Sasse 1982:186—187 (Sasse notes that *wáall-a* may be a loan from Omotic). For the semantics, cf. Old High German *wolchan, wolkan* ‘cloud’, cited below.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *oliyal* ‘river’; Malayalam *oliyuka* ‘to flow’, *olikka* ‘to flow, to run (as water, blood from wounds)’, *olippu* ‘flowing, looseness of bowels’, *olivu* ‘flowing’, *ōluka* ‘to flow, to ooze out’, *ōla* ‘trickling’, *ōli* ‘a spring, temporary well’, *ōlōla* ‘falling in drops, trickling’; Kota *oyl* ‘waterfall in channel or river’; Toda *wasy* ‘waterfall’; Iruḷa *uli* ‘waterfall’; Telugu *oluku* ‘to be spilled, to run, to flow, to overflow, to gush out’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:96, no. 999. Kannaḍa *ōl-āḍu* ‘to sport in water, to swim, to bathe’; Telugu *ōl-āḍu, ōlal-āḍu* ‘to sport in water’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:101, no. 1068. Tamil *vāli* ‘drizzle’; Malayalam *vāhuka* ‘to run, to drip, to be strained, to be distilled’, *vāl* ‘spittle’; Tuḷu *bāluni* ‘to run over, to go out’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:486, no. 5367.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **wlt’-* ‘to wet, to become wet’: Georgian *vlt’-, lt’-* in *da-vlt’-ob-a, vlt’-ob-a* ‘to wet, to become wet’; Mingrelian *rt’-* ‘to wet, to become wet’. Klimov 1964:122 **ltw-* and 1998:110 **ltw-* (also possible **wlt’-*) ‘to wet, to get wet’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:137 **wlt’-*; Fähnrich 2007:164—165 **wlt’-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **wel-kʰ-/wol-kʰ-/w̥l-kʰ-, *wel-k’-/wol-k’-/w̥l-k’-*, and **wel-gh-/wol-gh-/w̥l-gh-* ‘to wet, to moisten’: Old Irish *folc* ‘washing, rain, downpour’, *folcaim* ‘I wash, I bathe’; Welsh *golchi* (< **gwolchi*) ‘to wash’; Old English *wealg* ‘lukewarm’, *wlæc, wlacu* ‘lukewarm’, *weolcen, wolc, wolcen* ‘cloud’; Old Frisian *wolken, wulken* ‘cloud’; Old Saxon *wolkan* ‘cloud’; Dutch *wolk* ‘cloud’; Old High German

welh ‘wet’, *welc*, *welch* ‘damp, wet’ (New High German *welk*), *wolchan*, *wolkan* ‘cloud’ (New High German *Wolke*); Old Prussian *welgen* ‘cold (in the head)’; Lithuanian *vilgau*, *vilgyti*, *válgyti* ‘to moisten’; Latvian *val̄gs* ‘wet’; Old Church Slavic *vlaga* ‘moisture’; Russian *vólgljy* [вогльй] ‘damp, humid’. Pokorny 1959:1145—1146 **uelk-*, **uelg-* ‘damp, wet’; Walde 1927—1932.I:306 **uelq-*, **uelg-*; Mann 1984—1987:1510 **uelgos* ‘damp, soaked, flaccid’, 1551 **uliqu-* ‘wet, liquid’, 1552—1553 **ul̄g-* ‘(adj.) wet, damp; (vb.) to dampen’, 1571 **uolghos*, *-is* ‘lukewarm, damp, moist’, **uolk-* ‘to wet, to soak, to wash’; Watkins 1985:76 **welg-* and 2000:98 **welg-* ‘wet’; Mallory—Adams 1997:639 **uelk-*, **uelg-* ‘wet’; Orël 2003:474 Proto-Germanic **wulk(a)nan*; Onions 1966:999 **wolg-*, **welg-*, **w̄lg-*; Klein 1971:824 **welg-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:851 **uelg-*, **uelk-* and 867 **uelg-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:786 and 798 **w̄lg-*; Derksen 2008:524—525; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1251; Smoczyński 2007.1:716—717.

- E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Volgaic **wala-* ‘to pour’ > Finnish *vala-* ‘to pour’; Karelian *vala-* ‘to pour’; Estonian *vala-* ‘to pour’, *valang* ‘downpour; outpour, outpouring, effusion’; Mordvin *valo-* ‘to pour; to spill’. Rédei 1986—1988:812 **wala-*. Note also Finnish *valu-* ‘to flow, to run, to drip’.

Buck 1949:1.72 cloud; 10.32 flow (vb.); 15.83 wet, damp’. Illič-Svityč 1965:333 **wil̄l* ‘moist’ (‘влажный’); Möller 1911:265; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:626—627, no. 504.

819. Proto-Nostratic root **wal-* (~ **wəl-*):

- (vb.) **wal-* ‘to set fire to, to burn, to heat up, to warm’;
(n.) **wal-a* ‘heat, warmth, boiling’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *waliʿa* ‘to catch fire, to burn; to kindle, to light, to set fire (to)’; Tigrinya *wälläʿa* ‘to kindle, to set fire (to)’; Tigre *wälləʿa* ‘to kindle’. D. Cohen 1970— :553.
- B. Dravidian: Telugu *oliki* ‘a funeral pyre’; Parji *ol̄gam* ‘blaze of fire’, *olip-* (*olit-*) ‘to char, to scorch’; Kurux *ōlnā* ‘to be on fire, (crop) to be scorched by excessive heat’, *ol̄dnā* ‘to set fire to, to scorch’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:96, no. 1001.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **wel-/w̄ol-/w̄l-* ‘to heat, to warm, to boil’: Armenian *gol* ‘heat’, *golanam* ‘to warm oneself’; Albanian *valë* ‘heat, boiling’, *vloj* ‘to boil, to ferment, to seethe’; Gothic *wulan* ‘to be aglow with, to seethe’; Old Icelandic *vella* ‘to bubble, to boil’, *ylja* ‘to warm’, *ylr* (< Proto-Norse **wuljar*) ‘warmth’, *olmr* (< Proto-Norse **wulma-*) ‘furious’; Old Danish *valm*, *volm* ‘boiling, cooking’; Old English *weallan* ‘to boil, to be hot’, *wielm* ‘boiling, surging, raging (of fire)’, *wyllan* ‘to boil’; Old Frisian *walla* ‘to surge, to well, to boil up’; Old Saxon *wallan* ‘to surge, to well, to boil up’; Old High German *walm* ‘boiling, fervor’, *wallan*

‘to bubble, to simmer; to boil, to seethe’ (New High German *wallen*), *walī* ‘heat’, (adv.) *walō* ‘hotly’; Middle High German *wellen* ‘to boil, to steam, to simmer’; Lithuanian (inf.) *vilditi* ‘to make lukewarm’. Rix 1998a:618 **uelH-* ‘to bubble, to simmer; to boil, to seethe’; Pokorny 1959:1140 **uel-* ‘lukewarm, warm’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:302; Mann 1984—1987:1550 **ulāiō* (**ulāiō*) ‘to surge, to seethe’, 1569 **uol-* (**uolis*, *-ið*) ‘heat, surge, boiling, ferment’; Mallory—Adams 1997:264 **uel-* ‘to warm, to heat’; Orël 1998:494 and 2003:444 Proto-Germanic **walljōn* ~ **walljaz*, 444 **walljanan*, 444 **walmiz*, 453 **wellanan* II, 453 **wellōn*; Kroonen 2013:571 Proto-Germanic **wallan-* ‘to well up, to boil, to seethe’; Feist 1939:575—576 **uel-*; Lehmann 1986:411 “[e]tymology difficult; probably based on PIE **wel-*, **wel-ʔ-* ‘turn, roll’...”; De Vries 1977:418, 641, 653, and 678; Klein 1971:824; Onions 1966:999 West Germanic **wallan*, besides **wellan* found in Old Icelandic *vella*, Middle High German *wellen*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:835 **uel-* ‘to twist, to turn’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:775 **wel-* ‘to roll, to rotate, to turn’. Note: The Germanic forms are both phonologically and semantically ambiguous. Some of them may belong with Proto-Nostratic (vb.) **wel^v-* ‘to well up, to surge, to flow forth, to flood’; (n.) **wel^v-a* ‘deluge, flood, inundation; surge, wave’ instead.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 1.86 light (vb.), kindle; 5.22 boil. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:616—617, no. 495.

820. Proto-Nostratic root **wal-* (~ **wəl-*):

(vb.) **wal-* ‘to crush, to grind, to wear out; to rub, to press; to be worn out, weak; to fade, to wither, to waste away’;

(n.) **wal-a* ‘distress, pain, difficulty; weakness, hunger, starvation’

A. (?) Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **wal-wal-* ‘to wipe off, to wipe, to polish’ > Tigre (?*a*)*wälwälä* ‘to wipe off, to wipe, to polish’; Tigrinya *wälwälä* ‘to wipe off, to wipe, to polish’; Amharic *wäläwwälä* ‘to wipe off, to wipe, to polish’; Gurage *wäläwälä* ‘to wipe off, to wipe, to polish’. D. Cohen 1970— :550; Leslau 1979:653.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *vali* ‘(vb.) to be painful; (n.) pain, ache, trouble, difficulty’; Malayalam *valayuka* ‘to be straitened, pressed, distressed’, *valekka* ‘to distress, to vex, to imprison’, *valaccal* ‘distress, poverty’; Telugu *valiya* ‘to be tired, to become thin or reduced’; Tuḷu *balepuni* ‘to be distressed, vexed’; Kui *valga* (*valgi-*) ‘to become emaciated, thin, withered’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:477, no. 5281. Tamil *olku* (*olki-*) ‘to grow weak or faint, to pine, to be disheartened; to become reduced, slender, thin, emaciated’, *or₁ku* (*or₁ki-*) ‘to be deficient, to be wanting, to fall short, to droop’, *or₂kam* ‘poverty, indigence, destitution, weakness, feebleness, deficiency, dearth’, *olli* ‘thin person, thinness, slenderness’;

Malayalam *olkuka* ‘to grow weak, to contract’, *ollāṭi* ‘a thin, slender person’; Telugu *ollā-bōvu* ‘to faint, to grow or turn pale, to fade’; Tuḷu *olandala*, *olandale* ‘swoon, faintness’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:96, no. 1004.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **wel-/wol-/wǵ-* ‘to crush, to grind, to wear out; to press; to be worn out, weak; to fade, to wither, to waste away’: Tocharian A **walts-*, B **wāłts-*, **wāłts-* ‘to press, to crush’; Welsh *gwlydd* ‘mild, soft, tender, gentle’; English (dial.) *welk* ‘to wilt, to wither’, *wilt* ‘to fade, to wither, to droop’; Old High German (*ir*)*welhēn* ‘to become weak, faded, withered’, *welh* ‘weak, faded, withered’; Middle High German *welken* ‘to fade, to decay’ (New High German *welken*), *welc* ‘withered’ (New High German *welk*). Mann 1984—1987:1509 **uel-* ‘to press, to squeeze’, 1510 **ueld-* ‘to suppress, to be suppressed’, 1552 **uǵdh-* ‘mild, lukewarm’; Mallory—Adams 1997:142 **ueld-* ‘to crush, to grind, to wear out; to be worn out’; Orël 2003:453 Proto-Germanic **welkaz*; Onions 1966:999 and 1007; Klein 1971:824 **welg-* and 828; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:851 **uelg-*, **uelk-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:786; Adams 1999:597 **wel-s-* ‘to press, to squeeze’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:542—543 **uel-*, **uol-*, **uǵ-*.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **ōli-* (~ *-e-*) ‘to be weak from hunger, to starve to death; to die, to fade, to wither’: Proto-Tungus *(*χ*)*olbu-* ‘soul of the dead; shadow’ > Evenki *elbu*, *olbu-n* ‘soul of the dead; shadow’. Proto-Mongolian **ōl-* ‘to be weak from hunger, to starve to death’ > Written Mongolian *ōlūs-* ‘to suffer starvation, famine; to become or feel hungry’, *ōlūṅ* ‘(n.) starvation, famine, hunger; (adj.) starving, hungry’, *ōlūbūr* ‘weak, having poor health’; Khalkha *ōls-* ‘to be hungry’, *ōlön* ‘hungry’; Buriat *ūld-* ‘to be hungry’, *ūlen* ‘hungry’; Kalmyk *ōls-* ‘to be hungry’; Ordos *ōlödö-* ‘to be hungry’, *ōl* ‘hunger’; Moghol *ūläsu-* ‘to be hungry’; Dagur (*χ*)*unsu-* (< **ulsu-* < **öles-*), *ulese-*, *ulsu-* ‘to be hungry’; Shira-Yughur *ōl* ‘hunger’; Monguor *losə-* ‘to be hungry’. Poppe 1955:50, 55, 89, and 156. Proto-Turkic **ōl-* ‘to die, to fade, to wither’, (causative) **ōl-tür-* ‘to kill’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ōl-* ‘to die’, *ōlür-* ‘to kill’; Karakhanide Turkic *öldür-* ‘to kill’; Turkish *ōl-* ‘to die, to fade, to wither, to lose freshness, to suffer great grief or anxiety’, *öldür-* ‘to kill, to render soft or tender’, *ölüm* ‘death’, *ölmüş* ‘dead’, *ölmez* ‘undying, immortal’, *ölü*, *ölük* ‘dead; feeble, lifeless; faded, withered; corpse’, *ölücü* ‘mortal’, *ölgün* ‘faded, withered; enervated, calm (sea)’; Gagauz *jöl-* ‘to die’, *öldür-* ‘to kill’; Azerbaijani *öl-* ‘to die’, *öldür-* ‘to kill’; Turkmenian *öl-* ‘to die’, *öldür-* ‘to kill’; Uzbek *ul-* ‘to die’, *uldir-* ‘to kill’; Uighur *öl-* ‘to die’, *öltür-* ‘to kill’; Karaim *ol-* ‘to die’, *olđer-* ‘to kill’; Tatar *ül-* ‘to die’, *üter-* ‘to kill’; Bashkir *ül-* ‘to die’, *ülter-* ‘to kill’; Kirghiz *öl-* ‘to die’, *öltür-* ‘to kill’; Kazakh *öl-* ‘to die’, *öltür-* ‘to kill’; Noghay *öl-* ‘to die’, *öltür-* ‘to kill’; Sary-Uighur *jül-* ‘to die’, *jülür-* ‘to kill’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *öl-* ‘to die’, *öltür-* ‘to kill’; Tuva *öl-* ‘to die’, *ölür-* ‘to kill’; Chuvash *vil-* ‘to die’, *v̆w̆ler-* ‘to kill’; Yakut *öl-* ‘to die’, *ölör-* ‘to kill’; Dolgan *öl-* ‘to die’, *ölör-* ‘to kill’. Décsy 1998:121 *öl-*

‘to die’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1049 **ǝli* (~ -*e*) ‘to die; to be hungry, exhausted’; Poppe 1960:108 and 125; Street 1974:22 **ǝl-* ‘to be sick, to starve, to die’.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.82 weak; 5.14 hunger (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:628—629, no. 506.

821. Proto-Nostratic root **walʷ-* (~ **wǝlʷ-*):

(vb.) **walʷ-* ‘to turn, to roll, to revolve’;

(n.) **walʷ-a* ‘circle, circumference; turn, rotation’; (adj.) ‘round’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **wal-* ‘to revolve’: Proto-Semitic **wal-ay-* ‘to turn to or towards, to turn away, to turn around’ > Arabic *waliya* ‘to turn (to or towards); to turn away, to avoid, to shun; to turn around, to turn back, to wheel around, to flee’; Ḥarsūsi *wel* ‘towards’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ǝli* ‘to turn towards, to guide someone towards’; Mehri *hǝwlū* ‘to turn back, to go back to, to come back, to direct oneself to’. D. Cohen 1970— :544 and 549—550. Proto-Semitic **wal-ab-* ‘to turn’ > Tigre *wǎllābā* ‘to turn’. D. Cohen 1970— :544; Littmann—Höfner 1962:428—429. Berber: Tuareg *awəl* ‘to turn, to change direction; to be turned; to leap (animal)’, *tawila* ‘bearing, deportment (way of turning physically [said of women])’, *wǝlǝnwilǝt* ‘to spin’, *wǝliwǝl* ‘to be spun around; to wobble; to spin by itself’; Nefusa *ulǝlli* ‘spider’; Wargla *ǝlli* ‘to surround, to encircle; to be surrounded’, *awnǝnni* ‘spider’; Mzab *twala* ‘side, direction’, *awǝlli* ‘spider’, *ǝmlillǝy* ‘to have vertigo’; Tamazight *llǝy* ‘to turn, to swing; to stir up the air; to have vertigo’, *timlǝllay* ‘vertigo’, *illǝy* ‘to move, to depart; to make room; to approach, to draw near’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *mlilli* ‘to have vertigo’, *timlillay* ‘vertigo’; Riff *ǝmlulli*, *ǝmrugǝǝi* ‘to turn round, to revolve; to be overturned’; Kabyle *ǝwlǝli* ‘to spin, to rotate’, *timlǝllay* ‘vertigo’; Chaouia *iwlǝlli* ‘spider’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **wel-* or **wal-* ‘to go round and round, to revolve’ > Iraqw *harwel* ‘to surround’; Dahalo *walam-* in *wǎlampáni* ‘whirlwind’. Ehret 1980:314. [Ehret 1995:460, no. 968, **wel-* or **wal-* ‘to go round’.]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vaḷai* ‘to surround, to hover around, to walk around, to move about (as fetus in the womb)’, *veḷaiṇu* ‘circle, circumference’, *vaḷaiyam* ‘ring, circle, bracelet, ambit’, *vaḷāvu* (*vaḷāvi-*) ‘to surround’, *vaḷākam* ‘enclosing, surrounding’; Malayalam *vaḷayuka* ‘to surround’, *vaḷekka* ‘to enclose’, *vaḷaccal* ‘enclosing’, *vaḷayal* ‘surrounding’, *vaḷa* ‘ring, bracelet’; Kota *vaḷc-* (*vaḷc-*) ‘to walk in a circle, to make round’, *vaḷ* ‘bangle’, *vaḷ ca-rym* ‘all around’; Kannaḍa *baḷasu* ‘(vb.) to go in a circle or round, to walk or wander about, to be surrounded, to surround; (n.) act of surrounding or encompassing, what surrounds, state of being circuitous, one round or turn (as of a rope, etc.)’, *baḷe* ‘ring, armlet, bracelet’; Telugu

balayu ‘to surround’, *valayu* ‘to turn around (intr.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:480, no. 5313.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **wel-/wol-/w_l-* ‘to turn, to roll, to revolve’: Sanskrit *válati*, *válate* ‘to turn, to turn around, to turn to’; Armenian *gelum* ‘to twist, to press’, *glem* ‘to roll’, *glor* ‘round’; Greek ειλέω (< *Fελ-v-έω) ‘to roll up, to pack close, to wind, to turn around, to revolve’, ειλύω ‘to enfold, to enwrap’; Latin *volvō* ‘to roll, to wind, to turn around, to twist around’; Old Irish *fillid* ‘to fold, to bend’; Gothic *af-walwjan* ‘to roll away’, *at-walwjan* ‘to roll to’; Old Icelandic *valr* ‘round’, *velta* ‘to roll’, *válka* ‘to toss to and fro, to drag with oneself’, *válk* ‘tossing to and fro (especially at sea)’; Old English *wielwan* ‘to roll’, *wealwian* ‘to roll’, *wealte* ‘a ring’, *wealcan* ‘to roll, to fluctuate (intr.); to roll, to whirl, to turn, to twist (tr.)’, *wealcian* ‘to roll (intr.)’, *gewealc* ‘rolling’, *welung* ‘revolution (of a wheel)’; Middle English *walken* ‘to walk, to roll, to toss’, *walkien* ‘to walk’; Middle Dutch *welteren* ‘to roll’, *walken* ‘to knead, to press’; Old High German *walzan* ‘to roll, to rotate, to turn about’ (New High German *wälzen*), *walken*, *walchen* ‘to knead, to roll paste’; Tocharian B *wäl-* ‘to curl’. Rix 1998a:616 **uel-* ‘to turn, to twist, to revolve, to rotate’; Pokorny 1959:1140—1144 **uel-*, **uelə-*, **ulē-* ‘to turn, to roll’; Walde 1927—1932.I:298—304 **uel-*; Mann 1984—1987:1508—1509 **uel-* ‘(vb.) to turn, to bend, to twist, to revolve, to deceive; (n.) turn, bending, deceit’, 1150 **uelānos*, *-ā* (**uelen-*) ‘roller, cylinder’, 1510 **uelər-* (**ueljər-*) ‘twisted, bent; twist, bend, curved’, 1511 **ueluel-*, 1511—1512 **uelumn-* ‘turn, twist, curve, bend’, 1512 **ueluō*, *-iō* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend, to roll’, 1555 **ulunt-* (?) ‘roll, ball, round, twist, bend’, 1555—1556 **uluō*, *-iō* ‘to roll’, 1556 **ulos*, *-ā*, *-iə* ‘twist, turn, wrap, twisted’, 1556 **lutā*, *-is* (**lutā*, *-is*) ‘roll, scroll, wind’, 1569 **uol-* (**uolos*) ‘turn, roll, cylinder’, 1569—1570 **uōl-* (**uōlos*) ‘turn’, 1571—1572 **uōlijō*, **uoleijō* ‘to roll, to overturn, to ruin’; Mallory—Adams 1997:607 **uel-* ‘to turn, to wind, to roll’; Watkins 1985:75—76 **wel-* and 2000:98 **wel-* ‘to turn, to roll’; Boisacq 1950:224—225 **uelu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:457—458 and I:461—462 **ul-ne-u-(ti)*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:319—320 *Fελ- ‘to turn’ and I:320—321 **wehu-*; Hofmann 1966:72—73 **uelu-*, extended form of **uel-*; Beekes 2010.I:384—385 **uel-*; De Vaan 2008:689—690; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:832—834; Ernout—Meillet 1979:752; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:161; Orël 2003:443 Proto-Germanic **walaz* I, 444 **walkanan*, 444 **walkōjanan*, 444 **waltjanan*, 444 **waltō*, 445 **walwjanan*, 453 **wellanan* I; Kroonen 2013:570 Proto-Germanic **walkan-* ‘to roll’ and 570 **walk/gōn-* ‘to roll’; Lehmann 1986:9 **wel?*-, **welw-*, etc.; Feist 1939:13 **uel-*; De Vries 1977:641, 642, and 653 **uel-*; Klein 1971:820 **walg-*; Onions 1966:989 Germanic **walk-*, of unknown origin; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:836 **uel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:776 **wel-*; Adams 1999:596 **wel-* ‘to wind, to twist, to bend’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:555 **uel-*.

- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *wej-* ‘to turn, to move’. Nikolaeva 2006:455.
 E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **wəltə-* ‘to twist face’ > Kerek *wəltə-* ‘to twist face’; Koryak *wəltə(tku-)* ‘to twist face’. Fortescue 2005: 326.

Buck 1949:10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:609—610, no. 486; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2477, **wA|l[V][h]V* ‘to turn, to roll, to revolve’.

822. Proto-Nostratic root **walʷ-* (~ **wəʷ-*):

(vb.) **walʷ-* ‘to blaze, to shine, to be bright’;

(n.) **walʷ-a* ‘whiteness, glitter, luster, brightness, light’; (adj.) ‘shining, bright, white’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *oḷi* ‘light, brightness, splendor, sun, moon, star, fire, sunshine, lamp, beauty’, *oḷir*, *oḷiru* (*oḷiri-*) ‘to shine’, *oḷiyavan*, *oḷiyōṇ* ‘sun’, *oḷirvu*, *oḷiru* ‘brightness’; Malayalam *oḷi* ‘splendid, bright; the light’, *oḷima*, *oḷivu* ‘brightness’, *oḷayuka*, *oḷiyuka* ‘to shine, to glitter’; Kannada *oḷa*, *oḷapu* ‘to shine, to blaze’, *uḷku* ‘to shine, to blaze, to appear’, *uḷku*, *uḷuku* ‘a shining substance, a meteor’; Tuḷu *oḷi* ‘light, splendor’; Koṇḍa *oḷini(ka)* ‘white, bright’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:98, no. 1016. Tamil *vāl* ‘luster, splendor, brightness, fame’; Telugu *vālu* ‘to increase, to rise, to swell, to flourish; to be splendid, to shine’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:487, no. 5377.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **wel-* ‘to flash (lightning)’: Georgian *el-* ‘to flash (lightning)’, *elva* ‘lightning’; Mingrelian *val-* ‘to flash (lightning)’; Laz *val-* ‘to flash (lightning)’; Svan *el-*, *hel-*, *hl-* in: *hel* ‘lightning’, *li-el-e* (< **li-hel-e* ?) ‘to flash (lightning)’, *li-hl-āl-i* ‘to flash forth (lightning)’. Schmidt 1962:106; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:131 **wel-*; Fähnrich 2007:158—159 **wel-*; Klimov 1964:78—79 **el-* and 1998:46—47 **el-* ‘to sparkle (of lightning)’.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **walʷk3* ‘shining, white, light (of color)’ > Finnish *valkea* ‘white, light (of color); fire’, *valkaise-* ‘to whiten, to bleach’, *valko-* ‘white’; Estonian *valge* ‘white, light (of color), blond’; (?) Lapp / Saami *viel’gād*, (attr.) *vil’gis* ‘white or light, pale’, *vielgok* ‘white or light, pale, quadruped’; Cheremis / Mari *walgōdō*, *wolgōdō* ‘(adj.) light, bright; (n.) light, brightness’, *walgalta-*, *wolgalta-* ‘to shine, to dawn, to get light’; (?) Hungarian *világ* ‘light, world’. Collinder 1955:122—123, 1960:414 **wal’ka*, and 1977:135; Rédei 1986—1988:554—555 **walk3*; Sammallahti 1988:551 **wilki-* ‘light’. Proto-Finno-Ugrian **walʷ3-* ‘to shine, to gleam’ > Finnish *vaalea* ‘light (of color), pale, fair’, *valo* ‘light’; Zyrian / Komi *vol’al-* ‘to shine’; Votyak / Udmurt *val’*, *val’i* in: *čil-val’*, *čili-val’i* ‘luster’ (*čil* ‘shining, radiant’), *val’k*, *val’t* ‘resplendent, lustrous’; Vogul / Mansi *wol’g-* ‘to shine’; Hungarian *villám* ‘(flash of) lightning’.

Collinder 1955:122—123 and 1977:135; Rédei 1986—1988:555—556
*walʔs.

Buck 1949:1.55 lightning; 15.51 see; 15.52 look (vb.), look at; 15.53 sight (subj.); 15.54 sight (obj.), look (obj.), appearance; 15.56 shine; 15.57 bright; 15.61 color (sb.); 15.64 white. Ilič-Svityč 1965:363 *w/a/lʔ(k)ʌ ‘bright, light’ (‘светлый’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:614—616, no. 494; Hakola 2000:208, no. 931; Pudas-Marlow 1974:158, no. 742; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2484, *walʔ[a] ‘to be bright/white, to shine’.

823. Proto-Nostratic root *wam- (~ *wəm-):

(vb.) *wam- ‘to eject, to spit out, to spit up’;

(n.) *wam-a ‘spittle, vomit’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *umi* ‘to spit, to gargle’, *uminīr* ‘spittle, saliva’, *umivu* ‘spitting’, *umīr* ‘to spit, to gargle, to emit, to vomit’; Malayalam *umiyuka*, *umikka* ‘to spit out’, *umi*, *umīru* ‘spittle’, *umīrka* ‘to spit, to emit’; Koraga *umi* ‘saliva’; Kannada *ummalu*, *ummulu* ‘phlegm, mucus’; Telugu *umiyu* ‘to spit, to spit out’, *ummi* ‘spittle, saliva’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:61, no. 636.

B. Proto-Indo-European *wem-/ *wom-/ *wṃ- ‘to vomit, to spit up’: Sanskrit *vāmiti*, *vamati* ‘to vomit, to spit up, to eject, to emit’; Avestan *vam-* ‘to vomit’; Greek ἐμέω ‘to vomit, to throw up’; Latin *vomō* ‘to vomit, to throw up’; Old Icelandic *váma* ‘qualm, ailment’, *vámr* ‘a loathsome person’, *væma* ‘nausea, sea sickness’; Lithuanian *vemiù*, *vėmti* ‘to vomit, to throw up’. Rix 1998a:621 **uemh*₁- ‘to vomit’; Pokorny 1959:1146 **uem-*, **uemə-* ‘to vomit’; Walde 1927—1932.I:262—263 **uem-*, **uemē-*; Mann 1984—1987:1512 **uemō*, *-iō* ‘to vomit’; Watkins 1985:76 **wem-* and 2000:98 **wemə-* ‘to vomit’ (oldest form **wemə*₁-); Mallory—Adams 1997:536 **uémh*₁*mi* ‘to spew, to vomit’; Boisacq 1950:247 **uemē-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:504—505; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:343; Sihler 1995:41, §42, **wemH*₁-; Hofmann 1966:80—81 **uemə-*; Beekes 2010.I:416—417 **uemh*₁-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:835 **uemō*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:752—753; De Vaan 2008:690; Orël 2003:445 Proto-Germanic **wamman*, 445 **wammaz*; De Vries 1977:642; Smoczyński 2007.1:734; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1222; Derksen 2015:497 **uemh*₁-; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:146.

Buck 1949:4.56 spit (vb.); 4.57 vomit (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2492, **wûmHV* (or **hûmhV* ?) ‘to spit out, to vomit’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:612, no. 490.

824. Proto-Nostratic root **wan-* (~ **wən-*):(vb.) **wan-* ‘to stay, to remain’;(n.) **wan-a* ‘abode, dwelling’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **wan-* ‘to stay, to remain’: Arabic *wanaka* ‘to dwell amongst’. D. Cohen 1970— :562. Egyptian *wn*, *wnn* ‘to be, to exist’; Coptic *won* [ⲠⲮⲎ] ‘to be’. Hannig 1995:194; Faulkner 1962:62; Gardiner 1957:561 (supplies missing parts of *īw* ‘is, are’); Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:308—309; Vycichl 1983:233; Černý 1976:212—213. Central Cushitic: Bilin *wān-* ‘to be’, *wāntā* ‘existence’; Xamir *wən-* ‘to be’; Kemant *wan-* ‘to be’. Appleyard 1984:50 and 2006:29; Reinisch 1887:357.
- B. Kartvelian: Georgian *van-* ‘dwelling’; Mingrelian *on-* name of a city in Rača; Svan *wan* ‘plain, lowland, flat mountain’. Blažek 1992a:141, no. 29.
- C. Indo-European: Proto-Germanic **wunan* ‘to dwell, to abide, to remain’ > Old Icelandic *una* ‘to be content in a place; to dwell, to abide’; Old English *wunian* ‘to dwell, to remain, to continue (in time and space); to inhabit, to remain in’, *wuna* ‘habit, custom’, *wunung* ‘dwelling (act and place)’; Old Frisian *wonia*, (*w*)*unia* ‘to dwell, to remain’; Old Saxon *wunōn*, *wonōn* ‘to dwell, to remain’; Old High German *wonēn*, *wonan*, *wanēn* ‘to dwell, to remain’ (New High German *wohnen*), *wonunga* ‘dwelling’ (New High German *Wohnung*). Orël 2003:475 Proto-Germanic **wunēnan*; Kroonen 2013:599 Proto-Germanic **wunēn-* ‘to be used to’; De Vries 1977:634; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:867 **uēn-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:797. Note: this stem is distinct from Proto-Indo-European **wen(H)-* ‘to strive for, to wish for, to desire’ (cf. Pokorny 1959:1146—1147).

Sumerian *unu*, *únu*, *unu*₇ ‘dwelling, residence; dwelling-place, place of residence’.

Buck 1949:7.11 dwell; 9.91 be. Bomhard 1996a:213, no. 612; Blažek 1992a:141, no. 29. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2495a, **wV[ʃV]NV* ‘to stay’.

825. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wan-a* ‘share, portion, period (of time)’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **wan-* ‘period (of time)’: Egyptian *wnwt* ‘hour, division of time’; Coptic *unu* [ⲠⲮⲎⲮ] ‘hour’. Hannig 1995:196—197; Faulkner 1962:61; Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:316—317; Gardiner 1957:561; Vycichl 1983:233; Černý 1976:214. Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *wannuri* ‘next year’. Hudson 1989:343.
- B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *ontu*, *vantu*, *vanti* ‘a turn, time’, *ontu* ‘share, portion’; Tuḷu *onti* ‘a turn, time’, *ontu* ‘a turn, time; once’, *ontigè* ‘a contribution’; Telugu *vantu* ‘share, portion, a turn by rotation, a round’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:93, no. 979.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian *wona- ‘time’: Georgian (Moxevian) *ona-ze* ‘very fast’; Svan (*w*)*ona* ‘time’. Fähnrich 2007:165 *wona-.

Buck 1949:14.11 time. Bomhard 1996a:216—217, no. 620.

826. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *wan-a ‘first, first-born, eldest’:

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic *wanaa ‘first’ > Burji *wanáy* ‘first-born’, *wanawwa* ‘elder sister’, *wanay*, *wonáy* ‘elder brother’; Kambata *wana(a) beetu* ‘first-born’ (*beetu* = ‘child’), *wanabii* ‘first’. Sasse 1982:190; Hudson 1989:225, 226, 342, and 343.
- B. Dravidian: Kolami *vanna* ‘brother’s wife’; Naikri *vanna* ‘older brother’s wife’; (?) Konḍa *oni* ‘older brother’s wife, maternal uncle’s daughter (older than person concerned)’; Pengo *oni* ‘older brother’s wife’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:474, no. 5251.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian *wanša ‘old’ > Finnish *vanha* ‘old’, *vanhemmat* ‘parents’; Estonian *vana* ‘old’; Votyak / Udmurt *vuž* ‘old’; Zyrian / Komi *važ* ‘old’. Rédei 1986—1988:813 *wanša; Sammallahti 1988:554 Proto-Finno-Permian *vanša ‘old’. (?) Proto-Finno-Ugrian *wšn3 ‘old’ > Zyrian / Komi *vener* ‘old’; Hungarian *vén* ‘old’. Rédei 1986—1988:589—590 *wšn3.

Buck 1949:13.34 first; 14.15 old. Bomhard 1996a:271, no. 621. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 1998:89, no. 112, *[h|χV]wän|nV ‘relative (of a younger/the same generation) of the opposite exogamous moiety’ (> ‘brother/sister-in-law, son-in-law’) and 2008, no. 2494, *wänV ← *[XV]wänV ‘relative (of a younger/the same generation) of the opposite exogamous moiety’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘brother/sister-in-law, son-in-law’).

827. Proto-Nostratic root *wan- (~ *wən-):

(vb.) *wan- ‘to bend’;

(n.) *wan-a ‘bend, curve’; (adj.) ‘crooked, bent, curved’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *wan- ‘to bend, to twist; to be bent, twisted, crooked’: Proto-Semitic *wan-aw/y- ‘to twist, to press, to deceive’ > Old Akkadian *wanāʔum* ‘to press, to oppress; to deceive, to trick’; Hebrew *yānāh* [יָנָה] ‘to oppress, to tread down, to trample underfoot; to deceive, to trick, to cheat, to delude, to bamboozle, to mistreat, to vex, to annoy, to irritate’; Aramaic *yānī* ‘to oppress, to take advantage of’; Arabic *wanā* ‘to be or become faint, weak, tired, dispirited, despondent, sapless, effete; to lose vigor, to flag, to languish’. D. Cohen 1970— :562; Murtonen 1989:216; Klein 1987:260; Zammit 2002:442. Egyptian *wn* ‘to do wrong, to commit a sin or a fault’, *wn* ‘defect, error, fault, mistake, offense’, *wnnwy* ‘evildoer’, *wn-ty* ‘transgressor, offender’, *wn* ‘a sinful or erring man, one who cheats’,

- wn-ib* ‘an evil-hearted man’. Hannig 1995:196; Gardiner 1957:561; Faulkner 1962:61; Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:314.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vaṅki* ‘a kind of armlet; a kind of iron hook or curved instrument’; Kannaḍa *vaṅki*, *oṅki* ‘hook, gold armlet of a curved shape’; Tuḷu *oggi*, *uggi* ‘handle, hook’, *oṅki*, *vaṅki* ‘a bracelet worn on the arms’; Telugu *vaṅkī* ‘curved ornament worn by women on the upper arm’, *oṅkiya*, *oṅke* ‘hook or peg fixed in a wall’; Gondi *vakonjee* ‘an elephant goad’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:471, no. 5210. Tamil *vaṅaṅku* (*vaṅaṅki-*) ‘to bend, to yield, to be submissive; to worship, to salute respectfully’, *vaṅakku* (*vaṅakki-*) ‘to bend (tr.), to make flexible (as the body), to make submissive’, *vaṅakkam*, *vaṅakku* ‘bending, worship, submission’, *vaṅar* ‘to bend (intr.), to curl (as the hair)’, *vaṅar* ‘vault’, *vaṅai* ‘to bend (intr.)’; Malayalam *vaṅaṅṅuka* ‘to bend, to bow, to salute respectfully’, *vaṅakkam* ‘obedience, reverence’, *vaṅakkuka* ‘to bend (tr.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:473, no. 5236. Tamil *vāṅku* (*vāṅki-*), *vēṅku* (*vēṅki-*) ‘to bend (intr., tr.), to sink, to subside, to move to one side, to withdraw’, *vāṅku* ‘bending’, *vāṅkal* ‘bending, curve, inclination’, *vāṅku* ‘bend, irregularity’; Malayalam *vāṅṅuka* ‘to bend, to shrink, to draw back’; Kota *vag-* (*vagy-*) ‘to be slightly bowed down, to crouch, to be obedient to orders’, *vak-* (*vaky-*) ‘to bend (intr.), to be cowed’; Kannaḍa *bāgu* ‘to bend (intr.), to bow, to incline, to stoop; to bend (tr.)’, *bāgu* ‘bending, inclination, curve’, *bāgisu* ‘to bend (tr.), to cause to bend’, *baṅku* ‘to be crooked, bent’, *baggu*, *boggu* ‘to bend, to bow, to become submissive’, *baggisu*, *boggisu* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *baṅkane* ‘in a bending or bent way’, *bokka* ‘with a turn, bend, or bow’; Koḍagu *ba-ṅg-* (*ba-ṅgi-*) ‘to become bent, to slope’, *bagg-* (*baggi-*) ‘to stoop, to bend down’; Tuḷu *bāguni*, *bāṅguni* ‘to bow, to stoop, to lean on one side’, *bāṅgāvuni* ‘to cause to bend or stoop’; Telugu *vaṅgu* ‘to bend, to stoop, to bow, to become crooked, to become low or humbled’, *vancu*, *vampu* ‘to bend, to cause to stoop, to subdue, to humble, to overpower’, *vampu* ‘(n.) bend, curve, crookedness; (adj.) bent, curved, crooked’, *vāncu* ‘to bend the head, to cause to bend’, *vāka* ‘crooked’; Kolami *vaṅg-* (*vaṅkt-*) ‘to bend (intr.)’, *vaṅgip-* (*vaṅgipt-*) ‘to bend (tr.)’; Naikṛi *vaṅg-* ‘to bend (intr.)’; Parji *vaṅg-* ‘to bend (intr.)’; Gondi *vak-*, *vaṅg-* ‘to bend (intr.)’, *vaṅgānā* ‘to be bent’, *vaṅkor*, *vaṅko* ‘bent, crooked’; Koṇḍa *vaṅ-* ‘to bend, to become bent’, *vak-* ‘to bend (tr.)’; Kuwi *vwāṅgali* ‘to be crooked’, *vwakhali* ‘to bend’; Kuṛux *beṅknā*, *beṅka’ānā* ‘to turn (tr.) from a straight line, to bend, to curve’, *beṅkō*, *beṅkā* ‘crooked, bent, curved’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:482—483, no. 5335.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **wen-dh-/*won-dh-/*wṇ-dh-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’: Sanskrit *vandhūra-m* ‘wicker carriage’; Armenian *gind* ‘ring’; Gothic *bi-windan* ‘to wrap, to wind’, *wandjan* ‘to turn’, *inwinds* ‘perverse, unjust’; Old Icelandic *vinda* ‘to twist, to wring, to wind, to squeeze’, *venda* ‘to wend, to turn; to change, to pervert’; Norwegian *vinda* ‘to twist, to turn, to wind, to plait’; Swedish *vinda* ‘to twist, to turn, to wind, to plait’;

Danish *vinde* ‘to twist, to turn, to wind, to plait’; Old English *windan* ‘to wind, to twist, to turn, to weave, to plait, to curl’, *wendan* ‘to turn, to convert, to change; to go’; Old Frisian *winda* ‘to wind, to twist, to turn’; Old Saxon *windan* ‘to wind, to twist’; Old High German *wintan* ‘to wind, to wrap’ (New High German *winden*); Tocharian A/B *wānt-* ‘to cover, to envelop’, B *wente* ‘covering’ (?). Rix 1998a:623 **uendh-* ‘to turn, twist, or wind (around)’; Pokorny 1959:1148 **uendh-* ‘to twist, to turn’; Walde 1927—1932.I:261 **uendh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1513 **uendh-* ‘to turn’, 1556—1557 **uṅdhos, -is, -iə* ‘twist, turn, curl, bend’, 1575 **uondh-* ‘bend, turn; switch, rod, hook’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:729, fn. 1, **uend[h]-* and 1995.I:632, fn. 39, **wendh-* ‘to weave, to plait’; Watkins 1985:76 **wendh-* and 2000:99 **wendh-* ‘to turn, to wind, to weave’; Mallory—Adams 1997:607 **uendh-* ‘to wind, to twist’; Orël 2003:446 Proto-Germanic **wandjanan*, 454 **wendan*; Kroonen 2013:587 Proto-Germanic **windan-* ‘to wind’; Feist 1939:98 **uendh-*; Lehmann 1986:74 **wendh-*; De Vries 1977:653 and 665; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:448; Onions 1996:1000, and 1007—1008; Klein 1971:828 **wendh-*, **wṅdh-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:852 and 861; Kluge—Seebold 1989:787 and 793—794; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:143; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:556 **uendh-*; Adams 1999:592 **wendh-* and 608 **wondh^o-*. Indo-European **wen-kh-/won-kh-/wṅ-kh-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’: Sanskrit *vāñcati* ‘to go crookedly, to totter, to stagger, to waver’, (causative) *vañcayati*, *vañcayate* ‘to cause to go astray, to deceive, to cheat, to defraud of’, *vañkate* ‘to be crooked, to go crookedly’, *vakra-ḥ* ‘crooked, curved, bent, twisted, wry’, *vañka-ḥ*, *vañkara-ḥ* ‘the bend of a river’, *vañkú-ḥ* ‘going crookedly or hurriedly’, *vāñkri-ḥ* ‘a rib’; Gothic **un-wāhs* ‘blameless’ (nom. pl. n. *un-wāha*); Old English *wōh* ‘(adj.) crooked, perverse, wrong, unjust; (n.) error, wrong, wickedness’; Old Saxon *wāh* ‘evil’. Rix 1998a:624 **uenk-* ‘to go crookedly, to totter, to stagger, to waiver’; Pokorny 1959:1134—1135 **uek-*, **ue-n-k-* ‘to bend’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:127; Mann 1984—1987:1491—1492 **uankos, -ā, -us* ‘crooked, bent; crook, bend’; Orël 2003:447 Proto-Germanic **wanxaz*; Lehmann 1986:379 **wek-*, **we-n-k-* ‘to bend’, **wonko-* ‘cooked’; Feist 1939:525 Gothic **un-wāhs* (< **ṅ uan̄ko-*). Proto-Indo-European **wen-k’-/won-k’-/wṅ-k’-* ‘to curve, to bend’: Sanskrit *vāṅgati* ‘to go lamely, to limp’; Old Icelandic *vakka* (< Proto-Germanic **wankōn*) ‘to stray, to hover about’, *vanka* ‘to rove, to stroll about as if disturbed in mind; to wink’; Old English *wincian* ‘to shut the eyes, to blink, to wink’, *wancol* ‘unstable’, *wincel* ‘corner’, *wince* ‘winch, pulley’; Old Saxon *wincan* ‘to nod, to wink’; Middle Dutch *winken* ‘to nod, to wink’; Old High German *winchan* ‘to sway, to stagger, to nod’ (New High German *winken*), *winkel* ‘corner’ (New High German *Winkel*); Lithuanian *vėngiu*, *vėngti* ‘to avoid, to shun’, *vangùs* ‘idle, lazy’, *vėngis* ‘bend, curve’, *vėngrùs* ‘twisty’. Rix 1998a:623 (?) **ueng-* ‘to bend, to be bent’; Pokorny 1959:1148—1149 **ue-n-g-* ‘to be

bent'; Walde 1927—1932.I:218 **ua-n-g-* 'to be bent'; Mann 1984—1987:1514 **ueng-* 'to turn, to bend', 1514 **ueng-*, 1557 **uṅgos, -is, -jos, -jə* 'bend, twist, turn', 1575 **uōng-* '(n.) bend, curve; (adj.) bent, curved, twisted'; Watkins 1985:76 **weng-* and 2000:99 **weng-* 'to curve, to bend'; Mallory—Adams 1997:63 **ueng-* 'to bend; to make a sudden veering motion'; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1223; Smoczyński 2007.1:734—735; Orël 2003:447 Proto-Germanic **wankōjanan* 455 **wenkjanan*; De Vries 1977:639; Onions 1966:1007 **weng-* and 1008 **weng-*, **wōng-*; Klein 1971:828 and 829 **wag-* 'to bend'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:861 **ueng-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:794. Proto-Indo-European **wen-gh-/won-gh-/wṅ-gh-* 'to turn, to twist, to go crookedly': Sanskrit *vaṅghate* 'to go, to set out, to begin, to move swiftly; to blame, to censure'; Swedish *vingla* 'to stroll; to wangle, to cheat'; English *wangle* 'to accomplish or obtain by irregular or insidious means'. Mann 1984—1987:1514 *uengh-* 'to go, to move'; Onions 1966:991; Klein 1971:820 "prob. rel. to *wankle*".

- D. (?) Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **waŋka* 'bent or curved object: hook, handle, knob, lever, elbow, etc.' > Finnish *vanko, vanka, vanku* 'hook, lever used for rolling burning logs across a burn-beaten clearing'; Estonian *vang* (gen. sg. *vanga, vangu*) 'bent piece of wood or metal; handle, door-handle; bend, curve', *käe-vang* 'elbow' (*käe* = gen. sg. of *käsi* 'hand, arm'); Votyak / Udmurt *vug* 'bent handle or ear of a vessel'; Zyrian / Komi *vug* 'handle, knob'. These forms are usually considered to be loans from Indo-Iranian (cf. Joki 1973:335—336). Collinder 1955:139 and 1977:149; Rédei 1986—1988:814 **waŋka*; Sammallahti 1988:554 **vēŋka* 'handle'.
- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **wən-* 'to bend' > Chukchi *wəne-ntat-* 'to bend (intr.)'; Koryak *wən-*, *wənə-tko-* 'to bend'. Fortescue 2005:335.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb.); 12.74 crooked; 16.68 deceit; 16.74 wrong; 16.75 sin; 16.76 fault, guilt. Illič-Svityč 1965:336 **wankλ* 'to bend' ('гнуть'); Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2505, **wāŋka* 'to bend'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:618—621, no. 498; Hakola 2000:208—209, no. 933.

828. Proto-Nostratic root **waŋ-* (~ **wəŋ-*):

(vb.) **waŋ-* 'to strike, to stab, to wound, to cut';

(n.) **waŋ-a* 'cut, slash, gash, wound; harm, injury; dagger, knife'

- A. Dravidian: Malayalam *vaŋki* 'a certain dagger'; Kannada *vaŋki* 'a sort of knife or sword', *vaŋkuḍi, baŋkuḍi* 'dagger'; Telugu *vaŋki, vaŋkiṇi* 'dagger'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:471, no. 5211.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **wn-* 'to injure, to harm': Georgian *vn-* 'to injure, to harm'; Mingrelian *n-* (< **vn-*) 'to injure, to harm'. Klimov 1998:54—55 **wn-* 'to injure, to harm; to torment, to suffer'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:137 **wn-*; Fähnrich 2007:165 **wn-*.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **wen-/won-/*wŋ-* ‘to wound’: Gothic *wunds* ‘wounded’, *ga-wundōn* ‘to wound’, **wundufni* ‘plague, illness’ (only in acc. pl. *wundufnjōs*); Old Icelandic *und* ‘wound’, *undaðr* ‘wounded’; Old English *wund* ‘wound’, *wundian* ‘to wound’; Old Frisian *wunde* ‘wound’; Old Saxon *wund* ‘wounded’, *wunda* ‘wound’; Old High German *wunt* ‘wounded’ (New High German *wund*), *wunta* ‘wound’ (New High German *Wunde*); (?) Armenian *vandem* ‘to destroy’. Pokorny 1959:1108 **uen-* ‘to strike, to wound’; Walde 1927—1932.I:212 **uen-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:548—549 **uen-* ‘to strike, to wound’; Watkins 1985:76 **wen-* and 2000:98—99 **wen-* ‘to beat, to wound’; Orël 2003:474 Proto-Germanic **wundaz*, 474 **wundiz* ~ **wundō*, 474 **wundōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:599 Proto-Germanic **wunda-* ‘wounded’; Feist 1939:577—578 **uŋ-tó-*; Lehmann 1986:413; De Vries 1977:634 **uen-*; Klein 1971:832; Onions 1966:1013—1014; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:869; Kluge—Seebold 1989:800.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **waŋ3-* (Proto-Ugrian **waŋk3-*) ‘to strike, to cut’ > (?) Votyak / Udmurt *vand-* ‘to cut, to cut off, to cut up, to strike’; (?) Zyrian / Komi (Sysola, Permyak) *vundi-*, (East Permyak) *vundi-* ‘to cut, to strike; to stab’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *waŋ-*, (Upper Demyanka) *waŋχ-*, (Obdorsk) *waŋ-* ‘to hew’; Vogul / Mansi (Tavda) *waŋk-*, (Middle Konda, Pelymka) *woŋk-* ‘to strike’, (Upper Lozva) *woŋχap* ‘hammer’; Hungarian *vág-* ‘to cut, to hew down (wood or timber), to chop; to slaughter’, *vágás* ‘cutting; cut, slash, gash; slaughtering, killing; stroke, blow’, *vagdalt* ‘chopped (up)’, *vágott* ‘cut, chopped’ (*vágott seb* ‘wound made by cutting’). Rédei 1986—1988:558 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **waŋ3-* (Proto-Ugrian **waŋk3-*).

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 9.21 strike (hit, beat); 11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2502, **waŋE* ‘to hit, to injure’.

829. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **war-a* ‘man, male, male animal’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **war-* ‘man, male, male animal’: Semitic: Tigre *wär'e* ‘mountain goat’. D. Cohen 1970— :616; Littmann—Höfner 1962:435. Egyptian *wr* ‘a kind of cattle’, (f.) *wrt* ‘sacred cow’, *wr* ‘animal’. Hannig 1995:204 and 205; Faulkner 1962:64; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:331. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *war-aamo* ‘older male calf; ox, bull’, *wa'r-icco* ‘female calf’, *warbá* ‘brave, strong’; Burji (pl.) *warbanna* ‘young sheep, lamb’, *warbi* ‘ram; young sheep, lamb’; Hadiyya *waraad-icco* (pl. *waraada*) ‘young man’. Hudson 1989:225, 302, and 400. West Chadic **warar-* ‘vicious bull’ > Hausa *waaraarii* ‘vicious bull’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:527, no. 2527, **war-* ‘bull, cow’ (the Semitic and Highland East Cushitic forms are not in Orël—Stolbova).
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **werž-* ‘male, ram’: Georgian *ver3-* ‘ram’; Mingrelian *erž-* ‘male, ram’ (cf. *šxuriši erži* ‘male of sheep’, *erž-ak'-a* ‘lamb’).

Schmidt 1962:109; Klimov 1964:84 **werz₁*- and 1998:52 **werz₁*- ‘male, ram’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:133 **werz₁*-; Fähnrich 2007:160—161 **werz₁*-.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **wers-/w₁rs-* ‘man, male, male animal’: Sanskrit *vṛṣa-h* ‘man, male, husband, bull’, *vṛṣan-* ‘male, manly, any male animal, bull, stallion’, *vṛṣṇi-h* ‘ram’; Latin *verrēs* ‘boar’; Lithuanian *veršis* ‘calf’; Latvian *versis* ‘ox’. Pokorny 1959:81 **ur₁sen-*, **ursē/i-* ‘male’; Walde 1927—1932.I:269 **uer-s-*; Mann 1984—1987:1519 **urks-* (**urks-*) ‘young animal’, 1521 **urs-* ‘young of animal’, 1521 **ursēn-* ‘male of animal’; Mallory—Adams 1997:363 **ursēn-* ‘male (as sire)’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:761 **urs-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:724; De Vaan 2008:666; Derksen 2015:498 **urs-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1228—1229; Smoczyński 2007.1:740; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:251—252; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:722—724 **urs-*.

Buck 1949:2.23 male (human); 3.12 male (animal); 3.20—3.24 (3.21 bull; 3.22 ox; 3.23 cow; 3.24 calf); 3.26 ram. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:563—564, no. 427; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2530, **w[i]RzV* ‘young herbivorous animal (calf, lamb, etc.)’.

830. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):

(vb.) **war-* ‘to look, to watch out for, to observe, to care for’;

(n.) **war-a* ‘watch, vigil, guardianship, care; watchman, guard, keeper, warder’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *wrš* ‘to spend the day, to spend one’s time, to be awake’, *wršy* ‘guard, sentry’, *wršt* ‘watch, vigil’; Coptic *werše* [ⲱⲈⲣⲪⲉ] ‘watch, watch-tower’. Hannig 1995:206 and 207; Faulkner 1962:65; Gardiner 1957:562; Erman—Grapow 1921:38 and 1926—1963.1:335, 1:336; Černý 1976:215—216; Vycichl 1983:12 and 237.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **wer-/wor-/w₁r-* ‘to look, to watch out for, to observe, to care for’: Gothic **wardja* ‘guard, watchman’; Old Icelandic *varr* ‘aware; wary, cautious’, *vörðr* ‘ward, warder; guard, watch’ (*halda vörð* ‘to keep watch or guard’); Old English *warian* ‘to beware, to warn, to guard’, *wær* ‘wary, cautious’, *weard* ‘watchman, sentry, guardian’, *bewarian* ‘to watch over, to guard’, *weardian* ‘to watch over, to guard’; Old Saxon *ward* ‘guard’; Old High German *biwarōn* ‘to beware’ (New High German *bewahren* ‘to guard, to keep, to look after, to mind’), *wartēn* ‘to guard’ (New High German *warten* ‘to wait, to stay, to abide’), *wart* ‘keeper, warder’ (New High German *Wart*), *warto* ‘guard, watchman’, *giwar* ‘careful, attentive’ (New High German *gewahr* in: *werden gewahr* ‘to become aware of, to see, to perceive, to notice, to observe, to discern, to catch sight of’); Hittite *ú-e-ri-te-ma-aš* ‘anxiety’; Latin *vereor* ‘to have respect for, to revere’; Latvian *vēru*, *vērt* ‘to look at, to notice’; Tocharian

B *yārp-* ‘to oversee, to observe, to take care of’. Perhaps also Hittite (nom. sg. c.) *wa-ar-ri-iš* ‘helpful; help’; Luwian *[w]a-ar-ra-ḫi-ta-aš-ši-iš* ‘being of help’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *wariya-* ‘to help’. Rix 1998a:626 **uer-* ‘to observe, to watch; to look after, to protect’; Pokorny 1959:1160—1162 **uer-* ‘to observe, to watch, to notice’; Walde 1927—1932.I:280—283 **uer-*; Mann 1984—1987:1516 **uer-* ‘to look, to watch, to observe, to care for’, 1517 **uerejō* ‘to look, to watch, to observe, to care for’, 1520 **uēros* ‘watchful, watch’, 1576 **uor-* ‘watch, guard’, 1577 **uorājō* (**uorejō*, **uorjō*) ‘to watch, to observe’, 1578 **uorejō* (**uorājō*, **uorjō*) ‘to watch, to observe’; Watkins 1985:77 **wer-* and 2000:99—100 **wer-* ‘to perceive, to watch out for’; Mallory—Adams 1997:417 **uer-* ‘to perceive, to give attention to’, **uer-b(h)-* ‘to observe, to protect’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:808—809 **uer-* and 1995.I:709 **wer-* ‘to look, to pay attention, to be careful’, I:645, I:780 **wer-* ‘to defend (oneself), to save (oneself), to protect (oneself)’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:757—758; Ernout—Meillet 1979:723 **wer-*; De Vaan 2008:665; Orël 2003:447—448 Proto-Germanic **waraz*, 448 **wardaz* II, 448 **wardjanan*, 448 **wardō(n)*, 448 **wardōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:574 Proto-Germanic **wara-* ‘aware’; Feist 1939:551 **uer-*; Lehmann 1986:394 **wer-* ‘to give heed to’; De Vries 1977:647 **uer-* and 675; Onions 1966:992 West Germanic **warō* and 992 Common Germanic **war-*, **wer-* ‘to observe, to take care’; Klein 1971:821 **wer-* ‘to guard, to keep safe, to protect’ and 821 **wer-* ‘to be or become aware of; to guard, to keep safe, to protect’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:832 **uer-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:773 **werə-* ‘to pay attention to, to take notice of’; Adams 1999:499 **wer-w-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:593—594; Kloekhorst 2008b:962—963 and 1003—1004.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Ugric **warə-* ‘to watch over, to look after, to tend, to attend to, to keep, to guard, to wait for, to wait on’ > Vogul / Mansi *oor-*, *uur-* ‘to watch over, to look after, to tend, to attend to, to keep, to guard, to wait for, to wait on’; Hungarian *vár-* ‘to wait, to be waiting, to wait for, to await, to look out for’, *váró* ‘waiting’. Rédei 1986—1988:898—899 **warə-*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *arpə-* ‘cautious, careful’, *arpəš-* ‘to take care of, to warn (tr.)’, *arpo:l’bo-* ‘careful, cautious’, (Northern / Tundra) *worpe-* ‘cautious, careful’, *worperi-* ‘to pasture’, *warečuore-* ‘to take care of (tr.)’, *worperiče*, *worperije* ‘guard’, *ward’e* ‘herd’. Nikolaeva 2006:453.

Buck 1949:11.24 preserve, keep safe, save; 16.14 care (sb.); 19.58 help, aid (verbs). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:604—605, no. 480; Hakola 2000:209, no. 935; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2511, **warV* ‘to look, to watch’.

831. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):
 (vb.) **war-* ‘to comb’;
 (n.) **war-a* ‘comb’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *vār* ‘to comb (as hair)’, *vāru* (*vāri-*) ‘to comb (as hair), to play upon the strings of a lute’, *vāri* ‘a comb’; Malayalam *vāruka* (*vārnt-*), *vārūka* (*vāri-*) ‘to comb’; Kannaḍa *bācu*, *bārcu* ‘to comb’, *bācaṇige* ‘a comb’; Tuḷu *barcuni*, *bācuni*, *bāruni* ‘to comb’, *barcanè*, *bāraṇè*, *bāranè*, *bācaṇigè*, *bārpaṇi* ‘a comb’; Kuṛux *bāgnā* ‘to comb’, *bāg^lrkā* ‘wooden comb worn by boys and girls’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:485, no. 5357.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **warcx-* ‘to comb; a comb’: Georgian *varcxn-* ‘to comb’, *sa-varcx-al-* (< **sa-varcx-ar-*) ‘a comb’; Mingrelian *orcx-onž-*, *orcx-ond-* ‘a comb’; Laz *oncx-ož-* (< **orcx-* < **warcx-*), *ocx-ož-* ‘a comb’. Klimov 1998:49 **warcx-wn-* ‘to comb’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:128 **warcx-*; Fähnrich 2007:155 **warcx-*.

Buck 1949:6.91 comb. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2516, **waHrV* ~ **warHV* ‘to comb, to scrape’.

832. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):

- (vb.) **war-* ‘to stretch, to extend, to expand’;
 (n.) **war-a* ‘width, breadth, length’; (adj.) ‘wide, broad’
 Probably identical to:
 (vb.) **war-* ‘to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase’;
 (n.) **war-a* ‘uppermost, highest, or topmost part’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **war-* ‘(vb.) to stretch, to extend, to expand; (adj.) wide, broad; (n.) width, breadth’: Semitic: Arabic *warafa* ‘to stretch, to extend, to become long (shadow)’; (?) Tigre *wārfä* ‘to do more than necessary (for instance, drink)’. D. Cohen 1970— :632. Geez / Ethiopic *ward* [ወርድ], *warad* [ወረድ] ‘breadth, length’; Tigrinya *wārdi* ‘breadth, length’; Amharic *wārd* ‘breadth, length’. D. Cohen 1970— :619. According to Leslau (1987:617) the Ethiopian forms are from Arabic *ʿarḍ* ‘breadth, length’. Leslau notes that this form is also found in Cushitic: Saho *warde* ‘breadth, length’. Egyptian *wr*, *wrr* ‘great; much, many’, *wr* ‘greatness (of size), sufficiency, excess’, *wrt* ‘greatness (of rank)’, *wr* ‘great one, magnate; chief’, *wr* ‘how much?’; Coptic *wēre* [ⲱⲮⲣⲉ] ‘great’, *wēr* [ⲱⲮⲣ] ‘how much?, how many?’. Hannig 1995:201—202 and 204; Faulkner 1962:63 and 64; Gardiner 1957:561; Erman—Grapow 1921:37, 38 and 1926—1963.1:326—331; Vycichl 1983:236; Černý 1976:214 and 215. Chadic: Angas *war-ŋ* ‘big’; Ankwe *warr* ‘strength’; Galambu *war-* ‘to surpass’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:528, no. 2529, **war-/*ɔur-* ‘to be big, to be strong’; Ehret 1995:463, no. 974, **war-/*wir-* ‘to grow (person, animal)’.]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vār* ‘length, elongation; height, straightness’; Kannaḍa *bār(u)* ‘length’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:485, no. 5358.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **wɨč-* ‘to be broad, wide’: Georgian *vrc-* ‘to widen’; Mingrelian [*pirč-*] ‘to be broad’; Laz [*pirč-*] ‘to be broad’. Klimov 1998:55 **wrc₁-* ‘to be broad, wide’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:137—138

- *wrc₁-; Fähnrich 2007:165—166 *wrc₁-. Proto-Kartvelian *wřč-el- ‘broad, wide’: Georgian *vrcel-* ‘wide, vast’; Mingrelian *pirča-* ‘with wide-open eyes, branchy (of trees)’; Laz [*pirče-*] ‘broad, wide’ in: *leke-pirče-* ‘spot’. Klimov 1964:85—86 *wřc₁e-l- and 1998:55 *wrc₁-el- ‘broad, wide’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European *wer-/ur- ‘(vb.) to stretch, to extend; (adj.) wide, broad, extended, great, large’: Sanskrit *urú-h* ‘wide, broad, spacious, extended, great, large, much’, *váras-* ‘width, breadth, expanse, room, space’; Avestan (in compounds) *vouru-* ‘wide, broad’; Greek εὐρύς (< *é-řpús or through metathesis *řεpús [cf. Frisk 1970—1973.I:592—593]) ‘wide, broad’, εὐρος ‘breadth, width’; Tocharian A *wäfts*, B *aurtse* ~ *wartse* ‘wide, broad’, *aurtsesa* ‘fully’, *aurtsäññe* ‘breadth’. Pokorny 1959:1165 *uer- ‘wide’; Walde 1927—1932.I:285 *uer-; Mann 1984—1987:255 *eurus (*ur-) ‘wide’; Watkins 1985:77 *werə- and 2000:100 *werə- ‘wide, broad’ (oldest form *wer₂-); Mallory—Adams 1997:83 *uérh₁us ‘wide, broad’; Boisacq 1950:297—298 (Sanskrit *urú-h* < *urru-) *euer-; Hofmann 1966:99 (Sanskrit *urú-h* < *uerú-); Chantraine 1968—1980.I:387—388 *wřrus-, *weros; Prellwitz 1905:164; Frisk 1970—1973.I:592—593 *urru-s, *uéros-; Beekes 2010.I:483—484 *h₁urH-u- (?); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:110 and III:150; Burrow 1973:182; Adams 1999:133; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:562—563 (according to Van Windekens, Tocharian A *wäfts*, B *aurtse* ~ *wartse* are from Proto-Indo-European *urdh-to-s, as in Sanskrit *vřddhá-h*).
- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *wer- ‘wide’: Amur *ver-dv* ‘wide, broad’, *verke-dv* ‘equal in width’ (West Sakhalin Amur *verkař* / *verla-dv* ‘wide, broad’); North Sakhalin *verkař* / *verlak* ‘wide’; East Sakhalin *v(j)eř-d* / *veřla-d* / *v(j)er-t* ‘wide’. Fortescue 2016:162.

Buck 1949:12.55 large, big (great); 12.61 wide, broad. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:606—607, no. 482. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2523, *w[i]řh[ü]u ‘to be wide/broad, to expand, to spread’.

833. Proto-Nostratic root *war- (~ *wər-):

(vb.) *war- ‘to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase’;

(n.) *war-a ‘uppermost, highest, or topmost part’

Probably identical to:

(vb.) *war- ‘to stretch, to extend, to expand’;

(n.) *war-a ‘width, breadth, length’; (adj.) ‘wide, broad’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *war-am- ‘to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase, to swell’ > Arabic *warima* ‘to be swollen; to swell, to become swollen; to cause to swell, to inflate’, *waram* ‘swelling, intumescence, tumor’, *tawarrum* ‘swelling, rising, intumescence’; Syriac *ʔawrēm* ‘to magnify, to raise to honor’; Mandaic *iwrāma* ‘high ground; strong, violent (wind)’; Tigrinya *wāram* ‘balloon’. D. Cohen 1970— :630—631. Berber: Tuareg

tawrirt ‘cone-shaped pile (of wheat, dates, grain, sand, etc.)’; Mزاب *awrir* ‘mountain, large hill’, *tawrirt* ‘hill, mound’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tawrirt* ‘hill’; Tamazight *awrir* ‘high ground, hill, knoll, hillock’, *tawrirt* ‘hill’; Kabyle *awrir* ‘high ground, knoll, hillock’, *tawrirt* ‘hill, knoll, hillock’; Chaouia *tawrirt* ‘hill’.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *varai* ‘mountain, peak, slope of hill’; Kannada *bare* ‘steep, slope’; Koḍagu *bare* ‘steep slope’; Tuḷu *bare* ‘steep precipice’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:476, no. 5274.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **wer-dh-/*wor-dh-/*w̥r-dh-* ‘to raise, to elevate; to grow, to increase’: Sanskrit *vārdhati*, *vārdhate*, *v̥rdhāti* ‘to increase, to augment, to strengthen, to cause to prosper or thrive; to elevate, to exalt, to gladden, to cheer, to exhilarate; to grow, to grow up, to increase, to be filled or extended; to become longer or stronger; to rise, to ascend’, *v̥rddhá-ḥ* ‘grown, become larger or longer or stronger, increased, augmented, great, large’, *v̥rddhi-ḥ* ‘growth, increase, rise, augmentation, advancement, extension, welfare, prosperity, success, fortune’, *vārdha-ḥ* ‘increasing, augmenting, gladdening’, *ūrdhvá-ḥ* ‘rising or tending upwards, raised, elevated, erected, erect, upright, high, above’, *ūrdhva-m* ‘height, elevation’; Pāḷi *uddhaṇ* (adv. and prep.) ‘high up, on top, above’; Avestan *varəd-* ‘to grow, to increase’; Greek ὀρθός (< *Fορθός, cf. Doric βορθό-) ‘upright, erect; straight, right’, ὀρθόω ‘to set upright, to set up, to raise up, to make straight’. Rix 1998a:627 **ueRdh-* ‘to become great, strong’; Pokorny 1959:1167 **uerdh-*, **uredh-* ‘to grow, to increase; high’; Walde 1927—1932.I:289—280 **ueredh-*, **ueradh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1578 **uordhos* (**uordhos*) ‘grown, full-grown, upright, tall’, 1598 **u̥rdh-* ‘raised, upright, tall’; Mallory—Adams 1997:269 **uórh₃dhus* ‘upright, high’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:117 and III:157—158; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:818—819; Boisacq 1950:711—712 **u̥rdhuó-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:415—416; Hofmann 1966:237 **ueredh-*; Beekes 1969:241 **uerh₃dhu-* or **uorh₃dhu-* and 2010.II:1101 **h₃rdhuo-*. Proto-Indo-European **wer-s-/*wor-s-/*w̥r-s-* ‘highest, uppermost, or topmost part’: Sanskrit *varṣmán-* ‘height, top’, *várṣman-* ‘height, top, surface, uppermost part’, *varṣiman-* ‘height, length, width, breadth’, *várṣiṣṭha-ḥ* ‘highest, uppermost, longest, greatest’; Avestan *varəšō* ‘forest’; Lithuanian *viršùs* ‘top, head, upper part’, *viršininkas* ‘superior, boss’, *virš* ‘over, beyond, above’; Old Church Slavic *vrъxъ* ‘summit’; Russian *verx* [вєрx] ‘top, head; height, summit’. Pokorny 1959:1151—1152 **uer-* ‘raised place’; Walde 1927—1932.I:266—268 **uer-*; Watkins 1985:76 **wer-* and 2000:99 **wer-* ‘to raise, to lift, to hold suspended’; Mann 1984—1987:1519 **uerks-* ‘top’, 1601—1602 **urks-* (**urksos*, *-us*, *-ios*) ‘tip, top, summit’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:160—161; Mallory—Adams 1997:416 **uers-* ‘peak’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1262—1263; Smoczyński 2007.1:759; Derksen 2008:538 **urs-u-* and 2015:506 **urs-u-*. Perhaps also Armenian *ger* (< **wer-*) ‘up, upon’. Mann 1984—1987:1516 **uer-* (?) ‘up, upon’. Finally,

the following may ultimately be related to the above forms as well: Proto-Indo-European **wer-/wōr-*, (extended form) **wer-H-k'*- ‘to swell’ (> ‘to be or become fat, strong, furious, angry, etc.’): Hittite (nom. sg. c.) *wa-ar-kán-za* ‘fat’, (3 sg. pret. act.) *wa-ar-ke-eš-ta* ‘to grow fat’, (acc. sg.) *wa-ar-ku-uš-ša-an* ‘anger, fury’ (Luwian form); Luwian (acc. sg.) **wāra-* ‘anger, strength’, *wa-ar-ku-u(š-ša-an)* ‘anger’, (nom. sg.) *wa-a-ra-an-ni-iš* ‘having strength’; Sanskrit (caus.) *ūrjáyati* ‘to strengthen, to invigorate, to refresh; to nourish; to be strong or powerful’, *ūrjá-h* ‘strong, powerful, eminent; invigorating, strengthening’, *ūrjá* ‘power, strength, vigor’; Avestan *varəz-* ‘strength’; Greek *ὀργάω* ‘to swell’, *ὀργή* ‘anger, wrath; passion’; Old Irish *ferg* ‘anger’. Pokorny 1959:1169 **uerǵ-*, **uorǵ-* ‘to be puffed up, swollen; to swell’; Walde 1927—1932.I:289 **uer(e)ǵ-*; Mann 1984—1987:1578 **uorg-* ‘to rouse, to stir, to excite, to incite; incitement, rage’, 1599 **uǵǵ-* ‘force, energy, work’; Mallory—Adams 1997:208 **uór(h_x)ǵs* (gen. **uǵ(h_x)ǵós*) ‘nourishment, strength’; Boisacq 1950:710 **uǵǵā*; Hofmann 1966:236; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:815—816; Beekes 2010.II:1097; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:116; Goedegebuure no date; Kloekhorst 2008b: 963—965; Matasović 2009:414 **werǵ-* ‘anger, strength’.

- D. Proto-Uralic **wari* ‘(wooded) hill or mountain’ > Finnish *vaara* ‘hill, mountain, (especially) wooded hill’; Estonian *vaar* ‘hillock, mound’; Lapp / Saami *varre/vare-* ‘mountain’, (Kola) ‘forest’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *vyr* ‘hill’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *võr* ‘forest’; Vogul / Mansi *wæær* ‘forest’; Ostyak / Xanty (Northern) *wūr* (*wær*) ‘wooded mountain ridge; dense (hardwood) forest’. Collinder 1955:121—122 and 1977:134; Sammallahti 1988:551 **wårå* ‘hill; forest’; Zhivlov 2023:160 Proto-Uralic **wari* ‘hill, forest’. Hakola (2000:204, no. 912, **wårz* ‘hill, mountain’) proposes a different etymology: Finnish *vaara* ‘hill, mountain’, *varustaa* ‘to equip, to provide, to fortify’, *varustus* ‘equipment, fortification’, *vare* ‘pile of stones’; Estonian *vare* ‘pile of stones, stone ruin’; Hungarian *vár* ‘fortress, stronghold, castle, citadel’, *város* ‘town, city, municipality’.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 12.31 high; 12.33 top; 12.58 tall; 16.42 anger. Illič-Svityč 1965:337 **wārΛ* ‘mountain’ (‘ropa’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:622—623, no. 500; Tyler 1968:809, no. 115; Hakola 2000:204, no. 912. Different (improbable) etymologies in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2515, **waŕrê* ‘wooded hill/mountain’ and, no. 2526, **woRdV* ‘to grow (trans.)’, ‘to raise, to bring up (children/animals)’.

834. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):

- (vb.) **war-* ‘to burn, to blaze’;
 (n.) **war-a* ‘blaze, flame, heat, warmth’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **war-* ‘to burn, to blaze’: Semitic: Arabic *warā* (base *wry* [وری]) ‘to kindle, to fire, to strike fire; to burn, to blaze’. Zammit 2002:

- 431—432. Egyptian *wrt* ‘flame, fire’, (reduplicated) *wšwt* ‘fire, glow’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:250 and 1:332; Faulkner 1962:53 *wšwt* ‘fiery one’ (?); Hannig 1995:172. Central Chadic **war-* ‘to roast’ > Zime *wor-* ‘to roast’. Southern Cushitic: Iraqw *warʔes-* ‘to flash (of lightning)’. Ehret 1980:312. Orël—Stolbova 1995:528, no. 2528, **war-* ‘(vb.) to burn; (n.) flame’; Ehret 1995:462, no. 973, **war-* ‘light’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *uru* ‘to burn, to smart, to be angry’, *urumam* ‘heat (as of the sun, of the atmosphere), sultriness, noon’; Kannaḍa *uri* ‘to burn, to blaze; to glow; to burn with fever, rage, envy; to burn or smart (as a wound, as mouth with pepper)’, *uripu*, *urisu* ‘to cause to burn, to inflame’, *uru*, *urapu*, *uripu*, *urupu*, *uruvu*, *urpu* ‘burning, flame’; Tuḷu *uri* ‘blaze, flame, heat, acute pain, wrath’, *uriyuni* ‘to burn; to blaze; to feel a burning sensation; to be angry, envious, (belly) hungry’; Telugu *uriyu* ‘to burn (intr.), to be afflicted, to grieve’, *uralu* ‘to burn (intr.), to be ablaze’; Kui *ruta* (*ruti-*) ‘to set fire, to ignite’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:63, no. 656.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **war-* ‘to glow, to light, to blaze; to glitter, to flash’: Georgian (reduplicated) *var-var-* ‘to glow, to light, to blaze’; Svan (reduplicated) *war-wāl* ‘to glitter, to flash, to glance’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:127 **war-*; Fähnrich 2007:155 **war-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **wer-/ *wor-* ‘to burn’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *wa-a-ra-i* ‘to kindle, to light’, *wa-ra-a-ni* ‘is burnt’; Armenian *vařim* ‘to burn’, *vař* ‘glow’; Gothic *warmjan* ‘to warm’; Old Icelandic *varmr* ‘warm’, *vermi* ‘warmth’, *verma* ‘to warm’; Swedish *varm* ‘warm’; Danish *varm* ‘warm’; Old English *wearm* ‘warm’, *wierman*, *wyrman* ‘to warm, to make warm’; Old Frisian *warm* ‘warm’; Old Saxon *warm* ‘warm’, *wermian* ‘to warm’; Dutch *warm* ‘warm’, *warmen* ‘to warm’; Old High German *warma* ‘warm’ (New High German *warm*), *wirma* ‘warmth, heat’ (New High German *Wärme*), *wermen* ‘to warm’ (New High German *wärmen*); Old Church Slavic *varъ* ‘boiling water, heat’; Russian *varít* [варить] ‘to boil’; Tocharian A *wrātk-* ‘to cook’. Rix 1998a:630 **uerH-* ‘to be hot’; Pokorny 1959:1166 **uer-* ‘to burn’; Watkins 1985:77 **wer-* and 2000:100 **wer-* ‘to burn’; Mallory—Adams 1997:88 **uer-* ‘to burn’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:683 **uer-* and 1995.I:590 **wer-* ‘to burn’; Orël 2003:449 Proto-Germanic **warmaz*, 449 **warmjanan*; Kroonen 2013:575 Proto-Germanic **warma-* ‘warm’ (< **g^{wh}or-mo-*); Feist 1939:552; Lehmann 1986:394—395 **wer-* ‘to burn, to cook’; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:428; De Vries 1977:646 and 656; Klein 1971:821; Onions 1966:992—993 Common Germanic **warmaz*, with variant **werm-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:838 **uer-*, **uor-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:777 Germanic **warma-*; Kloekhorst 2008b: 923—925; Derksen 2008:512—513.
- Sumerian (reduplicated) *ur₄-ur₄* ‘to burn up, to consume, to flicker, to flame, to glitter, to glisten’.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 15.85 hot, warm. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:612—613, no. 491; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2508, *wAr[i] ‘to burn, to heat’.

835. Proto-Nostratic root *war- (~ *wār-) and/or *wir- (~ *wer-):

(vb.) *war- and/or *wir- ‘to say, to speak, to tell, to point out, to make known’;

(n.) *war-a and/or *wir-a ‘news, report, gossip, speech’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *war- ‘to say, to speak, to tell, to point out, to make known’: Proto-Semitic *war-ay- ‘to say, to speak, to tell, to point out, to make known’ > Arabic *warā* (base *wry* [وَرَى]) ‘to show’; Sabaean *wry* ‘to make known, to announce’; Geez / Ethiopic *waraya* [ወረዖ] ‘to tell news, to narrate’, *ware* [ወረ] ‘news’; Amharic *wäre* ‘news’; Tigrinya *wäre* ‘notice, fame’; Tigre *wära* ‘to announce’, *wäre* ‘communication’. Leslau 1987:618. Arabic (reduplicated) *warwara* ‘to sharpen one’s look, to look sharply at; to speak fast’. D. Cohen 1970— :623—624. Egyptian (Demotic) *wḥ* (< *wrḥ) ‘message, matter, news’; Coptic *wō* [ⲟϣⲱ] ‘news, report’. Vycichl 1983:230; Černý 1976:210. Proto-East Cushitic *war- ‘to make known, to tell news’ > Burji *waar-iy-* ‘to tell’; Saho-Afar *war-e* ‘news’; Somali *war* ‘news’; Sidamo *waar-* ‘to gossip, to tell (news), to talk, to speak’, *wor-e* ‘noteworthy thing’; Hadiyya *wor-e* ‘fame’; Galla / Oromo *war-ee* ‘fame’. Sasse 1979:42 and 1982:187; Hudson 1989:225 and 399. Proto-East Cushitic (caus. mid.) *war-s-t- ‘to inquire about news’ > Burji *wors-ad-* ‘to ask’; Afar *war-is-*, *war-s-it-* ‘to tell news’; Somali *war-s-ad-* ‘to get news’; Rendille *war-s-ad-*, *wor-s-ad-* ‘to ask’. Hudson 1989:22; Sasse 1979:42 and 1982:181. Chadic: Ngizim *wārdú* ‘to cry out’. Omotic: Mocha *wóro* ‘news’. Ehret 1995:462, no. 972, *war-/*wir- ‘to call out’.
- B. Proto-Dravidian *verr- ‘to say, to speak, to tell’: Gondi *vehānā* ‘to tell’; Konda *ver-* ‘to speak, to tell’; Pengo *vec-* (*vecc-*) ‘to speak’; Maṇḍa *veh-* ‘to tell, to say’; Kui *vespa* (*vest-*) ‘to say, to speak, to tell’; Kuṛux *bārnā* ‘to be called, termed; to have a title’; Malto *bāce* ‘to relate, to tell’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:502, no. 5514.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *wer- ‘to say, to speak, to tell’: Greek εἶπω (< *Fεριω) ‘to say, to speak, to tell’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ú-e-ri-ya-zi* ‘to invite, to summon, to name’; Palaic (3rd sg. pres.) *ú-e-er-ti* ‘to say, to call’; Latin *verbum* ‘word’; Gothic *waurd* ‘word’; Old Icelandic *orð* ‘word’, *orðigr* ‘wordy’, *yrða* ‘to speak’; Old English *word* ‘word’, *ge-wyrd(e)* ‘conversation’, *wordig* ‘talkative’; Old Frisian *word* ‘word’; Old Saxon *word* ‘word’; Dutch *woord* ‘word’; Old High German *wort* ‘word’ (New High German *Wort*); Old Prussian (nom. sg. m.) *wīrds*, *wirds* ‘word’ (acc. sg. m. *wirdan*); Lithuanian *vařdas* ‘name’. Pokorny 1959:1162—1163 *uer- ‘to speak’; Walde 1927—1932.I:283—284 *uer-; Mann 1984—1987:1516 *uer- (*uerō, -iō) ‘to speak’; Watkins 1985:77 *wer- (also *werā-) and 2000:100 *werā- (also *wer-) ‘to speak’ (oldest form *wer₂-,

with variant [metathesized] form **wre₂-*, contracted to **wrē-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:231 **er-* and 1995.I:200 **er-*, **wr-eH-* ‘to call, to talk’; Rix 1998a:630—631 **erh₁-* ‘to say’; Mallory—Adams 1997:535 **(s)er-* ‘to say, to speak’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:325—326 **wre₂-*/**wrē-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:469—471; Hofmann 1966:74 **er-*; Boisacq 1950:229—230 **er-*; Beekes 2010.I:393 **erh₁-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:756—757 **ere-*, **erē(i)-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:723; De Vaan 2008:664—665; Orël 2003:475 Proto-Germanic **urdan*, 475 **urdiġaz*, 475 **urdjan*, 475 **urdjanan*, 475—476 **urdōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:600 Proto-Germanic **urda-* ‘word’; Feist 1939:554 **urdh-*, extended form of **er-*; Lehmann 1986:396 **er-* ‘to speak’; De Vries 1977:419 **er-* and 679; Klein 1971:831 **erdh-*, extended form of **er-*, **ere-*, **erē-*; Onions 1966:1012 **urdho-*, **urdh-*, based on **er-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:430—431; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:868 **urdho-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:799 **urdho-*; Derksen 2015:489 **u(e/o)rd^h-o-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:721; Fraenkel 1962—1965. II:1198; Kloekhorst 2008b:1002—1003; Wodtko—Irlinger—Schneider 2008:729—730 **urd^h-ó-*, **urd^h-o-* ‘word’. Note: Hittite (1st sg. pres. act.) *ḫu-u-wa-ar-taḫ-ḫi* ‘to curse’, (nom. sg.) *ḫur-ta-iš*, *ḫur-ta-aš*, *ḫur-da-a-iš*, *ḫu-u-ur-ta-iš* ‘curse’ do not belong here.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:613—614, no. 492, and 1996a:233—234; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2513, **erV* ‘to speak; communication’.

836. Proto-Nostratic root **was^v-* (~ **wəs^v-*):

(vb.) **was^v-* ‘to be or become worn out, tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted’;

(n.) **was^v-a* ‘weariness, fatigue, exhaustion’

Identical to:

(vb.) **was^v-* ‘to crush, to grind, to pound, to wear out; to wither, to fade, to rot away, to waste away, to dry up, to decay’;

(n.) **was^v-a* ‘the act of crushing, grinding, pounding; wasting away, decay, decomposition’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **was^v-* ‘to be or become worn out, tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted’: Proto-Semitic **was^v-in-* ‘to sleep, to go to sleep, to be asleep’ (originally ‘to be tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted, sleepy’) > Hebrew **yāšēn* [ʔš̂] ‘to sleep, to go to sleep, to be asleep’, *yāšēn* [ʔš̂] ‘sleeping’; Ugaritic *yšn* ‘to sleep’; Arabic *wasīna* ‘to sleep, to slumber’, *wasan* ‘deep sleep, slumber, nap’, *wasnān* ‘in deep sleep, slumbering, sleepy, lazy’. D. Cohen 1970—:647 (Cohen notes that Fronzaroli thought it necessary to posit two separate stems for Proto-Semitic: **wasīn-* ‘asleep’ and **šin-at-* ‘sleep’); Klein 1987:266; Murtonen 1989:223—224; Zammit 2002:434. Berber: Tuareg *iwhar* ‘to be old’, *zəwhər* ‘to cause to become old, to cause

to age', *tuhere* 'old age'; Tawlemmet *ucar* 'to grow old', *tucəray* 'old age'; Nefusa *usər* 'to be old', *awəssar* 'old'; Ghadames *usər* 'to be old', *awəssar* 'an old man' (f. *tawəssart*); Mzab *əwsər* 'to be or become old', *awəssar* 'old'; Tamazight *wsir* 'to be old, to grow old', *ssəwir* 'to cause to become old, to cause to age', *tusər* 'old age, decrepitude', *awəssar* 'old'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *iwsir* 'to grow old', *tawssərt* 'old age'; Riff *usər* 'to be old, to grow old', *tussər* 'old age', *awəssar* 'old; old man' (f. *tawəssart*); Kabyle *iwsir* 'to be old, to be very old, to be decrepit', *awəssar* 'old, decrepit'; Chaouia *usər* 'to be old', *tuser* 'old age, senility', *awəssar* 'old, old man' (f. *tawəssart*).

- B. Dravidian: Kannada *baccu* 'to be tired', *baccelu* 'tiredness', *basvəli* 'to be fatigued'; Tuḷu *baccuni* 'to be wearied, tired, fatigued', *baccāvuni* 'to tire, to fatigue', *baccely* 'fatigue, weariness, tiredness', *baccaṅgely* 'tiredness, fatigue'; Pengo *vāh-* (*vāst-*) 'to be or become tired'; Kui *vaha* (*vahi-*) '(vb.) to be tired, exhausted; to tire, to faint; (n.) weariness, exhaustion'; Kuwi *vwahali*, *wahinai* 'to be tired', *vāh-* 'to be tired, to become tired', *vāhu* 'weariness'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:471, no. 5215. Tamil *vēcātai* 'sorrow', *vēcāru* (*vēcāruv-*, *vēcār-*) 'to be weary, fatigued, vexed, distressed', *vēcaram*, *vēcārikkai*, *vēcāravu* 'sorrow, weariness, fatigue', *vēcātal* 'mental agitation', *vēcāru* (*vēcāri-*) 'to be weary, fatigued, vexed, distressed; to be consoled; to rest', *vēcāral* 'weariness, sorrow; becoming consoled or pacified, rest'; Malayalam *vēcāru* 'anxiety'; Koḍagu *be-ja-ra* 'sorrow'; Kannada *bējāru* 'weariness (from fatigue, pain, vexation), annoyance', *bēsār(u)* (*bēsatt-*) 'to grow weary or fatigued, to become tired of, to be disgusted or vexed', *bēsāra*, *bēsārake*, *bēsārike* 'weariness, fatigue', *bēsārisu* 'to cause to be weary'; Telugu *vēsāta* 'fatigue, weariness', *vēsaramu* 'trouble, fatigue', *vēsāru* 'to be troubled or fatigued; to be disgusted', *vēsārinu* 'to trouble'; Tuḷu *bējāru* 'weariness, fatigue, disgust; fatigued, weary'; Koraga *bisirige* 'homesickness'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:504, no. 5524.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **wäs̥vā-* 'to be or become tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted' > Finnish *väsy-* 'to become tired, weary, exhausted', *väsähtä-* 'to become (a little) tired, to be overcome with weariness'; Estonian *väsi-* 'to become tired, weary, exhausted'; Lapp / Saami (Northern) *viessā-/viesā-* 'to get a little tired, fatigued, languid', *viesse* 'that easily gets tired'; Votyak / Udmurt *viš-* 'to ache, to be sick'. Rédei 1986—1988:818 **wäs̥ä*.

Buck 1949:4.61 sleep (vb., sb.); 4.84 sick; sickness; 4.91 tired, weary. Illič-Svityč 1965:370 **wäs̥s/Λ* 'to become tired (of)' ('уставать'); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:623—624, no. 501; Hakola 2000:210, no. 941, **wäs̥s-* 'to become tired'.

837. Proto-Nostratic root **wasʷ-* (~ **wəsʷ-*):

(vb.) **wasʷ-* ‘to crush, to grind, to pound, to wear out; to wither, to fade, to rot away, to waste away, to dry up, to decay’;

(n.) **wasʷ-a* ‘the act of crushing, grinding, pounding; wasting away, decay, decomposition’

Identical to:

(vb.) **wasʷ-* ‘to be or become worn out, tired, weary, fatigued, exhausted’;

(n.) **wasʷ-a* ‘weariness, fatigue, exhaustion’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *wš* ‘to fall out (of hair), to be destroyed’, *wšr* ‘to dry up, to be barren, to be despoiled’. Hannig 1995:218 and 221; Faulkner 1962:70; Erman—Grapow 1921:41 and 1926—1963.1:368, 1:374; Gardiner 1957:562.
- B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *ujjēry*, *ujvery* ‘a pestle’, *ujide*, *jidde* ‘a small mortar’; Belari *ijde* ‘mortar’, *ijgeri* ‘pestle’; Parji *uyy-* to husk (rice)’; Gadba (Ollari) *uyup-* (*uyut-*) ‘to pound (rice, etc.)’; Gondī *ussānā*, *us-*, *usānā* ‘to pound with a pestle, to husk rice’, *uskāl* ‘a big pestle, rice-pounder’, *uskal*, *usval*, *usmal*, *uspal* ‘pestle’; Pengo *uh-* (*ust-*) ‘to husk (rice)’; Maṇḍa *uhka-* ‘to pound’; Kui *uhpa* (*uht-*) ‘(vb.) to strike against, to impress, to make a mark, to write; (n.) the act of writing against, marking, writing’; Kuwi *ūssali*, *us-* (*uht-*) ‘to pound paddy’, *uh’nai* ‘to pound with a pestle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:571, no. 583.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **wes-* ‘to crush, to grind, to pound, to wear out; to wither, to fade, to rot away, to waste away, to dry up, to decay’: Hittite *wešuriya-*, *wišuriya-* ‘to press, to oppress’; Old Icelandic *vesall* ‘poor, destitute, wretched’, *visna* ‘to wither’, *visinn* ‘withered’; Swedish *vissna* ‘to wither’, *vissen* ‘withered, faded’; Danish *visne* ‘to fade, to wither, to droop’, *vissen* ‘faded, withered, dry, arid’; Old English *wisnian*, *weosnian* ‘to dry up, to wither’, *forwesan* ‘to wither away, to fade, to decay’; Old High German *wēsanēn* ‘to wither, to fade’, *firwēsan* ‘to destroy, to decay’ (Middle High German *verwēsen*, New High German *verwesen* ‘to putrefy, to decompose, to decay, to mold, to rot’). Mann 1984—1987:1524—1525 **ues-* ‘to wither, to fade, to rot, to waste away’; Mallory—Adams 1997:142 **ues-* ‘to crush, to grind, to pound, to wear out; to wither, to fade’; Orël 2003:458 Proto-Germanic **wesalaz*, 467 **wīsanān*; De Vries 1977:657 and 668; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:452—453; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:819—820 Middle High German *verwēsen* < Proto-Germanic **wīš-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:764.

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 11.27 destroy; 15.84 dry.

838. Proto-Nostratic root **wasš-* (~ **wəšš-*):
 (vb.) **wasš-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’;
 (n.) **wasš-a* ‘augmentation, increase, addition, increment’; (adj.) ‘increased, augmented, heaped up, filled, full’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **was-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’:
 Proto-Semitic **was-ak-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’ >
 Geez / Ethiopic *wassaka* [ወሰክ] ‘to add, to join to, to augment, to supplement, to increase’, *wassəkot* [ወሰኩት] ‘increase, increment’, *wəssāke* [ወ-ሳክ] ‘addition, increment, increase, extra amount’; Tigrinya *wässākā* ‘to add’; Tigre *wässākā* ‘to add’; Amharic *wässākā* ‘to add’; (?) Akkadian *esēhu* (Mari *esēku*) ‘to assign, to apportion (lots)’. D. Cohen 1970— :568; Leslau 1987:619—620. Proto-Semitic **was-ak-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’ > Arabic *wasāka* ‘to store, to heap up, to load freight’. D. Cohen 1970— :571—572; Zammit 2002:433. Egyptian *wsr* ‘to be rich, wealthy; to be strong, mighty, powerful’, *wsr* ‘a wealthy man’, *wsrw* ‘strength, power, might’, *wsrw-t* ‘strength, power, might’, (causative) *swsr* ‘to make powerful’. Hannig 1995:215; Faulkner 1962:69; Erman—Grapow 1921:40 and 1926—1963.1:360—363; Gardiner 1957:562.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **weš-/wš-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, **(š)a-wš-e-* ‘full’:
 Georgian *vs-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, *sa-vs-e-* ‘full’; Mingrelian *(p)š-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, *o-pš-a-*, *e-pš-a-*, *go-pš-a-* ‘full’; Laz *pš-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, *(j)o-pš-a-* ‘full’; Svan *gweš-/gwš-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, *gweš-i*, *goš-i* ‘full’ (initial *g-* is secondary). Klimov 1964:86 **ws₁-* and 1998:52—53 **wes₁-* : **ws₁-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, 173—174 **(s)a-ws₁-e-* ‘full, complete’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:133—134 **wes₁-*, **s₁a-ws₁-e-*; Fähnrich 2007:161—162 **wes₁-*, **s₁a-ws₁-e-*; Schmidt 1962:110.
- Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 11.42 wealth, riches; 11.51 rich; 13.21 full. Bomhard 1996a:208, no. 606.
839. Proto-Nostratic root **wath-* (~ **wəth-*):
 (vb.) **wath-* ‘to pass (of time); to grow old, to age’;
 (n.) **wath-a* ‘year, age’; (adj.) ‘old’
- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **wat-ar-* ‘to continue (for a long time)’ > Ugaritic *wtr-hd* ‘everlasting’; Arabic *watara*, *ʔawtara* ‘to follow in uninterrupted succession, to continue regularly’; Epigraphic South Arabian *wtr-ʔl* ‘everlasting God’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔawtara* [አውተረ] ‘to do something with attention, to direct attention to, to pursue earnestly, to fix (the eyes upon), to persevere, to continue, to be assiduous’, *watr* [ወተር] ‘uninterrupted time, continuous period of time’, *watra* [ወተረ] ‘continually, perpetually, assiduously, frequently, always, often’, *wətura* [ወተረ] ‘continuously, entirely’; Tigrinya *wättru* ‘always, continuously’; Amharic *wätro* ‘always,

continually, as in the past'; Gurage (Muher) (*a*)*zwättärä* 'to do something often' (denominative from [Geez / Ethiopic] *za-watr* [ዘ-ወትር] 'often'). Leslau 1979:718 and 1987:622; D. Cohen 1970— :654; Zammit 2002: 426—427. Egyptian *wti* 'to be old', *wtw*, *wtwti* 'oldest son'. Hannig 1995:223; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:377 and 1:378. Probably also: Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *watara*, (f.) *watara-t*, (f. pl.) *watarra-t* 'young of animals', *waataan-cu* 'calf, young; new-born'; Hadiyya *watara* 'young of animals'. Hudson 1989:172—173. Semantic development as in Sanskrit *vatsá-h* 'yearling, calf, the young of any animal', cited below.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **weth-* '(vb.) to pass (of time); to grow old, to age; (adj.) old; (n.) year, age': Hittite (acc. sg.) *ú-it-tan* 'year'; Sanskrit *vatsará-h* 'a year', *vatsá-h* 'yearling, calf, the young of any animal'; Albanian *vit*, *vjet* 'year', (adv.) *vjet* 'last year', *viç* 'calf', *vjeç* 'years old'; Sogdian *wišnyy* 'old'; Greek *ἔτος*, *ἔτος* 'year'; Latin *vetus* 'old, ancient, of long standing (that is, not new or young)', *veterō* 'to grow old', *vitulus* 'a bull-calf'; Gothic *wībrus* 'lamb'; Old Icelandic *veðr* 'wether'; Norwegian *veder* 'wether'; Swedish *vädur* 'wether'; Danish *væder* 'wether'; Old English *wēper* 'wether, sheep'; Old Saxon *withar*, *wethar* 'wether'; Dutch *weder* 'wether'; Old High German *wider*, *widar* 'wether' (New High German *Widder* 'ram'); Old Lithuanian *vėtušas* 'old'; Old Church Slavic *ветѣхъ* 'old'. Pokorny 1959:1175 **uet-* 'year'; Walde 1927—1932.I:251 **uet-*; Mann 1984—1987:1530—1531 **uetesjos*, **uetsjos* (**uetsos*) 'year-old animal; yearling', 1531 **uetalos*, *-om* 'year-old, yearling', 1531 **uetos*, *-es-* 'year, age'; Watkins 1985:78 **wet-* and 2000:101 **wet-* 'year'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:783 **uet^ho-* and 1995.I:685 **wetho-* 'old'; Mallory—Adams 1997:654 **uet-* 'year'; Boisacq 1950:293; Frisk 1970—1973.I:583—584 **uet-*, **uetes-*, **uetes-o-*, **uets-i-*, **uet-o-*, **uetuso-*; Hofmann 1966:97—98; Beekes 2010.I:476—477 **uet-os*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:382—383 **wet-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:776—777; Ernout—Meillet 1979:730 **wet-*; De Vaan 2008:672—673; Orël 1998:509 and 2003:459—460 Proto-Germanic **wepruz* ~ **wepraz*; Kroonen 2013:584 Proto-Germanic **wepru-* '(male) lamb, yearling'; Feist 1939:571 **uét-os*; Lehmann 1986:408 **wet-*, **wetos-* 'year'; De Vries 1977:649 **uetos*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:460; Torp 1919:852; Onions 1966:1000 Common Germanic **wepruz*; Klein 1971:825 **wet-* 'year'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:856 **uet-* 'year'; Kluge—Seebold 1989:790 **wet-* 'year'; Walshe 1951:250; Derksen 2008:517 **uet-us-o-* and 2015:500 **uet-us-o-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:745; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1233; Huld 1984:129—130; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:133.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **ōthe* 'old': Proto-Tungus **(χ)ut-* 'old; earlier, before; old age' > Evenki *utakān* 'old age', *utu* 'old', *utēle* 'earlier, before'; Lamut / Even *ute* 'old', *ōtel* 'earlier, before'; Negidal *utēle* 'earlier, before'; Udihe *uteli* 'earlier, before'; Solon *utaci* 'grandfather'. Proto-Mongolian **ōte-* '(vb.) to grow old; (adj.) old; (n.) old man' > Written Mongolian *ōtel-* 'to

age, to grow old', *ötelül* 'the state of being old, aging, senility', *ötegü* 'old man, senior'; Khalkha *ötöl* 'old', *ötgös* 'elders, seniors'; Buriat *ütelhe(n)* 'old', *ütö* 'old man'; Kalmyk *ötl* 'old', *ötəgə* 'old man'; Ordos *ötöl-* 'to grow old'; Moghol *ütägü* 'old man'; Dagur *utel* 'constantly, traditionally', *utele-* 'to grow old', *utāci* 'old man'; Monguor *sdōli-* 'to grow old', *sdōgu* 'old man'. Proto-Turkish **ötü-* 'old' > Old Turkic (Orkhon) *ötüken* name of the homeland of the Turks ('old country'); Karakhanide Turkic *ötüken* name of the homeland of the Turks ('old country'); Tuva *ötükän* name of a mountain ridge in Tuva; Chuvash *vadъ* 'old'; Yakut *ötöχ* 'old, abandoned house'; Dolgan *ötök* 'everything old'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1067—1068 **öt'e* 'old'; Poppe 1960:51 and 108; Street 1974:22 **öte* 'old (of people)'.

Buck 1949:14.15 old; 14.73 year. Illič-Svityč 1965:337 **w/e/ta* 'year' ('год') and 1966b:316, no. 1.33; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:625—626, no. 503; Takács 2004a:214, no. 1714; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2550, **wetV* 'year' (and/or 'long time' [→ 'old'] ??).

840. Proto-Nostratic root **wath-* (~ **wəth-*):

(vb.) **wath-* 'to say, to speak, to be talkative';

(n.) **wath-a* 'sound, cry, chatter, babble, report'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **wat-* 'to call, to speak': West Chadic **wat-* 'to call' > Pero *wat-* 'to call'. Central Chadic **wat-* 'to call' > Tera *wat-* 'to call'. Omotic **wat-/yat-* 'to say, to speak' > Ometo *ot, yot, iwet-* 'to say, to speak'; Yemsa / Janjero *it-* 'to say, to speak'; Bench / Gimira *ayt-* 'to say, to speak'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:529, no. 2534, **wat-* 'to call, to speak'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vataru* (*vatarī-*) 'to chatter, to prate, to be talkative, to lisp, to abuse'; Kannada *odaru* 'to sound, to cry aloud, to shout, to shriek, to howl' (causative *odarīsu*), *odaruvike* 'sounding, crying aloud'; Telugu *vadaru, vaduru* 'to prattle, to prate, to babble, to chatter, to jabber', *vabarübōtu* 'prattler, babbler', *odaru* 'to prattle, to prate, to abuse'; Tuḷu *badarītana* 'defamation'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:473, no. 5244.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **wethH-/*wothH-* 'to say, to speak': Latin *vetō* 'to forbid, to prohibit' (Old Latin *votō*); Old Welsh (3rd sg. rel.) *guet-id* 'says'; Middle Welsh *dy-wed-* 'to speak', *dy-wawt* 'said' (Modern Welsh *gwad-* in: *gwadaf na* 'I do not say that, I deny that'). Rix 1998a:634—635 **ueth₂₋* 'to say, to speak'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:730; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:776 (**uot-* in Welsh *gwadu* 'to deny'); De Vaan 2008:672; Morris Jones 1913:369—370 **uat-* (**uet-*), **uet/d-* 'to say'.
- D. Uralic: Finnish *vatustaa* 'to be harping, to chatter'; Estonian *vada* 'to prattle, to chatter, to jabber'.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **ōthē-* (~ *-t-*) 'to say, to recite; to ask, to request, to pray; to sing': Proto-Tungus **(χ)ot-* 'to shout, to cry' > Evenki *otutka-* 'to shout, to

cry'. Proto-Mongolian **öči-* 'to report; to pray; to sing a song' > Written Mongolian *öči-* 'to say, to answer, to testify; to pray, to offer (Buddhist)'; Khalkha *öč-* 'to report; to pray'; Kalmyk *öčə-* 'to report; to pray'; Ordos *öčö-* 'to recite loudly (prayer)'; Dagur *učule-* 'to sing a song'. Proto-Turkic **öt-* 'to sing (of birds); to say; to ask, to request' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *öt-* 'to sing (of birds)', *ötün-* 'to ask, to request'; Karakhanide Turkic *öt-* 'to sing (of birds)', *ötün-* 'to ask, to request'; Turkish *öt-* 'to sing (of birds)'; Turkmenian *ötün-* 'to ask, to request'; Uighur *ötün-* 'to ask, to request'; Tatar *öten-* 'to ask, to request'; Chuvash *avbt-* 'to sing (of birds)'; Yakut *et-* 'to say'; Dolgan *et-* 'to say'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1068 **öt'e* (~ *-t-*) 'sound'; Poppe 1960:51 and 135; Street 1974:22 **öti-* 'to inform, to pray'.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say. Nakola 2000:211, no. 944; Illič-Svityč 1965:336 **wata* 'to speak' (‘говорить’).

841. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wat*^y-*a* 'the belly, stomach, bowels; womb; the interior or inside of anything':

- A. Proto-Dravidian **vac(-Vṛ)-* 'the belly, stomach, bowels; womb; the interior or inside of anything': Tamil *vayiru* 'belly, stomach, paunch, womb, center, heart of a tree, interior, inner space, mind', *vayin* 'belly, stomach', *vayā* 'fetus, womb'; Malayalam *vayaru* 'belly, stomach, inside, receptacle of fruit-seeds', *vayarāṃ* 'big-bellied'; Kannada *basar(u)*, *basir*, *basur(u)*, *basru* 'belly, abdomen, womb, pregnancy, embryo, the inside, hold of a ship', *basari*, *basuri* 'pregnant woman'; Kota *vi-r* 'belly, pregnant'; Tuḷu *bañji* 'stomach, belly, womb, interior or inner part (as of a tree), mind, heart', *basuri*, *basuru* 'pregnancy'; Koṇḍa *vaski* 'small intestines'; Pengo (pl.) *vahiṅ* 'intestines'; Maṇḍa *vahiṅ* 'intestines'; Kui *vahi* 'intestines, entrails, bowels'; Kuwi *vwāhi* 'entrails', *wahi* 'stomach, intestines'. Krishnamurti 2003:484 **wac-Vṛ* 'stomach, fetus'; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:474, no. 5259.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **wet'-er-o-/*ut'-er-o-* 'the belly, stomach, bowels; womb; the interior or inside of anything': Sanskrit *udāra-m* 'the belly, stomach, bowels; womb; the interior or inside of anything'; Avestan *udara-* 'belly, stomach'; Greek (Hesychius) ὄδρεος (with ó- for ú-) 'stomach' (cf. Attic ὄδρεος 'dropsy'), (Hesychius) ὄστρος 'stomach', (Attic) ὄστέρα, (Ionic) ὄστέρη (< **udsterā*) 'the womb'; Latin *uterus* (with *-t-* for *-d-*; perhaps, as suggested by Thurneysen, from **udris*) 'the womb'; Old Prussian *weders* 'insides, stomach'; Lithuanian *vėdaras* 'insides, stomach'; Latvian *vēders*, *vēdars* 'stomach'; Tocharian B *wāstarye* 'liver'. Pokorny 1959:1104—1105 **udero-*, **uēdero-* 'belly'; Walde 1927—1932.I:190—191 **udero-*, **uēdero-*; Mann 1984—1987:1474 **uderos*, *-om* 'belly, stomach'; Watkins 1985:72 **udero-* and 2000:94 **udero-*

‘abdomen, womb, stomach’; Mallory—Adams 1997:2 **udero-* ‘abdomen, stomach’, **udstero/eh_a-* ‘abdomen, stomach’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:956 **udero-*, **uēdero-* and II:975—976 **ud-terā*; Boisacq 1950:1008 (Latin *uterus* < **udero-s*); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1151 and II:1162; Hofmann 1966:387 **ud-tero-*; Beekes 2010.II:1526 **udero-* and II:1539 **ud-tero-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:104; De Vaan 2008:647 *(*H*)*ud-ér-o-* ‘outer, sticking out’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:846 **udris*; **ud-tro-*, **udero-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:757; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:565; Adams 1999:598 **udstryo-*, **ud-tero-*, **ud-ero-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:727; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1210—1211; Derksen 2015:494 **ud-ero-m*.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **watʷa* ‘the belly, stomach, bowels; womb; the interior or inside of anything’ > Finnish *vatsa* ‘stomach, belly’; Vogul / Mansi *vaś* ‘stomach’. Collinder 1955:123 and 1977:136; Rédei 1986—1988:547 **waća*.

Buck 1949:4.46 belly, stomach. Illič-Svityč 1965:341 **wa/ć/λ* ‘abdomen’ (‘живот’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:617, no. 496; Hakola 2000:211, no. 943.

842. Proto-Nostratic exclamation **way* ‘woe!’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **way* exclamation: ‘woe!’: Proto-Semitic **way* exclamation: ‘woe!’ > Akkadian *ai* ‘woe!’; Syriac *wāy* ‘woe!’; Arabic *way* ‘woe!, shame!’; Soqotri *woy* ‘woe!’; Geez / Ethiopic *way* [ወይ] ‘woe!, ah!, alas!’; Tigrinya *wāy*, *way* ‘woe!’; Tigre *wāy* ‘woe!’; Harari *wāy* ‘woe!, misery’; Amharic *wāyy*, *wāyyo*, *wāyyāw*, *awāyy*, *əwayy* ‘woe!’; Gurage *wa*, (Eža) *way* exclamation expressing pain: ‘woe!’. Leslau 1963:162, 1979:639, and 1987:623; D. Cohen 1970— :531; Zammit 2002:443. Egyptian *wy* ‘woe!’; Coptic *woy* [ⲟϣⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ] ‘woe!’. Hannig 1995:179; Vycichl 1983:230; Černý 1976:209. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *way* ‘alas!’; Quara *wē* ‘alas!’. Reinisch 1895:240. Chadic: Hausa *wāi* ‘woe!’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **way* exclamation: ‘woe!’: Avestan *vayōi*, *avōi*, *āvōya* ‘woe!’; Latin *vae* ‘alas!, woe!’; Welsh *gwaе* ‘woe!’; Armenian *vay* ‘woe!’; Gothic *wai* ‘woe!’; Old Icelandic *vá*, *vei* ‘woe!’; Old English *wā*, *wæ* ‘woe!’; Old Frisian *wē* ‘woe!’; Old Saxon *wē* ‘woe!’; Dutch *wee* ‘woe!’; Old High German *wē* ‘alas!, woe!’ (New High German *weh*); Lithuanian *vāi* ‘woe!’; Hittite *uwai-* ‘woe’. Pokorny 1959:1110—1111 **yai* ‘woe!’; Walde 1927—1932.I:212—213 **yai*; Mann 1984—1987:1485 **yai* ‘alas; woe’; Watkins 1985:73 **wai* and 2000:94 **wai* ‘alas’ (interjection); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:724 **yai*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:711; De Vaan 2008:650; Orël 2003:440 Proto-Germanic **wai*; Kroonen 2013:556 Proto-Germanic **wai* (interjection) ‘woe’; Feist 1939:541; Lehmann 1986:387—388 **wai* (interjection) ‘woe’; De Vries 1977:637; Onions 1966:1011; Klein 1971:830 **wai-*; Kluge—Vercoullie

1898:321; Seebold 1989:781 Germanic **wai*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:843 **yai*; Kloekhorst 2008b:937—939; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1179.

- C. Uralic: Finnish *voi* in, for example: *voi sinua raukkaa!* ‘poor you!’, *voi kunpa tietäisin* ‘I wish I knew’.

Sumerian *ù-a*, *ù* ‘woe!’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:604, no. 479.

843. Proto-Nostratic root **waǰ-* (~ **wǰǰ-*):

(vb.) **waǰ-* ‘to flow’;

(n.) **waǰ-a* ‘running water’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **waǰ-* ‘to flow’: Semitic: Arabic *wazaba* ‘to flow (water)’, *mīzāb* ‘drain pipe, drain; gutter, sewer; roof gutter’. D. Cohen 1970— : 515. Arabic *wazaġa* ‘to make water in jets (said especially of a she-camel which sprays its urine while walking along)’, *wazaġ* ‘shower’. D. Cohen 1970— :517—518. Egyptian *wzš* ‘to urinate’, *wzšt* ‘urine’. Gardiner 1957:562; Hannig 1995:217; Faulkner 1962:69; Erman—Grapow 1921:40 and 1926—1963.1:357, 1:358. Note: Orël—Stolbova (1995:530, no. 2543) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **wuĉ-* ‘urine’ on the basis of the Egyptian forms cited above and several East Chadic forms. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow (1994.I:192), however, reconstruct Proto-East Chadic **wicē* ‘urine’, which cannot possibly be connected phonetically with the above Egyptian forms. Therefore, the Chadic forms are not included here.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vaci* ‘rain, water’; Kannada *basi*, *bose* ‘to drip, to drop, to trickle, to ooze, to flow; to pour off water from boiled rice, etc., by inclining the vessel, to strain’, *basu* ‘oozing’; Tuḷu *basabasa* ‘gushing, flowing in a stream’, *bassa* ‘overflowing’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:471, no. 5214.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **weǰ-* ‘mineral spring’: Georgian *veǰ-a* ‘mineral spring’; Mingrelian *menǰ-* (< **waǰ-*) ‘mineral spring’. Fähnrich 2007:162 **weǰ₁₋*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:134—135 **weǰ₁₋*; Klimov 1998:53 **weǰ₁₋* ‘mineral spring’;

Buck 1949:1.31 water; 1.36 river; stream; brook; 4.65 urinate; urine; 10.32 flow (vb.).

844. Proto-Nostratic root **wed-*:

(vb.) **wed-* ‘to strike (with a weapon)’;

(n.) **wed-a* ‘death, ruin, murder; strike, cut, wound, scar; weapon, axe’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *wadā* (base *wdy* [وَدَى]) ‘to kill, to destroy; to perish, to die; to cut off; to kill, to destroy’, *wadi?* ‘death, ruin, murder,

destruction'. D. Cohen 1970— :500 (?*awdā(y)* 'to perish'); Zammit 2002:430. Berber: Kabyle *wəddəc* 'to hit, to beat, to strike'.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *veṭṭu* (*veṭṭi-*) '(vb.) to cut (as with sword or axe), to cut off, to engrave, to dig (as a well), to injure, to destroy; (n.) cutting, wound, cut, engraving'; Malayalam *veṭṭuka* 'to cut with a sword or axe, to dig, to engrave', *veṭṭu* 'strike, cut, wound, sunstroke, stitch, felling trees, digging, engraving'; Kota *veṭ* 'cut, mark of a scar'; Kannaḍa *beṭṭu* '(vb.) to cause to enter firmly, to strike forcibly into, to impress, to stamp, to coin; (n.) tool for making impressions'; Tuḷu *beṭṭuni* 'to cut, to circumcise', *boṭṭuni* 'to beat (as a drum), to hammer (as metal), to knock (as a door)', *boṭṭāvuni*, *boṭṭele* 'drummer'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:497—498, no. 5478.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **wedh-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **wodh-*) 'to cut, to strike, to slay': Sanskrit *vadhati* 'to strike, to kill, to slay, to destroy', *vadhá-h* 'one who kills, slayer, vanquisher, destroyer', *vádhar-*, *vadhánā* 'weapon'; Avestan *vāḍāya-* 'to repulse'; Greek (Homeric) ἔθων 'pushing, shoving'; Lithuanian *vedegà* 'a type of axe'; Old Prussian *wedigo* 'carpenter's axe'; Tocharian B *wät-* 'to fight', *weta* 'struggle, battle', *wetāu* 'warrior', A *wac* 'combat, struggle'. Rix 1998a:600—601 **uedh₁-* 'to strike'; Pokorny 1959:1115 **uedh-* 'to hit'; Walde 1927—1932.I:254—255 **uedh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1498 **uedh-* 'to fight', 1558 **uōdhejō* 'to contend, to fight; to enrage, to incite; to rage, to bluster'; Watkins 1985:73 **wedh-* and 2000:95 **wedhə-* 'to push, to strike'; Mallory—Adams 1997:471 **uedh-* 'to push, to strike'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:135—136; Frisk 1970—1973.I:449—450; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:316 **wedh-*; Hofmann 1966:70 and 84 **uedh-*; Beekes 2010.I:378—379; Adams 1999:590 **wedh-* 'to strike (down)' and 608; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:541—542 (Van Windekens rejects derivation of the Tocharian forms from Proto-Indo-European **uedh-*); Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1211.

