

РОССИЙСКАЯ АКАДЕМИЯ НАУК  
ИНСТИТУТ ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЯ

А. Б. Долгопольский

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Настоящая монография представляет собой трехтомное посмертное издание труда выдающегося советского и российского лингвиста А. Б. Долгопольского, одного из крупнейших и всемирно признанных специалистов по сравнительно-историческому языкознанию и изучению дальнего родства языков. «Индоевропейский словарь с ностратическими этимологиями» составлен автором на основе главного труда его жизни — «Ностратического словаря», работу над которым А. Б. Долгопольский неотрывно и интенсивно вёл почти полвека.

Основной своей задачей автор считает определение и доказательство ностратических истоков индоевропейской лексики, поиск регулярных соответствий между лексическими единицами индоевропейских языков и языков других семей Старого Света. Словарь содержит 1397 вхождений, представляющих собой реконструированные корни индоевропейского праязыка с указанием их потомков в языках индоевропейской семьи и внешних соответствий в других семьях ностратических языков. Как по широте охвата лингвистического материала, так и по глубине разработки каждой словарной единицы словарь представляет собой уникальный материал для анализа и предназначен не только для лингвистов, изучающих индоевропейские языки, но и для специалистов по сравнительно-историческому изучению языков других семей.

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**464. (N 979.) IE:** NaIE {Brg.} \*kā, \*kom/\*kem, emphatic pc. (of request and sim.) > OI kam (Vd 'tiṣṭhā 'su kam maghavan 'bleib doch sogleich stehen, oh Herr', 'avā 'nu kam 'juāyān yaj'ñavanasaḥ 'helf als Stärkerer den Opferliebenden'); this emph. pc. is used after imv. (as well as after dat. and after other particles) || Lt -k, -ki, ending of imv.: eĩk, eĩki 'go!' || R -κα, Δ -κο, pc. asking for immediate fulfillment of the request/order (expressed by the imv. or otherwise), ? Slk -k- (has moved before the imv. ending): sadkaj(te) imv. 'sit down!' || ? Gk κε / (prevoc.) κεν, Gk D κᾶ, enclitic pc. of potentiality (convergence with a homonymous particle [or particles] of different origin?) (Gk Hm ὥς κέν οἱ γαῖα χάνου! 'O, if the earth had yawned for him! [= 'had swallowed him!']) ¶ BD II/3 1000-1, ≈ P 515-16, ≈ M K I 159 (kā m 'well'), MW 251-2 (kā m as an affirmative particle 'yes, well'), LS 847, 933, ≠ F I 805, Vs. II 147, Bern. I 463, Ma. CS 185 || **From N \*Ka**, a pc. of request > A: Tg \*-ka/\*-ke, sx of 2s imv. (with variants: \*-ka|/\*-ke|, \*-ki) > Nn KU -ka, Orc -ka/-k3/-ʃa/-ʃ3, Sln -xa id., Ewk -ka|/-k3|/-ko|, Neg -χa|/χa| id., WrMc {Z} -κι (neutral-polite imv. used when addressing an equal); the suffix \*-ki- is use also in forms of 1s and 3s imv. > Ewk -gi-, Ul -ǰi-, Ud -hi- ¶ Ci. 278-9, Ci. N 35, Ci. S 236, Bz. 144-5, Vas. 726, 759, Sun. G 187-8, Sun. M 170, Sun. KUD 100, Sin. LM 272 ¶¶ Acc. to IS, here also M \*-qu/\*-kü within the benedictive sx \*-dqu-n/\*-dkü-n, which is hardly convincing, because benedictive is actually a participle, sc. originally a derived noun (ffd. see Pp. IM 253-4) || ?σ D \*-k∇, sx of optative > OTm -ka id. (kaḥ-kā 'look!', 2s opt.), CITm {An.} -(u)ka (opt.: sey-ka 'let him do'), Kt -k- (sx of optative), OKn {Gai} -(u)ge/-ke id. (tan-ge 'prosper!'), ClKn -(u)ge/-ke (sx of opt.: ker`u-ge 'pereat!, pereant!'), Tu -k-/-g-, sx of imv. in 1s and 1p (pañu-ke 'let me say', ma|\_pu-g-a 'let us do'), Tl -ga (kalpuga 'let us study', bar-ka 'let us come', Tl Brh {An.} ampugε 'let me do'), Klm -ka-opt.: vakkan(d) 'let him come', vakkar 'let them come' from va(r)- 'come', Krx -ke~ -kē, sx of optative ("prospective") (bar-ke 'come, please'), ? Mlt {SKD} -ku, sx of imv. ft., ? Brh -āk, emphatic pc. added to imv. (kar-ak 'do!') ¶¶ An. SG 367-71, RmA OTV 772, Sbr. DVM 497-8, Brigel GTL 52, Gai 90, Hahn KG 43, Grnr. 370, SKD 58 || ?σ HS: EC: Or -kā, emphatic pc. usually added to

