

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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**1293. (N 2507.) IE \*weh-/\*woh-/\*wh- > NaIE \*wā-/ \*wō- / \*wə- 'hit, wound' > Gk ἄρα (< ἄρα) 'hurt, damage', n. act. ἄτη < ἄρατη (Gk Ae ἀράτα) > Gk A ἄτη 'bewilderment, infatuation' ] with a \*-t-ext.: Gk οὐράω v. 'wound, hurt, hit', ὠτελή n. 'wound' ||| Ltv vâts n. 'wound' ({EI} 'suppurating wound'), Lt vortis 'ulcer' ¶ WP I 211, P 1108, ≈σ EI 650 (?\*weh<sub>h</sub>t- '[suppurating] wound'), Ch. 3, Hofm. 27, F I 2, II 449-50, 1153, Frn. 1275 ||| **From N \*w<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>qa** 'hit, hurt' > **HS**: S: Ar {Fr. ← [Qam.]} wāχχ- 'dolor' ¶ Fr. IV 446, BK II 1503 (Ar wāχχ- 'peine, fatigue') || Eg d. s-wχ<sup>?</sup> (caus. of ✓wχ<sup>?</sup>) vt. damage' ¶ EG IV 74 ||| **A**: Tg \*wā- (< N \*w<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>qa?) 'kill' > Ewk, Sln, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU wā-, Lm A wā-, WrMc ba-, Mc Sb wā-, Jrc wadula 'kill' ¶ STM I 127-8, Krm. 216, Vas. 77, On. 87, Z 1110, Kiy. 122 [no. 459] ||| **D** \*vay- 'strike' > Kn bese 'strike with a whip', Knd vey- v. 'flog, beat', Kui vēpa (p. vē-t-) v. 'strike, beat', Ku ve'- 'beat' ¶¶ D no. 5555 ◇ IS MS 330 (\*wā<sup>r</sup>h<sup>1</sup> 'beat'), AD GD 5 ◇ Gr. II no. 435 (\*wa 'wound') (IE, A + qu. Gil).**

**1294. (N 2557.) IE: [1]** NaIE \*wāy-/\*way-/\*wī- '(be) weak' > OI 'vāyatī 'vanishes, becomes exhausted, is extinguished', Av frāvayōit, 'es möge erlöschen' ||| Lt vójus adj. 'suffering, weak, ill', Ltv vājš (f. vāja) 'weak, feeble, lean' ||| ? Clt: W gwael 'poor, ill, base, vile', gwaelu 'to sicken' ||| ?? ON víl 'misery, need', AS wīl {Vr.} 'Bedrängnis, Kummernis', {P} 'Bedrängnis, Not' (absent in Ho. and Sw.) ¶ WP I 213-14, P 1111, M K III 189-90, M E II 538, Frn. 1272, YGM-1 252, Vr. 663-4 ||| **[2]** NaIE \*wej(ə)-/\*wī-, +exts: \*wīt- (< \*wi-Ht-), \*wej-s '(make) wither' (× N \*wiž<sup>∇</sup> 'grey, [?] withered', q.v. × N \*war<sup>∇</sup> 'squeeze, press', [→ 'weaken sth.'], q.v.) > NaIE \*wej(ə)-/\*wī-, +exts: wīt- (< wi-Ht-), \*wej-s '(make) wither, weaken' > L viēsc-ō / -ēre 'fade, wither, shrink', viētus 'withered, shrunken' ||| Clt {Matas.} \*wiwō- 'withered' (from NaIE \*wī-wō-) > OIr [ȝ] feugud 'marcor' ← OIr {LP, P} \*feo 'withered', Mlr {Matas.} feo 'withered', W {YGM} gwyw id., 'feeble', gwywo v. 'wither, fade' ||| OHG wēsānēn 'to wither', MHG wesel 'schwach, matt', NE Δ weasel, weazen 'thin, lean', ON vesall

'poor, miserable'; ON *visinn* 'withered' (prtc. of \**wisan*); ⇨ Gmc \**wis-n-ōn* ~ *-ēn* > ON *visna*, NNr *visna*, Sw *visna*, Dn *visne*, AS *wisnian* 'to dry up, to wither' ||| Lt *výsti* (p. *výtau*), Ltv *vīst* 'to fade, to wither, to droop', Lt *výtinti* (1s pres. *pa-vaitinù*), Ltv *vītīnāt* 'to make [sth.] fade', Ltv *vietēt*, *vītēt* id. ¶ WP I 227-8, P 1123, WH II 787-8, LP § 95.3, YGM-1 277, Vr. 657, 668, Hlq. 1359-60, Ho. 39, Kb. 1184, OsS 1131, Frn. 1265, Matas. E 425, YGM-1 252, 277 ||| **From N \*wahy** ∇ '(to be) weak' > HS: S \**o*✓*w*hy > Ar ✓*w*hy G (ip. *-whay-*) {Hv.} 'be weak\frail', 'be rent' (clothes), 'break asunder' (skin, rope), {BK} 'être faible\débile; être crevé\déchiré; se détraquer, se déranger, tomber en morceaux' ¶ BK II 1618-19, Hv. 899 ||| **A:** Tg \**o*b<sup>r</sup>a<sup>7</sup>y- > Lm KO *bäyay-* 'scanty (скудный)' ¶ STM I 79.