Buck 1949:4.76 kill; 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Illič-Svityč 1965:362 **weda* 'to chop with a weapon' ('рубить'); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:603—604, no. 478; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2460, **wedV* (or **we?VdV* ?) 'to push, to strike, to cut (with weapon)'.

845. Proto-Nostratic root **wel-*:

(vb.) **wel-* 'to slay, to fight';

(n.) **wel-a* 'conquest, victory, defeat, slaughter, massacre; fight, battle, attack'

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *vel* (*velv-*, *veṅṅ-*) 'to conquer, to overcome, to subdue, to destroy, to remove, to excel', *veṅṅimai* 'victoriousness, victory, distinctive greatness', *veṅṅan*, *veṅṅal*, *veṅṅi*, *veṅ*, *veṅṅi* 'victory, success'; Malayalam *velluka* 'to overcome, to surpass, to kill', *venni*, *veṅṅi* 'victory'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:499, no. 5493.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **welH-/*wǵH-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **wolH-*) ‘to strike, to wound’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *wa-al-aḫ-zi*, *wa-al-ḫa-an-na-i* ‘to strike, to attack’; Luwian *u(wa)lant-* ‘death’, *u(wa)lantal(l)i-* ‘mortal’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *wal(a)-* ‘death’, *walatali-* ‘mortal’; Greek οὐλή (< *Ῥολ-*vā*) ‘wound, scar’; Latin *vulnus* (*volnus*) ‘wound’, *vulnerō* (*volnerō*) ‘to wound, to injure’; Old Irish *fuil* ‘blood’; Welsh *gweli* ‘wound’; Old Icelandic *valr* ‘the slain’; Old English *wæl* ‘slaughter, carnage, field of battle’, *wōl* ‘pestilence, mortality, disease’, *wælan* ‘to torment, to afflict’; Old Saxon *wōlian* ‘to kill, to slaughter’, *wal* ‘battlefield’; Old High German *wal* ‘battlefield’, *wuol* ‘defeat, ruin’; Lithuanian *vėlė* ‘the soul of a dead person, ghost’, *vėlnias* ‘devil’, *velys* ‘death’; Tocharian A *wäl-*, *wal-* ‘to die’, B *wäl-* ‘to strike, to break’ (perhaps also *Ylaiñäkte* ‘Indra’ [*<* ‘smiter’]), (?) *wälts-* ‘to crush, to grind; to agitate, to trouble’. Rix 1998a:619–620 **uelh₃₋* ‘to strike, to attack’; Pokorny 1959:1144–1145 **uel-* ‘to tear, to rob, to wound’; Walde 1927–1932.I:304–305 **uel-*; Mann 1984–1987:1571–1572 **uōl̥iō*, **uoleiō* ‘to roll, to overturn, to ruin’; Watkins 1985:76 **welə-* and 2000:98 **welə-* ‘to strike, to wound’ (oldest form **wel₂₋*); Gamkrelidze–Ivanov 1984.II:492, fn. 1, **uel-* and 1995.I:413, fn. 1, **wel-* ‘to lacerate, to tear apart; to wound; to kill’; Mallory–Adams 1997:650 **uolno/eh_{a-}* ‘(bloody) wound’, **uelh₂₋* ‘to strike, to kill, to die’; Boisacq 1950:727 **uel-*; Frisk 1970–1973.II:443–444 **uel-*; Chantraine 1968–1980.II:836–837; Hofmann 1966:244 **uel-*; Beekes 2010.II:1125–1126 **uel-*; Walde–Hofmann 1965–1972.II:827 **uel-*; Ernout–Meillet 1979:749–750 Latin *volnus* (<? **welenos*); De Vaan 2008:687; Kroonen 2013:569 Proto-Germanic **wala-* ‘the slain’; Orël 2003:443 Proto-Germanic **walaz* II; De Vries 1977:642 **uel-*; Van Windekens 1976–1982.I:554–555 **uel-*, **uol-*, **ul-* and I:555 **ul-*, **uel-*; Adams 1999:519 and 588–589 **welh₂₋* ‘to strike’; Derksen 2015:496 **uelh₃₋*; Smoczyński 2007.1:732; Fraenkel 1962–1965.II:1218–1219; Kloekhorst 2008b:945–946 **uelh₃₋til** **ulh₃₋énti*.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **wel₃₋* ‘to strike, to kill, to slay, to slaughter’ > Hungarian *öl-* ‘to kill, to slay, to put to death, to slaughter, to butcher’, *öles* ‘killing, slaying, slaughtering’, *öldöklés* ‘massacre, butchery, slaughter’; Votyak / Udmurt *vi(j)y-* ‘to kill’; Zyrian / Komi (Permyak) *vij-* ‘to kill, to slay’, (Sysola) *vi-* ‘to strike (not dead)’; Vogul / Mansi *ääl-* ‘to kill’; Ostyak / Xanty *wel-*/(imptv.) *wälä-*, (Southern) *wet-* ‘to kill, to catch’. Collinder 1955:105, 1960:413 **wel’ə-*, and 1977:119; Rédei 1986–1988:566–567 **wedə₃₋*; Sammallahti 1988:551 **wilä-* ‘to kill’. I favor Collinder’s and Sammallahti’s reconstructions over the one proposed by Rédei. Illič-Svityč (1965:367) reconstructs Proto-Uralic **w/e/la*.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.85 wound (sb.); 11.27 destroy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:629, no. 507; Illič-Svityč 1965:367 **wela* ‘to slay, to fight’ (‘сражать[ся]’) — Illič-Svityč also includes Altaic material under this

etymology. However, the Altaic material appears to go better with Proto-Nostratic *wal- (~ *wəl-) ‘to crush, to grind, to wear out; to rub, to press; to be worn out, weak; to fade, to wither, to waste away’ (cf. Proto-Altaic *ōli- ‘to be weak from hunger, to starve to death; to die, to fade, to wither’). Forms meaning ‘to kill’ in the Altaic daughter languages (such as Turkish *öldür-* ‘to kill’, for example) are clearly secondary developments.

846. Proto-Nostratic root *welʷ-:

(vb.) *welʷ- ‘to be open, to be vacant’;

(n.) *welʷ-a ‘open space, open land, field, meadow’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *veli* ‘(vb.) to be open or public; to be vacant, empty; (n.) open space, outside, plain, space, intervening space, gap, room, openness, plainness, publicity’, *velippu* ‘outside, open space, enclosed space’, *veliyār* ‘outsiders, strangers’; Malayalam *veli* ‘open field; notoriety; outside’, *veliccam* ‘publicity’; Telugu *veli* ‘the outside, exterior, excommunication; outside, external’, *velalu* ‘to go or come out, to start’, *velalucu* ‘to send out’, *velupala* ‘the outside, exterior; outside, external’, *vellāḍi* ‘open space; publicity; openness’, *veliparacu*, *velipuccu* ‘to make public or known’, *velārincu*, *velār(u)cu* ‘to send or drive out, to make public’; Kannada *beḷavāra* ‘an outcaste’; Parji *valip-* (*valit-*) ‘to expel, to drive away’; Koṇḍa *veli* ‘outside’; Kuwi *velli kīnai* ‘to excommunicate’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:500—501, no. 5498.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *wel- ‘field’: Georgian *vel-* ‘field, plain’; Mingrelian *ve(l)-* ‘field’. Klimov 1964:82—83 *wel- and 1998:51 *wel- ‘valley, field’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *wel- ‘field, meadow’: Greek ἠλύσιον ‘the Elysian fields’; Hittite *wellu-* ‘meadow’. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:824 *uel- and 1995.I:793 *wel- ‘pasture’; Mallory—Adams 1997:200—201 (?) *uél-su- ‘meadow, pasture’; Beekes 2010.I:517 (pre-Greek); Kloekhorst 2008b:998 *uélnu- (?).
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ejlo-*, *ejl'o-* ‘wide, broad’, *ejlumu-* ‘to widen’, *ejlu* ‘width, breadth’, *ejlāš-* ‘to broaden’, (Northern / Tundra) *wejluo-* ‘wide, broad’, *wejlumu-* ‘to widen’, *wejlu:* ‘space, expanse’, *wejluorireŋ* ‘widely’. Nikolaeva 2006:455.

Sumerian *ùl* ‘field, cultivated land, meadow’, *ul₄* ‘field, meadow’, *úlu* ‘field, meadow, open land, steppe’.

Buck 1949:1.23 plain, field. Blažek 1992a:141, no. 30; Bomhard 1996a:213, no. 612; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2478, *w[e]l[í][V]hV (or *wi[í][V]hV ?) ‘field, plain’.

847. Proto-Nostratic root **welʷ-*:(vb.) **welʷ-* ‘to well up, to surge, to flow forth, to flood’;(n.) **welʷ-a* ‘deluge, flood, inundation; surge, wave’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *vellam* ‘flood, deluge, sea, wave’; Malayalam *vellam* ‘water’; Kannada *bella* ‘flood’; Tuḷu *boḷla* ‘flood, inundation’; Telugu *velli*, *vellika* ‘flow, flood, stream’, *velluva* ‘flood, inundation’; (?) Brahui *bēl* ‘large hill-torrent’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:501, no. 5503.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **welH-/w̥lH-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **wolH-*) ‘(vb.) to well up, to surge, to flow forth, to boil up; (n.) surge, wave’: Sanskrit *ūrmi-h* ‘wave, billow’; Avestan *varəmi-* ‘wave’; Gothic **wulan* ‘to seethe’; Old Icelandic *vella* ‘to boil; to well up, to swarm’; Old English *weallan* ‘to be agitated, to rage, to toss, to well, to bubble, to seethe, to foam, to be hot, to boil; to flow, to swarm; to rise (of a river)’, *wiell* ‘fountain, spring’, *wielm* ‘boiling, surging, raging; flowing, bursting forth’; Old Saxon *wallan* ‘to surge, to well up, to boil up’; Old High German *wella* ‘wave’ (New High German *Welle*), *wallan* ‘to bubble, to simmer, to boil, to seethe; to undulate, to float, to flow, to wave’ (New High German *wallen*); Lithuanian *vilnis* ‘wave’; Old Church Slavic *vlъna* ‘wave’; Czech *vlna* ‘wave’; Polish *welna* ‘wave’; Bulgarian *vǎlná* ‘wave’. Rix 1998a:618 **uelH-* ‘to roll; to well up, to surge’; Pokorny 1959:1140—1144 **uel-*, **uelə-*, **ulē-* ‘to turn, to roll’; Walde 1927—1932.I:298—304 **uel-*; Mann 1984—1987:1553 **uļm-* ‘surge, billow; wide mouth, gulf’, 1554 **uļn-* (**uļnis*, *-ā*) ‘surge, wave’; Watkins 1985:75—76 **wel-* and 2000:98 **wel-* ‘to turn, to roll’; Mallory—Adams 1997:637 (?) **uļh_xmi-* ‘wave’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:117; Feist 1939:575—576 **uel-*; Lehmann 1986:411 etymology difficult; probably based on Proto-Indo-European **wel-*, **wel-ʔ-* ‘to turn, to roll’; Orël 2003:444 Proto-Germanic **walljōn* ~ **walljaz*, 444 **walljanan*, 444 **walmiz*, 453 **wellanan* II, 453 **wellōn*; Kroonen 2013:571 Proto-Germanic **wallan-* ‘to well up, to boil, to seethe’; De Vries 1977:653; Onions 1966:999 West Germanic **wallan*, beside **wellan*; Klein 1971:824 **wel-* ‘to turn, to roll’; Skeat 1898:702; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:835 **uel-* and 851 **uel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:775 **wel-* and 786; Derksen 2008:547; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1254; Smoczyński 2007.1:754 **uelH-C*. Note: The Germanic forms are both phonologically and semantically ambiguous. Some of them may belong with Proto-Nostratic (vb.) **wal-* ‘to set fire to, to burn, to heat up, to warm’; (n.) **wal-a* ‘heat, warmth, boiling’ instead.
- C. Uralic: Finnish *vello-* ‘to surge, to heave, to swell’.

Buck 1949:1.35 wave. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:627—628, no. 505; Illič-Svityč 1965:333 **wilā* ‘moist’ (‘влажный’); Hakola 2000:212—213, no. 951.

848. Proto-Nostratic root *wet'-:

(vb.) *wet'- 'to wet, to moisten';

(n.) *wet'-a 'water'

- A. (?) Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *waṭafa* 'to pour abundantly', *waṭfāʾ* 'raining abundantly (cloud)'. D. Cohen 1970—:530. Berber: Ahaggar *ūdūf* 'ritual ablution'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:534, no. 2563, *wVtVf- 'to rain, to pour' (Orël—Stolbova derive *wVtVf- from *tjif- 'drop, rain'). Perhaps also Egyptian *wḏh* (later written *wḏh*) 'to pour out, to pour off', *wḏhw* (later written *wḏhw*) 'offering, offering-table'; Coptic *wōth* [ⲠⲮⲱⲧⲧ] 'to pour, to melt'. Hannig 1995:229; Faulkner 1962:73; Erman—Grapow 1921:43 and 1926—1963.1:393; Gardiner 1957:563; Vycichl 1983:239; Černý 1976:220. Ehret (1995:455, no. 955) derives the Egyptian form from Proto-Afrasian *wādł- 'to flow'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *ōtam* 'moisture, dampness, flood, sea, wave'; Malayalam *ōtam* 'dampness in rainy season'; Kannaḍa *odde* 'wetness, dampness, moisture'; Tuḷu *odde* 'wetness, dampness, moisture; wet', *veddē* 'moist, wet'; Naiki (of Chanda) *vad*, *vod* 'dew'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:100, no. 1047.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *wet'-/*ut'- (secondary *o*-grade form: *wot'-) (vb.) to wet, to moisten; (n.) water': Luvian (dat. sg.) *ú-i-ti* 'water'; Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *wa-a-tar* 'water' (gen. sg. *ú-i-te-na-aš*, nom.-acc. pl. *ú-i-da-a-ar*); Sanskrit *udán* 'water', *ud-*, *und-* (*unátti*, *undati*) 'to flow, to wet, to bathe'; Greek ὕδωρ 'water' (gen. sg. ὕδατος [*<* Pre-Greek **udh̥tos*]); Armenian *get* 'river'; Umbrian *utur* 'water'; Gothic *watō* 'water' (gen. sg. *watins*); Old Icelandic *vatn* 'water', *vátr* 'wet'; Old Swedish *vætur* 'water' (Modern Swedish *vatten*); Norwegian *vatn* 'water'; Old English *wæt* 'wet, moist, rainy', *wætan* 'to wet, to moisten, to water', *wæter* 'water'; Old Frisian *water*, *weter* 'water'; Old Saxon *watar* 'water'; Old High German *wazzar* 'water' (New High German *Wasser*); Latvian *ūdens* 'water'; Old Church Slavic *voda* 'water'; Russian *vodá* [вода] 'water'; Czech *voda* 'water'; Polish *woda* 'water'; Albanian *ujë* 'water'. Rix 1998a:599 **ued-* 'to flow forth'; Pokorny 1959:78—81 **aued-*, **aud-*, **ūd-* 'to wet, to sprinkle', **uédōr*, **uódōr* 'water'; Walde 1927—1932.I:252—254 **ued-*; Mann 1984—1987:1474 **ūdōr* (**udər*, obl. **udn-*) 'water', 1497 **uēd-* 'wet, damp', 1558 **uoden-*, **uodn-* oblique stem of type **uodōr* (**uodər*), 1558 **uodōr* (**uodər*), (obl.) **uoden-*, **uodn-* (**uodh̥t-*) 'water'; Watkins 1985:73 **wed-* and 2000:95 **wed-* 'water; wet' (suffixed *o*-grade form **wod-ōr*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:188, II:942 **uēt-* and 1995.I:216 **wet-* 'water', I:579 **wet'-/*ut'-* 'water', I:583, fn. 13, **wot-* 'water', I:835 **wet-* 'water'; Mallory—Adams 1997:636 **uódŕ* 'water'; Boisacq 1950:998—999 **ued-*, **ud-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:957—959; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1152—1153; Hofmann 1966:382 **uédōr* (**uódōr*), (gen.) **udnēs*; Beekes 2010.II:1526—1527 **uod-r*, **ud-n-*, (collective) **ud-ōr*;

Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:103; Huld 1984:121; Orël 1998:483—484 **ued-* and 2003:451 Proto-Germanic **watnan* ~ **watar*; Kroonen 2013:575—576 Proto-Germanic **watar-* ~ **watan-* ‘water’ (< **uod-r/n-*); Lehmann 1986:395—396 **wed-*; Feist 1939:553—554 **ued-*; De Vries 1977:648 **uod-*, **ud-*; Torp 1919:848; Onions 1966:994 **wod-*; **wēd-*; **ud-* and 1000; Klein 1971:822 and 825; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:840 **wēd-*; **wod-*; **ūd-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:778 **wedōr*; Kloekhorst 2008b:987—988 **uód-r*, **ud-én-*; Derksen 2008:523 **uod-r/n-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:706—715 **ued-*.

- D. Proto-Uralic **wete* ‘water’: Finnish *vesi/vete-* ‘water’; Estonian *vesi* ‘water’; Mordvin *ved'* ‘water’; Cheremis / Mari *wət, wüt* ‘water’; Votyak / Udmurt *vu* ‘water’; Zyrian / Komi *va* ‘water’; Vogul / Mansi *wit* ‘water’; Hungarian *víz/vize-* ‘water’; Forest Yurak Samoyed / Forest Nenets *wit* ‘water’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *bee?/beda-* ‘water’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *bi?/bido-* ‘water’; Selkup Samoyed *üt, öt* ‘water’; Kamassian *büü* ‘water; river; lake’. Collinder 1955:77, 1965:32, 147 **wete*, and 1977:83; Joki 1973:344 **vete*; Rédei 1986—1988:670 **wete*; Décsy 1990:220 **vetä* ‘water’; Sammallahti 1988:541 **weti* ‘water’; Janhunen 1977b:176—177 **wit*.

Buck 1949:1.31 water. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:607—608, no.483; Illič-Svityč 1965:334 **wet₁* ‘water’ (‘вода’); Hakola 2000:214, no. 957; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2544, **wetê* ‘(flowing) water’; Greenberg 2002:181, no. 416.

849. Proto-Nostratic root **wig-* (~ **weg-*):

(vb.) **wig-* ‘to carry, to convey’;

(n.) **wig-a* ‘burden, load; conveyance, cart, vehicle’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **wig-* ‘to carry’: (Pre-Proto-Semitic **wigy-* > **widy-* > **wəz-* [~ **wəz-*] >) Proto-Semitic **wəz-ar-* ‘to carry’ > Arabic *wazara* ‘to take a heavy burden upon oneself and carry it’, *wizr* ‘heavy burden, load’; Hebrew *wāzār* [wāzār] ‘criminal, guilty’. D. Cohen 1970— :518—519; Murtonen 1989:213; Klein 1987:190; Zammit 2002:431—432. Proto-Semitic **wəz-an-* ‘to weigh’ > Arabic *wazana* ‘to weigh’, *wazn* ‘weight, measure’; Ugaritic *mznm* (base *wzn*) ‘scales, balances’; Ḥarsūsi *wezōn* ‘to weigh’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ezūn* ‘to weigh’, *mizūn* ‘balance’; Mehri *wəzūn* ‘to weigh’. D. Cohen 1970— :517 (< **zn-*); Zammit 2002:432—433. Egyptian (**wigy-* > **widy-* > **wdn* >) *wdn* ‘to be heavy, to weigh’, *wdnt* ‘heavy block of stone’, *wdnw* ‘load, burden, weight’. Hannig 1995:228; Faulkner 1962:73; Erman—Grapow 1921:43 and 1926—1963.1:390.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **weg^h-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **wog^h-*) ‘to carry, to convey, to weigh’: Sanskrit *vāhati* ‘to carry, to transport, to convey; to lead, to conduct, to bear along (water, said of rivers); to draw (a cart), to guide (horses, etc.); to lead towards, to bring, to procure, to bestow; to

carry away, to carry off, to rob'; Avestan *vazaiti* 'to carry, to draw, to drive'; Greek (Pamphylian) *Ἔεξετω* 'he should bring', *ὀχέω* 'to carry, to transport, to convey; to drive, to ride, to sail', *ὄχος* 'anything that bears: a carriage, a chariot'; Albanian *vjedh* 'to steal'; Latin *vehō* 'to carry, to convey'; Old Irish *fén* 'wagon'; Gothic **gawigan* 'to move, to shake'; Old Icelandic *vega* 'to lift, to weigh', *vagn* 'vehicle, sledge, wagon, carriage'; Norwegian *vega* 'to weigh'; Swedish *väga* 'to weigh'; Danish *veie* 'to weigh'; Old English *wegan* 'to carry, to weigh', *wægn* 'carriage, cart, chariot'; Old Frisian *wega*, *weia* 'to move, to weigh', *wein* 'wagon'; Old Saxon *wegan* 'to weigh'; Old High German *wegan* 'to move, to shake, to weigh' (New High German *wägen* 'to weigh, to balance'), *wagan* 'wagon, cart, carriage' (New High German *Wagen*); Lithuanian *vežù*, *vėžti* 'to carry, to convey, to take'; Old Church Slavic *vezq*, *vesti* 'to transport', *vozъ* 'cart'. Rix 1998a:602—603 **ueǵh-* 'to carry, to transport, to convey; to go, to travel, to drive, to ride'; Pokorny 1959:1118—1120 **ueǵh-* 'to move'; Walde 1927—1932.I:249—250 **ueǵh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1499—1500 **ueǵh-* '(vb.) to carry, to convey, to transport; (n.) conveyance, roadway, means of transport', 1500 **ueǵhen-* (**ueǵhn-*) 'carrier, conveyor, conveyance; carriage, cartage', 1500 **ueǵhidhlom*, *-tlom*, *-trom*, 1500 **ueǵhs-*, 1500—1501 **ueǵhtis* 'lift, weight, conveyance', 1561 **uoǵhejō*, 1561 **uoǵhos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-ō(n)*, *-ios*, *-iǝ* 'conveying, conveyance, cart'; Watkins 1985:74 **wegh-* and 2000:95—96 **wegh-* 'to go, to transport in a vehicle'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:723 and II:942 **ueǵ[h]-* and 1995.I:95, I:360, I:623, I:627, I:835 **weǵh-* 'to ride, to convey, to carry by vehicle'; Mallory—Adams 1997:91 **ueǵh-* 'to bear, to carry' also 'to ride' (?); Boisacq 1950:735—736 **ueǵh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:604 (Latin *vehit* < **ueǵheti*), II:455—456, and II:457—458 **uoǵho-s*; Hofmann 1966:247 **ueǵh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:394, II:843—844, and II:845; Beekes 2010.I:491 **ueǵh-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:742—743; Ernout—Meillet 1979:717 **weg'h-*; De Vaan 2008:658; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:177—179; Kroonen 2013:577—578 Proto-Germanic **wegan-* 'to move, to carry'; Orël 1998:510 and 2003:452 Proto-Germanic **wežanan*, 452 **wežaz*, 460 **wēžiz*, 460 **wēžiz* ~ **wēžō*, 460 **wēžian*; Feist 1939:212 **ueǵh-*; Lehmann 1986:154 **wegh-*; De Vries 1977:639 and 650; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:434; Torp 1919:853; Klein 1971:819 and 824 **weǵh-*; Onions 1966:988 and 998 Common Germanic **wežan* (< **wegh-*, **wogh-*, **wēgh-*); Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:434—435; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:831; Kluge—Seebold 1989:772; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1236; Smoczyński 2007.1:746; Derksen 2008:518 **ueǵh-* and 2015:500 **ueǵh-*.

- C. Proto-Uralic **wixi-* 'to bring, to carry, to convey' > Finnish *vie-* 'to take (away), to bring somewhere (else), to carry, to convey, to lead'; Estonian *vii-* 'to take (away), to bring somewhere (else), to carry, to convey, to lead'; Lapp (Kola) *vj̄kka-/v̄yga-* 'to take (away), to bring somewhere (else), to carry, to convey, to lead'; Mordvin *vije-*, *vijǝ-* 'to take (away), to

bring somewhere (else), to carry, to convey, to lead'; Votyak / Udmurt *vajy-* 'to bring (here); to produce, to bear fruit, to bear'; Zyrian / Komi *vaj-* 'to bring, to hand over, to give; to take (as wife, to marry); to bear (to give birth to)'; Hungarian *viv-* 'to take, to bring somewhere (else), to carry'. Collinder 1955:140 and 1977:150 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **wiye-*; Rédei 1986—1988:573 **wiye-*; Sammallahti 1988: 551 **wixi-* 'to take'; Joki 1973:345—346; Zhivlov 2023:170 Proto-Uralic **wixi-* 'to take, to carry, to transport'. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ege-* 'to lead by hand', (Northern / Tundra) *wegie-* 'to lead, to carry', *wegii* 'loaded caravan'. Nikolaeva 2006:455.

Buck 1949:10.61 carry (bear); 10.66 ride (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1965:351 **wegλ* 'to carry' ('нести'); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:455—457, no. 301; Hakola 2000:214, no. 959; Greenberg 2002:33—34, no. 57; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2463, **w[i]g[ʔ]é* 'to carry, to take (somewhere)'.
 850. Proto-Nostratic root **wily-* (~ **wely-*):

- (vb.) **wily-* 'to become bright, to manifest, to appear, to come into view';
- (n.) **wily-a* 'appearance, manifestation; light, brightness, radiance, splendor';
- (adj.) 'bright, manifest, clear'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **wil-* 'to become bright, to manifest, to appear, to come into view': Berber: Tuareg *awəl* 'to keep an eye on, to watch over, to watch', *amāwal* 'supervisor'; Ghadames *awall* 'eye'; Riff *wala*, *wara* 'to see, to perceive', *allən* 'eyes'; Tamazight *allən* 'eyes'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *allən* 'eyes'; Kabyle *wali* 'to see, to look at; to think, to consider', *allən* 'eyes'. Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *will y-* (?) 'to appear suddenly'; Sidamo *willi y-* 'to appear suddenly'. Hudson 1989:21. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **welah-* 'to appear, to emerge into view' > Iraqw *welahat-* 'to appear, to emerge into view'; K'wadza *wilit-* 'to come out of hiding'. Ehret 1980:383.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *veḷ* 'white, pure, shining, bright', *veḷi* 'to break (as day), to clear, to whiten, to become bright', *veḷiru* (*veḷiri-*) '(vb.) to grow white, to become pale; (n.) whiteness, paleness, light, becoming clear', *veḷu* 'to become white or pale, to dawn, to become clear or manifest, to whiten (tr.; as clothes)', *viḷaṅku* (*viḷaṅki-*) 'to shine, to become renowned, to be polished, to be clear or plain, to know'; Malayalam *veḷi*, *veḷivu* 'light, clearness', *veḷukka* 'to dawn, to grow white, to be white, to be clean or bright', *viḷaṅṅuka* 'to shine forth, to reflect light, to show itself clearly, to be polished or clean'; Kannaḍa *beḷagu* 'to shine, to become bright, to manifest oneself; to cause to shine, to kindle (as a lamp), to scour, to polish', *beḷar* 'to become white or bright', *beḷa*, *beḷaku*, *beḷagu* 'light, lamp'; Koḍagu *boḷi-* (*boḷip-*, *boḷit-*) 'to become white', *boḷi* 'light'; Kota *veḷ* 'white, true', *veḷk* 'lamp', *veḷp* 'whiteness, lightness'; Tuḷu *boḷiruni* 'to

become white or clear'; Telugu *velūgu* '(vb.) to shine, to give light; to burn, to flame, to blaze; (n.) light, brightness, shining, splendor', *veluka* 'whiteness', *velacu* 'to clean', *velayu* 'to shine, to be splendid, to be renowned', *velaru* 'whiteness', *veli*, *velidi* 'white'; Parji *vil* 'white', *vili-* 'to be white'; Gadba (Ollari) *viled-* 'white'; Kuwi *vella* 'white', *rinj-* 'to be white', *rīnj-* 'to be white, to burn, to flash, to blaze', *rīh-* (*rīst-*) 'to make fire, to burn'; Kuṛux *bilcnā* 'to shine, to glitter, to sparkle, to be conspicuous', *billī* 'light, that which is the source of light (lamp, candle), flame, mental or moral illumination'; Malto *bilbilre* 'to shine brilliantly'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:499—500, no. 5496; Krishnamurti 2003:391 **wel/*wen* 'white'.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **wel-/*wļ-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **wol-*) 'to see, to look, to view': Latin *vultus*, *voltus* 'the expression of the face, countenance, appearance, look, aspect'; Old Irish *fili* 'poet, seer'; Welsh *gweled* 'to see'; Breton *guelet* 'to view'; Gothic *wlaitōn* 'to look around', *wlits* 'face, appearance', *anda-wleizn* 'face, countenance', *wulpus* 'splendor'; Old Icelandic *lita* 'to look, to see, to behold', *litr* (< Proto-Germanic **wlitu-z*) 'color, hue', *leita* 'to look for, to seek, to search'; Old English *wlitan* 'to look', *wlitig* 'beautiful', *wlite* 'brightness, beauty, splendor, appearance, form', *wlitu* 'form, species', *wlātian* 'to gaze', *and-wlita* 'face, countenance, surface (of earth); form, shape', *and-wlite* 'face, forehead', *wuldor* 'glory, praise'; Old Frisian *wlite* 'radiance, appearance'; Old Saxon *wliti* 'radiance, appearance'; Tocharian B *yel-* (< **wel-*) 'to investigate', (n. pl.) *yälloñ* 'sense-functions'. Semantic development as in Greek *λέυσσω* 'to look at, to behold' < **lewkh-* '(vb.) to shine, to be bright; (adj.) shining, bright, light'. Rix 1998a:616—617 **uel-* 'to see, to notice, to observe, to become aware of'; Pokorny 1959:1136—1137 **uel-* 'to see'; Walde 1927—1932.I:293—294 **uel-*; Mann 1984—1987:1509 **uel-* 'to see, to look'; Watkins 1985:75 **wel-* and 2000:97 **wel-* 'to see' (suffixed zero-grade form **wl-id-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:505 **uel-* 'to see'; De Vaan 2008:688—689; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:831; Ernout—Meillet 1979:751 **uel-*; Orël 2003:469 Proto-Germanic **wlaītōjanan*, 469 **wlitiz*, 469 **wlit(j)an*, 469 **wlitānan*; Kroonen 2013:591 Proto-Germanic **wlitān-* 'to see'; Feist 1939:571—572 **ulej-*, **uel-* and 577 **uel-* 'to see', **ul-ejd-*, **ul-ejs-*; Lehmann 1986:35—36 **wel-* 'to see', **wl-ey-d-*, 408 **wel-* 'to see', **wļ-tu-* 'appearance', and 413 **wel-* 'to see', **wļ-tu-* 'appearance'; De Vries 1977:352, 358, and 359; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:591 **uel-* 'to see' and I:596 **uel-* 'to see'; Adams 1999:500 and 507 **wel-* 'to see'.

Buck 1949:15.51 see; 15.52 look (vb.), look at; 15.53 sight (subj.); 15.543 sight (obj.), look (obj.), appearance; 15.56 shine; 15.57 bright; 15.61 color (sb.); 15.64 white. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2488, **w[e]lV* 'to shine, to lighten'.

851. Proto-Nostratic root **win-* (~ **wen-*) or **wiŋ-* (~ **weŋ-*):
 (vb.) **win-* or **wiŋ-* ‘to strive for, to wish for, to desire’;
 (n.) **win-a* or **wiŋ-a* ‘wish, desire’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **win-* ~ **wan-* ‘to be pleasant, joyful’: Egyptian *wnf* ‘to be joyful, to rejoice’; Coptic *unof* [ⲠⲚⲟⲢ] ‘to rejoice’. Hannig 1995:198; Faulkner 1962:61—62; Erman—Grapow 1921:36 and 1926—1963.1:319; Černý 1976:214; Vycichl 1983:235. Proto-Southern Cushitic **win-* or **wan-* ‘nice, pleasant, comfortable’ > Iraqw *wanana* ‘soft, gentle’, *wan[?]es-* ‘to soften’, *wanana[?]ut-* ‘to be loose’; Dahalo *wine* ‘good, clean’. Ehret 1980:314. Semantic development as in Old High German *wunna* ‘great joy, bliss’, Old English *wynn* ‘joy, rapture, pleasure, delight, gladness’, *wynsum* ‘pleasant, delightful, joyful, merry’, etc., cited below.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *vēṇṭu* (*vēṇṭi-*) ‘to want, to desire, to beg, to entreat, to request’, *vēṇṭum*, *vēṇum* ‘it will be required, necessary, indispensable; it must’, *vēṇṭām* ‘it will not be required, necessary, indispensable; it must not’, *vēṇṭal* ‘desiring, petition’, *vēṇṭāmai* ‘aversion, dislike, absence of desire, contentment’, *vēṇṭār* ‘those who have no desires; enemies’, *vēṇṭiya* ‘indispensable, required, sufficient, many’, *vēṇṭiyavan* ‘friend, well-wisher’, *vēṇṭunar* ‘those who wish for or desire a thing’, *vēṇ* ‘desire’; Malayalam *vēṇam*, *vēṇṭum* ‘it must, ought, is desired’, *vēṇ* ‘necessary’, *vēṇṭa* ‘useful, required’, *vēṇṭu* ‘must’, *vēṇṭa* ‘must not, need not’, *vēṇṭuka* ‘being necessary, friendship’, *vēṇṭikka* ‘to make necessary, to procure, to acquire’; Kannada *bēṭa*, *bēṇṭa* ‘longings, sexual passion, amorous pleasure’; Telugu *vēḍu* ‘to pray, to beg, to ask for, to wish, to desire’, *vēḍuka* ‘pleasure, joy, desire, wish, fun’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:504—505, no. 5528; Krishnamurti 2003:278 **wēṇ-ṭu* ‘wish’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **wen(H)-*/**wṇ(H)-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **won(H)-*) ‘to strive for, to wish for, to desire’: Sanskrit *vānati*, *vanóti* ‘to like, to love, to wish, to desire; to gain, to acquire, to procure; to conquer, to win, to become master of, to possess’, *vānas-* ‘longing, desire’, *vaní-h* ‘wish, desire’, *vanita-h* ‘solicited, asked, wished for, desired, loved’, *vanú-h*, *vanús-* ‘zealous, eager’; Avestan *vanaiti* ‘to win, to strive for, to conquer’; Latin *venus* ‘charm, loveliness, attractiveness; sexual love’, *vēnor* ‘a hunt’, *venia* ‘grace, indulgence, favor’, *veneror* ‘to ask reverently, to beseech with awe; to revere, to respect, to worship, to honor’; Old Irish *fine* ‘a family’; Gothic *wēns* ‘hope’, *winnan* ‘to suffer’, *winna* ‘passion’; Old Icelandic *una* ‘to enjoy, to be happy in, to be content with a thing’, *unað* ‘delight, happiness’, *vinr* ‘friend’, *yndi* ‘delight, happiness’, *væna* ‘to give one hope’, *ván* ‘hope, expectation’, *vænn* ‘fine, beautiful’, *vinna* ‘to work, to labor, to do work’, *vinna* ‘work, labor’, *vinningr* ‘gain, profit’, *ýskja*, *æskja* ‘to wish’; Old English *wynn* ‘joy, rapture, pleasure, delight, gladness’, *wynsum* ‘pleasant, delightful, joyful, merry’, *wine* ‘friend’, *wēnan* ‘to hope, to expect’, *wēn*, *wēnung* ‘hope, expectation’, *winnan* ‘to

toil, to endure hardship, to suffer’, *gewinnan* ‘to gain, to acquire, to conquer, to take’, *winn* ‘labor, effort, hardship’, *wýscan* ‘to wish’; Old Frisian *wēna* ‘to hope, to expect’, *wēn* ‘opinion’, *winna* ‘to obtain’; Old Saxon *wān* ‘hope’, *winnan* ‘to suffer, to win’; Old High German *wān* ‘opinion, hope’, *giwinnan* ‘to gain by labor’ (New High German *gewinnen*), *wunna* ‘great joy, bliss’, *wunskēn* ‘to wish’ (New High German *wünschen*). Rix 1998a:623—624 **uenH-* ‘to grow fond of’; Pokorny 1959:1146—1147 **uen-*, **uenə-* ‘to desire, to strive for’; Walde 1927—1932.I:258—260 **uen-*; Mann 1984—1987:1511—1512 **uēn-* ‘desire, hope, favor, outlook, charm’, 1514 **uenos*, *-es-* ‘desire’, 1515 **uēnskō* ‘to desire’; Watkins 1985:76 **wen-* and 2000:98 **wen-* ‘to desire, to strive for’; Mallory—Adams 1997:158 **uenh_x-* ‘to desire, to strive to obtain’; De Vaan 2008:661 and 663; Ernout—Meillet 1979:719, 720—721, and 721—722 **wen-* ‘to desire, to wish for’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:747, II:749—750, and II:752—753 **uen-*; Feist 1939:561 **uen-* and 566 **uen-*; Lehmann 1986:401 Gothic *wēns* possibly from **wen-* ‘to strive, to wish’ and 404 **wen-*, **wenH-* ‘to strive, to wish, to gain’; Orël 2003:455 Proto-Germanic **weniz*, 455 **wennanan*, 455 **wennō(n)*; Kroonen 2013:579 Proto-Germanic **wēni-* ‘expectation’ and 599 **wunskjan-* ‘to wish’; De Vries 1977:634 Proto-Norse **wunēn*, 666, and 678 Old Icelandic *yndi* < **wunepia*; Onions 1966:998 Common Germanic **wen-*, 1007, and 1009 Common Germanic **wunskā-*, *-ō-*; Klein 1971:828 **wen-* and 829 **wen-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:451; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:256 and 869 **uen-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:265 **wenə-* and 800 **wenə-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:141—142.

- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *wenke* ‘passion, inspiration, enthusiasm’, *wenkeñ-* ‘not meant to live long’, *wenkend’e-rukun* ‘promising’. Nikolaeva 2006:456.

Buck 1949:16.22 joy; 16.61 will, wish (vb.); 16.62 desire (vb.); 20.41 victory. Bomhard 1996a:216, no. 619. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2495, **w[o]ñV* ‘wish, love; luck’.

852. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wir-a* ‘a kind of tree: aspen, alder, poplar, or the like’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *viracu*, *viricu*, *virucu* ‘large sebesten’, *viriyān* ‘common sebesten’; Malayalam *virīśu* ‘a tree’; Telugu *virigi* ‘*Cordia sebestena*’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:490, no. 5408.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **werxw-* ‘aspen’: Georgian *verxv-* ‘aspen’; Mingrelian *vex-* ‘aspen’. Klimov 1964:84 **werxw-* and 1998:52 **werxw-* ‘aspen’; Fähnrich 2007:161 **werxw-*. According to Klimov (1998:52), Mingrelian *verxv-* ‘aspen’ and Svan *jexw-*, *werxw-* ‘aspen, poplar’ appear to be recent loans from Georgian.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **wer-n-* ‘alder, poplar’: Sanskrit *varaṇá-h*, *varāṇa-h*, *váruṇa-h* ‘the tree *Crataeva roxburghii* (used in medicine and supposedly containing magical powers)’; Armenian *geran* ‘a beam’; Albanian *verr* ‘alder, white poplar’; Middle Irish *fern* ‘alder; mast’; Breton *gwern* ‘alder; mast’; Old Cornish *guern* ‘mast’. Pokorny 1959:1169 **uer-(e)nā* ‘alder, poplar’; Walde 1927—1932.I:292 **uer-(e)nā*; Mann 1984—1987:1520 **uern-* (**uernā*, *-is*, *-ios*) ‘withy, shoot, sucker; alder’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:635 **uer-n-* and 1995.I:546 **wer-n-* ‘alder, poplar; log, beam, mast’; Mallory—Adams 1997:11 **uerno/eh₄* ‘alder’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:149; P. Friedrich 1970:149; Orël 1998:500.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **wirwir* ‘bark of alder’ > Chukchi *wirwir* ‘bark of alder’; Kerek *ujuj* ‘bark of alder’; Koryak *wicwij* ‘bark of alder’; Alyutor *wirwir* ‘bark of alder’. Fortescue 2005:330.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:614, no. 493. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2524, **wirχV* ‘tree (poplar, alder, or similar), shoot’.

853. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasian only) **wos-*:

(vb.) **wos-* ‘to trade, to deal’;

(n.) **wos-a* ‘trade, commerce’

- A. Proto-Indo-European **wos-/*us-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **wes-*) ‘to trade, to deal’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *uš-(ša-)ni-ya-zi* ‘to sell’, (3rd sg. pres.) *wa-a-ši* ‘to buy’; Sanskrit *vasná-m* ‘price, value’; Greek (Homeric) ὄνοϛ (< *Fóσ-vo-ϛ), (Attic-Ionic) ὄνῆ (< *Fos-vā), (Doric) ὄνᾶ, (Lesbian) ὄνῶ *‘price, sum paid’*; Latin *vēnum* ‘sale’, *vendō* ‘to put up for sale, to sell’; Old Russian *věno* ‘payment; bride price’; Czech *věno* ‘bride price’; Upper Sorbian *wěno* ‘dowry’; Polish *wiano* ‘bride-price’; Lydian *wsta-* ‘expense’ (?). Rix 1998a:634 **ues-* ‘to buy, to sell’; Walde 1927—1932.I:311—312 **ues-*; Pokorny 1959:1173 **ues-* ‘to buy, to sell’; Mann 1984—1987:1524 **ues-* ‘to put, to place, to give, to offer, to sell’, 1529 **uesnom* (**uosnom*) ‘price’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:747 **ue/os-(n-)* and 1995.I:650 **we/os-(n-)* ‘(vb.) to buy, to sell; (n.) price, trade, value’; Watkins 1985:78 **wes-* and 2000:100 **wes-* ‘to buy, to sell’ (suffixed form **wes-no-*; suffixed *o*-grade form **wos-no-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:185 **ues-no-* ‘purchase’; Boisacq 1950:1082 (Sanskrit *vasná-m* < **uesno-*); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1302—1303 **wes-*, **wes-no-*; Hofmann 1966:430 **uosnos*, **uosnā* (?), **uesnós*, **uesnom*; Beekes 2010.II:1680—1681 **uos-no-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1149—1150 **ues-no-*, **uos-no-*; Derksen 2008:519—520 (Old Russian *věno* ‘payment; bride price’, etc. < **h₁ued-no-m*); Kloekhorst 2008b:980—981; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:753—754 **uesno-*, **uosno-*; De Vaan 2008:663 **ues-no-* ‘price’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:721 Latin *vēnum* < **wesno-* or **wēsno-*; **wosnā* (> Lesbian ὄνῶ); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:177.

- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *wosa ‘trade, commerce’ > (?) Finnish *osta-* ‘to buy’; Lapp / Saami (Lule) *oases/oassasâ-* ‘commerce, ware’; (?) Cheremis / Mari *wōžale-, užale-* ‘to sell’; Votyak / Udmurt *vuz* ‘commerce, ware’; Vogul / Mansi *waatel-* ‘to trade, to deal’, *waata-qum* ‘merchant’ (*qum* = ‘man’); Zyrian / Komi *vuz* ‘commerce, sale, payment, tax’, *vuzal-* ‘to sell’. Rédei 1986—1988:585 *wosa; Collinder 1955:104 and 1977:119; Joki 1973:298 *vos(a)-; Sammallahti 1988:551 *wo/isa ‘to buy’.

Buck 1949:11.81 buy; 11.82 sell. Koskinen 1980:110, no. 396; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:608, no. 484.

854. Proto-Nostratic root *woth-:

- (vb.) *woth- ‘to take hold of, to seize, to grasp, to collect, to take away’;
(n.) *woth-a ‘the act of taking, seizing, grasping’

- A. (?) Afrasian: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *wataga, wattaga* [⚭⚭] ‘to flee, to escape, to hide (by fleeing), to rob’, *watg* [⚭⚭] ‘fugitive’. D. Cohen 1970— :650; Leslau 1987:622. Egyptian *wth* ‘to flee’, *wthw* ‘fugitive’. Hannig 1995:324; Gardiner 1957:562; Erman—Grapow 1921:42 and 1926—1963.1:381; Faulkner 1962:71 and 72. Semantic development probably as follows: ‘to take, to steal, to rob’ > ‘to steal something and run away with it’ > ‘to flee, to escape, etc.’, much as the English phrase *to steal away* is used colloquially to mean ‘to flee, to escape, to go away (in secret)’.
- B. Dravidian: Kui *ota (oti-)* ‘to fetch (persons)’; Kuṛux *otth^ornā (otthras)* ‘to take out, to bring out, to expel’, *ond^ornā (ondras)* ‘to bring, to take along, to take for wife’; Malto *otre* ‘to take out, to bring out’, *ondre* ‘to bring’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:93, no. 976.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *wotta- ‘to take hold of, to gather, to collect’ > Finnish *otta-* ‘to take’; Estonian *vōtta-* ‘to take’; Zyrian / Komi *vot-* ‘to pick, to gather, to collect’; Vogul / Mansi *waat-* ‘to pick’. Collinder 1955:105 and 1977:119; Rédei 1986—1988:586 *wotta-.

Buck 1949:10.62 bring; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 12.21 collect, gather. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:111, no. 351, *woṭa ‘to get, to obtain, to overtake’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:633, no. 512.

855. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasian only) *woy-:

- (vb.) *woy- ‘to make an effort, to act with energy’;
(n.) *woy-a ‘strength, power’

- A. Proto-Indo-European *woy(H)-/*wi(H)- (secondary *e*-grade form: *wey-) ‘(vb.) to make an effort, to act with energy; (n.) strength, power’: Sanskrit *vī-* ‘to go, to approach, to set in motion, to arouse, to excite, to impel, to

further, to promote’, *váyas-* ‘energy, strength, health, vigor, power, might; vigorous age, youth, prime of life, any period of life, age’; Avestan *vī-* ‘to go after, to drive, to pursue’; Greek ἴς (*Fīς*) ‘strength, force’ (note also Hesychius γίς [= *Fīς*]); Latin *vīs* ‘force, power, strength’. Pokorny 1959:1123—1124 **uei-*, **uejə-* : **uī-* ‘to let fly at, to go for’, **uīs-* ‘strength, force, power’; Walde 1927—1932.I:228—231 **uei-*, **uejā-*; Mann 1984—1987:1545 **uis* ‘strength, youth’, 1545—1546 **uisājō*, *-ējō* ‘to get strong’, 1546 ***uisəros* ‘vigorous’; Mallory—Adams 1997:209 **ueih_xs* ‘vital force’, **ueih_x-* ‘to be strong’; Watkins 1985:74—75 **weiə-* ‘vital force’ and 2000:97 **weiə-* ‘(vb.) to go for something, to pursue with vigor, to desire; (n.) force, power’, zero-grade form **wī-* (< **wiə-*); Frisk 1970—1973.I:735—736 **uī-s-*; **uīs-n-*; **uis-en-*; **uīs-*; **uī-n-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:469 **wīs-*; Boisacq 1950:382 **uei-*; Hofmann 1966:126 **uei-*; Beekes 2010.I:599 **uiH-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:740; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:800—801 **uei-* ‘to be vigorous’, identical with **uei(ā)-* ‘to pursue with vigor’; De Vaan 2008:683; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:147—148. Proto-Indo-European **wey-kh-/woy-kh-/wi-kh-* ‘(vb.) to overcome, to overpower, to conquer; (n.) fight, battle’: Old Irish *fichid* ‘to fight’; Middle Irish *fich* ‘battle’; Welsh *gwyth* ‘anger’; Latin *vincō* ‘to conquer, to overcome, to defeat, to subdue, to vanquish’; Gothic *waihjō* ‘battle’, *weihan* ‘to dispute’; Old Icelandic *vega* ‘to fence, to fight (smite) with a weapon; to attack, to fight against one; to smite, to slay, to kill’, *veig* ‘pith, strength’, *víg* ‘fight, battle’, *vigr* ‘in fighting condition, able to fight’, *véla* ‘to defraud, to betray’; Old English *wīgan* ‘to fight’, *wīg* ‘war’, *wægan* ‘to afflict, to frustrate, to deceive’, *wīgend* ‘warrior’; Old Frisian *wīch* ‘battle’, *wīgand-* ‘brave’; Old Saxon *wīg* ‘battle’, *wēg(i)an* ‘to torment’, *wīgand* ‘warrior’; Old High German *wīhan* ‘to fight, to struggle’, *wīgan* ‘to battle’, (past participle) *gi-wigan* ‘destroyed’, *widar-wigo* ‘opponent’, *wīg*, *wīc* ‘war, battle’, *wīgant* ‘warrior’, *weigan* ‘to torment’, *weiger* ‘bold’; Lithuanian *veikiù*, *veikti* ‘to do, to work, to act, to make’, *veikà* ‘activity, work’, *veikimas* ‘activity, action’, *viėkas* ‘life, strength’, *apveikiù*, *apveikti* ‘to overcome’; Latvian *veikt* ‘to carry out’; Old Church Slavonic *věkь* ‘age, strength’. Rix 1998a:611—612 **ueik-* ‘to overcome, to overpower, to conquer’; Pokorny 1959:1128—1129 **ueik-* ‘strong, mighty; hostile force’; Walde 1927—1932.I:232—233 **ueiq-*; Mann 1984—1987:1503 **ueik-* (**ueikō*, *-jō*; **uink-*, **uīk-*) ‘force, struggle’, 1563 **uoigh-* ‘hold, grip; strength, fortress’, 1563 **uoikos* (**uik-*) ‘effort, strain’; Mallory—Adams 1997:201 **ueik-* ‘to fight’; Watkins 1985:75 **weik-* and 2000:97 **weik-* ‘to fight, to conquer’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:791—792 **ueikmi*, **uikmés*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:736—737; De Vaan 2008:679—680; Orël 2003:465 Proto-Germanic **wīzan*, 465 **wīzaz*, 465—466 **wīxanan* ~ **wīzanan*; Kroonen 2013:586 Proto-Germanic **wīhan-* ‘to fight’; Feist 1939:542 and 557; Lehmann 1986:388 **weyk-* and 397—398 **weyk-* ‘to exert force’; De Vries 1977:650 **ueik-*, 651, 652—

653, 661, and 662; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:447—448; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1213—1214; Smoczyński 2007.1:728; Derksen 2015:494—495 *ueik-.

- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *woye- ‘(vb.) to be able, to have power or capability; (n.) strength, power’ > Finnish *voida-* ‘to be able (to), to be capable (of)’, *voima* ‘strength, force, power’, *voimakas* ‘strong, powerful’, *voitta-* ‘to win, to gain, to conquer, to beat, to overcome’, *voitto* ‘victory, triumph’; Estonian *või-* ‘to be able’, *võita-* ‘to triumph over, to conquer, to defeat, to win (in a game)’, *võitle-* ‘to fight, to struggle with, to contend’, *võim-* ‘strength, ability’; Hungarian *vív-* ‘to fight, to struggle with, to fence’, *vívód-* ‘to fight, to struggle against’, *vajúd-* ‘to be in labor’. Rédei 1986—1988:579 *woje-.
- C. Altaic: Proto-Turkic *u(y)- ‘to be able, to have power or capability’ > Uighur *u-* ‘to be able’. Menges 1968b:153; Décsy 1998:156 *u-* ‘to be able, to endure’.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 9.95 can, may (3rd sg.). Illič-Svityč 1965:364 *woj(H)л ‘strength’ (‘сила’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:629—631, no. 508; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2557, *woy[ʔ]é – *wof[ʔ]yê ‘power, ability’.

856. Proto-Nostratic root (vb.) *woy-:

Extended form:

(vb.) *woy-V-*kh-* ‘to arrange or put in order’;

(n.) *woy-*kh-a* ‘arrangement, order; straightness, correctness, rectitude’; (adj.) ‘straight, right, correct, true’

- A. Dravidian: Kannada *oykane* ‘orderly, properly, exactly, clearly’; Tuḷu *vaimè* ‘straightness, fitness, rectitude’; Telugu *ogi* ‘order, a range or line’, *ogin* ‘in order’; Kuṛux *uiraʔānā* ‘to put in order, to arrange’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:94, no. 986.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *woy^{kh-}/*wik^{h-} (secondary *e*-grade form: *wey^{kh-}) ‘(vb.) to arrange or put in order, to make equal or similar; (n.) that which is reasonable, true, equal, or similar’: Greek εἰκόν (Cyprian [acc.] Ἔεικόνα) ‘likeness, image, portrait’, εἰκός ‘likely, probable, reasonable; reasonably fair, equitable’, εἶκω ‘to be like, to seem likely’, εἰκάζω ‘to make like to, to represent by a likeness, to portray; to liken, to compare’, εἰκός, εἰκός (Ionic οἰκός) ‘seeming like, like; fitting, seemly, meet; likely, probable’; Old English *wīg, wīh, wēoh* ‘image, idol’; Lithuanian *į-vỹkti* ‘to happen, to occur, to take place, to come true, to be fulfilled’, *pavėikslas* ‘picture, painting, canvas, image’; Latvian *vīkt* ‘to prepare, to make ready’. Rix 1998a:612 *uejk- ‘to be similar, like’ (?); Pokorny 1959:1129 *ueik- ‘to happen, to prove right’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:233 *ueik-; Mann 1984—1987:1503 *ueiksəlos, -ā ‘aspect, figure, likeness; like, similar’, 1503 *ueik- ‘like, likeness; likelihood’; Watkins 1985:76 *weik- and 2000:97

**weik-* ‘to be like’; Mallory—Adams 1997:25 **ueik-* ‘to appear’; Boisacq 1950:222; Frisk 1970—1973.I:454—455; Hofmann 1966:71; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:354—355 **weik-*; Beekes 2010.I:382 **ueik-*; Orël 2003:465 Proto-Germanic **wīxan*.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugric **woyke* ‘straight, right, correct, true’ > Finnish *oikea* ‘right, just, correct; right (hand)’, *oiko-* ‘to set right, to rectify, to straighten’, *oikein* ‘right, correct; rightly’; Karelian *oikie*, *oigie* ‘right, true, straight, correct’; Estonian *õige* ‘right, true, straight, correct’; Lapp / Saami (Northern) *vuoi’gâ* ‘really, straight, right, truly’, *vuoi’gâd* ‘right, reasonable, straightforward, outspoken’; Cheremis / Mari *wie-* ‘to become straight’; Mordvin (Erza) *vijede*, (Moksha) *vide* ‘straight; right, just, true’; (?) Hungarian *igaz* ‘true, genuine, real, veritable, authentic’. Collinder 1955:103, 1960:412 **wojkz*, and 1977:118; Rédei 1986—1988:824—825 **wojke*.

Buck 1949:12.51 form, shape; 12.91 equal; 12.92 like, similar. Illič-Svityč 1965:358 **woj/k/λ* (?) ‘straight’ (‘прямой’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:631—632, no. 510; Hakola 2000:122, no. 526; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2468, **wojkV* ‘straight, even, fit’.

857. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wun-d-a* (~ **won-d-a*) ‘(young, fine, or soft) hair’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *oṭṭu* (< **oṇṭu*) ‘stubble’; Malayalam *oṭu* ‘stubble’; Tuḷu *oḍḍu* ‘stubble’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:93, no. 966.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **wondh-/*wṛdh-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **wendh-*) ‘beard, (young, fine, or soft) hair’: Greek ἰωνθος (< **F̥i-F̥onθos*) ‘the root of a hair, young hair, eruption on the face which often accompanies the first growth of the beard’, ἰωνθάς ‘shaggy’ (epithet of the wild goat); Middle Irish *find* (< **wṛdhu-* or **wendhu-*) ‘a hair’; Old High German *wint-* (< **wendh-*) in *wintbrāwa* ‘eyelash’; Old Prussian *wanso* ‘the first beard’; Russian Church Slavic **vosъ*, *osъ* (< **wondh-s-o-*) ‘moustache’; Russian *us* [yc] ‘moustache, whisker’. Pokorny 1959:1148 **uendh-* ‘hair, beard’; Walde 1927—1932.I:262 **uendh-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:252 **uendh-* ‘(a single) hair’, **ue/ondhso-* ‘facial hair’; Boisacq 1950:378 Greek ἰωνθος < **ui-uondho-*; **uṇdhā*; **uendh-s-o-*, **uondh-so-*; **uendho-*, -ā; **uendh-es-*, **uondh-es-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:729—730 Greek ἰωνθος < **F̥i-F̥onθos*; **uṇdh-* (**uendh-* ?); **uendh(o)-*; **uendh-s-o-*, **uondh-s-o-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:466 **wendh-*; Beekes 2010.I:594 **ui-uondh-o-*; Derksen 2008:386 **uondh-s-om*.
- C. Proto-Uralic **wuntz* ‘(young, fine, or soft) hair’: Finnish *untuva* ‘fine hair, pubescence, lanugo, fluff, down’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *muddut’e?* ‘beard’; Selkup Samoyed *umde*, *unde* ‘beard’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *munate*, *munoc?* ‘beard’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *mundujšan* ‘beard’; Kamassian *mü?zen* ‘beard’; Motor *mundučen* ‘beard’. Collinder 1955:65

and 1977:82; Janhunen 1977b:96 **muntʰəjtʰsɜn* (? **muntʰəjtʰsʰn*); Rédei 1986—1988:587—588 **wunčɜ* (**wuntɜ*); Décsy 1990:110 **vunta* ‘beard, fuzz’.

Buck 1949:4.14 hair; 4.142 beard. Illič-Svityč 1965:335 **w/o/mdʌ* ‘facial hair’ (‘волосы’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:632—633, no. 511.

858. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wur-a* (~ **wor-a*) ‘squirrel’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *uruttai* ‘squirrel’; Telugu *uruta* ‘squirrel’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:70, no. 713.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **wer-* ‘squirrel’ also ‘polecat, ferret’ (reduplicated forms: **we-wer-*, **wer-wer-*, **wi-wer-*, **way-wer-*, etc.): Farsi *varvarah* ‘squirrel’; Latin *vīverra* ‘ferret’; Welsh *gwiwer* ‘squirrel’; Breton *gwiber* ‘squirrel’; Scots Gaelic *feorag* ‘squirrel’; Old Icelandic *ikorni* ‘squirrel’; Norwegian *ikorn*, *ikorna* ‘squirrel’; Danish *egern* ‘squirrel’; Swedish *ekorre* ‘squirrel’; Old English *ācweorna* ‘squirrel’ (*āc-* = ‘oak’); Middle Low German *ēkeren*, *ēkhorn* ‘squirrel’; Dutch *eekhoorn* ‘squirrel’; Old High German *eihurno*, *eihorno* ‘squirrel’ (New High German *Eichhorn*); Lithuanian *vėveris*, *vaiverė*, *voverė* ‘squirrel’, *vaiveris* ‘male polecat’; Latvian *vāvere* ‘squirrel’; Old Prussian *weware* ‘squirrel’; Czech *veverka* ‘squirrel’; Old Russian *věverica* ‘squirrel’ (Russian *vėverica* [веверица]). Walde 1927—1932.I:287—288 **uer-* ‘squirrel’ (reduplicated **uer-uer-*, **ue-uer-*, **uai-uer-*, **ui-uer-*, **uā-uer-*); Pokorny 1959:1166 **uer-* (reduplicated **uer-uer-*, **ue-uer-*, **uai-uer-*, **ui-uer-*, **uā-uer-*) ‘squirrel’ also ‘polecat, ferret’; Mann 1984—1987:1550 **uīūerā*, *-is* ‘squirrel’; Watkins 1985:77 **wer-* reduplicated expressive form **wī-wer(r)-* and 2000:100 **wer-* ‘squirrel’ (reduplicated expressive form **wī-wer(r)-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:522 **ue(i)-uer-* and 1995.I:441 **we(i)wer-* ‘squirrel’ or ‘polecat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:540 **ueruer-* ‘squirrel’ and 2006:137 **werwer-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:808 **uer-*; De Vaan 2008:685 **ue(r)-uer-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:742—743 **wer-*; Huld 2009 **A₁uer-* ‘to raise up, to lift, to suspend, to become vertical’; Orël 2003:7 Proto-Germanic **aikwernōn* ~ **ikwernōn*; Kroonen 2013:10—11 Proto-Germanic **aikwernan-* ~ **ikurnan-* ‘squirrel’; Torp 1919:241 Germanic **ik-werna-n.* **aik-werna-n*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:134; De Vries 1977:284; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:154—155 **aik-wernan*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:167—168; Preobrazhensky 1951:106; Smoczyński 2007.1:768; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1233—1234; Derksen 2015:510—511. Note: The usual Modern Russian word for ‘squirrel’ is *bélka* [белка].
- C. Proto-Uralic **ora* ‘squirrel’ > Finnish *orava* ‘squirrel’; Estonian *orav*, *oravas* ‘squirrel’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *oar’re* ‘squirrel’; Mordvin *uro*, *ur* ‘squirrel’; Cheremis / Mari *ur* ‘squirrel’; Zyrian / Komi *ur* ‘squirrel’. Collinder 1955:44 and 1977:63; Rédei 1986—1988:343 **ora*;

Décsey 1990:105 **ora* ‘squirrel’; Sammallahti 1988:552 **ora* ‘squirrel’;
Zhivlov 2023:162 Proto-Uralic **ora* ‘squirrel’.

(?) Sumerian *ur-a* ‘beaver, otter’.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 70, **ʔUrV* (*ba*) ‘squirrel’; Hakola 2000:124, no. 537;
Pudas-Marlow 1974:73, no. 225.

859. Proto-Nostratic root **wurʷ-* (~ **worʷ-*):

(vb.) **wurʷ-* ‘to scratch, to incise, to dig up’;

(n.) **wurʷ-a* ‘pit, ditch’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **wur-* (vb.) to scratch, to incise, to dig up; (n.) ditch, pit, hole’: Semitic: Arabic *warr-at-* ‘ditch’. D. Cohen 1970— :636. West Chadic **wur-* ‘pit’ > Ngizim *wúríyà* ‘borrow pit; any open pit where water can collect’. Central Chadic **wur-* ‘hole’ > Higi Nkafa *wure* ‘hole’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:531, no. 2548, **wur-* ‘pit, hole’.
- B. Proto-Dravidian (**wuru* >) **uru* ‘to plow, to dig up’: Tamil *uru* ‘to plow, to dig up, to root up (as pigs), to scratch, to incise (as bees in a flower)’, *uravan*, *uravōn*, *urāvan* ‘plowman, agriculturalist’, (f.) *uratti*, *uravu* ‘plowing, agriculture’, *urāl* ‘plowing, scratching, probing (as bees the flowers)’, *urunar* ‘plowmen’, *urakku* (*urakki-*) ‘to plow’; Malayalam *uruka*, *urukuka*, *urutuka* ‘to plow’, *urama* ‘tillage’, *uravan* ‘plowman, farmer’; Kota *ug-* (*urt-*) ‘to plow, to be plowed’, *ukl* ‘the act of plowing’; Toda *uʃ-* (*uʃt-*) ‘to plow’; Kannada *ur-* (*urt-*, *utt-*) ‘to plow’, *urata*, *uruta*, *urame*, *urime*, *urume*, *ural* *uruvike*, *urike*, *uruke*, *urke*, *ukke* ‘plowing’; Telugu *dunnu*, *dunu* ‘to plow, to till’, *dukki* ‘plowing, tillage’; Kolami *ur-* (*urt-*) ‘to harrow, to plow’; Naikri *ur-* ‘to plow, to harrow’; Parji *ur-* ‘to plow’; Gadba (Salur) *ūd-* ‘to plow’; Gondi *urānā*, *ur-*, *ud-* (written *ud-*), *urānā*, *urdānā* ‘to plow’; Konda *rū-* ‘to plow, to till soil’; Pengo *rū-* ‘to plow’; Kui *rūva* (*rūt-*) (vb.) to plow; (n.) plowing’, *ūra* (*ūri-*) ‘to dig with snout, to root up’; Kuwi *rū-* ‘to plow’, *ruki* ‘plowing, bullock’; Kurux *uīnā/uynā* (*ussas*) ‘to plow’, *ugtā* ‘a plow, plowshare’; Malto *use* ‘to turn up the soil (as pigs do)’. Krishnamurti 2003:152 **uz-u* ‘to plow, to dig up’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:67, no. 688.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **wor-/w̥r-* (vb.) to plow; (n.) furrow, ditch’: Latin *urvum* ‘the curved part of a plow, plow-tail’, *urvō* ‘to plow round, to mark out with a plow’; Oscan *uruvú* ‘boundary-ditch’; Greek ὄρος (Ionic οὐρος) ‘boundary’, (Mycenaean) *wo-wo* (FopFoi) ‘boundary-ditch, boundary’. Mann 1984—1987:1480 **uruos* (**ur̥uos*) ‘boundary-ridge, ditch’, 1581—1582 **uoruos* ‘boundary, moat, boundary-ditch’, 1606 ***ur̥u-* (**ur̥uos*) ‘boundary-ditch, moat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:215 (?) **uoruos* ‘furrow’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:755; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:843 and II:843—844 **ur̥uo-*; De Vaan 2008:645; Frisk 1970—1973.II:425—426

(Latin *urvus* < **ur̥uos*, as opposed to **uor̥uos*); Boisacq 1960:716 (Italic **urvo-* < **ur̥uo-*); Beekes 2010.II:1109 **ueru-*, **uoru-o-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:825—826 **worwo-*; Prellwitz 1905:837—838 **ῠόρῠος*; Hofmann 1966:239.

Sumerian *uru*, *ur₁₁(-ru)* ‘to plow’.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow (vb., sb.); 8.212 furrow; 8.22 dig; 19.17 boundary. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:611—612, no. 489; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2532, **wúrû* ‘to scratch’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘to plow’).

860. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasianic only) **wuy-* (~ **woy-*) or **Huy-* (~ **Hoy-*):

(vb.) **wuy-* or **Huy-* ‘to swim, to float’;

(n.) **wuy-a* or **Huy-a* ‘swim, swimming, floating’

A. Proto-Uralic *(*w*)*uyi-* ‘to swim’: Finnish *ui-* ‘to swim’, *uitta-* ‘to float’; Estonian *uju-*, *oju-* ‘to swim’; Livonian *vojgõ-* ‘to swim’; Lapp / Saami *vuoggjâ-/vuojâ-* ‘to swim’; Mordvin (Erza) *uje-*, (Moksha) *ujə-* ‘to swim’; Cheremis / Mari (Eastern) *ija-*, (Western) *iä-* ‘to swim’; Votyak / Udmurt *uj-*, *üj-* ‘to swim, to navigate, to go by boat’; Zyrian / Komi *uj-* ‘to swim, to wade’; Vogul / Mansi *uj-*, *wuj-* ‘to swim’; Ostyak / Xanty *ot’-* ‘to swim’ (imptv. *ut’ä*), (Northern) *os’-*, *woś-* ‘to swim’, (Southern) (deriv.) *ut’-* ‘to swim’; Hungarian (deriv.) *úsz-* ‘to swim’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ηuu-* ‘to swim’; Selkup Samoyed (deriv.) *uurna-* ‘to swim’. Collinder 1955:64, 1960:409 **ujõ-* (**wojõ-*), and 1977:81; Rédei 1986—1988:542 **uje-* ~ **oje-*; Décsy 1990:110 **uja* ‘to swim’; Sammallahti 1988:536 **uxi-* ‘to swim’; Janhunen 1977b:29 **u-*; Zhivlov 2003:166 Proto-Uralic **uji-* ‘to swim’. (?) Yukaghir: (Southern / Kolyma) *oj-* ‘to stream’, *ojl’*, *oj* ‘stream, current’, *ojnə-* ‘fast (of a stream)’, (Northern / Tundra) *ua-*, *wa-* ‘to flow’, *waajl* ‘stream, current’, *woiñe-*, *uoiñe-*, *uaine-*, *uoine-*, *woine-* ‘to flow’, *wajdije* ‘spurt’, *waj(a)γα-* ‘to flow, to stream’, *wajγuol* ‘log brought from upstream’, *wajayije* ‘stream’. Nikolaeva 2006:457.

B. Proto-Altaiic **oye-* ‘to swim’: Proto-Tungus **uyV-* ‘to swim (of birds)’ > Evenki *uyu-*, *uyu-hta-* ‘to swim (of birds)’; Negidal *oyi-yan-* ‘to swim (of birds)’; Orok *onnō-* ‘to swim (of birds)’; Nanay / Gold *oñoan-*, *oyana-* ‘to swim (of birds)’; Udihe *wuyan-*, *uyan-* ‘to swim’. Proto-Mongolian **oyimu-* ‘to swim’ > Written Mongolian *oyima-*, *oyimu-* ‘to swim, to swim across, to ford’; Khalkha *oymo-* ‘to swim’; Kalmyk *ōm-* ‘to swim’; Ordos *oōmo-* ‘to pass the ford’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1043 **oje* ‘to swim’; Poppe 1960:140; Street 1974:22 **oyimu-* ‘to swim (across)’.

Buck 1949:10.34 float (vb.); 10.35 swim (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:631, no. 509; Illič-Svityč 1965:355 **woja-* ‘to swim’ (‘плыть’); Nakola 2000:199, no. 891; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2614, **XóγV* ‘to swim, to float, to flow’.

22.43. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *m

Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Eurasianic			
				Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
m-	m-	m-	m-	m-	m-	m-	m-
-m-	-m-	-m-	-m-	-m-	-m-	-m-	-m-

861. Proto-Nostratic indefinite pronoun stem **ma-* (~ **mǝ-*), **mi-* (~ **me-*), **mu-* (~ **mo-*) ‘one, someone, somebody, anyone, anybody; other, another’:

Note: This may originally have been a demonstrative stem (as suggested by Illič-Svityč), with three degrees of distance:

Proximate: **ma-* (~ **mǝ-*) ‘this’;

Intermediate: **mi-* (~ **me-*) ‘that’;

Distant: **mu-* (~ **mo-*) ‘that yonder’

As in the stems:

Proximate: **k^ha-* (~ **k^hǝ-*) ‘this’;

**t^ha-* (~ **t^hǝ-*) ‘this’;

Intermediate: **k^hi-* (~ **k^he-*) ‘that’;

**t^hi-* (~ **t^he-*) ‘that’;

Distant: **k^hu-* (~ **k^ho-*) ‘that yonder’

**t^hu-* (~ **t^ho-*) ‘that yonder’

- A. Afrasian: Ehret (1995:300, no. 568) reconstructs a Proto-Afrasian indefinite pronoun stem **m-* ‘one, someone, somebody’ (cf. Ugaritic *mn* ‘any, a certain’; Arabic *man* ‘he/she/those who, the one who; those who’; Egyptian *mn* ‘someone, so-and-so’). According to Lipiński (1997:330), “indefinite pronouns strictly speaking do not exist in Semitic. The forms used as a kind of indefinite pronouns are based on the interrogative pronoun” (see also Moscati 1964:115). Instead of being derived from the interrogative pronoun, as is commonly assumed, the Semitic forms may indeed be relics of an old indefinite (< demonstrative) stem as proposed by Ehret.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **a-ma-* ‘this, that’, **ma-* pronominal stem of the third person: ‘this, he; this one, that one’: Georgian *ama-/am-* ‘this, that’, *ma-* ‘this, he; this one, that one’; Mingrelian *amu-* ‘this, that’, *mu-* ‘this, he; this one, that one’; Laz (*h*)*amu-* ‘this, that’, *mu-* ‘this, he; this one, that one’; Svan *am(a)-* ‘this, that’. Klimov 1964:44 **a-ma-*, 124 **ma-* and 1998:2 **a-ma-* ‘this, that’, 112—113 **ma-* pronominal stem of the third person; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:226 **ma-*; Fähnrich 2007:276 **ma-*.
- C. (?) Indo-European: Welsh *y^{ma}* (poetical *y^{man}*) ‘here’; Breton *ama*, *amañ*, *-ma*, *-mañ* ‘here’, (Vannetais) *ama*, *amann*, *amenn* ‘here’; Cornish *y^{ma}*, *omma*, *-ma*, *-man* ‘here’. Morris Jones 1913:433; Lewis—Pedersen 1937: 221. Note: Only preserved in relic forms in Celtic.

- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mu* ‘other, another’ > Finnish *muu* ‘(somebody, something) else; other, another’; Estonian *muu* ‘other, something (or somebody) else’; Lapp / Saami (Ume) *mubbe* ‘one (of two); the other; another, other; (the) second’ (contains the suffix of the comparative); Votyak / Udmurt (derivative) *myd, möd* ‘other’. Collinder 1955:100 and 1977:115; Rédei 1986—1988:281—282 **mu*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) (interjection) *ma, ma?* ‘here it is’, *mə* (affirmative marker) ‘here it is, here you are’, (Northern / Tundra) (interjection) *ma* ‘here it is’, (focus marker) *me(r)*-. Nikolaeva 2006:255 and 261. Probably also: Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *migi(də)*- ‘here’, (Northern / Tundra) *migi*- ‘here’. Nikolaeva 2006:268.
- E. Altaic: Common Turkic (**mū/*mō* >) **bū/*bō* ‘this’ > Middle Kipchak *bu* ‘this’; Chagatay *bu* ‘this’; Turkish *bu* ‘this’; Azerbaijani *bu* ‘this’; Turkmenian *bu* ‘this’ (oblique *mun-*); Tatar *bu* ‘this’; Kazakh *bul* ‘this’; Noghay *bu* ‘this’; Kirghiz *bul* ‘this’; Uzbek *bu* ‘this’; Yakut *bu* ‘this’. Menges 1968b:121—122; Róna-Tas 1998:74; Décsy 1998:61. Examples from Johanson—Csató 1998. Mongolian *mön* deictic particle serving as a demonstrative pronoun, adjective, adverb, and copula: ‘just this one; certainly, surely, really’.

Sumerian *man, mìn* ‘other, another’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:70—71, no. 303, **mu* demonstrative pronoun: ‘this, that’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:675—676, no. 555; Nafiqoff 2003:47—49 **mu*; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1510, **mu[wV]* ‘this, that’; Fortescue 1998:155.

862. Proto-Nostratic (nursery word) (n.) **ma(a)* ‘mother, mommy’, (reduplicated) **mam(m)a*, **mema* ‘mother; (mother’s) breast, milk’; used as a verb, the meaning was probably ‘to suckle, to nurse; to suck (the breast)’ (as noted by Watkins 2000:50: “[a] linguistic near-universal found in many of the world’s languages, often in reduplicated form”; see also Jakobson 1971[1960]):
- A. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *mammu* ‘food (in children’s language)’; Tuḷu *mamma* ‘breast’; Parji *mama* ‘milk (children’s word)’; Kuṛux *mamā* ‘rice (in nursery language)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:415, no. 4703.
- B. Proto-Indo-European (nursery word) **mā* ‘mother, mommy, mama’, (reduplicated) **mamma* ‘mother, mommy, mama; (mother’s) breast’, (dissimilated) **mānā*, **mannā*: Sanskrit *mā́* ‘mother’; Greek μάμη *māmē* ‘mama, mommy’, also ‘mother’s breast’; Armenian *mam* ‘grandmother’; Latin *mamma* ‘breast’; Welsh *mam* ‘mother’; Old Icelandic *móna* ‘mother’; New High German (Alemannic) *Mamme* ‘mother’; Albanian (Tosk) *mëmë*, (Gheg) *mamë* ‘mother’; Lithuanian *mamà, momà* ‘mother’; Russian *máma* [мама] ‘mama, mommy’. Pokorny 1959:694 **mā* nursery word for ‘mother’, (reduplicated) **māmā*, **mammā*, (dissimilated) **mānā*,

mannā*; Walde 1927—1932.II:221—222 **mā* nursery word for ‘mother’, (reduplicated) **māmā*, **mammā*, (dissimilated) **mānā*, **mannā*; Mann 1984—1987:729 **māmā* (mammā*) ‘mother, grandma, female, nurse’ (onomatopoeia); Mallory—Adams 1997:386; Watkins 1985:38 **mā-* and 2000:50 **mā-* ‘mother’; Boisacq 1950:606; Prellwitz 1905:276 and 280; Hofmann 1966:189; Frisk 1970—1973.II:168—169; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:663; Beekes 2010.II:899; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:21—22; Ernout—Meillet 1979:381; De Vaan 2008:361; De Vries 1977:392; Meyer 1891:272; Orël 1998:260. Proto-Indo-European **mā-^{ther-}* ‘mother’ (no laryngeal!); Sanskrit *mātár-* ‘mother’; Avestan *mātar-* ‘mother’; Old Persian *mātar-* ‘mother’; Old Phrygian *ματαρ* ‘mother’; Greek *μήτηρ* ‘mother’ (Doric *μᾶτηρ*; Mycenaean *ma-te*); Armenian *mayr* ‘mother’; Latin *māter* ‘mother’; Oscan (gen. sg.) *maatreis* ‘mother’; Faliscan *mate* ‘mother’; Umbrian (gen. sg.) *matrer* ‘mother’; Old Irish *máthir* ‘mother’; Old Icelandic *móðir* ‘mother’; Faroese *móðir* ‘mother’; Norwegian *moder* ‘mother’; Swedish *moder* ‘mother’; Danish *moder* ‘mother’; Old English *mōdor* ‘mother’; Old Frisian *mōder* ‘mother’; Old Saxon *mōdar* ‘mother’; Dutch *moeder* ‘mother’; Old High German *muotar* ‘mother’ (New High German *Mutter*); Lithuanian *mótė*, *motė* ‘wife’, *móteris* ‘woman’, *mótina*, *mótyna* ‘mother’, *motušė* ‘mama’; Latvian *māte* ‘mother’; Old Church Slavic *mati* ‘mother’; Russian *mat’* [МАТЬ] ‘mother’; Tocharian A *mācar*, B *mācer* ‘mother’. Pokorny 1959:700—701 **mātér-* ‘mother’; Walde 1927—1932.II:229—230 **mātér-*; Mann 1984—1987:735 **mātē* ‘mother’, 735 **mātēr-* (**māter-*, **māty*) ‘mother’, 736 **mātī* (**māti*) ‘mother, nanny’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:49 **māt[h]er-*, I:184 **māt[h]er-s* > **māt[h]ēr-Ø*, II:913, fn. 3, **māt[h]er-* and 1995.I:43—44 **mā^{ther-}* ‘mother’, I:158 **mā^{ther-}s* > **mā^{thēr-}Ø*, I:808, fn. 37, **mā^{ther-}*; Mallory—Adams 1997:385 **méh_atēr* (or **meh_atēr* or **mātēr*) ‘mother’; Benveniste 1973:175—179; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:619—620; Boisacq 1950:635 **mātēr*; Prellwitz 1905:293; Frisk 1970—1973.II:232 Greek *μήτηρ*, etc. from a nursery word **mā*; Hofmann 1966:201 **māter-* from a nursery word **mā*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:698—699 Greek *μήτηρ*, etc. from a nursery word **mā*; Beekes 2010.II:948 **meh₂ter-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:49—50 **mātēr*; De Vaan 2008:367; Ernout—Meillet 1979:389—390; Orël 2003:273 Proto-Germanic **mōdēr*, 273 **mōdernjan*; Kroonen 2013:371 Proto-Germanic **mōder-* ‘mother’; De Vries 1977:391; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:520—521; Torp 1919:430; Onions 1966:592 Common Germanic **mōdar-*; Klein 1971:478 **māter-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:266 **meh₂ter-*; Walshe 1951:156; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:497 **mātēr-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:494—495 **mātēr*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:283—284 **māter-*; Adams 1999:447; Derksen 2008:303 **meh₂ter-* and 2015:323—324 **meh₂ter-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:409—410, 1:410, and 1:411; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:465—466; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:457—461 **māh₂ter-/māh₂tr-*.

- C. Uralic: Finnish *mamma* ‘grandma, granny; ma, mama; old woman’; Estonian *mamma* ‘mom, mommy’; Hungarian *mama* ‘mother, mommy’.
- D. Proto-Altaic **mēmV* ‘breast (female)’: Proto-Tungus **meme* ‘breast (female), udder; wet nurse’ > Manchu *meme* ‘wet nurse’; Nanay / Gold *meme* ‘breast (female), udder’. Proto-Mongolian **mömü* ‘female breast’ > Written Mongolian *mömü* ‘female breast’; Khalkha *mōm, mōmō, mēm* ‘female breast’. Proto-Turkic **mēme* (**bēme*) ‘breast, nipple’ > Turkish *meme* ‘teat, nipple’; Gagauz *mämä* ‘breast (female)’; Azerbaijani *mämä* ‘nipple’; Turkmenian *māme* (poetical) ‘breast’; Uighur *mämä* ‘breast (female)’; Karaim *mämä* ‘nipple’; Tatar *mēmi, mēmeγ* ‘breast (female)’; Bashkir *mämäγ* ‘breast (female)’; Noghay *mämäγ* ‘breast (female)’; Yakut *mēmē* ‘baby’s pacifier’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:911 **mēmV* ‘female breast, foster-mother’.
- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **mam* ‘old woman’: Amur *mam* ‘old woman, wife’; North Sakhalin *mam* ‘old woman’; East Sakhalin *mam / mamč* ‘old woman’; South Sakhalin *mam* ‘old woman’. Fortescue 2016:101.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **mamar(-)* ‘to suck (breast)’: Central Siberian Yupik *mamaq* ‘breast, milk’, *mamar-* ‘to suck (breast)’; Sirenik *mamər-* ‘to suck (breast)’, *maməX* ‘milk’, *mamaX, maməX* ‘breast’; Seward Peninsula Inuit (Qawiaaraq) *mamaq-* ‘to smell good’; North Alaskan Inuit *mamaq-* ‘to taste good’, *mamaun* ‘udder’; Western Canadian Inuit *mamaq-* ‘to taste good’, *mamaun* ‘udder’ (in Copper, also ‘woman’s breast’); Eastern Canadian Inuit *mamaq-* ‘to taste good’, *mamauti* ‘udder’; Greenlandic Inuit *mamar-* ‘to taste good’, *mamma* ‘food (in baby talk)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:188.

Buck 1949:2.31ff. words for family relationship (p. 94); 4.41 breast (of woman). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1356, **ma[?]a(-yV)* ‘mother’.

863. Proto-Nostratic negative/prohibitive particle **ma(?)*- (~ **mə(?)*-) ‘no, not’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ma(?)*- negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’: Proto-Semitic **ma(?)* negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’ > Arabic *mā* ‘not’; Harari *mē?* ‘not’. Egyptian *m* imperative of the negative verb *imi*: ‘do not!’. Hannig 1995:312; Faulkner 1962:100; Erman—Grapow 1921:59 and 1926—1963.2:3; Gardiner 1957:567. Berber: Ayer *ma* ‘not’; Shawiya *ma* ‘not’; Nefusa *mō* ‘no’. Proto-East Cushitic **ma(?)* negative particle > Afar *ma*; Rendille *ma-* negative prefix; Somali *ma?* (Central Somali *mə* main sentence negative particle); Dasenech *ma*. Sasse 1979:52. Southern Cushitic: Iraqw *ma* ‘do not!’. Ongota negative imperative verb prefix *ma-*, negative non-imperative verb prefix *mi-* (cf. Fleming 2002b:40). Diakonoff 1988:83, §4.4.3; Ehret 1995:301, no. 572, **ma-* ‘to not have’; Militarëv 2012:80—81.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **ma-* negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’: Laz *mo(t)* verbal prohibitive particle; Svan *mā-d(e)*, *mō-d(e)* particle of modal negation: ‘no, not’, *mām(a)* ‘not’, *māma* ‘no’. Klimov 1964:124—125 **mad* and 1998:113 **mad* verbal negative particle; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:227 **ma-*; Fähnrich 2007:277 **ma-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **mē* negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’: Sanskrit *mā* prohibitive particle: ‘not, that not’; Avestan *mā* prohibitive particle: ‘not’; Old Persian *mā* prohibitive particle: ‘not’; Greek μή ‘not’; Armenian *mi* prohibitive particle: ‘do not!’; Tocharian A/B *mā* ‘not, no’ (simple negation and prohibition); Albanian *mos* (< **mē+k^{wh}e*) prohibitive particle: ‘do not!’. Brugmann 1904:111; Pokorny 1959:703 **mē* ‘not’; Walde 1927—1932.II:236—237 **mē*; Mann 1984—1987:738 **mē*, **mēqui* ‘do not’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:614; Mallory—Adams 1997:395 **mē* ‘not’; Boisacq 1950:631 **mē*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:222 **mē*; Hofmann 1966:199; Beekes 2010.II:941 **meh₁*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:692 **mē*; Prellwitz 1905:292; Huld 1984:94—95; Orël 1998:274; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:282—283 **mē(-)*; Adams 1999:445—446 **mē*.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **ma* negative/prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’: Proto-Tungus **-me* prohibitive particle > Manchu *ume* used for negating imperatives (stands before the imperfect participle); Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *emə* ‘do not’; Jurchen *ume* prohibitive particle; Nanay / Gold *em* prohibitive particle; Oroch *em* prohibitive particle. Proto-Turkic **-ma-* negative particle > Old Turkic *-ma-* negative particle; Karakhanide Turkic *-ma-* negative particle; Turkish *-ma-* negative particle; Gagauz *-ma-* negative particle; Azerbaijani *-ma-* negative particle; Turkmenian *-ma-* negative particle; Uzbek *-ma-* negative particle; Uighur *-ma-* negative particle; Karaim *-ma-* negative particle; Tatar *-ma-* negative particle; Bashkir *-ma-* negative particle; Kirghiz *-ma-* negative particle; Kazakh *-ma-* negative particle; Noghay *-ma-* negative particle; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *-ma-* negative particle; Tuva *-ma-* negative particle; Chuvash *-ma-* negative particle; Yakut *-ma-* negative particle. Menges 1968b:144; Johanson—Csató 1998. Greenberg 2000:213—214; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 893 **ma* a negative particle. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak remark: “A monosyllabic root, but, unlike the 1st p. pron. or the accusative particle, it did not undergo denasalization in P[roto]-A[ltaic]. This may be explained by the fact that it was in most cases already incorporated into the verbal form as a suffix. It is interesting to note Mong[olian] **büi*, **bu* ‘neg. particle’ — which may be originally the same morpheme, but functioning as a separate word and thus subject to the rule **mV* > **bV*.”

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:56—57, no. 290, **mä* prohibitive particle; Möller 1911:158; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:644, no. 523; Greenberg 2000:213—214, no. 57; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1353, **mä* → **mäh[o]* ‘do not’ (prohibitive particle) and ‘not’ (negative).

864. Proto-Nostratic root **maʔ-* (~ **məʔ-*):(vb.) **maʔ-* ‘to increase (in number), to be abundant, to be many’;(n.) **maʔ-a* ‘large quantity, plenty, abundance’; (adj.) ‘great, big, large, many, abundant’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **maʔ-* ‘to increase (in number), to be many, to be abundant’: Proto-Semitic **maʔ-* ‘to increase (in number), to be many, to be abundant’ > Hebrew *məʔōd* [מְעוֹד] ‘(n.) strength, might, power; (adv.) very, greatly, exceedingly’, *məʔōdī* [מְעוֹדִי] ‘very, much, abundant’, *mēʔāh* [מֵעָה] ‘hundred’; Ugaritic *mīd* ‘much’, *mīt* ‘hundred’; Akkadian *maʔādu* (*mādu*, *miādu*) ‘to be or become much; numerous, plentiful, abundant’, *maʔdū* (*mādū*) ‘large quantity, plenty’, *meat* (*māt*, *mē*) ‘hundred’, *mētā* ‘hundred times’; Eblaite *mi-at* ‘hundred’; Arabic *maʔada* ‘to grow, to increase’, *miʔa* ‘hundred’; Sabaean *mʔt* ‘hundred’; Ḥarsūsi *myīt* ‘hundred’; Šheri / Jibbāli *mūt* ‘hundred’; Mehri *əmyīt* ‘hundred’; Soqotri *miʔe* ‘hundred’; Geez / Ethiopic *məʔət* [ሞላት], *məʔət* [ሞዕት] ‘hundred, century’; Tigrinya *məʔti* ‘hundred’; Tigre *məʔət* ‘hundred’; Gurage (Soddo) *māto* ‘hundred’; Amharic *māto* ‘hundred’; Argobba *māto* ‘hundred’. Murtonen 1989:252—253 and 253; Klein 1987:308; Leslau 1979:435 and 1987:324; Militarëv 2011:89 Proto-Semitic **mVʔad-*; Zammit 2002:377 Arabic *miʔa* ‘hundred’. Central Chadic: Daba *mādde* ‘large’ (< **mVʔad-*). Orël—Stolbova 1995:392, no. 1811, **mVʔad-* ‘to be large’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **meʔ-/moʔ-* > **mē-/mō-* ‘abundant, considerable, more’: Old Irish *már* ‘great’; Oscan *mais* ‘more’; Gothic *mais* ‘more’; Old Icelandic *meiri* (n. *meira*) ‘greater, bigger, larger, more’, (adv.) *meirr* ‘more’; Norwegian *meir* ‘more’; Swedish *mer* ‘more’; Danish *mer* ‘more’; Old English *māra* (f. and n. *māre*) ‘more’; Old Frisian *māra* ‘more’; Old Saxon *mēro* ‘more’; Dutch (adv.) *meer* ‘more’; Old High German *mēro* ‘more’ (New High German *mehr*). Pokorny 1959:704 **mē-*, **mō-* ‘big, considerable’; Walde 1927—1932.II:238 **mē-*, **mō-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:344 **meh₁ros* ~ **moh₁ros* ‘large’; Mann 1984—1987:798 **mōros* (**māros*) ‘large, great’; Watkins 1985:39 **mē-* and 2000:51—52 **mē-* ‘big’ (contracted from earlier **me₂-*); Kroonen 2013:350 Proto-Germanic **maizan-* ‘more’; Orël 2003:257 Proto-Germanic **maiz*, 257 **maizōn*; Lehmann 1986:241 **mē-*; Feist 1939:341 **mē-īs-*, *-is-*; De Vries 1977:382 **mē-īes*; Torp 1919:419; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:510—511; Onions 1966:583 Common Germanic **maiz* (< **meis*) and 589; Hoad 1986:300 **māis*; Klein 1971:476; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:250—251; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:471; Kluge—Seebold 1989:470—471 **mē-*.

Sumerian *me* ‘abundance, plenty’.

Buck 1949:13.15 much; many; 13.16 more. Möller 1911:155; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:560—561, no. 422; Assadian—Hakola 2003:84, no. 271.

865. Proto-Nostratic root **mad-* (~ **məd-*):(vb.) **mad-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’;(n.) **mad-a* ‘measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit’

Note also:

(vb.) **mat’-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’;(n.) **mat’-a* ‘measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mad-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’: Proto-Semitic **mad-ad-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’ > Akkadian *madādu* ‘to measure the length of something’; Hebrew *mādaḏ* [מָדַד] ‘to measure’; Phoenician *mdd* ‘to measure’, *mdt* ‘scale’; Ugaritic *mdd* ‘to measure’, (m. pl.) *mdm* ‘surveyors’ (?); Arabic *madda* ‘to extend, to distend, to expand, to dilate; to stretch, to stretch out (something), to crane (the neck); to draw out, to protract (something); to spread out (something); to lay out (tracks, pipeline); to spread (a net); to lengthen, to elongate, to prolong (something); to grant a respite or delay; to rise (flood, river); to help, to aid, to assist (someone), to support (someone by or with); to supply, to provide (with); to reinforce (an army); to fertilize’, *madd* ‘extension; distension, dilation, expansion; spreading; stretching; lengthening, elongation, prolongation, protraction; drawing out of the voice over long vowels (in Koran recitation); rising, rise (of water, of a flood)’, *mudda* ‘period (of time), space of time, interval; while; duration; limited or appointed time; term’, *mādd* ‘stretching, expanding, extending, spreading; trailing, creeping (plant)’; Sabaeen (adj.) *mmd* ‘prolonged, extended’, *md-t* ‘period of time’; Ḥarsūsi *med* ‘to stretch out, to aim (a gun)’; Mehri *məd* ‘to stretch out, to stretch (one’s limbs); to give; to push forward, to point (a gun)’, *maddēt* ‘period; generosity’; Šeri / Jibbāli *midd* ‘to stretch out, to stretch (one’s arms after resting); to give; to extend (a gun); to point’, *maddēt* ‘period; generosity’; Geez / Ethiopic *madada* [መደደ] ‘to spread, to level; to hit, to execute’; Tigre *mādḏa* ‘to spread, to stretch, to attack’; Tigrinya (reduplicated) *mādmādā* ‘to level, to flatten’; Amharic (reduplicated) *mādämmādä* ‘to level, to flatten, to cut down one after another (trees), to destroy’. Murtonen 1989:253—254; Klein 1987:318; Leslau 1987:329; Militarëv 2011:92 Proto-Semitic **mdd*; Tomback 1978:166; Zammit 2002:379—380. (?) Late Egyptian *mdd* ‘a vessel for measuring wine’; Coptic *mtōte* [ⲙⲧⲟⲩⲉ] meaning unknown, perhaps ‘a kind of vessel’. Hannig 1995:379; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:183; Černý 1976:94.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *maṭṭam* ‘measure, evenness, flatness, rule, line, gauging rod, limit, extent, bound, degree, guess, conjecture; equality in height, size, measure; whole quantity leaving no surplus; moderation’, *maṭṭu* ‘measure, quantity, standard, degree, size, proportion, amount, limit, extent, scope, range, estimate, conjecture, moderateness, that which is middling, that which is commonplace, a standard of measurement’, *maṭṭāy* ‘moderately,

temperately’, *maṭanku* ‘measure, quantity, degree’; Malayalam *maṭṭa* ‘a certain measure of length’, *maṭṭam* ‘the rule, level of a bricklayer, carpenter’s square’, *maṭṭu* ‘measure, limit’; Kota *maṭm* ‘level place; all’; Kannada *maṭṭa*, *maṭa*, *maṭṭasa* ‘measure, extent, height, bound, limit, proper limit, levelness, evenness, equality, regularity, exactness, carpenter’s level or square’, *maṭṭu* ‘measure, extent, height, limit’, *maṭṭa* ‘exactness’; Tuḷu *maṭṭa* ‘carpenter’s or bricklayer’s square, level, height, measure’, *maṭṭu* ‘measure, extent, limit, capacity, ability’; Telugu *maṭṭamu* ‘level, a leveling instrument, a level’, *maṭṭugā* ‘moderately, limitedly’, *maṭṭu* ‘limit, bound, restriction, measure, extent, degree; limited, moderate’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:412, no. 4660.

- C. Altaic: Manchu *mada-* ‘to expand, to swell, to grow (of interest); to stand on end (of hair)’, *madanga* ‘elastic, extensile’.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 12.34 measure (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1498, **mAtVdV* ⇐ **mAdVtV* ‘to stretch, to measure’.

866. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mad-w-a* ‘honey, mead’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *maṭṭu* ‘honey, toddy, fermented liquor, sweet juice, drink taken at the time of sexual union’, *maṭṭam* ‘toddy’; Malayalam *maṭu* ‘sweetness, honey’, *maṭṭu* ‘nectar’; Tuḷu *miṭṭi* ‘sweetness’, *miṭṭe* ‘pollen’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:412, no. 4662.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **med^hw/u-* ‘honey, mead’: Sanskrit *mádhu* ‘mead, honey’; Pāli *madhu-* ‘honey, wine made from the blossom of *Bassia latifolia*’; Hindi *mau* ‘honey’; Avestan *maḍu-* ‘honey, mead’; Greek μέθυ ‘wine, mead’; Old Irish *mid* ‘mead’; Welsh *medd* ‘mead’, *meddy* ‘drunk’; Old Icelandic *mjǫðr* ‘mead’; Faroese *mjǫður* ‘mead’; Norwegian *mjød* ‘mead’; Swedish *mjöd* ‘mead’; Danish *mjød* ‘mead’; Old English *medu*, *meodu* ‘mead’; Old Frisian *mede* ‘mead’; Old Saxon *mede* ‘mead’; Old High German *metu*, *mitu* ‘mead’ (New High German *Met*); Lithuanian *medūs* ‘honey’; Old Church Slavic *medь* ‘honey, mead’; Tocharian B *mit* ‘honey’; Hittite ^{NINDA}*madu* ‘sweet bread’ or ‘honey bread’; Luwian (nom.-acc. sg.) *ma-ad-du* ‘wine’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *matu-* ‘wine’. Pokorny 1959:707 **médhu* ‘honey, mead’; Walde 1927—1932.II:261 **médhu*; Mann 1984—1987:742—743 **medhu* ‘sweet drink, liquid honey, mead’; Watkins 1985:39 **medhu* and 2000:52 **medhu* ‘honey’ also ‘mead’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:603—605 **med^hju* and 1995.I:517—518 **med^hu* ‘mead, honey’; Mallory—Adams 1997:271 **médhu* ‘mead’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:570—572 **medhu-*; Boisacq 1950:619—620 **medhu*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:191—192 **médhu*; Hofmann 1966:194 **medhu*; Beekes 2010.II:919 **med^hu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:675—676; Morris Jones 1913:75; Falileyev 2000:111 **medhu*; Orël 2003:265 Proto-Germanic **meduz*; Kroonen 2013:361 Proto-Germanic **medu-*

‘mead, alcoholic liquor made of honey and water’ (< **med^h-u-*); Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:518—519; De Vries 1977:390; Torp 1919:428; Onions 1966:564 **medhu-*; Klein 1971:452 **medhu-* ‘honey, sweet drink’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:476 **medhu*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:475 **medhu-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:298 **medhu*; Adams 1999:461 **mé^hu-*; Puhvel 1984— .6:100—101 **medhu-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:425; Smoczyński 2007.1:382; Derksen 2008:306—307 **med^hu* and 2015:309 **med^hu-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:467—468 **mé^hu-*.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mete* ‘honey’ > Finnish *mesi/mete-* ‘honey, nectar’; Estonian *mesi* ‘honey’; Mordvin *med’* ‘honey’; (?) Chereemis / Mari *mü, müj* ‘honey’; Votyak / Udmurt *mu* ‘honey’; Zyrian / Komi *ma* ‘honey’; Hungarian *méz* ‘honey’. Collinder 1955:132 and 1977:143—144; Joki 1973:283—285; Rédei 1986—1988:273 **mete*; Sammallahti 1988:545 **meti* ‘honey’. These forms are usually considered to be loans from Indo-European.
- D. Etruscan *maθ* ‘honey, honeyed wine’.

Buck 1949:5.91 mead. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:665—666, no. 543; Hakola 2000:104, no. 446; Dolgopolsky 1998:64, no. 79, **madu* ‘honey’ and 2008, no. 1369, **mAdû* ‘honey’.

867. Proto-Nostratic root **mag-* (~ **mæg-*):

- (vb.) **mag-* ‘to be of great influence, importance, or power; to be eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious’;
- (n.) **mag-a* ‘strength, power, might; glory, splendor, magnificence, grandeur, nobility, honor, distinction, excellence’; (adj.) ‘strong, powerful, eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mag-* ‘to be of great influence, importance, or power; to be eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious’: Proto-Semitic **mag-ad-* ‘to be eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious’ > Arabic *mağada* ‘to be glorious, illustrious, exalted; to praise, to extol; to laud, to glorify; to celebrate; to be extolled, glorified, lauded, praised; to boast’, *mağd* ‘glory, splendor, magnificence, grandeur, nobility, honor, distinction’; Hebrew *meyed* [מַיֵּד] ‘excellence, excellent or choice things (always of gifts of nature)’; Aramaic *miydā* ‘fruit, something precious’; Syriac *maydā* ‘fruit’. Murtonen 1989:253; Klein 1987:314; Zammit 2002:378. (?) Proto-Highland East Cushitic **magano* ‘god, sky’ > Gedeo / Darasa *magano, mageno* ‘sky, god’; Kambata *maganu* ‘god’; Sidamo *magano* ‘god, sky’. Hudson 1989:71 and 136. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:370, no. 1704, **mag-* ‘to be numerous, to be big’.]
- B. Kartvelian: Georgian *mag-ar-i* ‘strong, powerful’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **meg^h-*/**mog^h-* ‘to be of great influence, importance, or power; to be eminent, exalted, highly esteemed, glorious, illustrious’:

- Sanskrit *mahati*, *maháyati* ‘to magnify, to esteem highly, to revere’, *máhas-* ‘greatness, might, power, glory’, *mahá-ḥ* ‘great, mighty, strong, abundant’, *mahánt-* ‘great, large, powerful, venerable’; Pāli *maha-* ‘greatness’; Avestan *mazant-* ‘great’; Gothic *magan* ‘to have power, to be able’, *mahteigs* ‘mighty, able, possible’, *mahts* ‘might, power, strength’; Old Icelandic *magna* ‘to charm, to make strong by spell; to increase in power, to grow strong’, *mega* ‘to be able to do’, *megin* ‘might, power, strength’, *magn* ‘strength, power’, *megð* in *úmegð* ‘helplessness’, *megn* ‘strength; strong, mighty’, *megna* ‘to be able, to have strength to do a thing’, *mátrr* ‘might, strength; health’, *máttigr* ‘mighty’; Old English *magan* ‘to be able, to have power, to be strong, to be competent, to avail, to prevail’, *maga* ‘strong, powerful, able’, *mægen* ‘strength, might, power’, *meaht*, *miht* ‘might, power, ability’, *mihtig* ‘powerful, mighty, possible’, *gemægh* ‘power, greatness’; Old Frisian *mecht*, *macht* ‘power, strength’; Old Saxon *megin* ‘power, strength’, *maht* ‘power, strength’; Old High German *mugan*, *magan* ‘to be able, to be possible’ (New High German *mögen*), *megin* ‘power, strength’, *maht* ‘might, authority, sway (over), influence, control (of), grip (on), force, strength, power’ (New High German *Macht*); Old Church Slavic *mogō*, *mošti* ‘to be able’. Rix 1998a:379 **mag^h*- ‘to be able, capable’; Pokorny 1959:708—709 **meġ(h)*- ‘big, great’; Walde 1927—1932.II:257—259 **meġ(h)*-; Mann 1984—1987:745 **meġh*- notational root to accommodate Sanskrit *mahá-ḥ*, Avestan *mazant-*, etc., 783 **mogh-* ‘large, powerful, big’, 784 **moghant-* (**moghnt-*) ‘big, great, strong’, 784 **moghatos*, *-ā*, *-is* ‘strong; strength’, 784 **moghlos*, *-jos*, *-jə* ‘grip, firmness; clamp, bolt, mainstay’, 784 **moghnos* (**moghinos*), *-om* ‘strong, big; strength, size, ability’, 785 **moghō*, **moghmi* ‘am able, can’, 785 **moghtis* ‘power’; Watkins 1985:38 **magh-* and 2000:50 **magh-* ‘to be able, to have power’; Mallory—Adams 1997:3 **magh-* ‘to be able’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:608—609 and II:609—610 Proto-Indo-Iranian **māzhānt-*; Gonda 1975.II:448—483 **meg(h)*-; Orël 2003:253 Proto-Germanic **maġenan*, 253 **maġenaz*, 253 **maġenōjanan*, 254 **maxtiġaz*, 254 **maxtiz*; Kroonen 2013:347 Proto-Germanic **mahti-* ‘strength’ and 373 **mugan-* ‘to be able’; Lehmann 1986:239—240 **māgh-*, **magh-* ‘to be able’ and 240; Feist 1939:338—339 **māgh-* and 340; De Vries 1977:375, 380, and 381; Onions 1966:563 **mogh-*, **mēgh-* and 575 Common Germanic **maxtiz*, from **maġ-* ‘to be able’; Klein 1971:451 **māgh-*, **məgh-* ‘to be able’ and 464 **māgh-*, **məgh-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:248; Kluge—Mitzka 1987:452 and 484 **māgh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:453 and 484; Derksen 2008:321 **mogh-*.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **mīaga* ‘glory, praise’: (?) Proto-Tungus **m[īa]g-* ‘to shamanize; to be noisy’ > Evenki *migdi-* ‘to be noisy, to make noise’; Oroch *magui-* ‘to shamanize’. Proto-Mongolian **magta-* ‘to praise, to glorify’ > Middle Mongolian *maḡta-* ‘to praise, to laud’; Written Mongolian *maḡta-* ‘to praise, to eulogize, to laud, to extol, to glorify’;

Khalkha *magta-* ‘to praise, to glorify’; Buriat *magta-* ‘to praise, to glorify’; Kalmyk *maktə-* ‘to praise, to glorify’; Ordos *magta-* ‘to praise, to glorify’; Dagur *maktāl* ‘praise’; Shira-Yughur *maχda-* ‘to praise, to glorify’; Monguor *maχda-* ‘to praise, to glorify’. (?) Proto-Turkic **bAgatur* ‘hero’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon) *baγatur* ‘hero’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *bātīr* ‘hero’; Turkmenian *bātīr* ‘hero’; Kirghiz *bātīr* ‘hero’; Tuva *mādīr* ‘hero’; Yakut *bātīr* ‘hero’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:919 **mīaga* ‘glory, praise’.

Buck 1949:9.95 can, may (3rd sg.); 16.16 honor; 16.47 glory; 16.79 praise (sb.); 22.12 god. Illič-Svityč 1965:331 **magal* ‘great, big, strong’ [‘большой’]; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:635—636, no. 514.

868. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **mag-a* ‘earth, land’:

- A. Proto-Indo-European **mag^h-* ‘earth, land’: Sanskrit *mahī* ‘earth’ (substance = ‘ground, soil’), ‘the earth’ (= ‘the world’); Gaulish *-magus* in: *Arganto-magus*; Old Irish *mag* ‘plain, open field’; Middle Welsh *ma-* ‘place’; Welsh *maes* (< **magesto-*) ‘field, plain’, *maen* ‘stone’; Cornish *mes* ‘field’, *men* ‘stone’; Breton *meaz* ‘field’, *mean* ‘stone’. Mann 1984—1987:1641 **magh-*, **maghən-* ‘stone’; Pokorny 1959:709; Walde 1927—1932.II:258; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:28; Matasović 2009:253 **megh₂-*.
- B. Proto-Uralic **mexi* ‘earth, land’: Finnish *maa* ‘earth, soil, ground, country, land’; Estonian *maa* ‘earth, soil, ground, country, land’; Cheremis / Mari (Malmyž) *mū-*, *mūj-*: *mūnō* ‘on the ground, on the floor, down (of position)’, *mūgō*, *mūjān* ‘to the ground, to the floor, down’, *mūjūcūn* ‘from the ground, from the floor’; Votyak / Udmurt *mu* ‘earth, land, field’; Zyrian / Komi *mu* ‘earth, land, field’; Vogul / Mansi *maa*, *mōō* ‘earth, land, place’; Ostyak / Xanty *mæg*, (Northern) *mūw* ‘earth, land’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *mou* ‘earth’; (?) Selkup Samoyed *ma-* in: *maś qula* the name of a Selkup tribe: ‘earth-people’. Collinder 1955:33, 1960:407 **mayō*, and 1977:52; Rédei 1986—1988:263—264 **maγe*; Sammallahti 1988:546 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mīxi* ‘earth, land’; Décsy 1990:102 **mānga* ‘land’; Zhivlov 2023:161 Proto-Uralic **mexi* ‘earth’.

Buck 1949:1.21 earth, land; 1.23 plain, field. Illič-Svityč 1965:342 **magal* ‘soil, earth’ [‘земля’]; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:674—675, no. 553; Greenberg 2002:56, no. 118, **mag* ‘earth’; Hakola 2000:99, no. 422; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1374, **magé* ‘earth, land’.

869. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mag-a* ‘young person, child’; (adj.) ‘young’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *maka* ‘child, infant, young of animal, son or daughter, young age’, *makaṭu*, *makaṭū* ‘female, woman, wife’, *makavu* ‘infant, son, young of animals living in trees (as of monkeys)’, *makaḷ* ‘daughter,

woman, female, wife, damsel’, *makaṇmai* ‘sonship, manliness’, *makār* ‘sons, children’, *makkaḷ* ‘human beings’, *mākkaḷ* ‘men, people, mankind, children’, *makiṇaṇ* ‘husband, chief of an agricultural tract, lord’; Malayalam *makan* ‘son’, *makkaḷ* ‘children (especially sons), the young of animals’; Kota *mog* ‘child, wife’; Toda *mox* ‘child, son, daughter; male; woman’; Kannada *maga* ‘son, male person’, *makan* ‘son’, *magu*, *magavu*, *maguvu*, *moga*, *mogu*, *moguvu* ‘child of any sex’, *magal* ‘daughter’ *makkaḷ*, *markaḷ*, *makkaḷir* ‘children’, *magalṃā* ‘a wife who is faithful to her husband’; Koḍagu *makka* ‘children’; Tuḷu *mage* ‘son’, *magalu* ‘daughter’, *makkaḷ* ‘children’; Telugu *maga*, *moga* ‘male’, *magāṭimi* ‘manliness, bravery, prowess’, *magāḍu* ‘husband, man, male, king, hero’, *maganru* ‘son’, *magatanamu* ‘virility, manliness, courage, bravery, boldness, spirit’, *magadi* ‘male of any animal, beast, or bird’, *maganālu* ‘wife, married woman’, *magapāḍi* ‘manliness, honor, bravery’, *magalāgu* ‘manliness’, *magavāḍu* ‘man, male, hero’, *magavu* ‘woman’, *maguvatanamu* ‘womanhood’; Kolami *magvan* ‘husband’; Gadba (Ollari) *maginḍ sinḍ* ‘man, husband’, (Salur) *maga sinḍu* ‘boy child’, *magginḍ* ‘husband’; Konḍa *moga koṛo* ‘boy child; husband, young man’; Kuwi *maka* (voc.) used to daughters and sisters in affection; Malto *maqe* ‘boy’, *maqi* ‘girl’, *maqo* ‘small, little one (animal)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:407—408, no. 4616; Krishnamurti 2003:10 and 163 **mak-antu* ‘son, male’, **mak-aḷ* ‘daughter’.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **magh-* ‘young’, **maghu-* ‘young person, child’: Avestan *mayava-* ‘unmarried’; Old Irish *macc* ‘son’; Gothic *magus* ‘boy, servant’, *magaps* ‘maiden, girl’; Runic (gen. sg.) *magor* [𐌱𐌿𐌶𐌵] ‘son’; Old Icelandic *mögr* ‘son, boy, youth’; Old English *magu* ‘child, son; man, warrior; attendant, servant’, *mæg(e)þ* ‘maiden, girl; virgin’ (Modern English *maid(en)*); Old Frisian *maged*, *megith* ‘maiden, girl’; Old Saxon *magu* ‘servant’, *magad* ‘maiden, girl’; Old High German *magad* ‘maiden, girl’ (New High German *Magd* ‘maid[servant]’, diminutive *Mädchen* ‘girl’), *maga-* in: *magaczogo* ‘trainer’; Latvian *mač* (gen. sg. *maģa*) ‘small’. Pokorny 1959:696 **maghos*, *-ā* ‘young’, **maghu-* ‘boy, child’; Walde 1927—1932.II:228 **maghu-*; Mann 1984—1987:785 **moguḥilā* ‘woman, maid’, 785 **moguḥiḷ* (**māguḥiḷ* ?) ‘girl, maiden’, 785 **moguḥos* (**māguḥos*) ‘boy, youth, man’; Watkins 1985:38 **maghu-* and 2000:50 **maghu-* ‘young person of either sex’; Mallory—Adams 1997:656 **maghus* ‘young man’; Orël 2003:253 Proto-Germanic **maḡapiz*, 253—254 **maḡuz*, 254 **maḡwilō(n)*, 254 **maḡwjō*; Kroonen 2013:346—347 Proto-Germanic **magabi-* ‘girl, maiden’ and 347 **magu-* ‘boy, relative’; Feist 1939:339 Germanic stem **maḡa-* beside **maḡu-*; Lehmann 1986:240; De Vries 1977:400; Onions 1966:546 **moghus* ‘boy, young man’; Klein 1971:439; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:251—253 and 253; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:453 **maghu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:454; Krause 1971:50, §28.4.

Buck 1949:2.25 boy; 2.41 son; 12.56 small, little. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:667, no. 545; Caldwell 1913:601.

870. Proto-Nostratic root **maḥ-* (~ **məḥ-*):

(vb.) **maḥ-* ‘to increase, to swell, to exceed, to surpass, to be great’;

(n.) **maḥ-a* ‘bigness, greatness, fullness, excellence’; (adj.) ‘big, great, full’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **maḥ-* ‘to increase, to swell, to exceed, to surpass, to be great’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *maḥasa* [ጠሐሰ] ‘to cause to grow, to rear’. Leslau 1987:337. Egyptian *mḥ* ‘to fill, to be full (of); to make whole; to complete, to finish; to be full; to be complete’, *mḥw* ‘filling, packing, stuffing; a mouthful’. Faulkner 1962:113; Hannig 1995:352; Gardiner 1957:569; Erman—Grapow 1921:68 and 1926—1963.2:116—117.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *mā* ‘great’, *mātu* ‘greatness’, *māl* ‘greatness; great man’, *māl* (*mālv-*, *māṇr-*) ‘to be magnified, glorified’; Malayalam *mā* ‘great’; Kannaḍa *mā* ‘big, great’; Gondi *māy(i)* ‘very big’, *mayali* ‘big’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:425, no. 4786. Tamil *māṇ* (*māṇp-*, *māṇt-*) ‘(vb.) to become excellent, glorious, to be good, worthy; to be full, abundant, great; (n.) greatness, glory, splendor, excellence, dignity’, *māṇṭal* ‘being great, being worthy’, *māṇpu* ‘honor, dignity, beauty, greatness, excellence, goodness’, *māṇal* ‘greatness, excellence, goodness’, *māṇi* ‘beauty’, *māṇam* ‘greatness, excellence’; Malayalam *māṇpu* ‘glory, beauty’; Telugu *mānu* ‘beauty, excellence; beautiful, elegant, fit, proper, worthy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:427, no. 4803.
- C. (?) Proto-Indo-European **meḥh-kh-* [**maḥh-kh-*] > **mā-kh-* ‘to increase; to cause to grow, to breed’: Welsh (f.) *mag* ‘nurture, breeding’, (m.) *magi* ‘nurture, breeding’, *magad* (m.) ‘brood, multitude’, (inf.) *magu* ‘to breed’; Latvian (m.) *makāns* ‘fattened animal’. Mann 1984—1987:726—727 **māk-* ‘to force, to press, to push ahead, to increase, to rear’.

Sumerian *mah* ‘to be or make great, magnificent; to be much, many’.

Buck 1949:12.55 large, big (great); 13.15 much, many; 13.16 more; 13.21 full. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:634—635, no. 513.

871. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mak^h-a* ‘neck’:

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mkḥʾ* ‘back of the head, occiput’ (according to Sethe, composed of **mki* + *ḥʾ* ‘occiput; back [of ear]; behind, around’); Coptic *makh* [ⲙⲁⲕⲁ] ‘neck’. Hannig 1995:372; Faulkner 1962:119; Erman—Grapow 1921:72 and 1926—1963.2:163; Vycichl 1983:111; Černý 1976:80. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *mōk* (< **mākeX*) ‘neck’. Reinisch 1895:167; Blažek 2003b:16, no. 38.

- B. Dravidian: Kolami *mak* ‘neck’; Naikṛi *makk* ‘neck’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:408, no. 4622.
- C. Proto-Altaic **mjak^hu* ‘neck’: Tungus: Evenki *muka* ‘skin from a deer’s neck’. Turkic: Karakhanide Turkic *baqan* ‘necklace, torque’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:920 **mjak^hu* ‘neck’.

Buck 1949:4.28 neck.