imperatives (translated by Grg. as 'so, then, therefore' and by Brl. as 'dunque!, quindi!, perciò!, ebbene!') ({Mrn.} *kottu-kā* {IS} 'иди-ка', {Grg.} *nagātti bullā-kā* ≈ **so**, spend the night in peace!', sc. 'so, good night!', {Brl.} *duḡi-ka* 'dunque bevi!') ¶ Grg. 239, Mrn. O 117, Brl. 221 ◊ IS I 331-2 (IE, U, A, D, ? C), Gr. I 193-6 ('imperative KA' in IE, U, A, Gil, ChK, EA).

**464a. (N 980.) IE:** NaIE *sx* \*-k- in Iir \**a<sub>1</sub>-ka-* 'one' > MtA \**a<sub>1</sub>ka-* 'one' (in Ht *ayka-wartanna* {Pv.} 'one turn'), OI *ēka-h<sub>2</sub>*, NPrs *كَلْبِيك* *yek* 'one'; OI 'asr<sub>2</sub>k 'blood' nom. sg. (↔ gen. sg. *as'nah<sub>2</sub>*) ∥∥∥ L -k- in *senex* (*sene-k-s*) 'old man' (-k- only in nom. sg., cp. gen. sg. *sen-is*, nom. pl. *senes*) ∥∥∥ Gk -k- in κ<sub>1</sub>ρ<sub>2</sub>ξ 'herald' (cp. OI *kā'ru<sub>2</sub>h<sub>2</sub>* 'Lobsänger'), μ<sub>1</sub>ρ<sub>2</sub>μ<sub>1</sub>ξ 'ant' (cp. Gk μ<sub>1</sub>ρ<sub>2</sub>μ<sub>1</sub>ος, OI *vamr<sub>1</sub>ī* id.) ∥ NaIE \*-k<sub>0</sub>- (f. \*-k-ā), *sx* of denom. adjectives and nouns: OI *marja-'ka-h<sub>2</sub>* 'male', *sana-'ka-h<sub>2</sub>* 'old', OCS **ВЕЛИКЪ** *veli-kъ* 'big', **ТЪНЪКЪ** *tъnъ-kъ* 'thin'. The same *sx* is probably present in the Sl pronominal adjectives and adverbs \**jakъ(jb)* 'what kind of?, which?', \**jak<sub>0</sub>* ~ \**ak<sub>0</sub>* 'how?', \**takъ(jb)* 'such' and \**tak<sub>0</sub>* 'so', as well as in Lt *tók-s* m., *tokià* f. 'such', Lt E m. *tókias*, f. *tókia* id., Lt *jóks* 'irgendeiner' ¶ Hirt IG III 114-18, 552-3, Pv. I 14, Fr. 194, 1105, ESSJ I 64-5, 171, StSS 110, Vs. I 289, IV 12 and 76-7 ∥∥∥ **From N ? \*Ka**, substantivizing, singulative or distinctive (singling out) pronoun, name of quality bearers > **A** \*-k<sub>2</sub> > **T** \*-k, nominal *sx* for concrete objects: OT *qulqaq* ~ *qulaq* 'ear', *qaraq* 'eyeball' (acc. to Cl., ← 'small black thing' ← *qara* 'black'), *bičaq* 'knife' (← *bič-* 'cut'), *kesek* 'piece (cut off from sth.)' ← *kes-* 'cut, cut off' ¶ Cl. xlv, 293, 620-1, 652, 748-9 ∥ Tg \*-k > Ewk -k for quality bearer ('the one having the quality X'), e.g. *sagda-k* 'the elder person; first-born one' (← *sagdan-* 'get older'), n. ag.: *julgāk* 'neighbor (person)' ← *julgā-* 'live in the neighborhood' ¶ Vas. 341, 757 ∥∥ **U:** U \*-k<sup>ra</sup>, *sx* of denom. nouns: Lp T {Gn.} *māy<sub>2</sub>yeg*, Lp K {Gn.} *māyey<sub>2</sub>*, Krl, F Δ {Kt.} *ma<sub>1</sub>oā* (< \**mayaya*), Er *miya<sub>1</sub>v* 'beaver', Lp T *kāyeg<sub>2</sub>*, Lp K {Gn.} *kāy<sub>2</sub>yey<sub>2</sub>*, Vp *kayag<sub>2</sub>*, Vd *kayaga<sub>2</sub>*, Es S *kayak<sub>2</sub>* 'sea gull', Os Ty {Lh.} *wāsax* 'duck', Ne T O {Lh.} *ta<sub>1</sub>ē-h<sub>2</sub>* 'squirrel', En B {Cs.} *faeha* '*Salmo peljet*' (cp. Vt *paya* '*Abramis brama*') ∥ FU \*-k<sup>ra</sup>, *sx* of denom. adjectives: Lp N {N} *bâččâ* / *bâč'čâg-* 'bitter, fetid', Vp