**1295. (N 2555.) IE: [1] IE \*weǵ- 'we' pl. > Ht *wēs* 'we' || NaIE \**weǵ-* 'we' pl. > OI *va'yam*, Av *vaēm*, OPrs *vayam* 'we' ({M}: \**-am* on the analogy of other personal pronouns [those represented by OI *a'ham* 'I', *'tvam* 'thou']) ||| Gt *weis*, ON *vér*, OSw *wī(r)*, OSx *wi*, *wē*, *wir*, OHG, NHG *wir*, AS *wē* 'we', NE *wē* ||| pTc {Ad.} \**wes* > Tc: B *wes*, A *was* 'we' ||| The cd \**weǵ-* + \**dwo* 'two' underlies pronouns of 1st pers. du.: Lt *ve-du*, Gt, AS, OSx *wit*, ON *vit* ||| [2] NaIE \**wē* 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata (< N \**o*w<sup>∇</sup>y<sup>∇</sup> 'h<sup>1</sup>æ, with N ? \**h<sup>1</sup>æ* [an ancient marker of dual], q.v. ffd.) > Vd *vām* nom. 'we' du. (on OI *ā'vam* accus. and *ā'vām* nom. 'we' du. see N \**ñ* ∇ 'we' excl.), OAv *vā* 'we' du. nom. ||| OCS **ѡѡ** *vě* 'we' du. ¶¶ Brg. KVG 410-13 (with a table), WP I 220, P 1114, EI 454-5 (\**'weǵ* 'we', emph. \**wē'yom*), Mn. 1505, 1524, M K III 147, M E II 508, Ad. 265-6, Bks 208-9, Fs. 560, 568-9, StSS 164 ||| **From N \*w<sup>∇</sup>y<sup>∇</sup>** 'we' > HS: SOm: Hm {Ldl} *wō* 'we' (general form), *wōsi*, *wōdi* (aut. prn.), *wōn* (dependent) 'we', *wō-no* / *wō-ntia* / *wō-nna* / *wō-nno* 'our', Ari {Hw.} *wō'(:)* 'we' (basic form), *wō'(:)tá* 'we' (aut. prn.), *wō'(:)-m* 'us' (-m is a marker of accus.), *wō'(:)ntén* 'our', Ari G {Bnd.} *wōta*, *wōte*, Dm {Fl.} *watu* / *woto* 'we' (abs.), accus. *wōn-i*m 'us', *wō* (with postpositions, e.g. *wō gišō* 'because of us'), *wō-ko* 'our', {Bnd.} *wō(:)t*, Ari U/B {Fl.}**

w3ta, Hm B w3di ¶ Hz. PO and Fl. OO reconstructed pSOm \*w3t  
 'we', probably on the basis of early descriptions (Bnd. etc.) and  
 of the verbal sxs of 1p: Gll -0t, Dm -t. Alternatively, the element  
 \*t∇ in the SOm prn may go back to the HS accusative ending \*  
 t∇ (*F* N \*t∇, marker of accusative) ¶ Ldl H 414-15, Hw. NAL  
 448-52, Fl. D 521-5, Fl. OO 315, Hz. PO 110-12, Bnd. AL 161 ||  
 ?? Eg wɔy 'I' (dependent) (× N \*H<sub>2</sub>oɔy∇ 'by me, my') ¶ Ed. 75, EG I  
 270-1 || K \*čwen-i 'our' > OG čueni [čweni], G čveni, Mg  
 čk3n-i ~ čkin-i, Lz čkun-i ~ čkin-i ~ škun-i ~ škin-i 'our', Sv UB  
 {GP} gu-šgwē(y), {TK} gwišgwey ~ gušgwey, LB gwi-šgwe ~  
 gušge 'our' incl., UB {GP} ni-šgwē(y), {TK} nišgwey, LB  
 nišg(w)e 'our' excl. (gu- is the marker of 1p incl., ni- is that of  
 1p excl.), L gušgwe, Ln guškwe 'our'; GZ \*čwen-i 'our' → GZ  
 \*čwen 'we' > OG čuen čwen, G čven, Δ čon, Mg čk3-, čki-, Lz  
 čku(n)-, čkin-, šku- 'we' ¶¶ K 219-20, FS K 388-9, FS E 436-7, Fn.  
 GAS 72, Ser. 194, TK 183, GP US 45, Tt. 18-19, Dn. s.v. gūšgve  
 ¶¶ K \*čwen- 'our' is analyzable as \*č- (marker of poss. pronouns  
 < N \*č'ū' 'that of ..., that which' [cp. \*če-m-i 'my', \*šeni < \*\*č-  
 sen-i 'thy']) + \*we- (< N \*w∇y∇ 'we') + \*-n- (< N \*nu, marker  
 of gen.) + \*-i (pK marker of nom.)..