872. Proto-Nostratic root **mak^h-* (~ **mək^h-*):

- (vb.) **mak^h-* ‘to deceive, to trick, to cheat; to be deceived, troubled, confused, perplexed’;
- (n.) **mak^h-a* ‘deception, trickery, confusion’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mak-* ‘to deceive, to trick, to cheat; to be deceived, troubled, confused, perplexed’: Proto-Semitic **mak-ar-* ‘to deceive’ > Arabic *makara* ‘to deceive, to delude, to cheat, to dupe, to gull, to double-cross’, *makra* ‘ruse, artifice, stratagem, wile, trick, dodge’, *makr* ‘cunning, craftiness, slyness, wiliness, double-dealing, deception, trickery’; Mehri *məkūr* ‘to fill someone with talk against someone’, *šəmūr* ‘to be turned by talk against someone’; Šheri / Jibbāli *mókór* ‘to fill someone with talk against someone; to turn against someone’, *məkrún* ‘treacherous, cunning’. Zammit 2002:386. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *makkal-* ‘to be crazy’. Hudson 1989:384.
- B. (?) Indo-European: Greek μακκοῶ ‘to be stupid’ (either derived from Μακκῶ the name of a stupid woman, or the other way around). Origin unknown (cf. Frisk 1970—1973.II:164; Boisacq 1950:603; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:660; Hofmann 1966:188; Beekes 2010.II:895; Prellwitz 1905:279). Assuming here semantic development from ‘bewildered, perplexed, confused’ as in Sanskrit *mūḍhā-ḥ* ‘stupid, foolish, dull, silly, simple’, literally, ‘stupefied, bewildered, perplexed, confused, uncertain of or at a loss about’, from *muh-* ‘to be stupefied or unconscious, to be bewildered or perplexed, to err, to be mistaken, to go astray’ (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:662); note also Mongolian *megde-* ‘to be or become excited, worried; to be or become embarrassed, troubled, perplexed, or confused; to become stupid or imbecilic; to remain motionless and without feeling, to remain paralyzed’, cited below.
- C. Proto-Altaic **mak^he-* ‘to be deceived, perplexed’ > Proto-Tungus **maka-* ‘to become dizzy, confused; to be afraid; to hate’ > Manchu *maqqa-* ‘to become muddled, to become confused in one’s thinking’; Orok *maqqa-* ‘to hate’; Nanay / Gold *māqā-* ‘to gaze at’; Udihe *maka-* ‘to be afraid’. Proto-Mongolian **mek(e)-* ‘(vb.) to be disturbed, troubled, confused, perplexed, embarrassed; to deceive, to cheat; (n.) deceit, trickery’ > Written Mongolian *meke* ‘deceit, fraud, trick, ruse; cunning, artfulness; astuteness, assimilation’, *mekei* ‘bashful, shy, modest’, *megde-* ‘to be or become

excited, worried; to be or become embarrassed, troubled, perplexed, or confused; to become stupid or imbecilic; to remain motionless and without feeling, to remain paralyzed’, *mekele-* ‘to deceive, to cheat, to outwit, to mystify; to act craftily’; Khalkha *mex* ‘deceit, trickery’, *megd-* ‘to be disturbed, perplexed’, *mexiy* ‘embarrassed’; Buriat *mexə* ‘deceit, trickery’, *megde-* ‘to be disturbed, perplexed’; Kalmyk *mekə* ‘deceit, trickery’; Ordos *mexə* ‘deceit, trickery’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:896—897 **mak*’e ‘to be deceived, perplexed’.

Buck 1949:16.68 deceit; 17.22 foolish, stupid; 17.23 insane, mad, crazy.

873. Proto-Nostratic root **mak*’- (~ **mək*’-):

(vb.) **mak*’- ‘to be great, strong, mighty, powerful’;

(n.) **mak*’-*a* ‘strength, power’; (adj.) ‘great, strong, powerful; much, many’

Note also:

(vb.) **mik*’- ‘to exceed, to surpass, to be in excess, to grow, to increase, to swell, to expand’;

(n.) **mik*’-*a* ‘growth, excess, increase, abundance, fullness’; (adj.) ‘large, big, great, much’

A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *mak’aamu* ‘strong, powerful’, *mak’o* ‘strength, power’; Sidamo *mak’aé* ‘strength, power’. Hudson 1989:332 and 384.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **mak*’- ‘heavy’ (> ‘pregnant’): Georgian *mak’en-*, *mak’n-* ‘to become pregnant’, *mak’e-* ‘pregnant’; Mingrelian *mok’a-*, *monk’a-* ‘heavy’, *si-monk’a-* ‘heaviness’, *monk’atu-* ‘pregnant’; Laz *monk’a-* ‘heavy’, *monk’an-* ‘to become pregnant’. Schmidt 1962:122; Fähnrich 2007:278 **mak-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:228 **mak-*; Klimov 1964:125 **maḱe-*, **maḱen-* and 1998:113 **maḱe-* ‘heavy’, 113—114 **maḱen-* ‘to get heavy, pregnant’. Note: The *-n-* found in the Mingrelian and Laz forms is secondary.

C. Proto-Indo-European **mak*’- ‘great, strong, mighty, powerful’: Albanian *madh* (< **mak*’(H)-*yo-*) ‘big, large, tall’; Latin *magnus* (< **mak*’(i)*no-*) ‘large, great, tall; outstanding, powerful, mighty’, (adv.) *magis* ‘more, to a greater extent, rather’; Old Irish *maige* (< Proto-Celtic **mag-yo-*) ‘great’, (poetic) *mál* (< Proto-Celtic **mag-lo-*) ‘noble, prince’. Perhaps also Lithuanian *māgulas* ‘numerous’. Pokorny 1959:708—709 **meḡ(h)-* ‘big’; Walde 1927—1932.II:257—259 **meḡ(h)-*; Mann 1984—1987:726 **mǎḡ-* ‘big’, 744 **meḡ-* (**məḡ-*) ‘great, big’, Watkins 1985:39—40 **meg-* and 2000:52 **meg-* ‘great’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:782 **mek’H-* and 1995.I:684 **mek’H-* ‘large’; Mallory—Adams 1997:344 **meḡh_a-* ‘large, great’; De Vaan 2008:358—359; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:10—12 Latin *magnus* < **m_ḡ-nós*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:377—379 Latin *magis* < **mag-yō-s*; **meg’ə-*; Orël 1998:240; Huld 1983:88—89 Albanian *madh*

< **maġE₂-jo-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:395; Smoczyński 2007.1:367; Matasović 2009:253 Proto-Celtic **magyo-*. Note: According to Adams (1999:446—447), two separate stems must be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European: **meġh_a-* and **maġ-*.

- D. [Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **mək-* ‘many’ > Chukchi *nə-mkə-qin* ‘many’, *mək-et-* ‘to increase (intr.)’, *rə-mk-ew-* ‘to increase (tr.)’; Kerek *nə-mkə-Xi* ‘many’, *məkə-ŋ* ‘more’, *mək-at-* ‘to increase’; Koryak *nə-mkə-qin* ‘many’, *mək-at-* ‘to increase (intr.)’, *jəmk-av-* ‘to increase (tr.)’; Alyutor *nə-mkə-qin* ‘many’, *mək-at-* ‘to increase (intr.)’. Fortescue 2005:181.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **mik-* (~ **mek-*) ‘(vb.) to exceed, to surpass, to be in excess, to grow, to increase, to swell, to expand; (n.) growth, excess, increase, abundance, fullness; (adj.) large, big, great, much’.

Buck 1949:4.73 pregnant; 4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 12.55 large, big (great).

874. Proto-Nostratic root **mak-* (~ **mək-*):

(vb.) **mak-* ‘to be happy, cheerful; to be pleasant, agreeable’;

(n.) **mak-a* ‘happiness, joy, pleasure’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **mak-* or **maak-* ‘to be happy’ > Iraqw *misqis-* (< **maqsis-*) ‘to smile’; Alagwa *maq-* ‘to be cheerful’; Ma’a *-máka* ‘to wonder, to be astonished’. Ehret 1980:155.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *makir-* ‘(vb.) to rejoice, to exult, to forget oneself in joy, to bubble up (in boiling), to drink; (n.) joy, exhilaration, intoxication (from liquor), toddy’, *makircci* ‘joy, pleasure, delight, gladness’, *makirvu* ‘joy, mirth’; Malayalam *makiruka* ‘to rejoice’; Brahui *maxing* ‘to laugh’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:408, no. 4618.
- C. Indo-European: Old Icelandic *makindi* ‘friendly intercourse; rest, ease’, *makr* ‘easy to deal with: (only in comparative) more suitable, becoming, convenient’, *mak-ráðr* ‘pleasant, agreeable’, *maki* ‘a match’, *makligr* ‘meet, proper, becoming, fitting, deserving’; Old English *gemæc* ‘well-matched, suitable (wife); equal, being a match for’, (*ge*)*mæcca* ‘mate, equal, one of a pair, comrade, companion’; Old High German *gimah* ‘comfortable, suitable’; New High German *gemach* ‘easy, softly, quietly, gently, slowly’, *gemächlich* ‘comfortable, easy, leisurely’, *Gemächlichkeit* ‘comfort, ease, leisure’. Orël 2003:257 Proto-Germanic **makaz*, 257 **makōn*; Kroonen 2013:350 Proto-Germanic **maka-* ‘fit, comfortable’; De Vries 1977:376; Onions 1966:561; Klein 1971:449; Skeat 1898:358; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:245—246; Kluge—Seebold 1989:255.

Buck 1949:9.943 fitting, suitable; 16.22 joy; 16.23 joyful, glad; 16.24 happy; happiness; 16.25 laugh (vb.); smile (vb.).

875. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mal-a* ‘hill, mountain’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *malai* ‘hill, mountain’; Malayalam *mala* ‘mountain, raised land, hill-land’; Kannada *male* ‘mountain, forest’; Koḍagu *male* ‘thick jungle land, cardamom plantation in jungle on mountainside’; Tuḷu *malè* ‘forest, hill overgrown with forest’; Telugu *mala* ‘mountain’; Kolami *ma·le* ‘hill’; Parji *malanḡ* ‘forest’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:420, no. 4742.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **mel-/mol-* ‘hill, mountain’: Gaulish (in place names) *melos*; Albanian *mal* ‘mountain’; (Dacian substratum in) Romanian *mal* ‘promontory, bank’; Lithuanian (obsolete) *malà* ‘country, landscape’; Latvian *mala* ‘bank, shore’. Perhaps also Greek προ-μολή in the meanings ‘foothills of a mountain, fountainhead of a river’. Pokorny 1959:721—722 **mel-*, **melə-* : **mlō-* ‘to come forth’; Walde 1927—1932.II:294—295 **melā^x-*; Mann 1984—1987:752 **melos* ‘hill, mound’, 793 **molos*, *-is*, *-ā*, *-us* ‘pile, heap, hill, mountain’; Beekes 2010.I:223; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:182; Frisk 1970—1973.I:246—247; Georgiev 1981:143; Meyer 1891:256—257; Huld 1984:89; Orël 1998:243; Katičić 1976.I:142; Cihac 1870—1879.II:183—184; Vinereanu 2008:523.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 1.27 shore; 1.41 woods, forest. Caldwell 1913:622; Bomhard—Kerns 1984:671—672, no. 550; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1411, **mAl/[ɣ]V* ‘hill, mountain, something protruding’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:51, no. 286, **mALA* ‘mountain’; Leschber 2016:242.

876. Proto-Nostratic root **mal-* (~ **məl-*):

(vb.) **mal-* ‘to fill, to be or become full, to increase’;

(n.) **mal-a* ‘fullness, abundance’; (adj.) ‘full, filled, abundant, numerous, many’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mal-* ‘(vb.) to fill, to be full; (adj.) full, filled, abundant’: Proto-Semitic **mal-aʔ-* ‘to fill, to be full’ > Hebrew *mālēʔ* [מָלֵךְ] ‘to fill, to be full’; Aramaic *mālā* ‘to fill, to be full’; Phoenician *mlʔ* ‘to fill’; Ugaritic *mlá* ‘to be full’; Amorite *mlʔ* ‘to be full’; Akkadian *malū* ‘to be full, to fill up’; Arabic *malaʔa* ‘to fill, to become filled, to be full’, *malīʔ* ‘full (of), filled, replete (with); bulging, swelling (with); plump, stout, fat, corpulent, obese; rich, abounding (in), well-to-do, wealthy’; Sabaeen *mlʔ* ‘to fill’; Ḥarsūsi *méleʔ* ‘to be full’, *melō* ‘to fill’; Šheri / Jibbāli *mélé* ‘to fill’, *mútli* ‘to be full, to have a swollen belly through illness’, *mel* ‘fullness’; Mehri *mīlāʔ* ‘to be full’, *mōlāʔ* ‘to fill’, *mlū* ‘to fill’, *mátli* ‘to have a swollen belly caused by illness’, *mēl* ‘fullness, filling; full’; Soqotri *mileʔ* ‘to be full’, *móleʔ* ‘to fill’; Geez / Ethiopic *malʔa* [መልአ] ‘to fill, to fill up, to complete, to multiply, to be full, to be filled, to overflow, to be fulfilled, to be completed, to be abundant, to abound, to come to an end’, *məluʔ* [ምሉአ] ‘full, filled, abundant, copious, replenished, complete’, *məlʔ* [ምልአ]

‘fullness, that which fills’; Tigre *mälʔa* ‘to be full’; Tigrinya *mälʔe* ‘to be full’; Gurage (Masqan) *mälla* ‘to be full, to fill, to have plenty of, to level the ground by filling the uneven places’, *mula* ‘full’; Amharic *mälla* ‘to be full’, *mulu* ‘whole, full, complete’, *molla* ‘to fill, to be filled, to fill out, to fill up, to be plentiful, to abound, to flood, to overflow’, *mälla* ‘whole, entire’; Argobba *mälla* ‘to be full’; Harari *mälaʔa* ‘to fill, to fulfill’, *mulluʔ* ‘full’. Murtonen 1989:259; Klein 1987:347; Militarëv 2010:72 Proto-Semitic **mlʔ*; Zammit 2002:386—387; Leslau 1963:107, 1979:401, and 1987:342; Tomback 1978:158.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *mali* ‘to abound, to be plentiful, to be full, to increase, to be proud, to become large, to swell, to spread, to expand’, *mal* ‘fertility, richness, strength’, *malipu* ‘excess, abundance’, *malir* ‘to flood, to come frequently’, *malivu* ‘to abound, to become full’, *malku* (*malki-*) ‘to increase, to abound, to grow, to flourish’, *mallal* ‘strength, abundance, wealth, fertility, richness, elegance, brilliance, beauty’, *mallai* ‘richness, fertility, greatness’; Malayalam *malika* ‘to abound, to overflow’, *malekka* ‘to grow thick, to swell’, *malka* ‘to abound’; Tuḷu *malla*, *mallavu*, *mallāvu* ‘great, large, big, extensive, chief, principal, important, loud’, *mallastigē*, *mallādigē* ‘greatness, superiority, loftiness, pride’, *mallāye* ‘a man senior in age, a rich man, a grown-up man’ (f. *mallāḷu*); Kannaḍa *male* ‘to be raised or elevated, to be haughty, to be puffed up, to be insolent, to act in an overbearing manner’, *malya* ‘great, big, chief, principal’, *mallaḷi* ‘a large concourse, crowd’, *mammala*, *malamala* ‘excessively’; Telugu *malayu* ‘to spread, to rejoice, to be pleased, to be eager, to be delighted, to shine, to be splendid, to unfold, to display’, *malucamu* ‘superior, fine’, *mallaramu* ‘pride, arrogance’, *mallaḍi* ‘a crowd’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:419, no. 4729.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **mel-/mol-/m̥l-* ‘much, many, very much’: Latin *multus* (sg.) ‘much, many’, (pl.) ‘many, numerous’; Greek μάλα ‘very, very much’, μᾶλλον (with secondary long vowel) ‘more’, μάλιστα ‘most’; Latvian *milns* ‘very much’. Pokorny 1959:720 **mel-* ‘strong, big’; Walde 1927—1932.II:292 **mel-*; Mann 1984—1987:777 **m̥ltos* ‘much’, 1642 **mel-*, **mol-*, **m̥l-*; Watkins 1985:40 **mel-* and 2000:53 **mel-* ‘strong, great’ (suffixed [comparative] form **mel-yos-*; suffixed zero-grade form **m̥l-to-*); Frisk 1970—1973.II:165; Boisacq 1950:603—604 **mel-* ‘large, numerous’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:661; Beekes 2010.II:895—896 **mel-*; Hofmann 1966:188 **mel-*; De Vaan 2008:394; Ernout—Meillet 1979:419—420; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:124—125 Latin *multus* < **m̥ltós*. Proto-Indo-European **mel-gh-/mol-gh-/m̥l-gh-* ‘to fill up, to swell’: Sanskrit *malhá-h* ‘having teats in the dewlap’; Avestan *mərəzāna-* ‘paunch’; Armenian *malj* ‘gall, bile’; Latvian *meļzu*, *miļzu*, *miļzt* ‘to swell, to fester’. Pokorny 1959:723 **melgh-* ‘to swell’; Walde 1927—1932.II:300 **melgh-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:602.

- D. (?) Proto-Altaic **m̄jolo-* ‘(vb.) to fill; (adj.) full, thick’: Proto-Tungus **mila-* ‘wide, open, broad’ > Manchu *mila* ‘open, wide open’, *milaχūn* ‘wide open, gaping’, *milara-* ‘to open wide’, *milata* ‘wide open, agape’. Proto-Mongolian **mel-/m̄öl-* ‘(vb.) to be or become full; (adj.) (very) full’ > Written Mongolian *melmei-* ‘to become very full or completely full’, *melmelže-*, *mölmülže-* ‘to be full to overflowing, to well up; to be or become overfull (with liquid)’, *melmelžemel* ‘very full, replete’; Khalkha *melmiy-*, *melmelze-* ‘to be or become full’; Buriat *melmelze-* ‘to be or become full’; Kalmyk *melme-* ‘to be or become full’, *mel* ‘(quite) full’; Ordos *melčirme-* ‘to be or become full’, *melū*, *melē* ‘(quite) full’. Proto-Turkic **bol* ‘abundant, full’ > Turkish *bol* ‘wide, loose, copious, abundant’; Turkmenian *bol* ‘abundant, full’; Uzbek *bol*, *mol* ‘abundant, full’; Tatar *mul* ‘abundant, full’; Kirghiz *mol* ‘abundant, full’; Chuvash *püle-mes* ‘abundant, full’, *pül-lə* ‘stalwart’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:927 **m̄jolo* ‘(vb.) to fill; (adj.) full, thick’. (?) Proto-Altaic **milt^{he}* (~-i) ‘(vb.) to fill; (adj.) full’: Proto-Tungus **milte-* ‘full, whole’ > Evenki *milt̄r̄r̄* ‘full, whole’; Orok *milte-milte* ‘full, whole’. Proto-Mongolian **melteyi-* ‘to fill, to overflow’ > Written Mongolian *melteyi-* ‘to be full to overflowing’; Khalkha *meltiy-* ‘to fill, to overflow’; Buriat *melti-* ‘to fill, to overflow’; Kalmyk *meltā-* ‘to fill, to overflow’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:917 **milt^e* (~-i) ‘(vb.) to fill; (adj.) full’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: “The root is very similar to **m̄jolo* ‘full, fill’ and may indeed be derived: **m̄jol-tⁱ*. Such an explanation, however, would involve a metatony in Japanese and borrowing in T(ungus)-M(anchu) (*milte-* < Mongolian *melte-*), so we prefer to separate the two roots for the time being.” Note: while the Altaic material fits perfectly semantically here, there are problems with the phonology.
- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **malγo* ‘much, many’: Amur *malro-dv* ‘much, many’; North Sakhalin *malγo-t* ‘much, many’; East Sakhalin *malγo-d* ‘much, many’; South Sakhalin *malxu-nt/malγoř* ‘much, many’. Fortescue 2016:101.

Buck 1949:13.15 much, many. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:41, no. 278, **mal^λ* ‘numerous, abundant’; Möller 1911:162; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:651—652, no.528; Greenberg 2002:115—116, no. 262; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1410, **mäl?V* ‘full, much’.

877. Proto-Nostratic root **mal-* (~ **mäl-*):

- (vb.) **mal-* ‘to be favorably disposed towards, to care about, to be devoted to, to like’;
 (n.) **mal-a* ‘goodness, pleasantness’; (adj.) ‘good, pleasant, pleasing’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mal-* ‘(vb.) to do good; (adj.) good’: Semitic: Arabic *malīh* ‘good’; Ugaritic *mlḥ* ‘good, pleasant’; (?) Geez / Ethiopic *malḥa*, *malləḥa*

- [**𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢**] ‘to do, to work’, possibly ‘to do good work’. Leslau 1987:343; Militarëv 2008a:196 and 2010:74. Note: Both Leslau and Militarëv suggest derivation from Proto-Semitic **milh-* ‘salt’; this is rejected here. Egyptian *mnḥ* ‘(vb.) to be efficient, beneficent, excellent; (adj.) potent (of king); trusty (of officials); well-disposed, devoted; splendid (of buildings); excellent (of deeds, of occasions); costly (of materials); lavish (of worship); famous; well-established (of endowment)’, *mnḥw* ‘excellence, virtues (of someone)’. Hannig 1995:340—341; Erman—Grapow 1921:65 and 1926—1963.2:84—86; Gardiner 1957:569; Faulkner 1962:109. Orël—Stolbova 1995:392, no. 1816, **mVIVḥ-/mVIVḥ-* ‘to be good’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *mālimi* ‘youthful friendship’; Telugu *mālimi* ‘familiarity, love, affection’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:429, no. 4826.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **mel-/mol-/m̥l-* ‘(vb.) to be favorably disposed towards, to care about, to be devoted to, to like; (adj.) good, pleasant’: Latin (comparative of *bonus*) *melior* ‘better’; Lithuanian *malonūs* ‘nice, pleasant’, *malōniai* ‘pleasantly, nicely, good’. Pokorny 1959:720 **mel-* ‘strong, big’; Walde 1927—1932.II:292 **mel-*; Mann 1984—1987:728 **māl-* ‘to like, to prefer; better’; Watkins 1985:40 **mel-* and 2000:53 **mel-* ‘strong, great’; Mallory—Adams 1997:235 **mel-* ‘good’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:394—395; De Vaan 2008:370; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:63—64 **mel-* ‘strong, great’. Different etymology in Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:402—403 and Smoczyński 2007.1:370. The following probably belong here as well: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *ma-al*, *ma-a-al* ‘brains, wits, wisdom, mindset, disposition’, (3rd sg. pres.) *ma-la-a-i* ‘to have in mind, to (be in) favor (of), to agree (with), to consent (to), to approve, to authorize, to endorse, to sanction, to acknowledge’ (common as a technical term in oracle texts), (nom. sg.) *ma-l/i-ya-aš-ḥa-aš* ‘agreement, consent, approval’; Greek μέλω ‘to be an object of care, to care for’, μελεδαίνω ‘to care for, to be concerned about; to tend, to attend to’, μελέτη ‘care, attention’, μελετάω ‘to care for, to attend to’, μέλημα ‘the object of care, darling (of persons)’, μέλλω ‘to think of doing, to intend to do, to be about to do’. Puhvel 1984— .6:20—21 and 6:25—28; Kloekhorst 2008b:545—546 **mól-*; Boisacq 1950:625 **mel-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:202—203 and II:204—206; Hofmann 1966:196; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:682—683 and II:684; Beekes 2010.II:927 and II:928—929.
- D. Etruscan *mλαχ*, *mlac* ‘beautiful’.
- E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mæł-* ‘good’: Chukchi *nə-mel-qin* ‘good’, *melmel* ‘good weather’, *mel-et-* ‘to clear up (weather)’; Kerek *nə-mal-Xi* ‘good’, *malmaal-at-* ‘to be good weather’; Koryak *nə-mel-qin* ‘good, dear, easy’, *melmel* ‘good weather’, *mel-et-* ‘to clear up (weather)’; Alyutor *nə-mal-qin* ‘good’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *mel-laX* ‘good’, *mel* ‘well, strongly’. Fortescue 2005:171—172; Mudrak 1989b:101 **mel-* ‘good’. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mæłæv-* ‘to cure or be cured’: Chukchi *melew-* ‘to be cured, to regain one’s health’, *rə-melew-et-* ‘to cure, to treat’; Kerek

malau- ‘to cure’, *malaw-jan* ‘hospital’; Koryak *melev-* ‘to be cured, to regain one’s health’, *jə-melev-* ‘to cure, to treat’, *malaw-jan* ‘hospital’; Alyutor *masyav-* ‘to get better’, *tə-masyav-*, *ta-n-masyav-ηə-* ‘to cure’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *mele-* ‘to regain one’s health’. Fortescue 2005:172.

Buck 1949:16.71 good (adj.); 16.81 beautiful (also pretty). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:652—653, no. 529; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:41, no. 278, **mala* ‘numerous, abundant’.

878. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mal-a* ‘honey’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mal-* ‘honey’: (?) Semitic: Ugaritic *mll* ‘honey (?)’. Proto-East Cushitic **malab-* ‘honey’ > Saho-Afar *mala(a)b-* ‘honey’; Boni *malub-* ‘honey’; Somali *malab* ‘honey’; Rendille *malab* ‘honey’; Gedeo / Darasa *malebo* ‘honey’; Hadiyya *marabo* ‘honey’; Kambata *malabu* ‘honey’; Sidamo *malab-o* ‘honey’. Sasse 1979:14; Hudson 1989:81. Proto-Southern Cushitic **mala* ‘mead’ > Ma’a *mála* ‘beer’ (generic); Dahalo *móla* ‘mead’. Ehret 1980:154; Takács 2008:218—219.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **mel-i-th* (gen. sg. **mel-n-es*) ‘honey’: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *mi-li-it* ‘honey’, (3rd sg. pret. act.) *me-li-te-iš-ta* ‘to be or become sweet’, (nom.-acc. sg. c.) *mi-li-id-du-uš* ‘honeyed, sweet’ (nom.-acc. n. *mi-li-id-du*); Palaic (dat.-loc. pl.) *ma-li-ta-an-na-aš* ‘honeyed, sweet’; Luwian (nom.-acc. sg.) *ma-al-li* ‘honey’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *ma-li-ti-mi-a-s* ‘sweet’; Greek μέλι ‘honey’; Armenian *mehr* ‘honey’; Albanian *mjaltë* ‘honey’; Latin *mel* (gen. sg. *mellis*) ‘honey’; Old Irish *mil* ‘honey’; Gothic *milip* ‘honey’; Swedish *mjöldagg* ‘mildew’; Danish *meldugg* ‘mildew’; Old English *mil-*, *mele-* in: *mildēaw*, *meledēaw* (< Proto-Germanic **meliθ* ‘honey’ + **dawwaz* ‘dew’) ‘honeydew, nectar’; Old Saxon *milidou* ‘mildew’; Dutch *meeldauw* ‘mildew’; Old High German *militou* ‘mildew’ (New High German *Mehltau* [with assimilation to *Mehl*] ‘powdery mildew’, *Meltau* ‘mildew, blight’). Pokorny 1959:723—724 **meli-t*, (gen. sg.) **mel-nés* ‘honey’; Walde 1927—1932.II:296 **melit*; Mann 1984—1987:751 **melit* (**meli*) ‘honey’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:603—605 **mel-i-t[h]-* and 1995.I:517 **mel-i-th-* ‘honey’ (Latin gen. sg. *mellis* < **mel-n-es*); Mallory—Adams 1997:271 **mélit* ‘honey’; Watkins 1985:41 **melit-* and 2000:54 **melit-* ‘honey’; Puhvel 1984—.6:153—158; Kloekhorst 2008b:580—581; Benveniste 1935:7—8; Boisacq 1950:624 **melit*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:200—201 **meli-t* (Latin gen. sg. *mellis* < **mel-n-és?*); Beekes 2010.II:925—926 **melit-*; Hofmann 1966:196 **melit*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:681—682; Ernout—Meillet 1979:394; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:61—62 **mel-i-t*, (gen. sg.) **mel-n-és*; De Vaan 2008:370; Meyer 1891:281—282; Kroonen 2013:363 Proto-Germanic **melip-* ‘honey’; Orël 1998:268 and 2003:266 Proto-Germanic **meliskaz*, 266 **meliskōn*, 266 **melip*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:507; Lehmann

1986:255—256 **mel-i-t*; Feist 1939:359—360 **melit*, (gen. sg.) **melitos*; Walshe 1951:149; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:473 **melit*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:470; Onions 1966:576 Common Germanic **melip*; Klein 1971:465 **melit-*.

- C. (?) Altaic: Proto-Turkic **bał* ‘honey’ (if from **mal-*) > Karakhanide Turkic *bal* ‘honey’; Turkish *bal* ‘honey’; Gagauz *bal* ‘honey’; Azerbaijani *bal* ‘honey’; Turkmenian *bal* ‘honey’; Uzbek *bał* ‘honey’; Uighur *bal* ‘honey’; Karaim *bal* ‘honey’; Tatar *bal* ‘honey’; Bashkir *bal* ‘honey’; Kirghiz *bal* ‘honey’; Kazakh *bal* ‘honey’; Noghay *bal* ‘honey’; Chuvash *pil* ‘honey’. [Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:897—898 **male* ‘honey, plant oil’.]

Buck 1949:5.84 honey; 5.91 mead. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:657, no. 545; Greenberg 2002:97, no. 213.

879. Proto-Nostratic root **mal-* (~ **māl-*):

(vb.) **mal-* ‘to draw (out), to squeeze (out), to suck (out); to give suck, to suckle, to nurse’;

(n.) **mal-a* ‘milk; breast’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mal-* ‘to draw (out), to squeeze (out), to suck (out); to give suck, to suckle, to nurse’: Semitic: Arabic *malaġa* (inf. *malġ*) ‘to suck (the mother’s breast)’, *malaġa* (inf. *ʔimlāġ*) ‘to give suck’. Arabic *malaha* ‘to give suck’. Proto-Sam **maal-* ‘to milk’ > Somali *maal-* ‘to milk’; Rendille *maal-* ‘to milk’. Heine 1978:90. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:392, no. 1815, **mVlog-* ‘bosom; to suck’.]
- B. Proto-Indo-European **mel-k’*/**mol-k’*/**mł-k’* ‘(vb.) to draw (milk), to milk, to suck; to give suck, to suckle; (n.) milk’: Greek ἀμέλω ‘to milk, to draw milk from animals, to squeeze out like milk; to drink’, ἀμολγεύς ‘a milk-pail’, ἀμολγαῖος ‘of milk, made with milk’; Albanian *mjel* ‘to milk’; Latin *mulgeō* ‘to milk’, *mulctra* ‘a milk-pail’; Old Irish *mlicht*, *blicht* (< **młk’*-) ‘milk’, *mliuchtae*, *mlichtae* ‘milch’, (3rd sg.) *mligid* ‘to milk; to draw (out), to extract’; Middle Irish (1st sg.) *bligim* (< **mligim*) ‘to milk’, *melg* ‘milk’; Welsh *blith* (< **mlikt-* < **młk’-thi-*) ‘milk’; Gothic *miluks* ‘milk’; Old Icelandic *mjólka* ‘to milk, to give milk’, *mjólk* ‘milk’, *mjólkr* ‘milch, giving milk’, *mylkja* ‘to suckle’; Swedish *mjölk* ‘milk’; Old English *melcan* ‘to milk’, *melc* ‘giving milk, milch’, *meolc*, *meoluc*, *milc* ‘milk’, *meolcian* ‘to give milk, to suckle’, *molcen* ‘curdled milk’; Old Frisian *melok* ‘milk’; Old Saxon *miluk* ‘milk’; Dutch *melk* ‘milk’; Old High German *melchan* ‘to milk’ (New High German *melken*), *miluh* ‘milk’ (New High German *Milch*); Lithuanian *mélžu*, *milžti* ‘to milk’, *málžau*, *málžyti* ‘to milk’, *malžì* ‘giving milk’; Russian Church Slavic *mълzu*, *mlěsti* ‘to milk’; Russian *molokó* [молоко] ‘milk’, *molózivo* [МОЛОЗИВО] ‘beestings, colostrum’; Tocharian A *mālk-* ‘to milk’, A *malke* ‘milk’, B

malkwer ‘milk’. Rix 1998a:249—250 **h₂melġ-* ‘to milk’; Pokorny 1959:722—723 **mēlġ-* (or **melāġ-* ?) ‘to stroke off, to wipe, to milk’; Walde 1927—1932.II:298—299 **melġ-*; Mann 1984—1987:750 **melġō* ‘to caress, to titillate, to massage, to milk’, 750 **melġos*, -*ā*, -*is* ‘milk; milky sap, latex’, 750—751 **melġtis* ‘milk’, 774—775 **mġġ-*, 775 **mġġō*, -*ġō* ‘to caress, to wipe, to milk’, 775 **mġġt-*, 792 **molġ-* ‘drip, milk’; Watkins 1985:41 **melg-* (zero-grade form **mġg-*) and 2000:54 **melg-* ‘to rub off’, also ‘to milk’ (oldest form **₂melġ-*) (zero-grade form **mġg-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:569—571 **melġk-* and 1995.I:486—488 **melġk-* ‘(vb.) to milk; (n.) milk’; Mallory—Adams 1997:381 **h_amelġ-* ‘to milk’; Benveniste 1935:157 **₂m-él-g-*; Hofmann 1966:15; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:74—75 **mēlġ-*, **mġg-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:91; Boisacq 1950:52 **amelġ-*; Beekes 2010.I:86 **h₂melġ-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:121 **melġ-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:418 **mēlġ-*, **mġg-*; De Vaan 2008:393; Orël 1998:270 and 2003:266—267 Proto-Germanic **melkanan*, 267 **melkaz*, 267 **melktaz*, 267 **melukōjanan*, 267 **melukz*; Kroonen 2013:347 Proto-Germanic **meluk-* ‘milk’, 364 **meluka-* ‘giving milk’, and 364—365 **mel(u)kan-* ‘to milk’; Feist 1939:360—361 **melġ-*; Lehmann 1986:256 **mēlġ-*, **mġġ-*; De Vries 1977:389 and 397; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:254—255; Onions 1966:575 and 576 **melg-*, **mġg-*; Klein 1971:464 and 465; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:473 **melġ-* and 478; Kluge—Seebold 1989:472 **melġ-* and 478; Huld 1984:256; Preobrazhensky 1951:550—551; Derksen 2008:307 and 2015:310—311 **h₂melġ-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:434—435; Smoczyński 2007.1:387—388; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:284 **melġ-*; Adams 1999:442 **melġ-*.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mälki* ‘breast’ > Karelian *mälvi* ‘the breast meat of a bird’; Estonian *mälvi* ‘wishbone, breastbone, sternum’; Lapp / Saami *miel’gâ* ‘breast, chest (of animals; of humans only in certain expressions)’; Cheremis / Mari *mel* ‘breast’; Vogul / Mansi *mägl* ‘breast’; Votyak / Udmurt *myl-* in *myl-až* ‘the front side of the breast’; Mordvin (Moksha) *mälhkä* ‘breast’; Hungarian *mell* ‘chest, breast, bosom’; Ostyak / Xanty *mögäl* ‘breast’. Rédei 1986—1988:267 **mälke*; Collinder 1955:97 and 1977:114; Sammallahti 1988:546 **mälki* ‘breast’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *melut* ‘breast’. Nikolaeva 2006:263. Semantic development as in Old Church Slavic *сѣсѣ* ‘breast’ < *сѣсѣ*, *сѣсати* ‘to suck’ or Gujarati *dhāvvū* ‘to suck at the breast’, *dhāvaṇ* ‘mother’s milk, the breasts’, *dhāi* ‘woman’s breast or teat’, all derived from Vedic *dhāpāyate* ‘to suckle’. Note also the reverse semantic development in Modern Greek, where βυζάινω ‘to suck, to suckle’ is derived from Late Greek βυζίον ‘woman’s breast’.
- D. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **malr* ‘female genitals’: Amur *malχ* ‘female genitals’; South Sakhalin *malχ* ‘female genitals’. Fortescue 2016:101.
- E. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **malak* or **malaq* ‘upper part of breast’ > North Alaskan Inuit *malak* ‘chest’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *malak* ‘upper part of

breast of mammals'; Greenlandic Inuit *malaq* 'front of throat'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:186 **malak* or **malaq* 'front of throat'. Proto-Eskimo **məluɣ-* 'to suck (breasts)': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *məluɣ-* 'to suck'; Central Alaskan Yupik *məluɣ-* 'to suck'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *məluɣ-* 'baby's "pacifier" of walrus or reindeer fat'; Central Siberian Yupik *məluɣ-* 'to suck'; Sirenik *məɬəɣ-* 'to suck or breathe in'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *məlu* (Imaqliq) 'nipple', (Qawiaraq) 'breast, udder, milk'; North Alaskan Inuit *miluk* 'nipple, breast', (Malimiut) 'milk'; Western Canadian Inuit *miluk* 'woman's breast', (Siglit) 'milk' (probably influenced by English); Eastern Canadian Inuit *miluk-* 'to suck', *millua(q)-* 'to suckle'; Greenlandic Inuit *miluy-*, *miɬuy-* 'to suck'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:197—198.

Buck 1949:4.40 breast (front of chest); 4.41 breast (of woman); 5.16 suck (vb.); 5.86 milk (sb.); 5.87 milk (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:672—674, no. 552; Dolgopolsky 1998:28—29, no. 19, **mälge* 'breast, female breast' and 2008, no. 1414, **mälge* (or **mälkē* ?) 'breast, udder'; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:57—58, no. 291, **mälgi* 'breast, udder'; Hakola 2000:102, no. 436; Greenberg 2002:122—123, no. 281; Fortescue 1998:155.

880. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasianic only) **mal-* (~ **məl-*):

(vb.) **mal-* 'to rub, to wipe, to stroke';

(n.) **mal-a* 'the act of rubbing, wiping, stroking'

- A. Proto-Indo-European **mel-k'-*/**mol-k'-*/**m̥l-k'-* 'to wipe, to stroke': Sanskrit *mṛjāti* 'to wipe, to rub, to cleanse, to polish, to clean, to purify, to adorn; to make smooth, to curry (for example, a horse or other animal); to stroke; to wipe off or out, to remove, to destroy', *mṛjā* 'wiping, cleansing, washing, purification, ablution', *mṛṣṭá-ḥ* 'washed, cleansed, polished; clean, pure; smeared, besmeared with', *márjya-ḥ* 'cleansed, prepared'; Avestan *mərəzaiti* 'to wipe, to touch'. Rix 1998a:249—250 **h₂melǵ-* 'to milk'; Pokorny 1959:722—723 **mēlǵ-* (or **melǵ-* ?) 'to stroke off, to wipe, to milk'; Walde 1927—1932.II:298—299 **melǵ-*; Mann 1984—1987:749 **melǵō* 'to caress, to titillate, to massage, to milk' and 775 **m̥lǵō*, *-iō* 'to caress, to wipe, to milk'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:670—671 **melǵ-*; Watkins 1985:41 **melg-* (zero-grade form **m̥lg-*) and 2000:54 **melg-* 'to rub off', also 'to milk' (oldest form **₂melǵ-*) (zero-grade form **m̥lg-*). Proto-Indo-European **mel-kʰ-*/**mol-kʰ-*/**m̥l-kʰ-* 'to touch, to stroke, to handle': Sanskrit *mṛśāti* 'to touch, to stroke, to handle'; Latin *mulceō* 'to stroke, to touch lightly', *mulcō* 'to thrash, to cudgel; to handle roughly'. Rix 1998a:250 **h₂melk-* 'to touch, to stroke'; Pokorny 1959:724 **melk-* 'to rub, to stroke'; Walde 1927—1932.II:297—298 **melk-*; Mann 1984—1987:776 **m̥lkō*, *-iō* 'to touch, to taste, to caress'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:677—678; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:120 Latin

mulceō < **molkejō*, *mulcō* < **molkājō*; stem **melk-* and II:121; Ernout—Meillet 1979:418; De Vaan 2008:392—393.

- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mälz-* ‘to feel, to handle, to touch’ > Votyak / Udmurt *mählehtä-* ‘to recall, to remember’; Estonian *mälu* ‘memory’, *mäle-*, *mäleta-* ‘to remember’; Zyrian / Komi (Sysola) *malal-* ‘to feel, to handle, to touch’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *mäl-* ‘to touch with the fingers, etc.’. Rédei 1986—1988:267—268 **mälz-*.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **mali-* originally ‘to rub, to wipe, to stroke’, then also ‘(vb.) to beat; (n.) club, mallet, cudgel’: Proto-Tungus **mala-* ‘(vb.) to beat; (n.) club, mallet’ > Manchu *mala* ‘a wooden mallet’, *malaša-* ‘to beat to death fish caught under ice’; Udihe *mūleu* ‘club, pestle’; Solon *malā* ‘club, pestle’. Proto-Mongolian **milaya* ‘whip’ > Written Mongolian *milaya* ‘whip, scourge’, *milayada-* ‘to whip’; Khalkha *malia* [малия] ‘whip’; Buriat *minā* ‘whip’; Kalmyk *malā* ‘whip’; Ordos *milā* ‘a strip for fixing a whip on its handle’; Dagur *minā*, *nimā* ‘whip’; Shira-Yughur *munā* ‘whip’. Note also Written Mongolian *milaya-* (also *maliya-*) ‘to anoint, to smear with oil’. Proto-Turkic **baltu* ‘axe’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *baltu* ‘axe’; Karakhanide Turkic *baldu* ‘axe’; Turkish *balta* ‘axe’; Azerbaijani *balta* ‘axe’; Turkmenian *palta* ‘axe’; Uzbek *bolta* ‘axe’; Karaim *balta* ‘axe’; Tatar *balta* ‘axe’; Bashkir *balta* ‘axe’; Kirghiz *balta* ‘axe’; Kazakh *balta* ‘axe’; Noghay *balta* ‘axe’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *malta* ‘axe’; Yakut *balta*, *baltisaq* ‘arrow with a blunt end’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:898 **mali* ‘stick, cudgel’.
- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **male-* ‘to wipe or sweep up’: Chukchi *male-* ‘to wipe, to stroke (affectionately)’, *mal-ecyən* ‘towel’; Kerek *ma(a)li-*, *ma(a)lā-* ‘to wipe’, *mali-ttu-* ‘to smooth out, to stroke, to caress’, *mal-iitn* ‘rag for cleaning’, *in-maali-i-u-* ‘comfort’; Koryak *male-* ‘to wipe, to sweep’, *malie-* ‘to stroke (affectionately)’; Alyutor (Palana) *maletat-* ‘to sweep up’, *mali-* ‘to touch, to brush away’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *male-kas* ‘to sweep up’, (Western) *malete-s* ‘to sweep out’, (Eastern) *malixc* ‘to sweep out’. Fortescue 2005:169—170; Mudrak 1989b:102 **mali-* ‘to sweep’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.31 rub; 9.37 sweep; 15.71 touch (vb.); 15.72 feel (vb.), feel of; 15.73 touch (sb.).

881. Proto-Nostratic (adj.) **mal-a* ‘other, next, second’:

- A. Afrasian: North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *málo*, *málla* ‘two’, *málho* ‘duality, a pair’. Reinisch 1895:168 and 169; Almkvist 1881—1885.I:82 and III:45.
- B. Dravidian: Kannāḍa *mala* ‘other, next, second (in compounds)’; Telugu *malu* ‘next, second’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:419, no. 4732.

- C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *maala-* ‘both sides, opposite’, *maalayur* ‘both sides of something’, (Southern / Kolyma) *ma:ləyul’əlgə* ‘around’. Nikolaeva 2006:257.
- D. Proto-Eskimo **malruy* ‘two’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *malluk* ‘two’; Central Alaskan Yupik *malruk* ‘two’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *malruk* ‘two’; Central Siberian Yupik *malruk* ‘two’; Sirenik *malrux* ‘two’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *marluuk*, (Qawiaaraq) *malruk* ‘two’; North Alaskan Inuit *malruk* ‘two’; Western Canadian Inuit *malruk* ‘two’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *marruuk* ‘two’; Greenlandic Inuit *martuk* ‘two’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:187. Proto-Eskimo **malri* ‘twin’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *mal<R>ik* ‘twins’; Central Alaskan Yupik *malri* ‘twin’; Central Siberian Yupik *malrik* ‘twins’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *malri* ‘twin’; North Alaskan Inuit *malri* ‘twin’; Western Canadian Inuit *malrik*, *malriak* ‘twins’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *marruliak* ‘twins’; Greenlandic Inuit *marhuliaq* ‘twin’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:187. Proto-Eskimo **malru(C)it* ‘two sets’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *malruin* ‘two sets’; Central Alaskan Yupik *malruin* ‘two sets’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *marluit* ‘two sets, pairs, or groups’; North Alaskan Inuit *malruit* ‘two sets’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *marruit* ‘two sets’; Greenlandic Inuit *marhuit* ‘two sets’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:187.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1400, **mAlV* ‘another, second’ or ‘two’.

882. Proto-Nostratic root **mal-* (~ **məl-*):

(vb.) **mal-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’;

(n.) **mal-a* ‘bend, turn’

Derivative:

(vb.) **mal-* ‘to be confused, perplexed, disturbed, bewildered, mistaken’;

(n.) **mal-a* ‘confusion, perplexity, bewilderment’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ma-(ya-)l-* ‘to bend, to bend down, to incline’ > Arabic *māla* (base *myl*) ‘to bend, to bend down; to bow down, to lean over, to turn (toward someone); to incline, to slope, to slant, to tilt, to tip; to be inclined, slanting, oblique; to incline toward, to tend, to be favorably disposed (to); to have a predilection, a liking, an inclination, a propensity (for); to feel sympathy (for), to sympathize (with), to favor; to take sides, to side (with); to be partial, biased, prejudiced; to lean (against); to revolt, to rebel (against), to be hostile (to someone); to be disinclined, to be adverse (to something); to have an antipathy, a distaste, a dislike (for); to deviate, to digress, to turn away, to depart (from); to drag or take someone or something along to’, *mayl* ‘inclination, tilt; bend, turn, deflection; obliqueness, obliquity, slant; slope, incline, declivity; deviation, divergence, declination; affection (for), attachment (to); predilection, liking, sympathy (for); propensity, disposition, bent, leaning, proclivity,

taste, desire, wish, longing, tendency, trend, drift (to or toward)', *mā'il* 'inclining (to or toward); bending down, bowing down, leaning over; bent, tilted; sloping, declivitous (terrain); inclined, slanting, oblique'; Ḥarsūsi *meyōl* 'to turn away, to turn aside'; Mehri *məyūl* 'to look, to turn sideways, to turn aside, to incline to one side', *həmyūl* 'to incline to one side'; Šheri / Jibbāli *mēl* 'to turn sideways, to incline', *šəmyél* 'to be inclined to one side'. Zammit 2002:392. Arabic *malwiyy* 'twisted, plaited', *malwūk* 'bent, folded; distorted', *mulawwa* 'distorted'.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *malukku* 'slip-knot'; Kannaḍa *malaku* 'a turn, twist, fold, bend; a sash', *mallāṇi*, *mallāri* 'turning round, wandering about'; Telugu *malāgu* 'to wander, to roam about, to turn back (intr.); to become crooked', *malāpu* 'to turn back (intr.)', *malapu* 'to turn back (tr.)', *malācu* 'to turn back, to bend, to cause to slant', *mala-gonu* 'to be twisted', *malayu* 'to be twisted; to wander, to roam', *malāka* 'a twist, curved line, crookedness, spiral', *maluku* 'a turn, twist, fold, slip-knot', *malugu*, *maluvu* 'a turning'; Kolami *malay-* 'to return', *malāy-* 'to return, to roam'; Parji *mell-* 'to return'; Gondi *mallānā*, *mall-*, *mal-*, *maldānā* 'to return', (caus.) *malluhtānā*, *mallahtānā* 'to turn back'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:419, no. 4734. Kannaḍa *malagu*, *malaṅgu* '(vb.) to recline, to rest, to lie down; (n.) pillow, cushion'; Koḍagu *maṅg-* (*maṅgi-*) 'to lie down, neglecting work'; Tuḷu *malaguni* 'to lie down, to sleep', *malaṅguni* 'to recline, to lean against'; Kolami *maṅg-* (*maṅkt-*) 'to sleep, to have sexual intercourse', *maṅ-* 'to sleep'; Naikri *maṅg-* 'to sleep'; Naiki (of Chanda) *maṅg-* 'to sleep, to lie down', *maṅgup-* 'to make to sleep'; Gondi *malḥ* 'bedstead'; Pengo *mag-* (*makt-*) 'to lie, to sleep', *mak-* 'to cause to lie, to fell (tree)'; Kuwi *meg-* 'to fall down, to fall off'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:419, no. 4735. Tamil *malar* 'to turn the face or mouth upward (as a pot)', *malarttu* (*malartti-*) 'to throw on one's back (as in wrestling)', *mallā*, *mallār* 'to fall or lie on the back', *mallāttu* (*mallātti-*) 'to make a person or thing lie on the back'; Malayalam *malaruka* 'to lie on the back', *malarttuka* 'to place on the back, to lie open', *malakkam* 'standing upright and bending the head backwards'; Koḍagu *mala-ra* 'outstretched with face upward', *male-* (*malev-*, *maland-*) 'to turn face upward (intr.)', *mala-* (*malap-*, *malat-*), *malat-* (*malati-*) 'to turn face upward (tr.)'; Tuḷu *malaṅkaṇi*, *malaṅkaṇè* 'on the back'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:420, no. 4740. Toda *malf-* (*malt-*) '(buffalo) to look sideways before charging'; Kannaḍa *mālu* 'to bend', *māla*, *mālu* 'sloping, slanting; slope, descent', *mālisu* 'to look obliquely, to turn the eye and cast a look from the corner, to bend to one side (as a post, etc.), to behold for the first time'; Tuḷu *māluni* 'to lean, to incline, to reel, to stagger, to totter', *mālāvuni* 'to make lean or incline, to cause to lean', *malave* 'man with squint eyes', *maleyuni*, *malevuni* 'to frown, to scowl, to stare'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:428—429, no. 4825. Perhaps also: Tamil *mālai* 'garland, wreath, necklace, anything strung together, line, row', *malai*, *milai* 'to wear, to put on (as a garland)'; Malayalam *māla* 'garland,

wreath, necklace, dewlap'; Kannada *māle* 'wreath, garland, necklace, row, line, series (one of the tatsamas)'; Koḍagu *ma·le* 'necklace, dewlap, jungle cock's ruff of neck-feathers'; Tuḷu *mālè* 'garland, wreath, necklace'; Telugu *māla* 'garland, wreath, necklace'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:429, no. 4827. Tamil *māl* 'a kind of net'; Malayalam *māl* 'a kind of net for carrying fruits, fishing, etc.', *māli* 'a coir net'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:428, no. 4823.

- C. Proto-Altaic **malt^he* 'to bend, to twist': Proto-Tungus *maltu-* 'to bend' > Evenki *maltu-* 'to bend'; Lamut / Even *malt_ɔ-* 'to bend'; Negidal *malt_i-* 'to bend'; Orok *mālt_ima* 'folding knife'; Solon *malta-* 'to bend'. Proto-Mongolian **mōlt_i-re- ~ *multu-ra-* (< **malt^he-rV*) 'to twist, to contort, to disentangle' > Written Mongolian *mōlt_ire-* 'to loosen, to detach; to be dislocated, disjointed; to escape', *mōlt_ile-* 'to dislocate, to disjoint', *multura-* 'to pull out, to disentangle oneself; to be freed from; to disjoint; to slip off, to escape; to break loose', *mutul(a)-* 'to free by taking off or out, to pull out completely (as a plant with its roots); to unharness, to unyoke; to unlock, to uncouple, to unlink, to disconnect, to unscrew, to disjoint, to luxate'; Khalkha *mōlt_ilō-* / *multla-* 'to separate, to disconnect, to pull loose; to dislocate; to unharness, to unyoke; to free', *mōltrō-* / *multra-* 'to break loose, to come loose; to become untied, disentangled; to become free'; Buriat *mūlter_ɣey* 'slippery, intangible'; Kalmyk *mōlt_ərə-* 'to twist, to contort, to disentangle'; Dongxiang *multurə-* 'to twist, to contort, to disentangle'; Monguor *mutirē-*, *mutərē-*; *mutili-*, *mutələ-* 'to twist, to contort, to disentangle'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2006:899 **malt^e* 'to bend, to twist'.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **məla-* 'supple, flexible' > Chukchi *m(ə)l-at-* 'to become supple (skin)', *rə-məla-w-* 'to make supple (skin), to make strong or agile (person)', *nə-mlilə-qin* 'flexible, supple'; Kerek *nə-ml[?]a-u-* 'to soften skin'; Koryak *jə-mla-w-* 'to make supple', *nə-mlə-qin* 'flexible'; Alyutor *msa-* 'supple (skin)'. Fortescue 2005:182. Proto-Chukotian **məl(ro)-* 'nimble' > Chukchi *nə-mətlo-qen*, *mətlo-l[?]en*, *nə-mlə-qen* 'nimble, quick', *mələ-twe-* 'to become nimble' [Bogoraz has *nə-mlə-qen* 'nimble, flexible' but *nə-mlə-qin* 'lively']; Alyutor *məlr_u-*, (Palana) *ne-mcə-qen* 'nimble'; Kerek *nə-məll_{uu}-Xi* 'nimble, bold'; Koryak *nə-məll_o-qen* 'nimble'. Fortescue 2005:181—182. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (?) **məlav-* 'to dance': Chukchi *məlaw-* 'to dance'; Kerek *mlau-* 'to dance'; Koryak *məlav-* 'to dance', *məlaw* (n.) 'dance'; Alyutor *məlav-* 'to dance', *məlavvə* (n.) 'dance'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ma[?]tkas* 'play', *ma[?]te-s* 'game', *məlavo-kas* 'dance' (this may be a loan from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:182.

Buck 1949:6.75 necklace; 9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.); 10.44 dance (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1401, **malV* 'to incline, to bend'.

883. Proto-Nostratic root **mal-* (~ **māl-*):
 (vb.) **mal-* ‘to be confused, perplexed, disturbed, bewildered, mistaken’;
 (n.) **mal-a* ‘confusion, perplexity, bewilderment’
 Derivative of:
 (vb.) **mal-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’;
 (n.) **mal-a* ‘bend, turn’
- A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *maalal-* ‘to be surprised’; Kambata *maalal-* ‘to be surprised’, *maalal-siis-* ‘to surprise, to startle’, *malat’-* ‘to cheat’. Hudson 1989:331, 332, and 383.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *malaṅku* (*malaṅki-*) ‘to be agitated, turbid, confused; to shake, to move, to tremble (as the eyes), to perish’, *malakkam* ‘confusion of the mind, distress, bewilderment’, *malakku* (*malakki-*) ‘to bewilder, to disturb, to confuse’, *malai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to be staggered, doubtful, or confused’, *malai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to be staggered, doubtful, or confused; to be amazed; to afflict, to distress’, *malaippu* ‘confusion of mind, astonishment, amazement’, *malaivu* ‘delusion, confusion of mind, amazement, fright’; Malayalam *malekka* ‘to grow thick or muddy; to be perturbed, to be perplexed’, *maleppu* ‘perplexity, wonder’; Kannaḍa *mallāṇi*, *mallāṇi* ‘bodily agitation, bewilderment, fear, amazement’; Telugu *malayu* ‘to be distressed, to grieve’; Kolami *melg-* (*melekt-*) ‘to shake (intr.)’, *melp-* (*melept-*), *melgip-* (*melgipt-*) ‘to shake (tr.)’, *melagang* ‘to move (intr.)’; Gadba (Salur) *melg-* ‘to stir, to move’; Gondi *melhānā* ‘to shake’, *talla melihānā* ‘to shake the head in trance’, *mellī-* ‘to move’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:419, no. 4736. Tamil *māl* (*mālv-*, *mānr-*) ‘(vb.) to be confused, perturbed; (n.) illusion, delusion, aberration of mind, dullness, stupor, confusion, desire, love, lust’, *māli* ‘toddy’, *mānrār* ‘those who are confused in mind’, *mānrāl* ‘bewilderment’, *mān* (*mānv-*, *mānr-*) ‘to be doubtful, to be confused’; Malayalam *māl* ‘infatuation, confusion, grief, sickness of mind’, *mālu* ‘toddy’; Telugu *mālugu* ‘(vb.) to be lazy; (n.) laziness’, *mālūbōtu* ‘lazy man, sluggard’; Naiki (of Chanda) *māl* ‘liquor’; Parji *mēl* ‘liquor’; Gadba (Ollari) *māl* ‘liquor’, (Salur) *māl* ‘liquor, toddy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:428, no. 4822.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **mel-/mol-/m̥l-* ‘(vb.) to be confused, mistaken, wrong; (n.) wrong, falsehood; (adj.) wrong, false’: Armenian *mel* ‘sin, transgression’, *molim* ‘to become mad’, *molorim* ‘to err, to be confused, to be mistaken; to be mad’, *molar* ‘erring, deceiving’, *moli* ‘mad, furious’; Middle Irish *mell* ‘fault, sin’, *mellaim* ‘to deceive’, *maile* ‘evil’; Old English *āmeallian* ‘to become insipid’; West Frisian *māl* ‘foolish, mad’; Middle Low German *mall* ‘stupid, foolish’; Dutch *mal* ‘foolish, funny, cracked, crazy, mad’; Lithuanian *mēlas* ‘lie, falsehood’; Latvian *meli* ‘lie, falsehood’; (?) Sanskrit *malvā-ḥ* ‘thoughtless, foolish, unwise’; (?) Greek *μῆλεος* ‘idle, useless; unhappy, miserable’. Pokorny 1959:719—720 **mel-* ‘to miss, to fail (to do or achieve something); to deceive, to delude, to

mislead'; Walde 1927—1932.II:291 **mel-*; Mann 1984—1987:752 **melos* (oblique *-es-*) 'wrong, falsehood; wrong, false'; Watkins 1985:40 **mel-* 'to miss, to deceive'; Mallory—Adams 1997:155 **melos* 'bad', **méles-* 'fault, mistake', **mel-* 'to fail' and 2006:194 **méles-*, 197 **melo-*, **méles-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:602; Boisacq 1950:623—624; Frisk 1970—1973.II:200; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:681; Hofmann 1966:196 **mel-*; Beekes 2010.II:925; Martirosyan 2008:378 **mel-s-eh₂-* and 381—382; Orël 2003:258 Proto-Germanic **mallaz*; Vercoullie 1898:181; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:430; Smoczyński 2007.1:385—386.

- D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *maalijuori-* 'to surprise', *malii-* 'to amaze', *maalaa-* 'to peer with curiosity', *maaličnej* 'strange, funny', *maaluu-* 'amazing', *maalej-* 'amazed'. Nikolaeva 2006:257.
- E. Proto-Eskimo **malukali-* 'to be crazy': Central Alaskan Yupik (Norton Sound Unaliq) *malukkali-* 'to be rabid, insane' (this is probably a borrowing from Inuit); Seward Peninsula Inuit *malukali-* 'to be crazy', *malukaja-* 'to act crazy'; North Alaskan Inuit *malukali-* 'to be crazy', *malukayi-* 'to consider inferior, to be ashamed of', (Nunamiut) *malukaliq* 'madman, rabid animal'; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *malukaliŋayuyq* 'idiot'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:187.

Buck 1949:12.74 crooked; 16.68 deceit; 16.76 fault, guilt; 16.77 mistake, error; 17.23 insane, mad, crazy. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1402, **mæLV* (= **mæIV* ?) 'to hide'.

884. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):

- (vb.) **man-* 'to suckle, to nurse (a child), to breastfeed';
 (n.) **man-a* 'suckling, young (of humans and animals); breast'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* '(vb.) to suckle, to nurse (a child), to breastfeed; to bring up, to raise; (n.) baby, child; breast': Egyptian *mn^o* 'to suckle, to nurse (a child); to bring up, to raise (of a father who brings up his child)', *mn^ot* 'female nurse, foster-mother', *mn^oy* 'male nurse; tutor', *mn^d* 'breast'; Coptic (Sahidic) *moone* [MOONE], (Bohairic) *moni* [MONI] 'nurse', *mnot* [MNOT] 'breast'. Erman—Grapow 1921:65, 66 and 1926—1963.2:77—78, 2:92—93; Hannig 1995:338 and 343—344; Faulkner 1962:108 and 110; Gardiner 1957:568 and 569; Vycichl 1983:115 and 117; Černý 1976:85 and 86. Proto-Southern Cushitic **manaɣ-* 'baby' > Iraqw *na^oay* 'baby'; Burunge *naw* 'baby boy'; Dahalo *mána^oe* 'baby'. Ehret 1980:153.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **men-t'-*/**mon-t'-*/**mṇ-t'-* '(vb.) to suckle, to nurse (a child), to breastfeed; (n.) suckling, young animal; breast': Albanian *mënt* 'to suckle, to breastfeed'; Old High German (pl.) *manzon* 'udders'; Middle Irish *menn* 'young animal, calf'; Welsh *mynnan* 'kid'; Cornish *min* 'a kid, young goat'; Breton *menn* 'young animal'. Pokorny 1959:729 **mend-*, **mond-* (**mṇd-*) '(vb.) to suck, to suckle; (n.) breast'; Walde 1927—

1932.II:232 **mand-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:556 and 1995.I:474; Mann 1984—1987:730 **mandos*, *-jos* ‘young animal, foal, calf’; Orël 2003:259 Proto-Germanic **mandjō*.

Buck 1949:2.25 boy; 2.26 girl; 2.27 child; 2.28 infant; 4.40 breast (front of chest); 4.41 breast (of woman); 4.42 udder. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:657, no. 534.

885. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):

(vb.) **man-* ‘to count, to reckon’ (> ‘to consider, to think’ > ‘to recount’ > ‘to say, to speak’);

(n.) **man-a* ‘counting, reckoning’

Note: There may be more than one Proto-Nostratic root involved here: (1) **man-* ‘to count, to reckon’ and (2) **man-* ‘to say, to speak’.

- A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* ‘to count, to reckon; to consider, to think’: Proto-Semitic **man-ay-* ‘to count, to reckon’ > Hebrew *mānāh* [מָנָה] ‘to count, to number, to reckon, to assign’, *mānāh* [מָנָה] ‘part, portion, ration, share’; Aramaic *mənā* ‘to number, to count, to reckon’; Ugaritic *mnt* ‘counting’; Akkadian *manū* ‘to count, to reckon’; Epigraphic South Arabian *mnw* ‘to allot’, *mnyt* ‘fortune’. Murtonen 1989:261; Klein 1987:355. Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *maan-* ‘mind’. West Chadic **man-* ‘to know’ > Ngizim (Kanuri) *mánà* ‘word, speech; intention’ (cf. Schuh 1981:110); Sura *man-* ‘to know’; Bole *mon-* ‘to know’; Buli *man-* ‘to know’. South Bauchi Chadic (Bu: / Zaranda) *man-* ‘to be able, to know’ (cf. Caron 2008:104). Jungrathmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:216—217. Central Chadic **man-* / **mun-* (secondary **-u-*) ‘to understand, to analyze’ > Lame *man-*, *mun-* ‘to understand, to analyze’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:373, no. 1721, **man-* ‘to know, to test’.
- B. (?) Dravidian: Iruḷa *maṇi* ‘to talk, to speak’; Kota *mayṇ-* (*maṇc-*) ‘to talk, to scold, to abuse’; Tuḷu *maṇipuni*, *manipuni* ‘to speak, to utter’ (used chiefly in negative). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:413, no. 4671. Tamil *maṇu* ‘petition, request, prayer, word, submission’; Kannaḍa *manave*, *manuve* ‘petition, request, solicitation’; Telugu *manavi* ‘a humble or respectful representation, request, solicitation, prayer, petition’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:424, no. 4775.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **men-* / **mon-* / **mṇ-* ‘to reckon, to consider, to think’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *me-ma-a-i* (< **me-mn-eA-*) ‘to say, to speak’; Sanskrit *mányate* ‘to think, to believe, to imagine, to suppose, to conjecture’, *matí-ḥ* ‘thought’, *mántu-ḥ* ‘advice, counsel’, *mánas-* ‘mind, intellect, perception, sense, will, soul, thought’, *mántra-ḥ* ‘thought, prayer, spell, counsel’, *mantráyate* ‘to speak (RV), to consult with, to advise (MhB)’; Pāli *manutē* ‘to think, to discern’, *manō* ‘mind, thought’, *maññati*

‘to think, to deem, to be sure of’, *manta-* ‘spell, advice’; Oriya *maṇibā* ‘to know, to think, to agree’, *maṇā* ‘understanding, knowledge’; Hindi *mānnā* ‘to respect, to obey’, *man* ‘mind’; Romany *mānār* ‘to think’; Sinhalese *mana* ‘mind’; Assamese *māt* (< *māntra-h*) ‘voice, utterance, speech’; Bashkarīk *man-* ‘to say’, *mānā-* ‘to read’; Chilis *man-* ‘to say’; Phalūra *man-* ‘to say’; Avestan *man-* ‘to think’, *manah-* ‘thought, spirit, mind’; Old Persian *man-* ‘to think’, *manah-* ‘thinking power, power of will’; Greek $\mu\mu\nu\eta\sigma\kappa\omega$ ‘to remember’, $\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ‘to be mindful of’; Latin *meminī* ‘to remember’, *moneō* ‘to remind’, *mēns* ‘mind’; Old Irish *do-moinethar* ‘to think’, *menme* ‘mind, intelligence’; Gothic *munan* ‘to think, to consider’, *ga-munds* ‘remembrance, memory’, *muns* ‘thought, intention’, *ga-mīnþi* ‘memory’; Old Icelandic *muna* ‘to remember’, *munr* ‘mind’, *minna* ‘to remind of’, *minni* ‘memory’; Old English *manian* ‘to remind, to admonish, to exhort’, *myndgian* ‘to remember, to bear in mind, to intend (intr.); to remind (tr.)’, *ge-mynan* ‘to remember’, *ge-mynde* ‘mindful’, *ge-mynd* ‘memory, remembrance’, *ge-mun* ‘remembering’, *myne* ‘memory, remembrance’; Middle High German *gi-munt* ‘memory, recollection’; Lithuanian *miniù*, *minėti* ‘to mention, to refer, to remember’, *mintis* ‘thought, reflection, idea’; Old Church Slavic *мъно*, *мънѣти* ‘to think’, *па-мѣтъ* ‘memory’; Old Russian *měniti* ‘to speak’. Rix 1998a:391—393 **men-* ‘to form an idea’ and 403 **mneh₂-* ‘to think about’; Pokorny 1959:726—728 **men-* ‘to think’; Walde 1927—1932.II:264—266 **men-*; Mann 1984—1987:756 **menō* ‘to remember, to think, to remind’, 757 **menos*, *-es-* ‘power, craft, ability, skill’, 758 **mentis*, *-us* ‘thought, remembrance’, 778 **mŋ-*, 779 **mŋis*, *-iə* ‘thought, memory’, 780 **mŋō*, *-iō* (**mən-*) ‘to think, to remember’, 781 **mŋt-* ‘mind, mindful; mental, concept, shape’, 795 **monjō*, **monejō* ‘to think, to advise’, 795 **monjos*, *-iə* ‘mind, thought, memory’, 796 **monus* ‘wise, thinking, intelligent, thought’; Watkins 1985:41 **men-* and 2000:54 **men-* ‘to think’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:176, II:813 **men-*/**m_en-* > **mŋ-* and 1995.I:142, I:713 **men-*/**m_en-* > **mŋ-* ‘to think, to remember, to talk’, I:172 **mŋthis* ‘mind’; Mallory—Adams 1997:575 **men-* ‘to think, to consider’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:563—564 **men-*; **mŋti-*, **menti-*, II:564 **mŋ-tú-*, II:573—574, II:577—578, and II:583—584; Boisacq 1950:625—626 **me-mŋ-*; **men-*, **m(e)nā-*; **mŋtí-*; **mŋnēi-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:685 **mŋti-* and II:702—703 **mnā-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:206—207 Greek μέ-μα-μεν < **mé-mŋ-me* and II:238—241 **mnā-*; Hofmann 1966:196—197 **me-mŋ-*; **men-*, **m(e)nā-*, and 202 **menēi-*; Beekes 2010.II:953—954 **mneh₂-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:395 **men-* and 412; De Vaan 2008:371—372, 372, and 387; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:65—67 **men-*, II:69—70 **mŋtis*, and II:107 **monéjō*; Orël 2003:259 Proto-Germanic **mana*, 259 **manēnan*, 268 **mendiz*, 268 **menþjan*, 268 **menþjanan*, 275 **mundiz*, 275—276 **mundōjanan*, 276 **mundraz*, 276 **mundrīn*, 276 **munēnan*, 276 **muniz*; Kroonen 2013:375 Proto-Germanic **munan-* ‘to think, to

remember, to intend' and 375 **mundi-* 'memory, mind'; Lehmann 1986: 145 **men-* 'to think' and 260—261 **men-*, **mnā-* (**mne₂-*); **mṇ-ye/o-*; **mṇti-*; **men-e/o-*; Feist 1939:193, 194 **men-*, **mṇtós*, and 366—367 **men-*; De Vries 1977:388, 395, and 396; Onions 1966:577 Old English *gemynd* < Germanic **gamundiz*, Proto-Indo-European **men-*, **mon-*, **mn-* 'to revolve in the mind, to think'; Klein 1971:455 **men-* 'to think, to remember'; Kloekhorst 2008b:573—575; Puhvel 1984— .6:126—140 **men-* 'to think, to remember'; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:26 and I:455—459; Smoczyński 2007.1:401; Derksen 2008:340—341 **mn-eh₁-* and 2015:318 **mn-eh₁-*.

- D. Proto-Uralic **man₃-* (**mon₃-*) 'to consider, to conjecture; to recount, to say, to speak': Finnish *manaa-* 'to warn, to exhort, to admonish, to curse, to bewitch, to execrate, to wish evil to'; Estonian *mana-* 'to abuse, to upbraid, to ruin, to slander, to curse', *mõna-* 'to give to understand, to indicate'; Lapp / Saami *moannâ-/moanâ-*, *moanâdâ-* 'to conjecture, to solve by conjecture', (Southern) *muoně-* 'to appoint, to order, to prescribe; to conjecture'; Hungarian *mond-* (*-d* is a suffix) 'to say, to tell', *monda* 'legend, saga, myth', *mondás* 'saying, expression', *mondogat* 'to keep saying, to repeat'; Cheremis / Mari *mana-* 'to speak, to say, to order'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *maan-* 'to say'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *muno-* 'to say, to command'; Selkup Samoyed *my-* 'to say'; Kamassian *ma-* 'to say'. Collinder 1955:33, 1960:407 **man₃-*, and 1977:53; Rédei 1986—1988:290—291 **mṣn₃-* (**mon₃-*); Décsy 1990:103 **mona* 'to say'; Janhunen 1977b:88 **mā-* ~ **mân-*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *mon-* 'to say'; (Northern / Tundra) *mon-* 'to say'. Nikolaeva 2006:274. Note also: Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *möñd'ə*, *meñd'ə* 'news', (Northern / Tundra) *möñd'e-* 'to be awake; to hear (to not be deaf)', *möñčeban-*, *menčeban-* 'to be endowed with the gift of foresight, to be a hypnotizer'. Nikolaeva 2006:264.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **mana-* 'to learn, to try': Proto-Tungus **man-dū-* 'to try, to strive' > Evenki *mandūw-* 'to try, to strive'; Lamut / Even *manru-* 'to try, to strive'; Orok *mandu-* 'to try, to strive'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:901 **mana* 'to learn, to try'.

Buck 1949:11.66 account, reckoning; 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:42—43, no. 281, **manu-* 'to think'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:639—641, no. 519; Pudas-Marlow 1974:62, no. 165; Hakola 2000:102—103, no. 438; Greenberg 2002:167, no. 388; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1428, **moñV* 'to test, to think' and, no. 1439, **mañ[Vy]V* 'to speak, to call, to invoke magic forces'.

886. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):

(vb.) **man-* ‘to stay, to remain, to abide, to dwell; to be firm, steadfast, established, enduring’;

(n.) **man-a* ‘dwelling, house, home’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* ‘to stay, to remain, to abide, to dwell; to be firm, steadfast, established, enduring’, **man-/*min-* ‘dwelling, house, home’: Proto-Semitic **ʔa-man-* ‘to make firm, or secure, to safeguard, to assure’ > Amorite *ʔmn* ‘to be true’; Hebrew *ʔāman* [ʔāḿān] ‘to confirm, to support, to verify, to approve; to be strong, enduring, reliable, steady; to stay faithful to, to have stability, to remain, to continue’, *ʔōmēn* [ʔōḿēn] ‘faith, trust, confidence, fidelity’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible), *ʔāmēn* [ʔāḿēn] ‘(n.) faithfulness, truth; (adv.) Amen!, true!, so be it!’; Aramaic *ʔaman* ‘to believe, to trust’; Syriac *ʔamīn* ‘true, lasting’, *ʔeθʔemen* ‘to be steadfast, to persevere’; Phoenician *ʔmn* ‘support’; Arabic *ʔamina* ‘to be safe, to feel safe; to reassure, to set someone’s mind to rest; to assure, to ensure, to safeguard, to guarantee, to warrant, to bear out, to confirm’, *ʔamuna* ‘to be faithful, reliable, trustworthy’, *ʔamān* ‘security, safety, protection, safeguard, escort’, *ʔamn* ‘safety, peace, security, protection’, *maʔman* ‘place of safety, safe place’, *ʔamīn* ‘reliable, trustworthy, loyal, faithful, upright, honest, safe, secure; superintendent, curator, custodian, guardian, keeper’, *ʔīmān* ‘faith, belief’; Sabaean *ʔmn* ‘(vb.) to give assurance, to assure; (n.) security, protection’; Ḥarsūsi *ʔāmōn* ‘to believe, to believe in, to trust’, *ʔamān* ‘safe conduct’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ʔūn* (base *ʔmn*) ‘to trust in, to believe in’; Mehri *hāmōn* ‘to trust in someone or something’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔamna* [አሞኑ] ‘to believe, to trust, to have faith in, to have confidence, to be true, to profess the faith, to confess (sins), to admit’, *ʔamān* [አሞኑ] ‘truth; true, right, faithful, valid; verily’; Tigrinya *ʔamānā* ‘to believe’; Tigre *ʔamna* ‘to believe, to trust’; Amharic *ammānā* ‘to believe, to testify’; Gurage *amānā* ‘to believe, to trust, to confess, to admit’, *amnāt* ‘confidence, reliance, belief’; Harari *amāna* ‘to believe’. Murtonen 1989:93; Klein 1987:35; Leslau 1963:26, 1979:49, and 1987:24; Zammit 2002:79—80. Egyptian *mn* ‘to remain, to abide, to dwell; to be firm, established, enduring’; Coptic *mun* [ἠῶν] ‘to remain, to continue’. Hannig 1995:333; Faulkner 1962:106; Erman—Grapow 1921:63 and 1926—1963.2:60—62; Gardiner 1957:568; Vycichl 1983:114; Černý 1976:83. Proto-East Cushitic **man-/*min-* ‘house’ > Somali *min* ‘bridal house’; Rendille *min* ‘house’; Boni *miḡ* ‘house’; Bayso *min* ‘house’; Elmolo *min* ‘house’; Galla / Oromo *man-a* ‘house’; Konso *man-a* ‘house’; Burji *min-a* ‘house’; Hadiyya *min-e* ‘house’; Kambata *min-e* ‘house’, *min-* ‘to build (a house)’; Gedeo / Darasa *min-e* ‘house’; Sidamo *min-e* ‘house’, *min-* ‘to build (a house)’; Alaba *min-o* ‘house’; Gawwada *man-o* ‘house’; Gidole *man-a* ‘house’; Gollango *man-o* ‘house’. Hudson 1989:81; Sasse 1979:24 and 1982:145. Proto-Southern Cushitic **min-* ‘house’ > Dahalo

- mīni* ‘house’; Ma’a *mi*, *mīnda* ‘house’. Ehret 1980:158. West Chadic **man-/min-* ‘house, place’ > Tangale *man* ‘house’; Dera *māna* ‘house’; Pero *mīna* ‘house’; Sha *mun* ‘place’ (secondary *-u-*). West Chadic: Ngizim *mānū* ‘to spend a year’, (verbal noun) *mānū* ‘spending a year’, *mānānū* ‘to spend several years’. East Chadic **man-* ‘place’ > Somray *mana* ‘place’; Ndam *maan* ‘place’; Tumak *man* ‘place’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:374, no. 1723, **man-/min-* ‘house’ and 389, no. 1795, **mun-* ‘to be, to remain’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *mannu* (*manni-*) ‘to be permanent, to endure, to stay, to remain long, to persevere, to be steady’, *mannal* ‘permanence, stability, steadiness’; Malayalam *mannuka* ‘to stand fast, to persevere’; Telugu *manu* ‘to live, to exist, to behave, to act, to conduct oneself’, *man(i)ki* ‘existence, living, life, residing, livelihood, abode, dwelling, home, place, locality’, *manukuva* ‘abode, dwelling, place’, *manugaḍa* ‘life, living, livelihood, subsistence’, *manucu*, *manupu* ‘to protect, to maintain, to preserve, to revive’, *manupu* ‘protection, maintenance’, *manuvu* ‘conduct’, *manni* ‘life’, *mannu* ‘to last, to be durable’; Naiki (of Chanda) *man-* ‘to be’; Gadba (Ollari) *man-* (*may-*, *maṭ-*) ‘to be, to stay’, (Salur) *man-* (*mand-*, *manj-*, *mey-*) ‘to be’; Gondi *mandānā* (*matt-*), *man-* ‘to remain, to abide, to be’; Parji *men-* (*mend-*, *mett-*) ‘to be, to stay’; Koṇḍa *man-* (*mar-*) ‘to be, to stay, to dwell’; Pengo *man-* (*mac-*) ‘to be’; Kui *manba* (*mas-*) ‘to be, to exist, to remain, to abide’; Kuwi *man-* (*macc-*) ‘to be’, *manjali* (*mac-*) ‘to remain’, *man-* (*mac-*) ‘to remain, to exist, to stay’, *mannai* (*macc-*) ‘to be’; Kurux *mannā* (*mañjas*) ‘to become, to come off, to result, to be, to turn out to be, to be in appearance, to act as if, to behave as though, to be abundant, to amount to’; Malto *mene* ‘to be or become’; Brahui *manning* ‘to become, to be’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:424—425, no. 4778. Tamil *manai* ‘house, dwelling, mansion, house-site, a land measure, wife, family, household, domestic life’, *manaiyāl*, *manaiyōl* ‘wife’, *manaiivi* ‘wife, heroine of a pastoral or agricultural tract, female owner or resident of a house’; Malayalam *mana* ‘house’; Kota *mantanm* ‘affairs of a household’, *man devr* ‘household god’; Toda *man* ‘family, household’; Kannaḍa *mane* ‘habitation, abode, house, apartment, room’, *manetana*, *mantana* ‘household, household life’, *manetanasta* ‘householder; a worthy, honorable man’; Koḍagu *mane* ‘house’, *maneka-rē* ‘man of the house’; Tuḷu *manetana* ‘household’, *manē* ‘house, home’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:424, no. 4776; Krishnamurti 2003:90, 117—118, 279, 496, and 498—499 **man-* (**man-t-*) ‘to be, to live, to stay’, 8 **man-ay* ‘house, place to stay in’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **men-/mon-/mṇ-* ‘to stay, to remain, to abide, to dwell; to be firm, steadfast, established, enduring’: Sanskrit *man-* ‘to wait, to stay, to hesitate’; Avestan *man-* ‘to remain’; Old Persian *man-* ‘to remain’; Armenian *mnam* ‘to remain’; Greek μένω ‘to stand fast; to stay at home, to stay where one is at; (of things) to be lasting, to remain, to stand, to be stable, to be permanent; to abide’, μί-μν-ω ‘to stay, to stand fast; to

tarry; (of things) to remain; to await', μόνη 'a staying, abiding; permanence; stopping place, station, apartment, quarters, billets; monastery', μόνιμος 'staying in one's place, stable; (of persons) steady, steadfast; (of things) lasting, enduring'; Latin *maneō* 'to stay, to remain; to endure, to last; to abide; to wait for, to await'. Probably also Tocharian A/B *māsk-* (< **mṣ-sk^h-e/o-*) 'to be' (cf. Adams 1999:458—459). Rix 1998a:393—394 **men-* 'to stay, to remain, to abide'; Pokorny 1959:729 **men-* 'to remain'; Walde 1927—1932.II:267 **men-*; Mann 1984—1987:756—757 **menō* (**mīmēnō*) 'to remain, to be, to rest', **mṣō*, *-jō* (**mən-*) 'to remain', 796 **monos*, *-us* (**monuos*) 'remaining, alone, single, individual'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:573; Mallory—Adams 1997:482 **men-* 'to remain, to stay'; Watkins 1985:41 **men-* and 2000:54 **men-* 'to remain'; Boisacq 1950:627 **men-*; Beekes 2010.II:931—932 **men-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:686; Frisk 1970—1973.II:208—209 **men-*; Hofmann 1966:197 **men-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:26 **men-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:383; De Vaan 2008:362 **m(o)n-ē-*.

- D. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *med'uo-* (< **menč'*-) 'to enter upon'. Nikolaeva 2006:264.
- E. Altaic: Proto-Tungus **mēne-* 'to settle down, to stay' > Evenki *mēnē-* 'to settle down', *mēnē* 'settled down'; Lamut / Even *mene* 'settled down'; Negidal *meneže-* 'to stay'; Orok *meneži-* 'to stay'; Udihe *menže-* 'to stay'. Semantically, the Tungus forms are a perfect match with those from the other Nostratic languages cited here. However, the root vowel is a problem. Perhaps, we are dealing with secondary developments within Tungus itself. In any case, the Altaic etymology proposed by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:913) is not convincing.

Buck 1949:7.12 house; 9.91 be; 12.16 remain, stay, wait'. Caldwell 1913:601; Möller 1911:165; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:51—52, no. 287, **mAnA* 'to remain in place, to stand firmly'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1419, **manV* 'house, dwelling' and, no. 1420, **māñā* 'to remain, to stay'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 641—643, no. 520.

887. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):

- (vb.) **man-* 'to protect, to watch over, to stand guard over, to care for, to take care of, to tend';
- (n.) **man-a* 'protection, care, guardianship; watchman, herdsman, guardian, protector'

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mni* (*mīni*) 'to tend flocks, to act as herdsman', *mniw* (apparently originally *m(i)niw*) 'herdsman'; Coptic (Sahidic) *moone* [MOONE], (Bohairic) *moni* [MONI], *amoni* [AMONI] 'to pasture, to feed', *man-* [MAN-], *mane-* [MANE-] 'herdsman', *man-esow* [MAN-ECOOW] 'shepherd'. Hannig 1995:337; Faulkner 1962:108; Gardiner 1957:568;

Erman—Grapow 1921:65 and 1926—1963.2:74—75; Vycichl 1983:115—116; Černý 1976:84.

- B. Indo-European: Proto-Germanic **munđō* ‘protection, guardianship’ > Old English *mundian* ‘to protect, to be guardian’, *mundiend* ‘protector’, *mund* ‘protection, guardianship; protector, guardian’, *gemynd* ‘caring for, solicitude’; Old Frisian *mund* ‘protection’, *mundele* ‘ward, minor’; Old Saxon *mundōn* ‘to protect’; Old High German *muntōn* ‘to protect someone’, *munt* ‘protection’; New High German *Mund* (f.) ‘protection’, *Mündel* ‘ward, minor’, *Mündelstand* ‘pupilage’, *Mündelgeld* ‘trust-money’, *mündelsicher* ‘absolutely safe (of investments, etc.)’, *-mund* in: *Vormund* ‘guardian, trustee’, *Vormundschaft* ‘guardianship, trusteeship, tutelage’. Orël 2003:275 Proto-Germanic **mundō* (< **mŋ-tā*); Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:267 and 272; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:493 **mŋ-tā* and 826; Kluge—Seebold 1989:492 and 769. Note: Not related to words for ‘hand’ (see below, Proto-Nostratic (vb.) **man^v-* ‘to hold, to take’; (n.) **man^v-a* ‘hand, paw’).
- C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *maannie-* ‘to protect jealously without letting somebody go near somebody else’. Nikolaeva 2006:258 — Nikolaeva notes: “An irregular long vowel in a closed syllable suggests that *-ńə-* is a derivational suffix.”
- D. Altaic: Mongolian *mana-* ‘to keep vigil, to hold night watch, to safeguard, to stand guard over, to make the rounds as guard during the night’, *manay-a(n)* ‘the act of watching or guarding; guard, night sentry, watch, patrol, post’, *manayači* ‘watchman, guard’, *manayul* ‘guard, sentinel, (night) watch’; Khalkha *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Buriat *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Kalmyk *manə-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Ordos *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Dagur *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Shira-Yughur *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’; Monguor *mana-* ‘to guard, to watch’. Poppe 1960:70; Street 1974:19 **mana-* ‘to stand watch’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:953—954) reconstruct Proto-Altaic **muńa* ‘to guard, to graze’ — while the semantics of their proposed etymology are good, there are problems with the phonetics.

Buck 1949:11.24 preserve, keep safe, save.

888. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):
 (vb.) **man-* ‘to swell, to expand, to grow, to increase’;
 (n.) **man-a* ‘multitude, crowd, herd, flock’
 Related to (extended form):
 (vb.) **man-V-g-* ‘to swell, to expand, to grow, to increase’;
 (n.) **man-g-a* ‘great number, large amount; abundance; multitude, crowd’;
 (adj.) ‘many, numerous, copious, abundant; swollen, big, fat, strong’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian (f.) (reduplicated) *mnmnt* ‘herds, cattle’. Hannig 1995:339; Faulkner 1962:109; Erman—Grapow 1921:65 and 1926—1963.2:81; Gardiner 1957:568.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Neo-Elamite *man-da-qa* ‘filled, full’, *man-tak* ‘it was filled’. Dravidian: Tamil *mantai* ‘flock, herd, common pasture of a village, open space in the middle of a village common to the community’; Kannada *mandi*, *mande* ‘flock of sheep or goats, herd of cattle or buffaloes, open place in the jungle or near a village where a flock or herd stands, pen, fold’; Telugu *manda* ‘flock, herd, drove, pack; place where flocks or herds are kept outside a village; hamlet inhabited by herdsmen’; Parji *manda* ‘herd, flock, company, association’; Gondi *manda* ‘herd, flock’; Konḍa *manda* ‘herd’; Kuwi *manda* ‘herd, flock’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:415, no. 4700a. Kannada *mandi*, *mande* ‘persons, people’; Tuḷu *mandi*, *mandè* ‘persons, people’; Telugu *mandi* ‘crowd, collection of persons; retinue, following, infantry’; Pengo *mandanakar*, *madanakar* ‘people belonging to the same side or party’; Kolami *mandī* ‘men’, *mandi* ‘man’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:415, no. 4700b.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Ugric **mānz* ‘herd’ > (?) Ostyak / Xanty *manəŋ* ‘herd (of reindeer, horses, cows)’; (?) Hungarian *mén* ‘stallion’, *ménes* ‘stud(-farm)’. Rédei 1986—1988:869 **mānz* ‘some kind of animal’. Note: Proto-Finno-Permian **mone* ‘a certain quantity, many’ is probably a loan from Indo-European (cf. Collinder 1955:133 and 1977:144; Rédei 1986—1988:279—280; Joki 1973:286).
- D. Proto-Altaic **mana* ‘crowd, flock, herd’: Proto-Tungus **mani* ‘crowd, flock, herd’ > Oroch *mañi* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Orok *mandi* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Nanay / Gold *mandu* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Evenki *man* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Negidal *man* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Ulch *mandu* ‘crowd, flock, herd’; Udihe *mani* ‘crowd, flock, herd’. (?) Proto-Mongolian **mandu-*, **mantu-* ‘big, large’ > Buriat *mandagar*, *mantan*, *mantagar* ‘big, large’; Written Mongolian *manduyur* ‘big, fat, stout’; Khalkha *mandgar*, *mantay* ‘big, large’. Proto-Turkic **bañi-*, **boni-* ‘big, large’ > Chuvash *mьʷnъʷ* ‘big, large’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:901, **mana* ‘many, big’.

Buck 1949:13.19 multitude, crowd (sb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1418, **mAnV* ‘herd/flock, gregarious animal(s)’; Hakola 2000:106, no. 454.

889. Proto-Nostratic root **man-* (~ **mən-*):

Extended form:

(vb.) **man-V-g-* ‘to swell, to expand, to grow, to increase’;

(n.) **man-g-a* ‘great number, large amount; abundance; multitude, crowd’;

(adj.) ‘many, numerous, copious, abundant; swollen, big, fat, strong’

Related to:

(vb.) **man-* ‘to swell, to expand, to grow, to increase’;

(n.) **man-a* ‘multitude, crowd, herd, flock’

- A. Afrasian: East Cushitic: Afar *mango-* ‘to be much, many’; Saho *mango* ‘many’, *mang-* ‘to be full, numerous’. Central Cushitic: Awngi / Awiya *ménč* ‘much, many’, *minčy-* ‘to be many’. Appleyard 2006:97.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **men(e)gh^o-s/*mon(e)gh^o-s/*m̥gh^o-s* ‘copious, abundant, many’: Old Irish *menic(c)* ‘frequent, abundant’; Welsh *mynych* ‘frequent’; Cornish *menouch* ‘frequent’; Gothic **manags* ‘sufficient (in size), very large, many’, *managduþs* ‘abundance’, *managei* ‘people, crowd, multitude’, **managnan* ‘to be plentiful, to abound, to increase; to be left over’, **managian* ‘to increase, to make (more) abundant’, **managfalþs* ‘many times more’; Old Icelandic *mangr* ‘many’, *mengi* ‘multitude’; Old English *manig*, *monig* (later *mænig*) ‘many’, *menigo* ‘multitude, crowd, great number’; Old Frisian *man(i)ch*, *monich*, *menich* ‘many’, *menie* ‘crowd’; Old Saxon *manag* ‘much, many’, *menigi* ‘crowd’; Dutch *menig* ‘many’; Old High German *manig*, *menig* ‘much, many’ (New High German *manch*), *managē*, *menigī* ‘crowd’ (New High German *Menge*); Old Church Slavonic *тъногъ* ‘much, great, manifold, many’; Russian *mnógije* [многие] ‘many’, *mnógo* [много] ‘much, plenty of; a lot of, many’. Walde 1927—1932.II:268—269 **men(e)gh-*, **mon(e)gh-*, **m̥gh-*; Pokorny 1959:730 **men(e)gh-*, **mon(e)gh-*, **m̥gh-* ‘copious, abundant, many’; Mann 1984—1987:795 **monoghos* ‘much, many, frequent’; Watkins 1985:41 **menegh-* and 2000:55 **menegh-* ‘copious’; Mallory—Adams 1997:3 **menegh-* ‘abundant’; Orël 2003:259 Proto-Germanic **manaǵa-faldaz*, 259 **manaǵaz*, 259 **manaǵin*; Kroonen 2013:352 Proto-Germanic **managa-* ‘many’; Feist 1939:343—344; Lehmann 1986:243; De Vries 1977:378 and 384; Onions 1966:554 **monogho-*, **menogho-*; Klein 1971:444; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:458 **men(e)gh-*, **mon(e)gh-*, **m̥gh-* and 474; Kluge—Seebold 1989:458 and 473; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:256—257; Derksen 2008:334.
- C. Altaic: Proto-Tungus **maŋga* ‘strong, hard’ > Evenki *maŋa* ‘strong, hard’; Lamut / Even *maŋ* ‘strong, hard’; Negidal *maŋga* ‘strong, hard’; Manchu *maŋga* ‘hard, difficult; strong, fierce’, *meŋge* ‘hard (of foods), hard to chew’; Jurchen *maŋ-ga* ‘strong, hard’; Ulch *maŋga* ‘strong, hard’; Oroch *maŋga* ‘strong, hard’; Nanay / Gold *maŋga* ‘strong, hard’; Oroch *maŋga*, *maŋasi* ‘strong, hard’; Udihe *maŋga*, *maŋahi* ‘strong, hard’; Solon *mandē*, *mandī* ‘very, heavily’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:903 **maŋga* (~ -o) ‘big, strong’. Tungusic loan in Gilyak / Nivkh: Amur *maŋg-dʷ* ‘strong, important, difficult, valuable’; East Sakhalin *maŋg-d* ‘dear, expensive, hard, violent, intense’; South Sakhalin *ma:ya-nt* ‘strong’. Fortescue 2016: 101—102.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 13.15 much; many; 15.74 hard. Illič-Svityč 1965:348 **m/o/nA*, **m/o/n/g/A* ‘many’ [‘много’]; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1443, **mañVga* (or **maŋga* ?) ‘strong, numerous’; Greenberg 2002:114, no. 260.

890. Proto-Nostratic root **man^v-* (~ **mən^v-*):
 (vb.) **man^v-* ‘to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget’;
 (n.) **man^v-a* ‘ardent desire, passion, lust’
 Derivative:
 (n.) **man^v-a* ‘progenitor, begetter, man, male; penis’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* ‘(vb.) to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget; (n.) ardent desire, passion, lust’:
 Proto-Semitic **man-ay-* ‘(vb.) to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget; (n.) ardent desire, passion, lust’ > Akkadian *menū, manū* ‘to love, to become fond of someone’, *mēnu* ‘love’ (?); Arabic *manā* (base *mny*) ‘to desire, to wish for, to ejaculate; to practice onanism, to masturbate’, *minan* ‘semen, sperm’, *munya, minya* ‘wish, desire; object of desire’; Šheri / Jibbāli *mútni* (base *mny*) ‘to want, to wish’; Ḥarsūsi *emtōni* (base *mny*) ‘to wish’; Mehri *metōni* (base *mny*) ‘to wish’; Geez / Ethiopic *tamannaya* [ተመነየ] ‘to wish, to desire, to be eager for’, *tamnet* [ተምነት] ‘wish, desire, lust’; Tigrinya (*tä*)*männäyä* ‘to wish, to desire’; Tigre (*tə*)*manna* ‘to wish, to desire’; Amharic (*tä*)*männä* ‘to desire, to wish, to be desirous of, to covet, to aspire to’, *männöt* ‘wish, desire, ambition, aspiration’; Gurage (Ennemor, Gyeto) (*tä*)*mēñä*, (Gogot) *tämeññä*, (Endegeñ) *tämēññä*, (Selti) *tämēñe*, (Wolane) *tämeññe*, (Zway) *tämäññi*, (Eža, Muher) *tämännna*, (Chaha) *tämena*, (Masqan) *tämenna*, (Soddo) *täminna* ‘to wish, *to have sexual intercourse, to be covered (cattle), to be coupled, to conceive (cattle)’; (Chaha) *mənuta*, *tämännñat*, (Eža) *männutta*, *täm^vennat*, (Gogot, Soddo, Wolane) *männöt*, (Muher) *männutta*, (Gyeto) *tämännät*, (Ennemor) *tämeññät*, (Selti) *tämēñät*, (Endegeñ) *tämännñäd* ‘wish, *sexual desire’, (Eža, Muher) *amännñat bädda*, (Chaha) *amännñat bäta* ‘to be covered (cattle), to be coupled, to conceive (cattle)’ (literally, ‘the desire took’); Argobba (*əm*)*mēñña* ‘to wish, to desire’; Harari (*tä*)*männi* ‘wish’; Gafat (*tä*)*mēñä* ‘to wish, to have sexual intercourse’. Zammit 2002:389; Leslau 1963:108, 1979:414, and 1987:352—353. Egyptian *Mnw* ‘the god Min’ (an ithyphallic god of generation), *mnmn* ‘to copulate’ (the god Min, with his mother). Hannig 1995:339, 1208, and 2006:3068—3069; Faulkner 1962:108; Gardiner 1957:568; Erman—Grapow 1921:64 and 1926—1963.2:72, 2:81. Central Chadic: Lame *mun* ‘preferred’; Masa *min-* ‘to want’. West Chadic: Fyer *muni* ‘to love, to like’; Sha *mun* ‘to love, to like’; Pero *meno* ‘to love, to like’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:384, no. 1772, **min-* ‘to want’ and 389, no. 1796, **mun-* ‘to love’.]

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000:I:302—303, no. 41) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (vb.) **mny* ‘to have sexual desire; to discharge sperm; to exude vaginal secretion’. Although they observe that: “The original meaning

preserved in Arb. is probably ‘to discharge sperm, exude vaginal secretion’, with a shift to ‘have sexual desire’ and further ‘to desire, wish, want’ and ‘love’, such an interpretation appears unwarranted in view of the semantics of the non-Arabic cognates within Semitic. Militarëv—Kogan do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *maṇa* ‘to be united, mingled; to come together; to happen, to be fixed, attached; to wed; to copulate with; to live in company with; to embrace’, *maṇappu* ‘copulation, essence, possession of extensive properties’, *maṇam* ‘union (as of lovers), marriage, respectability, dignity, prosperity, influence’, *maṇantavṇ*, *maṇavāḷan*, *maṇavāḷi* ‘bridegroom, husband’; Malayalam *maṇālan*, *maṇavālan* ‘bridegroom, husband’, *maṇam* ‘reputation, marriage’, *maṇāṭṭi* ‘bride’; Gondi *marming* ‘marriage’; Telugu *manumu*, *manuvu* ‘marrying a husband, marriage of a woman’; Malto *manye* ‘to love, to marry’, *manc-naqe* ‘to love each other, to marry each other’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:413, no. 4667.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **men-/*mon-/*mṇ-* (vb.) ‘to desire passionately, to yearn for; (n.) ardent desire, passion, lust’: Tocharian B *mañu* ‘desire’, A *mnu* ‘spirit, appreciation, desire’ (< Proto-Tocharian **mäñäü-* ‘desire’ < Proto-Indo-European **men-ew-* ‘desire’); Sanskrit *man-* (RV) ‘to hope or wish for’ (also ‘to think’), *mānas-* ‘spirit, passion’ (also ‘mind, intellect, perception, sense’), *manasyú-* (RV) ‘wishing, desiring’, *manā́* (RV) ‘devotion, attachment, zeal, eagerness’, *manīṣita-* (MBh) ‘desired, wished (for); desire, wish’, *manyú-* (RV) ‘high spirit or temper, ardor, zeal, passion’; Greek *μενεαίνω* ‘to desire earnestly or eagerly’, *μένοσ* ‘spirit, passion’, *μέμονα* (perfect used as present) ‘to desire or wish eagerly, to yearn for, to strive for’, *μενοινή* ‘eager desire’, *μενοινάω* ‘to desire eagerly’; Old Irish *menn-* ‘to desire’, *menme* ‘feeling, desire’ (also ‘mind, intelligence’); Welsh *mynnu* ‘wish, will’, *mynnwys* ‘desired’; Cornish *mynnes* ‘will’; Middle Breton *mennat* (Modern Breton *mennout*) ‘to wish, to desire’; Old Icelandic *muna* ‘to like, to long for’, *munaðr* ‘delight’, *munr* ‘love’, *munuð* or *munúð* ‘pleasure, lust’; Norwegian *mun* ‘pleasure, enjoyment’; Old English *myne* ‘desire, love, affection’ (also ‘memory’), *mynle* ‘desire’, *mynelic* ‘desirable’; Old Frisian *minne* ‘love’; Old Saxon *minnea*, *minnia* ‘love’; Dutch (poetical) *minne* ‘love’, *beminnen* ‘to love’; Old High German *minna* ‘love’ (New High German [poetical] *Minne* ‘love’), *minnōn*, *minneōn* ‘to love’. According to Feist (1939:193, under Gothic *ga-minþi*), the Old High German, Dutch, Old Saxon, and Old Frisian forms are from Proto-Indo-European **menjā*. Bomhard 2004a:33—34; Mann 1984—1987:755 **menā* ‘thought, desire’; De Vries 1977:395 and 396; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:480; Kluge—Seebold 1989:480; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:262—263; Torp 1919:438. Note: Not related to Proto-Indo-European **men-* ‘to think, to remember’.
- D. Uralic: Estonian *mõnu* ‘pleasure, relish, gusto’, *mõnule-* ‘to enjoy oneself, to take pleasure, to feel cozy’, *mõnus* ‘pleasant, pleasurable’.

- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **mænnuk-* ‘to be indulgent towards someone’ > Chukchi *re-mənnu-ŋ-* ‘to smile’ (with **dæ- -ŋ(ə)-*); Koryak *mannuku ləŋ-* ‘to spoil, to be indulgent towards’. Fortescue 2005:173.

Buck 1949:16.61 will, wish (vb.); 16.62 desire (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:663—664, no. 541; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1440, **mAnVɣV* or **mAnV* ‘genitalia; to copulate’.

891. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **man^v-a* ‘progenitor, begetter, man, male; penis’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **man^v-* ‘to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget’;

(n.) **man^v-a* ‘ardent desire, passion, lust’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* ‘progenitor, begetter, man, male’: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **man(n)-* ‘man, person’, (pl.) ‘people’ > Burji *lámmi* ‘man, person’, (n. coll.) *méena* ‘people’; Gedeo / Darasa *manjo*, *manj-icco* ‘man, person’, *manna* ‘man, person, people’; Kambata *man-cu* ‘man, person’, (pl.) *manna* ‘men, people’; Sidamo *man-co* ‘man, woman, person’, (pl.) *manna* ‘men, people’; Hadiyya *man-co* ‘man, person’, (pl.) *manna* ‘people’. Sasse 1982:133 and 143; Hudson 1989:96 and 112. Proto-East Cushitic **man-t-/*mín-t-* ‘woman’ (with fossilized feminine suffix) > Burji *mand-ée* ‘virgin, young unmarried girl, young woman’; Kambata *ment-iccu(-ta)* ‘woman’, (pl.) *meento* ‘women’; Dasenech *minni* (< **mín-ti*) ‘woman’; Gedeo / Darasa *manj-icco* ‘woman’; Hadiyya *mento* ‘woman’; Sidamo *man-co* ‘man, woman, person’, (pl.) *meento* ‘women’. Sasse 1982:140; Hudson 1989:170. Bayso *man-to* ‘penis’, *man-tiiti* ‘vagina’; Burji *múnn-aa* ‘vagina’. According to Sasse (1982:133), Highland East Cushitic has metathesized Proto-East Cushitic **nam-/*nim-/*num-* ‘man’ (cf. Saho-Afar *num* ‘man’; Somali *nin* ‘man’, [pl.] *nim-an*; Galla / Oromo *nam-a* ‘man’; Konso *nam-a* ‘man’; Gidole *nam-a* ‘man’ [cf. Sasse 1979:24]). However, in view of the forms for ‘woman’, ‘penis’, and ‘vagina’, which are clearly derivatives from a primary **man-/*mín-/*mun-*, as well as related forms in other Afroasiatic languages, Highland East Cushitic **man(n)-* ‘man, person’ may well be original. West Chadic: Geji *má-ni/ma:nì* ‘man’; Buli *manne/mánè/manì* ‘man’; Tule *ma:ŋə* ‘man’; Wangday *mánè/manì* ‘man’. South Bauchi Chadic (Bu: / Zaranda) *má:nì* (variant *mwá:nì*) (adj.) ‘male’ (cf. Caron 2008:104). Central Chadic: Kotoko-Logone *méni/mééni* ‘man’ (pl. *mááwéé* ‘men’). Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:230—231. Orël—Stolbova 1995:373—374, no. 1722, **man-/*mayan-* ‘man’. Note: Blažek (2020:76) lists Beja / Beḏawye *me(n)sərq* ‘scrotum’. This may belong here as well.

- B. Dravidian: (?) Tamil *māntar* ‘human beings, male persons’; Kolami *ma-s* ‘man’, *māc* ‘husband’; Naikṛi *mās* ‘man, husband’; Naiki (of Chanda) *mās* ‘husband’; Parji *mañja*, *mañña* ‘man’; Gondi *manja* ‘man, human being’; Koṇḍa *māsi* ‘husband’; Kuṛux *mēt*, *mēt* ‘adult man, husband’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:425—426, no. 4791. Tamil *māṇi* ‘penis’; Malayalam *māṇi* ‘penis’; Kannaḍa *māṇi* ‘penis’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:427, no. 4805.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **menu-s/*monu-s* ‘man, begetter; person’: Sanskrit *mānu-ḥ* ‘man, mankind, father of men’; Avestan *manuš-* ‘man, person’ in *Manuš-čīθra-*; Gothic *manna* ‘man, person’; Old Icelandic *mannr* ‘man, human being’; Norwegian *mann* ‘man’; Swedish *man* ‘man’; Danish *mand* ‘man’; Old English *mann* ‘man, human being’; Old Frisian *mann*, *monn* ‘man’; Old Saxon *mann* ‘man’; Old High German *man(n)* ‘man’ (New High German *Mann*); Old Church Slavic *mōžь* ‘man’; Russian *muž* [муж] ‘husband, man’; Hittite *menu-* ‘man, person; virile, manly’; Luwian *mannu-* ‘virility’, *mannu-/mannaw-* ‘virile, manly’. Pokorny 1959:700 **manu-s* (or **monu-s*) ‘man, mankind’; Mann 1984—1987:731—732 **manus* (**man-*, **manustjos*) ‘man, human being, husband’; Walde 1927—1932.II:266; Mallory—Adams 1997:366—367 **mVnus* ‘man’; Watkins 1985:38 **man-* (also **mon-*) and 2000:51 **man-* (also **mon-*) ‘man’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:475, II:759 **manu-* and 1995.I:396, I:661 **manu-* ‘person, man’; Mallory—Adams 1997:366 **mVnus* ‘man’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:575—576; Orël 2003:260 Proto-Germanic **manniskaz*, 260 **mannōjanan*, 260 **mannz*; Kroonen 2013:353—354 Proto-Germanic **mannan-* ‘man’ and 354 **manniska-* ‘human’; Feist 1939:344—345; Lehmann 1986:244 **manu-s*, **monu-s*; De Vries 1977:374—375; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:495—496 Germanic **manna-*; Torp 1919:410—411; Onions 1966:549—550; Klein 1971:441; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:249—250 and 266—267; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:459—460; Kluge—Seebold 1989:460; Liberman 2008:149—157; Derksen 2008:330; Preobrazhensky 1951:565—566; Oettinger 2022.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **manʷtʷz* ‘man, male’ > Finnish *mies/miehe* ‘man (human male)’; Vogul / Mansi *meñci*, *mañsi* ‘a Vogul’; Hungarian *magyar* ‘Hungarian’. Collinder 1955:99 and 1977:114; Rédei 1986—1988:866—867 **mañcz*.

Buck 1949:2.1 *man* (human being); 2.21 *man* (vs. woman). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:664—665, no. 542; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:58—59, no. 292, **mäna* ‘man, male’; Blažek 2002:177, no. 32; Greenberg 2002:128—129, no. 294; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1421, **manU* ‘man, male’ and, no. 1440, **mAnVɣV* or **mAnV* ‘genitalia; to copulate’.

892. Proto-Nostratic root **manʷ-* (~ **mənʷ-*):
 (vb.) **manʷ-* ‘to hold, to take’;
 (n.) **manʷ-a* ‘hand, paw’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **man-* ‘to hold, to take’: Proto-Semitic **man-aš-* ‘to hold, to take, to take hold of, to hold back’ > Hebrew *mānaʿ* [מָנַע] ‘to prevent, to withhold, to keep back’; Aramaic *mānaʿ* ‘to keep back, to withhold’; Arabic *manaʿa* ‘to stop, to detain, to keep from entering or passing; to hinder, to prevent; to keep, to restrain, to hold back; to bar, to block, to obstruct; to withdraw, to take away, to deprive; to forbid, to interdict, to prohibit; to decline to accept, to declare impossible or out of the question; to refuse, to deny, to withhold; to stop, to cease; to abstain, to refrain; to ward off, to avert, to keep away; to protect, to guard; to defend’, *manʿ* ‘hindering, impeding, obstruction; prevention, obviation, preclusion; prohibition, interdiction, ban, injunction; stop, closure, discontinuation, embargo; withdrawal, deprivation, dispossession; detention, withholding’; Sabaeen *mnʿ* ‘to repel, to prevent, to defend oneself against’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *mīnaʿ* ‘to hold, to take hold of’, *mūtnaʿ* ‘to refrain from, to hold back’; Ḥarsūsi *mōna* ‘to take, to catch, to hold’, *mātneʿ* ‘to stop’; Mehri *mūna* ‘to catch, to get, to take’, *mātna* ‘to refrain from, to hold back’; Tigre *mānʿa* ‘to withhold, to refuse’; Harari *mannāʿ* ‘one who prevents someone from doing something because of jealousy or animosity’ (Arabic loan). Murtonen 1989:261; Klein 1987:358; Leslau 1963:108; Zammit 2002:388. West Chadic **man-H-* ‘to take’ > Sura *maḡ-* ‘to take’; Mupun *maḡ-* ‘to take’; Gerka *maḡ-* ‘to take’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:374, no. 1725, **manVš-* ‘to hold, to take’. [Ehret 1995:307, no. 589, **man-* ‘to lose, to lack, to be without’ (> Arabic *manaʿa* ‘to refuse, to hinder, to prevent, to repel’) and 307, no. 590, **man-/mun-* or **maḡ-/muḡ-* or **maḡ-/muḡ-* ‘to tie up’ (> Modern South Arabian **mnš* ‘to take, to catch, to hold’).]
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *maṇṇu* (*maṇṇi-*) ‘to do, to make, to perform, to adorn, to beautify, to decorate, to polish, to perfect, to finish’, *maṇṇu-ru* ‘to polish (as a gem)’, *maṇai* ‘to make, to create, to form, to fashion, to shape’; Malayalam *manayuka*, *maniyuka* ‘to fashion, to form earthenware, to make as a potter’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:414, no. 4685. Semantic development as in Old Icelandic *mynda* ‘to shape, to form’ or Gothic *manwjan* ‘to (make) ready, to prepare’, cited below.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **man-/(mon-)/mṇ-* ‘hand’: Latin *manus* ‘hand’; Umbrian (abl. sg.) *mani* ‘hand’; Oscan (acc. sg.) *manim* ‘hand’; Gothic *manwus* ‘at hand, ready’, *manwjan* ‘to (make) ready, to prepare’, **ga-manwjan* ‘to have prepared, to have ready’, *manwiþa* ‘readiness’, (adv.) *manwuba* ‘ready’; Old Icelandic *mund* ‘hand’, *mynda* ‘to shape, to form’; Old English *mund* ‘hand’; Old High German *munt* ‘hand’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ma-(a-)ni-ya-aḡ-ḫi*, *ma-ni-aḡ-ḫi*, *ma-ni-ya-aḡ-zi*, *ma-ni-i-ya-aḡ-zi*, *ma-ni-aḡ-zi* (< **mṇ-yo-*) ‘to hand out, to hand over, to consign, to accord, to allot, to present, to proffer, to impart, to dedicate, to dispose of’, (dat.-loc. sg.) *ma-a-ni-ya-aḡ-ḫi-ya-at-ti* ‘handout, consignment’, (nom. sg.) *ma-ni-ya-aḡ-ḫa-aš* ‘governance, government, jurisdiction, bailiwick, domain, province, realm’. Pokorny 1959:740—741 **mā-r* (gen. **mā-n-és*,

- *mḗtós* ‘hand’ (heteroclitic *r/n*-stem); Walde 1927—1932.II:272 **mḗ-r*, **mḗ-n-és*, **mḗtós*; Mann 1984—1987:732 **manuos* (**manos*) ‘hand, strength; hand, at hand, to hand; to lead, to take’; Watkins 1985:38 **man-* and 2000:51 **man-* ‘hand’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:806—807 **mḥr-/n-(tʰ)-* and 1995.I:707 **mḥr-/n-(tʰ)-* ‘hand, power; to put into (someone’s) possession, to govern’; Mallory—Adams 1997:254—255 **méh_{ad}r* (gen. **mḥ_{an}ós*) ‘hand’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:34—35 Latin *manus* ‘hand’ may perhaps be derived from a heteroclitic *r/n* stem: **(a)mər* : **mḗ-nés*; De Vaan 2008:363—364; Ernout—Meillet 1979:386 **mḗ-*; Orël 2003:275 Proto-Germanic **mundō*; Kroonen 2013:375—376 Proto-Germanic **mundō-* ‘hand’; Lehmann 1986:244—245 (Old Icelandic *mund* ‘hand’ < **mḗ-tós* ‘hand’; **man-u-*; **man-i-*); Feist 1939:345—346; De Vries 1977:395; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:493 **mḗ-tā* (Latin *manus* ‘hand’ < **mḗn-*); Kluge—Seebold 1989:492; Kloekhorst 2005:553—554; Puhvel 1984— .6:44—52 *mḗ-yo-*.
- D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *mid’-/miñ-* (< **menč’-/minč’-*) ‘to take’, *mid’ej-* ‘to grasp’, (Northern / Tundra) *meñ-/med’-* ‘to take’, *menče-* ‘to fetch’, *mennube* ‘handle; place from which something is taken’. Nikolaeva 2006:264.
- E. Proto-Altaic **mān^{va}* ‘hand, paw’: Proto-Tungus **man^{va}* ‘paw (of an animal)’ > Evenki *mana*, *maña* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Negidal *maña* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Lamut / Even *māna* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Ulch *maña*, *maī* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Nanay / Gold *māya* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Oroch *mañaka* ‘paw (of an animal)’; Udihe *mana* ‘paw (of an animal)’. Proto-Turkic **bĀn^{v-}* ‘palm (of hand), sole (of foot)’ > Turkish *maya* ‘fleshy part of the palm’; Azerbaijani (dial.) *maya* ‘flat of a hoof’; Turkmenian (dial.) *paypaq* (< **bĀn^{v-}-mak*) ‘footwear’; Uzbek *paypaq* ‘footwear’; Tatar *maɣmaq* ‘stable, steadfast (of an animal’s paw, hoof)’, (dial.) *paypaq* ‘footwear’; Kirghiz *baɣmaq* ‘lower part of shank’, *baypaq* ‘footwear’, *maɣpiq* ‘flat (of a horse’s hoof, bear’s paw)’; Kazakh *baypaq* ‘footwear’; Tuva *mayiq* ‘sole (of foot)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:902 **māña* ‘paw, hand’.
- F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **mānyə* ‘hand’ > Chukchi *mānyəlyən* ‘hand, arm’, *mānyəkwən* ‘earnings’, *mānyə-kw-at-* ‘to earn’; Kerek *mānyəlyə* ‘hand’, *mānyə-qal* ‘hand’, *mānyə-kw-at-* ‘to earn’; Koryak *mānyəlyən* (dual *mānyət*) ‘hand’; Alyutor *mānyəlyən* ‘hand’. Fortescue 2005:184.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 9.11 do, make; 11.13 take; 11.15 hold; 19.59 hinder, prevent. Greenberg 2002:88—89, no. 194; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1437, **mān^vɥ* (= **māny^vɥ* ?) ‘to hold, to carry’ and, no. 1438, **mañy[ú]* ‘paw, foot/leg of animals’.