vayag, Vd vayaga 'unvollständig', Chr H {Wc.} yak"šar-ʒa, Chr Uf yoš'kar-ʒa 'red, red color' (Chr yak"šar ʒ yoš'kar attr. 'red'), Vg LL yān+-ʒ 'big' ||| U \*-kk-, pronominal sx of distinctiveness (singling out): Er šeke 'the same, that same' (←d še 'that'), Ne T O {Lh.} čūk'ṭ'this', Ng {Cs.} takā 'iste' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 333-43 || E: AchEl ki 'ein, eins' (× N \*gaywE 'alone', 'entire') ¶¶ HK 459, 465, 468-9 ◇ Hardly here Jg {J} kē 'one' (J J s.v.), probably from N \*gaywE ◇ Blz. E no. 80 (E, HS: Eg kyy 'another', EC \*kaʷʷ- 'one, alone', etc., see N \*gaywE); ≈ Gr. I 123-9 ("absolute K" in EA, CK, Gil, Ko, T, IE).

**464b. (N 1074.) IE \*-i-k(0)-, \*-u-k(0)- dim.** (× \*-ik0-, sx of nouns derived from adjectives: Lt jaunīkis 'young lad, bridegroom' ← jaunās 'young') > Lt rankikė (dim. of ranka 'hand'), mergikė 'girl' (←d mergā 'maid'), ožiu̇kas ~ ožūkas (dim. of ožūs 'he-goat'), Pru ωσωx 'Bock' (an etymological cognate of ožūkas), Lt broliūkas (dim. of brólis 'brother') † OCS градѣць gradьць (dim. of градъ gradь 'Stadt, Garten'), ChS сынѣкъ synькъ, R сын-ок (dim.\ hypocoristic of сынъ synь, R сын 'son'). † † † OI kumara'kaḥ 'little boy' † † † L (dim. -(i)co- + dim. -ulus, -ula): folliculus 'little sack\bag', mus-culu-s 'little mouse' † † † OI sísu'kaḥ 'Kindchen' (←d 'sísu- 'Kind'), OI pasuka 'kleines Tier', Av pasuka- 'Haustier' (←d OI pa'su-, Av pasu- 'cattle, animal'), OI asva'ka-h (dim. of asva-h 'horse') † † † Gk -ακο-, -ακ-. e.g. βῶμαξ. (dim. of βωμός 'altar'), μεῖραξ 'young girl' ||| It is tempting to adduce Gmc \*-ke|in- > OSx skipikin 'small ship', mannekin 'Männchen', early NHG [Luther] Sönichen, Hensichen (hypocoristic from words for 'son', 'Hans'), NHG -chen (dim. and hpc.), but Gmc \*-k- for the expected \*-h- defies explanation; an alt. et.: the Gmc sx goes back to the reflex of NaIE \*gēnā-to-m 'born' (OHG, OSx kind 'child', see N \*kānhæ 'give birth') ¶ BD II/1 487-96, Zhr. IN 325, StSS 177 ||| **Possibly from N \*k'an'E'** 'young, child' > Diminutive suffixes in A and possibly in IE, K and U: A: M \*-qan/\*-ken, originally dim.: WrM {MED} keūken 'child, infant' ←d WrM {MED} keū (> küü) 'son'; if \*-qan/\*-ken (> WrM -qan/-ken, HIM -хан/-хэн) derives words