**1296. (N 2558.) IE \*weǵH-** > NaIE \*weǵə- / \*wī- 'strength,  
 force' > OI 'vayas 'energy, strength, power' || Gk ἰς (with a  
 long ī) 'strength, force', [Hs.] ἰς (\*ἰσχύς) 'strength (of body)'  
 (ἰς = \*F īς), Gk ἰ-φιλ adv. 'by force/might' ('with strength')  
 (\*wī + \*b<sup>h</sup>i-, pc. of instr.) || L vī-s (accus. vim) 'force,  
 strength, power' ¶ The NaIE √ may have contaminated with  
 homonymous \*weǵ(ə)-roots (< N \*'way∇ 'want, wish, strive  
 for' and N \*χawi<sub>1</sub>?∇ 'drive, chase, pursue') ¶ The IE Ir.\*weǵH-  
 is still to be explained, because it cannot go back to N ¶ ≈ P  
 1123-4, M K III 147-8, F I 735-6, WH II 800-1, EI 209 and 548  
 (\*'weǵHs 'vital force' ← \*weǵH- 'be strong') ||| **From N**  
**\*woy<sup>h</sup>ē** 'be strong, be able/capable' > HS: S \*°√ wɔy > Ar  
 wəɔy- 'strong beast', √ wɔy G (pf. وَايَ wəɔā, 3m ip. يَأَيَّ  
 n. act. wəɔy-) 'promise, threaten' ¶ BK II 1474, Hv. 846 || **U:** FU  
 \*woye- 'be able, (?) be strong' > F vōi-, Es vōī- 'be able', F vōi-  
 ma, Es vōim 'power, might' || ? Z † ойѡс оу-3s 'strength' ||| OHG

>XIV  $\upsilon\acute{f}$ -, Hg  $\upsilon\acute{f}\upsilon$ - v. 'fight, struggle with' ¶ UEW 579, LG 204, SK 1805-6, EWU 1648 || A: NaT \* $u_{\text{L}}\text{L}$ - or \* $u_{\text{L}}\text{L}\text{y}$ - > OT {Cl., Rs.}  $\bar{u}$ - 'be able\capable'  $\rightarrow$  OT, OOSm  $\text{u-}\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$  'allmighty, God', Osm {Rl.}  $\text{اويغان}$   $\text{ouy}\check{\text{v}}\text{an}$  id. (?) [{Rl.} 'allgegenwärtig', an epitheton of God'], XwT XIII, MQp  $\Delta$  XIII  $\text{u}\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$ , Chg XV  $\text{u}\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$  'God' ¶ Rs. LTS 193, Rs. MIFTJ 167, Rl. I 970-1, Cl. 2  $\diamond$  The discrepancy between Ar ? (in  $\check{\text{v}}\text{w}\text{?y}$ ) suggesting N \*? and IE \*H (that cannot go back to N \*?) may be resolved by reconstructing N \***woyhê** with S \*? from N \***h** (a rather common phonetic change: loss of N \***h** in a S word, followed by introducing a hiatus-filling \*) |||| This pN word may be the source of a marker of passivity\intransitivity in descendant lges: HS \* $w\check{\nabla}$ - ~ \* $u_{\text{L}}\text{L}$ - > Eg - $\omega$ , verbal suffix of the passive form ¶ Ed. 261-9 || S: [1] \* $w$ - as the additional first radical of verbs of state and quality: \* $\check{\text{v}}\text{w}\text{y}\text{t}\text{b}$  'be good' (> BHb, BA, JA  $\check{\text{v}}\text{y}\text{t}\text{b}$ ); cp. \* $\check{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b}$ - 'good' (> BHb  $\check{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b}$  id. etc.); [2] \*- $u$ - ~ \*- $\bar{u}$ - as an apophonic prefix\infix of ps.: CS \* $y$ - $u$ -12a3- 3m ps. of the G-stem (> Ar  $y$ - $u$ - $q\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\text{l}$ - $u$  'he is\will be killed'), \* $y$ - $u$ -š $\bar{\text{a}}$ -12a3- 3m ps. of the caus. *Sh*-stem (> BHb  $\text{םכחש}$   $y$ - $\text{u}$ -š $\bar{\text{a}}$  lam 'it will be completed\restituted', Ar  $y$ - $u$ - $s\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$ - $u$  'he will be kept safe'), pS ps. verbal adj. of the *D*-stem \*1 $u$ 22 $\nabla$ 3- (> Ak adj. 1 $u$ 22 $u$ 3, Ar 3m pf. 1 $u$ 22 $i$ 3a, BHb 3m pf. 1 $u$ 2 $^2$ 2a3), pS ps. verbal adj. of the causative *Sh*-stem \*š $\bar{\text{u}}$ 12 $\nabla$ 3- (> Ak adj. š $u$ 12 $u$ 3, BHb 3m pf.  $h\text{u}1^2$ 2a3, Ar 3m pf.  $\text{?u}12i3a$ ), BHb ps. adj. of the G-stem  $1\bar{\text{a}}^2\bar{u}3$  ( $s\bar{\text{a}}^1g\bar{u}r$  'closed') ¶ Ptrc. IF IV 602ff., KB 354-6, 390-1, BL H 378 || pB {Pr.