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**A Concise Glossary of Sino-Caucasian**[Appendix to "Sino-Caucasian"<sup>1</sup>]\*=ācVŋ- 'to catch, take' (WFR 126):

PNC \*=ācĒ(n) > Chech. ēc-, Ing., Bac. ec- 'take'; And. =ison-, Cham. =isā-, Tind. =isī-, Kar. =isan- 'to find'; Tsez. =is-, Khv. =as- 'to take'; Lak. =aci- 'to steal', =uci- 'to bring, deliver'; Darg. =uc- / =urc- 'to take' (dial. 'to catch'); Ag. f-ac- (dial. f-acan-) 'to catch', Arch. sa- id.; Ub. wə-ć(ə)- 'steal'.

PST \*chěŋ > Burm. čhañ 'to collect', Kach. ciŋ 'to gather up', Lush. seŋ id.

(?) PY \*k-as- (~ g-) 'to take' > Ket. kə:si<sup>4</sup> (Kur.), Bak., Sur. kə:sə<sup>4</sup> // kəsə<sup>4</sup>, South. kəs<sup>4</sup> [but Werner 1, 413: kaś-]; Yug. kasəsəŋ<sup>6</sup> 'in order to take'. In CCE 234-235 I have explained the irregular correspondence between Ket and Yug by a contamination of \*kas- and \*qōs- q.v. Werner 1, 413, however, corrects the Ket forms like kə:si to qə:si and adds distinct Ket forms like kaśaś 'nehmen (kaufen)', thus clarifying the situation and allowing to avoid a contamination hypothesis. See \*xkīmćV.

\*=āčĀŋ- 'to pull, lead' (HGC 37, WFR 131):

PNC \*=āčĀn 'to go, to lead' > Chech. q-āč-, Ing., Bac. q-ač- 'to arrive'; Av. =áč-ine, Cham. =ačī-, God. =ečī- 'to lead', Lak. =ači- 'to go, be heading (somewhere)'; Abkh. a-ca-rá (Bz. a-ća-rá), Ab. ca-ra 'to go, walk'.

PST \*čāŋ 'to bring, arrange' > OC 將 \*čaŋ 'bring, offer; take; arrange'; Tib. āčaŋ (p. bčaŋs, f. bčaŋ, i. čhoŋ(s)) 'to hold, to keep; to carry; to wear', Burm. čaŋ 'to make, construct, arrange', Kach. kəžəŋ, ləžəŋ 'to arrange', Lush. čaŋ 'receive, get', Yamphu caŋ-ma 'to bring or take smth. out'.

PY \*čāŋ- (~c-) 'to pull, drag' > Ket. taŋ<sup>4</sup> (South.), North. ta:ŋə<sup>4</sup>, Yug. ča:ŋ; Kott. ačaŋ 'catching'; ačaŋākŋ 'to catch'.

[Length in PY is probably compensatory.]

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<sup>1</sup> The glossary essentially represents a full textual conversion of the corresponding database on Sino-Caucasian, also available online; in a few cases, however, extra comments are included that are otherwise not present in the database. The glossary does not currently include any bibliography (the work was left incomplete by S. A. Starostin), but in most cases the respective sources can be looked up from the database itself - G. Starostin.

\*=áčwǞ 'to take, hold' (HGC 38):

PNC \*=áčwǞ 'to take, carry' > Av. =ač-, Cham. =ač-id- 'to carry'; Gin. =aš- 'to find'; Darg. =uč- 'to gather, collect', Chir. =alč- / =ulč- (with an unclear -l-) 'to take'; Lezg. q;-aču- 'to take', Tsakh. sa=če- 'to take away', Ud. eč-sun 'to bring'; PWC \*čwǞ > Ad. ša-, Kab. ša- 'to take, carry'.

PST \*ČöH 'to seize' > OC 取 \*čo? 'to take'; Tib. ā-žu 'to seize'; (?) Burm. chwajh 'to grip, catch (a person)'.

[Cf. Basq. \*eući 'to take, hold, seize, grasp'.]

\*=axgwV 'to look, see' (NSC 54):

PNC \*=agwV 'to see' > Chech., Ing. g-, Bac. gu-, =ag-; Akhv. hari-gu- (hari- '\*eye'); Tsez. =ik<sup>w</sup>-, Gin. =ük-, Khv. =ak<sup>w</sup>-, Bezht. =egā-; Lak. k:<sup>w</sup>a=k:<sup>w</sup>a-; Darg. Ur. g<sup>w</sup>-, Chir. ɣul=irg-; Lezg. ak:<sup>w</sup>a-, Ag. ag<sup>w</sup>-, Rut. h-a=g<sup>w</sup>a-, Arch. =ak:u-, Ud. ak:-sun, etc.

PST \*k<sup>w</sup>ēn (~ \*g<sup>w</sup>-) 'to glance at, regard' > OC 睞 \*k<sup>w</sup>ēn 'to glance at'; Lush. khon 'to regard, pay attention to'.

PY \*qo (~ χ-) 'to see' > Ket. d-ba-ŋ-s-ɔ, praet. d-ba-ŋ-l-ɔ (South, Werner 2, 29); Yug. di-ba-ŋ-s-ɔ, praet. di-ba-ŋ-i-r-ɔ (Werner 2, 29); Pump. ja-xa-ldi 'I see'.

[Acceptable if \*-n in PST is a historical suffix.]

\*=aGwǞ 'to lose':

PNC \*=aGwV(n) 'to lose, be defeated' > Chech. ħ-ēk- 'to be unwell, indisposed'; And. =iɣan-, Cham. =iɣā-, Kar. =ek- 'to lose, be defeated'; Tsez. =ek<sup>w</sup>-, Khv. iɣ<sup>w</sup>-, Bezht. =üw- id.; Tab. k:-a=ɣ- id.

PST \*kjuŋ (~ g-, q-, G-, -o-) 'destitution, loss' > OC 窮 \*guŋ 'destitution, poverty'; Tib. gjoŋ 'loss' (perhaps = \*K<sup>w</sup>Vŋ 'leave, lay aside' > Tib. s-kjuŋ 'to leave behind, lay aside', Kach. məkxoŋ? 'to keep, lay aside').

PY \*qoń- (~χ-) 'to lose' > Ket. qońbet<sup>6</sup>, Yug. xonesbet<sup>5</sup> (with secondary tone); see CCE 263. Werner 2, 106.

\*=əhwV 'to do' (HGC 37):

PNC \*=əhwV(r) 'to do' > Chech. =a-, Ing. =e, Bac. =a-; Av. ha=í-, And., Cham., Tind. ih-, Akhv. g-u-, Kar. g-ah-, God. ĩh-; Tsez. =o-d-, Gin., Khv., Gunz. =uw-, Bezht. =ow-; Lak. =a-; Darg. =ir-; Lezg. iji-, Tab. ap- (< \*a-b-?-), Rut. =aʔa-, Tsakh. h-aʔa- / h-ā-, Kryz. je-r-, Bud. si=ʔi-r-, Arch. a=a-, Ub. be- 'to do, make'; Khin. =ar 'to become (in imperat.)'; Abkh. a-w-rá, Ad., Kab. wə-, Ub. w(ə)- 'to do, make'.

PST \*q<sup>w</sup>[i]Ǟ 'make; divide, distribute' > OC 爲 \*waj 'make, do, act';

Tib. b-gji-d (fut. bgji) 'to make, do, act', (?) ji-n 'to be'; Burm. wij 'to divide, to distribute'.

PY \*wV̄-ǰ- (~\*b-) 'to do, make' > Ket. bɛ:ri<sup>4</sup> (Kur.); Bak., Sur. bɛ:də<sup>4</sup>; South. bɛr<sup>4</sup>, Yug. bɛ:ht̚, Kott. ba-paj-an 'to do, make', Ar. ša-pi-te 'I make' (see CCE 295, Werner 1, 115).

[The comparison is valid if \*-ǰ- in PY is a historical suffix.]

\*=ǎhV 'small, young':

PNC \*=ǎhV > Chech. =aj-n, Ing. =aj, Bac. =awī 'light (in weight)'; Av. d-áha-b 'few' (dial. also 'small'), Cham. d-ah, Tind. d-ahar 'few'; Gin. ehe-nnu, Bezht. =üwe-rö, Gunz. =ije-ru 'small, little'; Hurr. χai-annə 'little'.

PST \*ǎwH 'young' > OC 夭 \*ǎw? 'young, young age', Tib. -gu / -'u 'young (of animals), sign of diminutives'. With a different suffix one could also compare PST \*jā-ŋ 'light (in weight); small' (Tib. jaŋ-po, Lush. zāŋ, Gurung \*jāŋ 'light (in weight)', Sulung \*jVŋ 'small').

PY \*b-eʔjŋ (~ w-) 'light' > Ket., Yug. bejŋ<sup>5</sup> (CCE 208, Werner 1, 120).

\*=ǎhwV 'face, edge':

PNC \*=ǎhwV 'edge, point; face' > Chech. jüh 'face; end', =üh-ig 'end', Ing. juh 'face', d-uñ 'beginning', Bac. juh- 'face' (in comp. also =ujh-); Av. b-eñ 'face', r-añál 'edge', And. lel, Kar. r-eñil id., Cham., Botl. b-aj, Tind. b-ā, Kar., Bagv. b-aña 'face'; Bezht. jiʔo blade (of axe, knife); Lak. \*=aj 'edge, beginning' (in =aj=iši-n 'to begin'); Darg. =aľh 'face'. The root is also preserved in a widely used derivative \*-ǎhwV-rV / \*-ǎhwV-IV 'sharp' > Chech., Ing. ira, Bac. řiri; Av. =eřera-, Akhv. =aľa-da-, And. =ari; Bezht. (Tlad.) =iʔo-ro, Lak. =ajiI-l-; Ag. ħa-re-f 'sharp'.

PST \*ji 'face' > OC 頤 \*lə 'chin', PKC \*ju 'face', Kir. \*jo- 'mouth; chin' etc.

Bur. \*-úrV / \*hVrV̄ > Yas. úri, Hun., Nag. -úri 'top (of mountain), comb, crest', Yas. héreş 'edge', Yas. heréşum, Hunza hirúm, Nagar hirím 'sharp'.

\*=ǎlcwV̄n- 'to measure' (HGC 36, WFR 139):

PNC \*=ǎlcŪm 'to measure, weigh' > Chech. =ust-, Ing. =ist-, Bac. =ušt- 'to measure'; Av. =orcn-, And. =asin-, Akhv. =ačun-, Cham. =asVn-, Tind. =asī-, Kar. =asan-, Bagv., God. =asā- 'to measure'; Tsez. asa-d-, Gin. =asā-, Khv. n-as-, Bezht. =ās-ah-, Gunz. =ās- 'to measure, to weigh'; Lak. =uci- id.; Darg. umc-, Chir. uncVn- / unc- id.; Lezg. alcum-, Tab. je=c-, Ag.

alc- (dial. alcan-), Rut. h-a=c<sup>w</sup>a-, Kryz. w-ä=sn-, Bud. so=sn-, Arch. a=sin-, Ud. us-k:- 'to measure, to weigh'; Abkh. a-š<sup>v</sup>a-rá, Abaz. š<sup>w</sup>a-ra, Ub. s<sup>w</sup>a- 'to measure'.

PST \*ch[ū]n (~-l) 'to cut off; a measure, to measure' > OC 𑌗 \*chūns 'thumb, inch', 𑌗 \*chūn? 'to measure, consider', 𑌗 \*chūn? 'to cut, chop'; Burm. čunh 'to measure a distance; to cut'; Kach. cen 'an inch'.

\*-āλwE 'to whet, whetstone':

PNC \*ʔāλwE > Chech. älχa, Ing. älχ, Bac. atχě 'whetstone'; Av. 𐬀:-ux-, Cham., Tind. =āh- 'to whet'; Bezht. iλo, Gunz. ilu 'flint, flint-stone'; PL \*ʔaλ<sup>w</sup>V 'to sweep' > Tsakh. s-a=x<sup>w</sup>a-, Kryz. w-of-, Bud. w-o=x-; PWC \*λə > Abkh. a-šš<sup>š</sup>-rá, Abaz. šš<sup>š</sup>-ra 'to stroke, rub', Ad., Kab. λə- 'to whet'.

Bur. \*b-ál-dan 'whetstone' > Yas., Hun., Nag. bál-dan (dan 'stone').

\*=ǎλwVn- 'to match' (WFR 134, FDCP 3):

PNC \*=ǎλwVn 'to resemble, similar' > Av. réλ:-in-, Kar. =aλ:an- 'to be similar, resemble', And. a=λ:in, Akhv. ẽλ:e-da, Cham. =aλ:una-b, Tind. =aλ:ũ-b 'similar'; Tsez. =iλa-si, Gin. =eλ-iš, Khv. =aλ, Bezht. =ẽλε-rö 'similar, alike'; Lak. la=š:a- (pr. la=x:u-nu) 'to be similar, look alike'; Darg. mešu-, Chir. miši- 'similar, alike'; Arch. λ:<sup>w</sup>āna-t:u- 'similar'.

PST \*t-lōm > OC 𑌗 \*Łōŋ 'be the same, join, unite'; Kach. lom<sup>3</sup> 'to accompany'; Lush. lōm 'to assist a person in any kind of work; common, belonging to more than one'.

[Cf. Basq. \*b-erdin 'the same, equal, even'.]

\*=āmśdŪ 'to milk, milk':

PNC \*=āmśdŪ 'to milk; to drink' > Chech. =ētt-, Ing., Bac. =ett- 'to milk'; Lak. t:-izi- id.; Darg. =iz-, Dial. =irc:- / ic:- id.; Lezg., Arch. ac:a-, Tab. az-, Ag. uz-, Rut., Kryz. =äz-, Tsakh. ǵ-a=z-, Bud. s-oz- 'to milk'; PWC \*z<sup>w</sup>A 'to drink' > Abkh. á-ž<sup>v</sup>-ra, Abaz. ž<sup>w</sup>-ra, Ad. ja-s<sup>v</sup>a-, Kab. ja-fa-, Ub. ʒ<sup>w</sup>a-. Cf. various derivatives: Av. dial. ʃenže-r (= Ag. azal) 'enclosure for milking sheep', PA \*zin-HV 'cow', PL \*ʔac:ä-r > \*c:är 'cow'.

PST \*[ǰh]aw (~-ew) 'milk' > Tib. zo 'thick milk, curds', ã-žo 'to milk'; Burm. cəw? 'to draw out (milk from the breast), suck'; Kach. ču<sup>3</sup> 'milk, breasts'; Lepcha čhu, ka-čhu 'curds, buttermilk', etc.

Bur. \*çháo 'to milk' > Hun., Nag. çháo.

\*=ǎmstĚ 'to know, see' (HGC 20, BCD 12):

PNC \*=ǎmčĚ 'to know, see' > Chech., Ing. =ovz- 'to get to know',

Bac. =abç- 'id., to know'; And. çin- 'to know', Cham. =açn- 'to look'; Bezht. gow-aç- 'to look', Gunz. =ãç- 'to see'; Darg. umç- 'to search'; Rut., Tsakh. =aça-, Kryz. =ãç-, Bud. ha=ç-, Ud. a-(ba baksun) 'to know', Ud. aje-sun 'be able, can', Arch. b-eça- id.; Abkh. a-ça-rá 'to learn', PAK \*ç-ʔa- > Ad., Kab. ʃa- (Shaps. ʃqa-) 'to know', \*çə- > Kab. çə-x<sup>w</sup>ə- 'to be acquainted', Ub. ça- 'to know'; Hurr. anz-an-uy- (caus.) 'to declare, to promise'.

PST \*siə(H) 'to know, think' > OC 思 \*sə 'to think'; Tib. še-s 'to know, perceive', Burm. si? 'to know' (LB \*sajx), Kach. ši<sup>2</sup> 'news, tidings', Lush. thei 'can, may, be able', Lepcha ši 'see', etc.

PY \*ʔVt- 'to know' > Ket. it-parem (KPC), (Kacrp.) iet-päde, (Werner 1, 383) ít-pëdam, inf. ítej; Yug. ít-pade (Werner 1, 383-384), see CCE 205, Werner 1, 383, 384, 2, 372. Cf. also Ket., Yug. utpaŋ<sup>5</sup> 'blind' ('not seeing'); t...at 'understand' (Werner 2, 224), t...et 'id., to be able' (Werner 2, 225).

Bur. \*-jéc- 'to see' > Yas. -jéc-, Hun., Nag. -jeéc-. Cf. also Yas. d'-si- 'to think of'.

[Cf. Basq. \*encu-n 'to hear'.]

\*=aǰVł- 'to shake' (WFR 117):

PNC \*=aǰVł > Akhv. ǰul- 'to slide'; Darg. Chir. d-alǰ-(aǰ-) 'to dangle, shake'; Tab. d-a=ǰ-, Ag. daǰ- 'to dangle, shake', Rut. ǰa=lǰa- 'to tremble', Kryz. ǰä=ǰl- 'to fall', Bud. ǰa=ǰal- 'to fall; to lie'.

PST \*G(h)öl ( ~ -ual) 'to move, swing' > Tib. āgul-ba 'to move, shake, be agitated', s-gul 'to move', Kach. goi<sup>1</sup> 'be swinging', Lush. hōl 'to flourish or wave about', Kir. \*khəl ( ~ \*x-) 'to move, shift'.

[Irregular root structure in PST.]

\*=arkU 'to smear':

PNC \*=arkV > (?) Tind. d-ek<sup>w</sup>ǎ- 'to stick, adhere'; Darg. =ak- 'to smear'; Tab. k-a=k- 'to smear', Ag. ald-ark-, dial. urka- 'to smear, plaster', Bud. ǰa=k- 'to get dirty'.

PST \*Kū 'to smear, sully' > OC 澀 \*kū-t, \*gū-t 'dirt, to sully'; Tib. s-ku-d (fut. b-s-ku) 'to smear, daub, anoint'.

\*=ärkĚw 'to drive':

PNC \*=ärkĚw > Chech., Ing. =ig-, Bac. =ik- 'to lead, to drive'; Akhv. ǰab- 'to drive, urge', Cham. =eǰ<sup>w</sup>-n- 'to direct; to return'; Tsez. ik- 'to go, walk'; Darg. (Ur.) =irk-/=urǰ 'to drive, urge'; Tsakh. h-a=ǰan- 'to go', Arch. a=ǰa- 'to drive, urge'; PWC \*ǰ<sup>w</sup>a- > Ad., Kab. ǰ<sup>w</sup>a-, Ub. ǰa- 'to go, walk'.

PST \*khjō (~ gh-, -ǝw) 'to run, drive' > OC 驅 \*kh(r)o, -s 'to drive (horses) forward; gallop, hasten'; Tib. d-kju 'to run a race', ã-khju (p. ãkhjus) 'to run', ãgju (p. gjus) 'to move quickly', Chepang kraw 'to run away'.

\*=ǎ[r]λwǎ 'even' (HGC 38, DCE 31):

PNC \*=ǎ[r]λwǎ 'even, equal; straight' > Bac. t-arle-nǝ, Chech. tera, Ing. tara 'similar, equal'; Gunz. r-ele-ru 'smooth, even'; Lak. =ax=a- 'suitable, fit (for a size, measure)'; Darg. =arx-si 'straight; right, correct'; Tab. d-iši (Düb. d-iš:i), Ag. d-ixe-f (dial. dix:e-f) 'straight, even'; Abkh. a-já-ša, Abaz. ra-j-ša, Ad. zā-fa, Kab. zā-x<sup>w</sup>a, Ub. s<sup>w</sup>a-x 'straight, even'.

PST \*ljiw 'alike, similar, fit' > OC 猶 \*lu 'be like, equal', Burm. ljaw 'to suit, agree with, be proper', Lush. hlau? 'the exact likeness of', Kach. kh-jo 'be alike'.

PY \*ʔuʔul (˜x-, -χ-) 'even, smooth' > Ket., Yug. u:ɓ, Kott. ūlam (CCE 199, Werner 2, 377).

Bur. \*Itú-r- > Hunza, Nagar -ltú-r- 'to imitate', Yas. -ltúlum 'similar'

\*=akV 'to send':

PNC \*=akV 'to drive, send' > Av. ʷe- 'to drive, to pursue', Cham., Tind. =uʷ- 'to send'; Darg. Chir. ak- / iʷ- 'to send, drive'; Kryz. q:-ä=ʷ-, Bud. q:-a=ʷ- 'to drive, send (away)'.

PY \*ʔexV-ʒ- 'to send, drive' > Ket. ɛr / ɛra, North. ɛ:ra<sup>4</sup> / ɛ:re<sup>4</sup>, South. ɛ:da<sup>4</sup> / ɛ:de<sup>4</sup> 'to send; to drive' (Werner 1, 238-239); Yug. ej-čij<sup>1,3</sup> 'to send'; (Качр.) d-ē-dajij 'to send', praet. d-ē-done (Werner 1, 265 deĵone), imp. ē-dane; Kott. thax 'sending', a-thājan 'to send', praet. athōlajan, imp. athālče, thājan 'to send', praet. thōlajan, imp. thālče, pass. tholāgi; thečujan 'to send', praet. thēlujan, imp. thālče; đax 'expelling', (a)đājan 'to expel', praet. đōnajan, imp. đānče, pass. đōnāge. In CCE 189 the reconstruction is given as \*ʔ[e]χ-; however, if we take into account the Ket form (adduced in Werner 1, 238) it should be rather changed to \*ʔexV-ʒ- (with an assimilation \*ex-ʒij > ej-čij in Yug, and with a regular reflex -ʒ- > -j- in Kottish). The Kott. infinitives th-ax, đ-ax show that we are dealing here with a frequent verbal suffix \*-ʒ-. See Werner 1, 238, 239, 265 (without reconstruction).

\*=ǎkwV 'to smear, dirty':

PNC \*=ǎkwV 'to smear, rub' > Cham. ʷa-n- 'to scratch, scrape; to comb', Kar. ʷa-b- 'to scratch, scrape'; Tsez. =aḥ- 'to rub'; Lak. =u=ʷa- 'to smear'; Darg. Chir. =irʷ- / =iʷ- 'to scrape, scratch'; Rut. k-a=ʷa- 'to comb',

Tsakh. q-a=ʁ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to smear, rub'.

PST \*G<sup>w</sup>ā 'dirt(y)' > OC 汙 \*ʔ<sup>w</sup>ā 'impure, untidy'; Tib. ā-go 'to dirty, sully oneself'; Lepcha ko 'be muddy'.

\*=ásA 'to throw, sow':

PNC \*=ašA-r 'to throw; to leave, let' > Chech. t-as- 'to throw, scatter; to leave', Ing. t-ass- id., Bac. tas- 'to throw, scatter; to leave'; PA \*=is:-t- (~ -š:-) 'to let, leave' > Av. dial. =ecé-, And. =elt-, Akhv., Cham. =es:-, Tind. =ešt-, Kar. =eš:-d-; Tab. a=s- 'to throw', Tsakh. h-a=s:ar- 'to leave', Bud. o=sur- 'to leave; to put'; PWC \*(p)sV > Abkh. a-ta-psa-rá 'to scatter', Ab. ta-psa-ra 'to scatter; to sow'; Kab. te-sa- 'to scatter', Ub. wa-s(ə)- 'to sow'.

PY \*ʔe(?)s- 'to sow; to throw' > Ket. sus (Cλ.) "to sow"; eš-kij<sup>6</sup> "to throw", d-est<sup>3</sup>; (Werner 1, 249) éš-tij 'to shoot'; Yug. esiʔ (Werner 1, 249) 'to throw', d-estau 'to shoot'; Kott. ačōʔuk "sowing"; ačōʔukŋ "to sow", praet. ačōlaʔukŋ, imp. ačālčuk, pass. ačōlāʔuki; het-ča, hit-ča 'shooting', hit-čā-kŋ 'to shoot' (het- = hat 'fire'); Ass. (Cλ.) pičiga "to sow"; Ar. pis (Cλ.) "to sow"; (Lock.) s-og-ontem 'I throw'. See CCE 188-189, 204. Roots for "throwing" and "sowing" are probably to be united (although they are divided in CCE). Ass. pičiga and Ar. pis may belong here if p- is a class marker; but one should also take into account that these Assan and Arin forms, as well as the Pumpokol one, may actually reflect a faulty translation, being very close phonetically to the words for 'evening' and 'dark' - see on that Werner 2, 173. See also Werner 1, 247-248, 249-250, 317 (forms meaning "throw", without reconstruction).

\*=aswVń- 'glue, grease' (WFR 123):

PNC \*=aswVn 'to glue, paste' > Av. se-dé- 'to paste, glue', sínu 'glue', Akhv. šin-, Tind. sin-ih-, Kar. sin- 'to glue', Cham. sin, Tind., God. sini, Kar. sine, Bagv. sin<sup>w</sup> 'glue'; Lak.sina 'glue', Darg. d-asni 'glue', Chir. =as:-, Ur. =asVn- 'to glue'; Lezg. asun 'plastering, white-washing' (dial. asā- 'to smear, plaster'), Tab. a=s- 'to smear', k-a=s- 'to glue', Arch. (redupl.) s:us:ə-bos 'to smear'.

PST \*sēŋ 'grease' > OC 腥 \*sēŋ(s) 'grainy grease, grease'; Lush. than 'be greasy, be oily', Tulung seni-pa, Khaling sönü-pä 'fat'.

PY \*siń- 'dirt' > Ket. síń, Yug. sin (see CCE 275, Werner 2, 197).

\*=ätV 'to put, leave' (HGC 37, WFR 140):

PNC \*=ätV-r > Chech., Ing., Bac. =it- 'to leave'; Av. te- 'to leave, let', =at- 'to stay, be there', And., Cham., Tind. =et-, Akhv. ot-, Kar. =it- 'to leave,

let'; Lak. =ita- 'to leave'; Darg. =at-, Ur. =at(r)- / =alt- 'to leave'; Lezg. ta-, Tab.  $\varkappa$ -i=t-, Ag. at-, Rut. s-a=ta-, Kryz. ja=tir-, Bud. jo=rtu, Arch. a=ti-, Ud. b-arte-sun 'to let, leave'; Khin. at- 'to be there, be available'; Abkh., Abaz. -ta- / -t(ə)- 'to be inside', Ad. wə-šə-tə-, Kab. sə-tə- 'to stand', Ub. t(ə)- 'to be'.

PST \*dhāH (/ \*thāH) 'to put, place' > OC 署 \*ḍa(?)s 'to place, position'; 處 \*tha? 'dwell, stay, place'; Tib. gda 'to be, to be there', gta-d 'lean upon, deliver up', sta-d 'to put on, lay on'; Burm. thah 'to put, place'; Kach. da<sup>3</sup> 'put, place', ta 'be left, placed', tha 'to sit, rest'; Lush. da? 'to put, place, set', etc.

PY \*di(j) 'to lie down, put down' > Ket. dij 'to put, load'; d-á-vε-řej 'es legt sich', dadávεré 'sie legt es' (Werner 1, 178); qān...rij 'sich mit dem Gesicht nach unten legen' (Werner 2, 78); Yug. di / di? 'to put, load'; dida:<sup>h</sup>b-di 'ich lade es', pret. didábir-di (Werner 1, 178).

Bur. \*-t- 'to do, make, set up' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar -t-.

\*=ǎxGǎr- 'to hold' (NSC 53, LDC 31):

PNC \*=ǎGǎr > Tsez. =iq-, Khvarsh. aq- 'to grab, take'; Darg. Chir. =aκ- / =irκ- 'to find'; Lezg. qa-, Tab. -a=κ-, Ag. aq:a-, Rut. h-a=q:a-, Tsakh. a=q:a-, Kryz. i=qr-, Bud. s-u=rqu, Ud. aq:- 'to take, hold', Arch. =aq:a- 'to leave, put'; Ad., Kab. ʔə-κə- 'to hold', Ub. qa-κə- 'to have'.

PST \*g(h)ər 'to carry' > Tib. ākhjer-ba 'carry away, take away', Lush. khir? 'carry on the back'.

PY \*ʔaʔq (~x-) 'to hold' > Ket. ut-aq<sup>5</sup>, Yug. ut-ax<sup>5</sup>, Kott. šiax "holding"; baʔākṇ, bagākṇ "to hold", praet. balākṇ, imp. alax; f-āgō, f-ōk 'to take' (CCE 183, Werner 2, 369).

Bur. \*yar-k- > Yas., Hunza, Nagar yar-k- 'to catch, grasp'.

\*=ǎxqV 'cavity, hole; to open' (HGC 31, somewhat differently):

PNC \*=aqV 'to open' > Lak. a=aqa- 'to open wide, to gape'; Lezg. aqa 'opened', Ag. d-aq-, Tsakh. aqa-, Arch. d-aḫa as 'to open', Ud. qa-j 'opened'; Ad., Kab. wə-q:ə- 'to open, open wide'.

PST \*ʔək 'split, open' > Burm. ak 'to crack open'; Lush. ek 'split or cleave (as wood)'; Lepcha ók 'to open (as door, mouth)', Yamphu ok-ma 'open, pull apart', etc.

PY \*ʔaʔK- (~x-) 'mouth cavity' > Ket. agdi<sup>5</sup>; (cf. also Werner 1, 22: ákñíl iteṇ 'hintere Zähne'), see CCE 179-180, Werner 1, 17 (supposes a compound with \*ʒi? 'stem').

Bur. \*w-aq > Yasin, Hunza, Nagar waq 'slightly opened (mouth, hands etc.)'.



[Sino-Tibetan, just like Burushaski, probably reflects a form with a labial class prefix like \* $\text{p-}\check{\text{a}}\text{xqV}$ . Or should one rather reconstruct a protoform like \* $\text{Hw}\check{\text{a}}\text{xqV}$  to account for the ST and Burushaski development?]

\*= $\check{\text{a}}\text{k}\check{\text{A}}\text{w}$  'to put; take':

PNC \*= $\check{\text{a}}\text{k}\check{\text{A}}\text{w}$  'to put (together), take; to lie, fall' > Chech.  $\text{l-}\check{\text{e}}\text{g-}$ ,  $\check{\text{e}}\text{g-}$ , Bac.  $\text{=e}\check{\text{k-}}$  'to fall down'; Av.  $\text{=a}\check{\text{k-}}\check{\text{a}}\text{r-}$  'to put together', Akhv.  $\text{\text{qo-nu-}}$  'to lie', Cham.  $\text{\text{qob-}}$  'to take, collect', Tind.  $\text{\text{qab-d-}}$  'to fall down'; Khv.  $\text{=e}\check{\text{k-}}$ , Inkh.  $\text{=e}\check{\text{k}}^{\text{w-}}$  'to fall', Bezht., Gunz.  $\text{=o}\check{\text{k-}}$  'to gather, to (be) put together'; Lak.  $\text{l-i=}\check{\text{c}}\text{i-}$  (pr.  $\text{l-i=}\check{\text{q}}\text{u-nu}$ ) 'to put in; establish'; Darg. (Ur.)  $\text{=a}\check{\text{k-}}$  /  $\text{=i}\check{\text{k-}}$  'to put'; Tab.  $\text{hi}\check{\text{t-i=}}\check{\text{k-}}$  'to conceal, hide', Ag.  $\text{i}\check{\text{k-}}$  'to put', Rut.  $\text{gi=ir}\check{\text{q}}\text{a-}$  'to hide', Arch.  $\text{e=}\check{\text{q}}\text{a-}$  'to choose'; Khin.  $\text{l-i=}\check{\text{k-}}$  'to hide, conceal'; Abkh.  $\text{a-}\check{\text{q-}}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{a}}$ , Abaz.  $\text{\text{q-ra}}$  'to catch, hold, grab'; Hurr.  $\text{k/geb-}$ ,  $\text{\text{qew-}}$ ,  $\text{k/ge(w)-}$  'to put'.

PST \* $\text{Khu}$  ( $\sim$   $\text{-ua}$ ,  $\text{-\text{ə}w}$ ) 'to take out; put together, assemble' > OC 遯 \* $\text{gu}$  'to assemble, accumulate'; Tib.  $\text{bku}$  'to extract (to make an extract of a drug by drawing out the juice)'; Burm.  $\text{khuh}$  'to take out (e.g. boiled rice out of a pot)'.

\*= $\check{\text{a}}\text{lV}$  'liquid, wet' (differently in HGC 38):

PNC \*= $\check{\text{a}}\text{lV-r}$  'to wet, be wet, soak' > Chech., Ing.  $\text{=il-}$ , Bac.  $\text{=il-dar}$  'to wash'; Av.  $\text{=i}\check{\text{l-}}$  'to become liquid (after shaking)', (redupl.)  $\text{\text{la}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}}$  'to water, sprinkle', Kar.  $\text{=a}\check{\text{l-}}$  'to rain'; Tab.  $\text{u=x-}$  'to urinate', Ag.  $\text{d-ixe-f}$  'liquid', Rut.  $\text{s-}\check{\text{a}}\text{=}\check{\text{x}}\text{a-}$  'to soak', Tsakh.  $\text{al-e=}\check{\text{x}}\text{a-}$  'to melt', Bud.  $\text{s-oxr-}$  'to urinate', Ud.  $\text{d-}\check{\text{x}}\text{i}$  'green'.

PST \* $\text{l}\check{\text{a}}\text{j}$  'to pour; watery, thin (of fluid)' > OC 沓 \* $\text{l}\check{\text{a}}\text{j}$  'to flow'; Tib.  $\text{s-la}$  'thin (of fluids)'; Burm.  $\text{kjajh}$  'to be not thick, thin, as liquid'; Lush.  $\text{lei?}$  'to pour (as fluid), pour out', Lepcha  $\text{t}\check{\text{a}}\text{-l}\check{\text{j}}\check{\text{a}}$  'water under earth'.

Bur. \* $\text{-h}\check{\text{i}}\text{l-}$  'to dip, soak, make or become wet' > Yas.  $\text{-h}\check{\text{i}}\text{l-}$ , Hun., Nag.  $\text{-}\check{\text{i}}\text{l-}$  (cf. also Yas.  $\text{j}\check{\text{a}}\text{l-}$  'to water (field)').

\*= $\check{\text{a}}\text{m}\check{\text{z}}\check{\text{E}}$  'to swim, bathe' (HGC 22)

PNC \*= $\check{\text{a}}\text{m}\check{\text{z}}\check{\text{E}}$  'to pour, bathe' > Chech., Bac., Ing.  $\text{-ott-}$  'to pour'; Av.  $\text{=iz-ine}$  'to soak, become wet'; Tsez.  $\text{=es-ad-}$ , Khv.  $\text{es-an-}$ , Bezht.  $\text{n-iz-ah-}$  'to wash'; Lak.  $\text{huzu-}$  'to swim'; Darg.  $\text{=iz-}$  'to bathe'; Lezg.  $\text{c:a-}$ , Tab.  $\text{u=z-}$ , Ag.  $\text{a}\check{\text{z}}\text{i-}$ , Arch.  $\text{=ec:a-}$  'to pour', Rut.  $\text{k-e=z-}$  'to pour (of rain)'; Khin.  $\text{za-l-}\check{\text{z}}\text{i}$  'to pour'; Abkh.  $\text{\text{a-}\check{\text{z}}\text{-sa-}}$  (Bz.  $\text{\text{a-}\check{\text{z}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\text{a-}}$ ), Abaz.  $\text{\text{z-ca-}}$ , Ub.  $\text{\text{z}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\text{a-}}$  'to swim'.

PST \* $[\text{z}\check{\text{h}}\check{\text{e}}\text{j}]$  'to wash, purify' > OC 齋 \* $\text{c}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{a}}\text{j}$  'purify oneself, purified'; Burm.  $\text{chij}$  'to clean, wash', Kach.  $\text{\text{ə}cai^3}$  'be clean, pure', Lush.  $\text{fai}$  'clean'.

PY \*sūj 'to swim' > Ket. súj<sup>4</sup> (South.); Kur. sú:ji<sup>4</sup>; Bak., Sur. sú:jə<sup>4</sup> / sújə<sup>4</sup>; Yug. su:hj (there is also a strange variant suʔj recorded - obviously erroneous, judging from all other Ket reflexes); Kott. ul-šui 'bathing, swimming' (CCE 279, Werner 2, 210).

\*=āsÁ 'to be, stay' (HGC 21, NSC 54, SMCE 137, BCD 32):

PNC \*=āsA 'to sit, stay' > Chech., Ing., Bac. =is- 'stay'; Av. k-us- 'to sit down', Kar. k-us-, dial. q̇:-us- 'to sit'; Tab. d-us- 'sit down, sit', u-s- 'set', Ud. ars-t:un, arce-sun 'sit down, sit'; Ad. -sə-, Kab. -sə- 'sit', Ub. -s- 'sit; lie'; Hurr. aš:- 'sit', Ur. aš- 'sit; (caus.) put'.

PY \*-Vs- 'to be, sit' > Ket. uśeŋ<sup>6</sup> 'there is', Yug. ūse 'there is', Kott. hičōga 'is, was' (CCE 231, Werner 2, 359); Ket. Kur. sést̄ 'he sits', Yel. ad sēstā 'I sit', Yug. sēsta / sēste, Pump. tit-kódu 'sit' (CCE 279, Werner 2, 187 - with completely unjustified doubts).

Bur. \*bas-, \*ōs- > Yas., Hunza, Nagar bas- 'to sit down, sit still', ōs- 'to put (down), place'.

[Cf. Basq \*isa-n 'to be'].

\*=ātV 'to beat, dig':

PNC \*=ātV 'to beat, to hit' > Chech., Ing. āt-, Bac. at- 'to crush, pound'; Av. =ort- 'to rush upon', Akhv. =et- 'to run', Tind. =et<sup>w</sup>- 'to fly'; Khv. =et<sup>w</sup>- id.; Lak. =u=ta- 'to throw, to pound, to chop'; Darg. =it- 'to beat'; Lezg. g-ata-, Ag. uta-, Rut. =āta-, Tsakh. g-e=ta-, Kryz. =āt-, Bud. at- 'to beat', Tab. k-at- 'to smear' (= Rut. k-ā=ta-), Arch. =āta- 'to crush'; Khin. it-q̇<sup>w</sup>i 'to chop', itir-k<sup>w</sup>i 'to hit'; Urart. at- 'to destroy'.

PST \*thuH (~ -iwH) 'to dig' > Burm. tuh, Kach. thu<sup>2</sup> 'to dig', Lush. tu? 'hoe', Kir. \*dhó 'to dig', etc.

\*báV 'wool' (WFR 33):

PNC \*balV (~-ə-, -l-) 'wool' > Lak. p:al 'sheep's wool', Dag. bala, Chir. p:ala id.

PST \*PVI 'hair, wool, feather' > Tib. bal 'wool', Kanauri pul 'hair, feather', Miju bul 'wool, feather'.

[It may well be that both forms should be rather attributed to PSC \*pVhVlV 'feather', see the discussion below.]

\*bānHV 'female' (NSC 61):

PST \*pijH 'female' > OC 𑌒 \*bij?, \*bin? 'female' (< \*bij? + -n or -ŋ); Lush. pui 'female affix'; Kir. \*bì-n 'cow'; Naga \*pui 'woman'.

PY \*pä(?)ŋ- 'female' > Ket. haŋgə<sup>5</sup>, haŋg, haŋs, pl. haŋen<sup>5</sup>; Yug. faŋgi<sup>5</sup>, pl. -n<sup>5</sup>; Kott. feŋ, phen; Ar. pinü-kuče (Локк.) "mare"; pin-bilšaba "bitch". See CCE 247, Werner 1, 300.

Bur. \*behé > Yas. behé 'female (of unedible animals)'.

\*bëkwé 'throat, mouth' (LDC 16):

PNC \*bëkwə (~-o) 'part of face, mouth' > Chech. бага, Ing. bage, Bac. baḡ 'mouth'; Rut. buḡ 'part of face' (lips + nose), Tsakh. boḡ 'muzzle', Kryz. peḡ, Bud. pəḡ 'lip'.

Bur. \*buk 'throat, neck' > Yas., Hun., Nag. buk.

\*bërčV (~ -ā-) ? 'big; important':

PNC \*bīrčV (~ -ē-, -ī-) 'rich, honorable' > Chech., Bac. barč, Ing. bārče 'honorable place (in the house)', Bac. barčol 'ability'; Av. bečéda- 'rich', bečéd 'god', Kar. bečedo- 'rich', God. beče-λ- 'to become rich'; Bezht. =ičilo 'rich' (with secondary replacement of b- with changing class markers).

PST \*phVr 'be prominent, rise; tumulus' > OC 墳 \*bhər 'tumulus, raised bank (also 濱 \*bhər 'river bank'); great, \*bhər? 'to swell up'; Tib. ābur 'to rise, be prominent; to increase; prominence, protuberance, tumour'; spor 'to lift up'; Kir. \*bhər 'to grow'.

(?) PY \*pasa > Kott. fačā, phačā, Ass. pača, páčaga 'big'. The relationship to Pump. barčoj 'high', birčoj 'height' (see CCE 245-246) is somewhat questionable. It can rather represent a different root \*bVr, reflected as well in Ket. bəʔí 'thick', Ar. berga(r), berik 'big, very' (see CCE 213). For this root cf. PST \*bhār 'abundant, numerous' (OC 繁 \*ḡar 'abundant', 蕃 \*ḡar 'be prosperous, rich, numerous'; Tib. dpar 'glory, splendour; wealth, abundance; welfare, happiness'; Lush. bar 'very, much').

Bur. \*barc > Hun., Nag. barc 'eine geheimnisvolle Kraft, die Feen und heilige Männer besitzen' (if not < Skt. vájra- 'thunderbolt', reflected in Shina as bæç - see Turner 11204; note, however, that Bur. > Shina bać).

\*bəgá (~ -o) 'morning' (BDC 6):

PNC \*bəgə (~-o) 'morning; evening' > Av. bog 'evening, supper'; Lezg. p:ak:a, Ag. бага, Rut. biga, Bud. paga 'tomorrow', Lezg. p:ak:a-ma, Ag. bagaj-mi, Kryz. бага-škar 'morning, dawn', Ud. begä 'evening, dusk'; Khin. p:aga 'tomorrow'.

PY \*pV(?)k- > Ket. hígem (M., Cl.) 'morning', -ək-s in an-əks

'tomorrow' (see \*ʔen), qón-əkś 'morning' (M., Kλ., Cλ.) xonno-hokse; Yug. piḡ-anes (M.) 'morning', an-bəksiᶑ 'tomorrow', Pump. cıl-paga 'morning' (see CCE 254, Werner 1, 343).

[Cf. Basq. \*biyar 'tomorrow'.]

\*bh[ǎ]λwǐ (~ -ě) 'cattle' (LV A4):

PNC \*bhǎλwǐ 'small cattle': Av. burút 'kid' (par. C: burťi-l, búrta-l), dial. bulʔur, Tsez. beλ 'sheep', Batsb. bʔoq 'he-goat', Ad. -bɣa, Kab. -bža (PWC \*bəɫʷa) 'a flock of sheep or goats', etc., see NCED 293.

PST \*Pjǐk > Tib. phjug 'cattle; rich'; OC 富 \*pək-s 'rich'.

Bur. \*bélis 'a ewe that has already given birth' > Yas. béles, Hunza, Nagar bélis.

\*bHaxkV̄ 'arm, hand' (somewhat differently in HGC 25):

PNC \*bHaxV̄ (/ \*kHaxV̄) 'palm of hand, hand' > Akhv. baqa 'palm of hand'; Darg. beq-naIq: 'hand'; (with metathesis) Lak. čaIpa 'palm of hand'; Lezg. k:ap, kapaš, Ag. gap 'hand', Rut. gap 'palm of hand', Kryz. gäbäč 'hand-clapping'.

PST \*Pek 'hand, arm' > OC 臂 \*peks 'arm', Tib. phjag 'hand' (resp.).

PY \*pV(?)g- 'hand' > Ket. hληn<sup>5</sup> 'hand', Ar. phiaga (M., Cλ., Cpcl., Kλ.) "hand (manus)"; upega (λock.) "hand". See CCE 254, Werner 1, 338. Ket. hληn is probably an assimilation < \*hλg-n (originally a plural form).

Bur. \*bayú 'armful' > Hun., Nag. bayú.

\*bHərxkV̄ 'upper part of body, shoulder' (differently in HGC 25):

PNC \*bHərxV̄ 'back, shoulder blade' > And., Akhv., Botl., God. beχun, Cham. beχũ, Tind. beχuma 'shoulder-blade'; Lak. barh 'back, spine'; Tab. marχIlin kurab 'shoulder-blade' (with a difficult m-).

PST \*ph(r)āk 'shoulder' > OC 膊 \*phāk 'shoulder'; Tib. phrag id.; Kach. gəpha<sup>22</sup> id.; Kir. \*bhák (/ \*ʔp-) id.

Bur. \*-phóyonas > Yas. -phóyonas 'shoulder'.

[Burushaski ph- is irregular: an old assimilation?]

\*bHV̄lī 'child' (HGC 27):

PNC \*bHǎlī (~ -ə-) 'young one, young (of animals)' > Cham., Tind., Kar., God. baλa, Botl. baha 'young (of animals)', Bagv. baλa 'youngling, nestling' (PA \*baλa (~ o, -λ-) - with an irregular reflex of \*ǎ-; one would expect \*-ǎ:-); Bezht. (with metathesis) λapan 'youngling, nestling'; PL \*p:aIλ: > Lezg. p:až 'bastard', Tab. baj 'son, boy', Ag. balž 'son'; Hurr.

pōra-(m)mi, Ur. porā 'slave'.

PST \*pōk 'child' > OC 僕 \*bōk 'servant, follower; slave'; Tib. phrug (< \*r-pōk) 'child, a young one'; Burm. pauk 'young of animals; sprout'; Kir. \*b[a]k (/ʔp-) 'to be young, bear, hatch'.

PY \*pVI- (~-í-, -r1-) 'child' > Ar. al-polát, ol-polat 'child', Pump. phálla, falla 'boy', phála, fala, falla 'son'. See CCE 255, Werner 1, 26-27.

\*bHǞrgǞ 'a k. of predator' (LV C3):

PNC \*bHǞrgǞ 'a beast of prey' > Chech. çoq-berg 'ounce, snow leopard'; Darg. dugeli-bug 'badger'; PWC \*bIaga > Abkh. á-bga, Ub. bIaǵa-š<sup>w</sup> 'jackal', Ad. bāža, Kab. bāža 'fox'. See NCED 302.

PST > OC \*prāk 'a mythical predator'.

[Irregular long vowel in OC.]

\*bǞrǞV 'intestine(s)' (HGC 24, NSC 60, DCE 6, FDCP 4):

PNC \*bǞrǞV (~ w-) 'intestine (large)' > Chech. bǵara / baǵar, Ing. bǵar 'liver sausage'; Av. baǵ.; Akhv. baǵ:i 'intestine', And. boǵ:i, Cham., Bagv. baǵ., Tind. baǵ:i, Kar. baǵ:e 'large intestine'; Bezht. baǵa, Gunz. bǵǵo 'large intestine'; Arch. babǵ<sup>w</sup> 'intestine(s)', Ud. buq:un 'belly'.

PST \*bik 'bowels' > Mikir phek, Garo bibik.

PY \*piǵí 'intestine(s)' > Ket. hǵí // hi:í, Yug. fi:í id.; Ket. hǵía 'belly, external side of belly', Kott. pogal- in pogal-thin 'navel'. See CCE 250, Werner 1, 334, 349.

Bur. \*bal > Yas., Hun., Nag. bal 'marrow'.

[Cf. Basq. \*barda 'belly, paunch'.]

\*bǞnkwV 'pine-tree, resin' (LDC 24):

PNC \*bǞnkwV 'pine-tree' > Chech. бага 'pine-tree', Ing. бага 'resinous root of pine-tree'; Av. naǵ: (< \*mEǵ:) 'pine-tree'; Bezht. niǵe, Gunz. niǵe-s id.; Lak. dial. milǵilǵilǵ 'pine cone'; Lezg. dial. muǵ-rag 'fir-tree', Tab. muǵ-ruǵ id., Rut. niǵ<sup>w</sup>-nǵǵI, Tsakh. ǵuǵǵ (dial. núǵǵǵ) 'pine-tree'.

Bur. \*baǵ 'gum, resin' > Yas. baǵí, Hunz., Nag. baǵ.

\*bǞrcǵ (~ -ǵ) 'a predator' (HGC 28, LV C2, BDC 7):

PNC \*bǞrcǵ (~ -ǵ) 'wolf, jackal' > Chech., Ing. borz, Bac. bǵorǵ 'wolf'; Av. baǵ, And. boǵo, Akhv. baǵa, Cham., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. baǵa 'wolf'; Tsez. boǵi, Gin. boǵe, Khv. boǵa, Bezht. baǵo, Gunz. bǵǵe 'wolf'; Lak. barǵ id.; Darg. beǵ id.; PWC \*(bVǵV)-bVǵV 'jackal, hyena' >

Abkh. a-bgǫ́ʒ (Bz. a-bgǫ́ʒ), Ab. bagaʒa. See NCED 294-295.

PST > OC 猥 \*prāt-s 'mythical predator'.

PY \*pe(ʔ)stap (~-b) 'wolverine' > Kott. feštap, pheštap, Ar. phjástap (CCE 247. Werner 1, 279).

[The OC length is irregular. Let us note, however, that in PNC one could also reconstruct \*whěrcǐ - in which case a completely different ST match can be proposed: cf. PST \*wǎr 'a beast of prey' > OC 熊 \*p(r)aj (~ \*p(r)ej) 'brown-and-white bear', Tib. phar 'wild dog', LB \*wan 'wolf', Bodo mu-pur 'bear', Kham pər 'wolf'. This would also fit a proposed Basque parallel - \*oóo 'wolf' - while otherwise the loss of \*b- is hard to explain.]

\*bħǎnǫ́ǂ 'log, pole' (differently in HGC 29, LV D2):

PNC \*bħǎnǫ́ǂ 'pole, post' > Ing. beqa 'pole'; Av. moq̄:, Akhv. muq̄:e, Cham. muq̄:, Tind., God. muq̄:u, Kar. nuq̄:e 'pole', And. muq̄:ol 'ceiling'; Tsez. maIq 'short stick, rod', Gin. nuqo 'pole', Bezht. maq 'stake', miqo 'pole', Gunz. maq 'vertical stick (in fence)', miqu 'pole'; Lak. maʒi 'roof, ceiling'; Tab. marʒ 'stick, pole', Ag. marʒ 'shepherd's staff'; Abkh. a-bǫ́qʷ 'post, log', Ad. p:q:aw, Kab. pq:ow, bǫq:ow 'pilaster, post, pillar'.

PST \*p(h)ǎŋ 'tree, plant' > Burm. əpaŋ 'plant, tree', Lush. paŋ in paŋ-pār 'flower, blossom', Kir. \*b(h)Vŋ 'tree', Bodo paŋ 'classifier for plants', etc.

PY \*pǎq- 'thin rods of birdcherry tree' > Ket. hΛʒ⁴ (South.), North. hΛ:ʒǫ⁴; pl. hΛqŋ⁵; Yug. fΛ:hʁ, pl. fΛqŋ⁵. See CCE 248, Werner 1, 341.

Bur. \*-pháyo > Hun. -pháyo, Nag. -pháyuy 'stick, walking stick'.

[Cf. Basq. \*makila 'cane, stick', \*maket 'club, thick pole'.]

\*bilǫ́ǂ 'hair (feather, whiskers)':

PNC \*bilǫ́ǂ (~-ǫ́-, -ǎ-) 'beard' > Akhv. miže-ʎ:u (Tlan., Tseg. miža), Cham. miza-tʷ, Tind. miža-tu, Bagv. miža-tʷ; Khv. biša-nde 'beard', Gunz. bilaž-ba id., Bezht. bizal-ba 'moustache'; Lezg. č:uru (< \*muč:ur-u), Tab. mužri, Ag. mužur 'beard'; Khin. mič:-ǎš id.

PY \*pis 'tail (of birds)' > Ket. hiś,, Yug. fiś, Kott. pis (CCE 249, Werner 1, 320).

Bur. \*biś-ké > Yas. biśké 'hair', Hunza, Nagar biśké 'animal hair, fur'.

[Cf. Basq. \*bisar 'beard', perhaps also \*bus-tan 'tail'.]

\*bħmǫ́ǂ 'foot':

PNC \*bħmǫ́ǂ 'hoof, foot' > Av. mal (paradigm C: malá-l, mála-l)

'foot', Tsez. bula 'hoof', etc., see NCED 307.

PST \*phəl (~ -ř, -ǔ-) > OC 腓 \*b(h)əj 'calf of leg', Tib. bol 'upper part of the foot', Kir. \*pāl 'calf of leg'.

PY \*bul 'foot, leg' > Ket. búl, Yug. bul, Kott. pul, Ar. pil 'foot, leg', Pump. bulún 'to go' (CCE 213, Werner 1, 153).

Bur. (with reduplication) \*búmbal- > Yasin búmbalten 'ankle'.

[In PY one would expect a \*p-; the form \*bul may in fact reflect \*mul, with regressive nasalization like in some NC languages.]

\*bǒlcwī 'millet, rice' (LV C4, DCE):

PNC \*bǒlcwī (~ -n-) 'millet' > Chech., Ing., Bac. borc; Av. muč (par. C: mučó-l, múča-l), And. beča, Akhv. miča, Cham. bošu-ǻ, Tind., Kar. boča, Botl. buča, God. buča 'millet'; Tsez. meš, Gin. mos, Khv. miš 'broom, besom', Bezht. mušo (Khosh. müš) id., (Khosh.) müša-raq 'panicle millet', Gunz. mus 'corn panicle'; Darg. (Kub.) mūs: 'besom'; PWC \*mVčV > Abkh. a-čá 'bread', Abaz. ča- 'eat', Ad. mašə, Kab. maš 'millet (standing)'. See NCED 309.

PST \*phrē(s) 'rice' > OC 糲 \*bhrēs 'fine rice', Tib. ābras 'rice' (the root is also attested without -s: Tib. bra 'buckwheat', Kir. \*brā-mV id., \*rə (\*rǻ) 'rice').

Bur. \*bay 'millet' > Yas. ba, Hunza bay (pl. bačəŋ), Nagar bay.

[Long vowel in PST is irregular.

Cf. Basq. \*bihi 'seed'.]

\*bǒlǻV 'house' (NSC 60, LDC 33):

PNC \*bǒlǻV (~-i-) 'house' > Gin. buǻe, Bezht. biǻo 'house', Gunz. buǻi '(at) home'; Lak. burča-lu 'threshold'; Arch. noǻ: (< \*moǻ:) 'house, room'.

Bur. \*baltí > Yas. baltí, Hun., Nag. baldí 'veranda, outside room'.

[Cf. Basq. \*borda 'country house, farm building'.]

\*bǒlcĒ 'fence':

PNC \*bǒlcĒ 'fortification, wall' > Av. bucúr 'fortification, dike'; Lak. bucur 'barrier; carpet and bed clothes (near the wall)'; Darg. mucari 'wall'; PL \*malc > Lezg. mac 'shelf on the wall', Tab. marc-ar, Ag. mac 'hearth', Rut. mas 'wall', Tsakh. mac 'boundary, furrow', Bud. mas 'fortified place'; Abkh. a-tzá-mc 'wall' (tza- 'house, household').

PST \*pāl > OC 畔 \*bān-s 'field boundary', Kach. nphan<sup>1</sup> 'a fence, as around a field', Lush. pal 'a fence, a palisade, a hedge', Trung pel<sup>1</sup> 'wall'.

[The root tends to be confused with \*pār > OC 藩 \*par 'fence, to fence in', Bodo bari 'place, garden', Kham bar 'fence or partition', bar-na 'wall' - possibly of AN origin].

\*bōŋV 'a k. of vessel' (BDC 7):

PNC \*bōŋ(w)V 'a k. of vessel' > Chech. battam 'a brass jar for water'; Kar. muç:i 'jar, pot'; PL \*(mo)ç:ʷir 'spoon' > Tab. muç:ʷur, Lezg. ʧur, etc.

PST \*pān (~ b-) 'tray, vessel' > OC 盤 \*bān 'tray, dish; basin'; Tib. ban 'beer-jug, pitcher' (also ben 'a large pitcher, jug, beer-pot'); Burm. panh-kan 'deep basin', laŋ-panh 'metal tray'; Kach. ban<sup>2</sup> 'a tray, waiter, salver'.

[? Cf. Basq. \*onci 'vessel, container, boat, ship'.]

\*bōrGwV̄ (~ -ə-) 'shed, house' (LV B2):

PNC \*bōrGwV̄ (~ -ə-) > Akhv. beᵛʷa (dial. borko, berka), Kar. beᵛʷa, Botl. beᵛuj 'shed, penthouse'; Khv., Inkh. beᵛ 'horse stall'; PWC \*ba[q:I]V > Abkh. a-bā 'fortress, castle', Kab. baq 'shed, cattle-shed'; Urart. burg-ana- 'tower, fortress', see NCED 311.

PST \*[b]ōk 'dwelling' > Tib. ābogs 'to fit up a dwelling', Lush. bük 'a temporary house'.

[The PST form can be also derived from \*būlV.]

\*būhu 'owl':

PNC \*būhu > Chech. buha, Ing. bow, Bac. bujh 'owl'; And., Tind., Kar., God. buhu, Akhv. bu-s:e, Cham. buh, Bagv. buhʷ 'owl'; Tsez., Gin., Khv. buhu 'owl'; Ag. buhuj 'owl'.

PY \*puʔj 'owl, eagle-owl' > Ket. hiʔj, Yug. fiʔj, Ass. keŋa-fuj, Ar. p̄hié (CCE 252, Werner 1, 348).

\*būrV̄ 'gray; light' (SCE 111):

PNC \*būrV̄ (~ -ō-) 'grey, brown' > Chech. bōra, Ing. bora 'grey, brown'; Av. burí-ja-b 'brown, dark'; (?) Darg. ber̄he 'red-haired'; Ag. bure-r 'grey'; Hurr. pawro 'brown'.

PST \*Prəw (~ -iw) 'white' > Burm. phru, Kach. phro<sup>2</sup>, čəphro<sup>4</sup> 'white'.

PY \*puʔr 'clear (of weather)' > Ket. hiʔl, Yug. fiʔr id.; Kott. fur, phur "light, clear". See CCE 252, Werner 1, 348, 2, 57.

Bur. \*bur- > Yas., Hun., Nag. bur-úm 'white'.



[Root structure in PST is irregular.]

\*[b]ūti 'vulva' (NSC 61):

PNC \*pūti / \*būti (~ -e) 'genitals (mostly female)' > Chech., Ing. bud 'vulva'; And., Akhv., Cham., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. buṭa 'vulva, vagina'; Tsez. beṭi, Gin. beṭe 'vagina'; Lak. puṭi 'a hollow stalk, tube'; Darg. puṭi 'chibouque' (< \*'hollow tube'), Chir. puṭe 'anus'; Ag. buṭ 'penis', Bud. biṭi 'vagina'.

PST \*PVt 'vulva; penis shaft' > Burm. cauk-pat 'vagina', PLB \*pytx 'vulva'; Kach. ne<sup>31</sup> poṭ<sup>31</sup> 'penis shaft', etc.

Bur. \*bot > Hun. bot 'vulva'.

\*bV 'not, negative particle':

PNC \*-bV 'negative or prohibitive particle' > Akhv. -u-be, Tind. -ba-s:a, Kar., Bagv. -bi-s:e id.; Inkh. -b- 'negative suffix'; ? Ad. -p 'not (negative particle)'.

PST > OC 不 \*pə 'not'.

PY \*-pun 'without, -less (a suffixed morpheme)' > Ket. -ań (Werner 1, 38); Yug. -fan (Качр.), -fan / -pan (Werner 1, 38) id.; Kott. -fun, -phun id.; Pump. -fun in hitifún (Cл.) "to be silent" [cf. Kott. atpifunākn id., lit. 'be without hearing']. See CCE 253, Werner 1, 38.

Bur. \*be 'not' > Yas., Hun., Nag. be.

\*bV[c]V 'kid, goat' (DCE 17):

PNC \*b[a]çV 'kid, young goat' > Lak. buṭca (< \*bVç-χV ?) he-goat (1 y. old); Lezg. baçi 'kid', Tab. biçi, Ag. biçi-f 'small', Rut. baçi 'small sheep', Tsakh. biçiç 'kid'; Khin. baçiz 'kid'.

Bur. \*buć 'ungelt male goat, 2 or 3 years old' > Hun., Nag. buć.

\*bVHV 'thin':

PST \*pā 'thin' > OC 薄 \*bā-k 'thin'; Tib. ba-spu 'a little hair' (spu), phra (\*r-pa) 'thin, fine; minute'; Burm. pah 'thin'; Kach. pha<sup>2</sup>, čəpha<sup>4</sup> 'thin'; Tiddim pá 'thin', etc.

PY \*pak-si-m 'thin (paper, leaf)' > Ket. haksem<sup>5</sup>, Yug. faksim<sup>5</sup>; Kott. fačam, phačam. See CCE 245, Werner 1, 293. The root is probably \*paK- (with double adjectival suffixation).

Bur. \*bié-n- 'thin' > Yas., Hun., Nag. biénum.

[In Yenisseian and Burushaski the root is accompanied by suffixes.

Cf. Basq. \*mehe 'thin' < \*behe-n ?]

\*bVIV (~ -l-) 'to burn, kindle' (LDC 36):

PNC > PWC \*bəlA > Abkh. a-bəl-ra, Ab. bəl-ra 'to burn', Ad., Kab. bLa- 'to burn, shine'.

Bur. \*bal- / \*bul- > Yas. -s-pal, Hun., Nag. -s-pal- 'to kindle', Hun. bulbūlo, Nag. bubūlo 'warm'.

[Cf. Basq. \*bero 'warm'.]

\*bVnkwǎ (~ p̣-, -xk-) 'belly' (LV A6):

PNC \*bVnkwǎ 'belly, stomach' > Av. baḳʷá-li, PWC \*məḳʷA etc., see NCED 318.

PST \*pūk > OC 腹 \*puk 'belly', Burm. pəuk 'belly, stomach', Lepcha tə-fūk, ta-bak etc.

[Cf. Basq. \*magal 'lap, breast'.]

\*bVnV 'dust, sand, flour':

PST \*būn(H) 'dust, flour' > OC 粉 \*pənʔ 'peeled grain; flour'; Tib. spun, sbun 'chaff, husks'; Burm. phun 'dust'; Kach. nbun<sup>3</sup> 'dust'; Naga Zeme tin-bun 'ashes'.

PY \*pəʔnVŋ 'sand; ashes' > Ket. hɫnəŋ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. fɫniŋ<sup>5</sup> 'sand'; Kott. fenaŋ, phenəŋ 'ashes'; Ar. finnaŋ, phiinaŋ, Pump. pinnin 'sand'. See CCE 248, Werner 1, 337-338.

\*bVnV 'to play, laugh, joke':

PST \*p(r)in (~b-) > Burm. praun 'be funny, comic'; Kach. bjeŋ 'to mock'; Bodo su-bun 'to make tricks'.

PY \*ʔapVn- (~x-) 'to play' > Ket. āniŋ<sup>1</sup>; Yug. afiniŋ<sup>6</sup>. See CCE 182, Werner 1, 95-96 (but Kott. ajaŋ cannot be related in any way).

\*bVrkwǎ 'wooden frame':

PNC \*bVrkwǎ 'enclosure; frame, staircase' > And. barḳʷol, Tind. beḳʷana 'stairs', Cham. beḳʷana 'stairs; ladder; (dial). funeral stretcher'; Lak. burḳna 'tomb-stone' (< \*'funeral stretcher'); Rut. buḳ 'enclosure (for calves)'.

PST \*phV̄k > Tib. phog 'beam, rafter', Kach. ləpaʔ<sup>1</sup> 'rafter'; perhaps also OC 柁 \*phōk 'rod, stick' (or else \*b(h)uk 'carriage box support resting on axle').

Bur. \*bákur 'small shed for lambs and kids' > Hun., Nag. bákur.

\*bǂrLVŋwé 'stretcher, frame' (LV B4):

PNC \*bǂmLVrē / \*bǂrLVmē 'funeral stretcher; ladder' > Chech. baram 'funeral stretcher'; Av. malí (par. B: moló-l, malá-l) 'ladder; funeral stretcher'; Lak. bulrna 'pillar'; Darg. dial. mič:ire, mik:eri 'ladder'; Lezg. gur-ar, Tsakh.. Kryz miyir, Bud. jumur 'ladder', Rut. miyir 'funeral stretcher'; Khin. moγuz 'wooden frame'; PWC \*bōla (~-l-) > Abaz. čʷə-mla 'ladder', Ad., Kab. pχā-bLa 'funeral stretcher'; see NCED 317-318.

PST \*t-ləŋH 'frame, grating' > OC 榎 \*Lhəŋʔ 'horizontal pieces in a frame for silkworms' (with unclear vowel shortening), Tib. ldaŋ 'stand, frame, trestle', Kach. məgraŋ 'a grating', Lush. hlāŋ 'a support made to keep a corpse in a sitting position; a bier'.

\*bǂrǂ (~-l-) 'bifurcation':

PST \*prā, \*prā-k 'fork, rake' > OC 杷 \*brā(s) 'a rake'; Tib. s-brag 'hay-fork', kha-brag 'any forked object', Burm. phra 'to branch, bifurcate', Kach. braʔ³ 'be forked', Dimasa bara, ba-bra 'fork (of tree)' etc.

PY \*par₁- (~-r-) 'fork of legs' > Ket. hālēŋ⁶, Yug. faran⁶ (CCE 246, Werner 1, 297).

\*bǂrǂV 'tasty, sweet; pungent':

PST \*Par > Tib. ber 'sharpness, pungency (of spices, spirits etc.); Burm. phan 'be tart, pungent (of taste)'.

PY \*piʔr₁- ( / \*pɔʔr) 'sweet' > Ket. hīlaŋ⁵ / hīlaŋ¹ 'sweet', South. hīl "sweet mass under the birch bark" (Werner 1, 320 hīl / hiʔl); Yug. fɔraŋ⁵ 'sweet', fiʔr "sweet mass under the birch bark"; Kott. falaŋ, phalaŋ 'sweet', fil 'tree sap'; Ar. kulun-pala 'sweetly'. See CCE 249, Werner 1, 312, 320.

Bur. (with reduplication) \*babár- > Yas., Hunza, Nagar babár-um 'sharp (of taste), pungent'.

\*bǂstV 'knee' (HGC 20, DCE 2):

PNC \*b[ə]cV 'paw, part of arm or leg' > Av. púr:c:i 'ham', Cham. becʷ 'knee (of animal), thigh'; Tsez. besi, Gin. beši, Khv. besa, Bezht., biza, Gunz. biza 'fist'; Lezg. p:ac, Tab. bac 'paw', Rut. bac-bir 'cushions for taking the kettle off fire' ('paws').

PST \*püt(-s) (~-š-) 'knee' > OC 𑍑 \*pət 'knee-covers'; Tib. pus-mo 'knee'; Maru pat-law id.; Kach. ləphut² 'knee', Lepcha tük-pät id., etc.

PY \*baʔt- 'knee' > Ket. batpuʔ⁵ (Imb.), pl. batpuʔəŋ⁵; baʔt (Werner 1, 108) 'joint, knee', bátij pl. 'joints of reindeer'; Yug. batpil⁵, pl. batpilij⁶; baʔt (Werner 1, 108) 'joint, knee'; Kott. pulpatap (Бол.) "metatarsus"; Ar.

karam-pat (Локк.) 'elbow'; (Локк.) patas 'knee'. See CCE 206. Ket and Kottish reflect a compound with \*bul 'foot, leg' q.v. Werner 1, 108-109 gives a completely folk-etymological analysis of bat-puľ as bat 'forehead, face' + būľ 'leg': it is even more remarkable because on the same page he adds the attested plain stem baʔt 'joint, knee' and bátiŋ 'joints' - clearly distinct from bat / bāt³ 'face' q.v.

Bur. \*bácin 'shank, hind leg above the hock' > Hun., Nag. bácín.

[Initial \*b- behaves not quite regularly: in PY \*p- would be expected. One should perhaps think of reconstructing \*p̣VstV, with regular reflex in PST and PY, but with secondary deglottalization reflected in PNC and Burushaski.]

\*bVštV 'stick, beater':

PNC > PWC \*bačV 'stick'.

PY \*pa(j)t- 'beater of the shaman drum' > Ket. hadbuľ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. fadbil<sup>5</sup>, Kott. faituŋ, phaituŋ. See CCE 244. Ket and Yug reflect a compound (with \*bul 'foot?'). Werner (1, 291 <\*p<sup>h</sup>adə / \*p<sup>h</sup>aʔədə ?) for some reason takes the first part to be = Ket hat 'top of head' - extremely strange semantics and phonology.

\*bʃālħǒ (~ -ǒ) 'edge' (BDC 6; differently in LDC 15, MCGD 3):

PNC \*bʃālħǒ (~ -ǒ) 'edge, end' > Chech. bal, Ing. bʃal 'set (in a game)'; Av. bal 'crest, top; edge, end, corner', Cham., Tind. bala 'edge, end, corner'; Gunz. bil 'lip'; PL \*p:all: > Lezg. p:el, Rut. bäl, Kryz. bel, Bud. bel-iž 'forehead', Arch. bat (pl. bat:-ur) 'horn'.

PST \*phāH (~ bh-) 'cheek' > OC 輔 \*baʔ 'upper jaw', Burm. pah 'cheek', Kiranti \*phò-su id.

Bur. \*bal 'wall' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar bal.

[Basq. \*belhar 'forehead'.]

\*bʃōq̣wV 'dirt, dung':

PNC \*bʃōq̣wV > Chech. bōχa, Ing. bʃeχa 'dirty'; PA (with metathesis) \*q:ubV- > Av. q:úba-, And. q:ubi, Cham. q:ubu-, Tind. q:ū-, Kar. q:ubo- 'dirty'; Lezg. South. p:iχ, Kryz. biq 'faeces', Rut. biq 'cow's dung'.

PST \*phāk > OC 糞 \*phāk 'dregs'; Tib. sbag 'to soil, stain, pollute', ābag 'to defile, to pollute oneself, ābogs 'to blot, stain, pollute'.

PY \*poʔq 'excrements' > Ket. hǒʔq, Yug. ʃǒʔχ /ʃǒʔq 'excrements'; Kott. fago, phago 'dirt', fōk, fōx, phōk 'dirt, dung', fogar, phogar 'podex'. See CCE 251, Werner 1, 327.

Bur. \*bayéiŋ 'dung (of cows, horses)' > Hun., Nag. bayéiŋ.  
[From NC cf. alternatively \*pHulqǎ (see HGC 26).]

[\\*\[c\]árxgwǎ](#) 'squirrel, weasel' (HGC 27, LV B5, MCGD 4, BCD 11):

PNC \*cārgwV 'weasel, marten' > Chech. šaṭq̄a, Ing. šurtq̄a; Av. caḷ:ú 'weasel', And. sarḷ:u, Cham., Kar. saḷ:u, Tok. sarḷ:u id.; Tsakh. sok id.; Abkh. a-cəḵ, Ab. cəḵ 'marten', Ad. cəḵ<sup>w</sup>a, Kab. zəḵ<sup>w</sup>a 'mouse'.

PST \*sreŋ(H) > OC 鼬 \*sreŋ, Tib. sre-moŋ 'weasel', Burm. hraŋ? 'squirrel', Kach. sinlen 'a sp. of Indian mongoose', etc.

PY \*saʔqa 'squirrel' > Ket. saʔq, Yug. saʔx / saʔq, Kott. šaga, Ar. sava, sova, Pump. tak (CCE 268, Werner 2, 162).

Bur. \*cārgé > Yas. cárgé 'flying squirrel' (with irregular \*ć-: \*s- would be normally expected).

[Cf. Basq. \*śagu 'mouse'.]

[\\*chwōlē](#) 'a k. of predator, fox' (DCE 15, BCD 11):

PNC \*chwōlē (~ -ǎ) 'fox, jackal' > Chech. čhōgal, Ing. cogal, Bac. coḡal 'fox'; Av. cer, And. sor, Akhv. šari, Cham. sã, Tind., Botl., God. sari, Kar. sare, Bagv. sar 'fox'; Tsez. ziru, Gin. zeru, Khv. zaru, Bezht. sora, Gunz. sə (šəro-) 'fox'; Lak. culča (gen. culḵ-lul) id.; Lezg., Rut. siḵ, Tab., Ag. sul, Tsakh. siIwa, Kryz. sakul, Bud. sokul, Arch. s:ol, Ud. šul 'fox'; Khin. pšlã id.; PWC \*š<sup>w</sup>ə (in compounds \*š<sup>w</sup>ə-bIaga, \*bIaga-š<sup>w</sup>ə) > Abkh. á-š<sup>w</sup>a-bga 'red fox', Ad. baža-ś, Ub. bIagá-š<sup>w</sup> 'jackal'. Several languages (Nakh, Lak, Lezghian, Rutul, Kryz, Budukh) reflect a diminutive \*chwōlē-ḵV (sometimes with metathesis).

PST \*Criā 'a k. of predator' > OC 豺 \*źrē 'wolf', Trung kaŋ<sup>2</sup>-dži<sup>2</sup> 'leopard', Kach. dum-si<sup>1</sup> 'porcupine'.

Bur. \*hal 'fox' > Yas., Hun., Nag. hal.

[Cf. Basq. \*a-seyari 'fox'.]

[\\*ciŋwV](#) 'star' (LDC 27; differently in HGC 22):

PST \*sēŋ 'star' > OC 星 \*sēŋ 'star'; Lepcha kūr-sónŋ 'a planet; morning star'; Kir. \*saŋ 'ray, star', Naga \*cVŋ 'star, moon', etc.

Bur. \*así[m] 'star' > Yas. asúmun, Hun., Nag. asií.

[\\*cōjwīlhV](#) 'rainy season' (HGC 35, WFR 29):

PNC \*cōjwīlhV 'autumn, winter (rainy season)' > Bac.št̄abo 'autumn' (perhaps with metathesis also Chech. bḡästē, Ing. bḡästi 'spring'); And. sibiru 'autumn', Akhv. c:ibero, Cham. cib, Tind. c:ibar, Kar. c:ibero,

Bagv. s:ibara, God. c:iburu 'winter'; Tsez. sebi, Gin. sebe, Khv. seba, Bezht. sibowa, Gunz. sibər 'autumn'; Lak. s:u-t 'autumn'; Lezg. zul, Tab. čvul, Ag. cul, Tsakh. cuwul, ciwıl, Arch. sot:- 'autumn'; Khin. cuwa-ž id.; Abkh. á-ʒə-n (Bz. á-ʒə-n) 'winter', Ab. ʒ-nə 'autumn'.

PST > OC 秋 \*čhiw (? \*chiw) 'autumn'.

PY \*sirı- 'summer' > Ket. śīli<sup>1</sup>. South. śīl, Yug. sīr, Kott. šil-pan, Ar. šil 'summer' (CCE 275; Werner 2, 206).

[In PY one would expect a \*-ʒ-; the reason for this discrepancy is not clear (contraction?).

Cf. Basq. \*asaro 'November; autumn'.]

\*cVmV 'how much; if' (HGC 36, WFR 94):

PNC \*čwimV > Av. čan (dial. čam), And. čom, Akhv. čami, Cham. šã, Tind. č<sup>w</sup>ami-la, Kar. čam, Botl., Bagv., God. čamu 'how many'; Tsez., Gin. šomo, Khv. šomu 'how many'; Lak. dial. cimi id.; Darg. čum id.; Lezg. šumu-d, Tab. š<sup>v</sup>nu-b, Rut. šumu-d, Arch. šume-jtu id.; Khin. sam id.

PST \*c(h)V̄m 'as much as' > Tib. cam 'as much as', Lush. thūm 'as good as'.

PY \*sVm > Ket. śim, Yug. sim 'irreal particle, if, if only', Kott. šum id. See CCE 278, Werner 2, 196 (adding the Ket-Yug data).

[PNC \*čwi-mV most probably < \*cwi-mV under the influence of \*čwi 'what, who'; archaisms may be Lak. cimi, Khin. sam.]

\*cVrqV (~ c-, -q-, -G-) 'shame, guilt':

PST \*srək 'shame' > OC 色 \*srək 'colour; countenance, looks'; Tib. śag-s 'joke, fun', Burm. hrak 'ashamed', Bunan śrag, Mikir therag, Rawang səra 'shame'.

PY \*saq- / \*ʔasq- > Ket. sān // saʔan<sup>6</sup>, Yug. saxan<sup>6</sup> 'guilty', Kott. aške "guilt", aškō "guilty" (CCE 270, Werner 2, 163).

Bur. \*šiqár > Hunza, Nagar šiqár 'shame', Hunza, Nagar 'šqar- 'to be ashamed', Yasin 'šqar- 'to boast about about smth. untrue'.

\*cwājñě 'liver, gall' (HGC 20, WFR 79, LV A7, LDC 18):

PNC \*cwājñě 'gall; anger' > Chech. stim, Ing. sim, Bac. sem 'gall'; Av. c:in (dial. cim), And., Cham., Bagv. s:im, Akhv., Tind., Kar., Botl., God. s:imi 'gall; anger'; Tsez., Khv. semi, Gin. seme, Mezht. simo, Gunz. simi 'gall'; Lak. s:i 'gall; anger'; Darg. himi, Chir. sume id.; Lezg., Tab., Ag., Rut. seb, Arch. s:am 'gall'; PWC \*ž<sup>w</sup>ə 'anger' > Abaz. g<sup>w</sup>ə-ž<sup>w</sup> 'hidden anger, malice', Ub. ǵə-ž<sup>w</sup> 'revenge', Ad. g<sup>w</sup>əħa-g<sup>w</sup>ə-ž, Kab. g<sup>w</sup>ə-ž-kaž 'anger'.

[Short \*-ě is indicated by the correlation of final vowels: Av. -o : Darg. \*-i : PL obl. \*-a.]

PST \*sīn ( / \*sīn ?) 'liver' > OC 辛 \*sin 'bitter, pungent'; Tib. m-čin 'liver'; Burm. sañh id.; Kach. məsin<sup>2</sup> 'liver; heart'; Lush. thin id.; Limbu seŋ 'kidney', etc.

PY \*seŋ 'liver' > Ket. sēŋ, Yug. seŋ (CCE 272, Werner 2, 190, 1, 332).

Bur. \*sán 'spleen' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar -sán.

[Absence of \*-ʔ- in PY is irregular.

Cf. Basq. \*-sum(a) 'bile, gall'.]

\*cwórV 'dried fruit or grass':

PNC \*cwírV > Lak. s:iru 'young pods of peas and black beans';

Lezg. zur-ar, Ag. sur-ar 'dried fruits'; Abkh. a-švór, Abaz. šwər 'fruit(s)'.  
PY \*saʔr<sub>1</sub> > Ket. saʔl, Yug. saʔr 'tobacco' (CCE 269, Werner 2, 182).

\*cǎji 'fire, brilliance' (NSC 52, DCE 23; somewhat differently in WFR 16, LV B29):

PNC \*cǎjǐ 'fire' > Chech., Bac. çe, Ing. çı; Av. ça, And. ça, Akhv. çari (reflecting the oblique stem \*cǎjǐ-rV-), Cham., Tind. cā, Kar., Botl., Bagv. çaj, God. çaji; Tsez. çı, Gin. çe, Khv. ça, Bezht. ço, Gunz. çə; Lak. çu; Darg. ça; Lezg., Rut. çaj, Tab., Ag., Tsakh. ça, Kryz. çä, Bud. çə, Arch. oç, Ud. a-(ruχ); Khin. çä; PWC \*mA-ç<sup>w</sup>a > Abkh. á-mca, Abaz. mca, Ad. māṣva, Kab. māfa, Ub. məžá 'fire'.

PST \*zǎj(H) 'shine, brilliant' > OC 璫 \*chāj? 'white and brilliant', Tib. g-zi 'shine, brightness', Burm. sa 'to shine (of moon, sun)', Kach. žan ze 'to shine, as the sun', Kulung cha-ma 'blaze'.

Bur. \*śi > Hun., Nag. śi 'fireplace, hearth'.

[Length of final vowel is unclear: the ST data are in favour of a long vowel, but Av. pl. cǎja-l seems to point to shortness - however, it may well be a result of secondary accent unification in a monosyllabic root, cf. gen. çé-l.

Cf. Basq. \*śu 'fire'.]

\*cǎqV ( ~ -xq-) 'strength, strong, hard' (HGC 40):

PNC \*cǎqV 'strength, power' > PN \*ni-çq (originally a compound \*HinV-çǎqV '(one's) own power') > Chech., Bac. niçq, Ing. niz 'strength, power'; Av. çaq: 'very, strongly'; Lak. çaq 'strength, power'; Darg. çaq id.

PST \*chǎk 'hard, difficult' > Tib. chegs 'troublesome, difficult, hard'; Kach. diŋsa<sup>2</sup> 'to trouble, annoy'; Lush. sak 'hard (not soft, not easy),

difficult'; Kir. \*c[e]k (/ʔc-) 'hard'.

PY \*sa(ʔ)kar- (~-g,-G-) > Kott. šagar "hart, zäh"; (Бол.) šakariga "hardly (тыро)"; Ar. berik sagara (Локк.) "hardly (тыро)" [lit. "very hardly"]. See CCE 270.

\*cĀq̄wĀ 'tail, long hair':

PNC \*cĀq̄wĀ (with metathesis \*q̄wĀcĀ) 'tail' > Tab. q̄c̄q̄uṣ 'goat's tail'; Khin. q̄až (erg. q̄ač-i) 'tail'; PWC \*c̄əq̄<sup>w</sup>a > Abkh. a-čəχ<sup>w</sup>a, Abaz. c̄əq̄<sup>w</sup>a 'tail'. Cf. also variants with velar \*k̄w: Chech. çoga, Ing. çog 'tail', Bac. çawkū 'short tail'; Tsez. keç-maḥi, Khv. keç-mehi 'sheep's tail'; Ub. k̄<sup>w</sup>ačá 'tail'.

PY \*su(ʔ)K- > Kott. šugai, šukai 'plait, long hair' (CCE 277, Werner 2, 442).

\*cĀwnV 'dark':

PNC \*cĀwnV 'dark' > Av. b-éca- 'dark'; Lak. çan 'darkness'; Darg. çalb- 'dark'; Ud. b-eḷinq: 'dark'; PWC \*c̄<sup>w</sup>a 'black' > Abkh. á-jk<sup>w</sup>a-č<sup>w</sup>a, Abaz. k<sup>w</sup>a-j-č<sup>w</sup>a (\*jək<sup>w</sup>a 'dark'), Ad. š<sup>v</sup>ə-ça, Kab. fə-ça, Ub. ža.

Bur. \*śon 'blind' > Yas., Hun., Nag. śon.

\*cāxkwV 'sour, bitter' (DCE 30):

PNC \*cāxkwV 'sour, raw' > Av. c:éka-b, And., Botl. c:ik:u, Akhv. č:ik:u-da-, Cham. šiḡu-, Tind. c:ik:u-, Kar. c:ik:o-, Bagv. c:ik:u-, God. c:ik:u 'sour'; Tsez. ceq̄(i)ju-, Gin. ceq̄q̄u, Khv. caqu 'sour'; Lak. dial. c:iχku- id.; Darg. çik-, Tsud. çik<sup>w</sup>- id.; Lezg. ciḡi 'raw', Arch. çek<sup>w</sup>, çeg<sup>w</sup>-du- 'rank, bitter'.

PST \*sāk 'bitter, pungent' > Burm. sak 'be bitter', Kach. mə-saʔ 'be sharp, biting to the taste', Lush. thak 'be pungent, hot, peppery'.

Bur. \*şuqúr > Yas. işqórum 'sour', Hun., Nag. -şqur- 'to turn sour', şuqúrum 'sour'.

\*cānq̄V (~ sṭ-) 'panther, leopard':

PNC \*cānq̄V 'lynx, panther' > Chech., Ing. çoq̄ 'ounce, snow leopard'; Av. çirq̄:, Akhv. çiq̄:o 'lynx', God. çirq̄:u 'ounce, snow leopard'; Lak. çiniq̄ 'tiger, leopard'; Darg. çirq̄ 'panther'.

PST \*chi(ə)k 'leopard' > Tib. g-zig 'leopard; porcupine'; Burm. kjah-sac 'leopard', Kir. \*sík-ba 'tiger, leopard', Trung dzəʔ 'wolf'.

\*cānyṶ 'to search, ask' (HGC 37, BCD 12):



PNC \*čEnχV(n) 'to search, ask' > Chech., Ing. χatt-, Bac. χaṭṭ- (\*χaṭṭ- < \*χanχ-, metathesis < \*čanχ-); Av. çex:é- 'search, ask', Tind. çix:i-, Kar. çex:- 'search'; Lak. çu=χ:i- 'ask'; Abkh. a-çā-rá, Abaz. çfa-ra, Ub. зра- 'ask'.

PST \*chěŋH 'invite, ask' > OC 請 \*cheŋ? 'request, invite; ask'; Tib. gceŋ 'invite', Dumi siŋ-ni, Limbu sin-do-mā 'ask' etc.

PY \*saŋ- ( ~ -ä-) 'search' > Ket. sáŋ-bet<sup>6</sup>, Yug. sán-aχesáŋ 'um zu suchen', sán-beť, sán-taχ, sán-teť 'erfahren' (Werner 2, 158, 159) (see CCE 270, Werner 2, 158, 159, 181).

[Cf. Basq. \*e-sagu- 'to know (a person); evident, known'.]

\*căn?V 'new' (HGC 21 (somewhat differently), WFR 82, LDC 38):

PNC \*căn?V 'new' > Chech. čina, Ing. čena, Bac. činī; Av. čija-, PAA \*činhV- > And. čiw, Akhv. čī-, Cham. čīw, Tind. čīhu-, Kar. čijo-m, Botl. čīu, Bagv. činu-, God. čīju-; Tsez. ečno, Gin. ečen-diju, Khv. ečnu, Bezht. ičijo, Gunz. ĩçcu; Lak. çu-; Darg. Chir. çī-; PL \*čenjä- / \*čenwä- > Lezg. çiji, Tab. çiji, Ag. çaji-f, Rut. çin-di, Tsakh. çe-din, Kryz. çijä, Arch. maça-, Ud. ini; PWC \*čA > Abkh. (Bz.) a-čə-ć 'new', a-j-ć-rá 'to be younger, smaller', a-j-ć-bá, Abaz. a-j-ç-ba 'junior', Ad. çə-(k<sup>w</sup>ə), Kab. çə-(k<sup>w</sup>) 'small, little', Ub. ča 'new; young'; Urart. š(V)-uṽə 'new'.

PST \*sīn / \*sīŋ 'new' > OC 新 \*sin 'new, renew'; Tib. g-sin 'good, fine'; Burm. sac 'new'.

PY \*saŋ ( ~ -ä-) 'to begin' > Ket. bē-sáŋ 'es beginnt', praet. bín-sáŋ; Yug. bē-sáŋ, praet. bín-sáŋ (Werner 1, 117).

\*cexkwV ( ~ sṭ-) 'belt; thread, rope':

PNC \*çik<sup>w</sup>i 'skein, hank' > Darg. Chir. çik<sup>w</sup>a 'skein, hank'; Tab., Rut., Tsakh. çik<sup>w</sup>, Ag. çek<sup>w</sup> id.

PST \*chāk 'rope; to bind' > OC 索 \*sāk 'rope', Burm. čak 'to bind'.

PY \*täGV ( ~ c-, -χ-) 'togirdle; belt' > Ket. ta:n 'to girdle'; Kott. thēg, thēx, pl. thakŋ "belt"; fatax "girdling"; fōtākŋ "to girdle", praet. fōnatākŋ, imp. fantax. See CCE 282. Werner 2, 252-253.

\*cəŋV 'tree, wood' (NSC 64, WFR 43, MCGD 5):

PNC \*cəŋV ( ~ -ö-) 'branch; tree' > Av. ç:al 'whip', Tind. c:ela, God. c:eli 'rod'; Ag. çal 'pot-herb leaves', Lryz. çili, Bud. çile 'branch; shoot'; Abkh. á-çla, Abaz. çla 'tree'; Hurr. çarr- 'wood', Urart. çarə 'orchard'. Cf. also a reduplicated form \*cēlēčī > Chech. çarç 'a tree species', Av. çilīç: 'besom, broom', Bezht. çico 'wattle', Gunz. çicu 'bough, thin stick', Lak.

çalçı 'shaving, chip', Lezg. çerç- 'brushwood, dry branch', Tab. çir(i)ç 'branch', Hurr. çarçarr-.

PST \*Cal (~ə-) 'wood' > Tib. chal 'wood, grove', Burm. ćijh 'thicket' (with an etymological (dialectal?) doublet ćin 'forest').

Bur. \*śulú > Yas. śulú, Hunza, Nagar śuú 'driftwood'.

[The Bur. form can be alternatively compared with PNC \*čwǎǎV̆ (~ -ā-) 'stick, branch' - which should be kept apart from \*čǎǎV̆.]

\*cHVdV 'woman; relative through marriage with a woman':

PNC \*čHVdV > Chech. zuda 'woman', Chech., Ing. zud 'bitch' (cf. Lev. źud id.); Darg. Chir. cade 'female'; Hurr. šid-u/ori 'maid(en), Ur. a-šti 'woman; wife'. The Dargwa word was not compared in NCED (where the reconstruction was \*žHVǎV̆), because of an obvious phonetic irregularity; however, Chir. c- may be just a misrecording instead of č-. NCED also has a root \*čVduǎV̆ 'a young kinsman' (Gunz. čutula 'bride, bride-groom'; Tab. čudul, Kryz., Bud. čidil 'grand-daughter, grandson'), for which a tentative derivation < \*čǎn-du-ǎV̆ 'youngling' was proposed. Actually, those forms may be derived from the same \*čHVdV with a meaning 'girl' (> 'grand-daughter') or 'bride', which would strengthen the reconstruction \*čHVdV.

PY \*cVt- 'husband' > Ket tēt, Yug čet, Kott. hat-kīt, Ar. kintej (with an unclear -n-: perhaps corresponding to the Ket-Yug plural, cf. Ket tatn<sup>5</sup>, Yug. čatn<sup>5</sup> ?), Pump. -et in ils-et 'husband'. See CCE 214-215, Werner 2, 260 (gives a reconstruction \*t'et-, ignoring the Kottish form hat- - which in fact is completely regular, see KC 151; for the same development see \*cǎje > heŋai 'hair', \*cǎse > hēči 'boot'). The form is comparable with NC if we suppose the original meaning \*'wife's (man)', cf. especially the Kottish compound (where -kīt is 'man').

Bur. \*-st- > Yas. -yást-, Hunza -yás (pl. -yásta-ro / -yáscaro), Nagar -yás (pl. -yáscaro) 'sister of a man; sister-in-law, sister of the wife'; Yas. -s-kir (pl. -sta-ru), Hunza -s-kir, Nagar -s-kir 'father-in-law', Yas., Hunza, Nagar -s-kus 'mother-in-law'; Yas. -sta-ru, Hunza -stiŋ, Nagar -stiŋ 'parents-in-law, parents of the wife'.

[Cf. Basq \*(ema-)ste '(married) woman'.]

\*čfwǎmé 'hair' (HGC 19, WFR 87, MCGD 4):

PNC \*čfwǎme (~-ǎ-, -i) 'eyebrow' > PN \*ča-čǎVm > Chech. čočqam, Ing. çačqam 'eyebrow'; Lak. it:a-čani id.; PL \*č<sup>w</sup>em > Lezg. r-čam, Tab. ul-čvim, ulčvam, Rut. uli-zen, Kryz. řül-čäm id.

PST \*chām 'hair of head' > Tib. ṽag-chom 'beard', Burm. čham, Kach. sam, Lush. sam, Lepcha ācom 'hair of head', Garo mik-sam 'eyebrow' etc.

PY \*cəŋe 'hair' > Ket. tḅŋə, Yug. čḅŋ, Kott. heŋai, Ar. ɣagan, Pump. xīŋa. CCE 213-214. Werner 2, 304 makes an attempt to regard the word as a compound \*ciʔG- 'head' + iʔŋ 'skin' and reconstructs <\*təŋə> (Kompositum). There is, however, a number of objections: 1) tonal characteristics of \*cəŋe are strongly against a compound of \*ciʔG+iʔŋ (two glottal stops must have had disappeared!); 2) \*iʔŋ 'skin' is probably an unexisting form: Werner himself analyzes iʔŋ as "plural of ī 'skin'" (see 1, 373); 3) this ī 'skin' goes back to PY \*ʔik (which Werner himself - 1, 392 - reconstructs as <\*igə>. The "compound" etymology of \*cəŋe is thus completely untenable. Werner also doubts that Kott. heŋai belongs to this root - but in fact it is a completely regular reflex, see KC 151 (with the same development cf. PY \*cēse 'boot' > Kott. hēči, PY \*cV(n)t- 'husband' > Kott. hat-).

Bur. \*sé[m] 'wool' > Yas. sé, Hunza, Nagar sé, pl. sémiŋ.

[Cf. also Basq. \*samar 'fleece, shorn wool; shaggy mop of hair'.]

[\\*cīnAV](#) (~ sṽ-) 'fat':

PNC \*cēnAV (~ \*cēnɣwV) 'fat (adj.)' > Tind. çinlu-; Darg. çerx-.

PST \*Cil 'fat (n.)' > Tib. chil 'fat (not melted)', Burm. chí 'oil', Gur. \*chi(l)<sup>2</sup> 'fat', etc.

[\\*cīndV](#) 'stump; stick' (LDC 22):

PNC \*cīndV (~ ɟ-, -ä-, -ī-) 'dry stalks as fuel' > Av. ç:adári 'fuel'; Lak. çinna (cf. dial. çajnda) 'dry stalks as fuel'.

PST \*sīŋ 'tree, wood, firewood' > OC 薪 \*sin 'firewood'; Tib. śiŋ 'tree'; Burm. sac 'tree'; Lush. thiŋ 'tree, wood', Lepcha kă-ceŋ 'tree', Kir. \*siŋ 'tree, wood, firewood', etc.

PY \*sVŋ-gVI- (~-r₁-) 'stump' > Ket. śiŋuṽṽ<sup>6</sup>, pl. -əŋ<sup>5</sup> (Werner 2, 215: śiŋuṽṽ / śiŋuṽṽ / śiŋuṽṽta), Yug. sūŋgulap (Werner 2, 215), Kott. šagalī, šagalé, šakali. See CCE 279, Werner 2, 215 (probably a compound with \*gɔʔl 'stump' as the second component).

[\\*čīrqā](#) (~ -xq-) 'a cover or carpet' (HGC 32, LV B6):

PNC \*čīrqā 'carpet; coverlet' > Lak. çīqa 'floor-cloth, door-mat'; Lezg. çirχ 'rag'; PWC \*q:ə́za (~q:-, -z-) (with metathesis) 'coverlet, blanket' > Abkh. a-χə́za, Ab. qəza. See NCED 366.

PST > OC 簾 \*ćrēk 'mat'.

PY \*siʔ(G) 'bedding, mat made of deerskin' > Ket. síʔ, Yug. siʔ (CCE 273, Werner 2, 205).

[Irregular -ʔ- in PY.]

\*ćīwrǎ 'sharp, sharp instrument':

PNC \*ćǝwrē (~ ǝ-, -a) 'pointed stick' > Bac. ǝur 'arrow'; PTs (with metathesis) \*r[e]ǝu (~ l-) > Tsez., Gin. riǝu 'wedge', Khv., Inkh. raǝu-ǝan 'beam'; Tab. ǝur 'vertical lock; bracelet' (dial. with metathesis ruǝ 'lock with a hook'), Tsakh. ǝura 'women's adorned belt'; PWC \*ćʷǝ > Abkh. a-ǝʷǝ 'spit, thick needle', Abaz. ǝʷǝ 'bolt; plug, spigot'.

PST \*cǝr / \*chǝr 'chisel, sharp point' > OC 鑄 \*cor 'chisel, sharp point'; Tib. zor 'sickle', sor, gsor 'gimlet; a sort of trephine'; Kach. son, məson 'a bamboo spike', etc.

Bur. \*'-sir- 'to sharpen, whet'.

\*ćūcV 'tip, spout':

PNC \*ćǝǝV (~ ǝ) 'tip, spout' > Chech. ǝuzam 'spout (of a tea-pot, jar)'; Lezg. ǝuǝ 'spout (of a tea-pot)', Kryz. ǝiǝ 'clitoris; ring-stone'; Hurr. zizzi 'mamma, female breast', zizz-u/oǝǝǝ, zuzz-u/oǝǝǝ 'spouted jar'.

Bur. \*śúśun > Hun. -śúśun 'child's penis'.

\*cVHV 'thorny plant':

PST \*cūH > OC (?) 棗 \*cūʔ (~ \*ć-) 'jujube'; Burm. ćuh 'awl', ćuh 'thorn', Kach. ǝu³ 'thorn', Lush. ćiu 'to prick, pierce', Lepcha ǝü 'a thorn, a prickle, a prong, any thorny plant', Kir. \*cù (~ ʔc-) 'thorn', etc.

Bur. \*şau 'a k. of wild rose' > Yas. şaú, Hun., Nag. şoó.

\*cVǝHV 'sharp; arrow, to pierce':

PNC \*ćǎnHV 'bow, arrow' > And. ǝiwu 'bow', Akhv. ǝiwo / ǝiho, Cham. ǝiʷ, Tind. ǝihu, Kar. ǝijun, Bagv. ǝi 'arrow'; Gin. (with metathesis) niǝu 'arrow', Inkh. ǝē 'bow'; PWC \*ć:ǝ (in \*ǝǝ 'arrow' + ǝ:ǝ) > Abkh. a-ǝǝ-c (Bz. a-xǝ-ć) 'bow', Abaz. ǝri-ǝǝc 'bow, arrow', Ashkh. ǝǝc 'arrow'.

PST \*cǝn (/ \*cǝǝ) 'to bore, chisel' > OC 鑽 \*cǝn 'to bore, perforate, penetrate'; Tib. m-chon 'any pointed or cutting instrument'; PLB \*cuǝx 'chisel'; Lush. thon 'to thrust, put endwise anything long into a hole'.

\*cwǎ[m]ǝǝ 'eagle, hawk' (WFR 95):

PNC \*ćwǎmǝǝ / \*ʔǎr-ćwǎmǝǝ 'eagle' > Chech. ǎrzū, Ing. ǎrzi, Bac.

arçiw 'eagle'; Av. ç:um / ç:un, And. ç:un (dial. ç:umi), Akhv. ç:wī (dial. ç:umi), Cham. šūj, Tind. c:ũ, Kar. ç:ũji, Botl., Bagv. ç:ũzi, God. c:ũzi id.; Tsez. cej, Gin. coj, Khv. ce, Inkh. cē, Bezht. cuha, Gunz. cu id.; Lak. barzu id.; Darg. Chir. ƣarçime id.; Ag. març id.; Khin. çimir 'bird'; Urart. arçib/wə 'eagle' (as name of a horse).

PST > LB \*ɟwan 'hawk, kite'.

(?) Bur. \*hárçimo > Hunza, Nagar hárçimo çin 'a small black and white bird with a long beak, living at the river'.

\*cwěnhV 'salt' (WFR 70; different in NSC 53):

PNC \*cwěnhV 'salt' > PN \*tu-ɣe (Chech. tūɣa, Ing. tuɣ, Bac. tujχī); Av. ç:am, PA \*ç:onʔi > And. ç:on, Akhv. ç:ani, Cham. šã, Tind. c:ã, Kar. ç:ãji, Botl., Bagv. ç:ãzi, God. c:ãji; Tsez. cijo, Gin. čijo, Khv. cijo, Bezht. cã, Gunz. cō; Lak. çwu; Darg. ze, dial. c:e 'salt'; Abkh. a-čá, Abaz. ç-ƣa 'salty'.

PST \*C[u]āj 'salt' > OC 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 \*ɟāj 'salt, salty'; Tib. chwa 'salt'; Burm. čhah id., Kanauri cha id., etc.

\*cwəñHē 'cane, reed':

PNC \*cwəñHē (with metathesis \*Hnəçwē) 'reed, cane' > Av. muç:í / nuç:í, And. ç:uma, Akhv. ç:wani, Cham. šimi, Tind. c:ũ<sup>28</sup>~, Kar. ç:un-di (plur.), God. c:uma id.; Lezg. naç (dial. naç<sup>w</sup>), Tab., Rut., Tsakh. naç, Ag. neç id.

PST \*ɟhu (~ ɟh-, -ew, -aw) 'sugar-cane' > Kach. kum-šu<sup>3</sup>, Lush. fu id.

\*cwǝrǝ 'to melt':

PNC \*=içwǝr 'to melt, thaw' > Cham., Tind., Kar. =iç- 'to melt'; Lak. =a=ça- / =a=çi- 'to melt, thaw'; Darg. =aç- / =iç- id.; Lezg. çura-, Tab. je=ç-, Ag. iç<sup>w</sup>-, Rut. =iça-, Kryz. ju=çur-, Arch. ça- id.; PWC \*(b)z<sup>w</sup>ə > Ad. ź<sup>v</sup>ə-, Kab. və-, Ub. bž(ə)- id.

Bur. \*-śor- 'to melt; become sour (of milk)' > Yas., Hun., Nag. -śór-.

\*ćVİǝ 'shallow; short':

PNC \*=ǝlćV (< \*=ǝ-ćVİV) 'short, narrow' > Chech. =ōca, Ing. l-ōca, Bac. =acū 'short'; And. =očo, Akhv. =ača-da 'short' (dial. =ača- 'tight, narrow'), Cham. =aša-ku-, Tind. =eča-ku-, Kar. =ača-ko-, Botl. =eče-ki, Bagv. =ača-ku-, God. =ače-ki 'short'; PTs \*=ǝš:V > Tsez. niši, nišju 'short; thin', Gin. niššu, Khv. niššü 'thin', Inkh. niššu 'thin; narrow', Bezht. =ašo, Gunz. =ššu 'short', (with reduplication) Bezht. šušijo, Gunz. šüşšu 'thin'.

PST \*ǰhēnH (~-ǰH, -rH) 'shallow' > OC 淺 \*čhen? 'shallow', Burm. cánh 'bar, sand bank'.

Bur. \*śal 'shallow' > Hun., Nag. śal 'shallow'.

\*ćVnV 'to cut, sickle':

PNC \*ćVnV 'sickle' > PA (with metathesis) \*ničo > And. ničo 'scythe', Akhv., Kar., God. niča 'sickle', Cham. niša, Tind., Botl. niča 'sickle; dagger'; PTs (with metathesis) \*niš:u (~-š-) > Tsez., Gin., Inkh. nišu 'sickle'; Tsakh., Kryz., Bud. čin 'sickle'; Khin. čin id.; Ub. canó 'sabre'.

PST \*čēnH 'to clip, cut' > OC 翦 \*čēn? 'to clip; cut, strip'; Tib. čhan 'a pair of scissors'; Lush. čan 'to cut up; share; portion'; Yamphu cen- 'to chop, cut'.

\*ćwějo 'man' (DCE 14):

PNC \*ćwījo 'man, male' > Chech. stu, Ing. ust, Bac. pstu 'bull', PN \*st-ak 'man' > Chech. stag, Ing. sag, Bac. šak; Av. či 'man'; PTs \*ži-ķ<sup>wə</sup> / \*zi-ķ<sup>wə</sup> (a compound < \*ži-hik<sup>wə</sup> = PN \*st-ak) > Tsez. ž-eķu, Khv. ž-iķ<sup>wə</sup>, Bezht. s-uķo, Gunz. s-uķu 'man'; Lak. čuw 'man'; Darg. sub 'male, man'; PL \*š:<sup>wij</sup> > Lezg. -vi (in compounds like lezgi-vi 'a Lezghian' etc.), Tab. žvi, Ag. šuj, Kryz. fi-ri, Bud. fu-ri, Ud. išu, iš-q:ar 'man'; PWC \*ćə / \*ćə > Ad. çə-fə, Kab. çə-x<sup>w</sup> 'person', Ub. (redupl.) ćəća 'people, persons'; PHU \*-s(u)wa- in Hurr. tar-ž(u)wa-nnə, Urart. tar-šua-nə 'man, human being'.

(?) PST \*Ca-ŋ 'person' (if \*-ŋ is a historical suffix) > PLB \*čan 'person', Miju coŋ, Trung \*čan, etc.

PY \*žeŋ 'people' (a plural form of an unattested \*že(?) 'person') > Ket. dεŋ, Yug. dεŋ, Kott. čeäŋ. See CCE 309.

Bur. (reduplicated) \*ses > Yas. ses, Hun., Nag. sis 'person(s), people'.

\*ćāŁwŃ 'blood; red':

PNC \*ćāŁwV 'blood; life' > Chech. čij, Ing. čij, Bac. çejǰi 'blood'; Av. čāgo-, Kar. čagu- 'alive'; Tab. čiwī 'alive; lively, animated'; Hurr. zur-gi 'blood'.

PST \*cāk (~ć-) 'red, red metal, gold' > Dimasa gā-dzao 'red; gold', Garo gittsāk 'red', Nocte achak id., Lush. raŋ-ka-čak 'gold' etc.

PY \*sur 'red, blood' > Ket. sūlam<sup>1</sup> 'red', sūl 'blood', Yug. surbε:hs<sup>4</sup> 'red', sur 'blood'; Kot. šur 'blood', šuru-maičei 'to paint red', Ar. sur 'blood', Pump. túl-si 'red' (CCE 278, Werner 2, 219).

[PY has a short vowel opposed to long \*-ā- in NC; let us note,

however, that the NC long vowel is reconstructed only on the circumstantial evidence of PN \*-ē- in a disyllabic structure - where short \*-e- does not occur, so the PNC vowel could well have been short.

Cf. Basq. \*i-serdi 'sweat; sap.]

[\\*čăkwă](#) 'nit, louse' (DCE 16):

PNC \*čăkwă > Chech., Ing. saga-l, Bac. psiḡ 'flea'; Tsez., Gin. čiki, Khv. čike, Bezht. čike, Gunz. čige 'flea'; Lak. čača (gen. čak-lu-l) 'flea'; Darg. čika / čeka (dial. čik<sup>w</sup>a) 'flea'; PWC \*čača / \*kača > Abkh. a-kačá, Abaz. kača 'bug', Ad. cāča, Kab. čača 'nit'.

Bur. \*žeké 'nit' > Yas. žeké, çeké, Hun., Nag. žikí.

[\\*č\[ă\]xqwă](#) 'scoop' (HGC 32, LV A8, LDC 32, BCD 18):

PNC \*čăqwă ~ \*čăqwă > Av. dial. č:iḡáro 'spoon'; Bezht. čüxrö 'wooden gutter'; Lezg. dial. čuxar 'gutter'; Tab. Düb. čača 'wooden jar', Ag. čaq id., Arch. čaq<sup>w</sup> 'spoon, wooden shovel'; PWC \*č<sup>(w)</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. a-čaq<sup>w</sup>á 'wooden spoon', Ub. čaq<sup>w</sup>á 'basin, tureen'; (with metathesis also: Lak. kiču 'slop-basin, basin', kičala 'scoop', Darg. kučul 'spoon').

PST \*[Če]k<sup>w</sup> 'ladle' > OC 釭 \*ček<sup>w</sup>-s to 'empty a cup', 爵 \*ček<sup>w</sup> 'wine cup'; Lush. suak 'to ladle, ladle out' (with a not quite clear initial correspondence).

PY \*sižk (~-g,-χ) 'trough' > Ket. sižk, Yug. sižk (CCE 275, Werner 2, 222).

[Cf. Basq. \*a-ška 'crib, manger, trough'].

[\\*čěčĕ](#) 'an internal organ' (KS 224, LDC 18):

PNC \*čěčĕ 'kidney' > Darg. ur-cec; Khin. čičin; PWC \*čača > Abkh. a-čáča, Abaz. čača, Ad. zázəj, Kab. zázaj, Ub. čáča.

PST \*čat 'womb, placenta' > Kach. pu-žat 'womb', Lepcha a-jeŋ-čot 'placenta', Hayu tsat-nomri 'placenta', etc.

PY \*sisa(l)- 'lungs, liver' > Kott. šičātn, pl. -aŋ 'lungs', šičil, pl. -aŋ 'liver'; Ass. (Бол.) šišatin 'lungs'; Ar. šišali (Локк.) 'lungs', sal (reduction < \*sVsal?) 'liver'. See CCE 275. Not quite clear is the position of Werner: he accepts the reconstruction \*sisa(l)- on p. 2, 438, but on the next page (2, 439) treats the same words as a compound \*si + \*sil (?), lumping all the forms together with those analyzed under \*senj.

[\\*čVHV](#) 'sharp' (somewhat differently in HGC 33):

PST \*śal (~-ə-, -l) 'sharp edge, sharp stone' > Tib. śal 'flint,

sharp-edged stone'; Kach. niŋšan<sup>2</sup>, nšan<sup>2</sup>, nša<sup>3</sup> 'the edge of a blade'.

PY \*saʔr<sub>1</sub> 'sharp edge' > Ket. saʔl, Yug.saʔr, Kott. šal (CCE 269, Werner 2, 182).

(?) Bur. \*sel 'needle' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar sel.

[The Bur. parallel is questionable - both because of an irregular s- and because the word may be borrowed < Prakr. silla-, sella- 'spear, arrow', Skr. śilī.]

\*ćVŋV 'to break, destroy':

PNC \*=ǎñĚ ( $\langle *ǎ-ćVnV \rangle$ ) 'to break, split' > Chech. ʕitt- / ʕott-, Ing. ʕott-, Bac. ʕott- 'to prick, stick in, insert'; And., Cham., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. =ič- 'to die', Av. ǰ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to kill', Av. =ečá-, Akhv. =eč-il-, And. =ečan-d-, Kar. =ečan- 'to fade, wither', And., Cham., Tind., God. čin-, Kar. čijā- 'to pound, crush'; Lak. =a=či- 'to get split; to divide, be divided'; PWC \*čǰə- 'to break, crush' > Ad. pǰǰə- / pǰǰǰə-, Kab. pǰ-šǰǰə-, Ub. ča-ča-

PST \*čǰǎŋ (~ ǰh-) 'to injure, break' > OC 戕 \*ǰǰǎŋ 'to kill; injure'; Burm. čǰǎŋ 'to destroy'.

\*ćVqǰ 'head' (HGC 19, DCE 1):

PNC > PWC \*SqIa 'head' > Abkh. a-χó, Abaz. qa, Ad., Kab. šha, Ub. ša.

PY \*c[i]ʔG- 'head' > Ket. tiʔ, Yug. čič, Kott. tagai, takai, Ar. ke-dake. See CCE 214, Werner 1, 167. Werner doubts the relationship of Kott. tagai 'head', although it displays absolutely the same correspondence as \*cīk 'snake' q.v. (Kott. tēg, tēx) and \*cā-xur 'thin (of fluid)' (Kott. theūr).

Bur. \*ćáya-nes > Yas. -ćáyanes 'back of head'.

\*ćVǰǰ 'bow, arrow, bow-string' (HGC 33):

PNC \*ćǰǰV 'reed, cane; arrow' > Bac. ǰa-k 'arrow'; Tsez., Gin. ǰeru-ǰa, Bezht., Gunz. ǰaʔa 'bow' (also Bezht. ǰulu-ǰa, Gunz. ǰulu-ǰaʔa id.); Lak. ǰaħa 'reed, cane', ǰa-ǰaraǰ 'arrow'; Tab. ǰeʔ 'reed, cane; arrow'.

PST \*śVj 'to shoot' > Kach. gǰ-šoi<sup>3</sup> 'to shoot, as an arrow', Lush. sai 'to shoot with a pellet', Lepcha ǰǰ, ǰǰá 'to fix arrow on the string, to prepare to fire off'.

PY \*cu(?) 'bow-string' > Ket. qǰq-tut (Werner 2, 145), Yug. tuť (Castr.); Kott. gij-tu (Bol.), Ar. kej-tu (Losk.). See CCE 214. Kott. and Arin reflect a compound with \*χiʔǰ "bow" as the first component. The Yug form was explained in KC 222 as a reduplication, with a regular dissimilation tuť < \*tuť, with a resulting reconstruction \*cu(?) / \*cuc. Werner (2, 293)



suggests a compound \*t<sup>h</sup>u-t'ə, with the second component = Ket. tiʔ 'rope'; this does not seem quite convincing, basically because Yug -t' is unexplained (the corresponding Yug form is tiʔ, see Werner 2, 267 and \*tiʔ). The component q<sup>l</sup>q- (= q<sup>l</sup>ʔq-) in the Ket form recorded by Werner is interpreted by him as q<sup>l</sup>ʔq 'corner, angle'.

\*čwǰěli 'a k. of foliage tree':

PNC \*čwǰěli (~ -ǰ-, -ǰ-) > Av. č<sup>w</sup>ad (< \*č<sup>w</sup>al-d or \*č<sup>w</sup>ar-d) 'ash-tree'; Lezg. č<sup>w</sup>eli-n t:ar, Tab. č<sup>v</sup>al, Ag. čuɪɪ, Rut. čul, Tsakh. čow 'willow'.

PST \*śəl > Tib. śol 'a sp. of willow', g-śol 'poplar-tree'; Lush. thal 'a sp. of oak'.

\*čǎHV 'salt' (HGC 31, DCE 20):

PNC > PWC \*čǎ (/ \*čǎ) 'salt' > Abkh. a-čǎ-Ka, Abaz. č-ka; Ad. śǎ-ɤ<sup>w</sup>, Kab. śǎ-ɤ<sup>w</sup>; Ub. čǎ.

PST > PTB \*(m)či 'salt'.

PY \*čǎʔ 'salt' > Ket. t<sup>l</sup>ʔ, Yug. č<sup>l</sup>ʔ, Kott. ši-nčēt. See CCE 216, Werner 2, 301.

Bur. \*śáo > Hun., Nag. śáo 'oversalted'.

\*čǎmpV (~ \*št-) 'sand; dirt':

PNC \*čǎmpV 'sand, road metal' > Chech., Bac. čim 'ashes'; Akhv. s:i:bi 'round stone, boulder', Tind. š:i:bi 'fastening stone on roof'; Lak. š:ama 'road metal'; Lezg., Tab., Ag., Rut. šim 'road metal', Ud. ša 'sand'; Khin. šum 'sand'.

PST \*Čim (~ -em) 'mud, marsh' > Tib. ãžim 'a compound of earth and water, mud, clay, loam', Burm. čimʔ 'marsh, swamp', Ao Naga \*li-sem 'sand'.

\*čǎšV 'urine' (HGC 25, DCE 14):

PNC > PN \*čiš 'urine'.

PST \*či 'urine' > Tib. g-čí, g-čí-d, g-čí-n; Burm. čih; Kach. ži-t<sup>2</sup> 'urine', (Mat.) ži<sup>3</sup>, či<sup>3</sup> 'to urinate'; Lepcha ži-t 'urine'; Kir. \*ʔce(s) 'urinate', etc.