893. Proto-Nostratic root **maq^{wh}-* (~ **məq^{wh}-*):
- (vb.) **maq^{wh}-* ‘to twist, to turn; to overturn, to turn upside down, to turn round’;
- (n.) **maq^{wh}-a* ‘twist, turn; overturning’
- A. Dravidian: Tamil *makiṭi* ‘to be overturned’; Kota *maki-r-* (*mak(a)rc-*) ‘(tree) is uprooted and falls’; Kannada *magar* (*magurḍ-*), *mogar* ‘to turn round (intr.), to be turned upside down, to return, to turn back, to recede, to retreat, to happen or do again’, *maguru* ‘receding’, *magurcu* ‘to cause the face to go or turn backwards, to turn away (tr.), to turn round, to grind, to return (tr.)’, *magacu*, *magucu*, *magurcu*, *mogacu*, *mogucu* ‘to turn round (intr.), to return; to turn upside down, to turn (as the page of a book), to overthrow; to grind, to whet’; Tuḷu *magupuni*, *magupuni*, *magucuni*, *mogapuni* ‘to turn, to upset (tr.)’, *magupu*, *magpu* ‘a turn’, *magyṭē* ‘again, a second time’, *magury*, *magary*, *magry* ‘next, following; again, once more’, *magapuni* ‘to draw and turn over (for example, water)’, *mag(a)runi* ‘to fall, to tumble, to feel a reeling sensation’, *magrāvōṇuni* ‘to prostrate oneself’, *makar(i)yuni* ‘to be changed’; Telugu *maguḍu* ‘to turn back, to return’, *maguḍincu*, *maguḍ(u)cu* ‘to turn or bring back, to avert’, *magiḍi*, *maguḍa* ‘again, anew, back, in return’, *magucu* ‘to cause to return, to turn back’, *makkalincu* ‘to turn back; to change, to adjust’; Kolami *maguḍ-* (*maguṭ-*), *magur-*, *maguḷ-*, *magūḷ-*, *magḍ-* ‘to vomit’; Naikri *magur* ‘vomit’; Konda *mak-* ‘to turn over (as a stone), to turn upside down, to dig’; Kuwi *meg-* ‘to fall down or off, (tree) to fall’, *mekh'nai* ‘to outroot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:408, no. 4617.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **mqw-* ‘to overthrow, to overturn’: Georgian *mx-* ‘to overthrow, to overturn’; Mingrelian *xu-*, *xv-* (< **mxu-* < **mqw-*) ‘to overthrow, to overturn’; Laz *xu-* ‘to throw, to splash out’; Svan *nqw-* ‘to overthrow, to fall’. Klimov 1964:149 **nqw-* and 1998:134—135 **mqw-* ‘to overthrow, to overturn’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:256—257 **mqw-*; Fähnrich 2007:308 **mqw-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European (**mek^{wh}-* / **mok^{wh}-*) ‘to twist, to turn, to churn’: Hittite (acc. sg.) *ma-ak-ku-ya-an* ‘churn’; Sanskrit *mācate* ‘to pound, to grind’. Puhvel 1984— .6:20; Kloekhorst 2008b:545 **m(o)k^w-iō-??*.
- D. Proto-Altaic **mak^ho-* ‘to wind, to twist, to bend’: Proto-Tungus **makti-* ‘to turn (ropes); to wrap up (cloth); to bend, to wrap’ > Negidal *makčī-nda-* ‘to wind (ropes)’; Manchu *mači-* ‘when patching a garment, to gather the edges of the patch on the inside while smoothing the outside surface’, *mačika* ‘border or edge of a mat or a net’, *mačika ara-* ‘to weave the rope border of a hunting or fishing net’; Ulch *maqti-la-* ‘to wind (ropes)’, *moqpūli-* ‘to bend, to wrap’; Oroch *muqpuri-* ‘to bend, to wrap’; Nanay / Gold *maχčī-ra-* ‘to wind ropes’; Oroch *makčī-nda-* ‘to wind (ropes)’; Udihe *maktigi* ‘a device for winding ropes’. Proto-Mongolian **makiyi-* ‘to bend, to curve’ > Written Mongolian *makiyi-* ‘to bend, to curve’; Khalkha

maχiy- ‘to bend, to curve’, *maχir* ‘bent, curved’; Kalmyk *māki-* ‘to bend, to curve’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:897 **ma[kʰ]o* ‘to wind, to twist, to bend’.

- E. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **makpiq-* ‘to turn (as the page of a book), to open or fold back’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *makpiq-* ‘to fold back, to open, to turn over’; North Alaskan Inuit *makpiq-* ‘to open a book, to turn a page’; Western Canadian Inuit *makpiq-* ‘to open a book, to turn a page, to fold back (wound)’, *makpikaat* ‘book’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *mappi(q)-* ‘to open, to raise on one side (window, book, stone)’, *mappitaaq* ‘page of a book’, *mappituraq-* ‘to raise a garment several times’; Greenlandic Inuit *mappir-* ‘to open (chest, door, book, etc.)’, *mappikaar-* ‘to be opened, lifted up (one after another)’, *mappirsakkat* ‘book’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:186.

Buck 1949:10.12 turn; 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.23 fall (vb.).

894. Proto-Nostratic root **mar-* (~ **mər-*):

(vb.) **mar-* ‘to strive against, to oppose, to fight with or against; to argue, to quarrel, to contend, to dispute, to disagree’;

(n.) **mar-a* ‘quarrel, argument, dispute, fight’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mar-* ‘to oppose, to contend with, to dispute’: Proto-Semitic **mar-ad-* ‘to revolt, to rebel, to assail, to attack’ > Hebrew *māraḏ* [מַרְדָּ] ‘to rebel’, *mereḏ* [מִרְדָּ] ‘rebellion, revolt’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Syriac *mərəḏ* ‘to rebel, to escape, to resist, to prevail’; Arabic *marada* ‘to be refectory, recalcitrant, rebellious; to revolt, to rebel’; Epigraphic South Arabian *mrd* ‘(warlike) incursion’; Geez / Ethiopic *marrada* [መረደ] ‘to leap, to hasten, to walk fast, to run about, to rush in, to attack, to bother, to annoy’, *mərrād* [ምረድ], *marād* [መረድ] ‘uproar, rushing, race, assault, attack, battle, persecution, raid’, (with reduplication of the third radical) *mardada* [መርደደ] ‘to hasten’; Tigrinya *märräd* ‘incursion, raid, pillage’; Amharic *märrädä* ‘to hasten, to raid, to pillage’. Murtonen 1989:264; Klein 1987:383; Leslau 1987:357; Zammit 2002:381. Proto-Semitic **mar-ay-* ‘to argue, to rebel against, to contend with’ > Hebrew *mārāh* [מָרָה] ‘to be contentious, refractory, rebellious’; Syriac *mərā* ‘to contend with’; Arabic *marā* (base *mry*) ‘to wrangle, to argue, to dispute (with someone); to resist, to oppose (someone); to contest; to doubt’, *murya*, *mirya* ‘doubt, quarrel, wrangle, argument, dispute’. Klein 1987:383; Murtonen 1989:265; Zammit 2002:381—382.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *maṛam* ‘valor, bravery, anger, wrath, enmity, hatred, strength, power, victory, war, killing, murder’, *maṛal* ‘hate, enmity, disagreement, fight, war, death’, *maṛavai* ‘anything cruel by nature’, *maṛalu* (*maṛali-*) ‘to oppose, to give fight, to kill’, *maṛavōṇ* ‘warrior’, *maṛavan* ‘inhabitant of desert tract, of hilly tract, one belonging to the

caste of hunters, person of the Marava caste, warrior, hero, commander, military chief; a cruel or wicked person', *maratti* 'woman of the Marava caste, woman of desert tracts, woman of hilly tracts'; Malayalam *maram* 'disagreement, war', *maral* 'death', *maravar* 'Maravar, the Tamil tribe of warriors'; Tuḷu *marava* 'the caste of Maravas'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:423, no. 4763.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **mer-s-/*mor-s-/*m̥s-* 'to disturb, to offend, to irritate': Gothic **marzjan* 'to offend', **af-marzjan* 'to take offense', **ga-marzjan* 'to cause offense', *marzeins* 'offense, stumbling block'; Old English *mierran* 'to disturb, to confuse; to scatter, to squander, to waste; to upset, to hinder, to obstruct', *mierra* 'deceiver', *mierrelse* 'cause of offense', *mierring* 'hindering, squandering, waste'; Old Frisian *mēria* 'to prevent', *mēre* 'bond, fetter'; Old Saxon *merrian* 'to disturb, to hinder'; Old High German *marren*, *merren* 'to give offense, to prevent, to injure, to mar'. Pokorny 1959:737—738 **mer-*, **mer-s-* 'to disturb, to irritate, to neglect, to forget'; Walde 1927—1932.II:279; Mann 1984—1987:733—734 **mar-* (**marsō*, *-jō*; **marsos*) '(adj.) bad; (vb.) to be bad, to err; (n.) wickedness, error'; Mallory—Adams 1997:209 **mers-* 'to forget' (< **mer-* 'to disturb, to forget'); Rix 1998a:397 **mers-* 'to forget'; Kroonen 2013:356 Proto-Germanic **marzjan-* 'to impede'; Orël 2003:262 Proto-Germanic **marzjanan*; Feist 1939:347—348; Lehmann 1986:246 "Etymology unclear; possibly from PIE **mer-(s-)* 'to disturb, to irritate, to neglect, to forget'..."; Onions 1966:554 West Germanic **marrjan*; Klein 1971:444 **mer-* 'to rub, to consume, to wear away'. Note: The Proto-Indo-European stem **mer-s-/*mor-s-/*m̥s-* 'to disturb, to offend, to irritate' was distinct from **mer-s-/*mor-s-/*m̥s-* 'to forget'.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **mara-* (~ *-r̥-*) 'to refuse, to quarrel': Proto-Tungus **mari-* 'to refuse, to resist; to quarrel; to be stubborn' > Manchu *mara-* 'to decline, to reject, to turn down, to refuse', *marandu-*, *maranu-* 'to refuse, to decline together'; Ulch *moriḳu* 'to be stubborn'; Nanay / Gold *marīa-* 'to quarrel, to be stubborn'; Oroch *mari-* 'to quarrel'; Udihe *malea-* 'to quarrel'. Proto-Mongolian **margu-* 'to quarrel, to resist, to contest' > Written Mongolian *marḡu-* 'to argue, to refuse, to decline, to resist'; Khalkha *marga-* 'to quarrel, to resist, to contest'; Buriat *marga-* 'to quarrel, to resist, to contest'; Kalmyk *marḡə-* 'to quarrel, to resist, to contest'; Ordos *margučī-* 'to quarrel, to resist, to contest'; Monguor *marḡāndo* 'quarrel'; Shira-Yughur *marḡāda* 'quarrel'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:904 **mara* (~ *-r̥-*) 'to refuse, to quarrel'.
- E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Chukchi *maraw*, *marak-wəryən* 'battle, fight', *nə-mara-qen* 'pugnacious'; Kerek *majaw-jan* 'warrior, fighter', *maajra(a)t-* 'to fight'. Fortescue (2005:170) reconstructs Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mar(av)* 'fight'.

- F. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **mraŋ* ‘sin, crime’: Amur *mra* ‘crime, case, feud’, *mra-aj-adʷ* ‘to harm, to commit a crime’; East Sakhalin *mraŋ* ‘crime’; South Sakhalin *mraŋ* ‘sin, mistake’. Fortescue 2016:107.

Buck 1949:20.11 fight (vb.); 20.13 war; 20.41 victory. Bomhard 1996a:208—209.

895. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mar-a* ‘(young) man, male (human or animal)’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mar-* ‘man, male’: Proto-Semitic **marʔ-/mərʔ-* ‘man, male’ > Arabic *marʔ*, *mīrʔ*, *murʔ* ‘man’, *maruʔa* ‘to be manly’, *ʔimraʔ* ‘a man, person, human being’; Himyaritic *marī* ‘lord’; Sabaeen *mrʔ* ‘man, person, lord’; Syriac *mārēʔ* ‘lord’; Akkadian *māru*, *merʔu*, *marʔu* ‘son, descendant, offspring; young, offspring of an animal; darling, lover’. Diakonoff 1992:85 *mṛʔ-*; Zammit 2002:380. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:377—378, no. 1740, **mar-/maraʔ-* ‘man’.]
- B. Proto-Dravidian **mar-i* ‘male child, the young of an animal’: Tamil *marī* ‘young of sheep, horse, deer, etc.; female of sheep, horse, deer, etc.; sheep, deer’; Malayalam *marī* ‘offspring, the young of animals, a young deer’; Kannada *marī* ‘the young of any animal (except cattle and buffaloes), a young child; a shoot, sapling’; Telugu *marāka* ‘a kid’; Tuḷu *mari* ‘a young animal’; Kota *mayr* ‘young of animals (except cattle)’; Toda *mary* ‘young of animals (except buffaloes) and birds’; Gondi *mari*, *marrī/marr*, *marī*, *marrī* ‘son’; Pengo *mazi* ‘son’; Konḍa *marīn* ‘son’, *marīsi* ‘son’, *mē-mari* ‘husband, man’; Kui *mriēnji*, *mriēnju* ‘son’; Kuwi *mīresi* ‘son’, *mriēsi* ‘son, nephew’, *mīrʔesi* ‘son’; Brahui *mār* ‘son, boy, lad’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:423, no. 4764; Krishnamurti 2003:7 and 10 **maṭ-i(nṭu)* ‘male child, the young of an animal’.
- C. Kartvelian: Svan *māre* ‘man (male)’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **mer-yo-* ‘(young) man’: Greek (m.) μείρακιον ‘a boy, lad, stripling’, (f.) μείραξ ‘a young girl, lass’; Sanskrit *mārya-h* ‘man, (especially) young man, lover, suitor’, *maryakā-h* ‘young stud (said of a bull among cows)’; Avestan *mairya-* ‘young man’; Old Persian *marīka-* (contracted from **mariyaka-*) ‘person of lower rank, subject’. Pokorny 1959:738—739 **merjo-* ‘young man’; Walde 1927—1932.II:284 **merjo-*; Mann 1984—1987:760 **merjək-* ‘child, youngster’; Mallory—Adams 1997:656 **mérjos* ‘young man’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:596—597; Boisacq 1950:621 (Sanskrit *mārya-h* < **mér-jo-s*); Hofmann 1966:194; Kent 1953:202 **mer-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:195—196; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:678; Beekes 2010.II:921—922 **mer-io-*; Benveniste 1969.I:246—247 and 1973:199—200.
- E. Proto-Altaic **m̄jara* (~ -rʷ-) ‘male, mature’: Proto-Tungus **miare-* ‘to marry’ > Evenki *mirē-* ‘to marry’; Lamut / Even *mierən-* ‘to marry’; Negidal *miyēn-* ‘to marry’; Ulch *miren-* ‘to marry’; Orok *mīren-* ‘to

marry'; Nanay / Gold (dial.) *marin-* 'to marry'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:923 **m̥iara* (~ -*í-*) 'male, mature'.

Buck 1949:2.25 boy. Möller 1911:167; Illič-Svityč 1965:373 **marā* 'youth' ['юноша'] and 1971—1984.II:39—41, no. 277, **majra* 'young male'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:643—644, no. 522; Greenberg 2002:36, no. 63; Brunner 1969:21, no. 20; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1469, **mari?V* 'young man, young male'.

896. Proto-Nostratic root **mar-* (~ **mər-*):

(vb.) **mar-* 'to turn: to overturn, to turn round, to turn over, etc.; to twist, to whirl, to roll; to bend';

(n.) **mar-a* 'the act of turning, turning over, turning round, etc.; rope, coil, string, cord'

Derivative:

(vb.) **mar-* 'to go (round), to walk, to run; to go after, to run or chase after' (> 'to seek, to pursue');

(n.) **mar-a* 'walk, walking, passage; road, track, way'

Note also:

(vb.) **mur-* 'to turn, to twist, to bend';

(n.) **mur-a* 'bend, curve'

A. Proto-Afrasian **mar-* 'to twist, to turn': Proto-East Cushitic **mar-* '(vb.) to twist, to go around; (adj.) round' > Galla / Oromo *mar-* 'coil, rope', (Eastern) *mar-ti* 'useless person who goes from house to house'; Rendille *mar-* 'to be round'; Afar *mar-o* 'round'; Konso *mar-* 'to roll up'. Sasse 1979:24 and 1982:140—141. Galla / Oromo *mars-* 'to encircle'; Burji *mars-* 'to surround, to encircle (tr.)' (loan from Galla / Oromo); Konso *marš-* 'to go in a group to attack someone'. Sasse 1982:141. Proto-Rift **mar-* 'to wring' > Iraqw (reduplicated) *marmar-* 'to wring'; Iraqw *mal-* 'to wring'; Asa *mad-* 'to wash clothes'. Ehret 1980:342. West Chadic: Tangale *mari-* 'to twist, to wring'. Omotic: Bench / Gimira *mar-* 'to plait hair'. Ehret 1995:308, no. 591, **mar-* 'to bind'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:375, no. 1730, **mar-* 'to bind, to roll up'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *marāṅku* (*marāṅki-*) 'to be bewildered, confused', *marāṅam* 'bewilderment', *maṛi* (-*v-*, -*nt-*) 'to be turned upside down, to return, to recede, to turn back, to retreat, to fall down, to bend, to rise up (as a wave), to be twisted, to go about often, to walk to and fro', *maṛi* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) 'to turn about, to return, to turn upside down, to upset, to repeat, to double', *maṛi-taral* 'returning, coming back', *maṛivi* 'return', *maṛukkam* 'whirling, unsteadiness, distress, affliction, sorrow, perplexity, relapse of a disease', *maṛuku* (*maṛuki-*) 'to whirl, to go about often, to wander, to be bewildered, to be confused, to be unsteady, to be unsettled, to be distressed', *maṛukali*, *maṛukali*, *makkali* 'to return, to relapse (as a

disease)'; Malayalam *maṛi* 'a turn, a fresh start, corner, a shift, turning round or inside, deceit', *maṛiyuka* 'to turn back, to turn over, to be upset, to turn over and over, to tumble head over heels, to roll', *maṛiccal* 'turning over, returning, tumbling head over heels, rolling, turning topsy-turvy, deceit', *maṛivu* 'change, rolling, tumbling, confusion, deceit', *maṛikka* 'to turn upside down, to turn back', *maṛippu* 'an upset', *maṛukuka* 'to flounder, to welter'; Kota *mayr-* (*marc-*) 'to fall (a tree); to pull up by the root', *maṛṇ-* (*maṛḍ-*) 'to overturn (intr.), to roll over once and end over end', *maṛṭ-* (*maṛty-*) 'to overturn by levering'; Toda *maṛy-* (*maṛs-*) 'to fall (tree, wall), to fall out (teeth), to be broken (horn)', *maṛy-* (*maṛc-*) 'to fell (a tree), to pull down, to take (honey) from comb'; Kannaḍa *maral*, *maṛaḷ*, *malar* 'to be turned or averted (the face), to turn back or backward; to turn, to retreat, to return; to happen or occur again, to do again', *maralcu*, *maṛaḷisu*, *maṛaḷcu* 'to turn or avert the face, to turn, to cause to retreat, to return'; Koḍagu *mari-* (*mariv-*, *mariṅj-*) 'to roll (intr., in lying position), to overflow, to go up (steps of a house, as a bride does)', *mari-* (*marip-*, *maric-*) 'to roll (tr., in lying position)'; Tuḷu *marañkaṇè*, *marakaṇè* 'on the back, topsy-turvy', *marapuni* 'to fell, to pull down a wall', *maṛaḷikke* 'hinge'; Telugu *mara* 'joint, hinge, spring, catch, contrivance', *maṛalu*, *maralu*, *maḷḷu* 'to turn back, to go or come back, to return', *maṛalincu*, *maralincu* 'to turn back, to recall, to rescind, to abrogate, to annul, to ward off, to turn, to elude, to evade', *maralucu* 'to turn or bring back, to cause to return', *maṛala(n)*, *marala* 'again, anew, afresh, back, in return', *maralā-baḍu* 'to turn back, to rebel', *maralā-baṭu* 'turning back, rebelling', *mraggu* 'to be distressed; to fall down', *mraṅgu* 'to decrease, to be abated, to be humbled; to fall down, to perish', *mrandu* 'to die, to be afflicted; to crush; to droop'; Koṇḍa *maṛ-* (*maṛt-*) 'to turn (intr.)', *maṛ-* 'to turn (tr.)'; Pengo *maz-* (*mast-*) 'to turn (intr.), to turn round, to return; to turn into, to be transformed into', *mah-* (*mast-*) 'to turn round, to turn over (tr.); to turn into, to transform'; Kuwi *maṛ-* 'to creep, to crawl, to lie down flat'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:422—423, no. 4761.

- C. [Proto-Indo-European **mer-/mor-/mṛ-* 'to twist, to turn, to plait': Greek μέρμις 'cord, string, rope'; Old Icelandic *merðr* 'fish-trap'; Middle Low German *mōren* 'to tie'; Middle Dutch *marren* 'to tie'. Pokorny 1959:733 **mer-* 'to plait, to weave'; Walde 1927—1932.II:272—273 **mer-*; Watkins 1985:42 **mer-* 'to tie'; Mallory—Adams 1997:64 **mer-* 'to braid, to bind'; Boisacq 1950:628; Hofmann 1966:198; Frisk 1970—1973.II:211 **mer-* 'to braid, to plait'; Beekes 2010.II:932 (pre-Greek); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:687 (obscure); De Vries 1977:384 **mer-* 'to braid, to plait, to weave'.] The Indo-European forms may belong with Proto-Nostratic **mur-* (~ **mor-*) 'to turn, to twist, to bend' instead, as suggested by Illič-Svityč (1971—1984.II:74—75, no. 309, **muri-* 'to twist').
- D. Proto-Altaic **maro-* (~ *-rʷ-*) 'to roll, to bend': Proto-Tungus **mari-* 'to bend, to curl; to turn, to return' > Evenki *mariw-* 'to bend, to curl'; Lamut /

Even *marlu-* ‘to bend, to curl’; Manchu *mari-* ‘to return, to go back, to turn around’, *marin* ‘turning around, return, return trip’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *mari-* ‘to return’. Proto-Mongolian **mariya-*, **miriya-* ‘to creep up on, to crawl, to stalk’ > Written Mongolian *mariya-*, *miraya-*, *miriya-* ‘to approach furtively, to creep up stealthily, to crawl; to stalk game’; Khalkha *marā-* [мраах] ‘to creep up on stealthily, to stalk game’; Buriat *marā-* ‘to creep up on, to crawl, to stalk’; Kalmyk *merā-* ‘to creep up on, to crawl, to stalk’; Monguor *mara* ‘to creep up on, to crawl, to stalk’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:905 **maro* (~ -*í-*) ‘to roll, to bend’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.19 rope, cord; 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:653—655, no. 531; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:74—75, no. 309, **muri-* ‘to twist’.

897. Proto-Nostratic root **mar-* (~ **mər-*):

(vb.) **mar-* ‘to go (round), to walk, to run; to go after, to run or chase after’ (> ‘to seek, to pursue’);

(n.) **mar-a* ‘walk, walking, passage; road, track, way’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **mar-* ‘to turn: to overturn, to turn round, to turn over, etc.; to twist, to whirl, to roll; to bend’;

(n.) **mar-a* ‘the act of turning, turning over, turning round, etc.; rope, coil, string, cord’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mar-* ‘to go, to walk, to run’: Proto-Semitic **mar-ar-* ‘to pass; to go, walk, saunter, or stroll by or past; to come, go, walk, or pass along something; to cross, to traverse; to depart, to go away, to leave; to continue’ > Arabic *marra* ‘to pass; to go, walk, saunter, or stroll by or past; to come, go, walk, or pass along something; to cross, to traverse; to depart, to go away, to leave; to continue’, *marr* ‘passing or going by; passage, transit; transition; crossing; progression, process, lapse, course (of time)’, *mamarr* ‘passing, going by; elapsing; lapse, expiration (of time); transition, crossing; access, approach’; Ḥarsūsi *mer* ‘to continue, to go’, *márreh* ‘time; once, at once’; Mehri *mər* ‘to pass’; Šheri / Jibbāli *mírr* ‘to pass’; Akkadian *marāru* ‘to leave, to go away’. Zammit 2002:381. Berber: Tuareg *əmmər* ‘to pass by, to pass by a place, to drop by’, *sumər* ‘to make pass by’; Tamazight *amər* ‘to hurry, to go faster, to hasten’, *imər* ‘action of hurrying, hastening, going faster’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **mar-* ‘to go’ > Burji *mar-* ‘to go (intr.)’, *mara* ‘going, journey’; Sidamo *mar-* ‘to go (intr.)’; Kambata *mar-* ‘to go (intr.)’, *mar-aancata* ‘journey’, *mar-am-* ‘to walk (intr.)’; Hadiyya *mar-* ‘to go (intr.)’; Gedeo / Darasa *mar-* ‘to go (intr.)’, *mar-am-* ‘to turn (around) (intr.)’. Sasse 1982:140—141; Hudson 1989:71. Proto-Southern Cushitic **mar-* ‘to go round’ > K’wadza

malengayo ‘neck ring’; Dahalo *mar-* ‘to go round’, *maradið-* ‘to take around, to put around’. Ehret 1980:154. Orël—Stolbova 1995:375—376, no. 1731, **mar-* ‘to walk’.

- B. Indo-European (only in Indo-Iranian): Sanskrit *mārga-h* ‘track, path, road’, *mārgati*, *mārgayati* ‘to seek, to look for; to seek after, to strive to attain; to request, to ask, to beg, to solicit anything from anyone’, *mṛgyāti*, *mṛgáyati* ‘to chase, to hunt, to pursue; to seek, to search for or through, to investigate, to examine’; Pāli *magga-* ‘path, road’, *maggati* ‘to hunt for, to seek’; Marathi *māg* ‘road, track’. Walde 1927—1932.II:284; Mann 1984—1987:804 (**mṛg-* ‘to go’); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:626. For the semantic development, note Buck’s (1949:764) comments: “Words for ‘seek’ reflect notions such as ‘to go about, to go after, to track, to look for’.”
- C. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *marxi-* ‘to move’. Nikolaeva 2006:259.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **m[io]ri-* ‘(vb.) to walk, to go; (n.) road, track’: Proto-Mongolian **mör* ‘road, track’ > Written Mongolian *mör* ‘way, path, trace, trail’, *mör-de-* ‘to trail, to trace, to follow; to investigate, to adhere to (as a schedule or program)’; Khalkha *mör* ‘road, track’; Buriat *mür* ‘road, track’; Kalmyk *mör* ‘road, track’; Ordos *mör* ‘road, track’; Moghol *mür* ‘road, track’; Dagur *mure* ‘road, track’; Shira-Yughur *mör* ‘road, track’; Monguor *mör* ‘road, track’. Proto-Turkic **bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *bar-* ‘to walk, to go away’; Karakhanide Turkic *bar-* ‘to walk, to go away’; Turkish *var-* ‘to go towards, to approach; to arrive; to reach, to attain; to result, to end in’; Gagauz *var-* ‘to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach’; Azerbaijani *var-* ‘to come, to reach’; Turkmenian *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Uzbek *bör-* ‘to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach’; Uighur *ba(r)-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Karaim *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Tatar *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Bashkir *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Kirghiz *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Kazakh *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Noghay *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach’; Tuva *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Chuvash *pür-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Yakut *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Dolgan *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:930 **m̄iori* ‘(vb.) to walk, to go; (n.) road, track’.
- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **mar(ev)-* ‘to go up’: Amur *mər-dʷ* ‘to go up (onto shore, into forest, or up hill’, according to Puxta); East Sakhalin *mar-d / marev-d* ‘to climb, to rise’; South Sakhalin *mar-nd / ma-nd* ‘to approach’, *mar-nd* ‘to go up’. Fortescue 2016:102.

Sumerian *mar* ‘to go to that place; to run, hasten, or rush to or towards’, *mar* ‘path, way’.

Buck 1949:3.79 hunt (vb.); 10.45 walk (vb.); 10.47 go; 10.53 pursue; 11.31 seek.

898. Proto-Nostratic root *mar- (~ *mər-):

(vb.) *mar- ‘to smear, to anoint, to rub (with grease, oil, fat, ointment)’;

(n.) *mar-a ‘grease, oil, fat, ointment, unguent’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *mar- ‘to smear, to anoint, to rub (with grease, fat, ointment)’: Proto-Semitic *mar-ax- ‘to oil, to anoint, to rub’ > Hebrew *mārah* [מַרַח] ‘to rub, to smear’, *merah* [מֵרַח] ‘ointment, plaster, paste, daub’; Aramaic *mərah* ‘to rub’; Akkadian *marāhu* ‘to rub in’; Arabic *maraha* ‘to oil, to anoint, to rub’; Šheri / Jibbāli *mīrax* ‘to smear’. Murtonen 1989:265; Klein 1987:384. Proto-Semitic *mar-ak- ‘to rub clean, to scour, to polish’ > Hebrew *māraḳ* [מַרַק] ‘to scour, to polish, to cleanse’, *mārāḳ* [מֵרַק] ‘a scraping, rubbing’; Aramaic *məraḳ* ‘to scour, to polish’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ērqaḥ* (base *mrqh*) ‘to clean up, to tidy, to wipe up’; Ḥarsūsi *amárkeh* ‘to tidy up’; Mehri *amárqəḥ* ‘to clear, to wipe, to tidy up’. Klein 1987:386—387; Murtonen 1989:266. Proto-Semitic *mar-at- ‘to rub, to scour’ > Hebrew *māraṯ* [מַרַת] ‘to make smooth, to scour, to polish’; Akkadian *marātu* ‘to rub, to scratch’. Murtonen 1989:265; Klein 1987:384. Arabic *maraʿa* ‘to rub over, to anoint’. Egyptian *mrh* ‘to anoint, to rub with fat or oil’, *mrht* ‘oil, grease’. Hannig 1995:349; Faulkner 1962:112; Erman—Grapow 1921:68 and 1926—1963.2:111; Gardiner 1957:569. Berber: Tuareg *əmri* ‘to be rubbed with something hard; to rub with something hard’, *səmri* ‘to make rub’; Ghadames *əmrəy* ‘to be painful, to suffer’; Tamazight *mrəy* ‘to rub, to be rubbed, to grate’, *amray* ‘rubbing, friction, grating’; Kabyle *əmri* ‘to rub, to scrape (vegetables)’. Proto-Chadic *mar ‘oil’ > Hausa *māi* ‘oil, fat, grease’; Zaar *mūr* ‘oil’; Tera *mor* ‘oil’; Mofu *mal* ‘oil’. Newman 1977:30. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:386, no. 1784, *moriʔ-/*moriḥ- ‘fat, oil’.]
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *mi-ir-ri* ‘to rub or smear oneself with fat or oil’. Dravidian: Parji *mer-* ‘to rub oneself’, *merpip-* (*merpit-*), *mercip-*, (*mercit-*) ‘to rub another with the hand’; Gadba *mar-* ‘to rub (oil, etc.) on oneself’, *marup-* (*marut-*) ‘to rub (oil, etc.) on another’; Gondi *marehtānā* ‘to rub’, *marahṭānā*, *marehtānā* ‘to smear’, *marehtālle* ‘to apply’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:416, no. 4709.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *(s)mer-/*(s)mor-/*(s)mṛ- ‘to smear, to anoint, to rub (with grease, fat, ointment)’: Gothic *smairþr* ‘richness, fatness’; Old Icelandic *smyrja*, *smyrva* ‘to anoint, to rub with ointment’, *smjör* ‘butter, fat’, *smyrsl* ‘ointment, unguent’; Swedish *smörja* ‘to rub with ointment, to anoint, to smear’, *smör* ‘butter, fat’; Old English *smierwan*, *smierian* ‘to anoint’, *smeoru* ‘grease, fat, suet, tallow’; Old Frisian *smere* ‘tallow’; Middle Low German *smeren* ‘to smear’; Dutch *smeer* ‘fat, grease, suet’, *smeren* ‘to smear’; Old High German *smürwen* ‘to smear’ (New High German *schmierem*), *smero* ‘fat, grease, suet’ (New High German *Schmer*); Old Irish *smiur* ‘marrow’; Welsh *mer* ‘marrow’; Tocharian B *šmare* ‘oily, smooth’. Perhaps also Greek μύρον ‘sweet juice extracted from plants,

sweet-oil, unguent, balsam’, *σμύρνα* (Ionic *σμύρνη*, Aeolian *μύρρα*) ‘myrrh (the resinous gum of an Arabian tree, used for embalming the dead; also used for anointing and as a salve)’. Pokorny 1959:970—971 **smeru-* ‘grease, fat’; Walde 1927—1932.II:690—691 **smeru-*; Mann 1984—1987:1223 **smeruos*, **smerus*, **smeruā* ‘grease, drip, marrow’; Watkins 1985:52 *(s)*mer-* and 2000:80—81 *(s)*mer-* ‘grease, fat’; Szemerényi 1964b:50—53; Mallory—Adams 1997:194 **sméru-* ‘oil, grease’; Boisacq 1950:652 Greek *μύρρα* < Semitic and 886 **smer-*; Hofmann 1966:208—209 Greek *μύρρα* < Semitic and 323; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:723—724, II:724 Greek *μύρρα* < Semitic, and II:1029; Frisk 1970—1973.II:273, II:274 Greek *μύρρα* < Semitic, and II:751—752; Beekes 2010.II:983; Orël 2003:353—354 Proto-Germanic **smerwan* ~ **smerwōn*, 354 **smerwislan*, 354 **smerwjanan*; Kroonen 2013:458 Proto-Germanic **smerwa-* ‘butter, grease’; Lehmann 1986:315 **smer(u)-* ‘fat, grease’; De Vries 1977:520 and 521; Feist 1939:438 **smer-*; Onions 1966:838 Common Germanic **smerwjan*; Klein 1971:692 **smeru-* ‘grease’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:663 **smeru-* and 665; Kluge—Seebold 1989:643 and 643—644; Vercoullie 1898:265; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:456 **smero-s*; Adams 1999:668 **smer(w)os*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:622 **smer-*.

Sumerian *mar* ‘to daub, to anoint’.

Buck 1949:6.94 ointment. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:61—62, no. 296, (?) **meřA* ‘fat; to smear with grease or fat’; Brunner 1969:19, no. 3 and 4; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:660, no. 538; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1469a, **maRi?V* (or **maři?V*) ‘animal fat’ and, no. 1485, **meřuqV* ‘to smear’.

899. Proto-Nostratic root **mar-* (~ **mər-*):

(vb.) **mar-* ‘to soil, to stain’;

(n.) **mar-a* ‘spot, stain, dirt’; (adj.) ‘dark, dirty, soiled’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *maru* ‘stigma, blemish, fault, stain, blot, spot (especially on the moon), sign, symbol, mode, freckle’, *marai* ‘freckle, mole, spot’, *marai* ‘flaw in a precious stone’; Malayalam *maru* ‘spot, freckle, mole, wart’; Toda *mařt* ‘black pigmented spot on the body’; Telugu *maraka* ‘stain, blot, spot’; Gondi *marrō* ‘black mole or wart’, *marror* ‘black mole’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:424, no. 4767.

B. Proto-Indo-European **mer-/mor-/m̥r-* ‘(vb.) to soil, to stain; (n.) spot, stain, dirt; (adj.) dark, dirty, soiled’: Greek *μυρόσσω* ‘to soil, to stain, to defile’ (perfect past participle *μεμορυγμένα καπνῶ*), *Μόρυχος* epithet of Dionysius in Sicily (from *μυρόσσω*) because his face was smeared with wine lees at the vintage; Armenian *m̥rayl* (< **muřayl-* < **mor-so-*) ‘darkness, fog, dark cloud; dark, gloomy’, *maraxul* (< **m̥r-so-*) ‘black mist, darkness’; Old Irish *merg-* ‘decay, rust’; Old Icelandic *myrkr* ‘dark,

murky'; Old English *mierce* 'murky, dark, black; evil'; Old Saxon *mirki* 'dark, murky'; Lithuanian *miršinu* 'grimy, dirty'; Russian *marát'* [марать] 'to soil, to sully, to stain, to tarnish'; Polish *morus* 'a dirty person, a slob'; Czech *mrva* 'mote, speck; splinter, dung'; Hittite (acc. sg.) *ma-ri-iḫ-ši-in* 'spot, stain, speck, fleck'. Pokorny 1959:734 (**mer-*) **mor-(u-)* '(vb.) to blacken; (n.) dark color, spot of dirt'; Walde 1927—1932.II:279—280 (**mer-*) **mor-*; Mann 1984—1987:759 **merġ-* '(adj.) dark, gloomy, grim; (n.) darkness, stain, grimness', 809 **mīyā* 'shred, fiber, remains, refuse, embers, dirt, rejected matter'; Boisacq 1950:645 **smer-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:257; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:713—714; Hofmann 1966:205—206 **mer-*; Beekes 2010.II:969; Orël 2003:268 Proto-Germanic **merkwas*; Kroonen 2013:366 Proto-Germanic **merkwu-* 'dark'; De Vries 1977:398; Onions 1966:597; Klein 1971:482; Puhvel 1984— .6:72.

- C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **mər(kəc)-* 'to be disgusting' (?) > Chukchi *mər-* 'disgusting', *mərkəc-γəryən* 'villain, bastard', used as an angry expletive 'damn!', (Northwestern) *mər(ə)mər-* 'something disgusting, dirt', *mərker-at-* 'to be disgusted by something'; Koryak (*lawcəŋ*)*məjkəcaw* 'bad person'. Fortescue 2005:184.

Buck 1949:15.88 dirty, soiled. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:52, no. 288, **mArA* 'spot; dirty'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:661, no. 539; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1471, **mariqV* 'spot, stain, (?) dirt'.

900. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **mar-a* 'marsh, swamp':

- A. [Proto-Indo-European **mar-i-* or **mor-i-* 'any body of water: sea, lake, swamp, marsh': Latin *mare* 'sea'; Old Irish *muir* 'sea'; Gothic *marei* 'sea', *mari-* in *mari-saiws* 'lake'; Old Icelandic *marr* 'sea'; Old English *mere* 'lake, pool, cistern; sea'; Old Saxon *meri* 'sea'; Dutch *meer* 'lake, pool'; Old High German *mari*, *meri* 'sea' (New High German *Meer*); Lithuanian *mārė* 'sea'; Old Prussian *mary* 'lagoon, bay'; Old Church Slavonic *morje* 'sea'; Russian *móre* [mope] 'sea'; Hittite *marmar(r)a-*, ^{GIS}*mammarra-* 'waterlogged woodland, overgrown swamp, wetland, slough, moor, marsh'. Derivative in: Proto-Germanic **mar-isk-* 'marsh' > Old English *mersc*, *merisc* 'marsh'; Middle Low German *mersch*, *marsch* 'marsh'; Middle Dutch *mersch(e)* 'marsh' (Dutch *marsh*); New High German *Marsch* 'fen(land), alluvial land'. Pokorny 1959:748 **mori-*, **mōri-* 'sea'; Walde 1927—1932.II:234—235 **mari*; Mann 1984—1987:732—733 **mari*, *-iə* 'sea'; Watkins 1985:43 **mori-* and 2000:56 **mori-* 'body of water; lake (?), sea (?)'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:943 **mor(i)-* and 1995.I:580 **mor-/mar-* 'sea'; Benveniste 1935:76 **már-*, **máry-*, **móry-*, **mor-éi-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:503—504 **móri* 'sea'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:387; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:38—39 **mari*; De Vaan 2008:365; Orël 2003:261 Proto-Germanic **mariskaz*, 261 **mariz*; Kroonen

2013:354 Proto-Germanic **mari-* ‘lake, sea’; Feist 1939:346 **mari* (or **mori* ?) and 347; Lehmann 1986:245 **már-y-* or **mór-y-n-*; De Vries 1977:379—380; Onions 1966:557 West Germanic **marisk-* and 570 **mori-*, **mæri-*; Klein 1971:447 Germanic **mari-* ‘sea’ and 458; Vercoullie 1898:185; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:463—464 and 470 Common Germanic **mari-* ‘sea’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:463 and 470 **mari*; Derksen 2008: 325; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:49—410; Puhvel 1984— .6:79—80.] Note: The Indo-European terms are phonologically ambiguous. They may belong here or with Proto-Nostratic **mor-* ‘any body of water: sea, lake, pool, cistern, reservoir, flood, stream, basin, canal, channel’.

- B. Proto-Altaic **māro* ‘marsh’: Tungus: Evenki *mar*, *mari-kta* ‘moor, swamp’. Proto-Mongolian **mara-* ‘salt-marsh’ > Written Mongolian *mara*, *marayan* ‘salt-marsh’; Khalkha *marā* ‘salt-marsh’; Buriat *marā* ‘salt-marsh’; Kalmyk *marā* ‘salt-marsh’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 904—905 **māro* ‘sand, stony earth, marsh’.
- C. Proto-Eskimo *marrar* ‘marsh, muddy ground, swampy area’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *maraq* ‘swampy area’, (Kenai Peninsula) *marataq*, *maraqcuk* ‘bog’; Central Alaskan Yupik *maraq* ‘marshy, muddy low land’, *marayaq* ‘mud’; Central Siberian Yupik (Chaplinski) *maraq* ‘marshy area’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *marraq* ‘mud’, *marat̚ak* ‘swampy ground’; North Alaskan Inuit *marraq* ‘gravel, sand’; Western Canadian Inuit *marraq* ‘mud’, (Netsilik) *marukluk* ‘swamp’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *marraq* ‘clay’; Greenlandic Inuit (North Greenlandic / Polar Eskimo) *marrak* ‘clay’, *marat̚uk*, *marut̚uk*, *maruyuk*, *maqut̚uk* ‘marshy, swampy place’, *marulluk* ‘mud’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:193.

901. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mar-a* ‘tree, wood’:

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mrw* ‘Lebanese cedar’. Hannig 1995:348; Erman—Grapow 1921:67 and 1926—1963.2:108; Faulkner 1962:112; Gardiner 1957:569.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *maram* ‘tree, wood, timber’; Malayalam *maram* ‘tree, wood, timber’; Kota *marm* ‘tree’; Telugu *m(r)ānu*, *m(r)āku* ‘tree’; Tuḷu *mara* ‘tree’; Kannaḍa *mara* ‘tree’; Koḍagu *mara* ‘tree’; Parji *meri* ‘tree’; Gadba (Ollari) *mar*, *marin* ‘tree’, (Salur) *māren* ‘tree’; Gondi *marā*, *mara*, *maṛa*, *māra*, *māra*, *marnu*, *mārnū* ‘tree’; Koṇḍa *maran* ‘tree’; Maṇḍa *mar* ‘tree’; Kuwi *mārnū*, *mṛānū*, *marnu*, *mṛānu*, *mara* ‘tree’; Pengo *mar* ‘tree’; Kui *mraṇnu*, *mraṇḍi*, *mṛānu* ‘tree’. Krishnamurti 2003:107 **mar-am/n* ‘tree’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:416, no. 4711.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **m[o]r3* ‘tree, wood’ > (?) Lapp / Saami *muorrá* ‘tree, wood, fuel; stake, pole’; (?) Hungarian *mórágy*, *morágy* ‘wood(s), forest’. Rédei 1986—1988:281 **mor3* ‘a kind of tree’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:45, no. 283, Proto-Uralic **m/a/re* ‘tree’.

Buck 1949:1.41 woods, forest; 1.42 tree; 1.43 wood. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:45, no. 283, **mar*_Λ ‘tree’; Caldwell 1913:622; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:675, no. 554; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1472, **m[a]rwê* ‘tree’.

902. Proto-Nostratic root **mar*^y- (~ **mər*^y-):

(vb.) **mar*^y- ‘to be weakened, to wither away, to decay; to be or become sick, to fall ill; to die (from a fatal disease), to perish’;

(n.) **mar*^y-*a* ‘sickness, illness, fatal disease, malady, ailment; death’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mar*- ‘(vb.) to be weakened, to wither away, to decay; to be or become sick, to fall ill; to die (from a fatal disease), to perish; (n.) sickness, illness, disease, malady, ailment; death’: Proto-Semitic **mar-at*_ʔ- ‘(vb.) to be or become sick, to fall ill; (n.) disease, malady, ailment, illness, sickness; (adj.) sick, ill’ > Akkadian *marāšu* ‘to fall ill, to have a disease; (stative) to be diseased’, *maršu* ‘sick, diseased’, *muršu* ‘illness’, (adv.) *maršiš* ‘bitterly, with difficulty, with pain’; Hebrew *māraš* [מָרַשׁ] ‘to be sick’; Aramaic *məra*^o ‘to fall ill, to become sick’; Ugaritic *mrš* ‘to be sick’; Arabic *marīda* ‘to be or become sick, to fall ill, to be taken ill’, *marād* ‘disease, malady, ailment, illness, sickness’, *marīd* ‘sick, ill, ailing, diseased, unwell, indisposed; sick person, patient’; Sabaean *mrđ* ‘to be sick’; Ḥarsūsi *mērež* ‘to be unwell, ill’, *merēž* ‘illness’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *mīrž* ‘to be ill’, *mérēž* ‘illness’, *mérīž* ‘ill’; Mehri *mērəž* ‘to be ill’, *mərēž* ‘illness’. Murtonen 1989:265—266; Klein 1987:386; Zammit 2002:381—382. Egyptian *mr* ‘(vb.) to be sick, to suffer pain; (adj.) sick, ill; (n.) sickness, illness’, *mrt* ‘sickness, illness, fatal disease’, *mrw* (adverb) ‘painfully’. Hannig 1995:344 and 345; Faulkner 1963:110—111; Gardiner 1957:569; Erman—Grapow 1921:66 and 1926—1963.2:95, 2:96. Orël—Stolbova 1995:376—377, no. 1736, **mar*- ‘to be ill, to be weak’.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:303—304, no. 42) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (vb.) **mrš* ~ **mrč* ‘to be sick, ill’. They do not list any non-Semitic cognates.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *maṛu* ‘blunt’, *maṛuku* (*maṛuki*-) ‘to become blunt, to be dim or obscure’, *maṛuṅku* (*maṛuṅki*-) ‘to be blunt or dull (as an edge or point), to be obscured, to be deprived of luster or glory, to fade, to disappear, to be lost, to become dull in feeling, to lose keenness of intellect, to be dim, to obscure (as the sun or moon in an eclipse or behind a cloud)’, *maṛukku*- (*maṛukki*-) ‘to blunt, to dull, to obscure (as luster or glory), to deprive the intellect of its keenness’, *maṛuṅkal* ‘that which is blunt, dim, or unpolished; blockhead, shameless person’, *maṛuṅki* ‘shameless woman’, *maṛukkam* ‘bluntness, reduced circumstances, dimness, cloudiness, obscurity of the sun in an eclipse, fading (as of color), dullness of intellect (as from age or disease)’, *maṛa* ‘confusion of mind’, *makku* (< **mṛakku* [cf. Telugu *mraggu*, *maggu* below]) (*makki*-) ‘to die, to

perish, to become dull, to decay (as fruits), to mold, to be spoiled (as by dampness)'; Malayalam *maṛunnaṅē āka* 'to grow blunt'; Kannaḍa *maṛa* 'dimness', *maṛal* '(the eyes) to become dim', *maṛgu* 'to grow dim or faint, to disappear or perish', *maṛgisu* 'to cause to disappear, to cause to perish, to destroy'; Tuḷu *margu* 'dead', *margu āpini* 'to die'; Telugu *mraggu*, *maggu* 'to die, to perish', *m(r)akku* 'to fade, to lose shining or luster, to die'; Kuṛux *maṛxnā* 'to get dirty, soiled; to lose brightness or freshness; to be ashamed; to grow exhausted, to be spent'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:421, no. 4750. Tamil *māṛku* (*māṛki-*) 'to be bewildered, fascinated; to be spoiled or lost, to grow lazy', *māṛā* 'to be fascinated, to be confused, to be bewildered, to fade, to grow dim'; Malayalam *māṛkuka* 'to languish, to grow faint, to sleep, to die', *māṛkāta* 'unfailing, unremitting', *māṛkal*, *māṛca* 'faintness, dullness, laziness'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:429, no. 4830.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **mer-/mor-/m̥-* '(vb.) to perish; (n.) death': Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *mi-ir-zi*, *me-ir-zi* 'to disappear, to vanish'; Sanskrit *márate*, *mriyáte* 'to die, to de cease', *márta-h* 'man, mortal', *mártya-h* 'mortal, man, person', *mṛtá-h* 'dead, deceased', *mṛti-h* 'death', *mṛtyú-h* 'death', *māra-h* 'dying; death'; Armenian *meṛanim* 'to die'; Latin *morior* 'to die; to wither away, to decay', *mors*, *-tis* 'death'; Old Irish *marb* 'dead'; Welsh *marw* 'dead'; Gothic *maurþr* 'murder'; Old Icelandic *morð* 'murder', *myrða* 'to murder'; Old English *morþ* 'murder, homicide; death, destruction; crime; anything horrible', *morþor* 'murder, crime, sin; torment, misery', *for-myrrþran*, *for-myrrþrian* 'to murder'; Old Frisian *morth* 'murder', *morthia* 'to kill, to murder'; Old Saxon *morð* 'murder'; Dutch *moord* 'murder'; Old High German *mord* 'murder' (New High German *Mord*), *murdreo* 'murderer, killer, assassin' (New High German *Mörder*); Lithuanian *mirstu*, *mīrti* 'to die, to pass away', *māras* 'plague, black death'; Old Church Slavic *мьрѣ*, *mrěti* 'to die', *моръ* 'plague'. Rix 1998a:395—396 **mer-* 'to pass away, to die'; Pokorny 1959:735 **mer-*, **merə-* 'to die'; Walde 1927—1932.II:276 **mer-*; Mann 1984—1987:732 **mār-* (**mər-*, **marənjō*) 'to harass, to torture, to kill', 734 **māruos* (**māruos*, **m̥ruos*) 'dead, decayed, broken-down', 759 **mer-* (**mern-*), 759 **merdō*, *-jō* 'to wipe out, to extinguish, to die', 798 **moros*, *-ā*, *-ō(n)* 'plague, horror, bogey, nightmare, death', 798—799 **mōros*, *-ā* 'death, deadness, waste; useless, vain, mad', 799 **mortos* 'dead, killed; death', 804 **m̥rējō* (**mrējō*) 'to fade away, to die', 805 **m̥rim-*, **m̥rm-*, **m̥r̥mn-* 'dead thing, corpse, body', 806 **m̥rks-* (**m̥rsk-*, **m̥rsk̥-*) 'to die, to perish; dead, rotten', 806 **m̥r̥nō*, *-jō* 'to wither, to shrink, to pine, to die off', 806—807 **m̥rjō*, *-jō* (**mər-*) 'to die, to kill', 808 **m̥rtis* (**m̥art-*) 'death', 808 **m̥rtos* 'dead; mortal, being, creature', 808 **m̥rtijō* (**m̥rtijō*, **m̥rtujō*) 'to kill', 809 **m̥rtuos*, 809 **m̥ruos*, *-jōs* (**m̥ru-*) 'waste, dead, decayed, rotten', 765 **m̥rjōs* (**m̥rjōs*) 'dead, deadly, mortal; death'; Watkins 1985:42 **mer-* and 2000:55 **mer-* 'to die'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:475 **mer-* and

1995.I:396 *mer- ‘to die, to disappear’; Mallory—Adams 1997:150 *mer- ‘to die’, *mṛtós ‘dead; mortal’, *mórtos ‘person, mortal’, *mṛtís ‘death’, *mṛtóm ‘death’, *móros ‘death’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:112—113 *mer-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:414—415 *mer-; De Vaan 2008:389—390; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:594 *mórto-, II:594—595, II:674 *mṛtó-, *mer-; *mṛtí-, II:674—675 *mṛtí-, and II:696—697 *mer-; Orël 2003:277 Proto-Germanic *murþan, 277 *murþjanan, 277 *murþran, 277 *murþrjanan ~ *murþrōjanan, 277 *murþrjōn; Kroonen 2013:378 Proto-Germanic *murþa- ‘murder’; Feist 1939:351—352 *mer-; Lehmann 1986:249 *mer-; De Vries 1977:392 and 398; Klein 1971:482; Onions 1966:597 *mṛt-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:487—488 *mer-, *mṛ-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:488 *mer-; Puhvel 1984— .6:148—150 *mer- ‘to die’; Kloekhorst 2008b:577—578 *mér-t/*mr-ént; Smoczyński 2007.1:404—405; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:457—459; Derksen 2008:308 *mer-, 326, and 2015:321 *mer-, *mr-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:488—491 *mer-. Note: I have followed Kloekhorst (2008b:577—578) in assigning the meanings ‘to disappear, to vanish’ to the Hittite verb cited above and reinterpreted the meaning of the Proto-Indo-European verb as ‘to perish’ to accommodate the revised meaning of the Hittite form. I have not, however, changed the meaning of the Proto-Indo-European noun, which I have left as ‘death’.

- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh *mraŋi- ‘lazy’: Amur *mraŋi-d* ‘to be lazy’; East Sakhalin *mraŋi-d* ‘to be lazy’. Fortescue 2016:107. Semantic development as in the following Dravidian forms, cited above: Tamil *mārku* (*mārki-*) ‘to be bewildered, fascinated; to be spoiled or lost, to grow lazy’, *mārā* ‘to be fascinated, to be confused, to be bewildered, to fade, to grow dim’; Malayalam *mārkuka* ‘to languish, to grow faint, to sleep, to die’, *mārkāta* ‘unfailing, unremitting’, *mārkal*, *mārca* ‘faintness, dullness, laziness’.
- E. (?) Proto-Eskimo *mǝrnuṛ- ‘to be tired’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *mǝrnuṛ-* ‘to be tired’; Central Alaskan Yupik *mǝrnuṛ-* ‘to be tired’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *mǝrnuṛ-* ‘to be tired’; Central Siberian Yupik *mǝrnuṛ-* ‘to be tired’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *murnuq-*, (Qawiaraq) *murnuq-* ‘to be tired’; North Alaskan Inuit *minruq-*, *minruqtuq-* ‘to be tired’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *mirḡutuq-* ‘to be very tired’; Greenlandic Inuit *mirḡur-* ‘to become tired, to be without strength’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:198.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.84 sick; sickness. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:647—648, no. 525; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:59—60, no. 293, *m/ä/ra ‘to be ill, to die’; Möller 1911:165—166.

903. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mar-a* ‘horned animal, game’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mar-* ‘a kind of bovid’: Semitic: Arabic *mārīy-at-* ‘white antelope’. Egyptian *mr, mry* ‘fighting bull’, (f.) *mr-t* ‘cow’; perhaps also *m* (if from **mVr-*) ‘oryx, antelope’. Hannig 1995:313, 347 and 2006:986, 1102; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:11, 106, and 109; Faulkner 1962: 100, 111, and 112. Cushitic: Rendille *máar* ‘male calf’, *maár* ‘female calf’; Arbore *máar* (coll.) ‘calves’. Dullay **mar-* ‘heifer’ > Harso *maar-akkó* ‘heifer’; Tsamai *mār-e* ‘heifer’. Hadiyya *moora* ‘older calf; ox, bull (for breeding)’. Hudson 1989:294. North Omotic: Gamu *mara* ‘calf’. Chadic: Ngizim *máarây-á* ‘kob’ [*Kobus sp.*]; Hausa *máarír-ì* ‘white oryx’ [*Oryx leucoryx*], *máarây-áá* ‘western kob’ [*Kobus kob*]; Saya *máaríy-á* ‘antelope’; Watji *mārai* ‘kob’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:375, no. 1728, **mar-* ‘cow, bull’; Militarëv—Kogan 2005.II:205—206, no. 153, Proto-Afrasian **ma/ir-* ‘bull, calf’ — Militarëv—Kogan list additional potential cognates from Semitic (Akkadian and Hebrew). These forms are not included here. Note: A slightly different etymology is given in Militarëv—Nikolaev 2020:210—211, no. 1.20a, Proto-Semitic **mar(ay)* ‘kind of large bovid’. I consider Militarëv—Nikolaev 2020 to represent the latest thinking.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *marai* ‘sambar, Indian elk; bison, wild cow’; (?) Kannaḍa *mare* ‘a kind of deer’; Telugu *manūbōtu* ‘the male of a species of antelope, gayal, bison’ (*pōtu* ‘male animal’); Gondi *maramām* ‘sambar’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:418, no. 4724.
- C. Indo-European: Sanskrit *mṛgá-ḥ* ‘a forest animal or wild beast, game of any kind, (esp.) a deer, fawn, gazelle, antelope, stag, musk-deer’. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:669—670. Note: Isolated within Indo-European — no sure cognates.

Buck 1949:3.11 animal (also wild beast); 3.15 livestock (cattle in wide sense); 3.20 cattle; 3.22 ox; 3.23 cow. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1473a, **mAr[y]V* ‘horned animal’.

904. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **math-a* or **meth-a* ‘middle’; (particle) **math-* or **meth-* ‘in the middle of, with, among’:

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *matn* ‘middle of the road’. Egyptian *mtrt* (*mtt*) ‘middle’ in: *m mtt (nt) ib* ‘gladly’, literally, ‘in the middle of the heart’; Coptic *mēte* [ΜΗΤΕ] ‘middle’, *ntmēte* [ΝΤΜΗΤΕ] ‘in the midst of’ (= Late Egyptian [*m*]ṭ mt n ‘in the middle of’). Hannig 1995:376; Vycichl 1983:124; Černý 1976:93.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **meth-* ‘middle; in the middle of, with, among’: Avestan *maṭ* ‘with’; Greek μετά ‘in the midst of, among’ (Mycenaean *me-ta*); Gothic *mip* ‘with, among’; Old Icelandic *með* ‘with, along with, together with; by, through, with, using; among, between; in; along with’;

Norwegian *med* ‘with’; Swedish *med* ‘with’; Danish *med* ‘with’; Old English *mid*, *mīþ* ‘together with, with, among’; Old Frisian *mith*, *mithi* ‘with’; Old Saxon *midī* ‘with’; Old High German *miti*, *mit* ‘with’ (New High German *mit*); Albanian *mjet* ‘middle’. Pokorny 1959:702—703 **me-*, **me-ta* ‘mid, middle’; Walde 1927—1932.II:236 **me-*; Mann 1984—1987:762 **met-* (**metm-*) ‘by, with, after’; Watkins 1985:39 **me-* and 2000:51 **me-* ‘in the middle of’ (suffixed form **me-ta*); Mallory—Adams 1997:380 *(*s*)*me-* ‘middle, among’; **me-th_a-*; Boisacq 1950:629—630; Frisk 1970—1973.II:216; Hofmann 1966:198—199 **me-ti* (**me-tu*, etc.); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:689—690; Beekes 2010.II:936—937 **meth₂*; Orël 1998:270 and 2003:268 Proto-Germanic **meþa*; Kroonen 2013:360 Proto-Germanic **medi* ‘with’; Feist 1939:364 **metá*, **metí*; Lehmann 1986:258—259; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:505; Torp 1919:423; De Vries 1977:380; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:482 **me-tí*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:482; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:264—265.

Buck 1949:12.37 middle (adj.); 12.38 center. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:637, no. 517.

905. Proto-Nostratic root **mat’-* (~ **mæt’-*):

(vb.) **mat’-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’;

(n.) **mat’-a* ‘measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit’

Note also:

(vb.) **mad-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’;

(n.) **mad-a* ‘measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mat’-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’: Proto-Semitic **mat’-* (**mat’-at’-*, **mat’-al-*, **mat’-an-*, **mat’-aw-*) ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’ > Arabic *maṭṭa* ‘to expand by pulling, to stretch, to draw out’, *maṭṭ* ‘expansion, extension, stretching, distention, lengthening, drawing out’, *maṭala* ‘to draw out, to lengthen, to extend, to stretch’, *maṭan* ‘stretching, extension’, *maṭā* ‘to stretch oneself and yawn, to lengthen, to draw long’, *maṭw*, *miṭw* ‘anything long, stretched’; Ḥarsūsi *meṭ* ‘to stretch (tr.)’; Mehri *meṭ* ‘to stretch’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *miṭṭ* ‘to stretch (like elastic) (tr.)’, *múṭtuṭ* ‘to stretch oneself, to stretch (intr.)’; Geez / Ethiopic *maṭṭana* [መጠነ] ‘to measure, to measure out, to estimate’, *maṭan* [መጠን] ‘measure, measurement, extent, circumference, amount, value, dimension, proportion, worth, quantity, size, duration, moderation’; Gurage (Soddo) *mätän* ‘amount’, (Chaha) *maṭä* (vb.) ‘to estimate, to evaluate’, *mäčq* (n.) ‘estimate’; Amharic *mätṭänä* ‘to measure out the right amount, to apportion, to practice moderation’, *mätän* ‘size, amount, magnitude, norm, proportion, extent, limit (extent), dosage, range’; Tigrinya *mätänä* ‘amount,

dimension'. Leslau 1979:438 and 1987:372—373. [Orël—Stolbova 1995: 385, no. 1776, **miṭ*- 'to pull'.]

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **mat*'- 'to augment, to increase, to add to': Georgian *mat*'- in *mat*'-*eb*-*a* 'to augment, to increase, to add to', *met*'-*i* 'more'; Svan *mt*'- in *li*-*mt*'-*e* 'to add to, to attach'. Fähnrich 2007:280—281 **maṭ*-.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **met*'-/ **mot*'- 'to measure, to measure out, to estimate, to reckon': Greek μέδομαι 'to provide for, to be mindful of', μέδω 'to protect, to rule over'; Latin *meditor* 'to think over, to consider', *modus* 'measure, standard of measure', *medeor* 'to heal, to cure'; Gothic *mitan* 'to measure'; Old Icelandic *meta* 'to reckon, to estimate'; Old English *metan* 'to measure, to mark off, to mete out, to compare'; Old Saxon *metan* 'to measure, to mete out'; Old High German *mezzan* 'to measure, to compare, to compute' (New High German *messen*), *mez* 'measure' (New High German *Meß*-); Hittite (gen. sg.) *mi-te-eš-na-aš* 'measure, weight', (abl. sg.) *mi-id-na-az* 'measure, counsel, ordinance, resolve, device'. Rix 1998a:380 **med*- 'to measure'; Pokorny 1959:705—706 **med*- 'to measure'; Walde 1927—1932.II:259 **med*-; Mann 1984—1987:739 **medimnos* 'measure; measurer', 739—740 **medō* 'to measure, to apportion, to reward, to determine, to fix', 740 **medos*, -*es*- 'measure', 782—783 **modos*, -*es*- 'measure, means'; Watkins 1985:39 **med*- and 2000:52 **med*- 'to take appropriate measures'; Mallory—Adams 1997:374 **med*- 'to measure, to weigh'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:811 **met*'- and 1995.I:711 **met*'- 'to measure, to weigh'; Boisacq 1950:618—619; Frisk 1970—1973.II:191; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:675 **med*-; Beekes 2010.II:918—919 **med*-; Hofmann 1966:193—194 **mēd*-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:55—56; Ernout—Meillet 1979:392—393; De Vaan 2008:368 **med*-; Puhvel 1984— .6:167—168 and 6:168 **med*- 'to measure by bulk or weight'; Orël 2003:268 Proto-Germanic **metan*, 268 **metanan*; Kroonen 2013:367 Proto-Germanic **metan*- 'to measure, to evaluate'; Feist 1939:363—364 **mēd*-; Lehmann 1986:257—258 **med*- 'to measure'; De Vries 1977:385—386; Onions 1966:573 Common Germanic **metan*, Proto-Indo-European base **med*-; Klein 1971:461 **mēd*- 'to measure, to limit, to consider, to advise'; Walshe 1951:147 and 150; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:475—476 **med*-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:474 **med*-.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 12.34 measure (vb.); 17.13 think (= reflect, etc.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:650—651, no. 527; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1498, **mAtVdV* - **mAdVtV* 'to stretch, to measure' and, no. 1501, **mAtV* 'to increase, to make long/broad'.

906. Proto-Nostratic root **mat*'- (~ **mət*'-):
 (vb.) **mat*'- 'to be or become wet, moist';
 (n.) **mat*'-*a* 'moisture, wetness; dew, rain'; (adj.) 'wet, moist'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mat*'- 'to be or become wet, moist': Proto-Semitic **mat*'-*ar*- '(vb.) to rain; (n.) rain' > Akkadian *meṭru* 'rain'; Hebrew *māṭār* [מָטָר] 'rain'; Ugaritic *mṭr* 'rain'; Arabic *maṭara* 'to rain', *maṭar* 'rain'; Sabaeen *mṭr* 'field watered by rain'. Militarëv 2008a:217 and 2012:84 Proto-Semitic **miṭar*-; Murtonen 1989:257—258; Klein 1987:339—340; Zammit 2002:384. Gurage (Chaha, Gyeto, Ennemor, Endegeñ, Wolane) *məṭāmāṭa*, (Eža, Muher, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo, Wolane) *miṭämmāṭä*, (Selṭi) *miṭämāṭä* 'to be soaked through by rain, to be drenched; to be rotten, to be putrid'. Leslau 1979:438. Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *mat'oo* 'rainy season'. Hudson 1987:332. Proto-Southern Cushitic **maḍ*- or **maad*- 'rain' > Burunge *madiṅ* 'rainy season'; Ma'a *máre* 'rain'. Ehret 1980:153. North Bauchi Chadic **mad*- 'dew' > Pa'anci *mada* 'dew'; Diryanci *mada* 'dew'; Siryanci *mudî* 'dew'; Warjanci *mad-ai* 'dew'; Jimbinanci *amada* 'dew'. Skinner 1977:18. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:379, no. 1747, **maṭar*- 'water'.]
- B. Proto-Indo-European **mat*'- 'to be wet, moist': Sanskrit *mādati* 'to be glad, to rejoice, to get drunk', *māda-ḥ* 'any exhilarating or intoxicating drink; hilarity, rapture, excitement, inspiration, intoxication; ardent passion for, sexual desire or enjoyment, wantonness, lust, ruttishness, rut (especially of an elephant); pride, arrogance, presumption, conceit of or about; semen', *mādyā-ḥ* '(adj.) intoxicating, exhilarating, gladdening, lovely; (n.) any intoxicating drink, vinous or spiritous liquor, wine, Soma'; Pāli *majjati* 'to be exalted, intoxicated', *matta-* 'intoxicated, proud', *mada-* 'intoxication, sexual excess'; Avestan *mada-* 'intoxicating drink'; Greek *μαδάω* 'to be moist'; Latin *madeō* 'to be wet'. Rix 1998a:378 **mad*- 'to be or become wet'; Pokorny 1959:694—695 **mad*- '(vb.) to drip; (adj.) wet'; Walde 1927—1932.II:230—233 **mad*-; Mallory—Adams 1997:638—639 **m(e)had*- 'to become wet, moist, fat'; Mann 1984—1987:724 **mad*- (**mādājō*, *-ējō*, *-jō*) 'to get wet, to be wet'; Watkins 1985:38 **mad*- and 2000:50 **mad*- 'wet, moist'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:568; Boisacq 1950:598—599; Hofmann 1966:187 **mād*-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:157—158; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:656—657 **madē*-; Beekes 2010.II:889—890 **meh₂d*-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:6—8 Latin *madeō* < **mdejō*; De Vaan 2008:358 **mh₂d-eh₁*-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:377; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:455—457 **mad*-.

Buck 1949:1.75 rain (sb.); 4.98 drunk. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1496, **matV[?]V* 'moisture'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:659, no. 537.

907. Proto-Nostratic root **maw*- (~ **məw*-):

- (vb.) **maw*- 'to be wet';
 (n.) **maw-a* 'water, liquid, fluid'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **maw*- '(vb.) to be wet; (n.) water, liquid, fluid': Proto-Semitic **maw/y*- 'water, liquid, fluid' > Hebrew (pl.) *mayim* [מַיִם]

‘waters’; Syriac *mayyā* ‘water’; Mandaic *mai* ‘water’; Ugaritic *my* ‘water’; Akkadian *mū* ‘water, liquid, fluid’; Arabic *māʾ* ‘water’; Sabaeen *mwy* ‘water’; Ḥarsūsi *ḥe-myōh* ‘water’; Šheri / Jibbāli *mih* (base *mwh*) ‘water’; Mehri *ḥə-mōh* ‘water’; Geez / Ethiopic *māy* [ጠይ] ‘water, liquid’; Tigrinya *may* ‘water’; Tigre *may* ‘water’; Gurage (Zway) *may*, (Selṭi, Wolane) *māy* ‘water, sea’; Harari *mī*, *mīy* ‘water’; Amharic *may* ‘miraculous water’ (Geez loan). Murtonen 1989:252; Klein 1987:342; Leslau 1963:102, 1979:441, and 1987:376; Zammit 2002:391. Egyptian *mw* ‘water’, *mwyt* ‘to be watery, to flow’, *mwyt* ‘urine’; Coptic (Bohairic) *mōw* [ⲙⲟⲟϣ] ‘water’, *mē* [ⲙⲏ] ‘urine’, (Sahidic) *mow* [ⲙⲟⲟϣ] ‘water’. Hannig 1995:329—330; Faulkner 1962:105; Gardiner 1957:568; Erman—Grapow 1921:63 and 1926—1963.2:50—53; Černý 1976:78 and 95; Vycichl 1983:107 and 126—127. Diakonoff 1992:23 **mḥw/y* ‘water’; M. Cohen 1947:191—192, no. 485; Orël—Stolbova 1995:368—369, no. 1699, **maʔ* ‘water’ (“[n]ote parallel forms with sonants **may-* and **maw-* in Sem[itic], Eg[yp]tian and C[entral] Ch[adic]”); Ehret 1995:300, no. 569, **-m-* (**-ma-* ?) ‘to be wet’. It is perhaps best to agree with Vycichl (1984:126—127) that “[Egyptian *mw*] has correspondents in the Semitic languages but not in the other Hamitic languages”. This means that the Proto-Afrasian root **maʔ* ‘water’ reconstructed, for example, by Orël—Stolbova (1995:368—369, no. 1699) on the basis of data from the other Afrasian languages is to be seen as a parallel, though unrelated, form.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **mew(H)-*/**mow(H)-*/**mu(H)-* ‘(vb.) to be wet, damp; (n.) water, liquid, fluid’: Hittite (3 sg. pres. act.) *mu-ú-ta-iz-zi* ‘to wet; to wash off, to flush, to rinse’; Sanskrit *mūtra-m* ‘urine’; Greek μυδάω ‘to be damp, clammy (from decay, of a corpse)’, μύδος ‘damp, clammy; dampness, clamminess, decay’, μύρω ‘to flow’; Middle Irish *mún* ‘urine’; Lithuanian *máudau*, *máudžiau*, *máudyti* ‘to bathe, to go for a swim’; Old Church Slavic *myjō*, *myti* ‘to wash’; Russian *mytʹ* [мыть] ‘to wash’; Czech *mýti* ‘to wash’; Serbo-Croatian *mīti* ‘to wash’. Rix 1998a:400 **meuH-* ‘to wash, to rinse’; Pokorny 1959:741—743 **meu-*, **meuə-*, **mū-* ‘damp’; Walde 1927—1932.II:249—252 **meu-*; Watkins 1985:42 **meu-* ‘damp’ (extended form **meus-* in Germanic **meus-*, **mus-*) and 2000:56 **meus-* ‘damp’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:663—664; Boisacq 1950:648 **meud-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:263; Hofmann 1966:206 **meu-d-* and 209 **meu-r-* from **meu-*; Beekes 2010.II:974; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:717—718 **meu-*, **mū-*; Puhvel 1984— .6:194—195 **mew-H-*, **mew-d-*; Shevelov 1964:377; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:417; Smoczyński 2007.1:378 **meuH-*; Derksen 2008:338 **muH-* and 2015:307.
- C. Altaic: Proto-Tungus **mū* ‘water’ > Evenki *mū* ‘water’; Lamut / Even *mō* ‘water’; Negidal *mū* ‘water’; Manchu *muke* ‘water; river, stream’; Jurchen *mo* ‘water’; Ulch *mū* ‘water’; Orok *mū* ‘water’; Nanay / Gold *muke* ‘water’; Oroch *mū* ‘water’; Udihe *mu-de* ‘inundation’; Solon *mū* ‘water’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:935—936 **mū̄uri* ‘water’) compare the

above forms with possible Mongolian, Japanese, and Korean cognates. However, Dolgopolsky (2008, no. 1382) is probably correct in rejecting this comparison.

Buck 1949:1.31 water; 4.65 urinate; urine; 15.83 wet, damp. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:643, no. 521; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:62—63, no. 298, **mEwλ* ‘water, moisture’; Möller 1911:168—169 (Semitic **m-y-*); Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1382, **mūhi* (or **mūhyi* ?) ‘water, fluid’.

908. Proto-Nostratic root **mel-*:

(vb.) **mel-* ‘to rub’ (> ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’);

(n.) **mel-a* ‘smoothness, softness; weakness’; (adj.) ‘smooth, soft, tender, weak, worn out, tired, weary’

Note also:

(vb.) **mol-* ‘to rub’ (> ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’);

(n.) **mol-a* ‘crumb, piece, morsel; mortar’; (adj.) ‘crushed, ground, worn out or down’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mel-* ‘to rub, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’: Proto-Semitic **mal-al-* ‘to be or become worn out, weak, tired, weary’ > Hebrew *mālāl* [מָלַל] ‘to languish, to wither, to fade’, *ʔāmēlāl* [אָמְעַלַל], *ʔumlāl* [אֻמְעַלַל] ‘feeble’, *ʔāmal* [אָמַל] (< **ʔa-mal-*) ‘to be weak, to languish’; Phoenician *ʔml* (< **ʔa-mal-*) ‘to languish, to be feeble; to enfeeble’; Arabic *malla* ‘to be or become weary, tired, bored, impatient; to tire, to become tired (of something), to become fed up (with)’, *mall* ‘weary, tired, fed up, bored’, *malūl* ‘tired, wearied, bored; weary, fed-up, disgusted’; Šheri / Jibbāli *mell* ‘to be fed up, to despair of finishing something with someone’, *emlél* ‘to tire, to make someone fed up’, *mellún* ‘easily, bored’; Mehri *məl* ‘to be fed up with someone, something’, *həmlūl* ‘to make someone fed up, tired’. Klein 1987:35 and 351; Murtonen 1989:93; Tomback 1978:24. Proto-Semitic **mal-al-* ‘to rub, to scrape’ > Hebrew *mālāl* [מָלַל] ‘to rub, to scrape, to rub ears for husking the grain’; (?) Geez / Ethiopic *malala* [መለለ] ‘to plane (a board), to smooth with a plane’; (?) Amharic *mallälä* ‘to plane, to scrape’. Klein 1987:351; Leslau 1987:344. Proto-Semitic **mal-aš-* ‘to rub, to smear’ > Arabic (Daḡina) *malaʕ* ‘to smooth away’; Geez / Ethiopic *malʕa* [መለሐ] ‘to anoint, to grease, to smear’. Leslau 1987:342. Proto-Semitic **mal-ac-* ‘to make smooth’ > Arabic *malisa*, *malusa* ‘to be smooth, level, even; to make smooth, to smooth, to level, to even (something); to make slippery’, *malis*

‘smooth, sleek’, *malasa* ‘smooth, bald’; Geez / Ethiopic *malasa* [ሙለሰ] ‘to gleam, to shine, to glitter, to flash, to sparkle, to be polished; to polish, to smooth, to wipe clean’; Amharic *mälläsä* ‘to purify metal by repeated meltings’; Harari (*a*)*möläsa* ‘to have a delicate and smooth appearance (person), to be smooth (skin) because of care given to it’. Leslau 1963:107 and 1987:345. Proto-Semitic **mal-ac*- ‘to be smooth, slippery’ > Hebrew *mālaš* [מָלַשׁ] ‘to be smooth, slippery’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Arabic *malīša* ‘to glide, to slide, to slip, to escape’, *malīš* ‘smooth, sleek, slippery’. Klein 1987:351. Proto-Semitic **mal-at*- ‘to rub, to smear’ > Hebrew *meleš* [מֵלֵשׁ] ‘mortar, cement’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Syriac *malaš* ‘to smear, to rub over’, *mälāšā* ‘mortar’; Arabic *malaša* ‘to plaster with mud or mortar (a wall)’, *milāš* ‘mortar’ (Aramaic loans). Klein 1987:350. Proto-Semitic **mal-ad*- ‘to be tender’ > Arabic *malida* ‘to be tender’, *ʔamlad* ‘tender, flexible’, *mald* ‘soft and delicate’, *malad* ‘softness, delicacy; youthfulness; freshness of face’. The following Highland East Cushitic forms may belong here as well: Gedeo / Darasa (pl.) *melaalle* ‘female, women’; Sidamo (pl.) *meella* ‘women, wives’. Hudson 1989:170. For the semantics, cf. Tamil *melli* ‘woman’, cited below, and perhaps also Latin *mulier* ‘woman, wife’ (< **m̥l̥-yes-ī*, comparative of *mollis* ‘soft, tender, pliant, supple, flexible, yielding’ [cf. Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:122; however, Ernout—Meillet 1979:418—419 consider Latin *mulier* to be of unknown origin; see also Sihler 1995:309—310, §299a]).

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *mel* ‘soft, tender’, *melku* (*melki*-) ‘to become soft, to become light’, *mella*, *mella* ‘softly, slowly, gently’, *melli* ‘woman’, *mellikkai* ‘thinness’, *mellitu*, *mellicu* ‘that which is soft or fine; thinness, slenderness’, *melliyar* ‘the weak, the emaciated, the poor; low, mean person; woman (as of a delicate build)’, *mell-ēnal*, *mell-ēnal* ‘expression signifying being soft, gentle, being dull’, *melivu* ‘weakness, feebleness, languor, fatigue’, *meli* (-*v*-, -*nt*-) ‘to become weak; to become lean, thin; to suffer; to languish; to perish, to become poor, reduced in circumstances; to be softened; to be lowered in pitch (music)’, *meli* (-*pp*-, -*tt*-) ‘to weaken, to make lean, to make thin, to cause suffering, to destroy, to soften (a hard consonant), to lower in pitch’, *meliyavan* ‘weak, powerless man’; Malayalam *mel* ‘slender, tender’, *meliyuka* ‘to grow thin, lean’, *melivu*, *meliccal* ‘thinness, leanness’, *melluka*, *mellika* ‘to be thin, fine’, *mellē* ‘slowly, gently, softly’; Kota *melg-* (*melgy-*) ‘to soften (intr.) by action of water or heat’, *melk-* (*melky-*) ‘to soften (tr.) by action of water or heat’; Toda *mely* ‘slowly, stealthily’; Kannada *mel(u)* ‘soft, tender, pliant, mild, gentle, kind, pleasant, slow’, *melpu* ‘softness, mildness’, *mella*, *mellane*, *melle* ‘gently, softly, slowly’, *mellitu*, *mellittu* ‘that which is soft, mild’; Kodagu *melle* ‘lightly, slowly’; Tuḷu *mella* ‘slow, soft, gentle’, *melipuni* ‘to knead (as dough), to tread into a well-mixed mass (as earth)’, *melippu* ‘kneading, mixing well into a mass, macerating’, *meliyuni* ‘to become

well-mixed, to be reduced by sickness'; Telugu *melāta*, *melātuka* 'woman', *melamella*, *melamellāgā* 'gently, mildly, quietly, slowly, softly', *mella* 'slowly', *mellāgā* 'slowly, tardily, quietly, gently, mildly, softly, gradually, by degrees', *mellana* 'slowness, tardiness', *mellanan* 'slowly, tardily', *mellani* 'slow, quiet'; Gadba (Salur) *mellaga* 'slowly'; Konda *meleka* 'slowly', *melesa* 'gently, softly'; Kui *mṛērna* 'soft, quiet, gentle'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:459, no. 5078; Krishnamurti 2003:118 **mel-k*- 'to become soft'.

- C. [Proto-Indo-European **mel-/m̥l-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **mol-*) 'to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary': Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ma-al-la-i* 'to crush, to grind', (reduplicated) *me-ma-al* 'meal'; Sanskrit *mṛṇāti*, *mṛṇāti* 'to crush, to grind', *mṛdnāti*, *mārdati*, *mārdate* 'to rub, to stroke, to wipe, to rub into; to press, to squeeze, to crush, to pound', *mṛdú-h* 'soft, delicate, tender, pliant, mild, gentle, weak, feeble', *mṛkṣāti* 'to rub, to curry, to stroke', *mṛjāti*, *mṛjate* 'to wipe, to rub, to cleanse, to polish, to clean, to purify, to embellish, to adorn, to make smooth, to stroke', *mṛṣṭá-h* 'washed, cleansed, polished, clean, pure, smeared, besmeared with', *mláyati* 'to wither, to fade'; Greek ἀμαλδύνω 'to soften', ἀμαλός 'soft, weak, feeble', μαλακός 'soft', μαλάσσω 'to make soft', μύλη 'mill, handmill', μύλος 'millstone'; Albanian *mjel* 'meal, flour'; Armenian *malem* 'to crush', (reduplicated) *mlmlem* 'to rub'; Umbrian *maletu* 'crushed, ground'; Latin *molō* 'to grind', *mollis* 'soft, tender, pliant, supple, flexible, yielding', *mola* 'millstone', *molīna*, *molīnum* 'a mill'; Old Irish *melim* 'to grind'; Breton *meil* 'mill'; Welsh *melin* 'mill' (< Latin *molīna*); Gothic *malan* 'to grind', *mildīpa* 'mildness, kindness', *ga-malwjan* 'to grind up, to crush', *malma* 'sand', *mulda* 'dust'; Old Icelandic *mala* 'to grind', *meldr* 'grinding; flour', *melr* 'sand-bank, gravel-bank', *mildi* 'kindness, mercy, grace', *mildr* 'mild, gentle, gracious; munificent, liberal', *mola* 'to crush, to break into small pieces', *moli* 'small piece, crumb', *molna* 'to crumble into dust', *mjöl* 'meal, flour', *mylna* 'mill' (< Latin *molīna*), *mølva* (*mølda*) 'to crush, to pound'; Swedish *mala* 'to grind'; Old English *melu* 'meal, flour', *milde* 'gentle, mild; merciful, kind', *mildian* 'to become mild', *milts*, *milds* 'kindness, mercy', *molde* 'earth, soil, dust; ground, country, world', *molsnian* 'to molder, to decay', *mylen* 'mill' (< Latin *molīna*); Old Frisian *mele* 'flour, meal', *milde* 'mild, gentle'; Old Saxon *malan* 'to grind', *melo* 'flour, meal', *mildi* 'mild, soft, gentle'; Old High German *malan* 'to grind, to mill, to crush, to pulverize' (New High German *mahlen*), *melo* 'flour, meal' (New High German *Mehl*), *milti*, *milte* 'mild, soft, mellow, gentle' (New High German *mild*); Lithuanian *malù*, *málti* 'to grind'; Old Church Slavic *meljo*, *mlěti* 'to grind'; Tocharian A *malýw-*, B *mely-* 'to crush, to squeeze, to lay waste', B *mäl-* 'to crush, to repress, to oppress', B *mällarṣke* 'pressing' (?) or 'pliant' (?), B *mälle* 'ground-down, dull', B *mällalñe* 'crushing'. Rix 1998a:387

meld-* ‘to become weak, soft, mild, gentle, tender’, 388—389 **melh₂-* ‘to rub, to crush, to grind’, 390 **melh₂u-* ‘to rub, to crush, to grind’; Pokorny 1959:716—719 **mel-* ‘to crush, to grind’; Walde 1927—1932.II:284—291 **mel-*; Mann 1984—1987:728 **mālō*, *-iō* (variant of type **mļō*, *-iō* ‘to grind, to mill’), 749 **meldō*, *-iō* ‘to crush, to destroy’, 749 **meldhos* ‘soft, tender’, 750 **meļeos* (meləuos*, **meļuos* ‘soft, effete, silly’, 750 **meļeos*, *-ā* (**meləuo-*) ‘millings, flour’, 751—752 **melk-* (**molk-*, **mļk-*) ‘soft, limp’, 752 **melmos*, *-ā* ‘soft; soft matter, mud, pug, pugging, puddle’, 752 **melō*, *-iō* ‘to grind, to crush’, 753 **meļuos* ‘soft, sweet’, 753 **meməl-* (**mīməl-*, **mel-mel-*), 773 **mlētōs* ‘crushed, pulped’, 773 **mļd-* ‘crush, pulp, powder’, 773—774 **mļdos*, *-is*, *-us* (**mļdulōs*) ‘soft, pappy, pulpy, powdery, weak, tender’, 774 **mļdsnā* (*-os*, *-om*) ‘powder, dust, fine loam’, 774 **mļdhos* (**mældh-*) ‘young, immature, silly’, 775—776 **mļk-* (variants: **mļks-*, **mļsk-*) ‘soft, mild, silly’, 776 **mļm-* ‘powder; powdery, crumbly; to crumble, to decompose’, 776—777 **mļō*, *-iō* ‘to grind, to crush’, 777 **mļs-*, **mļskō* ‘to crumble, to decay’, 777 **mļtos* (**mļt-*) ‘ground, crushed; powder’, 777—778 **mļuō* ‘to crush, to shatter’, 791—792 **moldis*, *-os*, *-us* ‘soft, sweet, slow, gentle, silly’, 792—793 **molks-* (**molsk-*, **molks-*) ‘limp, soft’, 793 **molūiō* ‘to beat, to crush’ (a Germanic variant), 815 **mulīō* ‘to grind, to crush’, 816 **mulos*, *-ā*, *-iōm*, *-is* ‘grinding, milling; grindstone, millstone’; Watkins 1985:40 **mel-* ‘soft’, 40—41 **melə-* (also **mel-*) ‘to crush, to grind’ and 2000:53 **mel-* ‘soft’, 53—54 **melə-* (also **mel-*) ‘to crush, to grind’, with derivatives referring to various ground or crumbling substances (such as flour) and to instruments for grinding or crushing (such as millstones) (oldest form **mel₂-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:692—693 **mel-* and 1995.I:190, I:200, I:567—568, I:598—599 **mel-* ‘to crush, to divide; to thresh; to grind; to grate’; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 **melh₂-* ‘to grind’; Puhvel 1984—.6:21—25 and 6:140—141; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:670—671, II:672—673, II:676, II:676—677, II:698—699; Boisacq 1950:49, 604, and 649—650; Frisk 1970—1973.I:84, I:85, II:165—166, and II:268—270; Hofmann 1966:14, 188, and 207; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:69, I:70, II:661 Greek μαλακός ‘soft’ < **m^ol₂k-*, and II:721 **mel-*, **mel-₂-*, **mol-₂-*, **m^ol-₂-*; Beekes 2010.I:80—81 and II:896 **mlh₂-k-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:104—106 **mel-* (**melā^x-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:410—411 Latin *mollis* < **mol^owis* and 411 **molə-/melə-/m^olə-*; De Vaan 2008:386 and 286—387; Orël 2003:257 Proto-Germanic **malanan*, 257 **maldriz* ~ **malđran*, 258 **malmaz* ~ **malmōn*, 258—259 **malwjanan*, 266 **meldiþō*, 266 **meldjaz*, 266 **meldin*, 267 **melmaz*, 267 **meltanan*, 267 **melwan*, 275 **mulđō(n)*, 275 **muljanan*; Kroonen 2013:351 Proto-Germanic **malan-* ‘to grind’, 351 **malta-* ‘soft; gone bad (?)’, 351—352 **maltjan-* ‘to make dissolve’, 352 **malwjan-* ‘to crush, to pound’, 362—363 **melda-* ‘pleasant, mild’, 363 **meltan-* ‘to dissolve, to be digested’, 365 **melwa-* ‘meal, flour’, 374—375 **multōjan-* ‘to become soft’, and 375

**mulwēn-* ‘to soften’; Feist 1939:192, 342, 343, 359, and 366; Lehmann 1986:144—145, 242—243, 243, 255, and 260; De Vries 1977:377, 383, 387, 390, 392, 397—398, and 400; Onions 1966:564—565, 576, and 593; Klein 1971:452, 464—465, and 471; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:454 **mel-*, 471, and 478—479; Kluge—Seebold 1989:455, 470, and 479; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:403—404; Derksen 2008:307 **melH-* and 2015:302—303 **melH-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:547—548; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:482—485 **meld-*.] Note: The Indo-European forms are phonologically ambiguous. They either belong here or with Proto-Nostratic **mol-* ‘to rub’ (> ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’).

- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **məl-* ‘small, fine’: Kerek *nə-mlə-Xi* ‘small’; Koryak *nə-mlə-qen* ‘small’; Alyutor *nə-mlilə-qin*, *məs(ə)-* ‘small, fine’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *milja-cX* ‘baby’ (with diminutive suffix). Fortescue 2005:181. Proto-Chukotian **məla-* ‘supple’ > Chukchi *m(ə)l-at-* ‘to become supple (skin)’, *rə-məla-w-* ‘to make supple (skin), to make strong or agile (person)’, *nə-mlilə-qin* ‘flexible, supple’; Kerek *mə-ml’ə-u-* ‘to soften skin’; Koryak *jə-mla-w-* ‘to make supple’, *nə-mlə-qin* ‘flexible’; Alyutor *msa-* ‘supple (skin)’. Fortescue 2005:182. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **məlxə-* ‘to break’: Chukchi *məle-* ‘to break, to be broken’; Kerek *mla-* ‘to break’, *nə-mla(a)u-* ‘to pulverize’; Koryak *məle-* ‘to break (tr.)’, *jə-mlia-v-* ‘to pulverize’, *məle-crən* ‘crumb’; Alyutor *mla-* ‘to break (tr.)’, *tə-mlia-v-* ‘to crush, to shatter’. Fortescue 2005:182.

Buck 1949:4.91 tired, weary; 5.56 grind; 9.31 rub; 15.75 soft; 15.77 smooth. Brunner 1969:20, no. 10; Möller 1911:161—162; Greenberg 2002:84—85, no. 186; Caldwell 1913:603—604; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:637—639, no. 518; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:69—70, no. 302, **moLA* ‘to smash’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1412, **mel[H_i]V* ‘soft’.

909. Proto-Nostratic interrogative pronoun stem **mi-* (~ **me-*) ‘who?, which?, what?’, relative pronoun stem **ma-* (~ **mə-*) ‘who, which, what’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **ma-* ~ **mi-* interrogative and relative pronoun stem: Proto-Semitic **mā-* ~ **mī-* interrogative and relative pronoun stem > Akkadian (interj.) *mā* ‘what?, why?; indeed, verily’, (interrogative pronoun) *mannu*, *manna*, *manni*, *ma’u*, *man* ‘who?’, (interrogative and adverb) *mati* ‘when?’, (interrogative) *minsū* ‘what is it?, why?’, (interrogative pronoun) *minu* ‘who?’ (West Semitic loan), (interrogative) *mīnu*, *mīnum*, *mīnū*, *mīna*, *mīnam*, *mīni*, *mīnim*, *mīnumma*, *mīnamma*, *mīnammi*, *mīnimma*, *mīnimmi*, *min* ‘what?, why?, what for?, what reason?; what, whatever’; Hebrew (interrogative pronoun) *mah* [מַה], *māh* [מֵה] ‘what?, how?’, *mān* [מַן] (= *māh*) ‘what?’, (interrogative pronoun) *mī* [מִי] ‘who?’; Syriac *mā(n)*, *mānā* ‘what?’, *man* ‘who?’; Phoenician *mh* ‘what’, *my* ‘who;

whoever'; Ugaritic *mh* 'what?', *my* 'who?', *mm* 'whatever'; Arabic *mā* (interrogative) 'what?', *mā* (relative) 'that, which, what', (interrogative particle) *matā* 'when?, at what time?', (interrogative pronoun) *man* 'who?, which one?, which ones?', (relative pronoun) *man* 'who, the one who, those who, one who, whoever, whosoever, everyone who, he who', (conjunction) *mahmā* 'whatever, who ever, no matter how much, however much'; Sabaeen (indefinite and interrogative pronoun) *mhn* 'what, what thing?'; Soqotri *mon* 'who?'; Ḥarsūsi *mōn* 'who?'; Šheri / Jibbāli *mun* 'who?'; Mehri *mōn* 'who?'; Geez / Ethiopic *mi* [ሚ] 'what?', *mannu* [ሞኑ] 'who?', *mənt* [ሞንት] 'what?'; Tigre *mə, mi* 'what?', *mān* 'who?'; Tigrinya *mān, mən* 'who?', *mənəw, mənū* 'which?'; Harari *mān* 'who?', *min* 'what?'; Argobba *man* 'who?'; Gafat *man* 'who?'; Amharic *mən* 'what?, which?', *man* 'who?'; Gurage *mə* 'what?', *ma* 'who?', *man* 'who?', *mən* 'what?'. Lipiński 1997:328—331; Klein 1987:321, 340, and 354; Leslau 1963:108, 1979:385, 407, and 1987:321, 348, 352; Zammit 2002:377. Egyptian *m* 'who?, what?'; Coptic *nim* [Ⲣⲏⲙ] (< *in m*) 'who?, what?'. Hannig 1995:313; Faulkner 1962:100; Gardiner 1957:567; Erman—Grapow 1921:59 and 1926—1963.2:4; Vycichl 1983:142; Černý 1976:108. Berber: Tamazight *m-ay* 'who?, what?'; Tuareg *mi* 'who?'; Kabyle *mi* 'when', *məlmi* 'when?' (*si məlmi* 'since when?'). Proto-East Cushitic **maʔ* 'what?' > Kambata *maʔa* 'what?'; Alaba *ma* 'what?'; Gedeo / Darasa *maa* (< **maʔa*) 'what?'; Sidamo *mai* 'what?'; Hadiyya *maha* (< **maħa* < **maʔ waħa* 'what thing?') 'what?'; Somali *maħaa* 'what?'; Rendille *maħ(a)* 'what?'; Bayso *me* (< **maħ*) 'what?'; Boni *mahaa* 'what?'; Afar *maħa* 'what?'; Burji *míya* (? < **maʔ+yaa*) 'what?'; Gedeo / Darasa *maacco* 'what?'. Sasse 1982:146; Hudson 1989:166. Proto-East Cushitic **meʔ-* (or **meeʔ-*) 'how many?' > Burji *míʔa* 'how many?'; Sidamo *meʔe* 'how many?'; Kambata *meʔo* 'how many?, how much?'; Dullay *meeʔe* 'how many?'; Gawwada *meeʔe* 'how many?'; Dobase *meeʔe* 'how many?'; Harso *meeʔe* 'how many?'; Tsamay *meeʔ* 'how many?'; Dasenech *míya* 'how many?'; Galla / Oromo *meeʔa* 'how many?'; Gidole *meeʔ-* 'how many?'; Konso *meeqaa* 'how many?'; Gedeo / Darasa *meʔe* 'how many?, how much?'; Hadiyya *meeʔo* 'how many?, how much?'. Sasse 1982:143; Hudson 1989:83. Burji *máama* 'how?'. Sasse 1982:138. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **mi-ha* 'why?' > Burji *míyaa-ga* 'why?'; Gedeo / Darasa *maya* 'why?'; Hadiyya *mahi-na* 'why?'; Kambata *mii(-ha), mahiiha* 'why?'; Sidamo *mae-ra* 'why?'. Hudson 1989:167. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ma* 'which?' > Iraqw *-ma-* in: *amaga* 'how many?', *ahema* 'who?', *asma* 'why?', *ama* 'when?'; Ma'a *-ma* in: *-hamá* 'which?', *-mo* in: *kimomo* 'how?', (verb enclitic) *-mo* 'how many?'; K'wadza *-ma-* in: *gaʔamayo* 'when?'. Ehret 1980:153. Proto-Southern Cushitic **me* 'how many?' > Ma'a *mé* 'how many?'; Dahalo *méék'a* 'how many?'. Ehret 1980:157. Proto-Southern Cushitic *mi* 'what kind of?' > Alagwa *mi* 'what?', *míya* 'who?'; Iraqw *-mi-* in: *amila* 'what?'; K'wadza *-mi* in: *homi*

- ‘what?’, *mi* ‘so that’; Ma’a *mina* ‘what kind of?’. Ehret 1980:158. Proto-Chadic **mi*, **mə* ‘what?’ > Ngizim *t-âm* ‘what?’; Dangla *maa* ‘what?’; Ron *mi* ‘what?’; Margi *mi* ‘what?’; Bachama *munə* ‘what?’; Nancere *me*, *mene* ‘what?’; Zime *mi* ‘what?’. Newman 1977:34. Perhaps also Ongota *mìyá* ‘how much?’. Fleming 2002b:50. Ehret 1995:301, no. 571, **ma*, **mi* ‘what?’; Diakonoff 1988:83, §4.4.2; Militarëv 2015b:132 and 133.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian interrogative pronoun (?) **mi-n-* ‘who?’: Georgian *vin-* ‘who?’; Mingrelian *mi-*, *min-* ‘who?’; Laz *min-* ‘who?’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:135 **wi-*; Fähnrich 2007:162—163 **wi-*; Klimov 1964:135 **mi-n-* and 1998:53 **win-* ‘who’. Proto-Kartvelian **ma-* ‘what’: Georgian [*ma-*] ‘what’; Mingrelian *mu-* ‘what’; Laz *mu-* ‘what’; Svan *ma(j)*, *mäj* ‘what’. Klimov 1964:124 **ma-* and 1998:112 **ma-* ‘what’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:226—227 **ma-*; Fähnrich 2007:276 **ma-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **me-/mo-* interrogative and relative pronoun stem: Cornish (conjunction) *ma*, *may* ‘that’; Breton (conjunction) *ma*, *may*, Middle Breton *maz* (from *ma+ez*) ‘that’; Tocharian B *mäksu* (a) interrogative pronoun: ‘which?, who?’, (b) interrogative adjective: ‘which?, what?’, (c) relative pronoun: ‘which, who’, B *mäkte* (a) interrogative pronoun: ‘how?’, (b) comparative: ‘as’, (c) causal: ‘because’, (d) temporal: ‘as, while’, (e) final: ‘so, in order that’, (f) manner: ‘how’, A *mänt*, *mät* ‘how?’; Hittite *maši(ya)-* ‘how much?, how many?’; as many as, as much as’, *ma-a-an*, *ma-an* (adverb and conjunction) ‘how, whether, like, (even) as, if’. J. Friedrich 1952:138; Puhvel 1984— .6:39—43 **me-/mo-* and 6:94—97; Kloekhorst 2008b:552 and 564; Adams 1999:451 and 451—452; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:285—286 and I:287—288; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:127 and 241—242; Mann 1984—1987:729 **mān* ‘but, so, indeed, yet’.
- D. Proto-Uralic **mi* ~ **mü* (?) interrogative-relative stem: Finnish *mikä* ~ *mi-* ‘which?, what kind?; which’; Lapp / Saami *mi* ~ *mâ-* ‘what, which, what kind; [that] which; which, who, what’; Mordvin *meze* ‘what’; Cheremis / Mari *ma*, *mo* ‘what, which, what kind’; Votyak / Udmurt *ma* ‘what, which, what kind’; Zyrian / Komi *myj* ‘what, which, what kind’; Vogul / Mansi *män* ‘which, what kind’; Ostyak / Xanty *mõgi* ‘which, what’, *mätä* ‘any, which, who’; Hungarian *mi* ‘what, which, what kind’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ma* ‘what’; etc. Collinder 1955:34—35, 1965:141 **mi* ~ **my* (?), and 1977:54; Rédei 1986—1988:296 **m3*; Décsy 1990:103 **mi* ‘what; thing’; Janhunen 1977b:91 **mę*.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **mV* interrogative stem: Proto-Mongolian **-mu*, **-mi* suffixed interrogative particle > Middle Mongolian *-mu*, *-mi* suffixed interrogative particle. Proto-Turkic **-mi* suffixed interrogative particle > Old Turkic *-mu* suffixed interrogative particle; Karakhanide Turkic *-mu* suffixed interrogative particle; Turkish *-mi/-mü/-mu/-mü* suffixed interrogative particle; Gagauz *-mi* suffixed interrogative particle; Azerbaijani *-mi* suffixed interrogative particle; Turkmenian *-mi* suffixed interrogative

particle; Uzbek *-mi* suffixed interrogative particle; Uighur *-mu* suffixed interrogative particle; Karaim *-mo* suffixed interrogative particle; Tatar *-mi* suffixed interrogative particle; Bashkir *-mī* suffixed interrogative particle; Kirghiz *-bī* suffixed interrogative particle; Kazakh *-mal-me* suffixed interrogative particle; Noghay *-mal-me* suffixed interrogative particle; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *-bal-be* suffixed interrogative particle; Tuva *-be* suffixed interrogative particle; Chuvash *-im* suffixed interrogative particle. Note also Chuvash *měn*, *měsker* ‘what?’, *miše* ‘how much (in number)?’, *měňšěn* ‘why?’, *měňle* ‘what kind of?’ (cf. Greenberg 2000:230; L. Clark 1998:440). Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:958 **mV* interrogative root.

- F. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mikæ* ‘who?’: Chukchi *mik(ə)-* ‘who?, someone’; Kerek *maki* ‘who?’; Koryak *meki* (Kamen *maki*) (< **mæki*, metathesized form of **mikæ*) ‘who?’; Alyutor *miyya* ‘who?’, *mikin* ‘whose’; (?) Kamchadal / Itelmen *k’e* (pl. *k’nəntx*) ‘who?’. Fortescue 2005:175; Greenberg 2000:231; Mudrak 1989b:102 **mki*, **mkin-* ‘who’. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **miŋ(kə)* ‘where?’: Chukchi *miŋkə* ‘where?’, *miŋkəri(lə)* ‘to where?’; Kerek *miŋkiil* ‘to where?’; Koryak *miŋkə* ‘where?’, *miŋkəje* ‘to where?’, *meŋqo* ‘from where?’; Alyutor *məʔannu* (Palana *miŋkə*, *meje*) ‘where?’, *maŋkət(əŋ)* ‘to where?’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *maʔ* ‘where?’, *manke* ‘to where?’, *manxʔal* ‘from where?’. Fortescue 2005:177; Mudrak 1989b:101 **ma-* ‘where’, 102 **miŋ* ‘which’. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **miŋkədi* ‘how?’: Chukchi *miŋkəri* ‘how?, what kind?’; Kerek *miŋkii* ‘how?’; Koryak *miŋkəje* ‘how?, what kind?’; Alyutor *maŋkət* ‘how?’; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Sedanka) *mank* ‘how?’. Fortescue 2005:177. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mæŋin* ‘what kind?’: Chukchi *meŋin* used as the suppletive absolutive case form of *mik(ə)-* ‘who?, someone’; Kerek *maŋin ippa* ‘which?’; Koryak *meŋin* ‘what kind of?’; Alyutor *maŋin* ‘what kind of?’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *min* ‘what kind?’. Fortescue 2005:173.
- G. Proto-Eskimo (enclitic) **-mi* ‘what about?’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *+mi* ‘I wonder, how about?’; Central Alaskan Yupik *+mi* ‘how about?, contrast’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *#mi* ‘...or other’ (with question words); Central Siberian Yupik *+mi* ‘how about?, contrast’; Sirenik *+mi* emphatic enclitic; Seward Peninsula Inuit *(+)mi* ‘why (not)?’; North Alaskan Inuit (Uummarmiut) *+mi* ‘what about?’; Greenlandic Inuit *+mi* ‘but, indeed, what about? (contrastive emphasis)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:411.

Sumerian interrogative stem **me-* in: *me-na-àm* ‘when?’, *me-a* ‘where?’, *me-šè* ‘where to?’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:66—68, no. 300, **mi* ‘what?’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:645—647, no. 524; Greenberg 2000:229—231, no. 62; Hakola 2000:106,

no. 452; Nafiqoff 2003:53—55 *mi; Assadian—Hakola 2003:85, no. 273; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1355, *mi ‘what?’; Fortescue 1998:155.

910. Proto-Nostratic first person singular *mi (~ *me) ‘I, me’, first person plural (inclusive) *ma (~ *mǝ) ‘we, us’:

Note: In Afrasian and Dravidian, first person singular *mi and first person plural (inclusive) *ma have been mostly lost. For an overview of the personal pronouns in Afrasian, cf. Diakonoff 1988:70—79 and Lipiński 1997:297—311 (emphasis on Semitic); for Elamo-Dravidian, cf. McAlpin 1981:112—117; for Dravidian, cf. Krishnamurti 2003:244—253, Steever 1998a:21—23, and Zvelebil 1977:40—52.

- A. Afrasian: This stem appears only in Chadic as an independent pronoun: Hausa (pl.) *maa* ‘we’, (indirect object pl.) *manà* ‘us, to us, for us’, (pl.) *muu* ‘we, us, our’, (past tense subj. pl.) *mun* ‘we’, (continuous tense subj. pl.) *munàa* ‘we’, (indirect object sg.) *mini* ‘me, to me, for me’; Kotoko *mi* ‘we, us’; Mandara *ma* ‘we, us’; Musgu (sg.) *mu* ‘I, me’, (pl.) *mi* ‘we, us’; Bole *mu* ‘we, us’. South Bauchi Chadic (Bu: / Zaranda) *mi* ‘we’ (indep. pron. 1 pl.) (cf. Caron 2008:105). It also serves as the basis of the first singular verbal suffix in part of Highland East Cushitic: cf. the perfect endings in Hadiyya: *-ummo*, Kambata: *-oommi*, and Sidamo: *-ummo*. In Burji and Gedeo / Darasa, on the other hand, the perfect suffixes are *-anni* and *-enne* respectively, which are based upon the first person stem *na.
- B. Proto-Dravidian first plural suffix *-m in: (a) first person plural exclusive *yā-m- (obl. *yā-m-) and (b) first person plural inclusive *ñā-m- (obl. *ñā-m(m)-): (a) Tamil *yām* ‘we’; Kota *a-m* ‘we’; Kannaḍa *ām* ‘we’; Telugu *ēmu* ‘we’; Kolami *a-m* ‘we’; Naikṛi *ām* ‘we’; Parji *ām* ‘we’; Gadba (Ollari) *ām* ‘we’; Maṇḍa *ām* ‘we’; Kuṛux *ēm* ‘we’; Malto *ém* ‘we’; etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:467—468, no. 5154); (b) Tamil *nām* ‘we’ (inclusive); Malayalam *nām* ‘we’ (inclusive); Kuṛux *nām* ‘we’ (inclusive); Malto *nám* ‘we’ (inclusive); etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:322, no. 3647). It also occurs as the first plural suffix in finite verbs: *- \check{V} m > Tamil *-mu*, *-mi* first plural exclusive suffix, *-amu* first plural inclusive suffix; Kui *-amu*, *-ami* first plural exclusive suffix; Kuwi *-amu*, *-omi* first plural exclusive suffix; Kuṛux *-m* first plural exclusive suffix; Malto *-im*, *-em*, *-om* first plural exclusive suffix; Parji *-am*, *-um*, *-om*, *-m* first plural exclusive suffix; Kolami *-um*, *-am*, *-m* first plural exclusive suffix, *-am* first plural inclusive suffix; etc. Krishnamurti 2003:246—248 and 308—312. Finally, it is found in the alternative forms of the first plural exclusive pronoun in: Telugu (nom. pl.) *mēmu* ‘we’, (obl. pl.) *mamm-*, *mā-* ‘us’; Gondi (dial.) (nom. pl.) *mamm-āṭ*, *mā-ṭ*, *mām-aṭ*, *mamm-oṭ*, *mamo-o*, *mar-at*, *mamm-a*, *mā-m* ‘we’, (obl. pl.) *mā-* ‘us’; Konda (nom. pl.) *māp* ‘we’, (obl. pl.) *mā-* ‘us’; Kui (nom. pl.) *māmu* ‘we’, (obl. pl.) *mā-* ‘us’;

Kuwi (nom. pl.) *māmu* ‘we’, (obl. pl.) *mā-* ‘us’; Pengo (obl. pl.) *maŋg-*, *mā-* ‘us’. Krishnamurti 2003:247.

- C. Proto-Kartvelian **me-*, **men-* first person personal pronoun stem: Georgian *me-*, *men-*, *mena-* ‘I’; Mingrelian *ma-* ‘I’; Zan *ma*, *man* ‘I’; Svan *mi-* ‘I’. It occurs in Georgian *m-* first person singular verb prefix (objective conjugation) and is also found in Svan as the first person personal formant (objective) *m-* (cf. Tuite 1997:23). Schmidt 1962:123 **me* ‘I’; Klimov 1964:132 **me(n)* and 1998:119 **men* ‘I’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:223—224 **m-* first person verb prefix, and 233—234 **me-* ‘I’; Fähnrich 2007:273 **m-* and 284 **me-*.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **me-* used to form the oblique cases of the first person personal pronoun stem: Sanskrit (acc. sg.) *mām*, *mā*, (gen. sg.) *māma*, *me*, (abl. sg.) *mát*, (dat. sg.) *máhya(m)*, (loc. sg.) *máyi*, (inst. sg.) *máyā*, (gen.-dat. sg.) *me*; Greek (acc. sg.) ἐμέ, με, (gen.-abl. sg.) μου, ἐμοῦ, (gen. sg.) ἐμεῖο (μευ), (dat.-loc. sg.) ἐμοί, ἐμύ, (gen.-dat. sg.) μοι; Old Latin (acc.-abl. sg.) *mēd*, (gen. sg.) *meī*, *mīs*, (dat. sg.) *mihī*; Old Irish *mé*, *messe* ‘I’, (acc. sg.) *mé*, *messe*, *-m* ‘me’, (gen. sg.) *mo*, *mu*; Gothic (acc. sg.) *mik*, (gen. sg.) *meina*, (dat. sg.) *mis*, (possessive) *meins*; Lithuanian (acc. sg.) *manė*, (gen. sg.) *manės*, *māno*, (dat. sg.) *mānei*, *mi*, (loc. sg.) *manyjė*, (instr. sg.) *manimi*, (nom. pl.) *mės*, (acc. pl.) *mūs*, (gen. pl.) *mūsū*, (dat. pl.) *mùms*; Old Church Slavic (acc. sg.) *mę*, *mene*, (dat.-loc. sg.) *мнѣ*, (dat. sg.) *mi*, (nom. pl.) *my* ‘we’; Hittite *-mi*, *-mu*; *am-mu-uk*, *mi-iš*. Pokorny 1959:702 **me-* ‘me’; Walde 1927—1932.II:236 **me-*; Mann 1984—1987:240 **eme*, **mē*, **mene*, **mnē* ‘me’, 240 **emejos* (**emojos*, **emos*) ‘my; mine’, 738—739 **mē* (**me*, **men*, **mene*, **mone*, **mnē*) ‘me’, 747 **mejos* (**majos*) ‘my’, 786 **moi* (enclitic) ‘to me’; Watkins 1985:39 **me-* and 2000:51 **me-* oblique form of the personal pronoun of the first person singular; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:254—255 **me*, **[m]eme*, **m-mé* and 1995.I:222 **me*, **[m]eme*, **m-mé*; Brugmann 1904:407—413; Meillet 1964:332—336; Szemerényi 1996:211—220; Fortson 2004:127—129; Beekes 1995:207—209 and 2010.I:416; Meier-Brügger 2003:225—227; Watkins 1998:67; Haudry 1979:61—63; Adrados 1975.II:784—813; Adrados—Bernabé—Mendoza 1995—1998.III:27—68; Schmitt-Brandt 1998:228—231; Buck 1933:216—221; Sihler 1995:369—382; Burrow 1973:263—269; Liebert 1957; Orël 2003:83 Proto-Germanic **meke*, **mez*, **mīna*. Proto-Indo-European (a) **-mi* first person singular non-thematic primary ending, (b) **-m* first person singular non-thematic secondary ending: Sanskrit (1st sg. primary) *-mi*, (1st sg. secondary) *-m*, (1st pl. primary active) *-mas*, (1st pl. primary middle, 1st pl. secondary perfect) *-mahe*, (1st pl. secondary active, 1st pl. secondary perfect) *-ma*, (1st pl. secondary middle) *-mahi*; Hittite (1st sg. primary *mi*-conjugation) *-mi*, (1st sg. secondary) *-n* (< **-m*), (1st pl. active *mi*-conjugation, if the stem ends in *-u-*) *-meni*, *-mani*, (1st pl. preterite *mi*-conjugation, if the stem ends in *-u-*) *-men*; Greek (Homeric) (1st sg. active indicative athematic

primary) -μ, (1st sg. secondary) -v (< *-m), (1st pl. active indicative) -μεν, (1st sg. middle indicative) -μαι, (1st dual middle indicative) -μεθον, (1st pl. middle indicative) -μεθα (-μεσθα); Latin (1st sg. primary and secondary) -m, (1st pl.) -mus; Gothic (1st pl. present indicative) -m, (1st pl. optative) -ma; the 1st sg. primary ending *-mi is preserved in *im* ‘I am’; Old Church Slavonic (1st sg. athematic) -mь, (1st pl.) -mь. Brugmann 1904:407—413 and 588—596; Meillet 1964:227—235 and 332—335; Beekes 1995:207—209 and 232—237; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:254—260; Szemerényi 1996:211—218, 233—242, and 327—331; Meier-Brügger 2003:178—179; Fortson 2004:84—86; Watkins 1998:60; Clackson 2007:123—125. Note: According to Greenberg (2000:77—78), in Proto-Indo-European, this *-m was added to the nominative singular of the first person independent pronoun: **ʔe-gʰō+m*, **ʔe-k’ō+m* ‘I’: Sanskrit *ahám* ‘I’; Avestan *azəm* ‘I’; Greek *ἐγώ(v)* ‘I’; etc.

- E. Proto-Uralic **mi-nä* first person independent personal pronoun stem ‘I’ — (a) first person singular: Finnish *minä/mino-* ‘I’; Lapp / Saami *mon/mú-* ‘I’; Mordvin *mon* ‘I’; Cheremis / Mari *mñí, mōj(ō)* ‘I’; Votyak / Udmurt *mon* ‘I’; Zyrian / Komi *me* (acc. *menō*) ‘I’; Ostyak / Xanty *mä, mən-* ‘I’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *mañ* ‘I’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *mannan* ‘I’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *mod’i* ‘I’; Selkup Samoyed *man, mat* ‘I’; Kamassian *man* ‘I’; (b) first person plural: Finnish *me* ‘we’; Lapp / Saami *mí* ‘we’; Mordvin *min* ‘we’; Cheremis / Mari *mä, me* ‘we’; Votyak / Udmurt *mi* ‘we’; Zyrian / Komi *mi* ‘we’; Vogul / Mansi *man* ‘we’; Ostyak / Xanty *mōj* ‘we’; Hungarian *mi* ‘we’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *maña?* ‘we’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *meen* ‘we’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *mod’i?* ‘we’; Selkup Samoyed *mee, mii* ‘we’; Kamassian *mi?* ‘we’. Proto-Uralic first person personal/possessive suffix *-*m(V)*: Finnish *pala-m* ‘I burn’; Lapp / Saami *buola-m* ‘I burn’; Mordvin *vana-n* ‘I see’; Cheremis / Mari *wide-m* ‘I lead’; Vogul / Mansi *totegu-m* ‘I bring’; Ostyak / Xanty *tetə-m* ‘I eat’; Hungarian *esze-m* ‘I eat’; Kamassian *nereel’ε-m* ‘I become afraid’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *mata?a-m* ‘I cut’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *mada-m* ‘I cut’. Collinder 1960:308—310, 1965:134—135, 141 Common Uralic **minä* ~ **myna* ‘I’, and 1977:53, 54; Abondolo 1998a:24—25; Rédei 1986—1988:294 **mš* ‘I’ and 294—295 **mš* ‘we’; Décsy 1990:103 **me* ‘I’ and **me* ‘we’; Janhunen 1977b:86 **mān*; Zhivlov 2023:154—158. The first person independent pronouns in Yukaghir are: (Southern / Kolyma) (sg.) *mət* ‘I’, (pl.) *mit* ‘we’, (Northern / Tundra) (sg.) *met* ‘I’, (pl.) *mit* ‘we’. Nikolaeva 2006:267 and 269—270. In Yukaghir, a suffix -*m* is found as a first person singular subject of the verb in its interrogative form. Nikolaeva 2006:81.
- F. Proto-Altaiic **bī* first person singular independent pronoun (if from **mī*) ‘I’: Proto-Tungus **bi* ‘I’ > Manchu *bi* ‘I’; Evenki *bi* ‘I’; Lamut / Even *bi* ‘I’; Negidal *bi* ‘I’; Ulch *bi* ‘I’; Orok *bi* ‘I’; Nanay / Gold *mī* (dial. *bi*) ‘I’; Oroch *bi* ‘I’; Udihe *bi* ‘I’; Solon *bi* ‘I’. Proto-Mongolian **bi* ‘I’ > Written

Mongolian *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *minu*); Dagur *bī* ‘I’ (gen. *minī*); Monguor *bu* ‘I’ (gen. *munī*); Ordos *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *mini*); Khalkha *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *miniy*); Buriat *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *menī*); Kalmyk *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *minē*); Moghol *bi* ‘I’ (gen. *mini*). Poppe 1955:209—219. Proto-Turkic **be-* ‘I’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Yenisei, Old Uighur) *ben* ~ *men* ‘I’; Karakhanide Turkic *men* ‘I’; Turkish *ben* ‘I’; Gagauz *ben* ‘I’; Azerbaijani *mān* ‘I’; Turkmenian *men* ‘I’; Tatar *min* ‘I’; Bashkir *min* ‘I’; Karaim *men* ‘I’; Kazakh *min* ‘I’; Kirghiz *men* ‘I’; Noghay *men* ‘I’; Uzbek *men* ‘I’; Uighur *mān* ‘I’; Yakut *min* ‘I’; Chuvash *e-bə* ‘I’; Dolgan *min* ‘I’. Menges 1968b:119—120; Poppe 1960:116; Street 1974:9 **bi* ‘I’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:341—342 **bī* ‘I’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:342) note: “An alternation **bi* / **mi-ne-* (sing.); **ba* / **mju-n-* (plur.) should be reconstructed”. In Turkic, **-m* occurs as the first person singular personal marker of the subject in the verb and as possessive in the noun (cf. Dolgopolsky 1984:77). Similar suffixes are found in the Tungus languages — first person possessive suffixes: (sg.) **-m*, (pl.) **-m* plus plural marker (exclusive), with variation between *m-*, *b-*, and *w-* in the individual daughter languages (cf. Sinor 1988:726).