} \* $tiw$ i- / \*- $t\text{tiw}$ i- (> Tw  $t\text{w}$ -/ $tt\text{w}$ -, NrB  $tt\text{w}$ -), px of the ps. verb stems (< combination of the HS reflexive px \* $t$ - and the passive \* $w$ -): inv. \* $tiw$ i- $kraz$  / 3m pf. \* $y\text{ittiw}$ i $kraz$  > Tw inv.  $t\text{w}\check{\text{a}}kr\check{\text{a}}h$  / 3m pf.  $itt\text{w}\check{\text{a}}kr\check{\text{a}}h$  'être acquis' ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 56, 63, as well as 88-267 (on the ps. forms of different conjugations), Cadi 45-72 || ? EC: Sml - $o\omega$ -, sx of verbs of state and quality (denom. inchoative verbs):  $\text{?o}\text{ll-o}\omega$ - 'become hostile'  $\leftarrow$   $\text{?o}\text{l}$  'enemy',  $\text{?add-o}\omega$ - 'become white'  $\leftarrow$   $\text{?ad}$  'white', Sml C {Mrn.}  $\text{d}\text{u}\check{\text{x}}\text{o}\omega$ - 'become old'  $\leftarrow$   $\text{d}\text{u}\check{\text{x}}$  'old man', Af {Hw.} - $\bar{o}\omega\text{e}$ , derivational sx of inchoative verbs ( $\check{h}\bar{\text{a}}g\bar{i}dd-\bar{o}\omega\text{e}$  'become busy'  $\leftarrow$   $\check{h}\bar{\text{a}}g\bar{i}d$  'matter, affair') ¶ Mrn. SS 97, 267, ZMO 53-4, 70, Hw. MVEC, PH 245 ¶¶ Kln. PSK 26 || U: FU \* $w\check{\nabla}$ - (~ \* $w\check{\nabla}y$ -?), passivizing and intransitivizing verbal sx: F - $u$ -/ $y$ - ( $n\check{\text{a}}k\text{y}$ - 'be



visible' ← *näke-* 'see', *kaatu-* 'fall, overturn' ← *kaata-* v. 'fell'), Es -*u-*/*-i-* (passive\ intransitive: *kordu-* 'repeat oneself, recur' ↔ *korda-* vt. 'repeat', *sütti-* 'be kindled, catch fire' ↔ *süüta-* vt. 'kindle') † Lp N *sx -u-*: *gaw'dnu-* 'gefunden werden können, exist' ← *gaw'd'nâ-* 'find' † Er -*vo-*: *кадово-* *kadovo-* 'remain' ← *кадо-* *kado-* 'leave, desert', *неяво-* *neyavo-* 'be seen' ← *нее-* *neye-* 'see' † † † pVg \*-*ω∇-*, *sx* of ps. verbal forms ({Rmb.} *субъектно-пассивное спряжение*) > Vg N -*we-*/*-wē-*: *wā-we-m* 'he knows me' (lit. 'I am known [by him]'), Vg T {Ht.} *wārīwam* 'I am made' (momentaneous present) ↔ *wārām* 'I make', *wārāwsam* 'I was made' ↔ *wārsām* 'I made', Vg N *wārwesam* 'I was made' ↔ *wārsām* 'I made'; Os \*-*∇y-* *sx* of passive verb forms: Os V *werluyəm*, Os Kz *werɬayəm* 'I am made' ↔ Os V *werlām*, Os Kz *werɬām* 'I make', Os V *wersuyəm*, Os Kz *wersayəm* 'I was made' ↔ Os V/Kz *wersām* 'I made' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} -*o*(:)/ -*ū*(:), intransitivizing *sx* (*śi'dō* vi. 'awake' ↔ *śi'dē* vt. 'wake'), Kms {Cs.} *šüddōlām* vi. 'awake' ↔ *šüddirlim* vt. 'wake' ¶¶ The Os forms are likely to suggest the existence of a variant *sx* \*-*ω∇y-* ¶¶ Coll. CG 281, Lh. 38-43, Kul. P ∇, Ht. POU ∇, Rmb. 113, 119, Cs. 184 || ¶ A: T {Rs.} \*-*u-*/*\*-ū-*, *sx* of reflexive verbs and of denom. verbs of quality ('become\be X'), e.g. in: O T *saš-u-* 'losmachen' ← *saš-* 'lösen', O T *baγ-u-* 'become rich' ← *baγ* 'rich', *bäk-u-* 'fest sein' ← *bäk* 'fest', MT *qiz-u-* 'be expensive' ← *qiz* 'expensive' ¶ Rs. RT ∇, Cl. 384-5, Br. OTG 215 || Tg \*-*bu-*, verbal *sx* of passivity (and causativity), e.g. in pTg *\*ḡūn-bū* ({Bz.} *\*ḡōn-bū-*) 'be said, cause to say' > Nn {Bz.} *umbu-* 'be said' ← *un-* 'say' (STM I 171) ¶ Bz. 122 || ¶ Gil: Gil A ∇-, Gil ES *ω-* (px of the reciprocal voice) ¶¶ Pnf. II 62-3, Krn. NJ-79 313 ◇ Alternatively, the passivizing-intransitivizing morphem of HS, U, A and Gil may go back to some other N word (still to be reconstructed) ◇ Hardly here (↔ IS) the K causative *sx* \*-*ev-*, because the connection between causativity and passivity is not close enough to justify the conjecture ◇ IS MS 364 (*\*ωoj<sup>h</sup>h<sup>h</sup>h* 'сила': IE, T, BF), IS I 13 s.v. 'пассив' *ωh* (A, U, ?K, HS), IS MsN s.v. -*u-* ps. and intr., Gr. I 209-10 ("reflexive U/W" in U, A, Gil, Ai).