PY \*čǎš 'urine' > Ket. d<sup>ɓ</sup>ś, Yug. d<sup>ɓ</sup>ś, Kott. čaš. See CCE 310, Werner 1, 216.

Bur. \*čuś > Hun., Nag. čuś 'urine' (children's speech).

\*čHwVrtV 'a k. of bird':

PNC \*čHwV̄r(V)t̄V 'a k. of bird (swallow, starling)' > Ing. čqord 'lark'; Lak. čit̄u 'swallow'; Darg. čaṭa, dial. čuṭa id.; Tab. čalr̄t̄ 'nestling, young of birds'; Tsakh. šit̄ 'bird'; PWC \*č:ʷarədʷV 'starling' > Abkh. á-ž'ardʷəna, Ad. pčanda-χʷ, Kab. bžandaχʷ.

PY \*žida 'woodcock (глыхарь)' > Ket. dīt, Yug. diť, Kott. fen-ćera (lit. 'female woodcock'). See CCE 310, Werner 2, 193 (with some hardly justified doubts).

\*čfVlé 'fence' (BCD 16):

PNC \*čhafē 'enclosure, fence' > Av. čalí 'fence, enclosure', Tind. čali 'enclosure for milking sheep'; Darg. čalli 'fence'; Tab. ar-čil (Düb. arčal), Ud. čal 'fence', Rut. čal 'enclosure for milking sheep'.

PST \*[žh]õn (~-ł) 'fish trap, fish fence' > OC 筊 \*čhon 'bamboo trap to catch fish', Kach. son 'a k. of basket for fishing'.

PY \*tol- (~ c-, č-, -r-) 'wattle-fence' > Ket. tól (CCE 287, Werner 2, 284).

[Cf. Basq. \*śare 'net, grate, stockade, manger'.]

\*čirbV 'dog':

PNC \*čərbV / \*bərčV (~ č) > Cham., Tind., Kar., God. čiba 'bitch'; (?) Tab. (with a metathesis) barči 'tracking dog, bloodhound'.

PY \*čip 'dog' > Ket. t̄ip, Yug. čip, Kott. al-šip, Ar. íl-čap (CCE 217, Werner 2, 269).

\*čVwV (\*=ā-čVwV) 'wet, pour':

PNC \*=āwčĀ 'to emit, pour; vomit' > Chech. l-īč-, Ing. l-uwč- 'to bathe', Bac. l-epč- 'to be scattered'; Av. čʷa-l- 'to splash', čuča- 'to rinse', And. a=č- 'to wash, bathe', čab-d- 'to splash, flow', Akhv. čab- 'to wash, bathe', Cham. ša-lu- 'liquid', Tind. =ačʷ-, čʷab-d- 'to flow', Kar. čočab- 'to rinse'; Tsez. ŋeč-, Gin. ič-ā- 'to vomit'; Lak. =i=či- 'to pour, strew'; Lezg. il-ič-, Ag. l-ajč-, Bud. e-χ-č- 'to flow, pour', Tab. ed-e=č-, Kryz. q-ājč- 'to vomit'; PWC \*žʷə 'to vomit' > Abkh. a-žʷa-rá, Ab. žʷa-ra, Ad. q:a-žə-, ža-wa-, Kab. q:a-žə-, Ub. žə-.

PST \*čəw 'water, wet; to scoop' > Tib. čhu 'water', bču-d 'moisture, juice, sap', āčhu 'to ladle or scoop (water)'; Burm. čəw 'be wet, moist', čwa-t, čhwa-t 'wet, moist'; Kach. žo³ 'to pour into', čo² 'spoon'; Lush. čiau 'wet and dirty'; Limbu cwa-ʔl 'water'.

PY \*ʔač- 'to pour' > Ket. átij, Yug. atčej / ačej (see Werner 1, 76-77).

Bur. \*śáo > Hun. śáo 't- 'to wash'.

\*čwřGwV (~ št-, -xG-) 'hole'

PNC \*čwřGwV (~i-, -ā-) 'hole' > Chech. čorĕ 'kennel, gutter; ravine'; Bezht. žur, Gunz. žor 'window'; Darg. Chir. č:aq<sup>w</sup>a 'pit'; with expressive modifications cf. also Tab. ž<sup>v</sup>uq, Ag. žuq 'buttock, anus', Lak. cuq 'hole'.

PST \*čik<sup>w</sup> (~ žh-, -ia-) 'hind part, anus, vulva' > Tib. g-žug, m-žug 'hind part, posteriors, tail'; Burm. ćauk 'vulva'; Kach. (H) mə-čo 'socket; vagina', etc.

\*čalq<sup>w</sup>V 'chew' (LDC 30):

PNC > PL \*čalk<sup>w</sup>V- / \*čalq<sup>w</sup>V- > Lezg. žaq<sup>w</sup>a-, Tab. č<sup>v</sup>u=q-, Ag. čilq<sup>w</sup>-, Rut. ča=rk<sup>w</sup>a-, Kryz. čoq-, Bud. čaq- 'to gnaw, chew', Tsakh. ača=k<sup>w</sup>an- 'to bite'.

PST > Tib. ćag (ćag) 'to chew'.

Bur. \*ćaq > Yas., Hun., Nag. ćaq -t- 'to chew'.

\*čāmā 'crow, magpie':

PNC \*čāmā > Chech. čērag 'magpie'; Av. č:īā 'starling', And. č:īnā, Akhv. č:āā, Cham. šaā, Tind. č:aā<sup>w</sup>a, God. č:aā 'jackdaw'; Lezg., Tab., Ag., Kryz., Bud. čaā, Tsakh. čīā 'jackdaw, rook'; Khin. čaā id.

Bur. \*čayé(n) > Yas. ćayé 'Dohle', Hun. čayén 'crow with a red beak'.

\*čēxq<sup>w</sup>V 'tight plait (used for constructing ladders, sledges etc.):'

PNC \*čiq<sup>w</sup>V (~ \*č-) 'tight plait (used for ladders etc.)' > Cham. čēka 'stairs'; Lezg. čiq 'tight plait; plaited brake for a sledge', Tab. čiq 'tight plait', Ag. čiq 'wooden step; funeral stretcher', Rut. čiq 'yoke', Tsakh. čiq 'rolling-pin', Kryz. čiq 'rolling-pin', Kryz. čiq '(women's) plait'.

PST \*Čāk > OC 箬 \*žāk 'bamboo rope'; Tib. žags 'leash, rope with a noose'.

PY \*čēke 'sliver, chip, splinter' > Ket. tē:, Kur. tē: / tē:γə<sup>4</sup>, pl. tē:kn<sup>1</sup>; Yug. čē:hk / čē:, pl. čēkn<sup>1</sup> (pl. also 'Leisten für den Belag des Polarschlittens', see Werner 1, 165); Kott. šēki, pl. šēkn, šēkan "Span" (CCE 216, Werner 1, 256).

\*čōfwā (~ št-) 'fermented liquor' (LV D9):

PNC \*čōfwā ~ \*čōwfā (~ā-) > Chech. čūha, Ing. čūhi 'cheese whey; cheese brine'; Av. čāśā, Tind. čā 'home-brewed beer'; Lak. čuw 'colostrum,

beestings'; Lezg. č<sup>w</sup>eh, Tab. č<sup>v</sup>eh, Ag. č<sup>w</sup>aḥ, Rut. č<sup>w</sup>eh 'whey', Arch. noI-čol 'food made of colostrum'; see NCED 384.

PST > OC 酒 \*cu? ~ \*cu? 'wine'.

[An interesting parallel, but the PNC final length seems to contradict shortness in OC. Let us note, however, that the length reconstruction in NC is based only on the Avar nominative čaśá (the paradigm proper is unknown) and thus not quite certain.]

\*čHādwV 'earth, clay':

PNC \*čHādwV 'earth, clay' > Cham. čaṭ<sup>w</sup> 'grey clay', Tind. čaji 'clay'; Tsez. čeldo, Gin. čodi, Khv. čida 'earth', Bezht. čide 'soot'; Darg. Tsud. čalt 'dirt, mud'.

Bur. \*čidín 'hard floor, soil' > Yas., Hun., Nag. čidín.

\*čHá[ll]xkV (~ č-) 'a k. of insect':

PNC \*čHa[ll]xV (~ č-) 'beetle; dragonfly' > God. čalχa 'beetle, insect'; Tab. čaḷčaḷI 'dragonfly'.

Bur. \*šiqá- 'wasp' > Yas. iŝqár, Hun. šiqár, Nag. šiqál.

\*čHárV 'wet; rainy':

PNC \*čHárV (~ \*č-) 'wet; fish' > Chech. čāra, Ing. čqāra, Bac. čare 'fish'; Arch. ča:ira- 'wet'.

PST \*čhVr 'rain' > Tib. čhar 'rain', Lush. fūr 'rainy season'.

Bur. čur 'drop, drip'; cúro 'urine'.

\*čHəqwV 'thick, big, abundant' (HGC 40, NSC 53, BCD 18):

PNC \*čHəqwV 'big' > Av. čaḥá- 'large, big' (adv.), And. Botl., God. -ečuxa, Kar. hičuxa- 'big'; Lak. čal-u- 'many'; Darg. Chir. čaq<sup>w</sup>- 'high'; Lezg. čexi 'big', Tab. ča-t-χu 'large, massive'; PWC \*č<sup>w</sup>əχ<sup>w</sup>a > Ad., Kab. -šx<sup>w</sup>a 'big', Ub. šχ<sup>w</sup>a 'strong'.

PST \*čök (~ č-) 'enough, sufficient' > OC 足 \*čok 'enough, sufficient'; Tib. čog 'to be sufficient, sufficiency'.

(?) PY \*su(?)K- 'thick' > Ket. súkŋ, Yug. sukŋ<sup>5</sup>, Kott. šukŋ. See CCE 277, Werner 2, 212.

Bur. \*sók- 'wide, broad' > Yas., Hun., Nag. sóqum.

[\*s in PY is not quite regular and may suggest some different origin.

Cf. Basq. \*a-śko 'many; enough'.]

[\\*čHixq̄wĀ](#) (~ -G-) 'dirt; resin' (LDC 24):

PNC \*čHixq̄wĀ (~ \*ć-, \*č-, \*ć-, -G-) 'dung, ordure, dirt' > Tab. čvq:I-ur 'ordure, faeces', Rut. čuqI<sup>w</sup> 'dirt 9on clothes', Tsakh. čuqI, Kryz. čäq 'eye secretion', Bud. čuq 'id.; ear-wax, mould, fish-eggs'; PWC \*čVq̄<sup>wə</sup> (~ \*ć-) 'manure, dung (of cattle)' > Abaz. (with metathesis) q̄<sup>wə</sup>ç, Ub. çaq<sup>w</sup>.

PY \*žik (~ -g, -χ) 'resin, gum' > Ket. dik, Yug. dík, Kott. čik. See CCE 310, Werner 1, 193.

Bur. \*číki > Hun. cíki, Nag. chíki 'musk (from the navel of a mountain goat)'.]

[\\*čHwīlV](#) 'small bird' (BCD 17):

PNC \*čHwīlV (~ ć-, -ē-, -ī-) > Av. čorólo 'quail', Cham. čor 'bird', Gig. čura 'sparrow', Tind. čuri-kaša 'quail'; Lak. čillmu 'small bird'.

PY \*?VsilV (~-č-, -í-, -rī-) 'bird' > Kott. nen-ašili, Ar. išila (CCE 204, Werner 1, 390).

[Cf. Basq. txori 'bird', txol-arre 'sparrow'.]

[\\*čóqā](#) (~ -xq-) 'neighbour, enemy' (LV B7):

PNC \*čúqā / \*čúqā (~-ć-, -ć-, -ē-) 'friend; neighbour' > Av. čuq:á (par. B: čuq:á-dul, čuq:á-bí); Lak. čax:u-l 'neighbours'; see NCED 389-390.

PST \*čhāk (~-žh-) 'robber, bandit' > OC 賊 \*žhāk 'murderer, bandit, villain'; Tib. žag 'robbing, robbery'; Kach. (?) žok<sup>2</sup>, sok<sup>2</sup> 'to scout, spy out'.

Bur. \*šučúr 'foreign' > Hunza, Nagar šučúr.

[\\*čV\[ɫ\]xkwV](#) 'foot':

PNC \*čV[ɫ]xkwV 'hoof, foot' > Bac. čalkǒ 'hoof'; And. čuqa, Akhv. ç:eqa 'foot'.

PST \*ćok / \*ćoŋ 'foot' > OC 足 \*ćok 'foot', Tib. čhag (resp.) 'shoe'; Naga \*čVŋ, Sichuan \*čhV 'foot'.

PY \*-či(?)G > -či in Yug. xola-čič, Kott. hal-čīg, hal-čix 'hoof' (for the first part see \*čHwVIV (~-ł-)).

Bur. \*-śóyun > Yas. -śóyon 'hip, thigh', Hun., Nag. -śúyun 'pelvic bone'

[\\*čVmhV](#) 'span' (WFR 100; BCD 17):

PNC \*čVmhV 'span' > (PEC \*čwimhV) > Chech. ša, Ing. šu, Bac. še 'span'; Cham. čibil (Gig. čiwul) 'span (between the thumb and the fore-finger)'; PTs \*č<sup>w</sup>im(u) 'span (between the thumb and the small finger)' > Tsez., Khv. ʈom, Gin. ʈemu, Bezht. ʈimo, Gunz. ʈimu; Darg. čim 'span';

PL \*č<sup>w</sup>iIm: 'span (between the thumb and the small finger)' > Lezg., Tab. čib, Ag. čilb, Rut. čub, Tsakh. čilm / čuIm, Arch. č<sup>w</sup>im; PWC \*ža > Abkh. á-ža (Bž. á-ža), Abaz. ža, Ad. (bži-)z, Kab.(bži-)z, Ub. ža.

PST \*cūm ( ~ ć-) > Kach. žum 'the length of two hand-breadths, with thumb extended between', žum<sup>1</sup> 'to take hold of'; Lush. čūm 'to strike with the fist' (there is also sūm 'a measurement equal to twice the length of the closed fist' - a confusion of this root with PST \*śūm).

[Cf. Basq. \*čemhe ~ \*čeh(u)me 'span of thumb and index finger'.]

\*čwǎkwV 'knife, axe; to drill holes' (HGC 32, NSC 53, DCE 25):

PNC \*č<sup>w</sup>iķwV 'knife' > Tsez. ʔalq, Gin. ʔoq, Khv. ʔiq 'knife'; Lezg. čuķul, Tsakh. čika, Kryz. čuķul 'knife'.

PST \*žhVkw<sup>w</sup> 'chisel; axe, hoe' > OC 鑿 \*žhāk<sup>w</sup> 'to bore, chisel out'; Lush. čēk 'to chop or hack with axe; to hoe'.

PY \*čok 'axe' > Ket. tōk, Yug. čok. See CCE 218, Werner 2, 283.

Bur. \*ćak 'pick-axe' > Hun., Nag. ćak.

[PY points to lax phonation, contradicting NC tenseness (which is itself, however, not quite certain, being based on a somewhat questionable equation of PC \*t<sup>w</sup>iq and PL \*čuķa).]

\*čwǎnhV ( ~ šť-) 'flea' (WFR 69, LV B8):

PNC \*č<sup>w</sup>ǎnhV 'flea; nit' > Av. če-ť (par. B: čotó-l, čuťú-l), And. čon-ni, Alhv. čā-ťi, Cham. čan, Tind. čan-di, Kar. čan-ťe, Botl., God. čan-ťi, Bagv. čan-ť 'flea'; Gin. čima, Bezht. hīma, Gunz. ʔima 'nit'; PL \*čun:(a) > Lezg. čut, Tab. čud, Ag., Rut., Kryz, Bud. čid, Tsakh. čin, Ud. in 'flea'; see NCED 394-395.

PNC \*ćuH ( ~ ź-) 'flea' > OC 蚤 \*ćuʔ, Tib. āžu-ba 'flea', Kir. \*cu-kik-pä id.

\*dānʔi 'cheek, flat body part' (WFR, LV Cb8):

PNC \*dānʔi ( ~ -ū) 'cheek; gum' > Chech. dō-la, Ing. do-l 'gum (in mouth)'; Av. da (par. B: pl. da-bí), And. da-b, Akhv. da-bul, Kar. da-be id.; Rut., Tsakh. dan 'cheek', see NCED 398.

PST \*tǎn(H) ( ~ -d-) 'flat part of body (palm, buttock, cheek' > OC 掌 \*taŋʔ 'palm of the hand'; Tib. mthaŋ 'the lower part of the body', Burm. taŋ 'buttocks, posterior', Kach. mai<sup>2</sup>-dan<sup>2</sup> 'the buttocks', Lepcha tūŋ 'the cushion of hand, the heel of foot', Yamphu nam-dan 'cheek', etc.

[Irregular vowel shortness in PST. This, together with somewhat dubious semantics in PNC, favours search for other etymological

possibilities. The Nakh and Av.-Andian forms can in fact - as mentioned in NCED 398 - be compared with Dargwa (Chir.) dem 'mouth', with a provisional reconstruction \*damhV or \*dafmV 'mouth; gum (in mouth)', which would separate the Lezghian forms, and let only them be compared with PST. The matter requires further investigation.]

\*daró 'tree, stump' (SCE 106):

PNC \*daro 'tree; conifer' > Lak. t:ar 'needles of a conifer'; Lezg. t:ar 'tree', Ag. dar 'stem', Kryz. dar, Bud. dər; perhaps also (with reduplication) Ud. durut: 'log'.

PST \*t(r)ö 'stem, stump' > OC 株 \*tro 'tree-root, tree-stem'; Kach. ndu<sup>2</sup> 'stem'; cf. also Bodo \*dər 'root' (reflecting a different accent variant?).

Bur. \*tóro > Hun., Nag. tóro 'log'.

\*darq<sup>w</sup>V 'otter; weasel' (BCD 9):

PNC \*darq<sup>w</sup>V 'weasel, ermine' > And. darG<sup>w</sup>a 'weasel, marten'; Lak. t:arq̄a (dial. t:arq̄<sup>w</sup>a) 'weasel, ermine'.

PY \*täχVr 'otter' > Ket. ta:Í, Yug. ta:r, Kott. thēgār, thē?ār. See CCE 283, Werner 2, 251.

[Cf. Basq. \*u-dagara 'otter'.]

\*dHāqwĀ 'nape; back' (LV D7):

PNC \*dHāqwĀ 'back of head, neck' > Lezg. t:ex<sup>w</sup>, Rut. daqI 'back of head'; Abkh. á-χ<sup>w</sup>da, Abaz. q<sup>w</sup>da (with a metathesis) 'neck', Ub. t<sup>w</sup>əq id., Ad. pśa-təq; Kab. pśa-dəq: 'back of neck' (pśa- 'neck'); see NCED 399.

PST \*tūk 'neck' > OC 脰 \*dō(k)s 'neck', Kach. du? 'neck', Lush. tuk 'knot or bob of hair on the nape of the neck', Lepcha tok 'head', tük-tok 'neck', etc. [Lush. has a frequent narrow vowel shortening.]

PY \*tuGV 'back, behind' > Ket. tū 'back (place between shoulder-blades)', (?) Yug. tu 'Innenraum der Brust' (Werner 2, 294), Kott. tugalín 'behind (anat.)' (CCE 289; Werner 2, 294 doubts the attribution of the Kottish word, although I would rather doubt the attribution of the Yug one).

[Cf. Basq. \*tak-oin 'heel of a shoe' (\*'back of foot').]

\*dñwōdwō 'pipe':

PNC \*dñwōdwō 'tube, pipe' > Av. dad, Bagv. dar<sup>w</sup> 'churn', Akhv. dadi 'jug, pitcher', Cham. dudu, Kar. didu 'wheel'; Lak. duIdu 'speaking-tube'; Darg. daId 'pipe'; Lezg. t:üd, Tab. düd 'throat, gullet

(\*windpipe)'.  
 Bur. \*ḡóḡo > Yas. ḡóḡo, ḡóḡi, Hun., Nag. ḡóḡo 'throat'.

[Cf. Basq. tutu 'tube, roll, pipe, duct; horn (music.); vulva'.]

\*dɪlɔwV 'dust, cloud' (DCE 23):

PNC \*dɪlɔwV 'cloud' > Lak. t:urlu; Darg. dirix (Chir. dirix<sup>w</sup>); PL \*t:iλ:<sup>w</sup> > Lezg. c:if, Tab., Ag. dif, Kryz. žif, Bud. žuf, Arch. diλ<sup>w</sup>.

Bur. \*duldúm (probably assimilation < \*ḡuldúm) 'rising cloud (of dust, smoke)' > Hun., Nag. duldúm.

\*dUHV 'bay, island':

PST \*tu (~ d-) > OC 州 \*tu 'province; island in a river'; Tib. m-do 'district, province'.

PY \*tu 'bay, backwater' Ket. (Castr.) ei-tu, Kott. hau-tu 'Flußbusen'. See CCE 288, Werner 2, 309. The Kottish form is a compound parallel to Ket ei-tu (pl. ejän tunen) "Flussbusen", in the first part of which we have Ket ēje 'island' (see \*HwV?V).

\*dV 'prohibitive particle' (HGC 21):

PNC \*-dV- > Cham. -da 'negative gerund'; Inkh. -ate, Gunz. -aṭ- 'negative suffix'; Lezg. t:-, Tab., Ag., Tsakh., Kryz., Bud. d-, Arch. -ṭu, Ud. te 'not'; Khin. -n-dä- 'suffix of negative participles'.

PST \*tä (~ d-) 'prohibitive particle' > PLB \*thax, Garo da, Kan. tha, Vayu ta id.; OC 遮 \*tia 'to intercept, stop', 止 \*təʔ 'stop', Burm. tah 'to prevent in any way', Lepcha tho 'to arrest, detain, stop'.

PY \*ʔat / \*ta- > Ket. āt 'don't' (prohibitive particle), ta:ŋ 'not', Yug. ata 'don't' (prohibitive particle), tāŋə bḡś 'not at all'. See CCE 184, Werner 1, 72.

\*dV 'demonstrative pronoun' (HGC HGC 22, NSC 64):

PNC \*dV 'that' > Chech. d-ḡā, Ing. d-ḡa, Bac. da-ḡ 'that'; Av. do-b, And. hu-du-, he-de-, Akhv. hu-du-, Cham. u-da-, Tind. o-ja-, Kar. wu-du-, Botl. do-b, God. ho-do-, hu-do- 'that'; Tsez. je-da, Gin. ha-do, Khv. i-du, Bezht. hu-di, Gunz. bə-d 'this'; Tab. du-mu, Rut. ha-d, Kryz. ä-d, Bud. a-d, Arch. gu-du, ɤu-du, Ud. t:e 'that'; Khin. du, dā 'this'; Abkh. da-rá, Ab. da-ra 'they', -da 'adverbial suffix' (\*'there'); Ad., Kab. ā-da 'there'; Ub. aj-da 'that, another'.

PST \*tä- (\*tǎ-) 'this, that' > OC 之 \*tə 'that, it (obj.)'; 是 \*deʔ 'this'; 時 \*də 'this'; Tib. de, do 'that', ādi 'this'; Burm. thəw 'that'; Kach. dai<sup>1</sup> 'this, that';



self', ndai<sup>1</sup> 'this'; Lush. tei 'self', tiʔ 'that'; Lepcha tə-ă, tə-á, tə-a, tə-o 'that, that there'; Kir. \*tV- 'this', etc.

PY \*tu- > Ket. tuda<sup>6</sup> (Bak., Sur.) 'this' (n., f.), tūdə<sup>1</sup> 'this' (m.), tuna 'these'; Kur. tuá<sup>6</sup> 'this' (n., f.); tūrə 'this' (m.), tuna 'these'; South. tuʔ 'this', tuna 'these'; tʔn 'thus'; tunbiś<sup>5</sup> 'such'; tuńíl (< tuńi:Í<sup>3</sup>) 'thence'; North. tuśɛŋ, South. tuśáŋ 'there'; Yug. tuda<sup>6</sup> 'this' (n., f.); tūt 'this' (m.); tuńá<sup>5,6</sup> 'these'; tʔn 'thus'; tunbiś<sup>5</sup> 'such'; tuńr:ɾ<sup>3</sup> 'thence'; tusɛŋ / tuse:hŋ<sup>4</sup> 'there'; Ar. i-ta-ŋ 'they'; Pump. á-du 'he'. See CCE 288, Werner 2, 294 (separates Ket-Yug \*tu- from tʔn 'thus, so' and from the Arin and Pump. forms - which I think is hardly justified).

Bur. \*te > Yas. te, ot, Hun., Nag. ité, et 'that'.

[We should note that PNC also has reflexes of \*tV 'that' - probably opposed to \*dV as 'that (far)' - 'that (on the same level as the speaker)'. It is not quite clear whether it is a specific NC innovation, or the two roots have merged everywhere except PNC.]

\*dǎŋG(w)ǎ 'cock' (HGC 28):

PNC \*dǎŋG(w)V > Darg. daʁa (dial. daʁ<sup>w</sup>a, t:ʁ<sup>w</sup>a) 'cock'; Ad. ātāq:a, Kab. ādāq:a, Ub. táqa 'id.'

(?) PST \*dhǎŋ 'peacock; crest (of bird), feather' > Tib. m-don-s 'the eye in a peacock's feather'; Burm. uʔ-daŋh 'peacock'; Kach. duŋ-kun 'crest', Milang ka-taŋ 'feather', Padam pət-taŋ 'bird' etc.

PY \*tǎq 'a k. of duck' > Ket. t:ʁə<sup>4</sup>, South. tǎq<sup>4</sup>; pl. tǎqín<sup>1</sup> 'a k. of duck (гоголь)', Yug. t:hx id.; Kott. althax, pl. althagan, althakŋ "Quakerente (Anas clangula)" (CCE 287, Werner 2, 276).

[The ST reflex is somewhat dubious, both because of vowel shortness and final nasalization.]

\*dǎHV 'to grow, big' (HGC 18):

PNC > PWC \*dA > Abkh. a-dú 'big', dǎ-ra 'very', Abaz. du 'big', da-ra 'very'; Ad. dad, Kab. dǎda 'most, at all'; Ub. ja-dá 'much, very'.

PST \*tajH 'big, much' > OC 多 \*tāj 'much, many', 哆 \*thajʔ, \*thiajʔ, \*trājʔ, \*thrājʔ 'be great'; Burm. taj 'very', tǎiʔ 'sign of the plural'; Kach. theʔ<sup>2</sup> 'and'; Lush. teʔ 'much, very much', -te 'plural suffix'; Lepcha tí 'to be great, large, big', Kir. \*dV 'big', etc.

PY \*tiʔ- 'to grow' > Ket. tijŋ<sup>5</sup>, (Werner 2, 262) -tij; Yug. tijŋ, -tij (Werner 2, 262); see CCE 286, Werner 2, 261.

\*dǎmpé 'bank, edge':

PNC \*dömpe 'edge, bank' > Darg. dub 'edge, bank', Chir. dum id. (cf. also dubura, Chir. dabura 'mountain' > Arch. dumpəra 'hill'); Lezg. t:am, Rut. dam 'wood, forest', Ud. dömbä 'corner, edge', Ag. dial. damb 'tomb-stone'.

PST \*di(ə)p ~ \*dep 'top' > Burm. thip 'top, apex', Lush. čhīp 'crown of the head; top, apex' (cf. also Kir. \*thēm 'top').

PY \*tip- 'precipice' > Ket. tī, Yug. tifəl. See CCE 286, Werner 2, 306, 312, with some confusion: reconstructs \*thip<sup>h</sup>əl on p. 312, but on p. 306 suggests a compound \*t<sup>h</sup>i + \*p<sup>h</sup>əl, where none of the components is explained. One cannot reconstruct \*ti on the basis of the Ket form: it plainly goes back to \*tipV-, as shown by Yug.

\*dVnV 'pot, vessel':

PST \*tiānH (~d-) 'a k. of vessel' > OC 鼎 \*tēŋʔ 'cauldron'; Tib. tin 'a small cup of brass used in sacrificing'; (?) Lepcha tūŋ-djōŋ 'a large basket'.

PY \*tiʔn 'kettle' > Ket., Yug. tiʔn, Pump. a-tin. See CCE 286, Werner 2, 312.

\*dVŋV 'to see':

PST \*thiāŋ (~dh-) > OC 瞠 \*thrāŋ (< \*r-thāŋ) 'to look straight at, stare'; Tib. m-thoŋ 'to see', Kanauri taŋ.

PY \*tuŋ 'to see' > Ket. di-tuŋ 'I see', Kott. thāŋaŋ ið., thaŋ 'seeing'. See CCE 290, Werner 2, 228, 239, 290

\*[d]VŋwV 'top' (LDC 34, BCD 8):

PST \*tēŋH (~d-) 'top' > OC 頂 \*tēŋʔ 'top of the head'; Tib. s-ten 'that which is above, top'.

Bur. \*-thán 'top' > Yas., Hun., Nag. -thán.

[Cf. Basq. \*tini 'top'.]

\*dVrV 'to shake':

PST \*t[ɨ]r (~d-) 'to shake, shiver' > OC 震 \*tər-s 'shake; fear; clap of thunder'; Tib. ādar 'to tremble, shiver, quake'; Burm. tun 'to tremble, shake, shiver, fear'; Lepcha tir, tjir, tjar 'to move, to shake, to curl, as in contempt; to shake, as earth, house'.

PY \*tV(?)r > Kott. ši-tar 'shaking', ba-tharaŋ, praet. bala-tharaŋ, imp. al-thar 'to shake'. See CCE 292, Werner 2, 441.

\*dVrxqWV 'male animal' (DCE 17):

PNC \*dVrǫwV 'he-goat' > Av. dešén 'he-goat'; Gin. ʔeq<sup>w</sup>i, Khv. ʔiq<sup>w</sup>a, Bezht. ʔöqä, Gunz. ʔoq-či 'young he-goat'; Hurr. tayə 'man, male'.  
 PST > OC 特 dhāk 'male animal, bull'.  
 Bur. \*ǰágar > Nag. ǰágar 'ram'.

[\\*dwāñ](#) 'stick' (WFR 42, BCD 10):

PNC \*dwāñ 'stick' > Chech. tal 'poplar', Ing. täl-g 'chock'; Av. dial. dal 'stick'; Lak.t:ala 'log, cudgel, club'; Darg. sirg. t:al 'post', Chir. t:alt:e 'tree', Tsud. t:ult:a id.; Rut. dal 'branch', Tsakh. dal 'long stick, pole; staff', Arch. dali 'long stick, pole'.

PST \*tūl 'sharp wooden stick' > OC 錐 \*tuj 'awl', Lush. tūl 'skewer, a k. of two-pronged fork'. [Variations in length can be explained by contamination with \*Tur, q.v. sub \*ʔwēlʔe.]

Bur. \*tul 'awl' > Yas. tul, Hunza, Nagar tol 'awl'.

[Cf. Basq. \*i-dul-ki 'block of wood; pedestal'.]

[\\*dwānʔV](#) 'musical instrument' (WFR 58, BCD 9):

PNC \*dwānʔV (NCED has a misprint \*dwǎnʔV) > PA \*d<sup>w</sup>onʔV (~-a-) 'drum' > And. don-gudi, Cham. dǎ, Tind. d<sup>w</sup>ǎ, Kar. dane, Bagv. d<sup>w</sup>āj 'drum'; Bezht. dibi-ʔo id.; Darg. dam; Lezg. daldam, Tab. dldabu, Ag. damdam, Rut., Bud. daldam 'drum'; Ub. t<sup>w</sup>anə 'any musical instrument'.

PST \*tūm 'bell, musical instrument' > OC 鐘 \*toŋ 'bell', Kach. dum<sup>2</sup> 'to play a musical instrument', Lush. tum id., etc.

[Cf. Basq. \*tuntun 'a k. of drum'.]

[\\*dwǎxǰ\(w\)ǂ](#) 'stump, trunk' (NSC 63, LV B9, SMCE 136):

PNC \*dwǎxǰ(w)ǂ 'log, stump' > Chech. duǰū 'log, beam'; Darg. duǰi id.; Tab. duǰan 'pole, small beam', Ag. duǰur 'beam'; PWC \*t:(<sup>w</sup>)aq:a > Ad. tāq:a, Kab. dāq:a 'stump, block'; see NCED 408.

PST \*tūŋ (~ d-) 'pole, beam' > OC 棟 \*tōŋs 'ridge-pole, ridge of roof'; Tib. gduŋ 'beam, piece of timber' (cf. also sdoŋ 'trunk, stem; block, log; tree'); Burm. təuŋ 'post, column'; Trung duŋ<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>1</sup> 'post'.

Bur. \*ǰáko > Yas. ǰáku 'walking stick', Hunza, Nagar ǰáko 'wooden post', dóko 'short stick'.

[Basq. \*tak- 'wedge, block, chock, stopper'.]

[\\*dwi\(r\)χE](#) 'son, child':

PNC \*dwi[r]χE 'child, son' > Darg. durħaI, Chir. darχIa 'child'; PL \*t:<sup>w</sup>i(r)χ > Rut. duχ, Tsakh. duχ / diχ, Kryz., Bud. diχ 'son'; Hurr. fu-tqi,

fi-tēqi 'son'.

PST \*t(h)u (~iw) 'nephew, junior relative' > OC 叔 \*tu-k 'third to second-to-last of brothers, junior'; Burm. tu 'nephew, son of a man's sister', Lush. tu, Lepcha thă 'grand-child'. A variant of the same root may be \*tuj (~ dh-,o-) 'youngest child, younger brother or sister' > Burm. thwijnh 'the youngest child', miʔ-thwijnh 'mother's younger sister, step-mother', bhaʔ-thwijnh 'father's younger brother, step-father'; Kach. doi<sup>3</sup> 'father's younger brother', (Mat.) šadoi<sup>3</sup> 'younger (child); last born child in a family', mi-doi<sup>3</sup> 'stepmother, mother's younger sister', wa-doi<sup>3</sup> 'stepfather, father's younger brother'; Dimasa gidi 'younger (child)', bidi 'father's younger brother', madi 'father's younger sister'.

[\*r- in the NC form presents a problem: let us note that it is reconstructed only on the basis of the Dargwa forms and is conspicuously in Hurrian. Thus one could suppose that it is secondary in Dargwa, having penetrated, e.g., from a suffixed form like \*dwiχE-rV.]

\*dwīxi (~ -i) 'snow':

PNC \*dwīxi (~ -i) 'snow, hoar-frost' > Chech. txi, Ing. txi-r 'dew', Bac. txi-r 'hoar-frost'; Bezht. χida, Gunz. χida (with metathesis) 'dew, hoar-frost'; Darg. dañi (dial. dułxi) 'snow'; Abkh. a-sá-t<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>a, Abaz. s-rə-č<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>a 'snowstorm, blizzard', Kab. sə-tχ<sup>w</sup> 'hoar-frost' (on all WC languages a compund with \*śə- 'snow').

PY \*tiχ 'snow' > Ket. tīk, Yug. tik, Kott. thīk, Ar. tē, Pump. tig. Cf. also Kott. thantu 'Schneegestöber' (< \*tiχan- + tu 'smoke'). See CCE 285, Werner 2, 269.

\*dwōnkǃ 'hole' (LV A9):

PNC \*dwōnkǃ 'pit' > Av. donǃó (paradigm C: loc. donǃní-we, pl. dónǃal), And. dungil, Kar. d<sup>w</sup>ange, God. dunǃa 'pit'; Darg. Chir. ʔerg<sup>w</sup>a 'hole'; Lezg. daǃ 'niche', Ag. dagar, ʔagar 'window', Kryz. ʔoǃ 'hole', etc.; see NCED 408.

PST \*thuanǃ (~ dh-) 'empty, hole' > OC 罌 \*thruǃ, \*dhruǃ 'empty'; Tib. doŋ 'a deep hole, pit', stoŋ 'empty, hollow', Burm. twaŋh 'hole in the ground', etc.

\*=ėčǃ 'to put' (BCD 12):

PNC \*=ėčǃ 'to give, compensate; to put' > Av. =eč- 'to compensate, reimburse'; Tind. heč- id.; Ag. ča-, Rut. dur. =w-ilča-r, Kryz. dur. w-ičini, Bud. ju=č- 'to give'; Abkh., Abaz. -ča- 'to put; to lay eggs', Ad., Kab. -čə- id.

PY \*ʔes- 'to put' > Ket. *ésa*<sup>6</sup>, Yug. *esiε-saŋ*<sup>6</sup> 'to put'; Kott. *śi-ćei* 'to put, make'. See CCE 188, Werner 1, 244-245.

[Cf. Basq. \**ecan* 'to lie'.]

\*=ěčV̆m- (~ šť) 'to chew' (NSC 53, WFR 138):

PNC \*=ěčV̆m- 'to gnaw, chew' > Bac. =ač- 'to gnaw'; Av. *čam-*, And. *čam-*, Akhv. *čon-* (dial. *čam-*), Cham., Tind. *čačan-*, Kar. *čam-*, God. *čanča-* 'to chew', Tind. =ač<sup>w</sup>ī- 'to gnaw'; Tsez. *čoçon-* 'to chew'; Darg. *čalmi-kes* id.; Rut. *e=če-*, Tsakh. *s-a=če-*, Arch. *č<sup>w</sup>elčə-bos* 'to gnaw', Tsakh. *g-ajče-* 'to chew'.

PST \**ʒhiōmH* > OC 嚼 \**chōm?* 'have in mouth', Tib. *ā-chem-s* 'to chew', Motuo *žam* 'drink', etc.

\*=ěħwV̆ 'coire':

PNC \*=ěħwV̆ ( ~ -ä-) 'coire' > Av. (South.) =eħ-; Lak. dial. *r-ih-*; Bud. *s-eħ-*, Arch. =elha-.

PY \**ʔaj-* (~x-) > Ket. *aja*<sup>6</sup>, Yug. *aja*<sup>6</sup> / *ajga*<sup>6</sup> 'coire' (also Ket. *ajgəŋ*<sup>5</sup>, Yug. *ajgufiŋ*<sup>5</sup> 'to jump', Kott. *ajan* 'to play'; see CCE 179, Werner 1, 19 - with doubts as to the relationship of words meaning 'jump' and 'play', although it is typologically a rather frequent semantic shift).

\*=eLwV̆r- 'to deceive' (WFR 111):

PNC \*=i(r)LwV̆r > Chech. *lē-* 'to deceive'; PAAnd \**guk-* (probably with expressive tenseness instead of the expected reduplicated \**gug-*) > Av. *guk-*, Kar. *k:uk-*, Tok. *gux-* 'to deceive', God. *guk:ī* 'deception'; Lak. *ç-ik:w-i-* 'to coax, wheedle, cheat'; Darg. =irg-, Ur. =arg<sup>w</sup>Vr- 'to deceive'; PWC \**Lā* > Abkh. *a-ža-rá*, Abaz. *ža-ra*, Ub. *La-* 'to deceive', Ad. *ka-ʔ<sup>w</sup>ə-La-* 'to fool', Kab. *ka-ʔ<sup>w</sup>ə-La-* 'to lure, entice'.

PST \**t-lolH* 'to miss, fail' > Burm. *lwajh* 'to be out of the way, to vary from a certain course', Lush. *tlol?* 'to miss fire (as gun); to not do a thing'.

PY \**ʔa(ʔ)r(u)* (~x-) > Ket. *ál-bet*<sup>5,6</sup> 'to deceive'; Yug. *ar-bef*<sup>5</sup> / *arβe:h*<sup>4</sup> id.; Kott. *ārāthačapajaŋ*, praet. *ārāthalapajaŋ*, imp. *ārāthala*, pass. *āruthalāpi* 'to deceive'; *ārupi* "deception" (cf. also *āru* "cunning") (CCE 183, Werner 1, 29, 59).

\*=eλú 'to hear' (DCE 33):

PNC \*=eλu 'to hear' > PA \**ʔan-λV-* 'to hear' (a compound with \**Han-* 'ear') > And. *anli-*, Akhv. *āλu-nu-*, Cham. *wola-*, Tind., Kar., God.

anλ-, Botl., Bagb. āh-; PL \*ʔeλi- (~ -λ:-) > Tab. je=x-, Tsakh. q:-a=xē-, Kryz., Bud. ix- 'to hear', Rut. g-i=xē- 'to keep silence'; PWC \*λ<sup>w</sup>ə- > Ad., Kab. zaxa-xə- 'to hear'.

Bur. \*-jal- 'to hear' > Yas., Hun., Nag. d'-jal-.

\*=ěλĚ 'middle, half' (HGC 35, LDC 34):

PNC \*=ěλĚ 'middle, half' > Av. b-áλ:u-λ:, And. =oλ:u, Akhv. aλ:e-ge, Cham. b-aλ:a-λ:i, Tind. b-aλ:i, Kar. b-aλ:i, God. b-aλ:u 'in the middle, between'; Tsez., Gin. roλo, Khvarsh. loλo, Bezht. =aλo, Gunz. =oλe 'middle', Tsez. roλiku, Gin. =oλoku, Bezht. =aλokos, Gunz. =oλegus 'half'; Lak. b-açi, açi 'half'; Darg. b-aj, Chir. d-ay 'middle'; Abkh. a-bžá-ra, Ub. bLa- 'between, inside'.

PST \*tlāj 'centre, middle' > Tib. lte 'navel; centre', Burm. laj 'centre, middle', Lush. lai id., Lepcha la 'the middle, the midst of', Lakher tlai, Kham təli etc.

PY \*ʔaʔl 'half' > Ket. ał / ałı 'half' (adj.); dała<sup>5</sup> 'half' (n.), Yug. al / aʔl 'half' (adj.); dalla<sup>5</sup> / dala<sup>5</sup> 'half'; Kott. āl-ix, āl-ig "midday, noon" (CCE 178-179; Werner 1, 24 \*al -disregarding his own transcription aʔı, aʔl in Werner 1977).

[Cf. Basq. erdi 'half, middle'.]

\*=ěλwV 'to sing' (HGC 38):

PNC \*=ěλwV 'to call, cry, sing' > Cham., Tind. =al- 'to call, cry'; Tsez., Khv. g-oλ- 'to call'; Lak. ɣul (xun) 'to know, be aware'; Darg. =ik-, dial. =ik<sup>w</sup>-, =uk- 'to call; say, speak'; PL \*ʔeλwV > Tab. ɣ- 'to say, speak', Tsakh. e=ɣ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to sing', Lezg. ɣe-l, Rut. ɣi-la 'study, learning'.

PST \*lō 'sing' > OC 𐌆𐌗 \*lō, \*lo 'a k. of song' (cf. also 𐌆𐌗 \*law 'sing, song'), Tib. g-lu 'song, tune', Burm. kju 'to produce sounds', Kach. khju 'a charm, mantra, spell', Kir. \*lu 'sing'.

\*=ēmċŪ 'to say, tell' (HGC 37, DCE 29, BCD 11):

PNC \*=[i]mċŪ 'to speak, tell, talk' > Chech. =īc-, Ing. =uwc-, Bac. =epc- 'tell'; Av. =íc-ine, And. =osan-, Akhv. =ačunu-, Cham. =asn-, Tind. =asin-, Kar. =asan-, Botl., Bagv. =asã-, God. =asĩ- 'to say, tell'; Tsez., Gin. =es-, Khv. =is-, Bezht. nis-, Gunz. nis- 'say, speak'; Abkh. -č<sup>v</sup>a-, Ab. č<sup>w</sup>a- 'to talk'.

PST \*cho (~ -aw, -ew, -i) 'to speak, word' > Burm. čhəw 'to say, speak, tell'; Kach. su<sup>1</sup> 'to speak', Lush. thu 'word, saying, news, order'.

PY \*ʔas- / \*ʔes- 'to shout, call' > Ket. de:śij<sup>4</sup> (North.), South. de:śij<sup>4</sup> 'I

shout"; *dεsólεj*<sup>6</sup> 'I shouted'; *asanəj*<sup>6</sup> 'to speak', Yug. *dε:<sup>h</sup>si*<sup>4</sup> "I shout"; *dεsri*<sup>5,6</sup> "I shouted"; *és-tej* 'to call'; Kott. *ačā?ājaŋ* "to call", praet. *ačā?ālajaŋ*, imp. *ačā?ālcex*, pass. *ačā?ālagi*; *ače*, *ači* "calling". See CCE 183; Werner 1, 62-63, 241, 258.

Bur. \**ʼs-*, \**sen-* 'say' > Yas. *sén-*, Hunza, Nagar *ʼs-*, *sén-*.  
[Cf. Basq. \**ise-n* 'name', \**hic* 'word', \**eśan* 'say'].

\*=éqwǞ 'yellow' (HGC 23):

PNC \*=éqwǞ > Av. *q:áħa-* 'white', And. *q:<sup>w</sup>oj*, Akhv. *q:a-šura-λ:i*, Cham. *q:aj-λ:*, Tind. *qā-λ:a*, Kar. *q:aji-λ:*, Botl. *q:aj-λ:i*, Bagv. *q:e-λ:*, God. *q:aj-λ:a* 'blue, green'; Lak. *qaqi-* 'yellow'; Darg. *b-uqu-* id.; Ag. *qIuqIe-f*, Arch. *χaχa-t:u-* id.; PWC \**ɸ<sup>w</sup>a* 'yellow' > Abkh. *a-ɸ<sup>w</sup>á-ž*, Abaz. *ɸ<sup>w</sup>a-ž*, Ad. *ɸ<sup>w</sup>a-žə*, Kab. *ɸ<sup>w</sup>a-ž*, Ub. *ɸ<sup>w</sup>a* 'yellow'.

PST \**qh<sup>w</sup>ā* (-ŋ) 'yellow' > OC 黃 \**gh<sup>w</sup>āŋ* (~ \**whāŋ* ?) 'yellow'; Burm. *wa*, *waŋh* 'be yellow'; Lush. *eŋ* 'yellow'; Kir. \**wə* id.

\*=érǻV 'to plough':

PNC \*=érǻV 'to plough, to sow' > Av. =*eλ:-*, And. =*eλ:-* 'to plough, to sow'; Akhv., Cham., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. =*eλ:-* 'to plough'; Tsez. =*iλ-*, Gin. =*eλ-*, Khv. =*aλ-*, Bezht. =*oλ-*, Gunz. =*əλ-* 'to plough'; Lak. *ķ-uči-* (pret. *ķ-u=ķu-nu*) 'to sift, screen' (< \**sow*); Darg. Chir. *ery-* / *ury-* id.

PST \**liəH* > OC 耜 \**lhə?* 'ploughshare, to plough'; Kach. *gje*<sup>1</sup> 'to do fall-ploughing'.

\*=éřstǺ 'to heat, singe' (HGC 40, NSC 54, SCE 97):

PNC \*=éřstǺ 'to roast (grain); to singe' > Chech., Ing., Bac. *m-arc-* 'to singe'; Darg. Ur. =*irz-* / =*uz-*, Chir. =*erc:-* / =*uc:-* 'to roast (grain)'; Tab. *u=c-*, Ag. *uc-*, Rut. =*isa-*, Tsakh. *q-e=c-*, Kryz. *ŋa-js-*, Bud. *q:as-*, Arch. *sesa-* 'to roast (grain)'; PWC \**cA* > Abkh. *a-cá* 'hot', Ad. *s-tə-*, Kab. *sə-* 'to burn', Ub. *ca-* 'to burn; hot'.

PST \**cha* 'hot' > Tib. *cha*, LB \**cha*, Lush. *sa*, Kir. \**chò(s)* 'hot', etc.  
Bur. \**ʼci-* > Yas. *ʼc-*, Hun., Nag. *ʼci-* 'to kindle'.

\*=ěwǻV 'to open wide, wide, extend':

PNC \*=ěwǻ(w)V 'to open' > Chech., Ing. =*ell-* 'to open'; Lak. *ja=iši-* (pret. *a=i=xu-*) 'to open wide'; Darg. *abx-* 'to open'; Ag. *lat:-ix-*, Arch. *d-abla-* 'to unlock'.

PST \**t-lāj* 'wide, expand' > OC 施 \**Łaj-s* 'expand; spread out, expose'; Burm. *ķjaj* 'be wide' (Old Burm. *kljaj*), *khjaj?* 'to make wide, broad',

Lush. hlai 'large, wide, broad (of flat things)'.  
 Bur. \*d-álda-l- 'wide' > Hun., Nag. dáldalum.

\*=eʔ(w)Vr 'to sit, rest':

PNC \*=eʔ(w)Vr 'to sit, be quiet' > Chech. ʔ(ē)- 'to sit; be quiet', Ing. ʔe- 'to stay', Bac. ʔe- / ʔa- 'to sit'; Av. =a- 'to hang; stay; be in some place'; Tab. e-ʔ-, Tsakh. ǵ-i-ʔar- 'to sit, sit down'; Khin. -u= / -e= 'to sit'; Abkh. a-ja-rá 'to lie', Ad. -ja-, Kab. -jə- 'to sleep'; Hurr. u/or- 'to become, to appear'.

PST \*γēr ( ~ \*ʔēr) 'to rest, repose, feast; prepare for a feast' > OC 燕 \*ʔēn-s 'feast', 宴 \*ʔēn-s 'rest, repose; feast; have pleasure'; Tib. d-ger 'to prepare (food)', Burm. jań 'to be pleasant, calm, tame', Kach. khjen<sup>4</sup> 'to prepare', Lush. er, ur 'make preparation for (a feast)'.  
 Bur. \*hur- 'to sit' > Yas. hurú-ʔ-, Hun., Nag. hurú-, hurúʔ-.

[Cf. Basq. \*e-aī 'to sit'.]

\*=ēʔwVn 'to lose, hide' (WFR 130):

PNC \*=ēʔwVn 'to lose, get lost' > Chech. =ā- 'lose', Ing. =a, Bac. =aw- 'get lost, be lost'; Av. ʔ-áʔn- 'to get lost, disappear'; Bezht. =oʔ-, Gunz. =əʔ- id.; Darg. =ilʔ-, Chir. =iʔ<sup>w</sup>Vn- / =ilʔ<sup>w</sup>- 'to steal'.

PST \*γǝnH ( ~ -ʔH, -rH) 'to hide' > OC 隱 \*ʔənʔ ( ~ -rʔ) 'to conceal, hide'; Kach. ləkan 'to hide, as a theft'.

[In PST cf. alternatively \*ʔǝnH ( ~ ʔ-) 'to conceal' > OC 雍 \*ʔonʔ, \*ʔonʔ-s 'to cover, conceal', Tib. s-gon 'to hide, conceal'.]

\*=ǝq̄wVn- 'to be sufficient' (WFR 129):

PNC \*=ǝq̄wVn > Chech., Ing. t-oʔ-, Bac. t-oq̄- 'to be sufficient, enough'; Av. ʔé- id., Cham. =uʔn-, Tind. =ujī- id., Akhv. =iq̄un-, Kar. =eʔ<sup>w</sup>an- 'id.; to grow'; Lak. =ija-l- 'enough, sufficient'; Darg. =aʔ- / =iʔ- 'to be sufficient, enough'; Lezg. aq̄<sup>w</sup>an 'as much as', Tab. -q̄an id., Arch. eq̄en 'up to, until'; PWC \*q̄<sup>w</sup>V ( ~ q̄:I<sup>w</sup>-, q̄I<sup>w</sup>-) > Ad., Kab. ʔ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to be too much, excessive'.

PST \*Qōm ( ~ -ū-) 'sufficient, fitting' > Kach. gum<sup>1</sup> 'be sufficient, adequate', Lush. ōm 'fitting, fit'.

\*=ǝstǝr- 'to freeze; snow' (HGC 30, WFR 104):

PNC \*=ǝstǝr- 'to freeze, turn to ice' > Chech. ʧe-ʔega, Ing. ʧer-ʔəga 'thaw'; Av. ʧ:er 'ice'; Khvarsh. =ujç-, Inkh. =uçcu 'cold'; Tsakh. aj-ʧar- 'to turn to ice', Bud. ʧar-aʧ 'hoar-frost'; Abkh. a-ʧá, Abaz. c-ħa- 'ice'.

PST \*sēr ( ~ ch-) 'sleet, hail' > OC 霰 \*sēns 'sleet', Tib. ser-ba 'hail',



Kach. sin<sup>1</sup> 'hail, hailstones'.

PY \*təʒər (~G-, -χ-, -r̄) 'to freeze, frozen' > Ket. tɬ:l̄ɩ̄³, Yug. t̄ɬ:r̄³ / t̄ɬur̄³ (CCE 283. Werner 2, 302).

\*[g]alχwV 'chin; beard':

PNC \*kālχwV̄ (~χw-) 'cheek; chin' > Av. qarχ:én, Akhv. k̄āχ:u, Kar. korχ:o 'cheek'; Tab. k:alk:am 'chin', Ag. k:alk:am 'beak'.

PY \*kule(P) 'beard' > Ket. k̄ule<sup>1</sup>, Yug. k̄ul̄, Kott. hulup, halūp, Ar. korólep, Pump. xlépuκ. See CCE 241ᵒ Werner 1, 459.

[The match seems probable, but presents phonetic problems: one has to suppose assimilation \*g- > \*k̄- in PNC; not clear is the lack of expected -ʔ- in PY.]

\*gǎIV 'stick, pole, stump' (WFR 34):

PNC \*gǎIV (~I-) 'stick' > Chech. gala 'wooden skittles', Bac. gal 'birch-tree'; Tsez. gilu, Khv. gelu 'pole'; Lak. č:ala 'bayonet'. A reduplication of the root is found in Darg. galga 'tree', Kait. k:alk:a id., Chir. k:alč:e 'branch'; Bezht. gogo-ʒa 'rolling-pin, beater', PN \*gag > Chech. ga 'branch', Ing. ga 'branch; tree', Bac. gag 'bunch (of grapes)'.

PST \*kāl (~g-, G-) 'pole, club' > OC 干, 竿 \*kān 'pole'; Tib. mgal, āgal 'a billet of wood', Kach. khon<sup>2</sup> 'club, cudgel'.

PY \*kəʒl- (~g-, -o-) 'stump' > Yug. kəʒl (see CCE 228, Werner 1, 445).

Bur. \*gal > Yas., Hunza, Nagar gal 'bridge', gálin 'steps, cross-beams'.

\*gāŋwV̄ 'path':

PST \*kēŋ > OC 徑 \*kēŋ-s 'small path, short-cut'; Kach. kaŋ 'a cut, a pass'.

PY \*kāŋ- (~g-) '(hunting) path' (Werner 1, 409: "Weg des großen Winternomadisierens") > Ket. kaŋ<sup>4</sup> (South.), North. ka:ŋə<sup>4</sup>; Yug. ka:hŋ. See CCE 235, Werner 1, 409.

Bur. \*gan 'road' > Yas., Hun., Nag. gan.

\*gemʔi 'yard, place for gathering' (WFR 96):

PNC \*gimʔi (~-ū) 'popular assembly (godekan)' > Lak. da-k:awu; Darg. gumaj, Chir. k:ama; Lezg. k:im, Tab., Rut., Tsakh. gim, Kryz. gan-gah, Bud. gin-gä, Ud. gim-gä id., Ag. gim 'tower'.

PST \*K(j)am (~Q-) > Tib. kham-s 'empire, realm, territory,

domain, region', khjam-s 'yard'; Burm. khamh 'suburbs, region'.

[\\*gōrV](#) 'stick, wood' (HGC 29, BCD 25; differently in WFR 5):

PNC \*gōrV (~ -ī-) 'pole, piece of log' > Chech. gāra, Ing. gar 'piece of cloven log; block'; Av. gerélo 'rolling-pin, beater' (here probably also gerégi 'block (a piece of cloven log)' - although attributed differently in NCED); Tsez. giri 'pole', Gin., Khv. giri 'log'; Ud. gor, gorgor 'pole'.

PST \*kār (~ g-, G-) 'stick' > OC 榦 \*kār-s 'post, pole', Tib. mkhar-ba 'staff, stick' (perhaps also Lepcha gar-nek 'penis').

[Basq. \*e-gur 'firewood'.]

[\\*gōrV̄](#) 'a k. of vessel':

PNC \*gōrV̄ > Tind. (with redupl.) gígár 'mug'; Lezg. k:ur, Rut. gir 'cup, basin'; Abkh. a-gára, Abaz. gara 'cradle'; Urart. kerə 'bowl'.

PST > OC 筩 kraʔ 'round basket' (?)

Bur. \*girán > Yas. gran, girán, Hun., Nag. girán 'large basket' (probably < \*garán with reduction of the first vowel, cf. similarly \*pörV̄).

[\\*gV](#) 'that' (HGC 36):

PNC \*gV 'that (below the speaker)' > And. he-ge-w, Akhv. hu-gu-we, Cham. a-žō, u-žō, Tind. a-ǵa-, u-ǵa-, Kar. wu-gu-b 'that (below the speaker)', Botl. go-b 'that'; Gin. ha-go, Bezht. hu-gi, ho-go, Gunz. ə-g, o-gu 'that'; Lak. ga 'that (below)'; Darg. Chir. iy / ī 'that, this (near to the speaker)'; Tab. k:u-mu, Ag. gi, Arch. gu-du 'that (below)'. The root is also used as an adverbial stem 'below', cf. Akhv. ge-ǰ:i, Inkh. gi-λ, Gin. ge-λ, ge-λ̄, Lak. gi-lu.

PST \*k(j)ə 'this, that, he, she' > OC 其 \*kə-s 'this, that', \*gə 'his, her, their, this'; Tib. kho, kho-ŋ 'he, she, it'; Burm. khja-ŋʔ 'his, her', khja-ŋh 'he, she, it'; Lush. kha-kha 'that'; Kir. \*ko(n) (/ʔk-) 'this'.

PY \*ka- / \*kə- 'that' > Ket. kañíl (< kañi:l̥) "thence"; kañiŋə¹ / kañiŋə⁶ "(towards) there"; South. kaśeŋ, North. kaśáŋ (< kaśa:ŋ³) "there"; κλʔ "in that direction, towards that side"; Yug. k̄a-t "that", ka-da⁶ "that (f.)"; kañ "there"; kañ̄:r "thence"; kañ̄:ḥś "(towards) there"; κλʔ "in that direction, towards that side"; Kott. hatuŋ "(towards) there"; hātola "look there!"; Ar. xa-tu (Κλ.) "he". See CCE 234, Werner 1, 417. Werner (2, 80) lists Ket forms with uvular q: Ket. qā-í, dial. qā-de, qā-ré 'that' - they are certainly = Yug. k̄a-t, ka-da⁶ and the uvular is most probably a misrecording. Cf. also PY \*ka-n- (/ka-m-) 'low, below' (Kott. hāna "down", hānal "below"; Ass. (Boλ.) ganala "below", hānala (Κλ.) "low"; Ar.

xámartu (M., СЛ., СрСЛ., КЛ.) "low"; (Локк.) xamartu "below"; see CCE 234, Werner 1, 299) - closely matching the meaning of the PNC stem.

[PY also has a different pronoun: \*ki- (~gi-) 'this' > Ket. kīdə (Bak., Sur.) "this", kida<sup>6</sup> "this (f., n.)", Kur. kīre "this", kīre<sup>6</sup> "this (f., n.)", South. kīr "this", kīre<sup>6</sup> "this (f., n.)"; kina<sup>5/6</sup> "these"; kińíl (< kińi:í<sup>3</sup>) 'hence', kīńiŋə<sup>1</sup> / kińiŋə<sup>5</sup> '(towards) here'; North. kiśéŋ, South. kiśéŋ (< kiśa:ŋ<sup>3</sup>) 'here'; Yug. kīt "this", kida<sup>6</sup> "this (f., n.)"; kiń, kińĩ:r<sup>3</sup> 'hence' - see CCE 238, Werner 1, 435. It does not have Kottish or Arin cognates, thus \*k- or \*g- can be reconstructed for PY. This root has its closest match in Bur. \*khi- 'this' > Yas. khené, khin, Hun., Nag. khiné, khin, pointing to a separate PSC pronoun \*ki 'this'.]

\*gwanV̄ 'supply, provisions':

PNC \*gwanV̄ ( ~ -ǒ-) > Av. bu-gún 'portion of meat (of a slaughtered animal)'; Lezg. k:<sup>w</sup>an 'bag (of a hunter)', Tab. g<sup>w</sup>an, Rut. g<sup>w</sup>an, Tsakh. gon-na 'winter-supply of dried meat'.

Bur. \*gen > Yas. yen 'bread for shepherds', Hun., Nag. gen 'provisions for the journey'.

[The Bur. parallel makes the Iranian origin of the EC forms, mentioned in NCED, rather improbable. Osset. (w)ogän 'hidden place for supplies' thus itself is more likely borrowed from Caucasian.]

\*gwāžē 'horse, mare' (HGC 28):

PNC \*gwāžē > PTs (with metathesis) \*šig<sup>w</sup>ə (~ š:-, -i-) 'mare' > Gin. šeg<sup>w</sup>e, Bezht. šugo, Gunz. šugu 'mare'; Darg. gaza, Chir. k:<sup>w</sup>ac:a 'mare'; PWC \*k:<sup>w</sup>əč:<sup>ə</sup> / \*č:<sup>w</sup>ək:<sup>w</sup>ə > Abkh. a-g<sup>w</sup>əž 'mule', Ub. čəg<sup>w</sup>ə 'donkey'.

PST > Tib. r-god 'mare'.

PY \*kuʔs 'horse' > Ket. kuʔs 'cow'; Yug. kuʔs 'horse'; Kott. huš, Ar. kus, Pump. kut 'horse, steed, mare'. See CCE 240, Werner 1, 457.

Bur. \*gus 'woman' > Yas., Hun., Nag. gus.

[Irregular prosody in Yenisseian. One wonders if the metathesized forms in NC should be separated - in which case one could also reconstruct \*gwV<sub>3</sub>V, better corresponding to PY \*kuʔs.]

\*gwēzV 'sole, foot':

PNC \*gwēzV̄ 'part of leg' > Ing. gəz 'part of leg (thigh+shin+foot)'; Khv. guz 'elbow'; PWC \*k:<sup>w</sup>ac:(<sup>w</sup>)V ( ~ g<sup>w</sup>-) > Abkh. a-ša-r-g<sup>w</sup>áč<sup>v</sup> 'shin', Ub. ла-ѓáca 'calf of leg'.

PY \*kas-ʔaʔd > Ket. kassat<sup>5</sup>, pl. kasserəŋ<sup>6</sup> (Bak., Sur. kassədəŋ<sup>6</sup>);

Kott. hačar, pl. hačaraŋ 'foot sole'. See CCE 235. Werner (1, 413) treats the word as a compound of \*kas + \*ʔaʔd 'bone' - which is possible and can explain the gemination in Ket. kassat. However, further identification of this \*kas with Kott. hēči 'footwear' is impossible - because the latter has an excellent match in Ket. tɛ:ši, Yug čɛ:ʰs id., also acknowledged by Werner (2, 254), see \*cēse. Werner also compares Kott. káčoga 'ankle-bone', q.v. sub \*giʔs.

[\\*gwə\[llk\]wə](#) 'round object; skull, head' (different in NSC 56):

PNC \*gwi[l]gwə 'round object; skull' > Av. g<sup>w</sup>ang<sup>w</sup>ára 'skull'; Bezht. gogā, Gunz. gogor 'cheek'; Lak. k:ark (gen. k:urk:a-l) 'edge; top of a round or oval object'; Lezg. k:ug 'pumpkin', Tab. gug 'occiput; pumpkin', Ag. gurga-ḥ 'skull', Rut. gug-uj 'crown of head'.

PY \*k[ə]rǵa (~ g-) 'head' > Ket. kǵga; Ar. kolkā, Pump. kolka. See CCE 237. A contracted form is probably present in Ket súk-kóǵ 'back of head' (\*suga 'back' + \*k[ə]rǵa 'head') (Werner's 2, 212 analysis as súk 'back' + hóǵ 'face, form' seems less likely). The PY reconstruction is somewhat complicated: Werner (1, 460) reconstructs <\*kǵj- / \*kǵl->, not specifying what he means by such an alternation. The equation Ket kǵga = Arin kolkā speaks unambiguously of PY \*k[ə]rǵa. The word may indeed be an old compound with an unclear second part \*-ga (as Werner writes *ibid.*); for the first part cf. Ket kǵje (*ibid.*) 'head; head, leader' - but this can be just a dialectal (Southern) variant pronunciation of the same kǵga.

[? Cf. Basq. \*biribil 'round'.]

[\\*gw\[ǝ\]mgV̄](#) 'hole, chute':

PNC \*gwim(V)gV 'tube, chute' > Av. gomóg id.; Lezg. gung id., Bud. gung 'gutter', Arch. gak:i 'tube, tube-shaped vessel'.

PST \*kh<sup>w</sup>āŋ 'trough, coffin; grave' > OC 壙 \*kh<sup>w</sup>āŋ-s 'grave pit'; Tib. skuŋ-ba 'to hide in the ground, bury, inter'; Burm. khaŋh 'coffin', khaŋ 'to excavate in a slanting direction', Lush, kuaŋ 'a coffin, a trough, a groove'; Kir. \*khoaŋ 'trough', etc.

PY \*kaʔŋ (~ \*g-) 'hole' > Ket., Yug. kaʔŋ, Pump. kan (CCE 234, Werner 1, 417).

Bur. \*gik > Hun. gik 'anus, vulva'; Yas. gikín, kikín, Hun. gikín, Nag. gikín 'ring, finger-ring, ear-ring'.

[\\*gwəpV](#) 'group, unite':

PNC \*gwəpV 'group, heap' > Check. gū, Ing. guw 'hill, barrow',

Bac. gub 'island'; Tsez. gup 'hill', Khv. gub id., Bezht. kuḗijo 'heap'; Lezg. kaḗal 'group, heap, crowd', Tab. kaḗal 'grove', Kryz. kábäl, Bud. kaḗäl 'small sheep-flock'; PWC \*k:<sup>w</sup>əpə 'group' > Abkh. a-g<sup>w</sup>əp, Abaz. g<sup>w</sup>əp, Ad. k<sup>w</sup>əp, Kab. g<sup>w</sup>əp.

PST \*kV̄p 'to join, unite' > OC 合 \*gəp 'join, unite'; Tib. kob 'all'; Burm. khap 'all together'; Kach. kup<sup>3</sup> 'be entire, complete, perfect', (H) kop 'completely'; Lush. kip 'every, all'; Lepcha kóp 'to be in concord, agree together, harmonize', kop 'to join, fix together'.

\*gwV̄ntV 'hole, anus':

PNC \*gwV̄ntV 'pit, hollow' > Chech. gōta 'anus'; Av. g<sup>w</sup>adár 'hollow (of a tree)', Akhv. gatta, Cham. gunta 'pit'.

PY \*koʔd (~ g-, -ɔ-) 'podex' > Ket. kəʔt, pl. kəreŋ<sup>5</sup>, Bak., Sur. kədəŋ<sup>5</sup>; Yug. kəʔt, pl. kədiŋ<sup>5</sup> (see CCE 240, Werner 1, 445).

\*Gě(GV)bV̄ 'a k. of bird':

PNC \*GěGVbV 'partridge' > And. kəbko, Akhv. kəbba (Ratl. kəbiba), Cham., Tind., Bagv. kəba, God. kəbka; Gin. kəbmo, Khv. kəbba, Bezht. kəbba; Lak. q:aqnu (< \*q:aq:Vb-nu, cf. dial. q:aqmu); Darg. kəbba (dial. q:aq:ba); Tab. Düb. q:aq:uba.

PY \*χupi 'a k. of woodgrouse' > Ket. qūp, Yug. xup, Kot. hūpi (CCE 305, Werner 2, 141).

\*Ghāmčă (~ \*xG-) 'tongs' (LV A10):

PNC \*Ghāmčă (~ -ə) 'tongs, pincers' > Av. keç (par. C: kəçó-l, kúç-dul), And. χuçu, Akhv. q:enčo, Cham. χiç<sup>w</sup>, Kar. keçe, Bagv. keç<sup>w</sup>, God. kuçu; Tsez., Gin. χoçu, Bezht. χaço, Gunz. χōçə; Lak. q:laça; Darg. Gīamça; Lezg. dial. q:lāç, Tab. q:lanc: (Düb. q:lanc:a), Ag. q:lāç, Rut. q:lāç. See NCED 416.

PST \*khām (~ qh-) > OC 鉗 \*gh(r)am 'tweezers, tongs', Tib. skam 'a pair of tongs'.

\*GHǎlGi (~ -ē) 'dirt, dung' (cf. HGC 30, LV B24 with somewhat different analysis):

PNC \*GHǎlGi (~ -e) 'dirt, dung, faeces' > And. GenGe, Cham., Tind. q:aq:ara 'snot, snivel'; Lak. q:alrqi 'dirt'; Darg. dial. q:illqi 'faeces'; Tab. kirkil, dial. q:ilq:il, Ag. RülR-an 'sheep's dung'.

PST \*qjāk / \*qjāŋ 'dirt, faeces' > Tib. r-kjag 'dirt, excrement', Burm. kjaŋ, kjak id., Kach. əgaŋ<sup>2</sup> 'dirt, filth', Lush. ē(k) 'to defecate; excrement',

etc.

PY \*qoʔq (~χ) 'flotsam' > Ket. qoʔq, Yug. χʔʔχ (CCE 261, Werner 2, 123).

\*GHWälčV 'stick, pole' (BCD 28):

PNC \*GHWälčV 'stick, board; bolt' > Tsez. ħišu-ni, Gin. χišu, Bezht. βeso, Gunz. γōši 'bar, bolt, door-bolt'; Lak. q:iča 'bolt, door-bolt'; Rut. qI<sup>w</sup>arč 'stake, wedge'; Khin. q:ičä 'branch'.

PY \*xus(V) 'fork, hunting spear' > Ket. ūś, Yug. ūś, Ar. kus (CCE 299, Werner 2, 381).

(?) PST \*kälH 'bolt, lock' > OC 榫 \*garʔ 'door bar, bolt'; Lush. kalʔ 'be locked or fasten'. In LV Cb1 the form was listed as an exception, being compared to PST \*kuħ / \*ħku 'lock, bolt, key'. If it is compared with PNC \*GHWälčV, the SC reconstruction should be changed to \*xGHWälčV.

[Cf. Basq. \*gilc(a) 'key; joint'].

\*GHĭrλwV (~ xG-) 'sack' (DCE 27):

PNC \*GHĭrλwV 'sack; pillow' > PAvAnd \*q:iλin(dV) > Av. q:andáλο, Akhv. q:ēλe, Kar. q:eλin, Bagv. q:eħen 'sack; pillow'; Cham. q:ehī, God. q:eħen 'sack'; PTs \*qeλ-cV 'pillow' > Tsez. qIiλci, Gin., Khv. qicca; PL \*q:Iurt:iλ:an (< \*q:IurλVn-t:V) 'pillow' > Lezg. qüc:ügan, Ag. Rurdek:in, Rut. βurdigän, Tsakh. βunelek, Kryz. q:užukan, Bud. q:üşküđ.

Bur. \*qhVltá 'sack, pocket' > Yas. xaltá, xaltjá, Hun. qhiltá, Nag. qhaltá.

\*GörGV 'stone':

PNC \*GörGV > Chech. βorβ 'coarse sand', βorβa 'rough, coarse', Ing. βorβa id.; Kar. βarβa 'gravel'; Lak. βurβa 'stone in river'; Darg. q:arq:a 'stone'; Ag. qIarqI 'rock', dial. qerq 'conglomeration of stones'.

PST \*Kər (~ Q-) 'stone' > Tib. gor 'a general name for stone; stones, rubble'; Burm. khajh 'stone'.

Bur. \*qorqor- > Hun. qorqór 'soft, porous stone'; Nag. qoqór 'small stones'.

\*Gülʔe (~ \*xG-) 'a k. of cereal, grain' (BCD 28):

PNC \*Gölʔe (~ -a) 'wheat' > And. q:ir 'grain', Akhv. q:iru, Cham. q:ew, Tind., Kar., Botl., God. q:eru, Bagv. q:er<sup>w</sup> 'wheat'; Bezht. qi-bo, Gunz. qi-bə 'wheat' (originally a plural form); Lezg. q:ül, Rut. βil, Kryz., Bud. q:ul, Arch. (with reduplication) qoqol 'wheat'.

PST \*Kōr 'grain, seed' > OC 禾 \*g(h)<sup>w</sup>āj 'grain'; Bodo be-goʔr, Dimasa bo-goroŋ 'seed'.

[Cf. Basq. \*gari 'wheat', \*gal-buru 'ear of wheat'.]

\*Gwālho 'angry, anger, quarrel' (WFR 49; somewhat different in HGC 34):

PNC \*Gwālho (~ -ə) 'gossip, rumour; offence, anger' > Chech. Ing.qel 'sentence, fate', Bac. qel 'custom; court, justice'; Av. ɤ<sup>w</sup>el 'gossip, rumour; abuse'; Lak. q:aI 'gossip, rumour'; Darg. ɤaj 'rumour, news'; Lezg. qel, Tab., Ag., Rut., Tsakh. qIal, Bud. qele 'offence, anger'; Khin. qol 'offence'.

PST \*GōwH (/ \*Gh-) 'to scold, offend' > OC 詈 \*kōʔ, \*khōʔ-s 'revile, disgrace', Tib. ākhu-ba 'to offend, insult', Burm. khuʔ 'be angry', Lush. hau 'to scold, abuse'.

PY \*qə(ʔ)r- (χ-) 'angry' > Yug. χλrín<sup>5</sup> 'bad-tempered, angry' (the tone would point to \*qəʔr-, but may well be a misrecording).

Bur. \*ɣul > Hunza, Nagar ɣul 'hate, enmity'.

\*GwáItjV 'way, road, passage' (HGC 34):

PNC \*GwáItV 'street, block, village' > Chech. phēda 'a village (high in the mountains)'; Av. q:<sup>w</sup>aʔ, And., Akhv., Tind., Kar. q:<sup>w</sup>aʔa, God. q:<sup>w</sup>aʔi 'street'; Lak. q:aʔ (dial. q<sup>w</sup>aʔ) 'community, folk assembly', Darg. q:<sup>w</sup>aʔ 'street-block', dial. q:at:i 'street'.

PY \*qoʔt (~χ-) 'way, road' > Ket. qoʔt, Yug. xoʔt, Ar. kat, kut, Pump. koat 'road', see CCE 261, Werner 2, 123.

[We would expect a \*-d in PY; most probably the form reflects an early assimilation: \*GwáItjV > \*GwádV > \*qoʔt.]

\*Gwānmē 'heap' (WFR 78):

PNC \*Gwānmē 'heap, stack' > Chech. ɤāma 'haystack', Ing. ɤama 'haycock'; Av. ɤuní 'stack', And. ɤun, Kar. ɤ<sup>w</sup>ane 'stack, heap', Akhv. mɤu 'heap; mound', Cham. ɤun 'stack, heap, mound', God. ɤuni 'heap'; Bezht. ɤeme, Gunz. ɤeme 'small stack'; Arch. qI<sup>w</sup>eni 'a convex hap; a ball-shaped bush'.

PST \*q(h)<sup>w</sup>Vŋ (~ ɣ<sup>w</sup>-) 'heap' > Tib. goŋ-po 'mass, heap, lump'; Lush. vūŋ 'a heap, mound (of loose earth)'.

\*GwērV 'stone' (NSC 57):

PNC \*GwērV 'stone' > Chech. qēra, Ing. qera, Bac. qer; Tsez. ɤIul, Khv. ɤur, Inkh. ɤur.

PY \*Kar > Ar. kar 'mountain' (Werner 2, 411, 412).

Bur. \*qhor- 'small stones' > Yas. xóro.

\*GwHṼbṼ 'top, heap':

PNC \*GwHṼbṼ 'stack, haystack' > Av. dial. *ɤob*, Akhv. *ɤoba* 'stack, haystack', Tind. *ɤoba* 'id.; heap'; Gunz. *ɤob* 'haystack'; Lak. *q:aw* 'sheaf'; Darg. *ɤeba* (Kait. *ɤep:i*) 'haystack'; Ub. *qIabIá* 'a heap of sheaves'.

PY \*χ[o]p 'top (of tree)' > Ket. *qōp*, Yug. *xop*, Kott. *hupár*, Ar. *aša-pok* (either a metathesis or a misrecording of \*aša-kop). See CCE 302, Werner 2, 128.

\*GwímʔV 'house' (WFR 64, LDC 33):

PNC \*GwímʔV (~ -h-, -ɣ-) 'village; house' > Chech. *p̄ha*, Bac. *p̄he* 'village'; Tsez., Bezht., Gunz. *qun*, Gin. *q<sup>w</sup>en*, Khv. *q<sup>w</sup>an* 'farmstead'; Rut. (with metathesis) *muq:I* 'village, farmstead'; Abkh. *a-ɣ<sup>w</sup>ná*, Ab. *ɣ<sup>w</sup>na*, Ad., Kab. *wəna* 'house'.

PST \*qīm ( ~ \*q<sup>w</sup>īm) 'house' > OC 宮 \*kuŋ 'palace', Tib. *khjim* 'house', Burm. *im* 'house', Kach. *šəkum<sup>4</sup>* 'wall', Lush. *in*, Lepcha *khjüm* etc. 'house'.

\*Gwǎrʔi (~ -h-, -ə-) 'stalk':

PNC \*Gwǎrʔi (~ -h-, -ə-) 'root, stalk; leaf' > Chech., Ing. *ɤa* 'leaf'; Lak. *q:ur* 'carrot'; Lezg. *q:ur* 'stalk', Tab. *ɤur* / *q:ur* id., Rut., Tsakh. *ɤur* id., Ag. *ɤur* 'a k. of grass', Arch. *qur* 'carrot (plant)'.

PST \*q<sup>w</sup>rā 'flower; beard (on spikes)' > OC 華 \*wrā 'blossoming', \*s-wrā 'flower'; Tib. *gra* 'beard (on spikes)'.

Bur. \*qhirí > Yas. *kheré*, Hunza *qhirí*, Nagar *qhiríy* 'wheat straw; Halme mitsamt den Stoppeln (Getreide, Reis)'.

\*Gwōrʔe 'a k. of small animal' (WFR 10):

PNC \*Gwōrʔe 'hare' > Chech. *p̄hā-gal*, Ing. *p̄ha-gal*, Bac. *p̄ɣa-kał* 'hare'; Tsez. *qIaj*, Gin. *qi*, Khv. *qe*, Bezht., Gunz. *qi* 'hare'; Darg. *ɤalra*, dial. *ɤI<sup>w</sup>ari* id.; Lezg. *q:ür*, Tab. *ɤIur*, Ag. *Rür*, Rut. *ɤIir*, Tsakh. *ɤIije*, Kryz, Bud. *q:ur*, Ud. *ɤu* 'hare'.

PST \*qh<sup>w</sup>ār (~\*G<sup>w</sup>-) > OC 豕 \*wār, \*swar, \*swār 'badger'; Kach. *məgan* 'a sp. of ground-rat'.

\*GwVlǒ 'side; half' (HGC 26, WFR 35, LV C8):

PNC \*Gw[ǔ]ǒ (~-ə) 'side' > Av. *ɤ<sup>w</sup>el* 'side, slope (of a mountain)';



Lezg., Ag. q:<sup>w</sup>al, Tab. ɤ:<sup>w</sup>al 'side'; Ad., Kab. b-ɤ:<sup>w</sup>ə, Ub. ʕa-ʕá 'side'.

PY \*χɔlab 'side, half' > Ket. qɔlap<sup>5</sup>, Yug. xɔlap<sup>5</sup> 'side, half', Kott. halap 'half'; Ar. qubur- / qurbur- in qubur-saj (M., Cl.), qurbur-saj (Ka.) "midnight"; Pump. kólpar (Cl., Ka.), kolpar (CpCl.) "back". See CCE 304, Werner 2, 99 (doubts the attribution of the Arin and Pump. forms, which, I think, is hardly justified). The root should be distinguished from \*χɔb- "back" (q. v.), although they could interact: in fact, \*χɔlab may be a distortion of an original compound \*χɔl-χɔ(?)b.

\*GwVmV̄ 'small':

PNC \*=HimGwV (< \*=Hi-GwVmV) > Tsez. =εεε, Khv. ɪɤa(j) 'small'; Darg. =ibɤaIn-, Chir. =ubɤIani- id.; Arch. muqIu id.

PY \*qomat- (~χ-,ɔ-) 'few' > Ket. qomatəm<sup>6</sup> (Castr. qōmat), Yug. xɔmatε<sup>6</sup> (Castr. xomat). See CCE 262, Werner 2, 101.

\*[G]wVnGwV̄ 'neck' (HGC 21, LDC 19, FDCP 2, DCE 6):

PNC \*GwVnGwV 'throat, larynx' > Chech. qamqarg, Ing. qamarg id.; And., Kar. q:<sup>w</sup>anq:<sup>w</sup>a, Cham. q:<sup>w</sup>aq:a, Tind. q:<sup>w</sup>anq:<sup>w</sup>ala, Bagv. q:<sup>w</sup>unq:<sup>w</sup>u, God. q:<sup>w</sup>anq:<sup>w</sup>aɕil 'gullet'; Tsez. qelq, Khv. qeq<sup>w</sup>a 'throat', Gin. q<sup>w</sup>aq 'throatl crop, crawl'; Darg. Chir. q:umq:um 'crop, crawl'; Lezg. qüq:-üm 'crawl, goitre', Tab. qiq, Ag. qIaq, Ud. q:ɪɤ 'throat, larynx', Arch. qIaq:li 'top (of boot)'.

PST \*qiān 'neck' > OC 亢 \*kān 'neck, throat'; cf. also 頤 \*gān 'stretch the neck'; Tib. goŋ-ba 'collar', Lush. oŋ 'crop (of a bird)', Miju hoŋ 'neck', etc.

PY \*kəqənt- 'neck, collar' > Ket. kɛqti<sup>1</sup>, Yug. kɛxti<sup>1</sup>, Kott. agántan. See CCE 237, Werner 1, 475 \*kəqtə (the reconstruction \*kəqənt- is commented as "diese Rekonstruktion geht eher vom kot. Wort aus" - which is completely true).

Bur. \*qoqó 'crop, goitre' > Yas. qoqó, Hun., Nag. yuqú. Cf. also qhóquɕ 'crop, gizzard; larynx'.

[Cf. Basq. \*gonga-r̄ 'windpipe'.]

\*yimtV̄ 'a k. of seat or couch' (HGC 33, NSC 56):

PNC \*yimtV 'stool; pillow' > Chech. ɤant 'chair; bench', Ing. ɤand 'chair'; Tind. atu 'stool'; Darg. uta, Kub. guta 'chair'; Tab. guta, Ag. gutaj 'pillow'.

PST \*güm 'pillow, bed' > Burm. khum 'block bench, stool, table' (cf. also um 'pillow'); Kach. ləkhum<sup>4</sup> 'a chair, a stool', (H) dunkhum 'a pillow';

Lush. khum 'bed'; Lepcha kám, a-kám 'a block of wood or stone used as a seat', thjak-kam, tákám 'a pillow', Kir. \*kom 'pillow', etc.

PY \*qoʔTV-s- (~χ-) > Yug. xótsi<sup>5</sup> 'bed' (cf. also χótar 'bottom (of boat)', see Werner 2, 393); Ar. qoskor 'bed'. See CCE 264, Werner 2, 394.

\*yūnʔV 'a k. of fruit' (LDC 26, BCD 35):

PNC \*yōnʔV 'pear' > Chech. *ɤam-maɤa* 'peach', Ing. *ɤa-maɤa* 'apricot' (a compound \*yōnʔV + \*pírɤwA q.v.); Av. *géni*, And., Kar. *hīhī*, Cham. *hīh<sup>w</sup>*, Tind., Bagv. *hīha*, God. *hīhu* 'pear'; Bezht., Gunz. *hī id.*

PST \*ʔun (~x-) > Burm. *unh*, Kach. *məun<sup>4</sup>* 'coconut'; (?) cf. also Tib. *r-gun* 'vine, grape'.

(?) Bur. \*yáin 'grapes' > Yas., Hun., Nag. \*yáin.

[Cf. Basq. \*ar-han 'plum, sloe'.]

\*ywǎʔi 'help':

PNC \*ywǎʔi (~-e) 'team-work, help' > Chech., Ing. *ɤo* 'help, support'; Av. *g<sup>w</sup>aj*, And., Tind. *haj*, Akhv. *he*, Kar. *hafa* 'team-work (followed by regaling)'; Lak. *guj* 'animation, merriment'.

PST \*Q<sup>w</sup>əH > OC 友 \*wəʔ 'to assist; friend'.

\*ywǎrtǃ 'group':

PNC \*ywǎr(V)tǃ 'group, flock' > Chech. *ɤəra*, Ing. *ɤär*, Bac. *ɤajri* 'band, gang'; Av. *gúri* 'crowd, medley'; Lak. *hurt:u-* 'common, joint, collective'; Arch. *ɤat:əra* 'herd of cattle'; PWC \*k:<sup>w</sup>arəta 'flock of sheep' > Abkh. *a-g<sup>w</sup>árta*, Ab. *g<sup>w</sup>arta*, Ad. *k<sup>w</sup>art*, Kab. *g<sup>w</sup>árta*.

PST \*krot (~q-) 'crowd' > Tib. *khrod* 'crowd, assemblage, mass', Kach. *krot*, ə-krot 'to be crowded out'.

\*hāmçĚ 'half; middle':

PNC \*hāmçĚ > Chech. *ōzig* 'island; core (of a boil, abscess)'; Khv. *hiçil*, Inkh. *hiççe* 'waist'; Tab. *haç* 'half; body from the waist up to the head'; PWC \*ʒ<sup>w</sup>a > Abkh. *á-b-ža*, Abaz. *b-ža* 'half, middle', Ub. *ža* 'back part', *za(n)žá* 'middle, half'; Ad. *ža-g<sup>w</sup>ə*, Kab. *ža-g<sup>w</sup>* 'hearth'.

PY \*su- 'half' > Ket. *sū-* 'half'; *sū-si<sup>1</sup>* 'midnight', (Kl.) *su-ji* 'noon'; *su-t-taq<sup>5</sup>* 'middle finger'; Yug. *su-tən-tax<sup>5</sup>* 'middle finger'; *sū-si<sup>1</sup>* 'midnight'; Kott. *šúšig* (M., Cl., Kl.) 'midnight'; Ass.(M.) *šúšig*, (Cl., Kl.) *šú-šig id.*; Pump. *túha* (Cl.) 'noon'; (Cl.) *tú-töl* 'midnight'. See CCE 276, Werner 2, 170.

\*hǎxkwV́ (~ f-) 'bush, branch' (BCD 25):

PNC \*hǎkwV́ (~ f-) > Cham., Tind. haḵu 'bush', Kar. haḵ<sup>w</sup>a 'branch'; Bezht. haḵ 'tops (of plants)', Gunz. haḵ 'flower'.

PY \*ʔəqe 'branch' > Ket. ɸəəʔ, Yug. ɸ:x, Kot. oǵé, ōge, ōke; Pump. jaxi (CCE 192, Werner 2, 420).

[Cf. Basq. \*haga 'long pole, stick'.]

\*himV 'spot, mole':

PNC \*hīmV (~ ʔ-, -ǎ-) 'wart, abscess' > Chech. huma 'sore, abscess, boil'; Akhv., Cham., God. himi 'wart', Tind. himi 'birth-mark, mole'; Inkh. himon 'abscess'.

PST \*majH (~ -ejH) 'spot, birth-mark' > Tib. r-me 'spot, speck, mark, mole, mother-spot'; Burm. hmaj 'birth-mark'.

\*hrěxgwē 'to comb, scrape' (LV B12):

PNC \*hrěgwē 'comb' > Chech. jeḵk, Ing. jaḵk, Bac. jeḵk; Av. horḵ:ó (par. B: pl. harḵ:á-l), And. hoḵ:u, Akhv. aḵ:u, Cham. haḵ:<sup>w</sup>, Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. haḵ:u; Tsez., Gin. hiḵu, Khv. heḵu, Bezht. heḵo, Gunz. heḵu; Lak. t:aral; Darg. durega 'comb'; Kryz rak-ar, Bud. lak-art 'rake'; Abkh. -í-a- 'to comb', Ad. žə-, Kab. žə-, Ub. ža- 'to scrape' (Ad. mā-ž, Kab. mā-ža 'comb'); see NCED 494-495.

PST \*p-rōk, \*m-rōk 'scratch, scrape' > OC 𑀧𑀭𑀮𑀳 \*prōk 'to peel, scratch, scrape', Tib. āphrug 'to scratch oneself', Burm. phjauk id., Kach. məru<sup>?</sup> 'to itch', Garo brik, Dimasa buru 'scratch'.

PY \*tuʔxVń 'comb' > Ket. tuyurí<sup>5</sup> / tu:rí<sup>3</sup>, Yug. tugín<sup>5</sup>, Kott. thun, Ar. ten (CCE 290, Werner 2, 293).

\*hVɪʔV 'breath, spirit' (HGC 34):

PNC \*h[ǎ]ʔa (~ -ʔ-, -e) 'steam' > Chech. ʕä, Ing. ʕi 'steam'; Av. hál- 'to boil', Háli 'boiling', And., Bagv. hal, Cham., Tind. hā 'steam'; Bezht. hel-, Gunz. hel-ā 'to boil'; Lezg. jal 'breath, odour', Tab., Ag. el, Kryz., Bud. ʕal 'breath', Rut. il, Tsakh. ewa 'odour', Arch. hil 'breath, steam', Ud. el-mux 'soul, spirit'; PWC \*ʕa > Abkh. á-l-ʕ<sup>w</sup>a, Abaz. l-ʕ<sup>w</sup>a 'smoke', Ad., Kab. ʕha 'spirit, god', Ub. La-L- 'to suffocate'.

PST \*lǎ 'spirit' > OC 𑀧𑀭𑀮𑀳 \*lǎ-n 'spirit; divine, superhuman'; Tib. lha 'the gods', Kach. məla<sup>2</sup> 'spirit', Lush. thla, Tulung lö id., etc.

PY \*ʔirí- (~x-) 'breath, spirit' > Ket. íl / iʔl, Yug. ír (CCE 194, Werner 1, 390).

\*hǎnǎ 'now' (HGC 35):

PNC \*h[ä]nV 'now' > Chech. hin-ca, Ing. han-z, Bac. in-c 'now'; Gunz. hin-čod 'today'; Dag. hanna 'now'; Ag. hin-c 'now'; Ad. ne-pa, Kab. no-ba 'today', Kab. nə-žə 'now'; Hurr. χennə, Ur. χenə 'now'.

PST \*n[ə] 'time or place of, when' > OC 𐎎 \*nə 'particle by verbalizing, as, and yet, and', Tib. na 'year, stage of life, age; when', Lush. nia? 'at the time of, when'. With various suffixes cf. also \*nā-ŋH / \*nā-k 'next day, time after now', \*nū 'new, young, soft'.

PY \*ʔen 'now' > Ket. ēn, Yug. en, Kott. eaŋa (< \*ʔen-ŋa), Pump. eŋ 'now', Ar. iŋni 'today' (CCE 187, Werner 1, 35, 36, 272).

\*hwārhwǎ 'swarm (of insects)':

PNC \*hwārhwV > Tsez. həj, Gin. həja 'mosquito', Inkh. həj, Gunz. hahija 'bug, bed-bug'; Darg. hur (Ur. har?) 'mosquito'; Lezg. dial. wa? 'bumble-bee', Tab. war?, Ag. warw 'bee'.

PST \*r[ua]H > Burm. rwa? 'to swarm (as ants); tick'; Lush. rau (rau?) 'to swarm (as bees)'; Kir. \*rù 'locust'.

\*hwěbē (~ -i-) 'mound, pillar' (BCD 7):

PNC \*hwěbē (~ -i-) 'post, pole; tower' > Chech. bŋow, Ing. wŋow 'tower'; Av. ħubí 'post, pole' (dial. 'high rock, cliff'); Tsez. hibo, Gin. hebo 'stick'; Abkh. a-bów-ra, Abaz. bo-ra, Kab. bow 'cattle-shed' (< \*'tower').

PST \*phǎH ~ \*bhǎwH 'mound' > OC 阜 \*bhu? 'big mound', Bodo ha-pəw 'mound', Tib. s-po 'summit of a mountain'. It is not quite clear whether it is the same root as Tib. s-bo 'swell up', Lush. bo? 'inflammatory swelling', Burm. phu? 'be convex, swollen', etc.: if it is, the more general meaning 'swelling' must be due to semantic expansion of the original 'mound, summit'.

[Cf. Basq. \*habe 'pillar, beam'].

\*hwěri 'light, shine, burn' (derived < \*VhwV 'shine' q.v.):

PNC \*hwěri (~ -e) 'morning, dawn' > Chech. ǧūrē, Ing. ǧujra, Bac. ǧur-d-na 'morning'; Darg. dugi-heri 'day', Chir. ǧara id.

PST \*wǎr 'fire, burn' > OC 燔 \*bār 'burn, roast', Tib. ābar 'burn', sbor 'to light, kindle', Kach. wan<sup>2</sup> 'fire', Nung hwar 'burn, kindle', etc. Initial \*w- here must go back to a labialized laryngeal in intervocalic position, thus presupposing a form like \*ʔVhwěri. Historically a variant of the same root may be PST \*rěw(H) 'heat, burn' > OC 燎 \*rěw-s, \*rěw, \*rěw-s 'burnt-offering; torch; flame, burn; brilliant', Tib. d-ro 'be warm',

s-ro 'to warm', Burm. hrəwʔ 'set on fire, burn', etc.

Bur. \*jáři 'first morning light; sun or moon rays' > Yas. jáři, Hunza, Nagar jáři.

[Cf. Basq \*eře 'burn'].

[\\*hwǐʔnV](#) 'blood' (HGC 18, NSC 54, WFR 71, LDC 17, BCD 37):

PNC \*hwěʔnV 'blood' > Av. han 'meat', PA \*hinHi > And. hin, Akhv. hini, dial. hī 'blood'; Tsez. e, Gin. ijo, Bezht. hě, Gunz. hāj 'blood'; Lak. ul id.; Darg. hi id.; PL \*ʔäʔ > Lezg. i-(wi), Tab. i-(fi), Ag. iʔ, Rut. ä-bir, Tsakh. e-b id.

PST \*ʔwǐj, \*s-ʔwǐj 'blood' > OC 𑌕𑌕 \*s-whī-t 'blood'; Tib. ji 'spirit'; Burm. s-wijh 'blood', Kach. sai² id., Lush. thi id., Lepcha vi id., etc.

[Cf. Basq. \*hu(i)n 'marrow, brain'.]

[\\*hwněrqǔ](#) 'meat, meat soup' (LV A11):

PNC \*hwněrqǔ 'soup, broth' > Av. háʔu (par. C: gen. haʔ-dál), Akhv. qā, Cham., Tind. ā, God. aji 'soup, broth' (PAnd \*ʔa(n)qǐ ~ -o-); Tsez. joqǔ 'nettle broth', Gin. joqǔ 'tasty nourishing meal', Khv. joqǔ, Bezht. jaqǔ, Gunz. jǔqǔ 'broth'; Lak. naqǔ 'soup, broth'; Darg. nerǔ id.; Tab. (Düʒ.) riqǐ, Ag. riqǔ, Rut. riqǔ, Tsakh. jiqǔ, Arch. diqǔ 'soup, broth', Ud. iljaʔI 'puree, thick soup'; Khin. zekǔ 'soup, broth'; see NCED 499.

PST \*nuk 'meat' > OC 𑌕𑌕 nhuk (~ nhik<sup>w</sup>) meat, flesh; Limbu nek-sa, Dumi no-sə(m) 'muscle'.

[\\*hwVmV\[li\]](#) (~-ě) 'face' (LV D8):

PNC \*hwVmVli (~-ě) 'face' > Av. humér (par. C: hurmá-l, húrma-l), Akhv. hama-ʔal 'face'; Darg. muhli, dial. muhulli 'mouth'; see NCED 499.

PST \*met 'face' > OC 𑌕𑌕 \*mhens 'face'; Kach. man¹ 'face'; Lush. hmél 'face, looks, appearance'; Lepcha mlem 'face' (probably a contraction of some compound).

[There are some uncertainties: a) length of vowel is unclear in PST - OC short, but Lush. long; b) PNC \*-l- should correspond to PST \*-r-. Since the reconstruction in this case is based only on Av. -r-, we may think that Av. humér is an analogical modification, e. g., under the influence of a similar meʔér 'nose', and reconstruct rather \*hwVmVli].

[\\*Hapǔ](#) 'paw, extremity' (BPD 6):

PNC \*Hapǔ > Gin., Bezht., Gunz. aʔa 'paw'; Abkh., Ab. -pə, Ub. -pa 'extremity' (in compounds with 'hand' and 'foot').

PST \*bějH > OC 髀 \*peʔ, \*beʔ, \*pijʔ 'femur, haunch'; Tib. dpji 'hip, hip-bone', Lush. phei 'leg, lower leg', etc.  
[Cf. Basq. \*apo 'hoof'.]

[\\*HārĽāpV](#) 'a k. of food':

PNC \*HārĽāpV > Gin. ʒerep, Tsez. ʒepeli, Khv. ʒeperu, Bezht. ʒijp, Gunz. ʒiriḅ 'pastry made of barley flour'; Lak. aIrc:ap 'food made of barley flour, curds, butter and rice'; Hurr. \*ʒuruppi 'a k. of cake'.

(?) PST \*rVp 'hunger, desire for food' > OC 乏 \*b-rap 'to lack; exhaust'; Tib. spribs, sprebs (resp.) 'be hungry'; Lush. rōp 'to have a strong desire or craving for animal food'.

Bur. \*Itopo, \*(l)tultopo > Hun. tópo, tultópo 'thin and small bread with yeast dough', Nag. tópo, tultópo 'id.; scanty food'.

[\\*HārqaĀ](#) 'to smear, rub' (cf. HGC 38):

PNC \*Hārqa 'to rub' > Chech. haq- / hēq-, Ing., Bac. haq- / heq- 'to rub, smear; to sweep'; Av. =aχ-n- 'to smear'; Tsez. t-eχ-r- 'to paint', Gin. =iχ- 'to rub', =eχ- 'to smear', Khv., =eχ- 'to wipe oneself', Bezht. hāχ-, Gunz. k-aχ- 'to smear'; PL \*ʔarχIa- > Lezg. dial. eχlā-d 'harrow', Tab. a=χI- 'to rub; to pick at, peck at', Ag. kit-X-, Rut. a=χIa-, Kryz. ä=h-, Bud. q:-i=h- 'to rub'; PWC \*χIV 'to scrape, scratch' > Ad. -tχə-, Kab. -tχa-, Ub. χIa-.

PY \*ʔoq- (~x-, -ɔ-) 'to smear, rub' > Ket. ɔqtij<sup>6</sup> 'to smear (with clay)', ɔqtet<sup>5</sup> 'to rub'; Yug. ɔxtet<sup>7</sup> 'to rub'. See CCE 198, Werner 2, 45.

[\\*=HārǫVn](#) 'to see' (WFR 120):

PNC \*=HārǫV(n) 'to see, to find' > Bezht. =ĩq-, Gunz. =ĩq- 'to find'; Darg. če=iʔ-, Chir. =alḥ- 'to see'; PL \*ʔarǫI:ä- > Tab. raqI:-, Ag. raqI:la-, Kryz., Bud. irq- 'to see', Rut. g-a=q:a- 'to watch, look', Ud. b-aḥIa-jesun 'to be found'; Khin. zaḥ- 'to see'; Hurr. tiyan- 'to show'.

PST \*qēn 'to see, look, know' > OC 見 \*kēn-s 'to see, apprehend (cf. also gēn-s 'to appear'); Tib. m-khjen 'to know, understand', Lush. en 'to look, look at, glance';

Bur. \*-yán > Yas. -yán- 'to see', Hunza, Nagar -yan- 'to seem, observe, be visible'.

[?Cf. Basq. \*iku-sí 'to see' - if -sí is a historical suffix.]

[\\*HārǫwV](#) 'to dig' (HGC 37, differently in NSC 57):

PNC \*=HārǫwV 'to dig' > Av. =uq:-, Akhv. =aq:<sup>w</sup>- / =aq:-un-, Cham. =aq:<sup>w</sup>-Vn-, Tind. =aq:<sup>w</sup>-ĩ-, Kar. =aq:<sup>w</sup>-an-; Tsez. χ<sup>w</sup>a-ā-, Khv. =uχ-, Gunz.

ɔχ-d-; Lak. =iχ:a- (dial. =iχ:w a-); Darg. iq:-, Chir. =irq:w- / =iq:-; Tab. u=qI-, Ag. urqi-, Rut. a=qI<sup>w</sup>a-, Arch. jā=χIa- 'to dig'.

PST \*kǝw (~g-) 'to dig out' > OC 掘 \*gu-t / \*go-t 'dig out (earth)', 搨 \*gū-t 'dig out'; Tib. r-ko 'to dig, dig out; to engrave', r-ko-d 'dig, dig out'; Burm. kaw 'to lift out of place, prize up, as with a lever'; Kach. go-t<sup>2</sup> 'to dig', də-go-t<sup>3</sup> 'to scoop up'.

\*HarχÚ 'to speak, shout':

PNC \*HarχU 'to sound, shout' > Chech., Bac. ɣaχ- 'to howl, bellow', Ing. ɣaχ- 'id.; to bark'; And. =aχ- 'to bark'; Gunz. =εɛ- id.; Lezg. raχa- 'speak', Tab.raχ- 'to thunder', Ag. ruχ- 'to wail, howl', Tsakh. i=χIa- 'to bark'; Abkh. á-ħ<sup>w</sup>ħ<sup>w</sup>a-, Ab. ħ<sup>w</sup>ħ<sup>w</sup>a-, Ub. wa-χ(ə)- 'to shout'.

PST \*χ<sup>w</sup>V 'to speak' > OC 云 \*wən, 曰 \*wat, 謂 \*wəts 'to say, speak'; Burm. hu 'to speak, talk', Kach. hɔ 'to preach', Manipuri hai 'say' etc.

PY \*huxV- 'to cry, shout' > Ket. d-ūyə<sup>1</sup>, Yug. d-ūy, Kott. hujei (CCE 231, Werner 1, 328).

Bur. \*ha- > Yas. ha-n-, ha-i- 'to call'.

[Cf. Basq. \*eřa-n 'say'.]

\*Hǎǰǰw- 'clean' (HGC 40 - somewhat differently, WFR 137, LDC 37):

PNC \*Hǎǰǰm- 'to clean, clean' > Chech., Ing. čena, Bac. čajn 'clean, pure'; Av. =ač:n- 'to clean', =ač:a-da= 'clean', And. =erç:om 'clean', Akhv. =ač:onu- 'to clean', =ač:a(n)-da= 'clean', Cham. =aša-da= id., Tind. =ac:a-hi= 'to clean', =ac:a-ja- 'clean', Kar. =ač:a-do=, dial. ç:in-ku=, Botl. ç:in-ķir, Bagv. =ač:a-ra=, God. çin-ķi 'clean, pure'; Tsez. =occ-ǎ-si, Khv. q-ajca, Bezht. =acō, Gunz. =ācə-ru 'clean'; Lak. març- id.; Darg. umu- (Kait. umzu-, Tsud. unzu-), Chir. marz- 'clean'; PL \*maIrc:i- > Tab. marc:i, Ag. maIrt:e-f, Tsakh. malt:i-n, Arch. març 'clean', Rut. dial. mət-dī 'limpid', Ud. mac:i 'white', ac:ar 'clean'; PWC \*pǎ-ǎA > Abkh. a-bzia, Ab. bzi 'good', Ad., Kab. q:ā-bza, Ub. p̄ça 'clean'.

PST \*chǝŋ 'clean, clear' > OC 清 \*chǝŋ 'clear, pure, bright', Tib. saŋ-s 'to clean (dirt etc.), cleanse', (b)seŋ 'clean, white', gcaŋ 'be clean', chaŋ-s 'purified, clean'; Burm. čaŋ 'be clean, pure'; Kach. seŋ<sup>1</sup>, ceŋ<sup>1</sup> 'be clean, pure, free'; Lush. thiaŋ 'be clear', Lepcha čóŋ 'to wash, to cleanse, to purify', etc.

(?) PY \*si- (~g-, -x-) 'to sweep, clean' > Ket. si-ge<sup>t</sup>, si-gi<sup>t</sup> (KPC) 'to clean, sweep' (Werner 2, 205 sí...yit); Yug. siget<sup>5</sup> 'to sweep' (Werner 2, 205 sí...git); see CCE 273, Werner 2, 205.

Bur. (with reduplication) \*sesin- > Yas. sésenum, sesénun, Hunza,

Nagar sisinum 'clear, clean'.

[Loss of final -ŋ in PY is not clear.]

\*=Häčwǎ 'to pour, weep':

PNC \*=Häčwǎ 'to pour, wash' > Av. č:uj- 'to dip', =ič:- 'to wet', Akhv. =ic:- 'to soak', Cham. =ic- 'to wet', Tind. č:ab-d- 'to splash, sprinkle', =ič:- 'to soak, wet', Kar. č:eb- 'to splash out', =ič:- 'to soak, wet'; Lak. (redupl.) šulši- 'to wash'; Darg. =is- 'to weep'; Lezg. iše (xun), Tab. iš-, Ag. řaş-, Rut. =še-, Tsakh. g-e=š:e-, Kryz. =iš- 'to weep'; PWC \*ǰ<sup>w</sup>a > Abkh. á-ǰ<sup>w</sup>ǰ<sup>w</sup>a-ra, Abaz. ǰ<sup>w</sup>ǰ<sup>w</sup>a-ra 'to wash', Ad. ǰ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to dam, cut off (water)'.  
 PY \*ǰe(?)n 'to weep' > Ket. -den, Yug. d-ídá (Качр.), praet. dīrdā, imp. igdā; Kott. d-āčēnan; Ar. āšīnan (M., Cl., Kl.) "I weep"; Pump. čīin-du (Cl.). See CCE 310, Werner 1, 181-182.

\*=HäGwǎn 'to tremble, fear' (WFR 122):

\*=HäGwǎn 'to tremble, be afraid' > Av. = iǰn- 'to be nervous, capricious', Cham. ɓiɓin-, Tind. ɓiɓan- 'to shake, sway'; Tab. (Düb.) d-i=q:-, Arch. e=qI<sup>w</sup>in- 'to tremble, shake, be afraid' (cf. also Rut. s-u=qIa- 'to shake, sway').

PST \*[kh]ǰmH 'to fear' > OC 恐 \*kh(r)oŋ? 'fear'; Tib. āgam 'threaten, menace', Kach. kom<sup>2</sup> 'to fear'.

PY \*qin- (~χ-) 'to tremble, be afraid' > Yug. xīn-čej<sup>5,6</sup> (CCE 260, Werner 2, 398).

\*Hǎ[xk]VIV 'lame':

PNC \*HǎkV̄ (/HǎkV̄) > Akhv. kire-da- 'lame', Kar. ker- 'to limp', Lak. aIřč:a- 'lame', Darg. Chir. řark:a- id., Tab. liku, Kryz. luka, Arch. lak:a- 'lame'.

PST \*Gh(j)ǎl 'lame' > OC 躄 \*khaj 'one-footed' (cf. also 蹇 \*kan? 'lame'); Tib. sgjid-khjol 'one lame in his legs' (sgjid 'knee-joint'); Kach. gai, lǰgai 'to sprawl, to limp', Lush. hol 'walk with a stick'.

Bur. \*layaş 'to hobble' > Hunza, Nagar \*layaş.

[The root is expressive and not quite regular: in PNC we would rather expect \*-χ- < \*-xk-. This irregularity may be explained by an early contamination with PNC \*lǎkǎ 'leg, leg-bone'; one should also keep in mind a possibility of contamination with yet another NC root, \*=alkV 'to limp, lame' > Lak. w-alka řun 'to reel, stagger'; Darg. =alka 'lame'; Tab. lař xuz 'to waddle', Rut. arřa- 'to limp', a=lřa-d 'lame', Tsakh. řā-na, dial. řawa-na 'lame', Ud. k:ala id. (> Arm. kař 'lame'). Despite this complicated picture,



the comparison seems highly probable.]

\*HǎnV 'a female relative (daughter-in-law, elder sister)':

PNC (redupl.) \*nǎnV 'mother' > Chech. nāna, Ing. nana, Bac. nan; Lak. ninu; Rut. nin, nenej, Ud. nana; Abkh. nan, Ad. nān. Ub. nán(a).

PST \*na 'elder female relative' > Tib. m-na-ma 'daughter-in-law', Kach. kəna<sup>1</sup> 'an elder sister', Kir. \*nä, \*nǎnä id., Gur. \*a-na id., etc.

PY \*ʔ[ē]ri 'son-in-law, daughter-in-law' > Ket. é<sup>n4</sup> (South.), North. ε:ne<sup>4</sup> / enne, pl. ēnn<sup>1</sup> / enn (< ēnin<sup>1</sup>); ennem<sup>5</sup> "daughter-in-law"; Yug. ε:h<sup>n4</sup>, pl. érin<sup>1</sup>; ε:h<sup>n4</sup>em<sup>4</sup> / ej<sup>n4</sup>em<sup>3</sup> "daughter-in-law"; Kott. ani, a<sup>n4</sup>e, g. anā, pl. anān "son-in-law"; aneā, a<sup>n4</sup>eā, pl. anān, an<sup>n4</sup>ean, an<sup>n4</sup>egan "daughter-in-law"; Ar. b-ān (Локк.) "son-in-law", bonā "bride, daughter-in-law". See CCE 190, Werner 1, 235.

Bur. (redupl.) \*nVnV > Yas. náni 'aunt; mother', néne 'aunt', Hun., Nag. nána, nané 'uncle; aunt'.

\*Hcwǎjnǎ 'limb, bone' (MCGD 5):

PNC \*Hcwējnǎ (~ -ǎ-, -m-, -ǒ) 'leg bone' > Chech. nosta 'leg (from foot to knee)', Ing. nost 'shin, shank'; Tind. hinc:i 'groin (of an animal)'; Bezht. ǒc 'knucklebone'; Lezg., Rut. çum, Tsakh. çom 'shin-bone', Arch. çam-mul 'ankle'.

PST \*ʃ[ʒ]er 'joint' > Kach. læsej<sup>1</sup> 'the corpus and metacarpus of the fore-arm'; (H) læsiŋ 'wrist'; Lush. čaŋ 'a joint (of finger, bamboo)'; Bugun a-zeŋ 'bone'.

Bur. \*-śáŋ 'limbs, body parts' > Hun., Nag. -śáŋ.

\*HěmxGǎ 'to bite' (HGC 18, NSC 55):

PNC \*HěmGǎ 'to bite' > Chech., Ing. =aʔ-, Bac. =aǰ- 'to eat'; Av. dial. çam-, And., Botl., God. q:am-, Cham. q:an- 'to bite', Akhv. q:onu-, Tind., Bagv. q:an-, Kar. q:am- 'to eat'; Bezht. =üq-, Gunz. =üq- 'to eat'; Arch. =eq:a- 'to bite'; Khin. qin- 'to eat'; PWC \*qIA > Abkh. á-c-ħa-ra, Abaz. c-ħa-ra (c- 'tooth'), Ad. ca-q:a-, Kab. ʒa-q:a- (ca-, ʒa- 'tooth'), Ub. qIə- 'to bite'.

PST \*k(h)ejH 'to bite' > Burm. khajh 'to bite and hold fast', Lush. kei? 'to bite', Naga \*kei, Kham kəi id., etc.

Bur. \*káu- / \*qáu- 'to put in mouth, chew' > Yas. káu-, kháu-, qáu-.

\*HēnqwV 'meadow' (BCD 27):

PNC \*HēnqwV 'meadow, plot' > Bezht. öṛä 'a small plot of land'; Tab. uχlaw 'virgin soil, fallow', Rut. uχla-l 'meadow'; Khin. inqa 'field'.

PY \*ʔoGV ( ~ x-) 'meadow' > Ket. u:, Yug. o: / ou<sup>3</sup>, Kott. öx 'meadow', Ar. (?) jújun 'grass'. See CCE 197, Werner 2, 48, 376.

[Cf. Basq. \*angio '(fenced in) pasture'.]

\*HěrcU 'warm, to heat':

PNC \*=ěrcŪ 'to heat, to roast' > Chech., Ing. q-arz-, Bac. q-arç- 'to roast'; Darg. =erç- / =uç- 'to bake, roast', b-uça-r- 'hot'; Abkh. a-z<sup>v</sup>-rá, Ab. ž<sup>w</sup>-ra, Ad. ź<sup>v</sup>a-, Kab. va-, Ub. z<sup>w</sup>a- 'to boil'.

PST \*cu 'to burn, bake' > Tib. āchod (fut. b-co) 'to bake; to cook in boiling water'; Burm. čhu 'to boil', Kach. ž<sup>u</sup>2 'to burn, as wood'; Lush. thu 'dry (as fish); be half burnt' etc.

PY \*xus- 'warm' > Ket. ūś / u:s, Yug. u:s / ūś 'warm', Ar. kúši, Pump. útti- 'hot, warm' (CCE 299, Werner 2, 380-381).

\*HěrλwV 'to bind, girdle' (somewhat different in HGC 33, NSC 56):

PNC \*jěrλwV 'belt, girdle' > Chech. döχka, Ing. ɬeχkar, Bac. duχkã 'belt, girdle'; PAvAnd \*roλ:i-č<sup>w</sup>oIV 'belt, girdle' > Av. račél (dial. ráλič), And. roλ:očul, Akhv. raλiča, Cham. jaλčal / jačal, Kar. rač<sup>w</sup>al; Inkh. öc-oλu 'woman's belt', Gunz. ɔλe 'belt'; Darg. \*ʔirγi > iri 'sash, girdle', Chir. arγe 'rope, string'.

PST \*r[ā]k 'cord, to bind' > OC 絡 \*rhāk 'silk thread; cord'; Tib. grags, āgrogs 'to bind', sgrog(s) 'cord, rope, fetters'; Burm. rak 'to weave (cloth, mat or basket)'; Kach. ro<sup>2</sup>2 'to untie, unbind', etc.

\*HěrstV 'to get up':

PNC \*HěrcV- 'to stand up, to raise' > Chech. l-owz- 'lean upon a staff while stepping'; And. hirç- 'to stand up', Akhv. heç- 'to stand up, raise', Cham. heç- 'to raise' (dial. hinz- 'to stand up'), And., Botl. hirçi, Akhv. heče-da, Cham., Tind., Bagv. heçu-b, Kar. herço-b, God. hiçi 'high'; Gin. =oç-era 'to stop, detain', Bezht. =aκ-iç 'to stand up', =eče-n-oç- 'to stand'; Lak. =a=ça- 'stand'; Hurr., Ur. ašχ- 'to raise; endow', Hurr. ašχu/o 'high, upper'.