from adjectives, it denotes a slight degree of the quality and has a hypocoristic connotation: WrM *öndörken* 'slightly high', hpc. 'high' (≈ Sp 'altito') (← *öndör* 'high'), *saıqan* 'nice, good looking, fine' (hpc. of *saın* 'good'), *ılagaqan* (hpc. of *ılagan* 'red'); with stems of numerals it means 'only': *gurbaqan* 'only three' (← *gurban* 'three'), Brt *-хан/-хон/-хэн*, dim. sx: *баабгайхан* 'bear cub' (← *баабгай* 'bear'), *басагахан* (hpc. of *басаган* 'girl, daughter'), *галхан* (dim. of *гал* 'fire'), *гэрхэн* (dim. of *гэр* 'house'), *саһахан* 'a snowflake' (← *саһан* 'snow') ¶ MED 369, 461, Pp. GPMJ 107, Hmb. 7, GBJ 70 || Tg *\*-kan/\*-ken*, dim. sx > Ewk *-kān/-kēn/ -kōn* (*birakān* 'small river' [← *bira* 'river'], *ayakān* [hpc. of *aya* 'good'], *dagakān* 'very near' [← *daga* 'near']), Neg, Lm, Ul, Nn *-kan/-kēn*, dim. sx (e.g. Nn *dэрэкэн* [dim. of *dэрэ* 'table'], *morikan* 'foal' ← *morin* 'horse', *tugžэкэн* 'young of a lynx' ← *tugžэ* 'lynx'), WrMc {Z} *-кань/-кэнь* (e.g. *яргякань* 'more or less true' ← *яргянь* 'true', *нэчикэнь* 'almost straight' and dim. of *нэчинь* 'straight') ¶ Vas. 759, Pt. 23, Z 191, 220-1 || T: OT *-aq / -ek / -uq*, (after vws.) *-q / -k*, dim. sx, e.g. OT *adçıraq* 'young stallion' ← *adçır* 'stallion', *özek* 'small valley' ← *öz* 'valley', *qasıq* 'small piece of bark' ← *qas* 'bark'); (rare) {Cl.} *-qırıa / -kırne*, dim. sx ¶ Cl. xi-xii, 47-9, 278, 285, 665-6 || ? K: OG {Fn.} *-aq-* dim., e.g. *mçire-aq-i* 'tiny, small' (← *mçire* 'small, little'), *қидобан-aq-i* 'small box', G *-aq-* dim., e.g. *gor-aq-i* 'small mountain, hill' (← *gora* 'mountain'), *çign-aq-i* 'notebook' (dim. of *çigni* 'book'), *-iқo*, hypocoristic sx (*-o* from the voc.): *iliқo* (hpc. of *ilia* 'Elias'), *tiniқo* (hpc. of the female name *ћina*), *suliқo* 'darling' (hpc. of *suli* 'soul') ¶ Fn. GAS 50, Vogt GLG 227 || U: FL *\*-kka/\*-kkä*, dim. sx > F *vasikka* 'calf, fawn' (← *vasa* 'fawn'), *penikka* 'whelp, puppy' (← F XIX *peni* 'dog' {SSA II 335}, cp. Es *peni* 'dog'), Ing *vālakka* 'whitish' (from the word for 'white', cf. F *valkea* 'white'); FL *\*-kko/ \* -kkö*, dim. > F *pääkko* 'small head' (← *pää* 'head'), Vo *kotikko* (dim of *koti* 'Sack'), *čiutikkэ* (dim of *čiuto* 'shirt') † Mr: Er *суркске* *surks-ke*, Mk *суркскя* *surks-'kä* (both: dim. of *суркс* *surks* 'ring'), Mk *сукскя* *suks-'kä* (dim. of *сукс* *suks* 'worm'), Er *таташке* *tataške* (dim. \hpc. of *татай* *tatay* 'toy'), *цёрка* *čorka* 'boy', hpc. 'son' (← *цёр* а



'son, male person') † Prm: Vt *πιοκε ριοκε* (hpc. of *πι ρι* 'son'), *нылок н+лок* (hpc. of *ныл н+л* 'daughter'), Prmk *нянѣк ѡаѡок* (dim. of *нянь ѡаѡ* 'bread'), *кѡчок кѡѡок* (dim. of *кѡч кѡѡ* 'hare') (× infl. of R dim. *сх -ок*) † Os: Kr *-кә* dim. (*ewakә*, dim.\hpc. of *ewe* 'daughter, girl'), *мәѡәкә* (hpc. of *мәѡә* 'younger brother'), Ty *íʔaki* hpc. (addressing a young boy, cp. Os *O íʔi* 'younger brother'); Vg Ss *tūrka* (dim. of *tūr* 'lake'), *māñkʷa* (dim. of *māñ* 'small') ¶ Laan. 209, 222-3, PI 260, 335, ERV 649, 722, TeplL PJ 153, Sauer NBO 153 ¶ The *сх \*-ka/ä* is found within FL *\*ülkä* 'boy, young man' > F *ϋlkä* 'bridegroom', Es {W} *ūlg* 'Bräutigam, Mann', pLp {Lr.} *\*ʒlkē* 'boy, son' > Lp: S {Hs.} *älgie* 'son', L {LLO} *al'hkē* 'boy (between 8 and 10 years)', I *alge* 'son, boy', Kld {SaR} *алльк*, {TI} *el:g\_ä* 'son' (see N *\*gīʔ'u* 'boy, young man') ¶ SK 1859, W EDW 1272, Lr. no. 10, Lgc. no. 47, Hs. 234-5, TI 8, SaR 24 ◇ The IE, K, U and T cognates presuppose a reduction N *\*-k̑n-* > *\*-k̑-*, which makes these cognates less certain (though this kind of reduction in derivational *схs* is typical of lges) ◇ Öhm. 87-9 (FU, IE).