**1297. (N 2501.) IE** NaIE \*weǵ(ə)- / \*wī-, +exts: \*wīt- (< \*wi-Ht-), \*weǵ-s '(make) wither, weaken' (× N \*wiǵǵ 'grey, [?] withered' [q.v.] × N \*wahyǵ '[be] weak' [q.v.]) > L viēsc-ō / -ēre 'fade, wither, shrink', viētus 'withered, shrunken' ||| OIr [ʸ]feugud 'marcor' < OIr {LP, P} \*feo 'withered', W gwyw id., 'feeble' (both from NaIE \*wī-wō- or \*wis-wō-), W gwywo 'to wither, to fade' ||| OHG wēsanēn 'to wither', MHG wesele 'schwach, matt', NE Δ weasel, weazen 'thin, lean', ON vesall 'poor, miserable'; < Gmc \*wis-n-ōn ~ -ēn > ON visna, Nnr visna, Sw vissna, Dn visne, AS wisnian 'to dry up, to wither' ||| Lt vūsti (1s p. vūtau), Ltv vīst 'to fade, to wither, to droop', Lt inf. vūtinti (1s pres. pa-vaitinū), Ltv vītīnāt 'to make (sth.) fade', Ltv vietēt, vītēt id. ¶ WP I 227-8, P 1123, WH II 787-8, LP § 95.3, YGM-I 277, Vr. 657, 668, Hlq. 1359-60, Ho. 39, Kb. 1184, OsS 1131, Frn. 1265 ||| **Probably from N \*waǵǵ** 'squeeze, press' ([in descendant lges] → 'weaken [sth.], 'ram, trample down, make compact by pressing') > HS: S \*√wny ≈ suppress, weaken (vt.) > BHb √yny|w 'suppress, oppress': acp. G הַנְּיָיָוּעֵ 'oppressing' (f. hā'īr hayyō'nā 'the oppressing city'), Sh pf. הַנְּיָיָוּעֵ hō'nā '(he) oppressed, (he) maltreated', JA [Trg.] √yny: Sh pf. אֹנֵי אֹנֵי id. ({Lv.} √yny Sh 'bedrücken'), JEA {Sl.} √yny Sh 'act fraudulently', JPA Bz {Sl.} √yny Sh 'vex, taunt, deal fraudulently', Ar √wny G 'être fatigué; être faible, être mou, manquer de force' (< \*'be weakened'), Ak (fOAK?) {Sd.} inf. wanāʔum ≈ unter Druck setzen, bedrängen mit', Sb {DRS < VAbd.} hwny 'dépérir' ¶ KB 398, BDB 413, GB 303 (adducing Mn \*√wny that is not confirmed by up-to-date research), Lv. T I 337, Sl. 538, Sl. P 242, BK II 1612, Hv. 896, Sd. 145, DRS 562 ||| **U:** FU \*waǵǵ- 'make soft\compact (by kneading, fulling)' > F vanu- 'become condensed\thick, be kneaded; become matted\mat', vanutta- 'shrink, cause to shrink, knead; full, mill', {SK} 'thrash soundly (mukiloida)', Es vanu- 'shrink; become matted, mat, felt', {W} 'walken' ||| OHg vānyol- 'walken, filzen; massieren', Hg vānyol- v. 'felt (wool); full, mill' ¶ UEW 558, W EDW 1306, MF 671-2, EWU 1605-6 ||| **A:** NaT \*u:ǵ- (< \*u:ǵ-?) 'squeeze, trample' > OT {Cl.} uǵ- 'squeeze (to make compact)', {DTS}

'trample', MT [IM]  $\text{u}\check{\text{u}}\text{-}$  'knead', ds.: OT {Cl.}  $\text{u}\check{\text{u}}\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}$  n. 'felt', Tkm  $\Delta$   $\text{u}\check{\text{u}}\text{u}\check{\text{q}}$  'felt socks', Tb/Qzq/Chg {Rl.}  $\text{u}\check{\text{u}}\text{u}\check{\text{q}}$  'felt boots (валенки)' ¶ Cl. 267, 273, DTS 60 (OT  $\text{u}\check{\text{u}}\text{-}$  'compact'), ET Gl 581-2, Rl. I 1633 ◇ The NaT vw. \* $\text{u-}$  (from N \* $\text{wa-}$ ) may be connected with the labializing infl. of \* $\text{w-}$  (on similar development in M an Tg see Indo-European and Nostratic: general introduction, § 2.4).