- G. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **mur(i)* ‘we’: Chukchi *mu-ri* ‘we’, *mury-in* ‘our’; Kerek (pl.) *məjəkkū* ‘we’, (dual) *məj* ‘we two’; Koryak (dual) *muji* ‘we two’, (pl.) *muju* ‘we’, *mucy-in* ‘our’; Alyutor (pl.) *muruwwi* ‘we’, (dual) *muriy-* ‘we two’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *muzaʹn* ‘we’, *mizvin* ‘our’. Fortescue 2005:179; Mudrak 1989b:102 **mur*, **murx-* ‘we’. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan suffix **-m* in the first person singular independent personal pronoun **kə-m* ‘I’: Chukchi *yəm* ‘I’ (in predication: *-iyəm* ~ *-eyəm*); Kerek *umju* ‘I’; Koryak *yəmmo* ‘I’; Alyutor *yəmmə* (Palana *yəmmə*) ‘I’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *kəm(m)a* ‘I’; *kəm(m)an* ‘my’. Fortescue 2005:146—147; Mudrak 1989b:109 **xəm*, **xəmn-* ‘I’.
- H. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **mirn* or **mern* ‘we’ (inclusive): Amur first person plural *mer* ‘we’ (inclusive) (West Sakhalin Amur *meř* ‘we’ [inclusive]); North Sakhalin *mir* ‘we’ (inclusive); East Sakhalin *mi(ř)n* ‘we’ (inclusive); South Sakhalin *miřn* ‘we’ (inclusive). Gruzdeva 1998:25—26; Fortescue 2016:105. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **mengin* (dual) ‘we two’: Amur *megi* (dual) ‘we two’ (West Sakhalin Amur *mergu*, *megi* [dual] ‘we two’); North Sakhalin *memak* (dual) ‘we two’; East Sakhalin *mej* (dual) ‘we two’; South Sakhalin *mej* (dual) ‘we two’. Gruzdeva 1998:25—26; Fortescue 2016:103. Note: Fortescue considers **mengin* ‘we two’ to be a derivative of **men* / **menj* ‘of two people’ and comitative **-kin*.
- I. Eskimo-Aleut: Eskimo: perhaps preserved in Sirenik *məŋa* ‘I’. In Aleut, **-m(V)* is found in the affixed first person plural forms: (Central) *-mas*, (Eastern and Western) *-man*.
- J. Etruscan *mi* ‘I’, *mini* ‘me’.

Sumerian (Emesal) *ma(-e)*, *me-a*, *me-e* ‘I’. According to earlier theories, the first plural pronominal suffix was *-me-*, but Thomsen (1987:148) points out that *-me-* is used as a dative element only, in the meaning ‘for us’. She considers *-me-* to be a case element rather than a pronominal element. However, both its form and meaning indicate that *-me-* should be included here. The first plural possessive suffix is *-me* ‘our’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:52—56, no. 289, **mā* 1st person pl. inclusive personal pronoun: ‘we, us’, II:63—66, no. 299, **mi* 1st person sg. personal pronoun: ‘I, me’; Dolgopolsky 1984:85 **mi* ‘I, me, my’ and 2008, no. 1354, **mi* ‘I’, no. 1354a, (pl.) **mi ʔa* ‘we’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:661—663, no. 540; Nafiqoff 2003:40—41, 46 **mā* (1st pl. inclusive), **mi* (1st sg.), and 58—62; Greenberg 2000:61—67, §1; Hakola 2000:104, no. 445, and 105, no. 450; Assadian—Hakola 2003:85, no. 274; Fortescue 1998:96—123.

911. Proto-Nostratic root **miʔ-* (~ **meʔ-*):

(vb.) **miʔ-* ‘to cut’;

(n.) **miʔ-a* ‘cutting instrument: knife’ (later also ‘sickle, scythe’)

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mʔ* phonetic interpretation of the hieroglyph that represents a sickle, *mʔ* ‘sickle-shaped end of a sacred boat’ (nautical term), (obsolete) *mʔz* ‘knife’. Hannig 1995:313 and 321; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:6 and 2:31; Gardiner 1957:567. Central Chadic: Bachama *má* ‘to cut’; Logone *miiyo* ‘knife’. Jungrathmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:97.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **meʔ-* (> **mē-*) ‘to mow, to reap’: Greek ἀμάω ‘to reap’, ἄμητος ‘harvest’; Old English *māwan* ‘to mow’, *māþ* ‘the act of mowing; hay-harvest’; Old Frisian *mēa* ‘to mow’; Middle Low German *mei(g)en* ‘to mow’; Dutch *maaien* ‘to mow’; Old High German *māen* ‘to mow, to cut, to reap’ (New High German *māhen*). Pokorny 1959:703 **mē-* ‘to mow’; Walde 1927—1932.II:259 **mē-*; Mann 1984—1987:747 **mējō* (**məjō*) ‘to mow’; Watkins 1985:39 **mē-* (contracted from **meʔ-*) and 2000:52 **mē-* ‘to cut down grass or grain with a sickle or scythe’ (oldest form **₂meʔ₁-*, contracted to **₂mē-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:691 **meH(i)-* and 1995.I:597 **meH(i)-* ‘(vb.) to ripen, to harvest; (n.) time of ripening harvest’; Mallory—Adams 1997:258 **h₂meh₁-* ‘to mow’; Beekes 1969:43 **h₂meh₁-*/**h₂emh₁-* and 2010.I:84 **h₂meh₁-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:72; Frisk 1970—1973.I:88; Orël 2003:269 Proto-Germanic **mēanan*; Kroonen 2013:360 Proto-Germanic **mēan-* ‘to mow’; Onions 1966:594; Klein 1971:479 **mē-*, **mə-* ‘to mow’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:453—454; Kluge—Seebold 1989:455. Note: According to Puhvel (1984— .3:69—75), Hittite (gen. sg.) *ha-me-eš-ha-aš* ‘spring(-summer)’ does not belong here. He cautiously supports Goetze’s suggestion that it may originally have been a compound: **hant-wešha-* ‘front-spring’, which was shortened to the attested form as follows: **han-wešha-* > **hamwešha-*

> *ham(m)ešha-*. Puhvel notes that a similar construction is found in Italian *primavera* ‘spring’. Though Kloekhorst (2008b:279—281) supports Sturtevant’s proposal that Hittite *ham(m)ešha-* ‘spring’ is related to the forms listed above, the fact remains that spring is not the season during which crops are harvested, the use of the Sumerogram $\dot{U}.BAR_8$ ‘harvest’ notwithstanding. Rather, spring is the season during which crops are planted. Thus, it seems prudent to exclude Hittite *ham(m)ešha-* here.

- C. Altaic: Proto-Tungus **mū-* (< **mūy-*) ‘to cut’ > Evenki *mī-* ‘to cut’; Lamut / Even *mī-ne-* ‘to cut’; Negidal *mī-* ‘to cut’; Manchu *mei-le-* ‘to carve up, to dissect (a carcass), to cut off, to cut out’, *mei-te-* ‘to cut off, to cut in two, to excise’; Ulch *ŋui-* ‘to cut’; Orok *mī-* ‘to cut’; Nanay / Gold *mui-* ‘to cut’; Oroch *mi-* ‘to cut’; Udihe *mi-ne-* ‘to chop (with an axe)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:949 **mūjV* ‘to cut, to tear’.

Buck 1949:8.32 *mow*, *reap*. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:636—637, no. 516; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1358, **mUʔæ* (probably **muʔe*) ‘to cut, to reap’ (→ ‘to mow’).

912. Proto-Nostratic root **mig-* (~ **meg-*):

- (vb.) **mig-* ‘to give’;
(n.) **mig-a* ‘gift’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **mag-an-* ‘to deliver, to offer’ > Akkadian *magannu* ‘gift, present’; Amorite *mgn* ‘to present, to donate’; Hebrew (piel.) *miggēn* [ʔʔʔ] ‘to deliver up, to deliver, to give’; Post-Biblical Hebrew *maggān* [ʔʔʔ] ‘gift, present’; Phoenician *mgn* ‘to deliver, to offer’; Ugaritic *mgn* ‘to beseech (with gifts)’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *maggān* ‘(undeserved) gift, grace’; Arabic *maġġān* ‘free, free of charge, gratuitous’ (Aramaic loan). Murtonen 1989:253; Klein 1987:316. The Semitic forms are usually taken to be loans from Sanskrit (cf. Murtonen 1989:253). However, O’Connor (1989:25—32) has persuasively argued against Sanskrit origin.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **megh-* ‘to give’: Sanskrit *mámhate* (< **me-mg^h-*) ‘to give, to grant, to bestow’, *maghá-h* ‘gift, reward, bounty, wealth, power’; Avestan *maga-* ‘gift, grace’. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:537—538 and II:545—546.
- C. Proto-Uralic **mixe-* ‘to give, to sell’: Finnish *myy-*, *myö-* ‘to sell’, *myymi* ‘gifts of a bride to her parents-in-law’; Livonian *müüm* ‘gifts of a bride to the retinue of the bridegroom’; Lapp / Saami (Kola) *müikka-* ‘to sell’; Mordvin *mije-* ‘to sell’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *med-* ‘wages, pay, reward for work, payment’; Vogul / Mansi *maj-*, *mäj-*, *myyg-* ‘to give’; Ostyak / Xanty *mə-*, *məj-* ‘to give’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *mi-lmis-* ‘to give’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *mijj-* ‘to give’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *mis-* ‘to give’; Selkup Samoyed *mi-* ‘to deliver, to render, to return’; Kamassian

mi- ‘to give, to deliver’. Collinder 1955:37 and 1977:56; Rédei 1986—1988:275 **miye-*; Décsy 1990:103 **mingä* ‘to give, to sell’; Sammallahti 1988:538 **mexi-* ‘to give, to sell’; Janhunen 1977b:94 **mi-*.

Buck 1949:11.21 give; 11.82 sell. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:636, no. 515; Hakola 2000:111—112, no. 477; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1376, **migV* ‘to make a present’.

913. Proto-Nostratic root **miḥ-* (~ **meḥ-*):

(vb.) **miḥ-* ‘to measure, to mark off’;

(n.) **miḥ-a* ‘measure, measurement’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mḥ* a linear measure: ‘cubit, forearm’; Coptic *mahe* [𓄀𓄁𓄂] ‘ell, cubit’. Erman—Grapow 1921:68 and 1926—1963.2:120; Hannig 1995:353; Gardiner 1957:569; Faulkner 1962:113; Černý 1976:99; Vycichl 1983:129.

B. Proto-Indo-European **miḥh-* [**meḥh-*] (> **mē-*) ‘to measure, to mark off’: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *me-e-ḥu-ur*, *me-e-ḥur*, *me-ḥur* ‘time’; Sanskrit *māti-ḥ* ‘measure, accurate knowledge’, *māti*, *mīmāti* ‘to measure, to mete out, to mark off’; Latin *mētiōr* ‘to measure’; Gothic *mēl* ‘time’; Old Icelandic *mál* ‘measure; time, high time; meal’; Old English *mæþ* ‘measure, degree, proportion’, *mæ̅l* ‘measure; (appointed) time, occasion; time for eating, meal’; Old Frisian *mēl* ‘time, mealtime’; Dutch *maal* ‘(n.) meal; (m.) time’; Old High German *māl* ‘time’ (New High German *Mal* ‘time, occasion’, *Mahl* ‘meal’). Rix 1998a:381—382 **meh₁-* ‘to measure’; Pokorny 1959:703—704 **mē-* ‘to measure, to mark off’; Walde 1927—1932.II:237—238 **mē-*; Mann 1984—1987:748 **mēl-* ‘time, period, measure’, 762—763 **mētis* ‘measure, judgment’; Watkins 1985:39 **mē-* and 2000:51 **mē-* ‘to measure’ (contracted from earlier **me₂-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:172 **meḥ-* and 1995.I:137, I:148 **meḥ-* ‘to measure’; Mallory—Adams 1997:374 **meh₁tis* ‘measure’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:638; Ernout—Meillet 1979:401 **mēti-*; **mē-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:81—82 **mē-* ‘to measure’; **mē-tis* ‘measure’; De Vaan 2008:377; Orël 2003:269 Proto-Germanic **mēlan* I; Kroonen 2013:362 Proto-Germanic **mēla-* ‘point in time’. 362 **mēla-* ‘measure, amount’, and 367 **mēpi-* ‘measure’; Feist 1939:353 **mē-*; Lehmann 1986:250 **mē-* ‘to measure’; De Vries 1977:376 **mē-*; Onions 1966:565 Common Germanic **mēlaz*, *-am*, from Proto-Indo-European **mē-*; Klein 1971:452 **mē-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:454 **mē-* and 456; Kluge—Seebold 1989:455 **mē-* and 457; Puhvel 1984— .6:108—112 **meE₂-* > **mē-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:567—568.

C. (?) Proto-Altaic (**miḥ-lʷa-* >) **mialʷa-* ‘(vb.) to measure; (n.) a measure’: Proto-Tungus **miali-* ‘(vb.) to measure; (n.) a measure’ > Manchu *miyali-* (Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:922 write *mali-*) ‘to measure’, *miyalin*

(Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:922 write *malin*) ‘a measure’, *miyalikū* ‘measurer, measure; powder measure (for guns)’; Jurchen *mia-lian-ha* ‘a measure (of weight)’; Nanay / Gold *mialaḡo* ‘a measure (for powder)’. Proto-Mongolian **malu* ‘vessel, basket (for grain)’ > Written Mongolian *malu* ‘large bottle, vase, jar; earthen jar with a narrow opening used for oil’; Kalmyk *mal* ‘vessel, basket (for grain)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:922 **mjalā* ‘(vb.) to measure; (n.) a measure’.

Buck 1949:12.54 measure (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:550, no. 408.

914. Proto-Nostratic root **mik*’- (~ **mek*’-):

(vb.) **mik*’- ‘to exceed, to surpass, to be in excess, to grow, to increase, to swell, to expand’;

(n.) **mik*’-*a* ‘growth, excess, increase, abundance, fullness’; (adj.) ‘large, big, great, much’

Note also:

(vb.) **mak*’- ‘to be great, strong, mighty, powerful’;

(n.) **mak*’-*a* ‘strength, power’; (adj.) ‘great, strong, powerful; much, many’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *miku* (*mikuv*-, *mikk*-) ‘to exceed, to surpass, to be in excess, to grow, to increase, to swell, to crowd, to be great, to be excellent, to be superior, to remain, to be left over, to be superfluous, to be arrogant, to be self-conceited’, *miku* (-*pp*-, -*tt*-) ‘to augment, to make large, to excel, to surpass, to increase, to regard with pride’, *miku* ‘great’, *mikuttu* (*mikutti*-) ‘to save, to spare, to leave over’, *mikkatu* ‘that which is abundant or excessive; that which is excellent, superior; that which remains over (as food after a meal); that which oversteps the limits; excess, transgression’, *mikkavar*, *mikkār* ‘great persons, superior persons, majority of persons, most people’, *mikkōṇ* ‘great person’, *mika*, *mikku* ‘very much, abundantly’, *mikka* ‘great, much, superior, excellent’, *mikutam* ‘abundance, profusion, redundancy’, *mikuti* ‘much, abundance, fullness, satiety, crowd, excess, surplus, increase, remainder, excellence, arrogance’, *mikavu* ‘abundance’, *mikal* ‘being plentiful or abundant, greatness, victory’, *mikunta* ‘much, great, excessive, remaining’, *mikai* ‘(vb.) to increase, to swell, to be proud; (n.) abundance, excess, excellent thing, excellence, greatness, that which is unnecessary, that which is superfluous, that which remains or is left over, that which is extra, arrogance, evil deed, fault, defect, error’; Malayalam *mikuka* (*mikk*-) ‘to surpass, to abound, to be foremost’, *mikekka* ‘to exceed, to increase, to thrive, to prosper’, *mikka* ‘the greater part, the chief part’, *mikavu* ‘eminence, plenty, much’, *mikakka*, *mikukka* ‘to increase, to be foremost’; Kota *mik*- (*miky*-) ‘to be left over, to be saved from death’; Toda *mik*- (*miky*-) ‘to be left over, to remain’; Kannada *mikku* ‘(vb.) to grow abundant, to increase, to exceed, to remain over; (n.) excess, state of being more or above or other, remainder, rest’, *migu* (*mikk*-) ‘to grow great, to

grow abundant or excessive, to exceed, to grow more or larger, to superabound, to be left as a remnant, to remain, to go beyond, to surpass', *migate* 'surplus, remnant, rest', *migil(u)*, *migalu* 'greatness, muchness, abundance, excellence, superiority, superabundance, excess, remainder, rest', *mige* '(n.) superabundance, excess; (adv.) so as to abound, abundantly, excessively, much'; Tuḷu *migguni*, *mikkuni* 'to surpass, to exceed, to transgress, to remain, to be left', *mikka* 'left, remaining, other', *migtè*, *migitè* 'surplus, balance, remnant, profits', *migi*, *migiḷu*, *migu*, *miggi* 'surpassing, excelling', *migiluni* 'to excel, to surpass'; Telugu *migulu* 'to remain, to be over and above, to be left as a remainder or residue, to be saved or laid by, to be left unspent, to survive, to pass, to elapse, to be too late', *mikkilu* 'to increase, to exceed', *migul(u)cu*, *migulu* 'remainder, rest, balance, remnants, leavings, residue, surplus, relic', *migilina* 'remaining, rest', *migula(n)* 'greatly, much, exceedingly', *mikkilivāḍu* 'one who is superior or better, a superior', *mikkili* 'great; greatly, very much, vastly, too much, extremely, more than proper', *mikkaṭamu*, *mikkaṭamu* 'much, excessive, extreme, great, strong, severe'; Naikṛi *migil-* 'to be left over' (Telugu loan). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:430—431, no. 4838.

- B. Proto-Indo-European *mek'- 'big, great, much': Greek μέγας, μεγάλη, μέγα '(adj.) big, great; (adv.) very, much, exceedingly'; Armenian *mec* 'big, great'; Gothic *mikils* 'great'; Old Icelandic *mikill* 'great, tall', *mjök* 'much, greatly; very'; Old English *micel*, *mycel* 'big, much' (Modern English dial. *mickle*, *muckle*); Old Saxon *mikil* 'great, large'; Old High German *Michil*, *mihhil* 'great, large'; Tocharian A *māk*, B *māka* 'much, many; (adv.) very much'; Hittite (nom. sg.) *me-ek-ki-iš* (< *mek'-Hi-) '(adj.) much, many, numerous; (adv.) very', (3rd sg. pres.) *ma-ak-ki-e-eš-zi* (< *mak'-Hi-) 'to become great'. Pokorny 1959:708—709 *meġ(h)- 'big'; Walde 1927—1932.II:257—259 *meġ(h)-; Mann 1984—1987:744 *meġ- (*mæġ-) 'great, big'; Watkins 1985:39—40 *meg- and 2000:52 *meg- 'great'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:782 *mek'H- and 1995.I:684 *mek'H- 'large'; Mallory—Adams 1997:344 *meġh_a- 'large, great'; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:674—675 *meġ₂; Frisk 1970—1973.II:189—190 *méġə; Hofmann 1966:193 *meġ(h)ə; Boisacq 1950:617—618 Greek μέγα < *meġə; Beekes 2010.II:917—918 *meġ-h₂-; Kroonen 2013:361—362 Proto-Germanic *mekila- 'large, great; much'; Orël 2003:265 Proto-Germanic *mekilaz, 265 *mekilīn, 265 *mekiljanan, 265 *mekilōjanan, 265—266 *mekuz; Feist 1939:358—359 *meg- (*meġh- in Indo-Iranian); Lehmann 1986:254—255 *meġ-ə-; De Vries 1977:386—387; Onions 1966:574 and 594 *meg-; Klein 1971:463 *meġ(h)-, *mæġ- and 479; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:283 *meġ(h)-; Adams 1999:446—447; Puhvel 1984— .6:119—124 *meġ-A-; Melchert 1994a:76—77; Kloekhorst 2008b:543—544 and 572—573 *meġh₂-, *meġh₂-(e)i-; Bomhard 2000:45 Hittite *me-ek-ki-iš* < *mek'- (traditional *meġ-) + *-ḡi-; Kimball 1999:282

Hittite *me-ek-ki-iš* < **meġh₂i-* and 407; Sturtevant 1951:33, §60, Indo-Hittite **m₆g-*; Wodtko—Irlinger—Schneider 2008:468—478 **meġ-*. Note: According to Adams (1999:446—447), two separate stems must be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European: **meġh_a-* and **maġ-*.

- C. [Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **mək-* ‘many’ > Chukchi *nə-mkə-qin* ‘many’, *mək-et-* ‘to increase (intr.)’, *rə-mk-ew-* ‘to increase (tr.)’; Kerek *nə-mkə-Xi* ‘many’, *məkə-ŋ* ‘more’, *mək-at-* ‘to increase’; Koryak *nə-mkə-qin* ‘many’, *mək-at-* ‘to increase (intr.)’, *jəmk-av-* ‘to increase (tr.)’; Alyutor *nə-mkə-qin* ‘many’, *mək-at-* ‘to increase (intr.)’. Fortescue 2005:181.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **mak-* (~ **mək-*) ‘great, strong, mighty, powerful’.

Buck 1949:12.55 large, big (great). Bomhard—Kerns 1984:667—668, no. 546; Caldwell 1913:602.

915. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **min-a* ‘(a kind of) fish’:

- A. Afrasian: Berber: North Berber: Sus *amun* ‘a kind of fish’. South Berber: Iulemidden *emān* ‘a kind of fish’; Adghaq *emən* ‘a kind of fish’; Taneslemt *əmən* ‘fish’.

Comment: The Afrasian data cited above is taken from Blažek 2013:40, no. 2. I have only included the Berber forms cited by Blažek — in my opinion, the Semitic evidence he cites is too semantically divergent to be included. According to Blažek, Karl-G. Prasse reconstructed Proto-Tuareg **ɪ-manāhan* in an article published in 1974.

- B. Proto-Dravidian **minH-* > **mīn-* ‘fish’: Tamil *mīn* ‘fish’; Malayalam *mīn* ‘fish’; Kota *mi-n* ‘fish’; Toda *mi-n* ‘fish’; Kannada *mīn* ‘fish’; Kodagu *mi-ni* ‘fish’; Tuḷu *mīnu* ‘fish’; Telugu *mīnu* ‘fish’; Parji *mīni* ‘fish’; Gadba (Ollari) *mīn* ‘fish’; Gondi *mīn* ‘fish’; Konḍa *mīn* ‘fish’; Pengo *min* ‘fish’; Maṇḍa *min* ‘fish’; Kui *mīnu* ‘fish’; Kuwi *mīnu* ‘fish’; Malto *minu* ‘fish’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:436, no. 4885; Krishnamurti 2003:13 **mīn* ‘fish’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **m₁ḡH-i-* ‘(a kind of) fish’: Greek *μαίνη* ‘a small sea-fish, which was salted’, *μανίς* ‘a sprat’; Old English *myne*, **mynwe* ‘minnow’; Old High German *muniwa* ‘minnow’ (New High German *Münne*); Lithuanian *mėnkė* (< **menH-*) ‘cod’; Russian *men’* [мень] (< **мѣнь*) ‘burbot, eelpout’. Pokorny 1959:731 **m_eni-* ‘name of fish’; Walde 1927—1932.II:267—268 **m_eni-*; Mann 1984—1987:779 **m₁ḡis*, **m₁ḡi₂ə*; Watkins 1985:41 **men-i-* (under **men-*) and 2000:54 **men-i-* ‘a small fish’ (under **men-* ‘small, isolated’); Mallory—Adams 1997:205 **m₁ḡh_x-* ‘minnow; small fish’; Boisacq 1950:600; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:658; Frisk 1970—1973.II:160; Hofmann 1966:187 Greek *μαίνη* < **m_eni₂ā*; Beekes 2010.II:892 (no etymology); Kroonen 2013:376 Proto-Germanic **muniwōn-* ‘minnow’; Hoard 1986:294; Onions 1966:578; Klein 1971:467;

Skeat 1898:369; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:494 Proto-Germanic *muniwa; Kluge—Seebold 1989:492—493 Pre-German *muniwō; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:436; Smoczyński 2007.1:388.

- D. (?) Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *mən̄əriaq ‘a kind of trout’ > Western Canadian Inuit (Copper, Netsilik) *miñjiriaq* (for *minjiriaq* ?) ‘a kind of trout’, (Baker Lake) *miñjiriaq* ‘fish that goes for bait (?)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Iglulik) *miñjiriaq* ‘jumping one (trout)’, (Labrador) *miñjiriaq* ‘a small fish’; Greenlandic Inuit (East Greenlandic) *miñjiriaq* ‘capelin’ (shaman’s word). Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:200.

Dolgopolsky 1998:62, no. 75, *mEn/ni ‘(a kind of) fish’ and 2008, no. 1432, *mVni ‘fish’; Bomhard 1999a:61 *min-H- ‘(a kind of) fish’; Blažek 2002:184, no. 69.

916. Proto-Nostratic root *mir- (~ *mer-):

- (vb.) *mir- ‘to stab, to pierce, to wound, to cause pain’;
(n.) *mir-a ‘wound, pain’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *mirai* ‘(vb.) to oppress, to harass; to suffer, to be afflicted; (n.) fear, trouble, torment’; Malayalam *mirā* ‘excitement, fear’; Telugu *merumu* ‘to pierce, to stab’, *meramu* ‘to cause pain or mortification, to rankle; to pierce, to stab’, *meramera* ‘rankling, fear, misery’, *merameram-anu*, *merameral-āḍu* ‘to rankle’; (?) Malto *merḡtre* ‘to act furiously’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:435, no. 4875.
- B. Proto-Altaic *m̄iore- ‘to hurt, to damage, to wound’: Proto-Tungus *murdul- ‘to slaughter (a deer); to peel (bark)’ > Evenki *murdul-* ‘to slaughter (a deer)’, *murdune-* ‘to peel (bark)’. Proto-Mongolian *mer- ‘a wound; (expression for) a painful sensation’ > Middle Mongolian *mer* ‘wound’; Written Mongolian *mer* ‘wound’, *mere-* ‘to gnaw, to chew’; Khalkha *mer* ‘(expression for) a painful sensation’, *mere-* ‘to gnaw at something’; Buriat *mere-* ‘to gnaw at something’; Kalmyk *mer* ‘(expression for) a painful sensation’, *mer-* ‘to gnaw at something’. Proto-Turkic *bert- ‘to break, to damage, to wound’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *bert-* ‘to break, to damage, to wound’; Karakhanide Turkic *bert-* ‘to break, to damage, to wound’; Turkish *bert-* ‘to break, to damage, to wound’; Gagauz *bert-* ‘to break, to damage, to wound’; Azerbaijani *pärt-* ‘to break, to damage, to wound’; Turkmenian *berti-* ‘to break, to damage, to wound’; Tatar *birt-* ‘to break, to damage, to wound’; Bashkir *birt-* ‘to break, to damage, to wound’; Kirghiz *bertik* ‘contortion’; Khakas *pirtək* ‘mutilation’; Kazakh *mertik* ‘contortion’; Noghay *mertik* ‘contortion’; Tuva *bertik* ‘mutilation’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:929 *m̄iore ‘to hurt, to damage, to wound’.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.).

917. Proto-Nostratic root **mol-*:

- (vb.) **mol-* ‘to rub’ (> ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’);
 (n.) **mol-a* ‘crumb, piece, morsel; mortar’; (adj.) ‘crushed, ground, worn out or down’

Note also:

- (vb.) **mel-* ‘to rub’ (> ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’);
 (n.) **mel-a* ‘smoothness, softness; weakness’; (adj.) ‘smooth, soft, tender, weak, worn out, tired, weary’

- A. Afrasian: East Chadic: Kwang *móōldó*, *mó:ɾō* ‘grinding stone’; Sokoro (Lower) *módó* ‘grinding stone’. Jungraithmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:173.
 B. [Proto-Indo-European **mol-/m̥-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **mel-*) ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ma-al-la-i* ‘to crush, to grind’, (reduplicated) *me-ma-al* ‘meal’; Sanskrit *mṛṇāti*, *mṛṇāti* ‘to crush, to grind’, *mṛdnāti*, *márdati*, *márdate* ‘to rub, to stroke, to wipe, to rub into; to press, to squeeze, to crush, to pound’, *mṛdú-ḥ* ‘soft, delicate, tender, pliant, mild, gentle, weak, feeble’, *mṛkṣāti* ‘to rub, to curry, to stroke’, *mṛjāti*, *mṛjáte* ‘to wipe, to rub, to cleanse, to polish, to clean, to purify, to embellish, to adorn, to make smooth, to stroke’, *mṛṣṭá-ḥ* ‘washed, cleansed, polished, clean, pure, smeared, besmeared with’, *mláyati* ‘to wither, to fade’; Greek ἀμαλδύνω ‘to soften’, ἀμαλός ‘soft, weak, feeble’, μαλακός ‘soft’, μαλάσσω ‘to make soft’, μύλη ‘mill, handmill’, μύλος ‘millstone’; Albanian *mjel* ‘meal, flour’; Armenian *malem* ‘to crush’, (reduplicated) *mlmlem* ‘to rub’; Umbrian *maletu* ‘crushed, ground’; Latin *molō* ‘to grind’, *mollis* ‘soft, tender, pliant, supple, flexible, yielding’, *mola* ‘millstone’, *molīna*, *molīnum* ‘a mill’; Old Irish *melim* ‘to grind’; Breton *meil* ‘mill’; Welsh *melin* ‘mill’ (< Latin *molīna*); Gothic *malan* ‘to grind’, *mildīpa* ‘mildness, kindness’, *ga-malwjan* ‘to grind up, to crush’, *malma* ‘sand’, *mulda* ‘dust’; Old Icelandic *mala* ‘to grind’, *meldr* ‘grinding; flour’, *melr* ‘sand-bank, gravel-bank’, *mildi* ‘kindness, mercy, grace’, *mildr* ‘mild, gentle, gracious; munificent, liberal’, *mola* ‘to crush, to break into small pieces’, *moli* ‘small piece, crumb’, *molna* ‘to crumble into dust’, *mjöl* ‘meal, flour’, *mylna* ‘mill’ (< Latin *molīna*), *mølva* (*mølda*) ‘to crush, to pound’; Swedish *mala* ‘to grind’; Old English *melu* ‘meal, flour’, *milde* ‘gentle, mild; merciful, kind’, *mildian* ‘to become mild’, *mits*, *milds* ‘kindness, mercy’, *molde* ‘earth, soil, dust; ground, country, world’, *molsnian* ‘to molder, to decay’, *mylen* ‘mill’ (< Latin *molīna*); Old Frisian *mele* ‘flour, meal’, *milde* ‘mild, gentle’; Old Saxon *malan* ‘to grind’, *melo* ‘flour, meal’, *mildi* ‘mild, soft,

gentle'; Old High German *malan* 'to grind, to mill, to crush, to pulverize' (New High German *mahlen*), *melo* 'flour, meal' (New High German *Mehl*), *milti*, *milte* 'mild, soft, mellow, gentle' (New High German *mild*); Lithuanian *malù*, *málti* 'to grind'; Old Church Slavic *meljō*, *mlěti* 'to grind'; Tocharian A *malyw-*, B *mely-* 'to crush, to squeeze, to lay waste', B *mäl-* 'to crush, to repress, to oppress', B *mällarske* 'pressing' (?) or 'pliant' (?), B *mälle* 'ground-down, dull', B *mällalñe* 'crushing'. Rix 1998a:387 **meld-* 'to become weak, soft, mild, gentle, tender', 388—389 **melh₂₋* 'to rub, to crush, to grind', 390 **melh_{2u-}* 'to rub, to crush, to grind'; Pokorny 1959:716—719 **mel-* 'to crush, to grind'; Walde 1927—1932.II:284—291 **mel-*; Mann 1984—1987:728 **mälō*, *-iō* (variant of type **mļō*, *-iō* 'to grind, to mill'), 749 **meldō*, *-iō* 'to crush, to destroy', 749 **meldhos* 'soft, tender', 750 **meļuos* (**meləuos*, **meļuos* 'soft, effete, silly', 750 **meļuos*, *-ā* (**meləuo-*) 'millings, flour', 751—752 **melk-* (**molk-*, **mļk-*) 'soft, limp', 752 **melmos*, *-ā* 'soft; soft matter, mud, pug, pugging, puddle', 752 **mēlō*, *-iō* 'to grind, to crush', 753 **meļuos* 'soft, sweet', 753 **meməl-* (**mīməl-*, **mel-mel-*), 773 **mlētos* 'crushed, pulped', 773 **mļd-* 'crush, pulp, powder', 773—774 **mļdos*, *-is*, *-us* (**mļdulos*) 'soft, pappy, pulpy, powdery, weak, tender', 774 **mļdsnā* (*-os*, *-om*) 'powder, dust, fine loam', 774 **mļdhos* (**mældh-*) 'young, immature, silly', 775—776 **mļk-* (variants: **mļks-*, **mļsk-*) 'soft, mild, silly', 776 **mļm-* 'powder; powdery, crumbly; to crumble, to decompose', 776—777 **mļō*, *-iō* 'to grind, to crush', 777 **mļs-*, **mļskō* 'to crumble, to decay', 777 **mļtos* (**mļt-*) 'ground, crushed; powder', 777—778 **mļūō* 'to crush, to shatter', 791—792 **moldis*, *-os*, *-us* 'soft, sweet, slow, gentle, silly', 792—793 **molks-* (**molsk-*, **molks-*) 'limp, soft', 793 **molūiō* 'to beat, to crush' (a Germanic variant), 815 **mulīō* 'to grind, to crush', 816 **mulos*, *-ā*, *-iōm*, *-is* 'grinding, milling; grindstone, millstone'; Watkins 1985:40 **mel-* 'soft', 40—41 **melə-* (also **mel-*) 'to crush, to grind' and 2000:53 **mel-* 'soft', 53—54 **melə-* (also **mel-*) 'to crush, to grind', with derivatives referring to various ground or crumbling substances (such as flour) and to instruments for grinding or crushing (such as millstones) (oldest form **mel₂₋*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:692—693 **mel-* and 1995.I:190, I:200, I:567—568, I:598—599 **mel-* 'to crush, to divide; to thresh; to grind; to grate'; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 **melh₂₋* 'to grind'; Puhvel 1984—.6:21—25 and 6:140—141; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:670—671, II:672—673, II:676, II:676—677, II:698—699; Boisacq 1950:49, 604, and 649—650; Frisk 1970—1973.I:84, I:85, II:165—166, and II:268—270; Hofmann 1966:14, 188, and 207; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:69, I:70, II:661 Greek μαλακός 'soft' < **m^ol₂k-*, and II:721 **mel-*, **mel-₂r-*, **mol-₂r-*, **m^ol-₂r-*; Beekes 2010.I:80—81 and II:896 **mlh_{2-k-}*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:104—106 **mel-* (**melā^x-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:410—411 Latin *mollis* < **mol^owis* and 411 **molə-/melə-/m^olə-*; De Vaan 2008:386 and 286—387; Orël 2003:257 Proto-Germanic **malanan*, 257

**maldriz* ~ **maldran*, 258 **malmaz* ~ **malmōn*, 258—259 **malwjanan*, 266 **meldipō*, 266 **meldjaz*, 266 **meldin*, 267 **melmaz*, 267 **meltanan*, 267 **melwan*, 275 **muldō(n)*, 275 **muljanan*; Kroonen 2013:351 Proto-Germanic **malan-* ‘to grind’, 351 **malta-* ‘soft; gone bad (?)’, 351—352 **maltjan-* ‘to make dissolve’, 352 **malwjan-* ‘to crush, to pound’, 362—363 **melda-* ‘pleasant, mild’, 363 **meltan-* ‘to dissolve, to be digested’, 365 **melwa-* ‘meal, flour’, 374—375 **multōjan-* ‘to become soft’, and 375 **mulwēn-* ‘to soften’; Feist 1939:192, 342, 343, 359, and 366; Lehmann 1986:144—145, 242—243, 243, 255, and 260; De Vries 1977:377, 383, 387, 390, 392, 397—398, and 400; Onions 1966:564—565, 576, and 593; Klein 1971:452, 464—465, and 471; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:454 **mel-*, 471, and 478—479; Kluge—Seebold 1989:455, 470, and 479; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:403—404; Derksen 2008:307 **melH-* and 2015:302—303 **melH-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:547—548; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:482—485 **meld-*.] Note: The Indo-European forms are phonologically ambiguous. They either belong here or with Proto-Nostratic **mel-* ‘to rub’ (> ‘to rub into, to crush, to grind down; to rub smooth, to polish, to wipe; to wear out, to soften; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’).

- C. Proto-Uralic **molz-* ‘to grind, to crush, to break, to smash’: Lapp / Saami *moallo/moalo-* ‘crumb, little bit, piece, morsel’, *moallanâ-* ‘to crumble away, to turn into nothing but crumbs (intr.)’, *mollânâ-*, *smollânâ-* ‘to crumble away’; Lapp / Saami (Northern) *moallo*, *smollo* (attr.) ‘crumbled to pieces, pulverized’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *malæ-* ‘to break, to smash’, *malu?* ‘fracture’, *mal’ma* ‘broken pieces, fragments’. Collinder 1955:35 and 1960:407 **mōlz*; Joki 1973:285; Rédei 1986—1988:278—279 **molz-*; Décsy 1990:103 [**mola*] ‘piece; to break’; Janhunen 1977b:86 **mōlz-*. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *molde-* ‘to rot, to be spoiled (intr.)’, *molyul* ‘pus’, *molyite-* ‘to let rot, to spoil’, *moldend’e* ‘rotten skin from which a chamois ornament is made’. Nikolaeva 2006:272.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **mole-* ‘to rub, to crush, to grind, to wear out; to become worn out, weak, tired, weary’: Proto-Tungus **mul-* ‘(vb.) to fall ill; (adj.) weak, tired’ > Evenki *mul-* ‘to fall ill’, *multe* ‘weak, tired’. Proto-Turkic **bül-* ‘to be destroyed, ruined; to destroy’ > Old Kipchak *bül-* ‘to remove, to fire’; Karaim *bül-* ‘to be destroyed, ruined’; Tatar *böl-* ‘to be destroyed, ruined’; Bashkir *böl-* ‘to be destroyed, ruined’; Kazakh *bülin-* ‘to be destroyed, ruined’, *büldir-* ‘to destroy’; Kirghiz *bülün-* ‘to be alarmed’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:941—942 **mole* ‘sick, weak’.
- E. (?) Eskimo: Proto-Yupik **mul̕a-* ‘to be careful or gentle (with)’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Kenai Peninsula) *ul̕a(yuy)-*, (Kodiak) *u̕la(yuy)-* ‘to be careful or gentle’; Central Alaskan Yupik *mul̕ak̕a-* ‘to be careful or gentle (with)’, *mul̕ait̕a-* ‘to be careless or reckless’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:203.

Buck 1949:4.91 tired, weary; 5.56 grind; 9.31 rub; 15.75 soft; 15.77 smooth. Brunner 1969:20, no. 10; Caldwell 1913:603—604; Greenberg 2002:84—85, no. 186; Möller 1911:161—162; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:69—70, no. 302, **moLA* ‘to smash’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:637—639, no. 518; Dolgopolsky 1998:55—56, no. 63, **mol/IV* ‘to pound, to gnaw, to smash to pieces’ and 2008, no. 1404, **molV* (or **molhV* ??) ‘to pound, to gnaw/smash into pieces’.

918. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mor-a* ‘any body of water: sea, lake, flood, stream, pool, cistern, reservoir, basin, canal, channel’:

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mr* ‘any body of water: lake, pool, cistern, reservoir, flood, stream, basin, canal, channel’. Gardiner 1957:569; Erman—Grapow 1921:66 and 1926—1963.2:96, 2:97; Hannig 1995:345; Faulkner 1962:111. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:384, no. 1774, **mīr-* ‘river’; Ehret 1995:310, no. 595, **mur-* ‘to flow’.]
- B. Kartvelian: Mingrelian *mere* ‘lake’. Assuming development from **mori* ‘lake’ (cf. Schmidt 1962:37: “Zan *e* [*< o* under the influence of an *i* in the following syllable]”), as in Old English *mere* ‘lake, pool, cistern; sea’ (< Common Germanic **mari-* < Proto-Indo-European **mar-i-* or **mor-i-* ‘any body of water: sea, lake, swamp, marsh’).
- C. [Proto-Indo-European **mar-i-* or **mor-i-* ‘any body of water: sea, lake, swamp, marsh’: Latin *mare* ‘sea’; Old Irish *muir* ‘sea’; Gothic *marei* ‘sea’, *mari-* in *mari-saiws* ‘lake’; Old Icelandic *marr* ‘sea’; Old English *mere* ‘lake, pool, cistern; sea’; Old Saxon *meri* ‘sea’; Dutch *meer* ‘lake, pool’; Old High German *mari*, *meri* ‘sea’ (New High German *Meer*); Lithuanian *mārė* ‘sea’; Old Prussian *mary* ‘lagoon, bay’; Old Church Slavic *morje* ‘sea’; Russian *móre* [mope] ‘sea’; Hittite *marmar(r)a-*, ^{GIS}*mammarra-* ‘waterlogged woodland, overgrown swamp, wetland, slough, moor, marsh’. Derivative in: Proto-Germanic **mar-isk-* ‘marsh’ > Old English *mersc*, *merisc* ‘marsh’; Middle Low German *mersch*, *marsch* ‘marsh’; Middle Dutch *mersch(e)* ‘marsh’ (Dutch *maršk*); New High German *Marsch* ‘fen(land), alluvial land’. Pokorny 1959:748 **mori-*, **mōri-* ‘sea’; Walde 1927—1932.II:234—235 **mari*; Mann 1984—1987:732—733 **mari*, *-iǝ* ‘sea’; Watkins 1985:43 **mori-* and 2000:56 **mori-* ‘body of water; lake (?), sea (?)’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:943 **mor(i)-* and 1995.I:580 **mor-/mar-* ‘sea’; Benveniste 1935:76 **már-*, **máry-*, **móry-*, **mor-éi-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:503—504 **móri* ‘sea’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:387; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:38—39 **mari*; De Vaan 2008:365; Orël 2003:261 Proto-Germanic **mariskaz*, 261 **mariz*; Kroonen 2013:354 Proto-Germanic **mari-* ‘lake, sea’; Feist 1939:346 **mari* (or **mori* ?) and 347; Lehmann 1986:245 **már-y-* or **mór-y-n-*; De Vries 1977:379—380; Onions 1966:557 West Germanic **marisk-* and 570 **mori-*, **māri-*; Klein 1971:447 Germanic **mari-* ‘sea’ and 458; Vercoullie 1898:185; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:463—464 and 470 Common Germanic

**mari-* ‘sea’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:463 and 470 **mari*; Derksen 2008: 325; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:409—420; Puhvel 1984— .6:79—80.] Note: The Indo-European terms are phonologically ambiguous. They may belong here or with Proto-Nostratic **mar-* (~ **mər-*) ‘marsh, swamp’.

- D. Proto-Altaic **m̄ūri* ‘any body of water: river, lake, sea’: Proto-Mongolian **mören* ‘river, lake’ > Written Mongolian *mören* ‘large river or lake’; Khalkha *mörön* ‘large river which empties into a lake or sea; lake’; Buriat *müre(n)* ‘river’; Kalmyk *mörñ* ‘river’; Ordos *mörön* ‘river’; Dagur *mure*, *mur* ‘river’; Shira-Yughur *merēn*, *merēm* ‘river’; Dongxiang *moren*, *morān* ‘river’; Monguor *murōn* ‘river’. Poppe 1955:49. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:935—936 **m̄ūri* ‘water’) compare the above forms with possible Tungus, Japanese, and Korean cognates. However, Dolgopolsky (2008, no. 1382) is probably correct in rejecting the comparison of the Tungus forms with those cited here.

Buck 1949:1.32 sea; 1.33 lake. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:60—61, no. 294, **mārā* ‘damp; moisture’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:653, no. 530; Dolgopolsky 1998:25—26, no. 14, **moRE* ‘water body’ and 2008, no. 1461, **moRE* (= **moRi* ?) ‘body of water’.

919. Proto-Nostratic root **mud-* (~ **mod-*):

(vb.) **mud-* ‘to finish, to end, to complete, to accomplish, to achieve, to perish’;

(n.) **mud-a* ‘end, finish, completion, accomplishment, achievement’

- A. Afrasian: Berber: Tuareg *əmdu* ‘to finish, to achieve; to be complete, to be finished, to be whole, etc.’; Ghadames *imda* ‘achievement, totality, all’; Nefusa *semdu* ‘to achieve’; Kabyle *məd* ‘to arrive at a certain result; to grow, to mature’; Zenaga *məd* ‘to be finished, to finish’, *əccəmd* ‘to end, to terminate’, *yumdan* ‘grown old, changed (for the worse)’. Haddadou 2006—2007:124. Note: The alleged Arabic cognates (*madya-t* ‘goal, limit’ and *madan* ‘duration, period, term, goal; reach, range’ — the forms and meanings have been amended to agree with Steingass 1884:977) suggested by Dolgopolsky [2008:1296—1297, no. 1371]) do not belong here. Rather, they should be included under Proto-Nostratic (vb.) **mad-* ‘to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out’, (n.) **mad-a* ‘measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *muṭi* (-*v-*, -*nt-*) ‘to end, to terminate; to be completed, effected, accomplished; to be destroyed, to perish, to die’, *muṭi* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) ‘to end (tr.), to terminate, to effect, to accomplish, to destroy’, *muṭipu*, *muṭivu* ‘end, finality, completion, conclusion, decision, death, limit’; Malayalam *muṭiyuka* ‘to come to an end’, *muṭikka* ‘to finish, to spend, to destroy’, *muṭippu* ‘destruction’, *muṭivu* ‘end, destruction, extravagance’; Kota *muṛc-* (*muṛc-*) ‘to finish (work)’; Kannada *muḍi* ‘(vb.) to end, to

come to an end, to become extinct; (n.) end, ruin, destruction', *muḍipu* 'to end'; (?) Tuḷu *muḍusuni* 'to eat up, to consume'; Telegu *mūḍu*, *mūḍu* 'to end (intr.), to terminate, (death) to approach'; Gonḍi *muri* 'termination, end'; Kuwi *muth'nai* 'to complete', *muṭ-* (*-t-*) 'to complete, to be finished'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:441, no. 4922.

- C. Proto-Altaic **mude* 'soon, finally': Proto-Tungus **muda-n* 'end, limit, finish' > Evenki *mudan* 'end, limit, finish'; Lamut / Even *mudɤn* 'end, limit, finish'; Negidal *modan* 'end, limit, finish'; Ulch *muda(n)* 'end, limit, finish'; Nanay / Gold *modā* 'end, limit, finish'; Udihe *muda(n)* 'end, limit, finish'; Solon *mudā* 'end, limit, finish'. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:550. Proto-Mongolian **mōdū* 'soon, shortly, later' > Written Mongolian *mōdū* 'soon, shortly, later'; Khalkha *mōd* 'soon, straightaway'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:946—947 **mude* 'soon, finally'.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 11.27 destroy; 14.16 end (sb., temporal); 14.27 finish (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:72, no. 306, **muda* 'to end'; Dolgopolsky 2008:1296—1297, no. 1371, **mudV* 'finish; to end'.

920. Proto-Nostratic **muk'*- (~ **mok'*-):

(vb.) **muk'*- 'to strain, to make great efforts';

(n.) **muk'-a* 'straining (as a woman in labor or as when defecating), effort; fatigue, suffering'

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *mukku* 'to weary, to tire, to wane', *mukku* 'weakened, weary'.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *mukku* (*mukki-*) 'to strain (as a woman in travail), to make great efforts', *mukkal*, *mukku* 'straining (as in travail), great effort'; Malayalam *mukkuka* 'to strain, to grunt, to make an effort (as in travail or when easing nature)', *mukkal*, *mukkam* 'straining, etc.', *mikkuka* 'to press, to strain at stool'; Toda *muk-* (*muky-*) 'to grunt while defecating when constipated, to hesitate'; Kota *muk-* (*muky-*) 'to strain to deliver child, to make a strenuous effort', *muk* 'the act of straining, great effort'; Kannāḍa *mukkiri*, *mukkare* 'to strain, to make violent efforts in pain, etc.'; Tuḷu *mukkuruni* 'to snort, to grunt, to growl', *mukkuru* 'snorting, grunting, growling', *bukku* 'to strain'; Telugu *mukku* 'to strain, to exert with a strain or strenuously, to grunt, to groan, to grumble'; Pengo *mūk-* 'to lift with effort'. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:438, no. 4896(a).
- C. Indo-European: Greek *μόγος* (< **mok'*-) 'toil, trouble; distress, difficulty', *μογέω* 'to toil, to suffer; to suffer pain, to be distressed; to labor at', *μογοσ-τόκος* 'helping women in hard childbirth', *μογερός* '(of persons) toiling, wretched; (of things) toilsome, grievous', *μόγυς* 'with toil and pain'. Mann 1984—1987:785—786 **moǵ-* (**moǵəl-*, **moǵər-*) 'toil, hardship; hard, difficult'; Boisacq 1950:642; Frisk 1970—1973.II:247—248; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:707—708; Hofmann 1966:204; Beekes 2010.II:960—961

(pre-Greek); Prellwitz 1905:297. Note: Not related to Lithuanian (dialectal) *smagùs* ‘heavy to carry or pull’; Latvian *smags, smagrs* ‘heavy, weighty’. Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:837—838.

Buck 1949:9.13 work, labor, toil (vb., intr.); 9.97 difficult. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:672, no. 551.

921. Proto-Nostratic root **mun-* (~ **mon-*):

(vb.) **mun-* ‘to protrude, to stand out; to jut out; to be first, foremost, in front of’;

(n.) **mun-a* ‘topmost or most prominent part, highest or farthest point’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mnw* ‘mountain chain, mountain range’, *mnw* ‘monument, obelisk’, *mn-ty* ‘the two mountains (that is, the two mountain ranges on the east and west sides of the Nile)’. Hannig 1995:338; Faulkner 1962:108; Erman—Grapow 1921:64 and 1926—1963.2:69, 2:71; Gardiner 1957:568.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *mun* ‘in front, previous, prior; antiquity, eminence’, *munnam* ‘in front’, *mumpu* ‘former time, front, antiquity; bodily strength, greatness; before, in front of, formerly’, *munnan* ‘powerful man, leader, master’, *mun-il* ‘front of a house, space’, *munnar* ‘before, in advance, in front of, in former times’, *munnu* (*munni-*) ‘to meet, to reach, to join, to precede’, *munai* ‘front, face, superiority, eminence, point, sharpened end, edge, cape, headland’, *munnōr* ‘predecessors, ancestors, the ancients, chief ministers’, *muṅātu* ‘that which is in front, that which is earlier’, *muṅaiṅar* ‘commander of an army’, *munti* ‘front, outer edge of cloth, some time before’, *muntu* (*munti-*) ‘(vb.) to come in front, to advance, to meet, to be prior in time or place, to take precedence, to take the lead, to be first, to surpass, to excel, to be old, to be long lasting; (n.) antiquity, priority, beginning’, *muntai* ‘antiquity, the past, former time; ancestor; in front of’; Malayalam *mun*, *munnam* ‘priority in space and time, first, former; before’, *munnamē* ‘before’, *munnar* ‘forepart of animals’, *munnal* ‘presence’, *munnil*, *munnē* ‘before’, *munni* ‘cape, headland’, *munnēyavan*, *munnēvan* ‘the former’, *munti* ‘the edge, skirt of cloth’, *muntuka* ‘to overtake’, *mumpu* ‘the front, presence’, *mumpān* ‘the foremost, principal’, *mumpināl* ‘formerly’, *mumpil* ‘in front’, *mumpē* ‘before’, *muna* ‘a sharp point, sharpness, promontory’, *munakka* ‘to go before’, *munampu* ‘headland, tip’; Kota *mun-*, *mu-* ‘front, fore’, *mon* ‘point’, *mund*, *mind* ‘previous time, state of being before in space’, *mund-* (*mundy-*), *mind-* (*mindy-*) ‘to go in front, to act first’, *muṅga-r* ‘forward, in front, early’; Toda *mun* ‘in front; former’, *mīn* ‘sharp point, top of hill’, *mīnp* ‘sharp end of horn’; Kannaḍa *mun* (*muṁ*), *munnu* ‘that which is before, in front of, preceding in space; that which is preceding in time; that which is towards a place’, *muṅcu* ‘(vb.) to be or go before or first, to precede, to outgo, to go beyond, to exceed, to

outdo, to surpass, to excel; (n.) state of preceding or being before in time or position, state of being previous or prior, former time', *muñcita* 'state of being before in time, previous or prior, beforehand', *muñca* 'a man in the front, chief, leader', *muñce* 'in advance, in the first place, previously, formerly, first, beforehand, before, earlier than', *muntu*, *munda*, *mundu* 'the front part or side, front, state of being in front of anything that is behind, state of being advanced in position, that of being first, state of being before or previous, state of being future', *mundu* 'to precede', *mone* 'point, extremity, end; sharpness; state of being before', *munna*, *munnam*, *munnal* 'the front; in front, before, formerly, previously; first, prior to, preceding; following, henceforth', *munne* 'even the front, etc.', *mumbu* 'forepart, front, the direction of the front, state of being previous'; Tuḷu *mundana* 'priority; first, prior; future', *munderiyuni*, *munderuni*, *mundersuni* 'to advance, to march, to continue, to carry on', *mundè* 'before, in front', *munni* 'tip, lappet', *munè*, *munne*, *monè*, *monè* 'point, end, extremity'; Koḍagu *miñña* 'in front, further', *mumba-ra* 'the fore', *mumbi* 'predominance', *mone* 'sharp point', *mund-* (*mundi-*) 'to go ahead'; Telugu *muni* 'first, former, previous, front', *munimuṅgali* 'the very front', *munucu* 'to go or appear before', *muncu* 'to increase, to excel', *muṅgali* 'front, foremost', *munupaṭi* 'former, previous', *munupu* 'the past, a former period in time; formerly, of old, previously', *munumu* 'the front or vanguard of an army', *munumunu*, *munumunnu* 'first of all, in the very beginning', *munnu* 'former period of time; formerly, first', *mundaṭa(n)* 'in front, before', *mundaṭi* 'first, former, prior; front', *mundara* 'the front, former or past time; in front, before, first; in the last instance, previously, formerly; hereafter, in the future', *mundu* 'the front, state of being first or early; priority, past time, the past; first, front, earlier, prior, previous; (adv.) first, early, to begin with, in former times', *mona* 'point, extremity, tip, in front'; Naikṛi *mund* 'before'; Parji *munni* 'before', *mundi* 'in front', *munnited* 'first, the one in front', *mundel* 'in front, before', *mona* 'tip, point'; Gadba (Salur) *mundēl*, *mundel* 'the front'; Gondi *munne* 'before, in front, next year', *munne* 'in front of, previously', *munne*, *mune* 'before, in front of', *mūne* 'ahead', *munnevāl* 'leader'; Koṇḍa *muṅgal*, *mundala* 'in front'; Kuwi *munu* 'point (of needle, etc.)'; Kuṛux *munddh*, *mund* 'first, ahead of, previous to, before that time, ago', *muñjā* 'the extremity, beginning, head point, end'; Brahui *mōn* 'front', *mōni* 'being in front'; Malto *mundi* 'formerly, in ancient times', *mundoti* 'ancient'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:452—453, no. 5020(a); Krishnamurti 2003:392 **mun* 'prior, before, front'.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **mon-/mṅ-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **men-*) '(vb.) to protrude, to stand out, to jut out; (n.) highest or farthest point, topmost or most protuberant part': Avestan *mati-* 'mountain top'; Latin *mentum* 'chin', *ēmineō* 'to project, to stand out', *minae* 'the battlements, parapets of a wall', *minor* 'to jut out, to project', *prōmineō* 'to stand out, to jut out, to

project', *mōns*, *-tis* 'mountain'; Welsh *mynydd* 'mountain', *mant* 'jaw'; Cornish *meneth* 'mountain'; Breton *menez* 'mountain'; Old Icelandic *mæna* 'to tower'. Pokorny 1959:726 **men-* 'to project'; Walde 1927—1932.II:263 **men-*; Mann 1984—1987:781—782 **m̥ntos* 'mouth, chin, jaw'; Watkins 1985:41 **men-* and 2000:54 **men-* 'to project'; Mallory—Adams 1997:270 (?) *men-* 'mountain', **men-* 'to project, to stick out'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:666 **m(e)n-t[h]-*, also fn. 1 **m(e)n-*, and 1995.I:574 **m(e)n-t^h-* 'mountain, heights', also fn. 2 **m(e)n-* 'mountain'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:398, 403—404, and 412—413; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:72—73 **men-*, II:90, and II:108—109 **men-*; De Vaan 2008:373, 380, and 388; De Vries 1977:400.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 4.209 chin; 12.33 top; 12.35 end; 12.352 point. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:655—656, no. 533; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1431, **mu|oñV* (or **mu|oñ[V]TV* ?) 'mountain, hill'.

922. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mun-a* 'egg, testicle':

Extended form (Dravidian and Indo-European [only in Slavic]):

(n.) **mun-d-a* (~ **mon-d-a*) 'egg, testicle'

- A. Proto-Dravidian **muñt-ay* 'egg, testicle': Tamil *muñtai* 'egg, ovum', *muñtai* 'egg'; Malayalam *muñta*, *moñta* 'egg'; Kota *moñ* 'egg'; Toda *muty* 'egg'; Kannada *moñte* 'egg'; Kodagu *muñte* 'egg, testis'; Tulu *moñte* 'egg'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:442, no. 4939.
- B. Indo-European: Common Slavic **m̥do* (< **mon-d^h-*) 'testicle' > Russian *mudó* [мудо] 'testicle'; Czech *moud* 'testicle'; Polish *mudo* 'testicle' (Russian loan); Bulgarian *m̋dó* 'testicle'. Vasmer 1953—1958.II:169.
- C. Proto-Uralic **muna* 'egg, testicle': Finnish *muna* 'egg, testicle'; Estonian *muna* 'egg'; Lapp / Saami *m̄anne/m̄âne-* and *monne/mone-* 'egg'; Mordvin *mona* 'testicle'; Cheremis / Mari (Eastern) *munõ* 'egg'; Vogul / Mansi *m̄an* 'testicle'; Ostyak / Xanty *moñ*, (Southern) *m̄an* 'testicle, male sexual organ'; Hungarian *mony* 'egg, testicle, male sexual organ'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *manu* 'egg'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *mona* 'egg'; Selkup Samoyed *maane*, *man* 'male sexual organ'; Kamassian *munuj* 'egg' (derivative). Collinder 1955:36 and 1977:55; Rédei 1986—1988:285—286 **muna*; Décsy 1990:103 **muna* 'egg'; Janhunen 1977b:86 **m̄n̄a*; Zhivlov 2023:164 Proto-Uralic **muna* 'egg; testicle', Proto-Finnic **muna*.

Buck 1949:4.48 egg; 4.49 testicle. Illič-Svityč 1965:373 **muñ(d)A* 'egg' ('яйцо') and 1971—1984.II:72—73, no. 307, (?) **muña* 'egg, testicle'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:671, no. 549; Hakola 2000:108—109, no. 465; Pudas-Marlow 1974:65, no. 180; Dolgopolsky 1998:60, no. 71, **muña(-t/dV)* 'egg' and 2008, no. 1429, **muñV(-t|dV)* 'egg' (→ 'testicle'); Greenberg 2002:60, no. 127.

923. Proto-Nostratic root **muŋ-* (~ **moŋ-*):

- (vb.) **muŋ-* ‘to torment, to torture, to afflict; to cause pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty; to suffer; to be in pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty’;
 (n.) **muŋ-a* ‘suffering, pain, malady, difficulty, distress, affliction, calamity, misery’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **m[u]ŋ-* ‘(vb.) to torment, to torture, to afflict; to cause pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty; to suffer; to be in pain, trouble, distress, suffering, difficulty; (n.) suffering, pain, malady, difficulty, distress, affliction, calamity, misery’: Proto-Semitic **man-aw-* ‘to be afflicted with, to suffer (from)’ > Arabic *manā* ‘to put to the test, to try, to tempt, to afflict; (passive) to be afflicted (with), to be sorely tried (by), to suffer, to sustain, to undergo, to experience; to be afflicted, hit, smitten, stricken’. Egyptian *mn* ‘to be ill, to suffer; to be ill of, to suffer from; to be troubled about’, *mn* ‘sick man’, *mnt* ‘malady, suffering, distress, calamity’, *mnw* ‘pain’. Hannig 1995:335; Faulkner 1962:107; Gardiner 1957:568; Erman—Grapow 1921:64 and 1926—1963.2:66—67.
- B. (?) Proto-Indo-European **monk^h-*/**mŋk^h-* ‘torment, torture’: Old Church Slavic *moka* ‘torment’, *mōčō*, *mōčiti* ‘to torment’; Czech *muka* ‘torture’; Serbo-Croatian *mūka* ‘torment’; Russian *mūka* [мыка] ‘torment, torture’. Pokorny 1959:730—731 **men(ə)k-* ‘to knead’; Walde 1927—1932.II:268 **menq-* ‘to knead’; Rix 1998a:394—395 **menk-* ‘to press, to squeeze, to knead’; Mann 1984—1987:730—731 **mankos, -us* ‘maimed, defective; defect, flaw’, 755 **menk-* ‘to squeeze; soft, compliant’, 795 **monk-* (?) ‘pressure, constraint’, and 779—780 **mŋk-* ‘soft, pliant; to squeeze’; Derksen 2008:328—329 and 329; Mallory—Adams 1997:450 **menk-* ‘to press’.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **mjuŋo* ‘suffering’: Tungus: Evenki *miŋŋi-* ‘to have nagging pain (of joints, heart)’. Proto-Mongolian **muŋ* ‘difficulty’ > Written Mongolian *muŋ* ‘difficulty, distress’, *muŋda-* ‘to become insufficient; to come to an end, to be exhausted; to be in trouble or difficult circumstances’, *muŋdani-* ‘to be in a difficult position, to be in need or distress’, *muŋla-* ‘to be in need, wanting’; Khalkha *munla-* ‘to be in need, to be exhausted’. Proto-Turkic **buŋ* ‘suffering’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon) *buŋ* ‘suffering’, (Old Uighur) *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Karakhanide Turkic *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Turkish *bun* ‘suffering’; Gagauz *bun* ‘suffering’; Turkmenian (dialectal) *muŋ-li* ‘sorrowful’; Uzbek *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Uighur *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Tatar *moŋ* ‘suffering’; Bashkir *moŋ* ‘suffering’; Kirghiz *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Noghay *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Tuva *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Yakut *muŋ* ‘suffering’; Dolgan *muŋ* ‘suffering’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:935 **mjuŋo* ‘suffering’.
- D. (?) Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **məŋik-* ‘to get jammed, squeezed, pinched’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *miŋiaq-* ‘to get squeezed, jammed, caught’; Eastern

Canadian Inuit *miḡik-* ‘to pinch one’s hand in a door’; Greenlandic Inuit *miḡiy-* ‘to get jammed (finger or toe, by a blow or pressure)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:198.

Buck 1949:16.31 pain, suffering; 16.32 grief, sorrow. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1453, **muḡKa|û* (= **muḡka|û* ?) ‘to make great efforts, (?) to be heavy’.

924. Proto-Nostratic root **mur-* (~ **mor-*):

(vb.) **mur-* ‘to crush, to break, to destroy’;

(n.) **mur-a* ‘break, breach, rupture, fracture’; (adj.) ‘crushed, broken, destroyed, ruptured, mutilated; weakened’

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *muri* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to break, to give way (as a branch), to be defeated, to be discomfited, to perish, to cease to exist’, *muri* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to break (as a stick), to cut, to discontinue’, *muri* ‘piece, half, broken half of coconut, piece of cloth, deed, written bond, receipt, part of village or town, room’, *muriccal* ‘breaking, indigence, want’, *murukku* (*murukki-*) ‘to break’, *muriyal* ‘breaking’, *murivu* ‘breaking, breach, rupture, fracture, enmity, antidote’, *murippu* ‘antidote, estrangement, breach of friendship’; Malayalam *muri* ‘fragment, piece of cloth, room, chamber, apartment, parish, hamlet, a note, bond’, *murikka* ‘to break, to cut, to wound, to decide, to settle’, *muriccal* ‘breach’, *murippikka* ‘to cause to cut down’, *muriyan* ‘cutting’, *muriyuka* ‘to break through or in pieces, to be wounded, to be decided, to curdle (as milk)’, *murivu* ‘breach, wound’, *muruka* ‘to cut up vegetables’; Kannaḍa *muri* ‘(vb.) to bring about a flaw in a thing by bending it, to sever by fracture, to break, to break off (as leaves, fruit, etc.), to crush, to break down, to defeat, to rout, to destroy, to break up, to put an end to, to do away with; to break (intr.), to become weakened in constitution, to lose strength, to be impaired; (n.) fragment, piece, broken or torn off particle, state of being broken, broken off’, *murige*, *muruyuvike* ‘breaking’, *murivu* ‘crushing, destruction’, *murisu* ‘to cause to break, to cause to crush, to get changed (as large money into smaller)’, *muruka*, *muraka* ‘a man who breaks or ruins, a maimed man, an imbecile’, *murukatana* ‘breaking, ruining’, *muruku* ‘fragment, piece (as of bread)’, *muruva*, *murava* ‘a maimed, imbecile wretch’; Telugu *muriyu* ‘(vb.) to be broken, severed; (n.) piece, crumb’, *murugu* ‘to be crushed’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:451, no. 5008. Tamil *muravu* ‘break, broken condition (as of the mouth of a pot)’, *muri* (-v-, -nt-) ‘to break off, to snap off, to perish, to be ruined, to be scattered, to go wrong, to be defeated, to separate, to leave, to lose one’s position’, *muri* (-pp-, -tt-) ‘to break off (tr.), to snap off, to ruin, to defeat’, *muri* ‘piece, bit broken off, scratch, blemish’, *murippu* ‘breaking, bruising, cracking’, *muriyal* ‘bit, fragment, that which is brittle’, *murivu* ‘breaking, snapping, leaving, separation’, *murukku* (*murukki-*) ‘(vb.) to destroy, to crush, to ruin, to kill, to break in pieces, to dissolve’;

(n.) killing’, *murũku* (*murũki-*) ‘to perish, to be destroyed, to break’, *mũri* ‘bit, part’; Malayalam *mũruka* ‘to cut, to cut up (a hog, etc.), to reap’; Kota *mury-* (*murc-*) ‘to break (stick-like thing) (tr., intr.), to indent (neck in throwing pot)’, *mury* ‘small piece, crack in iron of tool’; Toda *mũry-* (*mũrs-*) ‘to break in two (stick) (intr.)’, *mũry-* (*mũrc-*) ‘to break in two (stick) (tr.)’; Koḍagu *muri-* (*murip-*, *murit-*) ‘to make a cut’; Tuḷu *muri* ‘an incision or a notch’, *murku* ‘fragment, piece, bit’, *mũruni* ‘to mince, to cut up (as vegetables)’; Telugu *muri*, *muriya* ‘a bit, piece’, *muri-konu* ‘to cut’, *muriyu* ‘to break’, *mukku* ‘piece, bit, fragment, part’; Kolami *murk-* ‘to break’; Naikṛi *mur-* ‘to break (intr.)’, *murk-* ‘to break (tr.)’, *murnde* ‘a quarter (of bread)’; Pengo *mur-* ‘to cut (horizontally)’; Kui *mroku inba* ‘to snap off, to be broken off’, *mrunga* (*mrungi-*) ‘to be torn’, *mrunga vīpka* ‘to break away from a torn part’, *mrupka* (< **mrup-p-*, *mrukt-*) ‘(vb.) to tear, to murder, to kill; (n.) tearing, murder’, *mrũva* (*mrũt-*) ‘to die’; Kuṛux *murcnā* ‘to twist and break’, *murcrnā* ‘to get broken, not to come off or out entire’, *mur^uknā* ‘to abscind, to amputate, to cut in two by hacking, to cut in small pieces, to damage by cutting off a part, to mangle, to mutilate’; Malto *murke* ‘to cut into bits, to cut across, to cross (a river)’, *murkre* ‘to be cut to pieces’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:446—447, no. 4975.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **mor-*/**m̥-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **mer-*) ‘to crush, to destroy; to be or become crushed, to disintegrate’: Latin *mortārium* ‘mortar’; Old Irish *meirb* ‘flabby, weak’; Welsh *merw* ‘weak, slack’; Old Icelandic *merja* ‘to bruise, to crush’, *morna* ‘to waste or pine away’; Old English *mearu* ‘tender, delicate’, *mierran* ‘to hinder, to obstruct; to squander, to waste; to err’; Old High German *maro*, *marawēr* ‘mellow’; Late Middle High German *mürsen* ‘to crush’; Greek μαρπαίνω ‘to waste away, to decay, to wither, to die away, to go out (fire)’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *mar-ri-ya-az-zi* ‘to be broken, to collapse, to melt’. Rix 1998a:396 **merh₂-* ‘to seize forcefully, to squeeze’; Pokorny 1959:735—737 **mer-*, **merə-* ‘to rub, to wear out’; Walde 1927—1932.II:276—279 **mer-*; Mann 1984—1987:760 **meruos*, *-is* ‘limp, soft, weak’, 797 **morjō*, **morejō* ‘to crush, to kill, to be crushed, to disintegrate’, 807 **m̥sjō*, 807—808 **m̥sjos*, *-uos*, *-ā* (**m̥ksos*, *-ā*) ‘broken-down, decayed; decay, mold’, 820 **murtjō* ‘to break down, to crush’; Watkins 1985:42 **mer-* and 2000:55 **mer-* ‘to rub away, to harm’; Mallory—Adams 1997:142 **mer-* ‘to crush, to pulverize’; Kloekhorst 2008b:558; Puhvel 1984— .6:62—64; Frisk 1970—1973.II:174; Boisacq 1950:610 **mer(ā^v)-*; Hofmann 1966:190; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:666; Beekes 2010.II:904; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:112; Ernout—Meillet 1979:415; De Vaan 2008:390; Orël 2003:262 Proto-Germanic **marwaz* ~ **merwaz*, 262 **marzjanan*; De Vries 1977:385 and 393 **mer-*; Onions 1966:554; Klein 1971:444.
- C. Proto-Uralic **mura-* ‘to break, to shatter’: Finnish *mur* ‘crumb, fragment’, *murta-* ‘to break, to shatter’; Lapp / Saami *moarrâ-/moarâ-* ‘to break to pieces’; Ostyak / Xanty *mory-*, (Northern) *mōri-* ‘to burst, to

shatter (intr.)', *murəgt-* 'to break (tr.)'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *marda-* 'to shatter (tr.)', *mardo-* 'to shatter (intr.)', *marna-* 'to crumble (intr.), to dissolve (intr.)'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *maru-* 'to shatter'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Baiha) *more-* 'to shatter'; Selkup Samoyed *morru* 'piece, morsel', *morna-* 'to shatter, to beat to pieces', *moorgəanna-* 'to break, to split apart'. Joki 1973:287; Collinder 1955:36 and 1977:55; Rédei 1986—1988:288 **mura* (**murə*); Décsy 1990:103 **mura* 'piece; to break'; Janhunen 1977b:87—88 **mārā-* (? ~ **mār-*). Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *mur-* 'to cut off', *muregej-* 'to burst, to split, to break', *murigii-* 'to cut off in one movement'. Nikolaeva 2006:281.

- D. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **muriiq-* 'to sharpen' > Western Canadian Inuit (Caribou) *muriikuryuaq* 'big smooth one'; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Labrador) *muriiq-* 'to grind, to whet', (Tarramiut) *muriq-* 'to be sharp, to sharpen'; Greenlandic Inuit *muriir-* 'to grind', *muriit-* 'to be blunt, to be rounded at end or edge', *muriirsivik* 'whetstone'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:203.

Sumerian *mur* 'to crush, to grind'.

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 9.26 break (vb. tr.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:75—76, no. 310, **murA* 'to break, to smash'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:648—650, no. 526; Hakola 2000:109—110, no. 469; Assadian—Hakola 2003:89, no. 286; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1463, **murV* 'to break, to crush, to cut'.

925. Proto-Nostratic root **mur-* (~ **mor-*):

(vb.) **mur-* 'to turn, to twist, to bend';

(n.) **mur-a* 'bend, curve'

Note also:

(vb.) **mar-* 'to turn: to overturn, to turn round, to turn over, etc.; to twist, to whirl, to roll; to bend';

(n.) **mar-a* 'the act of turning, turning over, turning round, etc.; rope, coil, string, cord'

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *mr* 'to bind up, to tie together', *mrw* 'strip (of cloth), bundle (of clothes)', *mrw*, *mrt* 'weavers'; Coptic *mur* [ⲙⲟⲩⲡ] 'to bind, to gird, to tie'. Hannig 1995:347; Erman—Grapow 1921:67 and 1926—1963.2:105; Faulkner 1962:111; Gardiner 1957:569; Vycichl 1983:119; Černý 1976:88.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *muraṛci* 'a cord'; Tuḷu *murajè* 'rope made of straw'; Gondi *moros*, *maṛos* 'rope prepared from fiber of the paṛ tree'; Kui *mrāsu* 'rope made from hide'; Kuwi *marcu* 'rope attaching bullock to plow'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:447, no. 4976. Tamil *muri* '(vb.) to bend, to lack in strength, to be gentle; (n.) bend, curve', *murivu* 'contracting, fold, laziness', (reduplicated) *murimuri* 'to curve, to bend'; Malayalam

murūṭuka ‘to pluck by twisting’; Toda *mūry fury-* (*furs-*) ‘to stretch the body in yawning’; Kannaḍa *muri* ‘(vb.) to bend, to be bent, to grow crooked, to wind, to meander, to stretch oneself with windings of the limbs, to turn around or twist (as the whiskers); (n.) state of being bent, curved, etc.; bend; winding course of a river; ring’, *murike* ‘bending, crooking by straining’, *murige* ‘bending, twisting, a twist’, *muripu* ‘to turn round or whirl the fist’, *murivu* ‘bending or twisting, a bend, winding course of a river; surrounding’, *murucu* ‘to turn round, to twist’, *murūḍisu* ‘to pluck by twisting’, *muruhu* ‘a bend, curve, winding course of a river, a surrounding place, crookedness of mind, a crooked object; a pervert; turn, repetition’, *murū!* ‘crooked’, *murṇṭu* ‘to become crooked’, *mor(a)ku* ‘to be turning round or be giddy from pride’; Tuḷu *muri* ‘curve, circle, ring, twist, the creases of the hand, windings of a conch, etc.’, *murigè* ‘twist, entanglement’, *murlu* ‘stretching of a limb’; Telugu *murincu* ‘to turn (tr.)’; Gadba *murg-* (*murug-*) ‘to bend down’, *murgēn* ‘bent’; Parji *murg-* ‘to be bent’, *murgal* ‘hunchback’; Gondi *murītānā* ‘to be dislocated’, *mur-jupnī aiānā* ‘to be crooked’, *moorga* ‘humpbacked’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:447, no. 4977. Tamil *murukku* (*murukki-*) ‘to twist (as a rope), to twirl, to spin (as a potter his wheel)’, *muruku* (*muruki-*) ‘to wriggle, to twist’; Malayalam *murukuka* ‘to be twisted, to be tight’, *murukal* ‘a twist’, *murukkuka* ‘to twist, to twine, to tighten’, *murukkal* ‘writhing, spasms’, *muriccu-kutti* ‘anything twisted’, *muriccu-kuttuka* ‘to wreath, to plait’, *murukku* ‘twining, twisting, writhing, a twisted cake’; Kannaḍa *muruku* ‘to give a different shape (to the face), to twist (it) out of its natural shape, to distort (it), to change the expression’, *murukisu* ‘to cause to appear distorted, to distort or change (as the face or its features)’, *murigu* ‘curve’; Koḍagu *mur-* (*muri-*) ‘to tighten’, *murik-* (*muriki-*) ‘to tighten’, *muriki* ‘string which binds or tightens, rope around center of drum by which its heads are tightened’; Telugu *murakaṭamu* ‘turning’, *murakaṭincu* ‘to turn’; Kuṛux *murkārnā* ‘to sprain oneself’, *murka’ānā* ‘to sprain’; Kolami *murgāḍileng* ‘to twist (a limb)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:451, no. 5012.

- C. [Proto-Indo-European **mer-/mor-/m̥r-* ‘to twist, to turn, to plait’: Greek *μέρμις* ‘cord, string, rope’; Old Icelandic *merðr* ‘fish-trap’; Middle Low German *mōren* ‘to tie’; Middle Dutch *marren* ‘to tie’. Pokorny 1959:733 **mer-* ‘to plait, to weave’; Walde 1927—1932.II:272—273 **mer-*; Watkins 1985:42 **mer-* ‘to tie’; Mallory—Adams 1997:64 **mer-* ‘to braid, to bind’; Boisacq 1950:628; Hofmann 1966:198; Frisk 1970—1973.II:211 **mer-* ‘to braid, to plait’; Beekes 2010.II:932 (pre-Greek); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:687 (obscure); De Vries 1977:384 **mer-* ‘to braid, to plait, to weave’.] The Indo-European forms may belong with Proto-Nostratic **mar-* (~ **mər-*) ‘to turn: to overturn, to turn round, to turn over, etc.’ instead.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **mura-* ‘(vb.) to turn, to return; (adj.) round’: Proto-Tungus **murV-* ‘(vb.) to walk around, to return; (adj.) round’ > Evenki *muru-* ‘to

walk around, to return', *murume* 'round'; Lamut / Even *merək-* 'to walk around, to return', *merēti* 'round'; Negidal *meysel* 'round'; Manchu *murgen* 'round'; Ulch *murū-murū* 'round'; Orok *morolime* 'round'; Nanay / Gold *murǵi* 'round'; Udihe *mogol'uō* 'round'. Manchu *muri-* 'to twist, to wring, to wring out, to pinch; to be stubborn, obstinate; to wrong (someone); to throw sideways (in wrestling)', *muriḡan* 'a bend or a turn on a road or a path'; Evenki *morokō* 'river bend'. Proto-Mongolian **murui-* 'slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve' > Written Mongolian *murui-* 'to bend, to be crooked, to turn, to meander', *muruid-* 'to bend, to twist; to become crooked', *murui* 'slanting, bending, awry, gnarled; uneven; bend, curve, curvature, crookedness', *muruiḡa* 'curvature, detour; crookedness', (causative) *muruiḡa-* 'to bend, to curve, to distort; to turn aside, to deflect', *muruitai* 'bent, curved'; Khalkha *muruy-* 'awry, slanting; crooked, curved; divergent, round-about; bend, curve, crookedness, detour'; Buriat *mu'ū* 'slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve'; Kalmyk *mu'ū* 'slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve'; Ordos *mur^wi* 'slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve'; Dagur *morčigui* 'slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve'; Monguor *murī* 'slanting, bending, awry; bend, curve'. Poppe 1960:36 and 130; Street 1974:20 **muru-* 'to twist, to curve', **muru-y* 'bent; bend'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:955—956 **mura* '(vb.) to turn, to return; (adj.) round'.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.19 rope, cord; 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 653—655, no. 531; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:74—75, no. 309, **muri-* 'to twist'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1462, **murV* 'to twist, to roll, to turn round'.

926. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **mur-a* 'mulberry, blackberry':

- A. Proto-Indo-European **mor-* 'blackberry, mulberry': Greek *μόρον*, (Hesychius) *μῶρα· σκκάμινα* 'mulberry, blackberry', *μορέα* 'mulberry-tree'; Armenian *mor* 'blackberry'; Latin *mōrum* 'mulberry, blackberry', *mōrus* 'mulberry-tree'; Middle Irish *merenn* 'mulberry'; Welsh *merwydden* (with *e < o*) 'mulberry'; Old High German *mūrberi*, *mōrberi* 'mulberry' (Middle High German *mülber*, New High German *Maulbeere*); Old English *mōrbēam*, *mūrbēam* 'mulberry-tree', *mōrberie*, *mūrberie* 'mulberry'; Lithuanian *mōras* 'mulberry'. Pokorny 1959:749 **moro-* 'blackberry'; Walde 1927—1932.II:306 **moro-*; Watkins 1985:43 **moro-* and 2000:56 **moro-* 'blackberry, mulberry'; Mallory—Adams 1997:388 **mōrom* 'blackberry'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:645 **mōro-* and 1995.I:766 **moro-* 'mulberry'; Hofmann 1966:205 **mōrom*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:713; Boisacq 1950:645; Frisk 1970—1973.II:256; Beekes 2010.II:968; Ernout—Meillet 1979:415 (Latin *mōrum* may be a Greek loan or, rather, a loan from a Mediterranean language); Walde—Hofmann

1965—1972.II:114 **moro-*; Onions 1966:595 **mōr-*; Klein 1971:480; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:468; Kluge—Seebold 1989:468.

- B. Proto-Uralic **mura* ‘Rubus chamaemorus, berry (Rubus)’: Finnish *muura*, *murrain/muuraimē-* ‘cloudberry, Rubus chamaemorus’; Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *mōrəŋk*, (Southern) *murəh* ‘Rubus chamaemorus’; Vogul / Mansi *morah* ‘Rubus chamaemorus’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *muraʔka* ‘Rubus chamaemorus’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hatanga) *mođagga*, (Baiha) *moragga* ‘Rubus chamaemorus’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *marangga* ‘Rubus chamaemorus’. Rédei 1986—1988:287 **mura*; Collinder 1955:37 and 1977:56; Décsy 1990:103 **mura* ‘Rubus chamaemorus’; Sammallahti 1988:538 **murá* ‘berry (Rubus)’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:655, no. 532; Hakola 2000:111, no. 475.

927. Proto-Nostratic root **mur-* (~ **mor-*):

(vb.) **mur-* ‘to make noise, to make sound, to murmur’;

(n.) **mur-a* ‘noise, sound, murmur’

Reduplicated:

(vb.) **mur-mur-* ‘to make noise, to make sound, to murmur’;

(n.) **mur-mur-a* ‘noise, sound, murmur’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **mur-* ‘to make a noise, to murmur’: Semitic: Arabic *marmara* ‘to be or become embittered, to become angry’, *tamarmara* ‘to murmur, to mumble, to grumble’; New Hebrew *mirmēr* [מִרְמֵר] ‘to complain, to grouse, to grumble, to become embittered (aggrieved), to be enraged (infuriated) with, to be embittered against’. Klein 1987:385. East Cushitic: Burji *murmúr-i* ‘wizard, sorcerer (who tells fortunes by inspecting coffee beans)’, *morom-* ‘to argue’; Gedeo / Darasa *morom-* ‘to argue’; Sidamo *moroom-*, *morom-* ‘to argue’; Galla / Oromo *morom-* ‘to murmur, to disagree, to curse’; Somali *murm-* ‘to contradict, to disagree’; Gollango *maram-* ‘to deny’. Sasse 1982:149; Hudson 1989:21.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *mural* (*muralv-*, *murarr-*) ‘to make sound, to cry, to sing’, *murarru* (*murarri-*) ‘to make sound, to cry’, *muralal* ‘sounding, confused noise, high pitch’, *muralvu* ‘soft sound (as of a lute)’, *muravam* ‘noise, reverberation, drum’, *muraṛkai*, *muraṛci* ‘sound, song’, *muraḷi* ‘flute, nose-flute’, *muracam*, *muracu* ‘drum, tambour, war drum’, *muravu*, *murutu* ‘drum’; Malayalam *muraluka*, *muruluka* ‘to hum, to grunt, to growl’, *muraḷi* ‘flute’, *muracu*, *murajam* ‘a small drum’, *morampuka* ‘to bark (dogs), to hawk (men)’; Kannāḍa *moraḷ* ‘to hum, to grunt, to growl, to buzz, to howl’, *more* ‘(vb.) to hum, to buzz, to sound, to murmur, to creak, to gurgle, to whiz, to be noisy; to cause to sound; (n.) humming, buzzing, sounding, etc.’, *moraha*, *morahu*, *morehu* ‘humming, etc.’, *mure* ‘to hum, to buzz, to sound or play a lute, to sound as a lute does’; Telugu *morayu* ‘to sound, to resound’, *morayika*, *morapamu* ‘sound, noise’; Koḍagu *moraḍ-*

(*moraḍuv-*, *moraṭ-*) ‘to weep’, *more* ‘lamentation’; Tuḷu *muresuni*, *moresuni* ‘to rumble, to rattle (as thunder)’, *murepini*, *murevuni*, *mureluni* ‘to creak (shoes)’, *muriya* ‘cry, weeping, loud noise’, *muriyedpini* ‘to grumble, to murmur’, *muriyeduni*, *mureduni*, *muriyoḍuni*, *moreḍuni* ‘to weep, to lament, to wail’, *muriyāṭu* ‘lamentation, wailing’, *more* ‘cry’, *muriyō* ‘alas!, weeping loudly; cry of lamentation, distress, etc.’; Telugu *morayu* ‘to sound’, *mrōḡu*, *mrōyu*, *mrōvu* ‘to sound’, *mrōḡuḍu*, *mrōṭa* ‘sound’, *morayika*, *morapamu* ‘sound, noise’; Kolami *moray-* (*morayt-*) ‘to produce musical sound (bell, etc.), to make to produce musical sound’, *morp-* (*moropt-*) ‘to play (flute), to ring (bell), to make to produce musical sound’; Naikṛi *moray-* ‘to sound (intr.)’, *morap-* ‘to sound (tr.)’; Parji *mur-* ‘to growl (tiger), to hoot (owl)’, *murip-* (*murit-*) ‘to snore’; Gondī *mōrītānā* ‘to gurgle in the throat while sleeping’, *muri-*, *mūrītānā*, *muḍiyānā*, *mōr-* ‘to snore’; Kui *murū inba* ‘to mutter, to grumble, to growl’; Kuwī *mūrūkīali* ‘to growl’, *murū murū ā-* ‘to grumble, to complain’; Kuṛux *murrnā* ‘to thunder, especially with repeated peals; to utter threats, to threaten’; Malto *mure* ‘to speak, to say yes or no’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:446, no. 4973. Tamil *muṛaiyiṭu* ‘to complain, to express grievance’, *muṛaiyiṭu* ‘complaint’, *muṛumuru*, *moṛumoṛu*, *morumoru* ‘to murmur, to grumble’; Malayalam *muṛumuruḥka* ‘to murmur’, *muṛa* ‘lamentation, wailing’, *muṛa iṭuka* ‘to complain, to find fault’; Kota *murg-* (*murgy-*) ‘to growl’, *morv-* (*mord-*) ‘to mumble’; Toda *murx-* (*murxy-*) ‘to growl’, *mury* ‘complaint’, *murk-* (*murky-*) ‘to complain’; Kannaḍa *more* ‘to roar, to cry aloud, to clamor, to howl, to yell’, *more*, *moṛata* ‘roaring, wailing’, *moreyuvike* ‘crying aloud, etc.’, *morey-iḍu* ‘to wail, to lament, to complain’; Koṇḍa *muṛli-* ‘to bark’; Telugu *moṛagu*, *moṛavu* ‘to bark as a dog, to bawl’, *muṛamuramanu*, *muṛamuralāḍu* ‘to be angry, to fret, to frown’, *moṛa*, *moṛra* ‘cry, scream, shriek, howl, wailing, clamor’, *moṛaliḍu* ‘to cry out’; Maṇḍa *murg-* ‘to bark’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:451—452, no. 5013. Proto-Dravidian (**mury-* >) **muṛ-* ‘to sound, to make a sound, to make (a loud) noise’: Tamil *muṛaṅku* (*muṛaṅki-*) ‘to roar, to thunder, to make a loud noise, to be noised abroad, to make public’, *muṛakku* (*muṛakki-*) ‘(vb.) to sound, to beat a sounding instrument; (n.) sound, noise’, *muṛakkam* ‘loud noise (as of thunder or drums), clamor, roar’, *moṛi* ‘(vb.) to say, to speak; (n.) word, saying, language’, *muṛavu*, *muṛā* ‘drum, large loud-sounding drum’; Malayalam *muṛaṅṅuka* ‘to roar, to reverberate’, *muṛakkuka* ‘to beat or play an instrument, to make to resound’, *muṛakkam* ‘a reverberating, rumbling, roaring sound’, *moṛi* ‘word’, *moṛiyuka* ‘to speak’; Kota *moṛv* ‘a child’s continuous crying’; Kannaḍa *moṛagu* ‘(vb.) to sound (as certain musical instruments), to roar, to thunder, to play certain instruments; (n.) sound of certain musical instruments, roaring, thunder’; Telugu *mrōḡu*, *mrōyu*, *mrōvu* ‘to sound’; Naikṛi *muṛ-* (*muṭṭ-*) ‘to speak’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:448, no. 4989.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **mur-*, **mor-*; (reduplicated) **mur-mur-*, **mor-mor-* ‘to murmur, to rustle, to grumble’: Sanskrit *múrmura-ḥ* ‘crackling fire’, *Murmurā* the name of a river, *marmara-ḥ* ‘(adj.) rustling, murmuring; (n.) murmur’; Armenian *m̄m̄ram*, *m̄m̄rim* (< **mūrmūr-*) ‘to murmur’; Greek *μορμύρω*, *μυρμύρω* ‘to roar, to boil (of water)’, *μύρομαι* ‘to shed tears, to weep’; Albanian *murmuroj* ‘to murmur, to mumble’; Latin *murmurō* ‘to murmur, to make a noise, to roar’, *murmur* ‘a murmuring, humming, roaring, rumbling, crashing’; Old Icelandic *murra* ‘to murmur’; Old High German *murmurōn* ‘to murmur’; Lithuanian *murmėti*, *marmėti* ‘to mutter, to rumble; to murmur, to grumble’; Czech *mrmlat* ‘to mutter, to mumble’. Pokorny 1959:748—749 **mormor-*, **murmur-* ‘to murmur’; Walde 1927—1932.II:307—308 **mormor-*, **murmur-*; Mann 1984—1987:798 **mormolos* (**mormoros*) ‘murmur; humming creature, murmur’, 818 **mur-* ‘to murmur, to grunt’, 819 **murm-*, 819—820 **murmulō*, **murmurō*, *-iō* ‘to murmur, to mutter, to grumble, to growl’, 820 **murmutiō*, 820 **murn-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:388 (?) **murmur-* ‘to murmur’; Watkins 1985:43 **mormor-* (also **murmur-*) ‘to murmur’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:596 and II:657; Beekes 2010.II:967 and II:982; Boisacq 1950:644; Hofmann 1966:205 **murmur-*, **mormor-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:712; Frisk 1970—1973.II:254—255; Orël 2003:277 Proto-Germanic **murrōjanan*; De Vries 1977:396; Ernout—Meillet 1979:423; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:130—131 **murmur-* (**mormor-*); De Vaan 2008:395—396; Derksen 2008:335 and 2015:325—326 **mur-mur-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:473; Smoczyński 2007.1:412. Note: According to Orël (1998:278), Albanian *murmuroj* ‘to murmur, to mumble’ is borrowed from Latin.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **mura-* ‘(vb.) to cry, to shout, to sing; (n.) crying, shouting, singing’ > Mordvin *mora-* ‘to sing, to play an instrument’, *moro* ‘a song’; Cheremis / Mari *muro* ‘a song’, *mure-* ‘to sing’; Ostyak / Xanty *mora-* ‘to shout (at the arrival in the village of rowers, bringing an official)’, *morəgt-* ‘to make a big noise (of people)’. Collinder 1955:99 and 1977:115; Rédei 1986—1988:287—288 **mura*.

Sumerian *mur* ‘scream, cry; shouting, yelling; voice’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:668—670, no. 547; Caldwell 1913:603 and 622; Hakola 2000:109, no. 467; Assadian—Hakola 2003:88, no. 285; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1467, **muΓra* ‘to emit vocal sounds (to shout, to sing)’.

928. Proto-Nostratic root **musʷ-* (~ **mosʷ-*):
 (vb.) **musʷ-* ‘to immerse, dip, or plunge in water, to bathe’;
 (n.) **musʷ-a* ‘immersion, dip, plunge, bath’

Extended form (Indo-European and Uralic):

(vb.) **mus^y-V-k'* ‘to immerse, dip, or plunge in water, to bathe’;

(n.) **mus^y-k'-a* ‘immersion, dip, plunge, bath’

- A. Proto-Dravidian **muy-/ *muc-* > **mi(y)-/ *muc-* ‘to wash, to bathe’: Toda *mi-y-* (*mi-d-*) ‘to bathe’; Kannaḍa *mī, mīyu* (*mind-, mīd-*) ‘to take a bath, to bathe; to cause to bathe, to wash, to pour over (the body)’; Tuḷu *mīpini* ‘to take a bath, to wash oneself’; Parji *mī-* (*mīñ-*) ‘to bathe’; Gadba (Ollari) (*nīr*) *muy-*, (Salur) *mī-, miy-* ‘to bathe’; Maṇḍa *mī-* ‘to bathe’; Kui *mīva* (*mīt-*) ‘to lave, to bathe or anoint oneself, to be anointed or spattered’, *musa* (*musi-*) ‘to wash the head’; Kuṛux *mūjnā* ‘to wash the face of’; Malto *múnje* ‘to wash one’s face’, *múnjre* ‘to wash one’s face’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:435, no. 4878.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **mosk'-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **mesk'-*) ‘to immerse in water, to dip or plunge in water’: Sanskrit *māj̥jati* ‘to sink, to dive, to plunge, to perish’; Latin *mergō* ‘to dip, to plunge into liquid, to immerse’; Lithuanian (denominative) *mazgōju, mazgōti* ‘to wash, to wash up, to scrub’; Latvian *mazgāju, mazgāt* ‘to wash’. Rix 1998a:398 **mesg-* ‘to dip, to plunge into liquid, to immerse, to sink’; Pokorny 1959:745—746 **mezg-* ‘to dip, to plunge’; Walde 1927—1932.II:300—301 **mezg-*; Mann 1984—1987:761 **mesgō* (**mezg-*) ‘to immerse, to soak, to steep; to plunge’, 800 **mosgos* (**mosg-*) ‘steeping, infusion, mash’; Mallory—Adams 1997:160 **mesg-* ‘to dip under water, to dive’; Watkins 1985:42 **mezg-* and 2000:56 **mezg-* ‘to dip, to plunge’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:549; De Vaan 2008:375; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:76—77 Latin *mergō* < **mezgō*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:399 **mezg-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:384; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:421.
- C. Proto-Uralic **mus^yki-* (**mos^yki-*) ‘to wash’: Estonian *mõske-* ‘to wash’; Mordvin *muške-* ‘to wash’; Cheremis / Mari *muška-* ‘to wash’; Votyak / Udmurt *myšky-* ‘to wash’; Hungarian *mos-* ‘to wash’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *maasa-* ‘to wash’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *masua-* ‘to wash’; Selkup Samoyed *musa-* ‘to wash’. Collinder 1955:35, 1965:31, and 1977:54; Joki 1973:286—287; Rédei 1986—1988:289 **muške-* (**moške-*); Décsy 1990:103 **mosjka* ‘to wash’; Sammallahti 1988:538 **moški-* ‘to wash’; Janhunen 1977b:89 **māsī-*; Zhivlov 2023:163 Proto-Uralic **močki-* ‘to wash’, Proto-Finnic **moske-*.

Buck 1949:9.36 wash. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:666—667, no. 544; Illič-Svityč 1965:349 **m/o/ç(k)λ* [‘МЫТЬ’] and 1971—1984.II:71—72, no. 304, **muçλ-* ‘to wash’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1361, **muçV(-kV)* ‘to immerse, to wash’; Pudas—Marlow 1974:65, no. 177; Hakola 2000:107, no. 455.

929. Proto-Nostratic root **muy-* (~ **moy-*):
 (vb.) **muy-* ‘to return, to give back’;
 (n.) **muy-a* ‘that which is returned or given back: return, recompense, requital, repayment, etc.’
- A. Dravidian: Tamil *moy* ‘presents given on special occasions as at a wedding’; Kota *moy* ‘contribution paid at a feast (for example, at the opening of a new house, at the joint piercing of ears of all children in a village); the total of such contributions’; Kannada *muy(i)*, *muyu* ‘requital, act of returning like for like, return of good for good, an equivalent returned for anything given, done, or suffered, recompense, return of evil for evil, retaliation, punishment; present given to bride and bridegroom at their marriage by their relations, etc., with the prospect of recompense being made on such an occasion in their own house’; Tuḷu *muyi* ‘gift of money at a wedding’, *muyya* ‘returning’, *muyya-pāḍuni* ‘to return, to give back’, *mujare* ‘allowance, subtraction, payment to be reduced due to adjustment of accounts’; Malto *múje* ‘to liquidate a debt’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:463, no. 5121.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **moy-/*mi-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **mey-*) ‘to exchange, to change’: Sanskrit *mayate* (Vedic *mināti*) ‘to exchange, to barter; to deceive’; Latin *mūnus* (< **moy-no-*) ‘office, function, employment, duty’; Old Irish *moín*, *maín*, *máen* ‘treasure, gift’; Welsh *mwyn* ‘worth, value’; Old Icelandic *mein* ‘hurt, harm, injury; disease, sore’, *meina* ‘to harm, to do harm; to hinder, to prevent; to forbid, to prohibit’, *meinn* ‘painful, causing pain’; Old English *mān* ‘wickedness, crime’, *māne* ‘false (oath), wicked’; Old Frisian *men-* ‘false’, *meneth* ‘perjury’; Middle Dutch *mein(e)*, *meen* ‘false’; Old High German *mein* ‘false, deceitful’ (New High German *Mein-* in *Meineid* ‘perjury’); Old Church Slavic *měna* ‘exchange’; Russian *ména* [мена] ‘exchange, barter’, (dial.) *menít’* [менить] ‘to change, to exchange’; Lithuanian *maĩnas* ‘exchange’, *mainaũ*, *mainýti* ‘to exchange’; Latvian *miju*, *mīt* ‘to exchange’, *maĩna* ‘exchange’; Tocharian A *māsk-*, B *māsk-* (< **mi-sk^he/o-*) ‘to exchange’, B *misko* ‘trading, exchanging’. Rix 1998a:383 **mej-* ‘to exchange, to barter; to deceive’; Pokorny 1959:710 **mei-* ‘to change, to exchange’; Walde 1927—1932.II:240—241 **mei-*; Mann 1984—1987:747 **mejō* (**mejō*, **mīō*) ‘to pass, to change’, 767 **mīō*, **mī-* ‘to move, to pass’, and 788 **moin-* (**moinos*; **moinejō*) ‘mutual, reciprocal, common, general; exchange, reward, return, change’; Watkins 1985:40 **mei-* and 2000:52 **mei-* ‘to change, to go, to move’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:754 **mej-*, **mej(-n)-*, II:885 **mej-* and 1995.I:657 **mei-* ‘to exchange, to trade’, **mei(-n)-* ‘change, exchange’, I:781 **mei-* ‘to exchange, to trade’; Mallory—Adams 1997:184 **mei-* ‘to exchange’ and 2006:81 **mei-* ‘to exchange’, 272, 273, 285; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:635—636 **mei-*; De Vaan 2008:395; Ernout—Meillet 1979:422 **mei-* ‘to change, to exchange’;

Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:128; Orël 2003:255 Proto-Germanic **mainaz*; De Vries 1977:382; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:472 **mei-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:471 **mei-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:255—256 *(*h*₂)*moi-*; Derksen 2008:311 **moi-n-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:284; Adams 1999:459 **mei-* ‘to (ex)change’; Smoczyński 2007.1:367—368; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:395—397. Proto-Indo-European **mey-th-*/**moy-th-*/**mi-th-* ‘to exchange, to change’: Latin *mūtō* ‘to move, to shift (tr.); to change, to alter (intr.)’; Gothic *maidjan* ‘to change, to falsify’, *maipms* ‘gift’; Old Icelandic *meiðmar* (pl.) ‘valuables, treasures’; Old English *mīpan* ‘to hide, to conceal; to avoid, to shun, to refrain from’, *māþm* ‘anything precious; treasure, gift’; Old Saxon *mīthan* ‘to shun, to avoid’, *mēthom* ‘anything precious; treasure, gift’; Dutch *mijden* ‘to avoid’; Old High German *mīdan* ‘to shun, to avoid, to refrain from’ (New High German *meiden*); Old Church Slavic *mitě* ‘alternately’; Latvian *miētus* ‘exchange’; Sanskrit *méthati* ‘to unite, to pair, to couple, to meet (as friend or antagonist), to alternate, to engage in altercation’. Rix 1998a:386—387 **mei₂-* ‘to change, to exchange, to remove’; Pokorny 1959:710 **mei-* ‘to change, to exchange’; Walde 1927—1932.II:240—241 **mei-*; Mann 1984—1987:746 **meit-* ‘to turn, to change’, 788 **moit-* ‘to turn, to change’, 788—789 **moitm-* ‘change, turn, return, requital’, 789 **moitō*, -*īō* (**moith-*) ‘to turn, to shift, to change, to alternate’; Watkins 1985:40 **mei-* and 2000:52 **mei-* ‘to change, to go, to move’; Mallory—Adams 1997:184—185 **meit-* ‘to exchange’ and 2006:272 **meit-*, 273 **meit-* ‘to exchange’, 285 **meit-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:682—683; Ernout—Meillet 1979:426 **mei-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:137—138 **mei-t-*; De Vaan 2008:398—399; Orël 2003:254 Proto-Germanic **maidjanan*, 256 **maipmaz*; Feist 1939:340 and 342; Lehmann 1986:241 **mey-* and 242 **mey-t(h)-* ‘to exchange’; De Vries 1977:381 **moit-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:471 **meit(h)-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:471; Derksen 2008:318 **meith₂-*.

- C. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **muju-* ‘ill’: Amur *muinə-dv* ‘ill; to become ill’; East Sakhalin *mjuu-d* ‘ill’, *mjuv-d* ‘to be or become ill’. Fortescue 2016:108. Assuming semantic development as in Old Icelandic *mein* ‘hurt, harm, injury; disease, sore’, cited above.

Buck 1949:4.84 sick; sickness; 12.93 change (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1511, **moyV-* ‘to give, to give back, to restore’. Note: The Chadic material cited by Dolgopolsky does not belong here. Rather, it should be included under no. 1513, *mVyV-* ‘to come’ or ‘to go, to pass’ (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:380, no. 1752, **may-* ‘to go, to come’).

22.44. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *n

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
n-	n-	n-	n-	n-	n-	n-	n-
-n-	-n-	-n-/- <u>n</u> -	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-

930. Proto-Nostratic first person singular personal pronoun **na* (~ **nə*) ‘I, me’:

Note: On the basis of Dravidian (and possibly Altaic), the original form of this stem may have been **ŋa* (~ **ŋə*), but this is not certain. Sumerian [Emegir] *ĝá.e* [= /ŋa-/] ‘I’ supports such a reconstruction as well.

- A. Proto-Afrasian **nV* first person singular personal pronoun: ‘I, me’:
 Semitic: first person verb suffix: Akkadian *-ni*; Hebrew *-nī* [ʾnī]; Syriac *-n*; Ugaritic *-n*; Arabic *-nī*; Geez *-ni* [-**ḏ**]; etc. (cf. Moscati 1964:106, §13.14).
 Chadic independent pronoun: Hausa *ni* ‘I, me’; Ngizim *na(a)* ‘I’; Mubi *ni* ‘I’. Ongota *naa-ku/na* ‘for me, to me’, *s-ine* ‘my’ (cf. Fleming 2002b:50).
 Ehret (1995:362 and 363) reconstructs the following first person pronouns for Proto-Afrasian: **ʔan-/*ʔin-* or **an-/*in-* ‘I’, **ʔann-/*ʔinn-* or **ann-/*inn-* ‘we’ (= **ʔan-/*ʔin-* or **an-/*in-* + old Afrasian pl. in *-*n*).
 The following first person singular independent personal pronouns are found in the Afrasian daughter languages: Semitic: Arabic *ʔanā* ‘I’; Sabaeen *ʔn* ‘I’; Hebrew *ʔānī* [ʾnī], *ʔānōḫī* [ʾnōḫī] ‘I’; Syriac *ʔenā* ‘I’; Eblaite *ʔanna* ‘I’; Old Babylonian *anāku* ‘I’; Ugaritic *án, ánk* ‘I’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔana* [ḥn] ‘I’; Tigrinya *ʔanā* ‘I’; Tigre *ʔana* ‘I’; Amharic *əne* ‘I’. Moscati 1964:102, §13.1; Lipiński 1997:298—299; Stempel 1999:82; Zammit 2002:80. Egyptian *ink* ‘I’; Coptic *anok* [ANOK] ‘I’. Erman—Grapow 1921:15 and 1926—1963.1:101; Hannig 1995:79—80; Faulkner 1962:24; Gardiner 1957:53, §64, and 554; Černý 1976:9; Vycichl 1983:12. Berber: Tuareg *nək* ‘I, me’; Ghadames *nəc, nəccan* ‘me’; Mزاب *nəc, nəcci, nəccin* ‘me’; Kabyle *nəkk, nəkki, nəkkini* ‘me’; Tamazight *nəkk, nəç* ‘me’. East Cushitic: Burji *áni* ‘I’; Gedeo / Darasa *ani* ‘I’; Saho-Afar *an-u* ‘I’; Hadiyya *ani* ‘I’; Kambata *ani* ‘I’; Sidamo *ane, ani* ‘I’; Bayso *an-i, an-a, an-ni* ‘I’; Rendille *an(i)* ‘I’; Galla / Oromo *an(i)* ‘I’; Dullay *an-o* ‘I’. Sasse 1982:26; Hudson 1989:83. Central Cushitic: Bilin *ʔan* ‘I’; Xamir *an* ‘I’; Kemant *an* ‘I’; Awngi / Awiya *án/áni* ‘I’. Appleyard 2006:87. Beja / Beḏawye *ʔane* ‘I’. Reinisch 1895:20. Southern Cushitic: Alagwa *an, ana* ‘I’; Ma’a *áni* ‘I’; Iraqw *an, ani* ‘I’; Burunge *an, ana* ‘I’; Dahalo *ʔányi* ‘I’. Ehret 1980:283. Ongota *naa-ku/na* ‘for me, to me’, *s-ine* ‘my’ (cf. Fleming 2002b:50).
 Chadic independent pronoun: Hausa *ni* ‘I, me’; Ngizim *na(a)* ‘I’; Mubi *ni* ‘I’.
- B. Proto-Dravidian first person singular stem **ñā-n-* and the first singular suffix *-*n* in: first person singular **yā-n-* (obl. **yā-n-*), alternative first

- person singular **ñā-n-* (obl. **ñā-n-*, also **ñā-*): Tamil *yāñ*, *ñāñ* ‘I’; Malayalam *ñān* ‘I’; Kota *a-n* ‘I’; Toda *o-n* ‘I’; Kannaḍa *ān*, *nān* ‘I’; Koḍagu *na-nī*, *na-* ‘I’; Tuḷu *yānu*, *yēnu* ‘I’; Telugu *ēnu*, *nēnu* ‘I’; Kolami *a-n* ‘I’; Naikṛi *ān* ‘I’; Parji *ān* ‘I’; Gadba *ān* ‘I’; Gondī *anā*, (emphatic) *annā*, *nannā*, *nanā*, *nana* ‘I’; Koṇḍa *nān(u)* ‘I’; Pengo *ān/āney* ‘I’; Maṇḍa *ān* ‘I’; Kui *ānu*, *nānu* ‘I’; Kuwi *nānū* ‘I’; Kuṛux *ēn* ‘I’; Malto *én* ‘I’; Brahui *ī* ‘I’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:468, no. 5160. It also occurs as the first singular suffix in finite verbs *-*ñ* > Old Malayalam *-ēn*, *-an*; Iruḷa *-e/-en*; Kota *-ē(n)*; Toda *-en*, *-in*, *-n*; Old Tamil *-ēñ*, *-añ*; Kannaḍa *-eM*; Telugu *-nu*, *-ni*; Koṇḍa *-a*; Kui *-enu*; Kuwi *-ni*; Pengo *-aṅ*; Kolami *-un*, *-n*, *-an*; Naikṛi *-un*, *-n*, *-an*; Parji *-on*, *-en*, *-an*, *-in*, *-n*; Gadba *-an*, *-on*, *-en*, *-n*; Kuṛux *-n*; Malto *-in*, *-en*, *-on*. Krishnamurti 2003:244—245 and 308—312.
- C. Indo-European: Tocharian B first singular (nom.) *ñäs/ñis* ‘I’, Tocharian A *nās* (nom. m.)/*ñuk* (nom. f.). Initial *ñ-* may be derived from earlier **ñ(ā-)* (ultimately < **n-i-* ?). Indo-Europeanists have been at a loss about how to account for the Tocharian forms (cf. Adams 1999:265—266), and most of the explanations offered to date have been makeshift at best. Assuming that Tocharian has preserved an original **n(-i)-*, which has been lost elsewhere within Indo-European, may be a simpler explanation. This is quite speculative, however.
- D. Altaic: In Mongolian, besides **min-*, there is an alternative stem **na-ma-*, which serves as a base for the oblique cases of the first person personal pronoun: Middle Mongolian *namay*, *nadur* ~ *nada*; Dagur *namda*, *nada*; Monguor *ndā*; Moghol *nanda*; Ordos *namādu*, *nada*; Khalkha *nad-*, *namay(g)*; Buriat *namda*, *namā(yi)*; Kalmyk *nan-*, *namā(g)*. Poppe 1955:209—212. Poppe notes that the origin of this stem is not clear, but he mentions the fact that **na-* is identical with Korean *na* ‘I’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1024 reconstruct Proto-Altaic **ŋa* first person pronoun. They note: “The root serves as oblique stem in Mong[olian], which may have been its original function...”
- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh independent first person singular personal pronoun **nvi* ‘I’: Amur *nvi* ‘I’; North Sakhalin *nvi* ‘I’; East Sakhalin *nvi* ‘I’; South Sakhalin *nvi* ‘I’. Gruzdeva 1998:25; Fortescue 2016:114—115.

Sumerian: In Emegir, the first singular (subject) is *g̃á.e* (= /ŋa-/) ‘I’. This may belong here if we assume that the original form contained an initial velar nasal, which was retained in Sumerian, having been replaced by a dental nasal in Nostratic (except perhaps in Dravidian and Altaic).

Greenberg 2000:70.

931. Proto-Nostratic first person plural exclusive personal pronoun **na* (~ **nə*) ‘we, us’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **na-* ~ **ni-* ~ **nu-* first person plural personal pronoun stem: ‘we’: Proto-Semitic independent 1st pl. personal pronoun **naħnū* ‘we’ > Hebrew (*ʔā*)*naħnū* [נַחְנְוּ(א)] ‘we’; Aramaic *ʔānaħnā(n)* ‘we’; Old Babylonian *nīnu* ‘we’; Arabic *naħnu* ‘we’; Mehri *nehā n-* ‘we’; Šheri / Jibbāli *nhān* ‘we’; Harsūsi *nehā* ‘we’; Geez / Ethiopic *nəħna* [ገሕነ] ‘we’; Tigrinya *nəħna* ‘we’. Moscati 1964:105, §13.10; Lipiński 1997:298—306. Old Egyptian *n* ‘we’ (also *inn*); Coptic *anon* [ἄνον], *an-* [ἄν-], *ann-* [ἄνν-] ‘we’. Hannig 1995:77 and 387; Erman—Grapow 1921:14, 76 and 1926—1963.1:97, 2:194—195; Gardiner 1957:53, 554, and 572; Faulkner 1962:23 and 124; Vycichl 1983:13; Černý 1976:9. Berber: Tamazight (independent) *nukni* ‘we’, (indirect, after prepositions) *nəx*; Tuareg (independent) *n-əkkā-ni*. Common East Cushitic **na/*ni/*nu* ‘we’ > Burji *nāanu* ‘we’, *nīn-ka* ‘our’, *nīn-si* ‘us’; Gedeo / Darasa (nom. pl.) *noʔo* ‘we’, (acc. pl.) *noʔo(o)* ‘us’, (dat. pl.) *noʔoʔá*, *noʔá* ‘to us’, (poss.) (m.) *noʔo-ka*, (f.) *noʔo-tt’a* ‘our’; Sidamo (nom.-acc. pl.) *ninke* ‘we’, (dat. pl.) *ninke-ra* ‘to us’, (poss.) *-nke* ‘our’; Kambata (nom. pl.) *naʔooti* ‘we’, (acc. pl.) *ne(e)s*, *-nne* ‘us’, (dat. pl.) *nesá* ‘to us’, (poss.) *-nne* ‘our’; Hadiyya (nom. pl.) *neese* ‘we’, (acc. pl.) *ne(e)s* ‘us’, (dat. pl.) *niin* ‘to us’, (poss.) *ni-* ‘our’; Saho *nanu* ‘we’; Galla / Oromo (Wellegga) first plural present suffixes (affirmative) *-na*, (negative) *-nu*, independent (subject) *nuy*, (base) *nu*. Sasse (1982:151) reconstructs Common East Cushitic **na/*ni/*nu* ‘we’, which “is sometimes provided with a suffix *-ni/-nu* in the subject case”; Hudson 1989:161 and 165. Proto-Southern Cushitic **nana*, **nani* ‘we’ > Ma’a *nīne* ‘we’; Dahalo *nányi/nyányi* ‘we’. Ehret 1980:184. Central Cushitic: Bilin *yīn* ‘we’ (oblique *yīnā*). Reinisch 1887:365—366. Omotic: Dizi first plural suffixes (with auxiliary) *-n*, (without auxiliary) *-ńno*, (subject) *inu*, (object) *in*, (possessive affix) *ń-*. Bender (2000:196) reconstructs a Proto-Omotic first person plural independent personal pronoun **nu* ‘we’ > Zayse (inclusive/exclusive) *nu/ni* ‘we’; Harro *na* ‘we’; Chara *noone* ‘we’; Bench / Gimira (inclusive/exclusive) *nu/ni* ‘we’; Bworo *nu*, *ni* ‘we’. Proto-Semitic **-nā* 1st pl. personal pronoun suffix, **na-/*ni-* 1st pl. personal pronoun prefix > Hebrew *-nū* [נַחְנְוּ], *ni-* [נִי-]; Aramaic *-n(ā)*, *ne-*; Ugaritic *-n*, *n-*; Akkadian *-āni*, *-ānu*; *ni-*; Arabic *-nā*, *na-*; Geez / Ethiopic *-na* [ነ], *nə-* [ገ-]; Tigre *-na*. Moscati 1964:106, §13.14; Stempel 1999:80. The following first person plural suffixed personal pronouns are found in other Afrasian daughter languages: Egyptian *-n* suffix-pronoun (and dependent pronoun): ‘we, us, our’; Coptic *-n* [ἄν] suffix of 1st person plural. Hannig 1995:387; Faulkner 1962:124; Erman—Grapow 1921:76 and 1926—1963.2:194; Gardiner 1957:39, §34; 45, §43; and 572; Černý 1976:103. Berber: Tuareg *-na*, *-nə*. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *-n*. For Southern Cushitic, Ehret (1980:65) lists the following first person plural conjugational affixes: Burunge *-an*; Iraqw *-an*; Dahalo *-Vnu*.