**465. (N 981) IE \*kʷo-/\*kʷe-/\*kʷ-**, a generalized interr. stem, used in combination with morphemes of deictic, gender-differentiating and postpositional origin, e.g. *\*kʷo-s* 'who?' (with *\*-s*, marker of nom. of the active gender), *\*kʷo-d* 'what?' (with *\*-d* of the non-active gender), *\*kʷ-i-s* 'who?' (with deictic *\*-i-* and active nom. *\*-s*), *\*kʷ-i-d* 'what?' (with deictic *\*-i-* and non-active *\*-d*) etc.: *\*kʷo-s* 'who?' > OI *kañ*, Av *kō*, OPrs *kaš*, Gt *huas*, OSw *hvar*, AS *hwā*, NE *who* 'who?', Pru *kas*, Lt *kās*, Ltv *kas* 'who/what?', Gk Hm *τέο*, Gk A *τοῦ* 'whose?' (< *\*kʷe-sjō*), *\*kʷeǰ* 'who?' > L *quī*, Clt ({Matas.} unj. rec.: pClt *\*kʷēs*): OIr *cía*, Brtt: OW *pui*, MW, W *pwɣ*, Cm *pyw*, OBr *pow*, MBr *piv*, *piou*, Br {Hm.} *piv*; *\*kʷe-s* 'who?' > OHG (h)wēr, NHG *wēf* id., as well as Al T *kē*, Al G *kâ* 'whom?' (< accus. *\*kʷe-m*); *\*kʷo-d* 'what?' > Vd *'kad*, L *quod*, Pru *ka*, OW, MW, W *pa*; *\*kʷ-i-s* 'who?' > Av *čiš*, Gk *τίς*, L *quis*, Osc *pis* ~ *pīs* PIS, Ht, Pal, Lw *kuis* id., OPrs *čiš-čiy* 'whoever'; *\*kʷ-i-d* 'what?' > Gk *τί*, L *quid*, Osc *píd*, Clt {Matas.} *\*kʷid* (> Oir *cíd*, OW *pi*, MW, Cm *py*, OBr *pi*, *pe*, MBr, Br *pe*), Ht, Pal *kuit*, ? Lw *kui* 'what?';

\*k<sup>ω</sup>-u (and cds) 'where?' > Vd 'kū, Av kū, L uḅī, Osc puf, Um pufe PVFE, pue PVE 'where (wo)?, Gk Cr ῥ-πυ, Gk Sr πῦς (< \*πυ-ς) 'where (wohin)?, MW cω, cωd 'where (wo, wohin)?, as well as ?? Ht kuωapī 'where (wo, wohin)?, when?' (but Ts.: cd of \*k<sup>ω</sup>o-); according to Ad., in Tc the prn. for 'who?, what?' goes back to a cd of \*k<sup>ω</sup>u 'where?' or \*k<sup>ω</sup>is 'who?' + dem. prn.: pTc \*kuse (accus. \*kuče) > Tc A kus (accus. kuс), Tc B kuse (accus. kuсe) 'who, what?' ¶¶ P 644-8, Bks 203-7, M K I 192, WH II 410-13, Bc. G 342, Fs. 282, Pln. 702, F II 903-4, Vn. C 91-2, RE 145, LG 373, Kb. 1170, KM 853, Frn. 199, En. 190, Tp. P I-K 244-58, O 207, Ts. E I 611-14, 693-4, Pv. IV 218-32, KT 165, Matas. E 178-80, Hm. 646, Wn. I 246, Ad. 186-8, Ad. H 156-7, EI 455-7 ||| **From N \*k<sup>o</sup>** 'who?' > **U** \*ko- ~ \*ku- 'who' > F ku-ka 'who?' (↔ mi-kä 'what?'), koska 'when?', Es ku-с 'where (wohin)?, kuhu 'where?', kui 'when?', kuidas 'how?' † Lp: N gu-, gq-, goa- in derivatives: gutti / gud- 'who, which', goab'ba 'which of two?', L kābbā id., S {Hs.} gūt'te 'which of many?', goābba 'which (of two)?', Kld kū (gen. kōn) rel. prn. 'who, which' † Er kona 'which?', Mk kona 'which' (rel.), Er/Mk koda 'how?', Er kodamo, Mk kodama 'what for?', Er koso, Mk kosa, koza 'where?' † Chr: L kō, H kü 'who?', L kudo, H kъдъ 'which?', L kuze 'how?', kušto 'where?' † Prm {LG} \*kod- (/{LG} \*kōd) 'who?', 'which?' > OPrm kōd- 'who, which' rel., Z kod 'who?', kod-'which (of two)?', Z US kōdi 'who?', Prmk kэд-, Yz 'kud-, kudik 'which?', Vt kud kud, kudiz kudiz 'which (of two)?' † ObU \*kō- 'who?' > Vg: T kan, LK kon, xan, x<sup>ω</sup>an, P kon, Ss xōŋka 'who?'; Os: V qoy+, D xōya, O xōy id. † ObU {Ht.} \*kōn 'when?' > pVg \*kōn id. > Vg: T kōn, LK xōn, MK kōn, UK/P/NV/SV/LL kōn, UL xōn, Ss xun; pOs \*kun id. > Os: D/K/Nz/O xun, Kz xōn, V/Vy/Ty/Y quntə † Hg ho- in hol, Hg Δ hon, hun 'where?', OHg ha 'when' rel., Hg ha 'if' † Sm {Jn.} \*ku- 'what?, who?', 'which?' > Ne T O {Lh.} d. xui 'wohin, wer?', Ne T xānyana 'where?', xurka 'welcher?, какой? (qualis)?', Ne F {Lh.} ku'kkī 'who?', Ng {Cs.} d. kua, kunie 'welcher', En {Cs.} hōke id., Slq Tz {KHG} qay 'what?, who?', kut+ 'who?' (with an irreg. k- for the expected q- < U, Sm \*k-), Kms {KD} q'āda 'how', k'ūm·en, Koyb {Sp.} kuminə 'how much\many?', Mt {Hl.} \*ku- (stem of interr. pronouns) (Mt: M {Sp.} kulgu 'what for? [qualis?]', куй