PY \*ta-, \*pa-ta 'to stand up' > Ket. taśen<sup>5</sup>; (ДОНН.) hattəs "to stand up, rise"; (Castr.) fattes "aufstehen", praet. furdetes, imp. fargetes; há-p-ta, há-vi-ta (Werner 1, 302) 'es steht'; Yug. fattes (Кастр.), praet. furdetes, imp. fargetes; (Werner 2, 243) tásiη, t-fáttes; (Werner 1, 302) fā-p-ta 'es steht', praet. fō-b-ír-ta; Kott. fatagākη, praet. faltajaη, imp. falta. See CCE 281,

Werner 2, 243.

Bur. \*ca 'stand' > Yas. ca-k, Hun., Nag. ca-ṭ, ca.

\*=HěxkwV̄ 'to pour, scatter':

PNC \*=HěχwV̄ > Kar. χ:u-l- 'to rinse, paddle'; Lak. =aIχ:i- 'to wash off, wash away'; Lezg. al-aχ- 'to scatter, strew', Kryz q:-aχ- 'to pour', Bud. ʕ-aχ- 'to sift, screen', Arch. =eχa- 'to pour'.

PY \*ʔat-aq- (~x-) 'to pour' > Ket. ataq<sup>6</sup>, Yug. atax<sup>6</sup>, Kott. at-p-aqη 'I shall pour' (CCE 184, Werner 1, 75).

\*HōrčwVη- 'to be cloudy, rain' (WFR 135):

PNC \*HōrčwVn 'to become cloudy, dull (of weather)' > Chech. jāč- 'to be cloudy, dull (of weather)', Ing., Bac. jač- 'to rain'; Av. róc:n-, Kar. ʕ-orč- (dial. orč-) 'to become cloudy (of weather)'; Lak. =aš:a- / =aš:i- id.; Arch. daI=šin- id.

PST \*[ʒā]η 'rain, shower' > Kach. caŋ<sup>2</sup> 'to fall, as a light, cooling shower, to squirt', Lush. čhēŋ 'to rain continuously', Naga \*cVη 'rain' etc.

\*=HəχwAn- (~ -xk-) 'to quarrel' (WFR 128):

PNC \*=HəχwAn > Cham. jiχan- 'to hate'; Lak. =aha- 'to quarrel'; Darg. Ur. =aIh<sup>w</sup>- / =irh<sup>w</sup>- 'to fight'; Lezg. q:-eχün-, Ag. al-uχI- 'to quarrel', Kryz. =äχn- 'to fight', Arch. anχ 'war, fight'; PWC \*χI<sup>w</sup>a > Abkh. á-č<sup>w</sup>-ħa-, Abaz. č<sup>w</sup>-ħa-, Ad. χ<sup>w</sup>ā-na-, Kab. ja-χ<sup>w</sup>a-na- 'to curse, offend', Ub. c<sup>w</sup>ə-χIá 'curse, offence'.

PST \*K[ō]m (~ Q-) 'quarrel, curse' > OC 鬩 \*gōŋ-s, \*grōŋ-s .quarrel, fight', Kach. dəgam<sup>3</sup> 'to curse, to imprecate evil against'.

\*HgVnV 'leg, shin' (NSC 55):

PNC \*HnėgV̄ (~ \*HgėnV̄ ?) 'leg, knee' > Bezht., Gunz. āga 'knee, knee-cap'; Lak. č:an 'foot, leg'; Darg. Chir. nik:a 'foot, leg; foot bone'; Khin. ank: 'foot, leg'.

PST \*g(h)ōŋ 'leg' > Kach. dial. ləŋŋ; Manipuri khon 'leg'; Mikir arkon 'shin'; Kir. \*khə[N] 'foot, leg' (Sunwar khoj-li, Kulung khe-l).

PY \*kīn- (~ \*kiŋn-) 'top of boots' > Ket. ki:ré<sup>4</sup>, pl. kīŋŋ<sup>1</sup>; South. kiŋ<sup>4</sup>, pl. kīŋŋ<sup>1</sup>; Yug. kiŋn (?), pl. kinen<sup>1</sup> 'a k. of boots' (ногавица); Kott. hen-čaraŋ 'shoe' (M, Kl). See CCE 239, Werner 1, 427.

[PY prosody is unclear here, even within Yenisseian proper.]

\*HičĀn 'to press, rub':

PNC \*HičĀn (~ -č-) 'to press, squeeze' > Lak. l-aču- 'to seize, clutch, cling'; Darg. Ur. =alčVn- / =allč-, Chir. =ač- / =alč- 'to press, squeeze'; Rut. =ir(i)ča-, Tsakh. ho=čan-, Arch. čalIn- 'to press, squeeze'; PWC \*bə-čə- > Abkh. a-r-bəç-rá (Bz. a-r-bəç-rá), Abaz. r-bç-ra 'to rumple, crumple', Ub. bəç(ə)- 'to press, be pressed'.

PY \*žāñ 'to knead, rub' > Ket. da:ŋ<sup>4</sup>, Yug. dá:ŋ<sup>4</sup> 'to knead, rub'; Kott. b-a-čəŋ-aŋ 'I rub it'. See CCE 309, Werner 1, 172.

\*=Hí[g]wV̄ 'to spin' (HGC 38):

PNC \*=HiķwVn 'to spin, knit' > Chech., Ing. =ag- 'to embroider'; Av. r-oķ:én 'needle', Cham. =ak:<sup>w</sup>Vn- 'to sew', Tindi b-ek:un 'knitting needle'; Gin. maq<sup>w</sup>are, Khv. biq<sup>w</sup>an, Bezht. muqala, Gunz. muqel '(knitting) needle, big needle', Gin. mequ 'thread', Bezht. maqo, Gunz. maqu 'loom', Lak. kunu 'wire', dial. 'knitting needle'; Darg. luķ- 'to spin'; Tab. dial. d-i=ķ- 'to spin', Kryz. muķat, Bud. miķət, Arch. balķon 'rope', Tsakh. luķor, nuķar 'spinning-wheel'; Khin. inķ 'rope'.

PST \*k(h)ājH 'to spin, wind' > Kach. ləkha?<sup>2</sup> 'to wind between the thumb and little finger', Lush. kai (kai?) 'spin (as cotton)', Lepcha kha 'to wind skeins of cotton'.

PY \*ki? > Ket. ki? 'yarn', kiγə<sup>5</sup> 'to spin', Yug. ki-fΛ, ki-fb 'to spin', Kott. hi-tafui 'yarn'; hi-tafujākŋ 'to spin' (both Ket-Yug and Kottish reflect a compound \*ki?-pV?V- 'to wind yarn'); CCE 238, Werner 1, 434.

[The NC form irregularly has \*-ķ- instead of the expected \*-g-, as well as a non-etymological \*-n; this may be due to a confusion with a quite different root, cf. PNC \*=ilq̄wVn- 'to sew', \*w-ilq̄wVnV 'tool for sewing'.]

\*=HiGĀ 'ice; to freeze':

PNC \*=HiGĀ 'to freeze, get cold, be benumbed' > Chech. kō-r-ō 'freeze', Bac. ko-r 'ice'; And. =ek-eš-, Cham. =ek-aλ- (Gig. =ek-ič-) 'to get cold, freeze'; Lak. =aI=q:i- 'to grow cold, catch cold'; Lezg. el-üq- 'to be extinguished', Tab. aqI-u 'cold', =a-qI- 'to get cold', Ag. d-aqI- id., Rut. s-a-qIa-, Tsakh. q̄a-aqI-, Arch. a=χIa- 'to be extinguished', Bud. fa-t-χa, Arch. χIe- 'cold'; Khin. qi 'cold'; Ad. q:ə-, Kab. q:ə-, Ub. q(ə)- 'to be benumbed (by cold, etc.)'.

PST \*Kja(j)H 'to freeze, congeal' > Tib. ākhja(s) 'to freeze, congeal', Kach. ləgji<sup>3</sup> 'be frozen, be stiff, numb'.

PY \*qo (~χ-) 'ice' > Ket. qō, Yug. xō (CCE 260). Despite Werner 2, 126 neither Ket nor Yug show any trace of any original intervocalic consonant; Kott. ušōx 'ice' is hardly comparable with the Ket form (see

under PY \*čəG-), and Ket qəgdə 'to break ice' hardly justifies a reconstruction \*qəgə: it is rather a compound of qə + k...də 'to clear the way' (or perhaps a component = Yug k-duk 'to break').

\*HiłV̄ 'to say' (HGC 21, DCE 33):

PNC \*HiłV ( ~ -ä-) 'to say' > Chech. lē-, Ing. le-, Bac. lev- (term.), Chech. āl-, Ing. al-, Bac. ał- id.; And. hił:on-, Akhv. eł:~, Cham. ił:~, Tind., Botl., Bagv., God. hił:~, Kar. k-eł:~ 'to say'; Tsez., Gin. eł-, Khv. ił- 'to speak, say', Bezht., Gunz. ił- 'to call'; Hurr. χill- 'to speak'.

PST \*lə 'speak, speech' > OC 辭 \*lhə 'words, speech'; Tib. zla, zlo 'to say, tell, express'; Lush. hla 'a hymn, a song'; Lepcha lí 'to speak, to tell'; Kir. \*lə 'speech, word, to say'.

PY \*ʔV(ʔ)l̄- 'to speak' > Ket. íal̄<sup>4</sup> (North.), Kur. ía:l̄<sup>4</sup>, Bak., Sur. ía:l̄<sup>4</sup> 'to babble'; Kott. d̄-ili "speaking", díl-ākŋ "to speak", praet. díllōkŋ; Ar. qedílč̄i (M., Cλ., Kλ.); Pump. kalú (Cλ.). In CCE 308 the Kott. form is attributed to \*ʔVl̄- 'speak': this reconstruction is probably erroneous. We should rather reconstruct \*ʔVl̄- and reduplicated \*ÍVl̄- - cf. Werner 2, 6-7 <\*laʔə / \*d'aʔə>. Velar q-, k- in Arin and Pumpokol are in this case most probably preverbal elements.

Bur. \*lte- 'to swear' > Yas. te- / -lte- 'to swear', Hun., Nag. te-š 'oath'.

\*HiłiwV̄ 'root; clan, village' (NSC 57, WFR 37):

PNC \*HiłiwV(-l̄V) 'root, seed; kin' > Chech. evla 'village', Ing. ovla 'root'; Av. ł:ibíl, And. hił:im, Akhv. eł:e, Cham. heł:im, Tind. heł:ab, Kar. heł:ebo, Botl. hił:ib, Bagv. herł:em, God. hił:im 'root'; Tsez. łalb, Gin. łebu, Khv. łib, Bezht. łibo, Gunz. łibu 'leaf' (semantics obviously influenced by PNC \*ł̄api 'leaf'); PL \*ł:iw(a) > Tab. č:iv 'root'; PWC \*ł:wəla > Abkh. á-ž'la 'seed; kin, clan', Ab. ž'la 'seed', Kab. žəLa 'seed; village, people', Ad. čəLa 'village, people, society', Ub. žəjə 'seed'; Urart. zil(i)b- 'seed; descendants, kin'.

PST \*t-riat̄ 'soil belonging to a village, convent' > OC 塵 \*d̄ran 'soil belonging to one peasant family', Tib. zol 'village belonging to a convent', Burm. twij 'a group of people', Kach. uthon 'a village', Lush. tual 'street; a person belonging to the village (not a stranger)', Lepcha tjol 'village', etc.

Bur. \*jult > Hunza jult 'land, country'; Nagar jult 'small land, edge of field for planting apricot trees'.

[Final \*-l̄V is definitely part of the root here, although it has been reduced in a long structure in some NC languages and Burushaski.]

\*Hím̥kV̄ 'sharp, to whet' (NSC 54):

PNC \*=ēm̥kV̄ > Ing. eg 'whetstone'; Av. =ek:- 'to trim, hew (stone)'; Darg. b-uga- 'sharp', Chir. =ebk:- / =ibk:- 'to sharpen, whet'; Khin. in̥k 'sharp'.

PST \*Kēŋ 'to whet, sharpen' (originally probably 'sharp' with an adjectival suffix \*-ŋ) > OC 研 \*gēŋ 'whetstone'; Burm. kjaŋh 'to whet a knife'.

PY \*ŋiGV (~-ŋ-, -χ-) 'to whet, sharpen' > Ket., Yug. i:<sup>3</sup> (CCE 195, Werner 1, 391).

Bur. \*iŋ > Hunza, Nagar in 'blade (of a sword)'.

\*Hēm̥χwV (~ -xk-) 'to grind, flour' (BCD 36):

PNC \*Hēm̥χwV 'to grind' > Chech., Ing., Bac. aŋ-; Av. χ:ené-, And. ŋiχ<sup>w</sup>o-qi-, Tind. χ<sup>w</sup>an-; Bezht. haʔa-, Gunz. hō-d-; Lak. ha=a-; Ad. hā-ža, Kab. ha-ža-, Abkh. á-la-ga-ra, Ab. la-ga-ra (PWC \*L<sup>w</sup>a-ga- with secondary lateralization). The root has numerous nominal derivatives: \*r-Hēm̥χwV 'mill, mill-stone', \*Hēm̥χwV-rV id., \*Hím̥χwV-rV > \*χHwVrV 'meal, flour', \*Hím̥χwV-wV 'mill, mill-stone'.

PY \*ŋuK- (~ x-) 'flour' > Kott. uxei, uxēi (CCE 200, Werner 2, 373).

Bur. \*d-ayó- 'flour' > Yas. dayóm, Hun., Nag. dayóan.

[In Burushaski cf. perhaps alternatively \*-hor- 'to grind'.

Cf. Basq. \*eho 'to grind', \*e(i)hera 'mill'.]

\*=HíqVl- 'to laugh, joke':

PNC \*=HilVq-Vr (/\*=HíqVl-Vr) (~ -l-) 'to laugh, rejoice' > Lak. =allaqa- 'to rejoice, have a good time'; Darg. Chir. d-aqlala 'laugh'; PL \*ŋilqIar > Lezg. qüre-, Tab. alqI-, Ag. ilqI-, Kryz. qur-, Arch. χIar- 'to laugh'.

PST \*xjāl 'to play, joke' > OC 戲 \*xaj-s 'to sport, joke, jest'; Tib. kjal-ka 'joke, jest', dkjal 'to talk nonsense'; Lush. khāl 'to play with', Trung a<sup>3</sup>-gāl<sup>2</sup> 'to play'.

\*HírGwĚ 'to steal':

PNC \*HírGwĚ 'to steal, conceal' > Chech., Ing. q̄u, Bac. q̄uw 'thief'; Av. =iq:-, And. =eq:-aš:-, Cham. =eq:-as:-, Tind. =aq:-aš:-, Kar. =eq:-eš:-, God. =aq:-aš:- 'to steal, conceal'; Tsez., Gin. =uq- 'to hide'; Lak. =aljqi- 'to be lost, mistaken'; Darg. Ur. =ir<sup>w</sup>- 'to deceive'; Ud. m-uq:i-n 'secretly, by stealth'; PWC \*G<sup>w</sup>V 'to steal' > Abkh. a-šó-č-ra, Abaz. šó-č-ra, Ad. tə-ɸ<sup>w</sup>a-, Kab. də-ɸ<sup>w</sup>a-.

PST \*r-qhō 'to rob, steal' > OC 寇 \*khō-s 'to rob, robber'; Tib. rku 'to

steal, to rob'; Burm. khəwh 'to steal'; Kach. lægu<sup>3</sup> 'to steal'; Lush. ru (rū-k) 'to steal, to thief'; Lepcha ku mók, kǔ-t-mo 'thief, theft', Kir. \*khù(s) 'to steal, thief', etc.

Bur. \*yə- > Yas. yé- 'to steal', yēn, Hunza yáin, Nag. yáin 'thief'.

\*HirqwVr 'wound':

PNC \*HirqwVr 'to beat, chop, cut, wound' > Chech. ħaq- 'to chop, mow, hew; saw', Ing. ħaq- 'to saw'; Av. =iq:- 'to tear off, break off', Akhv. q:<sup>w</sup>ar- id., Kar. dial. =aq:-, q:or- 'to grind' etc.; Darg. Ur. =aIq<sup>w</sup>- / =iq<sup>w</sup>- 'to derange, mess up', Chir. =aIq- / =urqI- 'to beat, hit, wound'; Lezg. jaxi- 'to hit, hew, mow', Rut. keɁ-i=χ<sup>w</sup>a-, Tsakh. q-o=χ:a- 'to tear (off)'; PWC \*t:-ər(ə)q:<sup>w</sup>a 'wound, scar' > Ad. tərq:<sup>w</sup>a, Kab. dərq:<sup>w</sup>a.

PY \*qoʔoʔ- (~χ-, -G-, -r1-) > Yug. xəra:<sup>h</sup>p<sup>4</sup>, pl. xərafɨ<sup>5</sup> 'wound', xə:<sup>h</sup>r / xo:r (Werner 2, 124, 395: χour<sup>3</sup>, χo:r<sup>3</sup>) 'to heal (of a wound)', Ket. q:<sup>ɩ</sup> id. See CCE 264, Werner 2, 124-125.

\*Hi(r)xmVrV 'to change, exchange':

PNC \*=HirfVr 'to change' > And. =erš-, Akhv. išu-, Cham. =eh<sup>w</sup>-, Tind. =eruhī-, Kar. =erx<sup>w</sup>- 'to change'; Lak. =aχ:a-na =an 'to change', =aχ:a-n 'to sell'; PL \*Ɂirχ:lär- 'to change' > Tab. huž-uχI-, Ag. d-aXu-b aqas, Rut. k-irχIi haʔas, Bud. č-orh- / č-ere=hir-, Arch. χ:Ioro=χ:li- 'to change'.

PST \*mrē(H) 'to buy, sell; debt' > OC 買 \*mrē? 'to buy', 賣 \*mrēʔs 'to sell'; Burm. mri 'debt'; Garo bre 'buy', etc.

\*HistwV 'place':

PNC \*jicwə (\*Hicwə) 'place' > Tab. jiš<sup>v</sup>, Ag. is<sup>w</sup> 'place', Ud. iłša 'near'; Urart. esə 'place'.

PST \*chōj (~-īj) 'nest' > OC 棲 \*shōj 'bird's nest'; Tib. gze 'home, habitation, nest'.

PY \*ʔut- (~x-) 'near' > Ket. ūtiš<sup>1</sup>, Yug. utis<sup>1</sup> 'near'; Kott. uti-ga 'towards here'. See CCE 201, Werner 2, 371.

\*=HístĀł- 'clean, naked' (BCD 13):

PNC \*=HičĀl (~-ł) 'naked, bare' > Chech. =erzi-na, Ing. =erza-na, Bac. =arçi-nō 'naked, bare'; Av. řiç:a-b, Tind. hinc:u-raç:u-b id.; Darg. Kait. limçal- 'naked'; PL \*qā-çVI- > Lezg. qeçil, Tab. ɁIacli, Ag. qIaçul-f, Rut. Ɂaçul-di, Tsakh. çe-le-n, Kryz. qāçin, Bud. qāçin 'naked'; Khin. çi-tar id.; Ad., Kab. pçā-na, Ub. -pçə 'naked'.

PST \*cheł 'clean, clear' > Tib. sel 'to clean'; Kach. məžen 'a clearing

(as for a village)', Lush. sial 'to clear (as road)', Lepcha žil-lā 'pure, clear'.  
 PY \*tul- > Yug. tulen 'clean, pure' (CCE 290, Werner 2, 285).

\*=HixqwV̄ 'to bear, be born' (HGC 38):

PNC \*=HiqwĀ(n) 'to bear, give birth' > God. =aχī id.; Lak. l-aI=qa- 'to be born, arise'; Darg. Chir. ʕaqIVn- /ʕallq- 'to give birth, bear'; PL \*ʕiχ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to give birth, bear' > Lezg. χa-, Tab. χ-, Ag. uχ-, Rut. hu=χ<sup>w</sup>a-, Tsakh. =uχa-, Kryz. χuj-, Bud. χo=su, Ud. b-iχ-sun (cf. also Lezg. χ<sup>w</sup>a, pl. r-uχ<sup>w</sup>a-jar 'son', Ud. χoj 'descendants'); PWC \*q:<sup>w</sup>a (~ q<sup>w</sup>-) 'son' > Ad., Kab. q:<sup>w</sup>a, Ub. q<sup>w</sup>a.

PST \*Ke(j) 'to bear, give birth' > Tib. s-kje 'to be born', skje-d 'to generate, produce', skje-s 'man, male person'; Burm. kjah 'man'; Kach. gi-t<sup>3</sup> 'to be reborn'; Lepcha gie-k 'to bring forth, to give birth to; to be born, to be generated, to be created (life)'; Kir. \*gi(k) (/ʔk-) 'to give birth, be born'

PY \*kej- (~ q-, g-) 'to bear, be born' > Ket. sija-tāx (Картр.) 'he is born', pret. sija-tonāx; (Донн.) sjēge-tak 'he is born' (Werner 2, 192: ši-ya-tōnōqs 'er ist geboren', ši-yi-tōnōqs 'sie ist geboren', Sur. ši-g-bataq); Yug. si-g-ba-ta:<sup>h</sup>x (Werner 2, 192); Kott. agejaŋ 'to bear', pret. anagejaŋ, imp. anei; šiŋei 'bearing'; iŋejaŋ 'to be born', pret. anigejaŋ, imp. anigej. See CCE 236. The Ket verb is complex: its first component sija- / sjēge- / si-g- = Kott. ši-gei. The Kott. paradigm, however, does not leave any doubt that the root is -gej- (not šiŋ-), so the proposed reconstruction \*sik in Werner 2, 192 is faulty.

Bur. \*'k 'children' > Hun., Nag. 'k.

\*Hil(V)sV 'husband, bridegroom' (LDC 36):

PNC \*jəlsV 'husband' > Av. ros: 'husband'; Tsez. is-lu 'male'; Lak. las 'husband'; Arch. as-mus (deqlēs) 'to marry', as:ə-λ:on:ol 'husband and wife'.

PY \*ʔil(V)s > Pump. ils-et 'husband', ils-em 'wife'.

Bur. \*(h)=ilés 'young unmarried man' > Yas. helés, dúlas, pl. dúlaśu, Hun., Nag. hilés.

\*Himcō 'bull; beef' (HGC 28, NSC 54):

PNC \*jāmcō 'bull, ox' > Chech., Ing., Bac. jett 'cow'; Av. oc, And. unso, Akhv. ūča, Cham., Tind. musa, Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. unsa 'ox'; Tsez. is, Gin. ūš, Khv. ĩs. Bezht., Gunz. ōs 'ox'; Lak. nic id.; Darg. unc id.; Lezg., Tsakh. jac, Tab. jic, Ag. jac<sup>w</sup>, Rut. jas, Arch. ans, Ud. us id.; Khin. lac 'cow'; Abkh. á-č<sup>v</sup>, Ab. č<sup>w</sup>ə, Ad. c<sup>w</sup>ə, Kab. və, Ub. c<sup>w</sup>ə 'ox, bull'.

PST \*chu (~ -aw, -ew) 'cow, bull' > Tib. mʒo 'mongrel-breed of the



yak-bull and common cow', Kach. dumsu<sup>1</sup>, su<sup>2</sup>- 'cow, bull', Abor só 'cow', Trung dzu<sup>1</sup> 'yak' (also Burm. səwh 'ram?').

PST \*ʔise 'meat' > Ket. īś, Yug. īs 'meat, fish', Kott. īči, Ar. is 'meat' (CCE 194. Werner 1, 194 reconstructs \*hitə / \*itə > \*ičə (??). The reconstruction of \*-t- cannot be justified, and the reconstruction of \*h- here is based only on the Pump. form hite, gite 'fish' - which is no doubt a reflex of a completely different root - PY \*c[i]k 'fish').

\*HīrxkV̄ 'male deer or goat' (HGC 28):

PNC \*w-HīrxV 'mountain goat' > Gunz. buχ-tu 'male'; Lak. barχ:u 'the leader in the herd of mountain goats', Rut. juχI, Arch. boχI 'mountain goat'; perhaps also -ha in Ad. śə-ha, Kab. śə-h 'deer'.

PST \*rjök (~ -ū-) > OC 麕 \*rōk 'deer', Lush. sa-zuk 'sambhur deer', Mikir thi-ʒok 'deer' etc.

PY \*ʔiʔχ(V) 'male (deer, goat) > Ket. ī, pl. i:n / iʔəŋ<sup>5</sup> "male deer"; iks (< iksi<sup>5</sup>) "male, male deer"; Yug. iʔk / iksi<sup>5</sup> "male, male deer"; Kott. ig "male", eg "goat" [probably "he-goat"]; (M., Kl.) igig "male", pién-ki "male of a wild goat"; Ass. (M., Kl.) eg "male", péŋ-eg "wild goat"; Ar. au (M., Kl.) "wild goat; male" (CCE 196, Werner 2, 433).

Bur. \*har > Yas., Hunza, Nagar har 'bull, ox'.

\*Hlōšwě 'hundred' (HGC 35):

PNC \*Hlōšwě (with a class prefix \*wV-Hlōšwě) > Av. nus-go, And. b-ešono-gu, Akhv. b-ešano-da, Cham. b-ehan-na, Tind. b-ehan-da, Kar. b-ešan-da, Botl. b-ešunu-da, Bagv. b-ešani-da, God. b-ešenu-da; Lak. t:urš, Darg. darš, PL \*w-allš: > Lezg. wiš, Tab. warž, Ag. baIrš, Rut. wäš / waIš, Tsakh. waIš, Arch. baIš, Ud. baI; Abkh. šv-ḱə, Abaz. š<sup>w</sup>-ḱə, Ad., Kab. śa, Ub. š<sup>w</sup>a.

PST \*rjā (frequently with a prefix \*P-rjā) > OC 白 \*prā-k, Tib. b-rgja, Burm. ra, Lush. za, Gurung bhra, Kanauri ra etc.

PY \*ʔalVs-(tamsV) (the component -tamsV is unclear) > Kott. aštamše, (M, Kl.) alčin-tamšu, alčin-tamšu, (BoL.) alt-tamši, Koib. (F.) alčin-tamši, Pump. útamsa (see CCE 233 (differently), Werner 1, 25, 398).

\*HlākV̄ 'dirt' (LV B15):

PNC \*HkǎĭV̄ ~ \*HlākV̄ 'dirt' > Chech. jök-aš, Ing. lok 'sediment after boiling butter'; And. čil 'dung', Akhv. kila, Cham. čila 'dung (of cow); dry dung', Tind., Bagv. kila, Kar., God. kila 'dry dung'; Lezg. dial. lak 'dung (of neat cattle)', Tab. luk 'dried snot in nose'. Final vowel length is

suggested by the root structure correspondence PN \*HVlk- : PA \*kilA.

PST \*t-liāk > OC 澤 \*lāk 'marsh; moist; moisten; glossy', Tib. klog-pa 'earwax', ka-lag 'mud'.

\*HloLV 'arm, wing' (LV Cb9):

PNC \*HluLV 'sleeve; wing' > Av. dial. kul-lel, And. k<sup>w</sup>o-l 'sleeve'; Tsez. ku-λa, Khv. ku-λu, Inkh. ku-lu 'sleeve' (an Av.-And.-Tsez. compound with \*kwilzi 'hand'; Darg. Chir. durk:<sup>w</sup>a, Gapsh. dulga 'sleeve'; Lezg. luw 'wing', Tab. luw, dial. luy 'sleeve'. Length of final vowel is indicated by the root structure correspondence Av.-And.-Tsez. \*-u(l)L- : Darg. \*dulk:-, see NCED 589.

PST \*lök > OC 翼 \*lök 'wing'; Tib. lag 'hand, arm', Burm. lak 'hand', etc.

[Vowel shortness in PST is irregular.]

\*HŁwVnV 'hem':

PNC \*HŁünV 'hem (of a garment)' > Tsez. aλu, Inkh. aInna id.; Lak. lan-t:u 'hem of a kerchief (used by women for wrapping)'; Lezg. gin 'front hem of a garment'.

Bur. \*lámát 'hem' > Hun., Nag. -lámát.

\*HĀlV 'jaw; gills':

PNC \*HĀlV (~-ǝ-) > Cham. erĀ:<sup>w</sup>, Tind. erĀ:i, God. eluĀ:a 'jaw'; Rut., Tsakh. ɣal 'mouth'.

PY \*jił- (~x-, ʔ-) 'gills' > Yug. ílej<sup>s</sup> (CCE 233, Werner 1, 360).

[It is interesting to mention two possible IE words of SC descent: Hitt. lala- 'tongue' (unfortunately we do not know the Hurrian word for 'tongue' or 'palate', but we would expect exactly \*lala-; and Skr. tālu- 'palate' - exactly matching Burushaski tal 'palate' - which is usually regarded as borrowed from Indian, but in fact also would be quite a regular reflex of \*HĀlV].

\*HĀwǝwá (~-ē) 'wind' (WFR 80, LV Cb10):

PNC \*HĀwǝmā (~-ē) 'wind, air' > Chech., Bac. moχ, Ing. muχ 'wind'; PA \*x<sup>w</sup>onHi > And., Akhv. šun-, Cham., Tind. hun- 'to smell', Akhv. š<sup>w</sup>ani, Kar. x<sup>w</sup>āji, Bagv. h<sup>w</sup>āʔi, God. šāji 'smell'; PL \*Āuma (\*Ā<sup>w</sup>ima) 'smoke' > Lezg. gum, Tab., Ag. kum, Rut. xum, Tsakh. kuma, Kryz. firmi, Bud. xim.

PST \*luaj 'wind' > Tib. r-luaj 'breeze, wind', Burm. lwanʔ 'be blown in the wind', Naga \*luaj 'cloud'.

\*HǎǎlV 'liver, belly' (DCE 8):

PNC \*HǎǎV / \*HǎǎlV 'liver' > Av. ʦul, And. reliλ:i, Akhv. riʒeλ:i, Cham. jelaλ:, Tind. relaλ:, Kar. reʒajiλ:, Botl. rehin, Bagv. leleλ:, God. leliλa; Lak. t:ilik; Darg. dulek; Lezg. leq, Tab. lik, Ag. lek, Rut. laq etc.  
Bur. \*(l)tal > Hun. tal 'belly, stomach'.

\*Hǎǎnũ 'bottom' (WFR, LVA30; differently in HGC 39):

PNC \*Hǎǎnũ 'bottom' > Av. ʦinu (par. C: ʦiná-lzul, ʦína-bi), And. himlu, Akhv. miʒi-do, Cham., Bagv. hil<sup>w</sup>, Tind., God. hinlu, Kar. himʔu 'bottom'; Tsez. ʒeʒu / ʒiʒu, Gin. iʒu, Khv. iʒu, Bezht. õʒo, Gunz. õʒu 'bottom'; Lak. ʒan id.; Lezg., Tab., Tsakh., Arch. ʒan, Ag. ʒen, Rut., Bud. qan, Kryz. qän id.; PWC \*ǎV > Abkh. á-ça, Abaz. č-ɣ<sup>w</sup>a, Ub. -ça 'bottom, lower part', Ad. ʒa-, Kab. ʒa- 'under (preverb)'.  
PST \*t-lǎn 'floor' > OC 場 \*Łan 'field, arena', Burm. tə-lan 'floor'.

\*HǎwǎnV 'year, last year' (DCE 25):

PNC \*HǎwǎnV 'winter; year' > Chech. äχkē, Ing. aχka, Bac. χko 'summer' (< 'year', cf. \*stā-χkũ 'last year' > Chech. stoχka, Ing. soχk, Bac. sʦaũχkũ); Av. ʒ:in, And. ʒ:inu 'winter'; Tsez. ʒaI-b, Gin. ʒe-bu, Khv. ʒi-b, Bezht. ʒi, Gunz. ʒi 'year'; Lak. ʒi (dial. k<sup>w</sup>i) 'winter'; Darg. jani, Chir. ʒa 'winter', ʒane 'in winter'; Khin. ʒina-ž 'winter'; PWC \*ǎ<sup>w</sup>ə > Ad. ʒə-māf, Kab. ʒə-māx<sup>w</sup>a 'winter'.

Bur. \*(l)téne > Yas. téne 'year before last', Hun., Nag. tén-dili 'last year'.

\*HmečV 'hoof; finger' (LDC 19):

PNC \*(H)mičV (~-č-) 'hoof' > God. čimič 'a projection on the back part of a hoof'; Lak. x:i-mič 'hoof'; Kryz. miček 'hoof; nail, claw', Arch. čimič 'hoof'.

PY \*bes- > Ket. bes-taq<sup>5</sup> (Kur.) 'index finger'. The second part is \*təʔq 'finger'. See Werner 1, 116 (suggesting a connection with biʔs 'penis' or with \*bəs- 'widow, orphan' - both extremely dubious).

Bur. \*'-meš 'finger, toe' > Yas. '-meš, Hun., Nag. '-miš.

\*HmǎfwV 'wind, odour, smell':

PNC \*HmǎfwV 'smell, odour; an odorous grass' > Chech. moħ, Ing. muħ (\*'wind, movement of air' >) 'cry, moan'; Av. maħ 'smell', Akhv. ʒēmu, dial. ʒiju 'mint'; Lezg. ni, Tab., Ag. niʒ, Bud. neʒ 'smell', Tsakh. niʒi / nī

'mint', Kryz. neŋ 'stink, stench'; Ad., Kab. ma, Ub. mə-sá 'smell'.

PY \*bej 'wind' > Ket. bēj, Yug. bej, Kott. pēi, Ar. paj, Pump. baj (CCE 208, Werner 1, 122-123 \*baj (why -a-?)).

Bur. \*méjaŋ 'snowstorm' > Hun., Nagar méjaŋ.

\*HmérV 'a k. of berry':

PNC \*(H)mer(?)V > Chech. mürġ 'guelder rose, snowball-tree'; Lak. (redupl.) mamari 'blackberry'; Darg. Chir. mimre 'raspberry'; Lezg. mere, Tab. mer-er 'blackberry'.

(?) PST \*mor (~-ur) 'grain' > Burm. mun? 'bread'; Lush. hmor-hān 'sp. of rice'; Lepcha jā-mór-zo 'sp. of rice (zo)'.

PY \*baʔriin 'bird-cherry' > Ket. baln<sup>5</sup>, Yug. banir<sup>5</sup> (see CCE 206, Werner 1, 101).

Bur. \*mar > Hunza mar-gún 'white grape', Nag. mar mán- 'to pick mulberries'.

\*HmonV 'to die, dead':

PST \*māŋ > OC 薨 \*s-māŋ 'to die (of king)'; Lush. maŋ 'to die'; Lepcha mak id.

PY \*boŋ 'dead man' > Ket. bōŋ, Yug. boŋ.

\*HmVĠV̄ 'thirst, greed' (LV B16):

PNC \*HmVĠV̄ 'thirst, to be thirsty': Av. q̄:eč (< \*HVnq̄:-eč) 'thirst', And. q̄:in-ni-, Botl. q̄:in-da-, God. q̄:ini-bu 'greedy', Akhv. āq̄:e-ž-, Tind. hanq̄:a-ž-, Kar. hanq̄:e-ž- 'to be thirsty'; Tsez. ač-aql-, Gunz. āq- 'to be thirsty'; Lak. małq̄ 'thirst'; Tab. muq̄:i, Ag. muq̄:u-ruχ 'greedy', Arch. muq̄:á-t:u- 'thirsty'. Final vowel length is reconstructed on the basis of root structure (Av.-And. \*HVnq̄: : λεžγ. \*muq̄:-); see NCED 593.

PST \*māk 'want, love, greed' > OC 慕 \*māk-s 'love, think longingly of', 莫 \*māk 'to plan, deliberate'; Burm. mak 'be greedy, lustful'.

\*HōbV̄ 'orphan; celibate':

PNC \*HubV̄ (~ -o-) 'orphan; step-relation' > Chech. bō, Ing. bo, Bac. ba-dō 'orphan'; Cham. uba-b 'second cousin'; Darg. ubaj 'step-relative'; Abkh. á-j-ba, Ab., Ad., Kab. jə-ba, Ub. ja-blá 'orphan', Ad. s'əzā-b, Kab. fəzā-ba 'widow'; Hurr. χu/ob-idi- 'boy'.

PY \*ʔəʔpVI- (~ x-) 'bachelor' > Ket. ʌ:í, Yug. ʌfil<sup>5</sup> 'bachelor', Kott. ipal, īpal 'free' (CCE 191, Werner 2, 416).

\*HōkV 'to search, find' (HGC 38):

PNC \*H[o]kV 'to look, search' > Bezht. häk-il-, Gunz. hak-l- id.; Lak. uI=či- (pr. uI=ku-) 'to invite'; Ag. ad-ark- 'search', Rut. u=k<sup>w</sup>a- 'ask', Tsakh. ā=ke- 'find', Kryz. i=k- 'find', Arch. sa=k:a- 'look', =irk:u- 'search'.

PST \*ku ( ~ g-) 'to seek, choose' > OC 求 \*gu 'to seek, ask for'; Tib. s-ko, bs-ko 'to choose', go 'to know, understand', Naxi \*khua 'hear', Pumi \*kuə 'know' etc.

PY \*b[ə]k- (~w-) 'to find' > Ket. bΛ:γəʔ, Yug. bΛ:hk, Kott. ba-puk-ŋ 'find' (CCE 210, Werner 1, 156).

\*=HōžAl ( ~ -šd-) 'to press, strain' (WFR 113):

PNC \*=HōžAl 'to strain, milk; to pour, drink' > Av. =eč:-, And. =erč:-, Tind. č:al- 'to milk'; Lak. hača- 'to drink'; Darg. už-, Chir. =erč:- / =uč:- 'to drink'; Tab. u=č:-, Ag. ŋuč:- (dial. žülč:an-) 'to wash'; Khin. loži 'to pour'; PWC \*žV- > Abkh. a-za-rá (Bzyb. a-ža-rá) 'to settle down, get filtered', Abkh. á-ra-ža- (Bz. á-ra-ža-), Abaz. ra-ža-, Ad., Kab., Ub. zə- 'to filter, strain'.

PST \*čer 'to press, squeeze, filter' > Tib. bčer, bčir, gčar, āchir 'to squeeze, to press', Kach. žen<sup>2</sup> 'to strain, filter', Kham čar id.

Bur. \*žal- > Hunza, Nagar žal 't- 'to sieve, filter'.

\*=HōjčwV 'to untie, unbind':

PNC \*=HōjčwV 'to untie, unbind' > Chech., Ing. =ast-, Bac. =asṭ- 'to untie, unbind'; Av. =ič-, Cham. =aš- 'to untie, unbind, unwind, unreel', And. =ajč- 'to untie', Tind. =ač<sup>w</sup>- 'to unwind, unreel'; Tab. d-u=č-, Arch. ol=ša- 'to unbind, untie'; cf. Hurr. χuž- 'to bind, detain', Urtart. χuš- '\*untie > annul (services), stem (water)'.

Bur. \*-śu-n- 'to become loose, untied' > Yas., Hun., Nag. -śún-.

\*HpädV 'clothes, skin':

PNC \*HpädV (/ \*HbätV) 'a k. of clothes (for legs or feet)' > Av. ħebét 'linen, canvas' (dial. 'trousers'), And. padan 'a knitted sock', Akhv., Cham., Tind. bata 'trousers'; Inkh. baIḍa '(wine)skin'; Lak. pat:a 'old clothes' (dial. 'trousers'); Darg. pada 'trousers'; Rut. badu, Tsakh. bada, Arch. paIt:ə-la 'trousers'; Ad., Kab. la-pad 'socks, stockings' (la- 'foot').

PST \*Pēt 'cloth' > OC 幣 \*bets 'piece of silk'; Burm. pit 'cotton cloth, canvas'; Bodo pad 'a k. of silk'.

Bur. \*baṭ > Yas., Hun., Nag. baṭ 'skin, leather', \*u-baṭ > Yas., Hun., Nag. waṭ 'bark'.

\*HrāgwV̄ 'to stay, leave':

PNC \*=argwVn 'to stay' > Lak. li=k:a- 'to stop, stand still'; Darg. Chir. elg- / ulg- 'to stay'; PL \*ʔark:ʷVn- > Ag. ilgʷ-, Tpig ilgʷan-, Rut. a=ga- 'to stay'.

PST \*rak 'to lay, place' > Tib. sprag, sbrag 'to lay, put'; Kach. mərəʔ³ 'be or place upon', (H) ra be placed, laid.

PY \*ʔakV- (/ʔikV-) 'to stay, leave' > Ket. ayen⁶ 'to stay', Kur. ayin⁶ 'to leave'; Kott. thīgājan 'to stay', praet. thaligājan, imp. thaligai. In CCE 185 and in Werner 1, 50 the root is confused with \*ʔāqV 'to leave; to drive, chase', but Werner's more detailed data force us to distinguish between these two roots - for obvious reasons grown very close together in Kottish.

\*HrāqwV̄ 'bridle, string':

PNC \*(H)rāχwV / \*w-ārχwV (~ -q-) 'bridle' > And. b-arχon, Cham. b-āχã, Tind. b-eχan, Botl. b-erχin; Bezht. johō (dial. роко), Gunz. роко.

PST > OC OC 勒 \*rāk 'bridle'.

PY \*ʔaq- (~ -x-) > Ket. aqqā́s // aqqā́lan⁵, pl. aqqā́lanin⁵ 'leading strings, reins'. See Werner 1, 51. A compound with a not quite clear second part (perhaps \*ʔaq + \*ʔa(x)-, q.v. sub \*ʔfVxwV).

\*Hrēgwǎ 'a k. of rodent or small predator' (somewhat differently in HGC 27; LDC 21):

PNC \*(H)rīgǎ (~ -ǎ) 'weasel; mouse' > Chech., Ing. daχka, Bac. daχkō 'mouse'; Akhv. reχ:u 'squirrel', Cham. jeχ:ʷ, Tind. reχ:u 'weasel'; Ub. dəkʷó 'mouse'.

PST \*ruak 'rat' > Burm. k-rwak (PLB \*k-rwak), Lepcha kǎ-lók, Chepang rok-yu 'rat'.

PY \*ʔaʔak (~ -x-, -G-, -χ-) > Ket. a:k³, pl. ayin 'Moschustier' (Werner 1, 90); Yug. ak 'hare' (Castr.). See CCE 180, Werner 1, 90.

\*Hrēmǎj̄ (~ -xǎ-) 'road' (HGC 21, LV C10):

PNC \*Hrēmǎj̄ 'road' > Chech. neǎ, Ing., Bac. niǎ; And., Akhv., Tind., Botl., God. miǎ:i, Cham., Bagv. miǎ: 'road'; Darg. daǎq 'path'; Lezg. req, Tab. raq:I, Ag. req:, Rut. raqI, Tsakh. jaqI, Arch. deǎqI, Ud. jaq: 'road'; PWC \*mǎʷa > Abkh. á-mǎʷa, Ab. mǎʷa, Ad., Kab. ɛʷa-gʷ, Ub. məǎá 'road'. See NCED 603-604.

PST \*riān / \*riāk 'road' > OC 路 \*rāk-s 'road', 庚 \*k-rān 'road', 行 \*grān 'street, road'; Tib. s-rañ 'street', āph-rañ 'a foot-path'; Burm. k-raunh

'road, path, way'; Kach. k-raŋ 'be distinct, as a foot-print'.

[Length in PST is irregular.]

\*HrēkwV 'to dig out, cavity':

PNC \*HrīkwV 'to bore, dig' > Chech. āg-, Ing. ag- 'to chisel, hollow'; Av. =iḱ- 'to chisel, pick'; Tsez. ž-eḱ<sup>w</sup>-, Gin. ž-oḱ-, Khv. ž-iḱ<sup>w</sup>-, Bezht. z-uḱ- 'to beat'; Lak. t:iriḱi- 'to bore'; Ag. ruḱ-, Tsakh. h-i=ḱ<sup>w</sup>ar- 'to dig', Kryz. ḡä=ḱur- 'to put through, run through'; Khin. li=ḱ- 'to bury up, buty'; Abaz. b-ḱ-ra, Ub. ba-ḱə- 'to press, scrape, pinch'.

PST \*ruak, \*k-ruak 'cavity' > OC 窖 \*krūs 'cave, cellar'; Tib. grog 'a deep dell, ravine', Burm. khrəuk 'be concave', Kach. khəroʔ<sup>3</sup> 'ravine', Lush. ruak 'be empty, vacant' etc.

PY \*ʔuK- (~x-) > Ket. ug-dij<sup>6</sup>, Yug. ug-dij<sup>6</sup> 'to dig' (CCE 200, Werner 2, 324).

\*HrenxmV 'road':

PNC \*Hrinfī / \*Hfirni > Av. nuḡ 'road, way', Akhv. hinu 'gorge, ravine'; Tsez., Khv., Gunz. huni, Gin. hune, Bezht. hino 'road'; Lak. \*ḡ:un-lu > ḡ:ullu 'road'; Darg. huni, Chir. x:une id.; Tab. riḡ 'path', Kryz., Bud. riḡ 'road'.

PST \*riəm 'to go, approach' > OC 臨 \*rəm 'approach, go to'; Tib. āgrim-pa (p. āgrims) to go, walk.

\*HrVqV 'to cut, flay':

PNC \*=ōrqV 'to chop, cut' > Tind. =uḡ- 'to be destroyed'; Khv. āḡ<sup>w</sup>a, Inkh. oḡo, Bezht. ḡḡo, Gunz. ḡḡu 'wound' (without a prefix = PL \*b-arḡVn 'pus, abscess'); Lak. =u=qā- 'to cut off, break off', qal (ḡun) 'to burst, break, split' (intr.); Darg. Ur. =alq-/=iq- 'to cut off'; Rut. d-arḡ- 'to chop', Arch. d-aḡi- 'to beat'; Khin. l-iq-uvi 'to cut, shear'; PWC \*p(ə)-ḡ<sup>(w)</sup>V > Ad. wə-pḡ<sup>w</sup>ə-, Kab. pə-pḡ<sup>w</sup>ə- 'to cut (hair etc.)'.

PST \*rek > Tib. ā-d-reg, aḡ-b-reg 'to cut off; to mow; to shave with the scissors'; Lush. rek 'to cut a notch', Tani \*rek 'bite' etc.

PY \*ʔaq- 'to flay' > Ket. -iḡ-aq (Крейн.) "flay"; Kott. thāx "flaying"; thāgākḡ "to flay", praet. thōnākḡ, imp. thānax, pass. thōnāge. See CCE 182, Werner 1, 370-371, 2, 316. Ket has a compound with c \*ʔik 'skin' q. v. This component is also preseny in the infinitive (iḡ-dḡḡ<sup>5</sup> < \*ig-dḡḡ) and in Castren's recording: d-ig-ä-dū 'to flay' (praet. d-ig-ōr-dū) (supported by Werner's data, see Werner 1, 371).

[\\*\(H\)rVpV̆](#) (~ -b-) 'to stand' (HGC 22):

PST \*rjəp 'to stand' > OC 𑄀𑄆 \*rəp 'to stand', Burm. rap id., Kach. cap<sup>3</sup> id., Kir. \*rěp id., Trung pə<sup>3</sup>-rəp<sup>1</sup> id., etc.

PY \*ʔipin (~ x-) 'to stand' > Ket. ĩn, Yug. ifin<sup>6</sup>; tīp, tífīn 'to stop still'. See CCE 194, Werner 1, 393-394.

[\\*Hrémxkwǐ](#) (~ -ǐ) 'dirt, dust':

PNC \*Hrémkwi (~ -ǐ) 'dust; manure, faeces' > Av. rak 'manure, dung'; Tsez. reku, Gin. loki, Khv. lok<sup>w</sup>a, Bezht. jako, Gunz. rəgu 'dung, dry dung'; Darg. dek (Chir. dek<sup>w</sup>) 'manure, faeces; dry dung'; Lezg. rug 'dust, soil, earth', Tab. rug 'soil, earth', Ag., Kryz, Bud rug 'dust, dust (on the floor)', Rut. rug 'dust (on the floor)'; see NCED 603.

PST (?) > OC 陸 ruk 'land (as opposed to water)'.  
 PY \*rəʔq- (~ -χ) 'dirt' > Yug. ɪʔx // ɪʔq 'dirt', Ar. laj 'swamp'. See

CCE 267, Werner 2, 5. [Note that Ar. dalaj 'sea' is a transparent Mong. loanword and cannot be analyzed (as in Werner 2, 1) as da 'sea' + laj 'swamp'. In CCE the Yug word was connected with Kott. dígen 'moss' - which is correctly doubted by Werner (2, 5); the latter most probably < PY \*čVkv 'grass, moss'.]

[\\*HurV](#) 'callus, fingernail':

PY \*ʔuraj (~ -r̄-, -r̄-) 'callosity' > Ket. uléj<sup>6</sup>, Yug. uraj<sup>6</sup>. See CCE 201. Werner 2, 334 regards the word as \*xur̄ + \*ʔāχ- 'water sack', which is theoretically not excluded - but most probably just another folk etymology, based on the resemblance with ul̄ 'water'.

Bur. \*-úrV 'fingernail' > Yas. -úru, Hun., Nag. -úri.

[\\*Hūxqwǎ](#) 'to preserve, guard':

PNC \*Hūqwǎ 'to preserve, guard' > Bezht. =oɤ-, Gunz. =oh- 'to graze, feed'; Lezg. χü-, Tab. u=χl-, Ag. uX-, Rut. u=χla- 'to guard, preserve'; PWC \*χl<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. a-ħ<sup>w</sup>-rá, Abaz. ħ<sup>w</sup>-ra, Ad. χ<sup>w</sup>ə-, Ub. χlə- 'to graze (intr.)', Kab. ɤa-χ<sup>w</sup>ə- 'to graze (trans.)'.

PST \*kū 'help; friend, companion' > OC 仇 \*gu 'mate, companion'; 救 \*ku-s 'help, save, relieve'; Burm. ku 'help'; PKC \*ku id.; Kir. \*ku 'to look after', etc.

[\\*HūxqwV̆](#) 'long, big' (HGC 20):

PNC \*=HūqV-n (~ -ǒ-) 'long, big' > Chech., Ing. =oqqa, Bac. =aqqō 'big'; Lak. qun-ma- 'big'; Darg. =uqlaIna 'big'.



PST \*kǎw 'high, elevate' > OC 喬 \*g(r)aw 'high, rising aloft', 高 \*kāw 'high'; Zhaiwa kǒ<sup>21</sup>, Bola kǒ<sup>35</sup> 'big'; Kach. grau 'to exalt, promote, elevate', Sich. \*kV 'big' etc.

PY \*ʔux- 'long' > Ket., Yug. ug-də (5th tone recorded in Ket is hardly correct), Kott. ui, Arin. u-ta (CCE 201, Werner 2, 323).

\*HVcǒ / \*cHǒ 'one' (HGC 17, 21):

PNC \*cHǒ 'one' > Chech. čaʔ, Ing. caʔ, Bac. ča; Av. co, And. se-w, Akhv. če-be, Cham., Tind., God. se-b, Kar. ce-b, Botl., Bagv. se-b / ce-b; Tsez. sis, Gin. hes, Khv. has, Bezht. hōs, Gunz. hōs; Lak. ca; Darg. ca; Lezg., Tab., Rut., Tsakh., Ud. sa, Ag., Bud. sa-d, Kryz. sä-d, Arch. os; Khin. sa; PWC \*zV > Abkh. z-nə 'once', Ab. za-kə, Ad., Kab. zə, Ub. za 'one'; Urart. š-usə 'first'. The same root is frequently used with a quantor meaning 'all, every': cf. Kar. sa-ru, God. sa-nu, Cham. sa-n 'together'; Gunz. se-n 'everything', se-se 'some'; Rut. sije-nä 'all', dial. sa-sa-na 'every'; Hurr. šui-ne, Urart. šui-nə 'all, every'.

PST \*ʔit (~γ-) 'one' > OC — \*ʔit 'one'; Burm. ać 'a unit, one'; Kir. \*ʔi[t] > Kul. ī-bum, Yamphu ik-ko 'one'; Kanauri id 'one'. The first syllable here was not lost probably due to the special function of this word within the system of numerals. PST, however, also has a quite regular syllabic reflex of this root, namely, \*che 'every, all' > OC 斯 \*se-s 'completely', 悉 \*si-t 'all, completely', Burm. si 'every', Lush. se 'fully, completely', etc.

PY \*sa in \*χu-sa 'one' > Ket. qūś, Yug. xus, Kott. hūča, Ass. huča, Ar. khuzej, kuisa, qusej, Pump. kuta (see CCE 306, Werner 2, 132). The same root is also present in Kott. al-še-n 'one time', as well as the singulative \*-s in \*de-s '(one) eye', \*pa-s '(one) time', \*χuʔ-s '(one) house' etc. PY \*χu-sa is a compound the first component of which is also present in other forms: Ket qǒʔk, Yug xǒʔk 'one' (anim.); Kott. hūpiga 'alone'.

Bur. \*he- 'one' > Yas. he-n, ha-n, he-k, Hun., Nag. hi-n, ha-n, hi-k.

\*HVcV 'soon, early':

PST \*cīwH (~ʒ-) > OC 早 \*cūʔ 'early'; Burm. áwawh 'early, premature'; Kach. ʒau¹ 'be early'; Trung u¹-ʒu² 'early'.

PY \*ʔäʔc 'soon' > Ket. aʔt, Yug. aʔt, Kott. et-pan, Ar. ati. See CCE 186, Werner 1, 80, 81, 271 (comparing the Ket and Arin forms (but without reconstruction), and leaving out the Kottish form - evidently because the correspondence (formulated in KC 151) does not fit his system).

\*HVčwǞ 'guest' (KS 225, LDC 36, BCD 18):

PNC \*HṼčwĚ 'guest' > Chech. hāša, Ing. haša, Bac. haš, hašě; And. ç:e, Akhv. ç:e-we, Cham. še-w, Tind. c:ē, Kar. ç:ew, God. c:ejj; PWC \*b-ča > Ad. hā-ča, Kab. ha-ša, Ub. pča.

PY \*ʔəča (\*ča-) 'guest' > Ket. ḷta-kaj<sup>6</sup>, Kott. ča-ŋ (originally plural 'guests'). Kottish must have had a later Anlaut reduction (otherwise one would expect \*šaŋ) in the form \*əča-ŋ (originally plur. "guests"). See CCE 191. Werner (2, 432) doubts the connection of the Kottish and Ket word, correcting the latter to ítikaj / ítiyaj and deriving it from \*ʔitaq 'guest tent' + kḷʔj 'to go'. It seems that there is no contradiction at all, since the word for "guest tent" itself is most probably derived from the same root. In fact, the peculiar distinction noted by Werner - Ket. ḷntakkaj 'zu Besuch in mehreren Birkenrindenzelten sein' : ítikaj 'zu Besuch nur in einem Birkenrindenzelt sein' (Werner 2, 408) - shows that the root may have been just \*-ča- (with i- / ḷŋ- actually reflecting PY \*həgV sing., \*həgVŋ plur. 'inner tent pole').

Bur. \*aúsi- 'guest' > Yas. aúsen, aúsin, pl. aúsu, Hun., Nag. oósin, pl. oóso. The word is also present in Shina ōóso 'guest', where it is most probably < Burushaski (despite highly dubious derivation in Turner 427 < Skt. \*apadesya-).

[Cf. Basq. \*hauso 'neighbour'.]

#### \*HṼdV 'tooth':

PST \*thiəH > OC 齒 \*thəʔ, Bodo \*tai, Idu tia-pra 'tooth', Yogli tai 'horn', etc.

PY \*ʔiti 'tooth' > Ket. it<sup>4</sup>(South.), North. i:ti<sup>4</sup> (Bak., Sur. i:tə<sup>4</sup> / itə<sup>4</sup>); pl. Imb. iteŋ<sup>1</sup> (cf. also South. it-tes<sup>6</sup> 'jaw'); Yug. i:ht, pl. iteŋ<sup>1</sup>; Kott. iti, ite, pl. itaŋ; Ar. itin (Локк.). See CCE 195, Werner 1, 382.

#### \*HVIqV 'to rot; pus' (HGC 37):

PNC \*HVIqV 'to rot' > PA \*qV(r)- > Tind. ā- / ē-, Kar. er- (Tok. ʔel-) 'to turn sour, coagulate'; PTs (redupl.) \*qəq- (~ -ə-) > Tsez. qliqI-. Gin. qeq-, Bezht. qoq- 'to rot'; Lak. al=ja- id.; Darg. =uq- 'to be spoiled'; PL \*ʔalqIa > Rut. a=rqIa-, Tsakh. qli=qIa- 'to turn sour, curdle, coagulate'.

PY \*ʔaqV 'to make sour, to rot' > Ket. áqqat 'einsäuern' (Werner 1, 51), áras / áras / áqas 'Gärstoff, Sauerteig' (1, 55); Yug. áqčij 'einsäuern' (Werner 1, 51); Kott. age, \*ake 'rotten', b-äge-jaŋ 'to rot', praet. barāge-jaŋ; dāgejaŋ, praet. arāgejaŋ, imp. aregen id.; Ass. (Бол.) bar-ak 'rotten'; Ar. bar-oje (Локк.) 'rotten'. Reconstructed as \*ʔVqV (~ -G-) in CCE 204, but new data in Werner 1, 51, 55 allow to make the reconstruction more

precise.

\*HǎλwV 'edge, forehead' (DCE 24):

PNC \*HǎλwV (~-ě-, -ǎ-) 'forehead' > Chech. haž, Ing. haža, Bac. haḵ 'forehead'; Cham., Tind., Bagv. haλ:a id.

Bur. \*-híl 'edge, shore; lip' > Yas. -híl, Hun., Nag. -íl.

\*HǎmgV 'coal, ashes' (LDC 26):

PNC \*ǰəmge ( ~ -i) 'ashes' > Chech. juǰ, Ing. joǰ, Bac. joǰǰ; And., Akhv., Bagv. ǰ:e, Cham., Tind. ǰ:ē, Kar. ǰ:ej, Botl. ǰ:e(j), God. ǰ:ej; Tsez. noIλu, Gin. noλu, Khv. juλu, Bezht. jaλo, Gunz. jǰλu; Ad. jāža, Kab. jāža 'ashes'.

PY \*kuʔw- 'coal' > Ket. kuʔ 'coal', kūyul<sup>1</sup>, pl. -əŋ<sup>1</sup>, South. kūlt, pl. -əŋ<sup>1</sup> 'fire-brand'; Yug. kufil<sup>1,5</sup>, pl. -iŋ<sup>1</sup>; kufilčī<sup>1</sup>, pl. kufilčan<sup>1</sup> 'coal, fire-brand'; kū 'rust' (Werner 1, 458); Kott. hupōi, pl. hupōjan 'coal'; Ass. (M., Ca.) kuvulán 'burning coal'; Ar. kuburuŋ (Ka.) 'heat'; kuburuŋ (M., Ca.) 'burning coal' (CCE 241).

Bur. \*gu > Yas., Hunza, Nagar gu 'a mixture of dust and rust'.

\*=HǎmqV 'to divide':

PNC \*=HǎmqV 'to divide' > Chech. =ēǰ-, Ing., Bac. =eǰ-; Akhv., Cham. =iǰ:-, Tind. =iǰ:ī-, God. =eǰ:īh-; Bud. e=ǰ-, Arch. qǰla- 'to divide'. Old derivatives \*=HǎmqV-nV, \*=HǎmqV-rV are reflected in PN \*d-āqa 'part, piece', PA \*=iǰ:in(V) 'half' (also \*r=iǰ:irV 'part'), Darg. \*b-aIHV-nV > Chir. baIŋne 'half', PWC \*nəq:ʷa (~ -ǰʷ-) > Ad., Kab. nəq:ʷa 'half'.

PST \*khě ( ~ gh-, qh-, Gh-) 'to divide, separate' > OC 契 \*khē-t 'separated', 鋏 \*khēt 'cut, cut through', 歧 \*g(r)e 'bifurcating'; Tib. āgje 'to be divided, separated', āgje-d 'to separate'.

PY \*d-ɔ(?)q > Ket. dōɔat (Castr.), dǰɔɔt (Werner 1, 201) 'part'; Kott. tax, tak 'dividing', taxthākŋ, takthākŋ 'to divide'. See CCE 224, Werner 1, 201. \*d- is probably an old prefix: without it cf. Ket qɔ 'part, deal' (Werner 2, 92).

\*(HV)mǎčwǎ 'shoe, legging':

PNC \*mǎčwǎ 'boot, shoe' > Chech. māča 'footwear', Ing. māči 'shoe'; Av. mačú, Akhv. mačuja, Cham. mač, Tind. mači 'shoe, boot'; (with metathesis) Ag. šum-ar, dial. šum, Lezg. šalam 'boot, shoe'.

PST > OC 襪 mhat 'socks, stockings'.

Bur. > Yas. humáč 'Fußlappen über den Socken, gegen Kälte, oder

daß die Schuhe besser passen'.

\*HVpV 'to burn; hot' (NSC 60, DCE 23):

PST \*[ph]əw 'to bake, set on fire' > OC 炮 \*bhrū, \*phrū-s 'bake, roast', 焗 \*bh(r)u 'to bake, steam, hot air'; Tib. ābu 'be lighted, set on fire', Burm. phəw 'stove, hearth' (LB \*pi (pəw) 'dry, fire, sun'), Kach. kə-bo<sup>1</sup> 'to bake, steam', Kir. \*ʔpù 'dry', etc.

PY \*ʔapV 'hotness; sweat' > Ket. ā; a:ŋ 'hot'; a:ŋəθ<sup>3</sup> 'to warm up'; (Kacrp.) ābataʁan, (KPC) abataʁan 'to sweat'; Yug. āp; āfɛ<sup>1</sup> 'hot(ly)'; afiŋ<sup>5</sup> 'hot'; afiŋɛ<sup>5</sup> 'to warm up'; (Kacrp.) abbaʁaʁan 'to sweat'; Kott. fal, phal 'hot, warm'; pala (Бол.) 'hotness'; apīkŋ, pl. apīkŋán 'sweat'; apīkŋ uganəŋ 'to sweat'; Ass. palá (M., Kl.), pʁólту (Cl., CpcL.), paltu (Kl.) 'hot'; Ar. pentu (Локк.) 'hotness'. See CCE 182, Werner 1, 92-93. The Pump. (CpcL.) form afam 'hot' is in reality Yug. Kottish and Arin display a not quite regular reduction of Anlaut in the derivative \*ʔapV-l 'warm, hot'. Ket, Yug and Kottish reflect a Common Yenisseian compound \*ʔapV ʔəqan- 'to sweat', lit. 'to boil hotness'.

Bur. \*phu 'fire' > Yas., Hunz., Nag. phu.

[Cf. Basq. \*epel 'warm, tepid'.]

\*HVpi[t]V 'mushroom, fungus':

PNC \*HVpitV 'tree-fungus' > Gunz. bodol 'tree-fungus, tinder'; Lak. dial. apiʁa 'mushroom'; Tab. Düb. bit 'tree-fungus'.

PY \*bit- > Kott. uča-ptar, pl. uča-ptanaŋ, (Бол.) učatapitaran (uča 'birch'); Ar. pen-betu (Локк.) 'mushroom'. See CCE 211, Werner 2, 319.

\*HVpV 'carry on the back, shoulder':

PST \*p(u)əH > OC 負 \*bəʔ 'carry on the back'; Tib. āba 'to bring, carry', Kach. baʔ<sup>2</sup> 'carry a child on the back'; Lush. pua 'carry on the back', etc.

Bur. \*hápa 'carry on the shoulders' > Hun., Nag. hápa 't-.

\*HVqVr- 'wet, to soak':

PNC \*HVqVr- 'to drink; to pour, flow' > Av. heq:é- 'drink'; Lak. ilqi han 'to pour, flow'; Tab. u=q:-, Rut. raʁIa-, Tsakh. íl-o=ʁIa-, Kryz. q:ir-, Bud. s-o=ʁr-, Ud. uʁI- 'drink', Arch. huqi 'a gulp'; Urtart. χur- 'drink'.

PST \*G(h)ör (~ χ-, ʁ-) 'to soak, leak' > Kach. khon 'to pass, go or soak through', Lush. horʔ 'to leak', Lepcha kjór 'to be moist (as overboiled rice), to be wet, sloughy (as mud)'.

\*HVrǫǞ (~ -xǫ-) 'time, season':

PNC \*H[ō]rǫǞ ( ~ -ě) 'time, age; maturity' > PA (with metathesis) \*ǫ:oru ( ~ -a-) > Cham. ǫ:aw, Tind. ǫ:aru, God. ǫ:aru 'time'; Lak. arx 'flourishing, prime of life' (> Darg. arx 'age; weather'); Arch. oq 'marriage, wedding'; Khin. enx 'wedding'; PWC \*ǝa 'time, season' > Abkh. ā-n, Abaz. aḡa, Ad., Kab. ɤa, Ub. ʒa.

PST \*Kǝ 'time, occasion' > OC 期 \*kə 'a year; a full fixed time', \*gə 'a stipulated time; time, occasion'; Burm. kha 'time, period, moment'; Dumi kho-ʔo 'year', Sych. \*kuə id.

[NB: the ST parallel does not confirm the reconstruction of \*j-, proposed in NCED 685 on circumstantial evidence. The initial consonant must have been just a laryngeal, most probably \*ʔ-.]

\*HVRVǞ 'stack':

PNC \*HrVǞ 'stack, heap of grass': Darg. Chir. duč: 'burden (of grass), heap of grass'; Lezg. raž 'winter-stock of grain', Tab. raž 'order, queue', Rut. raž 'stack'.

Bur. \*hurç 'stack, sheaves put together' > Yas. hurç, Hunza, Nag. hurş.

\*HVǫwǞ 'alien, strange, foreign' (HGC 39):

PNC \*HVǫwǞ 'strange, foreign' > Cham. heḡu; Tsez. aḡli=.

PST \*Q<sup>w</sup>aj ( ~ \*<sup>w</sup>) > Burm. wajh 'to speak with an accent'; Lush. vai 'foreigner'.

PY \*qoʔoj (~χ-, -G-, -χ-) 'neighbouring' > Ket. qo:j<sup>3</sup> (cf. also qónamés 'foreign'). See CCE 260, Werner 2, 124.

[The PY form is most probably reduplicated (and not pointing to tense phonation).]

\*HVwsVn 'sleep' (HGC 22, WFR 136):

PNC \*=VwsVn > Chech. th-ows-, Ing. th-ajs- 'to fall asleep'; Av. s:<sup>w</sup>á-d- 'to doze, slumber'; Khv. λ-es- 'to sleep'; Darg. us-, Chir. =is:Vn- 'sleep'; Lezg. k-su- 'sleep', Tsakh. q:a=san- id., Ud. bas- 'lie'; Abkh. a-č<sup>v</sup>a-r-sós-, Ab. č<sup>w</sup>a-səs-, Ub. -sa- 'to dram, slumber'.

PST \*čimH ( < \*t-simH) 'sleep, fall asleep; darkness' > OC 寢 \*chim? 'lie down to sleep', Tib. gzim 'fall asleep, to sleep', Kach. ncam 'heavy fog', Maru čam<sup>31</sup> 'cloud', Lush. thim 'be dark, benighted', Tulung sema, Yamphu semmaṅ 'dream', Dhimal žim- 'sleep' etc.

PY \*xuʔs- 'to sleep' > Ket. uʂen<sup>5</sup>, Yug. usan<sup>5</sup> 'sleep', Kott. uča 'putting to bed, sleep', učākŋ 'lie down, sleep', Ar. kus 'sleep', Pump. útu 'sleep' (CCE 298-299, Werner 2, 359).

Bur. \*daŋ 'sleep' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar daŋ.

\*=HṼwxkVń 'to cook, bake, roast' (HGC 36, NSC 54, WFR 121):

PNC \*=HēwχV(n) 'to become warm, hot, catch fire' > Chech. =owχa, Ing. =ʃajχa, Bac. =apχē 'hot'; Av. χína-b 'warm', Akhv. =iχ(ũ)- 'to kindle', Tind. =iχ- 'to become heated', with Ablaut And. oχ<sup>w</sup>on-, Akhv. āχun-, Cham. aχ<sup>w</sup>a-ta-d-, Kar. ahan-, God. āwuχ- 'to boil, seethe'; Gin. =eχ-ʃes, Khv. =eχχu, Bezht. iχijo, Gunz. =iχχu 'warm'; Darg. =uχ- 'burn'; Arch. eχin- 'to catch fire'.

PST \*kǎŋ 'to fry, roast' > Burm. kaŋ 'to broil, roast', Kach. kaŋ<sup>2</sup> 'be hot, be dry, as paddy', gəkaŋ<sup>1</sup> 'roast, toast, bake', Khal. kəŋ- 'to put on stove, fire', Rawang dəgaŋ 'toast', etc.

PY \*ʔəqaŋ (~h-, x-) 'to boil' > Ket. ɛŋ / ʌ:n, Yug. ʌxaŋ, Kott. auganaŋ (CCE 191-192, Werner 2, 420).

\*HṼxGV 'twenty' (BCD 28):

PNC \*Gǎ (with an early loss of the initial syllable) > Chech., Bac. ɬ-qa, Ing. ɬ-qo; Av. ɬ:ó-go; Tsez., Gin. qu, Khv. qu-n, Bezht. qo-na, Gunz. qo-no; Lak. ɬu; Darg. ɬa-l; Lezg., Ag., Rut., Kryz q:a-d, Tab. q:a-b, Tsakh. q:a-llä, Bud. qa-d, Arch. qa, Ud. q:a; Khin. qa(n) 'twenty'.

PY \*ʔeʔk (~x-) > Ket. ɛʔk, pred. ɛkʂeń<sup>5</sup>, South. ɛkʂ<sup>5</sup>; Yug. ɛʔk, pred. ɛksi<sup>5</sup> 'twenty' (CCE 186, Werner 1, 256).

The PST form for 'twenty' is \*kul, which is rather difficult to derive from \*HṼxGV. This form, however, could have been a merger with \*kul 'all', and it is interesting to note an apparently archaic form: Lepcha kha 'twenty', hardly derivable from \*kul.

[Cf. Basq. hogei 'twenty'].

\*HṼxkV 'to fly':

PNC \*=HiχV 'to fly' > Lak. l-iI=χ:a-; Darg. Chir. iχI-; Tab. ɬ-irχ-, Tsakh. al-iχ- id.

PY \*d-ōq-, \*t-aq-, \*k-īq(V)- 'to fly, jump' > Ket. -dɔq<sup>4</sup> / dɔ:ɣ<sup>4</sup> 'fly' (Werner 1, 200), kī; Yug. dɔ:ɣ, kī:ɣ 'fly'; Kott. aʂtōkŋ 'to jump', praet. altōkŋ, imp. altok; tōkŋ 'jumping'; tox 'jump'; ithakŋ 'to jump', praet. anthikŋ, imp. anthax. See CCE 223, Werner 1, 200-201, 482, 2, 224.

[Cf. Basq. \*hega- 'to fly'.]

\*=HVxq̄wĔ 'to press':

PNC \*=HVq̄wĔ 'to rumple, knead' > Av. k̄:ʷa- 'to rumple, crumple', And. k̄:ʷa-r-d-, Tind. =ak:ʷĩ- 'to knead', Kar. k̄:ʷa-r- 'to rumple, knead', etc.; Tsez. =iq̄-ir- 'to press out', (with redupl.) q̄uq̄- 'to rumple', Khv. q̄uq̄- id., Bezht. q̄uq̄- 'to knead'; Tsakh. g-oq̄la-, Arch. =āq̄la- 'to rub; to rumple, crumple'; PWC \*q̄Iʷa > Abaz. ħʷħʷa-ra 'to tan, rumple, soften (leather)', Ad. ʔʷa- 'to thresh', Kab. ʔʷa- 'to thresh; to tan, rumple'.

PY \*ʔu(ʔ)k- (~x-) > Ket. úyej, úyij 'to milk'; Yug. ugiʔʰ 'to press'. See Werner 2, 325, 374-375 (without comparing the Ket and Yug forms).

\*=HVžV̄ 'clear (of weather)':

PNC \*=HužV-n 'to clear up (of weather)' > Av. r-oç:-n-; Arch. ol=çin- id.; Ud. m-uč:ur 'clear sky'; Hurr. xežmə 'clear, bright'.

PST \*Ćāj (~-l) 'clear (of weather)' > OC 霽 \*ćajs 'clearing sky'; Burm. cājh 'to stop, as raining, to clear, as weather'.

PY \*ʔēž- 'clear, quiet (of weather)' > Ket. et⁴ / et⁴, Yug. ε:ħʔ, see CCE 189-190, Werner 1, 250. Cf. also (perhaps with initial reduction) \*žin 'bright day' in Ket diñ id., qā-diñ 'holiday', Yug χédīñ id. (Werner 1, 193).

Bur. \*cāñ, \*cān, \*žañ > Yas. žañ, Hunza, Nagar žaán 'to stop (of rain); Hunza, Nagar çaán 'clear (of sky)', çaán 'half-clear (of sky)' (old dialectal variants of one and the same root?).

\*HVžV̄ 'to be ill' (HGC 36, confused with \*ʔāžV):

PNC \*HVžVw- 'to itch, to hurt' > Chech., Ing. ʃowž- 'to sting, burn (of pain, wound)'; Cham. zaj-, zā- (dial. zab-), Tind. žē-, God. žab- 'to hurt, be in pain'; Lak. č-u- 'to itch'.

PY \*ʔāž- (~x-, -ž-) 'to be ill' > Ket. a:də⁴ / adə⁴ (Bak., Sur.), Yug. a:ħʔ, adade⁵ 'to be ill'; here also perhaps (with a reduction of Anlaut) - Ket da-jeñ⁵, Yug. dajen 'illness, ill'. See CCE 186, Werner 1, 59-60, 170.

Bur. \*žā-k 'rheumatic pain' > Hun., Nag. žak.

\*Hwixq̄V̄ 'day' (BCD 29):

PNC \*Hwixq̄V > Chech. ůiq̄ē, Ing. ůijq̄ē 'morning twilight'; Av. q̄:o, Kar. q̄:ʷoj / q̄:ʷoj 'day'; Tsez. ža-q̄lu-λ, Gin. ži-qu, Khv. žē-qu-λ, Inkh. je-qu-λ 'today'; Lak. q̄i-ni 'day', ha-q̄i-nu 'today'; Lezg. juɤ, Tab., Rut., Kryz jɤɤ, Ag. jaɤ, Tsakh. jɤɤ, Arch. iq̄, Ud. ɤi 'day'; Khin. q̄ā id.

PY \*xiʔG 'day' > Ket. iʔ, pl. eɤɤ⁵, Yug. i:h / i:, pl. eɤɤ⁵, Kott. īg, īx, pl. eäɤɤ; Ar. ji, pl. jin; Pump. ha (see CCE 296, Werner 1, 389). The same root is

obviously present in \*xiGa 'sun' (< \*xi?G-Ga ?), cf. Ket. ī, pl. iyán, Yug. i, Kott. ēga, ēgä, Ar. éga, Pump. hixem (CCE 296, Werner 1, 392).

There must have existed an old compound [\\*hwēri-Hwíxqǃ](#) meaning literally 'light (shine) of day' = 'sun', reflected (sometimes with contractions and distortions) in:

PNC \*wirəǃǃ 'sun' > Av. baǃ; Tsez., Gin., Khv. buq, Bezht., Gunz. boq; Lak. barǃ; Darg. berǃi; Lezg., Ag. raǃ, Tab. riǃ, Rut., Tsakh. wiriǃ, Kryz., Bud. wirǃ, Arch. barq, Ud. beǃI; Khin. inǃ; PWC \*(mV)rəǃa > Abkh. á-mra, Abaz. mara, Ad. təǃa, Kab. dəǃa, Ub. n-dǃa 'sun', see NCED 1051-1052.

PST \*xruǃk 'bright, sunshine' > OC 旭 \*x(r)ok 'bright; rising sun'; Tib. b-krag-pa 'brightness' lustre'.

Bur. \*duyoi 'midday, noon' > Yas. doyói, Hunza duyúi, Nagar duyói.

[Cf. Basq. \*argi- 'light, bright'.]

[\\*HwǎmpV](#) 'glowing coals':

PNC \*HǎmpV 'coal' > And., Akhv., Tind., Kar., God. habu, Cham., Bagv. hab 'coal'; Tsez. ǎam, Gin. amu, Khv. am, Bezht. hamo 'coal'.

PST \*ǎ<sup>w</sup>Vm / \*ǎ<sup>w</sup>Vp > OC 炎 \*wam 'blaze, burn'; Burm. um 'to glow, smoulder', umh 'to roast in embers', Lush. wām 'be in a red-hot glowing condition (as fire)', mei wāp (Hmar mei wām) 'ashes' (= PLB \*m-japx id.), Lepcha om 'shine', om-bo 'illuminating', Kir. \*[w]əm (/p) 'to warm, heat'; Kham hip 'burn'. [DSTL has an incorrect reconstruction \*G<sup>w</sup>Vm].

[\\*HwǃrdV](#) 'a k. of grass':

PNC \*HwǃrdV > Akhv. ǃidi-ra 'young grass'; Lak. urt:u 'grass'; Darg. horda 'henbane'.

PST \*wǎt > OC 菱 \*pāt 'roots of grass'; Burm. wat 'flower', Rawang -wǎt, Gurung ta-pat id.

[\\*HwVǃV](#) 'island; valley':

PNC \*HwVǃV 'plain, meadow' > Bac. eǃ 'plain, platform'; Rut. (Ikhr.) ǃluǃI 'meadow, field'; cf. also \*HwVǃV-rV id. > Rut. (Luch.) ǃIur 'meadow', Hurr. awarə 'field, open space, steppe'.

PY \*h[e]j- 'island' > Ket. ēje!, Yug. ēj! id., Kott. hau- in hau-tu 'Flussbusen'. See CCE 230. On the Kott. compound see also under \*dUHV. Werner 1, 272 (\*eje) says: "m.E. kann kot. C hautu 'Flußbusen' hiermit nicht zusammengestellt werden" - although correspondences are regular



enough (except for the vowel *e/a*, but this is a rather frequent alternation), and Kott. hau-tu is an exact match of Ket ei-tu id. Note that Werner seems somewhat confused about this etymology: in 2, 262 he treats -tu as = Ket tū 'back, place between shoulders' (although the latter historically has a \*-G-, see \*dHáqwā); and in 2, 309 he reproduces the match Ket eitu = Kott. hautu again, this time without any objections, and with the reconstruction \*tu.

\*fǎkwǎnV, \*kwǎnfV 'light' (HGC 39, WFR 25):

PNC \*=fǎkwǎn 'to kindle, light', \*kwǎnfV 'light, torch' > Av. =ak- 'to set fire', kan 'torch', kan- 'light (adj.)', And. =ik<sup>w</sup>- 'to catch fire', k<sup>w</sup>ana- 'bright, light' (adj.), Akhv. =uk- 'to set fire', k<sup>w</sup>ani 'light' (n.), Cham. =ik<sup>w</sup>Vn- 'to set / catch fire', k<sup>w</sup>ã 'torch', k<sup>w</sup>anu- 'light' (adj.), Tind. =uk- 'to burn', k<sup>w</sup>ã 'torch', k<sup>w</sup>ana 'light' (n.), Kar. =ek<sup>w</sup>- 'to set fire', k<sup>w</sup>ano 'light (n.)', God. =uk- 'to set fire', k<sup>w</sup>ãji 'torch', k<sup>w</sup>anu 'light' (adj.); Tsez. k<sup>w</sup>a, Khv. k<sup>w</sup>a, Bezht. kã, Gunz. kã 'torch'; Lak. čani 'light' (n.); Darg. (Ur.) =alk<sup>w</sup>Vn- 'to set fire'; PL \*ʔak<sup>w</sup>a(n) > Lezg. ek<sup>w</sup>, Tab. ak<sup>w</sup>, Ag. ʔak<sup>w</sup>, Rut. jak<sup>w</sup>, Arch. ak:on 'light' (n.), Arch. ak:u-kes 'to dawn', Ud. kaj 'dawn'.

PST > OC OC 光 \*k<sup>w</sup>ǎŋ 'light'.

PY \*gəʔn- 'light' > Ket. kɬʔn 'light'; kɔ́ne¹, South. kɔ́n 'dawn'; Yug. kɬʔn 'light', kɔ́n 'dawn'; Kott. kinig, \*kinix, pl. kinigān, (Бол.) knik 'dawn'; tegan, \*tekán, pl. teganaŋ 'light' (te- < \*de- 'eye') (CCE 226; Werner 1, 474, 2, 257 (with some hesitation about Kott. tegan).

Bur. \*gon 'dawn' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar gon.

[Reconstruction presents some problems:

a) Bur. g- is irregular;

b) PY \*gəʔn- contains an unexpected -ʔ-. The variant \*kəŋ was explained in CCE 226 as a compound \*gəʔn+\*xiʔG 'light + day', but in fact it is probably the other way round: \*gəŋ (= Kott. -gan in tegan) is the simple root, while Ket., Yug. kɬʔn may reflect the compound \*gəŋ+\*xiʔG - which would be better compatible both with external and internal evidence.

c) the NC evidence suggests that \*-fV in \*kwǎnfV is suffixed (there are no traces of it in the verbal and adjectival stems); however, such a suffix has not been identified elsewhere.

Despite all these problems, unity of the forms above can be hardly doubted.]

\*fǎlǎV(IV) 'branch' (DCE 18, FDCP 4):

PNC \*fǎlǎVIV 'branch; pod' > Av. ʔarǎ:él 'branch; bough'; Tsez.

aʎiru, Gin. aʎa, Bezht. āʎalo, Gunz. āʎal 'pod'.

Bur. \*jáltar 'crown of tree, upper leafy branches of a tree' > Hun., Nag. jáltar.

[Cf. Basq. \*adaṛ 'branch'.]

\*fapárV (~ -b-) 'a k. of worm':

PNC \*fabarV 'worm' > Av. hapára, And. habara 'worm'; Tsakh. albra-wučē id.

PST \*p(j)VrH (~ \*b-) 'a crop-damaging insect' > OC 蠶 \*pəjʔ, \*bəjʔ-s 'an evil-smelling insect which damages crops'; Tib. s-bur 'beetle, ant'; Burm. pjaʔ 'a common name for crop-damaging insects and small tree bugs'; Lepcha tə-fūr 'a sp. of beetle'; Kir. \*ber 'a k. of insect (butterfly, dragonfly, caterpillar)'.

[Cf. Basq. \*haṛ 'worm'.]

\*faśdārV 'enclosure':

PNC \*fažārV 'enclosure, wattle-fence' > Chech. zṣāra, Ing. zṣar 'wattle-fence', Bac. zar 'wattle'; PL \*ʔač:ar (~ hI-) > Tab. at:ur, Rut. dial. ad:ar 'enclosure, pen'.

PST \*žerH 'granary' > Burm. ćańʔ 'granary, pantry', Lush. čhīar 'barn, granary'.

\*fǎχE 'big' (HGC 18):

PNC \*fǎχE > Bezht. aχo 'well' (adv.); Lak. ha- 'enough'; Darg. aḥ-, dial. aχI- 'good'; Tab. aχIu, Ag. Xa-f, Tsakh. χIe-r-na 'big', Bud. l-āḥ-ki 'many', Arch. aχI 'enough'; Khin. iχer 'many'; PWC \*χV 'more' > Abkh. ájḥa, Abaz. a(j)ḥa, Ad. nā-h, Kab. na-χ, Ub. ća-χ.

PY \*χ[e]ʔ 'big' > Ket. qeʔ (North. qä<sup>4</sup>), pl. qēḥ (North. qāḥ<sup>4</sup>); Yug. xeʔ / xe:<sup>h</sup>, pl. xen; Pump. xääse (Cḷ), xeem, xaese (Cpcḷ), xeem, xäese (Kḷ). See CCE 300. The -ʔ in PY is possibly a suffix here: it disappears without trace in all compounds and derivatives; or else it may be just a result of secondary positional shortening of \*χē (reflected in Ket. North. qä<sup>4</sup> and Yug. xe:<sup>h</sup>).

\*fǎχwVḥV̄ (~ -xk-) 'grouse' (LV B13):

PNC \*fǎnχwā (~ -ə-, -ö-) > Av. ṣanχ<sup>w</sup>á 'wood-grouse' (par. B: ṣanχ<sup>w</sup>í-l, ṣunχ-bí); Tsez. aṣi, Gunz. āχ 'bird'; see NCED 511.

PST \*Kōḥ (~ Q-) > OC 鴻 \*gōḥ 'wild-goose' (cf. also 孔雀 \*khōḥ 'peacock'); Tib. goḥ 'ptarmigan, white grouse', Lepcha tə-góḥ 'n. of a bird'.

[\\*h\[ć\]wínV](#) 'night; dream' (HGC 21, NSC 64, WFR 52, LDC 28, 29, BCD 16):

PNC \*hnićwŃ (/ \*hćwinV in Laki) 'night, evening' > Tsez. neši-ru 'night; at night', Gin. neši 'night', nesa 'evening', Khv. nišo-ho 'at night', Bezht., Gunz. niše 'night'; Lak. šanu 'sleep' (n.), šana- 'to sleep'; PL \*žiš:<sup>w</sup> 'night' > Lezg. jif, Tab. jiš<sup>v</sup>, Ag. ŋüş, Rut. wiš, huš, Kryz. jif, Bud. juž-en-žič, Arch. iš, Ud. šü 'night'; Khin. ač:u-vi 'sleep'; PWC \*(pə-)ž<sup>w</sup>ə > Ab. ala-bəž 'dusk', Ad. pčə-ħa, Kab. pśəħa-śħa, Ub. z<sup>w</sup>a-psə-ž evening'.

PST \*chěn 'night, dark' > Tib. mchan 'night', Kach. n-sin<sup>3</sup> 'darkness', Kir. \*sèn- 'night'.

PY \*sV(?)m- > Kott. šame 'dream' (CCE 279, Werner 2, 436).

[Irregular \*ch- in PST - possibly because of the influence of \*chĩmH 'sleep', q.v. sub \*HŃwsVn.

CF. Basq. \*a-mec 'dream, sleep'.]

[\\*hćwŃjmV](#) 'sour, salty':

PNC \*hmVjćwǺ (/ \*hćwŃjmV) 'sour' > Chech. müsta, Ing. mista, Bac. mustī 'sour'; PL žirč<sup>w</sup>Vm- / \*žimč<sup>w</sup>Vr- > Lezg. ücü 'salty', Tab. uč<sup>v</sup>ru, Ag. ŋučə-f, Rut. čirčim-di, Tsakh. čirčima-n 'sour'; Khin. mič 'sour'; PWC \*č<sup>w</sup>V (< \*HVmćwŃ) 'sour' > Abkh. a-č<sup>v</sup>-rá, Abaz. čč<sup>w</sup>-ra, Ad. ś<sup>v</sup>a-ž<sup>w</sup>ə-, Kab. řa-ž<sup>w</sup>ə- 'to get sour', Ub. ž<sup>w</sup>a-đ(ə) 'sour', etc.

PST \*[ž]iam 'salt' > OC 鹼 \*čham (~ ch-, -e) 'buck, lye'; Kach. žum<sup>2</sup> 'salt', šum 'be saltish'; PKC \*čhum, Meithei thum, Garo sum 'salt', etc.

Bur. \*chémil > Yas. cémel, Hun., Nag. chémilij 'poison'.

[\\*hewǺǺ](#) (~ \*hewemǺǺ) 'dream':

PNC \*hewǺǺ 'dream' > Cham. hāla 'fog', Tind. hinawu 'cloud', Kar. hanǺu, God. hanlu 'fog, cloud'; Lak. anǺa-ťun 'to doze, slumber'; Darg. hanǺ 'sleep (n.)'; Ag. emǺ 'dream, sleep', Arch. miǺí-r 'in dream, while sleeping'; Khin. miǺä 'dream'; PWC \*pə-Ǻə 'dream, sleep (n.)' > Abkh. a-pǺə-z, Ab. pǺə-z, Ad. pčə-ħāp, Kab. pśə-ħāpa, pśə-ħ, Ub. pčə-blá.

PST \*mǺk / \*mǺŋ 'dream' > OC 夢 \*mhəŋs 'dream', Tib. r-man-lam 'dream', Burm. mak 'to dream', Kach. maŋ<sup>1</sup> id., Lush. maŋ id.; Lepcha moŋ 'a dream'; Limbu mā-k-mā 'to dream', etc.

Bur. \*-wélǺi 'dream' > Yas. -wélǺi, Hun., Nag. -úlǺi.

[There may be some confusion with a similar root \*nhewǺV 'sleep', probably reflected in PNC \*=HVwǺǺn 'to sleep', \*nhewǺǺ 'sleep'; PST \*mĩ 'sleep' (although final \*-l is quite irregular: \*-k would be expected), Bur. Yas. naǺ, Hun., Nag. -jál 'shadow'; perhaps also Basq. \*lo 'sleep'. Although

there is little doubt that the forms are related, exact reconstruction is somewhat obscured by morphonological (?) changes.; cf. LV A19, DCE 33.]

\*fénšwī 'earth, soil':

PNC \*fēn(V)šwī 'earth, clay' > Av. harš: 'mud, clay', And. onš:i, Akv. ūs:i, Cham. ūs:, Tind., Kar., Botl., God. unš:i, Bagv. unš: 'earth'; Lak. aIrš:i 'earth'; Darg. heš 'dust (of rotten wood)'; Abkh. a-nōš<sup>v</sup>, Ab. nōš<sup>w</sup> 'earth, clay'.

PY \*su (~ č-) > Kott. šu 'soil, ground' (CCE 276, Werner 2, 442).

\*fīgVrV̄ 'near' (WFR 2):

PNC \*fīgVrV > PN (with reduplication) \*garge: Chech. gerga, Ing. garga, Bac. garg(eh); Av. ƶagára-b; Tsez., Gin. igo, Khv. agol 'near'; Lak. l-ag-ma 'around, in the vicinity'; Abkh. áj-g<sup>w</sup>a, Ab. ar-g<sup>w</sup>a-nə 'near'.

PST \*k(r)əj (~ g-, q-, G-) 'near, close' > OC 幾 \*kəj 'be near, close, imminent'; Tib. ākhri-s 'near, close'. One should also mention OC 近 \*gər? 'be near', \*gər?-s 'come near to, keep close to' - possibly reflecting a different accent variant.

PY \*ʔikVr (~ -x-, -l) 'close to, near' > Ket. íl, íl-ga, íl-ka, íl-ga, Yug. igl (not in CCE; see Werner 1, 358, 2, 434-435).

\*fñārGwī 'inside, interior (of the house etc.):

PNC \*fñārGwī 'hearth; house' > Av. ruq̄:, And. haq̄:u, Cham. hāq̄:<sup>w</sup>. Botl., God. hanq̄:u 'house', Tind. haq̄:<sup>w</sup>a 'dug-out; hut'; Khv., Inkh. āq 'house'; Darg. anq̄:i, Chir. haq̄:a 'hearth'; Khin. oq̄an 'shelter (in the mountains).

PST \*naŋ / \*nak 'inside, interior' > Tib. naŋ id.; Burm. nak 'deep', ənak 'within, belonging to', Trung rə<sup>3</sup>-nă<sup>1</sup> 'be deep'.

(?) Bur. \*máku-čí 'in the middle' > Yas., Hun., Nag. mákučí.

\*fñərkwV̄ (~ -xk-) 'urine, dirt' (LV B14):

PNC \*fñərkwV̄ 'urine, urinary bladder' > Chech. haťq̄a, Bac. ħajtq̄ı 'urine'; Av. dial. ħoroq̄ 'urinary bladder', And. hinq̄:ur, Cham. heq̄<sup>w</sup> (Gig. hinq̄u), God. hirk:u 'urine'; Tsez. ƶaq̄lu, Gin. aq̄<sup>w</sup>e, Khv. aqu 'urine'; PL \*nVq̄<sup>w</sup>V (in comp. with \*c:<sup>w</sup>era 'urine') > Rut. neq̄i-zar, Lezg. South. we-zer 'gall', Tsakh. q̄i-zej 'gall bladder'; Khin. q̄a 'urine'; see NCED 524. Final vowel length determined on the basis of root structure correspondences (Av. ħoroq̄, PA \*ħinq̄:u-r : PL \*nVq̄<sup>w</sup>V-).

PST \*nēk<sup>w</sup> 'urine, filth' > OC 尿 \*nēk<sup>w</sup>-s 'urine', Tib. nóg 'soiled,

dirtyed', *ńag-ńog* 'filth, dirt', Burm. *nauk* 'be dirty, foul, as water', Kach. *ənoʔ*<sup>2</sup> 'dirt'.

\*f<sup>h</sup>õmxGVwV 'mouth' (somewhat differently in HGC 20; LDC 15):

PNC \*f<sup>h</sup>õmGwĩ (~-ě) 'throat; mouth' > Av. *muq:ú-r* 'crop, craw, goitre', Akhv. *oq:o* 'throat'; Tsez., Gin. *haqu* 'mouth (inside)'; Lak. *uInqu-s:urs:u* 'nasopharynx' (s:urs:u 'neck'); Arch. *hanq* 'throat (of a person)'; Ad., Kab. *ʔ<sup>w</sup>ə* 'mouth'.

PST \*khuā(H) 'mouth; hole, opening' > OC □ \*khōʔ 'mouth'; Burm. *ku* 'cave, cavity', Kach. *khu* 'hole, opening', Lush. *kua* 'hole, burrow, cavity', Garo *k(h)u*, Dimasa *khu* 'mouth'.

PY \*χo(?)we 'mouth' > Ket. *qō*, pl. *qoʔn<sup>2</sup>*; Yug. *xo*, pl. *xoʔn<sup>2</sup>*; Kott. *hōpi*, pl. *hōpan*; Ass. *hóhuj* (C.A.) "face", (M., C.A., K.A.) "mouth"; *xoboj* (K.A.) "mouth". See CCE 302-303; Werner 2, 126 (preferring to treat the Kott. word as a compound (but with what second component?) - whereas the reflex \*-w- > Kott. -p- is quite regular).

[PY has lost -ʔ- (in the CVCe structure), but preserves it in plural.

Cf. Basq. \*aʔo 'mouth'.]

\*=f<sup>h</sup>õstV 'full' (HGC 19, SCE 108):

PNC \*=f<sup>h</sup>õçV 'full, fill' > Chech. =uz- 'be filled', =üz-na 'full', Ing. =iza 'full', Bac. =uç- 'fill', =uçinõ 'full'; Av. çe-, And. =iç-, Akhv. =eç-, And., Cham. =iç-, Tind., God. =eç- 'get full', Kar., Bagv. =eç-, Botl. hiç- 'fill', Av. çu-ra-b, And. =uçi-b, Akhv. =eçe-da, Cham. =içi-dda, Tind. =eçu-b, God. =eçi-bu 'full'; Tsez. =iç-, Gin. =iç-, Bezht. =oç-, Gunz. =əç- 'be full', Khv. =eç-χ- 'fill', Tsez. =iççä-si, Gin. =içi-š, Khv. =ejçu, Bezht. =oçi-ro, Gunz. =əçi-ru 'full'; Lak. =u=çi- 'fill, be filled', =u=çu- 'full'; Darg. =iç- 'fill', =içi- 'full'; Lezg. açu-, Tab. a=ç-, Ag. aç-, Rut. a=ç-, Tsakh. g-a=ça-, Arch. ā=ça-, Bud. s-a=ç- 'fill', Lezg. ačaj, Tab. açu, Ag. açu-f, Rut. açi-d, Tsakh. g-açi-n, Kryz. řaçä-d, Bud. s-əçə, Arch. āça-t:u-, Ud. b-uj 'full'; Khin. çi 'full, fill'; Abkh. á-z-na, Ab. azna-, Ad. jəz, Kab. jəz, Ub. řa-zá 'full'.

PST \*ch[ā]ŋ (with an adjectival \*-ŋ) 'complete, entire' > Tib. *chan* 'be complete, full', *āṣaŋs* 'spend, consumed, exhausted'; Kach. *saŋ* 'be exhausted'; Lush. *sēŋ* 'completely, entirely; to use, use up', Gangte *chen* 'all'; Ao Naga *a-sun*, Angami Naga *cu* 'full'.

PY \*ʔute (~x-) 'full' > Ket. *ūt*, Yug. *ūt*, Kott. *ūti* 'full', *ūtam* 'wholly, completely' (CCE 201, Werner 2, 381-382).

Bur. \*çi-k > Yasin *çik* 'all' (cf. also Hunza, Nagar *şek* 'full' - but the correspondence ç : ş here is puzzling).

[Cf. Basq \*ošo 'whole, complete, entire'.]

\*fréλwě 'bone, rib' (HGC 18, LV D11):

PNC \*fréλwě (~-i) 'bone' > Chech. dāʔaxk, Ing. ʔexk; Av. raλ:á (Par. C: roλ:ó-l, rúλ:-bi), And. roλ:i, Akhv., Tind. raλ:i, Cham. jaλ:il, Kar. raλ:e, Botl. raλ:ir, Bagv. raλ:, God. raλ:in 'bone'; Bezht. λōrā, Gunz. λora id.; Lak. t:arḱ id.; Darg. Chir. derg / dery id.; Tab. Düb. jirk:i, Ag. irk; Ud. uq:lejn id.; Khin. inḱ id.; PWC \*ʔwā > Ad. cā-ya, Kab. žā-ža 'rib', Abkh. á-va-ra, Abaz. ʒa-rta 'side', Ub. ʒa- 'by side of'. See NCED 528.

PST \*rāŋ / \*rāk 'bone' > OC 髀 \*krāk 'bone (of animal)', Miju rak<sup>1</sup> 'bone'; Burm. khrāŋ, Kach. nraŋ, Garo greŋ 'bone' etc.

PY \*ʔu(?)láʒ 'rib' > Ket. ulét<sup>6</sup>, pl. ulérəŋ<sup>5</sup> (Bak., Sur. ulédəŋ<sup>5</sup>), Yug. ulát<sup>5,6</sup>, pl. uladiŋ<sup>5</sup>, Kot. ulái, pl. ulajaŋ 'rib' (cf. also ulai "by the side of", ulār 'side'). See CCE 200-201. As in several other cases, the stem contains a body part suffix -V<sub>3</sub>. The original meaning is definitely "bone of the side" (= "rib"), cf. the semantics in Kottish. Werner's (2, 338) analysis of the word as \*ugəl-aʔt (in our reconstruction would be \*ʔuʔul-aʔd) "smooth bone" is quite unlikely - both for semantic (a highly improbable development "smooth bone" > "rib") and phonetic reasons: Kott. ulai can only go back to \*ʔuláʒ, and never - to \*ʔulád. Non-initial \*-d- yields Kott. -r-, as shown (definitively) in KC 148 - including the very root for "bone" PY \*ʔaʔd (q.v.), reflected in Kottish as araŋ 'limb'. We do in fact have a Kottish formation ulār - but it means only "side" and thus can in no way be derived from "smooth bone", being rather another old derivative from the primary root \*ʔul- "bone (of the side)".

[PST has irregular vowel length: in fact, both in PST and PY there could have occurred a merger with a different root, reflected in PNC \*λōrē (/rōλē) 'hand, hand-bone', see NCED 779-780.]

\*hVčwī 'blue' (HGC 38):

PNC \*hVčwī-IV 'green, blue' > Chech. čōla 'grey', Ing. čōla 'roan'; Av. ɣurč:ína- 'green'; Tsez. eš-jiλe, Gin. iš-jos, Khv. iš-lajli 'green', Gunz. r-už-nijas 'bright green'; Lak. š:uilli-, dial. š:uill-di- 'green'; Ag. čulle-f 'blue', Rut. šil-di 'green', Tsakh. čilwa-n 'green, wet', Bud. čula-ž 'dim, muddy', Ud. čalli 'fish'.

PY \*wVs 'blue' > Ass. urek-bas; Ar. bis. See CCE 294. For the first part of the Assan compound cf. Kott. oreäk, ureäk 'green'. Werner (1, 131) suggests that the Ass. form means "like green", which is quite dubious if we take into consideration the independent Arin form bis. Note also Kott.

bosarak 'fox-colored' - which may be actually a compound similar to urek-bas, but with a different order of components.

\*hVrǫwĔ 'wide' (HGC 40):

PNC \*hǎrǫ(w)Ĕ 'wide' > Av. ɣe-b-, And. Ga-b, Akhv. ǫa-da, Cham. a-ru-, Kar. a-bo-, Botl. ɤa-bi, Bagv. ɣa-bu- 'wide'; Bezht. ǫeǫǫjo, Gunz. ǫeǫǫu 'wide, broad'; Lak. u-t:a- id.; Darg. b-aɣu- id.; PL \*hlarǫi- > Lezg. hǎrǫü, Tab. jarǫu, Ag. arǫe-f, Rut. aǫlur-, Tsakh. aǫli-; PWC \*bǝ-ɣ<sup>(w)</sup>V 'wide' > Abkh. á-t-bā, Ab. t-bɣa, Ad., Kab. bɣ<sup>w</sup>a, Ub. bɣǝ.

PST \*q<sup>w</sup>ǎŋH 'wide' (with a frequent adjectival \*-ŋ) > OC 廣 \*k<sup>w</sup>ǎŋʔ 'wide, broad, large', Kach. wuŋ<sup>2</sup>-waŋ<sup>2</sup>, əwoŋ 'be wide, ample', Lush. vǎŋ 'be broad, wide'. Cf. also \*q<sup>w</sup>ǎŋH 'distant, stretch' > OC 永 \*wraŋʔ 'long, distant', Tib. rgjaŋ 'distance', rgjoŋ, rkjoŋ 'stretch, extend'; \*K<sup>w</sup>ǎn (~ Q<sup>w</sup>-) 'wide, width' > OC 寬 \*kh<sup>w</sup>ǎn 'vast, wide', Tib. khjon 'size, extension, width'. All these stems may be derived from a primary root \*q<sup>w</sup>a 'wide', reflected in Tib. *rkja-mo* 'width'.

PY \*χiGV-Í 'wide, broad' (originally a reduplication; cf., e.g. the Tsezian forms above) > Ket. qíl, Yug. xe:í / xejí<sup>3</sup>, Kott. hīgal (see CCE 301, Werner 2, 89).

\*hVrtV̄ 'a k. of grass':

PNC \*hōrtV > Av. het 'feather-grass'; Darg. ɣalt-uri 'ramson'; Tab. Düb. urtim 'fern, moss', Arch. hoti 'grass'.

PY \*ʔēd- (~ x-,z) 'a k. of tubular plant (пучка)' > Ket. éí, pl. eřiŋ (South.), ε:də<sup>4</sup>, pl. ediŋ (Mid.) (Werner 1, 240); Yug. ε:<sup>h</sup>t, pl. ediŋ<sup>1</sup> (CCE 190, Werner 1, 240).

\*hVšdwĀ 'sharp':

PNC \*hüšwĀ 'sharp, to sharpen' > And., Tind., Kar., Botl., God. b-ežu-n, Akhv. m-ežu, Cham., Bagv. b-ežū 'needle'; Khv. =ač-eχ- 'to sharpen, whet', Bezht. āč- id., Gunz. āču-n 'whetstone'; Tsakh. h-e=že- 'to polish', Arch. =eIč:a- 'to sharpen, whet', Lezg. k:ü-nü 'whetstone', Tab. ulž'am, Ag. ɣulžan, Rut. už'u-d id. etc.; Ad. čā-n, Kab. žā-n 'sharp', Ub. ča-n 'to sharpen, whet'.

PY \*ʔete 'sharp' > Ket. ēti<sup>1</sup>, Yug. ēt / ejt, Kott. ēti (CCE 189, Werner 1, 273).

\*hwe(m)ti 'worm, leech':

PNC \*hwe(m)ti 'a k. of worm' > Av. huṭ 'worm; plant-louse;

silkworm'; Inkh. āṭeru 'snail', Bezht. haṭola 'worm, helminth'; Lak. jaḷṭi 'worm, larva'; Darg. ḥidu-žan 'leech'; Tab. wiçri, Düb. hütür / hütër 'leech'; Ad., Kab., Ub. dəwa 'leech'.

PST \*wät 'leech' > Tib. sriṅbu-pad-ma, Burm. kj-wat, Kach. wot², Lush. vaṅ-vat, Moshang tä-wat etc. 'leech'.

[\\*ḥw\[ǎ\]rxqwē](#) 'boundary, ridge' (LDC 28, BCD 41):

PNC \*ḥwārḡē 'mountain ridge; boundary' > Chech. raḡ, Ing. arḡa 'a low mountain ridge'; Av. ṡorq:í 'boundary'; Darg. urqi, Kub. hūqe 'mountains'; Tab. arq 'ravine'; Urart. alg-ā 'boundary, mountain ridge'.

PST \*ʔwīk (~ qh<sup>w</sup>-) 'space, territory' > OC 域 \*whək 'territory, state; boundary'; 闕 \*wək, \*swək 'threshold', 國 \*k-wək 'state, country'; Burm. wəuk 'circle, district, zone'; Lush. oʔ 'to take up room, occupy space'.

PY \*ʔa(?)k- (~x-,x-) 'shore, towards the shore' > Ket. ayəʔ, Yug. agéj (CCE 179, Werner 1, 83). Tone 6 in Ket appears to contradict tenseness in NC, but a single tone attestation is hardly reliable.

Bur. \*hurgó 'uphill, up' > Yas. horgó, Hun., Nag. hurgó.

[Cf. Basq. \*hegi 'ridge, border'.]

[\\*ḥwīmgV](#) 'hole' (NSC 54, MCGD 12):

PNC \*ḥwāmḡV 'hole, window' > Chech. angali 'glass' (< 'window?'); And. ingur, Akhv. īgo, Tind., Kar. hing<sup>w</sup>ar, God. hingur 'window', Cham. inn 'window; hole, burrow'; Tsez., Gin. aki, Khv. āki 'window', Inkh. āka 'window; hole'; Tab. hamḡ 'glass', Ag. ṡagug, dial. ṡāḡ<sup>w</sup> 'mirror' (< 'window'), Kryz. ṡag 'niche in wall; roof orifice', Bud. ḡag 'roof orifice'.

PST \*k(h)āH 'opening' > OC 戶 \*ḡāʔ 'door', Burm. tam-khah 'door, gate', Kach. činḡka¹, nkha¹ 'door', Lush. ka 'to open (as mouth, legs); mouth', etc.

Bur. \*hiṅ 'door, gate' > Yas., Hun., Nag. hiṅ.

[\\*ḥwmēḥwā](#) (~ -ə) 'water, wet' (NSC 59):

PNC \*ḥwmēḥwā (~ -ə) 'moisture; lake, pool' > Chech., Ing., Bac. ṡam 'lake, pond, pool'; Av. maḡá 'moisture', Akhv. īzi 'whey' (cf. also Tind. huna- 'liquid (adj.)', Av. =iʔn-, dial. =iʔn-, And., Akhv. =iʔun- 'to thaw, melt'); Bezht. niʔa, Gunz. niʔa 'whey' (cf. also Bezht. =īʔa-rö, Gunz. īʔā-ru 'wet'); Lak. muha-li 'stream, rapid brook'; Darg. neḡ (dial. meḡ, māḡ) 'whey', Ur. =amḡV-r / =umḡ- 'to wet, become wet, soak'; Lezg. meh 'sour clotted milk', Tab. meh, Ag. maḡ, Kryz. meḡ, Bud. meḡ, Arch. meḡ



'whey', Rut. mehi-d 'wet'.

PST \*mǔjH ( ~ -ǎ) 'flowing water; cloud' > OC 澗 \*mǔjʔ 'flowing water'; Burm. muh 'small river, rivulet', Kach. sə-mui 'cloud', Bodo zə-məʔj id., etc. Cf. also OC 海 \*s-mǎʔ 'sea', indicating that we may be dealing more than with one root here.

Bur. \*mai > Yas. mái 'sour milk'.

\*f̥wōmdV 'head, brain':

PNC \*f̥wōmdV 'brain' > Chech. ħē, Ing. ħǒ, Bac. ħad(a) 'brain'; Av. ʕadá- 'head' (oblique cases), And. honu, Akhv., Tind., God. hani, Cham. han, Kar. hane 'brain'; Tsez., Gin. ata, Khv. āta, Bezht., Gunz. āda 'brain'; Ag. ħüt, Rut. jüt 'brain', Arch. oInt 'head (of a woman, an animal)'.

PST \*thō ( ~ dh-, -ǎw) 'head' > OC 頭 \*dhō 'head'; Lepcha to 'up, above'; Kir. \*dhò // \*dhòŋ 'head; above', \*thò 'above'.

Bur. \*-játe > Yas., Hun., Nag. játe 'above', Yas. -játes, Hun., Nag. -játis 'head'.

\*f̥wV 'not, negative particle':

PNC \*f̥wV > Cham. -i, Tind. -hi; Gin. -j-(om), Khv. -j-, Bezht. -ʔ, Gunz. -ōj-s; Darg. ħe; Khin. =i; Hurr. -wa-.

PST \*Ha > Bodo \*ja, Konyak ja, Gurung \*a, etc.

Bur. \*a- > Yas. a(i)-, Hun., Nag. a-.

\*f̥wVǎVnǎV 'wide':

PNC \*f̥wVnǎV ( ~ -m-) 'wide, spacious' > Av. ʕatī-da-b (South. ʕilli-d-) 'wide'; Bezht. Tlad. ħǎǎǎo, Khosh. ħǎ-ijo 'wide, spacious'.

PST \*t-loŋ > Tib. sóŋ, g-sóŋ 'to have room in or on'; Burm. khjaun 'to be broad, wide, spacious', Khaling luŋ-pä 'rich, strong, large'.

\*f̥wVmtV̆ (? \*f̥wVntV̆) 'red' (HGC 21):

PNC \*f̥wVmtV̆ > Khv. uťej, Inkh. uťa-na 'red'; Lak. jaItu-l- 'red'; Darg. ħunťena 'red'; Ag. b-ať-ar-f, Rut. b-iť-ra-, Tsakh. b-ať-ra-jin 'beautiful, handsome'.

PST \*(i)ǎ(H) ( / \*taj(H)) 'red' > OC 赭 \*tiaʔ 'red earth, red pigment' (cf. also 丹 \*tā-n 'vermilion, red'); Burm. ta 'very red, flaming red'; Kach. thoɪ<sup>31</sup> 'yellow'; Lush. tāi 'be rosy, red, ruddy'.

(?) Bur. \*matum 'black' > Yas., Hun., Nag. matúm.

\*hǎlsV̆ (~-ǎ-, -ǎ-) 'feather, wool':

PNC \*hālsV (~ī-, -ī-) '(autumn) wool' > Chech. hāsa, Ing. hōsa, Bac. hās 'woollen threads'; Tsez. his, Khv. hās 'autumn wool'; Lezg., Kryz. jis, Bud. jiz 'autumn wool', Tsakh. jis 'goat's wool'.

PY \*ʔVsi 'feather' > Ket. a:śi<sup>4</sup>, Yug. a:hs<sup>4</sup>, Kott. iči, Ar. isen (CCE 205, Werner 1, 66).

\*halV(hV) 'weak':

PNC \*hālVhV 'slow' > Akhv. ĩhāhi-me 'slow'; Gin. harihu-n id.; Lak. hūrha- id.; Darg. b-ahla- id.

PST \*rōj 'weak, lean' > OC 羸 \*roj 'lean, emaciated; weak'; Kach. groi 'be thin, lean'; Lush. roi? 'be weak, worn out, to lose power'.

PY \*ʔēl (~x-, -r) > Ket. d-éltim 'lax'; Yug. ε:hl 'weak'; Ar. t-erma (Локк.) 'weak'. See CCE 190. The comparison with Arin belongs to Werner (1, 181, 259-260, 2, 258) and is reasonable if we suppose a prefixed nature of t- in Arin and d- in Ket; however, the reason for reconstructing <\*egəl> or even <\*egəλ> on the basis of this comparison stays unclear to me.

[Possibly compensatory length in PY.]

\*hŋwǎhV 'tooth, peg':

PNC \*hmǎhwǎV 'stalk, crooked stick' > Chech. maŋar, mŋāra 'fork; fishing-rod', Ing. mŋara 'fishing-rod, hook'; Av. máhu 'stalk, stem', And., Cham., Tind., Kar., God. huma 'stalk, stem; post, prop', Akhv. huma 'post, prop; thick stick, log'; Tsez., Gin., Khv. im 'pier, bearing pillar', Inkh. em, Bezht. hem id.; Lak. mal 'hook, bolt'; Darg. ŋumu-l 'bar, bolt'.

PST \*ŋiā 'tooth, tusk' > OC 牙 \*ŋrā (< \*r-ŋā) 'tooth, ivory', Lush. ŋhō 'tusk, fang, tush', Khaling ŋa-lu 'tooth', etc.

Bur. \*me 'tooth' > Yas., Hun., Nag. -mé (cf. also i-mé-kus 'small nail').

\*hrōnsdū 'thresh, whet, grind' (DCE 17):

PNC \*hrōnzū 'threshing-floor' > Chech. hätt, Ing. hett; Av. hóc:u, And. hinc:u, Akhv. ĩç:o, Cham. hĩş<sup>w</sup>, Tind., God. hinc:u, Kar. hinc:e; Tsez. oc, Gin. ič / üč, Khv. ĩc, Bezht. āc, Gunz. ãc; Lak. taraça-lu; Darg. Chir. daraz; Lezg., Rut. rat, Tab. rac., Ag. rat, Tsakh. at:a, Arch. çi, Ud. eč; Khin. roç.

(?) PST \*rāt 'to grind, scratch' > OC 厲 \*rats 'whetstone; polish'; Tib. ā-b-rad 'to scratch, scrape', Kach. rat<sup>2</sup> 'to scratch, wound, lacerate', numrat<sup>3</sup> 'to cut with a backward stroke'.

Bur. \*darc 'threshing floor, grain ready for threshing' > Yas., Hun.,

Nag. darc.

[The ST match is somewhat dubious, both semantically and phonetically - long vowel would be regularly expected.]

\*hw[ǎ]lsǎ 'stick, fork':

PNC \*hwǎlsǎ 'a coniferous tree; wood, stick' > Chech. ĥostam, Ing. ĥastam 'nail, peg'; Av. ĥos: 'wooden bar, axle, crow-bar'; Inkh. hōs 'pole'; Lak. his 'a prick (by some sharp object)', dial. his:ilu 'fork'; Rut. us, Ud. ušI 'firewood', Tsakh. os 'wood, timber'; Abkh. á-psa, Ad. psa-jə, Kab. pse-j, Ub. psə-κ<sup>w</sup>ənó 'fir tree', psə-s 'fir-wood'.

PY \*ʔiʔs (~x-) 'peg' > Ket. iʔs, Yug. iʔs, Kott. iš-thip 'peg' (CCE 192, Werner 1, 390).

(?) Bur. \*hariš 'wooden shovel' > Hun., Nag. hariš.

\*hwēñfV (~-ʔ-) 'rope, string, sinew' (HGC 31):

PNC \*hwimfV (~-ʔ-) 'string, lace' > Lak. iIn 'lace, thong'; PL \*ʔ<sup>w</sup>im: > Lezg. jeb, Ag. ʔub 'string', Rut. ʔub, Tsakh. ʔum 'loop', Kryz. ʔābi, Bud. ʔabi 'string (on a yoke)'.