- B. Proto-Dravidian first person plural (inclusive) **ñā-m-* (obl. **ñā-m(m)-*) ‘we’: Tamil *nām* (obl. *nam(m)-*) ‘we’; Malayalam *nām* (obl. *nam(m)-*) ‘we’; Kannaḍa *nāvu* (obl. *nam-*) ‘we’; Tuḷu *nama* ‘we’; Kolami *ne-nd* ‘we’; Naikṛi *nēnd*, *nēm* ‘we’; Kuṛux *nām* ‘we’; Malto *nám* ‘we’; Brahui *nan* ‘we’. Krishnamurti 2003:247—248 **ñām-/*ñam-* ‘we (inclusive)’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:322, no. 3647.
- C. Kartvelian: Svan *nāj* ‘we’ (Tuite 1997:18 writes *næj*).
- D. Proto-Indo-European (personal pronoun of the first person dual and plural) **ne-/*no-/*ŋs-* ‘we, us’: Sanskrit (acc.-dat.-gen. dual) *nau* ‘us’, (acc.-dat.-gen. pl.) *nas*; Latin *nōs* ‘we’; Greek (nom. dual) *vó* ‘we two’; Gothic (acc.-dat. pl.) *uns*, *unsis* ‘us’, (gen. pl.) *unsara*; Old Icelandic (dat.-acc.) *oss* ‘us’; Swedish *oss* ‘us’; Old English (dat.) *ūs* ‘us’; Old Frisian (dat.) *ūs* ‘us’; Old Saxon (dat.) *ūs* ‘us’; Dutch *ons* ‘us’; Old High German (dat.) *uns* ‘us’ (New High German *uns*); Old Church Slavic (acc. pl.) *nasъ*, *ny*, (acc. dual) *na*, (dat. pl.) *namъ*, *ny*, (gen.-loc. pl.) *nasъ*, (instr. pl.) *nami*; Hittite (nom. and acc.-dat. pl.) *an-za-a-aš* ‘we, us’. Pokorny 1959:758 **ne-*, **nō-*; **nēs-*, **nōs-* ‘we, us’; Walde 1927—1932.II:320—321 **ne-*, **nō-*; **nēs-*, **nōs-*; Mann 1984—1987:853 **nōs-* ‘we, us’, 858—859 **ŋs-*; Watkins 1985:44 **nes-* (zero-grade form **ŋs-*) and 2000:58 **nes-* oblique cases of the personal pronoun of the first person plural; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:218 **ne-/*ŋ-* and 1995.I:222 **ne* ‘we’ (exclusive); Mallory—Adams 1997:454 (dual) **nóh₁*, **ŋh₁ué* and 454—455 (pl.) **ŋsmé* ‘us’, (enclitic) **nos*; Brugmann 1904:407—413 (dual) **ne-*, **ŋ-*; (pl.) **nes-*, **ŋs-*, **ŋsme-*; Szemerényi 1996:211—220 (nom. pl.) **ŋsmés*; (acc. pl.) **nes/*nos*, **nēs/*nēs*, **ŋsme*; (gen. pl.) **nosom/*nōsom*; (abl. pl.) **ŋsed*, **ŋsméd*; (dat. pl.) **ŋsmei*; Cowgill 1965:169—170 (dual) **noH*, **ŋH-wé*; (pl.) **nos*, **ŋs-mé*; Burrow 1973:263—269; Fortson 2004:127 **ŋs-me-*, **ŋs-*, **nes-*; Beekes 1995:207—209 **ŋsmé*, **ŋs*, **nōs* and 2010.II:1029 **neh₃*; Sihler 1995:372—373 (acc. pl.) (tonic) **ŋsmé*, (enclitic) **nōs*; (gen. pl.) (tonic) **ŋsóm*, (enclitic) **nōs*; (dat. pl.) (tonic) **ŋsm-éy*, (enclitic) **nōs*; (abl. pl.) **ŋsm-ét*; Meillet 1964:335—336 **nō(s)-*, **ŋ(s)-*; **ŋsme*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:148 **nōs*, **ŋs-* and II:181; Boisacq 1950:675 **nō*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:761; Hofmann 1966:220 **nō*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:330 **nō*; De Vaan 2008:413 **nōs*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:175—176 **nōs*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:444—445; Kroonen 2013:xx Proto-Germanic **uns* ‘us’; Orël 2003:435 Proto-Germanic **unseraz*; Lehmann 1986:378 **ne-*, **ŋ-*; **ŋs-me-*; Feist 1939:523 **ne-*, **ŋ-*; **ŋs-me-*; **ne-/*no-*; De Vries 1977:421; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:39—40 Germanic **uns* (< **ŋs*); Klein 1971:798 **ŋs-*, for **nēs*, **nōs* ‘we’; Onions 1966:965 **ŋs*, reduced-grade of **nes*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:805 **ŋs*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:751; Sturtevant 1951:104, §170g; Kloekhorst 2008b:115—116 and 1004; Derksen 2008:346 **nōs*.
- E. Gilyak / Nivkh: Amur *nʷəŋ* ‘we’ (exclusive); North Sakhalin *nʷin* ‘we’ (exclusive); East Sakhalin *nʷin* ‘we’ (exclusive); South Sakhalin *nʷin* ‘we’ (exclusive). Fortescue 2016:114—115.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:683—684, no. 564; Möller 1911:169; Brunner 1969:106, no. 585; Dolgopolsky 1984:90—91 **nV* ‘we’ (exclusive) and 2008, no. 1526, **n̄V* ‘we’ (exclusive).

932. Proto-Nostratic deictic particle **na* (~ **nə*), **ni* (~ **ne*) ‘this, that’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **na*/*-*n* demonstrative stem/deictic particle: ‘this, that’: Proto-Semitic **na*/*-*n* demonstrative stem/deictic particle: ‘this, that’ > Hebrew -*n* [ן] deictic element; Arabic (conjunction) *ʔan*, *ʔanna* ‘that’, -*n*, -*n*- deictic element; Akkadian *annū* ‘this’; Sabaean -*n* definite article: ‘the’; Šheri / Jibbāli -*n*, -*n*- deictic element. Barth 1913:96—103. Egyptian (demonstrative neuter and pl.) *n*’ ‘this, these’, (demonstrative pronoun) *nw* ‘this, these’; Coptic *n*- [N-], *nen*- [NEN-] plural of definite article, (plural demonstrative pronouns) *nai* [NAI] ‘these’, *nē* [NH] ‘those’, (plural possessive prefix) *na*- [NA-] ‘of those’. Hannig 1995:390 and 396—397; Faulkner 1962:125 and 127; Erman—Grapow 1921:133, 133—134, 135, 137—138 and 1926—1963.2:199, 2:216; Gardiner 1957:572 and 573; Černý 1976:103, 104, and 105. Berber: Kabyle -*nni* ‘this, that; these, those’, -*inna*/*yinna* ‘that, those’ (a person or thing at a distance but usually within sight). Independent 3rd person personal pronoun: Tuareg *ənta* (m./f. sg.) ‘him, her’; Ghadames (m. sg.) *nittu* ‘him’, (f. sg.) *nittat* ‘her’; Tamazight (m. sg.) *nətta*, *nəttan* ‘him’, (f. sg.) *nəttat* ‘her’, (m. pl.) *nitni* ‘them’, (f. pl.) *nitənti* ‘them’. Note also: Proto-Agaw 3rd singular pronoun base **ηV*- ‘he’ > Bilin *nī* ‘he’; Xamir *ηāj* ‘he’; Quara *nī* ‘he’; Kemant *nī* ‘he’; Awngi / Awiya *ηi* ‘he’. Appleyard 2006:80—81; Reinisch 1887:279.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian 3rd person suffix (subjective conjugation) *-*n*: Old Georgian -*n*; Mingrelian -*n*; Laz -*n*. Klimov 1964:144—145 *-*n*; Fähnrich 2007:310—311 *-*n*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:258 *-*n*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **ne*-, **no*-; **ḡe-no*-, **ḡo-no*- demonstrative stem: ‘this, that’: Sanskrit *ana*- (instr. *anēna*, *anāyā*) ‘this, these’, *nā* ‘like, as’; Avestan *ana*- ‘this, that, he’; Greek *νή*, *ναί* used in strong affirmation: ‘yea, verily, aye, yes’, *ἐνῆ* ‘the last day of the month’; Latin (conj.) *enim* ‘indeed, truly, certainly’, *nē*, *nae* ‘yes, verily, truly’; Lithuanian *nė*, *nėgi*, *nėgu* ‘than’, *nei* ‘as, than’, *añs*, *anàs* (f. *anà*) ‘that, that one’; Old Church Slavic *онъ* (*ona*, *ono*) ‘that, he’; Hittite *an-ni-iš* ‘that, yonder’; Armenian *na* ‘that; he, she, it; him, her’, -*n* definite article. Pokorny 1959:319—321 **eno*- (no doubt **e-no*-) : **ono*- : **no*- : *ne*- ‘that’; Walde 1927—1932.II: 336—339 **eno*-; Mann 1984—1987:27 **anos*, -*ā*, -*om* ‘this, that, yon’, 829 **nē* reinforcing particle on some pronouns and adverbs, 843—844 **nə* enclitic reinforcement; Brugmann 1904:401 **eno*-, **ono*-; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:32; Burrow 1973:277 Indo-Iranian **ana*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:348 and II:733; Boisacq 1950:253 and 655—656 **no*-; Hofmann 1966:82 **eno*-, **ono*- and 210 **no*-; Beekes 2010.II:993 *(*h₁e*)*no*-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:515 and II:286 *(*e*)*no*-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:196; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:404—405 *(*e*)*no*-; De Vaan

2008:190; Puhvel 1984—.1/2:51—55 **ono-* ‘that, yonder’; Kloekhorst 2008b:173—174; Smoczyński 2007.1:14, 1:418, and 1:419; Derksen 2008:372 **h₂en-o-* and 2015:54 **h₂en-o-*, 331—332 **nei*. Note: This stem may also occur in the third plural verb ending **-n*. This was later extended by **-th* to form a new third plural ending **-nth*. Later still, this was further extended by a deictic particle **-i* to form the so-called “primary” third plural ending **-nthi*.

- D. Proto-Uralic **nä* (~ **ne* ~ ? **ni*) ‘this; this one’, **no* ‘those’: Finnish *nämä/nä-* (pl. of *tämä/tä-* ‘this’) ‘these’, *nel/ni-* (pl. of *se* ‘this, that’) ‘these, those’, *nuo* (pl. of *tuo* ‘that, yonder’) ‘those’, *näim* ‘so, like this’, *niin* ‘so, thus’, *noin* ‘like that’; Lapp / Saami *navt*, *na* ‘like this, in the same way as this’, *nábbö* ‘so, then’, *nú*, *nó* ‘like that, in the same way as that, in that way’, (Lule) *nuou* ‘like that (yonder)’; Mordvin *ne* (pl. of *te* ‘this’ and *se* ‘that’) ‘these, those’; Cheremis / Mari *nənə* ‘those’; Zyrian / Komi *na*, *najō* ‘she’, *naja*, *nyje* ‘those’; Selkup Samoyed *na* ‘that’, *nassaj* ‘that much’, *nyy* ‘hither, thither’, *nil’čil’* ‘such’, *naččeety* ‘hither’. Collinder 1955:38 and 1977:57; Rédei 1986—1988:297 **na* ‘this here, that there’, 300—301 **nä* (~ **ne* ~ ? **ni*) ‘this’, and 396—307 **no* ‘those’; Décsy 1990:103 **na*/*nä* ‘this’, **no* ‘those’; Janhunen 1977b:105 **n₃*(-).
- E. Altaic: Proto-Tungus third person possessive suffix **-n* (cf. Sinor 1988:725) > Evenki *-n* (*-in* after consonants); Lamut / Even *-n* (*-an* after consonants); Udihe *-ni*; etc. Cf. Fuchs—Lopatin—Menges—Sinor 1968.
- F. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ɲan* (or **ɲæn*) ‘that (over there)’ > Chukchi *ɲaan-qen* ‘that (visible but distant)’, *ɲan* (deictic particle) ‘over there’, (loc.) *ɲenku/ɲenku* ‘there’, *ɲanqo(re)* ‘to here, this way’ (= *ɲaanqo(re)* ‘from there?’), *ɲenri(lə)* ‘to there (far from the speaker)’; Kerek *ɲaan-in(a)* ‘that’, *ɲannəku* ‘there’, *ɲanci* ‘to there’; Koryak *ɲajen* ‘that’, *ɲanko* ‘there, then’, *ɲakəje* ‘to there’, *ɲanqo* ‘from there, since then’, *ɲano* (deictic) ‘there’; Alyutor *ɲan-in* (Palana *ɲan-en*) ‘that’. Fortescue 2005:193. Note: initial *ɲ-* in these and the following forms instead of the expected *n-* is problematic. Proto-Chukotian **ɲun* ‘over there’ > Chukchi *ɲun-qin* ‘that off to the side from the speaker’, *ɲoonko* ‘there (far off)’, *ɲoon-en-qac* ‘on the far side’, *ɲuunri*, *ɲoonri* ‘to over there’; Koryak *ɲonək* ‘over there’, *ɲunin-* ‘that one (away from the speaker)’; Alyutor *ɲoon* ‘over there’, (Palana) *ɲonk* ‘there, then’, *ɲoonək* ‘there (far away)’, *ɲoontij* ‘to over there’, *ɲonin* ‘that (far) over there’. Fortescue 2005:199; Mudrak 1989b:97 **ɲu-* ‘that’. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ɲut* ‘this (here)’: Chukchi *ɲot-qen* ‘this’, *ɲoot* ‘(just) there’, *ɲotə* ‘over there (behind or to the side of the speaker)’, *ɲotən-qən*, *ɲoten-qan* ‘that (behind the speaker but ahead of the addressee)’; Kerek *uccin*, *uccaj*, *uttəX?annu* ‘this’; Koryak *wuccin* ‘this’, *woto(qun)* ‘here you are’, *woto*, *wotənno* ‘this’ (pl. *wotəccu*); Alyutor *wuttin(a)* ‘this’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *nux* ‘here/there you are’, *nuxqene* ‘here’. Fortescue 2005:199—200; according to Fortescue, the forms with initial *u-* in Kerek and *wu-* in Koryak and Alyutor are derived from **ɲu-*. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan

**ɣutku* ‘here’ (locative case of **ɣut*): Chukchi *ɣutku* ‘here’, *ɣotqo(rə)* ‘from here’; Kerek *uttaku* ‘here’; Koryak *wutku* ‘here’, *wotkaj* ‘to here’, *wotqo* ‘from here’; Alyutor *ɣutku* (Palana *wutəkku*) ‘here’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ɣuʔn* ‘here’. Fortescue 2005:200.

Sumerian *na, ne* ‘this’; *ane, ene* ‘he, she’, *-ani* (*-ni* after vowels) ‘his, her’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:93—94, no. 332, **NA* demonstrative pronoun; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:688—689, no. 570; Hakola 2000:119—120, no. 516; Nafiqoff 2003:50—51 **NA*; Fortescue 1998:155.

933. Proto-Nostratic interrogative-relative particle **na-* (~ **nə-*):

- A. Proto-Afrasian **na-* interrogative-relative particle: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *-nu* [-**ɲ**] interrogative particle; Amharic *-nə* interrogative particle; Ancient Harari *-n* in *mist-n* ‘how much?’. East Cushitic: Burji *-na* positive affirmative copula; Sidamo *-ni* interrogative copula; Gedeo / Darasa *-n* positive affirmative copula. Sasse 1982:150. Central Cushitic: Bilin *-n* interrogative particle. Reinisch 1887:279. Proto-Omotic **oon* ‘who?’ > Gemu (nom.-acc.) *oon+i/a* ‘who?’, (pl.) *oon+anta*; Kullo (acc.) *oni+n* ‘whom?’; Welaitta (subject/object) *oon+i/oon+a* ‘who?’. Note also the Mao (Hozo) interrogative stem *na* ‘when?’. Bender 2000:197 and 230. Ongota *na* ‘what?’, *neeni* ‘what?, why?’, *niike* ‘what?’. Fleming 2002b:61.
- B. Proto-Indo-European interrogative particles **ǵan-*, **-ne*: Latin *an* particle indicating alternative answers, *-nē* interrogative enclitic particle; Gothic *an* interrogative particle indicating uncertainty of speaker. Pokorny 1959:37 **an* demonstrative particle; Walde 1927—1932.I:56 **an*; Watkins 1985:2 **an* demonstrative particle; Mann 1984—1987:21 **an* sentence particle: ‘if, whether’, 829 **-nē* reinforcing particle in some pronouns and adverbs; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:44 and II:150 **nē* (ablaut variant **nē*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:30—31 **an* and 433—434; Lehmann 1986:30; Feist 1939:41; Krause 1968:207; De Vaan 2008:40—41 and 403. Lindsay (1894:605) elaborates: “In class. Latin *-nē* is the general interrogative particle, while *nonnē* is limited to questions which expect an affirmative, *num* to those which expect a negative, answer.” Further on (1894:605—606), Lindsay notes: “*-Ne* is probably I[ndo-]Eur[opean] **nē* (Zend *-na* appended to Interrogatives, e.g. *kas-nā* ‘who then?’; cf. O[ld] H[igh] G[erman] *na weist tu na*, ‘nescisne?’)...” Finally (1894:606), Lindsay derives Latin *an* from the pronominal stem found in Lithuanian *añs* ‘that’, Old Church Slavic *onъ* ‘that’. As noted by Lehmann (1986:30): Gothic *an* is “[n]ot related to Gk *ǎv*, a modal ptc; this rather from *εἰ κάv* ← *κεv*, wrongly divided as *εἰκ ἄv*; similarly Hom *οὐκ ἄv* ← **ου κάv*...” (cf. also Chantraine 1968—1980. I:82).
- C. Proto-Altaic **ɣ[iV]* interrogative pronoun: ‘what?, who?’: Proto-Tungus **ɣū* ‘who?’ > Evenki *ɣī, nī* ‘who?’; Lamut / Even *ñī, ɣī* ‘who?’; Negidal *nī*,

ŋī ‘who?’; Manchu *we* ‘who?’ (*webe* ‘whom?’); Ulch *ŋui*, *ui* ‘who?’; Orok *ŋui* ‘who?’; Nanay / Gold *ui* ‘who?’; Oroch *ńī* ‘who?’; Udihe *nī* ‘who?’; Solon *nīχē* ‘who?’. Proto-Turkic **nē-* ‘what; what?’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *ne* ‘what; what?’; Karakhanide Turkic *ne* ‘what; what?’; Turkish *ne*, *neme* ‘what?; what, whatever, how’, *nere* ‘what place?, what part?’, *nekadar* ‘how much?’; Gagauz *ne* ‘what; what?’; Azerbaijani *nā* ‘what; what?’; Turkmenian *nā*, *nāmā* ‘what; what?’; Uzbek *ne* ‘what; what?’; Uighur *nā* ‘what; what?’; Karaim *ne* ‘what; what?’; Tatar *ni*, *nerse* ‘what; what?’; Bashkir *ni*, *nāmā* ‘what; what?’; Kirghiz *ne*, *neme* ‘what; what?’; Kazakh *ne* ‘what; what?’; Noghay *ne* ‘what; what?’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *ne*, *neme* ‘what; what?’; Chuvash *məʷn* (metathesis from **ne-me*) ‘what; what?’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1034 **ŋ[iV]* ‘what?, who?’ (interrogative pronoun). Proto-Turkic **nē-* ‘what; what?’ and its derivatives are likely to be archaisms since no other native forms in Turkic begin with *n-* (cf. Johanson 1998a:31). Róna-Tas (1998:74), on the other hand, remarks that “[i]t is unlikely that Old Turkic *ne* ‘what’ reflects a Proto-Turkic form, since it would be the only native Turkic word with initial *n*”. Décsy (1998:117) lists the following Old Turkic forms beginning with *n*: *nā* ‘what; what?’, *nāčā* ‘how many?’, *nāčük* ‘how?’, *nāčükläti* ‘why?’, *nägü* ‘what sort?’, *nägüdä* ‘due to’, *nägül* ‘how?’, *nägülüg* ‘how?’, *nälük* ‘really?, or what?’, *nāmā* ‘whatever’, *nāmān* ‘wie?, wiew!’, *nān* ‘not the least’, *nānčā* ‘according to’, *nāŋäyü* ‘special’, *nätäg* ‘just as’.

- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **naqam* ‘however’ > Chukchi *naqam* ‘but, however’; Kerek *jaqam* ‘but, however’; Koryak *naqam* ‘but, however’; Alyutor *naqam* ‘right away, only’; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Sedanka) *jaq* ‘however’. Fortescue 2005:186.
- E. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **nar* ‘who’: Amur *aŋ* ‘who’ (according to Fortescue 2016:111, “probably from **narŋa* with focal interrogative affix **-ŋa*”) (West Sakhalin Amur *aŋ(ŋ)a* ‘who’); North Sakhalin *nař* / *narata* ‘who’; East Sakhalin *nař* / *nar* ‘who’, *nařčij* ‘anyone, no one’; South Sakhalin *nat* ‘who’. Gruzdeva 1998:28; Fortescue 2016:111.
- F. Proto-Eskimo **na-* ‘where’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *na-* ‘where’; Central Alaskan Yupik *na-* ‘where’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *na-* ‘where’; Central Siberian Yupik *na-* ‘which’; Sirenik *na-* ‘where’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *na-* ‘where’; North Alaskan Inuit *na-* ‘where’; Western Canadian Inuit *na-* ‘where’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *na-* ‘where’; Greenlandic Inuit (North / Polar Greenlandic) *na-* ‘where’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:204. Proto-Eskimo **nallir* ‘which’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *naliq* ‘which (of them)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *naliq* ‘which (of them)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *naliq* ‘which (of them)’; Central Siberian Yupik *naliq* ‘which (of them)’; Sirenik *nacaX* ‘which’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *nalliq* ‘which’; North Alaskan Inuit *nalli(q)* ‘which’; Western Canadian Inuit *nalliat* ‘which of many’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *nalli(q)* ‘which’; Greenlandic Inuit (North / Polar Greenlandic) *nalliq* ‘which’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:204. Proto-Eskimo **nayu* and **na(C)uŋ* ‘where (is it)’:

Central Alaskan Yupik *nauwa*, *nauxa* ‘where’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *naa* ‘where’; Central Siberian Yupik *naayu* ‘where is it?’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *nauŋ* ‘where have you come from?’; North Alaskan Inuit *nauŋ* ‘where’; Western Canadian Inuit *nauk* ‘where’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *nauk* ‘where’; Greenlandic Inuit *naak* ‘where’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:204. Proto-Yupik-Sirenik **natə* ‘which (part)’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *natə* ‘what part’; Central Alaskan Yupik *natə* ‘what part’; Central Siberian Yupik *natə* ‘where’; Sirenik *natəlyX* ‘which’, *natu* ‘where’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:204.

- G. Etruscan relative pronoun *an* (*ana*, *ane*, *anc*, *ancn*, *ananc*) ‘who, which’ (also ‘he, she, this, that’). Bonfante—Bonfante 2002:214. Perhaps also found in *nac* ‘how, as, because, since’.

Sumerian *a-na* ‘what?’. *a-na* can also be used as an indefinite or relative pronoun (cf. Thomsen 1987:75). Note also the indefinite pronoun (animate and inanimate) *na-me* ‘anyone, anything; (with negative verb) no one, nothing’ (cf. Thomsen 1987:78).

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1633, **ŋ[U]* (1) ‘thing’, (2) ‘what?’; Greenberg 2000:232—234, §64. Interrogative N.

934. Proto-Nostratic negative/prohibitive particle **na* (~ **nə*), **ni* (~ **ne*), **nu* (~ **no*) ‘no, not’:

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *n*, *nn*, *ny*, *nw* negative particle: ‘not’; Coptic *n-* [n-] negative particle. Hannig 1995:387—389; Faulkner 1962:125 and 134; Gardiner 1957:572 and 574; Erman—Grapow 1921:76 and 1926—1963.2:195; Vycichl 1983:135; Černý 1976:103. A negative *n* is also found in Omotic (cf. C’ara negative (*n*)*ne*) (cf. Bender 2000:218—219).
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *in-* element of negation, Middle Elamite *in-ni* negative particle, *a-ni*, *a-ni-i* prohibitive particle.
- C. Proto-Kartvelian **nu* prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’: Georgian *nu* ‘no, not’; Mingrelian *nu* ‘no, not’; Svan *no* ‘not’ (with indicative). Schmidt 1962:128; Klimov 1964:148—149 **nu* and 1998:144 **nu* prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:267 **nu-*; Fähnrich 2007:323 **nu-*. Proto-Kartvelian **numa* prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’: Mingrelian *numu*, *nəmə* ‘no, not’; Svan *nōma*, *nōm-* ‘no, not’. Klimov 1998:144 **numa* prohibitive particle: ‘no, not’.
- D. Proto-Indo-European negative particles **nē*, **ney-*, negative prefix **n̥-*: Sanskrit *ná*, *nā* ‘not’, negative prefix *a-/an-*; Old Persian *na-* ‘not’; Avestan negative prefixes *na-*, *naē-*, *a-/an-* ‘not’; Greek negative prefixes *ἀ-/ἀν-*, *νῆ-*, *νε-*; Latin negative prefixes *nē-*, *in-*, *nē* ‘not’, *nec*, *neque* (adv.) ‘not’, (conj.) ‘and not’; Oscan *nei*, *ni* ‘not’; Umbrian *nei* prohibitive: ‘not’, *neip* negative and prohibitive: ‘not’; Old Irish *ní*, *nī* ‘not’, *ne-ch* ‘someone, anyone, something, anything; nobody, nothing’, negative prefixes *ne-*, *nī-*,

in-/é-/an-; Gothic *ni* ‘not’, *nei* ‘nor’, negative prefix *un-*; Old Icelandic *ne* ‘not’, (adv.) *né* ‘neither, nor’, (adv.) *nei* ‘no’; Norwegian *nei* ‘not’; Old English *ne*, *ni* ‘not’, negative prefix *un-*; Old Frisian *ne*, *ni* ‘not’; Old Saxon *ne*, *ni* ‘not’; Old High German *ne*, *ni* ‘not’; New High German *nicht* ‘not’, *nie* ‘never, at no time’; Lithuanian *nė*, *neĩ* ‘not’; Old Church Slavic *ne* ‘not’; Hittite *na-at-ta* ‘not’; Palaic *ni-i* ‘not’. Pokorny 1959:756—758 **ne*, **nē*, **nei*, **ŋ-* negative particle; Walde 1927—1932.II:319—320 **ně*, **nē*, **nei*, **ŋ-*; Mann 1984—1987:829 **ne*, **ne-* (**nē*, **nə*) ‘not, un-’, 831 **nei* ‘neither, not’, 855 **ŋ-* a negative prefix; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:225 **ne-/ŋ-* and 1995.I:194 **ne-/ŋ-* negation; Watkins 1985:43—44 **ne* and 2000:57 **ne* ‘not’; Mallory—Adams 1997:395 **ne* ‘not’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:13 **ně* and II:120; Burrow 1973:283; Boisacq 1950:1 **ŋ-*, **ŋⁿ-* and 667—668 **ně*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:1 **ŋ-*, **ně* and II:313; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:1—2 and II:732; Hofmann 1966:1 **ŋ-*, **ne* and 217; Beekes 2010.I:1 **n-*; De Vaan 2008:403; Ernout—Meillet 1979:432—433 **ne-*, **ŋ-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:686—687 **ŋ-*, II:150—151 **ně*, **nei*, and II:152 **ne-q^{ue}*; Kroonen 2013:385 Proto-Germanic **ne* ‘not’; Orël 2003:283 Proto-Germanic **ne*; Feist 1939:373, 374, 374—375, 375, and 516 **ŋ-*; Lehmann 1986:265—266 **ne*, **nē*; **ne*, **ŋ-*; De Vries 1977:406; Torp 1919:454; Onions 1966:604, 612, 615, 616, and 956—957 **ŋ-*; Klein 1971:489, 498 **ně*, and 795 **ŋ-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:510 and 803 **ŋ-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:503, 504 **ne*, and 749 **ŋ-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:418 and 1:419; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:489 and I:491; Derksen 2008:347 **ne* and 2015:331 **ne*.

- E. Proto-Uralic negative particle **ne* ‘not’: Hungarian *ně*, *nēm* ‘not’; Cheremis / Mari *nō*, *ni*: *nō-mat*, *ni-ma-at*, *ni-mat* ‘nothing’, *ni-gū* ‘nobody’; Votyak / Udmurt *ni*: *ni-no-kin* ‘nobody’, *ni-no-ku* ‘never’, *ni-no-mer* ‘nothing’; Zyrian / Komi *nōm*, *nem*, *ńem* ‘nothing’; Vogul / Mansi (Northern) *nee-mäter* ‘nothing’, *neem-hot* ‘nowhere’, *neem-huuñt* ‘never’; Ostyak / Xanty (Northern) *nem-hōjat* ‘nobody’, *nem-huntta* ‘never’, *nematti*, *nəmattə* ‘nothing’. Samoyed negative verb: Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ńi-* (*ńo-*); Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *ńe-*. Collinder 1955:38; Rédei 1986—1988:301. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *ńə-* negative pronominal marker, *ń-irkin/ń-irkid* ‘no one’, *ńə-qon* ‘nowhere’, *ńə-leme* ‘nothing’, *ń-ol-γodome-* ‘uneven, unequal’. Nikolaeva 2006:294.
- F. Altaic: Turkic: In Chuvash, there is a preposed prohibitive particle *an* ‘no, not’ which is used to negate second and third person imperatives. Greenberg (2000:212—213) notes that, “[i]n Tungus there is a widespread form *ana* found in Oroch, Orok, and Ulch that typically negates adjectives...”
- G. Proto-Eskimo **na-* and **na(a)yya* ‘no’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Koniag) *naa* ‘no! don’t!’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *naami* ‘no’; Central Siberian Yupik *na(a)*, *nalaa* ‘no’; Sirenik *naayya* ‘no’; North Alaskan Inuit *naayya*, *naakka* ‘no’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *naaka* ‘no’; Eastern Canadian

Inuit (Iglulik) *naayya* ‘no’; Greenlandic Inuit *naaxxa* ‘no’. Aleut *nanjaa* ‘no’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:204.

Sumerian *na* ‘not’, *na-* modal prohibitive prefix (imperfect root), *nu* ‘not’, *nu-* negative prefix. Thomsen 1987:190—199.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:681—682, no. 562; Greenberg 2000:212—213; Möller 1911:169; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1524, **ni* ‘not’.

935. Proto-Nostratic root **naʃ-* (~ **nəʃ-*):

(vb.) **naʃ-* ‘to come, to go, to journey, to travel’;

(n.) **naʃ-a* ‘journey’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **naʃ-* ‘to come, to go, to arrive, to journey, to travel’: Proto-Semitic **naʃ-* ‘to come’ > Geez / Ethiopic (suppletive imperative of the verb ‘to come’) *naʕa* [ʔ0], *naʕā* [ʔʕ], *nəʕā* [ʔʕ] ‘come!, come now!, come up!’, Tigre (imptv.) *nāʕa* ‘come!’, Tigrinya (imptv.) *nəʕa* ‘come!’, Amharic (imptv.) *na* ‘come!’, Gurage (imptv.) *na* ‘come!’. Leslau 1979:445 and 1987:382. Egyptian *nʕi* ‘to come, to go, to arrive, to journey, to travel (by boat), to sail’, *nʕ-t* ‘expedition’, *nʕy-t* ‘mooring-post’; Coptic *na* [nA] ‘to go’. Hannig 1995:394; Faulkner 1962:126; Erman—Grapow 1921:77 and 1926—1963.2:206; Gardiner 1957:573; Vycichl 1983:136; Černý 1976:103. West Chadic: Ngizim *nai* (intr.) ‘to come’ (form of ‘come’ used in the subjunctive), (tr.) ‘to bring’ (form of ‘bring’ used in the subjunctive), *ni* (intr.) ‘to come, to go’, (tr.) (with transitivizing suffixes *-náa, -dù*) ‘to bring, to take’ (subjunctive form; *ni* is neutral with respect to motion), *nná* (intr.) ‘to come’, (tr.) (with transitivizing suffixes *-náa, -dù*) ‘to bring’ (used in the second subjunctive), *nyà* corresponding to ‘come/bring, go/take’ (imperfective; *nyà* is neutral with respect to motion); Kirfi *no* (perf. ventive *nó-n-kò*) ‘to come’. Central Chadic: Musgu *na* ‘to go’; Masa *nàná* ‘to go’. Stolbova 2005— .I:96, no. 325, **nV* > **nVnV* ‘to come, to go’; Schuh 1981:xxiii (paradigms of the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’), 121—122, 128, 129, and 129—130; Jungrathmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:82—83 and II:162—163. Ehret 1995:323, no. 627, **naaʃ-/niiʃ-* ‘to come, to go’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European (**neʃh-* [**naʃh-*]/**noʃh-* ‘to travel by boat, to sail’): (nom. sg.) **neʃh-u-s* [**naʃh-u-s*] ‘ship, boat’, (gen. sg. **neʃh-w-os* [**naʃh-w-os*]): Old Persian *nāv-* ‘ship’; Sanskrit *náuh* ‘ship, boat’; Greek (Attic) *ναῦς* ‘ship’, (Homeric, Ionic) *νηῦς*; Armenian *nav* ‘ship’ (< Iranian ?); Latin *nāvis* ‘ship’, *nāvigō* ‘to sail, to set sail’; Old Irish *náu* ‘ship’; Old Icelandic *nór* ‘a kind of ship’; Old English *nōwend* ‘shipmaster, sailor’. Pokorny 1959:755—756 **nāus-* ‘ship’; Walde 1927—1932.II:315 **nāu-*; Mann 1984—1987:828 **nāy-* (**nāyus*) ‘boat; boat shape, nave, trough’ (variant **nāyijə*); Watkins 1985:43 **nāu-* ‘boat’ (contracted from **na₂u-*) and 2000:57 **nāu-* ‘boat’ (oldest form **ne₂₂u-*, colored to **na₂₂u-*,

contracted to **nau-* [before consonants] and **nāw-* [before vowels]); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:674 **naHy-* and 1995.I:582 **naHw-* ‘to float, to sail (of boats, ships)’, **naHw-* ‘boat, ship, vessel’, I:724 **nāu-s-* ‘ship, boat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:74 **néh_aus* (gen. **nh_auós*) ‘boat’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:181 **naHú-*, (gen. sg.) **naH-ú-ós*; Burrow 1973:246—247 Sanskrit *naús* ‘ship’ < **naHu-s* (gen. sg. *nāvás* < **naHvás*); Boisacq 1950:658—659; Hofmann 1966:212 **nāus*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:292—293 (nom. sg.) **nāu-s*, (acc. sg.) **nāu-η*, (gen. sg.) **nāu-es*, (acc. pl.) **nāu-ηs*; Beekes 2010.II:998 **neh₂u-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:737—738 **nāu-s*; De Vaan 2008:402—403; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:146—149 (nom. sg.) **nāus*, (acc. sg.) **nāu-η*; **nāu-is*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:431—432 Latin (acc. sg.) *nāvem* < **nāwη*; Sihler 1995:328 **neH₂u-* ‘boat’; Lindsay 1894:252 **nāu-* ‘ship’; Orël 2003:289 Proto-Germanic **nōwaz*; Kroonen 2013:391 Proto-Germanic **nō-* ‘ship’; De Vries 1977:411 Old Icelandic *nór* < Proto-Norse **nōwa*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:515—519 **néh₂u-*, **neh₂u-*. Note: Terms such as Latin *nāvia* ‘trough’, Welsh *noe* ‘large bowl’, etc. are secondary derivatives. The original meaning was ‘boat’, later applied in several daughter languages to things ‘shaped like a boat’ (as in Bihari *nāw* ‘feeding trough’ [*< nāvá* ‘boat’; cf. *nāw*, *naiyā* ‘boat’]). A relationship between terms for ‘boat’ and ‘trough, vessel, pot, bowl, etc.’ is not uncommon and is found, for example, in Dravidian: cf. Parji *ōḍa* ‘boat, trough’ (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:99, no. 1039); Malayalam *kalam* ‘pot, vessel, ship’ (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1305); Tamil *vaḷḷam* ‘a dish for use in eating or drinking, hour-glass, a measure of capacity, a measure of grain, a boat made of the trunk of a tree, canoe’ (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:480, no. 5315). See also Buck (1949:10.83 boat) for Indo-European terms. For the derivation of terms for ‘boat’ from ‘to come, to go, to journey, to travel, etc.’, cf. Tamil *kaṭattu* (*kaṭatti-*) ‘(vb.) to cause to go, to drive, to transport, to pass (as time); (n.) boat’, extended form of *kaṭa* ‘to pass through, to traverse, to cross, to exceed, to excel, to win, to overcome, to transgress; to go, to proceed, to pass (as time, water, clouds, etc.)’ (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:104, no. 1109). Note also Buck’s (1949:10.36 sail [vb.]) comments: “The verbs for ‘sail’ are partly from the same root that is widespread also in those for ‘float’ and ‘swim’ (cf. 10.34). Others are deriv[atives] of nouns for ‘sail’, ‘ship’, or ‘sea’. Some are words for ‘row’ extended to ‘travel by water, sail’, and some are general words for ‘travel, go’, used for ‘sail’.” Derivation from ‘to travel, to go’ parallels what is found in Egyptian *n’i* ‘to come, to go, to arrive, to journey, to travel (by boat), to sail’, cited above.

Buck 1949:10.36 sail (vb.); 10.81 ship; 10.83 boat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 687, no. 568. Different (unlikely) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1572, **nā[h]w[E]* ‘vessel’.

936. Proto-Nostratic root **nab-* (~ **nəb-*):(vb.) **nab-* ‘to burst forth, to gush forth’;(n.) **nab-a* ‘a bursting or gushing forth’

Derivative:

(n.) **nab-a* ‘heavy rain, storm cloud, cloudy sky’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **nab-* ‘to burst forth, to gush forth’: Proto-Semitic **nab-aʕ-* ‘to gush forth, to flow’ > Hebrew *nāḇaʕ* [נָבַע] ‘to flow, to spring, to bubble up’; Biblical Aramaic *nəḇaʕ* ‘to burst forth, to flow, to gush’; Akkadian *nabāʕu* ‘to rise (said of a flood)’; Arabic *nabaʕa* ‘to well, to well up, to gush forth, to flow, to issue’; Sabaean *nbʕ* ‘to cause (water) to flow or gush out’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔanbəʕa* [አንብዕ] ‘to weep, to shed tears, to cause to weep’, *ʔanbəʕ* [አንብዕ] ‘tear’; Tigre *nābʕa* ‘to shed tears, to weep’, *ʔambəʕ*, *ʔanbəʕ* ‘tear’; Tigrinya *nābʕe* ‘to shed tears, to weep’, *nəbʕat* ‘tear’; Harari *əbiʔ* ‘tear’; Amharic *ənba* ‘tear’; Gurage *əmba* ‘tear’; Argobba *əmba* ‘tear’; Gafat *əmbwä* ‘tear’. Leslau 1963:17, 1979:43, and 1987:382; Murtonen 1989:271; Klein 1987:402; Zammit 2002:393—394. Proto-Semitic **nab-at-* ‘to gush forth, to burst forth’ > Arabic *nabaʕa* ‘to well out, to gush out, to spout, to issue, to stream forth (water)’; Geez / Ethiopic *nabaʕa* [נָבַע] ‘to boil, to boil over’. Leslau 1987:384; Zammit 2002:393—394.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **nebh-/*nobh-* ‘to burst out, to burst forth’: Sanskrit *nābhate* ‘to burst, to be torn or rent asunder’; Old Icelandic *næfr* (< Proto-Germanic **nābizō*) ‘bark of the birch’. Walde 1927—1932.II:330 **nebh-*; Pokorny 1959:758 **nebh-* ‘to burst’; Rix 1998a:404 (?) **nebh-* ‘to burst, to spring forth’; De Vries 1977:413; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:133—134.

Buck 1949:10.32 flow (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:684, no. 565.

937. Proto-Nostratic (n.) (Eurasian only) **nab-a* ‘heavy rain, storm cloud, cloudy sky’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **nab-* ‘to burst forth, to gush forth’;(n.) **nab-a* ‘a bursting or gushing forth’

- A. Proto-Indo-European **nebh-es/os-* ‘heavy rain, storm cloud, cloudy sky’: Sanskrit *nābhas-* ‘mist, clouds, vapor; rainy season’, *nabhasá-h* (adj.) ‘vapory, misty; (n.) sky, atmosphere; rainy season’; Pāli *nabhas-* ‘cloud, sky’; Avestan *nabah-* ‘cloud’; Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *ne-pi-iš* ‘sky, heaven’; Greek *véφος* ‘cloud’, *νεφέλη* ‘cloud’; Latin *nebula* ‘vapor, fog, mist, cloud’, *nebulōsus* ‘misty, foggy’; Old Irish *nem* ‘sky, heaven’; Old Icelandic (poetic) *njól* (< **nebula-*) ‘darkness, night’, *nifl-* (< **nibila-*) ‘mist, fog’ (only in compounds); Old English *nifol* (< **nibila-*) ‘dark, gloomy’; Old Frisian *nevil* ‘mist, fog, haze’; Old Saxon *nebal* ‘mist, fog, haze, darkness’; Dutch *nevel* ‘mist, fog, haze’; Old High German *nebul* ‘mist, fog, haze’ (New High German *Nebel*); Old Church Slavic *nebo* ‘sky,

heaven'; Czech *nebe* 'sky'; Slovak *nebo* 'sky'; Polish *niebo* 'sky'; Polabian *nebú* 'sky'; Russian *nébo* [небо] 'sky, heaven'. Pokorny 1959:315—316 (**enebh-*) **nebh-*, **embh-*, **ṃbh-* 'wet, water; mist, fog, haze, cloud'; Walde 1927—1932.I:131—132 (**enebh-*) **nebh-*, **embh-*, **ṃbh-*; Mann 1984—1987:830 **nebhəlos*, *-ā* 'mist, cloud', 830 **nebhos*, *-es-* 'sky, cloud, mist'; Watkins 1985:44 **nebh-* and 2000:57 **nebh-* 'cloud' (suffixed form **nebh-(e)lo-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:167, I:186, I:218 **neb^[h]es-*, II:667—668 **neb^[h]-* and 1995.I:144, I:159, I:188 **nebh^{es-}* 'sky', I:575—576, I:584 **nebh-* 'sky, fog, cloud'; Mallory—Adams 1997:110 **nébhes-*, **nebh-el-* 'mist, cloud; sky'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:134; Boisacq 1950:666 **nébh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:309—310 **nébhos*; Hofmann 1966:216 **nebhos*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:748 **nebhelā*; Beekes 2010.II:1012 **nebh^h-s-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:151—152 **enebh-*, **onebh-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:434; De Vaan 2008:404; Kloekhorst 2008b:603—604; Kroonen 2013:386 Proto-Germanic **nebala-* 'fog'; Orël 2003:283 Proto-Germanic **nebulō* ~ **nebulaz*; De Vries 1977:409 and 410; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:505 **nebh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:500; Vercoullie 1898:201; Derksen 2008:347—348 **nebh^h-es-*; Wodtko—Irlinger—Schneider 2008:499—504 **nebh-*.

- B. Proto-Altaic **ñiābo* (~ *-o-*) 'heavy rain, gust of wind': Proto-Tungus **n^vō[be]-kte* 'storm cloud, heavy rain, hail' > Evenki *ñōkta* 'storm cloud, heavy rain', (dial.) *ñēkte*, *ñokta* 'spindrift cloud'; Lamut / Even *ñonto* 'heavy rain'; Negidal *ñekte* 'spindrift cloud'. Proto-Mongolian **nöye-le-* 'to come in gusts' > Written Mongolian *nöyele-* 'to come in gusts'; Khalkha *nōlō-* 'to blow in upward gusts (wind)'. Proto-Turkic **yubug* (~ **yabug*) 'boulders which a torrent carries down, boulders displaced and falling to the bottom of the valley' > Karakhanide Turkic *yuvuy* (~ *yavuy*) 'boulders which a torrent carries down, boulders displaced and falling to the bottom of the valley'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:982 **ñiābo* (~ *-o-*) 'storm, natural disaster'.
- C. Eskimo: Central Siberian Yupik *naaftā-* 'to become stormy'.

Buck 1949:1.51 sky, heavens; 1.73 cloud; 1.74 mist (fog, haze); 10.32 flow (vb.).

938. Proto-Nostratic root **nadv-* (~ **nədv-*):

(vb.) **nadv-* 'to press, to crush, to mash';

(n.) **nadv-a* 'anything crushed or mashed'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **nadv-* 'to press, to crush': (?) Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *nazara*, *nazzara* [𐩦𐩣𐩪] 'to bite, to tear to pieces, to pierce, to crunch, to hit'; Tigrinya *nāzārā*, *nāzālā* 'to tear to pieces, to bite'; Tigre *nāğra* 'to bite off'; Amharic *nāzzārā* 'to strike, to hit', *a-nāzzārā* 'to harass, to pester'; Gafat *tā-nāzzārā* 'to feel pain'. Leslau 1987:411. Egyptian *nḏ* 'to grind', *nḏ*, *nḏt* 'flour', *nḏw* 'miller'; Coptic (Sahidic, Bohairic) *nut* [Ⲣⲟⲩⲧ],

(Sahidic) *nat-* [nAT-], (Bohairic) *not-* [NOT-] ‘to grind, to pound’, (Bohairic) *noyt* [NOEIT] ‘meal, flour’. Hannig 1995:447; Faulkner 1962:143; Gardiner 1957:576; Erman—Grapow 1921:90 and 1926—1963.2:369—370; Vycichl 1983:145; Černý 1976:111.

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *naci* (-*v-*, -*nt-*) ‘to be crushed, bruised, mashed, crumpled’, *naci* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) ‘to crush, to bruise, to mash, to press, to squeeze, to demolish, to destroy’, *naciyal* ‘anything crushed or mashed’, *nacivu* ‘bruise, contusion, loss, destruction, injury’, *nacukku* (*nacukki-*) ‘(vb.) to press, to squeeze, to crush, to subdue; (n.) bruise’, *nacuñku* (*nacuñki-*) ‘to be mashed, crushed’, *nai* (-*v-*, -*nt-*) ‘to be crushed, to be destroyed, to perish’, *nai* (-*pp-*, -*tt-*) ‘to crush, to destroy’; (?) Kota *nacak in-* (*id-*) ‘to make noise in cutting through flesh’; Kannada *najugu* ‘to squash, to crush, to bruise (as dry ginger); to be squashed or bruised’, *najju* ‘a squashed state’; Tuḷu *nasiyuni* ‘to submit, to subdue’, *nesipuni* ‘(vb.) to cut up into small bits, to mince; (n.) a bit, a fragment’; Kui *nasa* (*nasi-*) ‘(vb.) to press, to crush; (n.) the act of crushing’, *nahi*, *nahiki* ‘destroyed, ruined, demolished’, *nacc-* ‘to press’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:314, no. 3574.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian *nätvэ-* ‘to knead’ > Cheremis / Mari (Birsk) *nöštäla-* ‘to knead by pressing with the arms’, (Kozmodemyansk-Berg) *nüštälä-* ‘to knead (dough) with the hands’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *naž-*, (Kazan) *naž-* ‘to knead’. Rédei 1986—1988:706 **näčэ-*.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 5.54 knead; 5.55 meal, flour; 5.56 grind; 9.342 press (vb.).

939. Proto-Nostratic root **nadv-* (~ **nədv-*):

- (vb.) **nadv-* ‘to vex, to disturb, to annoy, to irritate, to agitate; to be annoying, irritating, malicious, rude, bad, mean, base’;
 (n.) **nadv-a* ‘vexation, disturbance, annoyance, irritation, trouble’; (adj.) ‘annoying, irritating, malicious, rude, bad, mean, base’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *nadv-* ‘to vex, to disturb, to annoy, to irritate, to agitate; to be annoying, irritating, malicious, rude, bad, mean, base’: Proto-Semitic **nadv-ul-* ‘to be rude, bad, mean, base, low, vile’ > Arabic *naḍula* ‘to be low, base, mean, despicable, debased, depraved’, *naḍl*, *naḍīl* ‘low, base, mean, vile, despicable, debased, depraved; coward’, *naḍāla* ‘depravity’; Šheri / Jibbāli *naḍal* ‘to remain bad, base, worthless’, *enḍél* ‘to humiliate, to disgrace’, *šənḍél* ‘to blame’, *nūḍəl* ‘low, useless, worthless fellow’; Mehri *nəḍūl* ‘to be thoroughly bad, base; to remain bad’, *hənḍūl* ‘to make bad, to disgrace’, *əntəḍūl* ‘to be bad, to be rude and unkind, to be antisocial in one’s behavior’, *nōḍəl* ‘low, useless, worthless person’. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **nadv-nadv-* ‘to vex, to disturb, to annoy, to irritate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *naznaza* [ገገዝ] ‘to vex, to torment, to cause pain, to shake, to agitate’, *tanaznaza* ‘to be vexed’; Tigrinya *nāznāzä* ‘to shake’; Tigre

nāznāza ‘to jog’; Amharic *nāzännāzā* ‘to importune, to pester’. Leslau 1987:411. Egyptian *ndyt* ‘baseness’, *ndwyt* ‘wickedness, evil, depravity’. Faulkner 1962:144; Gardiner 1957:577; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2: 369 and 2:377. Berber: Ghadames *anzəz* ‘to give someone the evil eye, to single out someone with the intention of doing something bad to him or her’; Tuareg *anzəz* ‘to challenge someone (to cut them down to size, to find a fault with them, etc.); to ebb considerably (water)’. [Ehret 1995:319, no. 617, **naj-* ‘to become low’.]

- B. Dravidian: Tamil *naccu* (*nacci-*) ‘(vb.) to tease, to vex, to trouble, to harass; (n.) trouble, worry’, *nacuvā* ‘one who is always teasing’; Telugu *naccu* ‘(vb.) to tease, to trouble; (n.) troubling’, *naccu-peṭṭu* ‘to annoy, to tease, to fret’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:318, no. 3577.

Buck 1949:16.72 bad.

940. Proto-Nostratic root **nag-* (~ **nəg-*):

(vb.) **nag-* ‘to strike, to split, to pierce, to stab’;

(n.) **nag-a* ‘stroke, blow, wound’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **nag-* ‘to strike, to split, to pierce’: Proto-Semitic **nag-al-* ‘to strike, to split, to pierce’ > Arabic *nağala* ‘to beat, to push; to split, to pierce’, *miṅğal* ‘scythe, sickle’; Hebrew *maggāl* [מַגָּל] (base *ngl* [נָגַל]) ‘sickle’; Syriac *maggālā* ‘sickle’; Geez / Ethiopic *nagala* [ነገለ] ‘to be uprooted’; Amharic *nāggālā* ‘to be uprooted’. Murtonen 1989:272; Klein 1987:315; Leslau 1987:392. Proto-Semitic **nag-aḥ-* ‘to strike, to gore’ > Hebrew *nāyah* [נָיַח] ‘to push, to thrust, to gore’; Aramaic *nəyah* ‘to push, to thrust, to gore’; Ugaritic *ngh* ‘to gore’; Gurage (Wolane) *nagä*, (Selti, Zway) *nāgä* ‘to mow grass (with a sickle), to reap cereals’, (?) (Muher, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo) (*tä*)*nagga*, (Wolane) *tānagä* ‘to clash (cattle, objects), to collide’ (either here or with **nag-aḥ-* ‘to strike, to split, to break’, below). Murtonen 1989:271; Klein 1987:403; Leslau 1979:453. Proto-Semitic **nag-aḥ-* ‘to strike, to split, to break’ > Mandaic *nga* ‘to strike, to injure’; Hebrew *nāya* [נָיַא] ‘to touch; to strike, to injure’, *neya* [נְיַא] ‘stroke, blow, wound’; Aramaic *nəya* ‘to touch’; Geez / Ethiopic *nag^wa* [ነገዓ] ‘to make a cracking sound, to crack, to shout, to be broken, to break (intr.)’, *?astanāg^wa* [አስተናገዓ] ‘to break to bits, to incite, to provoke, to remove (fat)’, (causative) *?anag^wa* [አነገዓ] ‘to break, to dislocate’; Tigrinya *nāg^we* ‘to break (intr.)’; Amharic *nāgg^wa* ‘to snap, to crack, to make a snapping or cracking sound’, *an-nagga* ‘to disjoin, to dismember, to shatter’, *a-nāgg^wa* ‘to break’; (?) Gurage (*tä*)*nagga* ‘to clash (cattle, objects), to collide’ (either here or with **nag-aḥ-* ‘to strike, to gore’, above). Murtonen 1989:272; Klein 1987:404; Leslau 1979:453 and 1987:390. Proto-Semitic **nag-ap-* ‘to strike, to split; to cut off, to split off’ > Hebrew *nāyaφ* [נָיַאֶ] ‘to strike, to smite’, *neyeφ* [נְיַאֶ] ‘strike, (fatal) blow, plague’; Aramaic *nəyaφ* ‘to strike, to push, to injure’; Arabic *nağafa*

‘to shave or polish an arrow; to cut down (a tree), to pull out; to milk a sheep well’; Sabaeen *ngf* ‘to tear out, to uproot’; Mehri *nəgūf* ‘to throw away, to reject’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ngɔf* ‘to throw away, to reject’; Soqotri *negof* ‘to disperse’; Geez / Ethiopic *nagafa* [ገፈ] ‘to shake, to shake off, to shake out, to knock off, to jolt, to dispel, to brush away, to cut off, to lay away, to throw down, to cast, to trip, to carry away’; Tigre *nāgfa* ‘to shake, to shed’; Tigrinya *nāgāfā* ‘to shake, to shed’. Murtonen 1989:272; Klein 1987:404; Leslau 1987:391. Proto-Semitic **nag-aʒ-* ‘to strike, to smite, to kill, to destroy’ > Sabaeen *ngz* ‘to damage, to destroy; to put an end to (someone’s life), to execute’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ngɔz* ‘to die, to finish’. Proto-Semitic **nag-ar-* ‘to cut down, to cut into’ > Arabic *nağara* ‘to hew, to carve, to plane’. Egyptian *ng, ngʒ* ‘to strike, to smite, to cut off, to cut open, to hew, to slay, to crush’, *ngi* ‘to break open, to break up’, *ngt* ‘breach’. Hannig 1995:438; Faulkner 1962:141; Gardiner 1957:576; Erman—Grapow 1921:88 and 1926—1963.2:348, 2:349. Berber: Tuareg *ənğəs* ‘to butt with a horn or the head’, *anağas* ‘a butt with a horn or the head’, *amānğas* ‘an animal that butts with its horns’; Ghadames *əngəj* ‘to give butts with a horn or the head’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ngəs* ‘to butt with the head or horn (a ram)’. Central Chadic: Gude *ngila* ‘knife’; Nzangi *ngəla* ‘knife’; Mafa *ngəl-* ‘to cut’; Daba *nga-* ‘to break’; Logone *ggē-* ‘to break’; Buduma *gai-* ‘to break’. East Chadic: Bidiya *ʔangul* ‘sickle’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:402, no. 1866, **nig-* ‘to break’, 402—403, no. 1867, **nigal-* ‘sickle, sword’, 408, no. 1896, **nVgil-* ‘to cut’, 408, no. 1898, **nVguf-* ‘to cut, to break’, 408—409, no. 1899, **nVgVʕ-* ‘to break, to smite’.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **negh-/nogh-* ‘to strike, to split, to pierce’: Old Irish *ness* ‘wound’; Old Church Slavic *nožb* ‘knife’, *pro-noziti* ‘to pierce through’. Pokorny 1959:760 **neǵh-* ‘to bore, to stab’; Mallory—Adams 1997:537 **h₁neǵh-es-* ‘±spear’; Walde 1927—1932.II:326—327 **neǵh-*; Derksen 2008:358.

Buck 1949:3.85 wound (sb.); 9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.23 knife. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:684—685, no. 566.

941. Proto-Nostratic root **naḥ-* (~ **nəḥ-*):

- (vb.) **naḥ-* ‘to tremble, to shake; to fear, to be afraid’;
 (n.) **naḥ-a* ‘fear’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **naḥ-* ‘to tremble, to shake; to fear, to be afraid’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *nāḥnəḥa* [ናሕንሐ] ‘to shake, to agitate, to break’; (probably also) Tigrinya (*tä*)*nāḥanḥe* ‘to argue, to quarrel’, *nəḥnəḥ* ‘violent argument, violent quarrel’. Leslau 1987:395. Egyptian *nhj* ‘to shake’ (?), *nhjt* ‘palpitations (of the heart)’ (?). Hannig 1995:421; Faulkner 1962:136; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:291. Proto-East Cushitic **naḥ-* ‘to fear’ > Somali *naḥ-* ‘to pity, to be startled’; Galla / Oromo *nah-* ‘to fear,

to take pity on'; Konso *nah-* 'to be tender-hearted'; Gidole *nah-* 'to be afraid, to tremble'; Burji *naʔ-* 'to fear'. Sasse 1979:23 and 1982:150—151; Hudson 1989:19. Southern Cushitic: Iraqw *naaʕ-* 'to fear, to be afraid'. Peust 2008:259.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **neh₂-* [**nah₂-*] > **nā-* 'to fear': Old Irish *nár* (< **nāsrōs*) 'modest, bashful'; Hittite (1st sg. pres.) *na-aḫ-mi*, (3rd sg. pres.) *na-aḫ-ša-ri-ya-az-zi* 'to fear', (nom. sg.) *na-aḫ-ša-ra-az* 'fear, reverence'. Rix 1998a:405 **neh₂-* 'to be afraid'; Pokorny 1959:754 **nā-* 'to be afraid'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:804 **naH-* and 1995.I:705 **naH-* 'to fear, to revere (gods), to be ashamed'; Mallory—Adams 1997:198 **neh₂-* 'to be timid'; Vendryès 1959—:N-3; Sturtevant 1951:47, §74, Indo-Hittite **néxt₂*; Kloekhorst 2008b:591—592.

Buck 1949:16.53 fear, fright. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:682, no. 563.

942. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **nak^h-a* 'animal skin, pelt, hide':

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *nkn* 'a shield with an animal skin stretched over it'. Hannig 1995:438; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:346.
- B. Indo-European: Greek *νάκη* 'a wooly or hairy skin, a goatskin', *νάκος* 'goatskin, fleece'. Perhaps also Old Prussian *nognan* (if for **noknan*) 'leather'; Old English *næsc* (if from **nak-s-ko-*) 'skin'. Pokorny 1959:754 **nak-* 'skin, hide'; Walde 1927—1932.II:316—317 **nāq-*; Mann 1984—1987:825 **nāk-* 'to cover, to hide'; Mallory—Adams 1997:269 (?) **nák(es)-* 'pelt, hide'; Boisacq 1950:656; Frisk 1970—1973.II:287; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:733; Beekes 2010.II:994 (pre-Greek); Hofmann 1966:211.
- C. Proto-Altaic **nak^{hi}* (~ *-o*) 'animal skin, hide': Proto-Tungus **naKita* 'bear skin' > Evenki *nakita* 'bear skin'; Lamut / Even *naqḫt* 'bear skin'; Negidal *naḫata* 'bear skin'; Orok *natta* 'bear skin'; Udihe *na'ta* 'bear skin'. Proto-Mongolian **nekey* 'sheepskin' > Written Mongolian *nekei* '(n.) sheepskin with its wool; (adj.) furlined'; Khalkha *neḫiy* [нэхий] 'sheepskin'; Buriat *neḫi* 'fur'; Kalmyk *nekē* 'sheepskin'; Ordos *neḫi* 'sheepskin'; Monguor *nikī*, *nekī* 'sheepskin'. Poppe 1955:146. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:961—962 **nakⁱ* (~ *-o*) 'a kind of skin'.
- D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **nəklot-* 'to tan skin' > Chukchi *nəylon* 'warm coat made from winter skin of reindeer'; Koryak *nikl'ot-* 'to tan skin'. Fortescue 2005:190.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin; hide. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1542, **nāKa* 'fell, skin'.

943. Proto-Nostratic root **nak^{wh}-* (~ **nək^{wh}-*):

(vb.) **nak^{wh}-* 'to lie down, to go to sleep, to go to bed';

(n.) **nak^{wh}-a* 'bedtime, evening, nighttime'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **n[a]k^w-* ‘to sleep with, to lie with, to copulate’: Proto-Semitic **na/ya/k-* ‘to have sexual intercourse, to copulate’ > Akkadian *nāku* (*niāku*) ‘to have illicit sexual intercourse, to fornicate’; Arabic *nāka* ‘to have sexual intercourse (with a woman)’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *nēk* ‘to sleep with (a woman)’; Mehri *nəyūk* ‘to have sexual intercourse with, to sleep with (a woman)’; Ḥarsūsi *neyōk* ‘to sleep with (a woman)’. Egyptian *nk* ‘to lie with, to sleep with, to copulate’, *nk^w* ‘fornicator, adulterer’; Coptic *noyk* [NOEK] ‘adulterer’, (reduplicated) *noknek* [NOKNEK] ‘to have affection for’. Hannig 1995:437; Erman—Grapow 1921:88 and 1926—1963.2:345; Faulkner 1962:141; Gardiner 1957:576; Vycichl 1983:141; Černý 1976:107. Berber: Tuareg *ənki* ‘to perform the movements of the sexual act on (a woman or a female animal)’; Kabyle *ənki* ‘to place oneself in position and make strenuous effort (as a woman in labor)’. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *nek^{wi}-* ‘to be or become pregnant’, *nā^k^wa* ‘pregnant’, *nā^k^we* ‘pregnancy’. Reinisch 1895:183. Diakonoff 1965:46.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **nek^{wh}-th-/*nok^{wh}-th-* ‘night’: Sanskrit (nom. sg. f.) *nāk* ‘night’ (acc. sg. *nākt-am*); Greek *νύξ* ‘night’; Latin *nox* ‘night’; Old Irish *-nocht* in *innocht* ‘tonight’; Welsh *nos* ‘night’; Cornish *nos* ‘night’; Breton *noz* ‘night’; Gothic *nahts* ‘night’; Old Icelandic *nátt*, *nótt* ‘night’; Faroese *nátt* ‘night’; Norwegian *natt*, *nott* ‘night’; Swedish *natt* ‘night’; Danish *nat* ‘night’; Old English *neaht*, *niht* ‘night’; Old Frisian *nacht* ‘night’; Old Saxon *naht* ‘night’; Dutch *nacht* ‘night’; Old High German *naht* ‘night’ (New High German *Nacht*); Lithuanian *naktis* ‘night’; Old Church Slavic *noštъ* ‘night’; Russian *ночь* [nochʹ] ‘night’; Albanian *natë* ‘night’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ne-ku-zi* ‘to undress, to go to bed’, (nom. sg.) *ne-ku-uz* ‘bedtime, evening’; Tocharian A *noktiṃ*, B *nekcīye* (adv.) ‘last night, at night’. Pokorny 1959:762—763 **nek^u-(t)-*, **nok^u-t-s* ‘night’; Walde 1927—1932.II:337—339 **noqt-*; Mann 1984—1987:833 **nekt-* (?) ‘evening’, 850 **nokterinos* ‘nightly’, 850 **noktīm* ‘by night, at night, yesterday night’, 850 **noktis*, **nokts* ‘night’ (ultimately **noqutis*, **noquts* ?), **noktjom*, **noktjom* adverb and collective of type **nokt-*, 850—851 **noktjōr* (**noktōr*) ‘by night, the evening before; next night’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:168 **nek[h]^o-t[h]-*, I:183 **nok[h]^ot[h]-s*, I:215—216 **ne/ok[h]^ot[h]-*, **nek[h]^o-* and 1995.I:145 **nek^h^o-th-* ‘night’, I:157 **nok^h^o-s*, I:185, **ne/ok^h^o-*, **nek^h^o-*, I:186 **nek^h^o-*; Watkins 1985:44 **nek^w-t-* (*o*-grade form: **nok^w-t-*) and 2000:57—58 **nek^w-t-* ‘night’ (*o*-grade form: **nok^w-t-*); Brugmann 1904:115; Mallory—Adams 1997:394 **nek^w-t-* ~ **nok^w-t-* ‘night’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:121—122; Burrow 1973:75 **nok^w-t-*; Huld 1983:96—97; Boisacq 1950:674 **noqt-*, **noqti-*, **noqten-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:759—760 **nok^w-t-*; Hofmann 1966:219—220 **noqt-* (**noqti-*, **noqtu-*, **noqt(e)r-*); **neq^u-t-* (?); Frisk 1970—1973.II:327—328 **noqt-*; **noq^ut-*, **neq^u-t-s*; Beekes 2010.II:1027 **nek^w-t-*, **nok^w-t-* : **neg^w-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:181—183 **noq^u-t-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:448; De Vaan 2008:416—417; Morris Jones 1913:138 **noq^u-t-s*; Kroonen 2013:381 Proto-Germanic **naht-*

- ‘night’; Orël 1998:282 and 2003:279—280 Proto-Germanic **naxtz*; Feist 1939:368—369 **nokt-*; Lehmann 1986:262 **nok^w-t-* (gen. **nek^w-t-s*) ‘night’ < **nek^w-t-* ‘to grow dark, to become night’; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:5; Torp 1919:450; De Vries 1977:405; Onions 1966:610 **nokt-*; Klein 1971:496 **noqt-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:273—274; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:500 **nokt-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:497 **nokt-*; Melchert 1994a:61 **nék^wts*; Sturtevant 1951:58—59, §81; Kloekhorst 2008b:602 **neg^{wh}-*; **nog^{wh}-t-s*, **neg^{wh}-t-s*; Puhvel 1984— .7:79—83; Adams 1999:342 **nek^wt-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:319—320 **noqt-* (or **noq^{ut}-*); Smoczyński 2007.1:415; Derksen 2008: 355 **nok^w-t-* and 2015:327—328 **nok^w-t-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:481—482; Benveniste 1935:10 **n^e/_ok^w-t-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:513—515 **neg^u-*.
- C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **naki(nək)* ‘night’: Chukchi *naki-rit* (pl. *nakiritti*) ‘night’, *γannun-nəkite* ‘at midnight’; Koryak *nəkinək* ‘night’, *nəkita* ‘at night’, *γənun-nəkinək* ‘midnight’; Alyutor *nəkinək* ‘night’, *nəkita* ‘at night’, *γənun-nəkinək* ‘midnight’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *nkənk* ‘night’. Fortescue 2005:189—190; Mudrak 1989b:104 **nki-nki* ‘night’.

Buck 1949:4.67 have sexual intercourse; 14.42 night. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1540, **nukV* (= **nuk[u]* ?) (or **nAk[V?]V* ??) ‘darkness, night’. Note: The Uralic forms cited by Dolgopolsky (Finnish *nukku-* ‘to sleep, to be asleep’, etc.) do not belong here. A better comparison might be with the sparsely attested Proto-Afrasian root **nuk’-* ‘to sleep with, to lie with, to copulate’, found, for example, in Burji *nuk’-*, *nuuk’-* ‘to have sexual intercourse’ and Dullay *nuug-* ‘to have sexual intercourse’. Sasse 1982:153; Hudson 1989:131 and 215.

944. Proto-Nostratic root **nap^h-* (~ **nəp^h-*), **nip^h-* (~ **nep^h-*), **nup^h-* (~ **nop^h-*):
 (vb.) **nap^h-*, **nip^h-*, **nup^h-* ‘to breathe, to blow’;
 (n.) **nap^h-a*, **nip^h-a*, **nup^h-a* ‘breath, life’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **naf-*, **nif-*, **nuf-* ‘(vb.) to breathe, to blow; (n.) breath, life’: Proto-Semitic **nap-as^v-* ‘(vb.) to breathe, to blow; (n.) soul, life, person’ > Hebrew *neφeš* [נֶפֶשׁ] ‘soul, living being, life, self, person’; Phoenician *npš* ‘soul, self’; Imperial Aramaic *npš* ‘soul, person’; Syriac *nəφaš* ‘breath of life; soul, spirit, living creature’; Ugaritic *npš* ‘soul’; Akkadian *napāšu* ‘to breathe’, *napištu* ‘life’; Arabic *nafusa* ‘to breathe, to inhale, to exhale’, *nafs* ‘soul, life, person’; Sabaeen *nfs* ‘self, soul, life’; Ḥarsūsi *nefesét* ‘soul’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *nafs* ‘person, individual’, *nəfsét* ‘soul, individual’; Mehri *nafs* ‘individual, person’; Geez / Ethiopic *nafsa* [ነፍሰ] ‘to blow (wind, spirit)’, *ʔanfasa* [አንፈሰ] ‘to breathe, to exhale, to make breathe, to rest’, *nafs* [ነፍሰ] ‘soul, breath, a person, life, self’, *nafās* [ነፍሰ] ‘wind, air, spirit’; Tigre *nāfsa* ‘to blow (wind)’, *tənāffāsa* ‘to breathe’, *nāfs* ‘soul’; Tigrinya *nāfāsā* ‘to blow (wind)’, *tānāffāsā* ‘to breathe’, *nāfsi* ‘soul’, *nāfas* ‘wind’; Amharic *nāffāsā* ‘to blow (wind)’, *tānāffāsā* ‘to breathe’, *nāfs* ‘soul, life’, *nāfas* ‘wind’; Argobba *nāfs* ‘soul’; Harari *nāfsi* ‘soul’.

(*at*)*nāfāsa* ‘to take a rest’; Gurage *nāfāsā* ‘to blow (wind)’, *nāfs* ‘soul’, *nāfas* ‘wind’. Murtonen 1989:286—287; Klein 1987:422; Tomback 1978:218—219; Leslau 1963:118, 1979:452, and 1987:389; Zammit 2002:407. Proto-Semitic **nap-ax-* ‘to breathe, to blow’ > Hebrew *nāḥaḥ* [נָחַח] ‘to breathe, to blow’; Aramaic *nəḥaḥ* ‘to blow’; Ugaritic *mpḥn* (base *nph*) ‘bellows’; Akkadian *napāḥu* ‘to inflame, to blow’; Arabic *nafāḥa* ‘to blow, to puff, to breathe, to blow up, to inflate’; Ḥarsūsi *nefōx* ‘to blow’, *anfōx* ‘to inflate’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *nifx* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Mehri *nefx* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Geez / Ethiopic *naḥa* [ከሐ], *naḥa* [ከሐ] ‘to blow, to blow upon, to breathe on, to inflate, to sound (an instrument), to blow (a horn, trumpet)’; Tigre *nāḥa* ‘to blow’; Tigrinya *nāḥe* ‘to blow’; Harari *nāfaḥa* ‘to inflate, to blow an instrument, to blow air into something’; Argobba *nāffaha* ‘to blow’; Amharic *nāffa* ‘to blow, to play (the flute), to blow up, to inflate’; Gurage (Chaha) *nāfa* ‘to blow up, to inflate’. Murtonen 1989:285—286; Klein 1987:421; Zammit 2002:406; Leslau 1963:117—118, 1979:450—451, and 1987:388. Proto-Semitic **nap-at-* ‘to blow one’s nose, to sneeze’ > Arabic *nafaṭa* ‘to sneeze’; Ḥarsūsi *entefōt* ‘to blow one’s nose’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *antfēt* ‘to blow one’s nose’; Soqotri *nāfōt* ‘to sneeze’; Mehri *nāfūt* ‘to snort’, *antāfūt* ‘to blow one’s nose’; Geez / Ethiopic *nafaṭa* [ከፈጠ] ‘to blow the nose’; Tigre *nāffātā* ‘to blow the nose’; Tigrinya *nāfātā* ‘to blow the nose’; Amharic *tānāffātā* ‘to blow the nose’, *nāft* ‘mucus’; Harari *ənfiṭ* ‘nasal mucus’; Gurage (*tā*)*nāffātā* ‘to blow the nose’, (Zway) *nāfiṭ* ‘nose’. Leslau 1963:28, 1979:452, and 1987:390. Proto-Semitic **ḥanp-* ‘nose, nostril’ > Akkadian *appu* ‘nose’; Hebrew *ʾaḥ* [אֶח] ‘nose, nostril, face’; Ugaritic *ʾp* ‘nose’; Arabic *ʾanf* ‘nose’; Sabaeen *ʾnf* ‘front’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *ʾənfi* ‘first, ancient’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʾanf* [ከከፍ] ‘nose, nostril’; Tigre *ʾanəf* ‘nose’; Tigrinya *ʾanfi* ‘nose’; Harari *ūf* ‘to blow the nose’; Gafat *āfʷä* ‘nose’; Gurage (Chaha) *āfuna* ‘nose’. Murtonen 1989:95—96; Klein 1987:45; Zammit 2002:81; Leslau 1963:19—20, 1979:21, and 1987:28. Egyptian *nf* ‘air, wind, breath’, *nfj* ‘to breathe, to blow at’, *nfwṭ*, *nfwyt* ‘breezes’, *fnḏ* (< **nfḏ*) ‘nose’; Coptic *nife* [ⲛⲓⲑⲉ] ‘to blow, to breathe’. Hannig 1995:306 and 407; Faulkner 1962:98 and 131; Erman—Grapow 1921:58, 80 and 1926—1963.1:577, 2:250; Gardiner 1957:566; Vycichl 1983:149; Černý 1976:116. Berber: Kabyle *ənḥəs* ‘to breathe’, *nnəḥs* ‘breathing, breath; soul’; Tamazight *unḥus* ‘respiration, breath, blowing’; Ahaggar *unḥas* ‘breath’, *sunḥəs* ‘to breathe’, *asunḥəs* ‘to make breathe’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *unḥus* ‘blowing’, *sunḥəs* ‘to breathe’. Proto-East Cushitic **nass-/ness-* (< **nafs-/nefs-*) ‘to breathe, to rest’ > Elmolo *nas-i* ‘to breathe, to rest’; Somali *nas-ad-* ‘to breathe, to rest’; Rendille *nas-* ‘to breathe, to rest’; Konso *ness-a* ‘soul, breath, noise’; Yaaku *nes-i* ‘breath’; Dullay *nass-ad-* ‘to breathe’, *nass-o* ‘soul, life, spirit, breath’; Gidole *nass-* ‘voice, character’. Sasse 1979:23. Diakonoff 1992:33 **nf* ‘nose’; Ehret 1995:316, no. 611, **naf-/nif-* ‘to exhale’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:395, no. 1828, **naf-* ‘breath’, 395—396, no. 1830, **nafus-* ‘breath’, 402, no. 1865, **nif-* ‘to

smell, to breathe’, and 405—406, no. 1882, **nufas-* ‘to blow, to breathe’; Militarëv 2012:79 Proto-Afrasian **(ʔa-)na/if-*.

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan reconstruct Proto-Semitic (1) (vb.) **npḥ* ‘to blow, to breathe, to inflate’ (2000:306—307, no. 45), (2) (vb.) **npš ~ *nps* ‘to breathe’ (2000.I:307—309, no. 46), and (3) (vb.) **npʔ* ‘blow the nose’ (2000:309—310, no. 48). They do not list any non-Semitic cognates. For **npḥ*, Militarëv—Kogan note: “Eventually derived from **pḥ/h* ‘to breathe, blow, exhale ‘smell’ (No. 54) by prefixation of **n-*.” Instead, I prefer to analyze the Semitic proto-form as **np+h*. For **npš ~ *nps*, Militarëv—Kogan note: “Inseparable from a common Sem. noun **nap(i)š-* ‘soul, vitality, life; person, personality, self’...” Finally, I consider similar forms meaning ‘throat’ (reconstructed as Proto-Semitic **napa/iš ~ *napa/is* by Militarëv—Kogan 2000:I:178, no. 200) to be unrelated.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **np^h-* > (with metathesis) **p^hn-* in: (A) **p^hn-ew-* / **p^hn-ow-* / **p^hn-u-*, (B) **p^hn-es-* / **p^hn-os-*, (C) **p^hn-ek^h-* ‘to breathe, to blow’: Greek πνέω ‘to breathe’, πνεῦμα ‘breath’; Old Icelandic *fnasa* ‘to sneeze, to snort’, *fnýsa* ‘to sneeze’; Swedish *fnysa* ‘to sneeze’; Danish *fnyse* ‘to sneeze’; Old English *fnēosan* ‘to sneeze’, *fnæs* ‘breath’; Middle Dutch *fniesen* ‘to sneeze’; Old High German *pfnūsen* ‘to sneeze’; Swiss German *Pfnüsel* (< **fnūs-*) ‘cold (in the head), catarrh’. Rix 1998a:440 (?) **pneu-* ‘to breathe, to pant, to puff, to wheeze’; Pokorny 1959:838—839 **pneu-* ‘to pant, to breathe’; Walde 1927—1932.II:85 **pneu-*; Mann 1984—1987:967 **pneuō* (**pneusō*), *-jō* ‘to snort, to sniff, to sneeze, to pant, to blow’, 967 **pnosā* ‘blowing, blast, snort, sneeze’, 967 **pnūs-* (**pnūsō*, *-jō*; **pnūsmi*) ‘(vb.) to breathe out, to snort; (n.) snort, breath, nose’; Watkins 1985:52 **pneu-* and 2000:68 **pneu-* ‘to breathe’ (imitative root); Mallory—Adams 1997:82 **pneu-* ‘to snort, to sneeze’; Boisacq 1950:798; Frisk 1970—1973.II:566—567; Hofmann 1966:277; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:920; Beekes 2010.II:1213—1214 **pneu-*; Orël 2003:109 Proto-Germanic **fneusanan ~ *fnūsanan*; Kroonen 2013:149 Proto-Germanic **fneusan-* ~ **fnūsan-* ‘to sneeze’ (< **pnéus-e-*); Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:177—178; De Vries 1977:136; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:546; Kluge—Seebold 1989:541.
- C. Uralic: Finno-Ugric: Proto-Ob-Ugric **nopət* ‘lifetime’ > Vogul / Mansi (Tavda, Pelymka) *nat*, (Lower Konda) *nāt*, (Upper Lozva, Sosva) *not* ‘lifetime’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vah, Vasyugan) *nowət*, (Tremyugan, Yugan) *nōpət*, (Demyanka, Konda, Nizyam) *nupət*, (Obdorsk) *nopət* ‘lifetime’. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1556, Proto-Finno-Ugric **n[o]ptV* > Proto-Ob-Ugric **nopət* ‘lifetime’.

Buck 1949:4.51 breathe; breath. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1556, **nop[E]* ‘to breathe, to blow’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:679—681, no. 560.

945. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **nat*'-a 'woman, female relative':

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **nat*'a 'woman' > Ma'a *naseta* 'woman'; Iraqw *natsatsa* 'smooth'; Dahalo *nát'a* 'woman'. Ehret 1980:184.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *nāttanār*, *nātti*, *nāttūṅ* 'husband's sister'; Malayalam *nāttūn* 'husband's sister, brother's wife'; Kota *na-tu-ny* 'sister-in-law, female cross-cousin'; Kannaḍa *nādani*, *nāḍini*, *nāḍuni* 'husband's sister, brother's wife'; Koṇḍa *nāṅṛa* (< **nattanar*-) 'wife's younger sister'; Maṇḍa *nāṅjar* 'wife's younger sister'; Kui *nāṅja* 'younger sister-in-law'; Kuwi *nanjo* 'sister-in-law', *nāṅjo* 'wife's younger sister'; Kuṛux *nāsgo* 'elder brother's wife'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:322, no. 3644.
- C. Proto-Uralic **natz* 'sister-in-law, younger brother of the husband or the wife': Finnish *nato* 'the sister of the husband or wife, the wife of the brother, sister-in-law'; Estonian *nato* 'sister-in-law'; Lapp / Saami (Southern) *nótě* 'the younger sister of the wife'; Cheremis / Mari *nudō* 'the younger sister of the husband's wife'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *naado* 'the younger brother of the wife', *nee-naado* 'sister-in-law' (*nee* = 'wife'); Kamassian *nado* 'brother-in-law, the brother of the husband'. Collinder 1955:38 and 1977:56; Rédei 1986—1988:299—300 **natz*; Décsy 1990:103 **nata* 'sister-in-law, younger brother of the husband or the wife'; Sammallahti 1988:539 **nātiw* 'in-law'; Janhunen 1977b:98 **nāt'ā-* (? **nāt'āj-*).

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:690, no. 572; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:81—82, no. 315, **nat/o* 'female relative'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1570, **nāH₂t[ol]* 'woman (of ego's generation) belonging to the opposite exogamous moiety' (→ 'sister-in-law'); Hakola 2000:114, no. 491; Pudas-Marlow 1974:67, no. 190.

946. Proto-Nostratic root **nat*'- (~ **nət*'-):

(vb.) **nat*'- 'to moisten, to wet';

(n.) **nat*'-a 'wetness, dampness, moistness'; (adj.) 'wet, damp, moist'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **nat*'- 'to drop, to drip, to trickle': Proto-Semitic **nat*'-ap- 'to drop, to drip, to trickle' > Amorite *nṭp* 'to drip'; Hebrew *nāṭaḳ* [נָטַק] 'to drop, to drip'; Syriac *nəṭaḳ* 'to drip'; Arabic *naṭafa* 'to dribble, to trickle, to drip'; Sabaean *ntf* 'to cause (blood) to flow'; Ḥarsūsi *netefēt* 'drop'; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *nṭf* 'to drip'; Mehri *nəṭáwf* 'to drip'; Geez / Ethiopic *naṭafa* [ጠፈ] 'to strain, to filter, to clarify, to refine, to purify, to clean'; Tigre *nāṭfa* 'to filter beer'; Amharic *nāṭṭāfā* 'to filter, to strain'; Gurage *nāṭāfā* 'to sift beer, to brew beer'. Murtonen 1989:280—281; Klein 1987:413; Leslau 1979:463—464 and 1987:408; Zammit 2002:404. Proto-Semitic **nat*'-ab- 'to drip, to fall in drops' > Geez / Ethiopic *naṭba* [ጠቦ] *naṭaba* [ጠቦ] 'to drop, to trickle'; Tigrinya *nāṭābā* 'to fall in drops'; Tigre *nāṭba* 'to fall in drops'; Amharic *nāṭṭābā* 'to drop, to fall drop by drop'.

Leslau 1987:408. Egyptian *ndfdf* ‘to be filled with tears, to water (eyes)’ (Semitic loan). Hannig 1995:446; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:368.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **net-/*not-* ‘to wet, to moisten’: Sanskrit (nom. sg. f.) *nadī* ‘river’; Gothic *natjan* ‘to wet, to make wet’; Dutch *nat* ‘wet, moist’, *netten* ‘to wet, to moisten’; Old High German *naz* ‘wet, damp, moist’ (New High German *naß*), *nezzen* ‘to wet, to moisten, to sprinkle’ (New High German *netzen*); Illyrian river names Νέδα, Νέστος. Pokorny 1959:759 **ned-* ‘to sound, to bellow’; Mann 1984—1987:825 **nad-* (**nod-* ?) ‘wet; water, water-’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:130 **nodo-*; Orël 2003:281 Proto-Germanic **nataz*, 282 **natjanan*; Kroonen 2013:384 Proto-Germanic **nata-* ‘wet’; Vercoullie 1898:199; Lehmann 1986:264; Feist 1939:371; Walshe 1951:158; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:504 and 509; Kluge—Seebold 1989:499 and 503.

Buck 1949:15.83 wet, damp. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:677, no. 556.

947. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ner-a* ‘the highest, foremost, or most prominent person or thing’:

- A. Dravidian: Tamil *nerri* ‘forehead, front, top, summit’, *neri* ‘temples’; Malayalam *nerri* ‘forehead’, *neruka* ‘crown of the head’; Kota *nec* ‘forehead’; Toda *nity* ‘forehead’; Kannaḍa *netti* ‘forehead, head, crown of the head’; Koḍagu *netti* ‘forehead’; Tuḷu *netti* ‘forehead, crown of the head, front, the peak of a mountain or hill’; Telugu *netti* ‘the head’, *nettamu* ‘high land or elevated ground (such as the crest or terrace of a hill)’; Kolami *netti* ‘forehead’; Naikṛi *netti* ‘forehead’; Gadba (Salur) *nediḍe* ‘scalp’; Gondī *nēc (talā)* ‘the crown of the head’; Konḍa *neti* ‘the top of the head’, *neda* ‘vertex’; Kuṛux *miṭl, mitil, nitil* ‘fontanel’; Malto *nitlu* ‘crown of the head’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:335—336, no. 3759.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **ner-* ‘(the foremost) man or person, hero’: Sanskrit *nár-* ‘a man, hero (used also of gods), person; mankind, people (mostly plural)’, *nárya-h* ‘manly, strong’; Pāḷi *nara-* ‘man; (pl.) people’; Avestan *nar-* ‘man’; Greek ἀνὴρ ‘a man (as opposed to a woman)’; Albanian *njeri* ‘human being, man’; Latin (Sabinian) *Nērō* a family name; Umbrian (acc. pl.) *nerf* ‘elders, chief citizens’; Oscan *ner* ‘man’; Old Irish *nert* ‘strength’; Welsh *ner* ‘hero’. Pokorny 1959:765 **ner-(t-)* ‘life-force, man’; Walde 1927—1932.II:332—333 **ner-*, **aner-*; Mann 1984—1987:21—22 **anēr* (**anər-*, **anr-*) ‘man, creature’, 837—838 **ner-* ‘man, male’, 838 **nerjos* ‘manly, man’, 838 **nertos* ‘manly; manliness, virtue, strength’; Watkins 1985:44 **ner-* (also **aner-*) and 2000:58 **ner-* ‘man’ (basic sense ‘vigorous, vital, strong’) (oldest form **₂ner-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:802 **Hner-*, **Hner-(t[^h])-* and 1995.I:703 **Hner-*, **Hner-(th)-* ‘life force, male strength’; Mallory—Adams 1997:366 **hanēr-* ‘man, person’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:138; Ernout—Meillet 1979:438—439 **ner-*; De Vaan 2008:406—407 Proto-Italic **nēr*, **ner-* ‘man’, **ner-o/-ōn-* ‘strong’;

Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:164—165; Frisk 1970—1973.I:107—108 **ner-*; Beekes 1969:45 and 75 **h₂ner-* and 2010.I:103—104 **h₂ner-*; Boisacq 1950:62 **anēr*; Hofmann 1966:18; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:87—88; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:332—335 **h₂né-*, **h₂nr-*; Orël 1998:304; Huld 1994:100—101. Semantic development as in Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *neery* ‘the foremost person’ or Selkup Samoyed *ñarnej* ‘the foremost person’, cited below. The original meaning is best preserved in Umbrian (acc. pl.) *nerf* ‘elders, chief citizens’ (cf. Benveniste 1973: 237—238).

- C. Proto-Uralic **nerē* ‘the highest, foremost, or most prominent person or thing: nose, beak, snout, point, promontory, front, etc.’: Mordvin *neř* ‘beak, muzzle, snout; any sort of point’; Cheremis / Mari *ner* ‘nose, beak, muzzle, snout; point; (?) promontory’; Votyak / Udmurt *nyr* ‘nose, beak, muzzle; forward point, point, front’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ner* ‘forward part, earlier part’, *neery* ‘the foremost person’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *ńara* ‘that which is foremost’, *ńaranu* ‘in front’; Selkup Samoyed *ńarne* ‘forward, to the fore’, *ńarnej* ‘the foremost person’; Kamassian *ńer* ‘point’. Collinder 1955:39 and 1977:57; Rédei 1986—1988:303—304 **nerē* (**nēre*); Décsy 1990:103 **nerä* ‘nose, beak, bill’; Janhunen 1977b:110 **ńerđ*.

Sumerian *ner*, *nir* ‘prince, king, lord (of gods)’, *ner-ĝá-ĝá* ‘ruler, lord, sovereign, prince’, *ner-ĝál* ‘princess; lord, prince’, *nir-ĝál* ‘lord, nobleman, prince’.

Buck 1949:4.205 forehead; 4.23 nose; 12.33 top; 12.352 point. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:678—679, no. 558; Hakola 2000:116, no. 501. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1565, **n̄VjārV* ‘man, male animal’ and Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:92—93, no. 331, **NajRλ* ‘man, male’.

948. Proto-Nostratic root **net*’*y-*:

- (vb.) **net*’*y-* ‘to turn, to twist together, to tie, to bind, to weave, to entwine’;
 (n.) **net*’*y-a* ‘anything twisted together, woven, entwined: mat, net, web, etc.; weaving, entwining, braiding’

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *nḏ* ‘string, thread’; Coptic *nat* [NAT] ‘loom, web’. Faulkner 1962:144; Erman—Grapow 1921:91 and 1926—1963.2:376; Hannig 1995:448; Gardiner 1957:577; Vycichl 1983:145; Černý 1976:110.
 B. Proto-Dravidian **nec-/ney-* ‘to weave’: Tamil *ney* ‘to weave (as clothes), to string, to link together’, *neyvu* ‘weaving’, *necavu* ‘weaving, act of weaving, texture, intertexture, web’, (?) *nēyavi* ‘curtain’; Malayalam *neyka* ‘to weave, to plait mats’, *neyttu* ‘weaving’, *neypu* ‘large mat for treading out corn in sandy districts’, *neyyal* ‘weaving’; Kota *nec-* (*nec-*) ‘to weave’; Toda *nic-* (*nič-*) ‘to darn’, *nes-* (*nesθ-*), *ni-θ-* (*ni-θ-*) ‘to weave’; Kannada *nēy*, *nēyi*, *neyyu*, *nē*, *nēyu* ‘to weave, to entwine’, *neyi*, *nē*, *nēyu* ‘weaving,

a web', *nēyige*, *nēyge*, *nēge* 'weaving, entwining or being entwined', *neysu*, *nēyisu* 'to cause to weave', *nēyikāra*, *negikāra*, *nēkāra* 'weaver'; Kodagu *ne-y-* (*ne-yuv-*, *nejj-*) 'to spin (thread)', *neyv* 'braiding, weaving'; Tuḷu *neyuni* 'to weave (as a spider)', *neyipini*, *nēpini*, *nēyuni* 'to weave, to plait, to braid', *neyigè*, *nēgè* 'texture', *neyigāre* 'weaver'; Telugu *nēyu* 'to weave', *nēyincu* 'to cause to be woven, to get woven', *nēṭa* 'weaving, texture', *nēṭtakāḍu*, *nēṭtari* 'weaver', *nēṭta-purugu* 'spider'; Gondi *nēcc-* 'to weave'; Konḍa *ney-* 'to weave or thatch the roof with leaves'; Kui *nehpa* (*neht-*) 'to build a fence'; Kuwi *neh'nai* 'to interweave'; Kurux *essnā* (*issyas*) 'to weave, to entwine into a fabric, to furnish or adorn any article with net-work or plait-work'; Malto *ese* 'to plait, to do mat-work'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:334, no. 3745; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **nec-*/**ney-* 'to weave'.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **net-*- (secondary *o*-grade form: **not-*-) 'to turn, to twist together, to tie, to bind': Latin *nōdus* 'knot'; Old Irish *nascim* 'to bind', *naidm* 'binding, surety'; Gothic *nati* 'net'; Old Icelandic *net* 'net, fishing-net', *nót* 'large net'; Swedish *nät* 'net'; Old English *nett* 'net'; Old Frisian *net*, *nette* 'net'; Old Saxon *netti*, *net* 'net'; Dutch *net* 'net'; Old High German *nezzi* 'net' (New High German *Netz*). Pokorny 1959:758—759 **ned-*, **ned-* '(vb.) to turn, to twist together; (n.) knot'; Walde 1927—1932.II:328—329 **ned-*; Mann 1984—1987:848 **nōdus*, *-is*, *-jā* 'knot, tie'; Watkins 1985:44 **ned-* and 2000:57 **ned-* 'to bind, to tie'; Mallory—Adams 1997:336 **ned-* 'knot' and 428 **ned-* 'to bind'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:443; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:172—173 **ned-*; De Vaan 2008:412; Orël 2003:281—282 Proto-Germanic **natjan*; Kroonen 2013:384 Proto-Germanic **natja-* 'net'; Feist 1939:371 *(*s*)*nōd-*, *(*s*)*ned-*; Lehmann 1986:263—264 **ned-* 'to tie, to bind'; De Vries 1977:408 **ned-* and 412; Onions 1966:608 **nād-*; Klein 1971:494 **ned-* 'to twist, to knot'; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:283; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:508—509 **ned-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:503.

Buck 1949:6.33 weave; 6.38 thread; 9.192 knot. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:679, no. 559.

949. Proto-Nostratic second person personal pronoun stem **ni* (~ **ne*) and/or **na* (~ **nə*) 'you':

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Omotc **ne* 'you' > Zayse second singular (subject) *né(j)* 'you', bound form *-n*; Bench / Gimira (subject) *nen* 'you', (oblique) *ni*; Yemsa / Janjero *ne* 'you'; etc. Bender (2000:196) reconstructs a Proto-Omotc second person singular independent personal pronoun **ne* 'you'. Bender (2000:197) implies, however, that there may have been a reversal of the Afrasian **n* (first person) ~ **t* (second person) pattern to **t* (first person) ~ **n* (second person) in Omotic. But note the patterning in Elamite (below).

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Elamite: The possessive pronouns of the second series, or the possessive pronouns proper in Royal Achaemenid Elamite were: (1st person sg.) *-ta*, (2nd person sg.) *-ni*, (3rd person sg.) *-e* (cf. Khačikjan 1998:26—27). Middle Elamite second person singular personal pronoun (nom. sg.) *ni* ~ *nu* ‘you, thou’ (Old Elamite *ni*), (pl.) *num*, *numi* ‘you’. The Proto-Dravidian second person personal pronouns, singular and plural, may be reconstructed as follows:

- (a) Singular **nīn-*: Tamil *nī* ‘you’; Malayalam *nī* ‘you’ (obl. *nin(n)-*); Kota *nī* ‘you’; Toda *nī* ‘you’; Kannaḍa *nīm*, *nīn(u)* ‘you’; Koḍagu *nī-nī/ni-* ‘you’; Telugu *nīvu* ‘you’; Kolami *nī-v* ‘you’; Naikṛi *nīv* ‘you’; Koṇḍa *nīn* ‘you’; Kuwi *nīnū* ‘you’; Kuṛux *nīn* ‘you’; Malto *nīn* ‘you’; Brahui *nī* ‘you’;
- (b) Plural **nīm-*: Tamil *nīm*, *nīr*, *nīyir*, *nīvir*, *nīnkaḷ* ‘you’; Malayalam *nīnnaḷ* ‘you’; Kota *nī-m* ‘you’; Toda *nīm* ‘you’; Kannaḍa *nīm*, *nīvu*, *nīngaḷ* ‘you’; Koḍagu *nīnga* ‘you’; Kolami *nī-r* ‘you’; Naikṛi *nīr* ‘you’; Kuṛux *nīm* ‘you’; Malto *nīm* ‘you’; Brahui *num* ‘you’.

Krishnamurti 2003:249—252 (sg.) **nīn-*, (pl.) **nīm-*; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:327, no. 3684, and 328, no. 3688. McAlpin (1981:114—115) reconstructs the Proto-Elamo-Dravidian second person independent personal pronoun singular as **ni* ‘you, thou’ and the second person possessive clitic as **-ni*. For the second person personal pronoun plural, he reconstructs Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **nim*.

C. Uralic: Greenberg (2000:76—77) notes that there is some evidence for a second person personal pronoun *n-* in Uralic, especially in Ob-Ugric. However, as he rightly points out, this evidence is extremely controversial and has been variously explained by specialists. As noted by Marcantonio (2002:226): “...the Possessive endings of the 2nd Singular in Vogul and Ostyak differ, yet again, from those of Hungarian and other U[ralic] languages; in fact, Vogul and Ostyak have the ending *-(V)n* and not *-t* as reconstructed for P[roto]-U[ralic]. Compare Hun[garian] *ház-a-d* vs Finn[ish] *talo-si* ‘your house’ vs Vog[ul] *ula-n* ‘bow-your’ (Keresztes 1998: 411). Several connections have been proposed for *-(V)n* (compare for example Sinor 1988: 733; Hajdú 1966: 132-3). Among these connections, one may consider that of the formant *-n-* in P[roto]-Samoyed. As Janhunen puts it (1998: 471):

From the Proto-Uralic point of view, one of the most interesting features is that the second-person singular predicative ending seems to have been *-n* in proto-Samoyedic, as opposed to **-t* in most sub-branches of Finno-Ugric.

According to Collinder (1965a: 134), there might have been two words to indicate ‘you’: **-t* and **-n*; ...”

- D. Altaic: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:959) reconstruct Proto-Altaic **na* ‘thou’ on the basis of: (a) Proto-Turkic *-*ŋ* an ending of the second person > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) -*ŋ*; Karakhanide Turkic -*ŋ*; Turkish -*n*; Gagauz -*n*; Azerbaijani -*n*; Turkmenian -*ŋ*; Uzbek -*ŋ*; Uighur -*ŋ*; Karaim -*n*, -*y*; Tatar -*ŋ*; Bashkir -*ŋ*; Kirghiz -*ŋ*; Kazakh -*ŋ*; Noghay -*ŋ*; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) -*ŋ*; Yakut -*ŋ*; Tuva -*ŋ*; Chuvash -*n*; (b) Proto-Japanese **na* ‘thou’ > Old Japanese *na* ‘thou’; (c) Proto-Korean **nə* ‘thou’ > Middle Korean *nə* ‘thou’ (for Modern Korean, cf. Sohn 1999:207). They note: “Velarization in Turkic is not quite clear and probably secondary (perhaps a fusion with the attributive *-*kʻi*). The root is widely used only in the Kor[ean]-J[apanese] area, and its original function (to judge from the O[ld] J[apanese] opposition of *si* and *na*) was probably limited to the oblique stem of the suppletive 2nd p[erson] paradigm.”

Greenberg 2000:76—77.

950. Proto-Nostratic root **nikh-* (~ **nekh-*):
 (vb.) **nikh-* ‘to strike, to hit’;
 (n.) **nikh-a* ‘injury, harm, damage, wound, murder, destruction; suffering, pain’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **n[i]k-* ‘to strike, to hit’: Proto-Semitic **nak-ay-* ‘to strike, to smite’ > Akkadian *nakū* ‘to strike, to smite’ (?); Hebrew *nāḥāh* [נָחַח] ‘to beat, to strike’; Syriac *nəḫā* ‘to harm, to injure, to wound’; Arabic *nakā* ‘to cause damage, to harm, to hurt, to injure’; Sabaean *nky* ‘(vb.) to injure; (n.) injury’; Šheri / Jibbāli *enké* ‘to hurt, to hit on a sore spot’; Geez / Ethiopic *nakaya* [ከየ] ‘to injure, to hurt, to damage, to harm’; Tigrinya *nākkäyā* ‘to diminish’; Tigre *nāka* ‘to remove, to clear away’. Murtonen 1989:281—282; Klein 1987:415—416; Leslau 1987:397—398. Proto-Semitic **nak-aʔ-* ‘to injure, to harm, to damage’ > Hebrew *nāḫāʔ* [נָחַח] ‘to beat, to strike’, *nāḫēʔ* ‘smitten, afflicted’; Arabic *nakaʔa* ‘to scrape the scab off a wound, to hurt, to wound, to kill’; Tigre *nākʔa* ‘to damage, to hurt’; Tigrinya *nākʔe* ‘to touch’; Amharic *nākka* ‘to touch, to hurt’; Argobba *nākka* ‘to touch, to hurt’; Harari *nākaʔa* ‘to touch, to harm’; Gurage (Zway) *nākā* ‘to touch’. Murtonen 1989:281; Klein 1987:415; Leslau 1963:118 and 1979:455. Proto-Semitic **nak-aʕ-* ‘to injure, to harm, to damage’ > Geez / Ethiopic *nakʕa* [ከዐ] ‘to injure, to harm, to damage’. Leslau 1987:396. Egyptian *nkn* ‘harm, injury, damage’. Hannig 1995:438; Faulkner 1962:141; Erman—Grapow 1921:88 and 1926—1963.2:346—347; Gardiner 1957:576. Berber: Tamazight *nəγ* ‘to kill’, *tinyi* ‘evil, pain, suffering’, *imənyī* ‘dispute, combat, quarrel, battle’; Kabyle *nəγ* ‘to kill, to slay’; Siwa *əny* ‘to kill’; Tuareg *əny* ‘to kill’; Ghadames *əny* ‘to kill’; Nefusa *əny* ‘to kill, to put an end to’; Mzab ‘to kill, to assassinate’, *anuyi* ‘dispute, battle, combat, fight’, *amənyī* ‘fight, scuffle, brawl’; Zenaga *əni*

- ‘to kill’, *aməni* ‘killer, assassin’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:409, no. 1902, **nVkvVl-* ‘to be evil’.
- B. Dravidian: Tamil *neku* (*nekuv-*, *nekk-*) ‘to suffer, to be distressed’; Kota *neg-* (*negy-*) ‘to suffer from a reverse of fortune’; Kannada *negaru* ‘to suffer in sickbed’; Tuḷu *neggi*, *negi* ‘shyness, shame’, *nigarū*, *negarū* ‘to linger as a sick person’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:333, no. 3733.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **nekʰ-/n̥kʰ-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **nokʰ-*) ‘to slay, to smite’: Sanskrit *násyati* ‘to be lost, to perish, to disappear’; Greek *νέκῳς*, *νεκρός* ‘a dead body, a corpse’; Latin *necō* ‘to kill, to slay’, *noxa* ‘harm, injury, damage’, *noceō* ‘to hurt, to injure, to harm’, *nex* ‘violent death, murder’; Old Irish *éc* (< **n̥kʰu-*) ‘death’; Tocharian A *nāk-*, *nak-*, *ñak-*, B *nāk-*, *nek-* ‘to lose, to destroy, to perish, to vanish’. Rix 1998a:407 **nek-* ‘to perish, to disappear, to be lost’; Pokorny 1959:762 **nek-* ‘corpse, mortal destruction’; Walde 1927—1932.II:326 **nek-*; Mann 1984—1987:833—834 **nek-* ‘(vb.) to destroy, to perish, to vanish; (adj.) perishing, destructive; (n.) destruction, disappearance’, **nokejō* ‘to injure, to kill’; Watkins 1985:44 **nek-* and 2000:57 **nek-* ‘death’; Mallory—Adams 1997:150 **nekus* ‘death; dead’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:145—146 **nek-*; Boisacq 1950:661 **anek-*; Hofmann 1966:213—214 **nek-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:741; Beekes 2010.II:1003—1004 **nek-(u-)*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:299—300 **nek-s*; De Vaan 2008:407—408 **nek-s* (f.) ‘death’ and 411; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:153—156 **enek-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:439—440 **nek-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:313 **nek-*; Adams 1999:335 **nek-* ‘to kill, to destroy; to perish, to die’.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **nikkä-* ‘to push’ > Lapp / Saami *nākketä-* ‘to stick, to put’, (Southern) ‘to push’; Vogul / Mansi *nāäk-* ‘to push’; Ostyak / Xanty *nək-* ‘to push lightly’, *nəkəm-* ‘to push, to push against’. Collinder 1955:101, 1960:412 **nikkä-*, and 1977:116; Rédei 1986—1988:304—305 **nikkä-*.
- E. Proto-Altaiic **nikʰu-* ‘to knead, to mash, to strike’: Proto-Tungus **nʷ[i]Ki-* ‘to gnaw, to crunch; to destroy, to demolish’ > Evenki *ńeki-* ‘to gnaw, to crunch’; Manchu *niqča-* ‘to shatter, to disintegrate; to be at a disadvantage, to suffer loss’; Nanay / Gold *ńikike-* ‘to swallow’. Proto-Mongolian **niku-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’ > Written Mongolian *niqu-*, *nuqu-* ‘to rub, to massage; to mash, to press, to knead; to crumple, to finish off, to dispose of completely, to kill’; Khalkha *nuḡa-* ‘to knead, to mash, to rub; to rumple, to crumple; to kill, to finish off, to dispose of’; Buriat *ńuḡa-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’; Kalmyk *nuḡə-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’; Ordos *nuḡu-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’; Moghol *nuqu-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’; Dagur *nogu-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’; Monguor *nugu-* ‘to grind, to rub, to knead’. Proto-Turkic **yik-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *yiq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Karakhanide Turkic *yiq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Turkish *yık-* ‘to pull down, to demolish, to ruin, to overthrow’, *yıkıcı* ‘destructive’; Azerbaijani *yığ-* ‘to crush, to grind; to overthrow’; Gagauz *yiq-* ‘to crush, to grind; to

overthrow'; Turkmenian *yiq-* 'to crush, to grind; to overthrow'; Uzbek *yiq-* 'to crush, to grind; to overthrow'; Uighur *yiq-* 'to crush, to grind; to overthrow'; Karaim *yiq-, yix-* 'to crush, to grind; to overthrow'; Tatar *yiq-* 'to crush, to grind; to overthrow'; Bashkir *yiq-* 'to crush, to grind; to overthrow'; Kirghiz *žiq-* 'to crush, to grind; to overthrow'; Kazakh *žiq-* 'to crush, to grind; to overthrow'; Noghay *yiq-* 'to crush, to grind; to overthrow'; Oirat (Mountain Altai) *yiq-, d'iq-* 'to crush, to grind; to overthrow'; Chuvash (dial.) *śex-* 'to crush, to grind; to overthrow'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:977 **nīk*^u 'to grind, to crunch; to knead'; Poppe 1960:39; Street 1974:21 **ñik-* 'to knead, to mash, to strike'.

Buck 1949:4.76 kill; 9.21 strike, hit, beat; 10.67 push, shove (vb.); 11.27 destroy; 11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.); 16.31 pain, suffering. Brunner 1969:35, no. 138; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:677—678, no. 557.

951. Proto-Nostratic root **nitʰh-* (~ **netʰh-*):

(vb.) **nitʰh-* 'to lift (up), to raise; to carry, to take; to rise, to arise';

(n.) **nitʰh-a* 'the act of lifting, raising, carrying'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **natʰh-aʔ-* 'to rise, to arise; to lift, to raise, to carry, to take' > Hebrew *nāsāʔ* [נָשָׂא] 'to lift, to carry, to take'; Biblical Aramaic *nāšā* 'to lift, to carry, to take'; Ugaritic *nšā* 'to lift, to raise'; Akkadian *našū* 'to lift, to raise, to carry, to bear, to bring, to transport, to take'; Arabic *našaʔa* 'to rise, to arise, to grow, to develop'; Sabaeen *nšʔ* 'to undertake a project (especially a military action), to take, to take away'; Geez / Ethiopic *našʔa* [ነሰአ], *našʔa* [ነሰአ] 'to take, to partake, to receive, to accept, to capture, to occupy, to grasp, to seize, to catch, to pick up, to take up, to raise, to lift, to set up, to carry off, to take away, to fetch, to take as wife'; Tigre *nāsʔa* 'to take, to lift'; Tigrinya *nāsʔe* 'to take, to lift'; Harari *nāsaʔa* 'to take, to take away, to marry'; Gurage *nāssa* 'to take, to carry, to lift'; Amharic *nāssa* 'to deprive of, to take away, to hold back', *anāssa* 'to lift up, to raise, to pick up (from the floor), to clear away (the dishes), to move (the table), to remove (take off)'. Murtonen 1989:291—292; Leslau 1963:119, 1979:461, and 1987:404; Zammit 2002:401; Klein 1987:427—428. According to Leslau (1987:404), Beja / Beḍawye *nesāʔ-* 'to get up, to rise' is a Semitic loan.
- B. Dravidian: Konḍa *niṅ-* 'to rise up from a sitting position, to wake up (from sleep)', *nik-* 'to lift up, to raise, to rouse from sleep'; Pengo *niṅ(g)- (nint-)* 'to rise, to get up', *nik-* 'to raise'; Kui *ninga (ningi-)* 'to rise, to arise, to stand up', *nipka-* (< *nik-p-*; *nikt-*) 'to raise, to cause to stand up'; Kuwi *ningali* 'to arise', *nikhali* 'to arouse', *ninginai* 'to rise', *nik-* 'to lift up, to raise'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:324, no. 3665. Tuḷu *negiyuni* 'to rise, to come up', *negipuni* 'to leap, to jump, to spring up', *negapuni* 'to overflow'; Kannāḍa *nege, nese* 'to rise, to ascend, to go upward', *negapu, negavu* 'to lift up, to hold uplifted', *neggu* 'to lift'; Koraga *negi* 'to lift';

Telugu *negayu* ‘to fly, to go up, to rise up, to jump’; Kolami *negay-* (*negayt-*) ‘to fly’; Naikri *negay-* ‘to fly, to rise’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 333, no. 3730.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **nekh-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **nokh-*) ‘to bear, to carry, to convey’: Greek (reduplicated) *ἐν-εγκ-εῖν* ‘to bear, to convey’; Lithuanian *nešù, nešiaũ, nèšti* ‘to carry, to bear’; Old Church Slavic *nesò, nesti* ‘to carry, to bear’, *nošò, nositi* ‘to carry, to bear’. Pokorny 1959:316—318 **enek-*, **nek-*, **enk-*, **ñk-* ‘to reach’; Walde 1927—1932.I:128—129 **enek-*, **nek-*, **enk-*, **ñk-*; Rix 1998a:222—223 **h₁nek-* ‘to carry, to bear, to bring, to convey, to take’; Mann 1984—1987:834 **nek-* ‘to take, to bring, to carry’; Watkins 1985:44 **nek-* and 2000:57 **nek-* ‘to reach, to attain’; Mallory—Adams 1997:35 **h₁enek-* ‘to attain’; Boisacq 1950:251—252 **nek-*; Hofmann 1966:82 **enek-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:512—513; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:346 **₂n-ek-*, **₂en-k-*; Beekes 1969:45 **h₁nek-/h₁enk-*, 131—132 **en-enk-* (**h₁en-h₁enk-*), and 2010.I:423—424 **h₁nek-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:497—498; Smoczyński 2007.I:423; Derksen 2008:350 **h₁nek-* and 2015:334 **h₁nek-*. Note: Different from Proto-Indo-European **h₂hinkh-* (> **h₂henkh-*) ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at’ found in: Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *hi-in-ik-zi* ‘to present, to deliver, to offer, to allot’; Sanskrit *áśnóti* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to get, to obtain; to master; to offer’; Latin *nancior* ‘to get, to gain, to obtain’, *nanciscor* ‘to get, to gain, to receive, to meet’; Tocharian A *ents-*, B *enk-* ‘to seize, to take’; etc.

Buck 1949:10.11 move (vb.); 10.61 carry (bear). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:375—376, no. 208; Möller 1911:67—68.

952. Proto-Nostratic root **nus^v-* (~ **nos^v-*):

(vb.) **nus^v-* ‘to be small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’;

(n.) **nus^v-a* ‘smallness, insufficiency, decrease, diminishment’; (adj.) ‘small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’

Derivatives:

(n.) **nus^v-a* ‘woman, female; any female connected by marriage: wife, bride, sister-in-law, daughter-in-law’

(vb.) **nus^v-* ‘to be weakened, debilitated, sick; to ache, to suffer, to be in pain’;

(n.) **nus^v-a* ‘weakness, sickness, disease, malady, ache, pain, affliction’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **n[u]s^v-* ‘to be small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’: Proto-Semitic **₂a-nas^v-* ‘to be small, little, weak’ > Akkadian *enēšu* ‘to become weak’, *enšu* ‘weak, powerless, lean’, *enšūtu* ‘weakness’; Hebrew *ʔānaš* [ʔnš] ‘to be weak, to be sick’; Ugaritic (f.) *ánšt* ‘intimate friend’; Arabic *ʔanisa*, *ʔanusa* ‘to be companionable, sociable, nice, friendly, genial’, *ʔanīs* ‘close, intimate; close friend; friendly, kind, affable, civil, polite, courteous’, *ʔinsāna* ‘woman’, *ʔānisa* ‘young lady, miss’; Soqotri *ʔenes* ‘to

be small'; Geez / Ethiopic (with metathesis) *nəʔsa* [ገእሰ] 'to be small, to be little, to be young, to be diminished, to be penniless', *nəʔus* [ገእሰ] 'small, little, lesser, younger, minor, low (voice)', (f.) *naʔās* [ገእሰ] 'small, minor, young, young girl', *nāʔs* [ገእሰ] 'smallness, littleness, youth, misery'; Tigrinya *nāʔasä* 'to be small, to be little'; Tigre *nāʔaša* 'to be small, to be little'; Amharic *annäsä* 'to be less, to be insufficient, to diminish, to decrease, to be too little, to be small, to shrink, to flag (of strength)'; Harari *anäsa* 'to be little, to be less, to decrease'; Argobba *hannäsa* 'to be small, to be little'; Gurage *anäsä* 'to be small, to be little, to be less'. Murtonen 1989:96; Klein 1987:42; Leslau 1963:29, 1979:73, and 1987:381—382. Proto-Semitic **nasʔ-ar-* 'to wear down, to reduce in size, to diminish, to weaken' > Akkadian *našāru* 'to deduct, to remove, to reduce in size, to diminish in strength, to weaken, to subtract'; Arabic *nasara* 'to loosen and tear away, to tear off'.

- B. Proto-Dravidian **nō(y)-/*noc(c)-*, **nū(y)-/*nuc(c)-* 'small, minute, soft, weak, delicate': Tamil *no* 'small, tiny, minute, thin, slender', *novvu* (*novvi-*) 'to become thin, slender, minute', *noci* 'to be thin, slender, minute', *nocivu* 'slenderness, fineness', *noy* 'grits, groats, smallness, softness, lightness', *noyṭal* 'minuteness', *noyṭu* 'that which is thin, poor, light', *noyppam* 'delicateness, tenderness, skill, ability', *noymai*, *noyvu* 'lightness, softness, minuteness', *noyya* 'small, minute, soft, weak, poor', *nucuppu* 'waist of a woman', *noyyeṇal* expression signifying lightness, thinness, insignificance; Malayalam *noccu* 'minute, light', *nusu* 'small, minute, young', *noy(i)* 'grits, groats, anything minute'; Kota *noca-k*, *onca-k* 'a little'; Kannaḍa *nusi* 'state of being crushed, strengthless; powder, dust'; Tuḷu *noccu*, *noccè* 'minute, light, paltry', *nuggu* 'small, little', *nuggeḷu* 'smallness'; Telugu *nusi* 'small, little, slight; the dust into which wood is reduced by insects', *nusūgu* 'to slight, to scorn', *nūgu* 'down, downiness, hairiness'; Kolami *nuyung* 'smooth'; Kui *nūsu* 'soft, smooth, fleecy'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:337, no. 3779. Possibly here also: Kannaḍa *nusi* 'a minute insect that destroys wood, any cloth, and paper or that destroys grain; eye-fly, gnat'; Telugu *nusuma* 'eye-fly, gnat, midge'; Gondi *nusme* 'mosquito', *nūsī* 'flour-weevil, weevil', *nusi* 'crop rust'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:329—330, no. 3699.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 12.56 small, little; 15.75 soft.

953. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **nusʔ-a* 'woman, female; any female connected by marriage: wife, bride, sister-in-law, daughter-in-law':
 Derivative of:
 (vb.) **nusʔ-* 'to be small, minute, soft, weak, delicate';
 (n.) **nusʔ-a* 'smallness, insufficiency, decrease, diminishment'; (adj.) 'small, minute, soft, weak, delicate'

Semantic development as in Naikri *koraḷ* ‘daughter-in-law, bride’ and Telugu *kōḍalu* ‘daughter-in-law’, both from the same stem found in Tamil *kuṛa* ‘young, tender’, Kannaḍa *koḍa* ‘tenderness, tender age, youth’, Tuḷu *korè* ‘weak, small’, etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:193—194, no. 2149).

- A. Proto-Afrasian **nus^y*- ‘woman, female’: Proto-Semitic (pl.) (**nəs^y-w-* > **nīs^y-w-* ‘women’ > Hebrew (pl.) *nāšīm* [נָשִׁים] ‘women’; Aramaic (pl.) *neššē* ‘women’; Arabic (pl.) *niswa*, *niswān*, *nisāʔ* ‘women’, *niswī*, *nisāʔī* ‘female, feminine, womanly’. Murtonen 1989:96; Klein 1987:429; Zammit 2002:400. West Chadic: Fyer *nusi* ‘woman’; Sha *nisi* ‘female’. Central Chadic: Tera *nušu* ‘woman’; Guduf *nósɿ* ‘woman’; Ngweshe *násè* ‘woman’; Dghwede *níšè* ‘woman’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II: 346—347. Orël—Stolbova 1995:406, no. 1887, **nūs*- ‘woman’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European *(*s*)*nuso-s* ‘daughter-in-law’: Sanskrit *snusā* ‘son’s wife, daughter-in-law’; Armenian *nu* ‘daughter-in-law’; Greek *νύος* ‘daughter-in-law; any female connected by marriage; wife, bride’; Albanian *nuse* ‘bride, (rarely) daughter-in-law’; Latin *nurus* ‘daughter-in-law; a young married woman’; Crimean Gothic *schuos* (misprint for **schnos*) ‘betrothed’; Old Icelandic *snør*, *snor* ‘daughter-in-law’; Old English *snoru* ‘daughter-in-law’; Old Frisian *snore* ‘daughter-in-law’; Middle Dutch *snoer*, *snorre* ‘daughter-in-law’; Old High German *snur*, *snor*, *snura*, *snuora* ‘daughter-in-law’ (New High German *Schnur*); Serbian Church Slavic *snъxa* ‘daughter-in-law’; Russian *snoxá* [снoхa] ‘daughter-in-law’; Slovenian *snáha* ‘daughter-in-law’; Polish *sneszka* ‘daughter-in-law’. Pokorny 1959:978 **snusós* ‘daughter-in-law’; Walde 1927—1932.II:701—702 **snusós*; Mann 1984—1987:1238 **snusos*, *-ā*, *-jə*, *-us* ‘daughter-in-law’; Mallory—Adams 1997:148 **snusós* ‘son’s wife, brother’s wife’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:761, II:763, II:771 **snuso-* and 1995.I:663, I:664, I:665, I:673 **snuso-* ‘daughter-in-law, sister-in-law’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:328 **snusó-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:760 **snuso-*; Boisacq 1950:674—675 **snusó-s*; Hofmann 1966:220 **snusós*; Beekes 2010.II:1028 **snuso-*; Huld 1983:100; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:190 **snusós*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:452; De Vaan 2008:420 **snusó-* (f.) ‘daughter-in-law’; Orël 1998:302 and 2003:359 Proto-Germanic **snuzō(n)*; Kroonen 2013:463 Proto-Germanic **snuzō-* ‘daughter-in-law’; De Vries 1977:528; Feist 1939:414—415 **snusós*; Lehmann 1939:298—299 **snusós*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:673 **snusós*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:649—650 **snusó-*; Derksen 2008:458 **snus-ó-*; Szemerényi 1977c:68; Wodtko—Irlinger—Schneider 2008:625—626 **snus-ó-*. Notes: (1) Not related to **snew-* ‘to bind’ (as, for example, Buck 1949:2.64). (2) Some rather striking Indo-European loans are found in the indigenous languages of the Caucasus: Northwest Caucasian: Kabardian, Adyghe, Bžedux *nasa* ‘(father’s) brother’s wife, daughter-in-law’; Ubykh *násá:γ* ‘(father’s) brother’s wife, daughter-in-law’; South Caucasian / Kartvelian: Mingrelian *nisa*, *nosa* ‘daughter-in-law’; Laz *nusa*, *nisa*

‘daughter-in-law’; Northeast Caucasian: Avar, Batsbi, Chechen, Ingush *nus* ‘daughter-in-law’; Andi *nusa* ‘daughter-in-law’; Ghodberi *nuse-j* ‘daughter-in-law’; Tindi *nus(a)* ‘daughter-in-law’; Karta *nusa* ‘daughter-in-law’; etc. (cf. Tuite—Schulze 1998:363—383, especially pp. 363—366, for a full list).

(?) Sumerian (reduplicated) *nunus*, *nu-nus*, *nu-nu-us* ‘wife, woman’.

Buck 1949:2.22 woman; 2.64 daughter-in-law. Dolgopolsky 1998:89—90, no. 113, **n/ñu/üśV* or **n/ñu/üsyV* ‘woman’ (general term) and 2008, no. 1567, **ñūs[y]V* ‘woman (general term), woman of the opposite exogamous moiety’.

954. Proto-Nostratic root **nus^y-* (~ **nos^y-*):

(vb.) **nus^y-* ‘to be weakened, debilitated, sick; to ache, to suffer, to be in pain’;

(n.) **nus^y-a* ‘weakness, sickness, disease, malady, ache, pain, affliction’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **nus^y-* ‘to be small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’;

(n.) **nus^y-a* ‘smallness, insufficiency, decrease, diminishment’; (adj.) ‘small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’

A. Proto-Dravidian **nō(y)-*/**noc(c)-* ‘to be weakened, debilitated, sick; to ache, to suffer, to be in pain’: Tamil *nō* ‘to feel pain, to ache, to suffer, to be grieved, to be distressed in mind, to be injured, to be spoiled’, *nōy* ‘to be ill, diseased, debilitated; to wither’, *noci* ‘to be in pain, to suffer’; Malayalam *nōka* ‘to pain, to smart, to be in labor’, *noyi*, *nōyi* ‘weakness, pain’, *nōvu* ‘pain, ache, grief, sorrow’, *nōvuka* ‘to suffer pain’; Kota *no-v* ‘disease, pain’; Toda *nu-* ‘sickness’; Kannada *nō* (*nond-*), *noyyu*, *nōyu*, *noy* ‘to suffer pain, to ache, to feel pain, to grieve’, *nōta* ‘ache, pain’, *nōvu* ‘affliction’; Koḍagu *no-* (*novv-*, *nond-*) ‘to pain (intr.)’; Telugu *noccu* (*novv-/nōv-/nō-*) ‘to ache, to pain, to smart, to be grieved’, *noncu* ‘to pain, to wound, to hurt’, *nogulu*, *novulu* ‘to grieve, to sorrow, to feel pain, to be spoiled, to be ruined’, *novvi*, *novvu*, *nōvi*, *nōvu* ‘pain, disease’, *nōyu* ‘to ache’; Tuḷu *nōpuni*, *nōpini*, *nōyipini* ‘to ache, to pain’, *nōvu* ‘pain, ache, distress’; Parji *noy-* (*noñ-*) ‘to be painful, to hurt, to ache’; Gadba (Ollari) *noy-* ‘to be painful’; Gondi *noiyānā* ‘to hurt, to pain, to ache’, *nō-* ‘to pain (intr.)’; Koṇḍa *nō-* ‘to pain, to ache (as limbs after hard work, etc.)’; Pengo *nō-* ‘to hurt, to be painful’, *nōc-* (*nōcc-*) ‘to be ill, to have fever’; Maṇḍa *nū-* ‘to hurt, to pain’, *nūmer* ‘disease, fever’; Kui *nōva* (*nōt-*) ‘to be painful, to hurt’; Kuwi *nō-* ‘to pain, to ache’, *nōmeri* ‘fever, sickness, illness’, *nōhi* ‘pain’; Kuṛux *nuñjnā* (*nuñcas*, *nuñjcas*) ‘to smart, to pain’, *nunje* ‘(vb.) to pain; (n.) pain’, *nunjuwre* ‘to be hurt’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:339, no. 3793; Krishnamurti 2003:191 **nōy-* ‘to pain’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **nos-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **nes-*) ‘to be or become sick, ill; to cause to be or become sick, to make sick’: Greek

νοσέω ‘to be ill, to ail’, νόσος (Homeric νοῦσος < *νοσφοσ) ‘sickness, disease, malady’; Tocharian A *nesset* ‘spell’, B *nässait* (~ *niset*) ‘spell’ (used only in combination with *yām-* as ‘cast a spell [over], to put someone under a spell, to bewitch’). Boisacq 1950:672; Frisk 1970—1973.II:323—324; Hofmann 1966:219; Prellwitz 1905:315—316; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:757; Beekes 2010.II:1023—1024; Adams 2013:358.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.84 sick; sickness; 16.31 pain, suffering. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:685—686, no. 567.

955. Proto-Nostratic (adv.) **nuw-* ‘now, at present, currently’:

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian *nw* ‘time, hour’; Coptic *naw* [𐩎𐩠𐩨] ‘time, hour’. Hannig 1995:297—298; Faulkner 1962:127; Erman—Grapow 1921:78 and 1926—1963.2:219, 220; Gardiner 1957:573; Vycichl 1983:147; Černý 1976:114.
- B. Proto-Indo-European (adv.) **nu* ‘now’: Sanskrit *nú*, *nū* ‘now’; Avestan *nū* ‘now’; Old Persian *nūram* ‘now’; Greek *νῦ*, *νύ*, *νῦν* ‘now’; Latin *nunc* ‘now’; Old Irish verb prefix *nu-/no-*; Gothic *nu* ‘now’; Old Icelandic *nú* ‘now’; Faroese *nú* ‘now’; Norwegian *no* ‘now’; Danish *nu* ‘now’; Old English *nū* ‘now’; Old Frisian *nū* ‘now’; Old Saxon *nū* ‘now’; Dutch *nu* ‘now’; Old High German *nū* ‘now’ (New High German *nun*); Lithuanian *nū* ‘now’; Old Church Slavic *nyně* ‘now’; Tocharian A *nu*, B *no* ‘however, but; (al)though, then’; Hittite *nu* ‘and, but’; Palaic *nu-ú* ‘now’. Pokorny 1959:770 **nū* ‘now’; Walde 1927—1932.II:340 **nū*; Mann 1984—1987:854—855 **nū*, **nūn*, **nūnai* ‘so, now, well, then’; Watkins 1985:45 **nu-* and 2000:59 **nu-* ‘now’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:359 **nu/*no* and 1995.I:313 **nu/*no*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:175; Mallory—Adams 1997:397 **nu* ‘now’; Hofmann 1966:219; Boisacq 1950:673 **nu-*, **nū-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:758; Beekes 2010.II:1025 **nu*, **nuH*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:325; Ernout—Meillet 1979:450 **nū*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:187—188 **nū*; De Vaan 2008:418; Kroonen 2013:392 Proto-Germanic **nū* ‘now’; Orël 2003:289 Proto-Germanic **nu*; Lehmann 1986:269 **nū*, **nū-no-*; Feist 1939:380; De Vries 1977:412; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:17; Torp 1919:460; Onions 1966:616; Klein 1971:502 **nū*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:292; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:516 West Germanic **nū*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:509 **nu*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:509—510; Smoczyński 2007.1:429; Derksen 2008:360 **nū*, **nu* and 2015:338 **nu-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:320 **nu-*, **nū-*; Adams 1999:347 **nū-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:607—608.
- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **nū-kz* (**ni-kz*) ‘now’ > Finnish *nyky-* ‘present, current’ in: *nykyaika* ‘modern times’, *nykyhetki* ‘the present’, *nykyinen* ‘present, current’; *nyt*, (dialectal) *ny*, *nyy* ‘now’; Estonian *nüüd*, (dialectal) *nüü* ‘now, at present; by now’; Mordvin (Erza) *ńej*, (Moksha) *ńi*

‘now’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *ni* ‘already’; Zyrian / Komi (Udora) *nin*, *nin*, (Permyak) *ni* ‘already’. Rédei 1986—1988:707 **nikə* (**nükə*).

- D. (?) Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **nav* ‘now’: Amur *naf* ‘now’; East Sakhalin *naf* ‘now, beginning’; South Sakhalin *naf* ‘now’. Fortescue 2016:111.

Buck 1949:14.18 now. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:681, no. 561; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:97, no. 335, **Nüqλ* ‘now’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1537, **nūH₁[æ]* \rightarrow **nūw[æ]* ‘now’ and, no. 1541, **nükV* \rightarrow **nükE* ‘now’.

22.45. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *nʏ

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
nʏ-	n-	ñ-		n-	nʏ-	nʏ-	
-nʏ-	-n-	-ñ-		-n-	-nʏ-	-nʏ-	

956. Proto-Nostratic root *nʏaʃ- (~ *nʏəʃ-):

Extended form:

(vb.) *nʏaʃ-V-r- ‘to appear, to arise, to sprout, to come into being; to grow (up), to mature’;

(n.) *nʏaʃ-r-a ‘shoot, sprout, seedling’

Derivative:

(n.) *nʏaʃ-r-a ‘young man, boy, youth’

- A. Proto-Dravidian *ñāɻ- ‘(vb.) to appear, to arise, to sprout, to come into being; to grow (up), to mature; (n.) seedling, sprout, shoot’: Tamil *ñāɻu* (*ñāɻi-*) ‘to appear, to arise’, *nāɻu* (*nāɻi-*) ‘to sprout, to shoot forth, to come into being, to be born, to appear, to arise’, *nāɻu* ‘seedlings reared for transplantation, shoot, sprout’, *nāɻru* ‘seedlings reared for transplantation’, *nāɻram* ‘origin, appearance’; Malayalam *nāɻuka* ‘to grow up’, *ñāɻu* ‘young plant fit for transplanting’; Kota *na-t* ‘seedlings raised for transplanting (paddy, tea, coffee, blue gum)’; Kannaḍa *nāṭu* ‘to sprout’, *nāṭgi* ‘a sprout’; Koḍagu *nē-r-* (*nē-ruv-*, *nē-nd-*) ‘(person or thing) to rise up or come into view, (plant) to become tall’; Tuḷu *nēji* ‘nursling, young plant of rice, etc.’; Telugu *nāɻu* ‘young sprouts or plants which are to be transplanted’; Gondi *nēr* ‘rice-seedling’; Koṇḍa *nēɻ-* ‘(a plant) to rise from the seed’, *nāɻu* ‘seedlings for transplantation’; Pengo *nēz-* (*nēst-*) ‘to sprout’; Maṇḍa *nēy-* ‘to sprout’; Kui *nēja* (*nēji-*) ‘(vb.) to sprout up out of the ground, to germinate, to shoot up; (n.) a sproutling’; Kuwi *ney-* ‘to sprout’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:253, no. 2919.
- B. Proto-Uralic *nʏär₃ ‘sprout, sprig, twig’: Hungarian *nyír/nyire-* ‘sprout, reed, stalk (of reeds); twig, birch’; (?) Cheremis / Mari *nörgö* ‘sprout, twig, young tree (one year old)’; Votyak / Udmurt *ňör* ‘sprig, switch, twig’; Vogul / Mansi *ňir, ňar* ‘reed, switch, twig’; Ostyak / Xanty *ňar* ‘thicket grown up on the site of an earlier fire; copse, thicket’, (Yugan) *ňari* ‘willow, twig’ (?), (Southern) *ňarə* ‘rowlock-cord of twisted willow’; Selkup Samoyed *njārḥ* ‘willow-tree’, (?) *ňarga* ‘willow-copse’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *neeru* ‘reed; willow; switch, twig’, *nierka* ‘willow-tree’; Taigi *nerge* ‘willow-tree’; Kamassian *narga* ‘willow-tree’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *nerki* ‘willow-tree’. Collinder 1955:43, 1960:408 **ňerk₃* (or **ňörk₃*), and 1977:61; Rédei 1986—1988:331 **ňər₃* (**ňər₃*, **ňər₃k₃*); Décsy 1990:104 **njārä* ‘twig, switch’; Janhunen 1977b:108 **ňer-*.

Buck 1949:12.53 grow (= increase in size). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:83—85, no. 318, **naʕra* ‘young, new-born’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1625, **naʕrE* ‘young, new-born’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:692—694, no. 575.

957. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **naʕr-a* ‘young man, boy, youth’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **naʕr-V-r-* ‘to appear, to arise, to sprout, to come into being; to grow (up), to mature’;

(n.) **naʕr-a* ‘shoot, sprout, seedling’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **naʕar-* ‘young man, boy, youth’ > Hebrew *naʕar* [נער] ‘boy, lad, youth’, *nōʕar* [נוער] ‘youth, early life’; Ugaritic *nʕr* ‘boy, servant’; Phoenician *nʕr* ‘youth, boyhood’, *nʕr* ‘young man, youth’. Murtonen 1989:285; Klein 1987:421; Tomback 1978:217. Egyptian *nʕrn* /*naʕaruna* ‘young soldiers’ (= Canaanite **naʕrōn(a)* ‘group of young men’). Albright 1934:49; Hannig 1995:395; Erman—Grapow 1921:77 and 1926—1963.2:209.

B. Proto-Altaic **nʕarʕi* ‘man, young man’: Proto-Tungus **nʕ(i)ari* ‘man, person, young man’ > Evenki *nirawī* ‘young man’; Lamut / Even *narī* ‘man, young man’; Negidal *ñēyawī* ‘young man’; Manchu *niyalma* ‘man, person; another person, someone else, others’ (Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak write *nalma*); Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *nanə* ‘person, human being’; Jurchen *nerma* ‘man, person’; Ulch *nī* ‘man’; Orok *nari* ‘man’; Nanay / Gold *nai* ‘man, person’, (dial.) *nīʕa* ‘man’; Oroch *nā, nī* ‘man’; Udihe *nī* ‘man’. Proto-Mongolian **žer-me-* ‘young man’ > Khalkha (Bayat) *žermegei* ‘young man’; Buriat *žerbeger* ‘shapely, handsome (of a man)’. Proto-Turkic **yerʕ-ne* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’ > Karakhanide Turkic *yezne* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Azerbaijani *yeznä* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Turkmenian (dial.) *yezne* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Uzbek *žeznä, žezdä* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Tatar *žizne, žizni* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Kirghiz *žezde* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Kazakh *žezde* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Noghay *yezde* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Sary-Uighur *yezde* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *yeste, d’este* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’; Tuva *česte* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1013—1014 **nʕarʕi* ‘man, young man’.

Buck 1949:14.14 young. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:83—85, no. 318, **naʕra* ‘young, new-born’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1625, **naʕrE* ‘young, new-born’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:692—694, no. 575.

958. Proto-Nostratic root **naʕam-* (~ **naʕəm-*):

(vb.) **naʕam-* ‘to press, to squeeze’;

(n.) **naʕam-a* ‘pressing, squeezing’

- A. Proto-Dravidian **ñam-* ‘to press, to squeeze, to crush, to pinch’: Tamil *ñemi* ‘to break, to give way (as under weight)’, *ñemiṭu* (*ñemiṭi-*) ‘to crush, to press out with the hands, to rub’, *ñemir* ‘to be crushed, compressed; to be pressed out (as pulp); to break, to snap off’, *ñemuṅku* (*ñemuṅki-*) ‘to yield to pressure, to be pressed in, to be squeezed (as ripe fruit), to be compact, to be in close contact’, *ñemukku* (*ñemukki-*) ‘to press hard’, *ñemukkam* ‘yielding to pressure’, *namuku* (*namuki-*) ‘to yield under pressure’, *nimiṭtu* (*nimiṭti-*) ‘to pinch (as in punishment), to rub or crush between the hands’, *nimiṅtu* (*nimiṅti-*) ‘to crush, to squeeze between the hands (as grain), to pinch, to nip off’; Malayalam *ñamuṅṭuka* ‘to yield to pressure, to sink, to bulge’, *ñeviṅṭuka* ‘to bruise between the fingers, to squeeze’; Kodagu *ñavṅḍ-* (*ñavṅḍi-*) ‘to squeeze’; Tuḷu *nauṅṭuni* ‘to pinch’, *nauntu* ‘squeezing, pinching, crushing’, *naumpuni* ‘to entangle’; Kuwi *nabgali* ‘to press down’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:254, no. 2926.
- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **nʷam3-* (or **nʷom3-*) ‘to press (together), to squeeze’ > Hungarian *nyom-* ‘to press’, *nyom* ‘footprint’, *nyomás* ‘pressure, pressing, pushing’; (?) Chereemis / Mari *numurge-*, *numurge-* ‘to condense, to concentrate, to compress, to draw together; to contract, to condense, to tighten (intr.)’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *namyr-* ‘to compress, to squeeze, to press; to take, to seize’, *namral-* ‘to squeeze out, to press’, *namlav-* ‘to knead’. Collinder 1955:103, 1960:414 **nom3*, and 1977:117; Rédei 1986—1988:330 **nym3*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *namγə-* ‘to champ’. Nikolaeva 2006:287.
- C. Proto-Altaiic **nʷjame-* ‘to crush, to destroy; to cripple, to maim; to be crushed, destroyed, weakened’: Proto-Tungus **nʷim-/nʷum-* ‘to be weakened, exhausted, sick’ > Evenki *numu* ‘weakness, sickness’; Lamut / Even *num̄r* ‘shame’, *num-* ‘to be weakened, exhausted, sick’; Negidal *nomu-* ‘to be weakened, exhausted, sick’; Manchu *nime-* ‘to ache, to be painful, to suffer, to be ill’, *nimeku* ‘sickness, illness; pain; defect, weakness’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *nimə-* ‘to be weakened, exhausted, sick’; Ulch *ñimeremdi*, *ñumeremži* ‘shameless’, *ñumursi-* ‘to be sorry, sad’; Nanay / Gold *ñimoriži*, *ñomorj* ‘awkward’. Mongolian: Written Mongolian *žemdeg* ‘crippled, handicapped, maimed’, *žemdeg bolyaqu* ‘to mutilate, to maim, to cripple’, *žemdegle-* ‘to cripple’; Khalkha *zemdeg* ‘crippled, handicapped, maimed’; Dagur *d'emden* ‘crippled, handicapped, maimed’; Shira-Yughur *žemteg* ‘crippled, handicapped, maimed’. Proto-Turkic **yem-ür-* ‘to crush, to destroy’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *yemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy; to curse, to reproach’; Karakhanide Turkic *yemür-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Azerbaijani *yümür-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Turkmenian *yemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Uighur *yimir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Karaim *yemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Tatar *žimer-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Bashkir *yemer-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Kirghiz *žemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Noghay *yemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *yemir-*, *d'emir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Tuva *čemir-* ‘to crush, to destroy’; Chuvash *śə^wmə^{wr-}*

‘to crush, to destroy; to curse, to reproach’. Décsy 1998:108 *jimir* ‘to smash’; Clauson 1972:937 *jāmir*. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1011—1012 **njame* ‘to curse, to harm’.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.84 sick; sickness; 11.27 destroy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:692, no. 574; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:85, no. 319, **nama* ‘to squeeze, to seize’; Pudas-Marlow 1974:136, no. 603; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1602, **niam[o]* ‘to squeeze, to seize’.

959. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **nʷapʰ-a* ‘offspring, descendant, young one’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **n[a]f-* ‘offspring, descendant, young one’: Semitic: Akkadian *nip̄lu* ‘offshoot’, *nip̄ru* ‘offspring’. Egyptian *nfrw* (pl.) ‘young men (of army), recruits’ (also *hwnw nfrw*), (f.) *nfr-t* ‘maiden, young woman, teenager’. Hannig 1995:409; Faulkner 1962:132; Erman—Grapow 1921:81 and 1926—1963.2:258; Gardiner 1957:574. Chadic: Pero *neepe* ‘first-born child’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **nepʰ-(ō)th-* ‘descendant, offspring, grandson’: Sanskrit *nāpāt-* ‘descendant, offspring, grandson’ (RV also *nāpt̄r-*, in weak cases only), (f.) *napt̄ī-ḥ* ‘female descendant, granddaughter’; Pāli *nattar-* ‘grandson’; Avestan (nom.) *napā̄*, (obl.) *napāt-* ‘grandson’, *napt̄ya-* ‘descendant, offspring’; Old Persian (nom.) *napā*, (obl.) *napāt-* ‘grandson’; Albanian *nip* ‘nephew, grandson’; Greek (Homeric) *νέποδες* ‘young ones, children’ (according to Mallory—Adams 1997:239, “the erroneous δ was backformed from *νέπως, the regular nominative, when the stem-final consonant was no longer certain”); Latin (nom. sg.) *nepōs* (< **nepōtis*) ‘grandson, nephew’ (gen. sg. *nepōtis*), (f.) *neptis* ‘grand-daughter’; Old Irish *ni(a)e*, *nia* ‘sister’s son’, (f.) *necht* ‘niece’; Middle Welsh *nei* ‘nephew’ (Modern Welsh *nai*); Old Cornish *noi* ‘nephew’; Middle Breton *ni* ‘nephew’; Old Icelandic *nefi* ‘nephew’, (f.) *nípt* ‘female relative, sister’; Old English *nefa* ‘nephew, grandson, stepson’, (f.) *nift* ‘granddaughter, stepdaughter, niece’; Old Frisian *neva* ‘nephew’, (f.) *nift* ‘niece’; Old Saxon *nevo* ‘nephew’; Dutch *neef* ‘nephew’, (f.) *nicht* ‘niece’ (Middle Dutch *nifte*, *nichte*); Old High German *nevo* ‘nephew’ (New High German *Neffe*), (f.) *nift* ‘niece’ (New High German *Nichte* [< Middle Low German *nichte*]); Old Lithuanian *nepōtis*, *nepuotis* ‘grandson’, (f.) *neptē* ‘granddaughter’; Russian Church Slavic *netijb* ‘nephew’, (f.) *nestera* ‘niece’; Old Russian *netii* ‘nephew’; Old Polish *nieć* ‘cousin’, *nieściora* ‘niece’; Czech *net*, *neter* ‘niece’; Serbo-Croatian *nēstera* ‘niece’. Pokorny 1959:764 **nepōt-* ‘grandson, nephew’, (f.) **nep̄tī-* ‘granddaughter, niece’; **nep̄tjos* ‘descendant’; Walde 1927—1932.II:329—330 **nepōt-*, (f.) **nep̄tī-*; Mann 1984—1987:835—836 **nepis*, *nepō(n)* ‘nephew, grandson’, 836 **nepōtis* (**nepōtis*) ‘nephew, grandson’, 836 **nep̄teris* (**nep̄tris*) ‘niece, granddaughter’, 838 **neptis* ‘niece, granddaughter’; Watkins 1985:44

**nepōt-* and 2000:58 **nepōt-* ‘grandson, nephew’ (f. **neptī-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:239—240 **nepōts* ‘grandson; (?) sister’s son’ (gen. **népotos*) (Mallory—Adams note: “Efforts to etymologize **ne-pot-* as ‘powerless’ [*< *ne-* ‘not’ + **potis* ‘independent, dominating’, i.e., young unmarried male of extended family] are pointless as the correct segmentation revealed by the feminine forms is **nep-ot-* in which *-ot-* is the same nominal suffix found in Germanic **mēnōþ-* ‘month’ [from ‘moon’] or Hit[tite] *sīw-att-* ‘day’ [from ‘daytime, sky’]”); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:768, fn. 1, **nep[h]ōt[h]-* and 1995.I:669, fn. 51, **nep^hōt^h-* ‘grandson’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:132—133; Boisacq 1950:664—665; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:747; Frisk 1970—1973.II:307—308; Huld 1984:99; Hofmann 1966:215; Beekes 2010.II:1010; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:161—162 **nepōt-*, (f.) **neptī-*; De Vaan 2008:405—406; Ernout—Meillet 1979:437—438; Orël 1998:300 and 2003:283 **nefōd(z)*, 283—284 **neftiz*; Kroonen 2013:386 Proto-Germanic **nefan-* ‘nephew, cousin’, and 387 **neftī-* ‘niece, cousin’; De Vries 1977:406 and 410; Onions 1966:607 Common Germanic **neþon* and 609 Common Germanic **nīptiz*; Klein 1971:493 and 496; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:506 **népōt* and 510 **neptī-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:500—501 **nepōt-* and 503 **neptiā-*; Vercoullie 1898:200; Derksen 2008:350—351; Smoczyński 2007.1:420 **nep-ōt-s*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:494 **nepōt-*, (f.) **neptī-*; Derksen 2008:349—350 **h₂nep-t-ter-eh₂*, 350—351 *(*h₂*)*nep-t-i-o-*, and 2015:332 *(*h₂*)*nep-t-ih₂*; *(*h₂*)*nep-ōt*, *(*h₂*)*nep-(o)t*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:520—524 **népōt-*, **népot-*, **nept-*.

- C. Proto-Uralic **nʷepłz* ‘reindeer calf’: Lapp / Saami (Southern) *njāblo-* ‘to give birth to a calf’, (Lule) *njāb’loo* ‘weak, feeble (said of a reindeer calf in its first weeks of life; also said of dogs and children)’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets (Obdorsk) *naabl’uuj* ‘hide of the reindeer calf in autumn (when the fur begins to thicken in anticipation of the colder weather)’. Rédei 1986—1988:316 **néplz*; Décsy 1990:104 **njeplä* ‘reindeer calf’.
- D. Proto-Altaiic **nʷablʷu(-ʒV)* (< **nʷap^h-lʷu-* ?) ‘young (of plants, animals), child’: Proto-Tungus **nʷab[l]ʒa-* ‘young, boy, child’ > Ulch *nawʒa(n)* ‘young, boy, child’; Orok *naoʒoqqa(n)* ‘young, boy, child’; Nanay / Gold *naonʒoã* ‘young, boy, child’; Udihe *na’ula* ‘young, boy, child’. Proto-Mongolian **ʒulʒa-gan* ‘young (of plants, animals)’ > Written Mongolian *ʒulʒaɣa(n)* ‘fledgling, nestling, squab; young of an animal (except cattle), young of a plant’; Khalkha *zulʒgan*, *zulʒaga* ‘fledgling, nestling; the young of animals (except cattle); tree sprout or shoot’; Buriat *zulʒaga* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Kalmyk *zulʒiyən* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Ordos *ʒulʒaga* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Dagur *ʒilʒig*, *ʒilʒag* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Dongxiang *ʒunʒuɣa* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Shira-Yughur *ʒilʒagan* ‘young (of plants, animals)’; Monguor *ʒiʒiga* ‘young of certain animals; bud, sprout’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1002 **nábłu(-ʒu)* ‘young, child’.

- E. Etruscan *neftís, nefš, nefiś* ‘nephew, grandson’ (borrowed from Latin *nepōs* ‘grandson, nephew’).

Buck 1949:2.48 grandson; 2.49 granddaughter; 2.53 nephew; 2.54 niece.
Bomhard—Kerns 1994:691—692, no. 573.

960. Proto-Nostratic root **nʷukʰ-* (~ **nʷokʰ-*):

(vb.) **nʷukʰ-* ‘to shake, to tremble’;

(n.) **nʷukʰ-a* ‘shaking, trembling’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **nak-nak-* ‘to shake’ > Arabic *naknaka* ‘to press a debtor hard; to do a thing well’; Geez / Ethiopic *naknaka* [ከከከ] ‘to shake, to agitate, to hit hard, to stimulate, to excite, to trouble’; Tigrinya *nāknākā* ‘to shake’; Tigre *nāknāka* ‘to shake’; Amharic *nākännākä* ‘to shake’. Leslau 1987:396—397.
- B. Proto-Dravidian **ñukk-* ‘to shake’ (> North Dravidian **nukk-*): Kuṛux *nuknā* ‘to shake, to cause to oscillate, especially up and down’, *nukrū* ‘shaky, tottering’, *nuktaʹānā* ‘to cause another to shake something’; Malto *nuke* ‘to shake’, *nukre* ‘to swing, to rock, to be shaken’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:329, no. 3696.
- C. Uralic: Finno-Ugrian: Vogul / Mansi (Middle Konda) *ńowt-* ‘to swing, to rock, to sway’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vah, Vasyugan, Tremyugan) *ńoγa-*, (Yugan) *ńowa-*, (Kazym) *ńoχα-* ‘to move (intr.)’.

Buck 1949:10.26 shake (vb. tr.). Illič-Svityč 1965:369 **ńuka* [‘тормошить’] ‘to pull’ and 1971—1984.II:91, no. 328, **ńüka* ‘to tremble, to shake’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1584, **ńukV-* ‘to shake, to swing, to tremble’.

22.46. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *1

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaiic	Proto-Eskimo
l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	
-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-

961. Proto-Nostratic root **lab-* (~ **l̥ab-*):

(vb.) **lab-* ‘to take hold of, to grasp’;

(n.) **lab-a* ‘taking, grasping’

Possible derivative:

(vb.) **lab-* ‘to eat greedily, to lap (up), to suck milk’;

(n.) **lab-a* ‘eating, sucking’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **lab-ak-* ‘to take hold of, to grasp’ > Aramaic *l̥βax* ‘to lay hold of, to hold fast’; Arabic *labaka* ‘to mix (which is done by touching), to mingle, to intermix; to confuse, to mix up, to muddle, to jumble’, *labika* ‘to get confused, to be thrown into disorder, to be disarranged, to become disorganized’; Geez / Ethiopic *labaka* [ለበከ] ‘to touch, to reach’; Tigre *läbbäkä* ‘to rub in’. Leslau 1987:305.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **labh-* ‘(vb.) to take, to seize, to take into one’s possession, to gain, to obtain; (n.) gain’: Sanskrit *lābhate*, *lāmbhate*, *rābhate* ‘to take, to seize, to catch; to gain possession of, to obtain, to receive, to get’, *lābha-ḥ* ‘obtaining, getting, attaining, acquisition, gain, profit; capture, conquest’; Greek *λάφυρα* ‘spoils (taken in war)’, *ἀμφιλαφής* ‘taking in on all sides, wide-spreading’; Old Prussian *labs* ‘good’; Lithuanian *lōbis* ‘possessions, riches’, *lobstū*, *lōbti* ‘to get rich’, *lābas* ‘goods; good’. Pokorny 1959:652 **labh-* ‘to seize’; Walde 1927—1932.II:385 **labh-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:564 **la(m)bh-* ‘to seize, to take into one’s possession’; Mann 1984—1987:656 **labh-* (**labhos*) ‘acceptable’, 656 **lābhos*, *-jos*, *-us* ‘gain, gainful, gained, profitable’; Hofmann 1966:174—175 *(*s*)*lābh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:91; Boisacq 1950:561 *(*s*)*lābh-*; Beekes 2010.I:838 (pre-Greek); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:623 **labh-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:331; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:327; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:42—43.

Buck 1949:5.17 mix; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 11.15 hold; 15.71 touch. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:703—704, no. 588; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:29, no. 262, **Labl* ‘to seize, to acquire’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1255, **LabV* ‘to grasp, to get, to obtain’.

962. Proto-Nostratic root **lab-* (~ **l̥ab-*):(vb.) **lab-* ‘to eat greedily, to lap (up), to suck milk’;(n.) **lab-a* ‘eating, sucking’

Possibly related to or derived from:

(vb.) **lab-* ‘to take hold of, to grasp’;(n.) **lab-a* ‘taking, grasping’

Assuming semantic development from ‘to grasp with the teeth’ > ‘to eat greedily’ as in Proto-Tungus **laba-da-*, cited below.

- A. Proto-Afrasian **lab-* ‘to eat much, to suck milk’: Proto-Semitic **lab-an-* ‘to eat much, to suck milk’ > Arabic *labana* ‘to eat much, to suck milk’, *laban* ‘milk’, *labān* ‘breast’, *libān* ‘sucking, nursing’. Proto-Semitic **lab-ay-* ‘to eat much’ > Arabic (inf.) *laby* ‘to eat much’. Zammit 2002: 364—365. Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *laaba* ‘udder’. Hudson 1989: 330. [Ehret 1995:397, no. 808, **lib-* ‘to lap’.]
- B. Proto- Altaic **labV-* (~ *-p-*) ‘to eat greedily’: Proto-Tungus **lebge-* ‘to eat greedily’ > Negidal *lebge-* ‘to eat greedily’; Ulch *legbe-* ‘to eat greedily’; Nanay / Gold *legbeči-* ‘to eat greedily’; Udihe *legbe-* ‘to eat greedily’. Proto-Mongolian **labsi-* ‘to eat greedily’ > Mongolian *labsi-* ‘to eat greedily, to champ’; Khalkha *lawši-* ‘to eat greedily’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:869 **lebV* (~ *-p-*) ‘to eat greedily’ (Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also note Proto-Tungus **labada-* ‘to grasp with the teeth’). As opposed to Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak, I would reconstruct Proto- Altaic **labV-* and assume vowel assimilation in Tungus. The original vowel was preserved in Proto-Tungus **laba-da-* ‘to grasp with the teeth’ (cf. Solon *lawā-dā-* ‘to grasp with the teeth’).

Buck 1949:4.41 breast (of woman); 4.42 udder; 5.11 eat; 5.16 suck (vb.).

963. Proto-Nostratic root **lag-* (~ **l̥ag-*):(vb.) **lag-* ‘to put, place, lay, or set down’;(n.) **lag-a* ‘the act of putting, placing, laying, or setting down’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **lag-* ‘to put, place, lay, or set down’: Egyptian *ḏg* (< **lg*) ‘to plant, to cause to grow or sprout’. Hannig 1995:16; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:22. Central Chadic: Bachama *laga* ‘to plant’. Carnochan 1975:465. Semantic development as in Kartvelian. Perhaps also: Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *lagaaw-* ‘to descend, to go down’. Hudson 1989: 382.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **lag-/*lg-* ‘to put, to plant’, (past ptc.) **na-rg-* (< **na-lg-*) ‘planted’: Georgian *lag-* ‘to put, to place, to set, to lay’, *rg-* ‘to plant’, *narg-* ‘planted’; Mingrelian *rg-* ‘to plant’, *norg-* ‘seedling, sapling’; Laz *rg-* ‘to plant’; Svan *laž-/lǰ-*: *li-lǰ-eni* ‘to plant something; to attach, to

fasten'. Klimov 1964:118—119 **lag-/*lg-* and 1998:106 **lag-* 'to plant' (according to Klimov, "[t]he variant *rg-* derives from the zero grade of the stem *lg-*"), 138 **na-rg-* 'planted', 155 **rg-* 'to plant'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:280—281 **rg-*; Schmidt 1962:129; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:877 **lag-/*lg-* and 1995.I:774 **lag-/*lg-* 'to put, to lay; to plant'; Fähnrich 1994:234 and 2007:342 **rg-*. Fähnrich 2007:263 gives Proto-Kartvelian **lag-* 'place, region': Georgian *a-lag-i* 'place, region'; Svan *lag-a* 'route, way, direction'.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **leg^h-/*log^h-* 'to put, place, lay, or set down; to lie down': Greek (Hesychius) *λέχομαι* 'to lie down', *λέχος* 'couch, bed', *λόχος* 'ambush; place of ambush, place of lying in wait; the act of lying in wait; the men that form the ambush; any armed band, a body of troops; any body of people, a union'; Latin *lectus* 'couch, bed'; Old Irish *lige* 'bed', *la(i)gid* 'to lie'; Gothic *ligan* 'to lie, to lie down', *lagjan* 'to lay, to lay down, to set, to place', *ligrs* 'bed, couch'; Old Icelandic *liggja* 'to lie', *leggja* 'to lay, to place, to put'; Old English *lecgan* 'to lay, to put', *licgan* 'to lie, to lie down'; Old Frisian *lidz(i)a* 'to lie, to lie down', *ledza* 'to lay, to put'; Old Saxon *liggian* 'to lie, to lie down', *leggian* 'to lay, to put'; Dutch *leggen* 'to lay, to put', *liggen* 'to lie, to lie down'; Old High German *liggen* 'to lie, to lie down' (New High German *liegen*), *lecken*, *leggen* 'to lay, to put' (New High German *legen*); Old Church Slavic *ležo*, *ležati* 'to lie, to recline', *ležo*, *lešti* 'to lie down' (*ležo* contains a nasal infix [cf. Shevelov 1964:115 and 317]); Tocharian A *lake*, B *leke* 'couch, bed', B *lyäk-* 'to lie down'; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *la-a-ki* 'to cause to incline, to cause to fall, to overturn', (3rd sg. pres. mid.) *la-ga-a-ri* 'to incline, to fall, to lie'. Rix 1998a:357—358 **leg^h-* 'to lie, to lie down'; Walde 1927—1932.II:424—425 **leg^h-*; Pokorny 1959:658—659 **leg^h-* 'to lie down'; Mann 1984—1987:669 **leg^hō* 'to lay, to lie', 669 **leg^hos* 'resting-place, place, site'; Watkins 1985:35 **leg^h-* and 2000:47 **leg^h-* 'to lie, to lay'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:216, II:877 **leg^h]*- and 1995.I:186, I:774 **leg^h-* 'to lie (down)'; Mallory—Adams 1997:352 **leg^h-* 'to lie'; Boisacq 1950:574—575 **leg^h-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:110—112 Greek *λόχος* < **log^ho-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:634—635 Greek *λόχος* < **log^ho-*; Beekes 2010.I:852—853 **leg^h-*; Hofmann 1966:178—179; De Vaan 2008:332; Ernout—Meillet 1979:348 **leg^h-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:777—779 **leg^h-*; Orël 2003:231 Proto-Germanic **laǰjanan*, 240 **leǰjanan*, 240 **leǰran*; Kroonen 2013:322 Proto-Germanic **lagjan-* 'to put'; Feist 1939:319 and 330—331; Lehmann 1986:233 **leg^h-* 'to lie down' ("originally athematic and punctual, as in Gk *λέκτο* aor *he lay down*, but later thematic in all IE dialects"); De Vries 1977:349 and 355; Onions 1966:519 and 527 **leg^h-*, **log^h-*, **lēg^h-*; Klein 1971:414 and 421 **leg^h-* 'to lie'; Vercoullie 1898:167; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:431 and 441 **leg^h-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:434 and 442 **leg^h-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:254 **leg^h-*, **log^h-* and I:271 **leg^h-*; Adams 1999:559 **log^ho-* and

556 **leg^h-*; Puhvel 1984— .5:33—37 **leg^h-* ‘to lie down’; Kloekhorst 2008b:514—515; Derksen 2008:270—271 **leg^h-*, 271—272, and 272; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:450—451 **leg^h-*.

Buck 1949:12.12 put (place, set, lay); 12.14 lie. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:703, no. 587; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1265, **lĒga* ‘to lie, to lie down; to lay, to put’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:35—36, no. 271, **Laga* ‘to lie’.

964. Proto-Nostratic root **lah-* (~ **ləh-*):

- (vb.) **lah-* ‘to shine, to blaze, to burn’;
 (n.) **lah-a* ‘shining, blazing, burning’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **lah-ab-* ‘to shine, to blaze, to burn’ > Arabic *lahiba* ‘to flame, to burn, to blaze; to kindle, to light, to set on fire, to ignite, to inflame (something); to excite, to stir up, to provoke; to be aflame, to be ablaze; to catch fire, to flare up, to be inflamed’, *lahab* ‘flame, blaze, flare’, ?*ilhāb* ‘kindling, lighting, ignition, inflammation’, *multahib* ‘burning, flaming, blazing, aflame, ablaze; inflamed; heated, excited, glowing, aglow’; Ḥarsūsi *lāhab* ‘flame’; Mehri *ləhēb* ‘hot wind’; Šheri / Jibbāli *lēheb* ‘flame’; Hebrew *lahab* [לָהַב] ‘flame’; Aramaic *lahəḇā* ‘flame’; Geez / Ethiopic *lahaba* [ላህባ], *ləhba* [ላህባ] ‘to burn, to blaze, to flame, to be warm, to perspire’; Tigre *lāhaba* ‘to perspire’; Tigrinya *lahbät* ‘perspiration’; Amharic *labä* ‘to be warm, to perspire’. Leslau 1987:308; Zammit 2002:373. Proto-Semitic **lah-ak’-* ‘to be bright, to shine brightly’ > Arabic *lahaka*, *lahika* ‘to be very white, to shine brightly’, *lahak*, *lahik* ‘entirely white’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:363 **lihab-* ‘to burn’. Note: The Egyptian form cited by Orël—Stolbova is a borrowing from Semitic.]
- B. Proto-Indo-European **leh-p^h-* [*lah-p^h-*] (> **lāp^h-*) ‘to light, to burn’: Greek *λάμπω* (< **l̥h₂-n-p^h-*) ‘to give light, to shine, to beam; to be bright, brilliant, radiant’, *λαμπρός* ‘bright, brilliant, radiant’; Old Irish *lassaid* ‘to burn’, *lassar* ‘flame’; Welsh *llachar* ‘shining, gleaming, flashing; Lithuanian *lópė* ‘light’; Latvian *lāpa* ‘torch’ Old Prussian *lopis* ‘flame’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *la-ap-zi* ‘to catch fire, to flare up, to flash’, (nom. sg.) *la-ap-pi-(ya)-aš* ‘fever’; Luwian *lappiya-* ‘heat’ (?). Rix 1998a:361 **leh₂p-* ‘to light up’; Pokorny 1959:652—653 **lā[i]p-* ‘to light, to burn’; Walde 1927—1932.II:383 **lāp-* : **lāp-*; Watkins 1985:35 **lāp-* and 2000:47 **lap-* ‘to light, to burn’ (nasalized form **la-m-p-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:513 **lap-* ‘to shine’ and 2006:328, 329 **lap-* ‘to shine’; Boisacq 1950:554 **lāmp-*; Hoffmann 1966:172 **lā[i]p-*, **lāip-*, **lāp-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:617 **lāp-* or **lōp-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:79—80 **lāp-* or **lōp-*; Prellwitz 1905:259 **lāp-*; Beekes 2010.I:829—830 **leh₂p-*; Matasović 2009:235 **leh₂p-*; Puhvel 1984— .5:58—60 **leA-p-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:519—520 **leh₂p-*/**lh₂p-*; Derksen 2015:293 **leh₂p-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:386; Smoczyński 2007.1:362 **leh₂p-*.

Buck 1949:1.82 flame (sb.); 1.85 burn (vb.); 1.86 light (vb.), kindle; 15.56 shine; 15.57 bright. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1316, **LahPV* ‘flame; to glow’.

965. Proto-Nostratic root **lah-* (~ **lāh-*):

(vb.) **lah-* ‘to make flow, to pour, to moisten, to wet’;

(n.) **lah-a* ‘flowing, pouring; moistness, wetness’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **lah-* ‘to make flow, to moisten, to wet’: Proto-Semitic **lah-ah-* ‘to make flow, to moisten, to wet’ > Arabic (?*a*)*lahha* ‘to rain continuously’; Hebrew *lah* [לָהַ] ‘moist, fresh, new’ (base *lhh* [לָהָה] ‘to be moist, to be fresh’); Aramaic *lahlah* ‘to moisten’; Palmyrene *lh* ‘moisture’; Ugaritic *lht* ‘freshness, vigor’ (?); Geez / Ethiopic *lahha* [ላሐ], *lahaha* [ላሐሐ] ‘to be humid, to be soft, to be smooth’, *ʔalhəha* [አላሐሐ] ‘to moisten, to cool off, to soften’, *lāhləha* [ላሐላሐ] ‘to be humid, damp’, *ləhluh* [ላሐሐሐ] ‘humid, wet’. Murtonen 1989:247; Klein 1987:297 and 298; Leslau 1987:310.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **leh₂h-* [**lah₂h-*] (extended form **leh₂h-w/u-* [**lah₂h-w/u-*]) ‘to pour, to pour out (liquids)’: Hittite *lah-* in: (nom. sg.) *la-ah-ni-iš* ‘flask, flagon, frequently of metal (silver, gold, copper)’ (acc. pl. *la-ha-an-ni-uš*), (1st sg. pret.) *la-a-hu-un* ‘to pour, to pour out (liquids)’, (2nd sg. impvtv.) *la-a-ah* ‘pour!’; *lah(h)u-* in: (3rd sg. pres.) *la(-a)-hu(-u)-wa(-a)i*, *la-a-hu-u-wa-a-iz[-zi]*, *la-hu-uz-zi* ‘to pour (liquids, fluids; containers of these); to cast (objects from metal); to flow fast, to stream, to flood (intr.)’, (reduplicated ptc.) *la-al-hu-u-wa-an-ti-it* ‘poured’, (reduplicated 3rd sg. pres.) *li-la-hu-i*, *le-el-hu-wa-i*, *li-il-hu-wa-i* ‘to pour’, (reduplicated acc. sg.) *le-el-hu-u-un-da-in* ‘a vessel’; Luwian (1st sg. pret.) *la-hu-ni-i-ha* ‘to pour’ (?); Greek ληνός (Doric λᾶνός) ‘anything shaped like a tub or a trough: a wine-vat, a trough (for watering cattle), a watering place’ (< **lā-no-s* < **leh₂h-no-s* [**lah₂h-no-s*]). Puhvel 1984— .5:6—8 and 5:16—25 **leA₁-w-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:511—513; Rix 1998a:360 **leh₂-* ‘to pour’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:637 etymology unknown; Boisacq 1950:578—579 etymology unclear; Hofmann 1966:180 etymology unexplained; Beekes 2010.I:857 etymology unexplained; Frisk 1970—1973.II:117 etymology unexplained. These forms are not related to Greek λούω ‘to wash, to bathe’, Latin *lavō* ‘to wash, to bathe’, etc., which must be derived from Proto-Indo-European **lew₂h-*/**low₂h-* ‘to wash, to bathe’ (cf. Winter 1965a:108; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:699, no. 581).

Sumerian *lah* ‘to wash, to clean’, *lah* ‘laundry, wash’.

Buck 1949:9.35 pour; 9.36 wash; 15.83 wet, damp; 15.87 clean. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:700, no. 582.

966. Proto-Nostratic root **lah-* (~ **lāh-*):(vb.) **lah-* ‘to strike, to fight’;(n.) **lah-a* ‘fight, battle, slaughter’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **lVh-* ‘(vb.) to strike, to fight; (n.) fight, battle, slaughter’: Proto-Semitic **lah-am-* ‘(vb.) to strike, to fight; (n.) fight, battle, slaughter’ > Arabic *lahima* ‘to join in battle, to engage in mutual massacre, to kill one another, to slaughter’, *malhama* ‘bloody fight, slaughter, massacre, fierce battle’, *ʔiltihām* ‘grapple, struggle, fight, close combat’; Sabaeen *lhm* ‘fight, brawl’; Hebrew *lāham* [לָחַם] ‘to fight, to do battle’, *milhāmāh* [מִלְחָמָה] ‘battle, war’; Imperial Aramaic *mlhm* ‘battle, war’; Ugaritic *mlhmt* ‘battle, war’. Murtonen 1989:247; Klein 1987:298 and 349. (?) Central Chadic **lim-* (< **liHVm-*) ‘war’ > Lamang *lamo* ‘war’; Daba *lim* ‘war’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:363, no. 1672, **lihum-* ‘to kill, to fight’.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Neo-Elamite *la-h-li/u-* ‘to knock, to smash, to hammer’.
- C. Kartvelian: Georgian *lax-* in: *ga-lax-av-*, *ga-lax-e-* ‘to beat (up), to hit, to strike’, *laxvar-i* ‘spear’ (Old Georgian *laxuar-i*). Lange 1987:29.
- D. Proto-Indo-European **leh₂h-* [**lah₂h-*] ‘warfare, military campaign’, **leh₂h-wo-s* [**lah₂h-wo-s*] ‘men under arms (as opposed to their leaders): warriors, soldiers, troops’: Hittite (loc. sg.) *la-ah₂-hi* ‘warfare, military campaign’, (3 sg. pres. act.) *la-ah₂-hi-ya-iz-zi* ‘to go to war, to wage war, to (go on) campaign; to make war on, to attack, to confront, to take on; to brave’, (nom. sg.) *la-ah₂-hi-ya-la-aš* ‘fighter, warrior; infantry’, (acc. pl.) *la-ah₂-h₂e-mu-uš* ‘military action, raid, maneuver’; Luwian (acc. sg.) *lalhiyan* in *kuwalanallin-tar lalhiyan* ‘military campaign’; Lycian (3 sg. pres. act.) *laxadi* ‘to strike, to attack’; Greek (Homeric) *λαός* (Ionic *ληός*; Attic *λεός*) ‘(in the warlike language of the Iliad) the people or men of the army, troops, soldiers; also a land-army (as opposed to a fleet); the common men (as opposed to their leaders)’; Phrygian *λαφαγται* ‘military leader’ (Greek loan); Old Irish *láech* ‘warrior’ (formerly thought to have been borrowed from Latin *laicus* ‘layman’ [itself a loan from Greek *λαϊκός* ‘layman’]). Mann 1984—1987:667 **lā₂uō*, *-iō* ‘to chase, to catch, to capture, to seize, to hold’, 667 **lā₂uos* (**lā₂u-*) ‘seizure’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:740 **laH(u)o-* and 1995.I:644 **laH(w)o-* ‘people, folk; army; campaign’; Mallory—Adams 1997:31 **leh₂uós* ‘people (under arms)’, **leh₂-* ‘±military action’, **leh₂uós* ‘±army’; Sturtevant 1942:35, §36b, Indo-Hittite **laxo-* ‘war’ and 1951:47, §74, Indo-Hittite **lex-* ‘war’, **lexwos* ‘army’; Puhvel 1984— .5:1—6; Kloekhorst 2008b:510—511; Benveniste 1969.II:89—95 and 1973:371—376; Matasović 2009:234—235 **leh₂-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:619—620; Frisk 1970—1973.III:144; Boisacq 1950:556 **lā₂u-o-s*; Prellwitz 1905:259 **lā₂uo-s*; Hofmann 1966:173; Beekes 2010.I:832—833 (pre-Greek).

Sumerian *lah* ‘to beat, to strike, to hit; to pummel’, *lah₄* ‘to push, to shove’.

Buck 1949:20.12 battle; 20.13 war. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1338, *L[a]χV ‘to strike, to fight’.

967. Proto-Nostratic root *lak^h- (onomatopoeic):

(vb.) *lak^h- ‘to lick, to lap up’;

(n.) *lak^h-a ‘licking’

A. Afrasian: Chadic: Daffo-Butura *loḵ* ‘to lick’; Bokos *lok* ‘to lick’; Sha *lig*, *lik* ‘to lick’; Pa’a *lkən* ‘to lick’; Boghom *ṅalak* ‘to lick’; Sumray *la* ‘to lick’; Ndam *ləgnya* ‘to lick’; Tumak *lag* ‘to lick’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:111 *lkd and II:224—225.

B. Proto-Dravidian *nakk- (< *lakk-) ‘to lick, to lap’: Tamil *nakku* (*nakki*-) ‘(vb.) to lick, to lap; (n.) licking’, *nakkal* ‘food taken by licking’, *nakki* ‘a destitute person, as one who licks scrapings’; Malayalam *nakkuka* ‘to lick’, *nakki* ‘to lick, a beggar’; Kota *nak-* (*naky-*) ‘to lick’; Toda *nok-* (*noky-*) ‘to lick’; Kannaḍa *nakku*, *nekku* ‘to lick’, *nekkisu* ‘to cause to lick’; Koḍagu *nakk-* (*nakki-*) ‘to lick’, *nakk* ‘licking’; Tuḷu *nakkuni*, *nekkuni* ‘to lick, to lap’, *nakkāvuni* ‘to cause to lick’, *nakkele* ‘a man who licks, especially the plate on which food has been served; a greedy man’ (f. *nakkeldi*); Telugu *nāku* ‘to lick’; Kolami *na-k-* (*na-kt-*) ‘to lick’; Naikṛi *nāk-* ‘to lick’; Parji *nēk-* ‘to lick’; Gadba *nāk-* ‘to lick’; Gondi *nākānā*, *nākīnā*, *nāk-* ‘to lick’; Koṇḍa *nāk-* (*nākt-*) ‘to lick’; Pengo *nāk-* ‘to lick’; Maṇḍa *nēk-* ‘to lick’; Kui *nāka* (*nāki-*) ‘to lick, to lap’; Kuwi *nākali*, *nāk-* ‘to lick, to lap’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:314, no. 3570; Krishnamurti 2003:108 *nakk- ‘to lick’.

C. Proto-Indo-European *lak^h- ‘to lick, to lap up’: Armenian *lakem* (-k- < *-kk-) ‘to lick’; Lithuanian *lakù*, *làkti* ‘to lap up, to swill’; Latvian *lakt* ‘to lap up, to swill’; Old Church Slavic *ločq*, *lokati* ‘to lick, to lap’. Pokorny 1959:653 *lak- ‘to lick with a clicking sound’; Walde 1927—1932.II:380 *laq-; Mann 1984—1987:660 *lak- ‘to lap up, to gulp, to gobble’; Mallory—Adams 1997:352 *lak- ‘to lick’; Derksen 2008:283—284 *lak-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:337—338; Smoczyński 2007.1:335.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *lakka- ‘to lick, to lap up’: Finnish *latkia*, *lakkia*, *litkiä* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’; Karelian *lakki-* ‘to lick’; Estonian *laku-* ‘to lick, to lap’; Zyrian / Komi *lak-* ‘to lap’. Hakola 2000:94—95, no. 399.

Buck 1949:4.59 lick (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:15, no. 247, *lak^a (onomatopoeic) ‘to lick, to lap’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:704, no. 589.

968. Proto-Nostratic *lak^h- (~ *lakh-):

(vb.) *lak^h- ‘to go on foot, to travel on foot’;

(n.) *lak^h-a ‘leg, foot’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **lak-* (~ **lik-* ~ **luk-*) ‘leg, foot’: Berber: Tuareg *alkəm* ‘to follow, to pursue, to accompany on a trip, to follow on foot’; Tamazight *alkəm* ‘to reach, to arrive at, to reunite with, to overtake’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *alkəm* ‘to arrive at, to reunite with, to reach’. Proto-East Cushitic **lak-/lik-/luk-* ‘leg, foot’ > Saho *lak* ‘leg, foot’; Somali *lug* ‘leg, foot’; Arbore *luk-a* ‘leg, foot’; Sidamo *lekk-a* ‘leg, foot’; Bayso *luk-i* ‘leg, foot’; Galla / Oromo *luk-a* ‘thigh’; Burji *lukk-a* ‘leg’; Gedeo / Darasa *lekka-* ‘leg, foot’; Hadiyya *lokko* ‘leg, foot’; Kambata *lokka-ta* ‘leg, foot’; Elmolo *luk* ‘leg, foot’; Gidole *lukk-et* ‘leg, foot’; Alaba *lokka-a* ‘leg, foot’; Tsamay *luk-te* ‘leg, foot’; Gawwada *lux-ti* ‘leg, foot’. Sasse 1979:12 and 1982:136; Hudson 1989:66. Orël—Stolbova 1995:367—368 **IVk-/IVk-* ‘leg’.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *la-gi-* ‘to go across, to travel across’, *lag-gi-ma-na* ‘for their journey’, *la-ki-* ‘to travel, to journey’.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **lakh-* ‘leg, foot’: Greek (adv.) *λάξ* ‘with the foot’, *λακτίζω* ‘to kick with the heel or foot’; Latin *lacertus* ‘upper arm’; Old Icelandic *leggr* (< Proto-Germanic **laǵjaz*) ‘leg, hollow bone (of arms and legs)’, *lær* ‘the leg above the knee, thigh’; Swedish *lägg* ‘calf (of the leg)’, *lår* ‘thigh’; Danish *legg*, *læg* ‘calf (of the leg)’, *laar* ‘thigh’; Norwegian *legg* ‘calf (of the leg)’, *laar*, *lær* ‘thigh, leg (of a fowl)’; Old English *lēow* ‘thigh, ham’; Middle English *leg* ‘leg’ (Scandinavian loan). Walde 1927—1932.II:420—421 **leq-* (: **ləq-*), **lēq-* : **ləq-*; Pokorny 1959:673 **lek-* (: **lək-*), **lēk-* : **lək-* ‘limb of the body’; Mallory—Adams 1997:323 **lek-* ‘to jump, to scuttle along, to bulge (of muscles)’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:82—83; Boisacq 1950:555—556; Mann 1984—1987:660 **lak-* ‘to kick’, 660 **laks-* (?) ‘jump; lumping horse’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:619; Hofmann 1966:173; Beekes 2010.I:831—832; De Vaan 2008:321 no semantically convincing connections; Ernout—Meillet 1979:336 (Latin *lacertus* is only compared with Old Irish *laghairt* — no other known connection); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:743—744; Orël 2003:231—232 Proto-Germanic **laǵwaz* ~ **laxwaz*; Kroonen 2013:321—322 Proto-Germanic **lagja-* ‘leg’; De Vries 1977:349—350; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:437 and 450; Torp 1919:370; Onions 1966:522; Klein 1971:416.
- D. Proto-Gilyak / Nivkh **lay-* ‘to visit’: Amur *lay-dʷ* ‘to go visit’; East Sakhalin *layə-nd* ‘to visit’, *lax-t vi-d* ‘to go on a journey’ (*vi-d*, *vivi-t* ‘to go’); South Sakhalin *layə-nd* ‘to travel’. Forescue 2016:92.

Buck 1949:4.35 leg. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:700—701, no. 583; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:22—23, no. 255, **l/aKa* ‘leg’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1282a, **LaKa* (= **laKa* ?) ‘leg’.

969. Proto-Nostratic root **lak’-* (~ **lək’-*):
 (vb.) **lak’-* ‘to gather, to collect’;
 (n.) **lak’-a* ‘collection’; (adj.) ‘gathered, collected, picked, chosen’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **lak*'- 'to gather, to collect': Proto-Semitic **lak*'-at'- 'to gather, to pick up' > Akkadian *lakātu* 'to collect, to gather'; Hebrew *lākaṭ* [לִּקַּח] 'to gather up, to pick up', *leket* [לֶקֶט] 'gleanings; the poor person's share of the crop'; Aramaic *lakat* 'to pick up, to gather'; Ugaritic /l-ḳ-z/ 'to gather'; Arabic *laḳaṭa* 'to gather, to collect, to pick up from the ground, to glean (something)', *laḳaṭ* 'that which is picked up or gathered, leftovers, gleanings'; Sabaean *stlkt* 'to be abducted' (?) (reflexive of the causative?); Šheri / Jibbāli *lkət* 'to pluck, to pick off, to pick up'; Mehri *əwḳáwt* 'to pick up one thing, something small'. Murtonen 1989:250; Klein 1987:305; Zammit 2002:370—371. Proto-Semitic **lak*'-am- 'to pick, to pick up, to gather, to collect' > Geez / Ethiopic *laḳama* [ለቀመ] 'to pick, to choose, to separate'; Tigre *lākma* 'to gather, to pluck'; Tigrinya *lākāmā* 'to pick, to pluck, to glean'; Amharic *lākḳāmā* 'to collect, to gather (wood), to pick (fruit), to pick up'; Argobba *lākḳāmā* 'to collect, to gather, to pick, to pick up'; Gurage *lākāmā* 'to pick, to pick up'; Harari *lākāmā* 'to pick up'. Leslau 1963:101, 1979:382, and 1987:317. Proto-Semitic **lak*'-ap- 'to grasp, to take (hold of), to pick off' > Arabic *lakifa* 'to seize quickly, to grab, to snatch (something); to catch (something); to snatch up, to take over; to seize, to rob, to usurp'; Šheri / Jibbāli *lkaf* 'to grasp in the fist, to get hold of'; Mehri *līkaf* 'to take, to get hold of; to pick off (scab, resin)'; Ḥarsūsi *lēkef* 'to grasp in the fist, to get hold of'. Proto-Semitic **lak*'-in- 'to gather' > Arabic *lakina* 'to gather, to infer, to teach'.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **lek*'-/**lok*'- 'to pick, to gather, to collect': Greek *λέγω* 'to pick, to gather, to speak', *λογία*, *-άδος* 'gathered, picked, chosen', *λογία* 'a collection for the poor', *λόγος* 'word, speech, discourse, conversation', *λόγιος* 'learned, erudite'; Latin *legō* 'to collect, to gather together, to pick; to choose, to select, to pick out; to read, to peruse', *lectus* 'chosen, selected'; Albanian *mb-ledh* 'to collect, to add'. Rix 1998a:386 **leḡ-* 'to gather, to collect'; Pokorny 1959:658 **leḡ-* 'to gather, to collect'; Walde 1927—1932.II:422 **leḡ-*; Mann 1984—1987:670 **leḡō*, *-iō* 'to gather, to pick, to pick out, to read'; Watkins 1985:35 **leg-* and 2000:47 'to collect', with derivatives meaning 'to speak'; Mallory—Adams 1997:242 **leḡe/o-* 'to gather' (> Greek *λέγω* 'to gather'); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:941 **leḱ*'-/**loḱ*'- and 1995.I:834 **leḱ*'-/**loḱ*'- 'to collect, to gather, to select'; Meyer 1891:265; Huld 1984:145 and 156; Orël 1998:251; Boisacq 1950:563—564 **leḡ-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:94—96; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:625—626; Hofmann 1966:175 **leḡ-*; Prellwitz 1905:263; Beekes 2010.I:841—842 **leḡ-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:348—350; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:780 **leḡ-*; De Vaan 2008:332—333 **leḡ-e/o-*.
- C. Proto-Uralic **luki*- 'to read, to count', **luka* 'number, figure, count' (Indo-European loan, see below) > Finnish *luke-* 'to read, to count', *luku* 'number, figure; account, consideration, chapter'; Estonian *lugu* 'story, tale', *luge-* 'to read, to recite, to count'; Lapp / Saami *lokkā-/logā-* 'to read,

to count; to bring tidings, news of; to tell, to say, to give one's opinion', *lokko* 'number, account, consideration', *lokke* 'ten (at cards); (as last part of compounds) ten altogether'; Cheremis / Mari *lu* 'ten', *lōda-*, *luda-* 'to read, to count'; Votyak / Udmurt *lyd* 'number'; Zyrian / Komi *lyd* 'number'; Vogul / Mansi *low* 'ten', *lowint-* 'to count'; Mordvin *lovo-* 'to count'. Collinder 1955:131 and 1977:142—143; Joki 1973:278—279; Rédei 1986—1988:253 **luke*; Sammallahti 1988:545 **luki-* 'to count'; Zhivlov 2023:122, 164, and 165 Proto-Uralic **luki-* 'to count', **luka* 'a count, ten'. As noted by Gamkrelidze—Ivanov (1995.I:834), Proto-Uralic **luki-* "can be considered an early borrowing from Indo-European (Jokl 1921:111—12, Collinder 1955:131). Borrowing can be assumed on the basis of the semantics of the Finno-Ugric word, which reflects a derived cultural meaning of the Indo-European word ('count', not 'gather')."

Buck 1949:12.21 collect, gather; 18.21 speak, talk. Bomhard 1984b:279, no. 303; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:697—698, no. 578; Greenberg 2002:38, no. 70; Hakola 2000:98, no. 419; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1275, **lukê* 'to gather'.

970. Proto-Nostratic root **lak'-* (~ **lək'-*), **lik'-* (~ **lek'-*), **luk'-* (~ **lok'-*) (onomatopoeic):
 (vb.) **lak'-*, **lik'-*, **luk'-* 'to lick';
 (n.) **lak'-a*, **lik'-a*, **luk'-a* 'licking'
- A. Proto-Afrasian **lak'-* ~ **lik'-* ~ **luk'-* 'to lick, to lap, to gulp down, to swallow': Proto-Semitic **lak'-am-* 'to gulp down, to swallow' > Arabic *laḳīma* 'to eat, to devour, to gobble, to swallow up', *luḳma* 'bite; bit, mouthful; little piece, morsel'; Mehri *alōḳəm* 'to put into someone's mouth', *lātḳəm* 'to swallow', *əwḳəmēt* 'mouthful'; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *elōḳum* 'to put something into someone's mouth', *ləḳmēt* 'mouthful'; Soqotri *əlḳam* 'to swallow'; Ḥarsūsi *alēḳem* 'to make someone swallow something', *lātḳem* 'to swallow; to put in the mouth', *elḳemēt* 'piece, mouthful'; Geez / Ethiopic *laḳama* [ላቀመ] 'to chew on food that is hard and makes noise when it is eaten'; Tigrinya *lāḳāmā* 'to eat roasted grain'; Tigre *lāḳma* 'to eat'. Leslau 1987:317; Zammit 2002:371. Proto-Semitic **lak'-ak'-* 'to lick, to lap' > Arabic *laḳḳa* 'to lick, to lap'; Hebrew *lāḳaḳ* [לָקַק] 'to lick, to lap'. Murtonen 1989:250; Klein 1987:306. Coptic *lōḡ* [ⲗⲟⲩ] 'to lick' (Semitic loan). Vycichl 1983:102. Berber: Tuareg *əlləḡ* 'to lick'; Siwa *əlləḡ* 'to lick'; Nefusa *əlləḡ* 'to lick, to lap'; Ghadames *əlləḡ* 'to lick'; Wargla *əlləḡ* 'to lick'; Mzab *əlləḡ* 'to lick, to lap'; Tamazight *əlləḡ* 'to lick, to lap'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əlləḡ* 'to lick'; Riff *əlləḡ*, *əḡḡəḡ* 'to lick'; Kabyle *əlləḡ* 'to lick, to lap'; Chaoia *əlləḡ* 'to lick, to lap'; Zenaga *əlli*, *əlləḡ* 'to lick'. Proto-East Cushitic **lik'-/*luk'-* 'to swallow, to lap' > Somali *luq-* 'to swallow', *luqum* 'neck'; Konso *loq-* 'to swallow'; Gedeo / Darasa *lik'in-s-* 'to swallow'; Galla / Oromo *lik'im-s-* (< **lik'm-/*luk'm-*)

- ‘to swallow’, *luk’um-a* ‘esophagus’, *lukk’uum-un*, *-aa* ‘larynx’; Hadiyya *lik’icc’-*, *lic’ikk’-* ‘to swallow’, *loom-ee-* (< **luk’m-*) ‘Adam’s apple’; Gidole *lok’-* ‘to swallow’. Sasse 1979:49 and 1982:132; Hudson 1989:147; Heine 1978:67. Proto-Southern Cushitic **lak’-* ‘gullet’ > Dahalo *lak’a* ‘area under the chin’. Ehret 1980:328. Orël—Stolbova 1995:363, no. 1673, **liḳam-/liḳim-* ‘to eat, to swallow’ (derived from **lVḳ-* ‘to lick’), 368, no. 1697, **lVḳ-* ‘to lick’; Ehret 1995:403, no. 822, **lak’-* ‘to lap up’.
- B. Proto-Kartvelian **lok’-* ‘to lick’: Georgian *lok’-* ‘to lick’; Mingrelian *lok’-*, *lont’k’-* ‘to lick’; Laz *lok’-*, *losk’-* ‘to lick’; Svan *lōk’-*, *lāk’-* ‘to lick’. Klimov 1964:121—122 **loḳ-* and 1998:110 **loḳ-* ‘to lick’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:221 **loḳ-*; Fähnrich 1994:233 and 2007:270 **loḳ-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **lik’-* ‘to lick’: Latin *ligula* (also *lingula*) ‘little tongue’, *lingō* (with *n*-infix) ‘to lick’; Old Irish *ligim* ‘to lick’. Proto-West Germanic **likkōjan* ‘to lick’ > Old English *liccian* ‘to lick’ (Middle English *licken*); Old North Frisian *leccōn* ‘to lick’; Old Saxon *liccōn*, *leccōn* ‘to lick’; Dutch *likken* ‘to lick’; Old High German *leckōn*, *lecchōn* ‘to lick’ (New High German *lecken*). Assuming here that these forms are not derivatives of Proto-Indo-European **leygh-/loygh-/ligh-* ‘to lick’. Proto-Indo-European appears to have had several variant forms for ‘to lick’, as seen by Mann (1984—1987:671 **leiḡ-* ‘to lick’, 672 **leiḡhō*, *-jō* ‘to lick’, and 690—691 **liḡō*, *-jō* [**liḡājō*, **liḡ-*] ‘to lick’). Ernout—Meillet 1979:360; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:800—801 and I:806; De Vaan 2008:343; Orël 2003:245—246 Proto-Germanic **likkōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:337 Proto-Germanic **likkōn-* ‘to lick’; Onions 1966:526; Klein 1971:420; Vercoillie 1898:172; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:430; Kluge—Seebold 1989:433.

Buck 1949:4.59 lick (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:704—705, no. 590; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:15, no. 247, **lak* (onomatopoeic) ‘to lick, to lap’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1284, **lak[U]* ‘to lick, to lap’.

971. Proto-Nostratic root **lam-* (~ **lām-*):

(vb.) **lam-* ‘to bend down, to stoop down, to sink down, to lie down, to duck down; to be or become bent down, curved down; to be low’;

(n.) **lam-a* ‘lowland, low-lying ground, any piece of land’; (adj.) ‘low’

Extended form:

(vb.) **lam-V-d-* ‘to bend down, to stoop down, to sink down, to lie down, to duck down; to be or become bent down, curved down; to be low’;

(n.) **lam-d-a* ‘lowland, low-lying ground, any piece of land’; (adj.) ‘low’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **lam-* ‘to bend down, to stoop down, to sink down, to lie down, to duck down; to be or become bent down, curved down; to be low’: Semitic: Arabic *lamada* ‘to submit, to be obsequious’, *lamdān* ‘submissive, obsequious’. Berber: Tuareg *alməγ* ‘to be immersed, to be dyed by

immersion’, *səlməγ* ‘to immerse, to dye by immersion’; Ghadames *əmməγ* ‘to immerse, to clean underground wells’; Tawlemmet *əmməγ* ‘to be soaked’, *səmməγ* ‘to soak’; Tamazight *əmməγ* ‘to get wet, to be soaked with water’; Kabyle *əmməγ* ‘to pounce on, to chase someone’. Central Cushitic: Bilin *läm y-* ‘to lie down, to bend down’. Appleyard 2006:93; Reinisch 1887:256 (*lum y-*).

- B. Proto-Indo-European **lendh-/*londh-/*l̥ndh-* (< **lem-dh-/*lom-dh-/*l̥m-dh-*) ‘low-lying ground, lowland, any piece of land’: Old Irish *land* ‘open place’; Middle Welsh *llan* ‘enclosure, yard’; Breton *lann* ‘heath’; Cornish *lan* ‘piece of land’; Gothic *land* ‘land, country’; Old Icelandic *land* ‘land (as opposed to sea), country’; Old English *land* ‘earth, land, soil’; Old Frisian *lond, land* ‘land’; Old Saxon *land* ‘land’; Old High German *lant* ‘land’ (New High German *Land*); Old Prussian (acc. sg.) *lindan* ‘valley’; Russian *ljadá* [ляда] ‘overgrown field’; Czech *lada* ‘fallow land’. Pokorny 1959:675 **lendh-* ‘free land, heath’; Walde 1927—1932.II:438—439 **lendh-*; Mann 1984—1987:677 **lendhos, -ā, -om* ‘fallow, fallow land’; Mallory—Adams 1997: 200 **lendh-* ~ **londh-* ‘open land, waste’; Watkins 1985:36 **lendh-* and 2000:48 **lendh-* ‘open land’; Orël 2003:235 Proto-Germanic **landan*, 235 **landjanan*, 235 **landōn*; Kroonen 2013:326 Proto-Germanic **landa-* ‘land’; Feist 1939:321—322; Lehmann 1986:226—227 **lendh-*; De Vries 1977:345; Onions 1966:513 **londh-*, **lendh-*; Klein 1971:409 **lendh-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:233—234 Proto-Germanic **landa-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:421 Proto-Germanic **landā-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:426—427 Proto-Germanic **landa-*; Preobrazhensky 1951:496—497. The unextended stem may be preserved in Balto-Slavic: Lithuanian *lomà* ‘hollow, valley, plot, lump’; Latvian *lāma* ‘hollow, pool’; Russian (dial.) *lam* [лам] ‘(Pskov) meadow covered with small trees and bushes that is occasionally flooded; (Novgorod) wasteland’; Polish (obsolete) *lam* ‘quarry, bend’; Slovenian *lam* ‘pit; (dial.) quarry’; Serbo-Croatian *lām* (dial.) ‘knee-joint, underground passage’. Derksen 2008:268 Balto-Slavic **lōm-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:385. The extended verb stem may be preserved in: Sanskrit *rādhyati* (< **l̥ndh-*) ‘to be subject to, to be subdued or overthrown, to succumb’; Lithuanian *lendù, l̥šti* ‘to creep, to crawl; to be troublesome’. Rix 1998a:370—371 **lendh-* ‘to be reduced, lowered; to be brought down’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:40 ‘etymology unsure’; Smoczyński 2007.1:359 **lendh-/*l̥ndh-*; Derksen 2015:289 *l(e)ndh-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:377.
- C. Proto-Uralic **l̥nti* ‘low; low-lying ground, lowland’: Finnish *lansi/lante-* ‘low; low-lying ground, lowland’; Lapp / Saami *luow’de-* ‘to lie down flat (especially of a stubborn or tired draught-reindeer)’; Mordvin *lañd’a* ‘to stoop, to duck down’; Votyak / Udmurt *lud* ‘field, arable land’; Zyrian / Komi *lud* ‘meadow, meadow bearing a light growth of timber, small wood-meadow, small field, meadow-land’; Selkup Samoyed *lamdi* ‘low’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *lamtu* ‘low’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *loddu* ‘low’.

Collinder 1955:31 and 1977:50; Janhunen 1977b:81 **lāmt̥s-*; Rédei 1986—1988:235—236 **lamte*; Décsy 1990:102 **lamta* ‘deep, low; lowlands’; Zhivlov 2023:161 Proto-Uralic **lęnti* ‘lowland’, Proto-Finnic **lante-*.

(?) Sumerian *la-am-ma* ‘underworld’. (Sumerian loan in Akkadian *lammu* ‘underworld’.)

Buck 1949:1.21 earth, land; 12.32 low. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:30—31, no. 264, **Lamd/i/* ‘low; depression’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:702—703, no. 586; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1303, **lam[V]dV* ‘low’. Note: The Altaic forms included by Dolgopolsky do not belong here (cf. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1011 **ńjama* ‘low, level; side of the mountain’).

972. Proto-Nostratic root **lam-* (~ **ləm-*) ~ (?) **ʎam-* (~ **ʎəm-*):

(vb.) **lam-* ‘to break down or apart (tr.), to crush; to soften, to weaken; to be or become soft, weak, mild, tender, broken, crushed’;

(n.) **lam-a* ‘softness, weakness’; (adj.) ‘soft, weak, flexible; broken, crushed’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **lam-* ‘to be soft, weak’, (reduplicated) **lam-lam-*: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *lamaša* [ʌᵐᵐᵐ], *lamda* [ʌᵐᵐᵐ] ‘to be smooth, soft, polished, plain, bare, bald’, *ləmuṣ* [ʌᵐᵐᵐ] ‘smooth, slippery, soft, polished, bald, hard, rough’; also (reduplicated) *lamlama* [ʌᵐᵐᵐᵐ] ‘to be verdant, to bud, to become soft; to be smooth, mild, tender, flexible, fresh’; Tigre *lämša* ‘to be smooth, moist’, (reduplicated) *lämläma* ‘to become green, to sprout’; Tigrinya *lämäšä* ‘to become soft’, (reduplicated) *lämlämä* ‘to become green, to sprout’; Amharic *ləmut* ‘smooth, polished’, (reduplicated) *lämallämä* ‘to become verdant, to send out shoots’; Gafat *lämläm^wä* ‘tender’. Leslau 1987:315 and 316. Notes: (1) According to Leslau (1987:316), Arabic *malīṣ* ‘smooth’ has undergone metathesis from **lmṣ*. (2) Leslau (1987:315) notes that (reduplicated) **lam-lam-* also occurs in Cushitic: Quara *läläm* (from **lmlm*) ‘to be verdant, green, fresh’ (cf. Reinisch 1885:94); Xamir (reduplicated) *lilem* ‘to be green’ (cf. Reinisch 1884:74). (3) According to Illič-Svityč (1971—1984. II:21—22, no. 254), the Ethiopian Semitic forms are loans from Cushitic. Here, Illič-Svityč cites Leslau 1956. However, Leslau (1956:211) says nothing whatsoever about the Ethiopian Semitic forms being loanwords from Cushitic — nor does Reinisch (1884 and 1885). Berber: Tuareg *ilmaḍ* ‘to be soft, weak, tender, flexible’; Kabyle *lmumi* ‘to be softened through kneading, to be well kneaded’, *aləmḍi* ‘tender (vegetable)’. Haddadou 2006—2007:114, no. 436.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **lem-* ‘(vb.) to break, to beat; (adj.) broken, injured, crippled, lame’: Proto-Germanic **lamjan-* ‘to beat, to strike, to cripple’ > Old Icelandic *lemja* ‘to thrash, to flog, to beat; to beat down, to suppress; (reflexive) to be severely injured’, *lemstr* ‘lameness, infirmity’, *lami*

‘lame, maimed’; Faroese *lemja* ‘to paralyze, to beat, to hit’; Swedish *lam* ‘lame, paralyzed’; Norwegian *lam* ‘paralyzed’; Old English *lemian* ‘to subdue, to tame, to break (horse); to disable, to cripple’, *lama* ‘crippled, lame, paralyzed, weak (man)’; Old Frisian *lemma*, *lamma* ‘to make lame, to cripple’, *lemithe* ‘paralysis, mutilation’; Old Saxon *lemmian* ‘to paralyze’, *lamo* ‘lame’; Middle Dutch *lemmen* ‘to make lame, to paralyze’, *lam*, *laem* ‘lame’; Old High German *lemjan* ‘to paralyze, to make lame, to cripple’ (New High German *lähmen*), *lam* ‘lame, crippled, paralyzed’ (New High German *lahm*). Celtic: Middle Irish *laime* ‘axe’. Baltic: Lithuanian *laminti* ‘to cripple, to press, to cram, to break, to crush, to tame’, *limti* ‘to bend, to stoop; (dial.) to break’; Latvian *limt* ‘to slip, to collapse’; Old Prussian *limtwei*, *limtwey*, *lembtwey* ‘(tr.) to break’. Proto-Slavic (inf.) **lomiti* ‘to break’ > Old Church Slavic *lomljo*, *lomiti* ‘to break’; Russian *lomít’* [ломить] ‘to break’; Czech *lomiti* ‘to break’; Slovene *lómiti* ‘to break’; Bulgarian *lomjá* ‘to break’. Pokorny 1959:674 **lem-* ‘to break; broken, soft, weak’; Walde 1927—1932.II:433—434 **lem-*; Watkins 1985:36 **lem-* and 2000:48 **lem-* ‘to break in pieces; broken, soft’; Mallory—Adams 1997:81 **h₃lem-* ‘to break’; Rix 2001:412 **lemH-* ‘to break’; Mann 1984—1987:677 **lemō*, *-jō*, **lemo-* (**lēm-*, **lom-*, **lōm-*) ‘to break, to snap, to cut, to cut off’, 708 **lomejō*, *-ājō* ‘(tr.) to cut, to break’, 708 **lomos*, *-jos* ‘broken; break; breach, fragment’, 708 **lōmos*, *-ā*, *-ō(n)*, *-jos* ‘broken; fraction, part’; Orël 2003:234 **lamaz* ~ **lamōn* ‘lame’, 234 **lamipō* ‘lameness’, and 234—235 **lamjanan* ‘to thrash, to flog, to lame’; Kroonen 2013:326 Proto-Germanic **lamjan-* ‘to beat (up), to cripple’; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.I:621; Hellquist 1922:395; De Vries 1977:345 and 352; Torp 1919:361; Onions 1966:513 Common Germanic **lamon* originally ‘weak in the limbs’; Klein 1971:408 **lem-* ‘to break’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:232; Walshe 1951:133; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:419; Kluge—Seebold 1989:425 **lem-*; Derksen 2008:284—285 Proto-Balto-Slavic **lomʔ-* and 2015:272, 278—279; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:338; Smoczyński 2007.I:344—345. Note: The putative Greek and Celtic cognates (except for Middle Irish *laime* ‘axe’ cited above) mentioned by Pokorny (1959:674) and others are uncertain.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **lama* ‘weakness; weak’ > Finnish *lama* ‘to be paralyzed, depressed’, *lamaannus* ‘depression, paralysis, stagnation’, *lamaantus* ‘to be paralyzed’; Estonian *lamama* ‘to lie, to recline’. *lame* ‘flat, plain, level, even’, *lammutama* ‘to demolish, to pull down, to break up’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *labme*, *-ām-* ‘weakness of birds in the molting season’, *labmo*, *-ām-* ‘to become incapable of flying (of a bird in the molting season); to lose one’s vigor, to become tired out (by work)’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *ʋam-* ‘to mash, to crush, to press; to squeeze, to squash’. Rédei 1986—1988:684. Notes: (1) Rédei mentions that the meaning in Finnish has been influenced by Swedish *lam* ‘lame, paralyzed’. (2) The Zyrian / Komi forms cited by Rédei, if they belong

here, point to Proto-Uralic initial **lv-* (cf. Collinder 1965:81 for sound correspondences).

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 15.75 soft. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:21—22, no. 254, **l'ama* ‘to knead, to mash, to soften’; Dolgopolsky 2008:1264—1265, no. 1350, **[ʹ]lam[X]V* ‘to be weak/soft; to make soft, to knead’.

973. Proto-Nostratic root **lap^{h-}* (~ **ləp^{h-}*):

(vb.) **lap^{h-}* ‘to stretch out, to flatten’

(n.) **lap^{h-a}* ‘flat surface’; (adj.) ‘flat, broad; even, level’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **lap^{h-}* ‘to stretch out, to flatten’: Berber: Tuareg *əlfəs* ‘to be flat’, *səlfəs* ‘to flatten’, *taləfast* ‘a small object flattened into a circular or elongated shape’. Haddadou 2006—2007:111—112, no. 427. Highland East Cushitic: Burji *laaf-* ‘to be loose, soft, smooth’, *laafaa* ‘lazy, smooth, soft, tired, weak’, *laaf-is-* ‘to soften’; Kambata *laaf-* ‘to be soft, smooth’, *laafa* ‘soft, smooth’, *laaf-is-* ‘to soften’, *lafacce* ‘soft, smooth’, *lafat-* ‘to be soft, smooth (of hide, leather)’, *lafat-is-* ‘to soften (hide, etc.)’. Hudson 1989:138; Sasse 1982:130 — Sasse mentions that the Burji forms may be loans from Galla / Oromo *laaf-* ‘to become soft’. Note also Galla / Oromo *laffa* ‘soft, weak, easy, loose, slack’.
- B. Proto-Uralic **lapa* ‘flat surface’: Finnish *lapa* ‘shoulder (of an animal), shoulder blade’, *lapahuu* ‘shoulder blade’, (?) *lapio* ‘spade, shovel’; Estonian *laba* ‘blade; flat (side)’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *lappe*, *-āb-*, *-āv-* ‘broad, flat termination of something, when it is an angle to the other (longer) part of the thing; used especially of the sole of the foot’; Vogul / Mansi *lop* in *kaatlop* ‘hand’s breadth’ (*kaat* ‘hand’); (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *labe* ‘oar’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *labaj* ‘oar’; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *loba* ‘oar’; (?) Selkup Samoyed / Ostyak Samoyed *laba* ‘oar’. Collinder 1960:407 **lapa* and 1977:50—51; Rédei 1986—1988:236 **lapa*; Janhunen 1977:81 **lāp̄z*. Proto-Uralic **lapta* ‘flat’: Finnish *lattea* ‘flat, plain, level’; Cheremis / Mari (Uržum) *lapte* ‘flat, level, shallow’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *lapta* ‘flat, level, low’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *lota* ‘flat, even place’; Motor *lapta* ‘low’. Collinder 1960:407 **lapta* and 1977:51; Rédei 1986—1988:238 **lapta*; Janhunen 1977:81 **lāpt̄ā*. Proto-Uralic **lappz* ‘flat; flat surface’: Finnish *lappea*, *lappia* ‘flat, flat and broad; flat side’; Estonian *lapp* ‘flat’, *lape* ‘flat’; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *lap pād* (adv.) ‘past (at the side, never over or under), without hitting, a miss’; Cheremis / Mari *lap* ‘low’; Votyak / Udmurt *lap* ‘low, short in growth/stature’; Ostyak / Xanty (Tremjugan) *lāpsək* ‘flat’; Hungarian *lap* ‘(flat) surface; flat; plate, sheet, leaf’, *lapos* ‘flat, plain, even’, *lapít* ‘to make flat, to flatten; to lie low’, *lapul* ‘to become flat; to lurk, to skulk, to lie low’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *lapcā-* ‘to duck, to bend down, to stoop, to humble oneself’. Rédei 1986—1988:237 **lappz*.

Yukaghir (Kolyma) *laptəŋa*: ‘northern shoveler’, (Yakut dialect) *laptəŋa* ‘northern shoveler’, *liipə* ‘spade made of poplar for shoveling up snow while putting up traps’. Nikolaeva 2006:234 and 243.

- C. Proto-Altaic **lap^{hi}* ‘flat, broad’: Proto-Tungus **lapta-* ‘flat, level’ > Evenki *napta-/lapta-* ‘flat, level’, *lāpčā* ‘fish fins’; Lamut / Even *napča*, *napča* ‘fish fins’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:494 and 584. Proto-Mongolian **labta-* ‘to be flat, level, low’ > Written Mongolian *nabtar* ‘low; hanging down, suspended; tattered; rags, tattered garment’, *nabtaγar* ‘low, short; slanting, sloping’, *nabtai-* ‘to hang, to hang down, to droop; to flatten out; to become low or slanting; to hover (of clouds); to fly slowly and low (of a bird)’; Khalkha *navigar* ‘low, short, squat’; Buriat *nabtar* ‘low’; Dagur *lartagar* ‘low’. Sanžeev—Orlovskaya—Ševernina 2015—2018.II:183. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:867—868 **lapⁱ*.

Buck 1949:12.32 low; 12.71 flat; 15.77 smooth. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II: 23—25, no. 256, **lap^a* ‘flat’; Dolgopolsky 2008:1243—1244, no. 1323, **laPTV* ‘flat, low’. Note: There are far too many uncertainties regarding the material cited from Indo-European by Illič-Svityč. Consequently, the Indo-European material is not included here. Early borrowings from a non-Indo-European language may ultimately be the source of at least some of the forms involved.

974. Proto-Nostratic root **las^{v-}* (~ **ləs^{v-}*), **lis^{v-}* (~ **les^{v-}*), **lus^{v-}* (~ **los^{v-}*) (?) (onomatopoeic):
 (vb.) **las^{v-}*, **lis^{v-}*, **lus^{v-}* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’;
 (n.) **las^{v-a}*, **lis^{v-a}*, **lus^{v-a}* ‘tongue; lip’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **las^{v-}* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’, **lis^{v-}* (or **les^{v-}*) ‘tongue’: Proto-Semitic **las^{v-ān-}* ~ **lis^{v-ān-}* ‘tongue’ > Akkadian *lišānu* ‘tongue’ (pl. *lišānātu*); Hebrew *lāšōn* [לִשׁוֹן] ‘tongue’; Aramaic *liššān*, *liššānā* ‘tongue’; Syriac *leššānā* ‘tongue’; Phoenician *lšn* ‘tongue’; Ugaritic *lšn* ‘tongue’; Mandaic *lišana* ‘tongue’; Arabic *lisān* ‘tongue, language’; Mehri *əwšēn/ləšōn* ‘tongue’; Soqotri *léšin* ‘tongue’; Šheri / Jibbālī *elšén* ‘tongue’; Ḥarsūsi *lēšen* ‘tongue, language’; Geez / Ethiopic *læssān* [ለሰን] ‘tongue, language’; Tigre *næssal* (also *ləsan*) ‘tongue’; Tigrinya *ləsan* ‘tongue’; Amharic *læssan* ‘tongue, language’ (cf. *læssanā nəgus* ‘Amharic [literally, the language of the king]’). Murtonen 1989:250—251; Klein 1987:306; Leslau 1987:318; Zammit 2002:368. Proto-Semitic **las^{v-}* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’ (**las^{v-ab-}*, **las^{v-ad-}*, **las^{v-am-}*, **las^{v-aw-}*, **las^{v-as^{v-}}*, **las^{v-aḥ-}*) > Arabic *lasaba* ‘to lick; to bite’, *lasada* ‘to suck, to suck out the udder; to lick out’, *lasama* ‘to taste’, *lasā* (base *lsw*) ‘to eat greedily’, *lassa* ‘to eat; to lick out’; Geez / Ethiopic *lašḥa* [ለሰሐ] ‘to smack the lips, to chew saliva making noise’. Leslau 1987:318. Egyptian *ns /ls/* ‘tongue’, *nsb /lsb/* ‘to lick, to lap up’; Coptic *las* [λας] ‘tongue, language’, *lapsi* [λαπσι] (<

**lasb-* ‘to bite, to seize’. Hannig 1995:430 and 432; Faulkner 1962:139; Gardiner 1957:575; Erman—Grapow 1921:86, 87 and 1926—1963.2:320, 2:334; Vycichl 1983:98 and 99; Černý 1976:74. Berber: Tuareg *iləs* ‘tongue, speech, language’; Siwa *iləs* ‘tongue, speech’; Nefusa *iləs* ‘tongue’; Ghadames *iləs* ‘tongue’; Tamazight *iləs* ‘tongue, language’; Riff *ils, irs* ‘tongue’; Kabyle *iləs* ‘tongue, language’; Chaouia *ils* ‘tongue’. Chadic: Hausa *lààsáá* ‘to lick, to lick up’ (this may be an Arabic loan [cf. Jungrathmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.I:111]). Omotic: Kaffa *milaso* ‘tongue’ (prefix *mi-*) (loan from Ethiopian Semitic [cf. Tigrinya *mälhas* ‘tongue’; Amharic *məlas* ‘tongue’; Gafat *məlasä* ‘tongue’]). Orël—Stolbova 1995:361, no. 1666, **les-* ‘tongue’; Ehret 1995:406, no. 827, **lis-* ‘to lick’ (Proto-Semitic **lisn-* ~ **lasn-* ‘tongue’).

Comment: Militarëv—Kogan (2000.I:164—165, no. 181) reconstruct Proto-Semitic (n.) **liš(š)ān-* ~ **lis(s)ān-* ‘tongue; language’ and Proto-Afrasian (n.) **lis-* ‘tongue’. They note: “Judging from Afras. data (below) the original form should be **lis-*, with suffixed **-ān*.”

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **lašk-* ‘lip’: Georgian *laš-* ‘lip (of animal), mouth’; Mingrelian *lečkv-* (< **lešk-*) ‘lip’; Laz *lešk-* ‘lip’. Klimov 1964:120 **laš-* and 1998:107 **laš-* ‘lip’; Schmidt 1962:120; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:216—217 **laš-*; Fähnrich 1994:222 and 2007:265 **laš-*. Proto-Kartvelian **lšk-wn-* ‘to lick, to lap (up)’: Old Georgian *lošn-*, *lušn-* ‘to lick’; Modern Georgian *lošn-* ‘to kiss (rudely)’, (reduplicated) *lošloš-* ‘to eat (greedily)’, Mingrelian *riskon-*, *rəskon-* ‘to gorge, to nibble’. Klimov 1964:122 **lšwŋ-* and 1998:111 **lš-wn-* ‘to eat (rudely)’.
- C. (?) Indo-European: Sanskrit *rasáyati* (also *rasati*, *rasyati*) (if from **les-/los-* ‘to taste, to relish’, *rása-h* ‘taste, flavor (as the principal quality of fluids); any object of taste, condiment; the tongue’, *rasanā* ‘the tongue as organ of taste’, *rasā* ‘the tongue’. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:48.

Buck 1949:4.25 lip; 4.26 tongue; 4.59 lick (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1332, **Lŷšŷ* ‘to lick’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘to taste; tongue’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:36—37, no. 273, **Lašʌ* (onomatopoeic) ‘to lick, to lap’.

975. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **lath-a* ‘skin’:

- A. Proto-Afrasian **lat-* ‘skin’: Egyptian (reduplicated) *ntnt /ltlt/, ntt /ltt/* ‘skin’ (medical term). Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:356 and 2:357; Hannig 1995:442. West Chadic: Zaa *lə̀d, là:t* ‘skin’. Jungrathmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.II:296—297. Orël—Stolbova 1995:359, no. 1655, **lat-* ‘skin’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **leth-ro-* ‘skin, hide, leather’: Old Irish *lethar* ‘skin, hide, leather’; Welsh *lledr* ‘skin, hide, leather’; Breton *lezh* ‘skin, hide, leather’; Old Icelandic *leðr* ‘skin, leather’; Faroese *leður* ‘leather’; Norwegian *læder* ‘leather’; Swedish *läder* ‘leather’; Danish *læder* ‘leather’;

Old English *leper* ‘leather’; Old Frisian *lether* ‘leather’; Old Saxon *leðar* ‘leather’; Dutch *leder*, *leer* ‘leather’; Old High German *ledar* ‘leather’ (New High German *Leder*). Pokorny 1959:681 **letro-* ‘leather’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.II:428 **letro-* (?); Mann 1984—1987:681 **letros*, *-ā* ‘piece, strip, skin’; Watkins 1985:36 **letro-* and 2000:48 **letro-* ‘leather’; Mallory—Adams 1997:269 **letrom* ‘leather’; Kroonen 2013:332 Proto-Germanic **lepra-* ‘leather’; Orël 2003:241 Proto-Germanic **lebran*; De Vries 1977:349; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:480 **letro-*; Torp 1919:369; Onions 1966:521 Common Germanic **lepram*; Klein 1971:415; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:430 **letro-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:433; Vercoullie 1898:166.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin, hide; 6.29 leather. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1334, **L[a]iV* ‘skin/leather, bark’.

976. Proto-Nostratic root **law-* (~ **law-*):

(vb.) **law-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’;

(n.) **law-a* ‘bend, twist, turn’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **law-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’: Proto-Semitic **law-ay-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn’ > Akkadian *lawū* ‘to move in a circle, to encircle, to wrap, to wrap up, to surround’; Hebrew *liwyāh* [לִיּוּיָה] ‘wreath, garland’, *liwyāθān* [לִיּוּיָתָן] ‘serpent, dragon’; Phoenician *hwy* ‘to writhe, to crouch’; Arabic *lawā* (base *hwy*) ‘to turn, to crook, to curve (something); to bend, to flex, to bend up, to bend down, to bend back or over; to twist, to contort, to wrench, to wrap (something); to distort, to pervert (something); to turn (the head), to turn away, to avert (the face); to turn around, to turn (to someone, something), to face (someone, something)’; Ḥarsūsi *lewō* ‘to bend, to wrap up’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *lē* (base *hwy*) ‘to turn (a corner), to catch hold of’; Mehri *lawū* ‘to bend’; Geez / Ethiopic *lawaya* [ሎዋየ] ‘to twist, to wind, to wrap around, to err’; Tigre *lawla* (reduplicated base *law*) ‘to wind around’, *lawäyā* ‘crooked’; Tigrinya *lawäyā* ‘to twist’. Murtonen 1989:246; Klein 1987:296; Leslau 1987:322; Zammit 2002:375. Proto-Semitic **law-ady-* ‘to twist, to turn’ > Hebrew *lūz* [לוֹז] (base *hwz* [לוֹז]) ‘to turn aside, to depart’, *nālōz* [נָלוֹז] ‘devious, crooked’; Arabic *lāda* (base *hwḏ*) ‘to turn aside’; Geez / Ethiopic *loza* [ሎዛ] (base *hwz*) ‘to twist, to wrap around, to deviate from the road’. Klein 1987:296; Leslau 1987:322; Murtonen 1989:245; Zammit 2002:374—375. Proto-Semitic **law-ak-* ‘to soften, to distort, to curve’ > Arabic *lāka* (base *hwk*) ‘to soften, to distort, to curve’. Proto-Semitic **law-atv-* ‘to wrap, to twist, to turn’ > Hebrew *lūs* [לוֹש] (base *hwš* [לוֹש]) ‘to knead’; Aramaic *lūs* (base *hwš*) ‘to knead’; Mandaic *luš* ‘to knead’; Akkadian *lāšu* ‘to knead’; Arabic *lātā* (base *hwṭ*) ‘to wrap the turban around one’s head; to go around; to soak in water or fat; to take refuge with; to stick always at home’; Geez / Ethiopic *losa* [ሎሳ], *loša* [ሎሳ] ‘to knead, to mingle, to mix’; Tigre *lōša* ‘to intermingle’; Tigrinya

läwwäsä ‘to knead’; Amharic *läwwäsä* ‘to knead’; Argobba *lewäsa* ‘to knead’; Gafat *liwwäsä* ‘to knead’; Gurage *lawäsä* ‘to knead dough, to mix, to intermingle’. Klein 1987:297; Murtonen 1989:246; Leslau 1979:384 and 1987:321. Proto-Semitic **law-ag-* ‘to turn’ > Arabic *lāġa* (base *lwġ*) ‘to turn about in the mouth; to deviate, to turn aside from the road, to swerve’. Proto-Semitic **law-aġ-* ‘to turn about, to roll around’ > Arabic *lāġa* (base *lwġ*) ‘to roll about in the mouth and throw out’. Proto-Semitic **law-ak-* ‘to turn about’ > Arabic *lāka* (base *lwk*) ‘to turn about in the mouth and chew’. Proto-Semitic **law-at-* ‘to wrap up tightly’ > Hebrew *lūt* [לֹט] ‘to cover, to wrap up, to envelop’; Akkadian *lātu* ‘to confine, to keep in check (with a bridle), to curb, to control’, *lītu* ‘hostage’; Arabic *lāta* (base *lwt*) ‘to be in one’s mind; to bring together; to coat with clay, to plaster (a wall); to be a sodomite, pederast; to prevent, to hinder, to turn from’, *lūtī* ‘sodomite, pederast’. Murtonen 1989:245; Klein 1987:296; Von Soden 1965—1981.I:540 and I:558. Proto-Semitic **law-aw-* ‘to turn, to twist, to wrap’ > Geez / Ethiopic *lawawa* [ለወወ] ‘to wrap around, to twist, to be evil, to be impudent, to be of a threatening appearance, to observe fixedly’. Leslau 1987:321. Egyptian *iwšš* (< /lwšš/), **iwšm* (< /lwšm/) ‘to knead’; Coptic *wōšm* [ⲠⲮⲱⲙ] ‘(vb.) to knead, to mix; (n.) dough’. Faulkner 1962:14 *iwšš* ‘gruel’; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.I:58; Hannig 1995:37; Vycichl 1983:240; Černý 1976:221. Egyptian **rwrw* /lwlw/ ‘to wander about’; Coptic *lele* [λελε] ‘to wander about’. Vycichl 1983:97; Černý 1976:72. Berber: Kabyle *lawəh* ‘to wander, to roam’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *lulli* ‘to wander about, to turn’. West Chadic **lawya-* ‘to bend’ > Hausa *lauyà* ‘to bend to make round; to turn (steering wheel)’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:359, no. 1658, **lawVɣ-* ‘to twist, to bend’.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **lew-/*low-/*lu-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn, to wind’ (extended forms: **lew-k’-/*low-k’-/*lu-k’-* and **lew-t’-/*low-t’-/*lu-t’-*): Greek *λυγίζω* ‘to bend, to twist, to writhe’; Latin *luctor, luctō* ‘to wrestle’; Gothic *galūkan* ‘to lock up’; Old Icelandic *lykna* ‘to bend the knees’, *lykja* ‘to shut in, to enclose’, *lykkja* ‘loop, coil (of rope)’, *lykkjótr* ‘looped, curved’, *ljúka, lúka* ‘to shut’, *lúta* ‘to lout, to bow down’, *lútr* ‘louting, bent down, stooping’, *lok* ‘bolt (of a door), lock’; Old English *lūcan* ‘to close, to shut up, to confine’, *loc* ‘lock, bolt, bar’, *lūtan* ‘to bow, to bend, to turn, to prostrate oneself’; Old Frisian *lūka* ‘to close’; Old Saxon *bi-lūkan* ‘to close up’; Dutch *luik* ‘shutter, trapdoor’; Old High German *lūhhan* ‘to close’, *bi-lūhhan* ‘to close up’. Rix 1998a:372 **leud-* ‘to be bent down, bowed down’ and 374 **leug-* ‘to bend’; Pokorny 1959:634 **leud-* ‘to be bent down, bowed down’, 685 **leug-* ‘to bend’; Walde 1927—1932.II:413—414 **leug-* and II:415—416 **leud-*; Mann 1984—1987:716 **lūd-* (?) ‘to lay low, to reduce’, 717 **lūg-* ‘to bend, to twist’, 718 **lūġ-* ‘to bend, to twist’; Watkins 1985:37 **leud-* ‘small’, 37 **leug-* ‘to bend, to turn, to wind’ and 2000:49 **leud-* ‘small’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:648—649; Beekes 2010.I:874—875 **leug-*; Hofmann 1966:184;

Boisacq 1950:589—590 *lug-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:141; Ernout—Meillet 1979:368; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:826—827 *lug-; De Vaan 2008:350 *lug-to- ‘bent’; Orël 2003:252 Proto-Germanic *lūkanan, 252 *lūtanan; Kroonen 2013:334 Proto-Germanic *leukan- ~ *lūkan- ‘to close; to pull’; De Vries 1977:364, 368, 369, and 370; Feist 1939:189—190 *leug-; Lehmann 1986:143; Onions 1966:534; Klein 1971:427; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:246—247.

Buck 1949:5.54 knead; 9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:701, no. 584.

977. Proto-Nostratic root *law- (~ *ləw-):

(vb.) *law- ‘to shine’;

(n.) *law-a ‘light, glow’; (adj.) ‘shining, gleaming, glowing, bright’

- A. Proto-Afrasian *law- ‘to shine, to gleam, to glow, to glimmer’: Proto-Semitic *law-aḥ- ‘to shine, to gleam, to glimmer’ > Ugaritic *lh* (base *lwh*) ‘to shine, to gleam, to glimmer’ (Aistleitner 1967:169); Arabic *lāḥa* (base *lwh*) ‘to shine, to gleam, to flash, to glimmer, to sparkle; to appear, to show, to come into sight’; Šḥeri / Jibbāli *lāḥ* (base *lwh*) ‘to appear fleetingly’. Egyptian *nwh* /*lwh*/ ‘to be burnt, to become warm, to heat up, to become scorched’; (?) Coptic *lōbš* [ⲗⲠⲃⲪ] ‘to be hot, to glow’. Hannig 1995:399; Faulkner 1962:128; Erman—Grapow 1921:78 and 1926—1963.2:224; Vycichl 1983:95 (Vycichl derives *lōbš* [ⲗⲠⲃⲪ] from Egyptian *ḥh* /*lḥ*/ ‘to burn, to scorch’); Černý 1976:70 (Černý derives *lōbš* [ⲗⲠⲃⲪ] from Egyptian *nwh* /*lwh*/ ‘to be burnt, to become warm’).
- B. Proto-Indo-European *lew-kʰ-/*low-kʰ-/*lu-kʰ- ‘to shine, to be bright’: Sanskrit *rócate* ‘to shine, to be bright’; Greek *λευκός* ‘bright, white’, *λεύσσω* ‘to gaze, to look at, to see’; Latin *lūceō* ‘to shine’, *lūx* ‘light’, *lūmen* ‘light’; Welsh *llug* ‘light’; Gothic *liuhaþ* ‘light’; Old English *lēoht* ‘light’, *līeg* ‘flame, lightning’, *līexan* ‘to shine, to glitter’, *liehtan* ‘to shine’, *lēohtian* ‘to become light, to shine’; Old Frisian *liācht* ‘light’; Old Saxon *lioht* ‘light’; Old High German *lioht*, *lioth*, *lihot*, *liaht*, *lich*, *leoht*, *liecht* ‘light’ (New High German *Licht*, *Leuchte*), *liehten*, *liohtan* ‘to shine’ (New High German *leuchten*); Armenian *loys* ‘light’; Tocharian A *lyok-*, *lyk-*, B *luk-*, *lyuk-*, *lauk-*, *lyauk-* ‘to shine’; Old Church Slavic *luča* ‘gleam’, *lučb* ‘ray of light’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *lu-u-ḫa-aš* ‘light’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *lu-uk-ki-iz-zi* ‘to set fire to’, (3rd sg. pres.) *lu-uk-zi* ‘to grow bright’. Rix 1998a:376—377 *leuk- ‘to grow bright’; Pokorny 1959:687—690 *leuk- ‘(vb.) to shine; (n.) light’; Walde 1927—1932.II:408—412 *leuq-; Mann 1984—1987:683—684 *leuketos, -om, -os (*leukət-, *leukət-) ‘light, bright, brightness’, 684 *leukjō (*leukejō, *louk-) ‘to shine, to appear, to look, to see, to become clear’, 684 *leukm- (*lukm-) ‘brilliance’, 684

leukos*, -*ā* (louk-*) ‘light, white; light, brilliance’, 684—685 **leuks-*, 712 **louk-*, 712 **loukn-*, **loukən-*, 713 **louksnos*, -*ā*, 713 **louk̂-*, 718 **luk-* ‘light, shine’, 719 **lūk̂-*, 719 **lūk̂əros*, -*ios*, 719 **lūk̂ətos* (**lūk̂eto-*, **lūk̂ito-*) ‘light, bright; gleam’, 719 **lūk̂in-*, 719 **lūk̂nt-*, 719—720 **luks-*, 720 **lūk̂stros*, -*is* ‘bright; brightness’, 720 **lūktis*, -*os* (**lūkst-*) ‘light, shining, shine’, 720 **luksn-*; Watkins 1985:37 **leuk-* and 2000:49 **leuk-* ‘light, brightness’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:883 **l(e)uk[h]-* and 1995.I:779 **l(e)ukh-* ‘to shine’; Mallory—Adams 1997:352 **lóuk(es)-* ‘light’ and 513 **leuk-* ‘to shine’; Boisacq 1950:571—573 **leuq-/louq-/luq-* and 574 **leuq-*; Hofmann 1966:178 **leuq-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II: 108—109 and II:110; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:632—633 **leuq-/louq-*; Beekes 2010.I:851 **leuk-* and I:851—852 **leuk-*; De Vaan 2008:355—356; Ernout—Meillet 1979:372—374 **leuk-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:823—824; Orël 2003:242 Proto-Germanic **leuxmōn*, 242 **leuxsaz*, 242 **leuxsjanan*, 242 **leuxsnaz*, 242—243 **leuxtān*, 243 **leuxtjanan*; Kroonen 2013:333 Proto-Germanic **leuhanda-* ‘light’, 333 **leuhman-* ‘beam of light’, 333 **leuhna-* ‘lightning’, and 334 **leuhsa-* ‘light, bright’; Feist 1939:334—335 **leuk-*; Lehmann 1986:236 **leuk-*, **leuk̂-*; Onions 1966:527 **leuk-/louk-/lūk-*; Klein 1971:421 **leuq-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:238; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:437 and 439 **leuk-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:440 and 441 **leuk-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:56—57; Kloekhorst 2008b:530—533; Puhvel 1984— .5:103—108 **lewk-*; Adams 1999:556 **leuk-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:169 **leuq-/louq-/luq-* and I:274 **leuqo-s*.

Buck 1949:15.56 shine. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:698—699, no. 580.

978. Proto-Nostratic root **law-* (~ **ləw-*):

(vb.) **law-* ‘to separate, to divide, to part, to sever, to detach’;

(n.) **law-a* ‘part cut off, separation, division’

A. Proto-Afrasian **laaw-* ‘to separate, to divide, to part, to sever, to detach’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *loka* [ሎቀ] (base *lw̄k*) ‘to let go, to release, to let loose’. Leslau 1987:321. Egyptian *iwd* (*i-* < **lu-*) ‘to separate’, *iwdt* ‘separation’, *r iwd* ‘between’; Coptic *ute-*, *utō-* [ΟΥΤΕ-, ΟΥΤΩ-] ‘between, among’. Hannig 1995:38; Faulkner 1962:14; Gardiner 1957:552; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.1:58—59; Černý 1976:218; Vycichl 1983:238. Proto-Southern Cushitic **laaw-* ‘to pick, to pluck’ > Iraqw *lot-* ‘to milk’, *lotusmo* ‘milker’; Burunge *lomid-* ‘to milk’; Alagwa *lomit-* ‘to milk’; Dahalo *laaw-*, *loom-* ‘to pick, to pluck’. Ehret 1980:204. [Ehret 1995:407, no. 830, **laaw-* ‘to take hold of’.]