'from where?'); Sm {Jn.} dat. \*ku-ŋ, loc. \*ku-nā 'where?' > dat.: Ne T xу?, Ne O χῦ̃, Ne F {Pl.} куη, En {Ter.} кyo?, {Cs.} kŭ? id.; loc.: Ne T xуна, Ne F kunnā, Slq Tz kun, Mt {Hl.} \*kuna (Mt: M {Sp.} кyна) || pY {IN H} \*qa- > Y K qadi, Y T qaduŋ, qadugi 'which?', OY {Mdl.} kadik 'which?', Y T {Krn.} qadi, Y T/K {Krn.} хади (= /qadi /?) 'who?', 'which?', Y K {IN H} qanin ~ qayn, Y T {IN H} qanin 'when?', Y K {IN H} qaridz 'where to?', Y K {IN H} qadingz, Y T {IN H} qadundei 'where?', Y T qadā 'where?', qawde 'what kind of?, how?' ¶ UEW 191-2, Brgl. SG 61, Hs. 122-9, Kov. LV 230, Kov. GM 247, LG 125-6, Lt. DPJ 133, Lt. J 94, TmK 290, SZ 158, U3S 224, Ht. no. 279, Jn. 75, Cs. 49, 82, KHG 296-8, Hl. M no-s 563, 571, 576 and 589, IN H 373, IN UJ 246, Krn. JJ 88-91, Krn. IMJJ 234-5 || HS: C: Bj {R} kā-k(ʷ) 'how?' (interr. kā- + -k(ʷ) ('as, like', sx denoting manner) (see N \*ḷuya 'manner' [→ 'like, as']), {Rop.} kāk 'how?' ¶ R WBd 138, Rop. 203 || NrOm: Mch {L} kō 'who?', Kf {C} kō-ne, kō-n 'who?', kō-č 'to whom?', {HHM} koni, konoč 'who?', Shn {Lm.} kónnī, Anf {MYTY, Lm.} kō-nne 'who?' ¶ L M 35, Lm. Sh 328, C SE IV 282-4, R K 53, HHM 409, MYTY 113 || ?? WCh: Hs kà, kàkà 'how?', Gw kò 'how?'; the structure of kàkà may be as in Bj (interr. + \*-k∇ 'as, like') ¶ Abr. H 437, 456-7, Ba. 513, 531, Mts. G 65 ¶¶ Hardly here Mh {Jo.} kō ~ koh 'how?', 'why?', Hrs {Jo.} kō(h), Jb {Jo.} E/C koh 'why?' (= {Btn.} kō, adduced by IS with a query), where k- goes back to S \*ka- 'as, like', just as in Ar kayfa 'how?' (see N \*ḷuya '↑') || A \*k'a-, interr. pronominal stem > Tg {Bz.} \*\*χα- with sxs: \*χα-ī 'what?', 'who?' > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh {On.} χay id., WrMc {Z} ай, Mc Sb ay 'what?', 'which?' and possibly Sln ašū 'who?'; Tg {Bz.} \*χα-dū 'how much\many?' > Ul χady, Nn Nh/Bk {STM} χado ~ χady, Nn Nh {On.} χado, WrMc {Z} ydy, Ewk, Sln, Neg adī, Lm adī, Orc adī id.; Tg \*χα-lī 'when?' (< prolative case) > Ul, Ork χālī, Nn Nh χālī, Orc ālā ~ āli, Ewk alī, Neg ālī id. ¶ Bz. 114, STM I 4-5, 14-15, 32, 286-8, On. 439-40, 447-8, Z 1-2, 155 ¶ But Tg \*ya 'what?' does not belong here, it goes back to N \*ya 'which?' (q.v.) || NaT \*Ka- (interr. pronominal stem, preserved in derivatives): \*Ka-ńu 'which?', 'what?' (> OT qayu ~ qarńu, Qzq qay, Tv qayI, Yk χaya 'which?'), NaT \*Kaç 'how many?' (> OT qač, Tk kaç, Ln kač, SY qač ~ qaš, Xk χas, Tv каш qaš, Tf qoš, Yk χas), NaT \*Kaçan