PST \*ńiH 'sinew' > OC 餌 \*ñə-s 'sinew'; Tib. ná 'muscle'; Burm. hñəwʔ 'bowstring'.

PY \*ʔāñ (~x-) 'string' > Ket. āñə, Yug. āñ, Kott. anañ. See CCE 186, Werner 1, 39.

\*hwiri 'water, lake' (somewhat differently in SCE 102, DCE 22, NSC 53):

PNC \*hwiri 'lake, pond' > Av. ĥor, And., God. i-hur, Akhv. ĭ-hora, Cham. i-hir, Tind. i-hura, Kar. i-h<sup>w</sup>ar 'lake, pond'; Lak. baIr id.; Darg. ĥer-κ<sup>w</sup>, Chir. ʔar-κ<sup>w</sup> 'river'; Lezg. wir, Ag. ʔür, Rut. uIr 'lake, pond', Ud. ora-jin 'spring, source'.

PST \*ri(a)j 'water' > Burm. rij, Kach. num-ra, Tsangla ri 'water', etc.

PY \*xurı 'water' > Ket. ūl, Yug. ur. Kott. ūl, Ar. kul, Pump. ul 'water' (CCE 298, Werner 2, 378).

Bur. \*hur- > Yas., Hun., Nag. harált 'rain', Hun. hurtá 'wet', Hun., Nag. hurú 'juice of overripe fruits', Hun. hurú-ginas 'wave, stream, whirlpool', Nag. hurúš 'becoming wet, overripe'.

\*=iç(w)Ě 'to go, come':

PNC \*=içwĚ 'to come; to return' > Chech. =erz-, Bac. =erç- 'to turn, return'; Av. =ač-in- (dial. =ač-) 'to come', =orç- 'to run out, break out', Cham. č<sup>w</sup>V- 'to walk, flow'; Bezht. t-ič-, Gunz. g-iç- 'to get into, sit in'; Lak. =u=ča-

'to go down'; Darg. ka=aç- id.; Lezg. eq:-eç-, Kryz. q:ä=ç- 'to come out', Tab. u=ç<sup>v</sup>-, Ag. uç-, Rut. ä=ç<sup>w</sup>a-, Tsakh. iḵ-e=çe-, Arch. çu-, Ud. b-aj- 'to come in, enter', Bud. ḡa=ç- 'to come in, come down'; Khin. -çi- 'to come in'; PWC \*žə > Ad. -žə-, Kab. -žə- '(to move) back', Ub. jə-ž(ə)- 'to return'; Urart. erç- 'to return'.

PST \*žā 'to go, advance' > OC 徂 žā 'advance, go to'; Tib. cha 'to go'; Tani \*cV, Karen \*cV 'to walk, go', etc.

Bur. \*žó- > Yas. žó-, Hun., Nag. žú- 'to come'.

\*=ičV(w) 'wound, to wound':

PNC \*=ičV(w) 'to hit, break, wound' > Chech., Ing. čow 'wound'; Tsez. =ešu-λ-, Khv. k-ušej-λ-, Bezht. =iš-, Gunz. =iš- 'to break, be broken'; Lak. =i=š:u- 'to hit; to wound', š:awu (dial. š:abu) 'wound'; Darg. šalw 'wall-eye'.

PY \*s[e](?)ji 'wound; furuncle' > Ket. śi-baŋ<sup>6</sup> 'furuncle', śēj<sup>1</sup> 'Schramme' (Werner 2, 190); Yug. sibaŋ<sup>6</sup> 'furuncle'; Kott. šei 'wound', šei-pi 'wounding', šēja āpajaŋ 'to wound'. See CCE 271, Werner 2, 192, 437. The Ket form definitely reflects a compound preserved in Kottish (but hardly with baŋ 'earth, place' as suggested by Werner).

\*=ičwĚn- (~ št) 'to cleave, chop' (WFR 132):

PNC \*=ičwĚn (~ -ä-) 'to cleave, cut, incise' > Akhv. č<sup>w</sup>ab- 'to flay, stripe', Cham. čun-al- 'to cleave'; Tsez. =eč<sup>w</sup>-, Gin. =oç-, Khv. =ič-, Bezht. =üç-, Gunz. =uč- 'to cut, chop'; Ad. wə-pčā-ta-, Kab. wə-pšā-ta-, Ub. qə-č- 'to cut, to incise'.

PST \*ć(r)ēmH 'to cut, chop' > OC 斬 \*ćrēm? (~ -ēm?) 'cut off, cut down', Lush. čem 'chopper used for wood-cutting'.

\*=igwVł (\*gwVłV) 'to lose, hide' (NSC 57, WFR 118, BCD 25):

PNC \*=igwVł 'to lose, get lost; steal' > Tind. gāla, God. gāli 'thief'; Gunz. guhlaq (< \*gul-haq) id.; Tab. d-u=g-, Ag. gul-, Bud. ḡā=gül- 'to lose; to get lost', Rut. s-u=ga-, Tsakh. a=g<sup>w</sup>al- 'to get lost', Kryz. gul jeriž 'to lose', Arch. guli- 'hidden, secret'; Khin. dugun-k<sup>w</sup>i 'to lose'.

PST \*koj (~-l) 'to hide' > Burm. kwaj 'to conceal, keep out of sight', Kach. mə-koi<sup>1</sup> 'to hide, conceal'.

[Cf. Basq. \*gal- 'to lose, corrupt, spoil'.]

\*=igwVr (\*gwVrV) 'to bend' (HGC 39, NSC 53, WFR 105):

PNC \*=ig(w)Vr 'to bend, fold' > Av. gur-, Cham. gur-id-, Tind.

gur-ij- 'to wrap, fold', Kar. gur- 'to bend'; Gin. ugl-iš 'humpbacked'; Lak. =a=č:a-n (praet. =a=k:u-nu) 'to bend, become curved'; Darg. (Ur.) =arg<sup>w</sup>- / r-urg- 'to wrap'; Arch. g<sup>w</sup>a- 'to bend', Ud. k:ori 'hooked, curved, bent'; PWC \*gV ( ~ \*ǵ-) 'to twist, spin' > Ad. žə-, ža-, Kab. žə-, ža-. The root is most probably the same as PNC \*gwērV 'circle, round, to roll' (Chech. gur-ma 'a wheel for hitching the plough', Av. gor, Akhv. goro 'circle', Kar. guri 'wheel', guri-l 'to roll, whirl', Gunz. ger-du, Bezht. ger-dijo 'round', Lak. k:ur učin 'roll', k:uran 'circle', Abaz. g<sup>w</sup>ərg<sup>w</sup>ər 'ring' etc.).

PST \*kuar 'to bend, droop, coil' > OC \*g<sup>w</sup>ar 'walk with bent body'; Tib. d-gur, r-gur, s-gur 'crooked', Burm. kunh 'to bend down', Kach. thiŋ-kun<sup>3</sup> 'be bent', kun<sup>2</sup> 'coil', Lush. kūr 'to bend down, droop', etc. Cf. also PST \*k<sup>w</sup>rəH 'to roll' (from an early form with an \*-l-suffix?) > OC 卷 \*k<sup>w</sup>ren? 'to roll', Tib. ākhril 'to wind, coil round', s-gril 'to wind or wrap round', Burm. khrwij 'to surround', Lush. ŋial 'screw' etc.

PY \*kəʔr- (~g-) 'to bend, bent; to wind, spool' > Ket., Yug. kΛʔí 'crooked, bent', Ket. -kił / -gił / -geł 'to spool', Kott. fa-ča-gar 'winding, spooling', fō-ča-garaŋ 'to wind, spool' (CCE 237, Werner 1, 461 - doubting the relationship of Kott. -ča-gar and not listing the Ket verb -kił).

[PNC \*=i-g(w)Vr- is probably a relatively late derivative of \*gwērV - otherwise we would expect \*-g- in intervocalic position.

Cf. Basq. \*[g]ur(d)- 'wagon; wheel'.]

\*=ikĀr 'to take, carry':

PNC \*=ikĀr 'to take with, provide' > Darg. Kub. =uk-, Chir. =erk- / =uk- 'to take with, provide'; Rut. gi=rga-, q-i=ga- 'to bring, lead, deliver', Tsakh. =i:k:e- (pres. redupl. =i:keka-) 'to take away, carry away', Arch. kar-, dur. orki-r 'to take with, provide, deliver'; PWC \*k:a ( ~ g-) > Abkh. a-ga-rá, Abaz. ga-ra 'to bring, carry'.

PST \*gūr 'burden, load' > Tib. khur 'burden, load', ākhur 'to carry, convey'; Burm. kun 'merchandise, wares, goods for sale'; Kach. gun<sup>1</sup> 'to carry on the back', məgun<sup>3</sup> 'a load, as carried on the back'; PKC \*m-khur 'burden'; Kir. \*kūr (/ʔk-) 'to carry'.

[Variation between \*k and \*k: in Lezghian languages may in fact point to PNC \*=ik(w)Ār, with variation of reflexes due to delabialization - which would be better compatible with the root structure \*CVR in Sino-Tibetan.]

\*=i[ʃ]čwĚ 'to dry':

PNC \*=i[ʃ]čwĚ 'to roast, fry, dry' > Av. =uč- 'to dry'; Tsez. h-uč-ir-,

Khv.  $\chi$ -uč- 'to singe'; Lak. l-açu- 'to catch fire'; Darg. Ur. =irč-/=uč- 'to roast, fry'; PWC \*bžV > Abkh. a-ž-rá, Abaz. ž-ra 'to fry', Ad. ja-bžá-, Kab. jə-bžá- 'to burn, smart'.

Bur. \*huy- 'dry' > Yas. b-u-, du-hu-, Hun., Nag. b-úy-.

\*=ilčwEn 'to count, think' (differently in WFR):

PNC \*=ilčwĒl (~ =ilčwĒn) > Chech. =ēš- 'to read; learn, study', Ing. =eš- 'to read', Bac. =eš- 'to obey, be obedient'; Av. =ič:- 'to understand', And. =ič:Vn- id., Cham. =ašV-, Tind. =ic:ī-, Kar., Botl. =ic:Vn-, God. =ic:Vn- 'to count'; Lak. =u=či- 'to understand'; Darg. =uč-, Urakh. =ilčVn- / =uč- 'to read'; PWC \*p-č.<sup>w</sup>ə > Ad. pčə-, Kab. bžə- 'to count'.

PST \*žh[a]ŋ 'skilful, artful' > OC 𐌸 \*žhaŋ-s (~ žh-) 'artisan, skilful'; Tib. g-čan 'clever, lively, sprightly', Burm. čaŋ 'to judge; to construct, adorn'; Lush. fiŋ 'be wise, clever; be artful, cunning'.

PY \*ʔi(ʔ)žVŋ (~x-) 'writing, ornament' > Ket. irəŋ<sup>1</sup> 'writing', iriŋ<sup>1</sup> 'beautiful', Yug. idinej<sup>5</sup> 'writing', idin<sup>5</sup> 'beautiful'; Kott. eaŋōx "writing"; eaŋōjaŋ "to write". CCE 195; Werner 1, 395 (faultily connecting \*ʔit- 'hack, notch'). Werner (1, 260) separates Kott. eaŋōx and traces it back to PY \*ʔeŋ- 'scratch' (with a reconstruction \*eʔŋ-əq / \*eʔŋ-ək); however, the development \*-ž- > Kott. -j- (-0-) is quite regular, and the similarity of Kottish forms meaning 'scratch, dig' and 'write' appears to be secondary, due to phonetic convergence.

Bur. \*žon 'clever' > Yas. žon, Hunza, Nagar žon (if not < Prakr. jāṇa- 'knowing?').

\*=ilqwV 'to die' (NSC 58):

PNC \*=ilqwV- (/\*=ilχwV-) 'to die (plur. subject), die out' > Av. χ<sup>w</sup>e-, Akhv. =uq-; Tsez. =eχ<sup>w</sup>-, Gin. =uh-, Khv. =ih-, Bezht. =uκ-, Gunz. =uh- 'to die'; Darg. Ur. =ilh<sup>w</sup>- / =ulh-, Chir. =elχ<sup>w</sup>- / luχ- 'to slaughter'; Tab. jiχ-, Arch. χ<sup>w</sup>i- 'to die (plur.)'.

PST \*k<sup>w</sup>ī (~ g<sup>w</sup>-, q<sup>w</sup>-, G<sup>w</sup>-) '(to become) old, weak' > OC 𐌸 \*g<sup>w</sup>ə-s 'old (not new), ancient'; Tib. r-gu-d 'to decline, get weak (esp. with old age)', r-go-d 'to grow weak'; Lepcha gu 'old female of most animals'.

PY \*qɔ- 'to die' > Ket. qɔ-rəŋ<sup>5</sup>, Bak., Sur. qɔ-der<sup>5</sup>; Yug. xɔ-dəŋ<sup>5</sup>; Kott. onxa, onka "dead", (Бол.) onxa "death"; xa, kha, pl. xajikŋ "death"; hou "dead", hō 'illness' (Бол.: xou "illness"); dáxajaŋ "to die", praet. onxajaŋ, imp. anxa; Ass. exá (M., Cl., Kl.), onxa (Kl.) "dead"; Ar. ínqo (M., Cl., Kl) "dead"; inkoto (Локк.) "death"; Pump. ká-dondu (Cl.) "dead". See CCE 264. Note the Kott. variants with h-: a different root with \*χ-?

Bur. \**ya-* > Yas., Hun., Nag. *ya-n-* 'to be exhausted, tired', Yas., Hun., Nag. *ś-s-qa-n* 'to kill'.

[PNC has also a peculiar transitive parallel *\*=ilqV-* (*/\*=ilχwV-*) 'kill, slaughter' - apparently reflecting an old accent variation; it is not quite clear whether the Yenisseian alternation of *\*q* and *\*χ* in this root is also archaic.]

*\*=ilxqV̆-* 'labour, hard work' (WFR 124):

PNC *\*=ilqVn* 'to work' > Lak. *=uqa-* 'to plough'; Darg. Chir. *luq-* 'to work'; Lezg. *ḵ<sup>w</sup>a-laχ* 'work', Tab. *li=χ-* 'to work', *laχlīn* 'work', Ag. *luχ-* 'to work', *leχen* 'work', Rut. *g<sup>w</sup>a-laχ* 'work', Arch. *irχ<sup>w</sup>in-* 'to work'.

PST *\*gjōŋ* > OC 工 *\*kōŋ* 'work'; Lepcha *kjoŋ* 'to labour hard, to toil, to exert oneself at work'. Here probably also (with a more general meaning 'hard, hardship') OC 𠄎 *\*krōŋ* 'firm' (< *\*r-kōŋ*), Tib. *gjoŋ* 'hard, harsh, rough, rude', *kjoŋ* 'hard, obstinate, unmanageable', Burm. *khəuŋ* 'be firm, strong, durable', Lush. *khōŋ* 'stiff (as leg, neck, cloth), rigid, inflexible, paralysed'.

*\*=iǰǰV̆* 'thin' (WFR 116, DCE 30, BCD 21):

PNC *\*=iǰǰV* 'thin' > Av. *teré-na-*, And. *=elora*, Akhv. *=aǰara-*, Cham., Bagv. *=ela-*, Tind. *=erala-*, Kar. *=eǰara-*, Botl. *=eǰera-*, God. *=elera-*; Lak. *ḵulla-*; Darg. *=uḵula*; Lezg. *ǰele-č*, Tab. *čilli*, Ag. *ḵille-f*, Rut. *ǰil-dǰ*, Tsakh. *ḵilwaI-n*, Kryz *ǰil*, Arch. *ḵala-tu-*; Khin. *ḵir*; PWC *\*ǰ<sup>w</sup>a* > Abkh. *a-pá*, Abaz. *ča*, Ad. (*ǰ<sup>w</sup>ā-*)*ča*, Kab. (*ǰā-*)*ša*, Ub. *ǰča* 'thin'.

PST *\*ral* 'thin, watery' > OC 醴 *\*raj* 'thin wine', Burm. *krajh* 'thin, not thick (of fluid)', Lush. *rīl* 'watery, thin'.

(?) Bur. *\*tharé-* > Hunza, Nagar *tharé-num* 'narrow'.

[Cf. Basq. *\*lirain* 'slender, lithe'.]

*\*=iǰwV̆I-* 'to break, tear' (WFR 115, DCE 33):

PNC *\*=ēǰwV(l)* 'to burst, tear' > Bezht. *=üǰ-*, Gunz. *=uǰ-* 'to burst, tear'; Darg. *=iḵ-* / *=irḵ-* 'to separate' (if not = PL *\*ǰelḵ[i]* 'finish; stop breastfeeding'); PL *\*ǰ-eǰ<sup>w</sup>äl-* 'to burst, split' > Tab. *ḵu=ḵ-*, Ag. *ḵulḵan-*, Rut. *ḵu=ǰ<sup>w</sup>e-*, Tsakh. *ḵu-ḵo=ḵal-*, Kryz. *ḵo=ǰl-*, Bud. *so-ḵo=ǰl-*, Ud. *t:op:*.

PST *\*rūl* (~*-uał*) 'to demolish, ruin' > OC 亂 *\*rōns* 'disorder, confusion', Tib. *hrul* 'ragged, tattered, raggedness; ruins', Burm. *rwij* 'to chop, cut', Kach. *run<sup>2</sup>* 'to pull down, to raze or demolish'.

PY *\*ǰil* (~*x-*, *-l-r*) 'to break, split' > Ket. *ǰbət<sup>6</sup>* / *ǰvət<sup>6</sup>*, Yug. *ilbət<sup>6</sup>*

(CCE 193, Werner 1, 357, 358; Werner adds also Ket *ilāq*<sup>6</sup> 'chip, splinter' ('split wood'), *il*, *ilées* (Werner 1, 357) "Krümchen", *ilij* 'slivers' (Werner 1, 361), Yug *ilij* id. (ibid.) - but the suggested semantics \*'small' seems to be not justified by any evidence).

Bur. \*-*ltúr*- 'to break, split, tear' > Yas. *túr*-, du-*ltúr*-, Hunza, Nagar *turú*-, -*ltúr*-.

[\\*=\*imǰĚr\*](#) 'to roast' (HGC 37, WFR 107):

PNC \*=*imǰĚr* > Chech., Ing., Bac. =*att*- 'to bake, roast'; Av., And., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. =*ež*-, Akhv. =*iž*-, Cham. =*ez*- id.; Tsez. =*eš*-*ad*-, Gin. =*eš*-, Khv. *iš*-*an*-, Bezht. *žiž*-*äh*-, Gunz. *žəž*- id.; Lak. č:*u*=č:*i*- 'to burn'; Darg. =*erz*- 'to bake, roast'; Lezg. č:*ra*-, Tab. *u*=ž-, Ag. *už*-, Rut. *žirže*-, Tsakh. *k-e*=ž*e*-, Arch. č*ar*- 'to bake, roast', Kryz. *žir*- 'to boil'; Abkh. *a-ž-rá* (Bz. *a-ž-rá*), Abaz. *ž-ra*, Ad., Kab. *ža*-, Ub. *ž<sup>w</sup>a*- 'to roast, bake'.

PST \*č*er* 'to boil, cook' > OC 煎 *\*čen* 'fry, boil', Lush. č*iar* 'be thoroughly cooked (by boiling)', Kanauri *char-s* 'dry' etc.

PY \*ž*a*?-*qan*- (a compound with \*ž*əqan*- 'boil' in the second part) > Ket. *daqqɔ*<sup>5</sup> (North.); South. *daqɔ*<sup>5</sup>, Yug. *daqɔ*<sup>5</sup> 'to roast, fry'; Kott. č*a-i-ganaŋ* 'to burn' (praet. č*a-l-auganaŋ*). See CCE 309. Werner 1, 179 reconstructs \*d'*a*?q, plur. \*d'*a*qɔ, not taking into account the interrupted Kottish paradigm.

[The etymology still seems quite acceptable. Note, however, that PNC lax phonation does not correspond to PY \*?- and to the PST root structure \*CVR. We cannot exclude contamination with some other root(s): cf. notably PLezg. \*ž*ä*(*r*)ç:*V*- 'to dry' and PDargwa \*=*imč*:*Vr*- 'to warm (up)'].

[\\*=\*irtwV\*](#) 'to bore, distress':

PNC \*=*irt*(*w*)*V* 'to pester, bother, bore' > Chech. *k-ord-ō*, Ing. *k-orda-de*, Bac. *k-ort*- id.; Lak. =*u*ti- 'to insult, offend'; Darg. Chir. =iṭ- / =*irt*- 'to be bored, fed up with smth.'; Lezg. *riṭi*- 'to become astringent', Ag. *l-iṭ*- 'to be defeated; to defeat'; Rut. *li=ṭa*- 'to defeat, win'.

PST \*t*āw* 'grieved, sullen' > OC 切 *\*tāw* 'grieved, sorry'; Lush. *tau* 'to sulk, be sullen'.

[\\*=\*irχwVn\*](#) 'to wind, spin' (WFR 133, BCD 36):

PNC \*=*irχwVn* 'to knit, weave, spin' > Chech. *d-ūhar*, Ing. *d-ūhar-aš* 'loom'; Cham. χ:*in*- 'to spin'; Lak. dial. =*u*χ:*li*- 'to spin'; Darg. =*um*χ- (Ur. =*im*χ*Vr*- / =*um*χ-) 'to plait, weave'; Tab. (Düb.) *u=χ*-, Ag. *ru*χ-



Rut. χi=rχ<sup>w</sup>a-, Tsakh. hoʔo=χar-. Arch. χ:em- 'to knit', Kryz. ruβ- 'to sew', Bud. č-uχu- 'to spin'.

PST \*γ<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'to wind, coil' > OC 縈 \*γ<sup>w</sup>əŋ 'to wind, entwine', Kach. khonʔ<sup>2</sup> 'to be coiled', ə-khonʔ 'a coil', Lush. veŋ 'to gird around the waist (as cloth)'.

[Cf. Basq. \*eho(n) 'to weave, to braid; cloth'.]

\*=irχwVr- 'to rejoice' (WFR 109):

PNC \*=irχwVr > Av. =oχ:- 'to rejoice', Cham., Tind. =iχ:- 'to rejoice; to smile, laugh', Kar. =eχ:- 'to smile, laugh'; Tsez. ɤIaβu, Inkh. ɤuβu (with reduplication) 'merry'; Lak. χ:ari-, dial. χ:<sup>w</sup>ari- 'merry, gay'; Darg. Chir. χ:<sup>w</sup>are 'joy'.

PST \*[χ<sup>w</sup>]ār(H) 'joy' > OC 歡 \*x<sup>w</sup>ār 'rejoice'; Burm. kwanʔ 'to enjoy oneself'.

\*=isdwV(n) 'to suck' (HGC 18, NSC 61):

PNC \*=iʒwVn 'to filter; to suck' > And. ç:un-, Cham. şun-, Tind. c:un- 'to suck', Akhv. ç:on-, Cham. =uş-, Tind. =uc:ī-, Kar. =uç:an- 'to filter'; Darg. umʔ- (\*umz-) 'to filter'; PL \*ʔiç:<sup>w</sup>än- > Tab. k-a=c:-, Bud. ʃatn- 'to filter', Arch. çum-mus 'to sift', Ud. c:um 'to suck'.

PST \*čim(H) 'to soak, ooze' > OC 浸 \*cims 'overflow; to soak'; Burm. čim 'to steep, soak in liquor'; Kach. čim<sup>3</sup> 'to ooze, percolate'; Kush. čim 'submerge'; Lepcha čim 'to pour out from a larger vessel into a smaller'.

PY \*ʔut- (~x-, -c-) 'to suck' > Ket. mam-əʔ<sup>5</sup> 'to suck breast'; (Werner 2, 27) nūt<sup>1</sup> / nūtə<sup>1</sup>; Yug. mam-əʔ<sup>5</sup> id.; (Werner 2, 27) nut<sup>1</sup>; Kott. šiut 'sucking'; baʔūtəŋ 'to suck', praet. balaʔūtəŋ, imp. alčut, pass. balāʔut. Initial n- in Ket and Yug forms is secondary, being derived from formations like da-nam-s-ut < da-d-mam-s-ut 'sucks the breast (mam)' etc. See CCE 201; Werner 2, 27 \*ut < \*qut (with \*q being reconstructed for no obvious reason at all).

\*=isVŋ 'to melt, boil':

PNC \*=iʒVn 'to melt, thaw' > Lak. =a=s:a- id.; Arch. s:en- id.

PST \*siaŋ 'to boil' > OC 湘 \*saŋ 'to boil'; Dimasa, Garo soŋ id.

\*=[i]šwV(n) 'to take, take hold' (WFR 127):

PNC \*=[i]šwV(n) > Av. =os- (South. =ošn-) 'to take', Akhv. =ušun-, Cham. sin- 'to gather; to choose', Tind. šun- 'to choose'; Tsez. =iž-, Bezht.

=ež- 'to carry; to lead', Gin. =ež- 'to gain, win', Gunz. =ež- 'to carry, lead; take'; Ag. ɤ-uš-, Rut. l-ä=š<sup>w</sup>a-, Tsakh. al-iš:e-, Arch. š:u- 'to take, to buy'.

PST \*šūm 'to take hold of' > Kach. šum<sup>1</sup> 'to take hold of', ginšum<sup>3</sup> 'to embrace', lašum<sup>3</sup> 'a hold'; Lush. sūm 'to catch hold of with closed fist; to withhold, hold back'.

\*=itVr- 'to run, hurry' (NSC 63, WFR 108, LDC 30):

PNC \*=itVr 'to run' > Chech., Ing. =ad-, Bac. =aṭ- 'run'; Av. ṭur- 'to run away', Cham. ṭa-d-, Tind. ṭē-, God. ṭar- 'to run'; Ud. (reduplicated) t:it:-sun > t:ist:un 'to run'; Hurr. itt- 'to go (away)'; perhaps also Ad., Kab. dā-dā- 'to run'.

PST \*(h)ūr 'to run, hasten' > OC 遄 \*ḏor 'hasten, quickly'; Tib. dur 'to run', ādur 'to trot', Lush. tur 'to urge, compel, to hurry', Lepcha tor 'to run away, flee'.

[Cf. Basq. \*etoři 'to come'.]

\*=iwǻĔ 'to die' (NSC 63, LDC 30):

PNC \*=iwǻĔ 'to die, to kill' > Chech., Ing., Bac. =al- 'die'; Av. disl. =al?- 'die', Akhv. =iǻ-, Kar. =il?- , Botl. =i?- id.; Bezht., Gunz. =iǻ- 'to kill'; Lak. =i=ča- (pret. =i=ku-nu) 'to die; to kill'; Darg. =ebk- 'die'; Lezg. q̄i-, Tab. ji=k-, Ag. k-, Rut. ji=q̄e-, Tsakh. q-e=ke-, Kryz. q̄āj-, Bud. s-a=q̄-, Arch. k̄i-, Ud. b-i-es 'to die; to kill'; Khin. k̄i 'to die'; PWC \*ǻə- / \*ǻa- > Abkh. a-š-<sup>rá</sup>, Abaz. š-<sup>ra</sup> 'to kill', Ad., Kab. ǻa- 'to die'.

PST \*t-lj > OC 尸 \*lij 'corpse'; Konyak \*Li 'to die'.

Bur. \*l- 'to hit, to kill' > Yas., Hun., Nag. d-l-.

[Cf. Basq. \*hil 'to die; to kill'.]

\*=iwɣgUn 'to pull':

PNC \*=iwɣgUn > Chech. =ūl-, Ing. =uwl- 'to pull, stretch'; And. ǻ:an- 'to pull'; Lezg. č-ug<sup>w</sup>a-, Tab. z-i=g-, Ag. d-iw-, Kryz. jiyɣ-, Bud. ji=n-, Arch. ǻun- 'pull', Tsakh. git:i=ɣan- 'to be pulled, slide'; Abkh. á-č<sup>v</sup>a-ɤ<sup>w</sup>a-, Abaz. č<sup>w</sup>a-ɤ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to plough' (lit. 'pull the plough').

PY \*w-V?ɣ- / \*g-V?ɣ- 'to pull' > Ket. bag-den<sup>5</sup>, d-ib-bak, Yug. dí-b-bak, pret. di-bī-r-g-ak; Kott. ši-pu 'pulling', ba-puj-aɣ, praet. bui-puj-aɣ, pass. bujā-pui 'pull' (CCE 295, Werner 1, 98).

\*=i-xGǻr 'dry' (HGC 18, WFR 103, MCGD 9):

PNC \*=iGwǻr 'dry' > Chech., Ing. =eqa, Bac. =aq̄i 'dry' (Chech., Bac. =aq- 'to dry, get dry'); Av. =aq:<sup>w</sup>á-, Akhv. =uq̄:o-, Kar. =eq:<sup>w</sup>a-, Botl. =eq:<sup>w</sup>-,

Tind. =eǰ:<sup>w</sup>-, =eǰ:uǰ:-, God., Cham. =eǰ:uǰ:- 'to dry', Av. =aǰ:<sup>w</sup>ara-b, And., Cham., Tind., Kar.=eǰ:u-b, Akhv. =uǰ:a-da, God. =eǰ:uǰ:i-b 'dry'; Tez. quqqā-si, Gin. quqe-s, Khv. quqqa, Bezht. qoqo-ro, Gunz. qoqo-ru 'dry' (Tsez. quq-, Bezht. qoq- 'to dry'); Lak. ǰa-ǰa- 'to get dry', ǰa-ǰ- 'dry'; Darg. =ur-, Chir. =erǰ- / =urǰ<sup>w</sup>- 'to dry', Darg. =eru-b-si, Chir. =erǰu-b-ze 'dry'; Lezg. ǰura- 'to dry', Tab. u-r-q:- 'to get stale', Ag. ruq:<sup>w</sup>a- (dial. urq:<sup>w</sup>a-), Arch. ǰura- / ǰ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to dry', Lezg. ǰuraj, Tab. q:uru, Ag. ruq:u-f, Rut. q:uru-d, Tsakh. q:ur-na, Bud. q:uru, Arch. ǰure, Ud. q:ari 'dry'; Khin. ǰi 'dry, to dry out'; Abkh. a-ǰ<sup>w</sup>a-rá, Abaz. ǰ<sup>w</sup>a-ra, Ad., Kab. ǰ<sup>w</sup>ə-, Ub. ǰə- 'to dry out, get dry'.

PST \*kār 'dry' > OC 乾 \*kār 'dry'; Burm. kanh 'to dry up', Gur. \*khar, Kaike khar-pa etc.

PY \*qɔ(ʔ)r<sub>1</sub>- (~-l-) 'dry' > Ket. qōlen<sup>1</sup> öks 'dry tree' (Werner 2, 99, 101: qólanś, qólinś); Kott. šīgal "dry"; šīgalaičei "drying"; šīgalaičejākη "to dry out"; dášīgalan "to dry (tr.)", praet. ušīgalan (CCE 265, Werner 2, 101).

Bur. \*qhar- > Yas. xar- 'to dry, roast', Hunza qhaáo 'dried out', qhar-, qhaqhár- 'to dry, roast', Nagar qharáo, qhaáo 'dried out', qhar-, qhaqhár- 'to dry, roast'.

[Most languages point to non-labialized \*-xG-, so the labialization in PNC must be secondary - from class prefixation? Or we could rather think of reconstructing the original root as \*xGǎwrV, with metathesis of labialization in PNC.

Cf. Basq. \*agoř 'dry'].

[\\*=-ixkwǎ](#) 'to call, ask':

PNC \*=-iχwA 'to ask, speak; to search' > Chech. =ēχ-, Ing., Bac. =eχ- 'to ask'; Tab. u=χ- 'to read', Ag. wa-χ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to speak', Kryz. uχ-, Bud. s-uχ- 'to speak; to read', Arch. χa-bus 'to sing'; PWC \*χ<sup>w</sup>a > Abkh. á-ǰ<sup>w</sup>a-ra, Ab. ǰ<sup>w</sup>a-ra 'to ask', Ad. λə-χ<sup>w</sup>ə-, Kab. λə-χ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to search', Ub. χ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to ask'.

PST \*khāw 'to call' > OC 號 \*ghāw 'cry out, call'; Tib. s-go 'to say (of superiors)'; Kach. gau 'to summon, call, as nats'; Lush. kô 'to call', etc.

[\\*=-ixŋwV](#) 'to graze; guard':

PNC \*ǰifV 'to guard, to graze' > Chech., Ing. χa 'guard, protection'; Av. xix- 'to feed, raise, educate', wex 'herdsman, shepherd', And. χoro-ša id. (χoro- 'sheep'), Akhv. iš<sup>w</sup>a id., Cham. =eh<sup>w</sup>ih<sup>w</sup>- 'to graze', ih<sup>w</sup>a 'herdsman, shepherd', Tind. ih<sup>w</sup>a id., ih<sup>w</sup>a-λ- 'to feed, raise', Kar. ix<sup>w</sup>a-č- id., ix<sup>w</sup>a 'shepherd, herdsman', Bagv. ih<sup>w</sup>a id.; Tsez. aǰo, Gin. eχo, Khv. iho 'shepherd'; Lak. ǰux-čū id.; Darg. Chir. =iχ:I- 'to guard', ǰaš:e (< \*-x:-)

'herdsman'; Rut. =ixa-, Tsakh. uxixe- 'to graze', ox-an- 'to eat', Arch. uł-du 'herdsman', Ud. ef-sun 'to preserve, raise someone'; PWC \*fV 'eat' (< \*'graze') > Abkh. á-fa-ra, Ab. fa-ra, Ad., Kab. š-xə-, Ub. fə-.

PST \*ŋ[u]a 'guard; gamester' > OC 虞 \*ŋ<sup>w</sup>a 'gamester; forester'; Kach. ləŋa<sup>2</sup> 'a guard, a sentry, a watchman'.

\*=ixq(w)Ē 'to know, learn' (DCE 33, BCD 27):

PNC \*=iġĒ 'to know; to hear' > Chech. χ-aʔ-, Ing. χ-a, Bac. χ-eʔ- 'to know'; Av. r-aʃ- 'to hear', Akhv. =eġ-, Cham. iʔ-, Tind. =ij-, Kar. =iʔ-, Botl. =eɛ-, Bagv. =ij-, God. =iʔ- 'to know'; Tsez. ij-, Gin. =üġ-, Khv. Bezht., Gunz. =iġ- 'to know'; Lak. =aja- 'to hear'; Darg. Chir. ča=aġ- / =iġ- 'to hear'; PWC \*q:I<sup>w</sup>A > Abkh. áŋ<sup>w</sup>-ra, Ad., Kab. ʔ<sup>w</sup>ə- 'to be heard, reach one's ears', Ub. ġ<sup>w</sup>ə- 'id.; to hear', Abaz. aʃa-ra 'to hear'.

Bur. \*-ki-n- > Yas. hákin, Hun., Nag. hákin-, hákī- 'to learn', Yas. ʹhakin-, ʹhekin-, Hun. ʹikin-, Nag. ʹikhin- 'to teach'.

[Delabialization in Eastern Caucasian is not clear.

Cf. Basq. \*e-akin 'to know'.]

\*=ixqwV 'to sit, dwell' (HGC 21):

PNC \*=iġwV 'to sit; to be' > Chech. χ-aʔ-, Bac. χ-aʔ- 'to sit (down)'; Av. =úġ-n-, And. =iġ<sup>w</sup>-, Cham. =uġ<sup>w</sup>-, Kar. =iġ<sup>w</sup>-, Botl., Bagv., God. =uġ- 'to be', Akhv. =uġ- / =iġ-, Tind. =uġ- 'to be; to sit'; Tsez. z-ow-, Gin. z-eġ<sup>w</sup>-, Khv. z-oġ<sup>w</sup>-, Bezht., Gunz. z-uġ- 'to be'; Lak. =i=ka- 'to be; to sit'; Lezg. ac-uġ-, Ag. iġ<sup>w</sup>a-, Rut. s-uġ<sup>w</sup>a-, Kryz. äs-ġu-n-, Bud. a=ġV-l-, Arch. oġi- 'to sit', Tab. uʔ-uġ- 'to set'; Hurr. k/χē-šχə 'settee, throne'.

PST \*k(i)ă (~ g-, q-, G-) 'to sit, dwell' > OC 居 \*ka 'sit, dwell'; Tib. ākha-d 'to sit, remain sitting', ākho-d 'sit down, live, dwell'; Lepcha kă, ga, go 'to be'; ka 'to place upon'; Sema Naga i-ka 'sit'.

PY \*xu- 'to sit' > Ket. ūŋ, Kot. uŋ 'to sit, sit down'; Kott. uŋ 'sitting, living'; d'-auja-ŋ 'to sit, live', praet. al-auja-ŋ, imp. álek; Ar. akum 'I sit', akume 'I live'. See CCE 297. The final -ŋ is a historical suffix, as seen from the Kottish paradigm; Werner's (2, 380) reluctance to admit the connection between Kott. uŋ and Kott. d'-auja-ŋ appears completely unjustified.

\*=ixŋA 'to reap, mow':

PNC \*=ixA 'to reap' > Av. liλ-, Kar. =eλ-ihed- 'to reap'; Darg. =irš-, Chir. =irx:- id.; Ag. ix-, Kryz. jix- id., Bud. s-ux- / s-ix- 'to reap; to mow', Ud. eχ 'reaping'; PWC \*xə > Abkh. a-χ-rá, Abaz. χ-ra, Ad., Kab. xə-, Ub. šə- 'to reap, mow'.

PST \*ɲǎ 'to mow, reap' > OC 刈 \*ɲa-t-s 'to mow, cut'; Tib. r-ɲa 'to mow, cut, reap'; Yamphu nē-ma 'to cut down, chop away'.

\*=ixwV 'to float, roam':

PNC \*=ixwV 'to go, walk; to flow' > Chech. =aχ-, Ing. =aχ-, Bac. iχ- 'to walk, go; flow'; Av. x<sup>w</sup>á-d- 'to walk, move', And. =iš- 'to return', Cham., Tind. =uh- 'to return; to gather'; Darg. =ix- 'to go; to flow'; Lezg. fi- 'to walk, go', Tab. -f-, Rut. h-ixi-, Bud. w-i=x-, Kryz. =ix- 'to walk, go' (terminative), Tsakh. q-i=x- 'to go away', Kryz. fu=x- 'to come', etc.

PST \*jua 'to float, wander about' > OC 遊 \*lu 'wander about', 游 \*lu 'float'; Tib. g-jo 'to move'; Burm. jəw 'to flow, leak'; Kach. jo<sup>1</sup> 'to float with the stream', Lush. zo? 'go along, walk along; follow (as road)', etc.

\*=iχV 'to carry, bear':

PNC \*=iχV > Chech., Ing., Bac. =aħ-; Av. dial. h<sup>w</sup>e- 'carry', And. =iχ-, Cham. =iχ-, Tind. =eχ- 'to take, carry; to buy', Akhv. =eχ-, Kar. =ah-, God. =aχ- 'to take, buy'; Tsez. oχ-, Gin. =üχ-, Khv. eχ<sup>w</sup>- 'to take', Bezht. =aχ-, Gunz. =əh- 'to take away, off'; Lak. =u=χ:i- 'to carry away, take away'; Darg. =iχ- 'to carry, bear'; Lezg. ɪi-, Tab. χ- (dial. χ:-), Ag. χ(i)-, Rut. =iχ-, Arch. χ:e- 'to carry, bear', Ud. aχa-jesun 'to drag, carry'; Khin. äχ-wi 'to carry, lead'.

PY \*ʔe(ʔ)q- (~ -χ-) 'to load (off)' > Ket. (South.) aχ-, Yug. -éχa- (Werner 1, 55).

Bur. \*-ho-n 'to take, hold' > Yas. -hó-n-, Hunza, Nagar -ú-n-.

\*=iɜwVI 'to slide, stumble':

PNC \*=iɜwVI (reconstructed as \*=iɜwVI in NCED 667 - but in fact there was hardly a distinction between -ɪ and -l in verbal stems) 'to fall, crumble; stumble, slide' > Chech. =ož-, Ing., Bac. =ož- 'to fall'; Av. zur- 'to rub, rumple', Cham. zo-d-, Kar. zor- 'to slide', Tind. zol- 'to slip'; Bezht. =uz- 'to roll, whirl; to run'; Lak. zi=zi- 'to crumble, fall apart' (dial. z<sup>w</sup>i=z<sup>w</sup>i-); Darg. Chir. =iz- / =ilz- id.

PST \*chVr 'to slide' > Tib. zir 'to slide down a snow-hill on the coat spread under'; Kach. gum-cun<sup>2</sup> 'to slide, to slip down'.

[Irregular root structure in PST.]

\*=iʔwVI- 'to eat' (WFR 106, BCD 31):

PNC \*=iʔwVI 'to feed on, to eat; to bite' > Bac. q-aħ- 'bite', l-aħ- 'eat'; Av. r-eh-n- 'to feed (on smth.)'; Gin. hil-, Tsez. ħan- 'to bite'; PL \*ʔiʔwäl- >

Lezg. t̥ü- (\*ʔi-d-ʔu-), Tab. ip̥- (\*ʔi-b-ʔ-), Ag. ʔüt-, dial. ʔütal- (< \*ʔi-d-ʔwäl-), Kryz. ʔül-, Bud. s-oʔul- 'to eat', Arch. lah-bos 'to get hungry'.

PST \*q(h)w̥iðr 'present of food; appetite' > OC 餽 \*w̥ər-s 'bring supply of food to', Tib. s-kor 'food presented to Lamas', Lush. vir 'to have an intense longing for animal food', Kiranti\*w̥ər 'to chew, bite'.

PY \*ʔiʔr- (~ x-) 'to eat' > Ket. íleŋ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. iriŋ<sup>5</sup> 'to eat'; Kott. herajan 'feeding, food', herai, harai 'bread, food'; Ass. (Boł.) raj 'food', (M, Cł, Cpcł) rajalí, grajalí 'eat'. Cf. CCE 194, Werner 1, 360 <\*ił-> (without comparing the Kott. form). Note that this example allows to update the rule formulated in KC 148: \*r yields Yug -r- not only in the vicinity of \*u, but also in the vicinity of \*i.

[Cf. Basq. \*alha 'grazing; to graze, feed'.]

\*=iči 'brother, sister' (HGC 26, DCE 14, BCD 15):

PNC \*=iči 'brother, sister' > Chech. waša, Ing. woša, Bac. waš 'brother', Chech., Ing. jiša, Bac. jaš 'sister'; Av. wac:, And. woci, Akhv., Tind., Kar., Botl., God. waci, Cham. wac, Bagv. was: 'brother', Av. jac:, And. joci, Akhv., Tind., Kar., Botl., God. jaci, Cham. jac, Bagv. jas: 'sister' (cf. also Av. bac:, Akhv. bac:i 'brother/sister of an animal'; Tsez. es(i)ju, Gin. essu, Khv. es, Gunz. is 'brother, sister', Bezht. is 'brother', isi 'sister'; Lak. us:u 'brother', s:u 'sister'; Darg. uzi 'brother', ruzi 'sister'; Tab. čvi, Ag. ču, Rut. šu, Tsakh. čo-ž, Kryz., Bud. ši-d, Arch. uš-du, Ud. wiči 'brother', Tab., Ag. či, Rut. riši, Tsakh. juči, Kryz., Bud. ši-di-r, Arch. d-oš-du-r, Ud. χun-či 'sister'; Khin. ci 'brother', ri-ci 'sister'; PWC \*č<sup>w</sup>ə (/ \*ʒ<sup>w</sup>ə) 'brother' > Ad. šə, Kab. q:<sup>w</sup>a-š (lit. 'son-brother'), Ub. žə-łá 'brother'.

PST \*čəjH 'elder sister or brother' > OC 姊 \*čəj? 'elder sister'; Tib. a-čhe 'elder sister of a female person'; PKC \*čei 'elder brother', Gur. \*cyo id.

PY \*b-[i](?)s 'brother, sister' > Ket. bišeʔp, Yug. biseʔp; Kott. popěš 'brother', popěča 'sister'; Pump. bič. See CCE 210, Werner 1, 133. Ket, Yug and Kottish reflect a compound with \*beʔb 'son-in-law, husband of elder sister' (q.v.), cf. the plural Ket. bišn-imin, Yug. bisen-bəfən 'brothers'.

Bur. \*čū > Yas. čū, Hun., Nag. čo 'brother, sister'.

[Cf. Basq. \*a-his- 'sister (of a woman)'.]

\*=irLV 'stomach, belly' (MCGD 7, BCD 22-23):

PNC \*=ir(a)LV 'stomach; rennet, abomasum' > And. b-oλ:i, Akhv. b-iλ:i, Cham. b-eλ:w (Gig. r-eλ:u) 'rennet, abomasum', Tind. b-eλ:u 'stomach; rennet', Kar. meλ:u 'stomach'; Tsez., Gin. biλ, Khv., Bezht. Gunz. beλ 'rennet, abomasum'; Lak. (with metathesis) č:arlu 'kidney'; Darg. =arg

'stomach; inside'; PL \*wiraλ: > Lezg. dial. (with metathesis) giraw, Ag. uraj, Rut. yiriγ, Tsakh. wēy 'rennet, abomasum', Arch. baλ 'rennet ferment'.

PST \*t-ləw 'belly, stomach' > OC 腴 \*Ło (~l-) 'fat on belly; intestines; fat'; Tib. lto 'belly, stomach'; Kach. kro<sup>1</sup> 'the inside of the chest and epigastric region'; Bugun lui 'belly'.

Bur. \*-úl 'belly' > Yas. -ul, Hunza, Nagar -úl id.

[Cf. Basq. \*urdail 'stomach; abomasum; womb, uterus'.]

\*=išwĚ 'son, child' (NSC 63, MCGD 11, BCD 33):

PNC \*=išwĚ 'son, daughter' > Av. w-as, And. wošo, Akhv., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. waša, Cham., Tind. waha 'son', Av. jas, And. joši, Akhv., Kar. jaše, Cham. jah, Tind. jaha, Botl. ješi, Bagv. jaš, God. jaši 'daughter' (cf. also Akhv. b-aša, And. b-oši etc. 'child of animals', Akhv. r-eša 'heifer'); Tsez. užu / uži, Gin. uži, Khv. uža, Bezht. ožo, Gunz. ože 'son, boy' (cf. also Bezht., Gunz. riže 'heifer' = Akhv. r-eša); Lak. ars 'son'; Darg. urši 'son, boy'; Arch. w-iš-du 'newborn son', d-iš-dur 'newborn daughter', Lezg., Ag. ruš, Tab., Kryz. riš, Rut. riš, Tsakh. jiš, Bud. riž 'daughter'; Khin. ši 'son', riši 'daughter, girl'; PWC \*ś<sup>w</sup>a > Ad. šā-wa 'youth, young boy', Kab. šā-wa 'son'; Urart. aršə 'young people, children'.

PST \*sū 'grandchild' > OC 孫 \*sū-n (? \*swā-n) 'grandson, granddaughter'; Kach. šu<sup>4</sup> 'grandchild'; Mikir su, Meithei su, bodo sou id., etc.

Bur. \*ś 'young (of animals), child' > Yas. -ís, Hun., Nag. -ś-k.

[Cf. Basq. \*-šo element in various kinship terms.]

\*jälλwV 'shovel, ladle':

PNC \*jäl[λ]wV 'wooden shovel' > Tsez., Gin. aku, Khv. āku, Bezht. äko, Gunz. ěgu 'wooden shovel'; PL \*jirλ<sup>w</sup> > Lezg., Tab. jirf, Rut. jif id.

PST \*jok > Tib. jog 'poker', s-k-jog-s 'scoop, ladle', Burm. jauk 'ladle', Gur. \*khjoC 'to scoop out'.

\*jalxkV 'to scrape, grind':

PNC \*jalχa(-nV) 'whetstone, grindstone; saw' > Av. χonó, Cham. χan<sup>w</sup>, Tind., Kar., God. χanu, Bagv. han 'whetstone'; Lak. b-ajlaχ:i 'whetstone, grindstone'; Darg. Chir. alχane 'saw'; Tab. aχal, Ag., Tsakh. jaχal, Rut. jiχal 'whetstone, grindstone'.

PST \*jak (-e-) 'to scratch, scrape' > Burm. jak 'strike with a stroke towards one's self, scratch'; Lush. ziat (zia?) 'to scrape (as with a knife, etc.)'.

\*jonHV 'many, all' (DCE 31):

PST \*jəw 'all, everything' > Tib. jo-ba 'everything, altogether', Kach. ju 'all'. With a nasal suffix cf. Limbu yən-, Konyak \*yoŋ 'big'; Miju jun, Mikir o, oŋ 'many'.

PY \*jōn- (~ x-, j-) 'many' > Ket. ɔŋn // ɔ:ne<sup>4</sup> (North.), South. ɔn<sup>4</sup>; Yug. ɔ:h<sup>n</sup>. See CCE 198, Werner 2, 42.

Bur. \*jón 'all' > Hun., Nag. -jón.

\*jVpV̄ (~ -b-) 'fan, to fan':

PST \*jāp 'fan' > Tib. jab 'fan', g-job 'to move about, to swing, brandish'; Burm. jap 'to fan; to wave (hand); a fan'; Lush. zāp 'to fan, winnow', etc.

PY \*ʔapVj (~ x-) 'bellows' > Ket. āj (South.), North. āji<sup>3</sup>; Yug. āfej<sup>1</sup> / afe:j<sup>3</sup>; Kott. afu 'forging', afu-het 'smith', afu-ākŋ 'to forge'. See CCE 182. Medial -f- in Kottish is not quite clear (-p- would be expected); a special development in front of -u- cannot be excluded. Werner (1, 94) treats the word as a compound of \*ʔapV 'hotness' + \*ʔāχ- 'sack' (q.v.); this may be applicable (as a folk etymology) to the Ket and Yug forms, but cannot explain the Kottish form (something like \*afak or \*apak would be expected).

\*jV̄stwĔ 'mouse' (HGC 28, LV A15):

PNC \*jVcwĔ > Darg. waca (< \*jac<sup>w</sup>a) 'mouse', perhaps also Bezht. iz-maṭo, Gunz. ɔz-baṭu 'weasel, squirrel'; PWC \*jaš<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. á-ješ, Ad. śāja 'squirrel'; see NCED 685.

PST \*jū(s) > Tib. jos 'hare' (as an astronomical term), Burm. ju-n 'hare', Kach. ju<sup>3</sup> 'a rat, mouse', Lush. sa-zu 'rat', Tulung ju-cü 'marten' etc.

PY \*jūta 'mouse' > Ket. ut<sup>4</sup>, dial. u:ti<sup>4</sup>, Yug. u:h<sup>t</sup>, Kott. dūta, Pump. úte 'mouse' (CCE 233-234, Werner 2, 367).

\*jV̄V̄IV 'branch' (HGC 30, WFR 31):

PNC \*ʔāfV 'branch' > Akhv., Cham., Tind., Kar., God. hala 'branch'; Tsez. ara, Gin. ali, Khv. ala, Bezht. äle, Gunz. ale id.

PST \*jāl (/r-) 'sprout, branch' > OC 蕈 \*lhāj 'sprout, shoot'; Tib. jal-ga 'branch, bough', Lush. zār id.

PY \*ʔuʔlan (~ x-, j-) 'rod, twig' > Ket., Yug. ulan<sup>5</sup> (CCE 200, Werner 2, 329).



\*kāk(w)Ǟ 'to call, pray':

PNC \*kākǞ 'prayer' > Av. kak, Akhv. kaki-ba, kaku-ba, Tind. kákwa / kábka, Kar. kak-ba; Lak. čak.

PST \*kūk > OC 告 \*kūk, \*kūk-s 'to announce, tell'; Tib. khug, khug-s, āgug-s id.; Kach. əgo? 'to coax, entice'; Lush. kūk 'to call or cry out'.  
[Length in PST is irregular.]

\*kǎuǞ (? \*kǎHwǞ) 'fence':

PNC \*kǎuǞ (? \*kǎHwǞ) 'gate, fence' > Chech., Ing. kow 'gate'; Av. kawú, And. kawu, Akhv. kō, Cham.. Kar. kaw, God. káwu 'gate'; PWC \*kawə > Ad. čaw 'fence; farmstead', Kab. čaw, čow 'fence; small fortress'.

PST \*kəwH (~ g-) 'fence, obstacle' > OC 笱 \*kō? 'fish-trap'; Tib. kho-ra, go-ra 'circumference, fence, surrounding wall'; Burm. khu? 'to block'; Kach. buŋ-khu<sup>3</sup> 'stockade, fence'.

\*k[ə]čwi 'hook, to bend':

PNC \*kičwi 'hook, curved' > Chech. kōžalg, Ing. kožolg 'stick with a hook; hook, gaff'; Av. kič 'hook, noose', kič- 'to bend', Cham. kič<sup>w</sup> 'hook, buckle', God. kiči 'loop', kič-i- 'to bend'; Tsez. kaču 'hoop', Khv. kaču 'buckle', Gunz. kōči 'hook'; Lak. kič 'button'; Darg. kič 'hook, buckle'; Ag. kuč, Tsakh. kič 'button', Rut. kič 'hook, buckle', Ud. k:oč:I 'hooked, bent'.

PY \*kēc (~ g-, -ž) 'to bend' > Ket. abi-γēt 'es biegt sich'. Yug. kε:ht (see Werner 1, 421).

Bur. \*khaγ 'hook' > Yas. kha, Hun., Nag. khay.

\*kirfē 'virtue' (WFR 12, LV B18):

PNC \*kirfē > Chech. ka 'good luck'; Lak. čiri 'blessing, gratitude, praise'; Darg. kiri 'virtue' (vowel length indicated by Lak., Darg. non-reduced -i). See NCED 692-693.

PST \*KāH 'joy, happiness' > OC 祐 \*gā? 'blessing', Tib. dga 'to rejoice, joy; glad', LB (Mat.) \*m-ga 'to want, like', etc.

\*kǎwrǞ 'hair' (HGC 19):

PNC \*kǎwrǞ > Chech. kur 'tuft of hair, forelock'; Av. kar, Akhv. kari, Cham. čā, Tind. kára 'hair'; Khv. ka, Bezht., Gunz. kera 'hair'; Darg. Chir. kur 'horse's mane'.

PST \*krǎ 'hair of head' > Tib. s-kra, Kach. kəra<sup>3</sup>. Dimasa khoro, Kanauri kra etc. (loss of \*k- in OC 釐 \*rǎ 'hair' is hard to explain - but this reading in general is somewhat unsecure).

\*kHwārV 'hole' (HGC 30, WFR 6 - somewhat differently):

PNC \*kHwārV 'hole; pit, ravine' > Chech., Ing., Bac. kor 'window'; Tsez. keru / kero, Gin. koro, Khv. kula, Bezht. kuwo, Gunz. kuro 'ravine, brook'; Lak. kuľru 'nest'; Darg. kur 'pit'; Ud. kur 'pit', Kryz., Bud. kur 'river'.

PY \*g[a](ʔ)r 'cunnus' > Kott., Ass. kar; Ar. ken (< \*ker-(V)n). See CCE 226, Werner 1, 411.

\*kHwǎnšV 'foot, paw':

PNC \*kHwanšV (~-ě-, -ō-, -ś-) 'foot, leg' > Cham. k<sup>w</sup>ans:a 'paw', Tind. k<sup>w</sup>anš:a 'foot, paw', Bagv. k<sup>w</sup>anš:a 'foot'; Darg. dial. kuľš 'leg'.

PY \*giʔs (/ \*gaʔs-) 'foot, leg' > Ket. kiʔś, Yug. kiʔs 'foot, leg', Kott. káčoga 'ankle-bone', see CCE 238. The Kott. form is either a compound or derivate (perhaps reflecting an old plural \*gaʔs-Vŋ). In Timonina 1978 it is treated as a loanword from Hak. xazik, Tuv. kažik id. - but these forms do not have any secure Turkic etymology (derivation from \*Kaľuk 'spoon' in VEWT seems hardly plausible) and may well themselves have a Yenisseian origin. Werner (1, 434) compares the Ket-Yug form with Kott. hěči 'footwear' - which he elsewhere compares with Ket. kassat (= Kott. hačar, see CCE 235), to say nothing of the correct comparison with Ket tɛ:ši (< PY \*cěse, see CCE 213).

\*kiťū 'village' (WFR 41, LV D3, BCD 23):

PNC \*kiťū (~ \*k-) 'farmstead; hut' > Av. kulí (par. B: kuló-l, kulá-l), Akhv. kila, Tind., Bagv. kila, Kar. kile; PWC \*kaľV 'hut' > Abkh. a-kála, Abaz. kála, Ad. čaL, Kab. čəL, see NCED 692.

PST \*g(h)ual 'village, district' > OC 郡 \*gurs 'dominion, province, district'; Tib. khul 'domain, province, district', Lush. khual 'a village other than one's own'; Lepcha gul 'the part appointed for the house; site'.

[Shortness in OC is irregular, as well as the final \*-r - influence of some other root?

Cf. Basq. \*hiri (\*huri) 'village; city'.]

\*kírV 'space between, inside' (WFR 3):

\*kírV (~ k-, -ē-) 'chest; belly, entrails' > Chech. kīra, Ing. ker 'belly, entrails'; Av. kerén 'chest', (with metathesis) Akhv., Botl. reka, God. reka 'belly'; Tsez. aχ<sup>w</sup>a-reku, Khv. aχa-reke-se 'entrails' (aχ<sup>w</sup>a-, aχa- 'belly, stomach').

PST \*kēr 'interval, space between': OC 間 \*krēn 'interval', Lush. kār 'space between', Serdukpen khar-bu 'belly'.

\*kōnmó 'skin' (NSC 57, WFR 88):

PNC \*kōnmo / \*mōnko 'skin; dandruff' > Bezht. maku 'fur-coat', Gunz. mōgo 'sheepskin'; Lak. dial. čannu 'dandruff'; Darg. kam 'skin, hide, bark'; Lezg. kan 'dandruff; epidermis; bark, peel', Ag. kan '(napless) carpet', Rut. kan 'shaved head; bald spot'.

PST \*kuam 'shell, cover; husk' > Tib.khom 'wallet, leather trunk', Burm. khwam 'skin, pod, skull', Kach. puŋ<sup>1</sup>-kum<sup>1</sup> 'skull', Lush. kōm 'pod, shell; cover (of a book); ear of maize', Lepcha kom-bo, kom-thun '(untanned) leather, hide'.

\*kVrV 'to walk, go'

PNC \*=arkV (~ -ə-, -ǒ-) (< \*=a-kVrV) > Av. =ek-ér- 'to run'; Darg. Chir. ar=ark-/ ar=irk- 'to return'; Tab. qt-a=k-, Ag. aldaq-ark- 'to return' (Bursh. arki- 'to get into, find oneself somewhere'), Arch. =ak:i- 'to go away'; Kab. čə- 'to step'.

PST \*kriā(H) (~ g-) 'to walk, go' > OC 行 \*grā-ŋ 'walk, go', Tib. āgro 'to walk', Burm. krwa? 'to go (of monks)', LB \*kh[r]a 'road', Lep. gra-ŋ 'be able to walk (child)', Nung \*khra 'road'.

\*kVrV 'to break, split'

PNC \*=irkVr 'to break, pick; to crack; to stir' > Bac. (with redupl.) kekad-dar 'to stir, sway'; Av. =ek- 'to break, break off', Tind. ki-d- 'to touch'; Tab. u=k- 'to crumble, chop', Ag. ad-irka- 'to pick; rub', Rut. h-i=ka- id., Tsakh. i=kar- 'to stir', Bud. we=kr- 'to touch'; PWC \*ka- (~k-) 'to burst, crack' > Ad. ča-, Kab. ča-.

PST \*krēH (~g-) 'to divide, cut up' > OC 解 \*krē? 'divide; cut up (e.g. an ox)'; Burm. krah 'to have a space between, be apart', khrah 'be between, divide, make separate, distinct'; Angami Naga \*khri 'to kill'.

Bur. \*kará-ṭ- 'to break' > Hun., Nag. karát 't-.

\*kwășV 'paw, leg':

PNC \*kwășV 'paw' > Akhv. k<sup>w</sup>aši 'paw, foreleg', Cham. koša 'foreleg', Kar. k<sup>w</sup>aša 'paw'; Khv., Inkh. k<sup>w</sup>ašu 'paw'; Darg. kaš, Kub. k<sup>w</sup>aš 'handful, hollow of hand'; Ag. kuš-mul 'hoof (of artiodactyla)'.

PST \*k<sup>w</sup>ā(H) 'leg, thigh' > OC 股 \*k<sup>(w)</sup>ā? 'thigh'; Burm. khwa 'hoof'; Kach. la-go<sup>1</sup> 'foot, leg'; (?) Lepcha ká 'hand'.

\*kwirštĕ 'young':

PNC \*kwirčĕ (~ -ć-) 'young (of animals, birds)' > Khv. *kuči*, Inkh. *kuče* 'puppy'; Lak. *karč* id.; Kryz., Bud. *kurč*, Ud. *k:uč:an* id.; PWC \*k<sup>w</sup>əčə 'chicken' > Abkh. *a-k<sup>w</sup>čəš*, Abaz. *k<sup>w</sup>čə-s*.

PY \*gitej (~ \*k-) 'young' > Ket., Yug. *kitej*<sup>6</sup>.

\*kwərV 'a k. of vessel, scoop' (DCE 26):

PNC \*k<sub>w</sub>ərV 'a k. of vessel' > And. *koru* 'a k. of jar', Akhv. *koro*, Tind. *koru*, Kar. *kore* 'trough, gutter'; Tsez. *kuro*, Gin. *kuro*, Inkh. *kuru* id.; Lezg. *k<sup>w</sup>ar*, Tab., Ag. *g<sup>w</sup>ar* 'a big jar (for carrying water)'.

PST \*ghōr (~ gh<sup>w</sup>ēr) 'scoop' > OC 匙 \*khūj 'spoon', Kach. *məgon* 'to scoop up', Lush. *khor?* 'to take out of pot', Kaling *kwər-cam* 'wooden ladle' etc.

Bur. \*khor > Hunza, Nagar *khōr* 'large wicker basket'.

\*kwilʔi 'hand; elbow' (different in WFR 26, BCD 24):

PNC \*kwilʔi 'hand' > Chech. *kü-g*, Ing. *kul-g*, Bac. *ko*; Av. *k<sup>w</sup>er* 'hand', And. *k<sup>w</sup>o* 'handle', Akhv. *k<sup>w</sup>a-λala* 'mitten', God. *k<sup>w</sup>a-χα* 'sleeve', Cham. *k<sup>w</sup>a-di*, Tind. *k<sup>w</sup>a-ji*, Botl. *k<sup>w</sup>a-du* 'in the hands'; Gin. *k<sup>w</sup>e-zej*, Bezht. *kō*, Gunz. *koro* 'hand'; Lak. *ka* (dial. *k<sup>w</sup>a*) id.; Arch., Ud. *kul* 'hand', Rut. *kül-äg* 'elbow', Lezg., Ag. *kul* 'branch', Tab. *kül-er* 'switch, vine'; Khin. *kul* 'hand'.

PST \*Kru 'elbow' > Tib. *khru* 'cubit (from elbow to end of middle finger)', *gru-mo* 'elbow'; Trung *kru<sup>1</sup>-mu<sup>1</sup>* 'arm', Thebor *kru* 'elbow' etc.

[Cf. Basq. \*a-hur 'hollow of hand, palm'.]

\*kwijcǃ 'spirit, apparition, demon' (HGC 34):

PNC \*kwijcǃ 'form, appearance' > Ing. *kust* 'apparition, figure'; Lak. *kuc* 'form, appearance, trace, measure'; Lezg., Tab., Ag. *kuc* 'appearance, build'; Arch. *kus* 'habit'.

PST \*K<sup>w</sup>it 'a k. of demon' > OC 儺 \*g<sup>w</sup>it 'headless demon'; Burm. *kjat* 'phantom, ghost, monster'; Kach. *got* 'possessed and incited by nats'.

PY \*k[uʔu]s (~ g-) 'idol, ghost' > Ket. *ulguś<sup>5</sup>* "water spirit", *qajguś<sup>5</sup>*, *lit-iś* "wood spirit"; South. *śenberen<sup>5</sup> ku:ś* "a shaman's pendant looking like an iron doll"; Yug. *ku:s*, pl. *kūsin<sup>1</sup>*; *ejskūs<sup>1</sup>* "icon"; *urgus<sup>5</sup>* "water spirit"; *xajguś<sup>5</sup>* "wood spirit"; Kott. *ul-iś*, pl. *uliśin* "Wasserkobold", see CCE 240, Werner 1, 458 (the latter states that it is "evidently a very old borrowing in Yenisseeian languages", but the reasons for this judgment, as well as the

source of the borrowing are not specified).

Bur. \*kūs > Hunza, Nagar kús 'wonder, sorcery'.

\*kwiltV 'intestine; fat':

PNC \*kwiltV 'some interior part of body' > Av. dial. kuṭúli 'kidney'; Bezht. koṭ, Gunz. kōṭ 'urinary bladder'; Darg. Chir. kuṭṭa 'belly, stomach'; Lezg. durḡun, Tab. gurdum, Ag. guṭul, Rut., Tsakh., Bud. kuṭun, Kryz. k<sup>w</sup>aṭin, Arch. g<sup>w</sup>at 'kidney'.

PY \*giʔd 'fat' > Ket., Yug. kiʔt, Kott. kīr, Ar. ki (CCE 228, Werner 1, 481).

Bur. \*giṭ > Nagar giṭ 'intestines with inner fat'.

\*k(w)VnV 'vein, thread':

PNC \*kunV (~\*kwVnV) 'thread' > Av. kun, And., Kar., Bagv., God. re-kun 'thread'; PTs \*b-ūkV > Bezht. muka 'a short rope' (all perhaps reflecting a verbal root \*=VkwVn 'to thread, knit': cf. also Rut. ṭ-u=ka- 'knit', Ud. b-elk 'needle').

PST \*(r-)kēṅ (~g-) > OC 經 \*kēṅ 'warp', Tib. r-kjaṅ 'name of a vein', Burm. khjaṅ, khraṅ 'thread'.

\*kǎntV (~xk-) 'knife, cut':

PNC \*kǎntV ~ \*kǎntV 'big knife' > PN \*ḡaṭu > Chech. čoda, Bac. čajṭū 'scissors for shearing sheep', Ing. ḡod 'big scissors'; Akhv. ḡatla 'big knife'; Lezg. kant, Ag. kaṅ 'big knife', Rut. kaṅ, Kryz. kǎnt, Bud. kǎnt 'knife'.

PST \*kēt 'to cut out, cut down' > OC 製 \*ket-s 'to cut out, to fashion (a garment)'; Lush. kit 'to fell, cut down'.

\*kantV (~\*xk-) 'to run, jump':

PNC \*kaṅṭV / \*taṅṭV (~-ě-, -ə-) 'jump, leap' > Lak. taṅḡ 'jump, leap', taṅḡa ṭun 'to jump'; Darg. Chir. kaṅṭ 'jump, leap'.

PST \*kāt 'to run' > Kach. gəgat<sup>2</sup> 'to run', PLB \*kjat, PKC \*kat id., Bodo khat id., etc.

\*kǎrā 'mosquito':

PNC \*kǎrā (~-ə) 'mosquito; gadfly' > Chech. gora, Ing. gor 'gadfly'; Av. ḡ:arā, And. ḡ:ara, Tind. k:ara, Bagv. č:ara 'mosquito', Akhv. ḡ:ara 'ant, bug', Cham. Gig. c:ara, Kar. ḡ:ara 'gadfly', God. k:ara 'mosquito; gadfly'; Bezht. kǎlā, Gunz. kelo 'mosquito'.

PST \*k(h)r[ā]-ŋ 'mosquito' > Burm. khran̄, Kach. žiʔ²-gron̄², Mikir tim-kran̄ 'mosquito', etc.

Bur. \*kharú > Yas. kharú, Hun., Nag. kharú 'louse'.

\*kã[ŋ]kV 'joint; leg':

PNC \*kã[ŋ]kV 'joint, knee, shin' > Chech., Ing. kog, Bac. koḵ 'foot, leg'; Tsez. қақа 'joint, bone between two joints', Inkh. қалқал 'leg, shin'; Darg. қинқ 'shin'; Lezg. dial. қерқем 'calf (of leg)', Ag. қеқ 'top of boot', Ud. k:alk:aIp 'knee'; Khin. қуқа 'joint, articulation'.

PST \*kãŋ / \*kãk 'leg, foot' > OC 腳 \*kak 'leg, foot'; Tib. r-kaŋ 'foot, leg'; Kach. khran̄ 'limb'; Lepcha kãŋ, kón̄ 'foot', etc.

PY \*gVg- 'hand, arm' > Ket. kaḡdiya 'in one's arms', Yug. kaḡdat 'arm' (Werner 1, 460); Kott. kēgār 'hand'; Ar. koro-nun 'mittens'. See CCE 229 (but the reconstruction \*gVʔVr- given there has to be changed in view of the Ket and Yug data added by Werner 1, 460).

\*kēmhV̄ 'crooked' (WFR 101):

PNC \*kēmhV 'arc; an arched, curved body part' > Av. kamúri 'arc', Cham. čam, Tind. қama, Botl. kamu, Bagv. қama 'horn'; Lak. қурма-ṭi (< \*қumra-) 'cattle; pommel (of a saddle)'; Darg. Chir. čime 'tail'; PWC \*қа (~ \*қ-) 'tail' > Ad. ča, Kab. ča.

PST \*k(h)üm 'crooked, bent' > Tib. khums 'crooked', kum-pa 'crooked, shriveled', āgum 'bend, curve'; Burm. khumh 'to be convex'; Kach. gum² 'to bow, bend', Lush. kom 'to bend or flex (as a leg)', Lepcha küm 'arched, concave, vaulted', etc.

PY \*ga(?)mur- > Kott. kamur 'crooked, oblique', Ar. kamaringa 'crookedly' (CCE 226, Werner 1, 408).

\*kǎrtwV̄ 'enclosure' (HGC 31):

PNC (with assimilation \*k- < \*қ-) 'enclosure' > Chech. kert, Ing. kart 'fence, yard'; Av. dial. kort 'place for meeting, godeқан', God. karti 'enclosure, pen'; PWC \*kVtV > Abkh. a-káta, Ab. kət 'village', Ad. čat, Kab. čat 'sheep-fold'.

PST \*khʷāt 'door or space in front of the house' > OC 闕 \*khʷat 'look-out tower over gate, gate', Tib. b-kad(-sa) 'a bake-house, kitchen; open hall or shed, created on festive occasions'; Burm. khat 'to fence'; Kach. khat² 'an outer passage, back-door'; Lush. kot 'a lace or space in front of the house'.

\*kHǒɤV 'hedgehog, porcupine':

PNC \*kHǒɤV > Tsez., Gin., Khv. ɣuɣ, Bezht. ɣoh, Gunz. ɣo 'badger'; Lezg. ɣüɣür, Tab. ɣIuɣIur, Rut. ɣIɪnɣIir, Kryz. ɣüɣer, Ud. ɣIaɣIal 'hedgehog'.

PST \*k(h)āw 'porcupine' > OC 豪 \*gāw 'porcupine'; Lush. kuʔ id.; Kir. \*ʔkà- id.

\*kirV 'knife':

PNC \*kirV 'knife, axe' > Av. dial. ɣerelo, Akhv. ɣeru 'big knife, hatchet'; Lezg. ɣir 'hook, stick with a hook; fang'; Tab. ɣir 'fang'; Rut. ɣiruɣ, Tsakh. ɣera, Arch. ɣiri 'hatchet, small axe'; Kryz., Bud. ɣir 'stick with a hook'.

PST \*Krij 'knife; iron' > Tib. gri 'knife', Burm. krijh 'copper, brass', Kach. məgri<sup>3</sup> 'brass' (cf. also n-khji 'a small knife', etc.

\*kɪʔV 'small':

PNC \*kɪʔwV 'small' > PN (with reduplication) \*kaɣ- 'small, minute' > Chech. keg-ī, Ing. keg-ij, Bac. kaɣē; Lak. ɕi=i- 'small'; PL \*kɪʔ<sup>w</sup>V- > Rut. ɣiʔ-di, Tsakh. ɣi-li-n, Bud. ɣi-be, Arch. hoɣó- 'small'. On the Nakh form see, however, also under \*ɣwimkV.

PST \*k(j)əj 'small, little, few' > OC 幾 \*kəj 'small', \*kəjʔ 'few, several'; Tib. āga 'some, few, several'; Kach. ke<sup>3</sup>, kje<sup>3</sup> 'be scarce, few, not plentiful'; kji<sup>3</sup> 'small, little'; Kir. \*jak-ki 'small'.

(?) PY \*giʔ 'new' (if < \*small, young') > Ket. kiʔ (attr.), pred. Kur. ki:si<sup>4</sup>, Bak. ki:sə<sup>4</sup>; Kott. ki. See CCE 227, Werner 1, 429.

[The Yenisseian reflex is somewhat questionable semantically; if it indeed belongs here, the final -ʔ in this case must reflect the original laryngeal and not accent: the reflexes of \*ɣ in NC certainly reflect lax phonation.]

\*kVlʔV 'white' (HGC 23, WFR 24):

PNC \*kVlʔV (~ ɣ(w)-, -ɫ,-ɣ-) 'white' > Chech. ɣaj-n, Ing. ɣaj, Bac. ɣujī; Lak. ɣalla- 'white'.

PST \*kār (~ kh-, g-) 'white' > OC 翰 \*gār(s) 'white (of a horse)', Tib. gar, d-kar, b-kar 'white, whitish, grey'.

\*kVrkV 'walnut' (LDC 23):

PNC \*kVrkV(-nV) 'nut, egg, small stone' > Bac. ɣikəl 'fruit'; Av. ɣorɣónu 'grape, berry', And. ɣorɣon, Cham. ɕačã, Tind. ɣeɣama, Kar.

qarqan, Botl. qarqamu, Bagv. qaqa, God. qarqanu 'egg'; Tsez. qiki, Khv. qaqa, Bezht., Gunz. keqe 'roasted grain'; Lezg. kkal, Tab. kekel, Tsakh. kaqalaj, Kryz. kikal 'small stone, gravel'; PWC \*qanaka / \*qakanə > Abkh. a-qakan, Abaz. qakan 'nut', Ad. canca 'egg'; Hurr. kirikiri(j)annə 'seed of pine-cone'.

Bur. \*khakhajo > Nag. khakhajo 'walnut (shelled)'.

[Cf. Basq. \*kankano 'large fruitstone, kernel, almond'.]

[\\*kwarnV](#) (~ \*xk-) 'young of animals or plants' (NSC 55, WFR 75):

PNC \*kwarnV 'young (of an animal) > Chech. korni, Ing. kori-g 'young (of an animal), nestling'; PA \*kwanHi (~-o-) > Akhv. kani, kono 'foal (less than 3 y. old)', Kar. kaj / keni 'puppy', kani-λ:o 'bull-calf, steer'; Gin. qinu 'sheep (1 y. old)', Khv. qenu 'lamb (2 y. old)', Inkh. qeInu 'bull-calf'; PL \*kwarV > Lezg. qere-x 'embryo, foetus; calf', Tab. kari 'calf', kiri-q '1 y. old calf', Ag. keru-q 'calf', Rut. kara-qij 'dry, barren cow', Tsakh. quru-qaj, qurij 'foal', Kryz. qarä, Bud. qora, Ud. (with metathesis) arak: 'bull-calf'; Khin. qaza 'bull-calf'.

PST \*krun 'to be born; young sprout' > Tib. akhrun 'to be born; shoot, sprout, grow (of seeds and plants)', Kach. khrun<sup>1</sup> 'to live', mækrun<sup>1</sup> 'fresh sprouts, new twigs', Dimasa ga-khran 'green'.

[\\*kwarV](#) 'a k. of vessel':

PNC \*kwarV 'a k. of earthenware vessel' > Bezht. keja (Tlad. qera) 'earthenware jar'; Lak. qara (dial. k<sup>w</sup>ara) 'big vessel for flour, bread; bread oven'; Darg. quri (dial. k<sup>w</sup>ara) 'big earthenware vessel'; Tab. quram 'gutter, trough'.

PST \*k<sup>w</sup>rəH (~ g<sup>w</sup>-) > OC 簋 \*k<sup>w</sup>rə? 'a k. of ritual vessel'; Kach. khra<sup>2</sup> 'a tripod'.

Bur. \*kur > Hunza, Nagar kur 'a small cistern or bucket'.

[\\*kwemti](#) 'lip, mouth' (NSC 55, LV Cb2):

PNC \*kwemti (~ -ö) 'lip' > Av. ket (par. B: ketá-lzul, kuṭ-bí), God. koṭi 'lip'; Darg. kent (dial. k<sup>w</sup>int) 'lip'; Tab. kant, Ag. kent<sup>w</sup>, Arch. kent 'lip'; Khin. kitir 'nose'. See NCED 733-734.

PST \*khēm 'lip, mouth' > OC 頤 \*ghēm? 'jaw', Burm. (hnut-)khamh 'lip, brim or upper edge of a vessel', Lush. kam 'mouth', Lepcha boṅ-kām 'the upper jaw'; Kiranti \*kam 'mouth, palate'.

[OC has -ā- thus showing that shortness in Lush. is secondary; the correspondence therefore is regular, despite LV Cb2].



\*kwónλV (~ -L-) 'rake, pitchfork':

PNC \*kʷənλV (~ -L-) 'pitchfork' > Av. քալ: -մալ: (dial. ք<sup>w</sup>eλ: -maλ:; maλ: 'iron') 'scissors', And. քonλ:a, Cham. ք<sup>w</sup>anλ:a, Kar. ք<sup>w</sup>anλ:e, God. ք<sup>w</sup>anλ:a 'pitchfork', Akhv. ք<sup>w</sup>āλ:ela 'scissors', Tind., Bagv. ք<sup>w</sup>anλ:a 'pitchfork; scissors'; Tsez. ǰluλu / ǰIoλu, Khv. քuλu, Inkh. քoλu 'pitchfork', Bezht. ǰuλλo, Gunz. ǰuλu 'bifurcation'.

PST \*khuk (~ \*g(h)-) 'to shear, rake' > Burm. kəuk 'bite with the teeth of an instrument; shear', Lepcha kuk 'to rake, to strape or draw towards self as with stick; to toss as bull with horns'; Kir. \*khók 'to cut, shear, chop', etc.

PST \*gu(?)l-jeʔp > Kott. kulěp 'shovel' (probably a compound with \*j[e]ʔp 'shovel, board' in the second part). See CCE 229, Werner 1, 449.

\*kwimkV 'light (of weight)':

PNC \*kwimkV > Tsez. kikju, Gin. kekku, Khv. kajku, Bezht. kikijo, Gunz. kikku 'light (of weight)'; Lak. kuk-lu- id.; Darg. kunk-, dial. kumk-id.; Tsakh. kukra, Kryz. k<sup>w</sup>ak 'feather' (cf. also Bezht. kik 'cock's comb'; Gunz. kiki-ru 'small').

PST \*khen (~ gh-) > OC 輕 \*khen 'light'; Tib. kjaŋ 'straight, slender'; Burm. kjaŋ 'be thin, slender'.

[The above ST forms should be separated from PST \*jāŋ 'light', despite DST. PST \*kh- shows that the initial must have been \*k-, with regressive assimilation in PNC. Consequently, one wonders if PN \*kaḳ- 'small', related to \*kīʔwV in NCED, does not rather belong here, thus preserving a trace of the original glottalisation.]

\*kwīrV 'leg' (DCE 5):

PNC \*kʷīrV 'leg bone, leg (of animal)' > Chech. քuram 'bone for playing dice'; Lezg. քur 'hoof; leg (of animal)', Tab. քuram 'hoof', Kryz ք<sup>w</sup>ari, Arch. ք<sup>w</sup>iri 'leg (of animal)'.

PST \*k(h)rej (~ -əj) 'foot' > Burm. khrij 'foot, leg', Kach. ləkhre<sup>3</sup> 'the back of the ankle', Trung xra~i 'foot', perhaps also OC 躄 \*k(r)aj 'foot (of an insect)'.

Bur. \*kur- > Hunza kuróŋ 'bone', kúr 'joint of finger or toe'.

\*kwīnhV 'smell; smoke' (HGC 22, WFR 67):

PNC \*kʷīnhV 'smoke' > Av. ք:uj, PA \*k<sup>w</sup>:inhi > And. ք:woj, Akhv. ք:wī, Tind. k:wī, Kar. ք:ūji, Bagv. ք:ūj; Bezht., Gunz. qo 'smoke'; Lak. քuw

'soot'; Darg. gaw 'smoke'; Arch. gun 'dust', Ud. k:uin 'smoke'; PWC \*ɸ<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. á-l-ɸ<sup>w</sup>a, Ab. l-ɸ<sup>w</sup>a, Ad. (ɸ<sup>w</sup>ə-)ɸ<sup>w</sup>, Kab. (ɸ<sup>w</sup>ə-)ɸ<sup>w</sup>a, Ub. ɸ<sup>w</sup>a 'smoke'.

PST \*g<sup>h</sup>iw 'smoke; smell' > OC 臭 \*k<sup>h</sup>iw-s 'smell, fragrance, stench'; Tib. d-ku 'sweet scent; unpleasant scent'; Burm. khəwh 'smoke'; Kach. wan<sup>1</sup>-khu-t<sup>2</sup> 'smoke', khu<sup>3</sup> 'be smoky'; Lush. khu 'to smoke', mei-khu 'smoke'; Lepcha kũ-n 'clouds of smoke', Chepang ku? 'smoke', etc.

PY \*gi(?)ŋ 'smell' > Kott. kiŋ (CCE 228, Werner 1, 428).

[Cf. Basq. \*ke 'smoke'.]

\*k<sup>w</sup>VrV́ 'throat' (HGC 24, NSC 56):

PNC \*k<sup>w</sup>VrV > Akhv., Kar. ɸoro, Tind. ɸoru 'crop, crawl'; Gin. ɸ<sup>w</sup>ar-bašu 'throat', Khv. ɸur-na id., Inkh. ɸur 'crop, crawl' (uvular in Tsezian explained by contamination with PEC \*ɸwinV 'throat, crop, crawl').

PST \*khrəw (~gh-, qh-, Gh-) 'throat' > OC 喉 \*gh(r)ō 'throat', Tib. kru-kru 'windpipe', Kach. ɸəkhro<sup>1</sup> 'the throat, gullet'.

PY \*kərVd (~g-, -ɸ) 'throat' > Ket. kálit<sup>6</sup> / kálát<sup>6</sup>, pl. kálárəŋ, Yug. klat<sup>6</sup>, Ar. u-kurij 'throat' (CCE 237, Werner 1, 462-463 (but the Arin form is omitted, while compared is Kot. kankoi - going back to PY \*gə(n)kəř)).

\*lās<sup>w</sup>Ĕ 'long hair, wool, rope':

PNC \*lās<sup>w</sup>Ĕ 'hair; wool' > Av. ras 'hair'; Tsez. rezi, Khv. lizi 'string'; PWC \*laš<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. á-lasa (Bz. á-laś), Abaz. lasa, Ub. daš<sup>w</sup>é 'wool'.

PST \*rūj 'rope' > OC 縲 \*ruj 'rope, bonds', 纒 \*ruj 'to wind around; string'; Lush. hrui 'bow-string'.

\*lértwe (~ \*rél<sup>t</sup>we) 'pit, ravine, hole':

PNC \*lertwe 'hollow; pit, foundation' > Chech., Ing. lard 'foundation'; Cham. Gig. ruṭi-l, Gad. jiṭ<sup>w</sup>i 'shallow, sand-bar'; Bezht. joṭo 'hole in the wall'; Lak. raṭ 'ravine, river-bed'; Darg. luṭi 'bottom'; Tab. (a compound with \*λ:ep: 'foundation) šib-riṭ, dial. šarwaṭa, š:aw-luṭ, Ag. šeb-reṭ 'foundation'.

PST \*röt (~-ǔ-) 'narrow valley' > OC 埽 \*rhot 'channel, river-bed, dyke'; Kach. niŋ-rut 'ravine, gap, landslide'.

PY \*raṭar 'depression in tree trunks' > Kett. Íátíł (Werner 2, 8), Yug. latar<sup>5</sup>. See Werner 2, 3, 8.

\*lhīmŁwǎ 'earth, field':

PNC \*lhēmŁwǎ > Chech. moɸk 'earth, country', Bac. moɸk id., Ing.

moχk 'country'; Av. raχ: 'earth, ground' (par. C: raχ:ú-l, ráχ:a-l); Lak. luχč:i (< \*luk:i-χV) 'earth, land'; PL \*neIχ:w > Lezg. nik, Tsakh. nek (dial. noIk), Kryz., Bud. nik 'field, cornfield'; PWC \*χ<sup>w</sup>a 'earth' > Ad. čə, Kab. šə, Ub. jə-c<sup>w</sup>á; see NCED 747.

PST \*līŋ 'field' > OC 田 \*lhūn 'field', Tib. g-liŋ 'island, region, country', Kach. məliŋ<sup>1</sup> 'forest, wood', Lepcha ljaŋ 'earth' etc.

[Long vowel in PST is irregular.

Cf. Basq. \*luīr 'earth'.]

[\\*lamV](#) 'tongue, lick' (WFR 92, BCD 39):

PNC \*lamV 'licking, to lick' > And., Kar. lam- 'to lick'; Lak. lan-ča tun id.; Darg. lim-či kes id.; Arch. lam-mus, Ud. lam id.

PST \*lēmH > OC 嚙 \*lēm? 'keep in mouth'; Kach. lem, a-lm 'to munch, chew', Lush. lem 'to swallow, gulp', Kir. \*lēm 'tongue', Kanauri lem 'lick'.

[Cf. Basq. \*lami- 'lick'.]

[\\*lapV](#) 'to glitter, flash':

PNC \*lapV (~\*l-) > Chech. lēp-, Ing., Bac. lep- 'to glitter, to blaze'; Darg. Kait. ça-lip; Kub. ça-liṗan 'lightning' (ça- 'fire'); Lezg., Tab. çaj-lapan, Ag. çäjä-lpan (dial. ça-lp), Rut. çaja-lpan (compound with çaj- 'fire').

PST \*ljöp 'flash, glitter' > OC 熠 \*löp 'gleaming'; Burm. hljaṗ 'flash, lightning'; Kach. myi<sup>1</sup>-phrap<sup>2</sup> 'lightning'; Lepcha ljop 'glitter, flash, glisten', etc.

Bur. \*lap 'to shine, glitter, burn' > Yas. lap, laláp, luplúp, Hun., Nag. lálap.

[\\*lǎw\(x\)qV̄](#) 'many' (LV Cb3, LDC 39):

PNC \*lǎwqV̄ (/ \*ǎwqV̄l) 'many, enough' > Chech., Ing. d-uqa, Bac. d-uq 'many'; Gunz. laxi 'much, very'; Darg. d-aqal 'many'; Lezg. luχ 'to a large extent', Arch. labχ-an 'much, many'; PWC \*q:V > Abkh. á-z-χa-, Abaz. na-qa- 'to suffice', Ad. -qə, Kab. -q: 'large, big'; see NCED 754-755.

PST \*lök 'abundant, much' > OC 裕 \*lok-s 'ample, abundant'; Burm. hlauk 'to add', lauk 'sufficient', Kach. lo<sup>3</sup> 'many, much'.

[Irregular shortness in PST.]

[\\*leʔwni \(~-ʔ-\)](#) 'skin, bark' (WFR 72, DCE 10):

PNC \*leʔwni (~-ʔ-) 'skin (of an animal)' > Chech. neŋ, Ing. niñ 'skin (for making soles), Bac. niñ 'skin'; Av. lab 'sole'; Lak. lu 'skin, sheepskin';

book'; Lezg. li, Tab. liʔ, Ag., Rut. leʔ, Tsakh. le-ḵ<sup>w</sup>a, Bud. läʃ, Arch. ili 'skin of cattle', Kryz. leʃ 'skin'.

PST \*l<sup>w</sup>V(j) > Tib. lwa-ba 'skin of wild animal'; Chepang hlyu 'to skin'.

PY \*dān- 'willow bark' > Ket. dΛ:ní<sup>4</sup>; Bak., Sur. dΛ:nə<sup>4</sup> / dΛ:nə<sup>4</sup>; South. dΛ:ní<sup>4</sup>; pl. dḅnəŋ<sup>1</sup>; Yug. dΛ:ní, pl. dḅnəŋ<sup>1</sup> (CCE 221, Werner 1, 213).

[\\*Héq<sup>w</sup>Ǟ](#) 'a k. of bird' (HGC 28, LV A16):

PNC \*Hīq<sup>w</sup>Ǟ / \*Hīq<sup>w</sup>Ǟ (~ l-) > Chech., Ing. leq 'quail', Tsez. lalulqi 'bat', Lak. liɬlux:i 'bird', Darg. Chir. iχI-liqIan id.; Lezg. leq, Tab. luqI, Ag. liqI, Rut. liqI, Arch. liqI 'eagle'; PWC \*la(r)q<sup>w</sup>a > Abkh. á-laḥ<sup>w</sup>a 'raven', Abaz. laḥ<sup>w</sup>a 'rook', Ad. thār<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>a, Kab. tharəq<sup>w</sup>a, Ub. daχ<sup>w</sup>á 'pigeon'; see NCED 748-749.

PST \*lǝk / \*lǝŋ 'a bird of prey': OC (late) 𐌵 \*lǝk (~\*L-) 'a bird of prey'; Tib. glag 'eagle, vulture', Burm. laŋh-taʔ 'vulture', Lepcha kǎ-ljūŋ 'a sp. of eagle' etc.

PY \*dVʔG- 'eagle' > Ket., Yug. diʔ, Kott. tagé (CCE 225, Werner 1, 192).

[\\*HémqV](#) 'shame, fright':

PNC \*HimqV 'shame, anxiety' > Av. límḥi 'guilty look'; Lak. liχ:aIwu 'anxiety, alarm'; Arch. libχI 'shame' (r- in Lezg. rexü, Rut. riqI, Kryz. reḥ id. is not quite clear).

PST \*liǝk 'to fear, be afraid' > OC 𐌵 \*slēk 'to fear, respect'; Tib. āzigs 'be afraid of a thing'.

[\\*HwǞǞ](#) (/ \*ä-) 'male (organ)':

PNC \*HwǞǞ / \*LiwǞǞ 'man, male' (reconstructed with \*l in NCED, but rather having \*l) > Chech., Ing. -lo, Bac. -law 'a suffix denoting profession'; Av. le 'address to a man', lé-bal-ai 'manhood, courage'; Lak. lak:- 'Laki' (ethnonym); Darg. Chir. ɣale 'son, boy'; PL \*λ:iIV- > Tab. žili-r 'man', Ag. ile-f 'male', Arch. λele 'men (pl.)'; Khin. ligild 'man'; PWC \*ǞA > Abkh. á-śa, Abaz. -ś 'male', Ub. -za 'male; penis', Ad., Kab. ɣa 'testiculi'; Hurr. tur-oχχə 'male'.

PST \*lǝk 'testicle; glans penis' > Tib. r-lig, PLB \*lek 'testicle', Lush. lik 'glans penis'.

Bur. \*lei (< \*leli), \*lal > Yas. léi, le, Hun. léi, léi, le 'addressing a man', Yas. lalé, Hun. lal, lálum 'free man, great man'.

\*[l]fhwV 'river, water' (BCD 38; differently in NSC 63):

PNC \*fhwǎV (/ \*lǎfhwV) 'river, reservoir' > Av. ʒor 'river', Tind. reha 'mineral spring'; Bezht. juhi 'ditch, gutter', dial. ruhi 'brook'; Lezg., Tab. hül, Ag. hül, Kryz. ʒil 'sea', Arch. hollo-t:u- 'liquid'.

PST \*lujH 'water, stream': Tib. lu 'pool containing a spring, ground full of springs'; Burm. hlwajh 'outlet by the side of a reservoir of water', LB \*luaj 'swim'; Kach. lui<sup>1</sup> 'flow, as water', šəgroi<sup>2</sup> 'water'; Lush. lui 'stream, brook'. Cf. also \*liw(H) 'to wash'.

[The correspondence PNC \*l : PST \*l is irregular; the case may be explained by contaminations with the reflexes of PSC \*hwiri<sup>1</sup> 'water, lake' - both in PNC and PST.

Cf. Basq. \*hur 'water' - with the same remark.]

\*hújsV 'long, narrow' (differently in BCD 32):

PNC \*IVjśV ( ~ ł-,cw-) 'narrow; dense' > Check. lüsta, Ing. lista, Bac. jupsfi 'dense, close, thick'; Lak. lis:u- 'narrow'; PL \*ʒis:al(:)- > Tab. isel, Ag. isal-f (dial. is:al-f) 'narrow'.

PST \*lōj 'long and narrow' > OC 橢 \*s-lōj? 'narrow and long', 隨 \*lōj? 'long and narrow mountain'; Kach. diŋloi<sup>1</sup>, loi<sup>1</sup> 'be long and narrow'.

[Cf. Basq. \*luse 'long'.]

\*rVkrV (/ \*rVkrV ?) 'to fall' (WFR 112):

PNC \*=[a]rkVr 'to fall' > Bezht., Gunz. =ek- 'fall'; Darg. ka=irk- 'fall'; Tab. ald-a=k-, Ag. quraɣd-ark-, Tsakh. hiɣI-a=kar-, Arch. e=ka- 'to fall, stumble', Ud. s-ak- 'to let fall, drop'; Khin. al=k- 'to fall'.

PST \*k(h)rīl ( ~ -l) > Tib. āgril-ba 'to fall (e.g. leaves from a tree)', Lush. ɸil 'to drop or fall off (as hair)'

PY \*dək- > Ket. d̄ɛkɿ<sup>1</sup> / d̄ɛkɿ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. dɛkɿ (CCE 221, based on Werner 1977). Werner now corrects the velar to uvular (see Werner 2, 224) - if this is correct, the word does not belong here and may indeed rather correspond to PNC \*=[ā]kǎw 'to put; to lie, fall' (as suggested in CCE 221).

[In general, a rather complicated case with liquid metatheses and assimilations.]

\*rVkwV 'to recite' (NSC 58):

PNC \*=[il]kwV-n ( = \*=[il]kwVn) 'to recite, talk' (> 'write') > Bezht. =ek- 'to speak, say'; Darg. Chir. =elkVn- / luk-, Urakh. =ilk<sup>w</sup>Vn- / luk- 'to write'; Lezg. lükün- 'to speak, talk', Tab. =ik-, Ag. liқан-, Tsakh. o=қан- 'to write', Ud. uk:al 'speaking, telling'; Khin. liķu- 'to learn; to read, to sing'.

PST \*lōk 'to recite, give notice' > OC 讀 \*lhōk, \*lhōk-s 'recite, read'; Tib. k-log 'to read', z-lug 'to give notice, send word'; Burm. hljauk 'to ask, tell, petition'; Kach. khjok<sup>3</sup> 'to present a petition'; Lush. thlūk 'tune, accent, intonation'.

Bur. \*-hlīki-n- > Yas. -hlīki-n-, Hun., Nag. =fīlikin- 'to esteem, honour'.

[\\*l̥VqV](#) (~ -G-) 'pool, valley':

PNC > PL \*laq:I<sup>w</sup> > Lezg. leɣ<sup>w</sup> 'concavity, hole'.

PST \*lōk 'valley' > OC 谷 \*klōk, \*lok, Burm. khjauk (Old Burm. khlok).

PY \*deʔG 'lake' > Ket., Yug. dɛʔ, Kott. ūr-tēg, ūr-tēx (ūr- 'fluid'), Ar. kur-tú, kur-tük (kur 'fluid'), Pump. dánniŋ (plur. form). See CCE 219, Werner 1, 185 (NB: Werner also lists Ar. dalaj 'sea' analyzed as "da + laj, vgl. ar. H laj 'Sumpf'" - an obvious mistake, because dalaj is a transparent Mong. loanword.)

Bur. \*láquc > Hun. láquc 'waves'.

[\\*l̥VxGwV](#) 'to swallow':

PNC \*HVIḠwV(l) > Av. ɣurq:- 'to swallow (a mouthful of water)'; Darg. alɣ<sup>w</sup>-/ iɣ<sup>w</sup>- (Ur.) 'swallow'; Kryz., Bud. ɣa=ɣul- 'swallow'.

PST \*līk 'eat, swallow' > OC 食 \*lək 'eat', Burm. kjəuk 'to swallow liquid', Kach. luʔ<sup>2</sup> 'to drink', etc.

PY \*doʔq (~ -χ) 'to eat' (Ket. -dɔq, Yug. -dɔχ, -dɔʔχ), see Werner 1, 200, 203-204.

Bur. \*lik > Yas., Hunza, Nagar lik 'to eat without appetite'.

[\\*l̥ǎfrV](#) 'snake' (WFR 13):

PNC \*l̥ǎfrV > Chech. lǎha, INg. leha, Bac. laḥ 'snake'; PL \*λ:ar > Rut.ɣar, Kryz. ɣar, Bud. jer id.; Khin. ɣaz id.; Ad., Kab. b-La id.

PST \*lǎj > OC 蛇 \*liaj 'snake'; Kach. pə-laj! 'a sp. of iguana'; Lush. hlai-ba 'a sp. of snake', Kir. \*phu-IV 'worm, snake'.

PY \*jVʔra 'a small insect, worm' > Ket. ɔləŋgəs<sup>5</sup> 'spider'; Yug. ɔʔl / ɔllə<sup>5</sup> 'worm, small insect'; Kott. d̥era, d̥ira 'lizard'. A complicated case. Cf. CCE 197 (incorrectly reconstructed as \*oʔl), Werner 2, 48. Kott. d̥era / d̥ira was compared in KC 215 with Ket. tułn 'lizard', but this was phonetically irregular (one had to suppose a variation \*c- / \*ɟ-, otherwise unattested). Werner seems unsure about the attribution of d̥era: in 1, 286 he still compares it with tułn; in 1, 415 he proposes to compare it with Ket ʌʔl

'frog' - not abandoning, however, the comparison of  $\Delta\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{I}}$  with Arin kere 'frog', proposed in CCE 295, and thus has to reconstruct an uncomprehensible variation  $\langle *ə\text{ʔ}\lambda / *(k)\text{ə}\lambda\text{ə} / *(d')\text{ə}\lambda\text{ə} \rangle$ . There remains, however, a possibility to compare Kott.  $\acute{\text{d}}\text{e}\text{r}\text{a} / \acute{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{r}\text{a}$  'lizard' with Ket.  $\text{ɔ}\text{ʔ}\text{l}$  'worm': except for a not quite clear vowel correspondence (secondary fronting  $*\acute{\text{d}}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a} > \acute{\text{d}}\text{e}\text{r}\text{a}$  in Kott.?) the etymology seems quite plausible.

\* $\text{L}\acute{\text{a}}\text{f}\text{V}$  'soot, coal' (different in HGC 17):

PNC  $*\text{L}\acute{\text{a}}\text{f}\text{V} > \text{Av. laḥ, Tind. lā, Kar. laji, Botl. laj, God. laḥi}$  'soot'; Darg.  $\text{ga}$  (dial.  $\text{k:a}$ ) 'charcoal'; Tsakh.  $\text{y}\text{a-d}\acute{\text{i}}\text{r}$  id.

PST  $*\text{t-l}\bar{\text{a}}$  'soot, ashes'  $> \text{OC } \text{𐌆} *l\bar{\text{a}}$  'soot', Burm.  $\text{p-ra}$  'ashes', Sunvar 'pu-lu, Mikir phe-lo id., etc.

\* $\text{L}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}\text{V}$  'war' (HGC 34, WFR 40, LV D6):

PNC  $*\text{L}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}\text{V}$  'war, fight'  $> \text{Av. } \acute{\text{X}}:\text{al}$  'war' (par. C:  $\acute{\text{X}}\text{al}\acute{\text{u}}\text{-l, } \acute{\text{X}}\text{ála-l}$ ); Tsez.  $\acute{\text{X}}\text{ori}$ , Gin.  $\acute{\text{X}}\text{ore}$ , Khv.  $\acute{\text{X}}\text{ola}$ , Bezht.  $\acute{\text{X}}\text{alo}$ , Gunz.  $\acute{\text{X}}\text{ole}$  'war, fight'; Lak.  $\acute{\text{c}}:\text{al}$  'argument, contest'; see NCED 788.

PST  $*\text{r}\acute{\text{a}}\text{l}$  'war, enemy'  $> \text{OC } \text{𐌆} *k-r\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}$  'be wicked', Tib.  $\text{ral-gri}$  'sword', sgral 'to cut into small pieces, viz. the picture of an enemy whom one wishes to destroy', Burm.  $\text{ran}$  'enemy, hatred, danger', Kach.  $\text{phjen}^1$  'war, battle', Lush.  $\text{r}\acute{\text{a}}\text{l}$  'enemy, foe'.

[PST length is very consistent and contradicts final vowel shortness in PNC, so probably the Avar accent paradigm is secondary in this case].

\* $\text{L}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\text{V}$  'bridge, road' (WFR 90, LDC 33):

PNC  $*\text{L}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\text{V}$  'bridge'  $> \text{Chech. l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{mi}$ , Ing.  $\text{l}\bar{\text{m}}\text{i}$  'stairs, ladder'; Gin.  $\acute{\text{X}}\text{emo}$  'bridge, stairs'; Lak.  $\text{lamu}$  'bridge'; Darg.  $\text{gumi}$ , Chir.  $\acute{\text{c}}:\text{ime}$  id.; Khin.  $\text{k}\acute{\text{i}}\text{n-d}$  'bridge, step (of stairs)'.

PST  $*\text{l}\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}$  'road'  $> \text{OC } \text{𐌆} *l\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}$  ( $\sim \text{L-}$ ) 'walk'; Tib.  $\text{lam}$ , Burm.  $\text{lamh}$ , Kach.  $\text{lam}^1$ , Lush.  $\text{lam}$ , Lepcha  $\text{l}\bar{\text{o}}\text{m}$  etc. 'road, way, path'.

\* $\text{L}\acute{\text{u}}\text{l}\text{i}$  'skin, colour' (WFR 22):

PNC  $*\text{L}\acute{\text{u}}\text{l}\text{i}$  'colour; to paint'  $> \text{Av. } \acute{\text{X}}:\text{er}$ , Akhv., God.  $\acute{\text{X}}:\text{eri}$ , Kar,  $\acute{\text{X}}:\text{ere}$  'colour'; Darg.  $\text{guli}$ , dial.  $\text{k:ule}$  'skin, hide'; PL  $*\acute{\text{X}}:\text{al}$  'bark, shell'  $> \text{Tab. } \text{y}\text{al}$ , Ag.  $\text{gal}$ , Ud.  $\text{q}\text{l}\text{ol}$ ; Ad., Kab., Ub.  $\text{La-}$  'to paint'.

PST  $*\text{r}\bar{\text{o}}\text{l}\text{H}$  'to be clear, bright; rejoice' (if originally  $\langle$  'bright colour')  $> \text{OC } \text{𐌆} *g^w\text{-r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}?$  ( $\langle *g\text{r}\bar{\text{o}}\text{n}?$ ) 'smile'; Tib.  $\text{khrol}$  'sparkling, glistening, shining', Burm.  $\text{hrwanh}$  'be clear, bright, shining; be joyful'.

PY \*ʔoʔí (~ x-, j-, -r-) 'hull, suffusion' > Ket. ʔí, Yug. ʔl (Werner 1, 48; compares also Kott. ol 'grave', which is quite unlikely).

[Cf. Basq. \*laŕu 'skin'.]

\*ĽVIV 'neighbour' (BCD 23):

PNC \*ĽōIV 'guest, neighbour' > Chech. lūla-χō, Ing. lola-χo 'neighbour'; Av. ʕ:er-íla-w 'person of the same age' (\*'companion'), =aʕ:á-d 'in-law' (\*'guest-parent'), Akhv. -ʕ:e, Kar. -ʕ:er, God. -ʕ:ur 'parent-in-law'; Tsez. ʕir-ba, Gin. ʕer-ba, Khv. ʕar 'guest'; Khin. ʕijä id.; Hurr. lula-χχə 'foreigner', Urart. lul=ue 'foreigner, enemy'.

PST \*rř 'friend, neighbour' > OC 鄰 \*rən 'neighbour', Burm. rwij 'friend'.

[Basq. \*erdara 'foreign (of language)'.]

\*ĽVmV 'to put on (shoes)' (DCE 27):

PNC \*=ōmĽV (< \*=ō-ĽVmV) > Av. dial. r-eʕé-, And. =iʕ:in-, Cham. =iʕ:n-, Tind. hinʕ:- 'to put on (shoes, footwear, trousers)', Av. dial. hunʕ:, Akhv. iʕ:e-l 'sock, stocking'; Tsez. =iʕ-, Khv. n-iʕ-, Inkh. n-eʕ- 'to put on (shoes)'; Arch. =ubʕa- 'to put on (trousers)'.

PST \*lomH 'a k. of shoe' > OC 踊 \*loŋ? 'shoes for criminals with lopped toes'; Tib. lham 'boot, shoe'.

Bur. \*-ltá- 'to put on (shoes, stockings)' > Yas., Hun., Nag. tá- / -ltá-.

\*ĽwěIV 'fence' (HGC 32, NSC 63, WFR 39)

PNC \*ĽwěIV > Av. lol, Akhv. kolo, Cham. k<sup>w</sup>el, Tind., Kar. koli 'an open enclosure (for sheep)'; Tsez. kuro, Gin. kore. Khv. k<sup>w</sup>ere, Bezht. kalo, Gunz. kōle 'fence'; Arch. ʕoli 'yard, place in front of the house'.

PST \*rāl 'fence, framework' > OC 籬 \*raj 'hedge', Tib. ra 'enclosure, fence, wall', Lush. rel 'to put up the framework (of a house)', Lepcha tə-rel 'the lower part of outside-wall of the house'.

\*ʕǎIHV 'arrow, harpoon':

PNC \*ʕǎI(H)V 'arrow' > PA \*ʕirV, \*ʕir-ɤV: Akhv. ʕe-čō, Ratl. ʕar-čijō 'bow' (čijō 'arrow'), Cham. ʕe-ɤil, Kar. ʕe-ɤer, Tin. ʕe-ɤ(ʷ)an; Lezg. xel 'arrow'; PWC \*ʕə > Abkh. a-χə, Abaz. χə, Ad. ša, Kab. ša, Ub. ša 'arrow'.

PST \*lǎ, \*m-lǎ 'arrow' > OC 射 \*lia-k-s 'shoot with bow', \*lia-k 'hit with bow and arrow'; Tib. m-da 'arrow', Old Burm. m-la, Kach. pəla<sup>3</sup>, məla<sup>3</sup>, Yamphu thuk-la, Dimasa bǎ-la 'arrow' etc.

PY \*jěí (~ʔ-, x-) 'fish spear' > Ket. ɛ:l<sup>4</sup>, Yug. ɛ:h<sup>4</sup> (CCE 232, Werner 1,



230).

[Length in PY is irregular and may reflect a merger with some other root; cf. also: PST \*ʕijH 'bow, arrow'; PEC \*fwǎfV (~ -l-) 'arrow'].

\*ʕánā 'bottom' (NSC 58; differently in WFR 81):

PNC \*ʕanā (~ -ə-) > Lak. hanu 'foundation'; Tsakh. xane 'bottom'.

PST \*lǎŋ 'lower, down' > Kach. kəʔ¹leŋʔ¹ 'lie down'; Lush. thlan 'lower; down; west'; Lepcha lǎŋ 'to be shallow (as water)', PLB \*IVŋ 'to lie down; short'.

Bur. \*(l)táno > Hun. táno 'lower end of animal's intestine'.

\*ʕǎfV 'foot' (HGC 19, WFR 48, LDC 20, BCD 34):

PNC \*ʕǎfV 'foot, track' > Chech. lar, Ing. ler 'track, footprint'; Av. ʕa-k, Kar. ʕal-da id., And. ʕol 'id., horseshoe, hoof', Akhv. ʕali, Botl. hali, Bagv. hal, God. ʕali 'track, footprint; horseshoe', Cham. ʕal 'horseshoe, hoof', Tind. ʕali 'track, footprint; hoof' (cf. also: Av. ʕél-go 'by foot', Akhv. ʕalo-da-be id.); Tsez. rori, Gin. rore, Khv. lola, Bezht. halo, Gunz. hǎle 'foot'; Lak. ʕa 'track, footprint, step' (cf. also ax-t:a 'by foot'); Darg. xu-ra, dial. xi-ra 'by foot, foot-walker'; Lezg. gel, Tab. šil (dial. š:il), Ag. xil (dial. š:il, x:il), Rut. xǎl, Kryz. xel 'track, footprint', Tsakh. xií-cejr 'barefooted'; PWC \*ʕa 'foot' > Abkh. a-šǎ-pǎ, Abz. šǎ-pǎ, Ad., Kab. ʕā-q:ʕa, Ub. ʕā-pǎ.

PST \*ʕa 'leg, foot' > Tib. b-r-la 'thigh', Dumi phoʔ-li, Miju p-la, Chepang la 'foot', etc.

[Cf. Basq. \*loī-ac 'track, trace, footprint'.]

\*ʕwǎŋdV 'a k. of tree, stick, firewood' (BCD 34):

PNC \*ʕwindV (~ -i-, -ā-) 'wood, firewood' > And. ʕudi, Akhv. ʕuda, Cham. ʕunni, Tind. ʕuji, Kar. ʕuda, Botl. hudi, Bagv. hur, God. ʕudi 'wood, firewood'; Tsez. redu, Gin. rede, Khv. lida, Bezht. hūdo, Gunz. hūdu id.; (?) Lak. dial. x:undu-ti 'stick for working leather'.

PST \*lǎŋ 'a k. of foliage tree' > OC 橡 \*lhaŋʔ 'acorn'; Tib. glaŋ 'a large k. of alpine willow'.

[Cf. Basq. \*i-lhindi 'firebrand'.]

\*ʕwirdi 'manure' (BCD 10):

PNC \*ʕwirdi 'manure; pus' > Ing. far-ast 'sheep's dung'; Av. xʕerd 'pus, matter'; Bezht. ʕär, Gunz. ʕar 'sheep's dung'; Lezg. fid, Ag. furd, Rut., Tsakh. xid, Arch. ʕ:ʕit 'manure, dung', Kryz., Bud. xid 'cow's dung'.

PST \*Iǎt > OC 泗 \*s-lhits (~ -js) 'drivel from the nose'; Tib. lud

'phlegm, mucus; manure, dung'; Kach. səlat<sup>2</sup> 'sweat, perspiration'; Lepcha lüt, a-lüt 'manure'.

[Cf. Basq. \*lerde 'drivel, saliva'.]

\*λ(w)ir-dV 'woman' (HGC 23):

PNC \*λ(w)ir-dV > Av. λ:ádi 'wife', Lak. š:ar 'woman, wife', Darg. Chir. xade 'woman', Lezg. ir 'wife' (in comp.), Ag. xir 'woman', Tsakh. xiwil'na 'female'; Ur. lutu 'women'.

PY \*ʔalit (~-r-) > Kott. alit, alīt, pl. alitn, alītn; (Бол.) alat "woman", alit "wife"; Ass. alit (M., Cā., Cpcā.) "wife"; Ar. biqam-álte (M.), biqam-álte (Cpcā.) "wife"; (Локк.) kekm-elte "wife" (CCE 180, Werner 1, 25).

\*λwǝwV 'millet, rice' (BCD 34):

PNC \*λwǝwV 'millet' > Chech. hoʔ 'grain forage', Ing. fuʔ 'grain; grain forage', Bac. oʔ 'grain'; Lak. š<sup>w</sup>a 'mown crops'; PL \*λ<sup>w</sup>iʔ<sup>w</sup>(a) > Lezg., Kryz., Bud. fu, Rut. xiw 'bread'; PWC \*λ<sup>w</sup>ə > Abkh. a-šə, Ab. šə-r-ʒa, Ad. fə-ɾ<sup>w</sup>a, Kab. x<sup>w</sup>ə 'millet', Ub. s<sup>w</sup>ə-bla 'bread'.

PST \*fɪwH > OC 稻 \*lhūʔ (~-l-ɬ-) 'rice, paddy', Burm. luh 'sp. of grain, Panicum paspalum', Kach. čəkhrau<sup>1</sup> 'paddy ready for husking', Kir. \*IV 'millet'.

[Cf. Basq. \*olho (\*alho) 'oats'.]

\*λwǝʔV 'wind, to blow' (HGC 30, WFR 142, LDC 27, FDCP 5):

PNC \*λwǝʔV > Chech. hō, Ing. fo 'fresh wind, breeze'; Akhv. λ<sup>w</sup>ē / λoji, dial. lel, λ<sup>w</sup>el 'wind, breeze'; Lak. haw 'cold wind'; Darg. xul 'hope'; Lezg. ful 'shivering, chill', Rut. xul 'prayer', Arch. λul 'hope'; PWC \*pə-λ<sup>w</sup>a > Abkh. a-pšá, Abaz. pša, Ub. ʧa-psa 'wind', Ad. ja-pšá-, Kab. ja-pša- 'to blow'.

PST \*lūj > OC 頽 \*l(h)ūj 'destructive wind, gale'; Burm. lij 'wind', Kach. buŋ<sup>2</sup>-li<sup>3</sup> 'breeze', Lush. thli 'wind', etc.

PY \*juł- (~ ʔ-,x-) 'whirlwind, wind' > Ket. ulgit<sup>5</sup>, pl. ulgerəŋ<sup>5</sup>, Б,С ulgitəŋ<sup>5</sup> 'whirlwind'; ul-bej<sup>5,6</sup> / ul-vej<sup>5</sup> 'whirlwind; soul, shadow' (lit. "whirlwind"+"wind"); Yug. ulgit<sup>5</sup> 'whirlwind'; ulbej<sup>5</sup> 'whirlwind; soul, shadow'. See CCE 233, Werner 2, 336, 339.

[In PST one would rather expect \*lūl > \*rūl; the reason for the early loss of \*-l is unclar.

Cf. Basq. \*luřin 'steam, vapour'.]

\*λwVnV 'to plait, wind':

PNC \*=VλwE(n) ( ~ -λ-) 'to bind, knit, plait' > Av. =uxn-, And. =ošin- 'to bind, tie', (with reduplication) Av. xuxn-, Kar. =exux- 'to knit, plait'; Tsakh. i=x<sup>w</sup>a- 'to sew'; PWC \*λ<sup>w</sup>ə 'to plait' > Abkh. á-šš-ra, Abaz. šš-ra; Ad. fə-, Kab. x<sup>w</sup>ə-; Ub. š<sup>w</sup>ə- 'to plait'.

PST \*lām 'to spin, wind' > Kach. khjam 'to wind, as yarn on a shuttle'; Lush. lam 'to spin a top'.

\*λǎjV 'time, season' (DCE 25):

PNC \*λǎjV 'time, day' > Av. λáŋe-l 'year', And. λa-l 'in the daytime', Akhv. λa-li-ge, Cham. λaj-l, Kar. λaji-l, Botl. hē-le, Bagv. ehe-li, God. λē-l 'in the daytime'; PWC \*λV > Abkh., Abaz. šǎ- 'day' (in compounds), Ad., Kab. jə-λa-s 'year'.