B. Kartvelian: Svan (Lower Bal) *lawxi* ‘shovel’, (Upper Bal) *lāxīr* ‘spade, shovel’.

- C. Proto-Indo-European **lew(H)-/*low(H)-/*lu(H)-* (> **lū-*) ‘to separate, to divide, to part, to sever, to detach’: [Sanskrit *lū-* (3rd sg. pres. act. *lunā́ti*, [Vedic] *lunoti*) ‘to cut, to sever, to divide, to pluck, to reap, to gather; to cut off, to destroy, to annihilate’, *láva-h* ‘act of cutting, reaping (of grain), mowing, plucking, or gathering’, *lāva-h* ‘cutting, cutting off, plucking, reaping, gathering; cutting to pieces, destroying, killing’, *laví-h* ‘cutting, sharp, edge (as a tool or instrument); an iron instrument for cutting or clearing’, *lūna-h* ‘cut, cut off, severed, lopped, clipped, reaped, plucked; nibbled off, knocked out; stung; pierced, wounded; destroyed, annihilated’, *lūnaka-h* ‘a cut, wound, anything cut or broken; sort, species, difference’, *lavitra-m* ‘sickle’]; Greek *λύω* ‘to loosen, to unbind, to unfasten, to untie’, *λύη* ‘dissolution’, *λυτός* ‘that may be unloosened, released, untied’, *λύτρον* ‘a ransom, a price paid’; Latin *luō* ‘to loosen’, *solvo* (< **se-luō*) ‘to loosen’; Old Irish *as-loa* (< **eks-luwo-*) ‘to escape’; Gothic (acc. sg.) *lun* ‘ransom’, *us-luneins* ‘salvation’; Old Icelandic *lé* (< Proto-Germanic **lewan*) ‘scythe’, *ljár* ‘scythe’; Faroese *liggi* ‘sickle’; Norwegian *ljaa* ‘sickle’; Swedish *lie* ‘sickle’; Danish *lja* ‘sickle’; Old English *ā-hynnān* ‘to deliver, to let go, to release, to loosen’; Tocharian B *lu-* ‘to send’; Luwian (3rd sg. pret.) *la-wa-ar-ri-it-ta* ‘to despoil, to strip’ (Kloekhorst [2008:521] rejects the comparison of this form with Hittite *duwarni-* ‘to break’). Rix 1998a:374—375 **leuH-* ‘to cut off, to loosen’; Pokorny 1959:681—682 **leu-* ‘to cut apart, to divide, to loosen’; Walde 1927—1932.II:407—408 **leu-* (also **leuā^x-* and **lēu-* : **ləu-* [: **lū-*]); Mann 1984—1987:683 **leuǵō* ‘to loosen, to crumble, to shred’, 687 **lēuis, -os, -ā* ‘cutting, felling, injury, slaughter’, 711—712 **louǵ-* ‘to break, to loosen, to release; loose, free, broken, fragmentary’, 714 **loupejō* ‘to strip, to plunder’, 714 **loupos* ‘stripping, plunder; stripper; stripped thing, peel, leaf’, 717—718 **lūǵ-* ‘to break, to tear’, 718 **lūǵ-* ‘to jerk, to pull’, 718 **lūjō* ‘to slacken’, 720 **lūp-* ‘to peel’, 722 **luuō* ‘to strike, to destroy’; Watkins 1985:36—37 **leu-* and 2000:48—49 **leu-* ‘to loosen, to cut, to divide’; Mallory—Adams 1997:481 **leuh_x-* ‘to release, to cut off’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:106—107; Boisacq 1950:593 **lēu-* : **ləu-* : **lū-* ‘to cut off, to detach, to untie’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:149—150; Hofmann 1966:185 **lēu-*, **ləu-*, **lū-*; Beekes 2010.I:881—882 **lh₁u-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:652—653; Ernout—Meillet 1979:370; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:834—835 **lēu-*, **ləu-*, **lū-*; De Vaan 2008:353; Orël 2003:243 Proto-Germanic **lewōn*; Feist 1939:338 **leu-*; Lehmann 1986:238 **lew-* ‘to cut off, to release’; De Vries 1977:349 **leu-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:465; Torp 1919:384; Adams 1999:555—556 **lew(h_x)-* ‘to cut off, to separate’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:268—269 **leu-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:521. Proto-Indo-European **lew-s-/*low-s-/*lu-s-* ‘to lose, to loosen; to untie, to undo; to release, to set free’: Gothic *ga-lausjan* ‘to rescue’, *lausjan* ‘to free, to rescue, to deliver’, **us-lausjan* ‘to empty’, **us-lauseins* ‘salvation’, *laus* ‘free from, empty’, **fra-liusan* ‘to lose’, *fra-lusnan* ‘to be lost, to perish’,

fra-lusts ‘lost’; Old Icelandic *leysa* ‘to lose, to loosen, to untie, to undo; to dissolve, to break up; to absolve; to free, to set free, to release; to discharge, to pay’, *losa* ‘to loosen, to make loose; to perform, to do; to get loose, to get away’, *losna* ‘to become loose, to get free; to dissolve, to break up; to get away’, *lauss* ‘loose; free, unimpeded, unencumbered; disengaged (free) from; void, not binding; vacant; empty; -less’; Swedish *lös* ‘loose, movable, detached’; Danish *løs* ‘loose, untied’; Old English *lēas* ‘devoid of, without’, *for-lēosan* ‘to lose, to destroy’, *losian* ‘to be lost; to escape (from); to perish’, *līesan* ‘to release, to deliver; to redeem’; Old Frisian *lās* ‘free from, without, deprived of’, *lēsa* ‘to be free (from)’, *lēsene* ‘ransom’, *for-liasa* ‘to lose’; Middle Dutch *loos* ‘free from’; Old Saxon *lōs* ‘free from, empty of, -less’, *lōsian* ‘to release’, *far-liosan* ‘to lose’; Old High German *lōs* ‘free from, empty of; -less’ (New High German *los*), *lōsen* ‘to release’ (New High German *lösen*), *fir-liosan* ‘to lose’ (New High German *verlieren*). Pokorny 1959:681—682 **leu-* ‘to cut apart, to divide, to loosen’; Walde 1927—1932.II:407—408 **leu-* (also **leuā*^x and **lēu-* : **læu-* [: **lū-*]), **leu-s-*; Mann 1984—1987:686 **leusō* (**leus-*) ‘to release, to let, to free, to lose; to depart, to die’, 714 **lousos* ‘loose, free, freed, robbed, deprived’, 721—722 **lusō* ‘to loosen’; Watkins 1985:36—37 **leu-* (Germanic **leusan*) and 2000:48—49 **leu-* ‘to loosen, to cut, to divide’ (extended Germanic root **leus-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:481 **leus-*; Orël 2003:243 Proto-Germanic **leusanan*, 251 **lusan*, 251 **lusnōjanan*, 251 **lusōjanan*, 251 **lustiz*; Kroonen 2013:329 Proto-Germanic **lausa-* ‘empty, idle’; Feist 1939:163—164 **leu-*, 325, and 326; Lehmann 1986:123—124 **lew-* ‘to separate, to free’ and 229; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.1487—488 Germanic **lausa-*; De Vries 1977:348, 354, and 366—367; Klein 1971:429 and 430 **leus-*; Onions 1966:536 Common Germanic **lausaz* < **laus-*, **leus-*, **lus-* and 537 **leus-*, extension of **lou-*, **leu-*, **lu-*; Barnhart 1995:443; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:227—228 **lew-* and 234; Kluge—Mitzke 1967:446, 447, and 815; Kluge—Seebold 1989:448 and 760. Note: Some of the forms listed here may belong under Proto-Nostratic **lax^{w-}* (~ **lax^{w-}*) ‘to strike, to hit, to beat’ (see below) instead. Clearly, there has been contamination between these stems in the Indo-European daughter languages, and, consequently, it is difficult to sort out the ultimate origin of individual reflexes.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 8.23 spade; 8.24 shovel; 8.33 sickle; scythe; 11.33 lose; 12.23 separate (vb.).

979. Proto-Nostratic root **law-* (~ **ləw-*):
 (vb.) **law-* ‘to moisten, to water; to wash, to clean’;
 (n.) **law-a* ‘the act of bathing, washing’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **law-* ‘to moisten, to water; to wash, to clean’: Egyptian *iwh* (< /lwh/) ‘to moisten, to water (field plots), to inject (a liquid)’, *iwhw* (< /lwhw/) ‘inundation’. Hannig 1995:36; Faulkner 1962:14; Erman—Grapow 1921:9 and 1926—1963.1:57; Gardiner 1957:552. Berber: Tuareg *lallawət* ‘to wash, to be washed’; Nefusa *lil*, *ilil* ‘ocean, sea’, *sslil* ‘to rinse’; Tamazight *lil* ‘to be rinsed’, *slil* ‘to rinse’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *slil* ‘to rinse’; Riff *slil*, *srir* ‘to rinse’; Kabyle *lil* ‘to be rinsed’, *slil* ‘to rinse’; Chaouia *slil* ‘to rinse, to gargle’; Zenaga *il* ‘sea’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **lewḥh-/lowḥh-* ‘to wash, to bathe’: Greek λούω (Homeric λόω, λoέω) ‘to wash, to bathe’, λουτρόν (Homeric λoετρόν) ‘a bath’; Mycenaean *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* (= /λεφοτροχοφοι/) ‘bath-pourers’, *re-wo-te-re-jo* (= /λεφοτρειος/) ‘for bathing’; Latin *lavō* ‘to wash, to bathe’; Gaulish *lautreo* ‘a bath, a bathing-place’; Old Irish *lúaith* ‘ashes’, *loathar*, *lóthor* ‘basin’; Armenian *loganem* (< **lowH-ye/o-*) ‘to bathe’; Old Icelandic *lauðr* ‘lather, froth, foam of the sea’, *laug* ‘bath’, *leyðra* ‘to wash, to clean’; Old English *lēapor* ‘lather, soap’, *līebran* ‘to lather, to smear’, *lēag* ‘lye, ashes and water for washing’; Middle Dutch *lōghe* ‘lye’ (Dutch *loog*); Old High German *louga* ‘lye’ (New High German *Lauge*). Rix 1998a:375—376 **leuh₃-* ‘to wash’; Pokorny 1959:692 **lou-*, **louə-* ‘to wash’; Walde 1927—1932.II:441 **lou-*; Mann 1984—1987:688 **laughō* (**laughnō*) ‘to wash, to bathe’, 688 **launos*, *-ā* ‘wash, washing; washtub’, 688—689 **lauō*; **lōuō*, *-iō* ‘to wash, to bathe, to soak, to swill’, 710—711 **lōtos* ‘washed; wash, washing-bowl, basin’, 714—715 **louitēr-*, **loutro-*, **lōuātēr-*, **lauro-* ‘ablution, bath, bathtub’, 715 **lōutos*, *-us* ‘trough, washbasin, bath’; Watkins 1985:37 **leu(ə)-* and 2000:49 **leu(ə)-* ‘to wash’ (oldest form **leu(ə₃)-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:108 **leuh₃-* ‘to wash, to bathe’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:171 **loH^o-* > **loHy-* and 1995.I:147 **loH^o-* > **loHw-*; Boisacq 1950:587—588 **lou-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:647 **low-ə₁-*; Beekes 2010.I:872—873 **leuh₃-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:138—139 **louə-*; Hofmann 1966:183; Vilborg 1960:50; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:773—775; Ernout—Meillet 1979:344—346; De Vaan 2008:330—331; Orël 2003:238 Proto-Germanic **lauō*, 239—240 **laupran*; Kroonen 2013:329 Proto-Germanic **laupra-* ‘lather’; De Vries 1977:346, 347, and 353; Onions 1966:517 and 542 **lou-* ‘to wash’; Klein 1971:412 and 434; Hoad 1986:259—260 **lou-* and 274; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:427 **lou-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:431 **leuə-*. The Mycenaean forms confirm that the original Proto-Indo-European stem was **lewḥh-/lowḥh-* (cf. Winter 1965a:108); thus, the comparison with Hittite *la-a-hu-wa-i* ‘to pour, to pour out (liquids)’ should be abandoned.

Sumerian *luh* ‘to wash, to clean’, *luh(-luh)* ‘to be washed, cleaned’.

Buck 1949:9.36 wash; 15.87 clean. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:699, no. 581.

980. Proto-Nostratic root **lax^w-* (~ **lax^w-*):
 (vb.) **lax^w-* ‘to strike, to hit, to beat’;
 (n.) **lax^w-a* ‘the act of striking, hitting, beating; stroke, hit, blow’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **lax^w-* ‘to strike, to hit, to beat’: Proto-Semitic **lax-* (**lax-ab-*, **lax-ap-*, **lax-am-*) ‘to strike, to hit, to beat’: Arabic *laḥaba* ‘to lie with; to box on the ear, to beat, to slap’; Sabaean *lx[b]*, *l[xb]n* ‘slaps, contentions’. Arabic *laḥafa* ‘to beat violently; to enlarge the mark of an animal (by branding)’. Arabic *laḥama* ‘to strike, to hit on the face’, *laḥām* ‘a slap’; Sabaean *lxm* ‘brawl’; Geez / Ethiopic *laḥma* [ሊሕመ], *laḥama* [ሊሕመ] ‘to be tender, soft; to be reduced to powder, to be pulverized; to be flexible, supple; to be feeble, infirm; to be moist’; Tigrinya *lähamä* ‘to be pulverized; to be soft, tender’; Amharic *lamä* ‘to be pulverized; to be tender’; Argobba *lähim* ‘soft’; Harari *lēḥama* ‘to become soft (skin, cloth), to be tender (meat), to be easy (test)’; Gurage *lämä* ‘to be soft, to be smooth’. Leslau 1963:99, 1979:379, and 1987:311. Arabic *laḥz* ‘sharp knife’. Egyptian *rḥs* /ḥs/ ‘to slaughter’. Hannig 1995:476; Faulkner 1962:152; Gardiner 1957:578; Erman—Grapow 1921:96 and 1926—1963.2:448. Berber: Tuareg *allay* ‘iron javelin’, *tallayin* ‘wooden javelin’, *aləy* ‘leg (from the knee to the ankle)’; Tamazight *iləy* ‘calf (of leg)’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *aləy* ‘main branch of a tree’; Kabyle *illəy* ‘branch cut short, leaf stem; earring’; Chaouia *iləy* ‘branch cut off, earring with a pendant’. The following East Cushitic forms may belong here as well: Harso *lax-ko* ‘arrow (poison)’; Burji *law-ée* ‘arrow for bleeding’; Galla / Oromo *law-aa* ‘arrow’; Konso *law-itta*, *law-a* ‘arrow’; Yaaku *lax* ‘arrow’; Rendille *lahaw* ‘children’s arrow’; Gollango *laah-ko* ‘arrow (poison)’; Gawwada *laax-e* ‘arrow’. Sasse 1979:20—21 Proto-East Cushitic (?) **lawx-* ‘arrow’ and 1982:133—134; Hudson 1989:209. For the semantics, cf. Old Icelandic *ljósta* ‘to strike, to smite; to strike, to hit (with a spear or arrow)’, *ljóstr* ‘salmon spear’, cited below.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **leḥh^w-* [**laḥh^w-*] (> **lāw-*), (**ləḥh^w-* >) **luḥh^w-* (> **lū-*) ‘to hit, to strike, to beat’: [Sanskrit *lū-* (3rd sg. pres. act. *lunāti*, [Vedic] *lunoti*) ‘to cut, to sever, to divide, to pluck, to reap, to gather; to cut off, to destroy, to annihilate’, *lāva-ḥ* ‘act of cutting, reaping (of grain), mowing, plucking, or gathering’, *lāva-ḥ* ‘cutting, cutting off, plucking, reaping, gathering; cutting to pieces, destroying, killing’, *lavī-ḥ* ‘cutting, sharp, edge (as a tool or instrument); an iron instrument for cutting or clearing’, *lūna-ḥ* ‘cut, cut off, severed, lopped, clipped, reaped, plucked; nibbled off, knocked out; stung; pierced, wounded; destroyed, annihilated’, *lūnaka-ḥ* ‘a cut, wound, anything cut or broken; sort, species, difference’, *lavitra-m* ‘sickle’]; Old Icelandic *ljósta* (< **lew-s-*) ‘to strike, to smite; to strike, to hit (with a spear or arrow)’, *ljóstr* ‘salmon spear’, *lost* ‘blow, stroke’, *lýja* ‘to beat, to hammer; to forge iron; to wear out, to exhaust; (reflexive) to be worn, exhausted’, *lúi* ‘weariness’, *lúinn* ‘worn, bruised’;

worn out, exhausted'; Norwegian (dial.) *lua* 'to unwind'; Old Irish *loss* 'the point or end of anything, tail'; Welsh *llost* 'spear, lance, javelin, tail' (< **lustā*). Mann 1984—1987:687 **lēuis*, -*os*, -*ā* 'cutting, felling, injury, slaughter'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:106—107; Orël 2003:245 Proto-Germanic **lēwan*, 245 **lēwjanan*; Kroonen 2013:335 Proto-Germanic **lewan-* 'scythe'; De Vries 1977:360, 361, 367, 368, and 369; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:21. Note: Some of the forms listed here may belong under Proto-Nostratic **law-* (~ **lǝw-*) 'to separate, to divide, to part, to sever, to detach' (see above) instead. Clearly, there has been contamination between these stems in the Indo-European daughter languages, and, consequently, it is difficult to sort out the ultimate origin of individual reflexes.

- C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **lǝv-* 'to defeat' > Chukchi *lǝw-* 'to defeat'; Kerek *luu-* 'to defeat', *ina-lw-aat-* 'to win (something from someone)'; Koryak *lǝv-* 'to defeat, to tame'; Alyutor *lǝv-* 'to defeat, to tame'. Fortescue 2005:168.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 11.33 destroy; 20.25 arrow; 20.26 spear; 20.42 defeat (sb.).

981. Proto-Nostratic root **liʔ-* (~ **leʔ-*):

(vb.) **liʔ-* 'to come into being, to arise, to grow, to become';

(n.) **liʔ-a* 'being, becoming'

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **leʔ-* 'to grow (up)' > Burji *le-* 'to sprout'; Hadiyya *liʔ-* 'to grow (up)'; Kambata *leʔ-* 'to grow (up)'; Sidamo *leʔ-* 'to ripen (of coffee, berries)'. Hudson 1989:74. Southern Cushitic: Ma'a -*li* 'to grow (of plants)'. Ehret 1980:205.
- B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **le-* 'to be, to become, to live' > Finnish *lie-* 'to be' (only in the potential mood); Veps *le-*, *li-* 'to be'; Vote *lee-* 'to be, to become'; Lapp / Saami *lǝ-* 'to be'; Cheremis / Mari *liä-*, *li(j)a-* 'to be, to become, to be possible'; Votyak / Udmurt *lu-* 'to be'; Zyrian / Komi *lo-* 'to become, to be'; Hungarian *lë-* ~ *lëv-* 'to become, to be; shall be, will be'. Collinder 1955:32, 1960:407 **le(γä-)*, and 1977:51; Rédei 1986—1988: 243—244 **le-*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *l'ǝ-* 'to be, to exist', (Northern / Tundra) *l'e-* 'to be, to exist'. Nikolaeva 2006:237.
- C. Proto-Eskimo postbase **li-* 'to become (more)': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik #+*li-*, +(γ/*r*)*i-* 'to become'; Central Alaskan Yupik #+*li-*, +(r)*i-* 'to become or cause to make more and more'; Naukan Siberian Yupik +*li-* in *anli-* 'to grow bigger'; Central Siberian Yupik #+*li-*, +(r)*i-* 'to become'; Seward Peninsula Inuit #+*li-* 'to become'; Greenlandic #(+) *li-* 'to become, to make become'; North Alaskan Inuit #*li-*, *γli-*, *kli-* 'to become, to make become'; Western Canadian Inuit #(γ) *li-* 'to become'; Eastern Canadian Inuit #*li-* 'to become, to make become'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:405.

- D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *li- ‘to become’: Alyutor *li-* ‘to become, to change to, to turn to’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *le-kas* ‘to become’. Fortescue 2005:158—159.

Buck 1949:9.92 become. Fortescue 1998:142.

982. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *lip^h-a ‘fat, fatty tissue’:

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *lip(-V?)- ‘fatty, fleshy tissue’ > Akkadian (Old Babylonian) *lipū* (*lipiu*, *līpu*, *lēpu*) ‘adipose, tissue; (rendered) fat, tallow; bone marrow (used in medicine), pith (of a plant)’; Hebrew *liqlūp* [לִקְלוֹף] ‘glutinous substance, pus’ (regarding the semantics of the Hebrew form, Militarëv—Kogan note: “A reduplicated stem with a plausible semantic shift from ‘fat’.”); (?) Mandaic *lupata* ‘an inner organ of the body (?); joints, ligaments of the body (?)’ (meaning uncertain); (?) Arabic *lafīʿal-* ‘a piece of meat without bone’. Militarëv—Kogan (2005.I:163, no. 180), Proto-Semitic (n.) *la/ipV?- ‘fatty, fleshy tissue’. Note: According to Militarëv (2011:84, no. 48), the Common West and South Semitic word for ‘liver’ is to be reconstructed as *kad(i)d- (“No Afras. parallels”).
- B. Proto-Indo-European (n.) *lip^h-o-s ‘fat’: Greek λίπος ‘fat’, λιπαρός ‘fatty, oily, greasy’; Sanskrit *lip-* (*limpāti*) ‘to smear, to besmear, to anoint, to daub, to plaster, to paint; to spread over, to cover; to stain, to soil, to pollute, to defile, to contaminate’, *rip-* ‘to smear, to adhere to’, *rip-rá-h* ‘dirt, impurity’, (secondary full-grade in) *répas-* ‘spot, stain, fault’; Lithuanian *limpù*, *lipti* ‘to stick, to adhere’, *lipùs* ‘sticky’, *lipnùs* ‘sticky, glutinous, viscid, viscous’; Old Church Slavonic *prilьno*, *prilьnoti* ‘to stick’, (secondary full grade in) *prilěpljō*, *prilěpiti* ‘to stick’, *lěpъ* ‘glue’; Russian *l’nut’* [лѣнуть] ‘to stick to, to adhere to, to cling to’; Czech *lnouti* ‘to stick to’; Old Polish *lnąc* ‘to stick, to adhere’. Pokorny 1959:670—671 *leip- ‘to smear fat’; Walde 1927—1932.II:403—404 *leip-; Mann 1984—1987:695 *lip̄ros ‘oily, sticky; liver’, 695 *lip̄ō, -iō, (*limp-) ‘to smear, to stick, to glue; to be sticky’, 695—696 *lipos (*lips, *lipis) ‘sticky, greasy; stickiness, grease’; Rix 2001:408—409 *leip- ‘to stick fast, to stay stuck’; Watkins 1985:36 *leip- (Germanic *librō) and 2000:48 *leip- ‘to stick, to adhere; fat’ (Germanic *librō), zero-grade form *lip-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:453—454 *leip- (? Germanic *librō- [+ n]); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:60—61; Boisacq 1950:583—584; Frisk 1970-1973. II:126—127; Hofmann 1966:181—182; Beekes 2010.I:864 *leip- ‘to stick’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:642; Derksen 2008:273 and 297, 2015:288. The following probably belong here as well: Proto-Indo-European *lip^h-ró- ‘liver’: Proto-Germanic *librō- ‘liver’ > Old Icelandic *lifr* ‘liver’; Old Swedish *liver*, *lifr* ‘liver’; Danish *lever* ‘liver’; Norwegian *lever* ‘liver’; Old English *lifer* ‘liver’; Old Frisian *livere* ‘liver’; Dutch *lever* ‘liver’; Old High German *libara*, *lebara*, *lebera* ‘liver’ (New High

German *Leber*). Kroonen 2013:336 Proto-Germanic **librō-* ‘liver’; Orël 2003:245 Proto-Germanic **lib̄(a)rō*; De Vries 1977:355; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.I:639 Proto-Indo-European **lip-*; Klein 1971:426; Onions 1966:532 Germanic **librō-* (“having no certain cognates”); Holthausen 1963:202; Barnhart 1995:438 Proto-Germanic **libr̄ŋ* ‘fattened up’, “an adjective left after loss of the original noun for liver”; Walshe 1951:136; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:429 Proto-Indo-European root **lip-*, **leip-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:432—433 Germanic **librō-*. Notes: (1) Not related to or derived from **yek^{wh}-r/n-* ‘liver’ (traditional reconstruction **jek^u-*) (cf. Orël 2003:245; Walshe 1951:136). (2) No doubt related to Armenian *leard* ‘liver’ (cf. Martirosyan 2009:306—307; Beekes 2003b:162).

Buck 1949:4.45 liver.

983. Proto-Nostratic root **lip’-* (~ **lep’-*):

(vb.) **lip’-* ‘to form, to fashion, to mold’;

(n.) **lip’-a* ‘form, mold’

- A. Afrasian: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *labḥa* [ሉብሐ] ‘to make earthenware, to work iron’, *labḥ* [ሉብሐ] ‘clay, earthenware’, (denominative) *labḥawa* [ሉብሐወ] ‘to make earthenware’, *labḥā* [ሉብሐ] ‘earthenware’; Amharic *läbəḥ* ‘clay, brick’ (from Geez). Leslau 1987:305.
- B. Kartvelian: Mingrelian *lip’-* ‘to fashion, to model; to slap someone in the face’. Klimov (1998:109—110 **lip-* ‘to fashion, to model; to slip’) compares Georgian *lip’-* ‘to become slippery’, but it seems unlikely that the Georgian and Mingrelian forms are related — this etymology is not included in Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995 or Fähnrich 2007.
- C. (?) Indo-European: Old Icelandic *lipr* ‘handy, skilled, adroit’ (Modern Icelandic *lipur*), *lipr-leiki* ‘adroitness’. This word is frequent in modern usage but seems not to occur in writers before the 15th century and may be borrowed.

Buck 1949:9.41 craft, trade; 9.72 mold (clay, etc.); 9.73 clay. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1322, **LiP[h]a* ‘to stick, to stick to; sticky, glue; to make earthenware’.

22.47. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *r

				Eurasianic			
Proto-Nostratic	Proto-Afrasian	Proto-Dravid.	Proto-Kartvel.	Proto-IE	Proto-Uralic	Proto-Altaic	Proto-Eskimo
r-	r-		r-	r-	r-		
-r-	-r-	-r-/r-	-r-	-r-	-r-	-r-	-R-

984. Proto-Nostratic root **raʔ-* (~ **rəʔ-*):

(vb.) **raʔ-* ‘to see, to perceive’;

(n.) **raʔ-a* ‘sight, observation, perception’; (adj.) ‘seeing, perceiving’

Extended form:

(vb.) **raʔ-V-y-* ‘to see, to perceive’;

(n.) **raʔ-y-a* ‘sight, observation, perception’; (adj.) ‘seeing, perceiving’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **raʔ-V-y-* ‘to see, to perceive’: Proto-Semitic **raʔ-ay-* ‘to see, to perceive’ > Hebrew *rāʔāh* [רָאָה] ‘to see, to perceive, to look at, to observe, to watch, to consider, to discern, to reflect, to gaze at, to behold’; Jewish Aramaic *rēwā* ‘appearance’; Phoenician *rʔy* ‘eyesight’; Arabic *raʔā* ‘to see, to behold, to perceive, to notice, to observe, to discern, to look (at), to regard, to consider, to deem, to think’; Sabaeen *rʔy* ‘to experience, to see’; Šheri / Jibbāli *riʔ* ‘opinion’; Mehri *rāy* ‘opinion’; Geez / Ethiopic *rəʔya* [ርእየ] ‘to see, to observe, to look, to look at, to look on, to regard, to contemplate, to consider, to watch, to have a vision, to take notice of, to notice, to behold, to perceive, to explore’; Tigre *rāʔa* ‘to see’; Tigrinya *rāʔayä* ‘to see’; Harari *riʔa* ‘to see’; Gurage (Zway) *ərī* ‘to see, to look’; Amharic *raʔay* ‘vision’ (from Geez / Ethiopic). Murtonen 1989:390—391; Klein 1987:600; Leslau 1963:132, 1979:83, and 1987:458—459; Militarëv 2012:95 Proto-Semitic **rʔy*; Zammit 2002:187. Egyptian **iry* (< **riy*) ‘to see’ (imptv. *ir tm* ‘pay attention!’), *ir-t* ‘eye, sight’; Coptic *ya* [ϣⲓⲁ] ‘eye’. Hannig 1995:87—88; Faulkner 1962:25; Gardiner 1957:554; Erman—Grapow 1921:16 and 1926—1963.1:106—108, 1:108; Vycichl 1983:60; Černý 1976:44—45. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *ʔerh-* ‘to see’. Reinisch 1895:29. Orël—Stolbova 1995:447, no. 2104, **reʔ-* ‘to see’.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **reʔi-C-/roʔi-C-/rəʔi-C-* > (with syncope of *i*) **reʔ-C-/roʔ-C-/rəʔ-C-* > (with loss of the laryngeal) **rē-C-/rō-C-/rə-C-*; **reʔy-V-/roʔy-V-/rəʔy-V-* > (with metathesis) **reyʔ-V-/royʔ-V-/rəyʔ-V-* > (with loss of the laryngeal) **rey-V-/roy-V-/riy-V-* ‘to contemplate, to consider, to ponder, to reckon’: Latin *reor*, *rērī* ‘to reckon, to think, to be of the opinion, to suppose, to judge’, *ratiō* ‘reckoning, account, computation, calculation’, *rītus* ‘religious custom, ceremony, rite’; Old Irish *rīm* ‘number’; Welsh *rhīf* ‘number’; Gothic *raþjō* ‘number, account’, *ga-raþjan* ‘to count’, *rōdjan* ‘to speak’, *ga-rēdan* ‘to reflect upon’, *raidjan* ‘to determine, to fix, to order, to appoint’; Old Icelandic *ráð*

‘counsel, advice’, *ráða* ‘to advise, to counsel’, *rím* ‘computation’, *ræða* ‘(vb.) to speak, to speak about; (n.) speech, talk’; Old English *ræd* ‘advice’, *rīm* ‘number’, *rīman* ‘to count, to calculate’; Old Frisian *rēd* ‘advice’, *rēda* ‘to advise’; Old Saxon *rād* ‘advice’, *rādan* ‘to advise’; Dutch *raden* ‘to advise, to guess’; Old High German *radia*, *redea* ‘account, speech’ (New High German *Rede*), *rāt* ‘counsel, advice’ (New High German *Rat*), *rāten* ‘to advise’ (New High German *raten*), *redōn*, *rediōn* ‘to speak’ (New High German *reden*). Rix 1998a:451 **reh₁-* ‘to count, to reckon’; Pokorny 1959:59—61 **rē-*, **rə-*; **(a)rī-*, **rēi-*; **rē-dh-*, **rō-dh-*, **rā-dh-*; **rēi-dh-*; Walde 1927—1932.I:73—75 **rē-*, **rə-*; **(a)rēi-*, **(a)rī-*; **rē-dh-*, **rā-dh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1068—1069 **rējō* ‘to be mindful, to think, to ponder, to observe, to watch, to regard’, 1081 **rīmos*, *-om* ‘count, reckoning’; Watkins 1985:3 **ar-* (also **arə-*) ‘to fit together’, variant or separate root **rē-* (< **reə-*) and 2000:70—71 **rē(i)-* ‘to reason, to count’ (oldest form **₂re₂i-*), contracted to **₂rē(i)-*, with zero-grade extended form **₂r₂i-* and methatesized zero-grade **₂ri₂-*, the latter contracted to **₂rī-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:472 **reh₁-* ‘to put in order’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:419—420, II:429, and II:437 **rei-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:570 (no certain parallels elsewhere in Indo-European for Latin *reor*) and 574; De Vaan 2008:519—520 and 524; Kroonen 2013:405—406 Proto-Germanic **raþjōn-* ‘account’, 408 **rēdan-* ‘to decide’, **rīma-* ‘number, calculation’, and 415 **rōdjan-* ‘to speak’; Orël 2003:295 Proto-Germanic **raidīniz*, 295 **raidjanan*, 298 **raþjanan* ~ **rapōjanan*, 298 **raþjō(n)*, 303—304 **rēdan* ~ **rēdaz*, 304 **rēdanan*, 304 **rēdaz*, 304 **rēdjan*, 305 **rīman*, 306 **rōdjanan*; Feist 1939:199 **rē(i)dh-* (< **rē(i)-*), 393 **rējdh-*, and 394 **rē-*; Lehmann 1986:148 **rēdh-* (< **rē-*), 280—281 **rēy-dh-*, 281—282 **ar-*, **rē-*, **rə-*, **rī-*; De Vries 1977:430—431 **rē-*, **rə-*, 431, 446 **rei-*, **rī-*, and 457; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:314; Onions 1966:743 Common Germanic **ræðan*; Klein 1971:619; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:584 **rē-*, **rə-* and 589; Kluge—Seebold 1989:583 and 587.

Buck 1949:17.13 think (= reflect, etc.); 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 18.21 speak, talk. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:708—709, no. 595; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1955, **rVʔi* ‘to see’.

985. Proto-Nostratic root **rag-* (~ **rəg-*):
 (vb.) **rag-* ‘to stir, to move, to shake’;
 (n.) **rag-a* ‘trembling, quaking, shaking, rocking; movement; collapse (from shaking)’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **rag-* ‘to stir, to move, to shake’: Proto-Semitic **rag-ap-* ‘to stir, to shake; to shake off, to make fall; to fall down’ > Aramaic *rəʔaʔ* ‘to stir, to shake’; Arabic *raġafa* ‘to agitate, to convulse, to shake; to tremble, to quake, to be shaken’; Mehri *hərgūf* ‘to shiver, to shiver with

fever’, *rátgəf* ‘to shake, to quiver (in fear)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *ergəf* ‘to shiver’; Ḥarsūsi *argəf* ‘to shake (with fever)’; Geez / Ethiopic *ragafa* [ጸገፈ] ‘to fall to the ground (fruit, leaves)’; Tigrinya *rägäfä* ‘to fall down (fruit, leaves)’; Gurage *rägäfä* ‘to fall down (fruit, leaves)’, *arägäfä* ‘to shake to make fall down, to make fall down’; Harari *rägäfa* ‘to fall to the ground (fruit, leaves)’, *arägäfa* ‘to make fall down (fruit, leaves), to remove’; Amharic *räggäfä* ‘to fall to the ground (fruit, leaves)’; Argobba (*ar*)*raggäfa* ‘to shake’. Zammit 2002:189—190; Leslau 1963:133, 1979:523, and 1987:464—465. Proto-Semitic **rag-a3-* ‘to shake, to quake, to tremble’ > Arabic *rağaza* (inf. *rağz*) ‘to thunder, to roar, to surge (sea); to get angry’, *rağaza* (inf. *tārağğuz*) ‘to roll; to grow angry’, *rağaz* ‘trembling disease of a camel’; Hebrew *rāyaz* [רַיַז] ‘to be agitated, to quake, to quiver; to be excited, perturbed’; Aramaic *rəyaz* ‘to tremble, to rage’; Phoenician *rgz* ‘to disturb’. Murtonen 1989:393; Klein 1987:605. Proto-Semitic **rag-ag-* ‘to quiver, to shake’ > Arabic *rağğa* ‘to convulse, to shake, to rock, to tremble’, *rağğ* ‘shaking, rocking, convulsion’, *rağğāğ* ‘trembling, quaking, shaking, rocking’; Mehri *rəg* ‘to be loose (as, for example, a tooth)’, *rättəg* ‘(ground) to quiver, to shake’; Šheri / Jibbāli *regg* ‘to be or become loose; to become unpopular; (water) to run under the topsoil; (man, animal) to run under the cover of the bushes, undergrowth’, *róttəg* ‘to be loose; to change for the worse; (ground) to shake, to quiver’; Ḥarsūsi *reg* ‘to be loose’. Zammit 2002:189. Proto-Semitic **rag-ad-* ‘to tremble’ > Arabic *rağada* ‘to tremble’. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **rag-rag-* ‘to tremble, to quake, to sway’ > Arabic *rağrağa* ‘to tremble, to quake, to sway’. Proto-Semitic **rag-ac-* ‘to thunder; to shake’ > Arabic *rağasa* (inf. *rağs*) ‘to roar, to thunder’, *rağasa* (inf. *ʔirtirağ*) ‘to be shaken, to shake’, *rağğās* ‘roaring, surging (sea); thundering’. [Ehret 1995:446, no. 935, **riḡ-/*rag-* ‘to move; to walk (intr.)’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:444, no. 2087, **rag-/*rug-* ‘to tremble’.]

- B. Proto-Indo-European **regh-/*rog-* ‘to stir, to move’: Old Irish *ráig* ‘outburst’; Swedish *ragla* ‘to toss, to sway’; Middle High German *regen* ‘to stir, to move, to rouse’ (New High German *regen*), *rege* ‘movement’ (New High German [adj.] *rege* ‘astir, in motion, animated; lively, alert, quick, nimble, brisk, active, busy, bustling, industrious’). Assuming here that New High German *ragen* ‘to tower up, to project’ and *regen* ‘to move, to stir, to rouse, to animate’ have different origins. [Rix 1998a:450 **reg-* ‘to tower up; to be erect, raised’; Walde 1927—1932.II:361 **req-* ‘pole, post, stake’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:590; Kluge—Seebold 1989:588.]
- C. Uralic: Proto-Ugric **rykk3-* ‘to fall, to fall down’ > Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *rāy-* ‘to collapse, to fall down (landslide); to fall or tumble down (trees)’; Vogul / Mansi (Northern) *rāy-*, *rāyät-* ‘to fall (down), to drop’; Hungarian *rokkant* ‘(adj.) disabled, invalid; (n.) disabled person, invalid’, *rokkantság* ‘disability, infirmity’, *megrokkant-* ‘to become disabled’. Rédei 1986—1988:883—884 **rykk3-*.

Buck 1949:10.23 fall (vb.); 10.26 shake (vb. tr.). Bomhard 1996a:212, no. 610.

986. Proto-Nostratic root **rak^h-* (~ **rək^h-*):
 (vb.) **rak^h-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend; to tie, to bind, to fasten’;
 (n.) **rak^h-a* ‘twist, turn, bend; tie, bond, cord’
 Derivative:
 (vb.) **rak^h-* ‘to put, join, fit, or fasten (together); to assemble, to prepare, to construct’;
 (n.) **rak^h-a* ‘the act of putting, joining, fitting, or fastening (together); the act of assembling, preparing, constructing’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **rak-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend’: Proto-Semitic **rak-as-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend; to tie, to bind, to fasten’ > Akkadian *rakāsu* ‘to bind’; Hebrew *rāḫas* [רָחַס] ‘to bind, to fasten, to button up’; Ugaritic *rks* ‘to bind’; Arabic *rakasa* ‘to overturn, to turn topsy-turvy’, *raks* ‘turning, topsy-turvy’. Murtonen 1989:400; Klein 1987:618; Zammit 2002:199. Proto-Semitic **rak-aš-* ‘to bend, to bow’ > Arabic *rakaʿa* ‘to bend the body, to bow (especially in prayer); to kneel down, to drop to one’s knees’, *rakʿa* ‘bending of the torso from an upright position, followed by two prostrations (in Moslem prayer ritual)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *rékaʿ* ‘to hop, to hobble; to bow in prayer’, *rótkaʿ* ‘to kneel to pray; to run here and there sniffing’, *rəkʿāt* ‘prostration (in prayer)’; Mehri *rūka* ‘to hobble, to hop’, *rekāt* ‘prostration (in prayer)’; Harsūsi *rōka* ‘to hobble’, *rekʿāt* ‘prostration (in prayer)’. Zammit 2002:200. Syriac *rəḫaš* ‘to bind, to tie’. Egyptian (reduplicated) *rkrk* ‘to creep’, *rkrk*, *rrk* ‘snake’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.2:440; Faulkner 1962:153; Hannig 1995:479. Proto-Southern Cushitic **rak-* ‘to turn (tr.)’ > Ma’a *-re* ‘to return (something)’; Alagwa *rankus-* ‘to bend around; to bow; to curve (tr.)’. Ehret 1980:219. Ehret 1995:447, no. 938, **ruk-* ‘to bend (intr.)’.
- B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *rāk-qa-qa* ‘tied’ (?).
- C. Proto-Indo-European **rekh-/rok^h-* ‘(vb.) to tie, to bind; (n.) rope, cord’: Sanskrit *raśanā* ‘rope, cord, strap, rein, bridle, girdle’, *raśmiḥ* ‘string, rope, cord, rein, bridle, leash, goad, whip’; Pāli *rasanā* ‘woman’s girdle’, *rasmi-* ‘rein’; Sinhalese *rasan* ‘girdle’, *rāhān-a*, *rān-a* ‘cord, rein, line’; Punjabi (f.) *rassī* ‘rope’. Pokorny 1959:863 **rek-* ‘to bind’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.II:362 **rek-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:47.

Buck 1949:3.85 snake; 9.19 rope, cord; 10.41 creep, crawl. Brunner 1969:36, no. 140; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:707, no. 592.

987. Proto-Nostratic root **rak^h-* (~ **rək^h-*):

(vb.) **rak^h-* ‘to put, join, fit, or fasten (together); to assemble, to prepare, to construct’;

(n.) **rak^h-a* ‘the act of putting, joining, fitting, or fastening (together); the act of assembling, preparing, constructing’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **rak^h-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend; to tie, to bind, to fasten’;

(n.) **rak^h-a* ‘twist, turn, bend; tie, bond, cord’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **rak-ab-* ‘to put, join, fit, or fasten (together); to assemble, to prepare, to construct’ > Arabic *rakiba* ‘to make (someone) ride; to put, to place, to fasten, to mount (something on), to insert, to set (something in); to build in (a machine part); to assemble (for example, the parts of an apparatus); to set up (a machine); to install, to lay (an electric line and the like); to assemble, to put together, to fit together (something); to make, to prepare (something out of several components or ingredients); to construct, to build’, *tarkīb* ‘fitting in, insertion, setting; building in; fastening, mounting; assembling, assembly; final assembly, installation; composition; making, preparation (out of several components or ingredients); construction, building; structure; constitution, build, physique’, *murakkab* ‘mounted, fastened, fixed (on); fitted, inserted, set (in); built-in; assembled; made up, composed, consisting (of); compound, composite; complex; bound, not free’; Hebrew *rāḥaḇ* [רָחַב] (Qal) ‘to mount (an animal or a vehicle), to ride’, (Hif.) ‘to cause to ride; to put on; to join, to combine; to graft upon’. Murtonen 1989:399; Klein 1987:617. Probably also: Ethiopic / Geez *rakaba* [ረከበ] ‘to find, to get, to acquire, to obtain, to attain, to receive, to gain, to reach, to take possession, to possess, to overtake, to apprehend, to invent, to find out, to discover, to perceive, to suppose; (with indirect object suffixes) to come upon, to fall upon, to befall, to occur, to come to pass, to happen, to be becoming to, to be proper’, *rukeb* [ሩከብ] ‘joining together’, *rukābe* [ሩከቢ] ‘joining together, intercourse’, *rakb* [ረከብ] ‘congregation, meeting, council, assembly’; Tigrinya *rākābā* ‘to obtain, to find’; Tigre *rākba* ‘to find, to obtain; to own, to have; to seize, to catch, to meet; to become rich; to copulate’; Harari *rāxāba* ‘to obtain’; Gurage *rākābā* ‘to find, to meet’; Amharic (*as*)*rākkābā* ‘to hand over’; Argobba (*as*)*rekkāba* ‘to hand over’. Leslau 1963:134, 1979:524, and 1987:469; Zammit 2002:199.

B. Proto-Indo-European **rekh-/*rokh-* ‘to put together, to put in order, to arrange, to prepare, to construct’: Sanskrit *racáyati* ‘to produce, to fashion, to form, to make, to construct, to complete, to cause, to effect’, *racana-h* ‘the act of making, forming, arranging, preparing, composing’; Nepali *racnu* ‘to make’; Hindi *racnā* ‘to be made, to be formed’; Gothic *rahnjan* ‘to reckon, to calculate’; Lithuanian *rākas* ‘time, limit, end’; Old Church Slavic *rokъ* ‘time’; Serbo-Croatian *rōk* ‘period, time’; Russian *rok* [рок]

‘fate’. Pokorny 1959:863 **rēk-* ‘to arrange’; Walde 1927—1932.II:362 **req-*, **rēq-*; Rix 1998a:457—458 **rek-* ‘to arrange, to fix, to determine’; Mann 1984—1987:1069 **rek-* ‘to formulate, to arrange, to fix’, 1088 **rok-* ‘formulation, pronouncement, determination, fixture’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:33; Lehmann 1986:280; Feist 1939:392 **rēg-* (along with **rēk-*); Derksen 2008:438; Smoczyński 20017.1:498; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:693—694.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **rakkz-* ‘to put together, to put in order, to arrange’ > Finnish *rakenta-* ‘to build, to construct, to erect, to build up’, *rakennus* ‘building, edifice, structure, construction’, *rakenne* ‘structure, construction’; Lapp / Saami (North) *raakkâdi-* ‘to make, to prepare; to form, to establish, to found, to build, to construct’ (Finnish loan); (?) Hungarian *rak-* ‘to put; to arrange; to construct, to build’. Collinder 1955:110 and 1977:124; Rédei 1986—1988:419 **rakkz-*.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make; 9.44 build; 12.12 put (place, set, lay). Illič-Svityč 1965:368 **ra/k/λ* ‘to build’ [‘строить’]; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:712—713, no. 600; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1987, **raḲaXV* (= **raḲahU* ?) ‘to arrange, to put in order’.

988. Proto-Nostratic root **rak’-* (~ **rək’-*):

(vb.) **rak’-* ‘to stretch, to extend, to draw out’;

(n.) **rak’-a* ‘the act of stretching, extending, drawing out; stretch, extension’;

(adj.) ‘stretched, extended, drawn out’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **rak’-* ‘to stretch, to extend, to draw out’: Proto-Semitic **rak’-ak’-* ‘to stretch out, to be or become thin’ > Akkadian *raḳāku* ‘to be thin’; Hebrew *raḳ* [רַק] ‘thin’; Syriac *raḳḳīkā* ‘thin’; Arabic *raḳḳa* ‘to be or become thin, delicate, fine; to flatten, to roll out; to make thin, fine, tender’; Šheri / Jibbāli *reḳḳ* ‘to be shallow; to be delicate, transparent’, *rəḳīḳ* ‘shallow; delicate’, *erḳéḳ* ‘to make something thin’, *ertéḳék* ‘to become thin, smooth’; Mehri *rəḳáyḳ* ‘fine, delicate’; Ḥarsūsi *reḳéḳ* ‘fine, transparent, soft (cloth)’; Geez / Ethiopic *raḳḳa* [ረቆ], *raḳaḳa* [ረቆቆ] ‘to be subtle, soft, thin, slight’; Tigre *räḳḳa* ‘to be thin, delicate’; Tigrinya *räkäkä* ‘to be thin, delicate’; Amharic *räḳḳäkä* ‘to be fine, thin’. Murtonen 1989:404—405; Klein 1987:628 and 629; Leslau 1987:473. Proto-Semitic **rak’-af-* ‘to stretch out, to flatten, to spread out’ > Hebrew *rāḳa’* [רַקַּא] ‘to stretch, to flatten, to beat out (metal), to spread out’; Syriac *rəḳa’* ‘to press down, to make firm, to spread out’; Phoenician *mrḳ’* ‘platter of gold’; Arabic *raḳa’a* ‘to spread out a patch, to patch, to mend, to repair’; Šheri / Jibbāli *rēḳa’* ‘to patch’; Mehri *rūḳa* ‘to patch; to bang holes in a stone to make a quern, grinding-stone’; Ḥarsūsi *reḳat* ‘bundle of cloth, rags’. Murtonen 1989:405; Klein 1987:629. Proto-Semitic **rak’-ap-* ‘to

make flat, to flatten' > Šheri / Jibbāli *erkaḥēf* 'to make flat, to flatten'. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:462—453, no. 2138, **riik-* 'to be thin'.]

- B. Proto-Indo-European **rek'-/rok'-/rk'-* 'to stretch out, to draw out, to extend': Sanskrit *ṛjū-h* 'straight, upright, right', *ṛjyati* 'to stretch, to stretch out, to hasten'; Avestan *rāzayeiti* 'to arrange', *rāšta-* 'straight, right, true', *ərəzu-* 'straight'; Old Persian *rāsta-* 'straight, right, true', *aršta-* 'upright'; Greek ὀρέγω 'to reach out, to stretch'; Latin *regō* 'to guide, to direct, to lead', *rēctus* 'straight'; Umbrian (adv.) *rehte* 'right, in a satisfactory manner'; Old Irish *rigid* 'to stretch out', *recht* 'law', *rog(a)id* 'to extend'; Welsh *rhaith* 'law'; Breton *reiz* 'law, order, arrangement'; Gothic *raihts* 'right', **uf-rakjan* 'to reach out, to extend; to stretch (the skin)'; Old Icelandic *réttir* 'straight; erect, upright; right, just', *rekja* 'to spread out, to unwind, to unfold'; Old English *reht*, *riht* 'straight, erect', *reccan* 'to stretch, to extend, to give', *racian* 'to rule, to direct', *rihtan* 'to direct; to put upright, to restore; to make straight; to correct, to reform; to rule, to govern', (adv.) *rihte* 'straight (on)'; Old Frisian *riucht* 'straight, erect', *riuchta* 'to direct, to rule, to lead'; Old Saxon *reht* 'straight, direct; erect, upright; right, proper, correct', *rihtian* 'to direct, to rule, to lead'; Old High German *reht* 'straight, direct; erect, upright; right, proper, correct' (New High German *recht*), (adv.) *rehto* 'rightly' (New High German [adv.] *recht*), *rechen*, *recchen* 'to stretch out; to explain' (New High German *rechen*), *rihten*, *richten*, *rihtin*, *rihtan*, *rithen* 'to straighten out, to adjust, to make right, to put in order, to settle' (New High German *richten*). Rix 1998a:270—271 **h₃reg-* 'to straighten out, to spread, to stretch'; Pokorny 1959:854—855 **reg-* 'straight'; Walde 1927—1932.II:362—365 **reg-*; Mann 1984—1987:1066 **rēgō* 'to spread, to reach, to extend, to rule', 1066 **rēgst-* (**rogst-*) 'stretch, extent', 1070 **rēktos*, *-is*, *-us* 'true, right, straight; truth, rightness, straightness', 1085 **rogeiō*; Watkins 1985:54 **reg-* and 2000:70 **reg-* 'to move in a straight line', with derivatives meaning 'to direct in a straight line, to lead, to rule' (oldest form **₂₃reg-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:751—752 **reḱ-* (see also fn. 2) and 1995.I:654 **reḱ-* 'to direct, to correct, to straighten, to even out' (see also fn. 23); Mallory—Adams 1997:187 **h₃reg-* 'to move in a straight line; to extend, to stretch' and 329—330; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:121; Burrow 1973:182; Boisacq 1950:710—711 **oreg-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:412—413; Szemerényi 1964b:226—238; Beekes 1969:37—38 **h₃reg-* and 2010.II:1099 **h₃reg-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:817 **₂₃r-eg-*; Hofmann 1966:237 **reg-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:566 and 567—569; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:424 and I:426—427 **reg-*; De Vaan 2008:517—518; Kroonen 2013:403 Proto-Germanic **raka-* 'straight', 403 **rakjan-* 'to stretch', and 408 **rehta-* 'straight'; Orël 2003:296 Proto-Germanic **rakaz*, 296—297 **rakjanan*, 300—301 **rextaz*, 301 **rextingō* ~ **rextunzō*, 301 **rextin*, 301 **rextjan*, 301 **rextjanan*, 301 **rextuz* ~ **rextan*; Feist 1939:393 **reg-*, 397—398 **reg-*, and 513; Lehmann 1986:281 **reg-*, **reḱ-*

to/u- and 284—285 *reġ-; De Vries 1977:440 and 442; Onions 1966:767—768 *reg-; Klein 1971:639 *reġ-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:321—322; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:588—589 *reġ-, 589, 598—599; Kluge—Seebold 1989:586 *reġ-, 587, and 599; Matasović 2009:308 *h₃reġ-o-.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 12.65 thin (in dimension); 12.73 straight. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:706, no. 591.

989. Proto-Nostratic root *rak'- (~ *rək'-):

(vb.) *rak'- 'to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to supervise, to control';

(n.) *rak'-a 'observation, watchfulness, care, protection'

- A. Proto-Afrasian *rak'- 'to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to supervise, to control': Proto-Semitic *rak'-ab- 'to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to supervise, to control' > Arabic *raḳaba* 'to observe, to watch, to regard attentively; to control, to supervise', *riḳba* 'observation, control, attention, caution, wariness, vigilance, watchfulness', *raḳaba* 'slave'; Sabaeen *rḳb* 'serfs'. Zammit 2002:197—198. Proto-Southern Cushitic *raak'- 'to graze' > Iraqw *daqi* 'herd'; Burunge *raqama?u* 'pasture'. Ehret 1980:329. Semantic development as in Latin *pāscō* 'to feed, to lead to pasture; to keep, to support, to give as pasture; to graze on; to feast on, to delight in', *pāscuum* 'a pasture' < Proto-Indo-European *p^hā- < *p^heḥh- [*p^haḥh-] 'to protect, to feed, to tend' (cf. Rix 1998a:415 *peh₂- 'to watch over, to care for; to graze'; Pokorny 1959:787 *pā- : *pā- 'to protect, to feed'; Mann 1984—1987:898 *pā- 'to feed, to guard', 890 *pāiō 'to feed, to guard', 906 *pāskō 'to feed, to tend, to protect', 907—908 *pāt- 'to protect, to foster, to feed').
- B. Proto-Kartvelian *rek'- 'to drive (cattle)': Georgian *rek'-* 'to drive (cattle)'; Svan *rek'-/rk'-*: *li-rk'-āli* 'to drive cattle to grass'. Schmidt 1962:129; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:282 *rek-; Fähnrich 2007:344 *rek-.
- C. Proto-Indo-European *rek'-/*rok'- (lengthened-grade: *rēk'-/*rōk'-) 'to observe, to watch, to watch out for, to care for': Greek ἀρήγω 'to help, to aid, to support', ἀρωγή 'help, aid, support'; Old Icelandic *rækja* 'to reckon, to heed, to take care of', *rækta* 'to take care of, to regard, to keep'; Old English *rēcan, *reccan* 'to care for, to reckon'; Old Saxon *rōkjan* 'to care for, to concern oneself about'; Old High German *ruohhen* 'to care for, trouble oneself about', *ruohha*, *ruah(c)ha* 'worry, anxiety, care, trouble, concern'; Lithuanian *regiù*, *regėti* 'to see, to perceive, to discern'. Rix 1998a:253—254 *h₂reh₁g- 'to concern oneself about; to help'; Pokorny 1959:854 *reg- 'to see' (?); Walde 1927—1932.II:366 *reg-; Mann 1984—1987:1065 *rēgō, -iō (*regs- ?) 'to see, to observe', 1084—1085 *rōgos, -ā (or *rōġ-) 'care, attention'; Boisacq 1950:76—77; Frisk 1970—1973.I:137; Hofmann

1966:23; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:107; Beekes 1969:34 (Beekes rejects the comparison of Greek ἀρήγω with Old Saxon *rōkjan* ‘to take care of’, etc.) and 2010.I:129 **h₃reh₁g-*; Kroonen 2013:415 Proto-Germanic **rōkjan-* ‘to heed’; Orël 2003:301 Proto-Germanic **rekōn* I, 307 **rōkaz*, 307 **rōkjanan*, 307 **rōkjaz*; De Vries 1977:457; Klein 1971:621; Onions 1966:746 Common Germanic **rōkjan*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:712—713; Smoczyński 20017.1:506.

Buck 1949:1064 lead (vb.); 10.65 drive (vb. tr.); 15.51 see. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:711 —712, no. 599.

990. Proto-Nostratic root **raq’-* (~ **rəq’-*):

(vb.) **raq’-* ‘to move quickly, to move back and forth’;

(n.) **raq’-a* ‘any rapid motion: shaking, trembling, jumping, dancing, etc.’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **rak’-ac’-* ‘to move back and forth, to move to and fro, to undulate, to dance’ > Arabic *raḳaṣa* ‘to dance, to prance, to gallop (horse), to skip, to move to and fro, to undulate; to dance with joy; to make (someone) dance or skip; to make gallop (horse); to set (something) in a swinging motion; to make (the heart) tremble; to provoke loud laughter’, *raḳṣ* ‘dance, gallop’; Ḥarsūsi *reḳōṣ* ‘to dance’; Mehri *rəḳáwṣ* ‘to jog up and down, to catch one’s finger’; Šheri / Jibbāli *erḳóṣ* and *róḳóṣ* ‘to catch one’s/someone’s finger; (animal) to trample (fodder) into a filthy mash; (animal with sharp claws) to trample on or over someone’. Proto-Semitic **rak’-at’-* ‘to dance’ > Ḥarsūsi *rátḳeṭ* ‘to dance with hopping steps’; Mehri *arōḳəṭ* ‘to do a hopping dance’, *rátḳəṭ* ‘(goats) to jog about as if dancing’. Proto-Semitic **rak’-ad’-* ‘to move quickly, to jump, to leap, to skip, to hop, to dance’ > Arabic *raḳada* ‘to run with leaps and bounds’, *raḳadān* ‘leaping, jumping (said of lambs)’; Šheri / Jibbāli *erḳód* ‘to dance’; Hebrew *rāḳaḏ* [רָקַד] ‘to skip about, to dance’; Aramaic *rəḳaḏ* ‘to dance’; Akkadian *raḳādu* ‘to hop, to skip, to dance’; Ugaritic *mrḳdm* ‘dancers’. Murtonen 1989:405; Klein 1987:628.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **req’-/*rəq’-* ‘to shake, to move back and forth, to undulate’: Georgian *rq’-* ‘to oscillate, to shake’; Mingrelian *ra’-* ‘to shake’; Svan *req’-/rəq’-* (*rəq’-*) ‘to shake, to tremble; to fall, to overthrow, to topple’. Schmidt 1962:130; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:285 **req’-/*rəq’-*; Fähnrich 2007:347—348 **req’-/*rəq’-*; Klimov 1998:157 **req’- : *rəq’-* ‘to oscillate, to shake’.

Buck 1949:10.43 jump, leap (vb.); 10.44 dance (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1997, **riqalæ* ‘to shake’ (intr.), ‘to be shaky’.

991. Proto-Nostratic root **rath-* (~ **rəth-*):
 (vb.) **rath-* ‘to turn, to roll; to run’;
 (n.) **rath-a* ‘turning, rolling; running’
- A. Proto-Afrasian **rat-* ‘to turn, to roll; to run’: Semitic: Arabic *rataʿa* ‘to go away, to depart; to gallop with short steps’, *rataka* ‘to run with short steps, to trot’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **rat-* ‘to continue onward’ > Ma’a *iritimé/iratimé* ‘crossing, ford’; Dahalo *rat-* ‘to walk about’, *rattid-* ‘to continue (something)’. Ehret 1980:219.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **reth-/roth-* ‘to turn, to roll; to run’: Sanskrit *rátha-h* (< **ratH-á-* ‘wheeled’ [cf. Burrow 1973:72]) ‘chariot, especially a two-wheeled war-chariot; wagon, cart’; Avestan *raθa-* ‘wagon, chariot’; Umbrian *amb-retuto* ‘to walk around’; Latin *rota* ‘wheel’, *rotundus* ‘round, circular’; Old Irish *roth* ‘wheel’, *rethid* ‘to run, to flow’, *riuth* ‘running’; Welsh *rhod* ‘wheel’, *rhedaf* ‘to run’; Old English *raðe*, *ræd* ‘quick, swift’; Old Frisian *reth* ‘wheel’; Old Saxon *rath* ‘wheel’; Old High German *rado*, *rato* ‘quickly’, *rad* ‘wheel’ (New High German *Rad*); Lithuanian *rātas* ‘wheel’, *rātai* ‘cart, vehicle’, *ratėlis* ‘spinning wheel’, *ritù*, *risti* ‘to roll’. Rix 1998a:459 **ret-* ‘to run’, **rót-o-* ‘wheel’ (in Old Irish *roth*), (coll.) **rot-eh₂-* (in Latin *rota*), (adj.) **rot-h₂-ó-* (in Sanskrit *rátha-h*); Pokorny 1959:866 **ret(h)-* ‘to run; to turn, to roll’, **roto-* ‘wheel’; Walde 1927—1932.II:368 **reth-*; Mann 1984—1987:1073 **ret-* ‘to run, to roll, to go’, 1090—1091 **rot-* ‘quick; rush’, 1091 **rot-*, **rotos* (**rothos*) ‘wheel; vehicle’; Watkins 1985:54 **ret-* and 2000:71 **ret-* ‘to run, to roll’; Mallory—Adams 1997:640—641 *róth₂/eh_a-* ‘wheel’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:719 **ret[h]-*, **rot[h]o-* and 1995.I:622—623 **reth-* ‘to run, to ride; to roll’, **rotho-* ‘wheel’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:443—444; Ernout—Meillet 1979:577—578; De Vaan 2008:527; Kroonen 2013:405 Proto-Germanic **raþa-* ‘wheel’; Orël 2003:298 Proto-Germanic **raþan*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:577; Kluge—Seebold 1989:576—577 **ret-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:318; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:38—39; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:703; Smoczyński 20017.1:501; Derksen 2015:376 **Hrót-o-*, **Hrót-eh₂-*; Matasović 2009:310 **(H)reth₂-* and 314—315 **(H)roth₂-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:575—580 **ret-* (Sanskrit *rátha-h* < **rot-h₂-ó-*).
- Buck 1949:10.46 run (vb.); 10.75 chariot, wagon, cart; 10.76 wheel. Bomhard 1996a:207—208, no. 605.
992. Proto-Nostratic root **raw-* (~ **rəw-*):
 Extended form:
 (vb.) **raw-V-ĥ-* ‘to be spacious, wide’;
 (n.) **raw-ĥ-a* ‘space, room’; (adj.) ‘spacious, wide’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **raw-aḥ-* ‘to be spacious, wide’ > Hebrew *rāwāḥ* [רָוַח] ‘to be spacious, wide’; Aramaic *rəwāḥ* ‘to be wide’; Arabic *rawiḥa* ‘to be spacious, wide’, *ʔarwāḥ* ‘spacious, wide’; Sabaeen *rwh* ‘to widen, to enlarge’. Murtonen 1989:395—396; Klein 1987:610; Zammit 2002:202—203.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **rewḥh-/*rowḥh-/*ruḥh-* > **rū-* ‘(n.) open space; (adj.) wide, spacious’: Avestan *ravah-* ‘space’; Latin *rūs* ‘the country (as opposed to the city)’; Middle Irish (f.) *róe, rói* ‘field, open land’; Gothic **rūm* ‘room, space’; Old Icelandic *rúm* ‘room, space’, *rúmr* ‘roomy, ample, spacious, broad’, *rýma* ‘to make more roomy, to clear the way’; Swedish *rum* ‘space’; Old English *rūm* ‘(adj.) spacious, wide (road); open (country); extended (period of time); unrestricted, lax; liberal, bountiful; noble, magnificent; (n.) space; space of time; sufficient space, room; sufficient or fitting time, opportunity’, *rýman* ‘to clear (road), to make clear (space)’, *rýmet(t)* ‘space, extent; sufficient space, room; extension of landed property; benefit’; Old Frisian *rūm* ‘room, space’; Old Saxon *rūm* ‘room, space’; Old High German *rūm* ‘room, space’ (New High German *Raum*); Tocharian A/B *ru-* ‘to open’. Rix 1998a:462 **reuh₁-* ‘to open’; Pokorny 1959:874 **reuə-* : **rū-* ‘to open’; Walde 1927—1932.II:356—357 **reuos*; Mann 1984—1987:1079 **reuos (-es)* ‘open, plain, flat; space, surface’, 1100 **rūm-* ‘spacious; space’, 1103 **rūs* ‘space, place’; Watkins 1985:55 **reuə-* and 2000:71 **reuə-* ‘(vb.) to open; (n.) space’; Mallory—Adams 1997:534 **réuh_x-es-* ‘open space’, **réuh_x-* ‘to (be) open’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:583 **rewos*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:454 **reu-*; De Vaan 2008:531; Orël 2003:309 Proto-Germanic **rūman* ~ **rūmaz*, 309 **rūmaz*, 309 **rūmjanan*; Kroonen 2013:418 Proto-Germanic **rūma-* ‘roomy, spacious’; Feist 1939:400; Lehmann 1986:387 **reuə-*, **rū-*; De Vries 1977:453 and 455; Klein 1971:642; Onions 1966:773 Common Germanic **rūmaz* ‘spacious’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:587 **reu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:585 **reu-*; Adams 1999:536—537 **reu(h_x-)*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:409 **rū-* (**reu-* is also possible).

Buck 1949:7.21 room (in a house); 19.13 country (vs. town). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:708, no. 594; Dolgorolsky 2008, no. 2004, **rVwXV* ‘broad’; Illič-Svityč 1965:373 **rAWḥA* ‘wide’ [‘широкий’].

993. Proto-Nostratic root **rek’-*:

- (vb.) **rek’-* ‘to sprinkle, to spray, to wet, to moisten’;
 (n.) **rek’-a* ‘sprinkling, spray, rain’

- A. Proto-Afrasian **rek’-* ‘to sprinkle, to spray, to wet, to moisten’: Proto-Semitic **rak’-* (**rak’-aḥ-*, **rak’-ay-*) ‘to sprinkle, to spray’ > Geez / Ethiopic *raḫḫa* [ጸጸጸ] ‘to sprinkle, to spray’, *raḫaya* [ጸጸጸ] ‘to sprinkle, to asperse, to sprinkle with holy water to drive out demons, to cleanse with

holy water'; Tigrinya *rākāyā* 'to sprinkle, to sprinkle with holy water (on a place or a person)'; Amharic *rāččä* 'to sprinkle holy water'; Gurage *reččä* 'to spray water, to sprinkle water'; Argobba *rāčča* 'to sprinkle water'. Leslau 1979:521 and 1987:472 and 473. Proto-Semitic **ra/ya/k-* 'to pour out, to empty' > Hebrew *rīk* [רִיק] (base *ryk* [רִיק]) 'to empty out, to pour out', *rēk* [רֵק] 'empty, void'; Aramaic *rīk* 'to empty, to pour'; Akkadian *rāku* 'to be empty, void', *rēku* 'empty'; Arabic *rāka* (base *ryk*) 'to flow out, to pour forth; to pour out, to shed, to spill', *rīk* 'saliva, spittle'. Murtonen 1989:399; Klein 1987:616—617. West Chadic: Dera *reke* 'to moisten'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:447, no. 2107, **rek-* 'to pour, to soak'.

- B. Proto-Indo-European **rek-/rok-* 'to wet, to moisten' (**rek'-nó-s* 'rain', apparently deglottalized to **rek-nó-s* in Germanic **reġ-na-z* 'rain'): Gothic *rign* 'rain', *rignjan* 'to rain'; Old Icelandic *regn* 'rain', *regna*, *rigna* 'to rain', *raki* 'dampness, wetness', *rakr* 'damp, wet'; Swedish *regn* 'rain', *regna* 'to rain'; Danish *regne* 'to rain'; Old English *regn*, *rēn* 'rain', *regnian* 'to rain'; Old Frisian *rein* 'rain', *reinia* 'to rain'; Old Saxon *regan*, *regin* 'rain'; Dutch *regen* 'rain'; Old High German *regan* 'rain' (New High German *Regen*), *reganōn* 'to rain' (New High German *regnen*). Perhaps also: Latin *rigō* 'to wet, to moisten, to bedew'; Albanian *rredh* 'to flow, to pour'. Rix 1998a:450 **reġ-* 'to flow, to pour; to drop, to drip'; Pokorny 1959:857 **reġ-*, **reġ-* (**rek-* ?) 'wet, moist; rain'; Walde 1927—1932.II:365—366 **reġ-*, **reġ-*; Watkins 1985:54 **reg-* and 2000:70 **reg-* 'moist'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:680 **reġ-* and 1995.I:587 **reġ-* 'to make wet, to irrigate'; Mallory—Adams 1997:639 **reġ-* ~ **reknos* 'moist; to make wet'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:435; Ernout—Meillet 1979:573—574 (without etymology); De Vaan 2008:523; Kroonen 2013:408 Proto-Germanic **regna-* 'rain'; Orël 2003:300 Proto-Germanic **reġnan* ~ **reġnaz*, 300 **reġnjanan*; Feist 1939:397; Lehmann 1986:284; De Vries 1977:432 and 437; Onions 1966:737; Klein 1971:615; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:590; Kluge—Seebold 1989:588.

Buck 1949:1.75 rain; 15.83 wet, damp. Bomhard 1996a:207, no. 604.

994. Proto-Nostratic root **riy-* (~ **rey-*):

(vb.) **riy-* 'to prosper, to thrive, to flourish, to increase, to grow';

(n.) **riy-a* 'increase, growth, prosperity, wealth'

- A. Proto-Afrasian **riy-* 'to increase, to grow': Semitic: Arabic *rā'a* (base *ry'* [رَبَعَ]) 'to increase, to grow, to flourish, to thrive; to augment (something)', *ray'* 'yield; returns, proceeds, income (accruing from an estate), interest; profit, share, royalty; prime, choicest part'. West Chadic: Tangale *riy* 'to multiply'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:451, no. 2126, **riy-* 'to grow'.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **riy-C-/rey-C-* > (**rī-C-/*)**rē-C-*; (**riy-V-/*)**rey-V-* (also **rēy-* in Indo-Iranian) 'wealth, prosperity, riches': Sanskrit *rā-ḥ*

‘property, possessions, goods, wealth, riches’ (gen.-abl. sg. *rāyáh*), *rāti* ‘to grant, to give, to bestow’, *rayi-h* ‘generous, favorable, gracious’; Avestan *raēvant-* ‘rich, wealthy’, *rā-* ‘to grant, to concede, to vouchsafe’; Latin *rēs* ‘thing, object, matter, affair, circumstance’ (gen. sg. *reī*); Umbrian *ri* ‘thing, ceremony, account’. Pokorny 1959:860 **rei-* : **rēi-* ‘possession, thing’; Walde 1927—1932.II:343 **rē(i)-*; Mann 1984—1987:1069 **rējos*; **rēis* ‘factual, apposite, substantive; fact, matter, substance’; Mallory—Adams 1997:637—638 **rēh₁is* (gen. **rēh₁iós*) ‘possessions’; Watkins 1985:53 **rē-* and 2000:70 **rē-* ‘to bestow, to grant’ (contracted from earlier **re₂-*), suffixed form **re₂-i-* ‘goods, wealth, property’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:430—431 **rēj-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:571; De Vaan 2008:520—521; Schmalstieg 1980:57—59; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:747 **reH(i)-* and 1995.I:650 **reH(i)-* ‘possessions, property’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:45—46.

Buck 1949:11.41 property; 11.42 wealth, riches. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:709—710, no. 596. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1978, **rVH₂i* (= **rVh|ʃ|hi* ?) ‘thing’.

995. Proto-Nostratic root **rom-*:

(vb.) **rom-* ‘to stop, to rest, to relax’;

(n.) **rom-a* ‘rest, quietude, calmness, tranquility, relaxation’; (adj.) ‘quiet, tranquil, still, gentle, silent, relaxed’

- A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ram-aʔ-* ‘to stop, to rest, to relax; to become relaxed, slack’ > Akkadian *ramū* ‘to become slack, loose’; Hebrew *ramīyyāh* [רַמִּיָּיָח] ‘laxness, slackness’; Arabic *ramaʔa* ‘to stop, to stay, to remain, to abide’. Proto-Semitic **ram-am-* ‘to be quiet, to be at rest’ > Arabic (*?a*)*ramma* ‘to be quiet’; Geez / Ethiopic *?armama* [አርሞሞ] ‘to keep silence, to keep silent, to be tranquil, to be quiet, to remain quiet, to be at rest, to make silent, to reduce to silence, to astound’, *ramum* [ርሞሞ] ‘silent, quiet; one who keeps silence’, *marmam* ‘silent’; Tigrinya (*?a*)*rmāmā* ‘to be silent, to be taciturn’; Amharic (*a*)*rämmāmā* ‘to be silent’. Leslau 1987:471. Proto-Semitic **ram-ak-* ‘to stop, to remain, to abide’ > Arabic *ramaka* ‘to stop, to remain, to abide’.
- B. Dravidian: Gondi *romānā*, *rom-* ‘to rest’, *rōmānā* ‘to rest after labor’, *roma* ‘rest, repose’; Konḍa *rōmb-* ‘to rest, to take rest’; Pengo *jōm-* ‘to stop, to rest, to cease’; Kui *jāmba* (*jāmbi-*) ‘to rest, to cease, to subside’; Kuwi *jōmali*, *jōminai*, *jōm-* ‘to rest’, (?) *rēmb-* ‘to rest’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:469, no. 5178.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **rom-/r̥m̥-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **rem-*) ‘to stop, to rest, to relax’: Greek (with prefixed ἥ-) ἥρεμος, ἥρεμαῖος ‘still, quiet, gentle’, ἥρεμέω ‘to keep quiet, to be at rest’, ἥρέμησις ‘quietude’, ἐπεμίζω ‘to make still or quiet’; Sanskrit *rámate* ‘to stop, to stay, to rest, to

abide'; Avestan *rāman-* 'quiet'; Gothic *rimis* 'rest, quiet, tranquility, calm'; Lithuanian *rāmas* (n.) 'quiet', *ramūs* (adj.) 'quiet, calm', (inf.) *rimti* 'to be calm'. Rix 1998a:224—225 **h₁rem-* 'to be still, quiet'; Pokorny 1959:864 **rem-*, **remə-* 'to rest'; Walde 1927—1932.II:371—372 **rem-*; Mann 1984—1987:1062 **rāmejō* 'to quieten, to appease, to pacify; to acquiesce, to subside, to rest' (radical: **ram-*), 1062 **rāmos*, *-ā* (**ram-*) 'restful, quiet, tame, alone; rest, quietude, solitude', 1083 **rmtos*, *-is* 'restful, resting, quiet; rest'; Boisacq 1950:328—329 **rem-*; Hofmann 1966:109; Frisk 1970—1973.I:642—643; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:416; Beekes 2010.I:525 **h₁remH-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:43—44; Orël 2003:302 Proto-Germanic **remez*; Kroonen 2013:409 Proto-Germanic **rēmiz-* 'quiet, tranquility'; Feist 1939:398; Lehmann 1986:285 **rem-* 'to rest, to support'; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:695—696.

Buck 1949:12.16 remain, stay, wait; 12.19 quiet (adj.). Möller 1911:210; Brunner 1969:20, no. 16; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:711, no. 598; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1988, **[ʹ]rómV* 'quiet; to rest'.

996. Proto-Nostratic root **row-*:

- (vb.) **row-* 'to cut, tear, or break apart';
 (n.) **row-a* 'cut, tear'

- A. Afrasian: Egyptian (f.) *rwīt* 'interruption'. Hannig 1995:461; Faulkner 1962:148.
- B. Proto-Indo-European **row-/rū-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **rew-*) 'to cut, tear, or break apart': Sanskrit *ravate* 'to break or dash to pieces', (causative) *ropayati* 'to cause acute or violent pain', *ru-h* 'cutting, dividing', *rúpyati* 'to suffer violent or racking pain'; Latin *ruō* 'to fall down, to collapse (intr.); to hurl down (tr.)', *rumpō* 'to break, to shatter, to burst open' (past ptc. *ruptum*), *rūtrum* 'spade, shovel', *rūdus* 'broken fragments of stone used for plastering'; Middle Irish *riam* 'spade'; Gothic *raupjan* 'to pluck, to pick', *riurs* 'destructible, perishable', *riurjan* 'to destroy', *riurei* 'destruction'; Old Icelandic *reyfa* 'to rob', *ryja* 'to pluck wool off sheep', *rupla* 'to plunder, to take by force', *rupl* 'plunder, booty', *riúfa* 'to break a hole in, to break'; Old English *rēofan* 'to break, to tear', *rēaf* 'spoil, booty', *rēafian* 'to rob, to plunder, to seize; to ravage, to destroy', *rīepan* 'to spoil, to plunder'; Old Saxon *rōpian* 'to pluck, to pull out'; Old High German *roufen*, *ropfōn* 'to pluck, to pull out' (New High German *raufen*, *rupfen*), *roub* 'robbery' (New High German *Raub*); Lithuanian *rausiù*, *raūsti* 'to dig', *ráuju*, *ráuti* 'to pull up; to tear up by the roots, to uproot', (inf.) *ravėti* 'to weed'; Old Church Slavic *ryjō*, *ryti* 'to dig', *rvъ*, *rvati* 'to grab, to snatch', *rovъ* 'ditch, grave'; Czech *rov* 'tomb'. Rix 1998a:461 **reyH-* 'to tear or rip open' and 462 **reup-* 'to tear, to break'; Pokorny 1959:868—871 **reu-*, **reua-*, **rū-* 'to rip up, to pull

out, to root out'; Walde 1927—1932.II:351—356 **reu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1076—1977 **reupō* (**rup-*) 'to tear, to break, to burst, to plunder', 1077 **reus-* 'to pull, to tear, to snatch, to dash, to rout, to rob, to stir; pulling', 1077 **reusk-* (**reuskō*, **rousk-*, **rusk-*), 1077 **reusrjo-* 'to perish, to fail, to collapse, to break; perishable', 1078 **reutlos, -om* (**reutro-*), 1078 **reyō, -jō* 'to seize, to pluck, to snatch', 1094 **roupejō* 'to tear, to seize, to rack, to crunch', 1094 **roupos* 'seizure', 1095—1096 **roujō* 'to dig up', 1096 **rouos, -ā, -jā* 'digging, ditch, bed, channel, hollow', 1096 **rub-* 'to snatch, to seize', 1099—1100 **rūjō* 'to pluck, to tear, to drag, to uproot', 1100—1101 **rumb-* 'to cut', 1101 **rump-* 'to burst', 1101—1102 **rūp-* 'to break, to crumble; rough, course, hard', 1102 **ruptós*, 1102 **rūs-* 'to fall, to fail, to crumble, to decay; feeble, weak, poor', 1104 **rūt-* 'dug; digging', 1104 **rujō*; Watkins 1985:55 **reu-* (also **reua-*) and 2000:71 **reua-* 'to smash, to knock down, to tear out, to dig up, to uproot'; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 **reu(h_x-)* 'to tear out, to pluck'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:581—582 and 582—583; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:447—448 **rēus-*, **rūs-*, II:451 **reub-*, and II:453—454 **ru(ū)ō* or **reyō*; De Vaan 2008:530; Orël 2003:299 Proto-Germanic **raupjanan*, 303 **reufanan*, 303 **reuriz*, 303 **reurjanan*; Kroonen 2013:406—407 Proto-Germanic **raupjan-* 'to tear (off)' and 410 **reufan-* 'to break (off)'; Feist 1939:395 **reup-* and 400; Lehmann 1986:282 **rew-* and 286 **rew-*; De Vries 1977:442, 454, and 455 **reu-*; Klein 1971:620; Onions 1966:743—744 and 744; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:585 **reup-* (< **reu-*), 586 **reup-*, and 616; Kluge—Seebold 1989:584 and 619; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:63 and III:68—69; Smoczyński 2001.1:504 **rou-éje-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:708 and II:708—709.

- C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **row3-* 'to cut, to carve' > Hungarian *ró-/rov-* 'to carve, to engrave, to cut (runes, etc.)', (dial.) 'to cleave (a log with an axe)'; Cheremis / Mari *roe-, rue-* 'to cut (with an axe, etc.), to hew, to chop'; Ostyak / Xanty *rogōm-* 'to cut out, etc.'. Collinder 1955:111 and 1977:125; Rédei 1986—1988:425 **rok3-* (**roγ3-*, **row3-*); Illič-Svityč 1965:362 Proto-Uralic **rowa-*.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 9.22 cut (vb.); 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 9.81 carve. Illič-Svityč 1965:362 **rowa-* 'to dig' ['рыть']; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:713—714, no. 601; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2001, **rowV* (or **rowHV* ?) 'to dig, to scratch, to carve'.

997. Proto-Nostratic root **rum-* (~ **rom-*):

- (vb.) **rum-* 'to grow or become dark; to darken';
 (n.) **rum-a* 'darkness, night; twilight, dusk'; (adj.) 'dark'

- A. Afrasian: East Chadic: Jegu *ráámân* 'black'; Mubi *rám*. Jungrathmayr—Ibrizimow 1994.I:13 and II:28—29.

- B. Proto-Kartvelian **rum-* ‘to grow or become dark; to darken’: Georgian *rum-* ‘to grow or become dark; to darken’, *m-rum-e* ‘dark’; Mingrelian *rum-* ‘to grow or become dark; to darken’. Klimov 1964:157 **rum-* and 1998:160 **rum-* ‘to get dark’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:288 **rum-*; Fähnrich 2007:352—353 **rum-*.
- C. Proto-Indo-European **romH-/ *r̥m̥H-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **remH-*) ‘dark, dark-colored’: Sanskrit *rāmá-h* ‘dark, dark-colored, black’, *rāmī* ‘darkness, night’, *rātrī* (< **r̥m̥H-*) ‘night, darkness or stillness of night’; Old English *romēi* ‘sooty’; Middle High German *rām*, *rōm* ‘dirt, soot’ (New High German *Rahm* ‘soot’), *rāmec*, *rāmig* ‘dirty, sooty’ (New High German *rahmig* ‘sooty’). Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:54—55; Orël 2003: 304 Proto-Germanic **rēmaz*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:579; Kluge—Seebold 1989:579.
- D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **r[ü]mke* ‘dark’ > Lapp / Saami *râw'ke-* ‘to wink (the eyes)’, (Lule) *râm'kâ-*, *râw'kâ-* ‘to wink’, *râm'ko* ‘closed (only of the eyes)’, *râm'kotâ-* ‘to wink’; Cheremis / Mari (West) *rəm* ‘twilight, dusk’, (East) *rümbalge* ‘twilight, dusk’; Votyak / Udmurt *žomyt* ‘twilight, dusk’; Zyrian / Komi *rōmyd* ‘twilight, dusk’; Ostyak / Xanty *rimək* ‘dusk, twilight; dark; darkness’, *riməkəl-* ‘to become dusk, to get dark’. Collinder 1955:110, 1960:413 **remke*, 1977:124; Rédei 1986—1988:747 **r̥m̥z*.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 14.42 night; 15.63 dark (of color). Dolgopolsky 1992:321, no. 38, **rumE* ‘dark; to close the eyes’ and 2008, no. 1990, **r[ü]HmV* (or **r[ü]gmV*?) ‘dark’; Bomhard 1996a:213—214, no. 611.

APPENDIX:
LANGUAGE CONTACT

In Chapter 13 of this book, I propose that “[t]he unified Nostratic parent language may be dated to between 15,000 to 12,000 BCE, that is, at the end of the last Ice Age — it was located in the Fertile Crescent just south of the Caucasus...” In our joint monograph, *The Nostratic Macrofamily: A Study in Distant Linguistic Relationship*, John C. Kerns proposed the exact same location (“the Fertile Crescent just south of the Caucasus” [Bomhard—Kerns 1994:155]). In his 1998 book, *The Nostratic Hypothesis and Linguistic Paleontology*, Aaron Dolgopolsky also places the homeland in the same general area (cf. Dolgopolsky 1998:26). As can be seen, Kerns, Dolgopolsky, and I are essentially in agreement about the location of the homeland of the speakers of the Nostratic parent language. If the scenario we are proposing is correct, we would expect to find evidence of prehistoric contact between Nostratic and non-Nostratic neighboring languages. A good place to look for such evidence would be the Northwest and Northeast Caucasian languages. Not only are languages of these families still extant, there are good reasons to believe that, in ancient times, they covered a considerably wider geographic area than they do at present. For example, the Hurrian language (along with the closely-related Urartian), which was located in the northeastern Zagros-Taurus corner of the “hilly flanks” of Mesopotamia, may have belonged to the Northeast Caucasian language family (cf. Diakonoff—Starostin 1996). Likewise, Hattic, which was located in central Anatolia, has been claimed by some to be an ancient Northwest Caucasian language (cf. Diakonoff 1990:63; Chirikba 1996a). We may note in passing that, according to Nikolayev—Starostin (1994), the Northwest and Northeast Caucasian language families are related. Together, they form a larger North Caucasian super-family — the same conclusion is reached by Chirikba 2016.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the North Caucasian languages and the Nostratic languages shows that there is indeed evidence of very ancient contact between North Caucasian and Nostratic. The evidence that I have gathered is listed in this Appendix (the Circassian material is from Kuipers 1975; the Abkhaz material is from Chirikba 1996b; the Proto-North Caucasian material is from Nikolayev—Starostin 1994). The evidence presented here is especially significant in that it independently corroborates the Proto-Nostratic reconstructions I have proposed as opposed to those of Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky.

1. Proto-Nostratic root **baʕ-* (~ **bəʕ-*):
(vb.) **baʕ-* ‘to pour’;
(n.) **baʕ-a* ‘torrent, outpour’

Proto-North Caucasian **bVHV* ‘big, many’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 316—317).

Proto-Circassian **ba* ‘much’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:11).

3. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **baba* ‘father’ (nursery word):

Proto-North Caucasian **babajV* ‘father, grandfather’ (a nursery word) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:286; Chirikba 1996b:13).

26. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasianic only) **ban-* (~ **bən-*):

(vb.) **ban-* ‘to cut, to strike’;

(n.) **ban-a* ‘cut, wound’

Proto-Circassian **ban(a)* ‘to fight’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:12).

31. Proto-Nostratic **bar-* (~ **bər-*):

(vb.) **bar-* ‘to be thick, bushy, shaggy; to be coarse, rough, harsh’

(n.) **bar-a* ‘roughness, coarseness, harshness; thickness, shagginess’; (adj.) ‘rough, harsh, coarse; thick, shaggy, bushy’

Derivative of:

(vb.) **bar-* ‘to swell, to puff up, to expand’;

(n.) **bar-a* ‘swelling, bulge, increase’

Proto-North Caucasian **barḱwǎ* ‘rough skin’: (cf. Starostin—Nikolayev 1994:288).

44. Proto-Nostratic root **bay-* (~ **bəy-*):

(vb.) **bay-* ‘to apportion, to divide into shares, to distribute, to allot, to share’;

(n.) **bay-a* ‘portion, share’

Proto-Circassian **bayə* ‘rich’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:12). Note: This may be a loan from Turkic.

52. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bin-a*, **ban-a* ‘younger relative: (m.) younger brother, younger son; (f.) younger sister, younger daughter’:

Proto-Circassian **bənə* ‘(children of) family’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:12).

53. Proto-Nostratic root **bir-* (~ **ber-*):

(vb.) **bir-* ‘to swell, to rise, to grow’;

(n.) **bir-a* ‘largeness, greatness, height, tallness’

Extended form:

(vb.) **bir-V-g-* ‘to be high’;

(n.) **bir-g-a* ‘height, high place’; (adj.) ‘high, tall, lofty’

Proto-North Caucasian **birčV* (~ *-ē-*, *-ī-*) ‘rich, honorable’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:305).

61. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bor^y-a* ‘a dark color’; (adj.) ‘dark, dark-colored’:

Proto-North Caucasian **būrV* (~ *-ō-*) ‘grey, brown’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:313—314). Note: This may be a borrowing.

63. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bud-a* ‘lowest part or region (of anything)’:

Proto-North Caucasian **bVdV* ‘side’ (cf. Starostin—Nikolayev 1994:315—316).

69. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bul-a* (~ **bol-a*) ‘penis, testicle(s)’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate’;

(n.) **bul-a* ‘large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow’

Proto-North Caucasian **bilV* (~ *-l-*) ‘penis’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:307).

129. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hir-* (~ **p^her-*):

(vb.) **p^hir-* ‘to bring forth, to bear fruit’;

(n.) **p^hir-a* ‘birth, issue, offspring, descendant, fruit’

Proto-North Caucasian **pīrqwǎ* ‘a kind of fruit’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:873—874).

130. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hir-* (~ **p^her-*):

(vb.) **p^hir-* ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’;

(n.) **p^hir-a* ‘flying, flight, fleeing’

Proto-North Caucasian **pīrV* ‘(vb.) to fly; (n.) flight’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:874—875; Chirikba 1996b:21—22).

133. Proto-Nostratic root **p^hit^y-* (~ **p^het^y-*):

(vb.) **p^hit^y-* ‘to give birth to’;

(n.) **p^hit^y-a* ‘genitals (male or female); birth, origin’

Proto-North Caucasian **pūṭi/*būṭi* ‘genitals (mostly female)’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:876—877).

148. Proto-Nostratic root **p^huw-* (~ **p^how-*):

(vb.) **p^huw-* ‘to puff, to blow, to exhale; to puff up, to inflate’;

(n.) **p^huw-a* ‘a puff, the act of blowing, breath’

Proto-North Caucasian **pūHV* ‘(vb.) to blow; (n.) blowing’ (onomatopoeic root) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:875).

154. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **da-* ‘mother, sister’; (reduplicated) (n.) **da-da-* ‘mother, sister’ (nursery words):

Proto-North Caucasian **dājV/*dādājV* ‘father; mother’ (a common North Caucasian nursery word) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:397—398; Chirikba 1996b:29—30).

166. Proto-Nostratic root (?) **daw-* (~ **dəw-*):
 (vb.) **daw-* ‘to sound, to resound, to make a noise’;
 (n.) **daw-a* ‘sound, noise’

Proto-North Caucasian **dʷəñʷV* ‘a kind of musical instrument’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:406—407).

192. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dur-a* ‘goat, sheep, ram’ (perhaps originally ‘horned animal’):

Proto-North Caucasian **dVrǰwV* ‘he-goat’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:403).

193. Proto-Nostratic root **duw-* (~ **dow-*):
 (vb.) **duw-* ‘to blow about, to fly about, to scatter; to be blown, strewn, or scattered about’;
 (n.) **duw-a* ‘anything blown, sprinkled, scattered, or strewn about: smoke, steam, vapor; rain, shower, drizzle, raindrops; dust’; (adj.) ‘blown about, sprinkled, scattered, strewn’

Proto-North Caucasian **dwiHV* ‘wind’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:407).

194. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative stems:
 Proximate: **thə-* (~ **thə-*) ‘this’;
 Intermediate: **thi-* (~ **thi-*) ‘that’;
 Distant: **thu-* (~ **tho-*) ‘that yonder’

Proto-North Caucasian **tV* ‘that’ (demonstrative pronoun) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:990—991).

243. Proto-Nostratic root **t’aw-* (~ **t’əw-*):
 (vb.) **t’aw-* ‘to hit, to strike’;
 (n.) **t’aw-a* ‘stroke, blow, injury, harm, damage’

Proto-Circassian **t’awə* ‘to bump (one’s head)’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:18).

253. Proto-Nostratic root **t'uɽ^w-* (~ **t'oɽ^w-*):
 (vb.) **t'uɽ^w-* ‘to separate, divide, or split into two parts; to cut in half’;
 (n.) **t'uɽ^w-a* ‘separation or division into two; two halves’
 (used as the base for the numeral ‘two’ in Indo-European and Altaic)
- Proto-Northwest Caucasian **tqo* ‘two’ (cf. Colarusso 1981.I:538 **t'q'ù-* and 1992:45 **t'q'o*; Kuipers 1975:19 Proto-Circassian **Tq^o(a)*). Note: Nikolayev—Starostin (1994:924) reconstruct Proto-North Caucasian **qHwā* ‘two’, West Caucasian **tqI:^{wA}* ‘two’. However, they note: “The PWC form has a prefixed dental; this may be an innovation, but may also reflect the common NC state (**tqHwā* with simplification of the initial cluster in PEC).”
264. Proto-Nostratic indefinite pronoun stem **dvi-* (~ **dve-*) ‘this one, that one’:
- Proto-North Caucasian **ʒi* ‘self, oneself’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:1102—1103).
278. Proto-Nostratic root **t'yal-* (~ **t'yəl-*) and/or **t'yil-* (~ **t'yel-*):
 (vb.) **t'yal-* and/or **t'yil-* ‘to overshadow, to cover over, to make dark’;
 (n.) **t'yal-a* and/or **t'yil-a* ‘shade, shadow; covering; darkness’
- Proto-North Caucasian **č̣ilχwV* ‘looming, haze; fumes’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:379).
303. Proto-Nostratic root **sɽuw-* (~ **sɽow-*):
 (vb.) **sɽuw-* ‘to be proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate, good, well, fine, beautiful’;
 (n.) **sɽuw-a* ‘propriety, suitability, appropriateness’; (adj.) ‘proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate’
- Proto-Circassian **s'°(a)* ‘good’, **s'°əs'a* ‘beneficent, benefit, good deed’, **s'°əč'a* ‘gratitude’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:32—33).
338. Proto-Nostratic 3rd person pronoun stem **si-* (~ **se-*) ‘he, she, it; him, her; they, them’; 3rd person possessive suffix **-si* (~ **-se*) ‘his, her, its; their’:
- Proto-North Caucasian **sāj* interrogative pronoun: ‘what?’ — originally used only as an oblique base (Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:958).
342. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʒag^w-a* ‘a small tree, a bush or shrub’:
- Proto-North Caucasian **ʒāgV* ‘a kind of shrub’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:1105).

351. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *č'am-a 'reed, grass':

Proto-North Caucasian *čǎmhV 'a kind of plant' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:383).

352. Proto-Nostratic root *č'ik'- (~ *č'ek'-):

(vb.) *č'ik'- 'to be small';

(n.) *č'ik'-a 'small things'; (adj.) 'small'

Proto-North Caucasian *čǎkũ / *čǎkũ 'young (of animals), boy'; West Caucasian *čǎkʷə 'young boy, youngster; small' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:382—383).

354. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative pronoun stem *ša- (~ *šə-)'this, that':

Proto-North Caucasian *š̄i interrogative pronoun stem: 'who?, what?'; West Caucasian *šə (~ *š̄:-) 'how?' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:986).

357. Proto-Nostratic root *šaw- (~ *šəw-):

(vb.) *šaw- 'to sigh, to pant, to gasp, to breathe deeply';

(n.) *šaw-a 'breath, sigh'

Related to:

(vb.) *šaw- 'to sleep, to rest';

(n.) *šaw-a 'sleep, slumber, rest'

Proto-North Caucasian *š̄HwV '(n.) breath; (v.) to breathe' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:961—962). Note also: Proto-North Caucasian *š̄Hw̄V 'whistle; reed-pipe' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:984).

362. Proto-Nostratic root *gaʔ- (~ *gəʔ-):

(vb.) *gaʔ- 'to go, to leave, to depart; to leave behind, to abandon, to forsake';

(n.) *gaʔ-a 'abandonment, lack, want, need, deprivation, loss, deficit'; (adj.) 'abandoned, forsaken, left behind; wanting, lacking, deprived of'

Proto-Circassian *ga 'bad, insufficient, lacking' (cf. Kuipers 1975:50; Chirikba 1996b:35 *gə).

370. Proto-Nostratic root *gal- (~ *gəl-):

(vb.) *gal- 'to dig, scoop, or hollow out' (> 'to plow');

(n.) *gal-a 'the act of digging, scooping, or hollowing out'

Derivative of:

(vb.) *gal- 'to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate';

(n.) *gal-a 'cut, break, tear, separation'

Proto-North Caucasian **gǎl(V)gV* ‘stick’ (derivative of **gǎlV* [~ **-l-*] ‘stick’) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:429 and 429—430).

377. Proto-Nostratic root **gam-* (~ **gəm-*):

(vb.) **gam-* ‘to bend, to be bent’;

(n.) **gam-a* ‘a bent or curved object: hook; wrist, ankle; etc.’

Proto-North Caucasian **gāmčwV* ‘canine tooth, fang’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:430).

391. Proto-Nostratic pronominal base of unclear deictic function **gi-* (~ **ge-*):

Proto-North Caucasian **gV* ‘that (below the speaker)’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:442—443).

398. Proto-Nostratic root **gir-* (~ **ger-*):

(vb.) **gir-* ‘to gird, to enclose’;

(n.) **gir-a* ‘enclosure fence, wall’

Proto-North Caucasian **gīrgwV* ‘circle, round’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:438—439).

425. Proto-Nostratic root **khām-* (~ **khəm-*) or **qham-* (~ **qhəm-*):

(vb.) **khām-* or **qham-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’;

(n.) **khām-a* or **qham-a* ‘grip, hold, hand(ful); bond, fetter’

Proto-North Caucasian **qēmiV* ‘palm of the hand, handful’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:888).

444. Proto-Nostratic root **khath-* (~ **khəth-*):

(vb.) **khath-* ‘to plait, to weave, to twist’;

(n.) **khath-a* ‘that which is plaited, woven, twisted: mat, net, knot’

Derivative:

(n.) **khath-a* ‘rag’

(?) Proto-Circassian **khathə* ‘sheep-shed’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:49). Assuming semantic development as in Old Church Slavic *kotьcb* ‘pen, coop’.

452. Proto-Nostratic root **khay-*:

(vb.) **khay-* ‘to scoop out’;

(n.) **khay-a* ‘spoon, ladle’

Extended form:

(vb.) **khay-V-w-* ‘to dig’;

(n.) **khay-w-a* ‘cave, pit, hollow’

Proto-Circassian **kʰəya* or **kʰayə* ‘tub’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:49).

471. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰakʰ-* (onomatopoeic):

(vb.) **kʰakʰ-* ‘to cackle, to chatter’;

(n.) **kʰakʰ-a* ‘crackling sound’

Derivative:

(n.) **kʰakʰ-a* (onomatopoeic bird name) ‘partridge’

Proto-Circassian **kaka* ‘to chirp’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:52; Chirikba 1996b:45).

475. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰal-* (~ **kʰəl-*):

(vb.) **kʰal-* ‘to take away, to remove, to deprive of; to decrease, to diminish, to reduce; to be or become reduced or diminished’;

(n.) **kʰal-a* ‘littleness, small quantity, scarcity; few things; lack, want, poverty, deficiency, insufficiency’; (adj.) ‘little, scanty, sparse, meager, insufficient, lacking, short of, wanting, needy’

Proto-North Caucasian **kălkV* ‘a small thing’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 721; Chirikba 1996b:46).

486. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **kʰaŋ-a* ‘knot, knob, joint’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **kʰaŋ-* ‘to bend, twist, turn, or tie together’;

(n.) **kʰaŋ-a* ‘wreath, rope, cord, fiber, tie, band, string’

Proto-Circassian **kanə* ‘knuckle-bone (used in bone game)’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:52).

492. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **kʰar-a* ‘blackness, darkness, obscurity; dark cloud, rainy weather; dirt, grime’; (adj.) ‘dark, dark-colored; dirty, soiled’:

Proto-North Caucasian **kărv* ‘black; coal’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 719—720).

493. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰar-* (~ **kʰər-*):

(vb.) **kʰar-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind’;

(n.) **kʰar-a* ‘that which is tied or bound together: bunch, bundle’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, crooked; tied, bound’

Possible derivative:

(n.) **kʰar-a* ‘protuberance, lump, hump, breast’

(?) Proto-Circassian **kərə* ‘thick, dense (of wool, beard, etc.), long (of hair), high (of grass)’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:52). Assuming semantic development from ‘closely or firmly twisted together’.

503. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ir-* (\sim **k'er-*) or **k'ur-* (\sim **k'or-*):
 (vb.) **k'ir-* or **k'ur-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to incise, to engrave, to notch; to cut off, to sever, to nip off, to clip; to cut in two, to split’;
 (n.) **k'ir-a* or **k'ur-a* ‘cut, slit, notch; chip, piece cut off’
- Proto-North-Caucasian **kirV* ‘knife, axe’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 725—726).
520. Proto-Nostratic root **g^wan-* (\sim **g^wən-*):
 (vb.) **g^wan-* ‘to hit, to strike, to slay, to kill, to wound, to harm, to injure’;
 (n.) **g^wan-a* ‘strike, harm, injury’
- Proto-North Caucasian **gwanV̄* (\sim *-ō-*) ‘supply (of meat)’, perhaps originally ‘portion of meat (of a slaughtered animal)’ as in Avar-Andi (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:443—444).
522. Proto-Nostratic root **g^war-* (\sim **g^wər-*):
 (vb.) **g^war-* ‘to turn, to twist, to wind, to wrap, to roll’;
 (n.) **g^war-a* ‘any round or circular object’; (adj.) ‘rolling, round, bent, twisted, turned’
- Proto-North Caucasian **gwērV* ‘circle; round; to roll’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:447—448). Note also: Proto-North Caucasian **gwV̄rV* ‘enclosure’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:452; Chirikba 1996b:38).
526. Proto-Nostratic root **k^{wh}al-* (\sim **k^{wh}əl-*):
 (vb.) **k^{wh}al-* ‘to revolve, to go around, to roll’;
 (n.) **k^{wh}al-a* ‘circle, circuit’
- Proto-North Caucasian **kwəl^oV* ‘thread’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:705).
535. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k^{wh}ar-a* ‘vessel, pot’:
- Proto-North Caucasian **kwərV* ‘a kind of vessel’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:706).
541. Proto-Nostratic relative pronoun stem **k^{wh}i-* (\sim **k^{wh}e-*); interrogative pronoun stem **k^{wh}a-* (\sim **k^{wh}ə-*):
- Proto-North Caucasian **kwi* interrogative pronoun: ‘who?’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:709—710).
558. Proto-Nostratic root **k^was-* (\sim **k^wəs-*):
 (vb.) **k^was-* ‘to strike fire, to put out (fire)’;
 (n.) **k^was-a* ‘spark, fire’

Proto-Circassian **k'asa* ‘to go out (as fire, light); to escape, to run away, to desert, to elope’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:60; Chirikba 1996b:50 *k'ásə*).

562. Proto-Nostratic root **k'wed-*:

(vb.) **k'wed-* ‘to destroy, to damage, to ruin; to decay, to rot, to spoil’;

(n.) **k'wed-a* ‘death, destruction, damage, ruin, decay’

Note also:

(vb.) **k'wad-* ‘to strike, to beat, to smash, to pound’;

(n.) **k'wad-a* ‘knock, stroke, thrust’

Proto-Circassian **k'ad(a)* ‘to disappear, to get lost, to perish’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:60).

591. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **q'alv-a* ‘sexual organs, genitals, private parts (male or female)’:

Proto-North Caucasian **qVlē* (~ **q-*, *-*i*) ‘child’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:929; Chirikba 1996b:63 **q'altá-sə*). For the semantics, cf. Svan [*q'l-*] in *q'law* ‘child (male)’, alongside Georgian *q'l-e* (< **q'al-e* or **q'ol-e*) ‘penis’; Mingrelian *ʔol-e* (< **q'ol-a-i*) ‘penis’; Laz *q'ol-e*, *k'ol-e* ‘penis’.

598. Proto-Nostratic root **Gwal-* (~ **Gwəl-*):

(vb.) **Gwal-* ‘to curve, to bend, to roll; to be round’;

(n.) **Gwal-a* ‘round object: circle, globe, sphere, ball, etc.’

Derivative:

(n.) **Gwal-a* ‘head, skull’

Proto-North Caucasian **Gwālĥē* ‘udder; breast’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:465).

603. Proto-Nostratic root **q'wal-* (~ **q'wəl-*):

(vb.) **q'wal-* ‘to throw, to hurl’;

(n.) **q'wal-a* ‘sling, club; throwing, hurling’

Proto-North Caucasian **q̄w[ä]tʔV̄* ‘arm, bosom, armpit’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:933—934). Semantics as in: Proto-Kartvelian **q'wil-* ‘shoulder bone, shoulder blade; arm’: Georgian *q'vl-iv-i* ‘shoulder blade’; Mingrelian *ʔvil-e* ‘bone, arm’; Laz *q'vil-i*, *ʔil-i* ‘bone’. Klimov 1964:211—212 **q̄wl-iw-* and 1998:242 **q̄wl-iw-*; Schmidt 1962:141; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:415 **q̄wil-*; Fähnrich 2007:516 **q̄wil-*.

607. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasianic only) **q'watʰ-* (~ **q'wəʰ-*):

(vb.) **q'watʰ-* ‘to say, to speak, to call’;

(n.) **q'watʰ-a* ‘call, invocation, invitation, summons’

Proto-Circassian **q'atʰa* ‘to tell, to report; to announce, to make known’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:73).

615. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰhay-* (~ **tʰhəy-*):
 (vb.) **tʰhay-* ‘to grow old, to turn gray (hair)’;
 (n.) **tʰhay-a* ‘old age, gray hair’

Proto-North Caucasian **lǎjV* ‘time, day’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:766).

623. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰ'il-* (~ **tʰ'el-*):
 (vb.) **tʰ'il-* ‘to be bent, curved, round’;
 (n.) **tʰ'il-a* ‘bent, curved, round thing or object’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, round’

Proto-North Caucasian **l[ɣ̃]lǐ* ‘ear (of corn)’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:779).

627. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative stems (originally deictic particles):
 Proximate: **ʔi-* (~ **ʔe-*) ‘this’;
 Intermediate: **ʔu-* (~ **ʔo-*) ‘that’;
 Distant: **ʔa-* (~ **ʔə-*) ‘that yonder, that over there’

Proto-North Caucasian **ʔi* ‘this’ (a common Proto-North Caucasian demonstrative stem, in the majority of languages used for near deixis) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:214—215), **ʔə* ‘that’ (this demonstrative stem is mostly used for far deixis) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:218—219), **ʔu* (~ **hu*) ‘that’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:222).

Proto-Abkhaz demonstrative pronoun: **a* ‘this’ (used only in compounds) (cf. Chirikba 1996b:1).

629. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔab(b)a* ~ **ʔapʰ(pʰ)a* ‘father, forefather’ (nursery word):

Proto-North Caucasian **ʔəbV(jV)* ‘father’ (a nursery word) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:217; Chirikba 1996b:1 **abá*).

634. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔakʰ-* (~ **ʔəkh-*):
 (vb.) **ʔakʰ-* ‘to eat’;
 (n.) **ʔakʰ-a* ‘food, meal; fodder, feed, morsel’

(?) Proto-North Caucasian **ʔikwVn* ‘to eat’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:207).

649. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔanʷa* ‘mother, aunt’ (nursery word):
 Note also:
 (n.) **ʔenʷa* ‘mother, elder sister’

Proto-North Caucasian **ʔānV(j)V* ‘mother’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 201—202; Chirikba 1996b:9).

665. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔay-* (~ **ʔəy-*):

(vb.) **ʔay-* ‘to go, to proceed’;

(n.) **ʔay-a* ‘journey’

Note also:

(vb.) **ʔiy-* ‘to come, to go’;

(n.) **ʔiy-a* ‘approach, arrival; path, way’

Proto-Abkhaz **ʔə* ‘to come, to go’ (cf. Chirikba 1996b:126).

678. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ʔer-a* ‘earth, ground’:

Proto-North Caucasian **ʔārV* ‘plain’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:202).

683. Proto-Nostratic root **ʔil-* (~ **ʔel-*):

(vb.) **ʔil-* ‘to see, to know’;

(n.) **ʔil-a* ‘eye’

Proto-North Caucasian **ʔiL̥V* ‘to look’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:209).

719. Proto-Nostratic root **hag-* (~ **həg-*):

(vb.) **hag-* ‘to be pressed or weighed down; to be oppressed; to be vexed, distressed, disheartened, afflicted, troubled’;

(n.) **hag-a* ‘trouble, affliction, oppression, distress, grief, sadness’

Proto-North Caucasian *=*HäGwVn* ‘to tremble, to be afraid’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:553—554).

740. Proto-Nostratic root **har-* (~ **hər-*):

(vb.) **har-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’ (> ‘to plow’);

(n.) **har-a* ‘scraping, scratching’

Proto-North Caucasian *=*HarxVr* (~ -*ə-*, -*λ-*) ‘to sweep’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:548). Note also: Proto-North Caucasian **HěrxwA* / **HěwxwA* ‘to comb, to scratch, to scrape’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:562).

747. Proto-Nostratic root **haw-* (~ **həw-*):

(vb.) **haw-* ‘to swell, to increase’;

(n.) **haw-a* ‘swelling, increase, growth; great number or amount’

Proto-North Caucasian **HāwayV* ‘to swell’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 549—550).

773. Proto-Nostratic root **ʕath-* (~ **ʕəth-*):
 (vb.) **ʕath-* ‘to move, to proceed, to advance (in years)’;
 (n.) **ʕath-a* ‘maturity, old age; advance’; (adj.) ‘mature, old; advanced’
- Proto-North Caucasian **=ətV* ‘to move, to go, to come’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:423).
800. Proto-Nostratic root **γil-* (~ **γel-*):
 (vb.) **γil-* ‘to bear, to give birth, to beget (of humans)’;
 (n.) **γil-a* ‘child, youth, young person’; (adj.) ‘young, immature’
- Proto-North Caucasian **HVλU* ‘to bear, to give birth; to create’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:614 **HVλU* ‘to bear, to give birth; to create’).
808. Proto-Nostratic 1st person personal pronoun stem **wa-* (~ **wə-*) ‘I, me; we us’:
 Nakh **waj* ‘we (incl.)’ (listed under Proto-North Caucasian **μō* ‘thou’) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:1014—1015).
818. Proto-Nostratic root **wal-* (~ **wəl-*):
 (vb.) **wal-* ‘to flow, to wet, to moisten’;
 (n.) **wal-a* ‘flow, trickle; wetness, moisture, dampness’; (adj.) ‘wet, damp’
- Proto-Circassian **wala* ‘cloud’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:96). Assuming semantic development as in Old English *weolcen*, *wolc*, *wolcen* ‘cloud’; Old Frisian *wolken*, *wulken* ‘cloud’; Old Saxon *wolkan* ‘cloud’; Dutch *wolk* ‘cloud’; Old High German *wolchan*, *wolkan* ‘cloud’ (New High German *Wolke*).
821. Proto-Nostratic root **walv-* (~ **wəlv-*):
 (vb.) **walv-* ‘to turn, to roll, to revolve’;
 (n.) **walv-a* ‘circle, circumference; turn, rotation’; (adj.) ‘round’
- Proto-Circassian **wala* ‘to totter, to reel; to wave, to undulate’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:86).
824. Proto-Nostratic root **wan-* (~ **wən-*):
 (vb.) **wan-* ‘to stay, to remain’;
 (n.) **wan-a* ‘abode, dwelling’
- Proto-Circassian **wəna* ‘house’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:86).

830. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):
 (vb.) **war-* ‘to look, to watch out for, to observe, to care for’;
 (n.) **war-a* ‘watch, vigil, guardianship, care; watchman, guard, keeper, warder’
- Proto-North Caucasian **ʔwerV* ‘look, sight’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994: 248—249).
833. Proto-Nostratic root **war-* (~ **wər-*):
 (vb.) **war-* ‘to raise, to elevate, to grow, to increase’;
 (n.) **war-a* ‘uppermost, highest, or topmost part’
- Proto-North Caucasian **wārte* ‘top’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:1039).
 Note: This may be an Iranian or Indo-Iranian loan.
- Proto-Circassian **warq:ə* ‘nobleman’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:87).
838. Proto-Nostratic root **waš-* (~ **wəš-*):
 (vb.) **waš-* ‘to add (to), to augment, to increase, to heap up’;
 (n.) **waš-a* ‘augmentation, increase, addition, increment’; (adj.) ‘increased, augmented, heaped up, filled, full’
- Proto-Circassian **wəša* ‘to stuff, to fill’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:85).
846. Proto-Nostratic root **welʷ-*:
 (vb.) **welʷ-* ‘to be open, to be vacant’;
 (n.) **welʷ-a* ‘open space, open land, field, meadow’
- Proto-North Caucasian **wīlʒwV* ‘mountain pasture’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:1055—1056).
852. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **wir-a* ‘a kind of tree: aspen, alder, poplar, or the like’:
- Proto-North Caucasian **ʔwērxi* ‘a kind of foliage tree’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:230—231).
861. Proto-Nostratic indefinite pronoun stem **ma-* (~ **mə-*), **mi-* (~ **me-*), **mu-* (~ **mo-*) ‘one, someone, somebody, anyone, anybody; other, another’:
- Note: This may originally have been a demonstrative stem, with three degrees of distance:
 Proximate: **ma-* (~ **mə-*) ‘this’;
 Intermediate: **mi-* (~ **me-*) ‘that’;
 Distant: **mu-* (~ **mo-*) ‘that yonder’

Proto-North Caucasian **mV* demonstrative pronoun (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:842—843).

Proto-Circassian **mə* ‘this’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:87). Proto-Circassian **maw* ‘thither, that’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:88).

862. Proto-Nostratic (nursery word) (n.) **ma(a)* ‘mother, mommy’, (reduplicated) **mam(m)a*, **mem[e]* ‘mother; (mother’s) breast, milk’; used as a verb, the meaning was probably ‘to suckle, to nurse; to suck (the breast)’ (as noted by Watkins 2000:50: “[a] linguistic near-universal found in many of the world’s languages, often in reduplicated form”; see also Jakobson 1971[1960]):

Proto-North Caucasian **məmV* ‘teat, nipple; pimple’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:806—807).

863. Proto-Nostratic negative/prohibitive particle **ma(?)*- (~ **mə(?)*-) ‘no, not’:

Proto-North Caucasian **ma* (~ *-ə*) prohibitive particle (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:797).

Proto-Circassian **mə* negative prefix (cf. Kuipers 1975:87).

875. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mal-a* ‘hill, mountain’:

Proto-North Caucasian *malšwV* ‘slope; muzzle, face’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:894—795).

891. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **man^v-a* ‘progenitor, begetter, man, male; penis’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **man^v-* ‘to lust after, to desire passionately, to copulate with, to have sexual intercourse, to beget’;

(n.) **man^v-a* ‘ardent desire, passion, lust’

Proto-North Caucasian **mṽnxV* ‘male, man’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:840).

Proto-Circassian **mana* ‘penis’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:89).

895. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **mar-a* ‘(young) man, male (human or animal)’:

Proto-North Caucasian **mōrLV* ‘male’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:830—831). According to Nikolayev—Starostin, “an important social term, not borrowed (as sometimes supposed) from Indo-Aryan.”

905. Proto-Nostratic root **mat'*- (~ **mæt'*-):
 (vb.) **mat'*- 'to stretch, to expand, to lengthen, to draw out, to measure out';
 (n.) **mat'-a* 'measure, measurement, amount; extent, limit'
- Proto-North Caucasian **mīṭwi* (~ *-ē*) 'growth, excrescence' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:823).
909. Proto-Nostratic interrogative pronoun stem **mi-* (~ **me-*) 'who?, which?, what?', relative pronoun stem **ma-* (~ **mǝ-*) 'who, which, what':
 Proto-North Caucasian **mV* interrogative stem (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:843).
916. Proto-Nostratic root **mir-* (~ **mer-*):
 (vb.) **mir-* 'to stab, to pierce, to wound, to cause pain';
 (n.) **mir-a* 'wound, pain'
- Proto-North Caucasian **mirć(w)Ē* 'knife, sickle' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:822—823).
926. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasian only) (n.) **mur-a* 'mulberry, blackberry':
- Proto-North Caucasian **mer(?)V* 'a kind of berry' (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:804—805).
930. Proto-Nostratic first person singular personal pronoun **na* (~ **nǝ*) 'I, me':
- Note: On the basis of Dravidian (and possibly Altaic), the original form of this stem may have been **ŋa* (~ **ŋǝ*), but this is not certain. Sumerian [Emegir] *ĝá.e* [= /ŋa-/] 'I' supports such a reconstruction as well.
931. Proto-Nostratic first person plural exclusive personal pronoun **na* (~ **nǝ*) 'we, us':
- Proto-North Caucasian **nř* 'I' (possibly originally a collective plural pronoun: cf. Proto-Dargwa **nu-s:a* 'we' [exclusive], **nu-x:a* 'we' [inclusive]) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:855).
932. Proto-Nostratic deictic particle **na* (~ **nǝ*), **ni* (~ **ne*) 'this, that':
- Proto-North Caucasian **nV* 'this, that' (a demonstrative stem) (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:858).

953. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **nusʷ-a* ‘woman, female; any female connected by marriage: wife, bride, sister-in-law, daughter-in-law’:

Derivative of:

(vb.) **nusʷ-* ‘to be small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’;

(n.) **nusʷ-a* ‘smallness, insufficiency, decrease, diminishment’; (adj.) ‘small, minute, soft, weak, delicate’

Proto-North Caucasian **nūsA* (~ -ǫ-) ‘daughter-in-law’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:856—857). Note: According to Tuite—Schulze (1998), the North Caucasian terms are loans from Indo-European; cf. Proto-Indo-European **(s)nuso-s* ‘daughter-in-law’.

Proto-Circassian **nəsa* ‘(father’s) brother’s wife, daughter-in-law’ (cf. Kuipers 1975:89).

997. Proto-Nostratic root **rum-* (~ **rom-*):

(vb.) **rum-* ‘to grow or become dark; to darken’;

(n.) **rum-a* ‘darkness, night; twilight, dusk’; (adj.) ‘dark’

Proto-North Caucasian **rVmǰĀ* ‘night, evening’ (cf. Nikolayev—Starostin 1994:955—956).

I strongly suspect that most, if not all, of the Northwest Caucasian (Abkhaz and Circassian) evidence cited in this Appendix dates from the period when the speakers of Proto-Indo-European were in contact with speakers of Proto-Northwest Caucasian, as discussed in Chapter 13, §13.2, and Chapter 21 of this book and does not go back to the period of contact between Proto-Nostratic and Proto-North Caucasian. This is indicated, for example, by forms such as Proto-Circassian **q’atʰa* ‘to tell, to report; to announce, to make known’ (no. 607 above), which was clearly borrowed from Proto-Indo-European after it had lost the earlier palatalized alveolars but before it had lost the postvelars (see Chapter 4, Appendix, for details on the prehistoric development of the Proto-Indo-European phonological system). The matches between Proto-North Caucasian and Proto-Nostratic, on the other hand, go back much further in time. Though not all of the matches are perfect, as a group, they are extremely suggestive.

Besides the Northwest and Northeast Caucasian languages, another place to look for possible evidence of language contact is Sumerian. The Sumerian evidence is abundant and is included in the individual Nostratic etymologies. As noted at the end of Chapter 15, “... the evidence seems to indicate that Sumerian ... is distantly related to Nostratic.” Thus, the Sumerian situation is a bit different from that involving the Northwest and Northeast Caucasian languages, which points to contact rather than relationship, though ultimate relationship should not be ruled out at an even deeper time depth. The investigation of deeper relationship, however, lies beyond the scope of this book.