'when?' (> OT *qačan*, ET, Ln, SY, Qrg *qačan*, StAlt *qačan*, Tk *kačan*, Az *hačan*, Ux *qačan*, Bsh *qasan*, Qzq *qašan*, Uz *qačan*, Xk *χažan*, Tv *qažan*, Tf *qāfiʿin*, Yk *χahan*), NaT \**Kay-si* 'which?' (> OT *qaysi*, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Tf *qaysi*, Tkm *χayθi*, Uz *qaysi*, VTt *qaysb*, Bsh *qayhʿ*, StAlt *qaži*, Tv *qayizi*, Xk *χayzi*), NaT \**Kay-tʿa* ~ \**Kan-tʿa* 'where?' (> OT *qayda* ~ *qanda*, Tkm *χanda*, Uz, ET, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, Alt, Tv, Tf *qayda*, Bsh *qayda*, Xk *χayda*, Yk *χanna*) etc. ¶ Rs. W 226, 232, 271, Cl. 589, 632-3, ET KQ 191-3, 340, DTS 418, Ra. 217-19, Rl. II 99-100 || M \*\**qa-* in derivatives: \**qa-ʿa* 'wo?', 'wohin?' (> MM [HI, S] *qa-ṛa*, WrM {MED} *qaga*, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt *χaa*, Kl {KRS} *χα*, Ord *χā* id.), \**qa-miʿyʿa* 'where? (place and direction)' (> WrM *qamiga*, {Rm.} *qamiya*, Kl *χamā*) etc. ¶ MED 895, 923, BMR IV 1, Chr. 522, KW 164, 175, Ms. H 85, Ms. O 320, H 54 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. \**kʿe-* / \**kʿa-*, KW 175 (M, T) ◇ The *vw.* \**a* (for the expected rounded *vw.*) in T, M, an Tg still requires explanation ◇ The original opposition N \**ko* 'who?' ↔ N \**mi* 'what?' was neutralized in IE (where N \**ko* was generalized as the main interr. prn.) and partially in HS (S, Eg, B, C, where the generalized prn. was N \**mi*). The ancient opposition has been preserved in U (\**ko-* 'who?' ↔ \**mi-* 'what?'), in Chv (*кам кам* 'who?' ↔ *мѣн мѣн* 'what?') and in Itelmen (*ке* 'who?' ↔ *мин* 'what for, which?') ◇ IS I 355-6 (HS, IE, U, A + \* Sml *ku-ma* 'who?' [in fact *ku-* is a marker of masculine] + \* words for 'as, like' in HS, which are better accounted for by N \**kuya* 'manner' → 'like, as', q.v., because the semantic change from 'who?' to 'as, like', though not ruled out, is too complicated to be preferable) || In U and A there are forms traceable back to N (dialectal?) \**ke* 'who?' (with a *hic-deixis*?) > U \**ke-* 'who?' > F *ker* 'who?', Es *kes* (gen. *kelle*) id., 'which?' | Lp: S {Hs.} *gie*, Vfs {Lgc.} *gīe*, *gēā* 'who?', N {N} *gī* / *gā-* 'who?', 'what kind of' (of persons), Kld *kīe* 'who?', 'which?' | Er *ки ki*, Mk *кие kiya* 'who?' | Chr: L/Uf/B *kō*, H *kū* 'who?' | Prm \**kin* 'who?' > Z Δ, Prmk, Yz, Vt *kin* || Hg *ki* 'who?' || Sm {Jn.} \**ki-*, \**kim*(∇) ~ \**kimä* 'who?' > Ne T *хибѣ*, Ne F {Lh.} *kimā* (both from \**kimä*) 'who?', En {Mik.} *šie*, {Prk.} *sie*, {Ter.} *sēa*, Kms {KD} *cd šūn'de*, *šun'di* ~ *šin'da*, Koyb {Sp.} *семъ*, Mt {HL.} \**kim* (or \**kim*) 'who?' (Mt M {Sp.} *кымъ*) || pY {IN H} \**kin* > Y T/K {IN H, Krn., IN} *kin* 'who?' ¶¶ UEW 140-1, Lgc. SL 47, Hs.