PST \*lǎH 'year, season' > OC 祀 \*lhə? 'sacrificial cycle, year'; Tib. lo 'year'; Kach. kh-ra' 'time, season'; (?) Lush. lai 'time, season, hour, day'; Kir. \*l[o] 'time'.

Bur. (with metathesis?) \*jult > Hun., Nag. jult 'time, right moment'.

\*λHībV̄ 'wind, steam':

PNC \*λHībV 'wind, breeze' > Lak. x:iłw 'breeze'; PL \*λop:ol > Rut. xibil 'wind', Lezg. kp:ul 'rheumatism'.

PY \*ʔipV (~x-, j-) > Ket. i:³, Yug. i:p³ / i:h<sup>p</sup>⁴ 'breath, expiration (visible in cold weather)' (CCE 195, Werner 1, 390).

\*λHwémV 'liquid, soak' (NSC 58):

PNC \*λHwemV 'liquid' (adj.) > Av. λ:amí-ja-, And. λ:emi, Akhv. λ:eme-da- id.; Lak. xuImu- id.; Darg. Chir. šalm- 'wet, liquid'; PL \*λ:älmä- > Lezg. žimi, Tab. šmi, Ag. š:ume-r, Rut. ximi-l-di, Tsakh. ximal-n, Arch. λ:aIma-t-u- id.

PST \*liəm 'soak' > OC 淫 \*ləm 'to soak', Kach. prim 'to be soaked' (probably same root as \*t-līm 'deep, sink' > OC 深 \*λhəm 'deep', Lush. tlum 'to draw in, go in, sink', Kir. \*p-lùm 'to sink', \*gh-lùm 'deep').

Bur. \*(l)tam > Hun., Nag. tam dél- 'to swim, bathe, wash'.

[Cf. Basq. \*limuri 'humid; slippery; smooth'.]

\*λVrǎV 'wind' (DCE 23):

PNC \*λ[a]rǎV ( ~ -ǎ-) 'movement of air' > And. λoç:u, Akhv. λǎç:o (dial. λarç:o), Cham. λaš<sup>w</sup>, Tind. λač:u, Kar. λarç:u, God. λač:u 'voice, shout'; Tsez., Gin. λaci, Khv. λaca 'wind'.

Bur. \*(l)tiš 'wind' > Yas., Hun., Nag. tiš.

\*λwōrī 'wheel, roll' (LDC 31):

PNC \*λwīri ~ \*rīλwi 'wheel, vehicle' > Chech. lāra 'oval cradle runners; fan of the mill wheel'; Tind. raku 'wheel'; PL \*λ<sup>w</sup>ir > Tab. fur 'cart', Ag. fur 'wheel'.

PST \*r[ua]ʃ 'round, roll, wheel' > OC 輪 \*run 'wheel', Tib. ril, hril, rel 'round, globular', ādril (p. dril) 'be turned, rolled round'; Lush. hrual 'roll up in the hand, twist'; Lepcha ról 'to roll round' etc.

Bur. \*-ltál- > Yas., Hunza, Nagar -ltáli- 'to wind', tálen- / -ltálen- 'to go round', -ltalan- 'to turn'.

\*λwǎnʔi (~-e) 'belly, womb':

PNC \*λwǎnʔi (~-e) > Av. maxá 'abomasum'; Lak. ku (kuni-) 'stomach; paunch'; Darg. kani (dial. k<sup>w</sup>ani) 'belly'; PL \*ᵛo-λwin / \*ro-λwin > Lezg. rufun, Tab., Ag. fun, Rut. uxun, Tsakh. wuxun, Kryz. fän 'belly'.

PST \*lūm 'womb' > Tib. lhūm-s (resp.) 'womb'; Lush. hlūm 'the name given to the womb when contracted immediately after childbirth' (cf. also hlam 'placenta'), Kir. \*hi-lum 'womb', etc.

\*λwǎrV 'horn' (MCGD 6, BCD 22):

PNC \*λwǎrV 'horn; braid, mane' > Chech. kur 'horn', Ing kur 'arc'; Av. λ:ar 'horn'; PL \*λ:<sup>w</sup>ir (~λ<sup>w</sup>-) > Lezg. firi, Rut. xiri 'mane', Bud. fur 'braid, plait (of grass)'.

Bur. \*-ltúr 'horn' > Yas. tur, Hun., Nag. -ltúr, tur.

[Cf. Basq. \*adañ 'horn'.]

\*λwǎʔV 'mould, sludge, dust' (BCD 22):

PNC \*λwǎʔ ( ~ -ǎ) 'mould' > Av., Kar. k:al, Tok. xali, God. k:aji-χ:ir 'mould'; Lezg. x<sup>w</sup>el 'boil, furuncle', Rut. xul, Tsakh. xiwa 'mould'.

PST \*t-rǎʔ 'dust' > OC 塵 \*drən 'dust', Tib. rdul id.; Lush. (?) dōl 'soil, refuse etc. banked up against a fence' etc.

PY \*ʔuʔl ( ~ x-, j-) 'sludge' > Ket.uʔl, Yug. uʔl (CCE 199, Werner 2, 376).

[Cf. Basq. \*erdoil 'rust (of plants, iron).]

\*λVwV (~ λ-, λ-) 'to lick' (DCE 31):

PST \*(j)aw (~-əw, -iw) > Kach. (H) šinlau 'tongue'; Lush. hliau 'to lick (as flames)'.

Bur. \*-ltáu- > Yas. -ltáu / táu- 'to lick'.

\*ʃa 'up, above':

PNC \*ʃa 'up, above (an adverbial stem)' > Av. ʃa-d 'up, above', Akhv. ʃa-do, Cham. hi-la-h id.; Av. -d- (dial. -ʃ-, -ʒ- or -l-) locative suffix (series Super), And. -ʃa, Akhv. -ʃ-, Tind., Bagv., God. -la, Kar. -ʃa, Botl. -0-id.; Tsez. ʃi-ri, Gin. ʃe-re, Bezht., Gunz. ʃo-do 'up, above', Tsez. -ʃ(o), Gin., Khv. -ʃo, Bezht. -ʃa, Gunz. -ʃ(o) 'suffix Super'; Lak. ʃa, dial. ʃ<sup>w</sup>a 'that (above the speaker)'; Darg. i-ʃ, Chir. i-ʃ, ʃaʃ id., etc.

PST \*lā > OC 𐌂 \*la 'to lift', Tib. b-la 'over, above'.

Bur. \*d-al 'up, above' > Yas., Hun., Nag. dal.

\*ʃāʃū 'rock, mountain slope':

PNC \*ʃāʃū 'stone' > Av. ʃālu 'rock, rocky plateau', ʃālá 'layer', And. lala, Akhv. ʃāla 'lid', Kar. ʃāla '(paper) leaf', Tind. ala 'lid; (paper) leaf'; Gin. ʃāl, Bezht. ʃālo, Gunz. ʃālu 'stone', Tsez. ʃul-uq, Khv. ʃar '\*stone plate, lid' > 'trap'; Ag. ʃele-ʃan 'stone for fastening the roof'.

Bur. \*(l)tali > Hun. talí 'slope (of a mountain)'.

\*ʃānpV 'tongue; lip; to lick' (HGC 23):

PNC \*ʃānpV 'lip' > Tsez., Gin. ʃepu 'lip'; Ag. ʃamp-úr id.

PST \*tlep > Tib. gʒab 'lick', Kach. ʃiŋlep 'tongue'.

PY \*ʒalVp (~-l-, -r1-, -b) 'tongue' > Kott. alup, pl. -aŋ, acc. (M., Ca., Kλ.) alūp, (Cpca.) alup, Ar. álap (M., Ca., Cpca., Kλ.), elep (ʃock.) (CCE 180, Werner 1, 27).

\*ʃānχwV 'a k. of stone' (FDCP 2):

PNC \*ʃānχwV 'ruins; cobble-stone(s)' > Akhv. ʃāχa (dial. ʃanχa), Cham. aχ<sup>w</sup>a, Tind. aχa 'ruins'; Gin. ʃiχ<sup>w</sup>in 'cobble-stone'.

PST \*t-liāŋ / \*t-liāk 'stone' > OC 𐌂 \*lāŋ? 'a k. of precious stone, 碭 \*lāŋs 'veined stone'; Burm. kjauk (PLB \*k-luŋx) 'stone', Kach. n-luŋ<sup>2</sup>, Lush. luŋ, Lepcha luŋ, Kir. \*lūŋ 'stone', etc.

[Cf. Basq. \*lega-r̄ 'small stone, pebble, gravel'.]

\*ʃāpi 'leaf' (HGC 20, NSC 58, DCE 18):

PNC \*ʃāpi (~-e) > Cham. apal, dial. lapā 'leaf'; Lak. ʃapi id.; Darg. ʃapi id.; Ad. thāp, Kab. thampa id.

PST \*lāp 'leaf' > OC 葉 \*lap 'leaf, foliage', Tib. ldeb 'leaf, sheet', Burm. āhlap 'petal of a flower', Kach. lap<sup>2</sup> 'leaf'; Lush. lēp 'bud (of a cotton flower)', Lepcha lóp 'a large leaf of tree', Kir. \*l[ā]p 'wing' etc. (The Tib. and

Lush. forms were influenced by \*T-lēp 'flat'.]

PY \*jāpe 'leaf' > Ket. ᵐ; Yug. ᵐ:ᵐp, Kott. dípi, Ar. ipón, Pump. xógon-dípun (CCE 232-233, Werner 2, 416).

Bur. \*ltap > Yas. tap 'leaf', du-ltápi- 'to wither', Hunza, Nagar tap 'petal; page', du-ltápu- 'to wither'.

[Regular except for length in Yenisseeian, which is still unexplained.]

\*ǰícV 'leech, snake, fish':

PNC \*ǰecV / \*ǰeǰV 'fish; lizard' > Av. dial. ǰec, ǰinč, And. ǰerč:in, Kar. anč:u 'lizard'; Gin. ǰoči 'frog'; Tab. čič, Ag. ček: 'fish', Kryz. čuk-nu / čuk-ni 'green' (\*'fishy'); Khin. činqaz 'lizard'.

PST \*lit 'water leech' > Lush. hlīt, Lepcha hlet-bŭ, Kir. \*lút, Mikir iŋ-lit 'water leech', etc.

\*ǰéǰ(w)ē 'a k. of bird' (DCE 16; differently in LV B19):

PNC \*ǰeǰē > Av. ǰ:iǰ:i 'a k. of song-bird', ǰ:iǰ:i-diro 'a k. of variegated bird'; PL \*ǰ:eǰ:(a) > Lezg. kek, Ag. k:ek: 'cock', Kryz. kākāl, Bud. kakil 'partridge'; Khin. kaqid 'partridge'.

PST \*t-lēk<sup>w</sup> > OC 翟 \*lēk<sup>w</sup> 'pheasant', Tib. lócog-ma 'lark'.

Bur. \*(l)tal > Yas., Hunza, Nagar tal 'dove'.

\*ǰhwāxkV 'stick' (DCE 27):

PNC \*ǰhwāxV 'stick, chip' > Av. ǰ:ox: 'stubble'; Bezht. ǰix, Gunz. ǰixa 'chip, shaving'; PL \*ǰ:ᵐaxI (~ -χ:I) 'hook, fishing-rod' > Ag. k:ᵐaḥ, Rut. gixI.

PST \*t-lǎk 'stake, stick' > OC 𣎵 \*lǎk 'stake, pole'; Tib. lág 'rod, switch, stick, whip'.

Bur. \*(l)taḡ > Yas. taḡ 'branch, shoot', Yas. taḡésin, Hun., Nag. taḡés 'a k. of high vegetable with red leaves'.

\*ǰəŋʔwǰ 'roof, top' (LV D5):

PNC \*ǰəŋʔǰ 'roof' > Av. ʔom 'skin' (dial. 'roof'; par. C ʔomó-l, ʔoma-l), And. ǰom, lom 'roof', Akhv. ǰami, ǰō 'roof' (dial. also 'skin'), Cham., Botl. am, Tind. ami, Kar. ǰame, Bagv. ama, God. lam 'roof'; Tsez., Gin. ǰu, Khv. ǰū, Bezht. ǰama, Gunz. ǰome 'roof'; see NCED 777.

PST \*t-lǎŋ 'lift, rise' > OC 揚 \*lǎŋ 'lift, raise', Tib. ldaŋ 'to rise, get up', ltoŋ-s 'summit', Lush. hlāŋ 'to lift up', tlāŋ 'a mountain, hill'. [Length of vowel in Lush. is unexplained.]

[\\*λipV̄](#) (/ \*-ä-) 'flat, slab' (NSC 58, LDC 32, DCE 28, BCD 6):

PNC \*λēpV̄ 'stone plate or shed' > Chech., Ing. laba 'shed; peak of cap'; Av. South. λeb 'stone', Cham. abul (dial. labul), Tind. aba 'plate, slab'; Khv., Inkh. (with metathesis) boλo 'stone plate, stone for fastening the roof'.

PST \*t-lēp > OC 牒 \*l(h)ēp 'tablet'; Tib. leb 'flat', gleb (p. glebs) 'to make flat, plain'; Iʒab 'flat, plain, even'; Burm. hljap 'very thin', khjap 'thin', OB khlap 'numeration of flat thin things'; Lush. lēp 'a slice', etc.

Bur. \*(l)tapi 'stony terrace' > Hun., Nag. tápi (cf. the Shina loanword: Sh. trápi, tapi baṭ 'dünnne Steinplatte').

[One is also tempted to compare PY \*j[e]ʔp > Ket., Yug. εʔp 'shovel (for snow)', Kott. dāfal 'board' - however, regularly one would rather expect \*jeb. This makes us think that the PY word reflects a merger with yet another PSC root meaning 'roof, cover': cf. PNC \*λwibV 'shed' and PST \*lūp 'cover, roof'. The -ʔ- in PY, however, is still unexplained.

Cf. Basq. \*lape 'shelter under the eaves of a shed'.]

[\\*λúHṼ](#) 'arm' (LV A12):

PNC \*HluλĒ ( ~ \*λulHV) 'arm' > Av. ruλ: (par. C: ruλ:á-lzul, rúλ:al), Cham. (ʁaʒuλ) wuλ:, Tind. (ʁaʒuλ:a) ruλ:a, Bagv. ʁaʒu-ruλ:; Darg. Chir. duluy, Kharb. dulaj-naql 'elbow'; Lezg. ʁul 'shoulder-blade', Tab. k:ül, Ag. k:ul, Rut. gił, Tsakh. giwi 'foreleg (of an animal)', Kryz, Bud. kil 'arm', Arch. λ:ol 'shoulder-blade, foreleg', Ud. q:ul 'hip'; Khin. ʁil 'arm'; Ad. ʒā-bL, Kab. bLa, ʒa-bLa 'arm'; see NCED 588.

PST \*t-lūH / \*t-lū-k (?) 'hand, arm, wing' > OC 手 \*λhu? 'hand, arm'; Tib. sóg 'wing, wing-feather'.

Bur. \*-Itáltar ( < \*-Itálar ?) > Yas. -Itáltariṅ 'breasts sticking out'; Hunza -Itáltar 'front leg, animal shoulder, arm'.

[\\*λVxkV̄](#) 'shed':

PNC \*λVxV 'shed' > Tsez. λexē-λ, Gin. λexē-λ 'on the ceiling', Bezht. λux 'ceiling'; PDarg. \*γax:a > Darg. jaχa, Chir. ix:a 'shed'.

PST \*t-līk 'a k. of house' > OC 廡 \*Lək, \*Lək-s 'tent', Tib. lćog 'a turret on a housetop', ćog 'a sort of tent', Burm. kjəuk 'pagoda'.

PY \*ʔiʔ(G) ( ~ x-, j-) > Ket., Yug. iʔ 'loft, store' (CCE 192, Werner 1, 389).

[\\*λwǎṅHṼ](#) 'a k. of insect' (LV A22):

PNC \*nĥǎwǎV̆ ( / \*ǎwǎnĥV̆) 'gadfly' > Av. niḵ: (par. C: niḵ:i-l, niḵ:a-l), And. nič:u, Akhv. niḵ:i, Cham. nuṣa, Kar. niḵ:e 'gadfly'; Lak. nalḵu (dial. laIḵu) 'dragonfly'; Lezg. South. k:uni 'bee', Arch. nalḵ:u 'gadfly'; see NCED 850.

PST \*t-luŋ 'insect, worm' > OC 蟲 \*Lhuŋ 'insect; reptile', Tib. lcoŋ 'tadpole', Burm. kjoŋh 'locust', Lepcha tə-ljaŋ bü 'a sp. of worm', Trung bə³-liŋ¹ 'fly', etc.

\*ǎwěŋχV 'pus':

PNC \*ǎwě[n]χV 'pus; snot' > And. loχʷo, Cham. aχa, Kar. ǎʷaχa, Botl. aχʷa, Tind. (with metathesis) χʷā-r 'pus'; PTs (with metathesis) \*χ:ǎχ (~ -ē-) 'snot' > Tsez. ĥiǎ / heǎ, Khv. χiǎ, Inkh. χēǎ.

PST \*liŋ (~-iə-) 'pus, abscess' > Tib. lhiŋ 'tumor filled with matter, an abscess', Burm. prañ (PLB \*pŋiŋ) 'pus', Pwo, Sgaw phi 'pus', (?) Lepcha f-ren, f-rañ 'boil, ulcer'.

\*ǎwǎnhV̆ 'sprout' (WFR 68):

PNC \*ǎwǎnhV̆ 'malt, young sprouts' > Ing. ɤo 'porridge made of chopped corn'; Av. ti, PA \*ǎinHi 'malt' > And. linni, Akhv. ǎini, Cham., Tind., Bagv. ī, Kar. ǎi, God. niʔi; Tsez., Gin. ǎe, Khv., Bezht., Gunz. ǎi, Inkh. ǎē 'malt'; Lak. ɤu-t id.; Darg. ɤiʔa id.; Lezg. dial. ɤut 'malt', Arch. ɤun 'flour'; Khin. ɤun 'flour'.

PST \*t-lǎj 'sprout' > OC 稗 \*Lhǎj 'wild millet; shoot, sprout'; Lush.hli 'self-sown, springing up from the old root perennially'.

[The match is somewhat questionable, since the meaning 'shoot, sprout' in OC may actually represent OC \*lhǎj < PST \*jǎl, while Lush. hli may reflect PST \*li 'seed'. However, PST \*li 'seed' itself is phonetically and semantically a rather good match for PNC \*ǎwǎnhV̆. The problem requires further investigation.]

\*ǎwǎrHV̆ 'leaf' (BCD 21):

PNC \*ǎwǎrHV̆ (\*-rʔ- reconstructed in NCED, but hardly with sufficient ground] > Av. ɤa 'leaves (for tanning)', And. ǎoli, Akhv. ǎā-de, Cham. al, Tind. ali, Kar. ǎale, Botl. ɤali, Bagv. ɤal, God. lali 'leaf'; Darg. ɤa-ri 'foliage', dial. ɤa 'leaf'; PL (redupl.) \*ǎʷiriǎʷ > Rut. ɤuruɤ 'leaf', Bud. ɤuruɤ 'bud', (metath.) \*riǎʷ- > Lezg. dial. riqI-ǎj 'leaf'; PWC \*pǎa > Ad. pčā-ś, Kab. pšā-śa 'foliage', Ub. pča-pá 'leaf'.

PST \*t-lā 'leaf' > OC 茶 \*Lā 'a k. of plant, tea', 藜 \*ǎāk 'withered and fallen leaves'; Tib. lo-ma 'leaf'; Burm. la-phak 'tea', Kach. ləphra³ 'dry and



fallen leaves'; Mikir lo, Magari hla 'leaf', etc.

[? Cf. Basq. \*lahaṛ 'bramble, creeping plant'.]

\*λwifē 'saddle' (LDC 34):

PNC \*λwifē 'saddle' > Av. λ:ilí, PA (with redupl.) \*λ:i(r)λ:il > And. λ:erλ:il, Akhv. λ:eλ:e, Cham. λ:iλ:il, Tind. λ:eλ:al, Kar. λ:eλ:el, God. λ:eλ:il; PTs \*λon-q<sup>w</sup>eIV (a compound of \*λwifē + \*q<sup>w</sup>āfV 'saddlegirth') > Tsez. λiqur 'saddle seat', Gin. λiq<sup>w</sup>ali (muzi), Khv. λeǰel, Bezht. λajǰena, Gunz. λorǰena 'saddle'; Lak. kili 'saddle'; Darg. gili (dial. guli, wili) id.

Bur. \*ltVI- > Yas. -ltul-, Hun., Nag. -ltul- 'to saddle', Yas. tilíhaŋ, teléhaŋ, Hun., Nag. tilíhaŋ 'saddle'.

\*λwVn?V 'ankle, shin' (MCGD 7):

PNC \*λwVn?V ( ~ -ʔ-) 'groin; part of leg' > Av. λ:an, Kar. λ:an-di 'groin'; Darg. \*γ<sup>w</sup>a > Chir. wa 'ankle'; PL \*λ:on(a) / \*wo-λ:on(a) > Lezg. k<sup>u</sup>n (dial. k:in) 'wedge', Tab. k:um 'wedge, nail, peg', Ag. k:un 'ankle', Rut. w<sup>i</sup>g<sup>i</sup>n 'wedge; fang', Kryz. kin 'ankle', Arch. λ:on-ʔol 'fingernail'.

PST \*ləŋ 'shin, ankle' > Tib. loŋ-bu 'ankle-bone, astragal', b-loŋ 'bones or knuckles used as dice'; Kach. šinlaŋ<sup>1</sup> 'shin', Kir. \*ləŋ 'foot, leg', Tani \*ləŋ 'bone', etc.

Bur. \*ltén > Yas. ten, Hun., Nag. -ltín 'bone', Yas. tanc, Hun., Nag. -ltánc 'leg'.

\*ma ( ~ -ə) 'not, prohibitive particle' (HGC 21, NSC 64):

PNC \*ma ( ~ -ə) 'prohibitive particle' > Chech., Ing., Bac. ma id.; Tsez. -n-č ( < \*-m-č), Gin. -go-m 'negative particle' (Khv. -b-č-, Inkh. -b-related here in NCED can also go back to \*bV q.v.); Lak. ma 'prohibitive particle'; Lezg. -mir, Tab., Ag., Rut., Tsakh., Kryz., Bud. m-, Ud. ma id.; Abkh. m-, Ab. -m-, Ad., Kab. mə-, Ub. -m(a)- 'prohibitive and negative particle'.

PST \*mä(H) 'not' > OC 無 \*ma 'not have, not', Tib. ma 'not', Burm. ma? 'a verbal negative', Lepcha ma 'negative particle', Kham ma etc.

PY \*wə- 'not, there is not' > Ket. bḅ́n / bḅ́n "not, there is not"; bḅ́ńśeŋ<sup>1</sup>, bḅ́ńśeŋ<sup>1</sup>, bḅ́ńčəŋ<sup>1</sup> "there is not"; Yug. bḅ́n "not, there is not"; bḅ́śe "there is not"; Kott. bō "prohibitive particle"; mon, \*mōn "not"; Ass. (M., Cl.) mon "not"; Ar. bon (Ka.) "there is not", (M., Cl.) "not"; Pump. a-mút, amut (Cl.) "not". See CCE 294, Werner 1, 157.

\*manV 'to sit, stay, be' (SMCE 137):

PNC \*ʔima(n)- 'to stay, to be' > Lezg. ama, Tab. imi-di (xuz), Ag. ame-xis, Rut. ma=a, Arch. imm(a)-eχ:as 'to stay'; Khin. =mä 'to be'; Hurr. mann-, Ur. man- 'to be'.

PY \*pan 'to sit' > Ket. d-k-a-d-i-ən "I sit", (Castr.) dīdeḡāf "to sit down", praet. dideḡāf, imp. inḡāf (< \*-pn); Yug. k-a:ʰp (< \*-pn), inf. káfiŋ; Kott. iḡ-panaŋ 'to sit down'. See CCE 245, Werner 1, 402.

Bur. \*man- 'to be, become' > Yas., Hun., Nag. man-.

[\\*märlwǎ](#) 'cloud' (NSC 59, LV C5):

PNC \*märlwǎ > Chech. marḡa, Ing. morḡ 'cloud'; Lak. dial. bark 'a high cloud'; Darg. marka 'rain'; Lezg. marf, Tab. marx, Ag. marf, Rut. maf, Bud. məf 'rain', Arch. mol 'foam'; PWC \*pǎla 'cloud' > Ad. pša, Kab. pša. See NCED 795-796.

PST \*mūk 'fog' > OC 霏 \*mōk 'drizzle', Tib. rmugs, smug 'a dense fog', Kach. muʔ<sup>1</sup> 'cloudy', Lepcha muk 'foggy, misty, overclouded', Tani \*muk 'cloud' etc.

PY \*pV(?)r (\*ʔas-pV(?)r) 'cloud' > Ket. aśpuʔ<sup>5,6</sup>, Yug. asfil<sup>5,6</sup>, Kott. ašpar, ašpoʔ 'cloud', Ar. ejš paraŋ, esperəŋ 'cloud; sky' (a compound with \*ʔas- 'sky'; see CCE 255, Werner 1, 71).

[Length in PST is irregular.]

[\\*mäšV](#) 'tinder, mushroom':

PNC \*mäšA 'tinder' > Darg. milha (< \*misV-la), Chir. mis; Lezg. dial. çi-maç (with assimilation), Ag. mes<sup>w</sup>, Rut. çimäs, Tsakh. çimis (compounds with \*çoji- 'fire' in the first part); PWC \*məša > Abkh. a-č<sup>v</sup>-msá, Abaz. č<sup>w</sup>-ə-msa (compounds analogous to Lezghian), Ub. pa-msá 'tinder'.

PST \*maw (~-ew) 'mushroom' > Tib. mo-g (?), Burm. hməw, Kach. kə-mu<sup>1</sup>, Mikir ki-mu, etc.

[\\*mäšwV](#) 'dirt, mould':

PNC \*mäšwV > Tsez., Gin. mes-la 'mould'; Tab. Düb. miš:vi, Ag. mes 'mould'.

PY \*puʔs 'mould' > Ket. huʔś, Yug. fuʔs (CCE 253, Werner 1, 311).

Bur. \*mos 'mud flood, mud avalanche' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar mos.

[\\*mélci](#) 'tongue' (HGC 23, LV A18):

PNC \*mélci 'tongue' > Chech., Ing. mott, Bac. moṭṭ; Av. maç: (par. C: maç:á-l, máç:a-l), And., Akhv., Botl. miç:i, Cham. miş, Tind., God. mic:i, Kar. maç:i, Bagv. miç:; Tsez., Gin., Khv. mec, Bezht. mic, Gunz. mic; Lak.

maz; Darg. mez, lezmi; Lezg., Ag., Kryz., Bud. mez, Tab. melz, Rut., Tsakh. miz, Arch. mac, Ud. muz; Khin. miç; PWC \*bə́zA > Abkh. á-bz, Ab. bza, Ad., Kab. bza, Ub. b́za 'tongue'; see NCED 802-803.

PST \*m-laj / \*m-lat > OC 舐 \*lajʔ (Baxter: \*m-lajʔ) 'to lick', 舌 \*lat (Baxter: \*m-lat) 'tongue', Tib. lce (reflecting a secondary form \*s-laj or \*t-laj), Burm. hlja, Kach. šinlet², Lush. lei (KC \*m-lei), Lepcha lí, Magar melet, Rgyarung smi, Newari m(j)e 'tongue' etc.

Bur. \*-jú-mus 'tongue' > Hunza, Nagar -úmus, Yas. (with a not quite clear -ŋ-) -júŋus.

[Cf. Basq \*mihi 'tongue'.]

\*mélǰV 'place, earth':

PNC \*mélǰV > Chech., Ing. mott 'bed', Bac.mott 'bed; place'; Tsez., Gin. moči, Bezht. mače, Gunz. moče 'place; ground; field'; Darg. \*mez > mer 'place'; Arch. mač 'place'.

PST \*m-laj 'earth, ground' > OC 地 \*Lhaj-s 'earth, ground' (although it can be alternatively compared with Tib. lder 'clay'); Burm. mrij (LB \*mlij) 'earth, ground'; Lush. lei 'earth, ground, world' (PKC \*ŋ-lei); Mikir mili, meli 'sand bank', Trung mə³-li² 'earth', etc.

\*merć(w)Ē (~ -ǎ-) 'sickle, axe':

PNC \*mirć(w)Ē (~ -ǎ-) 'knife, sickle' > Cham. Gig. mirča, Bagv. miča 'dagger'; Gunz. mišu 'sickle'; PWC \*bǎč.wa (~ p-) > Ad. ɤʷə-pč, Kab. ɤʷə-bža 'sickle' (ɤʷə- 'metal'), Ub. pča- 'to cut, hew down (trees etc.)'.

Bur. \*manç > Yas., Hun., Nag. manç 'axe, adze'.

\*mēɤV 'tail' (HGC 22, LV A17):

PNC \*mēɤV 'tail' > Bac. muɤ 'tail', PN \*muɤ-IV > Chech., Ing. muɤla, Bac. mujɤl 'part of harness (put under the tail); Av. maɤ (South par. C: Chad. maɤí-l, máɤa-l), And. miɤ-erçu, Cham., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. miɤa 'tail'; Tsez. maɤi, Gin. miɤi, Khv. miɤi, Bezht., Gunz. miɤ 'tail'; Lak. maɤ id.; Darg. buq-muj (dial. -muh, -nuɤI) 'sheep's tail'; see NCED 801.

PST \*mǎjH, \*r-mǎjH 'tail' > OC 尾 \*mǎjʔ 'tail', Burm. mrih, Kach. mai², Lush. mei, Limbu mi etc.

PY \*puG-Vɤ 'tail' > Ket. hu:t, pl. hūrəŋ¹ (Bak., Sur. hūdəŋ¹); Yug. fu:t, pl. fūdiŋ¹ / fu:diŋ³; Kott. fugai, phugai; Ar. phugáj. See CCE 253, Werner 1, 332. The root contains a frequent body part suffix \*-Vɤ - which, despite Werner *ibid.*, has nothing to do with Ket aʔt 'bone'; nothing like

\*huk 'flaumig, wollig' is ever attested in any Yenisseian language. Werner's statement that "dem ket., jug. aʔt 'Knochen' entspricht in Komposita das kot. -ai" is inexplicable phonetically and plainly wrong: in a few cases of attested compounds of this type Kottish has not -ai, but -ar: cf. \*χɔb-aʔd 'back(bone)' > Ket qɔvət, Yug xɔfat, Kott. hapar, \*kas-aʔd 'foot sole' > Ket. kassat, Kott. hačar - quite consistently with the Kott. reflex of \*ʔaʔd 'bone' which is Kott. ar-aŋ, ar-ša.

\*mėwGV 'a k. of berry':

PNC \*niwGV (? /\*m-) > Akhv. muq:ali 'blackberry'; Lak. qul-nuqi 'strawberry'; Lezg. neqi, Tab. niq:ʷ / nimq:, Rut. niGGä, Tsakh. niq:äj 'strawberry'.

PY \*pVKV 'birdcherry' > Kott. fagé, phage 'birdcherry', Ass. pak-šúlbi 'strawberry' (CCE 248, Werner 1, 275).

Bur. \*mayar- 'unripe mulberry' > Hun. mayaroóni, mayaroóti, mayuroóti, Nag. marangoóno.

\*mǎčú 'hair, pubic hair' (SCE 88):

PNC \*mǎču 'long hair; fibre, strip' > Chech. maž, Ing. mož 'beard', Bac. mač 'moustache'; Av. móčo 'strip, piece', Cham., Tind. miča 'hair'; Tsez. meč, Gin. moç, Khv. mič 'neck; back of the head', Bezht. müč 'neck; plait, women's hair', Gunz. muč 'plait'; Lak. mač 'patch; coarse calico'; PL (with metathesis) \*čum(a) / \*čun(a) > Lezg. čun, Tab. čum 'fibre', Rut. čin 'strap, belt'.

Bur. \*mǎś-ki 'pubic hair' > Yas. -míski, Hun., Nag. -múski.

\*mǎhwV 'grain, seed' (VCQ 5):

PNC \*mǎhwV 'grain, seed; a k. of cereal' > Av. muh, And., Cham., Tind., Kar. muhu, Akhv. mǎhī 'grain, seed'; Gin. mu 'oats', Bezht. miʔē, Gunz. moh 'acorn'; Darg. maħalr 'a sort of barley'; Tab. meʔ-er, Ag. meʔ-er id., Rut. müʔür 'wheat'.

PST \*mǎw, \*mrǎw (< \*r-mǎw) 'grain, seed' > OC 苗 \*m(r)aw 'grain in the blade; sprout' (cf. also 麥 \*mu 'barley'); Tib. ābru 'grain, seed'; Burm. mjəwh 'seed, grain'; Kach. mju<sup>3</sup> 'seed, sort'; Lush. mu 'a seed, kernel'.

\*mǎmV 'breast, teat' (SCE 93):

PNC \*mǎmV > Chech. mǎmag 'female breast'; Bezht. momola, Gunz. momla 'pimple'; Darg. mama 'female breast, teat'; Lezg., Arch. mam, Kryz. mām, Bud. məm 'female breast'.

PY \*maʔm > Ket., Yug. maʔm 'female breast'.

Bur. \*mamu > Yas. -mámu, Hun., Nag. -mámút 'female breast',  
Yas., Hun., Nag. mamú 'milk'.

\*mHänV 'soft, warm' (WFR 54):

PNC \*mhänV- 'warm; weak, loose': Chech. Ved., Kharach. mene id.; Darg. wana 'warm'; Tab. mani id. Despite NCED, the forms with -n- should be separated from PN \*mfäl-i(n) 'warm' (which should be rather compared with PST \*mējH 'fire').

PST \*němH 'soft' > OC 染 \*namʔ (~-emʔ) 'soft, flexible', Burm. nu-ńamʔ 'soft', Kach. nam 'be soft, fluffy or downy'; Lush. nēm 'soft, fine in texture; weak (as beer)'.

\*mHärčwV (~ št) 'pus, mould' (MCGD 13):

PNC \*mHärčwV 'pus; mucus, snot' > Chech. marš, Ing. meraž 'snot'; And. maču, Cham. maš 'snot'; Ag. maš, Tsakh. maš, Ud. mar 'pus'.

PST \*muar 'mould' > OC 黴 \*māj 'mould'; Lush. hmuar 'mould, mildew', Thankur khə-mor 'be musty or mouldy'.

Bur. \*-mús 'snot' > Yas., Hun., Nag. -mús.

\*mHilaxGwV 'maggot; worm':

PNC \*mHilaGwV / \*GHwimalV (~ -l-) 'worm' > Tsez. kumeli 'worm'; Darg. miliq; Chir. milaql<sup>w</sup> 'worm'; Lezg. vüläk (< \*üläk < \*müläk) 'snake', Tab. malaql<sup>w</sup>, Ag. maluql, Rut. muluxl, Tsakh. miql, Bud. mulaž, Arch. miliχlu, Ud. meq 'worm'; Khin. mok id.; PWC \*χlamələ- > Ad. hāmləw, Kab. hambələw 'worm'.

(?) PST \*lōŋH / \*lök (if < \*mlōŋH / \*mlök) 'maggot, larva, chrysalis' > OC 蛹 \*loŋʔ 'chrysalis of the silk worm'; Burm. lauk 'maggot'; Lush. luŋ 'be maggoty, be infested with maggots'; Pa'o loŋ<sup>33</sup> 'louse'.

Bur. \*mulagéi 'an insect eating onions etc.' > Hun., Nag. mulagéi.

\*mfăžnē 'door, gate' (WFR 62, LV B21):

PNC \*mfăžnē 'door, part of door' > Chech. neŋ, Ing. niŋ, Bac. nŋajʔ-sā 'door'; Av. ráhu-maŋi 'threshold' (rahu 'door'); Bezht. maha, Gunz. maha-χ 'door frame'. Av. -i points to a long \*-ē. See NCED 813.

PST \*mīn (~-ū-) 'gate, room' > OC 門 \*mān 'gate'; Lush. hmun 'place, room'.

PY: cf. Ket (Ad.) bunba 'house' (see Werner 1, 150).

Bur. \*man: Yas., Hunza, Nagar man 'platform for sitting (in houses

or gardens)'.

\*mfāḷā (~-ə) 'hoof, foot' (HGC 25, NSC 60):

PNC \*mfāḷā (~-ə) 'finger-nail, toe-nail' > Chech. mḡāra, Ing. mḡara, Bac. mḡajrī 'claw, finger-nail; hook, fork'; Av. maλ, And. muλα, Akhv. miλo, Tind. miλu, Kar. muλu, Bagv. milh<sup>w</sup>, (with metathesis) Cham. lum, Botl. humu, God. lumu-l 'finger-nail, claw'; Tsez., Gin. molu, Khv. muλu, Bezht. miλo, Gunz. mɔlu id.; Lak. mix id.; Darg. nika, dial. mik<sup>w</sup>a, nik<sup>w</sup>a id.; Ud. muχ id., (with metathesis) Tab. šib, Rut. xeb, Tsakh. xiv-na id.; Khin. (with metathesis) čimi 'nail, claw'; PWC \*mələ 'nail, claw' > Abkh. \*naḡə-məxə- 'fingernail' (Abkh. a-naḡxə-c, Abaz. naḡxə), \*šəḡə-məxə- 'toenail' (Abkh. a-šəḡxə-c, Abaz. ša-mxə).

PST > Tib. r-mig 'hoof'.

\*mfw[ɨ]lči (~-e) 'face, cheek, jaw':

PNC \*mfwɨlči (~-e) > Chech. mḡāčig 'tip (of smth.) bent upwards'; Lak. murč:i 'lip; brim (of a dish)'; Arch. muč 'peak, top; nose, beak'.

PY \*binč- > Ket. bint (Aḷ.) 'face'; Kott. púnžol (M.), (Cḷ., Kḷ.) púnčol 'chin'; Ass. (M., Cḷ., Kḷ.) pinžólan 'chin', (Kḷ.) punčola 'cheeks'; Ar. pinžal (M., Cḷ., Kḷ.) 'chin', (Лock.) pindalin 'cheek'. See CCE 210. The Ket form is somewhat dubious (attested only in Adelung); however, Werner's (1, 130) explanation (a corrupted rendering of b- 'pronominal prefix' + iḡ 'being there', lit. "my being there"), as well as his attempt to unite the Kott., Ass. and Ar. forms with \*pi(ḡ)k-aḡ 'jaw' (Werner 1, 319) ('cheek' as 'jaw blade!') seems completely improbable.

Bur. \*melç 'jaw' > Yas., Hun., Nag. -mélç 'jaw'.

\*mhāncī 'nettle, thorn' (HGC 29):

PNC \*mhāncī (~-ě) > Chech., Ing. nitt, Bac. niṭṭ 'nettle'; Av. mič:, And., Kar. mič:i, Akhv. mič:i, Cham. miš, Tind., God. mič:a, Bagv. mič:a 'nettle'; Tsez., Gin. meča, Khvarsh., Bezht., Gunz. mič 'nettle'; Lak. miłč 'nettle'; Dag. niz, Chir. muc:e 'nettle'; Lezgh. mič:-ar 'edible herbs', Ag. małž, Kryz., Bud. mež, Arch. mač, Ud. meč: 'nettle'; Khin. mič 'nettle'.

PST \*mat 'nettle' > Kach. cə-mat<sup>3</sup>, Garo gil-mat, Rawang rə-mat 'nettle', Chepang mat 'leaf'.

PY \*ḡəḡmas (~x-) 'thorn' > Ket. ḡamasin<sup>5</sup> 'thorny', Bak. ḡmas<sup>5</sup> 'thorn', Yug. ḡamasin<sup>5</sup> 'thorny' (CCE 191; Werner's (1, 406) analysis as ḷm 'thorny' + as 'feather' is very dubious - primarily because nothing like ḷm thorny is attested - Werner adduces a form ḷntaverós 'thorny', in no way

pointing to \* $\Delta$ m: it obviously contains the same root as Ket.  $\Delta$ :nd $\sigma$  'to prick', Yug.  $\Delta$ xandou<sup>5</sup> id.).

Bur. \*munáy 'thorn' > Hunza, Nagar munáy.

\*mh[e]lxq̄wV̄ 'root, stump':

PNC \*mhěłq̄wV 'root; shoot, offspring' > Chech. mar̄ka-l 'shoot, offspring; twig, rod', Ing. mer̄ka 'shoot, offspring; a single straw'; Av. maɬ, Akhv. miqe, Kar. maʔa 'nail, peg', And. moq̄ 'stem, stalk'; Bezht. muq̄o 'nail'; Lak. maIr id.; Darg. malq̄ 'root'; PL \*malq̄I<sup>w</sup> > Ag. maIrʔ 'root', Arch. marq̄I<sup>w</sup> 'shoot, offspring; nail'.

PST \*mrēk 'vein, root' > OC 脈 \*mhrēk 'vein'; Burm. mraç 'root', Tani \*mja-mi[k] id.

PY \*bāk- 'log' > Ket. bāyə, Yug. bāk, Kott. pēg, pēx (CCE 207, Werner 1, 112).

\*[m]hěXV 'milk, butter' (DCE 13):

PNC \*nhěXV 'milk; butter, cheese' > Chech., Ing. nal̄xa 'butter'; Lak. nak 'milk'; Darg. niʔ (dial. niy) 'milk'; Lezg. nek, Tab. nik., Ag. nek., Rut. nāk, Tsakh. nāk, Arch. nal̄X: 'milk', Ud. naq: 'buttermilk'; Khin. eng 'cheese'.

Bur. \*maltás 'butter' > Yas., Hun., Nag. maltás.

[All NC languages have quite consistent \*n- here; reason for \*m- > \*n- is unclear.]

\*mi(nV) 'self, (our)self':

PST \*miH > Burm. miʔmiʔ 'self, own'; Kham -mì 'possessive suffix'. Cf. also the usage of this morpheme for the 1st p. (most frequently plural and sometimes possessive): Lush. mi 'me, us, my, our', Konyak \*ma- 'we', Mao Naga a-khru-mei 'we', PLB \*ŋa-mVʔ 'we'.

PY \*win 'oneself' > Ket., Yug. bin 'oneself', Kott. mintu "himself"; minta "herself", pl. mintiän. See CCE 294, Werner 1, 129.

Bur. \*jV[m] 'self'; \*mi 'we' > Yas., Hun., Nag. mi.

[A problem is presented by PNC \*HinV- 'self, reflexive pronoun (obl. base)' > Av. Chad. ji (jine-), And. en-, Akhv. ĩ-, Cham. in- / ĩ-, Tind. ĩ-; Tsez. ne-, Inkh. i-, Bezht. hin- / hon-; Khin. häh- / hähin-; Arch. in-(ž) '(one)self'. It may be, in fact, reconstructed as \*finV- in which case one should change the PSC reconstruction to \*xmi(nV). However, it may be also the same morpheme as Lak. na, Darg. nu 'I' - in which case we have to suppose the original meaning 'my(self), my own' and trace it back to PSC

\*ŋV 'T.]

[\\*mifwVIŷ](#) 'tip, nose, mouth' (WFR 17, LDC 16):

PNC \*mifwVIŷ 'nose' > Av. meŷér, And. mahar, Akhv. miŷa, Cham. maj, Tind. mijar, Kar., Botl., Bagv. miŷar, God. mihar; Tsez. malli, Gin. malu, Khv. mani, Bezht. mārō, Gunz. maru; Lak. maj; Darg. Kait. malŷul 'nose', Chir. muŷul 'beak'; Lezg. ner, dial. iler (< \*muŷel-ar), Kryz. miŷel, Bud. meŷel 'nose', Ag. muŷul 'beak', Arch. mull 'snot'.

PST \*mūr > Tib. mur 'gills', mur-āgram 'jaw', Lush. hmūr 'point, tip, end', Rawang mr 'face; mouthful', etc.

[\\*mīlcwV](#) 'to blow, wind':

PNC \*mīlcwV 'wind' > Av. muč-huri, And. moči, Akhv. miče, Cham. muš, Tind., Kar., Botl., God. muču, Bagv. muč<sup>w</sup> 'wind'; Tsez. muši, Khv. muša, Bezht. mušo, Gunz. muše 'breath, smell'; Lak. marč (dial. marč<sup>w</sup>) 'wind'; Tab. Düb. mič, Ag. muš 'hope', Tsakh. mič, Ud. muš 'wind'.

PST \*mūt 'to blow' > Burm. hmut, Kach. mut, Lepcha māt, mūt, Kir. \*mūt, etc.

[\\*mīrqwǎ](#) (~ -xq-, -ā-, -ǎ) 'root, tuber':

PNC \*mīrqwǎ (~ -ā-, -ǎ) > PTs (with reduplication) \*χ:emuχ: (~-ɸ) > Bezht. χemuχ, Gunz. χumuχ 'root'; Lak. marχ:a id.; Darg. marq:a 'stump', Chir. marq:<sup>w</sup>a 'root'; Ag. marqI<sup>w</sup> 'root', Ud. maq 'stake'; PWC \*pǎχ<sup>w</sup>ǎ > Abkh. dial. á-pǎ<sup>w</sup> 'maize stalk', Ad., Kab. pχǎ, Ub. mǎχǎ 'carrot'.

PST > PLB \*mLok (~ -r-) 'yam'.

[\\*mōwxé](#) 'hair, wool' (LV B22):

PNC \*mōwxé 'wool, (woollen) thread' > Ing. mowχar 'thick hempen threads'; Av. nuχí 'fleece; a skein of wool', And. miχi, Akhv. miχe, Cham. muχ, Tind. miχa, Kar. mihi, Bagv. mih, God. muχu 'autumn wool'; Tsez., Khv. moχo 'thread'; Lak. huru (< \*muhuru) 'fleece, wool'; Kryz. muχur 'string, rope'. Long \*-ē is reconstructed on the basis of Av. -í. See NCED 832.

PST \*māw(H) 'hair' > OC 毛 \*mhāw 'hair', LB \*mǎw? 'feather', Kulung mui 'body hair' etc.

[Yen. \*pǎq- compared in CCE 248 cannot belong here for phonetic reasons.]

[\\*mučU](#) 'branch, stick':



PNC \*mučŪ / \*čumŪ 'stick' > God. čuma 'stick, stalk'; Bezht. čamal 'stem, stalk; leg, foot', Gunz. čumal 'leg, foot'; Lak. čamaralu 'groin; perineum'; Darg. murč 'rod, stick; vine' (< \*mučV-rV); PWC \*mæč<sup>w</sup>ə > Abkh. a-mčə, Abaz. mčə 'wood, firewood', Ad. š'a-məč, Kab. ɸa-məš 'coal' (lit. 'black wood').

Bur. \*muš- > Yas., Hun., Nag. muš-k 'wood, thicket', Hun., Nag. muš-quí 'branches with leaves'.

[\\*mufalHV](#) 'mountain' (NSC 59, WFR 18, LDC 28, BCD 39):

PNC \*mufalV 'mountain' > PN (with metathesis) \*lām > Chech., Bac. lam, Ing. ləm; Av. mešér; Tsez. malli 'hillock, knoll', Gin. malu, Khv. mani, Bezht. mā, Gunz. maru 'mountain'; Arch. mul id. [In Avar and Tsezian the root actively contaminates with \*mǎfwVIŨ 'nose'; thus it is quite possible that it originally had \*-l- (which is expected on the basis of external evidence), but changed it to \*-l- by analogy.]

PST > PKC \*mual (e.g. Tiddim mual) 'mountain'.

[Basq. \*mulho 'small heap, hill'].

[\\*múqŨ](#) 'handful; mitten':

PNC \*móqŨ 'handful; handle, hilt' > Chech., Ing., Bac. muq 'hilt (of a dagger, sabre)'; Tsez. moqIu 'handful'; Ud. (q:ošIa-)maḵ id.; PWC \*məḵa (~-š-) 'handle' > Abkh. á-mā, Abaz. mḵa.

PST \*muk 'cubit, length of hand or arm' > Burm. məuk 'to measure with breadth of fist'; Garo mik 'cubit', Bodo mu 'arm-length'.

PY \*bə(?)q- 'mitten, gauntlet' > Ket. bōq, pl. bə:n, Kur. bəḵən<sup>5</sup>, pl. bəḵənḵ<sup>5</sup>; Yug. bəḵən<sup>5</sup>, pl. bəḵənḵ<sup>5</sup>; Kott. pagan, pl. -aḵ. See CCE 212, Werner 1, 146.

[\\*mūsi](#) 'sky, fog':

PNC \*mūsi (~ -š-, -e) 'fog, smoke' > Gin. as-mus, Gunz. has-mus 'cloud, fog' (a compound with \*ḥas: 'cloud'), Bezht. mus 'smoke above fire (with soot)'; Darg. musi-dirix 'fog' (dirix 'cloud').

PST \*mo (~ -ew, -aw) 'sky' > Burm. məwh 'sky, rain'; Kach. lə-mu<sup>2</sup> 'sky', Trung mə<sup>3</sup> etc. PST also has a widely spread root \*mǎw, \*r-mǎw 'fog, mist' (OC 霧 \*mh(r)o(k)-s 'fog, mist', Tib. rmu 'fog', Burm. mru 'fog, mist', etc.) - which is quite probably just a variant of the same etymon.

(?) Bur. -mós 'anger'.

[\\*mV](#) 'interrogative pronoun' (KS 204, NSC 64, LDC 39):

PNC \*mV > Chech. mi-la 'who', mi-ča 'where', ma-ca 'when' etc., Ing. ma-la 'who', mi-ča 'where', ma-ca 'when', Bac. mē 'who', mič 'where', macā 'when' etc.; And. emi-, Cham. im, Tind. ima-la, Kar. heme, Botl. ē(w), Bagv. em 'who'; Darg. mu-rt 'when'; PL \*mo-sa 'when' > Lezg., Ag. mus, Rut. mis. Kryz. mis, Arch. basa (with unclear denasalization).

PST \*mV > Kiranti \*má- 'what', Kar. \*mV, Bodo \*maʔ etc. id.

PY \*wi- / \*we- 'interrogative pronoun' > Ket. biśéŋ / biśáŋ (< biśa:ŋ<sup>3</sup>) 'where', bi-śśe 'who' (masc.), be-śa 'who' (fem.), bi-ía<sup>5,6</sup> 'how', bi-íés / bi-íás '(towards) where', (Качр.) bilejäm 'which', bílíl / bińíl 'whence'; Yug. biśa:ŋ<sup>3</sup> 'where', be-tta<sup>5</sup>, bi-re<sup>5,6</sup> / biréj 'how', bi-rés / biré:hs<sup>4</sup> '(towards) where', biri:r<sup>3</sup> 'whence'; (Качр.) biransa 'which'; Kott. bi-li 'where', bilthuŋ '(towards) where', bilčan 'whence', bi-lāŋ 'which', balomās, \*bilomas, g. bilomāca, pl. balomācan 'which, what for'; bilituíse 'which'; bilipei, \*bilipēi 'how much'; Pump. bižǵ (Cpca.) 'how'. See CCE 294, Werner 1, 124, 125 (but Kott. pīl < \*bīrī 'far' of course has nothing to do with this root).

Bur. \*me- 'who' > Yas. men, ámen, Hun., Nag. men, ámin.

\*mV 'he, demonstrative stem' (NSC 64):

PNC \*mV > Tsez. he-me- 'that (far, invisible)'; Lak. mu 'that (near the listener)'; Lezg. a-m, i-m, Tab. mu, du-mu, Ag., Rut. mi, Tsakh. ma-n, Kryz. ä-m, Ud. me 'this'; Ad. mə, Kab. mə 'this, that'.

PST \*mV > OC 某 \*māʔ 'someone, somebody', Bai mi<sup>3</sup> 'that'; Kir. \*m[è] 'that'; Manipuri ma-du 'that'.

PY \*wV > Ket. bū / bu, Yug. bu 'he, she'; Ass. ba-ri 'he'; Ar. au 'he'. See CCE 294, Werner 1, 146.

\*mVfnū ~ \*nVfmū (perhaps rather: \*ŋwVfnū) 'brain; head' (HGC 24, WFR 66, LV B20, LDC 17, BCD 39):

PNC \*māfnī (~-ū) 'brain, head' > Chech. min-dāŋaχk 'occipital bone, cervical vertebra' (dāŋaχk 'bone'); And. mija-r (dial. mījari), Akhv. mina, Tind., Kar. mina-r 'head'; Lak. naI (dial. maI) 'brain'; Darg. meħe (dial. meħa, maħa) id.; Tab. maʔ, Rut. majä, Tsakh. mahI, Arch. maj, Ud. maI 'brain'. Long vowel is reconstructed on the basis of the correlation PDarg. \*meħa : PL obl. \*mahI-. See NCED 797-798.

PST \*nūH 'brain' > OC 腦 \*nūʔ (~-āwʔ), Burm. uh-hnau-k, Kach. nuʔ<sup>3</sup>, Trung u<sup>1</sup>-nəʔ<sup>1</sup>, etc.

PY \*dɔʔŋ (< \*nɔʔŋ) 'brain' > Ket. dɔʔŋ, Yug. dɔʔŋ, Kott. kō-naŋ < common Yenisseian compound \*goʔ-nɔʔŋ 'brain' (for the first part see

\*goʔ), where we have -n- - obviously original (with \*n- > \*d- later). Cf. the above Kott. word = Ket. (Werner 1, 440) kóíη 'Knochenmark aus mehreren Knochen'. The same second component \*-nɔʔη is also reflected in Yug kájga-niη 'head brain' (with secondary singulative back-formation kájgan), see Werner 1, 460, 461. See CCE 223, Werner 1, 206.

[Basq. \*muin 'marrow, brains'.]

\*mVćV 'beard':

PNC \*mēćuri (~-i-) 'beard; long hair' > Chech., Ing. merz 'hair in horse's tail'; Lak. čiri (< \*mVćiri) 'beard'; Darg. muçur id.; Ag. muçur 'chin', Rut. mīçri, Bud. miçer, Arch. moçor 'beard', Tsakh. muçru 'moustache'.

PST \*mut > Burm. mut-chit 'beard', Lepcha măt 'hair', Miri a-muit 'beard'.

Bur. \*muž-óq > Hun., Nag. mužóq 'fringe, bundle of hair (on cow's tail)'.

\*mVhV 'berry':

PNC \*mVhV (/ʰVmV) 'a k. of berry' > Av. dial. maḥáhi 'a shrub with dark red berries'; Lak. maḥija 'bilberry'; Ud. oma / ulma 'strawberry'.

(?) PST \*mīj 'bud, blossom' > OC 枚 \*māj 'stem, branch, twig'; Tib. me-tog 'flower', Kach. n-moi<sup>1</sup> 'blossoms, as of grain', Lush. moi 'be beginnig to form in the bud (as rice)'.

PY \*pi 'berry (of birdcherry)' > Ket. hī, Yug. fi, Kott. fi, phi, Ar. pá (CCE 248, Werner 1, 320).

\*mVnxV 'man' (HGC 27, NSC 59):

PNC \*mVnxV > Chech., Ing., Bac. naχ 'men, people'; And. mil-čaqa, Cham. mi-li-ša-, Tind. mi-li-ča 'young man, male; hero' (a compound \*mi-li + \*čVjV 'man').

PST \*nām 'man, person' > OC 男 \*nām 'man, male', Lush. hnam 'clan, tribe, race', Tulung nam-nam-cö 'poor fellow (male or female)', Limbu nāp-mī 'man', Yamphu nam-ba 'father-in-law', nam-ma 'mother-in-law' etc.

PY \*pixe 'man' > Ket. hīy, Yug. fik, Kott. fi, Ar. pa-nalikip (CCE 249, Werner 1, 320).

\*mVηV 'net':

PST > OC OC 網 \*mhaŋʔ 'net'.

PY \*pəʔη 'net' > Ket. hɬʔη, Yug. fɬʔη, Kott. fuŋ, Ar. pen. See CCE

247, Werner 1, 341.

[\\*mVχkwA](#) 'a relative' (HGC 27):

PNC \*mVχwA 'fiancé, son-in-law' > Lak. muhi 'seeking hand in marriage (n.)'; Ud. muIquI 'son-in-law'; Abkh. á-maḥ<sup>w</sup>, Ab. mḥ<sup>w</sup>ə, Ad. māχ<sup>w</sup>-λα, Kab. māλχα, Ub. məχə́ 'son-in-law'.

PST \*māk 'son-in-law' > Tib. mag, d-mag, Burm. sa-mak, Kach. dəmaʔ<sup>3</sup> 'son-in-law', Lush. māk-pa 'sister's or daughter's husband', Lepcha myók 'a bridegroom, a son-in-law', etc.

PY \*p[u]χV (< \*m[u]χV) 'nephew' > Ket. hí-tet 'nephew', hí-tam 'niece' (Werner 1, 347), híam 'younger sister of wife' (Werner 1, 342); Kott. fu, phu, pl. fuan 'nephew', alit fua (phua) 'niece'; Ass. (Бол.) puga 'nephew, grandson', alippugi 'niece', alitpuga 'grand-daughter'; Ar. amagel (Стр.) 'brother', bamagál (М., Сл., Срсл., Кл.) id.; (Стр.) bamagel 'sister', bamagalā (М., Сл., Срсл., Кл.) id.; (Лоск.) amagildu 'nephew'; mamagili 'сестренич'; mamagil 'братенич'. See CCE 253-254. The Ket and Kott. languages point to PY \*puχV (Werner 1, 347 \*p<sup>h</sup>i, not taking into account the Ass. -g-). The Arin matches are difficult in two respects: a) the word means both "nephew" and "brother/sister" - the latter must be a secondary semantic expansion of "brother's son" to "brother" in general, having replaced the original PY \*b[i]s "brother / sister"; b) the -m- in Arin must reflect an original nasal, preserved after the prefixes a-, ba- and replaced by \*p- elsewhere in Yenisseian. Phonetically the case is similar to the root for 'brain' \*nɔʔŋ > \*dɔʔŋ, which is preserved as \*nɔʔŋ in the compound \*goʔ-nɔʔŋ, but has regularly changed to \*d- in independent position (Ket, Yug dɔʔŋ). Werner's objection: "die letztere Rekonstruktion [\*m[u]χV] bleibt fraglich, weil sie sich auf ar. bamagal 'Bruder' stürzt, wo das anlautende b- eigentlich das Possessivpräfix der 1 P.Sg. ('mein') darstellt" - is rather strange: of course b- is a 1 p. prefix (as in numerous other cases), but the reconstruction is based not on it, but on the following -m- - which cannot be a prefix of any kind. Elsewhere (1, 32) Werner attempts a different approach to the Arin form, analyzing it as am "mother" + agel (?), cf. Pump. akil "older brother, sister". Pumpokol indeed has such a word (< \*ʒVl 'child'), but Arin has it too, namely Arin akel 'son', akelä 'daughter' (see *ibid.*). Whereas "brother" is of course "mother's son", "nephew" definitely is not: the compound am + akel 'mother's son' could have helped Arin amagel (amakel) to shift its meaning to include both "nephew" and "brother", but it cannot explain the meaning "nephew" in any reasonable way.

\*nānV 'child, pupil of the eye' (SCE 84):

PNC \*nānV 'child, doll' > Kar. nani-harḳa 'pupil of the eye'; Bezht., Gunz. nani 'doll' (cf. also Bezht. Tlad. nāni 'pupil of the eye'); Darg. nana-ḥuli, dial. nana 'pupil of the eye'; Lezg. nini 'doll', wilin nini 'pupil of the eye', Tab. (ulin) nini, Rut. nenej, Kryz. nanaj 'pupil of the eye'; Ad. nānəw, Ub. nanáw 'child, baby'.

Bur. \*nVnV > Yas. -nini 'pupil of the eye', Hun., Nag. nána 'eye-ball'.

\*nāqwi 'dirt':

PNC \*nāqwi (~ -ā-, -V-) 'earth, dirt' > Bezht. naq 'dirt'; Lezg., Rut., Arch. naq<sup>w</sup> 'earth', Tab. naq<sup>w</sup> 'grave', Ag. neq<sup>w</sup>, Tsakh. náq<sup>w</sup> 'earth; grave', Kryz. nöq, Bud. noq 'earth'.

PST \*nīk (\*nīk) 'sediment, dirt' > OC 泥 \*nīt 'black sediment in muddy water'; Tib. b-s-ñig-s 'sediment', nág-ñig 'filth, dirt', Burm. ráac 'be dirty, filthy', Garo anć-nek 'dirt' etc.

Bur. \*nayé > Yas. nayé, Hun., Nag. nayé, nayei 'dung'.

\*nāwši 'two':

PNC \*nāwši 'two; a 2-year-old animal' > PN (with metath.) \*šin- > Chech., Ing. šiʔ, Bac. ši 'two' (obl. šina-), Chech., Ing. šinara 'heifer (about 2 y. old)'; Lak. nuwš:a 'ram (more than 2 y. old)'; Rut. nüšej, Tsakh. nušej 'sheep (about 2 y. old)'; Ad. nəšə, Kab. nəš, Ub. nəćá '\*2-y.-old ram' > 'a ram slaughtered in honor of the guest'; Hurr.-Ur. (with metath., cf. Nakh) \*šin- 'two' > Hurr. šin-, Ur. šī-šə.

PST \*k-nij-s 'two' > OC 二 \*nijs (~ -ts); Tib. gñis; Burm. hnać, Kach. ní<sup>1</sup>, Lush. hniʔ, etc.

(?) PY \*xi-na 'two' > Ket. ĩn, Yug. in, Kott. ĩna, Ar. kína, Pump. hínean, see CCE 296, Werner 2, 423.

[The PY form certainly resembles PST, and \*xi- is undoubtedly = PST \*k-, see \*(t)qHwä. Loss of \*-š- in PY is, however, quite irregular and puzzling.]

\*němzi (~ -sd-) 'a k. of biting insect' (differently in LV A2):

PNC \*němzi (~ -ě) 'louse' > Chech. meza, Ing. maza, Bac. maç; Av., Bagv. naç:, And. noç:i, Akhv., Kar., Botl. naç:i, Cham. naş, Tind., God. nac:i; Tsez. noci, Gin. noce, Khv. nuca, Bezht. naco, Gunz. nəcə; Lak. naç; Darg. ner, Chir. nez; Lezg. net, Tab. nic:, Ag. net:, Arch. naç, Ud. nec; Khin.

nimç; Abkh. a-čá, Abaz., Ad., Kab. ča 'louse', Ub. ʔa-č 'nit'.

PST \*nōt (~ -ǔ-) 'gnat, moth' > OC 𪔐 \*nōt-s 'mosquito, gnat'; Kach. mənut<sup>2</sup> 'moth'.

\*nēwxq̄wǚ 'pus' (HGC 24, LV C6, LDC 17, BCD 29):

PNC \*nēwq̄ǔ 'tear; pus' > Chech. noʔq̄a, Ing. nod, Bac. noʔq̄ 'pus'; Av. máʔu (par. C: maʔí-l, máʔa-bi), And. moGo, Akhv. maʔa, Cham., Tind. mā, Kar., God. maʔa, Botl. maʔa, Bagv. maʔa 'tear'; Tsez. mow, Gin. moʔu, Khv. muʔu, Bezht. maʔo, Gunz. moʔu 'tear'; Lak. maʔ id.; Darg. nerx id.; Lezg. nar<sup>w</sup>, Tab. niwɤ, niwq; Ag. ner<sup>w</sup>, Rut. nar<sup>w</sup>, Tsakh. nar, Arch. nabq, Ud. ner 'tear'. See NCED 848-849.

PST \*nuāk / \*nuāŋ 'pus' > OC 膿 \*nhūŋ 'pus'; Tib. r-nag, s-nag 'matter, pus'; Limbu nik-wā 'pus' etc.

PY \*dɔ(?)k-ŋ 'pus' > Ket., Yug. dɔŋ, Kott. takŋ (CCE 223-224, Werner 1, 203). -ʔ- in Ket and Yug may be etymological, but may also represent a secondary development of -qŋ or -kŋ (cf. the Kottish form).

Bur. \*nagéi / \*magéi 'boil, sore' > Hunza nagéi, Nagar magéi.

[Long vowel in PST is irregular.

Cf. Basq. \*negar 'tears'.]

\*nĒstV 'aunt, uncle':

PWC \*cĒEnV (~ \*nĒcV) > Chech. nēca 'maternal aunt or uncle'; Av. c:uná-ʔal, Akhv. c:ini-ʔa 'second cousin'; Abkh. áca (Bz. áca), Abaz. ajca-la 'sister-in-law, daughter-in-law'.

Bur. \*-ncu 'paternal aunt' > Yas. ʔnzu, Hun., Nag. ʔnco.

\*nHǎǎwǚ 'dark, blue':

PNC \*nHǎǎwǚ 'blue; (blue metal) > iron' > Chech. ēčig, Ing. äšk (< \*fāhki-k), Bac. ʔajhki 'iron'; Tsez. niga 'blue, grey', Gin. nik-diju 'id.; green'; Lak. nalǎ- 'blue'; Arch. nalǎ:- 'blue'; PWC \*ǎ<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. á-je-čʷa, Abaz. ja-čʷa 'blue, green', Ad. ɤ<sup>w</sup>ə-čə, Kab. ɤ<sup>w</sup>ə-š, Ub. wə-čʷá 'iron'.

PST \*nək (~ -a-) 'black, dark' > Tib. nag, gnag 'black', nog 'very dark, deep-black'; Burm. nak 'be dark', Trung naʔ<sup>1</sup>, etc.

\*níqwē (/ \*-ä-) 'chaff; some reed, rush' (HGC 29, LV Cb4):

PNC \*nēqwē 'chaff' > Av. nak:ú (par. B: gen. nak:-dá-l), And., Kar., Botl., God. nik:u, Akhv. nixo, Cham. nik<sup>w</sup>, Tind. nix:<sup>w</sup>a 'chaff'; Tsez., Gin. noxu, Khv. jūxu 'chaff', Bezht. naʔo, Gunz. nɔxu 'straw'; Lak. nax 'chaff'; Darg. neg, Chir. nek:<sup>w</sup> 'chaff'; Lezg. nar<sup>w</sup>, Tab. naq<sup>w</sup>, Ag. neq<sup>w</sup>, Tsakh. náq<sup>w</sup>,

Bud. noχ, Arch. naχ<sup>w</sup>, Ud. neq 'chaff', Rut. naχ<sup>w</sup>, Kryz. nöχ 'straw'; Khin. nuk 'chaff'; Ad. maq:<sup>w</sup>ə, Kab. maq:<sup>w</sup> 'hay'.

PST \*něk<sup>w</sup> (/ \*měk<sup>w</sup>) 'a k. of rush, cane' > OC 蒭 \*nek<sup>w</sup> 'rush used for making mats', Tib. s-rüg 'reed, rush, bulrush' (cf. also smjug, smjig 'cane, bamboo'); Burm. hmjać 'bamboo sprouts', Garo bi-mik 'sprout, germ, blade'.

PY \*dVʔqVn (/ -χ-) 'grass, straw': Ket. da:n, Yug. daxən<sup>5</sup> 'grass, straw', Kott. tōna-pul 'straw for shoes' (CCE 225, Werner 1, 180).

Bur. \*naýé-čí > Hunza naýéčí 'bamboo'.

[Irregular shortness in PST.]

[\\*nōmqí](#) 'breast; heart, mind' (somewhat different in NSC 59):

PNC \*mōnqī (~-ē) 'breast; bosom' > Chech. nāqa, Ing. naqa 'breast'; Av. mehé-d 'brisket'; Cham. niχ, Tind., Botl., God. niχi, Kar. niχe, Bagv. nih 'breast'; Tsez. ħemori, Gin. χema 'breast'; Lak. qu-ru 'brisket'; Darg. miqi-r 'breast, chest'; Lezg. χu-r, Tab., Ag. muχu-r, Rut. miχi-r, Kryz, Bud. maχa-r 'breast', Tsakh. muχu 'female breast', Arch. moχo-r 'brisket'; Abaz. maqa 'arm', Ub. məqá 'bosom'.

PST \*ni(ə)ŋ / \*ni(ə)k 'heart' > Tib. s-rín, Burm. hnać, Manipuri puk-niŋ 'heart', Limbu niŋ 'mind, heart', Yamphu niŋa id. etc.

PY \*ʔan[i]ŋ 'think, mind' > Ket. aniŋbet<sup>6</sup> / ańbet<sup>5,6</sup> 'think', anun<sup>6</sup> 'mind', Yug. aniŋbet<sup>6</sup> 'think', aniŋ<sup>5</sup> 'mind', Kott. anaŋaj, pl. anaŋajaŋ 'thinking, mind'; anaŋaja 'clever'; anaŋajakŋ 'think'; Ar. anipānun (ʎock.) 'I think' (CCE 181, Werner 1, 38).

[\\*nūsÁ](#) 'younger sister, daughter-in-law':

PNC \*nūsA (~ -ǝ-) 'daughter-in-law' > Chech., Ing., Bac. nus 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law'; Av. nus, Akhv. nuša, Cham., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. nusa 'daughter-in-law', And. nusa 'bride'; Khin. çi-nas 'bride' (çi- 'new'); Ad., Kab. nəsa 'daughter-in-law', Ub. nəsá-ɾ 'sister-in-law'; Hurr. naž-ardə 'concubine'.

PST \*nəwH 'younger sibling' > OC 孺 \*no-s 'child'; Tib. nu-bo 'a man's younger brother', nu-mo 'the younger sister of a female'; Kach. gənau<sup>1</sup> 'younger sibling'; Lush. nau 'younger sibling; a child, young child'; Garo no 'younger sister'.

PY \*dus > Ket. ám-duś 'cousin (f.)' (Werner 1, 33).

Bur. \*-muśi > Hun. mú(y)-muśi 'bride in her father's house'.

[\\*nV](#) 'interrogative stem (mostly adverbial: where, when, how)' (HGC 36,

DCE 34):

PNC \*nV > Bac. ħa-ne 'who, which', Chech. ħēna- 'whose'; PA \*(h)in-da 'when', \*(h)inV-l 'where', PTs \*hī-tə (but also \*ni-tə) 'when'; Abkh., Abaz. -an(ə)- 'when' (verbal infix); Ag. dial. na, hi-na 'who (erg.)', Lezg. erg. ni, Tab. naʔan 'where', Tsakh. ne-n 'which'. [In NCED all these forms are treated as oblique forms of interrog. \*hī-, sometimes with initial reduction. The latter, however, does not seem to have any external parallels and may in fact represent an emphatic prefix before the original interrogative \*nV.]

PNC \*nē-ŋ, \*nā- 'how, where, interrogative pronoun' > OC 寧 \*nēŋ 'why, how', 那 \*nāj 'how, what', Burm. nañh /marker of special question'; Kach. gənaŋ<sup>3</sup>, gəniŋ<sup>2</sup> id.

PY \*ʔan- 'interrogative stem' > Ket. anet, ana 'who'; (KPC) anun 'how much', ań 'why'; Yug. anet 'who'; see CCE 181. Werner 1, 34, 36, 38.

Bur. \*an- > Yas. áne 'where', ána 'whither'.

[Many attested forms go back to a compound \*hē-nV-, with emphatic \*hē-.

Cf. Basq. \*nor 'who'.]

\*nV 'demonstrative pronoun' (LDC 40):

PNC \*nV 'this, that' > And. ho-no-w, he-ne-w 'this', hi-n(i)-di-w, hi-n(i)-gi-w 'that', Cham. hã-, Tind. ã- 'this'; Tsez. ne-si (1st cl.), ne-ɭa (2-4 cl.) 'that (far)', also e-n-du 'this'; Inkh. e-we-nu 'that'; Bezht. hu-ni (1,4,5 cl.), ho-no (2, 3 cl.) 'this (near)'; Abkh., Abaz. a-ná 'there', a-ni (\*a-nə-jə) 'that' etc.; also used as a preverb na- 'there' (directive); Ad., Kab. na- 'there' (directive preverb); Ub. n- (sing.), nā- (plur.) 'pronominal prefix of the 3d person'.

PST \*nV 'demonstrative pronoun' > OC 那 \*nāj 'that' (attested with this meaning only since Middle Chinese); Kach. naŋ<sup>4</sup> 'here', niŋ<sup>4</sup> 'thus, in this manner'; Kir. \*na- 'that, there'; Karen \*nV 'that' etc.

Bur. \*-ne in \*i-ne 'that', \*khe-ne 'this'.

\*nVmswV 'a k. of cloth':

PNC \*nīmswV (~ -ē-, -ī-, -ə-) 'linen, cloth; cobweb' > Chech. māša, Ing. maša, Bac. mǎšě, maš 'home-spun cloth; woolen cloth; cobweb'; Av. nusí 'linen; cobweb', Akhv. niša 'cloth', niši 'cobweb', Cham. nis 'loom', Tind. nisa / nisi id.

PST \*nəm 'weave, cloth' > OC 紵 \*nəm, \*nrəm 'to weave', 衽 \*nəmʔ, \*nəms 'skirts of robe, flaps, lapel'; Tib. snam 'woolen cloth'.



[\\*ŋěkwĩ](#) 'to abuse, swear' (LV A21):

PNC \*ŋěkwĩ ( ~ -i-, -ō-, -ǎ-, -ǎ) 'oath; to swear' > And. nok<sup>w</sup>o, Akhv. nik<sup>w</sup>a, Cham., Tind., Kar., God. nak<sup>w</sup>a 'oath' (in Akhv. also 'song'); PWC \*k<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. a-k<sup>w</sup>-rá, Abaz. k<sup>w</sup>-ra 'to swear', Ad., Kab. ja-k<sup>w</sup>ə-, Ub. k<sup>w</sup>a- 'to dare'.

PST \*ŋiä<sup>w</sup> 'to abuse, maltreat' > OC 虐 \*ŋak<sup>w</sup> 'cruel, oppress, maltreat', 譏 \*ŋak<sup>w</sup> 'to ridicule, to jest'; Tib. s-ŋog 'to vex, to annoy'; Burm. ŋauk 'to use loud violent language in order to terrify'.

[\\*ŋiHV](#) 'child':

PST \*ŋe(j) 'child, young' > OC 兒 \*ŋe 'child, son'; Burm. ŋaj 'small, little, inferior'; Kach. ŋai<sup>1</sup>, čəŋai<sup>1</sup> 'an infant, a babe', šəŋai<sup>2</sup> 'to bear children'. Bur. \*i > Yas. -jé 'son', -i 'daughter', Hun., Nag. -í 'son; daughter'.

[\\*ŋV](#) 'I, 1st person pron.' (originally oblique stem?; HGC 20, NSC 64):

PNC \*ŋĩ > Lak. na, Darg. nu 'I' (see also under \*mi(nV)).

PST \*ŋā- 'I, we' > OC 吾 \*ŋhā 'I, we', 我 \*ŋhāj? 'my, me', 言 \*ŋhan 'I, we', 𠵼 \*ŋhāŋ 'I, me'; Tib. ŋa 'I, we', ŋed 'I, we', (d)ŋos 'I, we, self'; Burm. ŋa 'I', Kach. ŋai<sup>3</sup> 'I', Lush. ŋei 'self', etc.

PY \*b- (\*ʔab-) 'my (attr.)' > Ket. āp (Bak., Sur. ābə<sup>1</sup>, Kur. āvə<sup>1</sup>), Yug. ap, Kott. m-inšo, Ar. b(i)-. a- in Ket must be a late addition (already after \*ŋ- > \*b-). The original velar nasal is still preserved as the 1st person verbal ending PY \*-ŋ.

Bur. \*a- > Yas., Hun., Nag. a- 'I, 1st p. sing. pronominal prefix'.

[Cf. Basq. \*ni 'I'.]

[\\*ŋVnV̄](#) 'wild duck or goose':

PST \*ŋān 'goose' > OC 雁 \*ŋrān-s (< \*r-ŋān-s) 'wild-goose'; Tib. ŋaŋ 'goose'; Burm. ŋanh 'goose, swan', etc.

PY \*bəʔn 'duck' > Ket., Yug. bəʔn; Kott. pin; Ar. poña; Pump. ban. See CCE 208, Werner 1, 156.

[\\*ŋVxwV](#) 'to give, borrow':

PNC \*mV̄xwV̄ ( ~ -x-, -f-) 'price, pay' > Chech., Ing., Bac. maχ 'price, trade'; Av. mux, And. miši, Kar. nixu, dial. muxu 'pay(ment)'; PWC \*x<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. á-χ<sup>w</sup>, Abaz. χ<sup>w</sup>ə 'price', Ad. ša-fə-, Kab. ša-x<sup>w</sup>ə- 'to buy', Ub. fa- 'to pay'; Hurr. niḡ-ari 'dowry'.

PST \*ŋaH > Tib. b-r-ŋa 'to borrow', Burm. hŋah 'to rent', Rawang

ŋa 'hire, rent, lend', Serdukpen na 'give', etc.

Bur. \*ú- 'to give' > Yas., Hun., Nag. -ú-.

\*ŋwálsV̄ 'face':

PNC \*malšwV 'slope; muzzle, face' > Chech. marš 'muzzle'; Lak. marš:a 'meadow (on slope of a hill)'; Ag. maš 'face', Tab. maš 'slope; muzzle, face'.

PST \*ŋār 'face, front side' > OC 顏 \*ŋrān (< \*ŋār-n ?) 'face, countenance; colour', Tib. ŋar 'fore- or front-side, forepart', Kulung ŋə 'mouth', Limbu nā 'face', nārā 'countenance', Magar me-ŋer 'mouth'.

PY \*bV(?)s-VÍ (~č-) > Kott. pičal 'face, shape', Ar. u-pusir 'forehead' (CCE 213, Werner 2, 53).

\*ŋwöGŸ (~-xG-) 'rump':

PNC \*möGwV (~-ä-) 'back; body' > Av. muḵ, And. miḵul, Kar., Bagv., God. muḵul 'back'; Bezht. мако, Gunz. мᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜᶜ 'body' (with Ablaut: Bezht. mükä-, Gunz. muḵa- 'behind').

PST \*ŋok (~-ik, -uak) > Tib. r-ŋog 'the hunch or hump of an animal; the mane of horses'; Manipuri ŋak-som 'neck'. Here perhaps also OC 胸 sŋoŋ 'breast, chest', Lush. ŋhoŋ 'neck'.

\*ŋwVcV 'hunger, thirst':

PNC \*mV̄[c]V 'hunger' > Chech., Ing. meca, Bac. macī 'hungry'; Tsakh. mis:i-n, Bud. miz, Ud. busa 'hungry'. etc.

PST \*ŋet 'thirst, want' > Burm. ŋat 'to thirst, be thirsty, long for'; Lush. ŋiat 'to demand, want, wish for'.

\*ŋwVOV 'pain, disease':

PST \*ŋāk<sup>w</sup> > OC 瘧 \*ŋhak<sup>w</sup> 'ague', Burm. hŋak 'the pestilential influence of miasma, malaria'.

Bur. \*maq > Hun., Nag. maq 'rheumatism, pain'.

\*=ōcV 'to mow, reap' (NSC 52, VCQ 5):

PNC \*=ōcV 'to mow' > Chech. =āc-, Ing. =ac- 'to work hard', Bac. =ac- 'to mow'; Av. =ec- 'to mow'; Lak. =uca- id.; Ag. uc-, Ud. oca-psun id.

PST \*chāH 'to pluck, reap, harvest' > OC 采 \*chā? 'to gather, pluck', 菜 \*chā?-s 'edible herbs, vegetables'; Tib. b-ca-s 'to reap, harvest', b-ca 'fruit'.

[Cf. Basq. \*us-ta 'harvest, reaping'.]

\*=ōǎĚ 'to laugh':

PNC \*=ōǎĚ > Chech. =ēl-, Ing., Bac. =el- 'to laugh'; Av., And., Kar., God. =eλ- id.; Gin. le-žā-, Bezht. λō-dah-, dial. lowā-, Gunz. le?- id.; PWC \*ǎwV-čV / \*čV-ǎwV id. > Abkh. á-čča-ra, Abaz. qə-čča-ra, Ad. š-xə-, Kab. -š-xə-, Ub. š<sup>w</sup>a-čá- id.

PST \*t-law 'to play, joke' > Burm. khjaw 'to joke, jest', Kach. šə-tu id., Lush. tlo? 'to play or play at (a game)'.  
 [5th tone in Ket may reflect \*-ʔ- (which would contradict lax type in NC), but may also be a misrecording.]

=ǒǎV 'upper part of body; handle':

PNC \*bǔǎV > Chech. bel-š, Ing. bel-až 'shoulder', Bac. bali 'shoulders'; Cham. bula 'handle (of dagger)'; PC \*buǎV 'handle' > Khv. biǎ, Be buǎo, Gunz. buǎu; Ad., Kab. pǎa 'upper part of back', Ub. pǎə-fá 'chest, breast'.

PY \*ʔuǎ- (~x-) 'shaft, handle' > Ket., Yug. ūǎ (CCE 200, Werner 1, 210); \*d-ǎ- 'shaft' > Ket dǎli, Yug. dǎl (CCE 225, Werner 1, 210).

Bur. \*bal-, \*-wálda > Yas. -wáldes, Hunza, Nagar -wáldas 'back'; Hunza bálbal, Nagar bábál 'place between the shoulders'; Hunza bál-gícin, Nagar bálgícin 'back of the shoulders, upper part of back'.

? PST \*l[e]ŋ 'handle' (if \*-ŋ is historically a suffix (plural?)), cf. Tib. luŋ 'handle; foot-stalk of fruits', Kach. ulaŋ 'handle', n-kjaŋ 'stem, petiole', Lush. lian 'handle (of pot), neck (of bottle)', Lepcha luŋ 'handle'.

\*=ǒnqV (~-xq-) 'old' (HGC 39):

PNC \*=ǒnqV(IV) 'old (person)' > Av. χéra- (dial. =oχór-) 'old (gener.)', And. =oχor, Akhv. =aqaro-λa-da-, Cham. =eχa-lidda, Tind. =eχara-, Lar. =eχaro-, Botl. =aχara-, Bagv. =aharu-, God. =aχar 'old (of a person)'; Lak. qu-na- 'big, grown up'; Darg. =uq-na 'old (of a person)'; Arch. χala- id.; Khin. inqer id.

PST \*kǎH (~ g-, q-, G-) 'old, ancient' > OC 𠂔 \*kǎ? 'ancient'; Tib. rga 'to be old, aged', rga-d, rga-n 'old, aged'; Kach. lə-ga 'be old, hardened, stiff'.

PY \*ʔəqaj (~x-) 'earlier, before, in old days' > Ket. ʌkaj<sup>5</sup>, Yug. ʌxaj<sup>5</sup>, Kott. ōgai 'earlier'. See CCE 191, Werner 2, 409.

[5th tone in Ket may reflect \*-ʔ- (which would contradict lax type in NC), but may also be a misrecording.]

\*pǎHV 'a k. of bird':

PNC \*pǎH(n)V 'hen' > Chech. me? 'young hen'; Darg. ab?a 'hen';

Tab. peʔ, Ag. paʔ 'hen'. The final cluster \*-Hn- is reconstructed in NCED to account for the nasalization of initial \*p- in Chechen; but in fact it may be due just to the onomatopoeic nature of the root.

PST \*Pja > Tib. bja 'bird, fowl, hen', Sho phäjo 'bird', Kanauri pja id. (should be distinguished from \*Pra).

PY \*poʒja 'a k. of duck (утка-красноголовка)' > Ket. hjaʂ, Yug. fjaʂ (see CCE 251, Werner 1, 321).

\*pánGV (~-xG-) 'a k. of weed; leaf, shell':

PNC \*panGVlhV (~-lh-) 'burdock; leaf, bark' > Av. maq:ár 'bark'; Lezg. p:arqul, Rut. paq:lul 'burdock', Kryz. bärqul 'plantain', Arch. paq:ut 'bark'.

PST \*Pōŋ > OC 蓬 \*bhōŋ 'name of a plant (a k. of tumble weed)'; Burm. paunh 'weed'; Lepcha tä-bón 'a sp. of water plant'.

\*pānqwV 'bee' (DCE 16):

PNC \*pānqwV (?\*m-) 'bee' > Chech., Ing. niq 'bee-hive'; Av. púq:na 'drone'; Darg. mirq̄i, Chir. murqe 'bee'.

PST \*[ph]j̄ŋ > OC 蜂 \*phoŋ 'bee, wasp'; Tib. buŋ 'a humming and stinging insect, bee'; Kach. (H) sumbuŋ 'a k. of insect, mostly found on bamboo sprouts', dumbuŋ 'an insect resembling the calandre'.

Bur. \*phen 'fly (insect)' > Yas. phen, Hun., Nag. phin.

\*pénłwV (~-łw-) 'a k. of plant':

PNC \*pinłwV (~-łw-) > Av. penł:éli 'a k. of shrub (волжанка, таволга)'; Arch. piłw 'a k. of plant ("вид зонтичного растения")'.

Bur. \*p(h)altaʂu > Yas. paltáʂu, L. pheltáʂo 'a k. of wild bush (Strauch)'.

\*pHāχV 'dust':

PNC \*pHāχV 'dust, steam' > Bezht. paχ 'dust', Gunz. pəχ 'dust; steam'; Darg. Kait. palh, Tsud. pūh 'dust'; PWC \*p:αχ(I)α > Ad. pāχ, Kab. bāχa 'steam'.

PST \*pəwH (~ bh-) 'to dust' > OC \*p(r)ōʔ (~-ūʔ) 'to dust (by shaking clothes)'; Burm. əphu<sup>2</sup> 'to dust, as by shaking a garment'.

\*pHím[c]V 'twig, stick':

PNC \*pHəmɣV (~-ç-) > Chech. pott 'wooden bar'; Lak. palñç 'a small stick for playing'.

Bur. \*phinǰ 'stick for polo' > Yas. phínǰu, Hun., Nag. phinć.

\*pHVmpV 'part of leg' (HGC 24):

PNC > PL \*piImp / \*piImp > Lezg., Tab. pip 'angle, corner', Kryz. pip, Bud. pep, Arch. poImp 'knee'.

PST \*[b]öp > Kach. ləbop<sup>2</sup> 'calf of the leg'; Lush. bop 'leg, hind leg of an animal'; Dumi phip-sul 'thigh'.

PY \*päp- 'thigh, hip' > Ket. hāp (pl. hā:ŋ) (Werner 1, 310, 311 gives also a variant haʔp), Yug. fap (pl. fā:hp / fafiŋ<sup>5</sup>); Kott. fēpar, phēpar. See CCE 247, KC 199, Werner 1, 310, 311.

\*pHVrtwV 'lung, gizzard' (MCGD 2):

PNC \*pHVrtwV 'some inner organ' > Inkh. puṭeru 'urinary bladder', Bezht., Gunz. pirtī 'lung'; Arch. pałrtī 'one of the large intestines'.

Bur. \*-phát 'gizzard, stomach (of fowl)' > Yas., Hun., Nag. -phát.

\*phǎIV 'a k. of tree' (NSC 61, WFR 36, LDC 25):

PNC \*phǎIV (~-ŋ-, -l-, -i-) 'a k. of foliage tree' > Chech. bōlak 'grove', Tsez. belli 'poplar, ash-tree', Gin. bele, Khvarsh. bel 'poplar', Darg. pallpallag 'asp'.

PST \*bhū[ ] (~-i-) 'tree, root' > OC 本 \*pār? 'root, trunk', 笨 \*bār? 'bamboo root', Tib. sbun, spun 'stalk of a plant', Kach. phun<sup>3</sup> 'tree, bush, a stalk', Lush. bul 'root', Garo bol 'tree' etc.

PY \*ʔipVI 'asp tree' > Ket. i:í / íl, pl. i:ln<sup>3</sup>, Yug. ifil<sup>5,6</sup>, pl. -iŋ<sup>5</sup>, Kott. īpal, pl. īpatn (CCE 196, Werner 2, 434).

Bur. \*phal-c 'a k. of large poplar' > Yasin, Hunza, Nagar phalc.

[PST shows that the accent was on the 1st syllable; absence of \*-ʔ- in the PY form is due to the automatic loss of it in the second syllable after the prefixation of \*ʔi-.]

\*pǐnstwǎ 'glue, resin' (NSC 61, MCGD 2):

PNC \*pǐnčwǎ 'resin; juice' > Chech. mutta 'juice'; Av. piç:, And. piç:i, Akhv. miç:i, Cham. biş, Rind. mic:i, Kar. biç:i 'resin'; Lak. piç 'dew; perspiration'; Darg. penç 'resin'; Ag. piç id.; Abkh. a-ʒó, Abaz. ʒə 'water; juice', Ad., Kab. psə, Ub. bzə 'water'.

PY \*piʔt 'glue' > Ket. hiʔt, Yug. fiʔt, Kott. fit (CCE 249, Werner 1, 320).

Bur. \*phunc 'dew' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar phunc.

\*p̄irpi 'a k. of tree':

PNC \*p̄irpi 'beech-tree, plane-tree' > Chech., Ing. pop 'plane-tree'; And. pipi id.; Gin. pepi, Bezht. pipe 'plane-tree', Khv. pepe 'beech-tree', Gunz. pibe-s 'cudgel'; Darg. purpi 'beech-tree'; Lezg. pipi-n t:ar, Tab. pirpu-n har, Bud. pip, Ud. pup 'beech-tree', Kryz. pip 'beech-tree, poplar'.

Bur. \*phVp- > Yas. phápaŋ 'a wild plant (mit großer runder stachliger Samenkapsel)', Hun., Nag. phípirş 'das federförmige Blätterwerk des Wacholders'.

\*p̄érqwǺ 'a k. of fruit':

PNC \*p̄irqwǺ > Chech. kam-maka 'peach', Ing. kamaka 'apricot' (a compound \*yōnǺV + \*p̄irqwǺ); Av. piq:, God. perqi 'fruit', Kar. biq:e 'apricot'; Lak. piq 'bad fruits'; PWC \*p̄əq<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. a-ph<sup>w</sup>á, a-bh<sup>w</sup>á 'plum', Ad., Kab. p̄xa- (in compounds) 'plum; fruit', Ub. p̄qə 'fruit'.

Bur. \*phaqís > Hun., Nag. phaqís 'a k. of apricot'.

\*p̄ilχwV 'manure':

PNC \*p̄ilχwV 'diarrhea' > Bezht. puχi id.; Lak. pur (< \*purh) id.; Darg. Kharb. puχ-ne 'diarrhea', Kait. puIχ 'excrements'; Rut. piχ, Arch. purχ 'diarrhea'.

PST \*bhǺr 'manure' > OC 糞 \*p̄ər-s 'manure, dirt'; Tib. brun (< \*bhǺr-n) 'dirt, dung, excrement'; Kach. phun<sup>1</sup> 'manure'; Lush. berʔ 'dirty, filthy', etc.

\*p̄irV 'to fly' (HGC 19, NSC 61, WFR 1):

PNC \*p̄irV 'to fly, flight' > Av. p̄ár-p-ad- 'to flutter, fly', p̄ár-χ:-in- 'to fly, fly up'; Bezht. par-Ǻ- 'to wave, sway, heave'; Lezg. purr (avun), Tab. purr apub 'to take wing', Bud. p̄ir p̄ir siʔi, Arch. parχ bos, Ud. pur pesun 'fly'; Abkh. a-p̄ər-, Ab. dial. p̄ər-, Ub. p̄ər- 'to fly'.

PST \*phjǺr 'to fly' > OC 翻 \*phar 'to fly', Tib. ābjer 'to disperse in flight, to flee in different directions', Kach. pjen<sup>1</sup> 'to fly', etc.

Bur. \*pVrík > Yas., Hunza, Nagar prik dél- 'to hop, jump, leap'.

\*p̄órV 'boil, bladder' (HGC 25):

PNC \*purV-χV / \*purV-IV 'bladder; bellows' > Av. perélo, And. purχul, Akhv. holoχa, Kar. periλur 'bellows'; Bezht. p̄üräh-ägö id.; Lak. purpuχ:i 'urinary bladder'; Rut. paraχIul, Tsakh. paraχI:aj id.

PST \*PrōH 'swell, swelling' > OC 飽 \*prūʔ 'be satiated, full', 胞 \*phrū(ʔ)s 'tumor, swelling'; Tib. ābru tumor, swelling; Burm. phrəwh

'thick, abundant, wealthy', prauh 'be abundant'.

PY \*pəʔr ( ~-r<sub>1</sub>) 'fish bladder' > Ket. hλʔí, Yug. fλʔr (CCE 247, Werner 1, 342).

[PST probably reflects a form like \*pórVχV which would explain the otherwise irregular change of word structure.]

\*pörV 'a k. of small bird or insect' (MCGD 2, NSC 61):

PNC \*pörV ( ~-l-) 'bee; butterfly' > Chech. polla 'butterfly', And., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. pera, Akhv. hera, Cham. pijā 'bee'; Khvarsh. par, Inkh. por id.

PST \*Pra > Angami Naga pera, Rgyarung pryē 'fowl', Idu pra 'bird' etc.

Bur. \*phirán > Yas. pherán 'moth', Hun., Nag. phirán 'spider' (probably < \*parán with reduction of vowel, cf. similarly \*görV).

[Cf. Basq. \*pinpiRin 'butterfly'.]

\*pUjnV 'shoulder, neck' (SCE 96):

PNC \*Pun 'shoulder' > Tib. d-pun, Lepcha túk-pun 'shoulder', Kulung pɔi, Tani \*pon 'neck', etc.

PY \*p[u]jm- 'neck' > Kott. fuimur, phuimur, Ar. pemä 'neck' (CCE 253, Werner 1, 283).

Bur. \*phuinj > Yas. -phúinj 'nape of neck'; Hun., Nag. -phóinj 'shoulder'.

\*pVčV ( ~-ç-, -č-) 'fart':

PST \*phīt > OC 𑌕 \*phič 'fart, wind (in the stomach)'; Kach. phjet<sup>2</sup> 'wind (in the stomach)'.

Bur. \*phiš 'to fart' > Yas., Hun., Nag. phiš.

\*pVHV 'son, daughter' (HGC 27, NSC 61):

PNC > PWC \*pa 'son'.

PST \*Poɟ ( ~-u-) 'to bear, child' > Tib. bu 'son, child', Burm. phwah 'to bear, be born', Miju sa-bu 'child', etc. Cf. also Tib. d-bo-n 'grandson, nephew', Kanauri ba-n-za id.

PY \*puʔ-n 'daughter' (Ket. huʔn, Yug. fuʔn, Kott. fun, see CCE 252, Werner 1, 331), \*puʔ-b 'son' (Ket. hiʔp, Yug. fiʔp, Kott. fup, see CCE ibid., Werner 1, 348). Despite Werner, the element \*puʔ- cannot be identified with \*pəñ- 'small' in any way known to us.

\*pVHV (\*HVpV) 'to weave' (HGC 36):

PNC > PWC \*pa- 'to weave, plait'.

PST \*[ph]ǎŋH (with a -ŋ-suffix) 'to twist, spin, spindle' > OC 紡 \*phaŋʔ 'to twist, spin', Tib. phaŋ 'spindle', Kach. gəbaŋ<sup>3</sup> 'a hand-spindle', etc.

PY \*pVʔV 'to wind (rope, etc.)' > Ket. hΛ:<sup>3</sup>, Yug. ɤ:<sup>3</sup>, Kott. fo-fūjaŋ (pret. fōna-fūjaŋ, imp. fan-fui) (CCE 254, Werner 1, 342).

\*pVjṼ 'to bend, incline':

PST \*phrāj (< \*r-phāj) 'to lean, incline' > OC 跛 \*p(r)aj-s 'to lean to one side'; Tib. ǎphre 'to incline, to lean against', phre-d 'across, obliquely'; Lush. phei 'level, flat, horizontal'.

PY \*pī(j)- 'bent, hooked, oblique' > Ket. hi:śi<sup>4</sup>; Bak., Sur. hi:śə<sup>4</sup> / hiśə<sup>4</sup>; South. hiś<sup>4</sup>; Yug. fi:<sup>h</sup>s; Kott. fia-(fui), phia-(fui). See CCE 250, Werner 1, 345.

\*pVncV 'brow, hair' (DCE 10):

PWC > PL \*pinç 'eyelash; feather'.

Bur. \*phenVs > Yas. -phénas 'brow, forehead hair'; Hun., Nag. =phínis 'braid, head hair (of women)'.

[Cf. Basq. \*pinca 'membrane (covering an egg or nut)'.]

\*pVńV 'dirt':

PST \*Paŋ > Tib. s-baŋ-s 'dung of larger animals'; Burm. bhaŋ (ōB p̃hāŋ) 'dung, excrements'.

PY \*pVʔń 'dandruff' > Yug. ɤʔń id.; Kott. fini, fińi, fin 'scab' (CCE 254, Werner 1, 282).

Bur. \*p(h)Vn > Yas., Hun. gus-pén 'dung of small cattle and camels', har-pán 'dung of horses, donkeys, camels, goats'.

\*pVŋwV 'swell' (NSC 52):

PST \*ph(r)ōŋ (\*r-phōŋ) 'to swell' > OC \*phrōŋ 'swollen belly'; Kach. bron<sup>3</sup> 'to swell, as steamed rice', Lush. pōŋ 'be swollen, uneven'.

PY \*piʔŋ > Ket. hiʔŋ, Kott. fiʔŋ 'tumour', Ket. hiʔŋ, Yug. fiŋej<sup>5</sup> 'to swell' (CCE 250, Werner 1, 348, 349).

Bur. \*phān- 'to swell' > Yas. phán-, Hun., Nag. phán- 'to swell'.

\*pVŋV (~ b-) 'healthy, strong':

PST \*Pāŋ 'strong' > OC 彭 \*pāŋ 'very, much', \*bāŋ 'forceful,



overbearing'; Tib. dbaŋ 'might, power, potency'; Burm. praŋh 'very, much'; Kaling bhəŋ-pe, Ao Naga tiŋəŋ 'good'.

PY \*ʔəpVŋ (~x-) 'healthy' > Ket. ōŋ / ə:ŋ; Yug. əfiŋ<sup>5,6</sup>; Kott. apan. See CCE 199, Werner 2, 49.

\*[p]VrcĚ 'plough':

PNC \*pVrVcĚ 'plough' > Av. purú:c-, And. rebc:u, Akhv. řebec:e, Cham. bijaca, Tind. bec:i, Kar. bec:e, Bagv. perc 'plough'; PWC \*pə́za > Abkh. a-páza, Abaz. pəza, Ad. c<sup>w</sup>ā-bza, Kab. vā-bʒa, Ub. c<sup>w</sup>ā-bzá 'ploughshare'.

Bur. \*bas > Yas., Hun., Nag. bas 'wooden plough'.

\*pVwV 'intestines' (HGC 26):

PNC > PTs \*pu 'side (anat.)'.

PST \*phəw 'intestines, bowels' > OC 腑 \*bos 'intestines'; Tib. pho stomach (cf. also sbo 'the upper part of the body'); Kach. pu<sup>2</sup> 'belly'; Haka paw, Bodo bi-bu 'intestine', etc.

PY \*p[u]- 'intestines' > Ket. hū, pl. hu: / hu:n 'heart'; hī, pl. Kur. hλ:ji<sup>4</sup>, Bak., Sur. hλ:jə<sup>4</sup> / hλ:jə<sup>4</sup>, South. hλ:j<sup>4</sup> 'belly'; Yug. fu, pl. fu:n 'heart'; fīj, pl. fλ:hj 'belly'; Kott. fui (fūi), phui, pl. fūjan 'inside, intestines'; fa, \*pha, g. fai, pl. fajikŋ 'breast'; Ass. pa (M., Cλ., Kλ.) 'breast'; Ar. p̄hián (M., Cλ., Kλ.), apijen (λock.) 'breast'; Pump. pfu (Cλ., Cpca.) 'heart'. See CCE 251-252. The forms listed above are hard to separate (although the vocalism is not quite clear). Werner (1, 332, 348) tries to make the picture clearer by reconstructing \*p<sup>h</sup>u 'heart' and \*p<sup>h</sup>əj 'belly' respectively - but the relationship between Ket hū and Kott. fa is still unexplained. It still seems to me that we are dealing with a single root separated into later variants through old Ablaut.

\*p̄Haćwé (?) 'skin, leather'

PNC \*bHaćwe (~ -a) 'bark, skin' > Bezht. beš 'bark, shell', Gunz. beš 'skin (of neat cattle)'; Lak. burču (< \*buč-ru ?) 'skin, hide'; Lezg. p:əš, Ag. p̄alž, Kryz. beš 'leaf', Bud. beš 'willow button'.

Bur. \*pisV̄k > Yas. pisík 'front piece of leather on boot', Hun. pisók, Nag. pusók 'priceless (cheap) leather'.

\*p̄Hōm[t]V̄ 'a k. of bird' (HGC 27):

PNC \*bHōm̄V 'duck' > Chech. bad 'duck' (dial. b̄ād), Bac. bať 'goose'; Tsez., Gin. maťi 'goose'; Lak. dial. duł̄la-bať 'drake, male duck';

Darg. baɫ̪ 'duck'.

PST \*PṼt 'a k. of bird (pheasant?)' > OC 鷲 \*pet, \*pets 'a k. of pheasant', Tib. r-bad 'a large species of eagles', Burm. bhut 'a k. of pheasant'.

PY \*bəntan 'a k. of wild duck (кряква)' > Ket. bəntən<sup>6</sup>, Yug. bəntən<sup>5</sup>; see CCE 209, Werner 1, 155.

[\\*pǒnqō](#) (~ -xq-) 'back, side' (different in LV B2):

PNC \*bǒnqō 'back' > Chech., Ing., Bac. buq̄ 'back'; Av. moq̄: 'spine'; Gin. moqoli, Bezht. miqā, Gunz. miqər 'back'; Lak. muqa-w 'on the back'; Darg. Kait. muq̄ 'back'; Abkh. á-baɫ̪<sup>w</sup>, Abaz. bɫ̪<sup>w</sup>ə 'bone', Ad., Kab. p:q:ə 'carcass, skeleton'.

PST \*paŋ 'side, back side' > OC 方 \*paŋ 'side'; Burm. paŋ 'buttocks, bottom, behind'; Kach. phaŋ<sup>1</sup> 'behind'; Lush. paŋ 'the body; the side, the flank', etc.

Bur. \*pa[n] > Yas. -pa-, Hun., Nag. -pa '(by) side', Yas. pan 'place in house on both sides of the hearth'.

[Shortness in PST (or final length in PNC) is irregular.]

[\\*pVcV](#) 'penis' (NSC 60):

PNC > PL \*p:iç 'penis; vulva'.

PY \*biʔs 'penis' > Ket. biʔs, Yug. biʔs, Kott., Ass. puš, Ar. poš. See CCE 211, Werner 1, 160.

(?) Bur. > Nag. phósi 'vagina' (with irregular ph-: \*p- would be expected normally).

[\\*pVdV](#) 'side' (DCE 2):

PNC \*bVdV 'side' > Lezg. p:ad 'side', Kryz. badow, Bud. bodə 'near'; Urtat. bedə 'side'.

Bur. \*p(h)at 'side' > Yas. ʔphat, ʔpat, Hun. ʔpat, Nag. ʔphat.

[\\*pVHV](#) 'much, big' (NSC 52):

PNC \*bVHV 'big, many' > Ag. ʔaba-ni-r, Kryz. bu, Bud. boʔ-lu 'big', Arch. hiba-t:u- 'good'; Abkh. -b, Ab. -ba, Ub. bIə in compounds 'thumb, big toe', Ub. bIə 'thick', Ad. ba 'many', Kab. ba- id. (in compounds).

PST \*bā(H) (/ \*phā(H)) 'wide, big; spread, extend' > OC 溲 \*phā? 'be vast, wide', 布 \*pās 'cloth; spread out (a mat)'; 鋪 \*phā, \*pha 'spread out'; 誦 \*pāʔ, \*phāʔ, \*phāʔs 'big, large, increase'; Kach. šəpa<sup>1</sup> 'to extend, as a cobra its hood', gəba<sup>2</sup> 'be big, great'; Lush. phaʔ 'to spread (as cloth, etc.)',

Sulung \*bV, Tani \*bə 'big'.

PY \*bə(?)j- 'many, much' > Ket. bájəŋ 'enough', Kott. pajaŋ 'many, much' (CCE 209, Werner 1, 153).

[\\*pVhVhV](#) 'feather' (MCGD 16):

PNC \*pVhVhV 'feather; mane' > Chech. pēla-g 'feather'; Av. hūli id.; Lak. dial. pihulli id.; Darg. palhalla, dial. puhall id.; PWC \*pəla / \*pəra > Abkh. á-bra, Abaz. bra 'mane', Ad. pəLā-c, bəLā-c 'shaggy', Kab. baLā-ca id.

Bur. \*phol- > Yas. phol-yó, Hunza, Nagar phul-γúy 'feather'.

[It may well be that the rare Laki (Bartkh.) form pihulli is actually borrowed from Dargwa. In that case the genuine Laki cognate could be p:al 'sheep's wool' - in its turn, borrowed as Dargwa p:ala, bala 'sheep's wool'. The PNC root \*balV (NCED...) would be then non-existent, and its Sino-Tibetan match \*PVI 'hair, wool' would be rather regarded as a reflex of \*pVhVhV - where it in fact fits perfectly.

Cf. Basq. bilho 'hair, mane'.]

[\\*pVmV](#) 'earth, grave':

PST \*bīm 'grave, tumulus' > OC 壙 \*pəŋs 'to bury' (cf. also 窆 \*pram ~ -əm 'to lower a coffin into the grave'); Tib. ābum 'tomb, sepulchre'; Burm. pum 'heap; grave, tumulus'; Kach. bum<sup>2</sup> 'a mountain'; Lush. phūm 'to bury, to inter'.

PY \*baʔŋ 'earth' > Ket., Yug. baʔŋ, Kott., Ass. paŋ, Ar. peŋ, Pump. biŋ. See CCE 205, Werner 1, 110.

[Vovin's (...) attempts to mock this etymology by telling us a story about the Tibetan word denoting a surface rather than subterranean structure is ridiculous in itself: in doing so he is being very careful to conceal the meanings in Chinese and Kuki-Chin - which clearly indicate the direction of semantic change: 'to inter, bury, burial' > 'burial mound, tumulus'. Individual burial rites of people speaking attested descendant languages should hardly be regarded as etymological obstacles...].

[\\*pVnʒé](#) 'fly, wasp':

PNC \*bīnʒě (/ \*mīʒě) 'fly' > Chech., Ing. moza 'fly'; Bezht. užmūži 'wasp'; Lak. zimiz 'fly'; Tab., Ag. mizmiz 'mosquito', Rut. zūbez 'bumble-bee', Tsakh. bizbiza 'fly', Arch. zimzi / zimzu 'ant'; Abkh. á-mç 'fly', Ad., Kab. bāʒa id., Ub. ba(n)ʒó id.

PY \*bis- 'wasp, bee' > Ket. bištín<sup>6</sup>, bišt, Kot. bisset<sup>6</sup> 'wasp, bee', Kott.

pačem "hornet". See CCE 211. Werner 1, 160 says "kot. pačem "Hornisse" läßt sich mit ket. bištin "Wespe" kaum verbinden", but does not explain why - phonetic and semantic correspondences are in this case completely satisfactory. For the Ket and Yug forms he gives a most fantastic explanation: Ket. bištin < biʔs 'penis' + -t (genitive marker) + iʔn 'needle' ("needle of the penis"??); Yug bisset (obviously = Ket. bišt-) < biʔs 'penis' + i:ht 'tooth' ("tooth of the penis"???) - thus preferring very dubious folk etymologies to regular reconstruction.

\*pVnV (~ \*b-) 'ladle, cup':

PST \*Piōŋ (~ w-) 'pitcher' > OC 甌 \*bēŋ 'pitcher'; Tib. phin 'earthenware pitcher, cup'.

PY \*piʔn 'scoop' > Ket. hiʔn, Yug. fiʔn. Blyy CCE 248, Werner 1, 320.

\*pVsV 'widow, orphan':

PNC \*pVsV > Av. bes-da-la= 'orphan'; Abkh., Ab. -psa, Ad. -p<sup>w</sup>as, Kab. -pas 'step-relative' (cf. Abkh. án-psa 'step-mother', áb-psa 'step-father', Abaz. an-psa, ab-psa; pa-psa 'step-son'. PAK \*-pasə (also used in compounds: Ad. nə-na-p<sup>w</sup>as, Kab. āna-na-pas 'step-mother', Ad. tə-na-p<sup>w</sup>as, Kab. āda-na-pas 'step-father').

PY \*bəs- 'widow / widower; orphan' > Ket. bāssem 'widow', bāśśál-git 'widower'; Yug. bāssem 'widow'; Kott. paš-ūp-še 'orphan, widow, widower'; Ass. pašup jali 'stepson'; Ar. pas 'slave', bi-pas '(my) servant', bi-pašša '(my) servant (fem.)'. See CCE 209. The same root is present as the second component in Ket. op-pas 'stepfather', am-mas 'stepmother'; Yug. fip-pas 'stepson', fun-nas 'stepdaughter'. With an alternation -s- > -j- the same root can be discovered in Ket. bΔjbə<sup>5</sup>, bΔj-γit<sup>5</sup>, pl. bΔj-γit<sup>6</sup> 'orphan', Yug. bΔjbə<sup>5</sup> id. The latter form is probably etymologically identical to Kott. paš-ūp: both represent an irregular transformation of the PY compound \*bəs-piʔb "orphan" + "son". This makes Y. Helimski's (KC 240) idea of bΔjbə<sup>5</sup> being borrowed from Sam. \*jVjwA 'orphan' less probable (rather, we should think of the opposite direction of borrowing - from a comparatively late form \*bəjbV, with a change \*b > w and assimilation \*wVjwA > \*jVjwA already in Samoyed). See also Werner 1, 154, 155 (apparently not noticing the obvious connection of the variants bΔs- and bΔj- in Ket).

\*pVśV (~ -ś-) 'night, evening' (KS 28, LDC 27-28):

PNC \*bVšV (~ -š-, -ś-) > Chech. büjsa, Ing. bijsa, Bac. bujsa 'night', Chech. busa, Ing. bus, Bac. bujs 'at night'; Ub. z<sup>w</sup>a-psá 'evening' (z<sup>w</sup>a- 'sky').

PY \*bis 'evening' > Ket. bīs, Yug. bis, Kott. pīš, Ar. pis, Pump. bič-idin (CCE 210, Werner 1, 134).

\*pVtV̄ 'firm, tough' (KS 202, LDC 38):

PNC \*bVtV̄ > Chech. butū, Ing. butuw 'hard, tough'; Ad. pəta, Kab. bəda id.

PY \*bid- > Ket. bīt (Werner 1, 160: bīt-ś / bīr-ś); Yug. bit, bīdam. See CCE 211, Werner 1, 160.

[Cf. Basq. \*bete 'full'.]

\*qāmkV (~ \*xq-) 'fang, tusk':

PNC \*qāmkV 'fang, molar; stake' > Cham. χanχα 'fang, canine tooth'; Bezht. χāg, Gunz. χoκin 'molar tooth'; Lezg., Rut. χak 'picket, stake'; Khin. χak 'stake'.

PST \*koŋ (~ q-) 'tusk' > Burm. khaun 'two front teeth of a horse'; Kach. ko<sup>1</sup>, koŋ<sup>1</sup> 'a tusk'; Kulung kaŋ 'tooth'.

\*qāmsťV 'ant, grasshopper':

PNC \*qāmVčV / \*GāmVčV > Chech. qīzig 'bug, bed-bug'; And. vaça, Akhv. vaça, Cham. vaça (Gig. χanza), Tind. vaça, Lar. vaça 'grasshopper, locust', God. vaça (dial. vaça) 'dragonfly'; Tsez. xoçi, Gin. xoçe, Bezht. χaço, Gunz. χōçə 'grasshopper'; Lak. qaç, dial. q<sup>w</sup>aç 'locust'; Tab. (uқан) qıanc, Arch. apal-χaçi 'grasshopper', Ag. qaç-rak 'gadfly'; Ad. q:āmza-g<sup>w</sup> 'ant', Kab. qānza-g<sup>w</sup> 'ant-hill'.

PST \*K[ö]m (~ Q-) 'a k. of insect (cricket, locust)' > OC 螞 \*goŋ 'cricket', Kach. diŋgam<sup>1</sup> 'locusts'.

PY \*qənte (~χ-) 'ant' > Ket. q̄nt / q̄nte<sup>1</sup>, Yug. хъnti<sup>1</sup> (CCE 259, Werner 2, 149).

\*qāncwV (~ \*xq-) 'dirt, rubbish':

PNC \*qānVčwV 'dirt' > Cham. χaş, dial. χaç:i 'saliva'; Tsez., Khv. qec 'dirt, mud, slush', Bezht., Gunz. qıca 'swamp'; Lezg. χanç 'a layer of hardened dirt', Tab. χaχanç 'crust'; Abkh. a-ħ<sup>w</sup>əñç<sup>w</sup>á, Abaz. ħ<sup>w</sup>əñç<sup>w</sup>ə 'dirt, mire'.

PY \*qeʔs (~χ-) 'sand, sandy shore' > Ket. qeʔś, Yug. xeʔs (CCE 257, Werner 1, 84-85).

Bur. \*qhurc 'dust' > Yas. xorc, Hun., Nag. qhurc 'dust'.

\*qārṗV 'coat, shell':

PNC \*qārṗV / \*pārṗV 'outerwear, fur-coat' > Chech., Ing. beq 'fur-coat'; Av. q:abárča, And. q:apa, q:apača, Akhv. q:āča, Cham., Tind. q:abača 'fur-coat'; Lak. barqut 'fur-coat'; Darg. Kub. pārṗ id.; Tab. qabačej, Rut. q:abačaj id.; Hurr. qurbiži 'garment worn under mail-coat or helm'.

PST \*qrāp 'scale, shell' > OC 甲 \*krāp 'protecting cover of a shield; scale, armour; buffer coat'; Tib. khrab 'shield, buckler; coat of mail, scales'; Burm. hrap 'little basket-shell; k. of jacket'; Lepcha grop 'to cover, hide, shelter, shroud'; Kir. \*khrép 'cover, covering'.

PY > Kott. (Werner 1, 325) hōp(e)tal 'Satteldecke, Teppich'.

(?) Bur. > Yas. yupáltin 'trousers'.

\*qāʔVrV (~ \*xq-) 'far, long':

PNC \*ʔārVqV / \*qāʔVrV 'far; long, high' > Bezht. hō, Gunz. həʔəru 'high'; Lak. laqi- 'long' (with secondary l- under influence of laq- 'high'); Darg. haraq- 'far'; Abkh. á-χara, Abaz. qara 'far'; Hurr. kerī, ker-ae 'long, far away'.

PST \*Krā > OC 遐 \*grā 'far away'; Burm. krah 'long (in time)', kra 'be long in doing, long in time'.