**1298. (N 158.)** IE \* $\text{r}^1\text{wej}\check{\chi}\text{-}$  v. 'twist, weave, plait, braid', ≈ {EI} \* $\text{wej}\check{\chi}\text{(H)-}$  'plait, wattle' > Ht {Ts.}  $\text{we}\check{\chi}\text{-}/\text{wa}\check{\chi}\check{\chi}\text{-}$  (1s  $\text{we}\check{\chi}\text{-mi}$ ) and md.  $\text{we}\check{\chi}\text{-}$  'sich drehen, sich wenden' || NaIE: OI ' $\text{vayati}$  'weaves, plaits' (pfc.  $\bar{\text{u}}\text{v}\text{u}\check{\text{h}}$ , pp.  $\bar{\text{u}}\text{'ta-}$ , inf.  $\bar{\text{o}}\text{t}\text{um}$ ),  $\text{v}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ya-}$  m. 'Weben, das Weben', ' $\text{vayati}$  v. 'envelop, wrap', Av  $\text{v}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-}$  v. 'twist, wrap', Oss I  $\text{b}\check{\text{z}}\text{y}\check{\text{z}}\text{n}$  (pp.  $\text{b}\check{\text{z}}\text{d}$ ), Oss D  $\text{biy}\check{\text{u}}\text{n}$  (pp.  $\text{bid}$ ) v. 'twist, weave, braid' ||| Gk [Hs.]  $\text{v}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{v}}\text{-}\bar{\text{a}}\text{v}\bar{\text{a}}\delta\epsilon\text{v}\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha$  'vine that grows up trees' ( $\text{u-} = \text{w-}$ ) ||| L  $\text{v}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{-}$  v. 'twist, bind with withes' ||| Clt {Matas.} \* $\text{wi-na-}$  'bend, enclose' > ? OIr {Matas.}  $\text{imm-fen}$  'hedge round, enclose, guard'; Clt \* $\text{wi-}$  > OIr {P}  $\text{tech fithe}$  'a wicker house', Br{m.}  $\text{gwiad}$  'tissu, étoffe', W {YGM}  $\text{gwau} \sim \text{gweu}$  v. 'weave, knit', Crn  $\text{g}\check{\text{w}}\bar{\text{y}}\text{a}$  v. 'weave, knit, twine, twist'; Clt {Matas.} v. 'wind' > MW  $\text{g}\check{\text{w}}\text{y}\check{\text{n}}\text{t}$  id., MBr  $\text{g}\check{\text{u}}\text{e}\check{\text{n}}\text{t}$  id., Br {Hm.}  $\text{g}\check{\text{w}}\text{e}\check{\text{n}}\text{t}$  'vent', OCrn [ $\check{\text{y}}$ ]  $\text{guins}$  'ventus', Crn  $\text{g}\check{\text{w}}\text{e}\check{\text{n}}\text{t}$  'wind' (unc. [hardly here] Clt {Matas.} v. 'whistling' > OIr  $\text{fet}$  'a whistling or a hissing sound') ||| pGmc \* $\text{wajjus}$  'wall' (← 'Flechtwerk') > ON  $\text{veggr}$  'wall', Gt  $\text{waddjus}$  'Mauer, Wand' ||| Lt  $\text{v}\check{\text{y}}\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}$  (pres.  $\text{v}\check{\text{e}}\text{j}\bar{\text{u}}$ ), Ltv  $\text{v}\check{\text{i}}\text{t}$  (pres.  $\text{v}\check{\text{i}}\text{j}\bar{\text{u}}$ ) 'to twist, to wind (up)' ||| Sl \* $\text{v}\check{\text{i}}\text{-ti}$  'to twist, to curl' > ChS  $\text{BHTH v}\check{\text{i}}\text{-ti}$  (1s pres.  $\text{BHHT v}\check{\text{i}}\text{j-q}$ ), SCR  $\text{v}\check{\text{i}}\text{ti}$  (1s pres.  $\text{v}\check{\text{i}}\text{j}\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}$ ), Slv  $\text{v}\check{\text{i}}\text{ti}$ , Cz  $\text{v}\check{\text{i}}\text{ti}$ , P  $\text{wi}\acute{\text{c}}$ , R  $\text{BHTB}$  (1s pres.  $\text{B}\check{\text{B}}\text{y}\bar{\text{u}}$ ) id., Blg  $\text{BHT}$  'I twist' ||| ⇔ IE \* $\text{r}^1\text{wej}\check{\chi}\text{-}$ 'to-(s) ({Mn.} \* $\text{u}\check{\text{e}}\text{t}\acute{\text{o}}\text{s}$ ) pp. 'woven, enmeshed' > ON  $\text{v}\acute{\text{a}}\check{\text{ð}}$  'textile, fishing net', MHG  $\text{w}\acute{\text{a}}\text{t}$  f. 