122, PI 111, Ker. II 59, Jn. 69, KP no. 1221, KD 64, 66, Hl. M no. 486, Krn. JJ 87-9, Krn. IMJJ 233, IN H 211, IN UJ 228 || **A** \*k'É- 'who?' > T \*k'Ém (= \*k'im ~ \*k'äm) 'who?' > OT kím ɖ käm, Tk kím, Tkm, Az, Uz, ET kím, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg kím, Slr kām, SY kem ɖ kím, StAlt kem, Qmn/Tb {B} kem, Xk kem, Yk kím, Tv qim, Tf qum (labialization from \*qim?) id. ||| Chv L **кaм** id. ¶ Cl. 720-1, Rl. II 1202, 1402, Rs. W 271, Ra. 222, Jeg. 87, Tz. UIS s.v. kím, Ash. VI 48-9, Fed. I 219-20, Jeg. 87, ChVS 67-8 || M \*ken 'who?' (also 'which?') > MM, WrM {MED} ken, HIM {MED, BMR} xэн, Kl {KRS} кeн, {Rm.} ken, Mnr H {T} ken, {SM} k'än, MMgl [Z] keyan, Mgl ken, Dx kīen, Ba kaŋ, Ord k'en 'who?' ¶ MED 457, BMR IV 218-19, KW 225, SM 195, T 338-9, T DnJ 123, T BJ 141, Ms. O 413-14, Iw. 111 ◇ IS I 348 (pN \*k'É 'who?' > U, A) and 355-6 (N \*k'o 'who?' > HS, IE, U, A), Gr. I 217-24 ("interrogative K" in IE, U [including Y], A, Ai, ChK, EA + unc. Gil) ◇ Acc. to IS's hyp., \*k'É is a Uralo-Altaic innovation, a variant interr. word based on the analogy of the dem. particles/pronouns. The opposition of the N iste-deictic \*h'e' 'this' (≈ Illich-Svitych's \*ʔi / (?) \*ʔe) vs. pronouns with back vowels (e.g. N \*ha 'ille') was introduced into the system of interr. pronouns, so that alongside with N \*k'o 'who?' a new hic-deictic inter. prn. \*k'É 'wer hier?' appeared. Starostin, A. Dybo and Mudrak try to unite the A reflexes of N \*k'o and \*k'É by reconstructing pA \*k'ä<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub> (SDM97 s.v.), which is not a good solution, because the difference between N \*k'o and \*k'É has survived not only in A, but also in U. The variation \*e ~ \*ä ~ \*i in the U and A lges is still to be explained.

**466. (N 982.)** IE \*k'e-, \*k'i-, \*k'e<sub>1</sub>-, \*k'(i)y<sub>o</sub>- 'this' > NaIE: Arm **ս-ս-** 'this' (anaphoric, hic-deixis), **-ս-ս** def. art. (hic-deixis) ||| Gk \*k'e- in κeῖνο-ς, ἐ-κεῖνο-ς 'that person\thing, the person there', ἐκεῖ 'there', {EI}: Gk Mc za-ωe-te, Gk σῆτεc 'heuer, this year' ({EA}: < \*k'ye<sub>h</sub>-wetes) ||| L ce- in ce-do 'give here!', hi-c 'this', hi-s-ce 'this', si-c 'so', nun-c 'now', \*k'i- in ci-s 'on this side of', ci-tro 'hither' ||| Clt {Matas.} \*ki / \*koy / \*kē (a dem. prn.) > Ogr ci, coi 'this', OIr ce ~ cé (< \*k'e<sub>1</sub>) (a dem. particle): in bith cé 'this world ('ce monde-ci)', Gl κουc 'here, on this side', iso-c 'thus' ||| Gt hi- dem. pronominal stem in: himma daga ('- σήμερον)-'an diesem Tage, heute' (himmada dat.), ntr.