\*qHāćwa (~ xq-, -e) 'skin; cloth(es)':

PNC \*qHāćwa (~ -e) 'skin' > And. χuca (Gud. q:uča), Cham. χoša (Gig. q:uča), Kar. q:oča, Bagv. q:uča 'skin'; Bezht. χeš 'skin, shell'; Lak. χ:ałčara 'raw hide'; Tsakh. qoša 'strip of leather'.

PY \*χāʔʒ 'upper clothes' > Ket. qaʔt, Yug. xaʔt, Kott. hei, Ar. qaj 'upper clothes', Pump. je-xat 'armour' (CCE 300, Werner 2, 79).

[Final \*-ʒ in PY is irregular - one would rather expect \*-s. Perhaps we are dealing with a confusion of several roots: cf. also \*GělćwV 'skin, film' > PNC \*GělćwV (Akhv. ʋoča, Tind. ʋoča 'skin, sheep skin'; Tsez. hoši, Gin. χʷiši, Khv. hiše, Bezht. ʋāše id.; Lak. q:aču 'sheepskin coat'); Bur. Hunza, Nagar qherc 'wertlose äußere Schicht' - where -ć- could have yielded a voiced reflex through assimilation.]

\*qVdV (~ \*xq-) 'breast' (MCGD 9):

PNC \*qVdV (~ χ:-) 'brisket' > Av. me-héd; Bezht. ʋade.

PY \*qot- (~χ-) 'in front, before' > Ket. qota<sup>6</sup>, Kur. qotε<sup>6</sup> "(to the) front"; qōtkə<sup>1</sup> "in front of, before", Kur. qōtkε<sup>1</sup> id.; Yug. xotéj "(to the) front"; xotkej<sup>1</sup> "in front of, before"; Ar. únkut (M., Cl., Kl.,) "in front of" (Дульз).

únqut). See CCE 263-264, Werner 2, 118-119.

Bur. \*'-qat 'armpit' > Yas. 'qetaraŋ, Hun., Nag. 'qat.

[\\*qǎnhā](#) 'a k. of large bird':

PNC \*qǎnhā / \*qǎmhā 'raven, crow' > Av. (with metathesis) nuq:á, And. q:ommo 'raven', Akhv. q<sup>w</sup>a [misspelling instead \*q<sup>w</sup>a] 'jackdaw, rook'; Darg. q:alna 'crow'; Ag. qIad 'rook', Rut. qIad, Tsakh. qIan, Arch. qIipi-χIan, Ud. ɤIaina 'crow'; Khin. q:amar 'crow'.

PST \*q(h)<sup>w</sup>a (~γ<sup>w</sup>-) 'a k. of bird' > Tib. go-bo 'large eagle or vulture', Lush. sa-va 'bird', Kiranti \*wa 'bird, fowl', Chepang wa 'bird' etc.

PY \*qāŋa > Ket. qa:ŋə<sup>4</sup> 'kite', Yug. xa:<sup>h</sup>ŋ id., Ass. kéŋa-fuj 'owl' (CCE 257, Werner 2, 68).

Bur. \*γam- > Yas. γámun, Hunza, Nagar γa 'crow'.

[\\*qwāpā](#) 'vessel' (HGC 32, NSC 56):

PNC \*qwāpā > Chech. qāba, Ing. qaba 'earthenware pot'; Bagv. q:apa 'pot'; Inkh. χIupa 'scoop'; Darg. qaba 'vase, pot'; Rut. χ<sup>w</sup>ab, Tsakh. χab-ǵǵ, Kryz. χeb 'sack, bag'; Abkh. á-ɤba, Ab. ɤba, Ub. ɤəbá 'boat, vessel'.

PST > OC OC 榼 \*khāp 'wooden cup'.

PY \*qā?p (~-b) 'boat (made of birch bark)' > Ket. qa?p, Yug. xa?p / xap, Kott. xěp, khep, see CCE 257, Werner 2, 79.

[\\*qwǎqwǎ](#) 'ladle, vessel' (HGC 32, LV Cb5, LDC 32, BCD 26)

PNC \*qwǎqwǎ ( ~ χ) 'trough; basket' > Av. heh 'basket' (par. B: hahí-l, hahá-l); Lezg. χ<sup>w</sup>aχ, Tab. χ<sup>w</sup>aχ<sup>w</sup>, Ag. χaχ<sup>w</sup>, Rut. χuxuj 'trough'; see NCED 899.

PST \*gǔǎk ( ~ \*G-) 'a k. of receptacle' > OC 搨 \*kok 'barrow', 桐 \*kok 'tray'; Tib. khug-ma 'pouch, little bag'; Burm. khwak 'deep, concave (as cup); cup, bowl'; Garo khok 'basket', Mikir hok 'small basket' etc.

PY \*qək- (~χ-) 'spoon' > Ket. qǎkt// qǎktə<sup>1</sup>, Yug. xǎkčǐ<sup>1</sup> 'spoon' (CCE 259, Werner 2, 149).

[Irregular shortness in PST.

Cf. Basq. \*kaiku 'wooden bowl'.]

[\\*qwá\[t\]ā \(~-ě-\)](#) 'belly; pregnant':

PNC \*qwatā (~-ě-) 'large intestine' > Av. q:<sup>w</sup>atá 'large intestine', Kar. q:<sup>w</sup>ata 'stomach'; Lak. qata (dial. q<sup>w</sup>ata) 'large intestine'.

PY \*qe?t- (~χ-) 'pregnant' > Ket. qässej<sup>5</sup>, Yug. xetes<sup>5</sup> (CCE 258).

[The Yenisseian match is somewhat dubious: a) it has an irregular

-t- (\*-d- would be expected normally); b) Werner 2, 83-84 suggests that it is a compound with the first element \*χ[e]ʔ 'big', supporting this idea by the separability of the root in Ket t-qä-ŋ-tas-dΛŋdΛjen 'we are pregnant' etc. If this is not a secondary insertion of -ŋ-, we should rather think of a root \*tis 'belly' (?).]

[\\*qwǎnV](#) 'woman' (NSC 56):

PNC \*qwǎnV > Chech. qin 'wife of brother-in-law', Ing. q̄i (q̄ino-) 'daughter-in-law'; Tsez. ʁlana, Khv. ʁini, Inkh. ʁline 'woman'; Lak. qami (< \*qan-bi) 'women'; Lezg. dial. χn-ub 'woman', Tab. χp:i- (< \*χun-p:i-) id., Ag. χun-b-ar 'women', Kryz. χini-b 'woman', Arch. χom (< \*χon-b) 'women'; Khin. χini-mk̄ir (pl. χini-bir) 'woman'; PWC \*pə-χ<sup>w</sup>A 'daughter' > Abkh. a-phá, Ad., Kab. pχ<sup>w</sup>ə, Ub. pχa.

PY \*qVm- (~χ-) 'woman' > Ket. q̄im, Yug. xem / xim 'woman', Ar. bi-qam-al 'wife' (lit. "my wife"), (Lock.) kemel 'woman', Pump. ils-ém, ilz-em 'wife' (CCE 266, Werner 2, 90).

Bur. \*yən- 'queen' > Yas. yén-des, Hunza, Nagar yéniṣ, pl. yénaṅ.

[\\*\[q\]wǎjV](#) 'to swear; to be angry' (somewhat different in HGC 34):

PNC \*qwǎjV 'oath' > Chech., Ing. p̄ha 'vendetta'; Av. ha 'oath', hé-d- 'to swear, take oath'; Tsez. ho, Gin. ho, Khv. hū, Bezht. hã, Gunz. hō(j) 'oath'; Lak. qa (dial. q<sup>w</sup>a) id.; Darg. qal, Chir. qI<sup>w</sup>a id.; Tab. χu, Ag. χluj, Arch. χ<sup>w</sup>e-t:i 'oath', Ud. χuj 'anger'.

PST \*Ḡiw 'to announce, claim' > OC 皋 \*gū 'announce'; Tib. s-ko 'to appoint, nominate', Burm. khaw 'to call, summon', Kach. kho<sup>3</sup> 'to preach', Lush. hau? 'to bespeak, lay claim to'.

PY \*χV(?)j- 'to be angry' > Ket. qáj-beś (Werner 2, 142), Yuf. xΛj-beś id.; Kott. hai-piçaŋ 'angry'. See CCE 307, Werner 2, 142.

Bur. \*qhái > Hun., Nag. qhái 'revenge'.

[\*χ in PY is irregular: \*q would be expected]

[\\*qwétV](#) (~-ä-) 'dirt':

PNC \*qwétV (~-ä-) 'dust, dirt' > Lak. χ:it 'dust'; Darg. q:it 'sediment; slush'.

PST \*y<sup>w</sup>ät 'dirt' > OC 穢 \*?<sup>w</sup>at-s 'dirt, filth'; Lush. vut 'ashes, dirt'. Manipuri ut 'ashes', etc.

[\\*qwētí](#) 'palate, mouth' (MCGD 9):

PNC \*qwētí 'Adam's apple; uvula' > Lak. qil̄t̄ (dial. q<sup>w</sup>il̄t̄, qilut̄)



'Adam's apple; beak'; PL \*χuṭ (with expressive irregular developments) > Tsakh. χirtam 'Adam's apple', Kryz. χuluṭ 'larynx', Bud. qulṭuxum 'Adam's apple; larynx', Ud. χirtäj 'Adam's apple', Tab., Ag. (funin) χuṭ 'navel' (lit. 'Adam's apple of the belly').

Bur. \*qhát 'mouth' > Yas. -xát, Hun., Nag. -qhát.

[The Burushaski word can be alternatively compared with PNC \*GwēṭV (~ \*GētṭwV) 'crop, craw; beak, Adam's apple' > Lak. q:iṭi 'uvula', Darg. q:udq:udi 'beak', Tab. ʁludʁlud 'crop, craw', Tsakh. ʁloṭ 'gullet', Bud. qatqat 'third stomach'.]

\*qwǎʔrV̄ 'field, earth, plot of land' (WFR 14):

PNC \*qwiʔrV̄ / \*rʔiqwV̄ 'field, arable land' > Chech., Ing. qa, Bac. qaw 'arable land, field', Av., And. χur, Akhv. quri, Cham., Tind. χuja, Kar. χure, Botl., God. χuri, Bagv. huri 'field'; Khv. ʁu-du id.; Lak. qu id.; Darg. qu id.; Tab. χu-tal, Ag. χu, Rut. χuj, Arch. uχ id.; Abkh. á-rχa 'valley', Abaz. rqa '(arable) field; steppe', Ub. tχ<sup>a</sup> '(arable) field'.

PST \*Qa 'earth' > Kach. ga<sup>t</sup>, Garo a'a, Dimasa ha, Kiranti \*ʔkä 'earth', etc.

Bur. \*yar- > Hunza, Nagar -yári-kis 'a small plot of land for older people without children'. Cf. also: yar 'was einem zugesteht, Anteil'; Hun., Nag. yári, Yas. yaré 'was nach der Ernte auf dem Feld bleibt', Hun., Nag. -yáriki, Yas. yáre, -yáriki 'tägliches Anteil, Ration an Getreide'.

\*q(w)VñV̄ 'hole':

PST \*qhōṅ 'hole' > OC 空 \*khōṅ 'hollow, empty', \*khōṅs 'empty space'; Tib. khun 'hole, pit, hollow, cavity', khon 'empty'; Burm. əkhaunh 'a cavity, hollow place'; Kach. kha<sup>ʔ</sup>-khor<sup>ʔ</sup> 'ditch'; Lush. oṅ 'hole, gap', etc.

Bur. \*qoṅ / \*qan > Nag. qoṅ, qan 'hole, cavity'.

\*qwVrV 'fallow; to cultivate land':

PNC \*qwVrē 'fallow' > Av. ra-k:úri 'fallow'; Lak. q:ur 'arable field', q:uru-qu 'fallow'; Hurr. k/χara-fχə 'fallow'.

PST \*Q<sup>w</sup>ir 'to clear field for cultivation' > OC 畷 \*win, \*whin, \*swhin 'to clear land for culture'; Kach. lægun<sup>1</sup> 'a scraper for cleaning or weeding a field'; Gurung \*kor<sup>L</sup> 'to plough', Kham gòr<sup>L</sup> id., Trung kwar 'harrow'.

\*qáčV 'piece; slice' (NSC 56):

PNC \*qáčĭ (~-ǔ) 'piece; bite, incision' > Tsez. qiči, Gin. qiči 'piece'; Lak. qaç 'a bite; mouth'; Darg. qaç 'a bite; (piece of bread) > bread'; Lezg.

q̄aç 'notch, nick', Tab., Ag. q̄aç 'bit, slice', Rut., Tsakh. q̄aç '(biting part) > chin'.

PST \*q̄āt 'to cut, cleave' > OC 割 \*kāt 'cut; destroy, destruction'; Tib. āgas 'to be cleft or split (of rocks), to burst (of a bag), to crack, to break', āges 'to split, cleave, divide'; Burm. khat 'to strike by a side or back blow, to row (a boat), to beat out flat or thin, as metal'; Kach. gat³ 'cut off'; Lush. āt 'cut as with knife'; Banpara hat; Miju gāt 'reap'.

Bur. \*qes- / \*qhes- 'to rip, tear' > Yas. -xés-, Hun., Nag. qis', -qhís-.

[The ST form points to final length contradicting the shortness in PNC; the latter, however, is reconstructed only on circumstantial evidence (-0 in Lak and Dargwa) and may well be incorrect.]

[\\*q̄āhwV](#) (~ \*xq̄-) 'a k. of vegetable':

PNC \*q̄āhwV (~ q̄-) 'a k. of tuber' > Inkh. q̄ija 'weed', Bezht. q̄i 'straw'; Lak. q̄aja 'horse radish'; Darg. q̄eḥe 'radish, beetroot'; Tab. q̄a? 'turnip', Rut. q̄a? 'horse radish', Kryz. q̄öw 'a plant with edible leaves'.

PST \*Kā 'gourd' > OC 葫 \*gā 'gourd', 壺 \*gā 'flask; bottlegourd'; Tib. ka-bed 'a sort of gourd', ga-gon 'a melon'. Cf. also \*k<sup>w</sup>ā (~ g<sup>w</sup>-) 'gourd, melon' (OC 瓜 \*k<sup>w</sup>rā (< \*r-k<sup>w</sup>ā) 'muskmelon', Tib. ku-ba 'gourd', Burm. sə-khwa 'cucurbitaceae; cucumber') - a variant of the same root?

[\\*q̄ārḳV̄](#) 'star' (HGC 22):

PST \*q̄(h)ār 'star' > Tib. s-kar, Kach. šəgan¹, Lush. ār-si, Lepcha sã-hór, Kir. \*ʔkar, etc.

PY \*q̄ōqa 'star' > Ket. q̄oʔ, South. q̄oʔ⁴; Yug. x̄o:ḥx; Kott. al-aga, al-ak, Ar. íl-koj, il-xok; Pump. káken. See CCE 265, Werner 2, 122.

[\\*q̄ǎré](#) (~ \*xq̄-) 'earth, dirt':

PNC \*q̄ǎrē > Chech. ā-q̄ari 'somewhat elevated plain'; Av. ʔéri 'turf, peat'; Lak. q̄iri 'earth, land'; Darg. Chir. (with metathesis and reduplication) raq̄Iraq̄I-an 'sheep's dung'; Lezg. q̄er 'river-bed', q̄uruš 'dirt', Tab. q̄ir 'river-bed; swamp', q̄uruš 'dirt', Ag. q̄lir 'swamp, marsh', q̄Iaruš 'dirt', Rut. q̄iriš 'dirt', Kryz. q̄iriš 'river-bed', q̄iriq̄ 'diarrhea', Bud. q̄iriq̄ id.; Abkh. a-ǎé, Ab. q̄ə 'dung, faeces', Ub. q̄ə-ç<sup>w</sup>ə- 'to get dirty'.

PST \*k-rij 'dirt' > Burm. krijh 'be dirty, filthy', Kach. khə-grui³ 'dirt', KC \*kri id., Tagin co-kri 'sand', Kanauri kri 'dirt'. Some languages reflect \*ri with different prefixes, cf. Tib. dri 'filth, dirt, odor', Lepcha mǎ-ri 'dirt', Bahing ri, əri 'odor', ri-ku 'filth', Bodo ha-dri? 'sand', perhaps also OC 霾 \*mr̄ē 'dust storm'. This may be in fact a different root (\*riā) with the basic

meaning 'odor of filth' or 'air filled with dust'.

\*qém[t]V 'trap':

PNC \*q̇wimtV 'trap' > Av. q̇:otén, God. q̇:urtina 'trap, pitfall', Akhv. q̇<sup>w</sup>āta 'snare, noose'; Lak. q:āta (dial. q:<sup>w</sup>āta) 'trap'; Darg. (with metathesis) ṭimq̇ 'trap'.

PST \*k(h)ām (~ G(h)-, -ǎm) 'trap' > Kach. məkham<sup>3</sup> 'to trap'; Lush. kam 'to set (a trap)' (cf. also hum 'a pit for trapping animals').

PY \*qa(?)tVn > Kott. χatn, qatn 'trap (for a squirrel)'.  
[PY \*-t- is irregular: \*-d- would be expected. Vowel length is not

quite certain: in ST shortness is reconstructed on the basis of the Lushei form - that appears to contradict final -ṽ in NC, reconstructed on the basis of the Avar accent paradigm B. Both are, however, not decisive (there is no OC form, and the Avar form includes a suffix that could have changed the accent paradigm, so the actual length characteristics is hard to reconstruct.)

\*qəmṽó 'box, vessel' (WFR 99, LV B25):

PNC \*q̇əmṽō 'trough, wooden vessel' > And. q̇om, God. ami 'trough'; Lak. aImu 'wooden tub, trough'; Darg. q̇aIm 'dish, basin'; Lezg. q̇eb, Rut. q̇Iab, Kryz. q̇u-su, Bud. q̇ab-su 'cradle', Tab., Ag. q̇Iab 'id.; trough (for dough)'; Khin. q̇am 'spoon'. Long \*-ō is reconstructed on the basis of non-reduced -u in Laki and the obl. stem \*q̇Iam:a- (\*q̇Iap:a-) in Proto-Lezghian. See NCED 914.

PST \*q(h)ōm 'box, receptacle' > OC 函 \*gōm 'envelop, contain, cuirass, box'; Tib. sgam 'chest, box, trunk', Burm. am 'desk drawer', Lush. ēm 'a generic name for several kinds of baskets'.

PY \*kam(a) (~ q-, h-) 'vessel, dish' > Kott. ham, pl. hāmaṅ, Ass. (Kl.) hama (Werner 1, 298).

\*qHápE 'to cover; top':

PNC \*q̇HapE 'hat, cap' > Tind., Kar. q̇:<sup>w</sup>apa 'hat, cap'; Khv. ʁobola, Inkh. ʁelbila id.; Lak. q̇aIpa id.; Darg. q̇apa id.; Lezg. q̇epe 'big sheepskin hat', Tsakh. q̇Iapa 'night cap'; PWC (with metathesis) \*pIVq̇IV (~ -q̇I:-) 'hat, cap' > Ad. pā?<sup>w</sup>a, Kab. pəʔa, Ub. blaq̇Ió.

PST \*Gāp 'cover' > OC 蓋 \*kāts (< \*kāps) 'to cover, conceal; a cover (of a car)', \*gāp 'to thatch, to cover'; Tib. bkab 'to cover', gab 'to hide', sgab 'covering'; āgebs (p. bkab, f. dgab; i. khob) 'to cover', skjibs 'everything giving shelter from above', khebs 'covering', ākheb (p. khebs) 'cover';

məgəp<sup>2</sup> 'to cover', Lush. hup (huʔ) 'cover, put over', Lepcha kap 'to cover over, to envelop, to wrap round as garment', etc.

PY \*qepVn- (~χ-) 'to close (door)' > Ket. qeŋgej<sup>6</sup>; Werner 2, 85: qe:ŋij<sup>3</sup>, qe:ŋgij<sup>3</sup>, qānij, qanij; t-qəb-bit 'I close it'; Yug. di-χéfinābdi? 'ich mache es zu', imper. χéfine (Werner 2, 85). See Werner 2, 85 \*qep<sup>h</sup>ən: the addition of the Yug forms allows to change the reconstruction from \*qen- (~χ-) in CCE 258 to \*qepVn- (~χ-).

[\\*qHürV](#) 'empty' (somewhat different in HGC 39):

PNC \*qHörV > PTs (with redupl.) \*qəqər- > Tsez. qloqIoru, Gin., Khv. qoqoru 'empty'; Lezg. qeri 'shallow, sparse', Tab. qIar 'skin (without hair)', Ag. qIare-f, Rut. qIare-f, Tsakh. qIara-n 'empty'.

PST \*krəj 'hunger, hungry' > OC 飢 \*krəj 'famine, be hungry', Tib. b-kre-s 'to be hungry, hunger', Kach. kəra 'be thirsty', Lepcha kŕi-t 'hunger', etc.

PY \*χūj 'empty' > Ket. quj<sup>4</sup> (South.); Kur. qu:ji<sup>4</sup>; Bak., Sur. qu:jə<sup>4</sup> / qujə<sup>4</sup>; Yug. xu:hj; Kott. hui. See CCE 306, Werner 2, 129.

[\\*qHwóšwV](#) 'ankle, cubit':

PNC \*qHwóšwV 'heel, ankle' > Gin. quš 'inch, foot', Khv. qošo 'hoof'; Lak. qIuršlu 'ankle(-bone)'; Darg. qIaš 'foot, leg', Tsud. qI<sup>w</sup>aš / qIuš id., Chir. qIuš: 'fist; handful'; Tab. (with metathesis) š<sup>w</sup>aqI, Ag. qI<sup>w</sup>aš 'heel'.

Bur. \*qaş 'cubit' > Yas., Hun., Nag. qaş.

[\\*qHwǎčĭ](#) 'hole, to dig' (DCE 6):

PNC \*qHwačĭ 'hole, hollow' > Cham. q:uça 'vagina', Tind. q:uça 'vagina (of a girl)'; Bezht. qočo 'tree-hollow; den, lair'; Darg. qača 'holster'; Lezg. qüč, Tab. ɤIuč, Ag. ʔaç 'armpit', Rut. qIaç, Tsakh. qIaç 'opening, pass'; perhaps also Abkh. (a-ʒ-)q<sup>w</sup>áča '(water) pool'.

PY \*qǎč- (~χ-) 'to dig' > Ket. qǎč<sup>4</sup> (South.), Kur. qǎ:řĭ<sup>4</sup>, Bak., Sur. qǎ:də<sup>4</sup>; Yug. xi:hč<sup>4</sup> (CCE 260, Werner 2, 151).

Bur. \*quš > Yas. quš 'armpit (of clothing)'; cf. also Hun., Nag. -yus 'vulva'.

[\\*qHwǎIV](#) (~I-) 'hoof; ankle':

PNC \*qHwǎIV (~I-) 'heel; ankle' > Tsez. q<sup>w</sup>alla 'ankle'; PL \*mo-qIol > Lezg. qül 'foot, kick', Rut. maqIli, Tsakh. miqIli 'heel'.

PY \*χǎIV-čĭG 'hoof' > Ket. qǎléš, Yug. xǎlačĭ<sup>6</sup>, Kott. halčĭg, Ar. kalis 'hoof'. See Werner 2, 100 (recommending to treat the word as a compound

- which is actually done in CCE 304; for the second component see \*čV[ɪ]xkwV).

[In ST cf. perhaps with a nasal suffix \*ghl̄-ŋ, \*r-ghl̄ŋ 'marrow' > OC 脛 \*gēŋ? (\*gl̄ŋ? ?) 'leg, shank', Lush. thliŋ 'marrow', Mikir ar-kleŋ etc.]

\*q̄fwátĩ '(mountain) pass':

PNC \*q̄fwatĩ 'ravine, mountain pass' > Av. dial. q̄:wat̄ 'ravine', Cham., Tind. q̄:ot̄u- 'deep'; Gunz. q̄at̄ 'mountain pass'; Lak. uIn̄ta 'hollow', Darg. q̄un̄ta 'grotto' (the nasal is secondary, under the influence of other forms like Lak. kuIn̄ta 'hollow, hole'); Lezg. q̄:wet̄, Ag. q̄I:wat̄ 'cave'.

PST \*q̄wāt 'pass, traverse' > OC 越 \*wat 'transgress; pass over to'; Tib. r-gjud 'to pass through, traverse', Kach. kot̄³ 'to step or pass over'; Kir. \*kh<sup>w</sup>at 'to go'.

\*q̄Vr[H]V̄ 'a relative' (HGC 26):

PNC \*q̄ar[H]V 'cousin, first cousin' (in compounds) > Av. =ác:-ʒal, Akhv. =ac:o-qa, Cham. =ac-ā-, Tind. =ac:-a- '(first) cousin' (a compound with PA \*=oc:i- 'brother / sister'; Lak. s:u-ra-qu '(first) cousin' (a compound with us:u- 'brother'); Darg. =uzi-q̄ar '(first) cousin' (a compound with uzi / ruzi 'brother / sister'); Ag. čum-χar, Arch. še-ker- '(first) cousin', Rut. ču-χu-d-did 'step-father' (somewhat contorted reflexes of PL \*č<sup>w</sup>i-χar, a compound with \*č<sup>w</sup>ij- 'brother').

PST \*K<sup>w</sup>rij 'child-in-law' > Burm. khrwijn-ma 'daughter-in-law, son's wife', Kach. khri¹ 'paternal aunt's daughter, sister's children, son-in-law'.

PY \*q̄ār(ɪ)- (~χ-) 'grandchild' > Ket. qal⁴ // qalḃq⁵ (South.), North. qaləq⁵, Yug. xarɔx⁵, pl. xarɔxn⁵ 'grandchild' (CCE 256, Werner 2, 64). The second part of the compound (\*q̄ār-oʔq) is not quite clear.

[The Burushaski term \*-rék 'brother-in-law / sister-in-law' looks similar, but raises difficult phonetic problems: metathesis and -k instead of an expected uvular.]

\*q̄wǎłV̄ 'bark, skin':

PNC \*q̄wǎłV 'bark, crust' > Akhv. q̄oli 'crust, rind'; Tsez. q̄Iul, Gin. q̄wil, Khv. q̄wel 'bark', Bezht. (redupl.) q̄eq̄el-ba 'birch bark'.

Bur. \*γVl > Yas. yel, Hun., Nag. γulián̄ 'scuffs (in hair)'.

\*[q̄]wǎn̄?ú 'flat surface; face' (HGC 25, WFR 84):

PNC \*q̄wǎn̄?ū 'flat surface' > Av. ʒonó 'cheek', Tind. uni-rela 'palm

of hand' (rela 'hand'); Tsez. q̄liju, Gin. q̄iju 'palm of hand', Bezht., Gunz. q̄i 'handful'; Lak. q̄an 'meadow; plain (in a valley)'; PL \*q̄<sup>w</sup>an 'palm of hand' > Lezg. (k:apan) q̄<sup>w</sup>an, Rut. q̄<sup>w</sup>anaq, Tsakh. q̄onek̄, Arch. q̄<sup>w</sup>an; Khin. q̄on 'flat open surface', kute q̄on 'palm of hand'.

PST \*K<sup>w</sup>an 'cheek' > Chepang kwan, Hayu glo-gon.

PY \*q̄on (~ χ-) 'face, mouth; form, shape' > Ket. q̄on, Yug. χon 'form, shape'; Ar. búqon (M., Cλ., Kλ.) "mouth"; búqon (Cλ.) "face"; bukón (Cpсλ.) "mouth"; okun (Локк.) "mouth"; Pump. qan (Cλ.) "lip, face", (Cλ., Cpсλ., Kλ.) "mouth". See CCE 244. The Arin form is possessive ("my mouth, my face"). Neither Arin, nor Pumpokol have any traces of word-medial \*-w- here, so regarding them as plural forms of \*χowe 'mouth', as done by Werner 2, 126, seems hardly possible. The Ket-Yug forms are listed in Werner 2, 108 without a comparison with Ar. and Pump. and without reconstruction.

Bur. \*khiŋ 'cheek; side' > Hunza, Nagar khiŋ.

[Velar in Burushaski is irregular; one would expect \*qh-. Perhaps a misrecording?]

\*q̄wéndǎ 'garden, fence' (LV A24):

PNC \*q̄wǎndǎ 'wall, fence' > Av. q̄:ed (par. C: q̄:adá-l, q̄:áda-l), And. q̄:en, Akhv. q̄:éda, Cham. q̄:unna, Tind. q̄:ena, Kar. q̄:ĩ, Botl. q̄:inda, Bagv. q̄:in, God. q̄:ũji 'wall'; Tsez. qido, Khv. qad, Inkh. qod 'wall'; Lak. q:ata 'house, room'; PWC \*ǎI<sup>w</sup>V(n)da 'fence' > Abkh. ánda, Ub. wəd<sup>w</sup>á; see NCED 940.

PST \*Gh<sup>w</sup>ǎn 'garden' > OC 園 \*whan 'garden'; Lush. huan id.

\*q̄wətV 'top (of a plant):

PNC \*q̄wətV 'tops of plants, bush' > Tind. q̄:<sup>w</sup>at̄i 'woman's long hair'; Bezht. q̄atus-hak̄ 'tops of plants' (hak̄ 'bush'); Darg. q̄ada 'bush, shrub'; Tab. q̄ut, Ag. q̄ut: 'carrot'.

Bur. \*qhótal > Hun. qhótal 'crown of tree', Yas. -xótal- 'to grow to full height'.

\*=q̄wVǎV 'to bend':

PNC \*=ilq̄wVǎ > Av. q̄:ul-, And. q̄:ul-un-, Cham. q̄ul-id-, Tind. q̄:ul-ij- 'to bend, incline'; Bezht. =ũq̄-, Gunz. =ũq̄- 'to bend'; Bud. w-e=q̄l- 'to bend', waq̄ali 'bent, curved'; Abkh. a-χ<sup>w</sup>a-rá, Abaz. q<sup>w</sup>a-ra, Ub. q̄I<sup>w</sup>ǎ- 'to bend', Ad. q:<sup>w</sup>ǎ-šǎ, Kab. q:<sup>w</sup>ǎ-nšǎ 'hooked, curved'.

PST \*qh<sup>w</sup>ǎ 'to twist, wind' > Tib. ākhjil 'wind, twist, roll', Lush.

vial- 'to wriggle, curl up; coil', Garo wil-, probably also OC 徇 \*whin(s) 'all round'.

\*q̄wV̄nV 'crop, neck':

PNC \*q̄winV (~-i-, -ē-, -ō-) 'goitre; Adam's apple' > Av. q̄enē-ro, Kar. Anch/ ɣono (contamination with ɣoro < \*k̄<sup>w</sup>irV attested in other dialects) 'goitre; crop, crawl'; Tsez q̄en id.; Darg. Chir. q̄un 'Adam's apple'.  
Bur. \*qhun > Hun., Nag. -qhún 'neck, nape; breast bone'.

\*q̄wV̄rV̄ 'to break':

PNC \*=irq̄wĔ(r) 'to split, break' > And. Gar-d- 'to break, split' (intr.), Akhv. =iq̄<sup>w</sup>-, Kar. =i<sup>ʷ</sup>- 'to break' (trans.); Darg. =iq̄<sup>w</sup>-, =irq̄<sup>w</sup>- 'to split, break, rip'; Rut. s-u=q̄<sup>w</sup>a- 'to tear', Tsakh. ha=q̄<sup>w</sup>ar- 'to break'; Khin. q̄<sup>w</sup>i 'to break'; PWC \*q̄I<sup>w</sup>a > Abkh. á-l-ḥ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to stick into, pierce'.  
Bur. \*q̄har- 'to break, split' > Yas. -xár-, Hun., Nag. q̄har-.

\*rēGV (~ -xG-) 'hill, rock' (LDC 28):

PNC \*rēGV 'hill; bank' > Cham. jeq̄:a, Botl., God. req̄:a 'hill, mountain'; Gin. requ 'mountain slope'; Darg. deɁ 'bank, shore'.  
PST \*rak, \*P-rak 'rock' > Tib. b-rag 'rock'; Kir. \*rək (/bɾək) 'cliff; hillock, mountain', Kan. rag 'boulder', Garo roŋ-b-rak 'rock', etc.

\*rēkwĩ 'breast, heart' (HGC 18, LV A14, BCD 25):

PNC \*jēr̄kwĩ (probably fusion with a class prefix \*i-: \*i-rēkwĩ > \*jēr̄kwĩ) 'heart' > Chech., Ing. dog, Bac. doq; Av. raḳ (South. par. C: Chd. reḳé-l, ráḳa-l), And. roḳ<sup>w</sup>o, Akhv., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. Raḳ<sup>w</sup>a, Cham. jaḳ<sup>w</sup>a; Tsez. roḳu, Gin. roḳ<sup>w</sup>e, Khv. loḳ<sup>w</sup>a, Bezht. raḳo, Gunz. rōḳu; Lak. daḳ 'heart' (dial. daḳ<sup>w</sup> 'breast'); Darg. urḳi; Lezg. riḳ, Tab. juḳ, Ag. jurḳ, Rut., Tsakh., Kryz. Bud. jīḳ, Arch. iḳ<sup>w</sup>, Ud. uk; Khin. ung; PWC \*ḡ<sup>w</sup>ə > Abkh. a-g<sup>w</sup>ə, Ab., Ad., Kab. ḡ<sup>w</sup>ə, Ub. ḡə 'heart'; see NCED 678.

PST \*ʔrəŋ // \*ʔrək (similarly to PNC reflecting \*i-rēkwĩ) 'breast' > OC 臆 \*ʔ(r)ək 'bosom'; Tib. b-raŋ, Burm. raŋ, Lush. eŋ etc.

PY \*tə(ʔ)ga 'breast' > Ket. tɔga<sup>5</sup> / tɔya<sup>5</sup>, Yug. tɔga<sup>5</sup>, Pump. tíke (CCE 284, Werner 2, 300). 5th tone in Ket may reflect \*-ʔ- (which would contradict lax type in NC), but may also be a misrecording (or just reflect a non-reducible -a after -g-).

Bur. \*dak 'hope, belief' > Hunza, Nagar dak.

[Cf. Basq. \*bi-rika 'lung'?]

\*réλwV (\*HérλwV) 'a k. of metal':

PNC \*riλ(w)e 'brass; gold' > Lak. duk-ni 'brass'; Tab. jif, Ag. if, Tsakh. jux:<sup>w</sup>a 'brass, copper'; PWC \*λə (~ λ:-) > Abkh. a-χə́, Abaz. χa-pś 'gold'.

PY \*ʔeχV (~ h-) 'iron' > Ket. ē, Yug. e / ej, Pump. ag id. See CCE 189, Werner 1, 77, 271.

[Not quite reliable: the PY form may in fact be an Iranism (< \*aixa-)].

\*rénλwǂ 'cloud; rain' (DCE 23):

PNC \*rénλwǂ (~ -ǂ-) 'cloud, fog' > Chech., Ing. doχk 'fog', Bac. doχk 'cloud'; Av. naχ: 'cloud'; Darg. Chir. jerg<sup>w</sup>a 'smoke'; Khin. unχ 'cloud'.

PST \*rēŋ 'drop, rain' > OC 霽 \*rēŋ 'rain dropping', 零 \*rēŋ (/rēŋ) 'to fall in drops'; (?) Tib. s-p-rin 'cloud'; Kach. məraŋ<sup>1</sup> 'rain', raŋ<sup>2</sup> 'to fall, as in showers', Pumi \*rVN 'cloud'.

Bur. \*harált > Yas., Hun., Nag. harált 'rain'.

[The Burushaski form rather suggests \*HVrénλwǂ - a contraction of this longer form could perhaps also explain the irregular vowel length in ST.]

\*rénχwǂ 'food, butter':

PNC \*rénχwǂ 'butter' > Av. naχ 'butter, oil, fat' (par. C: naχú-l, náχa-l); Lak. nah 'butter'; Darg. nerχ 'melted butter'; Ag. jaχ 'fat (on meat)', Tsakh, jixI 'boiled fat', Kryz., Bud. juχ 'milk', Arch. inχ 'butter'; PWC \*rəχ<sup>w</sup>ə (~ t-, d-) > Ad., Kab. tχ<sup>w</sup>ə 'melted butter', Ub. tχ<sup>w</sup>ə 'fat'; see NCED 948.

PST \*r[ǎ]ŋ 'provisions' > OC 糧 \*raŋ 'grain, provisions'; Tib. āg-raŋ-ba 'to satisfy with food', Lepcha kǎ-ruŋ 'meat or drink prepared for special occasions'; Idu \*b-reŋ 'meat'.

\*rėxGwV (~l-) 'bladder':

PNC \*rėGwV (~ l-) 'urinary bladder' > Akhv. eǵ:o, God. reǵ:<sup>w</sup>a, Tsez. ʒaǵlu-roqu, Gin. aq<sup>w</sup>e-ruqo-s (a comp. with PTs \*ʔaq<sup>w</sup>ə 'urine').

PY \*ʔulVk (~-r1-, -l-) 'bladder, bubble' > Kott. ūluk, Ar. ólau, Pump. leo-xóxar (CCE 200. Werner 2, 332 says that one should rather think of a compound with \*xur1 'water' (\*uλ in Werner's notation) - which is absolutely precluded by the Arin form - cf. ólau 'bladder' vs. kul 'water').

\*rėxwǂ 'wood, pine':



PNC \*rēxwǞ 'stick, wood' > Av. rox, And. rešu, Akhv. ruša, Cham. woha, Tind. roha, Kar. roxo, Botl. ruxu, Bagv. rox, God. ruš-ki 'wood, grove'; Darg. dex (Tsud. dex<sup>w</sup>) 'log, beam'; Khin. lix 'stick, staff'.

PST \*rəw 'pine, fir' > Burm. thaŋh- ruh 'pine', Kach. mərau<sup>1</sup> 'pine or fir', Trung sə<sup>2</sup>-ru<sup>1</sup> 'pine-tree', etc.

\*rHǎčV 'stomach, kidney' (VCQ 6):

PNC \*čǎrHV (~-l-, \*rHǎčV) 'stomach, abomasum' > Chech. čō 'belly', čō 'in, inside', Ing. čē 'belly', Bac. čuw 'in, inside'; Av. Ǝorčo, And. ručo-l 'intestine'; PWC \*ča > Abkh. á-ca (Bz. á-ča-r), Abaz. ca-ra 'abomasum, rennet'.

Bur. \*-rić > Yas. ʹrić 'kidney', Hun., Nag. irínć 'testicle'.

[Cf. Basq. \*herce 'intestine, tripe'.]

\*rīhV 'time; noon':

PNC \*rīhV 'time; day' > Chech., Bac. de, Ing. di 'day'; Av. rih 'time, period'.

PST \*T-rīw 'day, noon' > OC 晝 \*t-riw-s 'time of daylight, day'; Tib. dro, dro-s 'noon'.

\*rōlǎi 'pus' (WFR 28):

PNC \*rōlǎi (~-l-, -f-) > Chech. do 'ear-wax'; Lak. lal 'pus'; Darg. Kub. dule, Chir. dile 'pus'; Ryt. lar 'slush, mire'.

PST \*ri (~-e, -ej) 'pus, gleet' > Burm. rih 'to rot, be rotten', Kach. ri<sup>2</sup> 'to gleet, to suffer as from gonorrhoea', əri(?) 'gleet, gonorrhoea', Miri tə-ri 'ulcer, sore', Vayu ri 'decay'.

\*rVbV 'to sew':

PNC \*=irbĚ 'to sew' > Bac. ʔab- 'sew'; Darg. ib- (Ur. irb-) id.; Ud. elb id.; PWC \*b<sup>w</sup>V id. > Abkh. á-ʒa-χ-ra, Abaz. ʒa-χ-ra, Ad., Kab. da-, Ub. -d<sup>w</sup>ə. Widely spread are nominal derivatives (\*jiburV, \*HrVbV̄, \*wVreba) > Chech. ew-na, Ing. ow 'seam', Chech. jū, Ing. juw, Bac. jub 'awl'; Av. Ǝébu (dial. Ǝíbur) id.; Lak. p:a (gen. p:ur-dul) id.; Darg. durub 'awl', bureba 'needle'; Lezg., Tab. rib, Ag., Kryz. reb, Rut. rab, Tsakh. rab, Bud. rāb, Arch. dab 'awl', Tab., Ag., Rut. rub, Tsakh. wība, wejba 'needle', Arch. dub-λas 'to sew'; Khin. p:la 'awl'; PWC \*b<sup>w</sup>V, \*b<sup>w</sup>Vb<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. á-ʒaʒ, Abaz. ʒaʒə, Ad. dədə, Kab. dəd 'awl', Ub. d<sup>w</sup>a 'needle'.

PST \*rup 'to sew' > Tib. ādrub 'to sew, to embroider', Burm. khjup 'to sew', Lepcha hrap id., etc.

\*rV̄GwV (~ \*HṼrGwV, -xGw-) 'to break':

PNC \*HarG(w)V 'to break, destroy, be broken' > Tsez. raqI, Gin., Bezht. laq 'wound'; Lak. l-il=qa- 'to be destroyed'; Darg. Ur. =urɫ-/ uɫ- 'to break, be broken', Chir. =abɫI- / uɫI- id.; Ag. arɫI-, Bud. s-oɫ-, Arch. a=qIa- 'to break'; Khin. zo=ɫ- id.; PWC \*q:ʷə- (~ q̇ʷ) > Ad. p-q:ʷə-ta-, Kab. q:ʷə-ta- 'to break'; Urart. iwχ- 'to destroy'.

PST \*riākʷ > OC 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎣 \*rākʷ, \*rēkʷ 'to break, crush under wheels'; Tib. ã-d-rugs 'to fall into small pieces, to crumble (away)'; grug-pa 'to break into small pieces'.

\*rV̄GwV(r) (~ -xGw-) 'cold':

PNC \*=i-rGwVr 'to freeze, get cold' > Cham. =aɣ:- 'to get cold, cool'; Darg. =irɫ-, Ur. =aIrɫʷ-/=irɫʷ- 'to get cold, freeze'; Lezg. req:i-, Tab. a=ɫ-, Ag. ruɫ-, Rut. s-i=ɫe-, Tsakh. q-i=ɫar-, Kryz. s-aɫ-, Bud. s-arɫ-, Arch. qe- 'to freeze, get cold'; Hurr. e/igi, eg-o 'cold'.

PST \*rāŋ / \*rāk 'cold' > OC 涼 \*raŋ 'chilly, cold'; Tib. g-raŋ 'cold, cool', PLB \*k-rak 'cold', Lush. ɬaŋ-thōm (PKC \*k-raŋ) 'cold', Mikir niŋ-kren 'cold weather, winter'.

\*rV̄HV 'rope' (somewhat differently in HGC 31):

PNC > Akhv. raʔa / raʔa 'rope'.

PST \*rē > OC \*re 'rope'; Tib. d-re-s 'a k. of grass of which ropes and shoes are made'; Kach. ri² 'a thread, cord, string', sumri¹ 'rope', Lepcha ri¹ 'a belt, a band, a stripe'; grí 'to string bow', Kir. \*rì 'rope', etc.

PY \*tiʔ 'string (of net); bow-string' > Ket., Yug. tiʔ, Kott. the / thi. See CCE 285, Werner 2, 267 (the addition of the Yug and Kott. forms allows to reduce the reconstruction to \*tiʔ).

\*rV̄L̄V̄ 'thresh' (DCE 32, FDCEP 3):

PNC \*=V̄-rL̄V̄ 'to thresh' > Chech. ār-, Ing. ard-, Bac. arl- 'to thresh'; Tind. =elī- id.; Bezht. =ol- id.; Darg. (deg) d-ug- id.. Much wider spread are nominal derivatives \*rēL̄ō 'threshing, grain ready for threshing' (Av. lol, And. loli, Cham. jal, Tind. rali, Kar. lale, Tsez. rela-j, Gin. rela, Khv. lole, Inkh. lolo, Bezht. ral, Gunz. rɔl, Lak. čar, Darg. deg, Lezg. jug, Ag. ji, Rut. jiy, Arch. iλ) and \*ʔi(r)L̄V̄ / \*m-i(r)L̄V̄ 'threshing board, threshing floor' (Chech. ēra, Ing. ɔrda-l, Av. bala-hin, And. belim, Akhv. meli, Cham. belū, Tind. belima, Kar. belun, Tsez. meLi, Gin. mele, Khv. meLa, Inkh. mulo-lo, Bezht. mur, Gunz. miLu, Lak. čin (< \*muk:in), Darg. Chir. alč'e, Lezg.

rugun, Rut. niyrä, dial. riynä, Tsakh. migra, dial. niyra, Arch. λorom, Ud. muq:lal).

Bur. \*daltán- 'to thresh' > Nag. daltán-.

[Cf. Basq. \*lañain 'threshing floor'.]

\*rVpV 'fireplace, fireplace tongs':

PNC > PWC \*rəpa 'tongs'.

PST \*rāp 'fireplace' > Burm. mih-rap-pauṅh 'wooden fireplace'; Kach. rap<sup>2</sup> 'central fireplace'; Lush. rap 'shelf over fire', etc.

PY \*tVp 'iron; tongs' > Ket. atəp<sup>5,6</sup>, pl. ata:n<sup>3</sup> / ata:<sup>3</sup> (more rarely: South. atavəṅ<sup>5</sup>, Kur. atapəṅ<sup>5</sup>) 'tongs'; Yug. atəp<sup>5,6</sup>, pl. atafin<sup>5</sup> / atafin<sup>5</sup> 'tongs'; Kott. išthip, pl. -aṅ 'iron nail; tongs', thip, pl. -aṅ 'iron'; (Бол.) tip 'iron'; Ass. tip (M., Cl.) 'iron'; Ar. tep (Cтp.) 'iron'; tēp (M., Cl.) id.; (Локк.) tep id. See CCE 292, Werner 2, 317. Ket and Yug reflect a compound \*ʔaxV-tVp (with \*ʔexV 'iron'); for Kott. iš- cf. \*ʔiʔs 'peg'.

\*rV[k]wV 'raw':

PST \*rīw 'unripe' > Tib. s-ru-s 'unripe ears of wheat'; Kach. (H) əro 'be grown and halfripe'; Lush. ʔheuʔ 'be underdone or insufficiently cooked (as rice)'.

PY \*tu(G) 'raw, unripe' > Ket. tū; tugóm (Aḏ) 'wetly, rawly'; Yug. tu; Kott. thu. See CCE 288, Werner 2, 295.

Bur. \*dayó- 'raw' > Yas. dayóje, Hun., Nag. dayúi.

\*rVmV 'black, dark' (differently in NSC 63):

PST \*rVm 'dark' > Tib. rum 'darkness, obscurity'; Kach. rim<sup>2</sup> 'be dusk, dark', nrim<sup>2</sup> 'the evening twilight'; Rawang rim-rim-na 'grey', etc.

PY \*tum- 'black' > Ket. tūm, Yug. thum, Ar. fūma, Pump. túma. See CCE 289, Werner 2, 296.

\*rVxwV 'cattle':

PNC \*rVxwV (~x-) 'cattle' > Chech. dāx-ni, Ing. dōxa-n, Bac. daχ-ně 'cattle'; Av. rexé-d 'cattle, herd'; PWC \*rax<sup>wə</sup> 'cattle' > Abkh. á-raχ<sup>w</sup> (Bz. á-raχ<sup>w</sup>), Ab. raχ<sup>wə</sup>.

PST \*riə 'a k. of ox' > OC 犛 \*rə 'long-haired ox'; Tib. ā-b-ri-mo 'female yak'.

PY \*tV(?)χα (~-G-) 'cow' > Kott. thigä, thiʔä, Ass. tig; Ar. fugal (M., Cl., Kl.) 'calf'; tügal (Локк.) id.; fūja (M., Cl., Kl.) 'cow'. See CCE 293, Werner 2, 317.

\*r̥hǎλwǎ 'liquid; milk' (LV A26, LDC 33):

PNC \*r̥hǎλwǎ 'milk' > Av. rax 'milk'; Tsez. riλ, Khv. laλ, Bezht. jeλ, Gunz. reλ 'butter'; Darg. daki 'fat'; PL \*jiλ<sup>w</sup>a-l > Ag. ifal 'butter', Rut. juxlad-χIarad 'cream butter' (χIarad 'butter'); PWC \*λə 'milk' > Abkh. á-χ-š, Ab. χ-šə, Ad. ša, Kab. ša 'milk'; see NCED 949.

PST \*rj<sub>1</sub>ak 'thick fluid, liquid grease' > OC 液 \*liak 'fluid, moisture'; Tib. zág 'fat, grease (in a liquid state)', Burm. panh-rak, wat-rak 'essence or juice of flowers', Lush. sa-hriak 'oil, grease'.

PY \*róq- (~ -χ-) 'fluid' > Ket. lōq, South. lōqí<sup>1</sup>, lókí (Werner 2, 11) (CCE 268, Werner 2, 15).

Bur. \*díltar 'buttermilk' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar \*díltar.

\*r̥íq̣wǎ (~ -xq̣-) 'ravine, precipice' (BCD 28):

PNC \*r̥íq̣wǎ 'mountain, rock; cave' > Chech. duq̣ 'mountain ridge'; Tind. re:ḳa, Kar. ri:ḳe 'gorge, ravine'. God. reḳ:in 'valley'; Gin. ruqe-s 'plain', Bezht. (Khosh.) rüqero 'mountain slope'; PWC \*q̣I<sup>w</sup>V > Ad. q̣:<sup>w</sup>ə-šha 'mountain' (šha 'head'), Ub. q̣I<sup>w</sup>a 'cavern'.

PY \*r̥i?K > Ket. plur. líkkn̄<sup>5</sup>, South. líkn̄<sup>5</sup>, Yug líkn̄<sup>5</sup> 'mountains'; Kott. díx, plur. dékn̄, dígan 'mountain' (the root should be kept apart from \*r̥i?ž 'mountain ridge', see CCE 267).

[Cf. Basq. \*eřeka 'ravine, rivulet, arroyo'.]

\*r̥íVλǎi 'flesh, meat, intestine(s)' (LV A25):

PNC \*r̥íVλǎi 'meat, flesh' > Chech. dilχa 'fleshy part of body', Ing. dulχ, Bac. ditχǎ 'meat'; And., Akhv., Tind., Kar., Botl., God. riλ̣:i, Cham. jiλ̣:, Bagv. riλ̣: 'meat'; Tsez. reλ, Khv. liλ 'meat'; Lak. diχ id.; Darg. di?, Chir. dig id.; Lezg., Rut. jak, Tab. jik:, Ag. jak:, Kryz. jek, Bud. jək, Arch. aλ̣:, Ud. eq: id.; Khin. lik:a id.; PWC \*ḶA > Abkh. a-žə, Abaz. žə, Ad., Kab. Lə 'meat', Ub. La 'entrails, intestines'; see NCED 945.

PST \*rək > OC 力 \*rək 'sinew'; Miji rug 'belly', Sulung mə-rik 'meat'.

PY \*r̥éli (~ -r-) 'blood water' > Ket. lél<sup>4</sup>, North. lél:l<sup>4</sup> (Werner 2, 9).

(?) Bur. \*-dal > Hunza, Nagar 'dal 'skin on fingernail' (< \*'meat on fingernail?'); health'.

[Length in Ket is irregular, but the etymology still seems convincing; the semantic correlation 'meat' : 'blood' is quite common.]

\*r̥VηHV 'hand, bone':

PST \*rāH 'bone' > OC 𠬞 \*rhaʔ 'spine'; Tib. gra-ma 'bones or skeleton of a fish'; Kach. n-ra¹ 'bone'.

PY \*rǝŋ 'hand' > Ket. Íŋ (Werner 2, 9: Íaʔŋ), Yug. Íŋ 'hand'; Ar. lan-tūŋ (M., Kl.), Ían-puj (ʎlock.) 'wing'. Werner 1, 221 compares the word with dá- in Kott. dá-thi 'to whip' which is quite dubious.

Bur. \*-reŋ 'hand' > Yas. -rén, Hun., Nag. -rín.

\*rǝTV (~ -C-) 'a k. of rodent or small carnivore':

PST \*rǝiāt > OC 獭 \*srhāt 'otter'; Kach. məlat² 'an animal of the weasel family resembling the stoat'.

PY \*rǝaʔt (~ -c, -č) > Ket. Íaʔt, pl. Íatn⁵ 'beaver' (see CCE 267).

\*rǝVχwǝ (\*HVrχwǝ) 'to play, laugh':

PNC \*=HirχwV 'to play' > Av. ħa-, Akhv. =aχʷa-d-, Kar. =ahʷ- 'to play'; Darg. Ur. =umħʷ- id. (with an unclear -m-); Ag. d-ürüX- 'to play', Arch. ixI 'laugh, joke', Rut. χIʷa-n 'dice play'.

PST \*rǝiǝj 'to laugh, smile' > OC 啞 \*th-ri-t 'laugh'; Tib. gza 'to sport, joke, play', gza-s 'play, joke', bza-d, gza-d 'laugh, smile'; Burm. raj 'to laugh'; Kach. əgja² 'to deride, make fun of', Lush. ʰe-n 'to smile, grin'; Kir. \*rǝi-t(-s) 'laugh', etc.

\*rǝHwadǝ 'river, bank' (MCGD 12):

PNC \*rǝHwadVrV 'river, stream' > Chech. ʎowr-aš 'mountain stream (after rain or thawing)'; And. ʎador, Akhv., Cham. ʎada, Tind. ʎaja, Botl. ʎadaru 'stream, brook', God. ʎada 'ravine'; Lak. al̄tara 'mountain stream'; Darg. q:aIrd 'valley'.

PY \*qVt- (~ \*χ-, -c-) 'shore' > Ket. qatop⁶; (?) Kott. pan-gutu 'shore'. (CCE 266, Werner 2, 74).

Cf. perhaps Bur. Yas. ʎónderes 'water flowing over many stones' (although -n- is unclear).

\*[rǝ]wǝnʔV 'season, time' (WFR 61):

PNC \*rǝwǝnʔV 'name of a season' > Chech., Ing., Bac. ʎa 'winter'; Lak. ʎi (dial. ʎʷi) 'summer'; Darg. Chir. ha 'summer', hane 'in summer'; PWC \*rǝʷa > Abkh. á-(pən)-, Ab. ʎa-(pnə), Ub. wa-(fá-da) 'spring', Ad., Kab. jə-rǝʷa 'time, term, season'.

PST \*G(h)ǝn 'season, winter' > Tib. d-gun 'winter', Lush. hun 'time, season'.

Bur. \*khǝn 'time' > Yas. khen, Hunza, Nagar khǝn.

[Cf. Basq. \*negu 'winter'.]

\*ɤwenV̄ 'day':

PNC \*ɤwěmdV 'day' > Tsez. ɤudi 'day', ɤude 'tomorrow', Gin. ɤ<sup>w</sup>ede, Khv. ɤ<sup>w</sup>ade, Bezht. wodo, Gunz. wədə 'day', Inkh. ɤode 'tomorrow'; Lak. hant:a 'day, 24 hours', hunt:i 'tomorrow'.

PY \*χōŋ 'day' > Ket. qŋ<sup>4</sup> (South.), North. qŋ<sup>4</sup> / qŋ<sup>4</sup> 'by daytime'; Yug. xɔ:hŋ<sup>4</sup> 'by daytime'; Kott. hōnaŋ 'not long ago' (< \*hōŋ-aŋ with dissimilation); Ar. xa-gali (Cтр.) 'sun'; Pump. xaŋgačedín (Cл.) 'day'. See CCE 303, Werner 2, 108.

Bur. \*gunc 'day' > Yas., Hun., Nag. gunc.

\*ɤwV̄rV 'to turn':

PNC \*=iɤwV̄rV (< \*=i-ɤwV̄rV) 'to roll, turn round' > Av. dial. =oɤ- 'to roll', And. ɤur-d-, Cham. ɤo-d- 'to glide, roll', Akhv. =iɤ- 'to fly', Tind. ɤer-d- 'to roll', Kar. ɤel- 'to glide'; Lak. =i=hi- 'to roll, glide; to soar'; Darg. Chir. iɤ- 'to spin round, turn round'; Lezg. el-q:<sup>w</sup>e- 'to turn round', Tab. i-d-iɤ- 'to roll', Rut. ruɤ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to be round'.

PST \*q<sup>w</sup>iər 'to turn round' > OC 運 \*wər-s 'to move (around), move, transfer'; Tib. ã-kh̄jir 'to turn round', Kach. (H) jin 'to be turned around', kəjin (dial. kəwin) 'to turn round'; Lush. vir 'to rotate, revolve, spin', etc.

Bur. \*-úr- 'to turn, revolve' > Hun., Nag. -úr-.

\*sakwV̄ 'morning, tomorrow':

PNC \*sakwV̄ > Tsez. ziko 'day after tomorrow', Gin. zek 'tomorrow'; Tab. zaku-r, Ag. sak<sup>w</sup>a-na 'tomorrow'.

PST \*sūk (~ -o-) 'morning' > OC 夙 \*suk 'early morning', 宿 \*suk 'to stay overnight'; Burm. sauk-kra 'Venus' ('morning star'), PLB \*sokx 'morning'.

\*sarasV 'nit':

PNC \*sarasV (~ ě, ǐ) 'nit; embryo (of an egg)' > Chech. sarsal 'embryo (of an egg)'; Akhv. šarašo 'tick', Kar., God. sarsa 'nit'.

PST \*s-rūH 'nit; egg' > OC 卵 rhō-n? 'egg'; Tib. sro-ma 'egg of a louse, a nit'; Kach. ci?<sup>3</sup>-ru<sup>2</sup> 'it'; Lush. hru 'nit, louse, egg', etc.

\*sdǎnkwV̄ 'skin; shape':

PNC \*zǎnkwV̄ 'skin' > Chech. čōka, Ing. čoka 'skin'; Av. č:okó, And., Botl. č:uku, Tind. c:oka, Kar. č:oko 'skin (of small animals, but not of

sheep)', Akhv. *ç:oko* 'skin'; Lezg. *çakul* 'feather, down', Tab. *zik<sup>w</sup>* id., Arch. (with metathesis) *ķenç* 'goat skin, goat wool'.

PST \*CVk 'skin, bark' > Dumi *sək-kə*, Kulung *sək-war*, Kaling *səkə*, Limbu *seu, seho*; Milang *a-cuk*, Shaiyang *a-sik* 'bark' etc.

PY \*tuŋ 'skin for making belts' > Ket. *tūŋ*, Yug. *tūŋ* (CCE 290, Werner 2, 296).

\*sdǎlV 'to spread out, flat':

PNC \*ʒǎlV 'plain, plateau' > Av. *ç:or* 'plain', Cham. *ç:edo* (< \*ç:er-do) 'plateau'; Lezg. *tul*, Rut. *dil*, Kryz. *tul* 'plain, plateau'.

PST \*ćel (~ -r) > Tib. *g-ćal* 'to spread, lay out', Kach. *žen<sup>1</sup>* 'to spread out and hang up', Lepcha *čór* 'spread out; (hand) with fingers spread out'.

[Cf. Basq. \*selai 'field, meadow'.]

\*sdǐ[k]ǎ 'goat' (DCE 17, BCD 14):

PNC \*ʒǐkǎ / \*kǐʒǎ (~ -ǎ-) 'goat, kid' > And. *ç:ekir*, Akhv. *çeke*, Cham. *şeçi*, Tind. *çiķar*, Kar., Bagv. *ç:iķer*, Botl. *ç:ekir*, God. *çekir* 'kid'; Tsez. *ceķi*, Gin. *ceķe* id.; Lak. *çuku* 'goat'; PWC \*kVçə (~ k-, -ç-) > Ad. *čaçə*, Kab. *čaç* 'kid'.

(?) PST: one is tempted to compare Burm. *čhit* 'goat', Kach. *čit<sup>3</sup>-sa<sup>2</sup>* id. - but this is possible only if -t < \*k in this case (which is not excluded, but not very likely).

Bur. \*chigír 'goat' > Yas. *cigír*, Hun. *chiír*, Nag. *chigír*.

[Burushaski may reflect a voicing assimilation: \*sdǐkV > \*sdǐgV.

Cf. Basq. \*sikiro 'castrated ram'.]

\*sěhmV 'intestine, vein' (differently in HGC 20, NSC 62; BCD 32):

PNC \*ʒěhmV / \*hěmʒV 'muscle, vein; intestine' > Chech. *sam-g* 'sausage made of a large intestine'; Akhv. *s:e*, Cham. *s:ē* 'sinew, muscle'; Darg. *ʒems* 'muscle'; Urart. *u/ošm-ašə* 'force, strength'.

PST \*siəm 'heart, soul' > OC *𐎎𐎠* \*səm 'heart'; Tib. *sem(s)* 'soul; think', *b-sam* 'thought'; Burm. *simh* 'to conceive, be in the charge of'; Lush. *tiam* 'to know'; Lepcha *a-sóm* 'spirit, breath'; Kir. \*sām id., etc.

Bur. \*'so[m] 'kidney' > Hun., Nag. *'so* (pl. *-sómuc*).

[Cf. Basq. \*sain 'nerve, blood vessel, root'.]

\*sǎnǒ 'long bone; claw' (WFR 56, MCGD 11):

PNC \*ʒǎnǒ (~-ǎ) 'long bone' > Chech. *sa*, Ing. *sa* 'corner, border', Bac. *-sǎ* in *nǎjʔ-sǎ* 'external door'; Av. *san* 'organ; part of the body'; Bezht.

sino, Gunz. sinu 'pitchfork, fork'; Lak. s:an 'foreleg, paw', dial. s:ana 'wedge'; Lezg. sin 'edge', Tab. sn-ič: 'wedge', Rut. sin 'front part of leg', Tsakh. (jiqIana) sini '(back) spine', Kryz. sini 'spine', Arch.s:on 'back', Ud. sun 'elbow'.

PST \*sen ( ~ \*sian) 'nail, claw' > Tib. sen, Burm. sañh, Kir. \*sèn, Miju m-sen. etc.

Bur. (with reduplication) \*-sV́sVn > Yas. -sésen, Hunza, Nagar -súsun 'elbow'.

\*sHwínV 'breath, smell' (NSC 61):

PNC \*sHwinV > Av. (redupl.) s:úns:u-di- 'to puff', s:ún-χ:i- 'to blow one's nose', Kar., God. s:un-κ- 'to smell'; Hurr. šūnə 'breath; soul'.

PST \*suŋ ( ~ ch-) > Tib. b-suŋ 'smell, esp. sweet scent'; Kach. (H) suŋ 'smell, scent'.

Bur. \*šij > Hun., Nag. šij 'breath; blowing nose'.

\*sHwintV 'sniff, snuff':

PNC \*sHwintV 'snuff, smell; snot' > Bac. sintr 'snot' (if not < Georg. çwinṭl- ?); Av. s:unṭ 'snuff', s:únṭ- 'to smell'; Tsakh. suInṭ 'dried snot in nose', Ud. fit:p:un 'snot'.

PST \*chūt > Tib. sud 'to cough, to breathe with difficulty'; Kach. (H) sut, yasut, asut 'to sniff'; Lush. sūt 'to draw into the nose, sniff up'.

[Perhaps an old derivation from \*sHwínV q.v.

Cf. Basq. \*sunda 'sniff, smell', perhaps also \*šuduṛ 'nose'.]

\*sǎHwV 'vapour, smoke; breath, to breathe, be tired' (HGC 34, NSC 62, BCD 32):

PNC \*sǎHwV 'breath, to breath' > Chech., Ing., Bac. sa 'soul'; Kar. s:uh-an- 'to get tired'; Lak. s:iñ 'breath, vapour'; Abkh. a-ps-rá 'to die', Ab. ps-ra id., Ad. pśə-, Kab. pśə- 'to get tired', Ub. pśá-χʷə- 'to breathe'; cf. also Hurr. šey-iri 'alive', šey-ori 'life, fate', Ur. šu/oχ-ori / šex-eri 'alive'.

PST \*sij(H) 'to die' > OC 死 \*sijʔ 'die, death', Tib. śi, āchi 'to die', Burm. sij id., Kach. si¹ 'to die, expire', Lush. thi 'to die, be dead', Limbu sī-mā 'die' etc.

PY \*du?(χ)- 'smoke' > Ket., Yug. duʔ, Kott. tu, Ar. ʔu, Pump. dúkar (CCE 224, Werner 1, 210).

[Cf. Basq. \*bi-si 'life, alive'.]

\*starstwV́ 'fang':



PNC > PL \*sars 'tooth, fang'.

PY \*tat (~c, č) > Ket. tāt (pl. tātəŋ<sup>1</sup>) 'tusk'. See CCE 281, Werner 2, 253. The Ket variant tar<sup>4</sup> it<sup>4</sup> 'tusk' (see Werner 2, 250) is obviously a different formation with tar<sup>4</sup> (< \*tVʔVʒ-) 'to beat, stick into', lit. 'sticking tooth'.

\*stVGVrV̄ 'shed' (DCE 17):

PNC \*cVGVrV̄ 'shed, penthouse' > Chech. cɣar 'penthouse'; Av. caḡúr 'corn-bin, barn'; Khin. cuqa 'shed, cattle shed'; Hurr. i-cɣarə 'kitchen'.  
Bur. \*cháɣur > Hun., Nag. cháɣur 'chest or box for grain or meal'.

\*stVŋV (~ sɬ-) 'to wind, wrap' (differently in HGC 37):

PST \*cēŋ (~ ʒh-) 'to tuck up, tuck in' > OC 績 \*crēŋ (< \*r-cēŋ) 'roll up, tuck in (e. g. pendants)'; Tib. rceŋ 'to tuck up, truss up'; Kir. \*siŋ (~ \*ʔc-, ch-) 'to roll up, tuck up'.

PY \*tiʔŋ 'to spin, roll' > Ket., Yug. tiʔŋ. See CCE 285, Werner 2, 267-268.

\*stUŋwV 'trace, to follow':

PST \*chōŋ > OC 從 \*ʒhoŋ 'to follow, pursue'; Tib. rʒoŋ(s) 'the act of accompanying, escorting', rʒoŋ 'to send, to dispatch'; Naga \*cVŋ 'road'.

Bur. \*chu[m] 'trace, after' > Yas. -cé, Hun., Nag. -chú, -ce, -cum.

\*stwákV 'a k. of shoe':

PNC \*c̣wā[k]V > And. s:akur 'top of boot'; Rut. sukaj 'sock (knitted)'; Ad. c<sup>w</sup>āq:a, Kab. vāq:a 'shoes, footwear'.

PST: OC 屨 \*siak 'shoe, slipper'.

PY \*tāk- (~ c-, č-) 'leather boot' > Ket. tɬɣ<sup>4</sup> (South.), pl. t̄kŋ<sup>1</sup>, North. tɬ:ɣə<sup>4</sup>, pl. t̄kŋ<sup>1</sup> (Werner 2, 300).

\*stHwekĚ (~ -k-) 'chaff':

PNC \*c̣HwekĚ (~ -k-) 'straw, chaff' > Darg. c̣uk 'straw'; Lezg. c̣eḡ<sup>w</sup>, Tsakh. c̣oqI 'chaff', Rut. c̣uqI 'ashes'; PWC \*c̣<sup>w</sup>VḳV / \*c̣<sup>w</sup>Vḳ<sup>w</sup>V > Ad. šāč̣a 'weed', Kab. šāč̣a 'chaff', Ub. c̣əḡ 'fruit stone'.

PST \*sok > OC 粟 \*shok 'millet; grain in husk'; Kir. \*s<sup>w</sup>k-c̣iə 'seed, bean, lentil'.

PY \*TVKV 'husk' > Kott. tagečen (Бол.); Ar. iltegu (Локк.). See CCE 293. The reconstruction is very approximate, since neither Ket-Yug nor Kottish parallels are known. Werner (1, 357) thinks that the Ar. form

means 'fish scales' - however, a derivation from *ilti* 'fish' is hardly possible in this case, and the Arin form is hard to separate from the Kottish one.

\*stiǰV̆ (~ -i-) 'sharp; to scrape':

PNC \*çəǰV̆ (~ -ǰ-, -ǰ-) 'sharp' > Tsez. çəǰju, Khv. çəǰqu; Darg. çəǰ-

PST \*chīk<sup>w</sup> 'axe, to chop, chisel' > OC 鋏 \*chīk<sup>w</sup> 'axe'; Tib. āchog 'to hew, chop, cut, pierce'; Burm. čhauk (PLB \*chuk) 'chisel'; Lepcha ček 'to hew down'.

PY \*t[i](?)qəǰ- 'scraper, strickle' > Ket. tīkət<sup>5</sup> / tīkət<sup>1</sup>; pl. tīkəṛəŋ<sup>1</sup> / tīkəṛəŋ<sup>5</sup>, Bak., Sur. pl. tīkədəŋ<sup>5</sup>, Kur. tīkət<sup>5</sup> "српыр"; Yug. təkət, pl. təkəđiŋ<sup>5</sup>; tīkət<sup>5</sup> "српыр" (obviously different recordings of the same word). See CCE 285, Werner 2, 265 (also says: "ein altes Kompositum", but says nothing about the components).

\*sV̆ (\*sV̆-jV̆) 'interrogative pronoun' (HGC 23, MCGD 10-11, BCD 32):

PNC \*sāj 'interrogative pronoun (what)' > Chech. stē(n), Ing. se, Bac. sṭē 'what'; Av. s:u-n- 'what' (obl. stem), Akhv. s:u-n- 'who, what' (obl. stem); Bezht. su-ko, Gunz. su-ko 'who', Gunz. oblique stem si- 'what', se- 'who'; Lak. s:a- 'what' (obl. stem); Darg. se 'what'; PWC \*sA (~ \*š-) 'what' > Ad. sə-d(ā), Kab. sə-t, Ub. sa.

PST \*su (~ -əw, -iw) 'who, interrogative pronoun' > Tib. su, Burm. əsu 'who', Lepcha šu 'who, what', Kir. \*su 'who' etc.

PY \*ʔas- / \*sV̆- 'interrogative pronoun' > Ket. aks (ДОНН.) "what?"; aksej<sup>5</sup>, aksej<sup>5</sup>saŋ<sup>5</sup> 'why', ašes<sup>5</sup> 'which', aška<sup>6</sup> 'when'; Yug. assa (ДОНН.) "what?"; (Касрп.) assa id., ases "what a"; asesaŋ<sup>5</sup> / asejsaŋ<sup>5</sup> 'why', asejs<sup>3</sup> 'which', asera<sup>5</sup> 'who (of a woman)', āskej<sup>1</sup> / āskejsit<sup>1</sup> 'when'; Kott. šina, šena, g. šinai "what", ašix 'which, who'. See CCE 183-184, Werner 1, 66.

Bur. \*-sa- / \*-se (in compound pronouns) > Yas. bé-sa, bé-se 'why', Hun., Nag. bé-sa-n 'what, which', bé-se 'why'.

[Yenisseian and part of ST forms may also correspond to another PNC pronoun \*ši, reflected in Av. š:i- 'what, who' (direct stem), Tsez. šo-w, še-b 'what, who', Gin. se, Bezht. ši-žo, Gunz. ši-jo 'what'; Lak. š:i- 'who' (obl. stem); Lezg. vu-ž, Tab. fu-ž, Ag. fi-š, Rut. wi-š, Tsakh. hi-šu, Ud. šu 'who'; Abkh., Abaz. -š(ə)- 'how'.

Cf. Basq. \*se-r 'what', \*se-in 'which'.]

\*sV̆QV̆ 'to live, breathe':

PST \*sək 'breathe' > OC 息 \*sək 'breath, sigh; rest'; Burm. əsak

'breath'; Kach. saʔ<sup>3</sup> 'to breathe', n-saʔ<sup>2</sup> 'air, gas'; Kir. \*sək 'breathe, breath'; Tib. srog (< \*r-sog) 'life'.

PY \*dəʔq- 'to live, life' > Ket. dΔʔq, Yug. dΔʔx / dΔʔq. See CCE 221, Werner 1, 215.

\*sǞrǞ 'yellow, grey':

PNC \*sǞrǞ > Chech., Ing. sira 'grey'; Tsez. zira, Khv. zara 'grey'.

PY \*sur- 'yellow' > Ket. sulemam (M., CΔ.); Kott. šui; Pump. túl-si. See CCE 278. On Werner's reconstruction <\*sΔj / \*sΔn-> see under \*śVŋǞ.

\*sVwǞrǞ 'odorous grass' (different in HGC 29, WFR 46):

PNC \*siwirǞ 'a k. of odorous grass' > Chech. sōr-am 'a k. of marsh plant'; Lak. sūra 'mint'; Lezg. sur, Ag. sur, Rut. sur-kāš, Tsakh. suwī 'ramson'.

PST \*sōr > OC 蒜 \*sōr-s 'garlic'; Burm. swan 'onion'.

\*swǎnʔV (~ʔ-) 'lamb, kid':

PNC \*swǎnʔV (~ʔ-) 'lamb' > Lak. s:i 'lamb (about 1 y. old)'; Darg. (with metathesis) mas 'ram'; Lezg. sam-ɔal 'milch sheep', Tab. sum-ag, Ag. sem 'lamb (after 6 months)', Kryz. sām 'milch sheep'; Khin. somi 'heifer'; PWC \*śʷə(na) 'lamb' > Abkh. a-só-s (Bz. a-śó-ś), Abaz. sə-s, Ad. śəna, Kab. śəna.

Bur. \*du[m] 'young goat, kid' > Yas., Hun., Nag. du.

\*swěŋV 'mountain':

PNC \*swěŋV 'southern slope of a hill' > Av. s:an 'a small slope covered with growth'; Lak. sun 'sunny side; sunny slope of a hill, mountain'; Darg. Chir. s:ana 'sunny side, southern slope'.

PST \*sān 'mountain' > OC 𐌱𐌶 \*srān (< \*r-sān), Karen \*śV, Konyak \*śVŋ 'mountain'.

Bur. \*dan 'stone' > Yas., Hun., Nag. dan.

\*swēsə 'bride, girl':

PNC \*swēsə 'bride' > Chech. sēsa-g, Ing. sesa-g 'wife'; Lak. dial. sus: 'bride'; Lezg. s<sup>w</sup>as, Tsakh. dial. sos, Kryz. sis, Bud. suz 'bride; daughter-in-law', Tab. švuš<sup>v</sup>, Ag., Rut. sus 'bride'; PWC \*ś<sup>w</sup>asa / \*śasa > Ad., Kab. p-śāśa 'girl', Ub. śaśa 'bride'.

Bur. \*dasé-n 'girl, young woman' > Yas. dasén, Hun., Nag. dasín.

\*swənē 'a k. of berry':

PNC \*swīnē 'barberry; currants' > Av. saní, Akhv. šani, Cham. san(ʷ), Tind., God. sani, Kar. seni 'barberry'; Tsez. zin, Gin. zenu, Inkh. zon, Bezht. sino, Gunz. sinu 'barberry'; Lak. sunū 'pome-granate', (redupl. \*suns >) sus 'barberry'; Tab. šʷum-(zaz), Rut. sin, Tsakh. sina 'barberry'; Ad. sāna 'grapes', Kab. sāna 'currants'; Hurr. (Arraphe) \*šann-orə 'plum, medlar'.

PY \*sən- 'rowan berry' > Ket. (with unclear tone) śane<sup>5</sup>; Yug. sa:ʰn.

\*swVré 'earth, sand' (HGC 21, VCQ 5):

PNC \*swüre 'dirt, soot, sand' > And. sur, Cham. sira, God. sira 'sand'; Tsez. zar, Gin. zaru 'sand, road-metal', Bezht. saj, Gunz. sar 'faeces'; Darg. suri 'soot'; Tab. sirin, Rut. ser 'soot', Tsakh. sera 'ashes'.

PST \*srāj 'sand' > OC 沙 \*srāj 'sand', Tib. sa 'earth', Burm. sajh 'sand', Kulung se-rəm 'sand' etc.

[Cf. Basq. \*saur-na 'matter, pus'.]

\*śdwVIV 'water, to pour' (SCE 101):

PNC \*=ōǰwV(IV) 'to pour, weep' > Chech. t-ǰ- 'to weep, bemoan'; Av. =eç:- 'to drip, pour; to weep', ç:al-t- 'to soak, become wet'; Tsez., Gin. =ec-, Khv. ec-ah-, Gunz. =ūc- 'to melt, thaw', Bezht. =uc-/=ūc- 'id.; to pour'; Arch. =oç:a- 'to wash', Ud. oc: 'washed'; PWC \*ç<sup>w</sup>V 'to weep, cry' > Abkh. a-č<sup>w</sup>á-wa-ra, Abaz. č<sup>w</sup>u- / č<sup>w</sup>əwa-ra, Ub. ç<sup>w</sup>a-. Final -l- is preserved only in the Avar stem II ç:al-, and is regularly lost in all other represented languages.

PST \*śiəIH 'wash' > OC 洗 \*sərʔ / \*səjʔ 'wash'; Tib. bśal 'to wash, rinse'; Kach. šin<sup>3</sup>, gəšin<sup>2</sup> 'to wash'; Lush. sil 'to wash', Gur. \*śal(a) 'rinse', etc.

Bur. \*chel 'water' > Yas. cel, Hun., Nag. chil.

\*śHVI?V 'moon, light':

PNC \*śVI?V ( ~ ś-, ʰ-, -f-) 'light, ray' > Chech. sa 'light; eye-sight', Ing. sa-(χila) 'to dawn), Bac. sa-(χilno) 'dawn'; Tsez. (with metathesis) reša 'sun ray'; Darg. šala 'light'; PWC \*P-sV 'to shine' > Ad. q:ja-psə-, Kab. te-psə-; Urart. šēl-ardə 'moon, moon deity'.

PST \*s-laH 'moon' > Tib. zla-ba, Burm. laʔ, Kach. šəta<sup>1</sup>, Lush. thla, Lepcha lä-vo, Kir. \*lə, Trung sə<sup>1</sup>-la<sup>1</sup> etc.

Bur. \*halá-nc 'moon' > Yas., Hun., Nag. halánc.

\*śelĭ 'dung':

PNC \*śilĭ (~ -ä-, -ō,-ǎ) 'dung (of sheep)' > Av. xil 'dried sheep's dung', Akhv. šili, Tind. hili, Kar. šila (Tok. xila) 'sheep's dung'; Lak. š:ulū id.; Tab. ur-sil 'dung, manure'.

(?) PST \*t-lijH, \*k-lijH (< \*s-lijH ?) 'dung, excrements' > OC 屎 \*liǵ 'dung'; Tib. lci id.; Burm. khjih (PLB \*khlijx), Kach. khji<sup>2</sup> 'excrement', Lepcha tə-kli 'guts, entrails', Kir. \*xli 'faeces', etc.

Bur. \*del-k 'dung' > Yas. delk, Hun., Nag. dilk.

[Cf. Basq. \*sirin 'diarrhea; bird excrement'.]

\*štāhV̄ 'tooth' (WFR 47):

PNC \*čĭhV̄ > Ing. ca 'tooth', Chech. ce 'horse's tooth' (more frequently as a diminutive \*car-iḵ > Chech. cerg, Ing. carg, Bac. carḵ 'tooth'); Av. ca, And. sol, Akhv. čilo, Cham. sal<sup>w</sup>, Tind., Botl., Bagv. salu, Kar. sale 'tooth'; Khv. sel, Bezht., Gunz. sila 'tooth'; Darg. cula 'tooth'; PL \*sil: > Tab. sl-ib, Ag. sil-eb, Rut. sil-ab, Tsakh. sili, Kryz., Bud. sil, Arch. sot (pl. sot:-or), Ud. ul-uḵ 'tooth'; Khin. culoz id.; PWC \*c:A (with tenseness due to contraction?) > Abkh. á-c 'fang, canine tooth', a-ḵa-pə-c 'tooth', Abkh. pə-c id., Ad. ca, Kab. ʒa, Ub. ca-ḵó 'tooth'.

PST \*ČVj 'tooth, fang' > Tib. m-čhe-ba 'corner-tooth, canine tooth, fang, tusk', Burm. ṅ-čwaj 'tusk, fang', Kach. ʒi<sup>3</sup> 'to set and show teeth', Aka \*chu 'tooth' etc.

\*štāpV̄ 'ring, circle' (HGC 32):

PNC \*čāpV 'hook, buckle' > Cham. (Gig.) čapal 'button'; Bezht., Gunz. čapi 'a metallic breast ornament'; Lezg. čapan 'catapult', Tab. čap 'bend, crook', Kryz. čip 'latch (in a mouse-trap)'.

PST \*cuāp (~ č-) 'ring, circle' > OC 𠄎 \*cōp (~č-) 'a round, a circle'; Burm. čwap 'to put on (over the head), wear (a ring)'; Kach. čop<sup>3</sup> 'to wear (as a finger-ring)'.

PY \*tap- 'circle, hoop' > Ket. tāp, Yug. tap id., Kott. thāpora, Arin. (redupl.) tādap 'ring' (CCE 280, Werner 2, 253).

\*śVnV̄ 'blue, green' (HGC 19, WFR 76):

PNC \*śinV 'blue, green' > Chech., Ing. sīna, Bac. sejnĭ, sīnĭ 'blue'; Darg. šiniša 'green'; Khin. si-b id.

PST \*chēŋ 'blue, green' > OC 青 \*shēŋ 'blue, green', Kach. gəciŋ<sup>1</sup> 'be fresh, green', Garo gathaŋ 'green', Manipuri asaŋ-ba, etc.

PY \*son- 'blue, green' > Ket. són (Kacrp.), Kell. són-ś (Werner 2,

221 śΛń-); Kott. šueŋa (Бол.) "bluely" (or "it is blue"). See CCE 276. Werner 2, 221, 442 reconstructs \*sΛj / \*sΛŋ, with a lot of confusion. Kott šueŋa "blue" is identified with Kott. šujaŋa (Бол.) "grey", although the latter is certainly a form of the word recorded by Castren as šui "yellow" and as such is to be compared with Pump. tul-si "yellow" and Ket sulemam "yellow" (M., Cl.). In PY we can safely distinguish between \*son- (perhaps \*sən-) 'blue, green', \*sur' 'yellow, grey' and \*sur "red, blood", while lumping them together under a pseudoprotoform \*sΛj / \*sΛŋ is certainly unacceptable.

Bur. \*diŋ 'green' > Hunza, Nagar diŋ.

\*šw[ǎ]mxqī 'paint, ink; gum' (HGC 33, NSC 61, LV B28):

PNC \*šwǎŋqī 'gum, ink' > Av. s:anq: 'gum (added to ink for lustre)'; Lak. š:iq:i 'ink'; Darg. šinqIa id.; Lezg., Tab. šq̄aq̄ 'gum'; PWC \*š<sup>w</sup>əq̄I:a > Abkh. a-š<sup>v</sup>q̄ó, Abaz. š<sup>w</sup>ʔa, Ub. š<sup>w</sup>əq̄á 'letter, document, book'. See NCED 976.

PST \*s-māk / \*s-māŋ 'ink' > OC 墨 \*māk 'ink'; Tib. snag 'ink, Indian ink'; Burm. hmaŋ ink; Kach. mak 'dye, colouring, used in tattooing'.

PY \*su(?)K 'dye, paint' > Ket. súk (CCE 277, Werner 2, 212). Shortness in Ket súk probably signifies -ʔ- (otherwise \*śúk would be recorded).

Bur. \*śúkór / \*şuqór > Yas. işqór 'local soap in a degree of preparation with red-brown colour; red-brown, reddish-brown'; Hunza, Nagar śúkór 'local soap prepared of plant ashes and fat'.

\*šwénkV 'mouth, face':

PNC \*šwinkV 'mouth' > Tind. s:unḵa 'mouth'; Bezht. siḵo, Gunz. šiḵu id.

PY \*saʔgVl- (~k-) 'gills' > Ket. sagla<sup>5</sup> / sayla<sup>5</sup>. See Werner 2, 156.

Bur. \*-skil 'face' > Yas. ʔskil, ʔskul, Hun., Nag. ʔskil.

\*šwĔrV 'evening':

PNC \*šwĔrV > Chech. süjrē, Ing. sajra, Bac. psara 'evening'; Av. sor-dó 'night'; PWC \*š<sup>w</sup>ə-L<sup>w</sup>a (~\*š<sup>w</sup>-) > Ad. -šĥ, Kab. -šĥa 'evening', Ub. š<sup>w</sup>ə-wá 'night'.

Bur. \*dur > Hun., Nag. dur 'sleep'.

\*šwímHV 'three' (HGC 35, WFR 97):

PNC \*šwimHV 'three' > Lak. šam=a 'three', Tab. simi-ḵur 'thirty'

(-çur '10'), Ag. šin-çur id.; Khin. pš<sup>w</sup>a 'three'. A relic numeral, in most languages replaced by the reflexes of \*λHě (of different origin).

PST \*sām 'three' > OC 三 \*sām 'three', Tib. sum, g-sum, Burm. sumh, Kach. məsum<sup>1</sup>, Lush. thum, Lepcha sam etc.

PY \*doʔŋa 'three' > Ket. dōŋ / dɔʔŋ, Yug. doŋ / dɔʔŋ, Kot. tōŋa, Ar. tūŋa, Pump. dōŋa (CCE 222, Werner 1, 203).

Bur. \*śum-: Hunza śum-sōi 'third unit in the four-finger measure system (sōi)'.

\*śwīʔē 'a k. of cereal':

PNC \*śwīʔē (~ -ä-) > Bac. psa 'barley'; Av. š:<sup>w</sup>ají 'small chaff'; Lak. ši 'millet'; Khin. pšā 'bread'; Abkh. á-pš 'maize, corn', Ub. pšə 'millet'.

PST \*sej 'seed, fruit' > Tib. sa-bon 'seed', se, g-se, b-se 'rose-bush, rose'; Burm. sih 'to bear fruit, fruit', Kach. si<sup>2</sup> 'fruit', n-si<sup>4</sup> 'ear of grain', Lush. thei 'edible fruit', Mikir a-the 'seed', Chepang sajʔ id., etc.

Bur. \*śō > Hun., Nag. sóó 'dried leaves, stalks, roots etc.'.

\*śwōl(H)V 'tube, vein' (BCD 33):

PNC \*śwōl(H)V 'a hollow tube' > Av. dial. šulu 'pipe', And. tom-š:il, Cham. na-s:ul, Kar. hani-š:el 'tubular bone', Tind. han-š:al 'arm (from hand to elbow)'; Tsez. šilu, Khv. šeru, Bezht. šelo, Gunz. šelu 'horn'; Rut. (with metathesis) lis 'gullet', Kryz sil 'top (of boot)'.

PY \*daʔrɪ 'sinew' > Ket. daʔl, Yug. daʔr, Kott. tal (CCE 219, Werner 1, 179).

Bur. \*śúli > Hunza, Nagar śúli 'Gewehrlauf; Schnabel (an einem Gefäß); Rohr zum Anblasen des Feuers'.

[Cf. also Basq. \*sulo 'hole'.]

\*śwVnǐ 'year; old' (HGC 35, NSC 64, SCE 112):

PNC \*śwǎnǐ > Av. šon, And. re-šin, Akhv. re-še, Cham. je-hī, Tind. re-han, Kar. re-šin, Botl. re-ši, Bagv. rešǐ, God. rešin 'year'; Lak. šin 'year'; Rut., Kryz. sǎn, Tsakh., Bud. sen, Arch. s:an, Ud. u-sen 'year'; Abkh. á-š-k<sup>w</sup>s, Abaz. s-k<sup>w</sup>šə, Ub. š<sup>w</sup>a 'year'.

PST \*snǐŋ 'year' (probably with suffixed \*-ŋ) > OC 年 \*nhīn 'harvest; year'; Tib. r-nǐŋ 'old, ancient', na-nǐŋ 'last year'; Burm. hnaç 'year', Kach. šəniŋ<sup>1</sup> id. etc.

PY \*siń 'old, withered' > Ket. śń / śi:ń, Yug. sin (see CCE 275, Werner 2, 197). An old derivative is \*sin-Ga > \*s[i]-Ga 'year' (Ket. śi, Yug. sī, Kott. šēga, Arin. šhej, Pump. ciku), see CCE 275, Werner 2, 223.

Bur. \*den 'year' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar den.

\*šāṅʔwV 'milk, nipple' (MCGD 11):

PNC \*šāmʔV (~ -ʔ-) > Chech. šin, Ing. šim, Bac. šī 'udder'; And. š:iwu (Gud. š:imu), Akhv. s:ō, Cham. s:īw, Tind. š:ū, Kar. š:iw, Botl. š:īʔu, š:iʔū, Bagv. š:ū, God. š:īwu 'milk'; Abkh. á-č(ə)-rəg<sup>w</sup>, Ab. čə 'udder', Ub. ča 'milk'.

PY \*de(?)n 'nipple, milk' > Kott. ten 'nipple', Ar. téṅul, Pump. den 'milk'. See CCE 220, Werner 2, 258.

Bur. \*šīṅ 'milk' > Hunza, Nagar šīṅ.

[Cf. Basq. \*e-šne ~ \*e-sne 'milk'.]

\*šārī (~ -ū) 'nit, louse' (NSC 62, WFR 8):

PNC \*šārī (~ -ū) 'worm' > Chech. šēra, šār-olg 'earwig'; Lak. š:ira 'ascarid'; Darg. dial. širi 'worm, helminth'; Lezg., Tab., Ag. šar (Tab., Ag. dial. š:ar), Rut. šar-aḵ, Kryz. šer-bāh 'worm, helminth'. A form with a \*-k-suffix cf. in: God. š:irka 'helminth', Darg. \*šulerk (< \*šVrk-VI with further suffixation).

PST \*šar 'louse' > Burm. sanh (LB \*śanh), Khaling ser, Kham śar etc. Somewhat wider is reflected the form \*srīk (\*śrīk), reflecting an original suffixed \*šārī-kV: cf. OC 𑜇𑜡 \*srit, Tib. śig, Kach. ciʔ<sup>3</sup>, Lush. hrik, Lepcha śak, Yamphu sik etc.

Bur. \*šīri > Hunza śīri 'locust'.

[Cf. Basq. \*soři 'louse'.]

\*šdābV 'some internal organ' (HGC 26):

PNC \*šāwV > Chech., Ing. žim, Bac. žī 'kidney' (-m under influence of \*stim 'gall'); Av. -žo in bašár-žo 'kidney'; Tsez. žubi, Gin. žubo, Khv. žiba, Bezht. šebo, Gunz. šebu 'liver'; PWC \*žə 'gall' > Abkh. á-z (Bz. á-ž), Ab. az, Ad. zazə, Kab. zaz, Ub. -ca in č<sup>w</sup>a-cá 'gall'.

PST \*cuap (~ -ć-) 'lung' > Burm. čhut (< \*čhup ?), Lush. čuap 'lung(s)'; Kir. \*cV(p)-ba 'heart'; Garo ka-sop 'lung'.

PY \*tV(?)pVÍ- (~-b-) 'spleen' > Kott. tebolä (Бол.); Ar. tabre (Лок.). See CCE 292, Werner 2, 230.

Bur. \*čhap 'meat' > Yas. čap, Hun., Nag. čhap.

[-w- in PNC presents a problem, since it cannot go back to \*-b-. One cannot exclude a morphological reanalysis of \*šdābV > PNC \*žābV as containing the plural suffix \*-bV, with a secondary generation of the singular \*žā, whence Av. žo and PWC \*žə, with only Tsezian languages



preserving the original form. It is also possible, however, that the protoform should be reconstructed as \*šdǎpV - note \*-p in Burushaski that cannot regularly continue PSC \*-b- - and that the PNC form should be kept separate from the other forms listed above.

Cf. also Basq. \*śabel 'belly'.]

\*šdǎkwǎ 'short' (LDC 38):

PNC \*šǎkwǎ / \*šǎwǎ 'short' > Cham. čik:u-b 'small, short (in height)'; PL \*č:i[k]V- 'short' > Tab. žiq:i, Ag. žaq:e-f. Rut. žik-di (uvular in Tab. and Ag. is unclear); PWC (with metathesis) \*čaqʷə > Abkh. a-čaq, Ad. čačə, Kab. čaš 'short'.

PY \*tu(?)K- > Kott. thūki 'short'. See CCE 289, Werner 2, 318.

Bur. \*ćiki > Yas. ćiki 'small'.

[Cf. Basq. \*čiki 'small'.]

\*[š]HwǎtV 'whistle, blow':

PNC \*šHwǎtV 'whistle; reed-pipe' > Chech. šēdag 'reed-pipe', Bac. s̄ti-ur id.; Av. š:ʷan̄t̄iχ: 'pipe, reed pipe' (cf. also, with prothetic i-: iš̄ti 'whistle', iš̄t- 'to whistle, iš̄t-ə-ro 'whistle (n.)'), Akhv. š:iti id., Tind. š:uṭ-ij- 'to whistle'; Gin. (redupl.) šuršaṭu 'reed-pipe'; Lak. š:uṭw̄t 'whistle'; Darg. šaṭ, Chir. š:uṭ 'whistle'; Tab. švuṭ-ram 'reed-pipe', švuṭ, šviṭ 'whistle', Kryz., Bud. fiṭ 'whistle', Arch. š:ʷit̄-bos 'to whistle', Ud. fit:iti 'reed-pipe' (cf. also reflexes with prothetic \*i-: Lezg. üft, Tab. ušʷt 'whistle', as well as reflexes with \*s: Ag. ust, Rut. sut, Tsakh. šut id.).

PST \*s[i]t 'whistle, rustle' > OC 瑟 \*srit (< \*r-sit) 'rustling of the wind', Tib. sid 'to whistle', Burm. sut 'to blow (of wind)', Manipuri nuṅ-sit 'wind'.

Bur. \*šaító / \*šuító > Hun. šuíto 'whistling', Nag. šaító 'flute'.

\*šHwǎtá 'part of leg, legging':

PNC \*šHwǎtā (~ -ə) 'sock, stocking' > Av. š:ʷatá, Kar. š:eta id.; Gin. šita 'a knitted boot'; Lak. š:altal 'woollen footwear (socks)'.

Bur. \*śatá > Hun., Nag. śatá 'middle part of the sole; soft spot in the middle of the hoof not covered by the horseshoe'.

\*šikV 'barberry, sweetbrier':

PNC \*šikV / \*kišV (~ ś) 'sweetbrier' > Cham. čis; Tind. keš:u, Bagv. kes:ʷ, God. kiš:u 'sweetbrier'; Lezg. žiki, Tab. ški, Rut. (with redupl.) kaškal-bir, Tsakh. kašqale 'sweetbrier'.

Bur. \*i-škín 'a k. of barberry' > Hunza, Nagar iškín.

[\\*\[št\]ákV](#) 'white' (DCE 31):

PNC \*čakwV > And. cak:u, Botl. čak:u, God. čak:u 'yellow'; Ag. žag<sup>w</sup>ar-f, Rut. žag<sup>w</sup>ar-di, Tsakh. žag<sup>w</sup>ara-n 'white'.

PY \*täʔk- 'white' > Ket. tayam<sup>5</sup>, Yug. tig-bɛ:hs<sup>4</sup> (with irregular vowel due to a contamination with tik 'snow'), Kott. thēgam, thēkam, Ar. tā-ma, Pump. ta-m-xo (CCE 282, Werner 2, 249).

Bur. \*şikárk 'yellow' > Yas. iškárk, Hunza, Nagar šikárk.

[The initial correspondence is not clear: in case of \*št- we would rather expect \*č- in NC and \*ć- ~ \*ç- in Burushaski. Perhaps in Yenisiseian we really have a contamination with \*tiχ 'snow' - which would suggest that the original form was rather \*ćakwV, with an irregularity in Yenisiseian.]

[\\*štHaplV](#) 'left' (?):

PNC \*čHapV(-IV) > Darg. Chir. čipil; Lezg. čapla, Ag. čalplan-f 'left'; Hurr. šapχalə 'left'.

PY \*tul (~-l, -r) 'left' > Ket. tuł "left", tūlga<sup>1</sup> 'to the left'; Kott. thul 'left'. See CCE 289, Werner 2, 295 (reconstructs \*t<sup>h</sup>ul / \*sul - the variant \*sul being quite erroneous - based on the Yug form sulgej, obviously borrowed from Turkic, cf. Tuv. sologaj etc.).

[\\*šthōrV](#) 'crust' (NSC 52):

PNC \*čhōrV 'skin, shell' > Chech. čqor, Bac. čar 'skin, nvelope', Ing. čor 'shell, peel'; Tsez. šoru 'lamb's skin (for making hats); a k. of Tsez shoes'; Lezg. č:ar '(milk) skin, cream', Ag. žar '(milk) skin', dial. žar 'film, membrane (in meat); flat bread', Rut. žar 'sour cream', Kryz žer 'cream; mould'; Khin. žar 'sour cream'; Hurr. šāri(y)-annə (\*skin >) coat of mail'.

PY \*təʔlap- (~-r-) 'bread crust' > Ket. tɬa:<sup>3</sup>, pl. tɬaɬ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. tɬlap<sup>5</sup> / tɬa:p<sup>3</sup>, pl. tɬlafin<sup>5</sup> (CCE 284). Werner (2, 297) also reconstructs \*t<sup>h</sup>əlap, but identifies the first part of the word with Ket. tɬ-, Yug. tɬ(u)- in \*čəG-tiχ 'snow crust'. This would be possible if the second part (-lap) meant "bread" - which is unfortunately not the case: Yug. laʔp means only 'piece', so the compound would have to mean "crust-piece". Additionally, tonal parameters do not match (we have ɬ < \*-ə- in tɬ-tik, but ɬ with the 5th tone < \*-əʔ- in \*təʔlap), which makes Werner's treatment even less probable.

[\\*štVwλV](#) 'navel, gizzard':

PNC \*čiw<sub>x</sub>V̄ (thus reconstructed in NCED - however, a reconstruction \*čiw<sub>λ</sub>wV̄ is equally possible) > Av. čex 'belly, stomach'; Lak. čux 'crop, craw'; Darg. čiw id.; Ag. šix 'large intestine; stomach (of a man)'; Khin. šax (erg. čx-i) 'belly'.

PST \*žəl 'navel; gizzard' > OC 臍 \*žəj 'navel'; Lush. thial 'gizzard'.

PY \*tir (~l) 'navel' > Ket. tíl, pl. tıləŋ<sup>5</sup>; Yug. til, pl. tiliŋ<sup>1,5</sup>. See CCE 286. Werner (2, 313) also compares Kott. pogal-thīn 'navel'. If the Kottish form is related, -thīn must be a reflection of the original plural form. The component pogal- remains unclear (cf. perhaps PY \*pɪʔíí 'belly, intestines?')

\*štHVrdV 'narrow, shallow':

PNC \*čHVrdV 'narrow' > Av. č:edéra-b, And. č:iṭir, Akhv. č:ede-da, Cham. Gig. č:idir, Kar. čedero-, Botl. č:idiro-, God. č:idir; Darg. čaIrṭa id.

PY \*toʔd- (~c-) 'shallow (of a river)' > Ket. tɔʔt; tɔdəm<sup>5</sup> 'shallowly'; Yug. tɔtariŋ (Werner 2, 272 - with -t- instead of \*-d- probably because of assimilation.).

Bur. \*čhaḍ-úm 'narrow' > Yas. cánúm, (L.) čaḍum, Hun. čhanúm, Nag. čhaḍúm.

[Cf. Basq. \*e-štu 'narrow, cramped'.]

\*šVlxkwV 'heel, hoof' (differently in BCD 27):

PNC \*šālk<sub>w</sub>V 'hoof' > Av. š:inkíl, Akhv. š:unḵ<sup>w</sup>a 'hoof', Cham. s:unča 'foot, leg; stake, wedge', Tind. š:unḵa 'stake, wedge', God. š:unḵa 'foot, leg'; Lak. š:iḵ 'hoof (of a sheep or goat)'; Tab. širḵ<sup>w</sup> 'hoof'.

PY \*sa(?)G-Vʒ 'heel' > Ket. śa:t, pl. śaʔeŋ (Bak., Sur. śɔdəŋ<sup>1</sup>); Yug. sɔ:t / sɔt<sup>3</sup>, pl. sɔdiŋ<sup>1</sup>; Kott. šugaʔiči / šukaiči; Ar. i-žegen. See CCE 270. The stem contains the body part suffix -Vʒ; without it cf. \*sa(?)G-bul > \*saq-pul 'heel' (Ket North. sapq<sup>6</sup>, Yug saxpíl<sup>6</sup>); \*sa(?)G-tV?Vʒ 'to trample' (= 'beat with the heel') > Ket saqtet<sup>5</sup>, Yug saxtef<sup>5</sup>. The Kott. form is probably a further compound \*šugai + hēči 'footwear'. Werner 2, 221 agrees with the reconstruction \*saG- and with uniting all the above forms in principle, but, as usually, derives the Ket-Yug form from \*śaḷq- 'heel' + aʔt 'bone' which is obviously not the case.

Bur. \*šoq 'shoe sole' > Hun., Nag. šoq.

[Cf. Basq. \*o-ški 'shoe'.]

\*šVšV 'skin from hoof; legging, sack':

PNC \*šišaʔV 'sack; clothes' > Akhv. šišal(i) 'clothes'; Lak. dial.

šasał'sack'; Lezg. šešel, Tab., Ag. šišal, Kryz. šišäl id.

PY \*sās 'fur from reindeer's legs (камыс)' > Ket. śas<sup>4</sup> (South.), Kur. śās<sup>i4</sup>, Bak., Sur. śa:ś<sup>4</sup>; Yug. sa:ḥs; Kott. šēt. See CCE 270, Werner 2, 181.

Bur. \*-súsur > Yas. -súsur 'skin on fingernails; gums of teeth'.

\*šwěmhV 'young goat or sheep':

PNC \*šwěmhV > Chech. šo 'mountain goat'; Av. dial. sum 'female mountain goat', And. išom, Cham. ĩho, Tind. hīhab, God. išamu 'goat (less than 2 y. old)'; Bezht. šämü, Gunz. šome id.; Darg. šam 'young sheep (less than 2 y. old)'.

Bur. \*sum > Yas., Hun., Nag. sum 'female (of animals, esp. goats)'.

\*[t]ākŵV (~ -ə-) 'a k. of vessel' (cf. HGC 32, DCE 27):

PNC \*tākŵV (~ -ə-) > Chech. tōk, Ing. tek 'chamber-pot'; Lezg. taḵ<sup>w</sup> 'mortar; goblet', Tab. taḵ<sup>w</sup> 'mortar', Bud. tōke 'water-trough'.

PST \*těk<sup>w</sup> 'vessel, cup, scoop' > OC 杓 \*dek<sup>w</sup> 'ladle, cup', 酌 \*tek<sup>w</sup> 'to pour out (wine); draw water'; Burm. tək 'to give to drink, administer (a liquid); drink'; Kach. di<sup>2</sup> 'pot'; Lush. tōk 'to drink to another's health'; Lepcha täṅ-tek 'a cup formed of bamboo'.

PY \*dugVr > Ket. (Werner 1, 210) dúγər 'Körbchen aus Birkenrinde'.

Bur. \*tōkur > Hun., Nag. tōkur 'wooden chest (for grain, etc.)'.

[ST and Burushaski, perhaps also Yenisseeian, reflect an assimilated variant \*tākŵV.]

\*tálIV 'gutter; pond' (WFR 21):

PNC \*tálV ~ \*lätV 'kennel, trough' > Tind. λ:en-tar 'ditch'; Tsez., Gin. tara, Khv. tala 'kennel, gutter'; PL (with metathesis) \*lat > Lezg., Rut., Tsakh. lat 'stone trough for watering cattle', Tab. lat 'spring'.

PST \*dhel 'lake, still water' > Tib. ādal 'still water', Lush. dīl 'lake, pond'.

(?) Bur. \*tul 'canal' > Hunza, Nagar tul.

[There are some phonetic problems: in PST one would expect \*-r; in Burushaski - \*th-.]

\*tUKV 'spittle' (HGC 25):

PST \*thok 'to spit' > Maru tauk 'to vomit, spew'; Lepcha tjuk 'to spit, expectorate', djuk 'spittle'; Kir. \*thúk(s) (/ʔt-) 'to spit, spittle'; Mikir iṅ-tok.

PY \*du(?)K > Kott. tuk 'spittle, saliva'. See CCE 224, Werner 2, 284.

\*tVHV 'sweet':

PST \*[dh]ǎ 'sweet, saltless' > OC 蔗 \*tia(k)-s 'sugar-cane, sweet'; Tib. b-da (resp.) 'savoury, well-tasted'; Lush. da 'lose saltness, taste'.

PY \*daʔŋ 'tasty' > Ket. daʔŋ (KPC), Yug. daŋ. See CCE 219, Werner 1, 179. Final -ŋ is most probably an old adjectival suffix.

\*tVpV̄ (~ -b-) 'taste, eat' (NSC 63):

PST \*thV̄p 'to eat, taste' > OC 𪔵 \*thēp 'to taste' (if not \*s-nhēp = Tib. sñab-pa 'to taste, savour'); Tib. s-tob 'to feed'; Burm. twap 'to nibble, as a fish at a bait'; Lush. tep 'to eat noisily'.

PY \*dop 'to drink, eat' > Ket. uró 'drink, drinking'; Bak., Sur. udó id.; (Werner 1, 200) d-a-b-dəp 'I drink it'; Yug. udəp 'drink, drinking', (Werner 1, 200) dəp / dəf 'drink'; Kott. tōp "eating", tōpākŋ "eat". See CCE 223, Werner 1, 200. The Ket-Yug forms should be probably analyzed as \*xu(r)-dop "to eat water": in Ket and Yug there is some confusion between the reflexes of \*dop 'eat' and \*ʔop- 'drink' (q.v.), but the Kottish evidence seems to distinguish them clearly enough.

\*tVrV̄ 'dust, dirt, powder' (MCGD 3; different in HGC 30, WFR 19):

PNC \*tūrV > Av. terét 'sleet', Akhv. tereti 'ashes, dust', Tind. tira 'dog's dung'; Bezht. tār 'sheep's dung'; Tab. (with metathesis) riči-n, Düb. riti-n 'charcoal; ashes'.

PY \*dəʔər₁- 'powder, dirt' > Ket. dΛ:ɪ³ powder (flour) made of ground fish ('порца'); Yug. dΛ:ʰr⁴ id.; Kott. taran 'dirt'. See CCE 220, Werner 1, 215 (hardly reasonably doubting the attribution of Kott. taran).

Bur. \*ther 'dirt' > Yas., Hun., Nag. ther.

\*twəjV 'to spit, spittle' (MCGD 3):

PNC \*twəjV 'to spit, spittle' > Chech., Bac. tuj, Ing. tu-g 'spittle'; Av. tuj, And. (with redupl.) toto, Kar. tutu 'spittle', Av. tu(j)-, And. tu-d-, Cham. tū-, Tind. tʷē- 'to spit'; Bezht. tü-λ-, Gunz. ti-λ- 'to spit'; Darg. tu 'spittle', tu-iķes 'to spit'; Tab. tutu, Ag. tutu, Rut. tu, Tsakh. ʔu 'spittle', Tab. tu ap-, Arch. tu-bus 'to spit'.

PST \*thōj 'to spit' > OC 唾 \*thōjs 'spit', Tib. tho-le ādebs, Burm. thwijnh, Kach. mətho³, mə-thwi³ 'to spit', etc.

Bur. \*thu 'to spit' > Yas. thu, Hun., Nag. thu (ét-).

[Cf. Basq. \*tu 'spit'.]

\*twVŋV 'a k. of weapon (spear, arrow)':

PST \*dhōŋ (~-ǔ-) 'pierce, sharp weapon' > OC \*thoŋ 'to pierce'; Tib. m-dun 'lance, spear, pike; sting of insects'.

PY \*dəm 'arrow; net needle' > Ket. dλmbək<sup>6</sup> 'net needle'; Yug. dλmək<sup>6</sup> / dλmbək<sup>6</sup> id.; Kott. tem, Ar. tim, Pump. damón 'arrow'. See CCE 225, Werner 1, 213, 2, 258.

\*(t)xq̄wV̄ 'two' (HGC 23, NSC 62):

PNC \*(t)q̄Hwā > Av. ƙi-, And. če-, Akhv., Kar., Botl. ƙe-, Cham. eč̄i-, Tind., Bagv., God. ƙe-; Tsez. q̄la-no, Gin. q̄o-no, Khv. q̄l<sup>w</sup>e-ne, Bezht. q̄o-na, Gunz. q̄a-nu; Lak. ƙi=a; Darg. ƙe-, dial. ƙ<sup>w</sup>e-; Lezg. q̄<sup>w</sup>e-, Tab. q̄lu, Ag. q̄lu-d, Rut. q̄l<sup>w</sup>a-d, Tsakh. q̄lo-llä, Kryz. q̄<sup>w</sup>a-d, Bud. q̄a-b, Arch. q̄l<sup>w</sup>e, Ud. p:aI; khin. ƙu; PWC \*tq̄l<sup>w</sup>A > Abkh. Ɣ<sup>w</sup>-bá, Abaz. Ɣ<sup>w</sup>-ba, Ad., Kab. ƥ<sup>w</sup>ə, Ub. ƥ<sup>w</sup>a.

(?) PST \*KV > Kach. lə<sup>55</sup>khon<sup>51</sup> 'two'; Karen \*khi; Rengma kho-hiŋ 'two'. Although not widely reflected the root may in fact have been preserved as the prefix in \*k-nj̄(s) 'two'.

PY \*xi-na 'two' > Ket. in//in, Yug. in, Kott. ina, Ar. kina, Pump. híneaŋ. See CCE 296, Werner 2, 423.

Bur. \*-ku-m 'pair' > Yas. hé-kum, Hun., Nag. -kum.

[? Cf. Basq. \*bi 'two'.]

\*tánsV 'mat, carpet':

PNC \*tamsV 'carpet' > Av. táns:a, And. tams:a, Akhv. tās:a, Cham. tans:a, Tind. tams:(<sup>w</sup>)a 'carpet'; Darg. Chir. tams: id.; Lezg. South. tams, Ag., Rut. tams id.

PST \*tānH (~ d-) 'mat' > OC 筵 \*tānʔ, \*tāt 'bamboo mat'; Tib. s-tan 'mat, carpet (for sitting)'.

\*tÁHV 'headgear':

PNC (redupl.) \*tātV 'cap, hat' > God. taťa id.; Khv. ƥ̄tar id.; Kryz. ƥ̄täχ id.

PST > OC OC 兜 \*tō 'helmet'.

PY \*di? > Ket., Yug. di?; Kott. te, ti; Ar. teu; Pump. taj-s 'hat'. See CCE 221, Werner 1, 219.

\*[t]āpV̄ 'a k. of wooden vessel':

PNC \*tāpV > Chech. dō, Ing. dō 'a basket (for corn or for fishing)';

Gunz. *ṭipi* 'a small barrel'; Lezg. *ṭab* 'hollow log', Tab. *ṭaṭar* 'lock', Ag. *ṭaw* id., Rut. *ṭaṭ* 'trap', Tsakh. *ṭapan* 'hive', Kryz. *ṭäpän* 'tent', Ud. *t:ap:an* 'trough'; Khin. *ṭab* 'trap'; Abkh. *a-təp*, Ab. *təp* 'hut'.

PY \*top- 'mortar' > Ket. *tō*, Bak., Sur. *tō* / *tōyə¹*; pl. *t:ɔn³* / *t:ɔ³*. In CCE 287 reconstructed as \*tokV-; Werner 2, 283 suggests \*<sup>h</sup>op<sup>h</sup>ə which is probably more correct.

[In Yen. possibly an assimilation \*top- < (expected) \*dop-. The comparison with Ket *də:və³* 'trap for catching fish' should be rejected because of the analysis of this form presented by Werner 1,119].

[\\*ṭjāqV](#) 'vessel; to scoop'

PNC \*ṭāqV ( ~ -ə-) 'a k. of vessel' > Chech. *ṭəqa*, Ing. *ṭaqa* 'tub'; Darg. *ṭaqa* 'hive'; Ag. *ṭak* 'hive', Rut. *ṭak* 'basket (for berries)', Kryz. *ṭäk* 'fire-place' (velar due to contamination with PNC \**tāk*wV q.v.); Ub. (n)*daqá* 'jar, vase, vessel'.

PY \*tVχV ( ~ -G-) 'boat, vessel; to scoop' > Ket., Yug. *ti*: 'delved boat', *ti:j* / *tij* 'to scoop'; Ass. *ul-těj* 'vessel (made of birch bark or skin)'; Ar. *taj* 'boat', *kultěj* 'vessel (made of birch bark or skin)'; Pump. *tig* 'boat; vessel' (CCE 293, Werner 2, 268).

[In NCED we supposed a metathesis of glottalization in PWC, whence Ub. (n)*daqá*; in fact it may have been the other way round - not in PWC but in PEC. In the latter case we could reconstruct PNC \**dāq*V which would make the PNC-PY match precise. The PSC reconstruction in that case would have to be changed to \**dāq*V.]

[\\*ṭähwě](#) ( ~ -ǎ) 'rope, loop':

PNC \*ṭähwě ( ~ -ǎ) > Chech. *ṭqē* 'chain'; Av. *ṭah* (dial. *ṭe*) 'button'; Tsez. *ṭewo* 'buckle, clasp', Inkh. *ṭihu* 'loop'; Rut. *ṭuʔI*, Tsakh. *ṭoʔIa* 'rope', Arch. *duhlu-ni* 'rope made of plant stalks'.

PST \*Ta 'rope' > Tib. *tha*, Burm. *ta*.

[\\*ṭhwērV](#) 'rope, girth':

PNC \*ṭhwērV 'string, cord' > Chech. *ṭirig*, Ing. *ṭfirg* 'string, cord'; Tab., Ag. *ṭurin* 'string, rope', Ud. *t:uri* 'thread'.

Bur. \**tVraṅ* 'saddle girth' > Yas., Hun., Nag. *traṅ*.

[\\*ṭHamqV](#) 'arc, bow':

PNC \*ṭHam[q]V > Darg. *ṭamqIa* 'arc, hoop'; Tab. *ṭanqIu*, *ṭanq:Iu* 'arc, bow, hoop'; (with distortions) PN \**darḡa* in Chech., Ing. *ṭad-darḡa* 'arc

(of a bow)'.  
 PST \*tōŋ 'elbow' > Burm. lətaun 'elbow'; Kach. don<sup>2</sup> 'cubit', Lush. ton id.; Rabha cá-kha-thon 'knee'.

Bur. \*t(h)on 'curved, convex' > Hun., Nag. ʈon, Yas. ʈon.

\*tHǎlq̄wV 'hoof':

PNC \*tHǎlq̄wV 'part of leg' > PN (with metathesis) \*p̄hiṭ > Chech., Ing. p̄hid 'calf of leg'; Bezht. ʈuqa 'sole of foot'; Ag. ʈurʕe 'shin', Rut. ʈurq̄l 'ankle'; perhaps also Av. ʈiq̄:wá, dial. uq̄:a < \*ʈiq̄:wá (< \*ʈilq̄:wá ?) 'horseshoe; sole of foot'.