'garment', NHG  $\text{w}\acute{\text{a}}\text{t}$  'cloth, garment', AS  $\text{w}\acute{\text{a}}\text{d}$  'robe' ¶¶ P 1120-1, ≈ EI 571 (no mention of Ht, and hence no certainty about the root-final lr.), Mn. 1505, 1531, ≈ M K III 147 (OI ÷ Lt  $\acute{\text{a}}\text{ust}\bar{\text{i}}$  'to weave'), Ch. 1153, WH II 786-7, Ab. I 277, YGM-1 259, ECCE 252, Vr. 637, 650, Fs. 538-9, Frn. 1267, Vs. I 322, Glh. 67, Srz. I 266, Matas. E 422-3, YGM-1 259, Hm. 356, 360 ||| From N \* $\text{su}\check{\text{y}}\text{'h}\text{-}$  'to bend' > HS: S (WS?) \* $\check{\text{v}}\text{w}\check{\text{y}}$  'bend' > Hb  $\text{h}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}$   $\text{na}\check{\text{a}}\text{'w}\bar{\text{i}}\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}$  (N pf. 1s) 'I was bent \ bowed down \ twisted', (G 3f pf.)  $\text{h}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}$   $\text{v}\bar{\text{a}}\text{'w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$  'she did wrong',  $\text{h}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}$   $\text{v}\bar{\text{a}}\text{'w}\bar{\text{a}}$  (D

pf. 3m) 'he twisted', Ar عوى ✓ ʿwū G (ʿawā / -ʿwī, -ʿwīy-) v. 'bend, twist', Gz 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 ʿāw 'bending, curvature', ? Ak OB 𒂗𒍪𒌦 'belasten (mit ...)' ¶ KB 752-3, KBR 796-7, Ln. 2185-6, L G 77, L ESAC 38 || A \*uṣa- > Tg \*uṣa-(n) 'flexible, soft; coiling (as a snake)' > WrMc {Z} 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌽 'flexible, thin', 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌾𐌰~𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌽𐌸𐌾𐌰 v. 'be flexible\ soft\weak', Lm 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹, Lm T 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌽 'weak (tobacco, wine), soft (metal)', Nn Nh 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹 'soft, flexible', 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 v. 'become soft\flexible', Ul 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰- 'soft, tender' ¶ STM II 251, On. 319, Z 136-7 ¶ Lm T 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌽 'soft' (referring to metal) may have been influenced by Yk 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 'soft, weak' || M: [1] M \*uṣa-n 'flexible, soft' > WrM {MED} 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰-𐌺, HIM {MED, BMR} 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰, Brt 𐌸𐌹𐌺(𐌰) 'soft, flexible, Kl {Rm.} 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 'weich, biegsam', Ord 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 'mou, semi-liquide, flexible'; M 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 > Yk 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 'soft' (iron), 'weak', Xk 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 'weak', Qzq 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰, Qrg, Qq 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 'soft', StAlt 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 'soft, weak', Tlt {Rl.} 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 'schwach, elend'; [2] M \*uṣa-da- v. 'become too soft and flexible' > WrM {MED} 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰-𐌺, HIM {MED, BMR} 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰-𐌺 id., Brt 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰- 'be too weak\flexible', Kl {KRS} 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰- vi. 'bend' (of trees, spears), {Rm.} 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰- 'dich boegen' (z. B. das Holz, die Lanze), 'schwach\weich werden', Ord 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰- 'devenir mou\ flexible' ¶ The M adj. for 'flexible, soft' belongs here unless it is \*𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰- (that cannot be ruled out for lack of ev. distinguishing between \*𐌸- and zero) ¶ MED 867, BMR III 382-3, Chr. 486-7, KW 447, KRS 529, Ms. O 727-8, Rl. I 1629, ET Gl 577-8.

**1299. (N 2548.)** IE \*<sup>h</sup>wed-/\*<sup>h</sup>ud- 'utter vocal sounds, speak' (× N \*<sup>h</sup>awt𐌵 'speak, utter sounds') > OI 'vadati (pp. ud-i'ta-) 'speaks, says, raises the voice' || Lt vadinti (1s pres. vadinū) 'to call by name; to invite, to ask' (as well as Sl \*vaditi > OCS ВАДНТИ vaditi 'to accuse?') || ?φ Clt {Matas.} \*<sup>o</sup>wet-0- 'say' > OW g<sup>u</sup>etid; the vl. consonant \*-t- (for the expected voiced one) is still to be explained (maybe PIE \*wet- with \*-t- from N \*-t𐌵?) || Gk [Hs.] ὀδᾶν (sc. Ἔοδᾶν) (ἐκλαύειν) 'to lament', Gk ὕδῃ ~ ὕδω v. {LS} 'call, name', {F} 'besingen, verherrlichen' || ? Ht uttar / uttan- 'word, speech' (× N \*<sup>w</sup>A<sup>t</sup>𐌵𐌶𐌶 'speak') ¶¶ The NaIE variant stem \*aud- (> Gk αὐδᾶν v. 'utter sounds, speak', αὐδῆ 'voice, speech, sound') is hardly explainable by Schwebeablaut from \*<sup>h</sup>wed- (because of the unexpected vw. α-)

and may be attributed to N **\*hawt∇** '↑' (q.v.) ¶¶ WP I 251-2, ≈ P 76-7, EI 535 (\*wēd- 'raise one's voice'), M K III 133-4, M E II 496, Frn. 1177-8, StSS 108, F I 184 and II 956, Matas. E 418, Ts. W 97-8 ||| **From N \*'wot<sub>L</sub>∇?,E** or **\*'wot<sub>L</sub>E?,∇** 'speak, utter sounds', (?) 'organ of speech' > **HS**: Eg P ω t 'tongue' or 'mouth' (?) ¶ EG I 377 || Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} wā té 'say', wā té ke l 'speak' (lit. 'say words'), ??φ Smr {J} wá y 'speak', {Nc.} ω o i o 'speak, talk' ∴ CCh: ?σ Gude {Hsk.} wu d 3 'take oath on a fetish', wù d á 'formal oath', {IL} wa d † 'say', ??φ Lgn {Lk.} wá- ~ wá- 'say' ¶ Eb. 101, ChC s.v. 'say', Hsk. 293, Lk. L 125, Lk. ZSS 82, J LS s.v. wá y, Nc. s.v. ω o i o || WS \*✓ w t t > Ar ✓ w t t G (pf. wa t t a) 'shout, make noise', 'cry out' (of children), Tgr ✓ w t t 'y' G (pf. ω ω w e t a), Tgy ✓ w t t G (pf. ω ω ω w e t e y e) 'sing', ?? (on.?) Tgr ✓ w t t 'howl, make a noise, bluster' ¶ BK II 1559, Hv. 877, LH 440, ≈ DRS 528 || C: HEC {Hd.} \*o d ?- 'cry, mourn' > {Hd.}: Brj, Ged, Kmb, Sd o d ?- id. ∴ Bj {R} a d - sev. 'bellow' (of camels) ¶ Hd. 45, R WBd 8 || **A** \*o t 'E (= \*o t 'i?) 'emit sounds' > T \*ō t- v. 'sing' (of birds), 'emit a sound' > OT ō t-, Az, CrTt, Ln ō t-, Ggz y ō t- 'sing' (of birds), Tk ō t- id., 'resound', 'emit sounds' (of musical instruments), OOsM XIV v. ō t- 'bleat', Tv ō t- 'emit sounds', Chv a b ā t- a v b t- 'sing' (of birds), 'croak' (of frogs), zirpen (Grashüpfer, Heimchen), v. 'thunder' ({Ash.} 'canere' [de quibusdam avibus dicitur], 'coaxare' [de ranis], 'tonare' [de fragore coeli]), Yk e t- 'say' (and ū ō t- [on.?] v. 'coo, invoke [spirits]?) ¶ Cl. 39-40, ET Gl 556, Ash. I 55-6, Jeg. 21, ChVS 8, Rs. W 52, 376, TvR 606 || M \*ō č i- (< \*\*ō ti-) 'say, inform' > MM [HI, S] ō č i- v. 'inform, report', [MA] ō č i b e n. 'account', ō č i b e ů g e y i 'said a word', WrM {MED} ō č i- v. 'say, answer, testify; pray', HIM e č i n- {MED} id., {BMR} 'say', WrO {Krg.} ō č i- v. 'depose, say respectfully', Kl Ö {Rm.} ō č ā- v. 'answer to an accusation', Ord ō č 'ō- 'réciter à haute voix (prière)'; ⇨ M \*ō č i- g > WrM ō č i g {MED} 'testimony, deposition (in court), prayer', HIM e č i n- {MED} id., {BMR} 'Aussage (im Gericht); promise', WrO ō č i q 'reply', Kl Ö {Rm.} ō č ō g n. 'Antwort', Ord ō č 'ō k 'prière récitée à haute voix lors d'une offrande; acte d'accusation qu'on présente au tribunal; déclaration d'un accusé; aveu de culpabilité'; ?σ Dg u č u n 'song', u č u l e- v. 'sing' ¶ H 121, Ms. H 83, Pp. MA 272, MED 628, BMR III