PST \*dēk 'hoof; to kick' > OC 蹄 \*tēk 'hoof, animal's foot'; Tib. r-deg(s)-pa 'to kick', PLB \*thek, Kir. \*thék id., etc.

\*[t]Hǎnkǒ 'drop' (NSC 63, LV C7):

PNC \*tHǎnkǒ 'drop, spray' > Av. ʈinḵ, And. ʈonḵi-l, Cham. ʈiḵana, Tind. ʈiḵun 'drop', Av. ʈinḵ-, And. ʈonḵun-, Akhv. ʈiḵun-, Cham. ʈiḵun- Kar. ʈinḵ- 'to drop'; Lak. čilnṭ 'spray'; Ag. ʈinḵ, Rut. ʈanḵ, Tsakh. ʈanḵ (dial. ʈalnḵ), Kryz. ʈiḵin, Bud. ʈiḵ 'drop'; Khin. ʈing id.; PWC \*[t]əḵ<sup>w</sup>ə- 'to drop' > Abkh. á-k:wá-ra, Abaz. ʔa-kḵ<sup>w</sup>a-ra, Ad. -tḵ<sup>w</sup>a-, Kab. -tḵ<sup>w</sup>ə-, Ub. ʔ<sup>w</sup>aḵ<sup>w</sup>á-. See NCED 1000-1001.

PST \*tiāk (~ d-) 'drop' > OC 滴 \*tēk 'drop', Tib. gtig, āthig 'to drop, fall in drops', thigs 'a drop', Kach. the<sup>2</sup>, gəthe<sup>2</sup>, nthē<sup>2</sup> 'to drop, drip', etc.

PY \*te(?)K- > Kott. ur-theḵṇ 'drop, (rain)dropping' (CCE 283, Werner 2, 354'.

[Some irregularities: \*t- in PY - perhaps signifying that one should reconstruct \*dHǎnkǒ with subsequent assimilation in PNC; irregular vowel and length in PST.

Cf. Basq. \*tanka 'drop (of liquid)'.]

\*t̄imhV̄ 'bird' (HGC 18, WFR 143):

PNC \*t̄imhV̄ 'owl, a big bird' > Tsez. ʈumi, Khv. ʈema, Bezht. ʈimo 'pigeon'; Darg. \*ʈuma 'owl'; PL \*t̄im:(a) (~ -p:-) 'owl' > Lezg. ʈib, Tab. ʈip; Rut. ʈib, Kryz. ʈub; Abkh. a-ʈó, Ab. ʈə 'owl', Ad. tə-ɣ<sup>w</sup>rəɣ<sup>w</sup>ə, Kab. də-ɣ<sup>w</sup>rəɣ<sup>w</sup> 'eagle-owl' (= Abkh. a-ʈó-Γ<sup>w</sup>arΓ<sup>w</sup>ar id.).

PST \*t̄iwH 'bird' > OC 鳥 \*t̄iw? 'bird', Kach. du 'a sp. of owl', Garo do, Dimasa dau 'bird', etc.

PY \*duma 'bird, small bird' > Ket. dūm, Yug. dil-tim<sup>6</sup>, Kott. al-tūma (CCE 225, Werner 1, 211).

[Loss of -m- in PWC and PST is irregular; should one perhaps



reconstruct \*t̥ñhwV ?].

[\\*t̥m̥hV](#) 'kernel of fruit, seed' (WFR 102, MCGD 3):

PNC \*t̥m̥hV ( ~ \*t̥wĩ-, -h-) 'kernel, stone (of fruit, nut); marrow' > Check., Ing., Bac. t̥um 'marrow; kernel (of a fruit, nut)'; Lak. (reduplicated) t̥uṭi 'grape'; PL \*t̥um(:)ul / \*t̥um(:)uṭ > Lezg. cip:iç, Tab. t̥umuṭ, Ag. t̥ibiṭ, Rut. t̥imil, Tsakh. t̥umił, Arch. t̥ummul, Ud. t:ul 'grape', Bud. t̥ombul 'plum'; PWC \*t̥Vm̥la > Abkh. a-tamá, Ub. t̥əmłá 'peach', Abaz. dial. t̥ama 'apricot'.

PST \*[t̥]ǝm̥H (~-ǝ-) > OC 種 \*toŋʔ 'seed, different kinds of grain'; Kach. tum¹, ǎ-tum¹ 'seed, kernel as of fruit', Wancho ha-tuŋ 'seed'.

Bur. \*tumá- 'nutshell' > Yas. tumá, Hunza, Nagar tumáy.

[\\*tUŋV](#) (~ \*d-) 'short':

PST \*tōŋH / \*tōnH 'short' > OC 短 \*tōnʔ 'short'; Tib. thuŋ 'short', r-tuŋ, s-tuŋ 'make short'; Burm. tauŋh 'be short (as garment)'; Kach. gəduŋ³ 'be short'; Lepcha tan, ten 'be short'; Limbu t:ŋ-maʔ 'be short'.

Bur. \*ḍūŋ 'short time' > Hun. ḍuúŋ, Nag. ḍuúŋ, ḍuúm.

[\\*tÚrV̄](#) 'clothing':

PST \*tōr (~ d-) 'a k. of garment' > OC \*tōr 'black straight robe'; Tib. dor 'breeches, trousers'.

PY \*doʔor- (~ -G-) 'clothing' > Ket. dɔ:ɓ, pl. dɔ́ɓɓ (Kur. dɔ́ɓɓ) 'lining (подклад (одежды))'; (M.) dalaán, (M., C.) daláan "clothing (vestis)"; Ass. toragen "clothing (vestis)" ( K.); tarei, tarēi 'rough cloth', tarup, tarūp 'suede'. See CCE 223, Werner 1, 205.

[\\*\[t\]Vnk̥ə](#) 'spot':

PNC \*t̥Vn̥k̥ə 'freckle, mole; bead' > Av. t̥an̥k̥, Akhv. t̥āka 'dot, spot', And. t̥an̥ki-lol, Tind. t̥in̥k̥ᵂa-bi, God. t̥an̥ke 'freckles'; Lak. t̥unka 'bead'; Ag. t̥in̥k̥ 'birth-mark, mole'.

PST \*theŋ 'spotted' > Burm. thaŋh, Kach. (H) n-teŋ.

[\\*tVńV̄](#) 'fir-tree' (LDC 25):

PST \*tǝŋ (~ d-) 'fir-tree, pine-tree' > OC 蒸 \*tǝŋ 'small twigs as firewood'; Tib. thaŋ-siŋ 'fir', thaŋ-ču 'resin, gum'; Burm. thaŋh 'fuel, firewood', thaŋh-ruh 'pine-tree', Vayu thoŋ 'pine'.

PY \*dińe 'fir tree' > Ket. dīń, Yug. dīn 'fir-tree'; Kott. tīni, tīńi 'fir, spruce'; Ar. tin, Pump. dīńe 'spruce'. See CCE 222, Werner 1, 219.

[\\*twélʔe](#) (~ -ʔ-) 'stick' (WFR 23):

PNC \*twélʔe (~ -ʔ-) 'stick; beam, cross-beam' > Chech. ʔaj 'cross-beam; bridge' (dim. ʔe-rg-aš 'drumstick', Ing. ʔij 'bridge' (dial. 'penis'), Bac. ʔiw 'bridge; collar-bone, clavicle'; Khv. ʔero, Bezht. ʔijo, Gunz. ʔira 'bridge, stairs'; Lak. dial. ʔulj 'molar tooth'; Darg. ʔal 'stem, trunk, post'; Lezg. ʔʷal, Tab. ʔul, Kryz. ʔil, Bud. ʔul 'twig, rod', Ag., Rut. ʔul 'id.; rib', Tsakh. ʔele 'leaf; rib'.

PST \*Tur > Tib. thur 'spoon, chopsticks; a pole'; Burm. tu 'chopsticks' (within ST tends to contaminate with \*tul 'sharp stick' - which is originally a different root).

[\\*\[t\]wəbí](#) 'finger' (HGC 25):

PNC \*twibi (~-ə-) 'finger' > Darg. (Kait., Kub.) ʔup 'finger'; Lezg., Tab., Ag., Tsakh. ʔub 'finger', Rut. ʔəbəʔəl 'finger-ring' (= Lezg. ʔupal, Tab. ʔublan, Ag. ʔubal id.).

PST \*TVp > Tib. theb 'thumb', Lepcha tap 'fist'.

PY \*təpalči 'thimble' > Ket. tǎlt / tǎyǎlt<sup>6</sup> (Kur. tǎyǎltə<sup>6</sup>), pl. tǎyǎltəŋ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. tǎfalči<sup>6</sup>, pl. tǎfalčan<sup>5</sup>. See CCE 284. Ket -y- is obviously secondary (perhaps an unprecise recording - however, repeated in Werner 2, 301 as tǎyǎlta / tǎlt(a)), as seen from the Yug -f-. Werner 2, 301 reconstructs <\*tʰəqpʰəltʰə / \*tʰəpʰəltʰə>, connecting the word with \*təʔq 'finger', but there is absolutely no trace of any -q- here.

[\\*\[t\]wəŋʔi](#) 'blister' (WFR 9):

PNC \*twəŋʔi 'nipple; pimple' (Chech. ʔāra, Ing. ʔar 'nipple', Bac. ʔar 'breast, nipple'; PC \*cō-ʔō (obl. \*cō-ʔōrə-) 'navel' (lit. 'navel-pimple') > Tsez. co-ʔori, Gin. čī-ʔo, Khv. ce-ʔona, Bezht. co-ʔaro, Gunz. co-ʔor; Darg. Kub. ʔe 'udder, Chir. ʔe 'nipple (of udder)'; Lezg. ʔur 'pimple, bud, twig', Tab. ʔur 'bud', ʔur-kał 'pimple', Ag. ʔur 'birth-mark; tree-knot', Rut., Tsakh. ʔur 'pimple; twig', Kryz ʔir 'twig; wart'; Khin. ʔä 'udder'.

PST \*dhūr (~-ǎ-) 'blister, abscess' > Tib. thor 'smallpox; blotch, abscess', Lush. durʔ 'to blister'.

[\\*twīhV̄](#) (~ \*fītwǎ) 'foot' (LV Cb6):

PNC \*twīhV̄ 'foot, forefoot': Chech., Ing., Bac. ʔa 'front leg (of animal)'; Av. ʔeté / ʔet 'foot' (par. B: ʔaʔí-l, ʔaʔá-l); Darg. ʔalh 'a jump, leap' (Sarg. ʔʷah, Kait. ʔah 'foot, hoof', Kharb. ʔah 'foot, paw').

PST \*tīH (~ d-) 'heel, ankle' > OC 𐎢𐎡 \*təʔ 'foot, heel'; Tib. s-ta 'hip bone'; Kach. lətho<sup>3</sup> 'the leg just above the ankles'. Shortness in PST is

irregular, but it may be due to a confusion of different roots: cf. in OC alternatively 蹄 \*dē 'animal's foot, hoof'.

Bur. \*-hút- > Yas. -hútiš, Nagar, Hunza -út, -útiš 'foot'.

\*twōnʔe 'a k. of vessel' (WFR 59):

PNC \*ʔwōnʔe 'manger, feeding-trough; spring' > Akhv. ʔāji 'spring'; Lak. ʔunu 'feeding-trough, manger'; Darg. ʔeni, dial. ʔuni id.; PL \*ʔona > Lezg., Tab., Bud. ʔun, Rut., Kryz. ʔin, Tsakh. ʔina, Arch. ʔono id.

PST \*tiām 'jar, bottle' > OC 甌 \*tām 'jar', Kach. ndum<sup>3</sup> 'bottle', Lepcha tham 'a drinking-cup, goblet'.

Bur. \*túni > Yas. túni (L.: thúni) 'small basket'.

\*twVnV 'knife, to cut':

PNC \*=VʔwVn 'to cut' > Darg. Chir. čer=iʔVn- / čer=iłʔ- 'to skin, cut off skin'; Arch. arʔin- 'to take meat off the bones; to gnaw'.

PST \*tōnH (~ -H) 'to cut' > OC 斲 \*tōnʔ 'cut off', 斲 \*tonʔ, dōn 'to cut', 膊 \*ton, \*tonʔ, donʔ 'cut meat'; Kach. don<sup>1</sup> 'to cut'.

PY \*doʔn 'knife' > Ket. doʔn, pl. doʔnə<sup>5</sup>; Yug. doʔn, pl. doʔnə<sup>5</sup>; Kott. ton, pl. tōnaŋ; Ar. ton (M., C.A., K.A.), (Локк.) togon. See CCE 222, Werner 1, 203.

\*ʔāmV 'wing, shoulder' (WFR 86):

PNC \*ʔāmV > Chech. ʔam, Ing. ʔqam 'wing'; Akhv. ʔimiʔara 'butterfly'; Lak. ʔimu 'feather', dial. (redupl.) ʔimiʔaj 'butterfly'; PL \*ʔāIm:- (~ \*ʔālp:-) 'butterfly' > Tab. Düb. bałʔ-li (with metathesis), Rut. ʔābā-bāl; Ad. tāma, Kab. dāma 'wing; shoulder'.

PST \*[t]ām 'carry on the shoulder' > OC 擔 \*tām 'carry on the shoulder'; Tib. s-tem 'to hold, support', Burm. thamh 'to bear or carry on the shoulder', Lush. dōm 'to support (from below)', dom 'to hold, hold up'.

\*=űćĚ(rV) 'thick' (LDC 39):

PNC \*=űćĚ(rV) 'thick, fat' > And. čo-ra, Akhv. čara-da, Kar. čo-ra 'thick, fat'; Tsez. =ušš-ā- 'fat (of meat)', Khv. =ujša 'fat', Bezht. =öše-rö, Gunz. =öše-ru 'fat, thick'; Lak. =uč- id.; Darg. =uc- 'thick, dense'; Ud. b-očlu id.; PWC \*p(ə)-ča- 'fat, thick' > Ad. pša-r, Kab. pša-r.

PY \*b-V(?)sVr > Ket. bAśĬ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. bAśĬ<sup>5</sup>, Kott. pučar 'thick (of paper, skin, cloth etc.)'. See CCE 213, Werner 1, 156.

Bur. \*bes 'fat' (n.) > Yas. bes, Hun., Nag. bis.

[5th tone in Ket may reflect \*-ʔ- (which would contradict lax type

in NC), but may also be a misrecording.]

\*=ǔGwǎ \*ǔGwǎ-rV 'rain, to rain' (HGC 21, NSC 54):

PNC \*ǔGwV 'to rain' > Chech., Ing. d-ога 'rain'; Lezg. q:<sup>w</sup>a-, Tab. u-r-к-, Ag. ук-, Rut. huк<sup>w</sup>-, Tsakh. ǵ-ога- 'to rain'. Widespread are derivatives \*ǔGwV-IV (Lezg. q:<sup>w</sup>al, Ag. ukal, Rut. huк<sup>w</sup>al, Ud. aʒala 'rain') and \*ǔGwV-rV / \*ǔGwV-(r)dV (Khv. ɤ<sup>w</sup>ada, Inkh. ɤodo, Bezht. wodo, Gunz. wəðə; Lak. ɤaral, dial. ɤ<sup>w</sup>aral id.).

PST \*(r-)qh<sup>w</sup>ǎH 'rain' > OC 雨 \*wha? 'rain'; Tib. kha-ba 'snow', m-kha 'heaven'; Burm. r-wa 'rain', Lush. r-uaʔ id., Kir. \*wə 'rain', Bodo ha id., etc.

PY \*xu-r 'rain' > Ket. ułeś<sup>5,6</sup>, Yug. ures<sup>5,6</sup>; Kott. ur, ūr, Koib. uraš; Ar. kur (M., Cλ., Cpλ., Kλ.) 'rain'; kuraasa (Локк.) id.; Pump. ur-ait (Cλ., Cpλ., Kλ.) 'rain'. See CCE 297, Werner 2, 338. All languages, besides the simple form \*xur, reflect also the compound \*xur-ʔes 'rain-sky'. The same root is evidently reflected in PY \*xura 'wet, rainy' (see CCE 298, Werner 2, 345).

Bur. \*qhuró- 'cloud' > Yas. xorón, Hun., Nag. qhurónç.

\*=únsdĚ 'to hide, steal':

PNC \*=unǰĚ 'to hide, conceal, steal' > Khv. (redupl.) cuc-, Bezht., Gunz. =ũc- 'to hide, steal'; PWC \*ǰV > Abkh. a-ʒa-rá (Bz. a-ʒa-rá), Abaz. ʒa-ra 'to hide, conceal', Kab. bzə-(ǰə-) id., Ub. wa(n)ǰá 'secret' (= Abkh. á-ma-ʒa, Bz. á-maʒa, Abaz. maʒa id.).

(?) PST \*chġt 'steal' (if \*-t is a historical suffix) > OC 竊 \*chġt (~ -ġt) 'steal', Burm. sut id.

PY \*ǰut- (~x-) 'to steal' > Ket. ud-di:ŋ<sup>3</sup>, ud-deiŋ<sup>5</sup>; Yug. ud-đe:ŋ<sup>3</sup>; Kott. ūti 'stealing', ūth-āŋ (pret. ūth-ol-ōŋ) 'to steal'; ūtō 'secret' (adj.). See CCE 201; Werner 2, 321 \*ud'ə. The reconstruction of -d'- (= our \*-ǰ-) is based on the Yug form and is certainly incorrect: Kott. -t- can only point to PY \*-t- (otherwise -j- would be expected). Ket -d- and Yug -đ- here are evidently results of assimilation < \*ǰut-ǰV- (where -ǰ- is a widespread verb-forming suffix).

\*=ǎCǎ 'to eat, drink' (HGC 19, NSC 64):

PNC \*=VǎV 'to drink; to gulp, to eat' > And. ɕ:a-d-, Akhv. ɕ:a-r-, Tind. c:a-, Kar. ɕ:a-r-, Bagv. ɕ:e- 'to drink', Av. ɕ:aç:á- 'to suck'; Tsez., Gin., Khv. =aç- 'to eat'; Arch. ɕa-bus 'to drink'.

PST \*ǰha 'to eat' > Tib. za, Burm. ɕah, Kach. ša<sup>3</sup> 'to eat', Lush. fa

'rice', faʔ 'feed with the mouth', Kir. \*ʒo (?/\*ʒə) 'to eat', etc.

PY \*sī- 'to eat' > Ket. sī (Качр.), praet. sīl, imp. \*sīl (Werner 2, 191: śi<sup>4</sup> / śij<sup>4</sup>); Yug. sī (Качр.), praet. sīr, imp. sīr (Werner 2, 191: si:hj<sup>4</sup>, praet. si:h:r); Kott. ši-g 'meal', Ar. šau id.; Pump. sogo 'eat'. In Ket cf. also śi:k<sup>3</sup> (a suffixed form? cf. Yug /Werner 2, 205/ sījək id.) 'bait'. In CCE 274 I have reconstructed \*siG- on the basis of the Kottish and Pumpokol forms (similarly cf. Werner 1, 360 \*siʔəgə-). However, the 4th tone in Ket śi<sup>4</sup> and Yug si:hj<sup>4</sup> recorded by Werner forces to change the reconstruction to \*sī-, without any postvelar element: otherwise the tone would be 1 (in case of short \*i) or 3 (in case of long \*ī), see KC 196. The Kott. and Pump. forms are thus rather matching the suffixed forms Ket śi:k<sup>3</sup>, Yug sījək, see above.

Bur. \*śi / \*ʃi / \*ʃu 'to eat' > Yas. -ʃi- / -ʃú-, Hun., Nag. śé-, ʃú-.

\*=VgVl- 'to lie, fall':

PNC \*=VgVl 'to lie, to put' > Av. =eg-, Tind. gir-di-, Cham. gara-d-, Kar. gir- 'to lie'; Darg. Chir. =alg- / =ulg- id. (\*=VgVl is also possible, since -l and -l are hardly distinguished in verbal roots).

PST \*klaH 'to fall' > Burm. kjaʔ 'to fall, become low, be thrown down' (LB \*klaʔ), Kach. khra-t<sup>2</sup> 'fall from an elevation', Lush. tla 'to fall (from a height), to set or go down', Lep. klo 'to fall' etc.

\*=ǞGwV 'thick, dense':

PNC \*=ǞGwV 'thick (of liquids)' > Chech. üqa, Ing. =iqa, Bac. =uqī 'thick (of liquids), dense'; Av. =aq:ᵂá (adv.), And., Cham., Tind., God. =eq:u-, Akhv. =eq:ᵂa-da- 'thick (of liquids)'; Tsez. qe-d-ju, Inkh. =uqqᵂu id.; Lak. =uq-a- id.; Lezg. eqi, Ag. jaq:ᵂe-f, Rut. iqᵂ-di, Kryz. uqᵂa-ž, Arch. t-uq, t-uᵂ-du- id.

PST \*KōH 'thick' > OC 厚 \*gōʔ 'thick', Naga Lhota e-khu, Pochuri aki 'fat'.

PY \*hā(?)GV-Í 'cloggy, thick (of soup, liquid)' > Ket. a:Í<sup>3</sup> 'broth, fish or meat soup'; Yug. a:Í<sup>3</sup>; a:le<sup>3</sup> 'cloggy'; Kott. hagal, hakal 'thick (soup, porridge)'. See CCE 230. The words are quite obviously related and correspond to each other completely regularly. Nevertheless, Werner (1, 90) attempts to defend different solutions. The Ket form is analyzed as a compound \*ʔapV + xur<sub>1</sub> 'hot water', although we would expect something like aul<sup>3</sup> in this case (and a similar compound \*ʔapVη-xur<sub>1</sub> is attested as a:η-ül). Such an analysis is completely impossible for the Yug form (we would have afur), so for Yug Werner gives a separate reconstruction <\*agəl>. Finally, the Kottish word is found on p. 1, 291, quite separately,

and with a note: vgl. ket. qōj<sup>1</sup> ds. However, Ket. qōj<sup>1</sup> is a rather transparent late Turkic loanword (cf. Oyr. qoju, Kaz. qoju id. etc.) and thus can have nothing to do with Kott. hagal. All these etymological "proposals" are rather difficult to justify.

Bur. \*d-ayá-n- 'thick' > Yas., Hun., Nag. dayánum 'thick'.

\*=VhwV 'to shine':

PNC \*=VhwV 'shine' > Av. r-oh-ine 'to come (of dawn)', rohé-l 'dawn', Akhv. r-uhi id.; Lak. =ija-, Darg. -uñ- (dur. r-urñ-).

PST \*ʔ<sup>w</sup>a > Bahing hwa 'light', Naga \*hV 'moon', Tib. o-d 'light, shine, brightness', Thado wa-t 'shine' etc.

[Much wider spread is the old derivative \*hwēri (\*ʔVhwē-ri) q.v.]

\*=V̌λwV̌ 'to rest; quiet, silent':

PNC \*=uλwV 'to be silent, quiet' > Darg. Chir. -ux<sup>w</sup>- 'to talk' (< \*'listen') (cf. Rut. =ux<sup>w</sup>a- id.); Ag. d-ux- 'to be reconciled', Archi o=λ:a- 'to be silent, listen'.

PST \*I[īj] > OC 夷 \*ləj 'easy; be at rest; pacify, peaceful', Burm. lwaj, Kach. loi<sup>2</sup> 'easy', Lush. tlei 'be quiet; not cry', Tul. li-wa, Khaling le-bä 'quiet' etc.

PY \*ʔaʔl-bət (~x-) > Ket. albət<sup>5</sup>, Yug. albət<sup>5</sup> 'quietly (not loudly)' (CCE 180, Werner 1, 29).

\*=V̌λwVn 'semen, seed, sow' (DCE 13):

PNC \*=VλwVn 'to sow', \*λwVnHV 'seed' > Chech. hu, Ing. fu, Bac. huv 'seed'; Av. xa- 'sow', xon 'seed', Cham. hāh<sup>w</sup>-na 'sow', hū 'seed', And. šam- 'to sow, throw', šen 'seed', Tind. huʔu, Kar. hūji, Botl. xuni, Bagv. hūʔi, God. xun 'seed'; Lak. =uha- 'sow', hanna (dial. lanna) 'seed'; Darg. Chir. =ax<sup>w</sup>(n)- 'sow', Ak. he, Kub. x<sup>w</sup>e 'seed'; Lezg. fin 'seed', Rut. xin 'wheat', Kryz xin 'flax', Arch. λ:<sup>w</sup>in 'seed'.

PY \*jeʔŋ / \*jəʔŋ 'egg, roe' > Ket. εʔj, pl. ēŋ 'egg'; ɔŋ-di<sup>5</sup> 'roe egg'; ɔŋníŋ (Bak., Sur. ɔŋnɔŋ<sup>5</sup>) 'roe'; Yug. eŋ, pl. eŋəŋ<sup>5</sup> 'egg'; ɔŋ-di<sup>5</sup> 'roe egg'; ɔŋníŋ<sup>5</sup> 'roe'; Kott. dánan (M., Kl.) 'roe'; Ass. ánaŋ (M., Kl.), änu (Kl.) 'roe'; Ar. aŋ (M., Cl., Kl.) 'egg'; agen (Локк.) 'eggs'; ujnún (M., Kl.) 'roe' [Дульз. ujnún]; Pump. tańán (Cl., Kl.) 'egg', see CCE 232. Ket εʔj, according to all external evidence, is a result of re-analyzing the plural form ēŋ (although Werner 1, 256 suggests the opposite). Although \*jeʔŋ 'egg' and \*jəʔŋ 'roe' are distinguished within Yenisseian, the forms are still hard to separate: an old Ablaut is probable in this case (see KC 159).

Werner (1, 256, 2, 43) reconstructs <\*eʎj / \*eŋ> 'egg' and <\*oj / \*uj, pl. oʎŋ> 'roe', separating the two words; he, however, fails to explain d- in Kott. *dānan* and t- in Pump. *taŋaŋ* (quite regular reflexes of PY \*j-), and also tries to relate Kott. *šlei* 'egg' - as shown by Helimski (1982, 71), a quite transparent Samoyed loanword.

Bur. \**ʃiŋán* > Yas., Hunza *ʃiŋán*, Nagar *ʃiŋán* 'egg'.

[Cf. Basq \**alhe(n)* 'seed; wild oats'].

\*=V̄λV 'to pierce':

PNC \*=V̄λV 'to pierce, punch, beat' > Av. =orλ:- 'to punch a hole, to bore', Tind. aλ:- 'to sharpen, set (knife)'; Tsez. =eλ- 'to beat'. Most languages have preserved only the derived noun \*(HV)rV-λinV 'chisel, instrument for piercing or sharpening', cf. Av. λ:iní 'chisel', Lak. š:ina 'chisel, hatchet', Darg. *rurgani* 'gimlet', Tab. *rašil*, Rut. *rixil* 'chisel', Ag. *hurukul* 'gimlet'.

PST \*lě-ŋ 'to pierce, penetrate' > Burm. *khjaŋh* 'to pierce', Kach. *leŋ* 'be projecting or protuberant', Lush. *lěŋ* 'to penetrate, enter'. Cf. also \*lon ( ~ -u-) > Burm. *lwan* 'a gimlet, to bore with a gimlet', Kach. *gəluŋ*<sup>2</sup> 'to pierce'; \*t-len 'pierce' > Tib. *lʒen* 'to enter, penetrate', Kach. *kh-ren*<sup>1</sup> 'to be pierced through and through' (all suffixed formations from the same root?)

Bur. \*-l- 'to stick into' > Yas., Hun., Nag. -l-.

\*=V̄λV 'to copulate':

PNC \*=üλV 'to copulate' > Bezht. d-aλm Gunz. *ʃaλ* 'penis'; Rut. -egge-, Tsakh. *hi-ik:a-* 'to copulate'; Khin. *li-ki* id.

PST \*le 'penis; coire' > Tib. m-ʒe 'penis', Burm. *lih* id., Khaling *le-nä* 'coire', *li* 'penis', Tulung *b-le* 'penis', Limbu *lā-bā* 'adulterer' etc.

PY \*b-eʎl (~w-, -r) 'harlot' > Ket. *bεʎl*, Yug. *bεʎl* (CCE 208; Werner 1, 118).

\*=V̄λVŋ 'to wash' (DCE 33):

PNC \*=V̄λVn 'to wash, pour; to weep' > Chech. =ēlχ-, Bac. =etχ- 'to weep'; to pour (of rain)'; Tsez. *čok-λ-*, Khv. *čok-λ-* 'to rinse', perhaps also Bezht. *č-äλ-*, Gunz. *č-aλ=* 'to pour out'; Tab. *ž-i=k-* 'to wash', Ag. *ž-uḱ-*, dial. *ž-iḱan-* 'to make an ablution', Arch. e=λ:in- id.

PST \*t-lēŋ ( ~ -ā-) 'to wash, clean' > Burm. *kjaŋh* 'to wash slightly, rinse (a vessel)'; Lush. *tlēŋ* 'to clean by pouring water over'; Lepcha *lün* 'to spill, to pour as water, rice'.

Bur. \*-hált- 'to wash' > Yas. -hált-, Hun., Nag. -alt- / -yalt-.

\*=VλV̄(n) 'to wear; a k. of clothing' (HGC 33, WFR 73 - somewhat differently):

PNC \*=VλV 'to put clothes (on the upper body)' > Av. =eṭn-, And. =ol-, Cham., Tind. =al-, Kar. =aλ-; Tsez. š-eλ<sup>w</sup>-, Khv., Gunz. š-iλ-; perhaps also Lezg. al-uḵ- id.

PST \*IVṇ 'coat, skirt' > Burm. khjaṇh 'skirt (for a man)', Kach. loṅ<sup>2</sup>-, pəloṅ<sup>1</sup> 'coat'.

PY \*ʔalVṇ (~x-) 'trousers' > Ket. alēṇ<sup>6</sup>, Yug. alṇ<sup>6</sup>, Kott. alaṇ (tone 5 also recorded, but probably erroneously). See CCE 181, Werner 1, 30 (etymology as plural < al 'half', as well as various hypotheses of Turkic or Uralic origin quoted ibid., are highly dubious).

Bur. \*w-él- / \*b-él- 'to put on (clothes)' > Yas. wél-, Hunza, Nagār bəl- / -joól-.

\*=VmλV 'to come, go' (DCE 34):

PNC \*=VmλV 'to go, come' > Av. ín- 'to go, go away' (dial. ʔ<sup>w</sup>en-, ʔ<sup>en</sup>en-), And. =ulon- 'to go'; Tsez. =iλ-, Gin. =üλ-, Khv. =iλ-, Bezht. =eλ-, Gunz. =ēλ- 'to go, walk'; Lak. =u=ča- (pret. =u-ḵu-n) 'to come'; Darg. =aḵ- / =iḵ- id.

PST \*t-lā(H) 'to come' > OC 𐌵𐌳𐌰𐌶𐌰 \*𐌵𐌳𐌰𐌶𐌰 'come to'; Burm. la 'come', lah 'go'; Lush. lo-(kal) 'come', etc.

Bur. \*-ltá- 'to follow, pursue, reach' > Yas. tá-, Hun., Nag. tá- / -ltá-.

[In PNC cf. also \*=ərλU 'go, walk, enter', see BCD 22. This is in any case a better match for Basq. \*erdu 'come!' (imper.) - cf. in the exact same function Bac. -ol 'come (here)!', Tind. λ:e 'come, come on!', Lak. ulu 'let's go!' - all derived from \*=ərλU.]

\*=V̄nŁe 'four ~ eight':

PNC \*būnŁe ( ~ -a) 'eight' > Chech., Ing. barh, Bac. barλ; Av. míλ:-go, And. bejλ:i-gu, Akhv. biλ:i-da-be, Cham. beλ:i-da, Tind., Kar., Botl., God. biλ:i-da, Bagv. biλ:i-ra; Tsez. biλ-no, Gin. beλ-no, Khv. baλa, Bezht. beλ-na, Gunz. beλ-no; Lak. maJ-; Darg. geḥe-l; PL \*menλ:ä- > Lezg. müžü-d, Tab. mirži-b, Ag. muja-d, Rut. mije-d, Tsakh. moli-llä, Kryz. miyi-d, Bud. mijə-d, Arch. meλe, Ud. muḵ; Khin. inḵ 'eight'; PWC \*p(:)əλə 'four'.

PST \*P-lj 'four' > OC 𐌵𐌳𐌰𐌶𐌰 \*slhij-s; Tib. b-zi; Burm. lijh; Kach. məli<sup>1</sup>; Lush. li; Kir. \*bhlí, Trung bli<sup>2</sup>, etc.

Bur. \*w-alt- 'four' > Yas. wáltu, wálte, Hun., Nag. wáltu, wálti. Bur.



\*alto 'two' may belong to the same root, but semantics is problematic and the problem requires additional investigation.

\*=VnλV 'all':

PNC \*=VnλV (~-λ-) > PA \*hi(n)λu- /\*-λ:- > Av. ʔol-go, And. hilu-b, Akhv. aλo, Tind. hīλ:u-b 'all'.

PST \*lāŋ 'all, together' (with an attributive \*-ŋ) > Kach. nlanʔ 'all', Lush. hlanʔ 'all together'. Without -ŋ cf. perhaps \*lō(H) > OC 愈 \*loʔ 'increase, proceed; all the more; surpass'; Lush. lu 'too, very, excessively', Kaike so-lo 'all', etc.

PY \*b-iʔl- 'all' > Ket. bildəʕ, Yug. biłlaʕ 'all'. See CCE 211, Werner 1, 159 (but Kott. bar 'all' is a transparent Turkic loanword and cannot be compared).

\*=VŋV 'to speak' (G. Starostin...):

PST \*ŋǎH / \*ŋǎ-k 'to speak' > OC 語 \*ŋ(r)aʔ 'speak'; Tib. ŋag, d-ŋag 'speech, talk, words', Burm. ŋak 'speak', Kach. ŋaʔ 'to say, speak, declare', etc.

PY \*b- (initially), \*-ŋ- (medially) 'to speak'.

\*=VswV 'to take':

PNC \*[i]swV 'to touch, to take' > And. =is- 'to press oneself (to smth.)', Cham. =es- id., =is- 'to press', God. -is- 'to press, to move'; Tsez. =iz- 'to take up, to lift (oneself)', Gin. =üz-, Khv. =ez- 'to take'; Lak. l-a=su- id.; Darg. Chir. =as:- / =is:- 'to take, buy'; Lezg. il=is- 'to press', Tab. =is- 'to hold, catch; to take away', Ag. awaj-s:i- 'to hoild, catch', Arch. s:a- 'to touch'; Abkh. -ḱə-s-, Abaz. qə-s-, Ad. na-sə-, Kab. jaʔ<sup>w</sup>ə-sə- 'to touch'; Ur. ašj- 'to capture'.

PY \*k-as- (~ g-), \*q-ōs- (~ χ-) 'to take' > Ket. kaś- (Werner 1, 413), Yug. kase-sanʔ<sup>6</sup> 'take', Ket. qəś<sup>4</sup>, Yug. χə:hś (Werner 2, 115) (see CCE 234-235; Werner 1, 413 gave corrections to the earlier inaccurate Ket recordings which show that there was no confusion in Ket between the reflexes of \*kas- and \*qōs-. Still, the two forms are most probably Ablaut variants of the same original verb.)

\*=VtwV(ŋ) 'to sit':

PNC > PWC \*t<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. a-t<sup>w</sup>a-rá, Abaz. č<sup>w</sup>a-ra 'to sit'; Ad., Kab. ʔə-sə-, Ub. t<sup>w</sup>a-s- 'to sit down'.

PST \*tūŋ / \*tūk 'to sit, stay' > OC 逗 \*dō(k)-s 'to stop, dwell, stay';

住 \*tro(k)-s / \*dro(k)-s 'to stay, dwell, reside'; Tib. ādug 'to sit, exist, to be'; Burm. thəuŋ 'to sit', Kach. duŋ<sup>1</sup> id., etc.

\*=V̄xGǎI- 'to cut, knife' (different in WFR 7):

PNC \*=VGǎI 'to cut, clip, shear' > And., Akhv., Cham., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. =uq̄:- 'to cut, chop' (with initial reduction and preservation of resonant: And. q̄:ir-d-, Akhv. q̄:er-, Cham. q̄:i-d-, Gig. q̄:ir-, Tind. q̄:er-d- 'to clip, shear', in Cham. alo 'chop'); Lak. q̄u=q̄i- 'to cut, chop'; Darg. Chir. =al̄Vn- / =ul̄- 'to cut, chop, shear'; Tab. ul̄t-u=q̄:- 'to clip, shear', Ag. uq̄:-, Arch. q̄e-bus, Ud. d-oIq̄:ala-besun 'to butt, stick into'; Khin. t:äq̄- 'to cut'; Abkh. a-p-qa-rá, Ab. p-q̄-ra, Ub. q̄ə- 'to cut'.

PST \*giär 'axe, to chop': OC 斤 \*kər 'axe', Lush. kher 'to pick out with a pointed instrument; chop or hack', Lepcha kar-žó 'a sort of curved knife, a reaping hook'.

\*=V̄xkV̄ 'quick':

PNC \*=ǎχV 'quick, swift' > Chech., Ing. s-ixa 'quick, swift'; PAVAnd (redupl.) \*χ:iχ:V- > Av. χ:éχ:a-, Cham. χ:iχ:u- 'quick, swift', And. χ:ex:i, Akhv. χ:ex:i-le 'quickly'; Tab. ux-ti, Bud. d-iχ 'quickly', Ag. d-aχi 'quick', Kryz. d-äxä 'quick(ly)', Arch. w-iχ-taš 'suddenly'.

PST \*kǎk (~ g-, q-, G-) > OC 亟 \*kək 'urgently, hurry, hastily'; Tib. kag-gis 'suddenly'.

PY \*-əq- > Ket. dɔqtə<sup>5</sup> (Werner 1, 216: dǎqta<sup>1</sup>), Yug. dɔxti<sup>5,6</sup> 'quickly' (CCE 220, Werner 1, 216); Ket. ɔpqa<sup>5</sup>, South. ɔpqa<sup>5</sup>, Yug. ɔxpes<sup>5</sup> 'suddenly' (CCE 191, Werner 2, 409).

Bur. \*haqhái > Nag. haqhái et- 'to run quickly'.

\*=V̄xq̄V (~ \*xq̄VHV) 'word':

PNC > PWC \*q̄Ia- 'to say; word' > Ub. qa- 'say', qa 'word'; Kab. žə-za- 'say'. Same root is reflected in Abkh. a-h<sup>w</sup>a-rá, Abaz. h<sup>w</sup>a-ra, Ad. ʔ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to say' (with labialisation on analogy with PWC \*q̄:I<sup>w</sup>V 'to be heard, reach one's ears').

PST \*k(h)a 'word' > Tib. b-ka 'word, speech', s-ka-d 'voice, speech, say, tell'; Burm. cə-kah 'word; speech'; Kach. ga<sup>2</sup> 'word; speech'; Lush. ō-ka 'voice'; Lepcha kha 'to ask, inquire'; Kir. \*Ka (/ʔk-) 'speech; to call', etc.

PY \*q̄āʔG 'word' (-G is either a suffix or a reduplication element) > Ket. qaʔ, Yug. xā, Kott. xēg, khēg. See CCE 256, Werner 2, 78.

\*=V̄ʔwV̄ŋ 'to go, travel' (HGC 23, LDC 30, BCD 30):

PNC \*=VʔwVn 'to go' > Bac. ʃo- 'to go (pres.)'; Akhv. =un-, Cham. =ūn-, Kar. =oʔan- 'to go'; Gunz. nəʔ- 'to come'; Lak. na- 'to go, walk' (dur.); Hurr. un-, Ur. nun- 'to come'.

PST \*ʔwǎ, \*ʔwǎ-ŋ 'to go' > OC 于 \*wa 'to go, go to', 往 \*waŋʔ 'to go to', Tib. ʔoŋ 'to come', s-oŋ 'to go' (perf., imp.), Burm. s-wa-h 'to go', waŋ 'to enter, go or come in', Kach. wa<sup>2</sup> 'to return', Lush. vaʔ 'to go, walk' (PKC \*waŋ 'to go'), etc.

PY \*hejVŋ 'to go' > Ket. ējeŋ<sup>1</sup> / ejeŋ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. ejŋ<sup>1</sup>, Kott. hejaŋ 'to go' (CCE 231, Werner 1, 265-266).

Bur. \*ne- 'to walk, go' > Yas. né-, Hunza, Nagar ní-.

[Cf. Basq. \*e-oa-n 'to go'.]

[\\*wǎrǎV](#) (~ b-) 'enclosure, shed':

PNC \*wǎrǎV (~ b-) 'enclosure; corn-bin, shed' > Chech. boʒal 'stall, horse-stall'; Av. bežén 'corn-bin, granary'; Gin., Bezht., Gunz. bež 'enclosure (for sheep)'.

Bur. \*baç > Yas. baç 'shed for goats and sheep'.

[\\*wǎnλwē](#) 'luck, joy':

PNC \*wǎnλwē (~ -ǎ-) 'luck, good' > Chech. mēla, Ing. mäl 'good deed, good (relig.)'; PAvAnd \*bVx<sup>w</sup>i / \*x<sup>w</sup>ibV- > Av. baxí 'luck', And. šu-b, Cham. hō-b 'good'; PWC \*maλ<sup>w</sup>V > Ad. māfa, Kab. māx<sup>w</sup>a 'good, luck'.

PST \*ʔiǎl 'rest, peace' > OC 安 \*ʔān 'rest, peace'; 晏 \*ʔrān-s 'tranquilize; pleasant; pause, rest, peaceful, mild'; Lush. ōl 'to rest'; Dhimal el-ka 'good'.

Bur. \*míl- > Hun., Nag. di-míl- 'to pacify, be pacified'.

[\\*wēmǎV](#) (~ -xǎ-) 'eye; witness' (BCD 39):

PNC \*wēmǎV 'witness; true' > Chech. baǎ 'truly', baǎō 'truth', Ing. boǎo, Bac. baǎeʔ 'truth, rule'; Av. nuʃ (< \*muǎ) 'witness'; Lak. bara 'witness' (< \*baǎa-ra > Arch. baǎǎǎ-ŋnu 'witness'); Darg. biǎ-ri 'witness'.

PST \*mjǎk 'eye' > OC 目 \*muk 'eye'; Tib. mig 'eye', (d-)mjug 'to show'; Burm. mjak 'eye'; Kach. mji<sup>2</sup> id.; Lush. mit id.; Lepcha mik, a-mik 'eye; mark; eye-sight', etc.

PY \*ʔǎqa- 'to be visible' > Ket. λβ(a)-, Yug. λχα- (Werner 2, 409).

Bur. \*-moq- 'face' > Yas. -móqis 'face' (cf. also Hun., Nag. -móqis 'cheek', Yas. -móqot id.).

[Cf. Basq. \*moko 'face'.]

\*wěŋǻV 'head' (HGC 19):

PNC \*wěŋǻV > Chech. mara, Ing. mera-ž, Bac. marǻǾ 'nose'; Av. beṭér 'head', Kar. buḷa 'horn'; Tsez. buḷi, Gin. miḷu, Khv. maḷu, Bezht. moḷo, Gunz. moḷo 'beak', Inkh. maIḷu 'mouth, lip'; Lak. baḷ 'head'; Darg. beḷ id.; PL \*woḷu-l 'head' > Lezg. q̄il, Tab. ɤul, Ag. ɤil, Rut. uq̄ul, Tsakh. wuq̄ul, Kryz., Bud. q̄il, Ud. bul 'head', Arch. ḷil-li-ḷ 'under the head'; Khin. miḷir 'head'.

PST \*lūH > OC 首 \*sluʔ 'head'; Lush. lu 'head', Karen \*kIV(?) 'head', etc.

(?) Bur. \*-múltur 'nostril' (if < \*'nose, beak') > Hun., Nag. -múltur.

\*wěŋǻV 'joint, knee':

PNC \*wěŋǻV 'shin, haunch, knee' > Chech. mēžē, Ing. māže 'limb'; Av. mač:, Kar. mič:al 'thigh, haunch'; Tsez. bečni, Gin. bečnu 'knee', Bezht. mična 'shin', Gunz. mična 'knee, shin'; Lak. bači 'small paw'; Lezg. met (meṭi-) 'knee', Arch. bič-ni 'corner of a sack'.

Bur. \*mužó 'hand joint (Handgelenk)' > Hun., Nag. mužoó.

\*wēχU 'grass, reed':

PNC \*wēχU 'grass' > Tsez. biχ 'hay', Gin. beχ, Khv. baχ, Bezht. boχ, Gunz. bəχ 'grass; hay'; PWC \*χ<sup>w</sup>ə (~ \*χ<sup>w</sup>, \*χI<sup>w</sup>) > Abaz. ḥ<sup>w</sup>-ra 'grass', Kab. χ<sup>w</sup>ə-n 'meadow grass'.

PST \*wā 'cane, bamboo' > OC 蒲 \*bhā 'rush, reed'; Tib. s-pa, s-ba 'cane', Burm. wah 'bamboo', Kach. kəwa<sup>3</sup> 'bamboo', Lush. r-ua id., Kir. \*[ʔp]a id., etc.

\*wǻŋcǻ 'moon' (HGC 20, NSC 59, LV A27):

PNC \*wǻŋcǻ 'moon, month' > Chech., Ing., Bac. butt 'moon, month'; Av. moç: (par. C: moç:ró-l, móç:a-l), And. borç:i, Akhv. boç:o, Cham. boş, Tind. boc:u, Kar. borç:o, Bagv. boç: 'moon'; Tsez. buci, Gin. buce, Khv. buca, Bezht., Gunz. boco 'moon'; Lak. barz 'moon, month'; Darg. baz 'month', dial. bac: 'moon, month'; Lezg. warz, Tab., Ag., Rut., Tsakh. waz, Kryz. wāz, Bud. wəz, Arch. bac 'moon, month'; Khin. waç 'moon'; PWC \*mVza > Abkh. á-mza, Ab. mzə, Ad., Kab. māza, Ub. məzá 'moon, month'; see NCED 1044-1045.

PST > OC 月 \*ŋ<sup>w</sup>at 'moon'.

PY \*ʔV(?)suj > Ar. ešuj, išuj 'moon, month', Kott. šui id., Pump. tuj id. See CCE 204, Werner 2, 442

(?) Bur. \*(mu)jánun(s) 'menstruation' > Yas. muyánun, Hunza

-yánum, -yénum (pl. -yénumiśo), Nagār -yánum, -yénum (pl. -yénumiśo), yénas 'kerchief obtained as a present by the mother and brothers of the bride' (\*'menstrual kerchief'), Hunza, Nagār -yanukus 'menstruation'.

\*wāsté 'mountain, terrace' (BCD 11):

PNC \*wāice 'mountain' > Akhv. beča, Tind., Kar., Bagv. besa 'mountain'; PL \*siwa (with metathesis) ~ \*wica > Lezg. suw 'mountain' (poet.), Tab. siw, Ag. su, Tsakh. siwa, Ud. bu-ruχ 'mountain', Rut. siw 'mountain pass', Arch. sob 'mountain pasture'.

Bur. \*bac 'small terrace between mountains, grown with grass' > Yas., Hun., Nag. bac.

[Cf. Basq. \*baśo 'woods, forest, wilderness'.]

\*wHārāwə 'pig' (LDC 20, BCD 46):

PNC \*wHārāwə 'boar, pig' > Bac. buruχ 'pig, piglet'; Tsez. beλo, Gin. boλi, Bezht. büλö, Gunz. buλu 'boar, pig'; Lak. burχ id.; Lezg. wak, Ag. wak, Tsakh. wok, Kryz. wak, Bud. wək, Arch. boλχ, Ud. boq:I id.; PWC (with metathesis) \*Lawə > Ad. Law, Kab. Law(ə) 'pig'.

PST \*wāk 'pig' > Tib. phag, Burm. wak, Kach. waʔ?, Kir. \*ʔpək 'pig', Lush. vok 'domestic pig', etc.

[Cf. Basq. \*urde 'pig'.]

\*wHénxe (~ -a) 'udder; nipple':

PNC \*wHénxe (~ -a) 'udder' > Tsez., Khv. mexu, Gin. (with metathesis) ɰomo, Inkh. moxu 'udder'; Darg. burhe id.; PL (with metathesis) \*χ:lewa id. > Lezg. re-ɰü, Tab. χlaw, Ag. Xaw, Rut. χliw, Tsakh. χlu, Kryz. häwi, Bud. hawi, Ud. χlo.

PST \*nōH > OC 𐎢𐎠 \*noʔ 'nipple; milk, suckle'; Tib. nu to suck, nu-d, s-nu-n 'to suckle'; Burm. nəwʔ 'breast, milk', Lush. hnu-tē id., Kir. \*n[u] id., etc.

Bur. \*boŋ 'lower part of a hose; lower bound opening of a hose' > Hun., Nag. boŋ.

\*wHörāwVIV (~ \*b-) 'snake' (HGC 28, NSC 56, WFR 38, DCE 16):

PNC \*wHörāwVIV (~ \*b-) 'snake' > Chech. bōχal-la, Ing. bŋeχal 'snake'; Av. boróχ, And. berča, Akhv. beka (Tlis. belča, Tlond. bŋeka), Cham. beča, Tind., Bagv. beka, Kar., Botl. berka, God. berka 'snake, worm'; Tsez. bikori, Gin. bikore, Bezht. bekela, Gunz. begala 'snake'; Lak. dial. baIřalu 'snake'; Hurr. falə 'worm'.

PST \*rül (~ł) 'snake' > Tib. s-brul, Burm. mruj 'snake', Lush. rül 'snake; small caterpillar, worm', Kir. \*ral 'centipede', Mikir phu-rul 'snake' etc.

PY \*ʔurol (~ x-, -r) 'leech' > Ket. ulɓ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. urɔɓ<sup>5</sup>. See CCE 201, Werner 2, 331. The inner Yenisseian analysis suggests a compound \*xurɔ 'water' + \*jVʔra 'insect, bug' - which, as in many cases, is probably a folk etymology considering the external evidence; however, the irregular tone 5 (pointing to \*-ʔ-) may have indeed been induced by such a reanalysis.

Bur. \*(l)tul 'snake' > Yas. tul, Hunza, Nagar tol.

\*wHörV 'a k. of weed':

PNC \*wHörV (~ b-) 'a k. of thorny plant' > Inkh. boru 'thorn'; Lak. buIru 'thistle'.

Bur. \*búru 'a k. of thorny bush' > Yas. búru.

Cf. perhaps PST \*ruaj, \*rújH 'a k. of creepy plant' > OC 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 \*rujʔ 'creepers, lianes', Kach. ru<sup>3</sup> 'a vine, a creeper', (H) uroi 'full-grown bamboo', Lush. hruí 'a creeper', hruai 'a sp. of climbing plant'.

\*whō[s]wé 'deer' (differently in HGC 28):

PNC \*whīswe (~ -ʔ-, -ś-) 'mountain goat; deer' > Av., Cham. bis 'mountain goat'; Tsakh. wis, Arch. bos id., Rut. wasi 'female mountain goat'; PWC \*ś<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. á-ś<sup>v</sup>a-raχ, Ab. ś<sup>w</sup>a-raχ, Ad. śə-ħa, Kab. śə-ħ 'deer', Abaz. ś<sup>w</sup>ə-r 'game, wild animal', Ub. λa-ś<sup>w</sup>á 'hunting'.

PST \*ś(u)a 'deer' > Tib. śa, śwa 'a hart, a stag'; Burm. sah 'animal' (in compounds); Kach. śa-n 'deer', Lush. sa 'animal', Kir. \*sə 'antelope, deer', etc.

PY \*ʔas- (~x-) 'wild deer, wild animal' > Ket. aśśel<sup>6</sup>, pl. aśśen<sup>6</sup>; assan-o<sup>6</sup> 'to hunt (animals)'; Yug. atčɛ:hr<sup>4</sup>, pl. atčɛn<sup>5/6</sup>; Kott. ačánšɛ, g. -ša, pl. -šin "elk". See CCE 184. Ket and Yug reflect a compound \*ʔas-sērɛ (\*sērɛ 'deer'). In Kottish the word is formally analyzed as "the one being caught" (see \*čɔŋ- "catch"), but this is most probably a result of secondary contamination. The analysis of the Ket/Yug form as "God's deer" (Werner 1, 65) seems quite artificial.

\*wīnsĚ 'knife, sickle':

PNC \*wēnsĚ 'a cutting or chopping instrument' > Chech., Ing. mars 'sickle'; Av. nus, And., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. besun, Akhv. mešu, Cham. besū 'knife'; Tsez. bizo, Gin. bezo, Khv. bizo, Bezht. boza, Gunz. bozo 'hoe, pick'; Khin. waz 'knife'; PWC \*śa (~ ś-) > Abkh. á-sa (Bz.

á-śa), Ad. sa 'sabre', Kab. sa 'knife'.

Bur. \*bisár- > Yas., Hun., Nag. bisár-k- 'to harvest', Yas. bisárs, bisásç, Hun. bisárs, bicárs 'sickle (with teeth like a saw)'.

\*wiršwí 'place, land':

PNC \*wiršwí 'place' > Av. busén 'nest; bed', And. bešon, Cham. behā, Kar. berx<sup>w</sup>an, Botl. bešen etc. id.; Tsez. muži, Gin. muži, Khv. muža 'nest, bed' (Gin. also 'horse-cloth'), Bezht. mužo 'horse-cloth; floor', Gunz. miže 'floor'; Lak. ša-nu 'bed'; Darg. buruš id.; Khin. miš id.; PWC \*š<sup>w</sup>a (~ \*ś<sup>w</sup>a) > Ad. śa 'place' (arch.), Kab. -śa, Ub. -š<sup>w</sup>a 'suffix denoting place'.

Bur. \*bušái 'land, owned land' > Yas., Hun., Nag. bušái.

\*wīcV̄ 'grass' (HGC 21):

PNC \*wīcV̄ 'grass' > Chech., Ing., Bac. buc 'grass'; God. besi 'grass', Cham. besi-λ: 'green'; Arch. bis-ni 'burdock'; Ad. wəcə, Kab. wəʒ 'grass'.

PST \*chuāH 'grass' > OC 草 \*chū? 'grass'; Tib. r-cwa 'grass, herb, plant', Kir. \*s[u] 'weed', etc.

Bur. \*bus > Yas., Hun., Nag. bus 'sheaf (of grass, hay)', Nag. busójo 'handful (of grass)'.

\*wřfwV 'cattle' (different in BDC 7):

PNC \*wřfwV 'sheep, lamb; young of animals' > Chech. büh-ig, Ing. břij-g, Bac. boh 'kid'; Av. bařáj 'sheep', God. beha '1-year-old lamb'; Gin. boju, Gunz. buhi-do 'bull-calf'; Lak. bařa 'ram'; PL \*wiher (~ \*woher) > Lezg. her 'ram', Rut. wiřir 'ram (about 3 y. old)'.

PST \*wa > Tib. ba, Tsangla wa 'cow'.

Bur. \*biwá > Yas. biá, Hun. buá, Nag. buá 'cow'.

[Cf. Basq. \*behi 'cow'.]

\*wu (\*u) '2d person pronoun, thou':

PNC \*uō 'thou' > Chech., Ing., Bac. vaj 'we (incl.)'; Av. mu-n, And., Botl., God. mi-n, Akhv. me-ne, Cham. mī, Tind. me, Kar. me-n, Bagv. mē; Tsez., Bezht. mi, Gin. me, Khv. ma, Bezht. mi, Gunz. mə; Lak. wi- (obl. stem); Lezg., Ag. wu-n, Tab. uwu, Rut. wi, Tsakh. wu, Kryz., Bud. win, Arch., Ud. un; Khin. wi; Abkh. wa-rá, Ab. wa-ra, Ad., Kab. wa, Ub. wə-ɾ<sup>w</sup>á.

PY \*ʔaw (/ʔu) 'thou' > Ket. ū, Yug. u, Kott., Ar. au, Pump. úe. See CCE 185. Werner 2, 318 proposes an absolutely unacceptable reconstruction \*əg(ə) / \*ug(ə). All the above forms do not allow

reconstructing any medial consonant of any kind, and the 2d p. plural Ket.  $\bar{b}k(\eta)$ , Yug.  $\bar{b}k\eta$  /  $k\bar{b}k\eta$  has a quite different, suppletive origin (see \*kV- / \*ʔVk-).

Bur. \*u-n 'thou' > Yas., Hun., Nag. un.

\*wVfān̄kV 'a k. of plant, plantain':

PNC \*bVfān̄kV ( ~ \*w-, -m-) > Av. maśák 'plantain'; Bezht. bīki (dial. birki, birkili), Gunz. birki-li 'burdock'; Arch. muḡa 'sonchus, pastor's lettuce'.

PST \*ḡak 'plantain; banana' > Burm. ḡak 'banana', Kach. ḡaʔ, ləḡaʔ 'wild plantain', Kir. \*lè-ḡok-si 'banana'.

\*xānfī (-ǔ) 'water' (WFR 65, BCD 35; somewhat differently HGC 23):

PNC \*xānfī 'water' > Chech., Bac. χi, Ing. χij; Av. λ:im (par. C: λ:a-dá-l, λ:ína-l), And. λ:en, Akhv., Botl., God. λ:eni, Cham. λ:ī, Tind., Bagv. λ:ē, Kar. λ:ēji; Tsez. li, Gin. le, Khv. lā, Bezht. li, Gunz. lī; Lak. š:in; Darg. šin, Sirg. hin; PL \*λ:ān > Lezg. jad, Tab. šid, Ag. xed, Rut. xād, Tsakh. xan, Kryz. xād, Bud. xəd, Arch. λ:an, Ud. χe; Khin. xu; Hurr. šijə 'water, river'.

PST \*χǔ(-s) 'water, moisture' > Tib. hu-s 'moisture', khu-ba 'fluid, liquid', Kach. khoʔ 'to spill', Lush. huʔ 'wet', Kiranti \*kù 'water' etc.

PY \*ʔā(ʔ)ń ( ~ x-) 'wave' > Ket. āń-bək¹ 'wave'; Kott. en, ēn 'wave' (CCE 186, Werner 1, 267). In Ket cf. also anl̄s 'bay'.

Bur. \*han- in Hunza án-cil, Nagar hán-chil 'water from a wound; watery (tea, soup)' (chil 'water').

[Cf. Basq. \*u-hin 'wave'.]

\*xV (\*xVHV) 'what' (NSC 65):

PNC \*xV 'interrogative pronoun (who, what)' > Chech. (mū-)χa 'which', Bac. (wu-)χ 'what'; Av. λ:i- 'who (obl. stem)', And. λ:e-, Akhv. λ:o-, Cham., Botl., God. λ:e-, Tind., Kar., Bagv. λ:o- 'who (obl. stem)'; Tsez. li-nas, li-nar 'why', Gin., Khv. lu 'who', Gin. li-ni (erg.) 'what', Bezht. li-ni id., lō (erg.) 'who'; PL \*λ:i / \*λ:wi > Lezg. wu(-č), Tab. fu, Ag. fi 'what', Arch. λ:i- (erg.) 'who'; PWC \*xA > Ad., Kab. xa-t 'who', Ub. šə 'who'.

PST \*qhā- 'what, interrogative pronoun' > OC 何 \*ghāj 'what', 曷 \*ghāt 'what, where'; Tib. ga-ru 'whither', gaṅ 'who, which', ga-na, gaṅ-ṅa 'where'; Lush. ē-ṅ 'what'; Kir. \*he 'what', etc.

PY \*ʔaj ( ~ x-) 'interrogative stem' > Ket. aj 'why; what; how' (Castr. aj 'what'), Yug. aj 'why'. See Werner 1, 18. One is also tempted to compare



Ket  $\varepsilon\{k / \varepsilon k$ , Yug  $\varepsilon k$  'how, as; so as' (Werner 1, 228, 256) with a possible protoform  $*e\{x$ ; the forms Ket, Yug  $\{j$  in that case can be (with Ablaut) traced back to  $*\{a(\{)x-i$ .

[PNC also has a not very widely spread root  $*kwi$  'who, which', cf. Av.  $ki-b$  'where',  $kí-na-b$  'which', Lak.  $-k(u)-$  in  $cu-ku-n-$  'which',  $ci-k-$  'how many', Darg. Chir.  $ka-la$  'where', Arch.  $k^w i$  'who', Khin.  $k-la$  id. Part of the above Yenisseian and ST forms may in fact be cognate with this root.]

$*xw\{rV$  'vein' (WFR 15):

PNC  $*xw\{rV$  'sinew, vein' > Chech., Ing., Bac.  $p\{a$  'vein'; Av.  $rix$  'vein, blood vessel', And.  $ro\{an$  'string', Cham.  $*jix^w an > h\{h^w \{a$  id.; Lak.  $x:a$  (dial.  $x:^w a$ ) 'sinew, tendon; string'; PL  $*\lambda:^w ij$  ( $\sim -i-$ ) 'vein' in the comp.  $*\{a\lambda:^w ij > Lezg. i-vi$ , Tab.  $i-fi$  'blood'; Abkh.  $a-\{a-\chi^w \{a$  'marrow' ( $\{a$  'foot, leg'), Ad.  $fa$ , Kab.  $x^w a$ , Ub.  $xa$  'vein, blood vessel'.

PST  $*r-Kiw$  'sinew, fibre' > Tib.  $rgjus$  'fibres',  $rgju-d$  'to fasten on a string',  $rgju-d$  'string, cord',  $rgju-\eta$  'the nerves, sinews'; Burm.  $krawh$  'nerve, sinew, vein', Trung  $d\{a^3gru^2$  'sinew'.

(?) Bur.  $*hur > Yas., Hunza, Nagar hur$  'gutter, wooden water conduit'.

[Cf. Basq.  $*(h)e\{o$  'root'.]

$*xg\{lV$  'armpit; to tickle' (HGC 25, somewhat differently):

PNC  $*g\{lV$  'tickling' > Chech.  $gilg / gildig$ ; Av.  $g\{di / gidigidi$ ; Darg.  $gildi, gidgid$  'tickling'; Ad.  $L\{z\{a-$ , Kab.  $\{z\{L\{- / \{z\{L\{-$ , Ub.  $\{z\{L-$  'to tickle; feel ticklish'.

PST  $*kliH$  ( $*kVliH$ ) > Burm.  $k\{li?$  'to tickle',  $gjak-k\{li?$  'armpit', Lakher  $kili$  'tickle',  $ba-k\{li$  'armpit', Rawang  $khri$  'tickle' etc.

PY  $*q\{l-$  /  $*q\{l-$  'armpit; to tickle' > Ket.  $q\{lt\{n\{j^6$ , pl.  $q\{lt\{n\{j^5$  'armpit', (KPC, Werner 2, 143)  $q\{la\{s\{j$  'to tickle'; Yug.  $x\{l\{c\{a\{n^6 / x\{l\{c\{a\{n\{j^5,6$ , pl.  $x\{l\{c\{a\{n\{j^5$  'armpit',  $x\{l\{c\{a\{k\{n^5$  'to tickle' (see CCE 262; Werner 2, 101 - with a completely folk-etymological analysis ("cheek"+"heads"??)).

$*xguxg\{$  'cuckoo':

PNC  $*gugu / *k\{uku$  'cuckoo' > Bac.  $gugut\{$ ; Av.  $gag\{, g\{guk$ , And.  $gigu$ , Akhv.  $gegu$ , Cham.  $geg^w$ , Tind.  $g\{gu$ , Kar.  $gugu$ , God.  $gugu$ ; Tsez., Gin., Khv.  $kuku$ , Inkh.  $k\{uku$ , Bezht.  $kuku\{o$ , Gunz.  $k\{uku\{o$ ; Lak.  $\{ik:u$ ; Darg.  $gegut$ ; Lezg.  $k:uk:u\{$ , Tab.  $k:uk:um$ , Ag.  $k:ek:u$ , Rut.  $gigu$ , Tsakh.  $guk:i / guk:i$ , Kryz.  $gugu$ , Bud.  $gugut\{$ , Arch.  $gik:u$ ; Khin.  $k:ok:u / k:ak:u$ ; PWC  $*k^w \{k^w \{a > Abkh. a-k^w \{k^w$ , Abaz.  $k^w \{k^w a$ , Ad.  $k^w \{k^w \{w$ , Kab.

čə-g<sup>w</sup>əwg<sup>w</sup>, Ub. ɣ<sup>w</sup>əg<sup>w</sup>.

PY \*qo(?)q(up)- 'cuckoo' > Ket. qəpqu<sup>5</sup>, South. qəpqu<sup>5</sup>; Yug. χəχpɪn<sup>5,6</sup>; Kott. kukūka. See CCE 263, Werner 2, 111.

[\\*xgw\[ɛ\]rdV](#) 'a k. of predator':

PNC \*gwērdV 'a beast or bird of prey' > Chech. kūra, Ing. ker, Bac. kujr 'hawk'; Av. (ʃan-)gur 'hyena'; Darg. gurda 'fox'; Lezg. k:ard, Rut. g<sup>w</sup>ad 'falcon', Arch. g<sup>w</sup>et:u-b 'hawk'; Khin. gra 'wolf'. Derivation from \*gwētV-rV '(hunting for) fowl' in NCED is probably folk-etymological - primarily because of a uniform reflex of \*-d-, not \*-t- in this root. However, the meanings 'hawk, falcon', as well as the vowel length (that does not correspond to PY shortness) could indeed have been induced by analogy with \*gwāṭa 'hen'.

PY \*qite (~ χ-) 'wolf' > Ket. qīt, Kur. qīti<sup>1</sup>; Yug. xīt // xit; Ar. kūt, kot; Pump. xótu. See CCE 260, Werner 2, 155.

[\\*xgwěrdwV̄](#) 'a k. of cloth':

PNC \*gwīrdwV (~ -ř-) > Chech., Ing. keta-r 'fur-coat, sheepskin coat', Bac. kati-b 'upper clothes'; Av. gordé 'shirt', And. gurdo, Kar. gordi 'dress'; Tsez. ged, Khv. gud, Inkh. gis 'shirt'; Lak. k:urt:u 'quilted jacket, caftan'; Darg. Muir. gurdi 'dress', Chir. k:urt:e 'shirt'; Tab., Ag. k:urt:, Tsakh. gurt 'shirt'.

PST \*k[ā]t (~ q-) 'a k. of cloth, garment' > OC 髡 \*gāt 'felt', 褐 \*gāt 'hair cloth, coarse cloth'; Tib. khud 'coat-lap, or any cloth serving in an emergency as a vessel; pocket, pouch'; Kach. kat<sup>2</sup> 'be close-fitting, tight, as a garment'.

PY \*χəʔt(ɪrɪ) 'cloth, felt' > Ket. qətl<sup>5</sup>, Yug. xətɪr<sup>5</sup> 'cloth', Kott. hatal 'felt', Ar. qot (M, Cλ, Kλ), kot (Лock) 'trousers'. See CCE 305, Werner 2, 119.

Bur. \*gaṭú 'clothes' > Yas., Hun., Nag. gaṭú.

[\\*xGěbV](#) 'leg' (somewhat differently in HGC 24, NSC 57):

PNC \*GěbV (~ \*ɣ-, -w-) > Cham. ɣab 'foot'; Gin. hobo 'leg', Bezht. χäbä 'foot'.

PST \*k(h)ap 'fork of legs' > Lush. kap, Dimasa ya-khāp.

PY \*qoʔp (~χ-, -ɔ-) 'part of leg' > Ket. qəpku<sup>6</sup>, pl. -n<sup>5</sup> 'calves of legs' (Werner 2, 110: qəpqu), Yug. χəʔp, pl. χəʔɪn 'sole'; Pump. hep (= χep) 'trousers' (Cλ). See CCE 261. In HGC 24 the Ket and Yug forms are separated; but phonetically they are quite identical (the component -ku or -qu in Ket is unclear, though). The relationship to \*qobžV 'palm of hand' is

not quite clear, although the latter may have influenced the meaning in Yug.

[Possibly a contamination of two different roots, which would explain some phonetic irregularities. For the second root cf. PST \*g[ū]p 'knee' > OC 韃 \*kōp, \*krōp 'knee-cover', Kach. ləkhap<sup>2</sup> 'the hamstring; the inside of the bend of the knee'; Lush. khūp 'knee'.]

\*xGěrkwé (~-a) 'skin':

PNC \*Gěrkwe (~-a) 'skin, sheepskin' > Chech., Ing. qaqa 'sheepskin', Bac. qaqā 'skin'; Lezg. dial. q:ark 'nut-shell', Ag. q:ark 'bark', Tsakh. ɤek<sup>w</sup>a 'skin'.

PST \*gh<sup>w</sup>āk 'skin, leather' > OC 鞞 \*kh<sup>w</sup>āk 'leather'; Tib. kog, s-kog, s-kog-s 'shell, peel, rind'; Burm. khauk 'bark of a tree'; Lush. khok 'to peel off'; Lepcha kok 'the outer part of bamboo', etc.

Bur. \*qhork 'chaff' > Yas. xork, Hun., Nag. qhurk.

[There may be contaminations with yet another root, cf. OC 革 \*krāk 'hide (of animals)', PEC \*qěrVq̄wV 'coat, coat of mail'.]

\*xGéxGV 'dry':

PNC \*GwiGwĀr > Tind., God., Cham. =eǵ:uǵ:- 'to dry up'; PTs \*qoqV- 'dry' (Tsez. quqqä-, Khv. quqqa, Bezht. qoqo-ro, Gunz. qoqo-ru); Lak. q̄a-q̄- 'dry'. Within NC these forms appear to be reduplications of \*-iGwĀr- 'dry' (q.v.).

PST \*g(h)jāk 'dry; coated, caked' > OC 涸 \*gāk 'to become dry'; Tib. khjag(s) 'frozen, ice'; Lush. khāk 'be caked, coated; be hard or caked together (as earth)'; Lepcha kak 'to be costive, to be bound (bowels); to be overcooked'; Limbu khāk-ma? 'to harden, solidify', etc.

PY \*qV[(?)G]i- 'dry' (in Ket and Yug also with a prefixed tǝ-) > Ket. tōjin<sup>1</sup>, South. tǝrain<sup>5</sup> 'dry'; Yug. tǝxǝin / tǝxǝin; xo- in xoban<sup>1</sup>, pl. -in<sup>1</sup> 'dry place' > 'shallow place'; Kott. xújga (M., Cl., Kl.); Ass. xújga (M., Cl., Kl.), huj-tu (Kl.) 'dry'; Ar. qoija (M., Cl., Kl.) 'dry'; Pump. ič-kój-ŋa 'dry'. See CCE 265, Werner 2, 283. The same root can be probably discovered in \*qǝ(?)Ga-nte 'hunger' (cf. the Burushaski form for semantics) > Ket. qǝ:t (Castr. qǝbat), Yug. xǝxat, Kott. kajante; Ass. kajauinan, kajajnan 'hungry'; Ar. qogāt 'hungry', (Lock.) kogodinko 'hunger'. See a discussion in KC 166 (where with some doubt PY \*Gǝ[G]ant- is reconstructed on the basis of the Kott. form); Werner 2, 125.

Bur. \*qaq- > Yas. qaq- 'dry; hungry', Hun., Nag. qaq 'hungry'.

[The consonant in this root is the same as in \*=ixGĀr- 'dry' q.v.;

however, there are no traces of \*r, and regarding it as a pure reduplication of \*=ixGĀr is too difficult.]

\*xGHwVĪV 'crow, jackdaw':

PNC \*GHwVĪV > Av. *ʁálo* 'jackdaw', Cham. *ʁola* 'partridge'; Darg. Chir. \*q:ulq:a 'crow'; Ad. q:ʷaLa-ž 'crow', Kab. q:ʷaLa-bzuw 'wild birds (generic)', Ub. qIaLa 'jackdaw'.

PY \*kila 'crow' > Ket. *kīl*<sup>1</sup>, Yug. *kil*<sup>1</sup>, Kott. *hīla* (CCE 239, Werner 1, 482).

[PY shortness is irregular.]

\*xGHwVñĀ 'joint, shoulderblade' (HGC 26, WFR 57, LV B23):

PNC \*nHwGĀ / \*GHwñĀ 'arm, shoulder; armpit' > Bezht. *nuq-uĀ*, Gunz. *nuq*, *nuq-iĀ* 'armpit'; Darg. *naIq*: 'hand, arm'; Lezg. *q:ün*, Tab. *ʁIun*, Ag. *Run*, Rut. *ʁIun*, Kryz *qunä*, Arch. *qIun* 'shoulder'; Ub. *nəqI* 'armpit'. See NCED 853.

PST: OC 肩 \*kēn 'shoulder'.

PY \*ke(?)n- 'shoulder joint' > Ket. *kēn-tə-bul*<sup>5</sup> id.; Kott. *hēnar*, *hinar* 'shoulder', Ar. *qinaŋ*, *xinaŋ*, *xin* 'arm, shoulder'. See CCE 236; Werner 1, 419 (besides quoting the reconstruction \*ken-, the latter author compares Ket *kēn-* to *kēŋ* 'wings', the plural form of *kεʔj* - which, however, has a PY \*g- and has nothing to do with the present root; see \*geʔj).

\*xG(w)anxV 'body':

PNC \*GanxV 'carcass' > Lak. *χ:anχ:a* 'body, carcass'; Lezg. *q:aχ* Tab. *ʁaχ*, Kryz. *q:äχ*, Bud. *q:aχ* 'dried carcass'.

PST \*k(h)ōŋ 'body' > Burm. *kaŋ* 'vody', Kach. *goŋ*<sup>2</sup> 'the physical body', Lush. *kōŋ* 'the loins', Lepcha *koŋ* 'the body of slaughtered animals', etc.

PY \*qaχal (~ -g-, -k-) 'bone' > Kott. *qagal*, *xagal*, *xakal* (Werner 2, 60).

Bur. \*khaŋór 'carcass, body with intestines extracted' > Yas. *khōŋgor*, Hun., Nag. *khaŋór*, *khunró*.

\*xGwəntV 'hill, mound':

PNC \*GwəntV 'mound, hill' > Lak. *q:unt* 'mound, hillock'; Lezg. *q:unt* 'barrow, mound'; Hurr. *qund-arə* 'mountain, abode of gods'.

PST \*k(h)ōn (~ -ū-) 'hill, ridge' > Burm. *kunh* 'hill, saddle of a hill', Lush. *kōn* 'saddle of a hill'.

PY \*kət- ( ~ g-, -c-, -č-) 'tussock' > Ket. kət-peś<sup>5</sup>. Cf. a similarly structured Yug fariη<sup>5</sup> fi:š<sup>5</sup> "tussock" (where the second part probably reflects PY \*pī-s- 'bent, crooked, bend'). Selk. kotpas "hill" (see Хелимский KC 241), therefore, is most probably < Ket. See Werner 1, 470 (with many doubts, but no different solution).

\*xGwǎlʔi 'hole, pit':

PNC \*Gwǎlʔi 'hole, burrow' > Ing. qor-g 'burrow'; Av. q:or 'wolf-hole', Akhv. q:oro 'burrow', Cham. q:uru 'hut', Tind. q:ara-ʔi 'dug-out'; Tsez. boç-aqu 'trap, pitfall' (boç 'wolf'), Gin., Khv. oqru 'cave, cavern'; Lezg. q:ul 'hearth', Tab. kul 'village', Ag. kul 'wall-niche, nest', Rut. kul 'hole, window', Tsakh. kul, Ud. kul 'window'; Abkh. á-ʔwa-ra, Ab. ʔwa-ra, Ad. ʔwə, Kab., Ub. ʔwa 'hole, burrow'.

PST \*ghuar(H) 'hole' > OC 巖 \*kh<sup>w</sup>ārʔ 'hole, opening', 科 \*kh<sup>w</sup>ār (\*kh<sup>w</sup>āj ?) 'hollow of a tree trunk; hollow, cavity'; Kach. nkhuŋ<sup>1</sup> 'hole, opening', Lush. khur, khuar 'hole, pit, cavity', etc.

PY \*kiʔl ( ~ g-, -r) 'a pit (with a gathering of fish)' > Ket. kiʔl, Yug. kiʔl (CCE 239, Werner 1, 481).

\*xGwV 'thou' (HGC 22, DCE 35):

PNC \*ɣwV̄ 'thou' (oblique base) > Chech., Ing., Bac. ho 'thou'; Darg. hu 'thou'; Rut. dial. ku, Tsakh. ku (interchanging with wu), gen. jik-na, jiki-n, Ud. (Nidzh) hu-n 'thou'; Khin. oχ 'thee' (dative).

PST \*K<sup>w</sup>a- > Tib. khji-d, khjo-d 'thou, you'; Burm. kwaj 'you', kha-ŋ 'thou'; Lepcha hó 'thou'; Gur. \*kjàŋ<sup>1</sup> id.

PY \*kV- / \*ʔVk- (~g-, -g-) 'your (attr.); morpheme of the 2d person' > Ket. ūk / uk (South.), North. ūk 'your'; k- / ku- 'morpheme of the 2d p. sing. in the verb', kəŋ- 'morpheme of the 2d plur. in the verb', ɛk, ɛkŋ 'you' (plur.); Yug. uk 'your'; k- / ku- 'morpheme of the 2d sing. in the verb', kəŋ- 'morpheme of the 2d plur. in the verb', ɛkŋ / kɛkŋ 'you' (plur.); Pump. ajaŋ 'you' (= Ket. ɛkŋ). See CCE 242, Werner 2, 327 \*ukə (on his faulty attribution of \*ʔVk- to \*ʔaw 'thou' see under \*ʔaw). On Kott. auoŋ, Ar. aŋ 'you' see KC 206 (these forms can reflect \*ʔək(ə)ŋ, but they may as well reflect a new formation \*ʔawVŋ from \*ʔaw 'thou' q.v.).

Bur. \*gu- / \*go- 'thou, thine (oblique forms)' > Yas., Hun., Nag. gu- / go-.

[PNC \*ɣwV probably < \*GwV in an auxiliary morpheme.

Cf. Basq. \*hi 'thou'.]

\*xGwǞlá 'wild goat' (LV B11, LDC 21):

PNC \*GwǞlá 'doe, hornless goat' > Chech., Ing. *ɤala* 'doe'; Av. *ɤ<sup>w</sup>alá* 'hornless goat' (par. B: *ɤ<sup>w</sup>alá-dul*, *ɤul-bí*), Akhv. *ɤoli*, Kar. *ɤ<sup>w</sup>ala* id.; Gin. *ɤ<sup>w</sup>il*, Gunz. *ɤel* 'doe'; see NCED 465.

PST \*k(h)Ǟ 'goat' > Tib. *skjin* 'wild mountain goat', Kach. *təkhjen*, Lush. *kəl* 'goat'.

Bur. \*kil > Hunza, Nagar *kil* 'mountain goat'.

[The root structure in ST is exceptional: one would rather expect \*k(h)Ǟ.]

\*xGVwǞ 'to cover' (differently in HGC 37):

PNC \*GawǞ 'roof, ceiling' > Lezg. *q:aw* 'roof, thatch, ceiling', Tab. *ɤ<sup>w</sup>a-Ǟ* 'roof, ceiling', Ag. *ɤu-j*, Rut. *q:aw* 'roof', Kryz. *q:aw* 'bridge', Ud. *uǞl* 'garret, shed'; Khin. *q:uw* 'ceiling'.

PST \*gō 'to cover' > OC 拘 \*kō 'to cover'; Burm. *khəw* 'take shelter (in a shade)'; Lush. *khu?* 'to cover, hide'.

PY \*Ǟəq- 'to cover; covering, upper part' > Ket. *dogebit* (Donn.) 'cover'; (Werner 2, 417-418) *ɛ:t-bet* 'to cover', *ɛ:t<sup>3</sup>* 'upon, on'; Yug. *ɛχat* 'upon, on' (Werner 2, 418); Kott. *Ǟ-agei* "to cover"; *Ǟgōttan* "to be covered", praet. *Ǟgōāttan*, imp. *Ǟgeä*. See CCE 203. Ket and Yug data in Werner 2, 417-418 allow to make the reconstruction more precise: instead of \*ǞVK- we can now reconstruct \*Ǟəq-. However, the reconstruction <\*Ǟqət> proposed by Werner is valid only for Ket and Yug: Kottish forms (*Ǟagei*, imp. *Ǟgeä*) clearly show that \*-t is a suffixed morpheme. Note that Werner presents a "double" etymology: elsewhere (1, 220) he compares the Kottish verb to Ket *Ǟaktej* 'close one's eyes' and reconstructs \*Ǟak- - hardly convincing and incompatible with the reconstruction \*Ǟqət in 2, 418.

\*xkērǞ 'grass, shrub':

PNC \*χērǞ 'grass' > Av. *χ:er* 'grass, hay'; Bezht. *hiχo*, Tlad. *riχo* 'grass' (with metathesis); Lak. *χ:ara* 'thick stalk of herbaceous plants'; Lezg. *χir* 'rice field', Tab., Ag. *χIar* 'meadow'.

PST \*k-rǞ 'a k. of rush or shrub' > OC 葭 \*krǞ 'rush, sedge', 苳 \*grǞ-s 'rush'; Tib. *gra-ma* 'a tree or shrub, probably the Tibetan *furze*, Caragana *versicolor*'; Burm. *kra* 'bamboo', Kach. *ləkhra<sup>3</sup>* 'a variety of bamboo'.

(?) Bur. \*haré > Yas. *haré*, Hunza, Nagar *harí* 'barley'.

\*xkǞmǞ 'to change, exchange'

PST \*χǞmǞ / \*χǞmǞ 'to change' > Chech. *χǞc-*, Ing. *χuwc-* 'to

change'; Av.  $\chi$ is- 'to change'; Tsez.  $\chi$ iš-, Gin.  $\chi$ is-, Khv.  $\chi$ iž-, Bezht.  $\chi$ üž-, Gunz.  $\chi$ iž- 'to change'; (?) Khin. šis= $\chi$ -<sup>w</sup>i id.; Abaz.  $\dot{h}$ <sup>w</sup>až-, Ad.  $\chi$ <sup>w</sup>ažə-, Kab.  $\chi$ <sup>w</sup>ažə- 'to change'.

PST \*kham ( ~ \*g(h)-) 'to accept, take; to give, distribute' > Tib. āgrem(s) 'to put or lay down in order; to spread out'; Burm. kamh 'to accept, take, receive; to give, distribute'; kham 'to get, obtain'; Kach. kham 'to accept, take, receive', əgam 'to give gratuitously'.

PY \*qōs- ( ~ \*χ-) 'to take' > Ket. qóś<sup>4</sup>, Sur. qó:hśe<sup>4</sup> 'take, catch' (Werner 2, 115); Yug. kaibo- $\nu$ oas 'take' (Castr.),  $\chi$ ó:hś<sup>4</sup> (Werner 2, 115). See notes to \*=ācVŋ-.

Bur. \*may- ( < \*hmay-) > Hunza, Nagar -may- 'to exchange', Yas. máo, Hunza, Nagar máyo 'fine'.

\* $\chi$ kīwχV 'onion' (HGC 29):

PNC \* $\chi$ ēwχV 'onion' > Chech., Ing.  $\chi$ oχ; Gin. hohu, Bezht.  $\chi$ ako, Gunz.  $\chi$ o $\nu$ .

PST \*kīwH 'onion' > OC 𐌿𐌿 \*k(r)u? 'Allium, leek, onion'; Tib. sko-ce 'a k. of wild onion'; Kach. šəkau<sup>1</sup> 'an onion'.

\* $\chi$ kól?V ( ~ \* $\chi$ kwīl?V) 'male':

PNC \* $\chi$ ōl?V ( ~ -l-) 'male' > Akhv.  $\chi$ :e-we (plur.  $\chi$ :er-a) 'husband'; Khv., Inkh.  $\chi$ ol 'husband'; Lezg.  $\nu$ il 'husband', Rut. mi- $\chi$ lil 'young he-goat', Tsakh. mi- $\chi$ liwa id., Arch.  $\chi$ :lili 'bull-calf', (with metathesis) Kryz. lāh, Bud. leh / leŋ 'calf'; PWC \* $\chi$ <sup>w</sup>ə > Abkh. a- $\dot{h}$ <sup>w</sup>ə-s, Abaz.  $\dot{h}$ <sup>w</sup>ə-s 'calf, bull-calf', Ad., Kab., Ub.  $\chi$ <sup>w</sup>ə 'male'.

PY \*qī?līŋ ( ~  $\chi$ -, -r-) > Ket. qīlīŋ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. xīlīŋ<sup>5</sup> 'amoral, adulterous'. See CCE 260, Werner 2, 150.

Bur. \*wal > Yas. wal 'male (of unedible animals)'.

\* $\chi$ kVrV 'far; to become far, abandon, leave':

PNC \*=ārχV ( < \*=ā- $\chi$ VrV) 'far' > Bezht. ç-iχo, Gunz. ç-iχu; Lak. arχ-; Darg. Chir. b-arχ-le; Lezg. jar $\nu$ al, Tab. jarχla, Ag. warχa. Rut.  $\chi$ iri-di; Kryz. juχ-ta, Bud. jiχ-ta, Arch. aχ, Ud. aχlil.

PST \*Kjar 'to leave, abandon' >? Tib. ā-gjer 'to quit, abandon', Burm. kjan 'to stay, be left', khjan 'to leave', Rawang gar 'leave, quit, abandon', etc.

[Cf. Basq. \*huřu- 'far'.]

\* $\chi$ kVrV ( ~ xg-, xk-) 'crow':

PST \*k[r]i ( ~ -e(j)) > Burm. kjih 'crow'; Kach. siŋ-kri 'a sp. of

blackbird'; Lepcha *tŭŋ-kí* 'sparrow-hawk'.

PY \*qorVT ( ~ χ-) 'crow' > Ket. *qólet*<sup>6</sup>, Ar. *karteja* (in CCE reconstructed as \*korVT based on the earlier incorrect Ket recording; Werner 2, 100).

\*xkVwV ( ~ -j-) 'a large predator':

PST \*kej ( ~ -ə-) 'leopard, tiger' > Burm. *khjj-saé* 'leopard cat'; Kach. *khaŋ<sup>1</sup>-khji<sup>2</sup>* 'leopard'; Lush. *kei, sa-kei* 'tiger, leopard', Kir. \*ke-ba 'tiger', etc.

PY \*qVwi ( ~ χ-, \*q/χōjV) 'bear' > Ket. *qəj<sup>4</sup>* (South.), North. *qəjə<sup>4</sup> / qəjə<sup>4</sup>*, Kur. *qəji<sup>4</sup>*; pl. *qōn*; "bear's lair": *qəjə<sup>6</sup>*, pl. *qəjə<sup>5</sup>*, Kur. *qəjə:ə<sup>4</sup>*, pl. *qəjəə<sup>5</sup>*; Yug. *xə:hj*, pl. *xon*; "bear's lair": *xə:hjə<sup>4</sup>*, pl. *-n<sup>4</sup>*; (?) Ar. *kibā* (Стр.), (М., Сл., Кл.) *qip*, (Локк.) *kip*. See CCE 266. Werner 2, 90 identifies the Arin word with the Ket taboo-word for "bear" (Ket. *qīp*, Yug. *xep* "grandfather" > "bear"; see under \*χ[e]ʔ), and reconstructs \*qoʔəjə [would be \*qōjV in our reconstruction], which is also possible.

\*xkwōrkV 'tree, forest' (LDC 23):

PNC \*χwīrkV > Av. *hirk* 'acorn'; Rut. *χuk* 'tree', Arch. *χ:wak* 'forest'.

PST \*kuk > Burm. *kəuk* 'young shoots', Kach. *məku<sup>3</sup>* 'a shoot, twig'.

PY \*qoʔK(V)ŋ ( ~ χ-) 'pine forest' > Ket. *qəkŋ<sup>5</sup>*, Yug. *χəkŋ<sup>5</sup>* (CCE 262, Werner 2, 96).

Bur. *húkar* 'tamarisk' > Yas. *húkar, hukár*, Hunza *húkar(a)*, Nagar *húkar*.

\*xkărV 'black; coals':

PNC \*kărV > Chech. *qora*, Ing., Bac. *qor* 'coal'; Lak. *qalaš* ( < \*kăr-š:al) 'charcoal'; Tab. *qaru*, Ag. *qare-f*, Tsakh. *qari-n* 'black' (Ag. *qare-šum*, Rut. *qāšen*, Kryz. *qāšin*, Bud. *qəšil* 'coal'); PAK \*qə-, \*ka- > Ad. *š<sup>w</sup>ə-n-čə*, Kab. *čə-f* 'dark', Ad. *pčə-b<sup>w</sup>ā-sa*, Kab. *čāb<sup>w</sup>ā(sa)* 'soot'.

PY \*qorVn- ( ~ χ-, -ɔ-, -l-) 'ashes' > Ket. *qóln<sup>6</sup>* (CCE 263, Werner 2, 101).

\*xkhəłčV ( ~ -f-) 'genitalia' (DCE 8):

PNC \*kəłčV ( ~ -f-, -č-) 'hole; vulva' > Av. dial. *kórču* 'hole', Akhv. *qəčo* 'vulva'; Tsez. *kič*, Gunz. *koč* 'hole, burrow', Bezht. *kəčö* 'window'; Tsakh. *qəčani* 'clitoris', Arch. *qəča* 'penis (of a boy)'.

PY \*gVns- ( ~ G-) > Kott. *kančal* 'testiculi', Pump. *kutte* 'penis'. See



CCE 230, Werner 1, 456 (doubting the match "wegen phonetischen Unterschiedes" - although correspondences are quite regular).

Bur. \*qhas- > Yas. -xásan 'female genitalia', Nag. -qhásin 'ass, buttocks'.

\*xkhíwri 'bark' (somewhat different in HGC 17, NSC 55):

PNC \*k̥hə(w)ri (~ -ɬ-) 'bark, skin' > Av. k̥:or 'lock, tuft (of hair, nap); Lak. k:iri 'bark, shell'; Lezg. k:ar, Ag. gar 'sore, scab', Tab. gar 'shell'; Khin. kir 'skin, hide'.

PST \*k(h)ur (~ -o-) > Bodo-Garo \*guʔr / \*ku(ʔ)r, Tangkul a-kor, Puiron gor, Nocte akhuon 'bark'. There is also a less regular (with accent shift?) variant \*khrəw (~ gh-, qh-, Gh-) 'shell, bark'.

PY \*χiʔw- 'birch bark' > Ket. qiʔj, Yug. χiʔj, Kott. hīpal. See CCE 301, Werner 2, 153 (where the Kott. word is erroneously segmented as \*hij + pal; the component pal remains uninterpreted).

Bur. \*qharán > Yas. xarán 'sheepskin; afterbirth'.

\*xkəlčwí 'forelock, horn(s)':

PNC \*k̥əlčwi 'forelock, plait; horn' > Chech., Ing. k̥už 'forelock, tuft of hair', Bac. k̥uč 'id.; mountain top'; Cham. k̥oʒul, Tind. k̥uči 'forelock'; Tab. k̥arč 'plait, woman's hair; horn', Lezg. karč, Ag. k̥arč, Rut. kač, Tsakh. gač, Kryz. k̥äč, Bud. k̥ərč 'horn'.

(?) PST \*khäj 'horn, a pair of horns' > OC 𑌕 khaj 'one horn turning up and one down'; Lush. ki, Naga \*kV, Tujia khie¹ 'horn'.

Bur. \*yuy 'hair' > Yas. -yójan, Hun., Nag. yuján, Nag. thó-yuy 'hair of newborn child'.

\*xkəwíV 'ravine, river':

PNC \*k̥iwíV 'gorge, ravine' > Chech. gul 'mountain ridge'; Av. k̥:al (par. C: k̥:alál, k̥:álal), Akhv. k̥:wā, Cham., Kar. k̥:al, Tind. k̥:al, Bagv. k̥al 'ravine'; Abkh. a-k̥'á-ra 'small river', Abaz. k̥'w-a-rə 'ravine'.

PST \*khāl (~ gh-) > OC 𑌕 \*ghāj 'river', Tib. rgal 'a ford', rgal 'to ford (a river), to step over', Kach. ukhan² 'a ford', Lush. kal 'walk, go', Lepcha krul (< \*r-kul?) 'the bed of river or course of mountain, the divisions of land or country'.

PY \*qoʔl (~χ-, -r) 'river (Подкаменная Тунгуска); bay, backwater' > Ket. qoʔl "Подкаменная Тунгуска", qoʔl, pl. qoʔlín⁵, Kur. qo:li⁴; South. qoʔl⁴ "bay, backwater"; Yug. xoʔl "Подкаменная Тунгуска"; xoʔl, pl. xo:í "bay, backwater". See CCE 260, Werner 2, 122 (doubts the relationship of the

river name and the word for "bay", but gives no reasons).

[A rather complicated case because of a possible interaction of several similar roots: in NC cf. also \* $\gamma a\check{V}$  'step, ford', \* $\check{k}a\check{h}V$  'lake'. The ST length appears to be irregular: but in fact OC \* $ghaj$  may be alternatively compared with Lush. *kai* 'to cross over (as a river)' < PST \* $khaj$ , so the PST root in question could have actually been \* $khäl$  - favoured by Lush. *kal*.]

\* $xkwěfV$  'palate, cheek' (WFR 30):

PNC \* $hkwěfV$  'palate; mouth' > Chech. *lag* 'front part of neck', Ing. *lak* 'throat'; Av. *ḡal* 'mouth', And. *ḡol* 'mouth; hole', Akhv. *ḡoli* (Tseg. *ḡ<sup>w</sup>ela*) 'neck, throat' ; Darg. *ḡaw* 'palate'; (with metathesis) Ag. *leḡ-men*, Rut. *läḡ<sup>w</sup>a* 'palate'.

PST \**Kal* 'jaw, cheek' > Tib. *m-gal* 'jaw', Magari *gal* 'cheek', Sunwar *kuḷ*, Tulung *käl* 'face'.

PY \* $\chi ol$  'cheek' > Ket. *qol<sup>1</sup>-et*, Yug. *xol-at<sup>6</sup>*, Kott. *hol*, Ar. *bi-qol<sup>oḡ</sup>* (pl.). (CCE 302, Werner 2, 100-101).

[The ST root structure is irregular: \**Kla* would be expected.]

\* $xkwenV$  'bone, cartilage':

PNC \* $k(w)inV$  'small bone' > Lak. *ḡunu* 'lot'; Lezg. dial. *ḡunuḡ* 'ankle', Rut. *ḡuni* 'knuckle-bone', Tsakh. *ḡunu id.*, Kryz *ḡ<sup>w</sup>ani* 'hip, hip-bone'; Ad. *ḡan*, Kab. *ḡan* 'knuckle-bone'.

(?) PST \* $kh<sup>w</sup>än$  (~  $gh<sup>w</sup>-$ ,  $qh<sup>w</sup>-$ ) 'bond, stake' > OC 券 \* $kh<sup>w</sup>ans$  'bond, deed, consisting of two halves (wooden parts)'; Tib. *rgjan* 'a stake or pledge at play'; Burm. *khwan* 'taxes'.

PY \* $qōñ-$  (~  $\chi-$ ,  $-ḡ-$ ) 'cartilage' > Ket. *qñ<sup>4</sup>* (South.), Kur. *qñi<sup>4</sup> / qñi<sup>4</sup>*, Bak., Sur. *qñ<sup>4</sup> / qñ<sup>4</sup>*; Yug. *xo<sup>h</sup>ñ* (CCE 264, Werner 2, 106).

\* $xkwǎnhV$  'fog, mist' (HGC 30, NSC 56, LDC 26):

PNC \* $k<sup>w</sup>ǎmhV$  (~  $-f-$ ) 'cloud, fog' > Chech., Ing. *tḡow* 'rain mixed with snow'; Tsez., Gin. *qema* 'rain', Khv. *qema*, Bezht. *qimaro* 'clouds'; PL \* $k:om:ol$  > Tsakh. *gumiḷ* 'cloud', Rut. *ḡibil* 'cloud; rheumatism', Lezg. *kp:ul* 'rheumatism'; PWC (with metathesis) > Abkh. *á-naḡ<sup>w</sup>a* 'fog'.

PY \* $qo(?)ḡ$  (~  $\chi-$ ) > Yug. (Castr.) *ḡoaḡ* 'fog' (see CCE 261, Werner 2, 390).

[Cf. Basq. \**kain* 'fog, mist, large storm clouds'.]

\* $xkwVñV$  'fir-tree branch':

PNC \* $k<sup>w</sup>VñV$  'mastix, tar' > Av. dial. *ḡ<sup>w</sup>eni* 'fir-tree'; Gin. *ḡlone*

'pine tar'; Hurr. kanagi 'mastix (tree)'.

PST \*kūṅ 'tree, branch' > Burm. kəuṅh 'tree branch', Kach. ləkun<sup>2</sup> 'branch', Lush. kūṅ 'tree, plant', Lepcha kuṅ 'tree', kón 'to branch out'.

PY \*qoʔn- (~ χ-, -ɔ-) 'fir branches' > Ket. qoneṅ<sup>5</sup>, Kott. xoniṅ<sup>5</sup> 'fir branches', Pump. koṅoṅho 'fir-tree' (CCE 262-263, Werner 1, 441, 2, 106).

Bur. \*qiṅ > Hunza qiṅ 'large dry juniper stem'.

[\\*xkwVṅʔV̄](#) 'bow; handle':

PNC \*kūnʔV 'handle; crossbeam' > Chech., Ing. kaj 'handle (of a cauldron, bucket)'; Lak. ɣulj 'handle'; Arch. ɣon 'handle', Kryz. Al. ɣina 'crossbeam, stick', Kryz. ɣinā, Bud. ɣinā 'wood, firewood'; Khin. ɣana 'pole'; PWC \*k(ʷ)ə 'handle' > Ad. ɕə, Kab. ɕə, Ub. kʷə.

PST \*kʷṅ 'bow; to shoot (from a bow)' > OC 弓 \*kʷəṅ 'bow'; Tib. s-kjuṅ-ba 'to throw, to cast'; Burm. khwaṅh 'to blow at, shoot (from a bow)'; Kach. kuṅ<sup>3</sup> 'bent, crooked', kuṅ-li<sup>2</sup> 'bow, cross-bow'; Lepcha kjǎṅ 'corner, angle', tǔṅ-kuṅ 'rainbow'.

PY \*qām 'arrow' > Ket. qām, Yug. xam, Kott. xem, khem. See CCE 257, Werner 2, 81.

[\\*xmarnē](#) 'horse' (WFR 74, LV B10, BCD 262):

PNC \*farnē > Av. xʷáni 'horses (collective)' (plur. xunú-l pointing to par. B); Khv. ɣaram 'foal'; Lezg., Tab., Ag., Rut. ɣʷar 'mare'; PWC \*xʷara (~ f-) > Ad. fāra, Kab. xʷāra 'thoroughbred horse'; see NCED 425-426.

PST \*mrāH / \*mrāṅ 'horse' > OC 馬 \*mrāʔ 'horse'; Burm. mraṅh 'horse', Kach. gumraʔ, kumraṅ 'horse, pony', etc.

[Basq. \*be-hor 'mare'.]

[\\*xnwǎnV̄](#) 'height, mountain' (WFR 55, DCE 20, BCD 31):

PNC \*fǎnV 'mountain, hill' > Chech. hun, Ing. hu, Bac. hū 'forest'; Av. xon-lí 'shady side, slope', Cham. hanna 'hayng place', Tind., Kar. han-da 'hill', God. šan-dir 'meadow'; Tsez. hon, Gin. ɣʷin, Khv. hun 'mountain'; Lak. han 'shady slope of a mountain'; Darg. Chir. x:ana, Kub. xina 'Northern slope'; Tab. ɣʷan-k, Rut. ɣin, Arch. ɣʷan 'Northern slope of a mountain', Ag. ɣʷan 'mountain slope'; PWC \*xʷA > Abkh. a-ɣʷá, Abaz. ɣʷa 'mountain, hill', Ub. la-xá 'mountain'; Hurr. fāvanə, Ur. vāvānə 'mountain'.

PST \*ṅǎm 'high, rocky' > OC 巖 \*ṅrām, \*ṅ(r)əm 'rocky, lofty, precipitous'; Tib. r-ṅam-s 'height'.

Bur. \*hun 'wood' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar Hurr. hun.

[For Bur. cf. alternatively \*HǎχVnV 'log, beam'; in that case perhaps bun 'mountain' should be compared?

Cf. Basq. \*oi-han 'forest; desert'.]

\*xŋwanḥV 'fish':

PNC \*fanḥV (~ \*χw-; reconstructed as \*χwanḥV in NCED 1078 - but in fact \*f- is equally possible) > And. χ<sup>w</sup>ami, Cham. χ<sup>w</sup>am, Tind. χ<sup>w</sup>ā, Kar. χ<sup>w</sup>āj 'fish'; Lak. ḥawa id.; PL \*χI:an: > Lezg. ƿed, Rut. χIat id.

PST \*ŋ(j)ǎ 'fish' > OC 魚 \*ŋha, Tib. ná, Burm. ŋah, Kach. ŋa<sup>3</sup>, Lush. ŋha, Kir. \*ŋə, etc.

PY \*boŋ- > Ket. bɔŋtuɣ<sup>6</sup> 'herring' (a compound with \*c[i]k 'fish').

\*xŋwǎHV 'five':

PNC \*fǎǎ 'five' > Chech., Ing. pχiʔ, Bac. pχi; Av. š:ú-go, PA \*ʔin-š:- > And. inš-du-, Akhv. iǎ:tu-, Cham. iǎ:u-, Tind., Kar., God. inš:-tu-, Botl. iš-tu-, Bagv. inš-tu- (initial \*ʔin- - obviously under the influence of \*ʔinλ:i- 'six'); Tsez., Gin., Khv. le-no, Bezht. li-na, Gunz. li-no; Lak. χ:uI-; Darg. še-, Chir. xu-ja-; PL \*λ:<sup>w</sup>e- > Lezg. wa-d, Tab. xu-b, Ag. ʕa-fu-d, Rut. xu-d, Tsakh. xo-llǎ, Kryz., Bud. fi-d, Arch. λ:o, λ:<sup>w</sup>e-j-ʔu, Ud. qo; Khin. pxu; PWC \*s-x<sup>w</sup>ə > Abkh., Abaz. χ<sup>w</sup>-ba, Ad. tfə, Kab. tx<sup>w</sup>ə, Ub. šxə.

PST \*ŋǎH 'five' > OC 五 \*ŋhǎʔ; Tib. l-ŋa; Burm. ŋah; Kach. məŋa; Lush. ŋa, pa-ŋa; Kir. \*ŋə (\*ŋa), etc.

\*xŋwǎpV 'a relative':

PST \*ŋuap > Lepcha ǎ-ŋop 'levirate or sororate spouse (marrigeable affinal kin)'; Kir. \*ŋòp-cǎ > Kulung ŋappa 'wife's elder brother', Yamphu nap-ma 'son or daughter's mother-in-law', nap-pa 'son or daughter's father-in-law', Tulung ŋopcö, ŋopso 'neighbour, assistant', Kaling ŋwɔpsu 'bond friend'; Bahing ŋwap 'cousin'.

PY \*b[e]ʔb > Ket. beʔp, pl. bebəŋ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. beʔp, pl. bebəŋ<sup>5</sup> / bæbe:ŋ<sup>3</sup> 'son-in-law (also husband of the elder sister, uncle; (Werner 1, 119) wife of the elder sister)'; Kott. pop- in popēš 'brother', popēča 'sister'; (Бол.) tagar-pobok "сестренич", tiga-pobo-saže "братенич" [tagar- = tagar- "between"?]; Ar. bíba 'Schwägerin', bibpa 'Nichte', bíbača 'Schwager' (Локк.). See CCE 207-208, Werner 1, 119.

Bur. \*háp-kuin > Nag. hápkuin 'spouse'.

\*xqǎlqǎ 'wood' (LDC 23):

PNC \*qǎleqǎ 'tree, bush' > Chech. ƿarƿa 'a k. of poplar'; Av. q:aráq:

'thorny bush', And. q:alaq:e 'bush, shrub'; Bezht. χōχō, Gunz. χōχe 'tree'; Lak. χ:alax:i 'thorn, needle, (dial.) bush'.

PY \*xaʔq 'trees, wood' > Ket. aʔq, Yug. aʔx, aʔq, Kott. āx, ag, Ar. oo, Pump. hóxon (see CCE 295, Werner 1,86, 2,50).

Bur. \*qháqhar > Yas. xáxar 'a k. of tree which provides withes', Hunza qháqhar 'dry juniper branch'.

\*xqǎlV 'house':

PNC \*qǎlV̄ > Av. hor 'hayloft, shed'; Darg. qali 'house, room'; Tab., Ag., Rut. χal, Tsakh. χaw 'house', Kryz, Bud. χal 'roof', Arch. χal 'nest'.

PST \*krā (~ g-) 'house, palace' > OC 家 \*krā 'house, household, family', Burm. kraʔ-hñanh 'palace, residence'.

\*xqǎnʔV 'yard, building' (WFR 63):

PNC \*qǎnʔV 'yard, enclosure' > Chech. qī 'enclosure for sheep', Ing. qij 'pen, enclosure'; Av. hin 'palace'; Lak. qul 'yard'; Lezg. χen 'door', Arch. χlan 'yard'.

PST \*kʷān 'dwelling' > OC 官 \*kʷān 'official's residence, office'; Burm. kwanh 'temporary building for royal abode, temple', Kach. kun² the side of a Kachin house, assigned for family compartments'.

\*xqǎrʔá (~-rf-) 'a k. of cereal' (SMCE 133-134):

PNC \*qǎrʔā (~-rf-) 'pea(s)' > Chech. qō, Ing. qe 'haricot'; Lak. qulru 'pea(s)'; Darg. qara 'pea(s), bean(s)'; Lezg., Tab., Rut. χar, Ag. χur, Tsakh. χara, Kryz. χarχar 'pea(s)'.

PST \*krā (~g-) 'a k. of grain' > OC 稼 \*krā-s 'grain'; Tib. khra 'a sp. of grain' (cf. also gro 'wheat', gre'u 'peas'); Lepcha ko-gró 'a sp. of grain'.

Bur. \*γarás 'a k. of pea' > Yas., Hun., Nag. γarás.

\*xqwībV 'beak, jaw' (HGC 24):

PNC \*qwēbV (~ -ī-) 'beak' > Lak. q:iIp:a; Ag. qup:.

PST \*kēp > OC 頰 \*kēp 'cheek, jowl'; Kach. šəkap² 'jaw'.

PY \*kup (~ g-) 'beak, lip, muzzle' > Ket. kūp, pl. ku:rí; Yug. kup, pl. kufin (CCE 241, Werner 1, 459 - but Kott. hupar is a reflex of \*χ[o]p 'top').

[Some irregularities - short \*-u- in PY instead of the expected \*-uʔ- or \*-ū- - may be explained by the root's expressive character or by contamination with another root: cf. Ket. qəppej⁶ / qəpej⁶, Yug. xəfə:hj⁴ / xəfə:j³ 'crop, crawl'?]

\*xqwērĥV 'horn' (HGC 20, NSC 57):

PNC \*qwīrhV (~-ā-, -l-) 'horn' > Av. dial. h<sup>w</sup>ar 'cock's comb'; Lak. qi 'horn'; Darg. Chir. qe, Sirg. qi id.; PWC \*q:ˠa 'horn' > Abkh. a-t<sup>w</sup>á-ŋ<sup>w</sup>a, Ab. č<sup>w</sup>-ŋ<sup>w</sup>a, Ad., Kab. bžā-q:ˠa, Ub. q̄a.

PST \*k-rua (\*Qrua ?) 'horn' > OC 角 \*krō-k 'horn, angle, corner', Tib. rwa 'horn', grwa, gru 'angle, corner'; Burm. khrəw, khjəw 'horn', Trung xrə<sup>1</sup> 'horn' etc.

PY \*χɔʔ 'horn' > Ket. qɔʔ, pl. qɔʔŋ<sup>2</sup> (less frequently: qɔŋen<sup>5</sup>); Yug. xɔʔŋ<sup>2</sup>, pl. xɔŋin<sup>5</sup>; Kott. hau, g. hauʔi, pl. hōkŋ "horn; thumb" (see CCE 303, Werner 2, 122).

[Here PY \*-ʔ reflects not the accent, but rather \*-r dissimilated after \*χ-; the sequence \*χVr- is unacceptable in Yenisseian.]

\*xqwVdV 'dirt':

PNC \*qudV 'dirt, mould' > Cham. χud, Tind. χuji 'mould'; Lak. qut 'dung'.

Bur. \*kaʔ > Hun., Nag. kaʔ 'sediment'; Hun. khat̄iʃ 'hard excrements'.

\*xqwVlʔi 'hand, elbow' (differently in HGC 19, WFR):

PNC \*qılʔi > Bezht. χaro 'elbow'; Lak. qa 'wing'; Lezg., Ag. kıl, Tab. χil, Rut., Tsakh. χil, Arch. χol 'hand, arm'.

PST \*kh<sup>w</sup>ēr (~ gh<sup>w</sup>-) 'fist, hollow of hand with fingers bent' > OC 拳 \*gh<sup>w</sup>ren (< \*gh<sup>w</sup>er-n) 'fist', Tib. skjor, khjor 'hollow of hand', Dumi khir 'hand', Dhimal khur 'hand', Bodo asi-kur 'claw' etc.

Bur. \*galgí > Yas., Hunza, Nagar galgí 'wing; fin'.

\*xqǎm(x)q(w)ǎ (~ -ǎ) 'joint; to bend' (LV A23, LDC 43, FDCP 2):

PNC \*qǎmq(w)ǎ (~ -ǎ) 'knee, leg-bone' > Tsez. q̄aln̄qu (dial. q̄w̄aln̄qu), Gin. q̄āqu 'tubular bone'; Darg. q̄uqa (dial. q̄<sup>w</sup>aqa, q̄unqa) 'knee'; Tab. q̄amq̄, Ag. q̄<sup>w</sup>aq̄<sup>w</sup>. Rut. q̄<sup>w</sup>aq̄ 'knee'; PWC \*q̄<sup>w</sup>aq̄<sup>w</sup>a > Abkh. a-q̄<sup>w</sup>áq̄<sup>w</sup>a, Abaz. q̄<sup>w</sup>aq̄<sup>w</sup>a 'hip-bones'; see NCED 907-908.

PST \*kük 'bend, bent' > OC 鞠 \*kuk 'to bow, bend', Tib. āgug(s) 'to bend', khug(s) 'corner, nook', Burm. kauk 'be crooked', Kach. m̄əgoʔ<sup>2</sup>, l̄əgoʔ<sup>2</sup>, guʔ<sup>3</sup> 'be bent', Lepcha kük 'to bow, bend down', Naga \*kok 'knee', etc. There are also variants: \*khjök (~ \*gh-, qh-, Gh-) 'to bend, crooked', \*kh<sup>w</sup>ǎŋ (~ gh<sup>w</sup>-, qh<sup>w</sup>-) 'vaulted, crooked'.

[Cf. Basq. \*kunku-r̄ 'joint, hump, hunchback'.]

\*xqáV / \*xqáxqáV 'throat' (HGC 24):

PNC \*qǎqari / \*qǎraqi (~ \*q) 'throat' > Gin. qeIq 'throat, larynx'; Lak. qaqari 'throat'; Darg. sus-qaqa, Chir. qaqare id.; Tab. qarqar, Ag. qurq, Rut. qaqara-k, Arch. qaqera, Ud. q: oq: id.; PWC \*qəraqə /\*[qʷ]əraqʷə > Abkh. a-qərqə, Abaz. qərqə 'throat, gullet', Ad. pśa-gʷərq:, Kab. pśa-kʷəq:ʷ 'cervical vertebrae'.

PST > Tib. m-gur 'throat, neck'.

PY \*gəʔ(n)kəʔ 'Adam's apple, throat' > Ket. κλγəʔ<sup>5</sup>, Yug. κλγir<sup>5</sup> 'Adam's apple'; Kott. kankoi, (Бол.) konkoj 'throat'. See CCE 227, Werner 1, 471.

\*xqā(w)qā 'dirt, rubbish':

PNC \*qā(w)qā 'dirt' > Av. ʕaʕá 'dung, manure', Akhv. qʷaqʷa 'dry dung', Cham. ā 'pus, matter'; Gin. qəqo 'mould'; Lezg. qaq 'dried snivel in the nose', Tab. qaq-niš 'snivel', Arch. qIabqI- 'dirty'.

PY \*kəq- (~ g-) 'soot' > Ket. κḅq, Yug. κḅx (CCE 237, Werner 1, 474).

Bur. \*qhəqhi 'dirt' > Hunza, Nagar qhəqhi.

[Secondary vowel shortening in PY].

\*xqādV 'dust, soil' (BCD 10):

PNC \*qīdV (~ -ä-) 'dust, soot' > Akhv. q:ēṭa, Tseg. q:əṭen, Kar. q:əṭan 'soot'; Gunz. ʕiṭo 'mould'; Lak. qit 'soot; flour dust'.

PST \*Ket > Burm. kjat 'barrens'; Kach. git 'soil, mould, earth'.

PY \*qəʔt (~χ-,c-,č-,ʒ-,ʒ̣) > Ket. qΛʔt 'trash, refuse' (see CCE 258, Werner 2, 148).

Bur. \*yit > Hunza, Nagar yit 'slime (wet or dried).

[Cf. Basq. \*kedar 'soot'].

\*xqānʔV 'louse, flea' (BCD 27):

PNC \*qānʔV > Chech. ʕən-ig, Ing. ʕon-g 'louse', Lak. qIunuqIi 'worm', Darg. qi 'nit'.

PST \*khǎŋ (~ gh-) > OC 𧈧 \*khaŋ 'beetle', Burm. kaŋh 'centipede, scorpion and other myriapoda', Lepcha tŋŋ-kjón 'the stick-insect'.

PY \*qəʔn > Ket. qΛʔn 'flea', Kott. xon 'beetle', imgara-xon (lit. 'little beetle') 'flea' (CCE 258, Werner 2, 148).

Bur. \*khen > Yas. khen, Hunza, Nagar khin 'flea'.

[There has been active interaction with a different root, reflected in PST as \*kin 'ant' (Burm. kjaŋ 'big ants', Kach. kəgiŋ<sup>1</sup> 'ants') and in

Burushaski as khon 'ant' - presupposing a protoform like \*k(w)inV: this would explain some consonantal irregularities in the Burushaski and Yenissonian reflexes; see WFR 60, DCE 16.

Cf. also Basq. \*a-kain 'large tick'.]

\*xqǎfIV (~ -ǎ-; frequently reduplicated) 'bitter' (HGC 39, WFR 27, MCGD 9, BCD 27)

PNC \*qǎfIV (~ -ǎ-) 'bitter' > Chech. qǎha, Ing. qǎha, Bac. qǎhẽ; Tsez. m-eqa-w, Gin. m-eqa-ju, Khv. m-eqǎ, Bezht. n-iqa-ro, Gunz. n-aqa-ru; Darg. q̇u-d-q̇u- 'bitter'; Lezg., Kryz., Bud. q̇el, Tab. q̇il, Ag. q̇lal, Rut. q̇al, Tsakh. q̇ew, Ud. el 'salt', Arch. q̇ala, Lezg. ṫü-q̇ül, Tab, Düb. q̇u-r-q̇uli, Ag. q̇u-l-q̇ul-f, Rut. ḋä-q̇äli-, Kryz. q̇ä-t-q̇ul 'bitter'; Khin. q̇ä 'salt', q̇ilez 'salty', q̇al 'bitter'; PWC \*q̇la / \*q̇laq̇IV 'sweet' > Abkh. á-χā, Abaz. qaḥa, Ad. ḥā-ḥā, Kab. ḥa-f, Ub. q̇a-q̇á.

PST \*ghāH 'bitter' > OC 𑖀 \*khā? 'bitter', Tib. bska 'astringent, as to taste', kha 'bitter'; Burm. khah 'bitter', Kach. kha<sup>4</sup>, Lush. kha id. etc.

PY \*qVqVr 'gall; bitter' > Ket. q̇al:í 'gall', q̇ōliŋ<sup>1</sup> "bitter"; Yug. xaxul<sup>5</sup> 'gall' (with a secondary tone, cf. xoxiləŋ<sup>6</sup> "bitter"); Kott. ogar 'gall', Pump. leo-xóxar (C1.) "(gall?) bladder" ; see CCE 266, Werner 2, 148-149.

Bur. \*yaqá- 'bitter' > Yas. qaqá-m, Hunza, Nagar yaqáy, yaqáyum. [Cf. Basq. \*karaç 'bitter'.]

\*xqǎčwV 'stick, pole' (LDC 22-23):

PNC \*q̇wǎčwV (~ -ǎ-, -ǎ-) > Chech. važ, Ing. važ / važ, Bac. voč 'stick'; Av. ṣuč, Bagv. ṣurč 'small stick, stalk' (in Av. also 'fork'); Tsez. q̇I<sup>w</sup>ača 'prop (of a balcony)', Gin. vuč 'small stick', Bezht. q̇äčä, Gunz. q̇ača 'beam'; Lak. uIrci-lu 'rolling-pin; corn-cob'; Tab. q̇urč 'bough; cudgel, log'. A reconstruction \*q̇erčwV (fitting the external data better) is equally possible.

PY \*q̇ēč- (~ -χ-) 'pole' > Ket. q̇e:ḥí<sup>4</sup> (Kur.), Bak., Sur. q̇e:də<sup>4</sup> / q̇edə<sup>4</sup>, South. q̇er<sup>4</sup>; pl. q̇ēreŋ<sup>1</sup>, Bak., Sur. q̇ēdeŋ; Yug. ẋe:ḥí, pl. ẋedīŋ<sup>1</sup> / ẋedīŋ<sup>5</sup> (CCE 258, Werner 2, 83).

Bur. \*gaché 'branch' > Yas. gaçé, Hunza, Nagar gaché.

[A similar word is found in Skr. lex. gaccha- 'tree', Pali gaccha- 'bush', see T. 3949 - so the Bur. form may be borrowed from Shina gachí. Cf., however, also Bur. gaší 'fir-tree', káčul 'pine-tree' which may reflect the same root and actually be the source of Indian words, borrowed back into Burushaski. A rather complicated situation, possibly accounting for the irregular vowel length in PY and reflecting a possibility of reconstructing yet another PSC root: cf. PY \*xūsa 'birch tree'.]



\*xqəlʔV (~ -ʔ-) 'a k. of weed' (somewhat differently in HGC 29):

PNC \*qəlʔV (~ -ʔ-) 'a k. of weed' > Akhv. quli id.; Darg. qalli 'branch'; Lezg. qal 'stalk, blade of grass', Tab. qal 'id.; wormwood, absinth'.  
PY \*gV(?)re > Kott. kerī 'grass' (see CCE 230, Werner 1, 422).

\*xqərəxqV 'crane' (NSC 55, DCE 15):

PNC \*qərəqV 'crane' > Chech. *ɤarɤuli*, Ing. *ɤaraɤura*; Av. *q:únq:ra*, Akhv. *q:uq:ura*, Cham. *q:uriq:ara*, Kar. *q:orq:ama*, Bagv. *q:iriq:ara*, God. *q:urq:ama*; Tsez., Gin. *qoq*, Bezht. *qaqa*, Gunz. *qǫqi*; Lak. *quruq*; Darg. *qanq* 'heron, bustard', *q:urɤ* 'crane', Chir. *qarq* id.; Lezg. *qúq* 'bustard', Ag. *qurq* 'crane'; PWC \*q:arawə > Ad. *q:araw*, Kab. *q:əruw* 'crane', Ub. *qaraw* 'swan'.

PST > OC OC 鶴 \*g(h)āk<sup>w</sup> 'crane'.

PY \*gu(?)riraK > Kott. *kurirax* 'crane'.

Bur. \*qarújo (/ \*ɣ-) 'heron' > Hun. *qarújo*, Nag. *ɣarújo*.

\*xqHwéčwV 'a k. of vessel':

PNC \*qHečwV 'a k. of vessel, jar' > Lak. *q:lači* 'a flat earthenware vessel (for filtering milk)', dial. *q:I<sup>w</sup>ači* 'jar, jug'; Lezg. *qec* 'earthenware pot', Kryz. *qec* 'earthenware jug (e. g. for milk)'.

PY \*ʔiʔiʔ- (~ x-, -G-) 'vessel made of birch bark' > Ket. *i:tʃ*, pl. *īrenʔ* (Bak., Sur. *īdənʔ*), (Kl.) *iggut*; Yug. *i:tʃ*, pl. *idənʔ*. See CCE 196, Werner 2, 434. [Werner reconstructs \*igət' which would translate into my \*ʔiʔiʔ ~ \*ʔiGič: here -č is definitely wrong (we have voiced -r-, -d- in Ket and -d- in Yug), but the tone emendation - iʔi- instead of -ī- in KC) is correct.]

Bur. \*kháci > Yas., Hun., Nag. *kháci* 'bucket (for milking or butter)'.

\*xqHwintV 'elbow' (HGC 25, BCD 27):

PNC \*qHwəntV 'knee; elbow' > Tsez. *q̄lontu*, Gin., Khv. *qontu* 'knee', Bezht. *qata*, Gunz. *q̄pd* 'ankle'; Lak. *aInt* (\*'angle' >) 'span (between the thumb and the small finger)'; Lezg. *qünt* 'elbow'.

PST \*kūt 'bone, bone of hand' > OC 骨 \*kūt 'bone'; Lush. *kut* 'hand', Kir. \*gù[t] 'joint; hand', Kanauri *güdʔ*, etc.

PY \*g[i](?)d 'elbow, joint; to bend' > Ket. *ulgit<sup>5</sup>*, pl. *ulgerən<sup>5</sup>* (Bak., Sur. *ulgitən<sup>5</sup>*) 'elbow'; ába-ɣit (MKet.) 'es biegt sich', South. *ávayefən* id. (Werner 1, 13); Yug. *ulgit* 'elbow'; (Werner 1, 13, 287) -gədin 'sich biegen' (\*ʔul- 'bone'); Kott. *kenar-xatken* (Бол.) "elbow" (kenar "arm"); *pul-gatken*

'hip' ("бөрүө") (pul "leg"). Tonal characteristics is unclear (tone 5 in Ket contradicts tone 1 in Yug and it is in any case unclear to which component of the word it belongs). See CCE 227, Werner 2, 339 (doubts the Ket-Kott. comparison, for an unpronounced reason).

[Cf. Basq. \*u-kondo 'elbow'.]

[\\*xqHwīrdV̄](#) 'a small animal':

PNC \*qHwīrdV 'hedgehog' > Darg. q̄aId-ga; Tab. q̄Iurdu-maga (Düb.), Ag. dial. q̄udu-bil, q̄idiban etc.

PY \*kəd- (~ \*kid-, \*g-) 'kolinsky' > Ket. kēt / kīt, pl. κλῆῃ<sup>3</sup> (Bak., Sur. κλδῃ<sup>5</sup>) (CCE 236, Werner 1, 475).

[\\*xqHwV̄rdV̄](#) 'winter' (KS 208, LDC 27):

PNC > PL \*qIort:(a) 'winter'.

PY \*gäte 'winter' > Ket. kētī<sup>1</sup> (Kur.), Bak. kēt<sup>1</sup>, South. kēt; Yug. kēt; Kott. kēti; Ar. [kot]. See CCE 227, Werner 1, 475 (misquoting my reconstruction - \*käte instead of \*gäte).

[\\*xqIxq̄ē](#) (~ -ā) 'road' (HGC 34):

PNC \*q̄əq̄ə (~ -a) 'ravine, canyon; street' > Gunz. qoqo 'house'; Lak. q̄aqa 'crevice; ravine'; Darg. \*q̄aqa 'ravine; street'.

PST \*kīḡ 'road' > OC 壩 \*kōḡ-s 'road'; Lush. koḡ 'road, path'; Dimasa lām-koḡ 'road'.

PY \*χ[i](?)χ 'road, track' > Ket. q̄ik, Yug. xik / xi?k, pl. xiniḡ<sup>5</sup>; Kott. hek, pl. hajan 'track, road'. See CCE 301, Werner 2, 154.

[\\*xqōnLV̄](#) 'spade, fork':

PNC \*qHōnLV 'pitchfork; shovel' > Tsez. q̄iḡi / q̄iḡi 'pitchfork, fork', Gin. q̄iḡi / q̄iḡi 'id.; bayonet', Khv. q̄ele 'pitchfork, fork', Inkh. q̄iḡe 'id.; sting'; Darg. q̄alga (Chir. q̄Iaya) 'pitchfork'; PL \*q̄Ionλ: > Lezg. q̄ük 'pitchfork', Tab. q̄Iurš, Ag. q̄Iuj 'pitchfork; rake'; Rut. q̄Iij 'two-pronged pitchfork'; PWC \*χIa(n)λə (~ -λ-) > Kab. ḡanš / ḡaš 'scoop', Ub. χIaš 'shovel'.

PST \*k(h)āk 'fork' > Burm. khak-raḡ 'fork', Kach. kha?<sup>2</sup> 'to be parted, separated', žəkha?<sup>2</sup> 'to part, separate', (H) ləga 'fork', Lush. kāk 'the fork (of a tree); at a distance from one another'; Moshang kāk 'fork'.

[\\*xqVxgV̄](#) 'back':

PNC \*qögV 'burden; back' > Tsez. qlog, Gin., Khv. qog 'armful'; Lak. dial. q:aqla 'burden, load'; Darg. ɣaɣ 'back'; Tab. ɣaɣ, Ag. ɣaɣ 'burden, load', Arch. qoq 'back'; Khin. qara 'shoulder-blade', qaqa-l 'back' (if not < Lezg.; cf. also qäk 'burden, load').

PY \*gīq- 'back; middle' > Ket. kī (Werner 1, 482), Yug. ki:hx 'middle'; Ass. kogar 'back'. CCE 228. External data show that the Assan meaning here is more archaic (in Ket and Yug "middle" < "waist, back"). In any case the suggestion of Ket < Selk. ki 'middle' (Helimski KC 242) is hardly justified. Werner 1, 482 gives a reconstruction <\*kiʔəqə>, but for some reason rejects the obvious Ket-Ass. match.

[Vowel length in PY does not correspond to shortness in PNC.]

[\\*xqwartV̄](#) 'to tie, belt' (HGC 33; differently in LV B17, NSC 56):

PNC \*qHwartV 'belt; loop on belt, sheath' > Kar. q:otulu 'skein, hank, clew'; Gin. qatali 'reel, spool'; Darg. qIart 'pod', Chir. qIartale, Ur. qI<sup>w</sup>artala 'sheath'; Lezg. q<sup>w</sup>etel, Kryz qätıl 'lace', Tab. qI<sup>w</sup>atal 'braid', Ag. qIatul, Bud. qoltal 'belt'.

PST \*k<sup>w</sup>āt (~ g<sup>w</sup>-) 'to tie, splice' > OC 括 \*k<sup>w</sup>āt 'to tie, bind; bring together', 佶 \*k<sup>w</sup>āt, g<sup>w</sup>āt 'join'; Kach. buŋkhot 'to splice'.

PY \*guʔda > kuʔt, pl. kūrēŋ<sup>1</sup> (Bak., Sur. kūdəŋ<sup>1</sup>) 'girdle', Kott. kūra 'strap, string, belt'. See CCE 229. Werner 1, 458. The Kottish word, despite Werner's doubts, is a perfect phonetic and semantic match for Ket. kuʔt, and cannot be regarded as a Turkism (Turk. \*Kur 'belt' fails to explain -a in Kott. kūra).

[\\*xqwēmV̄](#) 'summit, top; protruding edge' (WFR 85):

PNC \*hqwēmV̄ > Chech. maʃa, Ing. muʃa, Bac. mʃaʔð 'horn'; And. G<sup>w</sup>on 'horn', Cham., Bagv. un, Tind. ʔ<sup>w</sup>ani, Kar. ʃon, God. wani 'head'; Tsez. qIim, Gin. qimu, Khv. qem, Bezht. qam, Gunz. qom 'head'; Lak. dial. qī 'horn'; Lezg. qam 'back of head', dial. 'neck', Rut. qum 'back of head', Tsakh. qom 'summit, top'.

PST \*khēm 'precipice; shore, bank' > OC 巖 \*khrēm, \*khēm 'rocky', \*khām? 'precipitous', 巖 \*kh(r)əm id.; Tib. āgram 'shore, bank', Burm. kamh id., Kach. ngam<sup>2</sup> 'precipitous, precipice', kham<sup>1</sup>-wam<sup>1</sup> id.; Lush. khām 'a precipice, a cliff', kam 'bank, shore', Garo ri-kam 'bank, margin, rim', Kulung khəm-la 'ravine'. The root is divided into \*khēm and \*ghjēm in DSTL which is probably incorrect: we are rather dealing with a variation of length and shortness within a single root.

[\\*xqwémV](#) 'nut; kernel' (HGC 29, WFR 93):

PNC \*q̄wəmV (~-e-) 'grain, fruit stone' > Bezht. q̄ämä 'stalk; straw'; Lak. q:ama 'grain, corn; seed'; Darg. q̄um 'fruit stone'.

PST \*kuam 'fruit kernel, fruit with kernel' > Tib. kham-dar 'walnut', kham-bu 'apricot, peach', Burm. kwamh 'betel plant', Kach. lä-kum, lä-gum 'a sp. of fig tree', Lush. kuam 'a sp. of epiphytic fig tree', Kir. \*kham (~ ?k-) 'peach tree'.

PY \*ʔeʔm- (~x-) 'cone (of a coniferous tree)' > Ket. emíltə<sup>5</sup>, pl. emíltəŋ<sup>5</sup>; emdó (< em-də:ʔ), Kur. also imtet<sup>5</sup> 'to collect cones'; Yug. emči<sup>5</sup>, pl. emčanjin<sup>5</sup>. See CCE 187. Tone contradicts the connection with PY \*ʔim (~ x-) 'nut', despite the assumption in CCE and Werner's (1, 362) remark that "diese Rekonstruktion ist kaum annehmbar, denn es handelt sich um \*im "Nüsse" in Komposita."

[\\*xqwirqV](#) (~-xq-) 'knot, to bind':

PNC \*q̄werqV (~-i-) 'knot' > Lak. q:urq 'tight knot'; Lezg. q̄lurq̄l, Rut. q̄urq̄ 'knot'.

PST \*ḡik 'to bind' > OC 結 \*kīt 'to bind'; Tib. ā-khjig 'to bind'; Burm. kjač 'twist, plait'; Kir. \*ʔk]ek 'tie, bind', etc.

[\\*xqwəlʔä](#) 'cover, lid' (HGC 31):

PNC \*q̄wəlʔä 'board' > Chech. u 'board', Ing. uj 'wooden floor', ul-g 'small board, plank'; Av. ʔer 'pole', Akhv. q̄ori 'board'; Tsez. q̄uri, Gin. q̄ure, Khv. q̄ule, Bezht. q̄ō, Gunz. q̄oro 'bench, stool'; Lak. ula 'board, shelf'; Darg. ur-q̄uli 'board'; Lezg., Rut., Arch. q̄ul 'board', Tab. q̄ul 'board, shelf', Ag. q̄ul 'lid, cover', Tsakh. q̄uwa 'board', Kryz., Bud. q̄ul 'small plank'; Abkh. a-ɤ<sup>w</sup>ə, Abaz. ɤ<sup>w</sup>ə 'board', Ub. ɤ<sup>w</sup>ə 'post, pole'.

PST \*Khr̄im 'coverlet' > OC 衾 \*kh(r)əm 'a coverlet', Tib. grum-ce 'a thick woollen blanket', Burm. khrum 'to cover, overspread, as with a cloth, blanket', Kach. tingrum<sup>2</sup> 'to cover, envelope, as the head with a shawl'.

PY \*gulam (~k-) 'covering, lid' > Ket. kuləm<sup>6</sup>, South. kuləm<sup>6</sup>, Yug. kulam<sup>6</sup>. CCE 229.

[Werner 1, 449 regards the PY word as a compound: \*gu 'opening' + \*rem 'board', i.e. "board over opening(s)". This is not excluded - but the special proximity of the PY and PST forms suggests that this is rather a folk etymology. The PY and PST forms may reflect a common PSC derivate \*xqwəlʔä-mV).

[\\*xqwəńē](#) 'a k. of small predator':

PNC \*h<sub>1</sub>nəq̣wə ( ~ \*h<sub>1</sub>q̣wənə) 'mouse, rat' > Av. *h<sub>1</sub>un̄k̄*; And. *h<sub>1</sub>in̄k̄*; Akhv. *īk̄*:o-ti, Cham. *heḵ*:<sup>w</sup>a-d, Tind. *heḵ*:<sup>w</sup>ā, Kar. *herḵ*:<sup>w</sup>a, Botl. *h<sub>1</sub>in̄k̄*:<sup>w</sup>a, Bagv. *heḵ*<sup>w</sup>a-ča, God. *hik*:<sup>w</sup>a 'mouse'; Tsez. *aw* / *ɣaw*, Gin. *aq̣*<sup>w</sup>e, Khv. *aq̣*<sup>w</sup>a, Bezht. *āq̣o*, Gunz. *āq̣u* 'mouse'; Lak. *ul̄ku-lu* 'field mouse'; PL \*nVq̣I<sup>w</sup>e-l > Arch. *noq̣lon*, Ud. *meḷl* 'mouse'; Khin. *nuḵur id.*; Abkh. *a-h<sup>w</sup>əna-p*, Abaz. *h<sup>w</sup>əna-p(ə)*, Ub. *q<sup>w</sup>ənə* 'mouse, rat'.

PY \*kūn̄ (~g-) 'wolverine' > Ket. *ku:ne<sup>t</sup>*, Yug. *ku:h<sup>n</sup>*, Pump. *kun* (CCE 242, Werner 1, 451).

\*xq̣wəṭwV 'chopped piece, to cut':

PNC \*q̣əṭwV 'stump, board, chopped piece' > Av. *q̣oṭ*- 'to cut, chop', Cham. *q̣:at<sup>w</sup>*, Kar. *q̣:əṭa* 'lid, cover' (< \*'chopped block'); Gin. *q̣oṭ* 'splinter', Khv. *q̣oṭ*, Inkh. *q̣lotu* 'board'; Lezg., Tab., Ag., Rut., Bud. *q̣aṭ* 'piece, chopped block', Tsakh. *q̣aṭ* 'small beam', Kryz. *q̣äṭ* 'remnant', Rut. *q̣aṭ haʒas* 'to break', Tab. *q̣aṭ apuz* 'to cut, chop', Ag. *q̣aṭ aq̣as* 'to cut, chop, break'; Darg. Chir. *q̣uṭur* 'piece of bread, cake'.

PST \*k<sup>w</sup>āt (~g<sup>w</sup>-) 'to cut, divide' > OC 𐎧 \*k<sup>w</sup>rāts (< \*r-k<sup>w</sup>āt-s) 'divide, make a breach'; Burm. *khut* 'to strike with the edge of a knife, gash, chop, hew'; Kach. *khot<sup>2</sup>* 'to cut, shape'.

(?) Bur. \*gaṭ- (with assimilation \*-t- > \*-ṭ-, as in many NC languages) 'to bite' > Yas., Hun., Nag. *gaṭ-*.

\*xq̣winV̄ 'nail, fingernail; peg' (NSC 56):

PNC \*h<sub>1</sub>q̣winV̄ 'nail, peg' > Av. *h<sub>1</sub>an̄k̄<sup>w</sup>a* 'nail; linchpin', And. *han̄k̄<sup>w</sup>o* 'nail', Akhv. *āḵ<sup>w</sup>a* 'stick, wooden nail; hammer handle', Cham. *hāḵa*, Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. *han̄k̄<sup>w</sup>a* 'nail'; Darg. \*ɤlam-bul > Ak. *ɤalbul*, Chir. *ɤlamul*, Kub. *ɤlumul* 'nail'; Tab. *q̣um* 'peg', Ag. *q̣<sup>w</sup>in* 'nail'; Khin. *qim* 'wooden nail'; Abkh. *a-č<sup>v</sup>-ɣ<sup>w</sup>án*, Abaz. *č<sup>w</sup>-ɣ<sup>w</sup>an* 'stake', Ad. *ɣ<sup>w</sup>ən*, Kab. *ɣ<sup>w</sup>əna*, Ub. (with metathesis) *nəq̣ə* 'nail'.

PY \*ɣin̄ (~x-) 'finger-nail, claw' > Ket. *in̄<sup>t</sup>* (South.), Kur. *i:ni<sup>t</sup>*, Bak., Sur. *i:nə<sup>t</sup> / in̄ə<sup>t</sup>*, pl. *in̄en<sup>t</sup>*, Yug. *i:h<sup>t</sup>*, pl. *in̄in<sup>t</sup>* (CCE 195, Werner 1, 364, 367).

\*xq̣wintV̄ (/ \*xq̣wintV̄?) 'to scrape; smear':

PNC \*q̣wantV̄ (~-ṭ-, -ḗ-, -m-) 'broom; comb' > Cham. *q̣:<sup>w</sup>ant̄*, Tind. *q̣:<sup>w</sup>an̄ṭa*, Kar., Bagv. *q̣:arṭa* 'broom', Lak. dial. *q̣:<sup>w</sup>əṭa* 'comb', Darg. Chir. *q̣:<sup>w</sup>at̄* 'comb for carding wool'.

PST \*k(r)ūt (~g-) 'to scratch, glide, rub' > OC 滑 \*grūt 'slippery, smooth' (?); Burm. *kut* 'scratch, scrape', Kach. *khut<sup>2</sup>* 'scrape, rub', gut<sup>2</sup> 'glean, glide; to clean from lice by means of the fine comb'; Lepcha *krát* 'to

comb as hair, to rake, scratch, to dress or card as woollen garments' etc.

PY \*git (\*giʔit) 'to scrape; to smear' > Ket. kīt, kītet 'scrape; smear', Yug. kīt / ki:tʰ; Kott. thakīt 'smearing', tha-ča-kītaŋ 'to smear', ši-kīt 'rubbing', ba-kītaŋ 'to rub' (CCE 227, Werner 1, 436).

\*xq(w)VrV̄ 'a k. of weed, cereal':

PNC \*q[ə]rV 'a k. of weed, (wild) cereal' > Ing. eri 'wild hemp'; Khv., Inkh. quri 'dry weeds'; Darg. qar 'grass'; Ag. qir (dial. qur) 'grain', Rut. qir 'winter wheat', Ud. ar-um 'wheat'.

PST \*khriəH 'a k. of grain (millet, rice' > OC 𐰉 \*kh(r)əʔ 'a k. of millet'; Tib. khre 'millet'; Kach. šə-gjiʰ 'millet'; Lush. ʔai 'a sp. of early rice'.

Bur. \*gur > Yas., Hunza, Nagar gur 'wheat'.

[Cf. Basq. \*garagãr 'barley?']

\*xq(w)VrV̄ 'old, ripe':

PNC \*=irqwÄ (< \*=i-qwVrÄ) 'to ripen' > Av. ʔe- 'to ripen', Akhv. =iq-, Kar. =eʔ- id., And. =i-qu-, Tind. =i-ll-, God. =iʔa- 'ripe'; Bezht. =iq- 'to grow'; Lak. =ija- 'to ripen'; Darg. =urqa- 'old', dial. =iqur-il 'ripe'; Tab. q-u=q-, Kryz s-u=q-, Arch. o=q-i- 'to ripen', Rut. h-i=q-a- 'to be ripe', Ud. ap:i / p:-ap:i 'ripe'; Ad., Kab., Ub. ʔə-ɣ<sup>w</sup>a- 'to ripen'.

PST \*grī 'old' > OC 𐰉 \*grij 'old'; Tib. b-gre 'to grow old', Burm. krih 'be old'.

\*xqwVrV(qV̄) 'frog' (LV B26, DCE 16):

PNC \*q̄wVrVq̄V̄ > Av. q̄:erq̄: (par. B: q̄:orq̄:ól, q̄urq̄:-bí); And. q̄:urru, Cham. q̄:ūq̄:, Tind. q̄o(r)q̄:u, Kar. q̄:orq̄:o, Bagv. q̄:urq̄:, God. q̄:urq̄:u 'frog'; Khv. q̄urq̄-ač 'lizard'; Lak. ulrwa-ʔi 'frog'; Tab. Db. q̄lawarq̄lul, Arch. q̄alaq̄-ulrbəʔi 'tortoise'; Khin. q̄urq̄or 'frog'; Ad. ʔanʔar-q:ʷ, Kab. ʔandər-q:ʷāq:ʷa 'frog'. See NCED 942.

PST > OC OC 𐰉 \*k<sup>w</sup>rək 'frog'.

PY \*xəʔr- 'frog' > Ket., Yug. ʔʔl, Ar. kere (CCE 295, Werner 2, 415).

Bur. \*yórku- > Yas. yórkun, Hunza yúrquŋ, Nagar yúrquc 'frog'.

\*χǎnkī 'a k. of meat dish' (LV Cb7):

PNC \*χǎnkī 'dumpling (khinkal)' > Av. χ:inḵ (par. B: χ:inḵi-l, χ:inḵ-ál), Akhv. χ:ĩḵi, Cham. χ:inč, Tind. χ:inḵa, Kar. χ:inḵa, Botl. χ:inḵi, Bagv. χ:inča 'dumpling'; Tsez. ʔaḵo, Gin. ʔoḵo, Khv. χiḵo, Bezht. ʔoḵa id.; Lak. hawk:u-ri 'dumplings'; Lezg., Tab., Ag. χinḵ, Rut., Tsakh. χinḵ-ar. See NCED 1075.

PST \*χǎŋ 'meat soup' > OC 腳 \*χαŋ 'beef soup'; Burm. haŋh 'a k. of soup (with meat, fish, vegetables etc.)'.

[Irregular shortness in PST.]

\*χH[o]ntV 'belly':

PNC \*χHontV (~\*χ:-, -ī-) 'belly, intestine' > Av. Chad. hut 'rennet, abomasum', Cham., Tind. χ:inta 'belly'; Lak. χ:uŋt:u 'intestine'.

PST \*Q<sup>w</sup>īt (~ -ǎ-) 'stomach' > OC 胃 \*wət-s 'stomach'; Tib. grod (< \*r-god ?) 'belly; stomach'.

\*χHVrčV 'a k. of small carnivore' (BCD 18):

PNC \*χHVr[č]V 'marten; otter' > Chech., Ing. χešt (< \*χHVrčV-ťV); Darg. χalrč 'marten', Chir. χ:lārč 'squirrel'.

PY \*χas (~ k-) > Kott. hāš 'badger'. See CCE 299, Werner 2, 311.

[Cf. Basq. \*harc 'bear', \*hars-koin 'badger'.]

\*χHwǐje 'dog' (HGC 18, NSC 57):

PNC \*χHwǐje 'dog' > Bac. p̄hu 'dog', Chech., Ing. p̄hu 'male dog'; Av. hoj, And. χ<sup>w</sup>oj, Akhv. χ<sup>w</sup>ē, Cham., Kar., Botl. χ<sup>w</sup>aj, Tind. χ<sup>w</sup>ā, Bagv. h<sup>w</sup>aj, God. χ<sup>w</sup>aji 'dog'; Tsez. ɪl<sup>w</sup>aj, Gin., Khv. ɪ<sup>w</sup>e, Bezht. wo, Gunz. wə id.; Darg. χla (Chir. χ:l<sup>w</sup>a); Tab. χuj, Ag. ɪuj, Rut. χij, Tsakh. χ<sup>w</sup>a, Kryz. χ<sup>w</sup>a-r, Bud. χo-r, Ud. χla; Khin. p̄χra; PWC (with secondary lateralization) \*Ll<sup>w</sup>a > Abkh. a-lá, Abaz. la, Ad., Kab. ħa, Ub. wla 'dog'. Most of the EC languages point to the PEC oblique base \*χHwǐj-rV- (cf. PN \*p̄hare-, PA \*χ<sup>w</sup>or-, PD \*χ:ur-, PL \*χ:<sup>w</sup>ǎjrV-); in some languages (Shakhdagh, Khin.) the former oblique base became direct.

PST \*qh<sup>w</sup>ij (also with a nasal suffix: \*qh<sup>w</sup>ī-n) 'dog' > OC 犬 \*kh<sup>w</sup>ī-n; Tib. khji; Burm. khwijh, Kach. gui<sup>2</sup> (cf. also čə-khjon<sup>1</sup> 'fox, wolf or wild dog'); Lush. ui; (?) Kir. \*khlè; Trung də<sup>3</sup>-gə<sup>1</sup>, Chepang kuj? etc.

PY \*ʔi<sup>w</sup>ī-n (~ x-, -G-, -χ-) 'puppy' > Ket. īn-tip / i:n-tip<sup>3</sup>, Yug. i:n-čip<sup>3</sup>. A compound with PY \*čip "dog" in the second part; see CCE 196, Werner 2, 434. A form without the final -n is recoverable in Yug. pl. i:-čap<sup>3</sup> 'puppies'.

Bur. \*hu-k (with an old diminutive suffix) 'dog' > Yas., Hun., Nag. huk.

[Cf. Basq. \*hor 'dog' = PNC obl. stem \*χhwǐj-rV-].

\*χónV ~ \*χHónV 'trap, net' (WFR 51):

PNC \*χónV > Av. hin 'snare'; Lak. χ:unu 'diaphragm'; Tab. ɪun

'dam, dike', Archi  $\chi$ :on 'trap'.

PST  $*\chi\bar{a}nH$  (~ -H) 'net' > OC 罕  $*x\bar{a}n?$  'net', Kach. khan 'to fish with a casting net'.

PY  $*\eta u\eta un$  (~x-, -G-, -χ-) > Ket. unəŋ<sup>5,6</sup>, pl. unayəŋ<sup>5</sup> 'a k. of net', Ket. ūń, Yug. u:ń 'to set up a net' (CCE 199; Werner 2, 348 attempts to explain the form unəŋ as a compound with  $*pə\eta$  'net' - but the loss of -p- in Yug clearly speaks against such an explanation).

$*\chi\ddot{u}n\acute{f}V$  (~  $*\chi k-$ ) 'beads':

PNC  $*mf\ddot{o}\chi V$  ( $*\chi\ddot{o}mfV$ ) 'iron; an object made of iron, iron beads' > Av. maχ: 'iron', Akhv. miχ:i, Kar. maχ:e 'tripod-lock', God. miχ:i 'trivet'; Lak. muh 'sickle'; Darg. meh (Chir. meχ) 'iron'; PL  $*\chi an:(a)$  'bead(s)' > Lezg. χat, Rut. χad-bi, Arch. χan.

PY  $*qoń$  (~χ-) 'beads' > Ket. qōń, Yug. xon (CCE 263, Werner 2, 127).

$*[\chi]V\acute{l}V$  'burden; back':

PNC  $*\chi[\ddot{a}]V$  'burden, pack' > Av. hir 'sack (for carrying grain)', dial. 'burden, load'; Lak. hiwu 'pack, burden'; Darg. χala (dial. χ:ala) 'bundle'; Rut. χäl, Tsakh. χew, Kryz, Bud. χel, Arch. χ:al, Ud. χel / qel 'burden, load'.

PST  $*q\bar{a}lH$  'back; burden, load' > OC 荷  $*g\bar{a}j?$  'carry on the back', Tib. khal 'burden, load', sgal 'burden; small of the back, croup', khel, āgel 'to load upon'; Kach. kan 'to put or be on the back', Lush. ēl 'part of the back behind the abdomen', etc.

[The root presents some irregularities in ST (initial  $*q-$  and -l instead of  $*-r$ : these can be probably explained by an early contamination with PSC  $*GwV\ddot{o}$  'side'. Initial  $*\chi-$  is probable because the stem can be in fact a very old derivative of the root  $*=i\chi V$  'to carry' q.v.].

$*\chi\ddot{V}iH\acute{e}$  'hand, sleeve':

PNC  $*\chi\ddot{e}fHe$  (~-a) > Av.  $k^w\acute{e}rda-\chi:elal$  'mittens', Akhv.  $k^w\ddot{a}-\chi:e$  'sleeve', Tind.  $k^w a-\chi:al$  id. (a compound with  $*kw\ddot{i}l\acute{z}$  'hand'; Lak. kaχ:a (dial.  $k^w a-\chi:w a$ ) 'sleeve' (same compound); Lezg. χel 'sleeve; branch', Tab. χil 'sleeve', Ag. χil 'wing', Kryz. χäl-χäž 'sleeve', Arch. χala-çi 'sleeve'.

PY  $*xire$  > Ket. ĭl (South.), North. ĭl'i; pl. ĭləŋ' 'arm', Ar. karam-pat 'elbow' (lit. 'knee of the arm'). See CCE 297, Werner 2, 434 (not connecting the obviously related Ket and Arin forms).



[\\*χṼ\[n\]HV](#) 'dark' (NSC 53):

PNC > PL \*χI:an: 'evening'

PST \*γVm(H) 'dark, shade' > OC 陰 \*ʔəm 'shade; cloudy; conceal; shelter', 晦 \*ʔəmʔ, \*ʔamʔ 'dark', 暗 \*ʔəmh 'dark', 滄 \*ʔamʔ 'thickening, gathering (clouds)'; Burm. um, umʔ 'overcast (of clouds)'; Kach. gjim<sup>3</sup> 'to hide, conceal'; Lush. vom 'black', etc.

PY \*χoʔn- 'dark' > Ket. qɔnij<sup>6</sup>; Yug. xon-si<sup>5</sup> (Werner 2, 107: χoʔn); Kott. hōn "dark", (Бол.) xon-šu "darkly"; Ass. xóna (M., Cl., Kl.), hontu (Kl.) "darkly"; Ar. bonosot-xomšümä (Локк.) "darkly"; Pump. kónčidin (Cl.) "darkly" (see CCE 302, Werner 2, 107).

[Cf. Basq. \*gau 'night'.]

[\\*χwǝmpǝV](#) 'to swallow':

PNC \*χwim(V)ǝV 'gulp, mouthful' > Lak. χ:uǝ 'gulp, mouthful'; Lezg., Rut. χuǝ, Tab. χumpǝ id.; Khin. χob id.; Ad. ja-χ<sup>w</sup>ǝmpǝ-ɸ<sup>w</sup> id., Kab. χ<sup>w</sup>ǝpǝ- 'to gulp'.

PST \*χǝp 'to bite, take into mouth' > OC 嚼 \*xap 'shut (e. g. mouth)', Tib. hab 'mouthful', Burm., Lush. hap 'to bite, snap'.

PY \*ʔob- (~ x-, -p) 'drink' > Ket. d-a-b-ɔp, North. da-v-ɔp 'I drink it', d-ɔb-al-ɔp 'I drank it' (Werner 2, 44); Yug. d-úr-ɔp 'Ich betrinke mich' (Werner 2, 44); Kott. ǝpaŋ 'to drink', praet. olǝpaŋ, imp. alčep; šigap 'drinking'; Ass. (M., Cl., Cpcl., Kl.) ulabuŋái, (Kl.) ulapuŋai 'drink'. See CCE 202, Werner 2, 44.

Bur. \*hūp 'to swallow' > Hunza, Nagar huúp ʔ-t.

[\\*χwǝmti](#) 'sharp stick, to pierce':

PNC \*χwǝmti (~ -ǝ-) 'sharp stick' > Tind. χ:anṭa 'hook (made of a piece of pine with lopped branches)'; Lak. χ:uṭi 'fang' (dial. 'a sharpened stick for separating threads'); Ag. χuṭ, Rut. χud 'sting'.

PST \*q(h)<sup>w</sup>it (~ ʔ<sup>w</sup>-) 'to pierce' > OC 𪚇 \*wit 'to pierce'; Lush. vit 'to pierce, prick, stab'.

[\\*χwōrfV](#) 'village' (WFR 11):

PNC \*χwōrfV (/ʔ<sup>w</sup>ōχwV) 'village, farmstead' > Av. roχ:é-n 'village block', God. riχ:<sup>w</sup>al 'farmstead'; Lezg. χür, Ag. Xur, Arch. χlor 'village', Tsakh. χIje 'stone pillar (as a boundary)'.

PST \*qh<sup>w</sup>ǝ 'village' > OC 丘 \*kh<sup>w</sup>ǝ 'village, district', Burm. r-wa 'village', Kach. wa<sup>1</sup> 'a hut in a paddy field', Nung rǝ-wa 'village, town'.

PY \*χuʔ 'house' (frequently with a singulative \*-s: \*χuʔs 'one

house') > Ket. quʔs, pl. quʔη, Yug. xuʔs (pl. xuʔη), Kott. hūs (pl. huη), Ar. hu, ku-s 'house', kun-kus 'yard', Pump. hu-kút 'house, village'. See CCE 305, Werner 2, 140. [Different - but hardly better cognates for the PY root were suggested in KC 214 and CCE 305. Note that the development \*-r- > -ʔ- after \*χ- is quite regular in PY.]

\*χwVɪV 'long':

PNC \*HāχuʔV / \*HālχV 'long' > Chech. =ēχα, Ing. =fäχα, Bac. =aχχ-ē 'long'; Av. χ:alá-ta-, And. =eχ:ula, Akhv. =aχ:a-da, Cham. =eχ:ila-, Tind. =eχ:ela-, Botl., God. =eχ:ila, Bagv. =eχ:ela- 'long'; Tsez. =eχora, Gin. =oχoru, Khv. =eχ<sup>w</sup>la, Bezht. =iχalo, Gunz. =iχəlu 'long'; Lak. halχ:a- 'tall, high'; Darh. χala-l, dial. χ:<sup>w</sup>ala- 'big'; PL \*[hI]alχä- > Lezg. jarçi, Tab. jarçi, Ag. jarχle-, Rut. χuläχ-di, Tsakh. χili-na, Arch. lāχα 'long', Bud. laχα, Ud. laχο 'up, on top'; Khin. wiχä 'long'; PWC \*L<sup>w</sup>A 'long' > Abkh. a-wó, Ab. wə, Ad. čə-ħa, Kab. čə-ħ, Ub. wa; Hurr. χel(-)di 'lofty, high-born'.

PST \*(K-)lu 'long' > OC 悠 \*lhu 'far away', Kach. gəlu<sup>2</sup> 'long', Burm. lu 'disproportionately tall', Dimasa galau, lau-ba 'long', Mikir he-lo 'far' etc.

[Different, but hardly better, etymologies are given in WFR 32 (PNC \*HāχuʔV : PST \*q(h)<sup>w</sup>ɪl 'separate, deviate', and BCD 32 (PST \*lu : Basq. lusV 'long'; see \*łújsV)]

\*χwVɪrV 'saw, to saw':

PNC \*ʔirχwV / \*χirχwV > Av. q:uq:á-, And. q:uq:an- (with an irregular expressive q:), Cham. χ:uχ:an-, Tind. χ:ē-, χ:iχ:<sup>w</sup>ā- 'to saw'; Gunz. həru 'saw'; Lak. χ:ara-čani 'saw', χ:uχ:u-ṭi 'file'; Darg. χurka 'rasp file'; Tab. q-a=χI-, Ag. d-irχ-, Arch. χ:uχ:u-bos 'to saw', Rut. darχi-laq, Tsakh. ajχā 'saw'.

Bur. \*harí-çi > Hun., Nag. harí-çi 'saw'.

\*zV 'I (1st p. pronoun)' (HGC 20):

PNC \*zō > Chech., Ing., Bac. zo; Av. dun, And. din, Akhv. dene, Cham. dī, Tind. de, Kar., God. den, Botl. den(i), Bagv. dē; Tsez. di, Gin. de, Khv. da, Bezht. do, Gunz. də; Lak. t:u- (obl. base); Darg. du (cf. also 1st p. future ending -s); Lezg., Ag. zun, Tab. uzu, Rut. zi, Tsakh., Ud. zu, Kryz, Bud. zin, Arch. zon; Khin. zi; Abkh., Abaz. sa-ra, Ad., Kab. sa, Ub. sə-ɪ<sup>w</sup>á.

PST \*CV-η 'I, we': Moto-Monpa źaη 'I', Bodo səʔη 'we', Qiang cə-χα, Taraan η<sup>1</sup>cu<sup>3</sup> 'we' (a rather rare pronominal stem).

PY \*ʔaʒ 'I': Ket. āt 'I', ɓt 'we', Yug. at 'I', ɓtn 'we'; Kott. ai 'I', ajoη 'we'; Ar. aj 'I', aiη 'we'; Pump. ad 'I', ádiη 'we'. See CCE 185, Werner 1, 72.

Bur. \*ǰa > Yas. ǰa, Hunza, Nagr ǰe 'I'.

\*ǰǎwrV 'ice, frost':

PNC \*ǰǎwrV 'ice' > And., Bagv. zar, Akhv. žari, Cham. zā, Tind., Botl., God. zari, Kar. zare 'ice, hail'; Bezht. za-λ- 'to get cold', Gunz. žara 'ice'; Lak. zuru-q:alni 'icicle'; Lezg. c:ur 'glazed frost'.

PY \*ǰVr<sub>1</sub>- (~-l) 'cold, frost' > Kott. čal, pl. čálaŋ "cold (n., adj.)"; čoltü (Бол.) "cold (n.)"; čoltüi (Бол.) "cold (n.)"; čiltu (Бол.) "coldly"; Ass. (M., Cλ., Cpλ., Kλ.) čalá "cold", (Kλ.) čaltu id.; Ar. sóloŋa (M., Cλ., Kλ., Cpλ.) "cold (n.)"; šiltu (Локк.) id.; solma (Локк.) id.; šilt[ü] (Локк.) "coldly". See CCE 311, Werner 1, 162.

\*ǰǎžě 'larch, thorn(y tree)' (SME 133):

PNC \*ǰǎžě 'thorn, prick' > Chech. zez 'larch'; Av. zaz 'blackthorn, thistle; thorn, prick', And. zaz, Akhv. žaža, Cham., Tind. zaza 'thorn, prick'; Gunz. ziza id.; Lak. c:ac 'sweetbrier, eglantine'; Darg. zanzi, Chir. c:ac: 'thorn, prick'; Lezg. c:az, Tab., Ag., Rut. zaz, Tsakh. zaza, Arch. cac, Ud. cac 'thorn, prick'; Ad. cāca, Kab. ǰāsa, Ub. caca 'spit, skewer'.

PY \*seʔs 'larch' > Ket. séʔś, Yug. seʔs, Kott. šēt, Ar. čit, Pump. tag (CCE 271, Werner 2, 188).

Bur. \*čhaš > Yas. čaš, çaš, Hunza, Nagar čhaš 'thorn'.

[PY -ʔ- is quite irregular: it may be explained by assuming an early merger with another root, reflected in PNC as \*ǰi[l]ǰV 'hook, buckle' - note that these two roots also tend to contaminate in NC.]

\*ǰǎwǎ 'sky, sun':

PNC \*ǰǎwǎ 'sky' > Av. zob 'sky', And. zubu, Akhv. žō, Tind., Kar. zebu, Botl. ziwu, Bagv. zeb, God. zibu 'day'; Lak. s:aw 'sky'; Darg. zab 'rain', Chir., Kub. c:ab 'sky'; Lezg. c:aw, Tab., Ag., Kryz. zaw, Bud. zəw 'sky'; Khin. c:<sup>w</sup>a id.; PWC \*z<sup>w</sup>V > Abkh. á-ž<sup>v</sup>-ǧ<sup>w</sup>an, Ab. ž<sup>w</sup>-ǧ<sup>w</sup>and, Ub. z<sup>w</sup>a 'sky', Ad. z<sup>v</sup>ā-ǧ<sup>w</sup>a, Kab. vā-ǧ<sup>w</sup>a 'star'.

Bur. \*sa > Yas. sa 'sun, day', -sa 'month', Hun., Nag. sa 'sun, day', -sa(n) 'month'.

\*ǰHwǎré (/ \*-ǎ-) 'urine; urinate, leak':

PNC \*ǰ(H)wǎré (~ \*rěʒwe) 'urine' > Darg. dial. daci; Lezg. c:<sup>w</sup>ar, Tab. ǰ<sup>v</sup>ur, Ag., Rut. zur, Tsakh. zej, Kryz. zir / ǰir, Bud. zire, Arch. cor 'urine'.

PST \*ǰh[i]r 'drop, leak' > Tib. ãžir 'to drop'; Lush. far 'a drop; leak'.

Bur. \*hara- 'to urinate' > Yas. hariá-, Hun., Nag. hará-.

[Irregular root structure in PST may be due to the influence of other similar roots: cf. \*=HóžÁl, \*žísdur-, \*čHárV; cf. also PST \*sre 'to strain off, riddle' (OC 釀 \*sre, \*sreʔ, \*sra 'to strain off wine', Lush. hri 'to riddle, screen' - which can be a trace of the original reflex of the current root.)]

\*žǝŋV 'to save, assist':

PNC \*žǝŋV 'healthy; whole' > Av. =úç:ala-b-go 'wholly, entirely'; Lak. çullu- 'healthy; whole, undamaged'; Darg. ara-, Tsud. zara- 'healthy, whole' (with an unexplained -r-: perhaps from a suffixed form \*žǝŋV-rV-?); Abkh. -b-zá, Abaz. b-za 'alive, living'; Hurr. šawŋV 'health, prosperity'.

PST \*cāj (~ žh-, -l) 'to help, save' > OC 佐 \*cājʔ-s 'to aid, assist'; Burm. chai 'to save'.

\*žǝŋʔǝ 'navel' (MCGD 5):

PNC \*žǝŋʔǝ > Chech. çon-ga, Ing. çon-g 'navel'; Av. ç:ínu, And. ç:unno, Akhv. ç:un, Cham. šǝj, Tind. c:ũ, Kar. ç:undu-l, Botl., Bagv. ç:uni, God. c:ini; PTs \*cō-ŋš (a compound with \*-ŋš 'nipple, pimple') > Tsez. coŋori, Gin. čičo, Khv. ceŋona, Bezht. coŋaro, Gunz. coŋor 'navel'; Lak. çun; Darg. Chir. zu; Rut., Tsakh. dan, Arch. çan, Ud. c:an 'navel'; Khin. çum id.

Bur. \*-sú[m] 'umbilical cord' > Yas. -su (pl. -súmu), Hun., Nag. -súi (pl. súimuc).

\*žǝŋ[mV] 'point, edge' (WFR):

PNC \*çǝmV (~ \*ž-) 'tip, point' > Chech. çom 'trunk'; Cham. šǝ-ku-, Kar. ç:umo- 'sharp, pointed'; Tsez., Gin. cemi 'corner'; Lak. çun 'spout (of a vessel)'.

PST \*žǝm 'edge' > OC 尖 cem 'sharp point, edge'; Lush. fēm 'edge, fringe'.

Bur. \*sum > Yas., Hunza, Nagar sum 'sprout, shoot', Yas. su (pl. súmu) 'snout (of a vessel)', Hunza, Nagar -súmal 'tail'.

\*žwěrhǝ 'name, family' (DCE 29):

PNC \*žwěrhǝ 'name' > Chech., Bac. çe, Ing. ç; Av. ç:ar (par. C: ç:arú-l, ç:ára-l), And., Bagv. ç:er, Akhv., Kar., Botl. ç:eri, Cham. šǝ, Tind. c:era, God. c:eri 'name'; Tsez. ci, Gin. ce, Khv. cā, Bezht. caro, Gunz. cōru 'name'; Lak. ça 'name'; Darg. u, Chir. zu 'name'; Lezg. ƭʷar, Tab. č:ur, Ag. t:ur, Rut. dur, Tsakh. do, Kryz tǝr, Bud. tur, Arch. çor, Ud. c:i 'name'; Khin. çu 'name'; PWC \*(P)ça > Ad., Kab. çā, Ub. p̄ça 'name'; see NCED 1098.

PST \*Cǎ 'name, concept, form' > OC 字 \*ʒə-s 'name, family name, concept' (Late Zhou); Tib. zo, bzo 'figure, picture, form'; Burm. cá 'writing, letter, document'.

\*ʒwhǎrī 'star, shine' (NSC 64; differently and incorrectly in WFR):

PNC \*ʒwhǎrī / \*ʒwǎhrī (~ -ē) 'star' > Bac. ʃejrī; Av. ɕ:<sup>w</sup>a, And. ɕ:a, Akhv. ɕ:<sup>w</sup>ari, Cham. šā, Tind. c:aru, Kar. ɕ:<sup>w</sup>aj, Botl. ɕ:aj, Bagv. ɕ:<sup>w</sup>ara, God. c:aji; Tsez., Khv., Gunz. ca, Gin. c<sup>w</sup>a, Bezht. cā; Lak. ɕu-ku; Darg. urʔi, Chir. zure; Abkh. á-je-č<sup>v</sup>a, Abaz. ja-č<sup>w</sup>a, Ad. wā-ša, Kab. wā-fa, Ub. ɕ<sup>w</sup>a-(n)k 'star'.

PST \*cer (~-iə-) 'shine, sunshine' > Tib. ācher 'to shine, glitter'; Burm. cáñʔ 'to glaze, glitter', Kach. ʒan 'sun'; Lepcha čir 'to shine, glitter', etc.

[Cf. Basq. \*isař 'star'.]

\*ʒwVIHǎ 'child':

PNC \*(-i)ǎwīl(H)V > \*r-īlǎwī (~ -ā-) 'girl; woman' > Chech. dēca 'paternal aunt'; Av. ruč:á-bi 'women' (Chad. rucá-ba 'wife'); Lak. duš 'daughter'; Darg. rursi 'girl'; Tsakh. iči 'girl', Ud. ču 'woman'; Hurr. šali, Ur. sālā 'daughter'.

PST \*ʒhǎH 'child' > OC 子 \*cəʔ 'son, daughter, child', 字 \*ʒəʔ-s 'to breed, nurture'; Tib. cha 'grandchild; nephew, brother's son', bca 'to bear'; Burm. sah 'son'; Kach. ša<sup>t</sup> 'a child'; Lush. fa 'an off-spring, a child; nephew'; Kir. \*ʔcə 'child', Rawang za-mi 'daughter', etc.

PY \*ʒVI 'child' > Ket. dǎl, Yug. dǎl, Kott. dál, Ass. jali, Ar. bi-kál 'son', bi-kála 'daughter', Pump. pí-kola 'girl, daughter', xilúnla 'child'. See CCE 308. Werner (2, 219) reluctantly admits that the Kott. form can be related with Ket and Yug and says: "sollte man eher PJ \*d'əl vermuten" - however, his \*d'əl (= our \*ʒəl) would have yielded Yug d'il, not dǎl. The reconstruction \*ʒ- (with the reflexes Ket, Yug d- : Kott. d- : Ar., Pump. k-, quite parallel to those of \*c- > Ket, Yug t-: Kott. h-/t-: Ar., Pump. k- (x)-) is therefore inevitable, and there is no need to derive the Arin and Pumpokol forms from PY \*qar- 'grandchild'.

Bur. \*salé-n > Yas. salén, selén 'sister(s) and daughter(s) of a man', Yas., Hun., Nag. -sál-gin- 'to betroth (a girl)', Hun., Nag. sila-ʒín 'woman, female relatives'.

[In PNC one would expect \*ʒ-; the consonant was most probably modified under the influence of \*=ǎǎ 'brother / sister' q.v.].

\*žālhī 'mane, long hair' (DCE 10):

PNC \*žālhī (~ -ō) 'mane; nap, pile' > Av. žal, Kar. žale 'mane', God. žali 'fringe, forelock'; Bezht. žaro, Gunz. žāru 'horse's mane'; Lak. zulū 'nap, pile'.

Bur. \*žal- / \*žal- > Yas. žalāš 'hairy', Hun. 'žal 'strip (of cloth), žaléi, žalíi 'beard (of goat), Hun., Nag. žaláli-min 'long hair (of people)'.

\*žāmV / \*māžV 'a relative' (DCE 15):

PNC \*žāmV / \*māžV 'relative, kinsman' > Chech. zamō, Ing. zame 'best man'; Av. máž-iχ:, máž-biχ: 'third cousin'; Lak. mač:a 'relative, kinsman'; Lezg. č:am, Tab. žam, Ag. žam / žam 'bride-groom', Rut. q̄lu-žām 'brother-in-law', Tsakh. q̄Ia-žam-ar 'brothers' wives' )in Rut. and Tsakh. - a compound with \*q̄l<sup>w</sup>ä- 'two').

PST \*māt 'a relative': OC 妹 \*mhāt-s 'younger sister'; Burm. mat 'husband's younger brother, younger sister's husband'.

Bur. \*žām 'relative (distant)' > Yas. žām, Hun., Nag. žaám.

\*žī 'self':

PNC \*žī 'self, oneself' > Av., And., Akhv., God. ži-, Cham. zi-, Kar. že-; Tsez. žo, Gin.zo, Khv., Gunz. žu, Bezht. žü; Lezg. žuw (1-2 pers.), Tab. žvw id., Rut. =iž, Tsakh. =iž, Kryz. iž (2d cl.), Arch. in-ž; PWC \*žə (~ z-) 'self, oneself' > Ad. jaž, Kab. jazə.

PST \*ć(h)i 'self' > OC 自 \*zij-s (~ž-, -ts), Lush. čia? 'self'.

\*žāq̄wV 'small bird' (HGC 28):

PNC \*žāq̄wV 'a small bird' > Chech. maž-žač 'a small bird' ("жулан") (maž- 'yellow'); Av. žužuk 'sparrow', And. čaq̄<sup>w</sup>ara, Kar. č<sup>w</sup>a?ara 'quail', Akhv. čīqa 'sparrow, bird'; Gunz. čeq 'bird'; Tab., Ag. žaq̄<sup>w</sup> 'bird, small bird'.

PST \*ćek<sup>w</sup> 'sparrow, small bird' > OC 雀 \*ćek<sup>w</sup> 'sparrow'; Kir. \*cīk (~ ?c-) 'bird', Trung pi-čí? 'bird', etc.

\*žfV̄mV 'a k. of fruit- or berry-bearing bush' (WFR 89, MCGD 6):

PNC \*žfV̄mV 'bush, grass; a k. of fruit' > PN (with metathesis) \*žʔōIVm (~ -ā-) > Chech. žʔolam 'small bushes, shrubs'; Av. žulám (< \*žumal) 'cornel', Akhv. žomi, Tind., Kar. žimi, Bagv. žim 'grass'; Gunz. šumal 'bushes, shrubs'; Lak. žunaw 'cornel'; Darg. žunab id.; Lezg. žum 'quince', č:umal 'cornel', Tab. čimil, Ag. žimil 'cornel', Rut. žim, Tsakh. šum 'quince', Kryz. žum id., žimel 'cornel', Bud. žuməl id.; Hurr. zilumba 'date

of the Phoenix dactylifera'.

PST \*ćōm (~ ǰ-, -ū-) 'thicket' > OC 叢 \*ǰōŋ 'thicket', Burm. ćum 'pleasant grove, wood, wilderness'.

PY \*ǰam- > Kott. ćamar šulpi "Preiselbeere"; thum ćamar šulpi "Schwarzbeere". Ket. baŋ-sama and. Yug. samma 'berry' have irregular s- (d- and d'- respectively would be expected) - probably under influence of PY \*sōn- 'rowan berry'. See CCE 308-309, Werner 1, 106, 163.

Bur. \*śumulū > Hunza, Nagar śumulū 'eine Johannisbeerenart'.

[Cf. Basq. \*sum(h)ar 'a k. of elm; grove'.]

\*ʔa 'to be' (NSC 54):

PNC \*=a / =i 'to be (an auxiliary verb) > Chech. =u, Ing., Bac. =a 'to be, is'; And. i, Akhv. g-i-di, Cham. i-da, Tind. i-ja, Botl. i-ra, Bagv. i-da id.; Bezht. -i / -j id.; Lak. =u- / =i- id.; Darg. Chir. =u id.; PL \*ʔa / ʔi id. > Lezg. ja, Tab. wu, a, Ag. i, a, Rut. =iʔ-, a, Tsakh. wo=, a=, Kryz. =i, ʔä-, Bud. wi, =eʔ-, Arch. =i, e=, Ud. b-u. The verb presents a common verbal Ablaut \*a / \*i; although some languages use class prefixes with it, there are many indications that it was originally prefixless.

PST \*ʔă (~y-) 'to be in; in, at, etc.' > OC 於 \*ʔa id.; Burm. ah 'marker of an object' (may also reflect the demonstrative \*ʔa, see below).

PY \*ʔa 'to become' > Ket. -a-, Yug. -e- (Werner 1, 11); Kott. d'-āja-ŋ 'I become', d'-ä-u 'you become' etc.

Bur. \*b-a- 'to be, exist' > Yas., Hun., Nag. bá-.

\*ʔ[a] ( / \*ha-) 'demonstrative stem' (HGC 22, NSC 64):

PNC \*ʔö (? \*ʔa) 'that' > Bac. o; PL \*ʔa > Lezg. a, a-m, Kryz. ä-m, ä-d, Bud. a-d, Arch. e-mi-; Abkh., Ab., Ub. a-, Ad., Kab. ā- 'a demonstrative stem'. The variant \*ha is reflected in Chech. ha-ra, Bac. e-h / o-h 'demonstrative pronoun'; Av. ha-b, And. ho, Akhv. ha-, Kar. ha-di-, Botl., God. ha- 'this' (but cf. also Tind., Bagv. a- id.); Tsez. ho-, Gin. ha-, Khv. a-, Bezht. ho-, hu-, Gunz. ə-, o- 'deictic stem (as component of demonstratives)'; Lezg., Tab., Rut., Tsakh., Ud. ha- id.; Khin. ha / hä 'she, that one (fem.)'.

PST \*ʔa 'demonstrative pronoun' > Lepcha a 'this', Kir. \*ʔa 'he, this', Konyak \*ʔa etc. Some languages also reflect an emphatic variant \*χa- > ha- (cf. Lush. hei 'this', Mikir ha-la, Kham hō etc.).

[Cf. Basq. \*ha 'that', \*ha-u(r) 'this'.]

\*ʔántV (~ -m-) 'dirt, sand' (BCD 30):

PNC \*ʔantV (~ -m-) > Tsez., Gin. atu 'dirt, mud'; Khin. ant 'earth, ground'.

PST > OC 土 \*thāʔ 'land, soil'.

[Cf. Basq. \*ondaṛ 'sand'.]

\*ʔānV(jV) 'mother, aunt':

PNC \*ʔānV(jV) 'mother' > Tsez. enju / eniju 'mother'; Darg. ne-š id.; Tab. ana 'mother', Tsakh. anaj 'grandmother'; Abkh. á-n, Ab. anə, Ad. nə, Kab. āna, Ub. na 'mother'.

PST \*nējH 'elder female relative' > OC 孀 \*nhrējʔ (< \*r-nhējʔ) 'mother' (Chu word according to Guangyun); Tib. a-ne 'father's sister; woman, female'; Kach. ni<sup>1</sup> 'mother-in-law'; Lush. ni 'paternal aunt'; Lepcha njí 'grandmother'; Limbu nijā 'aunt', etc.

\*ʔārV 'plain, field' (LDC 28-29, BCD 30):

PNC \*ʔārV 'plain' > Chech. ārē, Ing. ara 'plain, steppe'; Lak. ar 'plain'; Tab. ar 'marsh, swamp'.

PST \*rāj 'flat and wide' > Burm. p-rah 'be flat, level', Kach. pje<sup>1</sup> id., Lush. rai 'flat and wide'.

PY \*ʔ[ā]r<sub>1</sub>V (~h-) 'taiga, wilderness' > Ket. al 'in the wood, in the wilderness'; Yug. a:<sup>h</sup>r; Ar. eol, Pump. ála 'field'.

Bur. \*har 'small ravine, river bed' > Hun., Nag. har.

[Basq. \*(h)aran 'valley, field'.]

\*ʔǎʒV 'sick, ill' (HGC 36, with some confusion with \*HǎʒǎV-):

PNC \*ʔǎʒǎ (~ -ǎ-, -ǎ-) 'to be ill, feel pain': Chech., Ing. l-az-, Bac. l-aç- 'to hurt, feel pain, be ill'; Akhv. ç:i-n-, Tind. (redupl.) c:ic-in- 'to tickle, be ticklish'; Lak. çu- 'to hurt, ache'; Darg. izz-, Chir. ic:- 'to hurt, ache, be ill'; Lezg. ʒa-, Tab. ic:-ru (xuz), Ag. it:-ar (xas), Rut. =ǎdda-, Kryz. tit-, Bud. tut-kar-, Arch. =aç:a- 'to be ill, hurt, ache'; Khin. ç-i-t 'sick, ill'; Abkh. (a-čəma-)za-ɣw- 'to be ill, sick', Ab. zɣwa, Ad. wə-zə, Kab. wə-z, Ub. ʒa-ɣ<sup>w</sup>á 'illness, disease'.

PST \*ʒhaj 'illness, disease' > OC 瘡 \*ʒāj / \*caj 'disease', Burm. chá 'be hungry; be weak (of hands, feet)', PKC \*fa 'be ill'.

\*ʔēmšwV 'to stop up':

PNC \*ʔēmšwV 'to stop up, plug, close up' > Av. (redupl.) š:uš:n- 'to darn', And. d-aš:-, Tind. inš:<sup>w</sup>- 'to lock', Cham. is:<sup>w</sup>Vn- 'to unlock'; Lak. =aš:a- / =aš:i- 'to close tightly, stop up'; Darg. b-arš- 'to load, charge



(weapon); Tab. hiṭ-i=š<sup>v</sup>-, Rut. ä=š<sup>w</sup>a-, Tsakh. q-eše- 'to stop up, plug', Bud. ḡa=š- 'to insert', Ud. b-ošle-sun 'to be buried, planted'.

Bur. \*-śa- / \*-śi- > Yas. -śí-, pl. -śa-, Hun., Nag. -śá- 'to stop up, obstruct'.

\*ḡēmV 'uncle, elder brother':

PNC \*ḡēmV 'paternal uncle; father' > Av. emé-n, And., Akhv., Cham., Tind., Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. ima 'father'; Tab. em, Tsakh. emi, Ud. ämi-k: 'paternal uncle'.

PST \*m[iǎ]-ŋ (with a nasal suffix) > OC 兄 \*smraŋ (< \*s-r-maŋ) 'elder brother'; Tib. miŋ 'brother in relation to sister'; Burm. maun 'brother', ḡuh-maunh 'uncle'.

\*ḡěnrqwǎ 'cave, hiding place':

PNC \*ḡěnrqwǎ > Av. noq:ó 'cave, cavern'; Tsez. imχu, Khv. iχnu, Bezht. onoχ, Gunz. ənuχ id.; Lak. nuχ id.; Darg. iniq: id.; Lezg. urq, Rut. raχan 'hole, burrow', Tsakh. wuqna 'cave, cavern'; Khin. nuqa 'gutter'.

PST \*nǎk, \*r-nǎk 'to hide, conceal' > OC 匿 \*nrək 'conceal'; Tib. b-r-nog-s 'to hide, conceal'; Burm. hnəuk 'to penetrate, dive into'.

Bur. \*naḡár > Yas. naḡár 'fox trap (in shape of a hole)'.

\*ḡəmkǎ (~ \*ḡwəmkǎ) 'louse, small insect':

PNC \*ḡəmkV > Av. núka (< \*ḡunka) 'harmful insect, vermin', Akhv. ḡunka 'beetle'; PL \*kamk (with reduplication) > Lezg., Kryz k<sup>w</sup>ak 'worm', Tab. kamk id., Ag. kabk 'itch, mange', Tsakh. kok 'grub, larva'.

PST \*mōŋ / \*mōk (~-ū-) 'midge, moth' > OC 蠓 \*mōŋ, \*mōŋʔ 'midge, mosquito', Tib. mug 'moth, worm'.

PY \*ḡəke (~x-) 'louse' > Ket. ɬ:γəʔ (North.), South. ɬγ<sup>4</sup>, Yug. ɬ:hk, Kott. iki (CCE 192; Werner 2, 414 <\*(d)ɬʔəgə> - with an obviously erroneous \*d'- (would be \*j- in our reconstruction) - because Kott. ḡoga 'nit' is attributed to two roots at once (cf. PY \*jog- 'nit'), notwithstanding the clear distinction between iki 'louse' and ḡoga 'nit').

\*ḡi 'this' (HGC 22, NSC 64):

PNC \*ḡi > Chech. i(-za), Ing. i-z, Bac. e, i 'he, she, it; this (further from the speaker)'; Tsez. je-da, Inkh. i-du 'this', Tsez. ji-si, Inkh. j-u 'that'; Darg. i-š, i-l 'this'; Lezg. i, Tsakh. i-n, Arch. ja-t, ja-mu 'demonstrative pronoun'; Abkh. ja-rá, Abaz. ja-ra 'he'; Ad. jəj, Kab. jə, jəj 'his'; Ub. jə- 'this'.

PST \*ḡi > OC 伊 \*ḡij 'this'; Burm., Lush. i 'this', Kir. \*ḡè 'he, this,

that'.

Bur. \*i- 'that' > Yas. i-n, Hunza, Nagar i-né.

\*ʔikwVn- 'to eat' (WFR 119; differently in NSC 57):

PNC \*ʔikwVn- 'eat' > Av. k<sup>w</sup>an-, And. ik<sup>w</sup>on-, Akhv. unkan-, Cham. ik<sup>w</sup>n-, Tind. ek<sup>w</sup>ĩ-, Kar., Botl. ink<sup>w</sup>-, Bagv. ek<sup>w</sup>ã-, God. ikū- 'to eat'; (with reduplication) Tsez. kik- 'to eat; to feed', Gin. kik-aj- 'to feed', Khv. kak- 'to eat'; Lak. =uka- 'eat'; Darg. uk-, Ur. =irk<sup>w</sup>(n) / =uk- 'eat'; Arch. k<sup>w</sup>an- (kum-mus), Ud. uk-es 'eat'.

PST \*kām(H) (~g-) 'to hold in mouth' > OC 含 \*gām 'hold in the mouth', Tib. āgam 'put or throw into the mouth', ākham 'take into mouth'; Burm. khwam? 'to put into the mouth, as food', Kir. \*ʔkām 'chew', Miri gam 'seize (with teeth)'.

\*ʔilćwi 'nine':

PNC \*ʔilćwi 'nine' > Chech., Bac. iss, Ing. ijs; Av. íç-, And. hoço-, Akhv. aṗa- (dial. abč<sup>w</sup>a-), Cham. aça-, Tind. hač<sup>w</sup>a-, Kar., Botl., Bagv., God. hača-; Tsez. oçi-no, Gin. ṡaçi-no, Khv. ũçi-n, Bezht. ače-na, Gunz. učçi-n; Lak. urč; Darg. určema-l; Lezg. k̕ü-d, Tab. urč<sup>w</sup>u-b, Ag. jaIrč<sup>w</sup>u-d, Rut. huč<sup>w</sup>u-d, Tsakh. jič<sup>w</sup>u- / juč<sup>w</sup>u-, Kryz. jič<sup>w</sup>i-d, Bud. wič<sup>w</sup>i-d, Arch. uč, Ud. wuj; Khin. joz.

Bur. \*huncó > Yas. hućó, Hun., Nag. huncó 'nine'.

\*ʔilV 'to look' (DCE 33):

PNC \*ʔilV 'to look' > Chech. t-all- 'to explore, check; hunt', Ing. t-allar-χo 'explorer, hunter'; Cham. ʔ:i-d-, Kar. ʔ:o-n- 'to look'; PL \*liλ:[a]- 'to look' > Lezg. ki-lig-, Tab. lig-, dial. liy-, Ag. liwa- (the initial \*l- is either an old preverb or a remnant of \*ʔ<sup>w</sup>il 'eye'); Khin. l-āk-, z-āk- 'to look'.

PST \*t-lǎ(H) 'to see, look' > OC 睞 \*ʔhə-s, \*ʔhə-ŋ-s 'to stare', Tib. Ita, b-lta 'to look, to view', Burm. pra? (OBurm. pla) 'to show, appear', Lepcha g-lǎ 'to make appearance, to appear (as sun, etc.)'.

PY \*ʔV(ʔ)l- (~-r<sub>1</sub>) > Kott. ŋ-āl-iga 'I know' (Werner 2, 29).

Bur. \*ʔltV-r- 'to show' > Yas. ʔlta-r-, ʔlti-r-, Hun., Nag. ʔlti-r- 'to show'.

\*ʔilV 'to run':

PNC \*ʔilV 'to run, to leap' > Chech. l-elχ-, Bac. l-etχ- 'to jump', Chech. χ-alχa-dāla, Ing. χ-alχa-dala 'to dance'; Av. ʔ:ú-r-d- (dial. aʔ 'dance' (n.)), And. ʔ:i-b-d-, Akhv. ʔ:ur-, Kar. ʔ:e-b- 'to dance', Akhv. ʔ:er-, Tind.

ḷ:a-b-d- 'to run'; Tsez., Gin. ɣ-oḷ- 'to jump', Khv. ɣ-oḷ- 'to run'; Darg. Chir. ag- / arg- 'to walk, to go'; Tab. uṭ-u=k:-, Rut. hi=iga- 'to drive', Ag. uk:- 'to run'.

PST \*t-lāj(H) 'to run, gallop' > OC 馳 \*Łhaj 'gallop, dash after'; Burm. pñijh (Old Burm. plij) 'to run'.

Bur. > Yas. hulǰá- 'to ride (a horse).

\*ʔirλwV 'male; testicles':

PNC \*ʔirλwV (~ -ī-) 'male' > Chech. ēra, Ing. ärh 'ungelt', Bac. ajrλ 'ram', Chech., Ing. urh 'testicles'; Av. b-ixín 'male' (dial. bexé-r 'penis'), Akhv. b-eλ:o 'male', Tind. h<sup>w</sup>a-n- in h<sup>w</sup>an-heḷ<sup>w</sup>a 'husband'; Lak. burxni- 'male'.

PST \*laH > Burm. lah 'ungelt', laʔ-uʔ 'testicles', Kach. la<sup>1</sup> 'male', Kir. \*la-ri 'seed, semen' (a nasalized form is present in Mikir ar-leŋ, Trung \*laŋ-la 'man').

PY \*u(ʔ)l- (~ x-) 'testicles' > Ket. óltəŋ, (Castr.) ultəŋ, Yug. (Castr.) ulfaŋ, see Werner 2, 38, 332. The analysis ɔʔl 'hull' + -t- (gen.) + ēŋ 'eggs' (2, 38) is completely folk-etymological because of the attested Yug form with -f-.

\*ʔísdur- 'to strain, sift' (NSC 52, WFR 110):

PNC \*ʔisur- 'to strain, filter, sift' > Chech. ōz-, Ing. oz-, Bac. oç- 'to milk; to sip, smoke'; Av. ç:u- 'to strain, filter, press', And. ç:ur-d-, God. c:ur-id., Tind. hec:-, Kar. erç:- 'to settle (of liquids)' (cf. also PAnd derivatives \*Hirç:i 'whey', \*ç:urV 'filter'); Bezht. =ic- 'to be squeezed', Tsez., Khv. cec- 'to press out, squeeze out', Gin. deriv. rocij-mu 'sieve'; Lak. l-içi- 'to settle (of liquid)'; Darg. Chir. =erz- / =urz- 'to sift', deriv. \*zurV-la > \*zula 'sieve' (Darg. ula, Kait. zula); Arch. çur-bos 'to suck', Ud. c:oro 'strain, filter'.

PST \*[s]ūr (~ -ō-) 'to strain, squeeze' > Tib. bźur 'to strain, filter', Lush. sōr 'to wring, squeeze', Tulung sūr- 'press (as wood into basket), squeeze', Kanauri tsūr- 'to milk' etc.

Bur. \*char 'drop, to drip' > Yas. car, Hunza, Nagar char.

\*ʔlēḷă 'night' (LV A1):

PNC \*ʔlēḷă 'night' > Av. reḷé-da 'at night', Akhv. raḷa, And. reḷo 'night', Tsakh. ex:a 'evening', Rut. ixə 'late'. The correspondence of PL \*ʔeḷ:a < \*ʔel:a to PAnd. \*riḷo, Av. reḷe- (regularly < \*l-) points to the PEC root structure \*HRVCŦ; see NCED 216.

PST \*rjāk 'evening; 24 hours' (OC 夕 \*lhiak 'evening', Lush. riak 'to

stay the night', Burm. rak '24 hours' (LB \*rjakx 'night') etc.

\*ʔrēxgwĔ 'yoke, bent stick' (LV C1):

PNC \*ʔrēgwĔ 'yoke' > Chech., Ing., Bac. duq; Av. ruḥ: (par. C: ruḥ:á-lzul, rúḥ:a-l), And. ruḥ:o, Akhv., Kar. ruḥ:e, Cham. wuḥ:, Tind. ruḥ:a, Botl., God. ruḥ:i, Bagv. ruḥ:; PL \*ʔärḥ:ʷ > Lezg. wik, Tab. jurk:-aḥ, Ag. k:ur-aḥ (dial. jark:ʷaḥ, urk:aḥ), Tsakh. ok, Kryz. uk-ar, Arch. oḥ; Ud. oq:I; Khin. ing; PWC \*b(ə)ʔə > Ad. bžə, Kab. bžə. See NCED 220.

PST > OC 𐌶 \*ʔrēk 'yoke-ring'

PY \*ʔe(ʔ)qab- (~x-) 'sleigh bow' > Ket. ε:b-okś<sup>3</sup>, pl. ε:b-aq<sup>3</sup>, Yug. εxab-oksi<sup>3</sup>, pl. εxab-ax<sup>3</sup> (CCE 187, Werner 1, 257).

(?) Bur. \*ju(r)k 'stretcher, funeral stretcher' > Yas., Nagar, Hunza juk (a more archaic form may be reflected in the Shina loanword jurko id.)

[The root is cultural and reveals irregularities: long vowel in OC; -k in Burushaski. This all may be due to contamination with another root, cf. PNC \*riḥwV 'yoke stick' > Cham. jikʷ, Gig. riḥu, God. riḥʷa-š:i 'yoke stick'; Lak. ruḥ, dial. duḥ 'yoke', Darg. duḥ id.]

\*ʔrVnḶ 'six' (HGC 35, LV D1):

PNC \*ʔrānḶE 'six' > Chech., Ing. jalḥ, Bac. jatḥ; Av. ánḶ:-go, And. onḶ:i-gu, Akhv. iḶ:i-da, Cham. anḶ:i-da, Tind. inḶ:i-ja, Kar., Botl., God. inḶ:i-da, Bagv. inḶ:i-ra; Tsez., Gin. iḶ-no, Khv. ḗḶa, Bezht. iḶ-na, Gunz. iḶ-no; Lak. ralḥ:-; Darg. ureg-al, Chir. rek:-al; Lezg. rugu-d, Tab. jirxu-b, Ag. jerxi-d, Rut. rixi-d, Tsakh. jixi-llä, Kryz., Bud. rixi-d, Arch. diḶ, Ud. uqI; Khin. zäk; PWC \*ḶʷV > Abkh. f-ba, Abaz. c-ba, Ad., Kab. xa, Ub. fə; see NCED 219.

PST \*rūk 'six' > OC 𐌶 \*rhuk, Tib. d-rug, Burm. kh-rauk, Kach. k-ruʔ<sup>3</sup>, Lush. pa-ruk, Lepcha tä-räk etc.

PY \*ʔa(ʔ)ḶV 'six' > Ket. ā / aʔ (attr.; less frequently: North. a:<sup>4</sup>, South. a<sup>4</sup>); pred. North. a:šeñ<sup>4</sup>, South. aś<sup>4</sup>; Yug. ā / aʔ / a:<sup>h</sup> (attr.); pred. a:<sup>h</sup>s / a:<sup>h</sup>sε<sup>4</sup>; Ar. ögga (M., Cl., Cpcl., Kl., Φ.), iḡa (Ctp.), ege (Локк.); ög-thūḡ (M., Cl., Kl.) "sixty"; uj-tuḡ (Ctp.) id.; Pump. ággian (Cl.), agḡan (Cpcl., Kl.) (CCE 185, Werner 1, 93).

[The quantity correlations are not clear: the final vowel may have been long in some cases and short in others, cf. the PY \*ʔaḶḥ- 'attributive', but \*ʔāḶV-s 'predicative'. PST and PWC (\*ḶʷV with a weak Ḷ) reflect short Auslaut, PEC (\*ʔinḶ:- in Av.-And. vs. \*riḶ- in PL) - rather a long one.]

[\\*ʔrVjcwě](#) (~-ǎ) 'behind, anus, vulva' (HGC 24, VCQ 4):

PNC \*ʔrəjcwě (~-ǎ) 'hind, bottom' > Chech., Ing. =ist, Bac. b-ist 'edge, end'; Av. roc: 'lower side; anus', And. rus:i, Cham. wos: 'anus; behind, bottom', Akhv., Tind. ros:i 'anus', Kar. ros:i, Botl., God. rus:i 'behind, bottom', Bagv. rus: 'tail'; Tsez., Gin. ros 'foundation'; Tab. asi-q, asi-k: 'below', Lezg. as-kan 'low, short', Ag. ajs, Rut. sa-ʔ 'bottom'; Hurr. tawš-aylō 'bottom, lower part'.

PST \*rjēt, \*rjēt-s 'back, hind part' > Tib. rʒes 'trace, track; hind part (of a thing); to follow', Burm. rač 'remaining behind'.

PY \*rʷs > Ket. lōś, Yug. los 'vulva', Pump. lat 'cunnus'. See CCE 268, Werner 2, 15.

[Loss of expected -ʔ- in PY is not quite clear (although a misrecording is quite probable in this case).

Cf. Basq. \*erc 'edge, border, corner'.]

[\\*ʔrVxwV̄](#) 'rope, string' (differently in LV B1):

PNC \*ʔxwīrī / \*ʔrīxwī 'bridle, (leather) rope' > Chech., Ing., Bac. ʔurχ 'reins'; Cham. (Gig.) raλir 'halter'; Lak. x:uri 'bridle'; Darg. urhur, Chir. urx:ur 'bridle'; Tab. furin 'bridle', Ag. mufur (dial. muf:ur) 'leather rope', Rut. nixrā-b, dial. rīxnā 'bridle', Arch. duλ:ur id.; PWC \*x<sup>w</sup>a > Ad., Kab. š-x<sup>w</sup>a 'bridle' (š- 'horse'); see NCED 234-235. Length of the final vowel is here indicated by the root structure correspondence (PN \*ʔurχ : PA \*roλi-r : PL \*λ:ʷirV- / \*riλ:ʷV-).

PST \*rīa 'string, thread' > OC 纒 \*r(h)ā 'hempen threads'; Burm. k-rəwh 'string, cord'.

PY \*ra(x)- > Ket. lānə<sup>1</sup>, pl. lānen<sup>1</sup>, South. id. // lā, pl. lā:ŋ (Werner 2, 9).

[\\*ʔüpV̄](#) 'father' (HGC 27):

PNC \*ʔöbV̄(jV) 'father' > Tsez. obiju, Gin., Khv. obu, Bezht. abo, Gunz. obu; Lak. p:u; Darg. (Ur., Kub.) aba; Lezg. ap:aj 'father-in-law', Tab. aba 'grandfather', Kryz. bāj, Arch. ab-t:u, Ud. ap:e-r 'father'; Khin. aba 'grandfather'; PWC \*(a)p:ə > Abkh. ab, Abaz. aba, Ad. tə, Kab. āda, Ub. t<sup>w</sup>ə 'father'.

PST \*pa(H) 'father; man, male' > OC 夫 \*pa 'man'; Tib. a-pha, pha 'father' (also used as masculine affix); Burm. a-pha? 'father', pha? 'masculine affix'; Lush. pa 'father', etc.

PY \*ʔob 'father' > Ket. ōp, pl. obaŋ<sup>6</sup>, Yug. op, pl. obe:ŋ<sup>3</sup>; Kott. ōp, pl. ōpan, ōpaŋ; Ar. b-ap, ipa, Pump. ab (CCE 197, Werner 2, 50).

Bur. \*'-pe 'grandfather' > Yas. -pe, Hunza, Nagar 'pi.

\*ʔVλwV̄ 'last year':

PNC \*ʔVλwV̄ > Av. dial. uλi-sa 'last year'; Tsez., Gin. eλi, Bezht. iλe id.

Bur. \*él-den > Yas. él-den 'second year before last'.

\*ʔV̄nstwē 'door':

PNC \*ʔōŋcwē 'door; window' > Av. nuç:á, And., Kar., Botl. hinç:u, Akhv. ĩç:o, Cham. hĩʃʷ, Tind., God. hinc:u, Bagv. hũç: 'door'; Tsez., Gin., Khv. ac, Bezht. āc, Gunz. ēcu 'door'; Lak. nuz id.; Darg. unza id.; Tab. unçʷ 'window'.

PY \*ʔa(?)t- > Ket. at-t<sup>5,6</sup>, Yug. atn-to<sup>5</sup> 'part of the house before the door'; Kott. athol, athōl, Ar. éjtōl, ejtol 'door' (CCE 179, Werner 1, 80).

\*ʔVrstV̄ 'stick':

PNC \*ʔircV̄ 'stick, wood' > Chech. orcχa 'bar, bolt, cross-beam', Ing. orc 'purlin'; Darg. urculi 'wood, firewood'; Ub. sə 'wood, timber'.

Bur. \*hurç 'pole' > Yas. hurç, Hun., Nag. hulç 'pole'.

[Some confusion could be possible with \*ħwǎlsə q.v.].

\*ʔVswV̄rV̄ 'a k. of vessel, boat':

PNC \*ʔVrswV̄ 'a k. of vessel' > Av. rasá, And. irsa, Akhv. iša, Kar. esa 'trough; boat'; Lak. su 'granary', Darg. usi, Tsud. us:i id.

PY \*ʔasVr̄ (~x-, -r<sub>1</sub>, -r̄) 'a large boat' > Ket. aśél<sup>6</sup>, Yug. asour<sup>3</sup> (CCE 184, Werner 1, 68).

\*ʔwǎxkwV̄ 'bottom, below':

PNC \*ʔwǎxwV̄ > Chech. oħa-, Ing. ŋo- 'downwards', Bac. aħo 'lower part'; And. =eχu-su, Tind. χe-ri 'in the back, behind'; Tsez. wahu 'bottom', Bezht. beħe 'knees', dial. beħ 'groin'; Arch. jaχʷ 'foundation, bottom'.

PST \*ʔok > Tib. ā-ok 'below', Burm. auk 'the under part, space under', Kach. lə-wuʔ<sup>3</sup> 'lower, below'.

\*ʔwǎrcwǎ 'skin' (BCD 15):

PNC \*ʔwǎrcwǎ 'skin; color' > Chech. orca 'anxiety, alarm; help in danger', Ing. orc id., Bac. ŋarcō 'raid, foray'; Av. ačú 'anger', Cham. eši (Gig. iči) 'worry, anxiety'; Bud. ŋič 'skin (of cattle), Kryz. ŋič id., ŋuč 'color'; Abkh.

a-č'vá, Abaz. č<sup>w</sup>a 'skin, bark', Ad. s<sup>v</sup>a, Kab. fa 'skin; exterior, color', Ub. c<sup>w</sup>a 'skin'; Hurr. ašxi 'skin'. The original meaning is obviously "skin" > "surface, exterior, color" > (change of color =) "anger, anxiety". The whole spectre of meanings is present both in EC and in WC languages.

PY \*ʔese (~x-) '(fish) scales' > Ket. īśa / īśe, Yug. ise, Kott. ēči. See CCE 188, Werner 1, 396.

[Cf. Basq. \*asal 'bark, skin'.]

[\\*ʔwēǻV](#) 'grass, weed' (BCD 22):

PNC \*ʔwēǻV > Chech., Ing., Bac. jol 'hay'; Lak. huḵū 'panicked wormwood, absinth'; PL \*ʔI<sup>w</sup>eǻ > Lezg. weḷ, Tab. uḵ, Ag. uḵ, üḵ, Rut. uḷ, Tsakh. oḵ, Ud. o, oj 'grass', Kryz. dial. huḷ 'meadow', Bud. wuḷ 'hayning plot', Arch. joḵi 'summer pasture'.

PST \*I[i]wH 'weed' > OC 莠 \*luʔ 'weeds', Lush. hlô 'a weed, drug. medicine'.

[Cf. Basq. \*erdai 'tinder (made from a k. of dried fungus)'.]

[\\*ʔwəlgí](#) 'lamb, kid' (DCE 17):

PNC \*ʔwəlgí (~ -i,-u) 'lamb' > Cham. barg<sup>w</sup> 'a spring-time (lean) lamb'; Ag., Tsakh. urg 'lamb (less than 1 year old)', Rut. urg '1-year-old sheep'.

Bur. \*hálgit 'goat over 1 year old, which has not given birth' > Yas. hálkit, Hunz., Nag. élgit (cf. also halk- 'to bear young').

[\\*ʔwəǻV](#) 'hole, grave':

PNC \*ʔwəǻV > Chech. ǧür-g, Ing. ǧur-g, Bac. ǧür 'hole'; Av. or 'ditch'; Darg. ula 'window'; Tab. ul-ž, dial. ul-du 'hole, window', Ag. (redupl.) uʔul, dial. ul-ud 'burrow', ul-am 'cavern'.

PST \*rīw 'to pierce, burrow' > Kach. kh-ru 'to pierce', Lush. hreuʔ 'to burrow, bore', hreu 'bear's nest'.

PY \*ʔol (~x-) 'grave' > Ket. baḵul<sup>5,6</sup>, Yug. baḵil<sup>5,6</sup>, Kott. ol. See CCE 197. Ket and Yug reflect a compound with \*baʔḵ 'earth'; Kott. ol is also present in ol-tēg 'swamp'. Werner 1, 105 treats the second component as = \*ʔoʔoL 'container', but separates the Kottish word. Elsewhere (2, 48) it is compared with Ket ɔʔl 'hull, suffusion' (see \*ʔoʔl) - for quite obscure reasons.

Bur. \*-úl-kiš 'nest, hole' > Yas. ʔlkiš, Hunz., Nag. -úlgis.

[\\*ʔwərxqÚ](#) 'sack, basket':

PNC \*ʔwirqV(-nV) 'sack; shirt' > Tind. eḡan 'sack, pillow'; Tsez. iḡin 'sack', Khv. eḡen 'sack, pillow'; Lak. huqa 'shirt'; Rut. uḡun 'shirt'.

PST \*g(h)aw (~ -i-) 'a k. of basket or sack' > Burm. khawh 'small basket in which offerings are presented to an evil spirit', Lush. khô 'a flat shallow basket' (cf. also PKC \*khau 'sack'); Lepcha ku-mu 'a sort of basket for carrying rice etc.'; Rgyarung kho-s, r-ko 'sack'.

PY \*ʔāχ- (~x-) 'sack' > Ket. a:ji<sup>4</sup> / aj<sup>4</sup> (North.), South. aj<sup>4</sup>; pl. ajeḡ, Yug. a:hj, pl. ajeḡ<sup>5</sup>; Kott. falanč-āk / -āg, pl. falančāgan, -čākḡ. See CCE 185. Kottish has a compound with falanče 'sew', lit. 'sewn sack'. Werner 1, 18 reconstructs <\*aʔəjə> and doubts the attribution of the Kottish form. The morphological analysis of the Kottish form seems, however, quite straightforward, and the consonantal correspondence is quite regular (although not frequent) - cf. Ket. ī 'bull' : Kott. ig 'male', Yug. ta:h'r 'otter' : Kott. thēgär etc. (see KC 168 with detailed analysis).

\*ʔwə(rV) 'front':

PNC \*ʔwi-(rV) 'front, in front' > Chech., Ing. ḡa-lḡa, Bac. ḡa-tḡ(ë); PTs \*ʔar-dV- > Tsez. adä-z, Gin. aldo-ɔo, Khv. adɔol, Bezht. ara-ddä, Gunz. ar-ɬo; Kryz. ʔürü-k, ʔürä, Bud. ʔura, Rut. dial. wira-sur 'front side', Ag. dial. uri-h, Arch. hara-k 'in front, front'.

Bur. \*jar 'in front, before' > Yas., Hun., Nag. jar.

\*ʔwi[c]VñV 'spring, well' (HGC 31, LV A3):

PNC \*ʔwincV > Chech., Ing. ḡast 'spring'; Av. ic: (paradigm C: ic:ú-l, íc:a-l.) And., Kar., Botl. inci, Akhv. ĩc:i, Cham. inc<sup>w</sup>, Tind. hinc:i, Bagv. ins: 'spring'; Darg. ʔiniz 'spring'; Ag. ec, Bud. wis 'spring'; Khin. mic 'spring, source'; Ur. icə 'basin (or canal)'. See NCED 232-233.

PST \*ciəḡH (~ ʒh-) 'well, pond' > OC 井 \*ceḡ? (~ć-) 'well'; Tib. r-ʒin 'pond', Kach. ncin<sup>33</sup> 'water', Manipuri isin id.

PY \*siʔn- 'glade, spring' > Ket. síní<sup>5</sup>, Yug. sinir<sup>5</sup> 'glade', Kott. šinaḡ 'spring' (CCE 274. Werner (2, 197) is probably correct in analyzing the Ket-Yug forms as a compound with \*-xur<sub>1</sub> 'water'; however, analyzing sin-as = \*sin- 'old, withered' is surprising and, moreover, does not take into account the Kott. form (which is in fact an original plural from the simple root).

[The ST initial is irregular: one would rather expect \*chiəḡH or \*siəḡH. In NC one has to suppose a reduction \*ʔwicVñV > \*ʔwícVñV with the following regular metathesis > \*ʔwincV.

Cf. Basq \*(h)ošin 'deep place in a river, well, pool'.]



\*ʔw[í]lxqwe (~-i) 'roof, house' (LV D10):

PNC \*ʔwəlqwě (~ \*h-, -i) 'roof' > Av. dial. eq:el, heq:el 'cover, lid', Tind. haq:w- 'to cover, thatch', God. harq:in 'palate'; Arch. harq; PWC \*b-śa > Ad., Kab. bśa- 'to thatch', Ub. b-śa 'top, upper part'. In NCED 489 the root is reconstructed as \*həlqwě (although \*ʔw- is equally possible).

PST \*ʔōk 'house, room' > OC 屋 \*ʔōk 'house, room', Kach. gok<sup>2</sup> 'room'.

PY \*ʔiʔ(G) (~x-) 'loft, store' > Ket., Yug. iʔ (CCE 192, Werner 1, 389).

Bur. \*ha[k] / \*jak > Yas., Hunza, Nagar ha (pl. hakícaŋ) 'house'; Hunza, Nagar -ják 'dwelling place'.

[Length in PST is irregular: however, PNC also has a compound \*ʔa-ʔwəlqwě (lit. 'upper roof') pointing to a long Auslaut: cf. Av. ʔoq:ó (par.B: ʔoq:ó-dul, ʔoq:á-bi), And. loq:u, Akhv. ʔaqa:u, Kar. ʔalq:wa 'shed', Cham. aq:wa, God. laq:ur 'lid, cover'; Bezht. ʔoq 'roof'.]

\*ʔǎ-dV (? \*dV-) 'naked' (HGC 39):

PNC \*ʔǎdV > Av. hodóra- 'empty'; Tsez. adoru, Gin. adaru 'naked, bare'; Darg. Chir. (reduplicated) t:alt:aI-š- 'naked'. A variant \*HǎtV is reflected in Akhv. aṭe-da, Bezht. š-ǎttö, Gunz. z-aṭtu.

PST \*thjā-nH (~ dh-) > OC 袒 \*dhān? 'to bare (the body)'; Tib. r-žen 'bare, naked'.

PY \*ta- / \*tə(t)- 'naked; barefooted; bald' > Ket. tǎnǎl<sup>5</sup>, pl. -ǎŋ<sup>5</sup> 'naked'; tabuǎŋ<sup>6</sup> 'barefoot'; tǎpuǎl<sup>5</sup>, pl. -ǎŋ<sup>5</sup> 'bald'; Yug. tǎnǎl<sup>5</sup>, pl. -ǎŋ<sup>5</sup> 'naked'; tafilǎŋ<sup>6</sup> 'barefoot'; (Werner 2, 282) tǎl 'bald'; Kott. thapalō 'naked'. See CCE 280. Yug has an assimilative devoicing (as in xǎfat 'back' vs. Ket qǎbǎt). Despite Werner's (2, 248) doubts we obviously have a combination of the root \*ta- / \*tə- with various second components. The most transparent combination is \*ta + \*bul 'foot', whence Ket tabuǎŋ, Yug tafilǎŋ 'barefoot' and probably Kott. thapalo (with further semantic development 'barefoot' > 'naked'). The meaning of the components -(t)puǎl in Ket tǎpuǎl 'bald' and -ǎl in Ket tǎnǎl 'naked' is so far unclear; Werner's hypothesis that tǎnǎl is a compound of tǎn 'so, simply' + ǎl 'shell' is hardly acceptable - just because the meaning 'simply' is not attested for tǎn (which is just an adverbial form of the demonstrative pronoun).

Bur. \*tha-t 'cold (because of absent clothes)' > Yas, Hunza, Nagar that.

\*ʔǎmsi 'soul, breath; god, sky':

PNC \*ʔǎm̥sa (~ -ə,-i) > Chech. asar 'inspiration'; Av. as: 'prestige, dignity', Akhv. as:i 'breath'; Tsez., Gin., Khv. as, Bezht., Gunz. has 'sky, cloud, fog'; Lak. as 'nobility, conscience; a heathen deity'; Tab. ams (Düb. ams:a) 'raincloud', Ag. ams-ar, Rut. asij, Ud. haso, asoj 'cloud'; PWC \*pə-sA > Abkh. a-psə, Ab. psə, Ad., Kab., Ub. psa 'soul, spirit'.

PST \*siā 'to live, breathe' > OC 蘇 \*sā 'revive', Tib. ā-cho (p. so-s) 'to live', g-so-n 'to live, be alive', g-so 'to nourish, bring up, rear', Lush. tho 'to breathe, respire', Yamphu sã- 'to breathe' etc.

PY \*ʔes 'sky, God' > Ket. ēś, Yug. es, Kott. ēš, Ar. es, Pump. eč (/ eg, -it) (CCE 188, Werner 1, 272-273).

Bur. \*'-s 'heart, soul' > Yas., Hunza, Nagar 's.

[One of the exceptional cases where NC tense does not correspond to PY -ʔ-.

Cf. Basq. \*haise 'wind'.]

[\\*ʔānqV](#) (~ -xq-) 'thigh, knee-bone' (FDCP 2):

PNC \*ʔānqV > Chech. hōqam 'knee-cap'; And. aq:u 'thigh', Tind. anq:u 'knee-bone'; Tab. aʁ 'hind leg; thigh', Ag. aʁ 'hind leg', Arch. aq 'hind leg; leg, foot'.

PY \*ʔa(?)K- (~x-) > Ket. agdis<sup>5</sup> 'thigh, behind (podex)'. See CCE 179. Werner 1, 17 suggests a connection with Ket. áyitka, Yug. ágiṭ 'behind' - which would favour a reconstruction with velar \*-k- or \*-x-.

[Cf. Basq. \*hanka 'hip, thigh, leg, foot'.]

[\\*ʔǎqVwV](#) 'mountain, hill':

PNC \*ʔǎwqV 'mountain slope' > Chech. hǎwχē, Ing. howχe 'shady slope of a mountain'; Lak. jaq 'mountain slope'; Ag. aχ<sup>w</sup> 'wood, forest; gutter, ditch', Rut. waχ 'ditch, drain', Arch. χ:<sup>w</sup>a 'part of the mountain bordered with growth', Ud. aqI 'slope'.

PST \*[qh<sup>w</sup>]i 'hill, mound' > OC 丘 \*kh<sup>w</sup>ə 'hill, mound'; Lepcha khu 'mountain', Limbu the-gu 'mountain', Nocte ha-ko, Wancho ha-hoa id. etc. [EDSTL has the reconstruction \*kh<sup>w</sup>i because of the Lushei form kô 'mound, bank' - which is in fact homonymous with kô 'shoulder' and may reflect a confusion of two roots.]

PY \*qǎʔj 'mountain' > Ket. qaʔj, Yug. xaʔj, Kott. xei, khei 'Axtrücken', xē-lēx, khē-lēg 'Bergrücken', Ar. ena-háj 'forest', Pump. kó-nnoŋ 'mountain'. See CCE 256-257, Werner 2, 78-79.

Bur. \*qhū > Hunza qhú 'upper part of mountain'.

[\\*rVŋKV](#) 'tall, long' (HGC 20):

PST \*rŋ 'long, tall' > Tib. riŋ 'long', sriŋ 'extend, stretch', Burm. hrañ 'long, far', Kach. ren<sup>2</sup> 'long', Lepcha ṣ-hrjān id.

PY \*tiŋVr- 'high' > Ket. tiŋəl, Yug. tiŋgil, Pump. tokar-du (see CCE 287, Werner 2, 309 - although the latter, for a reason unclear to me, maintains that the Pumpokol form is not comparable).

[The PY form can also be compared with PST \*dhuŋ 'long'; in PST cf. also \*rāŋ 'high, long'.]

[\\*ʔādV](#) 'thing; interrogative stem':

PNC \*ʔādV > Cham. ed 'what', Tind. eja 'thing', e-la 'what', Kar. hed 'what', hede-la 'thing' (cf. also \*dan(HV) > And. dan, Cham. dā, Kar. da, God. dāji 'thing'); Tsez. di-diju 'which', di-du-r 'how', Bezht. hada 'instrument, tool'; Khin. de-l 'where'; Abkh., Abaz. -da 'who', Ad. tā-r 'which', ta-da 'where', Kab. da-r 'which', da-na 'where', Ub. da-, d-ɣa- 'how', 'in which way'; Hurr. edə 'body, thing', Ur. edi- 'thing'.

PST \*tū- 'who, interrogative pronoun' > OC 誰 \*duj, 疇 \*dru 'who'; Tib. du 'how many', Burm. ə-ti 'which', Kach. gəde<sup>2</sup>, məde<sup>4</sup> 'how many', Lush. tu 'who, whose', Lepcha to 'who, which, what', etc.

[\\*ʔej\[ʒ\]wé](#) 'goat' (DCE 17):

PNC \*ʔejʒwē > Chech. awst, Ing. ɔsta 'goat (about 1 y. old); Darg. ʔeža (dial. ʔeč:a) 'goat'; Ad. āča, Kab. āža 'he-goat'.

Bur. \*acás 'sheep, goat' > Yas., Hun., Nag. acás.

[\\*ʔənstĚ](#) 'ten' (HGC 35):

PNC \*ʔənstĚ > Chech., Ing. itt, Bac. it̥; Av. anç-, And. hoço-, Akhv. ača-, Cham. aça-, Tind., Kar. haça-; Tsez. oçi-no, Gin. oçe-no, Khv. ūçi-n, Bezht. aço-na, Gunz. ɔçɔ-n; Lak. aç; Darg. weç-; Lezg. çu-, Tab. jiçu-, Ag. içu-, Rut., Tsakh., Kryz., Bud. jiçi-, Arch. w-iç (moçor in compounds), Ud. w-ic; Khin. jāiz; PWC \*b-ć<sup>w</sup>ə > Abkh. ž<sup>v</sup>a-, Abaz. ž<sup>w</sup>a-, Ad., Kab. p̣śə, Ub. ž<sup>w</sup>ə 'ten'.

PST \*[ʒh]Vj > Tib. b-ču, Burm. čhaj, Kach. šil, Lepcha kă-tí, Garo cí-, etc. 'ten'.

PY \*tuʔ-ŋ (in names of decades) > Kott. -thukŋ, Ar. -thūŋ, -tuŋ. See CCE 289, Werner 2, 318.

[\\*ʔəm\[d\]V](#) 'bone' (FDCP 2):

PNC \*ʔəmdV 'joint, bone' > Kar. hidi, Av. hod 'spine, backbone'

(dial. 'joint, articulation'); Darg.  $\zeta aInd$  'knee'; Ag. ad 'shin, shank', Tsakh. ad 'tubular bone'.

PY \* $\zeta a\zeta d$  (~ x-) 'bone' > Ket. a $\zeta t$ , pl. a $\acute{r}e\eta^5$  (Bak., Sur. a $\acute{d}e\eta^5$ ), Yug. a $\zeta t$ , pl. a $\acute{d}i\eta^5$ ; Kott. arañan, arañ 'limb, joint'; ar-ša, aran-šān "knee". See CCE 178, Werner 1, 86.

[Irregular -d in PY (-t would be expected).

Cf. Basq. \*ondo 'stem, trunk, joint'.]

\* $\zeta iGwVn\check{V}$  'heel' (LDC 20):

PNC \* $\zeta inGw\check{V}$  (~ -ǎ-) 'heel; ankle, ankle-bone' > Chech.  $\check{h}a\check{q}o$ -lg (dial.  $\check{h}a\check{q}o$ ), Ing.  $\check{h}a\check{q}ing$  'ankle, ankle-bone'; Av. e $\acute{r}é$  'heel'; Lak. niq:a id.

Bur. \* $\check{y}án$  'heel' > Yas. - $\check{y}án$ , Hun., Nag. - $\check{y}án$  id.

[Basq. \*hoin 'foot'.]

\* $\zeta i\chi U$  'sheep, lamb' (BCD 30):

PNC \* $\zeta i\chi U$  (~ -ǎ-, -i-) 'sheep, lamb' > Chech.  $\zeta a\chi a$ -r, Ing.  $\zeta a\chi a$ -r, Bac.  $\zeta a\chi$ -r-ob 'lamb'; And. i $\chi o$ , Akhv., Cham.  $\check{i}\chi a$  'sheep, ewe'; PWC \* $\chi^w\check{a}$  > Ad., Kab.  $\chi^w\check{a}$  'sheep' (in compounds).

PST \*lō 'sheep' > OC 羴 \*lo, Tib. lu-g, Kham lū 'sheep', etc.

[Cf. Basq. \*aha-ri 'ram'.]

\* $\zeta w[é]l\check{V}$  'to roll, wheel' (HGC 31, WFR 25):

PNC \* $\zeta wil\check{a}$  (~ -ǎ-, -ǎ-, -i-) 'wheel' > Av. ber 'wheel'; Bezht. ör-ra id.; Lak. ja id.; Darg.  $\check{h}ula$ , Chir.  $\zeta ula$  id.

PST \*q $^w$ ār 'round' > OC 丸 \*wār 'small round object'; Tib. sgor, gor, skor, khor 'round', ākhor 'turn round', Lush. ver 'to move or go around'.

PY \* $\zeta i(?)L$ - (~ x-) 'wheel' > Ket. i $\acute{l}$ -təp $^6$  (CCE 193. A compound with PY \*tap- 'circle, hoop' q.v. in the second part. Werner's (1, 361) analysis of \* $\zeta iL$ - as 'small' is not based on any evidence.

\* $\zeta w\acute{e}r\check{V}$  'door':

PNC \* $\zeta w\acute{e}r\check{V}$  ~ \* $\acute{r}\acute{e}\zeta w\check{V}$  (~ -ǎ-, -i-) 'door-fold, door' > Av. ráhu, Tind. riha 'door, door-pass', Akhv. rihi 'entrance', Cham. jeh 'door; entrance'; Tab. ur-in 'door- or gate-fold', ur-ar 'gate'.

PY \* $\zeta e\acute{r}$ - (in comp.) 'door (of the birchbark tent)' > Ket. e $\acute{l}l\acute{e}$  $^5$ , Yug. e $\acute{r}f\acute{o}x^5$ ; Pump. élxan 'door'. See CCE 187, Werner 1, 230.

\* $\zeta w\check{a}hri$  (~ -e) 'army; enemy' (HGC 34, BCD 31):

PNC \* $\zeta w\check{a}hri$  (~ -e) 'troops, army' > Chech. b $\zeta o$ , Ing. b $\zeta u$ , Bac. b $\zeta ö$

id.; Av. bo, And. i-ha, Akhv. ĭ-ho, Cham., Tind. i-ha id.; PTs \*ħo-z:<sup>w</sup> (originally an oblique stem) > Tsez. oz, Gin. üz, Khv. ez<sup>w</sup>, Bezht., Gunz. haz id.; Lak. aIra-l id.; PWC \*rə > Abkh. á-r, Ab. rə, Ad., Kab. ʒa, Ub. La id.; Hurr. χūr-adə, Ur. χūr-adə 'warrior'.

PST \*rāH 'enemy, captive, war' > OC 虜 \*rā? 'captive', Tib. d-g-ra 'enmy, foe', ā-g-ra-s 'to hate', ā-g-ra-n 'to fight, contend'.

PY \*ha(?)r- 'Arin; slave, servant' > Kott. arin-git, haran-gat 'slave, servant', Ar. ar, ara 'Arin'. The self-denomination of the Arins, probably originally meaning 'warrior' (cf. the external evidence), and with a characteristic semantic transition 'Arin' > 'slave' in Kottish - apparently reflecting intertribal relations between Yenisseians. See CCE 230, Werner 1, 57 (doubting the comparison without additional arguments).

Bur. \*hol 'army, troupes' > Yas., Hun., Nag. hol.

[Cf. Basq. \*heñi 'country, town; people'.]

[\\*ʔwǎnGV](#) (~ -xG-) 'odour':

PNC \*ʔwǎnGV 'fumes, stink' > (with metathesis) Chech. qah 'fumes, stink, stuffy air', Ing. qah 'heat'; Lak. uInqu 'fumes, stink'; Arch. huq 'smoke'.

PST \*χǎñ 'smell, stink' > OC 香 \*xañ 'fragrance', Kach. khan<sup>1</sup> 'to stink'.

[\\*ʔwılʔi](#) 'eye' (HGC 19, DCE 1):

PNC \*ʔwılʔi 'eye' > Chech., Ing. bʃa, (original dimin.) Chech. bʃär-g, Ing. bʃar-g, Bac. bʃar-ḵ 'eye'; Av. ber, Botl., God. haj, (original dimin.) And. har-ḵu, Cham., Bagv. haça, Tind. haḵa, Kar. harḵa, (with metathesis) Akhv. keha 'eye'; Bezht. häre, Gunz. hare, (original obl. PTs \*ħo-Z<sup>w</sup>e-) > Tsez. ozuri, Gin. üzej, Khv. ezal 'eye'; Lak. ja id.; Darg. huli id.; Lezg. wil, Tab., Ag., Rut. ul, Tsakh. ul, Kryz., Bud. ʃül, Ud. pul, Arch. (original plur.) l-ur 'eye'; Khin. pil id.; PWC \*b-ía id. > Abkh. á-la (dial. á-bla), Ab. la, Ad., Kab. na (with somewhat unclear nasalization), Ub. bLa 'eye'.

PST \*ru 'to look, examine' > OC 搜 \*s-ru; Burm. hru?. [The PST root can be alternatively compared with PNC \*ʔwerV 'look, sight'.]

PY \*de-s 'eye' > Ket. dēs, Yug. des, Kott. tiš, Ar. ti-en, Pump. dat. See CCE 220, Werner 1, 187. The root proper is \*de- (cf. the Arin form representing an original plural, as well as Kott. te-gan, te-kan 'light' = 'eye' + 'light'); the final \*-s is a singulative morpheme (cf. -sa in \*xu-sa 'one', as well as \*pa 'time(s)': \*pa-s 'one time', etc.).

Bur. \*l-čí, \*il- > Yas. l-čí, Hunza, Nagar l-čí-n 'eye'; il- in compounds like il-gaṭ 'corner of the eye' etc.; cf. also Yas., Hun., Nag. il 'needle ear, small hole'.

[Cf. Basq. \*be-gi (\*ber- in compounds) 'eye'.]

\*ṡārśwā 'strap':

PNC \*ṡārśwā 'strap, leather rope' > Chech. āsa, Ing. ɔsa, Bac. assō 'strap, belt; stripe'; Av. ʒarš-, Tind. aš:i, Kar. aš:e 'leather rope'; Abkh. a-šá, a-šá-χa, Abaz. ša-qa, Ub. (n)d<sup>w</sup>á-ša 'rope'.

PST \*r-sə 'sinew, tendon, thread' > OC 絲 \*sə 'silk, thread'; Tib. rca, rca-d 'vein, root'; Kach. ləsa<sup>2</sup> 'tendon, sinew'; Lush. tha id.; Lepcha so, Mikir ar-tho, Bodo ro-ta, ro-da id., etc.

PY \*ʔēs- (~x-) 'ski-strap' > Ket. εś<sup>4</sup> (South.), North. ε:śe<sup>4</sup>; pl. ēšin<sup>1</sup>; Yug. ε:hs<sup>4</sup>, pl. esin<sup>1</sup> (CCE 190, Werner 1, 242).

[A long vowel would be expected in ST.]

\*ṡāmćó 'a k. of fruit':

PNC \*ṡāmćó 'apple; medlar' > Chech. ḥamc, Ing. ḥamis-k 'medlar'; Av. ʒeč, And. inči, Akhv. ʒeče, Cham. eš (Gig. miči), Tind. eči, Kar. ʒeče, Botl. inču, Bagv. ʒeč, God. iču 'apple'; Gin. iši, ʒiši, Inkh., Bezht., Gunz. ēš 'apple'; Lak. hiwč id.; Darg. ʒinc id.; Lezg. ič, Tab. wič, Ag. ḥač, Rut. äč, Tsakh. eč, Kryz., Bud. ječ, Arch. aInš, Ud. eIš id.; Khin. mič id.; Abkh. a-báč<sup>v</sup>, Ad. nā-pca, Ub. brəc<sup>w</sup> 'medlar'; Hurr. ɰinɰ-urə 'apple'.

PST \*čhiəH ( ~ žh-) 'a k. of fruit' > OC 柿 \*žhrəʔ 'Diospyros, persimmon'; Burm. čih 'jujube, Zizyphus jujuba'.

Bur. \*mićíl / \*bićíl 'pomegranate' > Yas. mićíl, Hun., Nag. bićíl.

\*ṡwámhV 'a k. of predator' (WFR 98, LDC 21):

PNC \*ṡwámhV 'hyena; wolf' > Av. ʒan-gúr 'hyena'; PL \*ʔlam: 'wolf' > Rut. ub-ul, Tsakh. um-ul, Kryz., Bud. eb, Arch. jam, Ud. u-l.

PST \*ʔ<sup>w</sup>əm 'bear' > OC 熊 \*whəm 'bear'; Tib. d-om 'brown bear', Burm. wam, Lush. vom, Bahing wam 'bear' etc.

Bur. \*jam 'bear' > Yas. nja, Hunza ja, jā (pl. jamuc), Nagar ja (pl. jamuc).

\*ṡwǎnǎV 'ear' (HGC 18):

PNC \*ṡwǎnǎV 'ear' > Av. ʒin, And. han-ṡiṡa, Akhv. hǎ-de, Cham. anna, Tind. han-ṡiṡa, Kar. han-ṡiṡa, Botl. han-ṡuṡa, Bagv. ha-ṡiṡa (without the dental suffix but with a privative one cf. Av. ʒín-ṡ:a-, Cham. hǎ-ṡ:u-l

'deaf'); PTs \*ʔā-χa > Tsez. aḥja, Gin. aχχa, Khv. āhī, Bezht. äḥä, Gunz. äḥa 'ear'; Darg. ʕaIn-ça, Ur. ʕʷan-ç (with a privative suffix) 'deaf'; PL \*ʕIam: > Lezg. jab, Tab. ib, Ag. ibur, Rut. ubur, Kryz., Bud. ibir; Ud. im-uχ 'ear'.

PST \*nǎH 'ear' > OC 耳 \*nhəʔ, Tib. r-na, Burm. nah, Kach. na¹, Kir. \*ńə 'ear' etc.

PY \*ʕo-gde / \*ʕo-qtV > Ket. ɔgde⁵, pl. -n⁶ "ear"; ɔqtən⁶, pl. ɔqtinən⁵ "ear-ring"; Yug. ɔgdənɨ⁶ "ear-rings"; ɔxtɨ⁶, pl. ɔxtɨnɨ⁵ "ear"; Ar. utkenón, utq̄ōnon, Pump. átkin 'ear'. See CCE 198, Werner 2, 31 (doubts the attribution of the Arin and Pumpokol forms, which I think is unquestionable). Historically the PY form is a compound \*ʕo(N)+gde (= PA \*han-tiḡa / \*han-kiḡa "ear"). In Kottish the word for "ear" has been replaced by a Turkic loanword kalōx, but we should note the word for earring: āpal / āpul. Here the second part is obviously PY \*puʔl 'round', but the first part may reflect the archaic primary root for 'ear'.

\*ʕwārχV (~ -χk-) 'mountain pass':

PNC \*ʕwārχV > Chech. hēχ, Ing. ḥaχar, Bac. hēχ 'grotto, cavern'; Gin. juχu 'precipice'; Lak. raḥ 'hollow'; Darg. Chir. alrχI id.; Tab. arχ-hajišʷ, Arch. jarχIi 'mountain pass'.

Bur. \*hayóc 'mountain pass' > Yas. hayós, hayóst; Hun., Nag. hayúc.

\*ʕwāmV (~ \*hʷ-) 'needle, awl' (HGC 32):

PNC \*hʷāmV 'awl' > And. himu, Akhv., God. himi, Cham. him, Tind. himu / himi; Tsez., Gin., Khv. imu, Bezht. emo, Gunz. emu id.

PST \*qīm (/ \*qīp) 'needle' > OC 針 \*kim 'needle'; Tib. khab, Burm. ap, Trung wǎp, etc. id.

(?) PY \*ʕiʔn 'needle' > Ket., Yug. iʔn, Kott. in, ĩn, Ar. in (see CCE 192, Werner 1, 390) - if not < Turkic.

\*ʕwēni (~ ʕw-, -u) 'sound; air movement' (HGC 50, WFR):

PNC \*ʕwēni (~ ʕw-, -u) 'air movement; cold, rheumatism' > Chech. an, Ing. a, Bac. ã 'rheumatic pain, rheumatism'; Av. dial. onó-d 'id.'; Tind. (\*'to move air') un- 'to talk, speak'; PL \*ʕʷen (~ \*ʕʷ-) 'sound' > Lezg. wan, Ag., Rut. un, Tsakh. on 'sound'.

PST \*ʕəm 'sound; wind' > OC 音 \*ʕəm sound, Tani \*əm, Gurung kha-ē 'wind'.